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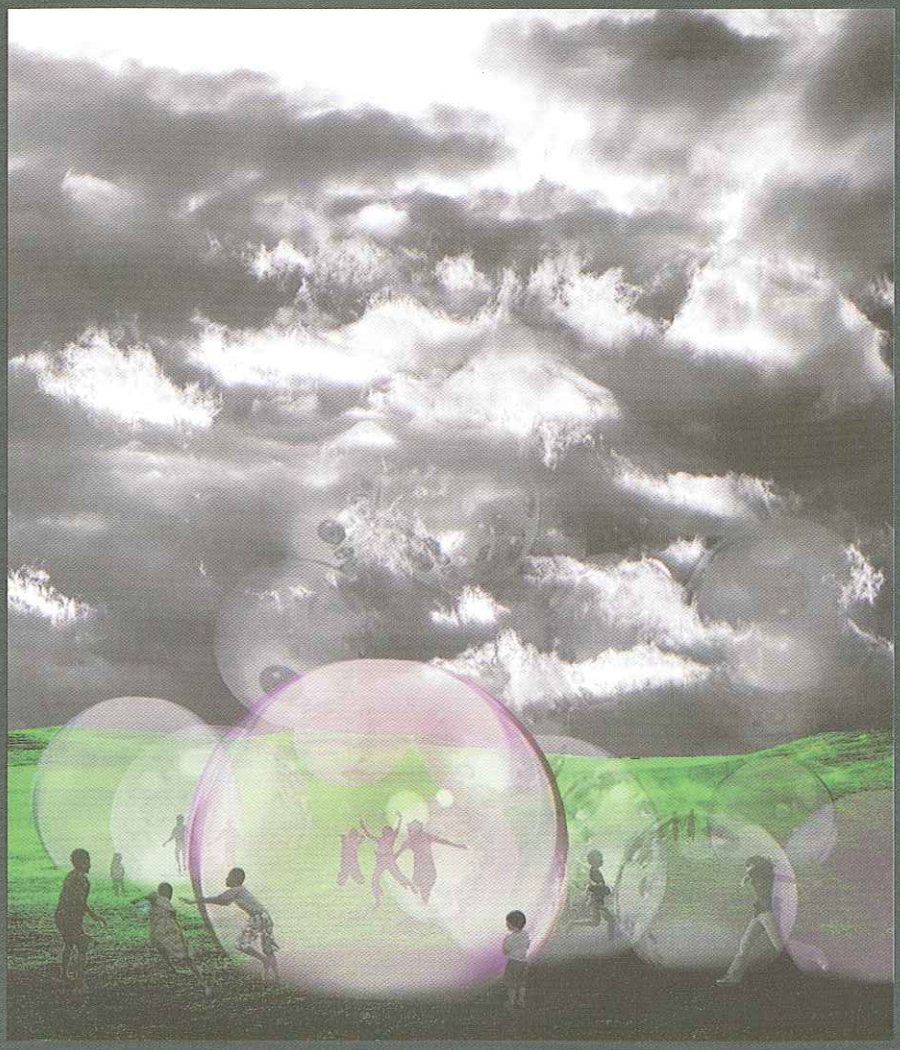

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SCOPE AND AIMS

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

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

This issue of International Journal „Spatium" covers a number of contributions reflecting international experience, which have paralleled the recent thematic issues of the Journal. The papers address four broad fields, viz., environmental and climate issues; territorial cohesion; planning education; and specific approaches to urban and architectural design.

Editor-in-Chief

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EROSION CONTROL AND PROTECTION FROM TORRENTIAL FLOODS IN SERBIA-SPATIAL ASPECTS

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Torrential floods represent the most frequent phenomenon within the category of "natural risks" in Serbia. The representative examples are the torrential floods on the experimental watersheds of the rivers Manastirica (June 1996) and Kamišna (May 2007). Hystorical maximal discharges (Q_{maxh}) were reconstructed by use of "hydraulics flood traces" method. Computations of maximal discharges (Q_{maxc}), under hydrological conditions after the restoration of the watersheds, were performed by use of a synthetic unit hydrograph theory and Soil Conservation Service methodology. Area sediment yields and intensity of erosion processes were estimated on the basis of the "Erosion Potential Method". The actual state of erosion processes is represented by the coefficients of erosion Z=0.475 (Manastirica) and Z=0.470 (Kamišna). Restoration works have been planned with a view to decreasing yields of erosive material, increasing water infiltration capacity and reducing flood runoff.

The planned state of erosion processes is represented by the coefficients of erosion Z=0.343 (Manastirica) and Z=0.385 (Kamišna). The effects of hydrological changes were estimated by the comparison of historical maximal discharges and computed maximal discharges (under the conditions after the planned restoration). The realisation of restoration works will help decrease annual yields of erosive material from W_a=24357 m^3 to W_a=16198.0 m^3 (Manastirica) and from W_a=19974 m^3 to W_a=14434 m^3 (Kamišna). The values of historical maximal discharges ($Q_{maxhMan}$=154.9 $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$; $Q_{maxhKam}$=76.3 $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$) were significantly decreased after the restoration ($Q_{maxcMan}$=84.5 $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$; $Q_{maxcKam}$=43.7 $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$), indicating the improvement of hydrological conditions, as a direct consequence of erosion and torrent control works. Integrated management involves biotechnical works on the watershed, technical works on the hydrographic network within a precisely defined administrative and spatial framework in order to achieve maximum security for people and their property and to meet other requirements such as: environmental protection, sustainable soil usage, drinking water supply, rural development, biodiversity sustaining, etc. The lowest and the most effective level is attained through PAERs (Plans for announcement of erosive regions) and PPTFs (Plans for protection from torrential floods), with HZs (Hazard zones) and TAs (Threatened areas) mapping on the basis of spatial analysis of important factors in torrential floods formation. Solutions defined through PAERs and PPTFs must be integrated into Spatial Plans at local and regional levels.

***Key words:** Flood protection, Erosion Control, Plans for announcement of erosive regions and protection from torrential floods, Watershed Restoration.*

INTRODUCTION

Natural or anthropogenic calamities may cause severe material damage and, unfortunately, the loss of human lives (Toya and Skidmore, 2007). The occurrence of natural and anthropogenic extreme phenomena throughout the world compels us to pay more attention to their environmental and economic impacts (Schmidt et al., 2006; Lerner, 2007). Floods, in all their various forms, are the most frequent natural catastrophic event that occurs throughout the world (Berz et al., 2001; Barredo, 2007). Among natural hazards with serious risks for people and their activities, the torrential floods represent the most common hazard in Serbia (Ristić and Nikić, 2007), being the first when it comes to losses, causing huge damage and loss of human lives. Frequency of events, their intensity

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and diffusion into the whole territory, make them a permanent threat with consequences in environmental, economic and social spheres. The representative examples are torrential floods on the watersheds of main tributaries of: Kolubara, June 1996; Velika Morava, July 1999; Kolubara and Drina, June 2001; Južna Morava, November 2007; Zapadna Morava, Drina and Lim, November 2009; Timok, February 2010; Pčinja, May 2010; Drina, December, 2010. The climate, specific characteristics of relief, distinctions of soil and vegetation cover, social-economic conditions resulted in the occurrence of torrential flood waves as one of the consequential forms of the existing erosion processes. Erosion processes of different categories of destruction are present on 76355 km^2 (86.4% territory of Serbia); 70.61% of the eroded areas are located on the slopes steeper than 5%. The average annual production of erosive material amounts to $37.25 \cdot 10^6$ m^3, or 487.85 $m^3 \cdot km^{-2}$, which is 4.88 times more than normal (geological) erosion. Strong and excessive erosion processes cover 35% of the territory of Serbia (WRMBPS, 1996). 9260 torrents have been recorded in Serbia (Gavrilović, 1975). Overexploitation or mismanagement of forest and agricultural land along with urbanisation provoke severe erosion and torrential floods. Soil erosion induces land use changes such as abandonment of arable land due to declining productivity (Bakker et al., 2005). Soil erosion becomes more frequent and severe with increased local economic development (Ristić et al., 2010; Ananda and Herath, 2003). As the watershed becomes more developed, it changes its hydrological regime, by increasing the torrential flood volume (Ristić et al., 2001). Torrential floods that once occurred rarely during pre-development period have now become more frequent and destructive due to the transformation of the watershed from rural to urban land uses.

Decreasing the surfaces under forest vegetation, urbanisation and inadequate agricultural measures are some of the negative aspects of human activity which cause torrential floods, so that former discharges with recurrence interval of 100 years, become events with recurrence interval of 20 years (Ristić, et al., 2006). Torrential flood represents a sudden appearance of maximal discharge into the river bed with a high concentration of hard phase (bed load sediment). In extreme cases, two-phase fluid flows out from the torrent bed, with enormous destructive energy. Two-phase fluid could content fractions (60% of total volume) of different granulations: from particles of clay to rocks, with a diameter of up to 5.0 m and a mass of over 200 tons (Jevtić, 1978). Torrential watershed represents a hydrographic entity with riverbeds of mainstream and tributaries and gravitating areas along with erosion processes at a certain level of intensity. The attribute "torrential" refers to any watershed with a sudden appearance of maximal discharge with high concentration of hard phase, regardless of the magnitude and category of a stream. The erosion and torrent control works (ETCW) in Europe started around the middle of the 19th century. In Serbia, the works started at the end of the 19th century and, as an organised activity, in 1907. In the period from 1907–2006, a significant scope of works had been performed: technical works (check-dams, bank protective structures, river training) - 1.501.656 m^3; biotechnical (afforestation; forest protective belts; silt-filtering strips; grassing; terracing; contour farming) - 120.987 ha (Kostadinov, 2007). Effective torrential watershed management lies in achieving maximum security and avoiding or mitigating damages. Best management practices (BMPs) could be obtained through a specific combination of biotechnical, technical and administrative measures, through concept of "natural reservoirs" (the essence of this concept is represented through necessity to retain water in soil on slopes, instead of running off as a fast surface runoff, minimizing erosion and enabling agricultural activities). Each storage component (forest stands; parcels of arable land; pastures; meadows, etc.) represents a kind of reservoir, able to keep and retain a certain volume of water. Integral watershed management must meet different requirements: protection from soil erosion and torrential floods; drinking water supply; rural development; biodiversity sustaining. Cooperation and overcoming conflicts between various sectors of forestry, agriculture, water resources management and local economy development is essential at following levels: policy; planning; practice; investments; education.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The flood risk assesment at watershed level is based on a historical overview of floods which occurred in the past. Typical examples are experimental watersheds of the rivers Manastirica (profile at village Brežđe, between Mionica and Divčibare) and Kamišna (profile at village Glibetići, nearby Mokra Gora), located in the western part of Serbia (Figure 1). Experimental watersheds have experienced severe torrential floods at the mentioned profiles. The village of Brežđe was struck by a flood in June l996: almost 130 hectares of land and 37 buildings were flooded (out of which 15 severely damaged), roads damaged or blocked and 140 inhabitants evacuated. The village of Glibetići also suffered heavy floods in May of 2007 and in 1994: one person died, and the local roads and the railway were destroyed. The discharges into the rivers Manastirica and Kamišna increased 815 and 347 times, respectively: from $Q=0.19$ $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$ to $Q_{maxhMan\text{-}1996}=154.9$ $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$ in Manastirica river; from $Q=0.22$ $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$ to $Q_{maxhMan\text{-}2007}=$ 76.3 m^3·s-1, in the Kamišna river. The water levels increased from 30-40 cm to up to 6.2 m (Manastirica) and 3.8 meters (Kamišna).

Spatial relations between dominant factors in torrential floods forming have been analysed: natural characteristics (hydrographic characteristics; soil and geological conditions), human impact (land use; disposition of surfaces; relation between surfaces with low and high water infiltration-retention capacity), effects of urbanisation (disposition of endangered residential and infrastructure objects in relation to riverbeds) and consequences or missing of application of spatial planning documents. This investigation is also concerned with the analysis of impacts (erosion and torrential floods) under the actual and planned conditions of the watersheds (after restoration). Planned restoration works involve biotechnical (reforestation of eroded or abandoned arable land; forest protective belts; silt filtering strips; contour farming; terracing), technical (check dams; river training works) and administrative measures (PAER-Plans for announcement of erosive regions; PPTF-Plans for protection from torrential floods).

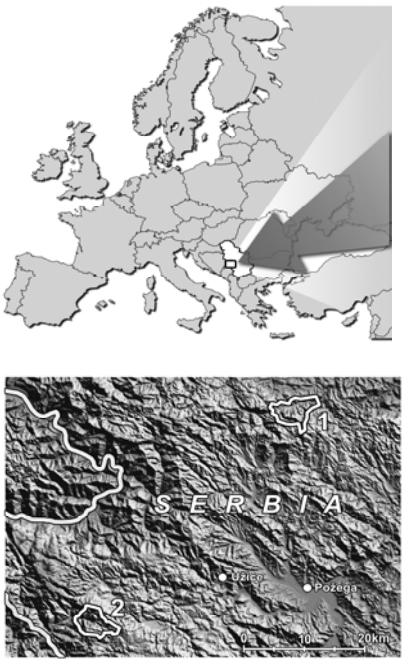

Figure 1. Location of experimental watersheds (1-river Manastirica; 2-river Kamišna)

Consequences of land use changes have been analysed on the basis of field investigations, use of aerial and satellite photo images, topographic, geological and soil maps. Land use classification has been made on the basis of CORINE methodology (EEA, 1994). Area sediment yields and intensity of erosion processes have been estimated on the basis of the "Erosion Potential Method" (EPM). This method was created, developed and calibrated in Serbia (Gavrilović, 1972) and it is still in use in all the countries originating from former Yugoslavia. Hystorical maximal discharges (Q_{maxh}) were reconstructed by application of method of "hydraulics flood traces" (Ristić et al., 1997). Computations of maximal discharges (Q_{maxc}), under hydrological conditions after restoration of the watersheds, have been performed by application of a synthetic unit hydrograph theory and SCS methodology (SCS, 1979; Chang, 2003). In Serbia, this is the most frequently used procedure for computations of maximal discharges at small, unstudied watersheds, enriched by a regional analysis of lag time (Ristić, 2003), internal daily distribution of precipitation (Janković, 1994) and classification of soil hydrologic classes (Djorović, 1984). Data concerning maximal daily precipitation were provided from the observing system of RHMOS (Republic Hydrometeorological Office of Serbia).

The aim of this investigation is to show how analysis of spatial relations between dominant factors in torrential floods formation can help mitigation of destructive effects and enable better prevention.

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

The main hydrographic characteristics of the experimental watersheds are presented in Table 1.

The main characteristics of torrential floods occurring between 1996 and 2007 along with the precipitation which caused them, are presented in Table 2.

Hazard zones (HZ) are determined on the basis of a spatial analysis of dominant factors in surface runoff forming: soil conditions; geology; slope; A_L, average length of water way from the watershed divide to the hydrographic network (Table 3). HZ are sources of impacts (fast surface runoff and sediment). HZ on the Manastirica river watershed (Figure 2) account for 32.68% of the total area (9.78 km^2) and on the Kamišna river watershed (Figure 3) 45.88% of the total area (12.36 km^2).

Threatened areas (TA) are locations under the influence of impacts (Figure 2, 3): TA on the Manastirica river watershed account for 1.34% of the total area (0.4 km^2) and on the Kamišna river 0.82% of the total area (0.22 km^2).

Table 1. Main hydrographic characteristics of the experimental watersheds

Parameter	Mark	Unit	Manastirica	Kamišna
Magnitude	A	km^2	29.93	26.94
Perimeter	P	km	29	25.1
Peak point	Pp	m.a.s.l.	983	1281
Confluence point	Cp	m.a.s.l.	309	603
Mean altitude	Am	m.a.s.l.	621	955
Length of the main stream	L	km	12.95	12.18
Absolute slope of river bed	Sa	%	5.20	5.04
Mean slope of river bed	Sm	%	3.3	4.22
Mean slope of terrain	Smt	%	28.5	29.73

Table 2: Main characteristics of reconstructed torrential floods

Water course	Profile	Date of occurrence	Q_{maxh} [m^3·s^{-1}]	q_{maxsp} [m^3·s^{-1}·km^{-2}]	Total precipitation [mm]	Duration [min]	Intensity [mm·min^{-1}]
Manastirica	Brežđe	13.06.1996.	154.9	5.18	135.0	180	0.75mm·min.$^{-1}$
Kamišna	Glibetići	26.05.2007.	76.3	2.83	99.6	120	0.83mm·min.$^{-1}$

Table 3: Dominant factors in surface runoff forming in HZs

Watershed	Soil conditions	Geology	Slope (%)	A_L (m)
Manastirica	✓grey-brown skeletoidal soil on diabase; ✓grey brown soil on limestone (locally leached; ✓skeletoidal black soil on serpentine rock	✓diabase-chert formation; ✓massive limestone; ✓conglomerate and limestone; ✓limestone and marl	10-20	200
Kamišna	✓skeletoidal black soil on serpentine rock	✓serpentine ✓harzburgite	20-30	210

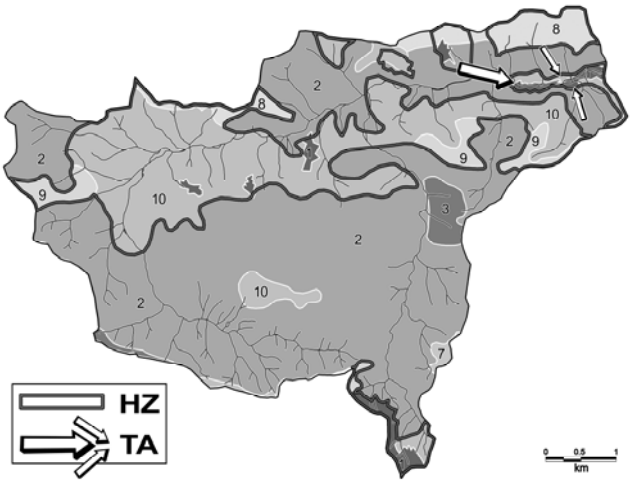

Figure 2. HZ (Hazard Zones), TA (Threatened Areas) and LU (Land use) in the watershed of the river Manastirica: 1 – Discontinuous urban fabric; 2 – Broad-leaved forest; 3 - Coniferous forests; 7 – Natural grasslands; 8 – Complex cultivation patterns; 9 – Pastures; 10 – Land principally occupied by agriculture, with significant areas of natural vegetation

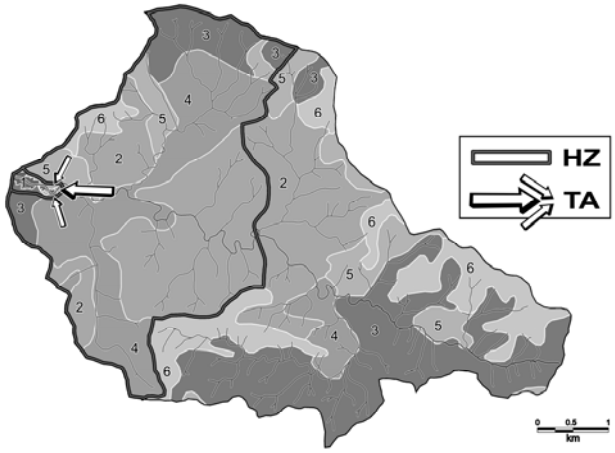

Figure 3. HZ (Hazard Zones), TA (Threatened Areas) and LU (Land use) in the watershed of the river Kamišna: 1 – Discontinuous urban fabric; 2 – Broad-leaved forest; 3 – Coniferous forest; 4 – Mixed forest; 5- Transitional woodland-shrub; 6-Natural grasslands

Erosion and sediment transport

Some characteristic outputs of computations of sediment yields and transport are presented in Table 4, along with the representative values of the coefficient of erosion Z, in actual conditions and after planned restoration of 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_{atsp}-specific annual transport of sediment through hydrographic network; W_{abls}-annual amount of bed-load sediment; W_{ass}-annual amount of suspended sediment).

Table 4 - Characteristic outputs of computations of sediment yields and transport in the actual conditions and after planned restoration

Parameter	Actual conditions		After restoration	
	Manastirica	Kamišna	Manastirica	Kamišna
W_a [m^3]	24357.0	19974.0	16198.0	14434.0
W_{asp} [$m^3km^{-2}year^{-1}$]	813.8	741.4	541.2	535.8
W_{at} [m^3]	12738.7	10126.8	8471.6	7318.1
W_{atsp} [$m^3km^{-2}year^{-1}$]	425.6	375.9	283.1	271.6
W_{abls} [m^3year^{-1}]	2355.4	2025.4	1131	1196.5
W_{ass} [m^3year^{-1}]	10383.3	8101.4	7340.6	6121.6
Z	0.475	0.470	0.343	0.385

Changes of hydrological conditions

Hydrographs of historical maximal discharges (Q_{maxh}) have been reconstructed by application of the "hydraulics flood traces" method (Figure 4). The computed values of maximal discharges (Q_{maxc}) are presented in Figure 4, with hydrographs constructed on the basis of historical (recorded) precipitation which caused torrential floods in June 1996 and May 2007.

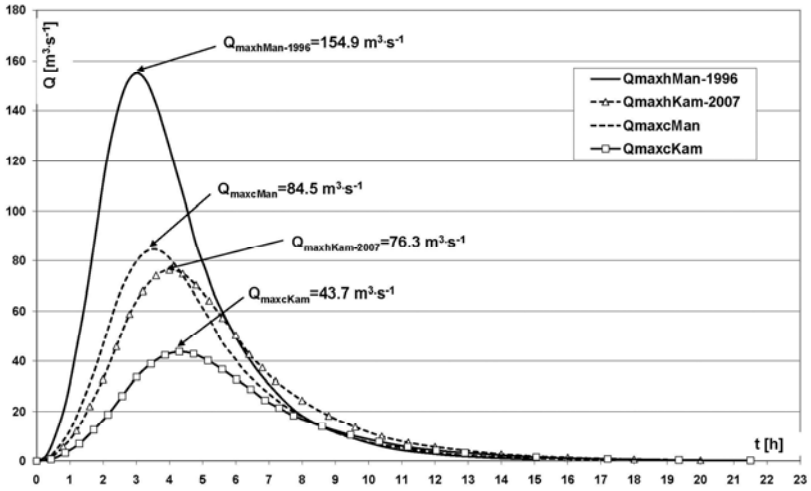

Figure 4. Historical and calculated hydrographs of maximal discharges into the rivers Manastirica and Kamišna

The values of computed maximal discharges ($Q_{maxcKam}$=43.7 $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$; $Q_{maxcMan}$=84.5 $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$), are significantly reduced in comparison to historical (recorded) values of maximal discharges ($Q_{maxhKam-2007}$ =76.3 $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$; $Q_{maxcMan-1996}$= 154.9 $m^3 \cdot s^{-1}$), as a direct consequence of restoration measures. Restoration measures are planned on the basis of spatial analysis of dominant factors in surface runoff forming. At the same time, other significant parameters such as physical characteristics of the watersheds (magnitude, mean slope of terrain, mean slope of river bed) and total precipitation remained the same.

DISCUSSION

Natural hazards cannot be prevented, but better understanding of the processes and scientific methodologies for prediction can help the mitigation of their impacts (Alcantara, 2002). The authorities in some European countries have recognised the need to convince the public of flooding threats, thus the need to use watersheds wisely (Pottier et al., 2005). In Switzerland and Germany, environmental protection and flood management are tasks of similar importance, and the optimum flood control system is a compromise between these two competing objectives (Plate, 2002). In most cases, torrential floods are caused by natural incidents (such as the climatic and morpho-hydrographic particularities of the watersheds), but the human factor contributed significantly to the effects of the disasters (the mismanagement of forest and agricultural surfaces, uncontrolled urbanisation and the absence of the erosion control and flood protection structures).

The flood risk assesment must include the main natural characteristics of the watershed and anthropogenic changed characteristics such as: land use, urbanisation and the position of residential and infrastructure objects. It is also very important to take into the consideration other relevant aspects, such as plan documents, social and economic conditions and water management policy. Problems of erosion processes and torrential floods in Serbia have been integrated into spatial planning documents in the last few years, but we are facing years of hard work in order to define precise methodology of investigation and implementation of results. The final aim is to provide the basis that helps creating sustainable solutions to planners. Integral planning and management at local and regional levels (Maksin-Mićić et al., 2009) play a very important role in overcoming the collapse of strategic thinking in Serbia present in past 20 years, which has been reflected in various areas, especially in the domain of natural hazards prevention (Vujošević, 2010). The lack of the representative database for determining spatial relations between dominant factors in torrential floods formation, influences establishing of an inappropriate perception of risk or its absence, which can have fatal consequences.

The watersheds of the rivers Manastirica and Kamišna have geological composition consisting of rocks of low permeability. The geological composition of the watersheds influenced forming soil types with a small water infiltration capacity and high erodibility under atmospheric and anthropogenic impacts. Soil erosion on HZ was initiated by the removal of forest and inadequate agricultural activities (straight row farming, overgrazing). The actual state of erosion processes is represented by the coefficients of erosion Z=0.475 (Manastirica) and Z=0.470 (Kamišna). Restoration works have been planned in order to decrease yields of erosive material, increase water infiltration capacity and reduce flood runoff. The planned state of erosion processes is represented by the coefficients of erosion Z=0.343 (Manastirica) and Z=0.385 (Kamišna). The effects of hydrological changes have been estimated by the comparison of historical maximal discharges, and calculated maximal discharges (under the conditions after the planned restoration of endangered surfaces in the HZ). Realisation of planned restoration works will help decrease annual yields of erosive

material from W_a=24357 m^3 to W_a=16198.0 m^3 (Manastirica) and from W_a=19974 m^3 to W_a=14434 m^3 (Kamišna). Additionally, specific annual transport of sediment through hydrographic network will be reduced from W_{atsp}=425.6 m^3·km^{-2}·year^{-1} to W_{atsp}=283.1 m^3·km^{-2}·year^{-1} (Manastirica) and from W_{atsp}=375.9 m^3·km^{-2}·year^{-1} to W_{atsp}=271.6 m^3·km^{-2}·year^{-1} (Kamišna). The values of historical maximal discharges ($Q_{maxhMan}$= 154.9 m^3·s^{-1}; $Q_{maxhKam}$=76.3 m^3·s^{-1}) were significantly decreased after the restoration ($Q_{maxcMan}$=84.5 m^3·s^{-1}; $Q_{maxcKam}$=43.7 m^3·s^{-1}), indicating the improvement of hydrological conditions, as a direct consequence of ETCW.

HZs have been determined on the basis of spatial analysis of important factors in torrential floods formation. Spatial identification of HZs helps effective action with a view to decreasing the intensity of erosion processes and the amount of surface runoff. The optimal means is a combination of technical, biotechnical and administrative measures. TAs on the experimental watersheds are positioned in the downstream sections, at the watershed outlet, in the zone of settlements. The morphology of narrow river valleys, with steep downhill, influenced the development of infrastructure and residential areas in the proximity of torrential streams and exposed them to the destructiveness of torrential floods.

Administrative measures should be applied through PAERs and PPTFs for the city of Užice and the municipality of Mionica. The plans impose bans on: clear cuttings; cuttings in protective forests; straight row farming down the slope; uncontrolled urbanisation; overgrazing. Land owners have the duty to apply contour farming and terracing of arable land as effective measures of erosion control. The number of livestock on grazing surfaces is limited (1-3 pieces per hectare, depending on terrain steepness), in order to avoid negative effects: compaction of soil surface layer and reduction of water infiltration capacity. PAERs and PPTFs should be integrated into Spatial Plans (local, regional) in order to improve planning process and help establishing sustainable solutions. The previous Water Law (articles 15, 30; The Offical Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 54/1996) stipulated that local authorities were obliged to make PAERs and PPTFs, but the funding for the planned solutions had to be provided by State Authorities (Directorate for Waters and State Owned Company "SerbianWaters"). The latest Water Law (article 61; The Offical Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 30/2010) stipulates that making and financing of PAERs and PPTFs along with the implementation of planned solutions must be conducted at the local level. This is not a sustainable solution unless the fact that local authorities, with negligible exceptions, do not have financial and human resources (experts) to apply ETCW, is taken into consideration.

Integrated watershed management in Serbia must be jointly supported by the sectors of Water Resources Management, Forestry and Agriculture. However, despite the fact that they all form a part of the same Ministry, the coordination between them seems to be absent. The State Owned Company "Serbian Waters" has jurisdiction over all water streams on a territory of 55953 km^2, while "Serbian Forests" manage 19083 km^2 (9057 km^2 of state forests and 10026 km^2 of private forests,); nonetheless, there are no instances of joint activity in the protection from erosion and torrential floods.

CONCLUSIONS

Torrential floods are the most frequent catastrophic event occurring in Serbia, producing serious risks for people and their activities. The Serbian tradition in ETCW is longer than 100 years, with significant results in the domain of biotechnical and technical works. The frequency of occurrence and destructivity of torrential floods in last 15 years indicates that it is necessary to achieve a higher degree of coordination of different activities related to the problems of erosion control and torrential floods.

Integrated management involves biotechnical works on watersheds, technical works in hydrographic network, within a precisely defined administrative and spatial framework in order to achieve maximum security for people and their property and to meet other requirements such as: environmental protection, sustainable soil usage, drinking water supply, rural development, biodiversity sustaining, etc. The lowest and the most effective level is attained through PAERs and PPTFs, with HZs and TAs mapping on the basis of spatial analysis of important factors in torrential floods forming. Solutions defined through PAERs and PPTFs must be integrated into Spatial Plans at local and regional levels.

The forecast and simulation of torrential floods is essential for planning an operation of civil protection measures and early flood warning. The development of HZs and TAs mapping and detailed risk assessments, enhanced early warning systems support readiness for the disasters. HZs and TAs maps provide the basis for torrential flood prevention and mitigation, by means of identifying „source" zones of impacts (fast surface runoff and sediment) and areas subject to flooding and sediment depositions which threaten life safety and property. These maps then guide the local authorities in adopting torrential flood management programmes, including restoration measures, prevention, education and preparedness. All levels of planning (spatial, urbanistic, regulation) must consider spatial aspects of dominant factors analysis for fast surface runoff forming. Cooperation and overcoming conflicts between the sectors of forestry, agriculture, water resources management and local economy development is essential at the following levels: policy; planning; practice; investments; education.

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THE TERRITORIAL APPROACH TO EU COHESION POLICY: CURRENT ISSUES AND EVIDENCE FROM GREECE

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The importance attributed to the territorial dimension of the European Union cohesion policy steadily influences its successive reforms and adaptations, while in recent years there has been an evolution in the way this particular dimension of cohesion policy is perceived. Important evidence for this is the way in which the Community Strategic Guidelines on cohesion 2007–13 take account of the territorial dimension of cohesion policy. This paper discusses the territorial approach to cohesion policy in relation to both policy and practice. Specifically, it examines the territorial dimension of regional development planning in Greece as it has emerged in the relevant official documents, namely the successive three Community Support Frameworks since 1989 and the National Strategic Reference Framework for the current 2007–13 period. The territorial dimension of the organization of the planning system is also considered in an effort to understand limitations and prospects, in light of the importance of the territorial approach to cohesion policy post-2013.

***Key words:** Cohesion policy, Territorial cohesion, Territorial dimension, Community Strategic Guidelines, Regional development planning, Greek regional policy.*

INTRODUCTION

The past decades have witnessed a growing interest in spatiality that extends from understanding development process to promoting policy options (Castree, 2002; Pike et al., 2006). This interest can be related to the formulation of the notion of spatial development in terms of both theory and policy. The very term "spatial development" has a multitude of meanings connected with several different issue areas. The multi-disciplinary character of the term causes confusion and at the same time it allows for "intellectual exercise" (Bengs, 2002). In recent years a number of diverse approaches have contributed to the discussion on spatial development, thus enriching the rationale of planning and development (Kafkalas, 2004). This is relevant to the fact that territorial units, each with their own distinctive features, have been recognized as fundamental in promoting spatial development. The enhanced role of regions is associated with the "overall emphasis on locality and diversity that accompanies the shift away from mass production, the shrinking of the welfare state, and the trends of globalization" (Kafkalas, 2004: 30). At the same time several expectations concerning the potentialities of development planning at the local level arise (Njegovan, 2008: 30). These trends have led to the strengthening of the territorial approach to regional development planning.

The cohesion policy of the European Union (EU) is representative in this respect. The decision to implement an aggressive regional policy, explicit in the major reform of the Structural Funds in 1988, accentuated the territorial approach to regional development planning. Since the establishment of cohesion policy in the late 1980s, concentration on priority objectives has resulted in the identification of specific regions of intervention (NUTS II level) according to socio-economic criteria. The emphasis given to administrative territorial units, chiefly regions, is gradually being complemented by a territorial approach that accentuates geographical and functional characteristics and, more generally, the specificities of areas across the European Union. There are significant prospects not only for reducing regional disparities, but also for exploiting the territorial potential of various areas of the EU and, in general, for developing "the competitiveness of all the European regions and promote sustainable development throughout the European territory" (Hubner, 2008). Accentuation of the territorial approach should be seen in relation to the overall expectation that cohesion policy would contribute considerably to the competitiveness (Lisbon) strategy of the EU (Begg, 2010: 78). Important evidence for this is the way in which the Community Strategic Guidelines (CSG) on cohesion 2007–13 take account of the territorial dimension of cohesion policy and identify three particular types of territorial areas along with corresponding policy directions (Council of the EU, 2006). As Faludi (2010) notes, the adoption of the CSG had been decisive for the territorial approach even before the approval of the new EU Treaty. In this context, it is of key importance to territorial cohesion that the geographic conditions of the area of application of a programme are understood (Faludi, 2010: 11–12).

Implementation of EU cohesion policy has promoted the territorial approach to regional development planning, especially in countries with low performance in this field such as Greece (Coccossis et al., 2005; Andrikopoulou

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and Kafkalas, 2004). Now that a considerable upgrading of the territorial approach is in progress, it is interesting to examine the way this is perceived and applied. This paper seeks to examine the territorial approach to cohesion policy, focusing specifically on the case of Greece. Starting in the second section with a short overview of the way the territorial dimension is specified in the context of EU cohesion policy and the discussion on territorial cohesion, the paper goes on, in the third section, to present the territorial dimension of EU cohesion policy in Greece as it emerges from the Structural Funds planning documents, namely the Community Support Frameworks (CSFs) and the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF). In the fourth section the facts previously presented are annotated briefly and related to the organizational aspect of regional development planning in the country, especially the Europeanization process, mainly on the basis of the existing literature. Finally, some concluding remarks are made in the last section.

THE TERRITORIAL DIMENSION OF EU COHESION POLICY

The territorial approach to cohesion policy could be considered as an aspect of the spatial approach. Actually, these two concepts "are often used interchangeably, thus flawing the conceptual difference between them" (Naylon et al., 2007: 2). A shift can be observed in the way these are used in relation to EU cohesion policy. The territorial dimension was first highlighted in the late 1980s, when socio-economic characteristics of regions were emphasized. Recently it seems to reflect the emphasis put on territorial diversity and especially on inherent features of areas of various scales, such as geographical and functional characteristics. This is relevant to the fact that in several cases the territorial dimension has been associated with the discourse on spatial planning at an EU level (Begg, 2010; Kunzmann, 2006). Furthermore, the territorial approach to cohesion policy goes in tandem with the strategic approach to spatial planning and spatial development policies that has been emphasized since the 1990s (Albrechts, 2001; Healey, 2004; Nadin, 2007). In the context of the EU especially, the documents and processes that mainly introduced the territorial approach to cohesion policy are considered to be of particular relevance to strategic planning: the "making of the ESDP and the Territorial Agenda" is considered to be among the most important features of EU spatial planning and spatial development policies, thus influencing strategic spatial planning as applied in the member states (Vasilevska and Vasic, 2009: 22).

It was in the early 1990s that conceptualization of the territorial dimension of cohesion policy started, first and foremost through the European Commission documents "Europe 2000" and "Europe 2000+" (CEC, 1991; EC, 1994). A series of documents, both official and unofficial, outlined the evolution of the way in which the territorial approach to cohesion policy is applied. Among the documents referring to spatial development it is the ESDP (EC, 1999) that addresses not only administrative territorial units, as is the case with cohesion policy priority objectives, but also specific territorial units identified on the basis of geographical and/or functional characteristics.

The Treaty of Amsterdam was the first to include the concept of territorial cohesion in the sense of access to services of general interest considered to be one of the common values of the Union (Faludi, 2004; Andrikopoulou and Kafkalas, 2008). Territorial cohesion was then introduced in the Second Cohesion Report (EC, 2001) where "it was loosely linked to notions about a more balanced development of the European space", as was the concept of polycentricity (Molle, 2006: 5). This report additionally related territorial cohesion to the EU enlargement to the East which was said to raise "new challenges for territorial cohesion, given the continued importance of reducing regional disparities" (EC, 2001: 29). In the Third Cohesion Report territorial cohesion is further elaborated in a way which is said to territorialize "the European model more clearly" than any of the numerous definitions of the term in various EU publications (Davoudi, 2005a: 685). According to this report "the objective is to help achieve a more balanced development by reducing existing disparities, avoiding territorial imbalances and by making both sectoral policies which have a spatial impact and regional policy more coherent. The concern is also to improve territorial integration and encourage cooperation between regions" (EC, 2004: 27). The Fourth Cohesion Report extends the scope of cohesion beyond large scale administrative territorial units to "a more local level", that is, inside regions, in the sense that it is aimed at minimizing the disparities "between urban and rural areas or between towns and cities of different sizes" (EC, 2007: 49).

Several EU official documents also address the notion of territorial cohesion (see, for instance, Informal Ministerial Meeting, 2007; CEC, 2009; Goulet, 2008). However, there is not one universally accepted definition of the term and therefore a degree of ambiguity can be found in the way it is used (Davoudi, 2005b; Molle, 2006; Stein, 2010). In referring to the lack of an official definition of territorial cohesion, Faludi (2006: 669) noted:

"The message repeated over and over again is that it complements the economic and social cohesion goal and harmonious and balanced development of the Union as stated in the Treaty. Clearly, DG Regio wants to dispel the idea as if invoking territorial cohesion would mean a radical departure from existing policies. Rather, it is said to focus on development opportunities to encourage cooperation and networking and also to pay attention to strengths of areas and to the more effective targeting of policy instruments. This relates to the Lisbon Strategy of turning Europe into the most competitive area of sustainable growth in the world to which territorial cohesion policy should contribute."

Obviously, besides its redistributive role, territorial cohesion is assigned other roles, in the quest to incorporate "the pursuit of competitiveness, endogenous development, sustainability and good governance" (Faludi, 2006: 671). Mirwaldt et al. (2009: v, 15) note the confusion concerning the meaning of the term and suggest that territorial cohesion be considered in four different ways, and particularly as (a) "polycentric and endogenous development" which is based on the promotion of "several clusters of competitiveness and innovation across Europe", (b) "a balanced development model" aimed at reducing socio-economic disparities, (c) a model in which all citizens "have equal access to facilities, services and knowledge", and (d) a kind of networking which emphasizes "physical and interactive connections that exist between different communication centres and that also link them with their surrounding areas" (ibid.).

In the 2007–13 programming period the territorial dimension is explicitly associated with cohesion policy. This is above all expressed by the Community Strategic Guidelines (CSG) on cohesion (CEC, 2005; Council of the EU, 2006) in which the territorial dimension holds significant importance. The CSG call for particular attention to be paid by Member States and regions to the specific geographical challenges and opportunities offered by different areas. It is stated that this particular dimension of cohesion policy "extends beyond the notion of economic and social cohesion, its objective being to help achieve a more balanced development, to build sustainable communities in urban and rural areas and to seek greater consistency with other sectoral policies which have a spatial impact. This also involves improving territorial

integration and encouraging cooperation between and within regions" (CEC, 2005: 29). The territorial dimension of cohesion policy is specified throughout the following guidelines (Council of the EU, 2006: 30-32):

*"**The contribution of cities to growth and jobs**: … Programmes with a focus on urban areas can take several different forms. First, there are actions to promote cities as motors of regional development. … Second, there are actions to promote internal cohesion inside the urban areas ... Third, there are actions to promote a more balanced, polycentric development ...*

***Support the economic diversification of rural areas, fisheries areas and areas with natural handicaps**: … action ... should contribute to the creation of new opportunities through the diversification of the rural economy. This includes efforts to support the provision of a minimum level of access to services of general economic interest … The integrated approach should aim to have a positive impact on the tourism sector, the local economy, … as well as the natural and cultural heritage.*

***Cooperation**: Measures to promote cross-border, transnational, and interregional cooperation ... should complement the three priorities indicated ... As a consequence, closer cooperation across EU regions should help speed up economic development and the achievement of higher growth."*

It is this rationale that has instigated a shift towards using functional criteria to set the priorities of cohesion policy. The territorial approach suggests new criteria for identifying the territorial units of cohesion policy intervention which are based on functional and geographical characteristics, rather than, or in addition to, those based on socio-economic characteristics of the areas concerned.

The fact that the Lisbon Treaty includes territorial cohesion alongside economic and social cohesion as one of its policy objectives, improves the prospective benefits of the territorial approach. Furthermore, in the context of the debate on future cohesion policy (Foutakis and Thoidou, 2009), the territorial approach is considered to be the main EU mechanism capable of addressing challenges and promoting competitiveness on a territorial basis, in addition to exploiting endogenous potential across Europe (Barca, 2009). At the same time the issue of the emphasis placed on the administrative units (NUTS II regions) to which cohesion policy is mainly addressed, seems to be a contentious one. In this context, the suggested transition to a differentiated way of identifying the territorial units of reference for cohesion policy post-2013 is strongly related to the territorial approach, as the discussion on place-based strategies implies.

A place-based policy approach could stress the "reference to place" (Barca, 2009: 93), restore the concept of spatial development and promote the coherence of its three dimensions (economy, society, and environment). By contrast, it is believed that the territorial aspect of the current cohesion policy is relatively weakened, for instance when it is perceived as "a tool for financial redistribution among regions" (ibid.). In this context, while NUTS II regions are considered to be suitable for managing the programmes, they "almost never are the appropriate unit of intervention" (Barca, 2009: 93). Therefore, "there is a strong case for place-based development policy to be the starting point and the core of the reform" of cohesion policy post-2013 (Foutakis and Thoidou, 2009). In this respect it is interesting to examine the way territorial dimension is perceived, especially in countries such as Greece, where EU cohesion policy plays a decisive role both in financial and institutional terms.

THE CASE OF GREECE: THE TERRITORIAL DIMENSION IN PLANNING DOCUMENTS

Since 1989 a considerable number of regional development programmes which focus mainly on administrative territorial units have been implemented in Greece, namely the Regional Operational Programmes (ROPs) that make up the regional section of the CSFs[2] and the NSRF, as well as INTERREG, LEADER, and URBAN Community Initiatives (CIs). Within this context several territorially targeted interventions have been set up for specific types of areas (urban, rural, mountainous, border, etc.).

As is evident in the relationship between the sectoral and regional sections of the successive CSFs, the importance attributed to the territorial dimension of the programmes gradually diminished. For example, in budgetary terms the regional section accounted for 34.6% of the CSF budget for the 1989–93 period, whereas it was reduced to 28.3% and 28.7% for the 1994–99 and 2000–06 periods respectively (Thoidou, 2009).

The analysis contained in the planning documents gives a strong indication of how the territorial dimension is treated. According to the first CSF for Greece (1989–93) (CEC, 1990), four types of geographical areas were identified: (a) Attiki, which was characterized by a heavy concentration of productive activities and population, (b) urban areas with considerable tourism development, (c) lowlands which demonstrated great potential for development, and (d) remote, that is border, mountainous or island areas, as well as areas with a demographic decline. Despite the fact that the territorial dimension was quite clear in the context of the analysis, it was less evident in the objectives selected, given that they concerned only the 13 NUTS II regions of the country as addressed by ROPs. Similarly, at the intraregional level one sub-programme for endogenous local development was implemented within the framework of each ROP, albeit in a uniform way across the prefectures of each region. In this way, the territorial approach to regional development planning did not incorporate specific geographical and functional characteristics of the areas concerned.

In the second CSF for Greece (1994–99) (CEC, 1994) the analysis referred to deficiencies mainly at a regional level. Consequently, the thirteen ROPs were dedicated to reducing interregional inequalities as expressed by per capita GDP. Several inadequacies in the administrative and implementation capacity of local bodies, as well as a priority given to the upgrading of the country's overall performance, were said to have led to the withdrawal of the emphasis previously put on local development and to a precedence being given to centrally-organized large-scale actions in an effort to increase the programme's efficiency and promote the country's internal integration. Moreover, a provision was made for ROPs to comprise sub-programmes of a thematic scope (human resources, rural development, etc.) which should be the same all over the country. At an intraregional level the most important intervention in territorial terms had been the specific sub-programmes for local development (one for each of the regions' prefectures), albeit again with a uniform character (CEC, 1994: 66).

The first decade of the 2000s witnessed a shift to a territorial approach to regional development planning since an effort had been made ging the socio- economic and territorial issues in the context of the Regional Development Plan 2000–06 for Greece. One particular chapter of the "Regional section" of the Plan was dedicated to the "Plan for the development of specific types of areas" (metropolitan centres, mountainous areas and island areas), whereas the other chapter referred to the ROPs

[2] For an analysis of the content and structure of the CSFs for Greece, see, e.g., Plaskovitis, 2008.

for the thirteen NUTS II regions of the country (Min.Nat.Ec., 1999). The territorial dimension was weakened at the stage of specification of the CSF 2000–06, as interventions in particular types of areas were incorporated in the priority axis "Regional Development" which was specified by the 13 ROPs. Nevertheless, a tendency towards a territorial approach was evident, since all ROPs included, among others, actions with quite explicit territorial dimensions that aimed at specifying the developmental role of urban centres, promoting rural development, strengthening the production base of mountainous, island and disadvantaged areas, and protecting cultural and environmental resources. In the same way, priority objectives at an intraregional level were said to include actions not only uniformly planned for all regions, but also those specified on the basis of each region's particular characteristics (Min.Ec.Fin., 2004: 97–99).

The NSRF 2007–13 for Greece (Min.Ec.Fin., 2007) introduces the territorial approach quite clearly, mainly due to the need to comply with the Community Strategic Guidelines. In the context of strategy formulation the territorial dimension is introduced as a complement to the regional and the thematic one: "The country's development strategy is completed by including spatial dimensions and examining specific elements that arise from the geographical/physical dimension of the territory." Hence, the chapter on "Overall strategic approach" comprises both "thematic" and "territorial" priorities. The latter are specified in three sub-priorities in accordance with the corresponding CSG: (1) Sustainable urban development, (2) Rural development (development of mountainous areas, insular areas, as well as rural areas and areas relying on fishery), and (3) Cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation (Min.Ec.Fin., 2007: 36–37, 69–81). In an effort to define the territorial approach and particularly the strategy for urban areas, the NSRF proceeds to an elaboration of a "growth-pole" model for the whole country, the aim being "to reinforce these poles in order to improve their functionality, to deal with internal depressed areas and to plan in a right way and timely the areas 'receiving the pressure' of urban development." The urban centres which are considered to be "potential development poles" have been selected "on the basis of the scaled articulation of the country's urban system with the help of a specific set of criteria" (Min.Ec.Fin., 2007: 70–71).

Finally, when it comes to policy specification, provision is made that ROPs "will cover a common body of interventions" (Min.Ec.Fin., 2007: 104) among which policies with a territorial dimension are included, namely "policies for sustainable urban development", and "policies towards the strengthening of mountain, disadvantaged and insular areas". However, the territorial sensitivity of ROPs seems to be a contentious issue, as each of them, with one exception, now covers three NUTS II regions (Andreou, 2010: 17) in an effort to "contribute promptly to the enhancement of Greece's regional competitiveness" (Min.Ec.Fin., 2007: 55). With the same logic, the official Strategic Report on the NSRF identifies the territorial dimension as a "keynote issue that aims at strengthening the competitiveness of regional economies based on the principles of sustainable development, taking also in consideration the lack of sufficient social and human capital in most of the country's regions" (GSID, 2009: 3).

At the same time, it should not be overlooked that territorial priorities for cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation are pursued through the Territorial Cooperation Programmes 2007–13, the role of which has been considerably upgraded. Overall, the territorial dimension seems to be quite explicit in the planning documents of the current period, first and foremost at the stage of setting the programmes' objectives, with an explicit role also at the specification stage. Of course, an overall estimation concerning the importance of the territorial dimension could be made at the end of the current programming period.

The case of Greece: territorial aspects of the planning system

As is evident from the above analysis, the implementation of cohesion policy in Greece has given rise to the territorial dimension of regional development planning. In fact, during the 1980s there was frequent rhetoric on the issue of spatial development and several local development initiatives were promoted, but it was only after the inception of EU co-financed programmes, namely the CSFs and the CIs, that the territorial dimension was pursued through the multiannual operational programmes at regional and local levels. The logic and content of the programmes as described above, to a great extent demonstrate the territorial dimension.

More particularly, in the period 1989–93 the territorial dimension was expressed mainly through the emphasis put on small-scale projects which were dispersed all over the country. This can be considered as a continuation of the rhetoric of the 1980s on endogenous local development at both country and global levels (Getimis and Kafkalas, 1992), while "the necessity of tackling the agricultural areas' underdevelopment regarding basic infrastructure, living conditions, and support of economic activity" is also noted (Konsolas et al., 2002: 5). On the other hand, policy measures selected in the context of the CSF did not emphasise the geographical and functional characteristics of the country's regions.

Since the mid-1990s and due to the pressure to absorb financial resources and meet the macro-economic criteria required for joining the European single currency, a shift away from local issues has been evident. The idea behind that logic was that the improvement of the country's competitiveness through, for instance, emphasis on an outward orientation and on metropolitan centres, could positively affect the development of lagging areas (Konsolas et al., 2002: 5).

In the third programming period the discourse on spatial planning that had already started at the EU level (EC, 1997; Faludi, 2002), especially the then adopted ESDP document (EC, 1999), gave boost to the territorial dimension of regional development planning. This was mainly the case with the "Regional Development Plan 2000–06", which the Greek government prepared and submitted to the European Commission in order that the CSF 2000–06 could be approved (Min.Nat.Ec., 1999). The territorial dimension is evident in the selection of policy measures at a regional level, chiefly those addressed to specific types of areas. However, in financial terms, the restriction of the regional section that took place in the second CSF continued in the third period.

In the current 2007–13 period the NSRF for Greece is characterized by a strong presence of the territorial dimension, at least in its rhetoric. The types of areas selected and the policy measures promoted directly correspond to the need to comply with the Community rules and the CSG in particular. Two main issues can be noted. The first is that in the document, the territorial dimension is incorporated and its proposed application described in a rather formal manner, just so as to fulfil the requirements stemming from Community regulations, concerning, for instance, the role of urban and rural areas. The second has to do with the effort to move towards a spatial planning approach evident in the document's first chapters. In fact, it seems that the NSRF offers a forum for presentation and analysis of important spatial planning issues, first and foremost through its effort to define a "growth-

pole" model on the basis of the urban system hierarchy. While this same model has received criticism stemming from its past failures, it nevertheless remains vitally important that the previously neglected spatial planning issues in the country now come to the foreground. This has been relevant to the overall resurgence of spatial planning in Greece in the last decade (Coccossis et al., 2005).

It should be noted that the above-presented territorial dimension, as expressed in the content of the programmes, constitutes only one aspect of the territorial approach to regional development planning. Another aspect is the territorial dimension of the organization of the planning system.[3] In this respect, crucial elements were the decentralization of the central state at a regional level along with the reconstruction of the first tier of local authorities over the 1990s (Petrakos and Psycharis, 2006: 13–14). Besides, for the first time regional development planning had a binding character instead of the indicative one which had prevailed in the previous decades. Getimis (2003: 83) refers to the "positive impact that the 'Europeanization' of regional policy had on the existing institutional and administrative edifice" in the case of Greece, "starting from the programming and implementation of the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes (1987) and passing through two/three CSFs."

However, a "natural tendency towards administrative centralisation in Greece" can be argued to be the core trend (Petrakos and Psycharis, 2006: 15). Persisting inadequacies of the regional development planning system, as well as a difficulty adjusting to new challenges, most of which have a strong territorial dimension, can be observed. For instance, Getimis and Paraskevopoulos (2002: 8) note that trends concerning the third CSF "show elements of re-centralization in the decision making processes."

In the current, fourth period of cohesion policy implementation in Greece the trend towards centralization of the planning system that emerged after 2000 is further strengthened. As Andreou (2010: 18–20) notes, "contrary to the government's assertions, the changes introduced point towards more centralization … and more complicated decision-making procedures, while there is also a greater diffusion of responsibility." This goes in tandem with the limitation of the role of local governments, which are now argued to be essentially "policy-consumers" rather than "policy-makers" (ibid.).

More generally, the forms of territorial governance which are gaining importance in the context of upgrading the territorial component of cohesion policy are in a rather weak position (Getimis and Grigoriadou, 2004: 5). For instance, despite the prominent position of urban areas in the territorial dimension of the NSRF, which calls for an enhanced role of urban governance, the ability of territorial governance at an urban level to correspond to such a role is disputable, given the persistently high degree of concentration and the rigid hierarchy of the regional development planning system. Hence, it can be argued that the country's localities are not prepared for participation in such efforts (Chorianopoulos, 2010: 753).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has examined the territorial dimension of EU cohesion policy as implemented in Greece through regional development planning since the early 1990s. This interest is prompted by the importance attributed to the role of territory in promoting cohesion policy objectives, especially after the establishment of the territorial component of cohesion policy by the Lisbon Treaty. The territorial approach to cohesion policy can be perceived as a way of enriching the content of this policy by focusing on differing characteristics of areas of various types. In this way it fuels the debate on the criteria for identifying the territorial units of reference of cohesion policy. Of course, NUTS II regions continue to hold a central position in the allocation of funds, while, at the same time, territorial specificities play an increasingly important role in the context of cohesion policy. The content and scope of the very term and its application in EU cohesion policy indicates that, besides the multitude of meanings and tasks of territorial cohesion, the territorial dimension has been strongly related to the movement towards a spatial planning approach at an EU level over the past two decades, while also being highly connected to "place-based" policies suggested for the future.

In particular, this paper has focused on the territorial dimension emerging from the main Structural Funds planning documents in Greece, namely the three CSFs and the NSRF, while attempting to explore this dimension in the documents parts that correspond to both the analysis/preparation and specification stages. The findings indicate that the territorial dimension of regional development planning is rather weak in the context of the first and second CSFs. The analysis contained in these documents is mainly concerned with the NUTS II regions, which constitute the territorial basis of reference for regional policy in the country. This analysis also addresses local administrative areas within regions, mainly prefectures and municipalities. Areas with specific characteristics (urban, rural, mountainous, island areas, etc.) seem to gain ground at the preparation stage of the third CSF under the influence of the spatial development approach as expressed in the ESDP.

When it comes to the selection of priority objectives, the territorial approach to regional development planning becomes apparent in an indirect way, for instance in the form of local development initiatives. In this respect, the territorial areas selected are identified according to administrative criteria that do not take geographical and functional features into account. ROPs, which are the most important programmes in territorial terms, have a homogeneous content, which leads to uniform actions in all regions, thus contesting the specificities which in principal characterize programmes organized on a territorial basis. In the third CSF the emphasis put on the geographical and functional characteristics of specific types of areas at the preparation stage, is apparent in the selection of measures in the context of ROPs. Besides, integrated interventions in urban and rural areas are the most important in territorial terms and constitute a continuation and strengthening of the territorial dimension as pursued by Community Initiatives URBAN and LEADER.

In the context of the NSRF 2007–13 for Greece, there is a strong emphasis on the territorial approach at the analysis stage. This emphasis is evident in the importance attributed to urban areas, to rural areas and areas with specific characteristics as well as to the Territorial Cooperation Objective. The NSRF stresses the so called "geographical/physical dimension of the territory" in an effort to comply with the CSG. Its analysis of the urban hierarchy and the setting of a development pole model resemble the physical planning view rather than a view which promotes spatial development patterns. The specification of the programme strictly follows the rules stemming from the CSG and the Community's regulations.

Moreover, the territorial approach to regional development planning is related not only to the overall EU context but also to the domestic organization of the regional development planning system, which in turn has to do with the kind of territorial governance in the country.

[3] For a presentation of the regional development planning system in Greece see, e.g., Andreou, 2006, and Getimis and Grigoriadou, 2004.

Territorial governance follows a course parallel to that of the planning documents, albeit with a different orientation. Evidence from literature shows that the initial experience of giving precedence to locality and bottom-up approaches in the first and second CSF was followed by an increasing re-centralization of the whole system, along with poor performance of territorial governance.

The question is whether the territorial approach to regional development planning merely seeks to comply with exogenous rules, or whether it expresses a genuine interest in territorial policies. In other words, how the overall territorial approach could be utilized not only in the context of EU co-financed programmes, but also in elaborating and promoting territorially based policies irrespective of the financial and institutional context. The fact remains that the rise of the territorial approach within cohesion policy offers an opportunity to combine developmental with social, cultural, and geographical issues, thus enriching the content and scope of regional development planning.

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PLANNING AND DESIGNING URBAN PLACES IN RESPONSE TO CLIMATE AND LOCAL CULTURE: A CASE STUDY OF MUSSAFAH DISTRICT IN ABU DHABI

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This paper deals with how climate and local culture specifics contribute to urban diversity, and how they affect the way urban spaces are being conceived, planned and designed. The authors argue that regardless of the globally accepted principles of sustainability which emphasize smart responses, diversity and culture as the prime drives in urban development of, cities around the world are continually experiencing the all-alike solutions, which often compromise their identity and character. Having taken the genuine stands of the philosophy as a starting point for examining the subject, the authors explore and present how the climate specifics, along with the uniqueness of local culture, lead toward the solutions which make a difference to their cities. The discussion is illustrated by the case study the authors were engaged in, the Mussafah District project in Abu Dhabi, a redevelopment proposal recently initiated and developed by International Society of Urban and Regional Planners -ISOCARP and Urban Planning Council of Abu Dhabi.

***Key words:** urban places, sustainability, climate, culture, Mussafah District.*

INTRODUCTION

Cities around the world are in constant search for spatial and design solutions that will sustain their development and make them visible and competitive on a regional or global scale. At the same time, they are engaged in a continuous search for proper solutions which will enable their functioning and provide high quality places to satisfy their citizens' needs. These two drives affect how urban places are planned, designed and maintained in every country, regardless of its geographical position or level of its development. Cities will continue to develop and grow across the globe, and all of them will be constantly challenged with the same task of doing what it takes to attract businesses, developers, investors, talents, visitors or new inhabitants.

On a global scale, this dynamics is accompanied by the ever increasing global exchange of ideas, concepts and solutions cities and regions explore and implement. While these interactions improve our understanding of cities and contributes to making urban places work more effectively, it often leads to the sameness and uniformity of accepted spatial solutions, regardless of local circumstances and conditions, thus ending in the creation of the all-alike places which can be found virtually in any part of the world. This has also been attributed to the ongoing phenomenon of global culture, and is often explained as part of the ever developing globalization.

Over the last decade, these trends have been recurrently analyzed vis-à-vis the effects they create on urban liveability, quality of urban life and urban diversity. Thus, it is argued that cities are more and more often faced with the challenges of losing their spatial identity and character, producing uniform environments, and marginalizing their local culture and authentic developments by giving preference to the substitutes which are often found distant and alien to local citizens. The discussion often leads to the conclusion that these processes are potentially harmful and may create many negative effects on the overall urban diversity and richness of urban heritage globally.

For many, these trends continually compromise one of the basic principles of sustainability: keeping local uniqueness and local values as the prominent drives for making places happen. Having this genuine principle of sustainability as a starting point, that places should explore their uniqueness and build upon them, this paper goes on to examine this relationship more closely. It concentrates on the effects which local climate and local culture have on urban structure and form. These are the points cities rely upon in their constant search for becoming distinctive, different, attractive and competitive. The two of these are also believed to be the most relevant in making responsive solutions. They are also believed to be most often compromised in contemporary planning and building practice. There are many examples to illustrate this. For instance, open plazas and large open public

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spaces in tropical regions resembling those more appropriate for the areas with milder climate, or, the over-presence of glass structures in hot and year-round sunny places are often seen as typical expression of global uniformity. Local culture is another repeatedly debated issue. Indeed, one can hardly make a difference between the solutions conceived and developed in Shanghai from those created in Abu Dhabi or Lima. Their physical features are often alike and they often look the same, which makes their solutions continuously questioned vis-à-vis the credo of sustainability which refers to local uniqueness and local culture.

These are the two questions explored in this paper. Discussion is followed by a more detailed presentation of a case study developed for the Mussafah district in Abu Dhabi which provides an illustrative example of sustainable approach to developing liveable solutions which correspond to local uniqueness and specifics of the place.

SUSTAINABILITY, LOCAL CHARACTER AND LOCAL UNIQUENESS

Local character is a multifaceted phenomenon comprised of many different aspects interrelated and structured in a more or less coherent way. For some, it is an expression of social dynamics characterizing particular community, for others, it is more closely linked to the physical or eco-features of the regional and local surroundings, their natural habitats and environmental heritage. In urban areas, the character most often relates to the way people build and use places. Any of these, taken alone or combined with other aspects, can make a place different, in which case we talk about a distinguished character of the place. Although distinctive character does not necessarily lead to the uniqueness of a place, under certain circumstances it can make a place unique. The uniqueness evolves around a particular component of the character, which exceeds the others by being more exposed, and which, due to the specifics or significance it has, marks the place and makes it different. It is through the existence of these unique features that local uniqueness is identified and recognized. Both the character and the uniqueness contribute to the development of sustainable solutions, indeed, they are recognized as the prime manifestations of sustainability. Yet, it is only the uniqueness that makes a true difference for cities and towns. And indeed, all those places that got on the world map exercised their uniqueness as a principal guide in making them different and well-known.

These marks are easily detected in traditional settlements, or those with historic heritage. Thus, it is generally recognized that the compactness of urban form typically derives from the climate constraints. In some situations though, it is a responsive solution to the scarcity of land. Internal courts, common in residential districts, present physical manifestations of social norms and relate to the privacy and public exposure of family life. In some regions they may also be attributed to the local climate. Public spaces diversify in accordance with types and intensity of social interactions communities practice. Thus, open plazas surrounded by public buildings are more common in communities where communal life is more intensively carried out in public. On the other hand, they sporadically appear where social detachment or weak social interactions are more common. In some cases, however, they are nothing else but the maintained responses to local climate conditions. Large squares were used for different purposes, religious, official or even recreational, but they also delivered messages of orientation related to major routes and links to other places, all of which being the expressions of cultural "codes", habits and norms.

At the present time, the complexity of any place has reached the stage at which single solution for conceiving places is no longer possible. On the contrary, cities and towns seek to embrace as many different solutions they can produce and consume. That shows their newly acquired strength which comes along with their quest for international recognition, and their need to satisfy their citizens' needs and aspirations.

In building their identity upon their uniqueness, contemporary urban planning and design recognize two parallel processes which may take place. They do not exclude each other, and often go together. The first goes along the recognized uniqueness places already have, which are readily available for planners and architects to work with. The second one is more concerned with a process of inventing the place. Opposite to the first one, where local uniqueness already exists and is available, in the second one it has to be conceived and created by urban planners and architects. In the first, the uniqueness is seen as a key factor in safeguarding their identity, while in second one it comes as a result of interventions that are set in the existing urban tissue, and is made by creation of new physical entities. There are various examples of developments which brought a new identity to their cities and towns. Many of them got on the world map. Their success contributes to better understanding of the meaning and the importance local uniqueness has in making places. It also advances our perception of the relationship between sustainability and local identity (Bajić Brković, 2009a).

Taking local character and uniqueness as part of planning and designing places, brings in the specific implications on planning methodology and the way design procedures are carried out (Nedučin *et al*., 2009). The matter has been widely explored as it relates to conservation and preservation of historic districts and architectural heritage, resulting in development of the multilateral approach, as Cohen put it: "Urban culture is the result of human development and one of the peaks of its achievements. When this common goal is agreed upon and understood, conservation of the urban fabric can become a permanent part of architecture, design and planning. On the other hand, we often see that conservation not to be understood to be conservation of cultural content creates many avoidable pitfalls and planning mistakes. This mainly occurs because of the prevailing tendency to consider separate buildings as cultural "objects" and not as parts of the whole" (Cohen, 2001, pp.5). Similar observations refer to the relationship which planning and design approach focused on sustainability creates vis-à-vis local character and local uniqueness of urban places.

PUBLIC LIFE AND PUBLIC SPACES: PERSPECTIVE FROM THE LOCAL CULTURE

Over the last few decades many city initiatives are highlighting culture as a central element in advancing both their economic and social development strategies. Culture is being used as a means to attract capital, to improve the image of city, or to promote unity and cooperation.

The dynamics of the relationship between space and culture may take one of the following paths:

- Culture is taken as a drive in conceiving places;
- Culture is assumed to be a factor of social cohesion which consequently leads to the corresponding physical responses;
- Culture is among key factors generating economic recovery of cities or places;
- The meaning of cultural heritage can be extended to different intangible components, nevertheless resulting in physical form (Bajić Brković, 2009b).

In conventional urban planning and design, the issue of local culture is most often debated within the context of urban conservation and preservation. Consequently, the focus is on inherited structures and their value that are to be preserved for future generations. On the other side, local culture as debated in this paper is not

equated with the physical heritage only. It includes its intangible components as well. Local culture is thus a reflection of how people use their physical space and which values they attach to it. It refers to the relationship between the spatial and physical characteristics of a particular unit, on one hand, and social habits and norms, on the other. It also speaks about the features that people attach to places which they consider to be attractive enjoyable and an eye-pleasing environment. Therefore, if spaces with sustainable solutions are dependent on local culture, then the social interactions and their spatial performance constitutes the wholeness, and present their local uniqueness. Accordingly, it is culture conceived in this way that becomes the actual parameter in making places real and liveable (Bajić Brković, 2009c, 2010).

Every city and its culture evolve over time and new layers of experiences come as a result of continuous changes in social values, attitudes or life styles. Preserving and nourishing local culture strictly along the lines of inherited artifacts, buildings or urban complexes, nowadays are considered to lead to pseudo or faked reality. More thoughtful approaches, on the other hand, tend to look for the meaning that cities have and messages they communicate, in order to discover their "codes". These "codes" are subsequently being built into the new development solutions and new structures. Traditional ways or using spaces therefore need to be "de-coded" first, so that their rational can be understood, learnt and used again afterwards. The rediscovered "self" of spaces is the subject which is thereafter carried on, and around which new contemporary solutions are conceived and built. The same logic has been applied to developing and designing public spaces which are recognized as successful and sustainable. „The necessity of reinforcing the urban web by all possible cultural additions […] is the way in which the mutual presence helps the creation of unique city sections, better understood and better used" (Cohen, 2001, pp. 202). These can be observed in many examples, the unsurpassed examples being the Abaindoibarra district in Bilbao, on a city scale, and Emscer Park and IBA, on a regional scale.

In making places to satisfy these multitude tasks, urban planners and designers use different approaches. Often, their language is nothing more than an expression of collective nostalgic memories that cities or regions share. Typical patterns and webs therefore emerge from repetitive design rules of dividing land, developing physical structures, similar height regulation, etc. "These marks of days past are influential in marking and forming the present scale of the town, bearing some notions of the past into the future" (Cohen, 2001, pp.8). More and more often though, the traditional features are being re-interpreted to meet the needs of nowadays social communication. Architectural languages thus can vary, ranging from traditional urban forms like the one used in case of the Bazaar in Doha, to the newly conceived constructions explored in other cases. The example of Bazaar Abu Dhabi stands as a brilliant example of translation of "codes" of traditional social interaction into aesthetics of contemporary architectural language.

HOW CAN CLIMATE BECOME AN ENGINE OF CHANGE?

The issue of climate has been with planners and urban designers for a long time. Expressed in a more or less explicit form, it used to be among the major factors in planning, designing and developing spaces. There are numerous examples which illustrate how it worked all over the world, regardless of geography or culture. Typical physical expressions for hot regions include compact urban form, covered public spaces, or lavish greenery. Compactness and emphasis on indoor spaces are also responsive solutions to the problem of less friendly climate areas. Orienting streets, blocks or buildings according to the cardinal directions was for a long time a key point in making urban places comfortable and pleasing.

Much has been changed during the 20th century. While there were many factors contributing to it, it was the development of building technology which opened up the unparalleled potentials for making places in a different way. Options which technology offered fired builders' imagination, and the old wisdom of planning and building places, which was acquired through the experiences of many generations, was marginalized and gradually became almost forgotten. It was only occasionally studied and explored as part of the urban conservation and regeneration projects.

It is the newly accepted philosophy of sustainability, highlighted by a recent move in making urban places more climate and energy responsive that gave the rebirth of the old wisdom of building urban places more friendly to local conditions. Nowadays again, planners and urban designers are deeply involved in exploring prospective solutions that will respond to local climate as part of their sustainable solutions, together with making responses to the requests which refer to energy conservation, energy responsible planning and design, and designing and building the low carbon urban environments. A new trend is visible in almost every aspect of urban life, while special attention is being paid to public spaces and development of codes which are to be implemented in local plans and design projects.

The relationship with local building culture is in that way being rediscovered, together with the connection it has to social behavior. In almost all studies and projects these connections are being supported by historical reviews of local tradition and knowledge gained by observation of their past experiences.

IMPLICATIONS ON PLANNING AND DESIGNING PRACTICE

Shifting the focus on these two factors and taking them as the prime drives in creating places consequently affects both the planning and urban design process. The impacts are seen in the way in which planning process is conceived and carried out, character and content of the stages within the planning process, selection of criteria for planning purposes, and selection of key factors which should be included. The same relates to the design process and making design solutions which will comply with local culture, or creatively respond to local climate. Searching for the right answer apparently leads to the emergence of a new planning paradigm-Cultural Planning, nowadays already a recognized and authentic planning model which is able to solve these complex socio-spatial phenomena (Bajic Brkovic, 2011).

Both planners and urban designers are engaged in transforming places and making places for people. While their concerns to make connections between people and places, movement and urban form, and nature and urban fabric, remain constant, the specifically and thematically centered approach transcends their routine and brings them to the more complex procedures laden with additional tasks. Thus, planners and urban designers are expected to reach (1) "full understanding of places and people, and how and why places are being used in a particular way; (2) they have to be able to develop visions and combine visions with reality; (3) their knowledge should be combined with imagination so that they could construct new concepts and projects by linking the analytic, synthetic and critical /evaluative thinking; and (4) they should remain aware of their responsibilities which are specific and far reaching, because they are changing the way resources are being used, distributed and allocated, while the implications of their proposals are serious and affect many concerned" (ETH, 2010).

The most visible are the changes at the earliest stages of their work, the community appraisal and appraisal of community character, together

with an assessment of the status quo of a project area. Taking culture as a major drive to lead the process inevitably converts it into the social science research where exploration of a delicate relationship between the social space and physical space, and interpretation or social values into physical structures become of critical importance. Consequently, planning and design procedures embrace additional, non-standard features, for instance, exploration of the local views, perceptions and aspirations, or mitigation of divergent views of different stakeholders. These changes consequently respond with land use changes, different zoning of land or blocks, growing land use densities, commercial zones replacing traditional residential areas, and many others behind which stand many different actors, visible and non-visible. Both planners and urban designers have to look closely at features of urban structure and urban grain which reflect culture and social values, including the "historical development, local community and heritage aspirations, local history, local and regional building, color and textures traditions and materials, local vernacular architecture, other local traditions, roofscape, streetscape and public activities, public realm analysis, layout and form of urban spaces, types of buildings, public and open spaces, relationship between built and non-built form, uses and activities, amenities and facilities, activity spines and nodes, leisure and recreation, public and open spaces, boundaries and barriers of the area, aesthetic quality of the area, legibility of the area, views, vistas and landmarks, and skylines" (English Partnerships and the Housing Corporation, 2000, pp. 21-24).

Another critical point refers to the evaluation procedure, as it is related to the relationship between the desired or planned objectives and values and aspirations of a community. This is again the stage at which the planning process needs to get very close to the social research procedures in order to produce good results. The specific challenges also arise at the stage of making a feasibility appraisal, especially as it relates to economic feasibility, and establishing a balance and compatible links between the social, cultural and economic feasibility.

Taking climate alone, especially local climate, as a guide takes planner into another direction, making the scope of its work intrinsically linked to the work of natural scientists and those skilled in engineering. An illustrative example comes from Abu Dhabi and its famous project of Masdar City which clearly demonstrates how the relationship between different fields, knowledge and skills must be complex when it comes to making sustainable and climate responsive urban solutions. However, in doing so, it is not always necessary to opt only for hi-tech options. Looking after traditional practice of local people which they used in making their spaces climate responsive, often yields to sustainable solutions acceptable by the nowadays standards as well. The Doha Bazaar in Qatar stands as a good example of employing traditional spatial organization and building techniques in creating contemporary urban solutions.

Developing responsive solutions involves complex procedures of playing with "what" and "why" in order to make them relevant, interpretative, suitable to purpose, general and specialized. This also includes working with stakeholders and real-life people in general, interacting with clients, learning from practice, and acquiring knowledge through the planning process. Consequently, the design component can be used here both as an analytical tool and research method. The design process evolves into the "traveling through" procedure where the final result is an outcome of a complex intellectual procedure. The "traveling through" stands for exploring different options, checking different or potential outcome which may emerge from its implementation and evaluation of potential design solutions vis-à-vis the climate or cultural constraints, all of which using the design as an analytical tool (Bajić Brković, 2010).

THE MUSSAFAH DISTRICT PROJECT: MEETING THE CHALLENGE

One of the largest construction sites in the world today is Abu Dhabi. It is a very specific urban agglomeration which, on one hand, looks like every other rapidly growing city (skyscrapers, big projects designed or executed by star architects and world leading development companies, wide streets designed in such a way that road traffic can be managed without difficulty etc.), while on the other, is facing many challenges, ranging from developing an ambitious hi-tech model city of tomorrow - Masdar City, to the down-to-earth issues of providing decent housing and securing suitable living conditions for its less advantaged citizens (Fig. 1). To fulfill these requirements, many different policies and

Figure 1. Abu Dhabi in history and Abu Dhabi today (photo: Milica Bajić Brković)

development plans have been designed and adopted over the last few years, including the Master plan Abu Dhabi 2030. All together they provide the groundwork for the sustainable development of Abu Dhabi, based on identity, uniqueness of the environment, local culture, liveability and connectivity.[2]

One of the areas designated for renewal and rebuilding is the existing industrial zone of Mussafah District, planned to be transformed into a mixed-used community with a substantial share of land allocated to housing, public facilities, recreation and open public spaces. The International Society of Urban and Regional Planners (ISOCARP) was invited to take part in developing this project through the cooperative initiative named Young Planning Professionals Intensive Training Program which was jointly organized by ISOCARP and Urban Planning Council of Abu Dhabi (UPC)[3]. ISOCARP delivered the program in two consecutive stages comprised of a Seminar Series followed by the Young Planners Workshop which was specifically focused on developing the conceptual plan for Mussafah District based on the Master plan of Abu Dhabi 2030. A number of ideas were raised over different issues taken from the Abu Dhabi 2030, which were not included in the final project. Although each thought received was taken into consideration by the team members, the final result shown here, represents a consensus among team members about what would be the most recognizable urban structure and form for the area developed along the principles and guidelines of the Abu Dhabi 2030.

Approaching Mussafah District

The first question the team was confronted with was "what" Mussafah district is today, and how it corresponds to the Abu Dhabi image of a growing and progressive urban agglomeration. Mussafah District is an industrial hub of Abu Dhabi, where heavy and light industries are mostly located, along with the headquarters of many industrial companies. The physical urban grid of the complex is rather unusual, with large plots occasionally going up to 1x1km. In addition to production plants and company buildings, there is a substantial number of housing units located in the area inhabited mostly by the low income groups. This is the place where the hand-laborers, coming mostly from India, Pakistan or Africa, live. Mussafah District hardly has any public space or land uses other than housing and basic services and facilities which are there to fulfill the everyday needs of local inhabitants. The area is separated from other parts of Abu Dhabi, and the living conditions are rather substandard compared to Abu Dhabi standards.

On the other hand, the development potentials of Mussafah District are significant. The area is conveniently located close to Abu Dhabi CBD and is integrated into the Emirate's road and traffic system. Its orientation is almost north-south, which makes it convenient for housing development, and its well-structured orthogonal urban grid with different plot sizes can accommodate different uses without distracting the already established road network. On the North and the West, there is a natural sea channel. A visual link to the Abu Dhabi CBD and the Grand Mosque (Al Zayed Mosque) makes it a destination from which the scenic values of Abu Dhabi can be explored. In the East, it goes along the Emirate highway which connects Abu Dhabi with other parts of the country (Fig. 2). Due to its location, the Mussafah District stands as a gateway to Abu Dhabi, and therefore it has the symbolic importance to the city.

Having the Master plan Abu Dhabi 2030 as the starting point, the project had to fulfill the following tasks: (1) to preserve the existing and give impetus to new industry development, so that Mussafah District will transform into the industry park of Abu Dhabi, (2) to provide housing for the targeted groups of the habitants, predominantly those employed in the industry and a third sector.

Sustainability was taken as an overarching principle, while local Arab culture and climate were taken as critical points and guiding principles to be built upon. The first challenge the team came across was to define local culture. Although the first impression of Abu Dhabi is that traditional Arab culture is still dominant, a deeper insight reveals that the issue of culture is by far more complex. It

Figure 2: Satellite image of the location (source: http://maps.google.com/, accessed 5th February 2011) and images of existing situation in Mussafah district (authors: Mira Milaković, Wai Ki Pang, Madalen Gonzalez Bereziartua).

[2] The series of documents are: Plan Abu Dhabi 2030- Urban Structure Framework Plan, Estidama Pearls Rating Systems, Abu Dhabi Capital Development Code, Abu Dhabi Urban Street Design Manual, Public Realm Design Manual, Abu Dhabi Mosque Development Regulations Project, Interim Coastal Development Guidelines, Neighbourhood Planning. Some of them are available at www.upc.gov.ae.

[3] ISOCARP (www.isocarp.org) and UPC (www.upc.gov.ae) international project team: (1) Lecturers: Fatma Unsal, Ric Stephens, Milica Bajic Brkovic, Liang Wang, Amer Moustafa and Francisco Paco Perez; (2) YPW Project Team leaders: Peter Jonquière, F. Brandão Alves, Zeynep Enlil; (3) International YP professionals: Thomas Buhler, Madalen Gonzalez Bereziartua, Zeynep Gunay, Niels Kropman, Mira Milakovic, Wai Ki Pang, Rolf Schuett, Peter Vanden Abeele; (4) Local coordinators: Dima A Srouri, Sonal Parikh, Olivia Duncan, Sura Abdelhadi, Swapnil Patil; (5) Local YP professionals: Ahmed Al Kuwaiti, Souad Al Thehli, Mariam Al Ameri, Hamdan Al Mulla, Sultan Echtibi, Muna Al Shehhi, Mansour Al Harbi, Ahmed Al Hamed, Ahmed Al Zaabi, Mahmoud Al Mahmoud, Mohamed Al Hammadi, Omar Al Suwaidi, Jaber Al Dharif, Muath Al Mazrooei, Mohamed Al Ameri, Maha Al Rumaithi. (6) Logistics: Sally Biggins.

would be more accurate to say that Abu Dhabi is the society in transition, as it now stands between the cultural paradigm led by traditional values, and the global trends the countries with booming economies are experiencing at present. Abu Dhabi of today is a complex mixture of traditional values, variety of lifestyles commonly associated with the West, standing side by side with many other cultural paradigms brought in by migrant workers, mostly from Asia. Within such a context, the authentic Emirate culture and the legacy inherited from their Arab ancestors are being exposed to constant threat. This is particularly supported by the growing globalization which is affecting Abu Dhabi to a great extent, as well as the ongoing repositioning of Abu Dhabi on a global scale. Following the Abu Dhabi 2030 guidelines referring to social impacts and locally defined sustainability, the project was imagined to work on fulfilling the needs of each particular social and ethnic group, and consequently applies the norms and standards that would be acceptable to the local Emirate culture. This was especially emphasized as relevant in conceptualizing spatial allocation of housing units, types of neighborhood to be planned and the scale of development.

The other aspect taken as a guiding principle was local climate, which was considered in two ways: (1) exploring the specific impacts hot and dry climate has on urban and building strategies, and (2) integrating climate-sensitive solutions based on building heritage and local wisdom in making places.

Redevelopment Concept based on Estidama and Abu Dhabi 2030

The main objective of the project was to reinvent the place and develop it into a mixed use community which will integrate work, production, housing, recreation and urban amenities. These were to be achieved by diversifying its economy, upgrading of the existing and the employment of the more sophisticated infrastructure, and through the thorough and socially sensitive land use planning. In physical terms, it was to be effectivelly connected to other parts of Abu Dhabi, while the area itself had to be served by efficient and affordable public transport.

The majority of responses were developed in accordance with the Estidama principles and guidelines. Estidama ('sustainability' in Arabic) was the initiative designed to transform Abu Dhabi into a model of sustainable urbanization. Estidama aims at creating more sustainable communities, cities and enterprises by establishing balance between environment, economy, culture and social development. The aspirations of Estidama were incorporated into the Abu Dhabi Plan 2030 and most of the policies for its implementation were developed by the Urban Planning Council (Estidama, 2010). Estidama is aimed at making Abu Dhabi a sustainable city, and will secure its further development into a healthy community. It provides different guidlines, refering to urban environment, land uses, culture-related architectural design, building materials, etc. The project followed these guidlines by developing certain responses, for instance, in case of recycling the existing structures, creating spaces closely coresponding to local authenticity, integrating tangible and non-tangible heritage components, etc.

The balance between different uses was planned for the whole area, while a particular attention was paid to the housing units which were to be supported by standard urban services. The social upgrading was supported by spatial solutions such as locating facilities and services attached to housing, creating multi-use areas for recreation, improving the relationship between housing design and local identity, and ensuring that a sufficient portion of land should be allocated to the quality public spaces. This was estimated as locally acceptable, and is also supported by the contemporary industrial heritage renewal methodology, and reffers to the „perceptive spatial elements, investigation of the shapes and motives reflecting local culture on a whole or in some of parts of it, influence of geography, location and time, etc." (Vukmirović and Milaković, 2009).

The specific input was provided by using or re-using vernacular architecture and evolutive structures typical for the region. Reusing old buildings instead of demolishing them was taken as an instrument for safeguarding the continuity, and keeping the sense of place already established there. Thus, many of the old warehouses were planned to be recycled in order to create „places within the places" and establish a new relationship to the newly planned structures. Combining the old and the new, and using them as the means in creating urban environment was not only a design task. The effects were also estimated on development cost with savings in building material and construction cost.

A particular attention was paid to providing a substantial number of affordable housing. There were three types of housing planned for the area. The first one is a family accommodation with two options: (1) the detached or semidetached villas with the family enclosed space, and (2) the multi-story apartment buidlings with family appartments of different sizes. The second type was intended for bachelors, the „bachelors housing". These units were planned for skilled workers mostly. These two types would be spatially and functinally separated from each other, in accordance with the social habits and norms regarding the locally recognized differences in using space and kind of activities each one is usually engaged in. A third type was specifically planned for non-skilled labor, mostly foreigners (Fig. 3).

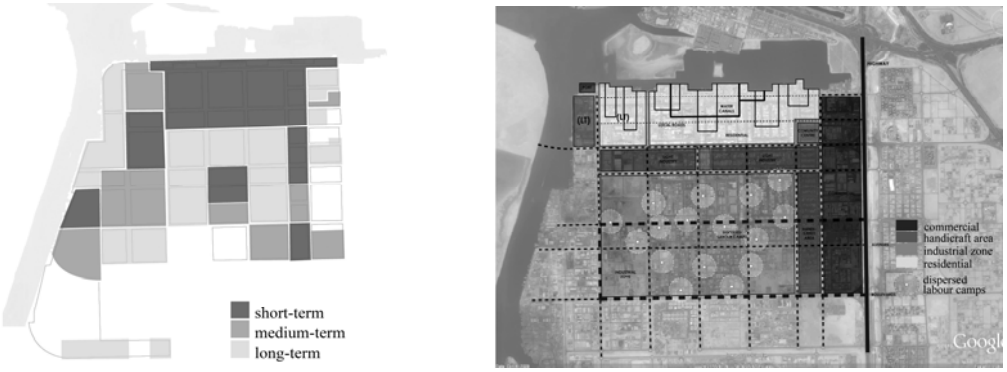

Figure 3: Phases of transformation and proposed intervention based on Abu Dhabi Masterplan 2030 (authors: Mira Milaković and Omar Al Suwaidi)

Towards the culture and climate friendly urban place

The proposed interventions were based on 5 spatial models: District, Dots, Strips, Edge and Patch. Each model has the corresponding physical morphology and is assigned to the strictly defined uses (Fig. 4). The models were based on the existing urban grid and its physical characteristics and reflected the conceptual points as they refer to local sustainability, identity and continuity.

Each model was built according to functional and spatial requirements, however each one was also tested against criteria related to local culture, climate specifics, and social characteristics, in order to make them locally acceptable and employable in developing the more detailed project for the area.

Model 1: District

This model defines industrial area as an integrated district. Generally, this model is used in large areas with clear boundaries and distinguished features, and most often combines different industry related uses.

Starting from the existing Mussafah street grid and its plots arrangement, it was estimated that there was an opportunity for the area to be further developed, without losing its functional and physical features already present there. The area was planned to be spatially defined by appropriate composition of streets, activity areas and land uses. A plot arrangement was proposed to be a mixture of different plot types, linking certain kind of activity to the size of each particular plot. Bigger plots were assigned only to heavy industry plants. Sizes of plots allocated to other industries were different depending on their technology and general industrial requirements as defined in other planning documents. The biggest plot size in the light industry area was 250m×250m, and the smallest 30×30m size (Fig. 5). Within the complex, the non-built land was left for later development of the supporting facilities and for parking lots, open storage areas, etc.

Model 2: Dots

In order to integrate foreign labors into the Abu Dhabi society as a whole, it was planned to develop their residences dispersed all over the area, instead of concentrating them in one location only. These units were planned to be within a walking distance from all urban amenities and are close to the places where the majority of their future tenants work. The 'dots' are positioned with a radius of 250m each (Milaković and Vukmirović, 2011). In addition to housing, each one has a community center, a mosque, recreational facilities and different public spaces.

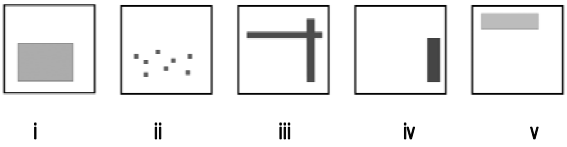

Figure 4: Five proposed models:
(i) District, (ii) Dots, (iii) Strips, (iv) Edge and (v) Patch
(design: Mira Milaković)

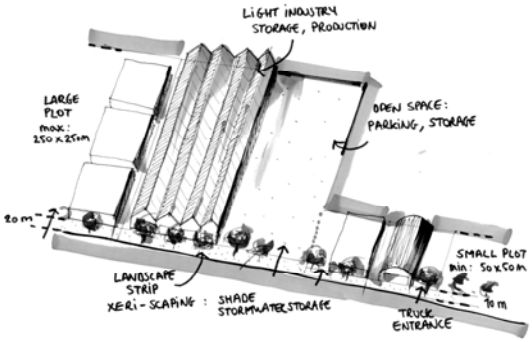

Figure 5: „District" model
(authors: Peter Vanden Abeele and F. Brandão Alves)

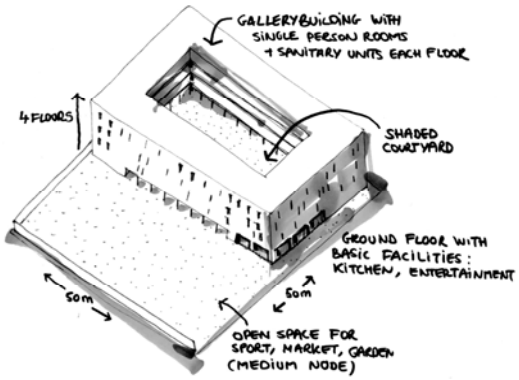

Figure 6: „Dot" intervention
(authors: Peter Vanden Abeele and F. Brandão Alves)

This housing type is consistant with the traditional Emirate courtyard housing with enclosed private areas. The units differ in size, and consist of single rooms, shared kitchens, bathrooms and a large open space planned for recreational area (Fig. 6). Each „dot" is attached to the external open space where different activities, like sports and recreation, social gathering, etc. will take place.

The „dots" model will curb urban sprawl and suburban encroachement on land, encourage development which makes efficient and economical use of infrastructure and services, and minimizes the environmental, social and financial costs of new development.

Model 3: Edge

The „edge" model was proposed for two areas: along the major thoroughfares within Mussafah, and along the sea frontage.

The first one, named 'highway wall', was designed to improve street frontage in terms of its functional and environmental qualities, and to upgrade the urban image of the area. This corridor, which will connect the activity nodes in Mussafah District, will operate as mixed use area offering a range of non-residential, retail, institutional and small and large scale commercial developments, such as car and furniture showrooms, small scale shopping malls, etc. These activities together with the appropriate design solutions planned for the

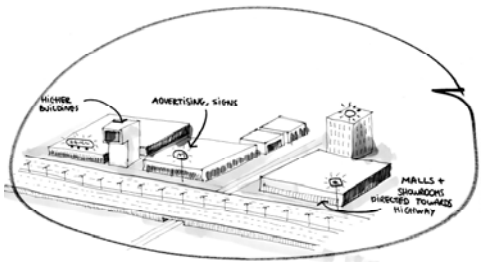

Figure 7: „Edge" position, sketches of the proposed intervention and examples of improving the first image with the billboards (authors: Peter Vanden Abeele and F. Brandão Alves)

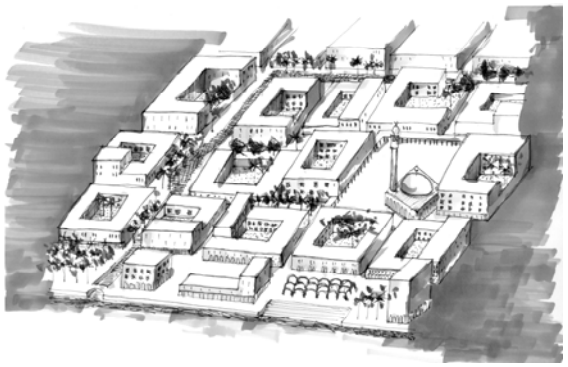

Figure 8: „Patch" intervention in 'Arabic style' (authors: Peter Vanden Abeele and F. Brandão Alves)

area will give a more urban character to it, consistent with the ongoing progress of Abu Dhabi (Fig. 7). The „edge" model will generate new employment opportunities in the area and will contribute to the functional transformation of Mussafah District turning it into a self contained community.

As for the waterfront area, the proposed interventions are mostly focusing on uses compatible with housing, offering large open spaces, community areas, and attractive urban amenities to secure urban liveability and soacial sustainability. Many climate-related responses were integrdated into a design of complexes, blocks and individual buildings, like water channels as part of the passive cooling system, careful selection of greenery, landscape arrangements, a network of linked green corridors and spaces, etc.

The „edge" model will minimize the environmental and social costs of new development in the area, it will preserve natural heritage in the waterfront area, and will encourage, promote and facilitate the use of public transport.

Model 4: Patch

The „patch" model assigns particular uses to larger complexes of land, by precisely defining their boundaries, and their functional and physical character. Usually, the „patch" model is used for the large scale residential neighborhoods with a variety of housing options, a range of community facilities, open and recreational areas, etc. Such units have to be close to the work areas in order to encourage and facilitate the everyday use of alternative modes of movement, and to preserve their predominantly pedestrian character. This model has many advantages comparing to the usual large scale developments. It minimizes the house-work commuting distances, number of the work related trips, and also encourages more frequent use of public transportation (Fig. 8).

The „patch" model very much resembles the traditional structure of Arab communities, the 'fareej' and 'kasbah' city (Quassabah). A 'fareej' is a traditional neighbourhood scheme. The courtyard-style homes are built to the edge of the plot in order to maximise the use of land and separate private space from public realm. Small paths, known as 'sikkak', strategically connect homes to each other within the neighborhood, as well as to community facilities and intimate public spaces known as 'barahaat', as well as to the larger gathering spaces known as 'meyadeen'. Together, these elements constitute and form the „fareej". The key elements of a „fareej", therefore, are a courtyard house, „sikka" and „baraha", while the overall design depends on the area in question." (Abu Dhabi UPC, 2011). This model was planned for Mussafah District with large plots (1x1km), with one central road which provides parking facilities and access to the complex. The pedestrian friendly design was provided with a system of shared streets and 'sikkak'. The „patch" model was planned with a range of climate responsive solutions at different scales, for instance, local winds were carefully studied in order to decide on orientation of buildings so that the traditional cooling system could be built into the new design solutions (Fig. 9).

Model 5: Strips

The „strip" model was planned for the transitional mixed-use zones combining industrial, housing and commercial development mostly of a small scale. The focal points in the „strips' are the mosque and the public transport stations. All the „strips" are well positioned with direct access to the main highway, and are conveniently connected to the city. The „strip" model will enable the organic growth and development over time (Fig. 10).

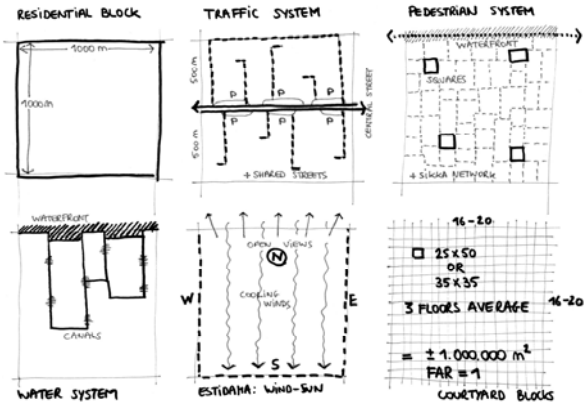

Figure 9: Scheme of plot remodeling (author: Peter Vanden Abeele)

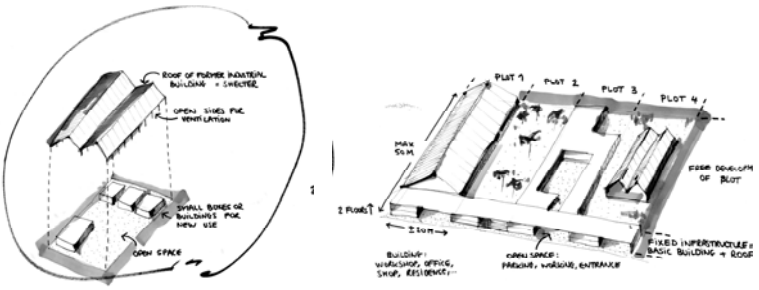

Figure 10: „Strip" model for workshops and shelters (authors: Peter Vanden Abeele and F. Brandão Alves)

CONCLUSION

The doctrine of sustainability is based on a set of general principles whose task is to articulate and communicate messages about the values constituting the essence of its philosophy. It is the interpretation of these principles which should be applied to a concrete situation, visà-vis local views, aspirations and needs, and their conversion into the practical mechanisms and tools, that will enable planners and urban designers to successfully materialize the philosophy and create sustainable and liveable places. Throughout this process they are challenged with numerous questions of "how" and "what" to which they have to respond in order to make locally relevant and socially acceptable solutions. This paper explores the climate and culture related issues and offers some responses that may be useful for both planners and urban designers. The span of discussion is rather broad, ranging from conceptual issues to the very practical level of developing design proposals. Such an approach is underlined by credo that the closer we get to the built form the more we are involved in local specifics and consequently, are more likely to fulfill the task of making the surroundings sustainable.

In the paper, a particular attention is given to the planning methodology. And indeed, it is within this set of questions that planning profession needs the most in order to become more responsive to the specifics when working in different cultural and climatic environments. The recommendations outlined in the paper comprise the development of the site-relevant data base which exceeds a routine standard procedure and also includes data on local habits, collective memories, story tellin, etc., the integration of local stakeholders throughout the whole process, and the more sophisticated evaluation procedures. It is believed that in that way the planning apparatus will become more sensitive to the specifics of area in question, and consequently will be more likely to produce sustainable solutions.

The case study of Mussafah District serves as an example of working with community and for community. Only the culture and climate relevant findings and solutions which are focused on urban structure and morphology are presented in the paper. There are five urban models outlined here to be applied in Mussafah District: (i) District, (ii) Dots, (iii) Strips, (iv) Edges (v) Patch. These models represent the practical expressions of the value-laden approach to creating urban places as discussed in the first section of the paper, and show how this can work in practice. The Mussafah District case study may be explored as a model for other locations as well, but should still be taken only as a good practice, and not as a set of instructions and guidelines to be applied regardless of geography and culture.

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POSTMODERNISM IN BELGRADE ARCHITECTURE: BETWEEN CULTURAL MODERNITY AND SOCIETAL MODERNISATION

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The paper explores the introduction and articulation of ideas and aesthetic practice of postmodernism in architecture of late socialism in Yugoslavia, with the focus on Belgrade architecture scene. Theoretical and methodological point of departure of this analysis is Jürgen Habermas's thesis of modernity as an incomplete, i.e., unfinished project, from his influential essay "Die Moderne: Ein unvollendetes Projekt" (1980). The thematic framework of the paper is shifted towards issues raised by Habermas which concern relations of cultural modernity and societal modernization, or rather towards consideration of architectural postmodernity in relation to the split between culture and society. The paper investigates architectural discourse which was profiled in Belgrade in 1980s, in a historical context of cultural modernity simultaneous with Habermas's text, but in different conditions of societal modernization of Yugoslav late socialism. In that, the principle methodological question concerns the interpretation of postmodern architecture as part of the new cultural production within the social restructuration of late and/or end of socialism as a system, that being analogous to Fredric Jameson's thesis of "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" (1984).

***Key words:** incomplete project of modernity, cultural modernity, societal modernisation, postmodernism in architecture, conservatisms.*

INTRODUCTION[2]

The domain of architecture had already become a privileged field where post-modernism as a new aesthetic production was most visible,[1)] when, on September 11, 1980, Jürgen Habermas delivered a speech in the form of essay titled "*Die Moderne: Ein unvollendetes Projekt*" (Habermas, 1980), on the occasion of receiving the Theodor W. Adorno Award by the City of Frankfurt.[2)] It is not an oddity, thus, that Habermas chose to open his speech with the reference to architecture on the occasion of the prize awarded for outstanding achievement in philosophy, music, theatre and film. The speech, translated into English, was delivered as a James Lecture of the New York Institute for the Humanities at New York University on March 5, 1981, and soon thereafter it was published in the U. S. under the changed title "Modernity versus Postmodernity" (Habermas, 1981). Its now classic title in English "Modernity – An Incomplete Project" was in fact a third re-titling of the same text, when it was published as an opening essay in the book edited by Hal Foster.[3)] The publication of this text in English marked an important point in the post-modernism debate as it became available to wide audiences of English-speaking academia, and the essay's thesis subsequently has become one of the most contentious issues in contemporary theory.

Taking as his cue the 1st International Architecture Exhibition in Venice,[4)] and its critical reception in the German press, Habermas notes an echo of disappointment. In his opening statement, he points to reversal as the dominant current of the times, whereby architects formed "an avant-garde of reverse fronts", and "sacrificed the tradition of modernity", thus making room for a new historicism, and placing "on the agenda theories of post-enlightenment, postmodernity, even of posthistory" (Habermas, 1981: 3). With these prefatory remarks, Habermas implies both his understanding of postmodern as anti-modern, and his own pro-modern/anti-postmodern position. These issues may appear distant in the post-industrial societies and debates of today, where Habermas's uttering from thirty years ago often serves not as a structuring theme, but as a metaphor. Even so, arguing that Habermas's essay still retains its critical edge, I shall take its close reading as this paper's *parti* for investigation of specific architectural discourse which was profiled in Yugoslavia in a historical context of cultural modernity simultaneous with Habermas's text, but in totally different conditions of societal modernization. This analytical pairing is consequent, not to an accidental temporal simultaneity, but to the reading of currency of Habermas's ideas and works in Yugoslavia of the period. Direct contacts and discussions with the Yugoslav philosophers and intellectuals of the *Praxis* circle, which started with Habermas's participation in the Korčula

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Summer School, and invitations to lectures in Zagreb and Belgrade as early as 1965, and in publication of his texts and reviews of his works in the *Praxis* journal, as well as fairly prompt translations of his books. Indicative of this is, *inter alia*, the publication of his book on public sphere (Habermas, 1969), which was translated into Serbo-Croat twenty years prior to the work's translation into English.[5] The contacts continued well into the 1980s with publications of his works and his engagement in the editorial board of *Praxis International* journal. Subsequently, the 1980s saw relatively timely translations of his essays on modernity and postmodernity (Habermas, 1986a, 1986b, 1988).

METHODOLOGY: AN ANALOGUE TYPOLOGY

For Yugoslavia, the year 1980 had special significance, as Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980), the lifelong president of the Republic, the leading figure of the Yugoslav resistance movement in the Second World War, and the leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party, died on May 4. This event is deemed to have set in motion a process of disintegration of Yugoslavia as a multinational state, the break-up of its self-management socialism as a political and economic system, and definitive suspension of the Yugoslav idea. This might be, if anything, still considered as an unfinished process and could be seen as analogous to Habermas's thesis of an incomplete project. The point I am trying to make here is that the whole region of the former Yugoslavia, or at least Serbia, is still within this *longue durée* process.

In the 1980s, the whole bundle of societal modernization processes, which were cumulative, mutually reinforcing, rapid and dynamic in the whole post-war period, had come to a grinding halt. After the constitutional revision of 1974, Yugoslavia had become one of the most essentially decentralized political systems in the world, an effective con-federation with its eight constitutive administrative units – six republics and two autonomous provinces – which were granted considerable autonomy from the federal government. In 1980, following Tito's death, this highly emancipated and modern complex system of governance became largely unworkable, with the rising national/ethnic fragmentation, particularism of interests, and lack of consensus on major questions regarding the federal unity and responsibilities towards problems of regional inequalities. Also, while Yugoslav socialism recorded constant economic dynamism of both intensive and extensive growth, as from 1980 the macroeconomic performance figures started to decline, and subsequently regress. A number of adverse economic factors coincided in mid to late 1970s – rise in the oil prices and the world economic recession, and U. S. interest rate increases affecting the county's debt mostly denominated in dollars – which made the prospects of economic structural adjustments unavoidable. Subsequently, the 1980s were the years of economic stagnation, which rendered the problems of restructuring even more complicated.[6]

As much as the 1980s may be seen as history now, the seeds of the contemporary condition existed in this period of disillusionment with the past, and uncertainty about the future, which marked the time around Tito's death. Leading to his hypothesis on theory of the postmodern, Fredric Jameson reminds on the classical Marxian view, that "the seeds of the future already exist within the present and must be conceptually disengaged from it, both through analysis and through political praxis", and goes on the, now classic, Jamesonian assessment of postmodernism as "a general modification of culture itself within the social restructuration of late capitalism as a system" (Jameson, 1984: 63). My argument probes this hypothesis in order to set the principle methodological question concerning the interpretation of postmodernist architecture as part of the new cultural production within the social restructuration of late and/or end of socialism as a system. This leads me to see categories from Habermas's typology of dominant conservatisms of 1980, notwithstanding the reductionism of such a typological analysis, as seeds of those practices which can be traced to today's aesthetic production.

Habermas saw but negative prospects for the contemporary project of modernity imbued by the intentions of the Enlightenment. In the closing section of his Adorno prize text, he elaborates a typology of what he calls "extravagant programs which have tried to negate modernity" (Habermas, 1981: 11). He differentiates three types of conservatism: that of the *Young Conservatives,* who justify an anti-modernism while being themselves within the modern paradigm; that of the *Old Conservatives*, who advocate withdrawal to pre-modern positions; and that of the *Neoconservatives*, who embrace scientific and technological progress and capitalist growth, while asserting art's absolute autonomy, as well as that of science and morality (Habermas, 1981: 13-14). The three types, thus, correspond to anti-modern, pre-modern, and post-modern theoretical positions, respectively. Tested against architectural discourse, this typology will be used as a structuring theme, which will be re-examined and re-read through other critical and theoretical positions. In that sense, Habermas's typology will provide a starting point for assessment of early postmoderns of Belgrade architecture scene, and it will be tested against the specificities of architectural discourse, providing alternative reading of typological outcomes.

TIMELINE AND ANALYSIS: THE ANXIETY IN THE PRESENT

Dismissing the Enlightenment project of the modern as eaten up by scepticism, Croatian architect and theoretician Nikola Polak attempts to give a political reading of the postmodern for the local consumption in socialist Yugoslavia. In his enthusiastic pro-postmodern review of the 1st International Exhibition of Architecture at the Venice Biennial, he diagnoses that in Yugoslavia, as well as abroad, i.e., in the developed West, it was "the bureaucratic dictatorship", which turned the modern culture, even if ideologically founded on the socialist mode of production, into its opposite (Polak, 1981: 10). He concludes his critique by stating that the modern lost the relationship to the society, clearly pointing to the gaping split between culture of high modernism and the lifeworld of the everyday, socialist or capitalist alike. In the Yugoslav context of declining societal modernization, postmodernity was perceived by its proponents as anticipatory of a sort of cultural (counter)revolution. Yet, even if it did displace the materialist conception of politics of space to idealistic terrain of the aesthetics, the nascent postmodernism produced certain alternate concepts of space, urbanity, everyday, citizen, and the like.

On a timeline of postmodernism in Serbia, the year 1980 is the point of intersection, and the turning point for three distinctive architectural discourses which formed in the post-war period as critical of general architecture production of socialist modernism. For the purposes of analysis, I would suggest that they are examined in analogue to the typology offered by Habermas, notwithstanding the limitations inherent to typological analysis. Coming from different starting points, these three heterogeneous lines form, over a long period of their respective critical activities from mid-1960s onwards, a fairly consistent architectural discourse which sets in motion the postmodernist architecture. I would argue that these three lines of thought and practice most visibly demonstrate the period's quest for a separation of cultural modernity from the rhythms of modernisation of society, unrelenting

in the early stages and of diminishing intensity or even stagnant, in the later period. The architects whose work will be analysed here are representatives of three post-war generations graduating from the Faculty of Architecture University of Belgrade in 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and beginning of 1980s. They are: Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010) graduated in 1950, Ranko Radović (1935-2005) graduated in 1962, and the group of architects MEČ, whose founders Dejan Ećimović (1948-2002) graduated in 1974, Mustafa Musić (1949) and Marjan Čehovin (1950) in 1975, and members Slobodan Maldini (1956) and Stevan Žutić (1954), graduated in 1980 and 1981, respectively. To come to the point, I consider the introduction of postmodernist ideas and postmodernism in Belgrade architecture to be a multigenerational, heterogeneous, long, and discontinuous process.

In 1980-81, Bogdan Bogdanović finalized what turned out to be his three last monumental works: Second World War memorials in Vukovar, Čačak, and Trstenik (Popina), or, as he himself calls them, the Mausoleum triad[7] (Fig. 1). The three mausoleums are of a roughly same size, they share the same harmonic triadic geometric canon (3:6:9:12/15/18), and all three are constructed of the same Jablanica gabbro stone. The distinctiveness of their respective stereometric structures, however, stems from the words which describe each of them separately, i. e., three corresponding semantic sets. Words *gate – small gate within a big one – three identical gates – three gates joined into megaron* are relating to the Mausoleum in Čačak. *Pyramid – prism pierced by cylinder: four oculi lined up along cylinder axis* relate to Popina Mausoleum, and *first cone – second cone – third cone – fourth cone – fifth cone* to the one in Vukovar. In the explanatory correspondence related to the exhibition of his work in the Gallery "Spektar" in Zagreb (1982), Bogdanović writes: "Once I finalized the three above mentioned constructions, with which I have most certainly and unconditionally ended my career as an architect – master builder, I have proudly established a fact that my first and somewhat Ledoux-ian Monument to the Jewish Victims of Fascism (Belgrade, 1952) – itself largely held to the same geometric canon" (Bužančić and Bogdanović, 1983: 17). On this very point of constancy in his architectural thinking and work, he insists again in the concluding remarks, when he says: "I was chiselled (myself, as well as all my blocks) from a single solid flawless chunk (of stone), and I have not changed the least in thirty years" (Bužančić and Bogdanović, 1983: 17).

Bogdanović's opus of nineteen realized works of memorial architecture, or sites and monuments dedicated to the antifascist struggle of Yugoslav peoples in the Second World War, stands apart as a major spatial, architectural, artistic and artisan, as well as a profound humanist undertaking of an idiosyncratic character. In his writings and drawings, Bogdanović reached back into the repository of the premodern, or rather into deep layers of the urban history such as harmony, logos, symbol, myth, oneiric, cult, ritual, and cosmology (Bogdanović, 1963, 1976). It is from this breviary that he derived a distinctive formal language of his memorials, combined with an understanding of the specificity of landscape and place, mastery of materials and workmanship, and ornamental richness second to none. This makes Bogdanović's creative disposition unique within the whole body of work of socialist modernism of the period between 1950-80.

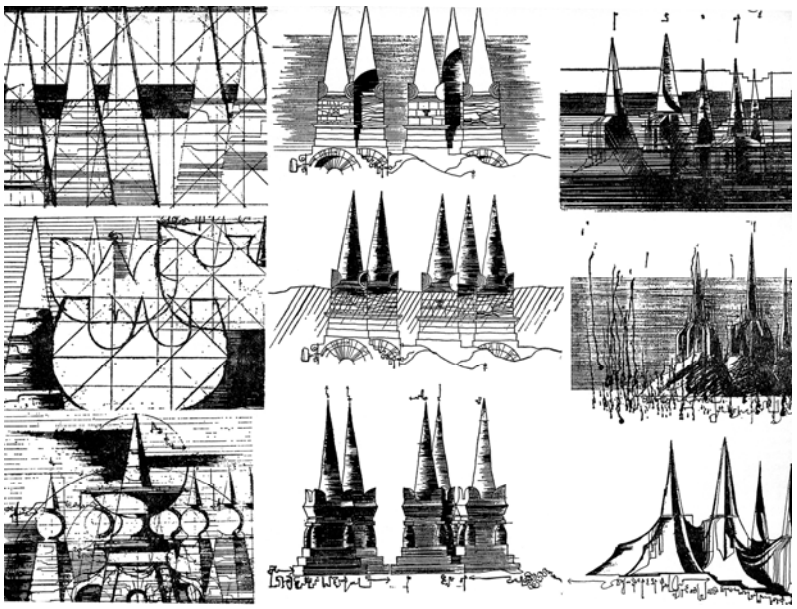

Figure 1. Bogdan Bogdanović, Dudik Mausoleum in Vukovar, drawing studies, ca. 1982. Source: Arhitektura urbanizam, no. 90-91 (1983)

Diverging from more recent criticism of Bogdanović as "[t]he man whose work most consistently fits into the ideology of Socialist Aestheticism" (Perović, 2003: 164),[8] and by taking Habermas's typology as its point of departure, this analysis suggests a different reading. Could it not be more fitting to see Bogdanović as one of the *Old Conservatives* who "do not allow themselves to be contaminated by cultural modernism (and) […] observe the modern world view and its merely procedural rationality, with sadness and recommend a withdrawal to a position *anterior* to modernity" (Habermas, 1981: 13)? As such, his work can be theorized today as pointing to postmodernism, and Bogdanović as one of the first postmoderns. The complexity of the work, and its multiple readings bring to the fore a view by Fredric Jameson, when he sees the first postmoderns not as only negating (high) modernism, or withdrawing from it, but as being in the "process of generating something altogether different" (Jameson, 1994: 131). In the case of Bogdanović, I would contend that the difference is in the autonomy of his work, which is, subject to laws of cultural modernity, freeing itself from the everyday lifeworld into domain of genuine aesthetic experience (Cf. Habermas, 1998: 423).

The *Young Conservatives* and *Neoconservatives* of Belgrade architecture of late socialism both lamented over cultural development, but what distinguished them from each other is the attitude to societal modernization, that of modern-anti-modernism, and that of disinterested aloofness of a critically acclaimed "exclusive, magically intoned intellectual current" (Lončarić, 1982: 28), respectively.

Position of Ranko Radović, as the researcher, urbanist, architect and theoretician of the modern and postmodern, could be seen as that of the *Young Conservatives* category. Of them, Habermas says, that they "recapitulate the basic experience of aesthetic modernity", and "[o]n the basis of modernistic attitudes, they justify an irreconcilable anti-modernism" (Habermas, 1981: 13). In France, he adds, this line leads from Bataille via Foucault to Derrida (Ibid.). I would contend that Radović threads this very line of French intellectual provenance. As a French doctorand, he defended his thesis

titled *The Evolution and Continuity of Ideas and Forms in Modern Architecture*, at the Sorbonne in 1980.[9] In many of his texts and lectures, he habitually referred to French authors, indicating specifically that he appropriated Michael Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* as a methodology of researching (discontinuities) of architectural history (Radović, 1982: 8), and Roland Barthes's *The Pleasure of the Text* as an analogue to *jouissance* of architectural construction (Radović, 1985: 12).

Speaking of his own design concepts, Radović posited architecture as art concerned with environmental, historical and socio-cultural contexts.[10] Writing specifically about postmodern architecture, Habermas notes that questions of ecology and preservation of heritage often serve as points of departure for the rupture of form-function unity of modern architecture, and claims that such efforts, occasionally called "vitalist", retain something of the impulse of the Modern Movement, even if on a defensive (Habermas, 1998: 425). Radović was himself a man of "vitalist" efforts, who was deeply involved in research, writing, criticism, polemics, and lecturing on the modern and its contemporary revaluation, as well in reassessment of modern forms through his architectural design. The design of his most critically acclaimed architectural work, the Memorial House in Tjentište (1965-71), embodies this "vitalist" reconsideration of the modern. The composition of stereometric forms of steep pitched roofs, constructed in concrete, is modern in its form and structure, yet at the same time it lends itself to multiple reading. Recognising the multiple-coding in Radović's architecture, Charles Jencks places him into the most-up-to-date 1950-2000 Evolutionary Tree under "Metaphorical Metaphisical" tradition line, and under "Romantic Revival" movement (Dženks, 2007: 50-51). In the context of this line, evolving from Le Corbusier's Chapel in Ronchamp, Radović is grouped with Ken Yeang, Nicholas Grimshaw, and Hiroshi Hara, representative of a vitalist, environmentally conscious revision of modern architecture. As for the case of Tjentište Memorial House, I would argue that its positioning under Critical Regionalism trend within the evolutionary tree might prove more theoretically productive. The ascetic materiality of concrete and the privileging of its tactile quality of the Memorial House architecture, brings to mind a reference to Radović's life-long fascination with, to use Arata Isozaki's term, Japan-ness in architecture. Furthermore, the House evokes vernacular timber architecture of the region, but, also, Marc-Antoine Laugier's concept of the "primitive hut",[11] of which Radović wrote and lectured incessantly. These features, invoking "Occidental/Oriental interpretation" (Frampton, 1985: 315), suggest the anti-modern/anti-postmodern aesthetic of Critical Regionalism. As seen by Fredric Jameson in "negation of the negation", Critical Regionalism is negating some essential traits of modernism and, at the same time, negating the postmodern negations of modernism (Jameson, 1994: 190). Belonging to a "marginal practice" (Frampton, 1985: 327) of the semi-peripheral, Second World of real socialism, Radović's Critical Regionalism also corresponds to Jameson's proposition that, as an aesthetic, far from being a belated form of modernism, "Critical Regionalism could be characterized as a kind of postmodernism of the [...] semiperiphery if not the Third World", as opposed to stylistic postmodernism of the First World of developed capitalism (Jameson, 1994: 194-195).

Radović's creative sensibility was perhaps best manifested in his drawings, vignettes, free drawing, as well as architectural study drawings (Fig. 2). In the exhibition of drawings, titled "Architecture as an artistic language" (*Arhitektura kao likovni jezik*), held at the Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade in 1981, he conceives of architecture and urbanism as a field of antinomies, and suggests his method of research by drawing as mediating the aporias within this complex field. In that, he states his conviction that "architecture is and it has to continue to be art, but an art which is deeply diffused by reality, life, human aspirations and ideals", and undertakes "research of the artistic in architecture and of its language" (Radović, 1981: not paginated).[12] When seen in conjunction with his fascination with themes of visionary architecture through history, and especially that of the Russian revolutionary architecture of which he wrote and lectured with great aplomb ever since the mid-1960s, his research through drawing attains a different, and more complex scope. What might then apply to his work is a pro-modern/pro-postmodern characterization of an emancipatory nature, and analogous to actualization of ideas and concepts of the avant-garde constructivism in contemporary architecture.

Reiterating Jameson's discussion on the ideological positions in the postmodernism debate, one could argue that Radović was not cancelling the modern in his work, but that he was in the process of generating a difference in extending the modernist concept of architectural praxis to a postmodernist concept of architecture as a discursive field. This is most obvious in the multiplicity of the media in which he developed and conveyed his ideas, concepts, beliefs, and practices, such as urban and architectural design, free drawing, essay, architecture criticism, journalism, book writing, and electronic media. But, it is primarily through verbal discourse, either in his masterly delivered lectures on history and theory of architecture from Mannerism and Baroque to contemporary postmodernism, held at both state and open universities, or in pioneering TV series of inspired educational programs on architecture, that he systematically constructed himself as a subject and the worlds of which he spoke.

Finally, and risking a gross typological simplification, *Neoconservatives* category could be tested against the activities of the group of architects MEČ (acronym of the founders' surnames Musić, Ećimović, Čehovin), which was formed on January 1,

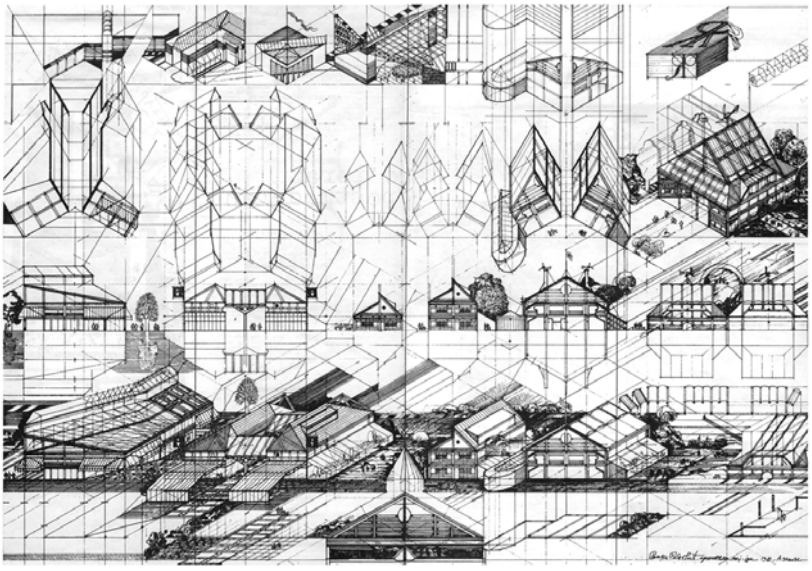

Figure 2. Ranko Radović, Earth Architecture, drawing, 1981. Source: Komunikacija, no. 3 (1981)

1980, following the individual members' exhibitions in the preceding few years.[13] Even though the pronunciation *match* of the acronym implies a boxing fight akin to that of the avant-garde, in the conditions of late socialism the nerves seem deadened and the edge blunted. Announcing a duel, MEČ in fact avoids confrontation on the modernist terrain of architectural competitions, and retreats into the white cube gallery. Using the medium of exhibition as the transmitter of ideas and concepts with the principal aim to "construct a theoretical-methodological apparatus", MEČ consciously opted for divergence of form and function (Ećimović, 1983: 26).

What seems to me to be the most interesting question for the purposes of this analysis is the attitude MEČ took in relation to the societal modernization processes. "The neoconservative doctrine blurs the relationship between the welcomed process of societal modernization on the one hand, and the lamented cultural development on the other", states Habermas (1981: 7). In the conditions of stagnating industry and diminished chances to enter into professional architectural practice, MEČ takes an aloof attitude towards their contemporaries engaged in competition activity, barely acknowledging their work on programs in sink with the modernization processes as an anachronism and anomaly of the Modern. They distance themselves from the conditions of the societal modernisation, by refusing to engage into established practices, and they form a mental liaison with the imaginary avant-garde, extracting its rhetoric if not its purpose. In reprocessing the avant-garde vocabulary for their own means, and their own time, they actually diffuse the explosive socio-political program, thus reusing it solely as a *poesis*.

When Dejan Ećimović, one of the group's founders and its theoretical spokesperson, reaches out to Marx in order to defend the group's aesthetic trans-historicity, i.e., its eclecticism, he but conforms to the dominant cultural Marxist paradigm, while diverting the aesthetic scrutiny from the socio-political and economic logic inherent in Marx's thought. Symptomatically, the supporting reference in this argumentation is not to be found in the original text by Marx, but in the interpretation by a local Marxist aesthetician (Ećimović, 1983: 26-7).[14] The theoretical outcome further defuses the Marxian argument to the aesthetic, anthropological-ontological positions, and reduces the classical concept of "exchange value" to communication-reception process. In a more direct architectural statement, and with no pretentions to the theoretical, let alone Marxian argument, Mustafa Musić, also founder of MEČ, puts the emphasis on his concern for needs of an individual within/over the collective. Habermas points to such a tendency to limit the aesthetic experience to privacy as a *Neoconservatives'* trait. Referring to one of his most prominent early works "Slavija – Through My Window" (1980), Musić uses terms such as "past as a field for rhetorical operations … personal mental image of the space … pluralism ... superstructure of spatial identity … genius loci" (Musić, 1981).

In his texts, Musić introduces often conflicting notions blurring the emancipatory and phenomenological theoretical positions, narrative of the social function of architecture – dialectical relation to societal community, humanization of urban space – and that of pure immanence of architecture. But it is in his projects, where irony first shows its face, and quite successfully so (Fig. 3). Rather than being in cahoots with the great Moderns, Musić plays with them, using different postmodernist techniques from direct citation to metonymy and juxtaposition. In Slavija, he intelligently quotes Adolf Loos by inserting the great architect's most contentious project for Chicago Tribune Tower from 1922, into the most contentious location of Belgrade urbanism since the 1920s, i.e. the empty lot colloquially named by Belgraders as "Mitić's hole". In addition, he plays a complex metonymical game, by substituting a historic socialist topos of the Hall of Piece, with the naming of its reconstructed modern apparition of popular culture, Slavija Cinema, which is, in the final loop, substituted by Musić's own design vision, itself imbued with the elusive spirit of Belgrade early modernism.[15] This seemingly complex operation, however, is carried out effortlessly, with the liberating superficiality, taking us beyond the harsh realities of societal modernisation of late socialism and into pure imagination.

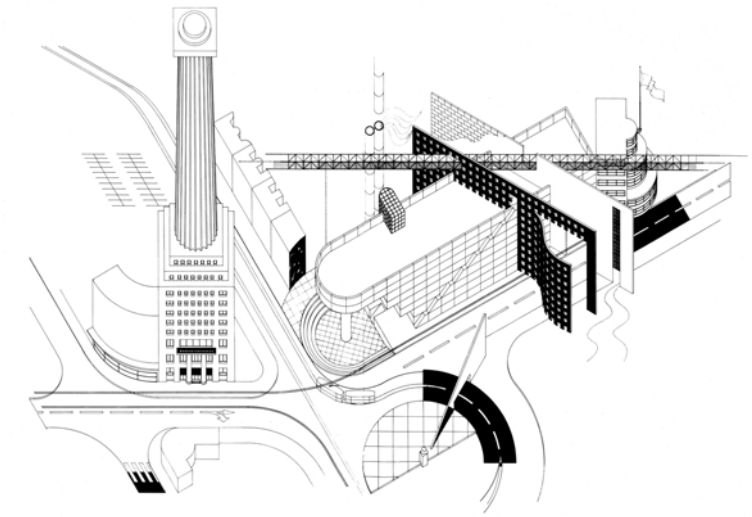

Figure 3. Mustafa Musić, Slavija – Through My Window, drawing, 1980. Courtesy Mustafa Musić

While proclaiming themselves as well as being proclaimed by pro-postmodernist critics as an alternative, with little to show in terms of realisations, MEČ as a group failed at forming a coherent architectural oeuvre. Where they succeeded most admirably in forsaking the dogma of high modernism, is in establishing a sort of trans-conceptual field of architectural reflection and theorizing of different facets of the emerging postmodernist discourse of modern classicism, radical eclecticism, historicism, as well as the budding concerns with ecology and environment. If anything, MEČ acted as a catalyst of cultural modernity. The multiplicity of their current interests, ranged from contemporary to historicist, ironic to symbolic and mythical, typological to morphological, and abstract to regionalist and ecological. Their balancing act on both ends of the theoretical spectrum, emancipatory and phenomenological, produced a difference which might be called a trans-topicality of architectural discourse of postmodernism they aimed to propel and participate in.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ENCLAVE

Perhaps, as a conclusion, something is to be said of the work of the architect Miloš Bobić (1946-2007), as the editor-in-chief of bulletin *Komunikacija* (Belgrade) in the period 1981-86. His editorial may well be considered a modernity project which held to Enlightenment promise of emancipation, while firmly situated in the cultural dominant of postmodern. *Komunikacija,* or, Notes on Urbanism, Architecture, and Design, as it reads in the impressum, was a free publication distributed

Figure 4. Cover of Komunikacija, no. 50 (1986)

to wide professional and academic public all over Yugoslavia, as an internal edition of architectural design and town-planning firm "Belgrade Project – Centre for Urban Development Planning (CEP)". Cheaply double side printed in the "Geokarta" state printing works, on a single A1 paper and folded into an A4 format, *Komunikacija* was a multifaceted publication, in its graphic and folding pattern, but also in its editorial content. With an unmistakable intuition, Bobić brought in the bulletin the array of different yet complementary ideas, concepts, textualities, and projects from both modernist and postmodernist camps, as well as those of different generations, from students to doyens.

The essay "Modern and Postmodern Architecture", by Jürgen Habermas, marks the publication of the last, 50th issue of *Komunikacija* in Bobić's editorial (Fig. 4). Printed over the whole side of A1 format, it takes the central position as the editor's farewell note. What might have been a possible reading of this text in Yugoslavian architectural context by the time of its translation in 1986? A photograph printed as an illustration to the text might offer some clues for interpretation. It shows a façade of a house, which clearly has not been designed by an architect, but is a veritable bricolage. It is a poor-men's house, with the façade wall patched up by chipboard panelling, as well as with reproductions of artworks, mostly Christian orthodox religious painting, icons and frescos of saints, Madonna and Christ, combined with pieces of Western art, high and kitsch, at points set into the wall turned sideways or upside down. Photographic collage, or a work of an anonymous *bricoleur*? There is no caption to the picture to provide an answer. Assuming that Bobić left nothing to chance in his last editorial of the publication he so carefully tended for six years, I would suggest that this very illustration points to his critical reading of Habermas as overly one sided. It is also, I would think, not a moralising but a an ironic commentary on "high" architecture, modernist or postmodernist alike, or "high" theory of Habermas himself, and as such it fits perfectly into discourse of postmodernity. As noted by K. Michael Hays, "though the structure of Habermas's thought may give us a way to think the critical, emancipatory strategies located within postmodernism as well as modernism, he himself seems blind to that possibility" (Hays, 1998, 413).

With the benefit of the hindsight, this analysis attempts just that, to find traces of critical thought within Belgrade postmodernism of 1980, while taking Habermas's text as a guiding light, not as an axiom. Following Fredric Jameson's arguments for an "enclave theory" (Jameson, 1998), I would argue that autonomous practice of Bogdan Bogdanović, discursive practice of Ranko Radović, and trans-topical practice of MEČ, formed enclaves where alternate ideas of space were made possible. And, last but not least, it is the enclave of *Komunikacija*, or rather the archipelago of editorial practice of Miloš Bobić, which accommodated pluralist coexistence and interrelationship of positions in the architectural discourse of postmodernism.

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ZEIT ONLINE, http:// www. zeit. de/ 1980/ 39/ die- moderne - ein - unvollendetes - projekt, accessed 11th March 2011.

1) "It is in the realm of architecture, however, that modifications in aesthetic production are most dramatically visible, and that their theoretical problems have been most centrally raised and articulated;" Jameson (1984), 1991: 2

2) *Der Theodor-W.-Adorno-Preis der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, established in 1977, is conferred every three years on September 11, Adorno's birthday. Habermas was the second recipient.

3) Habermas, J. (1983). Modernity – An Incomplete Project, in: Foster, Hal (Ed.). *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 3-15. The book also includes seminal texts by Kenneth Frampton (Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance), and Fredric Jameson (Postmodernism and Consumer Society).

4) Venice Biennial, The 1st International Architecture Exhibition: The Presence of the Past (Including the now famous "*Strada Novissima*" exhibition at the *Corderie dell'Arsenale*, Director of the Architecture Section: Paolo Portoghesi).

5) The first edition in German: Habermas, J. (1962). *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. Neuwied am Rhein und Berlin: Herman Luchterhand. Translation into English: Habermas, J. (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity.

6) Assessment is based on a recent overview of the political and economic situation preceding the Yugoslav conflict by Gibbs (2009).

7) Memorial Place and Warrior Mausoleum in Čačak (Serbia), 1970-80; Memorial Park Dudik in Vukovar (Croatia), 1978-80; and Warrior Mausoleum at Popina, near Trstenik (Serbia) 1979-81.

8) Summed up, this criticism by Miloš R. Perović, reads: "his most important works, the famous tetralogy […] look like transcultural, timeless archaeological collages […] as if numerous photocopies were made of a giant archaeological atlas, with parts cut out […] and combined into new wholes in a surrealistically automatic way […] remain merely aesthetic products in service of the totalitarian communist regime, and the ideology of Socialist Aestheticism […] celebrat(ing) the communist authority and its victory." (Perović, 2003: 170, 176, 177). This view, acting seemingly as a criticism of the artist's role within the socialist/communist ideology, represents itself but an ideological stance par excellence.

9) Radović, R. (1980). *L'évolution et la continuité des idées et des formes dans l'architecture moderne*, Thèse de doctorat de 3ème cycle. Dirigé par Professeur Bernard Dorival, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV, UER d'Art et d'Archéologie.

10) On Radović's architectural work, see: Dinulović (2005).

11) On Laugier's concept, see: Kuletin Ćulafić (2010)

12) Position of this paper's author on relation of artistic and architectural discourses owes much to ideas initiated by Radović (Cf. Blagojević, 2009, 2010)

13) For more information on MEČ and their activities and projects, see memers' web sites: http://maldini.wetpaint.com/page/MEC , http://www.mustafamusic.net/ , http://www.stevanzutic.net/ , all accessed 9th April 2011.

14) Ećimović quotes: Petrović, S. (1982) *Marksistička kritika estetike*: *prilog Marksovoj ontologiji stvaranja*. Beograd: Prosveta, 143, 131.

15) Cf. Blagojević (2003).

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EVOLUTION OF BOTSWANA PLANNING EDUCATION IN LIGHT OF LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

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Planning problems have been with us ever since human beings realised that their wellbeing is very closely linked to the quality of their settlements and the environment. Over the last century this has led to the worldwide emergence of built environment education in general, and planning in particular. In many African universities planning education is a rapidly growing phenomenon reaching its maturity in terms of structure and number of programs. This development has been most significant in those countries that underwent rapid urbanisation and environmental changes similar to those occurring in Botswana. The first Urban and Regional Planning Programme at the University of Botswana was established in 1993 as part of the Department of Environmental Science at the Faculty of Science. The continued growth and expansion of the planning profession world-wide as well as in Botswana, and its interdisciplinary ties with allied built-environment disciplines, have reached the point at which the University of Botswana is ready to continue with a new internationally recognized planning school. There is a belief that a combined (spatial and specialist) accredited planning programme should support local and regional interests, focusing on the Southern African Region, while acknowledging global standards and innovation in teaching, research, and technology.

***Key words:** planning education, interdisciplinary, built-environment disciplines, accreditation.*

INTRODUCTION

The introduction of modern planning in the former British Protectorate Bechuanaland, which is nowadays Botswana, emerged in the second half of the 20th century. This was a reaction provoked by the country's challenges and enormous rural-urban shift brought about by the discovery of diamonds and mushrooming of urban settlements thereafter. The birth of formal planning in the early 60's was naturally linked to British origins. This was due to the fact that the planning of the new capital, Gaborone, and the emerging mining towns involved British planning and legal prosecutors who were sourcing their expertise from the British Town and Country Planning model (Rankhuna,1997). The beginning of Botswana's contemporary urban era started with the capital City of Gaborone (for administrative reasons), followed by mining towns of Selebi-Phikwe, Orapa and Jwaneng (enabling the exploitation of diamond resources). At the same time, the major urban villages (traditional agro-towns) have begun to transform from settlements with exclusively traditional patterns to communities exhibiting changing land administration systems, adopting new building technologies, and developing social and physical infrastructures.

At these early stages, there was no locally organised formal planning education. The only available options were self-learning and tailoring practical skills by linking the colonial heritage with the involvement of "First-World" donor organisations (Diaw *et al.*, 2002). The majority of local professionals did not have any option but to be trained abroad, mostly in the UK, USA, Sweden and Australia. The whole range of experiments, from Gridiron and Howard's Garden City concepts in Gaborone, to neighbourhood units in Francistown and planning for new towns in Orapa, Jwaneng, Gaborone, and Selebi-Phikwe, Radburn Super-block and Planned Unit Development in Gaborone, proved that Botswana is a fertile ground for the proliferation of different planning ideas and concepts (Ward, 2000). The dominant rectangular shapes over the traditional semi-circular and horse-shoe patterns, as well as economic segregation of residential areas (low, medium and high incomes), are becoming more and more evident, especially in newly established towns.

The high level of attention given to technical design skills emphasised the context of planning practice at that time, irrespective of whether a planner's education was obtained in the developed West or North. Nevertheless, Okpala (2009) reports that at these early beginnings planning education in Sub-Saharan Anglophone African countries was largely physical and design-oriented focusing on lay-out of settlements or their parts and ensuring broad compatibility of major land use locations. In addition to design based skills and importance of technical knowledge, Harrison (2006) acknowledged that the body of planning work and development of educational programmes has developed almost entirely within the framework of Western intellectual traditions and in response to lived experiences in the West (or global North), in a world where two-thirds of the population, and the overwhelming volume of urban growth, is located in the global South – Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In a similar light, Wareus (2000) insightfully concludes that the planning and design of new

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towns in Botswana has been handled by planners who are well educated and familiar with contemporary international concepts. However, the revival of traditional spatial concepts has come late, due to the fact that much planning has been done by expatriates and by local planners who were trained in institutions that have little or no sense of the cultural and traditional values existing in Botswana. Western values have become predominant. This is now changing and the future planning is expected to be more sensitive to the cultural values and spatial characteristics unique to Botswana and, thus, more sustainable than the other concepts.

However, with recent developments and socio-economic diversification at many African universities (including UB), planning education is reaching its maturity in terms of structure and number of programmes. Throughout the continent it has been recognised that design and technical based approach to the built and natural environment planning is no longer sufficient, especially when addressing complex issues of sustainable development in emerging African economies (e.g. South Africa, Botswana, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Mauritius). Consequently, the wider, globalised (Hague, 2001; Afshar 2001) and more internationalised (Goldstein *et al.*, 2006) framework in combination with local and specific requirements (Horen *et al.*, 2004) becomes paramount to the planning theory and practice. As Friedman (2005) points out, the mantra of globalization impacts heavily the emerging culture of planning which is more or less the same regardless of where it is practiced, but major differences exist in the ways that planning is conceived, institutionalised, and carried out.

Since the establishment of the first Botswana planning program (1993), there has been a lively debate over the nature and structure of its curriculum. The main questions were: "In which direction will the Botswana planning education develop further?" and "What are its existing experiences?" Does planning have to be firmly rooted in environmental science or is now the time to go "back to basics" grounded in "design", or might there be a global repositioning way (Hague, 1994, 2001 & 2006) for Botswana, perhaps a combination of these.

In brief, the program has been developed through the three evolutionary phases. At the beginning it was a reflection of the design and post-colonial tradition. In the second phase it has accepted more innovations coupled with local needs. Finally, it opened the door to Africa and the Commonwealth at large, as well as to the rest of the global planning arena. Drawing on the wider academician group experience, intensive local consultation and the dialogue with prominent international (e.g. Commonwealth) consultants, the creators of Botswana's most recent planning education framework have anticipated a common tension between the content of planning curricula and research outputs, and the formal planning system, with respect to the requirements of planning regulations and the planning departments implementing them, as well as, the systems of accreditation of planners (Levy *et al*., 2009).

When evaluating the potential effectiveness and branding of the new provisionally accredited planning programme at UB it is evident that the programme departs from the three typical categories recognised by the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS) documented by Duminy (2010). It combines ***spatial*** and ***specialist*** components securing flexible merger between 1) *technical and design*, 2) *policy, management and administration*, 3) *geographical, regional and environmental*, and 4) *comparative, international, project management and sustainability issues*. Moreover, the programme introduces profound aspects of contemporary planning paradigms, as well as the climate change and planning ethics strongly requested by international accreditation agencies (e.g. Royal Town Planning Institute, RTPI, UK).

In this regard, the idea to launch an accredited planning program came as a priority due to the urgent need to organize combined undergraduate and graduate training with a focus on ***spatial*** and ***specialist's planning aspects*** for those wishing to pursue specialization and acquire professional master's degree and professional registration as chartered planners.

Nevertheless, this professional registration will assist Botswana planning graduates in their international ventures and give them additional employment prospects, since there is growing acknowledgement in the education community and among the public at large of the students' need to gain skills and knowledge that will allow them to function effectively across cultures and nations (Goldstein *et al*., 2006). In light of this fact, it is expected that the program will develop the ability to attract and retain students, to be awarded consulting and research contracts, and win prizes in research assessment competitions, catering for the future of both planning academics and planning practitioners.

Central to the new planning program at the University of Botswana is the future role of planner as enabler, negotiator, collaborator, mediator, communicator, scenario developer, the provocateur and the judge, a professional who will be able to work across these roles (Bradwell *et al.*, 2007). In practice, this approach aims at a shift, where the passive "planning administrator" should become a "manager of environmental change". This requires ability to enrich his/her analytical and interpretative views on built, natural and human environs from a single towards multidisciplinary perspective. It also entails understanding of a legal, political, and organizational context within which Botswana and international planning occurs, and ensures that future planners are able to function effectively and creatively in different settings and situations, working towards the wellbeing of all people (Cavric, 2004).

THE CONTEXT OF BOTSWANA DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

Basic development indicators

Botswana is a continental desert country located in the heart of the South-African plateau (Fig. 1). Its area of 582,000 km² is approximately equal to that of France, Kenya or Texas. According to the CIA (2011), the country has reached population of over 2 million (2,065,398: July 2011 est.), 61% of which live in urban areas. Botswana gained independence in 1966, after 88 years spent under British protectorate known as Bechuanaland. At that time, Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa. It is situated in SADC region (Southern African Development Community) characterized by social, economic, and political tensions that in many countries led to economic stagnation or even decline.

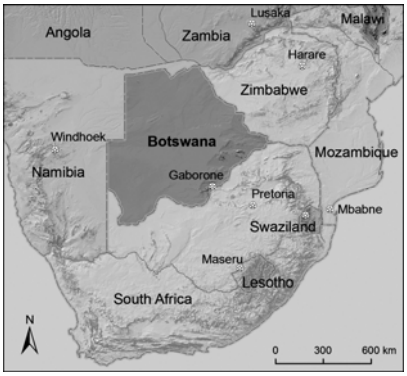

Fig. 1 Botswana geographic setting, Source: ESRI Data & Maps, Global Imagery and Shaded Relief, Europe and Africa, USA, 2001-2006. Compiled by A. Šiljeg

For over 40 years the socio-economic development of Botswana has represented a unique phenomenon not only in Africa, but in the world. According to the World's Human Development Report (UNDP, 2011), between 1980 and 2010 Botswana's HDI rose by 1.3%

annually - from 0.431 to 0.633 today, ranking the country's human development as medium and placing it at 98th place out of 169 countries with comparable data. The HDI of Sub-Saharan Africa as a region increased from 0.293 in 1980 to 0.389 today, placing Botswana above the regional average (Fig. 2). In spite of Botswana's rapid "diamonds fuelled" economic growth, 30.6% of its population lived below the poverty line in 2003. Nevertheless, this was a significant improvement compared to 1985 and 1993 when 59% and 47% of the population respectively, lived in poverty. Both in extent and severity, poverty is concentrated in rural areas (44.8% in 2003). As Jefferis (1998) noted, Botswana's approach towards the spending (or saving) of its mineral revenues has not been universally popular within the country. There has been frequent criticism of the government from the opposition parties advocating higher spending of the mineral-generated revenues, given the persistence of poverty in some parts of Botswana and the existence of unmet social and economic needs (Jefferis, 1998).

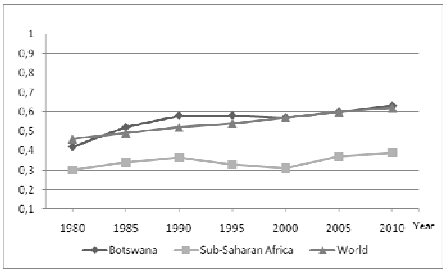

Fig. 2 Comparative profile of Botswana's HDI in period 1980-2010, Source: UNDP, 2011

Among many of the challenges Botswana faces today, the most important one has to do with diversifying the economy in order to decrease the dependence on diamonds and to open other development opportunities, such as eco-tourism, light industry assembling, financial management, manufacturing, etc. In addition, there are substantial income inequalities and rising unemployment both related to economic hardships and social tensions. Also, the spread of HIV/AIDS represents a serious threat to Botswana's development and the country has had one of the highest rates of HIV prevalence in adults in the world (24.9%) according to UNAIDS (2010).

With regard to the above, Mosha (1998) emphasizes that although the capital of Botswana, Gaborone, and other towns are centres of productivity and wealth, they are surrounded by considerable poverty that has shifted from the countryside to urban villages and peri-urban areas. For example, the intensive migration to the periphery and urban fringes of the capital of Gaborone is coupled with unprecedented and ever-rising levels of poverty.

It is clear that Botswana is now at an important crossroads and must decide which direction to follow for the country to continue down the road of prosperity. In order to continue steering the country towards success, the people of Botswana do not only need the crucial political and economic vision but also the essential professional services of people trained at home and abroad. In this respect, the University of Botswana (UB) has been a centre of excellence for a number of years already. The education and training of engineers, urban and regional planners since 1993, and also architects (since 2003), are good examples of the proper ways to continue developing the country (DES 1993, Anderson and Mokgwathi, 2000).

The rise of planning awareness

The aforementioned socio-economic development brought about changes in the system of settlements. New towns sprung up, traditional villages were restructured and transformed into urban villages and agro-towns and there has been considerable migration from villages to towns and cities (Budic-Nedovic, Cavric, 2001). Today, more than half (61%) of the country's population live in urban settlements.

In order to be able to direct these processes, the government decided to launch planning services. However, because of the inherited colonial structure and lack of trained professionals it was impossible to have a major impact on the process of urbanisation right away. As there was not enough local staff, experts were often hired from the former colonial master (Diaw *et al.*, 2002; Qadeer 1993).

The post-colonial period up to the mid-eighties was marked by significant drawbacks due to poor management in the spatial development of Botswana's urban and rural areas. Botswana became an ideal site for testing foreign theoretical models and legislation frameworks (Nedovic-Budić&Cavrić, 2006; Njoh, 1999; Rankhuna, 1997; Ward, 2000). However, the situation started to change with the arrival of the first generations of local planners. Initially, there was a sort of mental confrontation between what had been learnt abroad and the requests of the local environments. Slowly but surely there was an increasing demand to blend the foreign concepts into traditionally recognised schemes, taking the local context and indigenous legal foundation as a prerogative (Budic-Nedovic, Cavric, 2001).

Towards the end of the 80's and the beginning of the 90's, physical planning in Botswana became a significant counterpart to socio-economic planning. It started to play an essential role in the organisation of regional territorial systems (e.g. urban and rural districts) as well as in the design of settlements and their parts, with the aim of creating better living and working conditions in an orderly manner. The ever increasing concentration of population and activities, the development of infrastructure, improved conditions for foreign investment, the implementation of new technologies and various influences affecting the quality of the environment have all made spatial planning a very attractive interdisciplinary field which has resulted in the opening of Botswana's first School for Planners.

Early initiatives for launching a planning school

The first attempts to educate planners locally were made in the 1980s when the government of Botswana asked the then Polytechnic (now the Faculty of Engineering and Technology – FET) to launch a program leading to a Diploma in Land Use Planning with a Town Planning Option. However, it was only ten years later that the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing addressed the UB. The initial request was to introduce the MSc. Programme. However, it was soon decided that it would be better to begin with an undergraduate programme and later proceed to the masters.

That same year the Department of Environmental Science – DES (former Department of Geography until 1979) ventured into graduate training by launching the MSc. Degree in Environmental Planning, aiming to train land use planners for the Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing (Cavrić, 1998). A new line of courses was introduced in 1992/3 with the initiation of a new town planning specialisation, and then, since the 1994/95 academic year, the planning option has been replaced with a fully-fledged BSc. Degree in Urban and Regional Planning (URP). The first crop of planning students graduated in 1997.

The same year -1994 saw the opening of the professional association of planners, i.e. the Botswana Institute of Town Planners - BITP, which in 2008 was replaced with the PULA (Botswana Institute of Urban and Regional Planners). This gave planners in Botswana an official forum where they could articulate and voice the interests of the profession and actively exchange theoretical and practical experiences. The academic 1993/1994 year is a historical landmark in the development of this young and modern discipline.

Before the program was launched a number of agencies and individuals had been consulted. For example, consultants from Manitoba (Bargh, Carvalho, 1992) had suggested the opening of a Department of Architecture and Planning, where

the first year would be a common year of studies devoted to gaining a basic understanding of the concepts underpinning the professional programs in architecture and town and regional planning.

THE 1993 PLANNING PROGRAMME

The 1993 programme anticipated the three-year full-time planning studies. First, the candidates had to complete a common year of studies at one of the Departments of the Faculty of Social or Natural Sciences, and then to proceed with a core planning subjects (Tab. 1). The courses of study in the qualifying subjects for all three professional years (year 2, 3 and 4) were single major subjects, which means that there were no optional (subsidiary) subjects and one wishing to complete the programme had to pass every single major subject before proceeding to the next year.

When analysing the 1993 program, the basic problem encountered pertained to the limited number of planning courses compared to the general ones. Students were introduced to planning core only in the second year. This made it practically impossible for them to master in detail most of the theory and practice. In fact, students had planning subjects only during three years of studies. On the other hand, in other countries the training of planners takes minimum four years (BA/BSc.), which was not the case in Botswana.

It was also envisaged that the quest for specialists and advanced (M.Sc., MPhil and PhD studies) programmes should be considered in order to provide further training opportunities and diversify professional portfolio of recent graduates and senior planning staff. The main tasks of these "specialists" would be the plan implementation, development impact assessment (DIA), urban design, development and environmental control, and application of GIS and decision support system (DSS). They would also have to continue with the plan's reviews for the second group of the fast growing major urban villages identified as growth centres in the National Settlement Policy. It was considered that the proper planning and monitoring would be critical as these urban villages became transformed into "urban" centres that would start to play a key role in accelerating the economic re-development in the Districts.

Furthermore, the new planning specialists were expected to raise public awareness and knowledge about the built and natural environmental, urban governance and management, gender, HIV/AIDS, urban agriculture, globalisation and communication, and other important issues ranging from local to national, and even beyond the country's horizons. In addition, they would be recognised as the future team leaders engaged in integrated development projects along with professionals from other allied built-environment disciplines (Cavric, 2004).

THE 1993 PLANNING PROGRAMME REJUVENATION AND ACCREDITATION

After ten years of existence the 1993 programme required rejuvenation and international recognition. This came as a result of the changing planning education paradigms concerned with sustainability, millennium goals, globalisation and climate change. There was also another shift to a more holistic approach to understanding planning and built-environment processes and systems in an interdisciplinary manner.

It was also contended that "urban planning in new century is not what it used to be in the past, and what it will be tomorrow. Change will be continuous and evolution prolonged due to the fact that the current planning practices are deeply involved in the social, economic, environmental and political aspects of urban and regional development and the students who graduated this year will have spent at least a third of their time specialising in particular aspects of planning" (Batey, 1994).

When asking practising planners what recent graduates mostly lack, they will answer that they lack an understanding of development funding, as well as graphical and written communication skills. In addition, they will require skills in identifying policy, evaluating service options, letting and monitoring contracts, and management, including an understanding of the principles of quality assurance. All these novelties lead to a more fundamental change of the context and ethos of central and local government authorities (Hague, 1994).

Due to these barriers it was suggested that the educational improvement may be considered through the establishment of a four-year planning programme and semesterisation which involves a reasonable increment of subjects and restructuring of existing courses. In addition, the new or rejuvenated planning courses were also seeking international accreditation to strengthen their market position (UN Habitat, 2009). Finally, there were requests to introduce graduate and post-graduate MSc, MPhil and PhD programmes in planning and the Built Environment, which would require a more science-based approach focusing on a fundamental understanding of social, economic and environmental phenomena.

One of the most challenging aspects for the new setting of the Faculty of Engineering and Technology – FET (Fig.3) at the UB was to launch the new, modern and innovative Department of Architecture and Planning – DAP (Fig.4). The establishment of an undergraduate programme in architecture, upgrading existing urban and regional planning programme, and launching a masters programme in planning and allied disciplines are primarily designed to meet a perceived need in Central and Local Government agencies, parastatal and the private sector. Following these winds of change, the idea was mooted for quite some time, but was not materialised until January 2003 and 2010

Tab.1 The 1993 Planning Syllabus

Year 1	**Year 2**
General Mathematics Introductory concepts of Mathematics Computing Mathematics for Social Science Elements of Statistics Introduction to Elements of Statistics Introductory Biology First year Chemistry Physics Introduction to Earth's Environment Basic Economics Introduction to Demography Introduction to Sociology Communication Skills Introduction to Literature	Planning Theory I Planning Methods and Techniques Introduction to Transport Planning Introduction to Urban and Regional Economics Infrastructure Planning Land Surveying and Cartography Planning Studio II
Year 3	**Year 4**
Planning Theory II Advanced Planning Methods and Techniques Land and Planning Law Regional Development Planning Urban and Rural Housing Urban Design & Environmental Management Planning Studio II	Planning Theory III Professional Planning Practice Transport and Traffic Engineering Regional Physical Planning Project Planning and management Project Dissertation Planning Studio III

Source: Department of Environmental Science, 2000

respectively when planning programme managed to acquire provisional international accreditation from the RTPI (UK).

It was believed that the new accredited planning programme should primarily support local and regional interests, focusing on the Southern African Development Community (SADC), while acknowledging international planning portfolio and focusing on the two major planning components: 1) ***spatial*** and 2) ***specialist*** for those wishing to pursue specialization, acquire professional master's degree and to be registered as "chartered planners".

Fig. 3 The new FET building complex, Source: Author's photo, 2011

Fig. 4 The new DAP Building, Source: Author's photo, 2011

THE RATIONALE FOR COMBINED PLANNING PROGRAMME

The splitting of the degree/s around ***spatial*** general and ***specialist's*** planning subjects introduces a level of flexibility for students. It enables students to gain work experience and earn income between the two degrees. It also provides an exit degree for those students who struggle to complete a dissertation report, which is required in the fourth or specialist year. The time spent for practice enables them to gain the maturity to undertake the specialist year. In the design of the degrees, it was expected that all students would eventually complete a Bachelor of Science (BSc. URP) path first, and then continue the studies for another year to acquire the additional professional Masters Degree (MA URP) and the title of "chartered planner". The new URP degree thus correlates with professional degrees recognized by the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI). The major rationale for and logic of the content revisions was:

- bringing theory and practice together in topic-based courses;
- increasing flexibility by moving from year-long to semester-based courses;
- strengthening the emphasis on contemporary planning issues, technologies and techniques, policies and strategies, sustainability agenda, small town, rural and environmental planning economic and development diversification, responsive urban design, public processes and participation, to list a few;
- allowing for three-tier degree of specialisation in the fourth year of study;
- introducing areas of study which were underplayed in the past (responding to changes in practice and development through the introduction of a series of newly revised courses with strong management component); and
- refocusing courses taught by other departments on the specific needs of planning.

THE NEW PROGRAMME EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

In concert with the missions of the University and the Faculty, the overall aim of the programme is to provide an excellent environment for teaching, learning and research in the field of planning and allied disciplines. The philosophy is therefore centred on developing critical thinking and problem solving abilities and maintaining interactive relationship between theory and practice (Bayer *et al.*, 2010).

The URP education in Botswana was shifting emphasis from master and development planning and physical layout designs towards more complex spatial and specialist planning that includes a whole range of integrated issues at different scales of natural, built, socio-economic and the political arena. The URP personnel considered these changes as a natural reaction on "state of the art" planning education, as well as aiming to ensure greater flexibility and recognisability of the Botswana planning school in Africa, Commonwealth and worldwide. Therefore, the decision was made to initiate accreditation process with the RTPI (UK).

Socio-economic contexts and flexibility of curriculum

The territorial and socio-economic context in which planning process occurs in Botswana differs significantly from neighboring countries of the SADC, where Botswana's development is significantly ranked. The underlying premise of future planning in Botswana is careful monitoring and adaptation of all positive trends which may aid further diversification of overall development, with a special focus on sustainable practices, and the need to interact with professional and scholarly networks .For example, "planners" who have started their career recently will have to spend at least a third of their time specializing in particular aspects of planning. With this in mind it is natural to note an ongoing discussion about curriculum design, structure and focus of planning education where the ideal would be to "think locally and act globally".

Spatial and instrumental levels of educational context

The common view is that the city and spatial planning encompasses a broad spectrum of spatially co-coordinating subject planning areas ranging from local to the international level. A decidedly large diversity of areas for planning activity in practice emerges from the combination of a variety of references to the thematic content together with the different spatial levels of planning. It is thus a fundamental mandate of university education to ensure the ability to orientate oneself within these frameworks. This diversity, coupled with the vastly different talents and interests of prospective students themselves and the requirements of the job market, makes the educational base of planning very important.

Generalist and specialist education

The programme aspires to offer both a ***"spatial"*** and ***"specialist"*** planning components, where opportunity for specialisation is embodied in the last year of study. This allows graduates to intensify their focus on key contemporary themes and thereby be better prepared for the challenging planning world. It allows for a combination of general skills, but also enables greater depth of learning, in particular in areas required by planning markets.

The spatial part shown in Table 2 is seen as critical to the degree offered, thus many courses emphasise this dimension, and there are courses on almost all aspects of contemporary planning and allied disciplines available to students by planning staff and fellow colleagues from other programmes (e.g. environmental science, architecture, geometrics, economics, law). It also gives an adequate link for smooth transition when planning graduates wish to deepen some areas of study.

Tab. 2. Spatial planning education at the University of Botswana

Spatial planning component - Year 1	**Spatial planning component - Year 3**	**Spatial planning component - Year 2**
Introduction to Planning & Built Environment Planning Graphics and Communications Principles of Cartography Planning Methods and Techniques Computer Aided Drafting Site Planning and Design I Remote Sensing Principles Planning Theory I Principles of GIS Planning Practice/Internship I	Healthy City Planning Land and Property Development Regional and Rural Planning and Development Urban Regeneration & Renewal Gender and Planning Land and Property Valuation & Management Planning Practice and Project Management Urban Governance and Management Planning Implementation Techniques Planning Ethics Planning for Climate Change	Planning Theory II Transportation Planning & Management Environmental Land Use Planning Site Planning and Design II Public Facilities and Services planning Urban & Regional Economics Neighborhood Planning and Design Infrastructure Planning & Management Planning, Land and Environmental law Planning Practice/Internship II

Source: Department of Architecture and Planning, 2010

Tab. 3. Specialist planning education at the University of Botswana

Stream A. **Urban & Environmental Design & Housing**	**Stream B.** **Planning Policy and Strategy**	**Stream C.** **Planning methods and techniques**	**Selected topic from A, B, or C. stream**
Research Methods and Techniques New Urbanism Landscape Design Urban and Rural Design practice Integrated Housing Studies	Research Methods and Techniques Integrated Planning New Regionalism and Strategic Planning Comparative Planning Administrative and Policy Planning	Research Methods and Techniques Planning Support Systems Development Impacts Analysis Public Participation & Negotiations Techniques Community Planning Methods & Scenarios	Supervised Dissertation – Research Project

Source: Department of Architecture and Planning, 2010

It is suggested that at this point in time the specialism depicted in Table 3 should target the three distinctive areas: 1) ***urban and environmental design and housing***, 2) ***planning policies and strategies***, and 3) ***planning methods and techniques***. Where possible, in due course there would also be an option for further specialism through the Faculty wide MPhil/PhD programme that responds to the increasingly complex and specialized nature of the market and its demand for a different type of the built environment professionals.

Scope of theoretical planning knowledge

The importance of theoretical planning knowledge, as the intellectual foundation of all planning activity, is stressed in the teaching courses for all years of study, including spatial and specialist components in which expertise and critical knowledge are at the forefront of a rejuvenated and potentially fully accreditable programme. In connection to this, the ability to conceptualise new research initiatives and leading theoretical paradigms enables the schooling of professionals who will employ new knowledge in the daily planning practice (Gunder and Fookes, 1997). That consolidates and extends the metaphor of "planning theory as a lens" for good practice, introducing several studio based courses where this theory-practice link runs throughout their calibration and execution (Durning, 2004). This is a significant contribution to applied scholarly debates around theories of planning knowledge and processes (McClendon *at. al.*, 2003). At the same time this approach enables the development of reflexive practitioners. The programme proactive approach towards sustainable development and environment is a basic premise on how to operate in the world of limited resources where the "game of planning" is a mother of their distribution, and planners with multidisciplinary skills are in high demand.

Planning literacy and research orientation

In response to the increasing complexity of rapid urbanisation, urban poverty and slums, sustainable urban development and climate change, spatial structures, provision of infrastructure and services, gender imbalances, inclusiveness, urban crime and violence, post-conflict and post disaster situations, protracted disputes, constrained government budgets, and recent movements toward deregulation and property rights protection, new approaches have emerged. They aim to provide more effective, more efficient, and more publicly accepted decisions in spatial management, and creation of liveable and sustainable places. These approaches are given different labels: "strategic planning and its variants", "integrated spatial planning", "land regularisation and management", "participatory processes and partnerships", "urban management and sector programming", "new form of master planning", "environmental, natural resource and disaster management", "green and brown agenda", "new urbanism, healthy and compact cities, smart growth", to name a few (UN Habitat, 2009). In addressing these issues the Botswana program does not place its focus to any particular planning issue or approach. Rather, it promotes engagement with all of them trying to achieve necessary balance to suit both spatial and specialist interests through the debate on planning universalism and challenges of a globalizing world (Afshar, 2001).

Problem solving, critical & creative thinking

The proposed programme anticipates a considerable amount of problem and case-study based learning. Thus the aim is to provide a balance between critical capacity, substantive understanding, practical skills, and creative approaches. There is a full awareness that the role of spatial planners varies and that it has been affected by growing democratization; increasing public value for environmental resources; an information revolution; and a movement toward more ecological, equitable, and sustainable forms of development. Planners educated in Botswana are expected to identify problems and devise solutions, to perform a wide range of roles as generalists and all-rounded planners trying to develop a brand identity (McClendon *et al.*, 2003), and to become professionals able to address requirements of the corporate world (Hague, 2001) in any given working situation.

Mastering contemporary methods, procedures and technologies

On both spatial and specialist education level it is expected for students to acknowledge and master methods of visualisation, participation,

implementation, presentation, community scenarios generation, management, measurements, development and environmental impact analysis, negotiation, facilitation, mediation, and many more (Booher, Innes, 2002). The central objective for handling the above "planning tool kit" is affected by the increased needs for planners to use more objective and precise instruments in plan formulation, public participation, implementation, monitoring, review, and planning evaluation. The important fact is that the majority of these methods and techniques can be installed and applied with the assistance of a contemporary information technology focusing on GIS, remote sensing, planning support systems, indicator based systems, web based and e-government planning (Chapin, 2003; Shapira, Youtie, 2001).

Interdisciplinary team work, professional competences and skills

Derived educational background also tries to develop a spirit of interdisciplinary and team work from the very early stage because only through these frameworks may the students integrate knowledge of all complex social, cultural, technical, economic, political and ecological elements. Throughout the educational span the students are expected to nurture team spirit and ability to work with other professionals and representatives of diverse groups of stakeholders concerned with the evolution of the social framework and the quality of life (Zenia, 2003).

In such situations their methods of work will have to comprise analysis and synthesis, proposition and programming, creative design, management and administrative skills. The proposed education model also includes continuing professional practice to ensure that graduates have all the required competences whether as self-employed, contracted or salaried, independent or an employee, engaged in practice or research, in the public or the private sector. In summary, the programme prepares future planners to undertake the following tasks (Tab. 4):

Professional profile

The planner is increasingly gaining a key role in project design and project management for the protection of public interests. In addition, a future Botswana planner will need to act as negotiator, mediator, communicator, collaborator, to understand people and their communities, to be independent and be able to think in scenarios and to change the role where passive administrator' should become a "manager of environmental change" (Cavric, 2004). Through his/her education span a successful planning graduate could adopt all of the above skills and become generally skilful as a "jack of all trades", or concentrate and become a "specialist" for some of them. This needs an ability to enrich analytical and interpretative views on natural and built environs from a single perspective to a multidisciplinary perspective which includes architecture, engineering, planning, humanities, social, natural and health sciences.

Planning ethics and values

There is also strong support to the idea for improved planning ethics and values which need to be taught to all students before they are released to practice (Hoch, 1994; Kaufman, 1981). This will help them to continuously strive to achieve a high standard of integrity and proficiency so that the public could respect the job of planners. They need to inherit the basic concept of "fair, honest and independent judgement" that underlies all ethical principles in planning and other government service. According to Kelly and Becker (2000) planners need to follow the basic ethical issues as: abstaining from matters in which the planner has a direct or indirect conflict of interest; disclosing all personal interest in any matters of public interest; not seeking "gifts or favours" that might affect objectivity; not using confidential information for personal gain; and not misinterpreting facts or distorting information. There is believe that the UB planning programme can make a case for a strong fight against corruptive practices in planning and land development fields.

Planning networks and international links

The presence of the programme on the local, regional and international scene represents one of the conditions for a successful cooperation, a further development of the programme, as well as for planning profession on the whole. Consistent with the University and the Faculty ethos, the Planning Programme has actively pursued national, regional and international linkages with other planning schools and institutions. For many years it has developed sound cooperation with numerous government agencies, cities and districts physical planner's offices throughout the country. Regular student internships in Botswana are undertaken every year for 6 weeks, and students of the 3rd year of studies have 10 days of international educational trips. Moreover, the presence of students and colleagues from abroad coming to work together confirms that the programme is on the right course for establishing different international linkages in the areas of research, teaching and professional development with individuals and institutions in Africa, Latin and North America, New Zealand and Europe.

Reflections on gender, race, ethnicity and social status

In accordance with the University mission and Country's Vision 2016, the University is facing all the challenges of a transforming society, accommodating a diverse student and staff body, with particular focus on talented, creative and confident incumbents coming from all segments of Botswana society and from other African and world countries. The intention is also to support more diversified gender and ethnical representation (Johanna, Sesay, 1998) and to make provision for any disadvantaged students who would like to enrol into planning studies. The provision and use of numerous UB facilities such as the Centre for Continuous Education, the Career Advisory Services, the Counselling Services, the Student Welfare, and Admissions, Liaison and Exchanges Services, etc. is important in making programme accessible and inclusive for all.

Programme management, structure and human resources

The latest administrative and managerial changes at UB speak about a new development phase where the focus is on the improvement in institutional efficiency, rationalisation and

Tab. 4 Planning skills and subject areas offered in UB planning program

Planning skills	Planning subject areas
• Identifying planning issues and Priorities • Formulating Goals, Objectives, and Criteria • Identifying Policies, Principles, and Standards • Collecting and Analyzing Data • Making Projections • Making (preparing) Plans and Designs • Preparing Plan Implementation Programs • Administering Plan Implementation Programs • Making Development Impact Analyses • Engaging Public Participation • Use of Communication & other Techniques	• Physical Planning • Environmental Planning • Social Planning • Advocacy Planning • Economic Planning • Management Planning • Comprehensive Planning • Other subjects • Internet technologies to support planning and public participation

Source: Department of Architecture and Planning, 2010

formation of an interdisciplinary environment. The DAP is fully supportive and aware of the situation in which the planning programme needs to become closer to other programmes that can feed special and specific components of contemporary planning education. The day to day running will be handled through the school directors and programme conveners or heads. The URP staff appreciate the new university strategic directions which have a lot of in common with the re-shaping of our departmental image. Based on this, there is need for re-loading of the staff duties where the role of School directors, programme convener and professoriate will assist in changing the shape of the high education in Botswana. Especially interesting is the planning programme's interdisciplinary outlook which highlights the fact of future belonging to the extended family of built environment professionals.

CONCLUSIONS

By its nature the planning curricula at the University of Botswana integrates knowledge developed within many disciplines such as geography, environmental planning, architecture, landscape architecture, economy, sociology, ecology, engineering, aesthetics, information science, geographic information systems, etc. Provisionally accredited URP programme ensures professional preparation to allow students to take a variety of semester courses before they tailor the dissertation project to a particular area of planning specialization. The curriculum is organised as a single major subject combining core and optional courses. The combined BSc/MA degree should be completed in three spatial and one specialist year. Students must take all core subjects and a number of chosen optional courses before they defend their master thesis.

The schooling of planners is a long and expensive process, and their practical engagement falls under the category of problem solving development professions. In developing countries like Botswana, such orientation has much greater importance. The newly accredited programme makes it clear that there is a need for modern planners today and in the foreseeable future. The new programme attempts to build a case to show how important it was to restructure the existing planning curricula so as to include many more contemporary planning topics. More precisely, it is also an attempt to build a case to show the need for an internationally and regionally recognised planning school.

In summary, it is evident that a contemporary planning career in Botswana is a challenging one and requires the ability to cope with any situation concerning spatial and environmental processes. The University of Botswana's provisionally accredited planning curriculum should continue to offer both, planning theory and practice. It should equip students with the technical expertise and support a commitment to democracy (traditional and modern), and equity and fairness as essential factors for the resolution of any burning spatial issue. The programme is designed to educate planners to operate effectively in a variety of institutional frameworks – government and parastatal agencies, private and development corporations, research centres and academia.

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SOVIET IN CONTENT - PEOPLE'S IN FORM: THE BUILDING OF FARMING COOPERATIVE CENTRES AND THE SOVIET-YUGOSLAV DISPUTE, 1948-1950

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It was not until 1948, when the Cominform conflict escalated, that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia began a thorough implementation of the Soviet model in Yugoslav agriculture – due to the Soviet criticism, the CPY made immediate legislative changes and started a class struggle in Yugoslav villages. Simultaneously, and just a few months before the Fifth Congress, Josip Broz Tito initiated a competition for building 4,000 Farming Cooperative Centres throughout Yugoslavia - they were built in accordance with the social-realist "national in form – socialist in content" slogan. Once the building started, in his Congress speech, Radovan Zogović, a leader of the Serbian Agitprop department, offered the first official proclamation of Socialist Realism in the post-war period by a political authority. This article analyses the process of planning, designing and building of the Farming Cooperative Centres; discusses their political, ideological and formal implications; and inquires into the specific role of architecture, joined with the theory of Socialist Realism, in building Yugoslav socialism.

***Key words:** the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute; the Five-year plan; Farming Cooperative Centres; Socialist Realism; national in form.*

THE POLITICS: THE SOVIET-YUGOSLAV DISPUTE

In March 1947, after an unsuccessful Belgrade meeting with Soviet representatives, Edvard Kardelj left for Moscow to meet with Iosif Stalin personally. Forming joint stock companies was a way of post-war bonding between Yugoslavia and the USSR; however, as the bonds were strengthening, the disagreements were rising. In the context of the emerging Eastern Bloc, the USSR initiated a process of cultural and economic exchange with the countries of people's democracies, adjusting their economies to its own five-year economic development plan. By the beginning of 1947, the Soviet share in their import-export structure had increased, the trade agreements were signed, new joint stock companies were being created and the first economic plans were being prepared. The Yugoslav government was a leader in this process. The One Year Plan was already declared in 1946. While the other Eastern European countries were setting up their short-term plans, the proclamation of the first Yugoslav Five Year Plan was already in order.[2] In the course of the process, in February 1947, the first Soviet-Yugoslav joint stock companies were created, concerning the river float and civilian airlines (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, pp.113-118). By March, the Soviets had resumed a monopoly over the firms and were already looking to establish more. This time, they were demanding the founding of joint production companies in the field of metallurgy and oil extraction, that is, in the field of heavy industry, which was to be the base of The Plan. In Kardelj's later words, this presented a problem "for both political and economic reasons" (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, p. 120).[3] By 1947, the CPY had already gained full political power in the country and the state had a monopoly over all the major production companies. However, the monopoly itself did not enable the organizing and controlling of the entire process of economic accumulation and reproduction from one centre (Obradović, 1995, p.83). This was the task of The Plan, and in the words of Andrija Hebrang, the chairperson of the Economy Council at the time: "It is known that the one who holds the economy in hand, also holds the power" (Obradović, 1995, p.64). However, the enforcing of The Plan implied another level of centralisation. By demanding to establish joint companies in the industrial field specifically, the USSR was asking for direct involvement in leading the Yugoslav economic plan, that is, its

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[2] The other countries of people's democracies did not proclaim their Five Year Plans until The Council for Mutual Economic Aid was found in January 1949 in Moscow. In 1947, when the Five Year Plan was declared in Yugoslavia, a Three Year Plan was proclaimed in Hungary, Two Year Plans in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, and One Year Plan in Albania. After the founding of The Council to which Yugoslavia was not invited, Five Year Plans were declared in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia (1949-1953), Hungary and Poland (1950-1954), Romania and Eastern Germany (1951-1955), and were based on the same premises as the Yugoslav (1947-1952) and the first Soviet Five Year Plan (1928-1933) (See Obradović, 1995, pp.103-104).

[3] According to Dedijer, forming join companies in the field of industry was one of the reasons of the Soviet conflict with China, and later with the other Eastern European countries as well (see ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol. 1, pp.117-118; and Feitö, 1971, pp.154, 369-371).

share in holding the power. The Soviet terms were unacceptable, yet, in an agricultural country such as Yugoslavia, Soviet aid was necessary for the building of industry. The CPY was obviously looking for some other form of cooperation, and in that regard, Kardelj's March meeting with Stalin was an unexpected success. Halfway through debating the joint companies' issue, Stalin suddenly stopped insisting on his previous requests. His new standpoint was:

"What would it be like not to form new joint companies at all, but for us to help you, to give you one aluminium factory, one metal factory, and to help you in drilling for and refining oil? It is clear that joint-venture companies are not an adequate form of cooperation with an allied and friendly country such as Yugoslavia. There would always be disputes, in a way, the independence of the country would suffer and friendly relations would become corrupted. Those kinds of firms are convenient for satellite countries (…). We will give you all that on credit, help you with the workforce, specialists, and some of it you will pay in money, or however you can (…) We still have to get something from you too". (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, pp.120-1)

Both sides agreed that Soviet aid in building Yugoslav industry was to be given in credit loans. In the following month, the Law of the Five Year Plan was declared and publicly celebrated on 1 May 1947. Simultaneously, the Yugoslav government had declined the Marshall Plan, as did the other Eastern European countries. After that, the credit loans with the USSR were signed and foreign trade was predominantly directed toward the Eastern Bloc. The Cominform was created in September 1947 in Poland, establishing its future base in Belgrade, offering the first official post-war political partnering between communist parties, and proclaiming that the world was divided in two opposing blocks: the democratic and the imperialistic (see ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol. 1, pp.161-165). By the end of the year, the mutual contracts of friendship and cooperation were signed among the Eastern Bloc countries, implying their military cooperation in case of war. Yet at the same time, it remained uncertain whether the Yugoslav economy would develop in the way the CPY had planned, because it became unclear if the funds Stalin had promised were going to be invested.

At the beginning of December 1947, the Secretary of the Yugoslav Foreign Trade Ministry Bogdan Crnobrnja left for Moscow to renew the trade agreements that were due to expire by April 1948. He was left there waiting for nearly two months (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, pp.188-9). On 20 January 1948, he was finally received, only to find that the contract promised was merely verbal. Two weeks later, Kardelj left for Moscow again. This time, Stalin issued him with two ultimatums in two days: on 10 February, the foundation of a Yugoslav-Bulgarian Federation; and on 12 February, the signing of a contract for obligatory consultations on foreign political issues (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, pp.168-75, 185-7). Stalin was dissatisfied with Kardelj's indecisiveness. On 26 February, the Soviet Ministry of Trade declared the trade agreements would be delayed until December 1948. From that moment on, Soviet economic pressure was turning into a full-blown Yugoslav economic crisis. In March, Soviet military and civilian experts were withdrawn from Yugoslavia and the facts of the Yugoslav-Soviet conflict were exposed internationally. By mid-1948 when the first Cominform Resolution was declared, Yugoslavia found itself in a situation of total political and economic isolation from the Eastern and the Western Blocs simultaneously.

The framework of the Soviet criticism was that "the class struggle cannot be felt", as there was "a substantial growth of capitalist elements in Yugoslav villages" (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, pp.204-5). The CPY was also held responsible for "a non-programmatic approach to Party leadership". Apparently, its last congress had been held in 1928. By 1948, the CPY had already introduced a series of economic and cultural measures in accordance with Soviet practice, yet Yugoslav and Soviet systems still differed a great deal. Along with the state-owned (*državni*) and the co-operative (*zadružni*), the 1946 FPRY Constitution still allowed the private (*privatni*) economic sector. As for the cultural field, Socialist Realism was encouraged by Yugoslav art critics; however, the standpoints of Yugoslav cultural field officials, architects in particular, were ambiguous. In 1947, there were several competitions for designing Yugoslav government buildings, but the formal characteristics of submitted projects still fell into two distinct categories: some resembled Modernism, others, Socialist Realism. In fact, both were equally accepted and discussed by juries (Blagojević, 2007, pp.56-188). However, in a matter of weeks after the Soviet criticism, a new Party line was established. In a plenary meeting held on the 12th and 13th of April, the CPY abandoned the path of a people's democracy and posed the concepts of class struggle and of the socialist character of the Yugoslav revolution. The changes in the legislative and the public economic field were immediate. On 28 April 1948, the Nationalization Law was revised, abolishing all industrial companies that were still privately owned. On 20 May, the Party decided not to take part in the second Cominform meeting scheduled for June, thereby avoiding a public confession of guilt and instead announced the holding of the Fifth Congress on 21 July. The CPY also did not abandon the idea of the Plan, yet because of the economic sanctions, its further implementation would have to be based on domestic resources only, that is, on the private sector. As "a complete liquidation of capitalist assets in the industrial production field" had already been conducted (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, p.58), in accordance with the Soviet criticism, the class struggle and internal enemy issues related to the peasants. Simultaneously, the building of the Cooperative Centres (*Zadružni domovi*) began, giving architecture a new, crucial role in building socialism.

THE PRACTICE: THE BUILDING OF FARMING COOPERATIVE CENTRES

Josip Broz Tito gave the initiative for building Cooperative Centres in December 1947 (Bajalica, 1948; ed. Krunić, 1948). At the same time, Crnobrnja had left for Moscow and Soviet economic pressure was starting to take place. This investment was not provided for – the Plan presented detailed building funds and in certain domains even the exact number of buildings was specified. Yet the document contained no data about building the Centres either by numbers or by the scope of the investment. The building started on April, and after the Congress was announced in May, it continued in the form of a so-called "pre-congress competition". To this day, let alone 1948, this was one of the largest mass building actions in Yugoslavia: the task was to build 4,000 units.

The social significance of the Centres was constantly stressed at the time and it was closely linked to their architectural programme. The buildings consisted of two integrated parts: the agricultural-administrative (*Zadruga* – Farming Cooperative Office) and the cultural-educational section (*Dom kulture* – Cultural Centre). The presumptions behind the given partition were the following. Firstly, by building such architectural works, the material base for future development of the farming cooperative sector and Yugoslav agriculture would be created. New facilities would accommodate the exchange of industrial and agricultural products and, therefore, provide the newest technical advancements for agricultural production (Govor potpretsednika Savezne vlade Edvarda Kardelja, 1948). Secondly, the

cultural and ideological development of the masses would be improved. By building new theatres and libraries, peasants would find "knowledge, art, scientific and cultural entertainment, as well as necessary resting places" (Brajović, 1948, pp.28-29). The claim that providing technical equipment would improve agricultural development is indisputable; however, in the present economic conditions, there was nearly nothing to exchange (see Pavlović, 1997, pp.48-50). The purpose of the Plan itself was to improve industrial development, that is, to produce more machines. Accomplishing this goal by foreign trade was not possible at this point. Therefore, what was really implied in the above theses was that the mere building of the Centres would increase the use of mechanization, improve agricultural production and initiate cultural development. Clearly, this is hardly sustainable anywhere, not to mention Yugoslavia in 1948, and equalling architectural works to a "material base" was a rather literal interpretation of Marx's thought, particularly in times when there were no funds to cover the expense of building that material base itself.

As has been said, the federal government made the decision about the number of buildings "after considering the material and financial possibilities" (Bajalica, 1948, p.6). However, those central funds were unlikely to cover any of the necessary material requirements for this mass enterprise, the general recommendation was to collect local resources first (Borba, March 29, 1948). The State provided certain amounts of steel, glass, cement, and timber, but the rest of the construction material, namely, sand, stone, lime and bricks had to be manufactured and sourced locally due to the shortage of gas near construction sites. Having to build 4,000 units simultaneously in a matter of months also implied having a great number of trained construction workers that post-war Yugoslavia did not have. Considering the fact that they had to be found immediately, some were trained on crash-courses and others had to learn the trade while on-the-job. In many cases, there was no time to wait for federal funds at all and the building started without any external help. The work was expected to be done exclusively by peasants anyway as the moving power of the masses and their initiative was broadly counted upon.

Cooperative Centres were designed according to a specific typology. The villages were first divided into eight categories by number of inhabitants, and based on that, eight types of projects were made. Such partition was supposed to bring new edifices into accord with each village's economic strength. The assumption was, in contrast to urban areas, rural settlements' economic power could be directly linked to the number of inhabitants. That is, the more fertile the land, the more people would live there (Kojić, 1973, p.134). However, in 1946, all agricultural fields larger than 30 hectares (medium sized) had already been collectivized and joined to state-held farming cooperatives - the majority of villages were small and, by the given criteria, undeveloped (Petranović, 1980, p.512; Kojić, 1973, p.151). The mass building of the Centres and their eight group sub-division was meant to be undertaken in those areas specifically. For regions known to be fertile, such as the fields of Vojvodina, there were ninth and tenth so-called "Super Types" of Centres of a larger capacity and with specific programmes (ed. Krunić, 1948). Consequently, the flaws of the given typology were transferred to the Centres' architectural programme and were most noticeable when relating to their cultural section.

Depending on a village's size, the architects were supposed to design eight types of buildings. The given programmatic elements were the same for all types, differing only in the number of rooms and capacity. The administrative part consisted of one to two stores and service warehouses, one to four offices and one warehouse for storing agricultural products. As for the cultural section, the dominant programmatic element was a so-called multipurpose hall intended for theatrical plays, films and larger gatherings. The first typological inadequacy could be found in the case of the halls. They were supposed to have 200 seats for type I to 550 seats for type VIII. Considering a fifty-seat difference was too small for halls to be classified into different typological categories, the attempts to do so were abortive. They were designed schematically, with the number of seats only approximate to those required by the programme or not even drawn on the blueprints. The other cultural features were of a secondary character. For the first six types only a reading room was required, and only for the last two types a library, both 30m^2. The last four types also had one or two "rooms for cultural needs" of 20m^2. As for service facilities, all types had a projectionist's cabin and a coatroom for the audience, named "a small coatroom" for the first four types. The circulation areas were not defined and the programme contained no data about any other spaces necessary, thus, in most projects, even the sanitary facilities were not drawn in, or they were added to the buildings' exterior later.

According to the statements of the architects at the time, the cultural section of the Centres was supposed to be "the focus of the cultural revolution of our peasantry" (Macura, 1948, p.28). Yet, the programme was given only in general terms and, consequently, their projects were of the same character. The task of preparing the whole enterprise in a matter of months also left no time for gathering the elementary, economic or technical data. The cadastral registers were not used in the design process (Pivac, 1951, p.111), and even if they had been, they would have been useless, again, due to the typology. Likewise, the final, detailed designs were never made. The construction started by functionally unfinished and technically unmarked first drafts on a 1:200 scale, and although the members of the Engineers and Technicians Society of Yugoslavia (ETSY) had "made the decision to make detailed projects, along with the first drafts" (Macura, 1948, p.27), the rush of a pre-congress competition made those detailed projects remain only a single proposal.

In total, seventy-five projects of different types were accepted, forty-seven of which were for mass construction, and the rest belonged to the "specific" category. As has been said, the tradesmen and engineers had given their best in building Cooperative Centres. Trade Union members worked on construction sites "instead of taking their vacations" and the architects designed the projects for free, taking on the obligation of surveying the construction process by working overtime (Krunić, 1949, p.99). However, the participation of experts was not decisive in any way, because once the building started, the typology according to which the projects were initially made, as well as those projects themselves, was completely neglected. Choosing if and where they were going to be built was neither a typology matter nor the architects' concern.

The key role of preparing and organizing the building process was given to Party Committees of the Districts (*Srez*), who were the guardians of Party politics and Plan implementation at the regional level. Along with Cooperative Committees and "the support of the People's Government and Popular Front", the District representatives organized the supply and production of construction material, and had the power to decide in which villages and sites the construction would take place (Bajalica, 1948, pp.7-8). Those forty-seven designs the architects had made were mere catalogues for them to choose from. As a result, the only connection the Centres still had to the word "typology", if any, was that some of them were chosen to be built more than once.

Dragomir Simić's Project

In the words of Jovan Krunić, the criteria for choosing a project were the following: the need for more buildings of a smaller capacity; the inexpensiveness (a smaller quantity of material required); a good organization of the ground plan; and "one important factor was also architectural treatment of the building, that is, its attractiveness" (Krunić, 1949, p.107). The first claim, however, only partially factual – in Serbia, two thirds of villages were small, and types I, IV and VIII were built the most (Table 1). Apparently, large units were more expensive to build, but seemingly, they were quite attractive as well. The average number of sites per project was thirty, however, not all designs were equally popular. An unknown architect, Dragomir Simić, was the absolute winner of the Serbian pre-congress competition, although he later only received an honorary mention. His design was chosen to be built 132 times, while three other projects never saw the light of day; Rajko Tatić, an eminent pre-war Serbian-national style architect, designed one of them (Table 2).

Table 1. The number of construction sites per type

Type	Sites
I	916
IV	636
VIII	570
III	212
II	170
V	118
VII	81
VI	31

Table 2. The number of construction sites per author

	Type	Architect	Sites
1	IV	Dragomir Simić	132
2	I	Dimitrije Marinković	120
3	V	Sima Papkov	118
4	VII	Nikola Gavrilović	81
5	VIII	Miodrag Miličević	79
6	VIII	Sima Papkov	79
7	III	Nedeljko Pešić	75
8	II	Nikola Gavrilović	50
9	IV	Jovan Krunić	44
10	I	Dobrosav Pavlović	41
11	IV	Petar Petrušević	36
12	I	Branislav Marinković	35
13	II	Nedeljko Pešić	35
14	I	Ljudmila Krat	33
15	VIII	Nikola Lalić	32
16	III	Aleksandar Šegvić	31
17	VI	Tehn. Sergije Vihrov	31

Simić's project belonged to the type IV of Centres, and in it there were certain differences to the given programme. The hall had 255 out of 350 seats required along with the reading room; there was a library, which was not required for this type. The architect apparently neglected the typology and found an average programmatic solution that contained all the features Cooperative Centres could have had. This was the first and the last programme revision he made.

If Simić's design is compared to the other projects of the type IV, the application of the second and third (economic and functional) principle Krunić mentioned becomes clearer. In other designs, ground plans were more developed; therefore, the circulation areas occupied much space, but considering the number of seats required for type IV halls, this was functionally justified (Figure 1). Yet in Simić's project, the audience areas were kept to an absolute minimum, in fact, one could almost claim there were not any (Figure 2).

Although a foyer for at least 200 people was necessary, it was not included in the design. The visitors were supposed to enter the hall through a porch and a vestibule of 12m^2 all together. The stage area was under-developed, with no coatrooms, and in the case of a theatrical play, the actors would have to enter the stage directly from outside. The situation in the administrative part was similar. The users were supposed to enter the office directly from

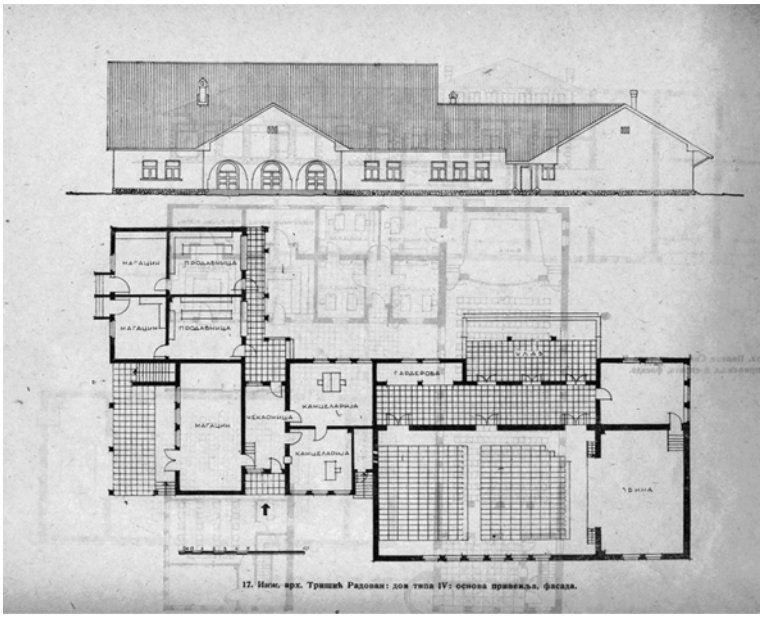


Figure 1. Radovan Tršić, Kolkhoz Centre of the IV type, elevation, plan, 1948. Krunić, J. (ed.) (1948) Zadružni domovi: zbirka projekata masovne izgradnje na teritoriji uže Srbije, Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine i Autonomne Kosovsko Metohijske oblasti u 1948. godini. Beograd: Zadružna knjiga, p. 29.

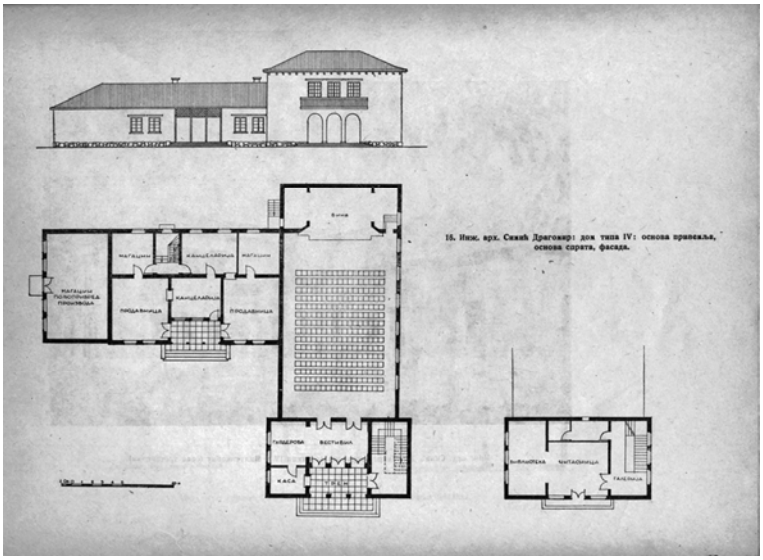


Figure 2. Dragomir Simić, Kolkhoz Centre of the IV type, elevation, plan, first storey, 1948. Krunić, J. (ed.) (1948) Zadružni domovi: zbirka projekata masovne izgradnje na teritoriji uže Srbije, Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine i Autonomne Kosovsko Metohijske oblasti u 1948. godini. Beograd: Zadružna knjiga, p. 27.

the porch and go through it to enter the other one. However, given the programme did not define facilities and circulation areas, although they are required for any architectural design, the architect did not feel any obligation to provide them, and in that regard he made no revision of the programme whatsoever. Thus, if the intention behind the project had been to provide adequate spaces for the administrative and cultural needs of users, its plan would have been graded as unsuccessful. Yet, if the goal had been to build the largest number of units in the shortest period of time, with the minimum quantity of material available, comfortable audience spaces could have been sacrificed. Simić designed the most economical and, therefore, the best plan by which the architectural programme was more than fulfilled. It had literally all the programmatic elements of type IV with a library included; thus the requirements were complied with more than a 100%. The project was perhaps atypical for a certain group of villages, but it was made typical by its success. It was the average, most acceptable solution at the time, and in the circumstances, was of a new, high quality. As for the fourth aspect, the buildings' "attractiveness", that was realized too. The architect achieved a maximum representational quality by the minimal use of formal elements and again, with minimal material requirements. Its prominent side was formed by a second storey balcony exit, placed above the porch framed by arches (Figure 3a, b). At the time, the arched porch was found to be consistent with Yugoslav vernacular architecture and the Socialist-Realist "national in form" concept (Figure 4a, b, c).

Figures 3a and 3b. Dragomir Simić, Kolkhoz Centre of the IV type, exterior view, Omašnica, Trstenik District, 2007. Author's photographic archive

Figure 4a. Village house, Pomoravlje, Serbia. Deroko, A. (1968) Narodno neimarstvo I. Beograd: SANU

Figure 4b. The State Museum, Baku, Azerbaijan. Mac, I. L. (1946) Opštenarodna demokratska načela sovjetske arhitekture, Tehnika, No. 4-5, p. 122

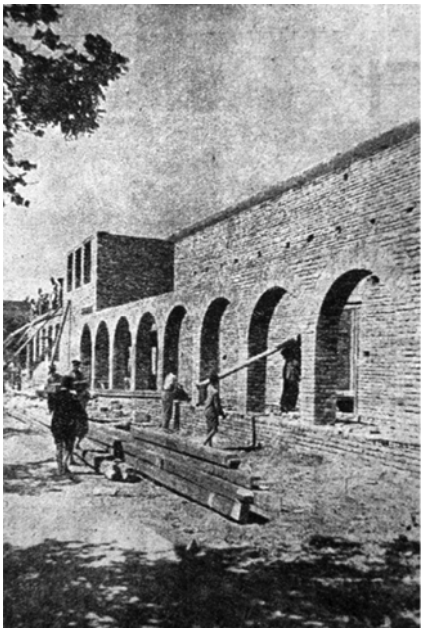


Figure 4c. Kolkhoz Centre, Novi Vrbas, Vojvodina. Krunić, J. (ed.) (1948) Zadružni domovi: zbirka projekata masovne izgradnje na teritoriji uže Srbije, Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine i Autonomne Kosovsko Metohijske oblasti u 1948. godini. Beograd: Zadružna knjiga, p. 77.

The Porch

According to Krunić (1949, p.98), the building of the Centres was tightly connected to the tasks of the Plan. However, according to the Plan, they were never provided for (Borba, May 1, 1947). Furthermore, the whole enterprise was poorly prepared, and once the construction started, an untrained workforce built the units. It was physically impossible for the architects to visit, let alone inspect and survey the building process on each of the 4,000 sites, and alongside the given typology, almost every project had to be adjusted to terrain configuration, locally available material, technical conditions or "the opinions of those, who decided on the spot" (Pivac, 1951, p.111). Those additional adjustments surely used much more time and material, which could have been saved if only a basic analysis had been conducted previously. Apparently, the savings were not a truly decisive factor in the process, and perhaps the appropriate words here would be the rush to build, followed, paradoxically. by wastefulness. So if the primary assumption behind building those units was to adjust their architectural programme to economic conditions of villages in order to initiate the advancement of the Cooperative economy, enforce a cultural revolution, and fulfil the tasks of the Plan, it could be considered either as unsuccessful or as demagogic. From the starting point of planning, through the designing, up to the construction phase, the development of the villages was never taken into any serious consideration, and the whole enterprise was of an unplanned character.

Yet, if the architectural treatment of Cooperative Centres is considered, there is a segment that was typical for all the projects, although it was not required by the programme. Krunić (1949, p.99) mentioned that porches were first supposed to be built in wood in order to mimic vernacular architecture, but due to the shortage of timber, this aspect was also given up on. However, there was no giving up on building porches, they were constructed in brick and concrete that was insufficient for constructing the buildings alone. Evidently, the use of vernacular elements was silently understood among architects, as well as in the building process, although all the economic and organizational conditions for building details like these were extremely unfavourable. Far more important functional aspects were willingly neglected repeatedly, and the porches were not necessary either for construction purposes or by functional requirements, this last is evident from Simić's project. Building these elements surely required more time, money and material, especially when an unqualified workforce was employed (Figure 5). Seemingly, in the case of the porch, whose role was exclusively representational and in accordance with a "national in form, socialist in content" slogan, the economic aspect had suddenly lost key significance. The task was, apparently, to build the largest number of units, with the minimum of means available,

Figure 5. The porch, Veliki Dupci, Rasina District, 2007. Author's photographic archive.

but with specific formal characteristics, all by the time the Congress began. Considering the Congress was a programmatic and referendum-like event, it can be assumed that Centres were built for propaganda purposes. If so, the problem is - what were the porches supposed to propagate in a specific, Yugoslav socio-political context?

THE THEORY: NATIONAL IN FORM, OR *MACHTBILDUNG*

Speaking of Cooperative Centres, Krunić (1949, p.99) claimed the architects were using vernacular forms in order to achieve two goals: they "tried to adjust to people's [*narodna*] architecture by form and to local conditions by material". Macura (1948, p.29) explained the two aspects more thoroughly. Firstly, the Centres were supposed to "gain a suitable character and appearance", since their number "imposed a danger of their resembling standardized, monotonous elements", and therefore "a danger for their architectural value to be below the value which the significance and the role of Cooperative economy presupposes". Secondly, the architects tried to adjust the buildings in appearance as well as by material, to local, namely, geographic and climatic conditions, as well as "certain specificities of people's architecture of certain areas".

Both architects separate the two aspects: "form" and "people's architecture" on the one hand, and "material" and "the local conditions" on the other. The second attempt, adjusting to local conditions by material was inevitable, because the locally available materials had to be used for construction in any case. However, adjusting to aspects of local architecture was not possible, again, due to the given typology. The criterion of the number of inhabitants said nothing of a villages' location or its architecture; hence, the architects could not have known where their projects were going to be built. Therefore, adjusting to local architecture is one matter, but adjusting to "people's architecture by form" in order to express "a suitable character", is something else. Quite another thing was to give those buildings a national form.

According to Bratislav Stojanović (1947-1948, p.14), national forms were coming from the people, therefore, they were the easiest way to bring architecture nearer to the masses and to develop the people's creative forces simultaneously. As Ivan Čolović (1993, p.83) noted, the political vocabulary in which the key word is "the people", combined with invoking folklore, has a familiar intent in mind. In the eyes of the majority, folklore subjects and forms legitimize political and military actions. They "suggest (connote) the idea that the messages and emotions transmitted by that speech are inevitably the echo of the voice, of the expression, of people's will", moreover, "that the sender of the political message is the people itself". Quite similarly, in 1948 Branko Maksimović (1948, p. 75) wrote:

"By creating works of architecture we will learn that they belong to the people and that masses of people rightfully expect of our new architecture to fully express their wishes and aspirations toward a better and more joyful life, to sketch out our path to socialism as clearly as possible."[4]

The intent behind invoking folklore, however, is of a dualistic character. It is used not only to legitimize political projects in the eyes of the people, but also to a foreign audience. By stressing the differences between local tradition and a neighbours' culture it claims political independence; by looking for similarities, it claims the right to a political conjunction into one common state (Čolović, 1993, pp.88-9).

The Soviet case was, as ever, contradictory. The differences of local traditions were not stressed because there was a claim for political separation; on the contrary, they were supposed to create conditions for their merging into one culture. As Greg Castillo noticed (1997, pp.91-6), this was not a mere political proclamation, but Stalin's consciously constructed dialectical logic. It was the expressing of non-Russian peoples' national identity that contrasted and, consequently, propagated Russia's development and progress - its *mission civilatrice* was supposed to encourage them back to join Russia. Stalin's logic was later transferred to the theory of Socialist Realism, and in the mid 1930s, the architects were called to apply the idiom "national in form, socialist in content". However, how this aphorism was to be translated into built form was by no means obvious, and the main reason for the confusion lay in the theoretical bases of Socialist Realism itself.

As with all the other Soviet arts, the architecture of Socialist Realism was supposed to be concurrent with Gorky's definition given for literature, by which writers were expected to offer "the truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development" (quoted after Tertz, 1965, p.148). The Statute of The Union of Soviet Architects (1937) stated: "Soviet architecture must aspire to create the edifices that are technically perfect, economical and beautiful, that reflect the joy of socialist life and the greatness of the ideas and goals of our epoch" (quoted after Ostrogović, 1947-1948, p.3). In addition, Andrei Zhdanov explained the way of achieving these goals. The artists were supposed to use "various means" in choosing "the best of what *all* the previous epochs have *ever* created" (Ždanov, 1934, p.181). According to the upper broad definitions, no strict guidelines had been bestowed upon Soviet artists, yet, in the spirit of Stalin's dialectical logic, this did not imply they had enjoyed absolute freedom. Clearly given instructions could have been easily followed, but the fact there were not any opened up broad possibilities for finding artists' "mistakes" whenever there was a new Party line to be implemented. Seemingly, that vast openness gave rise for the absolute freedom of the Party on the one hand, and for total repression for the artists on the other.

However, in literature and the fine arts it was at least known that the motives of building socialism were to be portrayed in realistic form. In architecture, it was by no means clear how to reflect "the joy of socialist life" in formal terms, nor was this ever cleared up in its theory. In fact, the theorists were primarily dedicated to erase any stable grounds for architectural production. Soviet architecture was supposed to use "its shapes, its compositional means of expression, its picturesque language" (Ostrogović, 1947-1948, p.4), but those compositional means were never actually defined. In the early 1930s, during the First Five Year Plan, there was a task of finding the Soviet style; so Ivan Fomin

[4] "Učićemo se da stvarajući arhitektonska dela mislimo na to da ona pripadaju narodu i da narodne mase s pravom očekuju da naša nova arhitektura što punije izražava njihove želje i stremljenja ka boljem i radosnijem životu, da što jasnije ocrtava naš put u socijalizam".

laboured to invent a "Red Doric order", while others opted for historical revivals of Egypt, Pompeii and Renaissance Florence (Castillo, 1997, pp.100-1). Yet at the same time, the theorists claimed Socialist Realism was "not a style but a method" (Kuk, 2000, p.513), and the features of Soviet architecture were not to be pursued in some "formalistic compositional principles", that is, in the styles alone (Ostrogović, 1947-1948, p.5). The finding of the Soviet style was guaranteed for the future, because it was taken as a scientific fact that the same thing had happened before in all great epochs of architecture. This also meant the style could not have been created instantly, it was supposed to grow "organically" and to be in accordance with the epoch of socialism. Like socialism, which was said to be a transitional period toward communism, architecture was in "a difficult period of searching for the new forms" (Ostrogović, 1947-1948, p.5). In the meantime, the basic principle that was supposed to guide the architects was "the critical assimilation of heritage" (Kuk, 2000, p.513), with the key word here being the "critical". The Party's criticism was enabling the architects to catch up with the ever-changing Soviet economic and political measures for their work to remain in accordance with socialist reality in its revolutionary development. Therefore, the Soviet style was never determined, but the architecture of Socialist Realism remained open for further interpretations.

In the second half of the 1930s, after the huge wave of collectivisation, there was a change of ideas. After the delegates of The Second All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers were said to have lobbied for a showplace for collective agriculture, in February 1935 Stalin duly approved the preparations for The All-Union Agricultural Exhibition (Castillo, 1997, pp.100-1). In the course of that action, there was "a determined approach towards national heritage" among architects, who were not looking for a unified (national) style anymore, but for an architecture unified with "the traditions of the vernacular building and the national forms of the peoples of the USSR" (Mac, 1946, p.120). Thereby, the theoretical base of Soviet architecture was redefined, as it was now a part of "a multinational social organism: unified and socialist in content, and various and national in form" (Mac, 1946, p.120). Yet again, the confusion about what constituted a national heritage was well founded, because, if for no other reason, Azerbaijani architects were being exhorted to learn from the treasure of native tradition, while their millennial shrine of Bibi Eyat outside Baku was dynamited as a part of a road construction project (Castillo, 1997, pp.100-1). Nevertheless, this time, the call for national forms was answered persuasively, because the process of their creation was no longer depending on architects themselves, nor was architecture left to develop "organically". For the purposes of the Exhibition, "national forms" were systematically constructed by bringing hundreds of craftsmen from all Soviet republics to Moscow to work with architects. There the vernacular material was cleansed of all nationalistic and religious content until the only thing left was a picturesque residue, which was joined with Soviet symbols and shipped back to the countries of origin in a form of national architecture (Castillo, 1997, pp.107-8). The same thing had happened with the Soviet concept of nationality which, in the words of Laura Olson (2000, pp.3-4), had nothing in common with the one from pre-socialist days. It was allowed to remain because it represented only "form".

The case of post-war Yugoslavia was, again, somewhat different. The vagueness of theoretical claims of Socialist Realism was used by Yugoslav architects in the same manner of giving the interpretations that were currently needed. Although the "national in form" slogan was often stressed, there were no formal distinctions in the Centres across different republics, and although this was mostly because of their building processes, that cannot be interpreted as its sole consequence. Critical discussions and political speeches of the time were typically confusing or equating the terms *narodno* (people's) and *nacionalno* (national) - as Mira Krajgher (1948, p.128) wrote: "Between *people's* artefacts and our contemporary architecture, the culture, socialist in content and *national* in form, is also subjected to the law of development". When writing about Cooperative Centres, the architects were stressing the attempt to "adjust to people's architecture by form" in order to express their character and significance, but there is not a single article in which it was claimed that their *national* character should have been expressed. The fact that the problem of nationality was not verbalized clearly does not imply national issues did not exist in post-war Yugoslavia; quite the contrary. Yet, in theory, as well as in practice, these differences were not made. Unlike in the USSR where the national identity problem was systematically solved, in Yugoslavia the problem was, at least in 1948, systematically *overlooked*.

In the short period allocated to the design process, Yugoslav architects were supposed to find a formula by which the "national in form" slogan was to be quickly applied to built form. The number of units demanded for typical designs, and the way the projects were planned, chosen and built annulled any of their previous character. After all the adjustments made on sites, of the seventy-five initial designs there were literally 4,000 units with every single one of them different from the other. The only one element still typical was "the form" of the porch. The process of cleansing the ideological content was a systemic consequence, but while the Soviet result was achieved by *constructing*, the Yugoslav case was the Soviet version in reverse – *dismantling*. In Soviet architecture, Russia was an "unrepresented" nation, and expressing the differences of the other republics was merely declaratory; in Yugoslavia there were different nationalities that were unrepresented, while the formal architectural *type* remained, it was *narodni* because it was common for the entire country. The one thing that was not produced in practice was the "national in form" concept, it was stressed "formally", as a mere declaration. Still, the whole enterprise was led by a consciously constructed dialectical logic, which had little to do with the problem of nationality because, in a given political moment, this issue was not a major significance.

A Dialectical Logic of Propaganda

On November 1978, Tito spoke of the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute and mentioned that "the USSR was supposed to play a role (…) particularly in using its success for propaganda purposes" (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, p.249). Tito's remark concerned the fact that, starting from 1945, the popularising of the USSR was the corner stone of CPY propaganda (Manojlović Pintar, 2005). Still, the reasons for insisting on the same political demeanour once the conflict had escalated, and in times of economic sanctions, can be interpreted from different standpoints. Firstly, by explaining to whom the propaganda was intended.

Hannah Arendt (1998, pp.350-1) wrote that totalitarian movements exist in a world that is not totalitarian by itself, so they are forced to appeal to propaganda. This activity is always directed to the exterior sphere, either to non-totalitarian layers of the population or to non-totalitarian countries, and whenever a totalitarian doctrine is in conflict with propaganda intended for abroad, it is explained as a "temporary tactical manoeuvre" to those inside. The thesis can be compared to Tito`s quote; supposedly, the intention of the CPY was to use the authority of the USSR inside the country, when it is more likely that, after 1948 at least, it was directed to the outside, back to

the Soviet Union. All the changes made in Yugoslav law and economy were a declaration of consistency to Soviet principles; likewise, by using vernacular elements in Cooperative Centres their Soviet character was intended. On the other hand, the constant invoking of "the people" and "people's forms" speaks enough about to whom the internal aspect of propaganda was intended. However, propaganda purposes do not explain the fact that there were 4,000 Centres in the building process in 1948. It is questionable whether "the language" of architecture, namely, referencing Soviet or folklore forms, could be reason enough for the Party to impose the difficult task of building thousands of buildings on itself, even in political and economic conditions already unfavourable for its staying in power. It appears the presumable role of the architecture of Socialist Realism does not end completely if taken solely in the post-modern sense Mikhail Epstein (1998) wrote about, respectively.

According to Arendt (1998, p. 369, 371), the real goal of totalitarian propaganda is not persuading, but organizing, the accumulation of power (*Machtbildung*). The masses are not conquered by a momentary success of demagogy, but by "a visible reality" and "the power of living organization". The ideology cannot be either "transferred" or "taught", but only "exercised" and "practiced". As Kardelj argued at the Fifth Congress, the important feature of the Yugoslav public economy's socialist transformation was "creating an organizational form and a material technical base which would change the small-self soul of a peasant day-to-day" (V kongres KPJ i zadružne organizacije, 1948). The significance of new farming cooperative economies in achieving that goal was stressed by Aleksandar Ranković, Interior Affairs Minister, who claimed they presented "a very convenient form through which the Party (…) practically helps the masses (…) to mobilize against capitalist elements in the villages" (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.1, p.383). After that, Dimitrije Bajalica (1948, p.8), the Secretary of the Farming Cooperative Economy Committee, said the Centres themselves were "a material technical base" for achieving socialism in the countryside, a base which "with proper organizational-propaganda work (…) will help the masses to persuade themselves by their own experience of the need and the necessity of that road for a better and happier life". That was also the long-term significance of those buildings: "Mere building of Centres (…) creates new organizers and managers of public economy, raises the faith in the power of association and enforces the consciousness of Cooperative members".

As it happens, these were not merely political proclamations. If it had been propaganda only, in all probability there would have been no need for building 4,000 units in the given economic conditions. However, the lack of funds was not the failing point of the whole process, but a prerequisite, its driving power, enforced by the task of building thousands of units simultaneously. By *not* providing the material and the funds required, the Party was mobilising all the material and human resources available. The engineers were designing (although their projects were not followed); the tradesmen were sent to villages (although their help was of minor significance); but most importantly, the peasants were gathering, producing material and building the units. The action had mobilized all the levels of society to mass labour, and they were doing it *pro bono*, out of their own resources - after all, they were said to be building for themselves anyway. Contrary to other arts, the one feature architecture could provide in the whole process was a "living organization", with its key focus shifted from "the buildings" to "the people", and through it, the Party was practicing the same dialectical Soviet model it was criticized for not being consistent with. On the one hand, this showed people's support to the outside. As Bajalica (1948, p.8) stressed just before the Congress: "Millions of work hours given [by masses of people] in this pre-congress competition speak of (…) their love for the Party". Yet more importantly, the Soviet criticism left the Party unsure of the people's responses. It was in a position of preserving power and, as Yugoslav representatives argued themselves, while the CPY was organizing, the people were practicing and learning. Their involvement in the act of building gave the Centres a character no architect or form could ever manage to express - a didactic one. To paraphrase Slavoj Žižek's (1999, p.28) insight, the most elementary definition of ideology was given by Marx: they did not *know* it, they were *doing* it (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Peasants on construction site, Novi Vrbas, Vojvodina, 1948. Učešće sekcije arhitekata Beograda DIT-a NR Srbije u akciji izgradnje zadružnih domova (1949) Tehnika, No. 2-3, p. 97.

The Building of Socialist Realism

A small number of Centres were finished before the Congress. For example, in the Nisus district thirty-eight were under construction, but by July 1948 only three of them were roofed, and the walls were almost finished on two (Bajalica, 1948, p.7). Yet, the mere fact construction had started was more than enough for the Party to make a number of consecutive assumptions. The material base was set; therefore, the building of the new socialist society had already begun. In Bajalica's words before the Congress (1948, p. 8):

"By building the Cooperative Centres with their libraries and reading rooms, the conditions of the kolkhoz villages of the great country of socialism have are being created in our countryside too. The Centres are going to become lighthouses which will constantly light up our villages with rays of socialism, and on the base of science of Marxism-Leninism, and using the 30-year- experience of the Soviet Union, in our conditions help create a new, socialist countryside."

By the same principle, the Centres' strongpoint in practice, or rather, in reality, along with their formal side, was used for declaring that Socialist Realism is dominant in Yugoslav architecture. In his Congress speech, Radovan Zogović (1948, p.56), a leader of the Serbian agitprop department, condemned "decadence and formalism" of Modern architecture and claimed Socialist Realism is more appropriate for building a new, socialist society. This was the first official proclamation of Socialist Realism in the post-war period by a political authority. As Maksimović (1947-1948, pp.15-16) wrote, the same happened in the USSR in the 1930s, it was those "gigantic tasks of planned building" that posed new conditions "for building architecture on solid, healthy bases", and for rejecting tendencies which were "rooted in capitalism, in the deterioration of architecture, and turning it into a bare technicism".

The Party's proclamations were then followed by an institutional reply: the October Resolution of the Second Congress of ETSY stated that the architects accept the Central Committee's directives and concluded:

"To discard notions of architecture brought down to a mere solving of the utilitarian, narrow-technical components as in capitalist countries, and to demand the correct fulfilment of functional component and artistic-ideological component of an architectural work at the same instance. (…)

To devote all the attention necessary to

acquainting, studying, evidencing, conserving and publicizing research results of the architectural heritage of our past.[5] (Rezolucija sekcije arhitekata na II. Kongresu inženjera i tehničara Jugoslavije, 1948)"

After that, while speaking of the Centres in April 1949, Krunić (1949, p.99) made the following rationalization:

"If someone would think that the projects of our Cooperative Centres are not "contemporary", because they do not have any windows and flat roofs, then we would respond that the measure of contemporariness and quality of their form is not the use of elements of Western-European grasping of things, but the use of elements that are a real expression of our possibilities and needs, which are in their scope, and which are in the service of the broadest strata of the working masses. Such architecture is a document and an expression of its time and, therefore, is quality architecture. And not only that, the enormity and the broadest significance of this action, which cannot even be imagined in a bourgeois society should be emphasized as well, its breadth and general usefulness for people implies the socialist content of our architecture. From the standpoint of form, it is a contribution to the process of creating the expression of Socialist Realism which has begun."[6]

Before they were even built, the Centres were proof that the reality was "accurately shown" by which, as Karel Teige (1977, pp.305-6) wrote in his definitions of Socialist Realism, they immediately drew "a positive assessment of the formal side", and showed "evidence of perfection in its realization". Moreover, that same formal side was proof that they *are* Socialist Realism, without mentioning, of course, the detail of "national in form".

Paradoxically, the architectural practice itself provided a material base for political propaganda, but it managed to establish new theoretical claims about and upon itself only through it. In addition, the politics-practice-theory concept of building Socialist Realism in Yugoslav architecture was just a starting point for the other arts. The pre-congress competition was referring to photographers, artists and art students as well, as they were all sent to construction sites throughout Yugoslavia. Consequently, there was a thematic change in Yugoslav painting also, the motifs of People's Liberation War were swiftly set aside by motifs of building the new socialist society (Figure 7a, b, c, d). The most distinguished case of that process was the sudden star-status of previously unknown painter Boža Ilić (Merenik, 2001, pp. 21-47). At the end of 1948, his *Probing the Terrain of New Belgrade* was a huge success, and is considered a canonical example of Socialist Realism in Yugoslav fine arts to this day.

The Year 1949

In Arendt's words (1998, p.370), totalitarian leaders choose elements from reality to isolate and generalize them until they construct a world that can be on equal terms with the real one. However, they constantly add the power of organization to the weak and unreliable voice of their arguments, and the more their power is resisted by the outside, the stronger is the terror on the inside.

In December 1948, the Soviets declared the trade agreements were not going to be renewed at all and it became clear that political and economic relations with the USSR were not going to be improved no matter what the CPY did (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.2, pp. 4-6, 20-21, 673). In 1949, for the first time after the war, the media image relating to the USSR started to change. The number of favourable articles was decreasing as border incidents with the eastern neighbours were increasing; and along with their first culmination in March, the first critical articles were published (Dobrivojević and Miletić, 2004). Yet, even though the popularising of the USSR was stopped, the implementation of Soviet methods did not; in fact, it was enforced even more. In January, after the Second Plenum of the CPY, the Yugoslav economy was reoriented again (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.2, pp.13-16), but contrary to the previous impulsive manner of handling things, the mobilization of the workforce and the liquidation of kulaks as a class acquired a planned approach. The

Figure 7a. The building of the New Belgrade, 1948. Dobrović, N. (1948) Izgradnja Novog Beograda, Jugoslavija SSSR, No. 33, p. 8.

Figure 7b. Frano Baće, Skice sa Omladinske pruge (Sketches of the Youth Railroad), 1947. Likovni umjetnici iz NRH na omladinskoj pruzi (1947-1948) Arhitektura, No. 4-6, p. 53.

Figure 7c. Ismet Mujezinović, Mješalica (The Cement Mixer), 1948. Jugoslavija SSSR (1948), No. 30, second unnumbered page.

Figure 7d. Boža Ilić, Sondiranje terena na Novom Beogradu (Probing the Terrain of New Belgrade), 1948.

[5] Odbaciti shvatanja o arhitekturi koja se svode na puko rešavanje utilitarnih uskotehničkih komponenata, kako se to pojavljuje u kapitalističkim zemljama, i tražiti, da se u isti čas pravilno udovolji funkcionalnoj komponenti i umetničko idejnoj komponenti arhitektonskog dela. (...) Posvetiti svu pažnju upoznavanju, izučavanju, snimanju, konzerviranju i objavljivanju rezultata proučavanja našeg arhitektonskog nasleđa iz prošlosti.

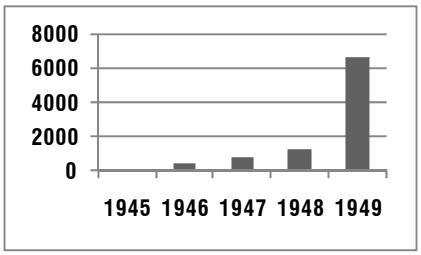
[6] Ako bi se nekome činilo da projekti naših zadružnih domova nisu "savremeni", jer nemaju prozora i ravne krovove, onda bi tu odgovorili da merilo savremenosti i kvaliteta forme nisu upotreba elemenata zapadnoevropskog shvatanja, nego upotreba elemenata koji su realan izraz naših mogućnosti i potreba i koji su u njihovoj razmeri, a koji su u službi najširih slojeva radnih masa. Takva arhitektura dokument je i izraz svoga vremena, a samim tim i kvalitetna arhitektura. Ne samo to, ovde treba istaći ogromnost i najširi značaj ove akcije, koji se ne može ni zamisliti u buržoaskom društvu, a čija širina i opšte narodna korist znači socijalističku sadržinu naše arhitekture. Sa gledišta forme, ona je doprinos u započetom procesu stvaranja izraza socijalističkog realizma.

number of Farming Cooperatives started to rise right after Kardelj (1948, p.7) quoted Stalin's "successes achieved should not make us dizzy nor put us to sleep" at the Fifth Congress; however, after the Plenum their number increased by 600% in 1949 (Table 3, Graph 1).

Table 3. The number of Farming Cooperatives in Yugoslavia, 1945-1949.

Year	Farming cooperatives at the end of the year	Farming cooperatives found
1945	31	31
1946	454	423
1947	808	354
1948	1.318	510
1949	6.625	5.307

Petranović, B. (1980) Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1978. Beograd: Nolit, p. 450, 515.



Graph 1. The number of Farming Cooperatives in Yugoslavia, 1945-1949.

With a reality base now set and left behind, no material sources left and no obligation to respond to anyone, mobilization *per se* was the goal. In 1949, the system was organizing the only thing it had left - the people.

THE U-TURN: TAKING ON A NEW FORM OF SOCIALISM

By November 1949, Stalin was still persisting in his accusations; only this time, he was aiming at the intensifying negotiations between the CPY and the West (ed. Dedijer, 1980, vol.2, pp.535-9). In December, the first trade and loan agreements were signed with Great Britain and the USA, and simultaneously, Kardelj (Govor druga Edvarda Kardelja na svečanom zasedanju slovenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1949) declared "from now on (…) science is free". From then on, there was an economic and cultural reorganization perhaps even more revolutionary than the one in 1945. In June 1950, the Party decentralized itself, and in July, it proclaimed the first self-management act. This led to a u-turn in all public fields. The First Conference of Architects and Urban Planners of the FPRY was held in November. The architects confessed their errors from the previous period, stating, among other things, that the Centres were an expensive and luxurious way of building, not suitable for the given land and climatic conditions or their functional requirements. As for Socialist Realism, it was not mentioned even once, its abandonment was silently understood behind Krunic's words (1950, p. 170, 175) such as that "our architectural expression is *specific in form*", and "we think that it is unworthy, illogical and utterly absurd to literally copy ready-made architectural expressions or urban planning formulas". Socialist Realism became a pejorative term in the subsequent years marked by residential architecture and Modernism, while previously unfinished government buildings were being dressed in the new, Western fashion (Kulić, 2007). The systematic dismantling was happening once again, and as all recent "results" were being erased, a new form of socialism was adopted. Those legacies were followed until Tito's death in 1980 when the whole process started again, only in a post-modern epoch that transmitted a new "language" for expressing national tendencies (Lujak, 2010; Živančević, 2008). However, those were only formal adjustments; the urban planning methods were still exactly the same (Bajić Brković, 2002), and the political circumstances have remained an important factor in architectural practice to this day (Đokić and Nikezić, 2007). It is reasonable to ask if it were the events of 1948 that posed a material base for the socialist-realist approach of always finding out different forms, while an underlying method of doing so remained essentially *soviet*.

As for the Centres, after 1950 they were not built anymore - many were left unfinished or their "socialist content" was changed (Ilić, 1969; Nikolić and Ivanišević, 1970). Some were used as cinemas and village schools; numerous others became warehouses, or they were simply left abandoned, becoming monuments of the time when, politically, they had served their purpose, and when their socialist role, once promised, was never fulfilled.

CONCLUSION

Contrary to the common interpretations by which the events of 1948 were the starting point of the so-called "de-Stalinisation" of the CPY and therefore the "decentralisation" of Yugoslav economy and culture (see Lasić, 1970, p. 269), it is more likely the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute initiated a shift toward enforcing the Soviet model even more thoroughly. Moreover, it appears it were the Soviet methods that helped construct a new thesis, of "the third way" of Yugoslav socialism. The role of architecture in the process was crucial. Architectural practice was the material basis for building socialism, not necessarily for the development of the Yugoslav economy, but for mobilising the people for fulfilling the Party's political interests and the constructing of its ideological discourse. In that regard, the buildings themselves were functional in many aspects except one - the usefullness for the people they were said to be built for. The transformation of Yugoslav architecture towards Modernism after 1950 was again made in accordance with the change in the Party politics, which still left it in the realm of the theory of Socialist Realism. It was still *the reflection* of the ever developing, and therefore, ever changing socialist society. Because of that, the question remains: was "the third way" of Yugoslav architecture, namely Socialist Modernism or Socialist Aestheticism, simply a part of the official political construction that hid the fact it was still Soviet in content and modernist only in form?

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COMPATIBILITY, ADAPTABILITY AND USE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF GROUND FLOOR HOUSES IN 19th CENTURY TOWN PLANNING – CASE STUDY SUBOTICA

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A lack of knowledge of the history of architecture and town planning in the 19th century resulted in underrated regard towards this historic period and consequently in a devastation of urban and architectural heritage of the 19th century. This research was intended to clarify some segments of the history of architecture and town planning in the 19th century based on the example of Subotica. Research has shown that the basic types of ground floor houses built during the 19th century in Subotica were mutually compatible and that by a simple addition of rooms on the simple base house, more complex base houses could be built. In the same way rural houses could also be transformed into urban ones.

This pattern allowed for utmost rationality of the construction of individual houses as well as of the whole town. The town, due to the application of compatible house plans, reflected a semblance of order which improved year on year, because every house at any given moment represented a finished structure. Simple attachment of building parts also allowed the houses that were located in the middle of the lot to be elongated to the street regulation line. Compatible house plans, as an auxiliary means, facilitated the application of building rules, the realisation of regulation plans and provided continuous development of the town of Subotica in the period of over 150 years.

***Key words:** architecture, residential buildings typology, urban planning, Subotica, 19th century.*

INTRODUCTION

A recent research of the 19th century residential architecture in Vojvodina mostly defined the basic types of residential buildings, both rural and urban. A comparison with the architecture of other areas in the Pannonian Plain clearly reveals that this architecture was not only characteristic of Vojvodina (Barabás and Gilyén, 2004; Fulga, 2009), but also of the entire lowlands. Certain architectural types can also be found in much wider areas, which always brings us to the question of how these types of structures were built and above all why. Explanations are usually based on polemics about the available building material, construction techniques known in a particular historical period, the local way of living etc. These explanations however raise a number of new questions such as: why were the same types of houses built with various materials and in different architectural styles, or why did the people of different professional orientation and very different personal needs, ranging from peasants and farmers to intellectual elite, build the same types of houses. The reason for this phenomenon must have had much more serious and deeper causes that were not based on the whim of current fashion trends, or insufficient technical knowledge. An analysis of residential buildings built in Subotica during the 19th century shows that the architecture was largely subordinated to the urban planning of towns and settlements; it was a model of how a collective contribution of all citizens formed arranged towns and settlements.

The research of mutual relations between certain types of houses showed that all applied architectural types of houses were compatible with one another and that complex base houses were formed by a simple addition of rooms to simple base houses, which was widely practised. Such architecture contributed greatly to the constant and continuous development of structures, towns and settlements, and equally well supported the crisis and the periods of rapid economic growth, at the same time managing rationality and flexibility in town construction, as well as urban arrangement and aesthetic. Compatible house plans and the manner of their application in urban planning contributed to the sustainable development of towns of the 19th century.

ANALYSIS OF THE COMPATIBILITY AND ADAPTABILITY OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF 19th CENTURY GROUND FLOOR HOUSES IN SUBOTICA

Transformation from the two room rural house to the three room rural house

A detailed review of several thousand house plans that have been stored in the Historical

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Figure 1. Ground floor plans of different type of ground floor houses in Subotica built in 19th century showing transformation lines from simplest two room rural house to most developed types of urban ground floor houses

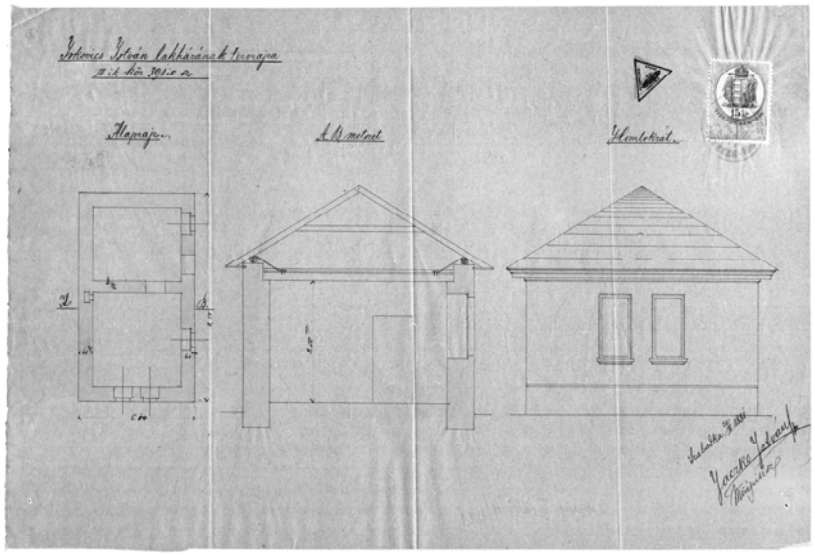

Figure 2. Plan of Stipan Ivković's two room house built in 1881 (HAS, F:2, ép. eng. III kör 4/1881.)

Archives of Subotica for the period from 1875 to 1914 (Aladžić *et al*., 1997) and plans from previous years identified so far showed that plans of different types of houses built during the 19th century in Subotica were mutually compatible, and that complex ground-floor houses and multi-storey houses could be built by a simple addition of premises to the simplest rural two room house type. Thanks to this way of building, every house owner contributed to urban regulations and planning by directly participating in it with remodellings, additions or construction of their houses.

Based on the preserved building plans, it is evident that in the period from 1778 to 1878, the highest number of building permits was submitted for renovation or upgrading of existing buildings. Every owner made efforts to take all the advantages of the existing structures and to incorporate in the newly planned building as many parts of the old house as possible. Demolition of the existing house in order to build a new one in its place was quite rare, and more often occurred in the last two decades of the 19th century, due to the rapid economic growth that Subotica experienced towards the end of the century, thanks to the introduction of the railroad in 1869.

The simplest house-type built in Subotica in the 19th century was a two room rural rammed earth house consisting of a room and a kitchen (marked as A1 in Figure 1).[2] The kitchen usually had a vent hood. In front of the fireplace there was an antechamber from which one entered the room, and the roof was pitched, covered with reed, with triangular gables, one of which usually faced the street. Stipan Ivković built this kind of house in 1881 (Figure 2) according to the design made by architect Jaczko István (HAS, F:2, ép. eng. III kör 4/1881).[3] The house was situated in today's 56 Skerlić Street in Subotica. The origins of this kind of two room houses in the Pannonian Plain, as the archaeological research has shown, dates back to the Middle Ages (Benkő, 2009, p. 63–72). South Slavs, fleeing the territories that were occupied by the Turks in the 17th century, settled in the region of Bačka and learned from the natives how to build houses from earth and mud.

The addition of rooms to the two room house base could be performed in length or in width. If the house was lengthened, a stable could be added next to the kitchen (Figure 1 – B1), so that besides people, the livestock, being the main economic support of the household, could also be sheltered in the house. Should another room be added to the two room house towards the inner section of the lot, the result would be the most widespread type of the rural house in Subotica and in the whole region in the 19th century, the so called three room Pannonian house (Figure 1 – C1). The three room Pannonian house is described in several monographs and scientific studies. It consisted of two rooms and a kitchen with a vent hood in-between. As was the case with the two room house, in front of the fireplace with the vent hood there was an antechamber from which the entrance led to the rooms. A triangular gable faced the street and the room overlooking the street was the so-called "clean room." The house was situated adjacent to the neighbour's lot with the blind wall facing the neighbour and the north as much as possible (Barabás and Gilyén, 2004; Peruničić, 1958; Aladžić, 2009 – b).

[2] Figure 1 shows house bases that the author copied/redrew from the original house plans. The size of individual foundations is not completely but only partially mutually coordinated due to the inability to determine the exact dimensions of the houses, since they are not even mentioned in some projects, and furthermore a different ratio and units of measurement were used in different periods. Based on the presented approximate dimensions, it is still possible to draw conclusions regarding the mutual compatibility of houses, and especially based on plans which show the additions to simple base houses to make a more complex base house. The markings of the original project, deposited in the Fund 2 of the Historical Archives in Subotica, are written under each drawing. The newly planned houses and parts of the houses are marked in red as in original plans, the existing parts are in black and the parts intended for demolition are in yellow.

[3] House plans are stored in Fund 2 of the Historical Archives in Subotica (hereafter HAS).

Development of the three room rural house and its transformation into an urban two tract rectangular house

In the 19th century two room houses in Subotica were already very rare. Judging by the shapes of the houses in Kovač's hand-drawn town map from 1778, the two room house was characteristic of Subotica in the 18th century. In the Fund 2 of the Historical Archives of Subotica there are only very few preserved building plans of two room houses from the 19th century. Three room houses were much more frequent. There are several hundred preserved building plans of three room houses in the Historical Archives of Subotica from the 19th century.

Karlo Leopold Kovač's (*Carolum Léopoldum Kovács aliter Kovácsik*) hand-drawn town map (Dubajić, 1991, Figure 7/a) from 1778 was made on the occasion of the declaration of Subotica, in those days the market town Szent Mária, a free royal town Maria Theresiopolis (Bačić, 1998). The map shows the town before the first planned regulations and testifies that Szent Mária was spontaneously settled (Figure 3). With the exception of several formations of row houses and few urban houses erected in the heart of the market town placed at the street regulation line, the majority of houses were arbitrarily located in the middle of the lot, respecting only the orientation of the blind wall of the house towards the north to provide protection against the dominant north wind.

The Statutes of Maria Theresiopolis from 1779 insisted on the creation of the "inner city."[4] According to the first concept, the "inner city" of the town was supposed to be separated from the rural suburb by walls that Karlo Leopold Kovač illustrated in his map from 1778 as a square drawn across the urban tissue, with the indication of the town gates (Aladžić, 2010, p. 22–27).

After the death of Empress Maria Theresa, Emperor Joseph II abolished the counties and privileges of free royal towns; he split Hungary into ten districts with royal commissioners in charge, thus making the country strictly centralised (Hanák, 1995). The town of Maria Theresiopolis did not have the means to erect the walls nor was there any real need for them, and therefore the concept of the "inner city" changed and was finally defined during the commissioner Scultéty Ferenc tenure,[5] when

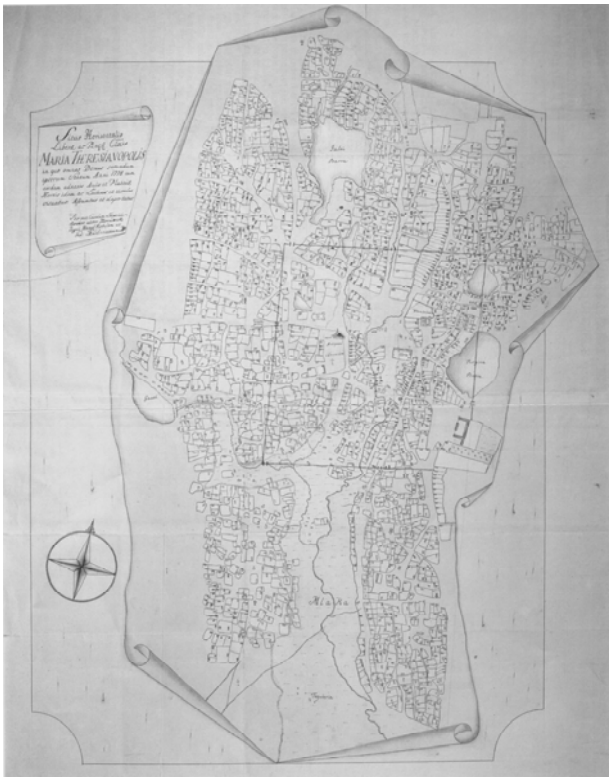

Figure 3. Handwritten map of Subotica from 1778 (Dubajić, M. (eds.) (1991) Koreni. Subotica: Istorijski arhiv, Figure 7/a.)

the territory of the inner city was determined in the Plan for the External Arrangement of the Town by six circumferential streets which surrounded the inner city area. The Plan for the External Arrangement of the Town was approved by the Commission for Town Planning in 1820 (Aladžić, 2007 – b, p. 50–60). In the defined inner city, gable-front rural houses could no longer be constructed, but only urban houses with the longer side facing the street front and forming a continuous row of facades on both sides of the street. Thus many building plans appeared in which rural houses were transformed into urban ones using different additions.

After Wüstinger József's First and Second Town Regulation Plans in 1822 were done (Aladžić, 2006, p. 391–399), the geometric regulation of lots began to be applied with the construction of each new structure, therefore many home owners added certain rooms to their houses to elongate them towards the street regulation line, fulfiling the requirements of The Plan for the External Arrangement of the Town, as well as of later by-laws and the Building Rule Book approved for the town of Subotica in 1882 (Aladžić, 2007 – a, p. 9–15).

As an example, in 1870 a poor sharecropper, Rosnyik Elek, submitted an application for a building permit (HAS, F:2, 5062/polg 1870) to add a room towards the street to his modest two room house (Figure 4). His old house was not situated on the street regulation line, as can be seen from the situation plan. With the addition of a room the house was lengthened in such a manner that its main triangular gable facade appeared at the street regulation line. Situation plans were rarely shown in building plans up to 1882 when the Building Rule Book was approved and they became mandatory. Still, these earlier rare examples bear evidence of slow, several decade long regulations of individual streets and lots that were conducted with every new construction or significant house remodelling since 1822.

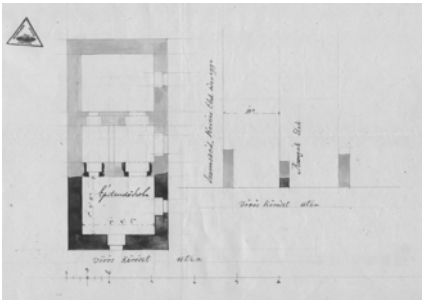

Figure 4. Ground plan of elongation for Rosnyik Elek's two room rural house from 1870 (HAS, F:2, 5062/polg 1870.)

[4] The Statutes of towns and settlements in Hungary were a sort of orders of local significance in accordance with the State laws and customs, royal orders and local circumstances and customs (Bačić, 1998, p. 21).

[5] Royal commissioner Scultéty Ferenc was in charge in Subotica from 1819 to 1823 (Aladžić, 2006).

A pantry and a stable were most often added to a three room house-type (Figure 1 – D1), but also another room, and then a storeroom, stable, shed, pantry, laundry room, etc. could be added. In other cases a three room house stood alone, and other auxiliary rooms were built in a separate building in the backyard (as outbuildings). It should be emphasized that it was possible to achieve every developed house-type by the addition of rooms, but the house was also constructed at once as an integral structure. Additions were made to older structures, which in regard to their size and shape did not fulfil the owner's needs or the requirements of building regulations.

A developed version of the two room or the three room house type was a house with a porch, although the porch was applied to other types of houses as well (Figure 1 – A2, C2, D2, E2). Parts of the porch could be closed off to provide for a pantry or a room for a soldier (Figure 1 – A3, C3, C4). The legal status of free royal town dwellers was heterogenic, but there were three main categories: citizens (*cives*), inhabitants (*incolae*) and settlers/ newcomers (*hospites*). The acceptance of inhabitants into the rank of citizens in Subotica was conditioned by having a room for a soldier in the house (Bačić, 1995, p. 40), which is why additions to house base often included rooms for soldiers. In some versions the kitchen could also be moved to the porch.

The three room rural house with a porch built on the lot at the corner of two streets, if the house was at the very corner, could be simply transformed from a rural into an urban house-type. If the door and the window openings were provided on the longer side of the house overlooking the street, and two parts of the porch were closed off to provide room for the pantry and a room for a soldier or some other room – that way a transitional form of a house between a rural and an urban one was obtained. Such a house type could be built on the lots where only one side was facing the street (C6). Further development of this transitional house-type resulted in an urban house with a longer side facing the street, with two longitudinal tracts and three rooms in each tract (C7).

The example of the house of Marija Kolonić from 1862 also shows a transitional form between a rural three room house and a two-tract urban house of the rectangular base (C5). Marija Kolonić submitted a request to add three rooms to her three room rural gable-front house, which would be parallel to the rooms of the three room house (HAS, F:2, 3054/polg 1862). That way the house still remained rural with the triangular gable facing the street front, but nevertheless what was the entrance to the porch on a three room house now represented the entrance to the shop. The kitchen, formerly placed in-between the two rooms of the old part of the house, was moved to the midsection of the added tract. The old kitchen was transformed into a pantry, and at the end of the new tract of the house another room was added. The house was entered into from the yard, through the kitchen. According to its position on the lot, the house still appertained to the rural type, but its interior organization represented an example of the two-tract ground-floor urban house of the rectangular base. The house was situated in today's 28 Prvomajska Street. Thus, houses of the same form, with the same number and shape of rooms, differed from one another in terms of the organization of their interior space which was adapted to the owner's needs and the obligatory requirements of the Plan for the External Arrangement of the Town, and later the Building Rule Book.

The rectangular type of the two-tract ground-floor urban house was also obtained by the addition of rooms to the two room rural house in its width. Simpler examples of the widened two room houses, as in the case of Joso Peić Tukuljac's house (Figure 1 – A4), built in 1880 (HAS, F:2, ép. eng. VI kör 7/1880), had two rooms overlooking the street, a kitchen with the vent hood adjacent to the rim of the neighbour's lot, which was entered through the antechamber placed in the middle of the yard tract, and there was a pantry on the other side of a yard tract. Therefore the house had two rooms overlooking the street and three rooms overlooking the yard: an antechamber in the middle, a kitchen on the one side and a pantry on the other.

Further widening of the rural two room house led to the design of a more complex urban house-type with three rooms overlooking the street, an entrance hall in the middle of the yard tract, created through modifications to the porch, a kitchen on the one side and a pantry on the other side of the entrance hall. That way, basically, a house-type was obtained (Figure 1 – C7) that could have also been a result of moving the kitchen from the tract with three

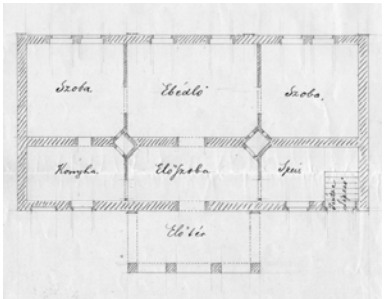

Figure 5. Ground plan of Szakmaiszter István's house designed in 1864 (HAS, F:2, 4311/polg 1864.)

rooms into the tract with the porch, i.e. the transformation of transitional house-types C5 and C6 into C7.

The developed form of the rectangular urban house could have three rooms overlooking the street, with the middle room possibly a dining room, as was the case in the house of surgeon Szakmaiszter István (HAS, F:2, 4311/polg 1864). Szakmaiszter's house got its shape in adaptations in 1864 (Figure 5). During the adaptations, a rectangular porch on the facade facing the yard was added onto a two-tract rectangular house base. The porch on the rectangular base of the two-tract ground-floor urban house could also be longitudinal and it could be built along the yard-side facade, and then some of its parts could be closed off to provide for a pantry or some other room (Figure 1 – C 8).

These types of houses could be built with two flats, as in the case of Molnár Katalín whose house was built in 1863 (HAS, F:2, 1653/polg 1863) in today's Šenoina Street (Figure 6), in close proximity to today's house at number 11. Katalin's house was torn down during the allied bombing in 1944. Since it had two flats, the house was rental (Aladžić, 2009 – a, p. 137–142). It was designed by supervising architect Scultety János.

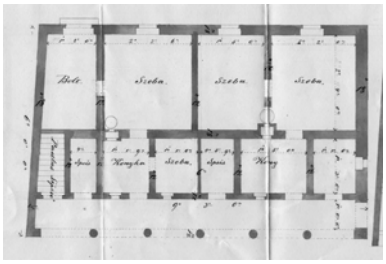

Figure 6. Ground plan of Molnár Katalín's house designed in 1863 (HAS, F:2, 1653/polg 1863.)

The urban house of rectangular base could have four or five rooms overlooking the street and as many rooms in the yard tract of the house, and a gate entrance may also have been built under the house roof. Any type of the ground-floor urban house could have the so-called "dry entrance" or the under-the-roof gate entrance, as shown in the examples A7, A8, C8, E4 or F2 (Figure 1).

Creation of the L shaped urban ground floor house

It was not the objective of this research to analyse every form of the ground-floor 19th century house in Subotica. The basic types of ground-floor houses in Subotica were presented in the study conducted by M. Sc. Nebojša Čamprag (Čamprag, 2007). Surely

there were some innovative designs that did not fall under any of the usual types of houses, especially in the period of the town's economic boom after the 1880s when the western influence began to break through. The aim of this paper was to demonstrate the flexibility of house plans, their compatibility and possibility to change, enlarge and adapt the house form to new needs and situations by means of simple additions and adaptations.

In this sense, another type of house, developed in Subotica in the 19th century, cannot be avoided, i.e. an urban L-shaped house, the so-called "elbow house." The need to transform a rural three room house into an urban house created yet another way of adding onto a rural house, which resulted in the L-shaped type of house. Adding one room along the street regulation line next to the "clean room" of the three room rural house (Figure 1 – C1) led to the creation of the simplest L-shaped house-type (Figure 1 – E1). This room could be a living room, but also a shop or a workshop according to the owner's needs. In 1861 Pertić Alajos added a shop to his three room house (HAS, F:2, 327 polg/1861) in this manner, and Béres István added a blacksmith's workshop (HAS, F:2, 2217 polg/1865) in 1865 (Figure 7).

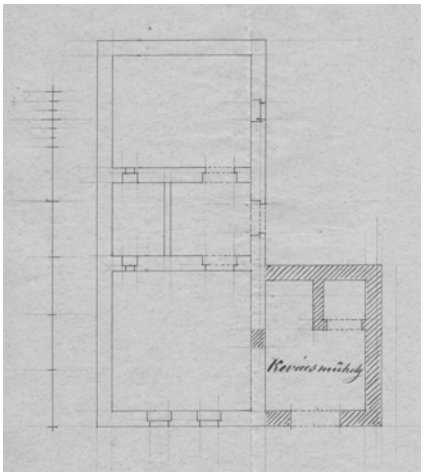

Figure 7. Plan of blaksmith workshop addition onto Béres István's three room rural house from 1865 (HAS, F:2, 2217 polg/1865.)

The developed types of "elbow houses" could have been extended towards the inner part of the lot by the addition of storerooms, a room for the maid, a sleeping niche etc. Besides these rooms, the house could have an open or a closed porch as shown in Figure 1, examples E2 and E3. The one-tract L-shaped house-type with three rooms (E3) overlooking the street could be obtained by adding another room along the street regulation line to the E2 house-type. In certain cases, one of the rooms could have served as a shop (Figure 1 – E3), a lawyer's office, a doctor's office and similar. Doubling the base of an elbow house and positioning it as a mirror image resulted in the creation of an U-shaped urban house-type that usually had two or more flats intended for rent (Figure 1 – E4). Ground-floor rental houses were built in Subotica in fewer numbers in the 19th century than single family urban homes. An analysis of rental house building plans basically shows that they relied on the basic house-types, and that they were mostly built by doubling or lengthening ground floors of the basic house-types in Subotica (Aladžić, 2009 –a).

Simple additions to the three room rural house could lead to the design of the most developed type of the L-shaped urban house, with the street section divided in two tracts and a one-tract yard wing of the house. In 1871 Franzen József submitted an application for a building permit (HAS, F:2, 1425/polg 1871) to make extensions to his ground-floor rural three room house (Figure 1 – F1). In the new planned street tract of the house the construction of two rooms and a shop was envisaged. The inner tract of the street part of the house had a pantry and one room, the purpose of which is illegible in the plan. Behind the kitchen and the room of the old three room house, which were integrated into the new house, the construction of a shed and a pantry was planned, as well as of a porch planned to interconnect all the rooms facing the yard.

In the example shown under the indication F2 in Figure 1, the kitchen was drawn into the yard tract of the house, and a sleeping niche was built where the kitchen would have been if the house had been upgraded from a three room rural house. In the yard tract of the main part of the house there were an antechamber and another room. This elbow house had an enclosed porch, as well as a gate entrance. The owner of the house was Subotica's landowner Halbrohr János. It was built in 1862 (HAS, F:2, 2586/polg 1862), not signed by a designer, but the house has been preserved in its original form and it is today situated in 21 Jakab and Komor Square. Unfortunately, the facade decorations were completely peeled off during various subsequent interventions.

Preserved plans of extensions to the house owned by pharmacist Brenner Josef, today located in 7 Matka Vukovića Street in Subotica, bear evidence of the typical development of the urban house-type in Subotica in the 19th century (Prčić et al. 2006, p. 42–45). According to the town cadastre survey from 1838, the owner of this house was Panto Zarić, a merchant. The house had already belonged to the urban type, with its longer facade facing the street, testifying about the social and material status of the owner who was one of the rare owners of ground-floor urban houses at that time. Panto sold the house to Brenner Josef, who applied for a building permit in 1867 in order to make additions and adaptations to the existing building (HAS, F:2, 724/polg 1867). The plan was designed by Scultéty János, and it can be seen from it that the house previously had a rectangular base, two tracts and an entrance gate in the middle of the structure. The house, while it was the property of Panto Zarić, was most likely divided into residential and business parts. The west side of the house was designated for living, while in the east side there was a shop with storage rooms for merchandise. In 1867 Brenner closed the entrance gate and used the space of the old entrance for a room. A new entrance gate was built on the east side of the house and a porch toward the yard. The residential part of the house was then widened and was directly connected to the pharmacy positioned at the place of the former Zarić's shop.

With the following addition, in 1870, Brenner's rectangular two-tract ground-floor house with a porch had a yard tract added to it, and thus became an L-shaped house. A new kitchen and auxiliary rooms were built in the yard tract and a new porch was built to be aligned with the new house base (Figure 1 – A8). This ground floor shows how a two-tract ground-floor house with a rectangular base (A7) could have been transformed into a two-tract ground-floor L-shaped house (A8). The plans for the second addition were done by bricklayer Molczer János (HAS, F:2, 596/polg 1870). In 1885 Brenner Josef submitted a building permit request for facade decoration and adaptation of the whole of the ground floor into shops (HAS, F:2, 509/1885). The Town Council did not approve his request claiming that these changes were so significant that there would not be any need to add another storey to the building for quite some time, which was actually the obligation of every home owner in the first building zone of the town, according to the Building Rule Book. The town was divided into four building zones in 1882. Brenner's house was in the first building zone in which only multi-storey buildings of solid materials could be built (Aladžić, 2007 – a).

The second floor of this house was erected in 1922 for the owner Kálmán Szenes, a merchant, according to the design of engineer Oton Tomandl. The rooms on the ground floor were transformed into shops, and the first floor was built as an apartment (HAS, F:47, odl. 296/1922). Thus the house aspect was finally in accordance with the requirements of the Building Rule Book, and it still, although slightly

modified, stands in its place today. After the First World War Subotica became part of a newly formed country – the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but nevertheless the Building Rule Book of the free royal town of Subotica from 1882 remained in effect regarding the points that were not in contravention of the Building Law of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1931, until new Building Regulations of the Municipality of Subotica came in force in 1938 (Građevinski pravilnik gradske opštine Subotica 1938).

CONCLUSION

The application of compatible house plans allowed owners to elongate their houses and to widen them at any given time, according to their income of financial means and at the same time their houses were a finished structure at any given point and could always be transformed into an even bigger structure by further additions. On the other hand, house plans never limited the creativity in terms of house decoration. Facade screens of houses that basically had equal or similar room layout could have completely different decorative characteristics, which contributed to diversity in architectural realisations, and attractiveness of the streets.

Thanks to the application of compatible house plans, the town reflected the semblance of order, because every house in every moment represented a finished structure, and not a half-finished building. Simple attachment of building parts also allowed the houses that were in the middle of the lot to be elongated towards the street regulation line. Street regulation was done in this way according to the town regulation plans for a longer time period, i.e. between the years of 1779 and 1938. The compatible house plans, as an auxiliary means, facilitated the application of building rules, the realisation of regulation plans and provided a continuous development of the town of Subotica in the period of over 150 years.

The addition of rooms made it possible to have a rural house transformed into an urban one if the owner had to do it in order to fulfil the requirements of the Building Rule Book for the zone in which his house was situated, or if he wanted the house to reflect his new social and financial status. This enabled the continuous development of the town as well as the continuous development of houses on certain lots, which could have been added onto along the lot rim, as well as upwards until the structure covered every rim of the lot, with an inner yard, and was several stories high.

This research is a contribution to the beliefs of those who link the beginnings of urban planning in Yugoslavia to the Building Law from 1931 (Bajić, 2007), because it shows that careful town planning was quite typical for the previous historical period as well. Research of urban and architectural development in the 19th century in Vojvodina can be of crucial importance for future planning (Pantić, 2007). The planning in the 19th century in Vojvodina could be fully understood only through the research of a great number of documents that have not even been preserved for some towns and settlements. Subotica is a good example for doing the research because its Historical Archives keep a large number of documents from the 19th century. In order to fully understand town planning and building in the 19th century, future research would have to include Town Council decisions, individual building permits, letters and correspondence between officials, owners and engineers in charge of town planning. Urban planning in the 19th century Subotica was based on a certain concept, a certain idea about the final objective, and it was put into effect through an array of individual decisions, one of its segments being the application of compatible house plans.

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INFLUENCE OF PLANNING AND CIVIL INITIATIVE, AS A FORM OF PUBLIC INTERVENTION, ON GENTRIFICATION

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The main purpose of this paper is to establish the connection between gentrification and planning, as a form of state and civil intervention, along with citing instances of local community reactions to negative effects of gentrification. The work examines how these two forms of public intervention, by means of implementing measures/actions, influence positive and negative effects of gentrification and contribute to maintaining balance between them. Furthermore, it explains how they act in service of public interest. The main criterion for the selection of research examples has been the form of intervention implemented (measures/actions, that is, their diversity). Most examples have been drawn from the USA where, on account of its liberal economic system, the power of planning is weaker, negative effects of gentrification are more dominant and gentrification itself is considered a negative phenomenon. The main objective of the analysis is to determine how to minimize the negative effects. A small number of examples presented have been taken from developed European countries, since those states exert stronger influence on planning and the state/community is more responsible for housing problems and existence of different groups of individuals in the community. Those instances illustrate the maximization of positive effects. In addition, some examples have been drawn from transitional, post-socialist Balkan countries where anti-planning attitude is dominant and negative effects of gentrification are more present. Given their effects on gentrification, the most successful measures/actions, applied in the form of public intervention, ordered by category, are as follows: affordable housing, jobs, local regulations, partnership and direct actions.

***Key words:** gentrification, positive and negative effects of gentrification, planning, civil initiative.*

INTRODUCTION

Gentrification, which started as a spontaneous urban renewal process, has been attracting attention of wide range of experts (urban planners, architects, economists, sociologists, demographers, etc), managing structures, students, public, etc, for the last 40-50 years. Since it is a complex, profusely written about process, this study will begin by briefly presenting the main regulators of the process, followed by a thorough examination of the *connection between gentrification, planning and civil initiative.* The main goal of the paper is to establish the relation between planning and gentrification. However, the research led to conclusion that the role of a local community is also important. When planning does not function efficiently and on time, the local community assumes the main role and with intensive campaign, along with non-profit and non-governmental organizations, contributes to minimizing negative effects of gentrification. In conclusion, the paper states the most successful measures/actions summarized by category, considering their effects on gentrification.

PROCESS OF GENTRIFICATION AND ITS EFFECTS

Term gentrification

Term gentrification has no real translation into the Serbian language. The situation is similar in other countries, less developed than the United States and European Union, where this phenomenon is hardly new. The word is definitely of English origin:

- "gentry" → nobility, aristocracy (Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik Morton Benson, 1993, p.278),
- "gentrify" → "convert (a working-class or inner-city district etc.) into an area of middle-class residence" (Oxford English Dictionary, 1993, p.583).

The term 'gentrification' was first coined and used in literature by the Marxist urban sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964, who used it to describe the changes occurring in housing projects of the deprived central part of London - East End (Atkinson, 2002, p.2). In other central cities of West Europe and America this phenomenon was noticed later - in late 1960's, when its study began. The process reached its peak in the mid 1980s and in the end of 1980s. Its interpretation differs:

- *among urbanism professionals* – the process is usually assigned to the category of urban

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reconstruction and, in a broader sense, regeneration, and in an even broader sense – urban renewal. Gentrification is sometimes renamed regeneration, renaissance or revitalization, and it could be introduced into planning documentation, or become a part of a city policy, under that term. "These expressions do not all implicate the same process, some of them may qualitatively differentiate, yet gentrification is the most inclusive term" (Nedučin et al., 2009, p.68).

Kennedy and Leonard differentiate between processes of revitalization and gentrification. They state that the USA is presently experiencing another wave of gentrification (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, p.1) and that, under certain circumstances, revitalization efforts of the federal government, states, cities and non-profit organizations can lead to gentrification (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, p.2). For that to happen, all three specific conditions must be present – displacement of original residents, physical upgrading of the neighborhood (particularly of housing stock) and change in neighborhood character (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, p.6). Process of gentrification "under the discourse of regeneration" (Smith, 2008, p.80) "many politicians, developers and other financiers present as an important urban strategy for renewal of cities" (Milanović, 2011, p.67). Similarly, Badcock states that "by the 1990s, gentrification had been seized on by politicians and urban managers in Europe, North America, and Australia as a strategy for bringing the inner city 'back to life' and as a catalyst for urban renaissance" (Badcock, 2010, p.306). Atkinson states that "governments of the First World countries are nowadays encouraging gentrification through urban regeneration projects with the aim of solving problems of aged infrastructure and evident poverty" (Atkinson, 2004, p.123). Vaništa Lazarević and Đukić, after turning their attention to regeneration of cities as one of the most convincing directions of principle of sustainable development, stated that "by using existing created resources - building inheritance and its conservation, rehabilitation and reconstruction, we, in the same time, raise standard (gentrification) of the broader area, as well" (Vaništa Lazarević and Đukić, 2006 a, p.72).

- *in economy* – it is entirely interpreted through relation between supply and demand on the real estate market or the difference in price, through influence of capital on predominantly central city neighborhoods.

- *in sociology* – segregation or its opposite, mixed population, migration of certain social groups to certain locations in the city, as well as displacement or, as Freeman and Braconi accurately name it, "secondary displacement – which occurs when new development or gentrification triggers raise of market rents in a neighborhood, causing existing, lower-income families to relocate because they can no longer afford to pay them. While some free-market conservatives may deny that private housing displacement is a legitimate public concern, community activists may argue that any and all secondary displacement must be prevented" (Freeman and Braconi, 2002, p.1).

- one of *the most frequently used definitions* is: "Rehabilitation of working class and neglected neighborhoods and their transformation into middle class neighborhood." (Smith and Williams, 1986, p.23).

- *neutral definition of gentrification* states that it is a return of households of middle and higher social and economic status from suburbs into central urban neighborhoods, from where they moved after the Second World War (Libow, 2002, p.1),

- there is a large number of other definitions, which may differ, but they all include two common factors:

  – Physical improvement of old, central-city neighborhoods,

  – The poorer population moving out of central-city neighborhood and more affluent population moving into it.

Gentrification as a spontaneous and/or planned process and its causes

Opposite opinions in professional literature concerning gentrification are often connected to its categorization as a spontaneous or planned process.

Originally, it did start spontaneously and it could be explained in the following way. Traditional urban growth in Western cities meant the development of suburbs in cyclic circles around the central business core. (Elin, 2002, p.8). Members of higher classes migrated to suburbs, leaving a polluted and neglected center. The poorer population took their place: minorities, working class, older people, etc, that is, lower classes. Prices of downtown real estate dropped drastically on the account of ruined and dilapidated buildings, shortage of resources for maintenance costs, frequent criminal behavior, socially unattractive environment, etc.

While one part finds what they have been looking for, the others consider suburbs ("suburbia") to be failure. The old city-center is getting attractive again; there is nostalgia for pre-war urban fabric and its neighborhood. That desirability of a city-center is urged by the slowdown in building, considerations for energy efficiency – usage of existing objects, preferability of vicinity to the job... (Elin, 2002, p.81).

In spite of all the negativities of city-center neighborhoods, they attract new inhabitants for the following reasons: suitable low starting prices of houses in whose reconstruction and equipment is invested, proximity to the city-center, appeal of the city-center (visual pleasure and feeling of city-center cut out by human standard, excitement and dramatics caused by series of attractive locations, integration of functions, multiple meanings, continuity in building…). Often, this population is part of a middle/high class, usually oriented towards freedom and tolerance (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, p.8).

Various studies have shown that a large number of new residents had no contact with the rest of natives, because they operate in a completely different social environment (Danilović, 2002, p.21). Those involved in this process of conquering the area are called *gentrifiers*. At first, it begins with the process of "mixing" residents (only observed on the city map or in statistic data, not exactly in social sense). With popularization of the neighborhood, the population structure begins to change (Danilović, 2002, p.21). The popularity of the neighborhood grows and prices of real estate and rents increase, too. The neighborhood becomes "branded", it reflects the life style of gentrifiers.

Andres Duany, considered as one of the most ardent supporters of gentrification today, thinks that it is mainly a spontaneous process. He states that examples of "artificially induced and controllable gentrification have been rare" (Duany, 2001, p.37). By spontaneous gentrification he considers "improvement that takes off without municipal intervention", and adds that transformation of this type is "driven not by planners but by individuals discovering the excellent urban qualities of the place. The government caught up later, sometimes trying to take credit, often interfering with the natural cycle" (ibid., p.37).

Opposite to that, Neil Smith supports a theory claiming that the process of gentrification is planned in advance and initiated by city authorities. According to him, "gentrification, displaced as a word and renamed to 'urban regeneration' has worked its way through to become what is now not only the policy of various European states but also the official urban policy of the European Union" (Smith, 2008, p.17). He states that the process of

gentrification has considerably changed from the period of "1960s when gentrification was a marginal oddity in the Islington housing market" (Islington – a part of London) until today when it represents "the central goal of British urban policy" (Smith, 2002, p.439) and "as a global urban strategy is a consummate expression of neoliberal urbanism" (Smith, 2002, p.446). The key actors in a spontaneous process of gentrification are (were) middle- and upper-middle-class immigrants to a neighborhood and today, the agents of urban regeneration are "governmental, corporate, or corporate – governmental partnerships" (*ibid.*, p.439). It used to be unplanned, utterly haphazard process and now it is ambitiously and scrupulously planned, and increasingly systematized. Process is under "ongoing transformation into a significant dimension of contemporary urbanism" (*ibid.*, p.439).

Kennedy and Leonard support the theory of a planned process of gentrification, that is, "explicit intention of cities", explaining that "corps of mayors in a number of US cities have made attracting middle- and upper- income residents back to their cities a leading priority, to revitalize the tax base of their communities, the viability of their neighborhoods and the vibrancy of their downtowns" (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, p.1).

In European countries in transition (the Balkans, East and a part of Central Europe) gentrification of attractive, central city locations is often a planned and controlled process, in most cases not in the public interest. Urban politics, state/city authorities are publicly involved in the process of "urban regeneration" only to realize their personal interest and interest of those who initiated it (in the first place, investors, developers and alike) (Petovar, 2008). In this case, gentrification shows its "other" side.

In order to establish whether gentrification is spontaneous or not, it is important to mention two theories – economic (production) and cultural (consumption) explanation of the process initiation (Hamnett, 1991, p.175). The cultural explanation supports the position which considers gentrification a spontaneous process. It is based on a thesis that gentrification represents direct consequence of post-industrialization and professionalization in large capitalist cities, that is, creating new middle-class (Hamnett, 1991). Duany states that its goal is "great urbanism" (Duany, 2001, p.37), which brings benefit mainly to members of middle-class who settle in a gentrified area. In addition to that, he also claims that the process is completely natural – "Middle-class Americans are choosing to live in many inner-city neighborhoods because these places possess urbane attributes not found in newer residential areas, and this flow cannot be regulated away" (*ibid*., p.40).

The position which considers gentrification to be a planned process could be supported by the explanation of gentrification through economic model which is based on the thesis stated by Smith. He emphasizes that, in the first place, it is initiated by investors, entrepreneurs, real estate owners, banks, local authorities and media. Rent-gap is one of the basic prerequisites for gentrification. It is a difference between the present price of city areas with attractive locations inhabited by low class members, in which it had not been invested for a long time, and the price the locations would have if they had a different use, for instance, luxurious housing (Smith, 1986). Every participant in this process has a common goal – to use a concrete plot of land for the purpose which will bring them the largest possible profit. Redfern concluded that gentrification represents a new way of adding market value to real estate (Redfern, 2003, p.2353).

Every city has its own story and, depending on many factors, gentrification could be spontaneous or planned. It could originate spontaneously, and city authorities or some higher instance could be involved later, or, opposite to that, it could start as a planned activity and then develop spontaneously. "Whether induced or spontaneous, once gentrification begins, the chain reaction tends to continue" (Duany, 2001, p.38).

The effects of gentrification

Effects of gentrification, which are consequences of physical, functional and social changes, are complex, sometimes contradictory and widely vary, depending on local circumstances.

Positive effects are desirable: better form and image of gentrified areas, and consequently the city center itself, rising and maintaining attractiveness of a nearby environment, diversity and better quality of facilities, raising cultural and educational level of the population of that area (neighborhood), increased standard of living, reduced crime rate, etc. It is generally considered that mainly newcomers benefit from positive effects of gentrification, while the local population is socially and economically marginalized. *Negative effects* are usually seen as social injustice, since wealthy, usually white, newcomers are recognized as "improvement to" the neighborhood, while its "old" residents must move out on the account of increased rent prices and economic changes. It could be said that gentrified neighborhoods become "victims of their success" (Grant, 2003, p.1). Gentrification could lead to serious conflicts, deepening gaps between races, classes, cultures. "Old" residents feel that they are "drawn into fight", ignored and excluded from their communities (*ibid.,* 2003, p.3). Local population accuses newcomers (gentrifiers) that their effort for improvement of local conditions is hostile, even racist. They think that their displacement is forced and anti-democratic because it denies the right of self-determination of existing community (Wetzel, 2002, p.3).

Already at this point it could be perceived that there is a dichotomous classification concerning European and American experience (more will be said on this subject later in this paper in the section "Examples from praxis" and within it "New policies of housing in developed European countries"), caused mainly by a difference in influence of planning and its relation to market mechanism. Presence of planning, which represents public interest, and market, which represents private interests, and their cooperation is essential for creating fewer negative and more positive effects of gentrification.

Negative effects, which in extreme cases could be even considered racist with respect to local population, are more typical of the USA, on the account of its limited influence of planning. Smith states that "consonant with the importance of the state in the new wave of urban change, it is not in the US that this process has proceeded furthest, but rather in Europe" (Smith, 2002, p.443). Petovar explains that "in the Great Britain, there is already a traditional conviction that a community/state, through planning and its measures, is responsible for providing proper housing conditions for poor, and even for families with an average income, while in the USA, solving housing problems is an individual problem" (Petovar, 2003, p.204). That is the one of the reasons why negative effects of gentrification are more visible in the USA. In developed European countries, planning has a greater influence and that is the reason why the statement that gentrification is positive for everyone involved in this process is more accurate for these countries. An extract from Duany could be quoted in order to explain what benefits it brings to local population, for he states that "present homeowners usually benefit from gentrification". They get better prices for their homes if they sell. If they remain in the area, there is a general

improvement in the quality of life as a result of improved consumer services, higher tax bases, and the beneficial effects of middle class vigilance over municipal services" (Duany, 2001, p.38). Or, Cravatts, who explains how everyone could benefit from market conditions that encourage building of new housing projects, especially tenants - "as new housing is created and neighborhood residents who had been renters become owners of new units, their old housing, (much of it rental), is freed up for a whole new group of renters who either move from less desirable units (freeing up more units) or come into the neighborhoods for the first time." Thus, gentrification, by making a community attractive to investors, actually enables many renters to move up the housing ladder into presumably better apartments, without displacing tenants and by making their old units available for yet another set of renters below them" (Cravatts, 2007).

PUBLIC INTERVENTION AND GENTRIFICATION

Given the fact that gentrification is basically a spontaneous process, the influence of planning, as a form of state/civil intervention, on its positive and negative effects, is examined through its measures/actions, all aimed at protecting public interest. The question remains what level of involvement, intervention, control in planning is considered optimal, that is, adequately represents public interest. Influence of measures/actions is optimal when it maintains the balance between effects of gentrification, that is, when its impact maximizes positive effects and minimizes negative ones.

Planning will result in achieving the desirable balance only if the basic causes of negative effects (problems), as well as positive effects, are taken into account, and then the measures/actions, which can help attaining the desirable goal, are suggested. Planning, in this case, is used for: channeling effects in desirable direction, that is, limiting negative effects and inducing positive, controlling future activities to a certain extent, correcting market relations, moderating conflicts, imposing certain order, enabling more righteous and more rational use of space, etc. This type of planning could be defined as an institutional approach to model of strategic urban planning in which state, that is, different institutions and levels of government have a role of an intermediary between different interest groups, in relation to distribution and usage of an area. They make decisions, adopt measures, and create policies in different areas and at different levels of government. (Lazarević Bajec, 2000, p.99).

Depending on a definition of state, the power for planning differs, as it can be seen in the below mentioned countries, examined in this study:

• *Developed countries of Western, Northern and part of Central Europe*, seen as a group with similar characteristics. All these countries are based on market economy principles, but certain differences between them still exist. The necessity for planning, as the main method for prevention of negative effects of uncontrolled market influence, has been confirmed, despite the fact that planning (representing public interests) and market (representing private interests) in these countries, since the World War II until today, have replaced each other or worked together with one or the other having priority, explains Vujošević (Vujošević, 2002, p.10).

• *Balkan countries* (Southeastern Europe) are presently in the phase of post-socialist transition, characterized by a dominant process of neo-liberalization. Some of its main characteristics are: "the rule of market, cutting public expenditure for social services, deregulation, privatization, eliminating the concept of the public good or community" (Martinez and Garcia, 2000). Throughout these countries the transition develops in different directions, with different intensity and different results. For instance, in more successful countries such as Slovenia, alongside with developing market economy, a tendency to develop planning is also present, while in others (such as Serbia or Croatia) a general resolution concerning developing a planning system which relies on market, represents a mere declaration rather than a strategic resolution. In these countries a second rate, half-permeable liberalism is present, creating a large number of social and economic problems, and which has so far resulted in growth without development" (Vujošević *et al*., 2010, p.61).

• *The USA* is a country with the climate of deregulated planning and liberalization, with emphasis on market. Thornley states the basic characteristics of liberalism: enforcing free market, reducing state expenses, reducing role of government and public sector, especially in regard of social prosperity and equality (justice), communications, freedom of choice, free initiatives (Thornley, 1993, p.26).

Civil initiative as a form of public intervention

Civil initiative represents a reaction of local population, that is, local community and the third/voluntary sector, to negative effects of gentrification. A local community expresses itself through civil societies and local organizations, and "the third sector by its nature represents non-profit and non-governmental organizations", such as various cooperatives, professional and specialized associations, volunteer groups, foundations, humanitarian organizations, territorial groups... (Pantić, 1998, p.26).

"Some of the primary aims of civil initiative are: protection of public interest and public property in the area of local community, civil rights protection, especially protection of their property and its value, improving the quality of living and satisfying everyday needs of citizens, inclusion and cooperation of different actors in the local community on programs of interest for local community, it's citizens and the city in whole" (Petovar, 2003, p.135).

Cooperation of different forms of civil initiative with local administration enables more efficient and better quality work on both sides, creates important conditions for improving quality of everyday life of citizens and forms the framework for a long-term stable and democratic development of the community. Civil initiatives are not isolated and it is very important for them to connect with the institutions of the system (with different civil services) and to cooperate with civil services on different projects/initiatives, inasmuch as many of them by definition need cooperation with civil services (state, city,etc) and public initiatives. "Despite the fact that the local residents of the gentrifying neighborhoods may not be able to be involved in the decision-making, interactive civil programs could guide them to widen their horizons and more enthusiastically experience their immediate surroundings…It is the acme of significance for the inhabitants to get engaged in any process that would change the character of their neighborhood" (Nedučin et al., 2009, p.74).

Measures/actions influencing effects of gentrification

Interventions, applied to effects of gentrification, act in the service of public interest and can be divided into two groups: *measures* and *actions*. It is expected that they contribute to the improvement of the state and structure of relations in the area, by resolving conflicts, etc.

In which cases are measures implemented, and in which cases are actions implemented?

Measures could be called "EARLY actions" because they are adopted immediately before or in the beginning of the process of gentrification. They could be divided into:

1A. – measures which serve to maximize the positive effects (by initiating the process, so that divested city neighborhoods could be physically and functionally improved,...).

1B. - measures which serve to minimize negative effects (real estate laws on housing, environment, etc., regulations, restrictions, taxes,..).

Measures are mainly created by planners. It is important to take care not to discourage investors by rigorous 1B. measures (public control). The balance should be maintained between public and private interest, measures and private initiative.

Actions could be called "POST – effect" activities, since they are carried out in the moment when the process of gentrification is already developed or in the final phase. They can be divided into:

2A. - actions which serve to maximize positive effects (Planning follows gentrification, in order to create an entirely gentrified neighborhood and prevent negative effects. Local administration or city authorities invest in reconstruction of parts of infrastructure, services, public places – pedestrian zones, parks, anything that is of public interest. It is important to stimulate gentrifiers to remain in the neighborhood after gentrification – if they improve the area and if they do not create significant negative effects).

2B. - actions which serve to minimize negative effects (local community or city builds a new housing complex or reconstructs the old ones, so that residential areas could be more affordable for the residents with lower income in order to prevent their further migrations, by opening credit lines for housing, creating new jobs so that local population could be employed, etc.). These actions are initiated mainly by local community and various non-governmental and non-profit organizations.

This type of division into measures and actions, referring to timing of the action in the process of gentrification (before or after it), is general and made for the purpose of their easier classification when mentioned in large number of examples. There are, of course, examples which are exceptions to the suggested classification, but they are significantly less common.

Actors/stakeholders in the process of suggesting and realization of measures/actions are:

• Planners, experts, who possess adequate professional knowledge, sufficient information and ability to understand broadness and complexity of a certain situation/problem. Acting as assistants, they analyze effects, create measures and put forward suggestions to administration/government, so that they can be adopted and presented to public through taxes, laws, restrictions, regulations, rule books, financial assets...

• Public - usually local community, in coordination with certain non-profit and non-governmental organizations, influences governments by pressuring them to resolve conflicts by implementing certain actions.

EXAMPLES FROM PRAXIS (MEASURES AND ACTIONS)

Various examples have been analyzed with a view to determining which interventions are the most effective. The main criterion in their selection was the form of the intervention implemented, that is, their variety. Most examples have been drawn from the USA where, on account of its liberal economic system, the power of planning is weaker, negative effects of gentrification are more dominant and gentrification itself is considered a negative phenomenon. Given the fact that most available examples on internet and in literature are drawn from this country, they are mainly concerned with minimizing negative effects, that is, 2B actions and, unfortunately, "POST-actions".

A small number of examples have been taken from developed European countries, since they exert higher influence on planning and the state/community is more responsible for housing issues and existence of various groups of individuals in the community, especially ones with lower income. They have less negative effects of gentrification – the emphasis is on maximization of positive effects.

Also, there is a small number of examples from transitional, post-socialist Balkan countries, involving Serbia and its neighboring countries. Gentrification, as a form of urban transformation, is also present in those countries, but it is "still at an early stage" (Brade et al., 2009, p.234). Since anti-planning attitude is dominant, negative effects of gentrification are more present.

North Docks, Amsterdam, Holland (Treanor, 2003, p.3)[2]

There are frequent examples of an initiated process of gentrification (induced or planned gentrification has been mentioned earlier in the section "Gentrification as spontaneous and/or planned process and its causes"). To begin with, a location susceptible to this process must be identified, and then subjected to certain measures. This is a way to raise social and economic level of the entire urban area, and after that, the process continues spontaneously.

In this case, an alternative artistic center in working class district of North docks of Amsterdam was financed by the city as a starter of change, with a view to slowly attracting members of middle class to move into this area, followed by artists, and then the rest. Ten years after, when the process came to a close, the rental agreement for art center had run out and it was officially expected, that it would be moved into the next potential zone of gentrification.

This initial measure falls under measures **1A** because of the initiator and the time of implementation (before process of gentrification), but considering the type, it falls rather under the category of actions. This type of measure is used as a model, one that has already been tested and succeeded, and could be accompanied with other initial interventions, such as:

• Improvement of environment in general – using public investments as a catalyst, attracting private capital funds into the individual development projects,

• Improvement of living conditions through reconstruction of existing dilapidated buildings or their replacement with the new ones,

• various new facilities, etc.

Brownfield gentrification, Amsterdam, Holland (Treanor, 2003, pp.14-15)

Treanor gave concrete suggestions for stopping the gentrification process, which is, in this case, treated as a negative phenomenon. According to him, if nobody is acting or there are not better ways to intervene in a given moment, it could simply be incriminated, and prevented by attacking gentrifiers individually. Gentrifiers listed below should be punished:

• Those who occupy an apartment knowing that the previous tenant had been illegally moved out, should be attacked, frightened to leave (**2B.**);

• Persons who have double than an average income, and rented an apartment, whose previous tenant, with lower income, had left unwillingly. That incriminate the migration of groups with lower income from the rental residence, even if the moving out was legal (**2B.**);

• Every person who buys an apartment, which was rented earlier, without the agreement of the last tenant (**1B., 2B.**);

• An illegal tenant, who belongs to the group of gentrifiers, in the zone which was declared a

[2] The origin of every example is denoted next to its heading.

restricted area for gentrifiers. An area is declared a restricted zone when it is in immediate danger of gentrification or the process has just started (**2B.**). The simplest measure is restriction, in a professional and managing sense (**1B.**).

New housing policies in developed European countries (Petovar, 2003, pp.173-178; Avramov, 1999, p.19)

The housing crisis in Europe has also spread mostly in large cities, with the lack of high-quality fair priced apartments for rent and protected rental fees (the situation still being better than in the USA). These are the main causes for gentrification. That especially affects social classes with lower income and sensitive social groups (young couples with children, self-supporting parents, persons with disabilities, unemployed, grown up children leaving parents' home and becoming independent and others). Petovar states that the most important ways to cut the expenses of renting for low income households and other vulnerable groups in developed European countries, approved by a state/city (measures **1B.**), are:

- housing allowances,
- housing improvement grants, and
- subsidies.

In contrast to developed European countries, in East, South and some countries of Central Europe, the systems of housing allowances and subsidies for lower income households are poorly developed.

Avramov states the importance of measure **1B.**– /socially rented housing/, which refers to apartments given on time limited rents to households falling under the category of vulnerable social groups (Avramov, 1999, p.10). He also states that in developed European countries, until the beginning of the 20th century, rents had been frozen and life-long tenancy in the sector of private apartments for rent had been used as a social policy measure. However, although the limitations on the rights of the owners of apartments for rent are reduced, established precise and compulsory rules concerning renting and leasing apartments do exist, mitigating negative effects of gentrification.

It could be concluded that measures/actions in most of developed European countries are initiated by state/city/local administration and that they successfully manage to regulate negative effects of gentrification in start. Taking that fact into account, the civil initiative contribution to resolving problems is minimal, in contrast to the USA.

Grbavica, Novi Sad, Serbia (Nedučin et al., 2009, pp.69-74)

Grbavica, a district on the outskirts of the Novi Sad city's core, which was earlier characterized by predominantly ground-floor single-family and complex housing, has been going through a process of gentrification since late 1980s and early 1990s. It started spontaneously, influenced by post-socialist economic revolution and transition of residential construction financing from the state founded collective residential funds to private sector and market-orientation, rapidly increasing city's population and intensifying housing construction and arrival of relatively affluent newcomers into Grbavica. Since they lacked sufficient capital, private investors bought single, narrow parcels inhabited by deprived single-families. Multi-family houses were built on those parcels and now students, young professionals and young married couples live in them.

"In return for their parcel, indigenous inhabitants received apartments in this or other parts of the city. Even if they decided to reside in Grbavica, unprecedented changes of its structure caused by gentrification would make their living unpleasant" (Nedučin *et al*., p.73) because "despite displaying some good sides, gentrification of this area has mostly negative consequences" (*ibid.*, p.74). They are not as drastic as in American cities, but they are visible, and they constantly deteriorate quality of life of the local residents.

All changes "have been carried out without a strict, clear and tangible long-term plan" (*ibid.*, 2009, p.73). Nowadays, construction is directed not by planning documentation but by profit. "Investor-oriented urban planning disregarded the volumes of residential buildings defined by the latest Regulation Plan" (*ibid.*, p.74). In order to realize their interest, private investors, ignoring public interest of the community and social responsibility, contrary to urbanistic norms and standards "raised the construction density to an extent much larger than that could be borne by the existing street network. The adequacy of maintaining some street sections was called into question. The absence of high quality public spaces within the residential blocks was observed" (*ibid.*, p.74). It could be said that the visual aspect and the identity of this district are not satisfactory.

In transition countries, such as Serbia and Croatia, the involvement of citizens and their organizations and initiatives in forming the appearance and the character of their neighborhoods, in accordance with their needs and abilities, has been almost completely neglected (Petovar, 2008). It is also the case in this example. There is a lack of holistic approach and process control by the city authorities. Measures and actions influencing effects of gentrification cannot be identified. In future, the public and private sector must be coordinated.

New Belgrade (central part), Serbia (Erić, 2008; Petrović, 2007; Petrović, 2008, pp.62-63.)

"The Belgrade Master plan (2003) defined an attractive role for New Belgrade, emphasizing its regional potential for business activities and launching this area as a new hub, able to respond to numerous requirements imposed by the process of global integration. According to the plan, the New Belgrade central zone is considered to be an area with the highest potential for commercial activities, steadily evolving into a strong business, administrative and cultural regional center" (Stupar and Đukić, 2007, p.8). It could be said that, by building capital objects such as the sports hall "Limes", and investing in infrastructure, the City has initiated the process of gentrification (measure 1A), according to the plan mentioned above and aimed for revitalization. Furthermore, the other conditions, such as proximity to the city centre, excellent connectivity and available sites for large development projects, influenced the attractiveness of New Belgrade to local and foreign investors. "Residential, commercial and business sites have been offered by the Marketing Department of the Agency for Building Land and Construction of Belgrade. Along with some important facilities (luxurious hotels "Intercontinental" and "Hyatt Regency", "Sava Congress Center, sports hall "Limes", the business center "Ušće") they created a new City – a symbol of urban development and the important regional business node" (Stupar and Hamamcioglu, 2006, p.31).

Gentrification of the commercial, business and administrative center of New Belgrade attracted new class of people and brought certain spatial and functional changes, primarily by new constructions. "There is a considerable recent growth, marked by fashionable shopping malls, office spaces, TV stations, but also new housing constructions of high quality standards. These new residential blocks... with middle and upper-middle class... getting some characteristics of gated communities (buildings with developed security systems and playgrounds with controlled access.)" (Petrović, 2007). "The area around the Belgrade Arena gradually becomes the Serbian replica of the Wall Street, concentrating the famous European banks" (Stupar and Đukić, 2007, p.9). There are new,

various, entertainment facilities – cafes, restaurants, fitness centers, aimed mainly for higher classes. The new urban life style is present, predominantly characterized by a consumer model.

This process is followed by some negative effects. "The scope of social and location inequality in New Belgrade (on the whole) is increasing, since the locations mentioned above are exposed to the process of gentrification (improvement of housing quality, primarily by new buildings and increase of social homogeneity of high class neighborhoods), while low quality locations are subjected to ruining in physical and social sense (Petrović, 2008, p.63). "The new segregation... has created new homogenized neighborhoods and even new 'urban ghettos'. Particularly important are the difficult questions facing urban areas with marginalized social groups such as the Roma people who were not accepted to certain blocks in New Belgrade" (Erić, 2008). The prices of real estate increased as well as rents. With arrival of new, young people, with money (yuppies) who became the target group as prospective tenants, certain number of old subtenants had to migrate to other parts of the city (distant suburbs) where they could afford to pay the rent. Additionally, there is a tendency among the owners to rent larger apartments and move to suburbs because it is more profitable for them, especially because of the poor financial situation in general. Also, there is a visible "loss of the public space that had never been fully developed in New Belgrade and is now overtaken by big supermarkets and shopping malls" (Erić, 2008). Speculations concerning the prices of land which city rented to private investors to build their capital objects have been mentioned in the media and they support theories about suspicious relationship between city authorities (politicians) and owners of private capital, characteristic of countries in transition.

There are virtually no examples of measures and actions taken by the city authorities and planers to minimize the negative effects of gentrification that could be cited (except for few housing projects, for young scholars and scientists, built across the New Mercator shopping center, subsidized by the state, which could be classified as affordable housing).When considering actions which serve to maximize the positive effects (**2A.**), it should be mentioned that the city invested certain resources in public places, for example bicycle paths, better traffic arteries, etc, but it is not enough. Exclusive expectations originate from the change in social profile of the population (Petrović, 2008). With regard to the question of civil initiative, the same facts, stated in the previous example, apply (Novi Sad).

Cvjetni trg, Zagreb, Croatia (Čaldarović and Šarinić, 2008, pp.369-381; Čaldarević, 2010, pp.70-75; Gotovac and Zlatar, 2008, pp.53-76; Milanović, 2011, pp.64-71)

The planned construction of business and residential complex in the area of Cvjetni trg in the center of Zagreb provoked violent reactions by the public and among part of the experts on one hand and investors and politicians, that is, city authorities, on other hand. The first were of the opinion that the realization of the project would violate public interest, historical and cultural inheritance, its underground garage would cause large traffic jams, but the other group claimed that its construction would benefit the city and modernize its neglected central city zone.

The private investor, along with politicians and city authorities, intended only to realize his own interests, and ignored the public opinion. Čaldarović sees private investor "as an urban planner, complex actor who not only possesses sufficient funds and wants to invest in part of central pedestrian core of Zagreb, but also appears as the main actor – organizer of the whole decision making process and reconstruction projects, even acts as the selector for the individual solutions" (Čaldarović, 2010, p.72). Provoked by all that, citizens and some of the experts protested, and in that way, a new actor appeared in the process of gentrification in a transitional society. "By direct and open opposing and persistent acting of civil initiative and professional societies, and some of the experts, planned intervention as this one could be slowed down" (Milanović, 2011, p.70), a process which, in this case, represents an early action **1B**, applied in the beginning of the process of gentrification to minimize future negative effects. After a number of protests, the investor surprisingly declared that he had withdrawn from the project, but that was only temporary, since the complex was eventually built and, recently, it has been opened for use.

Opening competition for reconstruction works in this part of the city represents measure **1A**, as the initiator of the process of gentrification. The cooperation between the authorities (politicians) and the investor is reflected in the investor's declaration that he would comply with all legal procedures, while exactly opposite happened – The general urban plan of Zagreb had been adjusted several times for this project, which instigated most of the bitter discussions. These types of urban transformations "are better to be carried out in a modern and generally acceptable manner so that cases of this kind could be avoided in future" (Gotovac and Zlatar, 2008, pp.73-74). Čaldarović and Šarinić claim that "when the transitional period is over, the rules of the game will probably be set more rationally, with more participation and responsible planners, city officials and mayors" (Čaldarović and Šarinić, 2008, p.379).

West Harlem, New York City, NY (Harvey, 1999, pp.5-6)

The influence of increased costs, caused by gentrification and blooming of Harlem, upon the population with low income and working class is considerable. They cannot afford to remain in Harlem when they need to move into a different or larger apartment.

The local administration wanted to help revitalization of the area, partly because of gaining economic benefits which potentially existed in this area, since the city previously purchased about 1/4 of dilapidated buildings and land which could be used for significant rehabilitation and reconstruction, and partly to prevent migration of low income population. This action also represents a way to reduce negative effects of gentrification. (**2B.**)

Harvey states the other measures/actions created against migration of this population (Harvey, 1999, p.6):

- Churches form non-profitable corporations for development to build apartments for population with low income /low-income housing/, supported by state loans (**2B.**),
- Homeownership is promoted through supporting population by counseling and advocacy by local non-profit organizations (**1B.**);
- Effective use of loans and credits such as purchase money mortgages and low interest rehabilitation loans (**1B.**);
- The government encourages development of mixed neighborhoods from the aspect of income /mixed income housing/ units, since they are considered a favorable environment, which ensures affordable housing (**1B.**);
- Housing project investors, politicians and local planners provide help in subsided buildings for those with low income /subsidy/. Critics say that this kind of housing is intended for those with middle class income and for the market (**1B.**);
- It is important to support development/ building with local minority contractors, which enables the local population to afford rents and living costs (**1B.**).

Lower East Side, New York City, NY (Harvey, 1999, pp.9-10; Smith and DeFilippis, 1999, pp.638-653)

Market and "cultural" industry transformed Lower East Side from marginalized neighborhood for population with low income and minorities into a modern, avant-garde neighborhood which attracts artists and young members of middle class. The city administration was the key partner in "cleaning" neighborhood from poor population and promoting gentrification through strict punishment for drugs abuse, harassing homeless people in Tompkins Square Park and its surrounding areas. Additionally, "Department of Housing, Preservation and Development" suggested the initial measure for attracting middle class into the area - "Artist Homeownership Program" which included renovation of deserted objects/buildings and building of new houses for artists – which promote luxury housing (**1A.**).

That initiated the creation of a Coalition, a form of civil initiative, which demanded that deserted buildings and all empty land owned by the city were used for housing of local population with low and average income. Problem was solved in such a way that, in respond to the demand by the Coalition, the city government proposed a measure which moderately satisfied both sides – mixed subsidy, allowing the city to sell the land to developers with the agreement that 20% of apartments/houses were to be given below market price for existing tenants in exchange for tax/fee exemption (**1B.**).

Smith and DeFilippis mention three waves of gentrification in Lower East Side and dramatic changes in the periods of disinvestment and reinvestment, followed by a parallel transformation of cultural economy (Smith and DeFilippis, 1999, p.646). They especially emphasize the events in Tompkins Square Park because they think that they initiated the third wave of gentrification. "The police riot against homeless people, their defenders and local squatters focused national and international attention on Tompkins Square Park…Several hundred of this people were evicted from the park and two-year publicly financed renovation commenced. It's reopening in 1993 as a much sanitized, high surveillance space was accompanies by a predictable rhetoric of neighborhood rebirth, a judgment corroborated some months later by a resurgent real estate market" (*ibid.*, p.640). All of this marks a concerted political victory of the City against neighborhood opposition to gentrification. Hackworth and Smith are of the similar opinion, stating that "in the third-wave gentrification the state was deeply in the process and overwhelmed community opposition" (Hackworth and Smith, 2001, p.475). This action of investing in public areas of the city (in the Park, concretely) was carried out in order to stimulate gentrifiers from the previous waves to remain in the neighborhood and initiate process of reinvestment (**2A.**).

New wave of gentrification is more intimately tied up with the circles of international capital. The city benefited from surplus capital, evacuated from Asia after the Asian economic crash in 1997, flooding New York, especially its real estate market. As a consequence, the City authorities began making a surplus from high tax receipts (Smith and DeFilippis, 1999, pp.650-651). Part of that could be used for final formation of gentrified area (**2A**).

Suffolk County, NY (Harvey, 1999, pp.6-7)

In Suffolk County there is a tendency to maintain balance between economic revitalization/ renewal as a positive effect of gentrification and migration of low income population. The partnership between local authorities, non-profitable organizations and banks has been established in this case. Harvey states that it enabled:

- Housing counseling (**1B.**),
- Training of local population for jobs (mainly in retail trade), which will provide opportunities for them to find more profitable employment enabling them to earn enough for rent and increasing expenses (**1B.**);
- Construction and rehabilitation of affordable housing projects for population with low and average income. "The Suffolk County Payment Assistance Program" supported these families to purchase apartments and houses by non-interest bearing deferred payment loans (**1B., 2B.**);
- Rental housing for this population (**1B., 2B.**).

Chicago, Illinois (Harvey, 1999, p.1)

South Loop, the Chicago area in the proximity of the city center, transformed itself because of the transformation of the Chicago industrial economy into services. This area came under influence of gentrification. Warehouses and industrial objects were turned into luxurious objects, only 10 minutes away from the center, initiating rehabilitation of rental residential objects, as well as their change into private apartments. According to Harvey, the Chicago city administration encouraged the rehabilitation of the area by approving subsidies to developers in infrastructure improvement, which represented an instance of using public investments as a catalyst, attracting private capital into the area, as well as partnership of public and private interest (and capital) on projects. This measure proved to be very successful (**1A.**).

Bloomington, Indiana (Evans et al.,1996, p.1; Harvey, 1999, pp. 3-4)

In Bloomington, gentrification developed freely, helped by the city authorities. That resulted in the lack of low rent apartments during 1980s and 1990s. Harvey explains that the Coalition of Low Income and Homeless Citizens decided to deal with a problem of affordable housing, the problem caused by gentrification, in a very systematic manner. At the local community level, they started planning direct actions organized campaign (**2B.**) with an aim to force the city authorities to transfer 1.2 million $ of regional fees/taxes into Affordable Housing Trust Fund. During next two months the Coalition had organized series of actions in the City Hall, appeared in large numbers as a regular attendant at the City Council meetings, knocked on the door of citizens with low income and asked for their active involvement. The Mayor and the City Council finally agreed to transfer 500 000 $, as a startup capital, into the Fund. The Coalition continued to fight for permanent affordable housing.

This civil initiative was successful for the reasons stated below:

- The organized campaign had clear goals: to found a fund and transfer 1.2 million into it and insure affordable housing.
- The Campaign had clear targets: The Mayor and the City Council as well as individual members of Council.
- The Coalition took direct and permanent measures (**2B.**), exerting strong pressure on targets summed above.
- The Coalition tended to broaden and focused on recruiting new members and creating new leaders.
- The Coalition took advantage of that year election politics. The Democratic members of Council supported the Coalition goals because they knew that it gained stronger and stronger positions and could influence the coming elections.

When the Coalition won the Campaign, Harvey wrote that some of the key organizers had moved out of Bloomington. The City authorities took leadership in their absence and reduced revenue into the fund, weakening their decisions and promises about affordable housing. This shows that what is gained today could be taken tomorrow, without a constant, strong initiative of local community.

Gentrification in West Oakland, USA (Harvey, 1999, pp. 9-11)

In case of West Oakland gentrification, more emphasis was put into attracting investments and economic development than migration of local population.

The local population did not possess sufficient political power to create measures which would protect their needs. For that reason, Harvey defines possible preventing measures, which would create a necessary balance:

• Protection of tenants

Two legal regulations, connected reciprocally, which could favorably influence tenants, are:

1. Rent control regulation (**1B.**)

It requires that apartment owners officially register tenants, which represents a way of protecting them. Accordingly, they can increase the rent only by a limited annual percentage.

2. Law on Displacement (**1B.**)

Displacement is legal, as long as it is not connected with discrimination and revenge. A notice must be given a certain number of days in advance and a reason must be stated. The regulation must stipulate that a rent cannot be increased by an apartment owner after a tenant moves out or that the owner must ask for a permission from the commission set up for that purpose.

• Possibility of obtaining ownership of the house/apartment

Primarily, this means approving loans to population with low and average income (**1B.**).

• Running campaigns for discouraging sale of apartments and buildings to speculators advertising on billboards (**1B.**).

• Negotiating with city authorities to demand from developers to build/rehabilitate 25% of apartments for those with low income (**1B.**).

As it was mentioned before, the gentrification is concerned mainly with housing sector (Sykora, 1996, p. 73).The "transition from housing-centered gentrification policy to a broad-based multi-sectoral 'regeneration' " (Smith, 2002, p.444) has appeared only recently. Housing presents a part of a developed public sector. On the basis of previously mentioned examples, it could be concluded that the market model alone, with absence of state/civil intervention in developed, densely built, central city areas is simply not possible. Civil/public intervention is necessary for forming and supporting positive effects of gentrification, as well as mitigating negative ones. Public sector will keep certain jurisdiction and role in creating and carrying out housing policy on different levels of organization of authorities. The scope of public intervention depends on context of a social and political tradition and dominant value standpoints concerning responsibilities of state institutions.

CONCLUSION

Actors' benefits and losses in the process of gentrification

After all these examples, the question remains who loses and who benefits from the processes of public interventions on effects of gentrification:

• *Planers* /experts/, by providing successful suggestions for appropriate measures/actions empower their profession and confidence in planning.

• *Administrative officers/politicians* rarely manage to meet the needs of both sides.

- When the gentrification process is finalized by implementing 2A actions and when a gentrified area obtains its final, attractive look, the city gets its representative neighborhood. It appears that those actors made a major contribution, even if they only acted in the final phase. That gives them positive points for next elections.

- The situation is more difficult when they have to act under pressure from both civil societies and non-governmental/ non-profit organizations because of the negative effects of gentrification. They must find an acceptable financial solution. The results are not attractive enough, not visible enough, as in the previous case, but, because of the possible impact of civil sector in next elections, they are compelled to find a solution. However, if a local population remains in its old neighborhood, gentrifiers are not actually willing to mix with them, and that is evaluated in negative terms.

• By improving a neighborhood, *the local community* acquires more beautiful environment, lower crime rate, etc, but very often old residents cannot afford residing in a reconstructed environment. That means that if the administration does not take care of that or implements adequate interventions, they suffer loss, because they must move out in more affordable neighborhoods. They usually try, united and with a strong campaign, to obtain some privileges and to enforce their position.

• *Non-profit/non-governmental organizations* (the so-called third sector) act in public interest, not for material gain/profit. They cannot lose; they help others to gain decent life conditions.

• *Gentrifiers* always benefit. They manage to achieve a high standard of housing in attractive environment, in central city neighborhoods or close to them, in the proximity of business centers.

The basis for all these changes is capital and market, so the question of financing is very important.

• Gentrifiers finance their moving into central city neighborhoods by themselves, through purchasing and reconstruction of buildings/ apartments or imposing high rents.

• Planning follows gentrification and, as it was mentioned before, it finalizes this process by investing in its final phases, financed by taxes collected from gentrifiers or rents. If government/administration helps population with the lower income to remain in that neighborhood, this aid is funded by a city (or state) budget or social funds intended for this kind of purposes.

• Non-profit and non-governmental organizations, too, partly finance poor households from their funds. In the USA, the Congress accepts and authorizes non-profit organizations which are exempted from paying taxes on profit, but it defines precisely for what kind of actions and initiatives these organizations are authorized for. They are not prohibited to generate profit, but they are limited in their ways to make it and use it. (Bloodhound Team, 1986, p.1).

• Banks give loans, credits, sometimes without interest.

The most successful measures/actions in function of public intervention

Positive effects of gentrification are desirable and it is easier to maximize them. However, negative effects raise concerns, the greater effort is put into their elimination and prevention, and this process includes more actors involved. The most successful measures/ actions commonly applied as a form of public intervention against those effects of gentrification could be divided into the following categories:

1. Affordable housing

Local population with low income is enabled to afford decent and affordable housing, which prevents their migration from neighborhood/ area in the process of gentrification, by:

• Different kinds of financing (subsidies, credits, tax policies...),

• Various institutional arrangements which enable building or reconstruction of apartments for rent, social apartments, private apartments...

• Consulting and representing activities related

to purchasing of apartments/houses, that is, stimulating ownership of apartments/houses, since the ownership of that type of real estate presents a powerful stabilization factor which helps resisting negative effects of gentrification,

- Providing counseling to local population in order to inform them about their rights,
- Existence of land and real estate non-profit organizations in local community,
- Creating funds for affordable housing,
- Rent control,
- Restrictions related to migration,
- Existence of SRO / Single Room Occupancy/ hotels as a type of available housing.

2. Jobs

- Non-profit organizations train local population for jobs in demand on the market,
- Hiring local entrepreneurs and workers for building and reconstruction jobs,
- Employment of local population in jobs created by establishing new facilities (services, entertainment, culture, health care...).

3. Local regulations

- Legal regulations concerning property and ways of using land, building, rent control, moving out of apartments, etc.
- Restrictive taxes for moving out and moving into some area (part of the city)
- Tax obligations imposed on gentrifiers, with the revenue allocated to funds for more affordable housing,
- Maintaining and improving monitoring by local administration.

4. Partnership

- Partnership between public and private sector (capital) is an essential measure supporting reconstruction of community, and reducing forces contributing to migration. Tošković states that "urban environmental quality and its sustainability, in the period that bears a heavy burden of the market influences, can't be achieved without the cooperation of both public and private sectors. That means that the aim should be the creation of a development which is democratically 'useful' and opposed to the individual feeling of self-confidence" (Tošković, 2004, p.19). The purpose of this partnership is to gain multiple benefits through different legal, institutional, organizational, financial and other arrangements, that is, to realize specific interests of both private and public sector, and, along with that, "added value". It could include actors from different levels, that is, local, regional and state level.
- Partnership between government/ administration, non-profit organizations and banks – with a view to mitigating negative effects of gentrification,

5. Direct actions

Local communities (often in partnership with non-profit and non-governmental organizations) with intensive and clear campaign and direct actions, influence (in most cases) city administration and expect direct actions aimed at preventing migration of local population and mitigating negative effects of gentrification.

There is no guaranteed formula for a successful fight. It is best to use different strategies, depending on unique relations and circumstances of every neighborhood (community). Communal spirit and partnership are essential for prevention of negative effects of gentrification and maximization of its positive effects.

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