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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,

As announced in the previous issue of journal SPATIUM, this issue contains another part of the contributions to the 2nd International Scientific Conference **REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, SPATIAL PLANNING AND STRATEGIC GOVERNANCE – RESPAG, which took place in Belgrade, 22nd-25th May 2013, organised by the Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia**. The remaining part of contributions to this issue of journal covers a variety of thematic fields, viz., the role of the public in urban planning, ideological and aesthetic aspects of architecture, and sustainable tourism development.

Editor-in-Chief

A NOVEL METHOD FOR FEASIBILITY TESTING URBAN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

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Policy making to promote more sustainable development is a complex task due in part to the large number of both stakeholders and potential policies. Policy feasibility testing provides a guide to the viability and practicality of policy implementation and forms an important part of an evidence based policy making process. An extensive literature review has identified no standardised approach to feasibility testing. This paper addresses this knowledge gap by describing a novel method using Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA) for feasibility testing of policies aimed at increasing the sustainability of towns and villages in Ireland. Feasibility results are provided for 40 frequently cited policy interventions tested for 18 settlements in Ireland. Policies were selected in the arenas of transport, food, housing and urban form, energy, waste and water. Policies are feasibility tested through analysis of operational evidence from both quantitative and qualitative data sources. Following testing, policies are ranked in terms of feasibility. This research examines the effectiveness of local and national level policies and the importance of both local community involvement and central government regulation in policy success. The inter-settlement variation in feasibility testing scores prioritises policy selection and aims to reduce cherry-picking of policies to support the viewpoints of the decision maker. Although developed for an Irish urban context the methods described here may have applicability elsewhere.

Key words: *feasibility testing, sustainable development, evidence based policy making, integrated assessment modelling.*

INTRODUCTION

A major challenge facing the world is the need to urgently enhance sustainability in response to the inter-related challenges of climate change, dependence on fossil fuels, food shortages and growing population (Harvey and Pilgrim, 2011). Engendering more sustainable patterns of energy use is a difficult task due to the diversity of both stakeholders and potential policies. This is further compounded by the definition of sustainable development which is vague and offers no clear policy guidance, providing stakeholders with the opportunity to cherry-pick those aspects which best suit their sectoral or policy agendas (Stupar and Nikezić,

2011). As a result the planning profession in Ireland remains unclear as to what sustainable development means and this represents a barrier to progress. There is a need for a common policy framework to provide spatially differentiated policies and planners must avoid a "one size fits all" approach to planning policy (Lazarević-Bajec, 2011; Scott, 2010). Putting the concept into practice is proving difficult in many countries and methods are evolving. The research described here aims to reduce the risk associated with decision making through development of a standardised method for feasibility testing of policies for urban areas.

Research context

This research was developed in the context of the 2008-2013 Irish economic and social climate where economic growth, new house

building, and tax revenue have fallen sharply and unemployment levels have risen. The Irish policy response to recession thus far has focused almost exclusively on the banking system and austerity measures, while the immediate and important issue of global warming has been sidelined (Scott, 2012). In this economic climate there are few financial

This paper was presented at the 2nd International Scientific Conference „REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, SPATIAL PLANNING AND STRATEGIC GOVERNANCE – RESPAG”, Belgrade, 22nd-25th May 2013, organised by the Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia.

This research is funded as part of the Science, Technology, Research and Innovation for the Environment (STRIVE) Programme 2007–2013. The programme is financed by the Irish Government under the National Development Plan 2007–2013. It is administered on behalf of the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government by the Environmental Protection Agency which has the statutory function of co-ordinating and promoting environmental research.

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resources available for development of new technologies. However, significant reductions in energy use may be made through the wider adoption of existing proven technologies via better planning and behaviour change, on the assumption that if such technologies were used to their full extent there would be a large reduction in human environmental impact and fossil fuels dependency (EPA, 2007).

As described by Brković and Milaković (2011) urban areas administrators are constantly searching for policies which will sustain future development, improve settlement competitiveness at regional and national level, and provide an attractive environment to satisfy the needs of inhabitants. Robust evidence is needed to support policy implementation and further strengthen linkages between researchers and policy makers. This study employs evidence based methods to evaluate the feasibility of policies designed to increase urban sustainability. Feasibility testing determines the viability and practicality of policy implementation. Many papers discuss the benefits of feasibility testing e.g. Grimes-Casey *et al.* (2011), Hak *et al.* (2012) and Rametsteiner *et al.* (2011) but a literature review did not identify papers which describe a method for feasibility testing of sustainability policies. Many sustainability policy studies cover a narrow geographical area with little policy variability. In addition studies generally focus on one aspect of sustainability and do not permit policy evaluation across sectors (OECD, 2008). There are a number of methods for analysis of policy outcomes, such as Environmental Impact Assessment, Strategic Environmental Assessment or Sustainability Impact Assessment. These methods are either project based, or evaluate broad policy impacts, they do not test policy impact at settlement scale. In addition the majority of urban sustainability research focuses on large cities. In Ireland in 2011 cities accounted for approximately 33.3%, towns accounted for 28.7% and rural areas accounted for 38% of the national population (CSO, 2011). Here, policies for towns and villages in Ireland are analysed, as they play a key role in securing balanced regional development. For the purpose of this study small settlements have been classified as urban areas with populations of 500-1,000 persons; medium settlements 1,000-9,999 persons, and large settlements 10,000-30,000 persons. This research aims to inform policy makers of likely outcomes of policy implementation, taking account of obstacles and possible unintended effects, such as policy backfire or rebound effect (Druckman *et al.*, 2011).

METHODS

The proposed methodological steps for feasibility testing of policies in urban areas of Ireland and results of 40 frequently cited settlement level policy initiatives are described in this section. Policy feasibility is analysed through the examination of operational evidence from both quantitative and qualitative data sources. Policies are evaluated according to a three step process. Firstly, policies are identified and described. Secondly, policies are tested through the Sustainability Evaluation Metric for Policy Recommendation (SEMPRe) developed by the research team (Fitzgerald *et al.*, 2012). SEMPRE calculates the expected percentage improvement in per capita sustainability for a settlement following policy

implementation. Thirdly, Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA) is employed to prioritise alternatives for the decision maker by transforming a complex problem into a single criterion problem and ranking alternatives according to their feasibility.

Selection of policies

A literature search identified six policy arenas for settlement sustainability enhancement: transport, food, housing and urban form, energy, waste and water. These arenas were considered to encompass main environmental impacts within settlements and showed clear policy relevance. Within these arenas published cases describing implementation of relevant policies were

Table 1. Policy initiatives satisfying selection criteria

Policy arena	Policy	
Transport	National level policy initiatives	
	1. Eco-driver training	
	2. Reduced speed limits	
	3. National road pricing scheme	
	4. Subsidised public transport	
	5. Low rolling resistance tyres	
	Local level policy initiatives	
	6. Urban freight distribution centres	
	7. Bicycle sharing system	
	8. Promotion of electric vehicles	
	9. Short term car rental scheme	
	10. Congestion charging	
	11. Bicycle lanes	
	12. Financial cycling incentive	
	13. Cycling facilities	
	14. Integrated public transport fare system	
	15. Safe school routes	
16. Commuter workplace travel plans		
17. Parking cash out		
Food	Local level policy initiatives	
	18. Communal allotments 19. Farmers markets	
Housing and urban form	Local level policy initiatives	
	20. Smart growth programme	
	21. Passively heated buildings	
	22. Teleworking from home	
	23. Higher urban density	
24. Green mortgages 25. Green roofs		
Energy	National level policy initiatives	
	26. Reduction in standby energy use	
	27. <i>Salix</i> and <i>Miscanthus</i> as home heating fuels	
	28. Wind Energy	
	29. Smart electricity meters	
	30. Prepaid electricity meters	
	31. Demand side management programme	
	32. Mandatory home energy audits	
	Local level policy initiatives	
	33. Solar water heating	
	34. Energy recovery from waste	
	35. Radiation barriers to reduce heat losses from buildings	
	Waste	National level policy initiatives
		36. Waste prevention campaign 37. Reduced packaging
	Water	National level policy initiatives
38. Low water use fixtures 39. Water harvesting		
Local level policy initiatives 40. Constructed wetlands for tertiary wastewater treatment		

identified. Policy selection followed these criteria:

1. Policies were frequently cited and described in quantitative terms.
2. Supporting evidence on policy impacts from reliable sources was available.
3. Policies were relevant to identified urban sustainability arenas and relatively easily understood and explained.
4. Policies were suitable in the context of Irish towns and villages.

Application of these criteria resulted in a total of 40 policies being targeted for further analysis (Table 1). All impacts of sustainability enhancing policies cannot be measured quantitatively; for example, policies aimed at increasing quality of life satisfaction and biodiversity are difficult to measure. Such policies fall outside the scope of the methods adopted here. This is not an exhaustive list of all sustainability enhancing policies but a selection of frequently cited environmental policies relating to enhancing settlement sustainability.

Quantified policy impacts

An existing database of over 300 economic, social and environmental attributes of 79 Irish settlements, located in three regional clusters in central and western Ireland provided a baseline against which the effects of new policies could be modelled (Moles et al., 2008). This database was previously used to identify key links between attributes of urban settlements and their per capita sustainability, through the calculation of a Sustainable Development Index (SDI), based on the aggregation of 40 indicators for each of 79 settlements. Using this database SEMPRe was employed to quantify the percentage increase in per capita sustainability for a settlement, which might be expected following policy implementation, using published analyses and direct Irish experience (Fitzgerald et al., 2012). This feasibility testing method incorporates data from SEMPRe to determine the feasibility of proposed policy implementation.

Policy feasibility testing

Policies found to have positive impacts on the SDI were subjected to feasibility testing, based on criteria adapted from those provided by Ledbury et al. (2006). Firstly, a clear description of the policy objectives is provided. Secondly, an assessment is made of the likelihood of the policy when implemented meeting its objectives, based on effects achieved elsewhere and key issues which may influence implementation. Thirdly, the possibility of unintended consequences such as rebound and backfire effects are considered. Fourthly, a plan of action designed to assist decision makers with policy implementation is

produced. Policy cost effectiveness, a timeline for implementation, uptake rates and applicability in an Irish context were estimated on the basis of previous experience elsewhere. The scale of policy implementation is examined, as some policies are more suited to national level implementation, while others are more suited to local level implementation. In addition key agencies responsible for policy implementation are identified. For illustration purposes feasibility test information for an energy policy is shown in Table 2.

Following quantified policy impact via SEMPRe and gathering of feasibility test information MCDA is then employed for policy prioritisation. MCDA provides a framework for assessing policies across differing criteria, and such methods have been successfully applied to

environmental problems in the past (Alvarez-Guerra et al., 2009; Kiker et al., 2005). The criteria chosen for use within feasibility testing were: timeline for policy implementation, cost of policy implementation and improvement in per capita sustainability. For the three criteria, the expected consequence for implementation of each policy was assigned a numerical score on a scale of 0-10, with more desirable outcomes given higher scores (see Table 3).

A weighting of 1 was attributed to timescale for policy implementation and cost of policy implementation. A weighting of 2 was assigned to improvement in per capita sustainability. The use of sustainability impact as a factor in feasibility testing is self-evident, as the purpose of the test was to evaluate the feasibility of policies which would impact upon sustainability. The use of cost

Table 2. Feasibility test information for an energy policy

Policy: Energy recovery from waste	
Policy description and aims: Energy can be recovered from waste through Anaerobic Digestion (AD) of organic wastes. A carbon neutral form of energy is produced in the form of biogas which can be used to develop heat or electricity (Singh et al., 2010). The use of residues as a fuel source does not impinge on food production. In addition to the energy production benefits, AD reduces the quantity of waste sent to landfill which will help in meeting Ireland's obligations under the Waste Framework Directive and Landfill Directives, and the digestate can be used as a fertiliser.	
Lessons learned: It has been demonstrated in countries such as Sweden, Germany and Switzerland that greater efficiencies can be achieved through upgrading biogas to biomethane which can be injected into the national gas grid or used as a transport fuel (Browne et al., 2011). A relatively large initial capital investment is needed to construct anaerobic digesters; the cost is a function of plant size, feedstock and technology. In the case of plants producing electricity from combined heat and power the cost per unit energy decreases with increasing plant size up to 1000 KW equivalent, above this few benefits are gained through increasing plant size (Walla and Schneeberger, 2008).	
Likely effectiveness in achieving objectives: Assessments of waste to energy technologies conclude that they are an economical process for renewable energy production. There is an abundance of feedstocks in Ireland, for example, slaughterhouse, agricultural and municipal wastes or wet biomass (Singh et al., 2010). In excess of 40 million tonnes of agricultural slurry is land spread in Ireland each year, resulting in eutrophication, air pollution and toxicity in water bodies (Browne et al., 2011).	
Implementation: Already in Ireland many large sewerage treatment plants include AD and the biogas is used within the plant for combined heat and power. In an analysis of the cost of biogas production in Ireland Browne et al. (2011) found that biogas production from the organic fraction of municipal solid waste was the most cost effective at €0.3/m ³ followed by slaughter house waste at €0.54/m ³ . A more attractive feed in tariff rate would further incentivise investment in AD. Public resistance to anaerobic digesters may also be an issue in Ireland similar to the resistance to incinerators in recent years; therefore involving the local community is important. Biomethane has the potential to be a cost effective natural gas substitute, however due to reduced energy prices there is an incentive for greater use – the rebound effect. Using a variety of different methods Haas and Biermayr (2000) and Sorell et al. (2009) estimate the rebound effect for space heating is likely to be less than 30%.	
Policy summary: Capturing this resource would be a considerable step in addressing Ireland's renewable energy targets, reducing the country's dependency on energy imports. In other European countries AD has been found to be economically viable and provide benefits such as low cost hot water and electricity to local communities. Larger AD plants are more efficient than smaller plants.	
Policy champions: Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government, Teagasc – Irish Agriculture and Food Development Authority, Sustainable Energy Authority of Ireland, Environmental Protection Agency.	

Table 3. Policy feasibility scores

Timescale	Score	Cost	Score	Improvement in per capita sustainability (%)	Score
<1 year	10	Low	10	>4	10
1-2 years	8	Medium	5	3-4	8
2-3 years	6	High	1	2-3	6
3-4 years	4			1-2	4
>5 years	2			<1	2

and timescale as the two other factors in feasibility testing was influenced by the need to prioritise policies which could be introduced quickly at low cost. Rarnetsteiner *et al.* (2011) supports the use of cost as a factor in respect of feasibility testing of sustainability policy and the importance of timescale in sustainability policy implementation is widely recognised (Bond and Morrison-Saunders, 2011). It is acknowledged that there is an inherent subjectivity in establishing weighting and scoring systems. It is believed that the criteria and their weighting adopted here are appropriate within a contemporary Irish urban context as they address areas of concern or greatest relevance in policy implementation. A different ranking system might be adopted depending on the needs of decision makers in other jurisdictions.

RESULTS

The scores for each criterion identified for policy feasibility scores (timescale, cost and improvement in per capita sustainability) were weighted, aggregated and expressed as a percentage of a maximum value of 100 (Table 4). The improvement in per capita sustainability shown in Table 4 represent averages for applicable Irish settlements.

All 40 policies are applicable in larger settlements, 36 policies are applicable in medium sized settlements while 26 policies are applicable in small settlements. With regard to implementation level, 19 policies are more suited to national level implementation, 14 require both national and local level

implementation and 7 are more suited to local level implementation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research addresses the important policy issue described by Daly and O'Gallachoir (2011): that quantification of the impact of policies is essential for policy makers to compare different policy measures, to ensure the most effective and feasible policy is implemented, and to assess how individual policies combine to contribute to overall targets. The methods presented here do not advocate the purely positivist approach whereby empirical evidence alone informs policy. It is acknowledged that public and political support is crucial and knowledge and

Table 4. Multi-criteria analysis of policies

Rank	Policy	Type of implementation	Settlement applicability	Timescale	Cost	Per capita sustainability increase	Level of feasibility (%)
		National level = N Local level = L	Small = S Medium = M Large = L				
1	Wind energy	N, L	S, M, L	6	5	10	78
2	Energy recovery from waste	N, L	S, M, L	8	5	8	73
3	Mandatory home energy audits	N	S, M, L	10	10	4	70
4	<i>Salix</i> and <i>Miscanthus</i> as home heating fuel	N, L	S, M, L	8	5	6	63
5	Low water use fixtures	N	S, M, L	8	5	6	63
6	Wetlands for wastewater treatment	L	S, M, L	8	5	6	63
7	Eco-driver training	N	S, M, L	10	10	2	60
8	Farmers markets	L	M, L	10	10	2	60
9	Urban distribution centres	N, L	M, L	10	10	2	60
10	Heat loss barriers	N	S, M, L	10	10	2	60
11	Reduction in standby energy use	N	S, M, L	10	10	2	60
12	Low rolling resistance tyres	N	S, M, L	8	10	2	55
13	Demand side management	N	S, M, L	8	10	2	55
14	Teleworking from home	L	S, M, L	8	5	4	53
15	Green mortgages	N	S, M, L	4	5	6	53
16	Communal allotments	L	S, M, L	4	5	6	53
17	Passively heated buildings	N	S, M, L	6	10	2	50
18	Safe school routes	N, L	S, M, L	6	5	4	48
19	Bicycle sharing scheme	L	L	6	5	4	48
20	Bicycle lanes	N, L	L	6	5	4	48
21	Subsidised public transport	N	M, L	10	5	2	48
22	Financial cycling incentive	N, L	M, L	10	5	2	48
23	Cycling facilities	N, L	M, L	10	5	2	48
24	Waste prevention campaign	N	S, M, L	10	5	2	48
25	Parking cash out	N, L	M, L	8	5	2	43
26	Short term car rental scheme	N, L	L	8	5	2	43
27	Reduced speed limits	N	S, M, L	8	5	2	43
28	Integrated public transport fare system	N, L	M, L	8	5	2	43
29	Smart electricity meters	N	S, M, L	8	5	2	43
30	Prepaid electricity meters	N	S, M, L	8	5	2	43
31	Solar water heating	N	S, M, L	8	5	2	43
32	Reduced packaging	N	S, M, L	8	5	2	43
33	Water harvesting	L	S, M, L	8	5	2	43
34	Green roofs	N, L	S, M, L	8	5	2	43
35	Congestion charging	N, L	L	4	5	4	43
36	Electric vehicles	N	S, M, L	6	5	2	38
37	Commuter travel plans	L	M, L	4	5	2	33
38	Smart growth programme	N, L	M, L	4	5	2	33
39	Higher urban density	N	M, L	2	1	4	28
40	National road pricing scheme	N	S, M, L	6	1	2	28

creativity are valuable in the policymaking process. Additionally it is recognised that the assumption that a policy may be transferrable from one urban area to another is only valid within a detailed understanding of the policy context and knowledge of the local area (Macário and Marques, 2008).

New insights emerge as to which policies are most effective in increasing sustainability in Irish towns. Of the policies investigated, those aimed at promoting indigenous forms of energy and increasing energy efficiency such as wind energy and energy recovery from waste, rank highest. This finding is supported by Jollands *et al.* (2010). On average, water, waste and food policies also scored relatively high whilst housing and urban form and transport policies scored lower. With regard to implementation; the highest ranking policies require a mixture of local and national level implementation, and local level policies score higher than national level policies. The importance of local level community buy-in has been highlighted by Lucas *et al.* (2008). The methods developed here may be used both by communities to construct bottom-up sustainability strategies and by central government to promote top-down sustainability strategies.

Due to the rebound effect (Druckman *et al.*, 2011), only a proportion of expected sustainability improvements from policy implementation are achieved in practice. This research attempts to take rebound effects into consideration in policy evaluation through the use of quantitative data based on previous experiences. A key determinant in the success of this method is the quality and quantity of data available: while for an increasing number of policies quantitative data have been published, there exists a need for further quantitative evaluation of policy impacts. As these are published, the range of policies which can be feasibility tested will increase, as will the rigour of results.

Through integrated evaluation of timescale, cost and improvement in per capita sustainability associated with sustainability policies this method provides a template for a novel method for feasibility testing urban area sustainable development policies. The method described here goes beyond MCDA and creates a new purpose-built framework for feasibility testing which incorporates both quantitative and qualitative data within a single method allowing selection of both top-down and bottom-up policies most appropriate for different types of settlement, thereby increasing the likelihood of implementation success. The feasibility testing method gathers

a large amount of scattered evidence describing impacts of policy when implemented elsewhere. This approach restricts the opportunities for those against policy change to argue that it is too risky to be the 'first jumper', or that simply it is impractical to implement such a policy. Although the research is developed in the context of the 2008-2013 Irish economic and social climate, there are no barriers to its implementation elsewhere, with indicators and weighting customised to local conditions.

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CITIES IN TRANSCONTINENTAL CONTEXT: A COMPARISON OF MEGA URBAN PROJECTS IN SHANGHAI AND BELGRADE

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This study of urban developments in Belgrade and Shanghai is set in the context of comparative urban research. It presents two ostensibly contrasting cities and briefly examines urban development patterns in China and Serbia before focusing more specifically on mega urban projects in the two cities – Pudong and Hongqiao in Shanghai contrasted with New Belgrade. While the historical genesis of the Chinese and Serbian projects differs markedly, together they provide complementary examples of contemporary entrepreneurial urban development in divergent settings. China and Serbia share a heritage of state ownership of urban land, and this characteristic is still very much a feature underpinning development in Shanghai and other Chinese cities, as well as in New Belgrade. In both territories, state ownership of land has contributed to a form of urban development which – it is argued in this paper – can best be seen as state-based but market-led. The comparative study that this work initiates will, it is hoped, contribute to an understanding of contextual change in the two worlds regions of East Europe and East Asia.

Key words: comparative urbanism; urban restructuring; mega urban projects; state ownership of land; Shanghai; New Belgrade.

THE CASE FOR COMPARATIVE URBAN RESEARCH

There may be an element of surprise, even incredulity, in placing Belgrade alongside Shanghai. What can be the point in this act of urban comparison, when on the face of it there is so little in common between these two cities? Shanghai is one of four municipal provinces in China, with a population of over 23 million, but standing at the centre of an even larger conurbation that stretches far inland. If Belgrade, with its population of well under 2 million, were located in China, it would be ranked a small-scale city. In the European context, it is a medium-sized regional centre with important locational advantages within Southeast Europe. Relatively small it may be, but Belgrade is a capital city; Shanghai is not. Comparative research, however, does not need to limit itself to the predictable. Any research that focuses on cities is likely to include a comparative element, if only obliquely. Indeed, one could claim that it

is only with an element of comparison that the fruits of research can rise above the parochial and say things to broader audiences about change in the contemporary world.

The urban setting lends itself to comparative work, given a base line of commonality that occurs when we apply the same (or very similar) terminology – city, metropolis, the urban, etc. However, to avoid random and haphazard acts of city twinning, some sort of typology of comparison should be observed. The historian Charles Tilly proposed four types of comparison – individualizing, encompassing, universalizing, and variation-finding (1984:81). In adapting this typology to the context of comparative urbanism, I suggest a three-fold framework: systemic-convergent, strategic, and contextually sensitive-regional (Waley, 2012). Each has its own value, and none is exclusive of the others.

Systemic-convergent comparative work tends to be driven by a preoccupation with underlying patterns related to the movement and impress of capital. This approach sees contemporary capital as a force for global convergence. Urban research, such as the work of those writing under the rubric of global

cities, while not overtly comparative, nevertheless serves to draw attention to commonalities through its focus on the role of capital management industries. Strategic comparisons draw attention to specific conditions in order to build up arguments, as will be shown here. Contextually sensitive-regional comparative studies seek to position themselves at a meta or regional scale in order to draw out a finer stratum of distinctions and commonalities. Such work has been particularly fruitful in the context of research on European cities (Le Galès, 2002; Stanilov, 2007). This paper is particularly inclined towards strategic comparison, in the belief that selective, indeed strategic, comparative work of this nature can help by highlighting certain key aspects of urban change in the contemporary world. Strategic comparative work, it could even be argued, holds a crucial role in the everlasting tension that marks all social theory, between the search for

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commonality and the identification of difference (Pow, 2012). As Hörschelmann and Stenning (2008:349) have argued, the trick is to get the balance right in comparative work between an appreciation of local difference and an understanding of 'embedded[ness] in global networks and relations'.

Research on cities in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has alternated between a convergent approach emphasising transition towards a recognisably global capitalist model and a regionally sensitive approach built on the concept of path dependence, paying close attention to historical embeddedness. A number of commentators, especially in the 1990s, posited a set of common patterns in the trajectories of countries in Central and Eastern Europe alongside China and Vietnam, especially in urban development, although with a growing assertion of the importance of path dependency (see Ma, 2002, for a review from a Chinese perspective). They saw countries in both parts of the world as going through a similar 'phase' of transition, even if along differing paths – market socialist in the case of China and Vietnam, neoliberal capitalist in Eastern Europe.

This bracketing of China with Eastern Europe can be seen, in one sense, as a brave attempt to avoid the pitfalls of what Pow (2012) refers to as 'China exceptionalism', the treatment of China as a distinct case, but it runs the risk of obscuring major differences by bringing discrepant cases under the same roof (Ma, 2002). At the same time, the concept of transition has been widely criticised for being excessively teleological, with its suggestion of an acknowledged starting point (socialist state/city) and a recognised end point (capitalist state/city) (Ferenčuhová, 2012). In recent years, the continued usefulness of the concept of post-socialism has been questioned for its tendency to universalise diverse experiences (Stenning and Hörschelmann, 2008; Hirt, 2013). Rather than transition or post-socialism, path dependency has been preferred by some as a conceptual heuristic for the trajectories of CEE countries, underlining, as it does, the contextual nature of change (Stark, 1992).

Within the considerable body of literature that presents urban change in CEE countries in a comparative framework, little is heard of Belgrade (Hirt, 2008, being a rare exception). This is a shame. The socialist-era situation in urban areas of former Yugoslavia including Belgrade was not necessarily so different from that which prevailed in other CEE cities, while the subsequent years have produced both salient differences and important areas of commonality that have been rarely commented on.

This paper, then, represents an exercise in strategic comparative urbanism. It seeks to compare developments in two very different cities in divergent world regions, cities which nevertheless exist within a governance framework that bears some similarities. It does this both as an exercise designed to contribute to comparative urban studies but also as a contribution to a discussion of possibilities for planning and governance in Belgrade and Serbia. The paper starts with an overview of urban restructuring in the two countries, laying out very briefly some of the major trends in urban development. It then moves onto a consideration of the two outstanding mega urban development projects in Shanghai, one of them, Pudong, well established, the other, Hongqiao, still in the construction phase. It compares these with developments in New Belgrade, which, although very different in its conception and history, is a field for the same types of entrepreneurial investment as is Shanghai. Special emphasis is placed on the role of mega urban projects to engineer change in the production of urban space through the marshalling of regional and global capital.

URBAN RESTRUCTURING IN CHINA AND SERBIA

In this section, I examine the 'ground rules' of urban restructuring in China and Serbia. In doing so, I draw special attention to the crucial point in common between urban areas in the two countries, that urban land is still (largely) owned by the state, even if it is not always entirely clear what is meant by 'the state' in this context, and even though the Serbian Government is pursuing land privatisation policies.

The nature of urban change in China is conditioned by a number of factors that are of interest and relevance in view of developments in Serbia and in the wider region. In the first place, urban and rural lands are under different ownership regimes, the state in the first case and rather ill-defined rural collectives in the second. The ambiguous state of rural land has led to a disorderly and problematical process of development on the urban fringe as it has often been hard to discern the exact nature of the entity owning rural land (Wu and Gaubatz, 2013:196). The consequence in terms of urban sprawl can be seen as China's version of informal urbanisation (Li and Wu, 2008). In urban areas too, difficulties have arisen as to the nature of the state entity that owns the land. Many state-owned enterprises have resisted local government claims on 'their' land. When they have moved factories and other facilities out of central and inner city areas, they have insisted on 'owning' and managing the

redevelopment process themselves.

China's local-level governments have generally managed to remain in control of urban restructuring. They have created a host of joint-venture companies and wholly owned subsidiaries whose *raison-d'être* is property development, companies that have pursued urban restructuring projects to the benefit of both municipal but also corporate coffers (Hsing, 2010). Urban restructuring in China is indeed led by the state, but it is animated by capital. Urban land therefore has become partly commodified, even though it is owned by the state, and the buildings built on it are largely assimilated into the market. The urban landscape is no longer flat; instead, it has the peaks and troughs that we associate with commodified urban space. State-owned enterprises have played their part in this transformation, alongside municipal governments, making available plots of vacant land in central and inner city areas.

It is a real restructuring that is occurring, both at the city-wide level, as Chinese cities become centres of consumption and consumerism, but also at the level of personal experience of urban living, as block by block Chinese cities are being torn down and rebuilt, with inevitable consequences on where and how people live in them. It is hardly surprising therefore that the process, although put across and wrapped up in an entrepreneurial discourse, especially in the case of Shanghai (Wu, 2003), is kept under close control by the state as it has engendered significant if sporadic resistance. In sum, the role of the state is generally seen as paramount. It is developer and place maker through property-led restructuring schemes.

The picture in the cities of Central and Eastern Europe differs markedly in some important respects, notably in the extent of involvement and influence of the state. The general consensus among scholars seems to be of a move towards entrepreneurial city governance throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Petrović (2005) writes of the high social costs attached to this shift. The influx of global capital has helped to create a new hierarchy around leading cities such as Warsaw, Prague and Budapest, while smaller cities have struggled 'to compete' at a number of levels. The serious problems of population decline in provincial Serbian towns is testament to these difficulties. The consequence, so it is argued, has been the forging of new cores, semi-peripheries and peripheries. Some writers have seen the same processes at play within cities; Hirt (2006) has observed these trends in Sofia.

These overall patterns can be applied in the context of Serbia and within it Belgrade. Petrović (2005) sees three institutional patterns at play in contemporary Serbian cities: those of pre-existing socialism, of informal urbanism and of market-driven forces. Planning in contemporary Serbia has been characterised as 'project-led cum market-based' (Vujošević and Nedović-Budić, 2006:280), although I argue below that in the context of New Belgrade it might be more accurate to characterise planning as state-based but market-led, aligning it more closely with the situation in China. Planning in Serbia is generally considered to be dominated by a technocratic approach, with a focus on physical infrastructure. Perhaps reflecting this emphasis on the entrepreneurial and the infrastructural, Belgrade has its own Chief Architect and City Manager. The Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade is affiliated to the city government, but its budget is received on a project by project basis. As elsewhere, then, planning has been relegated both in its institutional position but also in its capacity to shape the urban terrain.

Two bursts of legislation have occurred in recent years, first in 2003 and then in 2009. The overall aim of these laws has been to bring Serbia closer to EU norms, to 'regularise' the country, but also to facilitate legalisation of illegal structures. The laws have been variously criticised for their lack of professional expertise and for their excessive ambition (Vujošević and Petrović, 2007). Meanwhile, the process of legalisation of illegal structures is slow but ongoing, with government issuing highly ambitious targets, while the privatisation of urban land is equally a slow and tortuous process. Running throughout government policy and legislation on planning is the drive to bring Serbia in line with practice in the European Union, with accession to the EU as the holy grail.

MEGA URBAN PROJECTS IN SHANGHAI AND BELGRADE

Nowhere has the process of urban restructuring been more pervasive than in Shanghai, whose central and inner areas had been characterised by poor housing conditions interspersed with factory compounds. Shanghai's transformation originated in decisions taken by senior party and government leaders in Beijing and Shanghai in the late 1980s, when Shanghai was considered to be in the doldrums (Marton and Wu 2006). The restructuring has taken various forms, and has led to the regeneration of the city centre, the development of Pudong and now the construction of the commercial and

transport hub at Hongqiao in the city's western outskirts, examined in the sections below.

The initial impetus for the development of Shanghai came as a result of what was seen as the success of the Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in the south of the country. Throughout the 1980s, Shanghai had remained reliant on manufacturing. Across the Huangpu river, Pudong was an area of rusting old factories, poor quality housing and fields. It was given SEZ status in 1990, with backing from the State Council in Beijing. An Administrative Commission was set up to run Pudong, with a development corporation for each of the four special zones that were set up. In 2000, a special administration, the Pudong District Government, was established, with a high status directly under the Shanghai municipal government.

Of Pudong's four special zones, Lujiazui was the nearest to the old city centre and was designed as a centre for the global higher order service sector, especially finance companies. The development corporations set up to undertake the construction of Pudong have used two development techniques, known colourfully in Chinese as *zhuchao yinfeng* and *yinfeng zhuchao*, or fix the nest then attract the phoenix, and attract the phoenix then fix the nest. The first refers to the construction of infrastructure and buildings prior to attracting investing companies, while the second involves first obtaining interest from investors who then develop and make profits from the sale of property. In Lujiazui, the development corporation has tended to construct buildings and infrastructure and then find buyers rather than vice versa. Elsewhere in Pudong, where foreign owned companies are involved, they have tended to lease land first (Wu and Barnes 2008). Much of the actual construction, however, especially outside Lujiazui, has been unrelated to the plans of the district government and the development corporations.

The overall picture presented of this giant development project, larger than any other mega urban project, is one of great success. Lujiazui, Pudong's CBD, presents a glitzy assortment of skyscrapers that have come to epitomise China's place in the globalising world of big business. Inevitably, however, the picture is a mitigated one. Problems have been encountered as a result of over-investment and over-construction, much of it off-plan. There is no local representative congress and no avenue for objections to be expressed by local residents.

Shanghai is currently undertaking a second, only slightly more modest version of Pudong. This is the Hongqiao commercial and transport hub in the west of the city. The Hongqiao mega

project has a total area of 86 square kilometres, with the core area of Hongqiao Business District covering 26 square kilometres. If the development goes as planned, by the end of 2015 the construction of the core area will be finished. The plan is for the core area to attract more than 50 headquarters of trade and investment companies and 500 to 700 related companies (SMHBD 2010). The job of attracting companies to move to Hongqiao belongs to a municipally owned organisation. It is anticipated that many of these companies, unlike in Pudong, where international and diaspora Chinese capital were central, will be firms with a regional base and sphere of activity, within the Pearl River Delta. Hongqiao is designed to become Shanghai's western gateway (Waley and Jiang, 2012).

These are projects that apparently bear no resemblance to developments in Belgrade. There could after all be little more different from the carefully planned, ostensibly egalitarian grid of New Belgrade than the pell-mell urbanisation of Pudong. And yet this is not quite the case. There is for a start the coincidence in the location of Pudong and New Belgrade, both on the far side of a main river, both exploiting land that had been lying fallow – or at any rate under-used.

New Belgrade is deceptive, and one could argue that there are two New Belgrades that overlap like a palimpsest (Waley, 2011). Modernist New Belgrade was an incomplete city that left large gaps, and many of these have only latterly been filled. The years leading up to the onset of the economic downturn in 2009 saw a surge of activity and the completion of a number of projects, including the Delta shopping centre and Airport City. Other projects, such as Ušće and Sava City, have been completed more recently. Still others, such as Blok 26, appear to be awaiting an economic recovery. So on top of the orderly rectangles of the socialist era, the structural manifestations of urban entrepreneurialism have accrued in disorderly fashion. Capital investments in New Belgrade have come from a variety of sources, including local tycoons (Delta and Ušće shopping centres), Slovenian interests (Mercator), and Israeli investors (Airport City) to name but some of the most prominent. The nature of these investments – in office complexes, shopping centres, expensive residential blocks – has been drawn from the standard repertoire of urban entrepreneurialism.

Relative to the size of the two city's populations, New Belgrade is more extensive than Pudong and Hongqiao combined, but the availability of capital is much more limited. It

is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that the development process has been slower. Despite the obvious contrasts and differences, the intent behind the development strategies represented by the New Belgrade of today and by Pudong and Hongqiao in Shanghai is not so dissimilar – to stimulate the growth of prosperous CBDs through the creation of an appropriate environment for corporate investment. In Shanghai, the tendency has been to fix the nest to attract the phoenix, whereas in Belgrade, the nest fixing tends to come second, or at best concurrently with the task of attracting the phoenix. There is nothing particularly imaginative about the strategies followed in Shanghai and Belgrade. Nor is the approach unusual, even if the mega size of developments in Shanghai is. What is distinctive to both Belgrade and Shanghai is the pursuit of a state-based but market-led approach in which land remains in the hands of the state – even if Belgrade is attempting to move away from this state of affairs (Nedović-Budić *et al.*, 2012).

In both Belgrade and Shanghai, there is less than clarity as to who or what the state is. Urban development in Shanghai and other Chinese cities has been dogged by disputes between municipal governments and state-owned enterprises and organisations, which lay claim to the ownership of land that municipal governments tended to assume was their own (Hsing, 2010). In Belgrade, land ownership and management of land has been tossed back and forth between city and central governments, and especially in New Belgrade, ownership of some plots is held by large ex-Yugoslav para-statal organisations. There are, crucially, no issues of restitution in New Belgrade, where development commenced during the Socialist period.

In both Shanghai and Belgrade, though the mechanisms have differed, the state has transferred or auctioned off rights to use of the land. In Belgrade the process has been managed by the Belgrade Land Development Public Agency. In Shanghai, the introduction of a policy of open, public auctions was ordered by the central government, but this is sometimes flouted. In both cities there has been widespread criticism of procedures. In Shanghai, preferred buyers are often identified for land use and development rights. In Belgrade, a market exists, or at any rate existed, for sub-leased commercial property development rights (Vujović and Petrović, 2007:368), but the lease paid by the primary lease-holder is determined by the state in the form of zone boundaries and not market conditions (Nedović-Budić *et al.*, 2012:311).

However, grey (or indeed black) transactions are not distinctive to this type of land ownership regime. In a controversial intervention, Haila (2007) has argued that the ownership of land by the state in Chinese cities should not be seen as transitional or exceptional in any way. Nor is there such a thing as a perfect, untrammelled market for land towards which policy should be directed; what is more, the fuzziness that is seen by some to occur in China (or in Serbia) is not seen as such by all (Verdery, 2003). Fuzziness, indeed, should not be regarded as a unique feature of this system; there is after all no lack of grey areas in systems of private land ownership. A further point that Haila makes, one that might arguably be brought into consideration in the context of Serbia but cannot be properly considered here for lack of space, is that the emphasis on the legalistic aspects of a land market leads to a diminished regard for the production and distribution of housing as a social good (2007:15).

New Belgrade will never resemble Pudong or Hongqiao in its scale. It will always comprise this strange visual tableau of modernist blocks with strongly evident post-modernist fillings. But in its mixture of state-based but market-led urbanisation, it bears important commonalities with the two mega developments in Shanghai. Together, they remind us that there are diverse approaches to an entrepreneurial urban strategy.

CONCLUSION: MARKET FORCES ON STATE GROUND

As has already been noted, there was a brief period when China and Vietnam were thrown into the same 'transition' pot as the 'post-socialist' countries of Central and Eastern Europe; and their cities were seen to be undergoing the same transitional processes. Since then, most research in this area has leant towards an emphasis on path dependency, and this has particularly coloured comparative urban research in CEE, where it has become important to observe divergences in historical paths. Yet the concept of path dependency can also be deployed comparatively, to help build up an understanding of urban change in different geographical settings. This can reinforce the sort of strategic comparative exercise that I am undertaking here.

This paper is short and exploratory in nature, designed to generate discussion. But it is not the first essay in East Europe East Asia comparative urbanism. The historian of Shanghai Jeffrey Wasserstrom has written a paper in which he compares Budapest with

Shanghai (2007). Wasserstrom's work is built up out of impressionistic and discursive appreciations of the two cities, recognising the importance of popular epigrammatic and metaphorical narratives, such as when both cities are referred to as 'Paris of the East' (2007:228). Despite the occasional conceptual focus on 'cities in transition' and 'post-socialist' cities, strategic comparative urban work has seldom been attempted for Chinese cities. Equally, as I suggested at the outset, Belgrade has tended to be left out of the story of urban change in CEE countries.

China and Serbia share a common regime of ownership of urban land. In both Shanghai and Belgrade, we can see what I have called here a state-based but market-led process of urbanisation. In both cities, mega urban projects with differing histories have been used to engineer change in urban space. Although the process has not always been straightforward, especially in peripheral areas of Shanghai, the development of these large expanses of urban land has been facilitated by their ownership on the part of the state. The ultimate control exercised by the state has, it could be argued, allowed for a more coordinated process of development of the urban terrain.

Having followed not totally dissimilar socialist paths in the past, both China and Serbia retain this heritage of state ownership of urban land. It is true that collective ownership remains in place in rural China but not in rural Serbia. It is also the case that Serbia is attempting to move away from state ownership, but with little success (Nedović-Budić *et al.*, 2012). Perhaps the time has come then to call a stop to the clumsy and largely unfulfilled attempts to restore private ownership of urban land and take advantage of the benefits of state ownership, despite the mixed heritage this has in the Yugoslav context. It is to be hoped that planning authorities in Belgrade and Shanghai might perhaps come together to discuss the possibilities that this common form of urban land ownership holds.

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STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE ERA OF CRISIS: CURRENT TRENDS AND EVIDENCE FROM THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF THESSALONIKI

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Strategic spatial planning has enjoyed widespread implementation since the 1990s, especially in urban and metropolitan areas, having its focus on promoting their competitiveness and sustainability. Nowadays, the effects of economic crisis, together with growing environmental and technological risks, trigger the vulnerability of these areas and stress the need for resilience. This paper examines the role of strategic spatial planning in promoting metropolitan resilience in the era of crisis. It is argued that this type of planning is capable of supporting the adaptation of territorial systems to crisis-induced risks, as is, for instance, the case of planning for climate change. This is further analysed in light of four of the key aspects of the new strategic spatial planning, namely its principles, content, process, and utilization of resources. The paper draws evidence from the case of Greece and examines the above-mentioned aspects of the recently prepared new Regulatory Plan for the Thessaloniki greater area. The first results of this examination show that, provided there is political will which allows for necessary adjustments, the Plan has the potential to incorporate the dimension of resilience. The elaboration and exploitation of the strategic nature of the Plan and of its sustainable development principle constitute key elements of a resilience-oriented approach.

Key words: *Strategic spatial planning in Greece, Thessaloniki metropolitan area, metropolitan vulnerability, metropolitan resilience, resilience planning.*

INTRODUCTION

Strategic spatial planning has been promoted as a key planning instrument in recent years (Vasilevska and Vasić, 2009), finding a preferential field of application in urban and metropolitan areas (Albrechts *et al.*, 2003). When it re-emerged in the mid-1990s, it mostly responded to new challenges facing these areas, especially challenges stemming from intensified competition in the context of globalization, as well as the challenge of enhancing sustainable spatial development. Since then, a variety of strategic plans have been elaborated that focus on promoting entrepreneurship, innovation, creativity, sustainability, and so on, the aim being to orientate spatial organization and spatial development towards bold visions. This model

has been transferred to peripheral urban and metropolitan areas which seek to improve their relative position in the global terrain. As Raco and Flint (2012: 3) have noted, the prevailing sustainability planning model has proceeded in tandem with the effort to enhance economic growth, thus promising a 'win-win' agenda.

However, since 2008, several areas have been exposed to the impact of economic crisis, a fact which has made them vulnerable to related socio-economic risks. This is particularly true for urban and metropolitan areas in which the bulk of employment and productive activities is concentrated. At the same time 'the assumptions that underpinned planning systems and city strategies during the 1990s and 2000s have been rapidly undermined' (Raco and Flint, 2012:3), as public and private funding have been continuously reduced. This in turn has necessitated a new role and identity for strategic spatial planning, one capable of meeting these new challenges. It is then worth

questioning which characteristics, when incorporated into strategic planning, would best allow it to respond to current threats. This paper examines this very question, focusing on the Thessaloniki greater area, which is one of the two metropolitan areas of Greece. The paper draws evidence from the updating of the strategic planning document for the area which is currently in progress, attempting to identify the weaknesses and potentialities of this type of planning in current circumstances.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: The second section addresses some of the key issues raised for urban and metropolitan areas

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with an emphasis on the notions of vulnerability and resilience. In the third section the role of strategic spatial planning for metropolitan resilience is discussed. The fourth section draws evidence from the Thessaloniki greater area and particularly from the process of updating its Regulatory Plan, which is a strategic spatial plan. Finally, some conclusions are drawn with regard to the potentialities of strategic spatial planning for a resilience-oriented approach.

URBAN/METROPOLITAN AREAS AND CRISIS

Globalization and spatial competition have become increasingly influential during the past two decades; within this context, urban and especially metropolitan areas have played an important role in the development of regions and countries. The strengthening of urban competitiveness has been at the core of spatial development policies. It represents a shift on the part of governments and local authorities towards economic performance and away from social equality through redistribution, which had prevailed during the previous period (Thoidou and Foutakis, 2006). Thus, it contrasts with older Keynesian-type policies whose main aim had been 'administrative modernization, interterritorial equalization and the efficient delivery of public services' (Brenner, 2003:297). At the same time, it seems that the competitiveness-cohesion dipole, which has been the prevailing policy direction until now at urban and regional levels (Maloutas *et al.*, 2008), is no longer able to address the effects of multifaceted crisis on these areas.

In recent years several urban and metropolitan areas have suffered the consequences of economic crisis (Cohen, 2011; EC, 2013). The crisis has had multiple negative effects, which mostly concern 'economic life,...unemployment and underemployment,...urban poverty,... housing foreclosures...and financial crises of local governments' (Cohen, 2011: 11–12). It also has intertwining social and environmental dimensions. The impact of the crisis has varied from continent to continent, from country to country and from one area to another. In each area the severity of the impact of the crisis has depended on its particular manifestation, the prevailing pre-crisis conditions, and other area-specific factors (Clark, 2009). Urban and metropolitan areas are exposed not only to the impact of economic crisis, but also to natural and technological hazards, such as the impact of climate change (Greiving *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, the situation is aggravated by the growing complexity of these areas' functioning and institutional framework. This combination of

increased potential for dysfunction, together with their currently reduced coping capacity, creates vulnerability within these areas and consequently highlights the need for resilience planning.

Initially, the concept of vulnerability referred mainly to the conditions which arose from technological and natural hazards, for instance industrial accidents or climate change. However, in recent years, these same dangers have intensified, this intensification coinciding with the emergence of new threats due to the economic crisis. The 'coupling of a deep economic crisis with the perceived threat of an imminent global ecological crisis, above all because of climate change' characterizes the situation currently existing within cities and regions (Hudson, 2010:11–12). In the context of a recent study of European regions (ÖIR *et al.*, 2011:5), the notion of regional vulnerability was defined as 'a function of regional exposures and sensitivities towards the analyzed challenges and the regional adaptive capacities that are available to mitigate the impact exerted by the challenges'. So, the notion of vulnerability has now been extended to encompass current socio-economic risks (CJRES, 2010), which are either directly or indirectly connected to the economic crisis.

Indirectly, the worsening of the economic situation in an area could increase its vulnerability, because the latter also involves a lessening of the area's ability to deal with potential hazards, and given the fact that this ability is, to a large extent, connected to factors of socio-economic development which are being undermined. For example, the per capita GDP of a country is considered to be one such factor, because it reflects the ability of a region to face a catastrophe and, therefore, a decrease or increase in its vulnerability (Schmidt-Thomé, 2006).

The economic crisis not only intensifies the vulnerability of a city or a region, but it can also be a direct cause of it. The crisis influences both public and private spaces such as new residential areas, whose development depends to a large extent on the financial sector. One of the clearest examples of this was the collapse of the real estate market which was accompanied by the phenomenon of massive scale foreclosures covering huge areas of cities and metropolitan areas in the USA, and which led to the development of strategies for building resilient cities and regions (Swanstrom *et al.*, 2009). Actually, the utility of methods used to deal with vulnerability caused by natural hazards such as earthquakes, floods and so on, can be taken into consideration when dealing with the risks resulting from the economic crisis (Cohen,

2011:6–7). The consequences become more serious when they extend to all aspects of life in the city, such as deterioration of public services and infrastructure, unemployment and urban poverty. The crisis also affects the public sector, along with spatial planning institutions.

As a result, cities and regions have to develop their resilience to various risks so as to be able to overcome the impact of economic crisis, as is the case with the impact of environmental and technological hazards. Resilience is defined as 'The ability of a social or ecological system to absorb disturbances while retaining the same basic structure and ways of functioning, the capacity for self-organization, and the capacity to adapt to stress and change' (IPCC, 2007). Despite the fact that the above definition originated in the field of natural sciences and is used mainly in descriptions of the ecosystem and of combating climate change, resilience can also be used more generally in connection with cities and regions in crisis conditions (Foutakis, 2012). In this sense resilience to recessions can be viewed as 'the ability of a local socio-economic system to recover from a shock or disruption' (Martin, 2012:4).

STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING FOR RESILIENCE

Strategic spatial planning has enjoyed widespread implementation since the 1990s when urban and metropolitan areas all over the world prepared and applied strategic plans which were based on bold visions. Their goal was not only to deal with spatial organization problems, but also to guide the future development of these areas towards achieving a better position within the urban network on a worldwide scale and attracting tertiary economic activities especially in the sectors of the highest added value. New strategic spatial planning differs from the old type of strategic spatial planning in terms of its content as well as its procedures, which in turn are related to its key principles. As Albrechts (2011:15) notes, 'such planning involves the critical interpretation of structural challenges and problems and creative thinking about possible solutions and how to achieve them'.

While any attempt to tackle the consequences of the economic crisis in a uniform manner would be unfeasible due to the differences between cities and between regions, each case illustrates the need for mobilization of planning. Recently, strategic planning has become closely connected with tackling the vulnerability of cities and regions and ensuring their resilience (Dos Santos and Partidário,

2011), as well as with “linking different types of regional stresses to alternative resilience frameworks” (Pendall *et al.*, 2010).

Hence, it can be argued that new strategic spatial planning can be connected to ‘planning for resilience’ as outlined above. This is, firstly, because neither of these types of planning is substantially concerned with highly detailed or binding plans; instead, their focus is on the planning process in which the involvement of citizens plays a central role. Secondly, because sustainable development holds a prominent position both in strategic spatial planning (Albrechts *et al.*, 2003) and in planning for the resilience of territorial areas (Davoudi *et al.*, 2012:323). Of course particular attention is needed when applying “an ecologically rooted concept to the social setting” (Davoudi *et al.*, 2012:306).

Besides this, in crisis conditions spatial planning itself appears particularly vulnerable, due to the fact that its institutional framework is under pressure, and its funding is subject to restrictions. Hence, strategic spatial planning needs to incorporate a resilience-oriented approach if metropolitan resilience is to be promoted effectively. Schematically, such an approach should be incorporated in at least four aspects of strategic spatial planning, these being: principles, content, process and funding. More specifically:

The principles pertaining to metropolitan resilience should underpin and guide the key strategic objectives of each plan. In general, these principles have similarities with those of the new strategic spatial planning, for instance regarding the fact that sustainability plays a key role in both. At the same time strategic objectives should take into consideration the new challenges with which urban areas are faced, thereby forging a closer connection with the key principles of resilience. Resilience-oriented planning principles are still being formulated and several approaches can be found. Albers and Deppisch (2012) suggest the following principles for urban and regional resilience: ‘diversity, redundancy, flexibility/adaptability, modularity/interdependency, mobility, and planning foresight’.

The content of the plan specifies the plan’s principles and at the same time has to take into consideration key vulnerability factors, which of course differ from one area to another. Evidently, there are some factors of general importance which should not be underestimated, namely those pertaining to the impact of the economic crisis on metropolitan development. Particular emphasis should be placed on the way the urban fabric develops, so

as to counteract or reverse some of the effects of the economic crisis, for instance by securing the provision of public goods by means of a minimum level of public services and public infrastructure. It is worth noting that, in general, policy options that concern both urban interventions and residential development are closely interrelated. Both are affected by the economic crisis, with the severity of the impact, of course, dependent on the particular situation in each area and country (Ball, 2010).

The process of planning plays a decisive role in the development of metropolitan resilience, in particular in connection with the way citizens are involved in the stages of planning. Planning for resilience is in essence ‘a capacity-building process whose ultimate goal is to sustain a process of individual, organizational and social change’ (UNEP, 2006 cited in Dos Santos and Partidário, 2011:1525). It is argued that an improvement in coping capacity is essential to build resilience ‘to withstand the effects of natural and other hazards’ (ESPON, 2003:11). Necessary changes can be connected to changes in the organization of planning, for example through more active involvement on the part of the citizens. At the same time, the state appears to be changing direction, moving towards more interventionist policies (Raco, 2009). Arguably, active democratic participation in policy making could increase the resilience of strategic spatial planning.

The efficient utilization of available resources is also an issue pertaining to the resilience of cities and regions which indeed confront the danger of cuts in public and private funding. The choices made regarding the distribution and use of funds are closely connected to the need for a renewal of strategic spatial planning. Given that funds are limited, it is all the more important that decisions regarding their allocation are well documented (Kurban, 2008), and that the prioritization process is effectively informed by spatial planning strategy.

STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE THESSALONIKI GREATER AREA

The two metropolitan areas of Greece play a leading role both in the strategy of promoting spatial competitiveness and in the country’s development in general. An example of this would be the attempt of Athens to reorientate the production and spatial development model by focusing on the organization of the Olympic Games in the first half of the 2000s, as would Thessaloniki’s earlier strategic vision of playing an enhanced role in SE Europe. Today, the

effects of the crisis are apparent throughout the economy, and particularly in the employment sector (EC, 2013). These effects include a reduction in incomes, a sharp increase in unemployment, the undermining of public services and infrastructure, and the social and environmental effects of the crisis which are worsening in both metropolitan areas (see also Hadjimichalis, 2011).

In both areas an ambitious start to strategic spatial planning was given by the 1985 Regulatory Plans for Athens and Thessaloniki, which, however, were not perceived as strategic instruments at that stage. In 2003 the updating of the two Regulatory Plans began, and today the related studies have been completed. Public consultation has taken place and modifications have been made but the new laws have yet to come into effect. The following constitutes a brief examination of the Draft Law on the new Thessaloniki Regulatory Plan (henceforth ‘Plan’), in light of the four aspects of strategic spatial planning suggested above. The aim of this examination is to highlight some aspects of resilience which are considered to be crucial for planning under crisis conditions. Of course, further research would be necessary for a full analysis.

An examination of the Draft Law on the Plan (Or. Thes., 2012) reveals both its strategic nature and a preliminary projection of strategic goals. If the key characteristics of strategic spatial planning are taken into account, the strategic role of the Plan is also evidenced in the introduction of new ideas – first and foremost the sustainability principle – as well as in linking process and outcome by means of the provision made for an Action Plan (Thoidou and Foutakis, 2012). More particularly:

Firstly, concerning the principles of planning, it seems that the Plan places emphasis on the model of competitive and sustainable spatial development. This observation is based on the fact that the Plan sets the following long-term key strategic objectives (Or. Thes., 2012: 2):

- *Promoting development, competitiveness and innovation and strengthening internationalization.*
- *Promoting territorial and social cohesion and improvement of quality of life.*
- *Securing environmental balance and protection of natural and cultural resources.*

Of course it should not be overlooked that the conditions for pursuing these objectives have changed in the current crisis circumstances. More particularly, as regards the first objective, spatial competitiveness dominated the past

decade's vision for the development of the Thessaloniki metropolitan area (Thoidou and Foutakis, 2006). However, in regard to this objective, it is worth examining whether a continuation of pre-crisis strategies or a transformative action (Raco and Street, 2012) better meets current challenges, especially since in the past two decades 'The city failed to face the structural problems of its economy and to initiate a restructuring process' (Lambrianidis, 2012:1815). At the same time, the issues addressed by the second and third objective respectively, namely social cohesion and environmental balance, which in general are under pressure nowadays (Davoudi *et al.*, 2009:3), are of critical importance for securing the city's overall resilience. Possibly, the above three objectives could also form the basis of a shift towards a resilience-oriented approach, if their content and relationship were reconsidered, and if the emphasis were to be placed on the issues of social cohesion and environmental balance.

Secondly, as regards the content of the Plan, we have selected the issue of urban residential development for further discussion, as it highlights some of the major facets of vulnerability in metropolitan areas, involving not only the dimension of economic crisis, but also that of the energy and environmental crisis. Evidently, residential development is promoted by both the broad and the more specific targets of the Plan, which specify its strategic objectives. More particularly, the following broad targets can be distinguished as the most resilience-oriented (Or. Thes., 2012: 2–3):

- *Reducing social inequalities between different districts and fighting the phenomena of social exclusion that have a spatial dimension.*
- *Promoting urban sustainability, with the aim of improving the quality of life and the social well-being of citizens.*
- *Promoting a sustainable development model with its key axes being the reorganization and exploitation of 'within-the-plan' areas and the prevention of urban sprawl; the non-built environment being a critical sustainability factor.*

In turn, the broad targets are broken down into specific targets among which the following are potentially supportive of the resilience of the most vulnerable residential areas (ibid.):

- *Planning and designing urban and residential development with priorities placed on the upgrading of the urban landscape and the quality of housing, improving living conditions in deprived areas, and implementation of social policy for housing*

and upgrading of public services ...

- *Targeted management of deprived urban areas and pockets of social exclusion by means of integrated urban regeneration programs.*
- *Giving priority to residential and economic development for 'within-the-plan' areas (the compact city principle) in tandem with a focus on the identity of urban areas ... and the return of residents to inner-city areas.*
- *Land use regulation in the peri-urban space, control of 'out-of-plan' building, protection of ecological functions and of agriculture, and preventing urban sprawl.*

It should be acknowledged that the above policy options of the new Plan advocate the increased potential of strategic spatial planning to ameliorate metropolitan vulnerability in a twofold way. Firstly, selected urban interventions can serve primarily as a means of addressing the problems of the areas which are suffering the most from the symptoms of crisis. Furthermore, in conjunction with the compact city principle, strategic spatial planning could promote the containment of urban sprawl. This would appear to be crucial, due to the fact that severe environmental and financial problems often accompany new residential urban developments, especially in peri-urban areas wherein 'there are numerous conflicts, primarily related to the land use' (Živanović Miljković *et al.*, 2012:16). As Giannakou (2012) notes, starting in the mid-1990s, there was a rapid growth of urban sprawl in the Thessaloniki greater area. This growth was triggered by the residential development of suburban areas, a fact connected to the construction industry being stimulated by investment in any type of real estate.

Thirdly, concerning the planning process, in the early 2000s, in tandem with an attempt to establish metropolitan governance in the Thessaloniki greater area, efforts were made to initiate a participative strategic spatial planning model (Kafkalas, 2008). These efforts were indicative of the acknowledgment at the local (metropolitan) level of the need for a renewed planning process. Deficiencies stemmed from the fact that, 'the planning system in Greece is based on a hierarchical but fragmented structure' (Delladetsimas, 2012:11). Since 2010 prospects have arisen from the administrative reform which placed emphasis on self-elected authorities at the regional and local levels. Within the context of this reform, which emphasizes the second degree self-elected regional authorities, the provision made for the so-called metropolitan regions of Athens and Thessaloniki respectively could be utilized as the

basis for upgrading the role of both the metropolitan level bodies and the relevant participatory process in strategic spatial planning. However, this would require a reorganization of the metropolitan region and its competencies in this respect (see also Beriatis, 2012).

Fourthly, concerning the efficient utilization of financial resources, it is worth mentioning that during the last three to four years dramatic cuts in public expenditure, and consequently in public investment, have been in progress. This has been a result of the austerity policies implemented in the country since 2010. For instance the Public Investment Budget as a percentage of the country's GDP was reduced from 4.9% in 2003, to 3.2% in 2011 (Min. Fin., 2012: 98). Consequently there has been a drastic cut in resources available for the Plan's implementation, a situation which has demanded the prioritization of selected programs, measures and actions, based on specific criteria (Thoidou, 2012b). In fact, the Plan makes provision for its implementation by means of a five-year Action Plan consisting of five priority sectors. One noteworthy function of the Action Plan will be to set the criteria for the prioritization of the actions within each priority sector. Thus, the fundamental issue of prioritization of actions is transferred to the time of the initiation of the Action Plan.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the economic crisis continues and its impact on several countries intensifies the vulnerability of their cities and regions, an elaboration of specialized plans and methods capable of coping with these new challenges is becoming urgent. Urban and especially metropolitan areas are particularly susceptible to the consequences of the crisis. This is, to a large extent, due to their magnitude and complexity. As they face new types of problems, they have to rethink and re-orientate planning principles and content, as well as upgrade democratic participation in the planning process and utilize the resources available to promote their overall resilience. At the same time, spatial planning is under pressure as there are significant changes in the means of its application, especially in the institutional and funding framework. Of the spatial planning tools applicable in metropolitan areas, strategic spatial planning can, in the current situation, be considered the one most relevant to the need for both resilience of spatial planning and planning for resilience.

In the case of strategic planning for the Thessaloniki greater area, provisions are made by the new Thessaloniki Regulatory Plan for both civil protection and protection of the

environment. These provisions also place significant emphasis on climate change mitigation and adaptation, and can, therefore, be considered representative of a resilience-oriented approach to strategic spatial planning (Thoidou, 2012a). So, this approach to strategic planning could be extended to include dealing with the risks associated with the impact of the crisis on metropolitan development.

In seeking to define those elements of the new Regulatory Plan which confer the dimension of resilience thus enhancing the Plan's ability to address crisis-induced challenges, this paper has briefly examined the issues of principles, content, process and funding as they emerge from the Plan. It can be concluded that even though no direct provision is made for planning in conditions of crisis, and this is due to the fact that the draft of the new Regulatory Plan was almost completed just before the start of the crisis, there are, nevertheless, significant elements within the Plan which could secure a new role for planning towards metropolitan resilience, the most important of these being the positioning of the sustainable development principle as its overall aim. At the same time, even some of the weaknesses of the Plan could be turned into opportunities, for instance the fact that the issue of prioritization of actions is transferred to the time of the initiation of the Action Plan.

Overall, it could be argued that a resilience-oriented approach could be incorporated in the Plan, as long as its focus is on sustainable development, and provided that the social cohesion and environmental balance components of sustainability along with the Plan's strategic character are further elaborated and exploited.

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„BLUE-GREEN“ CORRIDORS AS A TOOL FOR MITIGATION OF NATURAL HAZARDS AND RESTORATION OF URBANIZED AREAS: A CASE STUDY OF BELGRADE CITY

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Urbanized areas constantly need new surfaces for building of commercial, residential or infrastructure facilities. Belgrade, the capital of Serbia and a big regional center, with 2,000,000 inhabitants, covers a territory of 3,500 km². Decreasing of surfaces under forest vegetation, urbanisation and inadequate agricultural measures have caused intensive erosion and more frequent torrential floods. Belgrade authorities have defined a new strategy for land use and urban planning in order to decrease the risk from destructive erosion processes and torrential floods and help the establishment of new recreational areas, preservation of biodiversity and mitigation of the „heat island“ effect. The strategy is based on the restoration of „blue-green“ corridors (residuals of open streams and fragments of forest vegetation). The restoration of „blue-green“ corridors is presented at the experimental watersheds of the Kaljavi and Jelezovac streams. The restoration works will be performed in the 2014–2020 period, on the basis of erosion and stream control demands, as well as environmental and social requests, including biological, soil-bioengineering activities and certain administrative measures. The forest surfaces will be increased by 1.38 km² (18.11% of the total area). The restoration of „blue-green“ corridors in the experimental watersheds will decrease the values of maximal discharges ($p = 1\%$) by about 50%, and the volumes of direct runoff by about 40%. Erosive material production and transport will be decreased by about 44% in the Kaljavi stream watershed, and 37% in the Jelezovac stream watershed. Ten kilometers of sealed walking and cycling paths, 1.7 km of unsealed forest paths, six open gyms and seven rest areas will strengthen the potential of this area for sports and recreation. The restoration will help the protection and controlled usage of the natural and cultural values in the area, and the connection of „blue-green“ corridors at different spatial levels. The final goal is the creation of a network of „blue-green“ corridors in the territory of Belgrade city, which provides both effective erosion and stream control and environmental and social services.

Key words: „blue-green“ corridors, natural hazards, watershed restoration, land use, urban planning.

INTRODUCTION

The development of highly urbanized areas requires the occupation of new spaces that are mainly located in riparian areas or in the remaining fragments of green spaces

(Li *et al.*, 2005; Nichols, 2009). Land-use changes such as deforestation and topsoil removal, dramatically alter hydrological conditions by reducing the interception and infiltration–retention capacity of the soil, exposing the soil to the impact of rain, which accelerates erosion and surface runoff (Ristić *et al.*, 2012). The dynamic and uncontrolled urban development of Belgrade have caused the vanishing of great

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green complexes and the occupation of spaces in riparian areas, and this is still an ongoing process: construction of the apartment and office block on the edge of the Terazije plateau; a large number of apartment blocks on the left bank of the Sava River, in the area intended for flood protection and recreation; illegal construction on the edge of the park forest Zvezdani Gaj; the disappearance of forest areas near the Lisičji stream. The core of the city area involves a few dozens of watercourses, with fully or partly urbanized watersheds, which have been introduced into the sewerage system (the Čuburski, Kumodraški, Mokroluški, and Žarkovački streams, etc.). Numerous important city streets were built just above former stream beds (South boulevard, and Nemanjina street, etc). At the same time, some big cities in the world can show different examples that are in line with the modern urban sensibility and ecologism. These examples are the restoration of the Cheonggyecheon stream in Seoul (Seoul Development Institute, 2003), or the locality Don Valley Brick Works in Toronto (Foster, 2005).

Belgrade, the capital of Serbia and a big regional centre with a population of 2,000,000, covers a territory of 3,500 km². The territory of Belgrade has 187 streams with watersheds that are mostly rural in the higher parts and urbanized or highly urbanized in the lower parts (Faculty of Forestry & Institute for Water Resources Management "Jaroslav Černi", 2005). A high concentration of housing, office and infrastructural facilities made Belgrade poor in green areas compared to other cities in Europe. Green areas occupy 14 m² per capita at the city level, whereas in some parts of the city, such as Vračar, they cover only 2 m² per capita (Urbanistic Institute of Belgrade, 2001).

The authorities of Belgrade defined a strategy for erosion and torrent control based on the restoration of "blue-green" corridors. The restoration of "blue-green" corridors helps the establishment of new recreational areas, preservation of biodiversity (Saumel and Kowarik, 2010; Ramirez and Zuria, 2011) and urban adaptation to climate change (Kazmierczak and Carter, 2010). The restoration of „blue-green“ corridors is presented at the experimental watersheds of the streams Kaljavi and Jelezovac.

The „blue-green“ corridors concept

Each watershed contains certain elements that can be unconnected (isolated), which gives them a static character, or functionally connected, which gives them a dynamic character (Figure 1). If the residuals of open streams and fragments of vegetation (forests, meadows, shrubs) are connected with the green line structures that comprise paths (walking, cycling), they form „blue-green“ corridors, with the following

functions: mitigation of the „heat island“ effect, terrain drainage, sports and recreation, restoration of autochthonous flora and fauna, aesthetic and visual effects.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The concept of restoration of the "blue-green" corridors is presented at two experimental watersheds of the Kaljavi and Jelezovac streams, just a few kilometres from the centre of Belgrade (Figure 2). The main hydrographic characteristics of the experimental watersheds are presented in Table 1. The experimental watersheds experienced torrential floods (in 1965, 1994, 2002), which endangered buildings, land and roads, when the water levels increased from 0.10–0.15 m to 1.6 m (the Kaljavi stream) and

1.7 m (the Jelezovac stream), as a consequence of severe thunderstorms, with the intensity of precipitation of up to 6 mm/min.

The consequences of land-use changes have been analysed on the basis of field investigations, the use of aerial and satellite photo images, topographic, geological and soil maps, using ArcMap10. The land use classification was made on the basis of modified CORINE methodology (EEA, 1994). The visual impact in the studied area was assessed through a view shed analysis using the ArcMap10 software (module Spatial Analyst Tools). Particularly, the scale of the influence of restoration works in accordance with the specific topography and visual exposure of the area has been analyzed (Bell 1994; Selman 2006; Bell and Apostol, 2008).

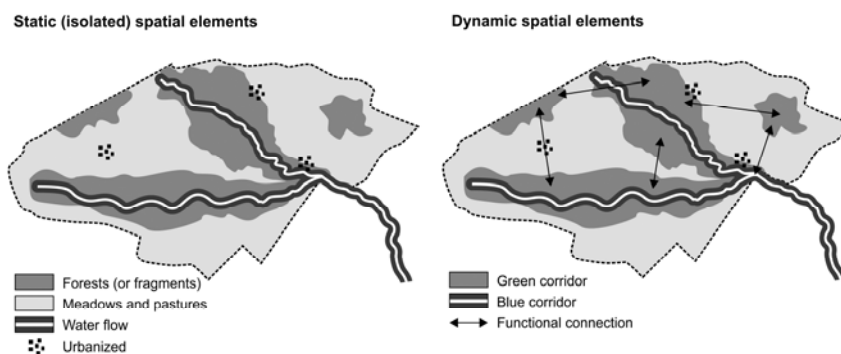


Figure 1. „Blue-green“ corridors concept

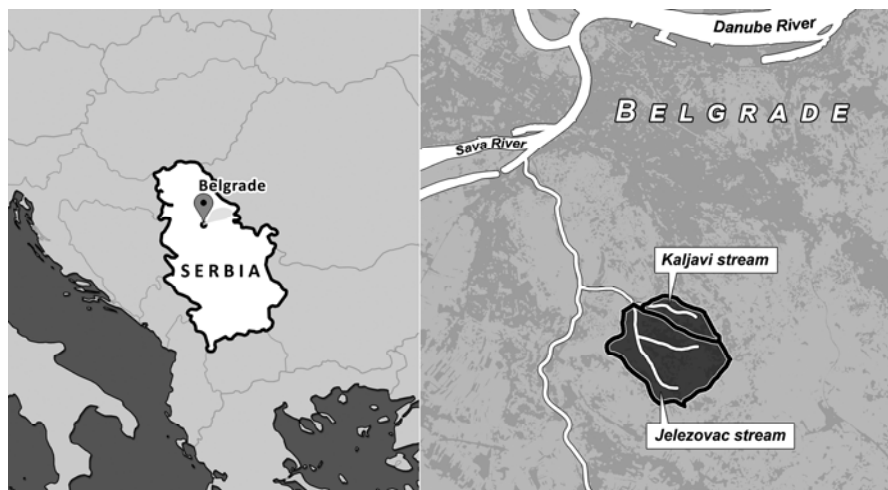


Figure 2. Location of the experimental watersheds of Kaljavi and Jelezovac streams

Table 1. Main hydrographic characteristics of the experimental watersheds

Parameter	Mark	Unit	Kaljavi s.	Jelezovac s.
Magnitude	<i>A</i>	km ²	1.4	6.22
Perimeter	<i>P</i>	km	5.76	10.54
Peak point	<i>Pp</i>	m.a.s.l.	249	308
Confluence point	<i>Cp</i>	m.a.s.l.	115	112
Mean altitude	<i>Am</i>	m.a.s.l.	191.6	184.2
Length of the main stream	<i>L</i>	km	2.45	4.12
Absolute slope of stream bed	<i>Sa</i>	%	5.47	4.76
Mean slope of stream bed	<i>Sm</i>	%	4.74	2.91
Mean slope of terrain	<i>Smt</i>	%	7.44	10.64

The area sediment yields and the intensity of erosion processes have been estimated on the basis of the “Erosion Potential Method” (EPM) (Kostadinov, 2008). The changes of hydrological conditions were estimated by the comparison of the maximal discharges under current conditions (2013) and after the complete restoration of the “blue-green” corridors (2020), on the basis of computations of maximal discharges (Q_{max}) using the synthetic unit hydrograph theory and the SCS methodology (SCS, 1979; Chang, 2003).

The aim of this investigation was to show how the planned restoration of the “blue-green” corridors, as well as adequate land use changes, can help the improvement of hydrological conditions in the endangered watersheds, the provision of effective erosion and torrent control, and environmental and social goals.

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Land use changes

The land use changes in the experimental watersheds are presented in Figures 3 and 4, under current (2013) and future conditions (2020). The current area of forest surfaces will be increased from 0.21 km² (15.0%) to 0.48 km² (34.3%) in the Kaljavi stream watershed, and from 1.27 km² (20.4%) to 2.38 km² (38.3%) in the Jelezovac stream watershed.

The traditional agricultural production will be transformed into organic food production, with a significant reduction of agricultural surfaces from 0.14 km² (10.0%) to 0.03 km² (2.1%) in the Kaljavi stream watershed, and from 1.9 km² (30.6%) to 0.48 km² (7.7%) in the Jelezovac stream watershed.

Restoration works will be performed in the 2014–2020 period, on the basis of erosion and stream control demands, as well as environmental and social requests. The following biological and soil-bioengineering activities are planned: the afforestation of degraded arable land on steep slopes (1.15 km², 1500–2000 seedlings per ha, 2- to 3-years old) with planting along the contours on the previously prepared bench terraces; re-grassing of the degraded meadows, 0.73 km²; the establishment of orchards on terraces, with grassing between terraces (mostly apple, plum trees and currant; 0.2 km²) and gardens (cherry tomato, red peppers, basil; 0.31 km²) for organic food production, instead of abandoned plough land; the establishment of protective forest belts along the stream beds; and walking and cycling paths (0.23 km²). Also, some administrative measures (bans) are planned, including clear cuttings, cuttings on

steep slopes, straight row farming down the slope and uncontrolled urbanization. Land owners have (with financial support from the authorities) the duty to apply contour farming and terracing of agricultural land (orchards and gardens) as effective measures of erosion control. In addition, 10 km of sealed walking and cycling paths, 1.7 km of unsealed forest paths, six open gyms and seven rest areas are planned.

Effects of mitigation of natural hazards

The most significant natural hazards in the investigated area are erosion processes and torrential floods. Some characteristic outputs of the computations of sediment yields and transport are presented in Table 2, along with

the representative values of the coefficient of erosion Z , in current conditions (2013) and after the complete restoration of the “blue-green” corridors (2020), in the experimental watersheds (W_a , annual yields of erosive material; W_{asp} , specific annual yields of erosive material; W_{at} , annual transport of sediment through hydrographic network; W_{absp} , specific annual transport of sediment through hydrographic network; W_{abls} , annual amount of bed-load sediment; W_{ass} , annual amount of suspended sediment).

The effects of hydrological changes were estimated by determining the maximal discharges in current conditions (2013) and after the complete restoration of the “blue-

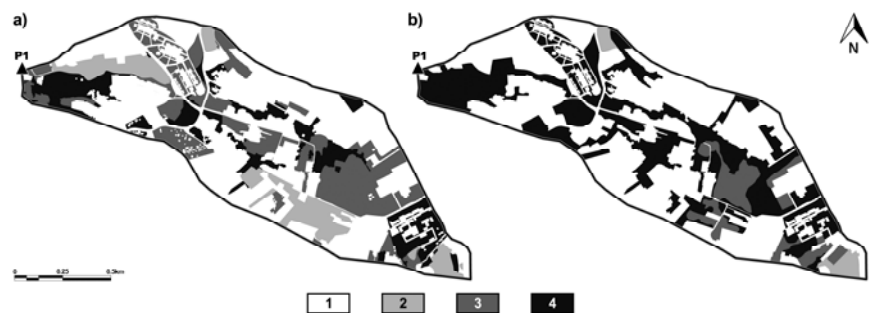


Figure 3. Land use in the watershed of the Kaljavi stream; (a) (2013; 1 Discontinuous and continuous urban fabric, 0.74 km²; 2 Complex cultivation patterns: arable land, orchards, gardens, 0.14 km²; 3 Grasslands, 0.31 km²; 4 Mixed forests and forest belts, 0.21 km²); (b) (2020; 1 Discontinuous and continuous urban fabric, 0.79 km²; 2 Complex cultivation patterns: orchards, gardens, 0.03 km²; 3 Grasslands, 0.10 km²; 4 Mixed forests and forest belts, 0.48 km²)

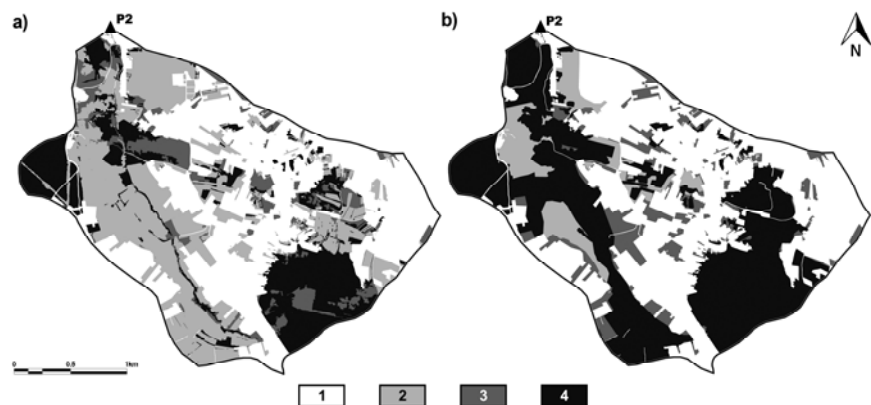


Figure 4. Land use in the watershed of the Jelezovac stream; (a) (2013; 1 Discontinuous and continuous urban fabric, 2.49 km²; 2 Complex cultivation patterns: arable land, orchards, gardens, 1.90 km²; 3 Grasslands, 0.56 km²; 4 Mixed forests and forest belts, 1.27 km²); (b) (2020; 1 Discontinuous and continuous urban fabric, 2.73 km²; 2 Complex cultivation patterns: orchards, gardens, 0.48 km²; 3 Grasslands, 0.63 km²; 4 Mixed forests and forest belts, 2.38 km²)

Table 2. Characteristic outputs of computations of sediment yields and transport under current conditions (2013) and after restoration (2020)

Parameter	Current conditions (2013)		After restoration (2020)	
	Kaljavi s.	Jelezovac s.	Kaljavi s.	Jelezovac s.
W_a (m ³)	336.9	1730.3	187.9	1084.1
W_{asp} (m ³ km ⁻² year ⁻¹)	240.6	278.2	134.2	174.3
W_{at} (m ³)	71.8	427.4	40.0	267.8
W_{absp} (m ³ km ⁻² year ⁻¹)	51.3	68.7	28.6	43.1
W_{abls} (m ³ year ⁻¹)	7.0	32.6	1.9	14.9
W_{ass} (m ³ year ⁻¹)	64.8	394.8	38.1	252.9
Z	0.217	0.239	0.147	0.175

green” corridors (2020). The computed values of maximal discharges (for the control profiles P1 and P2, at the Kaljavi and the Jelezovac streams, Figures 3 and 4) are presented in Figure 5, as hydrographs for probability $p = 1\%$. The values of computed maximal discharges under current conditions ($Q_{1\%_Jel-2013}=22.4 \text{ m}^3\cdot\text{s}^{-1}$; $Q_{1\%_Kalj-2013}=7.0 \text{ m}^3\cdot\text{s}^{-1}$) and after the planned restoration works ($Q_{1\%_Jel-2020}=11.4 \text{ m}^3\cdot\text{s}^{-1}$; $Q_{1\%_Kalj-2020}=3.5 \text{ m}^3\cdot\text{s}^{-1}$), will be significantly reduced, as well as the volumes of a direct runoff ($W_{1\%_Jel-2013} = 0.226 \times 10^6 \text{ m}^3$; $W_{1\%_Kalj-2013} = 0.071 \times 10^6 \text{ m}^3$; $W_{1\%_Jel-2020}=0.136 \times 10^6 \text{ m}^3$; $W_{1\%_Kalj-2020} = 0.043 \times 10^6 \text{ m}^3$).

DISCUSSION

The restoration works were planned to ensure minimal impacts of the surrounding environment built on the restoration areas (Hostetler *et al.*, 2011), maximize connectivity between “blue-green” areas and minimize development at the watershed scale (Ives *et al.*, 2011), taking into account ecological, recreational, natural and cultural characteristics of the local areas (Asakawa *et al.*, 2004; Briffett *et al.*, 2004). Biological and soil-bioengineering works, as well as the application of administrative measures, will alter and improve the hydrological conditions by increasing the interception and infiltration-retention capacity of the soil, protecting the soil from the impact of rain, decreasing erosion and surface runoff (Đeković *et al.*, 2013). In this way, the experimental watersheds of the Kaljavi and Jelezovac streams will become less responsive to extreme events such as with high rainfall intensities.

The restoration of “blue-green” corridors in the experimental watersheds of the Kaljavi and Jelezovac streams will decrease the values of maximal discharges ($p=1\%$) by about 50%, and the volumes of direct runoff by about 40%. Erosive material production and transport will be decreased by about 44% in the Kaljavi stream watershed, and 37% in the Jelezovac stream watershed. Ten kilometres of sealed walking and cycling paths, 1.7 km of unsealed forest paths, six open gyms and seven rest areas will enrich the potential of this area for sports and recreation (Figure 6).

In addition, the restoration will help the protection and controlled usage of the natural and cultural values in the area, including a very rare object of geodiversity (phonolite rocks), the section for ornithofauna (40 bird species) observation and a neolite settlement. The restoration of the “blue-green” corridors enables their connection at different spatial levels (Figure 7), including the following: at the intra

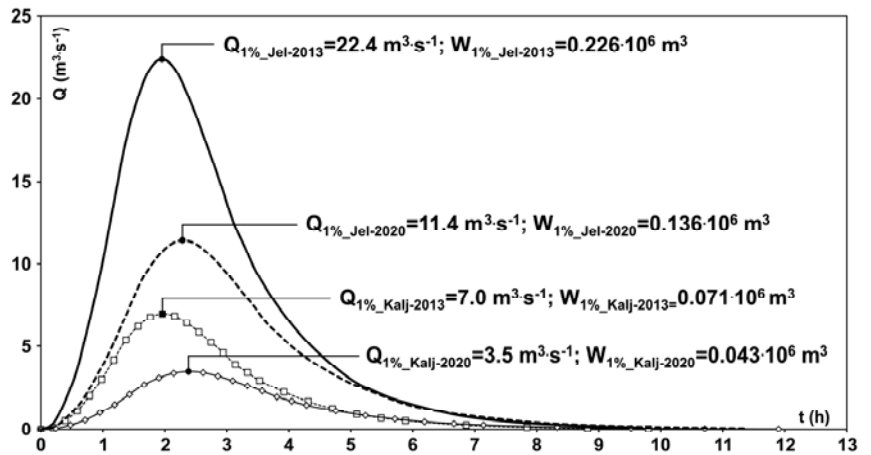


Figure 5. Computed hydrographs of maximal discharges into the Kaljavi and Jelezovac streams (under conditions before and after restoration of the “blue-green” corridors).



Figure 6. Possible image of the Jelezovac stream riparian area

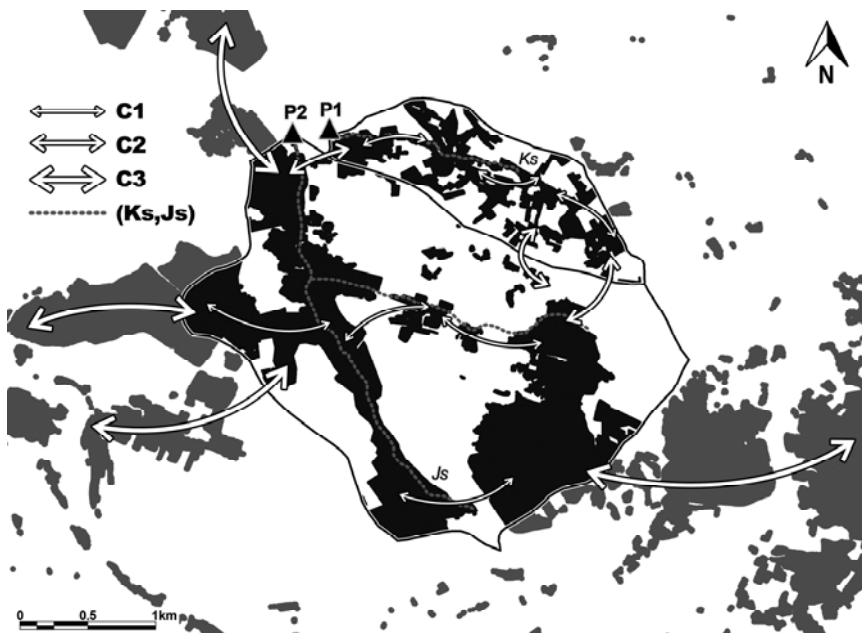


Figure 7. C1 (Microscale connections; intra-watershed level); C2 (Mesoscale connections; inter-watershed level); C3 (Macroscale connections; trans-watershed level); Ks (Kaljavi stream); Js (Jelezovac stream); P1 (outlet control profile at the Kaljavi stream watershed); P2 (outlet control profile at the Jelezovac stream watershed).

watershed level (C1-microscale connections), the inter-watershed level (C2-mesoscale connections) and the trans-watershed level (C3-macroscale connections). The final goal is the creation of a network of “blue-green” corridors in the territory of Belgrade city, which provides effective erosion and stream control, and environmental and social services.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this research indicate that the restoration of „blue-green“ corridors in the city of Belgrade will have significant positive effects on the following:

- The identification and protection of the remaining forest areas, other valuable green areas and watercourses;
- The prevention of natural hazards (torrential floods, destructive erosion processes);
- A necessity to react quickly in order to protect the remaining green areas, open streams and riparian areas;
- The mitigation of the effects of climate change (CO₂ sequestration; O₂ emission; reduced “heat island” effect);
- The conservation and protection of biodiversity;
- The establishment of new sports and recreational areas;
- The rehumanization of the city space.

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CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL HERITAGE – – AN ASSET FOR CITY BRANDING

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Achieving wider recognition is part of the development agenda of contemporary cities, which are all confronted with the need to stand out and compete against one another. City branding reads as and plays an important role in this struggle for recognition. The identity of a city is generated over a long period, as it undergoes historical change, resulting in cultural diversity as the product of a specific environment.

This paper discusses the possibility of using the cultural and historical heritage of Trebinje and its identity as an asset to create its city brand. Trebinje is a small city situated in the vicinity of Dubrovnik, a major tourist destination with a rich cultural and historical heritage and an excellent city brand. Dubrovnik may be seen as jeopardising the development of Trebinje's authentic identity; on the other hand, the strong historical ties between the two cities can actually be used as an asset to develop Trebinje's city brand.

*The material and non-material heritage which helped the formation of Trebinje's identity, is analysed. The Mediterranean region in which it is located, its rich history, authentic architecture and different cultural influences, including the national poet Jovan Dučić, have all helped create Trebinje's *genius loci*. The same factors may be used to communicate its new image.*

After that, the paper outlines models of the possible use of the recognised assets to brand the city and emphasise the importance of the effective presentation of these assets for creating a recognisable city image. It also proposes specific actions and interventions that may contribute to branding the city.

Key words: *identity, brand image, city branding, Trebinje, asset, *genius loci*, cultural and historical heritage.*

INTRODUCTION

The average man living in the information age receives and sends a lot more information than the one living a century ago. It is based on such information that one decides where to live or spend holidays. For any city in the contemporary world, it is very important to be special and easily recognisable. It is a way to more easily attract investors and tourists and be a better place of residence.

City identity is the result of longtime processes which usually have a historical background and contain elements of cultural and historical heritage, mentality and *genius loci*. On the other hand, city image is a very important aspect of city presentation. It may be the

outcome of a successfully developed strategy under a selected motto; the subject of this paper explores what the steps of this process should be. In developing such a strategy all recognisable assets can and should be exploited. Among them cultural and historical heritage, prominent artists, and other elements of non-material culture are of major significance.

Trebinje is a small city very close to the Adriatic Littoral. It is only 30 km away from Dubrovnik. Although the two cities have quite distinct histories, throughout time they established special ties. The architecture and culture of Trebinje has been significantly influenced by the Mediterranean. Also, oriental influences were very strong during the Ottoman period. All these elements contributed to the creation of a specific *genus loci* and citizen mentality, both of which have helped preserve a very strong city identity. Despite this strong

identity, its image remains underdeveloped.

An asset is a resource strongly connected with an entity (place) and is the result of past events. Assets are relied on to create future economic benefits for entities. Historical and cultural heritage (material and non-material), identity and specific *genius loci* are recognised as assets in creating a strategy for city branding. This paper is a case study which attempts to answer the following questions:

1. Can Trebinje's strong identity be used as an asset for its city branding?
2. How can specific material and non-material cultural and historical heritage be used to create the city brand of Trebinje?

This paper was presented at the 2nd International Scientific Conference „REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, SPATIAL PLANNING AND STRATEGIC GOVERNANCE – RESPAG“, Belgrade, 22nd-25th May 2013, organised by the Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia.

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Also, this paper examines what has been done to date in the branding process and if this can be used as a successful branding strategy. The official web site of the city boasts a slogan which claims Trebinje to be a city of culture², which has the strength and clarity of a branding motto.

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF TREBINJE

Like very few places in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Trebinje is a city with a very rich history. The existence of habitations in the territory of Trebinje goes back as far as the Roman period. Korać supposes that a Roman military fortification once stood at the site of what is today the Old Town. Ante Figurić presumes the location of a military camp in the area of today's neighbourhood of *Police* along the bank of the River Trebišnjica. His claims about the existence of a Roman camp are supported by the assumption that the word Travunia comes from the Latin word *tribunus*, which means a military commander (Guzijan, 2009).

The first written information about the city after the arrival of the Slavs came in the mid-10th century from Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, a Byzantine emperor and writer. According to him, there were 5 settlements in the Travunia region, including Trebinje. During the Middle Ages, it belonged to some Serbian noble families. In 1186, Trebinje was conquered by the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja, after which it was annexed to the Kingdom of Raška (Serbia), remaining in it for the next two centuries. The city cherishes the memory of Queen Helen of Anjou³, who ruled this area for over 40 years, and remains the region's longest continuously ruling sovereign (Guzijan, 2009).

The Ottoman conquest of the Serbian territories completely changed the course of Trebinje's development, which became a major Turkish border fortress and a support place for Dubrovnik in its trade and economic activities. The position of Trebinje on a major trade route, which connected Dubrovnik with the hinterland, helped strengthen the ties between the two cities. The Trebinje fortress, known as Banvir, was built in 1706 by Osman-pasha *Resulbegović*. The merchant city quarters *Gornja Čaršija* and *Krš*, the first to be built beyond the city walls originated in the Ottoman period (Guzijan and Cvijić, 2009). According to the existent records, the city assumed an oriental form, although Mediterranean

influences remained very strong in terms of the city's architecture (Guzijan and Cvijić, 2010).

The transformation of the city began under Austro-Hungarian rule (1878). Military camps were built in the city, along with defensive fortresses on the surrounding hills. The city began to develop along the city walls in an organised manner. Public buildings were grouped in the city centre with squares and parks, and rural dwellings rose in the suburban area. Commercial facilities were built along the important roads to Dubrovnik and Bićeća. Many of today's parks, streets, and places were built in the 19th century (Guzijan and Cvijić, 2009).

There were no significant construction projects in the Interbellum. After World War II, the city started to sprawl on vacant land. New residential developments were built between the 1960s and the 1980s, but the city neither grew nor developed significantly or in important manners. In 2012, Trebinje was officially granted city status.

ASSETS FOR TREBINJE BRANDING

As mentioned above, an asset is a previously created value which may be used through certain procedures and activities for the benefit of individuals and communities. If we think of culture as a created legacy which may be used to attract tourists and thus help boost local economic growth, then categories such as cultural and historical heritage, identity, and *genius loci* may become assets to be used for city branding.

A successful strategy for the city branding of Trebinje would have to rely on creating a link with the city's historical identity. The identity of a city may be preserved only by taking account of the following: the preservation of its cultural heritage, the status of the artists living in the city, cultural animation and spiritual life, cultural diffusion, and cultural and spiritual meanings (Kaladžević, 2011). As a matter of fact, anything that is somehow special in a city may attract tourists. Related literature distinguishes between 3 main categories of contributions, the built environment, hallmark events, and famous personalities (Dinnie, 2011). Visitors to a city are interested in particular sites such as a famous cathedral or a beautiful landscape. As of recently, the modern architecture of New Belgrade has been recognised as an asset for city branding (Manić and Backović, 2010). Tourists visit cities which are associated with famous personalities, e.g. painters, musicians and writers. The impact of hallmark events on the local image of a city may also be substantial. Some well-known recurring events are the annual Cannes Film Festival, or the Salzburg Festival (Dinnie, 2011). Trebinje

meets all the three criteria. The text below lists and expounds the most prominent assets of Trebinje.



Figure 1. Plane-tree park



Figure 2. City square

Even though the listed elements are mentioned separately for the purpose of analysis of Trebinje's assets for branding, they should be considered integrally when building a recognisable city image of Trebinje.

Built environment

According to Lynch, whose views accrued based on empirical research, most individuals perceive the city as a set of built objects. In particular, five physical elements play a role in constituting people's image of a city: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (Dinnie, 2011).

The natural resources of Trebinje, Mount Orijen and Mount Leotar, River Trebišnjica and the city park, are supplemented by its built environment, comprising the Old City, the city square and the *Krš* neighbourhood, which all constitute a recognisable image of the city's vistas and cityscape. Also, there are many buildings in Trebinje which count towards the city's immovable cultural and historical heritage. Undeniably worth mentioning is the Old City, which has for the most part been preserved in its original cultural and historical form and is reminiscent of the fortified towns of the Mediterranean. The town is made of stone and consists of a wall and towers that were once used for defence; it dominates the city, a fact which makes it functionally advantageous and should

² The original motto in Serbian reads "Trebinje – grad kulture".

³ Helen of Anjou (in Serbian, Jelena Anžuska), Queen consort of Serbia, wife of Stephen Uros I and mother of Kings Stephen Dragutin and Stephen Milutin.

allow it to be the hub of cultural activities.

Within the Old City there are buildings that are also cultural goods and naturally belong in this cultural and historical ensemble. Within its walls are Osman-pasha Resulbegović's Mosque, the Emperor's Mosque, the Clock Tower and the Museum of Herzegovina (previously the building of the city grammar school/gymnasium). The Museum of Herzegovina is an important institution of culture whose activities are directed towards the collecting, preservation and presentation of the city's movable cultural heritage. Among its most important exhibitions are the Dučić Legacy, an ethnological collection, the Milena Šotra Legacy, and the Memorial Painting Exhibition "Atanasije Popović". One must not forget the Orthodox Christian Church, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Resulbegović House (demolished in the 1990s) and the Arslanagić Bridge, a major cultural monument relocated during the construction of the water power plant on the River Trebišnjica (Gužijan, 2010).

An urban ensemble developed at the turn of the 20th century in the area beyond the Old City walls, which today comprises the city market, Liberty Square, an area planted with plane trees, the city park and streets built under Austro-Hungarian administration. King Peter the Liberator Street, built in the fashion of European towns with elements of Mediterranean architecture, resembles the pedestrian street of Stradun in Dubrovnik (Gužijan, 2010).

Another special urban ensemble is the quarter Krš, whose narrow streets, staircases and stone houses have been unjustly neglected. A part of the quarter was demolished in the 1960s for urbanisation purposes. There are several medieval monasteries in the vicinity of the city (Tvrdoš, Zavala, St. Peter and Paul's Monastery), and the Branković Tower, a fort also dating back to the Middle Ages.

The Herzegovina Gračanica Monastery has an open-air amphitheatre used by Trebinje's citizens as a gathering place. The flat top of Crkvina Hill is one of the city's prominent spots, with the most



Figure 3. Monument to Jovan Dučić at the entrance to the city park

beautiful views of the city. Also, there are several towers nearby built during the Austro-Hungarian period, which are equally important as landmarks. One of them is presumed to have been designed by Richard Neutra.

There is an ample collection of artefacts which Jovan Dučić brought from around the world. He also brought plants and sculptures to be put in the city park. Among other things, he had a monument built to honour the great poet Petar Petrović Njegoš.

Famous personalities

Many cities are identified with the famous historical people or artists who were born or worked in them. Popularity and enhanced recognisability mean better chances of branding a city effectively. Figueras, a small town in Spain, became internationally famous thanks to Salvador Dali, who was born, lived and worked there until he died. The town boasts a museum dedicated to the painter, which is visited by hosts of tourists every year.

Quite a few famous people are related to Trebinje. The list is too long for each name to be mentioned in this paper. On this occasion, we will only mention those whose work made an indelible mark on the city's identity and whose names may be used to build its city brand. The connection between Trebinje and Jovan Dučić is certainly the strongest one.

Trebinje is directly affiliated with the famous Serbian poet Jovan Dučić, who was a native of Trebinje. During his lifetime he built a successful diplomatic career and became one of the most popular Serbian poets of the 20th century. He died in the United States in 1943. In 2000, his body was reburied in the Herzegovina Gračanica Church on Crkvina Hill. Two poetry events, "Dučić Day" and the Trebinje Summer Festival, take place in his honour. Besides Jovan Dučić, Trebinje's recent history is marked by the story of the heroic death of Srđan Aleksić, killed in the latest war. A film has been made about the young man's tragic killing. Srđan Aleksić was a member of the Trebinje Theatre "Slovo", who on 28th December 2008 performed a memorial play entitled "Epilogue" showing the young man's life.

Helen of Anjou, the Queen of Raška (Serbia), was also mentioned above. The memory of her life is vivid in Trebinje's identity. A statue of Helen of Anjou decorates the city walls, and Trebinje youth visit it and pray to the queen, who has been sanctified, to bless them with luck in love. They bring flowers, especially oleander, some of which are believed to have been naturalised to the Trebinje area by the queen.

The life and work of the painter Milena Šotra is

also related to Herzegovina, thereby to Trebinje as well. The artist had two solo exhibitions, and the above-mentioned collection of her works, the artist's legacy to the Museum of Herzegovina, is irrefutable proof of her ties with Trebinje.

St. Vasily of Ostrog was an important figure in the history of Trebinje. He was born in the village of Mrkonjić in the carstic plain of Popovo near Trebinje. His family house has been reconstructed, along with his mother's grave, and is a pilgrimage destination for Orthodox Christians. His name is also linked to Tvrdoš Monastery, where he lived for a while. The ties between St. Vasily and Trebinje are very important for the growth of religious and cultural tourism.



Figure 4. Herzegovina Gračanica Church and park

Hallmark events

There are quite a few towns and small cities across the world known for big events. One to be mentioned is Bayreuth, with its annual festival during which operas composed by the famous German composer Richard Wagner are performed. Dubrovnik is also famous for its Dubrovnik Summer Festival, which brings together artists from around the world and mainly stages theatre plays, dance and music performances.

The greatest cultural event held in Trebinje is the previously mentioned Trebinje Summer Festival, which is traditional and comprises a number of events. It ends with the "Dučić Evenings of Poetry" as the major event. Equally important is the "Dučić Day".

Furthermore, an art colony named Lastva International Art Colony has been taking place in Trebinje for years now. It is also part of the Trebinje Summer Festival. It was named after the village of Lastva, located on the shore of Lake Lastva, 12 km away from Trebinje. The village is a magnet for anglers and lovers of nature alike. It has beautiful natural and manmade swimming pools. Lastva was first mentioned in written records in the 11th century. Apart from Lastva, the colony takes place in Jazina, another village of exceptionally

beautiful scenery. Both villages have been recognised as potential tourist destinations.

More events are worth mentioning, among which the annual concert of the Tribunia City Choir, Trebinje Wine Festival (“Trebinje’s Days of Wine”), the annual exhibition of graduates of the Academy of Art, and St. Sava Festivities, which is organized by the community of the Serbian Orthodox Church and is dedicated to Serbia’s first archbishop, who ruled the Zahumlje county for a while.

A POSSIBLE BRANDING MODEL

Before drawing up a possible strategy for the city branding of Trebinje, an explanation of the term “city brand” and of the idea of branding a city (place) is in order. A place brand is the totality of thoughts, feelings and expectations that people hold about a location. It is the reputation and enduring essence of a place and represents its distinctive promise of value, providing it with a competitive edge (Baker, 2012).

City branding should be seen as an instrument of urban marketing, which is a relatively new discipline. It is not uniformly used in European countries. It is almost unknown in some developed countries. Other countries make great efforts in using different cultural and other occasions for promoting their cities. Communication is an essential component of urban marketing because action must have the consensus of all stakeholders (Šimunović, 2007). For city branding to be successful, it is necessary for its stakeholder organisations to come together in partnership. This is a formal or informal body in which the key stakeholders jointly develop, create and lead on the implementation of the brand of the place under shared responsibilities (Dinnie, 2011).

Place (city) branding is a complex process which provides a framework for studies, strategies and activities. It must be based on truth and reality. Although there is no universal rule for city branding, some common steps of the branding process may be outlined. Baker offers seven steps of the destination branding process, which he calls 7A’s (Assessment and Audit; Analysis and Advantage; Alignment; Articulation; Activation; Adoption and Attitudes; and Action and Afterward). He emphasises that those are the critical questions that must be answered (Baker, 2011). Eran Ketter in his branding strategy recognises three stages of the branding process. They are analysis, planning and execution.

There is a strong economic aspect to culture, provided it is planned properly from the beginning. It may trigger the urban renewal and create an image of a city, where it should not



Figure 5. Panoramic view of Trebinje and the Arslanagić Bridge

be used as a temporary instrument – as goods aimed at external needs, but as the internal strength and a long-term potential that will be the recognisable symbol of an urban centre (Vulić *et al.*, 2012). Whilst the aim of this paper is not to develop a full-fledged strategy for the city branding of Trebinje, we will see how some specific features of Trebinje can be used purposefully in the branding process. As this paper discusses the possibilities of using cultural and historical heritage as an asset to create a competitive brand image of Trebinje, the most significant assets which can be used in the branding strategy are the Old City, the townscape of the main street and the city square, Helen of Anjou and legends connected to her life, Jovan Dučić and the Trebinje Summer Festival, and St. Vasily of Ostrog.

Although the Trebinje Summer Festival is a well-known regional cultural event, it should be extended to include a series of events which should all serve the purpose of Trebinje’s promotion as a city of culture.

The Trebinje quarter Krš, rather neglected and derelict, could be transformed into a bohemian area, with restaurants offering national cuisine, galleries and studios of Trebinje artists, and into the venue of minor cultural events, which could be staged at the small neighbourhood plazas.

Very little has been done to increase the reputation and visibility of Trebinje as a culture hub. The Development Strategy for Trebinje 2009–2017 presents a vision of the future development of the city that proposes three goals. The first goal is promoting Trebinje as the most desirable small city in Southeastern Europe. It proposes that Trebinje build an

image of a creative place and environment, as Dučić’s town, and emphasises the metaphor of Trebinje as a “lyrical poet-city” among similar cities. The second goal is harmonising the spiritual and the secular, cultural heritage and natural heritage, the Mediterranean and the continental, the urban and the rural, the old and the new. Trebinje ought to invigorate its recognisable identity with a new young creative community. The third goal involves the production of clean energy, healthy food, quality life, excellent wine and a most attractive tourist destination. Even though the goals do not constitute a brand strategy, they do contain elements for branding (Miovčić *et al.*, 2008).

Trebinje’s nature, recognisable cityscape, *genius loci*, and cultural and historical heritage may be used as the key elements in its city branding. The process must begin with a comprehensive analysis of the physical, social and cultural potential of the city and anticipate possible lines of action. Urban renewal which will take into consideration the historical and cultural context of this or any other city is certainly an unavoidable step in the branding process.

It must be borne in mind that the proximity of Dubrovnik as an international culture centre will be an aggravating circumstance for branding Trebinje as a city of culture. This will definitely impact the efforts to position Trebinje as a regional centre of culture, but there is also a possibility to connect the two cities, since the ties binding them go a long way. Programmes of events and happenings should be planned as to be compatible with the programme of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. In that sense, it will be possible to increase the city’s recognisability by promoting the ideas and concepts rooted in

Herzegovina's local traditions and the fame of the poet Jovan Dučić.

It is crucial to involve all stakeholders in the branding process. Along with the local administration and authorities, this also means the private sector and local community, as well as tourist organisations. Creating a successful brand essentially depends on joint and coordinated activities of all stakeholders. Branding cannot be the doing of one man or a closed group of experts. It must be reconfirmed in the field, along with the results of the activities.

The branding process ought to create conditions to recognise the value of the city's cultural and historical heritage, sights and *genius loci*, and incorporate them in the development strategy, not neglect them or let them fall into ruin. Town planning should also take part in the city branding. The value and elements of Trebinje's building heritage ought to play an important role in the city image; also, new venues for cultural events should be placed on the map of the city. Urban renewal is only one step of a range of all-encompassing activities demanding full coordination. The planning documents developed thus far have failed to recognise this qualities and potential of the city of Trebinje.

CONCLUSION

Trebinje has a lot of potential which is neither presented nor promoted adequately. Despite all its worth as a city, Trebinje has always been but a stopover en route to Dubrovnik, a town whose tourist potential was never duly invested in. There has been a growing interest to develop this potential in the last few years, which has already produced some results (Gužijan and Cvijić, 2009). However, given the city's resources, this is definitely not enough. Undoubtedly, Trebinje is the economic and cultural centre of Eastern and Old Herzegovina. As mentioned above, the slogan "Trebinje – A City of Culture" stands on the official web page of the city. A range of annual or sporadic events that take place in Trebinje partly justify the slogan, but grounding the city branding strategy in culture as its main resource commands that the city adopts a definite cultural policy as a strategic planning document bringing together a variety of stakeholders and cultural workers, in order to protect and promote the city's cultural assets. Given the cultural potential of the city, which incorporates such elements as an ensemble of cultural and historical heritage, history, legends, famous people and cultural events, it may be concluded it would be possible to turn

Trebinje into a regional cultural metropolis; however, the strategy behind the cultural policy regarding this city would have to put a strong focus on the special characteristics of Trebinje's cultural domain.

Although branding takes account of the interests of all stakeholders, especially the local community, it is not aimed at internal target groups but rather at external ones. The goal of branding and creating a recognisable image of the city is to attract new tourists and visitors to it, which will eventually bring those willing to invest in the city. For branding to be successful, the conduct should change in three respects: from reactive to creative; from industrial to entrepreneurial; and from bureaucratic to project-oriented (Miović *et al.*, 2008).

The fact that Trebinje has been officially granted city status may lead to branding it as a city of culture. Following the possible analyses and strategies discussed in this paper, we are hopeful that we may soon see it become a city of culture with a solid and recognisable image.

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REHABILITATION OF URBAN IDENTITY OF CITIES IN THE BANJA LUKA REGION THROUGH URBAN FORM REGULATION

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This paper points to the possibility of codification of urban planning and application of physical regulation standards in urban form design to establish such instruments of guidance as will ensure the recognition, appreciation and development of local urban identity. The purpose of establishing general principles and making quality recommendations that would aim at urban form design regulation and be implemented as qualitative criteria and regulation standards is to propose a methodology for the rehabilitation of the City of Banja Luka's identity applicable to similar cities in the region, with due adjustments to allow for contextual specificity, with the possibility of coordinated regional city development.

The discontinuity in the urban development of Banja Luka and other cities in the region has jeopardised the inherent characteristics of their identities, resulting in reduced recognisability and impaired integrity. This study covers the period since the beginning of Banja Luka's guided urban development (Austro-Hungarian administration, 1878), which should allow a review of its urban morphogenesis and an understanding of its key elements, as well as identification of the general principles and rules of urban form regulation as laid down in the local ordinance and planning legacy.

Key words: urban form, identity, renewal, regulation, principles.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

The development of the urban identity of Banja Luka and most cities in the region is marked by problems identified as reduced recognisability and impaired integrity, which seriously jeopardise its main elements. These problems stem from a discontinuity in the urban development of these cities, affecting their overall development; also perceptible is the disintegration of their urban form, arising from urban transformation. The contemporary social and cultural contexts of these cities are plagued by the actualisation of three mutually incompatible concepts: globalisation; the political, economic and cultural unification of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and the insistence on the regional peculiarities of the Republic of Srpska.

This paper starts with the thesis that urban identity is a process and must be observed as such, taking account of the influence of natural-

morphological, socio-economic, cultural and other factors on its development. This study understands identity as a whole that preserves its major characteristics despite constant change (Majstorović, 1979), and it seeks to identify the key characteristics of a city's urban identity, whose protection and preservation should be the priority line of action when it comes to the renewal and advancement of that identity. The goal is to create a methodological framework for relevant research and application concerning other cities in the region, and to form a theoretical platform for strategic investigation into the possibility of a concurrent and compatible regional development of these cities. This study covers the period since the beginning of Banja Luka's statutory planning (Austro-Hungarian administration, 1878) to date, in order to identify the general principles and rules behind urban form regulation as laid down in the local town planning ordinance legacy.

CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE PHENOMENON OF URBAN FORM

Urban form is recognised as a point of convergence, a meeting place and source of theoretical and practical effort; it is a reflection of and a framework for scientific and professional activity when drawing up a concept of regulation and establishment of urban order. Theoretical research into the urban environment sees urban form as a heterogeneous and composite urban phenomenon, and its contemporary investigations insist on interdisciplinarity and contextualisation. In this

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paper *contextualisation* of urban form translates as concurrent consideration of a range of spatial and temporal aspects for the purpose of understanding its complexity. Urban form is observed from the perspective of urban morphology, as inseparable from urban landscape, to understand its composite nature and multiple meanings. It is essential to see the various aspects and levels of space as urban landscape, and to understand urban form as a temporal design process.

In this paper urban form is observed as an area of representation of urban identity and recognised as a domain in which possibilities to improve urban identity may be actualised. It is implied that it is precisely urban form, which is an integral part of urban landscape and is both symbolic and objective, that makes legible the physical and symbolic manifestations of urban identity. The issue of identification and examination of possible physical elements of representation, functional standards or symbolic meanings of a distinct urban environment is thematised accordingly. The possibility of implementing principles of urban codification in planning on the one hand, and of physical regulation standards in urban form design on the other, is indicated in order to activate appropriate planning and design tools to ensure the recognition, appreciation and development of local or regional urban identity.

Therefore, urban form is treated as a constituent of urban landscape, which ensures *optimal spatiality*, i.e. visual encapsulation of the various spatial elements of urban landscape into an *organic, preorganised compositional whole* (Dobrović, 1998). Because urban landscape is understood as composite, something that merges urban morphology with the visual character of a city; since it is analysed and interpreted as man's habitat, urban form and physical structure, permeated with and fused by the landscape structure, thriving with human activity and laden with symbolic value, meanings and messages – it is recognised as an expression of the conceptualisation of the city and as an instrument of research, planning, design and preservation of the environment (Simonović *et al.*, 2011).

URBAN FORM REGULATION

Urban form is an expression of spiritual, social, historical, spatial and physical continuity. The continuity and endless succession of urban frames, expressed as the co-existence, at multiple levels, of various urban forms originating in different time periods and social sources, confirm the existence of a lasting link between human power and the changing social

tissue. In this paper, the concept of urban form is used in an *integral* sense, which combines the objective and symbolic aspects of this complex phenomenon, i.e. physicalness of the urban environment and its mental and symbolic projections or *images*, which carry symbolic meanings and emanate communicative significations. Urban order, as established, is embodied in urban form as understood above, through its physical and functional as well as normative and cultural aspects. Since the physical or material ingredients of urban form are present in its built structure, open spaces, the natural and morphological characteristics of a place and inherent spatial relations, we believe urban order can be established through the physical regulation of urban form. By urban order we mean a system of spatial elements and their interrelations, patterns of use and meanings of urban form, established through a process of harmonisation with social and legal systems, which guarantees the development of urban identity (evaluation, protection, conservation, rehabilitation and enhancement of the quality of the key inherent elements of identity).

Understanding urban regulation as a way of organising and harmonising spatial relations and managing urban development, as well as a means of translating various goals, values, interests and needs into urban form norms, this research takes into account town planning standards as operational instruments of regulation, and categories of town planning codes and norms as tools for unifying and striking a balance between research findings, planning and construction experiences, and the changing needs and potentials of the urban environment.

Legacy and challenges of Banja Luka's changing urban form regulation

Building codes and standards are that which connects the inherited values and meanings of the building heritage with contemporary practices of planning, design and production of urban space. They may be labelled keys to the interpretation of historical layers of meaning, or the DNA of our cities, as Andreas Duany does in his review of the book *The Code of the City* (2005) by Eran Ben-Joseph. Analysis of the urban development of the City of Banja Luka from the perspective of urban regulation provides insight into the evolution of the codes and standards used, and into their impact on the design, creation and transformation of its urban form and urban landscape.

The lifespan of codes, standards and town-building rules varies: some are implemented continuously and in different contexts, which

over time earns them the attribute of universality; others last for as long as a given social system or cultural context; finally, the longest-standing ones are those which substantively reflect local or regional characteristics and meanings. Today's high-tech societies are protected by all kinds of rules, not truly universal but widely used in different local conditions; understandably, such codes, rules and regulations gradually become alien to the local conditions in which they originated. Understanding this phenomenon necessitates an explanation of the birth of town planning norms and their use, from the beginnings of urbanisation until today. This should tell us how to shape our environments to be sustainable and desirable – by implementing flexible codes and standards reflecting the authentic conditions and particularities of a given local and regional social and cultural context (Ben-Joseph, 2005).

Records of statutory town planning and development and written construction codes may be found in the history of any culture or civilisation, and date back to antiquity. Worth mentioning are Aristotle's principles of how to build beautiful and safe towns, Vitruvius' recommendations on the foundation of towns (Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, 1990), and Byzantium's Julian of Ascalon's treatise of construction and design rules. Because of their flexibility, these rules and norms developed over a long period of time and often stemmed from customary law and communal ethics. Their emphasis on the right relation between adjacent buildings, the right of first use, privacy, etc., influenced the development of most Mediterranean cities in the Byzantine era (Ben-Joseph, 2005).

In the Middle Ages, between the 12th and 14th century, European cities established city authorities in charge of urban development (Bern, Siena, Venice, Dubrovnik). These authorities were guided by rules, regulations, instructions or recommendations for planning, design and construction. Respecting strict and detailed rules of construction (codes), they made their cities develop uniformly, creating unique vistas and cityscapes, for which many of them are still well-known today. The same construction rules applied between the 13th and 19th century, eventually allowing the reconstruction of street fronts in ways pertinent to the new practices of the modern era, while respecting the existing proportions (Dimitrovska-Andrews, 1994). Both in the Renaissance and later, with the application of the rules of perspective, many cities were planned and their physical appearance designed with great precision and in detail.

The second half of the 19th century saw a romantic revival of the ideas of ancient architects and the Renaissance, those which were concerned with bringing order to city composition and image, leading to the development of modern town planning in European cities based on new principles, as the art of city building according to aesthetic rules. Camillo Sitte combined Aristotle's principles with Vitruvius' building recommendations and Renaissance aesthetic principles into the fundamental principles of town design (Zite, 1967). In this period, town planning was not strongly influenced by architectonic aesthetics in only Austria and Germany, but also in other European countries and the United States (Dimitrovska-Andrews, 1994).

From customary law to building rules, laws and codes to statutory planning and construction

The oldest records of construction standards in the form of rules or codes as applied in the process of Banja Luka's statutory planning and development are found scattered in a number of historical sources. They are parts of customary law, a kind of codex – a set of rules pertinent to different issues of social life, which were locally observed for a long time. The most important of the above rules were the right to a view (vista or prospect), the road right-of-way and free access to other common goods, and the inviolability of private property. *The right to a view*, i.e., entitlement to a view (vista), was unique as a rule originating in customary law and communal ethics, since it was a standard that ensured the provision of high-quality housing. In the aforementioned treatise by Julian (6th-century Byzantine architect, native of the Palestinian coastal town of Ascalon), this rule is called *the preservation of a view*. The rule stipulated the preservation of direct views of the sea and harbour, with specific guidelines in relation to three different view categories, the foreground, which pertained to the coast, harbour and docked ships, the middle ground, and the background.

Based on the analysis of historical records and maps related to Banja Luka, it is possible to conclude that the most prominent element of the local planning and construction code legacy concerns its impact in terms of the redesign of urban form and landscape, which is natural, logical and rational relative to the existent physical resources, in that construction was adapted to correspond with the land morphology. This resulted in flexible rules, which meant consistently adjusting to concrete cases, finding solutions that relied on the outcomes of previous experiences, and

preventing the spoiling of landscape and other public and common goods of the urban community. These rules were observed in their fundamental form for a long time, and their adaptation to particular cases did not significantly change them; it even made them ubiquitous to an extent. Also, having formed in such a way, the codes resulted in consistent urban form and are visible in the foremost and permanently inherent characteristics of the city's urban identity.

Banja Luka's spatial development under Ottoman occupation resembled that of the majority of settlements in the region. New habitations emerged one after another in the form of a chain or string of neighbourhoods; these neighbourhoods were called *mahale* and formed Banja Luka's recognisable longitudinal layout, following the river and/or the main thoroughfare. A new neighbourhood would form on vacant land downstream, right beside the previous one, after it had reached its optimal size. In addition to linearity, Banja Luka became polycentric in the 16th century; these two features have characterised its urban development through all its stages.

When the Austro-Hungarian administration began its activities of formal spatial planning and the exploitation of natural and other resources in Bosnia and Herzegovina, many of the rules originating in customary law had already taken deep roots in the period prior to and during Ottoman occupation (along with the above-mentioned *right to a view*, *road right-of-way and free access to other common goods*, and *inviolability of private property*, there were also strict rules concerning the use and maintenance of common urban spaces, like marketplaces, town centres, streets, and especially endowment complexes or related facilities). Between 1880 and 1884, the Austro-Hungarian administration surveyed Bosnia and Herzegovina, adopted and implemented the *Building Order Act – Bauordnung* – and other useful laws, which helped implement its strategy of statutory planning and spatial development in the country.

Many elements of Sitte's *city planning according to aesthetic principles* were included in the Manifesto of the Austrian Society of Engineers and Architects (1877), and the spatial development of Austrian cities at that time was strongly influenced by aesthetic principles. To what extent were these principles incorporated in the building rules and regulations that came into effect in Bosnia and Herzegovina the final decades of the 19th century, and what was their effect on the spatial development of its towns? The answers to

these questions can be found in the legislation as adopted and implemented by the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the goal of bringing formal order to local construction practices. The key documents are the Building Order Act, or *Bauordnung*² (1880), and Building Order Regulations, respectively adopted for all regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The effects of the adopted principles on urban form are interpreted relative to the statutory and construction plans and other related documents on urban transformations.

Two codebooks were used in Banja Luka, *The Building Order Regulations for Public Technical Service in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia* (1894)³, and *The Building Order Act for the National Capital City of Sarajevo* (1893)⁴. Importantly, the Building Order Regulations included rules of design and planning of settlements and towns. *Municipalities and Building Departments* were in charge of the regulation of town planning and construction, and they adhered to the relevant legislation and plans as approved by the National Government. The legislation guided the building of new town quarters or neighbourhoods, and space for public facilities such as squares and streets was acquired through municipal purchases or given away by legal owners. New streets and roads were laid in line with adopted town plans and width specifications for five different road categories. The length, width and height of structures were strictly defined by the *Building Departments*.

A second Building Act was adopted in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1931, during the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, drawn up to be applicable across a vast and heterogeneous region, parts of which previously developed in distinct circumstances and according to different scenarios. Its significance stems from the fact it combined two types of codes, those relating to the development, expansion and regulation of settlements in general, and those pertaining to the construction of buildings, construction land, and buildings themselves. All towns were required to adopt a *regulatory*

² Bauordnung für Sarajevo – I band Sammlung der für buch Erlassen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweinsungen – Allgemeiner Theil-Politische Verwaltung, (Wien: 1878-1880, 14 May 1880), pp. 249-287 (АРСБЛ IV 71/1878-80).

³ Propisi za javnu tehničku službu u kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji (Zagreb: Kr. Hrv.-Slav.-Dalm. zemaljska vlada; 1892, 1894) (АРСБЛ II 1167).

⁴ Грађевински ред за Земаљски главни град Сарајево, Гласник закона и наредба за БиХ, 1893. година (Сарајево: Грађевна управа, No. 75, 15 August 1893), pp. 543-581 (АРСБЛ IV 16/1893).

plan, ordinance and building code, as prescribed by the Act, thus adopting custom-made building ordinance. The Banja Luka Building Code was adopted in 1936/37, but the preparation of the Regulatory Plan was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II. The Building Code (1931) contained town planning specifications concerning sanitary and technical standards, as well as architectural codes stipulating the design and building of streets and squares and maintenance of monuments; it also had special stipulations regarding *historical-artistic cities*. It specified *construction zones*, i.e., land intended for city or town development and expansion, as defined by regulatory plans. *Construction zones* were divided into *high-density housing*, which consisted of row or terraced buildings, *medium-density housing*, with semi-detached buildings, and *low-density housing*, with detached buildings and houses (§ 14). This division into high-, medium- and low-density housing corresponded to the previous division of *building orders (rows)* into *closed, half-closed and open construction*.

The above analysis and comparison of the Building Order Act (1880) and the Building Act (1931) and of their corresponding codes and regulations reveal similarities and common features in the two documents. Despite a fifty-year gap, both pieces of legislation included *all the modern urban standards and principles of the science of town planning and construction* (Обрадовић, 1931). The building code adopted in the late 19th remained in effect and was observed in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia until 1931, with some adjustment to the new circumstances. The two codebooks share certain flexibility because of the need for applicability across a vast and diverse area; accordingly, this allowed their easy adjustment to local conditions and requirements as needed. Both pieces of legislation were grounded in the principle of functionality and paid heed to structural aspects, visual and aesthetic aspects, and design and perceptual aspects (*image* of the city and *image* of the street; criteria concerning the quality of the built environment, such as *harmony, integrity, and singularity*, the principle of protection of public interests and common or public goods). They both strongly insisted on keeping as much vacant land as possible in areas with high-density housing, as well as on architectural design in compliance with aesthetic principles and particularities of the site and surroundings. Evidently, it was possible to interpret the stipulations as formulated in the two documents to meet the requirements in ways sensitive to specific contexts. This recognition of the importance and value of

local particularities, recognisable features of specific places, and respect for the local building code legacy lead to the conclusion that the key elements of the identity of a place subject to these acts were effectively preserved thanks to their flexible code formulation.

The most drastic changes to Banja Luka's urban landscape induced by transformations of the social and cultural context were effected during the period of intensive urbanisation and regional economic development in the socialist Yugoslavia. The key change compared to the time before was that building in the city was now directed through town and spatial planning, as opposed to the implementation of building codes in line with plans. Another important factor was the nationalisation of private land, which was appropriated by the state; municipalities became the sole owners of construction land and made decisions single-handedly with regards to land boundaries, ways of use and terms and conditions of land use. Spatial and urban plans of towns and cities in the SFRY treated land as a planning resource, and the state used planning to control and direct urban development.

In the period after World War II, no comprehensive federal law on the building of cities was adopted comparable to the one from 1931. The 1931 Act remained in effect until 1949, the year of adoption of the Master Plan Ordinance⁵, which basically 'reduced building legislation to planning legislation' (Krstić and Pajović, 1987). The Spatial Planning Act for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1974) was the first in a series of the *town planning laws* modified, amended and adopted in the period until 1986. The spatial planning and construction laws implemented in the 1980's were based on communal agreement and *communal planning*: urban planning professionals practiced *town and spatial planning by agreement*, spatial planning was integrated into 'societal design', and legislation was removed from the source matter of city building, spatial planning and environmental concerns (Krstić and Pajović, 1987).

As stipulated by *The Republic of Srpska Spatial Planning Act* (1996), spatial planning means directed, comprehensive care for the natural and built environment and involves measures and multidisciplinary activities pertaining to the construction process, spatial and urban planning, urban, architectural and building design and construction. However, its authors make no mention of principles of sustainable development, at a time when sustainable development was by

and large debated, promoted and integrated in the EU and regional legislation. It is mentioned in the Republic of Srpska Spatial Development and Construction Act adopted in 2011, but neither of these laws contains regulatory elements pertaining to town planning and construction; instead, they specify the manner of development, adoption and implementation of plans, and are highly normative.

We believe that general rules and regulations should be introduced based on urban codification, i.e., that general building codes should be introduced with the goal of bringing urban order at the state or entity level. They should allow for sufficiently flexible implementation at the regional and local levels, reviving the practices of treatment of space and traditional building codes as found in the related legislation of the former times.

TOWARDS A REHABILITATION OF URBAN IDENTITY

In the last two decades, the development of Banja Luka and other towns and cities in the Republic of Srpska, bearing the consequences of the socialist development and civil war, has been marked by two trends, degradation of natural and urban landscape and urban form disintegration, which has had a negative impact on the urban identity and genuine character of cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their rehabilitation is urgent – it will open up possibilities to reinstate the shared but neglected and hidden qualities and meanings in our environment.

How can this be achieved? First of all, the key features of identity can be read in urban form and urban landscape, observed integrally and in mutual interaction (their physical and symbolic aspects combined). Their identification and valuation must be based on the recognition of the quality of urban form through both qualitative criteria (sufficiently broad to be used in a range of circumstances) and quantitative or measurable criteria (acting as indicators). The process should include laws and codebooks, as tools to transpose and balance research findings with the traditional building and planning experience and shifting needs, opportunities and particularities of a specific urban environment.

This paper relies for its conclusions on the results of the urban-morphological study of Banja Luka's urban form and the development of its urban identity by Симоновић, 2010. Banja Luka's urban form is assessed on the numerous criteria of the quality of spatial characteristics, which all imply additional criteria for evaluating the quality of more complex features of the built

⁵ Službeni list FNRJ, no. 78/49.

environment, and others. The aforementioned study helped recognise the key elements of Banja Luka's identity, the conspicuousness of the natural (landscape) in its urban environment and a balanced complementation of elements of the physical structure and landscape, as well as the complementary constituents of its integral and harmonious urban landscape. The key features of urban identity in its urban landscape are easily observable. The character of the city is determined by its relationship to the water flow and topography, which has been disrupted by the latest developments. Clear boundaries between private and public spaces, a mark of identity originating in the local tradition, are gradually disappearing. The evaluation and comparison of the quality characteristics of urban identity have shown a major discrepancy between discrete parts of the city and the city as a whole.

Banja Luka's *multilayeredness* is a special feature of its identity, which means that a number of architectural and cultural codes can be seen in its urban form. In the recent decades, due to extraordinary circumstances, this multilayeredness has degraded to fragmentation, leading to the city's urban form disintegration. Research findings on urban landscape were used to evaluate the effects of various transformations of Banja Luka's urban landscape on the inherent characteristics of its identity (Simonović *et al.*, 2011). The study identifies the existence of problems due to large-scale transformations of natural landscape into construction land, in turn also reducing its diversity and creating new urban landscape images, without a foothold in its urban identity. The conclusion is there has been a gradual transformation of urban landscape by means of constant intrusion of developments into natural landscape, followed by urban sprawl to include adjacent habitations or villages, resulting in a conurban form, continuously spatially linked with the urban core. In addition to the structural, morphological and functional transformation of the urban landscape, there have been peculiar socio-cultural changes, with implications for the most important characteristics of the City of Banja Luka's urban identity.

CONCLUSION

It may be concluded from the above discussion that there is a problem-based, methodological interdependence between the processes of urban identity renewal and improvement and those of urban form reintegration and urban landscape regeneration. Hereby we recommend

the adoption of a developmental, interdisciplinary and integrated approach when dealing with these processes, which should comprise methodological and problem-based considerations and actions taken from various aspects, in order to activate the recognised potentials of space (physical, social, economic, ecological, cultural); renewal of existing values and creation of new ones; and production of high-quality, distinctive wholes with strong identities. Thus, culture as an important resource of memories, images and events, purification and regeneration as an opportunity for reanimation of neglected areas, and, finally, national dignity and reconciliation as catalysts of numerous global and local tensions have been emphasised as places of urban identity (Stupar and Đukić, 2007).

These processes take place by means of statutory planning, through the establishment of general principles and recommendations for quality planning and urban form design, in the form of town planning standards. The determination of qualitative and formal urban form criteria must be based on the identification and valuation of identity features and the development of a strategy for their protection and restoration. The established criteria (as quality attributes of the built environment) become standards or norms, as operational statutory planning instruments, determining the relation between the desirable and the possible. It is possible to identify elements and spatial relations to be governed by standards at all levels of space consideration. In addition to physical regulation instruments, the process is guided by means of urban codes and legislation or various kinds of state or public intervention (Симоновић, 2011).

The implementation of principles of urban codification, understood as the introduction of the category of construction rules, which would be general to the extent necessary for bringing order to town planning at the state and entity levels, but also flexible enough at the regional and local levels, would enable the creation and introduction of the necessary spatial planning tools, aimed at protecting and improving the features of the local or regional identities of cities. It is possible to apply the proposed method (allowing for adjustment to respect the principles of contextual specificity and local identity) in Banja Luka and other towns and cities in the region. Eventually, the process would help establish a common dispersion network that would give these cities local and regional distinction.

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THE ROLE OF PUBLIC INSIGHT IN URBAN PLANNING PROCESS: INCREASING EFFICIENCY AND EFFECTIVENESS

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Public interest (citizens, investors, interest groups, NGOs, media and similar) in the urban planning process and proposed planning solutions, certainly is not negligible, however, according to the opinion of the professional public, it has often been wrongly directed and conducted. The legal basis, which in rudimentary outlines prescribes the procedure of the public insight/hearing, i.e. the presentation of the planning document, does not provide sufficient input, however, also does not prevent organization of more qualitative and productive communication with the interested individuals, not only at the very finalization of plan development, but also at the initial phases of the initiative for decision making or forming the conceptual solution. In order to better comprehend the real needs of the citizens, urban planners should much earlier than the public insight i.e. presentation of already formed solutions, get in touch with citizens, interview them, organize workshops, insights and meetings on specific topics, trying to explain the planning procedures, standards and norms, as well as to present all that which is required in order to raise the quality of life in the neighborhood and provide some level of public interest and good, and thus increase the value of real estate. On the other hand, the citizens knowing their living environment the best should participate more actively in its creation, by indicating to the problems and needs, reacting to certain topics and thus assisting the professionals in shaping and committing their planning solutions. To that respect this paper provides certain recommendations, based on international experience, by implementation of which the satisfactory level of democracy (more transparency, inclusivity and effectiveness) of the procedure should be provided in Serbia as well.

Key words: community planning, participation, collaboration, public insight/hearing, implementation.

PLANNING FOR COMMUNITY INTEREST

Inclusion of the Public in the Process

Planning of space and its overall development is absolutely necessary, with all demands that are sharing an idea of public interest, which only in democratic and republican culture can be provided (Mazza, 2010). The gap between theory and practice is still great, but could be erased or at least narrowed and reconciled by positive measures of involving public and good will to dedicate more funding for this kind of action (Greed, 1996). The residents/stakeholders are opinion-interest group, with the power of vote on the local elections, so their attitude (positive - supportive, in favor of plan, or negative - rejecting and opportunist) is very important as a lead to decision makers and the government (Mayerson, Banfield, 1969). The

basis of the urban development comprises direct participation of the citizens within the local communities which in their own rights should enjoy a certain degree of autonomy and fiscal independence, and if for some reasons the cities function poorly and there is no transparency, then there exists the danger that also the human rights would in some way be affected (Stojkov, Janić, 1996). Some other important issues should be mentioned too, like raising awareness about social, political, economical technology and environmental changes, different regional integrations, etc. Basic indicators for the evaluation of public planning process based on democracy principles are: the appropriate representative of the public stakeholders, the transparency of planning procedure and decision making, availability of plan proposals (for example on internet), the publicity of the meetings, protecting the rights and inclusion of special groups in the public. Participation of citizens is useful in devising new vision for future of a city or region, for regeneration strategies specially

for declining industrial or inner city areas, in developing strategies for sustainable development in the light of global warming, in consideration of traffic solutions - resolving congestion in historic town centre or exploring new transport options, devising and testing developing proposals for sites or buildings, exploring design options for historic or new buildings, exploring the best way of building major new settlements or integrating new development with old (Wates, 2008). Also, it is possible to involve the public in the early stages of preparing statutory development plans.

Participation techniques

As a clearly defined planning technique, the community planning events were pioneered over 40 years ago in USA, and from the mid 1980s this approach was adapted to the different social and cultural conditions and fused with planning process in UK and Europe. The initiative for organizing events has come mostly from professional institutions and practitioners keen

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to explore more creative methods. Others, developers, community organizations, NGOs and local authorities have become willing supporters as they seized the opportunity to work positively with the other parties involved and saw the economic and social benefit that can result. An extraordinary phenomenon is the way that people who have experienced such event and encouraged to be involved in developing and exploring ideas and options, become convinced of its value.

Planning for Real (PFR) was developed in the late 1970s by Tony Gibson at Nottingham University's Education for Neighborhood Change Unit (Gibson, 1979) and has been in widespread use since then, usually in conjunction with Neighborhood Initiatives Foundation, (<http://www.planningforreal.org.uk/>, <http://www.myplacesupport.co.uk/>, <http://www.communityplanning.net/>). Unlike Healey's and Forester's guidelines (Healey, 2007, Forester, 1999), PFR does have a framework to be followed through it does not prescribe a process. As such it does run the risk of becoming dominating (Allmendinger, 2001). However, PFR gives opportunity to exchange knowledge and experience, by maps and/or simple 3D models, so local people can put forward suggestions by using pictorial option cards, colored pins and flags (Gibson, 1998). Suggestions are then prioritized by the same process and a clear picture emerges of what needs to be done. Although PFR has been used for issues such as traffic, community safety, housing and environmental improvements, it has also been used for plan strategy formulations, local plan participation and development briefs for specific sites (probably the most well-known PFR exercise was in the Brecon Beacons National Park, where 39 meetings were held over a 6 month period in 1993 (Tewdwr-Jones, Tomas, 1995)). In terms of the 'ideal' set out (Healey, 1993), where will discussion take place, in what style, how will issues be sorted, etc., the PFR process falls far short of what communicative rationalist would wish for (Allmendinger, 2001). The process was already set, the venues chosen, the maps and issues decided and the discussions directed by planners. Nevertheless, there are certain aspects which are clearly recognizable in the discussion on communicative processes, the "open discussions", the identification and "framing" of problems and issues were partly left to the public and the priorities put upon these. The interest shown by the public also backs up the general view that the people are interested if given an opportunity (Sewell, Coppock, 1977) and the whole experience could be truly innovative and collaborative. It has been

observed that using "flags" or labels on the maps/models helps people overcome their shyness, starts open discussion without feeling that they need to make a speech and turns traditional and limited process to participative and orientated toward the collective problems and public interest. It is unlikely that the average citizen will ever be interested in all the decisions made at national levels as (s)he would be nearer to home.

The technique of community planning events is still evolving, mostly from practical experiences, with a common goal to invite citizens (all those affected, known as "stakeholders") to actively participate in the creation and management of their built environment and in order to enable developers and planners to use the knowledge of local people to create better places. The underlying philosophy of community planning is interdisciplinary, collaborative and community-based, and the important steps in process of participation are: information, dialogue, education, knowledge, campaigning, deciding, managing, owning and developing (Wates, 2008).

Typical outcomes are identification of issues and opportunities, agreed objectivities and achievable targets, visions for an area's future, agendas for action plans, the proposals for a particular site, suggestions for organizational changes (Denhardt, 2010) and local coalitions and leadership. The community planning events 'work' because the process combines a

unique mix of ingredients which respond the complexity of today's development issues: open community involvement, creative working methods, dynamism, local expertise and context, fresh thinking, visual approach (drawing and model making) and realism (Wates, 2008).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PLANS IMPLEMENTATION

Having in view that plans implementation is a continuous process running parallel with plans development and directly dependent on the types and methods of planning (Stefanović, 2011), it is also necessary that plans implementation is rendered into corresponding connection with the aspect of public involvement in the planning process. One of general-technical definitions of implementation whereby it is directly associated with public participation in the planning process, is provided by Stewart and Underwood by their standpoint that implementation is a process of negotiations and reaching a compromise (which may progress parallel with the plan development), schematized as the relationship of action-reaction and response, which is the interpretation of the behavioral view of planning (Stewart, Underwood, 1983).

Traditional planning in the first generation plans attempted offering the best expertly solution, leaving implementation to the politicians, government or administration, which, one must admit, is the result of both the young planning discipline and also the socio-political relationships and the system of ownership and decisions making (Taylor, 2004). However, the new role of planning requires also active participation of the planners and the public in resolving conflicts and reaching agreements which would enable space developing and use. That is an activity which differs much from the initial traditional role of planning as the technique for space use determining (Đorđević, 2004). In accordance with that, the planners must master a series of new skills of collaboration and public inclusion which will enable dealing with the controversies of the new approach, i.e. shaping different interests, developing negotiation skills (Carrell, Heavrin, 2006), mediation and similar, on the basis of which it would be possible to perceive the planning solutions and orient plans implementation in the desired direction.

The necessity of public inclusion in the planning process was also pointed out by Lewis and Flynn (1979). They state that the implementation success will depend on that to which extent the planning institution has managed to identify the



Figure 1. PFR gives opportunity to exchange knowledge and experience, by maps and/or simple 3D models (Queenborough and Rushenden master plan model, Swale Borough Council and PFR)

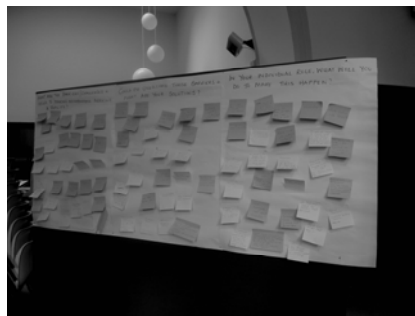


Figure 2. Giving suggestions by using pictorial option cards, colored pins and flags (Project Gallery, PFR)

real spatial interest of the inhabitants, companies and other subjects. Providing adequate public participation in the planning process should also assist in plans implementation. The success of implementation at all planning levels will to a great extent depend on the ability of the government and planners to reconcile the public and private interests in space in an efficient manner. When it concerns the public participation in the planning process and plans implementation orientation, the proposal by Elmor (Elmor, 1980) on backward planning (mapping) is quite interesting. Instead of conventional forward planning, where first the goals are determined, and then the steps to be taken defined in order to achieve the goals, in the above mentioned approach first the possibility of realization of goals and planning decisions implementation is evaluated, on the basis of the insight into the possibilities and funds available by the potential implementation stakeholders, namely the public, and only thereafter the goals and planning concept construction is tackled (Kelly, 2009).

However, this approach has not become a reality and opportunism emerged as side effect, since it lacked a general strategic framework according to which one could be governed in defining the goals and planning decisions (Faludi, 2003). It is exactly for that reason that certain European institutions (European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), Alpine Adriatic Working Community, 2002) emphasize the necessity of using the *visionary principle* which comprises provision of common visions and concepts for territories, whereby the participation of greater number of persons and public insights would be encouraged. Some of suggested principles are: on-site observation leading to perception of changes in societal values from an outsider's point of view, even though there is resistance keep trying to establish relationship full of respect and trust, create an innovative system to provide feedback from results, with a new approach to human capabilities and improvement activities. The process of creation of such visions and concepts through participation of citizens and transparent engagement of personal interests could be the most interesting novelty in the planning process in the past ten years.

RELEVANCE OF THE MODELS IN THE CONTEXT OF SERBIAN SOCIETY

In Serbia public consultation is marginalized both as a legal requirement, and even more so during the planning, development and

implementation of spatial and urban planning documents (Petovar, Jokić, 2011) and the civil society is still poorly developed with weak influence in planning matters (Vujošević, 2010). The public insight, mostly is the first and only opportunity when interested citizens and urban planners meet each other, but at that moment it is too late for establishing any decent and productive dialog, because it takes place ex-post, when almost all basic propositions and planning solutions have been defined.

The Law on Planning and Construction (Official Gazette RS, 72/2009), prescribes the procedure of plan presentation and forming of report with decisions passed as per all objections submitted (Article 50).² After the professional verification has been completed, the urban plan is forwarded for public presentation in duration of one month and during that period all interested subjects may have the insight into the textual, graphic and documentation part of the plan and deliver their objections in writing together with the reasoning. These objections will be considered at the public meeting, which is open for attendance of the citizens and where procedurally it is possible to provide the supplemental items to and clarification of the objections submitted, as well as to hear the proposed reply of the professional individuals who have managed the development of the plan. The final conclusions will be passed at the closed meeting, which is not open to

² The Law on Planning and Construction (Official Gazette RS, 72/2009, 81/2009, 64/2010, 24/2011, 121/2012)

16.5. Public insight

Article 50.

Presentation of the planning document for public insight is carried out after the professional verification has been completed. Presentation of the planning document for public insight is advertised in the daily local newspapers and lasts for 30 days from the date of advertising. The presentation of the planning document for public insight is taken care of by the Republic Spatial Planning Agency, namely the body of the local government unit competent for spatial and urban planning affairs. On the completed public insight of the planning document, the competent body, namely the Planning Committee prepares the report comprising the data on the public insight carried out, with all objections and decisions as per each objection. The report from paragraph 2. of this article is delivered to the planning document development holder, who, within 30 days, is obliged to act as per the decisions contained in paragraph 2 of this Article.

Article 51.

In case that after the public insight of the draft planning documents the competent body, namely the Planning Committee determines that the adopted objections substantially alter the planning document, the decisions is passed whereby the holder of document preparation is ordered to develop a new draft or concept of the planning document, within the term which may not be longer than 60 days from the date of decision passing.

public presence, and the citizens who have submitted their objections are subsequently notified on the conclusions passed, in writing.

The public inclusion in the planning system, even in these regions, is not the creation of "our times" but existed even earlier in the period of the socialist and self-management order and it was deemed "one of the most significant forms of breaking-up of the old relationships in which the working man was to a great extent estranged from real decision making on common needs of his and his family (Kramer, Kirinčić, 1981)". At that time it was a common practice of presentation of planning solutions on the premises of the municipality or local community, which gives impression thus the results of these meetings with the citizens and their standpoints were taken as serious. However, mostly depending on the topic and significance of the project, sometimes it was only in declarative form, because decisions were already made on some other, higher level.

The continuous mutual complaints are made by the professionals that the citizens, i.e. the public has not been educated to understand that which is proposed, that they are guided by their narrow interests, not perceiving the wider context and the goal of planning solutions. On the other hand, citizens experience urban planners as an echo of the past times, the exponent of the state, who "snatch away" for someone else to benefit from. Thus, the defender of the public interests and the fighter for quality of life, the urban planner turns in the eyes of the citizens into a scapegoat for all life's inconsistencies, injustice and hardship. This occasional hostility is especially beneficial for politics, which, if everything works in harmony tends to appropriate the ideas of the profession as its own successes, whereas, if a problem occurs, regardless its key role in decision-making and financing, it is ready to flatter and "support" the citizens in their requirements (regardless whether they are justified or not) and blame it on the planners for the fiascos and failures (Daniilović Hristić, 2012). Citizens should be perceived as final space users, but also as "small" investors having their own interests and different perception of spatial characteristics and capacity. Collaboration with the public is not only marketing of own ideas, but a significant improvement of the final solution, investment in future relations and mutual understanding and assistance. Certainly, the question arises whether the wishes of the citizens expressed are always acceptable. The quality of the relationship established through urban planning process is of crucial importance, but within the environment characterized by instability and

changes, the formerly established and accepted norms and codes are often forgotten (Levy, 2012). Multidisciplinary characterizing urban planning as well as the complexity of the problems, interests and diverse requirements in urban environment development (Byrne, 2000), certainly make the work of a creative team interesting, but to some extent also difficult and burdened (Landry, 2006). Achieving consensus might also be the most difficult step in the overall process (Ascher, 2004), and often compromise becomes the synonym for poor solution. Collaboration with the citizens in searching for the best solution should have the same or similar results as the public-private partnership i.e. to serve the general welfare (Plummer, 2002).

The Greek word for city “polis” is at the same time in the core of the word politics—the process of management of complex interactions between people living in a community (Benevelo, 2004). Politics comprises the connotations of power and wealth, their acquisition, enforcement and use, but also abuse. Even in the societies boasting of a long tradition of democracy it is not unusual for public goods and public spaces to become the exponents of corporate capital or pre-election campaign (Petrović, 2009, Duque, 2001). In times of transition, the advisory role of urban planners, acquired on the basis of expert knowledge and experience, becomes increasingly more a role of government-political apparatus official. The fact is that urban planning is a form of “government intervention” and that it is inextricably linked to administration, but that does not give one the right to consider it as an instrument and cronies. Transitional practice has shown that policy regularly confuses and imposes its will within the field of planning, ranging from frequent changes of laws and regulations according to which the profession has to operate and be governed. Politics aims at ensuring re-election itself and extending the period of rule, which affects determination for the solutions proposed and decision making (Healey, 2007). In other words, those urban investments are favored that will be integrated in the term of the mandate or will have a greater positive effect on the electorate.

A logical question is posed, to which extent the objections submitted during the public presentation make the real reflection of the wishes and needs of the majority of inhabitants of a certain space. If there is no former or more direct contact with the citizens during planning, then there is no real feeling of the standpoints, wishes and needs of the majority, and the possibility of conflicts and disagreement certainly increases. The example is the tendency of the citizens to permit greater urban parameters and realize a significant scope of

building in a particular area, since this group has recognized the potential of space in the location value and interest of the investors. On the other hand, the majority is not interested in selling their possession for new building, but in preservation of the ambient value and lifestyle of neighborhood, without changing the type of construction, increased housing density, necessary change of regulations, etc. and since it supports plan solutions, it does not cope with the objections. In public insight procedure the objections of the minority are considered and supposedly adopted, whereby space character is substantially changed and the wish of the majority not respected.

If the planner had the opportunity to present the plan on several occasions to the citizens on the terrain familiar to them, within the municipality, local community, on the very spot, and have a greater number of inhabitants be informed about all proposals of the plan, to provide their opinion and suggestions, the community interest might have been placed in the foreground. In that way also the firmer arguments for acceptance or rejection of the requests submitted would have been obtained. Does that mean that in the argumentation of the plan development and of the Committee as well, when it concerns acceptance or rejection certain objections, the statistical data regarding how many citizens lived on the territory covered by the plan should also be included, the number of interested who attended the public presentation, i.e. the percentage of the submitted objections, presuming that the remaining number of citizens were in agreement with the proposed solutions?

It is particularly important to educate the population on the requirement of planned settlement development, and to give them a real explanation what the consequences are and what the advantages of implementation of standards are, particularly when it concerns satisfying the needs of primary public use (traffic, accessibility, infrastructure equipment and furnishing, space reserved for health and social protection, education, culture, sport and recreation, etc.) but also the conditions which dictate the parameters of housing and commercial construction, numerous limitations in respect to the soil quality, fire-fighting regulations, parking and garaging conditions, environment protection and similar (Čolić, 2013).

OPINION POLL, WORKSHOP AND PLATFORMS ORGANIZATION

The application of the participative approach enables timely perceiving of the values, interests and potential conflicts and inclusion of stakeholders and planning activities accordingly.



Figures 3, 4 and 5. Neighborhood Action Plan for Park Wood, Training day, with prepared model for suggestions (Maidstone Council, PFR)

In parallel, by establishing communication, at various levels and through diverse forms, the knowledge of various perceptions and interest is promoted and better understanding and common judgment is achieved (Čolić, 2010). For mobilization and creation of proposals timely informing is necessary, a certain degree of clarification, instructions and education, and the key point is to develop the awareness and knowledge of the individuals on their role in the process. To inform and motivate the citizens is probably the most important initial step. The existing practice of informing citizens and the accessibility of information are at a very low point, not even appropriate for urban communities having a good educational structure and more efficient mutual communication modalities (Petovar, Jokić, 2011). For that reason it is rather essential at what moment and in which manner the gatherings for ideas presentations and exchange of opinions would be organized. Perhaps it is best at the beginning of planning document development, i.e. upon decision on its development, in collaboration with the local government to send written information to

home addresses of the citizens included by the boundary of plan development and post identical information in written and electronic mass media (municipal paper, internet presentation, bulletin board and similar). This is actually applicable in the cases when the plans comprise smaller area or smaller number of settlements and inhabitants (e.g. 50 ha or 15,000 inhabitants, whereby one has to have in view what the structure of the settlement is), whereas as regards the broader scope plans, for practical reason, this should be limited only to mass media. The information should include brief or identical explanation, same like for starting the initiative and decision making) first of all textual, but also with clear and adapted graphic presentation of planning document scope), and it would be rather useful to comprise also the general instruction on legally defined procedures and possibilities of citizens participation. For that reason it is necessary to prepare a detailed brochure about all relevant information on the planned activities (Petovar, Jokić, 2011).

An opinion poll can be forwarded together with such information which would help the citizens to express their needs and standpoints, and as a result it will provide the public input to the urban planners, together with compiling all other data necessary for plan development process, to perceive the real space condition, limitations and potentials, as well as the problems encountered by the citizens.

The manner of opinion polling which is most frequently proposed comprises a series of clearly formulated questions, for the answers to which it is required 20 minutes to the maximum, and the very opinion poll can be conducted via internet, by sending polling sheets to home addresses, at some well frequented public place (square, market and similar) or "from door to door". An overall demographic picture of the population should be taken into account, as well as for which purpose the opinion poll is conducted, i.e. whether the subject of research are general perceptions of the citizens on urban, as well as communal, ambient issues or the issues regarding environment protection associated with certain territory, or on concrete topics, initiatives and projects. The very structure of the opinion poll should first of all comprise the questions related to the interviewed person (even though it is anonymous) indicating his/her age, gender, level of education and similar. Then the data related to personal views and experiences are collected, as well as suggestions and perceptions. Questions have to be clear and precise, with offered scale of answers, if possible, for example, yes and no, or possible

optional answers marked a, b, c... or 1, 2, 3... This guarantees grouping of answers in certain categories when opinion poll processing and making more concrete conclusions. Descriptive answers might be useful, however also diverse and difficult to compare. Processing and presentation of the data obtained should be clear and if possible, i.e. as required, comparable to the data obtained from competent services in order to form a clear image on subjective and objective perception of the matter on the terrain. Quantification has to be performed in accordance with the basic statistical principles, and it is desirable that it be presented graphically by means of tables and various types of graphs, particularly since it will be used both in plan documentation and also while organizing meetings and workshops with the citizens.

Public presentations of plan solutions are desirable at the moment when all data have been compiled and the standpoint of planners has been formed, but, however, before passing any final decisions (Dunn, 1977). The first presentation should be in the conceptual phase and by its form should be closer to workshop. In the introductory part the citizens should be informed on the actions carried out until that moment, and then invite them to take part in creation of the plan solution and in the manner and with the aid of prepared means, as shown on the basis of the international experience with PFR. The second contact and exchange of opinion can be carried out during the draft plan development, but also in its working phase, prior to finalization. For this occasion the form of platform and open debate is convenient, at which first the standpoint of the authorized urban planners would be presented, as well as in which way the solution incorporated formerly expressed requests and proposals of the citizens. When in this manner, and presuming to the mutual content, the collaboration with the direct space users has been carried out, some inevitability clarified or compromise solutions found, then the very legally prescribed public insight procedure (presentation of the plan and public meeting) acquires a completely different, relaxed course. Naturally, one must have in view that such approach comprises besides the skill in conducting the debates (hearing) also the extension of plan development term as well as some cost increase.

CONCLUSIONS

The urban planning and placemaking should be a process, accessible to anyone, that allows peoples' creativity to emerge. When it is open, transparent and inclusive, this process can be extraordinarily effective in making people feel attached to the places where they live. That, in



Figures 6 and 7. Neighborhood Action Plan for Park Wood, Training day, with prepared model for suggestions (Maidstone Council, PFR)



Figure 8. Micro-neighborhood development in Bordesley Green (PFR)

turn, makes people more likely to get involved and build shared wealth in their communities. In the same time, in a democratic and participative process, the role of planners as professional arbiters between different interests must be accepted. The planning and decision making process should be conducted and directed in order to deserve the trust of the citizens, as between different groups, as to the institutional representatives. The planners have significant role in developing and building of the social capital and cohesion of the local communities, what gives the key assumption for development of the adequate and in implementation successful plans. This aspect is significant for achieving consensus, with complete

appreciation of the professional expertise, but the creativity of amateur opinion, too.

It can be important to conduct a thoughtful public process in advance of any public insight or hearing. Hearings often occur late in the process and may leave citizens with the impression that local officials do not want to hear their ideas. Council or board chambers are formal and can be intimidating to citizens who are not accustomed to public speaking. The format of hearings often leaves little, if any, room for reasonable discussion, give or take, or response to prior testimony. However, these processes increase the potential to arrive at solutions that have strong support in the community (Rowe, Frewer, 2005). Some of basic recommendations are:

- involve citizens in the early stages of the policy development process, stimulate and motivate them,
- any size of group will work well with good organization and preparation and truly involving interested citizens (example, "Listening to the city" events in New York organized for 5000 participants who were asked to give their thoughts about six preliminary concepts for the Trade Center site of Port Authority of New York and New Jersey),
- make sure that there is plenty of opportunity for people to get answers to questions, because this usually does not happen at a formal public hearing,
- consider using a trained facilitator to facilitate discussion on really controversial issues,
- good public process can be time consuming and expensive.

Benefits of community planning events could be described as:

- creation of shared vision for community's future and identification of long-and short-term strategies for implementation,
- catalyst for action by realizing blockages in the development process,
- resolution of complex of problems or at least a clearer identification of issues and goals,
- revitalization of local networks,
- fostering of consensus building among different interest groups leading to better integration and partnership,
- promotion of urban design capability and improvement of environmental standards,
- heightened public awareness as a result of an open forum for debate,
- morale boost for all those involved as a result of experiencing team working.

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IDEOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS IN AESTHETIC JUDGMENT OF ARCHITECTURE

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The aim of this paper is consideration of presence of ideological factor in aesthetic judgment of architecture. The focus is on the aesthetic theories in which ideology is the key component that can produce aesthetic meaning on the basis of which aesthetic evaluation can be performed. With regard to this, the paper provides an insight into the relevant aesthetic approaches, which, by subject matter and methodology, can be determined as ideologically oriented. The theoretical frame established allows implementation of an interpretive and comparative analysis of two texts that through aesthetic judgment discuss Belgrade architecture, immediately before and after World War II. Through recognition of an ideological context in these two texts, this paper will point out how different aesthetic evaluations of certain morphological aspects of architecture (such as folklorism, ornamentalism, eclecticism, classicism, monumentalism and purism) do not come from inherently architectural, i.e. stylistic-formalist aspects, but how they result from ideological connotations attributed to them in a wide variety of ways. In this sense, this paper finds ideological background in established criteria of aesthetic judgment such as authenticity, homogeneity and contemporaneity.

Key words: *aesthetic judgment, ideology, authenticity, homogeneity, contemporaneity.*

INTRODUCTION

When referring to aesthetics, the first things most architects and architectural theorists think of are the issues concerning the proper, i.e. the beautiful shaping of form or visage of a building. In exposing their authorial intentions and motivations architects frequently explain and justify the use of certain visual elements utilizing aesthetic reasons. In the same manner, architectural theorists tend to use phrases such as aesthetic standard, aesthetic requirement, aesthetic function, etc. Indicative is the identification of the aesthetic property of an architectural work with something pertaining to gestalt, which is visible, external and material. Therefore, mainstream architectural understanding of aesthetics should comprise elements of architectural articulation, such as global definitions of mass and dimension, position in space, order in composition and harmony of spatial elements, relation between lights, textures, materials and colours.

FORM AND MEANING IN AESTHETICS AND LEVELS OF AESTHETIC RECEPTION

Understanding aesthetics from the focus of architecture would not appear to be groundless, if one recalled concepts of aesthetics dating back to the mid XVIII century. The fact is that the founder of aesthetics, German philosopher Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (Gilbert/Kun, 1969; Grlić, 1983), defined this discipline as a science of sensible knowledge of art and beauty, which coincides with the denomination of *aisthesis* (Greek term for sense impression, for what is perceptible). Baumgarten's theory, as a product of a modern, enlightened age, in accordance with wider social, scientific and philosophical changes, overcomes ontologising objectivism and introduces a gnosological subjectivism which is prevalent in contemporary aesthetics. Along with these changes, the ideal of beauty as the bearer of the aesthetic value of art work ceases to be something that exists independently from cognitive experience. Beauty, as an aesthetic value, does not belong to metaphysical and theological properties of objects anymore.

Rather, it has changed its course towards the subjects, becoming the question of their own experience. The emphasis is placed on the modus of understanding the objects and on the satisfaction that appears in the process of reacting to the beauty of an object.

At the turn from of the XIX century, German idealist philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, understands aesthetics in a different manner. Through a rationalist principle, Hegel critiques the aesthetics that existed so far, which was based on sensory abilities that produced feelings of satisfaction and enjoyment. For him, feelings are empty forms of subjective affectation, which cannot satisfy spiritual interests. 'What works of art provoke in us today, is not only a direct pleasure, but also our judgment at the same time, since we put in function of our contemplation the content of a work of art' (Hegel, 1971:12). Hegel changes the focus of aesthetic considerations from the form to the meaning of a work of art. Hegel understands a work of art between immediate sensuousness and ideal thought, and accordingly sets foundations for a comprehensive aesthetic analysis.

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If the attitude of the observer towards a work of art and architecture becomes an important topic in contemporary aesthetic theory, the central place in this relation appears to be the notion of aesthetic reception. Reception is the process of receiving, recipience or acceptance of a work of art (Jaus, 1978; Petrović, 1988, 1989; Šuvaković, 1999). Reception begins with the process of perception and results in a level of experience and a level of judgment. The difference between these levels of reception could be analyzed as the difference between direct and indirect reaction. According to aesthetician Sreten Petrović (1989:323), the level of experience should be related to the direct contact between subject and object, while the level of judgment supposes indirect and subsequent forming of intellectual attitude. In aesthetic judgment there is a distinction between the judgment of taste and the critical judgment. The taste can be personally, culturally and historically predisposed, while critical judgment tends to express a true aesthetic value of works of art. The aesthetic judgment based on taste is undoubtedly partial and relative, while critical judgment should be neutral and should implicitly aspire to absolute validity.

Ideological meaning

According to Petrović (1989:326), critical judgment, as well as the aesthetic system as a whole, is profoundly conditioned by time, theoretical-learning possibilities and cultural-historic assumptions and preconceptions. 'While the general aesthetic attitude is conditioned by the nature of philosophical systems, and this system itself by general theoretical-cognitive assumptions, consequently by sociological condition as a general ideological perspective, the taste is conditioned, by cultural-historical factors as well, but more significantly by the individual-psychological factor' (Petrović, *ibid.*). In accordance with this, it is useful to refer to recent papers which consider the problems of the effects that a cultural context has on the aesthetic experience of architecture (Stevanović, 2011), and show how the aesthetic value of an architectural structure could be shaped by various ideological and political concepts (Mako, 2012). In both cases, situations are researched where the domination of cultural, ideological, moral, pragmatic, existential, economical or humanistic meanings in aesthetic reception can appear over pure perceptual qualities of the architectural structure. However, the problematization of possibilities of everyday aesthetic experience or judgment of taste is not of primary importance in this survey. The subject of interest of this paper, in fact, relates

to the analysis of the critical judgment that is established by official critics within official institutions. Further text will offer a presentation of several concrete aesthetic systems, which recognise directed manifestation of ideological meaning as aesthetic value of works of art and architecture. The emphasis will be placed on what Petrović (1972:13) calls the 'influence of extra-theoretical interest in aesthetic thinking'. Although the recent literature which covers the field of relations between aesthetic thinking and ideology is vast (DeMan, 1996; Duncum, 2008; Eagleton, 1990; Levine, 1994), the following overview will focus on to those theories that temporally coincide with the texts which will be subjects of a comparative analysis, and which, through aesthetic judgment, treat Belgrade architecture, immediately before and after the World War II.

IDEOLOGICALLY BASED AESTHETICS

Hegel's concept of meaning remains in the domain of metaphysics and absolute spirit, but the development of his ideas in the evolution of aesthetics leads towards a concept of meaning, which is different from a metaphysical one. In that sense, it is important to distinguish between interior and exterior meanings. Interior meanings are essences that originate in a direct connection between the subject and the Universe. These are the absolute truths, considered valid by the entire humanity. Interior meanings include metaphysical and religious categories of order, number and proportion, and were used, for example, by architectural theorists Marcus Vitruvius Pollio and Leon Battista Alberti when they established their normative aesthetic canons. Exterior meanings do not refer to understanding of invariable essence. Rather, they are a relative product that depends on the factors developed within a socio-cultural system. These understandings further developed in the XIX and XX century, especially during the periods which were ruled by positivist, Darwinist and Marxist influential paradigms in aesthetic theories.

German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (Petrović, 1975:39) postulates art as one of the cultural facts and products. Dilthey derives the purpose of art from the category of objective spirit. Nevertheless, he does not do this in light of Hegelian absolute spirit pertaining to rational mental principle; he rather relies on the dimension of social life and the spirit of time. Dilthey's theory, based on the principles of positivism, led to a new, heteronomous approach to aesthetics, which does not regard art and architecture isolated from conditions of

their origin and application, but rather regards them as an instance of culture. From the standpoint of proponents of autonomous aesthetics, heteronomous aesthetics degrade art to ideology, by its definition of having historic and social function. The general divergence between autonomous and heteronomous aesthetic concepts is the question whether art could be completely reduced to a social-historic milieu or not. According to the principles of autonomous aesthetics, regarding a work of art exclusively as an expression and a result of current historic development runs the risk of reducing a work to a simple reflection of economic, religious and political powers, thereby overlooking what is permanent in the work. Here, the paper will make mention of only a few influential concepts of autonomous aesthetics which were developed by subjective idealists, phenomenologists and social utopians. The well-known concept of disinterested judgement of the artistic form of German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1957) places aesthetics in a domain isolated from context. Phenomenological aesthetics from the beginning of the XX century is also oriented towards the form and rejects every external reality (Ziegenfuss, 1928:55). The radical abstraction of art from social and historical reality is advocated by the German aesthetician Theodor Lipps in his theory of empathy (*Einfühlung*). Lipps (1914) negates every reproduction of reality which is independent of human consciousness. He proposes that the form of an object is the state that is created by the subject by means of his internal activities. In that constellation, art is alienated from social problems, for the essence of art is observed as introducing of thoughts and feelings to the outside world, which itself is constructed as inexplicable. English art critic, Herbert Read, closely ties aesthetic theory to his ideas about the anarchist and pacifist society. According to Read (1945), in contrast to authoritarian society, anarchism free of bureaucracy will cause neither the disintegration of the personality nor the social alienation that would suppress individual spontaneity and freedom of artistic creativity. Read believes that art can contribute to a healthy, peaceful society, and that artistic practice, which integrates free creativity with lived experience, can promote greater self-awareness.

Nevertheless, in the context of established heteronomous aesthetic frames of the XIX century, French critic and historian, Hippolyte Taine, develops an aesthetics based on consideration of art in a socio-historical context. In Darwinist terms, when Taine claims that a work of art should be understood as a

result of a race, environment and moment, he relies on collective psychology and the identity of habits, interests and beliefs, which comprise the system of values and world view of a socio-cultural entity. 'To understand a work of art, an artist, artistic group, one should correctly present oneself with the general state of mind and customs of the time they belonged to' (Taine, 1954:15).

In his sociological-aesthetic analysis, Hungarian-born sociologist, Karl Mannheim (Petrović, 1975:19-35), distinguishes three layers of meaning that exist in art as a creation of culture. These are: 1) objective meaning – the very work as pure visual thing; 2) expressive meaning – what the creator wanted to achieve, in terms of intention or poetics and; 3) documentary meaning – perspective of the world containing ideology as a system of values, which stands in parallel with specifically artistic aspects of works. For Mannheim, specific qualities of artistic creation are not important. Mannheim, like Dilthey and Taine before him, identifies work of art with other cultural objectifications.

In the context of Mannheim's approach one could consider iconography and iconology of German art historian, Erwin Panofsky. In the iconographic part of the analysis, Panofsky (1955) distinguishes between the primary – natural subject matter, and secondary – conventional subject matter, in terms of visual form and its content, i.e. meaning. Natural content comprises directly perceivable elements such as lines and colours, while conventional content connects these artistic motifs with the subject matter or ideas. These layers are without a doubt analogue to Mannheim's objective and expressive meaning. The third layer, denominated by Panofsky internal meaning or context, is the key in consideration of ideologically oriented aesthetics. Within this iconological layer, an aesthetic object is regarded as an unconscious, symbolic expression of the author within the principles that demonstrate a position of one nation, period, class, religion and philosophy.

From his Marxist position, Hungarian aesthetician György Lukács (1979) explicitly rejects the issue of form that he treats only as an artistic transposition of content used to express social and moral interest. Lukács regards art as a lower form of knowledge that should shape a particular ideological vision of the world. Within this vision, the aesthetic system comes down to recognizing the level of compliance between the structure of a work and the optimal ideology. Aesthetic value is

actually a simple reflection of ideological structure, in Lukács's case – the communist structure. In this context, Friedrich Engels's writings on aesthetics are relevant for a better understanding of ideological influences in communism. As a co-founder of the Marxist theory, Engels develops a fundamental methodological postulate proposing that the aesthetic phenomena are to be regarded as cultural activities of *Homo sapiens* in his slow progress to self-realization within the matrix of socio-historical processes. The non-isolate phenomena of the arts, which variously depend on other manifestations of culture, social, political, moral, religious, and scientific, influence in turn these other spheres of activity (Morawski, 1970:303). Engels pleads for a realist art, which signifies rendering of the implicit dialectics of social reality, the trend or tendency spontaneous to history. The idea of art as a legislator and liberator of mankind is regarded as directly related to the communist ideal and movement. The continual dynamic flux and change in aesthetics and the arts derive chiefly from the rise and decline of the always complex ideological outlooks which, in the final analysis, are conditioned by the general contradictions and evolution of class society (ibid.).

Even though all presented aesthetic systems are race-, nation-, culture- or class-determined, they are interesting from a contemporary point of view. By reading the time and society, which ideologically shaped a work of art and caused its existence, these aesthetic theories offer conclusions on the possibilities of appearance and acceptance of certain artistic and architectural ideas in one particular society.

A COMPARATIVE AND INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS: INTRODUCING THE COMPLEXITY OF CONTEXT

Once the theoretical frame of ideological aesthetics is established, it is possible to start applying the results obtained, through a comparative and interpretive analysis of the two texts mentioned earlier. These texts were chosen because they contain the elements that can be characterized as aesthetic in a sense of critical judgement. The first text is a short review of architect Dragomir M. Popović, dated 1940, published under the title of "Belgrade Architecture of Today" (*Današnja beogradska arhitektura*). The other text, considerably longer, titled "Belgrade Architecture" (*Arhitektura Beograda*) was published by architect Jovan Krunić in 1954. Both texts

share the same topic: the state of architecture of the City of Belgrade in the period immediately preceding and following the World War II; however, this topic is viewed from different historical positions. The period discussed cannot be treated as an interrupted continuum. Moreover, it is a period which includes significant changes on the political and ideological plane in the Yugoslav society. After the end of World War II, the Yugoslav society underwent a radical change – from a capitalist monarchy to a communist republic. Along with the change in the political system, foreign relations also changed. The new communist authority at first opted for an alliance with the Soviet Union, which lasted only until 1948. Along with this political rupture, came another change in the domains of culture, art and architecture. These changes in the first place meant abandonment of socialist realism – typical Soviet-communist model in the arts (Milašinović-Marić, 2006). In that sense, Krunić's text appears in a specific historical moment for the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, not long after the separation from the leadership and doctrine of the Soviet Union, while Popović's text belongs to the last days of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In addition to the specific historical moments in which these texts appeared, the relevance and importance of their authors is of particular interest. The intriguing social status of these two architects is the main motivation for choosing them in this discussion. According to the historian of art, Aleksandar Kadijević (2007:33), Popović was one of the meritorious architects of Yugoslavia between the Wars, towards whom the new single-party government took an ignoring approach, which supposed actions such as brutal physical execution, seizure of property, imprisonment, persecution and encouragement to emigrate. After the change of the political and ideological ambience, Popović was personally disqualified and discredited by revocation of national honour (Kadijević, 2007:33; 2008:79). On the other hand, Krunić was a well-known name in the communist establishment of the fifties.

AUTHENTICITY, HOMOGENEITY AND CONTEMPORANEITY AS IDEOLOGICAL CRITERIA OF AESTHETIC JUDGEMENT

The analysis will intentionally begin in a reverse historical order. The reason for this is that unlike Krunić's aesthetic observations, which show traces of explicit ideological thinking, Popović's ideological aspects could be revealed only in relation to the criteria recognised in Krunić's text.

In spite of the rupture with the leading communist force, Yugoslav culture in 1954 was still unilaterally determined by one-party authoritarian state politics. In this respect, drawing a parallel between the political thought and cultural elements was one of the important requirements and criteria on the basis of which aesthetic judgment was made within totalitarian societies. In terms of ideological aesthetics, this type of reasoning is characteristic of the previously explained Engels's and Lukács's postulates. Following the same logic, Krunić (1954) deems that the entire Yugoslav cultural and artistic life and architecture lags behind the economic development and political thought. From this premise Krunić further develops refusal of certain styles he identified in Belgrade, today known as: 1) Soviet socialist realism; 2) Serbian-Byzantine style and; 3) Belgrade Modern between the Wars. Particular attention shall be paid to these three styles, for they will be used to demonstrate their impregnation with ideological connotations in the texts of both authors.

In the first place Krunić reproaches the non-existence of an authentic local architectural style. 'While the process of artistic transposition of our reality in other arts is in rapid rise and approaches the range of political thought, in architecture we are still living in the shadow of architectural achievements of other nations. Incomprehensible is the paradox that one independent country with already developed industry, which in social and conceptual aspect represents a paragon, in the field of architecture is an epigone, an imitator of achievements of other people' (Krunic, 1954). Accordingly, Krunić insists that the independence of a country should be particularly manifested through the specificity of its own national architectural expression. It is clear that the „other people“ of whom Krunić speaks, directly refer to the Soviet Union, towards which, in a specific historic moment, adequate position was to be taken. This is why he targets the then dominant Soviet architectural style – socialist realism. Krunić (1954) treats the Soviet architecture as a pseudo-classical reflection of the bureaucratic regime and identifies it with Hitler's monumental architecture. The building to which special reference was made is the House of Trade Unions, designed by architect Branko Petričić, located in then called Square of Marx and Engels in Belgrade. Krunić (1954) views the eclectic and classical architectural elements on this building in a sense of a non-modern spirit that even after the liberation managed to impose itself as inertia and trace of influence of Soviet views. Krunić further speaks of Socialist realism as of something which, in Taine's

terms, simply does not belong to the general state of Yugoslav mind.

In addition to authenticity, another important aesthetic criterion, which one could read from Krunić's aesthetic judgment of Belgrade architecture, is homogeneity (compactness or uniformity). The tendency towards homogeneity can be recognised in the criticism of the Serbian-Byzantine style. This style is formed on the basis of Serbian medieval church architecture, and the most representative building of it is the Post Office Building 2 (Fig.1), designed by architect Momir Korunović and built in 1928. According to Krunić (1954), this building represents a slip-off-the-way in Belgrade architecture between the Wars, in which classical forms were replaced by national ones, in an

interpretation that was brought to absurd. Architect Pavle Krat (1948:26), the author of the Post Office reconstruction project, finished in 1948 in purist style (Fig.2), gave a similar review: 'architecture of the old Post Office Building was a typical example of an unsuccessful utilization of our national heritage overloaded by stylistic elements.' The review of the architecture of Serbian-Byzantine style could be read as a clearly expressed abandonment of pre-war Serbian individual hyper-national tendencies. Placing this in a framework of Panofsky's national aspects of his internal meaning or context, one could find the collision within ideological instrumentalisation on the concern of what is actually national. National authenticity in 1954 was supposed to be not Serbian but Yugoslav. Purist and neutral



Figure 1. Momir Korunović, Post Office Building 2, 1928. (scanned postcard, personal archive)



Figure 2. Pavle Krat, reconstruction of Post Office Building 2, 1948.

homogeneity, as a characteristic of a style that is the antipode of the individual, here represents a way for undisturbed striving towards a new Yugoslav national unity. Except the Serbian national hegemonism, in Serbian-Byzantine style, as the style of the royal dynasty of Karađorđević, also recognised was the symbol of monarchist class exploitation.

On the basis of the very same criterion of homogeneity, Krunić evaluates the eclecticism of Belgrade Modern between the Wars. Belgrade "Modern" (which Krunić intentionally puts under quotation marks) manifests itself through residential architecture, which was built by the wealthy class of the society for leasing purposes. Formative characteristics of the Belgrade Modern include a number of decorative elements such as various forms of putting frames around the window apertures, accentuation of corners by semicircular terraces, shallow rounded balconies, corner formations adapting to street radii, circular windows, formation by recessing facade planes, flag pole holders etc. Krunić ascribes this heterogeneous nature of Belgrade Modern to provincial understandings of profiteering building owners, who, exerting all efforts of their primitivistic vulgarism, yearn for colourful facade profiles and paints. In a time of profiteering and commercial construction, facade decor represented the embodiment of provincial understanding. Since the relations after the liberation and socialist organization eliminated the market economy, Krunić (1954) concludes contently that the anarchism in the evolution of Belgrade between the Wars, the soul of which was the profit, is now replaced by planned regularities of humanistic tendencies. 'Instead of the nature of a sum of petty bourgeois vanities of individual facades of its [Belgrade] streets, nowadays it [Belgrade] tends to assume the property of unity and homogeneity, uniformity' (Krunić, 1954). Since the homogeneity of architecture was not present in pre-war times, Krunić, as opposed to the styles critiqued, promotes purism. Affirming purism, he argues: 'The entire decor today is reduced to its real elements, reflected in the disposition of masses, surfaces, maintaining the rhythm of full and empty and greenery garnishing' (Krunić, 1954). In this sense, he singles out a residential building, designed by the architect Momčilo Belobrk, as an example of rare purist facades of Belgrade between the Wars. The critique of individuality in Belgrade's eclectic Modern at this point can be interpreted as an instrument of a general public tendency, in Mannheim's terms - the view of the world or a system of values, moving towards egalitarianism, collectivism and the reduction of class differences in



Figure 3. Dimitrije Leko, Belgrade Stock Exchange Building, 1937.
Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=406398&page=176>



Figure 4. View over the pre-war eclectic Modern towards the post-war purism - "real" Modern

society. Krunić believes purism is the real Modern architecture, as opposed to the eclectic Modern between the Wars, even though in morphological terms this difference is not emphasized to that extent. Accordingly, it is possible to compare the Belgrade Stock Exchange Building from 1937 (Fig.3), designed by architect Dimitrije Leko, with the adjacent, previously mentioned reconstructed Post Office Building 2. Figure 4. suggests the division of modern architecture to pre-war eclecticism and post-war purism was implemented violently and exclusively ideologically. It seems that the purism of the Post Office Building is more acceptable than the arc facade with the round window on the

Belgrade Stock Exchange Building, although both buildings belong to the same family of modern volumetry.

The three styles presented are recognised as inappropriate in terms of what Krunić calls 'contemporaneous understanding in architecture'. However, contemporaneity, set as the ultimate and unifying aesthetic criterion on the basis of which Krunić makes his critical judgment, is actually in function of ideological argument. This is a clear instance of an appropriation of the concept of contemporaneity which is promoted as rejection of everything that preceded the current ideological setting of the new Yugoslav society. Therefore, Krunić's aesthetic analysis

does not in fact consider styles that are aesthetically unacceptable due to their morphological characteristics (objective meaning and iconological-natural content in terms of Mannheim and Panofsky, respectively). He actually speaks about styles in relation to the ideology and the spirit of those times. Particularly, the year 1954 is the moment in which one should reject not only the Modern between the wars that already bore the epithet of a pro-Western bourgeois decadence, and Serbian-Byzantine style as a symbol of Serbian nationalism, monarchist dictatorship, and class exploitation, but also the leading architectural style of the until-then ally – Soviet socialist realism. Purism was preferred, because it was the only style cleared from all undesired historic connotations, and as such, it represented the analogy to striving towards contemporaneity.

Interpretation of Krunić's aesthetic analysis allowed connection of certain formal aspects of architecture with their corresponding, i.e. attached ideological connotations. However, in order to completely clarify the importance of ideological assumptions in aesthetic judgement, it is time to introduce a comparison with Popović's text, written 14 years earlier. Analyzing the pace of Belgrade construction between the two world wars, Popović places himself in the framework of ideological aesthetics, in the same manner as the aestheticians mentioned in this paper propose. This is recognisable because Popović (1940:278) asserts that Belgrade architecture is an expression of the entire social, economic, cultural and moral life. Unlike Krunić, Popović (*ibid.*) concludes with a conciliatory tone that 'our building tradition, except for church architecture, was not sufficient for us to rely on it; rather, we must learn from the abroad, transplant and filter the new endeavours and, through our own understanding, adapt them to our needs'. Here Popović, in contrast to Krunić's open ideologization, represents a concealed ideological aesthetic thinking, which can be discovered only in comparison to Krunić's text. If the exclusivity of Krunić in terms of authentic style was related to pretensions towards autonomous national identity, which were implemented by the state government, then Popović's assimilation of foreign influences was directly related to the aspirations of monarchy, in which independence and liberty were valued in a different ideological manner. Another significant difference is Popović's affirmative position towards Serbian church architecture, as an authentic expression of our building tradition. In that sense, he does not mind the

Serbian-Byzantine style which is inspired by this type of architecture, while Krunić discredits the same style as national and hegemonic. After examining the attitudes taken towards authenticity and foreign influences in these texts, it is also possible to compare the ideological substrate in relation to homogeneity and heterogeneity of architectural expression. Popović does not mind the eclecticism of Belgrade's Modern, nor does he mind that this is the style of lucrative house owners, as understood by Krunić. Moreover, Popović (1940:279), once again, concludes in a conciliatory tone that wealthy people simply wish for their buildings to be beautiful. Accordingly, their taste is not petty-bourgeois but evolved and refined. Popović (1940:282) believes that house owners do not find charm and nobility in purist Modern, but they seek something from the good old days. Here one could easily notice his opinion of the then not-yet-established relation between purism and contemporaneity. In general, Popović (1940:282) perceives certain disorder in the outlook of Belgrade as a faithful picture of our mentality and the state of the spirit, i.e. collective psychology in Taine's terms. Popović's interpretation of the fact that not a single style managed to establish itself in Belgrade suggests there is no orchestrated architecture. Quite to the contrary, in his opinion, the architects enjoyed great liberty in their conceptions and tendencies. For Petrović, plurality of styles obviously does not have a negative connotation that can be found in Krunić's observations. Connecting the plurality of styles, national mentality and liberty into a triangle, Popović tendentiously points to the supposed democracy of the monarchy and the respect of all participants in the society.

CONCLUSIONS

The concept of ideology in this paper is examined as a concrete form of aesthetic determinism in a sense of race, environment and moment, collective psychology, identity of habits, interests and beliefs, the general state of mind, a position of one nation, period, class, religion and philosophy, and social and moral interest. In a broader sense, ideology is defined as a system of values and views of the world of a socio-cultural entity, while in a concrete analysis special emphasis is placed on ideological context of internal and foreign politics, as well as class and national questions.

Comparative analysis of Krunić's and Popović's texts has shown that the inherent architectural elements such as folklorism, ornamentalism, eclecticism, classicism, monumentalism and purism, bear a specific

ideological meaning in the context of pre-war and post-war Yugoslav society. Likewise, the then established aesthetic criteria such as authenticity, homogeneity and contemporaneity were used in the sense of broader ideological implications. Authenticity is a criterion of aesthetic judgement through which Krunić and Popović solve significant questions of foreign politics and national identity, while the homogeneity relates to internal national and class questions. With the critique of the lack of authenticity of socialist realism, Krunić emphasizes foreign political relations with the Soviet Union. Discarding the need for authenticity, Popović alludes that the Yugoslav Monarchy is ready to cooperate with other countries. The criterion of homogeneity, on the basis of which Krunić makes judgement of the Belgrade Modern, targets internal politics with the emphasis on class issues. The critique of heterogeneity of Serbian-Byzantine style is once again the argument for internal politics, only this time the focus is more on the national, rather than on the question of class. Popović ignores the need for homogeneity and affirms plurality, i.e. heterogeneity as an affirmative exponent of the then existent state of Yugoslav mind and spirit. In 1940 heterogeneity should have been an indication of a high level of freedom, which would use architecture to convey the message of state organization based on freedom of choice. The very same criterion in 1954 represented an obstacle in achieving the uniformity of style used by the Communists to establish a deceptive equality. In the post-war period, under the banner of contemporaneity and the style that was in conformity with the spirit of time, there was in fact a search for an architecture that would correspond to the period in which it was possible to establish a neutral position in relation to the previous state-economic governing models. These were the pre-war capitalist-oriented monarchy and the directly rejected post-war pro-Soviet communist organization. The purpose of this kind of a neutral position was the prominence of national and class compactness of the new Yugoslav socialist society. That is why purism was established as the style of the then reigning ideology, as the only style that had no traces of history, i.e. no connection with the regimes stigmatized as hostile and unsuitable.

Previous conclusions summed up the results of the analysis of aesthetic judgement on concrete examples of chosen works in the Yugoslav contexts before and after the World War II. However, the topic of this paper was neither just the history of Belgrade architecture, nor a retrospective critical review

of Belgrade architecture, but a consideration of ideological assumptions in aesthetic judgment. Once again there is a need to emphasize that in a broader sense the paper shows how particular ideological aspirations of society establish the aesthetic values by which one critic should judge architecture. Ideology appears to be above all other assumptions in aesthetic judgment. In this setting, a layman's position is not different from the position of an expert (architect, critic or aesthetician) if they both enter the limits of their own ideological interpretations. Consequently, a personal institutional competence does not seem to be a factor that exempts from susceptibility to assumptions in aesthetic judgment.

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TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN SERBIA – – ON THE WAY TO SUSTAINABILITY AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

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The aim of the paper is to contribute to improvement of tourism policy and practice in Serbia towards defining and implementing sustainability principles and meeting European integration requirements. It encompasses short review of international implications on Serbian tourism policy and legislation. Current policy and its sustainability are analyzed using two indicators: application of integrated (cross sector) and local community approach, with particular focus on tourism, environmental and planning documents.

There is general orientation towards sustainability and involvement of local community into the planning and implementation of projects in the field. Precisely defined mechanisms for public participation and integrated approach, first of all mainstreaming of environmental issues into tourism strategic document, are preconditions for reaching country's sustainability goals and EU integration orientation.

Points that should be improved are suggested and the need for mutual cooperation and capacity development of stakeholders at all levels, including further international support, strongly advocated.

Key words: *Tourism policy; environment; sustainability; European integration.*

INTRODUCTION

Natural values, cultural heritage and hospitality of people are among major appeals recognized by the strategic documents in Serbia and official statements of policy makers in the field of tourism.

For the Government of Serbia, tourism is one of the priority areas in further socioeconomic development and also important for its reform within the process of accession. At the same time, the progress made towards EU integration during the last years provides important conditions and requirements for tourism development. In 2008, Serbia signed the 'Stabilization and Association Agreement' and in 2012, its candidate status was approved. Number of foreign tourists is increasing in Serbia, as well as the number of

people travelling abroad, owing to the introduction of visa-free travel throughout EU countries for Serbian citizens (since 2010).

At the national level, there is a Department for Tourism within the Ministry of Finance and Economy of Serbia, the National Tourism Organization of Serbia, dealing with promotion and market research of tourism, and National Corporation for Tourism Development supporting implementation of the Tourism Strategy and tourism development. At the local level, there are municipalities and, in some cases, local tourist organizations, mainly funded by local authorities. The tourism planning and development, including human capacities and infrastructure, is under way mainly at the national level.

Despite the challenges faced inside the country, as well as the crisis and global recession influencing tourism market in Serbia as elsewhere since 2008, the efforts have been made in developing this sector, providing the

policy and legislation support, as well as international assistance, mainly through projects and consulting that resulted in strategic documents and recommendations for further growth.

IMPLICATIONS OF SUSTAINABILITY PRINCIPLES ON SERBIAN TOURISM POLICY

Being signatory of numerous global and EU conventions and agreements, Serbia has taken responsibility for their implementation in accordance with sustainability principles embedded in each of the documents. Starting from the globally accepted Millennium Development Goals, through the Convention on

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Biological Diversity with its Guidelines on Biodiversity and Tourism developed in 2004, Serbian policy and approach in developing sustainable tourism is under unavoidable implications of the broad set of documents, adopted at the national level over the past few years. Receiving the status of EU candidate country, Serbia is to comply with principles and directions developed by the EU over the past few years. The European Union Strategy for Sustainable Development (EU SDS), developed by the European Council, adopted in 2001 and revised in 2006 and 2009 (EU SDS, 2012) is an umbrella document. Specific guidelines for the policy development and practice towards sustainability and EU integration are suggested by the most relevant documents for sustainable tourism developed recently at the European level, such as the Declaration on Ecotourism (2002), Declaration on Climate Change and Tourism (Davos Declaration), as well as the Agenda for a Sustainable and Competitive European Tourism (2007).

Some of the common messages embedded in the above mentioned documents are very important for developing the approach and strategic foundation for sustainable tourism in Serbia. As it was stated 'sustainable tourism is positive approach intended to reduce the tensions and frictions created by the complex interactions between the tourism industry, visitors, the environment and the communities which are host to holidaymakers...i.e. it is an approach which involves working for the long-term viability and quality of both natural and human resources. It is not antigrowth, but it acknowledges that there are limits to growth.' (Bramwell & Lane, 1993:2). Therefore, taking into consideration that 'tourism will grow...main task is not to limit growth but to manage growth in a way that is appropriate to the tourists, the destination environment and the host population' (Liu, 2003:472).

In achieving both competitive and sustainable tourism it is necessary to apply mechanisms and principles based on a "quadruple bottom line" – integration of three pillars of sustainability and emerging climate change issue, promoted by the Davos Declaration (Davos Declaration – Climate Change and Tourism: Responding to Global Challenges, 2012). It requires integrated approach, collaboration and solidarity at international, national and local levels. The development of sustainable tourist destination is interlinked with natural and social environment, as well as with wellbeing for all. Raising awareness, education, participation, mutual policy integration and financial support, as well as consumers' responsibility, are some of the

crucial preconditions for sustainable tourism.

Useful guidelines for developing plans and projects in the field of sustainable tourism can also be found in documents describing policy of European donors and banks, with funds available for Serbian governmental institutions, private and non-governmental organizations initiating infrastructure and development projects. Among the others, there is a possibility for Member States and all Regions to finance tourism projects through the European Regional Development Fund, the Cohesion funds (the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund), the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development, the European Fisheries Fund, the 7th EC Framework Program for Research, Technological Development and Demonstration activities (the key priority on climate change includes impacts on tourism) – and in the 'Leonardo da Vinci' Program.

Since the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) is one of the main funding mechanisms of the EU for the accession countries, it is important to consider its Strategic Coherence Framework (SCF) document, setting Serbia's economic, social and environmental development goals for the EU programming period of 2012-2013. It emphasizes the importance of the environment in tourism development in terms of protection of natural values, but also in terms of improving the waste and water management and environmental services crucial for "both economic development and societal well-being, and their sustainability" (SCF - Third Draft, Government of Serbia, 2011).

Implementing the policy and projects in Serbia today and in the future needs a significant support, both technical and financial, to tourism, as well as to other fields of development. Therefore, it is very important to consider the European Principles for the Environment (EPE) as an initiative of the five signatory European-based Multilateral Financing

Institutions (MFIs): Council of Europe Development Bank (CEB), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), European Investment Bank (EIB), Nordic Environment Finance Corporation (NEFCO) and Nordic Investment Bank (NIB). It is founded on their commitment to promote and ensure sustainable development and environmental principles, practices and standards associated with financing the projects.

For projects located in the Member States of the EU, the European Economic Area countries, the EU Acceding, Accession, Candidate and potential Candidate Countries, the EU approach, which is defined in the EC Treaty and the relevant secondary legislation is the logical and mandatory reference. The projects in this region should also comply with any obligation and standards upheld in relevant Multilateral Environmental Agreements (Multilateral agreement of European investment banks, 2013).

Since one of them, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is present in Serbia providing funds for projects in different fields, including tourism, it is of particular interest for policy makers and implementers to understand, respect and comply with the principles they incorporate into its Social and Environmental Policy - ranking the financing of sustainable development projects among the highest priorities. The Bank has defined a set of specific Performance Requirements ("PRs") that clients are expected to meet, covering key areas of environmental and social impacts and issues. Under each of the PRs, there are objectives, scope and specific steps and activities described in order to provide clear guidance for project holders and stakeholders. Though all the principles are important for achieving sustainability, a particular attention in the Policy, and from the point of view of this analysis, is given to the PR 1 and PR 10 and their mutual interrelationship as presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Mutual interrelationship between the Performance Requirements (EBRD, 2013)

Environmental and Social Appraisal and Management (PR 1)	Information Disclosure and Stakeholder Engagement (PR 10)
<p>To identify and assess environmental and social impacts and issues, both adverse and beneficial, associated with the project.</p> <p>To adopt measures to avoid, or where avoidance is not possible, minimize, mitigate, or offset/compensate for adverse impacts on workers, affected communities, and the environment.</p> <p>To identify and, where feasible, adopt opportunities to improve environmental and social performance.</p> <p>To promote improved environmental and social performance through a dynamic process of performance monitoring and evaluation.</p>	<p>To identify people or communities that are or could be affected by the project, as well as other interested parties.</p> <p>To ensure that such stakeholders are appropriately engaged on environmental and social issues that could potentially affect them through a process of information disclosure and meaningful consultation.</p> <p>To maintain a constructive relationship with stakeholders on an ongoing basis through meaningful engagement during the project implementation.</p>

Based on findings of the environmental and social appraisal and on the results of consultations with affected stakeholders, the clients, it may be required to develop and implement a program for mitigation and performance improvement measures and actions that address the identified social and environmental issues, impacts and opportunities in the form of an Environmental and Social Action Plan (ESAP).

Other EU funding institutions, including the EIB and the Commission itself, the World Bank, USAID and other donors active in Serbia, have adopted similar policies promoting social corporate responsibility and/or sustainable development principles/requirements from clients.

Besides direct investments in business field or budget funding, there is a potential opportunity to secure finances for sustainable tourism through international/European projects and by connecting with organizations through international specialized networks, thus fostering the implementation and promotion of principles of sustainable tourism and mechanisms of public participation in the field. One of such networks has been created within the European Charter for Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas. Gathering members from 36 European countries, the Charter stimulates strategic and action planning of sustainable tourism, aiming at '...the protection of the natural and cultural heritage and the continuous improvement of tourism in the protected area in terms of the environment, local population and businesses, as well as visitors' (Europarc Federation – European Charter for Sustainable Tourism, 2013:4).

The Charter and the Charter Network is coordinated by the EUROPARC Federation. Serbia is involved in work of the Federation, with national and nature park management and governmental bodies as members. In 2011, the Đerdap National Park was hosting the 7th Charter Network Meeting on "Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas: Building bridges - Seeking Solutions".

Above briefly reviewed sustainability principles embedded in global and European strategies, governmental and business/international organizations' policies, have been considered in order to provide context for further analysis of the strategic and legislative framework for sustainable tourism in Serbia. Among the main sustainability principles, for the sake of this analysis, we are going to concentrate on the following: integrated (cross-sector) approach and the local community participation.

INTEGRATED APPROACH IN SERBIAN TOURISM RELATED POLICY

By "integrated approach" in this paper we consider a cross sector approach and integration of issues and goals of other sectors into tourism policy and legislation. Having in mind close link between tourism and the environment, first of all in terms of sustainable use of resources and protection of biodiversity, our analysis will mainly focus on relationship between environmental and tourism strategies and legislation in Serbia.

Environmental policy and legislation

Under the influences of European and international trends and requirements, Serbia joined a majority of relevant conventions and multilateral agreements in the field of the environment in the second half of the 20th century, and especially in the first decade of the 21st century, adjusting its policy and legislation to the global and in particular EU requirements. Following that, in 2004, Serbian government adopted the set of environmental laws, including the systemic Law on Environmental Protection and three specific documents: Law on Strategic Impact Assessment (SIA), updated Law on Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and the Law on Integrated Prevention and Control of Environmental Pollution. The systemic law and SIA/EIA define that the Spatial Plan of Republic of Serbia and National Strategy for Sustainable Use of Natural Resources and Goods make the national planning basis for the sustainable use of natural resources and protected areas, while urban planning provides plans for integrated environmental protection (Maksin *et al.*, 2011). New set of environmental laws was adopted in 2009, covering seven specific fields: nature protection, waste management, packaging and packaging waste, air protection, noise protection, ionizing and non-ionizing radiation protection.

The most relevant strategies, such as the National Biodiversity Strategy (2011) and the (Draft) Strategy for Sustainable Use of Natural Resources and Goods (2011) were developed after above mentioned laws instead prior to it. Still, those documents, as well as the National Strategy on Sustainable Development (2008), provide a solid strategic basis for the sustainable tourism development in the country.

The National Strategy on Sustainable Development of RS (Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia, No, 57/09) is based on

general orientation of the country to direct development towards the balance between three "pillars" of sustainable development. It is also obvious in priorities set up by the Document, promoting European membership in the first place. The importance of integrating the measures and goals of the policies of different sectors has been generally emphasized, and in particular regarding those concerning the environmental protection and sustainable use of natural resources. The Strategy identifies threats of "unsustainable" tourism development to the protection of natural resources, but also recognizes that there are solid institutional capacities for sustainable tourism development in Serbia.

The National Biodiversity Strategy for the period of 2011-2018 (Ministry of environment and spatial planning, 2011) recognizes necessity of integrating biodiversity into other policies and sectors. It identifies relationships between biodiversity and economy, expressing the need of biodiversity sector to provide guidelines for economic valorization of biodiversity and ecosystem services assessment for the sake of environmental, social and economic benefits of community. Social aspects are being mentioned, but not equally embedded. Though it recognizes importance of revenues coming from tourism to protected areas, the Strategy defines tourism and outdoor activities as direct threats to biodiversity (Draft / Strategy on Sustainable Use of Natural Resources, 2012).

The development process of the (Draft) Strategy for Sustainable Use of Natural Resources and Goods has been guided by the sustainable development as the main principle. Economic and social impacts of the Strategy are analyzed within the separate chapter, related to demographic, macroeconomic and economic trends. However, tourism has not been mentioned at all in the Draft (*Ibid.*).

As already mentioned above, *The Law on Environmental Protection* (RS Official Gazette No 135/2004; 36/2009), as a systemic law, sets up the basis for an integral environmental system in Serbia. It also promotes linkages with other sectors, guided by the principles of integration and sustainable development:

- *Integration principle* state authorities, those of the autonomous province and local self-governance units, shall provide the integration of environmental protection and enhancement into all sectoral policies by implementing mutually harmonized plans and programs and by implementing regulations through permit system, technical and other standards and norms, by financing through incentives and

other measures of environmental protection.

- *Principle of sustainable development* - the sustainable development is a harmonized system of technical/technological, economic and social activities in the overall development, where the natural and acquired values of the Republic are used in a cost-efficient and reasonable manner, in order to preserve and enhance the quality of the environment for the present and future generations.

The Law on Nature Protection (RS Official Gazette No 36/2009; 88/2010) has clear and strong focus on sustainability principles, first of all on sustainable use of resources, as well as on integrated protection. It relates to the sector of spatial and urban planning and, indirectly, to other sectors relevant for protection and use of natural resources. However, it does not specify precisely enough the possible links to tourism sector, but rather defines relationships to organized visits and recreation activities in and around the protected areas

The above selected and briefly analyzed environmental documents reflect modern international trends and European requirements towards sustainability, first of all a general orientation to strive for a balance between environmental, social and economic development. Looking at promotion of integrated approach as criteria in our analysis, it may be concluded that the Law on Environmental Protection is the closest to its fulfillment, while in other documents there is still tendency to look at tourism as a potential threat to the protection of natural resources and not as a potential for the sustainable development and use.

Tourism policy and legislation

The most relevant strategies and legislation in the field of tourism in Serbia have been developed and adopted over the last ten years, supported by foreign technical and financial aid. However, as it was stated, the "plan implementation is still at the low level, and aspects of economic development in trans-border cooperation are insufficiently promoted" (Dabić *et al.*, 2009:239).

The Tourism Strategy of the Republic of Serbia was adopted in 2006. The Project aimed at the Support to Implementation of the National Strategy for Tourism (2010-2012), funded by EU and performed in close cooperation with the Department for Tourism of the Ministry of Economy and Finance as the main beneficiary, resulted in recommendations for updating "... the Strategy related policies in line with best EU practice" (Support to the Implementation of the National Strategy for Tourism, 2012).

From the perspective of cross sector approach and sustainability principles, the Strategy 2006 needs significant improvements. Sustainable development principles are not clearly present as guidelines and the foundation of the Tourism Strategy of Serbia.

One of the four goals formulated in the Strategy is the following: "By means of tourism, and in the best interest of the tourism development, Serbia must assure the long term protection of natural and cultural resources" (The Ministry of Economy and Finance of Serbia, 2012). Natural values and protected areas are also estimated as an important and solid basis for tourism development by public policy groups consulted during the development of the Strategy: according to results of the survey on environmental aspects, "...clean and preserved nature and beauty of the landscape" (ibid.) is estimated by 3 on the scale from 1-5. At the same time, in the same survey, the awareness of the local population about the importance of the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage is marked by the lowest number - 1.

While natural values and protected areas are seen as important resources for tourism development, and its integrated management as one of the preconditions for its sustainability, it is not recognized as one of the key elements of tourism product branding. The expansion of protected area over the territory of Serbia may be considered as one of the measures of its biodiversity protection, and that is the only, indirect, link found in the Strategy between biodiversity and tourism development.

Climate change, mitigation or adaptation, as well as some other environmental issues of global importance (energy efficiency, renewable resources and their sustainable use) are not mentioned in the Strategy at all. In respect to the climate change problem, it should be also noted that the current legal framework is not fully supportive (Crnčević *et al.*, 2011).

The concept of sustainable tourism is generally recognized, though not directly mentioned, neither its principles systematically mainstreamed into the Strategy. Economic development is predominant as a goal of the Strategy, aimed first of all at the development of competitiveness of clusters and at the provision of "accommodation supply" in "undiscovered" areas (among which national parks and nature parks).

The Strategy for Sustainable Rural Tourism Development in Serbia/Main Report - The Document is developed within the MDG-F Joint Program (JP) *Sustainable Tourism for Rural Development* in Serbia, being

implemented by participating UN agencies (UNDP, UNEP, FAO, UNWTO and UNICEF) and national partners, namely the Ministry of Economy and Regional Development, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management, and Tourism Organization of Serbia). It makes the basis for development of the Rural Tourism Master Plan of Serbia.

By Environmental Goals of this document, it is strongly recognized and suggested that rural tourism should be developed as "...catalyst to preserve, protect and manage natural and cultural assets in rural areas, minimizing pressures on biodiversity and by supporting the sustainable usage of biological resources in Rural Tourism projects...with respect to the character, the value and the carrying capacity of the existing rural landscape". (Spanish Mdg Achievement Fund - Joint Programme Sustainable Tourism For Rural Development, 2010).

By its Social Strategy, the document focuses on the role that Rural Tourism should play in addressing social issues in rural Serbia such as unemployment, depopulation and the disempowerment of women and the youth. Among other measures, the Strategy proposes the following:

- To use rural tourism as a catalyst to drive the diversification of the rural economy;
- To provide training and skills development;
- To activate the participation of women, youth and other disadvantaged groups in Rural Tourism;
- To revitalize rural schools.

The rural tourism economic and tourism demand goals suggested in this document are as follows:

- Increase the demand for overnights;
- Increase revenues from rural tourism activities;
- Increase occupancy rates of rural accommodation.

The Strategy is clearly guided by the global development goals (Millennium Development Goals, targeting in particular goals 1,7 and 8), EU accession principles and general principles of sustainable development, defining the linkage of rural tourism with environmental, social and other segments of economic sectors.

The Tourism Law of Serbia (RS Official Gazette No 36/2009,88/2010,99/2011), adopted in 2009 with updates from 2010 and 2011, is based on the following principles:

- 1) integrated development of tourism and related activities as factors of overall economic and social development in line with the law

provides for the implementation of mutually harmonized plans and programs;

2) sustainable development of tourism as a harmonized system of technical, technological, economic and social activities based on economic development, preservation of natural and cultural goods, preservation and development of the local community.

The planning documents which should contribute to the integrated planning of tourism and which should be harmonized with the Tourism Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia are specified in Article 5 of the Law as follows:

- 1) Tourism Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia;
- 2) Strategic Master Plan;
- 3) Strategic Marketing Plan;
- 4) Program for the development of tourist products;
- 5) Program for the development of tourism;
- 6) Program of promotional activities.

The most direct reference to protected nature areas and resources is made within the proclamation of a tourist area, where listed in the contents of feasibility study (necessary part of proclamation documentation), in case there are some natural areas/goods on the territory of particular tourism area (Article 17). Other environmental issues are not involved in this document.

Despite the above presented principles, this Law applies to integral (the level of tourism sector) rather than integrated approach. Environmental issues (links to the environmental sector and planning) are not mainstreamed into the document. Sustainable tourism development is mentioned only in the second general principle on which the Law is based, and therefore represents a declarative rather than truly cross sector orientation.

Based on the above given analysis of both environmental and tourism-related strategic and legal documents, it can be concluded that there is a general common orientation towards integrated approach. Incorporation of this, as one of the main sustainability principles, varies among the analyzed documents and between the sectors (tourism and environment):

– Mainstreaming of environmental issues into other sectors is strong point of environmental strategies and regulation; it is somewhat more developed in relation to economy than to social issues in most of the cases (except for the Sustainable Development Strategy);

– Except for the Rural Tourism Development Strategy of Serbia, environmental issues are only partially incorporated into the segments of tourism documents and regulation; protection of natural resources and protected area expansion is accepted and promoted, but their sustainable use and relationship between tourism and climate change, waste management, energy efficiency and other important issues, as recommended by relevant global and European documents, are not adequately emphasized and involved;

– At the strategy level, there is focus on predominance of one sector, despite the efforts to promote integrated approach to the development. For example, the National Biodiversity Strategy establishes links with goals of economic development, stressing the need to support it by providing guidelines for economic valorization of biodiversity and ecosystem services, and its sustainable use; however, at the same time, tourism is defined as one of the direct threats to biodiversity conservation; the Strategy for Sustainable Use of Natural Resources and Goods (draft) relates to many other sectors, without precisely mentioning the tourism in the entire text; from the side of tourism, with the exception of (drafted) strategies and programs for the Sustainable Rural Tourism, economic sectors and related goals are predominant to other sectors, including the environmental sector.

LOCAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Involving of local community in planning, decision making and implementing of activities has been largely embedded in relevant international documents and requirements of EU policy. In Serbia, as in many other countries, this is reflected in all the documents regulating environmental and tourism sectors, including planning procedures.

The Law on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters, adopted in Serbia in 2004, provides the platform for public participation relevant in many aspects for tourism development.

The Law on Environmental Protection, as well as specific laws pertaining to the Strategic Environmental Assessment (Law on Strategic Environmental Assessment, RS Official Gazette No 135/2004 and 88/2010) and Environmental Impact Assessment (Law on Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), RS Official Gazette No 135/2004, 36/2009) and those covering planning procedures, bring to Serbian society new

opportunities to be informed and involved in decision making on issues relevant for their everyday life, and to government institutions and project holders new, sometimes complex, responsibilities. In planning, as defined by Article 13 of the Tourism Law, the Strategic Master Plan is a crucial document for “drafting spatial and urban plans at the priority tourist destinations and tourism areas” as these plans shall establish “conditions for the construction of tourism infrastructure facilities”. However, it should be stated that the Law on Planning and Construction (Official Gazette of RS No 72/09, 81/09-change, 64/10-US, and 24/11) does not oblige the developer of the Plan to cooperate with the local community and civil society who live in the vicinity (Petovar, Jokić, 2011:10). Also, one of the limitations for public participation in decision making in Serbia is a lack of experience and knowledge about techniques and methods, as well as insufficiently developed mechanisms and procedures for public participation in decision making.

However, it should be stated that in recent years initiatives have been taken to mobilize public awareness of various programmes and actions for protecting the environment and implementing sustainable development strategies such as the Local Environmental Action Programmes (LEAP) and Local Agendas (LA21) (Crnčević, 2007). For these, strong support of local authorities and population has been reported, together with that of foreign donors.

In strategies for tourism, rural tourism and natural resources development, there is a general awareness of community issues and their rights to public participation. There is a common understanding on the needs of the public to be informed and involved in the development. However, this is interpreted mainly as being confined to levels of information and consultation rather than to specific instruments and mechanisms of participation on an equal basis.

In the documents in both sectors, the focus on “stakeholders”, “public”, local authorities or NGO (civil) sector, is much stronger than on local communities and specifically targeted groups. Local community issues are directly incorporated into, and elaborated in the most successful manner within, the Draft National Strategy of Sustainable Use of Natural Resources and Goods and in the Draft Sustainable Rural Tourism Development Strategy. There is a general respect for local culture, but not directly related to the promotion of traditional knowledge in sustainable development and use of resources, or local communities sharing in economic and other benefits of tourism.

There is also a general awareness of the close interrelationship between local community participation, e.g. opportunities for decision making in tourism/sustainable development, and capacity development of all the actors. This is slightly better promoted in environmental documents (in the Law on Environment Protection and in the Biodiversity Strategy) in terms of understanding that the process has to be supported by different forms of awareness raising and education of locals, in addition to financial mechanisms and incentives. It is recognized as responsibility of formal governmental institutions, but the provision of such support should be coordinated, not only performed, by them.

CONCLUSIONS

The last decade brought improvements into Serbian policy and legislation in tourism and environmental sectors, as the country is making progress towards the EU integration. It implies the progress in mainstreaming sustainable principles into strategies and plans, as well as facing the challenges in its implementation.

Looking at tourism as one of the driving forces for further socioeconomic growth, the decision and policy makers are also aware that potentials for its development are not adequately realized. This has resulted in efforts to provide international assistance in improving policy and practice in the field. This process requires understanding and compliance with clearly defined criteria by social and environmental policies of international donors, as well as increasing the competences of all actors involved to perform it. The local, national, and international cooperation and involvement of stakeholders are therefore not only well formulated requests in most of the documents, but obviously a necessary mechanism for increasing competences to participate and make progress in this, as in other fields of development.

There is a need for improving the strategic and legal documents in tourism sector in order to ensure better mainstreaming of environmental issues. In the tourism sector documents there is a somewhat stronger tendency to provide the basis for integral, rather than integrated approach (lack of linkage to other sectors). For the sake of policy development towards sustainability in both sectors, there is a need to apply real cross sector approach, based on equality of all life sectors, instead of developing links and recommendations from "within the box" of the respective sector.

As stated in the Final Report of the Support to Tourism Strategy Implementation Project

(2012), tourism resources need to be clearly defined in the law in order to be protected. Mutual cooperation in developing tourism management plans of protected areas and tourism and cultural sites is one of the preconditions for the implementation of sustainability in the practice. Such a practice needs to be founded on clearly defined sustainable principles in strategic and legal documents and plans in all the sectors.

Also, the strong determination of the professionals involved in tourism development planning for cohesion between nature protection and tourism development should be mentioned, as well as spatial specificity of the country, national development policies, applied models and concepts, while the importance of trans-border cooperation is highlighted (Krunic *et al.*, 2010).

It is important to improve most of the documents in parts providing a basis for democratic policy towards local communities so that it could open more adequate opportunities: 1) for the public to participate instead of being only informed/consulted, and 2) for local stakeholders to be able to improve capacities and use all mechanisms of participation and decision making in the development of tourism on sustainable basis. In that way, sustainable tourism development 'should not only seek to minimize local environmental impact, but also give greater priority to community participation and poverty alleviation' (Neto, 2003:212).

The fact that in current practice of developed, as well as less developed societies, there is still much effort to be invested in the implementation of sustainability has been largely documented in recent years by many authors. In this context, it is not surprising that in Serbia there is a need for adjustments in tourism policy, as well as in planning documents and practice, in order to improve prospects for sustainable tourism development. In the result of comparative assessment of planning systems and SEA in achieving sustainability, for example, authors reached the same conclusion, despite the differences between countries, that there is '...quite slight promotion of sustainability in plans ...common for both England and Serbia' (Crnčević, Therivel, 2009:104).

It certainly does not imply that implementation of sustainable principles in tourism and related sectors is not possible. On the contrary, as 'tourism has been a phenomenon characterized by immense innovativeness (within various categories - product, process, managerial, marketing and institutional)' (Hjalager, 2010:1),

permanent efforts in policy improvements and capacity development of all stakeholders through local, national and international cooperation is a necessary precondition for achieving progress in practice.

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THE ROLE OF EVENT TOURISM STRATEGY OF SERBIA IN STRATEGIC PLANNING

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Tourist events represent not only a significant tourism potential, but also the touristic product of Serbia. There are approximately 2500 events every year, attended by several million visitors from Serbia and all around the world. Since the 1990s in the world and since the beginning of the 21st century in Serbia, the organization and development of events has become a significantly profitable activity. Certain countries developed event tourism strategies on the level of the country or on the regional level; in Serbia, the event tourism is mentioned in the national tourism development strategies and certain regional ones. This paper targets the need for development of Event Tourism Strategy on the level of Serbia.

Key words: *strategy, event tourism, Serbia.*

INTRODUCTION

According to Getz (1997, 2008), during the last decade of the 20th century, events have become an important tool for local communities to gain advantage and fulfill a set of economic, social and environmental objectives. The role and the impact of planned events in the tourism industry are well documented, and are of increasing importance for the competitiveness of tourist destinations on the market. Due to the increase in competitiveness among tourist destinations, organization and development of events has become a significantly profitable activity.

Event tourism strategies have many objectives. They attempt to influence visitors' perception of the destination. Backman *et al.* (1995) highlight the potential of hosting large events as a means of shaping a positive image of a destination. In some cases, event strategies are reported to be an integral part of extending tourism seasons (Baum and Hagen, 1999). Their ability to attract visitors, extend the visitor season, increase average spending and lengthen the average stay makes events an important tool in developing the tourism

industry. Events are, therefore, an essential element of the Tourism Strategy and Action Plan of an area.

In Serbia, the importance of event tourism, as well as economically prosperous type of tourism, started to increase only at the beginning of the 21st century. It first appeared in strategic documents, such as the Tourism Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (Horvat Consulting *et al.*, 2005; 2006), in which this segment of tourism is observed as a major global market potential, which contributes to the comeback of Serbia onto the international market, raising the level of competitiveness and forming a stronger base for marketing. 'In Serbia, there is a number of traditional events, local events, festivals, celebrations and the like. In addition to the popularity on the domestic market, some of these events have the potential on the international market as well, where they have already gained a degree of popularity' (Horvat Consulting *et al.*, 2006:77).

According to Bjeljac (2010), and Vodič kroz turističke manifestacije (2012), 1,600 to 2,500 events are held in Serbia every year. Events are mostly similar to each other, economically and touristically unsustainable; there are no data on the number and structure of the visitors and the events are frequently inconsistent with the

strategic goals and priorities at the local and national level. As a result, in March 2011, the group of organizers of business tourism events of the Serbian Chamber of Commerce – the Board for Tourism, concluded that Serbia needs an event tourism strategy.

The methodology of constructing this paper used questionnaires and interviews with visitors and organizers of certain manifestations in Serbia, comparative analysis of results obtained by field research presented in the 'Strategy of tourism development in Serbia – Events; comparative analysis of certain foreign event strategies and the spatial analysis of tourist manifestations in Serbia'. The primary objective of this paper is to analyze the possibility of forming the Strategy of Event Tourism in Serbia and to predict its effect on the spatial and regional development, having in mind that Serbia is one of the countries without this strategic document, although there are numerous foreign examples available. There are examples of worldwide event strategies (event tourism) at the national or regional levels, such as: *A National Business Events Strategy for Australia 2020, National*

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Events Strategy for South Africa, National Events Strategy for New Zealand, National Events Strategy, Scotland; California Cultural Heritage Strategic Plan, Ontario Major Festivals and Events Attraction Research Study; as well as the strategic plans for the development of the events themselves, such as CARIFESTA festival, Guyana. In Australia, for example, there is a very high level of investment in tourism marketing and the integration of key events into the national tourism organization's domestic and international marketing strategy (Stokes, 2008).

THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF EVENT TOURISM

In the world literature, the most appropriate classification is the one given by Getz (1991, 1997, 2008), and was adopted by the team that worked on the Tourism Development Strategy, although there are several other definitions and classifications. In his classification, Getz lists following events: cultural celebrations, arts/entertainment, business/trade, displays (shows), sporting events, family events, social events, educational, scientific, recreational and political/state events. The shows, festivals, manifestations, events and performances are just different conceptual nuances that indicate a 'period of a certain program with a specific content that is attractive for tourist visits' (Bjeljac, 2006:7).

Since the 1970s, a significant number of scientists gave their contribution to defining concepts of event tourism (see Bjeljac 2006). In his research of event tourism in Serbia, Bjeljac (2006:8) defines tourism as a 'public performance in the form of an event or more events (with the same or different content), different categories of human achievement, that stand out for their specificity and attractiveness, have a tradition (permanency), achieving the goals and effects of tourism, and are organized in areas that have an interest in them, with massive performances and public expression, which are significant in scale, size, quality and quantity of content, with a clear and prominent central theme and recognizable date of happening, which all results in profitability as part of a tourist destination'.

Within Serbian tourist offer, event tourism is a type of tourism that can contribute to broadening touristic demand, particularly in terms of natural and anthropogenic values of tourist places or regions. The following cities and towns stand out in terms of the number of events: Belgrade – 257 events (10.8%); Novi Sad – 125 (5.2%), Pančevo – 102 (4.3%), Čačak – 77 (3.2%), Kanjiža – 51 (2.2%),

Subotica – 48 (2.0%), Bačka Palanka, Niš, Bečej and Sombor – 46 each (1.9%).

TOWARDS THE EVENT TOURISM STRATEGY

In 2011, the presidency of the Group accepted the proposal to use the methodology of experts from the Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić" SASA, so as to categorize and classify tourist events (Bjeljac, 2006, 2010). The group analyzed the Tourism Development Strategy (Section – Events) and compared it to event field research

(Table 1). They came to the conclusion that the existing presentation of tourist events and products in Serbia is not adequate and do not correspond to the actual situation.

The criticism aims at an event definition by Getz, given in the Tourism Development Strategy. It is unspecific and unacceptable for our requirements, while the definition by Bjeljac is more appropriate (2006). This general definition does not distinguish between an event continuously going on as an independent traditional event, or it being a

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of Tourism Development Strategy and Event Research in the Field

Tourism Development Strategy	Research by G.I. "Jovan Cvijić"
Tourists that attend events belong to the widest population, and they visit particular events during short breaks or as third holidays. The age structure of tourists ranges from 18 to 55, with individuals being from 18 to 25, groups from 25 to 35, and couples between 45 and 55.	- <i>The Rajac Haymaking, 2008, 352 interviewees*</i> Origin: Belgrade (14.8%), Valjevo (13.1%), Indija (12.2%), 14.5% of foreigners 51.2% of the age group 60-69 and 70 and older. 59.6% travel more than five times a year. 1.7% came through travel agencies, 72.7% stayed for one day only, 76.4% will spend up to 50 euros.
The main motive is the specific event, in which they have taken part for several years. The tourists are additionally motivated by sites, shopping, gastronomy and nightlife.	63.6% were informed about the event by the visitors of the past Haymakings, 66.5% came because they wished to get to know the traditions and customs of haymaking. 56.3% spent money on food and drinks
In terms of accommodation and transportation, the main motto is good value for money. Their stay lasts for three to five days. The main source of information is the Internet.	- <i>Shepherd-Days, Sakule (2009) 160 interviewees**</i> Origin: Belgrade (53.8%), Opovo (13.8) Pančevo (5.6%) Age groups 60-69 (28.1%) and 20-29 (26.3%) (35%) travel more than five times a year. 65.6% visited the event independently, 88.6% stayed for one day. (32.5%) came for fun and company, 61.9% spent money on food and drinks, 47.5% willing to spend up to 100 euros. 56.9% got the information from the previous visitors of Shepherd days.
	- <i>Trumpet Festival, Guča (2010) 975 interviewees***</i> Origin: Belgrade (19%), Čačak (8.2%), Novi Sad (5.4%), 48.6% foreign visitors (Bosnia and Herzegovina (18.8%), France (10.8%), Slovenia (9.3%). Age groups 20-29 (48.1%) and 30-39 (29.7%). 28.4% travel more than five times a year, 97.4% came independently, 38.8% stayed for 5 and more days. For 61.6% entertainment was the motive for the visit, 44.9% came with friends, 12.1% willing to spend about 200 euros: 54.1% on entertainment; 53.6% got the information about the event from previous visitors.
	- <i>Plum Days, Blace (2011) 304 interviewees****</i> Origin: Blace 19.4%; Belgrade 12.5%; Prokuplje 10.5%; foreign visitors 3.3%, 40.1% age group 20-29, 36.5% travel twice a year, 14.1% motive for visit was entertainment, 100.0% came independently, 16.1% willing to spend about 300 euros; 38.2% willing to spend money on food and drinks; 46.7% got the information about the event from previous visitors

* Brankov et al. (2009)

** Bjeljac and Brankov (2010)

*** Bjeljac et al. (2013)

**** Lović et al. (2012)

continuous series of events that promote a tourism destination, such as various concerts, exhibitions, economic events, which are not necessarily linked thematically by content and place, and are organized by the same organizer once a year. Not enough was done to make the definition more precise, as there are authors who gave more detailed definitions of an event.

In addition, field research conducted by a team of experts from the Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić" SASA in cooperation with the organizers of individual events, shows different information (Table 1) than outlined in the Strategy. The Strategy does not contain a clear categorization and classification of events. It used, as discussed above, the classification of events by content, given by Getz (1991). The Group believes that the appropriate classification is the one proposed by the team of experts from the Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić" SASA: children's, economic, religious, political, historical, ethnographic, entertainment, scientific-technical, sporting, artistic and touristic events, because they contain a more detailed subdivision of each group (Bjeljac, 2006; Vodič kroz turističke manifestacije, 2012).

The Strategy was detailed on the basis of analyses of events worldwide, containing the number of visitors, income, and jobs, but omitting the example of Serbia. Only the major events in Serbia were mentioned: EXIT (Novi Sad) and Trumpet Festival (Guča), and more than 300 local events, but without detailed analyses. In the tourism clusters, as key events, the Strategy listed (with no obvious categorization criteria): EXIT (Novi Sad), International Film Festival Palić, Vintage Days and 'Dužijanča' (Subotica), summer theater performances and horse races; film ceremonies and choral ceremonies (Niš), Gitarijada (Zaječar), First Accordion (Sokobanja) Trumpet Festival (Guča), Tešnjar Evenings (Valjevo), Carnival and Film Festival (Vrnjačka Banja), the Rajac Haymaking (Ljig), Days of Comedy (Jagodina), conventions, conferences, trade shows, sporting events, culture festivals, events at the Iron Gate, 'Golubački kotlić'.

The Strategy predicts the arrival of large numbers of foreign tourists, while field studies show that the largest number of visitors is from the daily and half-daily gravity zone, where foreigners are mostly from the former Yugoslav states and the countries with the dominant Serbian diaspora. The largest number of visitors is informed about the event by the visitors of previous event editions and through the Internet. In addition, most visitors arrive

independently, by personal transport, by car or bus, except for the age group of 65 and over, who have the visits organized by the associations of pensioners. The widest age group is from 20 to 39.

Positive examples of event tourism strategies can be used in forming the Event Tourism Strategy in Serbia, to be involved in the analysis of the festival business model (organization structure, financial flows, stakeholders, competition, business environment): an environmental scan (Social, Legal, Economic, Political, Technological, Meteorological, Demographic and Competitiveness issues) with a SWOT analysis; identify and examine current events and develop strategies to ensure they are promoted and incorporated within the overall strategy and aligned with other local and regional events where possible; develop marketing strategies, including the identification of target markets; accounting events that are suitable for staging in larger cities, where accommodation and event facilities exist, as well as in rural areas where events could highlight the specific attributes of a region (National events strategy, 2009; Central coast festival, 2009).

THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENT TOURISM STRATEGY IN SERBIA

Using the examples of the mentioned world strategies, the team from the Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić" SASA, developed a categorization and classification, later adopted by the Group of organizers of business tourism events of the Serbian Chamber of Commerce – Board for Tourism. This was undertaken in order to determine which of the traditional events have attractive tourist potential (the requirements to become a motive for the arrival of visitors), as a first step towards a national strategy.

To make an event a successful tourism product, it is necessary to extract the fundamental elements that promote the product: the attractiveness and uniqueness, content, rank, tradition, quality of organization, number of visitors, location, natural and anthropogenic values of the location, as well as the time and duration of the event. The more events based on specific values, well planned, organized in an attractive location, and at a time convenient for visits, the more interesting participants the program has, the greater the value of the event as a tourism product will be.

All events that are of importance to tourism can be valorized by: origin of performance, durability at the same venue, the nature of

maintenance, program content, number of visitors, invested funds and the motives of visitors (Bjeljac, 2006, 2010). Based on the complex and detailed analysis, the basic evaluation of this type of tourism was undertaken (Bjeljac, 2006; Bjeljac and Brankov, 2008; Bjeljac and Čurčić, 2010; Goldblatt, 2000, Getz, 1997, 2008; Carlsen *et al.*, 2001).

This evaluation includes: content, origin of visitors and participants by rank, tradition (maintaining continuity), location, transport accessibility, time of the event, the number of visitors and participants, the artistic value of the event, number of accompanying events, visitor and organizer satisfaction (Bjeljac, 2006, 2010). This set of criteria has a grading scale from zero to five points.

It includes the impact of constructing capital projects, environmental, economic, media and political influence, stakeholders relations, as well as evaluating cooperation with tourist organizations (Goldblatt, 2000; Bjeljac, 2006, 2010; Bjeljac and Brankov, 2008; Bjeljac and Čurčić, 2010). Economic impact analysis is one of the instruments that policy makers can use to support effective decision making processes, by comparing the return on investment into the events and their whole economic impact with alternative investments. (Della Lucia, 2013). All criteria were assessed before and after the event, and the grading scale is from zero to four points.

Through these sets of criteria, events can be divided into three categories attractive for tourist visits:

- The second category – events that are a significant element of the tourist offer
- The third category – other events where particular attention is paid to events in less developed regions of Serbia.

When the highest values of all geographic and economic indicators of criteria are summed up, the result is 116. Therefore, events that have 97 or more points belong to the first category of tourist events, the second category gathers events between 73 and 96 points, and the third category groups the events that have less than 73 points.

Based on the evaluation of tourist events, events that belong to the first and second category of tourist events are singled out. The first category events are: Dragačevo Trumpet, Guča (115 points), EXIT, Novi Sad (114), the Rajac Haymaking, Ljig (110), the International Agricultural Fair, Novi Sad, Vintage Days, Vršac (with 108 each), International Book Fair, Belgrade (106), Days of Beer, Zrenjanin (105)

Vuk Karadžić Days in Tršić (104), International Hunting, Fishing, Sports and Tourism Fair, Novi Sad (101), International Tourism Fair Belgrade (100), Accordion Championship – Sokobanja (98) and Dužijanica, Subotica (97 points).

The listed events, passing national boundaries and gaining affirmation in the international market, positively stand out and have become recognized brands whose attractiveness increases, and the economic effects rapidly increase revenues from tourism.

The second category includes: Vintage Days, Sremski Karlovci (96 points); Bacon Festival, Kačarevo (94); Serbian Assembly of Folklore and Oplenac Vintage, Topola and 'Brankovo Kolo', Sremski Karlovci (93); Barbecue Festival, Leskovac (91); Folklore Festival Vršac (88), Harvest Festivities of the Carpathian Basin, Gornji Breg; BITEF, Belgrade; Pumpkin Days, Kikinda (87); The Guitar Festival, Zaječar (85); the Autumn in Smederevo (83); Harvest Days, Palić; Sausage Festival, Turija; Children's festival 'Zmajevе dečije igre', Novi Sad (81); Joy of Europe, Belgrade (80) Cultural Festivities, Vrnjačka Banja; Folklore Festival 'Prođoh Levač, prođoh Šumadiju', Rekovac; BEMUS, Belgrade (79); Marble and Sounds, Arandelovac; Pudar Days, Irig; Danube TID regatta; Belgrade Marathon (78); Vintage Days, Aleksandrovac; Sterija's Theatre, Novi Sad (77); Shepherd Days, Kosjerić; Slovakian Folk Festivities, Bački Petrovac (76); Kovačica October; Vuk's Council, Tršić (75); Mokranjac Days, Negotin; Jazz Festival, Kanjiža; Night of Museums; International Nautical Faire, Belgrade; Cultural Summer, Sokobanja; Serbian Statehood day, Orašac; Ljubičevo Horse Games, Požarevac (74); Nisomnia, Niš; A Great School Lesson, Kragujevac (73 points).

The third category gathers other traditional events. Most of these events have a potential for tourism, but do not fully meet the criteria, first of all economically. In this category, there are 107 significant traditional events that take place in the 26 least economically developed municipalities in Serbia. These events are the basis for the development of tourism, but also for other sectors of the economy in underdeveloped regions in Serbia.

Ministry of Economy and Regional Development (Ministry of Finance and Economy of the Republic of Serbia, Department of Tourism) and the Group of organizers of business tourism events of the Serbian Chamber of Commerce – Board for Tourism, organized a workshop in the period from December 2011 until September 2012 on the following topic: "Improving the Quality of Tourism Product - Manifestations".

The SWOT analysis was used as a means for this paper, which is the second step in the strategic planning process in order to improve the quality of this product. Based on the SWOT analysis, solutions are given to remedy deficiencies and risks, and the conclusions and recommendations were drafted for the development of products based on the benefits and opportunities that the participants of the workshop defined. During registration, participants have indicated the number and type of events they organize during the year.

The most common strengths were geo-transport position, rich cultural, historical and natural heritage, tendency of the Serbian people towards celebrations and festivals, enthusiasm and tendency towards volunteerism. The most common weaknesses listed the following: professional specialization (event management, strategic planning, etc.), main capacities (venues), small share of foreign visitors, politicization in every sense, inadequate promotional materials and infrastructure. The following were pinpointed as potentials: the increase in the number of foreign tourists in Serbia, creating brands out of certain events, tourist valorization of events, education of event organizers. External threats are: inadequate attention to the eco system, abuse of events and the existence of "unregistered services" (during certain events, prices of food, drinks, accommodation, taxi services, etc. are higher), low purchasing power of the population, overproduction of similar events, loss of local cultural identity and values.

Based on the results of the SWOT analysis, we can conclude:

- It is necessary to replace the enthusiasm of the employees in organizing events by professionalism (professional staff with specialized knowledge and skills in management, strategic planning, promotions, advertising, funding...);
- Establish a data collection methodology to explore the tourism market (number of visitors by gender, age, country of origin, income from events, and grade of satisfaction of visitors);
- Strengthen cooperation between the public and private sectors;
- Establish coordination between the event organizers and local and national authorities as well as with other stakeholders (media and other organizers of the event, the tourism industry, transport...);
- Event integrating and networking (horizontal and vertical integration);
- Adopt rules of categorization, classification and evaluation of tourism events, as well as

the strategic document on the development of this product;

- Organize training of employees in culture, tourism and education on the following topics: managing events, finding funds to finance events, promotions, effective organization of events, preservation of local values, and cultural identity of the places in which the events take place...);
- Development of event clusters in Serbia
- Pass laws or by-laws to regulate the place and role of event tourism in Serbia and relieve the organizers of unnecessary fees and permits;
- Create a special event tourism strategy in Serbia.

SPATIAL ASPECTS IN CREATION OF EVENT TOURISM STRATEGY IN SERBIA

The term "territorial cohesion" was used in the *Second Progress Report on Economic and Social Cohesion* (CEC, 2003) for the first time in the context of European development. However, the term "balanced spatial development" has been used in the past, when the Ministers of the European Union, responsible for spatial issues, set it as a goal in 1994, and later accepted it in the document *European Spatial Development Perspective* (CEC, 1999). Since then, territorial cohesion and balanced spatial development have become an integral part of a number of key European documents such as the *Guiding Principles for Sustainable Development* (CEMAT, 2000), *Territorial Agenda* (EU, 2007), *Lisbon Treaty* (CEC, 2007), *Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion* (CEC, 2008), etc.

This approach starts from the fact that the diversity of regions is an advantage to be preserved, thus improving balance in the economic, demographic and social capacities. This is also expected to reduce the difference between the areas used beyond the limits of sustainability on the one hand, and abandoned areas of emigration on the other.

In line with the pan-European aspirations, *Spatial Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia* (RASP, 2009) and the *Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia* (RASP, 2010) supported the model of balanced territorial development. Moreover, both documents are based on the principles proclaimed in the *Guiding Principles* (CEMAT, 2000) and the *Territorial Agenda* (EU, 2007), setting the promotion of territorial cohesion as an objective. Accordingly, the spatial development of Serbia aims at reducing the significant regional differences.

In reality, the process of socio-economic transition and transformation of management in Serbia has repeatedly failed in the use and quality of strategic thinking, which led to a neglect of the role of long-term (strategic) decisions (Vujošević, 2010). In the above mentioned transformation process, the spatial aspect in the development of sectoral and strategic papers was ignored (Maksin and Milijić, 2010).

Thus, Serbia can be classified among European countries with the largest regional differences in terms of socio-economic indicators, according to the intensity of resource use, and thus the use of the entire territorial capital (Vujošević, 2010). A share of responsibility for the violation of territorial cohesion and spatial balance belongs to the limited approach to the creation of sector documents, whereas other aspects are not examined, including the spatial ones (Maksin-Mičić et al., 2009). For these reasons, the significance and role of the strategic thinking on the subject of event tourism in Serbia are clearly highlighted, including the consideration of the physical/spatial aspect.

In the previous section, the evaluation of events in Serbia is presented in three categories. When their distribution is visually represented (Figure 1), it becomes obvious that events are not territorially balanced, i.e. some regions and/or their parts are leaders in comparison to others. The Southern and Eastern Serbia regions, territorially the most spacious, lag far behind with the number of municipalities where the first and second category events are held, in comparison to Vojvodina, Šumadija, and Western Serbia.

In fact, when valorization points are added by region, Vojvodina, Šumadija and Western Serbia are leaders, with 1308 and 1032 points ahead of Belgrade region, which gathered 754 points, and the regions of Southern and Eastern Serbia, with 730 points. When the comparison between regions is made, only by criterion of the first category events, the differences are even more significant: Vojvodina is the best positioned, having almost twice as many points as Šumadija and Western Serbia (633:329), three times as much as Belgrade (633:206), and even six times as much as the Southern and Eastern Serbia (633:99).

Therefore, Vojvodina leads convincingly, while the Southern and Eastern Serbia is the worst positioned, particularly with regard to events of major importance (first category events).

Also, Figure 1 shows that only one municipality, in which events held are in the first category, belongs to the region of

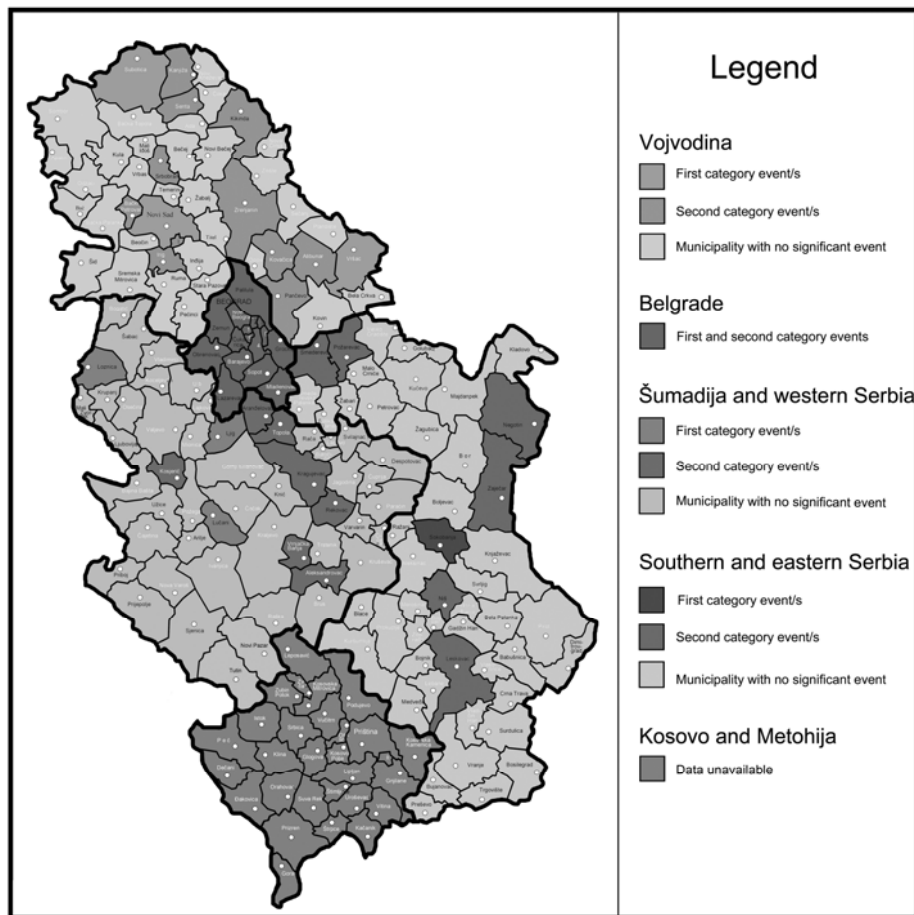


Figure 1: Serbia - Distribution of events by priority (in municipalities and regions)
Source: elaborated by Marijana Pantić

Southern and Eastern Serbia, and that generally, in each region, with the exception of Belgrade, there are groups of municipalities that do not hold any first, nor the second category events.

Here, the Belgrade region is an exception because the small territorial range contains a large number of municipalities, and the entire region can be roughly considered as one municipality. Thus, Figure 2 separates seven groups of municipalities, adjacent to each other, and at the same time none of them bordering with the municipality in which the significant event(s) is/are held. If these groups, in terms of territorial cohesion disruption, are given the name of critical zones, it can be concluded that there is one of these zones in the region of Vojvodina (Apatin, Bač, Kula, Odžaci and Šid municipalities), two in Šumadija and Western Serbia (Bogatić, Koceljeva, Osečina and Ljubovija in the first zone; Čajetina, Priboj, Nova Varoš, Sjenica, Tutin and Novi Pazar in the second zone), three in the region of Southern and Eastern Serbia (Blace, Kuršumljina and Prokuplje in the first zone; Bela Palanka,

Babušnica, Pirot and Dimitrovgrad in the second; Bosilegrad, Bujanovac, Preševo, Surdulica and Trgovište in the third zone), and the remaining zone covers the regions of Šumadija and Western Serbia on the one side (Despotovac, Lapovo, Paraćin, Svilajnac, Čuprija and Čičevac) and Southern and Eastern Serbia on the other (Golubac, Kučevo, Petrovac and Žagubica). Broken down by regions, the territory of Belgrade is completely covered by events, the territory of Vojvodina, about 90%, Šumadija and Western Serbia, and Southern and Eastern Serbia around 70%.

So, according to the number of evaluation points (for the first category events) and the number of critical zones, regions of Southern and Eastern Serbia seem to be the weakest. In contrast, the region of Vojvodina is best ranked in terms of all the relevant criteria and, observed through the prism of first-class events, it noticeably stands out from other regions.

Therefore, the creation of Event Tourism Development Strategy in Serbia should be approached with an awareness of the existing regional imbalances and it is vital for the

Strategy to introduce policies that would reduce these differences. Particular attention should be paid to strengthening the critical zones of all the regions, and most of all, the regions of Southern and Eastern Serbia, and also to Belgrade region from which it would be expected to have a leading role in the organization of first class events.

The advantage of current state of event tourism in Serbia is that the two most successful festivals have been held in two different regions and grounded on different topics. Guča Trumpet Festival, based on Serbia/Balkan musical heritage, promotes entertainment typical of Serbia, while Exit Festival represents a prototype of originally west European/American music and festivities. Both events together also confirm that other festivals in Serbia should not be thematically limited. Concerning the spatial aspect, beside Belgrade and Novi Sad, other big cities in Serbia – Niš and Kragujevac can be suitable for events based on world-wide trends, while other cities and towns can take over the leading role in local tradition based events.

Involvement in this field, especially branding and certification of small events, would contribute to the realization of the aspirations proclaimed in the first phase report of the *Serbian Tourism Strategy* (Horvat Consulting *et al.*, 2005), which states: 'The Republic of Serbia cannot and should not count on tourism in isolated oases for the guests, but, on the contrary, the system should provide interesting tourist experiences on its entire territory' (Horvat Consulting *et al.*, 2005, p. 6).

CONCLUSION

The results of the field research analysis of event visitors, and the comparison of this field research with the section 'Events' of the Tourism Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (2006-2015), show discrepancy between the actual situation on the field and the demands of the tourist event organizers on the one hand, and what is presented and suggested by the Strategy on the other. The foreign examples of successful strategic planning that include the spatial planning (local/regional/national) and strategic planning of one or more events already exist and have an elaborate methodology – thus, these examples should be applied to Serbia. The group of event organizers took the first steps – they undertook tourist valorization and classification and SWOT analysis.

The event tourism strategy should also empower manifestations in otherwise marginalized regions of Serbia and make it a tool for overall socio-economic development of the regions. This would particularly refer to

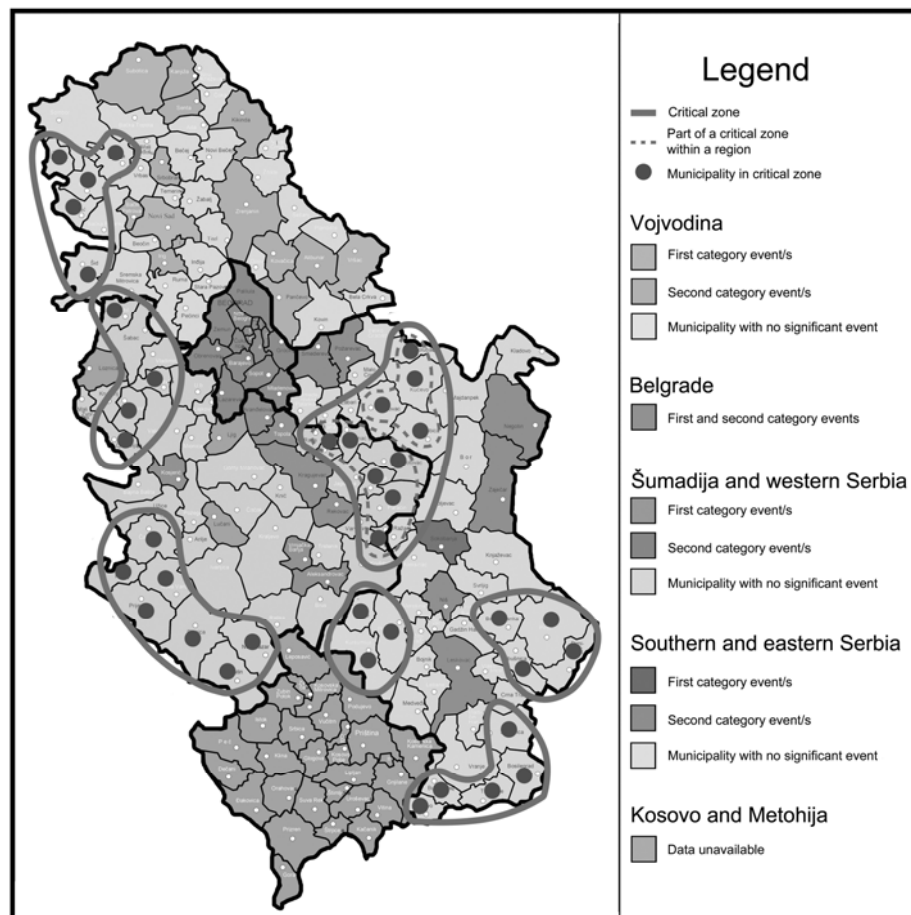


Figure 2: Serbia – distribution of critical zones Source: elaborated by Marijana Pantić

Šumadija and Western Serbia and South and Eastern Serbia regions where the analysis has shown weaknesses in terms of the number of events and their visitors, but also to other regions covering all seven critical zones and Belgrade, which can be expected to fulfill the demands of a capital city. Branding and certification of small, but already existing events would certainly contribute to creation of first class events.

It is recommendable that municipalities in the same critical zone cooperate and, with a view to the national event tourism strategy, create their own regional strategies. Additionally, the strategy should explicitly consider possibilities of event tourism development in rural areas and villages because they represent socially, economically and demographically affected areas in Serbia where the strategy can contribute to their reanimation.

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