Designing Self-Management: Objects and Spaces of Everyday Life in Post-War Yugoslavia

Rujana Rebernjak

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Royal College of Art for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 2018

Royal College of Art
TECHNE/AHRC

- **Abstract: Designing Self-Management: Objects and Spaces of Everyday Life in Post-War Yugoslavia**

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was often labelled a country "in-between". Following the split with Stalin in 1948, socialist Yugoslavia established its "third way", one that was based on workers' self-management as an alternative to both capitalism, as well as to Soviet-style communism. Yugoslavia's "in-betweenness" was emphasised in public rhetoric and propaganda during its existence, and has since been carefully examined by economic, political, social and cultural historians.

This thesis explores this narrative about Yugoslav exceptionalism through the lens of design practice, asking to what extent has the experience of its unique system of self-management been "designed". It positions design practice as an active agent in the processes of construction of Yugoslav socialism, through an in-depth analysis of important public projects, mass produced objects, design institutions, exhibitions and publications. *Designing Self-Management* offers a new understanding of post-war modernity in Yugoslavia by contextualising the analysis of design practice within the structures of self-management and, *vice versa*, by situating the study of self-management within the framework of design.

To understand the impact design had on the experinece of self-management, this thesis positions the study of Yugoslav socialism within wider discussions about post-war modernity and seeks to reassess its claim to exceptionalism. On the one hand, the Yugoslav economic and social system that was based on workers' councils proposed a more authentic and democratic form of socialism, in contrast to the dictatorial regimes of Eastern Europe. However, the success of self-management was indexed to the materialisation of the "good life" that was characterised by Western-style consumerism. Between 1955 and 1975, the Yugoslav experience of everyday life was shaped by modern mass-produced goods, mass housing, increased mobility, and the proliferation of pop-culture, all provided through the system of self-management. This lived experience of post-war modernity was not unique to Yugoslavia. Instead, it was part of broader social, cultural, political and economic processes that shaped everyday life on both sides of the Cold War divide.

Within this context, *Designing Self-Management* examines the role of design in shaping Yugoslav post-war modernity, focusing on the spaces and places of everyday life, and the

objects that defined them: from kiosks to washing machines; from telephones to public seating systems; from mass housing blocks to TVs and radios. Each chapter examines a specific space through a case-study approach. Chapter 1 focuses on design practice within the workplace through the work of designers in Iskra and Rade Končar companies. The second analyses spaces of consumption through printed pages of *Svijet* magazine and physical spaces of department stores, supply centres and the Zagreb Fair. In the third chapter, the home is examined through normative discussions about *kultura stanovanja* (domestic culture), as well as DIY practices shaped by *Naš dom* and *Sam svoj majstor* magazines. The final chapter looks at public space through K67 kiosk designed by Saša Mächtig as well as UNI87 seating system produced by Jadran company.

All four chapters explore the relationship between design discourse and practice, government policies and propaganda, and consumers-self-managers, and argue that the material culture of everyday life shaped Yugoslav citizens' understanding of and compliance with self-management. This builds on research undertaken across public and private archives, such as the Archive of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, Rade Končar Archive in Zagreb, Croatian State Archive in Zagreb, Ljubljana Historical Archive in Kranj, Archive of the Technical Museum and Museum of Architecture and Design in Ljubljana.

Designing Self-Management lays out a framework where objects and material environments are understood to have a particular form of agency that regulates behaviour and shapes individual and collective identities. This theory of agency is applied to an analysis of the relationship between self-management and design, which guides the proposition to define self-management as a form of social control. This system of control relied on the promise of social mobility and material abundance that could be seen across post-War Europe, both East and West, in which well-designed, modern environments and mass-produced goods played a pivotal role.

List of illustrations

1. Still from *Surogat*, directed by Dušan Vukotić (Zagreb Film, 1961)

2. Still from *Surogat*, directed by Dušan Vukotić (Zagreb Film, 1961)

3. Modern stores as seen in *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*, dir. by Srećko Weygand (Zagreb Film, 1957)

4. Josip Broz Tito in a NaMa supermarket in Kumrovec, 1962, from the collection of the Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade

5. Zagreb Velesajam as seen in *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*, dir. by Srećko Weygand (Zagreb Film, 1957)

6. Modern white goods produced by self-managed factories and displayed at Zagreb Velesajam, as seen in *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*, dir. by Srećko Weygand (Zagreb Film, 1957)

7. Yugoslav Pavilion at the 1958 World Expo in Brussels, designed by Vjenceslav Richter, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

8. Diagram of Iskra's organisational structure in 1961, from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia, Bistra

9. Diagram of Rade Končar's organisational structure in 1986, from *Rade Končar, 1946-1986* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1986), p.39

10. Exat 51, *Manifesto*, 1951, from the Marinko Sudac Collection

11. Ivan Picelj, Aleksandar Srnec, Zvonimir Radić, Vjenceslav Richter, project drawing for the *Autoput bratstva i jedinstva* (Highway of Brotherhood and Unity) exhibition, 1950, from the collection of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

12. 2nd Zagreb *Trienniale*, 1959, view of the exhibition display, from *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), p.24

13. 2nd Zagreb *Trienniale*, 1959, view of the exhibition display from *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), p.25

14. Model domestic environments at *Stan za naše prilike* exhibition in Ljubljana in 1956, from *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1956), p.33

15. Model domestic environments at *Stan za naše prilike* exhibition in Ljubljana in 1956, from *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1956), p.33

16. Yugoslav pavilion designed by SIO at the XI Milan *Trienniale*, 1957, exhibition display, view of the living room, from the online archive of Dizajnerice. <http://www.dizajnerice.com/home/>

17. Yugoslav pavilion designed by SIO at the XI Milan *Trienniale*, 1957, exhibition display,

view of the living room, from the online archive of Dizajnerice. <http://www.dizajnerice.com/home/>

18. Kitchen demonstration section at *Stan za naše prilike*, from *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1956), p.54

19. Dish rack exhibited at *Stan za naše prilike*, from *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1956), p.50

20. Bernardo Bernardi, view of the model flat exhibited at *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, Zagreb, 1958, from the collection of the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

21. Figure 20. Social restaurant shown at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, 1958, from the archive of Zagreb Velesajam

22. Collective laundry services shown at the *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, 1958, from the archive of Zagreb Velesajam

23. Vjenceslav Richter, model for the Yugoslav Pavilion at World Expo 1958 in Brussels, model of the unbuilt proposal, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

24. Political slogans in the interior of the Yugoslav Pavilion at World Expo 1958 in Brussels, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

25. Graphs and images of workers in the 'Political and Social System' section, view of the Yugoslav Pavilion at World Expo 1958 in Brussels, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art at the Zagreb

26. View of the ground floor, 'Economy' section, from the Yugoslav Pavilion at World Expo 1958, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

27. Overview of the interior, the Yugoslav Pavilion at World Expo 1958, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

28. A plate showing environmental tollerance zones from Henry Dreyfuss and Associates, *The Measure of Man* (New York: Whitney, 1960), insert

29. Diagram of a Braun fan, from *BIT*, 4 (1969), p.38

30. Diagram of decision-making processes within in-house design offices, from the article Ivan Petrović, 'Donošenje odluka o dizajnu', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 19-20 (1974), p.36

31. Diagram of processes of product development within marketing divisions, from the article Fedor Rocco, 'Uloga i mjesto dizajna u integralnom marketingu', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 6 (1971), p.74

32. A series of plates printed on transparent paper showing the role of Rade Končar in the industrialisation of Yugoslavia, from the book *Rade Končar 30 godina* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1976), insert, n.p.

33. Dispatch centre for Zagreb gasworks designed by Rade Končar's in-house designers, 1982,

from the archive of the Elektrotehnički institut, Rade Končar

34. Model of a standardised workstation by Rade Končar's in-house designers, early 1980s, from the archive of the Elektrotehnički institut, Rade Končar

35. Operator managing the control room of an INA gas-station in Bokšić, from *20 godina Elektrotehničkog instituta*, brochure, (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1981), p.15, from the archive of Rade Končar

36. Technical drawing of standardised workstations designed by Rade Končar's in-house designers, 1983, from the archive of the Elektrotehnički institut, Rade Končar

37. Control station designed by Rade Končar's in-house designers, from the book *Rade Končar 1946 - 1986* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1976), p.89

38. Rade Končar Miki coffee grinder, 1980s, from the archive of Rade Končar

39. Image of Iskra's in-house design office, undated (1970s), from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia, Bistra

40. Organisation of Iskra's design and marketing divisions, in 1970, from the book *Upravljanje industrijskim dizajnom, Organizacija dizajn biroa* (Zagreb: CIO, 1970), no pagination

41. Black and white image of Klip Klap work tools, undated, from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia

42. Iskra ATA42 telephone brochure, designed by Davorin Savnik, cover, 1977, from the Historical Archive of Ljubljana in Kranj

43. A composition of Iskra's ATA40 telephones, designed by Davorin Savnik, undated, from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia

44. Pobi battery charger, designed by Marijan Gnamuš, 1973, from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia

45. ETA80 telephone, design Davorin Savnik, 1980, from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia

46. Promotional image of ETA80 telephones in different colours, design Davorin Savnik, 1980, from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia

47. ETA80 as seen in *Start* magazine, 471 (7 February 1987), p.8

48. Drawing of Rade Končar's new building in 1952, from *Rade Končar, 1946-1956* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1956), p.25

49. Iskra's office tower in Ljubljana, from the book *Iskra 35* (Iskra: Kranj, 1981), p.141

50. Rade Končar workers' housing in a western Zagreb, from *Rade Končar, 1946-1956* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1956), p.130

51. Vittorio Gregotti and Umberto Eco, 'kaleidoscope' opening section at the XIII Triennial in Milan, 1964, with projections of films by Tinto Brass, from *15 dana*, 14-15 (December 1964), p.5

52. Vjenceslav Richter, Yugoslav Pavilion at the XIII Milan Trienniale in 1964, published in *Arhitektura*, 90 (1965), p.41

53. Vjenceslav Richter, Yugoslav Pavilion at the XIII Milan Trienniale in 1964, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

54. Vjenceslav Richter, Yugoslav Pavilion at the XIII Milan Trienniale in 1964, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

55. Elektrotehna store in Zagreb, published in *15 dana,* 7 (25 December 1960), p.23

56. Prehrana department store in Osijek, 1968, from *Arhitektura* magazine, 97-98 (1968), p.32

57. Aleksandar Srnec, cover design for *Svijet*, 6 (1956) from the Marinko Sudac Collection

58. Aleksandar Srnec, cover design for *Svijet*, 4 (1959) from the Marinko Sudac Collection

59. Aleksandar Srnec, cover design for *Svijet*, 5 (1960) from the Marinko Sudac Collection

60. Aleksandar Srnec, cover design for *Svijet*, 11 (1960) from the Marinko Sudac Collection

61. Advertising for Dodo detergent designed by Savo Simončić and Zlatko Zrnec, Saponia, 1958, from the collection of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb

62. Bruno Planinšek and Mirko Benazić advertising pavilion for Saponia, 1956, from the private collection of Planinšek family

63. Vladimir Bonačić, DIN.PR 18 (NaMa 1), computer-controlled dynamic object/light installation in the storefront of NaMa in Zagreb, Kvaternikov Square, 1969, from the collection of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

64. Aerial view of the new development for Zagreb Velesajam in the late 1950s, *Prostor*, 1 (2012), p.186

65. Heavy industry pavilion at the 1959 Zagreb Fair, from the Tošo Dabac Archive at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

66. Drago Korbar, Crafts Pavilion, 1959, from the Tošo Dabac Archive at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

67. Ivo Vitić, Kruno Tonković, Pavilion 40 (West Germany) 1959-61, from the Tošo Dabac Archive at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

68. Božidar Rašica, Paviljon Mašinogradnje (Machine industry pavilion), 1959, from the Tošo Dabac Archive at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

69. Aleksandar Dragomanović and Ninoslav Kučan, Standard clothing company pavilion at Zagreb Velesajam, from the archive of the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

70. Aleksandar Dragomanović and Ninoslav Kučan, Standard clothing company pavilion moved to Praška Street, from the archive of the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

71. Aleksandar Dragomanović, Radovan Nikšić and Edo Šmidihen, Trnsko supply centre with NaMa department store, project drawings, 1963, from the archive of the Architects Association of Zagreb

72. Aleksandar Dragomanović, Radovan Nikšić and Edo Šmidihen, Trnsko supply centre with NaMa department store, built between 1965 and 1969, from the archive of the Architects Association of Zagreb

73. Miroslav Begović, Elektrotehna store, 1956, from *15 dana*, 7 (1960), p.22

74. Franjo Tišina, Sloga shoe store, view of the exterior Zagreb, 1953, from the private collection of Tišina family

75. Franjo Tišina, Sloga shoe store, view of the interior Zagreb, 1953, from the private collection of Tišina family

76. Dizajn Centar in Belgrade, 1972, view of the permanent exhibition, from *Industrijsko oblikovanje,* 9-10 (1972), p.18

77. *Machine Art* exhibiton at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1934, installation view, from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art

78. BIO 1, poster design for the first edition of the Ljubljana biennial, by Majda Dobravec, 1964, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design Ljubljana

79. BIO 1 in the Modern Gallery, Ljubljana, installation view, exhibition design Svetozar Križaj and Meta Hočevar, 1964, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

80. BIO 5, installation view, exhibition design Janez Suhadolc, Miha Kerin, Janez Koželj, Milan Zornik, Zvone Zupanek, 1973, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

81. 'Atomised' housing as seen in *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)* (City Grows) dir. by Dragutin Vunak (Zagreb Film, 1967)

82. Construction of new housing in Zagreb, as seen in *Zagrebačke paralele*, dir. by Branko Majer (Zagreb Film, 1962)

83. Model of the urban plan for south Zagreb as seen in *Zagrebačke paralele*, dir. by Branko Majer (Zagreb Film, 1962)

84. Zlatko Bastašić, caricature from an issue of *Arhitektura* dedicated to housing, *Achitektura* 149 (1974), p.33

85. New modernist neighbourhood in south Zagreb as seen in *Moj stan*, dir. by Zvonimir Berković, Zagreb Film, 1962

86. Too small apartments in modernist housing blocks, with sofas on beds, from *Moj stan*, dir. by Zvonimir Berković (Zagreb Film, 1962)

87. *Svijet oko nas* children's encyclopedia, illustrations for the entry 'Električna energija' (Electricity), *Svijet oko nas*, ed. by Juraj Bukša, Vol.1 (Zagreb: Mladost, 1971), p.110

88. A spread from Radovan Ivančević's book *Likovna kultura "običnog" čovjeka*(Zagreb: Radničko Sveučiliste Moša Pijade, 1961), n.p.

89. The opening of the *Suvremeno stanovanje* exhibition at Moša Pijade Workers' University, curated by Andrija Mutnjaković in 1961, from *15 dana*, 12 (March 1961), p.26

90. Radovan Nikšić and Ninoslav Kučan, Moša Pijade Workers' University, 1956-61, from the archive of the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

91. Radovan Nikšić and Ninoslav Kučan, Moša Pijade Workers' University, 1956-61, night view, from the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

92. Bernardo Bernardi, view of the interior design for Moša Pijade Workers' University, 1956-61, from the archive of the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

93. Bernardo Bernardi, furniture designed for the Workers' University, 1957-1961, from the collection of the archive of the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

94. Bernardo Bernardi, Standardi za dnevni boravak i spavaonu (Standards for living rooms and bedrooms), from *Čovjek i prostor*, 39 (15 September 1955), p.6

95. Bernardo Bernardi, plans for model flats exhibited at *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, 1958, from the archive of the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

96. Bernardo Bernardi, drawing for 'Stan bliske buducnosti' (Flat of the near future) competition exhibited at *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, 1960, from the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

97. Spread from 'Dimenzije u svakodnevnom životu' (Dimensions in everyday life) article published in *Naš dom*, 8 (August 1968), p.23

98. Model kitchen layouts from the article 'Kuhinja najučestalija "radionica" u svijetu', *Naš dom*, 4 (April 1969), p.7

99. Model workflow within the kitchen, from 'Kuhinja najučestalija "radionica" u svijetu', *Naš dom*, 4 (April 1969), p.6

100. A model of Sopot neighbourhood as seen in *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)* dir. by Dragutin Vunak (Zagreb Film, 1967)

101. Sopot neighbourhood being built as seen in *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)* dir. by Dragutin Vunak (Zagreb Film, 1967)

102. Drawings of everyday use and storage of objects, from Radmila Milosavljević's article 'Nameštaj kao ugrađeni deo enterijera stana', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 34 (November-December 1976), p.31

103. Illustration showing the contrast between modernist and unregulated urban planning from the article 'Stambena arhitektura ili arhitektura stambene krize', *Arhitektura*, 149 (1974), p.20

104. Still from *Od 3 do 22* showing poor housing conditions on the periphery of Zagreb, dir. by Krešo Golik (Zagreb Film, 1966)

105. Cover of Vjenceslav Richter's *Sinturbanizam* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1964)

106. Vjenceslav Richter, drawing of functional zones of a synthurbanist city, 1964, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

107. Vjenceslav Richter, drawing of the synthurbanist city, 1964, from the Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb

108. Housing construction with the JU-61 system in Zagreb, Borongaj Housing Cooperative, 1961, from Bogdan Budimirov Archive

109. JU-61, time-space diagram of installation of finishes, 1961, from Bogdan Budimirov Archive

110. Model prefabricated flats as advertised in *Naš dom*, 7 (July 1968), p.33

111. Illustration from 'Kuća podignuta noću', *Sam svoj majstor*, 7 (July 1976), p.653

112. Cover of *Naš dom* from February 1969

113. Domestic interior from the article 'Sve na 50m2', *Sam svoj majstor*, 3 (1975), p.229

114. K67 kiosk, designed by Saša J. Mächtig, in Ljubljana in 1973, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

115. Opening of the Universiade Games Zagreb, 1987, from <http://zag-memento.blogspot.co.uk/2017/07/univerzijada-87-nevieni-sportski-zanos.html>

116. K67 used in a ski resort in Slovenia, no date (after 1976), no location, from the archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

117. Development models for the K67 system, 1966, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

118. Pavilion for Café Europa, Ljubljana, 1966, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

119. Flower shop inside a modular kiosk structure, mid-1970s, Ljubljana, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

120. K67 interior, from the presentation of K67 in Ljutomer in 1969, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljjana

121. Construction drawing for the second generation of K67 kiosks, 1972, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

122. K67 kiosk in an article published in *Design* magazine titled 'Low Life for the Streets', *Design*, April 1970, p.50

123. K67 used as media booths at Bežigrad stadium in Ljubljana, undated (after 1976), from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

124. Ettore Sottsass, Microenvironments, from *Italy: the New Domestic Landscape*, 1972 exhibition, from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York

125. System of street furniture such as Žaba bins, designed between 1968 and 1976, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

126. Kiosk used as a newspaper stand in the centre of Ljubljana, undated (after 1972), from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

127. Contemporary adaptation of K67 for a flower shop in Sarajevo, from 'Booth Bloc', *DAM Magazine*, February-March 2006, p.98

128. K67 used as ticket booths at the opening of the Mediterranean Games in Split in 1979, from the archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljjana

129. The renovation of Zagreb's urban tissue for the Universiade Games, 1987, from *Start* 480, 13 June 1987, p.54

130. Construction of Zagreb's Cibona Hall for the Universiade Games, 1987, from *Start* 480, 13 June 1987, p.53

131. UNI87 self-standing chairs for stadiums, 1987, from the collection of the Croatian Design Association

132. UNI87 modular system, 1987, from the collection of the Croatian Design Association

133. UNI87 system in different colours and compositions, 1987, from the collection of the Croatian Design Association

134. UNI87 self-standing chairs for stadiums and public venues, 1987, from the collection of the Croatian Design Association
135. UNI87 modular system in different colours and compositions, 1987, from the collection

of the Croatian Design Association

136. UNI87 used at the Dinamo football stadium, shown here during a violent clash of Dinamo and Crvena Zvezda fans, 1990, from <www.delije.net>

137. Iskra, 'Minirama' television set, 1973, from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia, Bistra

138. K67 on Ljubljana's old town, installed in 1980, from the archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

Acknowledgments

Author's Declaration

'During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.'

Signature:
Date:

Definitions

Explanatory Note

The full title, in Serbo-Croatian and English of the following organisations are given on their first appearance in the thesis. On subsequent references the full title is used when it is felt necessary to remind the reader of the organisation, in which case the Serbo-Croatian name is also given.

BIO -Bijenale Industrijskog Oblikovanja (Biennial of Industrial Design)

CIO - Centar za Industrijsko Oblikovanje (Centre for Industrial Design)

ETI - Elektrotehnički Institut (Electrotechnical Institute)

LCY - League of Communists of Yugoslavia

OOUR - Osnovna organizacija udruženog rada (Basic Organisation of Associated Labour, BOAL)

SIO - Studio za Industrijsko Oblikovanje (Studio for Industrial Design)

SIV - Savezno izvršno vijeće (Federal Executive Council)

SIZ - Samoupravna interesna zajednica (Self-Managing Interest Group)

SOUR - Složena organizacija udruženog rada (Complex Organisation of Associated Labour)

SZKSP - Savezni zavod za komunalne i stambene poslove (Federal Institute for Communal and Housing Questions)

ULUPUH - Udruženje likovnih umjetnika primjenjene umjetnosti Hrvatske (Association of applied artists of Croatia

ZZA - Zavod za Automatizaciju (Automation Institute)

Introduction

Designing self-management: Objects and spaces of everyday life in post-war Yugoslavia

- **i. Introduction**

In 1961, Dušan Vukotić's film *Surogat* (Ersatz) produced by Zagreb Film became the first non-American short animated film to win an Oscar.[1] *Surogat* (Fig. 1 and 2) portrays the adventures of a witty character in a day at the seaside. This is an ersatz world of inflatable things, people and spaces, shaped by the character's insatiable desire to experience the pleasures of modern life. Seen through *Surogat*'s lens, modernity seemed to be defined by abundance, prosperity and the comfort of things. That these desires materialise in plastics, the most modern and yet elusive of materials, adds further meaning to the story. However, this artificial world is not without its problems, as things break and people misbehave, resisting and rebelling against their creator until *Surogat*'s fictitious reality finally disappears into thin air. Showing a man-made world that is out of control, *Surogat* is a less-than-subtle commentary on post-war consumerism. The instant satisfaction that consumer culture promised, *Surogat* tells us, is nothing more than a fragile illusion.

<table>
<tr><td>Still from *Suragot* removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.</td><td>Still from *Suragot* removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 1 and 2. Stills from *Surogat*, directed by Dušan Vukotić (Zagreb Film: 1961)

Created just as the country was experiencing a consumerist boom, there are numerous parallels to be drawn between *Surogat*'s storyline and the experience of everyday life in post-war Yugoslavia. These 'ingeniously designed meditations on the tragi-comic paradoxes and ironies of the modern life' drafted by the Zagreb Film School, captured the idiosyncrasies of everyday life under Yugoslav socialism, seemingly torn between 'ironhanded Communist controls and fleeting

---

1   Daniel J. Goulding, *Liberated Cinema: The Yugoslav Experience 1945-1990* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), p.59; Zagreb Film School was particularly well known for animated films, see Ivo Škrabalo, *101 godina filma u Hrvatskoj 1896-1997: pregled povijesti hrvatske kinematografije* (Zagreb: Globus, 1998).

flirtations with capitalism'.[2] Just like *Surogat*'s inflatable objects, the Yugoslav combination of market socialism and workers' self-management held the promise of radically transforming the country and materialising the "good life" in a very short period of time. During the 1950s and 1960s that radical transformation did start to occur and Yugoslavs increasingly enjoyed a high quality of life and consumerist lifestyles. Yet that promise seemed almost too good to be true and, indeed, by the end of the 1970s Yugoslavia was heading towards a less prosperous future.

At the same time, the fact that *Surogat*'s 'poignant evocations of contemporary humanity's frustrations, helplessness and limitations' resonated with audiences across the Cold War divide, is a testament to the far-reaching impact of post-war modernisation.[3] As Marshall Berman wrote, 'the processes of modernisation have cast a net that no one, not even in the remotest corner of the world, can escape', cutting 'across all the boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology'.[4] However, that experience of modernity was paradoxical, torn between the promise of abundance, pleasure and enjoyment, and anxiety about the double-faced, alienating effects of modernisation and technological progress.

Although it might appear as an inconsequential footnote in the history of Yugoslav cinema, *Surogat* suggests a number of valuable questions that need to be raised: How did such a shrewd portrayal of post-war modernity emerge from the Zagreb Film School? What kind of society did *Surogat* reflect upon and warn against? What did Yugoslav modernity look like and how was it shaped? In their animated reflections on the frivolity and inauthenticity of consumer lifestyles, the filmmakers of the Zagreb Film School undoubtedly captured the everyday reality of the society they were living in.

Founded following the Second World War on the territory and from the remnants of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as a federation of six republics, SFR Yugoslavia was a socialist country between the two Cold War Blocs. Its non-aligned position after Tito's break with Stalin in 1948, made the Yugoslav experience distinct, as it blended socialist planning with market mechanisms under workers' self-management. Self-management was the Yugoslav system of political, social and economic organisation premised on the social ownership of the means

---

2   Goulding, p.59; 'Yugoslavia: Half Karl & Half Groucho', *Time*, 19 (7 May 1965), <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,898778,00.html> [accessed on 17 January 2018].
3   Goulding, p.59.
4   Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid, Melts Into Air* (London and New York: Verso, 1987), pp.36, 15.

of production and a network of workers' councils and local communes as the organs of management. Grouped in workers' councils within factories and in local communes based on their place of residence, Yugoslav citizens had the power to take decisions both about the management of their factory, as well as about issues of concern to their neighbourhood. This political and economic organisation was translated into specific social and cultural forms that shaped the Yugoslav experience. This thesis sets out to examine the everyday experience of that society. Yet, unlike other recent histories of everyday life and consumer culture under socialism, I will look at Yugoslavia through the lens of design: the conception, making, production and consumption of objects.[5] Therefore, this thesis is grounded in the discipline of design history and analyses the part played by design in creating Yugoslav post-war culture 'through the objects, institutions, personalities and the patterns of behaviour and thought that have accompanied it'.[6]

The key question that this thesis seeks to answer is: what role did design play in shaping the everyday experience of self-management? Was self-management consciously and deliberately "designed"? This process of design does not refer to the crafting of legislation by Yugoslav politicians, but to the design of objects, spaces and experiences that embodied the political, ideological and organisational imperatives of self-management. These spaces and things gave self-management meaning in concrete, material forms. I will argue that the political success and legitimacy of self-management relied on its materialisation as modern design. This poses a further question: why was Modernism seen as the appropriate material expression of self-management? The most obvious answer is that Modernism was co-opted by the socialist government in its desire to project the image of a well-developed and non-aligned nation that was in tune with the global processes of modernisation. This resulted in a curious paradox: the socialist system of self-management produced a consumer society not unlike those seen in the West. However, to gain legitimacy under self-management, this Western-style consumerism had to be adapted, at least in discourse if not always in practice, to the specificity of the Yugoslav context and its socialist system of values. This entailed a process of mediation,

---

5   While the literature on everyday life and consumption in post-war Yugoslavia has been growing over the past decade, so far it has rarely taken into account the processes of design that require a specific research methodology and which use a different set of resources, such as object-based analysis, pointing perhaps to different issues and uncovering different narratives. A further overview of both Yugoslav design and consumer culture historiography will be given in the section i.iv of this introduction.

6   Penny Sparke, *An Introduction to Design and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), p.XIX.

regulation and control, that was achieved through the means of design, but that involved a wide range of social and political structures, from government bodies and cultural institutions, to factories, enterprises and the popular media. In this thesis, I will outline the tools and strategies that Yugoslav designers used within these different settings to design a self-managed consumer culture. At times, these strategies resembled *Surogat*'s comical and futile attempts to control an undisciplined, ersatz world.

Like many Yugoslav histories, this research starts in the early 1950s with the introduction of self-management, and ends in 1987, just a few years before the country's ultimate dissolution. The starting date acknowledges the beginning of Yugoslavia's future transformation into a consumer society following the first legislation on self-management. The end date, on the other hand, marks one of the last moments of national unity, displayed during the Universiade (University) Games held in Zagreb, before the dissolution of Yugoslavia amidst the Balkan wars. While some historians have suggested that Yugoslavia's breakdown can partly be explained by the loss of the "good life", this thesis deliberately takes a step back from those analyses.[7] My aim is to examine the experience of self-management while it lasted, rather than offer any definitive answers about why it failed. While anchored in the uniqueness of the Yugoslav socialist project, with self-management and market socialism at its centre, the relationship between consumer culture and design, and the debates that it produced need to be contextualised within the broader context of the Cold War. Within this framework, this thesis seeks to understand how global processes of modernisation were reflected in the Yugoslav context and to probe whether any claims can be made about the specificity of a self-managed "socialist modernity".[8]

---

7   The breakdown of Yugoslavia has been analysed in great depth through a variety of perspectives and voices, from political and economic to social and cultural historians. See for example: *Debating the End of Yugoslavia*, ed. by Florian Bieber, Armina Galijaš, Rory Archer, (London: Routledge, 2014); Branka Magaš, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-up, 1980-92* (London and New York: Verso, 1993); Carole Rogel, *The Breakup of Yugoslavia and its Aftermath* (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 2004); *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*, ed. by Jasminka Udovički and James Ridgeway, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000).

8   See Marie-Janine Calic, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis, 'The Crisis of Socialist Modernity – The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s', in *The Crisis of Socialist Modernity: The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s*, ed. by Marie-Janine Calic, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis, (Bonn: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp.7-25.

- ### i.i Everyday life and self-management: designing a new society

Often emphasised as the defining moment in Yugoslav history, Tito's break with Stalin in 1948 was crucial for ushering in a new socialist system that was to be completely different from the grey, state-planned and totally controlled societies denounced by Western observers of the Eastern Bloc.[9] Set on a separate, non-aligned path, Yugoslavia had to craft its place on the international stage and demonstrate the superiority of its political and economic system over both capitalism and Soviet-style socialism.[10] That unique position was to be found in the

> formula of self-management [that was] simultaneously economic (in the sense that it created a category of rather nebulously defined "social property" and assigned workers certain administrative prerogatives within their places of work) and political (in the sense that self-management was seen, from the beginning, as an instrument for effecting a movement in the direction of the ultimate withering away of the state).[11]

In addition, over the course of the 1960s, the government also introduced a series of economic reforms that instituted market mechanisms as a way of reducing state intervention in the economy. Arguably, the combination of market socialism with self-management ultimately produced a fully-fledged consumer society within a socialist state.[12] For this reason, the birth of socialist consumerism in Yugoslavia should at least partly be ascribed to broader government policies. From early on, in fact, the Yugoslav ideologues realised that to stimulate production and industrial development they would have to hinge the experience of self-management to the promise of the "good life", centred on domesticity, consumption and leisure. Increasing

---

9   See Janos Kornai, *Economics of Shortage*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam and Oxford: North-Holland, 1980); Ferenc Fehér, Agnes Heller and György Márkus, *Dictatorship over Needs* (New York: St. Martin's, 1983).

10   For an analysis of the role of Tito's break with Stalin in Yugoslavia's domestic and international policy see Tvrtko Jakovina, *Socijalizam na američkoj pšenici* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002); Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-building and Legitimation, 1918-2005* (Washington, D.C, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Indiana University Press, 2006); Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974* (London: C.Hurst & Company, 1977).

11   Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias*, pp.185-186.

12   See Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010); Patrick Hyder Patterson, *Bought and Sold, Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Radina Vučetić, *Koka Kola Socijalizam: Amerikanizacija Jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Beograd: Službeni Glasnik, 2012),

the quality of life for the majority of Yugoslav workers served to legitimise the political system based on self-management.[13] The way this system was created and operated, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 1, made an impact upon both design practice and the forms it produced.

As the journalist Slavenka Drakulić has commented, 'in the mid-1960s many things did change: there was a less centrally planned economy, more liberalism in politics, and a higher standard of living'.[14] With this steady progress both in terms of political liberalisation and economic growth, the consumption of modern well-designed goods became central in shaping the citizens' relationship to self-management. In other words, the everyday experience of self-management was articulated through the framework of consumption. This understanding was also engendered on a wider political level, by the establishment of two forms of political representation: 'workers *qua* workers (producers)' were represented by the workers' councils within local factories while 'workers *qua* citizens (consumers)' were represented by the local communes.[15] The quality of single-family homes, the objects they were furnished with, the cars parked in front of them, as well as educational, cultural, travel or leisure opportunities were all implicitly related to one's position within the social order charted by self-management.[16] Conversely, those material goods served as tools for making sense of the abstract world of self-management, often made up of empty rhetorical declarations, endless strings of statistics and unintelligible rules, laws and regulations.[17] In this context, how material objects were designed, produced, acquired and used carried particular meaning. Objects and spaces of everyday life were to form the materialisation of 'the socio-economic framework which has sustained' them.[18]

Yugoslav architects and designers were well aware of this broader meaning and the impact

---

13   For a discussion of Yugoslav history through the lens of the government's quest for legitimacy see Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias*. The first chapter, 'A Theory of System Legitimacy', lays out the theoretical framework for understanding political legitimacy.

14   Slavenka Drakulić, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (London: Vintage, 1993), p.72.

15   Rusinow, p.68.

16   See Veljko Rus, 'Samoupravni egalitarizam i društvena diferencijacija', *Praxis*, 5-6 (1969), pp.811-844. For a recent discussion of the relationship between self-management and the formation of social classes in Yugoslavia see *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism*, ed. by Rory Archer, Igor Duda and Paul Stubbs (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). Archer's research on housing privileges is particularly revealing in this context.

17   Yugoslav workers often complained about the difficult, incomprehensible material they were meant to discuss in their workers' council meetings. This will be further discussed in Chapter 1.

18   Sparke, p.xx.

of material things. Just like their colleagues on both sides of the Cold War divide, they were intent on rebuilding Yugoslavia as a modern nation through architecture and design. Embracing the inter-war principles of the Modern Movement, Yugoslav architects and designers considered themselves instrumental in reconstructing the country's industry and economy. For Paul Greenhalgh, 'the over-arching concern of the Modern Movement was to break down barriers between aesthetics, technics and society, in order that an appropriate design of the highest visual and practical quality could be produced for the mass of the population'.[19] Modernist designers laid a claim on creating total environments of everyday life, where 'applied, decorative and design arts' would be part of 'a single continuum'.[20] This breakdown of boundaries between different disciplines was reflected in the professional background of Yugoslav designers. As design historian Jasna Galjer has documented, one of the first courses training designers in Yugoslavia was founded in Zagreb at the Academy for Applied Art and was short-lived, running solely from 1949 until 1955.[21] Although I will refer to the key figures in this thesis as designers, they were mostly trained as architects and educated in the modernist tradition of the inter-war and early post-war period.[22]

Due to the fluid nature of the profession, I will use the term designers quite flexibly to denote those professionals who designed objects, buildings, spaces and environments. They often included architects, artists and even engineers. While this fluidity reflects the state of the profession throughout the period examined in this thesis, a further note needs to be made about different generations of Yugoslav designers. What I call the first generation of designers emerged early after the Second World War and included a number of artists and architects that gravitated towards the neo avant-garde group Exat 51. I will discuss the influence of that group in detail in Chapter 1. It is important to point out that these designers were instrumental in setting the professional discourse with a distinctly modernist outlook. Their work and writing about design bears the mark of all twelve characteristics that Greenhalgh identified as key features of the Modern Movement: decompartmentalisation, social morality, truth, the total work of art, technology, function, progress, anti-historicism, abstraction, internationalism/

19   Paul Greenhalgh, 'Introduction', in *Modernism in Design, ed. by Paul Greenhalgh*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 1-24 (p.8).
20   Greenhalgh, p.10.
21   Jasna Galjer, *Design of the Fifties in Croatia, from Utopia to Reality* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2003), p.43.
22   See, for example, Ljiljana Blagojević, *Modernism in Serbia, The Elusive Margins of Belgrade Architecture* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2003); *Moderna arhitektura u Hrvatskoj*, ed. by Darja Radočić Mahečić (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2007); Stane Bernik, *Slovenska arhitektura dvajsetega stoletja*, (Ljubljana: Delo, 2004).

universality, transformation of consciousness and theology.[23] While this first generation of designers remained active all through the 1980s, their most notable and intensive work was developed during the 1950s and 1960s. The difference between what I will call the first and second generation of Yugoslav designers wasn't so much in their approach to design, which largely remained committed to the modernist principles indicated above, but in the way the profession was organised.

In the first years after the war, architecture and design disciplines were centralised by the state and only a few offices were allowed to operate. As the architect Andrija Mutnjaković reflected in an interview, in the early 1950s 'there were three architectural organisations in Croatia', and those who weren't associated with those offices were not allowed to practice.[24] As 'architects wanted their right to design [...] to work independently', they sidestepped this centralised control of the profession by grouping into *radne zadruge* (work collectives) that had to be associated with official organisations, such as the Savez arhitekata and Udruženje primijenjenih umjetnika (Architecture Council and the Association of Applied Artists).[25] These loosely organised associations allowed them to operate much like the independent designers and design offices in Western Europe and the United States. The second generation of Yugoslav designers entered the profession from the early-1960s onwards. Some of them, like Iskra's Ljuban Klojčnik were educated at international universities, in his case the Royal College of Art in London.[26] By that time, design had been largely recognised as an important and necessary tool for stimulating the Yugoslav economy. For this reason, they mostly worked for self-managed industrial enterprises, within in-house design offices organised as workers' councils. The shift in the way the profession was organised, corresponded to a shift in design discourse, that I will call the "technological turn" in design.[27] The impact of this change on both the design practice and the everyday experience of self-management will be discussed in Chapter 1.

---

23   Greenhalgh, p.8.
24   Renata Margaretić Urlić, 'Architectural Frolics in an Informel Company', *Život umjetnosti*, 82 (2008), 52-65 (p.53).
25   Margaretić Urlić, 'Architectural Frolics in an Informal Company', p.53.
26   Goroslav Keller, 'Portret – Biti i ostati dizajner', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 57-58 (September-December, 1980), 67-68 (p.67).
27   For more on the "technological turn" in Eastern European design, see Eli Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism: Plastics and Dictatorship in the German Democratic Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Tom Cubbin, '"Problems of Soviet Design" and "The Production (Industrial) Art of the Future"', *Journal of Design History*, 4 (2016), pp.285-304; Tom Cubbin, 'In Search of a New Unity: Art and Technology in Soviet Design 1965-1971', in *Zwischen Sputnik und Ölkrise: Kybernetik in Architektur, Planung und Design,* ed. by Oliver Sukrow, (Berlin: Dom Publishers, 2017), pp.80-99.

Starting from the late 1940s, the first generation of Yugoslav designers were mobilised by the government to shape its vision of modernity by designing international and domestic exhibitions. They sought to promote the social significance and economic value of well-designed industrial products. In their view, there was a direct relationship between "good design", social change and economic growth. As the Modernist architect Bernardo Bernardi argued in 1959, 'Well-designed products have a higher use and aesthetic value. That directly increases their economic value and that is immediately manifested in the general material standard.'[28] For Bernardi, designers and the industry needed to work together to redesign the Yugoslav society from the ground up:

> the living medium of our man and all aspects of his living landscape, can and need to be solved for the most part by the industry. [...] Everything from the colour on the walls, to the fabric on the sofas, from furniture to door handles, from lighting to tableware - from fountain pens to tractors - needs to be an integral part of our living visual medium.[29]

As a founding member of the neo avant-garde group Exat 51, Bernardi belonged to the first generation of Yugoslav designers. As such, his views were shared by a group of artists, architects and designers who sought to produce totally-designed environments through a synthesis of different art forms. As laid out in their 1951 manifesto and in their writing published in industry magazines like *Arhitektura*, they were intent on shaping the new living environment for the new socialist man. Exat 51 embraced the approach set out by the Modern Movement that was characterised by 'a utopian desire to create a better world, to reinvent the world from scratch; an almost messianic belief in the power and potential of the machine and industrial technology; [...] and a belief in the unity of all the arts - that is, an acceptance that traditional hierarchies that separated the practices of art and design, as well as those that detached arts from life, were unsuitable for a new era'.[30] In this view, the role of architecture and design was to create objects and environments that would, in turn, produce new social forms. Combining modernist design principles with their political commitment to self-management, Yugoslav

---

28   Bernardo Bernardi, 'Definicija i društveni značaj industrijskog oblikovanja', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), 6-18 (p.13).
29   Bernardi, pp.13, 15, 17.
30   Christopher Wilk, 'Introduction: What was Modernism?', in *Modernism, Designing a New World, 1914-1939*, ed. by Christopher Wilk, (London: V&A Publications, 2006), pp.11-21 (p.14).

post-war designers, as much as their colleagues across Europe 'held that design and art could, and should, transform society'.[31] In this, architects and designers were perfectly aligned with the goals of Yugoslav socialism, intent on fashioning new social relationships based on workers' self-management. As Bernardo Bernardi wrote in 1959:

> In a socialist country, where production forces ceased to be the instrument of speculation, where all creative efforts need to be directed towards improving the material and cultural standard of the working people, there is a true possibility for industrial design to fulfil its true social function of forming the new living landscape, the visual, plastic and spatial living medium of the new man.[32]

As these comments suggest, design and a socialist system of production, underpinned by self-management, were suited to march hand in hand.

This thesis starts from the premise that design was an essential component in the Yugoslav experiment with self-management. The four chapters of this thesis will examine the way in which design mediated the experience of self-management through a broad range of everyday processes and practices. The central hypothesis of this project - the claim that by designing things and spaces of everyday life, designers and architects also "designed" the meaning and experience of self-management - will be developed along two lines. Firstly, by contextualising it within the birth and development of Yugoslav consumerism. This analysis rests on the assumption that both self-management and design were essential for transforming socialist Yugoslavia into a Western-style consumer society. Secondly, the study of consumption will be explored by positioning self-management and design as closely aligned tools or systems of control, whose scope was to regulate the wider social, political and economic dynamics. Throughout this thesis I will point to the similarity between the processes and strategies that underpinned self-management and those that shaped design practice.

These two readings emerge from my analysis of the way in which both Yugoslav designers and political leaders often thought about consumer culture under socialism. The sociologist and politician Stipe Šuvar argued in his 1970 study of Yugoslav social structures that:

---

31   Wilk, p.14.
32   Bernardi, p.18.

A socialist society is actually by definition a consumer society, because it needs to meet the basic needs of the broad masses of people and to provide them with more achievements of material and spiritual civilization [...] Therefore, the increase of consumption is one of the essential current objectives of the development of the Yugoslav socialist society, especially in the conditions of poor standards of living, when most members of the society are still in the process of entering the civilization, and meeting its achievements for the first time.[33]

Šuvar implied that consumer culture was only appropriate insofar as it would produce the new socialist subjectivity: the 'civilised', rational, efficient and cultured self-managers. In fact, while consumption was a necessary precondition for the modernisation of Yugoslav society, that consumption needed to be controlled. Design was able to provide that controlled environment within which consumption could be regulated.

This understanding was pivotal to the dialectical-materialist view of the world whereby 'matter determines consciousness. To change how a person thought and behaved one must change his or her material surroundings.'[34] Because consumption had a clear impact on individual subjectivity, material objects and spaces of consumption had to be designed in ways that would offset the negative effects of consumerism. In fact, the agency of objects was often invoked for its power to educate consumers and shape their behaviour by communicating a specific set of values through material form. Writing in the magazine *15 dana* in 1959, art historian Radovan Ivančević warned about 'the huge impact that industrially produced objects make on the humankind.' [35] His colleague, art critic Radoslav Putar, argued in the same magazine a few years later that 'the lack of attention' for the aesthetic qualities of objects, 'brings great damage to the social community'.[36] This was because 'aesthetically polished products are not by any means an unnecessary luxury. Rather, modern societies naturally tend to provide for all their members not only material but also a valuable spiritual subsistence.'[37] This was the essence

---

33   Stipe Šuvar, *Sociološki presjek jugoslavenskog društva* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1970), pp.110-111.
34   David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, 'Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc', in *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), pp.1-22 (p.11).
35   Radovan Ivančević, 'Umjetnost i industrija: Oblikovanje industrijskih proizvoda', *15 dana*, 18 (1 March 1959), p.3.
36   Radoslav Putar, 'Zašto nam je neophodno savremeno oblikovanje u industriji', *15 dana*, 15 (1 May 1962), 8-9 (p.9).
37   Putar, 'Zašto nam je neophodno', p.9.

of the modernist view of the material world: while "good design" could transform individual and collective consciousness, "bad design" might lead to alienation. For this reason, Ivančević asked, 'can we not care about how [objects] are made?'.[38] This was an essential question posed to Yugoslav designers.

Bernardo Bernardi was one of the designers that offered a possible answer. He argued that 'design in a socialist economy acquires a completely different meaning than in the capitalist world'.[39] For this reason, the objects and spaces of everyday life were to be designed in ways that would reflect the material base of Yugoslav self-management. This was to be achieved through a disciplined, scientific approach to design and production that would result in minimal, functional objects for everyday use; for manufactured goods had the power to act upon the world, to shape behaviour and order social relationships. These were 'things with attitude', objects that, in Judy Attfield's conception, are 'created with a specific end in view - whether to fulfil a particular task, to make a statement, to objectify moral values, or to express individual or group identity, to denote status or demonstrate technological prowess, to exercise social control or to flaunt political power'.[40] This thesis will show that design, understood in this way, was instrumental for the Yugoslav experiment.

- **i.ii Designing socialist modernity as consumer socialism**

In the summer of 1957, the Yugoslav government started to prepare for the first of three *Porodica i domaćinstvo* (Family and household) exhibitions that was to be held at the Autumn Zagreb Velesajam (Zagreb Fair), the most important trade event in the country. Contrary to the previous editions of the fair, *Porodica i domaćinstvo* eschewed the practice of showcasing solely heavy equipment and industrial machinery for that of displaying mass-market products.[41] The aim of the exhibition was to engender the country's transformation from an agrarian society to a modern, urbanised nation. This transition involved both the production of modern objects, clothing or homes, as well as the transformation of everyday habits and

---

38   Ivančević, p.3.
39   Bernardi, p.17.
40   Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), p.12.
41   For more on the role of trade fairs and exhibitions in instigating new consumption practices see, for example: *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, ed. by Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009).

lifestyles with an emphasis on productivity, cleanliness and culturedness. In the view of the organising committee, the transition to modernity was to be marked by the consumption of 'semi-finished and ready-made food products, the use of the most rational and cheapest contemporary clothing, housing, by maintaining personal hygiene, applying cosmetic products etc.'[42] Furthermore, the organisers hoped that by selling 'products on the spot' they would achieve the 'goal of the widest possible popularisation of different products on display, and increase the demand for existing products and create the demand for new products'.[43] These were the language and strategies of modern marketing. Ostensibly, as I will show in Chapters 1 and 2, exhibitions like *Porodica i domaćinstvo* equated socialist modernity with the birth of a consumer society.

Examined by design and social historians alike, *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, has been identified as one of the key events in Yugoslav studies of consumption, and is often seen as the moment that marked the transition to a consumer society.[44] *Porodica i domaćinstvo* is, therefore, particularly important for the way it indexed the 'appropriate expression of socialist modernity' to consumer culture.[45] If we consider consumer culture to be, as Don Slater suggests, 'the dominant mode of cultural reproduction in the west over the course of modernity [...] bound up with central values, practices and institutions which define Western modernity, such as choice, individualism and market relations', the study of consumer culture in the socialist East might pose a number of problems.[46] How can we speak about "consumer socialism" in ways that are, perhaps, distinctly socialist if the very concept of consumerism is closely tied to a market economy? This suggests that new ways of thinking about consumption under socialism might be needed to adequately address it. As David Crew has argued, following the work of Ina Merkel, socialist consumer culture 'should not be seen as just a shabby imitation of Western consumer society but rather "one attempt among many others to find solutions

42   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne izložbe Porodica i domaćinstvo 1957 sa Dečjim sajmom', 1-23 (pp.4-5), AJ-318-151-211.
43   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne', p.5.
44   See, for example, Radina Vučetić, 'Potrošačko društvo po američkom modelu – jedan pogled na jugoslavensku svakodnevicu šezdesetih', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2 (2012), pp.277-298; Jasna Galjer and Iva Ceraj, 'Uloga dizajna u svakodnevnom životu na izložbama porodica i domaćinstvo 1957.-1960. godine', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 35 (2011), pp.277-296.
45   David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, 'Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe', in *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, ed. by Susan E. Reid and David Crowley (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), pp.1-24 (p.3).
46   Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), p.8.

for similar problems".[47] While socialist Yugoslavia, with its hybrid system of self-management and market socialism is often presented as a unique case, similar patterns of consumption, as well as ways of thinking about them can be mapped in the historiographies of socialist Eastern Europe.

The first step might be, in assessing socialist consumption, to position it as part of a continuous, and often politically charged, dialogue with the West. For example, Greg Castillo has documented the impact of American cultural propaganda centred around domesticity on consumption in post-war Europe, both East and West. Using 'domesticity as a weapon' the US propaganda brought to light 'the socialist mass consumer'.[48] 'A descendant of the cultured proletarian of socialist realist pedigree', Castillo writes, 'this novel subjectivity was the product of an international coproduction' that was engendered by the capitalist West yet extended across the socialist East.[49] In his study of the GDR, Castillo highlights the challenges that socialist economies faced when adopting Western-style consumerism, for 'the conflicted project to create an Eastern bloc analogue of the West's postwar consumer stimulated material desires and a sense of entitlement within an economy characterised by fluctuating shortages'.[50] The discrepancy between expectation and reality had a long-lasting impact on the experience of socialist modernity.

For this reason, cultural and economic exchanges across the Cold War divide in the form of exhibitions or trade fairs, often served to articulate socialist consumerism precisely in opposition to Western forms of consumption. As Susan Reid has shown, domestic consumption under socialism was to be based on the principles of scientific rationality and technical efficiency, rather than pleasure and enjoyment. An article published in the Soviet Union in 1964, for example, argued that 'in an apartment equipped according to scientifically worked-out norms, when using the objects a person does not fix attention on them, does not fetishize things, and this has an educational significance'.[51] This highlights how consumption

---

47   David F. Crew, 'Consuming Germany in the Cold War: Consumption and National Identity in East and West Germany, 1949-1989, An Introduction', in *Consuming Germany in the Cold War*, ed. by David F. Crew, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), pp.1-19 (p.3).

48   Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front, The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p.173.

49   Castillo, p.173.

50   Castillo, p.205.

51   G. Liubimova, 'Ratsional'noe oborudovanie kvartir', in Susan E. Reid, 'The Khrushchev Kitchen: Domesticating the Scientific-Technological Revolution', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2 (April

had to be mediated through a typically socialist system of values in order to represent an appropriate expression of socialist modernity. Only in this way, could an authentic "consumer socialism" emerge. This understanding had an impact both on the way commodities were designed, as well as the way they were to be acquired and used. For example, shops across the socialist East were populated by an abundance of objects made from plastic materials engineered by the innovative and rational chemicals industry, for these could 'both satisfy aesthetic demands and improve the well-being of consumers' while highlighting the scientific achievements of the socialist regime.[52] In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, department stores and shopping centres were called "supply centres" (*opskrbni centri*), and were designed in ways that sought to contextualise consumption within a network of cultural spaces - cinemas, galleries, public libraries, and so on. Equally, advertising was praised as a rational, objective tool designed to 'offer straightforward, practical and, above all, reliable information to meet consumers' real needs', in this way helping to grow the economy and stimulate industrial development.[53] Rather than engendering false needs, advertising was positioned, especially in the 1960s, as 'an engine of national economic well-being'.[54]

However, these attempts to manufacture "socialist consumerism" or "consumer socialism" weren't left unchallenged, either by local governments or international commentators. As Susan Reid has documented, contemporary Western critic viewed socialist consumerism as a bleak, ersatz version of the glitzy consumer culture found across Western Europe and the United States. There was a difference between 'socialist things and capitalist commodities', with British writers in the early 1960s 'dismissing the USSR's presentation of material abundance at recent international exhibitions as "a spectacle with a message", overloaded with "garrulous, cumulative weight, ungraspable profusion to convey plenitude."'[55] For some Western commentators, those socialist regimes that presented consumption simply as an abundance of things, 'missed the point of consumer goods', i.e. those things which were not

---

2005), 209-316 (p.309).

52   Crowley and Reid, 'Style and Socialism', p.9. On the importance of plastics under socialism see also Eli Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism: Plastics and Dictatorship in the German Democratic Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Raymond G. Stokes, *Constructing Socialism: Technology and Change in East Germany, 1945-1990* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

53   Patterson, pp.116.

54   Patterson,118.

55   Susan E. Reid, 'This is Tomorrow: Becoming a Consumer in the Soviet Sixties', in *The Socialist Sixties, Crossing Borders in the Second World*, ed. by Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp.25-65 (p.29)

destined just for practical, functional use but were things 'to enjoy and desire, to fashion lifestyles and to play with'.[56] Furthermore, in the capitalist West, what was consumed was as important as how it was consumed: 'the styling that goes with mass produced goods is part of their value and function.'[57]

This points to a wider dichotomy through which historians have tried to describe socialist consumption: the distinction between need and desire, one of the central paradigms for the study of everyday life under socialism. Over the past decades, many scholars have argued that the socialist experience in Eastern Europe was one centred on 'need, command, and shortage', characterised by 'uniformity, grayness, and the ubiquitous queue.'[58] However, recent studies have shown that in addition to shortages, the socialist experience was also shaped by the creation and at least partial fulfilment of consumer desire.[59] In this context, consumer desire constituted a site of negotiation between top-down government policies and personal agency. As Breda Luthar has argued, 'A definition of real needs' as opposed to frivolous desires is 'always an articulation of a definition of the good life, of the way we imagine how we should live.'[60] Contextualised within the specific historical processes of the Yugoslav state, this articulation can 'reveal how the socialist ideology was translated into everyday experience and how everyday life was bent and shaped by socialist ideology.'[61]

What needs to be noted, then, is the system-specific nature of consumer desire. As Ina Merkel has argued, need and desire, luxury and shortage are historically shaped categories that need to

---

56   Reid, 'This is Tomorrow', (p.29).

57   Lawrence Alloway, 'USSR at Earl's Court: The Image', *Design*, 154 (October 1961), pp.44-46, in Reid, (p.29).

58   David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, 'Introduction: Pleasures in Socialism?', in *Pleasures in Socialism, Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010), pp.3-51 (p.9). On socialism as societies of shortage see, for example, Janos Kornai, *Economics of Shortage,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam and Oxford: North-Holland, 1980) or Ferenc Fehér, Agnes Heller and György Márkus, *Dictatorship over Needs* (New York: St. Martin's, 1983).

59   See, for example, Jukka Gronow, *Caviar with Champagne: Common Luxury and the Ideals of the Good Life in Stalin's Russia* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003); *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, ed. by Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); *Pleasures in Socialism, Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010).

60   Breda Luthar, 'Shame, Desire and Longing for the West, A Case Study of Consumption', in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia,* ed. by Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010), pp.341-377 (p.345).

61   Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik, 'Introduction: The Lure of Utopia, Socialist Everyday Spaces', in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia,* ed. by Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010), pp.1-33 (p.16).

be analysed within 'specific historical patterns of consumption.'[62] Merkel warns us that taking into account these fluctuations in meaning is crucial for understanding consumption:

> That which, in specific historical conditions, is perceived as necessity, shortage, or luxury is determined by what is perceived, in those particular circumstances, to be normal. The concrete meaning of shortage or luxury is not only subject to enormous historical processes of transformation but also differs greatly according to class or other social distinctions.[63]

Mihailo Marković, the Yugoslav philosopher associated with the Praxis group, argued along the same lines, writing: 'The fact is that "need" is a historical concept. In some countries or in some past times one "needed" a bicycle. Some people nowadays "need" a second, or even a third, car.'[64]

In post-war Yugoslavia, as Patrick Patterson has shown and Marković has openly criticised, the blurring of boundaries between need and want was part and parcel of market socialism, both prompted by state policies as well as engendered from below. On the one hand, government officials were keen to position consumption as an objective, pragmatic tool for fulfiling basic needs and thereby to improve the standard of living. However, with the greater opening of the borders to the West in the early 1960s, and the liberalisation of culture and economic reforms, the definition of legitimate needs was constantly shifting. The introduction of market forces in 1965, that substituted centralised planning for expressions of consumer desire allowed Yugoslav citizens to unmoor their personal identities from their previous responsibilities as rational, efficient and industrious workers. Instead, they started 'shopping for satisfaction, self-expression, and status, prompting critics to fret that instead of the anticipated "classless society" the country was now veering toward a culture of status marking and group differentiation.'[65]

Despite persistent criticism both from dissident philosophers as well as government officials,

---

62   Ina Merkel, 'Luxury in Socialism: An Absurd Proposition?', in *Pleasures in Socialism, Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010), pp.53-70 (p.55).
63   Merkel, 'Luxury in Socialism', p.55.
64   Mihailo Marković, *Democratic Socialism: Theory and Practice* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), p.93, in Patterson, p.233.
65   Patterson, p.3.

social differentiation through consumption was an essential ingredient of Yugoslav socialism. One of the first exposés of class structures under Yugoslav socialism came from Milovan Đilas, one of the engineers of self-management, who criticised the 'new class' of party bureaucrats and industry technocrats.[66] He argued that their ideological and political control over the masses was based on the promise of material things, while at the same time restricting them to a privileged few:

> The promise of an ideal world increased the faith in the ranks of the new class and sowed illusions among the masses. At the same time it inspired gigantic physical undertakings. [...] The new class may be said to be made up of those who have special privileges and economic preference because of the administrative monopoly they hold [...] then membership in the new party class, or political bureaucracy, is reflected in a larger income, in material goods and privileges than society should normally grant for such functions.[67]

Writing two decades later, the sociologist Sharon Zukin has shown that the formation of the "new class" was engendered and legitimised precisely by the system of self-management, by its notable discrepancy between theory and practice.[68] While in theory self-management was based on principles of devolution of power and social equality, in practice, it rewarded those who held positions of power, namely party members and factory technocrats. Their political status was visible through material products: the homes they lived in, cars they drove and clothes they wore, that were all anchored in the system of self-management. The journalist Slavenka Drakulić satirised these class divisions by arguing that even brands of toilet paper could be used as markers of social distinction:

> while we all still pretended to believe in the official ideology, in everyday life there were classes: the majority of poor people (Golub people); the less poor (the ones who managed to live in two-room apartments, with TV sets, appliances, and maybe a car, and who used toilet rolls); and the party/state functionaries, a class of its own.[69]

---

66   Milovan Đilas, *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957).
67   Đilas, pp.38-39, 44.
68   Sharon Zukin, *Beyond Marx and Tito: Theory and Practice in Yugoslav Socialism* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
69   Golub was a brand of toilet paper that wasn't sold in rolls, but sheets. Drakulić, p.72.

Equally, though, even ordinary, blue collar workers attempted to exploit their position as self-managers to attain what appeared to be the "good life". In Zukin's words, 'The official emphasis on technology, science, and material stimuli has influenced an instrumental orientation toward self-management, that is, one which treats self-management as a means to economic development rather than a socio-political end in itself.'[70] This understanding was equally applied to party bureaucrats, who sought to stimulate economic growth by promising material abundance, as well as by individual workers, for whom self-management represented the possibility of improving their own economic position. In fact, as Zukin has argued, they instrumentalised their position as workers' self-managers to take decisions solely with regards to socially-owned housing, wage increases or house-building loans - issues that directly affected their social status.

This conception of self-management was openly criticised by the Yugoslav Praxis philosophers. The Praxis group, centred around the magazine of the same title published between 1964 and 1974, was an organisation of Marxist humanist theorists, most of them associated with the University of Zagreb. The most prominent members of the group were Gajo Petrović, Rudi Supek, Milan Kangrga, Mihailo Marković, Danko Grlić and Predrag Vranicki. The group organised an annual summer school at Korčula island every year from 1964 until 1974. They saw Yugoslavia as an alienated society where self-management, party bureaucracy and consumption trumped individual liberty, and demanded a return to a more humanist socialism. The Praxis group was closely associated with the Frankfurt School, and Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm and Jürgen Habermas were among an international group of critical thinkers who participated in its annual summer schools and published their work in the *Praxis* magazine. For this reason, their critique resonated within the Yugoslav context.

For example, Marcuse's argument that 'The more rational, productive, technical, and total the repressive administration of society becomes, the more unimaginable the means and ways by which the administered individuals might break their servitude and seize their own liberation,' seems to evoke the pervasive structure of Yugoslav self-management and its technocratic class.[71] Indeed, with the introduction of social self-management in the mid-1960s, the system

---

70   Zukin, p.72.
71   Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man, Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p.9.

had become an all-encompassing tool for organising and regulating Yugoslav everydayness. This system of control, perversely, was also shaped through the relationship between self-management and consumerism, with its production and regulation of a specific system of needs, wants and desires. As Marcuse argued in *One Dimensional Man*, this was the irrational essence of the rational industrial civilisation:

> Its productivity and efficiency, its capacity to increase and spread comforts, to turn waste into need, and destruction into construction, the extent to which this civilisation transforms the object world into an extension of man's mind and body makes the very notion of alienation questionable. The people recognise themselves in their commodities; they find their soul in their automobile, hi-fi set, split level home, kitchen equipment. The very mechanism which ties the individual to his society has changed, and social control is anchored in the new needs which it has produced.[72]

Symptomatically, *One Dimensional Man* was first published in 1964, the year that Praxis group was formed.[73] That year, the Korčula Summer School was dedicated to the theme 'Meaning and Perspectives of Socialism', with Marcuse as one of the guests.[74] Interviewed by a local daily, *Politika*, Marcuse commented, 'Here on Korčula, I have gained a unique experience because I had the pleasure of knowing a militant intelligentsia and a country in which this militancy is meaningful and, I believe, unique.'[75] Marcuse's thinking, undoubtedly, signalled to Praxis philosophers that Yugoslav consumer society needed to be re-evaluated. However, while this New Left critique outlined the paradoxical nature of the alliance between self-management and consumerism, it also had its limits, as it didn't result in any substantial re-evaluation of Yugoslav consumer culture from below.

The case studies included in this thesis will seek to explore this argument by examining the way design processes, objects and spaces shaped and mediated Yugoslav consumerism, to better understand the underlying dynamics of the society that produced them. The emphasis on design is particularly important. On the one hand, design was an integral element of the

---

72   Marcuse, p.11.
73   The book was published in Yugoslavia in 1968. See Herbert Marcuse, *Čovjek jedne dimenzije* (Sarajevo: Izdavačko preduzeće "Veselin Masleša", 1968); Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, p.346.
74   'Strani i naši filozofi o razgovorima na Korčuli', *Politika*, 2 August 1964, p.18.
75   'Strani i naši filozofi o razgovorima na Korčuli', p.18.

processes of production, with mass produced objects reflecting the economic and productive specificities of Yugoslav self-managed industry. On the other, integrated within processes of consumption, designed objects had an active part in shaping the Yugoslav society from below, providing a site where power could be negotiated. While socialist designers, architects and political leaders alike, sought to shape workers that would, in line with Marxist ideology, 'possess a rational consciousness of the relationship between his or her individual needs and the greater good of the collective, to better serve the challenge of building communism,' Yugoslav citizens often resisted this top-down control.[76] Instead, Yugoslav workers showed a remarkable creativity in bending "socialist consumerism" to their own needs, expressing their personal identities through forms of conspicuous consumption. This relationship, between the forms of consumption that emerged as a result of specific political demands and new social forms that were created as a response to the system of consumption, is of central concern to this research. Mediated through material objects, this negotiation poses wider questions about the notion of agency and the distribution of power that is crucial for the understanding of self-management, consumerism, as well as design practice.

- **i.iii Design, agency and control**

In 1959, Zvonimir Radić published 'Umjetnost oblikovanja' (The Art of Design), one of the first attempts to develop a systematic theory of design in Yugoslavia.[77] In the text, originally written for an exhibition at the second Zagreb *Trijenale*, a short-lived exhibition of applied arts, held in 1959, Radić reflected on the development of modern industry and technology that was producing a seemingly endless abundance of material things:

> The emergence of uncontrollable production capabilities was followed step by step by the development of a new material reality, man's new environment. [...] New food products, clothing and comforts, new roads, new cities, have overturned millennial customs, ways of life, economies, frugalities, they have developed new desires and turned them into imperative needs. New machines are rapidly producing consumer goods of high quality, from food to clothing to leisure.[78]

---

76   Crowley and Reid, 'Introduction: Pleasures in Socialism?', p.22.
77   Zvonimir Radić, 'Umjetnost oblikovanja', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), pp.41-69; Jasna Galjer, 'Doprinos arhitekta Zvonimira Radića teoriji oblikovanja', *Prostor*, 11 (2003), pp.57-66.
78   Radić, p.45.

As a result of this material abundance, Radić argued, the form of objects acquired particular meaning, for it had the power to shape behaviour and influence individual subjectivities. This was especially true in the context of state socialism, itself premised on the formation of new social relationships. Speaking of the Yugoslav situation, Radić wrote:

> As our industrial production and our society are liberated and developed, it is necessary to raise the question of the design of industrial products. [...] industrial form [...] has an invaluably intensive and crucial impact on the consciousness of our man, and is the most powerful social factor in shaping his habits, life motives and psychology.[79]

For this reason, Radić believed, designers had to take control over the way mass market products were to be designed. Implicit in this project was the understanding that 'objects make us, as part of the very same processes by which we make them'.[80] This understanding of the role of design in society implied that objects exercised a certain amount of power over their users. For Modernist designers, users could be "programmed" through the form of an object; their behaviour could be designed. This presents an essential dilemma, as Judy Attfield has argued: 'how far can an individual or social group have an impact on the physical environment that has been "designed" for them, and at a macro level, on the power relations established by design controls imposed through planning and other forms of regulation?'[81] In other words, how does design mediate and reproduce relationships of power?

This question was central to the experience of everyday life in socialist Yugoslavia and an answer should be sought in the work of the Praxis group. The Praxis philosophers, moving away from Marxism-Leninism and eschewing an orthodox reading of dialectic materialism, placed issues of alienation at the centre of their thought.[82] For them, contemporary society was constantly re-shaped and re-negotiated through human action. Just like the Frankfurt School, they identified technological progress and consumerism, especially within the context of an authoritarian, bureaucratic state, as the source of alienation, describing them as instruments of political and economic oppression. Writing in 1967, Praxis philosopher Miladin Životić

---

79   Radić, p.63.
80   Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p.60.
81   Attfield, p.77.
82   Mislav Kukoč, 'Temelji Hrvatske filozofije prakse', *Prilozi*, 39-40 (1994), 407-432 (p.409).

described two types of modern forms of social organisation: the 'hedonistic-utilitarian' and the 'authoritarian' culture.[83] Arguing that 'Contemporary homo consumens is not a self-directed individual but an object of manipulation by authoritarian social forces', Životić saw Yugoslavia's embrace of consumerism precisely as a tool that 'creates a political and ideal indifference in the contemporary man, "preserves the incompetence of the masses" upon which rests the authoritarian-bureaucratic "competent" management of society'.[84]

Similarly, Gajo Petrović argued that the continuous emphasis on progress in terms of industrialisation, science and technology, stripped individuals of their power to act upon the world. In the first issue of *Praxis*, published in 1964, he argued: 'Men's ever-increasing successes in creating the means for "conquering" nature are turning him into an auxiliary instrument of his own instruments. And the pressure of the mass anonymity and the scientific methods of "processing" the massless are increasingly opposed to the development of free human personality'.[85] According to Rudi Supek, self-managed socialism and modern technology produced a "docile society", where 'the individual, regardless of their creative ability and knowledge at their disposal, are just one part of a higher organism to which they are subordinated and their actions can only be within previously determined limits imposed by the whole or the management organ of the whole'.[86] Under the management organ of self-management, Supek poignantly wrote, 'Submission becomes the citizens' fundamental virtue'.[87]

The pairing of technology and self-management also had another effect: it dislocated and distributed centres of power. As Veljko Korać argued, 'Power which is based on the headlong development of science and technology so overpowers all existing forms of social relationships and social organisations that all dissatisfactions with what exists is often expressed in a criticism of technology'.[88] This understanding of power is essential to Foucault's reading of disciplinary societies and 'micro-physics of power'. For Foucault, '"Discipline" may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality of its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it

---

83   Miladin Životić, 'Između dvaju tipova savremene kulture', *Praxis*, 5-6 (1967), pp. 802-812 .
84   Životić, pp.805-806.
85   Gajo Petrović, 'Čemu Praxis?', *Praxis*, 1 (1964), p.3.
86   Rudi Supek, 'Dijalektika društvene prakse', Praxis, 1 (September-October 1964), 54-64 (p.56)
87   Rudi Supek, 'Dijalektika društvene prakse', p.56.
88   Veljko Korać, 'Paradoxes of Power and Humanity', *Praxis International*, 1-2 (1970), 8-13 (p.13).

is a "physics" or an "anatomy" of power, a technology'.[89] Equally, the 'micro-physics of power' implies that power is distributed across 'a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity, rather than a privilege that one might possess'.[90]

This conception of power can be applied to the structure of Yugoslav self-management, understood as a network of relations distributed across institutions, factories, organisations, individuals as well as objects. This understanding is central to Bruno Latour's conception of actor-network theory, whereby artifacts are seen as active agents within sociotechnological systems.[91] These artifacts, what Latour calls 'the missing masses' of society, have the power to shape and direct human behaviour through a 'distribution of competences between humans and nonhumans'.[92] Within this framework, I will aim to question to what extent were the skills, authorities and morality of human agents transferred to everyday objects and spaces through the processes of design. The underlying question is to what extent was this distribution of competences facilitated or hindered by the structure of self-management. By looking at these everyday practices of distribution of power, this research is also closely connected to the studies of Yugoslav everydayness that sought to map how 'an entire society resists being reduced' to the 'grid of discipline' through everyday practices that 'manipulate the mechanisms of discipline in order to evade them'.[93] To explore this question further, it relies on an understanding of design proposed by Judy Attfield, that considers it a process of negotiation: 'as a practice of modernity whereby it is deemed possible to effect change, albeit not in its original homogenising paradigm in the control of professional designers, but as a practice of self-construction realised through consumption as well as in the acts of making and living.'[94] Within this framework, I will aim to understand how are the relationships of power articulated and distributed amongst objects, designers and users. By focusing on both production and consumption, I will question to what extent were designers a controlling force

89   Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p.215.
90   Foucault, p.26.
91   See, Bruno Latour, 'Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts', in
        Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change, ed. by Wiebe E. Bijker and John
        Law, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 225–258; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An
        Introduction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); on the importance of actor-
        network theory in design history see Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method*
        (Oxford and New York: Brg, 2010), pp.66-78.
92   Latour, 'Where Are the Missing Masses?', p.233.
93   Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Randall, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and
        London: University of California Press, 1988), p.xiv; Luthar and Pušnik, pp.12-13.
94   Attfield, p.75.

in Yugoslav society and how was that force negotiated in everyday practice. As this thesis will claim, the specific materiality of objects and spaces was instrumental in this regard.

- **i.iv Locating design in Yugoslav historiography**

Positioned at the intersection of government propaganda, industrial production and private consumption, design is central for the analysis of everyday life under Yugoslav socialism. Design, with a focus on objects and spaces, rather than graphics, is here understood both as a professional discipline, with a clearly defined discourse and methodologies, as well as a process and a set of informal practices related to the consumption of objects. In this conception, design forms a useful prism through which to examine multiple aspects of life under socialism. On the one hand, design has an important place in the study of modes of production under self-management, where designers hoped it would be integrated within systems of product development, serving to make industrial production more efficient and rational. On the other, design was instrumental in shaping Yugoslav consumer practices, both by designing mass market goods as well as by mediating consumption, whereby consumption patterns were regulated through the design of shopping spaces and environments, as well as through a public discourse about good design.

For this reason, studies of design need to be placed within the broader field of consumer culture and everyday life studies, examined as a site of convergence between the theory and practice of Yugoslav socialism, or rather, as sites where top-down political decisions were negotiated by bottom-up daily practices of both consumption and design. Media scholars Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik see the study of the everyday, ordinary and unremarkable as best positioned to 'address connections between the agency of individuals, the role of political power in orchestrating daily life across a dispersed set of practices, and forms of non-conformity.'[95] It is surprising, then, to find that studies of everyday life and consumption in post-war Yugoslavia have rarely taken design into consideration. Conversely, Yugoslav design historiography has largely focused on the professionalisation of design as a discipline, examining prominent figures, associations and groups, as well as design education. The work of design historians like Jasna Galjer and Feđa Vukić – discussed in more detail below - is

---

95   Luthar and Pušnik, p.2.

central to this approach.[96] An expanded view of design is largely absent from Yugoslav design historiography. As a result, a closer analysis of the relationship between design and systems of production, as well as design and processes of consumption has been mostly overlooked. This thesis completes this gap by locating design both within studies of material culture and consumption, as well as by recontextualising the study of design within the wider economic, social, political and cultural sphere. For this reason, it relies on secondary sources that can be grouped into two categories: studies of consumer culture and everyday life, and design history.

Over the past two decades, studies of everyday life have been central in reassessing the well-known, yet incomplete, histories of Eastern Europe shaped by the totalitarian paradigm that considered 'state and society; official ideology and everyday practice [...] as two opposite entities'.[97] Instead, studies of everyday life have offered a more nuanced reading of "real existing socialism" pointing to the 'entanglement of the institutional/social and the individual'.[98] This entanglement could be seen in the everyday sphere of work, leisure, consumption, education or culture, where top-down decision-making was negotiated through individual expectations, desires and needs. A work that predates this critical re-evaluation of the histories of Eastern Europe and that has been particularly revealing in this regard is sociologist Sharon Zukin's book *Beyond Marx and Tito: Theory and Practice in Yugoslav Socialism*, first published in 1975.[99] Basing her study on interviews with ten Belgrade families, Zukin has shown the complex processes through which ideological underpinnings of self-management were mediated in everyday practice, revealing the way power operates in society not through coercion but internalisation, consensus and conformity: the subtle adaptation and negotiation in real, lived experience. A close analysis of the practice of self-management within Yugoslav factories, that will be further explored in Chapter 1, has shown that workers only participated in those decisions that affected them directly and that had real impact on their lifestyle and position in society.[100] Self-management was therefore mediated by the apparently trivial,

---

96   Jasna Galjer, *Expo 58 and the Yugoslav Pavilion by Vjenceslav Richter* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2009); Jasna Galjer, *Bruno Planinšek: portret dizajnera* (Zagreb: Tehnički muzej, 2014); Feđa Vukić, *A Century of Croatian Design* (Zagreb: Meandar, 1996); Feđa Vukić, *Od oblikovanja do dizajna* (Zagreb: Meandar, 2003); Feđa Vukić, *Modernizam u Praksi: Oblikovanje i dizajn pedesetih godina u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji* (Zagreb: Meandar, 2008); Feđa Vukić, *The Other Design History* (Zagreb: UPI2M Books, 2015).
97   Luthar and Pušnik, p.3.
98   Luthar and Pušnik, p.4.
99   Sharon Zukin, *Beyond Marx and Tito: Theory and Practice in Yugoslav Socialism* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
100   Self-management will be further discussed in Chapter 1. See also Igor Stanić, 'Što pokazuje praksa? Presjek samoupravljanja u brodogradilištu Uljanik 1961–1968. godine', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 3

mundane things of everyday life: housing, hot meals, holidays in factory resorts, and so on.

Positioned at the intersection of consumption and popular culture, texts included in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, a volume edited by Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik, use studies of shopping, tourism, cinema, music, television, sport or state holidays to paint a nuanced picture of the everyday experience of Yugoslav socialism, one that was often marked by transgression as much as compliance with the government. Texts in the book aim to show the impact of Yugoslavia's non-aligned diplomacy on culture and everyday life. In the context of the Cold War, Yugoslav consumption and pop-culture were shaped by emulating the Western image of modernity whilst also seeking to adapt it to the Yugoslav context, with often uneasy results. What the editors have defined as the 'Western gaze imposing its hegemony on the non-Western periphery', the cultural historian Radina Vučetić has sought to analyse within the conceptual framework of "Americanisation".

In *Koka Kola Socijalizam: Amerikanizacija Jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*, first published in 2012 and already in its fourth edition, Vučetić maps the role of American soft power on the birth and development of Yugoslav popular culture and consumption.[101] While certain criticism can be made against her argument that the development of Yugoslav popular culture can be unequivocally ascribed to American influence, her examination of popular culture and consumption as tools for social change engendered from the bottom up are particularly revealing. Vučetić's study of the way American-style consumerism was absorbed within the system of self-management by workers themselves was critical in shaping the central argument of this thesis, and this particular case will be further examined in Chapters 1 and 2.[102] Moreover, her understanding of material culture as a tool for shaping individual and collective identities, as hybrid as these may have been in the context of market socialism, is critical for addressing the longevity and impact of the Yugoslav political system.

The positioning of material culture as a medium through which identities were negotiated and constructed - an understanding that underpins this thesis - is also at the core of Igor Duda's work.

(2014), pp.453-474.

101   Radina Vučetić, *Koka Kola Socijalizam: Amerikanizacija Jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Beograd: Službeni Glasnik, 2012).

102   Radina Vučetić, 'Potrošačko društvo po američkom modelu – jedan pogled na jugoslavensku svakodnevicu šezdesetih', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2 (2012), pp. 277-298.

Focusing on consumption and leisure, Duda sees two distinct periods in Yugoslav history. In his view, the 1950s and 1960s are characterised by the search for the "good life", shaped by extensive industrialisation, urbanisation and economic growth. The 1970s and the 1980s, instead, can be seen as the two decades when that desired prosperity materialised and ordinary Yugoslavs enjoyed their consumerist lifestyles, before a rapid and dramatic decline.[103] While his work focuses specifically on the Croatian experience, as revealed by his sources and book titles, his conclusions can be extended to the broader pan-Yugoslav context. This thesis examines the Yugoslav state as a closely interconnected system that, despite regional differences, is marked by specific patterns and behaviours that can be mapped across all the republics and provinces.

In this respect, it was often foreign scholars who have offered a broader pan-Yugoslav perspective on the material culture of everyday life, whilst also situating it within an international context. One such work is Patrick Hyder Patterson's detailed study of Yugoslav consumption, *Bought and Sold, Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*.[104] Patterson's work unpicks the relationship between the socialist political system, market socialism and consumer practices where the 'status, satisfaction, and self-understanding of individuals in the society were increasingly linked to the ways in which they consumed [...] goods, services and experiences.'[105] Patterson focuses on the shifting relationship between what constituted need and what desire, questioning what it means to consume for 'satisfaction, self-expression, and status' in the context of a socialist state.[106] The question is analysed by mapping Yugoslav advertising: the professionals, organisations, practices and institutions that shaped it and allowed it to prosper even in the context of a socialist society. Patterson questions to what extent did self-management have a role to play in this process, arguing that 'In the simplest terms, of course, the Yugoslav consumer

103   Igor Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem, O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005), Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010); Igor Duda, 'Tehnika narodu! Trajna dobra, potrošnja i slobodno vrijeme u socijalističkoj Hrvatskoj', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2, 37 (2005), 371-392.

104   Patrick Hyder Patterson, *Bought and Sold, Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Patrick Hyder Patterson, 'Risky Business: What Was Really Being Sold in the Department Stores of Socialist Eastern Europe?', in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, ed. by Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press), pp.116-139; Patrick Hyder Patterson, 'Making Markets Marxist? The East European Grocery Store from Rationing to Rationality to Rationalizations', in *Food Chains: From Farmyard to Shopping Cart*, ed. by Warren Belasco and Roger Horowitz, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp.196-216; Patrick Hyder Patterson, 'Truth Half Told: Finding the Perfect Pitch for Advertising and Marketing in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1950-1991', *Enterprise & Society: The International Journal of Business History,* 2 (June 2003), pp.179-225.

105   Patterson, *Bought and Sold*, p.2.

106   Patterson, *Bought and Sold*, p.3.

culture grew out of the party's experimentation with market mechanisms through its much ballyhooed system of "socialist self-management".[107] While Patterson's focus on advertising is in many ways closely related to histories of design, he ostensibly omits any in-depth analysis of design strategies, practices and processes that were central in shaping not only marketing material, but also product packaging and retail spaces. This points to a wider gap in the current scholarship of material culture and everyday life that would benefit from the study of design.

The studies of Yugoslav design, on the other hand, often read as linear narratives, focusing on major figures, companies or groups, and analyse the professionalisation of design as a discipline.[108] Such studies are firmly embedded within the narrative of progress and modernisation, striving to demonstrate that Yugoslav design has a rightful place to occupy within the canons of Western modernity. While often discussing the relationship between designers and the industry, design historiography nevertheless underplays the intricacies and specificities of industrial production in socialist Yugoslavia, as well as distribution, consumption and use of design products. Adapting its methodologies from art history, this research strand could perhaps be more fruitfully developed by engaging with histories of technology or cultural history. Nevertheless, works such as Jasna Galjer's *Design of the Fifties in Croatia, From Utopia to Reality* are valuable for their chronological mapping of major stages and events in the development of the design profession.[109] Equally, Feđa Vukić has surveyed the writing of key Yugoslav designers and critics to establish the genealogy of the design profession.[110] Their writing builds on the work of art historians such as Stane Bernik or Jerko Denegri, who have been instrumental in documenting the development of Yugoslav architecture and design in the period under discussion in this thesis.[111] Their writings map the

---

107   Patterson, *Bought and Sold*, p.8.
108   See, for example, Jasna Galjer, *Expo 58 and the Yugoslav Pavilion by Vjenceslav Richter* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2009); Jasna Galjer, *Bruno Planinšek: portret dizajnera* (Zagreb: Tehnički muzej, 2014); Iva Ceraj, *Bernardo Bernardi: Dizajnersko djelo arhitekta 1951.-1985.* (Zagreb: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 2015); *Marko Turk - Homo Faber*, ed. by Špela Šubic (Ljubljana: MAO, 2014); *Šaša J. Mächtig*: *Sistemi, Strukture, Strategije*, ed. by Maja Vardjan (Ljubljana: MAO, 2016); Barbara Predan, *Niko Kralj: neznani znani oblikovalec* (Ljubljana: MAO, 2012).
109   Jasna Galjer, *Design of the Fifties in Croatia, From Utopia to Reality* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2003).
110   Feđa Vukić, *A Century of Croatian Design* (Zagreb: Meandar, 1996); Feđa Vukić, *Od oblikovanja do dizajna* (Zagreb: Meandar, 2003); Feđa Vukić, *Modernizam u Praksi: Oblikovanje i dizajn pedesetih godina u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji* (Zagreb: Meandar, 2008); Feđa Vukić, *The Other Design History* (Zagreb: UPI2M Books, 2015).
111   Stane Bernik, *Slovenska arhitektura, urbanizem, oblikovanje in fotografija* (Ljubljana: Arhitekturni Muzej, 1979); Stane Bernik, *Pogledi na novejšo Slovensko arhitekturo in oblikovanje* (Ljubljana: Park, 1992); Stane Bernik, *Slovenska arhitektura dvajsetega stoletja* (Ljubljana: Mestna Galerija, 2004); Jerko Denegri, *EXAT 51, Nove tendencije: umjetnost konstruktivnog pristupa* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2000); *Dizajn i kultura*, ed by. Ješa Denegri (Belgrade: Radionica SIC, 1980).

intellectual and cultural context within which Yugoslav architects and designers conceptualised the relationship between design and society.

This research, then, seeks to build on this growing field to position design as process and profession within the wider social, cultural, economic and political context of post-war Yugoslavia. Critically engaged with the idea of design as both an expression from below as well as an embodiment of top-down politics, this thesis seeks to question the idea of a distinctly Yugoslav "socialist modernity". Exhibitions like *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, design associations like Centar za industrijsko oblikovanje (Centre for Industrial Design, CIO) in Zagreb, figures like Saša Mächtig and Vjenceslav Richter or manufacturers like Iskra, all feature as well-known stories within Yugoslav design historiography. However, this rereading of key moments in Yugoslav design history, seeks to probe well-established narratives so as to expose the relationship between design practice and self-management. In this view, designed objects and spaces are seen not just as symbols or material representations of Yugoslav socialism, but an active element in the construction of self-management as a political system. For this reason, design is understood as a mode of production, that doesn't produce just objects or environments, but also the political, social and cultural structures themselves.

- **i.v Primary research sources and case study approach**

While secondary sources from social history and material culture studies have informed the theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis, methodological approaches central to design history have been instrumental in constructing its main argument. An object-based approach was adopted in structuring the thesis, where objects formed a key primary source. For this reason, each of the four chapters is centred on a specific type of space and spatial practice which is analysed through a number of case studies of objects, exhibitions or publications.

The case-study approach was adopted for two reasons. Firstly, given the broad chronological timeframe of the research - the post-war period between the 1950s and late 1980s - a case study approach served to organise the argument around key moments that shaped both the public discourse, as well as the discipline of design. The research starts with the introduction of self-management in 1950 as a key moment in Yugoslav history and ends in 1987, the date of Zagreb's Universiade Games, an international sporting event, ostensibly the last moment

of national, pan-Yugoslav unity on the international stage. While the decision to start the analysis with the introduction of self-management might seem self-explanatory, it is worth emphasising that this moment marked a turning point in Yugoslav history. It was only with self-management that key processes that defined Yugoslavia as a modern nation between the two Cold War blocs, emerged. Ending in 1987 with the Universiade Games, on the other hand, was important to trace the way design practice changed, or was reluctant to change, in response to a rapidly shifting political landscape. Bookended by these two dates, the case studies are organised around key moments of political, economic and social change: the greater push towards liberalisation and consumerism around 1958, the market reforms of the early 1960s, the student protests of 1968 that culminated with the ending of the Croatian Spring in 1972, and the last constitutional changes to self-management in 1974. Because of this dense case-study approach, there is a certain amount of chronological overlap between the chapters. I have tried, as far as possible, to maintain the chapters in a chronological order. However, due to the nature of the argument that are made in the chapters, sometimes it has been necessary to consider earlier periods to identify the origins of certain phenomena. Equally, there is a certain amount of overlap, especially in the period between 1958 and 1965 that was instrumental for the birth of Yugoslav consumerism, as much as for the development of design practice. To help ground the discussions chronologically and offer a broader social, political and economic context for the period I am discussing, I will often refer to the specific timeframe of each section and subsection of the thesis.

Second, the case studies have proven fruitful in tracing design as a process of negotiation of modernity, examining not just the act of designing, but also the processes of production, distribution, consumption and use. For this reason, the four chapters each examine environments that mediated or organised these processes: the workplace, shopping spaces, the home and public space. In turn, each of the four spaces is analysed through specific case studies: the work of Iskra and Rade Končar factories for the study of production and the workplace; Zagreb Velesajam, supply centres, Bijenale industrijskog oblikovanja (Biennial of Industrial Design, BIO) in Ljubljana and Yugoslav design centres for shopping spaces; *kultura stanovanja* (domestic culture) discourse shaped by *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, *Naš dom* and *Sam svoj majstor* magazines for the private sphere of domesticity; and UNI87 seating system and K67 kiosk for the study of public space. Furthermore, the case-study approach has been crucial in articulating an in-depth study of the interplay between design processes and self-management. Specific objects have been approached as focal points through which to examine

the complex networks of design practitioners, cultural institutions, political organisations, production systems, events, laws and phenomena that shaped the experience of Yugoslav socialism. Each case study was approached so as to highlight the way objects are shaped by broader economic, social, political and cultural forces; as physical nodes where wider social structures converge.

To articulate and support this reading of material things, in addition to physical objects, this research has also relied on company, museum and state archives; newspapers and periodicals; books and exhibition catalogues; and to a lesser extent, interviews. To map the case studies and develop the broader scope of the thesis, the research started with a review of *Čovjek i prostor* (established in 1954), *Arhitektura* (established in 1947), *Industrijsko oblikovanje* (established in 1970), *Sinteza* (established in 1964) and *15 dana* (established in 1957) magazines. All five publications were surveyed from the first date of publication until the mid 1980s. These magazines formed both the focal point for design discussions in the period as well as documenting key exhibitions, projects, individuals and companies that shaped the profession. In addition, key exhibition catalogues and design books written by prominent design professionals were examined and are treated here as primary sources.

To expand the analysis beyond the design discourse, in-depth research has been conducted at a number of state archives: the Archive of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb (both its national and regional Zagreb branch) and the Slovenian State Archives in Ljubljana (the regional branch in Kranj). Material in these archives served to reconstruct the ways top-down policy-making sought to shape everyday practice, both in terms of consumption as well as design production. In particular, funds of the Savezna privredna komora (Federal Economic Chamber) and the Savez trgovinskih komora Jugoslavije (Council of Chambers of Commerce of Yugoslavia) at the Archive of Yugoslavia proved to be particularly useful. In addition, museum archives of the Technical Museum of Slovenia and the Museum for Architecture and Design (MAO) in Ljubljana were both central in tracing the histories of the Iskra company, as well as the work of architect Saša Mächtig. MAO's archive, as the only museum dedicated to architecture and design in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, was also instrumental in building a wider picture of design practice in the country. MAO also holds the material relating to the BIO. As a number of case studies are focused on specific companies, their business archives were also consulted. The material related to Iskra is held at the Ljubljana State Archives in Kranj and the archive of the Technical Museum

of Slovenia in Bistra. The archives of the Rade Končar are still held by the company and I have reviewed both its central archive, as well as the archive of its Elektrotehnički Institut (Electrotechnical Institute, ETI), the section of the company where the design department was located. The private archive of designer Mladen Orešić, as well as the material held by the Croatian Design Association, were used for the chapter on UNI87 chairs and the Jadran factory. However, archival research also presented significant difficulties. Most of the consulted archives are still not well organised, making the research process at worst erratic and at best serendipitous. However, ten research trips to Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade have allowed me to gain an in-depth insight into the material despite significant logistical challenges.

In addition, interviews with designers Saša Mächtig, Zlatko Kapetanović, Marijan Orešić and Radmila Milosavljević have allowed me to retrace the networks of practitioners and organisations, gaining an insight into the thinking behind their projects as well as understanding the dynamics of self-managed design offices. This material has helped me reconstruct the decision-making processes behind product development that otherwise couldn't be clearly mapped. The research also relied on interviews conducted by historians and curators Barbara Predan and Cvetka Požar with five of Iskra's designers - Marijan Gnamuš, Davorin Savnik, Ljuban Klojčnik, Marko Deu and Janez Smerdelj, in preparation for the 2009 exhibition about Iskra's design department at MAO.[112] The transcripts of the interviews are held in MAO's archive. While these interviews were revealing in placing projects within the specific context of their making, I tried to approach them with caution and haven't referred to them often in the chapters, but rather have used them to get a general sense of the design discipline.

The often inconclusive, abstract and rhetorical documents material found in state archives and the personal, perhaps inconsistent stories told by designers, were mediated through a study of a number of newspapers and periodicals in addition to those outlined above. Among these, particular weight was given to company newspapers. Full issues of *Končarevac* (established in 1960), *Iskra* (established in 1950) and *Jugokeramika* (established in 1961) in-house magazines were surveyed. In addition, periodicals such as *Svijet*, *Start* and *Vijesnik u srijedu* were examined, with a particular focus around key dates, such as the 1958 *Porodica i domaćinstvo*

---

112   See *Iskra: Non-Aligned Design 1946–1990*, held from 12 November 2009 until 28 February 2010 at the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

exhibition or the 1987 University Games. The variety and richness of the material taken into consideration has allowed me to fill specific gaps in knowledge and offer a different view of perhaps well-known events and institutions.

While the thesis aims to contextualise design within a broader pan-Yugoslav perspective, its case studies are inevitably tied to three republics, Serbia, Slovenia and Croatia, and their urban centres, Belgrade, Ljubljana and Zagreb. This geographical remit was imposed by the choice of case-studies that were seen as instrumental in addressing the research questions. At the same time, the limited geographic scope also reflects Yugoslavia's polarisation between urban and rural areas, as well as regional inequalities between northern and southern republics and provinces. However, since several companies and organisations included in this research had production branches across the Yugoslav territory, it seems highly likely the claim that similar narratives could be traced across the different republics. Undoubtedly, future research on Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo will be able to put this claim to the test.

Chapter 1

The parameters of design practice under self-management: From a synthesis of arts to total environments

- **1.1 Introduction**

Following its VII congress held in Ljubljana in 1958, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) published a document outlining numerous declarations of intent that were to shape the country for the next five years.[1] Among other pressing matters, the resolution stressed the importance of material goods and high living standards for productivity and the evolution of a self-managing socialist society:

> The constant improvement of people's material and living conditions necessarily presupposes the need for continuous development of the productive forces of society and the increase in the productivity of labour. It is possible to provide for and stabilize the living conditions of the working people only by constantly increasing the production of material goods, which, in turn, is an essential element and a necessary condition to stimulate the development of production forces and to increase productivity.[2]

In a typically socialist manner, the declaration avoided an open discussion of consumerism, framing the production and consumption of mass-market commodities within a discourse centred around labour forces, efficiency and productivity. However, seen in the wider context of Yugoslav society in the late 1950s, the programme's subtle allusions to modern lifestyles and consumerism were symptomatic of a larger paradigm shift. In 1957, a propaganda movie *Kamerom kroz Zagreb* (Through Zagreb with a Camera) showed Zagreb's transformation into a modern socialist metropolis, where mass-produced goods could be purchased in modern stores, for 'every municipality has its own department store or large shopping hall, as well as a whole range of smaller shops, fitted out in a modern and tasteful way' (Fig. 3).[3]

A year later, in 1958, the first supermarket opened in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia. It was

---

1   The Communist Party of Yugoslavia changed its name to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1952 as a further proof of its separation from Stalinist policies, signalling its shift towards a more "authentic" interpretation of Marxism. Throughout this thesis, however, I will use the word party, as in political party, to refere to the LCY. John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History, Twice There Was a Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.255.

2   *Program Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, Donesen na Sedmom kongresu Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, 22-26. travnja 1958.* (Belgrade: Izdavački centar Komunist, 1988), p.220.

3   *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*, dir. by Srećko Weygand (Zagreb Film, 1957).

an almost identical replica of an American supermarket shown at the 1957 Zagreb Fair.[4] This shopping form, characterised by an abundance of commodities that consumers could freely wander amongst before choosing the products they wanted to purchase, was both liberating and time-saving. As historian Radina Vučetić has argued, compared to old shops, 'the personal contact with goods meant, both literally and symbolically, a further step in the conquest of freedom'.[5] However, that freedom was also potentially deceptive, inducing Yugoslav self-managers to desire things they did not need. One Belgrade resident, for example, entered the supermarket to 'buy half a kilo of potatoes' and ended up with 'a plastic bucket, new tablecloth with a rose pattern, grease remover paste, Russian salad, three jars for storing food, blueberry juice, royal dessert with a mould, 300 grams of Srijem sausages…'.[6]

Still from *Kamerom kroz Zagreb* removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.

Figure 3. Shops that 'could be seen in every neighbourhood', from *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*, propaganda movie, Zagreb Film, 1957

In the context of the Cold War, by adopting an American-style supermarket, Yugoslavia reinforced its commitment to the policy of non-alignment. However, rather than 'tantalize consumers with dreams of abundance', Yugoslav government officials hoped that American supermarkets would put in motion an 'entire technological system of production and

---

4   See Radina Vučetić, 'Potrošačko društvo po američkom modelu – jedan pogled na jugoslavensku svakodnevicu šezdesetih', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2 (2012), 277-298 (pp.291-294); Shane Hamilton, 'Supermarket USA Confronts State Socialism: Airlifting the Technopolitics of Industrial Food Distribution into Cold War Yugoslavia', in *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, ed. by Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2009), pp.137-159.
5   Vučetić, 'Potrošačko društvo po američkom modelu', p.294.
6   Č. Čedomir, 'Samousluga obmanjuje oči ili štedi novac', *Bazar*, 11 May 1968, 4, in Vučetić, p.294.

distribution – ranging from industrial farms to automobiles and home refrigerators – that was largely absent'.[7] It was hoped that new consumption models would be able to shape modern forms of production. The supermarket, therefore, served to show that the socialist government was open to accepting the 'Western image of wellbeing', which was centred on consumption, only if it were to be absorbed within its unique system of self-management.[8] In fact, it was a self-managed company called Vračar that set out to open Belgrade's first supermarket: the decision to open the store was taken by its workers' council in August 1957. As historian Radina Vučetić has pointed out, 'the symbol of Yugoslav socialism, the workers' council, therefore played a key role in accepting one of the symbols of American capitalism.'[9]

The genealogy of Belgrade's first supermarket highlights the centrality of consumption and mass-produced goods in the Cold War battle for power.[10] With the two blocs increasingly assessing their political achievements 'in terms of the ability to "deliver the goods" to citizens', domesticity and consumption were placed at the forefront of Cold War propaganda strategies.[11] Famously, the 1959 Kitchen Debate at the American National Exhibition in Moscow mobilised domestic material culture to assert the superiority of capitalism over socialism.[12] Following the Kitchen Debate, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) pledged in its 1959-1965 plan that the Soviet economy would 'outdistance the United States in productivity, and that by 1980 basic consumer goods would be distributed free of charge'.[13] Furthermore, to outweigh the United States and prove its superiority, 'the Khrushchev regime repeatedly indexed the imminent transition to communism to the achievement of superabundance and unprecedented prosperity, and devoted an extraordinary degree of attention to consumption and everyday, domestic life'.[14]

Starting from 1958 onwards, the Yugoslav government dedicated considerable attention to

---

7   Hamilton, pp.142-143, 148.
8   See Alenka Švab, 'Consuming Western Image of Wellbeing, Shopping Tourism in Socialist Slovenia', *Cultural Studies*, 1 (2002), pp.63-79.
9   Vučetić, 'Potrošačko društvo po američkom modelu', p.291.
10   See Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front. The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola Socijalizam, Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2012).
11   Castillo, p.X.
12   Castillo, p.XI.
13   Castillo, p.XI.
14   Susan E. Reid, 'The Khrushchev Kitchen: Domesticating the Scientific-Technological Revolution', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2 (April 2005), 289-316 (p.290).

consumption, domesticity and mass-produced everyday objects. While the government's growing interest in "things" wasn't necessarily sparked by specific Cold War showdowns, objects and everyday environments played an important role in proving the superiority of the Yugoslav brand of socialism - one firmly grounded in self-management. Ordinary things, such as telephones, cars, coffee grinders, televisions or home interiors, were meant to highlight the exponential growth of the Yugoslav economy, both on the domestic and international stage. Rather than having to decipher party slogans and monthly statistics, Yugoslav workers could assess the achievements of their self-managing factory by the amount of things they could purchase on their monthly salary. Equally, the size, position and quality of their socially-owned apartments, usually rented or purchased through their enterprise, served as a good indicator of their company's economic performance and prestige. Large and profitable companies, such as Iskra and Rade Končar, invested in extensive urban development, built holiday resorts, opened schools and funded university departments. In this way, a workers' position within the self-managing system, was directly translated into a higher quality of life. However, this also led to inequalities, whereby white collar managers were rewarded more than blue collar workers, despite the proclaimed equality of a classless socialist society.[15]

Figure 4. Tito in a NaMa supermarket in his home town Kumrovec, 1962

---

15   Social inequalities engendered by self-management will be further discussed in Chapter 3. See Rory Archer, 'Imaš kuću – vrati stan. Housing inequalities, socialist morality and discontent in 1980s Yugoslavia', *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 3 (2013), pp.119-139; Rory Archer, '"Paid for by the workers, occupied by the bureaucrats": housing inequalities in 1980s Belgrade', in *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism*, ed. by Rory Archer, Igor Duda and Paul Stubbs, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.58-75; Rory Archer, 'The moral economy of home construction in late socialist Yugoslavia', *History and Anthropology*, 2 (2018), pp.141-162.

While it is difficult to establish a direct relationship between an official, top-down policy and the Yugoslavs' fascination with Western-style consumer culture, all this goes to show that the government clearly encouraged the association of self-management with modern objects. Consumerism was an essential part of everyday rhetoric that could be mapped across different media, from popular magazines and TV shows to exhibitions and public debates.[16] Even Tito could be seen happily posing in supermarkets amongst mass-market products, drawing attention to the centrality of new consumption models for the success of socialism (Fig. 4).

On the occasion of the 1960 Spring exhibition at Zagreb Velesajam (Fair), the fair director explained this wider social role of consumption, arguing that the exhibition aimed to respond to

> the extraordinary value that our social community in the current phase of its
> development, i.e. in the phase of the development of social self-management and
> the system of communes, attributes to the most complete fulfilment of the material
> needs of the working man, especially his family and household, taking it upon itself
> to fulfil a large part of their care, functions and tasks.[17]

The fair's pavilions positioned the success of the Yugoslav industry in relation to mass-produced goods and services for the home. In 1957, *Kamerom kroz Zagreb* (Fig. 5), celebrated the fair's displays, asking the viewers whether 'these wide avenues, masses of people and vast spaces' reminded them 'of the proud celebration of work and wellbeing, the exciting harvest of the industry in a former agrarian country'.[18] As these comments suggest, improving systems of consumption was described as an essential part of the state's care for private wellbeing, that was also closely tied to economic growth. The historian Igor Duda suggested that Yugoslav post-war society was shaped through a rhetorical as much as a pragmatic emphasis on 'modernisation, the imperative of progress, industrialisation, proclaimed gender equality, the

---

16   Igor Duda's two studies of consumer culture in Yugoslavia use periodicals, literature, movies and TV series as primary sources, comparing these representations of everyday experience to statistical data. See Igor Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem: O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005); Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010). See also Reana Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu: Pop iskustvo soc kulture* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2008); Janjetović, Zoran, *Od Internacionale do komercijale:Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991* (Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011).
17   'Konferencija za štampu', typewritten manuscript, Zagreb, 1960, 1-5 (p.1), DAZG-1172-221-Propaganda.
18   *Kamerom kroz Zagreb.*

making of a better life for all especially for the working class'.[19] This promise of a better life was also politically mobilised. From early after the Second World War, in fact, the party officials understood that consumption and living standards could be used to shape the citizens' attitude towards the self-managed economy. As historian Brigitte Le Normand states, 'Edvard Kardelj [the party economist] had been arguing since at least 1947 that workers would be motivated to work harder by the prospect of pay according to productivity, translating increased effort into a higher standard of living.'[20] Centred on self-management as a political, social and economic system, such official remarks led Yugoslav workers to interpret its political and ideological postulates through the prism of shiny new apartments furnished with modern appliances and functional furniture, that were to become an everyday reality in the imminent future. This goes to show, that in the period between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s, the image of consumerism was as important as the experience of consuming.

Still from *Kamerom kroz Zagreb* removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.

Figure 5. Zagreb Velesajam as seen in *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*, Zagreb Film, 1957

For this reason, the materiality of everyday objects and spaces - their shape, materials, finishes and construction - came to form tactile as well as visual interfaces of self-management. Their

---

19   Igor Duda, 'Tehnika narodu! Trajna dobra, potrošnja i slobodno vrijeme u socijalističkoj Hrvatskoj', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2 (2005), 371- 392 (pp.372-373).
20   Brigitte Le Normand, 'The House that Socialism Built: Reform, Consumption, and Inequality in Postwar Yugoslavia', in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, ed. by Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.351-373 (p.355).

modern design indicated the evolution and growth of Yugoslavia's industrial and technological development. Equally, these objects and spaces were also connected to wider infrastructure systems that were often hailed as indicators of the country's progress. Cars that were driven on newly-built highways, trains running on railway networks, TVs that relied on transmitters and white goods connected to the electric grid, were all subtle reminders of the country's radical transformation from an agrarian society to a modern industrialised nation. Everyday propaganda frequently reminded Yugoslav citizens that such rapid modernisation was possible as a result of its industrial production that was grounded in the system of self-management. In *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*, it was argued that 'the guarantee' that the promise of modern lifestyles would soon become a reality 'was represented by our industry. The factories we work in, about which we read and hear, are really the strong pillars' of society.[21] Their role in shaping Yugoslav everydayness could be measured through the production of mass-market goods for, 'In the past period, Zagreb's industry has conquered around 500 new products. Many of these make an important contribution in increasing our living standards'(Fig. 6).[22]

Still from *Kamerom kroz Zagreb* removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.
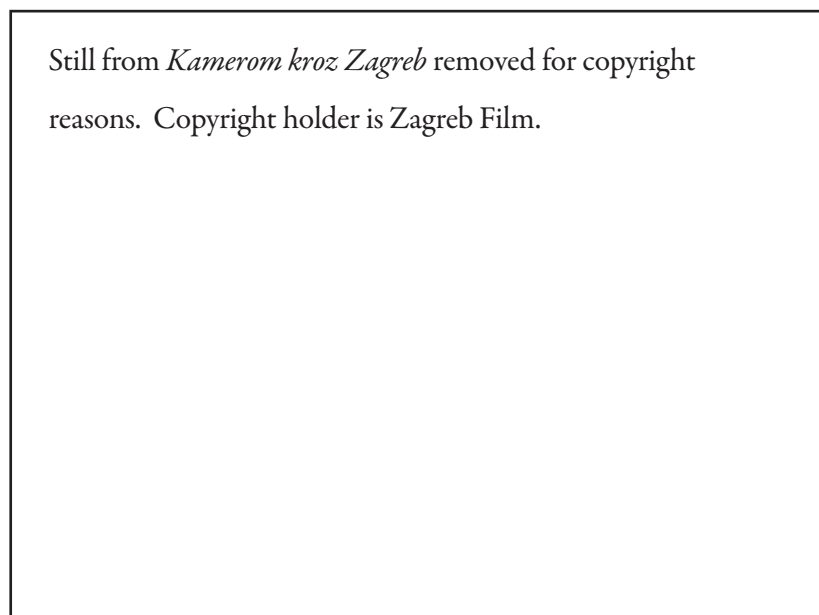
Figure 6. White goods "conquered" by self-managed factories and shown at the Zagreb Fair, from *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*, Zagreb Film, 1957

In this context, design clearly had a role to play. Yugoslav designers were, in fact, active in shaping the image of self-management through things. Early on, they were mobilised by

---

21   *Kamerom kroz Zagreb.*
22   *Kamerom kroz Zagreb.*

the government to design exhibitions that showcased the successes of local industry and urban development: from an exhibition celebrating the new highway of 'Brotherhood and Unity' connecting Zagreb and Belgrade held in 1954 to a series of annual exhibitions about domesticity titled *Porodica i domaćinstvo* (Family and Household) held at the Zagreb Velesajam.[23] Such exhibitions reveal a concerted effort to construct a material representation of self-management through a modernist design vocabulary. The use of modernist architecture and design to shape an image of self-management was even more important in an international context, as can be seen from the case of the Yugoslav pavilion at the 1958 World Expo in Brussels (Fig. 7). However, unlike domestic exhibitions that focused on mass-market products, the pavilion mostly eschewed a display of material things for abstract images and political slogans.[24] This highlights two different registers through which Yugoslav socialist modernity was shaped and represented in exhibition form. These two representational models are important for understanding the way design constructed the experience of self-management, and I will return to their differences and similarities in the following sections.

View of the outside of the EXPO 58 pavilion, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 7. Yugoslav Pavilion at the 1958 World Expo in Brussels, designed by Vjenceslav Richter

---

23   See Jasna Galjer, *Design of the Fifties in Croatia: From Utopia to Reality* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2003).

24   See Jasna Galjer, *Expo 58 and the Yugoslav Pavilion by Vjenceslav Richter* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2009); Vladimir Kulić 'An Avant-Garde Architecture for an Avant-Garde Socialism: Yugoslavia at EXPO '58', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1 (January 2012), pp.161-184; Kimberly E. Zarecor and Vladimir Kulić, 'Socialism on Display: Czechoslovak and Yugoslavian Pavilions at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair', in *Meet Me at the Fair: A World's Fair Reader*, ed. by Laura Hollengreen, Celia Pearce, Rebecca Rouse, Bobby Schweizer (ETC Press, 2014), pp.225-239.

Starting from the early 1960s, as the promise of modernity was slowly starting to become an everyday reality, Yugoslav designers increasingly shifted their focus from one-off exhibitions and prominent public commissions to working with industry. Their most receptive clients became companies within the electrical and electronics industries, such as Iskra, Rade Končar, Radio Industrija Zagreb and Elektronska Industrija Niš. Such companies used design not only as part of their commercial strategy, but also to highlight their wider social role. In a celebratory monograph published on the occasion of Iskra's 30-year anniversary, the authors wrote:

> Our social services are not financed from the state budget. The funds earmarked for this purpose are pooled together by the workers on the basis of self-management decisions. A large amount of money is spent on housing, including one-family houses and blocks of flats as well as bed-sitters. [...] Self-management decisions on the pooling of the funds are not limited to housing. Workers also appropriate funds for the building of kindergartens, health centres, or workers' canteens.[25]

While this declaration was made in 1976, after 25 years of self-management, this social role was consciously and continuously developed by Yugoslav enterprises from the early 1950s. For this reason, everyday products that Iskra or Rade Končar manufactured became material representations of their wider social role, for such companies were instrumental in raising the living standards of the wider community that gravitated towards them - they were the 'strong pillars' of Yugoslav society.[26] A worker's status as a self-manager was directly related to their experience of modernity within the home, thus further reinforcing the association of self-management with material things. For this reason, as I will discuss in the following sections, large enterprises like Iskra and Rade Končar were attentive towards the design of their factory buildings, housing, exhibitions, graphics and mass-market products. Such a systematic approach to design produced a material representation of self-management through a wide-reaching system of objects, spaces and environments. As I will show, this relationship between self-management and design was engendered by the political underpinnings of the system - the discrepancy between the theory and practice of self-management that placed greater emphasis

---

25   *Iskra, 1946-1976* (Kranj: Iskra Commerce, 1976), n.p., archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia, Bistra.
26   *Kamerom kroz Zagreb.*

on personal wellbeing than ideological goals. It could be said, then, that the system of self-management played a key role in transforming Yugoslavia into a consumer society. In turn, self-management was also "designed" through its association with material things.

In the following sections, I will show how these processes of "designing" self-management played out. I will start by outlining the discrepancy between the theory and practice of self-management, starting from Tito's split with Stalin in 1948, that led to the introduction of self-management, and ending with last constitutional changes in 1974. I will then relate these changes to design practice. The first part of this discussion will focus on the way in which the first generation of Yugoslav designers used both domestic and international exhibitions to design spaces, objects and environments that could be read as a materialisation of self-management. This analysis focuses on the period between 1950 and 1960. I will then turn to the period between 1959 and 1963 to explore what I have termed the "technological turn" in design practice. This turn signalled designers' orientation towards working with self-managed industrial enterprises that had in-house design studios organised as workers' councils. I will show how design strategies and methodologies used in this period were closely aligned to the decision-making processes and systems that underpinned self-management. In the final section, I will focus on two companies, Iskra and Rade Končar, to trace the way the material objects and environments they produced served as the materialisation of the processes of self-management within the factory. This materialisation was instrumental in claiming their wider social role as entities that were placed at the core of Yugoslav society. I will overview the work of these two companies from their foundation, in the immediate post-war period, until the 1980s, focusing, in particular, on the period between 1965 and 1980. By taking into account this large timeframe, I was able to trace the way changes in the law on self-management were translated into practice, showing that everyday experience of self-management was actively and consciously designed.

- ## 1.2 What was self-management?

'The South Slavs, whatever their other talents, had never been renowned as philosophers or original political thinkers,' wrote Dennison Rusinow in his 1977 book *The Yugoslav Experiment*, alluding to the fact that, had it not been for circumstances outside their control, Yugoslav

socialists would probably never have developed a unique political and social system.[27] That the 'usual Communist embarrassment of "intellectuals"', as Rusinow calls the country's leadership, managed to set Yugoslavia on a separate socialist course is unanimously attributed to Tito's split with Stalin in 1948.[28] The break with Stalin, which escalated following a series of minor disputes, causing dramatic consequences for the country's economy and renewing the wartime climate of fear, was a turning point in Yugoslav history.[29] After the 1948 expulsion from Cominform, Yugoslav leaders

> posed themselves a dilemma: either there exist real Communists and true socialism in the USSR – in which case the Soviet Communist Party [CPSU] is right in the clash with the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] - or else socialism there is deformed and Communists there are no longer Communists, in which case the CPY is the true Marxist Party and Stalin and the CPSU leadership no longer stand on true socialist positions.[30]

As Milovan Đilas put it, they needed to 'find the answer to the riddle of why, to put it in simplistic terms, Stalinism was bad and Yugoslavia was good'.[31] Guided by the necessity to safeguard the country's political autonomy, the Yugoslav leadership embarked on a fervent analysis of Marxist thought in order to establish a more "socialist" socialist society. Their "authentic" examination of Marx's writing included a re-reading of *Capital* where the leadership 'rediscovered the Marxian principle of social self-management with its anti-bureaucratic and anti-étatist implications'.[32] This ideological rediscovery of a "truer" form of Marxism ultimately culminated in the introduction of the 'Basic Law on the Management of State Economic Enterprises and Higher Economic Associations', approved by the National Assembly on 27 June 1950.[33]

The central premise of the law on self-management was to 'form the first step in the process of the "withering away of the State,"' by handing over the decision-making power within the

---

27   Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974* (London: C.Hurst & Company, 1977), p.48.
28   Rusinow, p.48.
29   Dušan Bilandžić, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, Glavni Procesi 1919-1985* (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1985), pp.162-163.
30   Bilandžić, p.165.
31   Đilas in Rusinow, p.50.
32   Rusinow, pp.50-51.
33   Rusinow, pp.53, 57-58. For a recent discussion of the introduction of self-management, see: Vladimir Unkovski-Korica, *The Economic Struggle for Power in Tito's Yugoslavia: From World War II to Non Alignment* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016).

industry and economy to the workers.[34] This was to be achieved by 'transferring the ownership of the means of production to the workers, who became trustees of the property committed to their hands in the form of machinery, buildings, etc'.[35] The workers of individual factories 'exercised their power by grouping into workers' councils'.[36] Members of individual workers' councils, consisting of between 15 and 120 members, were elected by the workers of a company or were made up of all the workers, for enterprises with fewer than 30 employees. A second organ of management - the management board - included less than two dozen members elected by the workers' councils, with the director of the enterprise at its helm as a non-voting member.[37] Despite nominally transferring the power to the workers, the first law on self-management resulted in the separation between 'management' (*upravljanje*) and 'leadership' (*rukovođenje*) structures, with the former including the workers' councils and their related unions, and the latter including management boards and company directors.[38] The leadership structures had the final word in implementing decisions carried out by the workers' councils, thus ultimately relegating the decision-making power to the hands of company directors, usually prominent party members responding directly to state authority.[39] In a diagram of Iskra's organisational structure from 1961, the production units were shown as gravitating towards a centre represented by the general director (Fig. 8). Such inherent contradictions had a direct and immediate impact on the very understanding and perception of self-management in society that would persist until the country's dissolution. With all the economic and political power residing firmly in the hands of the technocratic class, the feeling of powerlessness and inequality resulted in an "instrumental" understanding of self-management for the majority of blue collar workers, whereby they were only interested in those decisions that directly affected them.

---

34   Rusinow, p.58.
35   Rusinow, p.58.
36   Rusinow, p.58.
37   Rusinow, p.58.
38   Igor Stanić, 'Što pokazuje praksa? Presjek samoupravljanja u brodogradilištu Uljanik 1961–1968. godine', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 3 (2014), 453-474 (p.463).
39   It was not uncommon for company directors to take seats within the government, and vice versa. One notable example is Ante Marković, the director of Rade Končar between 1961 and 1984, who was the last 'prime minister' of Yugoslavia as the President of the Federal Executive Council, and introduced a series of economic reforms as a last attempt to sustain the country that was already on the brink of collapse. Tvrtko Jakovina, 'Sloboda u raspadu, Nesvrstana, samoupravna, nestabilna i slaba SFRJ: od smrti Tita do uspona Miloševića', in *Osamdesete! Slatka dekadencija postmoderne*, ed. by Branko Kostelnik and Feđa Vukić, (Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika and Društvo za istraživanje popularne kulture, 2015), pp.13-33 (p.30).

Figure 8. Diagram of Iskra's organisational structure in 1961

Following the 1963 Constitution and 1965 market reforms, self-management underwent significant changes. The 1963 revisions to the Constitution advocated for further decentralisation, de-étatisation and democratisation of the state, reinforcing the country's organisation as a federation of six republics. In the same way, self-management evolved so as to facilitate the 'withering away of the state' with its functions 'gradually taken over by society through the mechanism of "social self-management"'.[40] Therefore, the experience of self-management within enterprises was applied to the public sector - namely the republics and organs of local governance - as well as the 'non-economic fields of society: culture, science, health system, education, housing and so forth'.[41] The new constitution also affirmed three levels of representation: as a citizen-consumer in the political chambers, as a citizen-producer in the corporate chambers (only if engaged in a working community), and at the federal level, in the Chamber of Nationalities, as a member of an ethnic nation.[42] The new laws placed major emphasis on the rights of citizens independently from their position within production, through the system of social self-management. The new market reforms, on the other hand,

---

40   Rusinow, p.150.
41   Gal Kirn, 'A Few Notes on the History of Social Ownership in the Spheres of Culture and Film in Socialist Yugoslavia from the 1960s to the 1970s', *Etnološka tribina*, 37 (2014), pp.109-123.
42   Rusinow, pp.151-152.

reduced taxes for enterprises and allowed workers to 'participate directly in the question of distribution of surplus value', thus formally having 'more say over their own wage'.[43] However, the prerogative of decentralisation and the introduction of market forces had a different effect from that which the government might have imagined. Decentralisation meant that each enterprise was split into small units competing amongst themselves for higher profits, rather than collaborating at an enterprise level. This formal organisation sacrificed 'inter-unit cooperation' within an enterprise for 'expected improvement in intra-unit equality'.[44] Leaving individual units in the dark of wider enterprise policies, this form of organisation ultimately concentrated the power in the hands of the growing technocratic class. It was company managers and directors who would decide on 'who, what and how to produce and re-invest'.[45] In real, lived experience, self-management increasingly lost its original political meaning and started to be considered only as a performative formality, or an institutionalised way of pursuing individual interests.
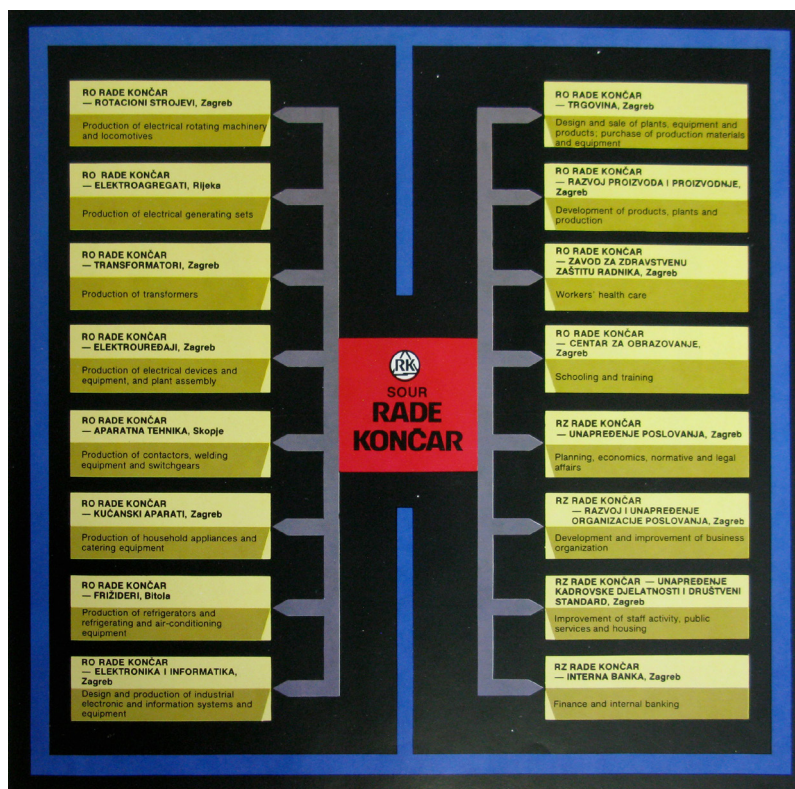
Figure 9. Diagram of Rade Končar's organisational structure in 1986, from the book *Rade Končar, 1946-1986*

43   Kirn, p.112.
44   Diane Flaherty, 'Self-Management and Requirements for Social Property', in Kirn, p.112.
45   Kirn, p.112.

Following the end of the Croatian Spring in 1972, which was grounded in demands for a sort of cultural renaissance, but escalated largely due to regional inequalities, a new Constitution was adopted in 1974.[46] The Constitution, supposedly the longest in history, reinforced the republican representation in the Federal Assembly, as well as reforming self-management by introducing Osnovne organizacije udruženog rada (Basic Organisations of Associated Labour, BOAL or OOUR) as a 'central legal entity of the economic system'.[47] According to Rusinow, the introduction of BOALs meant that 'the enterprise remained as the form in which a contractually integrated cluster of BOALs would normally appear on the market or be represented in other external relations, but only on the basis of powers delegated by the otherwise independent BOALS'.[48] To further underline BOALs' independence from technocratic and managerial powers, the enterprise itself had no income of its own: 'all net income from economic activities was now BOALs income, its use and distribution with few restrictions under each BOAL's control'.[49] For big companies with dozens of divisions, such as Iskra or Rade Končar, the introduction of BOALs was particularly significant. While all divisions were formally equal, this ultimately caused the loss of overall unity and coherence in terms of production programmes (Fig. 9). Amongst other things, as I will discuss in the following sections, this had a clear impact on their design strategy and branding, as designers were now often working for separate units rather than within a central design office that oversaw the entirety of the company's production.[50]

Despite the greater autonomy of individual workers' councils, decision-making remained closely tied to personal interest rather than mirroring a broader factory agenda. The in-house magazine of Jugokeramika factory examined the struggles of workers' self-management in

---

46   The protests and party turmoil known as the Croatian Spring were first leveraged on cultural grounds
        - the desire for the recognition of Croatian as a separate language from the institutionally accepted
        Serbo-Croatian. These calls, that originated in cultural and student circles in 1967, were soon
        transformed into demands for greater political and economic autonomy. Croatian party leaders Mika
        Tripalo and Savka Dabčević-Kučar found themselves supporting these demands, and were ultimately
        dismissed by Tito in December 1971 at Karađorđevo. Tito also dismissed Serbian liberal leadership
        a few months later, in 1972. This period also included a great overall purge of the party, aimed at re-
        centralising political power in the hands of Tito and his closest allies. See Lampe, pp.305-311; Sabrina
        Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991,* 2nd ed. (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana
        University Press, 1992), pp.88-135.
47   Rusinow, pp.328-329.
48   Rusinow, p.329.
49   Rusinow, p.329.
50   Interview with Janez Smerdelj, 24 March 2009, transcript, 1-19 (pp.6-7), archive of the Museum of
        Architecture and Design, Ljubljana; see also Barbara Predan, 'An Overlooked Giant', in *Iskra Non-
        Aligned Design, 1946-1990*, ed. by Barbara Predan and Cvetka Požar (Ljubljana: Arhitekturni Muzej
        and Pekinpah, 2009), pp.55-57.

a series of articles titled 'A critical overview of the functioning of delegate relationships' published between January and February 1979. Reflecting on decision-making processes, one representative complained:

> If only people were more interested, like they only raise their hands if an issue touches them personally. This carelessness impacts the workers' council as we often can't even reach the quorum. [...] The problem is also with the materials. They don't come on time, are often difficult to understand, so you either don't have time to explain the documents to everyone or you simply can't explain them because they are too 'heavy'. [...] When it comes to difficult issues, we can't explain them to fellow workers in our unit when nobody even explains them to us, the representatives.[51]

Another representative remarked that most decisions aren't even made public to everyone in the factory:

> If, for example, the most important conclusions were published, most of the workers, if not all of them, would know what has been decided. When I think of it, this would stimulate the discussion among representatives of the council. What less people know is that more than 50% of representatives haven't said a word in a meeting in over two years.[52]

Far removed from their everyday activities, the processes of self-management concerned with the strategic and economic management of a company assumed an aura of impenetrable obscurity and remained inaccessible to the majority of Yugoslav workers. This popular understanding of self-management - as political processes nominally extended to everyone, yet practically accessible only to a few - risked undermining the validity of the system, premised on wide participation and the retreat of the state. To prove its efficacy, self-management needed to regain public visibility, which it found in the material culture of the everyday.

Such a view of self-management is outlined by the sociologist Sharon Zukin, who states that Yugoslav citizens came to understand 'self-management more in terms of economic benefits

---

51   'O ostvarenju delegatskih odnosa – kritički', *Jugokeramika*, 1 (January 1979), pp.8-9.
52   'O ostvarenju delegatskih odnosa – kritički', pp. 8-9.

than ideological goals'.[53] In her insightful analysis, Zukin gives a vivid account of the citizens' everyday negotiation of the meaning of self-management. Equally, she recognises the ways in which the Yugoslavs have internalised the official discourse:

> When they talk about the historical event or phenomenon they begin with assertions of the official ideology, go on to describe institutions, and eventually come to the conclusion that they themselves, albeit formally self-managers, do not do any self-managing either at work or in the society. [...] The Yugoslavs who tend to perceive themselves as real self-managers are those who hold offices in self-managing, i.e. political, bodies, such as workers' councils and the League of Communists.[54]

For the majority of Yugoslav workers, council decisions were effective in areas where collective discussions, suggestions and votes had a direct impact on the quality of their living and working environment. 'Through self-managing bodies, workers had the opportunity to influence their own position in the workplace as well as outside of it' by taking decisions with regards to the attribution of apartments, private loans for house building, medical assistance, professional courses, as well as the building of recreational and cultural centres, hot meals, health and safety measures, and so on. Such stories featured prominently in company magazines and promotional material, confirming the ultimately instrumental view of the system of self-management.[55]

In the same way, when prompted to explain the impact of self-management on her everyday life, one of Zukin's interviewees refers to the same housing rights, healthcare, education or holidays along the Adriatic coast. For Zukin, these comments indicate 'a dualistic view of self-management as both an ideological goal and a set of economic rights' that wasn't that far away from the view cast by the political leadership that 'bridged postwar deprivation and foreign-policy trauma by emphasising economic development'.[56] In other words, it was the promise of a "good life" and material abundance that made Yugoslav citizens more conscious of the system and inclined to identify themselves as self-managers.

---

53   Sharon Zukin, *Beyond Marx and Tito: Theory and Practice in Yugoslav Socialism* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 95-97.

54   Zukin, p.95.

55   For the purpose of this research, I have surveyed the issues of *Končarevac*, the in-house magazine of the Rade Končar Company from 1960 to 1985, the issues of *Iskra*, the in-house magazine of the Iskra Company from 1952 to 1979, as well as the issues of *Jugokeramika* from 1961 to 1980.

56   Zukin, p. 97.

This growing entanglement of economic policy, self-management and material culture became explicit in the late 1950s, as the official rhetoric sought to emphasise the role of self-management as a practical tool for stimulating economic growth and increasing consumption. The introduction of carefully balanced market forces in 1965, seen as an objective way of regulating enterprise management without state intervention and as a final move towards de-étatisation, shaped a further step towards the liberalisation of society, whereby citizens would come to embrace their identity as consumers rather than workers.[57] While the initial rhetoric of self-management certainly mobilized the masses to participate in the modernisation and industrialisation of the country with greater enthusiasm and efficiency, such propaganda would turn out to have a different effect. 'Until the early 1970s,' Zukin notes, 'the leadership tolerated forms of self-interest and self-expansion as they deemed necessary for economic development.'[58] As seen from the comments in the *Jugokeramika* bulletin cited above, rather than enhance collectivisation, such rhetoric legitimised greater individualism and concern for private well-being outside of the workplace. It is easy to conclude that prosperity outside the sphere of work played a central role in mediating the citizens' understanding of and identification with self-management. Owning a comfortable home, furnished with modern appliances, was considered a basic right guaranteed by the system and a prerogative for the success of Yugoslavia's political project. The Yugoslav road to communism, so it seemed, was to be paved with material goods.

- **1.3 Designing self-management in the 1950s: Exhibitions and design associations**

Starting from the mid-1950s, as the country was going through rapid and wide-reaching industrialisation and urbanisation, architects and designers were mobilised to shape the experience of Yugoslav socialist modernity. They did so through public projects, mostly exhibitions, installations and interiors commissioned by government bodies or institutions, as well as the ongoing discussion about the role of design for socialism. Their work drew attention to the close association between self-management and things. In an article published in the magazine *Industrijsko oblikovanje* (Industrial Design) in 1970, design critic Fedor Kritovac claimed that the "national" character of Yugoslav design emerged from its relationship with self-management, whereby the formal qualities of objects emerged as a

---

57   Rusinow, p.110.
58   Zukin, p.24.

'result of the totality of socio-economic circumstances'.[59] Kritovac suggested that as much as Scandinavian excellence in lighting design could be seen as a direct consequence of the region's geography, climate and lifestyle, Yugoslav products reflected the particular structure of the country's social, political, economic and industrial organisation.[60] That is, designed, mass-produced objects were to be considered the material embodiment of self-management.
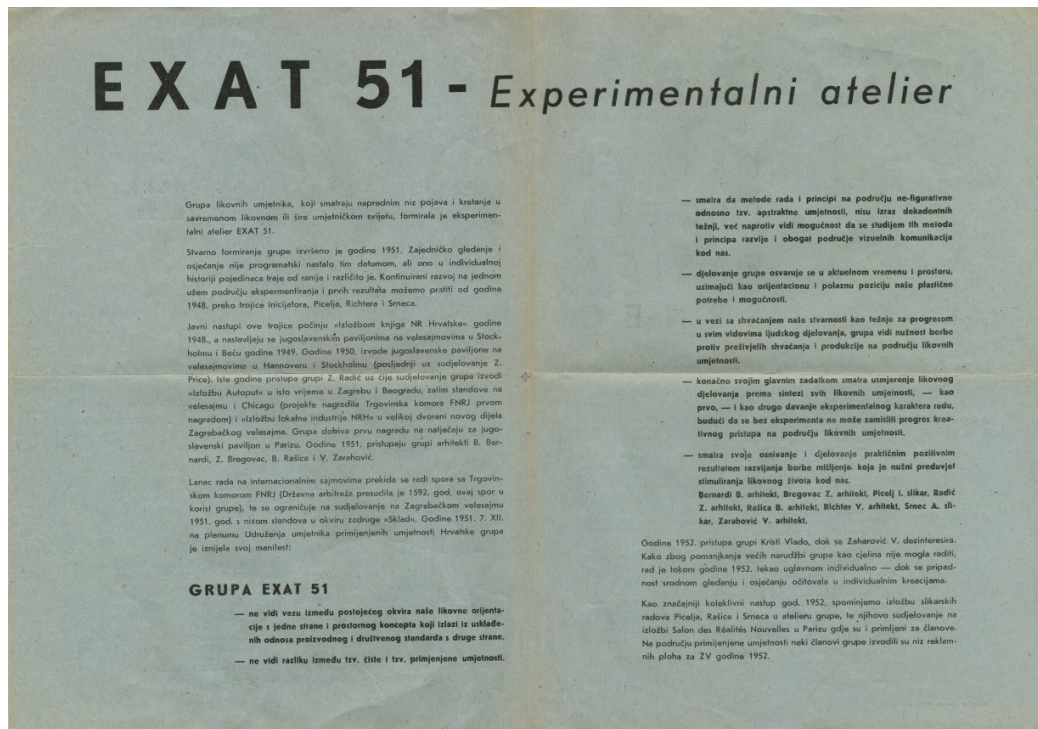
Figure 10. Exat 51, *Manifest*, 1951

Kritovac's writing came after nearly two decades of a persistent effort to construct a direct connection between self-management and design. The first generation of post-war Yugoslav designers followed in the steps of European Modernists who considered design 'as politics conducted by other means'.[61] They recognised that socialism presented an opportunity to design a new society. It is worth revisiting here architect Bernardo Bernardi's writing in *Arhitektura* in 1959, where he argued that:

> in a socialist country, where production forces ceased to operate under the influence
> of speculation, where all creative forces need to be directed towards the improvement

---

59   Fedor Kritovac, 'Nacionalni dizajn?', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 2 (1970), 23-26 (p.24).
60   Kritovac, 'Nacionalni dizajn?', p.24.
61   David Crowley, 'National Modernisms', in *Modernism, Designing a New World, 1914-1939*, ed. by Christopher Wilk (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 342-360 (p.342).

of material and cultural standards of the working people, there is a true possibility for industrial design to fulfill its social function in creating a new living landscape, the visual, plastic and spatial medium for the new man.[62]

This totally-designed material environment, the new living landscape invoked by Bernardi, would emerge as a synthesis of the political, economic and social conditions of the Yugoslav society. It would become the material embodiment of Yugoslav socialist modernity based on self-management.

The first attempts to formulate an approach to design as a material reflection of self-management can be traced back to the early 1950s, with the foundation of Exat 51. Exat 51 (Eksperimentalni Atelje - Experimental Atelier) was a neo avant-garde group founded in 1950 by Bernardo Bernardi, Zdravko Bregovac, Vladimir Kristl, Ivan Picelj, Zvonimir Radić, Božidar Rašica, Vjenceslav Richter, Aleksandar Srnec, and Vladimir Zarahović, all prominent artists, architects and designers. Even though several members of the group started working together as early as in 1948, the "51" in the group's name refers to the date of the first public reading of their manifesto at the plenary meeting of the Udruženje likovnih umjetnika primijenjenih umjetnosti Hrvatske (Association of Applied Artists of Croatia, ULUPUH) in December 1951 (Fig. 10).[63] In the seven-point credo, the group criticised the disjunction between what they considered the radical political framework of Yugoslav self-management and the artistic production of the period, still partly dominated by socialist realism. They declared that Exat 51 'does not see a connection between, on the one hand, the current framework of our artistic orientation and, on the other, the spatial concept that emerges from the reconciliation of the relationship between production and social standards' and advocated for the abolishment of any 'difference between the socalled pure and the so-called applied arts'.[64] Their manifesto anticipated 'a major loosening of party control in the cultural sphere' that was symbolically ushered in by Miroslav Krleža in 1952.[65] One of the most important

---

62   Bernardo Bernardi, 'Definicija i društveni značaj industrijskog oblikovanja', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), 6-18 (p.18).

63   The meeting was held in Zagreb on 7 December 1951. *EXAT 51, Manifest*, (Zagreb: 1953), no pagination. Pamphlet printed on the occasion of the Exat 51 exhibition at the Croatian Architecture Association in Zagreb in 1953, from the Marinko Sudac Collection; Jerko Denegri, *Exat 51 i Nove Tendencije: Umjetnost konstruktivnog pristupa* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2000), pp.70-71.

64   Manifest, p.1

65   Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p.147.

Yugoslav writers, Krleža publicly denounced the Soviet aesthetic of socialist realism in a speech titled 'On Cultural Freedom' delivered at the Third Congress of Yugoslav Writers, calling for the autonomy of artists in society.[66]

Just like Krleža, who welcomed a break with the past, Exat 51 thought that the 'building of a new society needed to go hand in hand with the building of a new understanding and perception of the environment'.[67] According to the group, that was to be achieved through a synthesis of different forms of material expression. By abolishing the hierarchical distinctions between pure and applied art, Exat 51 sought to shape a material environment that would correspond to the horizontal, egalitarian social, political and economic structures of self-management. Equally, their manifesto showed a continuation of the dialogue initiated by pre-war European avant-garde groups - the Bauhaus foremost amongst them - that advocated for a synthesis of different artistic forms and complete porosity between art and life.[68] For art historian Jerko Denegri, the synthetic approach advocated for by Exat 51 found 'its role in the processes of restoration of the entire spatial [culture], and with it, the fundamental material culture and the culture of living as a whole.'[69] Exat 51 inaugurated a new, systematic approach to the material culture of everyday life that sought to produce totally-designed environments for the new socialist workers self-managers, where everything, from glassware to tapestries, from architecture to furniture, from industrial machinery to transport systems, would be characterised by the same modernist form. In order to achieve this, they needed to mobilise Yugoslav industry and communicate the importance of good design to the wider public.

For this reason, prominent exhibitions designed by members of Exat 51 over the first half of the 1950s, used a modern visual language based on abstraction and geometric forms to communicate familiar stories about the successes of the Yugoslav economy. The *Autoput bratstva i jedinstva* (Highway of Brotherhood and Unity) exhibition in 1950, held simultaneously in Zagreb and Belgrade, celebrated the construction of the new highway connecting the two biggest Yugoslav urban centres. The exhibition, designed by Vjenceslav Richter, Zvonimir Radić, Ivan Picelj and

---

66   Miroslav Krleža, 'Govor na kongresu književnika u Ljubljani', *Republika*, Vol.VIII, book III, 10-11, (October-November 1952), 205-243.
67   Denegri, p.71.
68   See Christopher Wilk, 'Introduction: What was Modernism?', in *Modernism, Designing a New World, 1914-1939*, ed. by Christopher Wilk (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 11-21; *Bauhaus: Art as Life*, ed. by Catherine Ince (London: Koenig Books, 2012).
69   Denegri, p.73

Aleksandar Srnec used sophisticated visual displays to paint a radical visual image of Yugoslav industrialisation and urban development. Sketches of the exhibition design show an articulated structure with a number of image panels arranged loosely around a free-flowing spatial grid, creating a dynamic wall of images (Fig. 11). The exhibition signalled how the new approach to art and design, with carefully constructed environments at its core, proposed by Exat 51, could be used to represent political achievements. The *Autoput bratstva i jedinstva* display reflected Vjenceslav Richter's thesis about exhibition design that considered the space itself as 'the most powerful means of visual propaganda'.[70] According to the design historian Jasna Galjer, the exhibition featured 'the use of colourist elements as integral factors in the display, collage and montage as a base for making the display dynamic, evoking the narrative sequence of film'.[71] For Galjer, this translation of images into spatial structures and the integration of different types of displays into a continuous spatial whole, likened the *Autoput bratstva i jedinstva* to other key exhibitions of the Modern Movement from the Bauhaus exhibition in Weimar in 1923 to the MoMA's *The Family of Man* in 1955.[72]

Project drawing for the *Autoput bratstva i jedinstva* exhibition, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 11. Ivan Picelj, Aleksandar Srnec, Zvonimir Radić, Vjenceslav Richter, Project drawing for the *Autoput bratstva i jedinstva* exhibition, 1950

---

70   Vjenceslav Richter, 'Predmet kao prostorni subjekt, Razmisljanja o izlozbama', *Mozaik*, 3 (1954) 42-45, in Galjer, *Design of the Fifties,* p.27.
71   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties,* p.27.
72   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties,* p.27.

While Exat 51 continued to work together loosely throughout the 1950s and well into the 1960s, some of its members were becoming more interested in the role of design in industrial production. Formally trained as architects, Bernardo Bernardi, Zvonimir Radić and Vjenceslav Richter became key figures of the design profession in Yugoslavia. In 1955, they were amongst the organisers of the Zagreb *Trijenale* (Zagreb Triennial), an applied-arts exhibition partly modelled on the Milan fair that brought together a variety of disciplines with the intent of showcasing the total synthesis of visual arts and highlighting the transformative effect of good design in everyday life.[73] For the second edition, held in 1959, the exhibition was divided across three locations, each with wide open spaces organised around key thematic areas and model living environments (Fig. 12 and 13). Despite the spatial dislocation of different exhibition sections, the exhibition's scope was to highlight the permeability of art and life, outlining a continuity of 'the visual, plastic and spatial medium for the new man', from tapestries to sculpture, from aluminium dishware to ceramics.[74]
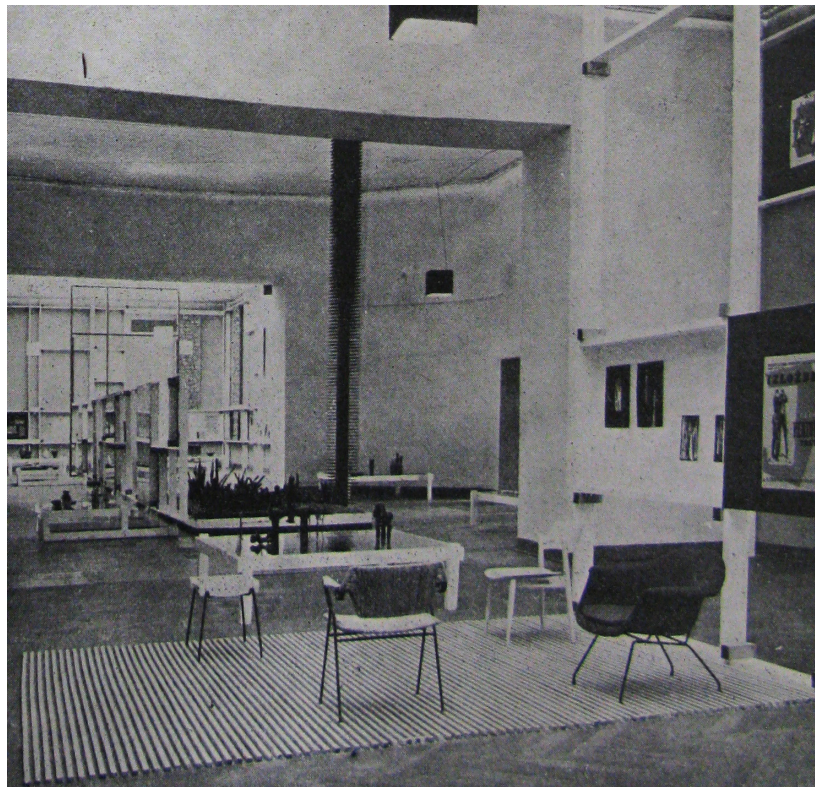
Figure 12. 2nd Zagreb *Trijenale*, 1959, view of the exhibition display

73   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, pp.88-89.
74   Bernardi, 'Definicija i društveni značaj industrijskog oblikovanja', p.18.

Figure 13. 2ⁿᵈ Zagreb *Trijenale*, 1959, view of the exhibition display

The curators of the exhibition also sought to affirm the role of design in industrial production, calling for the public recognition of the 'artists-creator' who would 'enter the industrial production as an integrator'[75]. In the exhibition catalogue, Bernardo Bernardi argued that designers were 'capable of solving all artistic tasks that come out of our current social, economic, scientific and cultural reality. [...] We'd like to [...] explain that design is a necessary and inseparable element of the whole process of industrial production.'[76] Lacking official support from the industry or the local government, the triennial lasted for only two editions.[77] Nevertheless, the two exhibitions were particularly important in terms of public visibility for design practice and paved the way for future exhibitions that relied on a display of everyday utilitarian objects and appealing, modern environments.

In 1956, a group of architects and designers, among whom were also Bernardi, Radić and Richter, founded the Studio za Industrijsko oblikovanje (Studio for Industrial Design, SIO) so as to 'contribute to the improvement of the production, trade and standards of our people'.[78]

---

75   Neven Šegvić, 'Predgovor katalogu inicijativne izložbe ULUPUH-a', *I Zagrebački trijenal*e (Zagreb: Udruženje likovnih umjetnika primijenjenih umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1955), in Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, p.91.

76   Bernardo Bernardi, 'O problematici primijenjene umjetnosti i o značenju inicijativne izložbe Prvi zagrebački trijenale", in Feđa Vukić, 'Pojam "oblikovanje" u Hrvatskoj kulturi pedesetih godina', *Društvena istraživanja: časopis za opća društvena pitanja*, 2-3 (June 2002), 413-429 (p.416).

77   See Darko Venturini, '2. Zagrebački Triennale', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), pp.22-40.

78   'SIO', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1956), 32-56 (p.46).

Just like Exat 51, they announced their goals in a programmatic manifesto published in the magazine *Arhitektura*, attracting 'a number of artists, so that the approach to the design of living and working quarters became multidisciplinary, as did the design of furnishings - illustrated primarily by wooden furniture and functional objects, ceramics and tapestry'.[79] SIO's practice was meant to be akin to modern design offices in the West, such as the Eames Office in the US or the Design Research Unit in the UK, serving as consultants to industrial manufacturers.[80] In *Arhitektura*, its was declared that the 'SIO aims to create the transition from individual work in the field of applied arts to a radical design of industrial buildings', as a way of furthering Exat's ideas about the synthesis of different artforms.[81] SIO was to form the first step towards the opening of in-house design offices in the industry, facilitating the transition between the first and second generation of Yugoslav designers. On the occasion of the exhibition *Stan za naše prilike* (Housing for Our Means) held in Ljubljana in 1956, that showcased model domestic environments (Fig. 14 and 15), SIO's designers declared their scope:

> With this exhibition, SIO is appealing to our industry to take note of its achievements, and warn it about the usefulness of its collaboration with artists. SIO is also appealing to our retail network to pay attention to the needs of consumers, as well as to signal to the industry the desires of our people.[82]

However, SIO's projects were never manufactured on a mass scale, usually remaining at the level of prototypes, just like the majority of objects shown at *Stan za naše prilike* and the Zagreb triennial. Despite its limited success, SIO's work was relevant for its effort to lay the groundwork for a more integral relationship between design and industry. According to Jasna Galjer, SIO 'aimed at systematic and organised dealing with the problems and tasks of industrial design for the sake of improving the application of design in manufacturing, as well as for promoting the design of exhibitions and other forms of public activity'.[83]

79   Feđa Vukić, *A Century of Croatian Design* (Zagreb: Meandar, 1998), p.83.
80   *The World of Charles and Ray Eames*, ed. by Catharine Ince (London: Barbican Art Gallery and Thames & Hudson, 2015); *Michelle Cotton, Design Research Unit, 1942-72* (Köln: Koenig Books, 2011).
81   'SIO', p.46.
82   'SIO', p.46.
83   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, p.56.
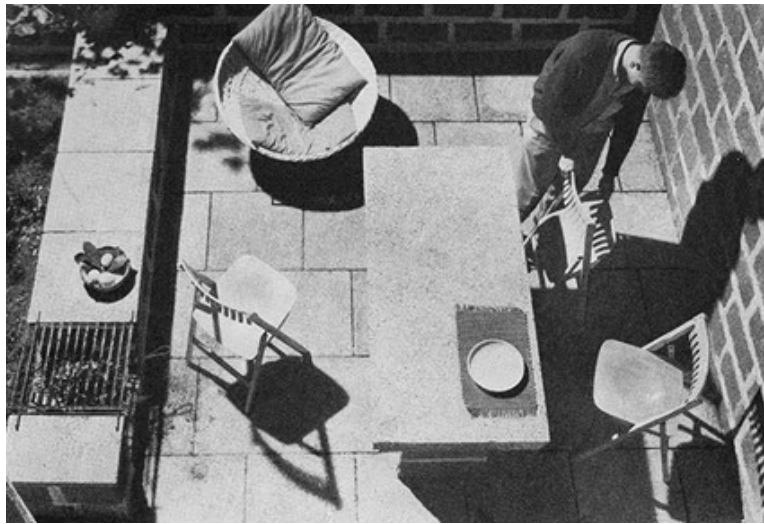
Figure 14. Model domestic environments at the *Stan za naše prilike* exhibition in Ljubljana in 1956
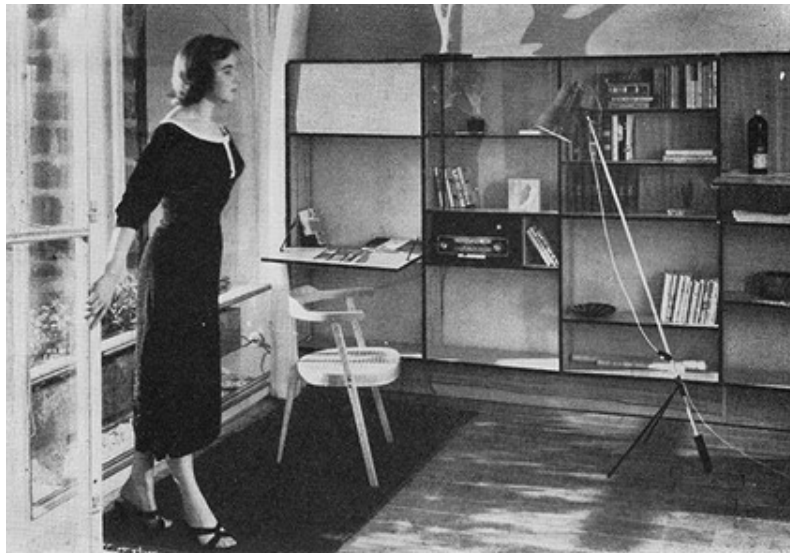
Figure 15. Model domestic environments at the *Stan za naše prilike* exhibition in Ljubljana in 1956

Seen in this framework, one of SIO's most notable projects included the design of the Yugoslav Pavilion at the XI Milan Triennial in 1957, whose overarching theme was the relationship between art, architecture and industrial design (Fig. 16 and 17).[84] The pavilion featured a model domestic interior with all the objects and furniture designed by members of the SIO. It was another attempt at creating a totally-designed environment that would serve as

---

84   Vukić, *A Century of Croatian Design*, p.83.

a material representation of Yugoslav self-managing socialism - this time on an international stage. From cutlery to textiles, from armchairs to shelving, all objects were characterised by sharp modernist aesthetics, based on a clean, geometric grid and natural materials. The visual language of the pavilion, that blended with objects displayed by other European countries, showed the permeability of Yugoslav borders in terms of culture and design. Although it was in no way representative of domestic environments that could be seen across Yugoslavia - still marred by relative poverty, low living standards and inadequate housing conditions - the pavilion was awarded the silver medal, an important recognition of Yugoslav design practice.[85] Success in Milan legitimised Yugoslav socialist, non-aligned modernity on an international stage.

Colour photograph of the Yugoslav pavilion at the XI Milan Triennial, photo removed for copyright reasons.

Figure 16. Yugoslav pavilion designed by SIO at the XI Milan Triennial, 1957

---

85   Igor Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem, O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005), pp.52-73.

Black and white photograph of the Yugoslav pavilion at the
XI Milan Triennial, photo removed for copyright reasons.

Figure 17. Yugoslav pavilion designed by SIO at the XI Milan Triennial, 1957

In the following section, I will discuss how these approaches to exhibition design were adapted for two seminal exhibitions that marked Yugoslav modernity: the World Expo in Brussels in 1958 and the *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions in 1957, 1958 and 1960. These exhibitions, one aimed at international and the others at domestic audiences, featured two different modes of display that signalled the way design was instrumentalised to represent Yugoslav self-management in different contexts.

- **1.3.1 Negotiating the meaning of self-management:** *Porodica i domaćinstvo* **exhibitions**

In the context of the Cold War, exhibitions about modernity in the home highlighted the role of design practice in furthering political goals both in terms of rhetoric, as well as industrial development.[86] The ability to display modern, well-designed products on an international stage allowed socialist regimes to assert their political achievements: good design became the deceptive signifier of a flourishing economy and high living standards. The local economists,

---

86   See, for example, Susan E. Reid, 'Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev', *Slavic Review*, 2 (Summer 2002), pp.211-252; Susan E. Reid, 'Soviet Responses to the American Kitchen', in *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, ed. by Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009), pp.83-112; for Western Europe see, for example, Fredie Floré and Mil de Kooning, 'The representation of modern domesticity in the Belgian section of the Brussels World's Fair of 1958', *Journal of Design History*, 4 (2003), pp. 319-340.

in fact, 'hoped that a new generation of consumer goods would encourage export sales of East bloc products'.[87] For this reason, as I have argued in the previous section, in socialist Yugoslavia well-designed, mass-produced goods became a popular trope in government propaganda and design practice was given the task of modernising production and stimulating consumption. Exhibitions about domesticity were pivotal in this sense, as they connected the local industry, a growing retail network and consumers through displays that were educational as much as they were inspirational. Keeping up with international trends, some of the most notable Yugoslav exhibitions of the period were the aforementioned *Stan za naše prilike* and *Porodica i domaćinstvo*.[88] The displays of model homes, with appealing furniture and modern appliances manufactured by the local industry whose use was demonstrated by actors, served to engender new consumption habits and shape a desirable image of the new self-managed socialist society (Fig. 18). At *Stan za naše prilike*, efficient and hygienic kitchens - with refrigerators and gas cookers - were displayed alongside educational panels on home economics. The displays went into a lot of detail, showing how the tables should be set and dish racks used (Fig. 19). As Jasna Galjer and Iva Ceraj have argued in the case of *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, these exhibition typologies were 'particularly interesting [for their] effort to establish an educational model that would instigate change in everyday habits and introduce new ones, that was directly tied to the way models, forms of organisation and functional objects were displayed'.[89]

In 1957, nearly ten years after Tito's split with Stalin, the Yugoslav government organised the first of three *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions.[90] Held at the Zagreb Velesajam, the aim of the exhibition was to shape the future of Yugoslav domestic culture by displaying products and services that would ease the burden of housework and revolutionise the position of women in society. On the one hand, the exhibition had an explicitly educational and political character,

---

87   Castillo, p.174.
88   'Povodom izložbe Stan za naše prilike', *Čovjek i prostor*, 49 (01 April 1956), p.1; 'Izložba Stan za naše prilike u Ljubljani', *Čovjek i prostor*, 50 (01 May 1956), p.1; 'Izložba Stan za naše prilike', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1956), pp.32-45; Boro Pavlović, 'Velesajamska simfonija', *Čovjek i prostor*, 78 (September 1958), pp.4-5; Andrija Mutnjaković, 'Stambena problematika u okviru međunarodne izložbe Porodica i domaćinstvo, *Čovjek i prostor*, 79 (October 1958), pp.4-5.
89   Jasna Galjer and Iva Ceraj, 'Uloga dizajna u svakodnevnom životu na izložbama Porodica i domaćinstvo 1957.–1960. godine', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 35 (2011), 277-296 (p.279).
90   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne izložbe Porodica i domaćinstvo 1957 sa dečjim sajmom', Belgrade, 1957, pp.1-23, AJ-318-151-211. The organising committee included the following bodies Zavodi za unapređenje domaćinstva (Institute for the improvement of households), Savezna industrijska komora (Federal industrial chamber), Savez trgovinskih komora (Council of the chambers of commerce), Savez sindikata Jugoslavije (Council of trade unions of Yugoslavia), amongst many others. The president of the committee was Pepca Kardelj, the wife of Edvard Kardelj, one of the key ideologues of self-management.

with a large segment of the show reconstructing the historical evolution of women's rights in Yugoslavia, as well as their changing political and social role under self-management.[91] On the other, *Porodica i domaćinstvo* served as a powerful marketing tool, displaying the variety of products manufactured by the local industry and aiming to transform Yugoslav citizens into cultured, well informed consumers. Seen by more than a million people, *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions were the perfect platform for Yugoslav companies to market their products.[92] Much of what was exhibited at the Zagreb Fair would be made available for purchase in department stores that were then expanding across Yugoslavia.[93] For the organising committee, composed of key government institutions, these two sections needed to be brought together in the exhibition space.[94] What this suggests is that they recognised a direct relationship between them: the premise of the exhibition was that by modernising Yugoslav households through the use of products manufactured by self-managing enterprises, it would be possible to lift the burden from women, who would, in turn, participate more actively in the organs of self-management.[95] The evolution in self-management went hand-in-hand with an improvement in the overall quality of life.

The first step was, therefore, to make Yugoslav households modern. To this end, the *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition organising committee sought to guide 'the visitors towards the most rational use of displayed objects' so as to 'achieve a vast propaganda effect, with visitors disseminating the learnings of the exhibition to their homes across the whole of Yugoslavia and in that way stimulating the adoption of new understandings, formation of new habits and dissemination of new products.'[96] The organising committee didn't hide the exhibition's commercial purpose, hoping that it might serve as 'a powerful means of collective propaganda,' wherein 'the allied forces of producers and society will fight to win over new categories of consumers, to increase the placement of goods destined for families and households.'[97]

91   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne izložbe', p.1.
92   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne', p.4. The organisers anticipated that the exhibition would be seen by 500,000 visitors, while Iva Ceraj and Jasna Galjer state that the final figure was over a million visitors, demonstrating the popularity and public appetite for these types of exhibitions. Galjer and Ceraj, p. 279.
93   The role of the Zagreb Fair in shaping Yugoslav consumption practices will be further discussed in Chapter 2.
94   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne izložbe', p.11.
95   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne izložbe', p.11.
96   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne izložbe', p.5.
97   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne izložbe', p.5.
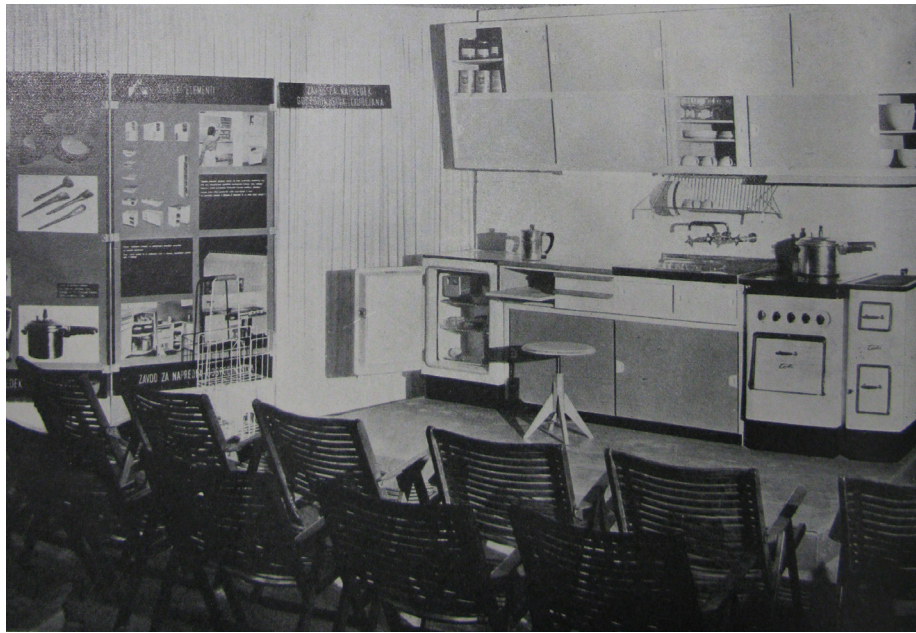
Figure 18. Kitchen demonstration section at *Stan za naše prilike*, 1956

Figure 19. Model, fully equipped homes seen at *Stan za naše prilike*, 1956
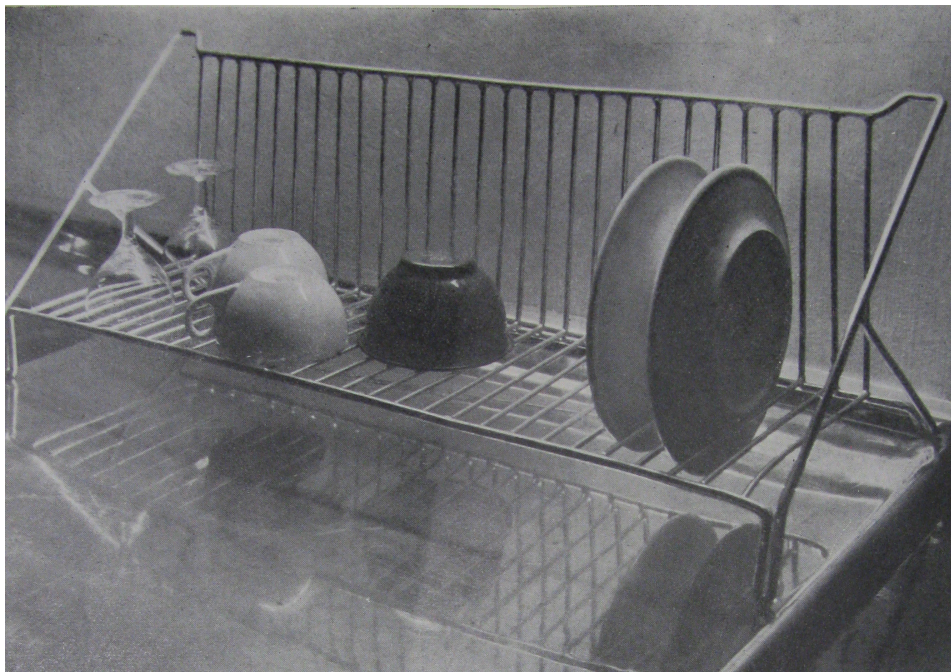
With its blend of a distinctly socialist language and overt marketing jargon, the programme of *Porodica i domaćinstvo* signalled the consumerist turn in Yugoslav society and anticipated its fully-fledged embracing of consumerism centred on private, single-family homes. However, there was also a certain amount of expectation as to what these modern domestic environments should look like. The programme declared that one of its key goals was to 'force and suggest to the visitors the need to introduce an aesthetic moment in the choice and mode of use of objects

in the fit-out of apartments'.[98] This emphasis on domestic environments as essential for the experience of self-management was given legitimacy in political terms, as well. In 1958, Edvard Kardelj placed housing in a direct relationship with the development of self-managed socialism. In his view, housing communes, like those exhibited at *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, were to become the training ground for Yugoslav worker self-managers. He declared:

> Undoubtedly, the housing commune will form an exceptionally important schooling for socialist democracy. This will, in reality, be the form in which the initiative of every citizen will emerge, and not just those citizens that have become social-economic factors in our social relationships, but also housewives, pensioners, and youth and children that can also, in a certain way, be active in the context of such a community.[99]

That same year, in 1958, the organising committee of the *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions decided to display model family apartments as a key feature of the fair. It was a response to a pressing need to build new housing, as in 1956 it was declared that there was the need to build at least 51.576 flats a year to fulfil the growing demand.[100] Following a public competition, the apartments were designed by architect Bernardo Bernardi and set in a typical standardised housing block.[101] For many propaganda films of the period, the construction of modern housing provided a key metaphor for Yugoslavia's projection towards a bright future.[102] In this context, life-sized displays of model homes served to celebrate the achievements of Yugoslav industrial development and rapid urbanisation, as well as to educate the new urban population with regards to a cultured way of life in the city. Bernardi's flats embodied a material representation of Yugoslav socialist modernity - one that was premised on the electrification, industrialisation and urbanisation of the country. Symptomatically, they were also furnished with objects presented at the Milan Triennial the year before.[103] By commissioning these model

---

98   'Program 1. Međunarodne revijalne izložbe', p.8.

99   Edvard Kardelj, 'O nekim problemima stambene zajednice', *Progres, ilustrovana revija za ekonomska i društvena pitanja*, 4-5 (1958), pp.4-5, in Vukić, *Modernizam u praksi*, pp.225-226.

100   Neven Šegvić, 'Na temu 51.576 stanova godišnje', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1956), 5-6 (p.6).

101   Bernardi's model flats will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

102   See, for example, *Kamerom kroz Zagreb*; *Koraci grada*, dir. by Branko Majer (Zagreb Film, 1957); *Moj stan*, dir. by Zvonimir Berković (Zagreb Film, 1962); *Zagrebačke paralele*, dir. by Branko Majer (Zagreb Film, 1962).

103   Iva Ceraj, *Bernardo Bernardi, the Design Work of an Architect, 1951-1985* (Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2015), pp.72-95.

homes, the committee demonstrated a remarkable understanding of design's role in shaping a new, modern socialist life. This mode of display 'based on dwelling environments' showcasing appealing household goods, furniture and housing schemes 'was used precisely because it was the most direct system for communicating and generating new living and consumption habits'.[104] With functional and efficient kitchens, comfortable living rooms and fully fitted bathrooms, Bernardi's model homes appeared as the materialisation of the "Yugoslav dream".[105]

Black and white photograph of a model flat shown at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Croatian Architecture Museum, at the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Figure 20. Bernardo Bernardi, model flat shown at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, 1958

However, despite all the exhibition's emphasis on the specificity of the Yugoslav system, this mode of display ultimately looked much like other exhibitions about domesticity elsewhere across Europe. This points to two closely related readings that will be a recurring theme throughout this thesis. Firstly, it goes to show that Yugoslavia was closely attuned to wider processes of modernisation, for it was solely by adopting Western models of consumption and domesticity that it could claim a rightful position on the international stage. Just like Belgrade's supermarket discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Bernardi's flats were an interpretation of Western typologies (Fig. 20). In particular, Bernardi travelled to Scandinavia during the late 1950s and his flats clearly mirror the region's organic modernism.[106] Second, it

---

104   Galjer and Ceraj, p. 279.
105   Pavlović, pp.4-5; Mutnjaković, pp.4-5.
106   See Ceraj, pp.142-151.

shows that those Western models needed to be adapted to and absorbed within the Yugoslav context, in this case socially-owned housing developed by self-managed companies or local communes. This was reflected in the way the design of these flats was commissioned and the way they were to be built, that entailed a government-led committee that was closely tied to organs of social self-management. Bernardi's model homes were then to be assigned to workers of self-managing companies as social housing and managed by local communes. Therefore, the discourse shaped by the exhibition was extended beyond the fair itself into spaces and places of everyday life regulated by self-management.

Black and white photograph of a social restaurant shown at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Zagreb Velesajam.

Figure 21. Social restaurant shown at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, 1958

There were other ways in which *Porodica i domaćinstvo* implicitly placed self-management at the centre of the exhibition. In addition to the flats, modern socialist lifestyles were represented by 'a new organisational model for an extended family' that extended from single-family homes to the level of the neighbourhood, managed through local communes as the pillars of social self-management. Here, it was imagined that a number of services, such as a laundry, social restaurant or nursery would be 'operated through the system of self-management aimed at unloading the burdens of housework' from Yugoslav women (Fig. 21 and 22).[107] Equally, the variety of household products on display were manufactured by companies managed by the workers' councils. Seen in the context of the exhibition's broader goal of promoting the new

---

107   Galjer and Ceraj, p. 279; for more on local communes see Rusinow, p.151.

social organisation of Yugoslav everyday life, the exhibition model that placed everyday goods front and centre, invited visitors to measure the success of self-management against an abundance of modern, well-designed products. The shape and form of those products, flats and services, also shows that self-management ultimately became a vehicle for experimentation in international style Modernism. This was one vision of Yugoslav self-managed socialist modernity. In the next section, I will discuss an entirely different register used to represent the Yugoslav political and economic system to international audiences, that relied on modernist form, yet proposed a different relationship between modern objects, spaces and self-management.

Black and white photograph of a collective laundry shown at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Zagreb Velesajam.
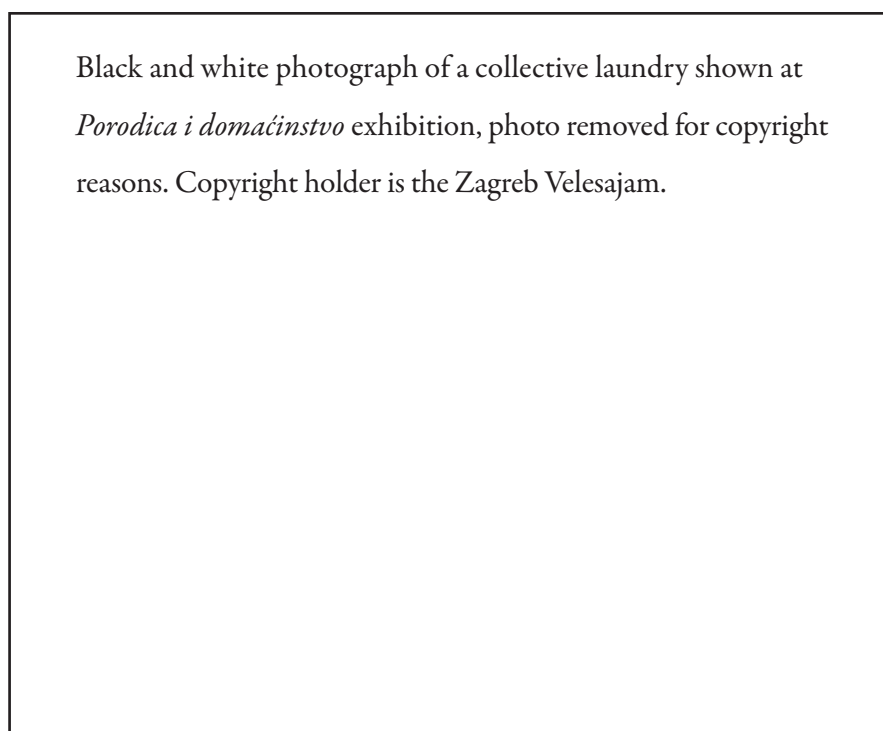
Figure 22. Collective laundry shown at the *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, 1958

- **1.3.2 Negotiating the meaning of self-management: the Yugoslav pavilion at the 1958 Brussels World Fair**

Aware of the role that culture played in diplomacy, Yugoslav political elites often mobilised art, architecture and design to celebrate self-management's success and assert the country's position as a modern nation on the international stage.[108] Architects and artists had been working on prominent government commissions for international fairs and exhibitions since at least

---

108   See Nevenka Stanković, 'The Case of Exploited Modernism', *Third Text*, 2 (2006), pp.151-159.

1949, when Richter, Picelj and Srnec designed the Yugoslav pavilions for the Stockholm, Paris and Vienna International Fairs.[109] Amongst a number of Yugoslav displays at international exhibitions developed over the 1950s, the pavilion that stands out for its effort to represent self-management in material form is the one for the World Expo in Brussels in 1958.

Colour photograph of the architectural model of the Yugoslav pavilion for 1958 Brussels EXPO, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 23. Vjenceslav Richter, model of the Yugoslav pavilion at World Expo in Brussels in 1958, unrealised proposal with the building suspended from the central column

---

109   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, pp.23, 25.

For the Expo, the country's pavilion boasted the use of modernist architectural language to tell the story of the Yugoslav struggle for freedom and its path towards industrialised modernity. The pavilion was designed by Vjenceslav Richter, a central figure of Yugoslav architecture and design who, like other members of Exat 51, advocated for the 'synthesis of visual arts in the creation of totally designed environments' (Fig. 23).[110] Committed to the Yugoslav political project, Richter considered socialism a 'precondition for a "general transformation of our image of the world"' where art and architecture were to become 'instruments of social and political change'.[111] Richter was perfectly positioned to design a pavilion that would reflect the image of Yugoslav self-managing socialism. In fact, the resulting building sought to embody values such as openness, democracy and participation, and was received with critical acclaim. It was considered

> a small masterpiece and a full realization of Richter's ideas about the synthesis of visual arts. Raised on cruciform steel columns, the building's weightless interlocking volumes appeared to float above a luxurious plaza [...] Rectangular cut-outs in floor slabs contributed to the sense of lightness and openness and strengthened the vertical integration of spaces. Part of the building's success lay in the fact that, compared to the overcrowded commercialism of much of the EXPO, it seemed like an embodiment of good taste.[112]

However, there was a contrast between the pavilion's modernist vocabulary and the dry and often confused political ideas that the exhibition sought to communicate. The pavilion was divided into four sections: Political and social system; Economy; Culture, science art and education; and Tourism, each of which was developed by an expert committee set up by the government, while an overarching Artistic Council overlooked the artistic quality of the pavilion.[113] According to Jasna Galjer, the pavilion's 'primary concern was to represent the [country's] development, with an emphasis on the specificity of the social and political system, culture and art, where the model of workers' self-management was the "guiding red thread"'.[114] To represent the social relations based on self-management in visual terms became 'the basic

110   Kulić, 'An Avant-Garde Architecture', p.169; see also Andrija Mutnjaković, 'EXPO 58 Bruxelles',
        Arhitektura, 1-6 (1958), pp.45-55.
111   Kulić, 'An Avant-Garde Architecture', p.169.
112   Kulić, 'An Avant-Garde Architecture', p.171.
113   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.396.
114   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.395.

problem in the design of the interior'.[115] As the historian Vladimir Kulić has argued, the pavilion, ultimately:

> comprised a little bit of everything: history, emphasizing the long struggle for national liberation of all Yugoslav peoples, especially during the Second World War; political and economic decentralization, with an accent on self-management in industrial enterprises and local governance; foreign policy and international cooperation; cultural life; science; social security; education; cooperatives in agriculture, etc.[116]

These abstract and complicated concepts were difficult to translate into material form. For this reason, the exhibition mostly relied on large-scale posters where images were overlaid with political slogans (Fig. 24), as well as numerous panels with text, statistical data and diagrams, that explored each topic in detail (Fig. 25). The ground floor housed an exhibition of modern art, together with a display of a few technological products. Aside from that section, objects were largely absent from the rest of the exhibition. This was a deliberate decision, made to 'tone down any possible appearance of a trade fair, while the accents were placed on a dozen or so models and machines that were meant to represent the flowering of the economy' (Fig. 26).[117] The most important section was the one about the Political and social system, displayed on the first floor. It relied entirely on images and text, with well-known photograper Tošo Dabac's images of a model worker self-manager, used to guide the visitor through the key points of the political system. Despite this attempt to personify the system in the figure of the worker, decontextualised from everyday experience, the theory and practice of self-management was difficult to convey to international visitors. This resulted in a stripped-down, austere exhibition design that stood out in contrast to the vivid plasticity of Richter's pavilion (Fig. 27).

115   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.395.
116   Kulić, 'An Avant-Garde Architecture', p.167.
117   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.405.

Black and white photograph of the interior of the Yugoslav pavilion for 1958 Brussels EXPO, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 24. Expo 1958, pavilion interior, exhibition design
with graphic posters and slogans

Black and white photograph of the interior of the Yugoslav pavilion for 1958 Brussels EXPO, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 25. Expo 1958, pavilion interior, view of the Political and social system section

Black and white photograph of the interior of the Yugoslav pavilion for 1958 Brussels EXPO, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 26. Expo 1958, pavilion interior, Economy section on the ground floor with film projectors and other technological objects

Black and white photograph of the interior of the Yugoslav pavilion for 1958 Brussels EXPO, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 27. Expo 1958, view pavilion interior with 'free-flowing volumes' and open levels

The final display was ultimately unconvincing. Svetozar Vukmanović Tempo, a member of the central committee of the LCY, 'thought that the display was having to play second fiddle to the architecture' and complained that the depiction of the social and political system was

'being too general and unintelligible'.[118] For others, instead, it was 'in general far too discreet an approach in a situation in which the participating countries were going to be raucously competitive in presenting themselves in a favourable light'.[119] These contrasting comments reveal that there was more than one way of representing self-management in material form. While an emphasis on consumerism and material wellbeing was appropriate for domestic audiences, it was less so for international visitors. At the Expo, Yugoslavia's unique political and social system was to be represented by carefully constructed slogans, close-ups of workers and dazzling images of Yugoslavia's national parks. As Oto Bihalji-Merin, a member of the Artistic Council, put it: 'the basic objective was to give a convincing presentation of Yugoslavia as a new country'.[120] This meant that the aim of the exhibition was to portray its independent position in between the two Cold War blocs. If Richter's pavilion served to project the image of Yugoslavia as a modern, open country looking towards the West, the content of the exhibition and the way it was designed, showed that its modernity was firmly grounded in its socialist system governed by a single party. What united the displays seen at the *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition and those of the 1958 Expo, at least in principle if not in practice, was their modernist form based on Exat 51's principle of the synthesis of different art forms. In these two contexts, the everyday experience of self-management, appeared completely different.

In the next section, I will discuss the way this discourse on the synthesis of art, architecture and design, was adapted by the second generation of Yugoslav designers working in the industry. Starting from the 1960s, they sought to outline a methodology for design practice that would correspond to the systems of self-management within factories. This methodology, developed through international exchange, placed an emphasis on a scientific, objective and technologically driven model of design practice. By examining the in-house design offices of Iskra and Rade Končar companies, as well as the wider design discourse of the period between 1959 and 1970, I will aim to understand why this model of design practice was seen as appropriate for self-managed industrial production and what impact it had on the design, manufacturing, distribution and consumption of objects. As I will suggest, rather than create spaces through a synthesis of different artforms, they used technology to shape total environments of self-management.

---

118   Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, 'Kako smo predstavili nasu zemlju na Svjetskoj izlozbi u Brislu: Dvije ocjene', *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 15 October 1958, in Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.404.
119   Boro Pavlović, no pub., n.d., in Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.403-404.
120   Oto Bihalji-Merin, transcripts of Artistic Council meetings, AJ-56-7, in Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.408.

- ### 1.4 Design as a form of management: The science of design under self-management

The idea that there was an affinity between self-management and design, embraced by architects, artists and designers during the 1950s, needs to be examined along two lines. On the one hand, as has been discussed in the previous section, Yugoslav designers were mobilised to represent the successes of self-management in physical form through exhibitions, fairs and public projects. On the other, the relationship between self-management and design was to be articulated through a design methodology that made use of new scientific disciplines such as cybernetics, ergonomics or systems theory. As I will show in this section, designers thought that this methodology would provide the necessary tools for improving the systems of production in Yugoslav industry. Within the management architecture of a factory, design was to serve as a unifying element, placed on top of the organisational hierarchy and overseeing systems of product development, production and distribution. Unsurprisingly, this way of thinking about design was given further relevance with the rise of digital technologies during the 1960s. Automation, it was thought, would transform both the workplace as well as the processes of self-management within factories. Computers, seen as tools for objective processing and transmission of information, presented a close analogy to the system of self-management, that could also be described as a "management device" conceived as a tool for processing information and managing the factory workflow. In this context, designers both sought to "design" processes of factory management, as well as shape the physical environments through which production processes would be regulated. The design of man-machine systems became central to the design discourse.

The relationship between man and machine was of high interest to the Yugoslav regime, for it promised a timely, scientific and accurate way of planning and regulating industrial production. In 1962, the Moša Pijade Workers' University in Zagreb held a conference titled 'Suvremeni čovjek i tehnizacija' (Contemporary man and the spread of technology) that explored the relationship between labour and automation in the workplace.[121] In the summary of the proceedings, published in the magazine *15 Dana*, the party member Dušan Čalić argued:

---

121   For more on cybernetics under socialism see, Slava Gerovitch, *From Newspeak to Cyperspeak, A History of Soviet Cybernetics* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004).

As we automaticians claim, a new science is born - cybernetics - which studies and introduces a whole system of machines that should replace man in management processes, in programme development and in control processes, and even in the lowest sphere of thought. [...] Socialist countries believe that automatisation is the technology of socialism, or rather communism. Automation is the condition that needs to be developed to free men from direct work in the production process and to reach, as Marx said, the "realm of freedom", where man doesn't work for food or clothing, but rather because he feels he couldn't exist without work. Man withdraws from organising the production process, [moving] towards higher spheres of creativity.[122]

Black and white drawing from Henry Dreyfuss's *The Measure of Man*, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Henry Dreyfuss Associates.

Figure 28. A plate on environmental tolerance zones from Henry Dreyfuss's *The Measure of Man*, 1960

---

122   'Suvremeni čovjek i tehnizacija', *15 Dana*, 18 (15 June 1962), 5-6 (p.6).

According to Čalić, self-management paired with information technology held the promise of radically changing the socialist society. Within this context, designers were tasked with humanising man-machine systems so as to eradicate worker alienation. However, implicit in that task was also the need to accurately define human behaviour within the parameters of the machine. Ergonomics was an interdisciplinary science that designers would rely on in shaping the interaction between humans and the environment. In the sphere of design, the importance of ergonomics can be traced back to the early 1960s and the publication of Henry Dreyfuss's influential book *The Measure of Man* (Fig.28). The book - essentially a collection of precise, diagrammatic drawings - sought to render the human experience of the material world into a series of precise measurements.[123] In turn, these measurements would allow designers to create objects and spaces that would humanise the environment, make work less tasking, but also produce a certain type of behaviour.
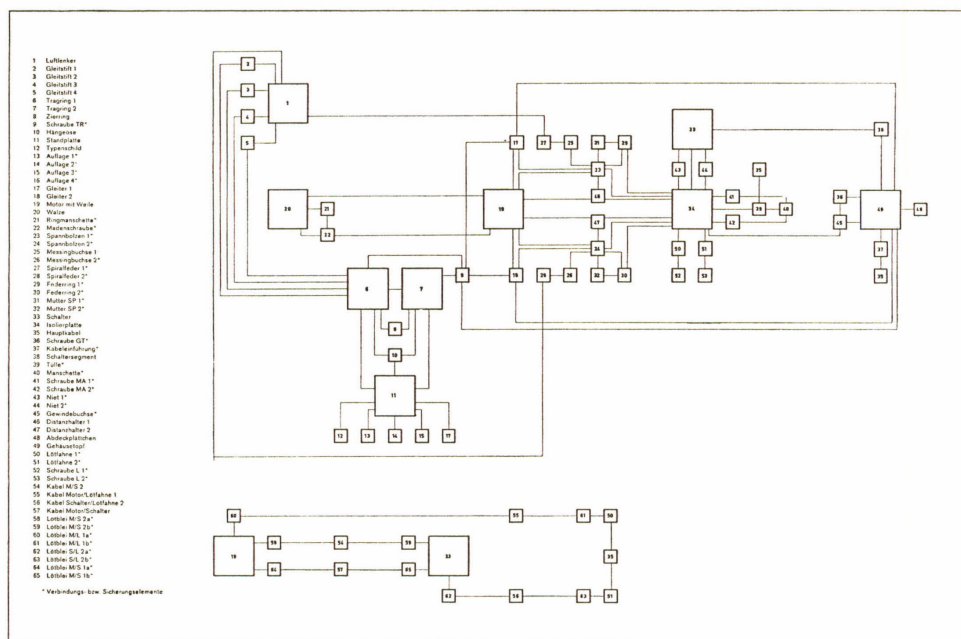
Figure 29. Diagram of a Braun fan, published in *BIT* 4, 1969

Starting from the early 1960s onwards, the increasing focus on man-machine interaction, cybernetics, systems theory and ergonomics in design practice could be understood as design's "technological turn", and was not solely a Yugoslav phenomenon. At the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm in West Germany, for example, Max Bill's emphasis on 'bridging postwar

---

123   Henry Dreyfuss, *The Measure of Man: Human Factors in Design* (New York: Whitney, 1960).

art and industry' through the intervention of an artist-designer, was replaced in the late 1950s by Tomás Maldonado's conception of designers as 'industrial technocrats' whose role was to coordinate a number of scientific disciplines through a precise design methodology that he called 'scientific operationalism'.[124] In the same vein, Yugoslav design critic Goroslav Keller defined design in 1973 as an,

> interdisciplinary scientific and practical discipline, that draws the basis of its methods from other areas - ergonomics, sociology, economics, marketing, technology, management, cybernetics, psychology, culture, technics, architecture and so on - with the aim of integrally shaping the man-environment relationship in all its forms of interaction.[125]

For design critic Matko Meštrović, 'All these tasks form the concept of total or integral design'.[126] In his view, only this total design methodology was able to 'provide the necessary dignity to a product and [...] does not have solely a commercial value, but can be elevated to a social value insofar as it fulfills the ideal of humanising the technical environment.'[127]

Yugoslav designers were well-integrated with Western design circles, regularly participating at the Milan Triennial, travelling to other European countries, organising exhibitions of foreign designers in Yugoslavia and publishing their writing in local professional publications like *Čovjek i prostor*. Furthermore, starting from 1961, the New Tendencies movement, formed a platform for the international exchange of ideas. New Tendencies was a group of artists, designers, critics and scientists who sought to formulate a new, programmatic approach to art based on kinetics, neo-constructivism, conceptualism and digital technologies.[128] Tomás Maldonado and Gui

---

124   Paul Betts, 'Science, Semiotics and Society: The Ulm Hochschule für Gestaltung in Retrospect', *Design Issues*, 2 (Summer, 1998), 67-82 (pp.70, 74-75); for more on the Ulm school, see René Spitz, *Hfg Ulm: The View Behind the Foreground, the Political History of the Ulm, 1953-1968* (Fellbach: Edition Axel Menges, 2002); Herbert Lindinger, *The Morality of Objects: Ulm Design*, trans. by David Britt (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

125   Goroslav Keller, 'Industrijsko oblikovanje kao funkcija ekonomičnosti', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 13 (1973), p.41.

126   Matko Meštrović, 'Dizajn i alatni strojevi', *Čovjek i prostor*, 159 (June 1966), p.6.

127   Meštrović, 'Dizajn i alatni strojevi', p.6.

128   See Jerko Denegri, *Exat 51 i Nove tendencije: Umjetnost konstruktivnog pristupa* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2000); Armin Medosch, *New Tendencies: Art at the Threshold of the Information Revolution (1961-1978)* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 2016); *A Little-Known Story About a Movement, a Magazine, and the Computer's Arrival in Art: New Tendencies and Bit International, 1961-1973*, ed. by Margit Rosen (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

Bonsiepe, both working at the Ulm school at the time, were also active in the movement. This seems to suggest that the teachings of the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm were central in engendering the "technological turn" in Yugoslav design practice. In 1969, a year after the Ulm school closed, an entire issue of the magazine *BIT*, a magazine edited by members of New Tendencies, was devoted to design at Ulm.[129] In an article titled 'Science and Design', Maldonado and Bonsiepe advocated for the application of a strictly formulated design methodology supported by scientific thought and mathematical disciplines such as theory of combinations, group theory, theory of curves, polyhedral geometry and topology, together with psychology, ergonomics and behavioural sciences.[130] Here, the design process was broken down into clearly identifiable steps that could be followed by design teams. Equally, products were often articulated through diagrams that translated their materiality and use into abstract schemes (Fig.29).
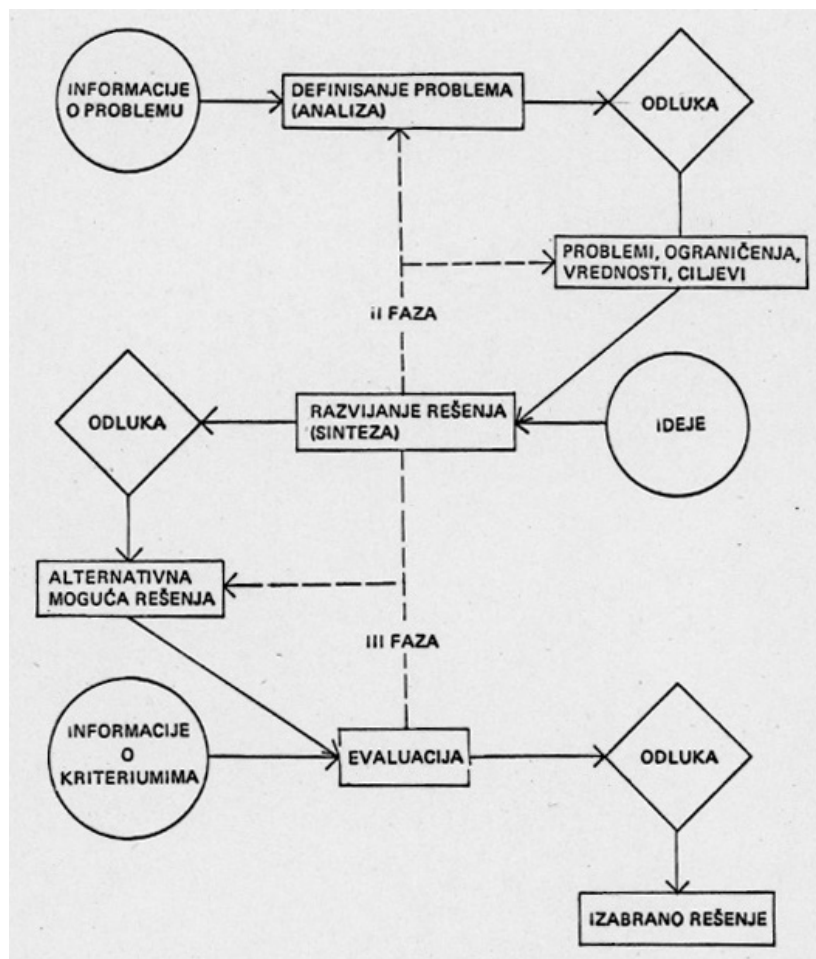
Figure 30. Diagram of decision-making in design offices, from *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 1974

---

129   The editorial of the issue, written by Matko Meštrović, was titled 'Homage to Ulm'. See *BIT*, 4 (1969), pp.3-8.
130   Tomas Maldonado and Gui Bonsiepe, 'Science and Design', *BIT*, 4 (1969), pp.29-50.

Such a strictly defined design method, supposedly underpinned by objective rules and guidelines, appeared particularly well-suited for Yugoslavia's self-managing system of production where product development needed to undergo strictly-defined collective decision-making processes within the design department. An article in *Industrijsko oblikovanje* published in 1974, summed up those processes in a clear processual diagram that designers could follow (Fig.30).[131] By that time, the individual autonomy of an artist-designer had given way to collaborative processes and worker participation, epitomised by in-house design studios that were organised as workers' councils. By breaking down the process of design into clearly identified steps, it was believed that everyone would be able to participate equally in the processes of design and product development. Diagrams, flowcharts and other graphic tools were used to outline this new form of organisation of design practice (Fig.31). However, as I will discuss in the following sections, the discrepancy between theory and practice was considerable, even in the context of design.
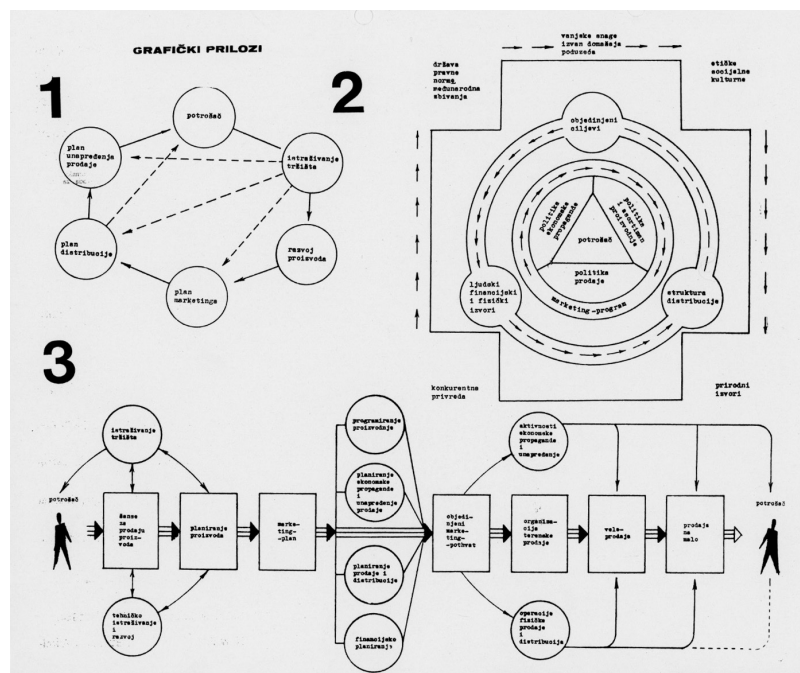
Figure 31. Diagram of product development systems, from *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 1971

Nevertheless, these new scientific methods of design were not only useful in improving the design process. Rather, they reinforced the belief that design could improve factory productivity and increase production. In this sense, design's "technological turn" was anchored

---

131   Ivan Petrović, 'Donošenje odluka o dizajnu', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 19-20 (May-August, 1974), 34-38 (p.36).

to the very pragmatic purpose of systematising and modernising production. In socialist Yugoslavia, as much as the rest of the socialist world, the emphasis on science and technology within mass production was supported by what Raymond Stokes has defined, in his study of East Germany, as a fundamental and practical

> belief that the socialist system, with its dedication to planning and shared ownership, was peculiarly suited to modern technology, unlike chaotic, cutthroat capitalism. Closely connected to this ideological proclivity to embrace modern technology was the practical necessity of employing high technology in order to attain one of the major goals of state socialism: detailed, precise, and timely planning of economic and social development.[132]

In the Yugoslav case, the objectivity, rationality, efficiency and standardisation that modern technology implied seemed to be instrumental in facilitating distributed systems of industrial production and their management through the workers' councils. For example, to stimulate fair industrial development across all the republics and provinces, Yugoslav factories often relied on a 'network of suppliers' for the production of various components even though their 'dispersal all over the country, produced constant logistical problems.'[133] For this reason, the imperatives of self-managed socialism also presented a number of potential pitfalls and Marko Miljković's study of the automobile industry in the late 1950s is an illuminating example. His research reveals that 'Crvena Zastava's component suppliers considered their production for the automobile industry only as a supplementary program' and therefore 'were not inclined to invest heavily in expensive equipment, but rather opted to continue production of the components with the existing machinery', thus significantly reducing their quality and slowing down production.[134]

Equally, Bernardo Bernardi argued that the absence of a systematic approach to product development had a negative impact on the Yugoslav economy. Writing in 1959 in the magazine

---

132   Raymond Stokes, *Constructing Socialism: Technology and Change in East Germany, 1945-1990* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), p.195; Raymond Stokes, 'Plastics and the New Society: The German Democratic Republic in the 1950s and 1960s', in *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, ed. by Susan E. Reid and David Crowley (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), pp.65-80.
133   Marko Miljković, 'Western Technology in a Socialist Factory: the Formative Phase of the Yugoslav Automobile Industry, 1955-1962', (unpublished master's thesis, Central European University, 2013), p.83.
134   Miljković, pp.83-84.

Arhitektura, he offered a scathing analysis of Yugoslav industry, arguing for the centrality of design in reforming systems of production:

> Prototypes are generated either automatically during production or from foreign catalogues, magazines, samples and licenses, or even by illicit appropriation of foreign models. There is no theoretical definition of problems, the criteria are not properly formulated, nor are there practical arrangements in place that would lead to their solution. The negative consequences of this situation are reflected in the visual ballast that burdens our still insufficiently educated consumer, in the products and fittings whose functionality is problematic, aesthetic value insufficient, as well as in the supremacy of foreign goods over most domestic products, both on local and international markets. However, the fast development of our industry, and especially its appearance on foreign markets where its achievements are confronted with an international competition, have set a number of brand new problems in front of it. Among these, the most important is the issue of industrial design. It follows, then, that in the current phase of our industrial development there is an inescapable urgency to include industrial design as a legitimate and integral element of the entire manufacturing process.[135]

As Bernardi's writing summed up key preoccupations with Yugoslav industry, it also signalled the need to employ design as an instrument in systematising production processes. The scientific design methodology was adopted in the early 1960s precisely as a response to this state of things. It appeared to promise the possibility of coordinating production on a large scale and improving the quality of products whose parts were manufactured in different locations. This change in design practice was further instigated by the introduction of market reforms in 1965. It is not a coincidence that the first in-house design offices appeared within Yugoslav factories precisely during this period. Iskra, the Slovenian electrotechnics company from Kranj was leading the way in this regard. In 1962, it was the first company to open an in-house design office.[136] As will be discussed in the following sections, Iskra's organisational scheme also showed the way design could be used to unify systems of production. As the

---

135   Bernardi, 'Definicija i društveni značaj', pp.9,11.
136   Barbara Predan, 'An Overlooked Giant', in *Iskra Non-Aligned Design, 1946-1990,* ed. by Barbara Predan, and Cvetka Požar (Ljubljana: Arhitekturni Muzej and Pekinpah, 2009), pp. 43-57, (p.49).

1963 constitutional changes decentralised the system of self-management by giving greater autonomy to independent production units that were often geographically dispersed, design became a way of coordinating and overseeing vast production plans. The director of Rade Končar's in-house design office, Vladimir Robotić, argued:

> In the organisational structure of a company, the design department needs to be positioned high enough, on the level of real decision-making about production, assortment of products, business and sales politics, directions for development and other decisions [...] In other words, the design manager needs to occupy such a place within the company to be able to act [...] as a co-creator of the business politics of the company.[137]

While Robotić implicitly acknowledged the split between theory and practice in self-management by referring to 'real decision-making', he suggested that design should become a tool for industrial management. In 1967, *Industrial Design* magazine defined Yugoslav design practice precisely in these terms, calling it a "management function": 'Existing in a political limbo which might be called westernized socialism and having to function in what may be the country hardest hit by the last war, Yugoslav design is presently a management function with noteworthy achievements.'[138]

Between 1965 and 1980, as I will explore below, this desire to improve productivity and shape an objective, scientific design methodology had a twofold impact on the experience of self-management. In the case of Rade Končar, its in-house design team, officially set up as an autonomous office in 1971, designed computers and control rooms through which production could be accurately and rationally managed. It was believed that these new technologies would improve the system of self-management by facilitating the distribution and decentralisation of power. However, this was a skewed view of cybernetics and digital technologies, for they ultimately implied a centralised form of control. As AnnMarie Brennan has observed in her study of design at Olivetti, the new computers were 'so significant in the evolution of machines' because

---

137   Goroslav Keller, 'Organizacija dizajna u "Rade Končaru"', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 7 (1971), 32-34 (p.33).

138   'Showing off Yugoslavia, *Industrial Design*, 8 (October 1967), in *Dobra oblika, Good Design: Mednarodna priznanja in publikacije*, (Kranj: Iskra, n.d.), n.p., from the archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design.

'unlike the typewriter, adding machine, or machine tool, the desktop computer eventually became a universal tool through which most labour activity, in the form of information, streams through in the contemporary workplace'.[139] Asked to provide constant feedback through this single machine, 'the worker was a necessary participant in the control, management and surveillance of his/her own output with a programmed machine ensemble'.[140] Designers were instrumental in articulating this process of control. Their role was not only to shape the physical space of the factory and the hardware of the machine, but also to design the production workflow and program workers' behaviour.

This shows the inherent contradictions in the theory and practice of self-management. While self-management was introduced as a system that would revolutionise the workers' participation in industrial management, it was ultimately turned into an instrument of social control. The reliance on cybernetics in the period between 1965 and 1980 was just one of the products of this double-faced nature of self-management.

- ### 1.4.1 Rade Končar: The industry that controls the industry

The promise of developing digital technologies that would revolutionise Yugoslav factories was to be fulfilled with the growth of the electronics industry. Among several companies operating in the sector, such as Iskra, Tvornica Alatnih Strojeva Prvomajska or Elektronska Industrija Niš, Rade Končar was the most important manufacturer of factory systems and installations, working on the engineering, design and construction of computers and machines that controlled and managed industrial workflows. While Rade Končar also produced mass market products, such as coffee grinders, washing machines or electric heaters, its production was closely tied to wider production networks. Interwoven with numerous power plants, factories and infrastructure systems and forming a vast network across the Yugoslav territory, Končar's command and control centres should be understood as the medium of self-management, processing and regulating the processes that controlled a large part of Yugoslav industry (Fig. 32).

---

139   AnnMarie Brennan, 'Olivetti: A Work of Art in the Age of Immaterial Labour', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (September 2015), 235-253 (p.238).
140   Brennan, pp.239-240.

Figure 32. The distribution of Končar's systems and power plants in Yugoslavia,
from *Rade Končar 30 godina* (Rade Končar 30 Years) book,1981

Symptomatically, Rade Končar's slogan was 'industry that builds the industry'.[141] Founded
early after the Second World War, it was the largest Yugoslav manufacturer of electric
equipment and played an important part in the electrification and industrialisation of the
country by producing generators and electric motors, power and metering transformers, high
and low voltage equipment, as well as complete factory installations.[142] In a company brochure
published in 1977, 30 years after its foundation, Rade Končar highlighted its widespread
impact across the industrial and urban landscape of the country: 'Today, the number of
significant power plants or industrial facilities in whose construction "Rade Končar" did not
participate is close to none. This confirms in the best possible way its direction and motto
"industry that develops itself by building other industries".'[143] With its products underpinning
the country's electrification, industrialisation and urbanisation, Rade Končar's business became

---

141   'Industrija koja gradi industriju', brochure, (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1977), [p.3], from the Central
            Archive of Rade Končar.
142   Like most Yugoslav manufacturers, Rade Končar's origins were rooted in the interwar period of
            industrial development, when the German manufacturer Siemens opened a production plant for small
            engines in western Zagreb. Following the Second World War, the company was deemed of high interest
            to the socialist regime and placed under direct government control. Named after a partizan hero, Rade
            Končar officially opened as a company of federal importance on 31 December 1946. *Rade Končar,*
            1946-1956 (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1956), p.10; 'Yugoslav Electric Manufacturing Industry', brochure,
            (Belgrade: The Yugoslav Association of Electric Manufacturing Factories, 1960), pp.18-19.
143   'Industrija koja gradi industriju', [p.3].

what John Harwood has defined, following Eliot Noyes, as 'environmental control', designing systems that helped 'man extend control over his environment'.[144]

Končar's control over the environment was premised on the design and production of man-machine interfaces that ensured a rational, scientific and careful management of factory workflows. In a brochure published in 1980 they summed up the model that shaped the company's production:

> Our own development of electrical systems for monitoring, control, data processing, regulation, protection and measurement in power plants has become a prerequisite for delivering generating units and complete power plants to foreign and domestic markets. [...] Switchgear control devices enable the management of complex energy, metallurgical, marine, mining, and other industrial plants from a single place.[145]

Centralised control processes were embodied by Končar's machines, developed by the company's in-house design studio. The design office operated within the factory's research and development department, Elektrotehnički Institut (Electrotechnical Institute, ETI), founded in 1961.[146] In this way, design practice was integrated within processes of technological innovation and became a central element in the company's product development. From the beginning, Rade Končar situated design within its wider field of scientific operations. Product development was the result of the 'synthesis of research developed in a large number of disciplines [...] carried out in modern, high-voltage laboratories. The development uses the results [...] of teams of researchers, experts in measuring and testing, in technology, ergonomics and design.'[147] That design was placed last was not a coincidence, for it had the task of overseeing and synthesising these wider research processes in material and spatial terms. As

---

144   Eliot Noyes, in John Harwood, *The Interface: IBM and the Transformation of Corporate Design, 1945-1976* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), p.3.
145   'Rade Končar, Danas za Sutra', brochure, (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1980), p.7, from the central archive of Rade Končar.
146   See '5 godina rada Elektrotehničkog instituta', brochure, (Zagreb: Elektrotehnički institut poduzeća "Rade Končar", 1967); '10 godina, Elektrotehnički Institut poduzeća "Rade Končar"', brochure, (Zagreb: Elektrotehnički institut poduzeća "Rade Končar", 1971); '15 godina, Elektrotehnički Institut', brochure, (Zagreb: Rade Končar, OOUR Elektrotehnički institut, 1976); 'Rade Končar - 20 godina Elektrotehničkog Instituta', brochure, (Zagreb: Rade Končar, SOUR Zagreb , RO Razvoj proizvoda i proizvodnje, OOUR Elektrotehnički institut, 1981); Stjepan Car, Končar Institut za Elektrotehniku, 50 godina primjenjenih znanstvenih istraživanja i razvoja na području elektrotehnike, (Zagreb: Končar, Institut za elektrotehniku, 2011).
147   *Rade Končar 30 godina* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1976), pp.68, 70.

a result, Končar's designers created environments organised around self-contained, enclosed control rooms, digital consoles and interfaces, which John Harwood has characterised, in his study of IBM, as "counterenvironments".

Black and white photograph of a workstation designed by Rade Končar design office, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Rade Končar.
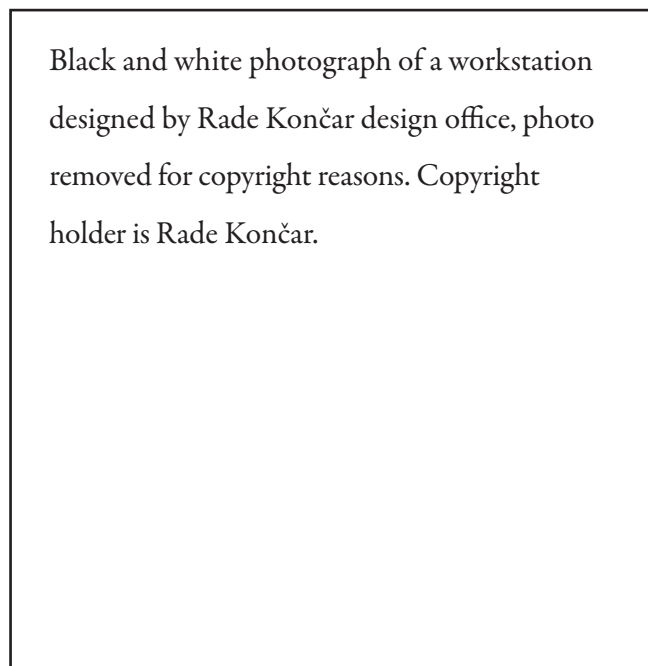
Figure 33. Dispatch centre for Zagreb gasworks, Rade Končar design office, 1982

For Harwood, a counterenvironme nt is 'a space organized in contradistinction to the environment by annexing part of space and defining itself negatively with respect to that space. Either that which is outside may be ordered, and thus brought inside, or it is negated.'[148] Despite the complexity of industrial systems that they managed, Končar's counterenvironments featured a clean, minimal and geometric design characterised by angular forms and carefully colour-coded switches. Bespoke developments for specific factories, infrastructure projects or power plants, Rade Končar's counterenvironments featured a combination of different products - at times including those manufactured by other companies - adapted and organised into a spatial whole. In this conception, the design of consoles and control rooms was understood as environmental, rather than product design, and approached at the intersection of architecture and industrial design. Single objects were integrated with specific types of furniture and arranged within self-contained rooms (Fig.33). Designers working within ETI testified to the importance of this approach. In an interview published

---

148   Harwood, p.111.

as late as 1981, they argued that attention was never paid to product, graphic and interior design as distinct practices, but solely when it came to designing self-contained, total work environments. As Marija Jeličić, one of Končar's designers claimed:

> It should be mentioned that we are working intensely on those tasks that are related to the design of the working environment. We worked on a number of dispatch centers where we made a significant design contribution. We were also involved in designing the office spaces at KONČAR itself, as well as that of its production sites.[149]

In this sense, Končar's control rooms were significantly different from products created by companies like IBM or Olivetti, whose computers were conceived as single, functional objects that could be purchased on the market. Instead, Rade Končar's products were always just an element within a greater system that extended from a single room to the space of the factory and across the wider landscape of the country.

Black and white photograph of a model of a workstation designed by Rade Končar design office, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Rade Končar.

Figure 34. Model of the workstation, Rade Končar design office, early 1980s

For this reason, they were all the more effective as 'counterenvironments' - artefacts through which the outside is ordered and regulated by being absorbed within a well-organised whole - for they could be infinitely replicated in space. In design terms, this was achieved by creating a number of modular, standardised control panels and consoles, whereby, in Harwood's terms, the 'complex nature' of the control room 'as an apparatus' could be 'pulled into a coherent

---

149   Goroslav Keller, 'Dizajn u "Končaru" - jučer, danas, sutra', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 61 (May-June, 1981), 30-32 (p.32).

whole, enclosed and complete in and of itself'.[150] A model developed in the early 1980s, for example, shows these different modular elements that were all connected by a specific construction logic - the use of tubular metal structure - to form an articulated spatial whole (Fig. 34). Tied to wider infrastructure networks that underpinned the Yugoslav industry and economy, such environmental computer systems were closely aligned to the processes of self-management, with which they had an almost metonymic relationship: the functioning of a computer and the management of a factory were ultimately concerned with processing and organising information across time and space.[151] In Končar's promotional material, blue collar workers were often shown operating these counterenvironments, implying that cybernetics and automation were a necessary step in workers' emancipation under self-management (Fig.35).
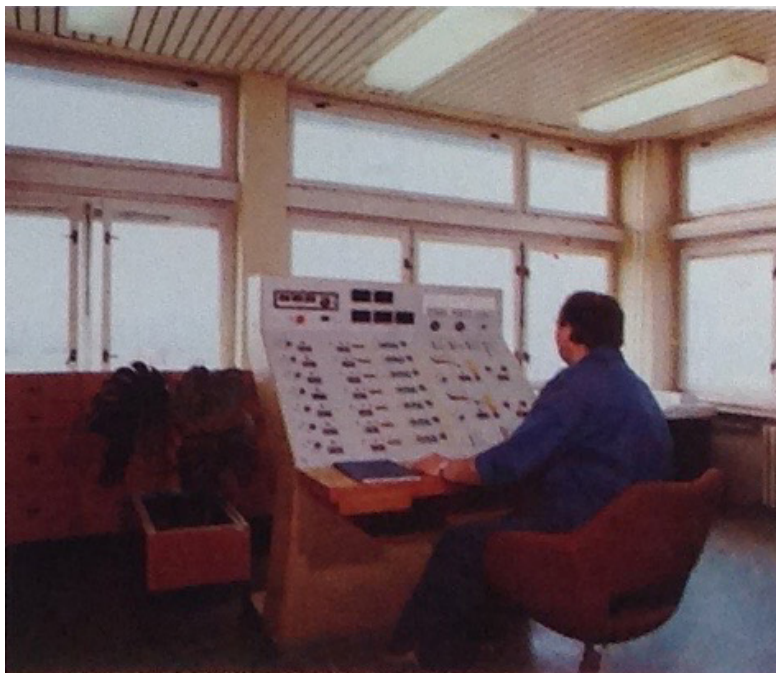
Figure 35. Operator managing the control room of an INA central gas station in Bokšić, from *20 godina Elektrotehničkog Instituta* brochure

In 1971, the Praxis philosopher Rudi Supek outlined the relationship between cybernetics and self-management. In an article published in a themed issue of the magazine under the title 'Moment of Yugoslav socialism' he argued that one of the reasons why 'self-management has become the theme of the day in the workers' movement' was to do with the development of

---

150   Harwood, p.77.
151   For more on the relationship between architecture and cybernetics, see Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005).

modern technology.[152] He wrote:

> The scientific and technological revolution along with the development of cybernetics, automatisation, and modern means of communication makes possible far more decentralisation than was the case in undeveloped systems. At the same time, technology is becoming the 'infrastructure of society', freeing it from its technological determinism and providing greater possibilities for the organisation of society in accordance with man's real needs.[153]

As this goes to show, even Praxis philosophers, critical of the Yugoslav political system, saw an alignment between self-management and cybernetics that Končar's products embodied. A few years earlier, in 1965, Supek published a whole book on the theme of automation in production, arguing that self-management paired with modern technology could break down the hierarchical management of factories and prevent worker alienation. However, he didn't deny that this form of industry management also implied a certain degree of centralised control, for 'automation in administration, just like in production, leads to the greater integration and interconnection of management [...] that, naturally, demands a more precise analysis of the whole organisation [...] and greater discipline and subordination of the work of certain employees'.[154]

In 1962, the philosopher Danilo Pejović was more explicit in his critique. He anticipated the widespread use of factory automation and compared it to the centralised state apparatus:

> technology is gradually overtaking all spheres of life [...] Not even the social life nor the state itself are spared of it. It's not a coincidence that we speak of the "state apparatus" or "state machine". The goal of state apparatus is to function all the more automatically, rationally, practically, to execute from one centre at the highest level all that has been predicted beforehand.[155]

This type of centralised control, facilitated by digital technologies, was the essence of

---

152   Rudi Supek, 'Protivurječnosti i nedorečenosti jugoslavenskog samoupravnog socijalizma', *Praxis*, 3-4 (1971), 347-370 (p.349).

153   Supek, 'Protivurječnosti i nedorečenosti', pp.349-350.

154   Rudi Supek, *Automatizacija i radnička klasa* (Zagreb: Centar "Božidar Adžija", 1965), pp.87-88.

155   Pejović co-edited *Praxis* between 1964 and 1966. 'Suvremeni čovjek i tehnizacija', *15 dana*, 18 (15 June 1962), p.5

the 'control society' described by Gilles Deleuze, who argued that 'each kind of society corresponds to a particular kind of machine - with simple mechanical machines corresponding to sovereign societies, thermo-dynamic machines to disciplinary societies, cybernetic machines and computers to control societies'.[156] However, for Deleuze, 'the machines don't explain anything, you have to analyze the collective arrangements of which the machines are just one component'.[157] Indeed, the Yugoslav cybernetic machine acquired meaning precisely when situated within the context of self-management in society, whose scope was to mediate and control the processes of everyday life through a precise set of actions, rules and regulations.

While Rade Končar's designers thought that cybernetics and automation were necessary for the better management of industry, they also believed that man-machine interaction had to be humanised to prevent workers' alienation. The concept of humanisation had a lot of currency in Yugoslavia, both for its political system, which sought to position itself as 'humanised socialism' in opposition to the Soviet Union, and in design practice.[158] As Goroslav Keller wrote in his overview of Končar's design office, 'The humanistic and ethical orientation of designers as social workers, who through their work act upon the whole process of social reproduction, is the intrinsic characteristics of the profession.'[159] For design critic Miroslav Fruht, the role of design was to 'contribute to the humanisation of living and working conditions'.[160] In 1976, the company argued in a promotional book celebrating 30 years of the factory along the same lines:

> In the development of all products and production plants, the man-machine relationship is constantly improved. This component is integrated within [product] development through design, which doesn't imply just an artistic value, but rather its purpose is to develop the humanistic alliance between man and his environment.[161]

Their main argument was based on the idea that by paying careful attention to the design of control rooms and systems, workers could more easily participate in the work and management processes. In this context, ergonomics became particularly important for the work of Končar's

---

156   Gilles Deleuze, 'Control and Becoming', *Negotiations 1972–1990*, trans. by Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p.175.
157   Deleuze, p.175.
158   See Galjer, *Expo 58*, pp.395-396.
159   Keller, 'Organizacija dizajna', p.34.
160   Miroslav Fruht, 'Kako i sa kim se uspoređivati', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 29 (January-February 1976), 21-22 (p.22).
161   *Rade Končar 30 godina* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1976), p.76.

designers. Writing in the first issue of *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, one of the main organs of the design profession, Mihaela Zamolo has outlined the role of ergonomics within the industry precisely in terms of alienation:

> the most important task of ergonomics has become to overcome the fragmentation of work, within which the individual is getting lost as an insignificant and useless element of the system. The machinery should be designed so that the operator can "become one" with it, so as to understand the basic principles of its functioning and performance. The machine or device must not, therefore, become a "black box" to the operator [...] he needs to be able to overview the work process and structural complexity of the machine, as much as the functioning of the technological process as a whole. And it is precisely the form of the machine or of the work interior that can carry such meaning by correctly mirroring the [machine's] structural and functional complexity. In addition, the designer must allow the operator to observe the continuity of the process, i.e. to observe the causes and effects of his actions.[162]

Colour drawing of a model of a workstation designed by Rade Končar design office, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Rade Končar.
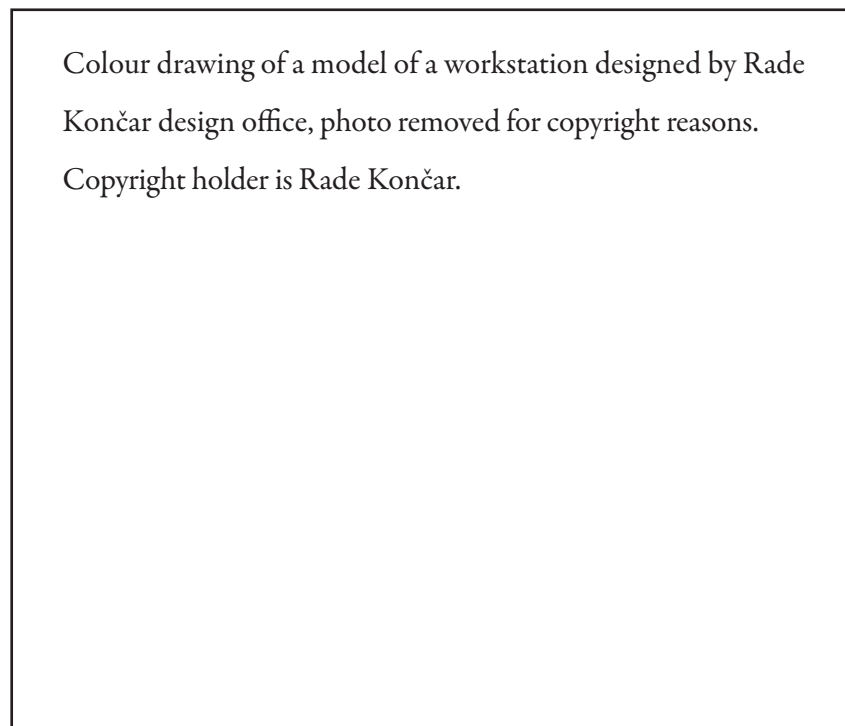
Figure 36. Technical drawings of office workstations and typisation for internal standards, Rade Končar design office, 1983

---

162   Mihaela Zamolo, 'Ergonomija i industrijsko oblikovanje', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 1 (May-June, 1970), pp.61-68 (p.61).

Končar's designers embraced this harmonic view of ergonomics within their work. As their prototype models and diagrams show, they were committed to 'precise research on the characteristics of man's organism and behavior' so as to 'adapt the objects, environments and processes' to the needs of human operators.[163] However, these diagrammatic drawings suggest another interpretation: that it was the human operator that was being "designed". In one drawing from 1983, for example, an aerial view shows two operators at their consoles (Fig. 36). They are looking at two screens in front of them, in addition to a screen placed in the left-hand corner of the room and a large panel on the wall. This technical drawing shows the precise measurements and directions of their movement, indicating exactly how the consoles should be used and how the operators should behave. Read within this context, the smooth, effortless control rooms and consoles did not only have the task of structuring efficient and functional workspaces that would rationalise and democratise the decision-making processes. They were also designed so as to produce rational, committed and efficient worker self-managers. Zamolo's writing made it clear, when she argued that 'ergonomics and industrial design have the same tasks: the design of objects, systems and the environment, which will determine the work process itself, and indirectly also design behaviour'.[164]

A number of images published in Končar's promotional material testify to this attempt to produce rational, efficient and cultured workers self-managers. One such image features an environment in an unspecified factory that resembles the diagrammatic drawing shown above. The space is characterised by dark orange furniture, square lighting panels arranged in a grid and heavy wooden desks (Fig.37). The furniture is integrated within the wider visual and spatial system that features electronic consoles, monitors and white keyboards, with wall panels displaying flowchart diagrams of the system that is being managed by two operators. Their blue work-coats indicate their position within the factory hierarchy and highlight the easy, effortless management of its production systems. Furthermore, the image demonstrates an application of Končar's "environmental" approach to design, devised precisely for the management of the 'power supply and other systems that have become so large and complex that they cannot be controlled' from a single computer or unit.[165] Here, a modern design methodology was employed to design spatial systems that nominally embodied the processes of factory, social and economic

---

163   Zamolo, p.61.
164   Zamolo, p.61.
165   *Rade Končar, 1946-1986*, p.89.

management. These were the total environments of self-management that needed to be extended beyond the factory walls.

Figure 37. Control station designed by Rade Končar,

from *Rade Končar, 1946-1986* book, undated

In the following section, I will turn to the way these total environments extended to the Yugoslav homes. Starting from the late 1950s, I will connect the emphasis on technology, an important trope of government propaganda, to the rise and control of consumerism in Yugoslavia. This will be related to the wider exercise of cultural diplomacy during the Cold War that placed an emphasis on modern technology within the home.

- **1.4.2 Self-Management and domesticated technology**

Early after the Second World War, companies operating in the electronics and electrical industries became symbols of Yugoslavia's social, cultural and economic progress. Already in 1952, Tito had declared at the First Congress of Narodna tehnika (People's Technics) of Yugoslavia , echoing Lenin's famous phrase, that 'To build socialism means to create the technology and take command over it.'[166] Jože Hujs, the director of Iskra, one of the biggest

---

166   The reference is here to Lenin's declaration 'Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.' V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th English edition, Vol.31 (Progress Publishers: Moscow,

electronics manufacturers in Yugoslavia, translated this ideological task in terms of economic and ideological nation-building:

> the electronics industry has a priority role to play in the national development [...] We are therefore faced with tough and ambitious tasks [...] to open wide the door to the third technological revolution and so, in view of the infrastructural role of electronics, to give a boost to the entire economy.[167]

This suggests that the electronics and electrotechnics industry had a role to play beyond industrial development and factory management. Modern technology was central to the realisation of the "Yugoslav Dream", what Patrick Patterson has called 'the emergent vision of a prosperous, humanized socialism', that 'had deep roots in the material' world.[168] Indeed, as Igor Duda has argued, 'For the modernisation to be complete [...] technological progress needed to be democratized, and transferred from factories and highways into the everyday private sphere.'[169] Electrical goods and domestic appliances, such as telephones, radios, washing machines or refrigerators, held the promise of modernising the home and making everyday life more enjoyable. Therefore, companies like Iskra or Rade Končar were not only tasked with developing large-scale infrastructure systems that were necessary in building Yugoslav industry, but also with adapting those achievements to everyday domestic spaces. As Susan Reid has argued, in the case of the Soviet Union, in the 1960s socialist societies found themselves 'domesticating the technological revolution'.[170]

The emphasis on everyday technological objects as a means of furthering modernisation and economic progress was part of the wider Cold War struggle for power that shifted from the space race to everyday life.[171] The American National Exhibition in Moscow held in 1959, is a case in point and still remains one of the most poignant examples of the role of design, domesticity and

---

1965), pp.408-426. Tito's speech at the 1st Congress of the National Technology of Yugoslavia, Narodna Tehnika, 1952, p.5, in Igor Duda, 'Tehnika narodu!', p.373.

167   Jože Hujs, *Iskra Annual Report 1976* (Kranj: Iskra Commerce, 1976), p.3, SI-ZAL-KRA-167-53b-159.

168   Patrick Hyder Patterson, 'Yugoslavia as It Once Was: What Tourism and Leisure Meant for the History of the Socialist Federation', in *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)*, ed. by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp.367-402 (p.367).

169   Duda, 'Tehnika narodu!', p.372.

170   Reid 'The Khrushchev Kitchen', pp.290-291.

171   See Jane Pavitt and David Crowley, 'The Hi-Tech Cold War', in *Cold War Modern: Design 1945-1970*, ed. by Jane Pavitt and David Crowley, (London: V&A Publishing, 2008), pp.163-190.

technology in furthering modernisation through cultural diplomacy. The exhibition shunned conventional Cold War displays of rockets and high-tech machinery for a full-scale reproduction of an ultra-modern, supposedly standard suburban home furnished with the latest, efficient and economical domestic goods. According to Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann the exhibition was pivotal for renegotiating how the impact of science and technology could be measured. In their words:

> The superpower politicians may have disagreed on many issues during the cold war, but they found common diplomatic ground in the idea that science and technology were the true yardsticks of a society's progress. [...] If for American officials the success of the Moscow exhibit marked a milestone in their cold war struggle, to the Soviets, the American public relations declaration of victory symbolized that the United States had changed the rules of the superpower game of what "real" technology meant. [...] from then on, technology was to be measured in terms of consumer goods rather than space and nuclear technologies.[172]

In this context, mass-market products acquired important symbolic and ideological meaning. For Beatriz Colomina, international exhibitions like the one in Moscow were intended to create a very specific type of envy: 'Envy of washing machines, dishwashers, color televi- sions, suburban houses, lawnmowers, supermarkets stocked full of groceries, Cadillac convertibles, makeup colors, lipstick, spike-heeled shoes, hi-fi sets, cake mixes, TV dinners, Pepsi-Cola, and so on.'[173] This abundance of consumer products signalled the achievements of the local industry and the general standard of living, while their visual and material presence was all the more meaningful for the imposing infrastructure systems in which they were a part. As Jane Pavitt and David Crowley have argued,

> the teletowers of the 1950s and 1960s were knitted into the scopic regimes and information networks of the Cold War. Not only were they constructed to transmit television signals; the visual effects of these enormous structures were an intrinsic part of their significance.[174]

---

172   Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, 'Kitchens as Technology and Politics: An Introduction', in *Cold War Kitchen, Americanisation, Technology and European Users*, ed. by Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 2009), pp.1-29 (pp.3, 6).
173   Beatriz Colomina, 'Enclosed by Images: The Eamses' Multimedia Architecture', *Grey Room*, 2 (Winder 2001), 6-29 (p.9).
174   Pavitt and Crowley, p.132.

The prominent visibility of antennas placed on the roofs of socially-owned houses, for example, could not but testify to the presence of TV sets inside them. Just like cars parked in front of single-family homes, such objects became status symbols, signalling the prosperity of the household.[175] However, despite this emphasis on mass-market products as symbols of progress, companies like Iskra contextualised the production of home electronics within wider systems of production. In 1976, in the occasion of the company's anniversary, its director summed up its production policy over the past 30 years:

> It should be stressed, [...] that Iskra's consumer goods production is less than 20 percent of the total manufacturing programme of the company. Our major concern is the manufacture of professional equipment, and we shall therefore give priority to sophisticated rather than to large series products.[176]

Despite this preference for sophisticated technology, Iskra's designers dedicated a significant amount of attention to the design of mass-market products. Iskra's telephones, radios and even battery chargers were widely regarded as symbols of Yugoslav design and were representative of the country's proclaimed modernity. For this reason, the small role such objects played in the overall production plans calls for further attention.

Founded after the Second World War, when the partisans liberated a former textile factory called Jugočeška in Kranj, Iskra was set up to provide the country with 'the much needed electrical products'.[177] The company was of high importance to the socialist regime, and its production plans, like those of other companies operating in the sector, were often regulated through top down government policies. In a federal meeting of the electric industry manufacturers in 1963, for example, the proposal that home electronics should be produced solely by those companies that already manufactured at least some of the necessary components within their wider production plans was discussed.[178] Iskra's production of telephones was tied to its manufacture of switchboards. Equally, Rade Končar's development

---

175   Duda, 'Tehnika narodu!', pp.382-383.
176   *Iskra, 1946-1976* (Kranj: Iskra, 1976), n.p., archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia.
177   'From "The Screamer" to Iskra', in Iskra 1946-1976, (Ljubljana: Iskra, 1976), no pagination; Iskra 35, Industrija za telekomunikacije elektroniko in elektromehaniko Kranj, ed. by Jakob Vehovec and others (Kranj: Iskra, 1980), p.17; Mitja Ančik, 'Kratek pregled zgodovine Iskre od 1943 do 1989 godine', typescript, Kranj, July 1989, p.2; all material from the archive of the Technical Museum of Slovenia.
178   'Stenografske beleške - zapisnik sa zajedničkog sastanka direktora elektronske industrije Jugoslavije', Ljubljana, 18 October 1963, pp.1-44 (pp.25-30), SI-ZAL-KRA-106-184.

of coffee grinders, which became one of its most well-known and widely used products, relied on its production of electric motors (Fig. 38). While this suggests that there was an ideological and political investment in the production of modern technological products for the mass market, it also shows that they were always part of bigger production schemes. For this reason, their development was sometimes erratic and was often treated as a by-product of a partly-planned economy. Iskra's designers set out to correct this by connecting design production to the structures of self-management.

Figure 38. Rade Končar's Miki coffee grinder, 1980s

In the following section, I will discuss the way Iskra's focus on a coherent design strategy served to reposition these mass-market products as meaningful for the pursuit of the Yugoslav socialist dream both in economic, social and symbolic terms. Equally, Iskra's approach to design will also reveal the way Yugoslav everydayness was to be permeated by modern technology, ultimately producing an environment of control that was not too dissimilar from the workplace described in the previous section. I will focus on the period between 1962, when Iskra's design department was founded, and 1980, the year when one of its most famous products, the ETA80 telephone, was released on the market. Over these two decades, the organisation of its design department underwent a profound transformation that I will relate

to key changes in self-management, especially in the years following the 1974 Constitutional changes.

- ### 1.4.3 Design practice as a form of self-management

In 1976, Berislav Šefer, the vice president of Savezno izvršno vijeće of Yugoslavia (Federal Executive Council, SIV), participated in a conference on the quality of products and services held in Belgrade.[179] In his presentation, he argued that one of the most important tasks for contemporary industry and retail services was 'to ensure the overcoming of the dualistic behaviour of the working man - as producer and as consumer'.[180] Finding ways in which this duality could be overthrown was an ongoing concern for Yugoslav designers. In a conference held on the occasion of the first Bijenale Industrijskog Oblikovanja (Biennial of Industrial Design, BIO) in Ljubljana in 1964, it was argued that there was a 'mutual interdependence between working man as producer and as consumer' and this duality had to be overcome through design, by 'joining all the participants in the connected process of "production-retail-consumption"'.[181] This was a question of alienated production and commodity fetishism that could be overcome if workers were to take ownership of the whole production process - even product planning and development - through the structures of self-management. Iskra, a company where the design, production and distribution of products were closely woven within systems of self-management - both within the factory and society more broadly - sought to provide a possible model for the way in which this alienation could be eradicated. Its design department played here a central role (Fig.39).

Iskra was the first Yugoslav company to open an in-house design office. Design was introduced at Iskra by Davorin Savnik in 1958, when he started working for the company.[182] In 1962,

---

179   The conference was titled 'Savjetovanje o kvalitetu proizvoda i usluga' and was organised by Jugoslavenski savez organizacija za unapređenje kvaliteta i pouzdanosti (Yugoslav Council of Oranisations for the Improvement of Quality and Reliability) i Društvo za unapređenje kvaliteta prozivoda i usluga SR Srbije (Association for the Improvement of Products and Services). Miroslav Fruht, 'Kvalitet proizvoda i dizajn', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 31-32 (May-August 1976), 21-22.
180   Šefer, in Fruht, 'Kvalitet proizvoda i dizajn', p.21.
181   'Dizajn i potrošačka kultura' (Design and consumer culture) conference presentation at the Savetovanje Saveza likovnih umetnika primenjenih umetnosti Jugoslavije (Council of Artists of Applied Arts), Ljubljana, 1964, in Fruht, 'Kvalitet proizvoda i dizajn', p.21.
182   Ljuban Klojčnik states that it was Savnik who introduced the importance of design to Iskra, as before that the very concept of design 'wasn't even known'. Interview with Ljuban Klojčnik, Ljubljana, 2009, pp.1-9 (p.1), from the archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana. Before its foundation as a separate unit, designers worked within the propaganda department, developing

when the design department was founded within Iskra's research and development institute, Zavod za automatizaciju (Automation institute, ZZA), Savnik became its director.[183] From early on, Savnik was ambitious in positioning design as a key element of production within such a complex electronics factory (Fig. 40). He considered it to be a unifying factor in shaping the company's production strategy and articulating its presence in the market. In this early period, between 1962 and 1969, the department was set up as a workers' council within the ZZA, which, in turn, was placed under the management structure of the associated company, separate from production units. Davorin Savnik responded directly to Silvo Hrast, the company director. In an interview in the company magazine, Savnik reconstructed the department's foundation, arguing that 'the distinct product diversity of the four integrated factories' that formed Iskra's structure at the time 'was especially noticeable with the first joint appearance at the electronics trade fair in Ljubljana in 1961.'[184]

Figure 39. Iskra's in-house design office, 1970s.

The blue poster on the right is from an exhibition Iskra held in Stuttgart

print material, fair stands and Iskra stores. While designers worked on a few products, a more holistic approach to design was only implemented from mid-1962 onwards. 'Pomenek o oddelku za industrijsko oblikovanje', *Iskra*, 21 (28 May 1964), p.4.

183   'Pomenek o oddelku za industrijsko oblikovanje', p.4.
184   I.S., 'Oblikovanje (design) v Iskri', *Iskra*, 7(17 February 1966), p.4.
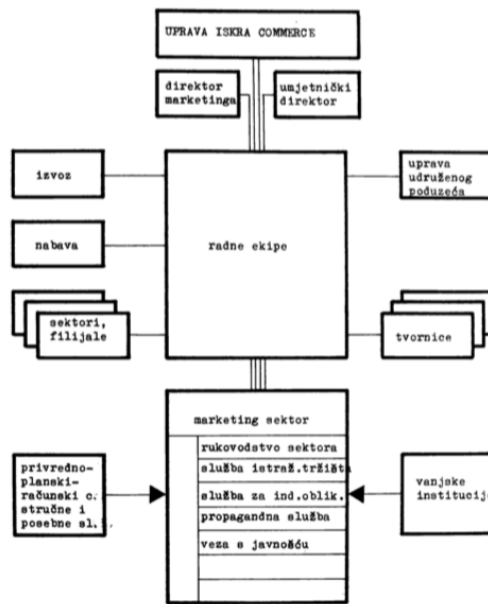
Figure 40. Organisation of Iskra's design and marketing divisions, in 1970, from the book *Upravljanje industrijskim dizajnom, Organizacija dizajn biroa* (Management of industrial design, Organisation of design bureau), (Zagreb: CIO, 1970)

As a result, the design department was set up and Iskra's approach to design was officially laid out in the company's 1963 statute:

> The statutes of the Iskra Associated Company demand that all products bearing the Iskra mark be designed in a modern style – in the so-called Iskra house style. [...] all organizations (development and factories) must manufacture only those new products that have the certification of the department of industrial design. According to this proposal [...] the engineer in development and the designer from the industrial design department must work in close collaboration throughout their work on the assignment – from the engineering of the product to the completed trial series. [...] the basic demand: every Iskra product must be of high quality, inexpensive and have a suitably aesthetic design.[185]

---

185   'Industrijsko oblikovanje', *Iskra*, 10 (10 March 1966), p.4.

The statute sought to position the design department as a unifying element that regulated and controlled Iskra's industrial production through the specific dynamics imposed by self-management. In the earlier period, however, this meant that the control over product development was more firmly in the hands of company managers, for Iskra's structure was still strongly centralised.[186] In 1970, however, the design department was moved from the Zavod za automatizaciju to Iskra Commerce, a new marketing and commercial department set up in 1969 as a result of the market reforms.[187] Within this new organisational structure, design still oversaw processes of production, but lost some of its overarching, management significance.

After the 1974 constitutional reforms, this model evolved further: the factory was reorganised as a cluster of OOURs, giving greater independence to individual units. The impact this new type of organisation made on design practice within Iskra was outlined in an article published in *Industrijsko oblikovanje* in 1976. Product development now started with the brief set by separate production units and was followed by 'discussion, led between the representatives of the factory and designers'.[188] The discussion served to 'mature and finalise the idea after which a detailed project is developed'.[189] According to the article, this goes to show that at Iskra 'industrial design was part of the business policy, that was verified by organs of self-management and that is coherently implemented' in product development.[190] As it lost its central, management role, the design department sought legitimacy through a close association with the processes of self-management.

This emphasis on self-management also reveals the way Iskra sought to overcome the alienating dualism between workers and consumers: by closely connecting consumption to the self-managed factory and its systems of production. This unfolded in two ways. Firstly, Iskra's designers employed the supposedly objective and scientific design methodology to design efficient, rational and functional consumer products that wouldn't engender consumer fetishism, but rather, shape productive consumers even outside the sphere of work. Iskra's designer Ljuban Klojčnik summed it up in 1979, stating that, by designing products 'a designer also designs, consciously or not, in an indirect way, the consumer [...] with the shape

186   See Figure 8 on page 66 for a diagram of the structure that highlights the centralised management.
187   *Iskra Non-Aligned Design*, 1946-1990, p.91.
188   'Zajednička korist okuplja i vuče napreď, *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 31-32 (May-August 1976), 25-27 (p.26).
189   'Zajednička korist okuplja i vuče napreď, p.26.
190   'Zajednička korist okuplja i vuče napreď, p.25.

of a product, the designer transmits certain informative content [...] about the culture of production and the producer, the culture of the market'.[191] In the Yugoslav case, that 'culture of the market' was one underpinned by self-management. This suggests that mass-market products served to transform the workers' subjectivity and turn the whole of society into a productive system regulated by self-management.

Second, this transformation was closely associated with Iskra's wider role in society. Its growth between 1965 and 1980, together with the development of the system of social self-management, made Iskra a far-reaching, networked entity that shaped the everyday experience of a large number of Yugoslav citizens living on its territory. This was achieved by investing in extensive urban development, with the construction of housing for its workers, by building schools, financing university departments, developing holiday resorts and organising the workers' leisure time through a number of sporting and cultural associations. The factory - with self-management at its core - became the main social institution of Yugoslav society. As will be discussed in the last section of this chapter, this made the factory - nearly any Yugoslav factory of Iskra or Rade Končar's size - both ubiquitous as well as invisible. At the same time, this form of social organisation produced a subtle yet pervasive environment of control. The consistent and widespread use of Iskra's products across Yugoslavia's territory, signalled the capillary impact of the self-managed factory. Iskra's design department, as I will suggest in the examples that follow, was particularly important in facilitating this role and making it visible in material form.

- **1.4.4 Programming Yugoslav consumers through design**

As a producer of electrical and electronic products that ranged from electric drills to radios, from telephones to battery chargers, Iskra's production can be seen as one where the technological apparatus of the factory, discussed in the section on Rade Končar, was extended into the private, domestic sphere. Iskra's products, as I will suggest, demanded that consumers be productive, efficient, rational and industrious. This was achieved through a process of aesthetization of technology, where objects were presented as sleek, sculptural items, irrespective of their function.

---

191 'Naš dizajn očima stručnjaka', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 50 (July-August 1979), 9-14 (p.10).

Figure 41. Klip-Klap tool box, undated (1970s)

For example, in 1966 Iskra produced a line of electric drills that were constructed from 'two equal, flattened halves.'[192] The form 'exploited the advantages of the new plastic technology' and 'simplified the production process', while also giving an appealing, modernist form to an everyday consumer product.[193] This production programme was extended, in the mid-1970s, with a series of modular electric tools. Their sleek form embodied Iskra design department's ethos, where industrial design was 'not only [concerned] with the beautiful shape of the finished product' but had to 'achieve, above all, a high functionality' to display 'true progress in technology and design in comparison with what came before'.[194] To make the drills more appealing to the mass market, the line was given a catchy name - Klip Klap - and marketed under the slogan 'All that I know, I make myself' (*Sve kar znam, napravim sam*).[195] The line's logo featured the caricature of a majstor, the Jack of all trades that made these products user-friendly. As part of its marketing programme in the period of the late 1970s, Iskra also

---

192   Predan, 'An Overlooked Giant', p.49.
193   Predan, 'An Overlooked Giant', p.50.
194   Miha Košak, in Predan, 'An Overlooked Giant', p.53.
195   'Klip Klap', brochure, (Kranj: Iskra, n.d.), SI-ZAL-KRA-167-73 – 223.

published do-it-yourself features in popular magazines, accompanied by Klip Klap's iconic mascot.[196] While the emphasis on productive leisure and domesticity as a sphere of production was implicit in Klip-Klap's very function, that functionality was partly concealed by the way it was portrayed through images and promotional material (Fig.41).

Figure 42. Iskra ATA30 telephones brochure, cover, 1977

A study of Iskra's telephone lines, one of its best known production programmes, illustrates this point further. Iskra' manufacture of telephones was closely tied to its development of nation-wide telecommunications networks. The company produced switchboards and telecommunications infrastructure for large government bodies like the postal service, the national railway network and the Yugoslav army.[197] To complement these large-scale projects, over the years, Iskra's design department had developed a number of appealing, modern telephones that won a number of "good design" awards - either at the Ljubljana Biennial of Industrial Design or other international exhibitions.[198] Iskra's telephones were seen as the material, highly visible representation of the

196   'Rad Iskrinim Klip-Klap aparatom', *Sam svoj majstor*, 1 (January 1978), pp.72-77.
197   'Zapisnik sa sastanka predstavnika preduzeća Iskra, Kranj i Energoinvest', Sarajevo, 11-12 December 1963, pp.1-44 (p.1), SI-ZAL-KRA-106-184; Iskra 35, industrija za telekomunikacije elektroniko in elektromehaniko Kranj, (Kranj: Iskra, 1981), p.25.
198   Solely during the 1960s, the list of event awards extended from the ICSID exhibition in 1965 and the International Fair in Brno in 1966 to Expo in Montreal in 1967. See 'Dobra oblika, good design, Mednarodna priznanja i publikacije', brochure , (Kranj: Iskra, 1967), from the archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

company's core technical expertise, and for this reason much attention was paid to their design. For example, the ATA 30 telephone, and its later iteration ATA 31, produced in 1965, became a symbol of Yugoslav design, whose minimal form was characterised by a juxtaposition of rectangular and round geometric elements.[199] The importance of its aesthetics was highlighted by an article published in 1968 in *Industrial Design* magazine that used the image of the ATA 30 to illustrate its central argument. The writers suggested that following its evolution 'from an invention, a contraption, a luxury' to 'a convenience, a utility', the telephone was now 'finally beginning to get the cosmetic treatment'.[200] At Iskra, this cosmetic treatment of technology was a well-considered design strategy, used to transform practical, useful technologies into what Adrian Forty has defined as 'objects of desire'.[201] In Forty's analysis, carefully styled objects, like those manufactured by Braun, a company on which Iskra's design department was modelled, 'suited the deceits and contradictions of housework well, for their appearance raised no comparisons with machine tools or office equipment'.[202] Just as Braun's mixers appealed to consumer desires and portrayed housework as a desirable, appealing activity, Iskra's telephones collapsed the distance between the workplace and the home, production and consumption. Its telephones were also designed to be desired: their sculptural form, like that of many international style products of the post-war period, was 'to be placed on a table in a domestic setting to be simply observed'.[203] This was evident from the way ATA 30 was marketed, with the cover of a brochure featuring a composition of bright red, shiny, plastic receivers that focused the viewer's attention on the materiality of the telephone, rather than its function (Fig.42 and 43). This aestheticising approach was extended across Iskra's production range: from its Pobi car battery chargers to its small domestic appliances, further intensifying the sense of spatial and temporal continuity between the sphere of work and that of domesticity and leisure (Fig.44).

In this context, it is worth focusing here on another telephone. The ETA 80 was designed by Davorin Savnik, in the late 1970s and still remains one of Iskra's most iconic products. More than any other Iskra object, the ETA 80 was designed to be a sculptural model and Savnik paid particular attention to its streamlined profile, which looked like an axe (Fig.45 and

---

199   *Iskra Non-Aligned Design, 1946-1990*, p.101.
200   'Hello Central', *Industrial Design*, 6 (July-August 1968), p.42.
201   Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995).
202   Forty, p.219; Savnik referenced Braun as a key example for Iskra's design and the company produced Braun's products on a licence. See 'Pomenek o oddelku za industrijsko oblikovanje', p.4.
203   Brennan, 'Olivetti', p.246.

46).[204] In its most famous version, the ETA 80 featured a bright red plastic body and a black receiver, both characterised by a rounded, soft design. It could be argued that the ETA 80 was to telephones what Ettore Sottsass's Valentine was to typewriters, both in terms of its form as well as its intended use. As AnnMarie Brennan has written, its bright red, playful design disassociated the typewriter 'from the banality of the corporate workplace [...] Particular attention was focused on the affective relationship between the Valentine and its potential user, promoting a fresh, ludic approach to work as play or non-work'.[205]
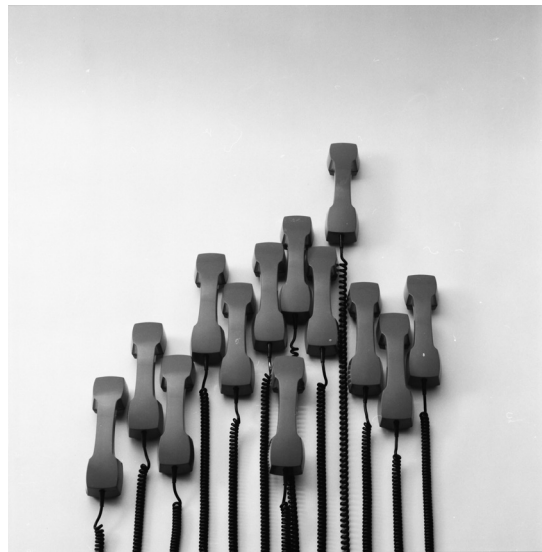
Figure 43. Promotional image for ETA40, undated (1970s)

With the streamlined design of the ETA80, Savnik sought to reveal the sensual, playful nature of modern telecommunication systems.[206] Rather than simply making labour more efficient and productive, these objects were designed in a way that would make work itself a form of pleasure. In 1987, several years after the ETA80 was released, the popular magazine *Start* published an article on modern telephones that featured the image of a woman on a tanning bed with two ETA 80 telephones set in front of her (Fig.47). To accompany this futuristic image of pleasurable, leisurely work, the authors wrote: 'Do you connect with people successfully over the wire and do you make deals more easily while talking animatedly? If yes,

---

204   'Davorin Savnik interview', transcript, pp.1-6, from the archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana, 2009,

205   Brennan, 'Olivetti', p.246.

206   In an interview in 2009, Savnik told the story about seeing his phone on the desk of a doctor and telling himself that 'if he ever designed the phone for someone, it was for this beautiful doctor', alluding to the sensual nature of the object. 'Davorin Savnik interview', p.6.

then by all the rules of contemporary society you are a successful "communicologist" and need a modern telephone.'[207] As the *Start* article pointed out, by the end of the 1980s the workplace had come to encompass all of Yugoslav society, moving from the factory into the private, domestic sphere. This apparently seamless transition was mediated precisely by shiny plastic objects like the ETA 80.

Figure 44. Pobi battery charger, Marijan Gnamuš, 1973.

Figure 45. ETA 80 telephone, Davorin Savnik, 1979

207   Sunčana Novak, 'Naš test, vaš izbor', *Start*, 471 (07 February 1987), pp.8-9.

Figure 46. ETA 80 telephone, Davorin Savnik, in different colour variations
emphasising the object's playfulness, 1979

However, this role of everyday, domestic technologies had a wide reaching impact on
society. Again, it is useful to refer here to AnnMarie Brennan's study, for there are numerous
parallels, and connections, between Olivetti and the self-managing Iskra. Just like Iskra,
that was rebuilding the Yugoslav industry and economy, during the 1960s, Olivetti was also
'performing in a new role within Italian society as a persuasive and capillary agent, organically
expanding into cultural, social and economic areas under the auspices of business planning and
development'.[208] However, this totalising role of companies like Olivetti was not welcomed
by the Italian Workerist movement whose key thinkers argued that its machines, systems of
production and social influence had created an alienating network of power that displaced
the sphere of work from the factory and into other areas of life. Italian political thinker Mario
Tronti called it the "social factory", arguing that

> When the factory possesses all of society all social production becomes industrial
> production—and therefore the specific traits of the factory are lost within the

---

208   Brennan, 'Olivetti', p.239.

generic aspects of society. When all of society is reduced to the factory, the factory—as such—seems to disappear.[209]

In the context of Yugoslav socialism, this reading of the role of technology acquired even more meaning.[210] Paired with the system of social self-management new technologies, designed to make individuals more productive, efficient and industrious, transposed the relationships established within the workplace into both the private and public sphere. The Yugoslav self-managed factory, placed at the centre of society, and extending its reach across all social institutions, ultimately dissolved. In the period between 1952 and 1980, this disappearance of the factory was facilitated by the products, architecture, systems and wider social structures that enterprises like Iskra and Rade Končar developed, whose design, production, distribution and use was underpinned by the system of self-management.
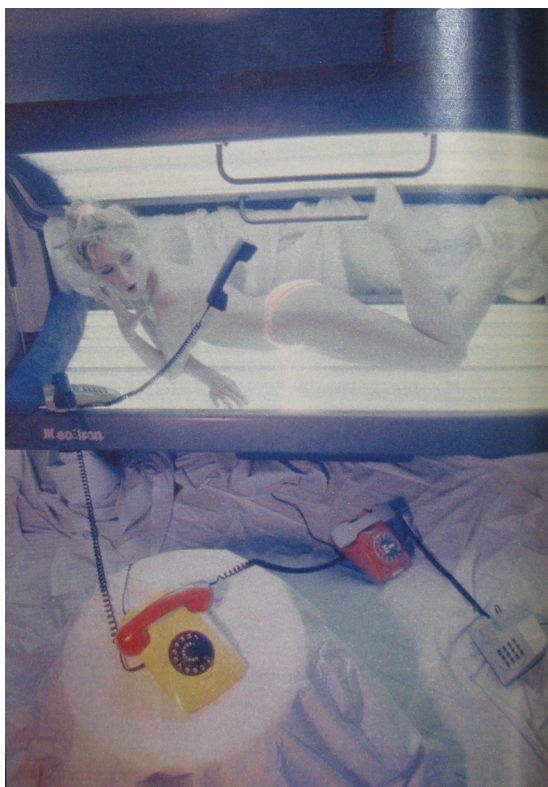
Figure 47. Colourful variations of the ETA80 in *Start* magazine, 1987

---

209   Mario Tronti, *Operai e capitale* (Turin: Einaudi, 1966), p. 49, in Brennan, p.241 .
210   More on the relationship between Praxis and other New Left movements, see Branislav Jakovljević, *Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1945-91* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), p.244. The ideas of the workerist movement were also circulated in Yugoslavia through the Italian artistic groups associated with the New Tendencies movement, so their ideas had a resonance, though perhaps marginal, within the Yugoslav context. See Armin Medosch, *New Tendencies: Art at the Threshold of the Information Revolution (1961-1978)* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 2016), p.7.

- **1.5 Designing the social structures of self-management**

Iskra and Rade Končar's attempt to shape unalienated workers/consumers through new technologies needs to be contextualised within the wider role of self-managing enterprises in society. When self-management was first introduced in 1950, through federal economic plans, Yugoslav industry was connected to the local community:

> The production possibilities of the economic organisations are the basis of the federal, republican and communal economic plans. [...] The [...] plan outlines the conditions of production, the obligations of the economic enterprise towards the community, the forms with which the fulfilment of these obligations will be carried out, and in this way establishes a link between the economic organisation as a legal person and an economic unit and the community.[211]

The impact of enterprises on the local economy was further heightened with the 1963 constitutional reforms that reduced federal tax and gave greater economic power to the local communes that were 'henceforth required to finance [social] services out of their own means,' that is, from taxes paid by local enterprises.[212] Both symbolically and practically, then, companies like Iskra and Rade Končar were at the centre of their local community. In fact, the provision of free education (Iskra and Končar both founded a technical college and offered bursaries to university students who would return to work for the company), healthcare, construction of social housing and provision of loans for private house-building, organised leisure and subsidised holidays (through sports clubs and vacations spent in company-owned resorts), were all services provided by self-managing companies.[213] It shouldn't come as a surprise, then, that both Rade Končar and Iskra sought to highlight this role in material terms through their office buildings, production halls or housing. However, these material spaces often also pointed to the discrepancies between the theory and practice in Yugoslav socialism.

---

211   Miladin Bogosavljević and Milutin Pesaković, *Workers' Management of a Factory in Yugoslavia: A Monograph about the "Rade Končar" Works* (Belgrade: Jugoslavija, 1959), pp.68-69.
212   Rusinow, p.163.
213   See, for example, *Rade Končar 1946 - 1986* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1976), *Iskra 35,* (Iskra: Kranj, 1981).
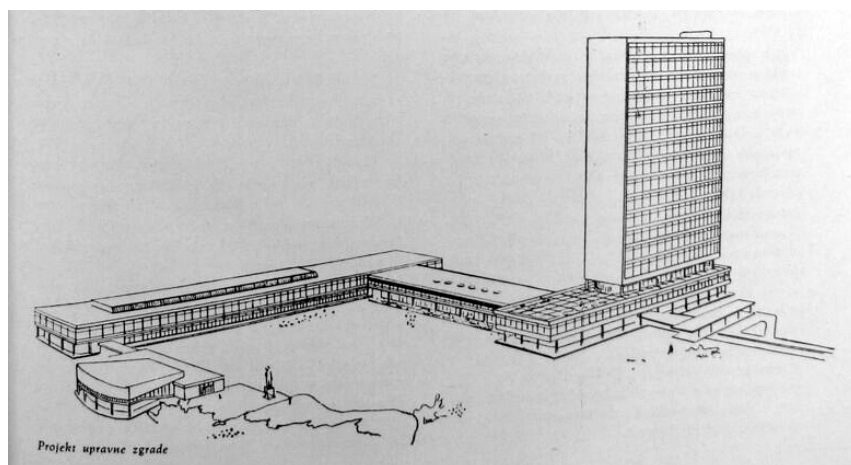
Figure 48. Drawings for Rade Končar's new building in 1952

Starting from the early 1950s, as it was preparing to build an office tower in a western district of Zagreb, Rade Končar understood the visual and symbolic value of these material spaces. For this reason, it was argued that this new building, 'very magnificent and interesting' needed to 'urbanistically [...] add a strong emphasis not only on the factory, but the whole of western Zagreb, in the same way that the "Rade Končar" factory represents an obvious highlight in our overall industry, and especially in the entire electrification of Yugoslavia'.[214] The office building was designed following a public competition launched in 1952, and was part of a larger system of low-rise buildings that were articulated so as to integrate the new spaces with the old factory complex (Fig. 48). The building featured a simple rectangular plan with a clear functionalist design characterised by a grid structure on its northern and southern elevations. The geometric design of the facade was highlighted by four vertical slabs that drew attention to the building's height. The modernist appeal to functionality and efficiency seemed particularly relevant for its use:

> The building is functionally well-studied, so that the management of the company, collegium and management board can meet as quickly as possible when making emergency decisions. Horizontal connections are reduced to a minimum, so that vertical circulation is used more frequently, which is why two groups of lifts were designed.[215]

---

214   *Rade Končar, 1946-1956* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1956), p.25.
215   *Rade Končar, 1946-1956*, p.25.

Despite its emphasis on efficiency, expediency and functionality, the structure of the building ultimately served to concentrate the decision-making power in one place, separating in spatial and temporal terms the workers' councils operating on the factory floor from the management board. In this way, the new office building underpinned the hierarchical decision-making processes that characterised Yugoslav self-management. In a similar manner, Iskra's decision to create an office building in Ljubljana in 1974, 30km from the main factory complex in Kranj, dramatically separated the management of the factory from its blue-collar workers (Fig.49).[216]

Figure 49. Iskra's office tower in Ljubljana, from *Iskra 35,* book,1981

Both in the case of Iskra and Rade Končar, the building was symptomatic of the company's role as an 'urban generator'.[217] For Končar, in the mid-1950s the factory employed 3,560 workers that by 1976 grew to over 15,000 workers. Such a dramatic expansion was mirrored in the construction of 308,900 square meters of factory space.[218] Furthermore, during the

---

216   *Iskra 35*, p.151.
217   For more on specific architectural projects as urban generators see Dubravka Vranić, 'The Resistance of Architecture to Political Regime(s): the Case of Novi Zagreb', *Sociologija i prostor*, 1 (2014), 41-67 (p.53).
218   *Rade Končar, 1946-1956,* p.13; *Rade Končar 30 godina* (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1976), p.27.

1950s and 1960s, this growth led to the development of two new residential neighbourhoods that were designed so as to integrate the factory within a larger urban whole: 'Depending on the available resources, we always sought to keep up with the standard of living, by which we avoided building "workers' neighbourhoods", and instead fit the newly-built housing within existing or new residential neighbourhoods.'[219] In addition, the decisions about what and how it should be built were taken by the workers' councils:

> The workers' council of the company has taken the formal decision on 29 July 1953 to build a large park [...] that should become in the future a centre of cultural and sporting life, not only for the company but the whole part of the city surrounding the company.[220]

The individual housing blocks (Fig.50) were conceived as modern, functional and comfortable units: 'All buildings were constructed as stand-alone blocks, facing eastward. All housing is [designed as] two- or three-bedroom apartments, with all the comforts, i.e. a fitted bathroom, a built-in wardrobe, a kitchen, a pantry and built-in lodge.'[221] This approach to urban development served to position factories as the backbone of society, to shape the experience of modernity within the home, as well as reinforce a materialistic understanding of self-management.
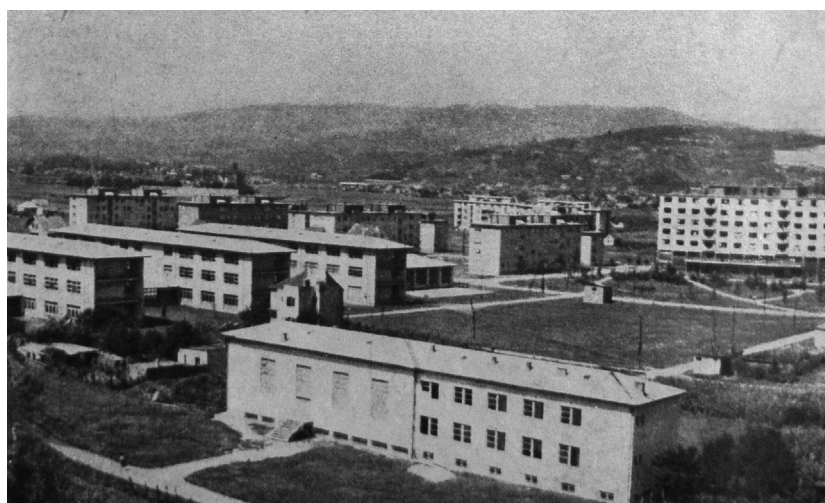
Figure 50. Končar housing blocks in Zagreb, 1950s
from the book *Rade Končar, 1946-1956*

---

219   *Rade Končar 30 godina*, p.171.
220   *Rade Končar, 1946-1956*, p.121.
221   *Rade Končar, 1946-1956*, p.130.

Through the construction of housing and factory buildings, the processes of self-management were translated into specific spatial forms that organised Yugoslav everyday life both within and outside of the factory. The factory wasn't an enclosed entity, but, in John Harwood's terms, faced outward, a characteristic that was emphasised through the modular spatial dislocation and design of its factories, housing and social structures.[222] In the 1970s, as Rade Končar grew to include 15 factories across Yugoslavia, not only in Zagreb, its network of influence extended across the Yugoslav landscape. Equally, in 1976, Iskra employed 30,000 workers across 65 economic units that were dislocated across a number of towns in Slovenia.[223] Both companies formed a spatial network that ultimately performed as a 'counterenvironment', seeking to organise and regulate the space around it, while also disappearing as a precise physical entity. At Iskra, such networked, interconnected and outward facing urban growth formed an essential company policy:

> Our policy is that work places should move towards the workers and not the other way round. The purpose of this policy is clear. We decided to develop the Socialist Republic of Slovenia evenly, in a polycentric way, so that all town and regional planning should follow historical units and that the gap between the urban and rural developments should be bridged.[224]

Iskra and Končar's ultimate goal, so it seems, was to form a coherent spatial network that, to borrow Brennan's phrasing, performed as 'a persuasive and capillary agent, organically expanding into cultural, social and economic areas under the auspices of business planning and development'.[225] This form of capillary distribution produced an all-encompassing, totalising "environment" of self-management. Iskra and Rade Končar's electric and digital objects and environments, as I have discussed, were instrumental in this pursuit. In the next section, I will further expand on the idea of total environments of self-management by briefly examining at the project for the Yugoslav Pavilion at the Milan *Trienniale* in 1964.

---

222   Harwood, p.131.
223   'Zajednička korist okuplja i vuče napred', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 31-32 (May-august 1976) 25-27 (p.25).
224   *Iskra, 1946-1976*, n.p.
225   Brennan, p.239.

- **1.6 The environments of self-management**

While the disappearance and capillary diffusion of the factory was set in motion by the very first law on self-management in 1950, it was given further weight with the 1963 constitutional reform. The reform, as I have argued at the beginning of this chapter, placed greater emphasis on self-management as a system for regulating wider social processes outside the working community. By the mid-1960s, self-management had become a framework through which all experiences of everyday life had to be mediated. Yugoslav spaces and places had become the environments of self-management. As the examples discussed in this chapter have shown, design was instrumental in this process of diffusion, materialising and making self-management visible in society. Vjenceslav Richter's pavilion for the Brussels Expo in 1958 was one of the first examples that I analysed in this chapter to show how self-management was "designed". Here, I will briefly examine another pavilion designed by Richter, this time for the 1964 Milan *Trienniale*, that reveals the diffusion of self-management across spaces and places of everyday life.

Figure 51. Vittorio Gregotti and Umberto Eco, 'kaleidoscope' opening section at the XIII *Trienniale* in Milan, 1964, with projections of films by Tinto Brass

The XIII Milan *Triennial* in 1964 was dedicated to the theme of 'Il Tempo libero' (Leisure Time). Just like other *Trienniale* showcases, this edition included an introductory exhibition, in addition to national pavilions. In this case, the introductory section was curated by the well-known Italian semiotician Umberto Eco together with the architect Vittorio Gregotti. According to Catharine Rossi, the theme of leisure and the choice of curators reflected two turns. Firstly, the triennial signalled Europe's transformation into a 'leisure society', a turn that was also relevant in the Yugoslav context. Secondly, it also signalled the semiotic turn in design practice.[226] For this reason, the opening section examined the way the economic base of production interacted with the superstructure of leisure and culture. One of the key pieces of the opening section was a "kaleidoscope" made up of mirrored surfaces onto which two films made by the well-known director Tinto Brass were projected simultaneously: *Il Tempo del Lavoro* (Work Time) and *Il Tempo Libero* (Leisure Time), (Fig.51). According to Rossi, the two films were 'made up largely of the same footage' and 'were intended to show the crossovers between the two realms', with the underlying message being, as the writers of *Domus* magazine put it in their review of the exhibition, that 'we are never free'.[227] The Yugoslav Pavilion made that point even more clearly.

Responding to the theme of the Triennial, Yugoslavia's contribution presented leisure 'through the specific nature of the Yugoslav social system' based on self-management.[228] Vjenceslav Richter sought to create an immersive environment with modest means, where visitors were to be absorbed by the dynamism of the space (Fig.52). The construction was made of 4 x 8 cm timber laths, which were arranged on an orthogonal grid, where the vertical raster of the laths was matched by the same pattern on the floor, with the distance between laths corresponding to their width. The vertical laths formed what Matko Meštrović has called a 'spatial modulator'.[229] Richter overlaid the laths with images that represented the way 'workers' self-management is reflected in the sphere of free time as a tenet of social management of those institutions where leisure is actively spent' (Fig. 53 and 54).[230] This included images of workers spending their 'leisure time in an active way' in 'cultural centres, libraries, adult

226   Catharine Rossi, 'Crafting Design in Italy: from Post-war to Postmodernism' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal College of Art, 2011), pp.328-329.
227   Rossi, p.329; 'Prime immagini della Tredicesima Triennale', *Domus*, 417 (August 1964), 3-14 (p.9).
228   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.360.
229   Matko Meštrović, 'Jugoslavija na XIII Trijenalu', *Čovjek i prostor*, 142 (January 1965), p.5.
230   Bernardo Bernardi, 'Jugoslavija na XIII Trijenalu', *Arhitektura*, 90 (1965), pp.42-43 (p.42).

education centres, sports clubs and clubs of popular technology'.[231] The sequence of images highlighted the permeability of work and leisure, production and consumption, positioning self-management as a system that underpinned the transition between these two areas of life. This was supported by the overarching context and theoretical framework of the pavilion, developed by 'an interdisciplinary team of experts' who even wrote 'a separate study of the sociological and cultural aspects of leisure', that placed an emphasis on the institutions of social-self management and their role in Yugoslav society.[232]
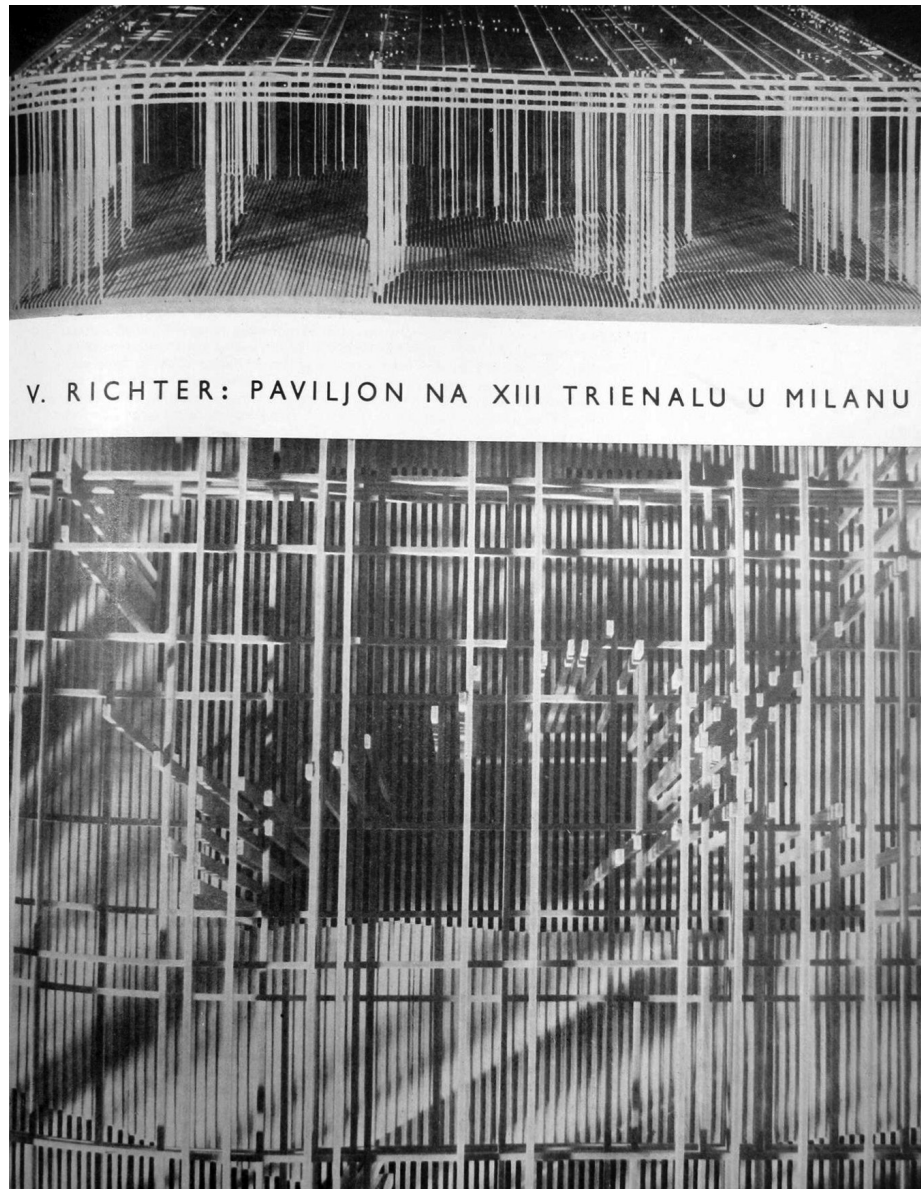
Figure 52. Vjenceslav Richter, Yugoslav Pavilion at the XIII Milan *Triennial* in 1964, from an article in *Arhitektura*

---

231   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.361.
232   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.360.

Black and white photograph of the Yugoslav pavilion for XII Milan *Triennale*, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 53. Vjenceslav Richter, Yugoslav Pavilion at the XIII Milan *Triennale* in 1964

Colour photograph of the Yugoslav pavilion for XII Milan *Triennale*, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 54. Vjenceslav Richter, Yugoslav Pavilion at the XIII Milan *Trienniale* in 1964

By pairing images with a modular structure, the installation appeared as what Beatriz Colomina has described as an 'endless flow of images' that 'constituted the environment'.[233] For Jasna Galjer, this sense of flow and continuity, was also achieved by an emphasis on the temporal dimension. In fact, Richter 'had envisaged a metronome, responding in sound to the mono-element (the prefabricated lath), corresponding with its ticks to the distances, giving an extra

---

233   Beatriz Colomina, *Domesticity at War* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007), p.7.

dimension of the passage of time to the rhythm of movement through space'.[234] In Galjer's view, this 'turned the exhibition into a dynamic media space for communication, which instead of a complete and static image of the surrounding world provided an interactive, fractal ambience composed of sections that evaded any unambiguous interpretation'.[235] The active participation of the viewer, just like the one envisioned by semioticians like Eco, was instrumental in bringing this media space to life. As Eco writes in *The Role of the Reader*, this system of participation is actively designed from the inception of the project: 'The reader as an active principle of interpretation is a part of the picture of the generative process of the text'.[236] Richter envisioned that by moving through space, the viewers would "produce" 'a different picture every moment', the installation 'turning the observer into an active participant of this ambiental installation'.[237] Seen within the wider theme of the triennial, this spatial system confirmed that modern leisure, even under socialism, didn't make individuals free. Instead, even the visitors to the pavilion were drawn within a continuous system of production, and asked to produce the meaning of the exhibition. When connected to the framework of self-management, Richter's astute design strategy, perhaps unintentionally, brought this pervasive role of self-management to life.

- **1.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has sought to give an overview of the way design practice and the system of self-management interacted in the period between 1950 and 1980. In this long time-frame, I have outlined two different models of design practice that corresponded to wider developments in Yugoslav industry and the economy. The first model - that of designers working at the intersection of pure and applied arts - put design in the service of government institutions. Groups like Exat 51 and the artists, architects and designers associated with them, were mobilised by the government to shape an appropriate visual, material and spatial image of self-management. The example of Richter's pavilion at the 1958 Expo in Brussels, highlighted the potential pitfalls that they faced in this task. The comparison of that pavilion with Bernardi's work for the *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions revealed two different registers that were used to shape an image of self-management.

---

234   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.360.
235   Galjer, *Expo 58*, pp.358, 360.
236   Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p.4.
237   Galjer, *Expo 58*, p.358.

The second section of this chapter has focused on the "technological turn" in design practice that emerged starting from the early 1960s. The turn, that anticipated market reforms by a few years, signalled the new role of design practice: that of the coordinator of the processes of self-management, product development, manufacture and distribution within industry. The analysis of the work of Rade Končar showed the attention that was given in designing the Yugoslav workplace and, thereby, also designing worker self-managers. The study of Iskra, on the other hand, has shown how this approach was extended to the domestic space to produce industrious, efficient and rational consumers. This meant that the factory faced outwards, towards the wider social sphere, where it ultimately disappeared. What underpinned this opening of the factory was the constitutional transformation of self-management into a comprehensive social system. I have characterised it by the disappearance or diffusion of the factory both through its products as well as social role. The last case study showed how that disappearance became ingrained in the material experience of everyday life.

Throughout this chapter, I have sought to position material things at the centre of the Yugoslav experiment with self-management, as mediators of wider political, social and economic structures. I will explore this theme further in the following chapter by looking at spaces of consumption. I will argue that if consumerism was an essential tool for the legitimation of self-management, the way that experience of consumption played out was particularly meaningful. For this reason, shopping spaces needed to be carefully designed. Looking at the period between 1958 and 1972, the next chapter will trace the birth and development of Yugoslav consumerism through the design of spaces of consumption. By looking at different models, discourse and practices that designers adopted, I will suggest that consumerism was a problem that Yugoslav designers took upon themselves to solve.

Chapter 2

Design and the problem of consumerism: Culture, urban growth and good design

- **2.1 Introduction**

In an oft-quoted article published in 1965, the authors of *Time* magazine declared that 'Yugoslavia is a 100% Marxist country-50% Karl and 50% Groucho'.[1] The statement was supported by sketching out the basis for its economic system: 'With comic indecision, its economic planners have bobbed between ironhanded Communist controls and fleeting flirtations with capitalism. The results have not been happy.'[2] Even though, with hindsight, most historians today would agree with that assessment, at the time of the article's publication ordinary Yugoslavs appeared to have been happy with the results of their fairly open, hybrid economic and political system. They enjoyed the country's 'flirtation with capitalism' that allowed them access to modern consumer products both through stores at home, as well as monthly shopping pilgrimages to neighbouring Trieste or Graz, yet didn't have to renounce the social securities and opportunities for upward mobility provided by self-management.[3]

While not entirely accurate in its analysis, the *Time* article was nevertheless indicative of broader changes in Yugoslav society. In the period between 1963 and 1965, the government introduced a series of reforms that opened up the country's economy to market forces.[4] The reforms were the final step in Yugoslavia's steady progress towards a consumer society, initiated in the previous decade with the opening of the first supermarket in Belgrade in 1958, which signalled the intrinsic way in which self-management and consumerism were to be enmeshed.[5] Over the next decade, the connection between consumption and self-management was further reaffirmed through commercial fairs, the most prominent of which was the Zagreb Velesajam (Fair), with its yearly iterations presenting an unparalleled consumer

---

1   'Yugoslavia: Half Karl & Half Groucho', *Time*, 19 (7 May 1965), <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,898778,00.html>, [accessed on 20 September 2017].

2   'Yugoslavia: Half Karl & Half Groucho'.

3   On shopping tourism see Breda Luthar, 'Remembering Socialism: On Desire, Consumption and Surveillance', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2 (2006), pp.229-259; Breda Luthar, 'Shame, Desire and Longing for the West: a Case Study of Consumption', in *Remembering Utopia: the Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, ed. by Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik, (Washington: New Academia, 2010), 341-377; Alenka Švab, 'Consuming Western Images of Well-Being – Shopping Tourism in Socialist Slovenia', *Cultural Studies*, 1 (January 2002), pp.63–79. Sheila Fitzpatrick has analysed education in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and early 1930s through the lens of upward mobility, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union 1921-1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

4   See Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment, 1948-1974* (London: C.Hurst & Company, 1977), in particular chapter 5, 'Laissez-Faire Socialism'. For a critique of market reforms see Gal Kirn, *Partizanski prelomi in protislovja tržnega socializma v Jugoslaviji* (Ljubljana: Sofia, 2014).

5   Radina Vučetić, 'Potrošačko društvo po američkom modelu, Jedan pogled na jugoslavensku svakodnevicu šezdesetih', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2 (2012), 277-298 (p.291).

abundance through seminal exhibitions like *Porodica i domaćinstvo*. Equally, the foundation of the Bijenale industrijskog oblikovanja (Biennial of Industrial Design, BIO) in Ljubljana in 1964 formed a key moment in approaching West European consumerism through the lens of design. Inaugurated following the opening of Yugoslavia's borders in 1962, the BIO juxtaposed products of Yugoslav industries to those manufactured in Italy, West Germany, France or Sweden. The displays at the BIO were designed in ways that encouraged a direct comparison between mass-market goods produced in Yugoslavia and those manufactured in the capitalist West. As a result of such a wide-ranging emphasis on modern forms of consumption, the appearance of supermarkets and department stores in Yugoslav towns and cities during the 1960s, needs to be understood as the result of top-down decision making, as much as an expression of bottom-up consumer desire. With this steady advance in consumerism, both through images and in everyday experience, shopping spaces, patterns and practices carried particular meaning.

Rather than being considered trivial and unimportant within the broader pursuit of communism, shopping was essential for the Yugoslavs' self-identification with and support of the country's political project. Understood as a form of leisure, rather than solely as the fulfilment of basic needs, the experience of shopping lent legitimacy to self-management. As architectural historians Aleksandar Kušić and Ljiljana Kolešnik have argued, 'the general support that self-management enjoyed [was] due to a perceived link it supposedly had with relatively high living standards', represented by 'the pleasures of everyday leisure and consumption'.[6] However, as I will discuss in this chapter, Yugoslav designers, intellectuals and government officials were also anxious about the potential negative effects of consumerism, fearing that it might lead to commodity fetishism. The writer Momo Kapor put it plainly in 1967, arguing that modern stores, especially those selling clothing, actually sold 'the most contemporary fetishes, that served to prove one's buying power' and 'dictate the taste of the whole of Yugoslavia'.[7] This goes to show that, on the one hand, modern forms of consumption were seen as necessary for the success of the socialist project. On the other, attitudes towards Western-style consumerism were much more ambivalent.

---

6   Aleksandar Kušić and Ljiljana Blagojević, 'Patterns of Everyday Spatiality: Belgrade in the 1980s and its Post-Socialist Outcome', *Českÿ Lid*, 3 (2013), 281-302 (p.284).

7   Momo Kapor, 'Tiranija mode', *Nin*, 11 June 1967, p.7, in Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam, Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2016), pp.337-338.

This anxiety became palpable in the intellectual circles in the mid-1960s. The publication of the first issue of the *Praxis* journal in 1964 signalled a reaction against consumerist lifestyles and the associated dehumanisation of society. In the second issue of *Praxis* published that year, philosopher Miladin Životić wrote about the alienating effects of mass culture and its consumerist values:

> Mass culture is the production of things that exploit ignorance, primitivism, spiritual mediocrity [...] Whereby it is not important whether these are things recommended by a commercial manager or a political bureaucrat [...] One of the essential characteristics of mass culture is the creation of consumption values that can be effortlessly consumed.[8]

While Praxis philosophers were mostly concerned with the relationship between consumer culture and the power of the Yugoslav technocratic class, their writing foreshadowed later discussions on the pages of more widely read magazines like *Svijet*, *Start* and *15 dana*. Writer Igor Mandić argued in the weekly magazine *Vjesnik u srijedu* in 1970 that,

> The consumer industry shapes our taste, feels it out, uncovers its hidden nooks and is always one step ahead of our consciousness. Our ability to desire is set-up in advance: we don't buy what we want, but we want to buy what we are being offered![9]

The emergence of this widespread, public uneasiness with consumerism, in the 1970s, points to two stages in the development of Yugoslav consumer society. As Igor Duda suggests, the 1950s and 1960s were decades marked by the promise of consumerism: the period when consumer desires, attitudes and expectations were being shaped.[10] The 1970s, instead, were a decade of increasing buying power that allowed Yugoslav citizens to finally experience the pleasures and luxuries of consumerist lifestyles.[11] While Praxis philosophers criticised Yugoslav consumer society in its making, the popular press was quick to pick up on its negative effects on

---

8   Miladin Životić, 'Socijalizam i masovna kultura', *Praxis*, 2 (1964), 258-268 (pp.262-263).

9   'Notes Igora Mandića: Mitologija praznička potrošnje', *Vjesnik u Srijedu*, 7 January 1970, in Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2014), p.93.

10   Igor Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem, O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005).

11   That prosperity was largely due to foreign loans, leading to a subsequent decline in the Yugoslav economy. Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje*, pp.28-29.

everyday experience a few years later. Sociologist Stipe Šuvar was one of those who considered consumption necessary for the progress of socialism while also condemning consumerist attitudes. As I have written in the introduction, he argued that socialist societies were by definition consumer societies.[12] However, in the 1970s, Šuvar became more critical, suggesting that socialist consumption had been replaced by Western-style consumerism, marked by an 'upstart mentality, fabricated needs, money-grubbing, false behaviour, megalomania and too big investment spending'.[13] This shows that consumerism as a promise, used to motivate Yugoslav citizens to work harder to reconstruct the country, was considered an acceptable and necessary element of modern life. Consumerism as an everyday reality, on the other hand, proved much more thorny and difficult to justify.

These changing attitudes suggest that consumerism was considered a problem that had to be solved. The problem was twofold. On the one hand, the limited supply of products and an underdeveloped retail network that characterised everyday life in the 1950s and early 1960s, were a problem for the legitimacy of self-management that was based on the promise of prosperity and a high quality of life for Yugoslav workers. On the other, the consumerist attitudes that fully emerged during the 1970s were equally problematic, for they undermined Yugoslav socialist ideals of an equal, cultured and unalienated society. However, as I will discuss throughout this chapter, there was never a definitive stance towards consumerism, but different attitudes towards it and understanding of it continuously overlapped. Focusing mainly on the period between 1958 and 1968, this chapter will examine how designers responded to this double "problem" of consumerism through an analysis of shopping spaces and practices. By looking at a number of case studies, I will suggest that modern architecture and design were often used as a tool for solving the problem of consumerism, both by stimulating consumption and by regulating consumerist attitudes. The first section of the chapter will briefly outline these conflicting discourses that positioned consumerism as a problem. In the sections that follow, I will look at specific case studies, starting from the late 1950s with an analysis of the popular magazine *Svijet* (World) as a platform for the construction of consumer desire. The second case study moves from the pages of the magazine

---

12   Stipe Šuvar, *Sociološki presjek jugoslavenskog društva* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1970), pp.110-111.
13   Stipe Šuvar, "Potrošačko društvo i potrošački mentalitet', *Treći program Radio Beograda*, 2 (1973), 211-226 (pp.216-224), Stipe Šuvar, 'Elementi potrošačkog društva i potrošačkog mentaliteta', *Samoupravljanje i alternative* (Zagreb: Centar za kulturnu djelatnost SSO, 1980), pp.176-181, in Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje,* p.89.

and into urban space, analysing the Zagreb Velesajam in the period between 1957 and 1960. The fair occupied the most important commercial space in the city, while also serving as a laboratory for architectural experimentation and as an instrument of urban growth. This case study aims to explore the way consumerism and modern architecture were closely intertwined, and continues with a study of Yugoslav department stores and supermarkets in the period between 1960 and 1968. The last case study explores the way designers sought to tackle the problem of excessive consumerist lifestyles by shaping a discourse about "good design" that was communicated to Yugoslav workers through exhibitions and institutions such as the BIO in Ljubljana and the Dizajn Centar (Design Centre) in Belgrade. While the chapter mainly focuses on the period between 1958 and 1968, Belgrade's Design Centre, which opened in 1972, has been included in this chapter because it is particularly revealing in terms of conflicting attitudes towards consumption. How these two tendencies played out and what conclusions can be drawn from it about socialist consumerism will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

- **2.2 Consumption and the problem of consumerism**

Starting in the 1950s, the main problem with consumption was the construction of an adequate retail network. Shopping practices were subject to scrutiny from dedicated government bodies, determined to shape forms of consumption that could be seamlessly woven into the socialist ideological discourse. This was particularly the case with large, socially owned, retail chains and department stores spread across the Yugoslav territory, such as NaMa or Prehrana. However, small grocery stores in towns across the country were equally important and efforts were made to modernise them. In 1958, officials at the Savez trgovinskih komora (Council of the Chambers of Commerce) drafted documents which contained precise advice on store layouts, an analysis of the most important equipment for storing food and the use of new packaging materials, that mini-markets, small local groceries found in every neighbourhood, were advised to follow.[14] The same was true for larger, self-service supermarkets that were often described as an appropriate, socialist retail model. In one of the documents, the council's officials declared:

---

14   See collection Savez trgovinskih komora Jugoslavije, AJ-229-53-A, in particular documents 02-63, 'Prodavnica samoposluga u 1958. god.', 28 December 1958; 02-63-7208/2, 'Analiza poslovanja prodavaonica za samoposluživanje', 17 December 1958, for detailed reports on the design of local stores.

The biggest advantage of self-service stores (as pointed out by consumers) is that consumers don't waste much time for shopping and that they are entirely free in choosing the goods, i.e. they aren't influenced by sellers. The other advantage of self-service stores is the possibility of implementing hygienic [conditions] much better than in classic shops.[15]

Such documents testify to the ideological investment in shaping correct, modern ways to shop, in which efficiency and hygiene were important, but an unmediated shopping experience was paramount. The aim was to set up functional, time-saving, clean and practical shopping environments for rational socialist consumers that wouldn't be influenced by false desires. The government also supported the design of model retail spaces that would demonstrate the most functional and economical way of organising stores and supermarkets. This approach was not restricted solely to urban areas. In 1961, Savez trgovačkih komora (Council of Chambers of Commerce) in association with Savezni odbor 'Porodica i domaćinstvo' (Federal Council 'Family and household') planned to 'design and set up prototypes of functional retail spaces adapted to the needs and specific conditions of consumers' in rural areas.[16] This shows that there was a clear attempt to define what appropriate shopping spaces might look like, while also suggesting that consumerism wasn't just an urban "problem".

Following what could be seen as the official legitimation of consumerism during the VII Kongres Saveza Komunista Jugoslavije (Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) in Ljubljana in 1958, discussed in the previous chapter, the federal Savez trgovinskih komora debated the importance of modern shops for a socialist society. Its officials declared that, 'The inadequate capacity of the retail trade, increased production and consumption, the rising living standards of the population, and the need to relieve women of their burden, and other similar reasons, are imposing the need for more contemporary forms of work in retail.'[17] Following the introduction of market reforms nearly a decade later, the Savezni Sekretarijat za industriju i trgovinu (Federal Secretariat for Industry and Commerce) prepared a document arguing that insufficiently developed 'retail trade, and especially small retail stores, have

---

15   'Analiza poslovanja prodavaonica za samoposluživanje', 17 December 1958, AJ-229-53-A, 02-63-4208.

16   'Elementi programa Saveznog odbora "Porodica i domaćinstvo" u cijem ostvarivanju je predvidjeno da saradjuje Savez trgovniskih komora Jugoslavije', Belgrade, 1961, 1-8 (p.2), AJ-229-172.

17   'Predlog za održavanje izložbe/sajma ambalaže i savremene organizacije trgovine', 17 September 1958, 1-6 (p.1), AJ-229-79-A.

become the "bottleneck" of the whole economic growth'.[18] For this reason, they called for the opening of 'modernly organised enterprises, that would have a network of shopping venues across the wider territory', for such retail forms 'contribute in breaking down closed markets, are carriers of modernisation, and with regards to consumers provide a greater continuity and better supply conditions'.[19] Furthermore, they called for the development of specialised, 'giant department stores with 120,000 items', like those seen in 'developed countries'.[20] This was consumerism as a promise to be used for the development of socialism. How these 'giant stores', with endless amount of commodities, would be adapted to the self-managing socialist system was a task given to Yugoslav designers.

Writing in *Arhitektura* magazine in 1961, urban planner Zdenko Kolacio discussed the preoccupations of the period with regards to designing socialist forms of consumption. There was a pressing need to make modern mass-produced goods available through a widespread retail network that would be easily accessible across new towns and urban centres, but could also be taken as the marker of a distinctly socialist modernity. For this reason, rather than referring to shopping halls and supermarkets, Kolacio spoke about *opskrbni centri* (supply centres), Yugoslav shopping venues that merged social services, culture and commerce into a single environment. Such spaces, and the approach to their design, revealed the effort to adapt Western-style consumerism to the socialist context:

> In the ecology of towns and cities, in the structure of the living organisation within neighbourhoods and micro-neighbourhoods, supply centres occupy a special position. [...] Old ways of shopping - where consumers didn't have a direct contact with goods - were substituted by more contemporary and psychologically more favourable [shopping structures] where consumers can choose the goods directly based on their own desires and at their own discretion.[21]

A year later Radoslav Putar wrote in the magazine *15 dana* about the need for designers to create new retail spaces that would correspond to the 'dynamics of modern consumption':

---

18   'Položaj i razvoj trgovine u novim uslovima privređivanja', Belgrade, 1965, 1-19 (p.16), AJ-222-260.
19   'Položaj i razvoj trgovine u novim uslovima privređivanja', pp.7-8.
20   'Položaj i razvoj trgovine u novim uslovima privređivanja', p.8.
21   Zdenko Kolacio, 'Opskrbni centri', *Arhitektura*, 3-4 (1961), pp.3-4.

We have already gained experience that the technical quality of the product is not the only decisive factor in the placement of goods. The dynamics of modern consumption demand from manufacturers more and more reflection on product forms, their fittings, communication on the market, and modes of distribution.[22]

Armed with their modernist credentials and desire to shape the material world in the image of self-management, designers had a clear vision of the way Yugoslavs should shop. As with all other environments that shaped the Yugoslav everydayness, small shops, supermarkets and department stores were created with a clear emphasis on rationality, efficiency and formal clarity. Specific design strategies, such as transparency, linearity, use of light materials and straightforward display of goods, were the key qualities of most Yugoslav retail spaces and were meant to communicate a specific set of values. Architecture critic Darko Venturini claimed that 'modern and light-filled stores' with open views of the interior were 'correct', had a 'healthy spirit' and were suitable for the contemporary man (Fig. 55).[23] Zdenko Kolacio suggested that the 'reconstruction of the retail network' based on modern forms was instrumental in shaping 'a more cultured consumption'.[24]

Figure 55. Elektrotehna and Ukus stores, from Darko Venturini's article in *15 dana*, 1960

The spatial and material strategies that designers used with relative consistency to define Yugoslav shopping spaces, need to be read within the design discourse of the period between 1958 and 1968. During this time, Yugoslav designers and design critics were concerned

---

22   Radoslav Putar, 'Likovna kultura industrijske proizvodnje', *15 dana*, 1 (1962), 3-5 (p.3).
23   Darko Venturini, 'Tri nova izloga', 15 dana, 7 (25 December 1960), 22-23 (p.22).
24   Kolacio, 'Opskrbni centri', p.4.

about the values that mass-market products communicated to their consumers. Design critic Radoslav Putar, for example, often talked about the need to avoid the 'aggressive imposition' of products on the market and of 'burdening the psychology of the masses with negative' form.[25] He even suggested that poorly designed, mass-produced goods could have a destructive, *stihijski* (elemental) impact on Yugoslav consumers.[26] A popular trope of Yugoslav propaganda, *stihija* was a negative term often synonymous with the chaotic nature of a capitalist market economy. This suggests that Yugoslav designers saw a distinction between objects that belonged to the world of false appearances, and those that belonged to the unalienated experience of self-managing socialism. The same could be said of spaces. As late as in 1968, Darko Venturini was writing about Prehrana department store in Osijek in *Arhitektura* (Fig. 56), praising its 'construction logic' characterised by 'honesty of material, of construction thought and a kind of visual beauty' that 'expresses a certain new aesthetics, the aesthetics of our time'.[27] By talking about honesty and aesthetics that would embody the values of the time, Venturini suggested that specific formal qualities were better suited for the ideological framework of self-managing socialism. Implicit in these arguments, as I will contend in the following sections, is a reading of them whereby the design of objects and spaces needed to avoid engendering consumer desire and instigating an alienating relationship to things. Supermarkets and department stores were, ultimately, to be designed as functional supply centres where individuals could fulfil their needs through cultured consumption, rather than shape their identities through mindless consumerism.

Needless to say, Yugoslav designers weren't entirely successful in their effort to regulate and mitigate consumer desire. However, their failure was not solely due to to the design of spaces. Rather, it was connected to the development of consumerism from below that couldn't be easily controlled. That consumer desire was, at least in part, fuelled by the circulation of images of Western-style consumerism through popular magazines, cinema, music and literature.[28] Furthermore, the broader Cold War context placed greater ideological emphasis on consumption and mass-produced goods, positioning consumerist lifestyles as the measure of progress. A rational supply of products couldn't alleviate this form of consumer desire,

25   Radoslav Putar, 'Suvremeni plakat i ambalaža', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), 70-77 (p.70).
26   Radoslav Putar, 'Surogati i improvizacije', *15 dana*, 12-13 (1 November 1964), 13-15 (p.15).
27   Darko Venturini, 'Robna kuća "Prehrana" u Osijeku', *Arhitektura*, 97-98 (1968) 27-33 (p.29).
28   For consumer desire and Western influences in the context of fashion, see Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, pp.336-344.

for it was an outlet through which Yugoslav citizens expressed their personal identities and individuality. As a solution, they often resorted to shopping tourism abroad. This was a clear reaction against Yugoslav retail models. It signalled that the government had failed to solve the problem of consumerism, as it was unable to provide mass-market products that Yugoslav citizens actually needed, desired and wanted to buy.

Figure 56. Prehrana department store in Osijek, from *Arhitektura* magazine, 1968

Equally, it also shows that designers had failed to solve the problem of excessive consumer desire. As I have suggested, from 1965 onwards there was increasing dissatisfaction with consumerist lifestyles, exemplified by the writing of Praxis philosophers as well as the work of a number of Yugoslav artists, such the Slovenian OHO group, who 'set out the theory and practice of reism' that called for 'a return to things themselves'.[29] The countercultural movement, which was fuelled by the student protests in 1968, became an important platform for criticising Yugoslav consumerism.[30] In the same period, Yugoslav citizens were starting to rebel against top-down structures imposed by modernist architecture and design, as signalled by the popular embrace of the vernacular, kitsch and trash.[31] However, Yugoslav modernist

---

29   Miško Šuvaković, 'Conceptual Art', in *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*, ed. by Dubravka Djurić and Miško Šuvaković, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), pp.210-245 (p.213); see also Miško Šuvaković, *The Clandestine Histories of the OHO Group* (Ljubljana: Zavod P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E., 2010).

30   Branislav Dimitrijević, *Potrošeni socijalizam, Kultura, konzumerizam i društvena imaginacija u Jugoslaviji (1950-1974)* (Belgrade: Edicija REČ, 2016), pp.68-74; Branislav Jakovljević, 'Human Resources: June 1968, Hair, and the Beginning of Yugoslavia's End', *Grey Room*, 30 (Winter 2008), pp.38-53.

31   See Reana Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu: Pop iskustvo soc kulture* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i

designers failed to recognise this growing dissatisfaction. Instead, as the work of the Dizajn Centar will suggest, they were still intent on solving the problem of consumerism through rationalisation and functionalism well into the 1970s. In the sections that follow I will outline how these two opposing views of consumerism interacted with and materialised in design discourses, objects and environments.

- **2.3 Magazines and the visual culture of consumption: From *Svijet* to the streets of Zagreb**

As has been argued in the previous chapter, modern forms of consumption were central to the political legitimacy of self-management. In addition to popular exhibitions like *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, starting from the early 1950s, popular magazines became the medium through which consumption habits could be most effectively communicated to the widest public. Among a number of popular magazines, the women's monthly *Svijet* here occupied a central position.[32] *Svijet* focused on fashion, domesticity and consumption, aptly pairing portrayals of modern, comfortable and luxurious lifestyles, with instructions about women's role in society as worker self-managers, rather than solely as consumers, mothers or wives.[33] Magazines like *Svijet* were characterised by a double emphasis on 'rationalising the organisation of the housewife's time and suggesting shortcuts and labour-saving products' while also 'promoting constant novelty, equating social success with the ability to entertain, and inflating the standards expected' from housewives.[34] This editorial approach was aptly categorised by Neda

folkloristiku, 2008), pp.56-59.

32 The first edition of *Svijet* was published between the two World Wars under the editorial and artistic direction of Otto Antonini, a well-known illustrator and graphic designer, who was at the magazine's helm between 1926 and 1932. The magazine was re-published by the Zagreb-based publishing company, Vjesnik, in 1953. It would remain one of the most widely read women's magazines across socialist Yugoslavia for the ensuing four decades, with its publication only coming to a halt in 1992 amidst the Yugoslav wars. Initially a monthly publication, from 1962 onwards the magazine was published fortnightly, testifying to its popularity and commercial success among the readership. See Željka Kolveshi, *Otto Antonini: Zagreb and "Svijet"/"Svijet" and Zagreb in 20s* (Zagreb: Zagreb City Museum, 2006); Victor Margolin, *World History of Design, From World War I to World War II*, Vol. 2, (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), p.259.

33 A common feature was a series of interviews with workers of specific factories, as well as life stories of women living in towns across Yugoslavia, published in a regular series titled 'Uz crnu kavu...' (Coffee Talk). During the 1970s, the debate about the position of women in society intensified on the pages of Svijet, with at least one article dedicated to women's struggles in each issue. See, for example, M. Galić and M. Jakšić, 'Žene ipak osvajaju 'muška' zanimanja?', *Svijet*, 7 (4 April 1973), 6-7; Višnja Ogrizović, 'Trećih osam sati', *Svijet*, 11 (28 May 1975), 6-7; Dubravka Stojisavljević, 'Od tkalačkog do samoupravljačkog stola', *Svijet*, 9 (3 April 1975), 6-7.

34 Wendy Bracewell, 'Eating Up Yugoslavia, Cookbooks and Consumption in Socialist Yugoslavia, in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, ed. by Paulina Bren and Mary

Todorović-Uzelac as 'modest luxury' or 'modest hedonism'.[35] However, in the context of 1950s Yugoslavia, still suffering from a housing crisis, low living standards and relative scarcity of everyday consumer products, 'the relationship between prescription and practice' proposed by magazines like *Svijet* was not 'always easy to identify'.[36]

Nevertheless, what was clear from *Svijet*'s pages was its desire to project Yugoslavia towards a consumer paradise while also defining what modern consumption meant in the context of a socialist state. Indeed, shopping, as much as cooking, cleaning or home decoration, had to be 'underpinned by expert knowledge, planned according to available resources and desired outcomes, and treated as just one aspect of a wider social project'.[37] In line with the official comments cited in the previous section, modern supermarkets were portrayed as the most scientific, objective and efficient way to shop. For this reason, small grocery stores rarely featured on *Svijet*'s pages, and then only to be portrayed as representing uneconomical, unmodern shopping practices, with grocers described as immoral tricksters who regularly deceived their customers.[38] Instead, socially-owned chains like NaMa were regularly depicted in a favourable light, either for their appealing selection of the latest mass-produced goods or their surprisingly low prices. With a large selection of modern goods, polite sales clerks and pleasant, appealing environments, such big stores were increasingly placed at the centre of society. By the end of the 1960s, their importance in Yugoslav everyday life seemed to have reached its peak. As a 1967 article in *Svijet* declared, 'For a large number of Zagreb's inhabitants NaMa has become the sole author of both their menus as well as their wardrobes.'[39]

The pages of *Svijet* point to the intrinsic social and cultural value of consumerism, with the quality of life constantly measured against consumption and the availability of material goods. In 1966, an article in *Svijet* celebrated 20 years of Yugoslavia's existence by charting the evolution of its consumer culture.[40] In the article it was argued that the late 1940s were dominated by the construction of infrastructure and food rationing, while during the 1950s

Neuburger, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.169-196 (p.181).

35   Neda Todorović-Uzelac, *Ženska štampa i kultura ženstvenosti* (Naučna knjiga: Beograd, 1987), pp.49-121 (p.110).

36   Bracewell, p.170.

37   Bracewell, p.173.

38   Ivo Lajtman, 'Avanture dinara potrošačkog', *Svijet*, 3 (1 March 1967), p.4.

39   Lajtman, p.4.

40   The article relied on an overview of the most important daily newspapers. Pero Zlatar, 'Vremeplov standarda', *Svijet*, 23 (1 December 1966), pp.4-5.

consumer desire was instigated by new domestic and electronic appliances such as refrigerators and washing machines, as well as new synthetic fabrics. According to the piece, by 1953 consumers were already 'asking for more 24/7 grocery stores', while in 1956 they demanded that stylists incorporate more 'imagination and boldness in their designs'.[41] In 1961 the 'fight for living standards in households' intensified, while in 1964 there were 'fashion shows and presentations of contemporary dress on every step'.[42] These slightly exaggerated proclamations indicate that *Svijet* was less a reflection of actual changes in society than an advocate for them. For *Svijet*'s authors, consumerism clearly seemed like a resource, a necessity of modern life that had to be affirmed.

Figure 57 and 58. Aleksandar Srnec, cover designs for *Svijet*, 6 (1956) and *Svijet*, 4 (1959)

This construction of modern consumer lifestyles was aided by *Svijet*'s graphic design that featured dynamic layouts and occasional colourful illustrations, printed in a wide format on shiny coated paper. Following in the steps of Otto Antonini, the first art director of the magazine, the graphic design was authored by Aleksandar Srnec, one of the founding members of Exat 51. Srnec connected *Svijet* (Fig.57 and 58) to the work of architects and designers like Richter and Bernardi who were instrumental in shaping the experience of everyday spaces and places: from their designs for numerous exhibitions and pavilions, to their involvement with the local furniture industry, interior design projects for mass housing blocks, cultural centres,

---

41   Zlatar, p.5.
42   Zlatar, p.5.

and public institutions. This also further highlights the role Yugoslav neo avant-gardes like Exat 51 played in shaping consumerism. Implicitly associated with this broader visual and material context *Svijet* communicated this vision of modernity through its materiality.

Figure 59 and 60. Aleksandar Srnec, cover designs for *Svijet*, 5 (1960) and *Svijet*, 11 (1960)

Srnec's design for *Svijet* was 'coloured by a recognisable dynamism of images set in motion', that were at the basis of his work, characterised by the 'fascination with movement and light in space, with film, with research into the endless perceptive opportunities of permutation and dematerialisation of form'.[43] Each cover was composed of a single image with the magazine's title and issue number, where abstract shapes, primary colours, typographic and photographic elements were integrated into vibrant layouts, aligning the magazine with international style Modernism (Fig. 59 and 60.) Srnec's design for *Svijet* should also be seen as part of the broader attempt to abolish any distinction between art and life that characterised the work of Exat 51. As Djurdja Bartlett has argued, 'the graphic design of *Svijet* [...] was one of the most successful forays of Exat 51's modernist and geometrical aesthetics into the everyday'.[44] Indeed, the appealing graphic design, images and illustrations, were to extend beyond the pages of the

---

43   Jasna Galjer, *Design of the Fifties in Croatia, From Utopia to Reality* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2003), pp.182-183.

44   Djurdja Bartlett, *FashionEast: the Spectre that Haunted Socialism* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2010), p.136.

magazine and into real, lived experience. Central in bridging that experience was commercial advertising (Fig. 61).[45]

Colour image of the Dodo advertising, photo removed for copyright reasons.

Copyright holder is the Museum of Applied Arts, Zagreb.

Figure 61. Advertising for Dodo detergent designed by Savo Simončić
and Zlatko Zrnec, Saponia, 1958

During the 1950s and 1960s, advertising and branding were used as markers of urban space across Yugoslavia. Displayed on kiosks, temporary pavilions or well-known department stores, advertising signposted key urban areas, while also forming a platform for research into the sphere of design, arts and technology. As early as 1956, in fact, Bruno Planinšek and Mirko Benazić had designed an appealing spatial structure for the manufacturer Saponia, which was placed in Zagreb's main square (Fig. 62). It was conceived as a 'pavilion without walls' made entirely of advertising posters that were held togetherby a system of rods and bars.[46] Its fairly large scale and prominent position in the public space highlight the importance of commercial advertising in instigating consumption, while also communicating new modern habits. Saponia, a soap and detergent manufacturer, relied on vibrant posters and advertising designed by Savo Simončić to boost the sales of its products while also communicating the importance of hygiene and cleanliness for the new, modern socialist society. This was seen as the main

---

45   For more on advertising and marketing see: Patrick Hyder Patterson, 'Truth Half Told: Finding the Perfect Pitch for Advertising and Marketing in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1950-1991', *Enterprise & Society: The International Journal of Business History*, 4, 2 (June 2003), pp.179-225; Patrick Hyder Patterson, *Bought and Sold, Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

46   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, p.225.

difference between socialist and capitalist advertising, whereby socialist advertising (or economic propaganda) served to educate consumers and raise the cultural standard of society, rather than instigating false consumer desire. As Matko Meštrović wrote in 1959, economic propaganda 'is a factor necessary for the stimulation of production and consumption, a necessary connection between consumers and producers, the propagator of the most advanced achievements, and ultimately paints a picture of the level of production, material culture and overall standard' of a society.[47] The same could be said of consumption practices that economic propaganda sought to instigate: shopping was to become a cultural moment, an opportunity to educate Yugoslav workers.

Black and white photograph of the Saponia pavilion, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Planinšek family.

Figure 62. Mirko Benazić and Bruno Planinšek,
pavilion for Saponia on Republika Square in Zagreb, 1956

The blending of consumption practices and strategies with cultural values was one of the key traits of Yugoslav consumerism. In 1969, for example, Vladimir Bonačić developed a computer generated light installation for the facade of NaMa department store in the centre of Zagreb, at Kvaternikov Trg (Fig.63). Bonačić was an engineer and expert on computing working at the Institut Ruđer Bošković, a centre for research in the field of natural sciences and technology in Zagreb. He was also closely associated with the New Tendencies movement.[48] Bonačić

---

47   Matko Meštrović, 'Milan Vulpe - Publiciter', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), 78-84 (p.78).
48   Darko Fritz, 'Nove Tendencije', *Oris*, 54 (2008), pp.176-191; see also Armin Medosch, *New Tendencies: Art at the Threshold of the Information Revolution (1961 - 1978)* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016).

replicated a similar installation two years later on the facade of NaMa's store in Ilica Street, the main commercial artery of the city. His installations transformed sites of commerce into culturally meaningful spaces. As art critic Želimir Koščević wrote in 1969, Bonačić,

> with his ideas, is a part of the front within the "Tendencies" movement that is attempting to open a path for art that would simply be work, the results of which would be destined for everyone, without the obligation to take our hats off and buy an entry ticket for the unavoidable museum or gallery before we face it. Tomorrow is, as it seems, meant for just that kind of art.[49]

Black and white photograph of Vladimir Bonačić's installation on NaMa store in Zagreb, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 63. Vladimir Bonačić, DIN.PR 18 (NaMa 1), computer-controlled dynamic object/ light installation in the storefront of NaMa in Zagreb, Kvaternikov Square, 1969

Projects like these, that blended commerce with culture, education and art, served to legitimise consumption practices and retail spaces that were being built across Yugoslav cities. The next section will further expand on this idea by examining the case of the Zagreb Velesajam as a site of both culture and commerce. Analysing the fair's role in the wider development of the city, I will argue that the central purpose of this larger development project was to situate Velesajam

---

49   Želimir Koščević, 'Svjetlost nove urbane kulture', *Telegram*, 479 (4 July 1969), p.17.

as a cultural venue, rather than solely as a space for commerce. Within this framework, consumption as a potential problem was transformed into a valuable urban resource.

- ### 2.4 Zagreb Velesajam: Manufacturing consumption and driving urban development

As discussed in the previous chapter, early after the Second World War, trade fairs and international exhibitions became key avenues for promoting peaceful cooperation between countries, stimulating international trade and instigating new forms of industrial production.[50] Equally meaningful in the capitalist West as in the socialist East, trade fairs were central to postwar Yugoslavia where they served to display the successes of the local industry and educate the public towards new, modern lifestyles. Zagreb Velesajam, the most significant trade fair in the country, was conceived as one of the central platforms for shaping and disseminating new socialist lifestyles anchored in modern, mass-produced goods.

Figure 64. Aerial view of the new development for Zagreb Velesajam in the late 1950s

Zagreb Velesajam, first called Zagreb Zbor, was founded in 1909 'with the aim of organising exhibitions, i.e. trade shows of industrial, craft and agrarian products'.[51] It also had the task

---

50   See Shane Hamilton, 'Supermarket USA Confronts State Socialism: Airlifting the Technopolitics of Industrial Food Distribution into Cold War Yugoslavia', in *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology and European Users,* ed.by Karin Zachmann and Ruth Oldenziel (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), pp.137-159.
51   Marina Bagarić, 'Arhitektura Zagrebačkoga zbora od 1910. do 1935.', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 34 (2010), 165–180 (p.165).

of stimulating international exchange and attracting foreign visitors to Zagreb's rich cultural heritage. In this sense, its role would remain largely unchanged over the course of the century, while its scale grew in the post-war period from just a few pavilions into a widespread urban complex with hundreds of thousands of annual visitors and numerous international exhibitors.[52] In its early years, the fair was located on the eastern side of lower town, and later on Savska Street.[53] Over the years, each new location of the fair was always situated on the outskirts of the city, where it served as an 'urban generator' - the central complex from which the surrounding area developed.[54]

The key moment in the fair's development came in the mid-1950s. With the ambition to showcase the successes of the local industry and position Yugoslavia on the international map, Yugoslav government officials sought to transform Zagreb Velesajam into the most important trade fair in southeastern Europe.[55] With the fair quickly outgrowing its venue on Savska Street, it was thought that a more spacious location would allow the organisers to invite a greater number of international exhibitors who could build permanent national pavilions on the site. International participants were important for they would exchange the latest achievements in terms of technology with local industries, and increase the prestige of the event.[56] Backed by the local government, and in particular the then mayor Većeslav Holjevac, the new site of Zagreb Velesajam was to be in southern Zagreb.[57] Such a decision was crucial for the urbanisation of the city and its transformation into a modern socialist capital, characterised by vast housing blocks and modern transport links (Fig.64). It also shows how spaces of commerce, as much as spaces of production, were central in guiding the development of new socialist cities.[58] While several housing blocks were already being built on the site in the early 1950s, the construction of the new Velesajam spaces on the southern

---

52   'Velesajamska simfonija', *Čovjek i prostor*, 78 (15 September 1958), pp.4-5; ; M.S., 'Velesajam kao da se podvostručio', *Narodni list*, (8 September 1957), p.1.

53   Bagarić, p.166. See also *Prostorna studija Studentskog centra u Zagrebu*, ed. by Hildegard Auf-Franić (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2007).

54   Dubravka Vranić, 'The Resistance of Architecture to Political Regime(s): the Case of Novi Zagreb', *Sociologija i prostor*, 1 (2014), 41-67 (p.53).

55   Borka Bobovec, Ivan Mlinar, Domagoj Sentić, 'Zagrebački velesajam kao poticaj razvoju novozagrebačkog centra', *Prostor*, 43 (2012), 187-197 (p.189).

56   Radio Zagreb, interview with the general director, typescript, n.d. [September 1960], [pp.1-3], DAZg-1172-211.

57   Today, the street that connects New Zagreb with the old town is called Većeslav Holjevac Avenue, symbolically marking his role in the city's urban development.

58   See Vanja Radauš, 'Veco Holjevac - Pionir Novog Zagreba', *Čovjek i prostor*, 212 (1970), p.9; Vranić, pp.41-67.

bank of the Sava River formed the first step towards the creation of New Zagreb. Its sprawling development heavily relied on the infrastructure and transport systems built for the fair.[59] As Većeslav Holjevac declared in 1960, the new fair marked 'the beginning of intensive housing construction [...] on the other side of the river Sava' that would result in 'the formation of the new city for 250,000 inhabitants', mostly workers employed by self-managing enterprises.[60] In the same way that self-managed companies, tasked with developing housing for their workers instigated the construction of entire neighbourhoods around their factories, translating 'the economic model of self-management [...] into an urban cultural model', the Velesajam became an integral part of the process that was 'effectively transforming the city itself into a self-managing enterprise'.[61]

Black and white photograph of a Velesajam pavilion, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 65. Teška Industrija (Heavy Industry) pavilion, 1957, photographed by Tošo Dabac in 1959

59   Bobovec, Mlinar, Sentić, p.188.
60   Većeslav Holjevac, *Čovjek i prostor*, 100 (1960), p.1.
61   Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb, Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona: Actar, 2007), p.205.

The fair's complex of buildings, streets and transport systems integrated spaces of commerce and housing into a unique self-managed urban whole. By building the fair in between two core areas of modern Zagreb - the old town north of the river and what would become New Zagreb in the south - this vast commercial landscape came to form the centre of the new urban space. In fact, the urban plan developed in 1957 by Božidar Rašica, sought to 'integrate Velesajam with the whole New Zagreb area and accentuate the central city axis developing from north to south'.[62] A report on the new development published in *Narodni list* in 1957 argued:

> From above, the Velesajam looks interconnected with Zagreb, separated only by the peaceful Sava and, only now, looking from above, can we really understand how big the Velesajam is and how much bigger it will become when its construction reaches the banks of the Sava. The traffic is so intense that you get a sense that Zagreb is much bigger than it actually is.[63]

From an exhibition venue on the outskirts of the city, the new Velesajam was to become its beating heart. Indeed, this idea was central to the proposal for the urban plan of New Zagreb developed by the Dutch architect Jacob Bakema in 1965. By designing a cultural centre that would be annexed directly to the Velesajam, the area round the fair was conceived as the core of the new socialist city.[64] While this proposal was never realised, it nevertheless shows the importance of consumption for the new socialist society. Spaces of commerce, as the Zagreb Fair made clear, were to guide socialist urban development.

The fair's role in the development of New Zagreb was not unique to the postwar context, as over the course of centuries trade fairs have always been integral to the city's modernisation and guided its urban expansion. Marina Bagarić suggests that several trade fairs over the course of the nineteenth century had left a significant material trace on the city, with iconic buildings such as the Art Pavilion still standing as a testimony to Zagreb's integration within broader international movements in terms of culture and commerce.[65] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik claim that fairs formed a 'permanent institution in the city'.[66] In the same way, the new Velesajam was

---

62   Bobovec, Mlinar, Sentić, p.188.
63   'Velesajam kao da se podvostručio', p.1
64   G.S., 'Razgovori povodom posjete Jakoba Bakeme Zagrebu', *Čovjek i prostor*, 152 (1965), pp.1-3,5.
65   Bagarić, p.165.
66   Blau and Rupnik, p.232.

not to be just a one-off, annual event, but would serve to give physical form to the 'longstanding practice in Zagreb of connecting to the outside world through its fair and of using the fair to open the city up to ideas and innovations from outside'.[67] Indeed, the two architectural historians propose that Zagreb's urban form had always derived from its relationship to trade fairs and sites of international exchange: 'The practice [of connecting to the outside world] was based on a close reading of the city's modalities of growth and change - its urban project - and on a willingness to experiment in order to advance that project'.[68] The fair's transformation in 1956 coincided with the foundation of the non-aligned movement, established at a meeting on the Croatian island of Brioni in July of that same year.[69] The fair itself - a rare annual trade event that counted both the USSR and the United States among its participants - was indicative of Yugoslavia's new international status in between the two Cold War superpowers.[70] Equally, its expansion anticipated the government's legitimation of consumerism during its VII party congress by nearly two years. In this way, Zagreb Velesajam became essential in instigating new consumption models that would shape Yugoslav society over the ensuing decades. The fair's development appeared momentous for Yugoslavia's transformation into a consumer society.

Black and white photograph of a Velesajam pavilion, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 66. Drago Korbar, Paviljon zanatstva (Crafts Pavilion), 1958, photographed by Tošo Dabac in 1959

---

67   Blau and Rupnik, p.232.
68   Blau and Rupnik, p.232.
69   For more on Yugoslavia's role in the non-aligned movement see Tvrtko Jakovina, *Treća strana Hladnog rata* (Zagreb: Fraktura, 2011).
70   Blau and Rupnik, p.216.

This role was further highlighted by the fact that Zagreb Velesajam wasn't just a trade fair addressing specialised audiences. As architect Božidar Rašica argued in 1959, 'Today, the fairs don't serve just political and industrial reasons, but they are also a showcase of a nation's potential, that announces to its citizens what's happening in the industry and what standards have been reached.'[71] Indeed, the Velesajam played a key role in creating modern Yugoslav lifestyles through educational exhibitions organised for the general public. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the most significant of these was *Porodica i domaćinstvo*. However, these exhibitions didn't just form an 'educational model', they also had a clear commercial scope.[72] As the director of the committee that organised the *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition declared in 1958:

> Together with its social-political meaning, this exhibition also had a huge commercial effect that was especially potentiated by the functional exhibition set-up. Almost all exhibition items, displayed and shown at this exhibition, have been purchased in advance [by retail chains], and, on the other hand, the various services: department stores, child services, and so on, have enticed a big interest from local councils, communes and other institutions of political and social character.[73]

By connecting the educational character to its underlying commercial purpose, the Velesajam's directors consciously sought to legitimise consumption, while also stimulating consumer desire and shaping new social aspirations. Unsurprisingly, the regular Spring and Autumn fairs attracted wide audiences, eager to learn about new products that would, hopefully, soon become available in local stores. From the late 1950s through to the mid-1960s, the Velesajam was crucial in defining the way Yugoslav citizens adopted, interpreted and absorbed socialist modernity within their households. How this would be put in practice relied heavily on the experience of consumption within the fair that 'blended political spectacle with atmospheric architecture, fashion, industrial design, technological innovation, consumer marketing, and new modes of production'.[74] For this reason, the way this representation of an ideal socialist modernity was framed through the material space of the fair, became particularly important.

---

71   'Zagrebački Velesajam,' *Čovjek i prostor*, 82 (1956), 2-5 (p.2).

72   Jasna Galjer and Iva Ceraj, 'Uloga dizajna u svakodnevnom životu na izložbama Porodica i domaćinstvo 1957.–1960. godine', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 35 (2011), 277-296 (p.279).

73   'Društveno-političko značenje i komercijani efekat Izložbe "Porodica i domaćinstvo"', *Privredni vjesnik*, 21 September 1958, p.1.

74   Blau and Rupnik, p.224.

- ### 2.4.1 Zagreb Velesajam as laboratory of socialist modernity

While, soon after the war, the Yugoslav government launched a competition to design key government buildings and develop the urban plan for New Belgrade, the country's political and federal capital, Zagreb didn't enjoy as much architectural attention.[75] For this reason, the construction of the Velesajam, the first significant urban development in the city, became a prominent public 'stage mirroring the state of the architectural scene of the period, as well as a laboratory for new architectural forms and approaches' (Fig. 65 and 66).[76] In fact, the very structure of the fair - with numerous pavilions arranged around three parallel avenues set along the east-west axis - allowed precisely for an experimental, multifaceted approach that was contrary to monolithic visions commonly associated with such ideologically meaningful public projects. As a symbolic statement about plurality and participation, the emblems of self-management, each pavilion was designed by a different architect among whom were Ivan Vitić, Božidar Rašica, Marijan Haberle, Drago Korbar, Aleksandar Dragomanović, Ninoslav Kučan Boro Petrović, Stjepan Milković and Vjenceslav Richter.[77]

Aside from a few exceptions - such as Ivan Vitić's West German (Fig. 67) pavilion that remains a striking construction with an undulating roof and expressive concrete columns - most pavilions took the form of low horizontal structures made of glass and steel, with clear geometries and curtain walls. They were unmistakable examples of post-war modernist architecture, in that they emphasised flexibility and functionality. The flexibility in both form and function was evident in their design, presenting what Adrian Forty has called 'totally flexible architecture'.[78] Only such flexible buildings would be, in Walter Gropius's terms, 'fit to absorb the dynamic features of our modern life'.[79] For Yugoslav architects working on the Zagreb Velesajam, the purpose of their flexibility appeared to be the desire to weave the fair itself into the urban tissue in material, spatial and functional terms.

---

75 Vranić, pp.41-67; On the development of New Belgrade as a space of representation, see Vladimir Kulić, 'National, International, Supranational: New Belgrade and the symbolic construction of a socialist capital', *Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 1 (2013), pp.35-63.
76 Bobovec, Mlinar, Sentić, p.190.
77 'Zagrebački Velesajam', pp.2-5.
78 Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p.147.
79 Walter Gropius, 'Eight Steps towards a Solid Architecture', in Forty, p.142.

Black and white photograph of a Velesajam pavilion, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 67. Ivo Vitić, Kruno Tonković, Pavilion 40 (West Germany), 1957, photo taken by Tošo Dabac in 1959

In fact, whilst serving as a laboratory for architectural experimentation, each project also sought to respond and contextualise the building within the broader public sphere of the city. In this way, the fair was to become an active civic space even in the period between the two main yearly exhibitions held in the Spring and Autumn. Rašica's Paviljon Mašinogradnje (Heavy Machinery Pavilion) (Fig.68), for example, was designed to be used throughout the year, serving as a sports arena outside of the exhibition schedule. The building itself was characterised by a modular, prefabricated steel structure with a light and transparent curtain wall, that wrapped around a flexible, adaptable exhibition space. Its architect's idea was to design a space that 'wouldn't create prejudice about its one and only commercial nature, but would accommodate exhibitions based on given needs [...] since the character of the fair changes its role based on social, economic, political and other factors'.[80] Equally, Aleksandar Dragomanović, who was commissioned to develop the textile and clothing pavilion for the Standard clothing company together with Ninoslav Kučan, designed a flexible, prefabricated and modular solution that could be easily relocated from the fair's grounds to the centre of the

---

80   'Zagrebački Velesajam', p.2.

city. As such, he aimed to realise an 'archetypical department store' that could be transformed from a temporary, occasional exhibition venue to a permanent space of commerce.[81] The case of Dragomanović's model store is particularly revealing, as after featuring in *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions, the pavilion was moved to Praška Street in the centre of old Zagreb, where it was reassembled, becoming one of the first NaMa department stores (Fig.69 and 70). The store designed by Dragomanović became a physical node in the dislocated, widespread network of self-managed spaces of consumption that shaped Yugoslav everyday life, while also symbolically connecting the fair to the centre of the city.

Black and white photograph of a Velesajam pavilion, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 68. Božidar Rašica, Paviljon mašinogradnje (Heavy Machinery Pavilion), 1958

By instigating a dialogue between the space of the city and that of the Velesajam, the fair was central in integrating consumerism with Zagreb's urban tissue. This dialogue left a permanent trace on Yugoslavia's urban landscape, as can be seen from the case of the US pavilion set-up for the Autumn exhibition in 1957, that I have briefly discussed in Chapter 1. Like a number of other American exhibitions of the time across Eastern and Western Europe, the pavilion featured a full-sized self-service store where modern shopping practices were demonstrated by female students recruited from Zagreb University. This revolutionary, modern store came to form a key part of Yugoslavia's urban landscape: not only were supermarkets starting to pop-up across the country as a direct result of the exhibition, the very equipment and furnishings

---

81   'Zagrebački Velesajam', p.3.

exhibited in the US pavilion in Zagreb were purchased by a Belgrade firm. Supermarket USA, as the exhibition was aptly titled, became the first supermarket in the country's capital.[82]

Black and white photograph of a Velesajam pavilion, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.
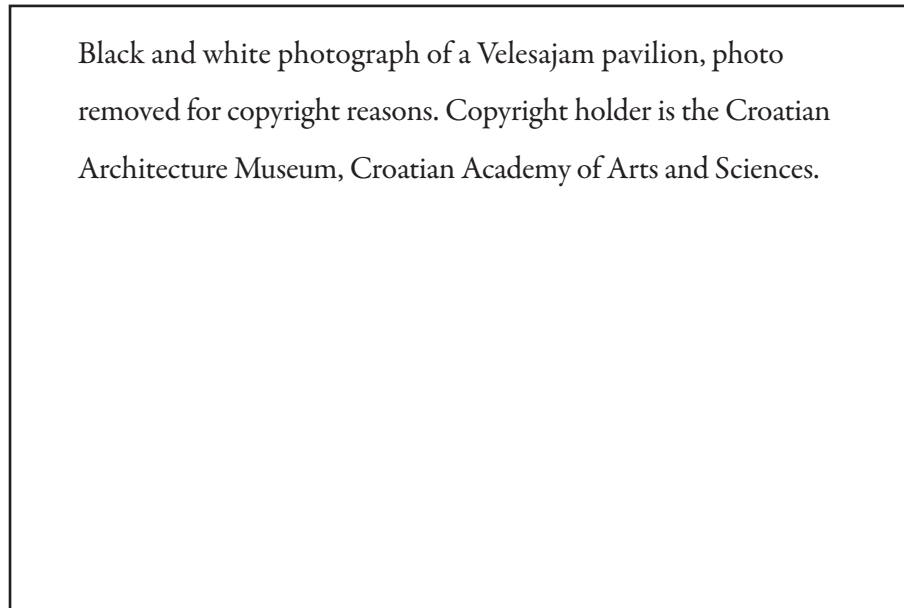
Figure 69. Ninoslav Kučan and Aleksandar Dragomanović, Pavilion for *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition at Zagreb Fair, 1958; later NaMa store in Praška Street, Zagreb

Black and white photograph of a Velesajam pavilion turned into a NaMa store, photo removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.
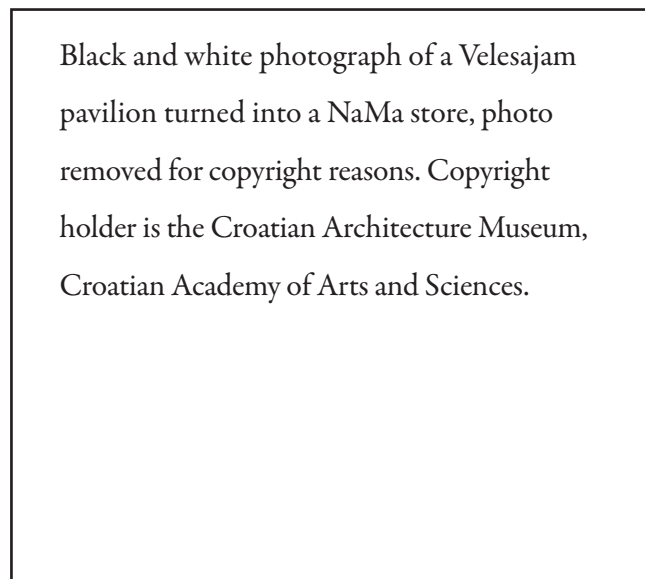
Figure 70. Pavilion for *Porodica i domaćinstvo* turned into a NaMa store in Praška Street, Zagreb

---

82   Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljaš, Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-Between, The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin: Jovis, 2012), p.173; Shane Hamilton, 'Supermarket USA Confronts State Socialism: Airlifting the Technopolitics of Industrial Food Distribution into Cold War Yugoslavia', in *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, ed. by Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2009), pp.137-159.

This goes to show that the relationship between the city and the fair formed an ongoing dialogue through the material structures of the exhibitions and pavilions. The aim of that dialogue was to shape Yugoslav consumption practices. Discussing the 1958 *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, the event's director highlighted the central role of shopping spaces within the show:

> both 'supermarket and specialised shops' as well as the 'ready to wear clothing department' had the task of introducing the widest strata of society to the role of shopping. In doing this, we had to give special attention to the buildings, as their introduction into our everyday life is unconditionally demanded by our context and our social development. By moving these buildings to spaces where they will operate after the exhibition, we want to show that our Exhibition is not just an 'Exhibition' but that it's a thing of the near future that will soon be realised.[83]

In this sense, as Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik have argued, 'The Zagreb Fair exemplified the contradictions inherent in the Yugoslav socialist experiment in the 1960s, propagating both a socialist "lifestyle" and Westernised consumer culture.'[84] The fair fits perfectly within the Yugoslav socialist model that sought to adapt Western-style visions of modernity to the local context. Defining the material forms of socialist consumerism was a central part of that project. By blending educational exhibitions with a commercial fair, Velesajam served to legitimise consumerism and shape people's relationship to modern consumer products. It also created a distributed spatial model of consumption that integrated the political, economic, social and cultural functions of the city into a coherent urban whole. In other words, Velesajam's exhibitions served to configure the relationship between the city, economy and consumption that would become even more visible through numerous supermarkets and department stores marking urban areas across Yugoslavia.

- **2.5 Department stores and supermarkets between culture and desire**

During the 1960s, new shopping spaces started to form the core of Yugoslav urban life, contributing to the growth of new neighbourhoods and towns, as well as dictating the citizens'

---

83   'Društveno-političko značenje', p.1.
84   Blau and Rupnik, p.224.

180

leisure time, that was increasingly revolving around consumption. As I have suggested in the introduction to this chapter, specific retail models and the way stores were organised, carried an ideological value. For example, as Patrick Patterson has argued, socialist planners were 'certain that [department] stores could [...] be instruments of an unquestionably socialist system of distribution, fully consonant with communist norms and values'.[85] But this rational, scientific distribution system was not to be relegated to Western-style department stores. Rather, it was tied to spaces and places that performed a broader social role, like the typically socialist supply centres that could be found in each mass-housing block. Closely connected to housing associations and local communes, they were tied to the spatial organisation of self-management outside of the workplace and were to form the core of public life in Yugoslav cities. Furthermore, just like the Zagreb Velesajam in the case of New Zagreb, supply centres served as 'generators of urban life in new neighbourhoods'.[86]

Black and white drawing of the Trnsko supply centre, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Zagreb Architects Association.

Figure 71. Aleksandar Dragomanović, Radovan Nikšić and Edo Šmidihen, plans for Trnsko supply centre, 1963

The social role of supply centres was embraced by Yugoslav urban planners, architects and designers, who sought to position these commercial areas at the heart of the city and create a total synthesis of spaces, where the interiors and the street, commerce and culture would be permeated

85   Patrick Hyder Patterson, 'Risky Business: What Was Really Being Sold in the Department Stores of Socialist Eastern Europe?', in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe, ed. by Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.116-139 (p.116).

86   Alen Žunić and Zlatko Karač, 'Robne kuće i opskrbni centri arhitekta Aleksandra Dragomanovića', *Prostor*, 2 (2015), 276-303 (p.284).

and indivisible. Most notably, this approach was adopted by Aleksandar Dragomanović who specialised in designing retail spaces. This design strategy was particularly evident in the case of the Trnsko supply centre, designed with Radovan Nikšić and Edo Šmidihen in 1963 (Fig.71). As 'one of the first examples of a polyfunctional commercial-social centre in the former Yugoslavia', it was part of a broader plan for the urban development of south Zagreb.[87] The centre was positioned within an articulated network of pedestrian walkways, squares and parks. In the words of Boris Magaš, evoking Bakema's idea of a "heart", the project was characterised by:

> Architecture that speaks the language of interconnected spaces [...] The presence of outdoor space that is the backbone of movement is directly connected to the function of the interior. The finesse of these relationships transports man from the wider context of automobile rush to the world of a "cuore" brought to life, where all inhabitants of the neighbourhood can meet.[88]

The store that was at the centre of this dynamic urban space corresponded to a well-defined design typology that characterised all Dragomanović's work: a 'retracted, entirely dematerialised ground floor covered in glass, above which cantilevered full "white" cuboid appears to be floating'.[89] Usually made of a glass and steel structure, these archetypical department stores were characterised by lightness and transparency that played an important role in making the consumption a visible element of the everyday urban landscape. However, even though supply centres constituted the ideal, properly socialist, shopping environment and significant efforts were made by designers to highlight their social role in terms of design, it wasn't clear how they were to be developed. Even before the shift to a market economy, the profitability of supply centres was brought into question, as it was evident that their development required significant financial resources that local supermarket chains were not always willing to sustain. Reflecting on the urban plan for Trnsko in a 1961 article for *Arhitektura*, the city's chief urban planner, Zdenko Kolacio, claimed that it remained uncertain how the urban retail network in new urban neighbourhoods was to be expanded. While 'the funds for housing construction come from a specific city, local council or company funds, or are collected through the initiative of housing associations,' Kolacio argued, 'it still

87   Žunić and Karač, p.287.
88   Boris Magaš, 'Robna kuća "Na-Ma", Trnsko, Zagreb', *Arhitektura*, 93-94 (1967), 39-42 (p.39).
89   Žunić and Karač, p.285.

hasn't been specified who is responsible for managing the construction of supply centres.'[90] This was an apparent gap in the official policy. As Kolacio argued, tied to a broader network of social and cultural services, the investment in supply centres 'presented a certain risk (!) for the retail network', while it clearly wasn't a priority for the local government.[91] With a steady change towards market socialism, the ideological investment in supply centres wasn't enough to justify their financial burden.

Black and white photo of the Trnsko supply centre, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Zagreb Architects Association.
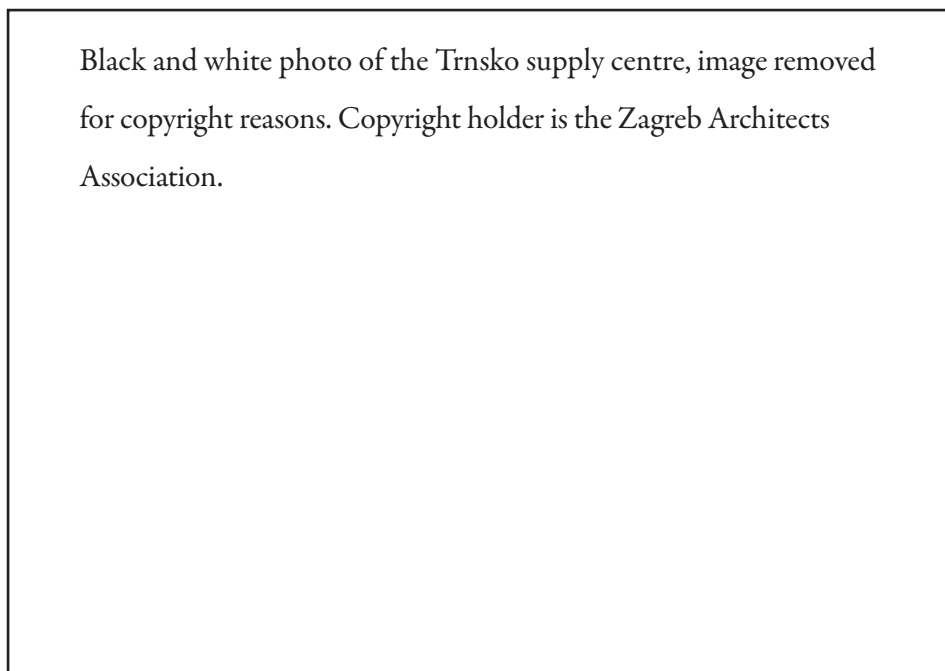
Figure 72. Aleksandar Dragomanović, Radovan Nikšić and Edo Šmidihen, Trnsko supply centre with NaMa department store, built between 1965 and 1969

Indeed, when retail companies showed an interest in developing supply centres this was often part of a broader commercial strategy that sought to expand the department store or supermarket chain from a single retail typology to a broader infrastructural network of goods and services. A prominent example of such an approach, not least in design terms, was the Slovenian retail chain Prehrana. According to the design critic Goroslav Keller, Prehrana owed its success to an effort to standardise and systematise its services into clearly defined spaces that were tied together by precise design guidelines in terms of branding and visual communication. These extended from the company logo to staff uniforms, from food packaging to retail spaces. In his words:

90   Kolacio, 'Opskrbni centri', p.3.
91   Kolacio, 'Opskrbni centri', p.3.

Prehrana was the first in the country to try to define and typify certain retail spaces [...] it achieved significant results by subjecting its buildings to the criteria set out by its branding, distinguishing three basic typological models, and developing in its department stores and the spaces around them a network of secondary services (childcare during shopping hours, shoe repairs, parking, currency exchange, consultative services and restaurants are just some of the services in its relatively rich offer).[92]

However, the supply centre designed by Dragomanović, Nikšić and Šmidihen in Trnsko was only partially completed (Fig.72). While the original plan conceived shopping spaces as sitting alongside cultural and social services - such as a social restaurant and a cafe, spaces for the local commune, a cultural centre and a nursery - those parts of the development were never built. The broader social mission of the supply centre was left unfulfilled. The heart of the neighbourhood remained an empty urban space with a department store at its core rather than a vibrant civic centre.[93] South Zagreb was not an isolated case, as many urban centres and neighbourhoods across socialist Yugoslavia suffered the same fate. Even the ideologically significant sites in New Belgrade were characterised by only partial development of supply centres, which usually meant a supermarket and a cafe, while wider social services - such as cultural centres, kindergartens and schools - were promptly abandoned during construction.[94] In the context of market socialism, supply centres as spaces of civic participation where 'citizens qua consumers' could engage in the processes of self-management, were denied their social, cultural and political role. At the same time, the problem of consumerism, seen as the development of the retail network, seemed to have been solved by placing consumption at the core of the modern socialist city.

- ### 2.5.1 The transparency of material abundance

The formal traits that characterised department stores designed by Dragomanović - the emphasis on transparency, interconnectedness between the interior and outside space, and

---

92   Goroslav Keller, 'Lice i naličje lika firme', *15 dana*, 26-29 (p.29).
93   Žunić and Karač, p.287.
94   See Ljiljana Blagojević, 'The Residence as a Decisive Factor: Modern Housing in the Central Zone of New Belgrade', *Architektura & Urbanizmus*, 3-4 (2002), pp.228-249.

flexible layouts - was typical of Yugoslav shops in the post-war period. As architecture critic Darko Venturini indicated in 1960, old-fashioned stores, characterised by narrow frontal shop windows closing off the interior and providing a 'private' space where the 'selling of goods [could be] separated from the curious looks of passers-by' were finally becoming obsolete.[95] As consumerism gained currency in Yugoslav everyday life, the very act of shopping was put on display, rather than being hidden from the public eye. Indeed, new stores were designed precisely in a way that sought to 'transform the whole store into its own shop window. The shop window and the store becoming a single whole.'[96] Finally, in 1960, Venturini metaphorically exclaimed, 'these types of stores were granted citizenship rights' on Yugoslav streets.[97]

Figure 73. Miroslav Begović, Elektrotehna store, 1956,

seen here in an article in *15 dana* from 1960

The attempt to create retail spaces that would eliminate the separation between the shop window and the interior of the store became a design strategy that was evident in several stores across the country's urban centres. In the case of a project developed by Mirko Benazić and Bruno Planinšek for the sewing machine manufacturer Bagat, 'the glass wall [of the store] did away with the border between exterior and interior'.[98] Equally, with the Ukus and Elektrotehna

---

95   Darko Venturini, 'Tri nova izloga', *15 dana*, 7 (1960), 22-23 (p.22).
96   Venturini, 'Tri nova izloga', p.22.
97   Venturini, 'Tri nova izloga', p.22.
98   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, pp.225, 228

stores designed by Miroslav Begović in the late 1950s, one of the first examples of such retail spaces in Yugoslavia, the interior itself was constructed so as to 'enter into the space of the street'.[99] The Elektrotehna store was praised by Darko Venturini for its 'light and pleasant appearance' where customers could enjoy the shopping experience in a space that was 'airy, scaled to human measure, intimate and warm' (Fig. 73).[100] On the outside, on the other hand, by retreating the shopfront from the main street, the architect allowed 'viewers [to] look at the shop window in peace'.[101] In Galjer's words, these projects 'bear witness to the fact that at the end of the fifties [...] design was thought of as an integral segment of urban culture'.[102] Perhaps more importantly, they also show how Yugoslav designers sought to design retail spaces that would respond to the socialist context. They managed this by using specific design strategies, of which transparency was the most distinctive one.

The emphasis on transparency needs to be situated within the wider framework of modernist architecture that sought to reconcile what Adrian Forty has called 'literal transparency' and 'transparency of meaning' within a single space.[103] In this context, the possibility of 'seeing through the building' was part of a wider imperative to eliminate the 'distinction between form and content, object and meaning [that] lies at the very heart of modernist aesthetics'.[104] By transforming the store into a transparent glass cube, Yugoslav designers were attempting to create what Alan Colquhoun has described as an 'object which is accessible to everyone and can be appropriated by the public', dissolving the boundaries between the inside and outside, private and public space.[105] This visual and conceptual accessibility had an important impact on the understanding of consumer culture in socialist Yugoslavia: it both legitimised consumerism on Yugoslav streets as well as sought to reveal the true nature of objects that were being sold. This emphasis on the visibility of objects indicates that Yugoslav shopping spaces also constructed a specific scopic regime, a way of seeing that performed a disciplinary function both for the goods on sale and for those purchasing them.[106]

---

99   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, pp.225, 228
100   Venturini, 'Tri nova izloga', p.23.
101   Venturini, 'Tri nova izloga', p.23.
102   Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, pp.229-230.
103   Forty, pp.286-288.
104   Forty, p.288.
105   Alan Colquhoun, *Essays in Architectural Criticism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), p.114, in Forty, p.286.
106   For more on scopic regimes of modernity see *Vision and Visuality: Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, ed. by Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press and DIA Art Foundation, 1988), in particular Martin Jay's chapter 'Scopic regimes of modernity', pp. 3-23.

Black and white photo of the Sloga shoe store, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Tišina family.

Figure 74. Franjo Tišina, Sloga shoe store, view of the exterior Zagreb, 1953

An analysis of the way Yugoslav stores exhibited their products suggests this disciplinary relationship. As the art historian Ivo Maroević argued: 'Among the many adapted and newly-designed stores in our city, those that particularly stand out are the ones where the design highlights the character of the products sold in them.'[107] One clear example was the Sloga store designed by Franjo Tišina as early as in 1953 (Fig. 74 and 75), where rows and rows of shoe boxes were suspended from the ceiling, covering every square inch of the walls in a design solution that sought to respond to both the functional and the ideological imperatives of retail spaces. On the one hand, the design showcased a multitude of products as proof of the success of the Yugoslav economy. As Patrick Patterson has argued in his work on department stores, this was a demonstration of 'the best that communism could offer: all of the abundance of the new consumer economy, all in one place'.[108] On the other, the transparency of the store and the placement of goods at the centre of the space, characterised by straightforward, rational and functional interior design, suggests that there was an attempt to create an unmediated form of consumption - one that wouldn't engender a persuasive, seductive relationship between the products being sold and Yugoslav consumers. Instead, the true, functional character of

---

107   Ivo Maroević, 'Naš grad izložbeni prostor', *15 dana*, 3-4 (1965), 12-13 (p.12).
108   Patterson, 'Risky Business', p.120.

goods was being put on display. As critic Susan Sontag has argued in 'Against Interpretation' published in 1966, 'Transparence is the highest, most liberating value in art - and in criticism - today. Transparence means experiencing the luminousness of the thing itself, of things being what they are.'[109]

Black and white photo of the Sloga shoe store, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Tišina family.
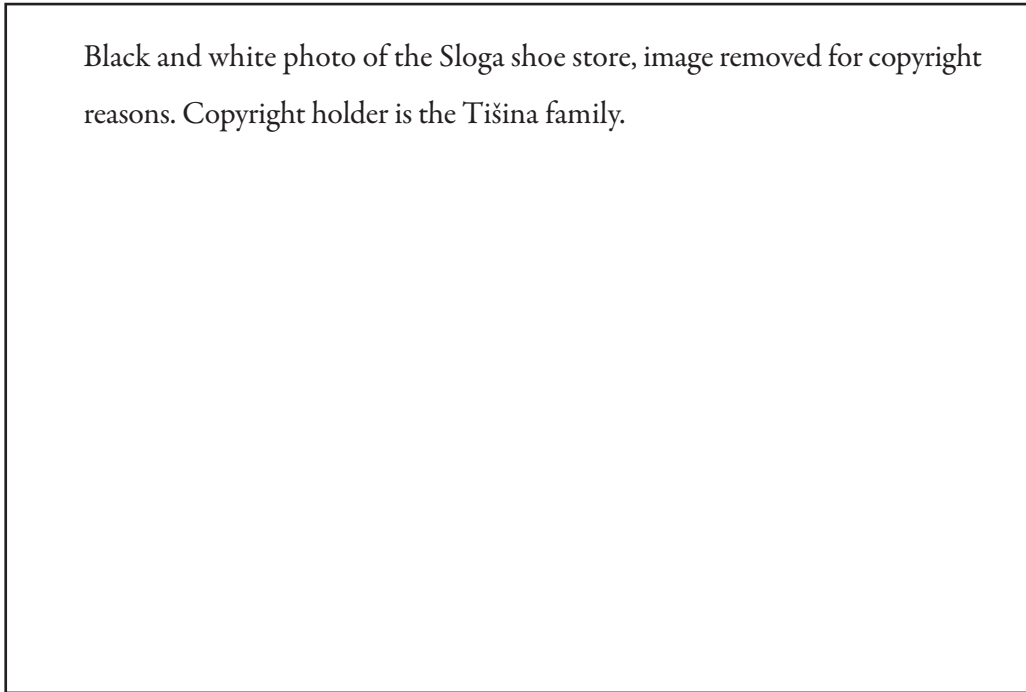
Figure 75. Franjo Tišina, Sloga shoe store, view of the interior Zagreb, 1953

Applied to the Yugoslav context, this reading reaffirms the country's 'comic indecision' about consumer culture that *Time* magazine was mockingly referring to. Despite an emphasis on consumption as a welcome and necessary element of socialist everydayness, there was an underlying anxiety about modern forms of consumerism. Just like advertising and the mass media, from the late 1960s modern retail spaces, with their seemingly endless displays of consumer abundance, were increasingly being questioned as an appropriate form of socialist consumption by Yugoslav design critics, writers and government officials. Writing about supermarkets in 1967, design critic Radoslav Putar highlighted their potentially alienating effects:

> One of the biggest qualitative changes is the fact that the direct contact between
> producers and consumers has been broken, and the retail structure has increasingly

---

109   Susan Sontag, 'Against Interpretation', in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (London and New
        York: Penguin, 2009), pp.3-14 (p.13).

become more anonymous. [...] Shopping in a self-service store is typical of contemporary retail relationships; it mirrors many important characteristics of the relationship between producers and consumers. Here, goods are constantly wind-battered: set between masses of other equal or similar or related products, they have to impress themselves on a large number of eyes that pass through the space of self-service stores in a rough and constant flow of masses of consumers.[110]

This criticism intensified throughout the 1970s. In 1973, even *Svijet* openly criticised Yugoslav consumerism rather than advocating for it. One of its writers, Ivo Lajtman, argued that 'Contemporary man is often not aware of how much he has been entrapped by the web of the "consumer society" and what price he is paying for the improved "living standard"', claiming that Yugoslav citizens had become slaves to images of prestige and exclusivity of mass-market products.[111] 'The "prestige" in consumption has extended to almost all "mass-produced" goods, and has implicated all social classes', he proceeded to say before claiming that everything, from food to cars, had become an instrument of social distinction.[112] This growing fascination with consumerists' lifestyles didn't escape government officials. In the period between 1974 and 1978, the regional government commission for informational-propaganda activities in Croatia prepared a document warning that Yugoslav 'economic propaganda cannot be developed by copying the Western model that implies a "persuasive, intrusive character, typical of the consumerist psychology"'.[113] Instead, the role of socialist advertising was to 'contribute to the objective sharing of information, and breaking down of petit-bourgeois taste, consumerist mentality, disloyal competition and deceit of consumers'.[114] This was the second problem of consumerism: the construction of false desires and the production of social classes in a supposedly classless society. In the next section, I will examine the strategies that Yugoslav designers used to address the problem of consumerist lifestyles, amongst which the emphasis on "good design" played an important part.

---

110   Radoslav Putar, 'Odjeća robe', *15 dana*, 1-2 (1967), 14-15 (p.14).
111   Ivo Lajtman, 'Robovanje za "udoban život"', *Svijet*, 3 (7 February 1973), 6-7 (p.6).
112   Lajtman, p.6.
113   'O ulozi i problemima ekonomske propagande u našem društvu', meeting of the Komisija IK Predsjedništva CK SKH za informativno-propagandnu djelatnost, 15 March 1977, in Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje*, p.58.
114   'O ulozi i problemima ekonomske propagande u našem društvu', in Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje*, p.59.

- **2.6 Designing against consumerist lifestyles: Design centres, BIO and the "good design" discourse**

Starting from the early 1960s, a number of design institutions were founded in Yugoslavia with the effort to promote the value of good design both to industry managers and the general public. Among these, the most important were the Centar za industrijsko oblikovanje (Centre for Industrial Design, CIO) founded in Zagreb in 1963, the Bijenale industrijskog oblikovanja (Biennial of Industrial Design, BIO) first held in 1964 in Ljubljana, and the Dizajn centar (Design Centre) that opened in Belgrade in 1972. These organisations were founded on the wave of a number of exhibitions about design, domesticity and consumption organised in the second half of the 1950s, such as *Stan za naše prilike* (Dwelling for our means) held in Ljubljana in 1956 or the popular *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, held in 1957, 1958 and 1960. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, these exhibitions were closely connected to a number of institutions set out by the government with the aim of promoting modern domesticity, housing models and consumption practices. For example, the Zavod za ekonomiku domaćinstva (Council for Home Economics) in Belgrade, ran evening courses, organised exhibitions and set-up furniture showrooms as permanent institutions in major urban areas.[115] Although its activities were largely educational, the aim was also to work with the retail network to orient Yugoslav shopping practices towards modern, mass-produced goods for the home. As Vera Popović, the council's director, argued in 1971, the organisation sought to work closely with retailers and manufacturers to prevent the market being flooded by objects of poor quality and 'bad taste'.[116]

Led by Modernist designers such as Marijan Gnamuš, Zvonimir Radić or Bernardo Bernardi, whose work placed an emphasis on efficiency, standardisation, rationality and functionality, both design centres and the biennial were uniquely placed to shape Yugoslav consumption. On the one hand, as I have argued in the previous chapter, they sought to advocate for the centrality of design within industrial production. On the other, they also had to disseminate ideas about good design and modern domesticity to the general public through exhibition models that connected education and consumption. In this way, they believed that everyday shopping practices could be transformed into culturally uplifting moments, where the very act of purchase

---

115   The council, which started operating in the mid-1950s, was the founder of Belgrade's Design Centre, as well as the published of its associated magazine *Industrijsko oblikovanje*. 'Nismo dovoljno prihvaćeni', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 7 (1971), pp.23-24.
116   'Nismo dovoljno prihvaćeni', p.23.

became an opportunity for intellectual, spiritual and moral enlightenment. To achieve that, the BIO and the Design Centre used specific exhibition strategies that had to communicate a specific set of values, and shape a direct, unmediated relationship to things. These exhibition spaces, as I will discuss in this section, were not dissimilar from Yugoslav supermarkets, insofar as they were codified through a formal language characterised by visual porosity, structural flexibility and formal clarity in an effort to divorce shopping practices from the persuasive connotations associated with Western-style consumerism.

The first design centre in Yugoslavia was founded in Zagreb in 1963 in an effort to systematise design practice and adapt it to the needs of a growing industry.[117] The Centar za industrijsko oblikovanje followed in the footsteps of the SIO and the Zagreb Triennial, discussed in the previous chapter. Its mission was outlined by Zvonimir Radić, a prominent designer, theorist and educator associated with Exat 51.[118] In his conception, CIO's role was to conduct 'research of, and engender, the conditions [...] that would allow the implementation of the policies, management, organisation and practice of design, bringing together its scientific, educational, promotional and commercial role'.[119] To this end, the centre's activities were divided into four sectors: operations, information, exhibitions and human resources.[120] One of CIO's main tasks envisioned by Radić was to educate local political elites and industry managers through specialised publications, such as its magazine *Dizajn*, as well as by organising exhibitions and public discussions.[121]

Beyond this industry role, CIO's main function was to shape a wider discourse on the importance of good design in society. Zvonimir Radić's writing was instrumental in this

---

117   The exact date of CIO's foundation is reported differently in several sources. The decision to found the centre was taken by the Trgovinska komora (Chamber of Commerce) of the Federal Republic of Croatia in July 1963. However, the centre only formally started operating in early 1964. See Fedor Kritovac, '10 godina centra za industrijsko oblikovanje, *Arhitektura*, 150 (1974), pp.39-41; Galjer, *Design of the Fifties*, p.167.
118   See Jasna Galjer, 'Doprinos arhitekta Zvonimira Radića teoriji oblikovanja', *Prostor*, 1 (2003), pp.57-65.
119   Galjer, 'Doprinos arhitekta', pp.61-62.
120   Bernardo Bernardi, 'Više nije moda misliti o dizajnu da je - moda', *Čovjek i prostor*, 149-150 (1965), p.10.
121   Radić's programme was never fully realised and he left the centre in 1967 disappointed by the way the CIO's focus shifted towards a more commercial role as a design consultancy. This change emerged as a result of financial constraints. Even though it had secured its initial budget, a total of 39.5 million Yugoslav dinars, from the local government, the CIO was officially registered as an 'independently funded institution'. As a consequence, any further funding needed to be secured through consultancy services or sponsorships. For this reason, Yugoslav architects and designers had to guarantee a continuous stream of projects to fund the centre's activities. See Kritovac, '10 godina centra', pp.39-41.

pursuit. In a text that can be seen as one of the first theories of modern design written in Yugoslavia, published in the magazine *Arhitektura* in 1959, he argued:

> Industrial form reaches the most remote areas and huts, carrying with it the symbols and news of qualitative transformations, of efforts, wins and losses over all forms of disaster and misery, both cultural and economic. [...] When accumulated together, humble and anonymous things of everyday life form a powerful force, acting upon us wherever we turn [...] Their agency cannot be substituted by galleries or museums, by education or schools. They communicate clearly the level at which we were able to merge content, form and idea into a single identity, a single truthful picture of our consciousness.[122]

As this paragraph suggests, Radić and other CIO designers believed that modern design was central in communicating a specific set of values and shaping socialist consciousness through material things. Writing about the CIO in 1965, Bernardo Bernardi declared that the task of industrial design was that of 'raising the general social culture and [instilling] the formation of [new] habits in production as well as in other spheres, that will make human beings more complete and more social individuals'.[123] The CIO formed an important channel through which this could be achieved. Implicit in this way of thinking about design was that the purchase of such objects would engender "socialist" forms of consumption premised on functionality, efficiency and rationality, rather than seemingly anti-socialist consumerism shaped by the experience of pleasure and luxury. In 1968 design critic Goroslav Keller wrote:

> Just as we're not indifferent towards the films that we watch and what our educational institutions are like, we shouldn't be indifferent towards the products found in our stores. That is because consumer culture is just an element of the broader general culture.[124]

The "good design" discourse that institutions like the CIO attached to well-designed, industrially produced objects, served to instil that 'broader general culture' while also

---

122   Zvonimir Radić, 'Umjetnost oblikovanja', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1959), 41-69 (p.66).
123   Bernardi, 'Više nije moda', p.10.
124   Goroslav Keller, 'Dizajn, politika i politika dizajna', *15 dana*, 3 (1969), 3-5 (p.5)

disciplining Yugoslav consumers by giving authority to specific types of consumer products. However, he also warned that, 'The care to educate consumers is a long and complex process, whose bearers cannot be individuals or lonely groups of enthusiasts without the wider social support.'[125] For this reason the opening of Belgrade's Dizajn Centar in 1972 was given particular weight.

Figure 76. The main exhibition space at the Design Centre in Belgrade, 1972

Founded nearly a decade after the CIO, Belgrade's Dizajn Centar was instrumental in shaping a dialogue with the public during the 1970s and its approach needs to be read within the wider social context. As the historian Predrag Marković has argued, the 1970s were a decade of prosperity, the 'culmination of a "golden age"' started in the late 1950s, characterised by 'the freedom of a "common Yugoslav" to travel and consume'.[126] He writes, 'Illusory or not, prosperity was being experienced by the "common people". [...] All in all, personal consumption in the period from 1970-1979 increased more than 50 per cent.'[127] However, in Marković's view, this moment of seeming abundance, prosperity and freedom was nothing but an illusion and ultimately 'served to strengthen and legitimise the regime'.[128] This implies that there was a disciplinary mechanism that underpinned consumerism during this decade. It worked in two ways. On the one hand, widespread consumerist attitudes were largely tolerated

---

125   Keller, 'Dizajn, politika i politika dizajna', p.5.
126   Predrag Marković, 'Where have all the flowers gone? Yugoslav culture in the 1970s', in *The Crisis of Socialist Modernity: The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s*, ed. by Marie-Janine Calic, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis, (Bonn: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp.118-133 (pp.121,125).
127   Marković, p.121.
128   Marković, p.125.

by the government for, in Igor Duda's words, they were seen as an outlet through which frustrations could be channelled to prevent social unrest.[129] On the other, the appearance of a consumerist mentality that seemed to have emerged during this period was a problem that had to be regulated. This system of regulation was provided by the discourse on good design.

Founded by the Zavod za ekonomiku domaćinstva in Belgrade, the Dizajn Centar provided a unique platform from which this discourse,which extended from the physical space of the centre to the pages of the magazine *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, published since 1970, could be communicated to the wider public. The director of the centre, as well as the editor in chief of the magazine, was Miroslav Fruht, who modelled the institution's programme on that of the British Design Centre in London.[130] Its mission, somewhat like the CIO's original yet never fully realised programme, included: exhibitions, documentation, education and propaganda and design service.[131] The architect Radmila Milosavljević, who worked at the centre, stated that its goal was to:

> move a step further in bringing together the economy and society, to improve production, sales and consumption, to bring together the creative potential of the nation in one place, to develop international collaboration in the wider sense of the word, and to affirm good design as a factor of the success of the country's economic system.[132]

Following its opening, *Industrijsko oblikovanje* reported that the visitors to the centre thought very strongly that the 'Dizajn Centar should not become a museum, i.e. to have exhibits that are not available on the market'.[133] In fact, a central part of its mission was to create a platform where individuals could seek advice on how to furnish their homes and learn about the most appropriate products to purchase for their households. Ranging from china and cutlery, to textiles and electrical goods, the objects displayed in the space were all manufactured by Yugoslav factories, with which the centre was building long-lasting partnerships (Fig.76). In an effort to create a direct link between education and consumption, most objects on

---

129   Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje*, p.32.
130   Radmila Milosavljević, *Dizajn Centar u Beogradu (1972-1982)* (Belgrade: Orion Art, 2016), pp.62-71
131   Miroslav Fruht, 'Prvi centar u zemlji, Osnivački program rada', *Industrijsko Oblikovanje*, 9-10 (January-July 1972), p.18.
132   Milosavljević, *Dizajn Centar u Beogradu*, p.59.
133   'Potrosači žele savremeni dizajn', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 11 (July-September 1972), 83-84 (p.84).

display could be purchased in local department stores. The first permanent exhibition of the centre included objects and furniture produced by amongst others, Meblo, Stol, Boris Kidrič, Jugokeramika, Iskra and the Elektronska Industrija Niš companies. This suggests that the purpose of the centre was very closely associated with designing appropriate modes of consumption. Furthermore, it was argued that, from the very start, 'many visitors have grasped the real goal of the Dizajn Centar, i.e. that it is a link between producers and the market, and that it needs to direct consumption through a selection of well-designed products'.[134] One of the strategies that the Dizajn Centar used to 'direct consumption' was the creation of the Diploma Dobri Dizajn (Good Design Certificate), awarded to Yugoslav manufacturers whose products were deemed to be of particularly high quality in terms of design.[135] In this way, the retail and consumption of specific mass-produced objects were legitimised by an institutional body, validating individual taste and codifying consumption patterns. Equally, forms of consumption were also directed by specific modes of display employed by both the Dizajn Centar, as well as the BIO. In the next section, I will argue that this mode of display was used to regulate consumerist attitudes by engendering a relationship between the viewer and the objects on display that acted as a disciplinary mechanism.

- ### 2.6.1 Bijenale Industrijskog Oblikovanja: Good design on display

Exhibitions about "good design" were instrumental in informing and dictating consumer taste through display strategies that highlighted the rational, functional and standardised formal qualities of objects. As Radić's influential text makes clear, Yugoslav designers were convinced that the form of objects had a meaningful impact on a person's consciousness and carried with it a radical reformative potential. This understanding was integral to the Modern Movement in the inter-war period and played an important role in developing 'reverential' modes of display, such as those first seen at the *Machine Art* exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1934 (Fig.77). The exhibition's aim was to focus the viewer's attention on the shape and style of objects on display, in an attempt to make a claim about the aesthetic and artistic value of mass-produced, industrial objects. According to the architect Philip Johnson, the curator of *Machine Art*, the 'Exhibition has been assembled from the point of view that

---

134   'Potrosači žele savremeni dizajn', p.84.
135   Milosavljević, p.92.

though usefulness is an essential, appearance has at least as great a value'.[136] The catalogue of the exhibition quoted Plato, for whom beauty could be found in 'straight lines and circles, and shapes, plane or solid, made from them by lathe, ruler and square. These are not, like many things, beautiful relatively, but always and absolutely.'[137] In the press release Alfred H. Barr, Jr., the director of the museum, argued that the objects on display, 'as a result of the perfection of modern materials and the precision of modern instruments', approach 'far more closely and more frequently those pure shapes the contemplation of which Plato calls the first of the "pure pleasures"'.[138] What these comments suggest, is that the objects on display and the mode in which they were shown, laid a claim for the beauty of industrial objects as a form of truth. This mode of display could be seen as another type of transparency, discussed in the previous section: one defined by an unmediated, straightforward display of objects, decontextualised from their everyday use. In the post-war period, this strategy was adopted beyond galleries and museums, by furniture companies such as Herman Miller and Knoll who put it to the service of the market, adding value and authority to their mass-market products.[139] At the same time, this form of display was central to the "good design" narrative and was used in Yugoslavia both by the BIO and the Dizajn Centar.

Black and white photo of the Machine Art exhibition display, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Figure 77. Machine Art, exhibition display Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1934

136   Philip Johnson, 'History of Machine Art', in *Machine Art*, exhibition catalogue, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1934), [p.21].
137   *Machine Art*, exhibition catalogue, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1934), [p.16].
138   'Machine Art', press release, MoMA, 1943 [1-3], p.1. <https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325017.pdf> [accessed 17 January 2017]
139   See Margaret Maile Petty, 'Attitudes Towards Modern Living: The Mid-century Showrooms of Herman Miller and Knoll Associates', *Journal of Design History*, 2 (2016), pp.180-199.

Figure 78. BIO 1, poster for the first edition of the biennial, design Majda Dobravec, 1964

Founded in Ljubljana in 1964 (Fig. 78), the main role of the BIO was to show that 'industrial design objects represented the basis for the humanisation of a person's space in modern industrial society; they were part of a person's cultural standard'.[140] As Cvetka Požar has documented, the government recognised the value of that project and was instrumental in the foundation of BIO:

> The Biennial of Industrial Design was established in autumn 1963 on the initiative of the Ljubljana City Council, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the then Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and professional societies as a biannual comparative exhibition of achievements from Yugoslavia and abroad in the field of industrial design.[141]

---

140   Cvetka Požar, 'Continuity and Changes to the Biennial of Design', *Piranesi*, 35 (2014), 122-127 (p.126).
141   Požar, p.125.
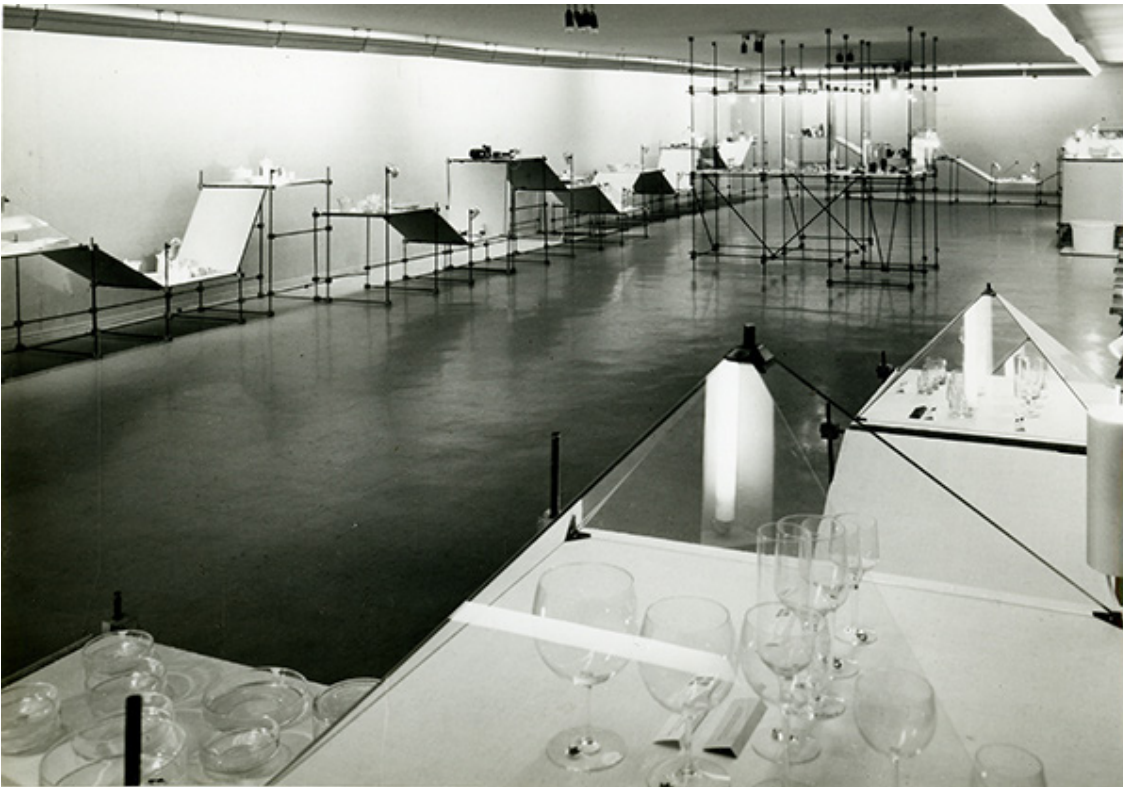
Figure 79. BIO 1 view of the exhibition display in the Modern Gallery, design by Svetozar Križaj and Meta Hočevar, 1964

Following its foundation in 1972, the Museum of Architecture and Design (MAO) became the institutional body behind the biennial. With its unique geographical location, close to both Italy and Austria, Ljubljana was perfectly placed for an international design exhibition and a global exchange of design strategies was an essential part of the BIO's original mission.[142] As Požar writes: 'The original aim of the biennial was to facilitate and promote the development of Yugoslav industrial production and design, to influence the exchange of well-designed industrial objects in national and international trade.'[143] In other words, the exhibition's aim was to situate Yugoslavia within a wider international context to measure its design production against the achievements of other developed countries. To this aim, rather than highlighting national specificities, the biennial sought to present Yugoslav design production as part of a wider, global continuum. As Darko Venturini wrote: 'Direct comparison of [national] [...] specificities is not possible because the Ljubljana Biennial doesn't present national selections, but groups the issues of industrial design based on the affinity

---

142   Marijan Gnamuš, 'Nepatvorena slika značenja industrijskog oblikovanja u životu suvremenog čovjeka', *15 dana*, 7-8 (December 1969), 6-7 (p.6).
143   Požar, pp.125-126.

of functions, regardless of the national and geographic belonging of the author.'[144] While Venturini was referring to the third edition of the BIO held in 1968, the same was true of the first one.

In 1964, the exhibition installation was designed by Svetozar Križaj and Meta Hočevar (Fig.79), and consisted of a series of modular lightweight structures made of steel rods, wood panels and glass cases.[145] Each case displayed a specific typology of objects: glassware, cutlery, ceramics, electrical goods, and so on. Only a discreet label revealed the designer and country of origin for each object. Equally, it also had the effect of flattening any structural, organisational, production or ideological differences between the East and the West, capitalism and socialism. Yugoslav design, the exhibition seemed to show, was part and parcel of the wider processes of modernity. This mode of display also had another fundamental role: that of communicating the moral, cultural and social value of good design and educating Yugoslav consumers. Most of BIO's installations eschewed the contextualisation of objects, opting instead, for a highly controlled, abstract exhibition space that served to highlight and celebrate the objects' formal qualities, and their materials and production processes, grouping them by categories and uses. This was a 'reverential' approach to exhibition design that, rather than instigating consumerist attitudes imposed the authority of objects over the users.

To understand this disciplinary function, the BIO's design strategy needs to be compared to modes of display discussed in Chapter 1. In that context, mass-market products were situated within everyday environments that were considered as the most direct way of shaping new habits, amongst which new modes of consumption played a central role.[146] At *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, for example, this display strategy created a sense of immediacy, or even urgency, suggesting to Yugoslav citizens that they too would soon be able to enjoy comfortable lifestyles surrounded by mass-produced goods. The BIO's displays, on the other hand, created a sense of distance between consumers and objects on display. Placed under glass cases these were not objects to be enjoyed and consumed, but admired and revered for their good design. Just like Franjo Tišina's store for Sloga, this display strategy

---

144   The national and international exhibitions were held on alternating years starting from the 4th Biennial. Darko Venturini, 'BIO i oko njega - investicija koja se isplati', *Čovjek i prostor*, 184 (1968), 10-11,14 (p.11).

145   'The Biennial of Design between 1964 and 2012', [n.d.], <http://50.bio.si/en/history/#biennal-between-1964-2012>, [accessed 17 January 2017].

146   Galjer and Ceraj, p.279.

had a clear scope: that of admonishing the viewers and transforming Yugoslav citizens into disciplined, modern consumers. This was achieved by emphasising the formal qualities of objects revealing, as Paul Greenhalgh discussed in his characterisation of design strategies of the Modern Movement, 'the terms of the construction and the appearance of objects'.[147] By avoiding 'contrivances which created an illusion or a false impression', this mode of display suggested an unfetishistic, unalienating relationship to things.[148] Reviewing the 3rd edition of the biennial in 1968, Radoslav Putar complained about the too tight, too cramped exhibition displays that 'made exhibited products less readable', whereby 'exhibits haven't been given the optimal possibility to act' upon the viewer.[149] The reasoning was that by emphasising the formal qualities of objects, the exhibition would be able to communicate their intrinsic value, the truthfulness of form. Darko Venturini argued that due to their 'good form and solid quality and function', objects exhibited at the BIO provided 'an unprecedented moral and material value'.[150]

This authoritative distance between designed objects and consumers took a different turn in 1973, when designers Janez Suhadolc, Miha Kerin, Janez Koželj, Milan Zornik and Zvone Zupanek created an exhibition display that looked like a dynamic futuristic landscape - with slightly inclined surfaces and objects placed under domed plastic cases (Fig. 80). This was a playful and innovative approach, yet one that highlighted the distance between everyday life and design discipline.[151] The BIO's display seemed to suggest that these were not objects of everyday use, ready to be consumed, but ones that anticipated a distant future. This was, indeed, the case. As designer Davor Grünwald argued on the occasion of the 5th BIO in 1973, 'Industrial design needs to be taken out of the galleries and exhibition spaces' where they attract only an 'insignificant number of visitors because of the low level of understanding'.[152] This shows that the effort to discipline Yugoslav consumers had, by the mid-1970s, largely failed. There was a growing gap between the aspirations of Modernist designers and everyday experience, the needs and desires of Yugoslav workers. As I will discuss in the next chapter, this ultimately forced Yugoslav designers to rethink the ideals and strategies of the Modern Movement.

---

147   Paul Greenhalgh, 'Introduction', *Modernism in Design*, ed. by Paul Greenhalgh, (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 1-24 (p.9).
148   Greenhalgh, p.9.
149   Radoslav Putar, 'Oaza dizajna', *15 dana*, 3-4 (June 1968), 17-19 (p.18).
150   Darko Venturini, 'BIO i oko njega', p.11.
151   Fedor Kritovac, 'BIO 5', *Čovjek i prostor*, 242 (1973), pp.24-25.
152   Davor Matičević, 'Kako dalje BIO?', *Čovjek i prostor*, 244 (1973), p.14.

Figure 80. BIO 5, exhibition design Janez Suhadolc, Miha Kerin, Janez
Koželj, Milan Zornik, Zvone Zupanek, 1973

- **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has sought to highlight the variety of approaches, strategies and discourses that
shaped Yugoslav consumerism and positioned consumer culture as a problem. During the
late 1950s and 1960s, solving the problem of consumerism meant bridging the gap between
aspirations and practice. Yugoslav designers sought to address this problem by shaping
modern, rational forms of consumption. However, this drive towards consumerism had, by the
mid-1960s, produced a twofold effect. On the one hand, the widespread availability of modern
mass-produced goods led Yugoslavs to weigh the successes of self-managed socialism against
material things. On the other, there was an increasing concern about the loss of humanist
values that self-managing socialism implied.

The Praxis philosophers saw a relationship between the alienation produced by the bureaucratisation of Yugoslav society and that engendered by consumerism. Philosopher Miladin Životić considered 'consumption [...] a form of self-alienation' and 'contemporary homo consumens' an 'object of manipulation on the part of authoritarian social forces'.[153] During the 1960s, design seemed to be placed in between those two polarities: the experience of consumerism and authoritarian control.

As the case of Yugoslav supply centres and retail spaces has shown, designers sought to shape an unmediated form of consumption that wouldn't create an alienating, fetishistic relationship to things and would lead to social progress. At the same time, whilst they were reacting against the anxiety about consumerism by adopting a rational, objective and functional approach to design, they also engendered a form of control over the consumer. To further unpick this complicated entanglement between material, objects, spaces and self-managing socialism, the next chapter will discuss the close relationship between the criticism of modernist design and protests against state technocracy that marked the 1970s - the silent decade of Yugoslav socialism.

---

153   Miladin Životić, 'Između dvaju tipova savremene kulture', *Praxis*, 5-6 (1967), 802-812 (p.805).

Chapter 3

The spatial organisation of self-management: Housing, alienation and DIY

- **Introduction**

In 1964 the social sciences journal *Naše teme* (Our topics) published a themed issue on architecture and urbanism under the headline 'Urbanizam mimo socijalizma?' (Urbanism in spite of socialism?).[1] Featuring articles by some of the most prominent Yugoslav politicians, art historians, architects and sociologists, the writers condemned the theory and practice of urbanism in socialist Yugoslavia for its 'rationalistic conception of life' and 'blind slavery to the functionalist dogma'.[2] Too often, the writers complained, urbanism was conflated with quantitative housing development, leaving other vital functions of cities largely unresolved. 'By building flats, we will never build a city,' the art historian and politician Žarko Domljan argued, articulating broader concerns about fragmentation and alienation that were at the core of the Marxist humanist discourse that was becoming more vocal during this period.[3] In fact, that same year, the first issue of *Praxis* magazine was published, signalling a willingness to critically assess the state of Yugoslav socialism. The thematic issue of *Naše teme* needs to be placed within that wider discussion.

In his introductory text Domljan described the experience of contemporary life in cities as a 'moment of unfreedom', writing that, 'things and their masses, their relationships, dictate the order and the rhythm [of life] and man is not allowed to change anything, to shape [anything] according to his desires [...] He is condemned to execute.'[4] Criticising Yugoslav urbanists, architects, engineers and housebuilders, he suggested that alienation was engendered by an 'analytical approach to urban matter' that followed the 'dictate of economic criteria'.[5] In his view, this was exemplified by large avenues and standardised mass housing blocks seen across Yugoslav cities. Writing about urban development in south Zagreb in the magazine *Arhitektura* a decade later, his colleague Davor Stipetić called it an 'architecture for the statistical man'.[6] Such functionalist, standardised, mass-constructed architecture was considered to be at odds with the promise of socialist modernity, where housing blocks were

---

1   *Naše teme*, 11 (1964). The social sciences magazine was published by the 'Vladimir Bakarić' Centre for ideological-theoretical research that was part of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia.

2   Žarko Domljan, 'Perspektive urbanizma', *Naše teme*, 11 (1964), 1766-1776 (p.1771).

3   Domljan, 'Perspektive urbanizma', p.1770.

4   Domljan, 'Perspektive urbanizma', pp.1767-1768.

5   Domljan, 'Perspektive urbanizma', pp.1770-1771.

6   Davor Stipetić, 'Stambena arhitektura ili arhitektura stambene krize', *Arhitektura*, 149 (1974), 19-22, (p.19).

to be conceived as a total synthesis of different functions, what Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik have described as 'a fully integrated socialist urban matrix of housing slabs and towers, social infrastructure and landscape'.[7] Instead, post-war urban planning resulted in sharply separated zones with entire neighbourhoods or even new towns, lacking a more integrated connection to the wider urban tissue, or easy access to transportation, shops, schools or healthcare, as shown in a still from *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)* (City Grows), a propaganda movie, from 1967 (Fig. 81).[8] In a study carried out in New Belgrade in 1967, tower blocks were thought to create '"atomized" households without any ties' to the broader community or even closest neighbours.[9] Rather than becoming the social condensers imagined by pre-war avant-gardes as the setting from which the collective body of socialism would emerge, new housing blocks fostered individualism and social isolation.[10] As these comments suggest, seemingly, modernist housing was undermining the principles self-management.

Colour still from *Raste grad* propaganda movie, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.

Figure 81. Still from *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)* (City Grows) propaganda movie, directed by Dragutin Vunak, Zagreb Film, 1967

---

7   Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb, Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona: Actar, 2007), p.246.

8   *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)*, dir. by Dragutin Vunak (Zagreb Film, 1967).

9   'Novobeograđani - ljudi soliteri?', *Beogradska Nedjelja*, 19 September 1966, in Brigitte Le Normand, 'The Modernist City Reconsidered: Changing Attitudes of Social Scientists and Urban Designers in 1960s Yugoslavia', *Tokovi Istorije*, 3-4 (2008), 141-159 (p.149); Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014), pp.196-198. The study cited by Le Normand was carried out by Vinko Jeržabek who worked for the Savezni zavod za komunalne i stambene poslove (Federal Institute for Communal and Housing Questions) in Belgrade. One of the institute's roles was to study the impact of new housing construction from a social perspective. See Vinko Jeržabek, *Susedski odnosi u naseljima novog Beograda* (Belgrade: Savezni zavod za urbanizam i komunalna i stambena pitanja, January 1967); *Stanovanje u zgradama visoke spratnosti* (Belgrade: Savezni zavod za urbanizam i komunalna i stambena pitanja, November 1969).

10   See Christina E. Crawford, 'The Innovative Potential of Scarcity in SA's Comradely Competition for Communal Housing, 1927', *Archidoct*, 2 (2014), pp.32-52.

The period between 1964 and 1974 saw a surge in critical writing about modernist housing and urban planning, published both in journals like *Naše teme*, as well as magazines like *15 dana*, *Arhitektura* or *Čovjek i prostor*. The planning of new socialist cities such as New Belgrade or New Zagreb that were characterised by vast, imposing housing blocks, came under particular scrutiny. Their spatial organisation followed the dictates of top-down modernist urban planning whose key principles were set out in the *Athens Charter*. The *Charter*, written following the fourth Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM) meeting in 1933 and published a decade later, conceptualised urban development in relation to four separate functions: dwelling, work, recreation and transportation.[11] CIAM's teachings had a strong influence on Yugoslav architecture and urban design: as a number of Yugoslav architects were members of the organisation and set up a CIAM working group in Zagreb.[12] CIAM's tenth congress was held in Dubrovnik, southern Croatia, in 1956.

Because a number of Yugoslav architects were part of CIAM, their criticism of functionalist planning emerged as a broader re-evaluation of the Modern Movement on both sides of the Iron Curtain. This critique had been set in motion by Team 10, a younger generation of architects who first sought to reassess functionalist urban planning starting from 1953.[13] In line with critiques put forward by Team 10, Lukasz Stanek and Dirk van den Heuvel suggest that architects across Eastern Europe believed that 'modern architecture and functionalist urbanism did not offer a sufficient basis for addressing the challenges faced by post-war societies, including technological progress, personal mobility, the increasing importance of leisure, varying scales of human associations and multiple modes of belonging'.[14] However, it would take a decade for the ideas put forward by Team 10 to gain major currency in Yugoslav

11   Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture moderne (CIAM), *The Athens Charter*, trans. by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, (Paris: The Library of the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, 1946), <http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters/charter04.html> [accessed 8 January 2018].

12   The influence of CIAM can be traced through pre-war architecture groups Zemlja (Earth), founded by Drago Ibler, and CIAM Work Group Zagreb, that included Ernest Weissmann, Josip Pičman, Josip Seissel and Vlado Antolić. See Tamara Bjažić Klarin, 'CIAM networking – Međunarodni kongres moderne arhitekture i hrvatski arhitekti 1950-ih godina', *Život umjetnosti*, 2 (2016), pp.40-57; Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb, Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona: Actar, 2007), pp.170-171; Maroje Mrduljaš and Tamara Bjažić Klarin, 'Zagreb Revisionists: "Social-Standard" Architecture', in *Team 10 East, Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Socialism*, ed. by Lukasz Stanek, (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), pp.165-197.

13   Judith Hopfengärtner, 'Introduction', in *Re-Humanising Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950-1970*, ed. by Ákos Moravánszky and Judith Hopfengärtner, (Basel: Birkhauser, 2017), pp.13-20 (p.15).

14   Lukasz Stanek and Dirk van den Heuvel, 'Introduction: Team 10 East and Several Other Useful Fictions', in *Team 10 East, Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Socialism*, ed. by Lukasz Stanek, (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), pp.7-33 (pp.11-12).

architectural discourse. In a 1967 issue of *Arhitektura*, the magazine's editor in chief Vojtjeh Delfin wrote:

> We need to acknowledge the problem of revising CIAM as the leading doctrine of our practice[...] The first problem is to do with the fact that the doctrine is based on the biological dimension, as with its understanding of 'beauty' as a direct product of functionality. It's the simplicity of this formula that led to its widespread use.[15]

The experience of everyday life under socialism, instead, called for more complex and articulated solutions to urban growth, where different functions of everyday life would not be separated by a seemingly abstract, imposed order. Otherwise, as Žarko Domljan claimed in *Naše teme*, Yugoslav society would be 'forced to accept this total order' of modernist urban planning and compelled 'to renounce freedom or to look for an escape in alienation'.[16]

This critique was reinforced by social scientists. Writing in *Arhitektura* more than a decade later, the sociologist Melita Richter argued:

> One of the most negative outcomes of an urban lifestyle is the disintegration of the whole of a human being, the alienation and separation of its functions. The spatial organisation of the urban tissue in large part enhances the disintegration of these functions. By treating each function as a separate whole and defining a dedicated place for its fulfilment, we are physically precluding the wholesome and simultaneous development of human life within a city space seen as a form of social unity. This treatment of spaces has been largely the result of the famous 'Athens Charter' that still continues to be very influential in the so called 'professional-normative' approach to urban organisation.[17]

Richter suggested that alienation could be resolved by engendering a more integrated relationship between work, dwelling and recreation that would result in an urban form

15   Vojtjeh Delfin, 'Razgovori o arhitekturi - dvadeset godina arhitekture i urbanizma u Jugoslaviji', *Arhitektura*, 93-94 (1967), 28-29 (p.28).
16   Domljan, 'Perspektive urbanizma', p.1768.
17   Melita Richter, 'Promjene u načinu života čovjeka u velikim gradskim naseljima i problem aktivnog angažiranja u slobodnom vremenu', *Arhitektura*, 158-159 (1976), 141-144 (p.142).

mirroring the ideal organisation of the socialist society, where production and leisure, work and domesticity were supposed to be permeated and indivisible. Her critique called for the restoration of a more authentic spatial form that corresponded to a desire, envisioned by the Praxis group, to return to the earlier, revolutionary vision of self-management. Unsurprisingly, the criticism of CIAM's orthodoxy intensified precisely at a time when public questioning of Yugoslav technocracy was increasingly becoming more vocal.

In socialist Yugoslavia, the period between 1968 and 1972 was a time of open and oftentimes violent criticism of the socialist government that emerged as a response to what were perceived as 'strong bureaucratic tendencies in our society' and the unlimited privileges of the technocratic class.[18] This period of political unrest started with the student protests in Belgrade in 1968, where banners with slogans such as 'Down with the socialist barons', 'Down with the red bourgeoisie', 'Bureaucrats, stay away from the working class', 'Workers work—bureaucrats enjoy', or 'We are fighting for a better man, not for a better life', were displayed.[19] It ended with the suppression of Croatian Spring in 1972. The Croatian Spring, as I have discussed in Chapter 1, was led by both politicians and cultural figures, calling for greater decentralisation and autonomy for the individual Yugoslav republics. The movement was crushed when all top party members of republican governments in both Croatia and Serbia a were expelled and substituted with less liberal leaders.[20] It was accompanied by a more general purge of the party ranks. During the Croatian Spring, as the historian Predrag Marković writes, 'The legitimacy of the Yugoslav Communist Party was seriously threatened. From December 1968 to December 1973, 143,756 members left the Party as a result of expulsion or "deletion from the records," [...] The top Party ranks were decimated'.[21] What followed the Croatian Spring, Marković suggests, was the 'Yugoslav Autumn' - a decade of political silence and repression

---

18 Živojin Pavlović, *Ispljuvak pun krvi* (Belgrade: Dereta, 1990), p.44, in Branislav Jakovljević, 'Human Resources: June 1968, Hair, and the Beginning of Yugoslavia's End', *Grey Room*, 30 (Winter 2008), 38-53 (p.42). The first, and perhaps most famous, criticism of Yugoslav political system as a class-based society remains Milovan Đilas's exposé in *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957). For recent research into socialist Yugoslavia as a class society see *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism*, ed. by Rory Archer, Igor Duda and Paul Stubbs (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). For an overview of student protests see Madigan Fichter, 'Yugoslav Protest: Student Rebellion in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo in 1968', *Slavic Review*, 1 (Spring 2016), 99-121.

19 Jakovljević, p.43.

20 John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History, Twice There Was a Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.305-311.

21 Predrag Marković, 'Where have all the flowers gone? Yugoslav culture in the 1970s', in *The Crisis of Socialist Modernity: The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s*, ed. by Marie-Janine Calic, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis, (Bonn: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp.118-133 (p.119).

when 'all substantial political or social discussions were put in the [...] "refrigerator".[22] In this decade of silence, as I will argue in this chapter, the critiques of modernist architecture, design and urban planning served as an outlet for political and social criticism that couldn't otherwise be voiced. This critique was not limited solely to the design profession, but involved sociologists, politicians, critics, urban planners, architects, designers and ordinary workers.

To explain how architecture, with a particular emphasis on housing, became a platform for social and political critique, I will first examine the structures of social self-management that placed local communes (*općine*), and territorial communities (*mjesne zajednice*) after the 1974 Constitution, at the centre of society.[23] As I have argued in Chapter 1, self-management was premised on two forms of representation: through the working unit and through local communes. Local communes were tied to one's place of residence with housing communities becoming the smallest organisational cell of social self-management on the territory with 'a degree of autonomous political function'.[24] A single family home, therefore, was closely tied to the structures of self-management. Within this framework, I will analyse examples of housing design, as well as the discourse on domestic culture that surrounded it, to show how housing, underpinned by self-management, became a vehicle for disciplining and controlling Yugoslav workers.

This form of discipline was closely tied to the networked diffusion of self-management in society, whereby it became 'the normative principle' of everyday life in Yugoslavia.[25] The diffusion made Yugoslav workers behave in a certain way - obeying to the rituals of self-management through the workers' council meetings and internalising the ideological discourse - without actually giving them any sense of individual agency to act upon the system.[26] Rather than serving to eradicate worker alienation, the day-to-day mechanisms of self-management

---

22   Marković, p.119.

23   Mjesne zajednice (residential groups or housing associations), understood as local interest groups, were introduced with the 1974 Constitution, as a further evolution of local communes. Dmitar Mirčev, 'Delegatski sistem u izgradnji samoupravne komune i mesne zajednice', *Politička misao*, 3 (September 1979), 437-447 (p.441).

24   Ljiljana Blagojević, 'The Residence as a Decisive Factor: Modern Housing in the Central Zone of New Belgrade', *Architektura & Urbanizmus*, 3-4 (2002), 228-249 (p.231).

25   Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974* (London: C.Hurst & Company, 1977), p.150.

26   Sharon Zukin, *Beyond Marx and Tito, Theory and Practice in Yugoslav Socialism* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp.33-36.

stripped them of any substantial power in the management of either the economy or society.[27] With all power tied in the hands of factory and party bureaucrats, Yugoslavia's 'new class', self-management became the vehicle for top-down control.

This form of alienation within the workplace was mirrored by the alienation felt in the context of housing, where individuals didn't have any control over their material environment. The examples of model housing design developed in the period between 1958 and 1962, that I will discuss in this chapter, will highlight the way Yugoslav homes were designed to mirror the bureaucratic, abstract and impenetrable structures of self-management. By emphasising modern, rational and standardised design of the home, architects and designers produced a functionalist dogma of domesticity that transformed private spaces into instruments of discipline and control. The sense of powerlessness was further instigated by housing inequalities between blue collar workers and white collar technocrats, that were a symptom of wider economic inequalities. The student protests of 1968 made this clear, for their 'general demands included a protest against increasing social inequality, unemployment, and the hampering of democracy and self-management, as well as requests for democratization of political organizations'.[28] This goes to show that, by the end of the 1960s, the discrepancies between theory and practice in self-management had produced an alienated, class-based society. In this context, Yugoslav architects, designers and sociologists, as well as ordinary workers, turned to urban development as one way of voicing their criticism of wider political and social structures. This chapter will explore to what extent was that discursive critique successful in shaping a different material experience of everyday life within the home and in renegotiating the principles of self-management.

This chapter departs from 1964, when both the issue of *Naše teme* and the first issue of *Praxis* were published. This is the starting point of New Left critiques of Yugoslav government, that were spurred in no small part by the imminent market reforms that were to be fully implemented in 1965. These discussions are then traced back to the period between 1958 and 1961 when Yugoslav post-war domesticity was codified through a discourse on *kultura stanovanja* (domestic culture). I will look at key housing models and approaches to design

---

27   Igor Stanić, 'Što pokazuje praksa? Presjek samoupravljanja u brodogradilištu Uljanik 1961–1968. godine', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 3 (2014), 453-474 (pp.457-458).
28   Jakovljević, p.42.

practice developed in this timeframe, for it is here that the causes of alienation within domestic environments can be found. The chapter then further explores the period between 1964 and 1976 as the long decade when functionalist approaches to design were met by heated criticism against modernist urban planning, as well as discussions about the chronic lack of appropriate housing. The chapter ends in the period between 1975 and 1980 with an analysis of *Sam svoj majstor*, a popular DIY magazine, that brings to light the changing attitudes towards housing and domesticity in the period of late socialism.

- ### 3.2 Designing housing as the basic unit of self-management: social structures and inequality

The search for a material articulation of self-management through urban form was given political legitimacy from early on. For Edvard Kardelj, one of the main ideologues of self-management, Yugoslav socialist democracy was premised on two forms of political participation: 'a hierarchy of "supreme workers' councils" in which delegates of workers *qua* workers (producers), alongside delegates of the same workers *qua* citizens (consumers), would make decisions on matters of wider communal interest'.[29] The second - workers *qua* citizens - was represented by people's committees or local communes that were conceived as 'the basic political-territorial organisation of self-administration by the working people and the basic socio-economic community of the population on their territory'.[30] Outside of the workplace, political participation was therefore directly tied to one's place of residence, through local communes or, after 1974, housing associations.

To put it simply, housing became the basic organisational unit of self-management outside the factory. For this reason, as Bojana Komadina and Vesna Popović wrote in *Industrijsko oblikovanje* in 1977, the real social role of architecture and design was to be found in the local commune, the 'basic cell of our self-managing society [...] where the fundamental relationships of working people and citizens, that characterise our society and our system as such, are fulfilled'.[31] They refer to the Yugoslav Constitution that sets out the social and political

---

29   Rusinow, p.68.
30   Dusan Bilandžić, *Ideje i praksa društvenog razvoja Jugoslavije 1945-73* (Belgrade: Komunist, 1973), pp.182-4, in Rusinow, p.97.
31   Bojana Komadina and Vesna Popović, 'Perspektiva razvoja dizajna u mesnoj zajednici', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 37-38 (May-August 1977), 45-47 (p.45).

position of local communes in the following terms:

> It is the right and duty of the working people and citizens in their place of residence [naselje] [...] to organise themselves into self-managed local communes for the fulfilment of certain joint interests and needs. [...] Working people and citizens in the local commune participate in the fulfilment of social tasks and in decisions on issues of joint interest for the municipality [općina] and for wider socio-political communities.[32]

These joint interests and needs included, but were not limited to, housing construction, social and children's welfare, education, culture, consumer protection, the protection and improvement of the environment.[33] Within this context, modernist housing blocks, that integrated different social services under a single large-scale unit, were seen as the materialisation of self-management, or rather, 'the place of the full enactment of self-management'.[34]

However, as has been shown in Chapter 1, the two forms of representation, within the factory and the local commune, often overlapped. On the one hand, local communes, which constituted a decentralised form of local government, also had direct political control over economic enterprises on their territory from which they collected taxes.[35] For this reason, 'Although major infrastructural projects were still the responsibility of the central government, local communities became self-managing units responsible for providing their own social services and the funds to finance them.'[36] On the other hand, self-managing enterprises, needed to provide housing for their workers, whether by building flats, contributing to the republican housing fund created in 1957, or providing loans for private housing construction. As the social historian Rory Archer has put it, 'Housing provision was intimately linked to

---

32   Član 110-114, *Ustav Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije*, 1974, in Komadina and Popović, p.45.
33   Komadina and Popović, p.45.
34   Blagojević, 'The Residence as a Decisive Factor', p.231; Tijana Stevanović, 'Tools for conviviality: Architects and the limits of flexibility for housing design in New Belgrade', in *Industries of Architecture*, ed. by edited by Katie Lloyd Thomas, Tilo Amhoff, Nick Beech (Abingdon: Routledge , 2016), pp.160-170 (p.161).
35   Rusinow, p.70.
36   Blau and Rupnik, p.206.

the Yugoslav workplace'.[37] In fact, the case of Rade Končar and Iskra discussed in Chapter 1 has shown that self-managed factories became important drivers of housing development and urban growth. By building housing, schools and recreation centres for their workers in the immediate area surrounding the factory, self-managed companies integrated privacy and publicity, leisure and labour into a unique spatial matrix. This goes to show that the political, administrative, economic and social structures of self-management were reinforced through the urban tissue.

Black and white still from *Zagrebačke paralele* propaganda movie, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.

Figure 82. Still from *Zagrebačke paralele*, dir. by Branko Majer, showing the single-family houses that were to be supplanted by modern mass housing, 1962

Arguably, the close association between housing and self-management was one of the reasons why the socialist regime placed significant ideological weight on housing and domesticity, asserting that the state 'owes each family an adequate dwelling unit with minimum standards'.[38] As early as 1954, the architect Miro Čepić was claiming that housing should be 'an addition to their [the workers'] regular income', for 'apartments are not commodities. The working people have the right to a flat'.[39] Propaganda movies of the late 1950s and early 1960s, such as *Zagrebačke paralele* (Zagreb Parallels) from 1962 often highlighted the discrepancy between

---

37   Rory Archer, '"Paid for by the Workers, Occupied by Bureaucrats", Housing Inequalities in 1980s Belgrade', in *Social Inequalities and Discontents in Yugoslav Socialism*, ed. by Rory Archer, Igor Duda and Paul Stubbs, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp.58-76 (p.70).

38   Andrei Simić, *The Peasant Urbanities: A Study of Rural-Urban Mobility in Serbia* (New York and London: Seminar Press, 1972), p.94, in Archer, '"Paid for by the Workers"', p. 59.

39   Miro Čepić, 'Stan i kritika', *Čovjek i prostor*, 16 (1954), p.1.

modernist mass housing of the bright future and 'wild, unplanned' dwellings that were to be left behind (Fig. 82).[40] The film showed the model of the urban plan for south Zagreb, with its orthogonal grid and mass housing blocks (Fig. 83), praising its modern design and arguing that 'it was the role of urbanists to look towards the future'.[41]

Black and white still from *Zagrebačke paralele* propaganda movie, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.

Figure 83. Still from *Zagrebačke paralele*, dir. by Branko Majer,
showing the model of south Zagreb, 1962

However, the lack of housing, increased the chasm between policies, rhetoric and everyday practice. Even though the 25-year period between 1946 and 1972, saw the construction of 3,243,318 socially-owned apartments across Yugoslavia, the housing supply was always lagging behind the needs of a growing urban population.[42] By the end of the 1960s, the part of the population that had moved to urban centres grew close to 50%, which meant approximately 10 million people.[43] Throughout the 1960s, the sense of a housing crisis was exacerbated by unprecedented industrial and economic development that placed an emphasis on consumerism and domesticity as a measure of progress, exemplified by exhibitions such

---

40   *Zagrebačke paralele*, dir. by Branko Majer (Zagreb Film 1962).
41   *Zagrebačke paralele*.
42   Stipetić, p.19.
43   According to the 1971 census the population of Yugoslavia was 20,522,972. Dusan Bilandžić,
         Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, Glavni Procesi 1919-1985 (Zagreb: Školska
         Knjiga, 1985), p.350; *Yugoslavia, From the Beginning to the End*, ed. by Ana Panić, (Belgrade: Muzej
         Istorije Jugoslavije, 2012), p.40; *They Never Had it Better? Modernisation of Everyday Life in Socialist
         Yugoslavia*, ed. by Ana Panić, (Belgrade: Muzej Istorije Jugoslavije, 2014), pp.46-49.

as *Porodica i domaćinstvo*. While Yugoslavia could pride itself with one of the fastest rates of industrial growth worldwide, during the 1960s the number of newly built homes struggled to keep up with extensive urban migration. As the historian Ivana Dobrivojević has documented,

> In 1961 Yugoslavia was the third worst on the list of [European] countries in terms of the number of constructed apartments per 1,000 inhabitants. In the period from 1962 to 1964 it was the second worst and in 1965 and 1966 it became the third worst once again.[44]

KARIKATURA: ZLATKO BASTASIĆ

Figure 84. Zlatko Bastašić, caricature from the issue of *Arhitektura* on the housing crisis published in 1974

The popular press often magnified concerns about the lack of affordable, quality housing in articles that ranged from propaganda movies to political exposes in dailies such as *Večernji List* or *Borba*, as well as women's magazines like *Svijet*.[45] An article published in the monthly

---

44   Ivana Dobrivojević, 'Housing Construction', in *They Never Had it Better? Modernisation of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, ed. by Ana Panić, (Belgrade: Museum of Yugoslav History, 2014), p.46.

45   Rory Archer gives a detailed overview of the intense public campaign about housing inequalities, although he focuses on the late period of socialism. See Rory Archer, '*Imaš kuću – vrati stan*. Housing inequalities, socialist morality and discontent in 1980s Yugoslavia', *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 3 (2013), pp.119-139.

magazine *Naš dom* in 1968 argued that 'getting hold of one's own [...] flat' was one of the 'most pressing concerns' for contemporary Yugoslavs.[46] While such public propaganda positioned housing as a fundamental right guaranteed to every Yugoslav citizen by the state, housing development continued to lag behind the needs of a growing urban population all through the 1980s.[47] The caricaturist Zlatko Bastašić captured public sentiment in an illustration (Fig. 84) published in the magazine *Arhitektura* from 1974, in an issue dedicated to the problem of housing. The drawing clearly alludes to the double nature of home-ownership as both a cause of worries and oppression, as well as happiness and comfort.

This prolonged sense of a housing crisis was publicly perceived as a breach of the social contract between the government and its citizens. For Rory Archer, the housing shortage was particularly 'problematic in a state which attempted to garner a certain amount of legitimacy through a commitment to social equality and endowing the working class with an enormous degree of symbolic capital'.[48] While housing was central for the experience and practice of self-management, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, 'acquiring a home [remained] a costly proposition, one that was not within everyone's reach'.[49] Public discussions about the lack of appropriate housing intensified in the period leading up to the Croatian Spring in 1972, bringing the relationship between housing, self-management and social inequality into sharp focus. In the early 1970s, after more than 20 years of intensive industrialisation and urban development, it became increasingly clear that the apparent lack of housing was to be ascribed to specific housing policies, designed to serve the technocratic class. The allocation of socially owned housing rewarded the educational and professional status of workers, privileging white collar managers, technocrats and party members. As Rory Archer has argued:

> For workers who did access socially owned housing there was a direct correlation
> between the size, quality and location of flats and their employment status, with
> unskilled and semi-skilled workers receiving smaller flats with less facilities in more

---

46   'Savremeno i racionalno građenje stanova i individualnih kuća', *Naš dom*, 7 (July 1968), p.32.
47   Rory Archer documents the case of one family whose self-built homes were affected by the geopolitical turbulence of the late 1980s and early 1990s, leaving members of the family stranded on both sides of the Croatian/Serbian border. Rory Archer, 'The Moral Economy of Home Construction in Late Socialist Yugoslavia', *History and Anthropology*, 2 (2018), pp.141-162.
48   Archer, 'Paid for by the Workers', p.71.
49   Brigitte Le Normand, 'The House that Socialism Built, Reform, Consumption and Inequality in Postwar Yugoslavia', in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, ed. by Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.351–371 (p.352).

peripheral locations, often segregated by educational attainment. The supposed redistributive characteristics of socially owned housing were thus inverted to the detriment of blue-collar workers.[50]

As this shows, the quality of one's home was directly related to one's position within the technocratic self-managed system and the material experience of everyday life was anchored by its hierarchical structure. In Lefebvre's terms, housing became the 'transmitter of the division of labour in the factories and the respective social hierarchies' where 'doors and windows of white facades become dots and lines within a system of signs that make the socio-professional status of the inhabitants transparent and commands their behaviour.'[51] The Yugoslav architect Davor Stipetić has argued along the same lines in *Arhitektura* in 1974, writing that Yugoslav 'Architecture has always been, not just in its most superficial aspect, also a morphology of a social structure. Simply put, this means that it was always about an architecture of social differentiation.'[52]

Closely tied to self-management, modern housing became the prerogative for the experience of socialist modernity in post-war Yugoslavia. The success of many government policies - from economic reforms to those concerning education and culture - could be measured against the level of urban development. According to Zagreb's chief urban planner Zdenko Kolacio, writing in *Naše teme* in 1964, there was an intrinsic relationship between self-management and urban space, for 'Urbanism cannot exist separately and independently [from the social context]. It is the platform from which all social forces act'.[53] For this reason, Kolacio was adamant in asserting its centrality for the success of the socialist project, stating that

> The level of urbanisation reflects the socio-economic development of a country, and
> its population. Urbanisation gathers people together in bigger cities, leading them

---

50   Archer, 'Paid for by the Workers', p.71.

51   Henri Lefebvre, 'Les nouveaux ensembles urbains (un cas concret: Lacq-Mourenx et les problèmes urbains de la nouvelle classe ouvrière)', p.119, in Lukasz Stanek, 'Introduction'. *Henri Lefebvre, Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), p.xxxiii.

52   Stipetić, p.20.

53   Zdenko Kolacio, 'Grad - osnovni problem novog i dinamičnog svijeta', *Naše teme*, 11 (1964), 1797-1803 (p.1802). Zdenko Kolacio was Zagreb's chief urban planner working on the masterplan for south Zagreb adopted in 1971, which needed to house around 250,000 workers. See also Zdenko Kolacio, 'Problemi urbanističkog razvoja Zagreba', in *Iz starog i novog Zagreba*, ed. by Franjo Buntak and others, III, (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1963), pp.281-301.

to a communal way of life. In a cultural sense, it eradicates provincialism in people, raises their political and social awareness and increases production.[54]

Kolacio was writing from the point of view of a committed socialist urban planner and his argument brought into sharp focus the way Yugoslavia's social organisation was connected to the material environment. The standardised mass housing blocks developed during this period were connected to the network of local councils and provided the spatial 'grid of "discipline"' from which it was difficult to escape.[55] This grid of discipline was reinforced by the specific spatial organisation and design of modernist housing blocks. Another short film from the period illustrates this point.

Black and white still from *Moj stan* propaganda movie, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.
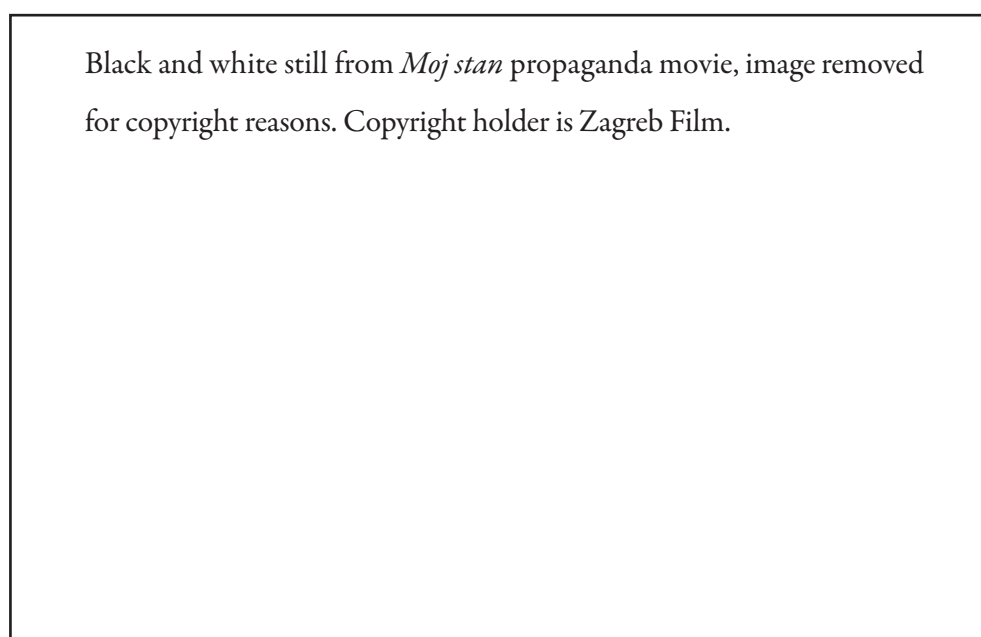
Figure 85. Still from *Moj stan*, showing a new modernist neighbourhood in south Zagreb, Zagreb Film, 1962

Moj stan (My Flat), directed by Zvonimir Berković in 1962, follows a family of four from Zagreb as they move from an 'old, ugly' room in a communal apartment, to a 'beautiful flat' in a modernist housing block (Fig. 85).[56] The film is a fascinating summary of the social dynamics that regulated Yugoslav housing. For example, the father is urged to use his connections as a *prosvjetni radnik* (social worker) and 'bang the hand on the desk' of the then mayor of Zagreb

---

54   Kolacio, 'Grad - osnovni problem', p.1800.
55   Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1988), p.xiv.
56   *Moj stan*, dir. by Zvonimir Berković (Zagreb Film, 1962).

Većeslav Holjevac, demanding a bigger flat. He refuses and, as a result, when the family finally moves to a new flat in south Zagreb, they realise that they haven't left the problems of their old communal apartment behind. The neighbourhood is isolated from the city centre, with the stores being 'so far away that mum needs to waste a whole morning if she wants to buy something for lunch'. In the modernist block, long corridors on each landing serve as a space of surveillance, just like in the communal flat, while their darkness and monotony enhances the sense of alienation. Equally, the flat remains too small for their needs (Fig. 86), so every Saturday is spent moving furniture around to find 'such a layout where we could fit everything in and also move'. The film also muses on social differentiation associated with housing, as the family visits their friends in a neighbouring block where flats are bigger and have large balconies . Those were the 'more expensive flats', the narrator suggests, built for those better connected to the system. This less than subtle satire reveals the extent of the problem of housing, with alienation and inequality at its core. However, this was not just a political or a social problem, but it was also an issue of design. A central part of that design problem was a dogmatic concept of *kultura stanovanja* (domestic culture), premised on standardisation, rationality and efficiency, that sought to regulate individual agency within private, domestic spaces. To discuss it further, I will examine how this discourse was shaped in the period between 1958 and 1961, as well as the specific housing models that it produced.

Black and white still from *Moj stan* propaganda movie, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.

Figure 86. Still from *Moj stan* showing sofas placed on top of beds to make space for a dining table in the main room, Zagreb Film, 1962

- **3.3 Imagining Yugoslav domesticity: Rational homes and *kultura stanovanja***

With housing communities forming the basic units of self-management, the home was treated just like a self-managed factory, during the 1950s and 1960s, and subjected to the same rationalising, scientific discourse that permeated the Yugoslav workplace. Arguably, this opened up private, single-family homes to the pervasive intervention of the state through a public discussion about domesticity shaped by magazines, books, lectures and exhibitions. In parallel with the discourse about "good design", carried out by design centres and institutes for home economics throughout the 1960s, which was discussed in the previous chapter, Yugoslav homes were the focus of a similar, yet much more specific, discursive campaign centred on the notion of *kultura stanovanja*. This was an integral part of the socialist project, for to elevate the workers' consciousness and their level of education, their living environment needed to be equally *kulturan* (cultured), a concept closely associated with the idea of 'progress, cultivation, improvement'.[57]

Tied to Marxist materialist view of the world, the emphasis on culturedness can be mapped across socialist Eastern Europe. As Susan Reid has argued in the case of Soviet housing, 'The definition of beauty and good taste was not to be left to the lay homemaker's subjective and untutored inclinations [...] but was highly normative.'[58] What this normative relationship implied was a particular understanding of authority and power. Pierre Bourdieu has examined it through the concept of cultural capital and habitus, whereby taste is seen as a cultural code that is reproduced through class relations.[59] As Bourdieu puts it, 'Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier.'[60] While Yugoslav discourse about *kultura stanovanja* intended to eliminate those class distinctions by raising the level of culture of all the workers, it also instilled the division between designers, as the technocratic tastemakers, and the working class, as their receptive audience. As architectural historian Tijana Stevanović has argued, 'What was mediated' through housing design, 'was a specific cultural split: intellectuals drive the working class, yet separate from it by their own intellectual and aesthetic procedures, which necessarily introduces hierarchies of social relations through taste; these are closer to "design for" [rather

---

57   Aleksandar Zalepugin, 'Kulturan čovjek', *15 dana*, 4 (10 November 1961), pp.4-5.

58   Susan E. Reid, 'Everyday aesthetics in the Khrushchev-era standard apartment', *Etnofoor: Anthropological Journal*, 2 (2013), 79-105 (p.81).

59   Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction, A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (London and New York: Routledge, 1984), p.xxvi-xxix.

60   Bourdieu, p.xxix.

than] "design with" self-management'.[61] Therefore, the discourse about *kultura stanovanja* needs to be positioned at the origin discussions about housing inequality and alienation in 1964. Not only did it reinforce class distinctions, but by imposing specific forms of spatial organisation and use of private, single-family apartments, *kultura stanovanja* limited the way individuals could express their personal identity within the home.[62]
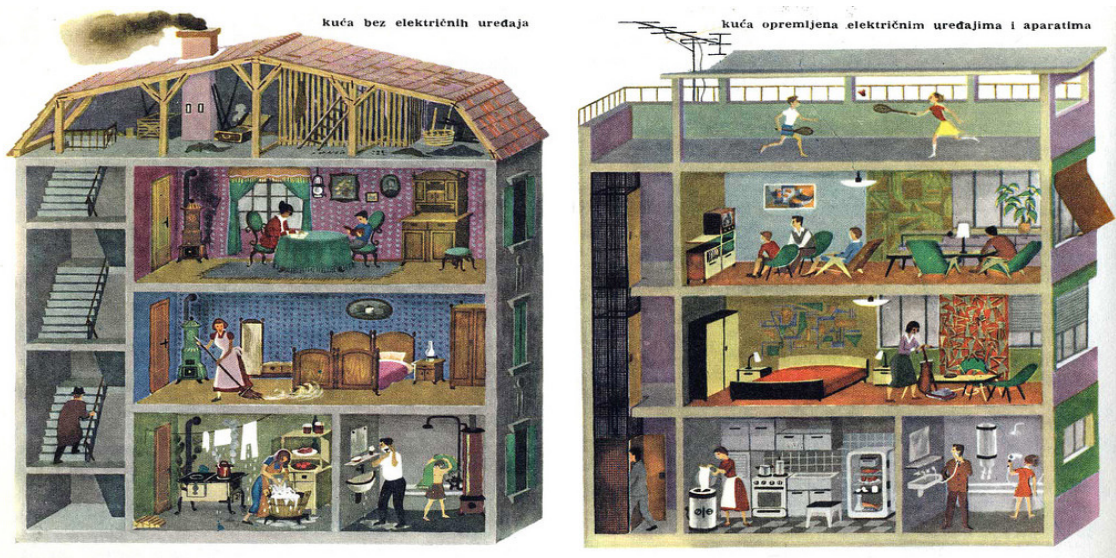
Figure 87. *Svijet oko nas*, illustrations for the entry 'Električna energija' (Electricity), edition published in 1971

The project to instill "correct" forms of domesticity involved all demographic groups and strata of society. A popular illustrated encyclopaedia for children, first published in 1960, titled *Svijet oko nas* (The World Around Us) portrayed two types of homes (Fig. 87).[63] One was an old house lacking any comforts of modern life, with old furniture, black smoke coming out of its chimney and two overworked women. This was the home of class divisions of the past. On the right-hand side, instead, was a modern block of the present, or imminent future, with clean and well-organised rooms filled with modern furniture and the latest electric appliances, where housework was effortless and there was time for active leisure. While the emphasis was placed on the ideologically meaningful theme of electrification, as suggested by the captions stating 'house with no electrical appliances' and 'house equipped with electrical devices and appliances', by comparing and contrasting two model homes the images also strongly alluded

---

61   Stevanović, p.169.
62   See Daniel Miller, 'Appropriating the State on the Council Estate', *Man*, 2 (June 1988), pp.353-372.
63   *Svijet oko nas*, ed. by Juraj Bukša, Vol.1 (Zagreb: Mladost, 1971), p.110.

to what modern socialist housing was meant to look like. Indeed, another entry was titled 'Savremeno uređen stan' (Contemporary flat) and described a typical modernist living room.[64]

One of the focal points of this widespread campaign to reform Yugoslav homes was the Moša Pijade Workers' University in Zagreb and the magazine it published, *15 dana*. The university was founded in 1953 as part of the government's effort to educate Yugoslav self-managers.[65] Initially, the focus of the university was mostly on improving literacy rates and offering evening courses to raise the overall level of educational attainment.[66] The university was instrumental for the success of self-management, for the 'system [...] demands a wide education of the working man' to be able to effectively participate in decision-making processes within factories.[67] In line with the socialist ideology that sought to establish a 'unity of work and leisure', starting from the late 1950s, the university's programme extended beyond the sphere of work and formal education into the private, domestic life.[68] Some of the topics addressed by the Workers' University reveal this double mission, focusing on the 'functional use of free time', the difference between management (*upravljanje*) and leadership (*rukovođenje*) or the relationship between culture and everyday, 'practical life'.[69] In this way, the university sought to connect the workers' role as self-managers to a wider discussion centred on culture and domesticity. As Renata Margaretić Urlić and Karin Šerman have argued, the Workers' University ultimately served as 'a platform for identity formation'.[70] The discourse about *kultura stanovanja* was particularly important within this framework. As Leora Auslander has argued, 'In consumer society, everyday aesthetic practices come not only to reflect the new "identities" of modernity, but also help to form people's sense of self, of likeness and difference.'[71] As by the late 1950s Yugoslavia had become a consumer society, through images if

---

64   *Svijet oko nas*, ed. by Juraj Bukša, Vol.1 (Zagreb: Mladost, 1971), p.129.

65   Dean Duda, 'Socialist popular culture as (ambivalent) modernity', in S*ocialism and Modernity, Art, Culture, Politics, 1950-1974*, ed. by Ljiljana Kolešnik (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2012), pp.249-275 (p.259).

66   See Veseljko Velčić, Veljko Marković and Vlado Velčić, *Radničko sveučilište u obrazovanju kadrova iz privrede* (Zagreb: Radničko sveučilište "Moša Pijade", 1964); Zrinka Paladino and Ivana Haničar Buljan, 'Od Moše do Boogalooa', *15 dana*, 3-4 (2011), pp.6-11; Renata Margaretić Urlić and Karin Šerman, 'Workers' University Zagreb, Team 10 Ideas in the Service of Socialist Enlightenment', in *Team 10 East, Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Socialism*, ed. by Lukasz Stanek (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), pp.157-163 (p.157).

67   'Za jedinstvo rada i slobodnog vremena', *15 dana*, 8 (10 January 1961), p.24.

68   'Za jedinstvo rada i slobodnog vremena', p.24.

69   'Osvrt na savjetovanja o problemu funkcionalnog korištenja slobodnog vremena', *15 dana*, 6 (10 December 1960), p.1; Ivan Zavrski, 'Upravljanje i rukovođenje', *15 dana*, 9 (1 February 1962), pp.4-5; Eugen Franković, 'Kultura i zahtjevi praktičnog života', *15 dana*, 11 (1 March 1963), pp.4-5.

70   Margaretić Urlić and Šerman, p.161.

71   Leora Auslander, '"Jewish Taste?" Jews and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1920-

not by practice, the discourse on *kultura stanovanja* shaped by the university served to ensure that the 'sense of self' created through the everyday experience of homemaking reflected the socialist system of values. Hence, the scope of this normative discourse was to produce ideal self-managers even outside the sphere of work.
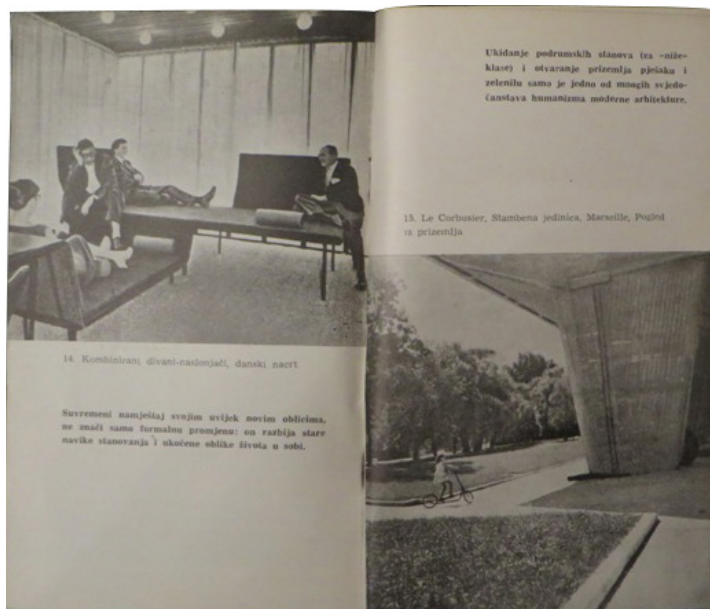
Figure 88. A spread from Ivančević's *Likovna kultura "običnog" čovjeka*, showing Le Corbusier's Cité Radieuse in Marseille (built between 1947 and 1952), and a Danish interior, 1961

The Workers' University's discussion about *kultura stanovanja* was developed by a number of well-known architects, designers, critics and art historians of the period, among whom were the art historians Radovan Ivančević, Eugen Franković and Žarko Domljan, the architect Andrija Mutnjaković, and the design critics Radoslav Putar and Goroslav Keller.[72] They all contributed to *15 dana* as well as lectured at the university. Their lectures, articles and exhibitions about home furnishings and domestic culture, reflected the modernist principles of rationality, cleanliness and functionality. The discourse was first laid out in the late 1950s, in a series of seminars on visual and material culture run by art historian Radovan Ivančević, that resulted in the 1961 publication of a book titled, *Likovna kultura "običnog" čovjeka* (The

---

1942', in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. by Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp.299-318 (p.300), in Reid, 'Everyday aesthetics', p.79.

72   Arguably, while domesticity was considered to be the women' sphere, those defining it were mostly men. The discussion in chapter one about *Porodica i domaćinstvo* highlights the project to liberate women from the burden of housework between 1957 and 1960. A curatorial project by Maša Poljanec and Maja Kolar titled *Dizajnerice*, that included an exhibition at Hrvatsko Dizajnersko Društvo (Croatian Design Association) in 2015 and an online platform, is a recent effort to uncover the hidden histories of women in Yugoslav design. See <http://www.dizajnerice.com/home/>.

art of the "ordinary" man) (Fig. 88).[73] These arguments were reaffirmed in a series of articles published in *15 dana* that sought to position the role of industrial design in society. Ivančević's writing rallied against what he called the 'dictatorship of kitsch' that he found proliferating in Yugoslav stores, homes and public spaces.[74] Instead, he insisted that 'objects need to be designed in accordance with use', whereby the form of an object 'is created as a result of all the conditions and needs within which it is created'.[75] In Ivančević's view, this was particularly important 'in an environment, where there is social management of production, therefore, where the producer is also the consumer'.[76] In this view, use value was paramount. For this reason, interpreting modernist design principles, he considered aesthetic value as proportional to the efficiency and functionality of objects and spaces. Ivančević would later concede that communicating such concepts to the 'wider public, and especially the ones with lower levels of education' presented a significant challenge.[77] Therefore, designers and writers associated with the Workers' University sought to translate more abstract design ideas into prescriptive advice about home furnishing, a sort of a modernist dogma of *kultura stanovanja*, with specific definitions of appropriate colours, "authentic" use of materials and furniture layouts. Importantly, *kultura stanovanja* did not entail reciprocal agency, what Daniel Miller has defined as a process of accommodation between the home and its inhabitants.[78] Rather, it was the standardised, normative housing that was meant to produce its residents.

A series of articles on domestic culture written by the architect Andrija Mutnjaković and published in the magazine *15 dana* in 1959, reflect this understanding.[79] Focusing on the most appropriate use of spaces, he argued that modern flats needed to be decorated in ways that would reflect the 'beauty of the time', for it was through the home that the identities of Yugoslav workers were shaped.[80] Mutnjaković's argument was that modern living, while not an exact science, could still be codified into a specific set of practices; it was a rational knowledge that Yugoslav workers could absorb. 'Dwelling is like all other human activities: you need

73   Radovan Ivančević, *Likovna kultura "običnog" čovjeka* (Zagreb: Radničko sveučilište Moša Pijade, 1961).
74   Radovan Ivančević, 'Interpretacija dizajna', *Život umjetnosti*, 51 (1992), 68-77 (p.71).
75   Radovan Ivančević, 'Oblik i svrha', *15 dana*, 21 (1959), 13-15 (p.13).
76   Radovan Ivančević, 'Osnovna pravila industrijskog oblikovanja', *15 dana*, 6 (March 1959), pp.13-15.
77   Ivančević, 'Interpretacija dizajna', p.69.
78   Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2010), p.96.
79   Andrija Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja', *15 dana*, 3 (November 1959), pp.9-10; Andrija Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja (2)', *15 dana,* 5 (10 December 1959), pp.16-17; Andrija Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja (3)', *15 dana*, 6 (25 December 1959), pp.17-18.
80   Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja', p.10.

to know how to live,' he wrote.[81] This knowledge included, 'some basic things, such as the psychological effects of colours, the meaning of correct orientation', as well as less transferable skills, such as 'the taste and ability to choose the right furniture' and the 'sense for organising space'.[82] What Mutnjaković seemed to suggest was that practical exercises, lectures and articles in popular magazines could eradicate the reproduction of taste through class structures. Antiquated, 'false' notions of domestic culture, characterised by 'baroque' interiors and 'kitsch' furniture, were to be replaced by a modernist emphasis on functionality, standardisation and harmony that anyone could understand.[83]
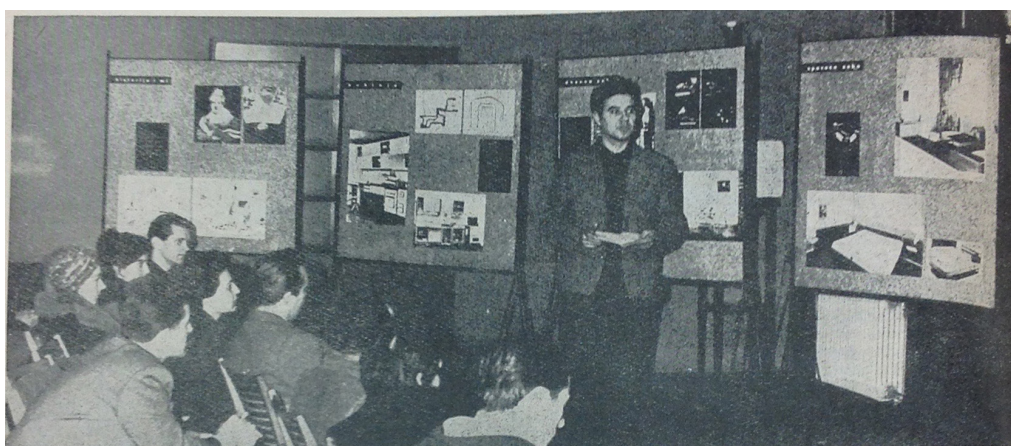
Figure 89. The opening of the *Suvremeno stanovanje* exhibition at Moša Pijade Workers' University, curated by Andrija Mutnjaković in 1961, from *15 dana*. The mobile panels with key pieces of furniture and room layouts can be seen in the background

Mutnjaković's articles in *15 dana* were followed by an exhibition about housing and design titled *Suvremeno stanovanje* (Contemporary dwelling) held at the Workers' University in 1961 (Fig. 89). The exhibition was divided into ten sections - each dedicated to a specific room within a typical home, in addition to three separate sections titled, History and us; Our flat; and Furniture - displayed on small mobile panels that were designed to be easily transported to factories across Zagreb as a travelling exhibition.[84] While the panels were fairly small and simple, their importance lies precisely in this approach: the straightforward visual language reflected the university's educational outreach which was aimed at the working class. Just like Ivančević, Mutnjaković also held a series of seminars at the University. The talks about

81   Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja (2)', p.16.
82   Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja (2)', p.16.
83   Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja', p.10.
84   Eugen Franković, 'Suvremeno stanovanje', *15 dana*, 12 (March 1961), pp.25-26.

design were held as part of 'his seminar on general culture' where 'in the spirit of the so-called "socialist enlightenment", Mutnjaković contributed to the improvement in the lifestyle of the "new" working classes living in "modern" apartments, i.e. the quality of life in the new housing blocks of Zagreb'.[85] Mutnjaković's articles and exhibitions formed the base for another book published in 1966 by the University, titled *Znate li stanovati?* (Do you know how to dwell?).[86] The book was an essential part of what the art historian Eugen Franković has called the 'culture of practical life' that included a series of rules, practices and attitudes that were meant to regulate the totality of Yugoslav everydayness.[87]

Black and white photograph of Moša Pijade Workers' University, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Figure 90. Radovan Nikšić and Ninoslav Kučan, Moša Pijade Workers' University, 1956-1961

Design historian Feđa Vukić has further stressed the point, arguing that this rich publishing, educational and exhibition programme at the Workers' University needs to be seen as a form of 'educational activism, directed towards the cultural enlightenment of a wide and unspecialised' audience, thus setting in motion the processes of modernisation of domestic life in Yugoslavia.[88] However, there were less enthusiastic responses to such modernising efforts. The art historian Želimir Koščević mocked what he called a 'flood of practical advice, books

85   Renata Margaretić Urlić, 'Architectural Frolics in an Informel Company', *Život umjetnosti*, 82 (2008), 52-65 (p.57).
86   Andrija Mutnjaković, *Znate li stanovati?* (Zagreb: Radničko sveučilište Moša Pijade, 1966).
87   Eugen Franković, 'Kultura i zahtjevi praktičnog života', *15 dana*, 11 (1962), pp.4-5; Eugen Franković, 'Kultura i zahtjevi praktičnog života (II)', *15 dana*, 12 (1962), p.4.
88   Feđa Vukić, *Modernizam u praksi* (Zagreb: Meandar, 2008), p.200.

and brochures' that sought to teach Yugoslav citizens 'how to self-manage, how to drive a vehicle, how to prepare instant soup, cook eggs, prepare food for the winter and [...] even how to live'.[89] In his review published in *15 dana*, Koščević defined defined *Znate li stanovati?* as a 'catechismus of contemporary living', hinting at the book's dogmatic outlook.[90] While the article ultimately praised Mutnjaković's work as important and necessary, the mocking tone brought to light the persistent effort to subject the totality of Yugoslav everyday experience to precise sets of rules and regulations.

This modernising discourse needs to be contextualised within the physical space of the university. Rather than being peripheral to its overall mission, the university's authority in shaping modern domestic culture was reflected in the materiality of its building. Designed by Radovan Nikšić and Ninoslav Kučan, with the interiors by Bernardo Bernardi, the building is one of the key examples of Yugoslav post-war modernism, built between 1956 and 1961 (Fig. 90).[91] As Renata Margaretić Urlić and Karin Šerman have argued, 'The significance of the Workers' University, understood as a precondition for the success of the whole "self-management" experiment, was manifest already in its urban position', situated on one of the most prominent new arteries of Zagreb, the Avenue of the Proletarian Brigades.[92] In contrast to other high-rise modernist blocks on the avenue, the university was conceived as 'a low-rise, high-density architectural model'.[93] Its fluid and flexible plan was characterised by 'the intricacy and yet graceful coordination of horizontal and vertical masses in a dynamic equilibrium' that resulted in the building being 'labelled a "horizontal skyscraper"'.[94] The building was facing both inwards and outwards: on the one hand was its 'inner spatial complexity', structured as a 'fortress of knowledge', on the other, it was connected to the outside 'through transparent facades', that communicated a sense of openness and accessibility (Fig. 91).[95]

89   Želimir Koščević, 'Umijeće stanovanja', *15 dana*, 13-14 (1967), p.16.
90   Koščević, p.16.
91   Paladino and Haničar Buljan, p.7.
92   Margaretić Urlić and Karin Šerman, p.157.
93   Margaretić Urlić and Šerman, pp.157, 159.
94   Radovan Ivančević, 'Nova zgrada Radničkog sveučilišta Moša Pijade', *15 dana*, 1 (1961), p.8; Krešo Špeletić, 'Horizontalni neboder', *Večernji list*, 1 January 1962, p.13, in Margaretić Urlić and Šerman, p.159.
95   Margaretić Urlić and Šerman, p.161.

Black and white photograph of Moša Pijade Workers' University, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Figure 91. Radovan Nikšić and Ninoslav Kučan, Moša Pijade Workers' University, 1956-1961

Black and white photograph of the interiorMoša Pijade Workers' University, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Figure 92. Bernardo Bernardi, interior design and furniture
for Moša Pijade Workers' University, 1956-61

Bernardi's furniture was created in response to the flexible plan of the building and its multiplicity of uses that ranged from lectures and seminars to exhibitions and informal, social spaces (Fig. 92). The series of furniture, therefore, included armchairs, desks, chairs and low coffee tables, for a total of 19 different pieces. The furniture had a distinct modernist quality, characterised by 'strict lines of the geometrical and functional' structure, with 'softer lines' for the 'supporting surfaces' such as seats and backrests (Fig. 93).[96] Iva Ceraj has traced the genesis of this design model to Bernardi's travels to Scandinavia in the late 1950s, where he was clearly influenced by the region's 'organic modernism'.[97] That Bernardi was chosen for the project, reveals a lot about the university's awareness of its role in shaping the Yugoslav material culture of everyday life. As I have discussed in Chapter 1, Bernardi played a central role in defining Yugoslav domesticity, with his model flats displayed at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions in 1958 and 1960 built as social housing. In his view, as I will outline below, it was the designer's role to ensure that *kultura stanovanja* would come to life in everyday experience within the home.

Black and white photograph of the furniture designed for Moša Pijade Workers' University, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Figure 93. Bernardo Bernardi, furniture designed for the Workers' University, 1957-1961

However, what Bernardi and other modernist designers seemingly failed to realise, was that this regulatory vision of the home negated the very premise of self-management, with its

---

96   Iva Ceraj, *Bernardo Bernardi: The Design Work of an Architect, 1951-1985* (Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Croatian Museum of Architecture, 2015), p.166.
97   Ceraj, p.169.

emphasis on participation and individual agency. If Yugoslav homes and housing communes were to become the representation of social self-management in material form, or the practice ground for Yugoslav socialist democracy, as Edvard Kardelj had argued in 1958, how did *kultura stanovanja* support that?[98] By emphasising the idea of 'correctness' and culturedness in the use of objects and spaces, where 'the function of each object is strictly determined and limited', Yugoslav designers produced spaces that reduced the complexity of everyday experience to a 'rationalistic conception of life' and 'blind slavery to the functionalist dogma'.[99] Rather than affirming individual agency, *kultura stanovanja* produced a domestic environment where individuals were 'forced to accept this total order' of modernist design, 'to renounce freedom or to look for an escape in alienation'.[100] The lack of agency within the home, mirrored the one that had, by that time, developed within the workplace, where self-management became just a vehicle for top-down control. In the next section, I will explore how this normative approach extended from the level of discourse to material space.

- ### 3.3.1 Bernardo Bernardi's two overlapping visions of domesticity

To connect discussions about *kultura stanovanja* to the material experience of Yugoslav homes, it is worth reflecting here on two model apartments that Bernardi designed for *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions in 1958 and 1960. Although designed with slightly different approaches, both apartments formed important models for Yugoslav domestic culture centred around normative ideals of rationality, efficiency and functionality.

As Iva Ceraj has documented, Bernardi started to reflect on domestic culture as early as 1951.[101] In an article published in *Arhitektura*, Bernardi advocated for the necessity of standardising home furnishings, starting 'from "the smallest element: the drawer" thus moving [...] from the inside of furnishings outwards' to include the totality of domestic spaces.[102] Bernardi's writing echoed Ernesto Nathan Rogers, who famously wrote in an editorial in *Domus* magazine in 1946, that the role of architects was to define 'all formal representations of being: from the spoon to the

---

98   Edvard Kardelj, 'O nekim problemima stambene zajednice', *Progres, ilustrovana revija za ekonomska i društvena pitanja*, 4-5 (1958), pp.4-5, in Vukić, *Modernizam u praksi*, pp.225-226.
99   Koščević, p.16; Domljan, 'Perspektive urbanizma', p.1771.
100   Domljan, 'Perspektive urbanizma', p.1768.
101   Ceraj, p.97.
102   Bernardo Bernardi, 'O umijeću stanovanja', *Arhitektura*, 5-8 (1951), pp.114-115; Ceraj, p.97.

city'.[103] This was an attempt to assert the utmost authority of modernist designers in post-war reconstruction. As Bernardi put it, with 'the architect remaining the master of the environment that he creates', there was a true opportunity to create 'a better [material] framework for life' (Fig. 94).[104] Bernardi's aspiration was to extend his mark from single pieces of furniture to the wider urban whole: 'the realisation of dwelling harmony' needs to start with 'urbanistic action, because it is difficult to achieve anything just with furnishings'.[105] By looking at Bernardi's work and writing it is possible to pin down a set of approaches and strategies that architects, designers and social scientists would later react against. The criticism of functionalist urban planning and mass construction that emerged in the period between 1964 and 1976 was precisely a reaction against the totalising vision that Bernardi's work represents.
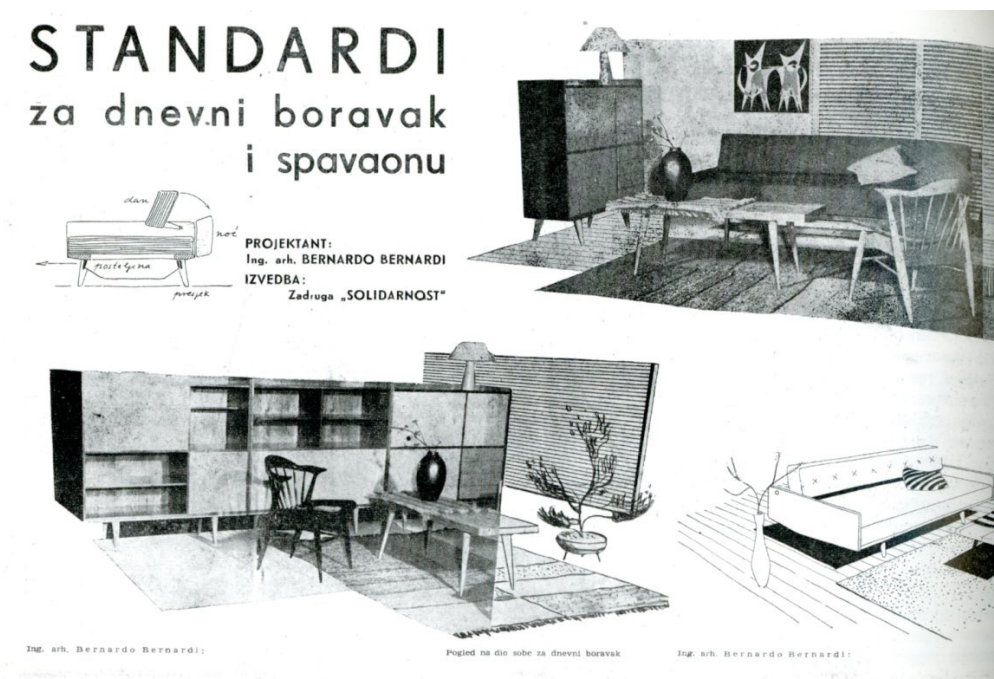
Figure 94. Bernardo Bernardi, 'Standardi za dnevni boravak i spavaonu' (Standards for living rooms and bedrooms), published in *Čovjek i prostor* in 1955

The contours of that vision were officially set out in the government's housing guidelines published in 1956. At the first Savjetovanje o stambenoj izgradnji i stanovanju (Conference on residential development and housing) organised by eight government bodies that was held in

---

103   Ernesto Nathan Rogers, 'Ricostruzione dall'oggetto d'uso alla casa', *Domus*, 215 (November 1946), 2-5 (p.5).
104   Bernardi, 'O umijeću stanovanja', p.115.
105   Bernardi, 'O umijeću stanovanja', p.114.

May 1956 in Ljubljana, standardised furniture production was discussed as one of the tools for rationalising and improving housing development, alongside the use of new materials and the industrialisation of construction.[106] The recommendations, published in *Arhitektura*, stated:

> The production of modern types of furniture, housing equipment and fittings is one important factor in the rationalisation of housing construction. Today's production, largely obsolete, not only leads to higher product prices, but also increases the cost of a residential building due to the increased apartment size.[107]

Modern, compact, flexible and standardised furniture that occupied less space was seen as a significant factor in reducing the cost of housing construction. Reflecting on the period thirty years later, design critic Fedor Kritovac, has suggested that this type of discourse was tied to a very specific understanding of value: 'According to economic and techno-economic criteria the product is defined as either being or not being "rational". There is talk about the "respect for materials", preference for "semi-fabricated", "standardised elements", the achieved "functionality" is praised, etc.'[108] While Kritovac concedes that this 'strict call to rationalisation and standardisation' could be seen as 'repressive', he locates its origins not in the work of designers, but in the official regulations on space standards.[109] As Kritovac writes,

> The obsession with furniture as an element that, if it's not modern - and that means smaller dimensions and more flexible designs - it's not [suitable] for apartments, can be understood if we look at, for example, the maximum and minimum square footage of usable floor area in apartments, set out in the Smjernice stambene izgradnje [Housing Construction Guidelines] issued in 1958 by the Izvrsno Vijeće NRH [Croatian Executive Council]. The maximum [allowed] area for three people,

106   The conference was organised by the following bodies: Stalna konferencija gradova Jugoslavije (Standing conference of Yugoslav cities), Savezna industrijska komora (Federal Industrial Chamber), Savez građevinska komora (Federal Construction Chamber), Savez zanatskih komora Jugoslavije (Council of Crafts Chambers of Yugoslavia), Savez društava arhitekata Jugoslavije (Council of the Architects Associations of Yugoslavia), Savez urbanista Jugoslavije (Council of Urbanists of Yugoslavia), Savez građevinskih inženjera i tehničara Jugoslavije (Council of Construction Engineers and Technicians of Yugoslavia), Savez ženskih društava Jugoslavije (Council of Women's Associations of Yugoslavia), Zaključci prvog jugosl. savjetovanja o stambenoj izgradnji i stanovanju u gradovima', *Arhitektura*, 1-6 (1956), p.30.
107   'Zaključci', p.30.
108   Fedor Kritovac, 'Pedesete - dizajn namještaja i standard življenja', *Život umjetnosti*, 54-55 (1993/1994), 10-15 (pp.10,12).
109   Kritovac, 'Pedesete', p.12.

that corresponds to a two and a half-room apartment, can be 50m^2 and the minimum 37m^2.[110]

Ostensibly, these were very limited housing standards to which, Kritovac suggests, Bernardi's model apartments were able to respond with 'virtuous' solutions.[111] Two of these "solutions" to the problem of housing were presented at the second and third *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibitions, discussed in Chapter 1. It is important to reflect here on their role in shaping the normative standard of mass housing.

Black and white drawings of model flats designed for *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.
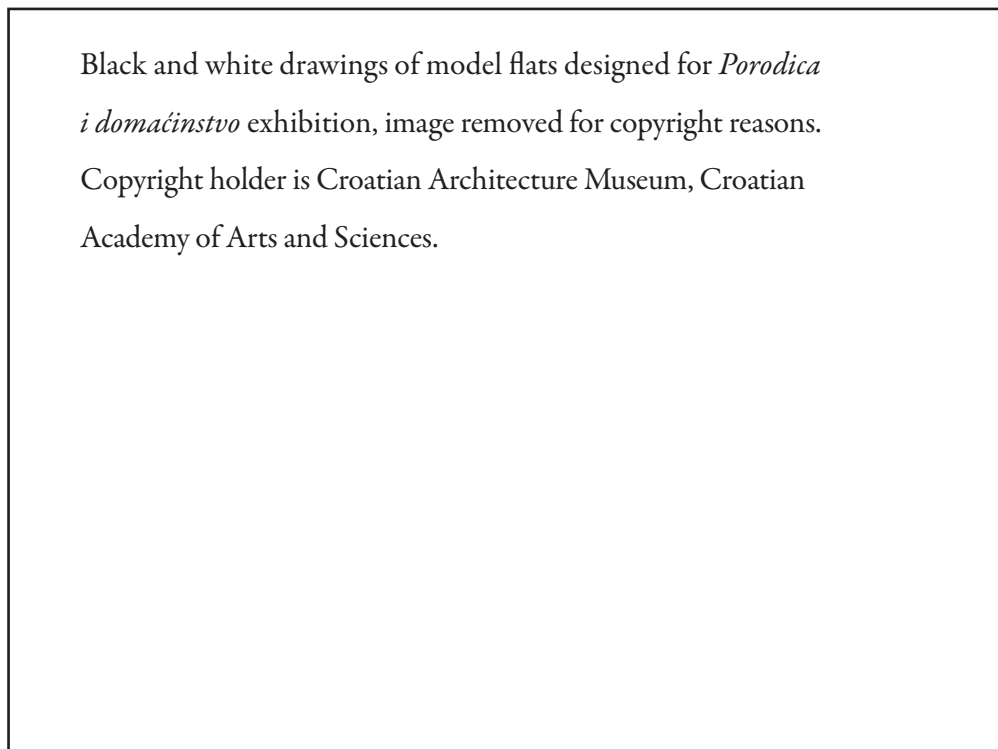
Figure 95. Plan for Bernardo Bernardi's model flats at *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, 1958

For the second *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition held in 1958, Bernardi designed two flats - two and three-roomed ones - with the aim of showing that even '"little spaces cut down by the norms" can be turned into pleasant spaces' (Fig. 95).[112] Architectural historian Iva Ceraj suggests that Bernardi was concerned with the 'attention of the architect being directed particularly to the possibility of "putting every object in a space intended for it"', as exemplified

---

110   Kritovac, 'Pedesete', p.12.
111   Kritovac, 'Pedesete', p.12.
112   Andrija Mutnjaković, 'Stambena problematika u okviru II. međunarodne izložbe "Porodica i domaćinstvo" 1958.', *Čovjek i prostor*, 79 (1958), pp.4-5.

by the standardised furniture he designed two years before.[113] In this way, he sought to anticipate and direct everyday use of private, single-family homes. This was to be achieved through what he called 'creative standardisation', which entailed furnishing the apartments with a number of modular, standardised pieces of functional, flexible furniture.[114] In this way, 'Bernardi attempted to show the interconnections of the housing problem with the new approach of designing mobile furnishing , in order to raise the level of mere *inhabiting* [obitavanja] to the higher level of a *decent culture of living*.'[115] With "decent culture of living", Bernardi implied the '"beauty" of contemporary standards that will necessarily result from [the] practicality and usability' of modern furniture, 'from the respect towards materials used and from the desire of contemporary designers to provide for our man an environment that will stimulate all of life's actives.'[116]

Black and white drawings of model flats designed for *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Croatian Architecture Museum, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Figure 96. Bernardo Bernardi, drawings for 'Stan bliske budućnosti' displayed at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* in 1960

For the third *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition held in 1960, Bernardi showcased his winning entry for the 'Stan bliske budućnosti' (Flat of the near future) competition. Rather than

---

113   Ceraj, p.81.
114   Ceraj, p.81, emphasis in the original.
115   Ceraj, pp.86-87, emphasis in the original.
116   Bernardo Bernardi, 'Standardi za dnevni boravak i spavaonu', *Čovjek i prostor*, 39 (15 September 1955), p.6.

simply seeking to design modern, contained flats that would satisfy the basic housing needs for the biggest number of Yugoslav citizens, this project sought to rethink the psychological and emotional impact of housing, foreshadowing future discussions about alienation and social isolation.[117] While the flats still featured a clearly modernist articulation of spaces, with the permeability of the inside and the outside, standardised construction elements and 'Mondrianesque partition walls' (Fig. 96), the overall attempt was to 'mobilise the space of the dwelling, transforming "anonymous hollow volumes", into a flexible and modern means of living'.[118] While the open volumes of the flat were conceived to allow a certain sense of flexibility in use, the design was ultimately determined by a strict geometric layout. Even Bernardi conceded that 'the aspect of the psychological functions of the dwelling' laid out in the call for entries 'inevitably took second place' to designing an affordable, functional flat.[119] Ultimately, what both flats tried to achieve was to codify spontaneous, informal use of spaces - the first with its emphasis on 'creative standardisation', the second with its supposedly mobile partition walls and open volumes. Bernardi's standardisation of spaces and their use was integral to the normative discourse on *kultura stanovanja* that ultimately negated the participatory principles of self-management. As one visitor to the *Porodica i domaćistvo* exhibition in 1958 summed it up, referring to top-down housing provision, 'Nobody asks us, future tenants, about [housing] projects, but you churn things up all by yourselves through your commissions.'[120] Between 1964 and 1974, such comments would come to form the basis for a more consistent call for change.

The next section will look at the way this rational, functional and efficient view of domesticity remained as the normative discourse well into the mid-1970s, despite increasing calls to re-evaluate modernist design and urban planning. This highlights the way two contrasting visions of domesticity - one advocating for a modernist, functional view of the home, the other critiquing it - coexisted in the period between 1964 and 1976. This overlapping of opposing discourses in the context of design mirrors the period of political turmoil. It remains to be answered, therefore, whether what Predrag Marković has called the 'Yugoslav Autumn', could be reshaped through design.

---

117   Ceraj, p.92.
118   Ceraj, pp.94-95.
119   Bernardo Bernardi, 'Stan bliske budućnosti na izlozbi *Porodica i domaćinstvo* 1960.', typescript, 1-2
          (p.2), in Ceraj, p.93
120   Comment from the visitors' book at *Porodica i domaćinstvo* exhibition in 1958, in Mutnjaković,
          'Stambena problematika', p.4.

- **3.3.2 The science of domesticity and visual representations of the home**

The Workers' University wasn't the only institution shaping the discourse about appropriate forms of domestic culture. As Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 have shown, there were a number of different organisations founded from the mid-1950s to mid-1960s that sought to regulate Yugoslav everydayness. The press - both industry magazines like *Arhitektura* and *Čovjek i prostor*, as well as popular press like *Svijet* and *Naš dom* - formed a central part of that network. This section will examine forms of visual representation that were used to discipline Yugoslav domesticity by looking at a number of articles published in the period between 1967 and 1976 in *Naš dom* and *Industrijsko oblikovanje* magazines.

Naš dom, a commercial magazine about interior design and the home, first published in 1967 by the Slovenian publisher Večer, sought to describe Yugoslav domesticity as a set of strict rules to follow. In 1969, it published an article titled 'Testirajte svoj stan' (Test your apartment), where the anonymous authors 'put together 100 bullet points that tell you what an ideal flat should look like'.[121] The readers had to answer questions like 'Is the size of the sink at least 50 x 60 cm?' or 'How is the floor cleaned?', to calculate what their apartments would score on this ideal scale.[122] While the authors conceded that 'The perfect flat does not exist', they also suggested that 'we need to strive for the best possible score for our flat'.[123] The magazine's discourse was aided by diagrams, drawings and schematic images of contemporary furniture to propose a clearly modernist vision of domesticity. In such articles, domestic spaces and everyday practice went through a meticulous process of rationalisation and analysis, where not only furniture or room layouts, but also habits and activities had to be measured and codified. A series of articles titled 'Dimenzije u svakodnevnom životu' (Dimensions in everyday life) published in *Naš dom* in 1968, for example, set out to map the correct, scientific measurements of domestic objects, as well as common food items (Fig. 97).[124] As Susan Reid has argued in the case of the Soviet Union under Khrushchev, in socialist societies both 'In the organisation of production, and of social life in general, spontaneous, unregulated practices' had to 'give

---

121   'Testirajte svoj stan', *Naš dom*, 9 (September 1969), pp.21-23.
122   'Testirajte svoj stan', pp.22-23.
123   'Testirajte svoj stan', p.21.
124   'Dimenzije u svakodnevnom životu', N*aš dom*, 8 (August 1968), pp.22-23; 'Dimenzije u svakodnevnom životu', *Naš dom*, 10 (October 1968), p.27; 'Dimenzije u svakodnevnom životu', *Naš dom*, 10 (October 1969), p.58.

way to conscious, codified ones founded on "scientific" analysis'.[125] Within this process, a Taylorist approach, characteristic of the modern workplace, was applied to domestic spaces, with forms of representation in popular magazines and manuals promoting sanctioned forms of behaviour.
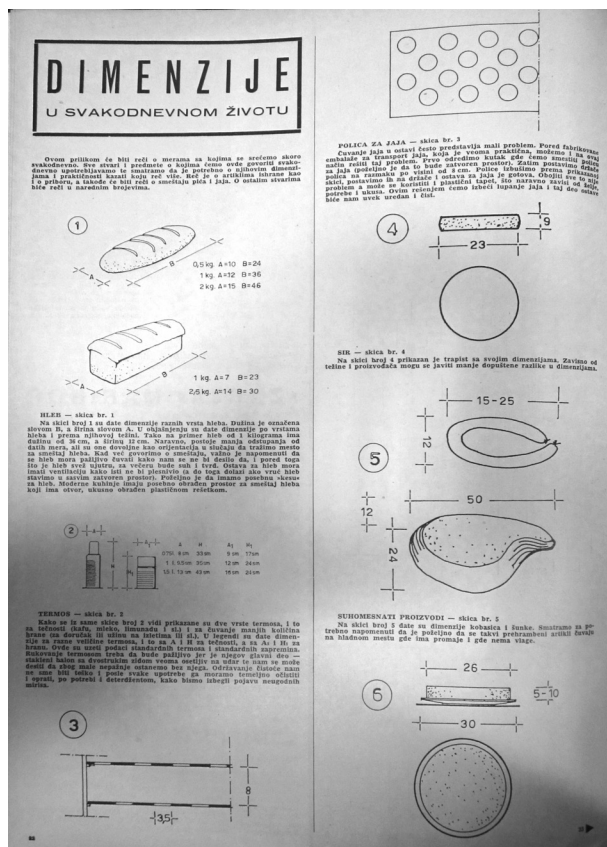
Figure 97. Spread from a series of articles titled 'Dimensions in everyday life' published in *Naš dom,* 1968

Schematic visual tools, such as diagrams and plan views that were consonant with the top-down, regulatory vision imposed by Yugoslav architects and designers was used to represent private, domestic spaces and instil "correct" living habits. The implicit strategies behind such forms of representation can be understood in relation to what Lefebvre has called 'abstract space' that serves to reinforce systems of power: 'it serves those forces which make a tabula rasa of whatever stands in their way, of whatever threatens them'.[126] Here, 'the space of a (social)

---

125   Susan E. Reid, 'The Khrushchev Kitchen: Domesticating the Scientific-Technological Revolution', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2 (April 2005), 289-316 (p.291).

126   Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), p.285.

order is hidden in the order of space'.[127] What was being reinforced through *Naš dom*'s articles and visual tools, was the abstract, top-down social order of technocratic self-management.
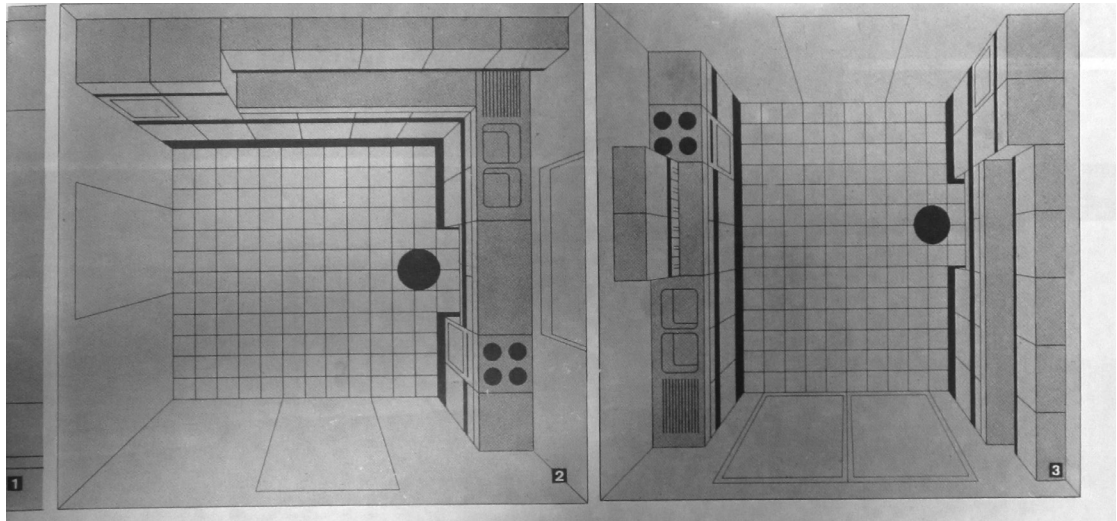
Figure 98. Examples of appropriate kitchen layouts from *Naš dom*, 1969
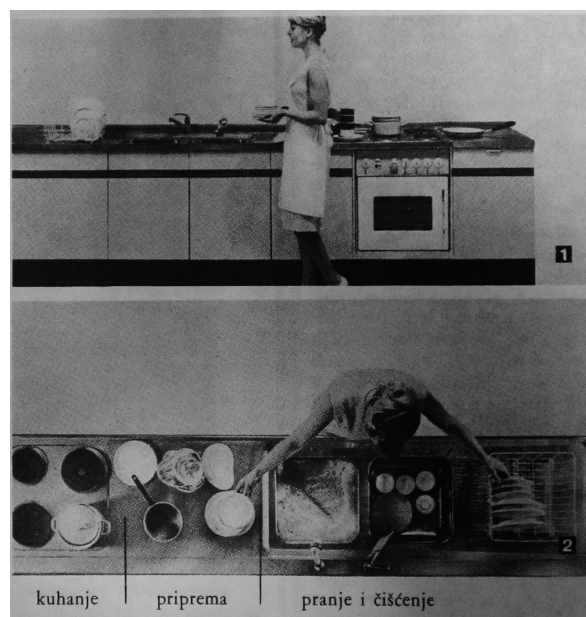
Figure 99. The kitchen as an assembly line, from *Naš dom*, 1969

The kitchen was the most common subject of such representations. In this rational, efficient and hyper-productive domestic space, clutter and cosiness were to be avoided at all costs, while clear, linear and geometric surfaces were presented as "correct". A 1969 article published in *Naš dom*, for example, sought to show the appropriate and scientific use of modern kitchens,

---

127   Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.289.

describing it as a 'space of organised labour'.[128] The images showed a number of different kitchen layouts, highlighting the grid-like, geometric structure of the space. In its visual form, as well as the accompanying discourse, this private, domestic space was standardised and rationalised, with the aim of minimising any form of individual agency and personal interpretation on the part of the users. Here, the images make clear, Yugoslav citizens were 'condemned to execute.'[129] Just like in a factory, the actions performed in the kitchen were regulated through schematic diagrams that showed the precise sequence of actions that were to be followed (Fig. 98 and 99).

Colour still from *Raste grad* propaganda movie, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.

Colour still from *Raste grad* propaganda movie, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.

Figure 100 and 101. Still showing the model of Sopot neighbourhood and construction in progress, *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)* directed by Dragutin Vunak, Zagreb Film, 1967

---

128   'Kuhinja najučestalija "radionica" u svijetu', *Naš dom*, 4 (April 1969), 6-10 (p.7).
129   Domljan, 'Perspektive urbanizma', pp.1767-1768.

While this was not life as lived, this normative imaginary was meant to be replicated in real life through mass-produced flats with standardised interiors that, as propaganda films of the period suggested, extended across Yugoslav urban landscape. *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)* (City Grows) from 1967, showed the model of Zagreb's urban plan, followed by images of numerous housing neighbourhoods that were being built from it. 'From the model to reality', the narrator stated, reinforcing the understanding that standardised designs were to be translated into everyday life (Fig. 100 and 101).[130]
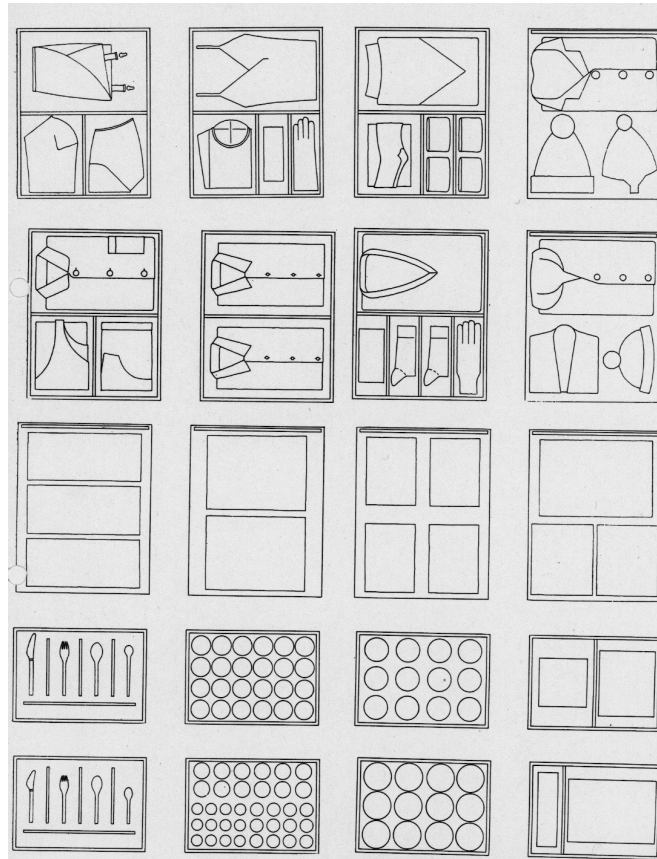
Figure 102. From Radmila Milosavljević's article 'Nameštaj kao ugrađeni deo enterijera stana', published in *Industrijsko oblikovanje* in 1976

Industrijsko oblikovanje, a magazine associated with the Dizajn Centar in Belgrade, was another tool for disseminating the discourse about "correct" domesticity, that was closely tied to its attempts to instill an understanding of "good design" discussed in Chapter 2. Written by Radmila Milosavljević, the articles on the modern home were published under a regular

---

130   *Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967)*, dir. by Dragutin Vunak (Zagreb Film, 1967).

column titled 'Kultura stanovanja' (Domestic culture). In a way similar to Mutnjaković's writing published a decade earlier, these articles often featured specific domestic spaces, offering key advice on how these should be furnished and organised. Just like those published in *Naš dom*, Milosavljević's interiors often represented those of standardised, mass housing. In 1976, the proceedings of a conference on furniture design and contemporary housing held during the Belgrade Furniture fair, were published in the magazine.[131] In her presentation, Milosavljević argued that there was a need for better coordination between architects and furniture designers. Just like Bernardi more than two decades earlier, she wrote:

> this coordination needs to be a part of the general coordination and expansion of design work, where the housing problem moves 'outwards' - to the street, neighbourhood, the city - as well as 'inwards' - the use, the design of furniture, bathroom fixtures, lighting equipment and other objects of everyday use.[132]

The article divided the experience and practice of everyday life into clear-cut functions: getting dressed, sleeping, dining, mental labour, leisure (indoors), rest and leisure (outdoors), nutrition, hygiene, cleaning and maintenance. Each of the functions included a detailed analysis of objects that could be used to fulfil that specific need, and was paired with standardised modular furniture where these objects were to be stored. The drawings that followed the article were equally abstract and diagrammatic (Fig. 102). This type of representation, classification and separation of functions, can be compared to what Michel Foucault has analysed as the disciplinary power of knowledge that was closely tied to specific forms of spatial organisation. In *Discipline and Punish*, the French philosopher writes about the disciplinary power based on the procedures 'elaborated for distributing individuals, fixing them in space, classifying them, extracting from them the maximum in time and forces, training their bodies, coding their continuous behaviour, maintaining them in perfect visibility, forming around them an apparatus of observation'.[133] Milosavljević's articulated division of everyday activities, needs and desires, performed precisely such a disciplinary

---

131   'Dizajn namještaja i savremeni stan, Referati savetovanja odrzanog 19-20. Novembra 1976. Na XIV Međunarodnom sajmu nameštaja, opreme i unutrašnje dekoracije u Beogradu', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 34 (November-December 1976), pp.17-38.

132   Radmila Milosavljević, 'Nameštaj kao ugrađeni deo enterijera stana', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 34 (November-December 1976), 28-36 (p.28).

133   Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (London and New York: Penguin, 1991), p.231.

function. When contextualised within standardised, mass housing blocks, this organisation and classification of domestic environments produced what Melita Richter has suggested were the functionalist spaces of alienation. As she argued, 'By treating each function as a separate whole and defining a dedicated place for its fulfilment, we are physically precluding the wholesome and simultaneous development of human life' and engendering 'the disintegration of the whole of a human being, the alienation and separation of its functions'.[134]

However, Milosavljević's writing also reveals the increasing anxiety about the alienating effects of housing, commenting in 1974, on the 'anonymous cells' of standardised homes within 'blocks of high-rise buildings differentiated only by their numbers'.[135] While similar comments were central to the international critique of the Modern Movement, the Yugoslav socialist system made this process of re-evaluation even more pressing. If self-management was not fulfilled in the context of local communes, of which single-family homes were an essential part, then the very system could be questioned. For this reason, as I will examine in the next sections, the calls to reform urban planning also implied a desire for a structural re-evaluation of self-management.

- **3.4 Critiques of functionalist planning from 1964 onwards**

Starting from 1964, Yugoslav architects, designers and urban planners sought to rethink the relationship between self-management and design. In the issue of *Naše teme* published that year, art historian Eugen Franković argued that architecture of the period continued to produce urban spaces where 'it remains - at the very least - unclear, what the relationship is between the *social order* that we are building and the *spatial framework* of our life' in cities.[136] His colleague, art historian Grgo Gamulin argued that life in cities 'has come to a point from which it seeks to return from loneliness to a certain communication and cohesion. For that return to be possible [...] it is necessary to look for answers that will have a certain relationship to socialism.'[137] He asked: 'Will we create anonymous and shapeless spaces or real life environments for our socialist urbanisation?'[138] Other Yugoslav critics, as Brigitte Le

---

134   Richter, 'Promjene u načinu života čovjeka', p.142.
135   Radmila Milosavljević, 'Da li smo svi kreatori?', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 17 (January-February 1974), 41-42 (p.42).
136   Eugen Franković, 'Urbana sredina', *Naše Teme*, 11 (1964), 1777-1788 (p.1787), emphasis in original.
137   Grgo Gamulin, 'Instrument socijalizma', *Naše Teme*, 11 (1964), 1789-1796 (p.1795).
138   Gamulin, p.1795.

Normand has documented, thought that 'urban planners had an oversimplified understanding of society' and mistakenly 'took urbanisation to be an operation that they performed on cities, rather than the outcome of broader sociological processes'.[139] In their view, urban development reflected a wider split in Yugoslav society between blue collar workers and the technocratic class. Therefore, by reforming architecture and urban planning, Yugoslav art historians and critics hoped that a lost sense of collectivity and cohesion could be restored.

One of the first to rethink functionalist architecture was the architect Vladimir Turina. Turina, who died in 1968, worked on a number of public projects, amongst which the Centre for the Protection of Mother and Child in Zagreb, completed in 1957 and the plans for the main Zagreb stadium in Maksimir.[140] In March and April 1963, Turina published four articles in the cultural weekly *Telegram*, in which he 'openly expressed his distrust with the very basics of his discipline and his doubt in the mission that architecture was supposed to have in the society'.[141] In 'Humanizam i antihumanizam novovjekovnog urbanizma' (Humanism and antihumanism of contemporary urbanism), Turina writes: 'It seems to me that everywhere in the world technocratic plans are being created. The technically rational component of contemporary urban architecture has achieved an absolute victory over the lives of human beings.'[142] With technocrats relying on statistics and standardised models of urban development, Turina argued that architecture had become 'a depersonalised collective and anonymous product', that was 'a reflection of the general crisis of the society, which transformed the individual into a meaningless subject'.[143] As architectural historians Maroje Mrduljaš and Tamara Bjažić Klarin suggest, Turina's writing was part of the wider criticism that 'pointed out that the results of instrumental urbanization contradicted the emancipatory ideas of modernity'.[144]

---

139   Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, p.199.
140   Mrduljaš and Bjažić Klarin, p.174.
141   Vladimir Turina, 'Postoje li u arhitekturi autorska prava', *Telegram*, 150 (8 March 1963), p.4; Vladimir Turina, 'Humanizam i antihumanizam novovjekovnog urbanizma', *Telegram*, 152 (22 March 1963, p.4; Vladimir Turina, 'Sudar dviju sudbina', *Telegram*, 153 (29 March 1963), p.4; Vladimir Turina, 'Eventualno!?... ka cilju', *Telegram*, 155 (12 April 1963), p.4; Vladimir Mattioni, 'Eventualno/Perhaps', *Život umjetnosti*, 82 (2008), 32-37 (p.32).
142   Turina, 'Humanizam i antihumanizam novovjekovnog urbanizma', p.4.
143   Mattioni, p.34.
144   Mrduljaš and Bjažić Klarin, pp.183,185.
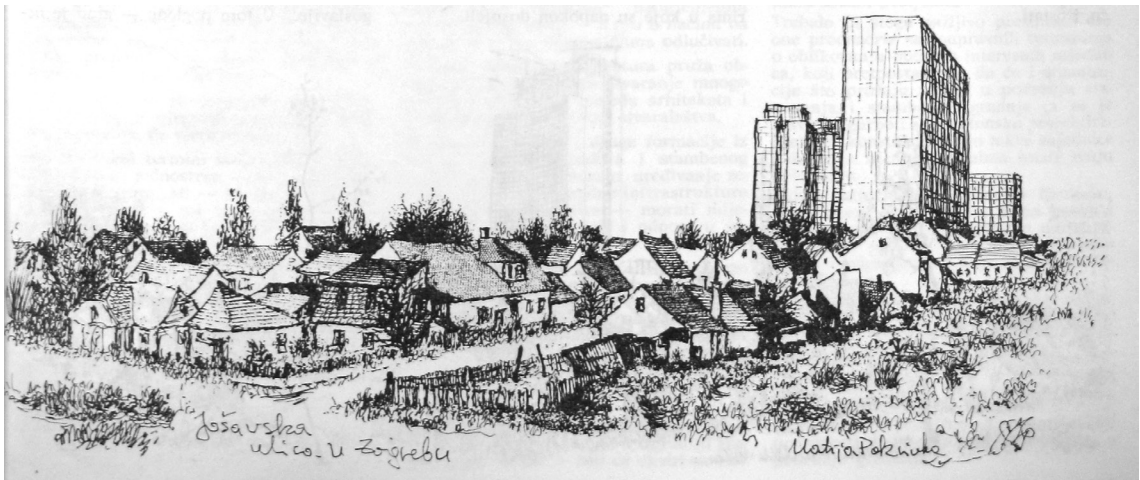
Figure 103. Contrast between modernist urban planning and unregulated construction, from an illustration published in *Arhitektura* in 1974

In Zagreb, the criticism of these contradictions strongly emerged in 1970 with a desire to reevaluate the city's model of urban growth. Published in the magazine *15 dana*, this critique included 13 responses from art historians, critics, architects and urban planners, reflecting on the disjunction between the 'spatial idea' and 'social meaning' of Zagreb's general urban plan. On the one hand was the abstract order imposed by modernist urban planning. On the other, unregulated, rogue and often illegal construction (Fig. 103).[145] Amongst the contributors to the discussion, the most scathing criticism, once again, came from art historian Žarko Domljan.[146] Repeating his remarks, set out in *Naše teme* in 1964, about urbanism being less 'a technical solution to transportation, municipal or housing problems', but rather 'the design of a living environment', he described the result of such a technocratic, functionalist view of urbanism as 'psychosocial urban destruction'.[147] 'What we can define as the loss of a feeling of unity on a sociological level is manifoldly reflected in space,' Domljan writes, suggesting that functionalist urban planning had led to 'the atrophy of social relations'.[148] He argued that Zagreb had become a conflictual space, with ordinary workers and the technocratic class forming two opposing social groups. In his view:

---

145   'Zagreb u raskoraku između vizije i stvarnosti', *15 dana*, 3-4 (May-June 1970), p.3.

146   Other respondents were design critic Fedor Kritovac, art historian Eugen Franković, urban planner Zdenko Kolacio, architect Radovan Delalle, architect Mladen Vodička, architect, Milan Šoštarić, art historian Joza Ladović, architect Tomislav Premerl, architect Hida Auf Franić, architect, Ivan Franić, architect Branko Kincl, architect and critic Antoaneta Pasinović, Grupa Z architects (Ivan Čižmek, Tomislav Kožarić, Tomislav Odak, Branko Silađin). See *15 dana*, 3-4 (May-June 1970), pp.3-17.

147   Žarko Domljan, 'Prava smrt grada uvijek je samoubojstvo', *15 dana*, 3-4 (May-June 1970), 12-13 (p.13).

148   Domljan, 'Prava smrt grada uvijek je samoubojstvo', p.13.

> Zagreb's urban space continues to exist between individual self-interest and lack of care from the vast majority of its inhabitants, deprived of a true vitality and exposed to the destructive forces acting from each opposing social pole. If a social democracy (vertical axis) would be accompanied by a spatial democracy (horizontal axis), this would surely, rather than block, enhance urban cohesion.[149]

For Domljan, there was a direct relationship between the political space of representation and the urban space of the city. This view was shared by his colleague, architect and critic Antoaneta Pasinović, who argued that urbanism needed to reflect the meaning of self-management. She writes: 'today we are not thinking about the space of socialist self-management, we are collectively running away today from the responsibility and social consciousness about the meaning of urbanisation and urban planning.'[150] For Domljan, the 'state of urban space', characterised by urban sprawl, anonymous mass housing blocks, isolated neighbourhoods and inadequate transportation systems, mirrored 'the real state of [Yugoslav] democracy'.[151]

As this critique goes to show, the functionalism and bureaucratisation of urbanism can be seen as just another aspect of the wider conditions in Yugoslav society and politics, condemned by the Praxis philosophers. In the early 1970s, they became vocal about the 'deepening of the gap between the social system and Marxist theory'.[152] In 1972, the *Praxis* journal dedicated an issue to the theme of 'Marxism and Socialist Consciousness'. In the magazine, philosophers Rudi Supek and Zagorka Pešić-Golubović condemned the increasing influence of functionalist thinking in Yugoslav politics. Pešić-Golubović wrote: 'Functionalist theory speaks exclusively the language of institutionalised structures, leaving out all that is un-institutional, informal, spontaneous and individual.'[153] For Supek, functionalism was imposed by a bureaucratic, technocratic social order that 'reduces social aspirations to organisational functionality' while disregarding individual needs, desires, conflicts and struggles.[154] Rather than striving towards a humanised, unalienated society, the Yugoslav political system was preoccupied with forms of socialisation that would ensure that individuals were integrated 'into the mechanisms of the

---

149   Domljan, 'Prava smrt grada uvijek je samoubojstvo', p.13.
150   Antoaneta Pasinović, 'Pompa oko ovog natječaja - slatkopriča za malu djecu', *15 dana*, 3-4 (May-June 1970), 16-17 (p.17).
151   Domljan, 'Prava smrt grada uvijek je samoubojstvo', p.13.
152   Zagorka Pešić-Golubović, 'Zašto je danas funkcionalizam u nas poželjniji od Marksizma?', *Praxis*, 3-4 (1972), 339-350 (p.339).
153   Pešić-Golubović, p.342.
154   Rudi Supek, 'Čemu, uostalom, sada još i ovaj marksizam?', *Praxis*, 3-4 (1972), 327-338 (p.333).

system, that is, to achieve that individuals respond to those demands according to which they are socialised'.[155] For Supek, functionalism was symptomatic of an 'exhaustion of the utopian vision of the socialist society' and was ultimately antagonistic to self-management.[156] Published a few weeks after the meeting in Karađorđevo, that effectively ended the Croatian Spring and civic unrest of the period between 1968 and 1972, the writing in *Praxis* could not but be seen as a reflection on the government's response to the social crisis.

While the government could silence political dissent and public protest, the material traces of functionalism and inequality left on urban space couldn't be ignored. For this reason, housing served as a platform for critiques of government policies and a space where an authentic, unalienated experience of life under socialism was sought. The criticism of housing and urban development as a critique of Yugoslav politics became particularly evident in the writing of social scientists. In their view, 'Yugoslavia had failed as a socialist state, because, rather than creating a classless society, it had enabled the rise and entrenchment of a privileged class'.[157] Urban planners were part of the problem and had 'failed because they did not recognise that cities were part of the much larger system of the national economy'.[158] Housing inequality was seen as an example of those systemic economic failures. A study by Duško Sekulić conducted in the 1980s, 'indicated that while 80 percent of those in positions of political leadership were housed in socially owned flats less than 22 percent of skilled and unskilled workers were living in them'.[159] As a result, the working class had 'to pay inflated market prices to rent privately or build homes independently, often assisted by credit from the workplace'.[160] This was one of the main problems of housing under Yugoslav socialism. While architecture and design practice were hardly the means through which these ingrained, systemic inequalities and paradoxes of self-managed socialism could be resolved, the public questioning of modernist planning served as a means for bringing them into focus.

In this context, housing inequality can be seen as representative of the dual reality of Yugoslav modernisation and the two opposing poles that Domljan invoked: on the one hand were the

---

155   Pešić-Golubović, p.340.
156   Supek, p.333.
157   Le Normand, 'The Modernist City Reconsidered', p.146.
158   Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, p.199.
159   Duško Sekulić, 'Putevi i stranputice stambene politike', *Sociologija*, 3 (1986), pp.347-371, in Archer, '"Imaš kuću vrati stan"', *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 3 (2015), 119-139 (p.121).
160   Archer, '"Imaš kuću vrati stan"', p.121.

fairly well-off technocrats, on the other the struggling and alienated workers who were meant to be socialised. A short film from 1966 titled *Od 3 do 22* (From 3 to 22) illustrates this social split. The film shows a day in the life of a working mother who wakes up at 3am to feed her child and get ready for the day, then travels to a textile factory for 8 hours of work, does the shopping, travels back home, cooks dinner, cleans the house, works in the garden, and finally goes to bed at 10pm.[161] Rather than living in a modernist block with electrical appliances and all the comforts, like those seen in *Svijet oko nas*, her family of three lives on the periphery of Zagreb in a barrack surrounded by muddy streets, with no electricity or running water (Fig. 104). As Dean Duda has put it,

> Of what import is to [her] the fact that in that same year of 1966 the Zagreb publisher *Mladost* published six popular handbooks translated from German dealing with the basics of modern life, as follows: *Perfect Housewife*, *Sexual Life*, *Mother and Child*, *Cooking*, *The Book of Etiquette*, and *Home Doctor*?[162]

Indeed, of what import can it be to her that Andrija Mutnjaković's *Znate li stanovati?* was also published that same year? This was the other side of Yugoslavia's socialist progress towards modernity that, by the end of the 1960s, needed to be addressed. The question that follows is, how could Smilja Glavaš, the 22-year-old protagonist of Golik's film, be an active self-manager when her life was weighed down by appalling housing conditions? How could she find the time to attend the workers' council meetings? This is the social framework within which self-management and modernist architecture needed to be jointly reassessed.[163] While the lack of housing was partly tolerated until the mid-1960s, justified by the promise of extensive reconstruction and the imminent arrival of a bright future, in the second half of the 1960s, it became apparent that this promise of just and equal housing provision had ultimately failed. For this reason, mass housing models, with their restricted spaces and of dubious construction quality, that were accepted as a possible way of providing housing for all Yugoslav workers, were now being questioned as an appropriate model of urban development. As an article published in *Naš dom* in 1979 put it, the model of housing development that presupposed that 'any flat is better than no flat' had turned 'the social crisis into a crisis of use value of

---

161   *Od 3 do 22*, dir. by Krešo Golik, (Zagreb Film, 1966).
162   Duda, 'Socialist popular culture', pp.262-263.
163   Stipetić, p.19.

apartments'.[164] The very underpinnings of socialist ideology were to be re-examined.

Black and white still from *Od 3 do 22* propaganda movie, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Zagreb Film.
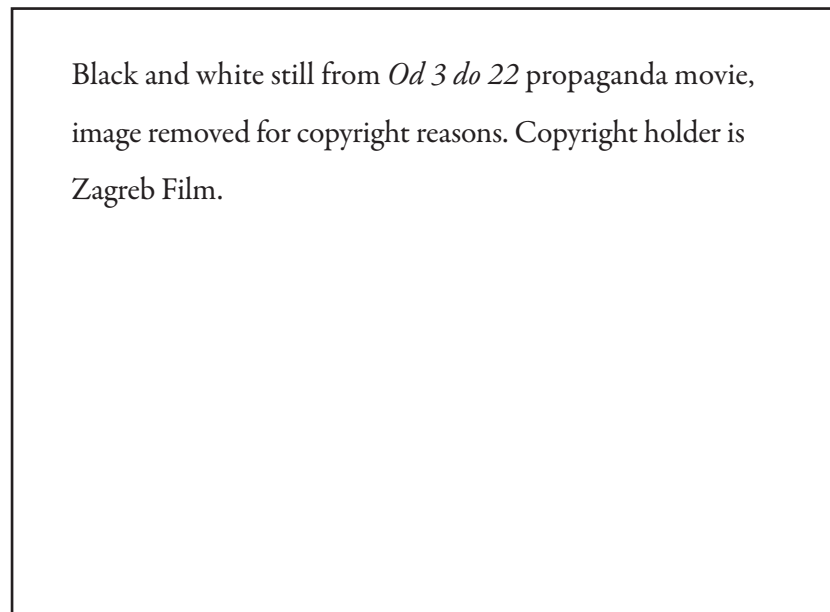
Figure 104. Still from *Od 3 do 22* showing poor housing conditions on the periphery of Zagreb, 1966

Founded in 1965, Savezni zavod za komunalne i stambene poslove (Federal Institute for Communal and Housing Questions, SZKSP) became a state-supported institute from which much of that criticism against modernist housing emerged.[165] Its research highlighted the discrepancy between official plans and the desires and aspirations of Yugoslav citizens, showing that the majority of Yugoslavs - nearly 65% of respondents in cities with over 300,000 inhabitants - 'wished to live in one-storey family houses' rather than modernist housing blocks.[166] One worker, interviewed for *15 dana*, described life in modernist high-rise blocks as being dictated by class divisions: 'How can I say, everyone is above you. I don't share anything with anyone. [...] Here there are only engineers and technicians. They don't even look at me. I don't even greet most of them.'[167] For this reason, even the shoddy barracks (*kućerci*) like the one in *Od 3 do 22* seemed like a better place to live. Another worker argued, 'The inhabitants living in new buildings, behind the facades that we all admire, are unhappy, and for this reason long for their

164   'Stanovanje u socijalizmu', *Naš dom*, 1 (January 1979), 18-21 (p.19).
165   Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, p.193.
166   Savezni zavod za urbanizam i komunalna stambena pitanja Beograd, 'Građanin - subjekt ili objekt u procesu razvoja i izgradnje svog grada', Belgrade: November 1967, p.81, in Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, p.194.
167   'Da li se socijalizam gradi u radno ili slobodno vrijeme', *15 dana*, 1-2 (May 1968), 6-7 (p.7).

former dwellings [...] They were happy because they created by themselves what was within their means.'[168] Therefore, class distinctions were closely associated with the lack of individual agency.

Studies carried out by Urbanistički zavod grada Zagreba (Institute of Urbanism in Zagreb) gave further weight to such comments. Some of its findings were published in an article in *Arhitektura* in 1974, where mass housing development was condemned for its 'forced collectivism' and unwanted 'social control' engendered by the physical organisation of spaces: narrow, enclosed, monotonous environments that offered only the illusion of privacy, leading to unsociable relationships between neighbours and social isolation from the wider community, with families retreating within the four walls of their home.[169] The sociologist Melita Richter invited architects to rethink the very meaning of collectivity - one of the pillars of socialist societies - and how it could be translated into material form. As 'a result of specific (usually one-dimensional) construction', she writes, 'there exists the concept of living in anonymous buildings within anonymous, blocks that are all alike. The concept of togetherness is not explored in form, people aren't brought together in any way.'[170] Furthermore, the research conducted by the Institut za društvena istraživanja (Institute for social research) at Zagreb University showed that '85% of respondents living in single-family homes thought they had more freedom and opportunities for agency within their living environments compared to inhabitants of collective buildings'.[171] It was increasingly clear that mass housing was not only a source of inequality, but also a source of alienation, from the working community, local communities and self-management as a whole. According to Melita Richter,

> The great mistake of contemporary urbanism is its limitation and constriction of the creative expression and influence of individuals on their living environment. If this starts at the level of the apartment and its structure, repeating itself at the level of the building, we cannot expect that something different will happen at the neighbourhood level. An element of personalisation and appropriation of spaces is absent on every level, intensifying in large measure the feeling of monotony and gloom in these neighbourhoods.[172]

---

168   Zlatko Jeličić, 'Urbanistički planovi izvan vitrina', *15 dana*, 3-4 (May-June 1970), 18-19 (p.18).
169   Richter, 'Sociološki aspekti tipa kolektivnog stanovanja', p.27.
170   Richter, 'Sociološki aspekti tipa kolektivnog stanovanja', p.28.
171   Richter, 'Sociološki aspekti tipa kolektivnog stanovanja', p.28.
172   Richter, 'Sociološki aspekti tipa kolektivnog stanovanja', p.28.

Therefore, architects had to provide solutions that would allow citizens living in mass housing blocks the same degree of agency and the same sense of ownership as that experienced by those living in single-family houses. This sense of agency particularly important in a time of political repression: for the feeling of monotony and helplessness experienced within mass housing blocks mirrored that of wider political participation. Individual creativity and sense of control over one's environment were seen, both by sociologist like Richter and architects like Turina, as a way of restoring the transformative potential of self-management. Following such critiques, Yugoslav architects had to rethink 'the capacity of architecture to mobilise the population towards participation in political decisions, economic activities and social exchange according to the principles of socialist self-management'.[173] What was at stake, was the legitimacy of self-management.

- **3.4.1 Vjenceslav Richter's *Sinturbanizam* as a spatial model of self-management**
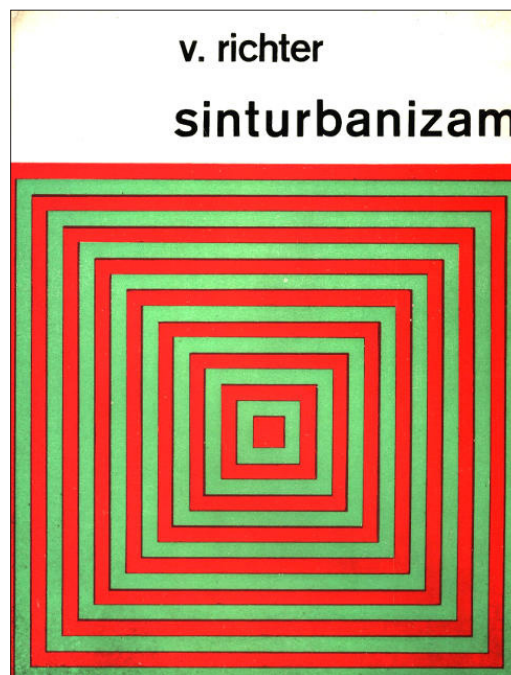
Figure 105. Cover of Vjenceslav Richter's *Sinturbanizam,* 1964

In the same period when the criticism of Modern urban planning and architecture was getting more vocal, Vjenceslav Richter proposed a vision for a socialist city where, in his view, the principles of self-management could be fulfilled in material form. This ideal model for a

---

173   Stanek and van den Heuvel, p.30.

socialist city, was an organic extension of his work with Exat 51, that sought to formulate a material expression of self-management through a synthesis of art, architecture and design. Outlined in his 1964 publication *Sinturbanizam* (Synthurbanism) (Fig. 105), the proposal attempted to define a spatial articulation of the political, social and cultural organisation of Yugoslav society based on self-management.[174] Writing in *Naše teme* that same year, he argued that 'it is of the utmost ideal and educational importance that the concept of community moves from an abstract to a total real life category'.[175] Richter imagined this 'total real life category' to be in the form of a ziggurat-like megastructure that would condense all the different functions of an urban environment - work, leisure, education, and so on - in time and space (Fig. 106). Synthurbanism renegotiated CIAM's functionalist city of the 1930s by introducing the temporal dimension and condensing the four functional areas into a self-contained, compact form. The spatial framework of the ziggurat was designed to 'promote new social relations where there is a complete permeation between the individual and the collective', whilst also creating a more meaningful spatial relationship between workplace and home, private and public space, production and consumption, work and leisure.[176] The synthurbanist city sought, in Richter's words, to make 'the possibilities of self-management appear as a real and tangible political function'.[177]

The basic units of a synthurbanist structure were 'infinitesimal cells' that formed the building blocks of this utopian city.[178] Their spatial arrangement corresponded to the functions of the city, with housing layered on the outer sides of the ziggurat, while the production units - factories - were placed at its centre (Fig. 107) . Richter imagined that the inside of the ziggurat would also include cultural spaces, social services, schools, hospitals and so on, while the ground floor was conceived as an open square where the community could come together. At the top of the ziggurat, on the other hand, was an assembly hall where 6,000 people would meet and take collective decisions about the management of this mega-building. In Richter's vision, each ziggurat would house up to 10,000 people. The new socialist city would,

174   Vjenceslav Richter, *Sinturbanizam*, (Zagreb: Mladost, 1964). Richter further explored the idea in a 1968 exhibition that focused on abstract modular compositions that he argued could form the basis for a systems architecture. See *Vjenceslav Richter* (Zagreb: Contemporary Art Gallery, 1968).
175   Vjenceslav Richter, 'Ideološki i praktični aspekti sinturbanizma', *Naše teme*, 11 (1964), 1832-1845 (p.1837).
176   Žarko Domljan, 'Urbanizam mimo socijalizma', *Arhitektura*, 90 (1964), 11-16 (p.16).
177   Richter, *Sinturbanizam*, p.87.
178   Vjenceslav Richter, 'Hipoteza sistemske arhitekture', in *Vjenceslav Richter* (Zagreb: Modern Art Gallery, 1968), [4-5] (p.4).

then, grow organically by developing a number of individual megastructures that would be connected by green open spaces, roads or public monuments. Ostensibly, in Richter's vision, individual ziggurats were more important than the urban whole, for all economic, social and cultural life was contained within a single unit, designed to mirror the organisational structure of self-management based on the workers' councils. Therefore, at the core of this new city, just as in real life, were self-managed factories - the key generators of urban growth. Around them gravitated other social functions: education, culture, recreation, consumption, as well as housing. Ultimately, the synthurbanist city was conceived as the spatial translation of an economic category. As Richter argued,

> If we understand the ziggurat as an economic unit, then the success in organising the life and work [within it] is reflected in the living standard of its inhabitants [...] This brings to the centre of attention of the whole collective the totality of life in the ziggurat, and with this, the development of their life through the form of direct management of the ziggurat. With the ziggurat, for the first time in history, the totality of life of a larger collective is contained both spatially and temporally.[179]

Colour drawing of *Sinturbanizam*, image removed for copyright reasons.
Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 106. Vjenceslav Richter, *Sinturbanizam*, 1964

---

179   Richter, 'Ideološki i praktični aspekti sinturbanizma', p.1837.

According to Richter, by collapsing the spatial and temporal dimensions into a single whole, it would be possible to renegotiate the functionalist view of the city: 'Here, housing, schools, shops, movies, hospitals and factories are not built individually, but as a synchronised simultaneous organism that is all of that together, all at the same time.'[180] In his view, the synthurbanist city was a city of spatial and temporal collectivity, where everyday life was subordinated to the vision of totality that self-management envisaged. As such, he considered it a faithful representation of Yugoslavia's self-managed society.

Black and white drawing of *Sinturbanizam*, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb.

Figure 107. Vjenceslav Richter, *Sinturbanizam*, 1964

Both in its formal and structural configuration, as in its theoretical underpinnings, the synthurbanist city was an example of "megastructures", a concept that had a particular resonance for architecture and urban planning of the 1960s. In *Megastructure, Urban Future of the Recent Past*, Reyner Banham refers to Ralph Wilcoxon's definition of megastructures as 'not only a structure of great size' but one that is modular, can be infinitely extended, includes 'a structural framework into which smaller units' can be integrated, and where the 'structural framework [is] expected to have a useful life much longer than that of the smaller units which it might support'.[181] Looking beyond the formal qualities of projects such as the Town Centre

---

180   Richter, 'Ideološki i praktični aspekti sinturbanizma', p.1843.
181   Ralph Wilcoxon, *Megastructure Bibliography*, in Reyner Banham, *Megastructure, Urban Future of the*

254

in Cumbernauld or Habitat housing complex in Montreal, Banham also argued that there was a close association between specific economic or political systems and the construction of megastructures. He wrote that, 'Clients for megastructures were more likely to be universities, expositions, municipalities, central governments. More strikingly, they were proposed by socialist regimes in eastern Europe - or even Cuba - where the pressures of the market as normally understood do not operate.'[182]

What Banham seemed to suggest was that specific forms of social organisation are more inclined to produce a specific type of space. Indeed, this is what Richter was claiming when he argued that synthurbanism served as a way of giving 'a revolutionary social ideology its social-organisational-plastic interpretation'.[183] In turn, however, such a space also imposed specific relationships of power in use. Contrary to the supposedly horizontal structures of self-management, synthurbanism called for a hierarchical, top-down formal and functional reorganisation of Yugoslav cities. By containing the totality of everyday life within a single ziggurat, it suggested a spatial model through which society could be more effectively centrally managed and planned. For this reason, synthurbanism highlights the discrepancies between theory and practice in Yugoslav socialism that, as architectural historian Aleksandar Kušić argued, 'strived in theory toward a balance between the imposition of overall order and the proliferation of freedom'.[184] In practice, top-down bureaucratic control, facilitated in spatial terms by structures like synthurbanism, led to worker alienation.

Synthurbanism, therefore, offers a useful model for mapping the contradictory relationship between self-management and alienation within the built environment that led to critiques of housing and urban development from 1964 onwards. Even in such a utopian model, the top-down structures of society and bottom-up agency couldn't be harmonised. The design profession was a crucial part of that problem. Just like other modernist architects and designers, in Banham's words, they used ideas centred on flexibility as a way of mediating their struggle to 'relinquish [their] distinct "Modern" claim to responsibility for "the design

Recent Past (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p.8.

182   Banham, p.11.

183   Richter, 'Ideološki i praktični aspekti sinturbanizma', pp.1839.

184   Aleksandar Kušić, 'New Belgrade Block No.22: Order and Freedom', in _Team 10 East, Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Socialism_, ed. by Lukasz Stanek (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), pp.199-202 (p.199).

of the whole human environment".[185] Seen in this framework, *Synthurbanism* appears to be a continuation of this paradoxical discourse on flexibility, initiated in Yugoslavia in the context of mass housing construction with prefabricated models such as JU-60 or JU-61 from the early 1960s.[186]

Colour drawing of *Sinturbanizam*, image removed for copyright reasons.

Copyright holder is the Bogdan Budimirov Archive.

Figure 108. Housing construction with the JU-61 system in Zagreb, Borongaj Housing Cooperative, 1961

The systems were developed as a response to the mass housing campaign of the 1950s, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, that identified the need to build around 100,000 housing units every year across all Yugoslav republics.[187] Designed by the architects Bogdan Budimirov, Željko Solar and Dragutin Stilinović, the systems reduced the number of structural elements to the bare minimum, while multiplying the number of possible combinations in construction (Fig. 108). As Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik have described it, the system was 'constituted by one element, which would result in thousands of elements in a series'.[188] Due to this limitation, a redesign of the very process of construction was integral to the JU-60 and

---

185   Banham, p.9.
186   Blau and Rupnik, pp.260-281; Dragana Mecanov, 'Sustav prefabricirane gradnje Jugomont iz Zagreba, Zgrada "Potkovica" u bloku 28 u Novom Beogradu', *Prostor*, 1 (2015), pp.175-185.
187   Mecanov, p.176.
188   Blau and Rupnik, p.266.

JU-61 systems. Diagrams, drawings and flow charts were used to organise the production and assembly, visualising 'construction in terms of process, as the conjunction of labor, material, and time' (109).[189] However, this supposedly flexible, modular and adaptable form of construction was ultimately used to standardise the experience of urban, as well as, domestic spaces across Yugoslav cities and regions. It imposed a form of control over the way housing was produced and experienced.

Colour drawing of *Sinturbanizam*, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Bogdan Budimirov Archive.

Figure 109. Ju-61, time-space diagram of installation of finishes, 1961

Adrian Forty has argued that the idea of '"flexibility" within modernist architectural discourse' was introduced precisely

as a way of dealing with the contradiction that arose between the expectation [...] that the architect's ultimate concern in designing buildings was with their human use and occupation, and the reality that the architect's involvement in a building ceased at the very moment that occupation began.[190]

Inherent to the framework of flexibility, then, was a form of control over space and time

189   Blau and Rupnik, p.260.
190   Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings, A Dictionary of Modern Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p.143.

through use: 'The incorporation of "flexibility" into the design allowed architects the illusion of projecting their control over the building into the future.'[191] This understanding was integral to the way Yugoslav designers approached the problem of housing.

As Tijana Stevanović has argued in her analysis of New Belgrade housing models of the 1960s, while nominally committed to self-management, Yugoslav architects used flexible design solutions - such as Bernardi's Mondrianesque wall partitions, JU-60 and JU-61 prefab systems or Richter's infinitesimal cells - as a substitute for genuine participation in the process of housing construction, as well as in social, political and economic decision-making. In her words, 'The belief in flexibility as an indisputable positive value', remained solely at the level of 'hardware', eluding any 'systemic change' that was required for the users' participation to happen.[192] This paradox of design, reflected the intrinsic paradox of self-management, with its discrepancy between theory and practice.

Stevanović refers to the Austrian philosopher André Gorz, from whom Belgrade architect Branko Aleksić borrowed the concept of 'tools for conviviality', that was meant to renegotiate this paradox and 'enable a mere "user" to become a citizen'.[193] However, as Gorz argued:

> Workers' control (erroneously equated with workers' self-management) amounts in reality to self-determining the modalities of what has already been heteronomously determined: the workers will share and define tasks within the framework of an already existing social division of labour. [...] They may eliminate the degrading characteristics of work, but they cannot endow it with the characteristics of personal creativity.[194]

In this view, Yugoslav architects and designers were mistaken in believing that the full realisation of self-management could be engendered through design, for design production was inscribed within a wider system of division of labour. Therefore, the inhabitants' lack of agency was a symptom of the structural problems within self-management. For this reason, a possible model for affecting change needed to be found outside of this division of labour: in

---

191   Forty, p.143.
192   Stevanović, p.168.
193   Stevanović, p.162.
194   André Gorz, *Farewell to the Working Class: An Essay on Post-Industrial Socialism* (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1982), p.9, in Stevanović, p.162.

rogue, illegal construction of single-family houses and domestic DIY. This type of material agency can be seen as creative tactics through which individuals attempted to negotiate both the problem of housing, and the problem of self-management.

However, as I will show in the last section of this chapter, the impact of these tactics remained limited as both government officials, city planners, designers, as well as the popular press, sought to reconnect rogue construction and DIY to the normative structures of self-management. To understand how this was achieved, the next section will examine the attempts to regulate them through popular magazines like *Naš dom* and *Sam svoj majstor*. As this analysis will suggest, rather than leading to meaningful renegotiation of self-management, these publications served as a means of institutionalising unruly bottom-up practices.

- **3.5 Agency as transgression: The institutionalisation of informal spatiality**

The discussion about DIY, self-build and rogue construction needs to be seen through a double lens: that of need and that of desire. While, for some, as I will discuss in this section, the construction of single-family houses represented the ultimate luxury and DIY was used as an expression of personal identity, for others it was simply a pressing need. According to Rory Archer, the phenomenon of 'independent home construction' in Yugoslavia became particularly pronounced with the turn to market socialism, and 'by the late 1960s and 1970s construction became denser as entire neighbourhoods' of unregulated, single-family houses were built'.[195] This form of housing construction existed in a limbo: usually built 'illegally but with the acquiescence of the authorities'.[196] Indeed, independent home construction was at times encouraged by the state through profitable loan policies that made it a 'cornerstone of Yugoslav housing provision'.[197] For architectural historians Aleksandar Kušić and Ljiljana Blagojević, even when it was illegal, independent housing construction was 'tolerated by the state relieved of the constant pressure to provide societal housing.'[198] As Brigitte Le Normand has documented, a lot of single-family, independently built housing had a precarious legal status either because it was built on empty plots that were appropriated illicitly or was built

---

195   Archer, 'The Moral Economy', p.144.
196   Archer, 'The Moral Economy', p.144.
197   Archer, 'The Moral Economy', p.141.
198   Aleksandar Kušić and Ljiljana Blagojević, 'Patterns of Everyday Spatiality: Belgrade in the 1980s and its Post-Socialist Outcome', *Český Lid*, 3 (2013), 281-302 (p.285).

without the right permission.[199] For this reason, Le Normand calls it 'rogue construction', rather than 'wild construction' (*divlja gradnja*) as it was known in Yugoslavia at the time. In her view, rogue construction denotes a spectrum of situations 'that evaded the control of authorities' but weren't necessarily always illegal, while also suggesting the makeshift nature of this type of construction.[200]

At the same time, these bottom-up house-building practices 'accommodated private, that is individual, initiative, a sort of entrepreneurship and private investment in solving the housing question, otherwise not provided for by the regulatory system'.[201] Therefore, independent home construction can be seen as a way of fulfilling a specific need, while also responding to individual desires for certain types of housing and agency within domestic environments. However, as Kušić and Blagojević argue, these 'informal spatial practices, carried beyond planning and legality' weren't formally tied to organs of political representation on the territory.[202] For this reason, they were problematic for the socialist state, for they 'directly challenged the planned development and territorial self-management'.[203] Independent home construction, whether rogue or not, also challenged self-management because of its distinct class connotations. For sociologist Miroslav Živković, independent housing construction, could be seen as the 'self-initiative of second-class citizens in resolving their housing situation'.[204] As this goes to show, this type of construction negated both the institutional role and ideological underpinnings of self-management, based on equal participation and agency of workers/citizens.

For this reason, rogue construction needs to be understood as a spatial and material expression of what Michel de Certeau has called 'tactics'. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, the French philosopher defines tactics, in opposition to strategies, as those actions that 'make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers'.[205] While a strategy depends on 'a place that can be delimited as its own', tactics renegotiate spatial relationships through momentary actions; they are closely tied to the temporal dimension,

199   Le Normand, *Building Tito's Capital*, p.148.
200   Le Normand, *Building Tito's Capital*, p.148.
201   Kušić and Blagojević, p.285.
202   Kušić and Blagojević, p.284
203   Kušić and Blagojević, p.284
204   Miroslav Živković, *Prilog jugoslovenskoj urbanoj sociologiji* (Belgrade: Zavod za organizaciju poslovanja i obrazovanje, 1981), p.235, in Archer, 'The Moral Economy', p.144.
205   de Certeau, p.37.

to 'the rapidity of the movements that change the organisation of a space'.[206] Therefore, the inability to access adequate social housing or the unwillingness to live in mass housing blocks was translated into an opportunity for renegotiating the top-down control of self-management.
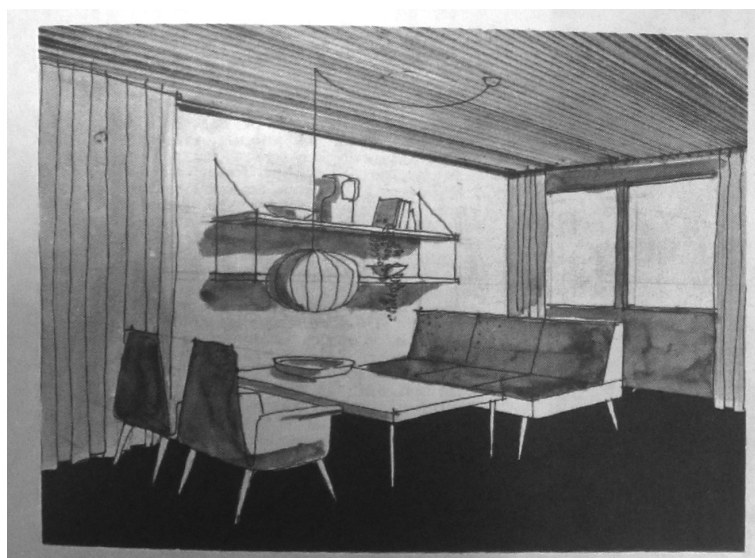
Figure 110. Interiors of prefab single-family houses from an article in *Naš dom*, July 1968

As a response to this spatial challenge to the structures of self-managements, there were different attempts to regulate this type of construction. Urban planners and local governments sought to institutionalise it by 'giving these builders parcels in more suitable locations' where single-family houses could be built legally.[207] In 1964, a proposal was put forward in Belgrade to allocate a large plot of land at the periphery of the city for 20,000 independently built homes to prevent rogue builders from occupying empty plots in the city centre.[208] This could be read as an attempt to absorb these informal, tactical practices within the structure of self-management. In the late 1960s, socially-owned construction companies also started building single-family houses, usually through prefabricated systems.[209] This model, while effectively responding to the dictates of a market economy shaped by individual desires for single-family housing, also served to institutionalise the labour involved in construction, reconnecting it to the system of self-management. Equally, these strategies could also be seen as a way of regulating the way single-family houses looked like. The prefab houses advertised in *Naš dom* featured modernist interiors that strongly resembled those designed by Bernardi a decade earlier (Fig. 110).

---

206   de Certeau, pp.36, 38.
207   Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, p.164.
208   'Zapisi sednice NO grada Beograda', 15 May 1964, in Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, p.170.
209   'Savremeno i racionalno građenje stanova i individualnih kuća', *Naš dom*, 7 (July 1968), 32-33 (p.32).

In fact, the institutionalisation of rogue construction often relied on a subtle, discursive strategy, that can be seen from a number of articles that appeared on the pages of *Sam svoj majstor* (Do it yourself) magazine in the 1970s. *Sam svoj majstor* was first published in 1975 and, differently from *Naš dom*, offered detailed practical advice on topics that ranged from how to make tiles from scratch to the most basic advice about TV and radio repairs. Arguably, its readership likely included those who built their houses illegally. For this reason, its articles about house-building can be understood as a way of disciplining Yugoslav home-builders by educating them about "correct" construction practices. In a series of articles titled 'Our experts advise you', for example, readers were invited to send letters to the magazine with their specific construction problems, to which 'experts' would respond with precise drawings and in-depth building instructions.[210]

Figure 111. Stjepan Markešić's house, from *Sam svoj majstor*, 1976

Equally, the articles sought to discipline Yugoslav self-builders through stories about virtuous house-builders that emphasising a specifically socialist morality of thriftiness and resourcefulness. An article published in 1976, told the story of Stjepan Markešić who was subletting a damp basement flat with his family before they were able to purchase a plot of land with a loan from his self-managing company.[211] Markešić spent all his free time working on the

---

210   'Naši stručnjaci vam savjetuju - Uređenje stana', *Sam svoj majstor*, 6 (June 1977), pp.5-9; 'Naši stručnjaci vam savjetuju - Uređenje stana', *Sam svoj majstor*, 7 (July 1977), pp.3-7;

211   Stjepo Martinović, 'Kuća podignuta noću', *Sam svoj majstor*, 7 (July 1976), pp.653-655.

new house, doing most of the building at night (Fig. 111).[212] To make ends meet, he calculated the exact amount of building bricks he would need, while the timber beams came from his father's woods. For the magazine's writer, the moral of the story was that those who are hardworking, and therefore, 'deserve it', are helped by the social structure of 'their collective [self-managed company]'.[213] This paradoxical statement both reaffirmed and negated self-management. On the one hand, it reaffirmed the role of self-managing companies as the backbone of society, that provided housing for their workers. On the other, it suggested that rather than being available to everyone, access to housing or financial support was reserved solely for those self-managers who were deemed 'deserving' and 'hard-working'. Articles like this highlight that independent home construction was at the centre of subtle processes of negotiation through which the role of self-management was questioned and reassessed.

- **3.5.1 Domesticity as luxury through labour**

While rogue construction and DIY discussed in the previous section positioned housing construction as a need, over the 1970s this discourse and material practice also served to respond to individual desires for agency within private homes, that was more concerned with the experience of pleasure and enjoyment. As Brigitte Le Normand has argued, even though their means might have been restricted, for Yugoslav workers 'their homes were not mere shelters but also testified to their personal tastes and desires'.[214] This paints a more nuanced picture of the experience of domesticity in socialist Yugoslavia. The home was not only a basic human need, but also a space where individuals could be free to fashion their personal identities. As the cover of an issue of *Naš dom* published in 1969 suggests (Fig.112), single-family homes were a private space of leisure through which consumer desires could be fulfilled. Writing about leisure in Yugoslavia in an article published in *15 dana* in 1979, the social scientist Mihovil-Bogoslav Matković argued that, 'Leisure, as we have it today, [...] is the culmination of alienation [...] the culmination of loneliness and the canonised mass escape of the urban population from the routine, tired, day-to-day structures'.[215] This escape

---

212   As Rory Archer has documented, this was a widespred phenomenon, with rogue houses mushrooming literally overnight, as in this way it was less likely that the authorities would intervene. Archer, 'The Moral Economy', p.157.

213   Martinović, p.653.

214   Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, p.178.

215   Mihovil-Bogoslav Matković, 'Dokolica kao mogućnost kulturnog događaja', *15 dana*, 7 (1979), 4-5 (p.4).

was to be found in consumerist lifestyles, what he called the 'tetrapacked life' marked by 'cars, holiday homes, fashionable clothing, and exotic food, that give [people] the status of a notable showpiece'.[216]

Figure 112. Consumerist lifestyles on the cover of *Naš dom* in 1975

For this reason, the emphasis on the creative labour of making and DIY, that strongly emerged in popular magazines like *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, *Sam svoj majstor* and *Naš dom* in the late 1960s and 1970s, can also be seen as a response to the anxiety about consumerism. From its first editorial, *Sam svoj majstor* positioned itself as a platform for mediating consumerist lifestyles with appropriate, sanctioned forms of leisure. Its first editorial, titled 'Make, save', revisited key tropes associated with leisure and domesticity: the emphasis on industriousness and productivity, the frugality and resourcefulness necessary in times of scarcity, the education, skills and learning associated with making that would lead to personal fulfilment and growth.[217] However, the articles that followed also suggested that *Sam svoj majstor* would facilitate the personalisation of monotonous, standardised domestic spaces. With the magazine's advice, Yugoslav homes were to become environments where personal identities

---

216   Matković, pp.4-5.
217   'Uradi uštedi', *Sam svoj majstor*, 1 (1975), p.2.

could be shaped, while domestic DIY would serve as an outlet for a more humanised, productive form of consumption. In turn, this form of creativity also served to mitigate the alienating effects of mass housing. As designer Radmila Milosavljević wrote in *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, the 'current need of our citizens' is 'to contribute with their own work to making their domestic environments more humane and as personal as possible'.[218] Making and individual creativity played an important part in that process of humanisation. There is a 'need for contemporary man', Milosavljević argued, 'to "make things with his own hands". More than anywhere else, this problem is felt most strongly in the sphere of people's closest material environment - the house and flat.'[219]

Figure 113. Image from 'Sve na 50m²' (Everything in 50 sqm) article published in *Sam svoj majstor* in 1975

Sam svoj majstor offered a number of possible solutions for making domestic spaces humane, while emphasising character and individuality (Fig. 113). In one article, it was suggested that with 'a lot of imagination and love' a 50m² loft could be transformed into a comfortable, pleasurable flat for two.[220] The design featured soft carpets, low furniture and playful ornaments on the walls, and was presented with a clear emphasis on the joys and luxuries of private, domestic lifestyles. These were not the austere modernist flats envisioned by Bernardo

218   Radmila Milosavljević, '"Uradi sam" - kao inspiracija i šansa', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 63-64 (September-December 1981), 53-56 (p.53).
219   Milosavljević, '"Uradi sam"', p.53.
220   'Sve na 50m2', *Sam svoj majstor*, 3 (1975), 228-232 (p.229).

Bernardi, but were filled with knick-knacks, soft furnishings and decorative elements that were meant to communicate the personality of their inhabitants. Despite the shortcomings of socialist construction and urban planning, *Sam svoj majstor* sought to show that homes could still be a place of pleasure. In her studies of consumer culture in East Germany, Ina Merkel has pointed out this creative potential of shortages, suggesting that:

> cultural practices associated with shortages [...] go well beyond the experience of restriction, moderation, and the rational use of resources to include experiences of pleasure and creativity. [...] It is precisely in shortage economies or in times of shortage that individual consumer behaviour is often marked by a remarkable ability to improvise and seek outlets for hedonistic pleasures.[221]

While Merkel was writing about advertising and market research under socialism, do-it-yourself projects within the home can also be understood as creative, luxurious forms of consumption that emerged as a response to the housing shortage and served to shape personal identities. In fact, this vision of domesticity was widespread across the socialist world, and David Crowley has examined it in the case of Poland. He argues that in the popular magazine *Ty i Ja*, the home was presented both as a 'problem' that was to be solved with 'clever organisation of screens, imaginative lighting, multi-purpose furniture' as well as 'a site of leisure and as an expression of an individuated taste and identity'.[222] As Judy Attfield has argued in the case of post-war Britain, the home as a site of creative expression also served to renegotiate the top-down visions of modernity.[223]

Sam svoj majstor offers a glimpse into how this process of renegotiation played out in Yugoslavia in the period between 1975 and 1980. There appeared to be a particular tension between enjoyment and affordability. On the one hand, the articles were often concerned

---

221   Ina Merkel, 'Alternative Rationalities, Strange Dreams, Absurd Utopias, On Socialist Advertising and Market Research', in *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics*, ed. by Paul Betts and Katherine Pence (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008), pp.323-344 (pp.326-7).

222   David Crowley, 'Warsaw Interiors: The Public Life of Private Spaces', in *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002) pp.181-206 (pp.200-201). For a similar approach in the Soviet Union see Susan E. Reid, 'Communist Comfort: Socialist Modernism and the Making of Cosy Homes in the Khrushchev-Era Soviet Union', *Gender and History*, 3 (2009), 465-498.

223   See Judy Attfield, 'Bringing Modernity Home: Open Plan in the British Domestic Interior', in *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, ed. by Irene Cieraad, vol.1 (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), pp.73-82.

with the experience of pleasure, comfort and cosiness, both in small, standardised socially-owned flats, as well as private houses. On the other, these forms of individuality, luxury and transgression needed to be managed and controlled. This was achieved through an emphasis on frugality, laboriousness and practicality. For example, a 1975 article about *vikendice* (holiday homes), what might seem like a conspicuous luxury in the context of scarcity and the housing crisis, argued that old wooden homes found in the Yugoslav countryside could be transformed into 'small leisure cottages' solely by those 'more enterprising craftsmen (*majstori*) who are prepared to invest a little bit of money and a lot of their own labour'.[224] However, this was also a luxury available to 'anyone', or rather, those that were willing to follow *Sam*'s advice and 'with the help of a saw, an axe and sometimes a few friends, can make everything'.[225] Other articles emphasised the importance of good management and economic rationality for the fulfilment of desires within the home. This was a discussion that had a broader agenda, pitting the humble luxuries of everyday life under socialism against the greediness of capitalism. The authors wrote:

> the first law of management says that the role of an enterprise is to maximise profit with available capital. In a capitalist system, profit is exclusively monetary. In the socialist one - it is the higher material and cultural standard of the whole community. In our households, profit is what we generally call happiness. [...] To make profit, customers' desires need to be fulfilled.[226]

The article implied that happiness couldn't be simply bought and desires could rarely be fulfilled with mindless consumerism. Rather, it was the pleasure of 'doing it by yourself to make objects and provide services but also to better use your money, time and energy' that would lead to true happiness in a modern Yugoslav household.[227]

---

224   'Kuća za ⅓ cijene!', *Sam svoj majstor*, 3 (1975), 252-255 (p.254.). The phenomenon of *vikendice*, or weekend homes, was widespread across socialist Eastern Europe. For the Yugoslav case, see for example, Karin Taylor, 'My Own Vikendica: Holiday Cottages as Idyll', in *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)*, ed. by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor, (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2010), pp.171-210. For the Soviet Union see, for example, Stephen Lovell, 'Soviet Exurbia: Dachas in Postwar Russia', in *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), pp.105-121; for Czechoslovakia see Paulina Bren, 'Weekend Getaways: The Chata, the Tramp and the Politics of Private Life in Post-1968 Czechoslovakia', in *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), pp.123-140.
225   'Kuća za ⅓ cijene!', p.254.
226   'U kući sreća, u džepu - ravnoteža', *Sam svoj majstor*, 6 (1975), 520-521 (p.520).
227   'U kući sreća, u džepu - ravnoteža', p.520.

At the same time, it could be said that the tension between pleasure and frugality worked both ways. It wasn't just that pleasure had to be controlled through rationality and labour, but production and scarcity also needed to be made more pleasurable. Precisely because of the general hardship that hit Yugoslav society with the onset of th economic crisis from the late 1970s, publications like *Sam svoj majstor* served to portray scarcity and shortage as a source of creativity and enjoyment. An article asked 'Pouring concrete - can it make you happy?', while another assured the readers that even 'if your domestic budget' is limited, through expert advice and a lot of work, it is still possible to 'fulfil your dreams'.[228] Titled 'Jeftino do skupocjenog' (Getting expensive things cheaply), the article suggested that making was not concerned solely with fulfilling everyday needs. It was about the pleasure, comfort and enjoyment that comes with luxurious possessions. The mission of *Sam svoj majstor* seemed clear: to show that this form of luxury was truly socialist because through hard work it was within everyone's reach.

What do these articles tell us about the relationship between self-management and housing? Seen with the context of late socialism, of the second half of the 1970s and early 1980s, these articles suggest that the understanding of housing as a space where self-management could be fulfilled, had been exhausted. Equally, rather than serving as a bottom-up critique of the inequalities of self-management, domesticity had been repositioned as a space of individualism, consumerism and enjoyment. Even though a sense of personal agency had been restored, its impact on the wider context of alienation from self-management, that Yugoslav social scientists were warning against, appears to be negligible. The home had become purely a space of private interest. By the end of the 1970s, it was clear that both top-down design strategies and bottom-up tactics, couldn't restore the political meaning of self-management. With the turn of the decade, self-management would enter its last phase - that of its final crisis.[229]

---

228   'Betoniranje - može li vas to veseliti', *Sam svoj majstor*, 5 (1975), pp.414-417; 'Jeftino do skupocjenog', *Sam svoj majstor,* 2 (1975), pp.152-153.

229   Igor Stanić, 'Što pokazuje praksa? Presjek samoupravljanja u brodogradilištu Uljanik 1961–1968. godine', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 3 (2014), 453-474 (p.456); Branislav Jakovljevic, *Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1945-91* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016, pp.196-210.

- **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the way discussions and visions of Yugoslav domesticity were negotiated in the period between 1958 and 1980 in relation to self-management. As I have argued, those negotiations were a reflection of wider changes in the role and meaning of self-management in society. The examples discussed in this chapter showed that single-family homes were considered as a space that either needed to be harmonised with the broader ideological tenets of Yugoslav socialism, or could serve as a platform through which the political and social meaning of self-management could be questioned from below. This discussion has also served to highlight the many nuanced ways in which the system of self-management relied on the system of design.

Broadly focusing on two periods, from 1958 until 1962, and from 1964 until 1980, the analysis of housing, domesticity and design in this period has also returned a complex political picture of Yugoslav society. While the long 1970s, the main timeframe of this chapter, were a decade of unprecedented prosperity, it was also a period of systemic inequalities and political repression. Within this framework, the concept of class distinction through consumption, introduced in the introduction, was repositioned in this chapter in terms of class inequalities. Housing formed a material and discursive space where class structures were reproduced. This put into question the validity of self-management as a project based on the principle of equal participation and social control of the means of production.

However, while this chapter sought to anchor the discussion of post-war housing to the specificity of the Yugoslav socialist project, the discourses and shifts in models of practice corresponded to the wider renegotiation of Modernism on both sides of the Iron Curtain. This is another piece of the puzzle that suggest that the Yugoslav experiment with self-management was just the modern project by another name. Without, as Gorz put it, any possibility of redefining 'the tasks within the framework of an already existing social division of labour' that was 'heteronomously determined', self-management became just a discursive device that both designers and Yugoslav political leaders used in their quest for social, political, economic or cultural legitimacy. [230]

---

230   Gorz, p.9., in Stevanović, p.162.

To build further on the relationship between self-management and design as an issue of legitimacy, the next chapter will look at the period between 1967 and 1987 through the prism of public space. By examining two projects, the K67 kiosk designed by Saša J. Mächtig and the UNI87 chairs designed by Mladen Orešić, it will show the persistent desire of Yugoslav designers to regulate and control material space. Their strategies relied on the idea of 'environmental design' that I introduced in Chapter 1. In the discussion that follows, I will show how environmental design was used to propose an appropriate spatial and material model for self-management. Situated in the context of late socialism, the case study of UNI87 chairs will also show how the crisis of self-management resulted in a crisis of design.

Chapter 4

Designing public space: Environmental design between consumption and spectacle

- **4.1 Introduction**

114. K67 Kiosk in Ljubljana in 1973

A photograph captures an ordinary everyday scene with four women waiting at a street crossing in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, in 1973 (Fig.114) . In the background of the image is the K67 kiosk, a small newsstand designed by Saša Mächtig. The kiosk's windows and displays are filled with newspapers and illustrated magazines, highlighting the worthwhile status of Yugoslav consumerism. The juxtaposition of their dresses with the packed kiosk, now considered one of the key symbols of socialist Yugoslavia, seems almost too revealing to be simply fortuitous. The photograph, in fact, aptly suggests that Yugoslavia was perfectly attuned to wider processes shaping European modernity, reflected, not least, in fashionable clothing seen on its streets and in the proliferation of the mass media in society. This image suggests that Yugoslavs had conflated socialist modernity with consumerism, pleasurable lifestyles and greater emphasis on individuality. What is of particular interest here, is the way this experience of consumerism unfolded in the public space, mediated by material objects such as the self-contained plastic kiosk.

Public space played an important part in the construction of socialist modernity after the Second World War, whereby the development of new cities and towns formed the platform from which the ideals of socialist ideology could materialise. As David Crowley and Susan Reid argue, 'Throughout the Bloc massive investment was made in the production of grand

monuments and new public spaces to symbolize the new order. Parade grounds, public artworks and "people's palaces" formed a ubiquitous environment throughout the Bloc.'[1] As in other socialist countries, the use of public space as a way of reinforcing or creating broader political narratives was crucial in the formation of the new Yugoslav state. For example, architectural historian Vladimir Kulić has outlined three key moments in the development of New Belgrade, the federal capital of Yugoslavia, that could be seen as a reflection of broader government policies. Initiated shortly after the war, on a former military site, the construction of New Belgrade was defined by the formation of a new political order. As the centre of political power, the city was conceived as a supranational 'extraterritorial space that belonged to all of Yugoslavia' and that would materialise in the form of new government buildings.[2] With the decentralisation of state power during the late 1950s and 1960s, the design of key government buildings in New Belgrade, such as the Federal Executive Council, a supranational, centralised decision-making body, underwent profound formal changes. The building's design, changed in this period from an earlier scheme, sought to embody 'the concept of Yugoslavia as a container of six nations'.[3] For this reason, the building was developed horizontally rather than vertically and used a clearly modernist language whose celebration in the Western press signalled Yugoslavia's political alliance. Finally, the third shift identified by Kulić coincided with Yugoslavia's internationalisation through the non-aligned movement when New Belgrade saw a surge in the construction of buildings dedicated to diplomacy and international commerce. As Kulić's analysis suggests, there is a strong relationship between physical space, political representation and forms of governance, with New Belgrade reflecting wider political changes. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, Yugoslav architects and designers were particularly concerned with translating self-management into urban form. Belgrade's chief urban planner Miloš Somborski argued in 1950, 'The truest picture of a people's way of life and social organisation throughout their development is given by the organisational layout of the city and the use of urban spaces.'[4]

---

1   David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, 'Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc', in *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), pp.1-22 (p.4).

2   Vladimir Kulić, 'National, supranational, international: New Belgrade and the symbolic construction of a socialist capital', *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 1 (2013), 35-63 (p.39); for more on the role of ideology in urban planning of Belgrade see Brigitte Le Normand, 'Automobility in Yugoslavia Between Urban Planner, Market and Motorist: the Case of Belgrade, 1945-1972', in *The Socialist Car: Automobiles in Eastern Europe*, ed. by Lewis Siegelbaum (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp.92-104.

3   Kulić, pp.45-46, 48.

4   'Stručno tehničko obrazloženje generalnog urbanističkog plana grada Beograda' (prilog), Zasedanje

Hence, what is the 'true picture' of Yugoslav socialist society that the 'use of urban space' shown in the opening image suggests? This picture becomes even more idiosyncratic if juxtaposed to a second image taken nearly 15 years later, in 1987 (Fig.115). Marked by blue, red and white tones, the colours of Yugoslavia's flag, the image captures a multitude of bodies during the opening ceremony of the Universiade Games in Zagreb, with the words 'The world of youth for the world of peace' (*Svijet mladih za svijet mira*) seen in the background. Here, public space was mobilised to reinforce the abstract credos of official ideology: the teleological belief in progress, brotherhood and unity, and peaceful cooperation.

Figure 115. Universiade Games, opening ceremony, Zagreb, 1987

Starting with these contrasting visions, this chapter focuses on the ways in which public space constructed and mediated the experience of everyday life under socialism. This will be explored through the study of two objects: the K67 kiosk designed by Saša Mächtig in 1967 and the UNI87 seating system designed by Mladen Orešić in 1987. Juxtaposed to the debates about the regulation of domesticity explored in Chapter 3, this discussion completes the picture of the private-public dichotomy under self-managing socialism. According to

Narodnog odbora grada Beograda, III Vanredno zasedanje II saziva NO grada Beograda (19 and 20 October 1950), pp.43-44, in Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014), p.55.

social theorist Jeff Weintraub, the distinction between private and public, both in spatial and conceptual terms, has been one of the defining traits of Western modernity, characterised by 'the sharpening polarization of social life between an increasingly impersonal "public" realm (of the market, of the modern state, and bureaucratic organisation) and a "private" life of increasingly intense intimacy and emotionality (the modern family, romantic love, and so forth)'.[5] However, this sharp division between private and public that Weintraub suggests was less clear-cut under socialism. In socialist societies, both private and public spaces were equally open to the control of the state.[6] The analysis of environmental design strategies deployed by designers in the late 1960s and 1970s will suggest a possible conceptualisation of how this system of control played out under Yugoslav socialism.

This chapter will start with an analysis of environmental design strategies and the material forms that they produced. It will propose that environmental design formed a reinterpretation of the idea of the total synthesis of arts discussed in Chapter 1. The theorisation of environmental design emerged in Yugoslav design circles between 1967 and 1972, and was closely associated with the emphasis on automation and systems thinking that was central to groups like New Tendencies, as well as designers working in the industry. As such, it proposed a new system for controlling and regulating the material environment that was closely aligned with the processes and structures of self-management. Starting from this framework, I will then examine the K67 kiosk first introduced in 1967 as a material space whose role was to systematise, organise and regulate consumption in the public space. Adding to the study of shopping spaces and practices analysed in Chapter 2, I will suggest that the kiosk was designed as a reaction against the rise in consumerist attitudes in Yugoslav society. The second edition of kiosks, produced in larger quantities and more widely used across Yugoslav cities, was introduced in 1972, the period when the popular press started to express anxiety about the problem of consumerism. The kiosk provided a way of solving that problem in the context of ideologically meaningful public space. This case study will further add to the analysis of the 1970s as a 'silent decade', a period when the pleasures and luxuries of everyday life provided an

---

5   Jeff Weintraub, 'The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction', in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, ed. by Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.1-42 (p.20).

6   For a study in the context of housing see: Katerina Gerasimova, 'Public Privacy in the Soviet Communal Apartment', in *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), pp.207-231; Victor Buchli, *An Archaeology of Socialism* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999).

outlet for reacting against political suppression. This section will also introduce a new type of design figure: that of the entrepreneurial designer.

The second case study will examine the UNI87 seating system, designed on the occasion of the 1987 Universiade Games, an international event that set in motion a major reconstruction of Zagreb's urban tissue. Produced in a period marred by economic decline, decreasing living standards and nationalist tensions between individual republics, this case study will show that material objects were used to project and construct wider political narratives in times of crisis. However, as this case study will show, these narratives remained purely rhetorical, without a meaningful impact on the everyday experience. This is signalled by UNI87's lack of agency to regulate, control and reshape Yugoslav society and was engendered by a disconnect between design practice and self-management, that started in the mid-1970s and became increasingly apparent in the 1980s. Chronologically, the main focus of this chapter is the period between 1967 and 1977 when the environmental design discourse emerged as a dominant paradigm for design practice. However, the discussion of UNI87 has been included in this chapter because the project is connected to the strategies of environmental design, and exemplifies their ultimate failure.

- **4.2 Designing the environment: systems and plastics**

In 1972 in an article published in the magazine *Arhitektura*, design critic Fedor Kritovac outlined key ideas underpinning "environmental design":

> The principle and methodology of "environmental design" demands that each
> separate space, therefore also individual architectural objects, is understood and
> treated within the framework of the surrounding environmental model, i.e. as an
> integral processual whole that includes that which is bespoke (the building sphere),
> that which is produced serially (the object sphere) and communications that are
> realised within [...] this environment (the information-communication sphere).
> Since this design approach does not focus on a final, defined object, but on the
> continuous process that starts with the [design] of that object, it cannot finish with
> the building as a physical finitude. Rather its influence is extended to a later phase,
> i.e. the use of such an object, which presupposes the introduction of criteria for

control and regulation.[7]

This conception of the "environment" was central to the Yugoslav design discourse in the period between the late 1960s and early 1980s. It was developed following the theories formulated by Tomás Maldonado and Gui Bonsiepe at the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm. In *La speranza progettuale*, published in English as *Design, Nature and Revolution: Toward a Critical Ecology* in 1972, Tomás Maldonado talks about the 'artifact-environment' as an unalienated space of 'cities, the built environment and objects of use' produced by humankind.[8] He writes, 'we cannot overlook the role played, in the progress of our environmental awareness, of those tangible structures that, in the vastest range, condition, so they say, psychosomatically, our individual and social behaviour.'[9] By designing these 'tangible structures', the intent was to intervene both on physical space as well as on human behaviour.

In his book on design methodology titled simply *Design* published in 1975, the Yugoslav design critic Goroslav Keller cites Maldonado's writing: 'It is a fact that there are not only the "inanimate environmental agents" but also the "animate environmental agents", as much as there is not only the material environment but also the environment of behaviour.'[10] In Keller's view, this understanding of the environment 'represents a totality, all-encompassing totality [sveukupnost] of nature, of natural processes, artificial objects and their relationships, and people and their relationships. These relationships are not static, but the environment represents a dynamic, open system.'[11] This reading suggests a conjunction between self-management and environmental design, for both were conceived as a union of intangible protocols and tangible structures aimed at regulating and organising social processes that shaped Yugoslav everyday life.

This view of the human environment was implicit in the research put forward by New Tendencies during the 1960s. According to Matko Meštrović, an artist and writer active within the movement, New Tendencies 'opened new possibilities of form, exploring the domain

7   Fedor Kritovac, 'U istom labirintu (Nekoliko teza o arhitekturi i dizajnu)', *Arhitektura*, 116 (1972), 35-36 (p.35).
8   Tomás Maldonado, *La speranza progettuale*, 2nd edition (Torino: Einaudi, 1973), pp.15, 25.
9   Maldonado, *La speranza progettuale*, p.25.
10   Tomás Maldonado, 'How to fight against complacency in design education', *BIT*, 4 (1969), pp.19-28, in Goroslav Keller, *Design/Dizajn*, (Zagreb: Vjesnik, 1975), p.299.
11   Goroslav Keller, *Design/Dizajn*, (Zagreb: Vjesnik, 1975), p.299.

of visual perception in which the spiritual conditions of the time, created by scientific and technological development, are best reflected'.[12] For New Tendencies digital technologies held the promise of translating the material world into dynamic, responsive systems of interaction and communication between people and things. This was the flexible approach to design that architects, designers and social scientists were advocating for since the mid-1960s. In the writing of Meštrović, this reading was given further weight. Situating his argument within a Marxist framework, Meštrović wrote that the 'man-made environment has the deepest and strongest influences on man' and for this reason, 'planning must not follow one-sided or rigid patterns. Instead, it has to be understood as an utterly flexible process, with a dynamic interaction between planning and execution.'[13] In both readings there was an implicit conception of a self-managing, self-regulating system that would receive information from the outside - Meštrović discussed 'the active participation of the wider public in the activities of planning and management of these human settlements' - and react to perform a specific function within a networked system.[14] This way of understanding society was closely aligned to the structures of self-management that underpinned social, political and economic processes. That theories about environmental design emerged in the period when Yugoslav socialism and its technocratic class were being questioned is not a coincidence. Environmental design was to form another model for re-evaluating the relationship between self-management and design, for Yugoslav designers ultimately believed that 'the social environment makes with the material, natural and artificial ones an indivisible unity'.[15] However, rather than accommodating calls for personal agency, the vision of Yugoslav society that environmental design provided, as the two case studies discussed in this chapter will show, was closely aligned to that of the state.

Beyond the writing of Tomás Maldonado and the teachings of the Ulm school, the rise of environmental design theories was a wider phenomenon in architecture and design that can be mapped on both sides of the Iron Curtain. For example, the Hungarian émigré Gyorgy Kepes, teaching at the New Bauhaus in Chicago and the MIT, published *Arts of the Environment* in 1972. As Reinhold Martin has documented, the book adapted the 'art-into-life aspirations'

---

12   Matko Meštrović, letter to Douglas MacAgy, in Armin Medosch, *New Tendencies: Art at the Threshold of the Information Revolution (1961-1978)* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), p.122.
13   Matko Meštrović, 'Design and Environment', *Journal of Design History*, 2 (May 2017), 212–230 (p.220).
14   Meštrović, 'Design and Environment', p.220.
15   Keller, *Design/Dizajn*, p.301.

of the Bauhaus into theories of 'man-and-environment symbiosis regulated by a complex of interdisciplinary knowledge'.[16] Equally, Reyner Banham's *The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment* and *Los Angeles: Architecture of Four Ecologies* from 1969 and 1971, respectively, formed 'explicit reformulations of architectural or urban theory around environmentalism or around environmental technologies'.[17] As early as in 1964, Christopher Alexander's *Notes on the Synthesis of Form* addressed 'the cybernetic notion of environmental "fit"'.[18] Thinking about the environment in architecture and design was, therefore, closely aligned to cybernetics, theory of information and systems thinking.

In the socialist East, on the other hand, these theories were formulated in East Germany as "complex environmental design". For Jessica Jenkins, the concept of complex environmental design was a reformulation of 'the Gropiusian "Gesamtkunstwerk" ideal' of the unity of arts and architecture, developed as a response to anti-functionalist critiques of the 1960s.[19] Torsten Lange has documented the work of architectural theorist Bruno Flierl who was instrumental in articulating the principles of "complex environmental design". He was concerned both with what was being designed - architectural form, as well as how - the social relationships, or the labour of architects and designers. According to Lange, Flierl 'developed his concept of complex environmental design as an alternative to the idea of synthesis' through the framework of cybernetics and systems thinking, arguing that 'there needed to be a dialectic between the unity of objects that make up the environment and the socialisation of subjects in their production process'.[20] In Flierl's words, 'Complex environmental design can no longer be the reserve of experts in politics, economy and culture, who manage and plan social processes as a whole, including the process of complex environmental design.'[21] Instead, it had to set the

---

16   Reinhold Martin, 'Environment, c.1973', *Grey Room*, 14 (Winter 2004), 78-101 (p.81); *Arts of the Environment*, ed. by Gyorgy Kepes, (New York: George Braziller, 1972).

17   Martin, p.84; Reyner Banham, *The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment*, 2nd edition, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2009).

18   Martin, p.85; Christopher Alexander, *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*, 7th edition (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1973).

19   Jessica Jenkins, 'Visual arts in the urban environment in the German Democratic Republic: formal, theoretical and functional change, 1949–1980', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal College of Art, 2014), p.23 [chapter 4].

20   Torsten Lange, 'Form as/and utopia of collective labour, Typification and collaboration in East German industrialised construction', in *Industries of Architecture*, ed. by Katie Lloyd Thomas, Tilo Amhoff, Nick Beech, (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.148-159 (pp.153-154). See also Torsten Lange, 'Komplexe Umweltgestaltung [complex environmental design]: architectural theory and the production of the built environment in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), 1960-1990', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, 2015).

21   Bruno Flierl, 'Zur sozialistischen Architekturentwicklung in der DDR. 20 Thesen (1977)', p.130, in

groundwork for 'overcoming technocratic and bureaucratic procedures and for establishing creative principles'.[22] As I have discussed in the previous chapter, these were some of the questions that Yugoslav designers were seeking to address.

The structuring of objects like K67 and UNI87 to form an environmental design system, was in large part based on their materiality and the communicative power of plastics, that was tied to a specifically socialist system of values. Plastic was, after all, the archetypal substance of modernity, whose symbolic, material and visual impact was particularly meaningful under socialism. As the historian Eli Rubin has argued in his work on East Germany, plastic was understood as the material expression of truth, the proof of human mastery over nature. It was also closely connected to the scientific conception of design practice in which environmental design was grounded.[23] 'In a technological age', Rubin writes,

> design is a question of a solution, a proof, an answer, and the elegance and conciseness of the design is a measure of its correctness, of its truth. This truth was associated with abstractness and thus a "truer" kind of beauty than that found in nature, which is also significant, because it implied that synthetic and unnatural materials were, in the sense of their ability to refine and condense the essential forms, thus truths of nature. Synthetic, man-made forms, such as plastic, were in this sense more beautiful than anything found in nature.[24]

However, contemporary Western commentators had the opposite understanding of plastics, one that was closely tied to the idea of substitution.[25] Famously, for Roland Barthes, writing in *Mythologies* published in 1957, plastics represented the ultimate stage of 'imitation materials' that have 'always indicated pretension, they belonged to the world of appearances, not to that of actual use'.[26] Because it imitated nature, plastics were often relegated to the world of kitsch

---

Lange, 'Form as/and utopia', p.155.

22   Bruno Flierl, 'Zur Komplexität der Umweltgestaltung. Probleme der Ganzheitlichkeit und der Vergesellschaftung' (1977), p.58, in Lange, 'Form as/and utopia', p.154.

23   East German designers called it the "scientification of design". Eli Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism, Plastics and Dictatorship in the German Democratic Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), p.51.

24   Rubin, pp.50-51.

25   Catharine Rossi, 'Crafting Design in Italy, from Post-war to Postmodernism' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal College of Art, 2011), p.314.

26   Roland Barthes, 'Plastic', *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (London: Vintage Books, 2000), p.98.

and subject to particular scrutiny. As Catharine Rossi writes in her study of Italian post-war design, 'there was the question of what plastics should look like'.[27] For Yugoslav designers, the question of looks was a question of truthfulness and morality. As art historian Radovan Ivančević asked in *15 dana* in 1961, 'why do these plastic materials have to always pretend to be something else, play someone else's part, dress in someone else's clothes [...] Can a socialist society still stand on the position that cheap and mass products have to be ugly?'[28] The question of truth and beauty was important because, as I have suggested in the introduction, Yugoslav designers believed that objects had particular agency. Radoslav Putar argued in 1964 that, 'With the emergence of large quantities of plastic materials in our living environment [...] the impact of the form of these objects is more frequent and incisive'.[29] The way plastic objects looked and the impact it had on individual subjectivity was closely bound up with the socialist system of values. Rather than being 'prosaic' or belonging to the 'world of appearances', as Barthes suggested, plastics had to become an authentic modern material, functional, rational and efficient. In other words, it needed to privilege use value over exchange value. This became particularly important in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a time when plastic goods proliferated on the shelves of local supermarkets and Yugoslav designers were becoming increasingly anxious about consumerism.[30]

In fact, as Jeffrey Meikle argued in his seminal cultural history of the material in America, plastic objects were a defining trait of consumer modernity. In his words, 'Plastic, its forms and colors proliferating as the consumer culture emerged into consciousness, embodied that culture and visually distinguished it as unique.'[31] However, socialist designers believed that there was a fundamental ideological difference between plastic things in the capitalist West and the socialist East. As Eli Rubin's study shows, as the result of unprecedented research in science and technology, it was believed that plastics 'would enable a consumer paradise to come to socialist East Germany minus the inequalities and materialism' that came with

---

27   Rossi, p.315.
28   Radovan Ivančević, 'Polivinil, sretno novorođenče ili nahoče', *15 Dana*, 16 (10 May 1961), 22-23 (p.23).
29   Radoslav Putar, 'Surogati i improvizacije, oblici od plastike u svakodnevnoj upotrebi', *15 Dana*, 12-13 (1 November 1964), 13-14 (p.13).
30   Putar, 'Surogati i improvizacije', p.13.
31   Jeffrey L. Meikle, *American Plastic, A Cultural History* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers Univeristy Press, 1997), p.63; see also Jeffrey L. Meikle, 'Into the Fourth Kingdom: Representations of Plastic Materials, 1920-1950', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (1992), pp.173-182.

Western consumerism.[32] While in the West plastic was seen as 'both a cause and a symbol of the detached, dreamlike experience of consuming, in which the objects take on a life, a meaning, and a price entirely separate from the economic or social reality that produced them', socialist countries 'sought to promote the material precisely on the opposite basis. The advantages and desirability of plastic goods were argued for by referring directly to the technology and economic reality of their production.'[33] Plastics was an essential for communicating a specific set of values and shaping individual behaviour.

These are the two conceptual frameworks within which I am situating K67 and UNI87. As the analysis that follows will show, while both objects were produced as standardised systems that were meant to be used across Yugoslav urban space, their impact on everyday reality and experience of Yugoslav socialism was completely different. This had both to do with the materiality of objects, as well as with the wider political, social and economic framework that conditioned their use. This interpretation emerges from the correlation of the changes in the organisation of self-management that were introduced in 1974 and the processes and strategies of design practice.

- ### 4.3 K67 Kiosk: Systems of design and systems of consumption

Designed in the second half of the 1960s by Saša Mächtig, the K67 kiosk appears to be the result of the particular political and economic climate of the period. On the one hand, it was closely aligned to contemporary debates in design practice. On the other, it was the material response to the policy of the decentralisation of the Yugoslav political structure and economic planning by giving greater autonomy to individual republics and introducing partial market forces as an objective system of regulating production. Within this context, greater urbanisation, better standards of living and new market reforms, ultimately encouraged small private entrepreneurship to flourish.[34] In this period, Yugoslavia's urban and tourist centres

---

32   Rubin, pp.120-121.
33   Rubin, pp.126-127.
34   Private ownership was allowed in Yugoslavia in agriculture after a failed attempt to collectivise the land in the early 1950s, as well as for small family businesses. Rudolf Bićanić, *Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Cambrdige: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.34-40. For more on Yugoslav economic policy see: Harold Lydall, *Yugoslav Socialism: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Susan Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); William Bartlett, *Europe's Troubled Region: Economic Development, Institutional Reform and Social Welfare in the Western Balkans* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

(Fig. 116) started to be populated by many small businesses that benefited precisely from the type of space - self-contained, affordable, easy to build on and maintain - that the K67 system provided.[35]

Figure 116. K67 seen in a ski resort in Slovenia, undated (after 1972)

However, despite the apparent need for systems like K67, there was a certain amount of scepticism towards its use. In 1982, more than a decade after K67 was first introduced to urban spaces across Ljubljana, the Slovenian daily *Dnevnik* organised a round table on the problem of kiosks in the city under the headline: 'Need or just a necessary evil?'[36] The discussion, which brought together state officials, shop owners and members of the public, came to the conclusion that even though kiosks were 'invading' the city's urban space, more of them were needed to 'better supply consumers with goods', especially in the areas outside city centres where they were to fill in for the lack of supermarkets and other retail venues.[37] At the time nearly 40 kiosks were scattered around Ljubljana's various neighbourhoods, but their use

---

35   Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2014), in particular chapter 4, 'Godišnji odmor za putovanje', pp.291-386; *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)*, ed. by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2010)

36   Roža Erman and Duša Pregrad, 'Potreba ali samo nujno zlo?', *Dnevnik*, 20 April 1982, p.7.

37   Erman and Pregrad, p.7.

was not regulated on a broader scale and town planners agreed that kiosks 'should only be complementary and offer a temporary solution where regulated supply is not available'.[38] Despite this ambivalence, the discussion highlighted a central idea behind the kiosk: it was a temporary, light, impermanent structure whose purpose was to fill the gaps in the supply network and provide a flexible shopping venue in public spaces.

As the comments above suggest, as an element of urban space K67 also problematises the relationship between private and public space in socialist Yugoslavia - more so than spaces associated with state power, collective ownership or domesticity. Its purpose as a contained structure dedicated to commerce and small entrepreneurship gave private ownership and consumerism a prominent visibility within the public sphere, while its very physical structure and materiality invited public scrutiny and control through use. For this reason, K67 poses further questions about the negotiation of the socialist notions of collectivity and social ownership, and the private, individual experience of consumption. Furthermore, K67 was not developed as a result of top-down urban planning, but was the product of individual experimentation and research into formal and functional possibilities of plastic materials that Saša Mächtig had embarked upon soon after his studies.[39] As the work of an entrepreneurial designer, the production of K67 is set against the emphasis on collective design processes within in-house design departments that appeared to be the norm during this period.

Saša Mächtig studied architecture at the University of Ljubljana under professor Edvard Ravnikar, one of the most important Modernist architects in Yugoslavia, whose B-course, a local adaptation of the Bauhaus methods centred on gestalt theory, shaped a generation of Yugoslav architects and designers.[40] In Mächtig's own words, the B-course was based on 'the deductive method, which provided a good basis for industrial design to establish its scientific and developmental-research character'.[41] In addition, the Basic Visual Arts course, guided students to develop a mathematically systematic (precise) way of thinking [...] exercising in the economical use of resources and by this in all the technological and industrial demands:

---

38   Erman and Pregrad, p.7.
39   Maja Vardjan, 'Metamorfoze sistema Kiosk K67', *Saša J. Mächtig, Sistemi, strukture, strategije*, ed. by Maja Vardjan (MAO: Ljubljana, 2016), pp38-50 (p.38).
40   For Mächtig's account on the impact of Edvard Ravnikar's course on his formation, see Saša Mächtig, 'Ravnikar in Design', *Hommage a Edvard Ravnikar, 1907-1993*, ed. by France Ivanšek (Ljubljana: France and Marta Ivanšek, 1995), pp.245-260.
41   Mächtig, 'Ravnikar in Design', p.254.

be they serial, prefabricated, modified, innovative, in given or limited conditions. Repetition, composing-decomposing, etc., were the basis for understanding industrial prefabrication. Work nurtured useful characteristics: unconventionality, experimentation, resourcefulness, inventiveness, tendency towards research.[42]
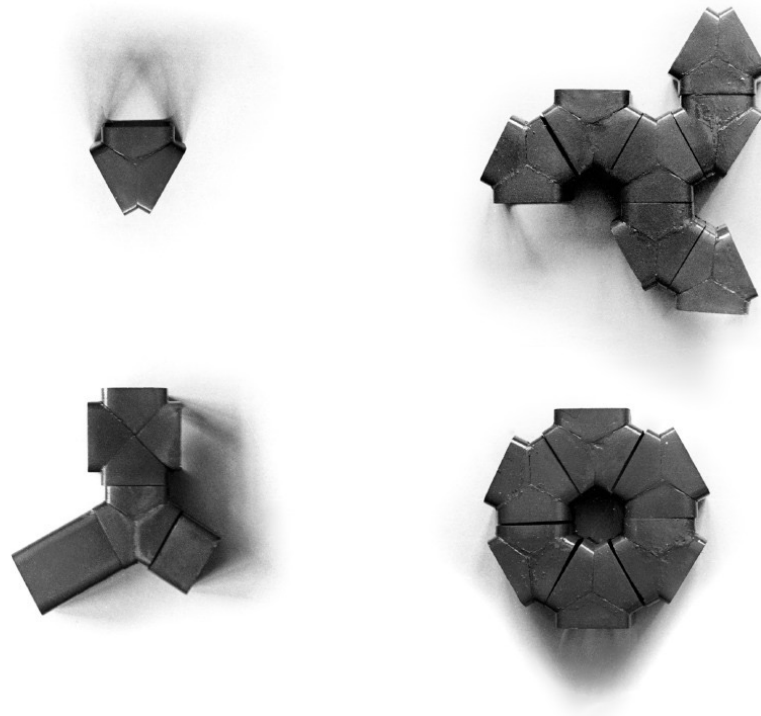
Figure 117. Early models of K67 that Mächtig developed following his studies, 1966

It is apparent from Mächtig's later work that studying under Ravnikar formed the basis of his design methodology (Fig. 117). Indeed, the formal configuration of the K67 kiosk was structured on the intersection of two plastic tubes that formed a cross-shaped link to which subsequent elements could be added to form organic, yet systematic combinations based on a number of standardised geometric forms. The use of reinforced polyester and polyurethane was a continuation of an earlier experiment in structural use of plastic materials that Mächtig had developed as a graduation project at the University of Ljubljana in 1966. A pavilion for Café Europa in the centre of Ljubljana was a project inspired by a structure he had seen in Lausanne during travels across Europe in 1965 (Fig.118). The construction of the pavilion, made of a plastic shell mounted on a metallic frame sustained by two columns, also formed

---

42   Saša Mächtig, 'Ravnikar in Design', p.254.

the beginning of Mächtig's fruitful relationship with Imgrad, the company that would manufacture most of his designs. After the success of Café Europa, Mächtig worked on the kiosk for a year before presenting the first K67 model to the director of Ljubljana's Urban Design and Planning department.[43]

Figure 118. Pavilion for Café Europa, Ljubljana, 1966

Mächtig envisaged the kiosks to be perfectly modular and to form vast configurations on city streets.[44] When combined together, their form resembled a futuristic vision of a highly ordered market, typical of local towns, or an imaginative suggestion for low-cost shopping malls that were widespread across Yugoslavia at that time (Fig. 119). Due to its appealing, modern form and lightweight design that could fit within different contexts, the director of Ljubljana's planning department nominally chose K67 as the official newsstand or small store structure for Ljubljana's public space in 1968.[45] The kiosks were now to be produced by Imgrad company

---

43   Mächtig said that he developed the idea for the K67 kiosk after overhearing two planning officials discuss his Europa pavilion, commenting that 'something similar should be produced for the urban space in Ljubljana.' Interview with Saša Mächtig, 1 April 2016.

44   A further iteration of the project was developed in 1972 as a system of prefabricated units that would form vast configurations and be a further step forward with regards to industrial production in the built environment. 'Univerzalni montažni sistem, Informativni elaborat', brochure, 1972, archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design in Ljubljana.

45   'Predlog za izdelavo', p.9.

with the support of Ljubljana's tourism office, Magistrat. K67 started to be slowly introduced across the city in 1969, even though its use remained highly unregulated.[46] In fact, Mächtig and his collaborators developed a number of research projects between 1970 and 1980 arguing for the need to introduce K67 in a systematic manner across Yugoslav towns and cities.[47] In one of the research papers they wrote:

> Where certain processes and situations continually repeat, with common characteristics and properties, we are talking about types and typical situations. By positioning systemic solutions, typical situations can be solved effectively and, in a certain sense, automatically. The criteria laid down through systemic solutions, form the basis to which we must abide, decide and direct the efforts, initiatives and also further development. Only systemic solutions, which come to form a social contract, can enable a wider implementation of a higher cultural standard in our living environment.[48]

By designing a system that could respond to different needs, K67 was the perfect example of an environmental approach to design, based on a network of interactions between objects, spaces and people. Mächtig wrote that, 'The elements of street furniture now have a complex character as a medium, regulator of urban design and coordinator between different needs, functions and users.'[49] For Maja Vardjan, the kiosk generated both a systematic environment and a system of relationships that 'exceeded the physical limits of its space' and extended into the public sphere.[50] In this way, K67 gave form to the very relationship between individuals and their environment, shaped through the process of everyday consumption. As Mächtig wrote in 1977, there were 'three important conceptual principles of modern ordering [*urejanje*]' of urban space that K67 sought to address: 'the concern for the environment, the culture of the working space, and the user's contribution to urban design.'[51]

---

46   Vardjan, p.38.
47   'Poročilo o problemih cestne opreme v Ljubljani', [n.d.]; 'Urejenje okolja s sistemom cestne opreme in vizualnih komunikacij', 1976; 'Pripomočki za urejanje pritličnega javenga prostora v občini Ljubljana Center', 1977, archive of the Musuem of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.
48   'Predlog za izdelavo', p.1.
49   'Predlog za izdelavo', p.4.
50   Vardjan, p.48.
51   Mächtig uses the word 'urejanje' that can be literally translated as 'ordering', 'regulating' or 'arranging', but also 'designing'. This double meaning implies that urban design can be understood as a system of control of the environment. Mächtig, 'Fenomeni v urbanskem okolju', p.9.

Figure 119. Modular use of kiosk for the Dahlia flower shop
in Ljubljana, undated (after 1976)

According to Mächtig, writing for Imgrad's in-house magazine,

> In its systemic design, the K67 system has considered the first two sets of questions:
> the spatial regulation of a wide variety of environments with [standardised] elements
> and functional flexibility of the workspace that allows growth by adding elements.
> The common denominator of these principles is serial industrial production,
> ensuring an appropriately high technical and design quality of products.[52]

In addition to the plastic shell, Mächtig also designed interior elements that were modular,
could be produced in large series and be easily adapted to individual needs. The kiosk's
construction hid its interior space (Fig.120) that could be seen only by those who used it,
maintaining, to a certain extent, the traditional division between private and public as inside
and outside, open and closed, seen and concealed. Through carefully constructed images of
the kiosk, Mächtig placed further emphasis on the outside of the structure and what happened
around it: the very unfolding of public space through semi-private acts of consumption.

---

52   Mächtig, 'Fenomeni v urbanskem okolju', *Kontakti,* 1 (1977), 4-19 (pp.9-10).

Figure 120. Interior of the kiosk with modular shelving units, 1970

By devising standardised, mass-produced elements, Mächtig's attempt was to automatise the "production" of public space. This was even more evident in the design of the second generation of kiosks developed in 1972. While the first series of kiosks featured a central structure made as a monolithic, one-piece shell, the second generation of kiosks was streamlined through a system of individual structural elements that formed walls, windows, roofs, doors and flooring that could be easily manufactured and transported in parts, almost like flat-pack furniture. This was a truly flexible, modular product through which the construction of spaces of consumption could be fully industrialised (Fig. 121).
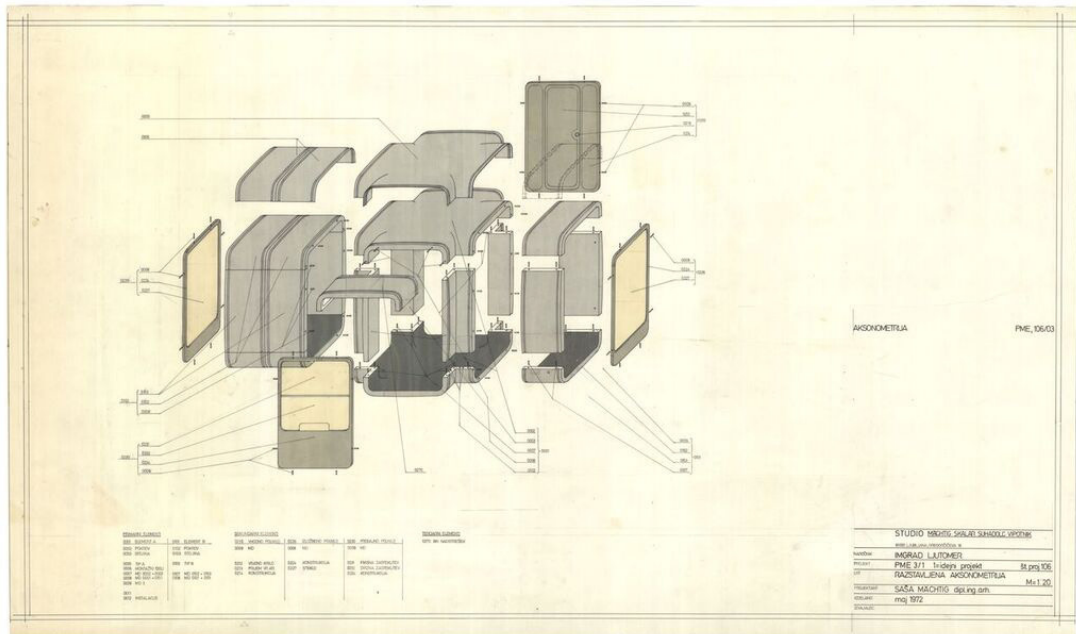
Figure 121. Construction drawings for the second generation of kiosks, 1972

In 'Metamorfoze', an article written for the magazine *Sinteza*, Mächtig laid out his design methodology, arguing that architects have

> failed to reconcile the humanistic and technological aspects of [their] environment.
> Today, when building processes are increasingly automated and rationalized, the
> drawing, analysis and specification are needed less or can be produced more quickly
> and efficiently through electronic technology. The time saved in this way could be
> more effectively used to study the psychological and social needs of a people.[53]

In his systemic vision, design and computer technologies went hand in hand to produce man's material environment. As Goroslav Keller argued, within this framework, 'Design emerges as the solution of a system [...] This attitude determines the methodology of design as a process constantly subjected to "feedback" (return control) that enables the correction of initial goals and tasks in each phase of the design process.'[54] This was the essence of environmental design, 'that is a dynamic system that, in addition to social valorisation, needs to also contain the possibility of

---

53   Saša Mächtig, 'Metamorfoze', *Sinteza*, 13-14 (1969), 13-22 (p.13).
54   Goroslav Keller, 'Dizajner, tehnički orijentiran umjetnik? Umjetnički kreativan inženjer?, *15 Dana*, 2 (1969), 16-19 (p.16).

self-adjustment and control of the conditions of that environment, therefore people'.[55]

The systemic nature of K67 was also evident in a specific colour code that Mächtig envisaged so as to easily identify the different services provided: white kiosks were used as ticket booths or small shops, red ones as newsstands, and green and brown ones as food stalls and cafes. By addressing the problem of unsystematic urban planning in this way, Mächtig also hoped to produce a more "cultured" urban environment that would have a positive effect on shop assistants working in the kiosk as well as eliminate the alienation engendered by capitalist consumption practices. According to Imgrad, the kiosk was 'a necessity of modern times, while a well-designed kiosk proves that its owner is abreast of the times. Urbanization of living form gives rise to a change in habits, and at the same time, a change in forms of selling.'[56]

This systematic approach also highlights the extent of Mächtig's role as a designer, one that extended from the narrow shaping of a self-contained object to growing the network of kiosks and overseeing their use. In fact, even though Ljubljana's tourism council, Magistrat, was ostensibly the official co-manufacturer of K67 and the kiosk was nominally accepted as the normative newsstand structure as early as in 1968, Mächtig remained the main actor behind its widespread use. In 1972 he wrote,

> Modern entrepreneurial activity is based on the awareness that development, planning, production and placement of products form a single and indivisible process. This process, which integrates closely interlinked and mutually dependent activities, needs to be systematically guided from the first idea until the end, that is, until the product completes its life cycle and is discarded.[57]

It was precisely this approach that Mächtig adopted with regards to K67: in addition to following every step of the design and production, he visited local governments to present the project and advocate for its use, contacted foreign manufacturers as well as export organisations with the hope of selling the licence for K67 abroad, organised public

55   Keller, *Design/Dizajn*, p.305.
56   *Imgrad informacije*, 1 [1977], [1-8] (p.2), English in original, archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.
57   Saša Mächtig, 'Predgovor', in *Univerzalni montažni sistem*, product catalogue, (Ljubljana, 1972), p.7, archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

presentations and sent press material to numerous publications.[58] Ostensibly, Mächtig acted as a travelling salesman, marketing specialist, graphic designer and engineer for Imgrad and Magistrat.[59] Amongst Yugoslav designers, his approach and position were exceptional.

- **4.3.1 Positioning K67 within the wider design discourse**

In 1970, *Design* magazine published a two-page feature on K67 under the title 'Low Life for the Streets' (Fig.122).[60] The magazine's writers positioned the kiosk within the wider architecture and design discourse of the period, arguing that:

> Current preoccupations with shelter (a social necessity) as opposed to architecture (a frivolous luxury) go a long way to explain the popularity of temporary structures among architects and architectural students. And the opportunity to design something cheap, manoeuvrable, and capable of mass production is also grabbed at eagerly in departments of industrial design. [...] Easy to maintain and erect on their four corner posts, the units are a decided advance on the disreputable collection of free-standing, semi-permanent buildings with which we litter our own streets and squares. It will be interesting to see whether Mächtig is able to take System K-67 one stage further: stack the units, clip on a spiral staircase and call it housing.[61]

Perhaps unwittingly, K67 seemed to have embodied key issues that designers were facing during this period as a result of the fast-paced technological development and the apparent ineffectiveness of the Modern Movement to address the complexities of everyday, urban life. Indeed, K67 needs to be situated alongside a number of projects that sought to propose new forms of human habitation, ranging from techno-futuristic utopias to experiments with plastic materials and the industrialisation of construction.

---

58   See letters sent by Mächtig to Design magazine, Metalka International or Crittal Hope Engineering Limited, archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

59   Mächtig had a fair share of personal interest to take into account in this aggressive approach – his royalties reached 7% and the success of the kiosk also granted him a central role in local design organisations as well as in the foundation of the first department of industrial design at the University of Ljubljana.

60   'Low Life for the Streets', Design, 256 (April 1970), 50-51.

61   'Low Life for the Streets', p.51.

Low life for the streets

Current preoccupations with shelter (a social necessity) as opposed to architecture (a frivolous luxury) go a long way to explain the popularity of temporary structures among architects and architectural students. And the opportunity of designing something cheap, manoeuvrable, and capable of mass-production is also grabbed at eagerly in departments of industrial design. None of which explains why most temporary structures on the British market are so lamentably short on design ideas. Somewhere along the line the initiative passes out of the hands of the committed designer and into the lap of the profit conscious industrialist.

It was dismay at the appearance of the street scene at ground floor level that impelled Yugoslav architect Sasa Mächtig to design a kiosk system for semi-permanent applications – miniature shops, offices, display areas. The two principal components of his *Sistem K-67*, a cross-shaped unit and an oblong link piece, are already under limited serial production by two companies, Imgrad and Magistrat of Ljubljana, and more specialised elements could be added later.

The construction is a moulded glass reinforced polyester sandwich 60 mm thick; a polyurethane filled core carries electrical services and the inner walls are faced with highly polished acrylic sheet. Colour has been used to distinguish between structure and infill: outside, vivid crimson units contrast with mauve-tinted polyurethane window panels and hoods; inside, predominantly white furniture stands out against a dark grey floor covering of ribbed pvc.

Using specially designed roof lights, the system also makes excellent small workshops, kiosks and outdoor wcs. Easy to maintain and erect on their four corner posts, the units are a decided advance on the disreputable collection of free-standing, semi-permanent buildings with which we litter our own streets and squares. It will be interesting to see whether Mächtig is able to take *Sistem K-67* one stage further: stack the units, clip on a spiral staircase and call it housing.

DESIGN 256   51

Figure 122. Page from *Design* magazine's feature about the kiosk, April 1970

By suggesting K67 as a possible housing model, *Design* magazine situated it within experiments in plastic architecture such as Monsanto's House of the Future, showcased at Disneyland from 1957 to 1967, or Matti Suuronen's Futuro and Venturo houses, designed between the late 1960s and early 1970s.[62] Similarly, Buckminster Fuller's Dymaxion House

---

62   See Stephen Phillips, 'Plastics', in *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), pp.91-123; *Home Delivery: Fabricating the Modern Dwelling*, ed. by Barry Bergdoll and Peter Christensen, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008).

explored the use of lightweight materials and tensile structures to create light, portable systems that could be easily transported and assembled, forming an important reference for later experiments with plastics.[63] Besides Dymaxion House, it was Fuller who had been proposing since the late 1930s that 'traditional architecture had to give way to a "world wide dwelling services network" modeled on the telephone network', anticipating the environmental approach to the design of spaces.[64] The reading of architecture and design that Mächtig proposed, therefore, was part of a long line of projects on mobile, prefabricated, easily assembled units that can be traced back to the 1920s, when Modern architects sought to rationalise housing production through industrial methods of fabrication. In fact, leading architects of the Modern Movement, among which, famously, Le Corbusier, saw in Henry Ford's automobile assembly line a possible model for housing construction. Considered as "machines for living", Modernist designers thought that these new forms of housing could be made more efficient and systematic through the production of standardised parts. Indeed, Mächtig argued in 'Metamorfoze', an article published in *Sinteza* that lays out his theory of design practice, that 'with the knowledge that we have at our disposal, the social support and capability of our industry, we could easily make and buy apartments just like cars [...] We could solve a number of social problems this way, together with the issues of regeneration, growth, replacement disuse and so on'.[65]

Equally, as *Design* magazine suggested, K67 (Fig. 123) can be associated with the utopian, speculative thinking of a number of post-war architectural groups, such as Archigram, the Japanese Metabolists, or Italian Superstudio and Archizoom. While these approaches and experiments proposed radically different visions for human dwelling, they were closely aligned to the broader design discourse centred on the environment and understood as a dynamic, self-regulating and self-generating system. During the 1970s, as Felicity Scott has documented, debates about the environment were further engendered by developments in technology.[66] For Emilio Ambasz, the curator of design at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, it was important for design and architecture to move away from 'discreet modernist objects produced

---

63   Barry Bergdoll, 'Home Delivery: Vicissitudes of a Modernist Dream from Taylorized Serial Production to Digital Customisation', in *Home Delivery: Fabricating the Modern Dwelling*, ed. by Barry Bergdoll and Peter Christensen, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008), pp. 12-26 (p.20).
64   Mark Wigley, 'Network Fever', *Grey Room*, 4 (Summer 2001), 82-122 (p.86).
65   Saša Mächtig, 'Metamorfoze', *Sinteza*, 13-14 (1969), 13-22 (p.14).
66   See chapter 4 in Felicity D. Scott, *Architecture or Techno-Utopia, Politics After Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), pp.89-115.

by individual designers', towards '"a man-made milieu," a constructed realm characterized by both physical artefacts and expanding information networks'.[67] The MoMA offered to provide a platform for this new conception of design: 'Design is thus shifting its emphasis ... to a more comprehensive approach [...] in which objects are conceived in relation to one another and to their ecological, constructed, and socio-cultural environments.'[68]

Figure 123. Use of kiosks at the football stadium in Ljubljana, undated (after 1976)

Ambasz sought to put some of these ideas into practice with the seminal 1972 exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape.* A section of the exhibition proposed a number of environments for a 'harmonious tomorrow', that either sought to solve the 'problem' of the environment or 'emphasize the need for a renewal of philosophical discourse and for social and political involvement as a way of bringing about structural changes in our society'.[69] Ettore Sottsass's contribution - Microenvironments - fits into the second model, what Ambasz called 'counterdesign'.[70] Dull and unappealing, made of grey plastic material, Ettore Sottsass described his intentions behind the project in the following terms,

67   Scott, p.89.

68   Emilio Ambasz, 'The Museum of Modern Art and the Man-Made Environment: An Interim Report', *Members Newsletter*, (Spring 1970), n.p., in Scott, p.90.

69   Ettore Sottsass, in *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape: Achievements and Problems of Italian Design,* ed. by Emilio Ambasz, (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1972), p.137.

70   Ambasz, p.137.

It is a kind of orgy of the use of plastic, regarded as the material that allows an almost complete process of deconditioning from the interminable chain of psycho-erotic self-indulgences about 'possession'. [...] let's say the idea is to succeed in making furniture from which we feel so detached, so disinterested, and so uninvolved that it has absolutely no importance to us. That is, the form is - at least in intention - designed so that after a time it fades away and disappears.[71]

Ostensibly, Microenvironments (Fig. 124) proposed a critique of consumerist lifestyles. Sottsass exploited the mutable, transient qualities of plastic materials to detach it from consumerist connotations and put forward his vision for a new way of life, one that would do without commodity fetishism and focus, instead, on use value. While his was a utopian critique, there seems to be a curious, if not entirely harmonic, affinity between Sottsass's project and Mächtig's idealism about the role of K67 in Yugoslav socialism. Both Mächtig and Sottsass used plastics and an environmental approach to design to rethink the impact of consumerism in society. For Mächtig, however, this rethinking did not imply the restoration of personal freedom. Instead, it was imagined as a system of control in real, existing experience.

Colour photograph of Microenvironments, image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Figure 124. Ettore Sottsass, Microenvironments, designed for the exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, MoMA, New York, 1972

---

71   Sottsass, p.162.

While Mächtig never referenced Sottsass's work, he reflected on the projects developed by other contemporaries, such as Archigram or the Metabolists. However, taking them at face value, he largely overlooked their wider debates and considered Archigram's efforts 'fruitless' for their inability to translate research into practice.[72] In 'Metamorfoze', published in *Sinteza* magazine in 1969, he argued:

> After a brief pause in the functional Twenties and Thirties, nearly all of the so-called avant-garde architecture today is obsessed by the search for individual style, as if it were the most important thing. [...] Japanese Metabolism, innovative at a first glance, is in practice degenerated and bizarre. The urban planning concepts of young British architects Archigram, Michael Webb, Yona Friedman and others, are based on the possibilities offered by industrial production and modern technology. These initiatives are innovative but incomplete, if we consider how the mobile elements of these large multi-purpose structures might be successfully replaced, regenerated and be flexible, which is of course the ideal aspiration. [...] Archigram's projects haven't come so far as to solve these issues, even though they attempt to offer comprehensive solutions to urban problems.[73]

Despite this criticism, it is important to situate Mächtig's work within this wider context to understand how the environmental approach to design, characterised by an emphasis on systemic, flexible and networked solutions for organising urban space, was adapted to suit the needs of self-managing socialism. It goes to show that, while Yugoslav designers were closely attuned to the international design discourse, their approach remained firmly grounded in the specific Yugoslav context. What this meant, in the case of Mächtig's kiosk, is that environmental design was understood as just another iteration of the modernist discourse centred on "good design". Mächtig was ultimately looking to provide honest, functional and well-designed structures that would shape the use of public spaces across Yugoslavia. In his view, modularity and flexibility weren't associated with 'disorder, fun, change, consumerism and entertainment', centred on individual experience and self-determination, as Archigram suggested.[74] Rather, the flexible, modular and infinitely reproducible structure of K67 was

---

72   Mächtig, 'Metamorfoze', p.14.
73   Mächtig, 'Metamorfoze', pp.13-14.
74   Reyner Banham, *Megastructures: Urban Futures of the Recent Past* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p.92.

designed to develop a spatial network of objects that would more easily and efficiently regulate public space, across different contexts and uses. Rather than liberating Yugoslav citizens from consumerist lifestyles, as Sottsass suggested with his Microenvironments, the K67 kiosks used consumption to instigate a form of discipline. In this way, the utopian thinking behind environmental design was turned on its head to provide another spatial framework for social control.

This form of spatial regulation needs to be situated within the framework of self-managing socialism. As Goroslav Keller has argued, 'self-management and communal social organisation feature as an important precondition for a successful establishment of the environmental system in the totality of its functions'.[75] The implementation of kiosks in Yugoslav cities intensified after the second generation of K67 was introduced in 1972. Significantly, this was the period when the organisation of self-management underwent profound changes. The new Constitution, introduced in 1974, promised to subdivide 'some 4000 workers' councils' present on the Yugoslav territory 'into Basic Organizations of Associated Labor, or Osnovne Organizacije Udruženog Rada (OOUR)', which could be seen as smaller work units.[76] The OOURs, created partly as a result of the calls for greater decentralisation following the Croatian Spring, were formalised in a 1976 Law on Associated Labour.[77] As John Lampe argued, with the new law, 'all social enterprises in industry, agriculture or the service sector were required to create a set of these smaller councils, totalling 19,000 by 1978'.[78] This nominally increased the number of participants in the management of the economy, yet decreased the enterprises' efficiency. As each unit was endowed with a degree of economic autonomy, this stimulated competition between OOURs within single factories. The kiosk replicated that form of organisation in material space: each K67 was a self-contained, autonomous unit, yet closely tied to a broader system of objects. This was not just a symbolic relationship. For example, when publishing companies sublet kiosks to use as newspaper stands, these formed an interconnected network of units across Yugoslav territory that were all part of a larger enterprise, yet could be seen as having a degree of autonomy.

---

75   Keller, *Design/Dizajn*, p.305.
76   John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History, Twice There Was a Country*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.316-317.
77   Lampe, p.317.
78   Lampe, p.317.

Figure 125. Žaba bins, part of a system of urban furniture, designed between 1968 and 1976

The relationship between the spatial organisation of the kiosk and the structure of self-management became even more important in those instances when K67 was used for private businesses that were unmoored from the system of self-management. Precisely for this reason, the spatial system of the kiosk and its use across public spaces needed to mirror the structure of self-management. Just as workers' councils and local communes formed a widespread network of social relationships that served to mediate the processes and practices of everyday life under socialism, K67 replicated this organisation in spatial terms. K67 was structured as a dislocated, yet interconnected network of objects that formed the focal point through which individual

desires, needs and relationships were negotiated. This process of negotiation was facilitated by the material structure of the kiosk. Mächtig further extended this process of regulation and control to the surrounding space by creating a series of street furniture that was characterised by similarly rounded forms and plastic materials (Fig.125). In 1977, he wrote:

> The kiosk, which is a more demanding element of street furniture in view of its size, represents the core and the point of departure for designing a microenvironment of greater integrity, for it is linked to a number of complementary functional elements of furniture, such as litter bins, information elements, publicity boards, lighting, green spaces, benches, etc.[79]

It was clear that K67 was just a starting point for an all-encompassing, 'rational approach to the designing and use of urban space'.[80]

- ### 4.3.2 The role of the kiosk within Yugoslav systems of consumption

> Every day people desire a lot of things, yet they find the opportunity to shop only a few times a week. We've known the solution for a while: the shops should open where the buyers are easy to find; the shops should spread out on the streets. The idea is old, but the realisation is new,

a brochure distributed by Imgrad declared.[81] 'The system adds the latest findings in market research to this well-known idea about selling on the street', for this reason, the argument followed, 'By adopting K67 system, a new system of sales will also be introduced. [...] Attract - offer - buy, this is how today's trade works, and this has guided the designers of our kiosk.'[82] Using an openly market-oriented language, Imgrad sought to portray K67 as the ultimate form of shopping: prominently placed on city corners or squares, the kiosk would effortlessly draw consumers to buy things directly on the street. Aimed at private business owners, Imgrad invited them to transform public spaces, such as city streets, into areas dedicated to private

---

79   Mächtig, 'Fenomeni v urbanskem okolju', p.21.
80   Mächtig, 'Fenomeni v urbanskem okolju', p.21.
81   'S K67 privlačnejša ponudba – uspešnejša prodaja', brochure (Ljutomer, Imgrad: n.d.), n.p., archive of
        the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.
82   'S K67 privlačnejša ponudba', n.p.

consumption. The company's marketing endeavour highlighted the thin line between private and public in socialist Yugoslavia, mediated, not least, by the materiality of the kiosk. In fact, further expanding on the concept of 'attracting – offering – buying', Imgrad's marketing team declared in the same brochure:

> With its colour, material and form, our kiosk is particularly attractive. It can be used anywhere, because its expressive qualities can easily adapt to every environment. Pedestrians and drivers cannot pass by without being drawn by its vivid colour and state of the art form. (...) It is obvious that sales from the kiosk are doing well.[83]

What was left unsaid was that by drawing attention to the kiosk, its bright colour and iconic structure also drew attention to the acts of consumption that unfolded around it. Published in the early 1970s, the brochure highlighted Yugoslav attitudes towards consumerism: while popular magazines were expressing an anxiety about consumerist lifestyles, Yugoslav enterprises were actively encouraging it. This was the double 'problem' of Yugoslav consumerism, that Mächtig sought to solve by imposing a form of control over consumption in the public space.

A close examination of the way K67 was used suggests that a regulatory mechanism was intrinsic to the way consumers and vendors interacted through the physical structure of the kiosk. Differently from supermarkets, that allowed greater liberty and the luxury of getting lost among the abundance of products in a way that encouraged individuality and anonymity, the kiosk operated through a completely different mechanism. Mächtig himself outlined the shopping experience in kiosks as 'direct, genuine and unmediated,' where the salesperson was able to guide and inform shopping practices.[84] In fact, the very structure of the kiosk as a retail space dedicated to single product typologies, seems to suggest it was intended as a tool for shaping a very controlled form of consumer culture. In its most basic configuration as a single unit, K67 formed a workspace that only fitted a single person, shaping a direct relationship between the buyers and the consumer goods on offer (Fig.126).[85] K67 was a tightly controlled

---

83   'S K67 privlačnejša ponudba – uspešnejša prodaja'.
84   'Predlog za izdelavo', p.6.
85   Research conducted by the Slovenian Workplace Health Department showed that K67 was not an
       ideal workspace as the plastic shell didn't perform well in terms of thermal insulation. The kiosk was too
       hot in summer and cold in winter. In addition, Imgrad received a letter of complaint from a client in
       Serbia as the kiosk leaked when it rained. See Letter to Magistrat, 'Predmet: Kiosk K-67, el. Instalacije,

space of consumption forming a magnifying lens through which private acts of consumption were put on display. The type of prescriptive, disciplining relationship between the materiality of the kiosk and its use was a central feature of the project and one of the biggest arguments for its introduction across public spaces in Yugoslavia.

Figure 126. Kiosk used as a newspaper stand in the centre of Ljubljana, undated (after 1971)

In early 1976, in fact, Studio MSSV (Mächtig, Skalar, Suhadolc, Vipotnik) developed an extensive study titled 'Urejenje okolja s sistemom cestne opreme in vizualnih komunikacij' (Environmental design with the system of street furniture and visual communications) funded by the Slovenian Chamber of Commerce, the Slovenian research board, the Republican board for roads, and the Ljubljana City Council.[86] The research called for coordination between the local government, councils for tourism and commercial organisations in implementing kiosks across Ljubljana with the aim of imposing better control over public space and improving the quality of the urban environment.[87] Besides limiting the 'degradation of urban space', a

strokovno mnenje', n.d.; Letter to Imgrad from Magistrat, 'Predmet: K/67 – pomankljivosti tehničnih izvedb', 26 July 1971, archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

86   'Urejenje okolja s sistemom cestne opreme in vizualnih komunikacij, raziskovalna naloga', unpublished research paper, (Ljubljana: April 1976), archive of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

87   'Predlog za izdelavo', p.3.

more systematic and thorough use of well-designed kiosks would, according to Mächtig and his collaborators, have a profound sociological impact on man and his living environment.[88] Used as a highly visible, iconic space of consumption, this "regulating" nature of the kiosk became its defining characteristic. Conventionally used as newsstands, the kiosks became a site where one could buy popular magazines, romantic novels, music reviews, as well as erotic magazines: symbols of Yugoslav liberalisation and the embracing of pop-culture typical of the period.[89] Kiosks, thus, mediated the consumption of products that needed to remain private, hidden from the public view. Interacting through the kiosk's small windows, consumers and shopkeepers built a particular kind of relationship, one that was at once public and private, intimate and formal.[90] Implicit in the use of kiosks was a form of self-policing and control.

However, the kiosks eluded the top-down, organised and systematic control of consumption that Mächtig envisioned and that characterised large supermarkets and department stores. Their use as small, private shops, escaped the same type of regulation imposed on wider systems of distribution. For this reason, it came to form 'a realized metaphor of' undisciplined consumer culture - 'its range, distribution and wide accessibility', somewhat at odds with the socialist notion of cultured consumption.[91] Renting or buying kiosks from Imgrad or through local tourism or urban planning offices, business owners widely disregarded Mächtig's systematic vision (Fig. 127). Over time, the kiosks often physically transformed the public area where they were located through particular spatial arrangements – canopies, temporary patios, tables and chairs – that extended the arena of private ownership and commerce outside the narrow confinement of the kiosk's walls. In this way, Mächtig's regulating vision was transformed into a site of conspicuous consumption, highlighting the bottom-up disregard for the rationalising norms of self-managing socialism.

88   'Predlog za izdelavo', p.3
89   See Reana Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu: Pop iskustvo soc-kulture* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju I folkloristiku, 2008); Zoran Janjetović, *Od Internacionale do komercijale, Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji, 1945-1991* (Belgrade: Institut za novu istoriju Srbije, 2011).
90   A recent Croatian film, Vinko Brešan's *Svećenikova djeca* (The Priest's Children) from 2013 satirised the fact that kiosk shopkeepers in small villages knew everybody's secrets. *Svećenikova djeca*, dir. by Vinko Brešan (Continental Film, 2013).
91   Dean Duda, 'Socialist Popular Culture as (Ambivalent) Modernity', in *Socialism and modernity. Art, Culture, Politics 1950-1974*, ed. by Ljiljana Kolešnik (Zagreb: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 2012), pp.249-275 (p.268).

Colour photograph of an adapted kiosk from *MAD* magazine,
image removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is the
MAD magazine.

Figure 127. A spread from *MAD* magazine showing a personalised kiosk,
used as a flower shop in Sarajevo

The unfolding or mediating of private desire and public control was organised around the
kiosk's iconic, bright plastic structure, highlighting the double-sided nature of consumerism
under socialism. As the Praxis philosopher Miladin Životić has argued, 'The advocates of
commercialist conceptions in the politics of culture demand the favoritism of forms of ersatz-
culture that provide only easy and empty leisure.'[92] As a result, this culture of 'hedonism creates

---

92   Miladin Životić, 'Između dvaju tipova savremene kulture', *Praxis*, 5-6 (1967), 802-812 (p.810).

the political and conceptual indifference of the modern man, maintains the "incompetence of the masses" upon which rests the authoritarian-bureaucratic competence of controlling society'.[93] By offering the illusion of abundance, choice and variety within an iconic, prominent object in the public space, Mächtig's kiosk showed that, well into the 1970s, consumerism still remained a double problem to be solved. On the one hand, K67 transformed informal, daily practices and habits into a form of pleasure - this was consumerism to be affirmed for the success of Yugoslav socialism, on the other it was to be used to regulate consumption, transforming the object itself into an instrument of social control.

As this case study has outlined, public space served as an arena where different visions of socialist modernity coexisted side by side. Through the kiosk, the bottom-up desires of consumer abundance, were juxtaposed to top-down regulation (Fig.128) of urban space. In the next section, I will further examine how these two visions interacted in the context of Yugoslavia's late period of socialism - just a few years before the country's collapse.

Figure 128. Systematic use of K67 during the Mediterranean Games in Split, 1979

---

93   Životić, p.806.

- **4.4 Designing the collective body of socialism: UNI87 and urban networks**

With preparations heavily underway for the Universiade Games in Zagreb in 1987, *Start* magazine published a lengthy report on the extensive renovation of the city's urban tissue, titled 'Je li Zagreb samo fasada?' (Is Zagreb just a façade?).[94] While critical of the economic investment in what was perceived to be a 'cosmetic', rather than structural, refurbishment of the city, the magazine's author claimed that the urban renewal would ultimately, engender a more thorough transformation of Zagreb's physical and social tissue. The article cited the architect Neven Šegvić, who argued that, 'Everybody wants for it [the renovation] to succeed, they feel included in this incredibly important action and everyone should be proud of it. […] The involvement and support are creating a new culture and this is what's most positive about the process.'[95] For the journalist Darko Hudelist, this sense of engagement with the urban space served to raise 'The citizens' confidence, their awareness of the identity of an urban whole of which they are an inseparable, organic, part'.[96] Held between 8 and 19 July 1987, in Zagreb and a number of surrounding cities, the Universiade Games were more than a simple sporting event. They played a key role in the attempt to reshape not only Zagreb's urban infrastructure but also its "social infrastructure" in the period of late socialism.[97]

Organised seven years after Tito's death, as the economic crisis and intra-republic tensions were increasingly starting to break the country apart, the Universiade Games, therefore, served to recreate a sense of national unity that had been lost. As with the Winter Olympics held in Sarajevo in 1984, the Universiade formed a ritual of social, cultural, political and material renewal through which the Yugoslav state hoped to acquire a much-needed new life.[98] Objects and environments were central to this process of social reconstruction, yet their

---

94   Darko Hudelist, 'Je li Zagreb samo fasada', *Start*, 480, 13 June 1987, 47-59 (p.58).
95   Hudelist, p.58.
96   Hudelist, p.58.
97   The reference to 'social infrastructure' is attributed to Josip Vrhovec, the chairman of the League of Communists of Croatia and Croatian representative in the Presidency of Yugoslavia, see Nino Pavić, 'Velika predstava može početi, Zagreb je već pobjednik', *Vjesnik*, 5 July 1987, pp.2-3, in Jasenko Zekić, 'Univerzijada '87. – drugi ilirski preporod', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2 (2007), 299-318 (p.310). Following an article published in the daily *Danas*, Zekić defined this social and cultural renewal the Second Illyrian Enlightenment, following the 19th century enlightenment movement in Croatia that called for the affirmation of local language, culture and political self-determination under the Habsburg Empire.
98   For more on the Olympic games in Sarajevo see: Kate Meehan Pedrotty, 'Yugoslav Unity and Olympic Ideology at the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games', in *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s – 1980s)*, ed. by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), pp.335-366.

impact, as I will discuss in this chapter, remained symbolic. The reshaping of the urban tissue (Fig.129), imagined as a way of imposing order on society precisely at a time when the systems underpinning Yugoslavia's social organisation were starting to fade away, did not have its intended effect.
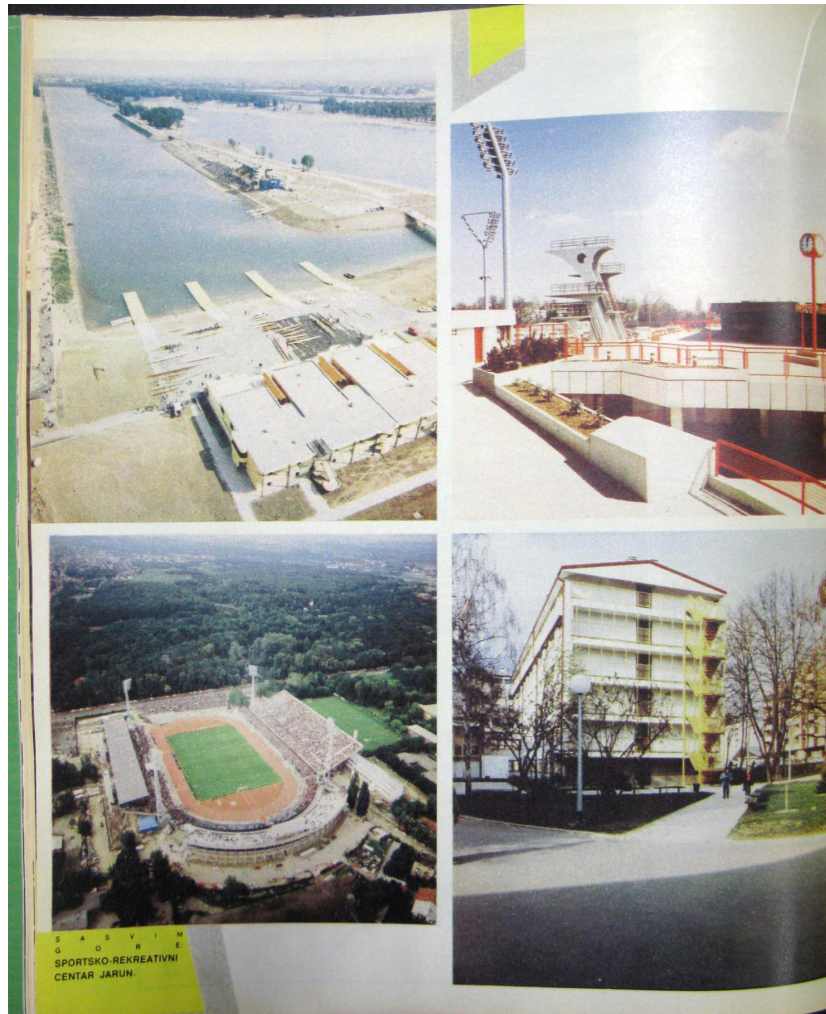

Figure 129. The renovation of Zagreb's urban tissue, from *Start* article, 1987

Following Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav political structure was put under pressure, that would soon escalate into a crisis led by nationalist tensions between individual republics competing for political and economic power.[99] The crisis was exacerbated by economic pressures from foreign lenders and governments that, up until that point, were helping to keep the country 'afloat'.[100] Starting from 1980, the only way out of the crisis was seen in resorting

---

99   See, Sabrina Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration Of Yugoslavia From the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević,* 3rd ed.,(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999)

100   See Lorraine Lees, *Keeping Tito Afloat: The United States, Yugoslavia and the Cold War* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

to a more liberal market economy.[101] In this context, it was clear that self-management had lost

its social and political force. However, as Catherine Baker has argued, political leaders 'could

not bring themselves to challenge the fundamentals of self-management', for 'the possibility

that self-management was inadequate for Yugoslavia's economic sustainability [had] serious

implications.'[102] Anti-liberal members of the government argued that further market reforms

were 'incompatible with a truly socialist system of self-management'.[103] Baker asks, 'Since self-

management was Yugoslav socialism's ideological cornerstone, could Yugoslavia be re-imagined

without it?'[104] The answer is that it couldn't. Self-management needed to be maintained, in

rhetoric if not in real, lived experience, as the key system organising Yugoslav everydayness.

For Branislav Jakovljević, this devaluation of self-management as a radical political project

was a much longer process, initiated in the previous decade, with the 1974 Constitutional

reform. In his words, associated labour, the principle of reorganisation of self-management as

a cluster of OOURs that could be merged into SOURs, 'was a strategy for defeating integral

self-management'.[105] He positions this defeat already at the level of language: workers' self-

management was now called associated labour.[106] The central subject of the Yugoslav system

- the worker - was removed 'from the position of Yugoslavia's foundational political subject'.[107]

By imposing OOURs, SOURs and Samoupravne interesne zajednice (Self-managing Interest

Groups, SIZ) on all forms of social organisation, the government 'tried to invent a norm for

all economic, political, and cultural relationships' and 'therefore also foreclosed the political

potential of self-management to catalyze the emergence of spontaneous community' from

below.[108] While, as I have argued throughout this thesis, this potential was never a real

possibility and the structure of self-management had already been normalised as an underlying

principle of all forms of social organisation, the reform further deepened the gap between

theory and practice. In Jakovljević's view,

In many ways, the overhaul of self-management that took place in the mid-1970s

101   Lampe, p.325.

102   Catherine Baker, *The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.26.

103   Lampe, p.329.

104   Baker, p.26

105   Branislav Jakovljević, *Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1945-91* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), p.13.

106   Jakovljević, p.197.

107   Jakovljević, p.197.

108   Jakovljević, p.198.

represented an attempt to go back to a centralized economy, while keeping the appearance of economic and political liberalism that would make this economy (and ideology) appear safe and attractive to international moneylenders.[109]

Keeping the moneylenders happy was essential for maintaining the illusion of the "Yugoslav dream" throughout the 1970s.[110] The overhaul of self-management, therefore, introduced nominally independent OOURs yet reaffirmed company managers, usually party leaders, as key decision-makers. They were now called *inokosni poslovni organ* (individual business organ), and were far removed from the processes of self-management within individual units. In Jakovljević's terms, the 1974 Constitution, with its 'ideology of associated labor has enshrined alienation in the very constitution of Yugoslavia. And indeed: alienated from a self-managing structure of governance, company directors became the Party's main power mechanism for exerting its control over the economy.'[111]

The reconstruction of Zagreb, and the processes of design that it entailed, needs to be understood within this context, characterised by a tension between symbolic, representational values and everyday experience. The reshaping of Zagreb's urban tissue, marked by the construction of key buildings, such as the Jarun leisure centre, Cibona Hall (Fig.130) and student housing, as well as the renovation of the central Republic Square, were nominally meant to engender social change. However, as I will argue, their impact remained only superficial – just like Zagreb's new façades. This was because this process of spatial reordering did not engage with a more radical rethinking of the processes and strategies of self-management. As I have pointed out throughout this thesis, design was able to claim a meaningful impact on Yugoslav society, solely when it interacted with the system of self-management. In the next section, I will examine the processes of design at the Jadran factory, the company that manufactured UNI87 chairs. As I will argue, the lack of interaction between self-management and design started at the level of the factory and was mirrored in the way its products were conceived, produced and used in public space. The image of self-management these objects reflected, was one that was already fading away.

109   Jakovljević, p.200.
110   Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010) p. 27.
111   Jakovljević, p.199.

Figure 130. The contruction of Cibona Hall, *Start*, 1987

●   **4.4.1 UNI87, Jadran factory and design practice under late socialism**

Founded in 1946, Jadran started its production by manufacturing metal prams, metallic furniture and beds, a restricted production programme inherited from three artisan workshops that were fused to form the new factory.[112] The production of chairs and tables started in the 1950s, when the pressure to perform better was put on enterprises under the reforms of self-management. Jadran had to seek new markets, that were found in the tourism industry that was starting to boom along the Adriatic coast.[113] The name Jadran (Adriatic), adopted in the period, was to symbolise this 'new orientation towards the production of furniture for the hospitality industry'.[114] Its main production programme included all 'types of furniture for the hospitality and tourism industries, to be used on open terraces, balconies, pavilions, and gardens, as well as furniture for interior use'.[115]

---

112   '35 godina rada', *Jadran*, September 1981, 3-13 (p.3).
113   For more on tourism in Yugoslavia, see: *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s – 1980s)*, ed. by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010); Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010).
114   '35 godina rada', p.5.
115   '35 godina rada', p.5.

Figure 131. UNI87, seating system designed for sports halls, 1987

Between 1955 and 1965, Jadran also started manufacturing 'furniture for wider social use, such as school furnishings, office furnishings, furniture for cinemas', developed in conjuction with major construction projects.[116] To this end, in 1982, Jadran established a separate engineering department whose role was to adapt existing standardised products to the specific needs of each client or venue. [117] Within this system of distribution, the company remained committed to the production of modular, systemic furniture, stating that 'when possible, we aim to produce as many standardised elements as we can'.[118] In addition to their work for the Universiade, for which they produced UNI87 to be used on all public and sporting venues (Fig.131), in 1987 and 1988 the company adapted their seating systems for a retirement home, holiday resorts, teachers' academy, concert hall, and the new office building of INA, the national gas industry.[119] To fit within this system of distribution tied to public projects, UNI87

---

116   '35 godina rada', p.5.
117   Ivo Barada, 'Odjel opremanja objekata u OOUR-u "Zagreb."', *Jadran*, 11 (September-October 1984),
       p.6.
118   Barada, p.6.
119   Ž. Tomić, 'Značajniji poslovi opremanja', *Jadran*, 3 (July 1988), 19-20 (p.19).

was created for systematic, widespread use across different types of venues and had to abide by the company's established product development guidelines whereby 'a limited number of elementary elements produced in a number of colours needs to provide a wide assortment of products; products need to be easily assembled locally' (Fig.132).[120] In addition, UNI87 needed to be manufactured with the existing technology, as Jadran struggled to implement research and development into its production processes.[121] As I have discussed in Chapter 1, this was a direct result of the self-managed economy, where modular, prefabricated and systematic solutions were used to facilitate geographically dislocated production processes and to coordinate research and innovation. It is easy to understand, then, why Mladen Orešić, Jadran's consultant designer, described his work as 'neither "uncommitted exhibitionism" nor "creative gymnastics," but disciplined explorations of the optimal solutions to 'meet the specifications required for production, distribution and use'.[122]
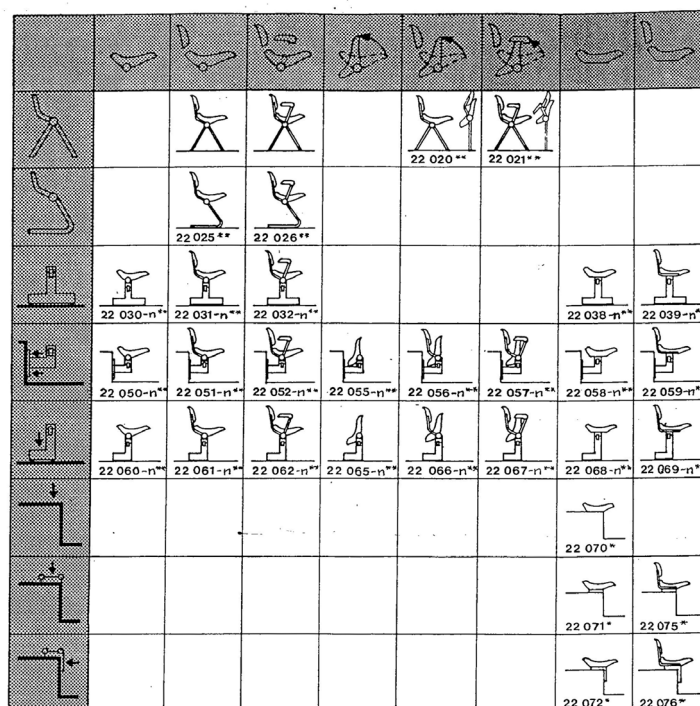
Figure 132. UNI87, seating typologies, 1987

---

120   Roland Mihelčić, 'Proširenje i usavršavanje programa UNI', *Jadran*, 1 (January 1988), 8-10 (p.8).
121   Jadran purchased its production technology from foreign companies. See Emir Isak, 'O izgradnji tvornice lameliranog namještaja', *Jadran*, 10 (January 1984), pp.5-7.
122   Ivica Madjenović, *Prominent Yugoslav Artists in the Applied Arts*, vol.2 (Belgrade: Studio Linija A, 1988), p.18.

This approach to design, responding to the 'specifications required', signalled Jadran's reluctant commitment to design practice as an integral element of the company. An article in *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, argued that the factory's design office, set-up with the help of the Centar za Industrijsko Oblikovanje in Zagreb, had failed to be successfully integrated within product development.[123] While Jadran employed two in-house designers, in addition to collaborating with external consultants like Mladen and Marijan Orešić and Davor Grünwald, most of the projects they developed were never realised. The figure of the consultant designer, just like its more entrepreneurial figure that Mächtig embodied, was an anomaly of late socialism, further detaching design practice from the systems of self-management. As Vjenceslav Richter had argued, design was 'that branch of plastic activity that cannot function without associated labour, as "an independent designer working for himself is inconceivable"'.[124] To be able to make a meaningful impact on Yugoslav society, design needed to be closely woven within systems of self-management. For Antoaneta Pasinović, this rise in the figure of consultant designers in the 1980s, signalled that design was 'hanging by a thread'.[125] In 1988, Oleg Hržić diagnosed the state of design practice, arguing that design had lost any role in Yugoslav society, now represented 'dogmatism and dictatorship', and 'just like the Yugoslav economy', was destined 'to a minimal possibility of longer existence'.[126] The limited role given to design within Jadran, highlights that design and self-management had, by the early 1980s, lost their point of contact. As Jakovljević suggests, This process was engendered from the mid-1970s, after the introduction of BOALs. As Ivanka Kruhak, Jadran's in-house designer argued in 1975, designers 'don't have any possibility to operate, they are outside of all work processes and decisions of the factory'.[127] The problem of design at Jadran was also tied to extensive purchase of licences and foreign technology, that were a widespread phenomenon during this period.[128] For Kruhak, this 'has made Jadran, amongst other reasons, terribly dependent on foreign partners', rather than investing in its own designs.[129] Jadran's case was representative of the issues that Yugoslav design was facing over the late 1970s and early 1980s.

---

123   Goroslav Keller, 'Štetni zaokreti', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 23 (January-February 1975), pp.21-23.
124   Antoaneta Pasinović, 'Urbani dizajn?', *Čovjek i prostor*, 9 (1983), p.7.
125   Pasinović, p.7.
126   Oleg Hržić, 'Četiri puta "D"', *Čovjek i prostor*, 9 (1988) p.10.
127   Keller, 'Štetni zaokreti', p.21.
128   See Goroslav Keller, 'Da li su licence rješenje?', *Industrijsko oblikovanje,* 6 (1971), pp.35-38.
129   Keller, 'Štetni zaokreti', p.22.

As this goes to show, rather than use design as an organisational or management tool to rethink systems of production, design became a "cosmetic" device, a symbolic visual system whose value remained purely representational. Structural innovation was substituted by style and appearance. With such a limited agency, Mladen Orešić conceived UNI87 as a playful, yet standardised, object aimed to revive Zagreb's urban tissue through a colourful design.[130] UNI87 included several models, a foldable chair, a self-sustaining fixed structure, and fixed stadium seating, with each type manufactured in different compositions – such as with or without armrests – and in several colours – the most common ones were blue and orange. Such broad typological variations of UNI87 were conceived to visually connect a spatial network of buildings and environments that marked the transformation of Zagreb's urban tissue. This transformation was punctuated by UNI87's plastic materiality (Fig.133).

Figure 133. UNI87, from a promotional catagloue with an emphasis on the system's plastic materiality, 1987

130   'UNI87', brochure, Zagreb, n.d., from the private collection of Mladen Orešić.

UNI87 embodied the sense of elusiveness that Barthes was writing about three decades earlier, when he noted that 'more than a substance, plastic is the very idea of its infinite transformation; as its everyday name indicates, it is ubiquity made visible'.[131] In the case of UNI87 this ubiquity signalled (Fig.134) a detachment from a grounded system of values based on self-management.[132] Plastic, in this case, can be seen, as Tom Fisher noted in his analysis of the material, as being 'congruent with the fluidity and relativism ascribed to late modernity by theorists such as Giddens and Bauman'.[133] UNI87 was an object of 'liquid modernity', characterised by instability and change.[134] It is not by chance, then, that this plastic object was used to represent the Yugoslav political system during a period of turmoil. Furthermore, this slippery, unstable quality of UNI87's plastic materiality was instrumental in the context of the media spectacle that distinguished the Universiade Games.

Figure 134. UNI87, different colour variations and set-ups that were used across Zagreb, in the most popular, orange variation

---

131   Barthes, p.97.

132   For more on the collapse of socialist systems analysed through a lost system of values see: Alexei Yurchak, *Everything was Forever Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

133   Tom Fisher, 'A World of Colour and Bright Shining Surfaces: Experiences of Plastics after the Second World War', *Journal of Design History,* 1 (2013), 285-303 (p.287).

134   See Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2000).

- **4.4.2 The spectacle of the Universiade and the invisibility of UNI87**

Like other sporting events modelled on the Olympic Games, the Universiade was imagined, from the very beginning, 'as a hybrid of urban festival and quasi-religious event' through which both 'athletes and spectators could constitute themselves aesthetically, morally and socially'.[135] The organising committee of the Universiade Games declared that 'The "Universiade '87 wasn't just a sporting meeting, but also an important social and political event" where the realisation of the sporting programme constituted only one element of the whole operation'.[136] The tasks of the organising committee became both concrete and elusive, and included the following:

> to organise and run, within the limits of economic possibilities, Universiade '87, whose successful realisation will have social and economic effects on the whole of Yugoslavia; to contribute to further establish Yugoslavia's reputation as an independent, non-aligned and self-managed country, and strengthen its international relations.[137]

A profound transformation of urban space was, therefore, an integral part of that rhetorical and symbolic spectacle through which Yugoslav was to be reaffirmed. This process of cultural and social renewal was to be extended to the whole of Yugoslavia, through public discourse, the mass media, as well as material environments.

Distant from the enthusiasm overtaking Zagreb, the majority of Yugoslav citizens needed to be constantly reminded of the meaning of the Universiade for the society as a whole. For this reason, for example, the organisers often emphasised the interconnectedness and dependency between the games and the wider Yugoslav context, whose successful running was tied to the 'collective forces and was in the collective interest'.[138] Mato Mikić, the president of Zagreb City Council declared:

---

135   Jilly Traganou, 'Foreword: Design Histories of the Olympic Games', *Journal of Design History,* 3 (2012), 245-251 (p.245).

136   'Univerzijada '87, Izvještaj', report, (Zagreb, March 1988), p.2.

137   'Univerzijada '87', p.5.

138   'Univerzijada '87', p.8.

> The Universiade is an integral part of Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment, fight for world peace and international cooperation. It is also a development programme for Yugoslavia, Croatia and Zagreb, as well as part of a broader development policy. [...] Everything shows that Yugoslavia is the host of the games, and Zagreb the organiser of the event.[139]

The appeal to Yugoslav unity was given further resonance in numerous articles appearing in the daily and weekly press, not only in Zagreb, but also in other capitals – Belgrade, Novi Sad, Ljubljana, or Titograd. This reinforced media presence connected different republics into a unique whole through declarations like, 'This is our town, this is our Universiade, this is our country.'[140] Through the media, the rebuilding of the nation was extended beyond the sporting spectacle as well as beyond Zagreb's public space into the everyday experience across Yugoslavia. By claiming that 'Zagreb was already the winner' in their titles, the daily papers reinforced the power of the nation.[141] As Michael Billig suggests, sporting events are central to the daily 'flagging of the nationhood' through which the nation is reproduced and reinforced.[142] However, the flagging is not limited solely to great celebratory moments such as big sporting events, as 'the nation does not disappear between moments of collective celebration'.[143] In fact, rather than being reflected solely through language ('We've done it', 'our men and women', etc.) and symbols of nationhood, Yugoslav unity was being reinforced in the very material form of the city. Objects like UNI87 were essential for that daily 'flagging'. To extend the impact of the Games beyond Zagreb's urban fabric, the organisers placed a lot of emphasis on the mass media whose presence was most strongly felt during the opening of the games, highlighting what Maurice Roche has described as a 'dual character' of big sporting events, as both a 'mega-event and media event'.[144] In his words, such events, 'represent key occasions in which nations could construct and present images of themselves for recognition in relation to other nations and "in the eyes of the world"', whereby 'national "tradition" and "community" [...] could be invented and imagined'.[145] It was not by chance, then, that a significant emphasis was given to the televised programming of the games, broadcast on all major national television channels, whose central event – the

---

139   'Grad za bolje sutra', *Vjesnik*, 9 May 1987, p.4.
140   Zekić, p.315.
141   Nino Pavić, 'Velika predstava može početi, Zagreb je već pobjednik', *Vjesnik*, 5 July 1987, 2-3.
142   Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1999), p.119.
143   Billig, p.126.
144   Maurice Roche, *Mega-events and Modernity. Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Traganou, p.245.
145   Roche, p.6.

grand opening of Universiade – was given particular prominence. It was a moment when a new imaginary for the future of socialist Yugoslavia was to be created. In addition, radio shows across the country organised daily or weekly programmes aimed at engaging the public and communicating the enormous effort put into the running of the games.[146]

The opening ceremony of the Universiade was held in front of 50,000 spectators at the Dinamo football club's stadium in east Zagreb. The programme featured around 12,500 performers coming from elementary and high schools, universities or cultural associations, in addition to professional dancers and the national army. The opening was directed by Paolo Magelli, a well-known Italian director, who orchestrated a vivid game that displayed the 'richness of human leisure, from sport and physical activity, to acrobatics and circuses, dance, theatre and ballet'.[147] Everything that was happening in the stadium was transmitted on TV screens across the country, in a coordinated effort between all Yugoslav television operators:

> This transmission, as many other things with the University Games, was a Yugoslav collaboration. Journalistic and technical forces across Yugoslavia have gathered in Zagreb and this was definitely felt. [...] All that was going on at the stadium was entirely covered by TV eyes, the tempo of all happenings was superbly covered, and the images by their very nature offered the viewers an effective representation.[148]

Treated as a state holiday, the Universiade opening was used to 'propagate the basic values of the country strongly and unambiguously'.[149] The Games could even be seen as a substitute for the *Day of Youth*, a national holiday that was initially established as a celebration of Tito's birthday on the 25th of May, and was halted in 1988, eight years after his death. The last *Day of Youth*, held in 1987, was clouded by a scandal after the art collective Neue Slowenische Kunst won the competition for the official poster of the event with a design based on Nazi propaganda as an ironic play on the Yugoslav totalitarian regime.[150] In the words of Tvrtko Jakovina, 'The seven-year agony to shut down something that didn't have any sense anymore

---

146   'Univerzijada '87', p.40.
147   Zekić, p.303.
148   'Otvaranje na malom ekranu. Neviđeni efekti', *Vjesnik*, 10 July 1987, p.7.
149   Danka Ninković-Slavnić, 'Celebrating Yugoslavia: The Visual Representation of State Holidays', in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, ed. by Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik (Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing: 2010), pp.65-91 (p.65).
150   *Dizajn i nezavisna kultura*, ed. by Maroje Mrduljaš and Dea Vidović (Zagreb: UPI2M Books, 2010), pp.50-51.

showed the crisis in the running of the state.'[151] Just like the failed *Day of Youth*, the media spectacle of the Universiade did not alleviate the sense of crisis that Yugoslav society was facing. The journalist Vlatko Fras, whose writing first appeared in the subversive youth magazine *Polet*, best captured the sense of fabricated unity that the games projected to Yugoslav citizens. Describing the opening, he wrote:

> The Universiade has, in line with the siege mentality, displayed fantastic square kilometres of new facades and an opening show [...] that transformed the last available dinar into a scenic performance event that could, from a later perspective, resemble the battle of Stalingrad on the world front of creditors and their debtors.[152]

What was left after that scenic performance, was the invisibility of the ordinary and the everyday, marred by political and economic crisis. This tension between visibility and invisibility is captured by UNI87. Set within the media spectacle of the Universiade Games, UNI87 became a symbolic device for reconnecting Yugoslavia – used on public venues across the territory following the Games - that disappeared in the moment of its use, when the multitude of bodies occupied the central Zagreb stadium. Beyond the event itself, UNI87's disappearance as a meaningful object was closely tied to the system's ubiquity, connected to everyday practices, the habitual and the routine. Seen on sporting venues, train stations, in schools, hospitals and cinemas, the chairs became ordinary, everyday objects (Fig.135), yet far removed from either the ideological tenets of self-management as well as from the ritualized symbolic impact of an aestheticised spectacle.[153] The tension between visibility and invisibility, spectacle and everydayness, that shaped UNI87 was summed up by Marko Golub in the catalogue of an exhibition about Jadran held in 2013:

> what makes [these] chairs so intriguing today, is their persistent presence in all spheres of everyday life from the 1980s when they were created, until today. The paradox of this visibility of designed objects lies in the fact that they are particularly

151   Tvrtko Jakovina, 'Sloboda u raspadu, Nesvrstana, samoupravna, nestabilna i slaba SFRJ: od smrti Tita do uspona Miloševića', *Osamdesete! Slatka dekadencija postmoderne*, ed. by Branko Kostelnik and Feđa Vukić, (Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika and Društvo za istraživanje popularne kulture, 2015), pp.13-33 (p.28).

152   Vlatko Fras, 'Što će ostati', *Danas*, 21 July 1987, pp.7-8, in Zekić, p.309.

153   See *Sport, zdravlje, ugostiteljstvo, obrazovanje, kultura i rad. Stolci iz TMN Jadran 1980-ih*, exhibition catalogue, (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Dizajnersko Društvo, 2013).

iconic for the context within which they are situated, while also remaining hidden for an untrained eye.[154]

However, it is not just the lack of a "trained eye" that relegated UNI87 to invisibility. It is precisely the disjunction between the ritualised moment of the Universiade Games, the event's reinforced presence in the public sphere, and the object's lack of connection to the structures and systems of self-management, that makes this seating system both hypervisible and uniquely opaque. UNI87 became just a rhetorical marker, a symbolic image in space, that was devoid of meaning. In the late 1980s, this was a loss of meaning that was equally affecting self-management.

Figure 135. UNI87, product typologies as seen in UNI87 catalogue, 1987

---

154   Golub, p.1.

- **4.5 Conclusion**

In 1980, Matko Meštrović published *Teorija dizajna i problemi okoline* (Design theory and problems of the environment), where he discussed environmental design from the point of view of Marx's theory of alienation and sought to reposition it as a wide-reaching discipline under the term 'integral design'.[155] Meštrović, a member of New Tendencies, considered design as 'thought-action with the tendency to engender a wholesome transformation of the historical world'.[156] In the introduction to the book, he recognised the split between the theory and practice in Yugoslav socialism and positioned design as a tool for a 'structural social intervention in all spheres of human needs and all spaces of our life' that would result in a reshaping of self-management as 'anticipation of the society of the future'.[157] However, by the time the book was published, there were clear limits to the way this could be achieved through design.

As I have argued in this chapter, the main problem of the period of late socialism was a lack of any structural connection between self-management and design practice, embodied in the figures of entrepreneurial or consultant designers that were detached from the decision-making processes within factories. While Mächtig conceived his kiosk as an environmental system that mirrored the spatial organisation of self-management, its connection to the sphere of private ownership made its potential to reform Yugoslav consumerism, as well as the experience of self-management associated with it, limited. Rather, the kisoks became spaces for creative "tactics", in de Certeau's terms, where individuals could exploit cracks in the system to engage in unregulated consumption practices marked by kitsch and trash.

UNI87, on the other hand, despite being tied to a wholesome conception of the environment as an interconnected system of urban space, architecture, communication networks, social infrastructure and the 'environment of behaviour', that was produced for the Universiade Games, wasn't underpinned by any radical rethinking of the purpose of self-management in society. Rather, UNI87 had a purely representational role, tied to the wider ideological and rhetorical narrative whose power to mobilise the Yugoslav population towards a common goal

---

155   Matko Meštrović, *Teorija dizajna i problemi okoline* (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1980).
156   Meštrović, *Teorija dizajna i problemi okoline*, p.15.
157   Meštrović, *Teorija dizajna i problemi okoline*, p.10.

– the equality, brotherhood and unity, and democratisation that self-management formerly embodied – had been exhausted. Starting from the level of the factory, the full realisation of self-management, and its materialisation in the form of designed objects, had come to represent the undoing of the "Yugoslav dream". In 1990, at a football game between Zagreb-based Dinamo and Belgrade-based Crvena Zvezda held on the main stadium in Zagreb, Croatian and Serbian fans violently clashed in the stands, with the bright, shiny, yellow and orange plastic UNI87 chairs announcing Yugoslavia's final descent (Fig.136).[158]

Colour photograph of Crvena Zvezda and Dinamo clash, image removed for copyright reasons.

Figure 136. Crvena Zvezda and Dinamo fans clash at a football game, 1990

---

158   Lampe, p.324.

Conclusion

What was Yugoslav self-managed modernity?

In an issue of *Industrijsko oblikovanje* published in 1977, design critics Miroslav Fruht and Goroslav Keller laid out a brief history of Yugoslav design. The article stresses an ongoing concern about the humanisation of material environments, critical consumption, the need to shape a creative workforce and cultured users, all key issues that defined the professional discourse over the previous three decades. It also highlights the unyielding belief in the importance of design for the success of self-managing socialism, both in terms of improving Yugoslavia's economy as well as developing its cultural and social values. Fruht and Keller write:

> For our self-managing socialist society, industrial design is an added opportunity to achieve the most complete humanisation of living and working conditions. [...] By adopting and developing the concept of a self-managed planned-market economy, we are striving to avoid the prevalence of an exclusively market, mercantile aspect, or rather, for it to become the exclusive criteria for evaluating design. [...] Through marketing and design practice, we aim to create a critical, creative user, rather than a manipulated consumer. [...] In practice we depart from the thesis that industrial design in a society like ours, has to have as its main goal the rehabilitation of the pleasure of creative work in workers, to show to the workers the purpose of both the social and cultural value of their work. [...] In this sense, the economic and cultural goals and tasks don't need to be fundamentally in conflict, but can actually, through design, overlap with and complete each other.[1]

In revisiting key tropes of the design discourse, the paradoxical nature of Yugoslav socialism is clear. Nearly thirty years after Tito's split with Stalin had set the country on its separate, non-aligned path, the everyday experience of Yugoslav socialism remained fraught with contradictions. The Yugoslav road to communism was still less than clear. On the one hand, market mechanisms were recognised as a necessary, even desirable, tool for regulating the economy and society. On the other, the consumerism that market socialism produced had to be contained and mindless consumers rehabilitated as productive, creative workers. These conflicts were intrinsic to self-management, because the system acquired legitimacy and value in the life of ordinary Yugoslav workers, precisely through its association with designed

---

1   Miroslav Fruht and Goroslav Keller, 'Razvoj i identitet dizajna u Jugoslaviji', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 37-38 (May-August 1977), 25-36 (p.36).

environments and experiences, and the consumption of modern, well-designed products. That these concerns remained at the forefront of the design agenda as late as 1977, confirms the central hypothesis of this thesis: that self-management was actively and consciously "designed".

Figure 137. Iskra 'Minirama' television, 1973

As has been discussed throughout this thesis, this idea does not refer to laws and regulations studied by political scientists and economists. Instead, it points to processes that gave shape to objects and environments that reflected and embodied the socio-economic structures of self-management that produced them. For example, the manufacturing of standardised, modular products with minimal formal and technological variations, emerged precisely as a result of the distributed, dislocated and erratic nature of self-managed industrial production. While this standardised production relied on simplified, essential shapes, such as those adopted by Iskra for its line of ATA telephones or Minirama TV sets (Fig. 137), their clearly modernist forms were celebrated as proof of the country's economic and industrial miracle. Through design, self-management acquired meaning in material form.

Arguably, because design practice was central in shaping the experience of self-management, the conflicts between consumption and control emerged most strongly in the context of design. Early post-war groups such as Exat 51, claimed that Yugoslav workers could be liberated and their consciousness reshaped by creating totally-designed environments and by consuming a specific set of modern, rational products. Equally, the emphasis on systemic

solutions implicit in environmental design revealed how easily spatial flexibility could be confused with personal freedom. Projects as diverse as Saša Mächtig's K67 kiosk or Vjenceslav Richter's *Sinturbanizam* show that Yugoslav designers found the most authentic material expression of self-management in a clearly defined modernist form. This leads to the question that I posed at the outset: why was international style Modernism adopted as the most appropriate material expression of self-management? Possible answers have been suggested throughout this thesis and can reveal as much about the nature of modernism and modernity in the context of design, as about the 'Yugoslav experiment' as a political project. I will briefly revisit the concern with the material appearance of Yugoslav everydayness and its impact on self-management, as well as the relationship between self-management and design as a process and a discourse. These discussions offer the opportunity to reassess Yugoslavia's claim to exceptionalism and offer a new model for understanding its "in-betweenness".

- **5.1 Modern design and self-management: Form and content**

What was the relationship, then, between self-management and modern design? The first answer to this question should be sought in one of the central claims of this thesis. I argued that modern design and self-management went hand in hand because both were conceived as systems of social control. The scope of self-management was to organise society by grouping Yugoslav citizens into well-identified structures in the form of workers' councils and local communes. Design objectified that social organisation, translating it into specific spatial forms.

James C. Scott's well-known work, *Seeing Like a State*, provides a useful model for articulating this relationship between self-management and design. Scott, a political scientist and anthropologist, conceptualises the modernising efforts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as 'high modernism'. In his words, high modernism was shaped by a

> supreme self-confidence about continued linear progress, the development of scientific and technical knowledge, the expansion of production, the rational design of social order, the growing satisfaction of human needs, and, not least, an increasing control over nature (including human nature) commensurate with a scientific

understanding of natural laws.[2]

This complete march towards progress and the improvement of the human condition both relied upon and sought to shape 'an artificial, engineered society'.[3] To achieve that, social structures needed to be made legible to the state, for 'legibility is a condition of manipulation'.[4] Therefore, to borrow his terms, the coupling of self-management with modern design could be seen as a way of making the structures of society legible in material form. This was part of a conscious attempt to regulate Yugoslavia's in-betweenness, what Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš have defined as its suspension between 'the superpowers of the Cold War, rival ideological systems, the multiple ethnic identities of its own populations, varied versions of modernity and tradition, past and future'.[5] While Yugoslavia's ethnic and national diversity hasn't been the focus of this thesis, design can be seen as an effective means of regulating its plurality: its two alphabets, three languages, four religions, five nationalities and six republics.[6] By being condensed into workers' councils and local communes as the two basic social formations, this plurality and multiplicity of voices became intelligible, transparent and well-organised. Nominally decentralising decision-making power and handing it over to the workers, self-management ultimately made the Yugoslav society more easily controlled reinforcing the hegemony of the state. This ordering can be seen as the defining trait of all processes of modernisation, characterised by a need for fixed structures, clear patterns, simplification, rationalisation, and control. Zygmunt Bauman has called it 'solid modernity', a term that aptly evokes the materiality that was implicit in this process of rationalisation.[7] In his view, the ordering of society often relied on a claim to territoriality, one of the 'spatial obsessions' of solid modernity.[8]

---

2   James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p.90.

3   Scott, p.92.

4   Scott, p.183.; see also section one, 'State Projects of Legibility and Simplification', pp.11-52.

5   Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljaš, Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-Between, The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin: Jovis, 2012), p.16.

6   Political and social historians concerned with the collapse of Yugoslavia and the Balkan wars have provided insightful research into the country's ethnic and religious diversity, and the understanding of nationalism and citizenship. See, for example, Bogdan Denitch, *Ethnic Nationalism, The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia* (Minneapolis and London: Minnesota University Press, 1997); Sabrina P. Ramet, *Balkan Babel, The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević*, 3rd edition (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999); Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Igor Štiks, *Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia and the Post-Yugoslav States: One Hundred Years of Citizenship* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

7   See Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2000).

8   Bauman, p.198.

As has been observed in Chapters 1 and 3, the power of both the workers' councils and local communes was often exercised through specific forms of spatial organisation. Tasked with providing healthcare, education, housing or leisure for their workers, factories like Iskra or Rade Končar collapsed wider social and economic structures onto a spatial and material system. Their strategy was to absorb wider social functions within a self-contained environment - in what has been called a 'counterenvironment'.[9] Visual and spatial models intrinsic to modernist design practice were instrumental in making this union of social, political and economic structures visible. In Iskra's case, the company's social role was associated with strictly defined forms: the celebrated Iskra house style that was applied to a range of things, from individual products, such as telephones or battery chargers, to its visual communication, factory buildings, housing or stores.[10] As Radoslav Putar argued in 1977, Iskra was the first Yugoslav factory to acknowledge the need for 'an organic and consequential interconnection of the system of design' that would be closely tied to its productive and social structures.[11] However, this house style was not just a well-defined branding strategy or a marketing device. Instead, it became an active agent, used to perform Iskra's wider role in society and shape the behaviour of its workers.

The association of political control with modernist forms was not coincidental. In fact, for James Scott, the rational, scientific organisation of society envisioned by the high modernist ideology relied on an equally rational aesthetic and spatial form. In his words, high modernism was characterised by an 'emphasis on simplification, legibility, straight lines, central management, and a synoptic grasp of the ensemble'.[12] These were all key traits of Yugoslav design practice that used clean, sleek modernist forms to regulate the often messy reality of Yugoslav everydayness. As Scott writes, 'The straight line, the right angle, and the imposition of international building standards were all determined steps in the direction of simplification', necessary for the rational management of society.[13] Aleksandar Dragomanović's supermarkets and department stores discussed in Chapter 2 are a case in point. The transparency, open views and geometric, linear structure were deployed to create porous glass cubes that served to

9   See John Harwood, *The Interface: IBM and the Transformation of Corporate Design, 1945–1976* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).
10   Radoslav Putar, 'Linija dizajna "Iskra"', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 37-38 (May-August 1977), pp.71-74.
11   Putar, 'Linija dizajna "Iskra"', p.71.
12   Scott, p.59.
13   Scott, p.109.

regulate consumption patterns through their sheer visibility. These rationalising efforts were not limited solely to public spaces or spaces of consumption. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, Yugoslav domestic spaces designed by Bernardo Bernardi also followed a clearly modernist pattern, with a rigid, functionalist division of spaces that sought to integrate the inside and outside, privacy and publicity into a single, continuous space.

Saša Mächtig's K67 system, discussed in the last chapter, provides a different example of the high modernist approach to spatial organisation, one that relied on networks and capillary distribution, rather than openness and monumentality, exemplified by Aleksandar Dragomanović's supermarkets and Zagreb Velesajam's pavilions. While small, informal spaces of consumption such as the kiosk weren't formally regulated through the workers' councils or local communes, the networked, systematic distribution of the kiosk provided a subtle, yet tight regulatory mechanism. It made patterns of consumption visible across urban spaces - legibility, as Scott suggests, is one of the key factors in exercising political and social control. Equally, urban development such as that of New Belgrade or New Zagreb discussed in Chapter 3, sought to organise each housing block as a micro-unit of self-management as a way of giving political regulation a spatial and material articulation. The spatial monotony of mass housing blocks with their anonymous streets, grid plan, the absence of any form of visual identification of spaces, as sociologist Melita Richter argued in her writing in *Arhitektura*, was instrumental in engendering alienation and social isolation that served as disciplinary mechanisms.[14] Even utopian visions, such as Vjenceslav Richter's *Sinturbanizam*, ultimately couldn't be disassociated from similar forms of power and control. In his attempt to translate the social organisation of the workers' councils and local communes into a self-contained spatial model, Richter made them clearly legible in the formal configuration of his clustered, ziggurat-like city, while the enclosed organisation of the city proposed centralised control over both private space and time. The criticism of modernist architecture and design that emerged between 1964 and 1974, discussed in Chapter 3, was ultimately a reaction against such forms of political and spatial control. Modernist architecture and design were, therefore, particularly suited to the Yugoslav political and social context. Their formal qualities - the emphasis on transparency, flexibility, modularity, cleanliness and standardisation - served to reinforce the regulatory structures of self-management. Equally, these abstract qualities of modernist form could be easily

---

14   Melita Richter, 'Sociološki aspekti tipa kolektivnog stanovanja na primjerima naselja Kalinovice, Knežije, Srednjaka', *Arhitektura*, 149 (1974), 27-28 (p.28).

manipulated and filled with ideological content that supported the government's needs. As I have discussed in Chapter 1, the authoritative and objective language of science and technology was exploited to achieve specific political goals. In the same way, functionalist objects that embodied the same rational, scientific character of modern technology could be used to absorb a variety of meanings. Therefore, there is an important parallel to be drawn between the rhetorical use of language and the modernist form under socialism.

For Slava Gerovitch, the historian of science who has studied Soviet cybernetics, the manipulation of language was essential for the government's exercise of power. Gerovitch reflects, in particular, on the official rhetoric that was infused with the supposedly rational and objective language of science. This objectivity was exploited to 'accommodate a broad variety of meanings', where words 'easily crossed contextual boundaries' and 'blended description with evaluation'.[15] Following George Orwell, Gerovitch called such language "newspeak", arguing that it 'borrowed from the language of science and technology not only florid terminology but also a whole set of rhetorical devices that helped to create the impression of objectivity'.[16] In his words, both the language of science and that of Soviet politics 'favoured an impersonal style, avoided verbs, and used an excessive number of nouns, and were well suited for generalisations and decontextualised, timeless proclamations'.[17] In this way, the supposedly objective nature of science and technology could easily be bent for a number of specific political goals.

A similar use of language could be observed in socialist Yugoslavia. Here, the government often adopted a "scientific" vocabulary and references to technology to assert to the objective nature of self-management. In this way, it was able to justify its political decisions and foreclose any objections to potentially contentious laws and measures. Amongst numerous illustrative examples, here is one that relates to design. Reflecting on the social plan for the period from 1976 to 1980, when an economic crisis was starting to catch up with the Yugoslav economy, Berislav Šefer the vice-president of Savezno izvršno vijeće (Federal Executive Council - SIV), argued:

---

15   Slava Gerovitch, *From Newspeak to Cyperspeak, A History of Soviet Cybernetics* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004), p.21.
16   Gerovitch, p.30.
17   Gerovitch, p.30.

With the politics of economic stabilisation we opted, amongst other things, for a greater efficiency of production and reliance on development, above all else, on the improvement of qualitative elements. These are tied, most importantly, to the raising of the social productivity of labour, or rather, to the increase in the efficiency of production. This refers to an entire set of factors and tasks, such as the engagement with and the most efficient use of all available production capacities, the use of results of progress in science, technics and technology, or rather, the knowledge and experience of our own and of other countries, the intensive development of knowledge and the consistent use and application of the results of creative activity in work and production processes.[18]

Declarations of this sort were part of everyday life in socialist Yugoslavia: not only in the official propaganda, but the very materials that the workers' councils were meant to be discussing and deliberating about. What I have suggested in Chapters 1 and 2, when analysing the scientific, rational nature of Yugoslav design, was that this use of objective, yet often meaningless, language extended from official texts to the visual world of images and objects. On the one hand, material things gave concrete meaning to such empty declarations and slogans. On the other, the preference for modern, international style design based on a clean, minimal and efficient visual vocabulary can be explained precisely in terms of its ability to 'accommodate a broad variety of meanings', 'easily cross contextual boundaries' and 'blend description with evaluation'.[19] The rational, efficient and clean aesthetics of modern objects lent itself to being imbued with different meanings for different political needs: it could represent the egalitarian, revolutionary character of self-management at the Brussels Expo, while it could also make Western-style consumerism more suitable for the socialist context. Therefore, the boundaries that these objects crossed were those of state-planned and market economy, socialism and capitalism, the West and the East. What was lost in this process, was any authentic, specifically Yugoslav experience of self-management.

This points to the fact that while political leaders and designers alike wanted to start from a clean slate and build the country anew, self-managed Yugoslavia didn't exist in a historical,

---

18   Berislav Šefer, presentation delivered at the Savjetovanje o kvalitetu proizvoda i usluga (Conference on the quality of products and services) held in Belgrade in 1976, cited in Miroslav Fruht, 'Kvalitet proizvoda i dizajn', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 31-32 (May-August 1976), 21-22 (p.21).

19   Gerovitch, p.21.

political, social or cultural limbo. Rather, its modernising project based on self-management was part of a much wider and longer process. As Dean Duda has argued,

> Socialism, at least seen in its Yugoslav variety, was a typical enlightening, modernization structure that to a great extent continued the democratic cultural processes initiated during the second half of the 19th century, which, of course, [did] not prevent it going astray or producing deviations in various aspects of social life.[20]

According to Duda, 'this project is thus also not free of accumulating contradictions and ambivalent outcomes'.[21] Those ambivalent outcomes resulted in the discrepancy between the theory and practice of self-management, and the material forms that this disjunction produced. While, on the one hand, modern design led individuals to believe that Yugoslavia had reached its bright future of material wellbeing, personal freedom and equality, this modernising project was double-faced. As examples shown throughout this thesis have highlighted, Yugoslavs were never truly free, nor were they all able to enjoy those modern lifestyles equally.

While these two models offer possible explanations for the way self-management was shaped through modernist design, these justifications would remain incomplete without reflecting on the role of market socialism. While this may be the most pragmatic interpretation of the relationship between self-management and design, it also brings to the fore the presumed specificity of the Yugoslav context. With the opening of Yugoslav borders and the introduction of market forces between 1962 and 1965, Yugoslav designers were quick to claim that modern design was the only way of making local products competitive on the market. In 1962, Radoslav Putar wrote in *15 dana*,

> unmodern forms and borrowings from the past in industrial production have led to the insufficiently low economy of the workforce and of production resources, hence to the low income of the workers, the immediate producer, who has thus been damaged. [...] good, modern design of industrial products is not only in the

---

20   Dean Duda, 'Socialist popular culture as (ambivalent) modernity', in *Socialism and Modernity, Art, Culture, Politics, 1950-1974*, ed. by Ljiljana Kolešnik (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2012), pp.249-275 (p.254).

21   Dean Duda, p.254.

interest of mass consumers, but also - manufacturing collectives and even individual

producers. And this damage does not show solely in the aesthetic 'loss', but also in

that of concrete, round dinars![22]

Modern form was necessary for good economic performance and for the fulfillment of the Yugoslav dream. As has been discussed in Chapter 1, modern design could streamline and simplify the production process, while also making products more appealing to both domestic and international consumers. Ultimately, modern design was a tool for stimulating economic growth. All this goes to show, that even in the context of the Cold War struggle for power, the market was able to flatten all ideological, conceptual and political differences.

- **5.2 Modern design and self-management: Process**

Despite all this rhetorical, political and ideological emphasis on modern form, this thesis argues that the relationship between self-management and design should be examined beyond the formal qualities of objects and spaces. As I have sought to highlight in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, the ongoing relationship between self-management and modern design was closely connected to the processes of decision-making, designing, product development, production and distribution. From this point of view, it can be said that the relationship between self-management and design is one that went both ways: the attempts to design self-management in turn also shaped design processes and strategies. This was particularly evident in the early 1960s, as Yugoslav designers became increasingly concerned with translating design processes into a standardised system of scientific, horizontal decision-making methods. Publications such as the short-lived *Dizajn* magazine published by CIO in Zagreb and *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, associated with Belgrade's Dizajn Centar, were the focal points of discussions about the scientific nature of modern design practice. *BIT* magazine, on the other hand, provided a platform for international exchange, highlighting the transnational character of scientific design methodologies and casting doubt on the uniqueness of the Yugoslav experiment.

How has self-management shaped the processes of design? In Chapter 1, I have outlined the

---

22   Radoslav Putar, 'Zašto nam je neophodno suvremeno oblikovanje u industriji', *15 dana*, 15 (1 May 1962), 8-9 (p.9).

way designers, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, moved away from working as independent architects and designers to working in design offices within factories. This move was instigated in no small part by the introduction of market mechanisms. Within large enterprises like Iskra and Rade Končar, design offices were part of separate workers' councils. With the new constitution introduced in 1974, design offices were either grouped with other, closely related divisions, such as marketing or research and development, to form separate Osnovne organizacije udruženog rada (Basic Associations of Organised Labour, OOURs), or split among different production units, themselves organised as individual OOURs. In the latter case, as Gal Kirn noted, individual OOURs within complex enterprises such as Iskra and Rade Končar were competing for economic power.[23] These changes to the formal structures of self-management had a clear impact on the way design processes were structured within in-house offices, as well as the way specific products reached the market.

For this reason, design practice needed to be aligned with management processes that underpinned industry in Yugoslavia. As I have suggested in Chapter 1, the model that would bring them together was found in cybernetics. Conceived as a self-regulating loop, the cybernetic system could be applied to Yugoslav factories, where each individual workers' council provided input that would have an impact on the overall system. Equally, this cybernetic system could be centrally managed and controlled. Writing in *Industrijsko oblikovanje* in 1982, Miroslav Fruht outlined the organisation of design under SOURs, comparing the processes of self-management precisely to a cybernetic system. He argued: 'In our system of self-managed associated labour [...] with a feedback circuit, past activities are controlled by future ones and its overall functioning takes place under the influence of corrections.'[24] As an integral part of this system, in-house design offices were quick to embrace this cybernetic model, at least in terms of organisation and self-image if not in actual day-to-day operations. Fruht writes: '...the process of design development' takes place 'through flows that move from the impulses of the market, through orders and commissions for product development, through prototype proposals, to the consignment of the final product and its placement on the market'.[25] These were all carefully articulated steps that promised efficiency,

---

23   Gal Kirn, 'A Few Notes on the History of Social Ownership in the Spheres of Culture and Film in Socialist Yugoslavia from the 1960s to the 1970s', *Etnološka tribina*, 37 (2014), 109-123 (p.112).
24   Miroslav Fruht, 'Organizovanje dizajna u SOUR', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 70 (November-December 1982), 18-19 (p.18).
25   Fruht, 'Organizovanje dizajna u SOUR', p.18.

objectivity and feedback about actual, concrete needs, be it those of the market, of the factory, or of society more broadly. The importance of this cybernetic, networked management of society can be evinced from the attention that Rade Končar gave to the design of centralised control rooms.

The possibilities of applying cybernetics to design appeared limitless. In an issue of *Industrijsko oblikovanje* from 1977, for example, Goroslav Keller described the design of visual identities as a cybernetic process shaped by 'feedback action'.[26] To illustrate this point, he used a diagram designed by Vladimir Robotić, the head of Rade Končar's design department, that outlined a 'networked plan of action for designing identity'.[27] Equally, the environmental approach to design, introduced in Chapter 1 and explored in detail in Chapter 4, was conceived precisely as such a system of feedback, regulation and control. This was a cybernetic loop writ large - extending from a single workers' councils within a factory to society as a whole. While material objects like Mächtig's kiosk or UNI87 chairs can't be compared to digital systems for data processing, they nevertheless served as concrete, analogue "hardware" through which Yugoslav society interacted and was organised.

This cybernetic, feedback model was able to provide stability and a flexible system for managing what Zygmunt Bauman has called 'liquid modernity', characterised by constant change, overthrowing of tradition, and the breaking down of systems and boundaries.[28] By being flexible yet systematic, actively responding to external input yet following a specific protocol, cybernetics offered the perfect model for stabilising and managing change under self-management. Moreover, as Slava Gerovitch has argued, its principles could be applied to a wide range of systems, 'including technological processes, living organisms, and human collectives'.[29] Unsurprisingly, as Gerovitch's study makes clear and as I have discussed in Chapter 1, cybernetics was readily adopted, rhetorically if not in practice, across the socialist world. What this goes to show is that neither this scientific conception of design process nor the material forms that emerged from it were in any way unique to the Yugoslav context. Rather, similar objects and approaches could be mapped across Europe, both East and West, as well as

---

26   Goroslav Keller, 'Vizualni identitet i image kao elementi komunikacijske i poslovne strategije poduzeća (2)', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 36 (March-April 1977), 46-52 (p.46).
27   Keller, 'Vizualni identitet', p.46
28   See Bauman.
29   Gerovitch, p.254.

North America or Japan. This suggests two closely related readings. Firstly, that Modernism was an intrinsically global, networked phenomenon that didn't and couldn't exist in isolation within strictly defined national boundaries. Secondly, that Yugoslavia's boundaries were particularly porous and that its experiment with self-management opened up the country to influences from abroad. Arguably, self-management was just the modern project by another name.

- **5.3 Modernism "in-between"?**

While both designers and politicians claimed that the Yugoslav self-managed socialist system was unique, the objects and environments explored throughout this thesis put that claim to test. Starting from the late 1940s and early 1950s, Yugoslav avant-garde architects and artists, gathered around Exat 51, created objects and spaces that reflected - both formally and conceptually - international developments in design practice. A case in point is Vjenceslav Richter's pavilion at the 1958 Brussels World Expo, discussed in Chapter 1, that was praised by the international press as 'outstanding', together with the pavilions of West Germany, Switzerland, Japan, The Netherlands and Spain.[30] Undoubtedly, the deliberate grouping of Yugoslavia with Western countries, played an important part in Cold War propaganda. The foreign press was pivotal in reinforcing the narrative about Yugoslav exceptionalism, for it was in the interest of Western democracies to praise the country's modernisation and openness following its break from the Eastern Bloc. As this thesis has shown, modern architecture and design proved particularly useful in this propaganda game. In 1957, Harrison Salisbury wrote a report for the *New York Times* on Belgrade's urban landscape that was brimming with Cold War tropes:

> To a visitor from eastern Europe a stroll in Belgrade is like walking out of a grim barracks of ferro-concrete into a light and imaginative world of pastel buildings, 'flying saucers', and Italianate patios.
> Nowhere is Yugoslavia's break with the drab monotony and tasteless gingerbread of "socialist realism" more dramatic than in the graceful office buildings, apartment houses and public structures that have replaced the rubble of World War II.

---

30   'Six Outstanding Pavilions: Jugoslavia', *Architectural Review*, 739 (August 1958), pp.116–118.

> Thanks in part to the break with Moscow and in part to the taste of some skilled architects no Stalin Allées, Gorky Streets or Warsaw skyscrapers mar the Belgrade landscape.[31]

That Yugoslavia was a socialist country ruled by a single party, seemed irrelevant. What mattered was its appearance. Modern architecture and design that followed international trends were taken as proof of Yugoslavia's gaze being cast towards the West, rather than the East. This was modern design that blended description with evaluation. This goes to show that, if architecture and design were, as avant-garde artists claimed, 'politics conducted by other means', it could also easily be weaponised for specific political goals.[32] Indeed, the image of modernity that Salisbury described was one that Yugoslav leaders had carefully crafted. The streets of Belgrade were just one of the many sites where that image of modernity was to be projected. Others included a number of projects, discussed in this thesis, that extended from domestic environments to supermarkets, from highways to annual trade fairs.

Therefore, at surface value, Yugoslav socialist modernity was not any different than Western modernity. This was, in part, because Yugoslav designers shaped their practice through international exchange and often absorbed Western models within their work, whether in terms of specific forms, approaches or design strategies. Bernardi's chairs for the "Moša Pijade" Workers' University were inspired by his travels in Scandinavia, Belgrade's Dizajn Centar was modelled on the British Design Centre, New Tendencies became a platform for the international exchange of ideas, while the BIO in Ljubljana displayed key Western European design projects to local audiences. Not to mention the most direct and often complained about form of design exchange: the purchase of foreign licences. Both Iskra and Rade Končar had contracts with Western European firms, such as Braun or Zanussi, to produce electrical shavers or washing machines according to their blueprints. Jadran bought its technology for the production of wooden furniture from a Danish company. Equally, one of the key symbols of Yugoslav socialist modernity, the beloved "Fićo" car produced by Zastava, was the local production of Fiat's 600 model.[33] In 1971, Goroslav Keller wrote that 'importing licences has

---

31   Harrison E. Salisbury, 'Building Pattern Set by Belgrade', *New York Times*, 22 August 1957, p.8, in
        Vladimir Kulić, '"East? West? Or Both?" Foreign perceptions of architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia',
        The Journal of Architecture, 1 (2009), 129-147 (p.133).
32   David Crowley, 'National Modernisms', *Modernism: Designing a New World 1914-1939*, ed. by
        Christopher Wilk, (London and New York: V&A Publications), 341-373 (p.342).
33   Martin Pogačar, *Fičko po Jugoslaviji: zvezda domačega avtomobilizma med cestami in spomini* (Ljubljana:

become, so it seems, a long-term orientation of our local production policies'.[34] By that time, he claimed, nearly 70% of products manufactured by local factories were made using foreign licences.[35] Yugoslavia was purchasing the Western vision of the good life, quite literally. While this state of affairs poses questions about the viability of the self-managed economic model, this has been debated at length elsewhere and has not been the focus of this research.[36] What I wish to point out here, is that licences were one amongst many institutionalised channels for transfers of knowledge from the West.

In this context, it is useful to return to Fedor Kritovac's text on national design discussed in Chapter 1. While claiming that the national character of Yugoslav design could be found in its self-managed system of production, Kritovac ultimately argued that the very idea of a distinct national character in design was irrelevant. He conceded that, 'if there can even be a discussion on national design and its characteristics, then these are the result of the overall social-economic context'.[37] However, these 'illusions about national design evaporate' when design is placed in a wider framework: the 'openness of international markets', the role of 'design as an international service', the extensive use of 'licences, cooperations and integrations', and big department stores that sold numerous international products under one roof.[38] Design was, ultimately, part of a global network where national differences were often dismissed in favour of a more universal claim on "modernity".

That claim on modernity extended from design to everyday life. Indeed, alongside those institutionalised transfers of knowledge, Yugoslav society also absorbed Western lifestyles, culture and consumer practices. In 1969 in the political daily *Borba* it was argued that on Belgrade's 'Crveni trg you can come across young men in "blue jeans", on Terazije "popcorn"

Založba ZRC, 2016), p.45.

34   Goroslav Keller, 'Da li su licence rješenje?', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 6 (1971), 35-38 (p.35).

35   Keller, 'Da li su licence rješenje?', p.35.

36   See, for example, Rudolf Bićanić, *The Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Aleksandar Jakir, 'The Economy Trigger - The Status of "Nationality" in a "Self-Managed" Economy During the 1960s and 1970s in Socialist Yugoslavia', in *The Crisis of Socialist Modernity: The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s*, ed. by Marie-Janine Calic, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis (Bonn: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 134-155; Susan Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

37   Fedor Kritovac, 'Nacionalni dizajn?', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 2 (July-September 1970), pp.23-26 (p.24).

38   Kritovac, 'Nacionalni dizajn?', p.25.

is eaten [...] everywhere there are computers, koka-kola, chewing gums and jazz'.[39] Yugoslav cities, *Borba*'s article suggested, were being transformed into a paradise of Western-style consumerism. Modern design was a tool that ultimately served to repackage this capitalist way of life into an appropriate socialist form. Mächtig's kiosk, for example, appeared on Ljubljana's old town square in 1980, one of the most prominent locations in the city, with a large Coca-Cola logo printed on its plastic shell (Fig.138). Its recognisable bright red body served as a perfect backdrop for the multinational's branding.

Figure 138. Saša Mächtig, K67 in Ljubljana's old town square, 1980

What do such objects tells us about Yugoslav exceptionalism? They suggest that rather than being fixed, Yugoslavia's "in-between" position was fluid and underwent constant change. It was defined by a process of negotiation, of redrawing of the boundaries by which that "in-betweenness" was defined. This was a process that happened from within, following the shifts in Yugoslav politics, as well as being imposed from the outside. What this points to, ultimately, is that being "in-between" was not a condition that can be ascribed solely to Yugoslavia. Rather, it was the defining characteristics of post-war modernisation - the 'melting of solids' first written about by Marx and Engels, and laid out by Bauman as 'the permanent feature of modernity'.[40] Despite its claim to timelessness, universality and stability, modernity was,

---

39   Ž. Božić, '"Impakt" amerikanizacije', *Borba*, 19 October 1963, p.3, in Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam, Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture XX. veka* (Belgrade: Službeni Glasnik, 2016), p.31.
40   Bauman, p.6.

ultimately, a constant process of reordering, transformation and change. This thesis has shown how these processes played out in the Yugoslav context in ways that were often marked with paradoxes.

- **5.4 Self-management and design history: what comes next?**

Finally, how does this study contribute to the field of design history? As I have argued in the introduction, most Yugoslav design histories deal almost exclusively with the professionalisation of design, only marginally touching on the wider social and political context, as well as on design as consumption. Instead, what I have tried to make clear, following the work of pioneering design historians such as Penny Sparke and Judy Attfield, is that an emphasis on consumption can reveal new narratives about design as a professional practice. The study of design as consumption was applied in this thesis to include both the study of perspectives and attitudes expressed by Yugoslav workers/consumers - such as those shown in Chapter 3 with regards to housing - as well as those of local and central governments. These perspectives were expressed through different means: one through material practice in the form of rogue construction and domestic DIY; the other through official policies, laws and regulations. This goes to show the richness and variety of sources that design historians can refer to in their research. It also highlights the centrality of objects - the material things of everyday life - within broader social, political and economic narratives.

Furthermore, my approach to the study of design shown throughout this thesis is one that resembles the environmental design strategies used by Yugoslav designers, insofar as it has been concerned as much with individual objects as the spaces where they were made, sold, used and consumed. This was addressed by pairing specific objects, discourses, phenomena and practices with four different forms of spatial typologies: the workspace, spaces of consumption, domestic spaces and public space. At the intersection of design and architectural history, this research has often approached architecture as a manufactured, design object. Equally, design has often been studied as part of a wider ecology - an approach that is intrinsic to the study of architecture. This is because I consider design - in a Latourian sense - as a network; a system where competences and struggles for power are distributed amongst people, things, spaces,

institutions, the material and immaterial structures of society, to form a relational whole.[41]

This thesis has shown the richness and variety of readings that such an approach to the study of design provides. It has allowed me to connect top-down government policies with the professionalisation of design; the experience of everyday life in urban centres with the design discourse published in specialised, and perhaps little-known, magazines; and utopian projects with the very real, material experience of the workers' councils. Arguably, this approach has been particularly fruitful because, just like design, Yugoslav self-management was conceived as precisely such a complex, relational system. How these two networks overlapped and what forms their interaction produced is a story that this thesis has tried to tell. While the specific case studies, projects and narratives that I have discussed cover just one aspect of that interaction, they propose that self-management can be better understood through a study of design.

---

41   See Bruno Latour, 'Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts', in
        Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change, ed. by Wiebe E. Bijker and John
        Law (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), pp.225–258.

Explanatory note

1. Primary and Secondary Printed Sources: In accordance with regulations, the bibliography is divided into primary and secondary printed sources. Several of the architects and critics discussed in this thesis authored publications that fall into both categories. In these cases, any publications produced Goroslav Keller, Radmila Milosavljević, Andrija Mutnjaković, Tomas Maldonado, Matko Meštrović or Radovan Ivancević have been included under the 'secondary printed sources' heading.

2. Periodicals: This research has made extensive use of primary magazine and newspaper sources. Entire runs of *15 Dana*, *Arhitektura*, *Čovjek i prostor*, *Sinteza*, *Končarevac*, *Iskra* and *Jugokeramika* magazines were made from their first date of publication until 1980. I have cited extensively from these and have included them as primary sources below. Individual footnotes contain detailed references, and I am able to supply a full list of articles cited as necessary. In the instance of hard to locate company brochures, reports or other documents, the archive locations of these have also been given.

Primary printed sources

15 Dana, Mutnjaković, Andrija, 'Kultura stanovanja', 3 (November 1959), pp.9-10

—Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja (2)', 5 (10 December 1959), pp.16-17

—Ivančević, Radovan, 'Osnovna pravila industrijskog oblikovanja', 6 (March 1959), pp.13-15

—Mutnjaković, 'Kultura stanovanja (3)', 6 (25 December 1959), pp.17-18

—Ivančević, 'Umjetnost i industrija: Oblikovanje industrijskih proizvoda', 18 (1 March 1959), p.3

—Ivančević, 'Oblik i svrha', 21 (1959), pp.13-15

—'Osvrt na savjetovanja o problemu funkcionalnog korištenja slobodnog vremena', 6 (10 December 1960), p.1

—Venturini, Darko, 'Tri nova izloga', 7 (25 December 1960), pp.22-23

—Ivančević, 'Nova zgrada Radničkog sveučilišta Moša Pijade', 1 (1961), p.8

— 'Za jedinstvo rada i slobodnog vremena', 8 (10 January 1961), p.24

—Franković, Eugen, 'Suvremeno stanovanje', 12 (March 1961), pp.25-26

—Zalepugin, Aleksandar, 'Kulturan čovjek', 4 (10 November 1961), pp.4-5

—Zavrski, Ivan, 'Upravljanje i rukovođenje', 9 (1 February 1962), pp.4-5

—Franković, Eugen, 'Kultura i zahtjevi praktičnog života', 11 (1962), pp.4-5

—Franković, 'Kultura i zahtjevi praktičnog života (II)', 12 (1962), p.4.

—Putar, Radoslav, 'Likovna kultura industrijske proizvodnje', 1 (1962), pp.3-5

—Putar, 'Zašto nam je neophodno savremeno oblikovanje u industriji', 15 (1 May 1962), pp.8-9

—'Suvremeni čovjek i tehnizacija', 18 (15 June 1962), pp.5-6

—Franković, 'Kultura i zahtjevi praktičnog života', 11 (1 March 1963), pp.4-5

—Putar, 'Surogati i improvizacije', 12-13 (1 November 1964), pp.13-15

—Maroević, Ivo, 'Naš grad izložbeni prostor', 3-4 (1965), pp.12-13

—Putar, 'Odjeća robe', 1-2 (1967), pp.14-15

—Koščević, Želimir , 'Umijeće stanovanja', 13-14 (1967), p.16

—'Da li se socijalizam gradi u radno ili slobodno vrijeme', 1-2 (May 1968), 6-7

—Putar, 'Oaza dizajna', 3-4 (June 1968), pp.17-19

—Keller, 'Dizajner, tehnički orijentiran umjetnik? Umjetnički kreativan inženjer?', 2 (1969), pp.16-19

—Keller, 'Dizajn, politika i politika dizajna', 3 (1969), pp.3-5

—Keller, 'Lice i naličje lika firme', 5 (1969), pp.26-29

—Gnamuš, Marijan, 'Nepatvorena slika značenja industrijskog oblikovanja u životu suvremenog čovjeka', 7-8 (December 1969), pp.6-7

—'Zagreb u raskoraku između vizije i stvarnosti', 3-4 (May-June 1970), pp.3-17

—Jeličić, Zlatko, 'Urbanistički planovi izvan vitrina', 3-4 (May-June 1970), pp.18-19

—Mihovil-Bogoslav Matković, 'Dokolica kao mogućnost kulturnog događaja', 7 (1979), pp.4-5

'5 godina rada Elektrotehničkog instituta', (Zagreb: Elektrotehnički institut poduzeća "Rade Končar", 1967)

'10 godina, Elektrotehnički Institut poduzeca "Rade Končar"', (Zagreb: Elektrotehnički institut poduzeća "Rade Končar", 1971)

'15 godina, Elektrotehnički Institut', (Zagreb: Rade Končar, OOUR Elektrotehnički institut, 1976)

Arhitektura, Bernardo Bernardi, 'O umijeću stanovanja', 5-8 (1951), pp.114-115

—'Izložba Stan za naše prilike', 1-6 (1956), pp.32-45.

—'Zaključci prvog jugosl. savjetovanja o stambenoj izgradnji i stanovanju u gradovima', 1-6 (1956), p.30

—Mutnjaković, Andrija, 'EXPO 58 Bruxelles', 1-6 (1958), pp.45-55

—Bernardi, 'Definicija i društveni značaj industrijskog oblikovanja', 1-6 (1959), pp.6-18

—Meštrović, Matko, 'Milan Vulpe - Publiciter', 1-6 (1959), pp.78-84

—Putar, Radoslav, 'Suvremeni plakat i ambalaža', 1-6 (1959), pp.70-77

—Radić, Zvonimir, 'Umjetnost oblikovanja', 1-6 (1959), pp.41-69

—Kolacio, Zdenko, 'Opskrbni centri', 3-4 (1961), pp.3-4

—Bernardi, 'Jugoslavija na XIII Trijenalu', 90 (1965), pp.42-43

—Delfin, Vojtjeh, 'Razgovori o arhitekturi - dvadeset godina arhitekture i urbanizma u Jugoslaviji', 93-94 (1967), pp.28-29

—Venturini, Darko, 'Robna kuća "Prehrana" u Osijeku', 97-98 (1968), pp.27-33

—Kritovac, Fedor, 'Environment tema dana za sutra', 105 (1970), pp.5-6

—Kritovac, 'U istom labirintu (Nekoliko teza o arhitekturi i dizajnu)', 116 (1972), pp.35-36

—Stipetić, Davor, 'Stambena arhitektura ili arhitektura stambene krize', 149 (1974), pp.19-22

—Kritovac, '10 godina centra za industrijsko oblikovanje, 150 (1974), pp.39-41

—Melita Richter, 'Sociološki aspekti tipa kolektivnog stanovanja na primjerima naselja Kalinovice, Knežije, Srednjaka', 149 (1974), pp.27-28

—Richter, 'Promjene u načinu života čovjeka u velikim gradskim naseljima i problem aktivnog angažiranja u slobodnom vremenu', 158-159 (1976), pp.141-144

Architectural Review, 'Six Outstanding Pavilions: Jugoslavia', 739 (August 1958), pp.116–118

BIT International, 4 (1969)

—Maldonado, Tomás, 'How to fight against complacency in design education', 4 (1969), pp.19-28

Bogosavljević, Miladin and Milutin Pešaković, *Workers' Management of a Factory in Yugoslavia, A Monograph about the "Rade Končar" Works* (Belgrade: Jugoslavija, 1959)
Bukša, Juraj, ed., *Svijet oko nas*, 2 vols. (Zagreb: Mladost, 1971)

Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture moderne (CIAM), *The Athens Charter,* trans. by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, (Paris: The Library of the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, 1946)

Čovjek i prostor, Čepić, Miro, 'Stan i kritika', 16 (1954)

—Bernardi, Bernardo 'Standardi za dnevni boravak i spavaonu', 39 (15 September 1955), p.6

—'Povodom izložbe Stan za naše prilike', 49 (01 April 1956), p.1;

—'Izložba Stan za naše prilike u Ljubljani', 50 (01 May 1956), p.1;

—'Zagrebački Velesajam', 82 (1956), pp.2-5

—Pavlović, Boro, 'Velesajamska simfonija', 78 (1958), pp.4-5

—Mutnjaković, Andrija, 'Stambena problematika u okviru međunarodne izložbe *Porodica i domaćinstvo*, 79 (1958), pp.4-5

—Holjevac, Većeslav, 100 (1960), p.1

—Bernardi, 'Više nije moda misliti o dizajnu da je - moda', 49-150 (1965), p.10

—G.S., 'Razgovori povodom posjete Jakoba Bakeme Zagrebu', 152 (1965), pp.1-3,5.

—Meštrović, Matko, 'Dizajn i alatni strojevi', 159 (1966) p.6

—Magaš, Boris, 'Robna kuća "Na-Ma", Trnsko, Zagreb', 93-94 (1967), pp.39-42

—Venturini,Darko, 'BIO i oko njega - investicija koja se isplati', 184 (1968), pp.10-11,14

—Kritovac, Fedor, 'Između konfuzije i sređenosti', 205 (1970), pp.18-19

—Premerl, Tomislav, 'Dizajn kao mogućnost komunikacije', 204 (March 1970), p.17

—Radauš, Vanja, 'Veco Holjevac - Pionir Novog Zagreba', 212 (1970), p.9

—Kritovac, 'BIO 5', 242 (1973), pp.24-25

—Matičević, Davor, 'Kako dalje BIO?', 244 (1973), p.14

—Pasinović, Antoaneta, 'Urbani dizajn?', 9 (1983), p.7

—Hržić, Oleg, 'Četiri puta "D"', Čovjek i prostor, 9 (1988) p.10

Design, 'Overseas International Product Review', 193 (January 1965), p.41

Dnevnik, Erman, Roža, and Duša Pregrad, 'Potreba ali samo nujno zlo?', 20 April 1982, p.7

Domus, Rogers, Ernesto Nathan, 'Ricostruzione dall'oggetto d'uso alla casa', 215 (November 1946), 2-5

Dreyfuss, Henry, *The Measure of Man: Human Factors in Design*, 2nd ed. (New York: Whitney, 1960)

Đilas, Milovan, *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957)

'Industrija koja gradi industriju', (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1977)

Industrial Design, 'Showing off Yugoslavia', 8 (October 1967)

—'Hello Central', 6 (July-August 1968)

Industrijsko oblikovanje, Zamolo, Mihaela, 'Ergonomija i industrijsko oblikovanje', 1 (May-June, 1970), pp.61-68

—Kritovac, Fedor, 'Nacionalni dizajn?', 2 (1970), 23-26

—Keller, Goroslav, 'Da li su licence rješenje?', *Industrijsko oblikovanje*, 6 (1971), pp.35-38

—'Nismo dovoljno prihvaćeni', 7 (1971), pp.23-24

—Fruht, Miroslav, 'Prvi centar u zemlji, Osnivački program rada', 9-10 (January-July 1972), p.18

—'Potrosači žele savremeni dizajn', 11 (July-September 1972), pp.83-84

—Keller, 'Industrijsko oblikovanje kao funkcija ekonomičnosti', 13 (1973), pp.41-47

—Milosavljević, Radmila, 'Da li smo svi kreatori?', 17 (January-February 1974), pp.41-42

—Keller, 'Štetni zaokreti', Industrijsko oblikovanje, 23 (January-February 1975), pp.21-23.

—'Dizajn namještaja i savremeni stan, Referati savetovanja odrzanog 19-20. Novembra 1976. Na XIV Međunarodnom sajmu nameštaja, opreme i unutrašnje dekoracije u Beogradu', 34 (November-December 1976), pp.17-38

—Milosavljević, 'Nameštaj kao ugrađeni deo enterijera stana', 34 (November-December 1976),

pp.28-36

—Putar, Radoslav, 'Linija dizajna "Iskra"', 37-38 (May-August 1977), pp.71-74

—Komadina, Bojana, and Vesna Popović, 'Perspektiva razvoja dizajna u mesnoj zajednici', 37-38 (May-August 1977), pp.45-47

—Keller, 'Portret – Biti i ostati dizajner', 57-58 (September-December, 1980), pp.67-68

—Keller, 'Dizajn u "Končaru" - jučer, danas, sutra', 61 (May-June, 1981), pp.30-32

—Milosavljević, '"Uradi sam" - kao inspiracija i šansa', 63-64 (September-December 1981), pp.53-56

—Fruht, 'Organizovanje dizajna u SOUR', 70 (November-December 1982), 18-19

Iskra, 1946-1976 (Kranj: Iskra Commerce, 1976)

Iskra Annual Report 1976 (Kranj: Iskra Commerce, 1976)

Ivančević, Radovan, *Likovna kultura "običnog" čovjeka* (Zagreb: Radničko sveučiliste Moša Pijade, 1961)

Jadran, '35 godina rada', September 1981, pp.3-13

—Isak, Emir, 'O izgradnji tvornice lameliranog namještaja', 10 (January 1984), pp.5-7

—Barada, Ivo, 'Odjel opremanja objekata u OOUR-u "Zagreb."', 11 (September-October 1984), p.6

—Mihelčić, Roland, 'Proširenje i usavršavanje programa UNI', 1 (January 1988), pp.8-10

—Tomić, Z., 'Značajniji poslovi opremanja', Jadran, 3 (July 1988), pp.19-20

Jugokeramika, 'O ostvarenju delegatskih odnosa – kritički', January 1979, pp.8-9

Johnson, Philip, *Machine Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1934)

Keller, Goroslav, *Design/Dizajn*, (Zagreb: Vjesnik, 1975)

Mächtig, Saša. 'Fenomeni v urbanskem okolju', *Kontakti*, 1 (1977), pp.4-19

Madjenović, Ivica, *Prominent Yugoslav Artists in the Applied Arts*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Studio Linija A, 1988)

Maldonado, Tomás, *La speranza progettuale*, 2nd edition (Torino: Einaudi, 1973)

Marković, Mihailo, *Democratic Socialism: Theory and Practice* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982)

Meštrović, Matko*, Teorija dizajna i problemi okoline* (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1980)

Mozaik, Vjenceslav Richter, 'Predmet kao prostorni subjekt, Razmisljanja o izlozbama', 3 (1954), pp.42-45

Mutnjaković, Andrija, *Znate li stanovati?* (Zagreb: Radničko sveučilište Moša Pijade, 1966)

Narodni list, M.S., 'Velesajam kao da se podvostručio', 8 September 1957, p.1

Naš dom, 'Savremeno i racionalno građenje stanova i individualnih kuća', 7 (July 1968), p.32

—'Dimenzije u svakodnevnom životu', 8 (August 1968), pp.22-23

—'Dimenzije u svakodnevnom životu', 10 (October 1968), p.27

—'Kuhinja najučestalija "radionica" u svijetu', 4 (April 1969), pp.6-10

—'Testirajte svoj stan', 9 (September 1969), pp.21-23

—'Dimenzije u svakodnevnom životu', 10 (October 1969), p.58

Naše teme, 11 (1964).

Politika, 'Strani i naši filozofi o razgovorima na Korčuli', 2 August 1964, p.18

Praxis, Petrović, Gajo, 'Čemu Praxis?', 1 (September-October 1964), pp.3-6

—Supek, Rudi, 'Dijalektika društvene prakse', 1 (September-October 1964), pp.54-64

—Životić, Miladin, 'Između dvaju tipova savremene kulture', 5-6 (1967), pp.802-812

—Rus, Veljko, 'Samoupravni egalitarizam i drustvena diferencijacija', 5-6 (1969), pp.811-844

—Korać, Veljko, 'Paradoxes of Power and Humanity', 1-2 (1970), pp.8-13

—Kuvačić, Ivan, 'Kultura i politika', 3 (1970), pp.372-382

—Supek, 'Protivurječnosti i nedorečenosti jugoslavenskog samoupravnog socijalizma', 3-4 (1971), pp.347-370

—Pešić-Golubović, Zagorka, 'Zašto je danas funkcionalizam u nas poželjniji od Marksizma?', 3-4 (1972), pp.339-350

Privredni vjesnik, 'Društveno-političko značenje i komercijani efekat Izložbe "Porodica i domaćinstvo"', 21 September 1958, p.1

Program Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, Donesen na Sedmom kongresu Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, 22-26. travnja 1958. (Belgrade: Izdavački centar Komunist, 1988)

Progres, ilustrovana revija za ekonomska i društvena pitanja, Kardelj, Edvard, 'O nekim problemima stambene zajednice', 4-5 (1958), pp.4-5

Rade Končar, 1946-1956 (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1956)

Rade Končar 30 godina (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1976)

'Rade Končar, Danas za Sutra' (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1980)

'Rade Končar - 20 godina Elektrotehničkog Instituta', (Zagreb: Rade Končar, SOUR Zagreb, RO Razvoj proizvoda i proizvodnje, OOUR Elektrotehnički institut, 1981)

Rade Končar, 1946-1986 (Zagreb: Rade Končar, 1986)

Richter, Vjenceslav, *Sinturbanizam* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1964)

Sam svoj majstor, 'Uradi uštedi', 1 (1975), p.2

—'Jeftino do skupocjenog', 2 (1975), pp.152-153.

—'Sve na 50m2', 3 (1975), pp.228-232

—'Betoniranje - može li vas to veseliti', 5 (1975), pp.414-417 ---'U kući sreća, u džepu - ravnoteža', 6 (1975), pp.520-521

—Martinović, Stjepo, 'Kuća podignuta noću', Sam svoj majstor, 7 (July 1976), pp.653-655

—'Naši stručnjaci vam savjetuju - Uređenje stana', 6 (June 1977), pp.5-9

—'Naši stručnjaci vam savjetuju - Uređenje stana', Sam svoj majstor, 7 (July 1977), pp.3-7

Sinteza, Mächtig, Saša, 'Metamorfoze', , 13-14 (1969), pp.13-22

Start, Novak, Sunčana, 'Naš test, vaš izbor', 471 (07 February 1987), pp.8-9

—Hudelist, Darko, 'Je li Zagreb samo fasada', Start, 480, 13 June 1987, 47-59 (p.58).

Supek, Rudi, *Automatizacija i radnička klasa* (Zagreb: Centar "Božidar Adžija", 1965)

Svijet, Zlatar, Pero 'Vremeplov standarda', 23 (1 December 1966), pp.4-5

—Lajtman, Ivo, 'Avanture dinara potrošačkog', 3 (1 March 1967), p.4

—Lajtman, 'Robovanje za "udoban život"', 3 (7 February 1973), pp.6-7

'Telefonski Aparati Iskra', (Kranj: Iskra, n.d.)

Telegram, Koščević, Želimir, 'Svjetlost nove urbane kulture', 479 (4 July 1969), p.17.

—Turina, Vladimir 'Postoje li u arhitekturi autorska prava', 150 (8 March 1963), p.4

—Turina, 'Humanizam i antihumanizam novovjekovnog urbanizma', 152 (22 March 1963), p.4

—Turina, 'Sudar dviju sudbina', 153 (29 March 1963), p.4

—Turina, 'Eventualno!?... ka cilju', 155 (12 April 1963), p.4

Univerzijada '87, Izvještaj (Zagreb, March 1988)

Večernji list, Špeletić, Krešo, 'Horizontalni neboder', 1 January 1962, p.13

Vehovec, Jakob, and others, eds., *Iskra 35, Industrija za telekomunikacije elektroniko in elektromehaniko Kranj* (Kranj: Iskra, 1980)

Vjenceslav Richter (Zagreb: Contemporary Art Gallery, 1968)

Vjesnik, 'Grad za bolje sutra', 9 May 1987, p.4

—Pavić, Nino, 'Velika predstava može početi, Zagreb je već pobjednik', 5 July 1987, 2-3

—'Otvaranje na malom ekranu. Neviđeni efekti', 10 July 1987, p.7

'Yugoslav Electric Manufacturing Industry', (Belgrade: The Yugoslav Association of Electric Manufacturing Factories, 1960)

Secondary printed sources

Adamson, Glenn, and Jane Pavitt, eds., *Postmodernism: Style and Subversion 1970 – 1990* (London: V&A, 2011)

Alcock, John B., *Explaining Yugoslavia* (London: Hurst & Company, 2000)

Alexander, Christopher, *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*, 7th edition (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1973)

Ambasz, Emilio, ed., *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape: Achievements and Problems of Italian Design,* (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1972)

Anderson, Richard, 'USA/USSR: Architecture and War', 34 (Winter 2009), pp.80-103

Appadurai, Arjun, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Archer, Rory, 'Imaš kuću – vrati stan. Housing inequalities, socialist morality and discontent in 1980s Yugoslavia', *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 3 (2013), pp.119-139

—Igor Duda and Paul Stubbs, eds., *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016)

—'The moral economy of home construction in late socialist Yugoslavia', *History and Anthropology*, (June 2017)

Attfield, Judy, 'Bringing Modernity Home: Open Plan in the British Domestic Interior', in *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, ed. by Irene Cieraad, vol.1 (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), pp.73-82

—*Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000)

—*Bringing Modernity Home: Writings on Popular Design and Material Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Auf-Franić, Hildegard, ed., *Prostorna studija Studentskog centra u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2007)

Auslander, Leora, '"Jewish Taste?" Jews and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1920-1942', in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. by Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp.299-318

Bagarić, Marina, 'Arhitektura Zagrebačkoga zbora od 1910. do 1935.', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 34 (2010), pp.165–180

Bago, Ivana, 'Dematerialization and Politicization of the Exhibition: Curation and Institutional Critique in Yugoslavia During the 1960s and 1970s', *Museum and Curatorial Studies Review,* 1 (Spring 2014), pp.7-37

Baker, Catherine, *The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.26

—*Gender in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe and the USSR* (London, Palgrave MacMillan: 2016)

Banham, Reyner, *Megastructure, Urban Future of the Recent Past* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976)

—*The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment*, 2nd edition, (Chicago and London:

University of Chicago Press, 1984)

—*Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2009)

Barthes, Roland, *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (London: Vintage, 2000)

Bartlett, William, *Europe's Troubled Region: Economic Development, Institutional Reform and Social Welfare in the Western Balkans* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008)

Bartlett, Djurdja, *FashionEast: the Spectre that Haunted Socialism* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2010)

Baudrillard, Jean, *The System of Objects*, trans. by James Benedict (London; New York: Verso, 1996)

—*The Consumer Society: Myths and Structure* (London: Sage, 1998)

Bauman, Zygmunt, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2000)

Bergdoll, Barry, and Peter Christensen, eds., *Home Delivery: Fabricating the Modern Dwelling*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008)

Berman, Marshall, *All That Is Solid, Melts Into Air* (London and New York: Verso, 1987)

Bernik, Stane, *Slovenska arhitektura, urbanizem, oblikovanje in fotografija* (Ljubljana: Arhitekturni Muzej, 1979)

—*Pogledi na novejšo slovensko arhitekturo in oblikovanje* (Ljubljana: Park, 1992)

—*Slovenska arhitektura dvajsetega stoletja* (Ljubljana: Mestna Galerija, 2004)

Betts, Paul, 'Science, Semiotics and Society: The Ulm Hochschule für Gestaltung in Retrospect', *Design Issues*, 2 (Summer, 1998), pp.67-82

—'The Twilight of the Idols: East German Memory and Material Culture', Journal of Modern History, 3 (September 2000), pp. 731-765

—*The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2007)

—and Katherine Pence, eds., *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008)

Bićanić, Rudolf, *The Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973)

Bieber, Florian, Armina Galijaš and Rory Archer, eds., *Debating the End of Yugoslavia* (London: Routledge, 2014)

Bilandžić, Dušan, *Ideje i praksa društvenog razvoja Jugoslavije 1945-73* (Belgrade: Komunist, 1973)

—*Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, Glavni Procesi 1919-1985* (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1985)

—*Marksizam i socijalističko samoupravljanje* (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1989)

Billig, Michael, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1999)

Bjažić Klarin, Tamara, 'CIAM networking – Međunarodni kongres moderne arhitekture i hrvatski arhitekti 1950-ih godina', *Život umjetnosti: časopis za suvremena likovna zbivanja*, 2 (2016), pp.40-57

Blagojević, Ljiljana, 'The Residence as a Decisive Factor: Modern Housing in the Central Zone of New Belgrade', *Architektura & Urbanizmus*, 3-4 (2002), pp.228-249

—*Modernism in Serbia, The Elusive Margins of Belgrade Architecture* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2003)

Blaszczy, Regina Lee, 'Designing Synthetics, Promoting Brands: Dorothy Liebes, DuPont Fibres and Post-War American Interiors', *Journal of Design History*, 1 (2008), pp.75-99

Blau, Eve and Ivan Rupnik, eds., *Project Zagreb, Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona: Actar, 2007)

Bobovec, Borka, Ivan Mlinar and Domagoj Sentić, 'Zagrebački velesajam kao poticaj razvoju novozagrebačkog centra', *Prostor*, 43 (2012), pp.187-197

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction, A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (London and New York: Routledge, 1984)

Boym, Svetlana, *Common Places. Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994)

—*The future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic, 2001)

Bren, Paulina, *The Greengrocer and His TV:The Culture of Communism after the 1968 Prague Spring* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010)

—and Mary Neuburger, *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Brennan, AnnMarie, 'Olivetti: A Work of Art in the Age of Immaterial Labour', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (September 2015), pp.235-253

Buchli, Viktor, 'Khrushchev, Modernism, and the Fight agaist *Petit-bourgeois* Consciousness in the Soviet Home', in *Journal of Design History,* 2 (1997), pp.161-175

—*An Archaeology of Socialism* (London and New York: Berg, 1999)

—ed., *The Material Culture Reader* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2002)

Calic, Marie-Janine, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis, eds., *The Crisis of Socialist Modernity: The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s* (Bonn: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010)

Car, Stjepan, *Končar Institut za Elektrotehniku, 50 godina primijenjenih znanstvenih istraživanja i razvoja na području elektrotehnike* (Zagreb: Končar, Institut za elektrotehniku, 2011)

Castillo, Greg, *Cold War on the Home Front, The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010)

Ceraj, Iva, *Bernardo Bernardi, the Design Work of an Architect, 1951-1985* (Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2015)

Clark, Alison, J., *Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1994)

—ed., *Design Anthropology: Object Culture in the 21st Century* (Wien/New York: Springer Verlag, 2010)

Clarke, Sally, 'Managing Design: the Art and Colour Section at General Motors, 1927-1941', *Journal of Design History*, 1 (1999), pp.65-79

Cooke, Catherine, *Russian avant-garde: theories of art, architecture, and the city* (London: Academy Editions, 1995)

Colomina, Beatriz, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996)

—'Enclosed by Images: The Eamses' Multimedia Architecture', *Grey Room*, 2 (Winder 2001), 6-29 (p.9).

—Annemarie Brennan and Jeannie Kim, *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004)

—*Domesticity at War* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007)

Colquhoun, Alan, *Essays in Architectural Criticism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977)

Cotton, Michelle, *Design Research Unit, 1942-72* (Köln: Koenig Books, 2011)

Crawford, Christina E., 'The Innovative Potential of Scarcity in SA's Comradely Competition for Communal Housing, 1927', *Archidoct*, 2 (2014), pp.32-52

Crew, David F., ed., *Consuming Germany in the Cold War* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003)

Crowley, David, 'Building the World Anew: Design in Stalinist and Post-Stalinist Poland', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (1994), pp.187-203

—'People's Warsaw/Popular Warsaw', *Journal of Design History*, 2 (1997), pp.203-233

—and Susan E. Reid, eds., *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002)

—and Jane Pavitt, eds., *Cold War Modern, Design 1945-1970* (London: V&A Publishing, 2008)

—*Pleasures in Socialism, Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010)

Cubbin, Tom, 'The Domestic Information Machine: Futurological Experiments in the Soviet Domestic Interior, 1968–76', *Home Cultures*, 1 (2014), pp.5-32

— '"Problems of Soviet Design" and "The Production (Industrial) Art of the Future"', *Journal of Design History*, 4 (2016), pp.285-304

—'In Search of a New Unity: Art and Technology in Soviet Design 1965-1971', in *Zwischen Sputnik und Ölkrise: Kybernetik in Architektur, Planung und Design*, ed. by Oliver Sukrow, (Berlin: Dom Publishers, 2017), pp.80-99

Davos, Rika, Alexander Ortenberg, and Vladimir Paperny, *Architecture of Great Expositions 1937-1959: Messages of Peace, Images of War* (London: Ashgate, 2015)

de Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1988)

De Grazia, Victoria, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth- Century Europe*

(Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005)

de Rijk, Timo, 'Pioneers and Barbarians: The Design and Marketing of Electrical Household Goods as Dutch Americana, 1930-45', *Journal of Design History,* 2 (2009), pp.115-132

Deleuze, Gilles, *Negotiations 1972–1990* , trans. by Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995)

Denegri, Jerko, ed., *Dizajn i kultura* (Belgrade: Radionica SIC, 1980)

—*Jedna moguća istorija umetnosti: Beograd kao internacionalna umetnička scena 1965-1998* (Belgrade, Društvo istoričara umetnosti Srbije, 1998)

—*Exat 51, Nove tendencije: umjetnost konstruktivnog pristupa* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2000)

Denitch, Bogdan, *Ethnic Nationalism, The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia* (Minneapolis and London: Minnesota University Press, 1997)

Dimitrijević, Branislav, *Potrošeni socijalizam, Kultura, konzumerizam i društvena imaginacija u Jugoslaviji (1950-1974)* (Belgrade: Edicija REČ, 2016)

DiSalvo, Carl, *Adversarial Design* (Cambridge, Ma and London: MIT Press, 2012)

Djurić, Dubravka and Miško Šuvaković, eds., *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes In Yugoslavia, 1918-1991* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003)

Drakulić, Slavenka, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (London: Vintage, 1993)

Duda, Igor, 'Samoposluga kao vijest dana, Počeci suvremenog potrošačkog društva 1950-ih i 1960-ih godina', Problemi sjevernog Jadrana, 8 (2003), pp267-278

—*U potrazi za blagostanjem, O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005)

—'Tehnika narodu! Trajna dobra, potrošnja i slobodno vrijeme u socijalističkoj Hrvatskoj', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2, 37 (2005), pp.371-392

—*Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010)

Edensor, Tim, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2002)

Edwards, Clive, 'Aluminium Furniture, 19886-1985: The Changing Applications and Reception of a Modern Material', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (2001), pp.207-225

Etzioni, Amitai, *'Toward a Theory of Public Ritual', Sociological Theory*, 1 (March 2000), pp.44-59

Fallan, Kjetil, 'One Must Offer "Something for Everyone": Designing Crockery for Consumer Consent in 1950s Norway', *Journal of Design History*, 2 (2009), pp.133-149

—*Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Oxford and New York: Brg, 2010)

Featherstone, Mike, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (London: Sage, 2011)

Fehér, Ferenc, Agnes Heller and György Márkus, *Dictatorship Over Needs* (New York: St. Martin's, 1983)

Fehéváry, Krisztina, 'Goods and States: The Political Logic of State-Socialist Material Culture', *Studies in Society and History*, 2 (2009), pp.426-459

Felski, Rita, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1995)

Fichter, Madigan , 'Yugoslav Protest: Student Rebellion in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo in 1968', *Slavic Review*, 1 (Spring 2016), pp.99-121

Fitzpatrick, Sheila, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union 1921-1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)

—*Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Fisher, Tom, 'A World of Colour and Bright Shining Surfaces: Experiences of Plastics after the Second World War', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (2013), pp.285-303

Floré, Freddie and Mil de Kooning, 'The Representation of Modern Domesticity in the Belgian Section of the Brussels World Fair of 1958', *Journal of Design History*, 4 (2003), pp.319-340

Forty, Adrian, *Objects of Desire. Design and Society Since 1750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986)

—*Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000)

Foster, Hal, ed., *Vision and Visuality: Discussions in Contemporary Culture* (Seattle: Bay Press and DIA Art Foundation, 1988)

Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1991)

Frampton, Kenneth, *Studies in Tectonic Culture: the Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture* (Chicago: Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts; Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1995)

Fraser, Nancy, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Constribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 25-26 (1990), pp.56-80

Fritz, Darko, 'Nove Tendencije', *Oris*, 54 (2008), pp.176-191

Galbraith, John Kenneth, *The Affluent Society* (London: Penguin, 1999)

Galjer, Jasna, *Design of the Fifties in Croatia, from Utopia to Reality* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2003)

—'Doprinos arhitekta Zvonimira Radića teoriji oblikovanja', *Prostor,* 11 (2003), 57-66

— *Expo 58 and the Yugoslav Pavilion by Vjenceslav Richter* (Zagreb: Horetzky, 2009)

—and Iva Ceraj, 'Uloga dizajna u svakodnevnom životu na izložbama porodica i domaćinstvo 1957.-1960. godine', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti,* 35 (2011), pp.277-296.

—*Bruno Planinšek: portret dizajnera* (Zagreb: Tehnički muzej, 2014)

Galison, Peter, 'War Against the Center', *Grey Room*, 4 (Summer 2001), pp.5-33

Garcelon, Marc, 'The Shadow of the Leviathan: Public and Private in Communist and Post-Communist Society', *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand*

Dichotomy, ed. by Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar(University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.303-332

Gartman, David, *Auto-Opium: A Social History of American Automobile Design* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994)

Gelber, Steven M., 'Do-It-Yourself: Constructing, Repairing and Maintaining Domestic Masculinity', *American Quarterly*, 1 (March 1997), pp.66-112

Gell, Alfred, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology' in *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*, ed. by Jeremy Coote and Anthony Shelton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 40 – 63

Gerovitch, Slava, *From Newspeak to Cyperspeak, A History of Soviet Cybernetics* (Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press, 2004)

Gordon, Neve, 'On Visibility and Power: An Arendtian Corrective of Foucault', *Human Studies* 25 (2002), pp.125-145

Gorsuch, Anne E., and Diane P. Koenker, eds., *The Socialist Sixties, Crossing Borders in the Second World* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013)

Goulding, Daniel J., *Liberated Cinema: The Yugoslav Experience 1945-1990* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002)

Gorz, André, *Farewell to the Working Class: An Essay on Post-Industrial Socialism* (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1982)

Grandits, Hannes, and Karin Taylor, eds., *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)* (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2010)

Greenhalgh, Paul, ed., *Modernism in Design* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990)

Gronow, Jukka, *Caviar with Champagne: Common Luxury and the Ideals of the Good Life in Stalin's Russia* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003)

Guins, Raiford, *Edited Clean Version, Technology and the Culture of Control* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009)

Hamilton, Shane, 'Supermarket USA Confronts State Socialism: Airlifting the Technopolitics of Industrial Food Distribution into Cold War Yugoslavia', in *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, ed. by Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2009), pp.137-159.

Harvey, Karen, *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)

Harwood, John, *The Interface, IBM and the Transformation of Corporate Design, 1945-1976* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011)

Hessler, Julie, *A Social History of Soviet Trade: Trade Policy, Retail Prices, and Consumption, 1917-1953* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)

Highmore, Ben, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002)

—ed., *The Everyday Life Reader* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002)

Horvat, Branko, *ABC jugoslavenskog socijalizma* (Zagreb: Globus. 1989)

Hutchings, Raymond, 'Soviet Design: The Neglected Partner of Soviet Science and Technology', *Slavic Review*, 4 (1978), pp.567-583

Ince, Catherine, ed., *Bauhaus: Art as Life* (London: Koenig Books, 2012)

—ed., *The World of Charles and Ray Eames* (London: Barbican Art Gallery and Thames & Hudson, 2015)

Ivančević, Radovan, 'Interpretacija dizajna', *Život umjetnosti,* 51 (1992), pp.68-77

Ivanšek, France, ed., *Hommage a Edvard Ravnikar, 1907-1993*, (Ljubljana: France and Marta Ivanšek, 1995)

Jackson, Andrew, 'Labour as Leisure - The Mirror Dinghy and DIY Sailors', *Journal of Design History*, 1 (2006), pp.57-66

Jackson, Lesley, *The New Look: Design in the Fifties* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991)

Jakir, Aleksandar, 'The Economy Trigger - The Status of "Nationality" in a "Self-Managed" Economy During the 1960s and 1970s in Socialist Yugoslavia', in *The Crisis of Socialist Modernity: The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s*, ed. by Marie-Janine Calic, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis (Bonn: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp.134-155

Jakovina, Tvrtko, *Socijalizam na američkoj pšenici* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002)

—*Treća strana Hladnog rata* (Zagreb: Fraktura, 2011)

Jakovljević, Branislav, 'Human Resources: June 1968, Hair, and the Beginning of Yugoslavia's End', *Grey Room*, 30 (Winter 2008), pp.38-53

—*Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1945-91* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016)

Jameson, Frederic, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991)

Janjetović, Zoran, 'Zabavna štampa u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji', *Studia lexicographica*, 1 (2010), pp.33-59

—*Od Internacionale do komercijale. Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991* (Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011)

Jones, Michelle, 'Design as the Domestic Persuader: Television and the British Broadcasting Corporation's Promotion of Post-War 'Good Design', *Journal of Design History*, 4 (2003), pp.307-318

Julier, Guy, *The Culture of Design*, 2nd edition(Los Angeles and London: Sage, 2008)

Kaplan, Wendy, ed., *Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion, 1885 – 1945* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995)

Keys, Barbara, 'Soviet Sport and Transnational Mass Culture in the 1930s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 3 (2003), pp.413-434

Kirn, Gal, 'A Few Notes on the History of Social Ownership in the Spheres of Culture and Film in Socialist Yugoslavia from the 1960s to the 1970s', *Etnološka tribina*, 37 (2014), pp.109-123

—*Partizanski prelomi in protislovja tržnega socializma v Jugoslaviji* (Ljubljana: Sofia, 2014)
Kolešnik, Ljiljana, ed., *Socialism and Modernity, Art, Culture, Politics, 1950-1974* (Zagreb:

Museum of Contemporary Art, 2012)

—'Contradictions of Yugoslav Self-Management: class struggle after the 1965 market reform', in *Monuments Should Not Be Trusted*, ed. by Lina Dzuverovic (Nottingham: Nottingham Contemporary, 2016), pp.100-112

Kolveshi, Željka, *Otto Antonini: Zagreb and "Svijet"/"Svijet" and Zagreb in 20s* (Zagreb: Zagreb City Museum, 2006)

Kornai, Janos, *Economics of Shortage*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam and Oxford: North-Holland, 1980)

Kostelnik, Branko and Feđa Vukić eds., *Osamdesete! Slatka dekadencija postmoderne* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika and Društvo za istraživanje popularne kulture, 2015)

Kovač, Bogomir, 'Politička ekonomija formiranja samoupravnog socijalizma - od europeizacije Jugoslavije to balkanizacije danasnjeg EU-a', *Politička misao*, 3 (212), pp.74-91

Kramer, Mark, 'Ideology and the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 4 (October 1999), pp.539-576

Kravets, Olga, and Örsan Ölge, 'Iconic Brands: A Socio-Material Story', *Journal of Material Culture*, 2 (2010), pp.205-232

Kritovac, Fedor, 'Pedesete - dizajn namještaja i standard življenja', *Život umjetnosti*, 54-55 (1993/1994), pp.10-15

Kubik, Jan, 'Polish May Day Celebrations in the 1970s and in 1981: An Essay on the Symbolic Dimension of a Struggle for Political Legitimacy', *The Polish Review,* 2 (1989), pp.99-116

Kukoč, Mislav, 'Temelji Hrvatske filozofije prakse', *Prilozi*, 39-40 (1994), pp.407-432

Kulić, Vladimir, "'East? West? Or Both?': Foreign Perceptions of Architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia, *Journal of Architecture,* 1 (2009), pp.87-105

—'An Avant-Garde Architecture for an Avant-Garde Socialism: Yugoslavia at EXPO '58', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1 (January 2012), pp.161-184.

—Maroje Mrduljaš and Wolfgang Thaler, eds., *Modernism In-Between, The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin: Jovis, 2012)

—and Maroje Mrduljaš, eds., *Unfinished Modernizations—Between Utopia and Pragmatism: Architecture and Urban Planning in Socialist Yugoslavia and its Successor States* (Zagreb: Croatian Architects' Association, 2012)

—'National, International, Supranational: New Belgrade and the symbolic construction of a socialist capital', *Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 1 (2013), pp.35-63

—Monica Penick and Timothy Parker, eds., *Sanctioning Modernism: Architecture and the Making of Post-War Identities* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2014)

—'New Belgrade and Socialist Yugoslavia's Three Globalizations', *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, 3 (October 2014), pp.125-15

Kušić, Aleksandar and Ljiljana Blagojević, 'Patterns of Everyday Spatiality: Belgrade in the 1980s and its Post-Socialist Outcome', *Ceský Lid*, 3 (2013), pp.281-302

Lalovic, Dragutin, 'Prijelomno desetljeće (1962-1972) - od krize stabilnosti do stabilizacije krize', *Politička misao*, 3 (2012), pp.11-34

Lampe, John, *Yugoslavia as History, Twice There Was a Country*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Landsman, Mark, *Dictatorship and Demand: The Politics of Consumerism in East Germany* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2005)

Lange, Torsten, 'Komplexe Umweltgestaltung [complex environmental design]: architectural theory and the production of the built environment in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), 1960-1990', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, 2015)

— 'Form as/and utopia of collective labour, Typification and collaboration in East German industrialised construction', in *Industries of Architecture*, ed. by Katie Lloyd Thomas, Tilo Amhoff, Nick Beech, (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.148-159 (pp.153-154).

Latour, Bruno, 'Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts', in *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*, ed. by Wiebe E. Bijker and John Law (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), pp.225–258

—*Reassembling the Social: An Introduction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Le Normand, Brigitte, 'The Modernist City Reconsidered: Changing Attitudes of Social Scientists and Urban Designers in 1960s Yugoslavia', *Tokovi istorije*, 3-4 (2008), pp.141-159

—'Automobility in Yugoslavia Between Urban Planner, Market and Motorist: the Case of Belgrade, 1945-1972', in *The Socialist Car: Automobiles in Eastern Europe,* ed. by Lewis Siegelbaum, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp.92-104

—*Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014)

Lees-Maffei, Grace, 'The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm', *Journal of Design History*, 22 (2009), pp. 351 – 376

—'From Service to Self-Service: Advice Literature as Design Discourse, 1920-1970', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (2001), pp.187-206

Lees, Lorraine, *Keeping Tito Afloat: The United States, Yugoslavia and the Cold War* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997)

Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991)

Lilly, Carol S., *Power and Persuasion: Ideology and Rhetoric in Communist Yugoslavia 1944-1953* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001)

Lindinger, Herbert, *The Morality of Objects: Ulm Design*, trans. by David Britt (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990)

Lizon, Peter, 'East Central Europe: The Unhappy Heritage of Communist Mass Housing', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 2 (November 1996), pp.104-114

Ludtke, Alf, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)

Lukacs, Gyorgy, *Poglavlje o arhitekturi* (Pula, Rijeka, Zagreb: Biblioteka Dobrolet, 2017)

Lukšić, Irena, ed., *Šezdesete: zbornik* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 2000)

Luthar, Breda, 'Remembering Socialism: On Desire, Consumption and Surveillance', *Journal*

of Consumer Culture, 2 (2006), pp.229-259

—and Maruša Pušnik, eds., *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010)

Lydall, Harold, *Yugoslav Socialism: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984)

Maffei, Nicholas, P., 'Selling Gleam: Making Steel Modern in Post-war America', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (2013), pp.304-320

Magaš, Branka, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-up, 1980-92* (London and New York: Verso, 1993)

Maguire, Paddy, 'Design on Reconstruction: British Business, Market Sturctures and the Role of Design in Post-War Recovery', *Journal of Design History*, 1 (1999), pp.15-30

Maile Petty, Margaret, 'Attitudes Towards Modern Living: The Mid-century Showrooms of Herman Miller and Knoll Associates', *Journal of Design History*, 2 (2016), pp.180-199

Maldonado, Tomas, and John Cullars, 'The Idea of Comfort', *Design Issues*, 1 (Autumn 1991), pp.35-43

Manojlović, Ivan, *Dizajn za novi svet* (Belgrad: Museum of Yugoslav History, 2015)

Marcuse, Herbert, *One Dimensional Man, Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002)

Margaretić Urlić, Renata, 'Architectural Frolics in an Informel Company', *Život umjetnosti,* 82 (2008), 52-65 (p.53)

Margolin, Victor, *World History of Design, From World War I to World War II*, Vol. 2 (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015)

Marling, Karal Ann, *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1994)

Marković, Mihailo and Gajo Petrović, eds., *Praxis, Yugoslav Essays in the Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Dordrecht, Boston and London: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1979)

Marković, Predrag, *Beograd izmedu istoka i zapada, 1948 - 1965* (Beograd: Sluzbeni list SRJ 1996)

—*Trajnost i promena:društvena istorija socijalističke i postsocijalističke svakodnevice u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji* (Belgrade: Sluzbeni Glasnik, 2007)

—'Where Have all the Flowers Gone? - Yugoslav Culture in the 1970s', in *The Crisis of Socialist Modernity: The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s,* ed. by Marie-Janine Calic, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis (Bonn: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp.118-133

Martin, Reinhold, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media and Corporate Space* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003)

—'Environment, c.1973', *Grey Room*, 14 (2004), pp.78-101

Marx, Karl, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, ed. by Frederick Engels, trans. by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, 3 vols, 3rd edn (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1983), I

Mattioni, Vladimir, 'Eventualno/Perhaps', *Život umjetnosti,* 82 (2008), ppp.32-37

Mcluhan, Marshall, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul ltd, 1964)

Mecanov, Dragana, 'Sustav prefabricirane gradnje Jugomont iz Zagreba, Zgrada "Potkovica" u bloku 28 u Novom Beogradu', *Prostor*, 1 (2015), pp.175-185

McLellan, Josie, 'State Socialist Bodies: East German Nudism from Ban to Boon', *Journal of Modern History*, 1 (2007), pp.48-79

Medina, Eden, *Cybernetic Revolutionaries: Technology and Politics in Allende's Chile* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: the MIT Press, 2011)

Medosch, Armin, *New Tendencies, Art at the Threshold of the Information Revolution (1961-1978)* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 2016)

Meikle, Jeffrey L., 'Into the Fourth Kingdom: Representations of Plastic Materials, 1920-1950', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (1992), pp.173-182

— *American Plastic: A Cultural History* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1995)

Merkel, Ina, 'Consumer Culture in the GDR, or How the Struggle for Antimodernity Was Lost on the Battleground of Consumer Culture', in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern and Matthias Judt (Cambridge and Washington: Cambrdige University Press and German Historical Institute, 1998)

—'Working People and Consumption under Really-Existing Socialism: Perspectives from the German Democratic Republic', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 55 (Spring 1999), pp.92-111

—'Alternative Rationalities, Strange Dreams, Absurd Utopias, On Socialist Advertising and Market Research', in *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics*, ed. by Paul Betts and Katherine Pence (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008), pp.323-344

—'Luxury in Socialism: An Absurd Proposition?', in *Pleasures in Socialism, Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010), pp. 53-70

Mihelj, Sabina, 'Negotiating Cold War Culture at the Crossroads of East and West: Uplifting the Working People, Entertaining the Masses, Cultivating the Nation', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 3 (July 2011), pp. 509-539

—and Simon Huxtable, 'The Challenge of Flow: State Socialist Television between Revolutionary Time and Everyday Time', *Media, Culture & Society*, 3 (2016), pp.332-348

—'Memory, Post-socialism and the Media: Nostalgia and Beyond', *European Journal of Cultural Studies,* 3 (2017), pp. 235-251

Miljković, Marko, 'Western Technology in a Socialist Factory: the Formative Phase of Yugoslav Automobile Industry, 1955-1962', (unpublished master's thesis, Central European University, 2013)

Miller, Daniel, 'Appropriating the State on the Council Estate', *Man*, 2 (June 1988), pp.353-372

—ed., *Home Possessions: material culture behind closed doors* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001)

—*Materiality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005)

—*The Comfort of Things* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008)

—*Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010)

Milosavljević, Radmila, *Dizajn Centar u Beogradu* (1972-1982) (Belgrade: Orion Art, 2016)

Mirčev, Dmitar, 'Delegatski sistem u izgradnji samoupravne komune i mesne zajednice', *Politička misao*, 3 (September 1979), pp.437-447.

Moravánszky, Ákos and Judith Hopfengärtner, *Re-Humanising Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950-1970* (Basel: Birkhauser, 2017)

—and Karl R. Kegler, eds., *Re-Scaling the Environment: New Landscapes of Design 1960-1980* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017)

—and Torsten Lange, *Re-Framing Identities: Architecture's Turn to History, 1970-1990* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017)

Mrduljaš, Maroje, and Dea Vidović, ed., *Dizajn i nezavisna kultura* (Zagreb: UPI2M Books, 2010)

Ninković-Slavnić, Danka, 'Celebrating Yugoslavia: The Visual Representation of State Holidays', in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, ed. by Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik (Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing: 2010), pp.65-91

Obradović, Josip, and Willian N. Dunn, eds., *Workers' Self-Management and Organisational Power in Yugoslavia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978)

Oldenziel, Ruth and Karin Zachmann, eds., *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2009)

Paladino, Zrinka and Ivana Haničar Buljan, 'Od Moše do Boogalooa', *15 dana*, 3-4 (2011), pp.6-11

Palmer, Catherine, 'From Theory to Practice: Experiencing the Nation in Everyday Life', *Journal of Material Culture*, 2 (1998), pp.175-199

Panić, Ana, ed., Yugoslavia, *From the Beginning to the End* (Belgrade: Muzej Istorije Jugoslavije, 2012)

—*They Never Had it Better? Modernisation of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: Muzej Istorije Jugoslavije, 2014)

Papanek, Victor, *Design for the Real World: Human Ecology and Social Change* (Toronto; New York; London: Bantam, 1972, reprint. 1973)

Parr, Joy, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press)

Patterson, Patrick Hyder, 'Truth Half Told: Finding the Perfect Pitch for Advertising and Marketing in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1950-1991', *Enterprise & Society: The International Journal of Business History*, 4, 2 (June 2003), pp.179-225

—'Making Markets Marxist? The East European Grocery Store from Rationing to Rationality to Rationalizations', in *Food Chains: From Farmyard to Shopping Cart*, ed. by Warren Belasco and Roger Horowitz, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp.196-216

—*Bought and Sold, Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011)

Pavlović, Živojin, *Ispljuvak pun krvi* (Belgrade: Dereta, 1990)

Pedrotty, Kate Meehan, 'Yugoslav Unity and Olympic Ideology at the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games', in *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s – 1980s)*, ed. by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), pp.335-366

Petrović, Tanja, 'Museums and Workers: Negotiating Industrial Heritage in the Former Yugoslavia', *Narodna umjetnost,* 50 (2013), pp.96-120

Porter, Glenn, Cultural Forces and Commercial Constraints: Designing Packaging in the Twentieth Century United States', Journal of Design History, 1 (1999), pp.25-43

Potrč, Marjetica, *Next Stop, Kiosk* (Ljubljana: Museum of Modern Art, 2003)

Požar, Cvetka, 'Continuity and Changes to the Biennial of Design', *Piranesi*, 35 (2014), pp.122-127

Predan, Barbara, and Cvetka Požar, *Iskra Non-Aligned Design, 1946-1990* (Ljubljana: Arhitekturni Muzej and Pekinpah, 2009)

—'An Overlooked Giant: Iskra, Non-Aligned Design 1946-1990', *Design Principles and Practices*, 4 (2010), pp.1-13.

—*Niko Kralj: neznani znani oblikovalec* (Ljubljana: MAO, 2012)

Ramet, Sabrina P., *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991,* 2nd ed. (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1992)

—*Balkan Babel: The Disintegration Of Yugoslavia From the Death Of Tito to the Fall Of Milosevic*, 3rd ed., (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999)

—*The Three Yugoslavias: State-building and Legitimation, 1918-2005* (Washington, D.C, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Indiana University Press, 2006)

Reid, Susan E. and David Crowley, eds., *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000)

—'Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev', *Slavic Review*, 2 (Summer 2002), pp.2111-252

—'The Khrushchev Kitchen: Domesticating the Scientific-Technological Revolution', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2 (April 2005), pp.209-316

—'Happy Housewarming! Moving Into Khrushchev-Era Apartments', in *Petrified Utopia: Happiness, Soviet Style*, ed. by Marina Balina and Evgeny Dobrenko (London: Anthem Press, 2009), pp.133-160

—'Soviet Responses to the American Kitchen', in *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, ed. by Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009), pp.83-112

—'Communist Comfort: Socialist Modernism and the Making of Cosy Homes in the Khrushchev Era', in K. H. Adler and Carrie Hamilton, eds., *Homes and Homecomings: Gendered Histories of Domesticity and Return* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp.11-44

—'This is Tomorrow: Becoming a Consumer in the Soviet Sixties', *The Socialist Sixties, Crossing Borders in the Second World*, ed. by Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp.25-65

—, 'Everyday aesthetics in the Khrushchev-era standard apartment', *Etnofoor: Anthropological Journal*, 2 (2013),pp. 79-105

—'Makeshift Modernity: DIY, Craft and the Virtuous Homemaker in New Soviet Housing of the 1960s', *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity,* 2 (2014) pp.87-124

Roche, Maurice, *Mega-events and Modernity. Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000)

Rogel, Carole, *The Breakup of Yugoslavia and its Aftermath* (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 2004)

Romijn Peter, Giles Scott-Smith and Joes Segal, *Divided Dreamworlds?: The Cultural Cold War in East and West* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012)

Rosen, Margit, Darko Fritz, Marija Gattin and Peter Weibel, eds., *A Little-Known Story About A Movement, A Magazine, And The Computer's Arrival In Art: New Tendencies and Bit International, 1961–1973* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011)

Ross, Kristin, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994)

Rubin, Eli, 'The Form of Socialism Without Ornament', *Journal of Design History*, 2 (July 2006), pp.155-168

—*Synthetic Socialism: Plastics and Dictatorship in the German Democratic Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014)

Rusinow, Dennison, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974* (London: C.Hurst & Company, 1977)

Sadler, Simon, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005)

Saletnik, Jeffrey and Robin Schuldenfrei, eds., *Bauhaus Construct: Fashioning Identity, Discourse, and Modernism* (London: Routledge / Taylor & Francis, 2009).

Scott, Felicity D., *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics after Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007)

Schuldenfrei, Robin, ed., *Atomic Dwelling: Anxiety, Domesticity, and Postwar Architecture* (London: Routledge and Taylor and Francis, 2012)

Scott, Felicity D. , *Architecture or Techno-Utopia, Politics After Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010)

Sekulić, Duško, 'Putevi i stranputice stambene politike', *Socijologija*, 3 (1986), pp.347-371

—, Garth Massey and Randy Hodson, 'Who Were the Yugoslavs? Failed Sources of a Common Identity in the Former Yugoslavia', *American Sociological Review,* 1 (February 1994), pp.83-97

Senjković, Reana, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu: Pop iskustvo soc kulture* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2008)

Shove, Elizabeth, Matthew Watson, Martin Hand and Jack Ingram, *The Design of Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2007)

Sitar, Polona, '"The Right Step towards a Woman's Satisfaction?": Washing Machine as a New Piece of Technology and the Construction of the Rolw of Women as Housewives in Socialist

Slovenia', *Narodna Umjetnost*, 1 (2015), pp.143-171

Slater, Don, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997)

Sontag, Susan, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (London and New York: Penguin, 2009)

Sparke, Penny, *An Introduction to Design and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986)

—ed., *The Plastics Age: From Modernity to Post-Modernity* (London: V&A Publications, 1990)

Spitz René, *Hfg Ulm: The View Behind the Foreground, the Political History of the Ulm, 1953-1968* (Fellbach: Edition Axel Menges, 2002)

Sport, zdravlje, ugostiteljstvo, obrazovanje, kultura i rad. Stolci iz TMN Jadran 1980-ih, exhibition catalogue (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Dizajnersko Društvo, 2013)

Stallybrass, Peter, 'Marx's Coat', in *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*, ed. by Patricia Spyer (New York: Routledge, 1998) pp.183-207

Stanek, Lukasz, ed., *Team 10 East, Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Socialism* (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art, 2014)

—ed., *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment: by Henri Lefebvre* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014)

—Ákos Moravánszky and Christian Schmid, eds., *Urban Revolution Now: Henri Lefebvre in Urban Research and Architecture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing: 2014)

Stanić, Igor, 'Što pokazuje praksa? Presjek samoupravljanja u brodogradilištu Uljanik 1961–1968. godine', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 3 (2014), pp.453-474
Stanković, Nevenka, 'The Case of Exploited Modernism', *Third Text*, 2 (2006), pp.151-159

Steiner, André, 'Dissolution of the "Dictatorship over Needs"? Consumer Behaviour and Economic Reform in East Germany in the 1960s', in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century,* ed. by Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern and Matthias Judt (Cambridge and Washington: Cambrdige University Press and German Historical Institute, 1998), pp.167-185

Stevanović, Tijana, 'Tools for conviviality: Architects and the limits for flexibility in housing design in New Belgrade', in *Industries of Architecture,* ed. by Katie Lloyd Thomas, Nick Beech, Tilo Amhoff (Routledge Critiques: London, 2015), pp.160-170

Stitziel, Judd, *Fashioning Socialism: Clothing, Politics and Consumer Culture in East Germany* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2005)

Stokes, Raymond G., *Constructing Socialism: Technology and Change in East Germany, 1945-1990* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000)

—'Plastics and the New Society: The German Democratic Republic in the 1950s and 1960s', in *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, ed. by Susan E. Reid and David Crowley (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), pp.65-80

Strasser, Susan, Charles McGovern and Matthias Judt, eds., *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge and Washington: Cambrdige University Press and German Historical Institute, 1998)

Suvin, Darko, 'Splendours and Miseries of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (1945-74)', *Socialism and democracy,* 1 (2013), pp.161-189

Škrabalo, Ivo, *101 godina filma u Hrvatskoj 1896-1997: pregled povijesti hrvatske kinematografije* (Zagreb: Globus, 1998)

Šuber, Daniel and Slobodan Karmanić, ed., *Retracing Images: Visual Culture After Yugoslavia* (Leiden: Brill, 2012)

Šubic, Špela, ed., *Marko Turk - Homo Faber* (Ljubljana: MAO, 2014)

Šuvaković, Miško, *The Clandestine Histories of the OHO Group* (Ljubljana: Zavod P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E., 2010)

Štiks, Igor, *Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia and the Post-Yugoslav States: One Hundred Years of Citizenship* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016)

Šuvar, Stipe, *Sociološki presjek jugoslavenskog društva* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1970)

Švab, Alenka, 'Consuming Western Image of Wellbeing, Shopping Tourism in Socialist Slovenia', *Cultural Studies*, 1 (2002), pp.63-79.

Todorova, Maria, *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory* (New York: New York University Press, 2004)

—*Imagining the Balkans* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Todorović-Uzelac, Neda, *Ženska štampa i kultura ženstvenosti* (Naučna knjiga: Beograd, 1987)

Traganou, Jilly, 'Foreword: Design Histories of the Olympic Games', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (2012), pp.245-251

Trentmann, Frank, ed., *The Making of the Consumer. Knowledge, Power and Identity in the Modern World* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006)

Turner, Fred, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006)

—*The Democratic Surround: Multimedia and American Liberalism from World War II to the Psychedelic Sixties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013)

Udovički, Jasminka and James Ridgeway, eds., B*urn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000)

Unkovski-Korica, Vladimir, *The Economic Struggle for Power in Tito's Yugoslavia: From World War II to Non Alignment* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016)

Vardjan, Maja, ed., *Saša J. Mächtig, Sistemi, Strukture, Strategije* (Ljubljana: MAO, 2016)

Velčić, Veseljko, Veljko Marković and Vlado Velčić, *Radničko sveučilište u obrazovanju kadrova iz privrede* (Zagreb: Radničko sveučilište "Moša Pijade", 1964)

Veenis, Milena, 'Consumption in East Germany: The Seduction and Betrayal of Things', *Journal of Material Culture*, 1 (1999), pp.79-112

Verbeek, Peter-Paul, *What Things Do: Philosophical Reflections on Technology, Agency and Design* (University Park, PA: The Penn State University Press, 2000)

Verdery, Katherine, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)

Vodovnik, Žiga, 'Democracy as a Verb: New Meditations on the Yugoslav Praxis Philosophy', *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 4 (2012), pp.1-20

Vranić, Dubravka, 'The Resistance of Architecture to Political Regime(s): the Case of Novi Zagreb', *Sociologija i prostor*, 1 (2014), pp.41-67

Vučetić, Radina, *Koka Kola Socijalizam: Amerikanizacija Jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Beograd: Službeni Glasnik, 2012)

— "Potrošačko društvo po američkom modelu – jedan pogled na jugoslavensku svakodnevicu šezdesetih", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2 (2012), pp.277-298

Vukić, Feđa, *A Century of Croatian Design* (Zagreb: Meandar, 1996)

— 'Pojam "oblikovanje" u Hrvatskoj kulturi pedesetih godina', *Društvena istraživanja: časopis za opća društvena pitanja*, 2-3 (June 2002), pp.413-429

—*Od oblikovanja do dizajna* (Zagreb: Meandar, 2003).

—*Modernizam u Praksi, Oblikovanje i dizajn pedesetih godina u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji* (Zagreb: Meandar, 2008)

—*The Other Design History* (Zagreb: UPI2M Books, 2015)

—'Rethinking the Environment: An Introduction to Matko Meštrović's 'Design i okolina' from 1980', *Journal of Design History*, 2 (2016), pp.212-230

Wachtel, Andrew Baruch, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998)

—*The Balkans in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Walker, John, *Design History and the History of Design* (London: Pluto Press, 1989)

Weintraub, Jeff, 'The Theory and Politics of the Private/Public Distinction', in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy,* ed. by Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar(University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.1-42

Wilk, Christopher, ed., *Modernism, Designing a New World, 1914-1939* (London: V&A Publications, 2006)

Wilson, Garth, 'Designing Meaning: Streamlining, National Identity and the Case of Locomotive CN6400', *Journal of Design History*, 3 (2008), pp.237-257

Woodward, Susan, *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)

Yurchak, Alexei, *Everything was Forever Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)

'Yugoslavia: Half Karl & Half Groucho', *Time,* 19 (7 May 1965)

Zarecor, Kimberly Elman, *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1960* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011)

—and Vladimir Kulić, 'Socialism on Display: e Czechoslovak and Yugoslavian Pavilions at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair', in *Meet Me at the Fair: A World's Fair Reader*, ed. by Laura Hollengreen, Celia Pearce, Rebecca Rouse, Bobby Schweizer, (ETC Press, 2014), pp.225-239.

Zekić, Jasenko, 'Univerzijada '87. – drugi ilirski preporod', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 2 (2007), pp.299-318

Zukin, Sharon, *Beyond Marx and Tito, Theory and Practice in Yugoslav Socialism* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975)

Živković, Miroslav, *Prilog jugoslovenskoj urbanoj sociologiji* (Belgrade: Zavod za organizaciju poslovanja i obrazovanje, 1981)

Žunić, Alen and Zlatko Karač, 'Robne kuće i opskrbni centri arhitekta Aleksandra Dragomanovića', *Prostor*, 2 (2015), pp.276-303

Film sources

Kamerom kroz Zagreb, dir. by Srećko Weygand, (Zagreb Film, 1957)

Koraci grada, dir. by Branko Majer, (Zagreb Film, 1957)

Surogat, dir. by Dušan Vukotić, (Zagreb Film, 1961)

Moj stan, dir. by Zvonimir Berković (Zagreb Film, 1962)

Zagrebačke paralele, dir. by Branko Majer (Zagreb Film 1962)

Od 3 do 22, dir. by Krešo Golik, (Zagreb Film, 1966)

Raste grad (Zagreb 1963-1967), dir. by Dragutin Vunak (Zagreb Film, 1967)

Online sources

Dizajnerice <http://www.dizajnerice.com/home/>.

The Biennial of Design between 1964 and 2012 [n.d.], <http://50.bio.si/en/history/#biennal-between-1964-2012>