

# CERTAIN ASPECTS OF GOVERNANCE IN CULTURAL HERITAGE AREAS: THE CASE OF THREE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN SERBIA

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Cultural heritage sites provide an interesting arena for the research of governance processes in the multidisciplinary field of their protection and planning. The need for the preservation of cultural asset on the one hand, and the requests for development of activities (tourism, agriculture, housing), on the other hand, are in constant conflict. Attempts are being made to overcome disagreements between a number of actors using different mechanisms, both formal and informal. The formal planning system in Serbia plays an important part in the protection of cultural heritage. However, informal practices are not rare and they interact in an important way with the formal planning system to bridge the gap between actors and disciplines. This paper, using three archaeological sites in Serbia as a case study (Belo Brdo-Vinča, Caričin grad and Medijana-South), researches plans and policies, institutional and methodological solutions, and the relationship between the public, private and civil sectors in the areas of cultural heritage sites. Through the analysis of documents and procedures, interactions between actors, interrelations between formal procedures and informal arenas, recommendations for future planning and preservation practices are given.

**Key words:** governance, cultural heritage, archaeological site, Serbia.

## INTRODUCTION

Numerous conflicts between the protection of cultural assets and its development make the issue of governance processes in cultural heritage areas in Serbia additionally complex. Requests by local communities and the private sector are often in conflict with requests for the protection of heritage. In the planning process, it is necessary to systematize all these conflicts and find ways to harmonize them.

Serbia has numerous cultural heritage assets. In the Central Catalogue of the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, there are currently 2624 registered immovable cultural properties, of which 2256 are monuments of culture, 93 spatial cultural-historical units, 196 archaeological sites and 79 landmarks. There are 782 classified immovable cultural properties, of which 200 are of exceptional importance, and 582 of great importance (RZZSK, 2023).

However, these are not affirmed as a development resource, and the protection of cultural heritage is still treated

sectorally. There are neither terms like World Heritage and management plan, nor is there a developed system for managing World Heritage sites (Maksić *et al.*, 2018).

The analysis of cultural heritage in Serbia was elaborated through the Sustainable and Integrated Urban Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia until 2030 (*Strategija održivog i integralnog urbanog razvoja Republike Srbije do 2030. godine*, 2018), and also through the preparation of the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia 2021-2035 (*Prostorni plan Republike Srbije od 2021. do 2035. godine* (nacrt), 2019). According to the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia 2021-2035, the most common development conflicts are uncontrolled construction in protected areas and urban sprawl that disrupts the perception and integrity of cultural assets, as well as spaces reserved for large infrastructure facilities, and mining in the zones of archaeological sites (*Prostorni plan Republike Srbije od 2021. do 2035. godine* (nacrt), 2019).

The Sustainable and Integrated Urban Development Strategy states that mechanisms for financing programs and projects intended to revitalize cultural, architectural and urban heritage are insufficiently developed. The Strategy

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recognizes insufficient participation of the public and passivity of local communities as a particular problem with regard to planning and designing processes in protected areas (*Strategija održivog i integralnog urbanog razvoja Republike Srbije do 2030. godine*, 2018).

Niković and Manić point to the problem of discrepancies between the institutional and legal framework and international recommendations in Serbia, as is the case in the majority of developing countries (Niković and Manić, 2018). The current approach to the valorization of created structures leads to the neglect of the environment of protected entities, and due to the application of the strictest measures of protection (practices of the passive protection regime), immovable cultural property is most commonly exposed to degradation (Niković and Manić, 2020).

In this paper, using three archaeological sites in Serbia as a case study (Belo Brdo-Vinča, Caričin grad and Medijana-South), forms of governance have been analyzed through the critical analysis of: plans and policies, institutional and methodological solutions and the role of the public, private and civil sectors. The selected sites are located in different municipalities and in different parts of the country, so that diverse institutional solutions and governance practices can be explored. Belo Brdo-Vinča is located in the city of Belgrade, the capital of the country, Medijana-South is in Niš, the third largest city in Serbia, and Caričin grad is in Lebane, a municipality in the south of Serbia (Figure 1). All three sites belong to the highest category defined by the law: cultural heritage of exceptional importance. Caričin grad is registered on the UNESCO tentative list. The materials used are formal planning documents for the selected sites: The Spatial Plan for the Special Purpose Area of the Belo Brdo Archaeological Site (Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 85/2018), The Spatial Plan for the Special Purpose Area of Radan Mountain (Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 110/14), Detailed Regulation Plan for the Archaeological Site of Caričin grad (Službeni list grada Leskovca, br. 14/2018), and The Detailed Regulation Plan for the complex of the Niš Electronics Industry (Službeni list grada Niša, br. 26/14), as well additional documents (Study of research, protection and presentation of the archaeological site Belo Brdo in Vinča (RZZSK, 2016), Management plan for the archaeological site of Caričin grad (Justiniana Prima)). Further, informal procedures are analyzed (early meetings in the case of Caričin grad and the preparation of plans for the Electronics Industry).

The paper firstly gives the background and a literature review in the area of cultural heritage governance, examining different mechanisms and institutional practices. After that, selected cases are analyzed by looking at plans and policies, institutional and methodological solutions and the relationship between the public, private and civil sectors. The final part consists of two groups of conclusions. The first group refers to the strengths and weaknesses of the institutional and planning framework in Serbia in cultural heritage protection. The second group of conclusions refers to the implementation of international experience in institutional and planning practice in Serbia.

## BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Governance is defined by Healey (2006) as a set of mechanisms that shape social activities either by the administration, the private sector, or the civil society sector. The interactions between multiple actors are regulated through a broad set of “social” ways of coordination, rather than through a limited set of hierarchically defined organizational procedures (ESPON, 2005).

Although earlier conservation policies have progressed from a simple and restrictive concern with preservation to an increased concern for revitalization and enhancement (Rahbariayazd, 2017), the literature shows that governance in cultural heritage areas needs further research. The lack of interdisciplinary understanding of how urban dynamics interact with cultural heritage (Guzmán *et al.*, 2017), a need to focus even more on developing incorporation and planning tools at the practical level (Mubaideen and Kurdi, 2017), and a need for new management models (Maksić *et al.*; 2018, Petrić, *et al.*, 2020) are some of the problems. In terms of Serbia, the institutional and legal framework for the protection of cultural heritage does not support the achievement of planning goals (*Prostorni plan Republike Srbije od 2021. do 2035. godine* (nacr), 2019), and there are very few mechanisms for financing of programmes and projects to revitalize heritage. Other issues include insufficient public participation and passivity among local communities with regard to planning and designing processes in protected areas (*Strategija održivog i integralnog urbanog razvoja Republike Srbije do 2030. godine*, 2018), as well as current planning practice not sufficiently recognizing cultural heritage in the wider sense of urban heritage (Niković and Manić, 2018).

In governance processes, top-down and bottom-up approaches influence each other and interact (Lowndes and Wilson, 2003). Many international conferences in the 20th century considered the relationship between the community as a driving force in developing the idea of “cultural heritage” (Rossi and Rabie, 2021). Li *et al.* (2020a) emphasize the bottom-up process of decision making in international cultural heritage management, and empowering local communities. Petrić *et al.* (2020) propose new management approaches which favour a multi-stakeholder approach.

Serbia is one of the countries succeeding the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which ratified the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage from 1972 with the Law ratifying the Convention on the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1974 (Maksić *et al.*, 2018). Other international charters in the field of the protection of cultural heritage that have been verified in Serbia are: Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe-Granada (Council of Europe, 1985, ratified in 1991), European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Council of Europe, 1992, ratified in 2009), Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention, Council of Europe, 2005, ratified in 2010). The European Landscape Convention was affirmed in Serbia in 2011, but UNESCO’s Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape from 2011 has not been ratified yet (Niković and Manić, 2020).

## Plans and policies

Different types of plans prepared for cultural heritage sites from practice around the world include: a detailed urban plan for the historic core of Syracuse archaeological site in Italy, which defines the policies and criteria for any intervention and functions compatible with the historical urban fabric (Stunpo, 2011); a specific management plan for the area of Oaxaca de Juárez, Mexico (Quartesan and Romis, 2011); a comprehensive protection and development plan with special construction rules and guidelines on conservation and construction standards in the Old Town of Aleppo, Syria (Spiekermann, 2011).

In Stavanger, Mosjøen and Risør, preservation plans were combined with management tools adopted locally (Nyseth and Sognæs, 2013). The delineation of the Bagan Archaeological Zone in Myanmar (UNESCO World Heritage site) into three hierarchical areas of land-use control appears to have worked to limit urban sprawl in the area (Edwards *et al.*, 2019).

## Institutional and methodological solutions

New institutional solutions in cultural heritage management from practice around the world include: establishing a central management office which allows experts to guide the management process and its strategic coordination – the case of the Syracuse archaeological site in Italy (Stunpo, 2011); establishing a company and its own department of tourism – the case of Český Krumlov Development Fund (Caldeira and Tomaz, 2015); establishing an Old Town Directorate, with the aim of developing, planning, coordinating and implementing works – the case of the Old Town of Aleppo (Spiekermann, 2011); establishing a special agency (as a quasi-governmental branch of the local government) known as the Qujiang Management Committee, which generates great benefits for developers and the local government, while it adversely affected local communities (Zhao *et al.*, 2020).

New methodologies in cultural heritage planning include: the implementation of an international Land Administration Standard based on a standardization process (Gogolou and Dimopoulou, 2015); a proposal for a promotional strategy for the development of intangible cultural heritage tourism, combined with geotourism (Halder and Sarda, 2021); and a suggestion for incorporating Heritage Impact Assessment into the heritage management plan, as well as into existing assessment tools such as Environment Impact Assessment (Ashrafi *et al.*, 2021).

## The relationship between the public, private and civil sectors

Governance forms applied in the world are moving toward collaborative governance and active involvement of public and private actors, as well as civil society. In Oaxaca de Juárez, Mexico, there was early involvement of public and private actors, as well as civil society, in the preservation and restoration of heritage sites (Quartesan and Romis, 2011).

In Lijiang, the importance of community participation has been recognized by local government institutions. Various stakeholder groups have been engaged in decision-making

related to local heritage management, such as discussing and approving new policies and institutional regulations (Li *et al.*, 2020b). In the Seongbuk-dong district of Seoul, a “Community Planning Group” was introduced to make new institutional opportunities for community participation (Seo, 2020).

In a community-led initiative in Kasthamandap people from different communities and professional backgrounds came together and raised their voices in favor of community engagement and awareness, quality of work, and transparency in the process, and against unhealthy procurement (Joshi *et al.*, 2021). The City of Ballarat in Australia facilitated a large conversation with the community and this participatory engagement project successfully produced well-established procedures and a community vision for local conservation and development (Li *et al.*, 2021).

Comparing two heritage management projects in Tripoli in Lebanon, Ginzarly *et al.* (2019) showed that the involvement of international donors and agencies complicated discussions about which heritage attributes should be preserved or developed, as well as whose cultural identity and social, economic, political, ecological, and historical values should be used to make those decisions (Ginzarly *et al.*, 2019).

By examining a UNESCO/Norwegian government project in Luang Prabang in Laos, aiming to promote collaboration between heritage conservation and tourism through stakeholder involvement, Aas *et al.* (2005) concluded that stakeholder collaboration within Luang Prabang was minimal. Neither the public nor the private sector accepted responsibility for beginning dialogue and it needed clear direction and someone responsible for driving the issue forward. Although the project failed to decide on and implement an income-generating scheme for conservation and management, local businesses created their own ways of generating small funds for this kind of work (Aas *et al.*, 2005).

In order to increase the attractiveness of UNESCO World Heritage sites for tourism, policy makers and hospitality managers should secure a better allocation of local resources and expertise to implement successful sustainable tourism development plans (Canale *et al.*, 2019). Governing bodies should adopt specific strategies to engage local actors in decision-making and idea-generation processes, which could help to integrate resources within the system, co-create value, and handle conflicts when the goals are not mutually aligned (D'Arco *et al.*, 2021).

## GOVERNANCE FORMS IN SELECTED CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES

The scope of the research encompasses three archaeological sites in Serbia (Belo Brdo-Vinča, Caričin grad and Medijana-South) (Figure 1). The archeological site Belo Brdo-Vinča is located on the right bank of the Danube, in the extreme northeastern part of the Vinča settlement in the Belgrade municipality of Grocka, 14 kilometers downstream from Belgrade. The archaeological site of Caričin grad (Justiniana Prima) is located in Southern Serbia, in the municipality of Lebane, one of the poorest municipalities in Serbia.

Medijana-South archaeological site is located in the City of Niš, the third largest city in Serbia.

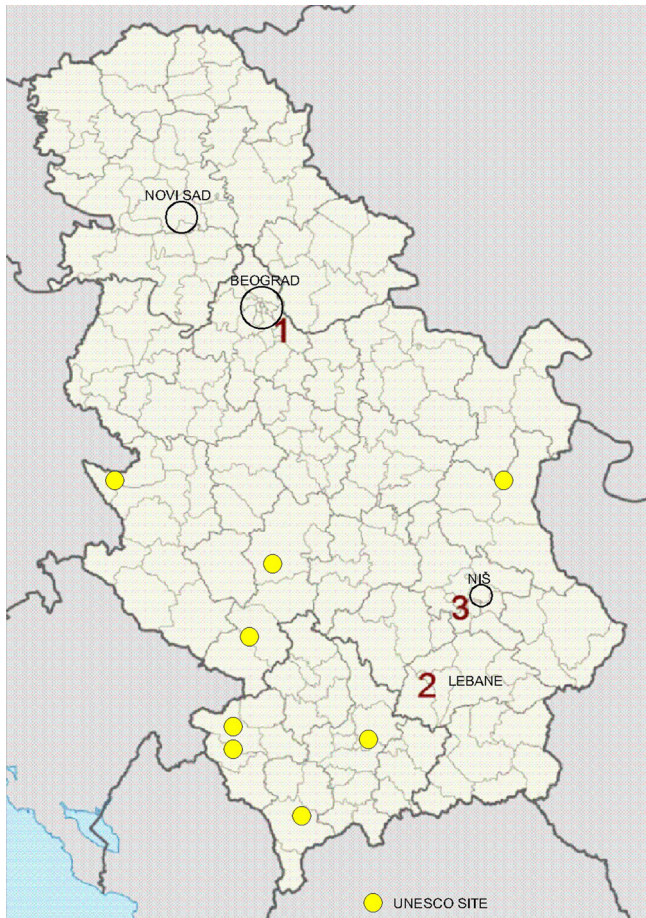


Figure 1. The locations of archaeological sites on the map of Serbia:  
1) Belo Brdo-Vinča, 2) Caričin grad, 3) Medijana-South

### Case study 1: Belo Brdo-Vinča

#### Site view

Belo Brdo-Vinča archaeological site (Figure 2) is surrounded by backyards with smaller residential and economic facilities. According to the 2011 Census data, there were 969 inhabitants in the site area, within 300 households (Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 85/2018).

Belo Brdo-Vinča, the bearer of the culture of Vinča, which



Figure 2. The archeological site Belo Brdo-Vinča surrounded by housing  
(Source: <https://belgwest.rs/en/thousand-year-old-neolithic-metropolis/>)

covered a large territory of the Balkans, has exceptional historical, archeological, cultural, scientific, research, artistic, economic and geopolitical significance. The stratification of Vinča's heritage is unique in the region of Southeast Europe and represents one of the important elements of the spatial development of Belgrade and Serbia. It was declared a cultural asset of exceptional importance.

Belo Brdo in Vinča is an area that has been explored for more than a hundred years and provides an abundance of remarkable evidence of the way of life in prehistory. The discovered remains of residential buildings with auxiliary buildings were preserved on the spot. Part of the archeological site, on the upper surface, is currently closed for excavations. In the archeological science of Central and Southeastern Europe, Belo Brdo is taken as a reliable indicator for studying the appearance and development of a large number of Neolithic and Eneolithic cultures in the Balkans. It is characterized by continuity, multiple layers and prehistoric life in all its manifestations: housing, decorative, ritual and artistic objects, currents of economic development, Vinča symbols, and impacts on the inhabitants of other settlements in the Balkans and beyond. Another extremely important characteristic is the possibility for scientific study, interpretation and presentation of the discovered remains of prehistoric houses and various objects (Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Belgrade, 2016).

In the last twenty years, intensive construction has been taking place on private plots within the boundaries of the archaeological site, whether by expanding existing facilities or adding new ones. Of the twelve plots that were the subject of expropriation and registration, only two are part of the archaeological site, for research and presentation, another is at the entrance, while the others are either not performing any activity or, contrary to the provisions of the law, are agriculturally cultivated, and an auxiliary facility has been built on one of them.

#### Plans and policies

As part of the formal planning system, The Spatial Plan for the Special Purpose Area of the Belo Brdo Archaeological Site was adopted by the Government of the Republic of Serbia in 2018. According to the Law on Planning and Construction, spatial plans for special purpose areas are adopted for areas that require a special regime of organization, arrangement, use and protection of space, for projects of importance for the Republic of Serbia, or for areas determined by the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia, or other spatial plans, and especially for areas with natural, cultural, historical or ambient values (Službeni glasnik RS, br. 72/2009, 81/2009 - ispr., 64/ 2010 - odluka US, 24/2011, 121/2012, 42/2013 - odluka US, 50/2013 - odluka US, 98/2013 - odluka US, 132/2014, 145/2014, 83/2018, 31/2019, 37/2019 - dr. zakon, 9/2020, 52/2021).

This plan has strict measures for the protected environment of the archaeological site. For example, construction of one or more buildings as part of the archeological site and a park is planned. The central building of the archeological site is intended for the presentation of movable finds. The space and plateau between the Danube and the archeological

site, with the fortification, can be used only to present the archeological site, as a space for exhibits such as replicas of prehistoric houses, for permanent or occasional reconstruction of Neolithic life, for popularization of Neolithic cultural heritage and similar. As the protected environment of the archaeological site is in the II degree of protection, the construction, extension or expansion of facilities are not allowed. The plan only allows the construction of infrastructure and maintenance of existing facilities (Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 85/2018).

### ***Institutional and methodological solutions***

The institution that manages the Belo Brdo archaeological site is the Museum of the City of Belgrade. However, with insufficient financial resources, it is difficult to maintain the site.

The process of preparing the spatial plan for the spatial purpose area included numerous actors. As part of the public sector, the most important were the ministry in charge of spatial and urban planning, as the holder of the plan's preparation, the Ministry of Culture and Information, the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Museum of the City of Belgrade, the Institute for Nature Protection, and the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade (the institution which elaborated the plan). The process of involving various actors in the preparation of the spatial plan was undertaken through the relevant formal procedure, in accordance with the Law on Planning and Construction.

The draft plan was subject to the expert control of a planning commission that was formed by the ministry in charge of spatial and urban planning. In the case of Vinča it was a good forum for harmonizing the views of various actors.

As good institutional practice in the Belo Brdo planning process, the development of the spatial plan of the spatial purpose area was preceded by the preparation of the Study of research, protection and presentation of the archaeological site Belo Brdo in Vinča (RZZSK, 2016). Financial means for the study were provided by the Ministry of Culture and Information. The preparation of the study gathered interested participants in accordance with the principles of inter-ministerial, inter-sectoral and interdisciplinary partnership. Experts from institutions responsible for the protection and research of cultural heritage were included, but also from government institutions and the local community.

### ***The relationship between the public, private and civil sector***

The ministry was in charge of the preparation of the Belo Brdo spatial plan, and the expert control was performed by the commission formed by the ministry. During the public insight, numerous actors were present. Particularly important remarks by the institutions in charge of cultural heritage (Ministry of Culture and Information, Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage – Belgrade and Museum of the City of Belgrade) were included in the plan. The inclusion of civil sector organizations in the planning process (Association Purpurna Vinča, Association Vinčanski Neolit) was of special importance for this plan.

## **Case study 2: Caričin grad**

### ***Site view***

The Caričin grad (Justiniana Prima) complex (Figure 3) is one of the best-preserved early Byzantine urban units, with a city center, large and spacious suburbs, surrounding fortifications, unique defensive lines around the city, basilicas outside the city, a dam and lake, an aqueduct, a craft center between two river valleys, a necropolis, and a completely preserved historical landscape of the ancient city. It was categorized as immovable cultural goods of exceptional importance for the Republic of Serbia in 1979, and since 2010, it has been listed on the UNESCO preliminary list.



*Figure 3. The archaeological site of Caričin grad (Justiniana Prima)  
(Source: Author's archive)*

According to archaeological findings, the site has been classified as the early Byzantine city of Justiniana Prima. The fortified city, in terms of its urban structure and architecture, represents a combination of late antique and early Christian architecture. The city area also includes a craft center, located at the foot of the city, on the banks of two rivers and three more fortresses in the immediate vicinity.

The site is used only minimally for educational purposes (with the exception of archaeological student internships), and is particularly poorly used by local preschools and schools. Within the zone of protection regime I near the site itself, there are facilities to accommodate researchers, which are in very poor structural condition. The site has no regulated access, and no adequate access road or parking space; neither does it have any adequate accompanying facilities. The access road passes partly through the archaeological site. Existing 10 kV and 0.4 kV overhead transmission lines pass through the site.

### ***Plans and policies***

Planning documents, as part of the formal planning system, set guidelines for Caričin grad archaeological site. The Spatial plan for the special purpose area of Radan Mountain differentiated the area of the archaeological site into zones of protection regimes I, II.1 and II.2 (Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 110/14). In 2015, at the local level, the municipality of Lebane initiated preparation of the Detailed regulation plan for the archaeological site of Caričin grad as part of the formal planning system (Figure 4). The plan

completely covered zones with protection regimes I and II.1 over an area of 134 ha, where the largest part of the land 108.93 ha (81.6% of the area covered by the plan) was privately owned (Službeni list grada Leskovca, br. 14/2018).

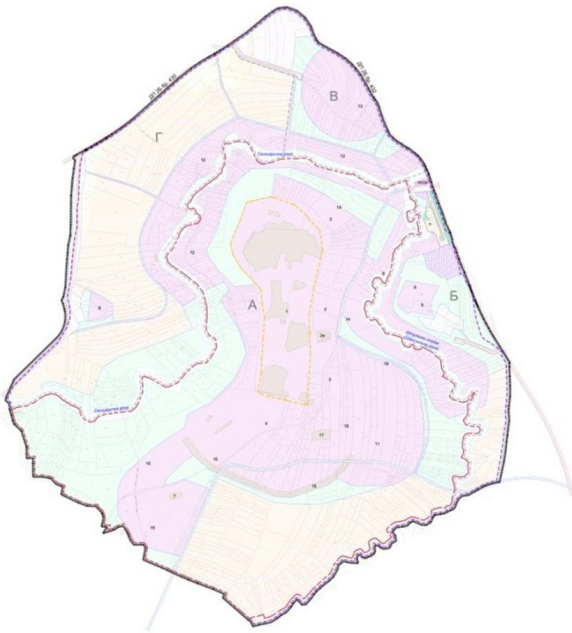


Figure 4. The detailed regulation plan for Caričin grad  
(Source: Author's archive)

The detailed regulation plan for Caričin grad had an important role in harmonizing the needs of the local community and protection of the cultural property. The Municipality of Lebane's request for the development of tourism within the scope of the plan were met, and the plan designated a location in the area of Donja Caričina. As the economy in the municipality of Lebane mostly depends on agriculture, in the zone of transitional protection regime II.1, the plan allowed traditional, extensive agriculture with small production capacities without the construction of agricultural facilities.

Other types of documents, which were not part of the formal planning system, were prepared for Caričin grad. The management plan for Caričin grad was prepared in 2014 and it envisaged new institutional solutions. It predicted a new organizational structure composed of three levels, of which the first level is the Site Committee, the second is the Coordination Team, and the third are the project teams, partner organizations and friends of Caričin grad. International organizations played an important part in preparing policies for Caričin grad. Preparation of the management plan was supported by the European Commission and the Council of Europe program.

#### ***Institutional and methodological solutions***

In the case of Caričin grad, European Progress, as the financier of the plan, introduced new informal procedures in order to actively include participants. Meetings which included key actors (Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Niš, Archaeological Institute Belgrade, Institute of urban planning of the City of Niš (the institution

that prepared plan), local government representatives, local citizens) successfully gathered actors involved in solving key problems. Issues to resolve included having a precise definition of protection zones, harmonizing the needs of the local inhabitants and protection of the cultural property, defining the local road that crosses the site (planned road without a road curtain), and defining the location for the tourism zone (municipal requirements for development in relation to the protection of cultural heritage).

The process of harmonizing conflicts continued through the commission for plans of the municipality of Lebane, which included the representatives of local self-government units and public enterprises, policy makers from the Institute for Urban Planning of the City of Niš, as well as the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, and the National Museum as the managing institution for the archaeological site.

#### ***The relationship between the public, private and civil sectors***

The National Museum in Leskovac is responsible for maintaining the Caričin grad site, including presenting mobile findings, organizing ticket sales, souvenirs and publications, and collecting revenue from it. The management of the site is carried out mostly through formal institutions from various departments, hierarchically from the top down. Each department (culture, tourism, science, local self-government, etc.) in this style of management functions completely independently, and communication between them is sporadic. Its disadvantages are insufficient horizontal connections within different departments, especially different sectors (public, private, non-governmental).

On the other hand, the process of preparing the detailed regulation plan was marked by good coordination of the actors in all sectors. This was primarily achieved at meetings in the early phase of creating the planning document.

#### **Case study 3: Medijana-South**

##### ***Site view***

The Medijana-South archaeological site (Figure 5) is an integral part of the archaeological site Medijana, which was declared an immovable cultural property based on the Decision of the Institute for the Protection and Scientific Study of Cultural Monuments NRS no. 220/49 from 02/09/1949. It was categorized as an immovable cultural property of exceptional importance based on Decision no. 29 of the SRS RS Assembly, dated March 29, 1979. The following objects were discovered in this area: 1) Necropolis "railway station Čele-kula", 2) Fortress, 3) Water tower.

According to the politics of the socialist time, with demands on economic development, the Electronics Industry Niš (EI Niš) was founded in Niš in 1948 on the area of the archaeological site, for the production of X-ray machines, electronic tubes, and radio and television sets. In the early 1980s, EI Niš employed more than 28,000 workers. Privatization of the company began in 2000 and today, as a result of privatization, EI Niš consists of more than 120 individual enterprises in a 60ha area. The industrial heritage zone includes the central part of the Electronics Industry



Figure 5. Part of the archaeological heritage in "Medijana-South" surrounded by industrial buildings  
(Source: Author's archive)

complex. The core of the complex consists of a group of buildings built in the time of intensive industrialization of the country, immediately after the Second World War, i.e., in the time the company itself was created.

#### Plans and policies

The local level initiated the preparation of the detailed regulation plan for the Niš Electronics Industry complex in 2012 as part of the formal planning system (Službeni list grada Niša, 26/14, 2014) (Figure 6). This plan was prepared with the international support of the GIZ/Ambero/Icon consulting group.

Until preparation of the plan began, there had been no systematic prospecting of the immovable cultural property, and so the valorization of the same had not been carried out. The plan included an area with a large amount of real estate with monumental properties. These goods were classified

into two categories: archeological finds/objects which represented an integral part of the unique archaeological site, and objects of industrial heritage, grouped into a single ambient whole.

With the cooperation of the Institute of urban planning Niš and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Niš, the detailed regulation plan valorized the cultural heritage and promoted archaeological findings and objects of industrial heritage. The central part of the complex was defined as an industrial heritage protection zone, consisting of a group of buildings constructed during the time of intensive industrialization of the country. The plan especially considered public functions and green space in the presentation of archaeological heritage to visitors.

#### Institutional and methodological solutions

The innovation in the methodological part of the detailed plan preparation was that, as the process was supported by the international organization GIZ/Ambero/Icon consulting group, regular meetings were organized, especially in the early phases of the plan's development. The Association Medianum, which gathered businesses from the EI complex, collected problems from private subjects on a weekly basis.

#### The relationship between the public, private and civil sectors

The process of preparing the plan for Niš Electronics industry was followed by the active inclusion of actors: the City of Niš through the Mayor's Office, the businesses from the EI complex through the association Medianum, with the support of Niš Institute of Urban Planning and the international organization GIZ/Ambero/Icon consulting group. On the other hand, although the urban planners paid specific attention to cultural heritage, economic development and satisfying the needs of private business in the complex were the main focus points in the preparation of the plan and involvement of various actors.

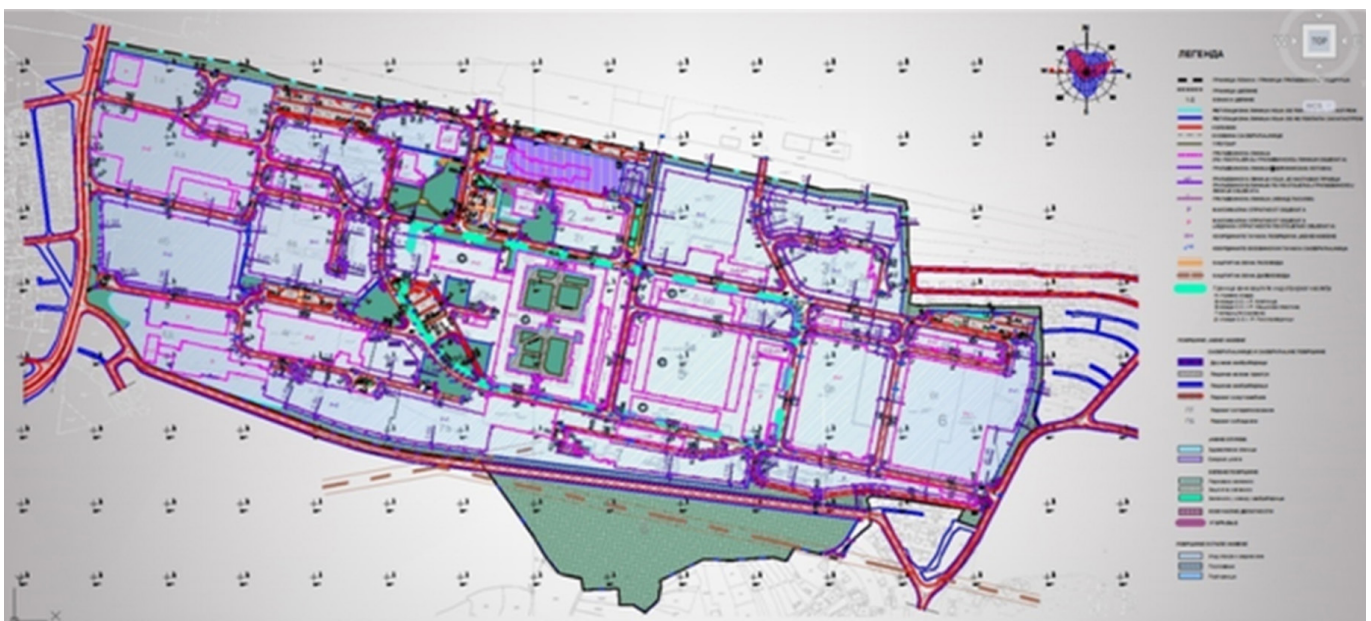


Figure 6. The detailed regulation plan for the complex of Niš Electronics Industry, 2014  
(Source: Author)

## DISCUSSION

The harmonization of conflicts in cultural heritage areas was less complicated for the sites located in rural areas, where investment pressures were lower than in urban areas. In the case of Caričin grad, conflicts between cultural heritage protection and the development of tourism, as well as agriculture and infrastructure, were harmonized, by applying appropriate criteria related to degrees of protection and the arrangement and construction of cultural heritage sites. The plan does not forbid either tourism or agriculture, but appropriate forms for their promotion were found.

In the case of tourism, the construction of a limited number of accommodation facilities is allowed in the case of Caričin grad, within the special area for tourism development. The plan encourages the development of a tourist product relating to special interests (thematic routes: hiking, cycling), as well as educational types of tourism. In the case of agriculture, it is allowed with limited capacities.

Intensive construction has been taking place around Belo Brdo and Medijana-South, and special measures have been prescribed by plans to regulate this development. In the II-degree protected environment of the Belo Brdo

site, the construction, extension or expansion of facilities is not allowed. The plan only allows the construction of infrastructure and maintenance of existing facilities. In Medijana-South, as industrial development has already covered the whole site, special measures are prescribed for archaeological and industrial heritage objects.

The definition of protection zones was of special importance for defining uses of space and permitted facilities in the areas of these cultural heritage sites. In all three cases, protection zones were defined in the planning process. For Belo Brdo and Caričin grad sites, protection zones were defined by spatial plans for the special purpose areas, while industrial heritage protection zones were defined for the Electronics industry plan.

Measures for harmonizing conflict are systematized in Table 1.

The state and public sector have important roles in cultural heritage protection in Serbia, and all three analyzed archaeological sites have plans adopted as part of the formal planning system. For Belo Brdo archaeological site, the spatial plan for the special purpose area was adopted with elements of detailed regulation (Table 2). Governance forms in the areas of cultural heritage sites are systematized in

Table 1. Measures for harmonizing conflicts

	THE SITE	MEASURES FOR HARMONIZING CONFLICTS
1.	Belo Brdo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In the II-degree protected environment of the Belo Brdo site, the construction, extension or expansion of facilities is not allowed.</li> <li>The plan only allows construction of infrastructure and maintenance of existing facilities.</li> </ul>
2.	Caričin grad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Applying appropriate criteria related to degrees of protection and the arrangement and construction of cultural heritage site.</li> <li>Appropriate forms for promotion of tourism and agriculture have been found.</li> <li>The construction of a limited number of accommodation facilities is allowed within the special area for tourism development.</li> </ul>
3.	Medijana-South	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Special measures are prescribed for archaeological and industrial heritage objects.</li> </ul>

Table 2. Governance forms in the areas of cultural heritage sites

	THE SITE	Plans and policies	Institutional and methodological solutions	The relationship between the public, private and civil sectors
1.	Belo Brdo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spatial plan for the special purpose area with elements of detailed regulation</li> <li>Study of research, protection and presentation of the archaeological site Belo Brdo in Vinča</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Planning commission for conflict harmonization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Citizens were the most active, the non-government organizations were present.</li> </ul>
2.	Caričin grad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spatial plan for the special purpose area</li> <li>Detailed regulation plan</li> <li>Management plan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Planning commission for conflict harmonization</li> <li>Meetings which included key actors in the early planning phase</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Good coordination of actors from all sectors.</li> </ul>
3.	Medijana-South	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Detailed regulation plan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meetings which included key actors in the early planning phase</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The inclusion of private sector actors was most pronounced through the business association Medianum.</li> </ul>



Table 2. The Study of research, protection and presentation of the archaeological site Belo Brdo in Vinča (RZZSK, 2016) was produced for Belo Brdo-Vinča before preparing the spatial plan. For Caričin grad, a detailed regulation plan was adopted, while the site is elaborated also through the spatial plan of the wider area, e.g. Spatial plan for the Radan Mountain (Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 110/14). A management plan for Caričin grad has also been adopted. Medijana-South is elaborated through a detailed regulation plan.

The process of preparing plans for the cultural heritage sites analyzed in this paper shows the great capacity of the institutions in charge of cultural heritage protection in the planning process and in decision making for the areas of cultural heritage sites. The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage actively participated in all phases of preparing planning documents, and its inclusion in the debates went beyond formal requirements defined by law. The inclusion of the Archaeological Institute and museums in the planning process was at a good level too.

Different mechanisms at the local level were developed to harmonize the views of the actors involved. In all three cases, the commission for plans, as part of the formal planning system, was an excellent mechanism for coordinating the actors. In the case of Caričin grad and Medijana-South, informal meetings in the early planning phase (which are not required by law) complemented formal mechanisms. In the case of Caričin grad, European Progress, as the financier of the plan, initiated meetings in order to actively include participants. In the case of Medijana-South, the meetings were supported by GIZ/Ambero/Icon.

The inclusion of private sector actors was most pronounced in the case of Medijana-South, where the special attention of the plan was the economic development of the area. Citizens were most active in the case of the Belo Brdo site, where housing surrounded the archaeological site. Non-government organizations were present only in the case of the Belo Brdo planning process.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The first group of conclusions refers to the strengths and weaknesses of the institutional and planning framework in Serbia with regard to cultural heritage protection. The formal planning system has an important role in the protection of cultural heritage. By defining the protection of cultural property as a mandatory and legally binding segment of all plans in Serbia, it has a good position in the spatial planning system. Especially important is the development of spatial plans for special purpose areas and detailed regulation plans for cultural heritage sites. The development of other types of documents which are not part of the formal planning system plays a supporting role in the whole process, and can be recommended in the future.

The spatial plans for special purpose areas in Serbia play an important role in cultural heritage management, as their preparation is guided at the national level. The ministry in charge of planning and construction is responsible for their preparation, and their expert control is performed by the national level commission formed by this ministry. In

addition, the detailed regulation plans for cultural heritage of exceptional importance, such as the Caričin grad site, are subjected to the consent of the relevant government ministry, in order to verify the planning decisions and harmonize them with higher-level plans.

This system of spatial planning in Serbia provides mechanisms for the harmonization of conflicts in the areas of cultural heritage, and mechanisms for coordinating actors. As shown in the selected case studies, through planning commissions as formal mechanisms, there can be continuous harmonization of conflicts, through the entire process of preparing planning documents. However, the selected cases show that the addition of informal forums that interact within the formal planning system can play supporting role. The support of international organizations (European Progress in the case of Caričin grad and GIZ-Ambero-Icon in the case of Medijana-South) has proven effective, as it brought new methodological solutions, therefore this practice can be recommended in the future in order to gain international experience.

The second group of conclusions refers to the implementation of international experiences in institutional and planning practice in Serbia. Compared with international experiences, Serbian practice shows similar solutions in the development of plans and policies in the cases of Italy (detailed urban plan) and Mexico (management plan). These documents could be supplemented with some examples of world practices (comprehensive protection and development plan, combination of preservation plans with management tools adopted locally).

As museums in Serbia do not have enough institutional and financial capacity to manage cultural heritage sites, it is of special importance to examine different solutions. World practices show various institutional and methodological solutions developed for cultural heritage sites (Central Management Office, The Old Town Directorate, Český Krumlov Development Fund, Destination Management, Qujiang Management Committee). The institutional solutions in Serbia could include strengthening the capacity of existing institutions, or forming special institutions for managing sites. The institutional solutions should be supported with financial measures, combining various types and sources of funding (not only public sector funds) with greater use of foreign funds.

Ashrafi *et al.* (2021) suggest incorporating Heritage Impact Assessment into heritage management plans, as well as into existing assessment tools such as Environment Impact Assessment. As Environment Impact Assessment and Strategic Impact Assessment are constituent parts of Serbian planning practice, this experience could serve to improve planning practice in cultural heritage areas.


The harmonization of views between the public, private and civil sectors is carried out in practice all over the world through various governance forms. Certain forms could be used in Serbia, such as the experience of Finland, to improve collaboration and participation in development through social media and face-to-face meetings (Caldeira and Tomaz, 2015), engaging stakeholder groups in decision-making related to local heritage management, such as discussing

and approving new policies in governmental meetings (Li *et al.*, 2020b), thereby facilitating a large conversation with the community (Li *et al.*, 2021).

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