DIPLOMARBEIT

Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets
Interpreting the citizens’ spatial needs and new policy approaches

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Diplom-Ingenieurs / Diplom-Ingenieurin
unter der Leitung
Univ. Prof. Dipl.-ing. Mag. phil. dr. phil. Peter Mörtenböck
E264

Institut für Kunst und Gestaltung
ingereicht an der Technischen Universität Wien
Fakultät für Architektur und Raumplanung

von
Lovro Končar - Gamulin
01228417

Wien, am 04.06. 2019
Abstract

The effect of markets on their surroundings represents not only their importance as an institution of social life and an urban place of gathering and coexistence, but also as a catalyst for positive development of urban morphology in content-poor quarters. Traditional markets are perceived as a part of Zagreb’s cultural heritage and a symbol of an ongoing tradition, yet they deteriorate and lose their identity through poor and delayed reconstructions, relocations and a lack of infrastructure. Struck by discriminatory policies, unclear formal rules and high fines, the vendors are being put out of work and the markets lose their clientele. This thesis discusses causes of various current problems as well as permanent effects of systematic neglect of markets and thus places in Zagreb. It provides a broader perspective on a range of opportunities of social disciplines which aim to collect data and interpret the spatial needs of citizens in order to create functional cities with healthy quarters. Revitalizing existing markets as well as interpreting the spatial needs of the residents are presented in form of two architectural concepts.

Abstract Deutsch

Chapter 1

Historical development and present state ......................................................... 15
  1.1 Urban planning and spatial development of Zagreb throughout the centuries .......... 15
    1.1.1 Urban development of Zagreb as a foundation for following scenarios ........... 15
    1.1.2 First markets of Zagreb and their expansion ............................................. 19
  1.2 Emergence of unregulated markets in Dubrava ............................................. 23
    1.2.1 Urban development of Dubrava since the WW2 period ............................... 23
    1.2.2 Early years of informal markets in Dubrava ............................................. 31
    1.2.3 Konjščinska street market: a story of fast success and even faster downfall ....... 37
    1.2.4 Impact on Zagreb from markets within it and vice versa ........................... 42
  1.3 Informality and illegality of Zagreb's markets today ....................................... 43
    1.3.1 Formal- informal linkages in the context of Zagreb's markets ...................... 43
    1.3.2 Consumers' motives for buying from Zagreb's informal markets ................... 45
    1.3.3 Causes of marketplace related illegal activities and their consequences .......... 48
    1.3.4 Overwhelming presence of formal rules and approaches towards eradication of informality .... 51
    1.3.5 Motivation for undocumented income and the importance of the informal sector .................. 52
    1.3.6 (Un)grateful past, uncertain future .......................................................... 54

Chapter 2

Compatibility of market- work conditions and state regulations with local circumstances .............................. 57
  2.1 Current trends and the need for change ....................................................... 57
    2.1.1 The effects infrastructure and work conditions have on market trade in the context of Zagreb's markets ................................................................. 57
    2.1.2 The vendors' dependence on the public infrastructure ................................ 63
    2.1.3 Financial demands brought upon the vendors and the state's capability to generate profit from the markets ................................................................. 64
  2.2 Market policies and local realities ............................................................... 66
    2.2.1 Tolerance towards certain types of informal markets ................................. 66
    2.2.2 Integration of the informal economy into the formal policy-making .............. 66
    2.2.3 New model of traditional markets ......................................................... 69
Chapter 3

Conventional use of architecture and urban planning in Zagreb in context of existing and emerging markets

3.1 Urban planning and architecture of traditional markets
   3.1.1 Decentralization and qualitative-quantitative principles as primary criteria for planning
   3.1.2 Activation of the city through markets within it

3.2 Present circumstances and shortcomings of current architectural approach
   3.2.1 Market position and relocation
   3.2.2 Infrastructure, work conditions and trade in various seasons and weather conditions

Chapter 4

Architectural concepts for revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

4.1 Emerging markets: market planning on the example of the Old Market in Dubrava
   4.1.1 Site selection (based on the urbanistic and demographic analysis of the quarter)
   4.1.2 Market space & public space: architecture as opportunities-creating discipline
   4.1.3 Taking informality in account as part of revitalization
   4.1.4 Abstraction of the market’s spatial aspect: architectural concept and social capacities
   4.1.5 Architectural plans
   4.1.6 Materials and construction

4.2 Existing markets: providing adequate conditions for revitalization
   4.2.1 Preserving tradition by protecting the markets’ appearance
   4.2.2 Interlinking sun umbrella concept: approach towards providing adequate conditions on the market

Conclusion

References
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets:
Interpreting the citizens’ spatial needs and new policy approaches
Introduction

For a city to develop correctly, social components interlinked with spatial development of its quarters must adapt to the needs of their residents. Traditional markets, being the most significant social activators of their surroundings always had a great effect on changes in the urban morphology. While most of these changes can be beneficial, spontaneously occurring markets in emerging quarters can have a detrimental effect on further development of spatial and social components. Dubrava, set of 2 quarters which together form the biggest district in Zagreb, is still experiencing the consequences caused by a discrepancy in the spatial redistribution of units which prompted the growth of informal and illegal hotspots over 40 years ago. The initial settling of Dubrava went by not only without any social content in the emerging quarters but also without any social cushion in mind meant for preventing the negative effects of eventual spontaneous emergence of dangerous social content. A suitable environment for the appearance of informal and illegal markets in Dubrava was created by the urban morphology of this, essentially unplanned environment with severe content deficiency. Besides the recurrence of illegal activities close-by those markets, such as violence and drug trade, there were numerous other factors affecting those parts of the city, their population and with it, the institution of the market itself. Lack of regulation and political instability of the Republic of Croatia in 1990s allowed this phenomenon to escalate beyond the borders of a single district. Informality of many and illegality of some markets played a major role in creating a general perception that traditional market trade is dangerous and impossible to control. A period of over-regulation in terms of traditional markets followed, and together with the appearance of foreign capital in the form of large super- and hypermarkets, made them even more vulnerable to coming events. With their social value severely diminished, even the most significant markets which are part of Zagreb’s cultural heritage experienced forced relocations, neglect, obsolescence of infrastructure and finally, abandonment by both vendors and customers. Unacceptable work conditions and high fees brought upon the vendors resulted in diminished quality of products. Removing the markets from vital squares they were part of made these squares alienated, blank spaces with no identity and social value. Architecturally doubtful reconstructions of some of these squares which followed, hindered the
sensitive historical genealogy of their surroundings and declared their character as forever lost. This thesis examines changes in physiognomy of both Dubrava and other quarters in respect to the change in circumstances of markets within them. The question of a positive impact of traditional markets on their surroundings is tackled from architectural, social and legislative standpoint allowing the foundation for their revitalization to be set. Two architectural concepts aim to bring disparate communities together, provide a healthy center to the content-poor quarters and offer acceptable work conditions. They serve as a basis towards adaptation of the markets to current social trends in order for them to fulfill their potential as great activators of their surroundings. The potential of the informal economy in the revitalization of Zagreb’s markets is discussed and policy approaches which would attract both vendors and customers back to the markets are given.
Methodology

In efforts to systematically detect and address issues revolving around Zagreb’s traditional market trade, several socio-geographical factors were taken into consideration. Ivana Crčenko’s classification of these anthropogenic factors on demographic characteristics of the population, forms of space-use and prevailing social activities, historical circumstances which influenced the emergence, development or disappearance of certain elements of the morphological structure, administrative-territorial classification of settlements and socio-political contexts under the influence of which the urban tissue is being built and a specific morphology of the city is created serves as a basis for this thesis (Crčenko, 2012: 115). The coexistence of the formal-informal markets as well as their past and current influence on the quarters within which they stand is examined and their future role in revitalization of Zagreb’s markets is included.

The structure of this thesis can be divided into 3 units preceding the proposals for revitalization:

1. Examination of the past interactions between the urban fabric and both informal (traditional green markets, informal textile markets) and formal markets (super-, hypermarkets) in Zagreb. Causes and accelerators of the emergence of informal markets in Zagreb’s district Dubrava as well as their influence on shaping of its urban tissue served as a background for understanding current issues revolving around traditional markets in Zagreb. In order to prove that the current trend of removing the markets from historically significant squares has a disadvantageous effect on their character, appearance and even relevance, existing data as well as other qualitative methods (interviews, observation) are included.
Existing data

The importance and estimates of size of the informal economy in Croatia conducted by Predrag Bejaković in The informal economy in Croatia and economic development is of great importance for understanding the trends in informal economy in the 1990s and early 2000s. Overall negative perception of informal markets in Zagreb was examined in form of existing articles, most of which date between 1995.-2005. The vulnerability of the markets to deterioration or relocation from the squares they were part of being a direct consequence of the negative perception of general population towards informal markets between 1995.-2005. was deduced by continuously observing most of Zagreb’s markets apart from reviewing relevant literature.

2. Analysis of stagnation of content-poor quarters on the example of Lower Dubrava and false interpretation of the citizens’ spatial needs in other quarters. Morphological analysis of the changes in urban content in content poor quarters (or lack of it) is done by reviewing the relevant regulation plans, conducting interviews and finally, observation.

3. Examining the formal rules in terms of their compatibility with current local circumstances. Topics such as proportion of formal rules towards eradication of informality, financial demands brought upon market vendors, motivation for undocumented income, consumers’ motives for buying from Zagreb’s informal markets, tolerance towards certain types of informal markets, the vendors’ dependence on the public infrastructure as well as integration of the informal economy into the formal policy-making are examined.

Interviews

Several frequent points in the Dubrava district as well as on some of Zagreb’s most significant squares in other quarters (which had housed a market during a significant period of time) were chosen as sites for conducting interviews. The goal was to examine their satisfaction with the site after the market’s removal as well as to detect an eventual intervention required by the citizens, but somehow overlooked by those responsible. The interviews were conducted following the model by Kristina Careva, Rene Lisac, Tomislav Pletenac and Jana Vukić in their survey Istraživanje participativnog potencijala gradana u planiranju javnog prostora grada Zagreba (Analysis of the participative potential of the citizens in public space planning of the City of Zagreb). Rigidity of the formal regulations which lead to the current situation were examined in interviews with market vendors on Dolac market, Tržni trg market, Kvaternik’s market, Branimir’s market, British square market and the market in Upper Dubrava.
Movement observation

The nature of movement of the residents of Lower Dubrava, as well as routes most frequently taken were observed with the goal of establishing a potential site favorable for becoming a social center of the quarter in the future. Movement observation also took place on the Kvaternik’s square in order to examine the convenience of the square as a meeting place and a pathway in multiple directions. The importance of the square over underground passages is also examined.

4. Proposals for revitalization of Zagreb’s markets in form of 2 architectural concepts. A context specific approach was taken in order to tackle the issues addressed in the units 1, 2 and 3. as well as to offer acceptable work conditions on traditional markets in the future.
Picture 1 – Croatian National Theatre planned by Viennese architects Ferdinand Fellner und Herman Helmer
Chapter 1

Historical development and present state

1.1 Urban planning and spatial development of Zagreb throughout the centuries

1.1.1 Urban development of Zagreb as a foundation for following scenarios

Cities have already become complex systems, whether in terms of spatial redistribution of units and their functions, social factors affecting the movement of people throughout the quarters, connectivity, production, capacity, etc. A city is not merely a large town with more inhabitants, space, content, opportunities etc. than other, smaller settlement types, but also a morphological system whose components interact with each other and have the ability to create a system-wide consciousness. Its parts are interdependent, but not always directly and clearly. Pressure applied on one part causes change on another through a chain of other components because of the indirect relationship between the two. Robert A. Meyers describes complex systems in the preface for the Encyclopedia of complexity and systems science as “[...] adaptive as they evolve and may contain self-driving feedback loops. Thus, complex systems are much more than a sum of their parts” (Meyers, 2009: 5). Additionally, in order to interact, evolve and adapt, time is the decisive factor. Cities grow and modernize, stagnate and deteriorate, heal and rejuvenate, their being occurs through time. “Everything flows”, Heraclitus said (Barnes, 1982). Change is the only constant. In terms of cities, Zagreb is the right example of this claim. Croatia as a whole but Zagreb in particular has a long history of adapting to ever-changing times and conditions, and it has been successful in doing it. Conditions of permanent uncontrollable development are no strange terms for Zagreb. The city grew from 33,27 km² in 1850 to 305,99 km² today with 17 city districts, or 641,32 km² if over 70 small settlements nearby are included. The number of inhabitants grew from

---

1 A broadly accepted phrase used by Plato in Cratylus, 401d, Aristotle and Simplicus’ Commentary on Aristotle’s Physics
16,036 in 1850. to 933,914 in 1991. Being part of the Austrian Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, State (and later Kingdom) of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, Zagreb had no real jurisdiction over its own territory for a significant portion of its past. For most of its history, Zagreb was formed by administrations of powerful foreign empires. The rule shifted from Austria (Vienna) to Hungary (Budapest) and Serbia (Belgrade).

These historical circumstances were conditioned by the unique geographical position of Zagreb. Located in the Southeast Europe on the Pannonian basin and the sloping hills of Medvednica mountain with Sava river flowing through it, both European countries and Southeast countries were at hand. Therefore, Zagreb was within once great empires, in ancient history and medieval times Roman and Holy Roman Empire, from the 16. century Habsburg Empire and thereafter Yugoslavia, and since 2013 it is part of the European Union. It was also on the margin of vast and powerful empires such as the Ottoman Empire and the USSR.

In the period of the 19. century Zagreb, the architecture of public institutions, museums and opera houses was planned similarly, in neo-architectural styles throughout the whole Habsburg Empire. Those institutions in each city were often planned by the same architects and planners, with the goal of visually joining the Empire. For example Austrian architects Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer planned theaters, opera houses and palaces in many cities of the empire, including Zagreb. During their rule, both Vienna and Budapest had their interests in Zagreb which had very limited power in opposition to them.

Habsburg empire was linked by a network of railway lines, which extended to German and Russian empires. Cities of great significance such as Vienna, Budapest and Prague were major junctures in the railway line which enabled them better connection with all parts of the empire, efficient transport of goods and people, and finally, more dynamic development of those cities and their population. In the 1860s Zagreb became an important juncture in the railway network and its population started to rise substantially. In the 1900s, Zagreb proposed

---

another terminal outside the city which would have enabled the city to expand better in the future, but was rejected by the Hungarian authorities for the same reason. They feared Zagreb would expand rapidly if they were to allow it. Nevertheless, the built railway combined with the Green horseshoe 3 and the first regulation plan of Zagreb in 1865, enabled the rapid development of Zagreb until it became an important industry and trade center of the empire with ever-growing population and territory. With the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the independence of Zagreb and Croatia in general was short-lived before entering another political entity, the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. At first, Zagreb had jurisdiction over its own territory, but soon the whole was governed from Belgrade. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was formed in 1931, but already 10 years after, the Independent State of Croatia was created. The constant change and shift of authority for Zagreb meant political and economic instability. Even the urbanistic plans which were accepted up to 1940, were then discarded because of the rapid shift of administration. To make things more difficult, the number of inhabitants of Zagreb doubled every 10 years since 1920. How is it possible to plan effectively under such conditions? To thrive, disciplines like architecture and urban planning require quite the opposite, stability and continuity. The usual strategies of planning were not an option as the city grew so fiercely, but architects and planners from the City Office together with other investors came up with an idea- to activate the periphery of the city through a series of projects which would be related mutually but also connected to the emerging functions on the areas around them. Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik identify that as patch urbanism and describe it in their book Project Zagreb as “[...] strategically planted patches of urban nodes in peripheral zones slated for future development. These included housing estates and schools that doubled as neighborhood cultural centers...” (Blau, Rupnik, 2007: 164). This kind of meticulous but agile “in medias res” planning along with the regulation plans from 1923. and 1936. enabled Zagreb to deal with the constant rise of population effectively. Activation of the periphery plays a crucial role in an expanding city.

3 Monumental urbanistic plan developed by Milan Lenuci which comprises 7 significant squares with important socio-cultural institutions, and the botanical gardens. It is an urbanistic equivalent of the Vienna’s Ringstrasse.
Careful planning of the functions for key areas and axis in which the city will expand leads to decentralizing of the internal parts of the city. Providing content to emerging parts of the city is vital for their spatial and social development. Understanding of the urban morphology is an essential component required in planning of functional quarters with healthy content, because as time passes the periphery of today may very well become densely populated areas far from the edge of the city. Partnering of architecture and urbanism with other social disciplines such as sociology and anthropology provides a broader perspective on current problems and leads to a holistic approach of problem-detecting and solving. Good and functioning architecture and urbanism, though conditioned by various other elements, creates the environment for other, indirectly connected components to align. These components can represent the citizens’ partaking in future decision- and policy-making, de-marginalizing of the informally employed, protecting and preserving tradition, etc.
1.1.2 First markets of Zagreb and their expansion

Markets of Zagreb are, unsurprisingly, as old as the city itself. The first marketplaces were situated in front of the cathedral on Kaptol hill, the medieval core of the city where king Ladislaus in 1094. founded the Zagreb diocese. Another market appeared in the 13th century on st. Mark’s square in Gradec, a “free royal city” since 1242. located on the hill of Grič. These markets were a cause of tensions between Gradec and Kaptol, as one constantly tried to overtake the customers from the other. Gradec and Kaptol came to an understanding in the 1630s to hold the Kaptol royal fair together, but they also agreed to develop a permanent fair in the Lower Town, specifically, on Manduševac (today’s Ban Josip Jelacic’s Square). Following a series of wars and peace agreements with the Ottoman Empire, and the Ottoman Empire being geostrategically pushed from the Central to the Southeast Europe, Zagreb’s trade could also enter a new era of its development. Zagreb’s residents were engaged in craft, which bloomed during that time thanks to emerging markets and successful fairs. The first large exhibition in Zagreb which opened the door for other fairs and expositions of such magnitude was held
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

already in 1864. Specifically, it paved the way for the Zagreb Fair which appeared in the 20. Century and remained until today the most significant fairground with over 2000 exhibitors on fairs held each year. Development of crafts and the rising number of craftsmen was conditioned by the success of trade as a discipline, which was certain as markets and fairs grew rapidly and new merchants appeared daily. Besides domestic peddlers, there were retailers from other cities, who acquired the right to trade with a series of restrictions. The Manduševac fair grew along with the city itself and took part in its development as many vendors from other countries wanted to trade and live in Zagreb. They often came to town with a lot of capital, both in cash and goods. They would try to make a name for themselves, build a reputation, buy a house and get citizens’ rights as soon as possible. After accomplishing that, they would, now as domestic merchants, usually fight together with other domestic merchants against the arrival of new foreign merchants to Zagreb. The new, specialized merchants in one type of goods started to suppress those who were selling mixed goods. This is how the first shoe stores or textile stores appeared. Regular markets with groceries were also growing and expanding as was the population of Zagreb. The Harmica market was the first among the new markets in the Lower Town. It was situated on Manduševac until 1930s, when it was relocated to the area between st. Mary’s church and Kaptoš. It was named Dolac and it remained the most significant market in the city center until today. The fair was moved to the Zrinski Square and other markets started to appear as the city expanded. Each good and regulated market at that time was located on a square as it needed large space where fairs were held. Significant portion of Zagreb’s income in the 17. and 18. century came from annual fairs and daily market. That contributed greatly to the leading role in the city management eventually falling in hands of a narrow circle of merchants, wealthy craftsmen, attorneys and civil servants. Trade was the most important everyday activity of the 19. century Zagreb, and shaped the city in to what it is today. In the late 19th century, markets emerged on the University Square and Heinzlova street. Markets also appeared on the Ilicki Square (now British Square) and Međašni Square (now Eugen Kvaternik’s Square), where they remained until today, however not in the same form or capacity. Kvaternik’s market relocated some 50m of the square in the early 2000s, causing severe consequences which will be examined at a later point. Many
of Zagreb’s significant squares housed a market or large market exhibitions at one point in the past.

Traditional markets have always been an irreplaceable soul of the city, they are places of encounter and coexistence, and in Zagreb, a symbol of an ongoing tradition. There is, however, a growing initiative from the local authority to tear down some of those markets which have been around since the 19th century. Sadly, even the most significant markets in Zagreb are uncared for, they deteriorated by stagnation for a long period of time and lack infrastructure required for providing the vendors with acceptable work conditions. There are markets such as historically significant British square market, which are under constant threat of closing down, or under “threat” of modernization. Branimir’s market is waiting on a delayed refurbishment since 2015. The metal stands have been demolished, the new project published but there is no progress whatsoever for some time already. A delay which continues for years is for the retailers as devastating as a permanent shutdown of the market. The Borongaj market is currently being moved from its current position to another location where a new market is under construction, but it remains to be seen how many of the vendors from Borongaj will relocate to the new market, as its capacity will not let all of them to find their place there, let alone to employ new vendors. Some markets like the Cerska market in Dubrava which clearly does not operate in its full capacity for years with all of the objects abandoned, apart from one single stand every Saturday, is normally inscribed in the official homepage of the Markets of Zagreb. The “Old market” (common name for the Cerska market) was historically as well as functionally a market of great significance to the residents of the Lower Dubrava quarter, but the lack of infrastructure caused by negligence decided the unfortunate fate of the market, abandonment. There was clearly oversight of the whole category of market vendors, as some are awaiting relocation or a delayed renovation, while others simply disappeared because of the non-existent infrastructure and overall poor work conditions of the vendors. Unable to tackle the regulations which harm the vendors’ ability to earn, each vendor stands alone and works until the expenses outgrow the profits and he is out of business. The utter dissatisfaction of vendors is not being registered and thought of as an urgent matter as they do not communicate it on the same platform as other, formal units. Their financial instability reflects on the quality of their products. Harmful and unequal formal regulations concerning traditional market trade and
imposing of high fees upon the vendors lead to the constantly decreasing quality of the products and less active vendors each year. All this resulted in the overall weakening of the markets and less people on them. Their significance in terms of activating their surroundings eventually diminished and made them more vulnerable to the interests against traditional markets. With the markets in their current state, quarters lose important content with potential of activating its surroundings more than any other social institution. This unrealized potential has negative effects on the change in the urban tissue of city districts.

In Europe, there are many examples of traditional markets thriving, such as Encants Vells in Barcelona which made use of its historical component and managed to achieve an annual turnover of around 35mil euro (Moertenboeck, Mooshammer, 2015: 469). It is important to keep in mind that this is an informal market, which are commonly perceived as destructive in the context of (im)possibility of monitoring the types of products bought and sold and unfavorable for the passive income of the state. Vendors do not give out receipts, pay taxes or have fixed prices, their products often come from other informal enterprises and the whole is not officially sanctioned by the state. There are hardly any informal markets with that kind of turnover without other dangerous repercussions, especially in Croatia. Reasons for it will be examined in the following chapters. Profit aside, traditional markets in Europe represent the cultural heritage but also the way of life in cities within which they stand, they can be found in every tourist guide. The only tradition Zagreb will most likely preserve if measures are not taken, is to have one market per year closed or ineffectively relocated.
1.2 Emergence of unregulated markets in Dubrava

1.2.1 Urban development of Dubrava since the WW2 period

Dubrava is the name shared by the 2 of Zagreb’s quarters which are located on the east of the city- Upper and Lower Dubrava. It is positioned between the Štefanovac stream and the Sesvete district. On the north it climbs up the Medvednica mountain and expands to the Sava river on the south. Upper Dubrava today houses 61,841 people on its area of 40,26km2, while lower Dubrava accommodates 36,363 people on just 10,81km2. Together they form the district with the most inhabitants in Zagreb, with the population of almost 100,000. The current center of Dubrava (along Dubrava avenue between the Upper and Lower Dubrava), started to emerge as a settlement in the 1930s, while other settlements and villages on the north date from much older times. After WW2 the uncontrolled and spontaneous construction began and lasted until the 90s. In the meantime, some areas experienced planned changes so residential buildings also emerged. In the 1990s, during the period of the Homeland war, another acceleration in the population growth was registered in regard to the decades beforehand. The increase can be associated with an increasing number of immigrants and refugees as a result of the Homeland war. With that said, it is clear that the post-war (both WW2 and Homeland war) influx of dwellers helped shape Dubrava into what it is today.

---

picture 21 – Location of Dubrava and its older (purple) and newer (yellow) settlements
Historical development and present state

picture 22 – Spatial arrangement of Dubrava's settlements since the 1930s
The entire Dubrava can be geographically and demographically divided into 3 units: north, south and the area of central Dubrava. The northern unit includes Medvednica foothills where the oldest settlements of Dubrava first appeared and developed. After the development of the lower parts, the population of the northern settlements stagnated, and these settlements are today mildly populated. The southern part covers the area south of the railway and is predominantly less populated. The central part developed on the most convenient area of Dubrava-north of the railway and south of the slopes of Medvednica. Most of the inhabitants are located here, around the border between upper and lower Dubrava.

The geographic position of Dubrava affected its historic development greatly. The sloping relief of the upper Dubrava is the neighborhood where the first settlements surrounded by streams in this area appeared. During the 19. and first half of the 20. Century, the land became the private property of the peasants. The villages were gradually expanding, the number of inhabitants was slowly increasing, and the wooden houses were gradually replaced by stone ones. Specific relief, climbing up the foothills of mount Medvednica enabled early settling in the north, while the southern, lower Dubrava was later inhabited because of the danger of flooding of the Sava river. Because of the relief, lower Dubrava which is completely plane grew much quicker and until today became more than double densely populated than upper Dubrava. The first residents appeared in 1930s after the parceling of the 200 ‘jutara’ (1 150 928m2) of land in the upper Dubrava between Dubrava avenue and Rudolf Kolaka road. The first parceling took place in 1935., and the other four followed in the next few years, with the last one being in 1942. All of the mentioned parcelings were executed properly, in patterns, with the grid around the designated longitudinal and lateral streets.

Simultaneously with the parceling of the upper Dubrava, the first parceling of lower Dubrava took place. It was not meticulously executed as the above mentioned upper Dubrava parcelings, so the plots were inscribed in the cadastral map as farmlands. The parcelings were of great importance to the following development of the district, as they played a decisive role for the disposition and quality of dwellings, and overall planning opportunities of public space and infrastructure within the district.

The new settlement developed quite slowly at the beginning because at that time there was no infrastructure whatsoever,
picture 24 – Meticulously executed parcelings in Upper Dubrava (red) and Retkovec (blue) compared to the irregular parceling of Lower Dubrava (yellow)
and it remained the major problem for the next 40 years. Street hand water pumps were still used to retrieve water in 1970., and there were hardly any paved surfaces due to a shortage of asphalt. Those who settled in Dubrava in the 1930s, among other shortcomings, had no electricity and there were no street lights. The plots were extremely affordable and those who bought them, principally built without permit. They were mostly young, working class families and railway workers who settled along the railway line, but there were also other, local residents in search of cheap accommodation. Dubrava became Zagreb’s newest periphery. In the 1940s, however, the situation has changed. The tram tracks which enabled better connection of Dubrava with the city were built, the student city fifth was under construction and the railway line was operating. The construction was accelerating and the basic physiognomy of the settlement was determined by the construction of small family houses. Stipica Šarčević detects the vicinity of the Pan-European transport corridor 5b as a factor which allowed accelerated development of industry in this part of the city (Šarčević, 2017: 14). All this together with the rural exodus had an effect on the growth of population in Dubrava, he argues. After the war people from all over Croatia and Yugoslavia started to come to Zagreb in search of work and accommodation. The nationalization of the farmers’ land encouraged them to leave their estates and come to the city. The work was easy to find as the big influx of people prompted the industrialization which required a large number of working force. Due to its proximity to the newly opened industrial complex in Žitnjak, Dubrava became a strong immigration area with ever-growing population. Dubrava experienced the biggest population growth from 1950.-1970.

The urbanistic plan for Dubrava was discarded due to the large influx of dwellers and sudden industrialization at that time. It was difficult to regulate the constantly rising number of needed dwellings for the rising population number, so people built pretty much as they chose. Although upper Dubrava is bigger and characterized by planned residential buildings, more inhabitants per m2 live in lower Dubrava, which is characterized by predominantly unplanned construction with narrow and twisting streets. The architecture of the district has distinct characteristics of an agile and irregular development. That discrepancy in population density is the direct
picture 28 – Morphological arrangement of units in Dubrava by their function

- residential houses (1-3 floors)
- residential buildings (3 floors or higher)
- educational institutions
- social institutions
- large retail trade facilities
- warehouses, storage facilities or abandoned objects
- mixed use - residential + retail trade
Location of the Konjščinska Street on the map of eastern Dubrava
consequence of the parcelings in the 1930s and the unplanned and tight construction during the 1960s and 1970s. The increase in the total number of inhabitants did not equally reflect in space. The density of the population usually depends primarily on the configuration of the terrain, but on the example of Dubrava one can see an even greater influence of social factors. During the settling of Dubrava, most of the newcomers did not bother with the (non)existence of the planning arrangements for the district in the making. Until the 1990s, Dubrava served as a large sleeping quarters for the working people. Facilities such as shops, bars, etc. appeared later. The lack of planning arrangements triggered, both directly and indirectly, a handful of other problems. The small, densely organized plots in lower Dubrava contributed to the lack of the basic communal infrastructure. The consequence of such parceling is visible today, so lower Dubrava does not have any local square or an acceptable place for gathering in their district. For many of the everyday activities they have to go to the upper Dubrava which is clearly not practical. Even though the situation is alarming, not much has changed in that context since the problem has emerged.

1.2.2 Early years of informal markets in Dubrava

Urban markets within the city or some of its quarters represent some of the most important social activities—supplying and gathering. They are therefore the most vivid, loud, sometimes even chaotic points within a quarter. That is not a coincidence. The decisive factor in choosing a site for a market is good connectivity with the area nearby and traffic connection with further parts of the city, frequency and concentration of people. The problem of traffic jams during markets’ working hours must be prevented, and the noise generated by constant high frequency of people must be tolerable by its surroundings. With that said, it is clear that the size, placement and number of markets vary depending on the size and population of various city quarters, they are not homogeneously distributed throughout the city. Most of the residents of any quarter do their daily shopping within that district, hence the importance of diverse markets in each of them. Urban markets are an essential content of each important juncture because they activate their surroundings like no other activity. Sadly, the potentially positive impact of the markets on the urban morphology of content-poor
picture 30 – Dobrova market and its illegal objects
quarters is rarely among the decisive factors for choosing a site for a new market. Located on parking lots, streets, meadows or squares, markets can appear spontaneously, but it is the task of disciplines such as architecture and urban planning together with city officials and community developers, to detect their importance and optimize their functioning, as well as of the areas around them.

They are a very accurate indicator of the consumer purchasing power and overall financial standard of citizens. Rigidity of formal rules and vendors’ compliance or non-compliance to them and policy makers’ consideration and understanding towards informal workers can also be perceived by observing traditional markets. Another important matter is the influence and effectiveness of disciplines such as architecture and urban planning in rethinking old or non-functional markets and revitalizing the closed and abandoned ones. The last aspect is of great significance, as these disciplines have the power to bring disparate communities together through accommodating basic needs of the population through carefully planned shared spaces. These, planned lively institutions of encounter and gathering evolve into centers of social life with other functions revolving around them. Trade represents the most important activity in Dubrava’s history and present, to be specific informal trade.

To comprehend informality, not only in the context of Zagreb’s Dubrava but in general, it is perhaps best to address the term form first. There are many different definitions of it. For Keith Hart,” It is the presumptively invariant in the variable- ‘presumptively’ because what is held to be invariant (the rule) is rarely so in practice”(Hart, 2006). For Plato, the form represents the perfection of things in the realm beyond the senses, he argues that there is an ideal variant of everything and it is form (Ross, 1951). Form is a way in which anything exists. It is the essence of things. However, there is the term ‘formality’, which defines compliance with formal and conventional rules. Informality is simply the negation of that, it is an answer to the faulty and unjust conventional rules. E. Nkurunziza argues that the formal rules are often incompatible with local realities, and drive people into informal work (Meagher, 2013: 19).

Those with no stable formal work options, especially in the case of marginalized population, often resort to the informal sector. For them it is critical to secure any level of financial stability, regardless of the nature of work. They often find themselves in the illegal, or a bit more benign, informal economy, which “...refers to income generating activities that operate outside the regulatory framework of the state.”, Kate Meagher argues (Meagher, 2013: 2). There are multiple problems which generally always emerge at some point. Informal sector is considered irregular, unrecognizable and unpredictable by the local authorities which seek to decrease it as much as they can. They see informal workers as those who refuse to pay taxes and fees and hide the income they generate from informal work. Moreover, the informal sector itself is unstable, as it is strongly affected by the macroeconomic trends and offers its workers no protection. Informal sector is a burden on the formal sector, as it pays no taxes for the public goods that it makes use of. Production in the informal economy is inefficient and there are no legal agreements in form of contracts, just the verbal ones. Globally, more than half of non-agricultural employment in half of 47 countries for which data are available is in informal sector, which is worrying. Retail trade is the business activity which has spread the most in terms of informal employment, both

---

6 Sector which comprises all types of employment which are not recognized as regular (formal) types of employment, it is part of the economy which is not taxed or monitored by the state.
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

globally and specifically in Zagreb’s Dubrava. Since the big influx of population both after the WW2 and the Homeland war, street vending has been the most visible form of informal employment in Dubrava. It was due to most of the administrative organ’s inability to welcome such a great number of new inhabitants in so short period of time. There was no sign of ethnic and cultural diversity as well as ethnic pluralism of this magnitude until the 1950s, when different minority groups inhabited Dubrava. Most significant among them are Croats from Kosovo, who started to settle in the still relatively new district in the late 1960s. Many of them inhabited the northwest of central Dubrava, particularly around Konjščinska street. Additionally, it was a convenient time for the beginning of the ethnic and cultural diversity, as the period of changeless nationalism passed long ago. Poverty within those groups of newcomers did not allow all of them to wait for formal employment, and others simply did not choose to wait. The new groups of immigrants mostly held together and with limited work options, resorted to the informal sector. They turned the Konjščinska street into a typical Balkan Bazaar. They did it primarily by illegally remodeling and reconstructing their houses, and especially ground floors, to be accessible directly from the street. In such a way they could sell the goods on the street directly from their houses. At first sight, strategically unimportant street on the edge of the city grew more popular every day. After establishing a clientele, Konjščinska was growing bigger and there was profit in literally everything the vendors were selling. Konjščinska street market was the heart and soul of such a trade, but hardly the only one. Since Dubrava main market was built in 1990, first illegal expansions appeared shortly after. The idea of informal income has spread like a malady throughout the community, so after a few additional years there were almost 60 illegal objects and stands around the market. The necessary infrastructural facilities were unrecognizable because of the expansions.

Inspections have visited both Konjščinska and the main market very rarely in the 1990s. It was a time of economic and political instability, a time when Croatia finally became an independent republic. While the government was forming and the community was healing from the horrors caused by the Homeland war, the vendors in Dubrava were making a tremendous amount of money. Informal markets of Dubrava were already at its peak and they directly influenced the current spatial arrangement of units in the quarter. Extremely low retail...
Picture 35 - Concentration of retail trade in Upper and Lower Dubrava
prices and all sorts of products attracted customers from all over the city. Those markets were many peoples’ sole shopping destination, however some condemned them for polluting the district by causing other, more severe market-related activities. Besides the recurrence of illegal activities close-by those markets, such as violence and drug trade, there were numerous other factors affecting those parts of the city, their population and with it, the institution of the market itself. As the vendors grew wealthier, criminal activities thrived, and the community was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the situation. A suitable environment for the appearance of these “informal hotspots” in Dubrava was created by the urban morphology of this, essentially unplanned environment with severe content deficiency. The initial settling of Dubrava went by not only without any social content in the emerging quarters but also without any social cushion in mind meant for preventing the negative effects of eventual spontaneous emergence of dangerous social content.

1.2.3 Konjščinska street market: a story of fast success and even faster downfall

Buildings in Zagreb’s center originate from many different architectural epochs. The obvious temporal and stylistic differences between the houses, buildings and blocks create a harmony in an architectural and urbanistic, as well as in a historical and cultural aspect. Both historic and the cultural aspect vary from district to district. When one compares Dubrava with other quarters and city’s center, the first difference which comes to mind is the overly-accentuated cultural component in some parts of Dubrava, especially around Konjščinska street. It would not be wrong to say that the spirit and understanding of life in Konjščinska reflects on their houses, spaces around them and the streets nearby. During the first migration wave after WW2, it was a show of prestige among Kosovar newcomers to buy land and build a house in Konjščinska street, and those who did, sooner or later made them as big and dashing as possible. The initial idea of the owners was to extend their houses to the street by prolonging the ground floors, which was done predominantly without building permits. After accomplishing that, they added floors and remodeled their houses in an architecturally doubtful fashion until they were
unrecognizable, as each owner wanted for his home to become a symbol of wealth and success. The houses grew bigger and transformed parallel with the market. From outside, every house was flashy in a similar manner. The details were different but the taste was alike. There were numerous balconies on each upper floor, marble tiles of various colors and arrangements on the ground floor of each house, facades in every possible color and pattern. In the 1990s, when Konjičinska street market had reached its peak, it was a place with a store in each house, every store carried the family name of the owner, all of the shops were wholesale companies of all sorts of things, it was a market where no inspection was welcome. One could find anything there, from counterfeit designer garments and watches to jewelry and even home appliances.

Konjičinska street market is in fact quite different from any other market in Zagreb, as it is not critically dependant on the urban infrastructure. Other markets’ vendors usually suffer losses because of financial demands such as increase in rent and other high expenses brought upon them as well as because of the economic and urban policies which do not support urban informality. In Konjičinska, the rate of these, often unexpected expenses is significantly lower and therefore, their level of security is much higher. Still, the peddlers from Konjičinska had and still have to pay taxes and fees, but their marketplaces are their homes so they trade under their own terms. If it were not like that, Konjičinska market would probably be long gone.

In favor of that speaks the fact that 20% of the store owners had to close their doors since the late 2000s (Šarčević, 2017: 51). What changed? Import taxes and currency exchange rates changed, the intermediaries between importers and the informal vendors were able to pass the costs on to the vendors which were not able to sell the goods to the customers and still make a profit. In retail trade, often those who are the most vulnerable, in this case the vendors, have the most uncertain future. They depend on the importers and intermediaries which can at some point lift the price, and when they do, the vendors have no alternative but to do the same. Similar situation struck Konjičinska, they had to lift their prices and when they did, the clientele started to disappear. They were not the most affordable market anymore and that changed everything. The customers abandoned them, and it is no surprise. People were for quite some time not fond of the peddlers from Konjičinska even then, and when they realized they will get the same products elsewhere for the same amount of

picture 38 – Storefronts in Konjičinska Street
Konjičinska and the eastern part of the Dubrava Avenue as retail trade hotspots
Closed retail premises in Dubrava since the early 2000s
Closed retail trade premises in Konjščina, Dubrava Avenue and Lower Dubrava
money, they sure did. The worrying level of criminal activity near Konjščinska did not help either, for most people they were forgotten. Konjščinska had become a negative symbol of the whole Dubrava. Some vendors adapted and continued with their trade, some replaced their, until then informal activity with illegal activities such as drug trade, but eventually, every fifth vendor from Konjščinska closed their shops for good. For them, all what is left are these grotesque facades.

1.2.4 Impact on Zagreb from markets within it and vice versa

For a city to develop correctly, social components interlinked with spatial development of its quarters must adapt to the needs of their residents. Dubrava is still experiencing the consequences caused by a discrepancy in the spatial redistribution of these informal hotspots over 40 years ago. It was labeled as dangerous among most of its residents already at that time, and still thought of as dangerous by the residents of most other districts. It is a district which longs for change but has not yet escaped its bad reputation from the past. Something that is accentuated in many other countries and cities as a positive and desirable aspect is often seen as unfavorable on the example of Zagreb. Ethnic, as well as religious and cultural diversity are some of Dubrava’s main characteristics. People generally tend to avoid some parts of Dubrava, as they are not a pleasant place to spend time on or observe. Until 1940s, Dubrava was a poorly populated suburb and in the 1990s it was a colorful urbanized district of Zagreb well known for its Kosovar stores of informal character, various confectioneries and jewelleries, Bosnian craft facilities and other day and night activities. People often saw only the surface and news articles about the illegal entrepreneurial aspirations of the Kosovar peddlers, black marketeering and drug dealing often accompanied by violence. All of these aspects helped in creating an idea in people’s minds that Dubrava in fact is a dangerous neighborhood. People fancied the market but were scared of the district. As the informal markets grew, so did crime in the district. The crime and an overall unpleasant atmosphere in Dubrava facilitated people’s negative perception of it. In fact, people’s impression outgrew the real situation in Dubrava. At that time, Dubrava was a favorable district for the emergence of even more of informal markets and illegal activities.
In a district struck with crime and without progress, there are not only its inhabitants but the whole city which is suffering the consequences at some point. After illegality of the markets had reached its peak in Dubrava and started to appear on the markets in other quarters in early 2000s, new formal rules were quickly introduced, inspections started to appear constantly and both informal and formal market trade entered a new, much more rigid period. The city wanted to put an end to the unpredictability of traditional markets. All of Zagreb’s markets suffered the consequences. The markets were perceived as dangerous and impossible to control. Foreign capital in the form of large super- and hypermarket chains weakened them even more and made them vulnerable to the growing interests against them. A trend of overlooking traditional markets is still present.

1.3 Informality and illegality of Zagreb’s markets today

1.3.1 Formal- informal linkages in the context of Zagreb’s markets

The first effort to analyze the linkages between the formal and informal economy was by John Harris in an ILO Working Paper in 1990 (Meagher, 2013: 3). The purpose of the paper was to determine whether the activities such as flow of resources between the formal and informal economy had positive or negative effect on the growth of the informal work. Since then, there were numerous studies based on the effects of links between the two. The results have differed quite a lot, but most agree that majority of the informal businesses have links with the formal economy and with the formal regulatory environment. Some enterprises buy raw materials from formal suppliers or importers, others sell garments or other finished products to the formal enterprises or simply to the formal customers. WIEGO’s study of market trading and street vending in Accra, Ghana found that buying from another informal enterprise or growing themselves are the main ways vendors in Accra acquire the goods (Anydoho, Steel, 2016: 11). The vendors have only the customers to sell the goods to, and that
makes them the most vulnerable group in the supply chain. Informal markets operate under an agreed set of rules, just like the markets in the formal economy. The difference is, these rules are usually unwritten and have no legal weight as the markets are not regulated by the state. If a rule is violated by one actor in the informal exchange, other actors in the supply chain cannot address the legal institutions concerning the violation. In this fashion intermediaries between the importers and the informal vendors can pass most of the costs on to the vendors who may not be able to sell the product and still make a profit. It creates economic interdependence and weak markets. In Ghana and other developing countries, the impact of the informal economy is much more severe than in most developed countries, but links between the formal and informal economy are alike. As a matter of fact, if a similar study were conducted in Zagreb, the findings would probably indicate high implication of formal enterprises in informal economy, in form of exchange of goods with it.

In developed countries, the term informal economy is rarely used. It exists all around the developed world but not on the magnitude as in the developing countries. In the EU and USA the term non-standard work is used to describe irregular and unstable forms of work which deviate from standard employment and leave the workers particularly exposed to informality. It includes part-time work, temporary work and on-call work. Developed countries registered a rise in informality in recent decades, due to growth and variety of non-standard work options. According to ILO, 55.7% of all workers in G20 economies are working informally if agriculture is included. The world estimate is just slightly higher with 61.2%. In developed G20 countries the proportion of informal employment is under 20% while in some other countries it reaches close to 90% 7.

The nature of the supply-chain in the region together with non-standard work makes most of the visible links between formal and informal economies in Zagreb. The goods are imported or manufactured by vendors themselves. Imported goods from turkey, china or other countries, depending on the products, are mostly paid for in cash. The wholesale trader

---

travels abroad and makes a deal with the foreign manufacturer, pays for the goods in cash, and simply waits for the shipment in Zagreb. When the shipment arrives, the wholesale trader already has buyers lined up for the goods. He supplies souvenir shops around the Croatian coast and islands during the summer and other stores which benefit from the affordability of the needed products. Part of the goods which were and are sold by those vendors and wholesale traders in Zagreb’s flea markets, souvenir shops, Konjiščinska and other markets such as Trešnjevka and Črnomerec markets are counterfeit so there is also an illegal component to it. In the 1990s and early 2000s, those were basic ways of trading for many traders in Dubrava.

1.3.2 Consumers’ motives for buying from Zagreb’s informal markets

As already stated, retail trade represents globally the largest portion of the informal sector. It is a large economy which depends on its customers. Being informal, these markets are not regulated and therefore are often neglected by the local authority. Their location, in the context of Zagreb, is often peripheral, but all regulated markets also operate informally to some extent. The most beloved peripheral markets are Hrelić flea market and Sesvete fair. Additionally, each Saturday and Sunday one of Zagreb’s most prominent markets, British square market, transforms into an antique and collectibles fair. All of the above are very well visited, as each of them offers something special to the customer. While Hrelić flea market emerged at first as a marketplace for used cars, now it is the go-to place for treasure hunters, those who like to bargain, and at the end, those who are looking for all kinds of affordable products. Cars, Second hand clothes and shoes, toys, paintings, musical instruments, and even wedding gowns are merely a scent of what one can find there. It is a well-known market, adored and frequently visited by many. It has built its clientele long ago, and people know what to expect when they visit it. The adventure of searching for the right thing in the sea of junk and other products together with affordability makes Hrelić the most interesting flea market on the edge of the city. Not as rough around the edges as Hrelić, British square flea market represents one of the vivid symbols of Zagreb. Being a few minutes’ walk from the city center, everyone
visited it at least once. Antique porcelain dishes, jewelry, old currencies, furniture, books and other antique but also new products can be found at the market. Lively gathering with a bit more urban character attracts tourists as well as the locals. The motives for purchase have less to do with exploring the market for odd products and incredibly low prices, as the overall quality of goods is much higher than for example on Hrelić. Here, people usually search for something more ordinary, for example an antique book they wish to acquire or an old gramophone. Through the constant quality of merchandise together with the market’s long tradition, the customers’ trust towards the sellers has grown substantially, and it is what keeps the market busy even during the winter. British market is, however perhaps not an ideal location for the flea market on the weekends because it undermines the value of the groceries’ market which has been initially opened in 1891.

The market is directly connected to some of the most prominent roads in Zagreb such as Pantovčak, Zelengaj, Rokov Perivoj and Nazorova Street. The market never had a possibility of welcoming large trucks transporting goods from other parts of Croatia, that way it has always been a market with local products. The vendors would grow their vegetables in Šestine8, and sell them on the British square. As the markets are usually most visited on the weekends, it would not be wrong to say that the “Small market” how it is commonly referred to, had lost a piece of its identity.

Sesvete fair is considered to be the most lively among these, with similar types of products to the other markets but in addition to Hrelić and the market on the British square, there is also livestock on offer. The market has a long tradition and the established clientele, their motives for buying goods there vary - for some it is price, for others, practicality and expectation of the best quality possible.

There are also markets, or more frequently, parts of some of Zagreb’s well known markets which house stalls with all kinds of products. Trešnjevka and Črnomerec markets are among those. Another market with similar merchandise emerged under the Mladost bridge near the Hrelić market. It appeared because there are some vendors who cannot afford or simply will not pay the fee for selling their products on Hrelić. These

---

8 A settlement in Zagreb located on the southern slopes of the Medvednica mountain.
markets record fewer customers than others, but the overall quality of the merchandise is also inferior to above mentioned markets.

Informal fairs and markets attract mostly local population within the district they are located in. Colin C. Williams and Slavko Bezeredi argue that the lower price is only one among many motives why people purchase goods from informal markets (Bezeredi, Williams, 2017). Apart from the price, there are social motives and shortcomings in the formal sector. Nelson and Smith clarify by identifying neighbors, friends and acquaintances as those by who the informal work is performed (Bezeredi, Williams, 2017: 4). Additionally, as social actors customers often develop trust towards the retailer based on the quality of the product, which drives the customer to disregard the informal nature of work he participates in. There is a possibility of formal stores having bad quality goods which drive away the clientele to the informal competition. Many people fear that the quality of groceries in formal stores is far worse than in open markets. For example, if there are a few cases of salmonella in some of the products in any of the formal stores, people will automatically feel distrust towards buying from that, or similar chains of stores. The group identity also plays a big role in deciding whether to be a part of the informal exchange. If the group which consists of one’s neighbors, relatives, friends or acquaintances agrees that the legitimacy of products in the informal economy suit their needs, higher the chance he will participate also. The location, appearance and the hygiene of the marketplace can also play a decisive role in determining whether to purchase goods from the informal economy. It is logical to assume a higher possibility of purchasing a product from a nice-looking souvenir shop in the Croatian seaside than in Konjščinska, even though the product originally came from Konjščinska.

The motives vary, but they are critical for the development of the markets. The customers choose which markets will thrive and which will fail. The problem emerges when the poor infrastructure of a market leads to the customers’ abandonment of it. The local authority should invest in the markets so the customers have their choice based on the quality of the products, not on the faulty infrastructure and poor conditions.
1.3.3 Causes of marketplace related illegal activities and their consequences

Crime is the activity which, apart from retail trade made Dubrava notorious. It appeared during the first immigration wave in the 1950s. It was not the kind of crime which made Dubrava into what it is today, nevertheless, it created an appropriate environment for its emergence. It consisted mostly of illegal construction, as the new inhabitants required accommodation as soon as possible in a district with no infrastructure. As there was no planned social content for more than 2 decades after initial parcelings, the quarter was more of a large bedroom for the newcomers. The “Old market” inbetween Cerska and Kapelska Streets was the first market that appeared. It was and still is the only traditional market in Lower Dubrava. It has been a significant market, as it stood on the first paved surface in Dubrava. At first, there were just tables with vendors selling produce, but illegal kiosks and objects appeared in the following years. At the same time, the first houses in Konjščinska were erected. The tradition of illegal construction has not been broken, but on the contrary, it flourished. Extended ground floors, large storage areas which stretched along the whole 1.floor and numerous balconies and terraces foreshadowed the market growth which followed. The vendors sold anything and everything, from smuggled goods, to illegal firecrackers during Christmas holidays. Everything was tolerated, even the drug trade. The authorities could not keep track of what was going on, especially during the second immigration wave in the 1990s when Croatia gained its independence. The population number in Dubrava was increasing rapidly, immigrants and refugees struck with poverty gave in to crime, which was blooming. When Dubrava main market opened its doors in 1990., it was logical to assume what would be going on there in the following years. Aside from dozens of illegally built objects on the market, real crime took place within it. Drug trade, trade of stolen and smuggled goods accompanied by occasional violent crimes. The content of the crimes did not deviate from those near Konjščinska, but considering the frequency of people and the size of the main market, it was incomparable. At that time teens and adolescents also got involved with trade, selling mostly smuggled tobacco.

All this fueled the negative perception of Dubrava in the eyes of the general population of Zagreb. It also encouraged those involved in crime to continue with it, as only 50% of all violent
crimes were clarified. The degree of crime in Dubrava in the 1990s almost came closer to that in Belgrade at the same time, than to the rest of Zagreb. Things were getting out of hand. In the early 2000s police raids and frequent inspections made the marketplaces emptier, not necessarily better. The income of vendors in Konjščinska and the main market suffered a lot, however the markets endured without vendors changing their perspective. Drug trade runs on smoothly, illegal objects on the main market are still not removed, and teens are still peddling cheap, smuggled tobacco but on a far lower magnitude and with far lower customers. The development of traditional markets has been suffocated throughout Dubrava and the whole Zagreb, but not only the illegal and informal components suffer the consequences. All of the markets experienced direct consequences in the early 2000s through an increasing number of biased regulations which made it harder for the vendors to run their businesses formally. General negative perception towards traditional markets and appearance of supermarkets made it easier to pass the decision of relocating Kvaternik’s market from the square which bears the same name to another, smaller location close-by. That together with the unsuccessful reconstruction of the square lead to it being a blank, empty space with underground passages for the people, subordinated to the traffic situation around it. Petar Preradović square has been reconstructed in a similar manner, Branimir’s market is falling apart for some time already, textile part of the Trešnjevka market is practically abandoned. Small markets had it even worse. However, indirect consequences are far greater. The movement and frequency of people shifted from the markets to supermarkets, which do not socially activate their surroundings and do not spatially adapt to people’s needs. Their appearance does not change. The changed highlighted points with high frequency of people impact the social aspect of the urban morphology greatly. Quarters surrounded by the emerged supermarkets such as Lower, Upper Dubrava, Retkovec, etc do not have any market-like content within their neighborhood, they have to visit the borders of their quarter in order to supply themselves with required daily products. That is partly the reason of the unchanged physiognomy of the Lower Dubrava quarter since the initial parcelings in 1930s.
Picture 55 - Spatial arrangement of super- and hypermarkets in Dubrava
1.3.4 Overwhelming presence of formal rules and approaches towards eradication of informality

The government has the power to decide which informal activities will remain active and which will cease to exist. Similar like how the customers decide the fate of businesses by using or not using their service, government decides which activities are considered legal or illegal, and formal or informal through a set of formal rules. Naturally, compliance of the formal rules is expected and required from all individuals, and employers and employees in a given enterprise. Without it, the range of government’s activity is reduced and it opens the door for other enterprises to informalize, merely by seeing that it could be done. The government then uses legal institutions to enforce the law. In the context of Zagreb’s markets, constant inspections in the early 2000s drove some of the informal peddlers away from the markets, but most of them simply adjusted to them. Another problem emerged as a consequence of these actions- formal vendors voluntarily started to leave the formal economy and continued to operate informally. They did not want to face the growing expenses of operating formally anymore. Who is to blame? The retailers did what is in their best interests, what they thought was morally adequate in a given situation taking the sudden shift of perception of traditional markets into account, and the government will always try to prevent their reduced revenue because of undocumented income and punish any kind of non-compliance with the law accordingly. “The informal economy thus arises from formal institutional failings that result in the laws and regulations of formal institutions not being in symmetry with the norms, values and beliefs that constitute the informal institutions”, argue Colin C. Williams and Slavko Bezeredi (Bezeredi, Williams, 2017: 4). As the asymmetry between the two grows, so does the informal employment. At this point, the government should encourage people to operate formally. Immunity should be offered to those who decide to register their businesses and continue to operate formally, the system should potentiate formal behavior overall, and the rules should be equally fair to all categories of market vendors. Too much regulation makes it difficult for people to follow the processes of registration and doing business in a formal way. Those with the mandate have the capacity to adjust the regulations and make it easier for traditional market vendors to operate inside the formal regulatory environment, in order to revitalize traditional markets. The formal way of doing business in the context of traditional markets is unclear and often discriminatory to some categories. Registration difficulties for those applying, and high fees and expenses for the current vendors contribute greatly to overall decreasing number of both vendors and customers. In 2019, Croatia ranked 58. in the ease of doing business in the world according to the World Bank Group Flagship Report. It is the fifth worst of all EU countries above Bulgaria, Luxembourg, Greece and Malta. Policy-makers must have understanding towards the workers, and put rules in motion which encourage them to stay in the formal economy, not drive them out of it.

The lack of regulation is also not the answer, as it does not lead to “formalization”, nor to protecting the marginalized population, but to confusion. This describes the current situation in Zagreb regarding the informal vendors. For example, British square market informal retailers of antiquities, books, and ceramics simply have to write a statement which says they wish to sell...
those products. The catch is, according to the officials, the products must be more than 30 years old. Naturally, many of the products there do not fall into that category, some are not even legitimate (counterfeit products) because there is no inspection which would notice it. This kind of regulation is dangerous as it can lead to someone being expelled, just by selling an old pair of pants10. Additionally, the organization of the market and the way tables are assigned to the vendors is poor and the social protection of the vendors is non-existent. On the one hand the government is trying to eliminate informality, but on the other, it potentiates it.

1.3.5 Motivation for undocumented income and the importance of the informal sector

While the undocumented income is for some a decision, for others it is a necessity. Dubrava, being the district with almost 100 000 inhabitants, houses approx. 8,2% of unemployed population according to the Croatian Bureau of Statistics’ population census last conducted in 2011 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). The proportion of population with higher education lies between 10-15%. ILO’s statistic manual of measuring informality detects informal sector as the main source of income for the urban poor, hence it is an essential factor in poverty reduction (ILO, 2013: 7). Financial instability drives the poor to the informal economy as they have no chance or opportunities in the formal sector. With that said, it is clear that the higher proportion of the poor are located in the peripheral quarters. That shows the importance of a variety of social content and formal work opportunities. Some informal work options would also be favorable if that kind of work would be able to offer some kind of protection and stability to those employed. Welfare recipients in most cases cannot survive on their benefits alone, and pursue supplementary sources of income- doing odd jobs or working for cash on the side. People without basic education and with minimal skills, criminal record or a drug problem are also often unable to find formal wage employment. They do not contribute in form of paying taxes and other fees, and therefore are a burden on the formal economy. Ultimately, the poor rarely work their way out of poverty. However, it is a moral obligation of the state to take care of them, or to allow themselves to do so even by means of informal work. Naturally, the situation becomes more complex if the magnitude of future development of the urban population is taken into account. According to the UN, 55% of the world’s population lives in the urban areas, a percentage which is expected to increase up to 68% by 2050 (UN, 2018). Taking care of the urban poor may become a much greater concern in the following years, as their number can only increase. What about the informal economy? Its role will continue to be substantial as long as there are people without opportunities in finding a formal wage employment. All things considered, it is hard to assume there will be a decrease in the informal work, even though many perceive informal economy as a natural element of the developing countries only. Sergejus Glovackas argues that “There is a mistaken prevailing opinion that IE11 is a phenomenon for the transition period.” (Glovackas, 2005: 4) Indeed it is, the informal economy is here to stay and the continuous growing number of informal workers globally

10 According to the story of several vendors during the interviews conducted with them as a part of the field research, they stated that a high penalty has been imposed upon a vendor who decided to sell a pair of her late husband’s used pants

11 Short for informal economy
proves it. Aside from the urban poor, there are those who are enough financially stable to declare their profits, but chose not to. The motives vary, while some are looking to maximize their profits by hiding their income, others do not understand the regulations. For some it is a long-term arrangement, while for others, it is short-term. Some people do not wish to jeopardize their public assistance, disability or unemployment benefits by engaging in formal employment. There are some men who try to hide as much income as possible in order to minimize their child support levels. Others, who accept child support responsibilities, go for informal work to supplement their income in order to cover their monthly expenses. Martha A. Chen proposes a heterogeneous view of informality, as there are survival activities which have very few links with the formal economy, entrepreneurs who try to avoid taxes, some other small units which are overpowered by larger enterprises etc (Chen, 2012:6).

The proportion of the informal economy in the third world countries exceeds the share of informal economy in any highly developed country, but there is no country or city without informality. A quite common argument of many people who researched this topic is that informal sector must be formalized. This is also the common answer of policymakers to the question of informal economy. How does one formalize the informal economy? Formalizing would mean, I assume, that all informal employers should register their businesses and pay taxes. For informal employees it would mean formal employment. Self account workers would have to pay the fees of entering the formal economy. Martha A. Chen argues that it is not clear whether it is feasible to formalize the informal economy (Chen, 2012: 15). She adds that many bureaucracies would not be able to deal with the volume of the license applications if all informal enterprises were to formalize and that the benefits and incentives which are offered to the informal businesses would probably not be offered to the formalizing business due to the lack of funds. Nevertheless, there are other, more viable options which concentrate more on potentiating opportunities and protecting the rights of the informal workers. Informal workers should enjoy better social protection, and the exploitative aspect of work should be diminished. Informal economy is often a catalyst for social development, and most informal enterprises contribute to economic growth. It is completely free from taxes and plays a role of an economic buffer (Bejaković, 2015: 5). Informal economy is also essential in post-conflict situations when there is no infrastructure and formal economy.

There is no uniform approach which will erase informality, but a context specific approach should be used to set the boundaries within the informal employment and to create consciousness of informality. German-British sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf said it takes 6 months to replace a political system, 6 years for democratization of institutions, and 60 years to achieve a democratic culture (Dahrendorf, 1990). With informality it is similar, as it takes very little but an initiative to set the rules of the game but it takes years or even decades to adjust them so that they are not biased towards some categories. In this equation, the equivalent for the final stage of conscience in Dahrendorf’s claim which is democratic culture, would be a society which trusts in their government and no category of people being severely neglected.
1.3.6 (Un)grateful past, uncertain future

Informal vendors in Zagreb have had very different past experiences and opportunities based on their aspirations and their location. Some just wanted to survive while others had much bigger ambitions. Dubrava became a symbol of crime and unjustly acquired property, while markets in other city districts followed in terms of informality and suffered the consequences. Many of the markets did not manage to keep their identity or even location. Petar Preradovic Square, usually called Cvijetni Trg (Flower Square) has lost its identity as a flower market since refurbishments which began in 1995. Kvaternik’s Square seems dehumanized and alienated after its reconstruction in 2008, following the relocation of the market which was on it. Branimir’s market vendors wait 4 years already for the reconstruction and acceptable work conditions. It is hard to say they are waiting because during these 4 years, most of the vendors abandoned the market. Borongaj market is also experiencing delay in relocating to a new market which is currently in construction. Market on the British Square loses its content as time passes and was almost closed down for modernization recently. In Dubrava, informality somehow played a role of an architectural and social cushion, as the markets stayed exactly as they were. That is, however, another problem because countless illegal objects on the main market in Dubrava also do not lead to improvement nor to a more certain future of the vendors. The truth is, no matter to which category they belong to, all of the market vendors are in a quite unenviable position. The markets are closing down, relocating or renovating with vendors’ inability of doing something about it. The changes are
affecting not only market vendors, but also small shoemaker, leather, sewing and other crafts. Only in Dubrava, the proportion of all empty business premises is 20% based on the research of Stipica Šarčević from the Geography section of the University of Zagreb (Šarčević, 2017: 51).

Market trade, once the most important activity in Zagreb, now has an uncertain future. Not only do informal market traders suffer, but all of them do. Markets are being closed down or those which don’t are on the brink of closing, relocations of those which have to move take too long and new markets do not have sufficient capacity to house a desirable number of vendors. All of this affects the vendors in a negative way. They cannot wait indefinitely, as most of them are financially unstable. Even if they endure the waiting period by working somewhere else, new markets are usually architecturally unclear and insufficiently functional, without required facilities and overall not practical. Policies and regulations are another problem of the category of informal workers. In the following chapter, current policies and their consequences will be examined and new policy approaches will be given.
picture 57 – Dolac market (Zagreb, Graphic Institute of Croatia)
Chapter 2

Compatibility of market-work conditions and state regulations with local circumstances

2.1 Current trends and the need for change

2.1.1 The effects infrastructure and work conditions have on market trade in the context of Zagreb’s markets

Traditional markets of Zagreb are not merely a place of supplying with the best quality of groceries, but also symbols of social life and the city itself. The “belly of the city” is supposed to give locals as well as tourists a scent of how the city works. Quality of products must be high in order for the markets to retain their clientele, therefore the origin and quality of the products should be inspected often and carefully.

Cities and municipalities all over Croatia have spotted the relevance of markets during the last decade. Many new markets have been erected since 2010. Vodice’s new farmer’s and fish market, Vukovar market, refurbished markets in Rijeka and Varaždin all fall in this category. These markets are on the standard of the European Union based on their quality, practicality and required facilities. They are functional, pleasant, innovative and contribute to their city’s infrastructure greatly.

Strangely, Zagreb has yet to uncover the true treasure of its markets. Dolac, Trešnjevka market, British square market, Branimir’s market and Kvaternik’s market are the most significant among all of the markets in Zagreb based on their tradition, position and capacity. However these, once institutions of social life, now do not represent their full potential in regards to the decreased amount of vendors and customers. Dolac, positioned just a moment away from the Ban Josip Jelačić Square, carries the title of the most frequently visited and most meaningful market in the city center. It is the only one among these four which lies at least partially indoors. Since its opening in 1930, there were no significant investments in Dolac. Actually, there have not been practically any investments in any of these five markets in the last 30 years, apart from citizen’s investments which were quite substantial. Vendors and craftsmen invested in total approx. 50mil kn (6 730 400 euro) in the markets’ business premises in the 1990s. They signed an agreement which made Markets of Zagreb the legal owner of the newly built stalls, kiosks etc. and their
funds irretrievable. Citizens who funded the equipping of the markets with approx. 90% of the total sum got the exact same contracts like the vendors who did not invest anything. They had to pay the market price in rent for the same objects they funded.

Dolac is, of course, an important cultural institution of Zagreb and a tourist attraction. It is one of the vital components of Zagreb’s cultural heritage which gives the city its identity. The Dolac market reaffirmed its functional reputation in the 1990s and early 2000s, with its new fish market, the first booths with organic vegetables, the first confectioners and a number of attractive shops. Since then, it stagnates in terms of new interventions. Problems with the sun umbrellas were often in recent years as there were rarely sufficient amount of them for the whole market. Trade depends on good weather conditions on the exterior part of the market.

Trešnjevka farmer’s market also appeared in the year 1930. It is a vivid and colorful symbol, a heart of the Trešnjevka quarter. Trešnjevka market stands on the Trešnjevka square, one of the busiest squares in Zagreb. Thanks to the market, the boundaries of the square are not clearly visible. Even though it somehow looks like a construction site in progress, the square together with the market represents the most lively area in the district, and perhaps the city. The emergence of the market in 1930 shaped the square, and the quarter around and it has not changed much since 1950s. Trešnjevka altogether started forming since the first regulation plan in 1889. The plan was the foundation, but many illegally built houses of the poor and working class population throughout the early 20. century determined the shape of the district. The market was a catalyst for growth of the quarter. It was and still is a place where rural and urban cultures collide, a place of local and foreign products, and most importantly, the most alive place in Trešnjevka. The location, physical appearance and necessity of the market allowed it to thrive and remain one of the most if not the most authentic farmer’s market of Zagreb. Sentiment aside, it is not all ideal, far from it. Through observing the market and examining the infrastructure, one can clearly see that the situation is alarming for some time already. First of all, the market is located outdoors so the trade is extremely weather-dependant. Rain in fall and spring, snow during the winter and very high temperatures with no shade in the summertime are the main difficulties the sellers are experiencing since the very beginning of
trade. That aside, the number of empty stalls where textile products and shoes are offered has increased dramatically since 2013 when fiscalisation was introduced. On the southern part of the market, 11 active stalls out of 150 are far from enough to make it look like a market. Many of the vendors were simply not succeeding to cover their monthly expenses and still make a profit since the introduction of fiscalization, so many of them went out of business. Even the overall number of farmers selling groceries is decreasing, but the number of resellers is on the rise. Suspect quality of groceries drives the customers away from traditional markets as it is more practical to get everything from the supermarket. The chaotic traffic around Tržnjevka square is not helping either. Both the market and the square are overwhelmed by the quantity and organization of stalls, tables and temporary objects which are there for decades. Most of the area seems improvised, not planned. All in all, the current market is inadequately used and insufficiently functional. It dominates the square with its size and appearance. Numerous small-scale organizational, infrastructural and architectural solutions are required for this market to operate on a desirable level. There is a lack of content to bring the market to life outside working hours, which would activate the neighborhood even more.

Eugen Kvaternik’s square is another important point in the history of Zagreb’s markets. It is located on the border between the Upper city, Lower city and Maksimir. It emerged in the early 20th century as a border area of the Lower city. It represented the city center’s extremely transit connection with Dubrava and other settlements located on the east and north-east of the city. For most of its history, these key axis of Zagreb’s development and people’s daily movement together with the social value of the farmer’s market dictated the pace and frequency of the people rushing through the square. The market consumed the square. It was loud and crowded, the organization of the market was clearly offhand, the square lacked a thoughtfully planned concept which could tackle this chaos. In a constant state of improvisation and compromise, urban planning as a discipline failed to solve the issue. The market, however, had a distinct charm which is, many believe, forever lost since the market relocated some 50m south-west of the square. When the square was free of the market it was time for it to acquire a status of a functional square with the suitable appearance for the 21st century capital of a developed country. In 2008, when the square was reopened, it was clear that it will not live up to
the expectations of the public. Now, 12 years after, most of the square still stands unused. Garage entrances, underground passages for pedestrians and elevators somehow pushed people out of the square into the ground. The square seems subordinated to traffic around it. Its postmodern appearance seems sterile, and the logic of movement is infringed by the unnecessary construction. Notable croatian urbanist Niko Gamulin argues that the old character of the square is forever lost and adds that traditional markets are a globally increasingly cherished urban content, which cannot be replaced. Without it, Kvaternik’s square remains empty, lifeless and irrelevant.

British square market has remained relevant as the market did not experience changes in its appearance, apart from the forced removal of the cafe bar terraces in its immediate surroundings. Local and charming square with a combination of the green market and the flea market still affects the daily movement of the residents greatly. Sadly, some parts experienced changes in form of a roundabout with a generic fountain and a pedestrian island which were not part of the existing project for the British square. In 1997, an architectural competition has been held for the reconstruction of the square, and a project by Jesenko Horvat, Tihomir Jukić, Krunoslav Šmit and Azra Suljić
emerged as the winner. In 2017, a pedestrian island and the fountain appeared in order to improve the traffic situation around the square without consulting the architects responsible for the project from 1997. This kind of an architectural solution which has been implemented does not belong to the border of the historical Lower Town. In terms of market trade, British square market still lacks basic facilities needed for a market this size.

The last among these historically important markets reviewed in this thesis is Branimir’s market. Next to the above mentioned markets, Branimir’s market is one of Zagreb’s landmarks, and a part of its cultural heritage together with the neighboring King Petar Krešimir IV. park. Sadly, it did not escape the reality of Zagreb’s traditional markets, which is deterioration through stagnation, relocating of the open market on the other side of the market building under the excuse of modernization despite the sellers’ protesting, and a never-ending delay. In 2015, most of the stalls have been removed from the eastern part of the market, only days after the notice was given to the traders. It seemed urgent, but in the following 4 years, there has been no visible progress. The whole area around the market building gives the impression of disregarding and ignoring of the market by both social disciplines and the government. That is, disregarding and ignoring of both market vendors and the customers. Around the centrally located, and for the most part abandoned market building on the site, there is a handful of architecturally doubtful solutions. They include half-decayed tiny huts on the southeastern and eastern parts of the market which house crafts such as a shoemaker craft and a locksmith, and small restaurants. Its old appearance was not representative, which shows that its problems have been ignored for some time already. The market is still in the blind spot even as the possible revitalization is now easier to execute than ever. The project could be co-financed by the EU with at least 80% of the full cost because it is a cultural inheritance, and applying for those funds would only require an open architectural competition in order for the best proposal to emerge. These are far from only markets in Zagreb with some sort of relevant problems. Špansko market is waiting on the new roofing for more than 10 years already. Everything was approved and paid for but in the meantime all the documents have expired. On the waiting line for the roofing are also Dolac, Trešnjevka, Jarun, Sesvete, Kustošija and Kvarner market. On the official page of the markets of Zagreb, basic
Informations about each market have not been updated for years. As the wait prolongs, the vendors are losing their patience. If this trend continues, all of the farmer's markets could soon enough be disregarded by the customers and eventually, abandoned by the workers. The appearance of the Črnomerec market is also not representative, and an intervention should take place. The problem is, the amount of the vendors has already split by half and the market will probably cease to exist by the time something is done. Dubrava market with close to 60 illegal objects on the parcel calls for immediate reaction and intervention. Space around Volovčica market is also detected as "dead" by the research of the participational potential of the citizens in the planning of public spaces of the city (Careva, Lisac, Pletenac, Vukić, 2018: 55). A few kiosks, closed stores and not enough content are the main characteristics of the current market. A few other squares in the immediate surroundings of the markets are also detected as problematic or obsolete such as a square near Savica market and Ivan Kukuljević square connected with the Špansko market.
2.1.2 The vendors’ dependence on the public infrastructure

When Kvaternik’s market moved from the square, it did not move in its full capacity. Tables were moved in 2001., but the stalls remained on the square. The officials from the Markets of Zagreb argued that the tables are their property which they rented to the vendors, while the stalls on the square are private property and they are not responsible for their moving. The market was split in half, which was bad for both components. Many of the stall-owners were now on public space after the market had officially moved, and they were dependant on the government’s mercifulness to let them sell. As time went by, the customers abandoned Kvaternik’s square mostly due to impracticality of going back and forth between the market and the square. They could easily get all of the groceries on the new market. Finally, in 2003., the project for the refurbishment of the square was cleared, and the stalls were wiped out.

In the case of Trešnjevka’s farmer’s market, the stalls are the property of the Markets of Zagreb. It was not always like that. Until 2003., the textile part of the market consisted mostly of many small stands which looked like a cluster of decrepit hovels. The vendors were their owners. However, in 2003. the Markets of Zagreb decided to make the market elegant and better arranged. Markets of Zagreb invested both their and the funds citizens donated in the years prior, in new stalls which would then be sold to the vendors, and the Markets of Zagreb would later, when vendors decided to sell or when they went out of business, have the right to buy the stalls back. The owners also had to pay monthly rent which was higher than expected, but they could not do anything about it as they have already signed the contracts. The new stalls were empty, without dressing rooms, mirrors or shelves. The new owners had to invest in them. The situation was already quite alarming as the unexpected and unwanted expenses of the vendors were too high
for them to handle. The Markets of Zagreb explained that the new stalls were placed on vendors’ request and consumers’ demand, which the vendors denied. The rent was much higher than before, and the organization was tragic. A common dressing-room was made for the use of all sellers and it would be perfect, one vendor says, if it were only more than one for the whole market. In 2008, the rest of the textile department of the market was fully covered in new stalls. Despite the claims that the stalls will come equipped with everything the vendors need, the stalls again came “naked” and the vendors were forced to invest in them again. The dissatisfaction of several individuals has been reported by several newspapers but nothing has been done about it, as the vendors do not communicate their dissatisfaction on the right platform or on the right way, as a group.

2.1.3 Financial demands brought upon the vendors and the state’s capability to generate profit from the markets

Farmer’s market vendor is an unenviable type of employment, especially for those working informally. Since 2013, Croatia introduced fiscalization on its markets. The aim was to eliminate tax evasion and smuggled goods. Encouraged by the success of fiscalization in cafe bars and gastronomic objects in the years prior, the leading party decided to move on to the markets as soon as possible. After numerous protests and pleas from the vendors, the government rejected all of their requests under the excuse that “There must be order on the markets”12. The only exemption were OPG’s (registered family farms), who were allowed to sell the products they produced or grew on their land without having to give out receipts.

Based on the proportion of vendors who could not financially endure the change to fiscalization, its introduction was a poor decision. Already in the following year, out of 21 farmers’ markets in Zagreb most of the bigger ones reported a near 20% drop in turnover, while the smallest 9 reported a decrease of almost 90%, according to some sources. Another issue was the inability of the Ministry of Finance to calculate the exact increase in income of the state from traditional markets after introducing fiscalization because market vendors were not registered as a separate category. This way the financial consequences of the new regulations cannot be monitored. On the surface, the fiscalization of the markets may seem as a success because it is still in use by most of the vendors since it was implemented. What most does not see is the total amount of vendors put out of work by it.

That aside, to divide the vendors on those who have to pay taxes and others who don’t, based on the (im)possibility of registering an OPG is not a clever move, and that sort of regulation is discriminatory. Vendors selling their own fruit, vegetables or dairy products could be “pardoned” from paying taxes by owning an OPG, but the equivalent of an OPG in the textile category of the market does not exist. So, if a small entrepreneur sells his own, self-manufactured socks or clothes, he has to pay taxes even though they are his own, home-made products. The animosity between the food vendors and textile vendors can only be potentiated by such policies. This sort of regulation weakens traditional trade overall, as it impacts both textile vendors and food

12 A phrase used by the former minister of finance Slavko Linić in the context of the upcoming fiscalization of traditional markets
Compatibility of market-work conditions and state regulations with local circumstances

Vendors to some extent. It potentiates the accelerating growth of the gap between the two, whether in terms of profit or quantity of businesses active. All of the market vendors earn less than they used to, but textile vendors cannot even get close to 50% of what they were earning in the early 2000s. General dissatisfaction, vendors’ turning to informality potentiated by poor and exploitative regulation fuels other problems which often emerge at some point. These include constant inspections because of the non-compliance to new regulation, closing of the businesses because of high fines brought upon them when and if the law is broken, and ultimately, customers’ abandonment of the markets.

In most of Zagreb’s markets, textile vendors are on the brink of extinction. Those 11 active out of 150 available stalls on Trešnjevka market represent the situation of textile vendors throughout Zagreb’s markets. Constant inspections and high fines in case of breaking the law only make things worse. The ‘grey’ economy which was so much talked about was still, of course, not eradicated. It may seem like it diminished, but only because market trade as a whole has diminished. Many vendors simply found a way to adjust, as anyone could open an OPG, rent a piece of unusable land, and start selling different types of vegetables as their own. Not much changed except the vendors became even more marginalized; they were forced to break the law in order to achieve a positive balance sheet. By allowing the many to simply not pay taxes, the chain of events lead to markets growing emptier. It was mostly because of the general dissatisfaction with the farmer’s markets from both customers and vendors which grew throughout the years. With fiscalization, the traditional way of selling was gone. It was no longer possible to bargain, it was even impossible for the vendors to grant someone a discount because they had no legal right to do so. One strawberry vendor said it is impossible to work under these circumstances, as she cannot lower the price of strawberries near market’s closing time, because that could lead to her being expelled from the market or to a penalty she couldn’t afford. Is it better for the produce to rot, but keep their price so nobody can cheat the system which is clearly faulty, or to introduce a system which would allow the vendors to sell under their own terms? This kind of regulation weakens traditional market trade.

The current system is neither profitable for the government, nor supportive towards the sellers. Progress can be made when the government, the Markets of Zagreb and the vendors reach an agreement where no party feels excluded from decision-making. The vendors are clearly dissatisfied with the situation, but they communicate it on a different level than these two. For example, the person responsible for the introduction of fiscalization represents the government on this issue, and the spokesperson of the Markets of Zagreb expresses their stand on issues concerning their circle of interest. However, each vendor speaks for himself as none of them has the legal authority of representing them all. In order to be heard and included in the current discussions, they must be able to communicate and correspond with the other two units on the same level. There are several non-governmental organizations connected with traditional market trade but they lack representation and interest in order to fully communicate their problems.
2.2 Market policies and local realities

2.2.1 Tolerance towards certain types of informal markets

Based on compliance or non-compliance to formal rules and regulations, there are several types of markets—illegal, informal, and formal markets. Traditional markets are usually informal, which is sometimes a result of over-regulation or lack of regulation. Illegal markets are the ones with the most severe indirect effects, with violence, distrust between different ethnic groups, and alienation of the whole districts being the most devastating. Naturally, it depends on the nature of the goods sold. Repulsive and morally sickening activities such as human trafficking and child pornography can be connected with these markets but belong to the most severe type of the whole category. They cause moral refusal by the majority of people, as these activities do not experience tolerance among citizens. On the other hand, informal markets often experience tolerance from the general population, even from local authorities. The products traded there are legal, but the parties participating in the exchange are not formally registered, or the income generated from the exchange is hidden from the state.

The financial instability of the consumers, failures in the formal economy and legitimacy of products in the informal economy affect informal trade positively. This last factor is key for the consumers to keep engaging in informal exchanges. Some products are considered harmless, others are essential for everyday life and accepted by many. There are even illegal categories which are considered harmless, such as counterfeit clothing, shoes and bags, DVD’s and smuggled tobacco, but these cannot be allowed by the state. Tolerance of the authorities towards informal markets is of great value to the vendors and customers because the vendors feel protected and the customers do not perceive it as they are partaking in something legally questionable.

2.2.2 Integration of the informal economy into the formal policy-making

Based on political tolerance of informality and attitude of the state towards informal workers, there are several approaches of the government towards tackling informal economy. The government can take an enabling stand or a punishing stand. Colin C. Williams and Marijana Barić examined the institutional infrastructure of Croatia and found that Croatia has a narrower range of policy measures available than other developed countries because of its poor institutional infrastructure (Barić, Williams, 2013: 12). They call the two opposite approaches negative reinforcement approach and soft policy approach. Most of the countries still rely mostly on the negative reinforcement approach which seeks to erase informal work. That sort of policy aims to intimidate those wishing to engage in informal work, reminding them of the severe punishment for not complying with the rules, he argues. The problem with the negative reinforcement approach emerges when the regulations and the tax system do not protect the marginalized population, in this case market vendors. In order to comply with the rules, people must have opportunities for formal wage employment and business owners should not be forced out of formality by the tax system. Furthermore, it should be possible to switch from informality to formality without severe repercussions. Unfortunately, soft policy
Compatibility of market work conditions and state regulations with local circumstances

Approaches which encourage people to comply with formal rules are not so common. Even with the enabling stand, there would not be much improvements in the context of “formalizing” because of the numerous discrepancies in the tax system. Besides the issue of vendors who produce their own garments and have to pay taxes and give out receipts, while their colleagues, who produce and sell their own fruit, vegetables, cheese etc. don’t have to, there are numerous other issues driving people into informality. For example, regular citizens with formal wage employment pay social, health and pension insurance out of their monthly salary. If they are for example musicians or any kind of artists who perform, or any kind of workers who charge a fee for their work, they are not obliged to pay extra for health, social and pension insurance out of their fee because they have already done that through their salary. On the other hand, if the artists or any kind of workers who charge a fee for their work do not have formal wage employment, they have to pay for social, health and pension insurance out of their fee. The problem is, they don’t have social, health and pension insurance. Issues of this kind target mostly those without formal wage employment, in any line of work. Non-standard work has spread throughout the world but, in order to achieve a healthy community, unbiased and fair regulations have to follow. With more complex work options, there have to be rules which don’t skip whole categories of people. Most people want to partake in formal economy, but are driven away from it by detrimental rules.

Complying with the rules based on justice and integrity is the foundation of every legal state. Policy-makers therefore must make sure that nobody is damaged or unjustly treated by the set rules. It is essential to comprehend that no deterrence or curative measures will eradicate informality completely. Understanding that, one can assume that informality is in the nature of human activities, and finally, in the nature of people. That does not diminish the weight and importance of complying with formal rules, but highlights the importance of understanding informal economy in order to adjust the formal rules to protect the people in it. That is, in essence, the purpose of the state, protecting the citizens from exploitative ways of earning, discriminatory regulations, instability and insecurity but also, from the state itself. With too much power, the authority of the state consumes basic civil liberties of its citizens, which has been seen throughout the history.

For example, in a part of Nathan Milstein’s memoirs, he writes about the dinner with one of the greatest soviet violinists of all time, David Oistrakh. The soviet violinist asked him where he was going after the concert in Vienna, and Milstein continued, “I don’t know,” I replied. “Maybe Paris, Maybe Zurich…. And maybe back to London. I haven’t decided yet.” Hearing this, Oistrakh broke into a smile. “See! You have to make a choice, you can’t make up your mind, and that’s why you have a poor appetite! I have a good appetite because others make decisions for me and I don’t have to worry. I know where I’m going, because I’m told where I must go. Isn’t that an easier way to live?” This dialogue describes the power of the regime in soviet Russia. For one of the greatest artists of his generation that might be acceptable because he could focus only on his profession without other distractions, but for the most ordinary citizens such comprehensive power of the regime is intimidating and overwhelming. By limiting the power of the state, the level of security among citizens rises. Wipe out the state’s power completely, the security is gone. Balance in power is key for preserving the favorable order of things and desirable sense of protection among the citizens (Milstein, 1990).

Informal ways of earning occur in all social classes, but the poor are the most dependant on it. In reality, they are also most likely to get punished for the work they are part of, while informal activities in higher social classes often pass unpunished. In the context of Zagreb’s markets,
colluding of various formal units, which participate in decision-making regarding traditional markets, with each other, with the aim of maximizing their profits leads to the overall worsening of the situation of the markets and with it, market vendors. Since the 1990s and the investments of craftsmen and vendors into the markets without getting anything in return but negligence, their situation is becoming even worse, not by their mistake.

However, if they try to achieve a positive balance sheet by avoiding the regulations and they get caught, it also affects no one else but them. The solution to the problem of marginalizing informal employers and employees lays in utilizing democratic measures with the help of experts in each social discipline. In Croatia, democratic environment is still taking its shape and the general population is still far from aware of the foundation of current problems. Even when problems are detected, it takes far too long to correct them. Inefficiency in righting a wrong in the sphere of social life is as damaging as inability of doing it.

For successful operating of traditional markets in the future, formal rules, organization of the markets, tax system and architectural interventions must be in the interest of both vendors and customers. Vendors must obtain acceptable work conditions so the customers can get best quality products. Vendors must communicate their needs and complaints through a non-governmental organization, so their stand is visible and can be taken into account. However, besides modernization of the markets, part of the content of some markets must revitalize, relocate or disappear. Professionals such as architects, urbanists, sociologists and anthropologists must take a context-specific approach in order to accurately detect, address and solve emerging issues of the topic. Architecture and urban planning are disciplines with a task of laying out an accurate plan of spatial development for the given markets and areas around them. First part of this task can be tackled together with sociologists and anthropologists, primarily by collecting and analyzing the data, such as research of citizens’ opinions on current issues, and collaboration with the councils of various city districts. The knowledge and understanding of the current situation is the foundation on which new concepts can emerge. Next step represents the interpretation of the analyzed data. Here, architects and planners identify points and areas of significance on or around traditional markets and public spaces they are part of, and recognize the missing content of the given location. Markets’ development plans must go hand in hand with overall goals of city development. Criteria of urgency must be created based on the concept of decentralization of the city and on qualitative and quantitative criteria. Healthy and revitalized markets as centers of the quarters they are part of potentiate positive development of these quarters.

Informal workers are a key group for revitalization of traditional markets. Deregulation of requirements for being able to work as a vendor should attract the people back to the markets. Currently, the number of market vendors is constantly decreasing, which can be examined by observing the official statistics of annual income and rent overview of the Markets of Zagreb.

Another issue represents the insufficiently controlled, imported goods sold on the markets. Worrying amount of pesticides used by both domestic and foreign farmers during the cultivation must be regulated and inspected more often, and those who don’t follow the regulations must be fined. Deregulation in the context of ease of formal registration means more vendors on the markets, which results in a diverse offer. Overall quality of goods would that way not decrease as the competition among vendors would increase. Regulations, inspections and penalties must be directed primarily towards quality of products so the customers regain trust in farmers’ markets.
2.2.3 New model of traditional markets

Traditional markets long for change for some time already, as there have not been any major investments in the market infrastructure for close to 30 years. Since the early 2000s, the vendors have been systematically pushed out of their marketplaces through unacceptable work conditions, constant increase in rent, and numerous other expenses imposed on them. Many vendors went out of business, especially those not selling groceries. Those who continued to sell had to tighten their belt even more, which reflected on the quality of their products. Poor quality of products or increase of the products’ cost and a constantly decreasing number of vendors could not attract attention of the customers so their number diminished also. Recent policy-changes and introduction of fiscalization in 2013 was particularly hard on market vendors, as well as on their freedom and finally, their profit.

Architecture as a social discipline failed to solve issues which have been bothering the vendors since the beginning of trade. Vendors of each market of Zagreb have been collecting signatures numerous times for a roof or a similar alternative over their heads. Rain, snow and extreme temperatures in summer and winter have significant effects on trade. Zagreb’s most important traditional markets are not properly covered. That aside, Zagreb’s traditional markets are obsolete compared with any supermarket. Because of the old or non-existent infrastructure, some markets like the Old Market in Dubrava have practically disappeared.

Context-specific approach in the revitalization of the market infrastructure must be adaptive to different situations and ready for diverse interventions. Current issues regarding traditional markets differ from quarter to quarter and therefore must be handled accordingly. Diminished trade activity during extreme weather conditions is the problem many markets share, but it is just one among many. Significant markets such as Dolac, Trešnjevka market, British market, Kvaternik’s market and Branimir’s market are missing the architectural component which would make sure that these markets, once rethought, never lose their value as the functioning symbol of the city.

Dolac market, being the oldest and the most prominent traditional market in Zagreb, desperately needs better protection from rain. Its surface has been paved numerous times, just like the surface on Kvaternik’s market. The issues with rainwater call for a better solution, as drain systems have their problems especially around Kvaternik’s market where all of the basements are flooded after rain, and the umbrellas currently in use are impractical. They break easily, they do not offer good sun protection and the vendors are financially responsible for them. If the wind damages the parasol, the vendor must cover the expenses. Another issue is the kiosk from which textile vendors sell their products. Kiosks are uniform in size and shape, which means the vendors must adapt to the prescribed stall. They come naked and vendors must equip them with dressing rooms, mirrors, shelves and wardrobes etc. Tables for selling fruit and vegetables are also old and deteriorated, standing on metal legs covered with rust. Temporary objects on Tresnjevka market and illegal objects on Dubrava market are another issue which rejects the customers and calls for attention. Branimir’s market is half-empty and waits for the beginning of modernization since 2015. For successful modernization, public architectural competition is required in order for it to push out architecturally doubtful proposals. Borongaj market awaits relocation on the, currently in construction, Dubec market but it is not clear whether the capacity
of Dubec market will allow all of the vendors from Borongaj to find their place there. Businesses on the operational part of Črnomerec market and textile part of Trešnjevka market have reduced in size significantly since early 2000s. British square market was on the brink of being closed down for renovation, but vendors were protesting as they could not afford to lose their marketplaces for an unknown amount of time. Many of the smaller markets in Zagreb have lost their clientele completely. It is not only a failure in architecture and urban planning what lead to this situation, but also in market regulations and policy changes with no regards to market vendors.

Freeing market vendors of unnecessary expenses is essential to attract them back to traditional markets. By introducing a flat-rate tax based on the amount of square meters of one’s table, stall or showcase, many of current vendors’ problems would be gone. Tax rate of Croatian products would fall on around 10% of the total price while the rate of imported goods would be 25% of total price. This is how Croatian production would be genuinely protected, and vendors encouraged to sell domestic products for affordable prices. Fiscal registers and giving out receipts should stay in the past in order for traditional markets to have a feasible future. However, market vendors now have to give out receipts and inspections punish them for violations of any kind. The devices used to give out receipts since the introduction of fiscalization often malfunction and require service, especially during the winter. They are impractical, some of the vendors don’t know how to use them and they have to pay a monthly fee to even have the device in their possession. The introduction of the flat-rate tax would not only erase these fees, but also allow the vendors to choose the price for their own products at given time. They could lower the prices of some products near market’s closing time, give a discount to someone, and introduce a possibility of bargaining again. Markets would again be a place of agreement, not fixed prices and constant fear of fines.

All of the above listed freedoms are currently forbidden. Furthermore, in order to fully revitalize existing markets, the decimated textile parts of them must be recovered. What lead to severe deficiency of the vendors in textile category and their animosity towards other categories of vendors, are unequal rules towards them in regards to other categories. Of course, overall worsening of the market situation throughout the years affected this category also, but over-regulation of registering and imposing taxes on self-made products made it more severe. Revision of OPG is needed and benefits for the sellers of their own garments and textile products are required. Vendors who produce and sell their own non-food products are equivalent of an OPG and therefore must enjoy the same benefits. Self-made garments, socks, shoes, toys etc. fall into this category. On the other hand, concerning the food category, the organization of wholesale must be transparent so the origin of the produce is clear. The content of traditional markets can be controlled by carefully monitoring the movement of the products of different origin on the wholesale market through market vendors.

As already stated, part of the solution to the problem lays in deregulation of the registering process of future vendors. Informal workers should also find their place there, if the products satisfy the formal criteria and the general criteria of customers. It is crucial to revitalize traditional markets in order for them to serve their purpose, as places of gathering and activators of their surroundings.
Chapter 3

Conventional use of architecture and urban planning in Zagreb in context of existing and emerging markets

3.1 Urban planning and architecture of traditional markets

3.1.1 Decentralization and qualitative-quantitative principles as primary criteria for planning

Architecture and urban planning are disciplines which aim to collect data, detect current problems and interpret the spatial needs of citizens in order to create better functioning cities of tomorrow. Interpreting citizens’ needs is based on research, cooperation with other social disciplines, collaboration with both governmental and non-governmental organizations, and using their previous knowledge as a reference of problem-detecting and solving. Architects, urban planners, sociologists and anthropologists have numerous helpful tools at their disposal during their initial research. Surveys, interviews, focus-groups and collecting data from previous studies represent some of them. It is important to examine the problems detected by the public, in order to approach current issues correctly. Thorough analysis leads to categories not being left out of the further planning process. It is a foundation on which architects and planners extract, build or add in further development.

In studies, generally, various different nodes emerge based on the universally missing content. This content can represent whole areas or spots labeled as problematic, such as missing park infrastructure and green spaces, not enough playgrounds, deficient traffic infrastructure, insufficiently used public space, non-functional squares or inadequate and poorly planned marketplaces etc. Locations for interventions are then chosen and each one is represented by one node. Spheres of influence of the markets are quite important as they shape the movement of the residents and influence the emergence of other functions in their immediate surroundings. The Nodes must be categorized based on the effect of markets on their surroundings and overall impact on the city’s development into significant or less significant. These two factors also serve as an indicator of urgency of future interventions.
The effect of markets on their surroundings depicts not only their importance as a shopping destination, but also as an institution of social life, urban place of gathering and coexistence, and finally a vivid symbol of an ongoing tradition of Zagreb. Naturally, it is a challenge to identify those which would, when modernized, have the biggest effect on the environment. Therefore, their current and eventual impact on the city’s positive development must be examined. Following these steps provides a broader perspective on the current condition and needed intervention for each market, as well as of public space in their immediate surroundings.

With decentralization as a primary principle, architects and planners must have other market-related functions in mind when examining various quarters. Districts such as lower Dubrava do not have any market infrastructure or a place of gathering due to post WW2 migrations waves which prompted poor parceling and illegal construction. Markets emerging in similar quarters must include other functions in order to fully activate their surroundings. Built architecture must be planned for the people. All categories must be included in the planning process. Workshops and children events, cinema during the summer and some content which does not depend on the season or weather conditions must be planned. Furthermore, lectures and small concerts can be held within the market. It is important to encourage the activity of the built center outside market’s working hours. Planning a center of social life which is significant for the quarter, as its functions will decide the direction of the quarter’s future development. Frequently visited traditional markets in the center of the city do not need to be planned as multifunctional institutions. Their position, vicinity to other social content of any kind and high density of population, allows for small local markets in the historical parts of the city to enjoy even greater recognition as significant multifunctional, well planned architecture in the peripheral quarters. The difference is, however, that those markets in the peripheral quarters have a greater impact on their environment due to generally lower proportion of social functions in these neighborhoods. The qualitative-quantitative criteria allows for locations set for intervention to be labeled as more or less urgent, based on people’s repeated suggestions or remarks. Higher the amount of people detecting a problem in the public space and suggesting a solution, more urgent it is to solve this problem.
Spatial arrangement of markets in the 1990s: spheres of influence of Cerska Square market (yellow) and Dubrava market (red) when Dubrava market first opened its doors. Most of the area which developed since the 1930s was covered with these two traditional markets.
Current situation in Dubrava regarding traditional markets and supermarkets - Cerska market practically disappeared, Dubrava market continues to operate with its social value severely diminished and 12 large supermarkets in Dubrava supply most of the district with needed products.
3.1.2 Activation of the city through markets within it

Sphere of influence of each market is determined by its location and size. Bigger markets, or markets with broader offer of products have a bigger sphere of influence while smaller markets usually have a smaller sphere of influence. Another factor is the vicinity to the center of the city, and the level of activity of the ground floor zone around the market. The closer to it the market is, bigger the sphere of influence, as well as, more active the surroundings of the market in terms of functions (ground-floor zone), greater the sphere of influence. For that reason Dolac market has a vast sphere of influence which extends to all parts of the lower and upper city and Črnomerec. Trešnjevka market’s sphere of influence consists of northern and southern Trešnjevka, Črnomerec and even lower city. Branimir’s market, despite its historic significance, has a narrow sphere of influence. It attracts only the population in its immediate surroundings but it has much to do with its current state. Kvaternik’s market, even though it is small in size, attracts customers from Maksimir, lower and upper town because of its convenient location on the brink of those three quarters. British square market has great influence on the area from Črnomerec until Frankopanska and Tuškanac on the east and Pantovčak on the north. During the weekends the flea market on the British square attracts people from all over city center as it represents one of the few flea markets in the city, and it is the closest one to the center of the city. Farmer’s markets in districts further away from the city center usually attract people from the whole district within they are, and therefore have influence on them. And so, Jarun market takes care of Jarun quarter, Špansko market attracts people from Špansko and Stenjevec, the same goes for Trnje, Botinec etc. There are farmer’s markets with greater spheres of influence even though they are located far from city center. They are Prečko, Utrina and Gajnice markets. There are cases where spheres of interest create overlap, which means there are several markets near each other, with good traffic connection to each other, or beloved by people from several quarters. This phenomenon potentiates positive development of markets and affects the customer base also positively. However, there are cases where markets are being consumed by other which grew uncontrollably.

Dubrava market as a symbol of this phenomenon, has a vast sphere of influence but it affects negatively on the development of the district. The positives and negatives of the market have already been examined in previous chapters, but for this sub-chapter, it is important to address the issue of deactivation. Stari plac (Old market) in lower Dubrava was the first and the most important market in the district. Since the opening of the market in the upper Dubrava, one by one the stores and kiosks on Cerska Street closed their doors. In this example, as well as in many others, a growing number of supermarkets affected traditional market trade greatly. The opening of the Plodine supermarket in the lower Dubrava also meant a decrease in trade for the Old market. There would not be a problem if the current Dubrava’s market was working well, but this is not the case. When it was opened, it was overflowing with customers. Through time, because of illegal activities and crime, followed by insufficient quality of products the market slowly deteriorated. It caused the deactivation of the Old market, and later failed to live up to expectations itself. At this time, the Old market in Cerska street was already gone. Now, almost 100 000 citizens from upper and lower Dubrava don’t have a proper traditional market to go to.
picture 80 – Change after the reconstruction of Cerska market and construction of Dubec market

– Dubec market (blue) which is currently under construction will serve as a social center of Dubec and Retkovec. There is no such plan for the Cerska market which would activate the passive core of the Lower Dubrava quarter. All 3 markets are required for the future favorable spatial and social development of Dubrava.
New Čerska market with an adequate square would serve as a place of gathering in a content-deficient quarter of almost 40,000 inhabitants. The immediate surroundings (yellow) would use the market-square each day while part of the Upper Dubrava and the rest of Lower Dubrava (light yellow) would use it 3 or more times a week according to the interviews conducted in both quarters.
3.2 Present circumstances and shortcomings of current architectural approach

3.2.1 Market position and relocation

Location of the market, or any function for that matter, determines the impact of that function on the community and therefore its success, but also encourages the community on participating in the activity. Therefore a context-specific architectural and urbanistic approach is required for truly resolving the issues revolving around traditional markets. Currently, market vendors are in a disadvantageous position as they can only protest against decisions brought upon them and hope for the best. Often, their voice is disregarded and, easily, new policies are introduced, vendors neglected, and relocations of markets arranged. Market relocations can be successful, if everything is taken into account, the new function for the ‘old’ location found, and acceptable location for future market secured. In reality, more often relocations fail and especially old locations of the market do not serve their new purpose, as a modern city square. Next example focuses on the location from which the market was moved, as it represents the main problem of this relocation.

Since the relocation of Kvaternik’s market some 50m of the square, everything went downhill. The square’s renovation in 2008. featured among kiosks with flower and a fountain, another odd novelty- info column. Sadly, there were no benches or drinking fountains, which could be seen before the renovation took place. Trees were also removed and that together with the new underground garage and overall planning in favor of cars and public transportation, contributed to ‘dehumanization’ of the square. The square is dominated by traffic, and pedestrians are pushed out of the square by underground passages. The square was not acceptably hygienic before the markets’ relocation, but it was full of life and beloved by neighbors and other pedestrians passing through. Sadly, the relocation together with poor renovation resulted in a vast, unusable surface without character and soul. The market operates well, but is not as meaningful as it would be on its old location.

Kvaternik’s square is far from being the only area inappropriately reconstructed in regards to their former
appearance. Petar Preradović square (Flower square) has been a vivid and frequent urban center since early 1930s. Fruit and vegetable market was supposed to be relocated there from Ban Josip Jelacic square, but instead, it was moved to Dolac, and farmers’ market of mostly flowers was situated on Flower square. The charming square with numerous stands just moments away from Zagreb’s main square, became simultaneously the liveliest place of gathering with high frequency of people passing and staying on the square, and an inspiring intimate space. Its vividness and an unchanged character despite transformations of the square from 1900-1995, shows that the changes were legitimate. The refurbishment of the square was scheduled for 1995 which disrupted the atmosphere of the square, and affected its character greatly. Maple trees were removed, delightful multitude of flower stands replaced with a few steel-glass stalls, and the square was consumed by the terraces of the neighboring cafe bars. The final blow was the construction of the underground garage below and a shopping center on the Flower Square.

British market has also recently been on the brink of closing down for refurbishment. Near the market, a new roundabout with a fountain and a pedestrian island with benches, surrounded by traffic emerged. The market still operates, but mostly not in its full capacity. Some of the informal workers and their objects did not get their chance to extend their contracts, their businesses closed their doors in 2016. Their only solution was to relocate to some other market. British market has to be protected. There have been some architectural proposals in the past, but none of them were realized. Architect and university professor Jasenko Horvat emphasizes the importance of securing the current market standards by equipping the British market with all of the needed content, such as storage facilities and other auxiliary spaces. Ground-floor zone on and around British square is particularly important for the market to thrive. Recently, there has been word of an underground garage planned below the British Square. It is quite easy to spot the pattern here. Kvaternik’s square and Flower Square have not endured their refurbishments and underground garages, at least their character did not. The content on the British Square is shrinking, and its future is uncertain.

Above mentioned Dubec market is currently under construction and vendors from Borongaj market will be able to settle there as soon as July, 2019. The construction started 3 years after the new location was confirmed, but luckily, the vendors got
their permission to stay on their location in Borongaj until construction is completed. In this case, after initial disappointment of the vendors because they got their notice that the market will be closed in 2016, they managed to push out their own initiative to participate in choosing the new location. This may be the first example of a successful relocation, but still, it seems that some vendors will not find their place on the new market. In 2016, Borongaj market operated in its full capacity with 72 kiosks. According to the new project plans, the future Dubec market only has 52. How is it going to house all of the vendors from Borongaj and employ new vendors? Time will tell. Those pushed out of the British Square have already found their place elsewhere because in the meantime 3 years have gone by, and the vendors from Borongaj have yet to see what kind of arrangements they can expect. This also reminds of the new stalls brought to Trešnjevka market in 2003 and 2008. If this will be anything like it, the vendors may have to face new expenses.

It is essential to protect traditional markets

3.2.2 Infrastructure, work conditions and trade in various seasons and weather conditions

According to Markets of Zagreb, in the first 6 months of 2018, they realized a profit of 64 000kn (around 8 600euro) before tax. That marks a near 1/3 drop than in the same period in 2017. A decrease in tables, kiosks and spaces rented to vendors was also recorded. The infrastructure is one of the main reasons for it, next to the vendors’ dissatisfaction because of poor work conditions and high expenses and fines, and finally impracticality in regards to the supermarkets. As already stated, the lack of protection from various weather conditions affects the trade and profits greatly. Conventional roofing or an innovative form of umbrellas, creative and cost-effective solution must be found as soon as possible in order to provide minimal, but acceptable work conditions. This would be a visible improvement, and a foundation towards building a sustainable future for traditional markets. In order for it to succeed, regulations must also suit the needs of the vendors and protect them, informal workers included. For the workers, protection, stability and constancy of the markets, as well as their stability in terms of not being pushed out of business is crucial.
If nothing is done, deterioration and impracticality of traditional markets in Zagreb will wipe them out completely. Compared to the supermarkets, traditional markets do not stand a chance. Difficult weather conditions affect traditional market trade greatly. Another problem is that the organization of many markets does not seem to modernize in terms of resting places or other interesting places meant for inviting the customers to stay longer than is usual.
Vicinity of Cerska Square in regards to the Dubrava Avenue- longitudinal and lateral streets of Upper Dubrava as well as curving roads of Lower Dubrava are well connected with the Dubrava Avenue. A favorable traffic connection makes Cerska Square a viable place for the emergence of the market.
4.1 Emerging markets: market planning on the example of the Old Market in Dubrava

4.1.1 Site selection (based on the urbanistic and demographic analysis of the quarter)

Spatial arrangement of schools, medical and health centers, pharmacies, farmers’ markets and supermarkets, socio-cultural institutions and other business premises is conditioned by the nature of spatial expansion of city districts. Dubrava developed from the west towards the east, along the Dubrava avenue. Stipica Šarčević detects this sort of expanding along the line as the main reason for the unequal distribution of activities throughout the district (Šarčević, 2017: 58). Specifically, marginal areas of both upper and lower Dubrava have a content deficiency. Most of the above mentioned institutions are distributed around the Dubrava avenue and the streets laying perpendicular or parallel to it, such as the colorful Konjščinska street and Križnog puta street. These streets established themselves long ago as equally, if not more important location than Dubrava avenue for attracting customers. The importance of these streets is not coincidental, it emerged because of the way the district developed throughout the history. Furthermore, the difference in the morphology between the Upper and Lower Dubrava decided the long-term distribution of socio-cultural activities. The abundance of stores, café bars, crafts and other business premises in upper Dubrava was conditioned by its, meticulously executed parceling with a proper grid and proportionally distributed parcels. This way, the movement through the quarter is unobstructed by twisting roads. It creates a suitable atmosphere for various activities to appear. Lower Dubrava, however, does not share the same characteristics and because of its inadequately executed parceling has a tremendous deficiency of content in comparison with upper Dubrava. Two elementary schools, two kindergartens, a catholic church, Children’s theatre, a few hair salons, café bars and restaurants, some small textile and jewellery crafts, two tiny grocery stores and large supermarkets on the margin of the quarter make most of Lower Dubrava’s educational institutions and business premises. These shape the everyday movement of the Lower Dubrava
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

picture 85 – Market position and approaches: positioned on the area of the first paved surface in Dubrava where the first traditional market in Dubrava emerged, the reconstructed market in Cerska has a sentimental value in the eyes of Lower Dubrava’s residents. Therefore its success as a potential center of the quarter is not in question. North and south approaches to the square add to the square’s spatial significance as they allow a good circulation of the people on it and provide multiple directions of movement around the square.
picture 86 – The need for a market in Lower Dubrava - deficiency of retail trade and other social content in Lower Dubrava in relation to the Dubrava Avenue.
picture 87 – Accumulation of closed retail trade premises in Lower Dubrava around the abandoned market
residents through their district. Public space does not and currently cannot play a role in their everyday activities because of the densely organized parcels with no planned spaces for leisure inbetween. Lower Dubrava, being the third among all of the districts in Zagreb based on the number of household residents following Sesvete and Brezovica with the average of 3,68 persons pro household according to the 2011 Population census, should have a proper place of gathering and a well-developed public space. Such planned urban spaces would enable the residents to actually use the spatial component of their quarter. Upper Dubrava has numerous meeting places which developed simultaneously with the expansion of apartment buildings and variety of business premises. The difference in the morphology between the Upper and Lower Dubrava plays yet again an important role of shaping the social aspect of the district. These differences make it clear that Lower Dubrava cannot have the same nature of meeting places as Upper Dubrava as the spatial distribution of cultural and social institutions, business premises, etc. is not alike. Spatial distribution of these units (business premises of any kind, large apartment buildings) in Upper Dubrava influences the “accidental” emerging of places of gathering. Distribution of units can happen along a line and grow proportionally with the attraction it represents among customers. Konjščinska street market can be taken as an example as it highlighted the whole street as an attraction simply through the stores which emerged there. Non-market places of gathering in Dubrava are both Dubrava and Dubec tram and bus turning points, high schools, parks, playgrounds and sports complexes. However, in the periphery the most significant places of gathering with constantly high frequency of people are usually farmers’ markets, malls, supermarkets and other structures of market-like character. The periphery is at no time packed so densely with built structures and therefore contain far less inhabitants and content per m2 in comparison with the city centre. However, more available area potentiates the development of supermarkets and hypermarkets on the margins of districts with densely packed plots, which don’t have the possibility of grocery markets within the district. Supermarkets have cleverly used the impossibility of market-planning within the Lower Dubrava quarter. On the southeast and southwest margins there are two supermarkets which together with the two on the southern margin of Upper Dubrava supply the whole Lower Dubrava district with food and groceries. Upper Dubrava houses numerous other supermarkets. Aside from the two
supermarkets on the west, there are another two nearby the farmers’ market and another two on Dubec (last tram station in Dubrava on its eastern margin), all distributed along the Dubrava avenue. Another supermarket is located north of Dubrava main market. Along the Rudolfa Kolaka road which lays parallel to Dubrava Avenue, another three supermarkets and a shopping mall emerged. It can be said that the whole Dubrava is surrounded by shopping malls and supermarkets. They may seem harmless, but they have a great impact on their surroundings. Sometimes supermarkets are even needed for the supplying of such large districts with groceries, but in this quantity they are directly involved in a number of severe long-term consequences for the development of the Dubrava district. As they are positioned on the margins of the Upper and Lower Dubrava, they draw the residents outside and towards the borders of their districts and therefore hinder the importance of internal parts of the quarters. Variety of supermarkets is actually a pseudo-variety because all of them are comprised of similar components such as large parking lots, structures with no architectural value (deficient natural light, practically identical structure applied to many different sites), often external position in respect to the quarter they are meant for, etc. These markets are convenient as they offer all kinds of products in one place, but in the context of Dubrava, especially Lower Dubrava they diminish the significance of the internal parts of the quarter. One must leave the quarter in order to meet his or her needs for food or any other kind of product. Furthermore, space around all of the mentioned supermarkets is not meant for staying longer than is usual. It is not expected from a supermarket nor from its surroundings to be shaped and adapted to people’s needs through time. Space around it does not change. Traditional markets have a greater potential of positively activating their surroundings by housing various social functions. They also have the potential to cause negative consequences, a phenomenon already quite familiar in Dubrava. However, the character of traditional markets, with post offices, pharmacies, banks, cafe bars, restaurants and parks nearby invite all age groups and social classes to stay and use the space however they like. These institutions of social life potentiate a genuine variety in terms of emerging content. A market and these units in its immediate surroundings are not directly dependant on each other, but both profit from the constantly high frequency of people. Another component which contributes to success of traditional markets it that people generally tend to enjoy observing
other people. That component becomes exponentially more important in the neighborhoods like Lower Dubrava where people generally know each other and therefore markets become places of encounter. Sadly, residents of Lower Dubrava still have to visit Upper Dubrava practically every day in order to complete any of their daily tasks or needs which disables this sort of encounter. According to interviews conducted on several points in Upper and Lower Dubrava during the field research, interesting is that somewhat less of 40% of interviewees in Upper Dubrava detect a severe deficiency of content in their quarter while in Lower Dubrava the number exceeds 80%. The interviews conducted in Lower Dubrava were conducted on different locations in order to avoid the higher discontent among the residents when conducting interviews on deteriorated areas, for example old market in Cerska street. It is important to provide the residents with their own bundle of units needed for fulfilling their daily needs together with a carefully planned public space. The built project would hopefully become a model for providing the residents of such quarters the opportunity to use the internal parts of their quarter.

The quarter has characteristics of smaller settlement types with numerous family houses, quiet streets and a certain privacy, due to the lack of content and infrastructure. Site chosen for the model project of planning new markets is located in Lower Dubrava, on the square in between Cerska and Kapelska street, which had housed the first farmers’ market in Dubrava.

Currently empty, unused square with abandoned objects serves its purpose as a passage between Kapelska and Cerska streets. As there are no benches or similar planned resting places, no one stops at the square apart from those sitting on an improvised concrete pedestal and daydrinking. The unpleasant sight of abandoned objects keeps the children from the neighboring Children’s Theatre Dubrava away from the square. An acupunctural approach which would offer the residents a rethinked public space and content within their quarter is desperately needed. In a study conducted by Društvo Arhitekata Zagreb, the area of the old market on Cerska street was also recognized among 50 other sites as a potential site for reconstruction because of its current emptiness and unpresentable appearance. Proximity of the western part of Dubrava avenue means good traffic connection with the whole Dubrava and Maksimir districts.
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

Current state – abandoned objects of the former market and barriers left on the square hinder the movement through it. The lack of resting places and an overall poor appearance of the square keeps Lower Dubrava residents away from it. Vicinity of the square to the whole Lower Dubrava, Dubrava Avenue and thereby western parts of the Upper Dubrava, the square has a great potential of becoming a social hub in the center of Dubrava. Taking into account the densely organized plots in Lower Dubrava which make it impossible to plan an adequate space of gathering for the quarter, Cerska Square emerges as an ideal option for housing such a significant social function.
4.1.2 Market space & public space: architecture as opportunities-creating discipline

Architecture and landscape represent a very potent pair which, when used properly, maximizes the significance of both components and allows combining of inherently different functions. In the context of a market and a square, these two themselves depict some of the most important human activities—meeting and supplying. Combining of these two in those quarters which do not have an appropriate place of gathering nor a market such as Lower Dubrava, could elevate the quality of life within the quarter significantly. A square and a market are a natural duo. The Cerska square which should be planned as a place of gathering depends on the people to use it, and it cannot be planned merely as a square. Squares planned as vast empty spaces can succeed if they are surrounded by densely populated areas with variety of functions and a high frequency of people. On Cerska, the square would work as a cushion inbetween the market and the community by absorbing the chaotic aspect of the market, but it would also provide the community with functions usually found in parks and squares combined with the social aspect of the market. Market- square duo would serve as an important juncture of both Lower and Upper Dubrava because of its location and proximity to the Dubrava avenue. Just like squares in smaller quarters cannot be planned like those in the narrow city centre, similar rules apply to markets as well. The most prominent markets in Zagreb such as Dolac, Trešnjevka and Kvaternik’s market are planned as large open spaces with numerous tables, stands and kiosks. That sort of open market had already existed on Cerska square, but was abandoned by both customers and retailers as the conditions were far from sufficient to keep the market alive. The, then newly opened market in Upper Dubrava was the final blow to the old market in Cerska. The idea of an open market on Cerska is still far from ideal, as the retailers would not have any facilities needed for work (repository for the carts, dressing room for retailers, storage for scales and sun parasols, market manager office, etc.). Without most of these the market cannot operate, and building just the needed facilities while leaving retailers and customers out in the open would not result in a significant improvement already mentioned above which is intended by the model project. It would also be irresponsible towards the retailers and customers, and simply not clever because built objects would not serve to the people in any way nor would they provide better conditions for retail. A market on Cerska must be planned as a powerful conglomerate of opportunities, with retail tables and kiosks in a multifunctional space which could be used for fairs, flea markets, food festivals, art exhibitions organized by the Cultural Center Dubrava, performances organized by the neighboring Children’s Theatre Dubrava and other events. Permanent stores which could house small crafts and self- made products, but also functions like a hair salon, small convenience store, even post office should find their place in the interior of the market. A balance between closed and covered- open space of the market, and open space of the square must be achieved in order for an optimal interaction between the market and the square to take place. The market must work as a “local supermarket”, a place of variety of units ready to be used and interacted with in many different ways.
Revitalization of Zagreb's traditional markets

- Removing the barriers and positioning the market

The market's position reduces the size of the inapplicable, vast empty square. It defines the square as both a place for staying and a path for passing through. The 'L' shape of the square activates its surroundings by connecting the two approaching roads. The square fills the space of the market and its future functions. The approaching road on the southern side as well as other neighboring roads have enough capacity for parking spaces, which will make the square more frequent destination for Dubrava's residents.
The folded plate structure of the roof represents the interpretation of characteristic roofs of small family houses in Lower Dubrava. This kind of roof structure allows for the interior of the market to be completely free from columns. The market’s porch functions as a second membrane before entering the market. 3 types of space collide in the square - market structure: open and uncovered space, open and covered space, and the inner closed space.
Revitalization of Zagreb's traditional markets

A proper square for staying longer than is usual. Benches and vegetation on the square interact with the market, creating a more pleasant atmosphere for gathering and spending time on the market. The square absorbs the chaotic aspect of the market and provides ideal conditions without losing the identity of the market's entrance. The square is directed towards light from the market's polycarbonate panels. Northern light illuminates the multifunctional market hall, while southern light, through roof openings, provides ideal conditions for the market's other functions, such as craft stores and hallway areas.
Connecting and dividing spaces: connecting or dividing the spaces and people based on their interests is vital for this kind of market to fulfill its potential. A curved seating structure defines the market area and the square area. One can observe the market or the square, depending on the seating position. Furthermore, different parts of the porch have different types of character: Bocce alley on the southern side of the market (right) has more of a hidden character in comparison with the market and the café bar which fill other 2 sides of the porch. A variety of view connections on the square and the market provide a healthy and natural environment.
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets
Illumination of the market building in different times of day—slanting the roof openings towards north (market hall) or south (hallway with stores and kiosks) allows the sun to illuminate the interior of the market building from multiple directions. That way, it enables indirect or direct sunlight depending on the character of the spaces. Market trade should not be affected by the intense sunlight, therefore multiple openings slanted to the north allow only pleasant indirect sun to enter the hall, while directional sun is welcome in areas such as the hallway, stores and kiosks connected by it on the southern side of the market building.
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

The porch - the idea of the porch was derived and interpreted from the classicist understanding of this architectural element. It represents a space in-between two components with different characteristics, a market and a square. Even though the ramps add to the monumentality of the whole market structure, the monumentality of the porch is not characterized by the empty space. The interpretation of the porch offers additional functions such as a Bocce alley which are often found and used in parks in Zagreb, and a cafe bar. All of these functions interact with each other and with the square. The informal component of the market is welcome to appear on the porch of the market building, offering variety of products to people passing through the square. The emergence of such traditional markets with fairs and manifestations representing the character of Dubrava and Zagreb can only improve the pulse of the Lower Dubrava quarter, provide new employment opportunities and add to the variety of retail trade units in Dubrava. This sort of development is desperately needed for both formal and informal ven-

dors which do not have the means of opening their own stores and customers who deserve a variety of products for a reasonable price.
4.1.3 Taking informality in account as part of revitalization

Informal economy has been detected throughout the work as a permanent phenomenon, which does not occur merely there where poor conditions meet prejudiced regulation, over-regulation or lack of regulation. It is a way for the poor to try and make their way out of poverty, which they rarely do, or a way for the government to collude with formal or informal units for their interest. It is embedded in human nature. It is not viable or even possible to formalize informality in any conventional way. With that said, could it be that perhaps informality is a part of the solution? Traditional markets in Zagreb are losing the fight with the supermarkets, both informal and formal workers are being pushed out of the markets on a tremendous scale, the rent, penalties and fees brought upon the retailers is increasing and they are being pushed out of work. Constant neglect from the local authority is bad for both formal and informal workers and plays a major role in transitioning from formal to the informal economy. Understanding that, it is clear that informal economy plays a major role for the overall revitalization of Zagreb’s markets. Naturally, deregulation in terms of ease of registration and doing business is needed for the revitalization to succeed. Flat-rate tax would erase many of retailers’ current problems, from not having to deal with faulty devices which they have to rent and pay monthly fees for, to choosing their own price for their products at any time, no harrasing from fiscal inspectors, introduction of bargaining, etc. Even if one leaves the aspect of informal workers out of the equation, all of the above mentioned would greatly affect the trade in terms of a growing number of retailers, profit of the retailers and finally, profit of the state. By taking informal economy into account when working towards revitalizing the markets one sees a broader spectrum of ideas and criteria which need to be thought of and fulfilled.

What role does architecture play in planning a market for both formal and informal workers? Leading role, I suppose. Having in mind all the ways in which formality and informality can coexist is exactly the task for architecture to tackle. In the context of Cerska square, already mentioned market-square duo must work together as a rotor and stator. The market will work as an engine, powered by retail trade, other important everyday functions (for example post office or convenience store), gastronomic units and leisure opportunities. Informal workers must also find their place in the everyday market as the multifunctional hall of the market building has both the capacity and the favorable appearance for housing this sort of activity. A wall with no windows or large openings apart from the large industrial sliding door allows the interior to be directly connected or protected from its surroundings. With the square which works as an intermediary between the market and its neighborhood, an ideal type of connection with the community can be achieved.
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

Picture 114 – Multifunctional market hall. The interior of the market building is designed to provide a mix of retail, event, and cultural program spaces.

The square is essential for outdoor concerts and summer cinema on the same site as the cultural program activities. The multifunctional market hall is designed to combine these aspects, allowing for events like flea markets, small fairs, exhibitions from the Cultural Center Dubrava, and performances from the neighboring Children’s Theatre Dubrava. These events would be possible and would contribute to the activation of the quarter, increasing foot traffic and generating a lively atmosphere. The informal component of frequent fairs and sales would attract Lower Dubrava’s residents to the square, contributing to the cultural program of the area. The sliding industrial door provides flexibility, allowing the market to interact with the square and the porch or to be separated from them when needed. The multi-purpose function of the space enables a dynamic use of the area, enhancing its attractiveness and contributing to Dubrava’s cultural program.
Architectural concepts for revitalization of Zagreb's traditional markets

picture 115 - **Triple membrane concept** - first membrane, the square works as a buffer between the market and the community, it is empty and houses no distinct functions apart from being able to absorb the chaotic aspect of the market and to serve as a place of gathering for the whole quarter. It connects different paths and therefore activates its immediate surroundings. The second membrane is the porch with various social functions. Their spatial arrangement and position in regard to the position of the square provides interesting view relationships between those social components. Third membrane is the thick brick wall with very few openings between the porch and the interior of the market building.
picture 116 – Spatial arrangement of stalls by their functions

- formal and informal market
- storage facilities, market manager, wc, waste
- bocce, crafts, convenience stores
- cafe bar
4.1.4 Abstraction of the market’s spatial aspect: architectural concept and social capacities

Principal components of the Cerska square project are the square, the porch and a multitude of spaces within the market hall. In order to fully activate its surroundings, markets in such districts must include a variety of functions. Having in mind various activities occurring in different seasons, 3 types of space emerged: open space, open but covered space and finally closed space. Closed space consists of the market hall on the one side and a path with a café bar, kiosks with authentic products vis-à-vis small stores and other units. The hall of the market must be adaptable in order to successfully hold a fair, flea market, art exhibition, musical performance or a movie screening. The market works differently depending on different times of day, so the frequency of people in the morning will not be distributed the same as during the evening. Market trade is the primary activity which occurs daily until 3pm. It takes place on the north side and part of the west side of the porch as well as in the market hall. The rest of the west side of the porch is taken by the terrace of the café bar, which encourages people on the market to stay. Both of these cause high frequency of people on these points during the morning and early afternoon. After market’s closing hours, attention is shifted towards the stores and kiosks in the southern part of the interior, as well as on the south side of the porch which gives people the opportunity to play Bocce without having to worry about the weather conditions. Bocce alleys can be found usually in parks in Zagreb, but having in mind the deficiency of parks in Dubrava it is a rare phenomenon to come across one there. The café bar also profits from the Bocce alley because its terrace and the alley are positioned along a line. The square would contain more people who are there to stay, in regards to early in the morning when they are just passing through the square. Evenings can be particularly interesting even without planned events of any sort. Outside market spaces can be replaced with tables and chairs from the café bar outside market working hours. Food from the kiosks on the north side of the porch together with a multifunctional space of the market hall, café bar and the square would account for a remained high number of people on the square-market.

The porch in the Cerska market project is an interpretation of the classicist sense of this architectural element. It was used
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

in basilicas, churches and temples, as a different type of space shortly before entering. They are often enclosed by columns which work as a membrane between the outside and inside of the building. In the Cerska market project this membrane is intangible as it is important for the market to appear inviting and transparent. However, the extending roof-line and the 1m long ramp (6% slope) directly in front of the porch amplify the monumentality and visual significance of the porch. The porch extends on the north, south and west towards the square. Traditional market spaces, kiosks, café bar and Bocce bowling alley are assigned to the porch in order for it to communicate with both the square and the interior of the market hall. However, these various functions do not change its architectural identity of a space before entering the space. All in all it is important to encourage the potential of this eventual center of social life in Lower Dubrava. It is significant for the development of the whole quarter, as it will play a major role in the quarter’s future development. It is certain that by offering the people of Lower Dubrava an alternative to the supermarkets and hypermarkets with all these positive features, they would welcome it immediately.

Informal component of the market hall - the appearance and organization of the market allows informal vendors with legitimate products to rent tables or put their products on the ground and sell them that way. The flat-rate tax would ensure that the vendors’ profits outgrow their expenses which means they would continue to sell, customers would continue to visit the market and the market’s potential would be fulfilled.

Functions active in the afternoon and early evening - local trade and crafts units located on the southern façade of the market building are oriented towards each of two entrances. Across these stores there are multiple kiosks characteristic for Zagreb’s markets. They represent the textile part many markets in Zagreb used to have in the past but because of strict regulation and high fees, their size on each market diminished severely since the early 2000s. Some of them may house gastronomic or other units. These are the most active part of the market building in the afternoon, outside of the markets working hours. The southern side of the porch with the Bocce alley and the café bar on the southwestern edge of the porch also invites people to spend time on the market. Bocce alleys are usually places visited by people living nearby every afternoon, and it is an interesting activity to observe. In the afternoon the number of people passing through the square drops, but there is a higher amount of people staying and gathering on the square.

Functions active in the afternoon and early evening - local trade and crafts units located on the southern façade of the market building are oriented towards each of two entrances. Across these stores there are multiple kiosks characteristic for Zagreb’s markets. They represent the textile part many markets in Zagreb used to have in the past but because of strict regulation and high fees, their size on each market diminished severely since the early 2000s. Some of them may house gastronomic or other units. These are the most active part of the market building in the afternoon, outside of the markets working hours. The southern side of the porch with the Bocce alley and the café bar on the southwestern edge of the porch also invites people to spend time on the market. Bocce alleys are usually places visited by people living nearby every afternoon, and it is an interesting activity to observe. In the afternoon the number of people passing through the square drops, but there is a higher amount of people staying and gathering on the square.

Informal component of the market hall - the appearance and organization of the market allows informal vendors with legitimate products to rent tables or put their products on the ground and sell them that way. The flat-rate tax would ensure that the vendors’ profits outgrow their expenses which means they would continue to sell, customers would continue to visit the market and the market’s potential would be fulfilled.

Summer cinema on the square and an art exhibition inside the market hall, or a concert on the square and a seminar in the market building represent different functions which could coexist in a market-square duo of this kind.

Summer sun and winter sun - openings slanted to the north allow indirect sunlight to illuminate the hall from above, their angle does not allow directional sunlight inside the hall. Bright hallways and stores on the southern part of the building are illuminated by the directional southern sun (openings slanted to the south)
Architectural concepts for revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

picture 123 – Market function on the porch - north elevation

picture 124 – Market function on the porch - west elevation

picture 125 – Seating and resting places of the square and the markets

picture 126 – Gastronomic opportunities with the large market hall as a dining area, and both exterior and interior kiosks partaking

picture 127 – South section with the exterior and interior of the market function (orange), textile kiosks or gastronomic units (green), local crafts and stores (green right) and facilities needed for the successful operating of the market which are pushed outside of trade and leisure zones, such as storage facilities, dressing rooms, market manager’s office (in this illustration dressing room in blue)
Revitalization of Zagreb's traditional markets

**picture 128** – West section with spatial arrangement of everyday functions active in the morning (orange) and in the afternoon (blue)

**picture 129** – South section with the spatial arrangement of the kiosks and one of the stores

**picture 130** – South elevation with the Bocce alley separated from the square and the market with only the cafe bar on the south-western edge of the porch in its view
4.1.5 Architectural plans
Architectural concepts for revitalization of Zagreb's traditional markets

picture 134 – Market floor plan with context M 1:500
picture 135 - Model with the square plan M 1:200

M 1:200
picture 139 – West elevation with context

picture 140 – South elevation with context

picture 141 – North elevation with context
4.1.6 Materials and construction

Light roof construction - corrugated roof sheets on top of a folded wooden beam construction. The corrugated pattern of the roof sheets covers the whole roof construction with parts of it consisting of translucent polycarbonate sheeting and the rest consisting of metal sheets.
Architectural concepts for revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

Picture 1.47 - Wooden beam structure with corrugated panels
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

picture148 – Example of a corrugated panel fixed onto two wooden beams
4.2 Existing markets: providing adequate conditions for revitalization

4.2.1 Preserving tradition by protecting the markets' appearance

Dolac market, Trešnjevka market, British square market, Kvaternik’s market and Branimir’s market are all part of Zagreb’s cultural heritage. Their appearance must be protected and preserved. The systematic devastation of many of Zagreb’s markets and therefore squares such as Petra Preradovića square (Flower square), Kvaternik’s square, etc. inflicted irreparable damage to the cultural heritage of the city. However, above mentioned markets (apart from Branimir’s market which waits on delayed reconstruction since 2015.) somehow managed to retain a part of their character and value despite current difficulties examined in this thesis. Current issues as well as consequences of the irresponsible behavior of formal units in the past affect retailers, customers, whole market trade and thereby significance of traditional markets negatively. Therefore it is crucial to address these problems on a visible platform in a timely manner.

These markets exist in this form since 1930s, but date from even older times. They are a significant part of Zagreb’s history. Their appearance or to be specific, “Šestine umbrellas” became a symbol of traditional markets and life in Zagreb. The actual “Šestine umbrella” was originally an essential part of a characteristic garb, which has been around until the 1960s. Šestine garb can be seen today only on some manifestations and folklore music events. The red cotton canvas with colorful stripes can however be seen as a print on large “Šestine umbrellas” on many of Zagreb’s markets. Their purpose is to serve as protection from the sun in the summer, and wind and rain in all 4 seasons. After numerous visits during all kinds of weather conditions it became clear that these umbrellas do not serve their purpose. Often, many of them (up to 150 according to the retailers) are awaiting repair and therefore cannot be rented for the usual fee of 22kn, or 50kn during weekends per day (6,75euro). This poses a serious problem, as fruits and vegetables rot under direct sunlight in the summer, and during rainy days there is no other way of protecting themselves from it. The umbrellas
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

break easily under heavy wind and therefore must be repaired often. The costs of the repair are brought upon the retailers as they are responsible for the umbrellas during the rent. They are instructed to shut the umbrellas during heavy wind but it is often accompanied by heavy rain unlike in Vienna. Furthermore, no extraordinary amount of wind is required considering that many of them are often broken. Another point is, as already mentioned, rays of sun and heat in the summer. The fabric does not protect from constant heat. Their protection from rain is also poor as they begin to leak after a while. All things considered, their actual main purpose is appearance. Their symbolism represents a bond of past and present in form of tradition. Appearance and tradition of these significant markets is of great importance and value, and cannot be replaced by applying other, conventional architectural solutions successfully. Otherwise, a simple Roof construction would suffice to keep extreme weather conditions away from the markets. Umbrellas must stay on the markets, as the markets’ appearance cannot be infringed. However, the symbolism of “Šestine umbrellas” can be reduced to the red cotton fabric with colorful stripes, not the actual mechanics of the umbrella. Current umbrellas are fragile and impractical, and therefore must be replaced.
4.2.2 Interlinking sun umbrella concept: approach towards providing adequate conditions on the market
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

picture 152 – Market organization typology 1

picture 153 – Market organization typology 2

picture 154 – Market organization typology 3
Interlinking sun parasol perspective in 3 positions: open, closing, closed
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

- Isometric view of connected parasols forming a weather-proof covered market space
- Isometric view of a single opened type A umbrella
- Isometric view of a single opened type B umbrella

Second isometric view of a single opened type B umbrella
picture 160 – Umbrella in the process of closing

picture 161 – Closed umbrella
picture162 – Plan of the opened umbrella M 1:20
picture 163 – Plan of the closed umbrella M 1:5
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

picture 164 – Opened umbrella elevation

picture 165 – Closing umbrella elevation

picture 166 – Closed umbrella elevation
picture 167 – Umbrella sections (1) M 1:20
picture 167 – Umbrella sections (3) M 1:20
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

picture 168 – Sun umbrella connection principle

picture 169 – Umbrella connection a - strong and durable Velcro fasteners extending over all 4 sides of each umbrella are positioned on the inner side of the umbrella edge.

picture 170 – Umbrella connection b - in order for the Velcro fasteners to be successfully connected they simply have to be rotated outwards before connecting.
picture 171 — each corner must be fixed additionally with the neighboring umbrella in order to be completely water-proof for the whole interior space. Therefore each corner has a supplementary fastener for connecting the two edges together. This allows the structure to take stronger winds and to endure heavy rain without affecting market trade.

picture 172 — Rain protection - the hollow center column with the diameter of 8cm has enough capacity to absorb and drain water apart from providing the essential vertical support of the umbrella structure. The water comes into the column through multiple holes on the root of the tulip umbrella. The water is then taken away into the ground.

picture 173 — Rendered isometric view of the closed umbrella structure
picture 174 – Detailed technical view of the type a umbrella mechanism

detailed technical view of the type b umbrella mechanism
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets
Architectural concepts for revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets
Conclusion

A context specific approach was taken in order to tackle the issues detected as problematic in the analytical phase of this thesis. The analytical phase comprises:

1. Examination of the past interactions between the urban fabric and both informal (traditional green markets, informal textile markets) and formal markets (super-, hypermarkets) in Zagreb.
2. Analysis of stagnation of content - poor quarters on the example of Lower Dubrava and false interpretation of the citizens’ spatial needs in other quarters.
3. Examining the formal rules in terms of their compatibility with current local circumstances.

This thesis proved that the nature of linkages between the most important social junctures and the urban tissue within which they occur decides the direction in which a given quarter will develop. Uncontrolled influx of dwellers since the post WW2 period prompted an epoch of unplanned construction, which together with the lack of an urbanistic plan meant for tackling the spontaneously emerging problems shaped the eastern part of Zagreb into what it is today. This sort of causes and accelerators of the emergence of informal markets in Zagreb’s district Dubrava as well as their affects on the urban morphology served as a bedrock for current issues revolving around traditional markets in Zagreb. Existing data show that the informal and illegal components typical for Dubrava’s markets (market-related illegal activities) started appearing on other markets as well. Traditional markets in general were then labeled as an unfavorable type of social content on significant places in the city. In this thesis it was deduced that that the entrance of foreign capital in form of large super- and hypermarket chains together with an overall negative perception of traditional markets in the late 1990s and early 2000s made traditional markets vulnerable to events that followed. In an effort to prove that the trend of removing the markets from historically significant squares has a disadvantageous effect on their character, appearance and even relevance, existing data was included. Furthermore, morphological analysis of the changes in urban content in content poor quarters (or lack of them) was done by reviewing the relevant regulation plans and conducting field research (observation and interviews). The initial, inadequately executed parceling of the Lower Dubrava quarter with densely arranged plots and a non-existent grid hindered the following spatial arrangement of social units. A quarter with a passive
Revitalization of Zagreb’s traditional markets

interior and no adequate place of gathering surrounded by numerous supermarkets now serves merely as a path to them.

As an answer to the above listed current circumstances, the first among two architectural concepts focuses on providing the residents of Lower Dubrava with a place of gathering and a social center of their quarter in the form of a market-square duo. The square works as a cushion inbetween the market and the community by absorbing the chaotic aspect of the market, but it also provides the community with functions usually found in parks and squares meant for inviting the residents to stay longer then is usual. The Market-square duo would serve as an important juncture of both Lower and Upper Dubrava because of its location and proximity to the Dubrava avenue. The possibility of integrating the informal workers into the traditional market trade to work as a catalyst towards revitalization of the markets was one of the key features of this concept and was included in the planning process. This aim of this concept is to serve as a model of planning new markets in content-deficient quarters.

Second architectural concept stands to improve the poor water protection and an overall inadequate work conditions of the vendors in the existing markets. Specifically, it is meant to be implemented in Dolac market, Trešnjevka market, Kvaternik’s market, British square market and Branimir’s market which were examined in this thesis. Sun umbrellas which are meant to protect the vendors from the heat and direct sunlight in the summer, snow in the winter, rain and wind in all weather conditions represent the symbol of Zagreb’s markets. They are fragile and impractical, often require repair and don’t offer adequate protection, and their symbolism can be reduced to the red cotton fabric with colorful stripes, not the mechanics of the umbrella. The rethought concept of a tulip-umbrella with the possibility of working as a canopy and thereby offering full protection to the unlimited area aims to bring people back to the markets in all weather conditions.
References:


