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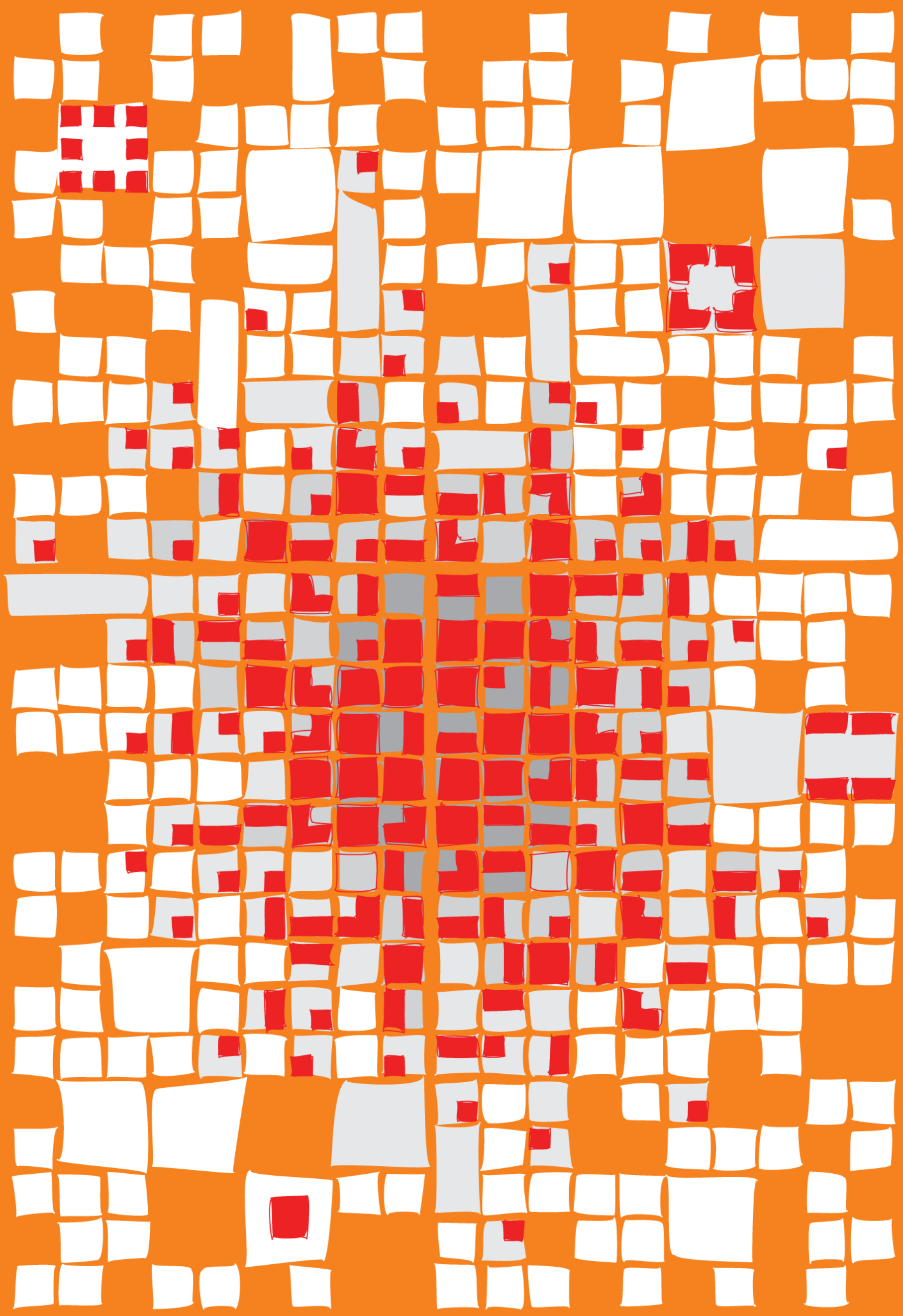

SCOPE AND AIMS

The review is concerned with a multi-disciplinary approach to spatial, regional and urban planning and architecture, as well as with various aspects of land use, including housing, environment and related themes and topics. It attempts to contribute to better theoretical understanding of a new spatial development processes and to improve the practice in the field.

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

This issue of International Journal „Spatium" focuses on the comparison between some international and national experiences in the fields of urban and regional planning, economic development, environmental protection and architectural education. Also, two notices are enclosed: first, about an important anniversary in the field of modernist urban planning, and second, the announcement of forthcoming scientific conference which will be organized by the Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia.

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SPATIAL RESCALING OF ECONOMIC PLANNING THE ENGLISH WAY

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Across England, planning and governance modes of regulation of supra-local development strategies are undergoing important transformations. In particular, the UK's Coalition Government, which was has been in office since 2010, has a political and financial mission of rescaling and simplifying sub-national economic planning. As a consequence of the abandonment of regional apparatus, which can be understood almost as a 'scorched earth' approach, a strategic leadership fissure has arisen between national and local scales of policy. Analysing the theory and processes of spatial rescaling, including the emergence of new geographies of governance at the sub-regional scale, the paper illustrates some of the key opportunities and dilemmas arising from these 'scalar shifts'. Drawing on the case of Local Enterprise Partnerships – which are supra-local non-statutory spatial governance entities – the paper questions whether these new public-private arrangements present a pragmatic way of resolving the strategic tensions between elected local authority areas that would otherwise be seriously ignored in England after regions. The paper examines whether state-led rescaling in effect provides a new 'cover' for some old politics.

Key words: Spatial rescaling, sub-national development, economic planning, entrepreneurial governance and Local Enterprise Partnerships.

INTRODUCTION

Most states produce policy across different tiers of governance and administration, including 'regional' elected bodies in the majority of countries of Europe (Brenner, 2003; Thoidou, 2011). Seven tiers have featured prominently in England over recent times:

1. The European Union
2. The United Kingdom
3. The nation state (i.e. England)
4. Nine administrative regions
5. An 'upper tier' of 119 principal local authorities (e.g. County Councils and 'Unitary' or 'Metropolitan Authorities')
6. A 'lower tier' of 201 local authorities (District Councils in County Council areas only)
7. A partial geographic coverage of more than 8,000 Parish and Town Councils[2]

In England, the Conservative and Liberal Democrats 'Coalition' Government has dismantled much of the inherited regional institutional structures (tier 4) devised by successive administrations between 1994 and 2010 but mainly by Labour governments post-1997, partly replacing these with 39 Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), expected to operate across a 'functional' space, between tiers 3 and 5, but in effect smaller than redundant administrative regions (tier 4). Reforms are also seeking to strengthen plan-making flexibilities across tiers 5 and 6, and provide tier 7 with new statutory plan-making powers. In terms of town planning these have, potentially, created a strategic leadership gap or fissure and for economic development provided greater flexibilities, albeit in a context of limited regeneration programmes and fiscal austerity (HM Treasury, 2012; HOC (House of Commons), 2011; Pugalis, 2011b; Pugalis and Townsend, 2010). These changes across the policy field of economic planning – understood here as interventions in the spatial economy involving governance, strategy-making, prioritisation and delivery activities – prompt international and theoretical consideration, especially as they represent broadly represent broadly a reversal in one country of dominant European thought and practice.

Across Europe it is almost considered a 'policy truism' that devolving power to the lowest appropriate spatial scale will produce *optimum* social outcomes, although the theoretical and empirical case is more disputed (Pike *et al.*, 2012). The notion of subsidiarity, including devising policy, making policy decisions and/or administering services, accords with the widely accepted view that grassroots engagement ('bottom-up' views) should be reconciled with ('top-down') policy activity, although the mechanisms of such a reconciliation is inherently complex (Mazza, 2010). Distinct from the administrative regions at tier 4, the devolved 'nations' of the UK – Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland – each possess legislative authority across a broad range of policy areas and has regular elections. However, the administrative regions of England, with the exception of London, lacked any devolutionary constitution.[3] England's

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[2] Estimates indicate that full geographic coverage of Parish and Town Councils would equate to between 17,000 and 18,000.

[3] Different arrangements apply to London, which has had an elected mayor since 2000. Rescaling matters covered in this paper therefore apply to the rest of England outside of London. Reference to England's administrative regions in this paper excludes London unless otherwise stated.

failure to develop a 'strategic' tier of elected government, contrary to European nations, such as Germany and France, has produced multi-scalar confusion and competition that may go some way to explain the ongoing transfers of governance, planning and delivery arrangements (Pugalis and Townsend, 2012a). This is despite England's nine administrative regions possessing an average population much greater than the EU average.

For almost the first time since 1947, England is without a recognised strategic planning framework after the revocation of Regional Spatial Strategies[4] as set out in the 2011 Localism Act. The latest round of state-led rescaling is being implemented through fundamental institutional reconfigurations; most notably, the dismantling and subsequent abolition of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in 2012, which were a flagship policy creature of New Labour (Pearce and Ayres, 2009; Pugalis, 2010). This has to be understood along with a recent gradual incorporation of the private and sometimes the voluntary sectors into partnerships with government (Mazza, 2010), as well as other variegated forms of neoliberal/entrepreneurial urban politics. Attention has shifted away from the local state as a key site of 'collective consumption' (Castells, 1977) towards a narrower interest in a more competitive brand of 'entrepreneurial' governance (Harvey, 1989), where the public sector is a market actor and its services are being marketed, outsourced, contracted and leveraged. Consequently, the interests of public administrations and private actors have combined in informal networks and cross-sector alliances. These governance communities of (economic) interest have been combining to reorder patterns of development. The paper will go on to highlight the significance of this for the formation of LEPs (partly replacing RDAs) as part of a broader examination of the rescaling of economic planning in England.

Firstly, processes of spatial rescaling are theorised. Secondly, some of the most significant 'scalar shifts' up to the change of government in 1997 are analysed. Thirdly, the policy narratives used to support both the rise and demise of regional economic planning between 1997 and 2010 are exhumed. Fourthly, the case of LEPs is investigated in terms of policy continuities and discontinuities. Fifthly, the paper concludes with an appraisal of this latest round of state-led rescaling. This is achieved through interpretive policy analysis (Yanow, 2004), involving analytical critique of formal government statements, political and policy discourse, as well as incorporating some views expressed by relevant policy communities. Empirical insights were derived from more formal sources, including publicly available ministerial statements, and 'grey literature' accessed during an extended period of work (2010 to 2011), at meetings, forums, policy exchanges and deliberations primarily but not exclusively in the North East of England.

SPATIAL RESCALING: A THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

Across the public policy fields of planning and economic development, the reallocation of roles between tiers of governance and administration in processes of spatial rescaling has taken on added significance over recent decades (Brenner, 2003; Brenner, 2004; Gualini, 2006; Pugalis and Townsend, 2012b; Stead, 2011; Thoidou, 2011; Tsukamoto, 2012). The processes of spatial rescaling are much more complex than effecting the reduced role or 'hollowing out' of the central state, which requires a more sensitive reconceptualisation of inter-scalar relations. Accounting for a geographically uneven 'filling in' of institutions (Goodwin *et al.*, 2005; Jones *et al.*, 2005; Shaw and MacKinnon, 2011), including the dispersion of services outwards to non-governmental societal actors, new 'geographies of governance' have emerged (Reed and Bruyneel, 2010, p. 646), such as LEPs.

'Scale' is applied here not so much as a (constant) administrative unit or tier, but rather to describe the social organisation and evolving interactions, relationships and processes between tiers of spatial organisation such as a 'region' or 'local' authority area. It is in this sense that new articulated forms of scalar organisation construct new policy narratives or reframed problems and associated solutions. Spatial rescaling, understood as a continuous and dynamic socio-political process, involves new scales of policy organisation, problem framing, targeting and interventions, which involve the development of new constellations of actors. As Stead (2011) observes, new geographies of governance emerge in addition to shifts in the flows of power across existing layers of decision making. These variable geometries of governance, in Stead's words, are not necessarily bounded or contiguous, but open and porous. In this sense, 'the politics of scale – as in other political dynamics – determine who gets involved and under what circumstances' (Reed and Bruyneel, 2010, p. 651). Viewed through this theoretical lens, inter-scalar relations pertaining to economic planning in England are in the process of being renegotiated. Whilst change is continuous, more significant transformations can be understood as 'scalar shifts'.

SPATIAL RESCALING: SCALAR SHIFTS UP TO 1997

The main rescaling tendency over time has been one of concentration in larger units of local government. It was a Labour administration which instigated a move toward metropolitan scales of government in the *Royal Commission on Local Government in England, 1966-1969* (the Maud Report) (Redcliffe-Maud, 1969) and in 1974 established, for the first time, a full coverage of regional economic planning institutions across England (tier 4). Indeed, it could be argued that these moves to consolidate or 'upscale' units of local government are the precedents for sub-regional collaborative arrangements over more recent times (see below). Conservative governments on the other hand have had a leaning toward more local democracy. It was a Conservative administration which created the present (lower-tier) local authority Districts constituted in 1974 (tier 6), which they also designated planning authorities, *in reaction to* and augmenting Maud, and *abolished* Regional Economic Planning Councils in 1979 (tier 4), and metropolitan counties in 1985 (partly comprising tier 5). Even so, the scalar modes of governance, planning and delivery instituted by competing political administrations have sometimes been the same. For example, the Conservative Government led by the then Prime Minister John Major restored and regularised Government Offices for the Regions (GORs), whose boundaries were used in the establishment of RDAs with statutory powers and of Regional Spatial Strategies (tier 4). The next section examines the rise of regional economic planning under New Labour (1997-2010) and its demise since 2010 under the Coalition.

THE RISE AND DEMISE OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING

Sub-national economic planning under 'New' Labour was multi-scalar and multi-sector as part of their 'Third Way' political project fusing communitarian ideals and neoliberal politics. Taking forward pre-election pledges on the back of gathering momentum for regionalism (Regional Policy Commission, 1996), Labour

[4] Regional Spatial Strategies were a key part of the statutory planning framework which were intended to go beyond land-use matters to consider broader 'spatial' issues including climate change, health, employment and transport.

strengthened GORs, legislated for RDAs and encouraged the creation of unelected Regional Assembles. This tripartite regional relationship of GORs (viewed as regional tentacles of central government), RDAs (executive agencies or quangos directly accountable to ministers) and Regional Assemblies (comprised of locally elected councillors and other 'representatives'), stood more as the regionalisation of central government policy, as opposed to regionally embedded and democratically accountable policy apparatus. With each organisation possessing distinct, yet overlapping, responsibilities, including Regional Spatial Strategies (Regional Assemblies) and Regional Economic Strategies (RDAs), the system suffered contradictions, and was widely considered to be overburdened with process and regulatory requirements. A further layer of complexity was the momentum gathering behind the concept of city-regions and sub-regional collaboration (Harding, 2000; Harrison, 2007; Marvin *et al.*, 2006).

At the behest of HM Treasury (2007), a lengthy *Review of sub-national economic development and regeneration* (SNR) was initiated in 2007 which took some tentative steps in recognising a greater role for sub-regions and city-regions (i.e. the geographies of governance between tiers 4 and 5) and sought to simplify regional policy by way of a single Integrated Regional Strategy, which would in effect merge the statutory elements of the Regional Spatial Strategy with the Regional Economic Strategy. This political compromise resulted in a highly complex and confusing institutional landscape of overlapping and competing spaces of governance. It was a safe prediction before the 2010 General Election that a different government might accept the largely unimplemented sub-regional tier and seek to remove some of the institutional congestion (Townsend, 2009b).

Some aspects of regional governance had become decidedly unpopular. During the RDAs' reign, place competition and rivalry between major cities, in particular, were a major feature of several regions. Yet, the lack of a clear democratic mandate arguably compounded the dissatisfaction with the relatively remote regional administrative bodies that informed the policy narratives of the incoming Coalition Government. Consistent with their localism rhetoric, the Conservative Party (2009), stated that it would 'abolish regional planning, revoke all regional spatial strategies (including regional house-building targets), and repeal the national planning guidance that relates to regional planning' (p. 28). Spelman and Clarke, then shadow ministers for the Conservatives, suggested a rescaling of lines of accountability, with enhanced responsibilities 'going to local government and the local business communities' (Spelman and Clarke, 2010, p. 1) while also revealing that 'national economic priorities will be handled in Whitehall' (Spelman and Clarke, 2010, p. 3). The Liberal Democrats also viewed regional institutions unfavourably as that Party too championed its own brand of localism (Liberal Democrats, 2010). Following the publication of their *Programme for Government* (HM Government, 2010a), the Coalition were prompt and systematic in announcing abolition of regional institutions, to the disquiet of EU policy-makers (Pugalis and Fisher, 2011).

Viewed through a political lens, the assault on regional institutions (see Table 1) reflects the interests of the Coalition Parties' local government councils, their elected leaders and voters in the south of England more generally. The narrative of localism was invoked to '[end] the culture of Whitehall knows best', in the words of Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg (HM Government, 2010b, p. 3). They contended that Labour's regions were 'an artificial representation of functional economies', quoting that labour markets 'do not exist at a regional level, except in London' (HM Government, 2010b, p. 7). In addition to the Coalition's perception that the geographies of regions were unsuitable, two other intertwining political and policy issues combined in denouncing Labour's 'top-down' regional approach: lack of democratic accountability and organisational effectiveness (Pugalis, 2011b; Pugalis and Townsend, 2012a).

Irrespective of sub-national policy congestion and complexity during the Labour years, administrative regions performed a pragmatic role as the interface between tier 3 (nation state) and tier 5 (principal local authorities) in particular. Regional Spatial Strategies, for example, provided legally enforceable *certainty* for applicants, strategic land use allocations (e.g. housing, employment land etc.), and addressed cross-boundary and supra-local policy matters (see Pugalis and Townsend, 2010). Within a strategic framework it is possible to prioritise development schemes in a manner that, at least, attempts to minimise negative (spatial) externalities and share the benefits from a wide range of *necessary* developments, although critiques of Keynesianism-informed notions of redistributive justice should be recognised (Varró, 2011).

The extent to which the final demise of administrative regions was brought about by the repercussions of the global credit-crunch (2007-2008) and subsequent stresses of recession in the UK (2008-2010) is not entirely clear, but it is notable that the Coalition Government's *Comprehensive Spending Review* set out to reduce public expenditure on a permanent basis (HM Treasury, 2010b). Interestingly, RDA impact evaluations were favourable and the National Audit Office (2012) has criticised the government's handling of the transition process. This may indicate that the abandonment of a regional framework was predicated on political ideologies, where short-term savings may also have overridden longer-term cost considerations. As a reaction to *formal* administrative regions, the *functional* sub-region is considered in the next section through the case of Local Enterprise Partnerships.

Table 1: Defunct regional policy apparatus

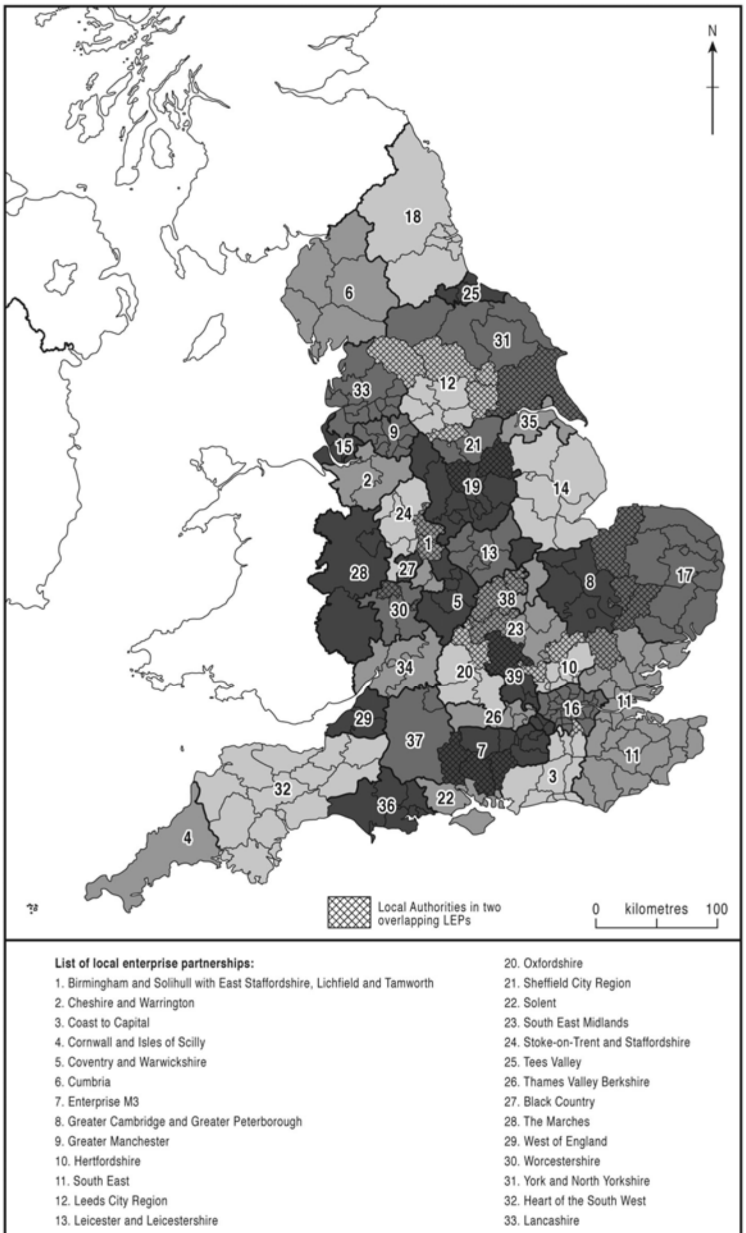
Policy function	Overriding remit	Coalition rationale for abolition/withdrawing funding
Regional Development Agencies	To create sustainable economic growth in each of the nine English regions	Unelected, expensive and unaccountable government quangos which fail to represent true functional economic geographies
Government Offices for the Regions	Implementation of national policy and the regulatory management (budget and contractual) of spending programmes of sponsoring government departments	Lack of democratic accountability; burdens and bureaucracy for local councils; arbitrary administrative boundaries imposed over real communities
Regional Spatial Strategies (RSSs)/Regional Economic Strategies (RESs)/Regional Strategies (RSs)	To provide regional-level planning, economic and spatial frameworks in collaboration with regional stakeholders	RSSs abolished as strategic planning and infrastructure issues were to be devolved to local authority level; RESs did not reflect natural economic geographies; RSs were time-consuming, expensive with inappropriate top-down planning targets
Unelected Regional Assemblies	Statutory regional planning role; hold RDAs to account; co-ordinate regional strategy; and provide a credible regional voice	Phased out by Labour, with some functions transferred to Regional Leaders' Boards

Source: Adapted from English Regions Disbanded: European Funding and Economic Regeneration Implications

THE LOCAL ENTERPRISE PARTNERSHIP EXPERIMENT

LEPs have been promoted by the Coalition as the new scalar 'fix' for marshalling some activities such as transport, housing and business support, providing economic leadership and planning for economic prosperity (Cable and Pickles, 2010; HM Treasury, 2010a, para 1.89; Pickles and Cable, 2010). They are not prescribed in legislation and therefore lack statutory powers enjoyed by predecessors. Consequently, they are voluntaristic partnerships predicated on trust, cooperation, reciprocal relations and a process of working for the common good (Liddle, 2012; Pugalis and Shutt, 2012). Aligned with the government's localist discourse, LEP proposals were developed by groupings of local actors rather than their form, function and geography being entirely prescribed by Whitehall. Expected to have a geographic reach of a minimum of two or more upper tier authorities (tier 5) but not as expansive as formal regions (tier 4), LEPs are producing new geographies of governance. With their basis in 'bottom-up' deliberations utilising local government boundaries to identify the basic building-blocks (tiers 5 and 6), there is also a thread of continuity in these geographies of governance. For example, many of the voluntary sub-national spaces of governance promoted under Labour, such as Multi-Area Agreement partnerships and City Region networks, were accepted among the least contentious of the original 62 LEP proposals. This is particularly the case with the two statutory city-regions of Leeds and Greater Manchester, which are larger than the smaller EU administrative regions in working population, and enjoy functional integrity and economies of scale (Townsend, 2012).

The majority of the original LEP bids were rejected by government, but the eventual 39 LEPs cover all but one of England's 320 local authorities (see Figure 1). However, some LEPs have overlapping boundaries. This is a significant departure from many predecessors and particularly the formal regional boundaries adopted by RDAs, GORs and Regional Assemblies. LEPs, understood as new scales of policy organisation, could therefore be expected to develop new kinds of relations with other administrative organisations, while operating as part of inter-scalar relations involving the EU (tier 1), nation state (tier 3) and principal local authorities (tier 5). More so, if LEP geographies of governance are to be viewed as the nodal spaces of distanciated connections (opposed to bounded entities), then they could facilitate more dynamic interactions and evolve to suit multiple requirements.



List of local enterprise partnerships:

1. Birmingham and Solihull with East Staffordshire, Lichfield and Tamworth
2. Cheshire and Warrington
3. Coast to Capital
4. Cornwall and Isles of Scilly
5. Coventry and Warwickshire
6. Cumbria
7. Enterprise M3
8. Greater Cambridge and Greater Peterborough
9. Greater Manchester
10. Hertfordshire
11. South East
12. Leeds City Region
13. Leicester and Leicestershire
14. Greater Lincolnshire
15. Liverpool City Region
16. London
17. New Anglia
18. North Eastern
19. Derby, Derbyshire, Nottingham and Nottinghamshire
20. Oxfordshire
21. Sheffield City Region
22. Solent
23. South East Midlands
24. Stoke-on-Trent and Staffordshire
25. Tees Valley
26. Thames Valley Berkshire
27. Black Country
28. The Marches
29. West of England
30. Worcestershire
31. York and North Yorkshire
32. Heart of the South West
33. Lancashire
34. Gloucestershire
35. Humber
36. Dorset
37. Swindon & Wiltshire
38. Northamptonshire
39. Buckinghamshire Thames Valley

Figure 1: The map of Local Enterprise Partnerships

In a continuation of entrepreneurial politics, private business interests have been granted a pre-eminent role in the governance of LEPs (Pugalis, 2012; Shutt *et al.*, 2012). LEP boards are predominantly composed of business*men* with the remainder made up of local elected representatives and 'other' interests. Most LEPs have a nominal educational representative, such as a university vice chancellor, on the board and some have also opted for voluntary and community sector representation, although it is unclear whether these are tokenistic gestures. Due to their non-statutory nature, LEPs have adopted a variety of governance arrangements and organisational forms (Pugalis *et al.*, 2012). In addition, government have repeatedly stressed that there will not be a dedicated funding stream to support the operation of LEPs or help deliver their priorities. As a result, there are some important differences between LEPs and RDAs that preceded them (see Table 2).

Table 2: RDA and LEP comparative functions

	RDAs	LEPs
Statutory basis and purpose	Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisations (QUANGOs). Enshrined in an Act of Parliament – 1998 Regional Development Agencies Act. The Act provided RDAs with five statutory purposes, to: further economic development and regeneration; promote business efficiency, investment and competitiveness; promote employment; enhance development and application of skill relevant to employment; and contribute to sustainable development.	No statutory basis. Government issued a White Paper that expects LEPs to perform a broad strategic economic leadership role that could involve LEPs undertaking some delivery functions, although government has not specified a core set of functions.
Number and geography	Nine – each with a geography coterminous with England's administrative regions.	39 – including geographical overlaps and one LEP-less local authority area.
Lifespan	Formally launched in eight English regions on 1 April 1999. The ninth, in London, was established in July 2000 following the establishment of the Greater London Authority (GLA). Abolished at the end of March 2012.	LEP proposals called for in June 2010. The first round of LEPs were approved by government in October 2010. No fixed lifespan.
Governance	Accountable to ministers (i.e. national government). Government appointed board – majority of board representing private business interests.	Accountable to localities (i.e. local people and businesses). Government endorsed board – criteria expects strong business input and a chair from the private sector.
Powers	Issue Compulsory Purchase Orders. Statutory planning consultee and regional planning body powers. Production of a Regional Economic Strategy (superseded by an Integrated Regional Strategy) on behalf of the region. Land acquisition, holding assets and trading.	No statutory powers. LEPs are not precluded from acquiring land, holding assets and trading, although the majority are operating as unincorporated partnership entities which prevent such activities.
Funding	Funding support totalled £2.3 billion for the nine RDAs in 2007-08.	A one-off £5 million Start-up Fund. A £4 million Capacity Fund over four years. Government has nominally allocated LEPs a share of a £500m plus Growing Places fund, although each LEP must submit a business case to government. LEPs are expected to maximise the funding of its constituent partners and coordinate bids from alternative funding sources, such as the Regional Growth Fund. It is anticipated that those LEPs that have an Enterprise Zone within their territory will be able to retain the business rates generated from these zones, which could provide a nominal income stream to reinvest.

Scalar shifts: do new 'functional' sub-regional arrangements help resolve some old issues?

The transition from nine administrative regions (including London) to 39 voluntaristic sub-regions generated cause for concern from a variety of sectoral interests (Bailey, 2011; Bentley *et al.*, 2010; Pugalis, 2011a; Ward and Hardy, 2012). Some business groups, for example, complained of local politics impeding the opportunity to establish LEPs of sufficient scale, with the Confederation of British Industry asserting that the government's permissive approach was unleashing a 'wave of parochialism' across the map. The prevalence of local political disputes would suggest that old rivalries died hard and new relationships of trust took a substantial amount of time and effort to forge. For example, 'The seven-council North Eastern LEP got going very belatedly and appears to have been squabbling ever since. Witness the recent internal decision on what should be its Enterprise Zone bid: something of a "spat" if reports are to be believed, Newcastle/Gateshead pushing for development of the "urban core" both there and in Sunderland, everybody else favouring a "low-carbon zone" in the A19 corridor, tied to the much vaunted prospects of the offshore wind industry'(Kelly, 2011, p.5)

Despite the rhetoric of LEPs operating across functional spaces, there are many examples where the substance is lacking (Townsend, 2012). For example, Hertfordshire LEP has less than 70 percent of its population working in the same area. Although such travel-to-work calculations of self-containment go against the grain of porous boundaries and open geographies, it is such data that directly helped inform the government's sanctioning of LEP proposals and underpins their claim that LEPs operate across 'natural' economic geographies. There are also other examples, such as the Birmingham and Solihull with East Staffordshire, Lichfield and Tamworth LEP, which show a much higher degree of self-containment, over 80 percent in this case, but are widely considered to be a poor reflection of a broader sub-regional spatial economy (Bailey, 2011).

Analysis undertaken by the Centre for Cities concluded that the first wave of 24 LEPs had made only limited progress over their first twelve months, arguing that they had failed to draw up convincing strategies for investment and growth (Bolton and Coupar, 2011). Since 2011 LEPs have taken on a distinct role in implementing the government's 'growth policy', nevertheless recent research corroborates that LEPs are struggling to live up to 'the hype', particularly as they are constrained in financial and legislative terms (Pugalis and Shutt, 2012; Pugalis *et al.*, 2012; Shutt *et al.*, 2012). Overall LEP progress has been slow and inconsistent. However, this is partly due to the shortage of staff at a time of cuts by local authorities and depleted finances, the lack of policy direction by government (which has afflicted the broader planning and regeneration landscape), and the lack also of clarity and/or commitment from non-government actors, together with deficient tools or resources. So whilst the majority of

LEPs have been busy doing work behind-the-scenes – recruiting board members, formulating governance arrangements, establishing partnership structures, agreeing priorities, developing business plans, and formulating bids for resources and Enterprise Zones to government – fears that LEPs are simply the latest in a long line of passing symbolic government policy 'ideas', which may offer little more than 'talking-shops', continue to persist. Therefore, the limitations of the RDAs' role as strategic enablers and influencers, which according to some was undermined by a lack of discretionary power and resources (Fuller *et al.*, 2002), despite some notable achievements (PriceWaterhouse Coopers, 2008), is likely to persist under the mantle of LEPs. More so, LEPs will arguably possess much less traction than RDAs. Relying on non-statutory voluntary arrangements without dedicated central government funding streams or any core funding, LEPs could be viewed as a loose economic entity befitting an age of austerity. In other words, a form of 'economic planning' on the cheap.

If given time to develop, LEPs present a theoretically viable scale for the meaningful consideration of strategic economic planning matters. Yet, whether they have plugged the democratic deficit that was a repeated criticism of RDAs remains a valid question. Hence, whether some, if any, LEPs will evolve into legitimate and appropriate arenas for governing larger-than-local economic planning decisions is a question worthy of further empirical examination. As presently constituted, it is unlikely that LEPs are equipped to undertake a statutory plan-making role as envisaged for RDAs following the 2007 SNR via the introduction of an Integrated Regional Strategy. Some LEPs have devised strategic documents and priority statements that have considerable spatial implications, although these have been produced in the 'soft' spaces of governance outside of the statutory planning process. Many LEPs have expressed a wish to influence statutory plan-making processes and priorities but to date few have had the appetite to venture into the highly politicised and technical local planning system beyond an 'advisory' or 'consultee' role.

Relating back to the notion of subsidiarity, without statutory powers there is a danger that the strategic spatial leadership role of LEPs and much of their work could prove nugatory. For example, a LEP covering several councils (tiers 5 and 6) could find each local planning committee approving 'rival' development schemes, despite previous broad strategic accords under the banner of the LEP. Such a scenario is likely to promote inefficient local competition. Without some enforcement of an overall plan for the LEP area, local planning decisions will be largely divorced from the priorities and activities of LEPs, and could shatter broader political agreements and strategic collaboration. The role of LEPs in economic planning or more holistic strategic planning is unlikely to be uniform and could, in turn, be marginalised by some LEPs if they opt to concentrate on a narrow range of activities to stimulate the economy alone. There is a growing unease among some practitioners that LEPs may accelerate the 'neoliberalisation' of planning, apparent in Labour's SNR (Townsend, 2009a). This countered the intended *balanced* inclusion of the social and environmental aspects of Regional Spatial Strategies. A rescaling of strategic policy organisation across 39 sub-regions may go some way in filling the strategic leadership gap or fissure that has opened between national and local scales of policy. Nonetheless, the potential pitfalls that applied to the joint public-private sign-off of Integrated Regional Strategies, by RDAs and Leaders' Boards remain. Namely, allowing a lead role for non-elected business interests in matters that have much broader spatial implications.

Two years since the government invited LEP proposals (Cable and Pickles, 2010), it is too early to assess the material effects that this latest round of state-led rescaling will have on policy formulation and implementation. Nevertheless, since the original LEP proposals were submitted to government in September 2010 there have been some indications that socio-economic-environmental problems are being reframed to focus more ruthlessly on economic opportunities. This is by no means a new policy direction, but rather a deepening of the entrepreneurial mode of governance analysed above. A major difference between New Labour's and the Coalition's larger-than-local economic planning strategies, however, is that the former retained a strong commitment to communitarian programmes, whereas the new government has replaced dedicated regeneration funding with cuts to welfare budgets as part of a strategy to 'make work pay'.

CONCLUSION

Conceptualising scalar shifts as part of a recurrent process, this paper has drawn attention to the role of politics and the use of policy narratives to rationalise new modes of policy. This practice of scalar politics has been illuminated through the case of post-1997 sub-national economic planning arrangements in England, and specifically the transition from working with administrative regions to voluntary sub-regional networks, which has accelerated since 2010. Given the factors identified in this paper it is not surprising that RDAs were abolished by the incoming Coalition Government; a process, arguably, accelerated by the budget deficit inherited from Labour. However, the full costs (social, environmental and economic terms) of such a reactionary policy may not be revealed for at least another decade. Although tools such as Regional Spatial Strategies had been important, they were also unpopular in the coalition parties' grass-roots support and thinking. The transition from Labour's state-centric regime to a more devolved system based on incentives under a Coalition Government showed a decisive change in the practice of economic planning.

The abolition of RDAs in concert with the purge on Labour's regionalist policy-framework created the *space* for LEPs. However, the process of setting up LEPs and their decisions over priorities revealed some of the locally-rooted political tensions that RDAs had attempted to resolve. LEPs have been given a clear, if weak, role in promoting local growth which has nonetheless gained some strength since summer 2010 including the responsibility for overseeing the distribution of some central government funding initiatives. There has been a tendency for concerns to converge on the issue of economic objectives, marginalising social and environmental goals. The perpetuation of 'partnership' with business shows a thread of continuity in placing emphasis on public-private collaboration: a trend that has grown since at least the 1980s and held sway irrespective of political ideologies. This is a strategy that attempts to provide a new cover for some old politics; namely neoliberalism, including the deepening of entrepreneurial forms of governance. Whether the geographies of LEPs reflect 'functional' economic areas is open to debate and will necessitate further research to examine the effectiveness of policy formulation/implementation.

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SUPPORTING LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELEPOMENT BY INFRASTRUCTURE DEBT FINANCING IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

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The main goal of this paper is to establish grounds for a more efficient development of local communities taking into consideration their entire former development characterized by a pronounced polarization and territorial inequality of development exhibited among them in extreme proportions. In view of the insufficient and inadequate decentralization performed without a specific concept in the past, the authors aim to analyze the state of the local infrastructure within the framework of territorial organization offered by the latest regulations, as well as estimate the goals set in the last couple of years by the support programs related to the development of local infrastructure provided by the international institutions. The authors have a similar goal in that sense to provide sufficient argumentation for a quality distribution of local infrastructure and, accordingly, more efficient local development as a prerequisite for a more uniform regional development, especially in rural areas.

Key words: territorial organization; local infrastructure; support program; regional arrangement.

INTRODUCTION – TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATON AND STATUTORY BASIS OF OPERATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE DOMAIN OF DEVELOPMENT

The issues of local development have received their due attention in Serbia only in the past two years. The competencies of local governments and obligations transferred from the republic level have continuously expanded during that period, so that the problems of economic development, energy management and similar, are the subject of comprehensive work and interest in municipalities and cities in Serbia.

The Republic of Serbia[1)] is statistically divided into two regions: North Serbia and South Serbia.[2)] The first territory includes the Belgrade region and the region of Vojvodina with a total of eight areas, whereas the second territory covers three regions: Šumadija and West Serbia with eight areas, South and East Serbia with nine areas and Kosovo and Metohija with five areas. The objects of this paper are 150 municipalities located on the territory of the so called Serbia proper and AP Vojvodina.

The Law defines the way municipalities are established and forms of competence the units of local government have at their disposal.[3)] Planning of sustainable development, its implementation as well as welfare and prosperity of citizens is the main competence of the municipality.

It is therefore easy to conclude that the municipalities in Serbia are faced with no easy task. Besides all that, the local governments have to provide most of the assets for such activities by themselves. These assets are provided from original and assigned assets, transfers and by indebtedness. The law defines 16 forms of original revenue from which only few can be singled out as forming its total mass.[4)]

LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SERBIA

It is a notorious fact that the more centralized and concentrated the policy of development of a country at macro level, the more pronounced are the development problems, particularly at regional level. Under such conditions the problems of local and regional development are often neglected, minimized and/or postponed for some future period. On the other hand, in a practical sense, the problem of local economic development in Serbia is a relatively new obligation. It was delegated to the level of local government only in the middle of the last decade. The local governments were supposed to establish LED (local economic development) offices accordingly. In case of smaller municipalities, such offices were either not established or, as a rule, they were established just symbolically and nominally and were put in charge of issues of local development. In reality these municipalities are still relying on higher decision making levels.

Under the altered circumstances, the development crisis and occasional episodes of enthusiasm and economic success, which is more an exception than a rule, which are related to the beginning of the 21st century, it is

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still impossible to provide a balance in acquisition and distribution, particularly a higher degree of investment, namely, financing the development. Hence, Serbia, as well as local governments to a smaller or greater degree, is more and more dependent on the inflow of foreign accumulation. It is not used just to finance the development, but also serves to a growing extent for maintenance of current balance. On the other hand, it is clear that without a higher degree and more efficient investment there is no achievement of development, especially not in a long run.

There has been a slight increase in investmenta in the past decades under the influence of inflow of accumulation from abroad based on privatization, and to a lesser degree, from direct foreign investments, and a conclusion can be drawn that the main investor is the state, which determines the character of investments. The state is investing in the development of capital infrastructure and makes less effort to stimulate the development of production capital and change of the economic structure. As a result the threat of the infrastructural limitation of development was eliminated to a significant extent. However, such positive events at macro level were not accompanied to a full extent by the local governments which are still neglected in smaller cities and municipalities, which results in the foreign investors being unable to materialize their investments.

A LOCAL INFRASTRUCTURE SUPPORT PROJECT EXPERIENCE

At the end of 2008 the German development bank KfW began the execution of the project titled "Municipal infrastructure credit support project" [5)] consisting of two components: first, credit line in the initial value of up to 50 million € for financing the physical execution of the project in the domain of local infrastructure, and the second, providing technical-consulting support by experts for preparation of planning and execution of the project.

In view of the fact that the long lasting devastation of infrastructure at local level has brought most of the municipalities and cities to the brink of ruin and caving in of the system, that due to a long period of lack of serious investments in that area the communal systems are mostly inadequate to meet the requirements of the population and particularly of the industry and business, initiation of such a project would mean a significant positive shift.

a) Typical situation in small and medium size municipalities *in the sphere of water supply and sewerage, waste water treatment,* is as follows:

– losses in the potable water system at the level of 45-50% (including all types of losses – from leaking pipelines, illegal connecting, to unsettled dues for supplied water),
– a majority of rural settlements is not connected to the potable water supply system or the quality of this connection is such as to make a normal supply impossible,
– untrained personnel and/or lack of equipment and assets for quality sampling and checking of potable water quality, which is then often used only as "service" water,
– underdevelopment of the sewer system, particularly outside the central city core, which leads to the problems of overflowing of septic tanks and possible broader environmental pollution,
– local governments in Serbia with a developed and functional waste water treatment system are an exception, whereas as a rule investment in this area is postponed for the future (unfortunately the situation is not much better even in the largest cities, including Belgrade, Novi Sad and others).

b) The situation is very different *in the domain of electric power, gas supply and telecommunications,* depending on the development of certain regions. The border areas, especially towards Romania and Bulgaria have a serious problem with quality electric power supply (low voltage, power outages, etc.), and particularly no access to the gas network and often not even modern telecommunications (lack of network). On the contrary, the areas along the main traffic corridors (such as, e.g. from Belgrade to Subotica, Niš and Šid) have a perfectly good access to such infrastructural services, which makes them attractive partners for foreign investors from the start. No wonder that the majority of foreign investments is concentrated primarily in larger urban areas and second, on the routes of the subject corridors or in their close vicinity.

c) The situation is utterly different *in the district heating system and supply of heat energy* in the largest cities (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kragujevac and Niš) and in other local governments. Namely, large cities were the object of interest and investment of significant assets by foreign donors (in strengthening the institutional capacities, as well as in the actual infrastructure), whereas smaller and particularly remote municipalities are often neglected and forgotten, left to fend for themselves and solve problems in this area. The characteristics of their systems are typically as follows:

– the heat energy production facilities and distribution of heat energy are obsolete, their declared useful life has expired long ago, and in most of the cases they were sized according to the standards in force in EU some 35-40 years ago, in other word, before the first and the second oil crisis,
– total losses in the systems are extremely high (cracked heat conduits, lack of maintenance of the network, illegal putting up/extending of connections) which has a disastrous impact on the operation of utility companies,
– difficulties in collection of dues for the provided services to the consumers with continuous pressure by local government on the management of public utility companies to postpone the collection from households "for social reasons", because of the importance of employment and economy budget.

d) The urban local infrastructure such as modern streets (with pavements, efficient and energy saving public illumination) parks and green areas, communal waste collection and disposal systems etc. is also very obsolete, with a low level of investment in maintenance and inability of many local governments to finance, from their own budget assets, its modernization independently.

The above situation has caused to a great extent a very high demand for loans from MICLP which are provided through domestic banks. The "hunger" for investment credits has led to placement of over 77 million € instead of the planned 50 million €, in more than three years, through 110 entered credit agreements (Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1: Placed credit amounts according to years in mill. €

Withdrawal/repayment	2009	2010	2011	Total
Contracted	21,975,357	21,492,696	33,782,554	77,250,607
Drawn	21,975,357	21,403,876	21,271,753	64,650,986
Paid	3,066,013	2,021,614		10,472,721
Unsettled	18,909,344	19,382,262	21,271,753	54,178,266
Balance for withdrawal	-	0.088	12,510,801	12,599,621

Source: MICLP internal material – Report on execution of the project

Table 2: Review of approved credits by year 2009-2011.

Description	2009		2010		2011	
Total number of credits	24		31		55	
Local governments	16		20		28	
Public utility companies	8		11		26	
Other	0		0		1	
North	5		13		10	
South	5		5		4	
West	4		6		13	
East	2		2		8	
Central Serbia	8		5		20	
Number of credits (in € and RSD)	24	0	29	2	50	5
Largest credit	3,200,000	-	3,074,382	186,400,000	3,949,143	100,000,000
Smallest credit	33,727	-	23,307	172,720,000	22,979	20,162,260
Average credit amount	915,640	-	613,312	179,560,000	633,699	42,672,452
Interest rate in %						
- Variable	15		16		34	
In Euro*	15	4.87	14	4.47	29	3.71
In RSD**	0	-	2	1.70	5	1.82
- Fixed	9	6.75	15	6.40	21	6.50

Source: MICLP internal material – Report on execution of the project
**Interest rate on credits with foreign exchange clause determined at 3-month Euribor level increased by the subject margin percentage*
***Interest rate on dinar credits determined at the level of Belibor increased by the subject margin*

According to local government and public utility companies the requirements are highly diverse: they range from minimum investment, most frequently procurement of missing machinery (garbage trucks, snow hauling machines, etc) to major investment intervetions (as a rule these are construction of roads, development of industrial zones, waterworks and sewerage systems, district heating etc.). Most of the investments are centered in the regions of the north (AP Vojvodina) and centrally (Šumadija and Pomoravlje) where 58.8% of the total assets was invested, whereas the region of the south (Niš and everything southward) falls far behind with a total of 10.3% of total investments.

Regional distribution of approved credits according to the credit size is showing that Central part of Serbia is covering 31.1%, Northern part 27.7%, Southern 10.3%, Western 15.2% and Eastern 15.7%. From the analysis of taken credits it follows that the greatest requirements for investment were in the means of transportation (machinery, public transportation etc.) at the local level, including the construction and/or reconstruction of streets and squares, which most often implied complete works on infrastructure – wateworks and sewerage network, energy and telecommunication grid, public illumination and new carriageways/pavements.

Allocation of approved assets by locations according to credit size is showing that Belgrade is covering 5.5%, other towns 28.2% and Municipalities 66.4%.[6]

Greatest investments were then made in the social infrastructure – construction/ reconstruction of kindergartens, health care centers, cultural centers and sports facilities (most often school gyms, but also public sports halls).[7]

It is characteristic that some projects that were deemed as priority, first of all because of their high profitability, such as, for example, in the sphere of energy efficiency, are not in the focus of investment by local governments. The most frequent explanation given by the leadership of the municipalities is that it is a question of "projects which are not (directly) visible to the citizens", furthermore, that these projects require major investment and long period of return on the invested assets.

Most of the credit assets are orientated to *current maintenance* in main services of the local government – providing potable water, sewerage, garbage removal and supply of energy. Much less attention is paid to current maintenance of additional services (one could say "luxury") such as sports facilities, parks, promenades, etc. Furthermore, much more attention is orientated *to investment activities* in basic services than in additional services. This shows that significant assets are still earmarked for maintenance of the local infrastructure systems already in use than to their development. Accordingly, it may be claimed with certainty that the problem of investment in the development of local infrastructure in Serbia in the next 5-7 years, as a prerequisite for local economic development, will be in the focus.

The options for different ways of financing these activities have not been exhausted by far, because first attempts to secure finances by issuing the so called municipal bonds appeared only recently, more precisely in the middle of 2011, and these attempts are still in the initial phases of resolving issues through private-public partnerships.[8] On the other hand, the options of taking on credits by local governments in Serbia have not been used within the existing legal possibilities. Thus, in the middle of 2011, the local governments had at their disposal a possibility to take on additional credit ranging around €450 mill. Compared to the realized revenue in the past year this is just somewhere above 21%, whereas compared to the unsettled liabilities under the credits it is just 28.8%. In that context it is interesting to make a review of indebtedness and possibility of indebtedness of local governments in Serbia, Table 3.

Table 3. Review of indebtedness and possibility of indebtedness of local governments in Serbia status on 30/6/2011 in RSD

Item	2011	2012	2013
Liabilities under existing credits	3,371,658,240	4,370,047,338	5,977,241,638
Total existing credit liabilities	72,777,654,512		
Unsettled credit liabilities	63,760,331,505		
Settled credit liabilities	9,017,323,006		
Available for new debts	46,711,230,338		
Realized current revenue of the local government in 2010	220,943,123,686		

Source: www.mfin.gov.rs used on 14/2/2012. Data of the Public Debt Administration

From these indicators it follows that the local government is much less in debt compared to the central level of government, indicating that part of the responsibility for the investment from the central level should be shifted to the local government authorities. A prerequisite for the realization of such approach is the need for the local governments to take the responsibility for their own development, and the realistic basis for this is the option to manage their own assets as well as legal security, namely institutional integration of the entire segment.

Finally, there remains the issue of the efficiency of such functioning of the sector of public utility companies. First of all, the price policy determined by the central government determines linking of the public utility companies to the so called macroeconomic framework of the Government of the Republic of Serbia as the option of adjustment of the established level of prices. Secondly, without reaching the realistic price level of utility services that would cover the current operation plus the development of the system, there is a danger that providing these types of services to the population and the industry would be blocked as soon as midterm in many of the local governments. The price policy in the public utility companies is also the main cause of the absence of privatization in this sector. Foreign investors, although interested in many such companies, do not wish to make investments with an uncertain outcome of their profitability.

FINAL DISCUSSION

The development of the Republic of Serbia, just like in the case of all the other countries that had used the concept of intensive industrialization in their development over a long period of time, is characterized by a pronounced polarization which brings significant limitations to the development from the aspect of regional development as a territorial concept, as observed also at the sector level. The lack of territorial uniformity is particularly emphasized at the level of local communities, especially in rural areas. It is also partly caused by inadequate decentralization and territorial organization that was implemented in the last couple of decades. Legal and institutional prerequisites for a more efficient development of local communities have been created only in the last couple of years. A conclusion may be drawn that from a practical aspect, the issue of local economic development is a relatively new obligation. In Serbia it has been delegated from a higher administrative level to the level of local governments only in the middle of the last decade.

Its dependence on foreign accumulation is exhibited more and more under the changed circumstances, as well as the crisis of development that has overcome Serbia as well. It is used for financing not just the development requirements, but also to a growing extent for maintaining the current balance which significantly diminishes its development capacity and increases the public debt over a longer period of time. The state is the one that is the main investor, hence its greater orientation to the development of infrastructure. It creates conditions for the foreign investors to make their investments in the local communities that have inadequate utility and/or economic-social infrastructure. For this reason the program of support to the development of the local infrastructure is deemed an adequate means to overcome such limitations in the shortest possible time. The investigation of the effects of such a project indicates a significantly higher scope of placement than foreseen by the original project budget. Furthermore, observed according to the regional structure, the location as well as the purpose of investment, it can be concluded that there is a significant regional uniformity in the use of the assets. There is a significant presence of projects oriented to maintenance, but also in part to new investments. There is a specific problem of the efficiency of operation of public utility companies. It can be concluded that there is a need for further investment. However, it is related to the investment capacity of the municipalities and the reality of the prices of utility services that would cover the current operation plus the development of the system. Otherwise, there is a danger that as soon as midterm numerous local governments would be blocked from providing these types of services, not to mention further development.

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1) Due to non-existence of statistical data for the analyzed period in this paper the term Republic of Serbia treated in this paper implies the territory of AP Vojvodina and Serbia proper, without AP K&M.

2) According to Official Gazette of Serbia for 2010, page 19, Republic Institute of Statistics, Belgrade.

3) Municipalities have 39 competencies under this Law, “Off. Gazette RS“, 129/2007, Article 18.

4) Property tax and building land fees, together with local and administrative taxes are the greatest source of revenue, for sure. In less developed municipalities is the greatest source are transfers from the Republic levels (in numerous municipalities also over 75-80% of the total budget).

5) The MICLP project shall be completed by March 31, 2012.

6) *Source:* MICLP internal material – Report on execution of the project.

7) Drinking Water 11.1%, Waste Water 9.3%, Solid Waste 11.1%, Transport 29.4%, Energies 8.6%, Social 26.5% and Economics 3.9%. Source: MICLP internal material – Report on execution of the project.

8) Municipal bonds were until now issued by Novi Sad (successful, 43 million €) and Užice and Pančevo (unsuccessful). PPP is present in some municipalities for several years, however, as a rule, it is an investment only in solving the question of solid communal waste (noting that several such contracts have been terminated). The experience shows that PPP as a manner of financing of investments in Serbia is still the object of difference limitations, hence also the legal limitations. Furthermore, the foreign investments experienced in the attempts of beginning PPP in Serbia state the uncertainty of investment in priority partners which is intensified with each change of the local government.

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URBAN SPRAWL IN IRANIAN CITIES AND ITS DIFFERENCES WITH THE WESTERN SPRAWL

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Recently a number of studies have focused on urban sprawl in the Iranian cities and the negative impacts of such development pattern. Although in a general view the phrase "urban sprawl" is used for fast and sometimes uncontrolled urbanizations, but there are dissimilarities between the urban sprawl in the western societies with the so-called Iranian urban sprawl. This paper discusses these differences as part of five main aspects that are mentioned in the internationally recognized urban sprawl definitions. Suburban sprawl, single-use developments/zoning, disconnected street network, low accessibility of the new developments, and commercial strip development are the aspects that are descriptively discussed as the main differences between the two types of sprawl. The main point of the discussion is that due to the wide range of similarities, which are briefly introduced, the type of the fast outward urban growth that is observed in the periphery of the Iranian cities can be defined as a part of the universal urban sprawl trend. Finally a definition is suggested for explaining urban sprawl in Iran.

Key words: Urban sprawl, development pattern, density, urban growth, Iran.

INTRODUCTION

There is evidence that some of the Iranian cities are experiencing urban sprawl. The presence of urban sprawl within urban development patterns and the resulted negative impacts have been studied in a number of studies. Although the observations are limited in number but they cover large metropolitan areas like Tehran (Roshan *et al*., 2009), Mashhad (Hosseini *et al.*, 2010a) and Kerman (Hosseini *et al.*, 2010b) to small large cities like Yazd (Shahraki *et al.*, 2011; Ebrahimpour-Masoumi, 2012) and Urmia (Mobaraki *et al.*, 2012) and also mid-sized cities like Kashan (Ebrahimpour-Masoumi, 2012).

In an urban development pattern point of view, urban sprawl in the Iranian cities has particular characteristics. Today's massive sprawl is only a part of urban transformations that aimed at preparing the urban form of the cities for car use. These governmental efforts that took place between 1930 and 1960 not only changed the urban textures of the traditional and organic cities, but also influenced the life style of the urban dwellers by easing motorized travels. Nevertheless the main part of urban sprawl, particularly in the central parts of the country, took place after 1980 (Ebrahimpour-Masoumi, 2012). During the past one hundred years the Iranian urban textures have transformed from compact traditional morphologies to less compact patterns and lower population densities. The street networks have changed from curvy streets and dead-end allies in the traditional textures to semi-gridiron networks in 1950s and 1960s and complete gridiron after 1980. The population densities decreased continuously during the last decades and the length of the urban trips became longer. Today for residents living in new districts, many destinations are not within the walking distances. On the other hand the new urban planning system emphasized on motorized transportation. Thus most of the planning efforts are put on improving the quality of wide streets and highway systems, while drawing people to local centers and planning neighborhood amenities are almost forgotten.

A basic idea that is targeted in the contemporary literature for limiting unsustainable development patterns like urban sprawl and its impacts is compactness (Cavrić, 2004). Compact urban form is repeatedly discussed as a sustainable method of urban development for reducing the environmental impacts of urban sprawl like ecological footprints (Petrić, 2004). However this compactness seems to diminish in the development pattern of the Iranian cities. Today most of the Iranian cities, especially the more historical ones, include a compact core. The second type of textures that are located around the core are the less compact areas that were built about the years 1940-1970. The dominant idea behind the plans of these parts was to provide streets suitable for car use. However the streets of these areas still did not have complete gridiron network, but the pattern had less compactness and population density. These figures continued to decrease in the districts built after 1980. The urban development pattern of these quarters that are located around the previous

Figure 1: Location of Kashan and Yazd in the center of Iran.

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ones contains complete gridirons and low population density. Finally a type of development has been shaped during the last three decades, which is the result of joining the villages and previously settlements outside the cities to the new urban boundaries. These areas have very dispersed development patterns. Also several cities have experienced growth along the roads to other cities. These places also have low density and compactness. Many of the sprawling areas that were mentioned as the fourth type are unplanned.

For suggesting a diagnosis for the car-oriented sprawling patterns, the thing that is seen in the related literature is the practices that mostly come from western countries. The question that arises is can we use the same sprawl containment policies that the western countries take or should we develop stand-alone independent strategies based on the local context? To give a good answer to the question, we should have a comparison between these two styles of sprawl. In order to have an understanding of what is called sprawl in the massive literature concerning urban sprawl in Western Europe and North America just the most used definitions are referred.

The notion that has been mentioned in almost all of the western urban sprawl definitions is low density. It is the most important specification of a sprawled area in the definition of Sierra Club (1999) and the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (1999), Ewing (1997), Ewing *et al.* (2002), and Burchell and Galley (2003). The sprawled areas are believed to have lower population, construction and employment densities in comparison to central cities and downtowns. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has defined urban sprawl as a particular type of suburban development (1999), so they are expected to be found firstly in the periphery of the cities and secondly as planned areas. The definition has also emphasized on the connection of sprawl with personal automobile use. In fact this type of development encourages the residents to use personal cars, while mass production and presence of cars supports planning sprawled and dispersed districts. Therefore there is a reciprocal relationship between sprawl and car use. Most of the specifications that are attributed to urban sprawl are related to the development pattern and layout. Large expanses of single-use development and leapfrog/scattered development are some of these attributes. Also poor accessibility is noted as a specification of the street network and land use in sprawled patterns (Ewing, 1997). Some of other features associated with sprawl are "lack of transportation choices, relative uniformity of housing options or the difficulty of walking" (Ewing *et al.*, 2002). Since the type of sprawl that we discuss comes from the industrialized countries and regions, it has close connections with urban economy and industry. Therefore commercial strip development is another aspect that is seen in western urban sprawl (Ewing, 1997). Western urban sprawl has also created problems regarding social interactions such as lack of sense of community, belonging and place. One of the noticed points is that sprawled districts have lack of functional public open spaces and thriving activity centers (Ewing, 1997; Ewing *et al.*, 2002). A phrase seen in the definition of Burchell and Galley (2003) is that the western sprawled areas are developments "characterized by unlimited outward extension". This attribute can be in association with urban boundaries and limitations.

The European cities have grown rapidly after 1950 (Kasanko *et al.*, 2005). The growth of population and employment decreased in the inner cities and increased in the suburbs after The World War II in 6 of the 7 examined cities (Antwerp, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Milan, Paris, Rotterdam, and Liverpool) (Jansen, 1993). In a European context, urban sprawl is considered to work in parallel with deindustrialization, decay of the inner cities and urban shrinkage, urban land use change, deterioration of the housing, and migration (Couch *et al.*, 2007). The urban shrinkage-related problems and decrease in population and jobs combined with peripheral low-density growth in the inner cities are clearly seen in the cities of east of Germany such as Leipzig and Halle (Nuissl, Rink, 2003; Rink *et al.*, 2010). The population density of Leipzig dropped from 3600 to 2400 inhabitants per square kilometer between 1991 and 2000 because of the special economic and societal challenges of the aftermath of the German unification (Rink, *et al.*, 2010, 11). The European Commission's Fifth Framework Programme titled "The project Urban Sprawl: European Patterns, Environmental Degradation and Sustainable Development" emphasizes on density gradient to differentiate between urban growth and urban sprawl. The density gradient of a natural urban growth is steeper than that of an urban growth (Pichler-Milanović, 2007). The project identifies three urban patterns for the 1991-2001 period: "growth and containment" in Copenhagen and Stockholm; "growth with sprawl" in Amsterdam, Athens, Berlin, Brussels, Dublin, Lisbon, Ljubljana, Luxembourg, Vienna, and Warsaw; and finally "decline with sprawl" in Birmingham, Bratislava, Budapest, Leipzig, Liverpool, Prague, and Rome (URBS PANDENS, 2005). As seen here, although many large European cities employ sprawl containment policies, but the cities are still sprawling. In another European project under the Sixth Framework Programme, urban sprawl is defined by means of the concept of "peri-urban areas" that include towns and villages located between urban settlements and their rural hinterland. They can be situated in large agglomerations and have their land use and landscape are changing rapidly. These areas are defined as "discontinuous built development, containing settlements of less than 20,000, with an average density of at least 40 persons per km^2 (averaged over 1km^2 cells)" (Piorr, 2010). One of most referred European definitions of urban sprawl is suggested by European Environment Agency (EEA): "the physical pattern of low-density expansion of large urban areas, under market conditions, mainly into the surrounding agricultural areas", and " sprawl is the leading edge of urban growth and implies little planning control of land subdivision" (European Environment Agency, 2006). The European urban sprawl includes scattered, patchy, and discontinued settlements that have been partially resulted by uncontrolled growth.

Regarding the presence of urban sprawl in the development pattern of the Iranian cities and having the basic attributes of the western sprawl in mind, this study aims at finding the main differences between the Iranian and western sprawl patterns. The main result that is expected is providing the planners of Iran and other countries of MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region with a basic concept for developing sprawl containment strategies. Of course such strategies are not discussed in this paper, but only the first step which is the specifying the local sprawl and its differences with other types of sprawl are presented. A definition for the local form of urban sprawl is suggested as well.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a descriptive and qualitative approach to explain the differences between two types of sprawl coming from different geographical places. The general characteristics of the western sprawl are derived from widely-used urban sprawl definitions that were discussed in the introduction section. On the other hand, the specifications of the Iranian sprawl come from the author's PhD dissertation completed in Technical University of Dortmund, Germany, which is referred to throughout the paper.

Five aspects of the general characteristics of urban sprawl are targeted and examined for the case of the Iranian cities (specifically the cities of central Iran). These aspects include sub-urban development, single-use developments and zoning, street network, accessibility, and commercial strip development. These characteristics are seen the U.S., Canada and Australia, and some of them are the specifications of the European sprawl. Suburban development is a basis for urban sprawl in North America and Australia. Single-use development, commercial strip development, and poor accessibility seen in Ewing's definition (1997) for the American sprawl. Large-scale, single-use developments outside the urban areas are patterns that contribute to urban sprawl in Europe (Lloyd-Jones, 2004). There are differences between the street network of the normal, compact and sprawling cities in the U.S. and Europe (Jia, Jiang, 2011). Large-scale commercial development is seen in sprawling areas both in Europe (Nuissl, Rink, 2003; Nuissl *et al.*, 2005; Pichler-Milanović, 2007) and the U.S. (Ewing, 1997).

The mentioned topics are believed to be different in the western and Iranian urban sprawl. The reasons and explanations are presented separately in the next section. The presence of urban sprawl in many Iranian cities is taken as the hypothesis of the study. It has been discussed in a number of previous studies that were mentioned at the beginning of the introduction section and is partially examined in this paper.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE IRANIAN AND WESTERN URBAN SPRAWL

The differences that are discussed in this paper are in connection with the basic idea behind the Iranian urban planning or the physical attributes of the existing dispersed areas in the periphery of the large and mid-sized cities of the country.

Suburban development

Urban sprawl in North America and Western Europe is so largely associated with suburban development that the phrase "suburban sprawl" is used as a replacement. The idea that comes to mind by this phrase is that the existing consequences behind the western planning (like urban infrastructures and transportation technologies) have pushed the planning organizations to design suburbs to create a utopia with the advantages of both urban and rural settlements. However the form of the fast and dispersed developments in the periphery of the Iranian cities has little in common with suburban development. In fact the urban sprawl of the country can hardly be called "suburban" or "development". The observations show that there has been no or little organized effort for planning typical suburbs on the edge of the Iranian cities like the ones that are seen in western cities. The main barriers seem to be mobility problems like weak accessibility to central urban amenities and also high costs of infrastructure construction outside the cities. This is while some of the cities of the country such as Yazd in the center of Iran experienced migrations from the historical cores to newer districts. The proportion of the city center's population to the population of the whole city of Yazd fell from 51282 people (22.2% of the city's population) in 1986 to 47624 (14.1%) in 1991. The figure was still decreasing in 1996. 46,553 people lived in the city center at this year, which made up 14.2% of the city's population (Kalantari Khalilabad, Hatami Nejad, 2006, 57). It is likely that a number of other cities like Yazd had outward flows of migration in the recent decades. However due to absence of efficient public transportation, difference in car ownership rates with the ones in western countries, and governmental planning strategies looking to plan new districts attached to the cities, no western-style suburbs were planned. In fact this outward flow has been one of the reasons for urban sprawl in Iran, but this has not led to suburbanization because of difficulty of accessing city centers.

In many cases the sprawling areas are the result of lack of control on the land uses. Such defragmented constructions cannot be called development because no intention is seen behind the growth style of these areas. Good examples of such places are the unplanned constructions along the intercity roads. Roads oriented to outside of Tehran in the west, southwest and eastern parts have these characteristics. Such growth has not been foreseen in the master plans so they have nothing in common with planned development but they are just the outcome of fast urbanization and lack of strict control.

Single-use developments and zoning

According to some of the definitions that were considered, single-use developments are of the main specifications of urban sprawl in industrialized countries. It has roots in the dominant planning concept of the twentieth century, which has been zoning. Although zoning has been effective in protecting people's health, but it is often named as a primary cause of urban sprawl in the western cities (Lamer, 2003). The separation between uses particularly in the suburban areas has made the origins and destinations of the urban travels far from each other; both commute and non-commute travels became long.

Nonetheless the urban development plans in Iran have not been influenced by zoning laws. Therefore zoning is obviously not a cause for the form of fast outward development in the country. Many new residential districts that have recently built in the periphery of the cities have insufficient facilities like retail and shops, public spaces, green spaces, local recreation amenities and so on. This has made many neighborhoods mainly contain residential function and have little mixing of uses. Also concentration of industrial uses on the edge of the intercity roads just outside of the cities has created unpleasant urban landscape in many cities. The examples are seen near the roads connecting the mid-sized city of Kashan to the nearby settlements like Aran/Bidgol, Ravand and Fin (Fig. 2). Another example is the city of Yazd that has sprawled along the northwestern road of Yazd-Tehran and southeastern road of Yazd-Kerman-Bandar Abas, while traditionally the natural growth direction of the city has been towards west to be safe from the summer hot winds that blow from the central parts of the country.

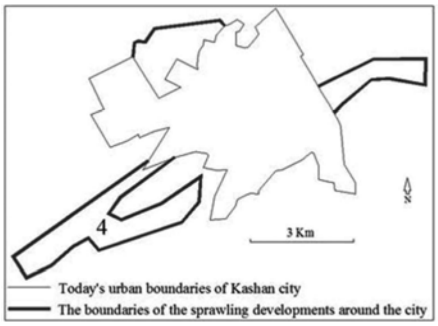

Figure 2: Location of sprawled areas in Kashan: orientation of the sprawling developments along the roads to Aran and Bidgol in the east, Fin in the southwest, and Ravand in the northwest

However none of the above has the characteristics of the western single-use developments or zoning. In case of the mentioned residential neighborhoods, the main cause of monotonous residential textures is ignoring necessity of envisaging local facilities in the scale of neighborhood in the development plans. The Iranian master plans often use the scale of "District" for allocation of needed per capita functions. So the result is that many neighborhoods may remain without local centers and amenities. Also the concentration of industrial functions along the intercity roads is not an outcome of zoning legislations but is because of lack of control on development plans.

Street network

The street networks in the sprawling cities of North America, Australia and Western Europe are mostly shaped by cul-de-sacs and other less connected streets. This is more obvious in the cities of North America. The absence of complete or semi-gridiron networks has caused the suburbs have low connectivity and accessibility. That is why the smart growth advocates emphasize planning more connected structures to encourage people to use alternative modes of transportation like walking and biking (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, 1992; Calthorpe, 1993; Katz, 1994; Duany, 2001). The American urban street networks have transformed from complete and semi-gridiron networks of nineteenth century to the cul-de-sacs of after World War II.

In contrast the way that the street networks in the Iranian cities, specifically the historical cities, have gone is somewhat opposite. The Iranian historical cores consist of dead-end allies and curvy main routes that connect the neighborhoods to each other, as seen in Fig. 3 about the historical core of Kashan. Such a structure was dominant until the early twentieth century, when the government tried to prepare the urban streets of the historical cities for automobile use. This happened in 1930s in Yazd and in 1940s and 1950s in Kashan. The next round of transformations was in the new developments were executed after the Second World War. These developments had the form of semi-gridiron networks and enabled the cars to move more freely (Fig. 4). Since 1980 the street structures have been planned in almost complete gridiron forms (Fig. 5). This perhaps has origin in the speed of the developing housing projects during 1980s and the early 1990s. The developments outside of the urban boundaries such as the old villages that are gradually becoming part of the cities, the planned housing projects, and the unplanned industrial functions altogether shape the outer sprawled areas (Fig. 6). Although the street network of these areas are more connected than the old city centers, but they only give better movement space to cars due to more width and in some places straight direction.

Moving in the streets has been easier for cars as time passed in the twentieth century. This has transformed the street networks of the old Iranian cities from curvy routes and dead-end allies to complete gridirons. This process is different from what happened during the same time in the western suburbs. The result is that in absence of efficient revitalization projects in the historical cores of the Iranian cities, living in them has become hard for the resident that

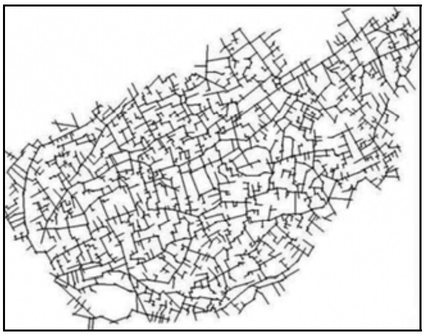

Figure 3: The street structure of the historical core of Kashan without the new wide streets that have been built during the past 60 or 70 years. Curvy streets connect the neighborhoods to each other and the dead-end allies are considered as semi-private spaces that are used by the residents of the houses that are opening to them.

Figure 4: An example of the street network built in 1940-1980 in Kashan; A semi-gridiron network that was built to ease the movement of cars.

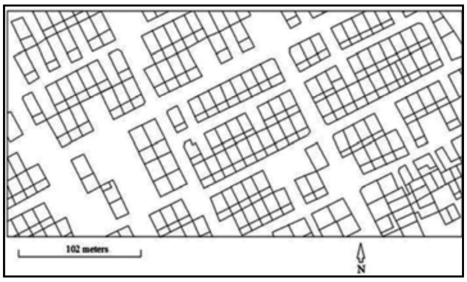

Figure 5: An example of the new developments of Kashan built after 1980; small-scale leapfrog developments are seen within the new district of Naji Abad in the western part of Kashan. The network is complete gridiron.

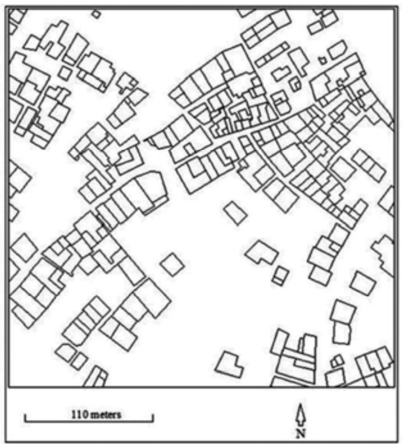

Figure 6: An example of the old village that is almost attached to the city of Kashan. The combination of houses and gardens is observable. The figure illustrates the places that need planning and control in case the city develops toward the nearby villages.

want to use personal cars as is common in the modern life style. This has become a disadvantage for the old city centers.

Accessibility

Poor accessibility is a result of fragmented street networks in the sprawling areas of the United States (Ewing *et al.*, 2002). In many of the western suburbs it is hard to live without personal cars because of a combination of street network, land use measures and lack of public centers. In western cities the downtowns give more accessibility and connectivity in comparison to the sprawling areas and suburbs. Also the neo-traditionalist urban planners have designed communities with higher accessibility and connectivity based as simulations of the traditional western settlements. There is evidence that the connectivity of such plans is more than that of the sprawled areas and automobile-oriented suburbs (Kim, 2007).

The difference that is observable in the Iranian cities is that the city-level accessibility (accessibility from a point to every other destination in the city) is less in the historical city center rather than in the periphery and sprawled areas. This has been proven in a comparison made between the historical core of the city of Kashan with a new development constructed after 1980 that enjoys complete gridiron network by means of Space Syntax analysis[2]. The accessibility of the new development including integration and connectivity was quite more. This was also tested for Yazd. The street connectivity and integration of a new development of after 1980 was more than the historical core. Interestingly the accessibility measures of an area with a combination of an old organic village and a new planned development was more than the accessibility of the historical core (Ebrahimpour-Masoumi, 2012). The study shows that in a chronological view, the newer development patterns provide with higher connectivity and integration measures. That is in contrast with the suburban sprawl in the western societies. The above observation was made in the city scale. If the study scale remains limited to neighborhood level, then the old neighborhoods of the city centers have shorter walking distances compared with the new developments.

Commercial strip development

Another aspect of the western urban sprawl is commercial strip development. Under the effect of capitalism, large commercial centers and department stores have become the main source of raising the daily needs of suburban dwellers, who go shopping by their automobiles. “Huge arterial roads lined with shopping centres, gas stations, fast food restaurants, drive-through restaurants, office complexes, parking lots and many large signs” (Gillham, 2002:5) that are the main elements of this type of development leaves no way for the users except driving personal cars. This method of attracting people to large shopping centers and malls has prolonged the non-commute travels. In contrast there is no such an urban economy in Iran. There are few drive-through centers even in the large cities. The majority of daily needs are raised not in large department stores, but in grocery stores, supermarkets, and retail shops.

DISCUSSION

The basic differences between the Iranian and the western urban sprawls were introduced in the past section. The western sprawl is basically caused by suburban development with zoned single-use areas that contain disconnected streets. Such an urban morphology results in very low connectivity and accessibility. Large commercial strips are mainly designed for personal car travels. Very few of these characteristics are seen in the areas of the urban Iran that are introduced by the scholars as sprawled. The question that is raised here is “are the Iranian cities experiencing urban sprawl or is the contemporary pattern of the urban growth natural?”.

This study gives a conditional answer to the question. With a look to the previous literature about the issue and the discussion of this paper it is logical to accept that the Iranian cities, especially the older ones that are located in the central parts, are sprawling. There are enough evidences in this case. In reviewing the urban transformations it is clear that the area growth rate of the cities of central Iran has been more than the population growth rate of the same cities. For Yazd the proportion of these two has been 285% between 1981 and 2001. This percentage is calculated based on area of 710, 1800, and 11000 hectares in 1956, 1981, and 2001 respectively. The city has had 63502, 181000, and 388107 inhabitants in the same years. The above proportion is 138% for Kashan in the 1932-2006 period. This figure is based on the area of the city in 1932 and 2006 which were 511 and 4470 hectares. The population of the city has been 40000 and 253731 inhabitants in the same years.

Also the population density of these two cities has dropped during the past decades. Between 1956 and 2001 the population density of Yazd decreased from 89.4 persons per hectare to 35.28. The population density of Kashan decreased from 78.2 persons per hectare to 56.76 in 74 years leading to 2006 (Ebrahimpour-Masoumi, 2012). Also consideration of dispersed and leapfrog developments in smaller scales compared with the western cities shows major differences with the compact pattern of organic and traditional cities. In most of the neighborhoods that have been built after 1980 unbuilt lots are seen. This makes the urban texture disconnected and dispersed. Together with lack of public amenities like recreation centers and other neighborhood amenities, the dispersed textures pushes residents to have long car trips to farther destinations in central parts of the cities. Lack of local amenities includes public spaces that have been mentioned by scholars as one of the main deficiencies of the western sprawled cities. This shortcoming is vigorously felt in case of social open spaces. Such places used to be found in the traditional spaces of the country but today very few of them are planned and very little local transportation facilities are envisaged. Such spaces are limited to small neighborhood urban parks that are mainly planned to increase the per capita of green space. Normally very little effort is made to plan pedestrian public spaces that include social uses like recreation centers. The style of urban planning is highly automobile-oriented and neglects social activities, local centers, neighborhoods, and slow travels.

All the above show the common points between urban sprawl pattern in Iran and the western societies. The urban development pattern of the cities discussed throughout this paper is considered to be urban sprawl, but this does not mean that the sprawl in Iran and the like experience the same pattern and circumstances of the western sprawl. Consequently different definitions should be used for the urban sprawl in Iran and similar countries and cultures. The definition that this study offers is “planned and unplanned

[2] Space Syntax theory was developed by Bill Hiller and Julienne Hanson in 1970s and 1980s in University College London (Hillier, Hanson, 1984; Hillier, 1999). The theory and the related computer software are used as spatial analysis tools to examine the spatial structure of the urban spaces and their relationship with the human behaviors. The use of Space Syntax in the author’s PhD dissertation (Ebrahimpour-Masoumi, 2012) that is referred here has been linking the form of the streets and allies in the historical core and the new quarters of the Yazd and Kashan in the center of Iran with the mobility patterns. The connectivity and integration Space Syntax measures have been applied to show the degree of accessibility in the case study areas. The more connected and integrated the urban configurations are, the more it is expected to have mobility in the streets.

automobile-oriented urban growth with lack of local public facilities and uses, public social open spaces, and relatively low population density that is caused by fast urbanization, poor growth control, and automobile-oriented planning".

CONCLUSION

The fast outward urbanization of the Iranian cities that is recently called urban sprawl has basic differences with the urban and suburban sprawl of the North American, West European and Australian cities. These dissimilarities are mainly found in five aspects of the western sprawl including suburban sprawl, single-use developments/zoning, disconnected street network, low accessibility, and commercial strip development. The Iranian sprawl functions especially different in these five aspects. However the idea that were brought up in the discussion section of this paper is that despite these differences, the rapid urbanization of the Iranian cities has so much similarities with sprawling urban areas of the world that still can be categorized as sprawling urban development. Highly automobile-oriented urban planning, decrease in population densities in the new plans, leapfrog and dispersed developments, and lack of public spaces and facilities are some of these similarities. To limit such a development pattern a definition is suggested for the Iranian urban sprawl as "planned and unplanned automobile-oriented urban growth with lack of local public facilities and uses, public social open spaces, and relatively low population density that is caused by fast urbanization and poor growth control and automobile-oriented planning".

The aim that this study and the similar papers follow is to identify the problem carefully so that the decision making and solution recommendation will be done with higher quality. According to the different nature of the urban growth and transformation in Iran, the recommended solutions should originate from the vernacular urbanism. The first step after identification of the nature of the problematic urban growth patterns is to find strategies to contain these trends. The fundamental aim of the sprawl containment strategies that this paper is suggesting for further research should be promotion of quality of life in the fast growing urban areas. Such strategies are better to have a special look to the periphery of the cities where less privileged social classes live.

There is strong need for research on differentiation between normal growth and urban sprawl. By having a better understanding of this border line, it is easier to focus anti-sprawl strategies. There are a variety of possibilities to establish theoretical and functional framework to stop or slow sprawl. Some of them which are out of the scope of this study are stronger control on urban developments according to the master plans, densification of the inner cities and revitalization plans, gentrification of the historical cores, control on the urban services outside the urban boundaries, and control on the urban growth by using public transportation networks especially rail networks.

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THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH INTO THE ROLE OF BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ IN THE CREATION OF THE NEW SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE IN BELGRADE

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Following student protests in 1968, the reform of universities began in Yugoslavia. The idea of the humanisation of architectural profession and the reform of Belgrade Faculty of Architecture towards the environmental studies was launched. The article examines the impact of the New School on the humanisation of the architectural profession as part of a general movement to humanize the society of the sixties, as well as the significant role of Bogdan Bogdanović in the realisation of such an endeavour.

First steps towards creating a New School could be foreseen in Bogdan Bogdanović's text Arhitektura je nauka (The Architecture is a Science) in 1969, which suggests the introduction of the humanistic disciplines in architectural education as well as in the analytical texts of Professor Branislav Milenković "O nastavi na arhitekstonskom fakultetu" (About Teaching at the Faculty of Architecture, 1945-1968) and assistant lecturer Ranko Radović "Učenje neimarstva" published in the magazine Arhitektura -urbanizam (Architecture-Town Planning) No.52 in 1968. During his stay in America, Bogdanović gained some experience visiting multidisciplinary schools of environmental design. Analyzing the school curriculum and current trends in the education of architects, he set the basis for the application of environmental design.

The reform was carried out transparently with equal participation of students, teachers and former students of the Faculty of Architecture. The team for the creation of the New School, led by Bogdan Bogdanović, after each meeting published announcements that contained conclusions on the implementation of reforms. These announcements and processed materials represented the content basis of the New School of architecture.

Key words: New School of architecture, Bogdan Bogdanović, environment, architectural education.

INTRODUCTION

It can be said that each architectural school is like a living being, an entity which grows up and changes depending on the circumstances in which it is to be found. In their lifetime, more than 50 leading world architectural schools of the 1960s undertook reform with a view to creating a multidisciplinary architectural school in accordance with the existing conditions of the architectural profession oriented towards the environment. In the framework of the processes started at global level, Belgrade School of Architecture officially started authentic reform in November 1970 under the dominant influence of Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010).[1)] The aim of this reform was the creation of the New School[2)] of Architecture.

The New School was a reforming process, which, by its nature, was the impetus for certain changes as to the understanding of the relation between the architecture and the society, and it is reflected in prominent multidisciplinarity. The curriculum introduced by B. Bogdanović and his associates was preserved to a great extent and it partially appeared in its modified form following the implementation of the last or so-called Bologna Reform. The pedagogical models first applied in the teaching in the New School were not preserved after its closure.

The research presented in this study aims to define Bogdanović's role in the processes in which the New School was created. Scientific material, personal testimonies of the contemporaries, archives, as well as scientific and daily periodicals, which depicted events and the role of Bogdanović in the creation of the New School of Architecture from a certain angle, were used in this research. Based on the analysis of these documents, the wider social significance of the New School in the transformation of the architectural profession, as well as its relation to more humanistic disciplines should be observed. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that this research is just one of the phases of the broader research process which relates to the comprehensive analysis of changes in the education of architects in the 1960s and the early 1970s.

In the initial research on the subject of the New

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School, Milorad Mladenović takes a general approach in the article entitled *Comments on ("Saopštenja") the New School (of architecture)*, which was published in the Serbian Architectural Journal.[3)] Analysing *Comments*, he built foundations and actualised the research on the subject of the New School for the first time.

BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ AND THE EVENTS PRECEDING THE REFORM

The world events of the 1960s greatly influenced the reform of Belgrade Faculty of Architecture. Internationally, the UIA (Union internationale des architectes) Congress, which was dedicated to the training of architects (La formation de l'architecte), was held in Paris in 1965. The most eminent experts in the field of architecture of the time gave a talk on that subject – Walter Gropius, Pier Luigi Nervi, Jacques Barge and others. The conclusions reached mainly related to the promotion of team work, namely the introduction of the humanistic disciplines and liberal arts into the training of architects (Howarth, 1966:43). The most serious events regarding the training of architects followed immediately after the May Student Protests in Paris in 1968. The closure of the traditional Beaux-Arts (L' école des beaux-arts) and forming of new "independent" Pedagogic Associations (Unité Pédagogique)[4)] were the cause and the incentive[5)] for changes at the Faculty of Architecture.

The student protests at the University of Belgrade reached its peak in June 1968 marking the crucial moment for starting changes at the University of Belgrade, as well as at the Faculty of Architecture. Similarly to the situation in France, the students protested against the studying conditions of the time as well as against their position in the society. University assembly boards announced individual reforms of the Yugoslav universities, which would be based on self-management. The conditions for an attempt at applying those principles were created, after which the reform was initiated by the Faculty of Architecture and the majority of other faculties of the University of Belgrade.

At the gatherings held at the Faculty of Architecture in June 1968 it was proclaimed that the creation of the New School of Architecture, which would replace the "traditional" one, would start immediately. According to Bogdan Bogdanović and the works published by renowned experts, the professional and scientific status of the faculty had already been surpassed. The students requested "that the real, not just the fictitious, should take part in the life and decisions of the school" (Bogdanović, 1971e:3).

The overall social climate of changes represented the driving force for staring the reform. At the time, Bogdanović was trying to "impose" his ideas about the school reform at the Council meetings of the faculty. He strongly advocated the thesis "that the practice was changing dramatically as well as the terms used in architectural design and city planning; architectural design was getting much closer to city planning."[6)] Subsequently, Bogdanović laid a solid foundation for his ideas during his stay in America, before the proposal for the creation of the New School was officially outlined.

Although Bogdanović is considered to be the creator of the radical reform, by as early as mid-1968, Branislav Milenković[7)], as many others, made critical comments on the studying conditions at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade. He writes about the state of play, current problems as well as possible new solutions for the faculty. Too broad curricula were compressed into four years, the lectures were not well-organised in terms of time, division into two departments was not a fair solution for orientation of students, whereas the reorganization of the lectures was only a provisional adjustment, while the results remained unverified (Milenković, 1968:67).[8)]

Ranko Radović[9)], who was the editor of the *Arhitektura urbanizam* (Architecture Town Planning) journal, wrote about the training of architects, taking into consideration the entire Yugoslav space. His thoughts are directed toward the view that renowned scholastic institutions should be the source of new ideas, new relations towards the world of architecture, which transforms, moves and evolves daily, which should be the characteristic of every modern school of architecture. "The threat to every school of architecture lies in its crystallization, its closure." He goes on to say that the need of „live, and open architecture universities, set in motion, able to develop with each day and capable of recognizing the decisive processes, which nowadays take place in the body of our modern world, that is in the body of architecture," (Radović, 1968:35) is noticeable.

Bogdan Bogdanović relied on various and increasingly frequent beliefs of teachers and associates (like R. Radović and B. Milenković, etc.) that the school did not function well in terms of quality. The Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade by the end of the 1960s was cocooned to a great extent in the system which had functioned well in another "earlier" period. The Yugoslav schools of architecture, which existed in that period, did not have annual exhibitions, their collected papers were rare, the manifestos unknown, the year books forgotten, and the declarations rejected (Radović, 1968:35). This reflects the need for an essential reform of the Faculty of Architecture, which Radović called for in his articles, and which Bogdanović later achieved through the creation of the New School.

Until Bogdanović's return from America, apart from the reorganization and condensing of classes, which was voted down by the Faculty Council, no other serious steps towards the essential reform of the Faculty of Architecture were taken. Bogdanović's ideas referred to the need for changing those deep-rooted traditional habits and the fact that the School should open much more and be more present in many other disciplines.[10)]

BOGDANOVIĆ'S FIRST STEPS TOWARDS THE CREATION OF THE NEW SCHOOL

Bogdanović's ideas about the humanization of the architectural profession, which he had expressed before leaving for America in 1969, suggested the introduction of "distinctly humanistic disciplines, such as urban sociology" in the training of architects (Bogdanović, 1969:3). While in America, he visited several faculties of architecture and university centres, among which *the College of Environmental Design, UC Berkley* and *Visual and Environmental Studies, Harvard University,* should be noted. Spending time in the libraries of the faculties he visited, Bogdanović studied the school programmes and contemporary trends in the training of architects, among others.[11)] The schools he visited were mainly of environmental and multidisciplinary type and they included anthropology, philosophy, aesthetics in a wider range, town history, urbanology, which, on the whole, represented a different relation to the surroundings.[12)] Based on the courses studied, where " the entire studying of architecture is assigned to the complex of visual and environmental studies" (Bogdanović, 1971d), and Bogdanović's personal experiences, an idea of how the New School should look like, transferred to this place and time, was developed. The creation of the New School was directed to the *environment* and the introduction of new scientific disciplines in the training of architects. That was the time of intensive urban development, where the studying of urban morphology and city theory was understood as a serious step towards the perception of the environment.

New ideas and the material compiled following Bogdanović's return to Belgrade from America in 1970 are built in the process of the creation of the New School together with the ideas expressed at the Council meeting. Based on the experience gained abroad, Bogdanović juxtaposed the new ideas, which the advocates of "the old school" considered radical, with the existing curriculum and teaching methods.

BOGDANOVIĆ'S ROLE AND THE CRISIS AT THE FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE FROM SEPTEMBER TO NOVEMBER 1970

The circumstances which had led to disagreements between the professors attracted media attention. The initiative for new reforms and the creation of the New School was launched in the circumstances surrounding the crisis of the Faculty. Stanko Mandić, who was the Dean of the Faculty of Architecture until September 1970, resigned at the meeting at which the commission plan for the reorganization of classes was discussed. The plan[13] was voted down on that occasion in protest at the Faculty Council rejecting the commission plan for the reorganization of classes. Đorđe Zloković[14], Anka Stojaković[15] and Vojislav Damjanović[16] handed in their resignations together with the Dean. The initiative for new reforms and the creation of the New School was started under the Faculty crisis circumstances.

Bogdan Bogdanović opposed the narrowing of the curriculum together with those who shared his views, which seemed as a conflict between the professors. Đorđe Petrović[17] stated that those were not conflicts, but "the clash of opinions at academic level". The majority at the Faculty supported the view that a student could not take an active part in the classes in such circumstances and that there was a need for changes at that moment (Ćorović, 1970:4).

Some professors and their assistant lecturers reconsidered the conditions under which the new reform would be started within the article published in an attempt to promote the ideas on the New School and draw attention to the flaws of the plan previously presented. The article written by Toma Džadžić, entitled "Professors' Conspiracy of Silence", which was published shortly before the Tripartite Commission was established, provides quotes from and comments on the talks given by the professors and the assistant lecturers, the advocates of the future New School. With regard to the media, "the Conspiracy of Silence" referred to the professors who opposed the ideas of the New School.

Instead of the process of changes ending and the crisis at the faculty being overcome, the permanent disagreements, growing in intensity, continued until Bogdanović was elected Dean in November 1970, when the cycle of reforms aimed at the creation of the New School officially began.

Bogdanović, as well as many others, opposed the "narrowing" of the curriculum. He was of the opinion that the curriculum "should be broadened more and more" towards architectural science and he proposed differentiating.[18] According to the writings of Radović, the proposed curriculum should not be narrowed, but on the contrary, it should be enriched with more complete engagement of the professors with the aim to implement the curriculum.[19]. He considered the proposed narrowing of the curriculum to be conservative and added that "the aim of science was not to take jobs away from professors at the faculty, but to engage them entirely" (Džadžić, 1970: 16). Such views represent the very beginnings of the introduction of optional subjects, which would later become one of the characteristics of the New School. Đ. Petrović elaborates on the Radović's writings by criticising the Commission which worked on the narrowing of the curriculum. According to Đ. Petrović, the students would not gain much from the narrowed curriculum, but "the return to three departments – Town planning, Architectural design and Architectural technology – would be more effective". Such criticism was possible only through good organization and preparation of what was yet to happen at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade. This implies that Bogdanović was present at almost all discussions in the media, which meant leadership in the implementation of the ideas put forward.

Bogdanović argued that the situation at the Faculty of Architecture was the consequence of the crisis at other faculties of architecture in the world, while emphasizing that "there were some major changes in the very understanding of architecture", and that "the days of the artisan formation of an architect, who leaves the school workroom, a studio, were gone". He believed that "an architect leaving the school studios was reasoning like an artisan, was clannish, a general practice architect" (ibid:16). A foothold for such viewpoints may be observed in the reform which took place at Beaux-Arts. Beaux-Arts was, by all means, an academic institution with the conservative system of "studios", the system which may not be entirely comparable to the situation at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade at the time (Folić, 2011:61).[20]

In that period, world-famous architectural educational institutions introduced scientific elements and new theoretical considerations into the architecture of the time. The discussions which took place among theorists, mainly sociologists, in the sphere of the humanization of the society, transposed to interpreting architecture as a sociological discipline.

Bogdanović wrote about the multidisciplinarity of the architectural profession in which an architect may be a mathematician, a humanist, a scientific worker, a painter, a sculptor, but they may not hold all these professions at the same time (Džadžić, 1970:16). This is supported by the writings of Đ. Petrović according to which architecture is both science and art as well as a technique, which is why the implementation of a modern teaching process is rendered more difficult. Bogdanović prepared the new reform of the faculty in that direction, the creation of a modern school of architecture, which is "to offer an architect with diverse personal abilities, personal selection of knowledge and fields of interests and a personal profile instead of a general practice artisan". Such an architect is a personality by both his erudition and his ethics" (ibid:16). Moreover, he argues that "true and revolutionary changes in the education are reflected in the introduction of a great number of non-technical disciplines, or, at least, knowledge, into the general formation of the present-day architect" (Bogdanović, 1970b).

THE CREATION OF THE NEW SCHOOL AND THE WORK OF THE TRIPARTITE COMMISSION

The changes which led towards the New School were based on the idea that everything that was going on in the reformation process should be transparent and exposed to public criticism. Such approach was certainly the reflection of a new social order in Yugoslavia, which was leaning towards liberalization in all spheres – political, cultural and economic – from 1965 (Petranović, 1988:382).

The clashes of opinions brought about an accelerated process of reforms, which the majority at the faculty backed up. "At the first assembly of the working community group of the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, held on 7th November 1970, it was concluded that energetic efforts should be made immediately with a view to start the creation of an entirely new structure of the Faculty of Architecture in accordance with the contemporary demands of science and profession" (Bogdanović, 1971a:18).[21]

The working team, the Tripartite Commission of the Working Community Assembly for the reorganization of the Faculty of Architecture, in short the New School Board, was founded for the implementation of the planned reforms. The Commission consisted of students [22] on a par with teachers and former students[23] of the Faculty of Architecture. The Commission members equally participated in discussions and proposals. A great number of terms, which could not be found in the life of any school of architecture in Yugoslavia, appears in the talks (Bogdanović, 1971c:17-18).

The main task of the Commission for the Reorganization of the teaching procedures of the Faculty was to draw up a school programme, the subject of which would be the environment, based on the analysis of the existing situation at the Faculty, the practice of foreign educational institutions, the existing state of affairs in the profession, contemporary pursuits and hypotheses about future development. (Bogdanović, 1971a:18). That was the basic premise of studying the contents and teaching methods which B. Bogdanović postulated together with his colleagues.

The New School Board was tasked with submitting the proposal relating to reforms to be adopted, rejected or amended by the beginning of April 1971 at the latest (Bogdanović, 1971e:9). The public considered the establishment of the Tripartite Commission to be the first major victory of true self-management in the university conditions of that time (Bogdanović, 1971f:6).

"Saopštenje" (Announcement), where the conclusions which unambiguously pointed to the social significance of such a reform were expressed, was published at the first assembly of the Working Community Group. "The reform of the Faculty of Architecture goes beyond the scope of the Faculty by its significance, and even beyond the scope of the University of Belgrade, and it represents the event of prime cultural importance" (Bogdanović, 1971a:18). Such assessment in the first Announcement suggested the serious approach in the creation of the New School. Bogdan Bogdanović had an initial role in those processes, which was later confirmed through the work of the Commission.

The first in the series of the conclusions reached by the Working Community Group of the Faculty of Architecture which defines the position of the school in relation to the society is as follows: "The New School must be open to the society at all times and exposed to the possibilities of public criticism, but free from all subjective and imposed criteria and prejudice against ideas and individuals" (the Board for the New School, 1970:2). The New School became a part of the new social reality, with which it opened a dialogue and did not represent the reality unto itself.

Upon examination of the available material, it can be concluded that the Commission meetings were creative and diverse by the content and the modalities of the New School proposed. As regards proposals, the authors whose articles were further published in university bulletins and became available to wider public were prominent. The announcement which was issued after each meeting contained so-called glossemes (a type of the author's explanation, a term or a new proposal for the new school). For instance, the Slovenian architect Braco Mušič[24] presented parts of the report (*Diversification*) delivered by the Board of Architectural Education of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in the glosseme no 20. The report related to the diversification of the education which was already present in the British school from 1964, from which the report dates. One of the principal conclusions was as follows: "The education of architects should be diversified so that the profession would recover the real powers of technical design" (Mušič, 1971:11). General practice architects lost their position in the process of the overall formation of the environment and left room for other disciplines which had nothing in common with the organization of space and form making. In the context of diversification, Braca Mušič believes that "we must not and do not want to observe the architect and architecture exclusively, but we must also bear in mind the entire complex of spatial planning, design and forming" (ibid:11).

Bogdanović's associates, who went on to become distinguished theorists, town planners and architects, such as Ranko Radović, Dimitrije Mita Mladenović, Sima Miljković and Saša Radojević, participated in the preparation of the New School. Ranko Radović brought forward a concrete proposal that architecture studies should stand on two pillars, two backbones, one of which should be the architectural typology, while the other should be urban morphology. Urban morphology – town planning should be treated through morphological forms, and the phenomenon of cities as a concentration of volume.[25] Morphology gives standard to a form, but not the other way round.

The methods of construction and design changed, and the domain of the impact of architectural profession expanded rapidly. In that period, planners, geographers, sociologists and historians engaged themselves in urban morphology along with "extensive social research" (ibid:66). Typomorphology emerged at that time under the influence of various theoretical postulates (Đokić, 2007:66). Space was considered through different social and economic factors and it became the basis for integral environment design.

The task of the New School was also to focus on "the knowledge resulting from: studying a man, studying the reactions of a man to the environment they live in and studying man's sociability" (Bogdanović, 1970b).

Until the New School was established as a concept, the first printed copies of content-related basis of the new school of architecture, dating from April 1971, had been brought up for public discussion before they had reached the Research and Education Board. The Faculty formed six working groups, which were tasked with checking the validity of the document within the constructive analysis with the colleagues from notable European schools of architecture. The reports which bore the negation of the New School were not taken into consideration.[26] The New School was also discussed at DAZ (Zagreb Society of Architects) (Kritovac, 1971:22).

SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE OLD SCHOOL AND THE NEW SCHOOL

The stance expressed in the final "Saopštenje" (Announcement) of 21st April 1971 represents the basic guidelines and a kind of manifesto, which runs as follows: *The future new school should start from studying integral environment*

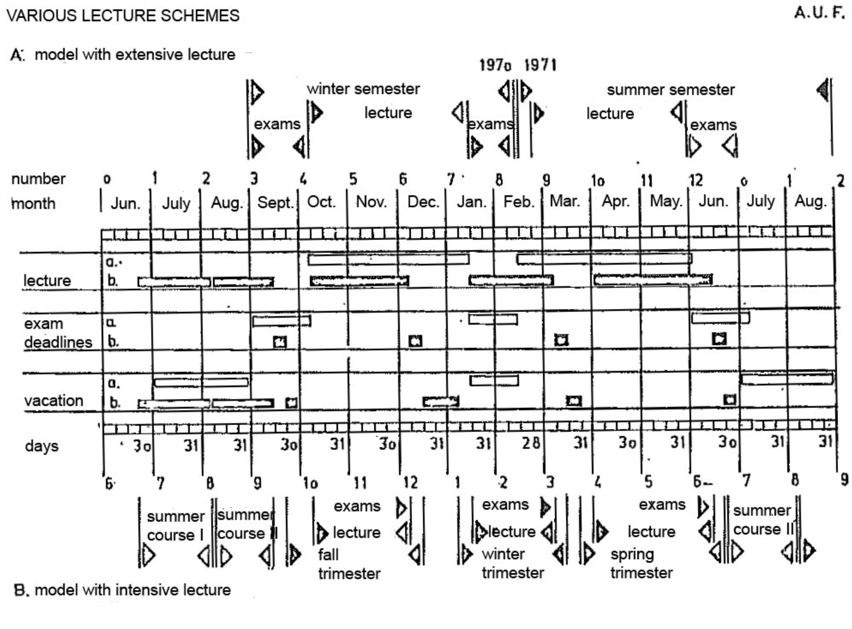

Fig. 1 Various lecture schemes by authors Trumbić A. and Smoljanić R., first printed in „Saopštenje"(Announcement) no. 5, published by Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, dated December 22 (1970), gloss 9: pp. 21

and proceed towards particular problems of the architectural sciences (Parity Working Group for education, 1971).

The essential difference between the “old” and the proposed New School of architecture can be observed in the fact that, according to the writings of Bogdanović, “a student does not have anything to choose nor anything to commit to” in the old way of studying architecture. “Not only does he fail to be the subject of lectures, but he is neither their object, but their slave“ (Bogdanović, 1970a:18). The system which involves training of architects in the context of general orientation was favoured, while a student was given no other choice. The engagement of teachers who gave advantage to “the jobs on the everyday market, devoid of scientific significance, was taken as the standard of professional activity and dedication to occupation and the guild” (Bogdanović, 1970a:18). The creators of the New School suggested an intensive course, divided into trimesters, which, in their opinion, created more productive atmosphere at the Faculty (Fig.1).

The curriculum of the Faculty had suffered considerable changes. It is noticeable that there were more subjects related to urban planning, especially in the first year. According to the old curriculum, the first subject related to urban planning appeared in the fourth semester (Introduction to Urban Planning, in the form of lectures). According to the curriculum of the New School, urban planning was present throughout the whole course of studies, starting as early as in the first trimester as Urbanology and Urban Environment.

Classic subjects were replaced by themes, courses and optional courses. The lectures in the New School “were differentiated“ and the students made their own choices of “special courses, special design programmes and teachers they would be working with after a certain number of elementary subjects. The students decided themselves on their orientation, and thus what their technical erudition would be. Its extent depended on the teachers selected.” (Bogdanović, 1970a) The fifth year envisaged the work on the project as part of the final examination.

Visual character of the New School and teaching methodology was certainly different. One characteristic of “the old school” was the traditional system of studios, whereas in the New School each student had their own working place at the faculty, within “the boxes”, regardless of the year of studies. In addition to this, each group or box comprised 15 working places. The boxes, provided for within large classrooms, were separated by improvised panels. Each group was allotted its own mentor (teacher) who “did their share of instruction in their own group, and acted as a consultant of other groups with regard to their specific expertise at the same time” (Parity Working Group for Education, 1971a). Students had certain freedom of creating and thinking within their working place, the lecturers alternated in the process of passing knowledge and experience. Thanks to the convenient spatial arrangement of working places, the students shared their experience and information gathered.

Table 1. New School – themes and courses per trimester for I and II year (III, IV and V years have not been taken into consideration as they were not yet entirely defined at that time), adopted in October 1971. Source: [Paritetna radna grupa za nastavu. (1971a) Predlog organizacije nastave na I godini Nove škole, Beograd, Arhitektonski fakultet u Beogradu, 1. X,]

I year				II year			themes*
I trimester		II trimester	III trimester	IV trimester	V trimester	VI trimester	
urbanology (3)			spatial and functional organisation of city (3) (5) (6)		urbanology (3)		(1) natural environment
urban environment (3)				natural environment + rural environment (1)+(2) / (4) (5) (6) (7) /			(2) rural environment
		architectural analysis standardisation and industrial construction (4)+(7)		architectural analysis (4) / (3) (5) (7) /			(3) urban environment
general theses about space	theory of structural systems	architectural analysis (4)					(4) arch. analysis
				residential buildings (5)			(5) residential buildings
Analysis of structural components	elements of structural assemblies, technology of building materials (4) (5) (6)			standardisation and industrial construction (5) (6) (7) (8)			(6) labor and production culture of spirit and body
hist. of civilization and environment (natural (1)(2)(3), human (3)(4)(5)(6) and technical aspects (6)(7)(8))							
descriptive geometry (F)				perspective (4) (5) (6)			(7) standard. and industrial construction
mathematics I (F)					mathematics II (F)		
		mechanics – strength – statics (4) (5) (7)				study of the struct. beams	(8) planning, organisation and economy
visual communications (3) (4)				visual communications (5) (6)			
			technical instrumentalisation of space (4) (5) (6) (7) (8)				

**Comment: In some cases, different thematic frames appear within a course, i.e. course is considered on the basis of many factors. This table considers subject matter for two years of studies without its time consumption which will be presented in the broader research project made by the author.*

Table 2. „Old school“: semester subjects present until October 1971. (Table adopted by the author in relation to comparative analysis) Source: [Arhitektonski fakultet u Beogradu. Nastavni plan Arhitektonskog fakulteta u Beogradu, Arhitektura urbanizam, 52, IX, Beograd, p 74]

I year		II year	
I semester	II semester	III semester	IV semester
mathematics			
architectural constructions I		architectural constructions II	
knowledge of materials		building installations	
descriptive geometry		perspective	
freehand drawing		fundamentals of graphics and painting	
architectural drawing and forms			
elements of design		residential buildings	community buildings
	architectural physics		metal constructions
	mechanics and persistence of materials		
		fundamentals of social science	
		urban sociology	introduction to urban planning
			architectural theory

According to the contemporaries, there was some kind of creative "chaos". The teachers should have been engaged all day long and the work of certain teachers within their professional activity outside the Faculty was in danger.

It may be said that the building of the New School represented a market of ideas of its own kind, the application of which is still present at faculties of architecture. "The New School, however, had never considered itself as unique, or, God forbid, the first in the world; It is simply one of at least fifty new schools which arose as a result of the reorganisation of outdated faculties of architecture. The old university centres, faculties and schools of architecture, once greatly renowned, in the highly developed surroundings in every respect are in question" (Bogdanović, 1971b).

CONCLUSION

The aforesaid points to the fact that the formation of the New School cannot be studied separately, that is, only through the personality of Bogdan Bogdanović and his followers, but it should be considered through the social and political events of the day. The general tendency showed the application of the innovation which would lead to the humanization of the society. The situation in which the society found itself entirely affected the adoption and understanding of such reforms, by which its rise was conditioned. The reform was significant for both the Faculty of Architecture and a broader social milieu, which was supposed to offer the possibility of more extensive architectural action and enable the raising of general culture and awareness, and not only architects.

Although the proposed reform of the Faculty of Architecture was entirely adopted, the New School ceased to exist in its original form after only two years of work, namely in 1973, by the will of the majority. The reform was not entirely successful because it was radical for conditions set, and, in some segments, too personal. It was personal from the aspect of Bogdan Bogdanović's idea of its creation and the consequences the reform had for the relations between colleagues. The avant-gardism of the New School is linked to the strong personality of Bogdan Bodanović, perhaps too much, and thus the opponents were put off. It is interesting to note that the opponents of the New School rarely expressed their views in public. The New School is also often colloquially referred to as Bogdan's School, i.e. many people remembered the New School for his specific pedagogic approach.

In the early 21st century, the Faculty of Architecture carried out reforms, some elements of which are reminiscent of the programme of the New School, and thus it can be said that the New School presented the visionary approach, which Bogdanović and his followers applied in the teaching methodology at the Faculty of Architecture at that time. It is interesting to observe that the contemporary school programmes "gravitate toward standardization again, rather than to creative work made through encouraging students to experiment, take risks and explore" (Bogdanov, 2009:38).

In order to reach better founded conclusions, more extensive research is needed. It is assumed that these data are the basis for undertaking wider research which concerns overall conditions and the reason for the birth of the New School, as well as its further functioning and infusion into the future work of the Faculty to the present day.

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[1] As an important figure in arts, science and politics, Bogdanović was a professor and the dean of the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade at that time and contributed to the positive perception of the reforms started.

[2] The term New School appeared in June 1968, at the meetings of the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, when "it was proclaimed that the forming of a NEW SCHOOL, which was supposed to replace the present traditional and already surpassed professional and scientific status of the Faculty of Architecture, would begin immediately". It started to be used officially on 20th November 1970, when it appeared in the first issue of the *Saopštenje*, a bulletin under the name of NEW SCHOOL BOARD, which stood for Tripartite Commission of the Assembly of the Working Community Group for the Reorganization of the Faculty of Architecture in the document. In the discussions about the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade which followed, the reform which is the subject of this research is called the New School. In professional circles the New School is also known as Bogdan's School.

[3] The information regarding the process of the creation of the New School can be found in the article. Another research by the same author entitled *Education in Fine Arts and Visual Studies at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade* (Mladenović, M., 2008) gives an insight into the New School within fine arts education and visual communications. The monograph *Higher-education Teaching of Architecture in Serbia 1846-1971* includes some shorter writings about the New School.

[4] Unité Pédagogique – the schools which emerged from the disintegration of Beaux-Arts were divided up into independent schools of architecture on 6th December, 1968, by virtue of the decision reached by the Ministry of Culture, and placed in different locations. Five of them were located in Paris, while the other schools were set up in the provinces. All the schools were assigned numbers, mainly by order in which they were established.

[5] The Faculty of Architecture modelled itself to a great extent on the most noted European and world schools, including Beaux-Arts. This can be concluded taking into consideration certain parameters which relate to the curriculum of the studies as well as to the pedagogic models applied.

[6] At that time, "the discussion about the reorganization and school reform was led". The Educational Commission sent the Council a treatise which contained the principal issues which were to be discussed with regard to the reorganization of lectures and the school reform. The Council were to give the opinion on the following issues: 1. What character our school should have; 2. The teaching methods; 3. The studies and studying regime. Taken from the following documents: "The Minutes of the 9th Meeting of the Faculty Council held at 18:00 hrs on 18th February 1969", the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade.

[7] Branislav Milenković was an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade at that time. He later participated in the creation of the New School and he introduced new theories related to human needs to his subjects. He took up the position of dean after Bogdan Bogdanović in 1972. Milenković and Bogdanović formed a lasting friendship and their paths crossed in different spheres – intellectual, professional and political. Milenković was present in all discussions about the New School in the process of its creation at the invitation of Bogdanović. Quotes from Branislav Milenković taken from *Memories of the New School – continuation,* the interview given to Branislav Folić in February 2012 [digital audio recording in the archive of Branislav Folić].

[8] The reformation of the lectures in that period was taking a slow course and was brought down to staff changes. The contents of Milenković's writings preceded the proposal for adopting five-year studies instead of four-year studies, without increasing the number of subjects, which was put forward at the 7th Meeting of the Faculty Council in January 1969.

[9] Ranko Radović was an assistant lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade at that time and he later actively participated in the creation of the New School, together with several other colleagues who were the members of Bogdan Bodganović's cabinet.

[10] The quote from Dimitrije Mita Mladenović, *Memories of the New School,* the interview given to Branislav Folić in August 2010. [digital audio recording in the archive of Branislav Folić]: It was completely clear that in 1968 and 1969 certain disciplines did not, in fact, exist, at the Faculty of Architecture. Town planning appeared in the third and the fourth year only scantily, it was not present from the start of the studies in the form of urban research which preceded the creation of the works of architecture.

[11] According to the accounts of Ksenija Bogdanović, the Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy, who was awarded a Fulbright scholarship at that time and departed for America in the company of her husband Bogdan Bogdanović, he used this opportunity to confirm his thoughts and gain experience in the direct contact with reformed schools of architecture.

[12] The quote from Dimitrije Mladenović, *Memories of the New School,* the interview given to Branislav Folić in August 2010. [digital audio recording in the archive of Branislav Folić]

[13] The afore-mentioned plan in question was not reduced to the narrowing of the curriculum. It being applied, 40 subjects were to be reduced to 25. Thus, similar subjects would be joined (extended), while the number of classes would be significantly reduced. Some of the professors lost their classes, which the advocates of the "failed reform" considered to be the reason why their plan was rejected (Džadžić, 1970: 16).

[14] Đorđe Zloković was an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade from 1968.

[15] Anka Stojaković was an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade from 1968.

[16] Vojislav Damjanović was an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade from 1964.

[17] Đorđe Petrović was an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade from 1968.

[18] The meaning of the term *differentiating*, taken from the operational terms of the working group responsible for the teaching at the New School, relates to the following concepts: " Students are more familiar with one field, while they do not lose the perspective and the sense of the whole." (Oskar Hrabovski); "Orientation – streaming in a certain field, the predecessor of specialization" (Momčilo Pavlović); "Differentiating as a process linked to the problem, the subject" (Branislav Milenković).

[19] Radović gave examples of the faculties of architecture in the world which comprise even up to 80 subjects, which does not mean that students have to prepare for and take exams in all 80 subjects. On the contrary, they should choose the subjects they are interested in, outside the compulsory courses.

[20] Radović, also, criticised the academic approach in studying architecture at Beaux-Arts, certain elements of which were also present at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade.

[21] The direction in which the reformation process was formed as well as the basis on which it was formed can be observed in the fact that the creation of the New School was supported rather by those who dealt with the phenomenon of the city and town planning than by designers. The opponents of the creation of the New School posed questions, such as the following: Why do architects need sociology when they are supposed to make a simple building?

[22] Those proposals were considered on an equal footing for the first time. The students who participated in the discussions contributed their proposals, and the Young Architects Club, known as KMA, was particularly active in that context. Thus, B. Bogdanović used the self-management system contained in his social and political convictions in the suitable way.

[23] Those students were mainly young architects who had expressed themselves in practice. Such relationship was not just a mere response to the demands of the students of 1968, who requested active participation in the life and decision making of the school, but the former students of the Faculty of Architecture were also invited.

[24] Vladimir Braco Mušič is a town planner, a publicist and a professor. He graduated from and took his master's degree at the University of Ljubljana, and he took his doctor's degree at Harvard in 1964. In the period of the creation of the New School, he was the member of the Town Planning Institute of Slovenia and one of the managers of the American and Yugoslav project of the study of the regional and town planning design.

[25] According to Dimitrije Mladenović, *Memories of the New School*, the interview given to Branislav Folić in August 2010.

[26] Dimitrije Mladenović, *Memories of the New School*, the interview given to Branislav Folić, August 2010 [digital audio recording in the archive of Branislav Folić].

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BELGRADE AS EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE - CONCEPTUAL CONJUNCTION

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The paper treated the question of cultural policy in the context of Belgrade event 'European Capital of Culture' (ECOC). In accordance with the current nomination for the title of cultural capital of Europe 2020 there are frequent media and political statements about contribution to the socio-economic development of the city and its positioning as an international cultural center. Also, it is assumed that this project can be a strategic tool in creating a new model of cultural policy of the city, with regard to the proposed objectives which coincide with the primary aims of his cultural development. Taking into account studies that represent the effects of the event 'European Capital of Culture' in cities that carried the title in previous years, the paper seeks to highlight the perceived problems and to propose a possible solution in the form of 'cultural planning' which represents holistic and flexible understanding of cultural and urban policy. Such an understanding encompasses the sphere of art, economic, political, social, educational and environmental sphere of the city and seeks a sustainable and comprehensive model based on local identity and character of the city, based on the participatory planning.

Key words: cultural policy, cultural planning, European Capital of Culture.

INTRODUCTION, AIM AND PURPOSE OF THE PAPER

The subject of the paper in the broader sense is an event organized by the European Union - European Capital of Culture (ECOC) and Belgrade's proposal for the nomination for that title of the year 2020. This topic is current at the highest political circles, and at the end of the previous year a Framework Programme for the nomination of the city was created and directed to the Council for Culture of the European Commission. In a narrow sense, the problem of research is focused on a critical review of nominations of Belgrade for the European Capital of Culture. In any case, this venture is an affirmative and welcome. It represents an opportunity for both the affirmation of Belgrade in the wider European context, and for systematic creation of the city's missing cultural policy. Officials who advocate this idea often refer to positive socio-economic effects that would operate as a result of holding the event. Cultural effects are not mentioned in any context and it seems there must be a harmonic relation between economic and cultural spheres. Economic effects, as easy to measure and monitor, are often cited in the reports of the cities carrying the title of Capital of Culture. Therefore they are placed in front of the cultural effects that are difficult to measure and often remain unclearly defined. Proponents of the idea of nominating Belgrade, in addition to emphasizing the economic effects, at times indicate a problem with cultural policy, and state that the nomination of Belgrade can contribute to the creation of missing cultural policy. However, the question is whether one event can really improve the socio-economic situation of the city and produce a model of effective cultural policy that will solve all existing problems and unite state and local leaders from government and private cultural sector, artists, citizens and all who 'consume' culture, in a broader or narrower sense.

Referring to research on the effects after the European Capital of Culture event, it is notable that many cities did not continue their cultural life, planned by the ECOC's guidelines and 'the potential for long-term development has not been realised' (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004). Does Belgrade want to become one of the 'consumed' cities that are culturally present only for one year, or does it tend to its harmonious development with citizens who feel comfortable in it and who are 'identified' with the natural and built environment?

It is possible that the nomination for European Capital of Culture represents a close and realistic solution to the culture of Belgrade. At the same time, a strategic planning should be implemented in order to focus resources towards rehabilitation and reconstruction of those elements which community members believe that represent city's lifestyle. Evaluation by ECOC has concentrated on hard legacies (visible and measurable effects, such as buildings, visitor impacts, new organisations and projects) rather than soft legacies (such as city image, personal skills and new ideas). Both were important for the future development of each city and should be incorporated in a

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creation of a long-term city cultural policy (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004). Such cultural policy 'as a public policy in the field of culture, arts and media, should contain a series of designed and related measures and activities of public authorities that have political, legal and financial authority to make legitimate decisions whose purpose is to respond to real needs and problems that lead to the achievement of clearly defined objectives in the field of culture and art' (Đukić, 2010). This could be the key to the sustainability of the city culture, and ECOC would be in that case just a show for the 'Belgrade lifestyle', directed by its local forces.

CULTURE AND URBAN CULTURAL POLICY

Culture is viewed in a broader sense as a specific way of life, a system of symbols, meanings and codes for communication, a means of adaptation to the conditions set in the environment (Lim, 1993). Lim also emphasizes the difference between 'culture' and 'art', stating that art is only one manifestation of culture, and certainly not the culture itself. According to Avramović, the term culture in a broader sense refers to the way of life of a society, or more social groups, the content of interactions in which its members exercise their basic living needs, such as communication, diet, clothing, housing, family life, religion, entertainment, art, power and authority (Avramović, 2006). In a narrow sense, culture means only the artistic creativity.

Culture in the narrower sense includes literature, music, visual arts and architecture, drama activities, film, digital and multimedia creation, as well as research, protection and revitalization of cultural heritage and scientific-research activity in the culture. So these are all the cultural activities of general interest which encourage the harmonious development, and that are the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture of Serbia, according to the proposal of the Law on culture (Ilić, 2010).

Cultural policy is a strategic planning document that connects the different actors of the cultural scene in order to connect and establish a purposeful dialogue, and to protect and promote cultural values in general (Serbian Ministry of Culture, 2010). Cultural policy is a conscious regulation of interest in culture and in all matters related to the cultural development of a global society (Dragićević Šešić and Stojković, 2011). According to the level of its impact it may be national and local (municipal, city). The need for better, more efficient, different, clear, true cultural policy in the field of cultural heritage in Serbia exists decades ago. It could be said that cultural policy had never satisfied the experts in the field of culture nor those who have shaped the conditions of cultural activities (ibid).

Big cities have always been places of cultural production and centers of innovation where taste is being formed. Urban culture presents just the right sum of contents, which are formed in specific conditions of a huge human congestion and biggest possible heterogeneity (Pušić, 2003). As cities are losing their traditional functions of production, city culture remains a resource upon which the 'vital urban survival strategies' could be designed (Zukin, 1989). In her further studies, Zukin started a discussion about new cultural-symbolic-economy of the city, which considers culture not as art and heritage, but as an economic category – a good with a market value. The concept of city marketing and its 'packaging and sale as a products' (Ward, 1998) has become an activity of the government of European cities in order to become more globally competitive. The main role of city marketing is to create new or change its current negative or ambiguous image, perceived by current or potential residents, investors and visitors. It was usually boiled down to logos and slogans creation, separation of subsidies, the construction of capital development projects, flagship architecture, as well as creating various events, fairs, cultural and sporting spectacles (ibid). In a sense it represented an investment in 'high culture' and could be seen as a 'manicured and sterile cultural experience, based on high-class shopping malls, theaters and galleries.'(Short, 1996). The most common contribution of cultural policies to urban renewal was the creation of images that will attract visitors. In the context of global competitiveness of cities, urban policy makers have tried to reevaluate the place through the promotion of cultural identity by using the so-called concept of 'cultural economy' (Ray, 1998), which uses the cultural capital as a means of creating a product that is aimed at visitors. Cultural capital in this context represented a unique fixed resources - monuments, art collections, performance spaces and streets with shops, all accumulated over the past time. The focus was on historical elements that served as the basis for the creation of cultural identity and marketing approach of the city. Urban policy makers, after consultation with a team of experts, decided what needed to be supported and represented as an element of identity. Thus, they often emphasized the values that community members did not feel as part of their urban identity, and many monumental architectural and urban ventures didn't come to life and didn't become a part of everyday urban life. In order to profile cultural identity, as an important factor in defining the components of sustainable urban development, it is necessary to develop a culture of decision-making on spatial issues. Urban cultural policy is much more than a sporadic presentation of 'events' in an urban area, it should result in strategies that would permanently enrich the urban space with the cultural attributes (Pušić, 2004). Concerning processes of an ECOC event nomination and urban cultural policy creation, which should be performed in parallel, there is a greater challenge both for ECOC organizers as well as for state/city authorities. The challenge arises because of the 'necessity to develop a programme which should balance different and sometimes opposing factors such as artistic vision and political interest, high-profile events and local initiatives, and the involvement of established cultural institutions and independent groups and artists' (Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004). Many ECOC tried to develop their cultural programmes in close cooperation with different groups in the city, in an attempt to produce something that not only represented the fabric of the city but also addressed some of its needs (ibid). At the same time, challenge is being increased by the aspiration for the inclusion of the unique historical, economic, social and political context.

Belgrade cultural policy

The creation of functional and space cultural systems is influenced mostly by historical factors and socio-political circumstances. In Belgrade there is consensus of experts that cultural policy should be created by the most competent people (executives of cultural institutions and independent experts), while public cultural institutions should implement that policy, under the control of city government. This concept relies on the expert opinion of specialists, which is often being adapted for the requirements of government and ideology. Due to lack of competent personnel, political party in power often engage quasigovernmental, more or less independent agencies and organizations, composed of experts (Dragićević Šešić and Mikić, 2007).

In general, culture in Belgrade is managed by Secretariat for culture, which is part of the city government made up of other secretariats, professional services and special organizations (ibid). Secretariat for Culture is responsible for the protection of important cultural properties and properties requiring previous protection, museum and archive services, library science, artistic creativity, cultural and educational activities, cultural and artistic amateurism. Secretariat is also responsible for activities related to ensuring the conditions for the operation of cultural institutions and independent artists, events in the field of culture, international cooperation, realization of the programs of importance for the city, investments and investment maintenance of cultural facilities and supervision over the work of cultural institutions founded by the city. Moreover, for the purposes of the Assembly, the Secretariat of Culture performs raising and maintenance of monuments and memorial, naming squares and streets of Belgrade, and provides award for the arts - literature, theater, music, arts and film making (Grad Beograd, Sekretarijat za kulturu, 2010). Secretariat occasionally collaborates with the Ministry of Culture of Serbia, mostly in terms of financing of international events and investment plans. There are no precise tripartite agreements between the Ministry, the city/municipality and institutions, which would establish relationships that would provide stability and the possibility of long-term planning and development of certain institutions and events. Also, the City Secretariat for Culture observes inter-sectoral cooperation as a joint co-financing of certain events, while cooperating with the secretariats of education, tourism, economy, urban planning and transport. However, there are no indications of initiation of intersectoral projects and associations, that would deal with issues of common interest (Dragićević Šešić and Mikić, 2007).

The objectives of cultural policy of the City of Belgrade (since year of 2001) are as follows:

1. reorganization of the network of cultural institutions (establishment of new institutions and organizations, repositioning),
2. infrastructure development - investment,
3. development of decision - making procedures (new instruments, the purchase of works of visual arts, competitions, standardization, determination of the 'price list' of programs, etc.),
4. expanding areas of activity (opening to the private and NGO sector, cinematography, children's creativity and culture for children, etc.) and the development of international cultural cooperation (ibid).

Importance given to culture in the context of spatial development is visible in Belgrade's Master Plan until the year 2021. This document highlights its perspective as a European metropolis, which further implies its spatial development strategies and the new orientation in relation to the european metropolis in the region. The Master Plan suggests 'the rising level of attractiveness of the urban area of Belgrade, with planning and organizational solutions'(Generalni plan Beograda 2021, 2003). These range from increasing the attractiveness for new investments and to new cultural ventures, which could (among other things) be achieved by the 'wise cultural policy that would be able to set natural and cultural values as a basis for the overall development of Belgrade, emphasizing his identity' (Peković, 2010).

Two programs of the European Union may be considered as a broader context from which the above mentioned guidelines derived. The first is a cultural program (Culture Programme), which is designed for the period from year 2007 to 2013, with a total budget of 400 million Euros. Specific objectives of this program are to promote awareness about the importance of the protection of cultural values of European importance, to promote the transnational mobility of employees in the cultural sector, to encourage the transnational flow of cultural and artistic works and products, as well as to stimulate intercultural dialogue. The second program is the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) which is designed as an activity that will highlight the diversity of European culture, with an emphasis on its common origin (European Union, 2011). This program is designed in the year of 1983 by Melina Mercouri, who was then Greek Minister of Culture. Its purpose was to add both cultural dimension of European Union action in a time when it did not have defined direction for cultural activities. Also, the program was supposed to celebrate European culture as a means of community bonding. The first cities were great centers of European culture - Athens (1985), Florence (1986), Amsterdam (1987), West Berlin (1988), Paris (1989), and they all celebrated the development of community and self-expression (Garcia, 2004).

Nomination of Belgrade for the program of the European Capital of Culture (European Capital of Culture, ECOC)

In the context of pro-European tendencies and bringing Belgrade closer to the European Union, as well as in regard to the lack of cultural development strategy, Aleksandar Pekovic, Deputy City Secretary for Culture and member of the Council for Culture, Media and Creative industries of the Liberal Democratic Party, proposed the nomination of Belgrade for the European Capital of Culture in the year of 2020. Based on the initiatives adopted at the 29th session of the City Assembly in December 2009, the Organizing Committee has been established, and it should have submitted the nomination. The nomination process would have been a parallel process of bringing culture of Belgrade closer to the European cultural space and creating a strategy of cultural policy. Philanthropic project in the field of culture and 'the dream of Belgrade as the European capital of culture that has emerged as a product of pure love of Belgrade citizens, which have a unique opportunity to launch a dynamic of change' (Peković, 2010) is ambitiously designed activity that would supposedly be to compensate for the lack of strategic projects in the field of culture. According to Peković, Belgrade has three key objectives by the year of 2020:

1. to go through the process from concept to implementation of a strategic project in the culture. It is a process of maturing and changing awareness of the new generation whose attitude was shaped by society with a mission only to survive - with short-term plan without the higher sense;
2. to present a new cultural model that would be a 'mirror' to the existing one in the process of its transformation. The project European Capital is a great example of organizational structure, financing, preparation and implementation of programs to be established as a parallel system on a sound basis without the obligation to respect traditional forms and patterns of inheritance of the old mistakes. Through its implementation over a period of ten years, a far higher goal could be achieved - a transformation of the current model of organization and culture in the area of Belgrade;
3. to bring the revival in the cultural, infrastructural and economic fields, through the implementation of this project; to raise the international profile of the city and environment, to reposition the city's geographical location by attracting large numbers of people and the illumination of this point of the world in the context of European cultural center rather than Europe's Bangkok.

According to the above noted, project to the European capital of culture is seen as a panacea to the existing state of the culture of the city. The proposal was met with great response in the daily print and electronic media, where solely affirmative statements in connection with the cities nominated for the European Capital of Culture were cited 'such European cities become centers for artists and the lure for tourists, but it also means extensive preparations' (RTS, 2010). Great preparations include mostly investments in cultural institutions, many of which currently have significant financial problems, so that the funds from the national and city budget, as well as from ECOC fund are looked forward with great expectations. The project is expected to bring a major cultural, social and economic effect, and all reports say that one Euro invested in the city usually returns of between eight and ten Euros.

The idea of Belgrade as the European capital of culture should be approached with caution because of research and analysis of the cities after the end of the year in which they were European cultural capital point to three main problems of ECOC. The first is the lack of clear regulations and guidelines for activities that would contribute to sustainable urban renewal based on the culture. The other is reflected in the 'top-down' approach to cultural representation, where the local identity served only as a means of marketing. This contributed to the creation of images aimed at the observer, where a certain alienation was created, and even physical movement of the local population. The third problem relates to the creation of a polycentric city and gentrification of individual urban areas (Garcia, 2004). If gentrification were to be solely observed through the lens of influx of investments and their influence on the physical improvements of the neighborhood and increasing of the property value, it could have been considered as a solely positive urban change (Nedučin et al., 2009). But the case with the ECOC event is that several centers of culture were created in some cities, however the low-income citizens didn't have the opportunity to participate in them, which directly relates to the segregation on the basis of financial status and to the cultural elitism. The contradiction that appeared was due to an imbalanced relationship between economic and cultural priorities in urban policy and planning (Garcia, 2004).

On the other hand, according to the conceptual framework regarding the process of candidacy of Belgrade for ECOC developed by Organizing Committee, candidacy could be seen as a unique opportunity for the City of Belgrade to establish a new (international) identity. During the last 60 years Belgrade has faced several different identities from the open cosmopolitan city (as an opposition to the cities located behind the Iron Curtain), over the bombed city in the late nineties to the town which is represented as a place of entertainment and new openness to the other cultures (Beograd 2020, 2010). Therefore, one of the main cultural strategic objects for Belgrade is to construct a new polycentric identity based on a individual identities. During the candidacy procedure this polycentic identity should be constructed trough seven different thematic programs, each of them underlying one of the particular Belgrade aspects.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS (OR HOW TO BALANCE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT)

Culture has a strong economic dimension if being planned properly from the beginning. It might be a trigger for urban renewal and creating the image of the city, where it should not be used as a temporary instrument - goods aimed at external needs, but as the internal strength and long-term potential that will be recognizable symbol of urban centers. As a counterpoint to the 'cultural economy', Bianchini introduces the concept of 'cultural planning' (Bianchini, 1999) which represents 'a strategic and integral use of cultural resources for urban and community development' (Mercer, 2010). Cultural planning presents an alternative to traditional cultural policies (based on the aesthetic interpretation of culture as art) and renewal (based on cultural policy, which often has a sectoral focus). The classic approach to cultural policy implies a culture as a resource for achieving economic effects, without seeing the outcome of social and cultural development, and their essential value for urban renewal. Cultural planning considers cultural resources as urban resources that play a strategic role in planning and in the new economy (ibid). Cultural planning means an overall strategy of urban and community development, which must be associated with spatial planning, economic and industrial development objectives, initiatives that promote social justice, and the planning of public spaces for recreation and entertainment. In that way 'a diversity of offer and mix of functions within the architectural context would be achieved, which could lead to the sustainable city renewal, together with a strong national or local support and with participation of local population' (Vaništa Lazarević and Đukić, 2006).

Therefore, these concepts are comprised by strategic objects of above mentioned document (Beograd 2020, 2010). In order to get a possibility to be a ECOC 2020 Belgrade should completely avail of its geo-strategic position and establish a network with other European and regional cities. It should improve the development of sustainable economy, especially in the service sector as well as social development regarding education and employment. City of Belgrade should develop its public service which could be one of the guarantees for the further economic growth, attracting foreign direct investments (greenfield or brownfield) and creating a stable political environment.

Regarding these objects, cultural planning may be one of the solutions for the strategic planning of culture in Belgrade that started from the "bottom up" approach. Urban planners, who in this context can be called 'cultural planners', should necessarily consider the synthesis and connectivity of natural, social, cultural, political and economic environment. This implies a shift from reliance on 'hard' infrastructure (buildings, institutions) to 'soft' infrastructure (daily life, work and recreation, local rituals, ambience and atmosphere, a sense of belonging). Knowledge and usage of 'soft' infrastructure should be the basis for the successful implementation of the city's cultural policy (Bianchini, 1999). This means that the city's cultural policy should be based on the concept of 'cultural planning', which implies a holistic and flexible understanding of cultural policy that combines the artistic, economic, political, social, educational and environmental sphere of the city. Also, instead of encouraging 'top-down' approach, the emphasis should be on providing a platform for expressing views and expectations of citizens, where average citizens, as well as citizens' associations and local authorities would be included. The ultimate goal should be directed towards the achievement of 'local control' based on local identity and the 'sense of place'. This would avoid the feeling of alienation, misrepresentation and lack of sense of citizens' belonging to the city. As a result, cities could be profiled as an impressive, credible and sustainable over the long term.

Policy makers and cultural planners should do the following:

- ensure the sustainability of capital investment and schemes of construction, as well as planning long-term costs at the outset,
- ensure that all levels of the community are involved in local consultations, thus avoiding dominance of the 'top-down' approach,
- ensure that investments in culture are not treated as imports of products of global competitiveness, but to enable the creation and sustainable production of local culture for local consumption and export,
- ensure that investments in culture connect people and communities, where investments will be directed toward human beings and their environment, in order to avoid the risk of distancing and alienation of people from their surroundings,
- provide assessment and measurement of investments in culture, with equal emphasis on cultural, economic and regenerative effects, which can be measured by longitudinal studies that track the progression of the impact and effects for a long time (five or more years after the event) (Garcia, 2004).

These guidelines should be applied when

creating the cultural politics of Belgrade, as well as in planning ECOC event. In this regard, a key issue in the design of cultural policy is a reflection of what should be left to the citizens of Belgrade after the end event of the European Capital of Culture. City Administration, Cultural Council, Planning Institute of Belgrade, non-governmental professional organizations and civic associations should work together to create a sustainable urban environment that corresponds to its inhabitants. The main goal of city policy should stand between the economic and cultural priorities with the need to keep in mind that only long-term cultural planning can also have long-term economic effects.

Course of action that arises after theoretical findings and practical aspects is the parallel process of creation of the cultural policy of Belgrade and its nomination for European Capital of Culture. During this process it is necessary to bring together experts from different fields and with different levels of management. Also, in order to provide a sense of identity and belonging to the community members, it is necessary to do research with various social groups about the aspects of the city they are identified with, taking into account both tangible and intangible assets. This creates a basis for not only urban but also for a kind of 'civic' renewal of Belgrade. Cultural planning could be the appropriate solution that will unify the interests of citizens, the economic plans of small and medium enterprises, large companies, cultural institutions and programs, non-governmental institutions, development state agencies, up to local government decisions and regulations of the highest governmental levels. In the current context of the Serbian polity, 'binding' of all stakeholders and moving towards a common interest might seem as a difficult endeavor. However, bearing in mind the positive atmosphere that prevails in relation to Belgrade's nomination for European Capital of Culture, perhaps this event could be a turning point in the planning and constitution of Belgrade as the Serbian capital of culture.

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REDESIGNING THE NETWORK OF PEDESTRIAN SPACES IN THE FUNCTION OF REDUCTION OF CO_2 EMISSION. CASE STUDY: PANČEVO AND VRŠAC

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Research problem. The research problem is the increase of GHG and CO_2 emissions in the transport sector, i.e. the intensification of urban transport activity in Serbia during the last 15 years. Focusing on redesigning of pedestrian networks as well as understanding the connections between urban design and pedestrian movement, the walkable environment could be achieved. In addition, as a direct result, a contribution would be made to a decrease of GHG and CO_2 emission.

Methodology. The following methods were used: analysis of the readability of open spaces, analysis of contents, rhythm and transparency on the ground floor of buildings and analysis of the intensity of use of open spaces using the Space Syntax method.

Results. The results show a proportional relation between characteristics on ground floors of buildings and the intensity of pedestrian movement. Also, they enable the establishing of general recommendations for designing the immediate pedestrian environment and upgrading the quality of open public spaces.

Conclusion. The improvement of the quality of pedestrian environment would have as its direct consequence greater use of open public spaces, and thus also increased intensity of pedestrian movement. In this manner, people would face a better quality and broader selection of contents and spaces.

Key words: Network of pedestrian spaces, Pedestrian movement, Sustainable transport, Central area, Serbia, Pančevo, Vršac.

INTRODUCTION

After the signing of the Alborg Charter (1994), most European cities, signatories of this treaty, plead for upgrading sustainable mobility and favoring pedestrian and bicycle movement, with the goal to promote sustainable urban development. This is additionally based on the launching of numerous initiatives and activities throughout Europe which promote pedestrian movement (Galderisi and Ceudech, 2010). On the other hand, a lack of more radical solutions, in the sense of excluding transport from the historic city nucleus, can be noted.

Necessary pedestrian movement is most often independent, while movement resulting from the user's choice is influenced by numerous factors. Empiric research which monitored pedestrian movement showed that pedestrians select the side they want to use (Weidmann, 1993). According to Helbing (1998) lines of pedestrian movement can be differentiated by their dynamics (direction of movement, speed, length), while the selection of the side most frequently matches the side used for the movement of vehicles in that city. If compared with the selection of the route for movement of vehicles, the selection of the path of pedestrian movement is influenced by several factors, and can very frequently be classified within the category of spontaneous movement. When moving, pedestrians usually have several goals during one "trip" and in numerous cases change the direction of movement.

According to De Certau (1984), pedestrians view strolling as an exceptionally intensive process, during which the pedestrian recedes into memories and imagination, constructs stories, thus intertwining concrete places with an imaginary world. In this manner, users of the city street temporarily gain control over the material and the symbolic space. As opposed to the theory that a stroll is an inventive process, there are deterministic theories that claim that the urban space and the manner of its control influence the physical and the mental "shaping of the pedestrian" (Fyfe, 1998). We can claim that these relations by all means work in both directions: users of the public space influence the quality of the public city space, while it simultaneously "forms" its users.

Transit oriented development (TOD) is a major solution to serious and growing problems of peak oil and climate changes by creating dense, walkable communities that greatly

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reduce the need for driving and burning of fossil fuels (Dittmar and Ohland, 2004). TOD can decrease carbon emissions produced by development (Tiwari *et al.* 2011). Some of the components of transit oriented design are: walkable design with pedestrian as the highest priority, high density, high-quality development within 10-minute walk circle, urban design which includes easy use of bicycles, scooters, and rollerblades as daily support transportation systems and reduced and managed parking inside 10-minute walk circle around town center.

Having in mind these mentioned characteristics of pedestrian movement, and the growing need to opt for sustainable modes of transport and reduction of GHG and CO_2 emission, the following were set as basic research goals: establishing recommendations and guidelines for stimulating pedestrian movement in order to achieve more intensive use of open spaces and to form and expand the network of pedestrian spaces in the territory of the city area of medium sized cities. The main focus of this paper is reduction of concentration of GHG and CO_2 emissions from the transport sector as one of the anthropogenic drivers of climate change, which is one of the segments of the state of the environment. Small cities face difficulties in estimating their carbon emissions and planning future action plans (Kawakubo *et al.* 2010). However, the number of small and medium sized cities is larger than that of large cities in Serbia. In accordance with the mentioned goals the direction was toward establishing the relationship between the built environment, with a focus on the physical and functional framework, and the manner of using open spaces.

The polygons of the research were selected according to the following criteria:

- The NUTS categorization
- Population size and
- Size of the central area.

Research was carried out within the polygons of the central area of Pančevo and Vršac. The analyzed area was chosen within the boundaries defined by optimal pedestrian distance (500m form the focal points). Central city areas are usually similar in size (even in the cities and towns). As historically urban core the most of them were constituted during the 19th century in Serbia (Pušić, 1987). Just a few studies have addressed themselves to the description and measurement of local-to-global relationships, though such relationships constitute the potential to walk a substantial distance and duration (Brand Zook *et al.*, 2011: 3). This research is a small contribution to those studies which were focused on small scale intervention which have higher impact related to the city as a whole.

Mentioned cities belong to the category of medium sized cities in Serbia, NUTS 4. Pančevo is one of 24 urban settlements above 100,000 citizens (Administrative city according the Law on Territorial Organization of the Republic of Serbia (2007)). On the other hand, Vršac is one of 59 urban settlements between 10,000 and 50,000 citizens. The following cities were chosen as representatives of mentioned groups of cities.

The research consisted of several phases, and was implemented at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade, in the period from 2009 to 2011:

- Part of the research was carried out for the needs of the doctorate dissertation of candidate Aleksandra Đukić, PhD[2] and Milena Vukmirović[3];
- Part of the research was carried out in cooperation with the 3rd year students of Basic Academic Studies of Architecture, Elective Subject of Networks of Pedestrian Flows in the Function of Redesigning.[4]

The paper has four sections: (1) presentation of theoretical bases used to perform the research and to review the situation pertaining to GHG and CO_2 emission in Serbia; (2) presentation of the methodology and methods used for the research; (3) review of research results and their systematization in the form of conclusions, and (4) discussion of obtained results and conclusions in the form of recommendations and guidelines for future interventions.

THEORETIC BASIS FOR THE RESEARCH

Pedestrian movement has become a very current topic after the 1960's. Numerous authors were engaged in these issues with a goal to develop models for designing street furniture (Schubert, 1967; Whyte, 1988); developing models based on relations between the level of services and pedestrian movement (Fruin, 1971; Polus and Schofer, 1983), and forming a rulebook for urban planning (Crawford, 2002) and pedestrian behaviour (Brilon and Grosmann, 1993; Kirsch, 1964). Methods used in this research mainly pertain to direct monitoring (field recognizance), as well as the use of photographs and films of concrete locations filmed during an extended period of time.

Numerous investigations have shown that it is possible to foresee the dynamics of pedestrian movement, that it is possible to influence pedestrian flows (via urban design), as well as that pedestrians can move relatively freely and independently only along short distances, while along longer paths movement is conditioned by other pedestrians, i.e. that following phenomena appear: "*self organization*" (collective behavior – also noted in flocks of birds) and "*automatism*" (based on actions performed automatically – users of public city spaces most frequently opt for the simplest solutions when choosing the direction and selecting routes of movement) (Helbing, 1998).

Research presented in this paper is based on a theoretical framework in the domain of urban design, pedestrian movement and quality of the pedestrian environment. Within the mentioned theoretical framework two works of the authors Hillier and Hanson (1989) and Gehl (2004) are exceptionally important, because they deal with the perception and orientation of users during their movement within the urban space, i.e. with reasons why people use a certain urban space and spend time within it.

Hillier and Hanson (1989) present the general theory of the relationship between people and space (Space Syntax) in populated regions and deliberates various aspects of space and the manner in which space functions. Space Syntax uses quantitative methods (counting pedestrians and vehicles), which enable easy establishing of relations between built space, the functions and vitality of open city spaces. In their research authors of the Space Syntax have reached two very important conclusions: that during the designing and reconstruction of open city spaces it is necessary to study the space first, and only then to engage in form, and second, that the importance of the subject space within the network of open spaces in the environment can be established based on the intensity of the network of pedestrian movement.

In his works, Gehl (2004) presents results of intensive field research on the topic of social use of public space and the experience of people in relation to an open public city space. In addition to the above, Gehl presents a method of valuation of city qualities, discusses

[2] Title of the doctorate dissertation: *Preserving the Identity of the Main Street of a City in Vojvodina in the Function of Urban Regeneration*.

[3] Topic of the doctorate dissertation: *Significance and role of the network of pedestrian spaces in generating the competitive identity of the city*.

[4] Elective Module 17.2 Elective subject: *Network of pedestrian routes in the function of redesigning*. Head of the subject: Doc.Dr. Aleksandra Đukić, Associate: Milena Vukmirović, Assistant, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade.

how the human apparatus of perception directs the use of public space, and gives recommendations in the form of designing techniques that could encourage active use of open public city space.

The trend for GHG and CO_2 emission in the transport sector in the last twenty years

Latest research shows that GHG (greenhouse gas) and CO_2 emissions have a global trend of growth. In addition to harmful emissions with an immediate effect, which are growing in intensity at the local level, these emissions have a postponed, long term negative effect in the form of global warming and climate change. Greenhouse gasses (GHG) retain electromagnetic radiation and thus lead to global warming of the Earth's surface. Concentrations of individual gasses within GHG emission are approximately: 83.3% carbon dioxide (CO_2), 9.7% methane, 4.7% nitrous oxide (N_2O) and 2.3% other gases (U.S_Environmental Protection Agency, 2012). Mentioned gasses are formed by fuel combustion in motor vehicles. Internal combustion motors used in motor vehicles or for other purposes are the main source of certain pollutants.

Based on an analysis of GHG emission by sectors, it was concluded that transport ranks third, with a 14% share of total GHG emission. As can be concluded from data relevant to GHG emission, transport is not the dominant source of emission. However, as opposed to most sectors which show a downward trend in the 1990 – 2005 periods, transport had a considerable increase in emission of these gasses.

When data pertaining to CO_2 emission, as the most dominant emission in GHG was analyzed from the aspect of sectors, it was noted that transport is ranked third, with a share of 19.2% (Figure 1).

Compared to global trends manifested in connection with GHG and CO_2 emissions, the situation in Serbia is somewhat different, having in mind the specificities of transition linked to the last twenty years. The only existing data about GHG and CO_2 emissions cover the national level while there is no valid data on the local level (town, city, region, etc.). However, available data about GHG and CO_2 emissions in Serbia could be applied to particular cities (the level of traffic increase during the last decade is proportional to the population). According to the Networking action to involve Local Governments in the EU (van Staden, 2011) and international energy and climate debate it is important to act on the local level rather than on national. Some governments, especially in Europe, have launched ambitious plans to reduce GHGs by implementing the strategies on national level which focused on the changes in lifestyle. As it is political decision and connected with voters, they consider that the local level is more suitable for that kind of strategies and interventions.

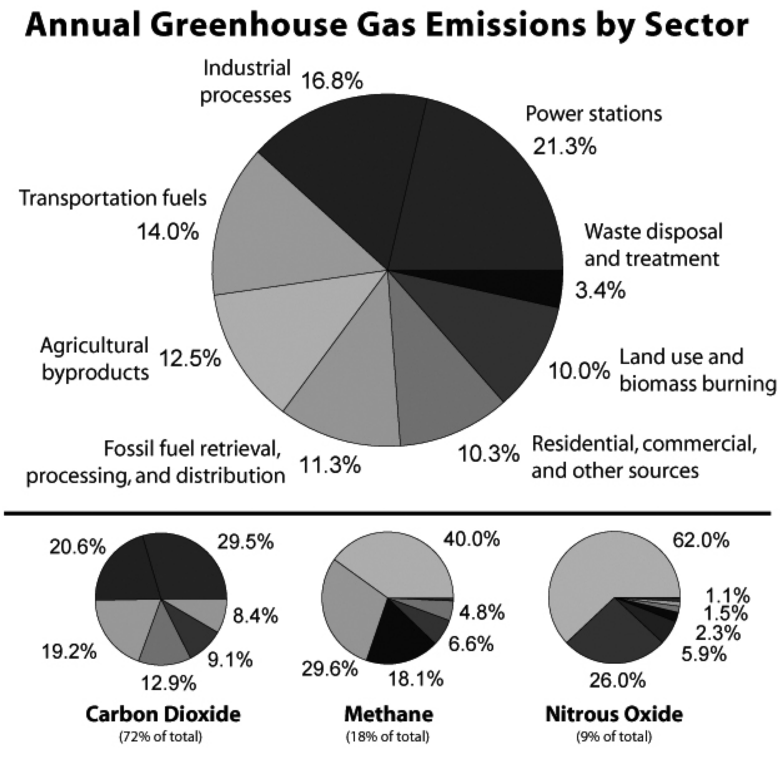

Figure 1: Annual Greenhouse Gas Emission by Sector. EDGAR 3.2 Fast Track 2000 dataset. Source: PLB Netherlands Evironmental Assessment Agency (2010)

Since 1989 Serbia is in the process of transition from socialism to capitalism. Researches indicate that Serbia belongs to areas highly vulnerable to climate change (Lazarević Bajec, 2011). The mentioned period lasts somewhat over two decades and is characterized by two intervals in which certain specificities have been noted: the period from 1990 to 2000, with its basic characteristics of war with neighboring countries, economic sanctions and an unstable political situation, and the period from 2000 to date, characterized by a sort of stabilization and economic progress (Anon., n.d.). A thus established timeframe can also serve as the basis for viewing the situation in the domain of ecology, i.e. in connection with emissions of CO_2 and of other greenhouse gases (GHG).

Data from previous periods shows a trend of growth of CO_2 emission. A research by the World Recourse Institute registered that in 1950 Yugoslavia had one half per capita CO_2 emission compared to the global level. In the next 25 years, more precisely in 1975, per capita CO_2 emission showed a trend of growth. In this period the research shows that total CO_2 emission in Yugoslavia had a value similar to overall global per capita CO_2 emission.

The same source indicates that in 1998 recorded per capita CO_2 emission in Serbia and Montenegro was higher than global emission, but lower than per capita CO_2 emission in Europe. In the period from 1990 do 2008, registered trends for CO_2 emission from fuel combustion (in Mt) differed depending on the approach by sectors. The variable situation is reflected also in the sector of transport, as shown by research carried out by the International Transport Forum, as of 2008. The ITF report states that CO_2 emission in the transport sector in 1990 was 7.8% of total CO_2 emission in Serbia. Since then a downward trend is noted lasting until 2000 (1995: 6.4%; 2000: 5.6%). After this period a trend of growth is registered, amounting to 13.4% as of 2008 (International Transport Forum, 2007).

The period from 1990 to 2000 is characterized by a dire economic situation and instability in the country. The most important events featured in this period were war with neighbouring countries, economic sanctions, and a complex political situation. In accordance with this, as opposed to other countries of Eastern Europe, little attention was being devoted to the aspect of ecology. However, this period registered a decrease of total CO_2 emission. This state of affairs is not characterized by raising awareness about negative effects of CO_2. The bad economic situation and instability in the country resulted in the decrease of industrial production, a decrease in the use of motor vehicles, and decrease in construction work.

The mentioned situation was also reflected in the transport sector. In the observed period a downward trend was noted until 1996. In 1996, increase of CO_2 emission was noted in the transport sector, reaching its maximum in 1997. After this period, the trend is again decreasing, reaching its lowest level in 2000 (Figure 2). In this period the highest CO_2 emission in Mt was registered in the domain of motor (passenger) transport. In 1990 this was 4.42Mt, in 1995 – 2.7Mt, and in 2000 – 2.3Mt.

The period after 2000 can roughly be characterized as a period of stabilization. This is reflected in the orientation toward democratic and European values, the end of conflicts and war activities in the country and its surroundings, stabilization of the political situation, etc. As the table shows, the general situation pertaining to the ecological aspect and CO_2 emission is variable. However, in relation to the transport sector, a trend of growth, with a linear character, was noted. This is already visible in 2001, when it amounts to 8.5% of total CO_2 emission, which is 2.9% higher than the share of transport in 2000. The growth trend continues until 2008, when it reaches 13.4%. According to research by International Transport Forum (Figure 3) in 2008, the transport sector climbed to third place among all sectors (energy, production, transport and other). In 2008 per capita CO_2 emission amounted to 6.6Mt.

In addition to general trends mentioned, both global, and in Serbia, the level of emission of harmful substances in the sector of transport can be viewed from three aspects:

- characteristics of the transport network – the structure of the network determines the spatial distribution of emission of harmful substances. Thus, we can differentiate a centralized network characterized by concentrated transport and emission and lower energy consumption, and disperse network with higher energy consumption, and lower concentration of emission.
- transport intensity – proportionate to the degree of emission of harmful substances, and
- transport type/mode – which defines the nature of emission. Different modes of transport use different types of energy, and therefore emit (or do not emit) different pollutants.

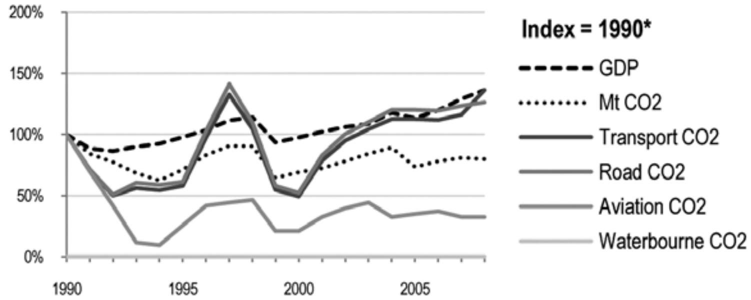

Figure 2: Percentage of decrease in/growth of CO2 emission in the period from 1990 do 2008. Source: International Transport Forum

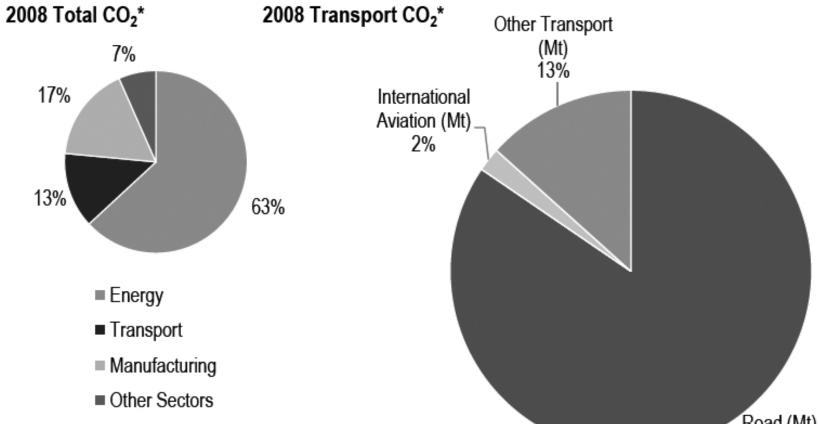

Figure 3: The share of transport in total emission and the distribution of this share according to the type of transport in Serbia. Source: International Transport Forum

For this research, the third aspect pertaining to types/modes of transport is particularly important. In relation to the mentioned aspect of review, and having in mind that different modes of transport use different sources, i.e. quantities of energy for their movement, we can divide them into sustainable and unsustainable. By analyzing energy consumption per person for covering a certain distance, a green hierarchy was established for participants (modes) of transport. The green hierarchy represents (Figure 4) the basic concept forming the basis for the reform of the transport system in cities around the world. The most significant positions in the green hierarchy go to pedestrian and bicycle transport, owing to low costs, spatial efficacy and nonexistent negative effects on the environment (zero environmental impact). Third place is held by public city transport. These mentioned types of transport, regarded as sustainable, are followed by service vehicles, with the list ending with private vehicles.

Having in mind the harmful effects of increased GHG and CO_2 emissions, and viewed in relation to the sector of transport, sustainable modes of transport should be considerably upgraded. In accordance with characteristics of medium sized cities (Stupar and Đukić, 2007), depending primarily on the size of the city and the lifestyle of its inhabitants, pedestrian transport is of special interest. In accordance with the basic goals pertaining to upgrading transport and reduction of GHG and CO_2 emissions, the goal of the research was to establish measures that would stimulate pedestrian movement in the central nucleus of medium sized cities in Serbia.

Figure 4: The green hierarchy of participants in transport. Transport Alternatives, Spring 2001, p. 9

According to the General Urban Plans of Pančevo[5] (Direkcija za izgradnju i uređenje Pančeva, 2011) and Vršac (Zavod za urbanizam Vojvodine, 2007) the main objectives of traffic sector are:

- Decrease in vehicular transport in central area by stimulating the development and use of sustainable modes of transport (walking, cycling and public transport)
- Implementation of the policy which will intensify walking and cycling in the central city area.

METHODOLOGY

Implemented research methodology is based on the presented theoretical framework, and encompasses following elements:

Analysis of readability of open space centered upon establishing dominants, markers, benchmarks and vistas on the subject polygon of the cities of Vršac and Pančevo. By considering the distribution of markers at the level of the city matrix, an attempt was made to establish the key elements of urban structure and their mutual connections. According to research by Lynch (1981), distance between dominants should be between 200 and 300m. This means that the entire territory of the city should be covered by a grid of maximum 300m with markers placed in the centers (Lynch, 1981).

Hegemann *et al.* (1996) emphasize that the distance between main buildings – markers along the direction of movement of users, should not be large. The angle between the coronets of these buildings and the eye of the beholder-passer by should not be over 18 degrees (Hegemann *et al.*, 1996). Otherwise, the "images" of these structures in the eye of the beholder would become silhouettes and would blend into the environment, i.e. would lose their dominant role in space.

Analysis of content units number in ground floors of buildings and establishing the rhythm of repetition. The function of buildings along the street front conditions the character of the viewed path or space, the manner of use and the density of users. For a space to have vitality, it is indispensable to secure a density of user frequency and a density of diversity. As the most important factor of vitality of open public space, Alexander *et al.* (1977) emphasizes the number of users per square meter, i.e. the area of open space per user, while for Hillier and Hansons's (1989) method of Space Syntax the important issue is the number of users in a certain direction per time unit.

Both authors recognize the significance of user concentration within certain zones. While Alexander *et al.* (1977) only research the cause for users to gather in certain zones of city space and their position (concentration to rest and realize social contacts, along the edges an in corners of squares, and in niches and indented sections of city fronts), Hillier and Hanson (1989) offer methods and techniques for changing the concentration, based on a study of ground floors of buildings. These contents directly influence user density, and as opposed to higher floors, ground floors are the most subject to pressures for change.

The analysis was implemented in ground floors of buildings via categorization and mapping of parts of street fronts into (Gehl, 2004): Category A street front (small units – 15 to 20 buildings on 100m; diversity of contents; with no closed/passive facades; with much depth and relief of facades, and a high quality and materialization); Category B street front (relatively small units – 10 to 14 per 100m; moderate diversity of functions; a few closed or passive facades; moderate relief and depth of facades, and good quality materials and facade elaboration); Category C street front (combination of smaller and larger units – 6 to 10 units per 100m; moderate diversity of functions; a few closed or passive facades; predominantly unattractive facades and few or no details); Category D street front (larger units with several entrances – 2 to 5 units per 100m; few or absent diverse contents; several closed or passive facades; unattractive facades and few or absent details), Category E street front (large units, with few or without entrances; no visible content variation; closed/passive facades; unattractive facades and nonexistent details).

Analysis of the level of transparency in the buildings' ground floor. The phenomenon of transparency in architecture and urbanistic designing can be interpreted also as the utilization of glass "transparent" facades and the linking of the external and the internal space (exterior and interior). The text "Close encounters between buildings" by Gehl (2004), takes into account the characteristics of the human apparatus for observation, defining frameworks of the direct experience of space and elements of the built environment viewed during pedestrian movement, i.e. when moving at 5km/h. In relation to the thus established context, Gehl notes the framework of viewing (experience) – the urban scene – within which he notes key elements, transparency among them.

Analysis of the intensity of use in open spaces (Space Syntax method). The Space Syntax method is a set of techniques which describe and analyze the relationship between the configuration of space, and socio-economic relations. These techniques investigate relations between the user movement and the content in ground floors of buildings along the paths of movement. Networks of pedestrian flows are presented in the form of a hierarchy, while the model of change (future transformations) most frequently implies changes of contents in buildings and the activation of a broader network of pedestrian movement (Hillier and Hansen, 1989).

The mentioned methodology was applied to polygons of city nuclei of Pančevo and Vršac, with the goal to establish current situations pertaining to the manner and intensity of space use from the aspect of pedestrian movement, and define issues that would contribute to their more equal and intensive utilization, thus increasing pedestrian movement as a mode of transport.

RESULTS

Implementing the structure of research presented in the previous chapter, results of research on polygons of the cities of Vršac and Pančevo will be presented.

Vršac

Vršac is among medium sized cities. It is located in the north of the Republic of Serbia, i.e. in the south-east of the province of Vojvodina. It has a population of 36,000.

Results pertaining to readability

By placing a grid of 200m i.e. 300m, it can be concluded that the Vršac of the streets has a satisfactory distribution of dominants in the city nucleus. Dominants are concentrated on the main city square and its contact zone, and as the distance from the square grows, they appear sporadically. It is difficult to note the beginning and the end of the outline due to the abrupt change of the level of urbanity while moving away from the main city square and its more immediate contact zone.

Results pertaining to contents, rhythm and transparency

The horizontal rhythm of the fronts possesses characteristics of alternation of widths of street fronts (facades), making it dynamic and

[5] General plan of Pančevo includes the results and conclusion form Traffic Study of Pančevo Central Zone (Institut za puteve, 2004).

relatively uniform (Figure 5). The presence of tools for avoiding monotony – built/unbuilt (at the site of the Orthodox temple and the Bishop's residence, pulled back from the regulatin line), opposition between light and shadow, additionaly emphasized by changes of the number of floors, and the orientation of street fronts; the existence of vertical accents in the pronounced horizontality of the composition; an opposition between the prophane and the sacral, can be noted. The uneven terrain enables the inclusion of buildings located in the second plan in the image of the front, i.e. ambiguous space.

Contents in the central zone were analyzed using street front categorizations. The general conclusion is that, except in the zone predominantly dominated by service and commercial contents, placed in Category A, the remaining space has a character corresponding to street front Categories B, C and D.

There is no continuity of transparent barriers (shop windows, glass partitions, doors) on ground floors, which would provide an intertwining of the public and the semi-public space and enable an insight into the interiors of buildings from the street. Interiors of blocks are not used for public purposes, i.e. there are no passages (since there is no need to additionally expand ground floor contents – the public space of the main city square has taken over numerous types of contents).

In the historic nucleus of Vršac permeation between public and private space is present only in the zone of the main city square and its contact zone. Most contents in ground floors of buildings are not transparent, and as the main square is left behind, the predominant function in the ground floor of buildings becomes housing. There is no pronounced difference in the use of public city space in different seasons. Even though in the past the main city street served for trade, after the reconstruction of the main city sqauare and with the lack of possibility to turn it into a pedestrian zone, this function of the main street was taken over by the square, while the main street retains the transport function as dominant, i.e. it is fully subordinated to the vehicle transport.

Results of analyses using the Space Syntax method

The lack of diverse service contents in buildings along the streets of the historic nucleus in Vršac conditions the reduced intensity of its use, except in the main city square. Based on the research using the Space Syntax method in the period of May-October 2011 it can be concluded that the highest concentration of users can be found in the main city square, especially in its part exiting toward the main city street, and in contact zones between the main city street and the square, as well as on the intersection itself (Figure 6).

The main city square is placed at a tangent in relation to the direction of the main city street, enabling the flow of users exactly to the beginning of the main city street. The position of other significant open spaces in the historic city nucleus is on a line with the main city square, and perpendicular to the main city street. The main point of crossing of more important flows of movement is at the beginning of the route, which is also the main

Figure 5: Vršac – The contents of ground floors (left) and distribution of dominants (right). Source: Aleksandra Đukić, Milena Vukmirović

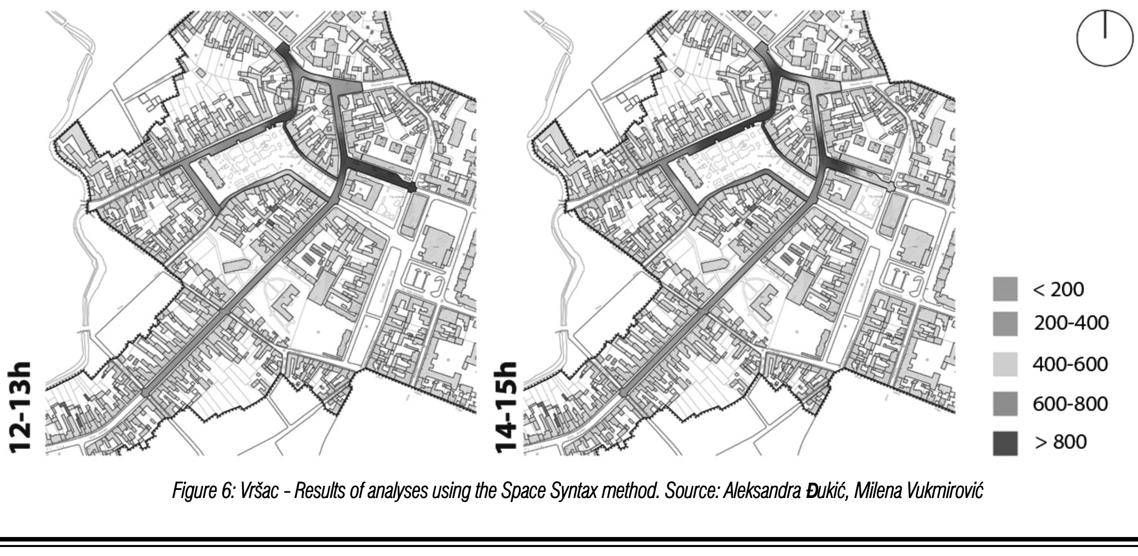

Figure 6: Vršac - Results of analyses using the Space Syntax method. Source: Aleksandra Đukić, Milena Vukmirović

access for users. User densities are highest on the main square and on secondary squares, and considerably lower in side access streets. Commercial contents are located on the first floor of the main city street toward the square, as well as on the main city square itself. Selection of the paths of movement depends on: cohesion of contents – the continuity of "active" ground floor levels and the concentration of users on specific paths (dominant directions of movement always connect points with maximum user concentrations).

Paths of movement along the route vary in intensity, and are most intensive in the contact zone with the square. We can conclude that active sections of the street are those in the immediate vicinity of the square, i.e. activity has been transferred to the space of the square.

Pančevo

Pančevo is a medium sized city. It is located in the north of the Republic of Serbia, i.e. the southern part of the province of Vojvodina. The city has 76.000 inhabitants.

Results pertaining to readability

By placing a grid of 200m i.e. 300m, it can be concluded that the framework of the historic city nucleus in Pančevo has a satisfactory distribution of dominants. The main city street has a double altitudinal dominant (a building with GF+11), three dominants of local significance (the court building and two buildings with towers at the block corners), the main city square contains one more altitudinal dominant of city significance (municipal building) and local significance (museum building), and Dimitrija Tucovića street contains a double dominant of the church tower.

Results pertaining to contents, rhythm and transparency

Monotony in the central part of Pančevo is avoided by using contrast and practically all tools available. There is the contrast of built–unbuilt (houses built after World War II are withdrawn from the regulation line, while some are placed agressively, at an angle in relation to the regulation line, also representing a contrast in relation to building on the line in other blocks along main street); the opposition between shadow and light, additionally emphasized by the change of width of the street front, change of the number of floors, roofs and street orientation; the existence of vertical accents in the emphasized horizontality of the composition. Blockades/barriers are visible and provide the desired level of dynamics when moving, as buildings standing out in the forefront due to the curvature of the route or greenery which forms a visual barrier.

An analysis of contents in ground floors of buildings established the categorization and mapping of sections of street fronts (Figure 7). It was noted that along Vojvode Petra Bojovića Street, Radomira Putnika Street and Njegoševa Street, Category A street fronts (predominantly dominating) and Category B are present. However, as opposed to them, along Braće Jovanovića street and Karađorđeva Street, there are mostly Category C and D street fronts, and in some sections of Braće Jovanovića street there are also Category E street fronts.

Based on this analysis, as well as on individual observations of rhythm, the alteration of street front widths is dynamically uneven.

Transparent barriers (shop windows, glass

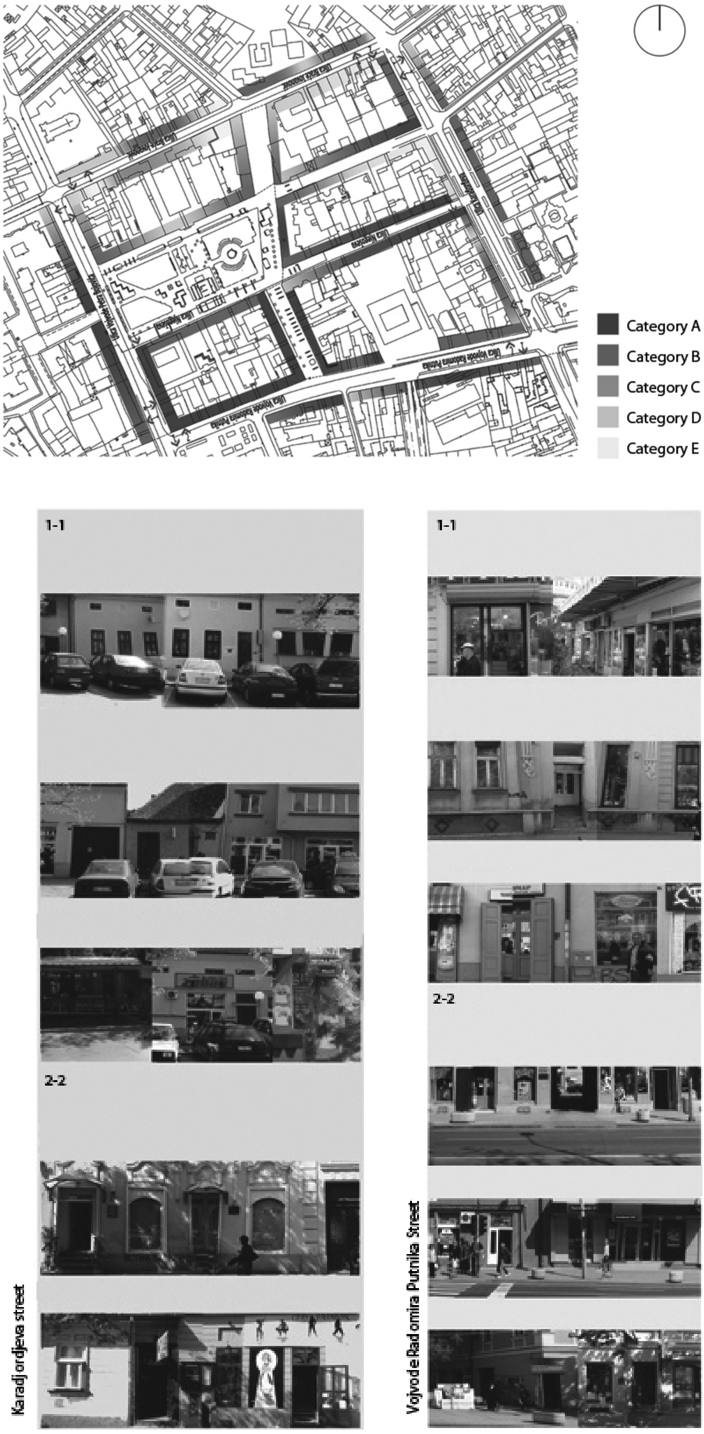

Figure 7: Pančevo – Intensity of activity in ground floors of buildings grouped in Categories A, B, C, D and E.
Source: Aleksandra Đukić, Milena Vukmirović

partitions, doors) on ground floors, which provide an intertwining of the public and the semi-public space and enable an insight into the interiors of buildings from the street, are partially present in streets in the historic nucleus in Pančevo. Transparency of the street front is connected to functions in buildings along the route and to the manner and dynamics of using the open public space, but having in mind that there is no continuity of functions on ground floors, there is also an apparent discontinuity of transparency. Passages – which also enable certain street transparency are sporadically present in main street and in Njegoševa street.

Results of analyses using the Space Syntax method

Based on the research implemented using the Space Syntax method in the historic city nucleus in Pančevo in the period of May - October 2011 it can be concluded that the highest concentration of users is not in main street, but in Njegoševa street (first parallel street toward the main city square) (Figure 8). User concentration is also higher in the street linking the main city street with the main city square, as well as on the square itself. Along the main city street, the number of users is higher on the side closer to the main city square, as well as in the section of the street with a higher concentration of service contents. Directions of user movement, i.e. selection of paths of movement are therefore conditioned by a continuity of "active" ground floor levels, indirectly depending also on the concentration of users on specific paths (dominant directions of movement always connect points with maximum user concentrations)

The quality of the main street in the functional sense is also substantially influenced by the level of accessibility. The possibility to access the main city street from various directions is also present in the case of the main city street in Pančevo. Access is possible from side streets, while the intensity of movement of users from the direction of the main city square toward the main route is the highest. Surrounding streets leading to the square have a higher level of vitality than the main city street itself, due to a higher concentration of potential stopping points. (Figure 8). Paths of movement with the same or similar intensities are relatively equally distributed.

The main city street in Pančevo is in the immediate vicinity of the park, thus the number of users in shaded places is evident during the summer months (side streets leading to the park-square). The street has an alley of trees, but no benches or fountains, therefore in summer months users stay for shorter periods of time.

Discussion

The analysis of results for central area of selected cities of Pančevo and Vršac, as examples of medium sized cities in Serbia, in general shows that there is no uniformity in the use of these spaces by pedestrians. Zones of intensive use coinciding with presented characteristics of street space in the form of diverse contents, attractive appearance, high level of transparency and rhythm, can clearly be seen. We note certain types of proportionality in this relationship, and conclusions, such as recommendations and guidelines for future interventions in space can be drawn, both relevant to distribution of contents, and on the issue of arranging facades of buildings in the ground floor zone. Having in mind the point of view of Jan Gehl (2004) that the quality of open public city spaces is proportional to the number of users (who spend time in open city space), the open public city space and its immediate pedestrian surroundings should have following characteristics:

- uniformly placed spatial dominants, markers and vistas corresponding to a grid of 200 to 300 metres
- distribution of contents on ground floors corresponding to Categories A and B in the more immediate central zone (city nucleus, gathering point), i.e. Categories B and C in the broader central zone
- suggested distribution of contents corresponding to mentioned categories would contribute to establishing the adequate rhythm, transparency and attractiveness of facades on ground floors of buildings
- distribution of contents with longer working hours during the day, in order to achieve a more uniform use of space in different time intervals
- establishing legal measures in the form of rulebooks that would contribute to upgrading and achieving above mentioned recommendations.

The given situation would directly lead to greater use of open public city space, and thus also to the increase in the intensity of pedestrian movement. In this manner, people would face a better quality and a broader choice of contents and space, and thus also a higher probability to opt for walking as a sustainable mode of transport in medium sized cities in Serbia. Furthermore, decrease in vehicle traffic in the central city areas would limit the concentration of carbon dioxide and GHGs in the atmosphere. The transportation sector is not the only challenge that will be faced by the future cities according to the climate change. Several other sectors like construction, energy and agriculture are also important considering greenhouse gases

Figure 8: Pančevo. Results of analyses using the Space Syntax method. Source: Aleksandra Đukić, Milena Vukmirović

emissions. But every improvement, even on the local level (small scale) could provide positive results in the field of climate change.

Further research could be carried out with the goal to establish the affinity of the very users of space and pedestrians. Placing them in the role of "experts" would offer an even more precise review of future interventions that would need to be implemented in space, in order to satisfy most aspects of the quality of open space and the direct pedestrian environment.

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EUROPEAN EXPERIENCES AS GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND CIVIL SECTOR ROLE REDEFINITION IN SPATIAL POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS IN SERBIA

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The period of post-socialist transition in Serbia brings more complex actors environment compared to socialistic period, while institutional arrangements are not enough developed to actively involve different groups of actors in spatial policy formulation process. In order to gather certain knowledge as guidelines for redefining institutional practices in Serbia, institutional framework of Serbia was compared in this paper with institutional framework of three developed European countries, especially in relation to the roles of public, private and civil sector in spatial policy formulation process. The European countries selected for the analysis are United Kingdom, Netherlands and Germany because of diverse national administrative traditions, so different institutional arrangements could be researched. By comparing institutional framework in Serbia with the ones in developed European countries following questions are researched: which actors are missing in Serbia, what are the ways institutional arrangements for different groups inclusion into spatial policy formulation process are formed, what are the differences between the roles of certain groups of actors in decision-making process. Current roles of actors in spatial policy formulation process in Serbia are reviewed and possible directions for public, private and civil sector role redefinition in Serbia are discussed in accordance with experiences of developed European countries.

Key words: public, private and civil sector, spatial policy, developed European countries, Serbia.

INTRODUCTION

Roles and relations between public, private and civil sector are very important in spatial policy formulation process. Distinct difference in this aspect can be made between the developed European countries and post-socialist states. Various institutional arrangements are formed in developed European countries and, sometimes formally, and sometimes informally representatives of all three sectors are actively involved in spatial policy formulation process.

Taşan-Kok (2006) claims that the number of organizations and their tendency towards networking is growing in post-socialist cities. Investors are the most active ones. The number of non-governmental organizations and social movements is also growing, but with limited role in decision-making on urban policy matter, planning, development and management.

In the period of post-socialist transition in Serbia, with the change of political and socio-economic conditions, the process of institutional reorganization happens. This paper discusses the current roles of public, private and civil sector in spatial policy formulation process in Serbia, as well as differences in relation to their role in the developed European countries. It discusses the possible directions for the roles of all three sectors in accordance with the experiences of developed European countries.

COMPARISON OF INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN SERBIA WITH EXPERIENCES OF DEVELOPED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

In this section the institutional framework of spatial policy formulation process in Serbia was compared with the experiences of three developed European countries: United Kingdom, Netherlands and Germany. These countries are selected for analysis because of diverse national administrative traditions: UK (market-oriented culture), Netherlands (culture of consensus) and Germany (the culture of hierarchy) according to Meuleman (Meuleman, 2008). Countries with different national administrative traditions are selected in order to explore different institutional arrangements. These states are compared with Serbia based on the roles of public, private and civil sector in spatial policy formulation process.

The role of public sector

Key public actor at the national level in the field of spatial and urban planning in Serbia is the Ministry of Environment, Mining and Spatial Planning *(Ministarstvo životne sredine, rudarstva i prostornog planiranja)*. The Ministry is responsible for state administration tasks related to spatial and urban planning; it determines the conditions for construction; governs housing and housing related business; construction; building land, municipal infrastructure and communal utilities; engineering surveying jobs; inspection and supervision in the field of urban planning,

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construction and infrastructure utility and other duties specified by law (Law on Ministries, article 20).

As in Serbia, the key actors at the national level in the Netherlands and Germany are the ministries responsible for spatial planning. Ministries linked different areas in different countries.

Unlike Serbia, where fields of spatial planning, mining and environment are connected, in the Netherlands the fields of housing, spatial planning and environment are connected through the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment *(Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer (VROM))* (ESPON, 2007), while in Germany the fields of transport, building and urban development are connected through the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development *(Bundesminister für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung)* (European Comission, 1999).

There is no one central government agency responsible for spatial planning in the UK, due to transfer of powers to agencies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. In England this is in the authority of the *Office of the Deputy Prime Minister* (ESPON, 2007).

Besides the ministries, there are different institutions at the national level that consider spatial planning policy in the European countries. Institutional practices are different in three analyzed countries.

In the Netherlands, the National Spatial Planning Agency *(Directoraat-Generaal Ruimte)* is part of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment *(Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer (VROM))* (ESPON , 2007). There are informal negotiations between the National Spatial Planning Agency and the sector services (Hajer and Zonneveld, 2000).

In addition to the National Spatial Planning Agency, which is at the top of the hierarchy of planning agencies, there is a complicated structure of the planning agencies in Netherlands at all levels of government. This network of agencies is simultaneously followed by several dozen consulting firms, which depend on contracts with the government agencies (Hajer and Zonneveld, 2000).

In the Netherlands there is also the National Planning Commission *(Rijksplanologische Commissie (RPC))*, with tasks to develop a common framework of spatial planning policy, which includes all departments that impact on spatial development (Hajer and Zonneveld, 2000). There is Council for Planning and Environment *(Raad voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieuhygiëne (RROMA)),* established to coordinate and encourage consultation between government and society on issues of spatial planning and whose meetings are normally open to the public. Members of the Council are representatives of a wide range of organizations (employers, employees, society and nature preservation, boards, experts) (CEMAT, 2005). There is also Netherlands Institute for Spatial Research *(Ruimtelijk Planbureau (RPB))* (ESPON, 2007).

In Germany, in addition to the federal ministry, there are a number of research and service agencies that prepare sector and cross-sector expertise (ESPON, 2007). Government's largest institute in the field of spatial planning - Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning *(Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung (BBR))* is a federal agency under the portfolio of the Federal Ministry for Transport, Building and Urban Development which provides the federal government and other bodies of advice and assistance in the field of spatial and urban planning, housing and construction (Ache *et al.*, 2006).

In Germany there is a Conference of Ministers of Spatial Planning *(Ministerkonferenz für Raumordnung)*, which includes all state ministers responsible for spatial planning and which reviews any state spatial planning policy to be published (European Comission, 1999). There is also an Spatial Planning Advisory Council *(Beirat für Raumordnung)*, composed of representatives and experts in the field of supra-local spatial planning, urban development, economic development and other areas, employers and employers' organizations and local government agencies with an advisory role in spatial planning (European Comission, 1999).

Serbia, as well as the Netherlands, has a national agency responsible for spatial planning. Republic Agency for Spatial Planning *(Republička agencija za prostorno planiranje)* is established by the Law on Planning and Construction, from the year 2003, in order to ensure the effective implementation and promotion of planning policy and spatial development of the Republic of Serbia. With Law on Planning and Construction, from the year 2009, the existence of the Agency is continued (Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2011).

Head Office of the Agency is in Belgrade. The Agency has an organizational unit in Novi Sad, as well as two regional offices in Niš and Kragujevac (Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2011).

Republic Agency for Spatial Planning is authorized to prepare, coordinate and monitor the formulation of the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia, the regional spatial plan and its implementation program and the spatial plan for special purposes; to prepare decisions on development planning documents proposed by the relevant ministry; to provide technical assistance in the process of preparation of plans; to maintain a register of spatial plans for the territory of the Republic of Serbia, prepare and implement training programs for the preparation of spatial planning documents (Law on Planning and Construction, article 75). Besides Republic Agency for Spatial Planning in Serbia, there are commissions for expert control of plans at the national level as well.

In addition to actors at the national level, the process of formulation of spatial policies in European countries includes actors on intermediate level of spatial organization, who make decisions on issues, plans and policies of regional significance. Regional institutional organization differs in three analyzed countries.

In Germany there are state-level ministries responsible for state spatial planning. Due to regional planning organizations, the states are divided into planning regions. In each of these, regional planning associations *(Regionaler Planungsverband or Regionalverband)* bring together representatives of local governments and serve as a forum for coordination and cooperation between different departments. Associations are responsible for regional plans preparation (European Comission, 1999).

In the UK, at the regional level there are regional agencies under the control of central government and non-elected regional assemblies. Regional assemblies prepare regional planning guidelines (ESPON, 2007).

In the Netherlands, below the national level, that of the provinces, administration is entrusted to the elected Provincial Councils and the Provincial Executives, headed by a commissioner appointed by the central government. The provincial organization resembles that of the central government (ESPON, 2007).

Compared to European countries, Serbia lacks government/planning institutions at the regional level. Unlike European countries, the regional level of government in Serbia has not been established (except some competences of the AP Vojvodina).

On the regional level of planning in Serbia, regional spatial plans are made for larger spatial units of the administrative, functional, geographical or statistical nature (Law on Planning and Construction, article 17). There are no bodies at the regional level (councils, assemblies, agencies) like in European countries, responsible for regional plans preparation. So the holder of regional plans preparation in Serbia is the actor at the national level - Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (respectively Provincial Secretariat for Urban Planning, Construction and Environmental Protection for Regional Spatial Plan of AP Vojvodina).

European experiences show diverse institutional practices at the local level as well. In the Netherlands, there are elected councils and executives at the municipal level, with an appointed mayor. Local planning authorities in UK are the main agency for the operation of spatial planning on the ground, but the power of adoption of a local plan can be divided between two tiers of local government depending on the type of local authority (ESPON, 2007).

In Germany at local government level there are councils, which are responsible for local plans adopting. Also, municipal planning associations can be organized, for the area of many municipalities (European Comission, 1999).

On local level in Serbia, municipal/city assemblies are responsible for local plans adopting. Besides that, each municipality has a government/service responsible for spatial and urban planning. There are number of institutions, public companies, directorates, dealing with spatial and urban plans formulation.

The role of private sector

In the spatial policy formulation process, involvement of the private sector in developed European countries and Serbia differs. In European countries, private sector involves through conferences and forums which gather different interest groups in order to overcome differences between the actors.

For example, in Germany, the differences between ideas of urban planners and investors are to be overcome through joint conferences involving different interest groups, and business representatives, such as the Chamber of Industry and Commerce *(Industrie-und Handelskammer)*. In most German cities there is cooperation, using a variety of voluntary or binding models on the inter-municipal level in order to coordinate development (RENET, 2007).

Unlike Serbia, there is a mechanism in the UK that allows investors to organize a consultation process and work with the community in terms of individual proposals for construction, before applying for a planning permission. Statements of Community Involvement, which are formulated in UK as an integral part of local development frameworks, should set out authority's policy for community consultation on planning applications. For example, the Statement of Community Involvement might set out the groups that local authorities should consult about the planning application and the ways this would take place. Statement of Community Involvement may encourage investors to take pre-application discussion process and early process of community consultation on significant applications, but does not oblige investors to do this (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004a, 3: Community Involvement in Planning: How it Happens 3.18).

In Serbia, the private sector involves mainly individually, when it comes to construction projects. Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia states that the phenomenon of "investors urban planning" appeared, where building codes and regulation of urban space are defined above all by the interests of investors, and then the interests of citizens and public interest (Law on the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia 2010-2020). Vujošević (2004) marks the planning that supports and enables the wild privatization and marketization of public goods as one of planning modalities that occurred in Serbia in the transition period.

The study "Strengthening local government in Serbia - Phase 2", which is a joint initiative of the European Commission and the Council of Europe, conducted from 29 January to 07 February 2011. on a sample of 75 entrepreneurs living in 15 different municipalities/cities, showed a weak private sector participation in local policy formulation process in Serbia. Nearly one-third of businesses representatives (31%) is not at all interested in taking part in any form of the local policies creation, another third (33%) is prepared for it in a small rate, while 27% are willing to actively participate in the creation of local policies (CESID, 2011).

Half of the examinees among the business community is not at all satisfied with the transparency of the procedure for adopting laws under the jurisdiction of local governments (50%), 37% do not know anything about local legislation formulation, and only 13% are satisfied with the way local government is open to its citizens (CESID, 2011).

In the same survey, 51% of examinees believe that local laws and local policies affect the poor development of private entrepreneurship, and this is one of the reasons why the economy deteriorates. At best, it is considered that the policy is indifferent to private sector development and not doing anything, what 28% of examinees claimed. Only 7% of examinees believe that local authorities encourage private entrepreneurship development (CESID, 2011).

53% of examinees believe that local authorities make decisions in consultations with businessmen close to them, 54% believe that local authorities do not consult with the general public and all interested parties when making laws (CESID, 2011).

The role of civil sector

Citizen participation in the planning process happens in Serbia at the end of the plan formulation process in stage of public review, and its nature is formal. Planning system does not allow citizens to follow the whole procedure of plan preparation and to participate in the planning policy formulation from the very beginning of the plan preparation. Institute of public inspection was introduced in the year of 2003, and continued in the Law on Planning and Construction in the year of 2009. It is defined by Section 50 of the Law on Planning and Construction. Here is stated that the presentation of the planning document for public insight is made after the expert control (Law on Planning and Construction, article 50).

After public inspection on the completed plan document, the competent authority or the Planning Commission prepares a report containing information on completed public release with all the comments and decisions for each objection. The report is delivered to the holder of the planning document, which is to comply with the decisions within 30 days of the report receipt (Law on Planning and Construction, article 50).

Planning practice in Serbia points to examples of wider public involvement in plan formulation process, in relation to the legally defined process. In the processes of regional spatial plans formulation in Serbia, number of presentations were organized in order to include public in this process, although there was formal obligation to organize just one presentation during the public review.

Different forms of participation and some experience are gained through the process of formulation of a large number of strategic documents, which were made in Serbia at the national and local levels from 2003. regardless of not being part of the formal planning system (Lazarevic Bajec, 2009).

In spatial policy formulation process in Serbia, the role of civil society is very weak. This is supported by results of research conducted by the Civic Initiatives with the support of the Serbian government office for civil society cooperation, and enabled by United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through the "Advocacy Initiative of Civil Society". The survey was conducted on a sample of 1625 civil society organizations, within 24th July to 30th september of the year 2011. For classification of CSOs (civil society organizations) the international classification of nonprofit organizations (ICNP) was used (Civic Initiatives, 2011).

From this research, the results related to the development, housing and the environment are considered. The results showed the following. Environment is a primary area of activity for 16% of organizations, and housing and development for 3% of civil society organizations. The most common activities undertaken in these areas are community actions (57% of all activities in the environmental area, and 52% in the development and housing) (ibid., 2011).

Most civil society organizations estimate the impact of this sector in creating public policy as insignificant (in the area of environment this is considered by 62% of organizations and in the area of housing and development 67%). State attitude toward the CSO sector is most often judged as disinterest (in the environmental area 39%, and in the area of housing development and 38%) (ibid., 2011).

Most CSOs worked with the business sector (in the area of environment 59%, and in the area of housing and development 67%). Typically, the business sector had the role of donors (in the area of environment 80%, and in the area of housing and development 63%) (ibid., 2011).

As the priority issues for their own organization, the CSO reported a lack of state support (in the area of environment 22%, and in the area of housing and development 20%). Then follows insufficient cooperation with local authorities (19%) in the area of environment, and underdevelopment of the business sector donations (16%) in the area of housing and development (ibid., 2011).

Different studies have confirmed the weak role of civil society in decision-making process in Serbia. In the absence of data specifically related to making decisions on construction, data related to the activities of citizens in decision-making process in Serbia are used.

The study "Perceptions and attitudes of the public about the NGO sector in Serbia in 2009." showed very weak citizens activity in decision-making process in Serbia. This research was conducted by the Institute for Sustainable Communities (ISC) in May 2009, and financially supported by USAID. The research was conducted on a representative sample of 1044 citizens of Serbia, over the 18 years of age (Civic Initiatives, 2009).

The vast majority of citizens believe that they can not influence the decision-making in their community (84%) and that they can not affect law changes in their community (75%). 89% of citizens has not taken any action initiated to resolve a particular problem in their community in the year of 2009. The most common reason is that citizens do not believe that it would change anything (29%). Second is lack of free time (20%), while 19% stated that they did not know how and 19% were indifferent (ibid., 2009).

A survey on the subject of local laws knowledge in 15 municipalities in Serbia under the program "Strengthening Local Self-Government in Serbia-Phase 2", which was a joint initiative of European Commission and the Council of Europe, showed similar results. Public opinion research was conducted from 29th January to 7th February in the year of 2011. on a sample of 758 citizens and 75 businessmen residing in 15 different municipalities/cities (CESID, 2011).

Over 80% of examinees did not have any initiative directed toward local government, 15% of examinees had an initiative that ended infamously, while only 5% of initiatives directed towards the local government institutions were adopted (ibid., 2011).

By analyzing the practice of European states, a variety of institutional arrangements formed in spatial policy formulation processes are found. These actors are sometimes formally, sometimes informally involved in spatial policy formulation processes and decision-making on the construction. Their mutual relations will be considered here by the analysis of examples and experiences of individual European states.

Unlike Serbia, where the citizens are included in the planning process at the local level during the public inspection, in analyzed European countries citizens can influence the planning process at different levels. In Netherlands, this is available at the national level, by the existence of a large number of advisory agencies and agencies for discussion, councils such as the Council of State, Socio-Economic Council and others involved in securing consensus and representation of different interests (ESPON, 2007).

Very important institutional practice in the Netherlands are national "spatial planning key decisions" *(PKB: planologische kernbeslissing)*. This procedure has created opportunities to increase public participation and allow active participation in parliament in spatial policy formulation (Hajer and Zonneveld, 2000).

An important institutional practice in the Netherlands is a declaration of citizens in a referendum on the construction. Nijeboer states that 15 referendums were held in the Netherlands at the local level in terms of plans for construction (Nijeboer, 2004).

Since the Law on Local Self-Government in Serbia, stipulates that a municipality may call a referendum on matters within the scope of its jurisdiction (Law on Local Self-Government, article 70), there is the possibility for applying this practice, but this is not the case in Serbia.

Unlike Serbia, which legislature has not defined the way public will be involved in the planning process, in the UK this is defined in detail. "Planning Act" from the year 2008 and "Planning Policy Statement 12: Local Spatial Planning", prescribe developing the "Statement of Community Involvement" *(SCI)* as an integral part of local development framework. Statement of Community Involvement should explain the process and methods of community involvement for different types of local planning documents and for different stages of the plan preparation (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004c, 4 The Core Strategy, 4.26).

In UK citizens can participate in the regional planning policy formulation. Regional planning bodies have a statutory duty to prepare and publish a Statement of Public Participation in consultation with the government and with reference to other bodies with recent experience of major exercises in community involvement. Statement of Public Participation should explain how and when the regional planning bodies intend to involve the public and who will participate in this process (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004b, Annex D, 16-17).

Regional planning bodies should consider the best way to involve a broad cross-section of the community. This could take a form of a single one-day public conference or a series of public events at the level below the regional (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004b, Annex D, 19).

DIRECTIONS FOR PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND CIVIL SECTOR ROLE REDEFINITION IN SERBIA

Comparing the roles and relationships between public, private and civil sector in spatial policy formulation process in Serbia and developed European countries (UK, Netherlands and Germany), following conclusions are reached. In developed European countries, in the institutional multi-actor environment, the role of public sector remains very important. It is reflected in direction of spatial policy formulation process and in coordination of all actors in processes of cooperation.

In European countries, the regional planning level is especially important. Maksin-Mićić *et al.* claim that it plays a decisive role for horizontal (between local communities and sectors) and vertical (between planning levels) coordination (Maksin-Mićić *et al.*, 2009). The actors from regional level in European countries are involved in the process of formulation and adoption of regional spatial policies and intervene to the local level if the effects of the planned construction cross border municipalities.

In terms of public sector participation, in Serbia, compared to analyzed European countries, there is a lack of public sector engagement at the regional government/ planning level (regional authorities, regional planning agencies). Regional level of government in Serbia has not been established (with the exception of certain competencies of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina).

The private sector is gaining importance in Serbia, but its role in spatial policy formulation process differs from the role of analyzed developed European countries. While in European countries, the private sector is actively involved in spatial policy formulation process, through conferences, forums and workshops, in Serbia, investors are engaged individually in the building process, trying to actualize their building rights and using a legal vacuum in the process of institutional reorganization.

In particular, the role of civil society in Serbia is weak. While in European countries, civil sector participates in the planning process at different planning levels, in Serbia civil sector is included in spatial policy formulation at the local level, during the period of public insight. Planning practice in Serbia shows that there is no active participation in planning process.

Citizens do not involve in decision-making process in Serbia because they think that their participation would not be able to influence decision-making process. Also, civil society organizations in the area of development and housing and environment find that their influence on the creation of national policy is too ineffective.

Relationships between actors in the European countries, compared to Serbia, are of more complex nature. In European countries there are different bodies, advisory agencies, agencies for discussions, which deal with consensus security and representation of different interests. Forums and joint conferences are organized to involve different interest groups (associations, investors, experts), in order to discuss problems of building and to overcome differences between the actors. These forums and conferences are organized between the various municipalities as well.

In order to adequately respond to spatial problems in the environment with increasing number of actors, the actual roles of public, private and civil sector in Serbia have to be reviewed. Developed European countries have shown different relationships of these three sectors, the strong role of a civil society, various institutional arrangements that bring together representatives of different interest groups which could serve as examples for the development of similar practices in Serbia.

Involvement of public stakeholders of the regional level in Serbia could be possible after establishment of some model of regional decentralization. This is a very complex issue, not only within the scope of planning, but also in the field of governmental and administrative reform in Serbia.

In spatial policy formulation in Serbia, the role of civil society needs to be strengthened. It is particularly important to enable and motivate the civil sector participation in the decision making process through various institutional arrangements and show that its participation has impact on this process. Different European experiences can be tested in Serbia. It could be attempted with civil sector inclusion within the existing institutional arrangements, and also with new institutional arrangements.

Existing institutional arrangement that can be applied in Serbia is, for example, referendum organization, especially for construction with impact on the overall city, neighboring towns or neighboring municipalities. There is also possibility for new arrangements establishment based on, either formal or informal, European experiences, but their introduction has to be carefully examined for institutional environment in Serbia.

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A NOTICE ABOUT AN ANNIVERSARY

In 2012 the 50th anniversary of the Salt Lake City Project (Kolkata Region, India) was celebrated. The project was initiated by Mr. Bidhann Chandra Roy, then the Prime Minister of West Bengal. The motif for construction of a New town was the essential need to solve the burden of overpopulation problem and a lack of space for new construction. The key idea was to treat the problem in a modern way, in many respects differently as compared to the previous historical urban and planning experience. The research and urban design was led by Mr. Dobrivoje Tošković, Chartered Architect, now retired university professor and fellow (scientific advisor) of the Institute and Urban Planning of Serbia, Belgrade, and full member of the Academy of Engineering Science of Serbia.

The project started with the reclamation of land in the Salt Lake area, surrounding Kolkata, elongated and unevenly developed. The reclamation took some 7-8 years, and was commissioned to the consortium ”Ivan Milutinović –Invest import”, Belgrade, Serbia. This was followed by the study (research) of the vision of New town, emulating and critically examining then already established New towns, e.g., Chandigarh, Rawalpindi and Brasilia, in order to overview their basic concepts, qualities and mistakes, respectively, so that lessons from this experience could be used for the conceptualization of Salt Lake City. In designing the master urban plan, the author, Mr. Tošković, derived three key findings for the Salt Lake City, viz.: first, to establish a new town with urban character; second, to reach harmony between the existing town and a new town; and third, to define the growth of the new town in accord with the aims, interests and commitments of the West Bengal Government. Initial urban concept was realized through the Master plan, followed by number of lay-out plans.

Consequently, the concept of centralized city core was chosen as the key idea of ultimate urban landscape, in order to reach balance between the aims for coherent and complex structure, on the one hand, and to fullfill the efforts to secure diversity of residential neighbourhood, on the other. To this end, the influence of contexutal conditions and influcences were taken into account, especially those relating to the climatic factors, in order to develop the appropriate built environment (physical structure), spatial arrangements and milieu, functional characteristics, aesthetic components and meanings and social and cultural identity.

The observers could have well recognized, through an ”optical vision in movement”, the New town as a real exhibition that could be ”read” in many ways, that is, both scientific (professional) and experiential, as an urban appeal of a new and modern town vis-à-vis old urban structure, or as cultural analysis of the identity of a specific tradition, conditioned by the climate. Also, it could be seen as a literary chronicle, covering the time period of four decades and starting from the author’s first sketches of the environment of future town, via imaging it as the exciting satellite picture of ”live” city, to the long and complex path from the initial idea to the current developments.

In terms of urban organization, the concept comprised a harmonized and hierarchically arranged relation: urban blocks – ”neighborhood units” carrying a human dimension – these unites integrated via radial, orthogonal and linear passenger-pedestrian walkways. Thereby, ”a striking, physiognomic city landscape was reached, of distinctive urban identity, in the rhythm of a fine urban unit weaving, pulsating in sight of the pedestrians-observers, and stretching form neighborhood to neighborhood, from park areas to public facilities, from avenues to streets.”

Apart from that, and based on the postulates of modern urban planning and architectural design, the Salt Lake City Project fully took into account traditional values of the old town, nesting a space arranged around the individual ”bastions” of habitation enabling group life, and at same time preventing it from the pitfall of becoming a ”sleeping town”. In that respect, the vision of the new town of Salt Lake City went ahead of its time, while today catches up with the broadly accepted imperative of sustainable urban development.

Mr. Tošković visited the new town of Salt Lake City in 2008 and had many contacts with the current functionaries of the City, as well as with lay people. He witnessed that the concept has been grossly implemented, and also supported by the majority of citizens, which, apart from official rewards, played the greatest safistaction to him, especially with regard to the realisation of a West Bengal ”garden city” of the kind. This initial concept has now been further continued, both preserving its authentiticy and indentity, and being adjusted to the current contextual conditions and factors. According to the 2011 population census, around 218,000 people lived in Salt Lake City.

Following a grand exibition on the historical development of this projects, now a documentary movie has been under preparation.

Written, on the basis of Mr. Tošković’s notes, by Miodrag Vujošević, Editor-in-Chief

RESPAG 2013 Belgrade

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