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THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS ON THE URBAN STRUCTURE OF TETOVO DURING THE PERIOD OF YUGOSLAVIA

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Abstract

The modernization of cities in Yugoslavia in general and in North Macedonia in particular, along with the modernization of social and cultural life, fostered a conception of the city and life in it that differed significantly from the traditional way. Consequently, the process imposed a radical transformation of the city's overall configuration, its public and private buildings, and their utilitarian, aesthetic, and experiential performance. Although the planned interventions were only partially implemented in certain areas of Tetovo, they left an indelible imprint on the city and continue to influence its ongoing development.

This paper aims to provide a thorough analysis of the socio-cultural developments during the period of Yugoslavia and their impact on the urban structure of Tetovo. One aspect examines the socio-cultural developments that have been shaped by the political and economic shifts in the Yugoslav countries. The other aspect is centered on assessing the influence of these developments on Tetovo's urban street network, block configuration, plot arrangement, building distribution, and architectural design. The urban transformations of Tetovo are primarily analyzed through the examination of cadastral maps from 1937 and 1981, as well as the planned urban development of Tetovo in 1960. The traces of the interventions implemented during the Yugoslav period are an integral part of the urban structure of contemporary Tetovo. On the other hand, the urban plans formulated during that era lay the groundwork for Tetovo's future planned expansion. Hence, it is crucial to comprehend the factors that have given rise to these interventions and plans in order to assess them critically, aiming to enhance the favorable aspects and alleviate the unfavorable ones in Tetovo's future development.

Keywords: Tetovo, North Macedonia, Yugoslavia, urban transformations, modernism

Introduction

Sociological studies as well as architectural theory and criticism suggest that architectural production shapes and it is shaped by the broader socio-cultural developments. It conditions and is conditioned by major historical, political, economic and technological turns (Blau, 1984; Mallgrave, 2005; Mallgrave, 2006; Hillier & Hanson, 2009; Jones, 2011) collective and individual decisions of persons/clients from different socio-cultural groups (Jones, 2011)); objectively defined system of values within architectural groups (Stevens, 2002; Sahin-Dikmen, 2013); and development policies and plans from state institutions, among other factors. Each of these developments leave specific traces in the cities' urban fabric. Numerous complex sociocultural developments have also influenced the evolution of the urban environment in Tetovo throughout history.

Tetovo has been an important political, economic and socio-cultural center in North Macedonia and beyond. It existed since antiquity, but very little is known about its urban structure until the beginning of the 19th century. (Aleksievska & Voljinec, 2000; Ferati, 2011) In general, there can be distinguished three periods with major socio-cultural turns that have considerably influenced and transformed the urban structure of Tetovo and North Macedonia. These periods

include the time when North Macedonia was under Ottoman rule, when it was part of the constituent countries of SFR Yugoslavia, and when it gained independence from SFR Yugoslavia. During the Ottoman rule, from the 14th century until the World War 2, the population in Tetovo was gradually Islamized while cities through a self-organizing process evolved organically with predominantly Islamic characteristics. Yet, after the World War 1, and considerably after the World War 2, the Yugoslav Kingdom and later the SFR Yugoslavia, aimed to urbanize and industrialize their constituent countries, including Tetovo. As a result, the existing structure of Tetovo is expected to undergo a significant transformation, shifting from an organic structure to a modern one that is carefully planned from top-down. The genesis of this transformation process can be traced back to the principles of modern planning in Western Europe. However, the execution of these plans was never fully realized as they encountered numerous obstacles stemming from political, social, economic, and architectural developments.

The declaration of independence by North Macedonia disrupted the trajectory towards modernization, leading to the coexistence of traces from both the Yugoslavian and Ottoman periods. Furthermore, Tetovo is developing simultaneously by bottom up informal interventions as well as top-down planed developments. The plans and principles used in the planning of public spaces in Yugoslavia have greatly influenced and continue to shape the development of contemporary Tetovo. Hence, this study aims to thoroughly examine the origins of the interventions and plans implemented in Tetovo during the Yugoslav era, with the purpose of using them as a benchmark for assessing the beneficial aspects that should be retained and the detrimental aspects that should be avoided.

The process of modernization of the urban structure of Tetovo began after the First World War, when North Macedonia was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. However, during this period, Tetova underwent minor modifications. The transformation of its structure to a large extent from an organic city to a partially planned one occurs after the Second World War, when North Macedonia becomes one of the six republics of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY). The ideology behind the formation of the FPRY and later the SFRY, its policies towards socialist and capitalist states, its economic fluctuations, the preferential treatment of certain ethnicities and discrimination against others, the gradual change of lifestyle from predominantly rural to moderately urban, education and modernization efforts, including those for women, migration to foreign countries, the definition of the value systems between local and foreign architects, among many other aspects, will be thoroughly analyzed to gain a comprehensive understanding of the urban transformation in Tetovo. The urban evolution of Tetovo will be demonstrated by analyzing the cadastral maps from 1937 and 1981 and urban plans of 1960-1970. This analysis will focus on changes in the urban street network, block configuration, plot arrangement, and building distribution. The plans, photographs, and descriptions will be used to illustrate the conception of the objects from this period and the way of life associated with them.

After the World War 1, North Macedonia is part of the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Kingdom was created with the intention "to unify all South Slavs in one country, and under one leadership." Thus, Karadjordjevic's approach as a ruler was focused on aligning the Kingdom with its Western counterparts by progressive transition of the country from a predominately rural to an industrialized urban environment. In order to accomplish this, he considered the advancement of modern art, architecture, and culture as indispensable for the development of the entire country. The first signs of modernism began to emerge gradually in the main capitals of Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia. The country experienced internal conflicts fueled by nationalism, uneven economic development, poverty, and social divisions, ultimately resulting in the collapse of the short-lived monarchy. The rural nature of the region remained

predominantly unchanged, while different organizations and authorities actively opposed the modern global culture in an effort to restore the so-called Serbo-Byzantine architectural style. (Babic, 2013; Kulić et al., 2012)

Kulic and Mrduljaš argue that despite the conflicts, this period played a crucial role in the development of architecture throughout the entire Kingdom. It resulted in a significant but uneven wave of modernization that was mostly focused in large cities. In Slovenia, Croatia, and central Serbia, the second wave of modernisation took place though under distinct political and economic circumstances compared to the late nineteenth century. However, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro, the first wave of modernisation occured during this period. The rapid process of urbanization necessitated an increased demand for architects. In 1897, the Technical Faculty in Belgrade established a Department of Architecture. Similarly, the Technical High School in Zagreb and the Slovenian University in Ljubljana commenced their study of architecture in 1919 and 1921, respectively. While Prague, Berlin, and Paris were gaining popularity as educational destinations, Vienna continued to maintain its significance. The profession became intricately entangled in international networks of the Modern Movement. Several Croatian architects received education or collaborated with prominent German-speaking modernists such as Adolf Loos, Peter Behrens, Hans Poelzig, Josef Hoffmann, Ernst May, and other notable figures. In addition, Le Corbusier's studio became another popular destination in the 1930s. (Kulić et al., 2012, p. 25)

Although North Macedonia did not achieve the same level of development as the other countries in the Kingdom, several cities in the region underwent significant growth and urbanization between the two world wars. The process of modernization was initiated by architects who had received their education in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, as well as European and American institutions. In addition to the inclination towards constructing modern buildings that embraced the "international style," buildings in North Macedonia, as in many European and Balkan countries, continue to exhibit elements of a fusion of styles between Roman, ancient Greek, or their neoclassic reinterpretation. Professionals reinterpret these styles academically in public or individual buildings, while traditional builders may adopt an eclectic approach without adhering to any specific order. Many buildings often have incorporated to these styles also local traditional elements to strengthen national and historical Serbo-Byzantine continuity. However, the utilization of modern construction systems and materials such as rainforced concrete, steel, and glass is prevalent. Additionally, functional floor schemes are widely embraced in newly constructed buildings. (Grčev, 2004)

In conjunction with the difficult economic and political circumstances, the post–First World War era in Tetovo is also marked by a substantial decline in population size. The population of Tetova was 15,119 in 1921. However, the city quickly recovered by utilizing the abundant resources of Sharr Mountain and Pollog Valley, as well as receiving continued support from emigrants and local traders who invested in the construction of new buildings. A large number of people migrated to Tetovo, originating from various countries including Serbia, Russia, and other nearby villages. Tetova's population in 1931 reached a number of 16,359 inhabitant. While the local population is primarily focused on trade and crafts, migrant workers from the villages are involved in agricultural pursuits. Gradually, the city begins to exhibit its initial manifestations of modernization. The roads, including the two that link Tetovo with Skopje and Gostivar, are widened and paved to facilitate the increasing volume of automobile traffic. The city is illuminated with electricity thanks to the recently constructed hydropower plant while water supply systems substitutes the canals that are typical of oriental cities. Furthermore, alongside the modernization of the postal service, a telephone line is implemented, and the construction of contemporary hotels, state facilities, and other amenities is undertaken. (Svetozarevik, 1999)

Among the numerous traditional houses that still exist in this era, new houses owned by merchants, artisans, and the powerful officials are built. Most of these residences are built based on design plans with modern materials, and adorned with eclectic decorative elements inspired by different styles (Figure 1). (Svetozarevik, 1999) In a study of family form in Yugoslavia conducted in 1930, it was concluded that in North Macedonia complex patriarchal housholds were still prevalent. Both Muslim and Christian community shared the belief that it was customary for married suns to live under one roof with their parents. Nevertheless, the large and complex households were already undergoing a process of increasing divisions and fragmentation, particularly within the Christian community. (Brunnbauer, 2004)





Figure 1. Houses built in 1928 and 1936 in Tetovo

Unlike the monarchist Yugoslavia, the communist Yugoslavia that was established after World War 2 guaranteed to provide political and cultural autonomy to all the countries under its administration. For the first time, Macedonians are acknowledged as an independent nation, and as a result, North Macedonia becomes one of the six republics of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY), alongside Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, and Bosnia & Herzegovina. Within Serbia were located the Yugoslav capital city of Belgrade, along with two autonomous Yugoslav provinces: Kosovo and Vojvodina. The Yugoslav countries were left severely devastated by World War 2, but immediate efforts were made to modernize them. In 1947, a Five Year Plan was implemented based on the Soviet model, with the goal of achieving rapid urbanization and industrialization. Through the replication of the Soviet models, the communist regime gained control over all means of production by centralizing the economy and culture. With the abolition of private architectural offices, the responsibility for organizing the construction process fell to large state-owned architectural and urban planning institutions. However, the plan proved to be overly ambitious given the economic conditions and the limited number of professionals in the FPRY. With the exception of a few buildings that adhered to classical rules of composition, traditional ornamentation, and an exaggerated sense of grandeur influenced by vaguely defined principles of Soviet social realism, the industrial, cultural, and collective buildings were purely utilitarian in nature. They were constructed using modest materials and lacked any specific aesthetic ambition. (Kulić et al., 2012; Tokarev, 2006; Uka, 2023)

The alliance between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union was short-lived. In 1948, the Soviet Union expelled Yugoslavia from the Communist Bloc. Following this break, a sequence of reforms was set in motion. In 1950, the country underwent liberalization and decentralization of the political system. Economic reforms were implemented, granting the workforce the right to organize production and share profits through a worker's self-management system. Additionally, a diplomatic policy of non-alignment was introduced. These reforms resulted in a gradual increase in economic growth. By 1980, as economic growth started to decrease,

Yugoslavia had experienced a gradual shift from being mostly rural to becoming a moderately urbanized country, and from having an agricultural economy to becoming moderately industrialized. (Kulić et al., 2012; Uka, 2023; Krstić, 2018)

The implementation of reforms in the 1950s granted architects the autonomy to restructure architectural practice within independent, self-managing local institutes. They were no longer constrained by state regulations regarding architectural style and were able to freely pursue their own group preferences. Most prominent architects received their education and were actively involved in the modernist era before World War 2. The ability to freely travel allowed for the renewal of cultural ties with capitalist Western European and United States countries, where modernism was embraced as a symbol of cultural democracy. Therefore, modernism was once again recognized as a legitimate approach to constructing buildings and cities. "By the second half of the nineteen-fifties, virtually every major city had at least one recognizably Corbusian structure, typically modeled after the Unite d'Habitation." (Kulić et al., 2012, p. 36)

North Macedonia remained the least developed republic in Yugoslavia for a considerable period of time, despite Yugoslavia's commitment to achieving social, economic, and cultural equality among its constituent republics. During the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, North Macedonia was commonly referred to as "southern Serbia" and did not have its own distinct school of architecture. The establishment of North Macedonia's independent school of architecture took place after World War 2, following its formal acknowledgment as unique nation. The process of industrialization and urbanization that occurred until the 1950s was driven by a small number of local architects, as well as architects from other Yugoslav republics. After the architectural school was founded in Skopje in 1949 there was a notable rise in the number of local architects who played a pivotal role in the nation's endeavors to achieve modernization. However, local architects were not significantly distinct from those in other republics, as they received their education primarily from the same educational institutions. Thus, the architectural structure of North Macedonia during this era exhibits the functionalist principles of Western Europe and the International style. Foreign examples, primarily from Western Europe, served as the foundation for the construction of numerous high-rise collective housing, socio - cultural and industrial buildings. Moreover, the level of economic development was perfectly aligned with the philosophy of modernism. In addition, the development of urban plans adhered to a similar trajectory, as they uncritically replicated the principles outlined in the Athens Charter of the CIAM, disregarding entirely the cultural heritage of the country. (Tokarev, 2006)

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Yugoslavia experienced highest economic prosperity and directed its attention towards intensive building in less developed republics, including North Macedonia. This period saw the construction of numerous public and residential buildings of various types. In addition to the impact of modern international style, the use of exposed concrete in the construction of sculptural objects, which reflects the Brutalist style, is also becoming increasingly popular. This trend is influenced by the architects involved in the reconstruction of Skopje, the capital of North Macedonia, following a devastating earthquake, as well as those who received education in American schools. In addition, some architects during this period embrace postmodern European and American influences, leading to a heightened recognition of the significance of traditional regional architecture. They strive to incorporate these values into new designs, sometimes through direct imitation and other times through a critical approach. The distinctive features of the traditional houses such as their dynamic exterior volumes and the chardak, have been reinterpreted in numerous contemporary objects. (Kulić et al., 2012; Tokarey, 2006)

The urban structure of Tetovo and the way of life of its inhabitants were significantly influenced by the social, political, and economic development in Yugoslavia and North Macedonia. The principles of modern cities, namely the adoption of geometric and hierarchical street network, decentralization, the alteration of the city center, the segregation of different functions, the establishment of new industrial zones, and the introduction of new residential typologies, were entirely foreign and bore little resemblance to the preexisting urban structure. They demanded extensive urban transformations, with a specific focus on facilitating the straightforward and efficient movement of motor vehicles. The meandering street network of the traditional city (Figure 2) is considered as a major inconvenience, necessitating the implementation of new large-scale interventions for the modern city. Between 1948 -1953, among others, Lupo Pota designs urban plans for Tetovo (Tokarev, 2006). Superimposition of gridiron street network with straight roads that brake through the center and the neighborhoods, zoning, and major building structures were planned (Figure 3). Following these plans, the center of Tetovo, including the Bazaar, was demolished while the organic street network began to be transformed (Figure 4). (Ferati, 2011) Large areas consisting of high-rise buildings in either modernist tower or slab typology, which were often standardized and mass-produced, were planned and constructed on agricultural land (Figure 5) or upon pre-existing urban structures (Figure 6, Figure 10). Furthermore, later on, individual residences were strategically designed and constructed within these designated regions (Figure 7). In addition, a significant number of modern buildings have been erected in the urban strucutre of Tetovo, including hospitals, cultural institutions, and educational facilities (Figure 9, Figure 10).



Figure 2. The street configuration of Tetovo based on the cadastral map of 1937



Figure 3. The street configuration of Tetovo as planed in detail urban plans developed from 1960-1990



Figure 4. The street configuration of Tetovo extracted from the cadastral map of 1981



Figure 5. An illustration of the way Tetovo's organic configuration was transformed, based on the urban planes developed during the period of Yugoslavia, on agrigueltural land or from its small, irregular plots and blocks to



Figure 6. An illustration of the way Tetovo's organic configuration was transformed, based on the urban planes developed during the period of Yugoslavia, from its small, irregular plots and blocks to larger blocks with free-standing buildings.

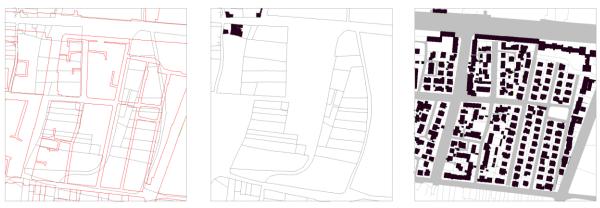


Figure 7. An illustration of Tetovo growth over agricultural land with planned single-family housing districts

The migration of individuals from rural to urban areas of Tetovo was experiencing steady Yugoslavia aimed to establish a society that was just and equitable through the proportional distribution of material resources and the fulfillment of the fundamental needs of its population. The right to adequate housing conditions was recognized as one of the fundamental needs. Thus, the main emphasis of the construction capacity was devoted to providing rental housing units for each urban resident in collectively owned buildings (Figure 8). However, the pace of constructing socially owned collective buildings did not keep up with the growing urban population. A significant number of urban residents lacked access to publicly owned housing and resided in impoverished living conditions. After the implementation of decentralization policies in the 1950s, the responsibility for building and distributing social housing was shifted from the central government to the individual republics and their local organizations. The aim was to enhance the housing capacity for the urban population by utilizing funds obtained from both the annual income of a BOAL (basic organizations of associated labor) and the legally required contribution from employees' earnings. (Krstić, 2018, p. 143) Anyhow, the housing demand remains unfulfilled. While all industrial workers play a role in constructing communal structures, a significant number of them have not yet had the opportunity to reside in any of those residential units. Thus, after the economic reforms of 1965, on the principle of democratization, the supply and distribution of housing units was further decentralized in the hands of self-management enterprises, while the state encouraged citizens to by their own flats and houses with their savings and loans from banks. These reforms resulted in a significant increase in the construction of buildings in Tetovo. (Uka, 2023)

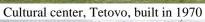






Figure 8. Collective highrise buildings in Tetovo build during the period of Yugoslavia







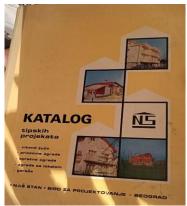
Macedonian Post Tetovo, built in 1977





Figure 10. Public (green color) and high-rise residential building complexes (red color) dispersed in the urban structure of Tetovo during the period of Yugosllavia

Although socially owned housing was often discussed as a primary housing solution, it was not the dominant approach for Yugoslavs to meet their housing needs. Around 70 percent of the population lived in houses that were privately owned, with a notable proportion of these homes being built by individuals after the 1950s. In addition to the construction of individual houses in suburban and rural areas, mainly in a traditional manner without professional help, the late 1960s witnessed the development of planned single-family housing districts in urban development plans. (Kulić et al., 2012) A substantial portion of the population expressed dissatisfaction with the living conditions offered by communal housing. Following Figure 11. Two examples of commercial catalogues that were circulating among architects in Tetovo the introduction of economic reforms in 1965, individuals were given the autonomy to select their desired way of life, which would be financially sustained by the factories they were





employed by. In addition, self-managed enterprises were granted the autonomy to choose the specific type of building they would utilize in order to compete in the market. Consequently, individual residences began to be perceived as a more appealing choice for living. Therefore, during the late 1960s, urban plans started incorporating multiple single-family housing districts for upcoming developments. "Urban planners opposed the building of individual houses because of the increase of the costs of building infrastructure and the costs of traffic and using up construction land, but they were forced to agree to them because of the official principle of the democratic character of self-management, the right of self-managing entities to select the conditions of housing and the influence on the development of cities." (Krstić, 2018, p. 146) As a result of the aforementioned developments, several urban districts with freely distributed individual houses were planned in Tetovo during the 1960s and 1970s (Figure 7). These districts were organized into blocks defined by a hierarchy of orthogonal streets. The urban plans for these districts established precise parameters that newly constructed houses must adhere to, including building height, frontal façade length, roof type, garden fence type, and a consistent architectural style throughout the entire neighborhood. Below is an excerpt from the urban plan of Tetovo, which includes a picture and the translated parameters of the buildings of one of the houses (Figure 14). During this time, numerous commercial catalogues featuring contemporary house plans were already being produced in Yugoslavia. () According to a former employee (3, aged 64) of the Komuna projekt (Institute for urban planning, design and engineering in Tetovo), these catalogues were utilized to design numerous individual houses in Tetovo. This was done to reduce costs, as individuals had to pay less for pre-made typical plans compared to custom designs by

architects. Multiple residents in the Mala stanica neighborhood, also known as Ajduchka, have verified the occurrence of the same phenomenon. This neighborhood was established in the late 1960s. The house plan presented below, provided by the homeowner in this neighborhood, is designed based on an excerpt taken from one of these catalogues. Moreover several typologies are frequently replicated in this neighborhood (Figure 12). However, the director of Komuna projekt for two decades, V. Nikoloski, asserts that highly dedicated local architects were employed in this design enterprise, who were also capable of creating high-quality, innovative modern houses. The house he designed himself during this period (Figure 13) exemplifies the fusion of traditional values into modern architecture, as he made a deliberate effort to incorporate a chardak into his contemporary home.



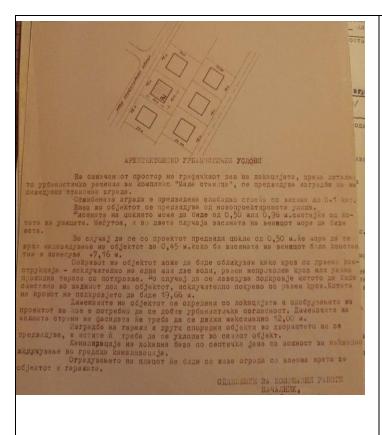


Figure 12. Two similar house in Mala Stanica that are based on the same architectural plan





Figure 13. A modern house with chardak and external stairs inspired by traditional houses, build in 1975



Architectural-urban conditions

On the marked area of the graphic part of the site, according to the detailed urban solution for the complex "Mala Stanica", the construction of an individual residential building is planned.

The residential building is planned to be free-standing with a height of P+1.

Entrance to the building will be provided from the newly designed street.

The height of the plinth can be 0.50 or 0.96 m, counting from level of the street. However, in both cases the height of the wreath has to be constant.

In the event that the project envisages a plinth of 0.50 m, the building will have to be built up by 0.45 m so that the height of the cornice is constant and equals +7.16 m.

The roof of the building can be shaped like a roof with a wooden structure - exceptionally on one or two pitches, a flat non-walkable roof or a flat walkable terrace with an attic. In the event that an attic is constructed, it should be placed in the rear part of the building, exceptionally raised with a flat roof. The height of the roof of the attic should be 19.66 m.

The dimensions of the building are determined by the location and approval of the project for which it is necessary to obtain urban planning consent. The dimensions of the frontal facade should be a maximum of 12.00 m.

The construction of garages and other secondary buildings in the yard is not planned, and they will have to fit into the building itself.

Sewerage on a local basis with a septic tank with the possibility of subsequent inclusion in the city sewerage system.

The fencing of the plot will be with a hedge with an entrance door for the building and the garage.

Figure 14. An excerpt from the urban plan of Tetovo whith building parameters for the houses

It is apparent from the floor plans provided (Figure 15) that the houses can be readily compared to contemporary European houses. These houses have departed from the traditional character and are now focused on achieving universal design standards. The features described below closely adhere to the standards established by Le Corbusier and other modernist architects for modern architecture. A functional floor plan layout is organized in minimal spaces while striving to meet the optimal standards for a family. The structure comprises distinct functional space units designed for habitation, culinary activities, dining, rest, and storage. Liberation of interior spaces from load-bearing traditional walls and replacement of them with column frame structures intends to generate flexible layouts and partially open floor plans between living area, dinning and kitchen. Larger windows than in traditional houses are intended to provide even illumination and panoramic views, as advocated by modernist architects. The houses demonstrate a commitment to modernity through the inclusion of flat roofs that are intended to function as terraces, while effectively utilizing space that would otherwise be taken up by the building's foundation. In addition, the houses are strategically positioned in the center of the plot to maximize natural light and create a strong connection with nature by incorporating surrounding green areas.



Figure 15. Two houses in the neighbourhood Mala Stanica, Tetovo, build in 1975

Despite the intention to allocate rented social apartments and nationalized land for housing construction based on "social criteria" to benefit the more disadvantaged labor group, the actual result was the opposite. Politically active individuals and those with higher positions in the division of labor and production organization were given the majority of socially owned apartments in collective buildings, land for house construction, and access to loan credit. The remaining employees either resided in substandard conditions within multifamily dwellings,

experienced unreasonable rental fees, or were compelled to seek alternative solution for proper housing, frequently in informally built houses. Thus, the Yugoslavian egalitarian society was not grounded in reality. (Archer, 2016) "Starting from the end of the 1950's, from the lesser and better known public statements of politicians (Dilas, 1957), through the student demonstrations of 1968 and warnings issued by intellectuals (Praxis), to articles published in factory periodicals and the mainstream media, the topic of the unequal distribution of all forms of socially-owned property was an increasingly frequent and conspicuous phenomenon in the public sphere." (Krstić, 2018, p. 149) Identical circumstances prevailed in Tetovo as well. For instance, the previously mentioned Mala Stanica, a residential area designed entirely of single-family dwellings in close proximity to the city center, is colloquially referred to as "Ajduchko maalo," which translates to "a neighborhood that belongs to the thieves." The majority of the inhabitants of the houses are qualified individuals such as architects, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and economists. Furthermore, they were renowned for holding exclusively leadership positions in various socialist enterprises.

In addition to workplace position-based discrimination, religious and national discrimination were widespread in Tetovo. In pursuit of nation-building, Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia advocated inclusive politics for Macedonian ethnics in urban labor markets while marginalizing and discriminating Muslims and Albanian ethnics in general. Prior to the establishment of FPRY, marginalization was a common occurrence among Albanians. Due to the policies enforced by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Albanians were subjected to persistent mistreatment from 1912 to 1941. As a consequence, they were compelled to depend solely on the combined endeavors of their large families for survival. They restricted their activities to the most rural regions, where they operated primarily in agriculture and animal husbandry, and they fervently guarded their religion and traditional culture of large patriarchal families for fear of alienation. Due to this policy, neither the Albanian nor the Muslim populace at large possessed an adequate quantity of educated cadres to participate in the political and economic life of Yugoslavia. The implementation of discriminatory and exclusive policies led to a significant influx of Albanians, declaring as Turks, into Turkey in 1950. (Brunnbauer, 2004) The Constitution enacted on 1963 and 1974 was designed to alleviate the heightened interethnic tensions by adopting a milder stance towards the Albanians, granting them increased political, social, and cultural rights. In an effort to address the underperforming economic growth in Macedonia, Kosovo, and Bosnia & Herzegovina, Yugoslavia has made alterations to its migration policy. The post-World War II industrial expansion in Western nations resulted in an explosion of employment opportunities and a heightened demand for laborers. Conversely, the Albanians were unable to sustain their extensive families with agricultural land that was shrinking over generations. Frequently, a single individual from the Albanian household is employed in a government position, another typically migrates to European nations for temporary employment, while the remaining members of the family continue in pursuing agricultural and livestock activities. The income derived from migration is still being allocated towards enhancing agricultural work technology and acquiring agricultural land, as this activity serves as the primary source of economic income. Families are still predominantly rural and lead complex, traditional, patriarchal lifestyles. Men were employed and migrated, while the elders managed family affairs. Women, on the other hand, remained excluded from public and political life and primarily focused on domestic chores and childcare. (Brunnbauer, 2004; Markov, 2018)

In contrast to the Albanian population, the Macedonian population exhibited significantly lower levels of migration. They constituted the majority of population and labor force of urban areas. The primary source of income for Macedonians was predominantly derived from employment in state positions and wage-paying initiatives. They progressively transitioned their way of life from complex family structures to nuclear ones. Women in Macedonian households exhibit a

greater inclination to participate in urban employment sectors and encounter challenges in balancing their familial responsibilities. Unlike Albanian households, which maintained a high level of fertility, Macedonian households focused their efforts on having fewer children, prioritizing education and female employment. Yet, until the early 1960s, the majority of families in North Macedonia continued to rely on agriculture as their primary source of income. The majority of individuals resided in rural areas until the early 1970s. However, the income generated from migration partially enhances the material circumstances of the Albanian population, enabling them to experience certain aspects of the growing consumerist culture.). During this period Tetovo has a steady level of growth. In 1971 the population number reached 35792. Anyhow, in contrast to the partially urbanized structure of Tetovo, the rural architecture maintains its traditional configuration while incorporating contemporary building materia. (Brunnbauer, 2004; Markov, 2018)

Following the death of Tito in 1980, the Yugoslavian economy experienced a significant decline due to ineffective leadership and enormous foreign debts. Amidst the current challenging economic and political climate, architectural production remains stagnant. The construction activity is severely restricted in both Yugoslavia and North Macedonia. However, architects in Macedonia continue to be active at least through projects. Similar to previous decades, foreign influences played a significant role in the emergence of the postmodernist spirit in architecture during this period, ultimately becoming the dominant tendency. Yugoslavia adopts postmodern western tendencies from "the Italian Tendenza to the appropriations of Western corporate architecture and even blatant commercialism". (Kulić et al., 2012, p. 229) The postmodernist movement in North Macedonia incorporated a diverse range of architectural shapes, often drawing inspiration from traditional local motifs. On the other hand, there was a rise in interethnic conflicts, leading to the eventual disintegration of Yugoslavia. Slovenia and Croatia were the initial republics to declare independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991, with Macedonia doing so shortly afterwards. (Tokarev, 2006; Hinerfeld, 2013)

Conclusion

The urbanization and industrialization ideology in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and later in the SFR Yugoslavia, along with the corresponding governmental and managerial policies and promoted architectural spirit, had a significant impact on the urban structure of Tetovo. The city underwent a transformation from its original organic structure, characterized by curved streets and dense, irregular blocks with small buildings, to a partially modernized city. The new layout features straight and wide roads that facilitate efficient vehicle movement, as well as larger blocks that accommodate collective housing facilities, cultural institutions, and industrial administrative buildings. The architectural composition of different types of buildings undergoes a transition from traditional structures that primarily serve the rural lifestyle of the population, to buildings with modern international characteristics that cater to urban living. Despite the prevalent superficial modern image in architectural production during the Yugoslavian period, it is important to note that there were numerous conflicts among architects in their efforts to establish the dominant principles of legitimate architecture during that time. One group of architects actively supports the modern principles of the international movement, while another group opposes these principles and aims to promote the values of national and local architecture. The latter, witnessed a swift expansion in the 1960s and 1970s. This growth was fueled by the concerns raised by local architects, who were further supported by the postmodernists' criticism of the detrimental effects of modernist principles on urban areas. Consequently, this article not only demonstrates the influence of socio-cultural, political, and economic factors on architectural production, but also underscores the fact that the architectural profession is a contentious field. The consensus on what constitutes a legitimate approach to the formation of buildings and cities is seldom unanimous. Often, what is deemed legitimate in one era can be delegitimized in another, particularly by significant socio-cultural, political, and economic forces both locally and globally. Moreover, even within a specific time period, there can be conflicts between professionals and leaders at various levels, as they strive to establish the prevailing principles of legitimate architecture. The primary adversaries to architectural progress in Yugoslavia consistently vacillated between advocating for the preservation of traditional local values and wholeheartedly embracing foreign European and modern American values without reservation. Thus, the architecture created during the era of Yugoslavia exhibits an amalgamation of modern, regional, and traditional neoclassical features. Overall, architectural movements in Yugoslavia, as well as in North Macedonia and Tetovo, are consistently influenced by the prevailing ideas that are simultaneously promoted worldwide. The development plans formulated during the era of Yugoslavia serve as the foundation for the current compilation of Tetovo's development plans. We expect that providing a thorough account of the population's demographic characteristics, lifestyle, rural to urban migrations, migrations outside of Macedonia, political, economic, and technological advancements, as well as urban policies and development plans and their effects on the transformation of the urban environment in Tetovo during the Yugoslav period, will encourage careful consideration when adapting the plans developed during that time. It is important to critically evaluate both the positive and negative aspects of these factors and adapt them to the current way of life and conditions in Tetovo. This will help prevent any further negative consequences on the city's urban structure.

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