Urban Development Processes. Methodological Investigation into the Complexity and Dynamics of Post-socialist Cities: Case Study of Savamala Neighbourhood in Belgrade, Serbia

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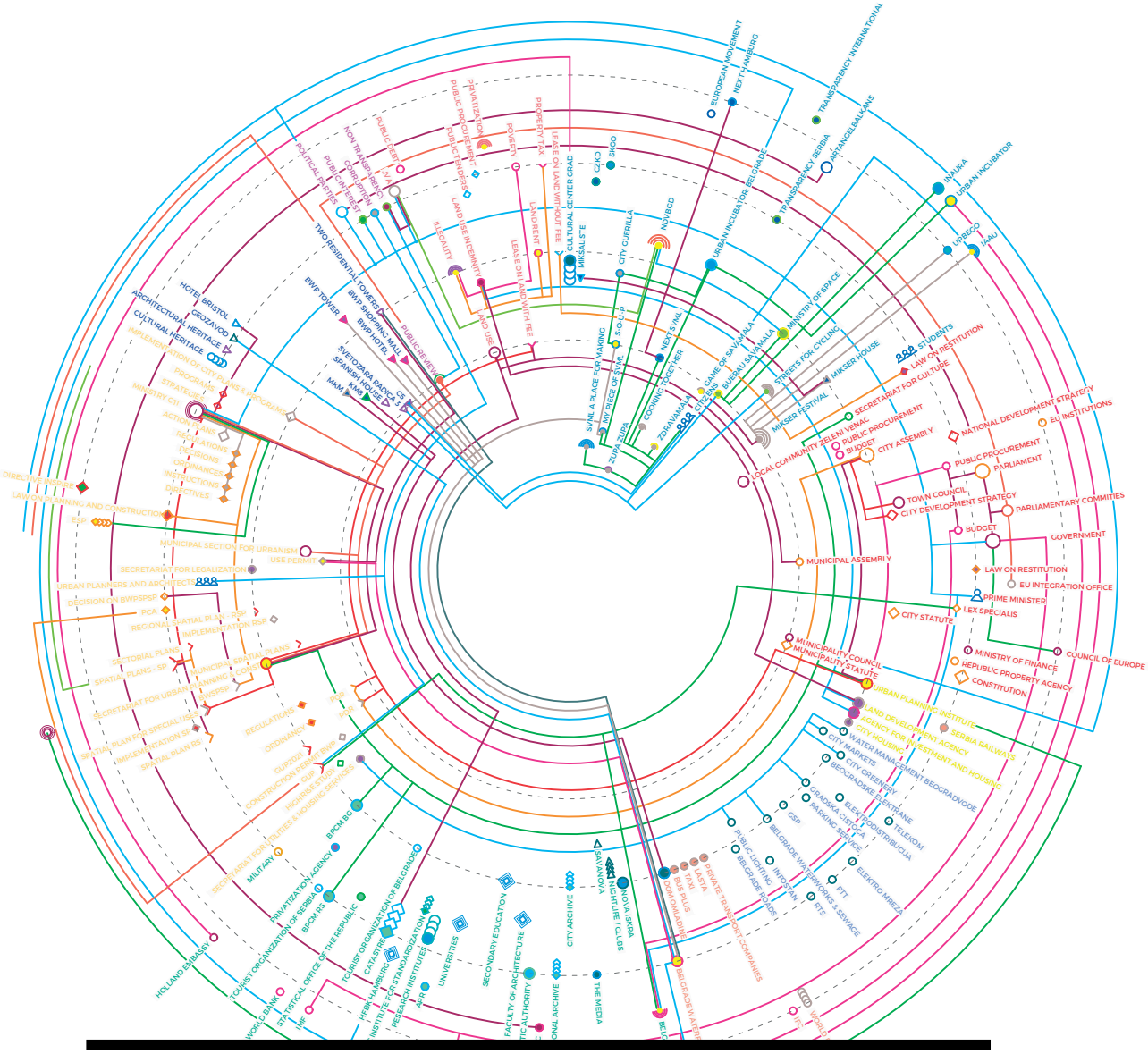
Methodological Investigation into the Complexity & Dynamics of Post-socialist Cities

Case Study of Savamala Neighbourhood in Belgrade, Serbia

by Marija Cvetinovic



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FRONT MATTER

Acronyms & Abbreviations

ANT	Actor-Network Theory
BUDS	Belgrade Urban Development Strategy
BWPSPSP	Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for the Special Purpose Area
CARE International	CARE is a major international humanitarian agency delivering emergency relief and long-term international development projects
CEP	Enterprise "Center for Urban Development Planning" [Centar za planiranje urbanog razvoja]
DFY	Democratic Federal Yugoslavia [Demokratska Federativna Jugoslavija, DFJ]
EP	European Parliament
ESPON 2020	European Spatial Planning Observation Network
EU	European Union
FAUB	Faculty of Architecture - University of Belgrade
FPRY	Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia [Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija, FNRJ]
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GNP	Gross National Product
GP	General Plan
GUP	General Urban Plan
HFBK	The Hochschule fur bildende Kunste
INTERREG	INTERREG is a series of five programmes to stimulate cooperation between regions in the European Union, funded by the European Regional Development Fund
Kingdom of SCS	Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
LCY	League of Communists of Yugoslavia [Savez Komunista Jugoslavije, SKJ]
LD	Lambda Development
MAS	Multi-agent System
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals

MSC	Ministry of Space Collective
NAPP	Nacionalna Agencija za Prostorno Planiranje
NASP	National Agency for Spatial Planning
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDVBG	Ne da(vi)mo Beograd [Don't Drown Belgrade]
NTUS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
PCA	Planning and Construction Act
PDR	Plan of Detailed Regulation
PGR	Plan of General Regulation
RS	Republic of Serbia
SAA	Stabilization Agreement
SANU	Serbian Academy of Science and Arts [Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti]
SCC [SKC]	Student Cultural Center [Studentski Kulturni Centar]
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SRY	Yugoslav Inland Waterway Shipping Enterprise [Jugoslovensko recno brodarstvo, JRB]
TBD	To-be-developed
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UPI	Urban Planning Institute
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Acronyms in Infographics

BA	Bottom-up
C	Change
CA	City Architect
CM	City Mayor
CR	Contextual Tesources
H	Human
KC	Cultural Center
KM8	Kraljevica Marka 8
LoU	Level of Urbanity
LS	Lex Specialis
M	Maintenance
MCTI	Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure
MH	Mikser house
MKM	Depository in the Kraljevica Marka Street
MoU	Morphology of Urban Decision-making
NH	Non-human
PM	Prime Minister
RE	Real-estate
RH	Research Hypotheses
RO	Research Objectives
RQ	Research Questions
SC	Spatial Capacities
SP	Social Potentials
SSP	Socio-spatial Patterns
T	Transformation
TD	Top-down
UC	Urban Conflicts
UD	Urban Development
UDM	Urban Decision-making
U	Urbanity
UA	Urban Agency
UI	Urban Incubator
UIB	Urban Incubator Belgrade
UN	Urban Networks
UP	Urban Practice
UST	Urban System Transitions

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PREFACE

ABSTRACT

The overall objective of this thesis is to critically address, break down and reassemble t***he urban development process in post-socialist cities*** through a set of analyses that covers urban planning strategies, real-estate interventions, participatory and urban design activities. The blurred and distorted morphology of the range of cities worldwide requires dynamic solutions and calls for proper techniques that are spatially and temporally adjusted to local socio-spatial patterns.

The theoretical foundations are built upon the ordinary cities approach. It provides a unique assemblage to examine how cities are intertwined with the world, without forgetting the social, cultural and historical legacies inherent to each city. The urban development of post-socialist cities is therefore perceived as a complex and dynamic system that incorporates discrepant layers of urban decision-making, tracks the level of urbanity through the fluctuating links between urban agency and socio-spatial patterns, and, in general, reveals the contextual processes of maintenance, transformation and change within an urban system.

The case study of the *Savamala neighbourhood*, is not only a scaled example of the pre-socialist material legacy, a socialist cultural and regulatory matrix, and a transitional social reality, but equally the condensed illustration of the multi-faceted circumstances of post-socialist urban development. These elements constitute the exploratory boundaries for research pertaining to a decision-making chain, urban agency networks, and to socio-spatial patterns identified in Savamala through a qualitative data collection.

The methodological framework is based on a process-driven, correlational research design that blends two methods. *The Actor-Network Theory (ANT)* creates bottom-up logical argumentation to describe urban complexity. *The Multi-Agent System (MAS)* serves to track urban dynamics and thus outline the action framework of the research. Data analysis, triangulation and reduction rely on complex actor roles and synthesized networks, the contextualization of interests and interventions, and the distribution of urban system transitions. The combination of overlapping methods and the visualization of data in diagrams deconstructs long-term historical processes.

The research findings are three-folded. Firstly, they shed light on the actors and the processes at play in Savamala, unveiling a disbalanced conglomerate of sectors: political (power-mongers), economic (profit-seekers), professional (technicians and apparatchiks), civil and cultural (on the go). The articulation of urban agency in Savamala fundamentally confirms an authoritarian distribution of roles and decisions. The empirical results of the study contribute to the operationalization of several theoretical concepts for practical investigations in ordinary cities around the world. While urban development is interpreted in terms of contextualized urban system transitions, an overarching demarcation of the level of urbanity captures the fluctuations of local socio-spatial capital. Both the complexity of urban actors, forces and artefacts, and the dynamics of urban networks, interrelations and processes, are depicted as a legible, data-loaded scheme of nodes and links when data is visualised through *the MAS-ANT methodological approach.* This research furnishes a response to the necessity of altering a deterministic concept of urban research in terms of finding an intermediary between empirical data and their graphical display.

Keywords:
urban development,
post-socialist cities,
neighbourhood,
Serbia,
Belgrade,
Savamala,
Actor-Network Theory (ANT),
Multi-Agent System (MAS),
hybrid method,
MAS-ANT,
urbanity,
urban decision-making,
case study,
urban agency,
visualization,
infographics

RÉSUMÉ

L'objectif général de cette recherche est de questionner, de déconstruire et de recomposer les processus de développement urbain dans les villes post socialistes au travers d'un ensemble d'analyses qui regroupent les stratégies de planification urbaines, les interventions de promotion immobilières et les activités de design urbain et de participation des habitants. Les morphologies floues et déformées/ distendues des différentes villes mondiales appellent des solutions dynamiques et pressent pour des techniques propres qui doivent être ajustées spatialement mais aussi temporellement aux particularismes locaux, tant dans leurs dimensions spatiales que sociales.

Les bases théoriques de ce travail s'inscrivent dans l'approche des villes ordinaires qui fournit un assemblage unique pour examiner comment ces villes sont étroitement imbriquées avec le monde actuel, tout en prenant en compte les héritages sociaux, culturels et historiques propres à chaque ville même à l'ère de la mondialisation.

Le développement urbain des villes postsocialistes est ainsi perçu comme l'évolution dynamique et complexe d'un système qui incorpore différents niveaux de prise de décision à l'échelle urbaine, à la recherche du niveau d'urbanité au travers des liens fluctuants entre **urban agency / l'agent urbain** et les configurations spatiales et sociales, et en général indique les processus contextuels de maintenance, de transformations et de changements à l'intérieur d'un système urbain.

L'étude de cas portant sur le quartier de Savamala n'est pas seulement un exemple à une échelle réduite de l'héritage matériel présocialiste, de la matrice socialiste en termes de culture et de régulation et d'une réalité sociale de transition mais ce quartier est aussi un exemple condensant les différentes facettes du développement urbain de type postsocialiste. Ces éléments fournissent les limites exploratoires de cette recherche relatives à la chaine de prises de décision, le réseau interdépendant et interconnecté qui lie les principaux **agents urbains** et les tendances spatiales et sociales identifiées à Savamala au travers d'une étude qualitative.

Le cadre méthodologique de ce travail se base sur un design de recherche à la fois orienté et corrélé, qui combine deux méthodes de recherche. D'une part, la théorie de l'acteur-réseau ANT a été définie comme étant la mieux à même pour décrire la complexité urbaine en s'appuyant sur une argumentation logique de type ascendante. D'autre part, la méthode du système multi-agent MAS qui permet de mettre à jour les dynamiques urbaines et donc de préciser le cadre d'action de cette recherche. Grâce à la triangulation des données et à la simplification schématique, l'analyse vise à rendre compte du rôle complexe de certains acteurs et à faire la synthèse des réseaux en présence mais aussi à contextualiser les différents intérêts en jeu et les nombreuses interventions réalisées ainsi que la distribution des pouvoirs des systèmes urbains en transition. La combinaison et la superposition de ces méthodes et la visualisation des données par des diagrammes permettent de déconstruire des processus historiques de longue durée.

Les résultats de cette recherche sont de trois ordres. Tout d'abord, les acteurs et les processus à l'œuvre à Savamala révèlent un conglomérat déséquilibré de différents secteurs : politiques (les dirigeants aux visées électoralistes), économiques (les investisseurs à la recherche de profits), professionnels (les techniciens et les apparatchiks),

Mot Clés:

développement urbain ;

villes post socialistes ;

quartier;

la Serbie;

Belgrade;

Savamala;

la théorie de l'acteur-réseau ANT;

le système multi-agent MAS ;

Méthode hybride; MAS-ANT;

urbanité;

la prise de décision à l'echelle urbane;

l'étude de cas;

visualisation;

infographie

civil et culturel (en cours de création). L'articulation de l'agencement urbain de Savama-la confirme une distribution de rôles et de décisions fondamentalement autoritaire. Les résultats empiriques de cette recherche contribuent à l'opérationnalisation de différentes approches théoriques dans une optique de recherche-action à mettre en place au sein de la palette mondiale des villes ordinaires. Alors que le développement urbain est interprété sous l'angle des transitions de systèmes urbains devant être contextualisées, une vision plus globale du degré d'urbanité permet d'intégrer les fluctuations du capital social et spatial au niveau local. Tant la complexité des facteurs urbains, les forces, artefacts et dynamiques des réseaux urbains ainsi que leurs interrelations et les processus à l'œuvre sont représentés comme un schéma de nœuds et de liens validé empiriquement, clair et lisible, alors que l'approche méthodologique combinée ANT/MAS permet de visualiser les données récoltées.Cette recherche fournit ainsi une réponse à la nécessité de modifier une vision déterministe de la recherche urbaine en mettant à jour un niveau intermédiaire entre la récolte empirique de données et leur représentation graphique.

"Every thing possible to be believ'd is an image of truth."

William Blake, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell

Chapter 1

Introduction

Urban development is a widespread archetype for the improvement of outreach in cities outside the Western World. However, in its practical application, it is more of a kind of constant effort to catch up with the West and the occidental urban paradigm, than an elaborated form of intrinsic local perception, knowledge and action toward urban system evolution.

In this highly competitive international arena, transitional countries experience grave consequences due to the paucity of practical experience within the ruling western ideology of the urban. They are caught in this new context with its relentless rules of the market economy, decentralized political and administrative powers, lack of resources, scarcity of general international investment and scant interest in the dramatic shifts that occur in these societies, in all aspects of their social organization and spatial transformations. The blurred and askew morphology of post-socialist cities in transitional countries is therefore the result of continuous pressure from the negative side-effects of imitating and lagging behind conventional urbanization models and accelerating globalization patterns imported from or imposed by the Global North, colloquially known as "the West".

The urban transformation of Serbian cities falls into this cliché of the new post-socialist urban reality, which emerged during the "transition to markets and democracy" *(\Tsenkova 2006b)*. The dismantling of the Yugoslav socialist regime during the late 1980s represented a substantial change in all aspects of social organization, the economic model and the political system. In such a situation, concern about the urban has been left out and given over as a battlefield for social needs in practice and technical solutions on paper and is easy prey to the exercise of power and interest. Therefore, the practice of planning and designing Serbian cities has most often been without even an actual or adequate goal, plan or procedure in place.

Furthermore, very few theoretical or general methodological research studies have bothered to examine alternative planning modes, techniques and instruments during transition, but have continued the practice of replicating well-known counterparts in the West. In general, even though for construction and space organization, we have different drivers on the global scale and in developed countries, there is rather a global trend of resorting to sociological, planning or even ICT (information and communication technology) approach in scientific studies on the urban.

Within the circumstances of developmental bouillon or "developmental schizophrenia" *(\Vujosevic et al. 2010b)* at the local level, my aim is to elaborate, on the standpoint of an architect, a methodological approach suitable, to a certain extent, for application upon the complex post-socialist urban reality. Among others, architects have a vital role in not only directing, but also framing the path of urban formation and development in post-socialist cities. This is even more the case, as they are primarily focused on practice and "savoir faire" about making the built environment. Yet, in Serbia, acquisition of land and illegal construction are spatial interventions that have marked the post-socialist production of space more than any planning or theoretical activity *(\Grubovic 2006)*. In order for spatial interventions to compete for

more relevancy and rigour, local architects have gradually shown interest in a scientific discourse within the context of built structures, spaces and cities in general. In the rivalry between the spatial and social basis for their interpretations, the fact that the field of architectural research is not yet standardized in terms of methodologies and techniques opens the door for experiments and innovations *(\RIBA 2014)*.

With a view to contribute to post-socialist urban research, my far-reaching aim is to capture the post-socialist urban complexity and dynamics so as to skip the classical procedure of urban development based on the western planning paradigm and thus provide a practical application to the multiple layers of urban decision-making. To be achieved, this requires supple methodological approaches which should better correspond to post- socialist socio-spatial patterns on multiple levels (state, city, municipality, community, and neighbourhood) and better explain the correlations of various urban elements. This practice-oriented, locally-focused and globally-tuned approach to the complex urban reality of post-socialist cities envisions embracing the dynamics of urban systems and the operationality of architectural investigation. Together they serve for circumscribing visual interpretations that enable continuous conclusion drawing and an up-to-date introduction of any new element that may appear in the system.

This introduction delves into the contextual, scientific and disciplinary discourse of the following research. It marks the research context, historical and scientific, and puts a spotlight on the importance of the research problem, as well as on the purpose and adequacy of this thesis. The research drive is then outlined accordingly. In a nutshell, the chapter presents what this research is about, how it will be performed and what the research expectations are and the practical results expected.

1.1 Urban development: What, How and Where to Study It

cities;
urban development;
urban disciplines;
research methods;
case study;

The city is regarded as a geographically condensed, highly structured economic, and the most complex social phenomenon *(\Mumford 1961)*. "Relational space", and "social interactions", in the modern qualitative and temporal sense of the term, are now the leading determinant for the way urban systems function *(\Soja 1980; \Low et al. 2003; \Amin 2004; \Massey 2005; \Khan et al. 2013)*. Due to growing social and physical transformations that have become evermore intensified as current globalization continues to spread out profit maximization, consumption patterns and information networks (\Harvey 2012), cities have been experiencing a progressive reorganization at spatial and social levels. Even though accelerating urbanisation is a worldwide process, it assumes different forms and meanings, depending on the prevailing local conditions *(\Bolay 2006)*. These overall circumstances of continuous urban development influence cities to serve as the primary channel linking local realities to global social, political and economic forces *(\Yates and Cheng 2002; \Tsenkova 2006a)*.

Urban development is rather a generic term for circumscribing the progress of and in cities addressed in practice-oriented research *(\\\World Bank)*. Today, when

cities are primary venues, power poles and capacity builders *(\Castells 1979)*, the theorem that the growth of cities expand opportunities seems to hold up. Moreover, the urban development concept has been easily mixed up with urbanization and economic growth and more often ruled out by the appealing righteousness of sustainable development trends *(\Christie and Warburton 2001; \Hopwood et al. 2005; \Sachs 2010; \Sachs 2012; \Sachs 2015)*. In this sense, urban development has been either patterned or predicted referring to whether it is a part of a model or project for a city or an urban environment.

The crucial move forward is to identify the patterns of the dynamic reality in cities and be more consistent with the spontaneous, everyday urban system transitions. Furthermore, a corresponding change in approaching urban development can then be addressed by heterogeneous, iterative and generative processes of urban space production in the physical and social sense. Ordinary cities approach provides unique assemblage of internally different, distinctive and context-based urban system transitions as well as overlapping space-, time- and relation- networks across cities *(\Amin and Graham 1997; \Robinson 2002; \Robinson 2006; \Roy 2011; \Parnell and Robinson 2012; \Robinson 2013; \Robinson 2015; \Robinson 2016)*. In other words, it is not only necessary to examine the ways in which countries/cities interlace with the global economy, but also social, cultural and historical legacies that each country/city carries into the era of globalization.

Within such range of explanations, this thesis revolves around the interpretation of urban development as an answer to the question "how can cities facilitate urban system transitions while also maintaining the culture and values of the community itself?" *(\\Kahne 2015)*. The idea of indicating what encompasses the urban development of an ordinary city leads to identifying the internal and external influences that constitute the core processes of maintenance, transformation or change in the urban system of a city, when treated equally within the global hierarchy of cities *(\Robinson 2002)*. Such an approach aims to surpass the perception of cities as merely economic, social and cultural venues and treat them as complex and dynamic urban systems. In these circumstances, it is necessary to apply proper techniques and methodologies for urban research and analyses that encompass the complexity and dynamics of cities in order to improve their living conditions and facilitate social interactions in the process of urban development.

Generally speaking, a range of urban disciplines (urban planning, theory, sociology, legislation and design) aim to decode and harmonize growing urban issues as a side-effect of the current globalization, urbanisation processes and the spread of capitalism. These trends mainly affect cities and the production of urban space and bid for the expertise to manage urban development *(\Allmendinger 2009; \Faludi 1973)*. In practice, these disciplines are embedded in a particular social context or a territorially based system of social relations. They react to shifts in socio-economic and political settings *(\Tsenkova 2006a)*, but have maintained a privileged relationship with Western cities, which are assumed to be the sources of urban creativity, vitality and

innovation in the urban domain *(\Robinson 2006:2)*. Accordingly, these disciplines tend to fail substantially when applied to a range of spatially and economically different environments that have undergone highly dramatic change in political, economic and social terms.

However, each discipline maintains its own perspective and pace in approaching urban matters. My architectural background has moulded my own research interest towards gaining knowledgeand understanding of the management of space and the built environment. Moreover, production of space is also a core concern for architects. Architecture is a discipline focused on practice and consequently it argues for parameters, categories and structure for its practice-based analyses. Hitherto, history and the theory of architecture have been the main fields of architectural research. Nonetheless, the production of space and place-making have been the topic of architectural output since the classical period (*\Vitruvius 20BC; \Rossi 1982; \Braunfels 1990; from \Van Assche et al. 2013)*, subsequently contributing to the drafting of theory in landscape architecture and urban design (*\Rossi 1982; \Lynch 1981; \Braunfels 1990; \ Childs 2010; from \Van Assche et al. 2013)*

In terms of methods, there have been a significant number of interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and multidisciplinary endeavours in applied research in urbanism. What is more, applied fields of research acknowledge the use of methodological hybrids *(\Datta 1994; \De Lisle 2011)*. This has opened doors for applied social sciences to investigate new methodological opportunities when confronted with complex and multiplex social phenomena *(\De Lisle 2011)*. This is even more relevant as methodological and epistemological rigidity leads to ignoring the realities of the practical and causes catastrophic scientific failures of practice-oriented research *(\Rogers 2008; \De Lisle 2011)*.

In contrast, the recent growth of architects engaged in urban research makes a case for transforming the general body of knowledge of cities into a real-life problem-solving strategy that address human lifestyles, social relations and the concept of space *(\Castells 2000; \van Dijk 2002)*. However, the ever-growing presence of a multidisciplinary frame of reference in research argues for the advancement of each discipline in terms of the relevance and reliability of the knowledge therein produced. However, missing links within the classical scientific discourse has caused a growing concern about what research is appropriate for architectural and design practice, as well as for an architectural stance in urban studies *(\RIBA)*. This especially concerns methodologies, methods, approaches, domain and credibility *(\Savic 2014b; \Savic 2016)*. Lacking the traditional scope of analysis, architectural research has been a paragon for innovation and experimentation.

What I have recognized as a crucial change in the methodological paradigm of the applicable urban research from the architectural standpoint, can then be boiled down to the rise of the global concept from one that is static to one that is iterative and dynamic. Generally speaking, a static world is one in which all transitions are according to a known law and which do not give rise to uncertainty. When defin-

ing the evolution of analyzing and simulating an urban phenomenon or process, it is fundamental to state that the existence of a problem depends on the future being different from the past, while the paradigmatic possibility of finding the solution to the problem depends on the future being like the past. Therefore, a transition in some sense is a necessary condition for a problem to exist. The complex empirical realities of urban system transitions collide therein with the powerful and dominant policy of the continuous, comprehensive production of knowledge. A scientific approach towards formulating the dynamics of urban system transitions have to count on uncertainty as one of its fundamental facts and in this way accept and deal with an open-ended future and the limits of human knowledge about it.

Gaining knowledge has come to be a strategic activity rather than a search for truth *(\Kirby 2013)*. o science becomes incapable of controlling society and the rationalized reality appears false and irrelevant *(\Alfasi and Portugali 2004)*. Given these conditions, the growing gap between the formal structure and the dynamics that take place in cities triggers an internal and independent process by which the system tends to spontaneously self-organize *(\Portugali 2011)*. Therefore, a city should be conceived as an organism, not a mechanism *(\Landry 2012)*. In these terms, the city is interpreted as a living system which is constantly mutating and emitting new elements, a container for processes of coming to be, breaking up and falling out, fragmenting and recomposing.

Contemporary cities tend to be concentrations of multiple socio-spatial circuits, diverse cultural hybrids, and sources of economic dynamism - a venue where the past and the present converge upon one another *(\Braudel 1970; \Harvey 2003)*. The city tells a story of one society and its attempts to move towards a positive vision of the future, through complex ranges of processes that flow together to construct a single consistent, coherent, albeit uncertain, interactive and multifaceted time-space system *(\Graham 1998; \Graham and Healey 1999)*. These ceaseless processes are the core of spontaneous, everyday urban development. Grasping the scope of urban development occurs as a major challenge for the modern science about cities.

My intention is not to produce another pattern applicable to certain cities to a certain extent, but rather to apprehend a process that embodies the complexity and dynamics of these relations in a transparent way. This framework of research enables a consideration of the means of generating a vibrant and fluid context open to permanent transformations and, most importantly, to grasp the idea of an adjusted and balanced method, adaptive to changing views and situations of accelerating urban development *(\Portugali 2011a)*. For this to be achieved, requires supple approaches which should aim to explain the correlations of various urban elements and better correspond to the socio-spatial patterns of a range of urban environments.

A dynamic urban context is a complex phenomenon with a plenitude of data. The case study research method enables a close, in-depth and holistic examination of a great deal of data, but requires a bounded environment in order to accurately describe and illustrate such a context and to use it for broader interpretations and the

demystification of modern cities. Specifying physical limits is not in itself enough to circumscribe the identified complexity of urban system transitions - the issue of scale is also at stake. In urban terms, different spatial and social elements are intensified or muted at different levels (global, national, regional, local).

In order to acquire active follow-up, interpretation and assessment of urban issues, it is important to define a representative environment, a robust source of prominent "urban processes". Therefore, I argue for a neighbourhood level of analysis to become the paradigm for the complexity and dynamics of the modern urban context and local specificities. It serves as an urban micro environment, which eventually increases the body of knowledge of cities concerning the methodologies used to deal with urban development and corresponding urban system transitions.

"The contemporary city is a variegated and multiplex entity - a juxtaposition of contradictions and diversities, the theatre of life itself"

Amin and Graham (1997)

1.2 Urban development: An Issue in Post-socialist Cities

ordinary cities;
post-socialist citeis;
Belgrade;
urban complexity and dynamics;

The focus of this thesis is urban complexity and the dynamics of post-socialist cities. The issue is not addressed as a problem to solve, but rather as a moving target for an exploratory observation of the way cities function and how various urban system transitions condition urban development of post-socialist cities.

Following the "ordinary cities" approach, I would like to elaborate that post-socialist cities in transitional countries encounter extraordinary difficulties when copying urban models from the West. The cause is found in the lack of institutional infrastructure and cultural patterns essential for the functional unity present in western cities *(\Petrovic 2009)*. Furthermore, the fundamentality and intensity of economic and political change in Balkan post-socialist countries may be a historic exemplary of social transition hard to find in a "typical" capitalist city *(\Sykora 1999)*. Its internal environment is in a state of flux, with rapid adjustment of the physical, economic, social, and political structures of the city itself *(ibid.)*.

Post-socialist cities are treated herein as a range of qualitatively distinctive cities that "deal differently with their difference" *(\Amin and Graham 1997)*. In their incompleteness, plurality and informality, post-socialist cities in transitional countries represent dynamic and diverse arenas of contemporary urban life, experience and theory. Such confusing political and social circumstances have deprived the average citizen of sufficient information about the possibilities and tools to take an active part in the development of their city. This rather organic path of urban development leads to classifying post-socialist cities in transitional countries as unregulated capitalist cities (investment-led) with third world urban development elements (substantial illegal activities and informal markets) *(\Petrovic 2009)*.

Conditioned by the geographic location of Serbia (in CEE), murky circumstances of transition (towards the liberal market, private property, profit motive and consumer sovereignty) are followed by a set of decentralization and democratization protocols for joining the EU, for the availability of European research and civil sector funds, as well as for the promotion of participation and engagement from the ground up *(\Vujosevic and Maricic 2012; \Vujosevic et al. 2015; \Zekovic et al. 2015)*. Having said that, the lack of successful urban planning models and actions make it possible for the rising economy of social exchange and local capacity building to contribute to an improvement of life and functionality of urban structures and systems, and effectively address the tensions between top-down and bottom-up urban planning in a post-socialist city.

Tracing the institutional articulation of a post-socialist context in Belgrade involves the structural analysis of administrative procedures and content analysis of policy agendas. It serves to systematically deconstruct local urban governance in terms of the political, economic and cultural aspects of transition with a multitude of actors, a variety of interests, conflicted strategies and fragmented implementation. In the long run, the identification of relations and influences on post-socialist urban governance examines how urban actors, space and the regulatory framework rely on planning and decision support systems as a means to forecast and orchestrate any movement of the system. Thus, each element of urban systems, human or not, is attributed agency.

1 The relativistic approach to space and time and their relations stems from modern physics and in urban research, it was introduced by ***David Harvey (\2003)*** with the term "space-time compression" which explained the altered relations between space and time caused by the capitalist order. However, the series of authors speak about condensed or diluted (speeding up and spreading out) space-time relations, but they conne+ct this with, globalization and urbanization trends and technological advancement rather than exclusively with capitalism ***(\ Massey 2010)***.

This thesis approaches the urban development concept in relativistic terms.[1] Under the hood of scientific neutrality, the urban development concept is critically approached, broken down and recomposed as a process of urban system transitions, not as an indicator or the final product in urban practice. In this sense, urban development is applied as an overarching codifier for urban complexity bounded rather as a comprehensive overlay for urban dynamics, not as its qualitative, prognostic nor delineative indicator.

1.3 Thesis Aims and Scope: Urban Complexity and Dynamics

research scope:
grasp urban
development
processes in
post-socialist cities;

Urban structures interact in an environment that is constantly undergoing transitions, as they themselves are not permanent and unchangeable. As a result, this constantly influences and changes our point of view, influencing our way of solving problems that exist in our environment, as we and all of our surroundings are in a constant state of flux *(\Harvey 2003).*

Accordingly, the complexity of an urban system, which involves the unpredictable and uncertain in its structure, is bridged by emphasizing the reference to its state and corresponding urban dynamics. This approach indicates the political aspect of urban processes, not that of urban structures. Moreover, it coincides with the political view of urban planning *(\Friedmann 1987)*, though it takes a more inclusive turn with all the agents of interventions, relations and events taken into account, not withstanding their nature, function or purpose. In other words, urban development becomes reconfigured into a fine-grained urban dynamics, adding up elements to the battlefield of urban decision making, while it enables labeling the complexity of urban systems.

This sort of relativism, where the interactions of as many elements as they emerge determine the context in which they are placed, should be a formative factor in addressing urban complexity and dynamics in terms of urban development processes, prospects and circumstances.

1.3.1 Research Objectives: Urban Development at the Local Level

This research aims to encompass the complexity and dynamics of urban transitions as an urban development indicator at the local level in a transparent way.

[RO1]

examine urban development concept in terms of dynamic state of an ordinary city in its full complexity:

- describe urban system complexity;
- trace the morphology of decision making;
- map urban agency;

[RO2]

investigate socio-spatial patterns of an ordinary city:

- elaborate urbanity in terms of socio-spatial patterns;
- connect urbanity to urban dynamics through the level of urbanity;
- contextualize the level of urbanity in post-socialist cities;

[RO3]

find a proper methodology for tracing both urban complexity and dynamics:

- identify urban networks within the morphology of urban decision making
- trace the level of urbanity to indicate urban dynamics

The theoretical stronghold of this thesis is the interpretation moving away from the qualitative notion of the term urban development to indicate its operational equivalence with a more neutral and relativistic idea of urban system transitions. In this respect, **an overall research question** is: **HOW TO** investigate post-socialist cities in order to reinvent a more inclusive and flexible approach to understanding urban development by engaging the complexity and dynamics of an urban context?

1.3.2 Thesis built-in concepts

urban decision making;
urban agency;
urbanity

Urban system transitions encompass the complexity and dynamics of an urban environment within the combination of urban decision-making, urban agency and urbanity. This interpretation of urban development not only emphasizes its processual nature, but also moves away from its project- or model-based feature by incorporating locally contingent socio-spatial patterns *(\Guy and Henneberry 2000)* and a non-human basis of urban agency *(\Healey 1992b; \McFarlane 2011; \Anderson and McFarlane 2011; \Healey 2013; \Rafiee et al. 2014)*.

In general, the important research challenge of this thesis is testing the legitimacy of urban decision making in addressing urban development. The issue at stake is to encompass planning, power struggle, economic interests, design and participation in an overarching urban decision making procedure. Namely, the source of urban system transitions are decisions made through these various top down, bottom up and interest-based interventions, relations and events *(\Hudson and Leftwich 2014)*. Political and governance practices are open and susceptible to choice, through contestation and struggle, and accident, historical or natural *(ibid.)*. The morphology of **urban decision-making** therefore comprises and reconciles all its different layers that spread urban transitions through and across an urban system and engages certain level of forethought *(\Healey 1997; \Scott 1998; \Pierre 2000; \Pierre and Peters 2000; \Hudson and Leftwich 2014)*. They serve to enclose the historical continuum of global urban trends and patterns in a local socio-spatial framework and translate them into an internal, on-going interaction of individuals or constituted groups.

The identified overarching decision making procedure acknowledges human agency. Through these interactions, urban actors initiate the process of their integration into the environment through an appropriation and transformation of space. In this sense, we could refer to the classical vision of cities as a setting that consists of: venues (their spatial and built environment) for social interactions (economic, political and cultural), social practices (policies and processes) and a reproduction of the social order of all urban actors *(\Firmino et al. 2008)*. The way cities function shapes the expectations and actions of all the urban actors involved, who also influence the constitution of the city itself. The network of these internal and external influences

between human and non-human elements engaged in urban system transitions introduces **urban agency** as a property of all key urban elements. While the multitude and diversity of elements in an urban system, incarnate its dynamics, they rather blackbox the agency of urban dynamics instead of facilitating its decoding.

Urbanity is another rather blurry concept, applied often in architectural research and practice with the potential for decoding urban dynamics. In general terms, it relies on urban complexity as an active attribute of the overall state of an urban environment *(\Canuto and Amoriim 2012)*. Moreover, this thesis argues that an overarching definition of the urbanity concept improves scientific capacity for grasping urban dynamics *(\Marcus 2007; \Zijderveld 2011; \Canuto and Amoriim 2012; \de Aguiar, Douglas, \Vieira 2013; \Holden et al. 2015)*. It elaborates how the level of urbanity figures as an indicator for maintenance, transformation and change processes of an urban system, incorporating simultaneously its state and the transitions. The relationship between the physicality of urban form and the social components of urban life generates the level of urbanity - the quality of continuous harmonization of the variety of structural elements, social factors and the vested interests existing in an urban environment *(\De Holanda 2011; \Canuto and Amoriim 2012)*.

This approach views a worldwide, broad, general and mutable process of urban development that is actually connected to place. Appreciating an actual urban micro setting is a vital factor to understand case specific uncertainties and creates a polygon for the transformation of the global aspects to meet local specificities.

1.3.3 Methodology as a starting point

mixed method;
ANT;
MAS;
MAS-ANT;
Savamala neighbourhood;

Following contemporary trends for rethinking space, time, globalization and cities, the research challenge can be defined as "visualizing cities as unformed, un-organized, non-stratified, always in the process of formation and deformation, eluding fixed categories, transient nomad space-time that does not dissect the city into either segments and things or structures and processes" *(\Smith 2003:574)*. A corresponding change in approaching urban development can then be addressed by the heterogeneous iterative approach that encompass the complexity and dynamics of cities for the improvement of living conditions and the facilitation of social interactions in cities.

Bearing in mind the complexity of such a relativistic approach to the urban and the necessity of practice-oriented knowledge, this thesis proposes a mixed-method case-study approach *(\Flyvbjerg 2005)*. According to *Kuhn (1962)* paradigm shift, the science about the city is a constantly swinging pendulum between the scientific and hermeneutics approach - quantitative analysis vs. descriptive study *(\Portugali 2011a)*. The mixed research method in this case provides complementary information and in-depth knowledge of the problem. However, it has been solely moulded according to qualitative data sets.

The choice of methodologies is justified by the process-driven, correlational research design and the exploratory character of the research itself. In this regard, the thesis suggests the potential of the combination of a Multi-Agent System (MAS) and Actor-Network Theory (ANT) methodologies. ANT has been extensively applied in so-

ciology for the analysis of cities and the urban, while MAS itself is a more mathematical-computational method for agent-based modelings. The MAS-ANT hybrid methodology herein serves to capture local urban dynamics and reframe the complexity of permanent urban system transitions for urban development. This argument is built on the usefulness of ANT for describing the urban reality. It will then be demonstrated that MAS adds the framework of action when applied over ANT.

Finally, its application is presented in the case study of a post-socialist neighbourhood in Belgrade. In this case, the researcher had the opportunity to be educated in Belgrade and to work in the architectural production in the Serbian capital. Therefore, the researcher is to some extent familiar with the local context and has the ability to access relevant data.

1.4 Thesis Contribution: Towards Research Findings

My aim with this dissertation is to mark a path for move away from the general theoretical research into an on-site practice-based investigation. Consequently, this study attempts to show how a real-life focus on the Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade eventually increases the body of knowledge on urban development processes, the post-socialist urban environment and the methods used to deal with complex and dynamic urban contexts.

The envisoned research findings are three-folded. First of all, the conclusions addressing actors and processes at play in Savamala. Then the scope of several theoretical constructs is reconsidered for describing and guiding urban processes in cities outside the Global North. The empirical results of this research contribute to the operational interpretation of urban development, in terms of value-neutral urban system transitions, and the level of urbanity, in reference to contextualized socio-spatial patterns. Finally, visualizing data through MAS-ANT methodological approach expresses an attempt to depict the complexity of urban actors, forces and artifacts and the dynamics of networks, interdependences and processes to a legible, data-loaded scheme of nodes and links. This research contributes to responding to the necessity to shift the deterministic concept of how to approach urban research to a more comprehensive, network-oriented vision in terms of finding an intermediary between the qualitative data analysis and the data display closely related to modern means of communication.

1.5 Thesis Structure

The study is structured in eight (8) chapters.

This chapter **(CHAPTER 1)** sets the path for reaching the research objectives. Its crucial role is to provide a basic understanding and scientific justification of what forms and conditions urban complexity and dynamics and how the problem is approached within the limits of this research.

The next **CHAPTER 2** contains an extensive literature review concerning the applicable concepts and the chosen methodologies. These concepts form the essence for categorizations with the chosen methods. The conceptual and methodological parts build the theoretical framework for this thesis.

CHAPTER 3 relies on the primary statements from this introductory chap-

ter, builds on the range of indicators identified within the theoretical framework and further elaborates the methodological approach and the scientific argument of the research.

In order to substantiate the proposed hypothesis, the presented theoretical framework will be tested on an elucidated case study. In **CHAPTER 4** the choice of the Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade is clarified and data collection procedures are summarized in the form of a linear and chronological case study report.

The following chapter moves forward to hypothesis testing and consecutive application of the chosen research methodologies. Data analysis with the Actor-network theory (ANT) is the core of **CHAPTER 5** which addresses the issue of urban complexity.

CHAPTER 6 deals with system building according to the postulates of the Multi-Agent system (MAS) and provides the elaboration of urban dynamics.

CHAPTER 7 presents the actual hybridization of two methods (MAS-ANT) and display the data on urban development processes.

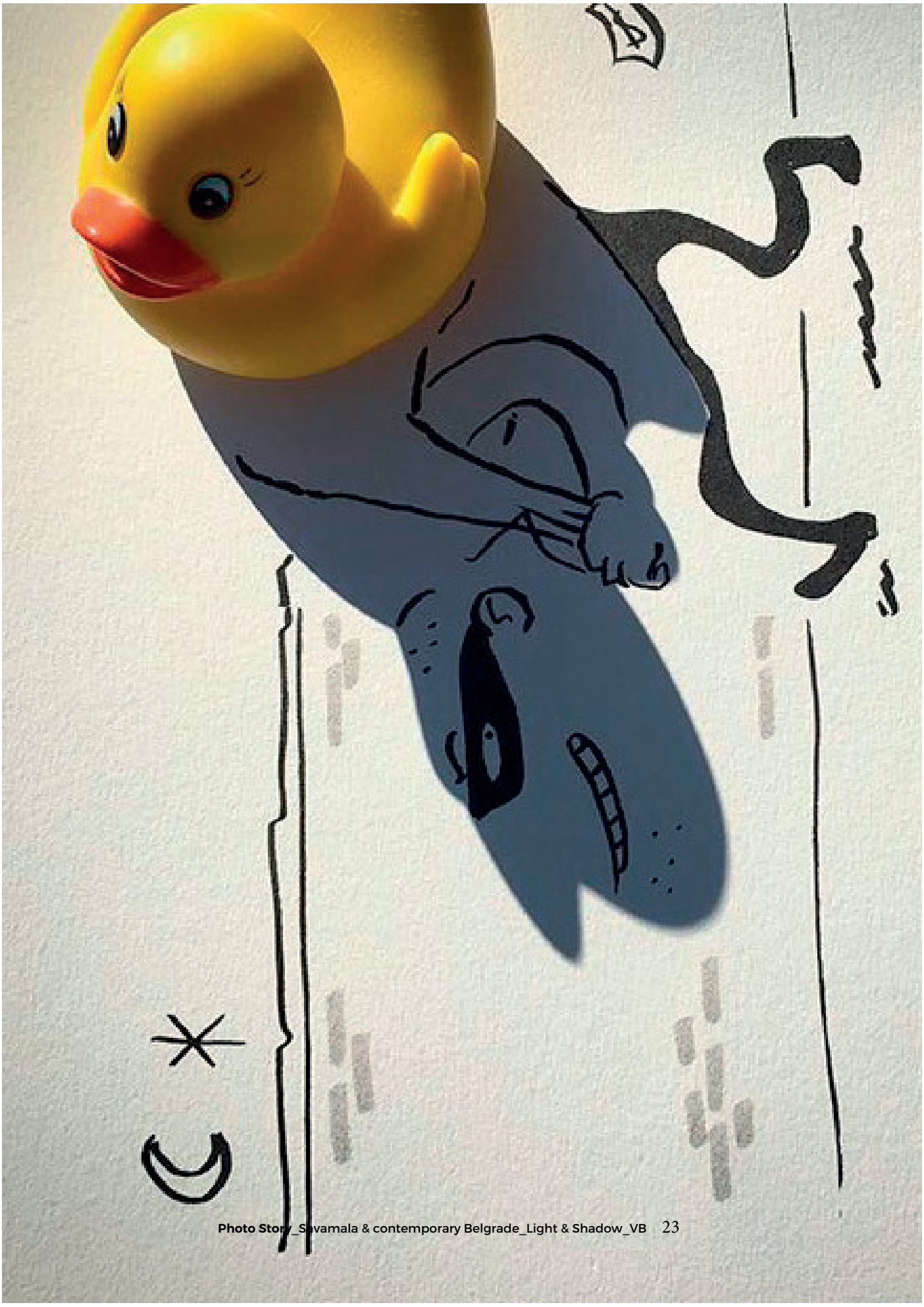
In **CHAPTER 8** the conducted research is pulled together. The resulting discussion is drawn upon the outlined background information on the theoretical framework, the deconstructed MAS-ANT methodological hybrid, and the collected and analysed data on the case study from the previous chapters. Based on these results, this thesis is concluded on two separate levels, regarding the research and theoretical framework. The final results are also presented in the wider perspective concerning its practical application and the limits and potential of its framework.

Apart from the textual explanations, the research analysis is supported with infographics. The infographics include three types of visual material:

- **Charts** - serving as instruments of data analysis; they provide the connections between different categories of data and indicate relations toward the language of visualization (symbols and colours).
- **Tables** - contributing to data display; tables give an overview of elements, relations and processes and the characteristics assigned to them in this research project.
- **Diagrams -** working out data mapping. According to their purpose , diagrams are divided between frameworks, time-lines, designs, and data visualizations. The designs are the supportive diagrams that deconstruct the research and methodological visualizations. Bearing in mind the nature of data visualizations and the amount of data represented therein, they are the road-maps for possible interactive digital designs (digitalization). The legibility of these diagrams is provided with detailed legends of the graphic convention and, for the most complex ones, the patterns of construction (a scheme of how the logic of previous charts, tables and other diagrams were applied for structuring data visually).

In parallel, the story of Savamala urban development - **Photo Story** - is narrated independently through pictures of historical processes that bound localized actors and networks across space and time.

[Savamala is all in one of Belgrade's contemporary life..]



Savamala Streetart_MC

Chapter 2

Urban Development - Theory, Methodology and Context

Cities are rather primary venues, power poles and capacity builders of economic, social and cultural development at stake in modern societies *(\Castells 1979)*. Cities are the polygon of contemporary decision making. Even more so, cities are dynamic and diverse urban entities that are given to shaping their autonomous and innovative future on the basis of human resources and creative human potential *(\Knight and Gappert 1989; \Yigitcanlar 2008)*. Contemporary cities are the source of both problems and solutions of contemporary life.

The prosperity of cities is generally evaluated from how competitive they are on a global economic scale, how flexible they are in terms of adjusting to current trends and needs, and how fertile they are for the development of knowledge and the application of innovation. These major uncertainties of contemporary life, created mainly but not exclusively by the current method of production and management, are acutely symbolized by concerns about urban development *(\Healey 1997)*.

This chapter aims to provide a critical overview of the relevant and explanatory theories to help provide an interpretation of the urban development prospects in a post-socialist neighbourhood in Belgrade. These theories are critically reviewed through separate conceptual, methodological and contextual investigations respectively.

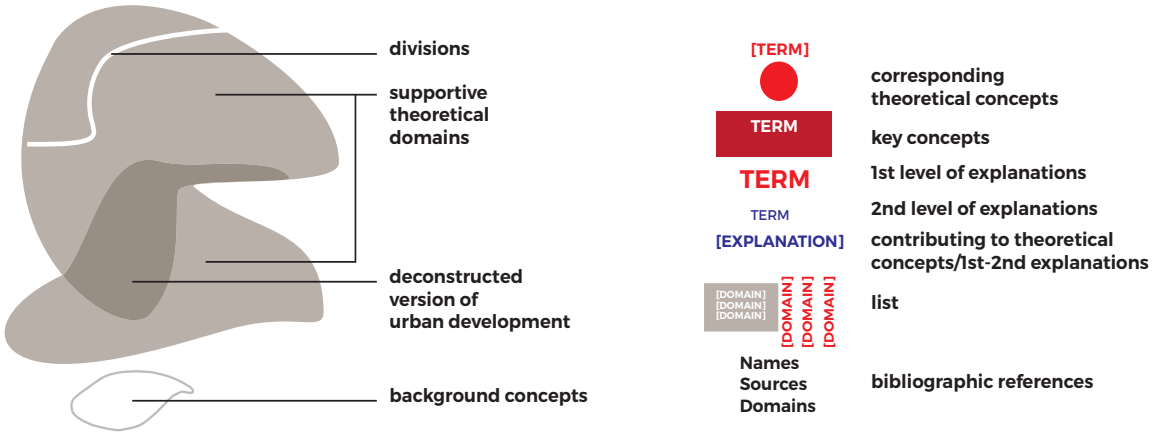
2.1 Conceptual Framework

Following the methodological focus of this research project, the main concepts outlined in the introduction lead through a theoretical investigation into the current body of scientific knowledge to see to what extent they can principally help fulfill the research objectives. The conceptual framework structurally builds the bases of phenomena, facts and theories that operationalize the main concepts identified by explaining how they are converted into indicators, and from indicators into dependent and independent variables.

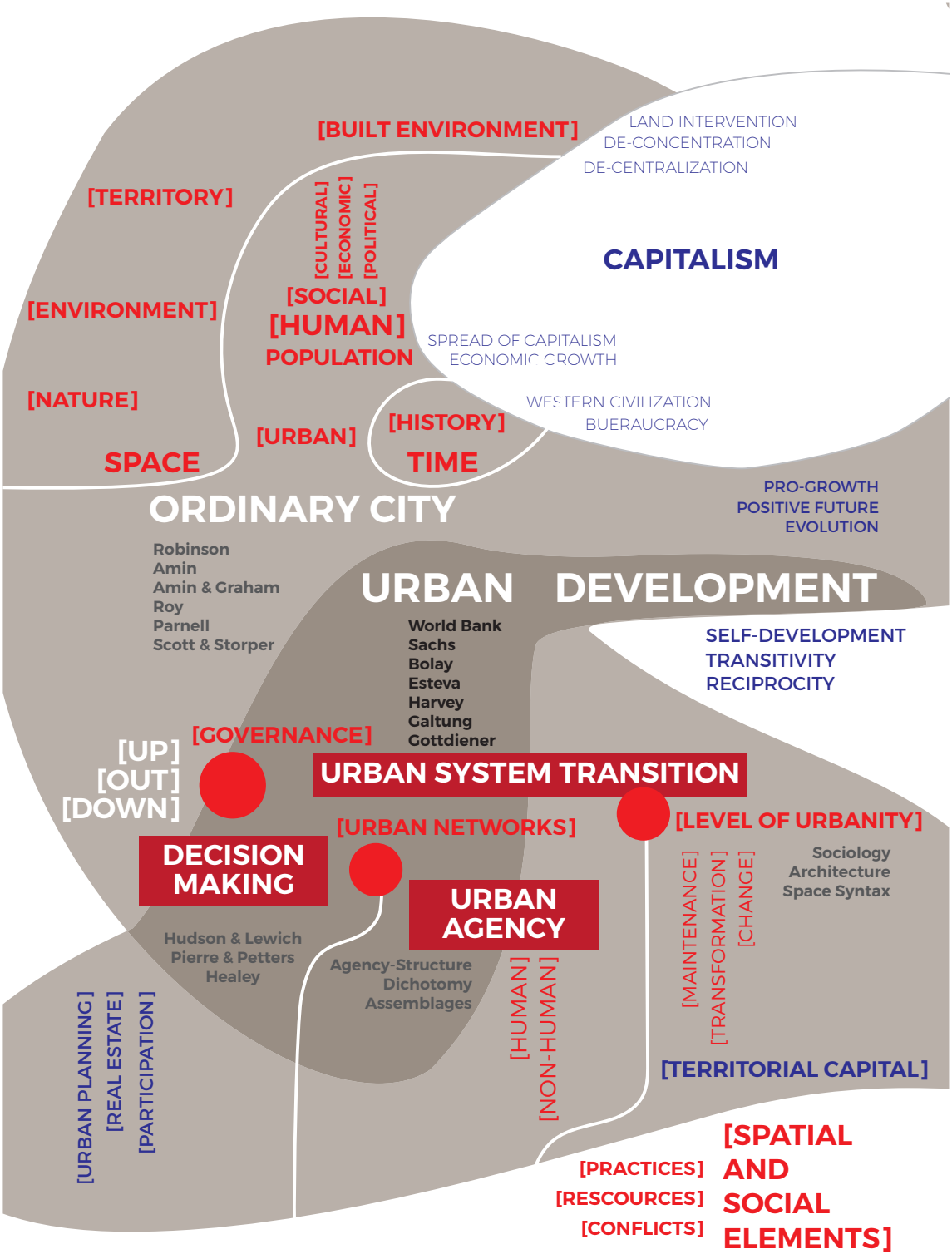
Starting with the general notion of urban development, the narrative is constructed from a critique of its focus on economic growth towards its processual and more inclusive nature. In this reference it also brings forth the ordinary city, a theoretical stance that emphasizes no qualitative difference among cities according to their geographical location, history and economic prosperity. Therefore, urban complexity is deconstructed in terms of urban agency and urban decision-making. Urban agency *(\Healey 1992a; \McFarlane 2011; \DeLanda 2013)* sets in motion urban environments. Its distribution in cities is governed through the complex organizational logic of urban decision-making *(\Putnam 1993; \Hall and Taylor 1996; \Healey 1997; \Scott 1998; \Pierre 2000; Pierre and Peters 2000; \Hudson and Leftwich 2014)*. On the other hand, the concept of urbanity *(\Haussermann and Siebel 1992; \Gronlund 2007; \Marcus 2007; \Zijderveld 2011; \Canuto and Amoriim 2012; \De Aguiar 2013; \Holden et al. 2015)* was the point of departure for addressing urban dynamics by linking urban agency to socio-spatial references as the source of qualitative urban transitions.

The diagram on page 29 [Diagram 1:29] visualizes the conceptual framework of this thesis in terms of relationality among the referenced key words. Its aim is to summarize the extensive literature review on the set of theoretical terms/concepts which are crucial for setting up a methodology to analyse urban development in a value neutral manner. The diagram is a result of the visual brain storming of the vast amount of references, relevant authors and corresponding sub-concepts. Its interpretation is based on colours of areas and letters and the proximity of the words. A central, dark grey area emphasize the trinity of agency, decision making and urban system transitions identified in this research project as a deconstructed version of urban development. On the other hand, light grey areas keep track of other, supportive theoretical domains used to build up the argument from a broader scale to the particular context. These two areas meet in the central irregular shape coloured in dark grey. Explanatory concepts left out in white zones provide an adequate background for this theoretical overview, particularly concerning society (capitalism), value neutral view on urban development and socio-spatial elements of territorial capital. White lines divide areas of explanations. Big red dots represent theoretical concepts that provide explanations for the "central trinity" of this research - governance explains urban decision-making, urban networks connect urban agency to decision making, and urban system transitions are traced within the concept of urbanity and urbanity lelvel. The keywords are clustered in terms of the font colour: white words are the key concepts; words in red provide the first level of detailed explanations; blue colour corresponds to the second level of explanatory concepts that position this particular research context within the broader theoretical field. The size, bolding or background colour distinquish the importance of certain terms for building this research project. Square brackets enclose elements that help explaining general concepts (i.e. space, time, agency etc.). They also serve to indicate the listings usually put with different orientation. Blackish colour of words indicate the references - theoretical fields or important authors that address the main concepts: urban development, ordinary city, urban decision making and urban agency.

In sum, this section traces the systematic view on urban complexity and dynamics within urban theory in order to form the basis, not of a goal-oriented, but rather of a process-oriented, value neutral vision of urban development [Diagram 1:29].



[DIAGRAM 1] LEGEND: Conceptual framework



[DIAGRAM 1] Conceptual framework

2.1.1 What Urban Development stands for?

development: semantics & history;
different developments;
sustainable development;
urban development;
growth & improvement paradigm;
urban system transitions;;

Urban development is a widely accepted although also contested category, usually associated with urbanisation processes in the "so-called" developing countries. Many professionals in urban research and practice use the term, overlooking the great number of people around the world affected by the term. Nevertheless, the notion of the word "development" itself means different things to different people. The quest for recapitulation of the urban development concept undoubtedly maintains a reference to something that was its initial concept. The phrase "urban development" consists of the words urban and development, both widespread and crammed with connotation, but loose and less inefficient when used in the narrative of actions (*Bolay 2006; \Bolay and Kern 2010; \Bolay 2012; \\\Bolay and Kern 2011*).

The urban is a self-contained theoretical term, yet, according to its use (*Brenner and Schmid 2014*) in practice it is not a pre-given, self-evident reality, condition or form. However, following the authors' explanations the urban is a territorially bounded historical process where the population is concentrated and where social relations unfold (ibid.). *Soja and Kanai (\2006)* explain the urban as a way of life, binding its spatial and social dimensions together. Taking into account its processual nature and socio-spatial polymorphism, the urban phenomenon is acknowledged for its fluid, extensive and variableactualization in space-time *(\Brenner and Schmid 2014)*.

Concomitantly, this research followes *(\Esteva 2010)* explanations of development, which state that this powerful semantic constellation does not show the same eagerness in producing the substance and meaning applicable in practice. According to the author *(ibid.)*, through the historical distortion of the term primarily applied in biology, development has become a conservative political project that does not effectively contribute to the visions and futures it agitates for.

In biology, development explains the process through which organisms achieve their mature natural form. Darwin already used the terms evolution and development interchangeably *(ibid.)*. Consequently, when transferred to the social sphere in the 18th century, development was already assumed as a pursuit of appropriateness and perfection. Harvey specifies that development is inseparable from capitalism *(\Harvey 1978)*. Connecting development to capitalist ideology endows it with a set of social, economic, political, and spatial implications. In an overarching development, taxonomy attributes it with structural transformation (economic), human development, democratic participation and improved governance and environmental sustainability *(\ Vazquez and Sumner 2013)*.

In its 200 year long history, the concept has been significantly updated and modified mainly in the course of development and environmental studies *(\Vujosević et al. 2012a)*. In this reference, *Walker and Storper (\1989)* discuss industrial and social development, and scientists and practitioners in the world also talk about capitalist, economic, spatial and metropolitan development, uneven development, climate change and development, and so forth. Another developmental catchword was that

of sustainable development. Its theoretical scope tends to reconcile opposites growing around the restrictive requirements of the environment on one side, and, on the other, the economy devouring borders and different systems into a flexible, workable unity *(\Bolay 2012)*. The operational definition that brings together environmental and socio-economic questions was expressed as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs *(\\\WCED 1987:43)*. Setting development in the time perspective like this, brings after all a steady, anthropocentric frame of reference *(\Lee 2000)*, which, in a certain sense, defies the initial association of development with mainly economic growth.

Being bounded in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), sustainability became an agenda of international pursuit *(\\\United Nations 2000)*. Placed as a goal on a vast global scale, development was in need of ever better adjustments to the local context and continual update of scientific and technological trends. Therefore, the leading paradigm sets it in the domain of moral and practical commitments, bottom-up crowd-sourcing activity, technological and social improvements and global mobilization of knowledge *(\Sachs 2012)*.

Still, in comparison to its all-inclusive definition, when turned into practice, sustainability also meets its limits *(\Bolay 2012)*. After multiple results and setbacks and an increasing number of field-research and action-plans, the developmental agenda has grown from the initial 8 millennium development goals (MDGs) into 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) of the post-2015 Development Agenda *(\\\UN 2013; \ Sachs 2015)*. [2]

In favour of sustainable development as a workable concept is the claim from several experts that sustainability with its environmental and timeless human awareness threatens the capitalist order of things *(\Christie and Warburton 2001; \Hopwood et al. 2005)*. Even though essentially humanitarian in its meaning, the openness and lack of rigor in the definition has allowed for ambiguous interpretations. As a matter of fact, some point out that this overarching proposition in reality enables business and governments to be in favour of sustainability without any fundamental challenge to their present course *(\Hopwood et al. 2005)* and easily makes it a synonym for "sustainable growth" *(\Daly and Townsend 1992; \Rees 2001; \Dollar and Kraay 2002)*. An extreme example in this direction may be the case of Serbia, where abstract and general criteria and principles of sustainability have been easily introduced into strategic and planning documents, but only on paper and without any actual translations of the terms into implementation-oriented regulations *(\Vujosević et al. 2012a)*.

Continually criticized and easily abandoned, these specializations of development evidence the everlasting scientific trend to follow the terminology of policies and programmes and further theoretize, improve and shift the concept.[2] Moreover, these many attributions of development suggest a disciplinary tuning of the term, yet one thing is sure from the perspective of various disciplines - seeing the term as growth and a "growth machine",[3] is an unavoidable interpretation in discussing development *(\Gottdiener 2010)*. Moreover, the words development and growth are very used in-

2 Recent shifts from sustainability towards urban resilience demonstrate at least etymological alteration from "developing something"/"something is developing" towards adapting and empowering, even though the term development (and also sustainable development) is still present in the explanations and discussions of any rising concept in the domain ***(\\\WEB OF SCIENCE 2016)***.

3 Growth also in a sense of betterment and improvement in the social, not only the economic sense. However, in practice it has been shown that global standards of good/satisfying/desirable are either shaped according to some, and not all, or, when presented in the global arena, cannot be devoid of its bonds to the economys gross national product.

terchangeably across the social sciences and even more so with hardly any critical recapitulation of this matching.

Subsequently, urban development also involves the ideology of growth, but in reference to space, spatial organization, space in social organization, urban space. While other concepts can be more suitable and workable (sustainability, resilience etc.), development and urban development are used very often and even more so as a goal positive in itself without explicating the exact meaning. With the bonds to pro-growth boosterism, the production of space is necessarily marked as capitalist, even though capitalist relations are not reflected directly in urban forms *(\Gottdiener 2010)*.

However, Marxist theory of urban development emphasizes that economic and political processes of technology, labour power and existing relations of production in cities entail contradictions and crises pertaining to the built environment and class struggle *(\Harvey 1978)*. According to sophisticated architectural rhetoric, capitalist growth is also a physical act of land interventions (presence of bulldozers and modern construction materials, high-rise buildings and costly designs). Conversely, in planning terms, it involves de-concentration and de-centralization (suburbanization and urban sprawl as the other side of the coin) *(\Gottdiener 2010)*.

As explained herein, there are different and numerous interpretations of what is and what should be development in general and concurrently urban development in this case. Following the growth paradigm, the most dominant yet biased one, Galtung (\1996) points out several readings of what development is:

- the spread of the capitalist system and its values;
- a bureaucratic evaluation of the success of projects that compete for development subsidies under the slogans of health and safety, participation, inclusion, equity, the poor etc.;
- an appropriation of the history of civilization by the west, where western development becomes modernization, and for the rest of the world it is GNP;[4] growth;
- the appropriation of economic growth to certain regions (Europe, North America, India, China), while the rest of the world is condemned to a periphery status;
- development assistance coming from imperialist and missionary traditions.

4 Gross national product.

All these interpretations, extreme in attitude, not only glorify growth, but directly define development by its opposite, the connection to the underdeveloped other. Development is therein seen as a polarized, clustering scale, following the new distribution of power after WWII.[5] Thenceforth, development has been marked as a ceaseless pursuit of escaping underdevelopment *(\Esteva 2010)*.

5 The reference to underdeveloped changed the meaning of development after WWII, when President Truman in a speech put forth the thesis of making available industrial and scientific achievements (those of US and western countries) to the rest of the world ***(\Esteva 2010)***.

Instead of the practical social and economic aspects of the gratification pursuit, stereotyping countries into clusters and profit orientation, the terminological core of the term development is a holistic and dynamic approach to the human condition *(\Galtung 1996)*. Its tangible definition should be contextually constructed within not a single global development, but as a sum of different developments, within its self-de-

velopmental, not transitive essence[6] *(ibid.)*. This interpretation shows the well-known center-periphery dichotomy in development pursuit to be obsolete *(\Robinson 2006)*.

And even if the term entails any kind of relationship or even assistance, those should be reciprocal. Development also holds a culture-centered notion of the unfolding of a culture and a needs-centered reference towards meeting the needs of the human and natural worlds *(\Galtung 1996)*. These considerations in local development both collide with the initial ideal of development as growth. Having said that, urban development is not a goal, but a process. From the growth perspective it implies favourable change, a transition to the superior and the better, as though there is a necessary, universal law by which to judge it *(\Esteva 2010)*. Even in its essential, value neutral sense of processual transition, development may be the result of radical change, societal or spatial. Destitute of its simplistic market explanation, radical change therefore entails the redistribution of the population, social order or physical structures that challenges the ontologically fixed city organization *(\Brenner and Schmid 2014)*. Radical change is a dramatic forward-motion.

Development is also a relentless churning of city morphology and management, which may be referred to as a continual socio-spatial transformation *(ibid.)*. Keeping a distance from the term growth and addressing its process in non-normative way should be a part of an overall "right to development" [7] to be chosen by those who perform the self-development and who are also allowed to choose to maintain the system as is. This means that urban development seen as a distribution of urban transitions incorporates the basic dynamics of territorial/urban systems: maintenance, transformation and change *(\Friedmann 1987)*.

Urban development is treated as a process of urban system transitions over time. The term "transition" [8] is herein used to refer to a process that leads from one state of the urban system to another *(\Stark 1992)*. In this sense it holds the clear categorization of its pre-transitional situation - the deterministic influence of the past (i.e. path dependency) - and it includes the moment of discontinuity *(\Thomas 1998)* or the reflected continuity *(\Nedović-Budic et al. 2011)*.

For better understanding, putting the equation sign between urban development and system transitions, as well as its reference to maintenance, transformation and change processesshould be elaborated in terms of how the transitions are qualified as continual (maintenance) vs transformative (transformation) or evolutionary (change), what determines start and end points and the moment of discontinuity/ reflected continuity *(ibid.)*. For *Friedmann (\1987)* maintaining forces are practices.[9] He further elaborates systemic change as a process riddled with conflict and compromise, when radical proposals become integrated within the structure of the guidance system in a society *(ibid.)*. According to the same author, transformation is the tolerated disruptive action that is a legitimate part of the established political order *(ibid.)*. On the other hand, to define the space-time reference of transition (start, end and the moment) it is important to take into account: its constant contingency, the complex contextual

6 These interpretations are based on Galtung's grammatical explanations that development as a noun has also plural form and as a verb it is an intransitive or reflexive or reciprocal verb, but not in any case a transitive verb.

7 From the perspective of this research, the official ***United Nations (\\\1986)*** "Declaration on the Right to Development" references the notion of growth and development-underdeveloped dichotomy.

8 This interpretation is partly based on the theory of transition from the democratization theory, but it is not herein applied in terms of its primarily political orientation ***(\Offe 1997)***, but rather in the general sense of the word - "transition is the process or a period of changing from one state or condition to another" ***(\\\Oxford Dictionary)***.

9 In his planning oriented concept, he refers to them as usually bureaucratic in nature and articulated by the state ***(\Friedmann 1987)***.

influences, the directional proceedings, continuity and its incremental nature.

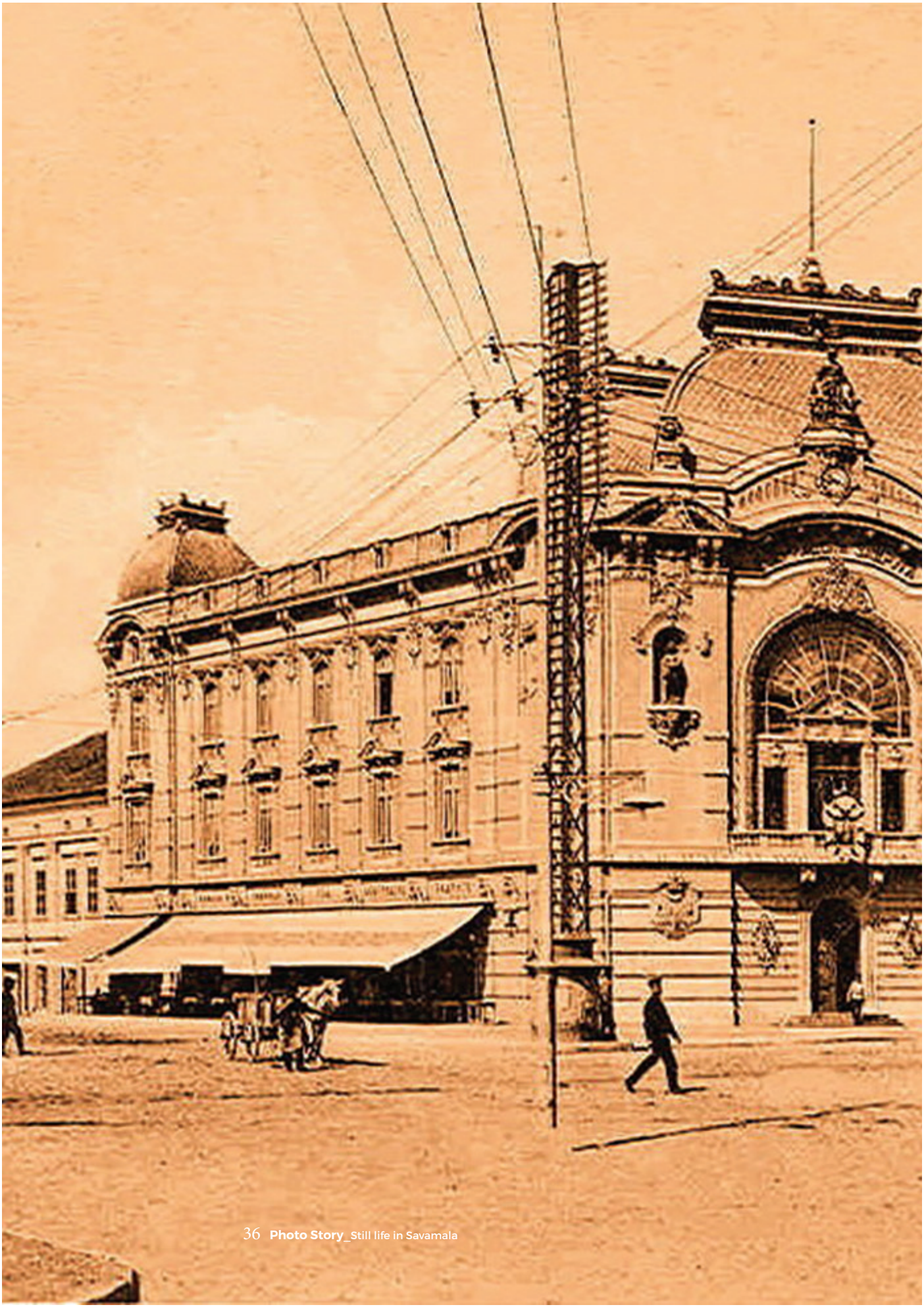
Thus, it is necessary to shift the deterministic concept of urban development to a more comprehensive vision that considers complex networks and their dynamic interfaces and generates better understanding and strategizing of urban development in practice *(\Huang 2012)*. Apart from the confusing mix of global and local influences, the complexity of such stand-alone artifacts is encumbered with layers of infrastructure that progressively interweave and infiltrate the urban systems, life and culture in cities *(\Graham 1998; \Portugali 2011a)*. The powers of such networking support a complex restructuring of urban elements, along with a capacity for recombining economic, political, cultural, technical or natural factors *(\Murdoch 1998)*. Such urban heterogeneity consists of operationalization, interrelation and interaction of socio-technical assemblies within a city *(\Graham and Marvin 2001)*. These become extended over the times and spaces of urban life *(\Mitchell 1996)* and offer us an opportunity to construct dynamic, sophisticated and synthesized approaches to contemporary urban development.

Consequently, cities are now in a constant state of flux, with the rapid adjustment of their physical, economic, social, and political structures *(\Sykora 1999)* to the information flows and infrastructural scapes. The urban present is no longer attributed only to spatial forms, economic units and cultural formations, but also to integral and complex socio-material and socio-technical systems in cities that are attributed agency *(\Farias 2011a)*.

Urban system transitions both stem from and affect the range of human and non-human elements that are thusly attributed agency in an urban environment. With its complex system of agents and their relations, cities are stand-alone artifacts *(\Portugali 2011a)*. However, each of these agents influence the state of the urban system at a certain scale. Therefore, urban transitions happen in the course of the interrelationships between the current state of the system and the active agency *(\Guy and Henneberry 2000)*. Moreover, as a consequence of transitions a layer of agency becomes an additional layer of the system *(ibid.)*. Therefore, the ebb and flow of urban system transitions is rooted in the current complexity of the system, but they are also the formative factor of its future complexity.

An orientation towards the future is central to the global society nowadays and even more so is its orientation towards a positive vision of the future, whatever that might be. In an organized system such as an urban one, this insistence on a future-oriented perspective of actions corresponds to that of risk, where the control of all future events is calculable and predictable in probabilistic terms. In realty, all urban agents actively respond to these everlasting condition changes which imply that, when actions target a positive future, uncertainty must be accepted and managed. In these circumstance, the morphology of how decisions are made represents how the system deals with this notion of an open-ended future.

[Still life in Savamala: Savamala has been showing off with its history, but hides its vivid life]



Београдска Задруга
Zadruga de Belgrade

Belgrade Cooperative during reconstruction (2014)_ Mondo/GS

Urban system transitions are the consequence of urban decision making. Cities are constantly forming and reforming by human and non-human agency *(\Portugali et al. 2012)*. This also means that urban system transitions are ever present. Urban development is a continuous, unstoppable process, while separate transitions can be identified according to: (a) the description of the pertaining agencies, (b) identification of their roles and relations, (c) assessment of strategies and interests associated to these role, (c) how these roles are shaped by resources, rules and ideas, and (d) the relation between these resources, rules and ideas to the local social aspects *(\Healey 1992a)*. In this sense, it is important to acknowledge that diminishing the growth paradigm of development does not mean the negligence of power relations that dominate the modern urban context.

Today, the term "governance" is more benevolently used and evaluated as more suitable than that of decision making when investigating how cities function. Yet, this research project purposely avoids it. [10] Governance deals with strategies, tactics and operations on how to steer the economy and society in order to reach [common] goals *(\Pierre and Peters 2000)*. However, for the topic of urban transitions, the process that precedes is not of importance - when the decision is set, then urban system transitions, whichever they are, start. Therefore, the morphology of urban decision-making, in the sense of a classification based on form, structure and function of decisions and the process ahead, explains the chronology of system transitions (beginning with a decision, discontinuity/ reflected continuity, and its ending point with a new decision).

10 This standpoint and the terminological choice of decision-making instead of governance will be further developed in **[Section 2.1.4:52].**

Debates on sustainable development add a necessary connection to space and concerns for the natural environment, so that urban governance aims to combine environmental and socio-economic issues in determining priorities and actions *(\O'Riordan 1989; \Hopwood et al. 2005)*. However, even without the considerations for environmental effects, any urban decision influences the context, environment, space and reverberates through society." It is the ongoing development of that system which comes to be materialized in space at any given time, so that observable patterns of socio-spatial organization are [its] phenomenal forms" *(\Gottdiener 2010)*. The urban development process involves social and spatial relations to urban agency through the morphology of urban decision making.

Urban system transitions are contextually rooted processes that affect the space and society of local urban systems. In this sense, the organization of space and social relation are not independent categories, they are but a product of system dialectics, urban transitions that are simultaneously social and spatial *(\Soja 1980)*. They are intrinsically local, stemming from context-based urban agency and urban decision-making, so that they become patterned *(\Gottdiener 2010)*. As a result, socio-spatial patterns are the product of the uncoordinated nature of urban processes through localized urban agency.

Socio-spatial patterns of urban transitions is a provisory term that contributes to develop an understanding of development processes beyond mere strategic economic and social framing of needs and events and taking into account sporadic and

spontaneous agencies of urban systems. The sensitivity to this range of needs, events and agencies means that whatever refers to the state of an urban system and the processes of maintenance, transformation and/or change. They further entail urban system transitions within the morphology of urban decision-making *(\Gottdiener 2010)*.

Based on the previous argument built in this section, urban development as a process of systemic transitions in cities is enacted through urban agency within a complex body of urban decision-making. In terms of sustainable development, socially and spatially restricted decisions, which come out of the balance/imbalance of local environmental and socio-economic sides, result in the status quo (the actions achieved within the current system), reform (rupture and fundamental change of the existing arrangements) or radical transformation (high level, systematic change) of an urban system *(\Rees 2001; \Hopwood et al. 2005)*. [11]

Both reform and transformation imply change. A reform as a programmed change usually assumed to be positive in its intention or marked as developmental if it has positive economic or, less often, social outcomes. In reality, urban change is most often the consequence of power struggle and has conflictive outcomes on different stakeholder groups *(\Fainstein 2010)*. Yet it has been bounded only spatially - referring to a city or a part of the city. Further, todays solution may be the conflict of tomorrow *(\Holden et al. 2015)*.

In general, balanced relations are reproduced through urban practices, while uncoordinated and contradictory ones germinate into urban conflicts. Within this dynamics, the state of practices-conflicts proportion reveals the level of urbanity of the local context. Urban conflicts manifest themselves in space through contradictory, contentious processes (radical change), and urban practices reproduce the necessary functionality of the system (maintenance). What is more, there is a certain potentiality in the local contextual resources (social and spatial) to override this opposition and induce cycles of exchange (transformation) determined by the mature system logic *(\Galtung 1996)*.

In sum, urban development is anything what may happen to a city in terms of maintenance, transformation and change of its original state *(\Friedmann 1987)*. Such a context implies that physical spaces are constantly intermingling with the social constructions of these spaces *(\Firmino et al. 2008)*, binding the territory and social aspects, agency and decision-making together. The "city" concept is thereafter redirected from spatially bounded, people-centred phenomenon to dynamic and complex urban systems, which in their incompleteness and indeterminacy, are stages where all urban elements participate in their "making", changing and transforming. This complex dynamics involves space and time warp and overlap. In other words, a city is perceived as a nexus that balances relational proximity in a fast-moving world with time-space extensibility. In cities, all human actors and material objects engaged in networks extend beyond the immediate corporeal environment *(\Graham and Marvin 2001)*.

11 The terminological framework of status quo, reform and transformation corresponds to that of main- tenance, transformation and change. However, the preference for the second stems from its neutrality in a terminological sense. The first in fact has a value judgment incorporated slightly into it. For example, status quo refers to the existing state of affairs and nominally it implies system maintenance. However, it can also 'refer to a situation that people find mutually undesirable but the outcome of any changes to it may be overly risky; at the same time they recognize that eventual change will occur, and openness to the potential that a better alternative solution may emerge over time.' ***(\\\World Heritage Encyclopedia 2001)***. And similar works for the word reform.

"By the beginning of the twentieth century, a new use of the term became widespread. Urban development has stood, since then, for a specific manner of reformulation of urban surroundings, based on the bulldozer and the massive, homogeneous industrial production of urban spaces and specialized installations."

Esteva (2010)

2.1.2 An Ordinary City in a Constant State of Change

city definion; globalization and urbanization; Western urban thought; Ordinary city; global and local and everywhere; non-humans and assemblages ;

The city is perceived as a dynamic entity which embodies the social narrative and the attempts to govern its social interactions and the spatial distribution happening within the intersection of past, present and future.

In traditional urban theory, cities have been conceptualized as a natural habitat for civilized people *(\Park 1952)*, the indicators of an urbanized society *(\Mumford 1961)*, a symbolic expression of the progress of our present time *(\Osborne 1992)*, and a framework for social life and a subsequent milestone of collective identity represented by the human factor in a built environment *(\Berman 1988)*. However, because of the radical social and swift physical transformations that occur ever more rapidly as the new millennium continues to unfold, the city has slowly developed into a place of consumption just as it has started to decline as a centre of manufacturing. The modern city is a territory but it also encloses underlying relations between capital, labour and the state *(\Castells 1983)*. With the passing of time, the city has become a venue for people to express themselves as the citizens of a consumer society *(\Slater 2003)*, attaining economic independence and importance in the course of this process *(\Miles 2010)*. This is the capitalist city oriented towards growth and wealth creation *(\Harvey 1978)*.

This commodification robs cities of their particular identities and turns them into clones *(\Miles 2010)*. Cities are no longer perceived as geographical entities with their own distinct identities. They have become places of extraordinary circulation and interconnectivity without any clear boundaries, and the essence of urbanity has stretched beyond their spatial proximity *(\Amin and Thrift 1996)*, leading to a "compression of the world" *(\Robertson 1992)* or to put it in other words, "world shrinkage" *(\Larsson 2001)*. This is a vivid example of rapid globalization that intensifies the perception of the world as a unitary, world society *(\Albrow and King 1990)* of wide social relations and interconnections *(\Giddens 1992)*.

The extensive urbanization of the landscape and globalization shrinkage of social conditions to meet certain standards and trends more than ever puts the pressure on cities to fit into an overall classification and compete for a position in the overall growth machine that dominates the world under the capitalist order. In these circumstances, urban research as well as its practice aims to tame urban dynamics and reduce urban complexity in order to provide the desirable results *(\Jacobs 1985)*. The overarching classification and the overall goals suppress the intrinsic complexity and dynamics of cities and push for a predictable future which could be chosen from a menu. However, what actually happens in most cities, especially those outside the Western world is rather a multiplicity and variety of possibilities that come up from the particularities of the local urban experience *(\Amin 2006)*.

The problem might be obvious - the danger of overemphasizing and overgeneralizing from particular entities/characteristics/relations *(\Thrift 2000)*. Following the theoretical concept of ordinary cities proposed by *Amin and Graham (\1997)* to represent a locally molded, just and genuine city, *Robinson (\2006)* clarifies the cos-

mopolitan tactics for surpassing the hierarchical categorization of cities in the world, which in terms of modernity and development kept them apart. Her main point was to avoid the hegemony of western urban theory, as well as the growing strength of a discourse of development, which from the 1970s onward has emphasized the differences between cities in the west and elsewhere *(ibid.)*.

The essential resources for thinking about cities was the relation between modernity and its excluded other (tradition, primitivism and difference), as it was represented in the dawn of modern Western urban theory of the Chicago school thinkers *(\Park 1952; \Wirth 1938)* and a German sociologist *Simmel (\1971)*. The constitution of Western urban thought further on was threaded within a dialectics of modernity and tradition represented in the work of *Walter Benjamin (\1935)*. While influenced by Marxism, he agitated for revolutionary consciousness about the problems of the present city and wrote about the dynamic, potentially transformative interplay of modern innovations (new technologies, commodities and inventions). Accordingly, he emphasizes that all cities that occupy the same historical time, while being open to various interconnections, contribute to the variety of inventive modernities of the present *(\Robinson 2006)*.

The traditional and widespread interpretation complies with the western paradigm of development: modernisation and economic growth. Interpreted in this way, the notion of urban development actually promotes the leading hierarchies and categorization of cities in the world, based on the impact of globalization, new transnational economic progress and the networking of cities ref. Both of these approaches impose the hierarchical relation among them, as *(\Robinson 2006)* bluntly puts it, "while some are exemplars and others are imitators". Besides, the chronological paradigm of western urban planning is diluted when it is spatially translated to these qualitatively different environments *(\Robinson 2002)*, causing them to lose their substance as an urban phenomenon through the ill-decoded application of western patterns *(\Bolay et al. 2004)*. In addition, modern urban thought could be stuck in this rut, inducing negative background effects on a whole gamut of urban activities *(\Amin and Graham 1997)*, causing urban conflicts to thrive on the basis of inequitable power relationships, and cultural differences, as they develop from an individual level towards a socio-urban dimension *(\UN Habitat 2009)*.

This line of thought belongs to the critics of colonial urbanism and the idea that urban modernity belongs to the cities of the West, while development is left to the other cities as "third world cities" *(ibid.)*. In this respect, Jennifer Robinson summarizes that the categorization and differentiation of cities according to Modernity and Development is a pure product of the colonial past.[12] This actually means that within the scope of the widely praised universal image of "cityness", which is imposed as the final goal and ambition of cities, successful examples of cities are included in the following categories.

12 In terms of the reference to the experience of colonialism, ***Scott and Storper (\2015)*** claim that thetheory has also appropriated its theoretical base from the early postcolonial urban theory of ***King (\1976)***, ***Jacobs (\1996)*** and ***Abu-Lughod (\1965***).

It is also echoed in "worlding cities", a methodological striving to refer to the global in the investigations on ordinary cities *(\Roy and Ong 2011)*. World cities are de-

fined in relation to their regional, national and international influence inside the global economy where the country is categorized according to its status in global economy *(\Sassen 1991)*. Conversely, global cities are categorized according to their industrial and communication potential for transnational management and control (ibid.). Both categories focus on the characteristics of cities and their potential within the scope of the global economy, its flows and networks. This approach has proven to be insufficient, exclusive and restrictive for cities in less developed countries, particularly when we maintain the same terminology at the national level. On the other hand, cities that are outside these categorizations but hold a similar ambition and vision of "cityness" are regarded as third World or developing cities. Consequently, there are even more categorizations such as those of western, wealthy, third world, developed and developing cities. However, taking all these terms together, there is still a vast number of cities that are left out and have barely any possibility of ever fitting into any of these categories *(\Robinson, 2006)*.

Jennifer Robinson (\2006) in her book "Ordinary cities between modernity and development" further develops this insight and questions the geopolitics of urban theory and urban development *(\Fraser 2006)*. Taken from this standpoint, each and every city is an indicator of what an urbanized society is and what course of urban development it may take. In any case, this theory has been further adapted and improved by Jennifer Robinson *(\Robinson 2002; \Robinson 2006; \Robinson 2011; \Robinson 2013; \Robinson 2015; \Robinson 2016)*, as well as by other human geographers *(\Amin and Graham 1997; \Roy 2011; \Roy and Ong 2011; \Parnell and Robinson 2012)*. This concept approaches the knowledge of diversity and complexity that exists within the world and "distributes the differences amongst cities as diversity rather than as a hierarchical category" *(\Robinson 2002)*. The most recent trends are the merging of ordinary cities theoretical background into Actor-network theory and assemblage theory analyses *(\Robinson 2004; \Sassen 2006; \Collier and Ong 2008; \Mcfarlane 2010; \Farias 2011a; \ Rankin 2011; \Scott and Storper 2015)*.

The theoretical stance of ordinary cities is built between the critiques of urban modernity and developmentalism. Robinson identifies urban modernity as a pure product of western cities and other cities became - "the objects for developmentalist intervention" - meaning that the modernity of poor cities is always about development *(\Robinson 2002; \Robinson 2006)*. Therefore, according to Robinson, the current categorization and differentiation of cities is a product of the colonial past and the capitalist present. In these circumstances, cities are under constant threat of catching-up in an increasingly hostile international, economic, and political environment. In this respect, the first step for addressing urban development is re-framing the concept to meet the challenges of both the wealthiest and the poorest cities.

Bearing in mind *Escobar (\1995)* critique of power and knowledge concerning development and developmentalism, the ideology of "ordinary cities" serves as an equalizing element for all cities to become able to shape their distinctive futures/ developments whatever political, economic and cultural position they hold in relation

to other places. Within the compass of "ordinariness", cities are viewed as multi-dimensional integrated systems composed of qualitatively different and semi-autonomous processes. According to *Robinson (\2006)*, cities feature as platforms facilitating diverse economic activities and social life, sites for reformulation and redistribution of social needs and arenas for political contestation. In such context, "ordinary cities" theory confirms and relies upon *Sassen (\1991)* vision of the global city, where global economic connections cannot be neglected for city's structural and social formations.

Taking into account both global and local, multiple geographies and temporalities of the urban, concrete context is not enough for analyzing urban systems. Having said that, deterritorialized external influences also shape specific local urban system transitions *(\Robinson 2013)*. Therefore, envisioning concrete urban complexity and tracing its dynamics encompasses:

1. Dislocating urban development history, narrative and record from western urban practice which claims to be its originator;
2. Sensitivity to the specificity, diversity and specialization of the city;
3. Justifying how people in particular urban settings have produced their particular production modes and circulation of novelty, innovation and values;
4. Responding to a city's relations within wider networks of circulations, competition and power;
5. Letting cities shape their developmental perspectives depending on their distinctiveness and creative potential, without any hierarchical order among the cities.

If following the assumption of *Amin and Thrift (\1996)* that the city's boundaries have become permeable and stretched, both geographically and socially, and that" the city is now everywhere and everything", it is apparent how, in the world of interconnected cities, the knowing and understanding of different urban lifestyles and forms is essential for dealing with heterogeneous urban contexts. Therefore, the constant state of change of ordinary cities is the dynamics of its complex systems.

13 ***Lefebvre (\1974)*** differentiates three aspects of space: perceived, conceived and lived space.

Robinson's theoretical turn in human geography is seen by some to beas revolutionary as that of Lefebvre's historical notion of space[13] (*Choplin 2014). Fraser (\2006)* supports this approach by elaborating that in terms of urban theory the main trap has been the "spatial turn" in theorizing about cities where they are actually reduced to global issues and their competitiveness in globality and with Robinson's "ordinary cities", instead of western centrality, "the world is [actually] being flattened".

However, its comparative methodological framework engender several theoretical traps: how far-reaching are concepts generated from an instance, what are the methodological tools for navigating amongst instances, and how to distinguish repetitive and distinctive causes and outcomes across cities *(\Robinson 2015)*. This has been partly resolved by keeping the initial reference to the notion of the "ordinary city", but moving away from comparisons and generalizations through flattened networks of both human and non-human elements *(\Robinson 2004; \Sassen 2006; \Mcfarlane 2010; \Farias 2011a; \Rankin 2011)*. This is a rather descriptive approach of actor-network

theory (ANT) and assemblage theory that aims at constructing universal typologies of urban agency based on their associations *(\Scott and Storper 2015)*.

Although this approach may be confronted with certain practical constrains, it surely holds the potential to better address the local when viewing all cities as ordinary. Moreover, in acknowledging the role of urban agency it also addresses the complex present and the dynamic course of an open-ended, future development.

"Ordinary cities also emerge from a post-colonial critique of urban studies and signal a new era for urban studies research characterised by a more cosmopolitan approach to uderstanding cityness and city futures. This can underpin a field of study that encompasses all cities and that distributes the difference amongst cities as diversity rather than as hierarchical categories. It is the ordinary city, then, that comes into view within a postcolonialised urban studies"

Robinson (2006)

2.1.3 The Constitution of Urban Agency

notion of agency;
theories on agency;
assemblage theory;
urban agency and
system transitions;
key urban agents;

Weber already identified the urban as a place of civility, civićs and culture confronting it with disorder and chaos. Urban living is therefore a social construct, the human environment characterized by layered complexity and apparent entropy entailed from extreme dynamics. Avoiding straight-forward explanations coming from class, market relations and individualism, questions arise about what the means and modes of acting are that generate the urban condition.

An overarching answer to this question from the social sciences perspective was the introduction of agency concept. In general, agency is the capacity to act *(\\\ Oxford dictionary)*. Broadly and intuitively speaking urban agency is defined as the source of action that brings in and inducts urban system transitions in cities.

Yet, general theories on agency in social sciences always involve structure as an micro-macro, element-system or individual/society dichotomy when talking about agency. Even though the concept of human agency was already displayed in René Descartes' phrase `Cogito ergo sum`, it was recently renewed in post-WWII sociology. This renewed structure-agency reflects the return to individual capacity and its wider social repercussions in contrast to structuralism, functionionalism and system theories.

Giddens' (\1984) structuralization theory claims that structure and agency are dual and mutual and interrelated through the distribution of power in society. While institutions hold structural principles with the greatest time space extension, agency implies power through actions that challenges a preexisting "state of affairs" *(ibid.)*. Giddens' theory addresses the process of institutionalization over time.

Contesting this approach, *Archer (\1982)* introduces culture (non-material phenomena and ideas) within the structure (material phenomena and ideas) and explains how transformation, but also maintenance of the systems are produced through the actions and interactions within an agency-structure dichotomy. The idea was further developed by *Pierre (\1979)* in his theory of practice. For him, the structure of the social world forms the setting and the constraints (usually that of power and class) for the perception of actors, but is simulataneously contested by an agent's capital (social, economic and cultural) *(ibid.)*. Structure, in other words, holds the supremacy and logic of social patterns *(\Rafiee et al. 2014)*. Finally, in communication, *Habermas (\1985)* explains that, agency is human centered and the system (structure) is the macro setting where these interactions are embedded. And the action is actually an interaction, a two-sided agency.

As already mentioned, all these agency-structure theories have a human as their conceptual core. Still, it seems that this structure-agency integration returns to the systemic view of the world rather than defying it. Yet, it is more of a counterpart for micro-macro integration, where the previous division (emphasized by the systemic integration) has already been made. In this regard, I argue, agency-structure and the

system and micro-macro as levels are in themselves the theoretical means for different types of clustering (such as those of cities), as well as of values chains and goals sets (urban development as growth). However, the acknowledgment of institutional roles and relations, the maintenance and transformation processes of social systems, everyday practices and interactive associations among human agencies bring into discussion the question of how the social is distributed.

In this respect, when considering the urban, the notion of urban complexity and its dynamics shifts the view from the perspective of human agency to that of assemblages. Taking into account the designated social distribution, assemblage thinking puts an emphasis on multiplicity and indeterminacy in this setting and its heterogeneous composition of diverse socio-spatial elements and socio-temporal orders *(\Anderson and McFarlane 2011).* Assemblage therefore assigns certain characteristics to the urban totality that intrinsically contain the references to the complexity and dynamics of the system: the incorporation of the local and global, different velocities and scopes in reference to space and time, and the constant generation of new actors and organisational logic *(\Sassen 2007a).*

Moreover, assemblage brings about the notion of process, "the agency of assemblage emerges in process, in bringing different actors together, in their dissolution, contestation and reformulation" *(\McFarlane 2011).* These conceptions attribute creative, contingent, and un-structured characteristics to agency *(\Rafiee et al. 2014)* and focus on the individual sources of agency as well as on the interactive whole *(\McFarlane 2011).* It could be reasoned then that any social being has agency. To be more precise, agency could be ascribed to any human and non-human, organic and inorganic, technical and natural element of the system *(\Anderson and McFarlane 2011).*

Following the frame of reference indicated earlier, urban agency is the initiator and conductor of urban system transitions. Consequently, urban agency is defined as the action or the force that brings about the particular state of the city as an urban system, but in its heterogeneous and processual nature *(\Farias 2011:15).* So, while bearers of urban agency could be materialities as well, the interactions and distributions that produce complex and dynamic urban systemS happen not only between humans and humans and non-humans, but also in the interactions of materials themselves *(\DeLanda 2013).*

Assigning agency in the form of acts, to the whatever it could be, actually alludes that the world is not flat *(\Roy 2009),* while the domain of thick description of relations between past, present and future ("history and potential") becomes such (flat) *(\Rankin 2011).* Therefore, bringing agency to socio-material interactions is also a way to approach ordinariness. In the perspective of ordinary cities, urban agency decoupled from the presuppositions of intentionality, subjectivity, and free-will enables seeing the processes of difference, in terms of where and how they are emerging *(\Sayes 2014; \McFarlane 2011).* It is not only intentional action that matters, but a causal one as well *(\Sayes 2014).*

In this respect, the overarching description of cities is constituted both from

the general models of agency and agent behaviour and from local interpretations of authority, behaviour, events and materialities in this process *(\Healey 1992a)*. Still, understanding what urban is includes rendering cities as complex systems and explicating the dynamics of urban system transitions. The knowledge about cities therefore, in order to be pertinent, must be inclusive and flexible in allocating urban agency in local contexts. As a result, people (urban actors), objects (the built environment), territories (space), institutions (the regulatory framework), infrastructure and social practices are all assumed to be equal agents in the dynamic process of contemporary urban development (urban system transitions) and therefore should be equally treated in delegating them key roles. The interaction and interconnections among these key agents in an urban environment result in the diversity of social practices and battlefields of urban conflicts, which are the major issues that influence urban decision-making.

2.1.4 The Morphology of Urban Decision-Making

governance; governance vs. decision making; the morphology of urban decision-making

The city, when viewed from the presented framework of overarching and contingent urban agency, is not simply an output or resultant formation, but an ongoing construction *(\McFarlane 2011)*. In this sense, urban decision-making is not only a formal conduct of visible and institutionalized power, but is complemented with informal and less obvious sources of agency *(\Healey 1997)*. According to contemporary trends in social sciences as well as in practice, these circumstances are generally associated with the term governance *(\Pierre and Peters 2000)*.

Much like urban development, the term governance is used in different contexts and with different meanings, mainly because of its capacity to cover a vast arena of formal and informal relations and structures *(ibid.)*. In this respect, we can refer to four generations in the theory of governance: (a) governance for development management, (b) the political and historical nature of governance, (c) the political economy approach to governance, and (d) the return of politics into governance through the notion of power, idea, agency and contingency *(\Hudson and Leftwich 2014)*. However, the recent practice-oriented trends also showed the tendency to have governance "measured" and the World Bank Group (WBG) has presented a report proposing worldwide governance indicators, which address the quality of governance at the national level. The data were based on the data from an enterprise, citizen and expert survey covering over 200 countries during the last 20 years. The proposed indicators[14] cover mainly political, institutional and economic spheres, yet such limited reliance of governance within the social sphere is not an official view.

In urban discourse, the term urban governance covers a range of social and political processes through which the management of urban issues is conducted *(\Healey 1997)*. Governance itself is a process of steering the economy and society to manage the interplay of rules, interests and values in cities conducted through hierarchies, markets and needs *(\Pierre 2000; \Pierre and Peters 2000)* - a battlefield of policy-driven, profit oriented and just city.[15] And it is set up through the human actions, that of individuals, organisations, and coalitions *(\Hudson and Leftwich 2014)*. In short, governance is how decisions are made.

14 These indicators cover six dimensions of governance: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption ***(\\\WGI 2016)***.

15 The phrase "just city" is used to designate the criteria of democracy, diversity and equity proposed by ***Fainstein (\2010)***.

[Geozavod
- Belgrade
Cooperative -
is now the symbol
for
both good & bad in
Savamala]

Straps with illegal sign on BWP masts around Geozavod_ Designed.rs

P

Geozavod before reconstruction (2012)_OP

In political terms, governing (steering) at the city level is brought forward from either the top-down or bottom-up, with the authorities at the one end and the communities at the other *(ibid.)*. However, the current trends of globalization have also contributed to moving the steering poles from nation state to the international level. Namely, the concept of underdevelopment[16] guided through the global system and development agencies (e.g. the World Bank and International Monetary Fund) tend to produce benefits for powerful countries and multi-national corporations through economic, political, and military actions.

Consequently, international organizations and international corporate capital can easily override the state and come down directly to the city level. And the picture becomes ever more complex with private investors and non-governmental sectors growing in importance and moving in the play. For that reason, *Pierre and Peters (\2000)* advocate that steering society and the economy is increasingly moving up, down and out from state institutions as its supreme authority.

While politics is open, governance is a directional process and decisions become locked in *(\Hudson and Leftwich 2014)*. In this respect, the goal of governance is to: contribute to conflicts resolution, capture and apply multiple forms of knowledge, facilitate local capacity building and enable inclusive decision-making *(\Mathur et al. 2007)*. According to the global predominance noted earlier, governing is moving up (international organizations), down (regions, localities, communities) and out (NGOs, corporatizations and privatizations) to enable these multifaceted and complex negotiations *(\Pierre and Peters 2000)*.

On the other hand, decision-making is an effective exercise of judgment and the first step in implementation by taking the consequences of decisions *(\Knight 2012)*. Decisions involve risk and uncertainty, but they also imply resulting actions, risk of errors and responsibility for their correctness *(ibid.)*. Actions, risk, errors and responsibility are managed differently when decisions are made by those who stand to bear main consequences *(\Meppem and Gill 1998)*, but may turn out to have grave consequences when that is not the case *(\Friend and Hickling 2005)*. Unclear values, lack of information and inefficient coordination are the mayor causes of disastrous effects of inefficient and top-down risk management *(ibid.)*. In short, while governance aims to resolve a conflict, decision-making solves or produces it; governance instates practices and decision-making produces or reproduces them; and finally, governance captures socio-spatial resources, while decision-making either neglects or exploits them.

Therefore, the question of the morphology of urban decision-making is not about how, but about by who and through which mechanisms decisions are made. In terms of urban agency, the morphology of urban decision-making acknowledges the role of non-humans, knowledge, techniques and rationalities *(\Healey 2013)*, which come from policies, institutions, documents, places and events. The resulting framework for the broad arena of up, down and out governance, are decisions coming from top, bottom or outside and they are implemented top-down, bottom-up or through and across the system *(\Hudson and Leftwich 2014)*. Urban planning mechanisms, real

16 This concept is generally applied to Third World countries, both during colonization and after national independence. Nevertheless, following the discussion from **[Section 2.1.1:30, 2.1.2:43]**, it is also applicable to all countries and cities outside the Western world.

estate transformations and participatory practices will be elaborated respectively as the layers of urban decision-making.

Urban Planning Strategies

With the morphology of urban decision making broken down into three layers that catalyse governance mechanisms into operational decisions, the scope of the urban planning framework aspires to generate an action plan for development that achieves common viewpoints, goals and priorities within a city, as well as a set of strategies optimized over time within the institutional mechanisms for their implementation, monitoring and evaluation *(\Fisher 2001)*. Urban planning is, therefore, a future-oriented activity for managing urban development *(\Nedović-Budic et al. 2011)*.

Urban planning and urban design are the offsprings of architecture and spatial development that mold urban transformations in contemporary cities *(\Rode 2006)*. It was only from the beginning of the 20th century onward that the scientific discourse of planning became distinguished from that of sociology and from urban design and the traditions of landscape architecture[17]. Consequently, urban planning theory has always complied with the prevailing theoretical framework of social studies *(\Portugali 2011a)*. On the other hand, in order for planning activities to be practically effective, they should be embedded in a particular socio-spatial context, and they should react to the shifts in socio-economic and political settings.

17 Urban design and landscape architecture stem from architecture and design, which were established as disciplines since Greek times ***(\Handlin and Burchard 1966; \Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002; \Hall 2002; \Van Assche et al. 2013).***

Having the operational framework of urban planning defined as such, it becomes conspicuous how its practice has always complied with an overall planning paradigm, being simultaneously, intrinsically connected to the property market and tending to maintain the current social order *(\Taylor 2006)*. In respect to the master narrative of modernity installed after WWII, urban planning has been continuously enriched with the ideas of rationality, objectivity, scientific evidence, values and possible control through norms. Scientific research in the field has been operating within this framework and during the same period it evolved from normative to communicative planning. At first, it turned to a normative planning model based on a top-down decision-making process. Then, when the diversity of values, meanings, and interests emerged more vigorously, collaborative and communicative planning took up and promoted the changed role of the urban planner from being a technical expert to a mere facilitator (ibid.). In this respect, urban planning is governance-style activity that involves knowledgeable reasoning and argumentation: scientific/professional/expert knowledge that can transcend over space and time, as well as institutional knowledge that embraces systemic and functional logic and the managerial capacity of organisations and institutions *(\Healey 1997; \Getimis 2012)*.

Furthermore, according to one of the leading urban theories of *David Harvey (\2008)* and *Manuel Castells (\1979)*, urban planning cannot be seen as an autonomous process of spatial development, but rather it is situated in its political and economic context, where current economic and social organizations constantly overlap *(\Taylor 2006)*. Urban planning in practice is intrinsically connected to the property market

(which in turn involves a particular political ideology) and this tends to maintain the current social order *(\Dear and Scott 1981; \Taylor 2006)*, both of which are grounded in the development and expansion of industrial capitalism, neo-liberalism and consumerism *(\Ellin 1999; \Harvey 1989)*. In other words, the urban planning system is, and always has been, the spatial and symbolic manifestations of broader social forces *(\Giddens 1992)*, following the societal evolution to various degrees and at various speeds *(\Flyvbjerg 1998)*.

The socio-spatial organisation of cities therefore involves high-level coordination of policy and practice, procedures and content *(\Van Assche and Verschraegen 2008)*, so that urban planning attempts to balance the roles of authorities and markets, legal, economic, and political perspectives from national and sub-national levels (regional, city, community) *(\Nedović-Budic et al. 2011)*. Urban planning is therefore regarded as an institutionalized profession, and more often than not its decision-making mechanisms are deployed from top-down.

In simplistic terms, the urban planning agency covers the interaction between policies and institutions and for designing frameworks of action in space *(\Getimis 2012)*. Historically speaking, the complex coordination in planning systems was first constituted within the hierarchical model of the centralized state to later become even more complexified with its democratization and the involvement of new actors and actor groups *(\Van Assche et al. 2013)*. The planning system comprises the urban regulatory framework steered through the local planning culture *(\Getimis 2012; \Peric 2016)*. The planning culture implies local styles, norms, values, belief systems, visions and frames, but not only in terms of the behaviours and actions of human agents, but it is also embedded in planning frameworks rules, plans and programs, procedures and organizational structure are locally nested products of evolution *(\Moroni 2010)*. Various authors speak differently about the urban planning systems organization. *Getimis (\2012)* advocated for the fusion of the urban planning system and urban culture. *Alexander (\2005)* elaborated the thesis of institutional design that comprises processes and structures of legislation, policy making, planning and programs and implementation, where as *Portugali (\2011b)* identified power with systemic elements - legislative, judiciary and executive authorities within planning institutions.

Bearing in mind the vast pool of ordinary cities and taking into accoun the figuration of both human and non-human agency, a general distribution of top-down decision-making in the urban regulatory framework is distributed through the following channels:

- **institutional framework** consisting of public administration and urban planning authorities and addressing political and administrative jurisdiction;
- **legal framework** that comprise rules and procedures and deals with social, economic, political and ethical implications of planning interventions;
- **planning framework** with policy agendas and technical documentation for programming and implementation in planning.

The top-down authority in planning also involves bringing together, structuring and regulations of relations within a planning system between public, private, common, corporate and collective interests[18] *(\Maksic 2012; \Vujosević et al. 2015)*. The growing dominance of markets, and the power of private and corporate investors brought a change from ethically based to profit-oriented decision-making in urban planning, especially in weak political contexts *(\Bajec 2009)*. In such circumstances, power manages to manipulate knowledge and to determine'what kind of interpretation attains authority as the dominant interpretation' *(\Getimis 2012)*. In this sense, the political poles and financial centers are brought into decision-making ravishing through and across the structures of the system.

18 In ideal conditions, these interests are distributed such that the state represents public interest, the market private interests, communities have common interests, companies - corporate interests and associations and organizations - collective interests. But in real and, even more so, in turbulent political systems the distribution of interest is disrupted and confused among these initial patron groups of actors ***(\Vujosević et al. 2015)***.

Real Estate Bias

As has already been mentioned, urban decision-making relies on much more than strategic urban planning. Several authors challenge the concept of the public interest and its perseverance during the planning process and in planners' actions *(\Alexander 2002; \Campbell and Marshall 2002; \Moroni 2004; \Sager 2006)*. *Sager (\2006)* claims that there is neither guarantee nor restrictive rules that would force planners to "act in the interest of the public rather than in self-interest or partisan interest".

Every urban issue relies directly on the economy and the mode of production and consumption in modern cities. Namely, the capitalist economy needs urbanization to absorb surplus products, so that the deregulation of land use and property markets is the precondition for capitalist accumulation and thereafter for proceeding to economic growth *(\Harvey 2012)*. Following Harveys line of thought, the power extracted from the exclusive control over property or land is the source of capital/income produced by its locational, infrastructural, social or cultural capacity. In other words, the contextual resources of an urban environment make it appealing for incoherent distribution of resources and responsibilities *(\Bolay et al. 2005)*.

Historically speaking, spatial organisation and design have been strongly tied to top-down political and institutional powers, but also more indirectly, over time the presence and increase of patronage have influenced urban interventions *(\Van Assche et al. 2014)*. In extreme circumstances, influential economic and political actors tend to abuse their powers and appropriate urban space. When the regulatory framework is blurred, biased or, in extreme cases, corrupt, economy and politics tend to take over urban decision-making. In other words, their projects and interests intervene in planning frameworks *(\Hudson and Leftwich 2014)* and therefore they are associated with urban agency.

Their actions usually defy public interest and tend to endanger the rights and interests of less powerful and more often marginalized groups *(\Sager 2006)*. This interference in the urban planning framework is enabled through social networks, social distribution of interests, and above all through the relations these actors have with politicians and officials *(\Healey 1997)*. This is *Healey's (\1997)* definition of clientelism - economic actors gain profit in return for political favours through this personal patron-client relation.

However, this is only one form of corruption. Other forms of corruption that dominate urban planning are: legislative and regulatory corruption,[19] bureaucratic corruption,[20] and public works corruption[21] *(\Chiodelli and Moroni 2015)*. Corruption involves intentional non-compliance with formal rules by the public power holders for personal or related private benefits *(\Begović and Mijatović 2001; \Grubović 2006; \ Chiodelli and Moroni 2015)*.

According to *Chiodelli and Moroni (\2015)* corruption is endemic in the land-use planning field. In this respect, the determinants of corruption are: (1) discretionary allocative power; (2) economic rents, taxation and redistribution programmes associated with discretional power; and (3) the low probability for perpetrators to be detected and punished *(\Healey 1997; \Chiodelli and Moroni 2015)*.

In local frameworks, this means that the decision-making is moved up (to international corporate capital) and out (private investors). One powerful means for profit and source of corruption that stems from such shifts of decision-making is megaproject developments in metropoles around the world. Within local contexts where urban planning frameworks are weak and inconsistent, they usually jeopardize the position of low-income people and marginalized groups, minimize public amenities and entail gentrification, large-scale unitary projects, exclusive developers and nonexistent and insufficient public participation *(\Fainstein 2010)*.

19 Influence on rules and legislation ***(\Chiodelli and Moroni 2015)***.

20 Corrupt acts of bureaucrats within their domains of work ***(ibid.)***.

21"The systemic graft involved in building public infrastructures and servićes" ***(ibid.)***.

"Politicians like to benefit their political supporters. Officials may come under pressure to bend rules to favour the friends of politicians and disadvantage their enemies. Individuals with particular interests may lobby vigorously for 'special attention' in relation to their development project."

Healey (1997)

Traces of Participation

Public participation generally encompasses bottom-up, action-orientated and socially inclusive engagement of all individuals or constituted groups *(\Fisher 2001)*. What is more, successful participation firmly relies on the accessibility, transparency, responsiveness, and accountability of all institutional processes. The active urban agency of individuals or constituted groups places them into political and economic processes, and therefore deliberately includes them in the future of their society *(\Arnstein 1969; \Fisher 2001)*.

Following Arnstein's ide of the ladder of participation, each society is left to mix and match the participatory processes that meet its needs, influence power and relations *(ibid.)*. Accordingly, including citizens priorities, values and needs aim at achieving certain end-results, contributing to the efficiency of society as a whole in a process for accumulating social capital, and creating institutionalizing networks of civić engagement *(\Putnam et al. 1993)*. This means that every society would be able to produce its own space with a strong impact of its ideology and cultural spheres, and thereby control its urban development *(\Lefebvre 1974)*. The identity of an ordinary city constantly in flux is then defined as the process of self-understanding, self-creation and self-representation of an operating urban environment by its urban actors, all of whom are mobilized to intervene responsibly and who willingly integrate their customs and needs into this process *(\Bolay et al. 2004)*.

Participation in planning is a process that is usually designed to address urban conflicts with the aim of resolving or exploiting it successfully *(\Fisher 2001)*. From the introduction of the communicative planning approach in the 1980s onward, public participation has been set in motion as a tool for exploiting the democratic capacities of modern society in order to locally mobilize all available human resources, develop discourses and practices, change institutional conditions to transform a crisis of aggregated urban conflicts into an opportunity for urban development *(\Healey 1996)*.

However, practical application has shown that public participation in Arnsteins terms lacks popular sovereignty in order to place all urban actors and stakeholders equally within the decision-making process *(\Mouffe 2002)*. The situation has been particularly aggravated by thriving neo-liberal market policies *(ibid.)*. The influence of this trotting up and down the ladder of participation is especially accentuated in ex-authoritarian states. In this sense, the trends of commercialization and free market policies led to the decline of the public realm, the deconstruction of urbanity and the abuse of public space *(\Hirt 2008)*.

An alternative vision was recently set in practice with the paradigm of tactical urbanism whose main goal is to set forth economic, political, cultural and spatial transformation in global cities by instigating creative interventions that guide their change, giving them unique identities *(\\\Lydon 2012)*. The conceptual core of such an approach circumvents involvement of the least powerful urban actors in decision-making, encourages them to creatively trace their cultural identity through ade-

quate professional supervision and bring positive change, develop social capital and organisational capacity that involves shaping the physical and social component of cities *(\Bolay 1996)*. Moreover, their needs should also be modified to what the urban planning framework can actually offer; they need to act or interact with the world around them, which is in flux *(\Harvey 2003)*. Moreover, the way cities function shapes the expectations and actions of all the urban actors involved, who also influence the constitution of the city itself.

The identity of a city in flux is defined as the process of self-understanding, self-creation and self-representation of an operating urban environment by its urban actors, all of whom are mobilized to intervene responsibly and who willingly integrate their customs and needs into this process *(\Bolay et al. 2005)*. In this way, these individuals or constituted groups may become the actual "makers of the city". They determine space as a social product of their values, the logic that pilots them, the relationships and representations that influence them and the aspirations that motivate them *(\Lefebvre 1974)*. Individuals reproduce and adopt explicit or implicit local/everyday/milieu knowledge (nature, culture, and social conceptions within a social network) and build non-institutional frames (based on their expectations, beliefs, attitudes and values) *(\Getimis 2012)*. However, in recent scientific studies in this domain, the positive image of the urban and participation is rather characterized as unrealistic and even Utopian *(\Lindner 2009)*.

Yet the trends of globalization and urbanization have moved up and out along the poles of decision-making and have brought new sources of urban agency into local arenas, which also plead for participatory purposes - that of international organisations (IO) and local and global non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and sporadic private elements. Apart from social issues, planning-as-design has been an important entry point for these actors to engage in local urban decision-making *(\Van Assche et al. 2013)*. The focus on content-focused, incremental changes and the attractiveness of place is the point of their engagement in particular interventions in cities by advocating participatory urban design. While planning anticipates urban future through the debates and decisions on the playground of different interests, urban design focuses on urban form aiming to capture its dynamics in compliance with human objectives *(\Lynch and Rodwin 1958: 201)*.While urban forms represent designers intentions at a particular time, its life cycle outgrows these intentions and forms the contextual urban processes *(\Tonkiss 2014)*.

Yet, instead of enhancing the micro urban environment for locals and training a populace to know, show and actively express their needs and directly apply them in space interventions and social practices *(\Ostrom 1995)*, these activities very often yield the increasing commodification of urban public space *(\Lehrer and Laidley 2008)*, gentrification and commercialization of urban neighbourhoods *(\Zukin 1995; \Lloyd 2006)* and low-wage servićes as only new source of economic activity *(\Basett 1993)*.

Urban Decision-making Layers

Cities are not simply market products and consumption patterns, but locally customized socio-political constructs as well *(\Marcus 2007)*. These external influences form a range of qualitatively different contextual circumstances for a positive urban system transition, i.e. urban development. Most settlements and cities in previous historical periods reflect the various degrees of forethought and conscious design in their layout and function. This approach was referred to as a fixedly planned development, although many cities still tended to develop organically.

Identifying actors, actor groups, institutions, rules, policies, documents and events, local and global ones, and acknowledging their agency in urban decision-making is not per se enough for approaching urban dialectics. It is essential to discern their roles and the effects of their agency in order to understand the evolution of urban system transitions. In this respect, the heterogeneous distribution of urban agency was structured according to the congregation of decision-making from top-down, bottom-up and across the system. Even though these structural layers enclose power relations and the elements of social order, the purpose of the morphology of urban decision-making is to deploy unstable urban development modalities through the rhetoric of urban agency, self-descriptions of current actors and the discourse on non-human elements governing their interactions *(\Van Assche et al. 2013)*.

Much like planning systems alone, whole structures of decision-making develop continuously throughout space and time in the world through the waves of innovation, imposition, borrowing and adjustment *(\Nedović-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. Concurrently, there are certain global trends which cannot be denied *(\Van Assche et al. 2013)*: (1) pulling for institutionalization and coordination of planning systems; (2) regulating the overlap of markets and planning; (3) professional and disciplinary articulations and the legitimacy of spatial interventions; (4) the role of aesthetics in socio-spatial interventions, and (5) increase in transparency and public participation in socio-spatial transformations. This may suggest that the distribution and structuralization of urban agency and the corresponding networks of influences (from top, bottom and outside **[Section 2.1.4:52]**), by belonging to the same cluster of elements, produce the effects and contexts which can be placed and put in hierarchical order.

Nevertheless, in particular local contexts, this is not the case. The specific mixtures of internal and external influences result in a concrete local organisational system, a style of action and quality that evolves over time according to its intrinsic, ordinary logic. While complexity and dynamics of urban systems resemble one another, if they are let to, they all may mature differently constituting their intrinsic socio-spatial patterns.

[Savamala symbols]

ГВОЖЂАРСКА ТРГОВИНА
М. ЈОКСИЋ

Karadjordjeva street: pre-socialist period_IfPoH

“My piece of Savamala“ area a century ago_VecernjeNovosti/ZN

ТЕХНООПРЕМА
MIKSER
HOUSE

Mikser House v1.0_Mikser

2.1.5 How to frame urbanity to grasp system dynamics

urbanity - the concept and the term; sociological approach; architectural approach; space syntax; combined approach - sociology and urban design; urbanity and ANT; Contextual elements and relations; Urban system transitions;

Side by side with the historical continuum of global development patterns, the socio-political framework at the neighbourhood level is shaped by human integration into the local environment. Appropriations, adaptations and modifications of space are the main agencies of physical interventions, which are followed by continual adjustments of political, economic, and cultural structures *(\Sykora 1999)*. This process captures the pace of change and the multi-layered nature of transformation, with the focus on transitions in the local economy, society, system of governance and the spaces of production and consumption. A systematic approach to such dynamics should integrate different modi operandi, transcend multiple scales and recognize the temporality of information, actions and intentions that are followed up by satisfactory results *(\Tardin 2014)*.

While today about 54% of the world population lives in cities *(\\\UN 2016)*, it has also been argued that "not all or even the greater part of these existences [and circumstances] can be described as being intrinsically urban" *(\Scott and Storper 2015)*. In urban studies the concept of urbanity is used as a parameter for the quality of urban spaces, but the particular meanings of the concept vary across contexts and disciplines *(\Bisson 2016)*. According to the following argument, this rather "fuzzy concept" *(\Bourdin 2014)* could also be used to grasp and operationalize urban dynamics, if taken in the course of Actor-network theory and updated to better indicate the parameters of urban dynamics through urban system transitions of maintenance, transformation and change.

From the historical viewpoint, the term "urbanity"[22] is used as a qualitative indicator for physicality in cities and urban life. Based on the language discourse, different disciplines moulded the meaning of the term. Therefore, it is possible to distinguish two different scientific views of urbanity - theoretical and practical, sociological and architectural.

The sociological approach in urban studies loosely associates urbanity with the city and addresses the urban way of life, referring to its original definition from the Oxford Dictionary. This definition dates back to the 16th century French interpretation of the Latin word urbanitas which denotes politeness. Its use in this sense is very common within the English scientific context in urban sociology. Urbanity is thus closely related to civility and indicates the "cultural dimension and symbolic infrastructure of cities" *(\Zijderveld 2011)*. In French language discourse, this sociological notion of the term is found in urban geography. However, herein it incorporates both the materiality (urban structures) and the substance (social interactions) in the city *(\Bisson 2016)*.

Accordingly, within the German tradition of urban studies, the term has been a more common reference for urban policy and planning, where it denotes the urban way of life and typical structural properties of a traditional "European city" *(\Prigge 1996; \Wust 2005; \Lossau 2008)*. As an overall definition in sociological and planning traditions of the 20th century (Georg Simmel, Louis Wirth, Robert Park, Jane Jacobs, Henri Lefebvre, Thierry Paquot, Richard Florida etc.), urbanity is a condition and set-

22 "Urbanitaet" means urbanity in German and "urbanité" in French. In all threelanguages it refers to either cities or urban life with slight differences according to the scientific domains where it is used. This research prefers to stay away from etymological and discursive interpretation of the term, but tend to emphasize that it is bounded theoretical concept often used/referred to separately/independently from the notion of the word urban.

ting that makes possible a specific way of life characterized by the city *(\Levy 2013)*.

In contemporary urban theory, urbanity is identified as the state of a city/space losing balance between the physical and social. On one hand, urbanity figures as a conditional arrangement for arguing and evaluating actions towards an overall vision of the common good *(\Holden et al. 2015)*. This rather contested and open-ended articulation of contemporary urbanity aims at balancing top-down, market and civić-based governance roles, responsibilities and outcomes within the interrelations of biophysical and socio-cultural urban elements - people and spaces, the regulatory framework and urban structures *(\Groth and Corijn 2005; \Tardin 2014; \Holden et al. 2015)*. On the other hand, urbanity as a state of the urban is deconstructed through the density and diversity of urban areas *(\Levy 1997; \Levy 2013)*. In this reference, it could also be graded and thereafter characterize cities through "the level of urbanity" (strong/ weak urbanity) *(\Levy 2013)*.

On the other hand, the sense of urbanity as a way of life (urban life) and culture (urban culture) emphasizes the temporal property of the concept *(\Farias 2011a)*. In light of assemblage and ANT theory, urbanity emerges within socio-spatial networks at multiple scales *(\Kamalipour and Peimani 2015)*. This approach emphasizes the idea that a city might be just a fixed actualization of urbanity in a particular space-time bound *(\Farias 2011a:297)*. The biggest challenge for urban analysis, addressed by the practitioners of ANT, is the definition of "rational urbanity" that addresses urban experience over time. Proposed by Spanish anthropologist Delgrade *(\Farias 2011a:211)*, it embodies fluid, unstable and ambiguous forms and principles of life in the space-time flux of a city.

In the English speaking context, urbanity is usually linked to physical components of the city within the domain of architecture and consequently urban design. In this reference, the concept is generally the indicator of urban quality. For architects urbanity sounds widespread and familiar at least in its normative sense as an articulated, "zero-friction" vision of urban development *(\Hajer 1999; \Wust 2005)*. In architectural research this concept is very often assumed and used without being defined. Several authors use it for their analysis without clearly stating its meaning, although slight differences in interpretations can be detected between authors as well. But in general, the architectural interpretation is narrow and tends to tame urban complexity, and debunks its relevance to interpret urban dynamics and to deal with diversity, the unexpected and the non-planned in cities *(\Groth and Corijn 2005, \Wust 2005)*.

The rich meaning of urbanity as a structural continuity of spaces in cities has been adequate for application in urban design practice. Historically speaking, this viewpoint was backed up by theories from Camillo Sité, Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch and Christopher Alexander. This line of interpretation has led to the formulation of a parametric vision of urbanity as an architectural category for spatial configuration of urban spaces. The idea of breaking urban space down into components is bounded up in the space syntax set of theories and techniques for the practical application of the concept of urbanity.

The most common definition of urbanity in the space syntax domain explains it as "the generic need for people and societies to access differences as a means for social, cultural and economic development" *(\Marcus 2007:10)*. In this respect, the operational definition of urbanity stems from its integration in urban morphology and refers to it as accessible diversity and efficient integration to locally capture the spatial capital *(\Marcus 2007)*. This interpretation might be easily politicized and rather reductionist by seeing urbanity as nothing more than an instrumentalized, aestheticizing perception filter *(\Wust 2005)*.

In this battle for dominance of either social or spatial (theoretical and practical) references, the first invokes the socio-cultural dimension of cities *(\Haussermann and Siebel 1992; \Christiaanse 2000)*, while the second turns to their architectural and design qualities *(\Neuffer 1976)*. However, all of them agree to a certain point that acknowledging difference and heterogeneity as well as embracing fragmentation and contradictions in a social and spatial sense are the prerogatives for accessible diversity and therefore the quality of the urban *(\Wust 2005; \Marcus 2007)*.

Taking into account a close scrutiny of these polarized explanations, there has recently emerged a tendency for an operational combination of sociological and architectural notions of urbanity to stand not for an urban condition but for a dynamic urban process.

While sociological interpretation exposes its processual potential, the practical focus of its application in architecture connects it to the local setting. Urban reality in this way was amplified towards a heterogeneous, dynamic set of flows *(\de Aguiar 2013)*.

The initial step forward in this direction was a recent influx of theory in space syntax research and the tendency to explain urbanity as an experience that incorporates urban agency of all human and non-human actors and to analyse it with ANT *(\Rheintantz 2012)*. On the other hand, there is also an increase in addressing place making, not only the common good and the social, when evaluating urbanity from the sociological perspective *(\Holden et al. 2015)*. The multifaceted character of the human-environment (nature) and nature-culture interactions that are addressed by this conceptual overlap of urbanity captures dynamic urban reality over time *(\Tardin 2014)*.

This line of research aims at combining the parametric nature of urbanity with the ANT description of all key urban agents and tracing it within the level of urbanity. In this way, the test of an urbanity level justifies opportunities for socio-spatial continuations, options, and turnovers to reach the collective demand towards the common good in the public sphere *(\Holden et al. 2015:4)*. When defined as such, urbanity may serve as a valid scope that offers categories for restricting complexity towards a structural unity of urban elements and comprises a sum of social interactions that "enable people to live together, without conflicts, in dense places" *(\Bisson 2016)*. Concomitantly, the level of urbanity incorporates dialectics of values, identities and relations that make the urban system nurtured locally and open to constant, flexible, spontaneous

system transitions *(\Groth and Corijn 2005)*. In these circumstances, networks of urban agency and contextual elements define urbanity through the character of space and the corresponding agenda for social encounters.

Contextual resources : In general, the character of space captures its spatial capital. Moreover, it has been widely accepted that spatial, social and human capital has been created from the accessible difference/discrepancy/change *(\Becker 1993; \Coleman 1988*), or urbanity as accessible diversity from the space syntax point of view *(\Marcus 2007)*. In other words, contextual resources are formed by making use of available territorial capital.

Territorial capital is a localized set of objects and relations *(\Camagni and Capello 2013)*: (1) localized externalities (economic and technological), (2) localized actions (activities, traditions, skills and know-hows), (3) localized relations (a system of rules and practices), (4) all the material and non-material elements physically produced, supplied by history or derived from nature, in an intentional or unintentional manner. In sum, territorial capital consists of social, human and spatial capital *(\Gronlund 2007)*. While human capital refers to knowledge (intellectual capital), personality (habits and personal attributes) and the creativity (creative capital) of an individual *(\Becker 1993)*, social capital is mobilized through social networks and relations, and might be followed by economic (monetary income and financial assets) and cultural (demonstrated through education and aesthetic values) *(\Rerat and Lees 2011)*.

Contextual resources have an extraordinary transformative character that enables horizons of possibilities in spatial and social sense. These resources reside in real and symbolic reconstructions and restructurings of everyday urban life and permanent urban forms and could therefore be addressed as spatial capacities and social potentials at the local level *(\Swyngedouw and Kaika 2003)*.

Urban reality is in constant flux through its merging with particular urban practices at play. Physical structures are formative for what goes on in an urban setting. The on-going everyday transformations are set by spatial capacities, yet any future urban design solutions also embody social capital, rational action that embodies social relations *(\Coleman 1988)*. These are social potentials bounded in any urban context.

These passive contextual elements refer to the concept of urbanity and its potential to be measured *(\Marcus 2007; \Vujosević et al. 2010b)*. The measurability of the urbanity concept stems from the issue of territorial capital *(\Camagni and Capello 2013)*, and more in detail: spatial *(\Marcus 2007)* and social capital *(\Golubović 2009)*. Moreover, there are several different categorizations of capital, to mention but a few: hard and soft, material, social intellectual, human capital *(\Healey 1997)*.

Urban Practices vs Urban Conflicts : On the other hand, urbanity is traced from the intensity of harmonizing and clashing social encounters which are determined by urban practices and conflicts produced by urban agency in the particular setting.

A constant change of urban actors and urban structures also accelerates flows of social practices (policies, actions and processes) that together induce the complexity and diversity of city life, and build urban experiences and urban capacity *(\Robinson 2006)*. Urban practices contribute to the reproduction of the current urban order through the institutional capital of formal and informal institutions within private, public, voluntary sectors *(\Vujosević et al. 2015)*, daily life, local rituals, ambiance and atmosphere, and a sense of belonging *(\Volic et al. 2012)*.

On the contrary, urban conflicts are defined as a confrontational relation between at least two actors, actor groups or categories of actors with respect to the management of urban issues *(\Aznar et al. 2006; Renau and Lozano 2016)*. Conflicts in general are incorporated in the systems of rules, habits, norms, even though they represent the threats and challenges to the current social order *(\Sears and Cairn 2005)*. Urban conflicts derive from and target the relatively stabilized, routinized particular spatio-temporal set, and therefore have intrinsically local character *(\Sassen 2007b)*.

Today there is an extensive set of urban conflicts stemming from the global level. Many authors are of the opinion that conflictive interactions are embedded in the capitalist order and neoliberalism. Urban conflicts thrive on discriminatory power dynamics, clashes of cultural differences and a series of confrontations of opposing viewpoints within a city and they tend to progress from a personal level to a socio-urban dimension.

Nonetheless, in general terms, in a top-down manner the conflicts may arise from the external interventions in the local political-economic conditions, regulatory arrangements and power poles (e.g. conflicts between the business coalition and local residents and the role of the institutions in them) *(\Brenner and Theodore 2005)*. However, conflicts are usually paired with injustice, poverty and racism in urban sociology *(\Hubbard 2004)*.

Generally speaking, law and science aim to resolve conflicts by discovering truths *(\Brenner and Theodore 2005)*. However, there is another interpretation that material and human capital might be activated in conflict resolution *(\Coleman 1988)*, in creating new tools, skills, capabilities and fundamentally transforming the existing relations into new, productive ones *(\Sears 2008)*. One such example is the recently popular boost of creativity as an engine for economic development and change *(ibid.)*. Therefore, "favouring the dynamic, spontaneous nature of the urban process proposes a positive vision of urban conflicts" *(\Sevilla-Buitrago 2013)*.

Urban System Transitions : Bearing in mind this complex vision of urban reality, it is the micro level, in this case it is a neighbourhood, where the test of urbanity may find its fullest expression in terms of the societal challenges and the

production of urban spaces *(\Blotevogel et al. 2008)*. Namely, the relation between urban life and urban form creates potential/opportunity for urban system transitions *(\ Marcus 2007*). As was elaborated in **[Section 2.1.1:30]**, system evolution is entrenched in the context through the activation of contextual elements.

The operationalization of the concept of urbanity is then possible in monitoring the level of urbanity of a local context as an overview of processes fueled by urban practices, contextual resources, and urban conflicts. Urban agency activates the context and inscribes local urbanity measured through its fluctuating degree (the level of urbanity) *(ibid.)*. Instead of taking a predefined political position by applying reasoning based on social order, power and class, the level of urbanity figures as an indicator of urban dynamics that combines: (1) the resilient processes of the old socio-spatial order (maintenance), (2) flexibility of structures and behaviours towards a "projected future" (transformation), and (3) contradiction between preservation forces and radical differences (change). Benefiting from urban practices maintain the urban system *(\Tardin 2014)*, harnessing contextual resources indicate the possibility for transformations, and urban conflicts convey radical changes arising from the resolution of conflicts. Therefore, the level of urbanity reflects the multilateral, multichannel nature of cities that incites not only the constellation of social practices and harnessing contextual resources, but also evidences the production and the challenge of urban conflicts.

Examining the urban by overriding current space-time boundaries captures the pace of change and the multi-layered nature of transformation, with the focus on the process of change in the citys economy, society, system of governance and the spaces of production and consumption. Thus, for analysing urban system evolution, multiple factors must be included: (1) political - internal political process and political regime, ongoing international relations; (2) economic - market forces and government influences; (3) the cultural - social milieu, professional culture, educational expertise and civil society power *(\Nedović-Budic and Cavric 2006)*.

Focusing on how cities are built, how they function and what will happen in the future unavoidably sheds light on urban planning, a research-led and practice-based field that revolves around the continuous process of decision-making on future actions for achieving objectives *(\Stojkov 2012)*. However, what is actually going on in cities is usually far from what is planned. Moreover, urban system transitions are processes of long duration *(\Braudel 1970)*.

Socio-spatial patterns of urban system transitions bend the way how decision making layers address urbanity as its constitutive reality and its ultimate positive goal. A multitude of human and non-human actors shape top-down, interest-based and bottom-up developmental action and influence the multi-layered decision-making structure in terms of decisions for maintenance, transformation and/or change of the system. This is the theoretical ground on which the proposed methodological hybrid traces the elements of a particular context for its categorical convergence and maps their interconnections and contributions to continuations, transitions and turnovers within urban development processes at the neighbourhood level.

"The disadvantaged have structural interests that run counter to the status quo, which, once they are assumed, will lead to social change. Thus, they are viewed as agents of change rather than objects one should feel sympathy for."

Sears and Cairn (2005)

2.2 Epistemological Framework

The presented conceptual framework imposes a scientific background on the analysis and delivery of data. Its relevance is built on further elaboration from empirical and analytical work within a real-life experiment *(\Parnell and Robinson 2012)*.

In this thesis, the research on urban development is divided between labeling urban complexity and tracing urban dynamics in the case study of a neighbourhood in Belgrade. The chosen neighbourhood is a vivid and resourceful representation of post-socialist developmental circumstances They are examined from the point of view of ordinary cities, without setting it into a matrix of evaluation in reference to the general, western model of development. Therefore, the source of urban agency is attributed to all human and material, social and technical elements. They are assumed to contribute together to continuous urban system transitions.

In urban studies, there is but one method that acknowledges the active role of non-humans in urban systems - Actor Network Theory (ANT). All other methods that analyze actors' constellation are exclusively oriented towards human elements, to name but a few: various types of stakeholder analysis [impact/priority matrix, power/interest matrix, readiness/power matrix, support/opposition, importance/influence matrix, constructive/destructive matrix] *(\Mathur et al. 2007)*, The Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) Model *(\Ostrom 1995; \Ostrom 2006)*.

ANT has been already extensively applied as the explanatory construct that studies the associations and symmetrical relationality of all active elements of an urban environment (\Farias 2011a). This initial choice of ANT is further backed up by its potential capacity to afford such openness and flexibility that is well suited within the scope of ordinary cities[23] and enables deconstructing complex urban systems without assigning to them preexisting explanations. Although ANT enables the exhaustive systematic description of an urban system, in concrete case studies, researchers meet their limits as it very often does not bring up new causalities in terms of facts, analysis, and conclusions. It provides a detailed description of confined urban environments, but meets its limits when confronted with complex real-life urban processes.

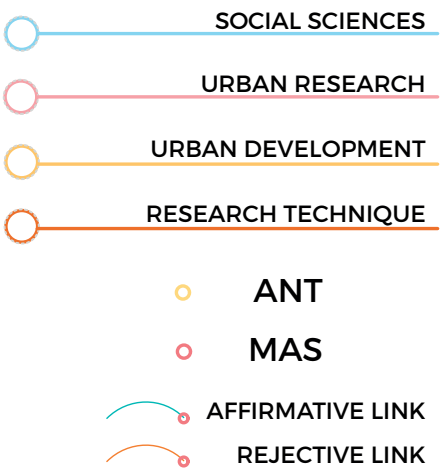
23 This has already been applied within this framework **[Section 2.1.2:43]**.

Bearing in mind that this methodological approach hesitates to offer explanations and to analyse individual behaviours, it tends to fail at an operational level. Moreover, when addressing an extensive practical application, reliability and credibility of data are not sufficient, it is also important to provide the generalizability of its results. While no single method is without its limitations, it was crucial for this research project to keep in mind not limiting the research to the shortcomings of only one method.

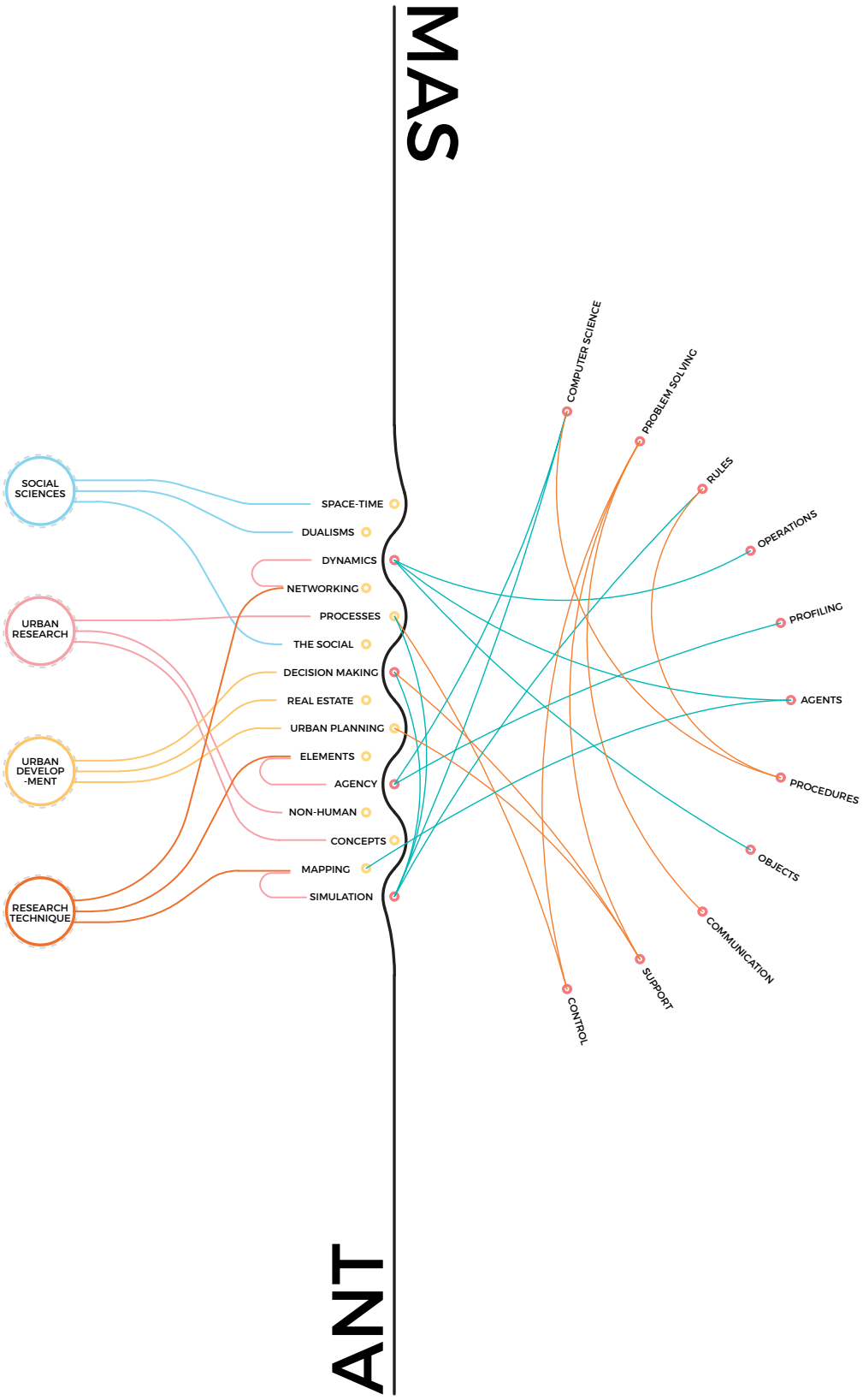
The diagram on page 81 [Diagram 2:81] gives an overview of the methodological blending of ANT and MAS methods in a visual manner. The diagram points out a set of concepts in urbanism (15 points in the centre of the graphic) that refers to urban complexity and dynamics. The concepts associated with Ac-

tor-Network Theory gradually vivisect theoretical field from the general domain of social sciences to the specific research technique, emphasizing the position of urban research and urban development in the process of narrowing down its methodological scope. On the other hand, summarizing methodological standpoint of Multi-Agent System shows its operational focus. The links on this side indicate how the concepts are used in practice-led articulation of MAS method. While the epistemological framework of this research is established on ANT principles taking into account all of its postulates, MAS is applied selectively in order to re-focus actor-network analysis towards future-oriented projections. In this respect, methodological links which were established with previous uses of MAS in urban domain are either accepted or dismissed in the course of this work. The concepts in the centre are arranged in a hierarchical order from macro to micro level, from abstract to operational mode. This fluid set represents how the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid is put in place for the purposes of this research project.

Being aware of the advantages and shortcomings of ANT, the mixed method approach is chosen in order to provide adequate scientific discourse and an operational framework for the research question to be answered in a satisfactory manner. ANT's urge for methodological revisions, adaptations or complements in order to facilitate a wider understanding of the undercover processes and mechanisms is therefore resolved with its complementation from the Multi-agent system (MAS). In their symbiosis, the application of these methods proposes a new reading of urban development processes in a post-socialist neighbourhood **[Diagram 2:81]**.



[DIAGRAM 2] LEGEND: Epistemological framework



[DIAGRAM 2] Epistemological framework

2.2.1 ANT in analysis of urban development

grasp urban complexity and dynamics;
the role of non-humans;
ANT principles;
ANT application in urban studies;
ANT for analysing urban practice;
ANT in post-structuralist research;
ANT as a conceptual framework;
ANT and a post-socialist city

In recent urban studies, the grasped complexity and dynamics of the networked urban system has been extensively reinterpreted by Latours Actor-network theory (ANT), with all human, social and technical elements that are symmetrically treated within a system. All these entities contribute together to a dynamic perpetual networking, where an understanding of all phenomena, including the social ones, lies in the associations among them *(\Latour 2005b)*. Differently put, it brings up the reproduction of inherent complexity and incompleteness of urban development in three gradual steps: (A) labelling all active elements of an urban system (B) identification of their roles, and (C) focusing on the associations among them **[Chart 1:85]**. The contribution of ANT lies in: (1) instating the socio-material topology of urban networks, (2) navigating the interpretative dualism of urban theory (nature/society, local/global, action/structure), (3a) elaborating the supremacy of associations that configure the relational understanding of the city, (3b) overcoming spatial hegemony in a complex urban reality, and above all (3c) radicalisation of the symmetry principle for human actions and non-human materials that allows tracing the consistency and extensibility of urban phenomena beyond its spatio-temporal manifestation *(\Latour 1993, \Murdoch 1998, \Farias 2011a)* **[Chart 1:85]**.

The chart on page 85 [Chart 1:85] summarizes the literature review on the application of Actor-network theory in urban studies and its contribution of it, with an emphasis on the analysis of urban development and urban decision-making.

Even though the human is still the essential, inseparable urban element, this blending establishes new interpretation of cities as a composite entity where all objects (physical spaces and structures, tools, technologies, data, formulae and regulations, institutions and, of course, humans) are mutually constituting through enactment, interaction and translation of different elements *(\Farias 2011a)* in *(\Latour 2005b:71)* words - ”any thing that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor”. An actor is grantedbactivity by others, and can be the subject or object of an activity *(\Latour 1996)*. As such, the heterogeneous body of associations and symmetrical treatment of humans and non-humans contribute to place action outside the actors where [a]n ”actor”... is not the source of an action but the moving target of a vast array of entities swarming toward it *(\Latour 2005b:46)*. The figuration of a relation counts, not its nature, function or purpose; the network is established when arrangements between actors produce stable patterns of performance and practice *(\Smith 2003)*.

ANT methodology redraws principal concepts of urban theory in actor-network terminology, and naming only a few, these include: social order; scale, power, decision making, governance, and urban development. The wide field of ANT application in urban research and practice addresses the urban core by encompassing not only analytical views on theory and research *(\Boelens 2010)*, but also planning methodologies, policy and practice recommendations, and development prospects *(\Healey 2013)*. All these works adhere to the basic ANT principles: (1) treatment of material objects and representations through actor-networks; (2) reduction of well-known dualities and

general concepts to in situ actors and networks; (3) and the nature and process of networking in terms of associations and translations **[Chart 1:85]**.

Anchored in science and technology studies (STS), an early application dealt with the nature of human/non-human exchange in mapping land cover projects and Geographic Information Systems (GIS), allowing the reconciliation of data with different ontologies and addressing "nodes, links and type of links" terminology factor-networks *(\Comber et al. 2003)*. The analytical lenses in architectural, housing and planning studies have focused on materiality/artefacts/objects and an up-to-date fruitful application of ANT: (1) for identifying non-human actors which happen to be missing, silenced, or even rendered invisible in the practice of the housing system, markets and policy *(\Gabriel and Jacobs 2008)*; (2) as an interpretative tool for processes and mechanisms under review distinguishes active mediators and passive intermediaries *(\Cowan et al. 2009)*; (3) as a theory of action for interpreting complex associations of people and things in architecture *(\Fallan 2011)*; (4) for demystifying the complexity of stabilizing/destabilizing object enactment mechanisms as a way to readdress the position of plan, implementation and design in governance and planning process *(\ Van Assche et al. 2013)*; (5) for assessing the relational aspect of assemblages as a way of explaining the influence of innovative tools for spreading explicit and tacit knowledge in planning and building sustainable cities *(\Georg 2015);* **[Chart 1:85]**.

Furthermore, the network related ANT framework has been stretched to analytical research tendencies toward urban practices. *Doak and Karadimitriou (\2007)* rely on Callons four steps in actor-network translations *(\Callon 1986)* to map complex redevelopment processes once reduced to a set of associations in social relations and material objects and stabilized by intermediaries. On the other hand, *Holifield (\2009)* advocates for the version articulated by *Latour (\1996)* and the political usefulness of ANT and suggests using intermediary/mediators' roles in risk assessment changes as a tool for "tracing the (contested) assembling without taking the existence of social relations" like capitalism and class "for granted". A similar stance has been taken by *(\Boelens 2010)* to promote a relational view on spatial planning and how it interacts with the behavioural urban regime so that ANT serves to identify actors and see how they organize from the ground up, and not be identified from above through an objective, vision or plan. ANT seems to have been recently gaining attention as part of the wider poststructuralist approach to cities *(\Smith 2013)*, therein further emphasizing its role in the process of production and acceptance of associations in terms of evaluating the positionality of researcher agency in human geography *(\Ruming 2009)*, and reflecting the process of production and the acceptance of associations in urban enclaves *(\Wissink 2013)*.

Even though this post-structuralist ANT tenet mainly holds on a flattened, network-oriented interpretation of system dynamics, it has been recently argued that the role of material objects must also be acknowledged in all its vigour and heterogeneity. Tracing back non-human elements from Latour to Foucault, it is obvious that material objects can be everything but passive and have been playing various social roles such as: (1a) reflecting and maintaining the social order, (1b) facilitating social relations, (1c)

moral and political signposts, and (1d) acting as intermediaries of the social across space and time *(\Sayes 2014;\Van Assche et al. 2014)* **[Chart 1:85]**. Non-humans, when granted agency, become intermediaries/mediators and actors and their active engagement in urban development refers back to various levels of urban decision making: (x) upholding legitimacy of urban planning, (xx) underpinning multiple realities of real-estate interest, and (xxx) personalizing participatory urban transformations through actor-network perspective *(\Van Assche et al.;\Rydin 2010; 2014;\Latour 1996)* **[Chart 1:85]**.

ANT seems to continue to provide a conceptual framework for interpreting and guiding various ways of examining networks and has demonstrated a substantial coherence as "a pragmatic approach to study actual practice in concrete sites and situations" *(\Farias and Mutzel 2015:526)*, which affords focusing on a description of the performativity of the black-boxed social world through: (1) the active role of non-humans, (2) the sociology of translations (3) free associations, (4) inseparable actor-networks, (5) urban assemblages *(\Latour 1996)*. The concept of assemblages is aptly after capturing the complex relationality of a dynamic urban system, though it fails to go beyond following the actors technique of examining human-human-nonhuman interactions *(\Cowan et al. 2009)* and to facilitate wider understanding of their normative and transformative nature *(\Gabriel and Jacobs 2008)*.

The rudimentary yet hyper dynamic circumstances of transitional societies offer an insight from within the network on how the body of norms, projections and structures of urban development unfold and upon the network of how the associations and translations of basic elements are formed and developed. In Serbia, the urban planning framework withstands a complex and elaborated institutional legacy, yet holds rather a symbolic meaning *(\Nedović-Budic 2001)*. The fragmented and uncontrolled spatial transformations are governed by a constellation of different, often illegitimate, interests *(\Petrović 2009)*, and, on site, the spectrum of active but powerless urban actors struggle to develop flexible social patterns and networks *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013)*. Therefore, the case study of a post-socialist neighbourhood in the capital of Serbia is a good illustration for observing the relationships between top-down urban planning, interest-based urban transformations and bottom-up urban design activities. Moreover, very few methodological research studies have bothered to examine urban development modalities in transition, apart from replications of the approaches taken by neo-liberal or institutional economies *(\Tsenkova 2007)*. In this respect, we aim to examine the utility of ANT analysis for understanding the developmental reality of the Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade.

2.2.2 Multi-Agent System for Process Simulation

computer science background;
simulation of urban decision-making processes;
MAS system dynamics;

Very important for developing hybrid methodologies is the correspondence of the individual epistemological framework of the methods. In this respect, the researcher has realized that the dynamics of urban reality interpreted by ANT matches the concepts of agency, communication, cooperation and coordination of actions, where all elements influence each other simultaneously *(\Ferber 1999)*. This interpretation corresponds to the Multi-agent system (MAS) approach for complex computing systems.

ANT ref	ANT stance	urban field	author	year
2-1a; 1-1; 3-X; 4-B;	The translation between humans and objects occurs when an object is designed or used. Types of intermediaries: texts, technical artefacts, human beings, money	GIS	*Comber, Fisher, and Wadsworth*	2003
2-3c; 1-2; 3-XX; 4-C;	Process of building networks in social relations Set of association define and constitute spatial qualities	Land/property redevelopment	*Doak and Karadimitriou*	2007
2-1a; 1-1; 3-XX; 4-A;	Focus on materiality, on what is missing or silenced in housing studies entangling humans and technologies, how non-humans intervene and disrupt the order of the city	Housing studies (practice & policy)	*Gabriel and Jacobs*	2008
2-2a; 1-2; 3-X; 4-B;	Risk assessment as a way of associating: critical approach of ANT "de-composition" and reconstruction of big structuring forces and distinctive ways of associating;	Environmental justice	*Holifield*	2009
2-1d; 1-2; 3-XXX; 4-C;	All research is partial and a product of associations (research bias) in a process of translation – network topology: trace associations between researchers, key informants and texts	Research in human geography	*Ruming*	2009
2-2a; 1-1/3; 3-XX; 4-A;	Explore non-human actors which might be rendered unseen 'follow the actors' technique of analysis	Regulatory framework for housing	*Cowan, Morgan, and Mcdermont*	2009
2-1d; 1-2; 3-X; 4-C;	Identify actors and see how they organize, non-humans only as mediated forces/factors of importance	Spatial planning; Urban regime theory	*Boelens*	2010
2-3a; 1-1; 3--; 4-A;	Non-humans role in architecture & building; ANT is not a methodological toolkit, but a theory of action;	Architectural research	*Fallan*	2011
2-3c; 1-3; 3--; 4-C;	Criticizing the approach to global cities through structures, networks & actor networks. The hypothesis of assembled actions through continuous associations without any power derived from an exteriority as an adequate context for localizing the global in current global-city research	Global city research	*Smith and Doel*	2011
2-1b; 1-2; 3-XX; 4-B;	The role of objects as mediators causing emergence of objects, groups and coalitions identify how controversies emerge from actors through associations	Enclave urbanism	*Wissink*	2013
2-3b; 1-1; 3-X; 4-C;	Mechanisms for object formation (reification, solidification, codification) and object stabilization (objectification, naturalization, institutionalization) in governance & planning identified through ANT.	Governance & planning	*Duineveld, Van Assche, and Beunen*	2013
2-3c; 1-1/3; 3-X; 4-C;	How assemblage of artefacts support the designing process in planning and building sustainable The tool (design tool) as a mediator and an intermediary based on ANT, the fate of the tool is in the hands of people using it;	Sustainable citie & building practices	*Georg*	2015
2-1b; 1-2; 3-XXX; 4-C;	Visualization of networks through diagrams Global-local intermediaries	Human geography	*Marshall and Staeheli*	2015

LEGEND

1 ANT orientation in urban studies:
- (1) treatment of non-humans;
- (2) nature & process of networking;
- (3) reduction of dualities & general concepts to actors & networks;

2 ANT contribution
- (1a) target social order
- (1b) facilitate social relations
- (1c) moral & political signposts
- (1d) the social across space & time
- (2a) navigating interpretative dualisms
- (3a) supremacy of associations
- (3b) overcoming spatio-temporalities
- (3c) symmetry principle of urban assemblages

3 ANT interpretation of urban decision making
- (X) legitimacy of urban planning
- (XX) controversy of real-estate
- (XXX) participatory urban transformations

4 ANT tenets for urban development
- (A) labelling elements
- (B) roles
- (C) focusing on associations

[CHART 1] ANT in urban domain – concepts, fields, date

This approach has already been applied in urbanism as a simplified problem solving strategy primarily used for urban decision-making processes. The multiple urban actors and stakeholders are first converted into agents. Then, they are used for simulating social organisations in which these agents are embedded *(\Bousquet and Le Page 2004)*. A multi-agent paradigm is actually very useful as a structuring method that gradually builds the capacity and flexibility of systems. Its potential lies in analysing the operationality, functionality, usability and extensibility of decision-making mechanisms on urban land use and land cover *(\Brown et al. 2005)*, housing market dynamics *(\Diappi and Bolchi 2008)* and Planning Support Systems (PSS) *(\Saarloos et al. 2008)*. The MAS methodology is, in fact, a process generation tactic based on the principles of ecosystem management (levelling, fluctuating, evolving). It applies the technique of categorizing the process infrastructure with apparatuses (the set of fields of influences and major forces) and procedures (the set of operational agencies) *(\Bousquet and Le Page 2004)*.

In general terms, MAS goes along with ANT as it also aims to explore and understand the system, not to predict the future. However, the radical difference that contributes to its operationality is the focus on spatio-temporal dynamics. MAS tests the impact of interactions and structures that emerge from these interactions *(\Crooks et al. 2014)*. It can therefore serve to complement actor-networks (ANT) with a systematic framework where MAS analysis of agent behaviours provides fine tuning for qualitative discrepancies in the system.

The characteristics of MAS that are very useful for an operational update of ANT in exploring urban dynamics are:

1. Profiling elements as agents:

With agent profiles, the complex system is divided into subcategories, all of which are identified as independent subunits (agents) and then the activity among these subunits is coordinated. This allows for agent typology, "an object-oriented approach and, as such, [enables] to distinguish actors, activities, flows, investments, facilities, regulations, rights, issues, forces, opportunities and constraints" *(\Hopkins 1999; \Saarloos et al. 2008)*. Moreover, distinguishing active-passive roles of agents (proactivity, sensibility, capacity for interaction) may be crucial for representing real forces in an urban environment.

2. Describing the impact of procedures/agencies:

Procedures / agencies serve for categorizing the agents accordingly *(\Arsanjani et al. 2013)*. These agencies are usually system transitions.

3. Exploring a generative bottom-up typology of the system by defining rules that govern urban dynamics (\Bretagnolle and Pumain 2010):

Identify the rules facilitates bridging the gap between top-down (evaluation of global trends) and bottom-up agent behaviours (local decisions which lead to emerging landscape patterns over time) *(\Bone et al. 2011)*.

4. Analysing complex systems:

The agent-based view on decision-making (links among agents' perceptions, representations and actions), control (hierarchical relations among agents) and communication (the syntax of the interaction between human decision-makers and

biophysical changes) is the core of system analyses *(\Brown et al. 2008;\Bousquet and Le Page 2004)*.

5. A multi-agent model for simulating system dynamics:

The aim is to understand and explore the system. The model is able to describe the emergent phenomenon and the dynamic behaviour of the system, and to draw consequences on the environment and agent behaviours (system dynamics) (\Diappi and Bolchi 2008). The primary modules of this model are borrowed from its application for programming systems in the computer sciences. Accordingly, they envision (\Brown et al. 2005): (1) environment; (2) assembly of agents; (3) set of objects; (4) assembly of relations, the agents interaction with the environment (agent behaviour); (5) assembly of operations making it possible for the agents to perceive, produce, consume, transform and manipulate objects through their relational behaviours; (6) laws of the system, the reaction of the environment to this attempt of modification.

This is the theoretical ground on which the hybrid methodology could be built. The combination of MAS and ANT methodological approaches takes into account all active agents regardless of their sort (ANT), their interdependencies and interconnections (ANT and MAS), and maps their contributions (MAS) to urban system transitions in a post-socialist context at the neighbourhood level.

2.3 Local framework

Even though globalization and urbanization are unavoidable, worldwide, broad, general and mutable processes, they still contain a necessary connection to place. Bearing in mind the ordinary city argument, every urban environment engenders a specific set of internal and external influences. If anything, global aspects at least spontaneously transform to meet local specifications and local circumstances distort and sprout in reaction to global ones. The particularities of the local urban setting are vital factors with regard to dealing with the uncertainty of its urban development processes.

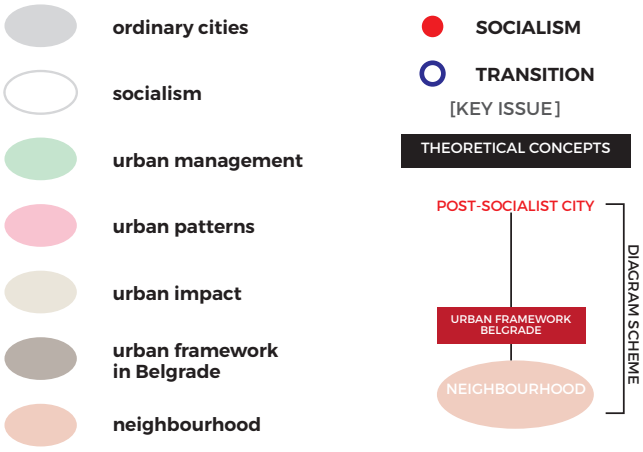
While the evolution of urban systems very often happens in a series of cycles, the periods of fundamental transformations and radical changes in micro environments therefore become a congregated space-time bound to observe how urban agency is aggregated and articulated through the morphology of urban decision-making *(\Watson 1998; \NedovićBudic and Cavric 2006)*. Bearing in mind the proliferation of global solutions, copying strategies and imitating models, difficult circumstances and hybrid situations may provide a resourceful insight in how urban development processes unfold *(\Harrison 2002; NedovićBudic and Cavric 2006)*.

The choice of post-socialist cities as a localized typology of analysis responds to both the need for an intensive, diverse, localized dynamics and a complex set of factors, facts, forces and prospects **[Diagram 3:89]**. Moreover, as the country of Serbia does not belong to either the Western world or among their colonies, its developmental path may reveal certain conditions and processes which could not be researched otherwise. In compliance with *Sjoberg's (\2014)* presumption that an emerging scope of contemporary urban studies is now at play that comprises both post-socialist/

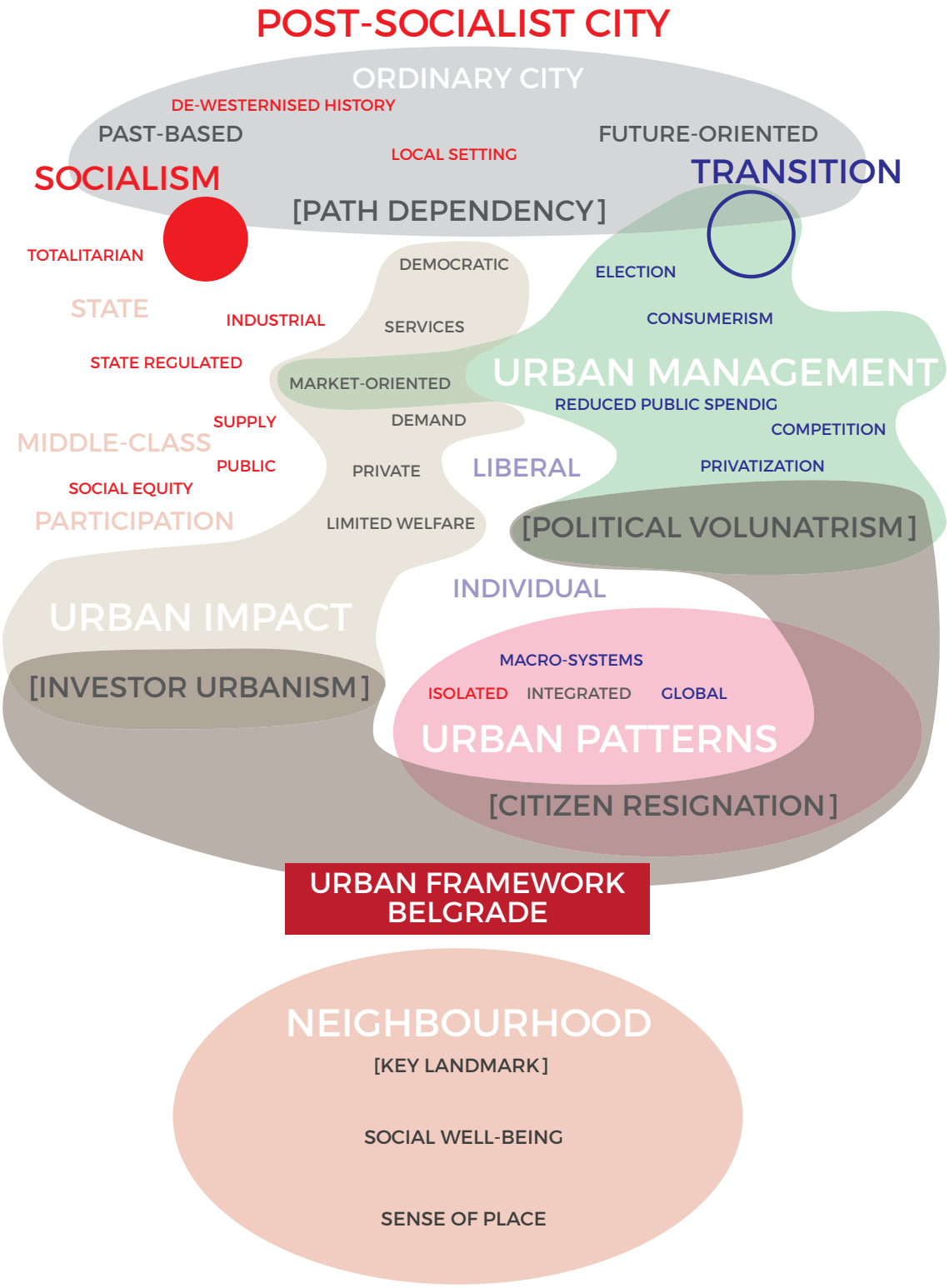
post-communist and post-colonial study research, the case study in the Serbian Capital therefore contributes to "building a de-Westernised version of urban theory" *(ibid:8)*.

Current circumstances in the neighbourhoods in Belgrade are referenced as not only post-socialist, but also transitional. In general, the theory of transition usually addresses democratization processes in a country context and emphasizes the links between the current transitional moment with the pre-transition past *(\Thomas 1998; \Dryzek and Holmes 2002)*. In the domain of this research, the time frameworks of post-socialist and transitional conditions and processes are revised to comprise both past-based and future-oriented circumstances.

The diagram on page 89 [Diagram 3:89] pinpoints the case study for this research project. It gives an overview of the local framework. In a rather non-structured manner, it represents the brainstorming of the valid bibliographic references. The diagram extracts the key terms and attempts to visualize the flow of concepts from post-socialist cities in general towards urban framework in Belgrade and their relationality with urban neighbourhoods. The connections among concepts are vertical, within coloured, closed areas, while the shared fields are marked by colour blends of the corresponding areas. The words are organized in fluctuating horizontal rows according to the relationality of their meanings and interpretations. The size of words indicate their importance. The square brackets point out key issues in local context. Apart from main theoretical concepts highlighted in white, red (and redish) words refer to socialism and dark blue (blueish as well) ones indicate transition. Socialist past and transitional future are the core tracks leading from a post-socialist city as an ordinary city to the neighbourhood level of analysis and their traces are set in vertical order.



[DIAGRAM 3] LEGEND: Local framework



[DIAGRAM 3] Local framework

2.3.1 Socio-spatial Patterns of Post-socialist Cities

transition;
post-socialist city;
spatial adaptations and repositioning of urban framework;
post-socialist urban decision-making;

As already indicated **[Section 1.2:16]**, transitional countries in CEE have undergone severe social changes on their way from socialism to capitalism after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dismantlement of Yugoslavia. Naturally, cities in these countries have followed a similar transitional path to move away from their socialist past.

Included in this range of spatially and economically turbulent surroundings, post-socialist cities are under significant political, economic and social pressure. These factors have provoked a legal void susceptible to shady deals and questionable public-private partnerships (illegality); a lack of strategically proactive urban governance, which has resulted in tolerance to illegal building practices (informality); increasing social polarization (inequity); and poverty in this region (the number of poor people reached 100 million in CEE by 2001) *(\Tsenkova 2006a)*. On the other, the huge socio-cultural base inherited from the socialist period with centralised and authoritarian practices dominate post-scoialist urban governance. This has had a profound influence on the spatial adaptation and social repositioning of post-socialist cities.

In urban studies, transition is explained as a process of transformations from "a ubiquitous socialist city" to "a capitalist city"as the final goal of this process *(\Nedović-Budic et al. 2011)*. In theoretical terms, the transitional process considers radical shifts from *(\Petrović 2009)*:

- The totalitarian to democratic political system;
- Planned to market-based economy;
- Public to private property ownership;
- Supply to demand driven economy;
- Industrial to serviće based society;
- Isolated to integrated position in the world economy.

The major characteristics that theoretically predefine transition is the non-democratic political past [24] and the consolidation of the new order through five arenas of democracy: a civil society and freedom of speech; (2) a political system based on free elections, (3) the rule of law, (4) an consistent and legitimate state apparatus, and (5) economic society with an institutionalized market *(\Thomas 1998)*. Nonetheless, in practice, important macro integration factors that initiated transition represent not only the change in the political regime, but also the crisis of cultural identity and, above all, structural economic change and the shift in the mode of production *(ibid.)*.

24 According to Linz and ***Stepan (\1996)***, non-democratic political system are classified into: authoritarian, totalitarian, post-totalitarian or sultanism.

Generally speaking, transition marks the period of substantial reconstruction of the pillars of the system and society, turbulent economic processes and fluctuating urban development circumstances *(\Nedović-Budic et al. 2011)*. While political and social changes tend to happen slowly, if happen at all, economic transition conquers the local context very fast. In this respect, the urban economy becomes a playground for: (1) macro-economy policy reforms at the national level, (2) installment of free-market ideology, (3) the first steps in privatization, (4) promotion of consumerism, and (5) dismantlement of industrial production *(\\\World Bank 2000)*.

These adaptations and transformations happen under the watchful eye of international actors, while foreign influences become crucial for the actual conduct of the transitional processes. Namely, several authors mention the ambiguous influences from Western states in the CEE context, declaring that it might be that these post-socialist states serve as a laboratory of change for the west *(\Vujosević et al. 2010a; \Maier 1998)*. Therefore, even though the essence of transition is rooted in a pre-transitional past, the processes at play are rather future-oriented targeting the core of the capitalist value system and social order.

However, with the huge socio-cultural base inherited from the socialist period, cities in transitional countries tend to partly continue with their pre-transitional past. They usually maintain their dominant positions and stay the centres of economic growth with a variety of servićes, national priority for expansion, technological innovation and cultural diversity. Therefore, the post-socialist period in these cities contains prevailing characteristics of the disintegration of the preceding system rather than a coherent vision of what should follow *(\Stanilov 2007)*.

The concept of "path dependency" has become crucial to express the influence of the past on the current urban processes *(\Stark 1992; \Djordjević and Dabović 2009)*. In a post-socialist city, these are the institutions and practices that have survived the system transition as well as the initial defensive policies of socialist states *(\Thomas 1998)*: (1) acceptance of market forces and regulatory efforts of the state towards it; (2) basic coordination with international laws and regulations; (3) efforts toward the reduction of public spending; (4) acceptance of welfare state limits;[25] (5) acceptance of privatization as unavoidable; (6) challenge to equality with incentives and competition; (7) acceptance of international finance through international agreements; (8) acceptance of the opportunities contained in European integration programmes.

25 As the famous quote has it: "the welfare state can be defended but not extended." ***Thomas (\1998)***

The major characteristics of post-socialist urban development are: a multitude of actors, various economic, social and political interests, the social aspects and fragmentation of urban spaces. Consequently, post-socialist cities, similar to developing ones, lack complex, operational logistics *(\Repetti and Bolay 2010)* to link top-down changes to bottom-up interventions in urban systems. There exists a growing discrepancy between the national and global levels, on one side, and city and neighbourhood levels, on the other.

According to *Sykora and Bouzarovski (\2012)*, the transition generally attacks the institutional framework, urban practices and the built environment, and these are also the domains where the post-socialist setting fights back. The confusing overlap of post-socialist traditions and transitional values in these sectors provoke a legal void susceptible to a variety of influences and interests that have profound influence on the spatial adaptation and repositioning of post-socialist cities in terms of *(\Stanilov 2007):*

1. **Urban management** - political and financial powers profit from the weak institutional framework and extend their wealth and influence by further loosening official urban planning framework and practice;
2. **Urban patterns** - illegal construction reduces the spatial scale and spatial formalism of urban structures;

3. **Urban impact** - urban practices marked by inequity lead also to social and spatial stratification of urban structures.

In other words, what proceeded after the end of the socialist era is a neoliberal model of urban planning with the supremacy of market-oriented solutions for urban problems *(\Sager 2011)*. In such a situation, urban planning was not a priority *(\Sykora 1999)*, and it was not considered effective for managing local urban issues *(\Vujosević and Nedović-Budic 2006; \Maier 1998)*. Therefore, planning was narrowed down to merely a technical issue and very few theoretical or general methodological research studies have bothered to examine alternative planning modes in transition, apart from replications of the approaches taken by developed countries *(\Begović 1995)*. Thus, *Zeković et al. (\2015)* mark the points where the post-socialist urban planning system breaks down through the collisions and mixtures of: (1) comprehensive vs incremental planning; (2) centralized vs decentralized decision making; (3) top-down vs bottom-up approach; (4) interventionist vs entrepreneurial urban management.

Post-socialist urban decision-making substantially fails through the discordant visions and interests, nonexistent implementation and authoritarian vertical coordination. Furthermore, very few theoretical or general methodological research studies have examined alternative modes for urban development in transition or post-socialist urban planning, apart from replications of the approaches taken by neo-liberal or institutional economies *(\Tsenkova 2007)*.

2.3.2 Post-socialist Urban Framework in Belgrade

"growth withouth development"; socialist legacy,;imported western planning paradigm; post-socialist urban system transitions;

Urban systems of post-socialist cities are highly susceptible to tense on-going transformations, diverse but reciprocal in their nature: (o) economic transformations (transformation of production and consumption in relation to space, income polarization and poverty), political transformations (urban governance, political voluntarism, participation and de-centralization), (o) spatial transformations (demographic trends and distribution of functions) and (o) social transformations (social exclusion-inclusion, social activism and informality). In other words, what proceeded after the end of the socialist era is a neoliberal model of urban planning with the supremacy of market-oriented solutions for urban problems *(\Sager 2011)*.

Conversely, with the huge socio-cultural base inherited from the socialist period, cities in transitional countries have continued to be centres of economic growth with a variety of servićes, expansion, technological innovation and cultural diversity. While some trends and directions within these transformations are clear and defined, uncertainty dominates decision making and implementation in the turbulent environment of post-socialist cities *(\Nedović-Budic et al. 2011)*. Therefore, the post-socialist period in these cities contains prevailing characteristics of the disintegration of the preceding system, rather than a coherent vision of what should follow.

The dismantling of the socialist system[26] in Yugoslavia during the late 1980s was the entry point for substantial transitional change within all aspects of the economic model, the political order and the social organisation in Serbia. However, after 25 years, Serbia still finds itself in a post-socialist proto-democracy without functional, reliable, and developed institutions of a representative democracy, civil society and market economy *(\Vujosević et al. 2010b)*. Therefore, in the course of merging socialist and neoliberal socio-economic condition in Serbia, regulatory practices and organizational solutions have led to inefficiently operationalized and inconsistently formalized institutional reforms rather known as "growth without development" *(\Vujosević 2010*).

During the socialist period, general urban planning in the former Yugoslavia incorporated the process of paradigm change, in Kuhns sense of the word *(\Kuhn 1962)*, and set a specific pace of progress, disjunctive with that of the Western countries of the time and dependent on the current state of socio-economic and political affairs at the national and city level of the time *(\Bajic-Brković 2002)*. While it initially started as a top-down comprehensive planning practice, it was significantly developed toward a decentralized and participatory planning procedure by the mid 1980s. Its bottom-up nature and multi-disciplinary practice was acknowledged and praised by developed planning cultures from Western countries *(\Cullingworth 1997)*. The discrepancy between theory and practice in the late 1980s initiated the abandonment of this planning model with a fixed future vision of the urban environment. Yet the real dissolution of the planning paradigm started in the 1990s due to the disintegration of Yugoslavias socialist system and the destabilization of the institutions, which brought in the lack of legitimacy in urban planning in the post-socialist cities of the newly established state *(\Vujosević et al. 2010a)*.

Accordingly, the urban planning system in the Serbian capital of Belgrade had presented a high number of strategies and their practical implementation during the previous socialist regime, while during the post-socialist period of the 1990s implementation became continuously hindered by political instability, convergent socio-economic forces and inconsistent planning models. In practice these conditions have resulted in placing the strategic plan as an advisory long-term urban vision, but leaving the real actions and decision making to political and market forces. The situation was not any better when more intensive transition started in the early 21st century. Even then, it was rather qualified as a slow socio-economic transformation with a low rate of foreign investments, dominated by the flurry of wild capitalist and stumbling rudimentary democracy.

While the western planning paradigm involves corrective factors for urban failures inherited from the free market and democratic principles *(\Nedović-Budic 2001)*, the path dependency tradition of urban planning in Serbia nurtured an insufficient, ineffective and biased urban planning framework. As a result, urban development of Serbian cities, and above all its capital, most often has exceeded and diluted the common strategic framework defined from top-down: to establish clear links between the process of strategy development, its institutional framework, the hierarchical structure

26 The system in Socialist Federate Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was addressed as socialism or commu- nism in various works of urban studies and urban planning research. However, after an extensive review of the literature and consultations with local experts, this research has applied the term socialism. Namely, its Constitution and the name of the state indicate a socialist political system (Ustav Jugoslavije [Yugoslav Constitution] 1963).

of the long-term and short-term objectives of all actors involved, and the real-time changes happening simultaneously in an urban environment. Complex institutional legacies influenced the behaviour of all urban actors, preventing the development of flexible social patterns and networks and falling short of providing overall legitimacy for the constellation of different interests in the post-socialist context of Belgrade *(\ Petrović 2009).*

These circumstances imply that urban decision-making in Belgrade is very often performed outside the institutions of the regulatory framework. Even though local authorities and the civil sector possess the legal empowerment and prescribed procedures of institutional control, they lack adequate and operational instruments for exerting their power in everyday practice *(\Bajec 2009).* In addition, public interest in local authority servićes is a result of the direct influence of the political programs of those who are involved in local authorities and who are, at the same time, active protagonists within the global and national political scene *(\Djokic and Nikezic 2007).* The pervasiveness of such uncontrolled and even illegal development leads to the deconstruction of urbanity *(\Vujović and Petrović 2007).*

Urban decision-making in Belgrade is more reactive to the interests of capital investments, as well as being more tolerant of illegal practices than it is strategically proactive. Thusly the produced results lead to: (1) organic rather than comprehensive entrepreneurial city development *(\Petrović 2009)*, (2) a laisser-faire economy and (3) a global consumer culture which dissolves the democratic capacity of countries in transition *(\Ellin 1999).* The main characteristics of such urban system transitions are marked by:

- **investor urbanism** stemming from a loose regulatory framework and vulgar economy patterns *(\ Vujosević et al. 2010a);*

  Inadequately regulations and inconsistent management of urban land and undefined procedures of property ownership changes pave the way for the powerful to extend their activities and profit, but hinder those defending the public interest and citizen rights to oppose such deeds *(\ Vujović and Petrović 2007)*. Consequently, the authority to direct interventions and interventions in urban spaces belongs to a handful of powerful political and economic actors enabling various spatial manipulations and reinterpretations of planning outcomes to conform their interests *(\ Van Assche et al. 2013).*

- **pluralist political life** and political voluntarism which dominates the implementation of laws (\ *Djokic and Nikezic 2007)*;

  In Serbia, the oligarchy from the 1990s was and still is influential. Even though the regimes have changed, the "buddy" and brotherhood networks are making their ways through inefficient and corrupt public institutions to satisfy their own interests *(\ Vujović and Petrović 2007)*. Corruption, manipulation and clientelism have governed most of the institutional relations and practices in the public

domain, where political actors have become powerful economic actors within an un-transparent and semi-legal system *(ibid.)*.

- **citizen resignation and political passivity** holding back the expansion of participation *(\ Vujović and Petrović 2007*).

Within such a blurred institutional framework urban actors with no political or economic power become marginalized and deprived of their rights to be actively involved in designing their urban environment *(\ Bolay et al. 2005)*. These circumstances, strongly demotivate citizens to participate in society and to even defend their interest in a system where the cumbersome procedures and political connections are those that matter *(\ Vujović and Petrović 2007)*.

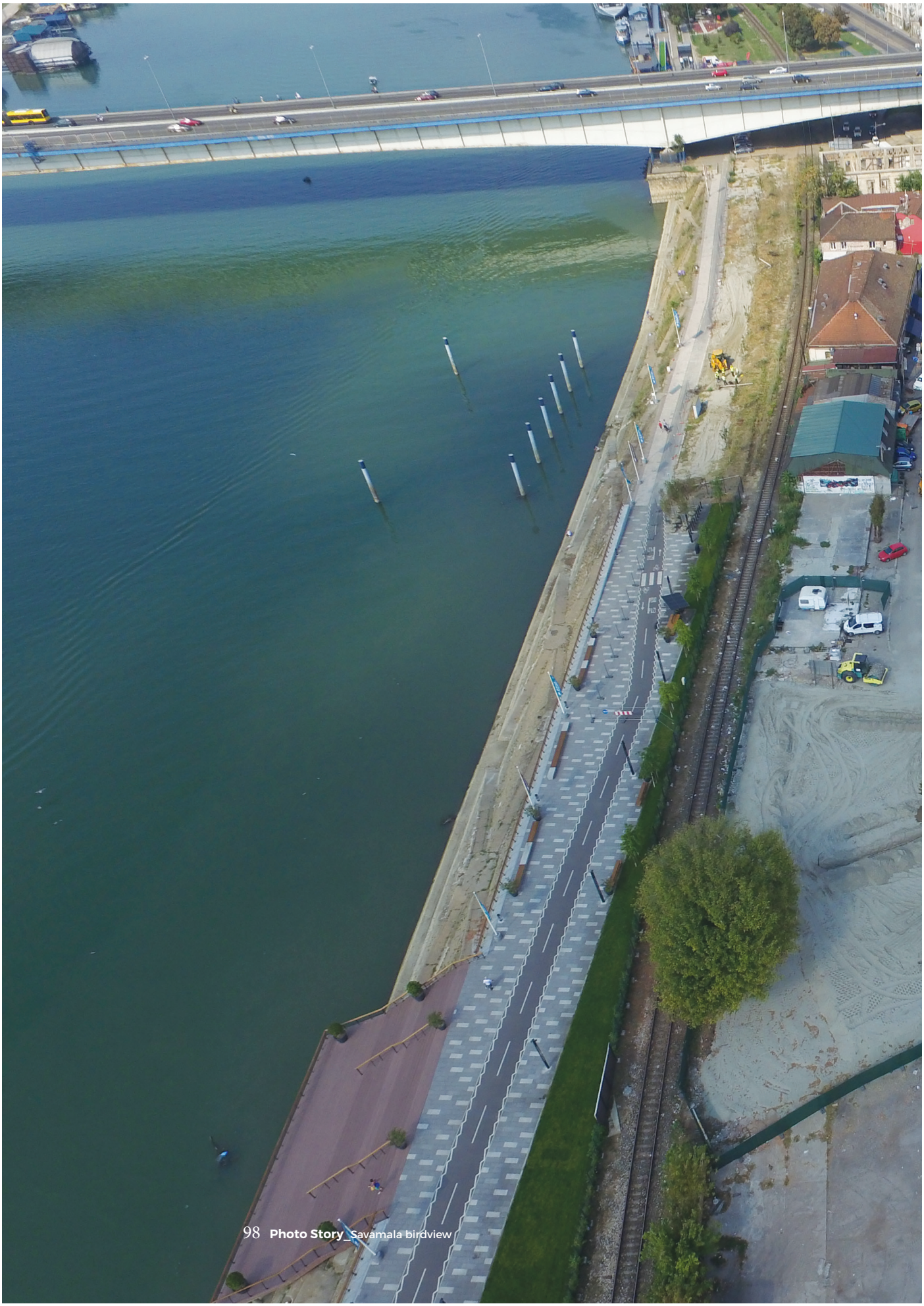
While the positive traits of Yugoslav self-management were easily abandoned, the negative ones were kept and extensively used (e.g. paternalism, manipulation, clientelism) *(\Vujosević and Maričić 2012)*. According to *Vujosević et al. (\2015),* these flawed practices were further boosted by: (1) extensive administrative centralization; (2) the territorial integrity of policies and projects at the national level, but selective decentralization of territorial governance; (3) the lack of mechanisms for the articulation of the common interest, yet dominant party-political affiliation of interest; (4) a complicated system of budget allocation between the Republic and municipalities engendering regional development differences; (5) flawed land/construction management and evaluation tools and mechanisms; (6) a biased and unclear local stakeholder matrix and interest map (e.g. cultural, economic, political, military etc); (7) the absence or inconsistency of the "Rule of law" principle within the urban planning system; (8) spatial chaos (low construction and urbanization, illegal construction) (9) an unfavourable demographic structure and demographic recession (influx of refugees, aged population and extensive brain-drain). In these circumstances, any substantial societal change has been degraded and misinterpreted with superficial economic liberalization and hyper production of ungrounded formalizations (emergence of new institutions and numerous policy agendas).

Due to these circumstances, the urban development processes of post-socialist cities are perceived as multi-dimensional, intense and semi-autonomous. Based on the example of Belgrade, they reveal the inclining tendency to generate basic conceptualizations and typologies that could be used to deconstruct the economic, social, demographic, political and technological complexity and dynamics of post-socialist urban systems.

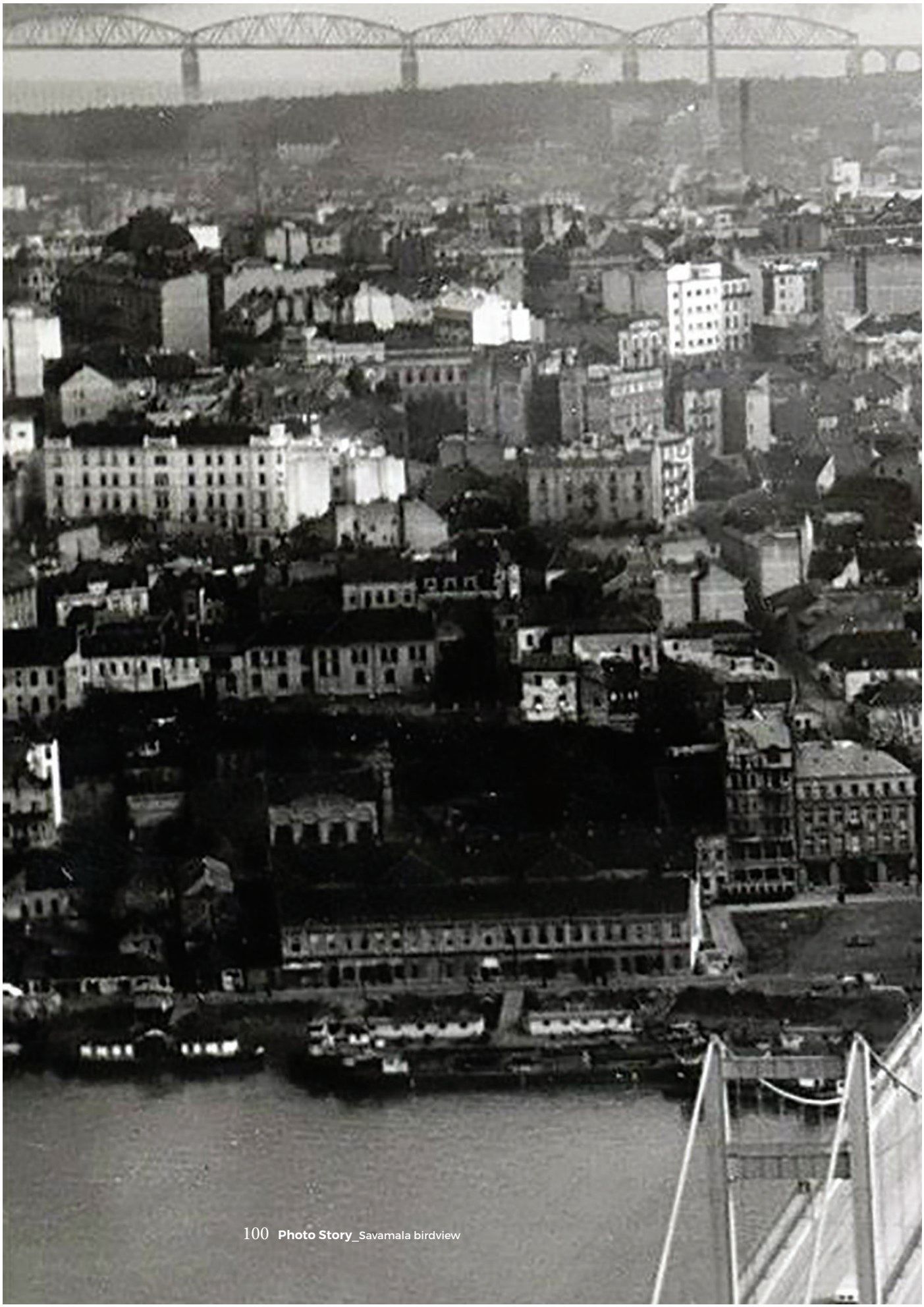
[Even the birds know about Savamala]

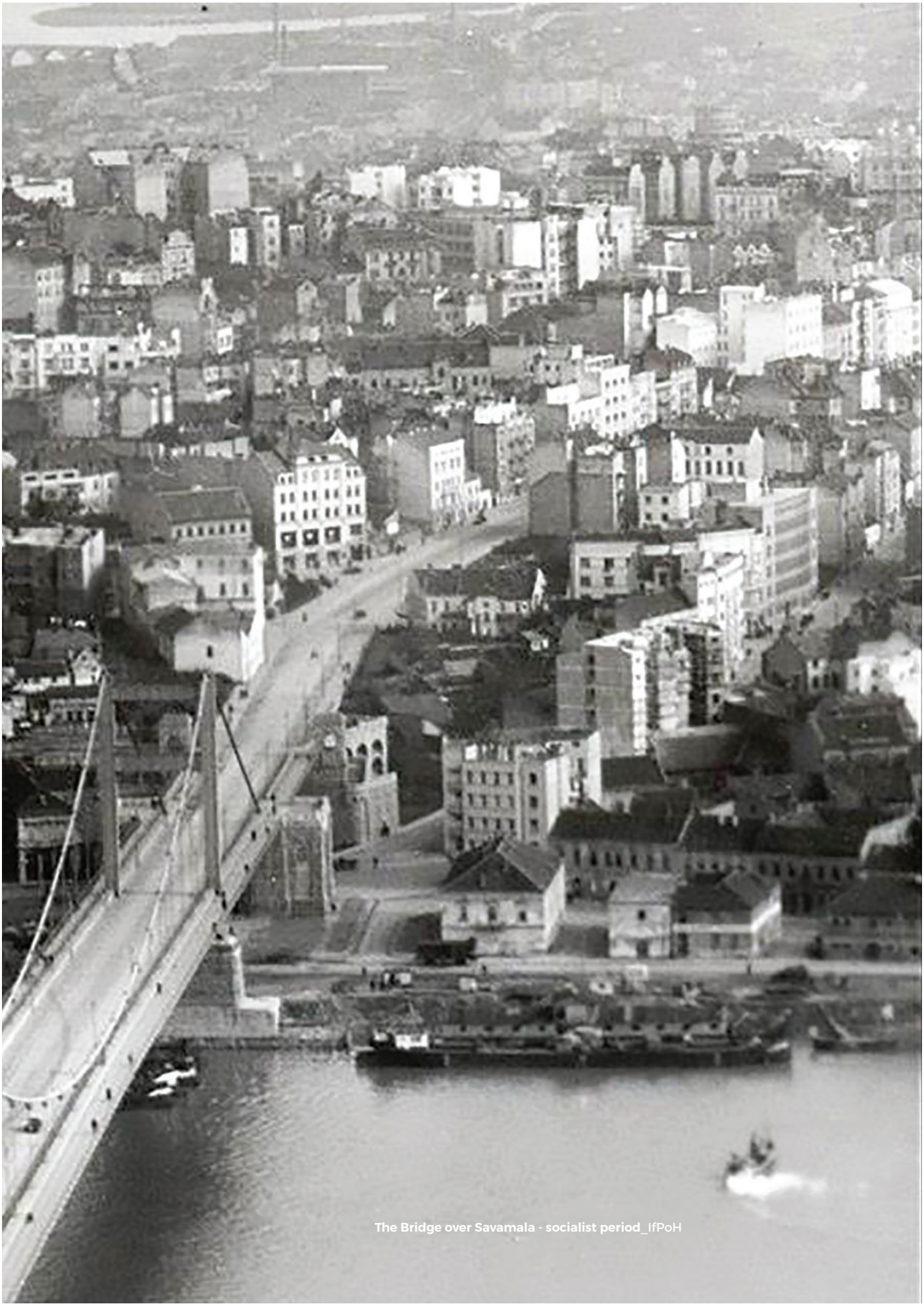
Rooftops of Savamala_ S.O.U.P

Sava Waterfront pre-socialism_IfPoH

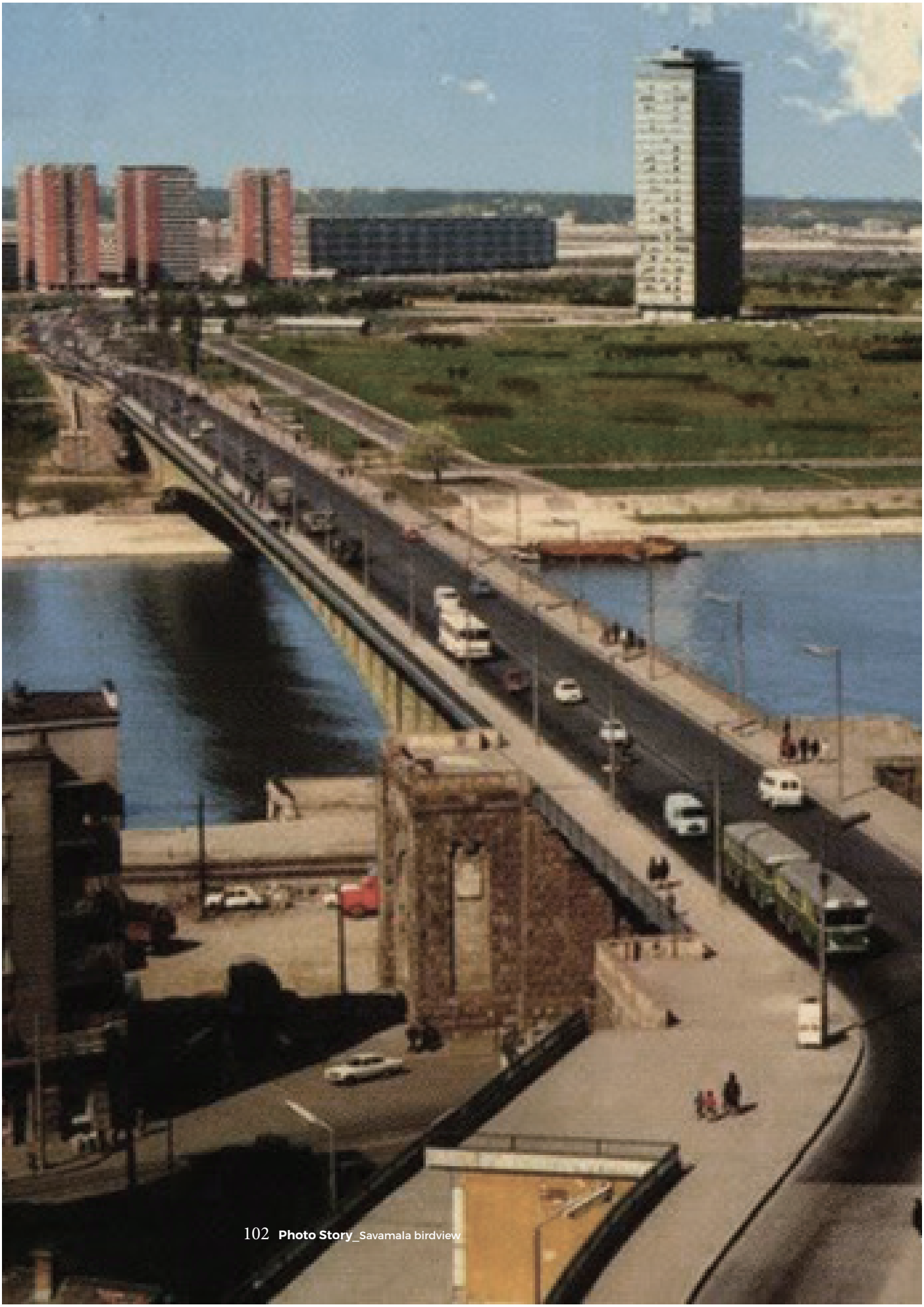


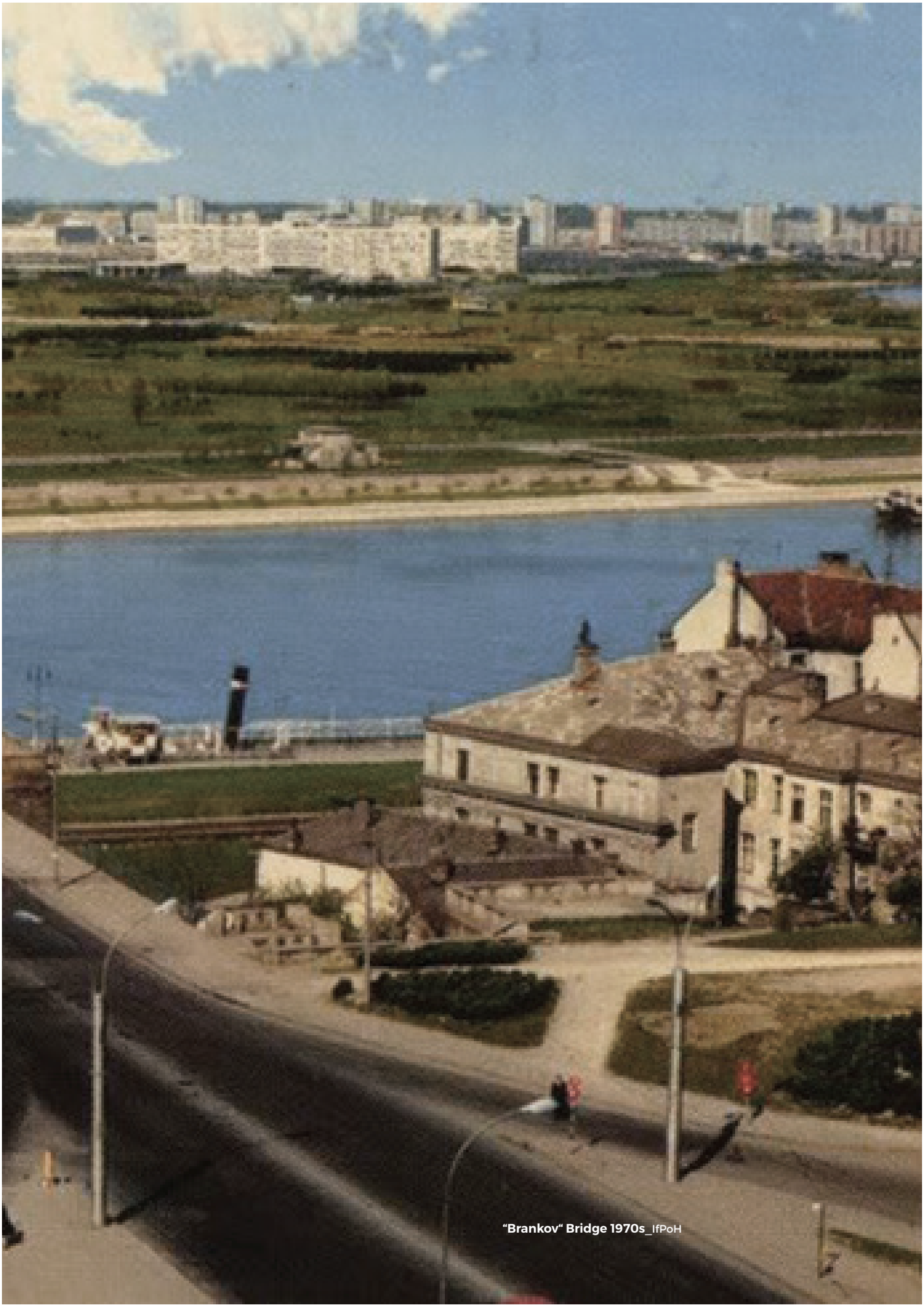
Savamala Aerialview (2016)_NN





The Bridge over Savamala - socialist period_IfPoH





“Brankov“ Bridge 1970s_IfPoH

Savamala before BWP (2012) - aerial view_UI

2.3.3 The Neighbourhood is the Local Unit

traditional definion; sense of place and social well-being; key landmark in the city

Even though post-socialist cities represent a research challenge for understanding urban development processes, taking into account the urban agency of all types (human and nonhuman), its substantial complexity and dynamics might be hard to follow in order to produce meaningful results. In this reference, the neighbourhood unit, as part of the city with a distinct spatial and social identity and functional coherence *(\Choay and Merlin 2010)*, is a favourable choice as a representative micro environment. Moreover, the neighbourhood unit has already been used as an indispensable tool for the analysis of development processes and the practice of city organization around the globe *(\Meenakshi 2011)*.

The neighbourhood as a fact of nature - a place where people live together with common origins or common purposes - is an old definition *Mumford (\1954)* that has still been used in theory and in practice. The neighbourhood is not an intrinsically urban phenomenon, it can be found in both urban and rural environments *(\Choay and Merlin 2010)*.

Throughout history, it aggregated spontaneously, while now neighbourhoods are built systematically. Yet in all times the neighbourhood has represented a strong sense of attachment, identity, admittance and belonging for inhabitants *(\Meenakshi 2011)*. Having said that, the concept of neighbourhood is now extensively used in urban design and planning as a tool for providing a sense of place *(\Patricios 2002)* and social well being *(\Meenakshi 2011)*.

However, a neighbourhood must have mobile borders and it figures in this way as a part of the city. It is an aesthetic unit, but the neighbourhood should not be self-contained or self-enclosed *(\Mumford 1954)*. A neighbourhood is distinguished by its: (1) particular topography, (2) common history, (3) specific built environment typology, and (4) characteristic social distributions *(\Choay and Merlin 2010)*. It is not necessary that it is an administrative unit *(ibid.)*. Yet they do require minimal autonomy and space-time continuation *(ibid.)*.

The idea of a neighbourhood is also a symbolic manifestation of the ideology of community and togetherness *(\Lefebvre 1974)*. Furthermore, the growing interest in neighbourhoods and the sense of neighbourhood is a part of the new traditionalism approach for preserving the socio-cultural values of the past in contrast to current technologized and virtualized sense of being and place *(\Meenakshi 2011)*. Neighbourhoods are the representatives of urban life, specificities and differences of particular lives. Particular neighbourhoods altogether create the spirit of the city. Neighbourhoods are always recognizable, a specific set of spatial attributes and historical consistency *(\Choay and Merlin 2010)*. Paired with distinguished urban life, these characteristics make of a neighbourhood a key landmark in the city *(ibid.)*.

"le quartier (...), organisé par les forces sociales qui ont modelé la ville et organisé son développement (...) est une forme d'organisation de l'espace et du temps de la ville (..). Il serait la moindre différence entre les espaces sociaux multiples et diversifiés, ordonnés par les institutions et centres actifs. Il serait le point de contact le plus aise entre l'espace géométrique et l'espace social, le point de passage de l'un l'autre"

Citing Lefebvre in Choay and Merlin (2010)

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the research superimposes the conceptual layer over the local context set by the epistemological framework of the mixed method **[Diagram 4:110]**.

The local context is the practical base of the theoretical framework. The relevance of post-socialist cities is demonstrated through the multitude of data that comply with the categorical requirements of both conceptual and epistemological frameworks. A further reduction to the neighbourhood level is argumented by the need for controlled circumstances and therefore bounded micro-environment. What is more, the theoretical elaboration of the neighbourhood as a socio-spatial element of a city also provides a theoretical reasoning on the neighbourhood level and its relevance for this research. The issue will be further elaborated in **[Chapter 3]**.

The methodological focus of this thesis limits the conceptual framework to the set of rather general, widespread terms of urban studies (urban development, agency, decision-making, urbanity, socio-spatial patterns). In the scope of this research, these concepts have been traced within the scientific literature of urban theory, urban studies and urban planning. Their operational definitions were chosen to best correspond to the requirements of the methodology.

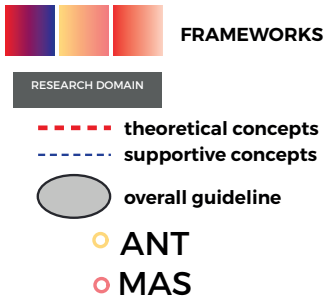
- **Urban development** is addressed as a sum of context-specific processes of urban system transitions.
- **Urban agency** is everything that makes a difference and that engages with other elements in an urban system (human/non human, material/non-material).
- **Urban decision-making** represents a social distribution of urban agency in an urban system.
- **Urbanity** links contextual properties (socio-spatial patterns) with urban agency and indicates paths for urban system transitions.

Moreover, the binding frame for these concepts is found in "ordinary cities" theory. On the one hand, the ordinary cities concept supports a value neutral vision of urban development. On the other hand, it covers a missing link between these concepts and the methodological framework, namely through the theoretical relations already established between ordinary cities research and ANT.

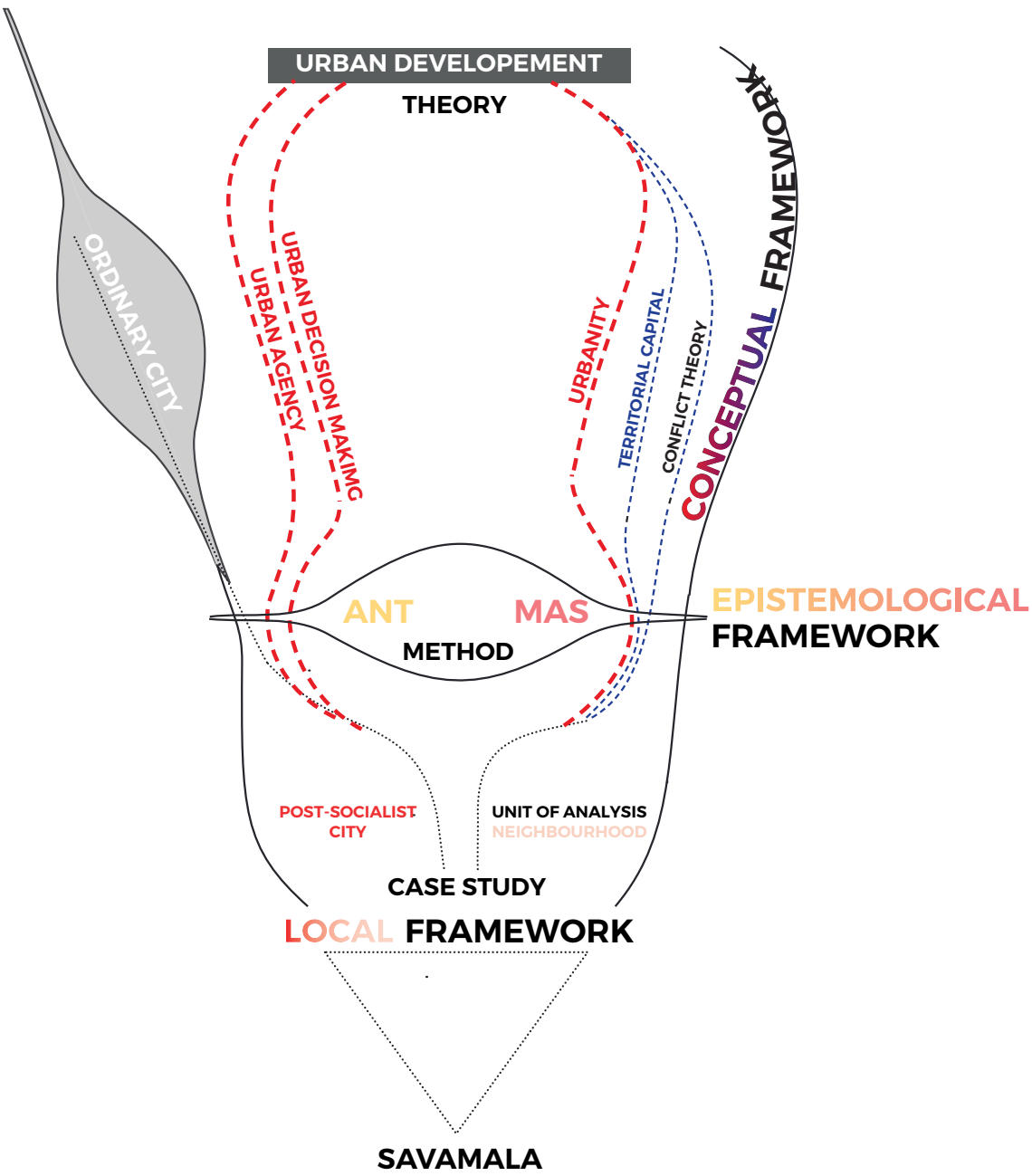
The adequacy of the epistemological framework is initially based on the contribution of ANT in terms of: (1) the role of non-humans, (2) approaching the environment as a relational process, and (3) mapping the transitions through horizontal links and associations among actors *(\Latour 2005b)*. However, its operationality is enabled through the support of MAS in terms of agent-based mapping and the framework for the interpretations of agent behaviours.

The diagram on page 110 [Diagram 4:110] is a condensed scheme of the theoretical references for this research. The visualized interpretation of the theoretical framework reduces the vast theoretical background into a set of essential concepts. These concepts are visually split according to the methods' adequacy for their analysis in this research project - urban agency and urban decision making are traced with Actor-network theory (ANT) and urbanity is addressed by Multi-agent System (MAS). Both methods and all concepts keep their links to local framework – post-socialist urban environment and neighbourhood level of analysis. The general flow of this diagram is from theory, through method to the case study - from conceptual framework, epistemological framework and local framework. Ordinary city doctrine is an overall guideline of this research operationalized through the localized framework of post-socialist city. And urban development is the research domain. The diagram connects conceptual, epistemological and local framework in a logical sequence and signalizes the key terms from theory further applied in the empirical analysis of the Savamala neighbourhood.

The elaborated theoretical reasoning frames the theory behind the research objectives **[Section 1.1.3]**, backs up the general research question defined in **[Section 1.1.3]**, indicates its relationship to the research problem **[Section 1.2]** and explicate the path for the drafting of hypotheses **[Section 3.1.2]** within the specified relations of the conceptual framework, their compatibility with the local context and their applicability within the chosen hybrid method **[Section 3.2]**.



[DIAGRAM 4] LEGEND: Theoretical framework



[DIAGRAM 4] Theoretical framework

"Realities are not flat. They are not consistent, coherent and definite. Our research methods necessarily fail. We need to understand that our methods are always more or less unruly assemblages."

Law (2007)

[Savamala has been growing in, up, out & around]

Urban Incubator revived Spanish House_UI

Bosanska (Gavrila Principa) street - XiX century_IfPoH

Photo Story_Savamala inner dynamics

Savamala inner courtyards_S.O.U.P

Savamala Streetlife 1960s_IfPoH

Karadjordjeva Street between WWI & WWII_VecernjeNovosti/ZN

Ship Graveyard on Sava Waterfront (2012)_S.O.U.P./OP

Chapter 3

The Journey through Methodology

Before delving into the data sampling and outcomes of this research, it is crucial to delineate the research process and procedures. Within the scope of this thesis, the research process involves the development of an organized body of knowledge on the urban development processes in post-socialist cities. The aim of this chapter is to justify the choices made about what and how to research and the means to collect and analyze the data.

This chapter starts with a presentation of the larger framework in which the research objectives presented in the introduction are conducted into context-specific research questions and working hypotheses. Next, an explanation for the choice of the case study method, the criteria for the case study selection, as well as the mixed method methodological approach are listed, along with a brief overview of the methods and techniques used.

3.1 Research Framework

This thesis starts from the trendy term of urban development in order to scrutinize urban complexity and dynamics in a more operational and procedural manner. The following layers of this research, reflect its challenging nature:

1. Trace and propose a context-based definition of urban development and identify the corresponding concepts that comply with it;

2. Elaborate the validity of a post-socialist neighbourhood as a case study that blends and reveals the complexity and dynamics of a modern urban context;

3. Apply the Actor-network theory framework for the descriptive analysis of a post-socialist neighbourhood;

4. Construct a MAS-ANT visual hermeneutic set as an engine for agent-based representations of urban complexity and dynamics.

The logistical construction of the inquiry involves an exploratory journey through facts, phenomena and theories of a conceptual framework within urban studies using the proposed methodological hybrid of Multi-agent system and Actor-network theory. The fundamental question stays the same: it is crucial to understand what is going on in cities within the concerns of urban development and, even more, how it is occurring.

The current body of knowledge on this matter provides input on how to transform and adapt the general concepts mentioned earlier into the indicators of the complexity and dynamics of urban systems and corresponding development processes. The theoretical framework has provided the foundation of phenomena, facts, and theories in this direction, by acknowledging the conversion of general concepts into indicators as follows **[Section 2.1:27]**:

1. Abstract concepts are reinterpreted through complex indicators, which may be traced through the relations of field-data [Diagram 5:126]:

- urban development = urban system transitions (dynamics of urban processes);
- urban decision making = engagement of urban agency within urban networks;
- urbanity = engagement of urban agency with socio-spatial patterns

2. Indicators constructed as dependent variables [Diagram 5:126]:

- urban system transitions - the dynamics of urban processes of maintenance, transformation and change relies on the level of urbanity and the articulation of the morphology of urban decision making;
- the level of urbanity - is indicated through the socio-spatial patterns of urban system transitions;
- the morphology of urban decision-making - the engagement from urban agency aggregated within the layers of urban decision making;

3. Indicators reduced to independent variables [Diagram 5:126]:

- urban agency consist of human and non-human actors;
- urban networks are the assemblages of urban relations identified through the layers of urban decision making (top-down, real-estate, bottom up);
- socio-spatial patterns are local contextual elements identified as urban practices, urban conflicts, contextual resources;

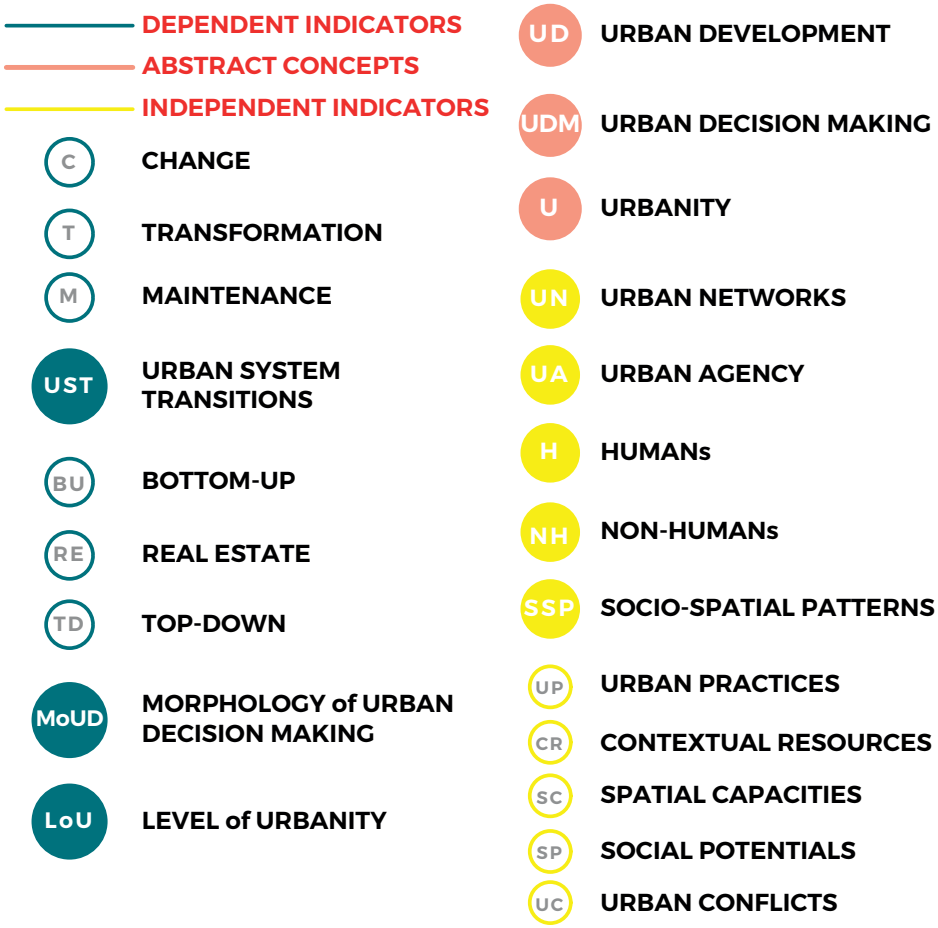
The diagram 5 [Diagram 5:126] is a symbolic interpretation of research indicators and variables and their interdependencies and relationality. The diagram also scrutinizes the gradually built research framework from context specific independent indicators through dependent ones toward abstract concepts. Its aim is to simplify the reasoning of the research founded upon the theoretical framework and guide the way to formulating the research hypotheses.

Bearing in mind this re-categorization and structuralization of the concept of urban development, the analytical tool in this research is the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid [Section 2.2:79]. It provides the road map for an inclusive and flexible approach to exploratory research - describing, tracing and representing the dynamics of urban processes. The Actor-network theory illustrates the urban agency and decision-making concepts while the Multi-agent system operationalizes the concept of urbanity at a qualitative level and brings about the logic of the whole MAS-ANT procedure. Such statements shed new light on the overall research questions and have turned this thesis into a methodological exploration.

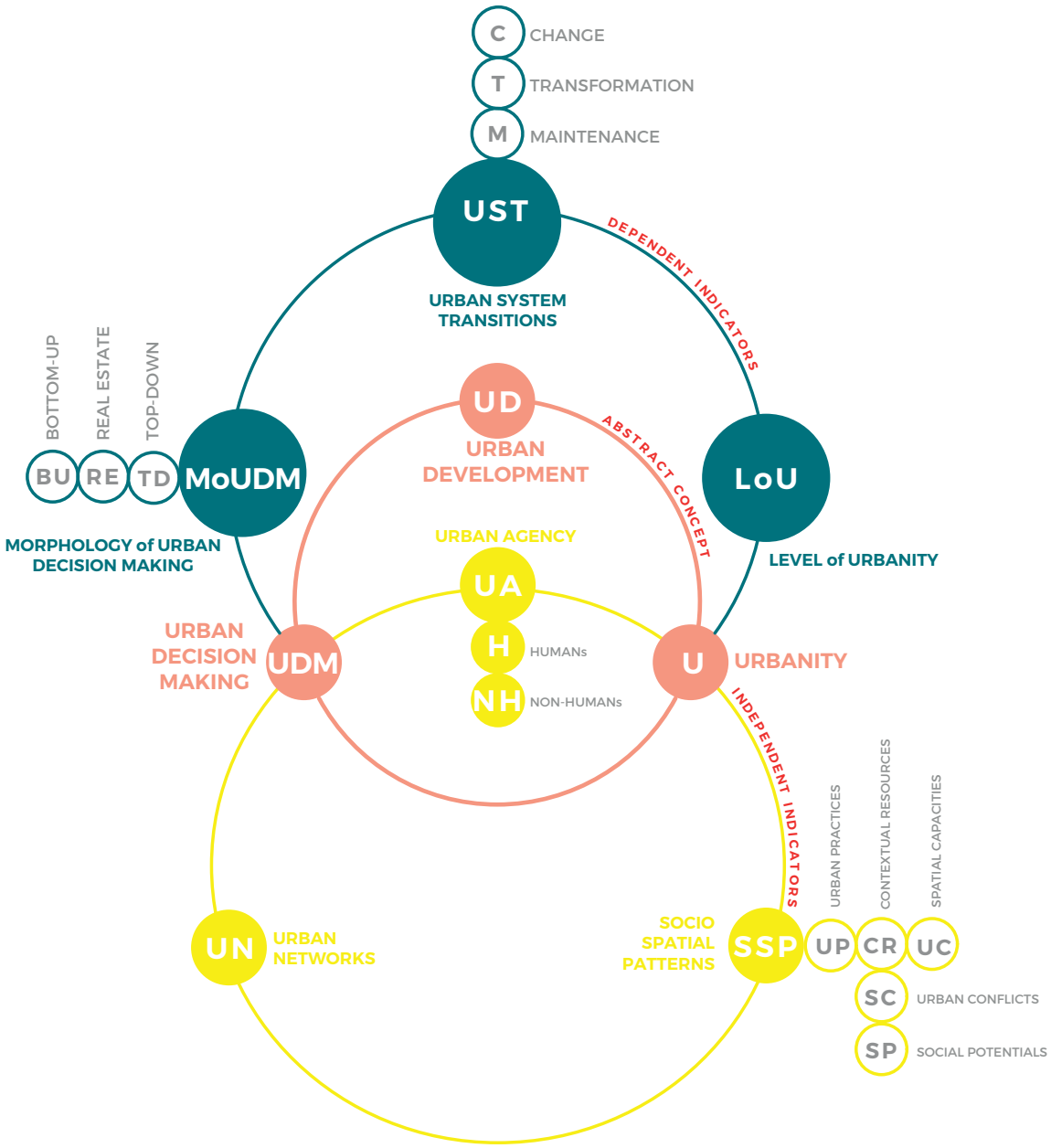
The research output depends on the success of the cross-pollination of concepts through the MAS-ANT mixed research method. They are intended to influence both the theoretical and practical domain. The research is guided in this way in that it:

- questions the concepts of urban development, urbanity in general and urban decision making in post-socialist cities;
- proposes the terminology of urban system transitions, which connects the processes of maintenance, transformation and change to urban conflicts, social practices and contextual resources at the local level;
- invents visual interpretations for practical use.

The research is thus built on three hypotheses. Each hypothesis addresses both theoretical and methodological issues. They are drawn in a consecutive order. The justification of the hypotheses is gradually built by means of describing, exploring and proceduralizing in order to master the complexity and dynamics of urban development processes.



[DIAGRAM 5] LEGEND - Research framework



[DIAGRAM 5] Research framework

3.1.1 Context-specific Research Questions

Overall research question: How to investigate post-socialist cities in order to reinvent a more inclusive and flexible approach to understanding urban development processes engaging the complexity of an urban context?

[RQ1]

What constitutes an inclusive approach to urban development in a post-socialist city as an ordinarc city?

- figuration of human and non-human elements as urban key agents;
- manifestation of urban key agents in urban networks;
- pathways of urban transitions within the morphology of urban decision-making;

[RQ2]

To which extent does the level of urbanity determine flexible pathways for addressing urban development in post-socialist cities in particular and ordinary cities in general?

- What are local contextual conditions for specifying the level of urbanity in an ordinary city?
- How does the level of urbanity embody the dynamics of urban transitions in post-socialist cities?

[RQ3]

How to frame the urban development process to embody the complexity of urban systems and the dynamics of urban transitions in post-socialist cities?

- How to connect urban complexity and dynamics by tracing the level of urbanity within the morphology of urban decision-making?
- How to design the framework for action in order to operationalize the urban development concept?

3.1.2 Research hypotheses

Central hypothesis [RH]: MAS-ANT methodological approach captures urban development processes in terms of urban system transitions by giving an exhaustive image of urban complexity and providing transparency and flexibility in describing urban dynamics in a post-socialist city.

[RH1]: Urban complexity

The Actor-network theory (ANT) clarifies urban complexity through the networks of urban key agents initialized by the morphology of urban decision-making in a post-socialist city.

[RH2]: Urban dynamics

Multi-agent system (MAS) expresses urban development dynamics by tracing the level of urbanity within the relations of urban agency and contextual elements in a post-socialist city.

[RH3]: Urban system transitions

Urban development processes set as an iterative procedure to trace the level of urbanity and the morphology of urban decision making within the urban agency map capture urban dynamics and re-frame urban complexity at the neighbourhood level by using a methodological hybrid that combines the Multi-agent system (MAS) and the Actor-network theory (ANT).

3.2 Research Design

The aim of this section is to present the reasoning behind the research and the adopted methodology, namely the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to the research questions, hypotheses and conclusions **[Diagram 6:131]**. In designing the research process, the defined goals are assumed to be exploratory in nature and to address methodological investigations and testing in urban studies. The study builds gradually from the specific observations of the literature towards an in-depth analysis. An exploratory standpoint is chosen with regard to the theoretical and practical goals of the research. This division is crucial for establishing the research methodology. The first, theoretical part relies on secondary data and is based on theoretical constructs, while the second, practical one provides primary data and empirical evidence from the field study.

The theoretical summary of urban development processes and the critical overview of the corresponding urban theory concepts (urban development, urbanity, urban decision making) is carried within the literature review **[Chapter 2:26]**. It functions as the structural catalyst for the chosen methodologies, as a general cross-pollination of concepts within the MAS-ANT methodological scope. The MAS-ANT methodological approach is practically tested through the case study method. The application of this methodological hybrid in a hierarchical order (first ANT than MAS) to analyse the selected case study enables a practice-oriented understanding of the situation in post-socialist neighbourhoods **[Diagram 6:131]**. The final data display blends both MAS and ANT methodologies and underlines how the field data are re-classified and re-interpreted. This synthesis aims to turn tacit knowledge on socio-spatial patterns in Belgrade into explicit knowledge about urban development processes in post-socialist neighbourhoods.

The diagram 6 on page 131 [Diagram 6:131] is the research design behind the textual interpretations of the research objectives, questions and hypotheses. Its core is urban development, the established research problem. The research design is envisioned as a circular argumentation. The problem is interpreted through three consecutive layers: the research objectives (verbs that indicate how/what/why to address in terms of this problem), the research questions (interrogative adverbs that set the objectives in research motion), and the research hypotheses (address the key topics through the relationality among concepts and dependent/independent indicators). The outer circle lists relevant theoretical concepts and applied methods. Each hypothesis addresses conceptual and epistemological frameworks (multiple concepts and a method used to answer it). Ordinary city doctrine and local framework are the common background for the entire research project: an ordinary city – post-socialist city, Belgrade, neighbourhood, Savamala. This diagram is built upon the combination of the theoretical and research frameworks. Its aim is to specify scientific conduct of this research in an explicit manner.

The so-called cross-pollination procedure justifies the proposed indicators (operational definitions of the concepts used) and enables connections between the independent and dependent variables constructed within the research hypotheses. This is the core logical construction of the research enquiry. The point of departure was the case study **[Diagram 6:131]**. The research further follows an inductive method of reasoning within the case study. Interpretative and participatory action research methods are used for the data collection. These qualitative methods overlap with the case study to validate the proposed theoretical categories (indicators and variables). The principal data collection methods included documentaries, open-ended interviews, workshops, and questionnaires, which contributed to the structuralized description of the post-socialist empirical analysis performed with the Actor-network theory (ANT). The Multi-agent system (MAS) made further use of qualitative evidence to elaborate urban networks and reveal the involvement of urban key agents in urban affairs. Finally, the MAS-ANT diagram displays the research results and facilitates interpretations of the maintenance, transformation and change processes in an urban environment.

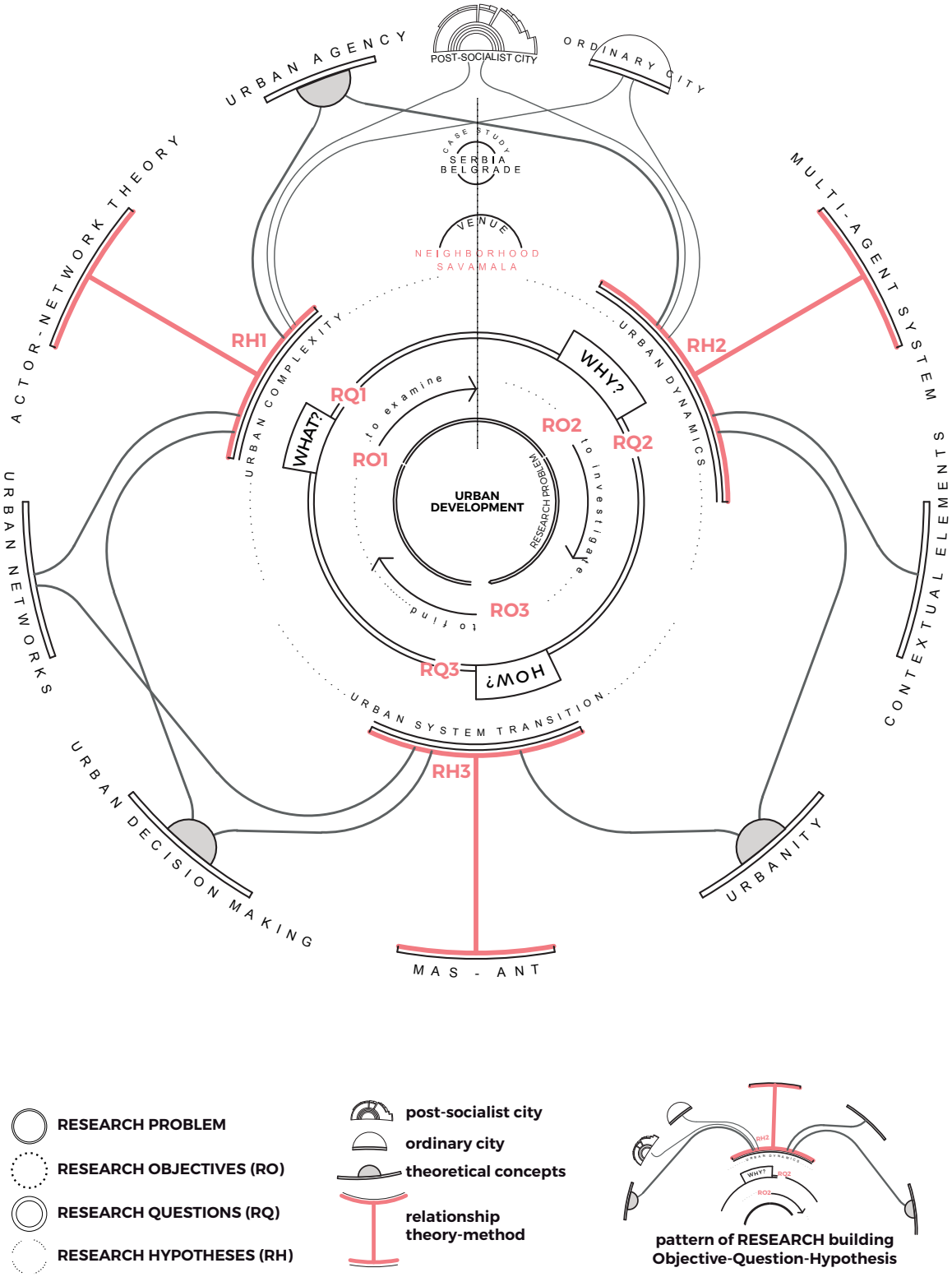
The main study focus is to invent an iterative procedure which examines the relations among a variety of urban elements, explores the specificities and globalities of the particular context, and catalyses the framework of action at the neighbourhood level. The scope of this research is an incremental, open-ended procedure-building based on a pragmatic approach through iterative and collaborative techniques towards:

1. understanding the phenomenon,
2. creating an overall framework,
3. identifying the pattern of dynamic urban reality in terms of urban system transitions.

The entry point for this methodological exploration is a case study.

"The case study can enable a researcher to examine the ebb and the flow of social life over time and to display the patterns of everyday life as they change."

(Feagin et al. 1991)



RESEARCH PROBLEM

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES (RO)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS (RQ)

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES (RH)

post-socialist city

ordinary city

theoretical concepts

relationship theory-method

pattern of RESEARCH building
Objective-Question-Hypothesis

[DIAGRAM 6] Research design

3.2.1 Case study

in-dept inquiry;
case study design :
extreme case
circumstances;
descriptive manner;
case study conduct :
convergence of data;
data triangulation;
methodological
triangulation;
case study report :
linear-analytic;
embedded units of
analysis;
case study limits;

This research adopted an in-depth case study inquiry as the adequate method for collecting and framing empirical data. The case study serves as a data collection engine, a catalyser and a boundary framework. The methods exploratory and descriptive nature are of particular importance. In general, the former captures the process, while the latter prepares and illustrates the incidence/prevalence of the phenomena *(\Yin 2011)*. These features provide us with a comprehensive framework to describe contemporary phenomena with extensive data-types and sources of data *(\Feagin et al. 1991)*. The goals focus on a holistic description of urban development and gaining an understanding of the processes at work over time *(\Swanborn 2010)*. In this manner, the case study takes an embedded approach with multiple units of analysis *(\Scholz and Tietje 2002; \Yin 2009)*: urban key agents, the morphology of urban decision making, urbanity and urban system transitions. These units of analysis define the scope of the investigation - which elements are to be studied in detail and which processes are to be excluded *(\Harrison 2002)*.

Therefore, the case study observes the complexity of urban development processes and recounts their dynamics by adding the dimension of time to the analysis *(\Feagin et al.1991)*. The case study research process is broadly divided into three parts: designing, conducting and reporting.

However, a set of well-known components of designing case study have triggered its application of the case study within this research, such as *(\Yin 2009)*:

1. a focus on HOW and WHY questions about the researched phenomena;
2. the units of analysis, the information relevant for the case construction, depend on the definition of research questions;
3. the exploratory nature of research hypotheses, as each proposition is built on something relevant within the scope of the study or for one or more units of analysis;
4. the linking of findings to the hypotheses, units of analysis to theoretical background, i.e. "pattern matching" *(\Campbell 1975)*;
5. the data collection focus for the case study; testing methodologies and existing theories therefore provide a rich theoretical framework.

The case study is commonly but not exclusively applied in anthropology and sociology. In general, it is used to ground observations and concepts about social phenomena in their natural setting. Consequently, it has been increasingly applied in other disciplines including urban studies and architecture *(\Feagin et al. 1991)*. Even though major criticism is levied towards a single case research focus and doubts are voiced about the scientific generalizations based on an individual case, this research builds on *Flyvbjerg (\2006)* that a careful and strategic choice of cases, and thereafter the units of analysis, contributes to the collective process of knowledge accumulation. Advocating the scientific relevance of the case study, *Flyvbjerg (ibid.)* distinguishes

several selection strategies: random, extreme, multiple, critical and paradigmatic cases. A selection that is based on expectations about information content is the most proper strategy for the scope of testing methodologies. For example, extreme case circumstance enable close examination of the embedded units of analysis.

Flyvbjerg (ibid.) also states that the descriptive manner chosen herein puts forward the path for scientific innovation, which in this thesis is the hybridization of methods for urban data analysis. Henceforth, the most important herein is this opportunity for application of multiple methods *(\Yin 2003; \Yin 2009)* and consequently methodological hybrids, MAS-ANT. Data obtained from the case study aim to contribute to objectives of the research by providing the local layer with real-life data. Accordingly, the case study enables testing this methodological approach through the systematization and validation of the case study data analysed by the methods involved, the Actor-network theory and the Multi-agent system. In these circumstances, the case study is referred to as a sort of data sampling strategy, used to select, manipulate and prepare a representative subset of data points for analyses by the chosen methods. It delivers patterns, trends and structures in the larger data-set afterwards.

Then, in conducting case studies, the most important is to ensure not only the variety but also the convergence of data. It is essential to have sampled sufficient points of view to be able to develop a balanced picture *(\Harrison 2002)*, but also to provide converging lines of inquiry within the multiple sources of evidence *(\Yin 2009)*. A case study usually involves a variety of data sources, both human (interviews, workshops) and non-human (documentation, archival records, direct observations and physical artifacts). With this abundance of data, the phenomena and the processes become underpinned by multiple data sources and ensure the construction of validity through triangulation *(\Denzin 2009)*. In this research, triangulation is applied at two levels *(\Patton 2001)*:

- data triangulation,
- methodological triangulation.

Therefore, one of the main reasons for choosing the case study method are: (1) a structured and bounded data plan and (2) the incorporated units of analysis, (3) the cross-referencing of methodological procedures and (4) the resulting evidence triangulation with the mixed method *(\Patton 1987; \Yin 2009)*.

For this thesis, the case study is part of a larger multi-method study and reporting is reduced to the general structuring tactic for the descriptive data about the selected case. However, documenting relationality between the research problem and the case and constructing validity is elaborated within the reasoning for case study selection. This entire research design is linear-analytic in its structure: it starts with the issue of the problem and the literature review, then presents the logic of its research design and chosen methods, the findings from data collection and the analysis, conclusions and implications.

The data collection process through the case study method retains the same linear-analytic manner in its descriptions and implications in a broader scope and takes a chronological course according to the causal sequences within the case history. In order to maintain the chain of evidence, the case study presentation must *(\Yin 2009)*:

1. explicate and justify the boundaries of the case;
2. design the research according to the known constraints;
3. indicate an exhaustive data collection process;
4. consider alternative perspectives and different points of view;
5. display sufficient evidence.

The case study should illustrate, in great depth and clarity, the embedded units of analysis, which are being researched through the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid. Such research design encircles hypotheses testing by logical argumentation for building the methodological framework and the simulation of how the framework is applied to the case study. The choice of case study method for data collection is justified by its feasibility for structuring the chain of evidence and the confirmability of data by triangulation. On the other hand, the reliability of the case study method is determined by its ability to document the methodological procedure with data and its external validity is proved by the transferability of the procedure in other contexts and cases.

Limiting the case study method to the data collection reduces the risks of its common deficiencies. The unreliability of soft data is dealt with through the ANT approach of flattened reality, while a researchers subjectivity in interpretations and selections should be prevented with the methodological rigidity in the mere classification and interconnection of data. Finally, in multi-method research there is no need for explanations and internal validation of the case study logic. Moreover, generalizations are reduced to the analytical ones on the methodological level and in terms of categories and networks. In this research, the systematization of the collected data is used for further analyses and the case study is rather a narrative of urban development as a contemporary social process within its real-life context. Therefore, the selected paradigmatic case should be a valid representation of asetting suitable for extensive application of the proposed methodological hybrid within data analysis and data display procedures.

"Case study research is flexible and can be adapted to many areas of knowledge creation. And the researcher is continuously confronted with the question does this make sense?"

(Harrison 2002)

3.2.2 Case study selection

verifying methodology;
strategic case study selection;
heterogenous data sources;
weak theory base & mess environment; abundance and precise calibration of data;
neighbourhood level of analysis;

This research is established on the basis of mixed method and its adequacy for research on complex and dynamic urban phenomena. Verifying such a methodological hybrid in practice means that the proposed methodological categories and mechanisms should be further tested. These activities include: (1) observing a real-life context, (2) putting forward the coined phenomena and relations and (3) postulating the correspondence of proposed methodological structures to the reality, which, if they exist, answer the research question. In a nutshell, this methodological framework acts as an a priori logic to explore particular instances, but it still must account for their various deviations and aim at a few conclusions that contribute to the general, scientific body of knowledge on the urban. The case study point of view is herein deduced from general statements and signified as a derived, localized, contextualized form of researched phenomena, in this case urban development processes. It gives an overview of relations, factors and influences in a holistic manner, providing understanding of phenomena (units of analysis) within its operating context *(\Harrison 2002)*.

The case study is used in the first research stage, whereas other methods (Actor-network theory and Multi-agent system) are suited for hypotheses testing and conclusion drawing. A strategic case study selection was crucial in order to maximize the utility of information from a single case and a small sample of the units of analysis *(\Flyvbjerg 2006)*. Therefore, the case is selected on the basis of expectations about the correspondence of its data content to the proposed methodological hypotheses. The elaboration of paradigmatic case study for this research is based on *(\Yin 2009)* criteria:

1. An exhaustive data collection with sufficient interpretative and artefactual evidence,
2. The multiplicity and variety of data sources, especially human; but with -
3. Explicit case boundaries,
4. Precise data constraints.

[1/2] Data collection & data sources : The case study database is built upon the investigator's report (narrative, notes, tabular material, diagrams) . The quality of reporting depended on an extensive evidentiary base. In order to provide exhaustive evidence, the case study choice relied on heterogeneous data sources *(\Yin 2003)*:

- Exact documentation, archival and qualitative data and records documentation (service records, maps, charts, lists, survey data, personal records) **[Bibliography - \\Legal and Planning Documents; \\\Grey Literature; \\\\Media Sources]**;
- Physical artifacts (tools, instruments, works of art) - insights into cultural features and technical operations;
- Insightful, targeted interviews dependent on the research questions **[Appendix A]**;
- Participant-observations/workshops as direct observations, insights into motives **[Appendix D]**;

- Direct observation - visiting the site in order to cover changes in Savamala over time, following events in real time and in its context, the choice of events was susceptible to the researchers selectivity and reflexivity.

Bearing these in mind, favourable circumstances for a comprehensive data collection is knowledge of the local language, previous general knowledge of the context, professional connections and extensive site visits. Even though foreknowledge can impact the neutrality of the researcher, within this research project, a quick and systematic understanding of the local urban development processes facilitated data collection and improved flat classification, a well-known feature of Actor-network theory (ANT).

[3] Case boundaries : In his argumentation on case study method in management research, *Harrison (\2002)* argued for its maximal benefits in the circumstances "where the theory base is weak and the environment under study is messy". This also contributed to rejecting the general misconception stating that theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical knowledge. Following *Flyvbjerg (\2006)*, the case study can be extremely useful for transferring tacit, context dependent knowledge, into explicit, general knowledge. When explicating the domain of practical knowledge, any historical background to the research problem, its time-space transitions and the immediate political, economic and cultural circumstances where it emerges and evolves should be taken into consideration as a chronological sequence. Fine tuning of these various factors and processes presented on site and - if properly described - provide an adequate capacity to explain correlational links among the identified urban key agents of urban development.

[4] Data constraints : Finally, by placing high priority to provide an abundance and precise calibration of data, it becomes less likely that an overall scrutiny of numerous relations, behaviours and processes could be possible in a wider context with an extensive complexity of datasets. Regions, metropolitan areas and cities can be difficult to handle through the embedded units of analysis. Therefore, the neighbourhood level of analysis islready fixed by the hybrid method.

Consequently, the case study choice was retained on the neighbourhood level of analysis, as the choice that gathers up all recognized indicators of the urban development process. On the other hand, the best option is that the researcher is to some extent familiar with the local context and is capable of accessing particular data. My native country of Serbia with its turbulent burgeois and socialist past and the transition of today is taken as an exemplary case for the intensive congregation of factors, trends and power struggles in a single place. The adopted case study field is the Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade, a historical but deteriorating city quarter in Belgrade, where a set of bottom-up urban transformations and participatory spatial interventions are colliding with the top-down imposition of master planing and swift, investor-based developments in the area. This multitude of influences with different sources and an extensive yet limited time-span provide an opportunity for a holistic study of complex social networks and processes.

[Savamala is pre- & post-socialist]

Pre-socialism: Gavrila Principa 35 (the corner with Kamenička [Cobblestone] Street)_ IfPoH

Rooftops of family houses in Savamala_ S.O.U.P.

Entrace to the private inner conrtyard_ MC

FAUB Students working on Savamala spaces (2012-2013)_ S.O.U.P /OP

Illegal single-family houses on the „Sava Waterfront“ S.O.U.P

Cargo Railtracks on the Sava Waterfront (2015)_ MC

65

Streetart in Savamala - new creative age is coming! (2012)_S.O.U.P/OP

3.2.3 The Local Context of the Savamala Neighbourhood Case Study

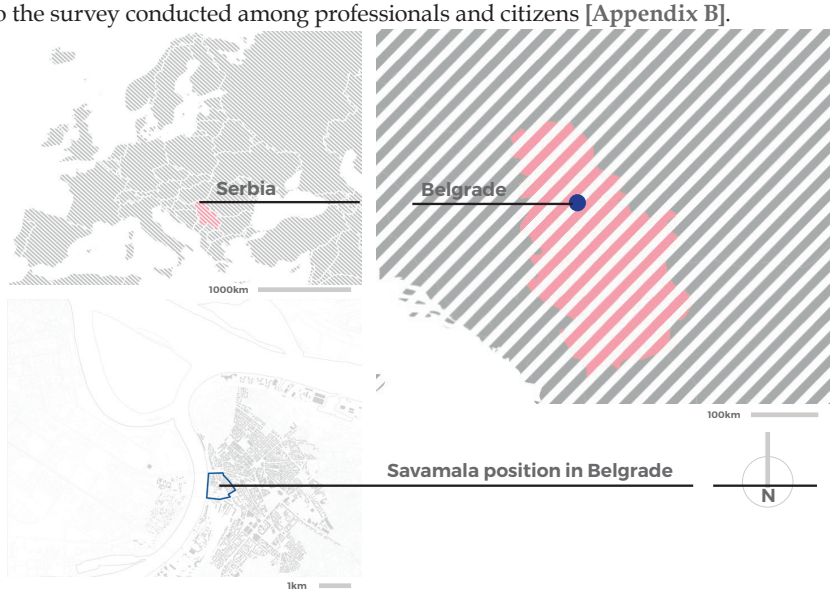
context relevant for phenomenon, scaled example of post-socialist city; unit of analysiis;

The choice of case study method for data collection is most suitable when the contextual conditions are believed to be highly relevant for the phenomenon being explored *(\Robson 1993; \Yin 2003)*. The hypotheses of this research were examined within the real-life context of the Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade as an exploratory basis for building the methodological framework of analysis for urban development.

The selected case study of the Savamala neighbourhood should feed the MAS-ANT analytical framework with site-specific data on *(\Harrison 2002)*:

1. the context - global and local, outer and inner in reference to time and space;
2. the content - urban key agents and urban decision-making layers that put forward urban development processes;
3. input and outcome variables - link urban system transitions to socio-spatial patterns and urban networks.

The boundaries of this research are spatial, though the Savamala neighbourhood is not an administrative unit nor does it have its own local authorities. It is rather more a place on the mental map of Belgrade and an important landmark of the city, than an official unit **[Figure 1:152]**. The exact spatial boundaries are drawn according to the survey conducted among professionals and citizens **[Appendix B]**.



[FIGURE 1] Where is Savamala?

This neighbourhood is a scaled example of a pre-socialist material legacy, a socialist cultural and societal matrix, a transitional reality and a condensed case of the multi-faceted circumstances of post-socialist urban development. These elements also frame the epistemological constraints for the case study research in this case.

The units of analysis comprise a knowledge-based chain of decision-making and a dynamic, interactive process of interdependences and interconnections among

all active urban key agents and socio-spatial patterns identified in Savamala exclusively through a qualitative inquiry.

In sum, urban agency and urban networks are not spatially bounded phenomena, they develop as products of interaction between human and non-human elements in particular localities. As respects, they contribute to an understanding of the broader urban systems and enhance theoretical frameworks *(\Giddens 1984; \Grubović 2006)*.

3.3 Adopted Methodology

This thesis adopted an in-depth case study research design with the hybrid methodology approach. The reasoning behind the selection of methods is previously elaborated in research design and in relation to the objectives, questions and hypotheses of the research **[Diagram 6:131]**.

For this purpose, this research is performed in two stages: the methodological and the case study level. It relied on qualitative data, collected from an extensive literature review, expert interviews and participatory workshops. The application of these data sources depends on the stage of the research process: case study data collection, ANT and MAS data analysis and MAS-ANT data display. The case study is limited to the collection of qualitative data through a range of techniques: (a) extensive review of written sources, (b) interviews, (c) workshops, and (d) questionnaires. Conversely, data analysis presents a combination of: (1) theoretical concepts as the indicators of urban system transitions; (2) theoretical stances for exhaustive description from ANT; (3) the operational categories used in MAS. Finally, data display gives an overview of the urban complexity and dynamics through MAS-ANT methodological cross-pollination.

The initial stages of this research started with qualitative inquiry. Data are collected in human and non-human chunks of analysis. Content analysis of data sources (urban planning policies and agendas, urban planning documentation, archival and media sources etc.) provided an insight into the local context of urban planning institutions and land development practices. Interpretative research by direct observations through semi-structured interviews and participatory-action research directed data analysis and further stratified the categories within the mixed-method approach. Online surveys validate the findings based on the working assumption that the soft data give a valuable insight into the complexity and dynamics of urban development circumstances in the local context. These research stages form the basis for MAS on ANT analysis of the obtained data and the final systematization of urban system transitions in reference to urban development.

3.3.1 The Savamala Case study - Data collection

The case study research design is adopted as the most comprehensive one, to a certain extent as a research strategy, for an overview of possible categorizations and linkages in terms of complexity and the dynamics of urban development *(\Meredith 1993; \Harrison 2002)*. In short, case study research design seeks patterns of the available and myriad data in the bounded space-time of the selected case *(\Denzin 2009)*. A

systematic approach for this empirical research is founded on the verification of hybrid methodology. The data collection process has been recurrent, iterative consultations and interpretations of qualitative data. Thus, participant observations, interviews, and surveys are all eligible methods which can be deployed in these circumstances.

The chart 2 on page 155 [Chart 2:155] is a visually adapted version of a table that represents data collection process (Cvetinović et al. 2017). The columns designate different data sources in reference to key informant types. The rows are various data collection methods with the indication of the nature of their agency (human/non-human). Tick signs indicate the combination of key informants and data collection methods with additional textual explanations where it is necessary.

The interpretative itinerary directs how the soft data are collected and built into the artificial reconstruction of the developmental reality through the MAS-ANT methodological approach **[Chart 2:155]**. The implementation of the case study (case study protocol) is executed in circles:

1. preliminary identification of the morphology of urban decision making, urban key agents and urban networks at the local level from the scientific literature, official documentation and records, and media coverage;

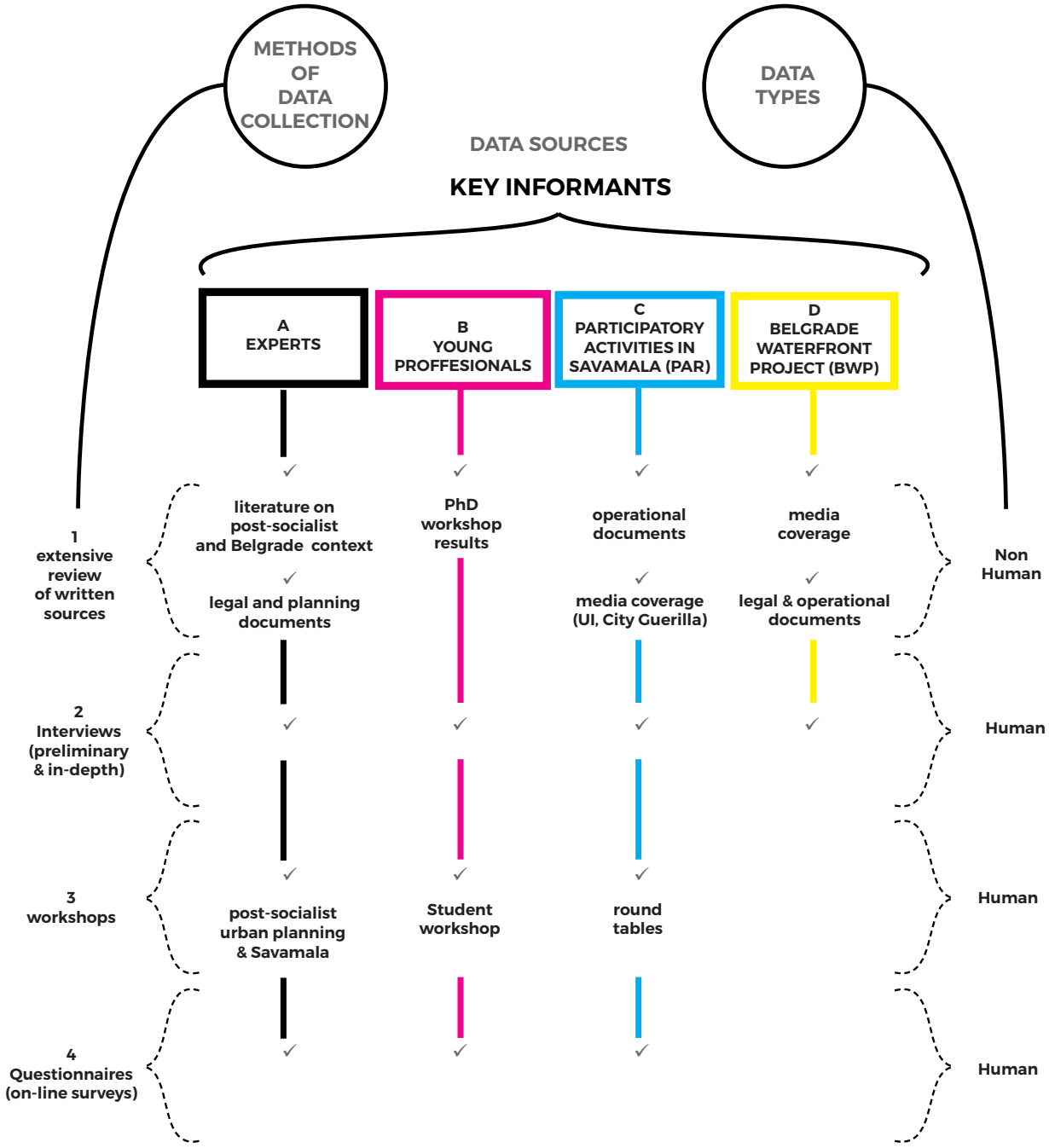
2. recognising urban key agent and urban networks and further structuralisation through human perception of the objective reality by the participatory action research method and semi-structured interviews;

3. verifying urban key agents, socio-spatial patterns and urban transitions through on-line surveys for different professional cliques;

4. triangulating key observations and data sources;

5. examining alternative interpretations and assertions of generalisation for all elements and networks through interviews with key-informants (members of different interest, knowledge and action groups).

The initial chain of evidence is presented in the longitudinal distribution of case study data, with time-frame (chronological) and linear-analytic (causal) references. Therefore, the case study report is structured according to the articulation of three layers of the morphology of urban decision making in Savamala: top-down urban planning, real-estate transformations and participatory bottom-up activities. The morphology of urban decision making is the bounding factor for all phenomena, themes, and issues built into the case study. This manner of systematisation for the collected data corresponds to all case study protocol topics (which are also the research indicators/variables). Moreover, it also re-ordered the protocol procedure differently so that it formed the basis for methodological analysis with the Actor-network theory and Multi-agent system. Therefore, this case study account sought to catch urban development processes in Savamala by building MAS-ANT patterns into the empirical data within the case study narrative. Thereafter, the outcome variables were clearly identified and interpreted with MAS-ANT data display.



[CHART 2] Data sources & methods of data collection

"Science is not achieved by distancing oneself from the world; as generations of scientists know, the greatest conceptual and methodological challenges come from engagement with the world"

(Whyte 1991)

Qualitative inquiry

Qualitative inquiry is applied as a research instrument which enables scientific processing of soft data-meanings, experiences and descriptions *(\Yin 2003)*. In this thesis, it serves to incorporate the socially constructed knowledge of urban phenomena into MAS-ANT modelling *(\Mertens 1998; \Flick 2009; \Grubović 2006)*. In order to ensure replicability of the hybrid method, it is crucial to collect data in a coherent way and condense the complex spectrum of issues into a logical unity familiar not only to the researcher. A high research priority herein is to cover the wide gamut of humanly moulded data. The proposed reporting scope of the morphology of urban decision making puts forward the data structure through: the top-down management of urban issues, the legitimacy of real-estate interests and the dynamism of bottom-up urban agency. To do so, a qualitative inquiry followed the case study protocol proposed in the previous section [(1) documentary analysis, (2) preliminary interviews, (3) workshops, (4) surveys, (5) in-depth interviews]; while the range of data sources within these separate inquiries should coincide with the concept of supporters, opponents and doubters for any recognized data point of importance *(\Pettigrew 1992; \Harrison 2002)*.

A common criticism revolves around the internal and external validity of qualitative data *(\Flyvbjerg 2006)*. Within this methodological research, the validity issue is not particularly at stake as the perceptions and interpretations of urban actors (human factor), whatever they may be, influence urban systems and networks in their raw format, just as they do in interviews/discussions/surveys. The major threat has been either researcher bias (in directing the interactive data collection processes towards confirming the researchers preconceived notion) or the reflexivity of an interviewees interests rather than the statement of their perceptions or opinions. However, the triangulation of qualitative data as well as the conducted iterative case study should have reduced these negative effects.

The iterative nature of the case study protocol also helped in the continual evaluation and update of data sources and circular data collection for MAS-ANT data analysis. The evidence and circumstances under which the data were collected are summarized within the following data collection procedures:

(1) Documentary analysis [Bibliography - Legal and Planning Documents; Grey Literature; Media Sources]

Documentary analysis is a rather discursive research technique for identifying and interpreting documentary evidence in order to support and validate facts and incorporate them within scientific research. In this thesis, documentary data are used directly for data collection within the initial research phase. By addressing the first research question -

[RQ1: "What constitutes an inclusive approach (complexity and dynamics) to urban development?"]

The documentary research method provided insight into the first round of independent variables. Not only may interviews and surveys not be appropriate and useful in this phase *(\Mogalakwe 2006)*, but the early documentary analysis also im-

proves the preconditions for interviews by introducing basic issues and concepts, indicating who the potential interviewees might be and setting the path for open-response dialogues *(\Robson 1993; \Grubović 2006)*. Documents are naturally occurring objects, independent and beyond particular scientific production within a research project. Through their concrete existence beyond their production and its context, they indirectly narrate the circumstance of the social world as well as the actors and circumstances of their production at a specific time and space *(\Jary 1991; \Payne and Payne 2004; \Mogalakwe 2006)*.

It must also be recognised that documentary narratives may be inaccurate, fragmented and subjective *(\Foster 1994)*. Therefore, an early data validation was performed following *(\Scott 1991)* criteria for assessing documentary sources and data: authenticity (genuine, original and reliable material), credibility (fateful explanations and accuracy), representativeness (reliability for the research), meaning (whether the documents are clear and comprehensible). In this respect, reinforcing the robustness and rigour of this research in the first place is enabled by a preliminary investigation of documentary data sources, which is followed by examination, categorization and the identification of their limitations accordingly *(ibid.)* **[Chart 2:155]** . Moreover, the documentary data are continually adapted and validated during the data analysis through the process of triangulation of data obtained from other qualitative research techniques (interviews, workshops and surveys) *(\Yin 2003)*.

Generally known documentary sources encompass: public records, the media, newspapers, official gazettes, minutes of meetings, reports and blueprints, visual documentation etc; and they are broadly categorized according to their proprietary rights in: personal, public, and private sources *(\Payne and Payne 2004)*. According to the ANT approach, the focus has been put on public and publicly available private sources to provide adequate context for data analysis. In the course of the case study, a variety of formal and informal documents and their figuration and impact on the current developmental reality in Savamala (2010-2016) were examined, including:

- post-socialist urban and scientific literature;
- legal documents: laws, by-laws, strategies, official gazettes etc.;
- technical documents: spatial and urban plans and projects;
- internal contracts, reports, projects, meeting minutes etc.;
- media coverage.

As a part of the preparation for interviews, documents were reviewed in order to provide a provisional overview of independent research variables, further developed through ANT and MAS data analysis and MAS-ANT data display. Documentary evidence was also used later to supplement detail and to expand upon and support or challenge points raised during interviews. They were also utilized to generate additional questions or themes for investigation. In this thesis, documentary evidence has been the data core to establish the iterative and continuous nature of the research process.

(2) Preliminary interviews [Appendix A]

The ethnographic nature of Actor-network theory requires the usage of soft data and the application of qualitative data collection techniques that are as diverse as possible. Consequently, the preliminary interviews were held in a rather unstructured manner, characterized by an open-response style. Open-ended interviews were focused on a certain topic, but were usually directed in a rather non-predefined way. Even though the questions may have been scripted, the interviewer usually could not predict what the contents of the response would be. Open-ended interviews might be: informal, semi-restrictive or structured.

The preliminary interviews set out the framework for constructing dependent variables of this research in the context of the second research question -

[RQ2]: "Why do the level of urbanity traces determine pathways for urban development dynamics (urban transitions)?"] -

and the third research question -

[RQ3]: "How to frame the urban development process to embody the complexity of urban systems and the dynamics of urban transitions?"

In this case, the interviews were targeted local experts in urban research and practice, the staff of the local and city authorities, as well as activists operating on the ground in Savamala. Several interviews are conducted in iterations. At times, interviews also took a snowballing course, when the informants were identified by the interviewees from the previous round. The interviews were carried out in circles and the level of dialogue restriction varied according to the occasion and interview iteration. The focus was usually on the interviewees thoughts, experiences, knowledge, skills, preferences, and ideas. All the interviews are undertaken face-to-face.

These interviews were carried out during an extensive period of time and overlapped with other data collection processes, even during the first stages of data analysis. The timing was also influenced by the on-going processes in Savamala, as well as by the formal and informal channels for establishing contacts with these interviewees. In several cases, the interviews were directed in an informal and least restrictive way, in the form of a dialog, without actual preparation, and by asking questions spontaneously in the course of the wider context of the research topic. Subsequently, no two informal interviews are alike. The interviews with experts and activists were conducted in a semi-restrictive manner. These interviews follow a general outline of issues of interest, but several questions were generated spontaneously or were transferred to other topics when interviewees answers prompted a need for more connected information *(\Payne and Payne 2004)*. The research questions were grouped into X major themes **[Appendix A].** Only a few interviews were recorded, but were approved by the interviewees. These interviews were used for the further identification of major concepts within the research variables, while the clarity and understanding of the interview content was sufficient.

(3) Workshops [Appendix D]

Topic-oriented workshops are qualitative research techniques moulded for this research in combination with participatory action research (PAR) and simple participant observations. They were applied for the re-problematization of research questions in light of the critical reflection and dialogue between and among participating actors *(\McIntyre 2008)*. The aim of this technique is to transfer tacit knowledge concerning the reality of urban development in the post-socialist context of Belgrade into explicit indicators in order to overcome the single-discipline limitation. It eventually led to re-thinking the definitions and conceptualizations of the independent variable, dependent variable and their inter-connections within this research project *(\Whyte 1991)*.

The context-specificity of participatory action research provides multiple opportunities for practitioners and scientists to construct knowledge and integrate theory and practice within a "theory of possibility" *(\Whyte 1991)*, in this case on the prospects for urban development in the Serbian capital. Combined with the participant observation approach, these workshops were explored and valued to understand how the experience of the selected participants influenced their collective realities. In this context, the gathered information and constructed explanations from participants were used to test the systematization of the MAS-ANT approach in terms of the morphology of urban decision making, urbanity and urban system transitions. In order to construct adequate circumstances for such workshops, it was essential to believe that the participants were capable of creating and influencing the urban condition *(ibid.)*, while the actual data were evaluated afterwards in terms of their confidentiality, trustworthiness, and credibility.

Within the scope of this research, three workshops were organized: expert, PhD student and master student workshops. Two of them (the expert and student workshops) were on a precise, research oriented topic and one (the PhD student workshop) was conducted with a broader context in mind. **[Appendix D]** gives an overview of the organized workshops and their role in building a relationship between theory and practice according to the criteria mentioned above. The workshops were moderated by local experts, while the participants of the student workshops were engaged in using urban research methods for constructing knowledge on the topic. Even though the active role of participants was crucial for the success of the workshop, the uncertainty of their will to participate was also very important *(ibid.)*. In terms of participants control of the conduct of the workshop, they chose to react, interact or stay passive. Workshop data also tested the credibility of data collected with two previous qualitative research techniques (documentary analysis and preliminary interviews).

(4) On-line Surveys [Appendix C]

An online survey is a type of questionnaire. Questionnaires are better suited to collecting factual information *(\Payne and Payne 2004)*. They can be used for provisory verification of subtle and complex data sets, if the questions are formulated in a simple, non-technical and unambiguous way, and if they use language easily understood by all participants.

The online surveys were conducted simultaneously with the workshops, but over an extensive period of time (before and after the workshop events). The structure of the online surveys varied slightly and corresponded to the workshops. They were adapted to each of the workshop audiences: the experts, PhD students and young professionals, and future professionals (students). As the workshops followed the initial documentary analyses and interviews, the surveys were intended to encircle most of the previous results and test their manifestations in MAS-ANT methodological scope. The survey results were separately evaluated and partially quantified, if possible, on several topics. Anything ambiguous, biased or likely to arouse anxiety was avoided by substituting direct questions with indirect ones *(ibid.)*.

The surveys were prepared through the Survey Monkey online service. The survey content was built up as a combination of open-ended and closed questions, which were categorized according to the prevailing topic. They were structuralized in a linear, complexity-growing manner - from general to more specific questions. The order of questions had an important influence on the answers. At several points, leading questions, where certain answers had been expected, were used. At other points, filter questions were used, where respondents were only required to answer certain questions if they had answered a previous question in a particular way. The online, internet polling nature of the surveys was especially beneficial for the self-completion parts of the questionnaires, where the question sequence depended on respondent answer.

Yet, an important constraint was the requirement of brevity, especially for the surveys targeting experts. Namely, respondents attention spans are usually short. However, the wording and clear instructions were recognized as vital for the success of the surveys, as well as the possibility for respondents to easily navigate through questions and their meanings and to answer them without special effort and in a clear and simple way. To a certain extent, these constraints reduced the impact of these online surveys on data analysis.

(5) In-depth Interviews [Appendix B]

In-depth interviews pertain to the final stage of the data collection process. They were carried out on specific topics within the research framework in order to provide an in-depth account and validation of research hypotheses. All the interviews were face-to-face encounters, but not all of them are recorded. Recorded or note-based conduct was left as an option for interviewees to decide. The few recorded interviews were summarized and cross-referenced with the notes taken during the non-recorded ones to ensure clarity of interview content and verification of research data.

The collection of data herein was predominantly carried out through semi-structured interviews. However, the sequence of addressed topics was more rigid and corresponded to that of the research framework and the structuralization of research questions and hypotheses [RH1, RH2, RH3]. The question grid was restrictive, and the exact same questions on specific topics were prepared for each interview,

even though slight variations occurred in response to the rather open-response style of the dialogues. The careful wording of questions prepared in advance contributed to the avoidance of ambiguity or specifically undesired connotations. Nevertheless, the semi-structured nature of interviews enable the researcher to develop a positive rapport with the interviewee and vice versa. Even though the semi-structured nature of interviews is more adequate when the range of interviewee accounts and overviews about the research topic are not well known in advance *(\King 1994)*, in this case it was useful to obtain the factual information on the matter and to facilitate the data collection with interlocutors from different professional and disciplinary backgrounds.

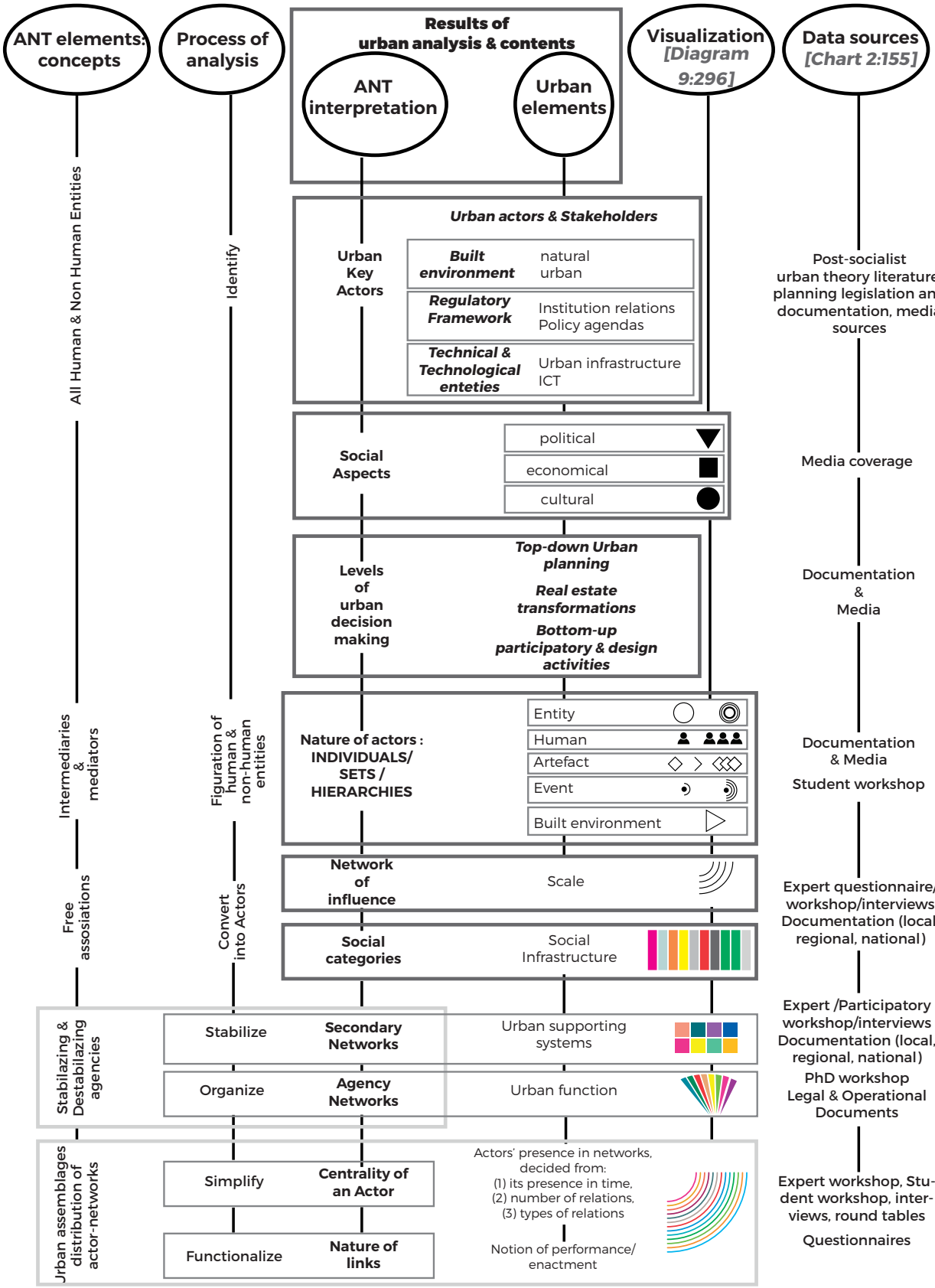
The choice of interviewees was such that their responses covered the systematic categories of informants identified with previous collection techniques and corresponded to the proposed MAS-ANT categorization. **[Appendix B]** presents the interview grid and qualitative evaluation of the capacity of the data collected herein to be used for MAS-ANT data analysis in terms of their reliability and credibility for this research project.

3.3.2 ANT and MAS approaches - Data analysis

The hybrid field of overlapping MAS and ANT methodological approaches proposes an innovative concept to define causal relationships among urban key elements in order to elaborate the process of urban system evolution (urban dynamics) in terms of prospects for maintenance, transformation and change. This is the theoretical ground on which our hybrid methodology identifies the concepts for its categorical convergence. In the course of the case study, the combination of MAS and ANT methodological approaches involves taking into account all active agents regardless of their sort (ANT), their interdependencies and interconnections (ANT and MAS), and map their contributions (MAS) to continuations, transitions and turnovers of urban system transitions at the neighbourhood level.

3.3.2.1 ANT Discourse analysis

According to the interpretation provided in **[Section 2.2.1:82]**, ANT is addressed herein neither as a network in the technical sense, nor a theory in the social sense *(\Latour 1996)*, but as a methodological approach which prioritizes 'relations over their characteristics' *(\Cerulo 2009: 536)* and 'action over mind' *(ibid.: 543)*. These relational and operational elements that mould urban development circumstances in Savamala were explained with ANT. The focus is on an actual post-socialist urban setting and the generation of the maintenance, transformation and/or change of the current state of affairs when global aspects are transformed to meet local specifications and vice versa. In terms of post-socialist cities, copying urban models from the West meets extraordinary difficulties because these cities lack the institutional infrastructure and cultural patterns essential for the functional unity present in western cities *(\Petrović 2009)*. Furthermore, the fundamentality and intensity of economic and political change in Balkan post-socialist countries may be a historic exemplary of social transition hard to find in a typical capitalist city *(\Sykora 1999)*.



[CHART 3] ANT Discourse analysis

In Savamala, the researcher confronted with a dynamic reality, a battlefield of different influences, interests and interpretations which determines the future of the urban system itself. The qualitative data collection through case study with interpretative and participatory action research provided the background for ANT analysis enforced with correlational study. The engineering approach of logical argumentation and schematic interpretation was later used for the dissemination of data. The principal data sources were both human and non-human. They were collected through a range of collection methods: [(1) - (2) - (3) - (4) **[Chart 2:155]**], provided from key informants [(A) - (B) - (C) - (D) **[Chart 2:155]**]. These key informant categories also matched the aggregated human and non-human bearers of action and meaning *(\Latour 2005a)* among the traces of relevant influences, interests and interpretations in Savamala.

On the level of data analysis, diagnosing urban development circumstances could be determined through a transposition of the current state of this neighbourhood into the elements which could denote urban flux. These elements, when gathered together into functional networks, form a unique set that indicate the factors of maintenance, transformation and/or change of the system, which, in this case, is the neighbourhood of Savamala. The successful application of ANT for these purposes involved transposing the terminology of ANT from **[Section 2.2.1:82]** into urban development factors. Furthermore, it was followed by an exploratory analysis that traces these factors within a real-life context. In order to apply the identified theoretical principles for the on-site analysis of a dynamic urban reality at the neighbourhood level, they were reformulated into a step-by step methodology, which was the following: (1) identifying human/ non-human entities; (2) flattening the reality of intermediaries figuration and translations between mediators; (3) traceable associations among those who were constituted as actors; (4) tracking stability/instability of agency among actors; (5) simplify and functionalize relations in urban assemblages based on established roles and the nature of links among them **[Chart 3:163]**. As part of a broader study on post-socialist urban development, the object of examination included the actor-networks in Savamala rendered from the composition of different layers of decision making that, through coordination and predominance, bring up urban dynamics. The level of analysis is the neighbourhood.

The central methodological issues for translating ANT terminology onto an urban environment indicate:

1. All human and non-human actors:

From an ANT viewpoint, the source of an action accounts equally for humans and non-humans, and only the action/relation counts *(\Latour 1996)*. Animals, objects, texts, symbols, events, even mental concepts may be actors depending on their activities and/or relations *(\Cerulo 2009)*. Based on the case study, the analysis distinguished the figuration of all particular human and non-human entities that are subjects of translations at the neighbourhood level of Savamala. The argument was grounded in the local context of planning procedures and practice concerning the Serbian urban system and the post-socialist neighbourhood level, as well as bottom-up activities in

Savamala. The reseacher pondered the complexity of the case study of a neighbourhood to be made up of human - people (urban actors and stakeholders), and non-human entities - urban structures and territories (natural and urban space), institutions and policy agendas, urban and communication infrastructures (*Mitchell 1996; \Firmino et al. 2008)* and social aspects (economic, political and cultural) **[Chart 3:163]**. These operational categories of urban key agents were traced through the extensive content analysis within the theoretical scope of this urban study. All case-specific entities are identified within the content analysis of various sources on the morphology of urban decision making in Savamala (post-socialist urban theory, planning legislation and documentation, media sources) and from on-site examinations.

2. Intermediaries and mediators:

Following *Latour's* definition *(\2005)*, these human and non-human entities become "the means to produce the social" *(ibid.:38)* only when their roles in the system enact them as intermediaries or mediators *(ibid.)*. In his words, intermediaries are simple bearers of meaning and mediators actually change the actions/relations they are engaged in. Based on the content analysis of scientific, legislative, operational and media data, the results of the analyses recognized that certain elements only through certain figurations in networks take the actor roles **[Chart 3:163]**. Four element types (entity, human, artifact, and event) were distinguished respectively. For example, all four mattered differently, depending on whether they were taken individually or in a set/group. In terms of artifacts, it was crucial to consider whether they were of a strategic, technical or repository type. In terms of illustrations, the shape of the nodes depends on what figuration of an element makes it an actor.

3. Free associations:

One of major achievements of ANT is its attempt to redefine sociology as the tracing of associations and thereafter designating social not as a quality of an element-entity, but as "a type of connection between things that are not themselves social" *(\Latour 2005a:5)*. The urban key actors (urban actors, spatial forms, regulatory framework, and social aspects), after being denoted as mediators, have an active role in the networks, and in ANT terminology this is referred to as the performance of subjects (human entities) and the enactment of objects (non-human) *(\Callon 1986; \Farias 2011)*. As part of ANT data analysis, the recognized entities were juxtaposed and converted into actors. The established actors were those who associate and form networks **[Chart 3:163]**. The reason to reinterpret classical categories of scale, structure and the social in network terms was grounded in qualitative inquiry from experts **[Chart 3:163]**. These categories were not taken for granted but applied only when they influenced actors relationality.

4. Stabilizing and destabilizing agencies:

When applying ANT for urban analysis, the importance lies in avoiding pre-established social science categories *(\Farias 2011)*. It is essential to refer to agency as a relation that connects multiple actors and distributes causality and explanations across

networks in a stabilizing or destabilizing manner *(ibid.)*. Based on expert insights and data from PhD workshops and documentation on local, regional and national levels, the researcher examined the complexity and interactions among the actors at the neighbourhood level - how they cooperate/coordinate/negotiate/collide and organize into networks according to their roles **[Chart 3:163]**. In graphical terms, node colours correspond to the agency of actors and the active, but standardized, networks they are engaged in. The difference between association and agency in this interpretation lies in their dynamics - these networks, though standardized have the bipolar potentialability to influence actor-networking.

5. Urban assemblages:

An urban assemblage is a trendy term for aggregating relations of heterogeneous urban actors *(\Muniesa et al. 2007)*. It also address 'relations of exteriority' based on actor-networks *(\Faras 2011:15)*. According to ANT social and structural descriptions of urban dynamics, data which had been validated in workshops with researchers, professionals, activists, young professionals and citizens were channeled visually through an actor-network diagram. The body of actor-networks was comprehended without any preconceptions of society, social realm, social context and/or social ties. They were visualized through the size of nodes (actors) and the colour of links between them (networks) **[Chart 3:163]**. The size of the node equals the centrality of an actor and its influence. The actors influence was assigned approximately according to its presence in time, the number of its relations, and the types of these relations. Conversely, the colour of the connections relate to the nature of links in which these actors engage and produce specific social effects.

The chart 3 [Chart 3:163] is a visually adapted table that summarizes the application of Actor-Network Theory in this research. The core of the chart is a 5-layered analysis of method, theory and contents. ANT concepts are extracted from the previous use of the method in urban research. The process of analysis is set in relation to general ANT procedure for the purposes of this research. ANT interpretations of urban elements are two central categories. They address ANT terminology adapted for this research and urban elements extracted from the literature review on urban theory. The visualization column gives an overview of the symbols used for different data categories and the column on empirical data review data sources in ANT analysis. The relationality of theory, method, technique, visual identity and data is explicated in merging vertical columns and horizontal rows.

This 5-step ANT framework aims to illustrate the urban development of a post-socialist neighbourhood in Belgrade - Savamala. For the logical argumentation on network formation and development, the researcher accepted the basic rules that correspond to the major ANT assumptions: (1) everything that matters is an actor and therefore engaged in a network(s); (2) there is no context or any non-associated element in the system. In this respect, the ANT diagram visualized the Savamala urban development circumstances (all context-related, history-related, on-site and documentation-related data) in terms of actors (human and non-human) and the nature of links they are engaged in, relative to their activities, priorities and relationships.

3.3.2.2 MAS Structural analysis

According to the Multi-agent system (MAS) approach, system dynamics relates to individual elements and their communication, free will, belief, competition, consensus and discord etc. *(\Ferber 1999)*. For the application of this method in urban analyses, all these elements must be taken into account, as it actually is in its application in computer programming. The system of analysis therefore consists of:

- E(nvironement) - environment: static, defined by the level of analysis - this research:post-socialist neighbourhood;
- A(gents) - assembly of agencies: static state of urban key agents;
- O(bjects) - set of objects: passive contextual elements - this research: socio-spatial patterns of spatial capacities and social potentials;
- R(elations) - assembly of relations: active elements - this research: socio-spatial patterns of urban practices and urban conflicts;
- Op(erations) - assembly of operations: active morphology of urban decision-making this research: top-down urban planning, real estate transformations; participatory bottom-up activities;
- S(ystem) - reaction of the context: static, research goal - this research: urban system transitions in terms of maintenance, transformation and change processes.

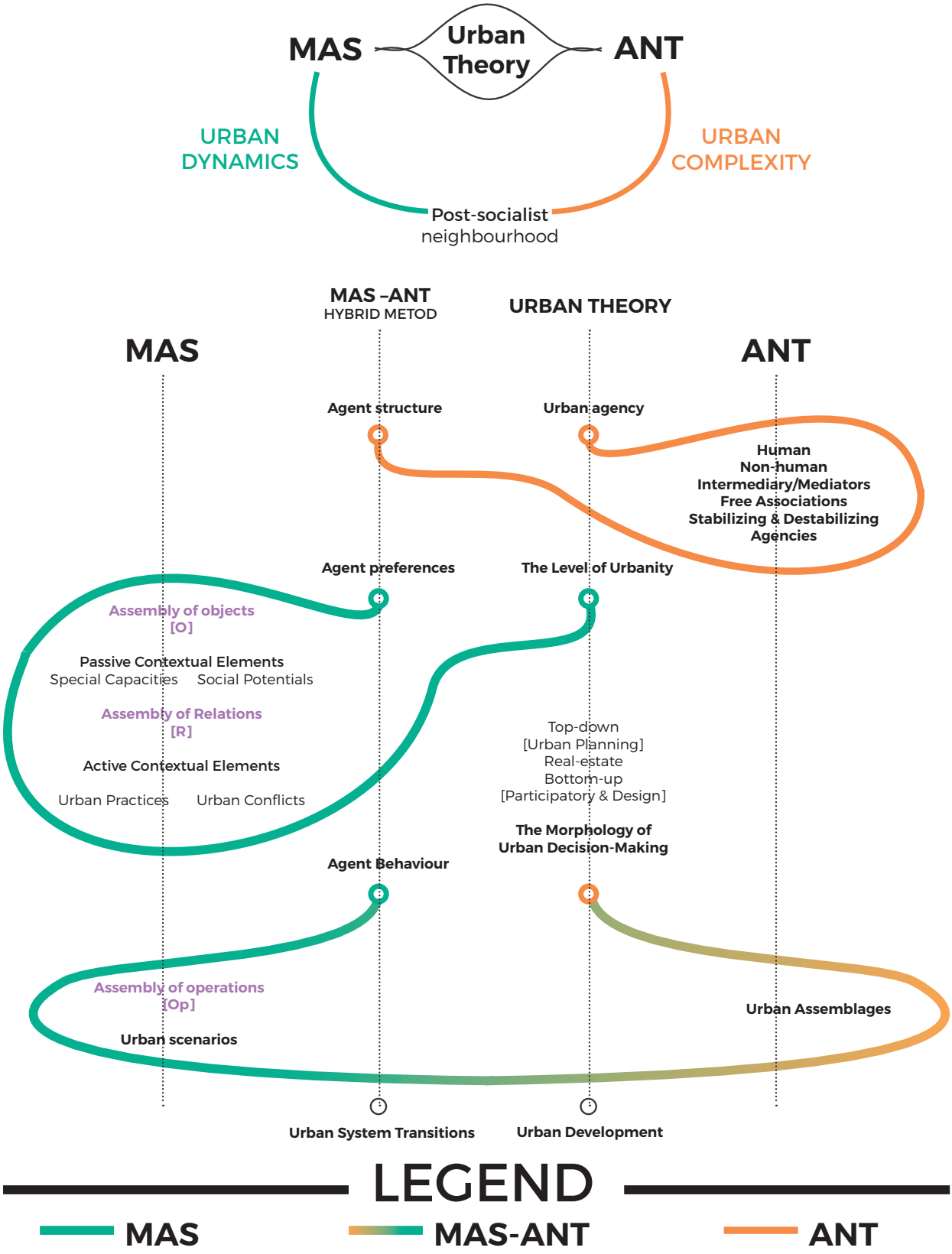
These elements interpret the totality of a system, its functioning and its evolution. The data analysis process sorts out data from [(1) written sources, (2) interviews, and (3) workshops] according to the above introduced system set. This initial categorization was tested - in practice - by the questionnaires, which targeted [(A) experts, (B) young professionals, (E) students] **[Chart 2:155]**.

In more technical terms, the basis for MAS-ANT cross-pollination is the MAS level of agent profiles:

[AGENT/PROFILE]=[AGENT/STRUCTURE]+[AGENT/PREFERENCES]+[AGENT/BEHAVIOUR]

On the level of the MAS method, actors were readdressed as agents and thereupon agent profiles came up. They were configured from a combination of agent structure, agent preferences and agent behaviour.

However, MAS data analyses address the character of links among different elements of the urban environment in terms of agent preferences. These qualifications of links is defined relative to elements identified as objects (contextual resources) and relations (urban conflicts and urban practices) in the MAS data circle. These interpretations indicate the state of urbanity of an urban environment (in this case, Savamala), while the level of urbanity is recognized in their further operationalization through urban system transitions. The issue of agent profiles and urban system transitions were further elaborated and examined for the MAS-ANT data display.



[CHART 4] MAS-ANT cross-pollination of data

3.3.3 System Building - Data display

The reporting of findings is done in a visual manner, where all the data were categorized and built into the visualized system of urban system transitions. Data visualization techniques were used for data reduction and the operational display of data.

Setting a procedure

The data analysis processes were carried out iteratively from: (1) collecting context-based information and knowledge; (2) ANT classification of the data at the local context; (3) MAS analysis of agent behaviours. The key informant categories were identified after the traces of relevant influences, interests and interpretations in Savamala. The descriptive nature of ANT premises enabled data structuring in terms of the set of human and non-human agents and urban assemblages at the neighbourhood level. After that, the behaviours of agents were identified by qualitative surveys.

Each agent profile element refers back to both ANT and MAS categories:

• AGENT STRUCTURE addresses the ANT categories of: (a) the nature of actors; (b) the structure and networks of influence; (c) the secondary and socially functional networks. The sum of these interpretations translated actors into agents and constituted an assembly of agencies in MAS.

• AGENT PREFERENCE(S) take (d)social aspects (political, economic and cultural) from ANT and involve them in the operationalization of objects - O - (contextual resources) and relations - R - (urban practices and urban conflicts) from MAS.

• AGENT BEHAVIOUR(S) are the ANT (e) networks of translations and the MAS explanation of HOW (pro-activity, sensitivity, interaction) these agents reference back to the system development (maintenance, transformation and change) - U - from MAS terminology.

Sorting all the data about an agent in these categories provided the full description of how this urban system works. ANT analysis furnished an exhaustive categorization of elements and networks - the detailed image of agent structure and the field of their influence (networks). Agent preferences were represented through object and relation categories from MAS and corresponded to the state of urbanitys theoretical stances. In practice, it signifies that all urban conflicts and social practices can be identified as directed relations (R). Conversely, spatial capacities and social potentials were referred to a set of objects (O) to be activated. Agent behaviours are the products of multi-criteria MAS analysis (\Arsanjani et al. 2013). In practice, urban dynamics is defined as how the agents - A - behave in order to perceive, produce, consume, transform and manipulate objects - O - and engage in relations - R - in order to enable maintenance, transformation or change of the system.

The display of these data is executed in hierarchical order. ANT served for the identification of all actors (human/non-human, material/non-material) and flattened the social into a panoptic internalized ontology. MAS traced the character of their appearance in networks and their internal relations and connections. In this way, actors (ANT) are transferred into agents (MAS), while the theoretical layer represents a generative body of concepts suitable for tracing urban dynamics. Such triangulation is carried out in three steps **[Chart 4:168]** :

1. Interpreting agent structure:

All context-related, history-related, on-site, literature-related and empirical data were sorted according to ANT principles - so that everything that matters is an actor and therefore engaged in a network(s) and that there is no context or any non-associated element in the system.

2. Connecting urban agency with socio-spatial patterns:

Urban practices, contextual resources and urban conflicts were recognized and connected to the bearers of urban agency. In theoretical terms, the topology of ANT was transferred into the topography of MAS: agents were assigned behaviours in relation to their agent structure and their preferences.

3. Evaluate state and system evolution (maintenance, transformation, change):

From the approach presented above, tracing urban dynamics comprises structuring an urban environment according to clear categories as well as simulating autonomous actions and interactions in order to study blurred processes of constant system evolution. The set of networks involve the heterogeneous distribution of urban key elements acting at sites (human and non-human) and entangle causes and consequences of their actions and forces. All these urban key elements are assumed to be equal agents in the reproduction of urban practices, operating contextual resources and dealing with urban conflicts. These continuous processes of maintenance, transformation and change reflect agent behaviours and contribute to the system dynamics.

The chart 4 on page 168 [Chart 4:168], as the other charts in this research project, is an improved version of a simple table with the aim to convey more information. This one has four vertical lines distributing the data simultaneously - on MAS, ANT, MAS-ANT and urban theory. The chart gives an interpretation on how MAS and ANT methodologies has been overlapping with theoretical concepts as a basis for empirical case study analysis of a post-socialist neighbourhood in Belgrade, Serbia. Assigning different colours to MAS and ANT in this analytical chart puts forth their particular strongholds in the mixed method and the topics they are therein addressing. The size, colour and style of words emphasize the importance these concepts for developing the hybrid method.

Referring back to ANT assemblage networks and MAS analysis of agent behaviours in networks, the results were presented in terms of scenarios and system transitions. The scenarios deal with: measuring the efficiency of urban planning, testing the legitimacy of real estate interests and recognizing the opportunities of bottom-up design and participatory initiatives. On the other hand, the estimation of urban dynamics traced the path of system resilience, flexibility and/or dynamics in terms of the maintenance, transformation and change processes.

3.3.4 Data visualization with infographics

This thesis adopted MAS-ANT methodology in order to: (1) describe the complex urban reality in a post-socialist city (ANT); (2) understand how the level of urbanity serves for tracking socio-spatial patterns of transition (MAS); and (3) to indicate the processes of urban system transitions (ANT+MAS). In order to provide efficient classification of a great amount of data and to enable new readings of the recognized

interconnections and processes in this research, the data and the results are also continually reinterpreted in a visual manner. Persistent visual representation of data collection, analysis and data display enables new levels of data triangulation and data systematization in graphical terms.

The visual interpretation of data is as old as all the other knowledge production mechanisms, dating back from that on cave walls in the prehistoric period to contemporary ideograms on modern signs *(\\\Krum 2013)*. The visual interpretation of information, data and knowledge have always been useful for revealing data, presenting a lot of data in a small space and making large datasets coherent *(\Tufte 2001)*. Graphic design constructed from data combines illustrations, text, maps and images to tell a story that stands out. In this way, there are two types of static visual interpretations *(\\\Krum 2013)*: (1) infographics - a short form of information graphics (a visual representation of any type of information, data and knowledge), and (2) data visualization (mainly for qualitative data).

In this research, infographics are used to filter data overload and summarize and cluster them according to ANT, MAS and MAS-ANT categories. The transferring process from data to diagrams included: recognizing, classifying, filtering, interpreting, arranging, connecting, condensing, understanding, explaining, integrating,extrapolating and generating *(\\\McCandless 2014)*. Infographics are constructed in such way that they propose a readable language (forms - vectors - colours) and recognizable patterns (scale, proximity, links and visual emphases) within the same set of diagrams. Visual investigations in this research project adopted a unified graphical language in terms of the identity of vector-images, patterned forms and a universal colour register. Furthermore, the nature of the diagrams applied in this research include :

- relational diagrams for visualizing agents, networks and processes [i.e. ANT **[Chapter 5:272]**, MAS **[Chapter 6]** and MAS-ANT **[Chapter 7]**];
- timelines that serve as databases for historical data and processes represented in a linear manner *(\Rosenberg and Grafton 2012)*;
- spatialized qualitative data and structuralized spatial data: data-maps *(\\\ Raisson 2010)*;
- data frameworks built according to overlaps, proximity and the complementarity of concepts in theoretical, methodological and contextual sets *(\\\Caras et al. 2011)*;
- diagrammed data charts that structuralize different data types together *(\ Yau 2013)*.
- tabulated data that summarize/aggregate the data from diagrams in a synthetic manner.

The choice of diagrammatic interpretations is very common in the visual language of architecture *(\\\Chaplin 2015)*; used to extend the availability of data *(\ Hemmersam et al. 2016)*. While there is still a certain bias in response to translations of textual data into visualizations, easy update processes enable continual integration of new descriptions and analysis *(\Tufte 2001)*. Moreover, visual data display is chosen as it is much more easily recognized and memorized *(\Krum 2013)*, which may be very useful for the practical use of the proposed hybrid method.

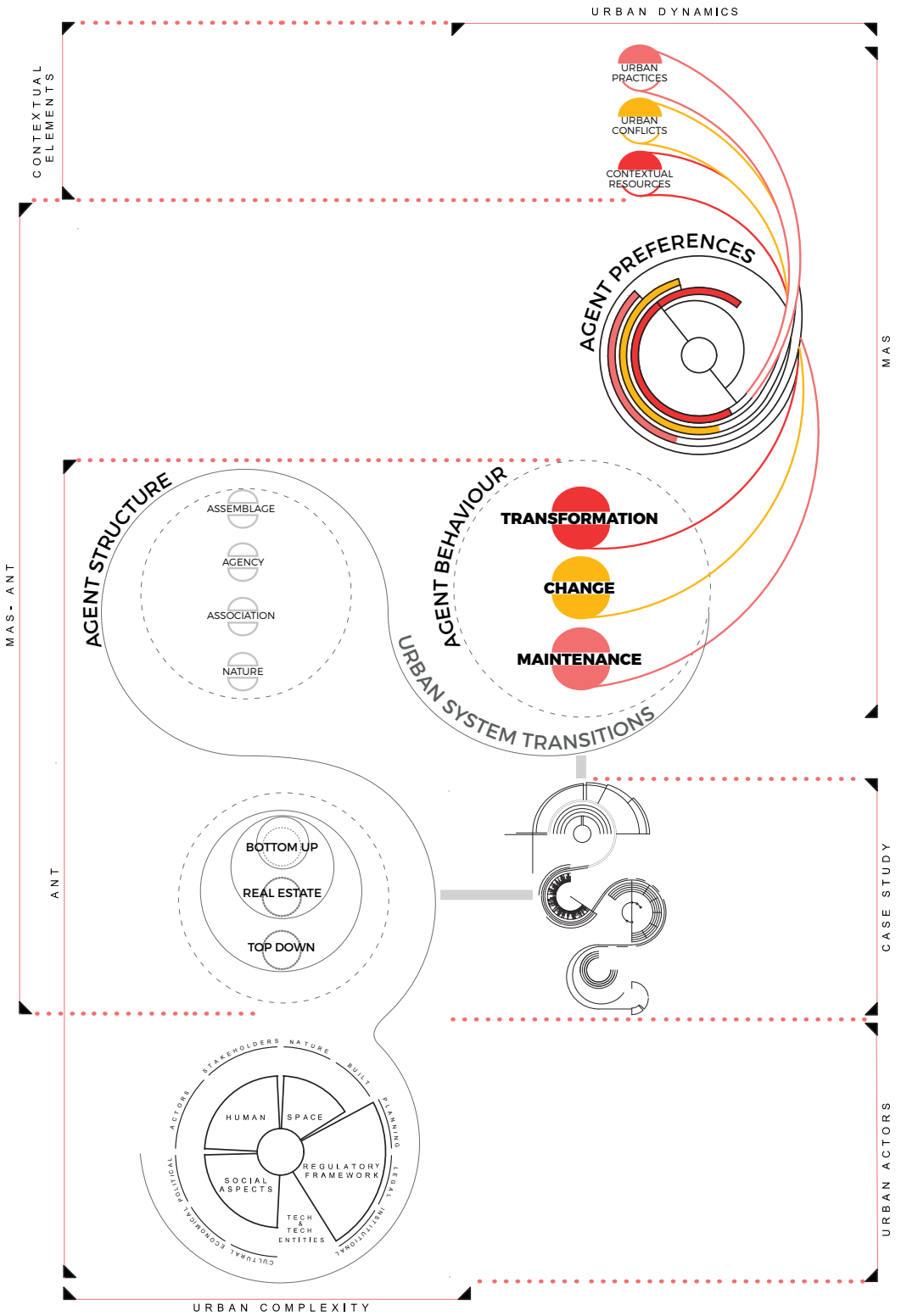
3.4 Methodological Framework

This chapter dealt with the technical explanation of reasoning and scientific domain and interpretative tools applied in this research. In this respect, the methodological framework of this thesis followed the logic of translation from the research framework into the research design, instrumentalized through the adopted methodologies. The identified research questions and hypotheses were developed from the initial research aims and further adapted in reference to the theoretical frameworks of the main concepts and methods. They were presented in consecutive order, then bounded within the scope of the chosen case study, and finally methodically traced within the elaboration of the methodological approaches and their deployment in data collection, analysis and data display.

In other words, the methodological framework also presents the space-time articulation of the research process: (1) case study data collection takes up an historical and analyticial approach; (2) ANT data analysis is focused on descriptions and the present moment; (3) MAS data analysis is future-oriented and a relational study; and (4) the MAS-ANT data display serves to connect past, present and future, and to address processes and prospects **[Diagram 7:173]**.

The Diagram 7 [Diagram 7:173] is an abstraction of how the combination of different methodologies works in this research project. The diagram makes an emphasis on the key points/terms for each methodology and on finding their counterparts in empirical data. Visualization of elements in circles is the symbolic interpretation of the analysis performed with particular research methods (ANT and MAS), the iterative analysis of empirical data and the consecutive categorization of data. The elements of methodological analysis and theoretical focuses are assigned in the sidebar dimension lines. A low, left-hand set of three vertical stages of circles is the visualization of ANT analysis (categorization of urban complexity - the lowest circle; distribution of actors across the layers of urban decision making - middle; assigning ANT interpretations to these elements - topmost). The upper right-hand mechanism of circles is the visualization of MAS analysis. The colours contribute to the interpretation of how the contextual elements bring about urban system transitions (maintenance in based on urban practices, conflicts instigate change and contextual resources bring in transformations). The center of the graphic emphasize how agent profiles are built and which ANT (agent structure) and MAS (agent preferences) characteristics are the core of the analysis. Both methods are put to work on the Savamala case study. The case study is a playground of contextual data in historical circumstances and local discourse for testing the elaborated mixed method. In the diaram, case study is represented of 4 circles that represent historical and 3 layers of contextual analysis and their data saturated analysis.

In sum, the presented methodological elaboration and the coherence of this research set the basis to weave the research problem, its scope and aim through the systemic theoretical framework with the field data, in order to indicate the paths for conclusions in terms of the research framework, the theoretical scope and practical implementations, the limitations and the prospects of this thesis.



[DIAGRAM 7] Methodological framework

[Life in Savamala are its people.. and vehicles.. and moth]

KC Grad garden (2015)_M.Cvetinovic

Djumurkana in Karadjordjeva Street - public duties (Kingdom of Serbia)_
IfPoH

Savamalac [Savamala citizen] in his uniform _ S.O.U.P

Cargo transport in Savamala (2012)_S.O.U.P/O.Petrovic

Floods in Kardjordjeva Street WWII_Institute for Protection of Heritage

Loading/Unloading goods (beg. XX century)_Institute for Protection of Heritage

NIKE
TOPTUL
SCANIA
BG 541-JT

Trafic jam in Savamala (2012)_NN

Ordinary people & new participants in Savamala activities_S.O.U.P

Chapter 4

Historical Urban Processes: From the State to the Neighbourhood

[Serbia - Belgrade - Savamala]

As has already been pointed out, urban development is a general and broad concept as long as it is detached from an actual urban setting. In a local context, the importance of urban development is overthrown by the concern for how global aspects meet local specifications and how on-site forces and uncertainties govern the concrete dynamics of the urban system. In order to move away from the abstractions and generalizations bounded in methodological terms, all the theoretical stances that address urban complexity and dynamics are traced in a real-life context.

Any historical background to the research problem, its transformation over time and the immediate surroundings where it emerges and changes, should be considered as a chronological sequence. This, if described properly, provides a suitable means for explaining causal links among the identified factors and elements of urban development processes. Given the implications of positive theory, it will be possible to predict the future relationships and behaviour of the elements in question.

This chapter shows an overview of socio-spatial circumstances in their autochthonous discourse of Serbia **[Figure 2:187]**, their direct manifestations in the capital city of Belgrade and their final repercussions in the Savamala neighbourhood. The context is attenuated throughout the chapter from the nation-state aspect, a citywide dimension to the neighbourhood level. A linear, factorial analysis is performed at the neighbourhood level in order to distinguish the layers of its urban decision making. These organisational levels (national, city, neighbourhood) and directional layers (top-down, real estate, civic engagement) interlace the space-time boundary of the context for tracing its intrinsic complexity and dynamics. This contextual narrative is conducted in two directions: the chronological discourse on urbanity and the causal links within the morphology of urban decision making.

[FIGURE 2] Serbia in Europe

4.1 The State of the Society and the Urban

Investigating autochthonous urbanity in the chosen context implies attributing socio-spatial circumstances to the continuous urban transitions. The versatile geographical landscape of the Balkan Peninsula has harboured an amalgam of cultures and religions and produced a condensed history of the social, political and economic turmoils that compose urban structures and processes *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. The key factor of this historical account is understanding how the structural unity of urban key elements has been deployed in different space-time frameworks and how they reference back to the social and urban processes of maintenance, transformation and change (urban system transitions).

4.1.1 The Evolution of the State Affairs

Historically speaking, the first permanent human settlements in this region were established during the Neolithic period *(\Krstic and Bojovic 1972)*. The Vinca archaeological site near Belgrade provides material evidence of cultural patterns in terms of the settlement and the behaviour of its inhabitants between 5700 and 4500 BC *(\Srejovic 1984)*.

However, the chronological discourse on urbanity in this research is built upon the following periods:

1. The Ottoman dominance;
2. The Serbian state (1804-1914); [27]
3. Yugoslav self-managed socialism, the union of Southern Slav nations and the Federation of 6 republics (1945-1990);
4. The post-Yugoslav, post-socialist transition (1990-).

The structural unity of urban key elements is bounded in the broad, factual and chronicled identity of the pertaining urbanites (urban actors). The choice of periods does not strictly follow the historical continuum,[28] but relies on the socio-spatial constituents of the contemporary urbanites. The urbanity in this area is reflected through the fluctuating relations with the European cultural and geopolitical realm, the strongly spatialized identity of the local population *(\Savic 2014)* and a continuous revolution through the transitions of the historical periods listed above. Henceforth, these periods indicate the key points of the alterations and development in terms of: the political sphere, a socio-economic realm, formation of urban actors, urban culture, urban professions and the distribution of urban forms.

27 Even though Serbia officially gained independence from the Ottoman empire only in 1878 and was proclaimed the Kingdom of Serbia in 1882, the continual change in urban and social issues started from the first Serbian uprising in 1804 and had been gradually changing when Serbs took power over the capital city between 1807 and 1813 and later continued in parallel with the establishment of Serbian control and state authorities.

28 Exclusion of antique and medieval historical heritage is based on its incoherence with contemporary urban key elements crucial for this analysis.. In the same terms (urban key agents), the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (The first Yugoslavia) shows continuity either with its predecessor (the Kingdom of Serbia) or its successor (SFRY).

4.1.1.1 The Ottomans

The Ottomans dominated the central part of the Balkan peninsula for around 500 years (todays Bosnia & Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia, and Kosovo in particular).[29] Since the Ottoman empire was an Islamic theocratic state, decision-making was conducted through the complex centralized administrative structure under the supremacy of the Sultan. The local Christian majority was marginalized and the rural population was ruled by the constant threat of extinction. Urban nexuses were populated mainly by the ruling social class of Ottomans and local converts. As the Ottoman rule of this region could be characterized as an authoritarian imposition, any type of development was slowed down and reduced to a minimum *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*.

It was an archaic agrarian society. The territory of contemporary Central Serbia was the border zone between the Ottoman and Austrian empire, the Muslims and the Christians, the East and the West, Europe and the Other. The Drina and Sava rivers established the natural borders of the two civilization patterns. A few, predominantly small cities in the area, were susceptible to the frequent destructions of war, either in the Turkish-Austrian wars or during population revolts. The fortress of Belgrade, standing at the borderland, was vulnerable to the frequent conquests and invasions of the two empires. The cities developed organically, under the influence of the Middle East, Islamic planning and building (traditions of planning) *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. Regardless of size, cities were the centers of social and cultural life of this state. Unhygienic, haphazard construction and urbanization patterns are typical of Ottoman cities in the Balkans *(\Kadijevic 2007)*.

The Christian population was either excluded from social structures and any form of decision making or gathered around Christian neighbouring states from the West and participated in their warfare against the Ottomans. Consequently, local religious powers (whether Catholic or Orthodox Christians) managed the societal context of the subdued population. The Serbs cherish the negative collective memory of this period, which resulted in the extended dissolution of the Ottoman cultural and urban heritage and a disregard for and subsequent dilapidation of the Ottoman architecture, while unconsciously retaining certain social, urban and decision making practices *(\Blagojevic 2009)*.

29 The year 1459 is marked as the year when the Serbian despotate was officially overthrown by the Ottomans, and in 1804 the Serbian revolution started against Ottoman rule. However, the very first Ottoman penetration into the area of the Balkan medieval states followed the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389. Serbia officially gained its independence again during the Congress of Berlin in 1878. ***(\Corovic 1997)***.

"The settlements (called kasaba if small, varos if large) had a distinct structure including: a central section (carsija) for public functions like baths (amam), schools (metresa), coffee houses and entertainment places (kafana), buildings of worship (dzamija), crafts and trading posts (bazar), and travel inns (han); and a residential section (mahala) separated into two parts the upper for Muslim residents and the lower for the Christian population. Residences were built around yards (avlija) surrounded by high walls used to protect the privacy of the extended family."

(Nedović-Budić and Čavrić 2006).

4.1.1.2 The Serbian State

constitutional monarchy; European role-models; big, insufficiently regulated dorp;

The liberation of Serbs slowly but surely started with the uprising in 1804. In parallel with their efforts toward building a nation state, educated Serbs followed the European wave of enlightenment and joined efforts to standardize the national language and set a national educational framework. The University of Belgrade was founded in 1808,[30] The National Theatre was established in 1869 and The National Museum was opened on the 10th of May 1844.

From 1882 onward, Serbia was recognized as a constitutional monarchy with a capitalist social order. Even during the constitutional years before the official recognition of the country, the population of Serbia rose from 678,192 in 1834 to 1,669,337 in 1884 *(\\\Zavod za statistiku i evidenciju NR Srbije 1953)*. The population reached 2,922,258 in 1910 *(ibid.)*. In parallel with wiping out the surface signs of the Ottoman legacy, the mentality of the deprived, rural majority of the indigenous population under the theocratic Ottoman regime survived and contributed to the patriarchal, paternalistic and authoritarian political model[31] at stake, more often than not, in the Kingdom of Serbia *(\Vukmirovic et al. 2013)*. Moreover, the state was poor, dominated by a weak and vulnerable, autarchic economy based either on trade or foreign investments and closely related to the state and to privileged groups *(\Vukmirovic et al. 2013; Samardzic 2015)*.

Stojanovic (\2010b), a well-regarded historian who has investigated the Serbian states constitution during this period, has explained that state affairs, the civil sector and social circles developed without any real interconnections from the very beginning of the Serbian modern nation state. She has further developed the thesis that the state is usually taken for granted as a society in itself, the supreme driver of development and modernization, and the most important source of influence/authority/status/wealth for any individual who belonged to this governing society. In other words, the political ruled out a nd dominated the economic and the social during the rise of the modern Serbian state *(ibid.)*.[32]

[FIGURE 3] Serbia [Kingdom of Serbia] (1804-1914)

However, the Kingdom of Serbia was also slowly gaining its status within the European realm **[Figure 3:191]**. It formed close ties with European centers, either by educating professional staff there or by importing models, systems and structures from the West ref. This phase was also crucial for the foundation of a Serbian elite and the modest emergence of a local nouveau bourgeoisie and an aristocracy based principally in the capital. Those circles were filled with soldiers, clergy, a small intelligentsia and highly obedient bureaucrats, while the first signs of Civil Society (traders, scholars, officers, civil servants) also emerged, along with new challenges and oppor-

30 At first it was the Belgrade Higher School in revolutionary Serbia (1808-1813) and in 1838 it merged with the Kragujevac-based departments into The Lyceum of the Principality of Serbia (1838-1863). It was renamed the Second Higher School (1863-1905) when natural and technical sciences units joint philosophical and legal departments.

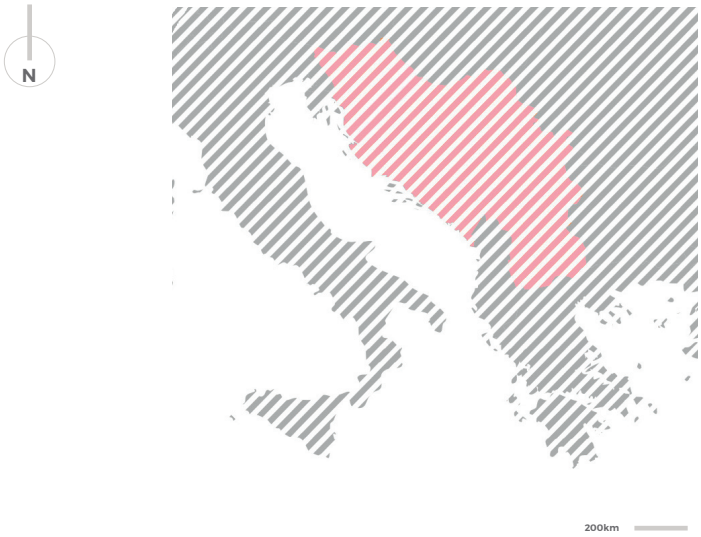
31 With the huge rural hinterland and its traditional notions and influences

32 ***Stojanovic (\2010b)*** gave an example of how the state authority was dominating the political discourse during 1882-1914 period: the reasoning behind the issue of significant liberty of press in the kingdom of Serbia at the beginning of the 20th century was such that the press did not have the force of public, so that the authorities did not pay any attention on the press releases and the topics therein covered.

tunities for development *(\Vukmirovic et al. 2013)*. The increasing number of engineers educated in the West (mostly in Austria) led to the construction of the city towards western models and an extended disregard for the origanization and building principles of the Ottoman city and the subsequent dilapidation of any leftovers of Ottoman architecture *(\Blagojevic 2009)*.

The urban population in the Kingdom of Serbia was also dispersed in small cities that counted around 13% of the total population *(\\\Drzavna Statistika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1932*). Still, even the capital city of Belgrade was characterized during those times as a rather large and insufficiently regulated dorp. This period is marked by radical changes in all domains of urban and social life. *Samardzic (\2015)* suggests that the most important benefit of the Serbian national revolution of 1804-1830 was gaining authority over the city of Belgrade. The task of constructing the new state through building, organizing and modernizing its capital city posed a challenge to the backward peasant society, as Serbia was in those times *(ibid.)*. Namely, cities with their pluralistic, diverse cosmopolitan character were identified as the enemies of the nation and the church ref. They tended to keep their traditional, rural flavour with the permanent problem of over-population of available housing, as well as illegal and non-quality constructions in the suburbs *(\Roter Blagojevic 2015)*.

The urban morphology of Serbian cities in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was clearly strongly affected by Western European ideas. This random, undiluted borrowing of European building principles, methods, and techniques transformed cities into modern towns (*\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006; \Kadijevic 2007)*. Architectural and city planning practice gained momentum from an emphasis on urban growth with a new orthogonal street network and central places (piazza, square, place) and within a modular grid of plots, blocks and streets *(\Kadijevic 2007)*. An additional functional layer of traffic, sanitation and utility infrastructure contributed to the modernization of urban structures and the harmonization of urban systems and networks.



[FIGURE 4] Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [SHS] - Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1945)

Urban Regulatory Framework and Practice

individuals educated abroad; regulatory and legal framework of urban development; tabula rasa urban actions;

The pioneers of this new wave of construction and activity were individuals educated abroad (mostly in Vienna, Budapest and Praque, and later in Paris and Germany) and foreign experts under the auspices of the state *(\Maksimovic 1978)*. They usually received state scholarships to attend elite European universities and were given the opportunity to engage in projects straight afterwards, even without any significant professional experience *(\\\Mladjenovic 2010)*.

However, town planning was often used as a controllable tool at hand to consolidate political power by high authorities (Governments and even rulers).[33] The Ministry of Construction/Civil Engineering, backed up later with a specialized architecture section, was the leading actor in architecture and planning at the time. The young state administration was controlled by centralized political will, directing the development of architecture, adapting it to the needs of the newly established, young Serbian state *(\Maksimovic 1978; \Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. In such a small, young state, human resources with high expertise are often scarce, so that, when the Faculty of Architecture was founded in Belgrade (1897), the same professionals working for the Ministry also obtained teaching positions - pursuing in this manner parallel careers. In general, the private architectural practice of the time was highly underdeveloped *(\\\Mladjenovic 2010)*. Such circumstances of centralized power, the overlapping of jurisdiction and competence and biased relations between political and economic strata, opened the door for corruption, privately driven initiatives and land speculations by powerful and rich individuals.

33 There is an anecdote that Milos Obrenovic, the first ruler of the not yet independent state, who happened to be illiterate, controlled planning and building documentation and visited construction sites with the engineers in order to supervise them, intervene and implement his own spatial visions.

This institutional framework and these building practices were followed by the constitution of a regulatory and legal framework of urban development, planning and construction. In the Kingdom of Serbia and its successor the Kingdom of Yugoslavia,[34] the legal framework for urban planning was based and developed according to the European traditions of continental law *(\Zekovic and Maricic 2016)*. The first adopted document was a sort of regulation plan - The Regulation Line for Construction of Private Buildings (1864), followed by the adoption of the following laws - The Law on Construction of Public Buildings (1865) and the Law on Expropriation of Private and Real Estate Property for Public Use (1866) *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*.

34 As well as The Kingdom of SHS ***[Figure 4:192]***.

The planning and construction activity during this period had a decisive influence on the Europeanisation of the Serbian development path. Nevertheless, factors such as lying on the south-eastern European periphery, the strong nationalist political and social discourse and the colonial imperialism in culture and the arts also hindered urban emancipation and institutionalization *(\Vukmirovic et al. 2013)*.

The response to such conditions was the continual re-establishment of tabula rasa urban actions which were viewed as the only means of intervention iwith historical repercussions withthe risk of unknown consequences *(\Blagojevic 2009)*. This egocentric/megalomaniac attitude to urban planning during the 1912-1922 period reflected state ambitions to take advantage of the changed conditions of state sover-

eignty, which had significantly enlarged after the First World War *(\Blagojevic 2009).*

Both the periods of The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1929) and what was known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (and also known as the first Yugoslavia) from 1929 until the German occupation during the Second World War are excluded here as they followed the trends set forth during the previous period (1804-1914) with small insignificant shifts and certain emancipatory and modernization efforts and successes. In fact, the country comprised almost the same territory as its descendant SFRY with a population of 11,984,911 inhabitants in 1921. The most important document of the time was the Building Act (1931), an up-to-date urban regulatory document. It features the Regulatory Plan as the main instrument of urban development, regulates technical building details and prescribes the format of planning documents and planning procedures *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006).*

4.1.1.3 SFRY

new political order; self-managed socialism; industrialized and middle income country

The Second World War (WWII) on the territory of Serbia and Yugoslavia ended in April 1945 when Yugoslav Partisan forces liberated the country and even occupied parts of German (Austrian) and Italian territory. During the WWII, Yugoslavia lost a significant portion of its population and numbered only 15,772,098 inhabitants in 1948.

After the Second World War, a new political order was installed. The first Yugoslav post-WWII elections[35] were held in November 1945 and the results were undoubtedly in favour of the coalition of parties backing the Partisans[36] On 29 November 1945, the Constituent Assembly of Yugoslavia formally abolished the monarchy and declared the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPR Yugoslavia, FPRY)[37] with six "People's Republics" (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia). In the post-war geopolitical divide, FPR Yugoslavia expanded beyond the borders of its predecessor (the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) **[Figure 5:195]**.

The socialist period in Yugoslavia is best known for its self-managed socialism (1953- 1990).[38] The political regime was decentralized yet authoritarian with both capitalist and socialist elements. It was a single-party system with a president for life (Josip Broz Tito). However, decision making was partly shared between the central and supreme authority of the government and the republics, municipalities and even several public enterprises. The economic reforms put to work were quasi-market and quasi-liberal and included self-management within most enterprises, societal ownership over large industrial enterprises, and a number of small, private businesses (services and crafts). The economic system survived through non-market mechanisms and administrative decisions *(\Estrin 1991)*. The economic system survived on non-market mechanisms and administrative decisions *(ibid.)*. Its most important trait was "social ownership", i. e. workers' self-management and control of enterprises *(ibid.)*. Finally, cultural exchange was significant both with the West and the East *(\Vujosevic and Maricic 2012; \Hirt 2009;)*. The country experienced successful economic reforms, cultural revival, labor productivity, urban and infrastructural development and construction in its first years (until the late 1970s).

35 The elections were secret and generally speaking fairly conducted, but there are several accounts doubzing the regulatory campaign.

36 The Peoples Front (Narodni front, NOF) coalition was led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) and represented by Josip Broz Tito.

37 In 1945, the monarchy was first replaced with first Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (DFY).

38 Self-managed socialism or market socialism are popular terms for the type of socialism applied in SFRY and is known as a purely Yugoslav brand ***(\Estrin 1991)***

During the 1970s, Yugoslavia was internationally recognized as an industrialized and middle income country. The urban milieu of socialist Yugoslavia was significantly egalitarian and diverse with a high standard of living. Socialist values led to educational, housing and health policies that treated all citizens equally and provided them with basic services, while industrialization of the country helped raise living standards for ordinary citizens. Consequently, these social circumstances contributed to less marginality and fewer social class disparities. Cities were extensively built and modernized for its citizens with equal rights and more or less equal opportunities, contributing to the low level of under-urbanisation, and consequently fewer autonomous and heterogeneous urban forms *(\Stanek et al. 2014; \Vujovic and Petrovic 2007).*

[FIGURE 5] SFRY (1945-1989)

However, the dysfunctional combination of these initially positive factors and the unfortunate course of events generated by deep a economic crisis (unemployment, inflation), the decline of legislative power and ever-increasing regional disparities marked its final years (1980-1990) *(\Stambolieva 2013; \Estrin 1991).*

These social, political and economic circumstances also reflected onto cities and urban life. The overall concepts of urban development and planning in SFRY were based on CIAM principles and established various forms of urban standardization, a center- periphery urban dichotomy, based on concepts of the local community and decentralization in decision-making (self-management at various levels - community, municipality, enterprises, organisations etc.) *(\Fisher 1962; \Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006).* Urban institutions, regulations and professions in general functioned on quite a mature, comprehensive, and multi-disciplinary basis. The systemic institutional approach distributed planning tasks from the top-down, involving experts from various fields with initiatives to apply the self-management paradigm and participatory practice in urban planning as well. This advanced planning system with its biased implementation reflected the political and economic shifts in the course of Yugoslav state development, often "failing in implementation just as state socialism itself" *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006).* These changes were grounded upon the legislative transformations of the Yugoslav period *(\ibid.)*:

1. Post-war reconstruction (1945-1953);

During the first years, SFRY was under strong influence of Soviet political ideology. These were also the years of reforms and the deployment of ideology in socio-political, economic, and cultural terms within the newly established state. However, with the slow but significant separation from the Soviet model, Yugoslav administration put to work the principle of workers self-management within its enterprises *(\Zec and Radonjic 2012).* The principle was that employees had a key role in the decision-making structures of their enterprises. While in practice decisions were guided by manage-

39 Questions of welfare, employment and pay.

ment departments, workers were usually involved in dealing with socio-economic issues[39] *(\Lydall 1986; \Estrin 1991)*. Such a structure proved unsatisfactory and inefficient in creating effective capital and labor markets from the very beginning.

After WWII, land and premises in private possession were expropriated and spatial resources were solely under state control. Therefore, the state retained considerable control over the countrys development by allocating investment funds centrally and very often by putting urban planning in the service of the regime *(\Estrin 1991)*. The structure of urban institutions was strongly centralized (central-command planning) and planning instruments were directed to support socio-economic development plans *(\Borovnica 1980; \Pajovic 2005; \Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011; \Peric 2016)*.

2. Institutional decentralization(1953-1963)

This period was initiated by the constitutional change of 1953. The reform for social instead of state ownership was introduced in 1952 and came to the fore only in correlation with the new legal framework. Such "social ownership" and nominal workers control over the surplus were effectively in place as a form of of non-ownership, with the plurality of self-management interests, delegate structure, accumulation of decision-making, but no legal individual rights over the assets *(\Estrin 1991, \Zec and Radonjic 2012)*. Apart from the primarily state property ownership and market control, private ownership of small and medium business enterprises was permitted *(\Hadzic 2002)*. In parallel, the countrys external affairs were marked by the politics of neutrality and initiating the foundation of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM). The policy of institutional decentralization put forward the first generation of urban planning laws in the same manner. As this new legal framework was enacted, a set of decentralization practices emerged in professional urban planning, especially from 1959 to 1970. In this light, new professional organisations spread in urban centres. The planning profession profited through the organisational division of urban planning structures and the dispersion of roles among newly established entities (1954-1959) *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011)*.

3. Strengthening of legislation at the republican level (1963-1973);

In 1963, the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Constitution of Serbia were adopted. Moreover, in compliance with pervasive constitutional reforms, the name Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was introduced. This phase was the emancipatory phase of Yugoslav self-managed socialism marked by a strong economic factor in terms of the decentralization from state investment funds to socially owned banks (1965). The reform aimed to transition to market liberalization. It was grounded upon the belief that, under liberal market conditions, enterprises based on social ownership would behave like those that were privately owned *(\Estrin 1983; \Zec and Radonjic 2012)*. These principles consequently influenced the urban development of Yugoslav cities and contributed to the golden age of the Yugoslav planning profession under the second generation of urban laws adopted during this period.

Urban planning discourse at the time was grounded on a highly comprehensive, integrated, and fully decentralized process closely coupled with the economic and social spheres, with a high level of public participatory programmes concerning physical development *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011).*

4. Dissolution, deficit and tensions (1974-1989);

Public ownership and the non-property system in the economy resulted in an irrational practice of public spending, budget allocation and investment and the lack of sufficient accumulation and the absence of effective financial discipline. The grave social outcomes were declining labor productivity that made socially owned enterprises inefficient. Self-management practices were basically a participatory instrument in decision-making. Yet, as a side effect, such decentralization entailed a plenitude of documents (mainly social agreements and self-management contracts) that were hard to manage within the economic system. In the aftermath, they brought the emancipatory model of self-management socialism to the verge of collapse *(\Lydall 1986; \Lydall 1989).* The state of crisis exerted tensions among the republics and further state decentralization, agreed upon by all the interested parties, was welcomed. This brought about a rise in ethnic nationalism and was later perceived as a means to guide the federal political structure into the post-Tito era *(\Estrin 1991; \Vujosevic et al. 2010b).*

Even though urban planning organisations profited from the states position between the East and the West combining experience and knowledge from both sides,[40] in the times of financial crisis they were confronted with new economic conditions and the market. The attempts to adjust brought in the 3rd generation of laws with a significant proliferation at the republic level of urban statutes and regulation *(\Borovnica 1980; \Pajovic 2005; \Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011; \Peric 2016).* The politics of self-management was reflected in urban planning through the significant decentralization of the planning process, so that plans were subordinated to social contracts and any problems of incompatibility between the plans, the public spending programmes, and the budget caused a halt or deviations in the implementation phase.

40 Especially in the domain of environmental protection whose importance was not yet acknowledged by Western countries. In this case, Yugoslav planners relied on Soviet regulations for "ecological zoning especially for capital investment projects and agricultural plots"

5. Unfortunate split and warfare (1989-1992);

After Titos death in 1980, the level of political differentiation increased. These final years at first indicate that, most of all, the peculiarities of the Yugoslav economic order led to the decision of high political (party) structures that Yugoslavia abandon this unique socio-political system and move towards a western version of capitalism *(\Estrin 1991).* On the contrary, economic questions were increasingly overshadowed by ethnic tensions. In these circumstances, the extensive and ungrounded decentralization after the Titos death pushed the federal government against the republican decision-making bodies and brought the federal country to a critical breaking point *(\Estrin 1991, \Vujosevic et al. 2012b).*

In sum, the communist institutional and ideological framework had entered into every sphere of professional and private life in SFRY[41] and this was found, above all, in the urban planning systems in the state and cities.

41 One author pushes this interpretation to the limit explaining that the political was seen as a religion in Yugoslavia, names it the "political religion of Marxism" ***(\Samardzic 2015).***

"Planning in Socialist Yugoslavia was the dominant type of regulation and control of modern society, economy and urban space."

(*Vukmirović et al.* 2013)

Urban Regulatory Framework and Practice :

dominance of SCPY; professionalization of planning

The practice of planning and its implementation in SFRY can be circumscribed as the development of a single paradigm, in its various theoretical and practical manifestations *(\Vukmirovic et al. 2013)*. The hierarchical political structure and the supremacy of the communist party dominated urban decision-making. Even though urban planning expertise was socially accepted and highly valued, all expert suggestions and actions were subjected to the permanent supervision of the state leadership *(\Piha 1986)*.

The SFRY socialist regime put forward significant legislation and practices that made Yugoslav urban planning competitive at a global scale, such as: (1) the establishment of professional agencies, bureaux and institutions at all decision-making levels (national, republic, local);[42] (2) national professional associations were founded to certify and monitor these activities *(\Bakic 1988)*; (3) continual education and knowledge exchange platforms were encouraged and supported by the authorities; and (4) local experts participated in educational and professional programmes in Western Europe and North America *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. Such a knowledge-based and capacity-building attitude enforced the emergence of the interdisciplinary character of Yugoslav urban planning *(\Cavric 2000)*. Consequently, Yugoslav urban planners, urbanists and architects were the pillars of urban development and transformations in a wide range of Asian and African countries, particularly other members of the NAM.

42 In Belgrade it was JUGINUS 1957, ZUKD 1962, IAUS 1958.

In terms of the local context, the urbanity of Yugoslav cities, as a result, were strongly tied to the underlying political organisation and socio-economic order of the time. Consequently, the transitions in the matrix of urban actors and stakeholders, pertaining cultural patterns and urban forms, as well as the professional approach were linked to the most influential political and economic shifts and were actually based on the legislative reforms (1945, 1953, 1963, 1974 and post-1989) *(\Pajovic 2005)*:

1. Post-war reconstruction (1945-1953):

During the first post-war years, the planning model was in fact a locally-adopted Soviet model, such as the hierarchical control mechanisms legally bounded in 5-year plans *(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006)*. The urban planning system functioned in the top-down tradition and in compliance with the contemporary institutional and ideological frameworks of socialism under Soviet supervision *(\Dawson 1987; \Papic 1988; \Peric 2016)*. Its purpose was to centrally administer and physically plan economic and urban growth and rational use of resources *(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006)*.

This approach was the manifesto of the new social organisation *(\Dobrovic 1946; \Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. The 1931 Building Act was applied until the the Master Urban Planning Regulation was passed in 1949 *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. This document showed the first traces of influence from western European planning legislations *(\Peric 2016)*.

2. Institutionalization (1953-1963):

The combination of western planning models and socio-economic elements of Yugoslav self-managed socialism paved the way for a distancing from the Soviet centralized planning model and toward a participatory system of comprehensive planning *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011)*. The rationalist planning model was applied to a set of laws and bylaws that regulated construction on the recently nationalized land *(\Cagic 2014)*. This modernist practice of planning marked the beginning of the golden era of spatial and urban planning in SFRY *(\Vujosevic 2004; \Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. The system of plans reflected significant improvements toward political decentralization and economic liberalization within the limits of self-managed socialism that started to rise *(\Peric 2016)*.

3. Further decentralization (1963-1973):

The decentralizing political and economic measures[43] contributed to the introduction of integrated and comprehensive planning in the Yugoslav context. Its main achievements are: (1) an administrative hierarchy and distribution of plans, (2) an interdisciplinary planning practice, (3) increased public participation, and (4) a social approach through the mass provision of affordable housing *(\Cagic 2014; \Peric 2016)*. This model was introduced as the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering and passed by the State Parliament in 1971 *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. It contributed to the introduction of integrated and comprehensive planning in the Yugoslav context. Its main achievements are: (1) an administrative hierarchy and distribution of plans, (2) an interdisciplinary planning practice, (3) increased public participation, and (4) a social approach through the mass provision of affordable housing *(\Simmie 1989; \Vujosevic 2003, \Peric 2016)*.

43 Strengthening the role of the Federal units and semi-market economic system

4. The prime golden age of Yugoslav planning and its decline (1974-1989):

At this time, the cross-acceptance planning principle, the operationalization of integrated social, economic, environmental and spatial aspects in urban policies and the hyperproduction of detailed plans resulted in the high point of Yugoslav planning *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011)* Its decentralized systems of planning and policy and bottom-up participatory approach were at the core of the planning system, at least nominally. They preceded similar practices in developed western countries for about a decade *(\Cullingworth 1997; \Vujosevic 2010)*.

The 1985 Law on Planning and Spatial organisation was the manifesto of a planning practice in which local communities (or communes) were the main planning and implementation authorities *(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006)*. This meant an effort toward the harmonization of interests through: (1) a bottom-up consensus building, (2) inclusion of environmental protection prospects, (3) the distinction within land and building ownership (societal, municipal, national for land; and societal, enterprise, municipal, cooperative, and private for buildings) and (4) the acknowl-

edgment of the variety of urban actors (citizens, workers, professional control, local authorities, socio-political organisations and the civil sector) *(\Nedovic-Budic 2001).* By the end of the 1980s, these innovative features of urban planning system and practice were diluted within the hypertrophied and bureaucratized social and political system *(\Peric 2016).* They eventually became cumbersome and dysfunctional and the dissolution of the urban planning system coincided with that of society, politics and the state.

No matter how single-minded the paradigm of socialist urban planning was, the regime actually managed to produce a diversity of planning systems: from the initial centralized, urban and economic growth-based planning to an integrated, fully decentralized, participatory process and a physical development susceptible to economic and social circumstances *(\Haussermann 1996).*

4.1.1.4 Post-socialism

transition to markets and democracy; geopolitical changes; EU path; 1990s - economic crisis, social decay,; regional wars; 2000s - insufficient eonomic recovery,

As explained, the multi-sectorial crisis brought the self-managed socialist system and SFRY to an end. The dissolution of Yugoslavia coincides with the breakdown of other communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Conflicts and warfare led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia into several sovereign states. Only two of the federal republics, Serbia and Montenegro, maintained the SFRY state legacy and formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) **[Figure 6:201]**. Later, it was transformed into a confederation - the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (SCG) **[Figure6:201]** until the state referendum in Montenegro in 2006, followed by its separation and Serbian independence **[Figure 7:202]**. During and since this geopolitical restructuring, the term "former Yugoslavia" has been commonly used retrospectively to designate the socialist state of 1945-1992.

These political transformations were broadly present in all ex-communist countries. They were denoted as a policy of openness towards economic, political and cultural influences from the West, and consequently a transition towards markets and democracy *(\Vujosevic and Maricic 2012).* In contrast to other East European countries, the years that followed showed significant stagnation and regression in most of the ex-Yugoslav republics. In Serbia, post-communist transition can be distinguished into two phases *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011).*

- 1990s with strong re-centralization, a multi-party system, sharp economic decline and international isolation;
- 2000s with regime change, re-decentralization and progress towards democracy, wild proto-capitalism and unprotected public interest.

[FIGURE 6] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] (1990-2003) & Srbija and Crna Gora (2003-2006)

The urban transformation of Serbian cities may be declared as typical of the "transition to market-driven economy and democracy" *(\Tsenkova 2006)* except in certain ways. The dismantling of the socialist system during the late 1980s represented a

substantial change in all aspects of the economic model, the political system and social organisation. Serbia was confronted with national wars in neighbouring states and the three-month bombardment by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) forces in 1999.

During the 1990s, the European Union flourished economically and culturally with peace, prosperity and order installed across its territory. Nonetheless, Serbia missed the opportunity to join the vibrant and healthy realm of European Union (EU) and was submerged into isolation and wars.[44] This initial transitional period in Serbia is known as the "blocked transformation" *(\Lazic and Vuletic 2009; \Vujosevic and Maricic 2012)*. The economy was isolated, grey and semi-martial, stagnating with the disastrous effects of high unemployment, hyper-inflation, pauperization and vanishing production. Post-socialist economic regulations were both inconsistent and unstable as the institutional business regulations kept changing in response to the overall political situation. The concrete economic conditions of the exchange rate and prices were susceptible to the circumstances of international isolation and the expansion of the informal sector.

44 Serbia was under the full UN sanctions from 1992 to 1995.

[FIGURE 7] Republic of Serbia [RS] (2006)

There were hardly any large-scale domestic and foreign investments in the local market, industry, businesses and construction *(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006)*. Socially owned enterprises became private through murky privatizations focused on building individual success through political and business connections rather than professionalism. Surrounded by wars and participating in them clandestinely, politically powerful actors in Serbia set up a centralized decision making system for all political, economic and cultural topics of high interest *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011)*. The political scene was dominated by one figure, Slobodan Milosevic. He ruled over the Serbian and partly over the FRY realm through a type of nationalist dictatorship, which was followed by the political unrest of a dissatisfied population and organized opposition supported by the West. This top-down style of government was backed up by the newly established economic elites, a powerful interest group, who supported the authoritarian style of governance *(\Vujovic and Petrovic 2007)*. The situation of halted political decentralization caused institutions to collapse under the centralized authority, while political and economic pressures also deepened societal regressions *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011)*.

The Serbian social structure crumbled accordingly. The 1991 census documents that Serbia with Kosovo numbered 9,791,475 inhabitants (7,836,728 without Kosovo) *(\\\SFRY Census 1991)*. In 2002 the number of inhabitants in Serbia without Kosovo declined to 7,498,001 and it further plundered to 7,186,862 inhabitants *(\\\Census 2002)*.

In addition, the poverty rate skyrocketed- according to 2002 statistics, 20% of inhabitants lived below the poverty line *(\\\Strategija Vlade R. Srbije 2003).*

The rise in crime, drug trafficking and corruption, the vast number of refugees migrating from war-zones, numerous local soldiers coming back from war with social disorders,the immense emigration of the young and educated population, the growth of an unprofessional, private media all influenced social relations in the cities *(\Vanista Lazarevic 2015).* Uncontrolled immigration, counter-productive emigration, and ethnic cleansing made the cities fertile ground for social and ideological hatred. The result was the acculturation and political, ideological and social terror from the backward and paternalistic political actors in conjunction with the nouveau-riche, resulting in the further dissolution of the intrinsic urban quality achievements in the previous periods *(\Samardzic 2015).* The same trend dominated urban planning. deplanification and de-professionalization were legitimized through top-down decision making resulting in urban deterioration, degradation, space occupation and illegal construction *(\Vujovic and Petrovic 2007, \Vukmirovic et al. 2013).*

The dismantlement of the socialist regime in the 1990s radically altered the function of public space by making it a venue for the struggle for human rights, freedom of speech, movement and actions. Expecting to gain more freedom, people fought to replace socialism with a new neo-liberal order. Unfortunately, this new transitional episode, which is still in progress, has brought subtly controlled and carefully restricted freedom *(\Cvetinovic and Veselinovic 2014).* With the end of Milosevic's regime in the year 2000, the country entered a fairly dynamic,[45] but insufficient economic recovery. This transformation primarily targeted the banking sectors and the privatization of socially owned enterprises. Transitional processes in the early 2000s were designated by marketization, privatization, and deregulation - the instruments of neoliberal capitalism. Proto-capitalist accumulation and the dominance of tycoons, who had been made rich in the 1990s, were the main catalysts of a grand redistribution of social wealth and a re-allocation of assets and income after the destruction of the former economic system *(\Vujosevic 2010).* The nearly destroyed industrial production, the high rate of unemployment, a debt crisis, and a significant income gap contributed to the unstable socio-economic situation and long-term unsustainable prospects for development *(\Vujosevic et al. 2010b; \Vujosevic et al. 2012a).* The growing financial debt and the strong influence of international political, economic and financial actors, In particular, positioned the country rather as a semi-colony more than as a prosperous environment on the development track. Serbia has become a kind of new, inner periphery of Europe, as *Goeler (\2004)* puts it *(\Vujosevic et al. 2012b).*

45 With 5% yearly growth of GDP during the first years.

This colonial attitude also reflects the ideological background of post-socialist transition. Serbia was a poor country with a regressive rather than progressive tendency in development, stuck on the verge of social, political and economic crisis. Over the last 50 years, its geopolitical profile has changed multiple times. In 2003, the Yugoslav Federation (the third Yugoslavia) was replaced by the Confederation of Serbia and Montenegro. With the independence of Montenegro, Serbia also received its new

country status in 2006. Kosovo has been under UN protectorate according to Security Council Resolution 1244 since 1999. It declared its independence in 2008. In 2009, Serbia applied for candidacy status for EU, and in 2012 this was approved.

Being on the European path, but not yet a EU member, places Serbia in a position to reconsider its position within global geopolitics and the economy and accordingly adopt its priorities and strategies for development. Its economic dependence on international capital and a non-critical and non-strategic attitude towards the political, social and cultural spheres of European integration suggest that alternative options were neither framed nor researched nor taken into account at all *(\Vujosevic et al. 2012b).* With a cumbersome institutional structure and an incompetent administration inherited from socialism, the principles of governance were not high-end priorities in Serbian political culture *(\Trkulja et al. 2012).* When the capacity for research, strategic thinking and governance was reduced to zero, the country became a blind follower of global forces and a polygon for power and interest struggles *(\Vujosevic and Maricic 2012).* Thus the majority of reforms were exclusive *(\Vujosevic et al. 2012a)*, revealing extreme asymmetry of power over their creation and implementation in practice *(\ Vujosevic et al. 2015).*

In the course of history, manipulation, paternalism and clientelism have been carefully and gradually braided features, expressed to their fullest in the "systematic and organized mobilization of interests and bias" of the Serbian political domain today *(\Vujosevic et al. 2012b).* In sum, with the lack of broader political and societal dialogue, transitional reforms were imposed by political and economic elites, while the corruptive channels of the same elites have dominated decision-making processes and everyday practices *(\Vujosevic and Maricic 2012, \Vujosevic et al. 2012a).*

The post-Milosevic reconstruction of Serbian society contains prevailing characteristics of the disintegration of the preceding system rather than a coherent vision of the future *(\Stanilov 2007).* Even with an overall mantra of re-decentralization and democratization, the top-down and centralized approach has been manifested at all levels, national, regional, and municipal *(\Vukmirovic et al. 2013).* Centralization may be linked to the most powerful regional deindustrialization in Europe, occurring in Serbia with significant territorial disparities among regions, particularly between the inland and the capital, or the "Serbian spatial banana"[46] *(\Zekovic 2009; \Vukmirovic et al. 2013).* The main victims of transition have been ordinary citizens, disempowered and impoverished during extensive periods of conflict, crises and turmoil. Difficult living conditions have caused prolonged demographic recession, which started in the 1990s (brain drain, an aging population, refugees) . In pursuit of a better standard of living, a significant percentage of the population has migrated toward economic centers, in particular the capital *(\Vukmirovic et al. 2013).*

The social structure in Serbia currently resembles that of a third-world country more than either a European welfare state or its middle-class predecessor SFRY. A tiny layer of wealthy people, a weakened and decimated middle class and a rising poor population are the urban actors in Serbian cities. Parallel to the still present nationalist

46 The term was used by ***Vujosevic (\2010)*** to mark the broad metropolitan area of Belgrade and Novi Sad where most of the Serbian population and economic activity are located.

discourse, the values of mass consumerism and globalization entered Serbian society and cities after 2000. The loss of certain traditional values may not be a problem per se, as new trends also force the affinity for authoritarianism and cultural and ethnic isolation to be exchanged for cultural diversity, active communication, collaboration and participation in urban affairs and decision-making. However, several authors argue that the installation of the values of contemporary neoliberal democracy and globalization contributes to the economic and cultural erosion of the middle class social values inherited from socialism, threatens attitudes of solidarity and empathy and dissolves the sense of overall public good and community bonds *(\Cvejic 2010; \Vukmirovic et al. 2013; \Samardzic 2015).*

Urban Regulatory Framework and Practice:

top-down, fragmented, uncoordinated planning; pseudo-decentralization; wild capitalism; unresolved urban land and property issues;

The post-socialist circumstances in urban planning, in the contemporary Serbian context, actually represents the legitimization of newly established societal circumstances and needs. The period started with the end of the Cold war and the global dominance of the market-based economy, and in the Serbian context with the authoritarian political regime under the supreme authority of the president Slobodan Milosevic. This situation created fertile ground for various malfeasance, and urban planning was not exempted from this.

The top-down, but rather fragmented and uncoordinated planning approach that marginalized the position of planners was justified by the lack of funds, ineffective regulations, slow administrative procedures and inadequate tools for implementation *(\Peric 2016)*. Namely, urban planning in Serbia was suffocating under a range of contextual difficulties in terms of (1) the disregard for public interest or strategic national development policy, (2) no participation or transparency in planning practice, and (3) the lack of planning expertise and administrative capacity at local and regional levels *(\Stojkov et al. 1998; \Vujosevic 2003; \Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006)*. Planning lost its overall legitimacy and was reduced to a technical practice of land-use distribution exclusively driven by private investments.

These factors provoked a legal void susceptible to shady deals, a lack of proactive urban governance, and increasing social polarization *(\Tsenkova 2006)*. Several legal documents enabled this dubious degradation of planning practice and the state of the urban environment in post-socialist Serbia. Above all, the Law on the Basis of Property [Zakon o osnovama svojinskopravnih odnosa] from 1990 enabled housing to be turned into private property. It masked the terrible economic and environmental situation happening in front of the citizens by giving them the right to purchase their homes at discount prices. The establishment of 29 regions in 1992 was the act of pseudo-decentralization - the regions were just the territorial sub-branches of the state without any legal and administrative authority of their own *(\Vujosevic et al. 2015).*

Finally, the 1995 Law on Planning and Arrangement of Space and Settlements of the Republic of Serbia formalized the centralization of urban decision making *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011)*. However, the document kept the state ownership structure for land, but the state, municipal and private property modes for buildings. It also

promoted, at least nominally, the rational use of space and transparency through professional control and public review of plans *(\Nedovic-Budic 2001).*

In the same manner, political elites were also indifferent towards urban policy, leaving it at the mercy of the principles of wild capitalism that dominated Serbian post-2000 discourse *(\Vujovic and Petrovic 2007).* In fact, the newly installed neoliberal paradigm outdid the institutional capacity to support it *(\Peric 2016).* The political, in fact, dominated other spheres of urban life. The deficiency of the planning system supported from political elites de-prioritized spatial development and, instead, spatial transformation became a sideeffect of political and economic decisions *(\Stojkov et al. 1998).* The lack of policies, instruments and institutional measures resulted in a lack of horizontal, vertical and cross coordination and little increased knowledge and data on the urban, which allowed reinvigorated illegal construction practices and illegitimate real estate transformations *(\Trkulja et al. 2012; World Bank 2000).*

Within the regulatory framework, the most disastrous effects are felt on urban land. Urban land is territorial capital neglected during socialism, when there was no competitive land market and restricted private property ownership[47] and the unresolved issue of property restitution,[48] which ultimately hindered direct foreign investment (FDI) *(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006).* Consequently, the deficiency of property policy, laws and institutions as well as the lack of substantial urban policy, urban land management approaches and measures and urban land use strategies and rules are the major deficiencies in the current urban planning, regulatory framework and practice *(\Zekovic et al. 2015).*

47 Until 2003.

48 As a precondition for the joining EU.

This new generation of urban regulatory framework started with the 2003 Urban Planning Act being further supported by the 2004 Privatization Law and the 2009 Law on Land Conversion aimed at adjusting it to European regulations by re-decentralizing political and administrative power and resolving the land property issue *(\Cagic 2014).* However, these policy agendas actually could not break the strong relations between the politicians and local tycoons built during the 1990s *(\Peric 2016).* The political discontinuation when the Serbian Progressive Party won government elections in 2012 stopped the practice of the collaboration with tycoons and turned to foreign investors putting to work new measures of distortion onto urban regulatory framework and practice in Serbia *(ibid.).*

4.1.2 Urbanity in Serbia through the lens of the Capital

culturally moulded city planning;
western imports,
local dogmas;
internationa over-presence;
auothoritarianism;
outburst of nationalisms;

Having an overview of the historic development of the Serbian state and its urban regulatory framework, it must be noted that it lacks a continuity of good practices and transformative actions. The trend of running down the inventions of the previous period in terms of the planning process and planning practice strongly reduced the developmental potential of Serbian cities *(\Peric 2016).* However, the planning context has kept its culturally moulded coherence, even though different political systems have been at play at the national level. This rather organic path of urban development led to the classification of post-socialist cities in transitional countries as unregulated

capitalist cities (investment-led) with third world urban development elements (substantial illegal activities and informal markets) *(\Petrovic 2009).*

These historical processes of urban transitions affect Serbia's competitiveness on a global scale by problematizing and reducing its local qualities and territorial capital *(\Vujosevic and Maricic 2012).* Local experts describe the current state of Serbian society as a whole as "growth without development" or even "developmental schizophrenia"[49] *(\Vujosevic 2010).* Its source may be traced back to the first years of the Serbian state (the Kingdom of Serbia), when the political overruled any other social domain **[Section 4.1.1:188]**. This disposition of factors is still at play. In light of recent party pluralism in Serbia, the multiplication of political actors do not bring democratization of the political sphere and constructive dialogue. On the contrary, political discord in Serbia is performed as a struggle between enemies, while their objective is to dislodge others in order to occupy their place. In reality, all political parties work together to preserve the dominant hegemony and stagnant power relations *(\Mouffe 2002).*

49 This idiom is often used by ***Vujosevic et al. (\2010b)*** to explain the behaviour of Serbian authorities in transition characterized by empty signifiers, unclear planning, confused strategies and an overall failure to understand what is at play in the local context.

Instead of showing rigor and determination in finding creative, strategic, locally adapted solutions, the path of development in Serbia is marked by western imports, stale dogmas and over-represented international influence. However unlikely, this attitude also dates back to social and urban practices of the previous periods and regimes. During most times (Ottoman, the Serbian Kingdom, the communist regimes), imposition was the rule of the thumb for urban transformation *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006).* Even though importing, at least on the conceptual level, has had been continuously at play, at certain points in history locally grounded contemporary systems[50] emerged *(ibid.).*

50 For example, the local administrative commitment to planning in the Kingdom of Serbia; locally adapted and intrinsically unique world trends by distinguished local professionals (1914-1940); and interdisciplinary and participatory approaches in integrated planning process during the socialist era ***(ibid.).***

In this light, the social and urban revitalization in the 2000s from the wars of the 1990s, has been and still is encumbered with an inherited local tradition of nationalism, hierarchy, authority and parochialism coupled with consumerist and neoliberal global forces *(\Stupar 2004).* In addition, the recent rise of new-right in Europe also found its counterparts in the Serbian context. The urban quality of Serbian cities still suffers from constant waves of economic migrants from rural areas who have difficulty identifying with a modern capital, just as was the case during the first years of formation of the Serbian capital *(\Doytchinov et al. 2015).* A strong nationalistic, spatialized identity *(\Savic 2014)* also threatened the multicultural and multi-ethnic urban fusion cherished during the socialist period *(\Stupar 2004).*

These historically bounded socio-spatial patterns embody the actual urbanity of Serbian cities. As already mentioned, Serbia is under the strong influence of social, spatial and, in general, an overall policy of centralization. In this respect, the capital city of Belgrade is a condensed and depicted example of urban transitions present in Serbian cities. As of the imagination of a famous contemporary Serbian author, "Belgrade is a mill for producing the urbanite "psychological amalgam" out of the autochthnous peasant Serb from the mountains with the civilization washing over him from the northern plains" *(\\\Jankovic 1992).* Not only a capital or economic center, Belgrade is the model and the microcosm of the nation *(\\\Zivkovic 2011).*

"Za Srbiju moze vaziti jedno opste pravilo: cija vlada toga i drzava, cija vlast toga i sloboda" [In Serbia there is a rule of thumb: Those who govern rule the freedom]

Dubravka Stojanovic, a well known Serbian historian, cited with these words an anonymous MP during the period of the Kingdom of Serbia

(Stojanovic 2010a)

4.1.2.1 Belgrade - a City in Constant Transition

consecutive times of construction & destruction ;

The city of Belgrade has had a fixed location in the northwestern part of the Balkan Peninsula and Southeastern Europe for centuries. It was built at the borderline of two large geographical areas, where the Pannonian Plain meets the Balkans. It overlooks the confluence of the Danube and the Sava rivers and spreads along their banks to the north, south, east and west. The first traces of its existence date back to around 5000 BC, from the Vinca culture that developed nearby. The Celtic settlement of Singhidunum, Belograd was mentioned in the Papa Iohannes letters in the 9th century, Alba Graeca, Alba Bulgarica, Nandor Alba, Griechisch Weissenburg, and Castelbianco are the variety of names used for the city, depending on its current ruler, up until the 19th century when the current name of the modern Serbian capital - Belgrade was adopted.

From the time that the Roman empire split, and even more so during Ottoman rule, the city was the crossroads between the East and the West. Comparably, its contemporary location is the junction of two pan-European transport corridors (Corridor VII from Romania to Germany, and Corridor X from Greece to Austria and Germany). As a node of regional importance, Belgrade also belongs to the category MEGA 4 of the European areas of growth and development.

Its extraordinary location has made Belgrade suffer from continuous invasions and consequent waves of destruction and rebuilding. In the course of its history, Belgrade has been heavily destroyed and rebuilt forty times, bearing in mind that it was the only European capital to be bombed at the end of 20th century *(\Samardzic 2015).* Therefore, it is hard to speak about the city of Belgrade in historical terms as there are several dozen consecutive Belgrades fading and reappearing over time *(\Grozdanic 2008).*

[FIGURE 8] Belgrade - the position of the Serbian capital

Belgrade has been the historical capital of Serbia since the constitution of the Serbian nation state in the 19th century (1867) **[Figure 8:209]**. Its geographical position has always been close to its national borders, a location easy to reach and occupy *(\Heppner 2015).* Nonetheless, it was also the capital of Yugoslavia, throughout that countrys existence, as well as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1947), the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945- 1992), the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992-2003), and the capital of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (2003-2006), before the final split and the re-establishment of the Republic of Serbia (2006-). After the period of the national revolution, abrupt shifts in its status and field of influence[51] complicated its ideological, political and cultural articulation in local terms and towards national and global discourses.

51 From the 19th century onward, Belgrade was at first the capital of a small nation-state, then the capital of a large federation and afterwards the capital of an ever declining territory, finishing finally as a nation-state capital once again ***(\Hirt 2009)***

Equally in historical terms, there have been only three periods of peaceful and prosperous urban transitions:

- When Ottoman garrisons left the city and before the outbreak of WWI (1867-1914)
- The period between the two World Wars (1918-1941)
- The period of Yugoslav self-managed socialism (1941-1991)

Even during the periods of conflict, the number of Belgrades inhabitants constantly rose. When the Serbian principality gained control over the city, it was rather an Ottoman dorp (kasaba) with 27,000 inhabitants. Before WWI, the population rose to 90,000 (1910) and reached more than 300,000 at the brink of WWII. During the Yugoslav period the population almost tripled (from 397,911 in 1948. to 1,133,146 in 1991).

Its metropolitan area has been expanding accordingly, but at a different pace and rate than population growth. Namely, low urbanization has been caused by the agrarian societal basis and, consequently, the poor industrialization during the first years the capital was a nation-state. Low-rise, low quality, often illegally built residential areas were at the core of Belgrades urban expansion at those times. Belgrade has been densifying, expanding and settling down the layers of spiritual and material heritage, with various human factors directing its urban transitions.

Urban culture and city form are an expression of social and spatial continuity as well as of destruction and discontinuity (Grozdanic 2008). In the case of Belgrade, the Roman fortress and initial street grid are still recognizable in the central area of the city. The foundation of Belgrades landmark Kalemegdan Fortress dates back to the Roman period, but it also maintains traces of a medieval town within the walls during the Serbian medieval state. However, in this research the historical development of Belgrade is described within an extended discourse of urbanity through:

1. Ottoman Belgrade (1521-1804)
2. The capital of the kingdom state (1804-1941)
3. The socialist city (1945-1991)
4. Post-communist urban path (after 1991)

Ottoman Belgrade

borderline city;
organic street network;

During the Ottoman rule of the Balkan peninsula, Belgrade paid a toll for its borderline position during the ceaseless Austro-Ottoman wars. The city frequently passed from Ottoman to Habsburg rule, yet it kept the overall flavour of an Ottoman border town with its urban structure of an Oriental city *(\Hirt 2009).* According to statistics, the city population did not surpass 25,000 during this period.

Even though the Habsburgs occupied Belgrade several times (1688-1690, 1717-1739, 1789-1791), the city received some of the basic features of European urban patterns only during their longest rule between 1718 and 1739 *(\Samardzic 2015).* Strict Austro-Hungarian administration also imposed urban regulations in terms of the equal plot sizes, street patterns and building shapes with necessary facilities and nu-

merous ornaments of the then-popular European architectural styles *(\Kadijevic 2007; \\\Mladjenovic 2010).* The Habsburgs also introduced focal public spaces into the settlement structure with important civic and community buildings built around it *(ibid.).*

The city was continuously rebuilt under Islamic principles, with a central street [čarsija] and organic street network, mosques [džamija], and market places [bazar]) every time it passed back under Ottoman jurisdiction. Yet Brush's map from 1789 reveals great mixture of both the Ottoman and Habsburg urban matrix - an overlapping of narrow, curved streets with several parts with the straight street grid and the Great Oriental Market located in the central square of the city *(\Roter Blagojevic 2015).* At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, most sources confirm that the city was a rather a small, ruined and neglected Ottoman fortification with civilian neighbourhoods suffocating under an uneven, congested and unhygienic urban structure, while the rare, sporadic Christian neighbourhoods were scattered around and immersed in the suburban landscape *(ibid.).* Yet in the end, the city that the Ottomans left behind after the symbolic "city key delivery" in 1867 was actually a hybrid Oriental-Occidental city *(\Blagojevic 2009).*

Belgrade (1804-1940)

Ottoman and Serbian Belgrade; Emilijan Josimovic ; 1896 Belgrade Building Law; 1812 Master Plan of Belgrade (Alban Chambon); General Plan 1923; sluggish adaptations, imported innovation & backward practices;

The first record of Belgrades population at this time is from 1838. There were 8,483 Christians, 2,700 Muslims, 1,500 Jews and 250 foreigners, in total 2,963 people. This record dates back to the times between the enactment of the Turkish Law (Hatisherif) in 1830, which institutionalized Belgrade as the seat of both the Serbian and Turkish administrations, and the official establishment of Belgrade as the capital of the Ottoman vassal state of Serbia (1841).[52] In the time span before the city evolved into the capital, the spatial concept and the building construction patterns still followed vernacular Ottoman traditions *(\Roter Blagojevic 2015).*

When Serbs gained limited authority over the city (rather a town at that time), they addressed their construction efforts more toward European-like architectural design than toward planning. The town was divided into three parts: (1) the town encircled by the Moat with a predominantly Muslim population and minorities (Jews), (2) the Fortress with the Turkish garrison and village-suburbs outside the Moat populated by Christians *(\Blagojevic 2009).* The Turkish Plan of Belgrade made in 1863 actually legitimizes the religion-based population division *(\Roter Blagojevic 2015).*

52 In 1841. Prince Mihailo Obrenovic moved the capital from the city of Kragujevac to Belgrade.

The growing interference by the Serbian side in city administration and management resulted in these individual, chiefly civic buildings, newly built and decorated in various historical styles, which stood for a strengthening Serbian national identity and its obvious yearning to join the broader context of European civilizations *(\Hirt 2009).* In this respect, the yawning gap between the Oriental and Serbian (more European-like)[53] part of the town, in terms of urban matrix, structure, and even urban culture, was obvious even before Belgrade became the capital of the Serbian principality.

53 The very first urban planning efforts were oriented towards the outer city development of Christian/Serbian neighbourhoods, for example on the river port and outside the Moat. ***(\ Blagojevic 2009)***

Therefore, even before the official takeover of the city from Ottomans, the new Serbian capital had asserted itself as the supreme national administrative, economic

and cultural center. The period of Serbian state construction was also the period of shaping the European identity of its capital city and the gradual application of European planning ideals therein.[54] The year of the official departure of the Ottoman administration and military from Belgrade (1867) coincided with the date of the very first attempt at a General Urban plan of the city.

The necessity to have an urban plan that regulated the development of the capital city originated from Prince Mihailo Obrenovics vision of putting Serbia in the cultural and social league of other Central and West European countries. A detailed geodetic survey of Belgrades soil was undertaken by Emilian Josimovic himself in 1864. A mathematician by education and an engineer by profession, the plan he prepared in 1867 was labeled as the Regulatory Very technical in its approach and with significant practically oriented data, this plan corresponded to what today is a combination of a general and master plan, a plan of an implementation or feasibility study.[55] Josimovics plan envisioned re-unification of the two parts (the free Serbian city and the Ottoman fortress) clearly separated within the previous Ottoman plan from 1963. The plan can be considered to be in line with the essentials of the European planning paradigm of the period.[56]

An eminent local architectural theorist and urban historian *(\Blagojevic 2009),* states that with the proposition of an idiosyncratic urban structure, Josimovic's model goes beyond simply reproducing European models. He insisted on a network of open and free green areas (parks and town wreaths) created for the sole purpose of circulation, recreation and leisure to all its citizens. *(\Blagojevic 2009)* argues that by emphasizing these new public and social spaces, Josimovic was actually praising the liberated 19th century Serbia. In opposition, it is generally accepted within Serbian urban planning discourse that Josimovics plan rid the city of its former identity.

Josimovic pioneered a long-lasting paradigm of de-Ottomanization (or de-Orientalization) and Europeanization that was first imposed upon Belgrade, then on other cities in Serbia and finally on the whole society. Establishing an official policy of destroying the Ottoman urban legacy and traditional urban structures originating from the 16th century, the General Urban Plan of 1867 stripped Belgrade of segments of its collective memory and left it susceptible to "tabula rasa" approaches in solving urban conflicts. This may be the harshest criticism made by its opponents *(\Roter Blagojevic 2015).* A group of authors argue that Josimovic instituted a paradigm of uncompromising radicalism which has nurtured generations of urban professionals in Serbia *(ibid.).*

In practice, the General Urban Plan of 1867 was coupled with the Law on Regulation of the Town of Belgrade. However, both the plan and the law were rejected in Parliament under politically biased circumstances.[57] The parliamentary decision was also a relief for Belgrade Municipality authorities and its administration as they technically lacked the skills to accomplish the demanding reconstructions proposed by the plan. It appears that the multiple urban stakeholders of the time hailed the prolongation of the status quo, so that any further urban regulations did not have an appropriate legal basis *(ibid.).* It was therefore no surprise that the town still greatly

54 Introduction of squares and plazas in the urban matrix, building ornamental fountains and placing sculptures glorifying national heroes on horseback were among the indices of European urban design trends to date ***(\Hirt 2009).***

55 The plan contained many numeric data and comparative tables; proposals for implementation with procedures and responsible institutions, dynamics of works, principles for calculations of value of land and cost of regularisation ***(\Blagojevic 2009)***

56 Application of the ring zone

57 Land and property owners at those times were influential enough to lobby against the law as they were reluctant to accept any changes that would threaten their premises.

expanded beyond control, but mostly in terms of low quality illegal construction in the suburban areas *(ibid.)*.

In 1896, the Belgrade Building Law was adopted (with amendments in 1898 and 1901) and from 1897 onward, the Building Code for the Town of Belgrade 69 regulated all issues relating to construction in various town zones. By the end of the century, two more urban plans were proposed - Stevan Zarics (1878) and Jovan Beslics (1893) plans - and the Construction law for the city of Belgrade was adopted in 1896. These urban plans tended to build on Joksimovics plan and to continue with his trends toward European modernization. However, with the gradual abandonment of the core innovation of Joksimovics plan - the idiosyncratic idea for a network of urban parks and town wreaths these plans showed more of a copying of western models than a fine tuning of the traditional and modern within the boundaries of the newly established country and its rising capital *(\Blagojevic 2009)*. In fact, the adopted law (1896) was not at all modernizing, but served to legitimize the systems and interests at play. This was a populist compromise to leave the state of affairs as it was, with no sanctions for not abiding with the law and where the corrupted judiciary failed to apply the laws in practice *(\Stojanovic 2015)*.

The regime change[58] and the extended period of peace (more or less from 1817 to the Balkan wars that began in 1812) gave rise to social prosperity, a cultural upswing and a stabilized institutional framework at the beginning of the 20th century. Consequently, this period brought a multiplicity and heterogeneity of urban forms, the renovation of public spaces and large-scale projects.

58 In 1903. after the military coop when both king Aleksandar Obrenovic and queen Draga Masin were executed, the Karadjordjevic dynasty was set on the Serbian throne

Coupled with military success in the Balkan wars, the overall circumstances established the very last years before WWI as the peak of Serbian social and cultural revival of the time. Instated financial mechanisms, formalized bureaucratic procedures, trained administration and improved public service facilities, brought success to several projects taken up during these years (1905-1912). Finally, the Master Plan of Belgrade of 1912 was prepared by a young Parisian engineer Alban Chambon in the typical manner of the European academic tradition of the 19th century. The plan was a symbol of the rising social potential and manifested the majestic ambition of the ruling class to be part of Europe and Europe only *(\Blagojevic 2009; \Roter Blagojevic 2015)*. Notwithstanding the authorities, local experts asked for preservation of the inherited urban pattern and local expertise. They opposed "haussmannization" of the town and the demolition of the city's heritage *(ibid., ibid.)*.

59 Monumental City design refers to orthogonal street system, distribution of urban parks, multiple long diagonal vistas and spectacular public plazas at the intersections ***(\Hirt 2009)***

The pre-war Master Plan of 1914 settled these tensions by locally framing the tradition of the Monumental City design[59] *(\Perovic 2008)*. This planning trend was influential during the first years of the new, larger state - The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The General Plan of Belgrade of 1923 was the first urban plan to be officially adopted. It was of the same nature as the Master Plan of 1914, but even more megalomaniac and with an egocentric attitude boosted by the significance of the new larger state. The expansion of the state also made the city expand territoriality toward the north to include Zemun, which had a largely Slavic population that earlier had

been ruled by the Hapsburgs. The plan targeted radical, after-war reconstruction with a dense urban fabric and medium-scale residential and mixed-use buildings. The plan was prepared by a team of exclusively foreign architects. This fact may explain why the proposed interventions actually negated Belgrades topography and its urban character *(\Grozdanic 2008; \Blagojevic 2009).* The General Regulation Plan of 1939 reflected the state affairs before WWII.

In the course of the 19th century, Belgrade paved its way as a national capital that faced Europe from the remnants of an Oriental border-town. However, the swift transformations and abrupt changes of its urban system were rather supplemented by sluggish adaptations, imported innovations and generally the maintenance of un-institutionalized practices that included a variety of nepotistic relations within decision-making structures. The urban development of Belgrade as the capital of the first Serbian nation state therefore seemed like a bouillon of doings and not-doings in the city that nevertheless eventually produced results. For example *(\Stojanovic 2015):*

• **urban transformations - sluggish adaptations**

- Partial decision making: hyper-production of solutions with a total lack of strategy and systematic approach resulted in ungrounded and nonfunctional urban projects and consequently in the doubt and reluctance to complete them.

• **urban change - imported innovation**

- Apotheosis of the western models;
- Intervention initiatives left to private individuals or funds;
- Economic and political actors and interests braced together;
- Disregard for the opinion of local experts;
- Importing grandiose, inadequate, self-glorifying ideas;

• **urban maintenance - stagnant and backward practices**

- In the lack of political will for implementation, decision-makers consistently stick to ”temporary solutions” while the costs of implementation and adjustments rise.

- Incompatibility of political ideology and the economic model at play - the politics of urban growth was thwarted by the inefficient economic model (no budgetary allocation for the capital city, the tax system was not adapted to urban environment prerogatives,[60] no incentives for urbanization and construction).

- Translation of the tradition of Ottoman nepotism into the party state: decision making in the multi-party nation state reduced to the party level.

- Party interest held supremacy over any other interest - strong liaison between the political and the urban in the partocratic state.

- Disregard for the public interest - the policy of obstruction and destruction as a party campaign.

- Reproduction and expansion of corruption mechanisms - the culture of populist measures for the party’s sake.

In general, the major question of the time was the relationship between the city and the policy, the authorities and the professionals.

60 The tax system did not stimulate construction.

"It happened that in the capital the opposition often held the power, obstructed by state authorities and the breakdown of the decision making system. When the party in power changed, it adopted new standards and was forced to dismantle all the structures established by the previous regime"

(Stojanović 2015)

Yugoslav Capital (1945-1990)

superior architectural design;
progressive trends in planning;
the essence of Belgrade's urbanity;

In SFR Yugoslavia, Belgrade became an important multinational and multi-functional metropolis. During these 50 years, the image of a dorp between the East and the West was transformed into a modernist city with a cultural scene spreading its tentacles both toward the East and the West. Belgrade was and is the symbol of Yugoslav self-managed socialism. The system reflected itself in the social layer and in the spatial structures of its capital city.

Consequently, all political and planning decisions could be traced also within transitions to the urban system happening in the Belgrade of those times.

1. Urban planning in the service of the regime (1945-1953)

Initial post-war goals were simple and straight-forward: to rebuild the war-damaged urban fabric. As with the Soviet model, the first post-war local plans were to strictly follow the orders provided in the 5-year national economic plans.

The Design of the General plan for the city of Belgrade in 1948 was the first post-war urban planning document prepared by Nikola Dobrovic, the director of the Serbian Urban planning institute. The plan primarily dealt with the transport system in order to propose a new transportation network more suitable for the expected population growth. The design of the plan was preceded by several transportation studies (for all types of transport). The design that was presented seemed radical and unrealistic and resulted not only in its rejection, but in the chief architect Professor Nikola Dobrovic being removed from his position as director of the Urban Planning Institute of Serbia and transferred to the Faculty of Architecture.

2. Professionalization of planning (1953-1963)

With this reconstruction task accomplished across a decade, the multidisciplinary teams (comprising planners, architects, engineers etc.) set to work on the construction of massive industrial complexes in order to cater to the exploding population growth *(\Hirt 2009)*. The result was the construction of New Belgrade, an urgent, gigantic mass-housing estate, built according to CIAM principles and in compliance with the Athens charter..

It may also be said that this phase actually started with The General Urban Plan of Belgrade of 1950 by Milos Somborski. The plan endorsed the urbanization of New Belgrade (Novi Beograd). However, the plan dealt not only with the expansion of the city to the left bank of the Sava river and the projects for Novi Beograd, but also proposed the reconstruction of the central zone of Belgrade *(\Grozdanic 2008).*

3. A comprehensive, integrated planning process at work (1963-1974)

The ideas and principles of comprehensive and integrated urban planning found its actualization in The General Urban Plan of Belgrade adopted in 1972. The authors, Aleksandar Djordjevic and Milutin Glavicki, by honoring the values of the

past, called for historic preservation and architectural contextualisation of Belgrades urban fabric. Moreover, they advocated for more rational use of land and the integration of central urban functions by making the final decision on the Ada Ciganlija zone and reserving it exclusively for leisure and recreation use. They also took into account that some relatively large industries were located in attractive parts of the city (e.g., in Novi Beograd) as a result of the socialist policy of prioritizing industry over other land uses and thereupon proposed more equitable distribution of new infrastructural projects and related facilities and better transport connections between urban areas *(\Hirt 2009).*

4. The pioneers of urban planning decentralization (1974-1989)

Yugoslavias continuing political decentralization and democratization in the 1970s was mainly evident through local level decision-making, successful participatory initiatives and the multiplication of projects and their implementation. In Belgrades urban fabric from the 1970s, this was reflected in the break with the severe principles of Modernism and a timid introduction of new building styles *(ibid.).*

The Modifications and Supplements/Annexes to the General Urban Plan of Belgrade up to 2000 were adopted in 1985. The author was Konstantin Kostic. The Plan did not differ much from its predecessor, but its purpose was to propose and implement more realistic solutions *(\Grozdanic 2008).*

Yugoslav urban discourse

influx of refugees; apathetic local population; blossom of illegal construction and informal businesses; NATO bombing; the city in stagnation;

Urban transitions during the self-managed socialist era were in fact interventions in the urban fabric of Belgrade that clearly broke with pre-WWII spatial and building patterns *(\Hirt 2009).* The superior quality of architectural design and progressive trends in urban planning caused those districts in Belgrade built during socialism to be globally recognized and attributed to Yugoslav socio-spatial discourse. To a certain extent, it may be stated that the modernist building style for public buildings and large housing estates were adapted to local conditions in Yugoslavia and Belgrade.

It may also be argued that the essence of Belgrades contemporary urbanity is based on the management of conflicts and resources and the production of urban practices during the SFRY period. The city had undergone constant transformations while the corresponding system of planning was evolving - from the initial phase of selective borrowing, then through a system of transformations by internal adjustments, and finally to the synthetic innovation represented in its own model of integrated, participatory planning *(\NedovicBudic and Cavric 2006).*

Post-socialist Belgrade

The post-socialist period influenced Belgrade just as it did the rest of the country, if not even more intensely. Urban Belgrade suffered a certain decline from the post-socialist transition, a sharp one at first and a questionable recovery with several periods of prosperity later on. This periodization goes along with that indicated in the country as a whole:

- The capital of the 3rd Yugoslavia in post-communist circumstances (1990s)
- The post-socialist capital in transition to markets and democracy (2000s)

The isolated metropolis of the 1990s

The political and social circumstance of the Yugoslav break-up changed the climate in the capital of the crumbling state and of the new, shrunken Yugoslavia-to-be. Under the umbrella of protecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and functional unity of the truncated state, the country was re-centralized. As a consequence, the constitutional role and the authority of the local, regional and city levels were weakened and reduced to a minimum *(\Vujosevic et al. 2015).*

In times of raging civil wars in the region, the Serbian and ex-Yugoslav capital was caught in a stagnant and even backward position. The major population increase occurred during the 1990s when refugees of Serbian origin came to Serbia from war-affected regions in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most settled in Belgrade because, in the re-centralized country in a state of economic crisis, only the capital appeared to offer much possibility for those evicted from their homes and deprived of their possessions to start a new life. The antithesis of the fascinating developments of communist Belgrade was its ideological degradation based on regional militarization, nationalization, ruralization, pauperization and, in general, a state of corruption, crime and chaos *(\Samardzic 2015).*

In times when the previous political ideology were falling apart, the necessity to produce an appealing "credo" for the imploding populous had retrograde social effects. In the 1990s, the ideology of self-managed socialism in the social realm was replaced by earlier forms of social relations, namely by traditional models, mythicizations of the nation-state and exceptionalist discourses of heroism and smallness,[61] *(\ ibid.).* Surprisingly, the actors and regulatory frameworks involved in both ideological concepts were the same. The middle class, already deprived of its economic assets and the acquainted cultural matrix, became confused and apathetic. The influx of refugees migrating from war-zones paired with extensive brain-drain also complicated the social structure of the city *(\Vanista Lazarevic 2015).*

61 There is an indication that the specific position of Serbia on the border between the East and the West has created a unique local identity as a crucial feature of geopolitical exceptionality ***(\Savic 2014).***

Excluded from the map of global cities during this nationalist regime, Belgrade experienced (1) a growth in illegal construction, (2) the naked vandalism of overbuilding and inappropriate occupation of public space, and (3) the flourishing of informal business practices, the product of a crony economy at high levels *(\Norris 2008).* At the city level, the results included a rise in crime, drug trafficking, and corruption, as well as an overall state of moral decay in local communities in general *(\Prodanovic 2004).*

During a decade of continuous crises, the physical structures in the city began to deteriorate. The refugee crisis, the lack of any official construction projects and the explosion in the number of illegally built dwellings[62] signified an extensive state of shock for the city. However, the NATO bombing in 1999 was the true peak of the crisis. The bombs brought real war over the rooftops of Belgrade and collateral civilian damage in the city. A number of buildings still bear signs of the damage, the most

62 Vast number of illegal buildings in Belgrade were homes for the upper classes and Milosevic's elites constructed and ornamented in rather lavish and kitschy styles that best represent the state of values and qualities of these "nouveau riche" profiteers of transition ***(\ Hirt 2009)***

significant one is the Building of the Yugoslav Ministry of the Defence in the central urban area of Belgrade.[63]

As a result, the picture of urban actors and urban culture of the 1990s in Belgrade was a gloomy, poor, and silenced image of stagnation. While the planning profession suffered from a major crisis of legitimacy at the state level, the local planning regime in Belgrade was also in a state of collapse. The institutional framework and planning practice in Belgrade had rather a symbolic and superficial role, or even worked as a means at hand of the politicians *(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006)*. As such, the system of urban transitions, that the city was undergoing, either happened spontaneously or it were directed from outside the valid regulatory framework.

63 The building was designed to symbolize the decisive WWII battle when partisans defeated Hitlers forces in the canyon of Sutjeska. The form of the two buildings represent the canyon itself. The designer was the famous Serbian architect Nikola Dobrovic.

4.1.2.2 Belgrade Now

rural organisational forms;
cultural capital & ethnic cosmopolitanism;
big metropolitan area;

Belgrade stepped into the 21st century in a state of prolonged emergency. The city went through a state of war under the NATO bombs in 1999. A state of emergency almost occurred again in October 2000 when the opposition took over power after the citizen revolt and mass demonstrations. And then once more in 2003 the official state of emergency was lifted after the assassination of the Serbian prime minister Zoran Djindjic. The years 2003, 2006 and 2008[64] also figure as points of discontinuation in Belgrades history as the state capital. To be brutally frank, this meant that Belgrade lost its significant Europe-wide role as a metropolis where the West and the East meet and the iron curtain is broken *(\Grozdanic 2008)*.

64 2003 was the year when Yugoslavia was officially replaced by the state union of Serbia and Montenegro. In 2006 Montenegro became an independent state. In 2008 Kosovo proclaimed independence

Respectively, the citys role as a capital of an unstable geopolitical realm has placed the city time and again in a position to rule over minorities of different nationalities and lifestyles in the more remote areas of the country (the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Yugoslavias). If for no other reason, these circumstances have strongly endangered the acceptance of Belgrade as the symbol of the state. In addition, interests have clashed in reaching a broad societal accord for the privileges it, as a capital, deserves.

In general, such circumstances suggest ethnic diversity and multicultural urban fusion. Unfortunately, Belgrade has dominated these state regions with a negligent imposition and pressurized assimilation of an overall poor rural environment, under the obsession of nationalist agendas, and in forms that have fostered ethnic misapprehensions *(\Samardzic 2015)*. Therefore, over the course of its different states, Belgrade has always been perceived as predominately the centre of Serbian-dom *(\Savic 2014; \Heppner 2015)*. In apparent retaliation, Belgrade has often been governed in such a way that its own ruling class has jeopardized its development through a current of alienated, estranged decisions *(\Samardzic 2015)*.

Its vulnerable geostrategic location, turbulent history and unsettling societal framework have made the city struggle to establish its modern identity and accordingly to defend the landscape and public interest of all its inhabitants. As a consequence, Belgrade has always been a combination of the rural in physical and organisational terms and its strong tendencies to rise to cultural and ethnic cosmopolitanism. The respect for the urban memory of the city is still present through the centrality of

its diversified cultural and historical matrix, from the center (Knez Mihajlova street) through New Belgrade to Zemun. Its unique and strongly bonded unity of historic and architectural heritage and its vibrant civic life led to having Belgrade voted as Southern European City of the Future in 2006-2007 *(\Hirt 2009)*. On the other hand, international real-estate market, which were introduced in Belgrade with the liberalization and democratization following the political changes in 2000, press for de-industrialization and the aesthetics of globalization in the capital city *(\Grozdanic 2008)*.

Regardless of its relative de-industrialization, Belgrade still employs the largest amount ofthe countrys industrial labor-force (20%) *(\Hirt 2009)*. Adding to this, the ever increasing commercialization of the urban fabric has been underway since 1989. While in the 1990s small and local retails were dominant chiefly around the city center, in the 2000s malls and hyper-markets sponsored by a combination of Western and Serbian capital began to thrive in the greenfield areas at the fringes of the central urban zone (New Belgrade) *(ibid.)*. As a sign of the cultural and real estate revival of the new political regime (2000-2004), these commercial zones as well as several interesting locations in the historical cores of Belgrade and Zemun were topics of numerous architectural competitions[65] *(\Stupar 2004)*. The goal was to put all available creative and expert forces to work on the renewal of urban culture to improve living conditions in the city and preserve the oases of nature in its urban fabric (riverbanks, parks within city blocks, green areas, urban forestry) *(\Grozdanic 2008)*. However, the issue of the inefficient transportation system and traffic congestion has been systematically neglected. In the rush to build more and quicker, the new structures revealed a subtle eclecticism of styles and scales, sometimes even tricking the regulatory rules, or were built illegally or informally. These uncontrolled and impulsive actions and faulty procedures have resulted in (1) urban expansion (over-consumption of agricultural land), (2) rampant sprawl and (3) the loss of public space. Coupled with the unresolved transition of property from the socialist period, Belgrade has been slowly growing into a spatially inefficient city on the road to suburbanization *(\Zekovic et al. 2015)*.

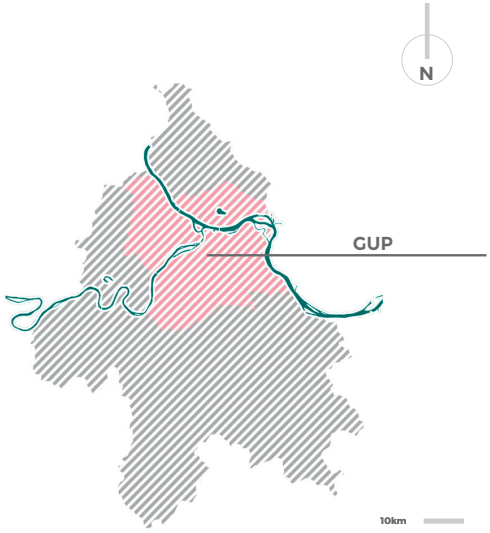
65 Architectural competitions were open for: Dorcol marina (2007), multifunctional business center "Usce", the historical core of Zemun, sport complex Tasmajdan, numerous central squares, pedestrian streets, new office blocks, affordable housing etc.

In 2002, Belgrade covered 3.6% of Serbian territory and 17.3% of Serbian population lived in its metropolitan area *(\\World Bank 2000)*. The Belgrade metropolitan area accommodates the highest share of the highly-educated population in Serbia (13.76%) *(\Vukmirovic et al. 2013)*. According to the 2011 census, the city has a population of 1,166,763. The population of the metropolitan area[66] stands at 1,659,440 people and accounts for 17 municipalities. 10 of them are classified as "urban" and 7 are "suburban" municipalities, whose centres are smaller towns **[Figure 9:221]**. In fact, the city is additionally burdened by joining the predominantly rural settlements and conglomerates of Barajevo, Grocka, Lazarevac, Mladenovac, Sopot, Surcin and Obrenovac *(\Samardzic 2015)* **[Figure 10:221]**. These changes follow the devastating legacy of the 1990s that threatened the urban culture and eroded the civic order and the value systems enstated during the socialism. Notable socio-spatial stratification with the formation of very expensive districts (the historical core and several traditionally wealthy neighborhoods) and very poor ones (near the industrial estates and in city outskirts) enlarged social divisions and collisions of interests and lifestyles *(\Hirt 2009)*.

66 The administrative area of the City of Belgrade

With an at least nominal revitalization of democratic diversity and a rising influx of global trends, Belgrade has once again become a place of striking extremes and contrasts. The spontaneous revival of civic, cultural, and artistic activities in Belgrade happened with the support and interest of international organisations and similar initiatives. Moreover, the presence of a market-oriented value system and capital prompted the lively lifestyle of the Serbian capital to transform into a famous and infamous European destination for those seeking a mischievous, casual and exciting nightlife *(\ Vanista Lazarevic 2015).* However, the rise of civilian values have been continuously threatened by non-urban tendencies, with disordered, chaotic and violent practices occurring as a result of weak, biased or completely absent institutions and regulatory frameworks. The current urban identity of Belgrade is a combination of the citys position and politics, of urban culture and traditional values, and it is full of gaps and deficiencies that determine its urban future.

Tracing the urban development of Belgrade reveals challenges and traumas both from its long history of deconstruction and reconstruction with explicit repercussions in the very recent events and the mentality of its urbanites (urban actors). The unrealistic perceptions of scarce and unorganized elites is such that the clash of Eastern and Western lifestyles and urban patterns, which are happening in Belgrade as the largest city along their border, have hindered the regularization, institutionalization and articulation of urban forms and practices *(\Samardzic 2015).* Evidently, Belgrade is still on the European periphery and has a marginal role within the European urban network *(\Vujovic and Petrovic 2007).* As a matter of fact, "more than a "global city", Belgrade is a [post-rural] conglomerate characterized by the visual, emotional, ideological and material traumas of wars, poverty, lack of efficient institutions and rule of law, a micro-culture of individual irresponsibility and incompetent development solutions." *(\Samardzic 2015).*



[FIGURE 9] Belgrade Metropolitan Area vs. GUP [General Urban Plan]

[FIGURE 10] GUP vs. Belgrade center & BWP

Urban Regulatory Framework and Practice

Accordingly, although the case of Belgrade presented a high degree of urban planning strategies and their practical implementation during the previous socialist regime, urban planning was continuously hindered by political instability, convergent socio-economic forces and inconsistent planning systems during the transitional period of the 1990s and the early 21st century. The example of the Serbian capital testifies to the fact that the country still finds itself in a post-socialist proto-democracy without the developed institutions of a representative democracy, civil society and market economy *(\Vujosevic 2010):*

- Urban planning has not been a priority *(\Sykora 1999)* and planning documentation has already been turned into symbolic documents *(\Nedovic-Budic 2001);*
- Urban transformations mainly concerned land use and changes in property ownership overwhelmed with powerful economic actors who take advantage of the undefined environment in order to protect and promote their own activities and extend their property ownership;
- The topology of powerless urban actors (ordinary citizens and the civic sector) is such that they have almost no prospects for meaningful social participation and nobody is defending their rights therein *(\Vujovic and Petrovic 2007).*
- Fragmented spatial development dominated by informality and confused eclecticism shows the characteristics of urban design bricolage rather than the purposeful stratification of socialist and post-socialist layers upon the urban fabric *(\Hirt 2009).*

These circumstances imply that decision making in urban terms is performed through negotiations between investors and local governments, where local authorities and the civic sector possess rights but not the means for exerting their power and acting as equals in the negotiation process *(\Bajec 2009).* In addition, public interest in local authority services results more from the political party hierarchical structures, interest and programmes than from legal binds and legitimate goals *(\Djokic and Nikezic 2007).* Uncontrolled, chaotic and often illegitimate development paths eventually lead to the deconstruction of urbanity *(\Vujovic and Petrovic 2007)* In such an environment, the path dependency in the tradition of urban planning in Belgrade is further halted and hinders the effective management of local urban issues *(\Nedovic-Budic 2001).* Complex institutional legacies influence the behaviour of all urban actors, an imposition of the neoliberal model restricts the flexibility of social patterns and networks and a prevailing chaos of traditions and models, rights and interests reduce the capacity to examine alternative modes for urban development in transition, apart from replications of the western paradigm and corresponding approaches *(\Tsenkova 2007; \Petrovic 2009).*

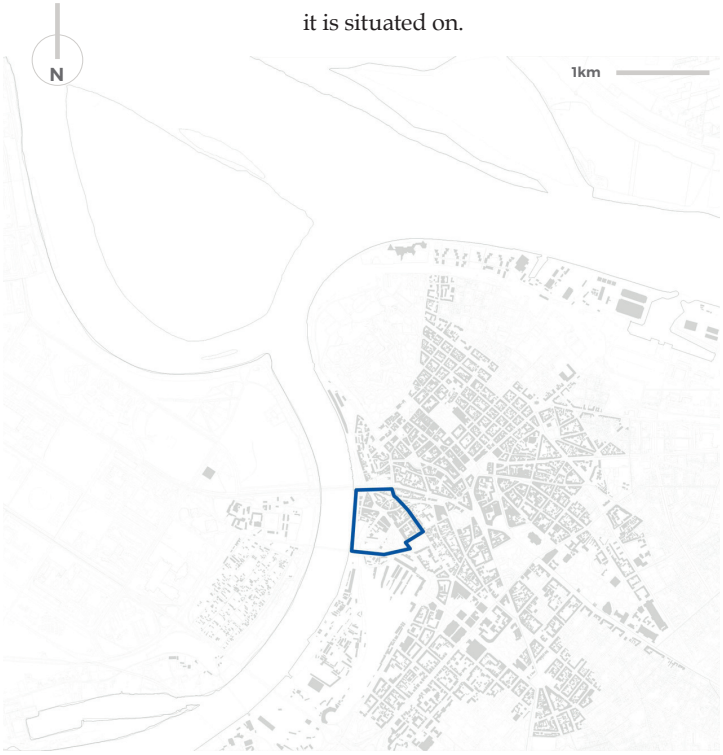
"Belgrade is
a rare city at the
confluence of two
big rivers which
also represent a
synthesis of several
world metropolis."

Alberto Moravia

4.1.3 Savamala

venue of plausibe collisions and history;
condensed case of its urban development in Serbia;
long history

Savamala is a neighbourhood of Belgrade's central zone. It is situated on the southern bank of the Sava River in the old part of Belgrade [Figure 11:224]. According to the 2002 Census, the neighbourhood had 4,500 inhabitants at that time (\\\2002 Census). The neighbourhood of Savamala is rather a place on the mental map of Belgrade and an important landmark of the city, than an official administrative unit [Figure 8:209]. Its name means "Sava neighbourhood", and it is derived from the Turkish word for neighbourhood "mahala", combined with the name of the river whose bank it is situated on.



[FIGURE 11] Belgrade center & Savamala

The first official mention of Savamala was around 200 years ago after the resolution of city authorities to spread urban structures to the river in order to set forward its urban development. But the World Wars, authoritarian rule and the current economic crisis have left their marks. Savamala is now a traffic bottleneck with intense pollution and urban noise. For decades its existing spatial conflicts and socially disadvantaged population have been neglected by both the authorities and professionals (\\\\Kamenzid 2013). Before the spin-off of cultural organisations, activities, and conversions of old neglected houses to trendy cafs and restaurants in the neighbourhood, Savamala had a reputation as a home to outcasts, prostitution and criminality.

During all these years Savamala has been a venue with a plausible collision (traditional/modern; past/present) rich in tradition, history and heritage. Its physical layout can be described as:

1. an appealing location almost in a geometrical centre of the physical layout of the city of Belgrade now,

2. an attractive but deteriorating neighbourhood with irrevocable potential for renovations and refurbishments,

3. an area within the walking distance from the city centre but still aloof from its ever-growing hustle and bustle.

In a nutshell, this neighbourhood is a scaled example of the pre-socialist material legacy, socialist cultural and societal matric, a transitional reality and a condensed case of multi-faceted circumstances of post-socialist urban development [Chart 5:226]:

• The pre-socialist past marks its presence in Savamala through architectural and cultural heritage;

• The cultural and behavioural patterns from the Yugoslavian socialist regime;

• Post socialist backtracking;

• Transition prospects in terms of its potential to become an attractive urban area for investments according to the recently established economic constellation.

All these circumstances bring to light that Savamala has kept its shape over time, but that various social conditions have influenced its development. Namely, four crucial political periods have left their marks on Savamala: (1) pre-socialist, (2) socialist, (3) post-socialist and (4) transitional. All cultural and architectural heritage dates back to the pre-socialist period when Savamala was promoted as a major trade and artisanal area and a communication hub with the bus and train station in its proximity. Noise and pollution have been caused by its role as a passageway for heavy transit introduced during socialism. Therefore, we could summarize its life-cycle as follows:

• *Pre-socialist period:* an amorphous urban form of the neighbourhood, a recognizable cultural and architectural identity;

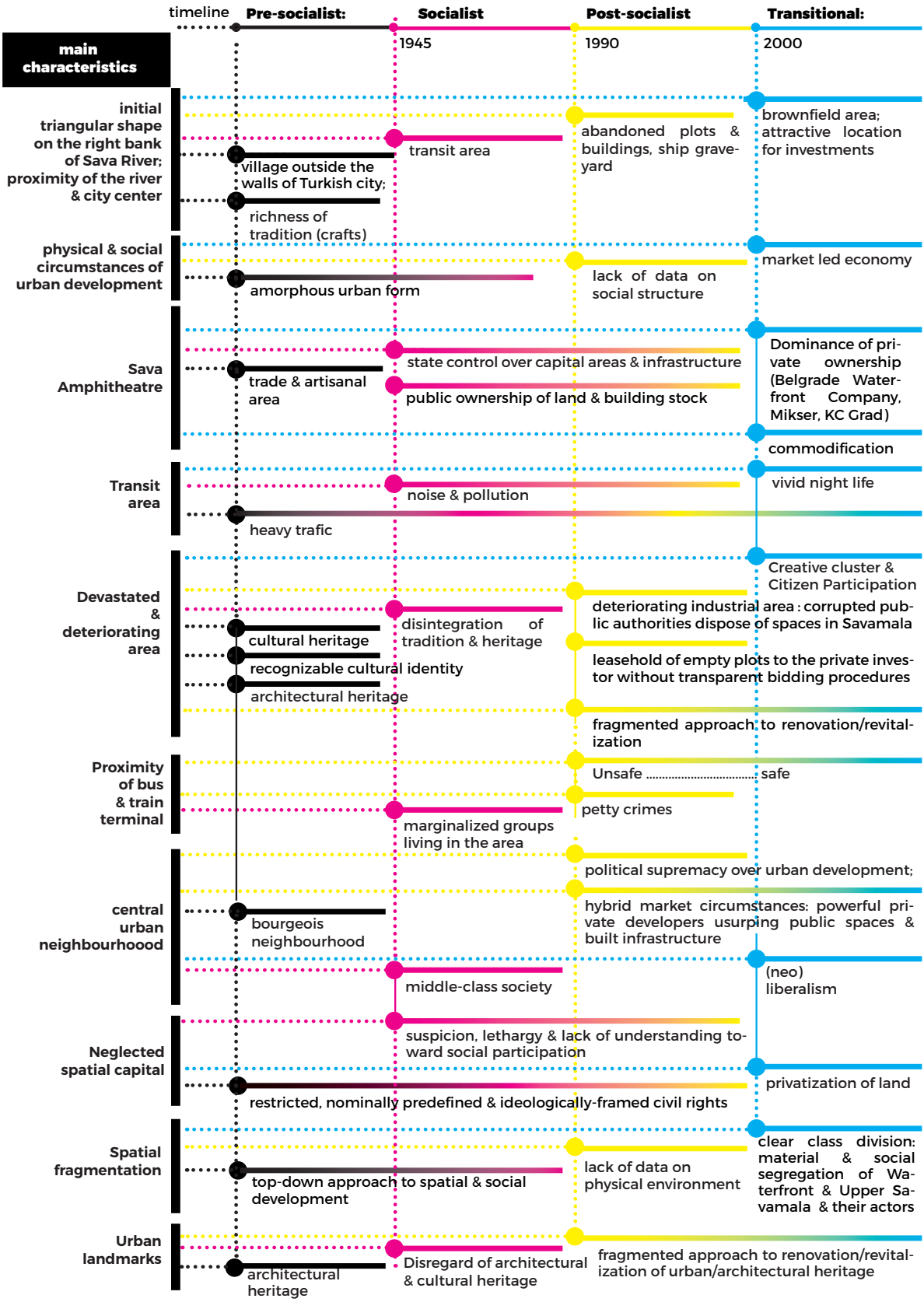
• *Socialist period:* disintegration of tradition and heritage, middle-class society and marginalized groups living in the area;

• *Post-socialist period:* lack of data on social structure, deteriorating industrial area and abandoned buildings, and leasehold of empty plots to private investors without transparent bidding procedures;

• *Transitional period:* market-led economy, dominance of private ownership, vivid night life, creative cluster and limited citizen participation governed by non-governmental sector, and, last but not least, the start of a huge redevelopment project initiated by a foreign investor.

The chart 5 on the next page [Chart 5:226] is a table that summarizes all different characteristics of historical periods (columns) and their interference with main characteristics of Savamala context nowadays. Columns and rows are marked with dotted lines. Different periods are assigned different colours and the colour gradients filling horizontal lines indicate that certain characteristics spread through multiple periods. The circles mark when they approximately started to appear in Serbia/Belgrade and thereafter in parts of Savamala. Continuous vertical lines indicate linkages between certain circumstances. The rows represent the main spatial and social characteristics of Savamala identified according to its historical spatio-social development. Crossing these data (timeline with socio-spatial circumstances) indicate the influence of previous historical periods on current state of affairs in Savamala.

However, the symbol of Savamalas early existence are the underground passages and dungeons. These passages are part of the pre-Ottoman history of Belgrade, but they have served several other purposes over the course of the years, for example as wine cellars or large refrigerators. During World War II, Jewish families used them to hide or escape from the Germans.



[CHART 5] Savamala space-time translation

Ottomans

Venice Pond

Ottoman Belgrade had as many as 25,000 inhabitants before the Serbian authorities gradually took over the rule of the city. It was populated by Ottoman garrisons, Turks, Greeks, Vlachs, and Jews. After the 1804 uprising, the Serbian minority settled down around the town gate and the church at Kosancicev Venac *(\Roter Blagojevic 2015).* Savamala terrain was a marshy land usually flooded in spring and known as the Venice Pond. It was mostly uninhabited or temporarily settled by gypsies. During the Habsburg rule in the early 18th century, the Austrian authorities built the first neighbourhood on Savamala land, the New Lower Town, but it was destroyed during the Ottoman conquest in 1737. The only permanent settlement emerged in the early 19th century along Karadjordjeva Street, around the Little Market and on the slopes above the flooded area. It was inhabited mostly by Christians.

The Serbian State

Prince Milos inhabited Savamala;
Sava port;
heart of commerce & services;
train station;

After the successful political deal that followed the Second Serbian Uprising (1815), Prince Milos was granted the Savamala land by the Grand Vizier of Belgrade. As he wanted to keep himself away from Ottoman eyes, he positioned himself in Topcider and allowed for the Savamala territory to be freely settled. This new suburb developed quickly above the marshy terrain, but was initially inhabited by gypsies and the poor. Prince Milos had a strategy to raise an economically powerful Serbian Belgrade around the Turkish settlement *(\\\Krusche and Klaus 2015).* The port in Savamala and its docks were the main trade point and the only connection with the city of Zemun and the European neighbors *(\Roter Blagojevic 2015).* The prince planned to develop a new mercantile district on the Sava slopes around the port.

Karadjordjeva street was the first road built along the Sava by the engineer Zujovic in 1828. However, Savamalska (Gavrila Principa) and Abadzijska (Kraljice Natalije) were the first straight, wide traffic corridors in Belgrade. All Serbian merchants and craftsmen were intended to be settled in modern, new houses along these streets *(ibid.).* Consequently the Savamala poor were evicted to Palilula. In realty this new city commercial center was begotten by the act of the Prince to forcibly move tailors [abadzije] here. In 1842 the Serbian capital was moved from Kragujevac to Belgrade *(ibid.).* Therefore these streets represente Prince Miloss urban visions for the future capital of the future Serbian state *(ibid.).* They were also part of the Janke's urban plan for the development of the outer city in the 1830s *(\Blagojevic 2009).*

As merchants started settling in Savamala with their families and their commercial premises, the Little Market commercial area was the heart of Savamala. Little Market stood approximately where the roundabout in front of the Belgrade Cooperative and Hotel Bristol is now. The construction of the Belgrade Cooperative was financed by the famous merchant and humanist Luka Celovic. It was build in 1907 in the academic style by the architects Andra Stevanovic and Nikola Nestorovic. It was the seat of the Belgrade financial institution for traders, craftsmen and clerks. After WWII the building became the seat of the Geodetic authority. It is a prime example of

Belgrade classical architecture, but it underwent serious degradation during the 1990s. The Bristol Hotel was build in 1911. It was also financed by Luka Celovic with the support of the brothers Krsmanovici and designed by Nikola Nestorovic. Placed next to the older and significantly smaller Hotel Bosna, the Bristol became the best hotel in the city and kept this title for a long period of time. Other examples of secession architecture were the home of Luke Celovic-Trebinjac (1903) and the house of Vuca (1908).

The house of the Greek Manojlo Manak was built in 1830 and is today a great and rare example of the Balkan style of architecture in the area during the 19th century. It is located at Gavrila Principa 5. However, the very first official building to be built was the old customs office (Đumurkana). It was erected in 1835 and designed in European classical style by Hadzi Nikola Zivkovic under the guide of Franz Janke *(\Blagojevic 2009)*. It stood on the land where KC Grad is now. Djumurkana served various purposes, as the first theatre show was also performed there in 1841. In 1937, other modern buildings appeared: the Prince's Palace,[67] the Country Court and the Great Breweries. Further development of the neighbourhood was enabled when a drainage programme was put in place in 1867. The Sava riverbank was linked to the city center by the "Big Stairs", ordered and invested in by Prince Mihajlo, Prince Miloss successor. Consequently, Savamala extended along Sarajevo Street (now Gavrila Principa Street) in the 1870s *(\\\Krusche and Klaus 2015)*. The railway station was built in 1884 and designed by Viennese architect von Flattich. At that time, it was understood to be part of Savamala, which now might not be the case, according to our surveys ***(Questionnaire C2; Questionnaire C4; Questionnaire C5)***.

67 Miloss Hamam is the only part of his mansion that is left in Savamala. However, it is now outside what we consider Savamala. It is set on Admirala Geprata street and parts of it can be seen within the interior of the restaurant Monument.

At the end of 19th century Savamala was the financial and trade center of the kingdom and the merchants who settled there wanted to build proper mansions. It is also important to note that cafés were always an important part of the identity of Savamala *(\\\\Nusic 2013)*. A living memory from this period is a candy shop on Gavrila Principa Street that has hitherto kept its interior style and business model.

After WWI, the most important construction venture was building the bridge over the Sava in order to connect Belgrade with Zemun (1931-34). The bridge was also the symbol of bonding with the newly extended territory of the state and it brought a new lifeblood to Savamala. Namely, the neighbourhood experienced a construction boom during this period. Unfortunately, the German bombardment in 1941 and even more the American air raids in 1944 razed the Savamala area to the ground.

SFRY - socialist regime

Yugoslav River Shipping; transportation hub; deteriorating industrial & transit area;

Immediately after WWII, the Savamala docks had an important role for naval transport. Therefore, dock workers became the first post-war citizens of Savamala. They had their own hostel, restaurant, cinema, and even a monument. However, in 1961 a new Belgrade port was built on the Danube and the social and material structure of the neighbourhood changed. The ships, warehouses and the workers vanished. Savamala became even less than a regular Belgrade neighbourhood; during socialist rule Savamala was disregarded as a legacy of the capitalist era. The seat of the Yugoslav River Shipping company was in the area. The Tito Shipyard, where most of the

leading freight river boats were designed and constructed, was also located nearby on the Sava river *(\\\\Markovic 2013).*

The significant functional change came with the construction of citys central bus terminal next to the railway station. For lack of a ring road for heavy traffic to bypass the city and for the needs of the traffic hubs located in Savamala, the area was turned into a transit roadway surrounded by corresponding building stock (warehouses and manufacturing houses). Despite these signs of an old and dirty urban neighbourhood, Savamala still kept a part of its residential and commerce nature. A symbol of the old-fashioned socialist approach to services and catering is the old bakery Crvena Zvezda that still stands in Karadjordjeva street.

Post-socialism - 1990s

ship graveyard;
stagnation,
war migrations,
grey economy;

The 1990s left its mark on Savamala as well. The physical structures in the neighbourhood kept deteriorating during these years. As an example, instead of the busy docks, the Savamala riverbank became a ship graveyard. A few famous ships from WWI and WWII were located here until recently when they were secretly removed for the purposes of the Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP).

The steam freighter Zupa had been a Hungarian naval ship in WWI and it was again used in WWII by the Soviet troops. Zupa was under state protection as a cultural heritage of extraordinary value. The SIP concrete ship was a cargo ship from WWII. It was used as a home for refugees until it half-submerged in the water. There are no records of how it arrived in Savamala. Krajina was King Alexander I Karadjordjevics naval residence, and later used by Tito until his death in 1980. Because of its outstanding design, the ship was used for movie setting purposes until it caught fire and was heavily destroyed on one such occasion.

On the other hand, the social structure of Savamala was marked by stagnation, war migrations and the grey economy. Apart from other landmarks of Savamala, the proximity of the bus terminal determined the social and business model of the neighbourhood at the time. The emergence of small service and trade businesses for lower classes who used the public city and regional transportation and the grey economy meeting points were the major activity generators in the area.

Transition - after 2000

privatization;
cultural hub

After the major political shift in the year 2000, the attractive location of this neighbourhood was put at risk to become a playground of interest for corrupted public authorities and powerful private developers working together under the guise of urban development and economic prosperity. Despite a change in ownership, Savamala was saved for a time from this newest development trend, mostly because of its long-term decay that made it a complicated case for the limited investments with short-term turnovers that dominated in Serbia. In this respect, during the first transitional years only cafes, restaurants, clubs and several galleries chose to profit from the central location of the neighbourhood and its low-rent properties and they invested in setting

up their small scale businesses there. However, the situation has recently changed as powerful international investors found a counterpart in Serbian authorities on various levels to jointly use their economic and political dominance to gain control over a highly profitable waterfront area of the capital city *(\Zekovic et al. 2015; \Zekovic et al. 2016).*

Savamala is a typical East-European neighbourhood caught in post-communist processes of economic and political change in Balkan transitional countries. In these circumstances, such cityscapes cannot resist copying urban models from the West, but meet extraordinary difficulties in doing so, because these cities lack the institutional and cultural infrastructure essential for the functional unity present in western cities *(\Petrovic 2009).* Savamala is a unique area in Serbia with such a plausible collision between traditional and modern and past and present, rich in tradition, history and heritage. Therefore, Savamala, with its even more intensive top-down and bottom-up pressures, is a representative testing environment.

Contextual circumstances of Savamala's Urbanity

When addressing the urbanity of Serbian cities, mainly its capital city and particularly Savamala, the goal is to affirm the deposition of temporal layers and to establish continuity in the process of urban system transitions *(\Grozdanic 2008).* In the course of history, it has been conspicuous that in this context the state has not hitherto managed to solidify the main pillars of a coherent pipeline of socio-economic progress and an adequate legal, institutional and educational framework in order to ensure the stability and sustainability of the whole system. Even during periods when the standard of living increased and the national economy seemed partly revived, the socio-political system showed mere traces of surface decentralization and democratization. In general, Serbian society remained heavily dependent on international relations, worldwide economic circumstances and regional political movements, usually only a passive recipient of what is happening on the global scale.

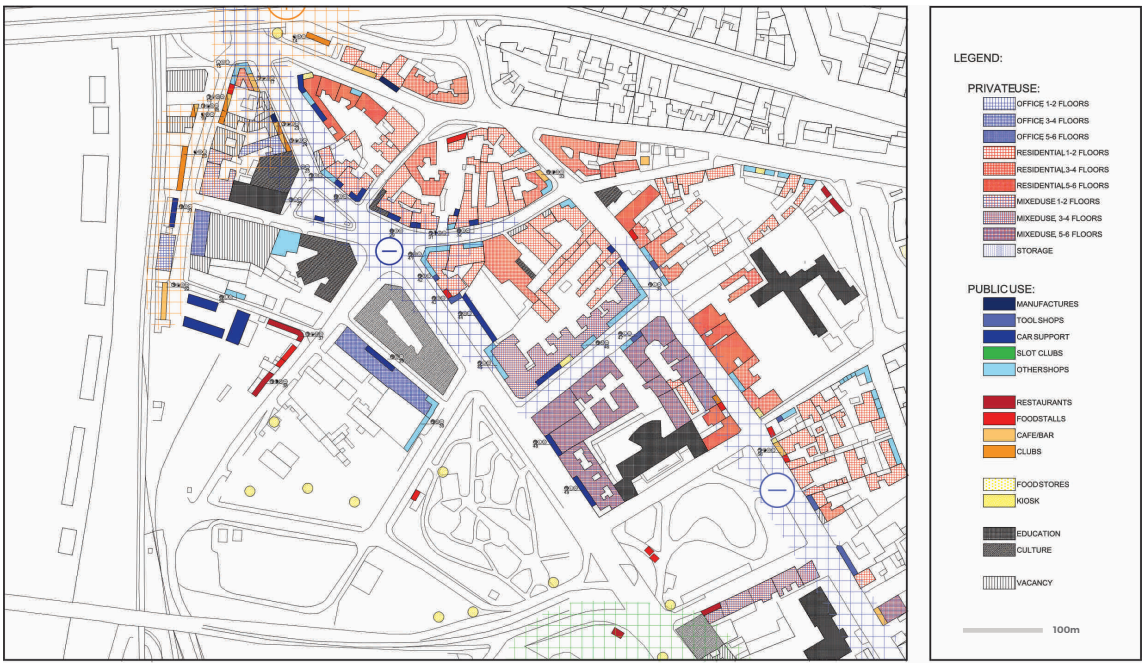
The major characteristics of chaotic urban development patterns in Serbia are:

- a multitude of actors **[Figure 12:232]**,
- various economic and political interests,
- fragmented spatial transformations.

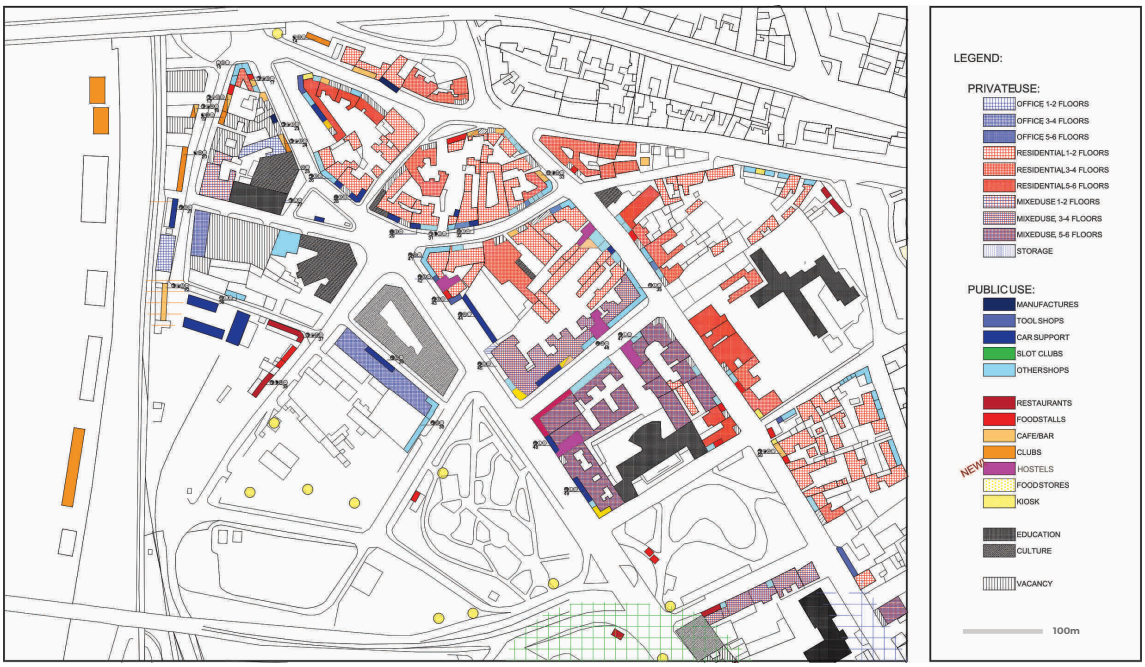
Therefore, the socio-spatial patterns of urban system transitions at the neighbourhood level are still only the product of the variety of top-down interventions from the regulatory framework, the exertion of local power poles and the interests and influences from international and foreign bodies. In order for these actions to harmonize the consequent urban system transitions, they should (a) be embedded in a particular social context, (b) be reactive to the shifts in local socio-economic, political and cultural settings and (c) be attentive to bottom-up tendencies and needs. Namely, the urbanity category referred to herein is the congregation of the past that has led to the particular state of tensions between urban life and the urban structure, while the superposition of the current state of urban decision-making has brought about the prospects for the evolution of the system.

"As a result, the area's old inhabitants were summarily evicted to Palilula and their fragile homes flattened overnight by the Prince's men"

(Krusche and Klaus 2015).



[FIGURE 12]Savamala distribution of urban functions in 2012
(source: Bureau Savamala - IK)



[FIGURE 13] Savamala distribution of urban functions in 2014
(source: Bureau Savamala - IK)

4.2 Stimulants and deterrents of the urban decision-making tradition at the neighbourhood level

As was described in the previous section, Serbian society as a whole is undergoing a period of radical and swift shifts in terms of: (a) the political system, (b) the economic order, (c) the social model, (d) ideological postulates, and (e) cultural patterns *(\Petrovic 2009)*. Belgrade, its capital city, is thereafter a representative environment of the diversity and reciprocity in the nature of on-going transformations: political, economic, social and spatial. While some trends and directions within these transformations are clear and defined, uncertainty dominates decision-making and implementation in the turbulent environment of the post-socialist urban system transition *(\Nedovic-Budic 2001)*.

In the course of these events, the Savamala neighbourhood has become a condensed example of overlappings, collisions and linkages of different layers of decision making. In Savamala, the dynamic adjustments of the socio-spatial patterns depend on (a) the relations between top-down impositions of urban frameworks, (b) national and supra national regulatory mechanisms, (c) flows of international capital, (d) local real estate arrangements, (e) global cultural trends, and (f) bottom-up civic arrangements.

The purpose of the Savamala case study in this research project is to establish a context for the description and mapping of socio-spatial patterns and the corresponding urban system transitions. The post-socialist path of dependency and transitional prospects limited to the neighbourhood level is the chosen context for testing a new, MAS-ANT methodological approach *(\Yin 2009)*. Therefore, Savamala in its emphasized and vulgarized complexity and dynamics is a viable choice for accurately describing and illustrating:

- top-down urban frameworks;
- interest based real-estate transformations:
- bottom-up participatory activities.

Thus, based on the conceptual framework of this research project and empirical data from the context, the process of urban decision-making is broken down into these three levels of strategizing and operationalizations for directing urban system transitions.

4.2.1 Top-down management of urban issues

national - city - local levels;
policy agendas;
legal framework;
technical documentation;
public administration;
urban planning authorities;

Spatial planning is an interdisciplinary field and an activity that aspires to manage systematizations, implementations, monitoring and evaluations of a growing number of urban issues *(\Fisher 2001)*. Its urban regulatory framework operationalizes the procedures of setting up strategies and action plans for development that achieve common viewpoints, goals and priorities within a bounded territory, an urban environment (i.e. a city) in the case of urban planning. Urban planning is an

essential part of the public domain of contemporary cities, it is deeply embedded in its concrete societal context. The societal context is a territorially bounded system with its unique identity formed from its social relations: the political (regime, bureaucracy, governance), the economic (market), and the cultural (trends, values) *(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006).* Having said that an urban planning system reflects the identity of its immediate surroundings *(\Stojkov and Dobricic 2012),* all the historically condensed negative effects and anomalies of post-socialist and transitional urbanity must be taken in consideration within the urban regulatory framework.

A detailed analysis of the urban regulatory framework at work in Savamala requires addressing the scale of its influence and the nature of its agency. Based on the conceptual framework of this research and the empirical data, the agents of the urban regulatory framework are generally divided into (1) urban records and (2) urban institutions and they are all active on roughly four different levels: the international, national-state, regional-city, local-municipality. Urban records refer to either (1a) legal documents, or (1b) policy agendas or (1c) technical documentation, while urban institutions are either (2a) public administration or (2b) urban planning authorities. The hierarchical structure of the urban planning framework in Serbia determines the management of urban issues in a top-down manner first in Belgrade and then in Savamala. The structuralization of the collected data follow the scale supremacy within the hierarchic agency at work in Savamala, starting from the international level of urban records and finishing with the city level of urban planning authorities.

68 In 2007 Serbia initiated a a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the European Union. Serbia officially applied for EU membership in 2009 and in 2011 it became an official candidate. In 2012 Serbia received full candidacy.

As Serbia is not yet a part of the EU, the binding urban records that may address urban system transitions in a neighbourhood in Belgrade (Savamala) are reduced to the legal framework of EU candidacy negotiations[68] and they are specifically focused on the policy agendas of European regional development.

International Policy Agendas

As a part of European political space, Serbia-Belgrade-Savamala pertains to the regional policy of European spatial development. Belgrade is positioned at the crossing point of European corridor VII (Danube) and corridor X (international highroads E75 and E70). Its geostrategic location induces regional networking on three levels:

1. European:

• ESPON 2020 (European Spatial Planning Observatory Network) is a programme to support the reinforcement of EU Cohesion Policy in terms of national and regional development strategies;

• Directive INSPIRE (2007) is a EU initiative to support sustainable development and infrastructure for spatial and geographical information;

2. Macro-regional:

• South-East Europe (SEE) program for transnational spatial planning cooperation among the Adriatic and South-East European region countries (17 countries).

• Danube 21 programme to fight criminal networks in the Balkan region.

3. Metropolitan:

• INTERREG IIIb network of cities for transnational cooperation in Europe (30 cities 13 countries).

• EU Strategy for the Danubian Region.

The Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia 2010-2020 acknowledges the Danube 21 programme and the continuation of ex-CADSES countries programmes (a regional spatial planning cooperation in the smaller territorial scope of South-East Europe (SEE)). The INTERREG IIIb network is included in the Regional spatial plan of the Belgrade administrative area (2004). Directive INSPIRE is incorporated in the Planning and Construction Act (PCA) in 2000s All these international documents are present in the Serbian urban regulatory framework in the form of recommendations and they abide by the local laws.

National Legal framework

According to *the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (\\2006)*, all spatial and building issues are incorporated in the Planning and Construction Act 2003 (revised in 2006, 2009, 2011, 2014). The positioning of a neighbourhood level at the national scale is precised with the Local Governance Act. Finally, the battlefield of different interests in Savamala is under the jurisdiction of the laws that address urban land and the change of property for public urban land.

• *The Local Governance Act 2002 (revised in 2007);*

The Local Governance Act (\\2002) represented new democratic and decentralization trends after the regime change in 2000. The local authorities are of two levels: municipal and city authorities. Municipal authorities are: the municipal assembly, the president of the municipality, the municipal council and the municipal administration. The Act also aims at empowering cities in decision-making that concerns their territorial realms. In this respect, the first edition of the act (2002) instates the role of the city mayor, the city council and the city assembly. Moreover, the introduction of the City Manager, responsible for local economic development, and the City Architect, in charge of territorial development, in the city administration puts these role holders at the forefront at the local level *(\Vujovic and Petrovic 2007).*

The major change in the revision of 2007 is the specification of the City and Municipality's status according to the pertaining population. This decision deprived former cities of their status if their overall urban population is less than 100,000 inhabitants.[69]

69 Except in special cases defined by the law.

The issue of Belgrade is left to be regulated with the Capital City Act. However, the Local Governance Act is not precise about the distribution of power in Belgrade - between the center and the districts and the city authorities and the city municipalities.

• *The Planning and Construction Act of the Republic of Serbia (PCA RS) 2003 (revised in 2006, 2009, 2011, 2014, 2016);*

The 2003 Planning and Construction Act was pronounced a modern law, which had

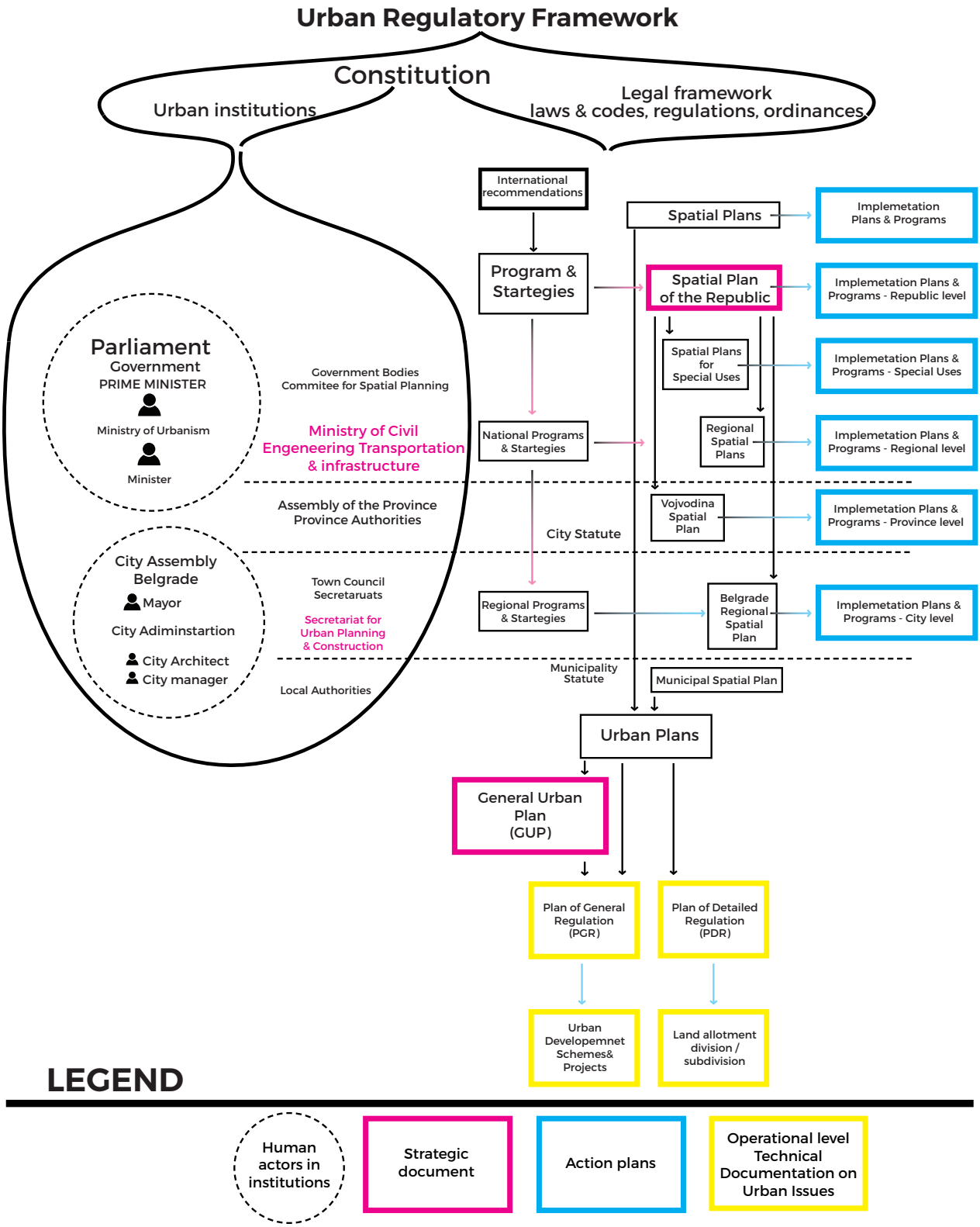
been drawn on contemporary international experiences. In practice, the contemporaneity of the act is mostly in its compliance with common terminology applied in EU legal urban documents (sustainability and sustainable development for example) *(\\ PCA 2003)*. Moreover, it was rather focused on technical disciplines and an engineering approach *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)* modeled after the French urban legal framework. Possibly because of the influence of the French urban tradition, the Act was mainly drafted after the 1931 Planning and Construction Act. This reliance on an outdated law was harshly criticized as an old-fashioned recessive measure that neglects the demand for coordinated up-to-date development strategies and the importance of harmonization with EU norms.

The burning issue of the 2003 Act was putting together the issues that dealt with space and construction together. In fact, the 2003 Planning and Construction Act incorporated three previous laws: the Act on Planning and Arrangement of Space, the Act on Construction and the Act on Construction Land. This Act also institutionalized the strategies for spatial and urban development on various levels. The part on space and planning regulates the organisation of spatial and urban plans in an hierarchical order as technical urban planning documents. Conversely, the practical purpose of the part on construction was to fight thriving illegal construction. One of the issues was the introduction of a legalization procedure as well as setting a better suited procedure for building permits. These norms aimed to solve the problem of urban informality. The goal was to improve living conditions mostly in Belgrade, where there were around 140,000 illegally constructed structures at that time. The radical novelty was also the denationalization of urban land and the return to private land ownership. Therefore, the act distinguished three types of land and building ownership: national, local and private *(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006)*.

The overall goal was to set a legal framework in order to boost slow socio-economic transformation and the low rate of foreign investments *(\Vujovic and Petrovic 2007)*. The act has undergone significant revisions in the course of the past 14 years [revisions - in 2006, 2009, 2011 and 2015]. *Kresic (\2004)* suggested that the practical dysfunctionality of the act was caused by inaccurate assessments of the local condition as well as by ungrounded expectations of post-socialist transition at play locally.

However, the latest revision of 2014 is of particular importance for the Savamala neighbourhood case study. Several revisions introduced in this act address the Spatial Plan for Special Purposes (SPSP). These revisions hide opportunities for exclusive and elite-driven urban interventions at play now in Savamala through a waterfront redevelopment project.

- *The Act on Property Restitution and Conversion 2014;*
- *The Act on the conversion of urban land leasehold rights into urban land property rights 2014;*
- *Lex specialis 2015 (The Act on expropriation for private elite-housing and commercial purposes for the Belgrade Waterfront Project);*



[CHART 6] Distribution of regulatory framework

Policy Agendas - National and City levels

• *National Strategy for Resolving the Problems of Refugees and Internally Displaced People 2002;*

The harsh legacy of the wars from the 1990s was the number of Serbian refugees (mostly from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) from the war-affected Balkan regions. Most refugees settled down in cities, and moreover in the capital. After the 2000 regime change, this strategy aimed at solving the refugee problem. In doing so, the strategy was also a pioneer in dealing with the status of urban land *(\Hirt 2009).*

• *The National Strategy of Sustainable Development 2008;*

• *Implementation Act for the National Strategy of Sustainable Development 2009- 2017;*

• *The National Strategy of Spatial Development of the Republic of Serbia 2009-2013- 2020 was never formally adopted;*

• *The Strategy of Regional Development of the Republic of Serbia 2007-2012;*

• *City of Belgrade Development Strategy 2008;*

The strategic approach to territorial capital was also introduced with the transition processes after 2000. The purpose of the strategic document for Belgrade is improving the status of the city at the European level[70] *(\NedovicBudic 2001).* The strategy was designed in the form of recommendations to strengthen local identity of the city. The main domain of strategic interest were: (a) decentralized local governance, (b) competitiveness and mobilization of capital, (c) citizen participation and (d) tourism and cultural activities *(\Vukmirovic 2015).* Following the liberal trends after 2000, the actions considered private property as a basic land ownership type. What is more, in the manner of decentralization, the key authorities are not the city but the municipal authorities. The strategy also recognized the role of land developers and investors as stakeholders in a transitional, post-socialist environment.

70 Belgrade is now classified as a MEGA 4 level of Mega-City-Regions in Europe.

Technical documentation - National, City and Municipality levels

Spatial and Urban plans are the core technical documents prescribed by several laws and bylaws to regulate territorial development in Serbia **[Chart 6:237]**. These documents set goals and strategies around environmental sustainability, economic competitiveness, territorial decentralization, social cohesion and strengthening cultural identity *(\Hirt 2009).*

Spatial plans cover distribution of territorial resources in the space of various, usually larger scales. Spatial plans deal with urban and agricultural land, as well as environmentally protected natural areas. They comprise the Spatial plan of the Republic of Serbia and various regional plans,[71] municipal plans,[72] and spatial plans for special purposes **[ibid.]**. Even after significant decentralization efforts within the Serbian legal framework, the regions do not signify as real units of development and

71 Autonomous provinces are assumed to be territorial entities at the NUTS2 and NUTS3 levels, and the Belgrade administrative area ***(\Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic 2006).*** Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) is a standard for referencing the subdivisions of countries for statistical purposes. The standard is developed and regulated by the European Union, and thus only covers the member states of the EU in detail.

72 Municipal spatial plans are at the NUTS 4 level.

planning *(\Vujosevic et al. 2015)*. Consequently, the corresponding regional plans deal with protection, regulation and development, but they do not hold an official authority over spatial changes in their respective territories.

On the other hand, urban plans consist of General Urban Development Plans, Plans of General Regulations and Plans of Detailed Regulations **[Chart 6:237]**. They cover respectively smaller territory, incorporate all sorts of innovative, strategic and up-to-date methods, and in general offer detailed solutions for issues already conceptually covered by spatial plans such as land use and building zones, transportation, infrastructure, natural and cultural heritage, green, recreation, protected areas etc. For example, General Urban Development plans control development on a local level, so that they are prepared and adopted locally; but, because they are regarded as strategic documents with a certain influence at the national and/or regional level, the final consent upon their adaptation rests with the Ministry in competence **[Chart 6:237]**.

Spatial plans of interest for this research are **[ibid.]**:

• *The Spatial plan of the Republic 2010-2021;*

This spatial plan is less a blueprint for the technical projection changes, but rather a compendium of binding spatial and sectorial strategies for the autonomous provinces *(\Stojkov and Dobricic 2012).*

• *The Regional Spatial plan of Belgrade administrative area 2011;*

The initial Regional Spatial plan of Belgrade was adopted in 2004. It positions the city among other metropolitan cities (MEGA 4 and MEGA 3 in perspective) and capitals in the region. The Regional Plan addresses natural and urban heritage in the area, zoning and infrastructure.

• *The "Belgrade waterfront Project" Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWP SPSP);*

Concurrent urban plans are:

• *General Plan GP 2003 (revised in 2005, 2007, 2009, 2014), and General Urban Plan GUP 2016;*

The General Plan of Belgrade 2021 was adopted by the Belgrade City Assembly in 2003. The plan was made by the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade in 2003 *(\\\Sluzbeni glasnik Beograda 27/03).* The team leaders were Vladimir Macura PhD and Miodrag Ferencak MSc. The four actualizations and the new document adopted in 2016 reflect: (a) the turbulent and inconsistent trajectory of the urban regulatory framework in the Republic of Serbia and the city of Belgrade, (b) the changing nature of the legal urban framework, and (c) the swinging needs and projections of the structures in power *(\Vukmirovic 2015).* The basis for the plan was the integration of Belgrade into the global network of socially-culturally-economically viable cities and the creation of a recognizable Belgrade identity.

Following global and moreover European planning trends, this plan is only a strategic base for setting spatial development in motion and bounding future urban planning activity as strategic processes of urban transformations *(\ Grozdanic 2008)*. The insistence on the flexibility and processual nature of the plan resulted in its missing several key points and legally abiding elements for directing its implementation (street regulations, allotment plans, infrastructural systems etc.). In the end, the results of fragmented implementations led to deregulation and chaos and endangered public interests.

The major technical challenge was the regulation of population growth and urban sprawl. Compared to circumstances when the former plan was adopted during the SFRY period (1985), Belgrade had grown demographically 2.5 times its size. The plan recognizes two developmental phases:

- until 2006

– 2006-2021

The key urban transformations are identified as follows:

- Brownfield, urban and natural heritage regeneration and preservation (ex-industrial areas, traffic nodes, riverfronts, suburban and rural neighborhoods);
- renovation and extension of urban infrastructure networks;
- introduction of modern, technologically advanced and efficient modes of urban management;
- numerous architectural competitions (Belgrade marina, multifunctional busi- ness center 'Ušće", numerous central squares, pedestrian streets, new office blocks, affordable housing etc.);

However, several contested issues within this plan were *(ibid.):*

- commercialization of urban historical core;
- completion and extension of residential areas in central urban areas;
- socio-spatial segregation as the result of the distribution of urban functions and unbalanced economic development;

• *The Plan of General Regulation (PGR)* **[Chart 6:237]***:*

Savamala related PGRs are: PGR for central Belgrade, Plan 4 phase 2 and PGR for fire station network 32/13.

• *The Plan of Detailed Regulation (PDR)* **[ibid.]***:*

PDR Kosancicev venac 37/07, 52/12, 9/14.

Public Administration - National, City and Municipality level

Even after the decentralization initiatives after 2000, centralized practices introduced during the 1990s produced an extended period of democratic deficiency and the lack of societal consensus on what is in the public interest in development-oriented planning *(\Vujosevic 2004; \Vujosevic 2010)*. However, the legal framework acknowledges that the Ministry of Civil Engineering, Transport and Infrastructure is in charge of spatial and urban planning at the national level **[Chart 6:237]**. Conversely, the National

Government and the Parliament initiate their preparation and adopt the finalized versions **[ibid.]**. Moreover, implementation plans and programs dealing with spatial development are also the responsibility of the Parliament and the Government of the Republic of Serbia. The vertical coordination of activities incorporates: the Government with the Parliament and the Prime Minister, and Ministries with their Cabinets, Departments and Sections *(\Stojkov and Dobricic 2012).*

Consequently, decentralized decision making enacted through the Local Governance Act stays mostly on paper. The authority of the city mayor, the city council and the city assembly have only local character, but with a direct link and subordination to the national authorities. This is even more the case for the municipal authorities, which consist of: the municipal assembly, the president of the municipality, the municipal council and the municipal administration. While all urban interventions in the city are officially under the jurisdiction of the city authorities, this does not happen to be the case for issues of political or economic importance.

Urban Planning Authorities - National and City levels

The institutional organization of urban planning authorities in Serbia corresponds to the administrative organization of the Republic. The Republic of Serbia is divided into 29 districts and 189 communes (including the 16 municipalities of Belgrade and the city municipalities of Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac). The districts act as political bodies, but they are not authorized to make their own decisions regarding spatial development. Therefore, in practice, the Spatial plan of the Republic, regional spatial plans and spatial plans for special purposes are under the jurisdiction of the National authorities.

In this respect, the Ministry of Civil Engineering, Transport and Infrastructure is the key public actor at the national level in the domain **[Chart 6:237]**. Its field of influence extends from spatial and urban planning, construction and housing, infrastructural projects to the inspection and monitoring of activities. In practice, this Ministry has the authority to *(\Maksic 2012):*

1. conduct administrative tasks;
2. govern strategic construction, site-development and infrastructure equipment works;
3. carry out monitoring;
4. perform inspection and supervise actions in the field;

On the other hand, cities and municipalities have the legal means and rights to make their own strategies, plans, and programs, as well as local regulations and rules in terms of urban development. In this respect, local authorities initiate and adopt all planning documents that control urban development and comprise the guidelines for administration of their respective municipalities/cities/communities. In parallel, the verification of plans functions on all three levels under the competence of corresponding Commissions for expert control of plans (national, city, municipality).

At the national level, the supreme executive planning body had been the National Agency for Spatial Planning (NASP). The authority of this institution was defined by the Planning and Construction Act of 2003. As a result of its constitution, all regional planning institutions were canceled and all regional planning tasks and issues were associated with the Agency. The Agency was discontinued in 2015 under the murky circumstances simultaneously with the adoption of BWP SPSP. The Agency was in charge of the preparation of this plan (BWP SPSP) just before its closure. However, its sphere of competence had been *(\Maksic 2012):*

- development of spatial plans at all levels (national, regional, special uses, municipal);
- technical assistance for plan preparations;
- trainings in spatial planning ;

At the city level, the Secretariat for Urban Planning and Construction conducts regulatory control, consultation and implementation tasks **[Chart 6:237]**. The work on urban plans is associated with the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, which in practice functions as a public-private enterprise. Finally, all urban interventions in the city should follow the GUP and they are performed in cooperation with the Belgrade Land Development Agency, professional associations (The Chamber of Engineers, The Association of Serbian Architects, The Association of Belgrade Architects), foreign embassies, international and national companies.

The chart 6 on page 237 [Chart 6:237] is a flow chart that aims at systematizing the complex organization of urban regulatory framework in Serbia in order to better understand its articulation and operationalization on the spatially bounded case of a neighbourhood in Belgrade. The chart emphasizes the relationality of urban institutional bodies and individual sources of authority in institutions. Urban documentation behind planning and architectural activities in Serbian cities is presented on the other side of the diagram in a linear manner. The obvious verticality of the interpretation of Serbian urban regulatory framework in visual terms corresponds to the strong hierarchy of institutions. Moreover, this chart also addresses the relations among strategic, operational and action urban documentation. This interpretation of urban regulatory framework in Belgrade served to define the level of influence of these elements and what kind of urban networks they form.

This section is a brief overview of the regulatory framework at work in Savamala. The body of urban records presented (the legal framework, policy agendas and technical documentation) show that territorial issues are givien inadequate attention in Serbia. They are based on borrowing methods, not creating adequate operational frameworks, on managing the crisis but not solving problems *(\Nedovic-Budic 2001; \ Vujosevic and Maricic 2012).* In the same manner, urban institutions are crammed with outdated and inert institutional arrangements and inefficient, incompetent management agencies *(\Vujosevic and Maricic 2012).* To sum up, the current urban regulatory framework lacks legitimacy and competence for supervise the social, ideological, political, economic, cultural and environmental transformation of the society.

Planning practices suffer from a generally inadequate information and research support."

(Vujošević et al. 2012a)

4.2.2 Legitimacy of Interests in Transition

The City on Water;
Beko Master Plan;
Beton Hala Waterfront;
Belgrade Waterfront Project;

As noted before, urban development relies on much more than strategic urban planning, in spite of the propensity of the planning community to regulate development processes to the greatest extent possible. Every urban issue relies directly on the economy and the mode of production and consumption in modern cities. The capitalist economy needs urbanization to absorb surplus products, so that the deregulation of land use and property markets is the precondition for capitalist accumulation and thereafter proceedings to economic growth *(\Harvey 2012)*. Following Harveys line of thought, the power extracted from the exclusive control over property or land is the source of capital produced by its locational, infrastructural, social or cultural capacity.

In other words, the contextual resources of an urban environment in a developing country make it appealing for incoherent distribution of resources and responsibilities *(\Bolay et al. 2005)*. Furthermore, within a diverse urban milieu, influential economic and political actors tend to abuse their powers and appropriate urban space when the regulatory framework is blurred and biased as it is in post-socialist cities *(\Djokic and Nikezic 2007)*. Therefore, urban governance in these cities is more reactive to the interests of capital investments. These cities have been shown to be susceptible to tolerance of illegal practices more than is strategically proactive, which leads to organic rather than comprehensive entrepreneurial city development *(\Petrovic 2009)*. Moreover, a laissez-faire economy and global consumer culture dissolves the democratic capacity of countries in transition *(\Ellin 1999)*. The main characteristics of urban transformations in post-socialist cities are marked by **[Section 2.3.2:92]**: (1) investor urbanism; (2) political voluntarism; (3) citizen passivity.

In such circumstances, private interest and investment rationale dominate all decision-making levels. In practice, political corruption is responsible for the translation of interest into unjustified and biased planning decisions *(\Nedovic-Budic 2001)*. Political corruption thrives within under-developed democratic institutions and the absence of the rule of law and germinates from the national to city and local levels. In times of transition, powerful economic actors, corporate bodies and the local oligarchy engage in tactical interest exchange with political actors in order to take advantage of empty or deteriorating areas. Their aim is to protect the socio-political circumstance of their success, promote their business models and extend their property ownership and individual wealth/capital *(\Bajec 2009)*.

In case of Savamalas developmental circumstances, powerful investors use their economic and political dominance to gain a good bargain when buying the highly profitable waterfront area of the Serbian capital and to ensure that its future development serves their needs. The most important of these hitherto active, interest-based urban transformations in the extended area of Savamala are:

• *The Beko Master Plan* **[Figure 14:250; Figure 17:251]**

The former "Beko" textile factory is situated in the immediate vicinity of the city center and the Belgrade Kalemegdan Fortress. Accordingly, it is located on the

cultural axis that connects several landmarks in Belgrade (\Vukmirovic 2015). This property was sold to Lambda development (LD), a Greek investment fund, in 2007. LD did not intend to renew the production activities of the textile factory, but soon after the purchase it engaged in planning the property renovation and site redevelopment.

The former master plan for the Beko factory area dates back to 1969 and it does not allow building permanent structures on site. Instead, it proposes an extensive, open recreational area. Conversely, the Belgrade Development Strategy of 2008 marked this area as brownfield and the most recent General plan for Belgrade from 2007 states that a detailed plan for the area is not mandatory *(\Vukmirovic 2015)*. Following the requests from the investor, in 2008 the Department of Urban Development of the Municipality of "Stari Grad" engaged the Center for Urban Development Planning ("Centar za planiranje urbanog razvoja" CEP), a local enterprise licensed for urban planning activities, to work on the new Regulation Plan.

In 2009 the amendment to the City Regulation plan was officially established. The previous regulatory plan of 1969 ceased to be valid. The drafted plan conformed to the interest of the investor. Namely, the investor financed the drafting of the Plan, while several of those responsible had dual roles as both drafters of the plan and later employees of LD.

The public was initially informed in 2009, but the draft plan was only made public in the summer of 2011. The plan was adopted in March 2012. It is still unclear if the investor ordered the Master plan before the adoption of the Regulation Plan or straight afterwards. However, at the Belgrade Design Week event in 2012, the new design of the Master plan for the Beko factory area was on display. The master plan contained the design for a multifunctional complex that would replace the existing depleted building of the factory. The plan was prepared by Zaha Hadid Architects. The design complex covered 94,000 square meters. It consisted of a state-of-art congress centre, retail spaces, a five-star hotel and a department store. There was a certain percentage planned for residential spaces, galleries, and offices.

The general public and moreover local experts and civil organizations contested the plan and the design. The criticisms were aimed at two issues. Concerning the urban regulatory framework, they were of opinion that swift and nontransparent change of technical documentation diminished the amenability of regulations and norms. Such a trend makes urban decision-making a deregulated and relative process of placing the interests of the powerful and wealthy within the building and development practices of the city *(\Vukmirovic 2015)*. If such practices continue to dominate the urban realm of the city, they may de-strategize the exploitation of territorial capital, causing contextual resources in Belgrade melt down in the battle of economic and not at all public interests.

Conversely, in terms of urban management the criticisms were summed up around the issue of engaging a "starchitect", such as Zaha Hadid, for deciding the future of one of the most important locations in the city without consultations and collaboration with local experts. The plan and the eventual project were marked as a product of political propaganda and the manifestation of the new neoliberal economic order *(\Vukmirovic 2015)*.

• *The City on Water - the Belgrade Port* **[Figure 14:250; Figure 16:251]**

The area of the former Belgrade Port Company is also a strategic location that spreads from the Danube Riverfront almost to the city center. The territory covers an area of 470 hectares. The Planning and Construction Act of 2003 suggests that the urban design for a location of such importance should be the result of a professional competition *(\\PCA 2003).* In 2006 the Urban Institute of Belgrade announced a competition upon invitation for five public professional institutions: the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Belgrade (FAUB), the Association of Urban Planners of Belgrade (AUB), the Association of Belgrade Architects (ABA), the Academy of Architecture (AA) and the Architect Club (AC). The results were five different visions for an urban transformation of the area.

The Belgrade Port Company was privatized in 2008. Since its privatization, the new owners started their own campaign to find the best solution for the area. The urban design of the Danube waterfront as well as upgrading the quality of the pertaining public spaces were commissioned to architects Daniel Libeskind and Jan Gehl. The official general urban design project was prepared with their cooperation during the period 2008-2010. The plan dealt with the renovation of the Dorcol Marina and surrounding area.

Project preparation activities were followed by a series of public presentations about the project details at the beginning of 2009. Gehl Architects held the presentation of the project in the Belgrade Chamber of Commerce and Daniel Libeskinds gave the lecture at the University of Belgrade on the same topic. A final presentation of the project was arranged by the Belgrade Land Development Agency (a public enterprise) at the Real Estate and Investment Fair in Cannes later on in 2009. The plan envisages the construction of residential and commercial buildings, structures for cultural facilities, a congress centre, a school, a nursery and a hotel. The main landmark would be a 250 meter skyscraper marking the confluence of the two rivers, the Sava and the Danube.

The Detailed Regulation Plan for the area was adopted by the City Parliament in 2012. The plan propositions were in accordance with the physical and functional program of the proposed design prepared by star-architects. Even though the project was in line with the contemporary town planning principle that promotes the quality of urban spaces and diversity of urban practices, the governing rule in designing was to offer investment possibilities to powerful business and corporate actors *(\ Vukmirovic 2015).*

Moreover, the question of the controversial privatization of the Port of Belgrade and the unresolved situation with the ownership of land put the project on hold. However, these murky business agreements were the focus of public attention. Interest in the project was significantly reduced after the change in the political party in power at the national level in 2012 and at the city level in 2014.

• *"Beton Hala" Waterfront* **[Figure 14:250; Figure 15:251]**

"Beton Hala" (Concrete Hall) was built in 1937. It was a multi-functional port storage on the Sava river. Incorporating commercial, harbour and railway purposes,

”Beton Hala” was very modern in its time. It served its purpose for decades.

During the isolation of the 1990s, its activities gradually declined and it became a depot and an industrial wasteland for the Yugoslav inland waterway shipping enterprise (JRB) under SRY jurisdiction or for the Kalemegdan fortress institution under the jurisdiction of the RS. Later, the management of the space was conferred to the city authorities and ever since it has swung between public enterprises - the City Greenery [Gradsko zelenilo], Agency for office spaces [Agencija za poslovni prostor] and Agency for property [Direkcija za imovinu].

After the regime change in 2000, ”Beton Hala” became a catering and commercial hub first for tourists and then also for the local upper middle class. This practice encourages sparks of life along the Sava riverside, but the area remains without proper access points from the city center, which is in close vicinity (Kalemegdan Fortress and Knez Mihailova street).

The ”Beton Hala” (Concrete Hall) Waterfront Center was identified as a brownfield area according to the Belgrade Spatial Plan 2021 and the Belgrade Development Strategy 2008. In 2011, the Association of Belgrade architects with the support of the City administration (Investment and Housing Agency and Urban Planning Institute) announced an International competition for architectural and urban solutions for the Sava riverside, the pertaining industrial heritage and the corresponding city center waterfront access lines. Even though two equal first prizes were delivered, the winning project ”Cloud” designed by Sou Fujimoto Architects caught attention because of its innovative and hyper modern character of the cloud hub that allows the continuity and totality of the structures and history to co-exist and co-function.

The detailed plan of ”Beton Hala” and the waterfront area to the Kalemengdan fortress started in 2012. The plan proposes a new, ultra-modern identity for the area with an iconic ring structure and mainly commercial purposes. With no detailed implementation strategy and an unclear urban development model, the public lost track of this plan and the projects as soon as the political party in power changed at the national (2012) and city (2014) levels. Consequently, the condition and the status of ”Beton Hala” remained the same and this urban transformation is remembered as an advertising campaign that presents a possible modern urban and architectural identity of Belgrade more than it investigates and proposes sustainable ways to accomplish it (*Vukmirovic 2015).*

• *The Belgrade Waterfront Project* **[Figure 14:250; Figure 18:251]**

The waterfront area between Brankov and Gazela bridges is listed as a development area in all three strategic-planning documents for Belgrade: the Belgrade City Development Strategy 2008, the Regional Spatial Plan (RSP) for Belgrade 2009 and the General Plan for Belgrade 2021 (GP Belgrade 2021). In these documents, the area is addressed as the Sava Waterfront (Development Strategy), the Sava Amphitheatre (GP) or even a part of New Belgrades centre (SP). The area could also be addressed as a zone for brownfield regeneration of high regional and national importance *(\Peric*

2016). The vicinity of the Kalemegdan historical site and the confluence of the two major rivers, the Sava and the Danube, makes it the prime location for construction in the Serbian capital.

Ever since the announcement of the railway station relocation in 1923 GUP of Belgrade, the topic of the Sava amphitheatre and the distribution of the central urban zone of Belgrade down and along the Sava river have become a burning issue. As part of the waterfront area and Sava Amphitheatre, the area has been the subject of a series of competitions.

As early as 1946, Nikola Dobrovic in his text on the urban development prospects of Belgrade offered a sketch of a park that connects the right bank of the Sava to the city center. Later, this riverside was joined to the New Belgrade center that covered two spatial, geomorphological and administrative units divided by the River. Respectively, the area was targeted by an international competition in the 1980s for the centre of New Belgrade while in the 1990s it was addressed in the competition for the Sava Amphitheatre and the project Europolis.

Simultaneously, as a part of wider society modernization prospects, in the late 1980s the authorities promoted the Town on the Water project. Consequently, the infamous Serbian leader Slobodan Milosević supported the Europolis project as a part of his electoral campaign in 1995. The project was prepared by the Institute of Transportation CIP. Finally, in 2012, the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade (UPI) collaborated with GIZ ("German Agency for international cooperation with the Republic of Serbia") to prepare an urban study of the integrated urban development prospects for Savamala *(\\\Integrated UDP Savamala 2012)*. The document aimed to announce a new round of international competitions for the Sava Amphitheatre.

The Belgrade Waterfront Project targets the area within the Sava amphitheatre. It covers 90 ha of land and introduces 1.5 million m2 to be built up within the framework of the project. The project was first announced in 2012. Taking into account its scope and size , it could not be financed by public funds and loans alone *(\Vukmirovic 2015)*.

The Belgrade Waterfront Master Plan gained publicity before the national elections in March 2014 as a strategic partnership between the RS Government and an investor from United Arab Emirates (UAE). It was presented in Dubai in March 2014 by Mohamed Ali Alabbar, a potential investor.[73] He is also the director of the "Eagle Hills" investment company, the recently established investment company targeting the flagship mega project in cities around the developing world.

73 He became famous for chairing the Emaar Properties that was engaged in the construction of the skyscraper Burj Khalifa in Dubai.

As the project developed, the strategic partnership grew into the "Belgrade Waterfront Company", a mutual enterprise of the Republic of Serbia and "Eagle Hills". The initial value of the project was advertised as being 2.5 billion euros. However, by the time the official contract was made public in summer 2015, the amount had shrunk to 300 million euros with up to half of the money obtained from a loan at the expense of Serbian citizens.

The purpose of the development project is to create a multi-functional complex with large commercial and business premises, exclusive apartments and luxury hotels

overlooking the Sava River. The spatiality and height of the projected construction on the muddy terrain of the riverbank and at this exclusive urban location within the Belgrade metropolitan area required significant legal adjustment to comply with the urban regulatory framework in Serbia.

Already in 2014, national and city authorities introduced speedy procedures for these legal adjustments. The amendments to the General Plan (GP) of Belgrade 2021, the new Planning and Construction Act and the Spatial plan for Special Purposes for the purposes of the "Belgrade Waterfront Project" were adopted. In the process, several national and city bodies were established (the temporary decision-making body of the city of Belgrade) or discontinued (the National Spatial Planning Agency) according to the sole interests of BWP. As the legal framework has been adapted to the needs of this project, the investor had in advance a Master plan that had already been prepared by foreign architectural firms.

The adoption of the Lex specialis, a special law, in 2015 solved the on-site property issues and enabled the construction to start. The first 5-year phase consists of building two high-rise residential buildings, a huge shopping mall, a tower and the necessary transport infrastructure. Over the course of 2016, the clearance of the area continued, and the authorities even resorted to forceful removal of structures and inhabitants in order to speed up the process. The residential buildings passed all necessary legal checks. The construction is scheduled to be finished in 2017. On the other hand, the Sava promenade along the Sava riverbank was in its final stage at the end of 2016, even though the issue of coastal construction and the corresponding permits had not been dealt with The work on the iconic tower is due to start in 2017.

The smooth path of legal adjustments and administrative procedures for the project have been enabled through the tight cooperation between the city and the national authorities, mainly through political party links.[74] *(\Maruna 2015; \Peric 2016)* Adopting legislation that legitimizes investor-based urban decision-making is the result of centralized political power through political party mechanisms. In practice the decisions made on the national level were imposed on the regional/city/local levels. Having political bodies coordinate the creation of planning solutions causes the usurpation of both the formal planning procedure and the professional expertise of bureaucrats and the interests of private investors *(ibid.; ibid.)*.

74 From 2014 onward, the prime minister and the city mayor have been from the same political party.

With no wider socio-spatial strategy, this nontransparent bureaucratic conduct of interest-based urban transformations seriously endanger the public interest *(\ Vukmirovic 2015)*. The major criticisms apart from the complete lack of transparency and the exclusion of local experts and practitioners on the national level are:

- overcrowded space and an enormous amount of m2,
- land given to the investor to build whatever they want, however they want,
- wasting such location (geometrical center of Belgrade and waterfront area) for housing and commerce with less than 1% for cultural facilities,
- collision with GP and planned National opera in the area,
- difficulties for underground construction of parking space following the tenure examination,

- the issue of cultural urban planning - what suits UAE does not necessarily correspond to the Serbian context)

- eviction of marginalized local groups following the problematic special law *(\\Lex specialis)*

Vukmirović (\2015) well elaborated that the lack of context-related substance and a symbolic action makes Belgrade Waterfront Project rather a spin in its broad scope and intentions. However, its strong political backing and financial interest calculations paved the way at least its partial implementation.

These circumstances have lead to a multitude of interests, initiatives and projects of different scales with no effective and binding policies and institutionalized regulatory means for synchronization and coordination among them. Within such a provisory framework, the social, cultural and programmatic clashes that are happening between the present cultural and civic activities located in Savamala and the influential foreign investor backed by politicians of the highest rank are most likely to end up only in favour of the latter.

[FIGURE 14] Large urban redevelopment projects in Belgrade

4.2.3 Network of civic engagement

Savamala cultural hubs;
Urban transformation programmes;
Individual urban projects;
NGOs;

Bottom-up, step-by-step urban transformations have been promoted as inclusive, gradual and effective in cities that are going through traumatic urban transitions, as do post-socialist ones. In theory, such planning offers an alternative to surpass current profit orientated neo-liberal trends and benefit from social-spatial contradictions rising from the often blurred and twisted structure and puzzling development prospect at play. The recent boom of bottom-up spatial interventions and small-scale cultural projects in the Savamala neighbourhood have aimed at setting up just such a specific micro environment in Belgrade *(\\\Miller-Wieferig and Herzen 2013).*

In general in Serbia and in especially Belgrade, the revival of civil sector activities started with the regime change in 2000. Meanwhile, taking advantage of the long gap in development, a number of local and international organisations and cultural entrepreneurs have focused their actions on Savamala. The neglected socialist and post-socialist status of this neighbourhood, rich in urban and architectural heritage, have attracted their attention. Their initiatives to transform abandoned places and to reactivate them through participatory, cultural, artistic and educational activities have been mainly supported by the local municipality "Savski Venac" and international cultural institutions and programmes.

What at first seemed like a sum of ephemeral local activities has become a driving force for the possible urban future of Savamala, at least the future preferred by most local urban actors who have taken an active role in it **[compare Figure 12:232 and Figure 13:232].** Without questioning the civic nature currently advertised as such, these pillars of Savamala urban reactivation are found in: (1)Savamala cultural hubs, (2) urban transformation programmes, (3) individual urban projects, and (4) NGOs addressing Savamala socio-spatial issues.

[FIGURE 15] Concrete Hall ("Beton Hala") project

[FIGURE 16] City on Water ("Luka Beograd") project

[FIGURE 17] Beko Masterplan project

[FIGURE 18] Belgrade Waterfront project (BWP)

Savamala cultural hubs

The first to settle in the neighbourhood and to promote this new image of Savamala was Cultural Center Grad (KC Grad). Establishing an alternative cultural institution in Belgrade was a joint initiative of the Cultural Front Belgrade and the Amsterdam Felix Meritis Foundation. They obtained the old customs building from the Municipality "Savski Venac". The building had been vacant for years and the municipality consigned the premises to KC Grad for undetermined temporary use. Consequently, its alternative artistic and cultural engagement set in motion the new spirit of Savamala, though in barely significant scope.

Intensive aggregation of participatory activities truly started when the Mikser Festival was organized on the streets of Savamala in 2011. The cultural activism of the Mikser team became branded when they rented the abandoned, recently privatized old warehouse building on Karadjordjeva Street 46. In 2013, the multifuctional space of Mikser House was opened to the public and has been an official hub for its cultural, educational and commercial activities ever since. What began as the Mikser Festival continues to serve as the common denominator for cultural and artistic crowdsourcing and the participatory engagement of activating Savamalas public spaces.

What is more, in 2012, on the border of Savamala on Gavrila Principa Street, a group of young cultural managers and entrepreneurs opened the door of its 350m2 co-working space, Design Incubator Nova Iskra. Supporting young, emerging professionals of diverse freelance backgrounds by offering them the use of a full-capacity office and workspace at

below-market-value prices is a well-known trend in developed countries. Putting to work this combination of co-working and creative business, innovation platform, education, and design labs contributes to adding Belgrade to the map of the European creative economy sector.

KC Grad, Mikser and Nova Iskra were the forerunners of this unconventional programming, functional and business model in Savamala, Belgrade and generally in Serbia *(\Vanista Lazarevic 2015)*. It also must be acknowledged that "Dom Omladine Beograd", a cultural and education city organization, has been using the old depository in Kraljevica Marka Street (MKM) for various activities since 2007. The space (MKM) is famous for hosting the programme of the independent cultural organization at the national and city level. It can also be noted that MKM established its relationship with the particularity and wider context of Savamala only when it agreed to accommodate several activities of the Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB).

This new cultural spirit that was spreading around Savamala prompted several gallery platforms and design collectives to house their activities in the ground-floor premises of Savamala buildings, which were built in the classical style before WWII (Gallery Kolektiv, Gallery G12HUB) [**Figure 13:232**].

As long as the management practices of these alternative places are closer to the social improvement and empowerment of local communities than to profit-oriented business, their particular and scattered interests still help spread a spree of participation in this post-socialist context.

• *Urban transformation programmes:*

The participatory activities are best found in the urban transformation programmes named the Savamala Civic District, in the Urban Incubator Belgrade activities and their successors. Neither the wide variety of these actors, nor the exact steps and plans in this process were clearly articulated beforehand, they were rather work in progress projects.

The Savamala Civic District was originally envisioned as a set of participatory activities supported by the Mikser Festival. In this manner, the Mikser Festival represented an umbrella for building a platform of all urban actors and stakeholders to engage in changing their immediate surroundings. However neither the wide variety of these actors, nor exact steps and end states in this process, were to a great extent clarified beforehand. Its priority goal was to create a sort of civic district as a long-term participatory realm for taking the most of a range of opportunities for non-institutionalised, flexible and dynamic urban transformations through various levels of sharing: knowledge-, experience- and vision-sharing activities. In order to test this programme, an international group of experts, who worked on innovative models for bottom-up synergies coming from social, cultural, infrastructural, ecological and economical aspects of urban development, gathered in Savamala during the Mikser Festival in 2012 *(\Cvetinovic et al. 2013)*. The event included a series of meetings, debates, collaborative works and public space installations taking place in the Savamala neighbourhood.[75]

75 In order to reach this goal seven parallel workshops addressed the status and development of Savamala from different prospectives, such as ***(\Cvetinovic et al. 2013):***

*Unheard Stories of Savamala (SIMKA and Ana Ulfstrand, Stockholm) - This artistic workshop promoted an ethnological approach towards research that could interpret the urban devastation through qualitative data.

* Urban Body (Alexander Vollebregt, Rotterdam) - This workshop addressed the question of resilience and prosperity in the contemporary condition of Savamala. The participants had to learn to use the full potential of their minds and bodies to develop an enhanced urban comprehension.

* 5 Obstructions for Urbanism (Todd Rouhe and Lars Fischer, Common Room, New York) - Several on-site installations had been built according to the creative methodology approach. They were articulated by this collective, addressingthe ordinary, interconnected, shared, different and the new in making and using architecture.

* Butong Installation (Lars Hoglund, Stockholm and Benjamin Levy, Paris) - The Installation was made of Butong, material that was created in 2009. It served as a convertible eco barrier in order to protect the public space from the intrusive noise and pollution of heavy traffic.

* Urban Bundle (James Stodgel, Santa Fe) - The temporary public space installation provided an initial condition for citizens to gather, meet, debate, and collaborate in the process of creating and maintaining their social and urban environment.

* A Sense of Place (Ljubo Georgiev, Maja Popovic, Failed Architecture, Amsterdam) - The workshop aimed to transform the courtyards of Karadjordjeva Street into places where neighbours gather together to reinforce their sense of belonging to the place and to upgrade the space they are forced to share.

* City COOP Web Platform (Ana Lalic, Vancouver) - This workshop gathered students to conceptualize the website platform that could build a social network of citizens, experts, developers and institutions to exchange ideas and opinions related to the urban transformation of Savamala.

Among others, Urban Incubator Belgradea Goethe Institute initiative - stands out as a certain operative and strategic gateway to influence the future development of this devastated but promising neighbourhood. As a part of a broader international strategy of the German cultural institution (Goethe Institute) to focus on urban development, the programme and the organizational structure that it produced stemmed from Goethe Guerilla, an informal collective founded in 2010 under the umbrella of this cultural institute.

The cluster of 10 site-specific projects targeted urban design and regeneration, art and culture in Savamala for the period of one year (2012-2013). All the actions within this project relied on communication among individuals, self-organised associations, public services and private enterprises as equal participants in the societal realm which would demonstrate its influence by performing spatial changes as social exchange. The aim was to eventually boost urban transformations in Savamala.

These activities were divided into three groups according to what they address:

• *Developing infrastructure for social change:*
  - Nextsavamala - Crowdsourcing a City Vision [76]

• *Systematic collaboration within the network of civic engagement:*
  - Bureau Savamala [77]
  - We Also Love The Art of Others [78]
  - Model for Savamala [79]

• *Pop-up events and instant actions for the reconstruction of everyday life:*
  - Listen Savamala [80]
  - Camenzind[81]

• *Upgrading the Urban Environment:*
  -Savamala Design Studio [82]
  -School of Urban Practice [83]
  -Micro factories [84]

• *Civic spaces*

The project reactivated five abandoned physical locations in the neighbourhood:

1. The Spanish House, a roofless structure at Brace Krsmanovic 2, where a temporary pavilion was built for the purposes of the programme;

2. Common space at Kraljevica Marka 8 (KM8);

3. The basement of the building at Crnogorska 5 (C5);

4. The municipality office space at Svetozara Radića 3;

5. The space at Gavrila Principa 2

The UIB obtained these spaces from the Municipality "Savski venac" and created new local and international networks around them. These new spaces for art and culture in Savamala formed the first network of symbolic capital identified therein.

76 This activity was based on its successful application in Hamburg, where these instruments had been developed and tested. It represented a web-based public forum and workshops for collecting and filtering citizens visions and discussing, developing and pitching ideas that could be later implemented in actual planning processes for the Savamala neighbourhood.

77 This symbolic institution figured as the critical commentator of the whole Urban Incubator Belgrade project. It focuses on critically monitoring and analysing the contribution of artists, any creative projects and creative capital in general on the socially sustainable development of Savamala. Savamala at that moment was perceived as a venue that allowed alternative lifestyles very attractive to creative indi- viduals. The result of this activity was a sort of record on mapping how this neighbourhood changes and how the perception of locals and the broader public has changed accordingly ***(\\\"Bureau Savamala" 2013).***

78 This symbolic name denoted fostering a network among the artistic scene of Belgrade and beyond,with members from different origins. These artists entered into dialogue in this neighbourhood and were motivated as a group to engage in artistic research and interventions in a forgotten place, where all the artistic work would be adjusted to the current context.

79 This component came from an architectural practice that had set itself the goal of building a 1:200 model of Savamala on the basis of collected local knowledge ***(\\\Model for Savamala 2013***). This 3D representation of a physical structure incorporated soft data, namely the social structure of the neighbourhood, which was not based on aesthetics, but on information. So, the information implied tracing all urban spaces and structures by creating a passport for each and every structure inside this area.

80 This sound-art project traced urban changes through sound recording in order to justify that it was not only a visual phenomenon.

Individual urban projects

The predecessor of all urban design investigations in Savamala may be the Master Class for urban students and young professionals that occurred in October 2011. The course was organized by Stadslab European Urban Design Laboratory and focused on the Savas right riverbank. Organizational and financial support was provided by local institutions (Belgrade international week of architecture BINA, Urban Planning Institute Belgrade and the Serbian Railways) and an international partner (Amsterdam Institute for Physical Planning).

It was only the international initiative of the Goethe institute which positioned Savamala on the mental map of urban culture in Europe *(\\\\Kamenzid 2013).* By the time UI was finished, most of the projects had found local counterparts and continued to exist in this new form. The spatial capital in Savamala incited cultural entrepreneurial collectives and research groups to focus their activities there. The successors of the UIB programme, Mikser Festival and KC Grad have remained the gatekeepers and supporters of any kind of social, cultural or education activism in Savamala.

"Savamala, a place for making" was a participatory project, that proposed collective performative actions for revitalizing neglected community space in Savamala. They worked with an Urban incubator studio space KM8 and Zupa an old abandoned steamboat, situated at Savamala's riverbank. The project took place during the spring and summer of 2013 in conjunction with UIB and the design class from The University of Fine Arts of Hamburg (The Hochschule fuer bildende Knste HFBK Hamburg).

"The game of Savamala" was a participatory urban planning workshop organized for foreign students and locals under the umbrella of the Mikser Festival in 2015. Its aim was capacity building in terms of producing an urban business model supported by the in-depth empirical research of the students. The result of the boards planning game was the notion that participants got in terms of the role of architecture and design in the urban economy.

Finally, another participatory project was organized in 2016 which addressed the on-going issue of urban transformations in Savamala under the pressure of the neighbouring Belgrade Waterfront Project. My piece of Savamala was an urban design workshop organized by the School of Urban Practices, City Guerilla and Mikser and monitored by city authorities and the City Architect himself. Young designers, artists, architects and urban professionals from these organizations worked with citizens during 3 sessions in order to produce different urban solutions for the urban block at the crossings of five streets in Savamala: Karadjordjeva, Svetozara Radica, Kraljevica Marka, Hercegovacka and Travnicka. The resulting design solution as well as the report from the workshop were given to the city authorities and the Belgrade Waterfront company (BWC). According to the organizers, more than a year after they still remained without any response.

81 This was a Serbian edition of the Swiss magazine of the same name. It was an outcome of the exchange of Serbian-Swiss-German knowledge on the built environment through four issues of this new Serbian journal covering architectural issues and urban public events. It also reported on the collected local knowledge in and about Savamala.

82 The aim of the Savamala design studio was to establish a participatory design practice that could create new relationships among various urban actors and stakeholders with an emphasis on encouraging Savamala residents to join and find advice and active support for their own design and construction demands and requirements.

83 This project encouraged students in architecture and the arts to seek a way to improve the everyday environment of Savamala, whether through creating public policy, mediation, urban planning and archi- tecture design, or any other form of design that involved citizens from the very beginning of the designing process.

84 These small and new production facilities in Savamala, as the name says, strove to identify small suitable spaces in Savamala and to attract participants in order to define and tap into a creative production process that could transform local knowledge, capacities and ideas into innovative design products. Participants collected local materials (usually from abandoned apartments or other places) and worked on the design of products that reflected what they had found in Savamala and its tradition of small craft workshops (i.e. carpentry).

NGOs addressing Savamala socio-spatial issues

Bearing in mind all these initiatives, programmes, projects and events in Savamala, it is conspicuous that the main organizations dealing with its social and spatial resources and urban conflicts were those that stem from Goethe Guerilla and the Urban Incubator Programme. Urban Incubator was succeeded by the UIB Association, the organization that dealt with post production of the programme. However, most of the newly established organizations that participated in UIB gathered under the City Guerilla.

Even though UIB managed to activate and collaborate with all important civil sector agencies in Savamala, there are still several organizations whose agendas diverges from that of UIB. Streets for cyclists is an NGO founded in 2011 and located in Savamala. Even though their main activity is promoting biking culture in Belgrade, they played a crucial role in confronting local authorities and Belgrade Waterfront investors when they closed the principle cycling path along the river for construction purposes. Ministry of space is an informal collective focusing on critical approaches to urban transformations in Belgrade. The organization collaborates with national and international research and activist networks. With a similar purpose, the collective participated in UIB within the Bureau Savamala framework. As a response to investor urbanism embodied in the Belgrade Waterfront Project, Ministry of space formed another NGO Ne da(vi)mo Beograd initiative (NDVBGD) with the sole purpose of gathering human and material resources and proof in order to fight the project and negative effects that it has on overall urban development in Belgrade.

4.2.4 Urban Decision Making in Savamala

The elaborate state of urban decision-making in Savamala shows signs of collisions within all three layers of influence. Establishing clear links between the process of strategic development, its institutional framework, the hierarchical structure of long-term and short-term objectives of all actors involved, and the real-time changes happening simultaneously in an urban environment has not ever been their goal.

Post-socialist, transitional urban planning broke down through the lack of consensus on priority goals, action-oriented programmes of implementation and flawed coordination at different levels, sectors and areas. In practice these conditions ended by having the policy agendas and technical documents as an advisory vision on paper, but left the real actions and decision making to political and market forces. The actual carriers of urban interventions not only in Savamala, but in Serbia in general, are the representatives of big businesses. In these circumstances, the civic initiatives presented are also manifests of interests, and although different, they still might not be those of the disempowered and marginalized and ordinary.

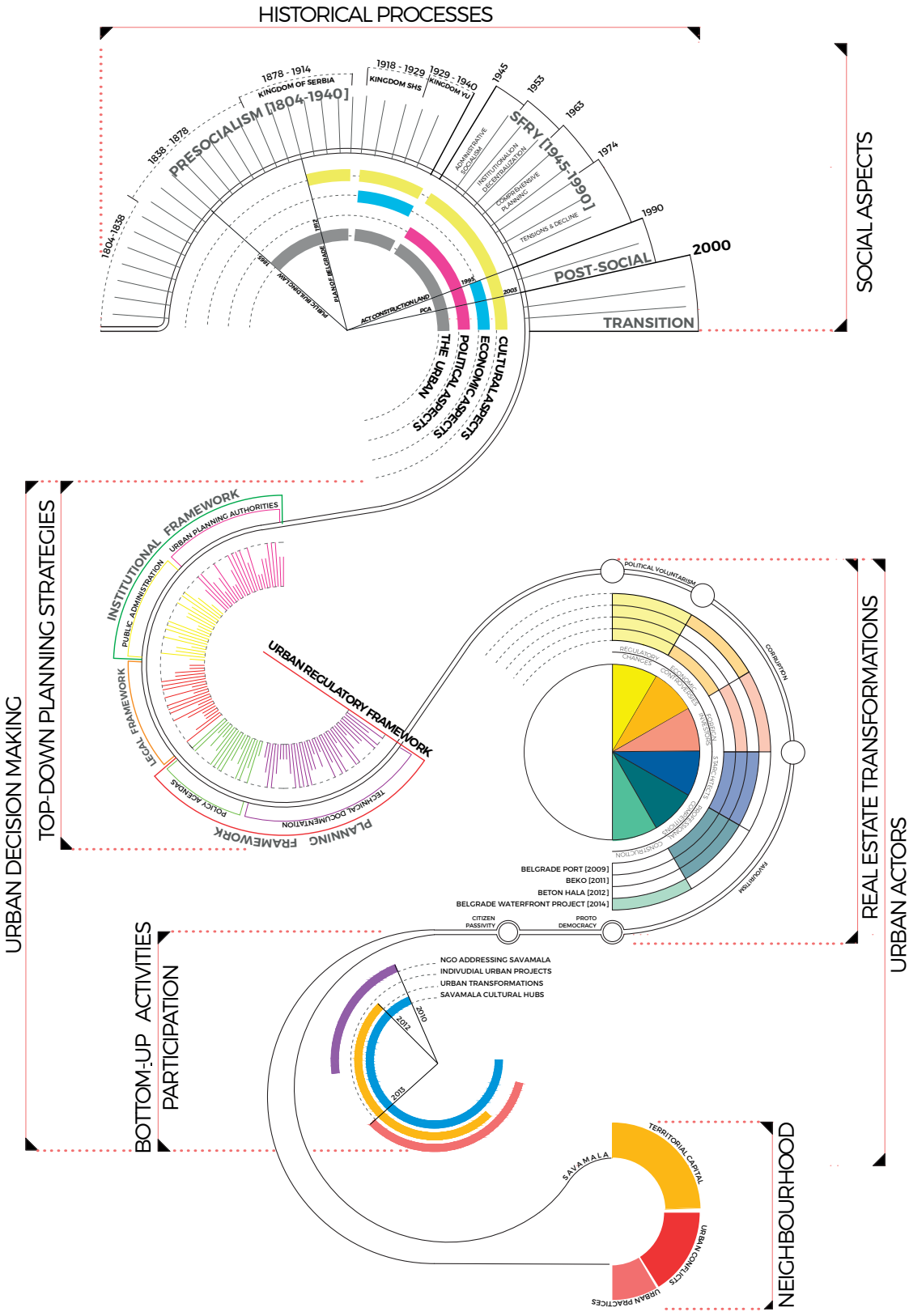
4.3 Case Study Framework

This chapter recognized, decomposed and restructured a historical and discursive overview of socio-spatial patterns of urban system transitions in the Savamala neighbourhood [Diagram 8:257].

Diagram 8 [Diagram 8:257] is an abstract visualization of the multitude of data presented in the overview of the chosen case study. The diagram is the result of the data summary, not the other way round. This case study framework interprets the combination of historical analysis and the description of urban decision making mechanisms in Serbia/Belgrade/Savamala. Circular elements are so divided that they summarize different parts of the case study framework. Instead of wide variety of particular, context-specific data presented in the text, the diagram emphasizes only the key categories for each dataset: historical processes, the layers of urban decision making (planning, real-estate and civil) and the neighbourhood. Moving away from the text, the diagram proposes the condensed "reading" of the empirical data by introducing 5 data structures. The linear timeframe of historical development in the first hemisphere sums up different periods and associate them with different social aspects (political, economic, cultural and urban). The first hemisphere points out which aspects from which periods are taken into account and which documents mark their introduction in the urban context of Belgrade. 3/4th of the second circle structuralize the numerous actors of urban regulatory framework in 3 mayor and 4 subcategories. The circle that represents real estate transformations connect the projects analysed in the text [Section 4..2.2:244] to mayor post-socialist political aspects (political voluntarism, corruption and favouritism) in terms of regulatory changes, economic controversies, presence of starchitects, issue of professional competitions and construction. The 4th open circle sums up types of bottom up activities and interprets their different timings on the circle. The spiral structure starting with history through decision-making ends up focusing Savamala (the last hemisphere) with the aim to translate these sets of socio-spatial data into agency and contextuality (practices, conflicts, resources) which altogether contribute to clarifying urban system transitions.

This chronological and causal interpretation of the complexity and dynamics of the urban system in Savamala exposes the factual and symbolic nature of all different elements at play at the neighbourhood level. Respecting their origins and paths of evolution enables the estimation of the conditions and needs of today that makes possible proposing multiple transition scenarios.

[DIAGRAM 8] LEGEND: Case study framework

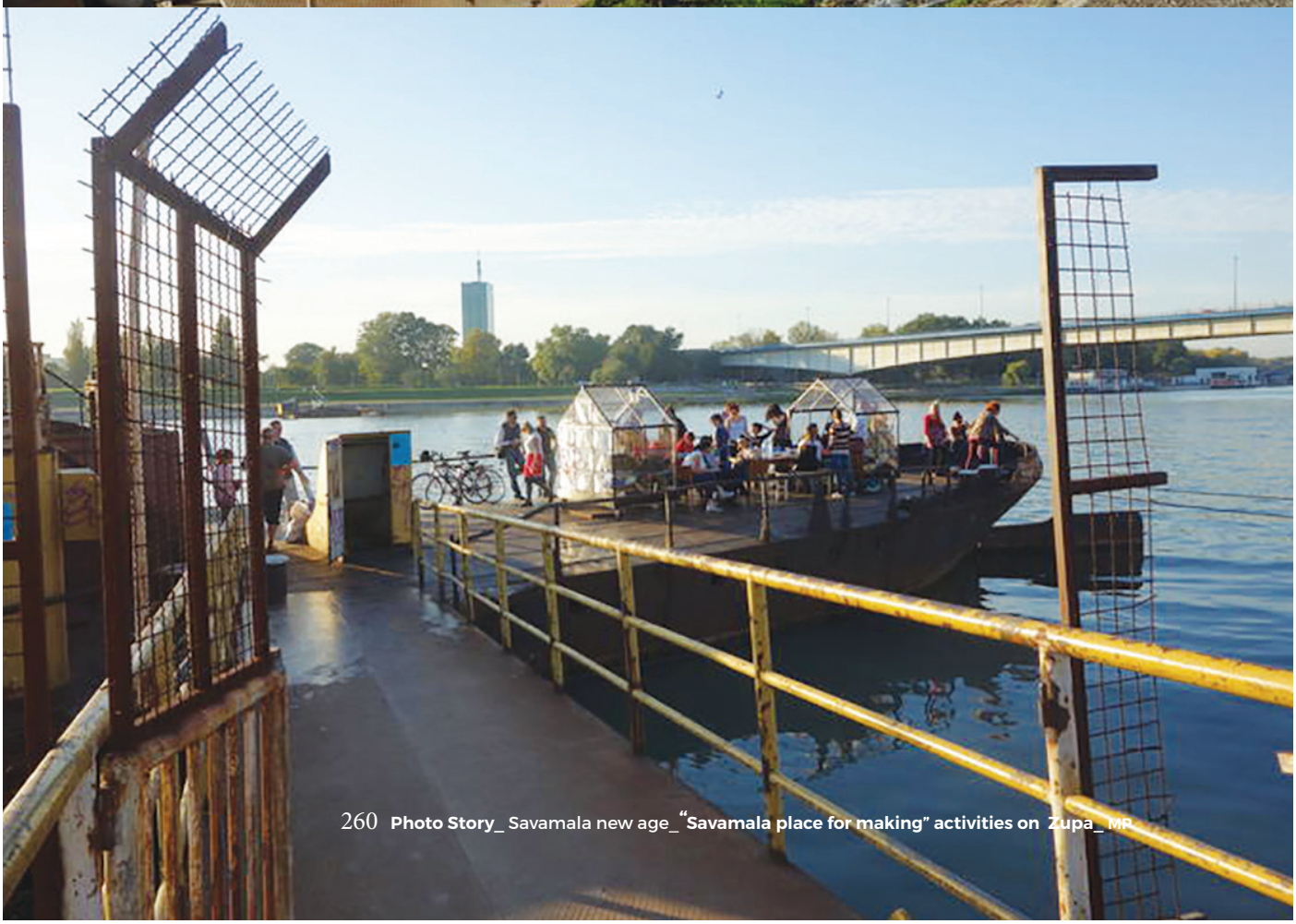


[DIAGRAM 8] Case study framework

[When the Savamala new age started]

Bring in some greenery in Savamala - Zdravamala activities (2012)_ S.O.U.P 259

Steamboat Zupa (2014)_ NN



Zupa was open for everybody to enter & participate _ SPfM

Streets for cyclists Rally: big city ride (2014)_الـ 263

School of Urban Practices (S.O.U.P) activities within Urban Incubator_ UI

Ship graveyard on the Sava waterfront (2014)_ NN

Cooking together in Spanish House_ S.O.U.P

FULL

Concert on Zupa steamboat (2014)_ NN

Chapter 5

Urban Complexity through Actor-network Theory Lens

Apart from their physical structure, cities are a summary of all citizen behaviours, emotions and value systems of all previous times and the source of prospects for the future times of upcoming generations *(\Stojkov 2013)*. Social and physical structures are perpetually interacting with one another, while the historical strata of these interactions accumulate one upon another. The city, and more generally the urban, is therefore ultimately a dynamic and immensely complex phenomenon. The term urban system transitions is used in this research to bound up the continuity of its fluctuations over time. Adding the time component in terms of discrete states of past, present and future enables the contextualizing of these processes. In this research, the study will concentrate on post-socialist cities and analogous contextual processes at the neighbourhood level.

The current state of affairs in Savamala results from the deposition of the historical layers with their own explicit decision-making mechanisms of the time and its final blend with the current machinery of decision-making. Associating a spatial component to the structuralized historical deposits of data, procedures, and identities provides a background for space-time translation that have constituted the state of the elements/entities at play in Savamala **[Chart 5:226]**. The historical component elaborated in the previous chapter is just a one-way directional vector that reaches the present. However, all human, social and technical elements and networks assemble in their current incidence in Savamala. They are actually the active agents and the actors of the on-going transitions. The present of Savamala is a time-bounded picture of localized urban system transitions.

In this research project, Actor-network theory (ANT) serves for interpreting the present state of the local context in Savamala. The most prominent characteristic of ANT is flattening the social by symmetrical treatment of human, social and technical elements that all might be actors of urban system transitions *(\Latour 2005b)*. Based on Latours argument on the new research agenda for globalization and world cities, ANT is herein applied not as a theory but as a method. A figuration of human and non-human actors through networks makes them the agents of urban dynamics in concrete space-time and produces a complex reality of urban system transitions. The actors existence is its status in a connection or connections. According to ANT, actors do not exist if their networks are not labeled. In this way they become agents. Therefore ANT serves for structuring the data on human and non-human agents and urban assemblage networks at the neighbourhood level.

This chapter brings the first round of data analysis with Actor-network theory. First of all, it tentatively reinterprets the specificities of a post-socialist neighbourhood according to ANT logical framework and terminology. The boundaries of Savamala for the purposes of this analysis are confirmed according to the investigation among experts and young professionals on the issue *(Questionnaire C2, Questionnaire C4, Questionnaire C5)*.

The Savamala neighbourhood corresponds to the area between the Brankov and Old Sava bridges; from the Sava riverside to Brankova street, from Zeleni Venac

(the "Green Wreath" market to the park in front of the Faculty of Economics. An urban assemblage map, which is laid out further in the chapter, summarizes these ANT interpretations in terms of the relational networks between urban key agents and the identified social aspects at work in the local and wider context of Savamala. Finally, the conclusion discusses the results, risks and opportunities of extending ANT in order to enable research to go beyond descriptions toward its operationalization in a particular urban setting. In Savamala, the results are summarized to address the current state of the neighbourhood and the course of its possible future developments.

5.1 An ANT Overview of Urban Agency in Savamala

Bearing in mind that actor-network explanations give real results only in strongly defined situations (\Farias and Bender 2011), the neighbourhood level is confined but yet significant enough for the analyses to work and for the results to matter. The study applied a flattening composition of all heterogeneous (1) human/ non-human actors (ANT) in Savamala. These actors (1) were identified from qualitative data collected on two different tracks: as key urban actors and within the layers of urban decision-making. Further on, the collected data are structured on 4 more levels in relation to ANT, in terms of (2) intermediaries/mediators, (3) free associations, (4) stabilizing & destabilizing agencies and (5) urban assemblages **[Chart 3:163]**. The congregation of these categories serves to visually describe the urban reality of a post-socialist neighbourhood - Savamala.

Following the circumstances found through the in-depth case study research design, the empirical and theoretical data are structured according to five dimensions of actor-networks in the following way:

1. All human and non-human actors;
2. Intermediaries and mediators;
3. Free associations;
4. Stabilizing and destabilizing agencies;
5. Urban assemblages.

5.1.1 All human and non-human actors

The rough scheme of human and non-human actors is formed according to case study description **[Chapter 3:163]**. It is further completed with the data from the questionnaires (experts, young professionals and students) and the interviews **[Annex A, B].**

In ANT terms, the Savamala neighbourhood is represented as a venue (urban terriory/ space) with material constitutional elements (built environment - urban structures), wherein a variety of urban actors and stakeholders (individuals and groups) - interrelated to social factors (political, economic, cultural and social components of urbanity) and within a specific regulatory framework (institutional relations and records) - engage in actions

The main sources of human and non-human agency taken into consideration in this analysis are: (a) urban actors and stakeholders, (b) urban space and the built environment, and (c) the urban regulatory framework. Social components (the political, economic and cultural aspects) are rather considered in an integral way as contextual, post-socialist or transitional circumstances traversing these different space-time layers. Also taken into account as the bearers of non-human agency, they are figurated into urban assemblage networks as active elements linking urban actor-networks, space-time layers and the levels of decision making with urban development prospects.

The morphology of urban decision-making tend to catalyze and hold sway over urban complexity. The layers of urban decision-making function throughout a network. They embody the relationality of urban elements and reveal the sources of urban agency **[Section 4.2:233]**. Even more relevant, the reason for this limitation of the scope of analysis lies in *Friedmann's (\1992)* thesis of four key determinants of urban agency: (1) governance (executive, legislative and civil), (2) polity (political organizations, social movements), (3) economy (markets, corporations, financial institutions) and (4) society (individuals, groups and associations). In this manner, the initial identification of human and non-human actors is summarized within: (o) top-down urban planning structure, (o) interest-based transformations, and (o) bottom-up participatory and urban design activities, in the urban realm of Savamala.

5.1.1.1 Top-down urban planning actors

The analysis of top-down decision-making in Savamala retains the structure of this layer identified through the data collection. Human and non-human actors include: (a) the regulatory framework, (b) urban actors and (c) space.

Regulatory framework : These actors are divided into institutions (public administration and urban planning authorities) and records (legal framework, policy agendas and technical documentation). They are assorted on scale levels: international, national-state, regional-city and local-municipality **[Section 4.2:233]**. Adapted to the European administrative framework *(\\Sluzbeni glasnik RS [Official Gazette RS] 09/2014),* the urban regulatory framework in Serbia has hitherto followed the recommendations of the Council of Europe *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014)*. The set of European strategies and programmes influence the rather general organizational flow of Serbian urban institutions and assign major directives for the adaptions of urban records. According to the local experts *(Interview A7, A8)*, the international regulatory levels do not hold direct relations to the Savamala urban environment. On the other hand, the institutional framework in Serbia corresponds to the administrative organization of the Republic. The Republic of Serbia is divided into 29 districts and 189 communes (opstine) [including the 16 municipalities of Belgrade and the municipalities of Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac]. The districts act as political bodies, but they are not authorized to make their own decisions regarding spatial development **[Chart 6:237].** Therefore, in practice, The Spatial Plan of the Republic, Regional Spatial Plans and Spatial Plans of Special Purposes are under the jurisdiction of the National authorities.

The Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure (MCTI) is the key public actor at the national level in the domain which it: (1) conducts administrative tasks, (2) governs strategic construction, site-development and infrastructure equipment works, (3) carries out survey jobs, and (4) performs inspection and supervision actions in the field *(\Maksic 2012)*. Conversely, cities and municipalities have the legal means and rights to establish their own strategies, plans, and programs, as well as local regulations and rules in terms of urban development. Urban plans consist of General Urban Plans (GUP),[85] Plans of General Regulations (PGR) and Plans of Detailed Regulations (PDR). [86] They cover respectively smaller territory, incorporate all sorts of innovative, strategic and up-to-date methods, and in general offer detailed solutions for issues already conceptually covered by the spatial plans. For example, General Urban Plans control development at the local level, so that they are prepared and adopted locally. Yet, as they are regarded as strategic documents (GUPs) with a certain influence at the national and/or regional level, final consent for their adaptation rests with the Ministry in competence. Local authorities adopt all urban plans and strategic documents that control urban development and comprise guidelines for the administration of their respective territories. These plans are ratified by the City Assembly. National and city authorities, planning bodies and policy agendas are subjected to continuous pressure to solve an old issue of Belgrades peak waterfront area. This area is rather adjacent to or even part of Savamala, depending on the interpretations of the neighbourhood. [87] These initiatives date back to the 1920s. The 1923 GUP announced the relocation of the railway station. Milos Somborskis 1950 GUP formalizes the new spatial organization of Belgrade as an integrated unity of Zemun, New Belgrade and old Belgrade, positioning the Sava river and Savamalas coast as the central urban area. Later, the Sava subway project, which was to cut through Savamala, was included in the 1972 GUP. The 1985 GUP focused its attention on the Sava Amphiteatre on the both sides of the Sava river as the prime location for urban redevelopment with central urban functions. Finally, the 2003 GP and the Belgrade Development Strategy 2008 (\\ *BDS 2008)* confirmed the importance of the revitalisation of Kosančićev Venac and the rehabilitation of Savamala in the domain of Belgrade brownfields. BDS 2008 was even more specific, marking the period for the interventions (January - June 2011) *(ibid)*.

Urban space : According to the technical documentation and policy agendas, the Savamala urban space is treated unilaterally or it may be eventually separated from its coastal area. Urban heritage in Savamala is also covered by the legal framework, policy agendas and present in technical documentation. Moreover, the pre-socialist past is still present in Savamala with reference to the architectural and cultural heritage of the period after the liberation of Belgrade from the Ottoman Empire and before WWII. Serbian rulers persistently attempted to fight substandard living circumstances in this neighbourhood and to develop a commercial and artisan town quarter and administrative centre there. Various traces of these initiatives are still present in Savamala public spaces and the built environments infrastructure. For urban plans and strategies addressing the Savamala neighbourhood that are currently in force, consult the chart **[Chart 6:237]**.

85 GUDP present long-term strategic commitments and land use proposition at the city level.r its successor (SFRY)

86 PGR and PDR are operational documents and they are prepared where applicable.

87 According to the data from questionnaires **(Annex B)**, there are several interpretations of what theborders of Savamala are: either a large area from Gazela bridge to behind Concrete Hall (Beton Hala) and to the Gavrila Principa in the north and along the Waterfront in the south, or several different smaller territories including the one adopted in this study. These varying ideas of the Savamala borders are also widespread among experts, professionals and citizens.

Social aspects: Urban documentation(development strategies, spatial and urban plans) serve to define public interest in cities. Yet, the singular initiative for technical urban documentation (plans) usually comes from the investor (private or public) and is drafted based on the investor's interests and guidelines by a public or private enterprise certified for urban planning practice *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014)*. The initiative is submitted to local authorities (e.g. the Secretariat for Urbanism, Urban Planning Institute, Municipality Planning Departments) for further procedures.

The design of spatial and urban plans is under compulsory supervision of the Planning commission on the corresponding level (national, city, local). The commission validates the subjugation of the plan to urban legislation and to the planning documents of higher authority, as well as to the feasibility study of the plan and its accordance with the results of the public review *(Interview B4)*. **Public review** is a filing objections process during 30 days with an open-to-public session where objections are discussed by the Planning commission. However, the report over the review of the general public and the final decision is made in a closed session by the Commission. When the procedure is over, the decision is published in the local gazette.

Based on local experience (citizens, civil sector, urban planning professionals), political interests have hegemony over urban planning decisions in Serbia *(Interview A4, A7, A9, A14, A17, B1, B2)*. Civil and public interests are being neglected and diminished by the *non-transparency* of the planning process and pertaining *corruption* - in terms of supervisions, inspections and public hearings *(Interview A14, B8, B13)* ***(ibid.)***. Local authorities also emphasize that the lack of *financial institutional capacity* (means and resources) contributes to poor public participation *(ibid.)*.

Centralized decision-making is even more often conducted through *political dominance* than by the legal framework itself. This is the case because the central decision making body in practice is not the national authority, but the political party in power; more precisely, **the Prime minister** or the President, depending on how important and influential they are in the political realm in Serbia *(Questionnaire C1).* Such **administrative hierarchy** extensively subdues any legal, professional and financial jurisdiction of local authorities to the National authorities, making the scope and the management of their activities unstable and difficult to strategize *(\Vujosević et al. 2012a)*.

The high politicization of institutional relations contributes to the growing imbalance between the social goal of **public spending** (public social services) and its developmental role (market-oriented) *(Questionnaire C1)*.

In the case where political interests are often tied to individual interests of economically powerful actors and to investors' financial power, the issues of **the budget** (all levels), **public procurement** and **public tenders** become the means of an unregulated urban economy *(Questionnaire C1).* Coupled with a flawed **taxation system**, broken **property structure** and inadequate **land use indemnity** and **land rent**, the prolonged regulatory gap in terms of investments has led to inadequate and even il-

legal construction practices, an overload of the infrastructural systems and an overall lowering of overall urban conditions in Serbian cities *(Interview B1).*

The majority of these social issues are linked to the multifaceted circumstances of post-socialist urban development and the prospects of transition toward a capitalistic social order. Post-socialist backtracking refers primarily to the present of Savamala, but in reference to the past and the characteristics of the socialist regime which are fading away (but not yet completely and not without leaving traces):

- state control;

- public ownership;

- hybrid **market circumstances.**

Transitional prospects refer more to what the future brings. Transition actually means marking the processes of change towards:

- a democratic political system;

- privatization and the dominance of private ownership;

- a market led economy and **market mechanisms;**

- clear **class division** and uneven **distribution of resources.**

The confusing overlap of these conditions has especially aggravated economic order, producing: (1) **low economic growth,** (2) **high public debt,** (3) a high **unemployment rate** and (4) **poverty** germination *(Questionnaire C1)*. Such as the case is, the overall social situation is represented by rather spontaneous urbanization, ad hoc definition (or merely formalization) of public interest and the institutional adjustments to prevalent illegal construction and occupation of space *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014).*

Urban actors and stakeholders: Strategic behaviours and political power relations are identified as the pillars of top-down urban planning practice. They aim at enabling dialogue between: investors, citizens, local authorities, and planning bodies. *(\Vujosević 2006).*

Even though the sole purpose of the political structure, authorities, and political bodies is to define and protect public interest, this usually is not the case. More often than not, political actors act on behalf of political parties, movements and leaders, lobbysts or in the worst case of real estate investors *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014).* Consequently, in Serbia urban planning professionals are those who handle and balance various interests. Unfortunately, as a result of biased institutional relations and an emphasized institutional hierarchy, they usually serve only as a technical body, the staff to pursue investors wishes *(Interview A1, A13, A14, B8).* Therefore, it is important to establish a two-way, meaningfull dialogue between: investors, citizens, local authorities, and planning bodies.

In this respect, the key top-down actor and stakeholder groups active in Savamala are *(Questionnaire C1)*:

- Municipal authorities;
- City authorities;
- National authorities;

- City planning departments (architects, town planners, engineers, public administrators);
- Ministry of Construction, Transportation & Infrastructure;
- Professional association (architects, town planners, engineers, artists);
- Universities and educational institutions;
- Public enterprises;
- Public-private enterprises;
- Private enterprises;
- Citizens.

5.1.1.2 Interest-based real-estate transformations

Social aspects: As it was already elaborated above, the transitional reality is a thriving ground where planning very often serves as a supportive mechanism for **uncontrolled privatisations** and **wild marketisation**. These circumstances bring to the fore large (mega) projects [88] instead of strategic programs. Furthermore, influential business stakeholders and corporate bodies profit from ungrounded institutional formalizations, inconsistent institutional procedures and flawed institutional processes and above all from vertical clientelism in the institutional framework to cater for their profit-oriented interests.

Urban actors and stakeholders: As practiced today, the public interest is defined by the most powerful social class (enterprises, services, corporate business, politicians and ruling elites, landlords, banks, Trade Negotiations Committees) - in the brace between political and economic elites *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014).* In the local context, these private interest are also promoted through national and local media (publicly and privately owned newspapers, TV and radio stations) and some of the mainstream intellectuals *(\\\\Nikolic 2015).*

The human engine of interest-based real estate transformations consists of *(Questionnaire C1):*

- Private investors
- Private investment funds
- The media

Urban space: Powerful investors use their economic and political dominance to gain a good bargain in buying the highly profitable waterfront area of the Serbian capital and to ensure that its future development serves their needs. This battle for land started even before the official fall of socialism in SFRY.

In the late 80s, national authorities promoted the "Town on the water" project, which addressed the entire area of the Sava Amphiteatre integrally with its counterpart on the New Belgrade side *(\\\Urbanisticki zavod Beograda 2008a).* Later, the infamous Serbian leader Slobodan Milosević supported the CIP Europolis project as part of the electoral campaign for local elections (gradski izbori) in 1995. The project was based on an international competition for the urban design of the Sava amphiteatre *(\\\Urbanisticki zavod Beograda 2008a).*

88 Megaprojects (MP) are a flagship of the dominance of the neoliberal doctrine in the Serbian context ***(\Harvey 2012).*** A widely known hypothesis states that the success of a MP depends on its appreciation of the local historical and current context, its ability to respond to the contrasting aims and objectives and the integration of communities and localities involved ***(\Hoyle 2000).***

After 2000, the most important projects hitherto active in the extended area of Savamala are:

- Lamda Development investment for Beko factory renovation;
- The "City on water" project by the Belgrade Port Company (Luka Belgrade);
- An international competitive bidding for architectural design of the Beton Hala Waterfront;
- The Eagle Hills and Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP).

According to the current state of affairs, the crucial interest-based intervention in Savamalas space occurred in 2013 when the investor from the United Arab Emirates [Eagle Hills Company] bought the National Shipping Company and all its land. Slowly but surely afterwards, the company set in motion a range of legislation and planning document changes to accommodate the investors interests within the Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP).

89 The bus terminal and railway station are actually outside the area which is referred to as Savamala in this research. But as they are very close, as well as in a busy urban hub, they are still important generators of urban functions, activities and urban actors in Savamala.

The exact area of intervention in these project phases varies in scope, starting from Gazela Bridge and extending to the far end of the Dorćol marina or even includes the New Belgrade riverbank. The common denominator for most projects is the coastal area on the right Sava riverbank. The majority of the projects have also advocated for the relocation of the bus and railway station.[89] Furthermore, the recent Belgrade Waterfront project also targets several architectural heritage buildings. According to the agreement signed between: (1) The Republic of Serbia (The Minister of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure), (2) Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment LLC (Mohamed Ali Alabar), and (3) Belgrade Waterfront d.o.o. (acting director) and Al Maabar International Investment LLC (Mohamed Ali Alabar). Serbian national authorities have committed to concede several protected buildings in Savamala for the investors purposes without any financial compensation. The agreed upon the investors right to choose buildings for reconstruction and lease without a fee from the list of officially "non-contributed" ones in the area. The listed buildings are: the Belgrade Cooperative, Bristol Hotel and the "Simpo" building inside Savamala and Railway station headquarters, the Paper Mill, Train Turn Table and Post Office outside Savamala. The buildings of the Belgrade Cooperative, Hotel Bristol, and "Simpo" are examples of architectural heritage of national and city importance.

5.1.1.3 Bottom-up participatory and urban design activities

Social aspects: A most important particularity of Savamala is the rise of the civil sector and non-formal organizations, rather more typical of western European cities than of post-socialist ones. Namely, their arrival rests on the idea that, with the lack of efficient institutions and official strategies, the protection of public interest occurs through non-institutional, non-governmental organizations *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014)*.

In play in the Serbian context are the cultural and behavioural patterns inherited from 40 years of socialism: (1) a predominantly middle class society, (2) suspicion,

lethargy and ignorance toward social participation, (3) a top-down approach to spatial and social development and (4) ideologically-framed civil rights *(\Cvetinović and Veselinović 2014).* These circumstances entail significant resources (time, knowledge, human capital, networking) which are required for those activities to work *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014).* What is more, it is also essential for the organizers and participants (citizens) to have at least a vague notion of whom they might confront.

Urban actors and stakeholders: Having identified the transitional capital of Savamala in the local context, a number of small-scale public initiatives and creative services have found their place in Savamala from 2008 onward *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013).* In absence of an overall urban development strategy, these independent cultural entrepreneurs, supported by the municipality Savski Venac, have started the transformation of unused warehouses and craft shops into spaces open for public participation and social production. These associations and private initiatives have finally introduced an opportunity for an alternative strategic path to influence the urban development of the neighbourhood *(\\\\Mikser Festival 2012)* and have made it well known on a global scale as one of creative clusters in European metropolises *(\\\\Monocle 2016; \\\\Mikser House 2016).*

The bottom-up actors and stakeholders identified as active in Savamala are confirmed through the questionnaires and interviews in the qualitative data collection process *(Questionnaire C1, Questionnaire C2, Questionnaire C5):*

- Citizens;
- Local NGOs;
- International NGOs;
- Local community;
- Artists and cultural workers;
- National cultural institutions;
- International cultural institutions;
- National and international educational institutions.

A detailed description of the bottom-up participatory activities in Savamala is provided **[Section 4.2.3:250]**. Taking into account their number, but also the similitude of their activities, those that signify as poles of urban agency within this analysis are: (1) Cultural Centre Grad (KC Grad); (2) the Old Depository in Kraljevića Marka Street (MKM); (3) Mikser multidisciplinary platform; (4) Nova Iskra design incubator; (5) the Urban Incubator Belgrade project (UIB); (6) Ministry of Space Collective; (7) Ne da(vi) mo Beograd initiative (NDVBGD); (8) My piece of Savamala - a participatory urban design workshop; (9) The game of Savamala - a participatory urban planning workshop; (10) Savamala, a place for making a participatory project; (11) Streets for Cyclists NGO; (12) Common space in Kraljevića Marka 8 street (KM8).

Urban space: These civic activities have also aimed to profit from abandoned and empty spaces in Savamala. In this respect, most of the spaces were obtained for a temporal use or for use over a non-determined period by the Munic-

ipality of Savski Venac. Some are also rented from the private owners under market conditions. The very first established place was the Gallery Magacin (MKM), a space on Kraljevića Marka 1. It was under the supervision of Dom Omladine (a Belgrade Cultural Institution) and it hosted the activities of the independent cultural platform in Belgrade. The crucial step in making Savamala a home for the non-formal civic and cultural scene was when KC Grad moved into the old building at Braće Krsmanović 5. This was followed by setting the Mikser Festival on the streets of Savamala and renting the old storage at Karadjordjeva 46 to accomodate Mikser House. Later on, Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB) activated several spaces for their programme in the broader area of Savamala: (o) the Spanish house (Braće Krsmanovića 2), (o) KM8 (Kraljevića Marka 8), (o) C5 (Crnogorska 5), (o) Bureau Savamala (Svetozara Radića 3, and (o) Nextsavamala (Gavrila Principa 2). It is also important to mention Nova Iskra, a private co-working space and platform for cultural activities. It is located at Gavrila Principa 43, a building at the very edge of what is in this research assumed as the Savamala neighbourhood.

5.1.2 Intermediaries and mediators

INDIVIDUALS - triple roles; parralel decision-making;
DOCUMENTS - Master plan;
SPACES - reactivation of spaces;
EVENTS- cooperation strategies; art & cultures

Starting with ANT and its open approach to comprise whatever may be an element of a complex urban system and the loose definition of actors relationality, the actorsactual influence on site was rather straight-forward and indicative. It has been realized that their human/material nature should be acknowledged as it unmistakably designates their roles in urban development processes. Therefore, this wide conceptual field has been shrunk to the category of an actor nature. This tells us whether the human/non-human element serves as intermediary or mediator. In this respect, the researcher differentiated its figuration as human, entity, artifact, or event, and indicated whether it is an individual or group element (set of elements). So to speak, the nature of an element defines whether it actually bears or merely changes meaning in one manifestation they do, in the other not **[Diagram 9.1:293; 9.3:297]**.

Individuals **[Diagram 9.1:293; 9.3:297]:** The distribution of roles in the Serbian regulatory framework is substantially dependent on the individual human and group actors who are assigned certain position *(Questionnaire C1)* Namely, the institutional structure is more often than not encumbered by tripled representation of functions for certain positions [i.e. Prime Minister] *(Questionnaire C1; Interview B1, B2, B8)*: (1) the official administrative scope of the institutional role assigned to an individual, (2) the symbolic significance assigned to the role based on the historical dominance of the individual approach over the institutional one, (3) the individual human agency of the person who holds the position.

This is especially evident when the official engagement of the institution in local networking depends on the role of its executive officer. For example, the activities of the Urban Planning Institute are often molded according to the predominantly managerial or professional approach of its lead, in which sense the entire duty of the institution varies from consultative to managerial tasks at the city level *(Interview B3)*. [90]

90 According to an interviewee, based on the attitude of its executive officer, the Urban Planning Institute may take an active role in directing interventions and advising the city authorities on strategies and plans (Interview B3).

Another important figuration is the parallel decision-making structure installed in the Serbian institutional framework through the individuals of a political party who perform certain institutional duties. The political party usually sets its own party staff at high public positions, so that they, as public officers, make important decisions in the public domain. But, on the other hand, they are subordinate to the party interests through the party hierarchy and they introduce their political party reasoning into public-interest decision-making. [91]

Another layer of importance for human agency is added by an overlap of jurisdictions from local and international professionals. New market conditions have brought in international corporate capital with their own business conduct and rules, and installed them into the local market in Serbia. Namely, there is a substantial subordination of tasks from international to local personnel. While foreign architects, engineers, project teams perform all designs, calculations and decision-making, Serbian enterprises and professionals primarily work to adjust those to local requirements and standards with significant restrictions even in this domain[92] *(Interview B12)*. Even more important, it appears that different business model traditions [the socialist "to have the work done" among local professionals compared to profit-oriented approaches from the foreign professionals] influence their respective financial and managerial arrangements with the investor and in this manner direct the course and the implementation of projects.

Documents **[Diagram 9.1:293; 9.3:297]:** An additional interventionist role in terms of "localizing the global" *(\Latour 2005b)* is put to work through different approaches to the implementation of agreements and projects in the Serbian setting compared to that of others. For example, the Serbian urban framework does not recognize the legally binding role of a Master plan. Without discussing the political and economic articulation in the local context, the Belgrade Waterfront Project obviously features as a source of new urban regulations. And as such, it extensively influences land use and property management in Serbia.[93]

The issue of a new Spatial plan for the Special Purpose Area, Lex specialis and changes in the General Urban Plan of Belgrade set up a new order of priorities, allowances and restrictions in the local planning ecosystem. An interviewee with a background in architecture pointed out that construction indexes, once raised, will never be lowered again and that will surely change the recognizable Belgrade veduta *(Interview B13).*

Spaces **[Diagram 9.1:293; 9.3:297]:** The widespread network of civic engagement brings to the fore the mediatory function of the newly established spaces for culture and arts in Savamala. Dozen of local sites in the neighbourhood (Spanish house, KM8, Magazin, KC Grad, Mikser House, Galley Štab, HUBG12, Nova Iskra, C5, Svetozara Radića 3, Miksalište) lodge various local, national and international organizations and actors, tourists and clients in overlapping time-frames, while being extensively covered by local and international media.

91 An interviewee gave the example of the public money spent to accommodate private interests, while the financial structure of political parties in Serbia is still non-transparent and there is no legal means to investigate it. Another gave the example how a professional in high education had slowly changed his approach to the job during his term as a high officer of the political party in power (Interview A1, A3).

92 The valid BWP agreement contains an article that obliges RS to adjust its laws and regulations if they prevent smooth implementation of the project.

93 The BWP is also included in the Spatial plan for the Special Purpose Area of the Sava Waterfront. Namely, the project is part of its title - The Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area "for the Belgrade Waterfront Project". As local experts have argued, this is an official benchmark for high urban planning authorities to accommodate the needs of a single project.

In this manner, this continuous communication of entities from different backgrounds promotes an active role of the local towards the global, compared to the passive role of construction industry professionals in BWP. An engaging example is the quick reaction of Mikser house to establish a centre for the middle-east refugees passing through Belgrade on their way to Western Europe The promptness and efficiency of their [Mikser House] response placed them quickly into the international humanitarian aid network and their work acknowledged by the international actors in the domain *(Interview B6).*

Events: Finally, the multifaceted nature of events organized in Savamala and their multi-scale character practically intertwine local interactions and global structures in order to: (1) regionalize culture and artistic production in the Balkans, (2) set a local life cycle of design, (3) promote cooperation strategies for multidisciplinary activities and international projects (Interview B6). Some of these include: the Mikser festival and Mikser house [established the Balkan Design Network, Miksaliste refugee assistance and Info Park aid - humanitarian work]; City guerilla association and Urban incubator (UI) association [brought international artists and organizations to temporarily work in Savamala]; Hub, Štab and other galleries [exibit international artworks as well]; KC GRAD [international funding and collaborations]; Magacin gallery [incentives for the national cultural scene and international collaborations], Bike kitchen, Streets for cyclists, Beograd Velograd festival [international visibility] etc. *(Questionnaire C5).*

The process of associating agency to human and non-human actors without leaving to social forces to endow it with meaning is under constant threat of a reductionist approach to uncertainties and controversies about who and what is the actual source of action *(\Latour 2005b).* In this, the interpretation of intermediary/mediator role depends on "localizing the global", "redistributing the local" and "connecting" within a zero-value map of "local interactions to other places, times and agencies" *(ibid.).* Based on the empirical data, the crucial distinction between the source of action of an individual, documentary or event actually determines the local or de-localized[94] nature of interventions in Savamala. What is more, this is also the way to place into networks what may in other prevailing conditions be determined as uncertain, controversial or, in general, the social." Even in the legal framework, in Serbia everything is left to an individual" *(Interview B5).*

94 In ***Latour's (2005)*** terms, de-localization does not serve to de-spatialize the action, but to indicate that it has been disconnected and re-connected to some other place. Namely, under certain circumstances, it has been globalized.

[Diagram 9.3:297] represents one layer of the complex ANT urban assemblage map. It gives an overview of the nature of actors spotted within the analysis of empirical data on Savamala. The diagram exposes the type and share of different subcategories for intermediary/mediator roles of actors. It also sums up the issue of roles in an isolated scheme.

5.1.3 Free associations

STRUCTURE NETWORKS
- planning commision;
private based transformations;
informal collaboration network;
NETWORKS OF INFLUENCE
- EU legislation;
international service, support and management;

From the qualitative data (expert questionnaires, workshops, interviews and documentation), it has been realized that classical urban categories (the social, structure and scale) cannot be fully undermined, though they are used not as explanations, but as associations of performativity and enactment (the network of influence and socially functional categories). Thus pertaining artifacts are also converted into actors. In other words, these association-based actors actually operationalize urban concepts and categorize actual forces and actions.

Structure networks: To answer the how question of actors' activation in networks also involves the character of their agency within local boundaries. Institutionalized urban planning structure is under the top-down, supreme jurisdiction of the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure, which makes it the supreme regulatory, planning, administration, control and verification body in the urban domain.

However, the city of Belgrade planning institutions manage to gain certain authority in the national discourse. First of all, they produce massive amounts of general and detailed regulation plans which equals the production of the rest of Serbia together. Then, they hold a special role in the national scope as the city legally has a special status[95] *(\\Zakon o Glavnom Gradu 2007 [Law on Capital City])*. Finally, various regulations were once pioneered in Belgrade, like that of the Planning commission instated in Belgrade through the City Statute since 1974 and legally introduced at the national level with the 2003 Planning and Construction Act *(Interview B4)*.

95 For example, for central city municipalities there is no need for a Regional spatial plan and Detailed Urban Plans as they are regulated with the General Urban Plan; even though GUP 2009 is only a strategic document, while 2003 GP included the articles on implementation as well (Interview B4).

On the other hand, private initiatives are actually the pillars of transformations in Savamala. The case of the Belgrade Waterfront Project exemplifies that even though the Master plan is not a legally binding document in Serbia, but a simple statement of the investors wishes, its rules and decisions are implicitly assigned as an obligation to be incorporated in the Detailed Urban Plan for the area. The master plans in this manner become legalized and legitimized *(Interview B4)*.

Similarly, even though the activities of the first Mikser Festival and later of Mikser House, aimed at culture, art and design at first, the actual implementation went into a more consumerist direction. In this respect, the other cultural workers in the neighbourhood have said that Mikser attracted attention to Savamala as a neighbourhood for partying and easy money and, in the long run, paved the way for night clubs, cafes and restaurants to local there *(Interview B5)*.

Finally, the wide range of activities instigated by the civil sector in Savamala provide evidence of an informal collaborative network that involves local and international actors and addresses the spaces in Savamala and other places. Their engagement revolves around local implementation for: (o) promotion of urban culture, arts, design, architecture and urban design; (o) support for strategic project management, education and practice-based research; (o) humanitarian and fund-raising actions; (o) empowerment of citizen participation and local community bonds; and (o) the incorporation

of a certain number of commercial, entertainment and leisure activities *(Questionnaire C5).* Their potential to move around the city[96] under the unsupportable threat of the local megaproject (BWP) indicates the resilience of the constituted network.

96 Several interviewees from the cultural sector mentioned the possibility of Mikser House, KC Grad and the Galleries (Stab and HUB) deciding to move from Savamala in the very near future.

Network of influence: According to the detailed analysis of the decision-making structure in Belgrade and in Savamala [Section 4.2], it is conspicuous that there are several scales of the distribution of agency in the local context throughout different layers of decision-making. In urban planning discourse, the issue of internationalization is present to a small extent in the adjustment to the European Union urban legislative. As the pace of the joining process is slow, the system in Serbia adjusted its pace of reforms to it. A certain confusion in the local context is produced by continual shifts of jurisdiction on certain issues from top-down and then from ground-up through the hierarchy of the regulatory framework *(Interview B13).* With a lack of insight into the judiciary structure, citizens, stakeholders and investors usually resort to individual sources of authority in public institutions *(Interview B10, B13)*. On the other hand, in the historical overview of real-estate transformations after 2000, the influence of international corporate actors and investors has been indisputable (e.g. Beko Factory, BWP etc.).

In the so-called bottom-up network of engagement, international actors usually serve as source, support and manager of local actions. Even though their role is usually described as empowering and/or leading, the management strategies of international organizations in the civil sector are also indicated as manipulative in how they formulate the actions and adjust them to their own goals rather than inquire about and investigate what the [goals] of the local population are *(Questionnaire C2, Questionnaire C4, Questionnaire C5)* The local distributors of international actions are: the Goethe Institute Belgrade, KC Grad, Mikser House and Urban Incubator. While citizens, young professionals and students become mere participants/clients of these also top-down built agency networks *(Questionnaire C2, Questionnaire C5; Interview A12, A13, B10, B11)*. The only real bottom-up actions may then be small-scale and sporadic initiatives of several citizens to either help minorities in their neighbourhood, or renovate parts of common spaces, or to contribute something that the neighbourhood is in need of (a tap with fresh water in the waterfront area) at their own expense. *(Interview B11).*

This further deconstruction of the actor roles serves to reveal rather an internal networking than an external one. The structure and scale internalized in the social manifestation of the analysed actors offer a possible perspective on how they engage in networks and bring up certain social constellations (urban development prospects).

"The politicians in Serbia become blinded by power and benefits after less than a year of working as party staff in the public domain"

(Interviewee)

5.1.4 Stabilizing and destabilizing agencies

SOCIALLY FUNCTIONAL NETWORKS
- Urban Planning Institute, Public enterprises;
SUPPORTIVE NETWORKS
- bottom-up educative projects & events, municipality spaces;
Stabilizing agency practice -based, informal research;
destabilizing - public unitlity companies;

In general, the actors were identified according to their social function/action in the urban realm, and accordingly "flattened" and re-addressed from an ANT standpoint. According to the qualitative data collected, mainly through non-structured interviews, it is apparent that analyzing functional and supportive agency brings an additional layer of explanations of urban reality. Apart from intermediary/mediator roles and associations, this interpretation brings in another type of internal networking.

The differentiation of functional and supportive networks indicate the possibility that actors change their roles by altering their internal network engagement. Socially functional networks indicate the social category of actors in reference to the politico-economic social order (political role and the system of finance). The notion of supportive/secondary networks is laid out more as a significant subset of the actors agency already figuring in any of structural networks. Secondary networks explicate their bipolar character and their presence in more than one internal network simultaneously. As a primary role is associative within structural networks, a secondary role might be stabilizing/destabilizing and it figures within supportive networks.

Socially functional networks: The most important issue herein is to (re)distribute actions across the local social realm. Of special importance is the fine tuning of a range of public actors: polity, public institutions, urban authorities, public enterprises and public utility companies **[Diagram 9.2:295].** The data on these socially functional networks are extracted from the questionnaires among senior and young experts and young professionals in urban planning and architecture.

A special place is devoted to the rising agency of public-private partnership: BWP, public transportation in Belgrade, the Dom Omladine cultural institution; as well as those in prospect: Sava Center congress hall and Airport Belgrade. While private enterprise is a sole metaphor of private interest, the agency tracking within networks indicate that it is very common that public-oriented actors actually pursue private interests through their activities.[97]

97 This is especially evident in the agreements and activities of the authorities around the Belgrade Waterfront Project. (Interview A10)

The representatives of the civil sector include both formal and informal organizations. The informants indicated a wider range of categories [i.e. national authorities, city andmunicipal authorities, the Ministry (MCTI), city planning departments, research institutions, universities and education, professional associations, public enterprises, international and local NGOs, the local community, the media, political parties, public-private enterprises, private investment funds, private investors and citizens) that had been aggregated to the distinct public, private or civil agency of actors.

An example is the importance of public enterprise and public utility companies for local planning, namely on the scope of physical and practical constraints they set on spatial interventions and building *(Questionnaire C1).* An interviewee from the public sector stated that, during the plan preparation procedures, the Urban Planning Institute usually has to consult between 50 to 100 public institutions regarding their requirements and constraints for planning and construction *(Interview B3)*. In the case of BWP, the right bank of the Sava in Belgrade is of substantial interest to several public enterprises [Javna Preduzeća] and public utility companies [Javno-komunalna Preduzeća], such as *(Interview B1)*:

- Coastal services: Serbia Water-management company and the Directorate for Inland Waterways;
- Railway transportation company;
- Belgrade waterworks and sewage;
- Belgrade Land Development agency; [98]

98 As the financial management office for real estate in the city

An important question is their articulation in local networks and the discrepancy between a real and formal role they take in urban planning and implementation.

The Diagram 9.2 [Diagram 9.2:295] reduces the complex assemblage map to socially functional networks. The purpose of this diagram is to display the prevalence of empirically established socially functional networks in the chosen case study. It is a schematic representation that gives an overview of social functions of a large number of actors analysed in this research (186). The diagram visualizes their distribution according to the data from Savamala and Belgrade. They are at the same time the bearers of stabilizing and destabilizing agency within these networks. Categories with visually most numerous actors are the most dominant ones (polity and urban authorities).

Supportive/secondary networks Another very important issue in terms of stabilizing and destabilizing agency in urban space is the actual relationship with space which is in itself incorporated in the actor's nature. The extended list of urban functions was identified in Savamala through the qualitative inquiry [99] *(Questionnaire C5).* Apart from primary functions, which in this case may serve as secondary, the secondary networks are summarized separately and also involve: urban related, space related, data related, non-governmental, infrastructural, services and transportation related issues *(Questionnaire C5)*. In addition, these added categories are a significant stabilizing/destabilizing source of agency in Savamala.

99 These function are: culture, transport, commercial, abandoned areas, leisure, residential, educational, public services and industrial

In these circumstances, it is crucial to mention how the rising global trend of practice-based research and education, which is coming from outside the formal institutions, have also entered Savamala through the initiatives of the Goethe Institute (international actor), Mikser House and KC Grad (national actors). These actors gather cultural workers and associations, young academics, architects, designers, and young people in general around methodological (School of urban practices), educative (The game of Savamala), participatory (My piece of Savamala), practice-based (Urbego), and urban related activities *(Interview A1, A2, A3, B6).*

The relationality to space in Savamala was kept above all as a question of resources - either for alternative culture, artists, social organizations, service-oriented entrepreneurs[100] or even for local residents. They have all been in need of space for their rather diverse interests *(Interview B5, B10, B14)*. In this respect, the actions of the non-governmental sector has been marked as limited as it was not participatory enough nor enough bottom-up - the activities were not coming from the local community and did not represent local needs *(Interview B10, B14)*. The framework of what were initially announced as bottom-up actions were actually rather imposed from the top-down by international actors and local action distributors.

100 The founder of a bike tour company indicated that Savamala was the perfect place for his business, because of its location and the density of tourist-oriented urban activities in the neighbourhood. (Interview B14)

Finally, the issue of infrastructure (connectivity) and transportation (accessibility) in technical terms is marked as a materialization of the level of urbanity of a location *(Interview B13)*. In this manner, Savamala has high importance and high rank in the city, but according to the artificial market conditions[101] in the real-estate market in Belgrade, the actual value of land and building stock does not always correspond to the real, material value *(Interview B1)*.

While tracing interactions and interconnections among actors collected through participatory action research methods **[Chart 2:155; Annex D]**, it was revealed that various social manifestations of these actors have a double effect. They can either work stabilizing (practice-based urban related research) or (de)stabilizing (public utility companies in planning, non-governmental actions in Savamala). In both ways they offer another "reading" of the social world in Savamala.

Research activities taken up by the non-governmental sector and international actors provided an elaborated picture of what can be found on the ground and how it can be put into action with minimal financial means. An example is "The Model of Savamala" project within the Urban Incubator provided detailed data on the physical and social structure of five streets in Savamala. The physical model presents the area and saturates the represented built structures with parallel data on social strata and local information and knowledge about the quarter. The Model was exhibited to the public for about two years with the aim to expose local knowledge and offer a time-space-data vision of the neighbourhood. With such activities, Savamala's vivid cultural present was supported with a layer of verified data and elaborated knowledge.

On the other hand, public utility companies directly influenced by the BWP chose to stay quiet about the actions that threatens their property and activities and, in general, endanger the public interest. The voice of the coastal services has not been publicly heard in the case of illegal coast fortification. Similarly, the railway transportation company did not react over Lex specialis and the land offered to the foreign investor, a large part of which is the property of the railway company. While this is not the usual behaviour of these actors, in this case they contributed to destabilizing the procedures of how planning is administered and managed in Belgrade.

5.1.5 Urban assemblages

After illustrating the Savamala urban environment through the actors, their figuration and agency, the complexity of its urban development was interpreted through node-link reality **[Diagram 9:296]**. Taking into account the post-socialist context, significant pressure from private investors and the articulation of civic initiatives and participation in Savamala, the network of translations were identified to refer to different layers of decision-making.

These translations consider the centrality of actors and the nature of the links among them. In this sense they represent an assemblage process of agency dissemination. These overarching urban assemblage networks are: management, verification, consultation, administration, planning, construction, regulation, control, finances, implementation and social aspect networks **[Diagram 9:296]** *(Questionnaire C1)*. They

101 The approach to urban land regulation in Belgrade and Serbia is more administrative than market-oriented, yet construction land management takes place according to real-estate market rules ***(\Zeković et al. 2015).*** The series of instruments work in favour of the real, functional real estate market rules: conversion of land-use rights, leaseholds on urban (construction) land, no taxation of land rent etc. ***(ibid.).***

encompass a significant number of humans and non-humans, their actions, agencies and forces. They all have a figuration in Savamala, which allows the outlining and tracing of the distribution of any political, economic and cultural repercussions among them **[Chart 7:309, Chart 8:310]**.

As a result, the full congregation of urban assemblage networks in Savamala reveals certain orders of things/actors. From Latours perspective on how the social may be reassembled, there is a certain redistribution of the decision-making layers in this case study *(\Latour 2005b)*:

1."localize the global" (governance)

Interestingly, the main agents in setting up the real environment of the new transitional circumstances (the neoliberal market, democratization of the social realm) in Savamala, do not originate locally, but come from either powerful international investors/investment funds intervening in the real-estate or from international formal/informal organizations and NGOs engaged in what is popularly known as bottom-up activities. The engagement of these actors, even though different in its actualization (real-estate and bottom-up) is in fact effectuated through the same networks of conduct: financial, managerial and implementation. In reality, these actors also act as supreme decision-making bodies, as a type of top-down authority instating the issue of the network of influence as the important question in the local context.

2."re-distribute the local" (operationalization)

Recognized top-down urban planning actors are active in the planning, regulatory, and consulting urban assemblage networks. Instead of instating urban strategies and distributing tactical operations and interventions in urban space, the pillars of urban regulatory framework in Serbia, in the case of Savamala and the Sava waterfront, took a completely subordinate position and acted as an executive body of private interests defined elsewhere.

3."connecting sites" (actualization)

Finally, what happens on site in Savamala is the fragmentation of spaces at different levels. This far-end decision-making is actualized in terms of Belgrade Waterfront construction activities (assemblage network) or it is the local administration of projects, events, and activities prepared away from and unaware of citizen opinions and needs *(Interview B10, B11)*. In both cases (real-estate transformations and bottom-up activities), there are certain controversies raised from the amenability of urban assemblage networks through the networks of influences (international-state/national-city/regional-local), or, in other words, directional subordination from top down.

Urban assemblage networks, when approached in their totality, represent a processual construction of the Savamala neighbourhood through the ANT lens. the combination of external networks (assemblages) and internal ones (the nature of the actors) holds in itself the actualization of the social relations of power, influence, class and capital, rather than having that as a starting point. From this perspective, ANT analysis of the Savamala neighbourhood contains answers to how and why certain urban development prospects of this post-socialist neighbourhood have come into being.

The diagram on pages 296-297 [Diagram 9:296] *(\Cvetinović et al. 2017)* **summarizes the urban complexity in Savamala analysed in this chapter. The diagram covers 186 different actors active in Savamala and vivisects their particular characteristics within 5-dimensional ANT framework (with 2 additional subcategories). Each of these categories figures as a principle of actor grouping. However, the most important factor of actor organization is the formation of urban assemblages. This is interpreted in the form of circular links that connect actors. Bearing in mind the number of actors (186) and the 5 layers of categorizations applied to each of them (actor and network natures, functional and supportive networks, influences) as well as the nature of links between/among them, this diagram contains and summarizes a significant amount of data. Verbal articulation of such material would be difficult to structure and elaborate in an appropriate manner.**

5.2 Urban Assemblage Map [Diagram 9:296]

At the final stage of ANT analysis, the contribution of this research project is the translation of what has been perceived through the 5-step ANT framework of Savamala urban complexity onto its visual map of ANT relations **[Diagram 9:296]**.

Diagram 9 [Diagram 9:296] (\Cvetinović et al. 2017) is a schematic abstraction for the ANT data analysis preformed in this chapter. The diagram exposes different subcategories identified through the analysis of empirical data within the 5-dimensional actor-network framework. Each of 186 actors is assigned 4 characteristics plus links (the 5th characteristic). The characteristics are identified according to the legend [Diagram 9.1:293] through: shape and outline and fill colour of the nodes and the position of the node in the circles (angular and distance from the centre). The shape of the nodes indicate the nature of actors [Section 5.1.2:282; Diagram 9.1:293; 10.3:297]. The outline colour is assigned according to the nature of structural networks [Diagram 9.1:293]. By keeping track of the nature of actors, this diagram enables the analysis of the relationality of the intermediary/mediator roles of actors and their influence levels. The ranges of fill interpret secondary networks [Diagram 9.1:293]. The position of the node in reference to the centre represents the distribution of different actors according to the level of their influence (European, national, city, local) [Diagram 9.1:293]. On the other hand, the angular position of the nodes marks the affiliation to socially functional networks and social artefacts [Diagram 9.1:293]. The circle is divided in 11 clusters of socially functional networks and social artefacts [Diagram 9.2:295]. For better understanding, the distribution of actors in [Diagram 9:296] is divided into layers through [Diagram 9.2:295; 9.3:297; 9.4:298].

Comparing the distribution of influence levels and socially functional networks opens the door for explanations about how the hierarchy of influences is dispersed across sectors. Above all, the diagram serves for identifying the poles of influence on each of the levels from local to international ones. The colours of links between actors depend on the type of urban assemblages networks in which the agents take part in [Diagram 9.1:293]. Having an overview of different actor-network types and interconnections eases the readers' way through the overview of urban agency in Savamala in terms of mapping actor-networks (human and non-human actors with all their 4 dimensions) across the layers of urban decision

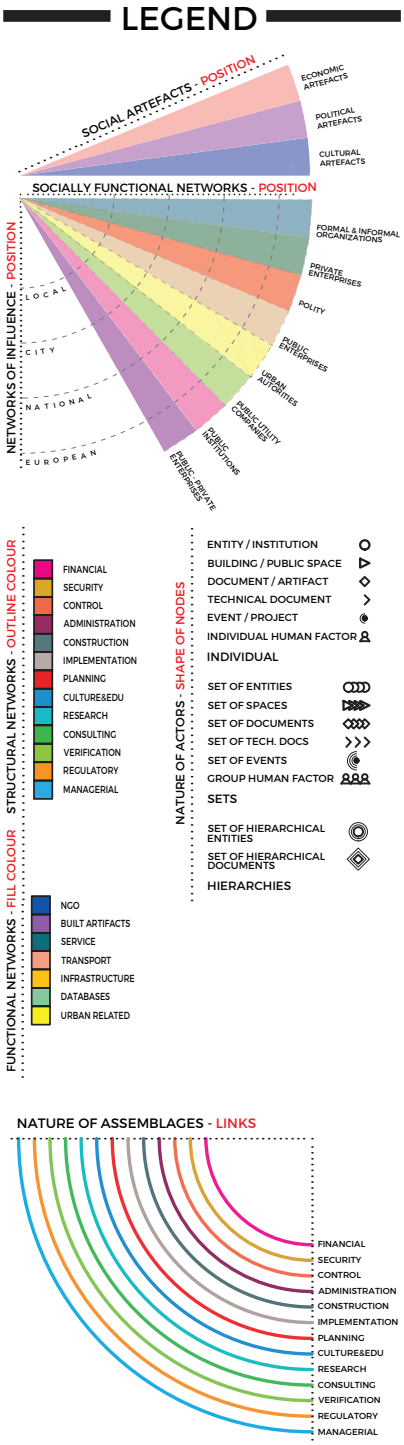
making and tracing the interference of social aspects and 4-dimensional actor profiles within urban assemblage networks [Diagram 9.4:298].

Complexity of the diagram structure and the amount of the represented data urges for special attention in order to track these data within the diagram in the static/illustrated/paper version. However, the purpose of this diagram is to acknowledge the capacity of data analysed through ANT to be visualized digitally. This categorization of data, the analysis of specific data in Savamala and the logic of ANT analysis presented herein is the main purpose of this diagram. Bearing in mind its complexity, it is solely an ideogram for the digitalization of ANT data analysis performed on the case study of an urban neighbourhood (Savamala).

In order to better understand the particular data behind the visualization of urban complexity in Savamala through ANT [Diagram 9:296] and how they could be digitalized, 5-dimensional character of actor-networks is analysed in a table. Table 1 [Table 1:301] gives an overview of the nature of actors, networks, and assemblages for 15 most important actors identified within the case study of Savamala neighbourhood. In order to connect visualization with the verbal interpretations, the data in a table keep both visual interpretations for certain categories and the name of the category {i.e. nature of actors-circle -entity (nature type); supportive networks-coloured rectangle-implementation (supportive network type)}. The ANT diagram of urban complexity [Diagram 9:296] is the condensed scheme of such 5-dimensional framework for all 186 actors.

Data are collected from context-based information and knowledge and also traced from relevant influences, interests and interpretations of Savamala. The agency and relationships of the human/non-human actors chosen here are tracked by their associations within different levels of decision-making (top-down urban planning, interest-based transformations and bottom-up participatory and urban design activities) in a visual manner. The resulting actor-network map is a node-link illustration of the present day urban complexity in Savamala. The visualization strategy in terms of categories comes from the adopted ANT elements: each node is a human/non-human entity (category: nature of actors) visually interpreted through mediator, association and agency properties (nature of networks and networks of influences) while the number and quality of links (nature of assemblages) represent the type and number of urban assemblage networks they contribute to.

First of all, the potential of such illustration of actor-networks at the local level is in its strong relationship to the global. Moreover, this type of visual map of actors and the relations they build contain information loaded associations (nature, type, primary & secondary function, scale of influence). While actors are nodes whose form depends on their intermediary/mediatory role, their size indicates influence, the fill and outline represent their primary and secondary function, their location in the cycle corresponds to their social function, and their proximity to the center is their network of influence [Diagram 9:296]. The connections between them are assemblages.



[DIAGRAM 9.1]

ANT DIAGRAM DESIGN :
Language of of visualization

Yet, such an interpretation could not bias the potential reader, as it is without any notion of value or meaning initially inscribed in it. Namely, the networks might be interpreted differently according to the interpreters background and interest, but still keeping the minimal amount of information already inscribed in how the networks are visualized. Another quality may be its data saturation and contingency and its capacity to contain the complexity of the social world.

The introduction of qualitative tuning for nodes-actors gives this diagram a selfcontaining character **[Diagram 9:296]**. Namely, its advantage to other ANT diagrams is that this one embodies internal networks (the nature of elements) as well external ones (assemblages). Moreover, this diagram aims at keeping the relation to spaces as well by making concrete spatial references of the social distributions (actor-networks) to the exact places on the map **[Diagram 9:296]**.

In sum, the combination of such traits facilitates the digitalization of the diagram and keeps it strongly related to reality. Digitalizing the diagram may enable adding a 3rd dimension to it and visualising the time component through the stack of parallel layers **[Diagram 9:296]**. Even though piled, these time-space realms of the social are also interconnected. Therefore, it is also essential to overcome such intersecting and represent the social as a continuity, what it actually is in reality.

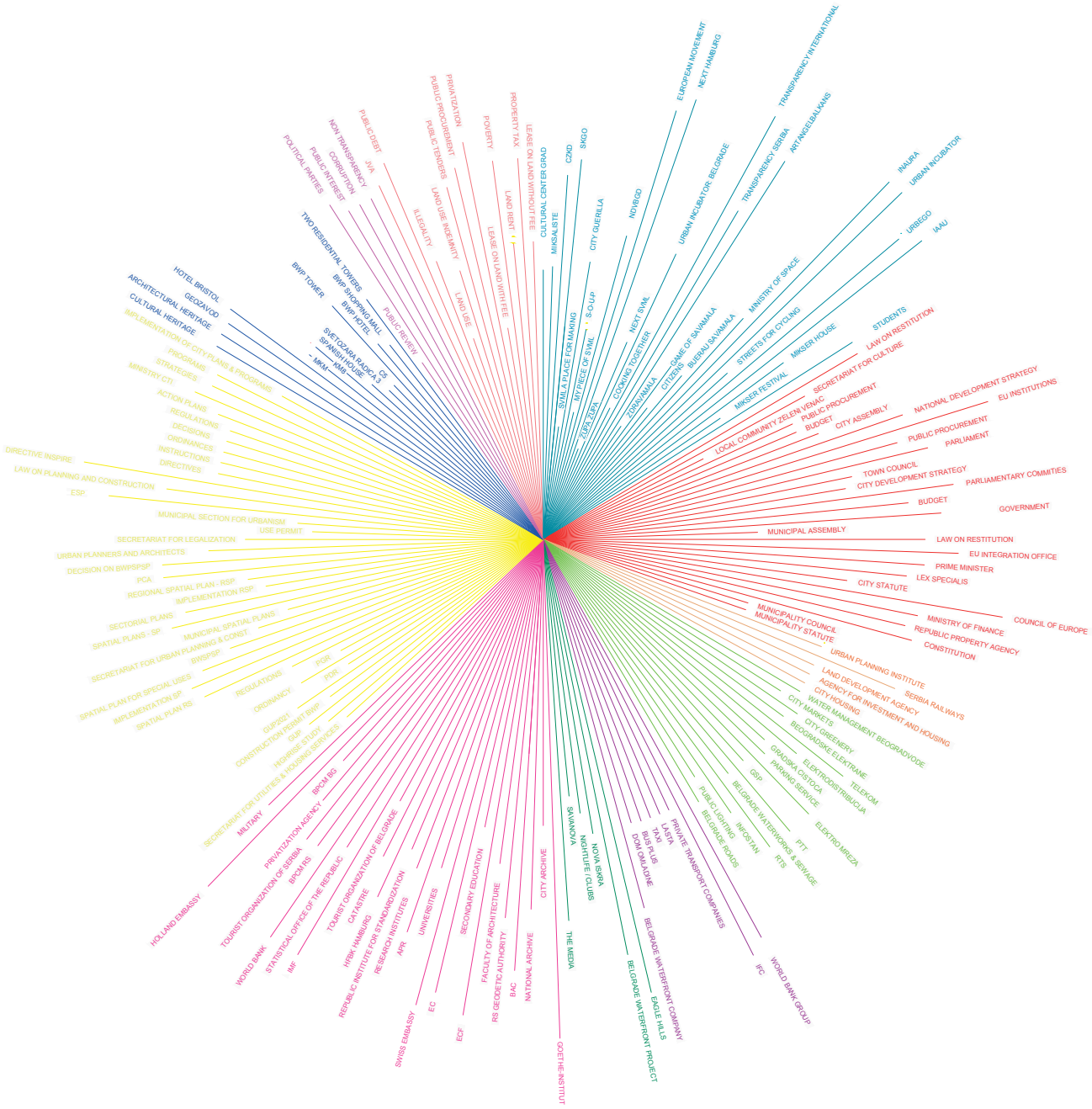
5.2.1 Mapping actor-network distributions in urban decision-making

BIASED REGULATORY FRAMEWORK - urban planning as a procedure; hyper production of documentation; politically biased roles; conflict of interest; POWERFUL PRIVATE INVESTORS - financial engagement; inconsistent institutional procedures; weak professional institutions, disastrous state deals; UNINSTITUTIONALIZED CULTURE - non-transparent funding structure; international-local intermingling; marketization of culture

Bearing in mind that the initial actor/actor groups are identified through the morphology of urban decision-making, this extensive ANT analysis has argued in favour of representing its amenability/conduct in terms of the overlap and collision of different urban assemblage networks.

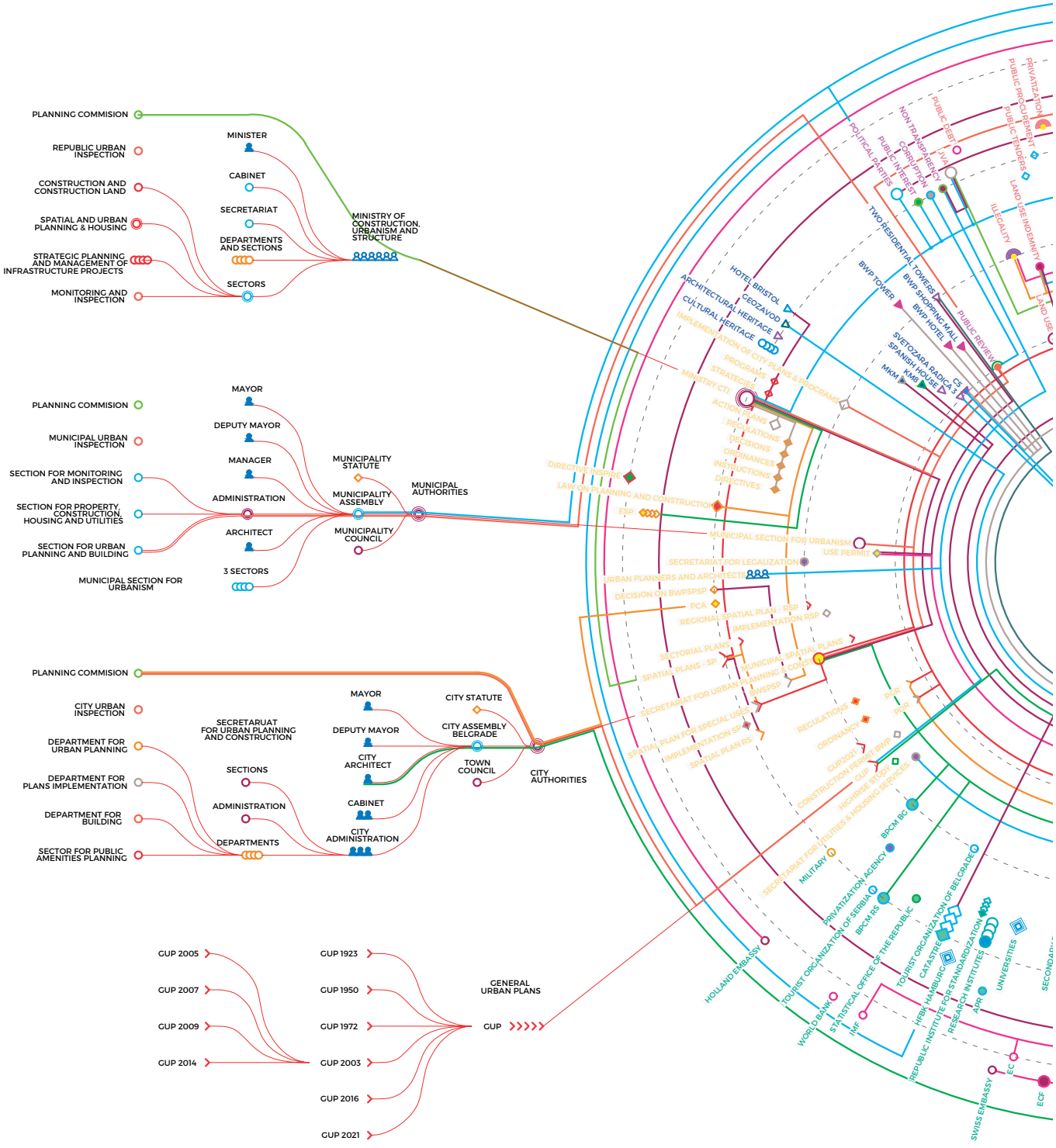
Most of the preexisting methodological approaches in urban development studies consider certain socially bounded explanations such as the dichotomies of importance-influence, impact-priority, power-interest, support-opposition, and constructive-destructive attitude as self-containing explanatory categories for mapping actor and stakeholder engagement in the social realm *(\Mathur et al. 2007)*. The ANT approach starts from the other end, flattening the social unity of all human and non-human actors **[Diagram 9:296]**. Only afterwards, do the generating networks in themselves contain information on the social world. In this manner, the ground-up ANT analysis performed herein provides the answers on how urban decision-making is processed in Savamala and enables an argumentation for why these social dichotomies are still at stake in post-socialist neighbourhoods.

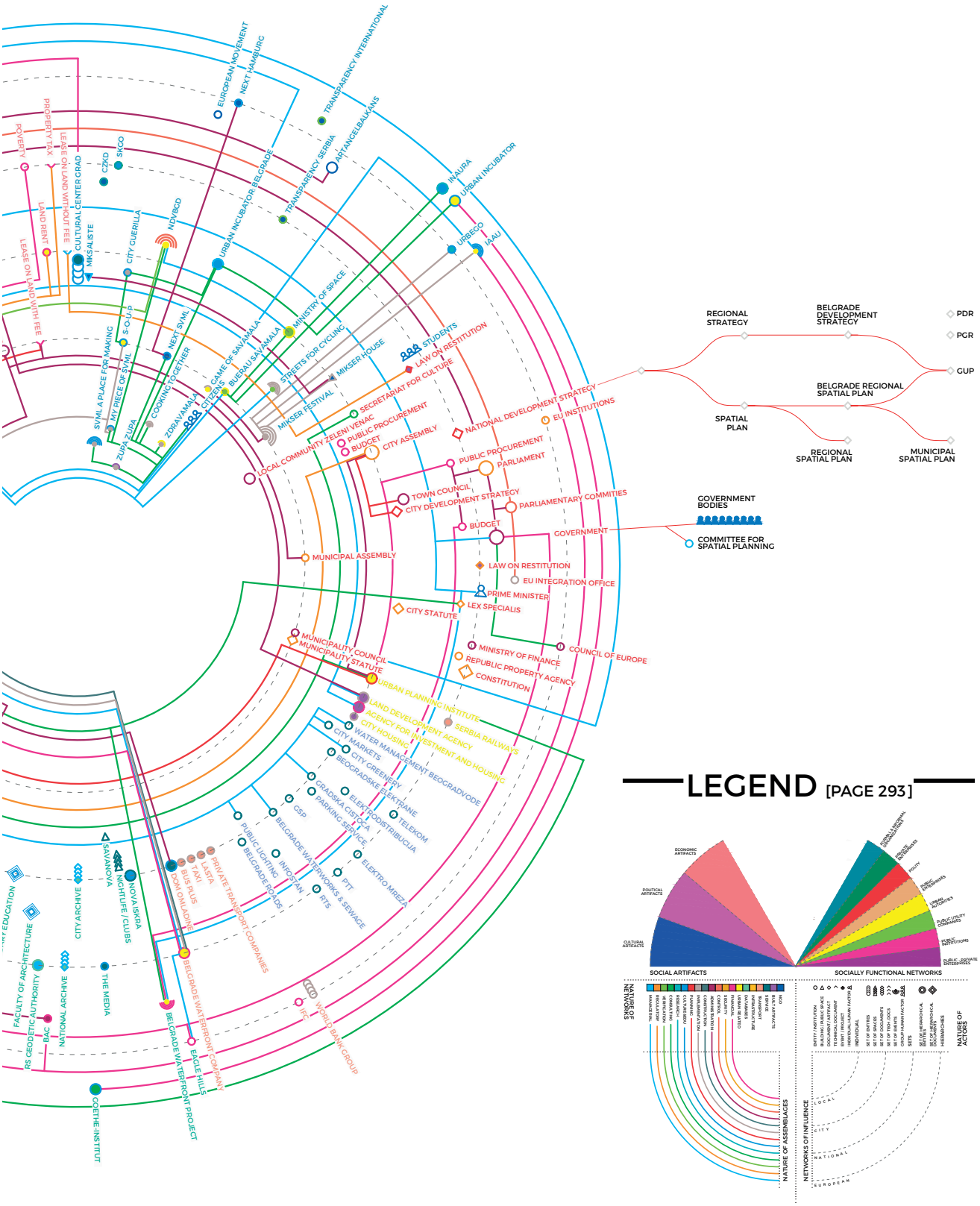
Chart 7 **[Chart 7:309]** incorporates the listing of many actors, in the reference to space in Savamala and their distribution through the morphology of urban decision-making. Through the chart, the main agency of action is associated with the actors of the urban regulatory framework. Moreover, their interconnections with other actors through urban decision-making layers are also characterized by the social effects they produce within these actor-networks (political, economic and cultural aspects: 1-22).



[DIAGRAM 9.2] ANT DIAGRAM DESIGN:

Socially functional networks & networks of influences - position in the circle

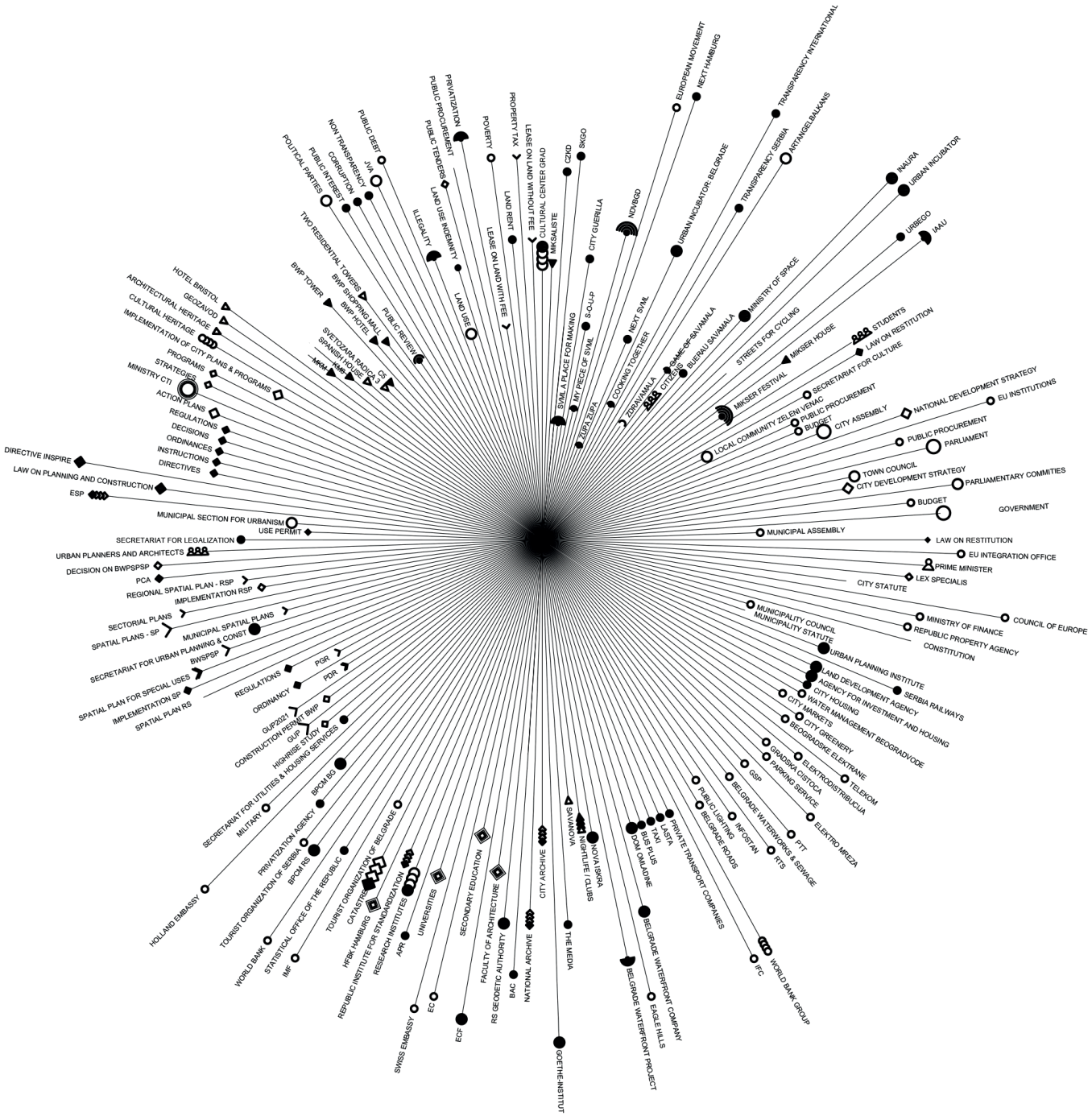

PLANNING COMMISION
REPUBLIC URBAN INSPECTION
CONSTRUCTION AND CONSTRUCTION LAND
SPATIAL AND URBAN PLANNING & HOUSING
STRATEGIC PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS
MONITORING AND INSPECTION
MINISTER
CABINET
SECRETARIAT
DEPARTMENTS AND SECTIONS
SECTORS
MINISTRY OF CONSTRUCTION, URBANISM AND STRUCTURE
PLANNING COMMISION
MUNICIPAL URBAN INSPECTION
SECTION FOR MONITORING AND INSPECTION
SECTION FOR PROPERTY, CONSTRUCTION, HOUSING AND UTILITIES
SECTION FOR URBAN PLANNING AND BUILDING
MUNICIPAL SECTION FOR URBANISM
MAYOR
DEPUTY MAYOR
MANAGER
ADMINISTRATION
ARCHITECT
3 SECTORS
MUNICIPALITY STATUTE
MUNICIPALITY ASSEMBLY
MUNICIPALITY COUNCIL
MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES
PLANNING COMMISION
CITY URBAN INSPECTION
DEPARTMENT FOR URBAN PLANNING
DEPARTMENT FOR PLANS IMPLEMENTATION
DEPARTMENT FOR BUILDING
SECTOR FOR PUBLIC AMENITIES PLANNING
SECRETARIAT FOR URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION
SECTIONS
ADMINISTRATION
DEPARTMENTS
MAYOR
DEPUTY MAYOR
CITY ARCHITECT
CABINET
CITY ADMINISTRATION
CITY STATUTE
CITY ASSEMBLY BELGRADE
TOWN COUNCIL
CITY AUTHORITIES
GUP 2005
GUP 2007
GUP 2009
GUP 2014
GUP 1923
GUP 1950
GUP 1972
GUP 2003
GUP 2016
GUP 2021
GENERAL URBAN PLANS
GUP
MINISTRY CTI
DIRECTIVE INSPIRE
LAW ON PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION
ESP
MUNICIPAL SECTION FOR URBANISM
SECRETARIAT FOR LEGALIZATION
URBAN PLANNERS AND ARCHITECTS
DECISION ON BWPSPSP
PCA
REGIONAL SPATIAL PLAN - RSP
IMPLEMENTATION RSP
SECTORIAL PLANS
SPATIAL PLANS - SP
MUNICIPAL SPATIAL PLANS
SECRETARIAT FOR URBAN PLANNING - BWPSPSP
SPATIAL PLAN FOR SPECIAL USES
IMPLEMENTATION SP
SPECIAL PLAN RS
PCP
REGULATIONS
ORDINANCY
GUP2021
CONSTRUCTION PERMIT BWP
GUP
HIGHRISE STUDY
SECRETARIAT FOR UTILITIES & HOUSING SERVICES
MILITARY
BPCM BG
PRIVATIZATION AGENCY
BPCM RS
TOURIST ORGANIZATION OF SERBIA
TOURIST ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLIC
HOLLAND EMBASSY
WORLD BANK
STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC
IMF
CATASTRE
HRBK HAMBURG
REPUBLIC INSTITUTE FOR STANDARDIZATION
RESEARCH INSTITUTES
APR
UNIVERSITIES
SECONDARY
EC
ECF
SWISS EMBASSY
HOTEL BRISTOL
CEOZAVOD
ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE
CULTURAL HERITAGE
IMPLEMENTATION OF CITY PLANS & PROGRAMS
PROGRAMS
STRATEGIES
ACTION PLANS
RESOLUTIONS
DECISIONS
ORDINANCES
INSTRUCTIONS
DIRECTIVES
BWP TOWER
BWP SHOPPING MALL
BWP HOTEL
TWO RESIDENTIAL TOWERS
SVETOZARA RADICA 3
SPANISH HOUSE
MKM
PUBLIC REVIEW
POLITICAL PARTIES
PUBLIC INTEREST
CORRUPTION
NON TRANSPARENCY
PUBLIC DEBT
PUBLIC PROCUREMENT
PRIVATIZATION
PUBLIC TENDERS
LAND USE INDEMNITY
ILLEGALITY
LAND USE



LEGEND [PAGE 293]

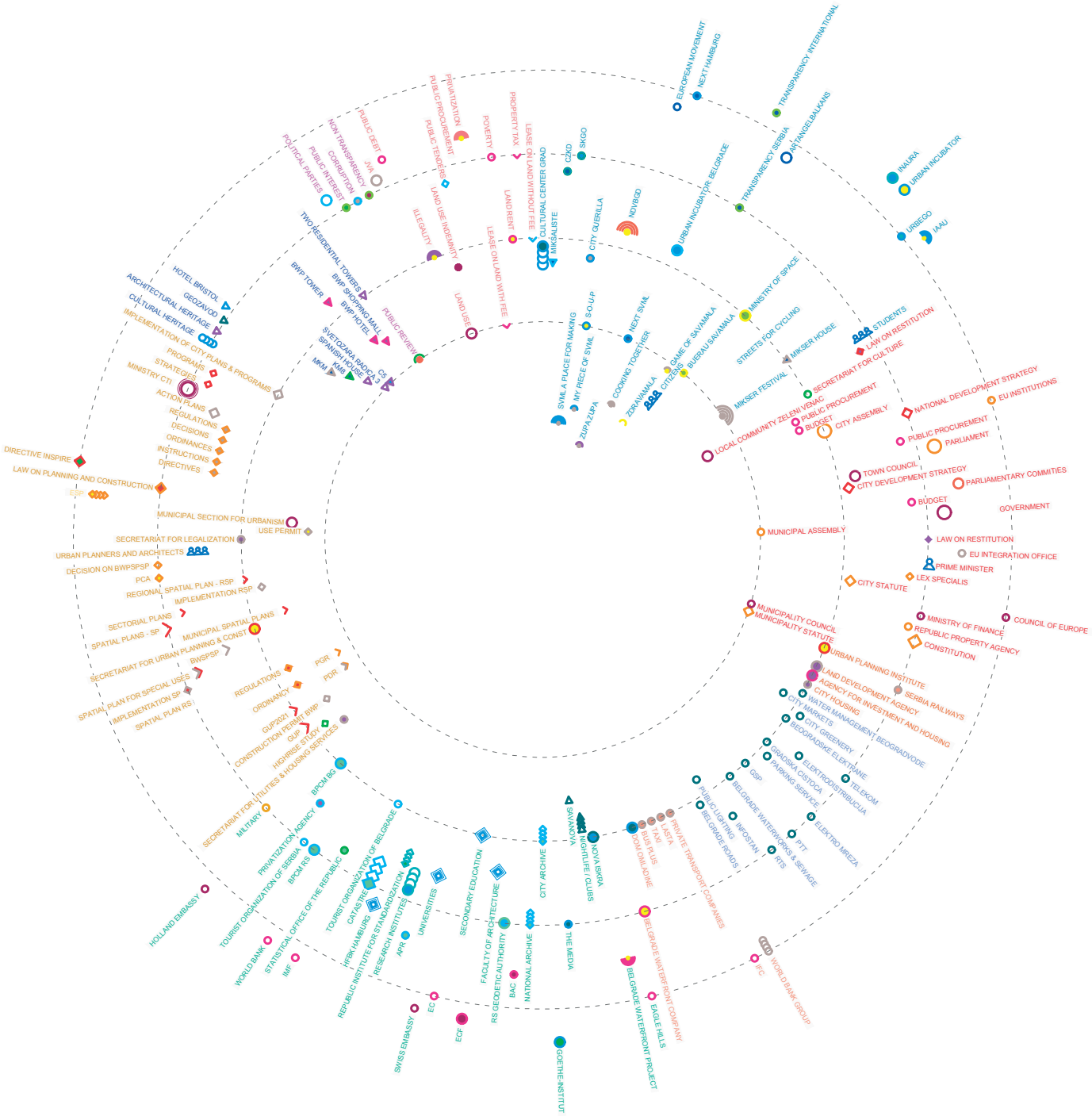
Data visualization: ANT analysis of urban complexity in Savamala **[DIAGRAM 9]**

(Cvetinović et al. 2017)



[DIAGRAM 9.3] ANT DIAGRAM DESIGN:

The nature of actors through the shape of nodes



[DIAGRAM 9.4] ANT DIAGRAM DESIGN:

4D Actor-Networks without links (urban assemblage networks)

Chart 7 on page 309 [Chart 7:309] is the tabular analysis of the relationality between the layers of urban decision-making and the structure of urban regulatory framework through the elaborated social aspects (political, economic and cultural ones). The chart interprets these tabular data in a more appealing manner by distinguishing multiple categories (decision-making layers in relation to space vertical, regulatory framework on the left hand side, social aspects on the right hand side). This overpasses the articulation in the regular table with only 2 categories (columns and rows). This summary of relational deta between urban-decision making layers and social aspects was a solid background for the identification of regulatory framework bias in reference to Savamala waterfront and Savamala urban core (upper Savamala), the activities of private investors and un-institutionalized cultural scene in Savamala.

Biased Regulatory framework

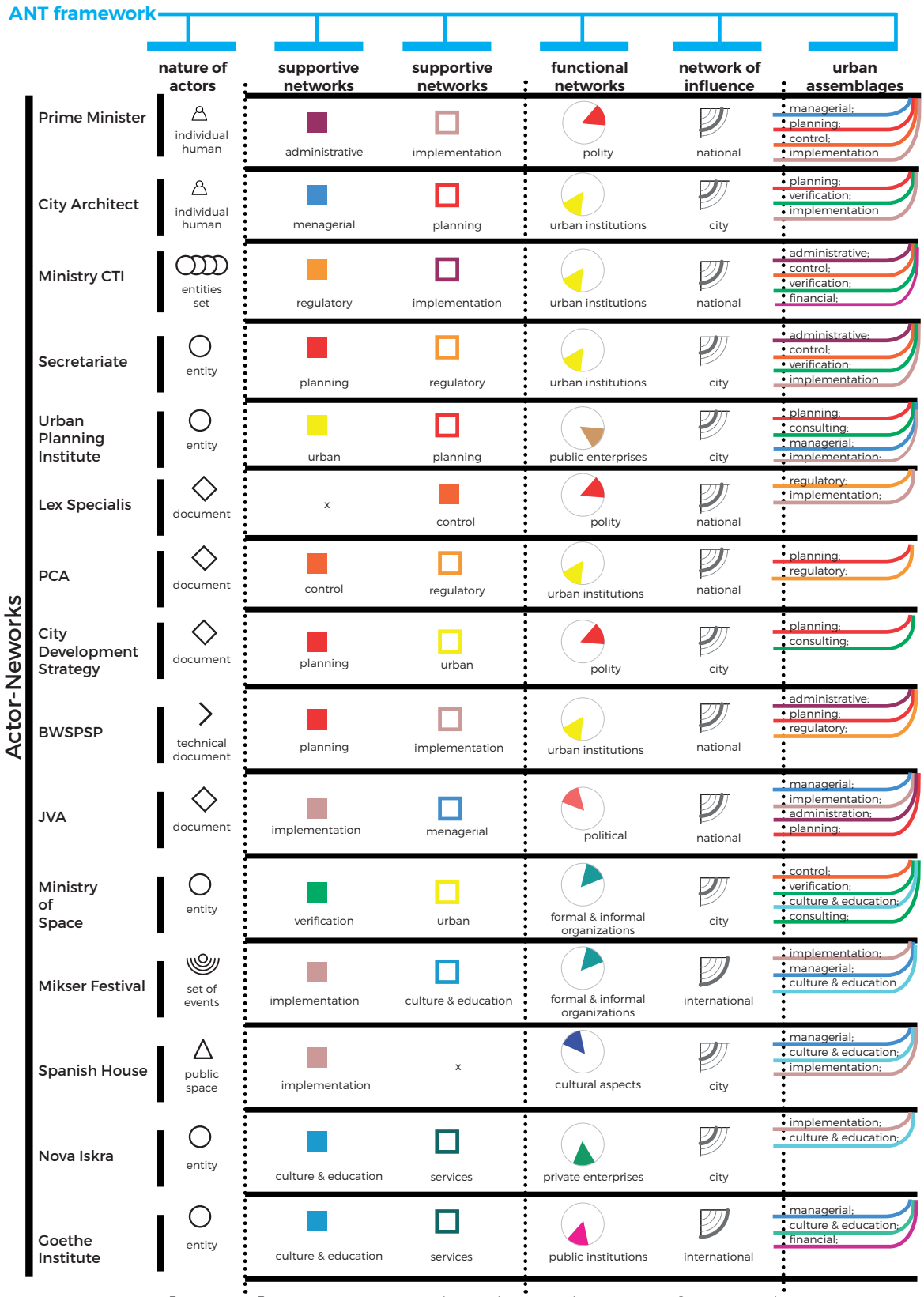
The most obvious and even self-evident factor of local urban planning is contained within the agency of regulatory framework actors. A significant space fragmentation in their approach must be admitted. Namely, their interest and action are almost exclusively oriented towards the highly-attractive waterfront area, without taking into consideration the potential and development status of the already established civil and cultural agency in the upper Savamala.

As *Vujosević (\2012)* states - urban decision-making in Serbia in general is rather the combination of crisis-management, supporting privatization, the market-oriented and project-led conduct of technical issues than a critical overview of local factors and global methodological shifts in planning and the acknowledgment of stakeholder collaboration and strategic governance. While the 2003 Planning and Construction Act, as well as the 2009 General Plan of Belgrade 2021 show an improvement in terms of a strategic approach to urban development, their loose connection to implementation networks produce certain regulatory gaps when it comes to public administration and city planning authorities.

As more than one informant explained the situation - city planning authorities are used to approaching urban planning as a procedure embedded in the legal framework, so that any less deterministic attempt ends up either in perpetual adaptations of legal documents and technical documentation or in arbitrary decisions on priorities and projects. In this case, most urban planners and public representatives have not shown enough vigor, interest and professionality to expand their knowledge over new global trends in planning and the radically changed circumstances of transition.

From the institutional perspective the sole solution is seen in the hyper production of policy agendas and technical documentation and their constant revisions without concrete and operational implementation mechanisms.[102] According to the elaboration of decision-making amenability through urban assemblages networks **[Section 5.1.5:291]**, the urban regulatory framework in Serbia does not hold any effective means of control and verification. By confronting internal and external networks of the actors engaged in control and verification assemblages, it may be concluded that they do not go beyond mere institutional formalizations, which are either not applied in reality or their application is rather bogus/phony/artificial.

102 Substantial changes to the once adopted 2003 Planning and Construction Act happened in 2006, 2009, 2011, 2014. As for general plans, the 2003 GP Belgrade was updated in 2005, 2007, 2009, 2014 and 2016. The most important changes were in 2009, when it officially does not comprise any prescriptions on implementation, and in 2016, when it was redefined as the General Urban Plan of Belgrade.



[TABLE 1] Key actor-network analysis with 5D ANT framework

This trend is even more at play for numerous policy agendas. The conditionality of rules and strategies does not only depend on political and economic influences, but also on inadequate policies and instruments for its conduct and management. An example is the loss of conducting agency through the networks of implementation even though all actors of conduct were defined. The detailed Implementation programme for the Spatial Plan of Serbia 2010-2020, prescribed who (The Ministry of Finance), what (urban rehabilitation, environmental protect and tourist strategy) and how (budget) a small rehabilitation program of Belgrade waterfront was to be conducted. A year later, in the report the issue is marked as data not available, and by the end of the first phase of the implementation plan (2015), significant demolitions occurred on the Sava waterfront, and the first megastructure arose although it was not mentioned in the strategic priority number 51 of the implementation programme just described.

These and similar practices were made possible usually by the politically biased roles of individuals within the institutional framework **[Section 5.1.2:294]**. The interest-based pluralist political life also sneaked into the urban planning domain. The political background of actors in the urban regulatory framework has made planning networks at some points coincide with either administrative or financial networks. However, in both cases urban planning institutions are deprived of their professional, strategic and public-interest role, and planners consequently end up deprived of binding authority and professional dignity in carrying out their public functions.

Another position of the conflict of interest may be that of the institutions when they have overlapping roles in the public domain (and consequently overlapping assemblage networks), so that all their institutional activity becomes flawed. This was the case of the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure after the discontinuation of the Republic Spatial Planning Agency. The Ministry became the responsible body for both regulatory and executive tasks in the public domain of urban planning.

On the other hand, the Cadastre has held the position as the supreme body for defining criteria, means and methodologies for land and building assessments and the executive body for performing assessment tasks for a long time. The position of the conflict of interest on various levels is also a point of departure for introducing individual interests into the institutional framework. The still centralized structure of urban decision-making (with the Ministry of construction as the supreme decision-making body in planning, implementation, control and verification networks) and the concentration and cooperation of political and financial powers under the new demand driven economic model instate vertical clientelism and powerful economic actors as the know-how of doing business in the post-socialist cities in transitional countries.

Powerful Private Investors

The transition from a planned to a market-based economy created a certain void in political and social practices and in the aspects and solutions of the legal and economical frameworks. Rudimentary market-based regulatory instruments enable powerful financial actors to be individually involved in the building process. Not only

103 Apart from biased legal reasons and incentives for most of these legal documents, very important is the posteriority of some of them. Namely, several decisions targeted the project. Belgrade Waterfront Master plan, but in the manner of its formulation it was obvious that these documents were also the source and the cause of the decision (Government Resolution, BWP SPSP) ***(\\\Pravni skener 2016).***

do building codes and regulations become defined by investor interests, but they also profit from unregulated urban economy incentives and measures and gain valuable urban land in public to private ownership transition processes.

In these circumstances, financial engagement of the public institutions (Budget of the Republic and its decision-making bodies - the Government and the Parliament) also becomes problematic, such as the growing imbalance between the social role of the budget (public social services) and its developmental role (market-oriented). The prime example of the kind is the adaptation of the urban regulative and public-private partnership built around the Belgrade Waterfront Project.

Most of the regulatory, planning and implementation processes around the project are conducted behind closed doors and have only become introduced to the public through the interventions of the Transparency Serbia NGO, the National Anti-Corruption Agency and the NDVBGD collective. A set of official decisions has been made in order to enable smooth conduct of the project: (1) The Government Resolution (Decision) introducing BWP as a project of special importance for the Republic, (2) changes of the General Plan to enable construction of high rise buildings on the Sava waterfront, (3) Spatial Plan of Special Uses explicitly formulated to accommodate the interests of the BWP investment group, and (4) Lex specialis on the property issues in the area.[103]

Most of these decisions were followed by inconsistent institutional procedures and mainly happened without public insight into the procedure and documentation *(\\\Pravni skener 2016)*. The approach of public institutions and urban planning bodies in this case acted without any major concern regarding the public interest in the case and what the wider space-time concerns of such projects are.

Urban planning is, in fact, deeply embedded in the context of the transition towards a service-based society, where planning law and planning practice have not yet managed to integrate physical planning, economic factors and market mechanisms into urban interventions that comply with public interest and outweigh mere growth without development actions *(\Vujosević 2010)*. An example of a biased, potentially financially dangerous binding document for the city of Belgrade and the Serbian society [104] is the agreement that was signed in April 2016 by: (a) The Republic of Serbia (The Minister for Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure), (b) Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment LLC (Mohamed Ali Alabar), (c) Belgrade Waterfront d.o.o. (acting director), Al Maabar International Investment LLC (Mohamed Ali Alabar).

The agreement was made public only three months after the agreement was signed and after terrain clearance and the construction had already been launched. [105] The Republic of Serbia obliged itself in the construction, financial, regulatory and administrative conduct of the project (assemblage networks of the project). [106] Above all, the agreement constrains the Serbian institutional framework to prevent any verification or control activities addressing the project or the area of its interest.

In the end, the most disturbing fact might be that national and city institutions have consequently no influence on the technical urban planning documentations for

104 According to the agreement, a part of the obligations of the project are transferred from the city to the national level ***(\\JVA 2015)***.

105 The document was published on the website of the Government in September 2015- a full version in English of 259 pages and the version in Serbian of only 69 pages. Taking into account the language barrier, the exact details and consequences of the contract are still not available to the general public in Serbia.

106 The Republic of Serbia is obliged to: (o) perform infrastructural works at the location; (o) exempt the investor of infrastructural equipment fees; (o) confer the property rights for architectural heritage buildings to the foreign investor Bristol Hotel, Railway station headquarters, Paper mill, Train Turn Table, Post Office; and the first in line to be contributed are Belgrade Cooperative (already in possession), Simpo and Iskra (from the beginning of 2017); (o) guarantee for additional loans not predicted by the contract or the feasibility study provided by the foreign investor but guaranteed by RS; (o) take loans for infrastructural works; (o) enable future conversion of property rights to the investor without compensation; (o) adjust the legal framework to ensure the rights stated in the agreement. On the other hand, the official financial binds of the foreign investor are not 3.5 billion euros as was advertised in the media (Politika 2015), but 150 million euros, as a loan with no obligation or any guarantees for the projects implementation. Moreover, the agreement gives the rights to the foreign investor to request infinite project changes and the adjustments of the legal framework accordingly. With all these contributions, Serbia remains the minority owner of the BWP company and the future profit of the project.

the location. The Republic obliged itself to establish a state agency for Belgrade Waterfront legal adjustment tasks at its own expense and that, once having the use permit, the investor obtains the full property right of this most valuable land in Belgrade. [107] It is not only case of unequal distribution of resources, but a certain practice of abolishing the countrys sovereignty and territorial integrity over the Belgrade Waterfront plots of land is also at play.

The strong space relation of the foreign investor's activities speaks of the local incapacity to address and solve the issue of the prolonged regulatory gap in terms of investments *(Questionnaire C1; Questionnaire C2)*. In this manner, the secondary network involvement of Eagle Hills (the initial company of the foreign investor) indicates that the representatives of corporate and international capital manage to find the weakest and most profitable point of entrance into the local market - the unregulated and still centrally governed land market in Serbia.

Un-institutionalized culture

The core of the analyses also include the publicly present civic and private organizations. Even though they most often pertain to either urban or NGO secondary networks, several of them have an unclear and non-transparent funding structure - while they receive some public funding, they are also partly profit-oriented (KC Grad, Mikser). Even though some of their activities are publicly funded, KC Grad and Mikser also incorporate profitable services (café-bars, shopping areas, concerts, exhibitions and other lucrative events/activities). While for KC Grad, the sponsors and partners are publicly presented on their website, this is not the case for Mikser. Nova Iskra is the only explicit privately-based organization.

The actors social function is strongly connected to their level of influence in this case. All these bottom-up actors are active at the local level, less often the city level, and usually on the international level. Though their international role is rather passive and their international visibility is more in the domain of funding - several are recipients of international financial support (foreign embassies and foundations, European cultural and art organizations and programmes) or under direct supervision of international entities (Urban Incubator Belgrade was the initiative of the Goethe Institute). This character of civic activities is also the result of cuts in national and city budget spending for culture *(Interview A4).* However, there are others with a transparent financial scheme *(\\\Ne da(vi)mo Beograde initiative).*

This concentration of culture, creativity and innovation in Savamala also results from transition toward neoliberal markets and the country's opening to global funding, trends and guidelines *(Questionnaire C1)*. This limited scope of intervention and radical change of urban vision from "big is beautiful" to small and private is the prototype of the non-intrusive commercialization of arts and cultures as well *(Interview A13, A14)*. Namely, the creative cluster in Savamala was not anything unique, but was rather a typical example of the current European wave of hype urban culture *(\\\\B92 2015).* Thus, the local cultural, artistic and civic scene shows signs of total dependency on global trends and guidelines rather than an independent and bottom-up movement.

107 This also means the right to sell it without any influence from the local or national authorities. Even during the construction phase, Belgrade Waterfront d.o.o. was conferred the right of land use and the collection of all the profit from temporary structures and advertisement on the territory. During 2016, the company started sub-renting spaces under non-transparent conditions (Restaurant 1905, Eagle Hills and construction subcontractor offices, Savanova restaurant).

5.2.2 Mapping urban agency and social aspects

In Savamala, the identified dynamic, interactive actor-networks were articulated through decision-making mechanisms of (1) top down planning, (2) interest-based real estate transformation, and (3) co-design and creative participation actions. In this case, global and local political, economic, and cultural factors, placed in a particular spatially and socially constrained context (Serbia, Belgrade, Savamala), are the main forces of urban development and they constitute social artifacts (actors) and social aspect networks (urban assemblages) **[Chart 8:310]**. The detailed mapping and visualization of these actor-networks also accounts for contextual, post-socialist and transitional circumstances, but by avoiding explanations coming from the reproduction of the social order, power and class.

Chart 8 [Chart 8:310] structuralizes the relations between the layers of urban decision-making and urban assemblage networks through the series of already 22 social aspects. These political, economic and cultural aspects are formulated based on the literature review on the context and expert interviews. The exact effects of several of these aspects are more in detail explained through their articulation within urban assemblage networks, while the chart aims to summarize these 3-party relationalities (decision-making, urban agency, society).

In other words, the collision of these grand narratives is present in the current Serbian context through:

1. The crisis of common social values and civic society standards,
2. The lack of healthy investment interest and fair competition,
3. The absence of concern for the public interest and public good,
4. A battlefield of significant power pressures and interference of interests from authorities, business actors and civil actions.

Based on the performed ANT analysis on Savamala, urban actor-networks and their distribution within urban decision-making layers, a general summary of the urban development prospects in the neighbourhood includes the following: (1) a lack of elaborated, strategic policies in urban development and investment; (2) a cumbersome institutional structure; (3) the distribution of publicly owned empty plots and spaces in Savamala to private investors/owners; (4) vertical clientelism in the institutional framework *(\Vujović and Petrović 2007)*; (5) up-to-date legal documents and policy agendas which do not correspond to urban reality; (6) an overpowered and personalized Nation State as a key actor on citywide scale (BWP example); (7) semi-legal institutionalizations become official practice and a pool of opportunities for future exploitation; (8) provision of instruments for powerful actors to realize their interests through controversial institutionalizations; unregulated economic incentives and measures; (10) economic aspects strongly influence political aspects and actors in the post-socialist context; (11) institutionalization of the private interests of powerful economic actors and marginalization of civic initiatives and public interest; (12) "growth without development" *(\Vujosević 2012)* rooted in the top-down approach to regulatory, managerial and financial networks; (13) privileged foreign and domestic developers in the Waterfront/ Sava amphitheatre/ Dorćol Marina Redevelopment *(\Djordjević and Dabović 2009)*, *(Workshop D1)*; (14) political actors in Serbia have support for the replication of extreme neoliberal practices, following the Thatcher-Reagan

MANAGERIAL - the Ministry CTI, RASP; individual roles;
CONTROL &VERIFICATION - irregularity of procedures; artificial decentralization and democratization;;
CONSULTING - technocratic view on development; copying EU documents;
ADMINISTRATION - City Secretariat; monopolic position of institutions; institutions exceed their jurisdiction;
IMPLEMENTATION & CONTROL - small-scale informal projects, foreign investors and investments;
REGULATORY & PLANNING - Prime Minister, Minister, CIty Mayor Troika;
FINANCIAL - global capital; access to public funding;

model *(Workshop D1)*; (15) housing and commercial purposes for 80% of BW spaces *(\ Zeković et al. 2016)*; (16) spatial fragmentation and unequal distribution of resources in the Savamala - Waterfront and Upper (Urban) Savamala; (17) the lack of participatory and communication culture; (18) the biased role of the media in advertising urban projects (BWP); (19) the apathy of the population concerning semi-legal, anti-constitutional, neglected public interest issues in BWP; (20) the lack of long-term strategic approach to cultural institutions and agendas - activities and initiatives (such as those in Savamala) are short lasting with no certain future *(Interview A4, B2, B5, B6);* (21) civil initiatives in Savamala have neither social nor political power, nor sufficient public support and funding *(Interview A4, B2, B7)*; **[Chart 7:309, Chart 8:310]**. The dissemination of these important factors through the distinguished urban assemblage networks offer an overview of how the pre-socialist, socialist, post-socialist and transitional in the Savamala neighbourhood have merged into its current urban reality. Based on the visual material **[Diagram 9:296; Chart 7:309, Chart 8:310]**, the effects of these urban development prospects (1-21) within urban assemblage networks are such that:

- **Managerial** **[Table 1:301]**

The pillars of the managerial amenability of tasks at the neighbourhood level in Belgrade are the functions of the City Mayor, City Architect and City Manager as introduced by the 2002 Law on Local Governance *(\Vujović and Petrović 2007*). Generally, it is the role of the Minister of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure at the national level. In practice, these functions have shown to be political party figures and crucial links in distributing central decisions at the city level.

For example, in the case of BWP, although the Prime Minister was the leading figure in the negotiations and deals with the Arabian investor, the agreements were signed by the Minister and the City Mayor in the name of the Republic of Serbia While taking all the credit in the media for the announced success of the project, the Prime Minister has enough power to distribute duties and avoid direct responsibility in this obviously disputable case *(Interview B13)*.

Another example is the instant discontinuation of the Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, the chief national executive body of spatial planning, after its director refused to sign the questionable Spatial Plan for the Purpose Area of the Belgrade Waterfront (BWPSPSP). It was not a change of the management structure in the agency but its complete removal that, above all, figures as a manifestation of political decisionism in national institutional structures and contributes to a complete disruption of its spatial planning system. [108]

Therefore, in the mediatory manner, these individual roles **[Section 5.1.2:283]** are also the core bearers of the set of political issues instigated by political voluntarism that have been very present in Serbian urban planning discourse even from pre-socialist times **[Section 4.1.2:191] [Chart 8:310]**. It may also be said that the urban planning framework and practice are deeply embedded in their societal context. While people are aware that there are troublesome laws, corrupt institutions and complicated local circumstances, they usually avoid these issues or get use to them without battling against them **[Chart 8:310]**. Following the thesis of *Dubravka Stojanović (\2010)*, one informant also suggested that this is the result of the Ottoman period and the Ottoman corruption model that also thrived during the pre-socialist period *(Interview B13).*

108 After the discontinuation of the agency, the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastruc- ture holds both the regulatory and executive role for all spatial planning tasks in the national domain.

- **Control and Verification** [Table 1:301]

The issue of control and verification networks is an example of the formalized and provisory legal framework and its conditional and performative implementation. While public hearings and planning commissions are legally assigned bodies of verification and control of spatial and urban planning, they are either dismissed or performed without any real authority. [109] Such application of legal procedures was enabled not only by the inconsistency of legal framework formulations, but also by the irregularity of its implementation *(Interview B13).*

This inconsistency of yet formalized institutional procedures may also be interpreted as a legacy of the centralized state from socialism which is still at play, although under a different political and economic regime praising neoliberal transition. The artificial decentralization and democratization is now enriched with a layer of powerful economic actors, [110] who profit from top-down decision-making. They couple with political powers in order to reduce control and verification procedures and troublesome professional actors to the minimum.

- **Consulting** [Table 1:301]

The core element of consultation networks are research and professional organizations and international organizations through European and international capacity building programmes and funding instruments. Citing their research-oriented colleagues, urban planning professionals in Belgrade usually approach the city as a procedure combined with a technocratic view on urban development so that their role in incorporating opportunities and possibilities to improve the regulatory and implementation phases of planning becomes rather a repetition of what has been standardized or imposed from the top-down *(Questionnaire C2, Interview B13).*

In the case of regulation changes for BWP, multiple professional organizations (Academy of Architecture, Association of Architects, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts) raised their voices against the irregularities and the endangering of the public interest and presented elaborated reports and statements, but without enough media coverage and any consideration from the side of the authorities **[Bibliography - Media Sources]**. In this manner, it is possible to say that a part of these networks is invisible and without any real influence in the public and regulatory domain.

On the other hand, the not up-to-date practice of urban planning in Serbia also contributes to the marketization of planning domains and the expansion of foreign influences that do not fall under any evaluating procedures. This was the case with the urban design and construction solutions for BWP. The practice of copying European documents and experiences without a critical perspective and important adjustments to local traditions and context, as well as introducing international experts directly into the local field for interventions, are very present in Serbia. More often than not, political powers directly interfere in planning and decide and communicate with foreign professionals without consulting local scientific and professional communities. Such practices contribute to controversial rather than progressive foreign influences. They are not properly translated to the situation in Serbia and, in this manner, create more room for misconduct than for its prevention *(\Vujosević 2010).*

109 Concerning the public review and hearing of BWPSPSP and the changes of GUP Belgrade 2021, nu- merous remarks were artificially summarized (98 remarks of various institutions, private and public entities were reduced to 48 examples), and then easily rejected usually with superficial and evasive explanations.

110 Not only the state as it was the most powerful economic actor during socialism.

- **Administration** [Table 1:301]

The administrative urban planning body at the city level in Belgrade is the City Secretariat for Urbanism with its departments and sectors. They proceduralize any transformation and change introduced through urban planning instruments[111].

Continuous changes of decision-making regulations, conditions and authorities are reported as the cause of practical problems such as *(Questionnaire C1):*

- relevant institutions are in conflict of interest;
- institutions have a monopoly in certain domains;
- institutions in practice exceed the jurisdiction they are legally assigned to.

Apart from the authoritarian hierarchy of institutional power that empowers certain institutions to exceed or bias their jurisdictions, the issue of individual responsibility is seriously taken into account in the old socialist manner. Namely, most public officers avoid taking responsibility and therefore split it among themselves. In practice, having many people signing a document usually means slowing down and encumbering the process and postponing implementation *(Interview B13)*. In such circumstances, manipulation, clientelism and paternalism became the most successful strategy to navigate through the existing system nurturing multiple institutional zombies from previous socialist times *(\Vujosević 2010)*.

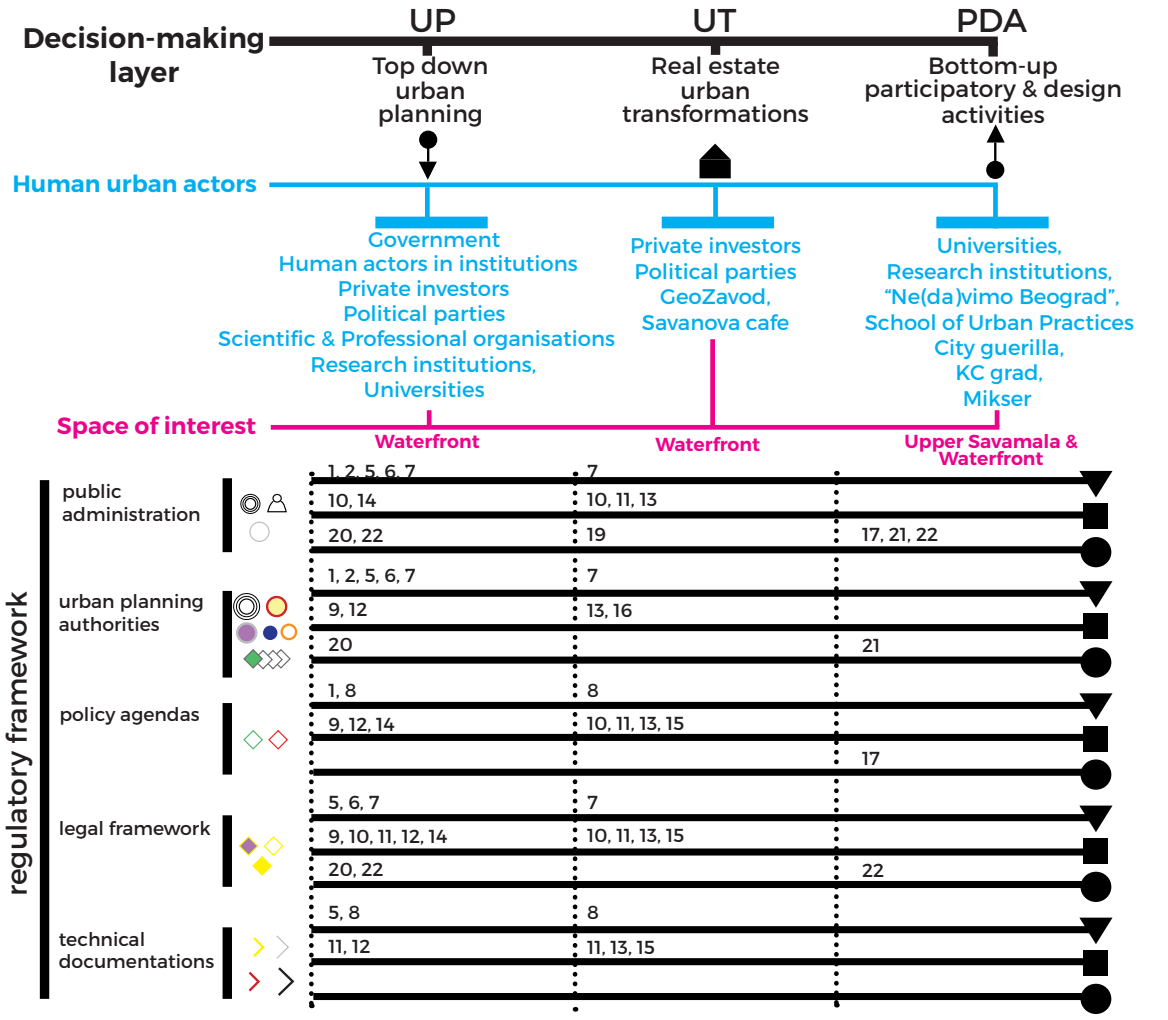
- **Implementation and Construction** [Table 1:301]

Construction and implementation networks are associated together as construction is a practice of spatial interventions, while implementation involves both social and spatial practices. Both issues have confronted a certain de-institutionalization of their practices in the recent transitional context in Serbia, and both suffer from the over-presence of international actors at the local level - either from international formal and informal organizations or from private and corporate investors.

While Urban Incubator Belgrade and its successors demonstrate the capacity to implement at least small-scale socio-spatial projects, they also indicate significant lack of strategic development goals for cultural institutions and agendas and a limited extent of networking and collaboration at the local level in cases where it is not bonded within a larger institutional framework and financial model *(Questionnaire C1)*. This also testifies to the disappearing middle class, disempowered and impoverished by transition, as well as the marginality and incapacity of cultural and educational in stitutions in these new circumstances of transition *(\Samardzic 2015)*.

Even though certain experts state that Savamala established its identity through these civic activities *(Interview A2, A3)*, others claim that these programmes were too professional, typical for either local architects or other places - artistic and foreign trends which were not adequately translated into the local context *(Interview B13)*. A similar opinion is shared by some citizens, who explain that it seems that they [foreign and local organizations] come up with already prepared solutions and visions to be implemented, but with no concern for the real needs and ideas of the local population *(Interview B10, B11)*.

111 However, any spatial and social change happening on sites and not from top-down stays somehow invisible for this body. For a long time, this was also the issue with illegal construction (Interview B4). Fortunately, there is now a separate City Secretariat focusing on this issue, the Secretariat for Legalization.



LEGEND

SOCIAL ASPECTS:
POLITICAL ASPECTS

(1) provisory rules; **(2)** cumbersome institutional structure; **(3)** political party power over planning, development, regulations; **(4)** vertical clientelism in institutional framework (Vujović & Petrović 2007); **(5)** institutional formalizations ungrounded in reality; **(6)** artificial decentralization and democratization; **(7)** semi-legal institutionalizations;

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

(8) provision of instruments for powerful actors; **(9)** regulatory gaps in urban economy; **(10)** economic aspects strongly influence political aspects; **(11)** inconsistent institutional procedures; **(12)** "growth without development"; **(13)** flawed institutional processes (Djordjevic & Dabovic 2009, Stojkov 2015); **(14)** controversial foreign influences; **(15)** industrial to service based society;

CULTURAL ASPECTS

(16) spatial fragmentation; **(17)** no adequate educational framework; **(18)** lack of participatory and communication culture; **(19)** biased role of the media; **(20)** apathy of population; **(21)** Lack of strategic development goals for cultural institutions & agendas (Vujosevic 2015, Petovar 2015); **(22)** civil initiatives in Savamala lack public support & funding (Petovar 2015);

UP
urban planning;

UT
real estate;

PDA
bottom-up;

AUTHORITIES
- National authorities
  - Parliment
  - Government
- Human actors
  - Prime Minister
  - City Architect
  - City Mayor
- Local authorities
  - City Authoroties
  - Municipality „Savski Venac"

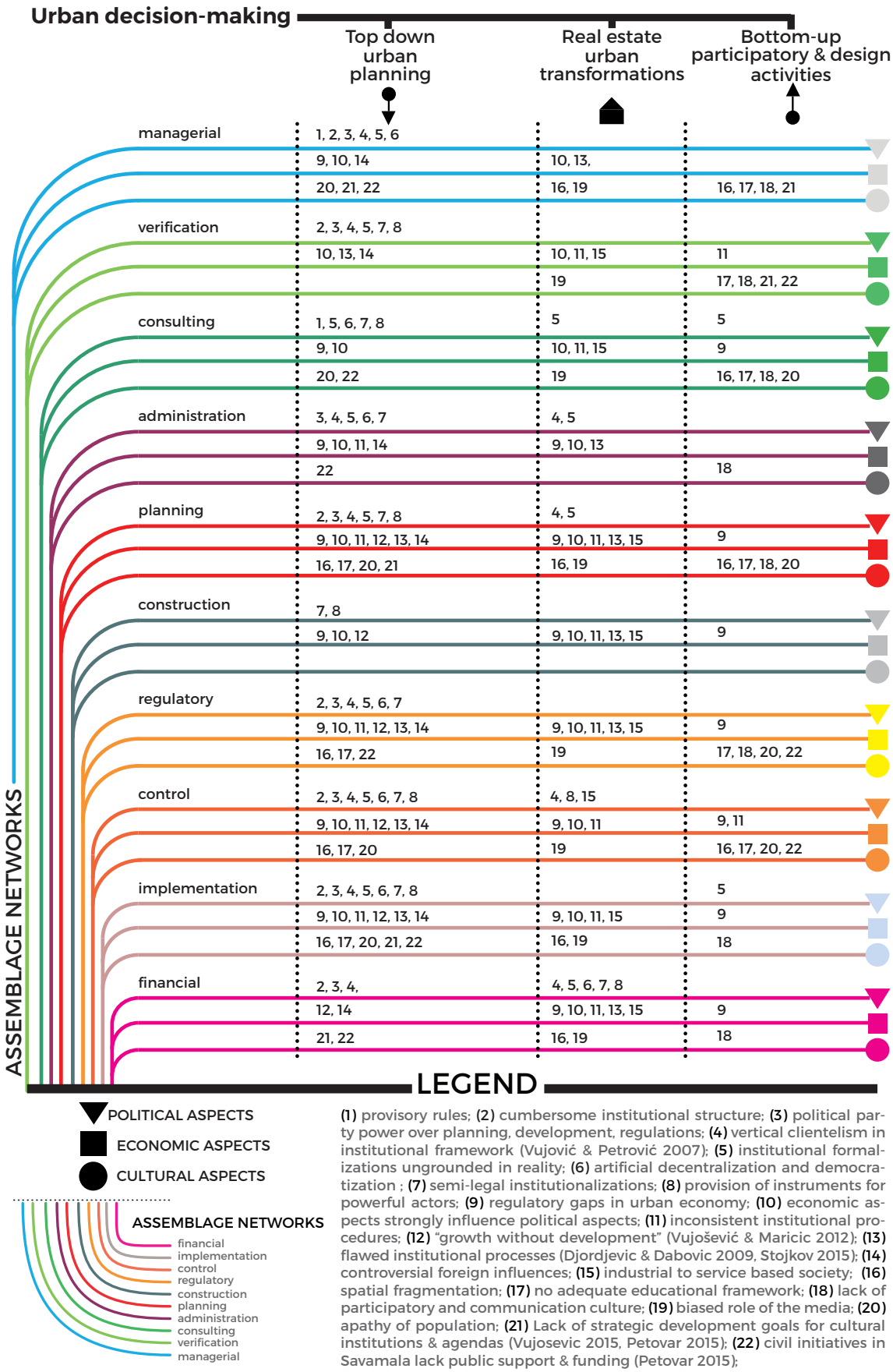
URBAN INSTITUTIONS
- Ministry CTI
- Planning comission
- Secratariat for Urban planning & construction
- Urban Planning Institute
- Land Developement Agency
- Catastre

STRATEGIES
- Sustainable Development Startegy
- National Development Startegy
- Regional Development Startegy RS 2009, 2011
- City of Belgrade Development Startegy 2008

LAWS
- Lex Specialis
- Law on Restitution
- Law on Land Conversion RS 2015
- Law on Leasehold of Public Urban Land
- Planning & Constuction act 2014)

PLANS
- Spatial Plan of RS
- Regional Spatial Plan
- BWSPSP
- GUP 2021
- PGR
- PDP

[CHART 7] social aspect networks



(1) provisory rules; **(2)** cumbersome institutional structure; **(3)** political party power over planning, development, regulations; **(4)** vertical clientelism in institutional framework (Vujović & Petrović 2007); **(5)** institutional formalizations ungrounded in reality; **(6)** artificial decentralization and democratization ; **(7)** semi-legal institutionalizations; **(8)** provision of instruments for powerful actors; **(9)** regulatory gaps in urban economy; **(10)** economic aspects strongly influence political aspects; **(11)** inconsistent institutional procedures; **(12)** "growth without development" (Vujošević & Maricic 2012); **(13)** flawed institutional processes (Djordjevic & Dabovic 2009, Stojkov 2015); **(14)** controversial foreign influences; **(15)** industrial to service based society; **(16)** spatial fragmentation; **(17)** no adequate educational framework; **(18)** lack of participatory and communication culture; **(19)** biased role of the media; **(20)** apathy of population; **(21)** Lack of strategic development goals for cultural institutions & agendas (Vujosevic 2015, Petovar 2015); **(22)** civil initiatives in Savamala lack public support & funding (Petovar 2015);

[CHART 8] Social aspects distributed across urban assemblage networks

A similar dependence on global trends is obvious in the growing involvement of foreign investors and investments funds in real estate in Serbia. The consequences of the political treatment of property and the discrepancy between planning and implementation during socialism take its toll and are still in play through the fast-moving, profit-oriented practices under neoliberalism and transition - once built, the structures are more difficult to change, which has been the logic of BWP [112] *(Interview B13)*.

- **Regulatory and Planning** [Table 1:301]

The overlapping of the regulatory and planning networks is multiple and overwhelming, even more so as most of the responsible institutions behave like management agencies, rather than taking strategic approaches *(\Vujosević 2010)*.

Generally speaking, in Serbian urban planning discourse the built environment is the product of the regulatory framework rather than any strategic and professional engagement that surpasses it *(Interview B13)*. In this manner, the troika of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure and the City Mayor are the actual power poles in urban decision-making in Serbia. Inconsistency in the legal framework and the overlapping of jurisdiction (municipality, city, republic) support parallel structures of power and parallel roles (Intermediaries/Mediators) *(Interview A1, B2)*. In these circumstances, it is not the quality of legal and planning documentation frameworks, but the reliance on an individual sense of responsibility and public interest that causes problems. [113]

The extended influence in the various domains of the individuals who have supreme political power follows the historical heritage in Serbia from pre-socialist (Prince Miloš and Mihailo, King Alexander), socialist (Josip Broz Tito) and post-socialist and transitional times (Slobodan Milošević and the Prime Minister today). Disregarding the importance of institutions resulted in the lack of operational and efficient feasibility studies, provisory reports and strategies and corrupted plans and regulations. In these new transitional circumstances, authorities address the issue of the economic revival by focusing their capacities and attention on investors and adapting the regulatory framework to serve their needs, [114] while citizens are excluded from the decision-making *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014)*.

While planning has been identified as an implementation tool for investors' requirements to be effectuated in the transitional discourse ["fast line for investors" as it was explained by an informant *(Interview B1)*], several experts suggest the possibility that "investor urbanism" may be traced back to the socialist period after the constitutional change of 1974 and the introduction of self-managed public enterprises that dominated supply-demand chains in the local real estate market *(Interview B2)*. Whether public (socialism) or private (transition), the instruments to exercise power might be similar, and the instruments that once served to reinvigorate housing construction and nation state economy in the public interest might also become dangerous weapons if used for individual interests and particular purposes.

Another problematic issue of the cumbersome institutional structure inherited from socialism is the lack of any official procedures to assign a regulation as outdated. With strong authoritarianism and hierarchy in urban institutions, it is very common

112 Despite the double rejection for the building permit from the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure, the coastal fortification was finalized during 2016. It is difficult to estimate, but, having two residential towers under construction nearby, it is very unlikely that the coastal fortification will be dismantled and removed, or even adjusted to local technical requirements.

113 Knowing that the Prime Minister and City Mayor are political functions and that they usually are not experts in the domain of urban planning and architecture, the influence on the most important decisions comes from either those who advise them or those with economic means and a clear and rationally-defined criteria of their interests (Interview B3).

114 Various informants and multiple reports and analysis indicate the existence of the Investors Master-Plan for BWP which was the source of numerous regulation changes and even more so it was used in the construction phase of the coastal fortification and towers, but it has been kept secret to this day (Interview B8, B12) ***(\\\ Pravni skener 2016; \\\ Inicijativa "Ne da(vi)mo Beograd" 2016)*** Several experts also emphasize that the design for the BWP urban structures was created under different circumstances and was rather an urban structure for the seaside as river-currents have different dynamics from sea tides (Interview B13).

that obsolete and inefficient structures, documents and procedures are replicated, while the public interest is usually not served and very often it is not sufficient as an excuse for regulation changes *(Interview B3)*. In this manner, the once thriving cultural and civic activities in Savamala (2012-2013) have to date been left unregulated and uninstitutionalized even though politicians often officially use them as examples of good, local practice *(\\\N1 2016)*.

- **Financial** [Table 1:301]

The distribution of financial networks coincide with the impact of globalization and this new context of transition from the international isolation of Serbia in the 1990s to its integrated position in Europe and in the world after 2000.

Global capital and finances have affected all layers of decision-making in Serbia: either by international investment banks, private and corporate investors and international organizations, embassies, NGOs and European and international funding bodies. The amenability at the local level still maintains the trends from the 1990s when pressure, money and connections were the means of local tycoons, who also were the major economic actors at that time *(\ETH Studio Basel 2012)*.

Access to public funding is also an issue in Serbia. While the public debt of Serbia is growing *(\\\Ministarstvo finansija Republike Srbije 2016)*, the budget spending of public money favours the questionable business models of several public-private companies (Air Serbia, Belgrade Waterfront), while civic initiatives in Savamala receive minor local funding and support, usually only at the municipal level *(Interview B1, B2, B13)*.

The ANT approach to actor identification and their distribution through networks facilitates (o) logical argumentation for urban dynamics, (o) enables mapping urban complexity, and (o) visualizing actors and networks through diagrams. In order to interpret the urban development of Savamala, specific political, economic and cultural aspects are also treated as actors (social artifacts). The distribution of these networks is traced within the map through the identification of:

1. the key actors involved,
2. the levels of decision-making which it stems from,
3. the sets of social aspects aggregated together.

The key findings are articulated through a comprehensive description of on-site complexity, which these conflictive political, economic and cultural aspects produce. In this approach, the researcher maintained certain traditional concepts from urban theory and practice, but reinterpreted them in the ANT logical framework. In this manner, it was clarified what type of networks (urban assemblages) these conflictive aspects address. However, the ANT frameworks quality of offering a playground for explanations from within and below makes the task of relating and distributing agency through networks a never-ending story that also depends on the participant/researcher who conducts it. Therefore, even historical transpositions/interlacements, roles and links through networks become ephemeral and should be put to inquiry through multiple perspectives, if possible *(\Latour 2005b: 256-257)*.

"The urbicide in Belgrade is fed by the mentalities and the logic of incompleteness: unfulfilled urban development plans, vane political promises and abandoned projects."

(Samardžić 2015)

5.3 Conclusion

The ANT data analysis presented in this chapter addresses the contemporary urban reality in Savamala. Most of the pre-existing methodological approaches in urban development studies consider certain socially bounded explanations (like the dichotomies of importance-influence and power-interest) as self-containing explanatory categories for mapping actor and stakeholder engagement in the social realm *(\ Mathur et al. 2007).*

First of all, the ANT approach starts from the other end. Its point of departure is the identification of human and non-human actors from the ground-up, within the historical deposits of data, procedures, and identities contextualized through the morphology of urban decision-making in Savamala. Thereafter, the analysis is directed toward pinning down, describing and tracing their agency and relations at the neighbourhood level.

In short, the catalyzation of urban agency in Savamala has been two-folded: spatial and social. In spatial terms, intensive real-estate transformation created an invisible division of Savamala. With complete disregard for the cultural agency active and the life and activity there in general, recent radical, profit-oriented construction enterprises at the waterfront are directing the development of the area toward what is known as a "gated community" where upper Savamala will be only an unpleasant pass-way.

Socially speaking, the role of individuals is at the core of urban interventions. While in the regulatory framework this practice is obvious and dominant, with politicians making decisions in favour of their political parties, not their respective public whose public servants they are. On the real-estate side, it is very often said that individual international investors or domestic tycoons are the ones pulling the strings. Moreover, for bottom-up engagement, the informants usually testify that for getting a job done, powerful and persistent individuals are usually needed behind it. Taking into account the historical background, Serbian society may be described as fundamentally authoritarian. In such circumstances, both the functionality and reliability of institutions and the empowerment of bottom-up sectors can hardly happen until the approach is changed for a more egalitarian and horizontal one.

Secondly, in terms of methodology, the chosen 5-step ANT analytical framework served to fine-tune the internal and external actor-networks and reveal the nature of urban agency. The final diagram illustrates the totality of circumscribed urban assemblage networks through the ANT lens **[Diagram 9:296]**. Moreover, the visualized overlaps and the collisions of various actor-network and social aspect distributions provide extensive explanations about how urban decision-making is processed in Savamala and why these social dichotomies are still at stake in a post-socialist neighbourhood.

Enriching it with the space-time component, this ANT analysis aims at decoding the urban complexity and dynamics of Savamala from the past to the present moment. In this respect, a very important point of disruption and radical change in

Savamala is the officialized procedure for the adjustment of the regulatory framework to investor needs. At this point, the future of spatial interventions in the whole city might be directed according to what here and now there a single investor prefers and requires.

Furthermore, the methodological asset of ANT is its tendency to enable explanations from within and below. Such a descriptive research practice makes the task of relating and distributing agency through networks a never-ending, researcher-based storytelling. Therefore, even historical transpositions, roles and links through networks become ephemeral and with no means to address and question what will come next.

In Savamala, and even more so in Belgrade, an important spatial issue is the transformation of the city landscape according to the new regulations set to satisfy BWP requirements. The city will rise in height and most probably, as there are no zoning restrictions, this may happen in the center. While the number of people living and visiting the area will rise, the question of efficient and sustainable transport may well come up, even though it seems that professionals are not strategically addressing such a future. On the social side, the role of international actors and global trends at all levels is unavoidable and overwhelming. The question of positioning local experts, professionals, authorities and citizens therefore might be crucial. Between international influence and an intervention in the particular context, there must be a meso-layer of local urban actors and professional and regulatory frameworks.

Yet, the capacity of ANT to practically address the future from its conclusions is lame. In general, the practice-based approach in urban studies has had hardly any benefits from ANT. Earlier applications of ANT did not address operational diagnosis worthwhile for tracing urban system transitions. Therefore, the next stage of the analysis in this research focuses on a framework for a constant extension of agency and relations when the actors collide, overlap and interfere in networks.

[Spanish House - where the ends in Savamala meet]

Street music in Spanish House_UI/MMW

Tranzit

Spanish House (2013)_ NN

Construction of UI pavillions in Spanish House (2013)_UI

Ensuring the façade breakages (2013)_UI

Photo Story_Spanish House_**Ui Open liberary design workshop**_GG

322 **Photo Story**_Spanish HouseSpanish House by night (2013)_UI

Spanish House by night (2013)_UI

Chapter 6

Re-assembling Urban Dynamics with the Multi-Agent System

Within an urban system, all elements are interdependent. The ANT analysis provides an extensive overview of complex actor-network relations. These assemblages also bound space-time dynamics, linking past-to-present translations of urban decision-making practices and processes. Actor-networks, while influenced by the others, also simultaneously influence them, as do all the agents within the Multi-agent system (MAS) methodological approach *(\Bousquet and Le Page 2004).*

Similarly to Actor-network Theory (ANT), the Multi-agent system (MAS) further deconstructs urban complexity and dynamics in order to set up an operational diagnosis for tracing urban system transitions. It traces agent profiles (assembly of urban agency) and their inter-relations (assembly of operations). The bearers of urban agency are key urban actors operating under the continuous negotiations within the morphology of urban decision-making.

The main contribution of MAS lies in tracking down the character of agents links. These qualitative categories are reinterpreted by MAS through passive and active contextual elements (objects and relations). They serve for connecting the present to the future based on the past-to-present explanations of agencies and relations. In this manner, MAS also manages to operate the concept of urbanity through the categories of: social practices, urban conflicts and contextual resources (spatial capacities and social potential). While spatial capacities and social potential are passive, social practices and urban conflicts are active contextual elements which are continuously operated by the key actors and within this initial networking.

In Savamala, these contextual elements are embedded within the Serbian urban regulatory framework, current urban and architectural projects on site, and civic initiatives that activate the social fabric of the neighbourhood. Savamala has been marked by all major transformations of Serbian society over time, the current hype of arts and culture in line with the worldwide spread of hipster neighbourhoods. In addition, it has also fallen under the massive waterfront mega-project. These overlaps of past, present and future processes and mechanisms are the core framework for socio-spatial patterns in Savamala.

This chapter provides the second stage analysis with MAS. First of all, a narrative of resources, conflicts and practices indicates the links between the current state of affairs in Savamala and future oriented urban system transitions. Further on, associating these socio-spatial patterns with urban agents reveals agent preferences. Within MAS, agent preferences are defined to have bounded up the agents capacity to influence the future of the neighbourhood. Finally, this chapter concludes with notes on how these capacities might be operationalized within urban transitions by the hybrid method that combines MAS and ANT.

6.1 Socio-spatial Patterns in MAS: Dynamism of Objects and Relations in Savamala

contextual elements - passive contextual elements - spatial capacities, social potentials; active contextual processes - urban practices; urban conflicts;

Any urban environment is in a constant state of flux. In this respect, a kaleidoscope of collected data on Savamala and the first round of analysis on urban assemblages have revealed sets of relationships between urban agents, the morphology of urban decision-making and urban complexity. As discussed above, these relationships contain only the reference to past and present urban processes. Conversely, "glocalized"[115] socio-spatial patterns cover up the space-time relations of urbanity and address the future prospects of development.

115 Global and local simultaneously

To gain a fuller appreciation of these future-oriented processes, close vivisection of socio-spatial patterns in Savamala relied on the qualitative data obtained in four rounds of consecutive data collection: documents review, questionnaires, workshops, and interviews. Based on these data and in reference to the MAS methodological framework, socio-spatial patterns are divided into:

1. Passive contextual elements or objects in MAS terminology;
2. Active contextual processes or the assembly of relations in reference to MAS.

6.1.1 Passive contextual elements

As already mentioned, passive objects (contextual elements) are a MAS unit of analysis. In its methodological scope, they are assumed passive because agents (key urban agents) are the core activators/exploiters of their agency. More precisely, this category is not about the individual objects, but rather brings up sets of elements, factors and circumstances that, once united, become the basis for action. Thus, this interpretation already reveals its future oriented span.

For the purposes of the MAS methodology the issue of capital is simply addressed in the sense of resources. In this manner, all possible variations of the term are reduced to its reference to either space (spatial, material, hard capital) or society (social, human, intellectual, soft capital), and the context altogether (territorial capital).

Thus, passive contextual elements are considered as:

- spatial capacities,
- social potentials.

116 ***Mann (\1988)*** identifies the ten most influential ones: (1) large-scale mixed-use development; (2) an open and accessible riverside; (3) reducing the railroad and highway capacity along the riverbanks; (4) the development of commercial areas along small bankside waterways; (5) historic restoration of the river corridor; (6) blossoming of market places; (7) world exposition development on the waterfront; (8) environmentally adjusted art; (9) ephemeral events and structures; (10) growing local urban regulations of waterfront sites.

6.1.1.1 Spatial capacities

Rivers are very important city landmarks of modern cities. As *Mann (\1988)* puts it, there are various trends in waterfront redevelopment,[116] but they all indicate refocusing the attention of planners, investors and citizens on "the central urban waterfronts with their transitions away from the inefficiencies and clutter of 19th and early 20th century industrial and commercial patterns" *(ibid.)*.

In Serbia and Belgrade, this transition of trends coincided with the moment when the river Sava was not the border anymore. Even though Savamala's rise started much earlier, it referred more to the hinterland while the only sparks of urban life on its waterfront were the docks. According to experts, Savamala was considered as the flooding zone (the area below Crnogorska) in those times *(Interviewee B13).* It was only when Belgrade and Zemun became cities of the same country that the Sava waterfront gained importance. Soon afterwards the bridge [Brankov bridge] was built to emphasize this connection and the Savamala hinterland was fortified against flooding.

proximity of the river; waterfront area;

Henceforth, the development of Belgrade was led in such a way that the connection with Zemun and the left Sava riverbank (New Belgrade side) were ever intensified. Therefore, even though Belgrade is physically placed at the confluence of two rivers, it is nowadays perceived as a city on the Sava river with the Danube nearby, rather than as a city on the Sava and the Danube *(Interviewee B13).*

The long, accessible waterfront largely determined the role of Savamala in the growing Belgrade metropolitan area with not yet efficiently resolved public transport and a heavy traffic infrastructure *(Questionnaire C2)*. The combination of the proximity of both the river and the city center, but even more so its position in the geometrical center of the vast area of the city of Belgrade was its major capital; "the middle of the three cities [Belgrade, New Belgrade, Zemun]" as an informant said *(Interview B14).*

accessibility; central position in the city

All these favourable factors did not prevent the neglected attitude of the socialist authorities after the Second World War. Actually, it was the high representation of urban, architectural and cultural heritage from previous (prewar) capitalist times[117] in Savamala that determined the viewpoint of the socialist regime **[Section 4.1.3:224].**

117 A helpiful circumstance for the socialist authorities was the almost complete destruction of Savamala during the bombardments in WWII **[Section 4.1.3:224].**

Making its transversal Karadjordjeva street the main road for heavy transport as a way to bypass the city center predominately marked the nature of Savamala urban neighbourhood during the socialist period. What is more, this transit roadway became increasingly surrounded by poor warehouses and manufactories that replaced the bombed palaces for a while **[Section 4.1.3:224].** With the extensive construction of transport infrastructure in the recently industrialized country (SFRY), the growing industry of transportation means, and consequent rising mobility of people; the urbanity of Savamala then was also aggravated by the proximity of the busy bus and train terminals.[118] The socialist Savamala was a crowded, polluted, noisy area and the home for marginalized groups, outcasts and prostitutes. Unfortunately, this atmosphere and image had long surpassed the socialist regime and has followed Savamala to the present day.

brownfield area; deteriorating area

118 Savamala hosted the enlargement of the states major traffic infrastructure, including the nearby main train station, the bus terminal, the river terminal and two of the citys main bridges connecting the city centre to New Belgrade, the area constructed during socialist Yugoslavia that projected its high collective ideals onto urban development by appropriating the concept of modernist urban development." ***(\Cvetinovic et al. 2013)***

The first post-socialist period in the 1990s continued to contribute to its deterioration and devastation. The abandoned industrial plots and derelict and ruined buildings, its problematic social structure and the gloomy circumstances of the civil wars and national turmoil in the Balkan region flagged Savamala as economically underdeveloped, socially disadvantaged, and unsafe with a reputation as a home to outcasts, prostitution and criminality *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013).*

architectural diversity;

The urban and architectural richness of the pre-socialist times was also preserved to date. The architectural masterpieces from the beginning of the 20th century (the Belgrade Cooperative [Geozavod], Bristol Hotel, Vuča's House) still adorn the neighbourhood and the city. Their accessibility (the bus and train terminals and city center in its vicinity) and even more so its promotion by the recent hubs of hype culture, which have been placed in the neighbourhood, put these buildings on the tourist maps and make them the "must-see" of the post-socialist south-eastern European capital *(Questionnaire C2).*

The amorphous urban form and small, irregular street matrix below Karadjordjeva street *(Questionnaire C4)* has been the recognizable urban structure of Savamala until quite recently, when it was forcefully and illegally destroyed for the purposes of the Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP). [119]

The recent terrain clearance is actually the most radical, but also most consequential step of national and city authorities, the legal framework and planning bodies, resulting from the continuous political and economic pressures to solve an old issue of Belgrade's prime waterfront area.[120] After multiple competitions and projects for the Sava amphitheatre **[Section 5.1.1:274]**, the Urban Planning Institute came out with a circumstantial urban analysis and a programme for the area. Referring to much of what is herein said and with extensive multidisciplinary expert analysis, they specify the spatial circumstances and developmental capacity of Savamala as such *(\\\"Analiza razvojnih mogućnosti Savskog amfiteatra I"; \\\"Analiza razvojnih mogućnosti Savskog amfiteatra II"):*

- the bounding network of major city roads directly connected to the Savamala street map and limited by surrounding private property structures;
- the importance of the wider city context and utmost priority of linking its urban development to that of the corresponding area on the left bank of the Sava (the New Belgrade side);
- the outstanding quality of the location and its urban city skyline;
- the priority of waterfront revitalization as a significant spatial resource of the city and its common good;

empty plots;
green areas;
recreationg area;

These positive traits as well as being in the vicinity of the major transportation hubs of Belgrade [121] were the main linchpins for the first civil and cultural initiatives to settle in the neighbourhood. According to the informants, the choice of Savamala was made after the preliminary draft mapping of its contextual resources (spatial and social ones) *(Interviewee B6).* Another important quality emphasized by the civil sector is the disposition of plots and buildings to be reactivated and offered to citizenry to use for recreation, cultural and community activities *(Questionnaire C5).*

It is also crucial to stress that, even though they may sound permanent, spatial capacities (and conversely spatial drawbacks) are highly dependent on the distribution of urban activities and the indirect moderating of the situated urban practices and urban conflicts. In Savamala, even though there has not been significant urban recon-

119 Under the pressure of the BWP agreement obligations and under murky circumstances on election night between the 24th and 25th of April, the shabby structures in Hercegovacka street were razed to the ground by a group of masked men armed with baseball bats ***(\\\\Popovic and Kovacevic 2016).***

120 These initiatives date back to the 1920s **[Section 5.1.1:274]**. The exact area of intervention in these planning phases has varied from Gazela Bridge to beyond the Dorcol marina, but their common denominator is the relocation of the bus and railway station.

121 Having visitors/tourists coming by chance on their way from the bus terminal or the train station" (Interview B6).

struction of buildings and spaces at play before the BWP was instated, the devastated and deteriorating state of the neighbourhood was reduced by the cultural, artistic and civic activities happening there, giving it rather a hype than ruined appearance. Even more importantly, with the increasing number of users from different social backgrounds and accompanying services, Savamala became a posh and safe area, but conversely without obvious signs of gentrification and change in social status as there was not any significant increase in rents and apartment costs *(Interviewee A13).*

It has been conspicuous that Savamalas position and provision of empty spaces and buildings, brown-/green-field areas was a ready-made trigger. Once activated, it becomes an almost unstoppable drive of urban transformation or radical change, even though its urban essence within the image of the whole capital city stays the same for a while with its run-down buildings, derelict empty plots and open spaces. [122] With the lack of a sustainable, participatory, transparent, feasible, and long-term development model, these spatial capacities may easily turn into social impediments and setbacks.

122 Even with the large waterfront intervention of the BWP, from a certain perspective and in certain areas (i.e. the Savamala hinterland, known as Upper Savamala), Savamala looks exactly the same as it did a few years ago when it was only a cultural and creative hub of the city.

6.1.1.2 Social potentials

In Savamala, the morphology of urban decision-making sets forth and catalyses transformative social forces.

Top-down urban planning interventions bound the planning mechanisms emerging from the new political context, while the particular practice and patterns show that institutional and organisational frameworks at play are rather the clients of developers and private actors *(Interview A7, A10).* In this manner, certain individuals in institutions, while they can be the executors of such interest, also can contribute to promoting and supporting participatory and transparent processes. For example, the municipal authorities officially supported the civil and international initiatives to extend the urban life of Belgrade down to its riverbanks and to reactivate Savamala spaces *(Interview A17).*[123]

123 For example, Nemanja Petrovic, the Assistent Mayor of the Municipality "Savski venac" and Nina Mitranic, the chief architect of the Municipal building inspection ***(\ Vanista Lazarevic 2015).*** Their positive role was also emphasized by the civil sector informants (Interview A12, B2).

On the other hand, the small-scale cultural and civic initiatives that were popping up around Savamala from 2008 onward signified as the actual congregators of social potential **[Diagram 10:333]**. This conglomerate of artistic practices, crowdsourcing activities, creative industries, urban manufactories, and cooperative economies was growing, gradually infusing the sparks of new urban life in Savamala. Conversely, these activities also aimed at returning Savamala to its former pre-socialist fame through the attempts to revive old arts and crafts still present but almost disappearing in Savamala.

The first driver of this trend was Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB) with two projects focusing on the recognizable cultural identity of Savamala and its richness of tradition and crafts. "Savamala Design Studio" aimed to produce a manual of local knowledge, practices and cultural values through participatory action research *(\ Cvetinović et al. 2013).* The idea was to work with residents and other urban actors, learn from them and map their everyday practices (i.e. preserving food, recycling waste, barter economy, illegal building construction) *(ibid.).*

lack of private interests before 2012; aroused interest for this neighbourhood from cultural and artistic groups, individuals and organizations; creative cluster;

"Micro factories" was another participatory activity targeting collecting local materials (usually from abandoned buildings) and working on product designs that reflects firstly what they had found in Savamala and secondly its tradition of small craft workshops (i.e. carpentry) *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013)*. These new small production facilities are intended to be microeconomic structures establishing the relationship between urban space and industrial production and boosting the local pride and identity of a once prestigious trade and artisanal area *(\\\Micro factories 2013)*. This initiative was nurtured and extended with UIB successors, such as the projects: "Cooking together", "Healthy living in Savamala", "Heritage of the ship graveyard" and "Zupa Zupa". All these activities were situated on the old abandoned steamboat Zupa *(\\\\Belic 2014)*.

cultural heritage; historical trade and artisanal area; small commercial area;

In the long-run, they strove to physically transform the neighbourhood and to influence urban transformations that are based on social interest rather than on real estate speculations. However, the choice of Savamala was not accidental. The availability of abandoned buildings, abundance of architectural heritage might have been the major instigators of that choice *(Questionnaire C2)*. Several organisations testify to mapping Savamala before installing there and except for its spatial capital, the sparks of night life (cafes, clubs) were the main reasons for their decision *(Interview B6)*.

The far-reaching goal was to change Savamala's urban image from the ground up by converting abandoned warehouses into socially productive facilities, activating riverfront usage, encouraging local community participation, attracting new visitors to the neighbourhood (professionals and the general public, both local and global), and finally revalorizing and repositioning the Savamala neighbourhood within the physical and functional scheme of the whole city of Belgrade *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013)*.

participative and self-organisational initiatives;

Yet, through qualitative investigation of these activities, it was revealed that this wave of action was only possible with the high influence and strong presence of national NGOs and, even more, international NGOs and formal organisations *(Questionnaire C2)* "Urban Incubator Belgrade" was based on Berlin experience *(Interview A1, A2)* The rationale of this project was also embedded in Goethe Institute strategy, whose focus has been urban development, urban transformations and creative industry. As creative industry is an important sector of the German economy *(\\\Lanz 2012)*, such financially and logistically supported activities may also be interpreted as an economic strategy for the export of services *(Questionnaire C2)* In any case, the outburst of these and similar projects, events and activities **[Section 4.2.3:250]** made Savamala the nexus of creative capital in Belgrade *(\\\\B92 2015)*.

social diversity;

In sociological terms, Savamala developed a multiple identity recognizable on the national and international scene. For the limited artistic scene in Belgrade, Savamala with its several important galleries **[Figure 12:232]** is an national, urban, artistic hub. For cultural and civil workers, it is a cultural cluster. Finally, for numerous tourists and visitors, it is a place to party all night long *(Interview B5)*.

The diagram 10 [Diagram 10:333] represents a synthetized timeline of civil initiatives as they have emerged and evolved in Savamala. Their vast number and multiferous nature reveal a complicated scheme of relations in time, space and society among them *(\Cvetinović et al. 2016)*. In order to better understand their

particular roles in this neighbourhood, it was important to set the framework of their appearance in Savamala. The diagram also differentiates the general character of these initiatives (continual or sporadic activities with stable or periodical upheaval of action) as well as their individual or group nature and either local or foreign initiative. Another important differentiation present in the diagram is distinction between spaces on one side and collectives/activities/projects on the other. The disproportionality of the x-axis segments (time spans) indicate the aggregation of activities in 2007-2013 period. The most important purpose of this diagram is to summarize the dynamics of complex network of bottom-up actors in Savamala.

underdevelopmed area;

While Savamala was a peaceful area during socialism,[124] it was only during the turbulent wartime of the 1990s that it became unsafe. The neighbourhood kept that image until these new fusions of urban life settled in Savamala *(Interview B11).*

This new spirit, accompanied by the many night clubs[125] settling in the neighbourhood, put Savamala on the city map as a party area with a vivid night life *(\\\ Bureau Savamala 2013).* The gradual reduction of heavy traffic, which was caused partly by the construction of the Pupin bridge over the Danube, was replaced with intensive and loud music from the clubs that created severe noise all night long in Savamala *(Interview B10).* In 2012, Belgrade and indirectly Savamala were internationally presented as the major party capital in the world by Lonely planet *(\\\\Planet 2012).*

Similar to the wasted potential of this uninstitutionalized culture that has never been included in any official cultural strategy of the city and the state **[Section 5.2.1:300]**, this potential of making Belgrade internationally famous was abruptly stopped by the regulation of 2011 when the commerce of alcohol was banned after 11 PM and the bars were to close at that time as well *(\\\\Vreme 2011).* On one hand, this had a bad influence on tourism; on the other, the ban changed Savamala, too. That is to say that even more bars moved there as its location offered a possibility to extend the party hours. Less populated and close to the riverside recreation area and abandoned plots, in Savamala people were still able to party the whole night *(Interview B14).* Even though the ban on alcohol is no longer in effect, the party places stayed in Savamala and have been influencing its image as a cultural and civic hub.

Recent sequence of events testifies that the city authorities did not apply any sustainable strategy for either Savamala's spatial capacities (empty spaces and plots) or for cultural and tourist activities *(Interview B5).* This rather sporadic interest in developmental options was even more obvious in terms of the Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP). Taking into consideration the circumstances around BWP deals, the attitude of the city and national authorities towards the exploitation of the spatial capacity of the Sava waterfront contained little, if any, concern for public interest and relinquished this outstanding resource to the whims of the interest of the private investor.

diversity of interests & power poles in the area

The initiative NDVBGD took this real estate transformation very seriously and critically addressed the issue from the very beginning *(\\\\NeDa(vi)moBeograd WORDPRESS).* The initiative assembled local organisations and individuals around the issue of urban and cultural policy and urban development in Belgrade. As soon as the first irregularities appeared, accompanying the collaboration between the RS and the com-

124 As an informant, a Savamala inhabitant for many years, recalled: during the SFRY era there were a lot of local police in the streets and the social discipline was different (Interview B11). Such circumstance might have created a different safety net back then.

125 Over several years, the famous clubs and cafés in Savamala included: Disko Klub Mladost, Brankow, Apartman, Corba, Magacin, Ben Akiba, Dvoristance, Prohibicija etc **[Figure 13:232]**.

pany from the UAE ("Eagle Hills"), the activists from the initiative raised their voices and organized public performances against, what they call "investor urbanism" *(\\\\ Slobodna Evropa 2014).* At the beginning, they were mainly active through social media (Facebook, Twitter) and with sporadic public performances that made them visible beyond the city scale.

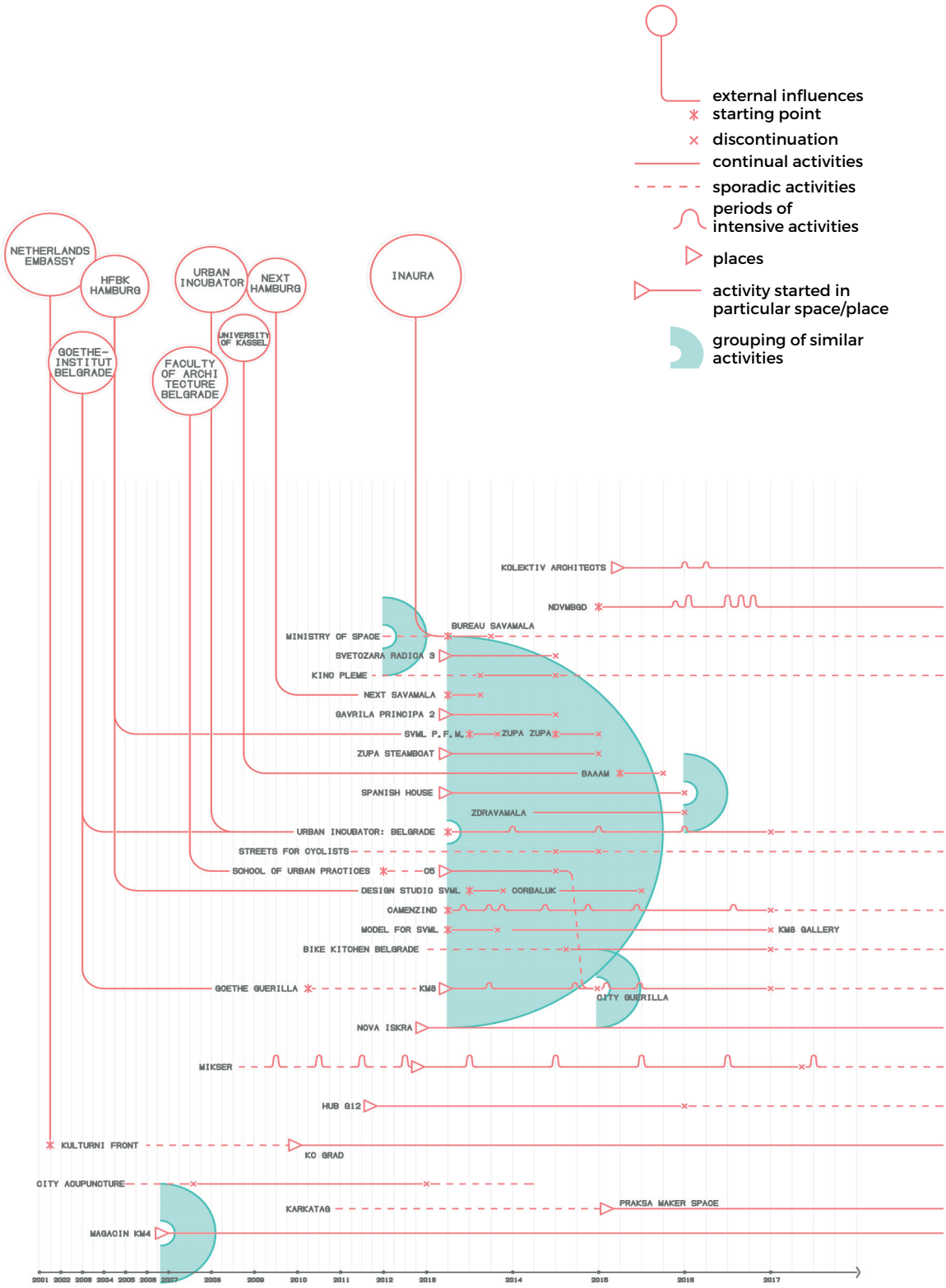
educative activities;

As the irregularities rose, so did the activities from the initiative. The social role they took in Savamala, also contributed to raising the consciousness and involvement of citizens in urban decision-making. Following this path, the initiative has been continuously organizing critical events in parallel with the BWP project and its planning proceedings. The adoption of the Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWPSPSP), GUP Belgrade 2021, Lex specialis, as well as the signing of the contract with the foreign investor, the start of construction work, and the gloomy demolitions in Savamala have all been marked by citizen protests *(\\\\Mitić and Miladinović 2016)*, symbolic public performances *(\\\\Vice 2015)* and a range of critical texts from local *(\\\Petovar 2014)* and international experts *(\\\\The Spectacle Blog 2014; \\\ Krusche and Klaus 2015).*

However, to understand how they set the right actions at the right place and time, it is crucial to mention the genesis of their involvement in Savamala. Their parental organisation "Ministry of Space" was present in Savamala within Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB), through the Bureau Savamala as the critical commentator of the project. Moreover, the collective "Ministry of Space" has been persistently pointing out the problems in urban policy, management and civil rights in the Serbian Capital.

After the demolition in Savamala in April 2016, NDVBGD organized several protests with up to 20000 participants at one point *(\\\\Balkan Insight 2016)*. Not only did these actions make this flawed fast-lane approach to investors internationally visible *(\\\\Eror 2015; \\\\Wright 2015)*, but these manifestations of civil disobedience also made the local population less afraid to protest and expresses their concerns for the public interest and public good *(Interview A14, B8)*. The slogan "Whose city? Our city" *(\\\Tulimirović 2016)*, even though a political phrase, express the rise of consciousness about civic rights and the capacity to understand the importance of participation and transparency in urban management after the decades long citizen apathy and authoritarian governance model.

According to the herein presented state of the affairs, it is obvious that social potentials are highly variable and easily shifted from the positive ability for transformation into a retrograde and dangerous urban conflicts. Yet, if anything, they are an essential force for transforming the negative effects of the conventional urbanisation model, accelerating globalization influences, neoliberal trends and unsuitable urban patterns into a contextually appropriate developmental impetus.



[DIAGRAM 10] TIMELINE: Bottom-up activities in Savamala

6.1.2 The Assembly of Relations

Based on the convergence of urban agency toward the context presented above, several issues seem to be stumbling blocks throughout all the layers of urban decision-making *(Questionnaire C1)*:

- the issue of transparency;
- correlation between political and economic interest groups;
- neglected estimation of real circumstances and feasibility;
- social polarization and unfair wealth redistribution;
- total dependency on global trends/guidelines.

These obstacles surpass the local context of Savamala and further characterize the urban development circumstances in Belgrade and in Serbia in general.

The urban development of Belgrade is revealing routines, challenges and traumas both from the historical perspective and the traits of culture and mentality [126] and the analyses of the current condition *(\Samardzic 2015)*. The dynamics of these antagonistic relations set forth the complex system dynamics. While it is essential to incorporate the transformative capacity of passive contextual elements, congregating the relations of system maintenance and system collisions sets a comprehensive overlay of procedural resilience of the system and urban scenarios for radical interventions.

126 Under cultural traits and mentality, ***Samardzic (\2015)*** gives these examples: poverty, sharp social,cultural and ideological differences, inheritance and influence of nationalism, socialism and political religion, undeveloped, inappropriately or poorly maintained developed infrastructure.

In this respect, active contextual relations in Savamala are categorized as:

- urban practices
- urban conflicts

6.1.2.1 Urban practices

Social practices are embedded in the local context. Therefore, situated urban practices generate space production and its usage *(\De Holanda 2011)*, so that they are the engines of urban system evolution.

planning as technical activity;

In Serbia what happens in the local context very often deviates from what is planned. So, this tendency may rather be spoken of as a practice of abandoning urban plans and the discrepancy between plans and realizations than of serious strategies with parameters of economic development, a comprehensive socio-spatial analysis and feasibility studies. Therefore, the approach to urban planning documentation is technocratic with loose links to implementation and actions in actual space.

land management;

Usually attributed to the socialist inheritance in planning *(\Vujosević et al. 2012a; \Vujosević et al. 2015)*, such praxis is aggravated by the dominance of political party or private investor interests *(Workshop D1)*. In post-socialist Serbia, the pluralist political life made the dominance of political and powerful economic actors highly dependent on everyday politics and the shifts of political parties in power. Consequently, the activities of the high planning and decision-making authorities rarely produce sustainable urban practices when brought down to the neighbourhood level.

Yet, the social coherence of urban neighbourhoods in Serbia is also inherited from the socialist period. Still present in public land ownership and the significant amount of accessible open spaces bind civic activities to urban space *(\Workshop D3).* Numerous empty plots and abandoned buildings in Savamala have allowed an urban related framework for a rise in civic activities **[Section 4.2.3:250]**.

public participation inherited from socialism;

The distribution of such places and the compactness of urban forms spatialized these activities even more than they intended to. Mikser festival, for example, even though its initial relationship to Savamala was only as a site specific event, in its later festival years incorporated ever more urban and Savamala related activities *(\\\\Mikser Festival 2012; \\\IAAU 2015).* Seen as an important local actor, Mikser House staff testify that locals often come there for advice or to express their doubts and fears about the current spatial transformations coming from the BWP *(Interview B6).*

support of the urban, design, art and culture related activities; design, communication & creative industry activities in the area; translation of global cultural trends into local & regional practices;

During the period 2008-2015 the design, communication and creative industry were the main drivers of urban revitalization of Savamala *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013).* This global trend created local impact through micro interventions and private ventures in urban space. Even though informal liaisons among urban actors and stakeholders were set off locally, the supreme authority were international and national formal and informal organisations [NGOs and collectives] **[Section 4.2.3:250]**.

These new circumstances arose as a result of the transitional marketization of society, increased interest in the service economy and the spur of consumerism. The dominance of international actors, new creative class, young cultural entrepreneurs and local hype design activities created a strong, yet uninstitutionalized and informal cultural and artistic base in Belgrade *(Workshop D2)*. However, although it is widely known that such circumstances are key triggers for gentrification *(\\\Klaus 2015a),* this generally was not the case with Savamala *(Interview A2, A3)*. Namely, the residence structure in Savamala has not significantly changed during the years of intensive cultural activities, neither do the rents, which are are still in the same price register as before *(Interview A2, A3)*. An important circumstance in this favour is that 90% of the building stock in Savamala is owned by its inhabitants, so that they are to decide on selling the apartments *(\\\Klaus 2015b).* Furthermore, the real-estate market and the policy on urban services in the city is not yet regulated so that it is difficult to expect that the prices in Savamala are susceptible to current social trends. Finally, the legal process for obtaining construction permits is cumbersome and complex, so that even small changes and adaptations as well as initiatives coming outside the circle of authorities and those close to them is unlikely to happen *(ibid.).*

local & global trends in the area;

Yet the change in residential structure actually happened later, with the advancement of the BWP, their relocation programmes and forceful evictions of the local population *(\\\\Princip BLOG 2015; \\\\Beoland 2016).* The case of the Belgrade Waterfront mega-project and its blatant focus on residential and commercial purposes almost exclusively [127] also results from low suburbanization trends in Belgrade as there are plenty of attractive areas in the vicinity of the city center that have empty or deteriorating land available for such development *(\Hirt 2009).*

coordination of global trends, practice & planning; residential & commercial developments;

127 According to the Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWSPSP) less than 2% of the total area is allocated to public and non-commercial urban functions ***(\\BWPSPSP 2015).***

Even more so as the transport system in Belgrade seems old-fashioned, inefficient and centralized *(\Grozdanic 2008)* and the best accessibility mainly characterizes central urban locations (the historical center and New Belgrade). Therefore, any significant change in land use is grounded upon re-conceptualized transportation patterns, which is the core of the new urban development strategy for Belgrade 2016-2020 *(Interview B9)*.

cycling; waterfront recreation area;

In this regard, the development of sustainable transport, walking paths and especially cycling, came up as an overall priority and consistent urban practice that is being raised, regardless of the circumstances. While the rising civic protests against the BWP are widely ignored by the authorities, similar activities coming from the biking community were taken into account and their voices were heard in official meetings *(\\\UZB 2016)*. Their requirements were met regarding the new temporary bike lines while the waterfront is occupied with the BWP construction site *(ibid.)*.

Generally speaking, urban policy agendas on one side and localized civic engagement on the other have produced a certain consistency in socio-spatial interventions in Savamala. However, the lack of transparency of all decision-making procedures, inaccessibility of all the following documentation and biased and provisory participatory mechanisms and instruments destroy any such positive effects and transform practices into conflicts *(\\\Ministarstvo Prostora 2014)*.

6.1.2.2 Urban conflicts

Cities entail urban conflicts. The dynamics of spatial distributions and social relations in cities unavoidably produce conflictive urban issues *(Interview B2)*. Though the task of good urban management is to reduce them to the minimum and ensure a harmonious urban environment for all citizens, in reality the tensions between antagonistic interests and power poles collide within urban decision-making. The escalated urban conflicts lead to the shifting points in urban system development.

dominance of profit-oriented activities; attractive localtion for private investments;

The socio-spatial patterns of post-socialist development and transition entail the majority of current urban conflicts in Serbia **[Section 2.3.1:90]**. The socialist system instated a certain vision of the urban and institutionalized a range of practices toward its achievement. So far, institutional and legislative reforms and ad-hoc interventions in recent years have contributed to the dissolution of the old system, but with poor legitimacy for the proposed reforms *(\\\World Bank 2000; \Vujosević et al. 2010b)*. Therefore, it may be concluded that the hyperproduction of current conflicts stems from keeping "the worst of both worlds". Savamala with its accentuated antagonism of interests undoubtedly reflects these circumstances.

The recent course of events in Savamala show the dominance of an anti-planning concept and unsustainable development patterns *(\Vujosević et al. 2010b)* in dealing with the highly profitable land in the capital. The non-institutionally managed cultural and civic activities in Savamala informally built the base for what was suggested in *the General Plan 2021 (\\2009)*, insisting on the importance of culture to promote the attractiveness of urban areas with planning and organisational solutions (\\BDS

2008; \\GUP 2009). The obvious lack of data on the social and physical structure was recognized and partly dealt with through the Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB) and the Model of Savamala project.

The 3D representation of the Savamala neighbourhood incorporated soft data *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013).* All urban spaces and urban structures in Savamala were tracked through "passports" that comprised objective facts (i.e. height of building, type of roof, faade, number of units, age of the building) and subjective references (the historical layers, social structure and general impression of the structures) *(\\\Lee 2013).* All these non-governmental initiatives revived the image of forgotten architectural and urban heritage in Savamala and produced its current recognizable cultural identity *(Questionnaire C4).*

lack of data on physical & social structures in the neighbourhood;

The reactivation of Savamala spaces and filling them in with new functions also reflected the domination of free market ideology for generating socio-spatial configurations *(\\World Bank 2000).* At the beginning having the bulk of the countrys creative human capital coming and staying in Savamala was seen as a social potential for revival and urban revitalization. In reality, Savamala soon turned into the heart of mainstream world culture and urban trends in Serbia. Spaces of alternative culture were neither further extended nor diversified, but insistently more and more surrounded by hipster hubs, services and gathering places, and even more with fancy clubs, cafés, restaurants. In general, marketization and globalization patterns in Savamala also became rendered from the "quasi" ground up.

lack of public interest;

The international and particular interest-based (popular art and culture) network generated in this way held the bonds that surpassed the spatialized identity of these activities represented in the image of Savamala. Recent unfoldings of the situation show that even though they are weak in confrontation with powerful economic interests and local authorities, they are able to keep their audience and actors and move them around the city *(\Jovanović 2016).* On the other hand, the actual cultural policy in Serbia and Belgrade was rather reduced to city marketing - without an overall cultural policy or a law on culture and cultural activities *(\Volic et al. 2012).*

Nevertheless, there are still some traces of professional initiatives to improve and update urban planning approaches in Belgrade, even though usually with gloomy prospects to be realized. The Urban Planning Institute in 2012 established a project to create an integrated urban development plan for Savamala, which would rely on previous studies of the Waterfront area (2007) and of the Sava amphiteatre *(\\\Urbanisticki zavod Beograda 2008a; \\\Urbanisticki zavod Beograda 2008b).* The project relied on an up-to-date account of the activities in Savamala, its brownfield capacities, and addressed global sustainable development, creative industry, and climate change trends *(\\\Urbanisticki zavod Beograda 2012).* This forward-thinking project was the result of professionals and experts in the Urban Planning Institute and their non-governmental partners "Ambero Serbia" (Service for Strengthening of local land management in Serbia) and "GIZ Serbia", the Serbian branch of GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft fr Internationale Zusammenarbeit), which tried to keep track of what is going on in the city.

Unfortunately, this is not the regular practice, as the procedures, strategies and plans in Serbia are more often than not detached from actual space *(Interview B3).*

Generally speaking, the regulatory framework in Serbia supports an administrative approach to urban-land management that becomes inefficient with market rules at work in post-socialist urban practice *(Interview A7, A10, B1)*. The initiatives for improvements have mainly ended with rushed-in decentralization and problematic horizontal coordination *(\\\World Bank 2000).* Top-down regulatory structures and individuals in these institutions tend to keep power in their hands *(\Vujović and Petrović 2007),* while there is a general lack of political will and institutional and expert capacity to solve the issue of missing or inefficient regulatory mechanisms and institutions *(\Zeković et al. 2015).* In this manner, even cultural ventures, interventions, and policies when they have repercussions in the urban economy become politically biased.

lack of systematic investments in construction;

The prolonged regulatory gap in terms of the instruments of the urban economy, real estate investments, urban development mechanisms were even further deepened in the local contexts of SEE (South Eastern Europe) with the global economic crisis *(ibid.).* No wonder that such contextual conditions put forth the appetites of private investors as the fast-lane, short-term approaches to dealing with the disastrous consequences of transition: low economic growth, high public debt, high unemployment, and the rise of poverty *(\\\World Bank 2000).* Megaproject development for the very attractive location at the Sava waterfront that relied on government interventions and was dependent on external investments more closely reflected the peak of the commercialization of the urban fabric that actually started in 1989 *(\Hirt 2009)* than an effort to establish a systematic investment policy in the country's construction industry *(\\\World Bank 2000).*

property issues;

While the choice of the Sava waterfront, which partly pertains to Savamala, was made because of its spatial capacity, the biased planning process, the disputable change of legislation and the institutional framework and unprecedented top-down political pressures that followed, turned decision-making on the BWP into a highly conflictive issue at local, city and national levels. The fragmented approach to the evaluations of such a project (non-defined priorities, no feasibility studies, poor if any cost estimations) and a generous attitude toward the economic interests of the investor (the contract between the RS and the investor with detrimental consequences for the Serbian taxpayers, regulated the ability of the investor to privatize urban land and convert the leasehold on urban land into property without a fee) contributed to thriving commercialization, commodification and privatization mechanisms in the urban economy *(Questionnaire C1).* The inadequate and unstable regulatory framework and its selective and solely administrative application make these mechanisms far from strategic spatial and urban development instruments and contribute to an unregulated, proto-capitalist market with limited legal and regulatory independence and reliance for the protection of the public interest *(Questionnaire C1).*

The planned urban functions and aesthetization of the Sava waterfront proposed by the BWP reflect major conflicts rooted in post-socialist and transitional spa-

tial patterns. Socio-spatial fragmentation of urban land, the segregation of the rich and poor, and de-industrialization of the urban economy may further result from luxury residential and over-sized commercial areas planned for the area. Reliance on automobile transport and commercial functions for mass use [128] in the central urban area testify to the territorialization approach in the urban economy *(\Hirt 2009)*, but without elaborated strategies for long-term turnovers and urban development in the public interest. Promoted as the local driver of economic growth in the media *(\Novosti 2016)*, the roll-out of the BWP actually does not touch upon the current situation at the wider city scale.

transit/transport area;

128 The biggest shopping mall in the Balkans" *(\\\\eKapija 2014; \\\\Mucibabic 2016; \\\\N1 2016)*

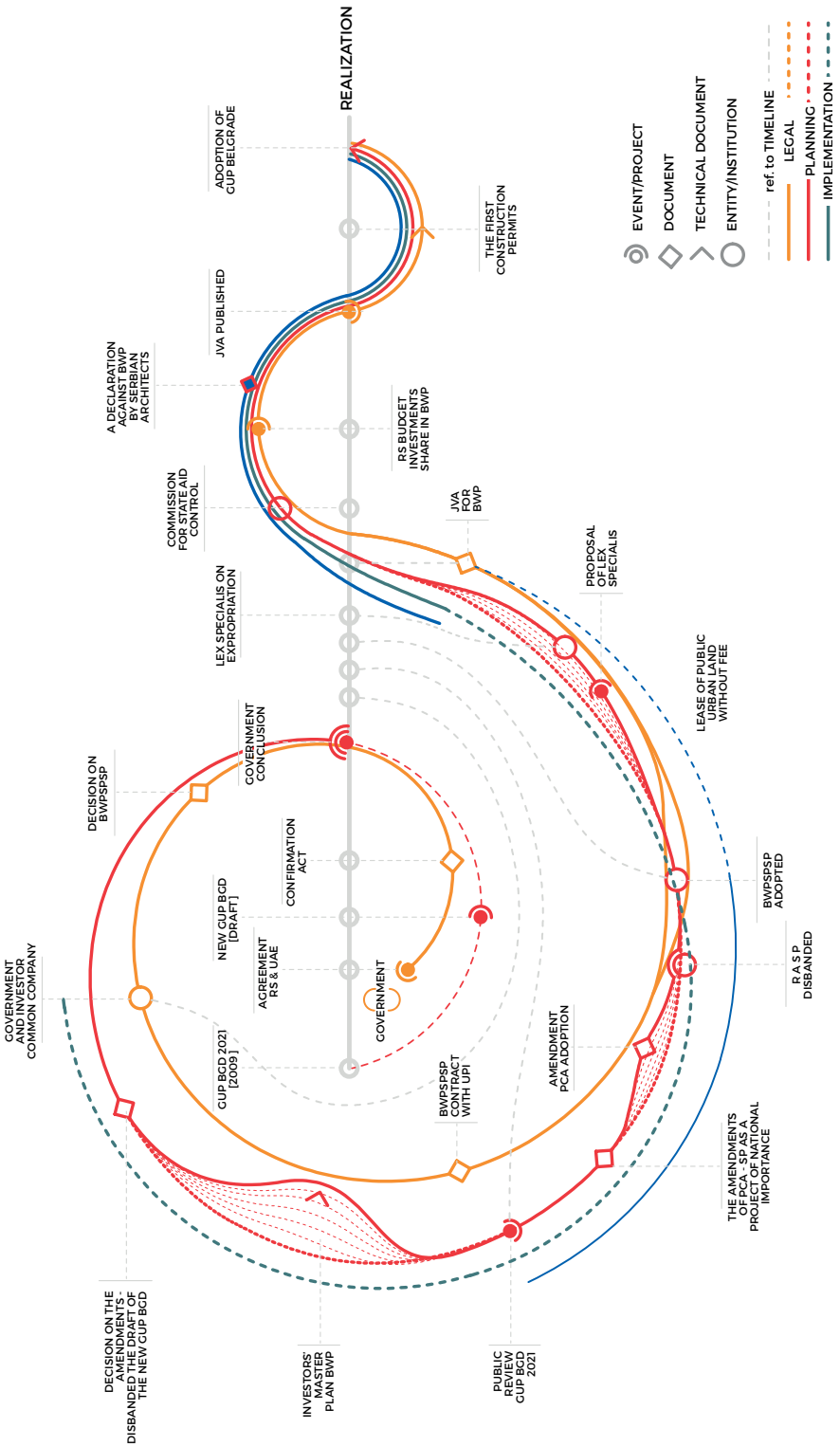
The issues of traffic bottle neck, the poor population and marginalized people living and gathering in the area, illegal building, the informal economy and petty crimes are not fought against, but only moved to other areas in the city. Namely, the violent measures of terrain clearance and unjust circumstances of citizen relocation have even worsened the situation. And what should have been a project of urban regeneration, in reality has created the threat of disintegration of the urban and architectural heritage and tradition. Offering the most important historical heritage in the neighbourhood (e.g. Hotel Bristol, Belgrade Railway station headquarters, Belgrade Cooperative, Post office, Paper Mill) as contributions in kind for BWP represent a high disregard by the decision-making bodies (the Government) for what should be cultural heritage of national importance *(\\JVA 2015)*.

poor population, squatters & marginalized groups in the area; disintegration of heritage

All measures, incentives, instruments and mechanisms put in place to enable a smooth path for the BWP **[Diagram 11:340]** epitomize the lack of political dialogue and consensus on what the public interest is and what the modalities to achieve it are *(\Vujosević et al. 2010a)*. As an expert explained, people in Serbia and Belgrade do not trust community actions and bottom-up engagement, because, as an impulse inherited from socialism, they expect the authorities to organize them *(Interview B2)*. Jumping from socialism into neoliberalism and wild capitalism, which highly value the conflict of interests and competition, the citizens are introduced into democratic procedures with nominal equity but with no measures and means of participation and cooperation, the expert further explained *(Interview A1, A3)*. In such circumstances citizens are resigned and passive, so that voting has become the only act of participation in Serbia, he concluded *(Interview A1, A2, A12, A13)*.

Non-transparency and low communication in and around the BWP have led to social exclusion and misinformation of the general public *(Questionnaire C2)*. Citizens, independent and local experts, media and civil society, namely the broad public and the representatives of the public interest in general, were not informed adequately and on time about what was happening. They were not explicitly warned about the actions and consequences and generally were excluded from all planning phases *(\\\Ministarstvo prostora 2014)*. It is not surprising at all that several actions in particular (signing the contract between the RS and the investor; the unclear circumstance of the night terrain clearance in Savamala, setting up legal processes against the media workers who reported on the phantom demolitions for the BWP) were followed by protests by the civil sector and thousands of citizens in Belgrade *(\\\\NDVBGD Facebook profile)*.

lack of transparency, public interest & participation;



[DIAGRAM 11] TIMELINE: BWP spiral urban decision making

exclusion of local experts; dominance of private, profite-orieted actors;

The most disastrous effects came from the systematic exclusion of local experts. Being bluntly skipped in the strategic and planning phases of the project, the educated public, professional and expert organisations and individuals loudly advocated against various aspects of the projects and the legal and planning adaptations and changes that accompanied it *(\\\\Stojkov 2015a; \\\\Stojkov 2015d; \\\\Stojkov 2015c; \\\\Stojkov 2015b)*. Even though there were multiple competitions, analysis and studies that aimed to optimize the urban design solution for the Sava Amphiteatre and the pertaining waterfront, none of them were taken into account in the preparatory phase of the BWP *(\\\SANU 2014)*. Not only was that vast amount of effort and solution framing wasted, but the BWP is also under threat to entail the exact conflicts and construction deadlocks already predicted in the that documentation (i.e. difficulty of construction on the wetland, threats of flooding because of the low ground level of the Sava waterfront etc.).

The National Anti-Corruption Agency in its report on the 2013-2018 period presented detailed analysis of the BWP and the corresponding regulatory framework adaptations. All the ambiguities, biases. flaws and deviations in official procedures and documents and in the work of institutions were analysed by the multidisciplinary expert team and elaborated and precisely referenced in 70 pages of text *(\\\Pravni skener 2016)*.

protests; lack of public interest in the offficial institutions;

Apart from the various documents analysing and critisizing the whereabouts of the project by the civic sector (with the NDVBG in front) *(\\\\ "Ne da(vi)mo Beograd" 2016)*, others raised their voices against the project, including the independent media [NIN, Vreme, N1, Kontrapress, Pescanik **(Bibliography - Media sournces)**] and international media *(\\\\Wright 2015; \\\\Eror 2015; \\\\Ahmed 2016),* and the professional organisations of architects. The Association of Serbian Architects (ASA) officially published three declarations against the BWP *(\\\Akademija Arhitekture Srbije 2016a; \\\ Akademija Arhitekture Srbije 2016b; \\\Akademija Arhitekture Srbije 2015)*. The Association of Belgrade Architects (DAB) also reacted and officially filed complains against the BWPSPSP and against the changes and adaptations of GUP 2021 in favour of the BWP *(\\\"Udruzenje Arhitekata Srbije" 2014; \\\"Drustvo Arhitekata Srbije" 2014)*.

Finally, the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SANU) published voluminous documents with complaints and suggestions concerning this new Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area. The document maintained a neutral tone and the authors tried to substantiate their arguments by elaborating on the issues of: (o) the adequacy of the area for special purposes plan and the planning and legal basis for such attribution; (o) the reliability of the 3D model; (o) the subordinate function of local institutions; (o) the methods, measures and instruments of planning at play; (o) capital investment and infrastructural design solutions; (o) the distribution and choice of urban functions for the area; and (o) the choice of the implementation instruments, among others *(\\\SANU 2014)*. However, according to several informants, this harsh criticism was diluted in the individual engagement of professionals and experts when they were directly, openly confronted by the political authorities or when they were offered official engagements *(Interview B8, B9)*.

Diagram 11 [Diagram 11:340] visualizes complicated decision-making scheme surrounding Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP). The diagram represents overlapping legal, planning and implementation decisions, instruments and tasks. It follows a linear timeline of events (horizontal axis that marks the most important artefacts and events around BWP) and connects it to the spirals that outline urban regulatory framework, private interests and civil networks engaged in the process. The deviated spiral lines that are brought closer and overlapping indicate biased relations between legal and planning framework with political and economic measures. In the beginning of the BWP closed decision-making track was political and economic activity of the Government, which actively overrode the plans set by the General Urban Plan (GUP) 2009 and regular, procedural changes of the GUP in progress at that time (i.e. drafting of the new GUP in 2011). At some points the lines cross while sometimes with the set of instruments one line is getting very close to another emphasizing its direct influence (i.e. planning to legal instead of the other way round). The aim of this scheme is to list all institutions, technical and legal documents and events that set a decision-making framework for the BWP realization, their mutual influences, interdependencies and relations as well as their particular timings in reference to one another. Apart from the explicit information conveyed by the diagram, such visualizing opens doors for further explanations of this situation.

Away from its broad consequences at the national and city level, the BWP substantially changed the atmosphere in Savamala and the social structure of people now present there *(Interview B5)*. Bicycle paths are gone or re-routed and the way from the city center to Ada Ciganlija is not straight forward anymore. The urban poor are evicted and their shabby, partly illegal structures are replaced with a big, muddy construction site. Even tourists, when they inquire and are informed of all these circumstances become affected by the corrupt project and instinctively build a hostile attitude towards it *(Interview B14)*. No information about what is going on and what is going to happen is reported as a problem especially for local entrepreneurs (Interview B14). Hitherto, the toll of the BWP is that it ruined a lot, created insecurity, covered the project with a veil of obscurity and secrecy, made things hard for local businesses and forcing them to decide whether to move or to stay *(Interview B14)*. In sum, the BWP is not only the creator of conflicts, but a sort of inherit conflict in itself. Consequently, the greatest fear of all is that the project will never finish, and the situation may entail enduring aggravated urban conflict at a city scale and seal the fate of Savamala for many years.

"However, the biggest urban conflict of all is such that actually certain people (those close to the authorities and the investor)", speculated an informant, "take advantage of the situation (renovating façades, renting places, even the City architect has a bar in Savamala); while the others are under constant threat of eviction, with their business plans and projects consequently doomed to be short-term and prone to risk."

(Interviewee)

		actors groups	Savamala spaces	explanations	data sources
Spatial capacities	1.1 accessibility	formal/informal org; polity; private org; public/private comp; urban authorities; economic aspects; Bgd Coop;	waterfront; my piece of svml; GP2; Spanish House; KM8; Mixer House; residential towers, Nova Iskra; MKM4	[Section 6.1.1.1:327.3]; 4.1.3:227-228]; [4.1.3:229.6]; [4.2.2:248-249}	Interview B2, B12, B14; Questionnaire C2; Workshop D3
	1.2 central position	formal/informal org; polity; private org; urban auth.; economic aspects;	waterfront; upper Savamala; Mixer House; residential towers, Nova Iskra; MKM4; Zupa; nightlife;	[Section 6.1.1.1:327.3]; [4.1.3:228:3-4]; [4.2.1-240]; 4.2.2:248-249}	Int A1, A6, A10, A12, A17, B1, B2, B14;
	1.3 brownfield area	formal/informal org;	warehouses area; MKM4;	[Section 6.1.1.1:327.5]; [4.1.3:228-229]; [4.2.3:251-252}	Int A1, A15, A16;
	1.4 arch. diversity	formal/informal org; polity; public institutions;	warehouses area; galleries; heritage	[Section 6.1.1.1:328.1]; [4.1.3:227-229];	Wrkshp D3; Quest C2
	1.5 river proximity	formal/informal org; urban auth.; economic aspcts;	waterfront;	[Section 6.1.1.1:327.1]; [4.1.3:227-229];	Wrkshp D1, D2, D3;
	1.6 deteriorating area	formal/informal org;	Bristol; heritage; upper SVML; C5	[Section 6.1.1.1:327.5]; [4.1.3:227-229-230]; [4.2.3:251-254}	Int A1; Wshp D3;
	1.7 green area	formal/informal org;	waterfront; my piece of svml;	[Section 6.1.1.1:328.4]; [4.2.3:254}	Wrkshp D3;
	1.8 waterfront area	formal/informal org; polity;; private org; urban authoritiess; economic	waterfront; my piece of svml; residential towers; Savanova; Zupa;	[Section 6.1.1.1:327.1]; [4.1.3:227-229];	Int A14, B1, B2, B9, B12, B13; Wrkshp D1, D3;
	1.9 recreation area	formal/informal org; polity;	waterfront; my piece of svml; upper svml; nightlife; Savanova;	[Section 6.1.1.1:328.4];	Wshp D3;
	1.10 empty plots	economic; private; urban	waterfront; nightlife;	[Section 6.1.1.1:328.4];	Int A1, A2, B7; Wrkshp D1, D3;
Social potentials	2.1 lack of private invest.	formal/informal; polity; urban	waterfront; nightlife;	[Section 6.1.1.2:329.4];	Int A1, A7, A8, A12, B1, B2, B3;
	2.2 cultural heritage	formal/informal; polity;	Zupa, Bgd Coop, Bristol, heritage; warehouses, upper svml,	[Section 6.1.1.2:330.2]; [4.1.3-227-230]	Int A1, A7, A8, A12, B1, B2, B3;
	2.3 social diversity	formal/informal;	upper svml,	[Section 6.1.1.2:330.5]; [4.2.3-251-254]	Int A1; Wshp D3;
	2.4 interest from cult.& art grps	formal/informal;	upper svml, waterfront; C5; MKM4	[Section 6.1.1.2:329.4]; [4.2.3-251-254]	Int A1, A5, A12, A16;
	2.5 historical trade & crafts	formal/informal;	upper svml, waterfront; C5; MKM4	[Section 6.1.1.2:329.4]; [4.2.3-251-254]	Int A1, A5, A12, A16;
	2.6 creative cluster	formal/informal;	galleries; upper svml; mixer;	[4.2.3-251-254]	Int A1, A15, A16, B1, B7;
	2.7 participative & self-org. init.	formal/informal;	upper svml, mixer, KM8, nova iskra	[Section 6.1.1.2:330.4]; [4.2.3-252-253]	Int A1, A2, A6; Quest C2;
	2.8 small commercial area	formal/informal;	upper svml, upper svml;	[Section 6.1.1.2:329.4]; [4.1.3-228]; [4.1.3-230];	Int A1, Wrkshp D3;
	2.9 underdeveloped area	formal/informal; private;	nightlife; upper svml; waterfront	[Section 6.1.1.2:331.2]; [4.1.3-230]	Int B2, B3, B11;
	2.10 interest/power diversity	formal/informal; urban	nightlife; upper svml; waterfront	[Section 6.1.1.2:331-332]; [4.2.2-244-250]	Int B5; Media analysis
	2.11 educative initiatives	formal/informal;	galleries, heritage; Spanish H; KM8; MKM4; C5; Streets Cyclists	[Section 6.1.1.2:332]; [4.2.3-252-253]	Int A1, A2, A3, A4, A15, A16, B2, B7;
Urban conflicts	3.1 disintegration of heritage	formal/informal; public-private; public;	Zupa, Bgd Coop; Bristol; heritage; upper svml;	[Section 6.1.2.2:339.2]; [4.1.3-228-229]	Int A1, A2; Wrkshp D1;
	3.2 lack of system. invest.	formal/informal; public-private; public; urban	upper svml; waterfront;	[Section 6.1.2.2:338.2]; [4.2.2-244-250]	Int A12 A2; Wrkshp D1;
	3.3 lack of physical struct. data	formal/informal; urban	upper svml; C5;	[Section 6.1.2.2:337.1];	Int A1, A2; Wrkshp D3;
	3.4 lack of soc. struct. data	formal/informal; polity;	upper svml; my piece of svml;	[Section 6.1.2.2:337.1];	Int A1, A2; Wrkshp D3;
	3.5 attractive location for invest.	formal/informal; polity; private, public, urban auth, political	Zupa, Bgd Coop, Savanova, Bristol, nightlife, waterfron, my piece svml	[Section 6.1.2.2:336.2]; [4.2.2-244-250]	Wrkshp D1;
	3.6 poor, marginalized groups	formal/informal; polity; public, urban auth.	Zupa, nightlife, waterfront, residential towers	[Section 6.1.2.2:339.2]; [4.1.3-229]	Int A1, A12; Wrkshp D3;
	3.7 profit-oriented dominance	formal/informal; urban auth.	waterfront;	[Section 6.1.2.2:336.2-3]; [4.2.2-244-250]	Int A7,A8,A9, WrkshpD1;
	3.8 exclusion of local experts	polity, private, public, urban,	Bgd Coop, Bristol, waterfront, resident towers	[Section 6.1.2.2:341.1];	Int A9, B8; Wrkshp D1;
	3.9 protests	formal/informal; polity; private, political	Savanova; waterfront;	[Section 6.1.2.2:341.3];	Int B8, B10, B1, B2;
	3.10 lack of public interest	private, public, urban, political, economic,	BgdCoop, Bristol, galleries, heritage, waterfront	[Section 6.1.2.2:341.3];	Int B9, Wrkshp D1, D2;
	3.12 lack of participation	polity; public, urban, private,	waterfront;	[Section 6.1.2.2:339.4];	Int A1, B1, B3; Wrkshp D1
	3.13 transit/transport area	urban authorities;	residential towers; my piece svml;	[Section 6.1.2.2:339.1]; [4.1.3-229]	Int B9, B12 Wrkshp D3;
Urban practices	4.1 support urban activities	formal/informal org;	my piece svml, GP2, Spanish H, KM8, C5, StreetCyclist,	[Section 6.1.2.1:335.2]; [4.2.3:252-254]	Int B6; Wrkshp D3;
	4.2 support design, art, cult, edu	formal/informal org;	galleries, KC Grad, C5	[Section 6.1.2.1:335.2]; [4.2.3:254	Int A1, A2, A3, B3,B7;
	4.3 global into local trends	formal/informal org;	KC Grad, KM8, GP2, Spanish, upper	[Section 6.1.2.1:335.3];	Int A3, A4, B9, Wshp D1
	4.4 creative industries	formal/informal org;	upper svml, zupa, KM8, Mixer, MKM4	[Section 6.1.2.1:335.1-2]; [4.2.3:251-253]	Int A1, A2, A3, B6; Wrkshp D3;
	4.5 global/local economy	formal/informal org; polity; urban	BgdCoop, Bristol, Mixer, waterfront	[Section 6.1.2.1:335.3-4];	Int A2, A3; Wrkshp D1,D3;
	4.6 waterfront recreation area	formal/informal org; political, urban	waterfront, mypiecesvml, residential towers	[Section 6.1.2.1:336.2];	Int B3; Quest C1, C3;
	4.7 sustainable transport	urban	waterfront	[Section 6.1.2.1:336.2];	Int B14; Wrkshp D3;
	4.8 trends, practice & planning	urban	upper svml, waterfront	[Section 6.1.2.1:335.5]; [4.2.1:234-242]	Int A8, A10; Wrkshp D1;
	4.10 planning as technical activity	urban; polity; public enterprises	waterfront	[Section 6.1.2.1:334.2]; [4.2.1:234-240]	Int B3; Wrkshp D1;
	411 land management	public enterprises;	waterfront, BgdCoop, Bristol, my piece of svml	[Section 6.1.2.1:334.3];	Int A7, A10; Wrkshp D1;

[TABLE 2] Qualitative analysis of Savamala's objects & relations

6.2 Agent Preferences: Scope and Operationality

Contextual analysis of the social circumstances in Savamala has shown that the contextual capital, which was identified therein, has always been a driver of top-down propositions and solutions for the Sava amphiteatre and Sava waterfront. However, in recent years, it has also been gradually attracting a number of small-scale civil initiatives and creative services to settle in Savamala *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013)*. Only later, and independently, did the attractiveness of the waterfront bring a very powerful international actor to the neighbourhood. The links to high political structures enabled tremendous changes to the regulatory framework. The negligible and violent attitude of the dominant and powerful actor new to the context in Serbia and Savamala was later the main source of local conflicts.

Historically speaking several important characteristics have been continually developed and finally escalated in recent transition years in Serbia **[Section 2.3.1:90**; **Section 4.1.1:188]**. They have influenced the distribution of urban conflicts and management of contextual resources during the different periods through **[Diagram 12.1:346]** *(\Simmie 1989; \Vujović and Petrović 2007; \Petrović 2009; \Vujosević et al. 2010b)*: (a) restricted and ideologically-framed civil rights, (b) state control over capital areas, resources and infrastructure, (c) a top-down approach to spatial and social development and renovation and revitalization, (d) public ownership of land and building stock, (e) hybrid market circumstances, (f) and societal self-management planning

The antagonistic societal values hidden within the political background of the issues in practice heavily endangered the legitimacy, contents, and procedures regarding the space management *(\Vujosević and Nedović-Budić 2006)*. The authority of law and traditional social rules are left in limbo through newly generated distortions in the power-knowledge-action triangle *(\Friedmann 1987)*. In the broader social and spatial context of Belgrade, this meant a contradictory and inconsistent manner of city branding and urban management *(\Vukmirović 2015)*.

Reduced to the neighbourhood level, these circumstances made Savamala a scaled example of the pre-socialist material legacy, the socialist cultural and societal matrix, a transitional reality and a condensed case of multi-faceted circumstances of post-socialist urban development. The extreme variations in societal circumstances to which the regulatory framework and planning practice should respond offer rich opportunities to observe the distribution of decisions from top-down and from outside-in *(\Peric 2016)*. Bearing this in mind, Savamala is a good illustration of the changing political and socio-economic circumstances, including both the challenges and traumas from the recent turbulent history **[Chapter 4:186]** and the long term social values and mentality *(\Samardzic 2015)*. [129]

Based on the previous analyses {historical/contextual **[Chapter 4:186]**, actor-network **[Chapter 5:272]** and object-relations **[Section 6.1:326]**}, the therein aggregated urban agency is retained in the layers of urban decision-making and disseminated through the networks of influence (national, city, local). It has been noted that urban agency is distributed among various and dispersed elements, but several agents exceed and overtake the direction of contextual elements and relations.

129 As mentioned previously in this chapter, under mentality, the author alludes to poverty, sharp social, cultural and ideological differences, inheritance and the influence of nationalism, socialism and political religion, an undeveloped or inappropriately developed attitude towards capital investments and infrastructure development ***(\Samardzic 2015)***.

WINDROSE CHARTS (HIGHCHARTS)

- [SC] SPACE CAPACITY
- [SP] SPACE POTENTIAL
- [UC] URBAN CONFLICTS
- [UP] URBAN PRACTICES

1 CRNOGORSKA 5
2 STREET FOR CYCLING
3 MIKSER HOUSE
4 KM8
5 SPANISH HOUSE
6 CULTURAL CENTRE GRAD
7 GAVRILA PRINCIPA 2
8 MY PIECE OF SAVAMALA
9 BELGRADE COOPERATIVE
10 MAGACIN
11 NOVA ISKRA
12 SAVANOVA
13 HOTEL BRISTOL
14 ZUPA THE STEAMBOAT
15 RESIDENTAL TOWERS [UNDER CONSTRUCTION]

100m

SAVAMALA MAP

[DIAGRAM 12.1] MAS DIAGRAM DESIGN:
Distribution of agent preferences in Savamala

The most influential top-down agents are recognized in **[Chapter 5.1.1:276]**[130]. As follows, the agents of investor-based real estate transformations are human actors assembled around (12) the Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP). Moreover, Savamalas recently established hotbed of creativity and participation of national importance and the main protagonist of bottom-up participatory activities are also protagonists at the local scene: (13) the cultural centre "Kulturni Centar Grad" (KC Grad), (14) the Old Depository in Kraljevića Marka Street (MKM), (15) Mikser multidisciplinary platform, (16) Nova Iskra Design Incubator, (17) the Urban Incubator Belgrade project (UIB), (18) the Ministry of Space Collective (MSC), (19) "Ne da(vi)mo Beograd" initiative [Don't drown Belgrade] (NDVBGD), (20) "My Piece of Savamala" participatory urban design workshop, "The Game of Savamala" - participatory urban planning workshop, (22) "Savamala, a Place for Making" participatory project, (23) "Streets for Cclists" NGO, (24) Common space at Kraljevića Marka 8 (KM8).

Agent preferences are defined in connection to their relationality towards the contextual resources, social practices and urban conflicts figuring in Savamala and the social artifacts they are influenced by or they have influence on. In this manner, we become aware of their field of maneuvers in Savamala. In order to identify and elaborate how urban planning, real estate interests and participatory activities influence urban development in Savamala, it is essential to translate these qualitative categories into factors which might denote a positive impetus.

The diagram on page 346 [Diagram 12.1:346] presents two separate sets of data. In a lower right-hand corner, it contains a Savamala plan with key spaces in the neighbourhood – the numbered points distributed on the map where the territorial capital of the neighbourhood is activated. These spaces and their role in Savamala urban development have been continuously addressed in this research project [Section 4.1.3:224, 4.2.3:250; 5.1:276-297; 6.1.1:326; 6.1.2:334]. The upper part of the diagram is composed of 21 directional schemes. These schemes are set for all 15 places highlighted on the map as well as for 6 functional areas (upper Savamala, Waterfront area, heritage, Galleries, nightlife, old warehouses area). Based on the textual explanation and the aggregation of collected empirical data in a tabular way [Table 2:344], these schemes evaluate the disposition of chosen categories of contextual elements for each place/area. The evaluation is approximated according to the qualitative data. The aim of this diagram is to spatially position spatial capacities, social potentials, urban practices and urban conflicts in the Savamala neighbourhood.

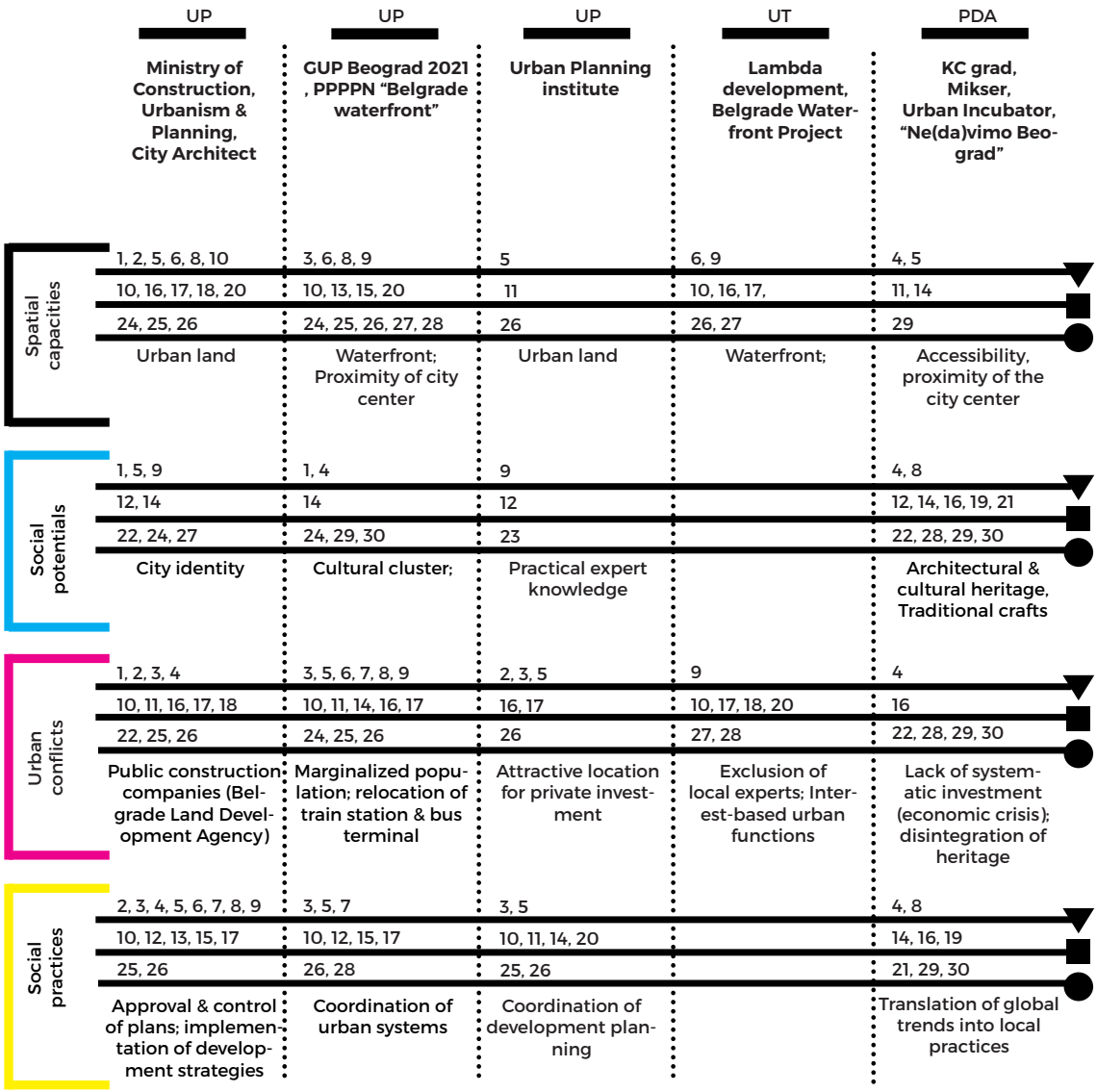
Accordingly, with regards to the definition of urbanity in this research **[Section 2.1.5:72]**, it may be concluded that contextual resources, either spatial or social, are the attraction factors that make Savamala a neighbourhood saturated with different actors and interests. Based on our qualitative research on Savamala, the most prominent aspects in direct correlation with agent functioning at the local level are: (o) political (participation, transparency, and the institutionalization of culture), (o) economic (public funding), and (o) cultural (global flows of ideas, trends, information and knowledge). Consequently, the following clusters of resources, conflicts and practices have recognized **[Diagram 12.1:346]**:

130 (1) The Ministry of Construction, Urbanism and Infrastructure (MCUI), (2) Belgrade General Urban Plan 2021 (GUP BGD 2021), (3) Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWPSPSP), (4) the City architect (CA), (5) Urban Planning Institute (UPI), (6) the City mayor (CM), (7) Lex specialis (LS), (8) The Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (RASP), (9) The Prime Minister (PM), (10) Planning and Construction Act (PCA), (11) Belgrade Urban Development Strategy (BUDS).

- Spatial capacities (SC): (1.1) accessibility; (1.2) central position in the city; (1.3) brownfield area; (1.4) architectural diversity; (1.5) proximity of the river; (1.6) deteriorating area; (1.7) green area; (1.8) waterfront area; (1.9) recreation area; (1.10) empty plots.
- Social potentials (SP): (2.1) lack of private interests before 2012; (2.2) cultural heritage; (2.3) social diversity; (2.4) aroused interest for Savamal from cultural/artistic groups, individuals/organisations; (2.5) historical trade/traditional crafts; (2.6) creative cluster; (2.7) participative/self-organisational initiatives; (2.8) small commercial area; (2.9) underdeveloped area; (2.10) diversity of interests/power poles in the area; (2.11) educative initiatives.
- Urban conflicts (UC): (3.1) disintegration of heritage; (3.2) lack of systematic investments in construction industry (debt crisis 2008-2012); (3.3) lack of data about the state of physical structures; (3.4) lack of data on the social structure in the neighbourhood; (3.5) attractive location for private investments; (3.6) poor population, squatters and marginalized groups in the area; (3.7) dominance of profit-oriented activities from 2014 onward; (3.8) exclusion of local experts; (3.9) protests; (3.10) lack of public interest; (3.11) property issues; (3.12) lack of participation; (3.13) transit/transport area;
- Social practices (UP): (4.1) support of urban related activities (urban design and public participation); (4.2) support design activities (interior, fashion, graphic), art, culture, education on the city level; (4.3) translation of global cultural trends into local and regional practices; (4.4) design, communication and creative industry activities in Belgrade; (4.5) local and global economic trends in the area; (4.6) develop waterfront recreation area; (4.7) sustainable transport (cycling); (4.8) coordination of global trends, practice and planning; (4.9) residential and commercial developments; (4.10) planning as technical activity; (4.11) land management.

The data in **[Chart 9:349]** show how different agents opt for these contextual resources, urban conflicts and social practices in Savamala and what the relation is between the decision-making layer **[Section 4.2:233]** they represent, their actor nature **[Section 5.1:276]** and these preferences.

The following chart [Chart 9:349] is a tabular summary of agent preferences for the most important agents/actors in Savamala. In order to provide links to particular places in Savamala and their contextual resources and relations as well as the wider social context, the chart groups the data around actors (columns) and contextual resources (rows). The cells are filled with related social aspects (each one divided in political, economic and cultural aspects with the numbers of asspects on the black lines and the assigned symbol for these aspects at the end) and addressed spaces in Savamala (cells behind the lines). The chart combines [Table 2:344] and [Diagram 12.1:346] in order to place assigned actors to spaces in Savamala and to clarify links to the post-socialist context of urban development. This defines the scope of urban agency in the Savamala neighbourhood that operates within the boundaries of the layers of urban decision-making: bottom-up (civil), top-down (urban planning) and real estate (megaproject).



LEGEND

UP – urban planning; UT – urban transformations; PDA – participatory & design activities;

▼ political aspects; ■ economic aspects; ● cultural aspects;

(1) Centralized decision making; **(2)** Provisory rules; **(3)** Misleading interpretations of legal documents; **(4)** cumbersome institutional structure; **(5)** political party power over planning, development, regulations; **(6)** vertical clientelism in institutional framework; **(7)** institutional formalizations ungrounded in reality; **(8)** artificial decentralization and democratization ; **(9)** Semi-legal institutionalizations; **(10)** Provision of instruments for powerful actors; **(11)** Regulatory gaps in urban economy; **(12)** Economic aspects strongly influence political aspects; **(13)** Inconsistent institutional procedures; **(14)** "Growth without development"; **(15)** Flawed institutional processes; **(16)** Controversial foreign influences; **(17)** Conflict of interest; **(18)** Public incentives on investments; **(19)** Importance of municipality budget & public procurement; **(20)** Lack of feasibility studies; **(21)** Industrial to service based society; **(22)** Spatial fragmentation; **(23)** No adequate educational framework; **(24)** Lack of participatory and communication culture; **(25)** Lack of transparency; **(26)** Lack of public interest in urban decision making; **(27)** Biased role of the media; **(28)** Apathy of population; **(29)** Lack of strategic development goals for cultural institutions & agendas; **(30)** Civil initiatives in Savamala lack public support & funding;

[CHART 9] Contextual elements and social aspects in urban decision-making

6.2.1 Civil and Creative Articulation of Agent Relations

started in 2007;
Mikser Festival,
commercial activities;
international support & funding;
alternative cultural scene;

Speaking chronologically about this aggregation of urban agency in Savamala, the so-called "bottom-up activities" are the first to revive the image and the role of this neighbourhood at the city and national scale and beyond **[Section 4.2.3:250]**.

The very first bottom-up activity in Savamala was the establishment of the MKM cultural space in 2007. However, the intensive aggregation of participatory activities started when KC Grad gained an abandoned building in Braće Krsmanović street for their cultural activities in 2009. Mikser House (MH) was officially opened in April 2013, while the Mikser Festival moved to Savamala in 2012. Before that, the MH building served the festival in 2012 and was occasionally used for exhibitions and markets immediately prior to the opening *(Interview B6).*

Beforehand, the premises of MH had been a warehouse and a garage used by the current owner, who bought it during the mass privatization after the 2000 regime change *(Interview B6)*. With other cultural activities coming from the Goethe institute initiative, moving in to Savamala exploded at the end of 2013. This condensed interaction between urban spaces and civic life lasted for around two years **[Diagram 10:333].**

The instigator for the choice of Savamala may therefore primarily be its location and the availability of affordable places for these activities. The further concentration of similar activities was based on the social potential and appeal generated with these first cultural forerunners. Finally, the settling of a significant number of commercial activities (clubs, cafs, restaurants) was incited by both spatial and the recently added social quality of the neighbourhood *(Interview B14).*

As the cultural, artistic and educational activities continued to settle there, the neighbourhood started to gain the attention of the other top-down (municipality) and international actors (foreign embassies, cultural centers, formal and informal institutions), but with the very limited actual involvement of local citizens *(Interview A4; Workshop D1)*. Therefore, for further explanations, the focus for the most part shifted to influential public and private organisations involved in these civil initiatives.

With the entrance of top-down and outside-in actors to the local scene, the issue of funding appears as an important distributive factor. Namely, several of these agents have an unclear and non-transparent funding structure - while they receive some public funding (usually from the municipality and foreign funds), they are also partly profit-oriented (KC Grad, MH) and incorporate profitable services (café-bars, shopping areas, concerts, exhibitions and other lucrative events/activities). Nova Iskra is the only explicit privately-based organisation. However, there are others with transparent financial schemes and crowd-sourcing attempts (NDVBGD).[131]

The exploitation of Savamala's contextual capital at the international level is based on the recently attractive issue of creative industry and its economic potential *(\Landry 2012)*. The Goethe Institute officially emphasizes the focus on urban development (especially the fields of architecture, culture, urban planning, public space, public participation, urban art) in their programmed activities (Architecture - Goethe-Institut

131 The data on gains and spendings are presented in detail on their website ***(\\\\Ne davimo Beograd 2015).***

2016). In collaboration with motherland universities, international stakeholders (i.e. other cultural centers) and local actors, they promote this creativity as an asset for city branding across the transitional and developing countries (Hamburg, the Baltic region, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, Vietnam) *(\\\Waibel 2014)*.

In the local context, the targeted audiences are at all levels of decision-making: policy makers, professionals, scientists, artists, NGOs, and the general public *(\\\ British Council 2014)*. In this respect, they also touch upon delicate social issues and address urban planning and research, by asking questions (such as who owns the city, who creates the city, what is a good city) and producing the documentation on what is achievable based on their urban interventions in developed cities *(\\\Goethe-Institut 2016)*. By promoting practice-led urban research, these institutions also foster their influence on various local contexts around the world. While creative economy is an important source of income in Germany *(\\\MFG WEBSITE; \\\BMWi 2015)*, it is also a product for exportation through such initiatives.[132]

Contextual resources in Savamala were recognized and used by these civil and creative agents, but it must be clear that the ideas and organisational initiative did not come from the ground up. The torrent of cultural and participatory activities was instigated from the outside, even though they were seen as an asset for economic upgrading and local recovery.

132 In different countries around the world, through similar activities, the Goethe Institute also introduces German scientific and creative actors (universities, collectives, NGOs, freelance individuals and small enterprises) into new markets ***(\\\Waibel 2014)***.

The consequences of civil-oriented catalysis of the Savamala contextual capital under the watchful eye of international cultural organisations and actors, formed in Savamala what everywhere else in the world is a creative sector and urban creative hub: co-working spaces, initiatives of local cooperation (crowdsourcing of activities, open sourcing for vacant self-organized spaces and industrial lots, creative commons, vacant industrial lots), and visibility at the city, national and international scenes.

According to the experiences of the developed cities, this might be the long awaited impulse for the diversification of the social power structure and cultural development *(Workshop D1)*. Following the nature of these agents, the researcher apprehended that the cultural and artistic activities in Savamala do not belong to the national cultural and artistic frameworks and programmes. Having said that, most of them relate to the NGO sector or they acquire or occupy publicly owned spaces which they use for these activities. MKM and KM8 are municipal spaces shared with different NGOs and offered for multiple projects/activities/events by different actors.

The majority of these agents aspire to have a consulting role on a wide range of urban issues, culture, art and education or to implement a range of ideas/solutions/interventions at an urban or social level. In the Serbian context, they aim to provide an alternative body for catalysing available human resources and translating global knowledge into the local context of Savamala and Belgrade. All bottom-up agents that have an active approach to the urban environment (through projects, activities and events) also direct their initiatives toward solving urban conflicts. Those that include profit converge more to social practices that maintain the current urban order. These agents refer to their contextual preferences, and they organise and engage in networks at local or superior levels, in this way influencing Savamala's urban environment.

urban planning on demand; public insight;

6.2.2 Top-down Technocratic Approach to Space

The socialist tradition of planning as a technical activity *(\Vujosević and Nedović-Budić 2006)*, results in having documents often detached from the actual space, users, architects and designers. While laws and bylaws give orders not recommendations, that is also the case with laws on spatial and urban planning and construction.

In the context of Belgrade, the Urban Planning institute (UPI), according to law, receives the strategic tasks concerning urban development *(\\Zakon o planiranju i izgradnji 2003 [PCA 2003 and Amendments])*. UPI represents the city authorities in the planning process through drafting bodies, inspections and commissions *(Interview B3)*. While the research and professional education are not requested or supported by the authorities, as a professional institution, UPI collaborates with European planning bodies and local educational institutions, but these happen rather on a personal basis than as an official, institutional activity *(Interview B3)*.

The underdeveloped legal framework and political party power over the social domain allow for private and group interests to rule the actions of planners *(\Vujović and Petrović 2007)*. Planning bodies do not actually relate to the real context and contextual resources, but engage only in reproduction of the current social order (social practices) by the application of minimum urban standards *(ibid.)* or engender new urban conflicts by succumbing to the investors' dictate and political pressure *(Workshop D1)*.

Planners are actually deprived of dignity and professional authority, and the low capacity of their actions is characterized also by the lack of overall planning principles *(\Petrović 2009)*. In the case of public participation and public hearing, the fear of defending the public interest marks the behaviour of planners *(Workshop D1)*.

The Planning and Construction Act (PCA) prescribes that planners have to consult everybody: public power holders (nosioce javnih ovlascenja) and the general public through public hearings (one in an early planning phase and the other for the draft of the plan) *(\PCA 2014)*. The public hearing is the moment when conflicts come out, should be dealt with and, in the end, all the solutions must be argumented *(Interview B3)*. Taking into account recent experience with the Amendments to the PCA and the adoption of BWPSPSP, public participation was rather a farce and public hearings were a pure formality with obvious and maybe even illegitimate disregard for negative comments *(Workshop D1)*.

This extensive weakness of the urban planning regulatory framework was evident from the blurred transition of old, socialist institutions into neoliberal ones, with the conversion of political capital into economic ones *(\Vujović and Petrović 2007)*. In Serbia, wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of political and economic actors. While the politicians are focused on the image of the Serbian capital in the world and their short-lived success in the elections *(Interview B9)*, private investors dominate Belgrade's urban development and have the sole interest for construction land, especially that of the Capital. As the most valuable part of the territorial capital of the country, the land market in Belgrade has not yet been regulated according to market principles and therefore has had the land on offer below its market value *(\\\ SKGO 2013; \Zeković et al. 2015; \Zeković et al. 2016)*.

"The most dramatic problems of Belgrades urban development during the last 15 years, in the planners views, were linked to the pervasiveness of un-controlled and illegal development. In the city, such patterns of development led to the deconstruction of its urbanity and the abuse of its public spaces."

Vujović and Petrović (2007)

6. 2.3 Belgrade Waterfront Whereabouts

profitable urban land on offer;
waterfront megaproject;
investor urbanism;
Joint Venture Agreement;
Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (SPSP) in the city;

Current large-scale redevelopment of the Sava Waterfront is commissioned to privileged foreign and domestic developers *(Workshop D1)*, according to the schemes mentioned above **[Section 6.1.2:334]**. The simple calculation is such that they received a good bargain from the Serbian authorities for the highly profitable urban land in the capital city *(\\\Politika 2015)*. Even though Serbian tycoons had managed before to secure similar successful investments *(Interview B1)*, experts say that the limited financial capacity of the state and the current financial crisis have contributed to urgent needs for real estate investments after its sudden halt in 2010 *(\Vanista Lazarević 2015)*.

The Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP) is a typical megaproject (MP). What happened in this case more closely corresponds to a Machiavellian formula for MPs: underestimated costs, overestimated revenues, undervalued environmental impacts and exaggerated developmental effects *(\Flyvbjerg et al. 2003)*. The situation in Belgrade/Savamala can be rather explained as a classic case of investor urbanism with powerful political figures having a fetish for investments, a powerful financial investor and a shiny, faulty 3D model - as an interviewed expert explained *(Interview B1)*. Another explained that having the actual model made all the socio-spatial faults of the project visible[133] *(Interview B13)*. Without a doubt, the BWP is the instigator of a plethora of urban conflicts within Savamala *(Interview B8)*.

An important legal precondition for the realization and distribution of benefits within the BWP was a Joint Venture Agreement (JVA)[134] between the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment LLC, Beograd na vodi d.o.o. and Al Maabar's International Investment LLC (UAE). The agreement was signed in April 2015 and publicly announced on the Serbian Government website 5 months later (September 2015)[135]. The consequences for the Serbian society are as following *(Workshop D1)(\Zeković et al. 2016):* (a) prompt law and urban regulation changes *(\\Lex specialis 2015, \\GUP 2021 2016)*; (b) cultural patrimony and architectural heritage contributed without financial benefits; (c) exemption from any legal duty (Law on Applying Agreement on Cooperation Between Serbia and the Emirates)[136]; (d) protected assets provided for the private developer (BW-SPSP); (e) state aid and expropriation for elite-housing and commercial spaces (Lex specialis), (f) lease of public land without a fee. Conversely, the investor does not have to wait for construction to end and the future gentrification of the entire area to make a profit; he gains the profit easily with minimum investment and with the minimal realization of the plan/agreement *(Interview B1)*. The BWPSPSP also allows current Serbian Government to gain the exclusive right to act in the center of Belgrade *(Interview B1)*. Such legal adaptations weaken the local authorities by imposing orders from the national level and the top-down pressure to realize projects with neither interference nor objection *(Workshop D1)*.

In sum, there are no local power poles or real decision makers in Savamala, and everything is grounded upon the powerful, centralized nation state *(Questionnaire C2)*. The BWP exemplifies the closed wheel of decision-making procedure circumscribing political and economic actors into an interconnected and interdependent system **[Diagram 11:340]**.

133 Contrary to this, usually urban plans in Serbia have no spatial interpretations so that their flaws and conflicts stayed hidden, especially for design and construction professionals and citizens (Interview B13).

134 While the shares of profit are: 32% for Serbia and 68% for the UAE partner ***(\\JVA 2015)***, the actual division of costs according to the agreement is estimated as fully reversed (there are unofficial estimations that 88% to even 98% of invested funds are to be borne by the Republic of Serbia).

135 The data on this company owned by the investor are officially proclaimed secret by the Commission for Protection of Competition. According to online data, the company was licensed in 2015 with 0 money share and with a limited license for 1 year ***(\\\"Ne da(vi)mo Beograd" 2016)***.

136 As worldwide examples show, urban decision-making on MPs is often exclusive with an ex post integration into planning documents ***(\\\Kennedy 2013)*** and with possible serious legal and ethical issues ***(\Flyvbjerg 2009; Flyvbjerg et al. 2003)***.

"Belgrade stepping into neoliberal trends, disregarding the relevant planning documents and causing them to change, lacking long term vision."

Vukmirović (2015)

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter displays the MAS analysis of the current urban reality of Savamala **[Diagram 12:358]**. It presents the analysis of urban agency in terms of elements and relations. The terminology of the MAS method is contextualized through the story of local contextual resources, social practices and urban conflicts. Such a structuralization of elements and events in Savamala sheds new light on the analysed actors and their networks **[Chapter 5:272]**. The aggregation of agent preferences summarizes the socio-spatial patterns identified in Savamala. Finally, setting up the relations of urban agency and the identified resources, practices and conflicts offers an explanation of its dynamics within the scope of urban decision-making layers.

The MAS diagram of urban dynamics in Savamala [Diagram 12:358] summarizes the information from [Table 2:344], [Diagram 12.1:346] and [Chart 9:349] into a set of agent preferences (spatially distributed objects and relations in Savamala). The most important agents/actors in Savamala (70 of them) are put in the first row of the diagram. They are ordered horizontally and assigned a colour based on the ANT analysis of stabilizing and destabilizing agencies in Savamala [Chapter 5.1.4: 288]. In other words, this row is made up from the unfolded circular scheme of the ANT analysis of socially functional networks and social artefacts [Diagram 9.2:295]. The agents are connected to the identified objects (contextual resources – spatial capacities and social potentials) and relations (urban conflicts and urban practices). The connections are based on the empirical analysis from this chapter and more precisely on [Table 2:344]. The colours of links correspond to the socially functional networks and social artefacts in order to give an impression of how urban dynamics of Savamala is transferred from society to space. Lower part of the diagram connects these numbered elements of spatial capacities, social potentials, urban conflicts and urban practices to the particular spaces in Savamala according to the [Diagram 12.1:346]. The spaces are marked on the map (6 areas are marked on the sides) and identified with their directional schemes ("windrose charts"/highcharts), monochromatic in this case [Diagram 12.1:346]. In these windrose charts (20), social potentials are on the left hand side opposite to urban conflicts, while spatial capacities are up and urban practices down. The diagram as a whole indicates individual agent preferences towards the contextual elements of Savamala by making direct links from actors/agents to objects and relations and by further linking these with particular spaces in the neighbourhood and their individual ecosystems of local contextual elements (directional schemes).

The diagram is a complex representation of dynamic relations between urban agency and particular context (Savamala). Bearing in mind the number of analysed elements and their relationality, such visual representation is saturated with data which might be difficult to be perceived and analysed in static form. In this respect, this diagram is also a roadmap for digital data visualization of agent preferences at the neighbourhood level. This diagram contains all the data verbally articulated in this chapter and the attached pattern/legend indicate the scheme of how the diagram is being build and what are the elements used in it. This diagram is assembled from the previously constructed visual and tabular material - from the distribution of socially functional networks and social artefacts in ANT [Diagram 9.2:295] which are connected to the contextual resources identified in Savama-

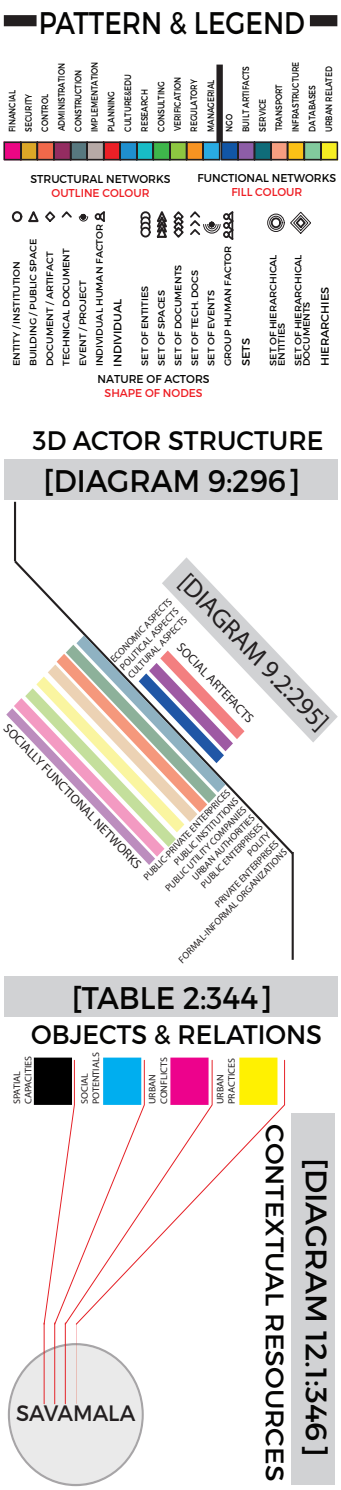
la and summarized in the [Table 2:344]. These contextual resources are finally identified on the map and evaluated for particular spaces in Savamala, which has been transferred from the [Diagram 12.1:346]. Without assigning particular meanings, this diagram maps the sources of urban dynamics in Savamala. Its full appreciation might be in a digital form where an interactive map should display all these data flows.

In terms of empirical data, the definition of urbanity through the interaction of urban agency with contextual elements and in contextual relations [Section 2.1.5:72] indicates that the level of urbanity in Savamala is created from the fluctuating relationship between the agency and the context. While the initial imbalance produced in 2011-2014 worked pro social potentials and the activation of spatial capacities toward a vivid and diverse urban life, the intensive aggregation of urban conflicts from 2014 onward proved to be the other way around. There is a growing unification of functions and activities in Savamala, while civil life has been slowly retreating and moving away. Conversely, the waterfront area is growing at a stable pace with architectural megaforms bringing in a new, modern architectural front to the historical hinterland. The level of urbanity in Savamala seems to trot up and down various scales while its contextual elements and relations are exposed to the battlefield of multiple human and non-human agents.

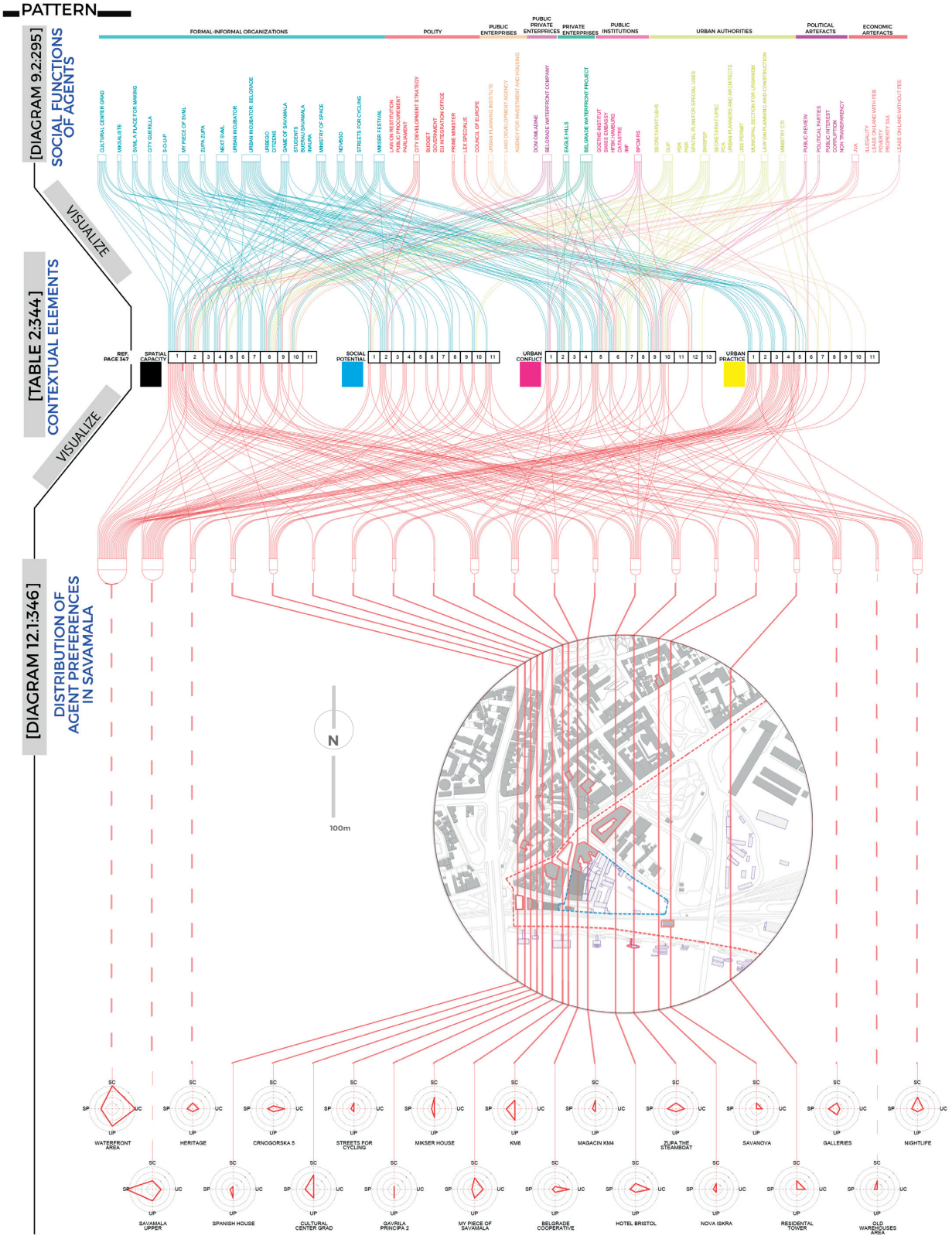
Based on the operationalization of agents and their preferences presented in this chapter, several causal relations on the current circumstances in Savamala become conspicuous. Its social and spatial capital were accentuated and activated through the abundant civic and creative initiatives [Diagram 10:333]. These initiatives responded to global trends and the urgent need for social and cultural spaces in the city. The alternative status of Savamala has insurmountable limitations - the obstruction and neglect from the State. The relationship between alternative culture and institutions, instead of becoming a harmonized practice, has germinated into an urban conflict generator.

This theme park narrative of the BWP's projected future, the disastrous estimations of the obligations for Serbia and the secretive and murky circumstances of its current realization is an immense and even bigger source of urban conflict and a kind of exploitative mechanism for local capacities and potentials. In these circumstances, urban planning institutions and documentations appear passive and figure only as an instrument of power and interest, replicating thusly either the practices or the conflicts at play.

The identification of agent preferences through the links between the agents/actors and the context work out the current state of urban dynamics in Savamala. As urban dynamics allude simultaneously to the continuous changes and constitutions of new realities and urban development prospects, the aggregation of agents preferences and the structure of their nature evolve into a dynamic category forming agent behaviour. The consequences of this agent behaviour are actually the forces of maintenance, transformation and/or change processes of an urban system. The proposed hybrid method that combines MAS and ANT could serve for setting up an iterative procedure that refers to urban development in terms of urban system transitions. Such a narrative may provide a framework to reframe urban complexity and to capture urban dynamics at the neighbourhood level.

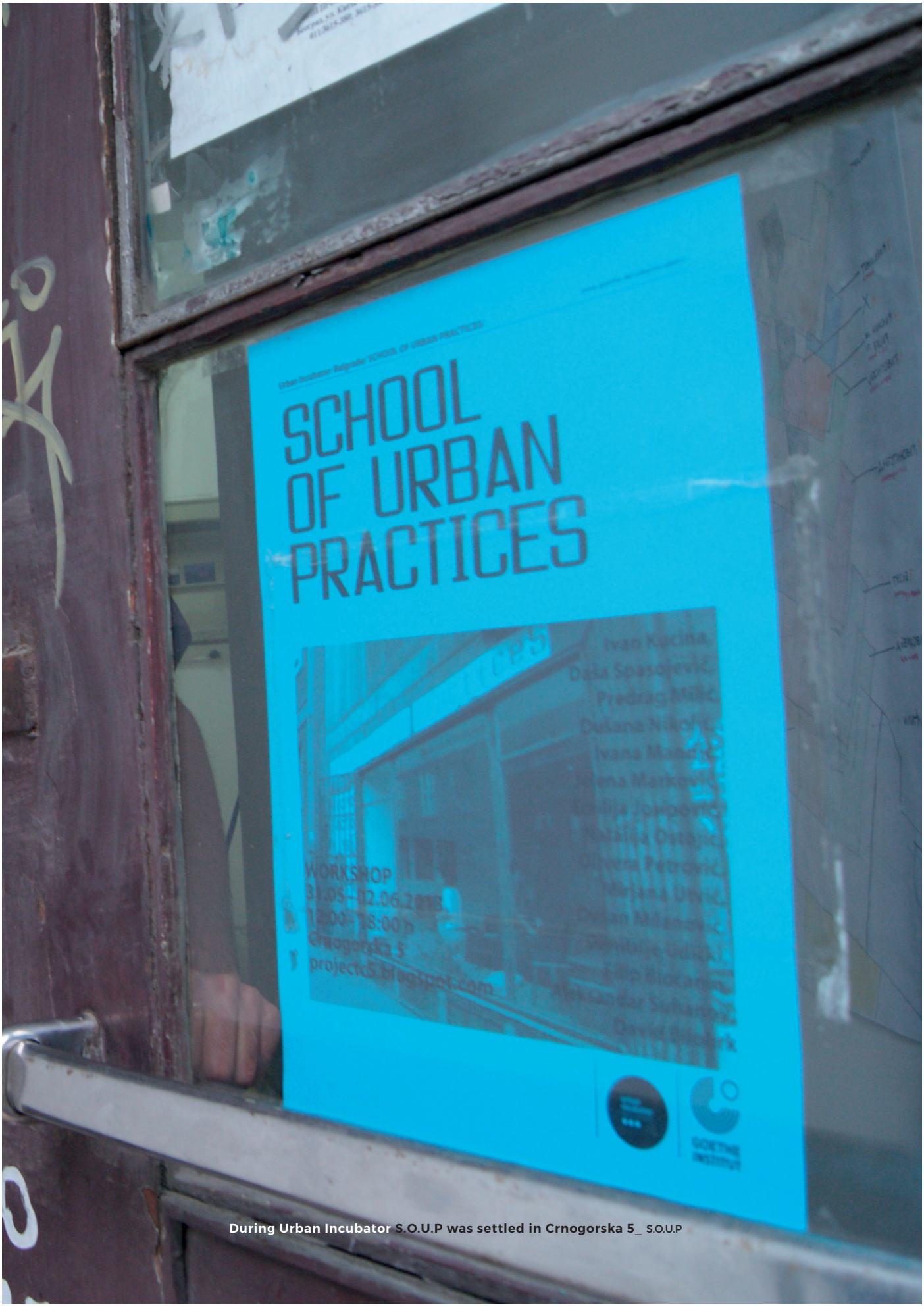


[DIAGRAM 12]
MAS DIAGRAM
diagram pattern & legend



[DIAGRAM 12] Data visualization: MAS analysis of urban dynamics in Savamala

[Vibes of life in Savamala entered its various spaces, places and buildings]



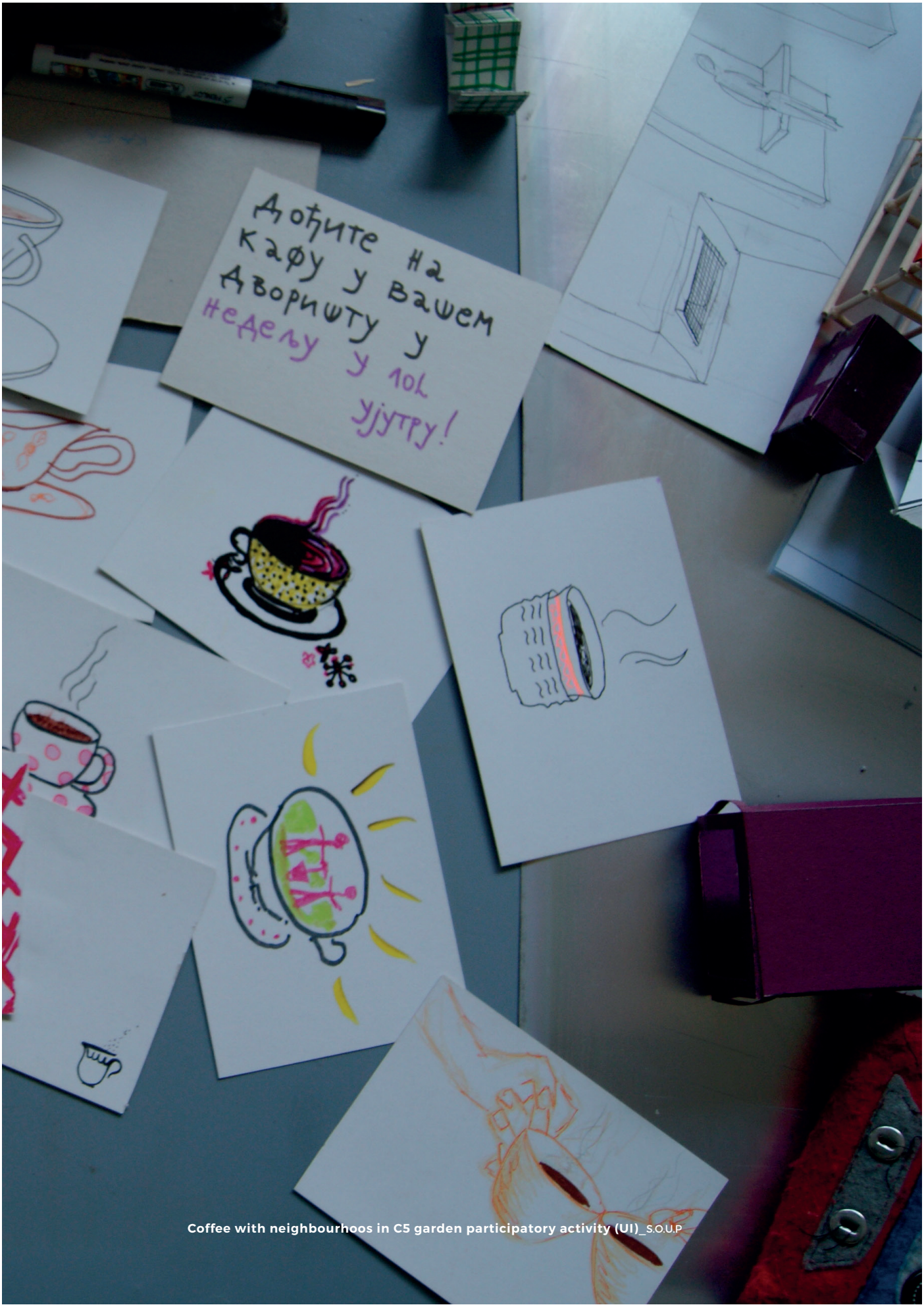
During Urban Incubator S.O.U.P was settled in Crnogorska 5_ S.O.U.P

UI exibition in Savamala gallery_GG

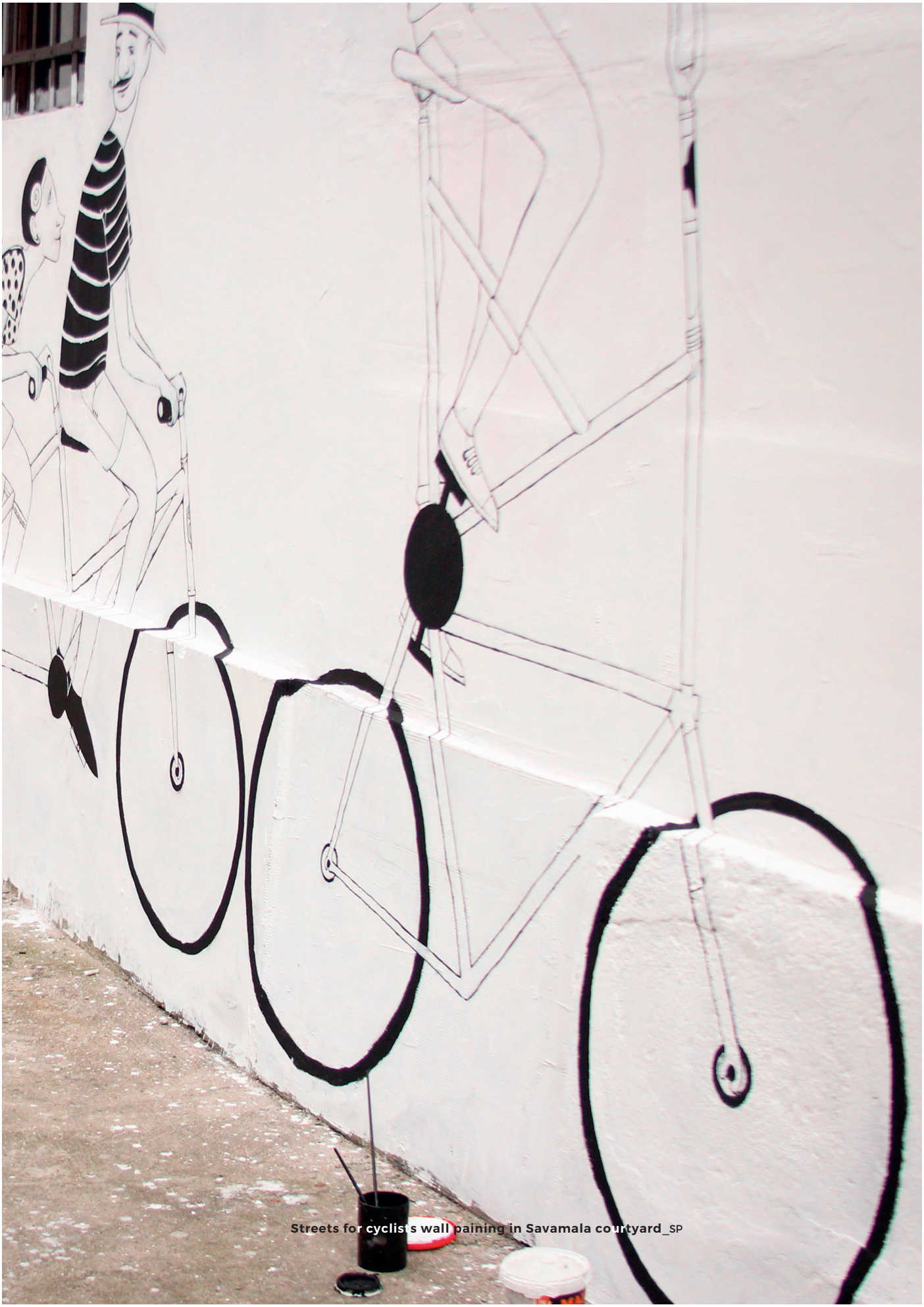
Squat on Zupa steamboat_ NM

"My piece of Savamala" participatory urban design workshop_ S.O.U.P

KAKO SI?

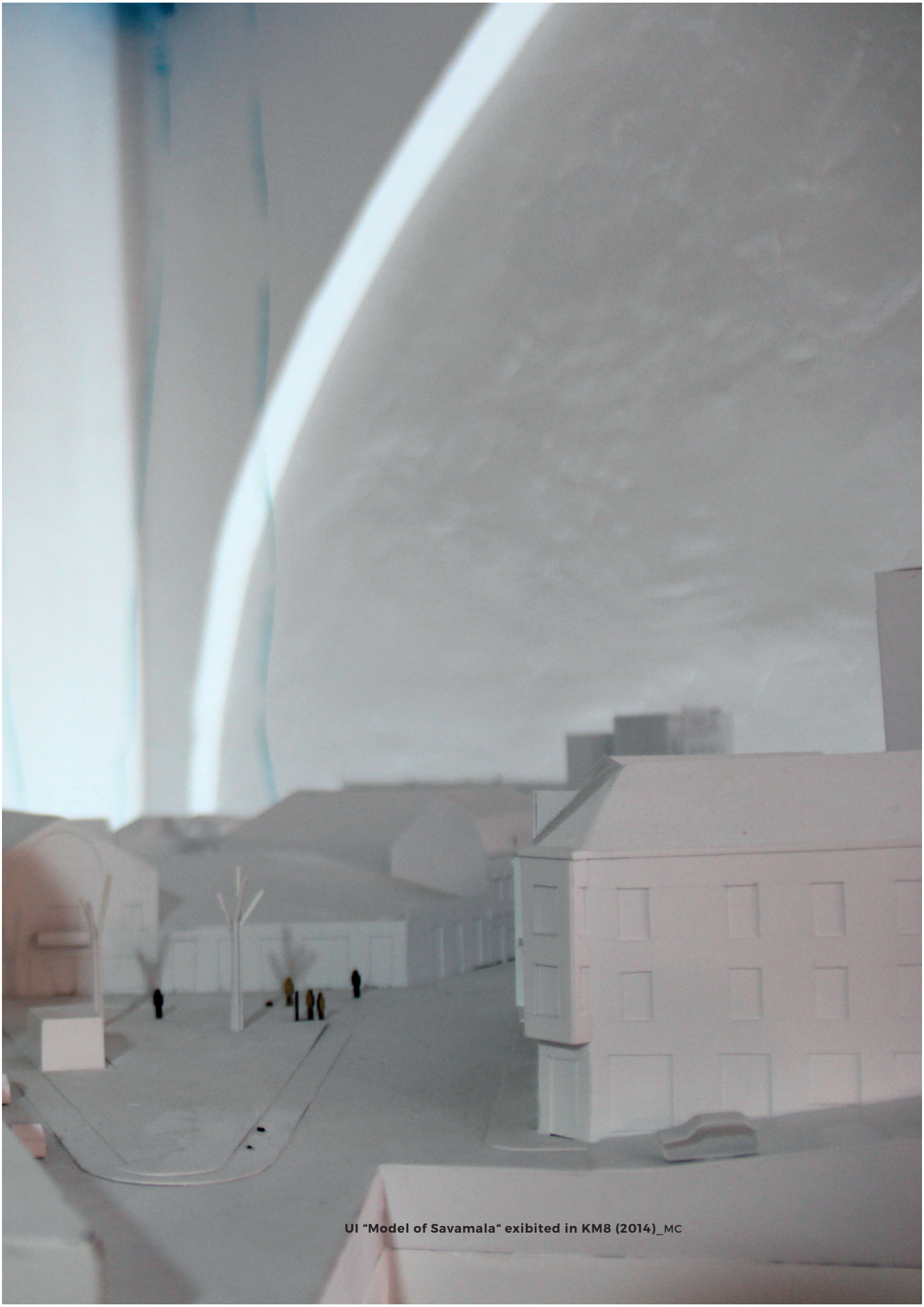


Coffee with neighbourhoos in C5 garden participatory activity (UI)_S.O.U.P



Streets for cyclists wall paining in Savamala courtyard_SP

БАНКАРСТВО
1907
1907



UI “Model of Savamala“ exibited in KM8 (2014)_MC

KM8 shared space_NN

SAVAMALSKI
DIARY

KM8 façade & its "quasi" porch_ NN

Chapter 7

Urban Processes and Cross-Pollination of Data

The narrative of urban system transitions turns new light on urban development and its processual nature. It relates back to the totality of an urban system addressing harmonization, contestations and collisions of a variety of structural elements, social factors and vested interests existing in an urban environment. While the theoretical scope of the levels of urbanity and the multilayered morphology of urban decision-making circumscribe urban complexity and dynamics, there appears a gap between fluid interpretations of contemporary cities and operational urban development prospects.

Due to these conditions, weak urban systems, such as post-socialist cities surely are, tend to poorly understand and anticipate trends, risks and changes *(\\\Habitat 2012)*. The far-reaching aim is to capture urban complexity and the dynamics of post-socialist cities in order to avoid urban development and related mistakes based on the western planning paradigm. But the more general question remains as follows: how to systematically approach analysing a vibrant and fluid context in order to adjust and balance urban development processes *(\Bolay and Kern 2011)*?

This thesis research argues in favour of methodological revisions, adaptations and complements for urban research. It applies a methodological hybrid that combines the Multi-agent system (MAS) and the Actor-network theory (ANT) to demystify contextual processes of system resilience, flexibility and contradiction (transformation, maintenance, and/or change) within the complex urban agency map.

These contextual processes will be bounded into the narrative of urban system transitions explaining how this MAS-ANT theoretical construct is to be applied on Savamala. Bearing in mind the identified local actors and networks they engage in **[Chapter 5:272-315]**, and having indicated the links between the actors/agents and the context **[Chapter 6:324-358]**, the logics of agent behaviour will provide the explanations on interconnections between urban decision-making layers, localized socio-spatial patterns and the dynamics of contextual processes. This chapter also displays the collected and analysed data in a new MAS-ANT cross-pollinated set of agent profiles. Tracking agent profiles indicates the paths of maintenance, transformation and/or change in Savamala as an urban development indicator. The MAS-ANT diagram displays the results in such manner that the multitude of urban elements (complexity) are incorporated, the variety of their links are mapped (integration), and the past-present-future processes of long duration (dynamics) are marked. As the final result, this chapter concludes with the elaboration of the flexibility trait of that diagram based on its potential for both a social and algorithmic approach toward urban development.

7.1 The Body of Urban Transitions

long duration processes; social aspects of the system evolution; levels of decision making; agent profiles;

The high dynamics, interdependence and overlaps of these and similar factors endanger the efficiency of urban system planning, which does not mean that the system was prevented from evolving. While most Western capitals gradually assumed their urban coherence and cultural identity, the urbanity of post-socialist cities has either been diluted during its turbulent history or happens immediately at an extraordinary pace *(\Roter Blagojević 2015)*. The contextual processes in post-socialist cities

that cover the actual on-site system evolution usually are not planned or directed, though they are also far from chaotic - in short time lapse they show their intrinsic logic, functionality and time-coherence which usually becomes complicated, neglected and blurred from a wider perspective. Even though the unrolling patterns for such processes are not obvious, their influence on the system evolution is quite deterministic - either maintaining, or transforming or changing it **[Section 2.3.1:90]**.

To gain a fuller appreciation of the different types of contextual processes, already during the initial research phase, the dynamic, historical, contextual and on-site data were critically addressed and filtered through the rounds of data collection going from an abstract document-based version through group analysis in professional, educational workshops and elaborated interpretations from local experts and coming back to the theoretical stances.

As discussed above, a kaleidoscope of collected and analyzed data on the Savamala neighbourhood have revealed sets of relationships between the identified actors, the morphology of urban decision-making and the level of urbanity. ANT analysis highlights individual features of actors and constitutes agent structures, while MAS elaboration explains their contextual preferences and involvement in urban affairs. Relating human and non-human actor-networks to urban decision-making mechanisms and urban agency to contextual elements and relations enables pointing out the key actors of urban system transitions - maintenance, transformation and change of urban systems.

The character - profile - of these agents might provide the explanations of their references to the system evolution. Agent profile is a combination of agent structure, agent preferences, and agent behaviour **[Section 3.3.2:162]**. In this research project, the agent behaviour combines agent structure and preference and refers to system development (maintenance, transformation or change). Agent preferences have a crucial role for tracing urban transitions: (a) resources instigate transformations, (b) practices identify system maintenance, and (c) conflicts boost potential changes. On the contrary, agent structure in combination with these preferences determines the agent's role within the morphology of urban decision-making. Moreover, the decision-making networks also define what is desirable, possible or what is actually happening.

The analysis of the identified agents according to these principles gives us the opportunity to determine urban development prospects - their influence on the system evolution, their capacity to intervene and the biases that cause eventual negative effects.

7.2 Profiling the agents

The first step in displaying the body of urban transformations and developmental prospects in Savamala is the definition of agent profiles. The core of agent profiles are their structure and preferences, based on ANT and MAS analyses of contextual, qualitative data **[Table 3:384]**. Agent structure and preferences are treated as dynamic features of urban agency and the level of urbanity in Savamala. They are the basis for tracking the behaviour of these agents and their influence on the state of urban

environment and urban system evolution in Savamala. Finally, this has allowed the summing up their capacities and limitations and demonstrated how they influence urban development prospects.

Post-socialist urban development induced radical political, economic and cultural shifts in neighbourhoods in Belgrade. Savamala has been marked by all major transformations of Serbian society over time and therefore is a representative case for intensive collision of top-down and bottom-up pressures. Endowed with a prime location in the Serbian capital, Savamala has been directly or indirectly targeted by most of General Urban Plans (GUPs) and/or General Plans (GPs) since the beginning of the 20th century [\\GUP 1923, GUP 1950, GUP 1972, GP 2003 (revised in 2005, 2007, 2009, 2014], and GUP 2016) **[Section 4.2.1:233].** It has captured the attention of national and international capital through glorious architectural projects ("Town on the Water", CIP Europolis, Beko Masterplan, Belgrade Waterfront Project etc.) **[Section 4.2.2:244].** Following the trends, it has also fallen under a recent, massive, but rather disputable waterfront mega-project, that aims to remodel the Belgrade landscape according to modern high-rise metropolis patterns **[Figure 14:250]** In Savamala, a complement of post-socialist urban development is found in small-scale cultural practices, crowd-sourcing civil activities, artistic projects and educational programmes which, slowly but surely, spread from the upper Savamala to the riverbanks **[Section 4.2.3:250].**

The hybrid field of overlapping MAS (Multi-agent system) and ANT (Actor-network theory) methodological approaches proposed an innovative concept to define causal relationships among all the various urban elements and developmental prospects of their interrelations and interconnections.

7.2.1 Agent structure

For the analysis of agents' structure, their basic characteristics are already identified within the key categories from the ANT methodology **[Diagram 9:296]**. These ANT categories indicate the figuration of the chosen agents in their environment. They are adapted according to the interpretation of the ANT methodological approach applied in this research. Agent structures are circumscribed based on the roles these agents play in Savamala, i.e. *(\Cvetinović et al. 2016)*:

1. agent nature - its operational manifestation;
2. level of influence - the boundaries of the activities and target groups;
3. structural networks - the agent's primary activity (agency);
4. socially functional networks - the social function they are assigned;
5. secondary networks - the subordinate function(s) they take up (secondary angecy).

Agent structure is the product of thorough ANT analysis **[Section 5.1:274] [Diagram 9:296; 9.2:295; 9.3:297; 9.4;298]**. It summarizes the structure of the set of key urban agents based on the data provided from the key informants. Various layers of decision-making reflect the difference in agent nature, while structural networks interpret the functions of these agents at the local level.

The social function of the agent is strongly connected to their level of influence

in the case of bottom-up actors. They are all active at the local, but less often at the city and international levels, though their international visibility is also more in the domain of funding - several are the recipients of international financial support from foreign embassies (Swiss and Netherlands embassies) and European cultural and art foundations, organisations and programmes (Felix Meritis, Balkan Design Network, EU funding instruments) or under direct supervision of international entities. Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB) was the initiative of the Goethe-Institute.

Top-down agents are activated in the form of documents (*BW SPSP* [137] and *GUP BGD 2021*), [138] institutions (MCTI [139] and UPI) [140] or the assigned roles in the public domain (Prime Minister, Cty Mayor, City Architect).

137 Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area.

138 General Urban Plan for Belgrade - different versions.

139 Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure.

140 Urban Planning Institute.

The dual position of the Ministry of Construction, Urbanism and Infrastructure (MCTI) as both normative and executive planning body after the ambiguous discontinuation of the Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (RASP) opens the floor for the twisted institutional practice reflected further on in agent behaviour. The choice of policy agendas is based on their problematic engagement in the enactment and changes of the regulatory mechanisms for the wide area of Belgrade waterfront. BW SPSP and GUP BGD 2021 received harsh professional criticism. The first relied on the multiple misinterpretations of the Planning and Construction Act (PCA), while the modifications of the second enable construction of profitable high-rise commercial and residential buildings in the coastal area. In the process of BW SPSP adaption, the City Architect and its cabinet exert power and influence in the expert control and public inspection process *(\\\Pravni skener 2016; \\\NDVBGD 2016)*. The responsibility and the competitiveness of the local authorities is insignificant in this case and is being controlled mainly through political mechanisms (political party structures).

The key inspiration for these actions has been the private investment of the Belgrade waterfront project (BWP). Similar ambiguities have happened to the amendments to the City Regulation Plan (CRP) concerning the Beko factory location nearby. The foreign investor figurated by Lambda Development financed the drafting of the CRP and directly influenced the makers of the plan by employing them afterwards. Conversely, the initiative NDBGD is the key entity performing control of urban governance outside the top-town regulatory framework. Through its actions (events, media and publishing) NDBGD has constantly advocated for more transparency and participation in the Serbian urban planning framework.

The engagement of various individual human and human actors surrounding the BWP investment is mainly assembled around the financial agreements and benefits (structural networks). Following contradictory information in the media, the exact details on the profit distribution is not yet clear *(\\\\Malenović 2016)*. These circumstances result in the conflictive relations on land use and property issues (secondary networks in reference to space and the built environment): (o) the harmful, illegitimate, unconstitutional decision on expropriation of land for residential and commercial purposes based on the special law *(\\Lex specialis; \\\Danas 30/03/2015)*; (o) the misleading information on the land property agreement, the land is not rented for 99 years, but granted to the investor as soon as the buildings are constructed *(*

Politika 20/03/2015); (o) the obscure circumstances of the initial apartment sale before the construction even began - who actually governed this sale managed by the BWC (Belgrade Waterfront Company) and how *(\\Lazović 2015; \\Bukvić and Milosević 2015)*; and (o) the unrealistic real estate market circumstances in Belgrade and the irrationality of residential construction projects such as the BWP while a significant amount of recently finished residential buildings are empty in the extended central area of Belgrade (i.e. Belville in New Belgrade) *(\\Bukvić and Milosević 2015)(Workshop D1).*

Another important question rose around the infrastructural works in the BW area (secondary networks). As the public utility services and municipal infrastructure are the main sources of costs and profits on land, neither of the economic regulatory rules have been applied in the case of BWP, such as the operational separation of the executive and regulatory role, stability control and transparent mechanisms *(\\\SKGO 2013)*. The costs for these works are: underestimated, large in scale and unrealistically planned under the agreement bonds, [141] and in practice marked by murky financial deals with investors [142] *(Interview B12).* This means placing an additional burden on Serbian tax payers in the future and endangering the economic prosperity of the country rather than boosting it. The role of public utility companies (socially functional networks) is side-lined, devaluated and reduced to vertical, political obedience, e.g. Belgrade Waters [Beograd vode], Serbian Railways [Zeleznice Srbije] etc.).

In terms of agent nature, the chosen bottom-up agents figure as sets of horizontal entities of events/projects/activities. The scope of secondary network characteristics is focused on urban or NGO sectors or small-scale services. Socially functional networks formed from the ground up are mainly formal/informal collectives with non-transparent or unclear internal organisational or foundational procedures.

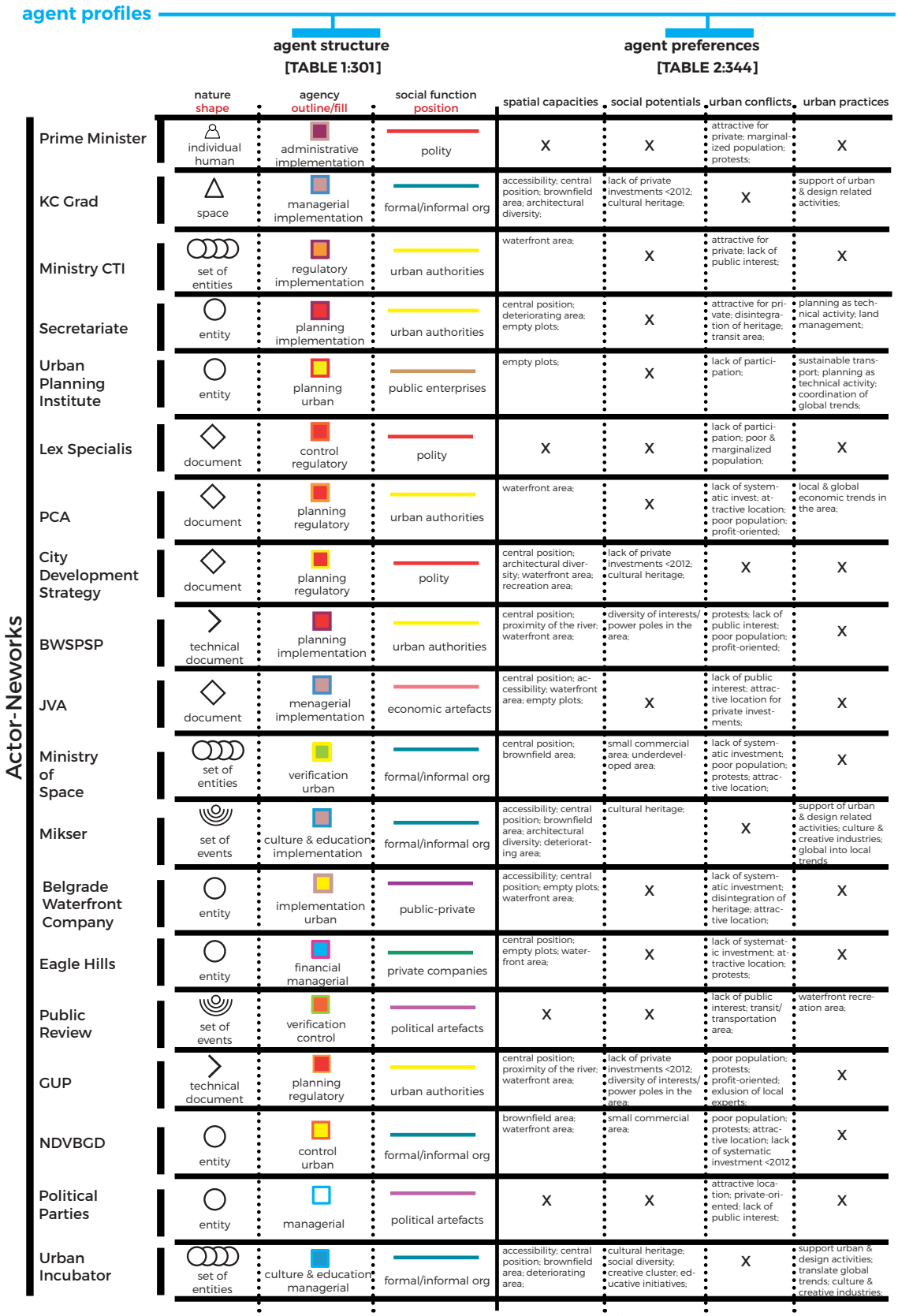
KC Grad, as the first informal collective settled in Savamala, was also known as the "Dutch center" as the Dutch embassy provided the initial funding support to establish such alternative cultural center in Belgrade at the moment when the Student Cultural Center (SCC) [Studentski kulturni centar (SKC)] was falling apart and the "Dom omladine" Cultural Center was under reconstruction (Interview B5). Mikser took over the leading role as the local stakeholder and has kept it to this day, with significant efforts made to gain an overview of what is going in Savamala. [142] The two of them are the only organisations/ collectives/ non-formal actors to be included in the new plans for Savamala (BWP SPSP, GUP 2021, Investor's Master Plan for BWP).

The analysis of agents structure and qualitative data on the Savamala neighbourhood indicates urban assemblage networks formed and contributed from the ground up. Namely, implementation and management of participatory activities is the focal point of urban interventions in Savamala. These networks involve a range of local and city NGOs as well as several IOs, initiatives and collectives. In a few cases (Urban Incubator Belgrade, Mikser festival etc.), municipal authorities provide support in these managerial networks. Local, municipal and city authorities as well as international funding organisations take part in financial networks and of several projects in the implementation networks (i.e. Savamala, a Place for Making; The Gthe ame of Savamala; Camenzind, NextSavamala and Savamala design studio projects within UIB).

141 Among others, the infrastructural works incorporate: constructing the vehicle and railway bridge near Vinca, relocating the railway station and bus terminal, finishing the railway station "Prokop" and building from scratch another single or multiple bus terminals ***(\\\\Politika 2015).***

142 According to informal sources from the BWP construction site, the initial infrastructural works are funded by the foreign investor and will be reduced from the land indemnity payment obligation. The circumstances of the value calculation and obligations for both sides are not known (Interview B12).

143 In this sense, Mikser also took part in or actively supported several projects such as UIB, The Game of Savamala, My Piece of Savamala etc.



[TABLE 3] Agent profiles

In the case of UIB, the activities in Savamala also comply with the campaign of the Goethe Institute to focus part of their activities on Cities and Urban space in their branches worldwide. Namely, there are several different Urban Incubator projects around the world. The Goethe Institute assembles local and international actors around participatory and educational projects to rething the city and practice citizenry. In this respect, they are endeavors to involve local educational institutions (Universities and most often Faculties of Architecture and Arts) and to foster collaborations among them. Setting the extensive and diverse network in the local context, UI and the Goethe Institute are not the primary agents on the ground.

On a limited level, a few agents (My Piece of Savamala, KC Grad, Mikser) engage in consulting networks with municipal and city authorities (City mayor, City architect, Municipality of Savski Venac) and real-estate actors (Eagle Hills, the Belgrade Waterfront Project). In these relations, critical connotations against the authorities are aptly avoided and the projects and participants become side-lined.[144]

144 This happened to the "My Piece of Savamala" project. As soon as they submitted the results, which did not comply with the official solution for the park in Savamala, to the authorities and to the BWP officers, the communication was interrupted and they have not received any reply to date (Interview A16).

Finally, the sole interest of the Ministry of Space [Ministarstvo Prostora] collective and Ne da(vi)mo Beograde initiative (NDVBGD) is the activation of the control and verification networks for all urban questions, problems and solutions. The agency of these entities overlap in the course of individual participants and actions as NDVBGD is the initiative led by this collective. In general, their civil and urban activism refers back to the city as the place for all its citizens and to city and national urban and political authorities and experts respectively.

In general, various structural networks clarify agents roles and indicate the paths of their behaviour and networking capacities at the local level.

7.2.2 Agent preferences

The second level of data analysis is MAS analysis of agent contents, fields of interest and influences. Based on the MAS-ANT methodological pollination, agent preferences are defined in accord to their relationality towards the contextual resources, social practices and urban conflicts figuring in Savamala **[Section 6.2:345]**. In this manner, we become aware of their field of manoeuvres in Savamala.

Diagram on page 389 [Diagram 14.1:389] summarizes the relationships between actors and contextual elements. The set of chosen most important actors in Savamala counts 38 actors. They are chosen according the qualitative analysis of collected data from interviews, questionnaires and workshops (with an emphasis of the analysis of questionnaires and expert and student workshop data). In this diagram they are represented as agents with their properties assigned with ANT and according to the linear graphical convention used for them in MAS diagram [Diagram 12:358]. This row is made up from the unfolded circular scheme of the ANT analysis [Diagram 9:296]. They are assigned with the 4-dimensional characteristics based on the ANT analysis [Chapter 5: 272-323]: agent nature, primary and secondary agency and social function and the level of influence [Diagram 9.2:295; 9.3:297; 9.4:298; Table 3:384]). Agent preferences are elaborated in the MAS analysis through 11 major urban practices, 13 urban conflicts, 10 spatial capacities, and 11 social potentials. The particularity of specific contextual elements is not essential

herein, but it is the exchange to the general character of agents' preferences – towards resources, conflicts or practices. In this respect agent preferences are divided in 3 categories which are assigned different colours. This view on the context aims at contributing to the identification of urban system transitions in Savamala. The connections between agents and particular contextual elements in Savamala are visualized according to the tabular data analysis [Table 2:344; 3:386] The aim of this diagram is merely to give an overview of these preferences. They are summarized in the balance of colours that represent links between specific resources (red), conflicts (yellow), and practices (pink) in Savamala and the visualized list of agents with their 4-dimensional ANT characteristics (without taking into account urban assemblage networks in this case). The diagrams visualizes where in urban networks certain contextual elements are nested, the preferences of agents towards Savamala's territorial capital and in which sense they are addressing it (in terms of exploiting contextual resources, bringing forward/reducing urban conflicts or reproducing urban practices).

The visualization of agent preferences confirms that the spatial and locational capital of Savamala is the main attraction for human and institutional actors at various levels **[Diagram 14.1:389].** Yet, locals have not exclusively perceived it like that. According to some, the BWP is the recent spark that has brought back economic and aesthetic value in the neighbourhood *(Interview B11)*. Conversely, the recent wave of refugees from the Middle East is perceived as a danger and a problem *(Interview B11).*

The Savamala inhabitants perceive that refurbished façades and cleared waterfront are a step forward, while they actually show little interest in the illegal and corrupt actions surrounding the project. In the city context, this shows that shallow actions and obvious cosmetic changes have wider social effects than any disastrous decision that is limited to policy agendas or documentation in general.

While Savamala's contextual resources are of special importance for Belgradians and Savamala inhabitants, the attitude of the investor shows no difference between the Belgrade waterfront or any other waterfront in the world, and especially in the Arab/Persian Gulf *(Interview B1, B5, B5)*. The investor plans to build: the coastal fortification, walking paths, urban furniture, two residential towers (20 storeys each), the central tower (160m) with a network of streets leading toward it, a shopping mall behind this tower, and a hotel next to Brankov bridge *(Interview B5).* Numerous expert assert that the design of the area and buildings better correspond to the environment between the dessert and the sea, as in Dubai, than to that of Belgrade *(Interview B1, B2, B13).* The BWP spatial plan and functional programme show that it does not take into account the contextual resources and urban conflicts of the whole city, as a project of such scale should. Its only purpose is access - people come, park, settle down, and consume - as an informant close to BWC explained *(Interview B5).*

In contrast, the professionals advocated for an integral development strategy for Savamala, scientifically and practically elaborated that is actually based on intrinsic qualities and that addresses the well-known urban conflicts at the city level, such as: (1) linking the design solution to a sustatainable urban mobility plan, the project was prepared within the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with the

support of city authorities through the engagement of the Land Development Agency (or Directorate for Construction Land [Direkcija za gradsko gradjevinsko zemljiste]); (2) promoting the policy of land management and sustainable restitution plan; (3) supporting the financially liable project to be financed from City budget; (4) reducing design costs through viable competitions, (5) the participation of representatives of the city authority and city management offices in the cut-off workshops and decision-making *(Interview B3)*.

The first, local source of problem was the position of wider area of Savamala on the border between two city municipalities - Savski Venac and Stari Grad, with different management structures and priorities. An insurmontable obstacle for such a project at the city level was unresolved property issue and illegal construction in the area *(Interview A7, A10, B2, B3)*. Under any other circumstances and under different times, the action is usually halted. These problems were solved in a blink of the eye as soon as it was promoted from the national level and by the political party in power. Large scale urban project and big investment were seen as a source of finance and popularity for the new elite coming to power with the political change that followed the national elections in 2012 *(Interview B2)*. After all, it showed that the centralized state is the main power pole of urban development in Serbia.

When complemented with information from expert and participant interviews, the conclusion is such that the urban regulatory framework has been purposely distorted to accommodate private (investors) interests. In so doing, city authorities and city planning departments are the pillars of such biased governance mechanisms, while failing to provide adequate expert control of the planning processes, development plans and implementations and to enable a smooth transformation of post-socialist urban systems.

Finally, BWP SPSP is a flagship among regulatory documents that legitimizes blurred, non-transparent, unfeasible, interest-based urban planning procedures. In addition, the BWP lead in itself manifests an official disregard for expert opinion, induces citizen revolt and causes a lack of faith in public authorities. On the city scale, investment-based initiatives like this one reduce the potential of democratization and decentralization of urban processes **[Table 3:384]**.

Even though social potentials are nominally addressed by policy agendas, the leader of gradual, small-scale, participatory urban changes and possible brownfield regeneration has been the cultural initiatives and NGOs settled in Savamala in the last three to five years . As they are part of the NGO sector, provision of spaces has been a crucial question, not for their existence, but for their visibility and activity at the city level. In this respect, "Magacin u Kraljevića Marka" (MKM) and "Kraljevića Marka 8" (KM8) are perceived as anchor places. Obtained for use from the Municipality "Savski Venac", they are shared among different NGOs and offered for multiple projects/activities/events from different actors, even outside these organisations.

Although collaboration is not a strong point among these bottom-up initiatives, these shared spaces incite the sparks of mutual projects and actions usually among those organisations based on the voluntary work of young activists and professionals (around Goethe Guerilla) *(Interview B7)*. In general, most of the participants and

organisers are architects, artists or cultural workers. They are actually people with different backgrounds, but they all share the same interest for continual personal development and education and critical approach towards their profession and their city *(Interview B7).*

These organisations are found in the middle of real estate interests around the BWP and of cultural institutions in the city (Dom Omladine, the Goethe institute). As a consequence, they were eventually dislodged from the KM8 when the place was officially returned to the city authorities at the end of 2016. Even though in limbo while trying to acquire new place, they still work on strategies for future projects on participation and better internal organisations that will help popularize and widen the scope of their actions *(Interview B7)*. In terms of space, they usually meet informally or are contributed space from their partner and friend organisations.

Another way of profiting from Savamala's contextual resources is the non-governmental promotion of biking culture, an organised action to fight urban "pollution and stink" *(Interview 14)*. Savamala's location (waterfront, proximity to the marina, half-way to Ada and Novi Beograd) led to positioning the headquarters of the biking community there. Following the international boost and support for city biking, the biking community "Streets for Cyclists" became an important actor and one of the few listened to and consulted by the city authorities (City Mayor and City Architect) *(\\\\ Kontrapress 16/07/2015; \\\\Vice 16/07/2015; \\\\Dan u Begradu WEBSITE 27/11/2016)* **[Section 6.1.2:334].**

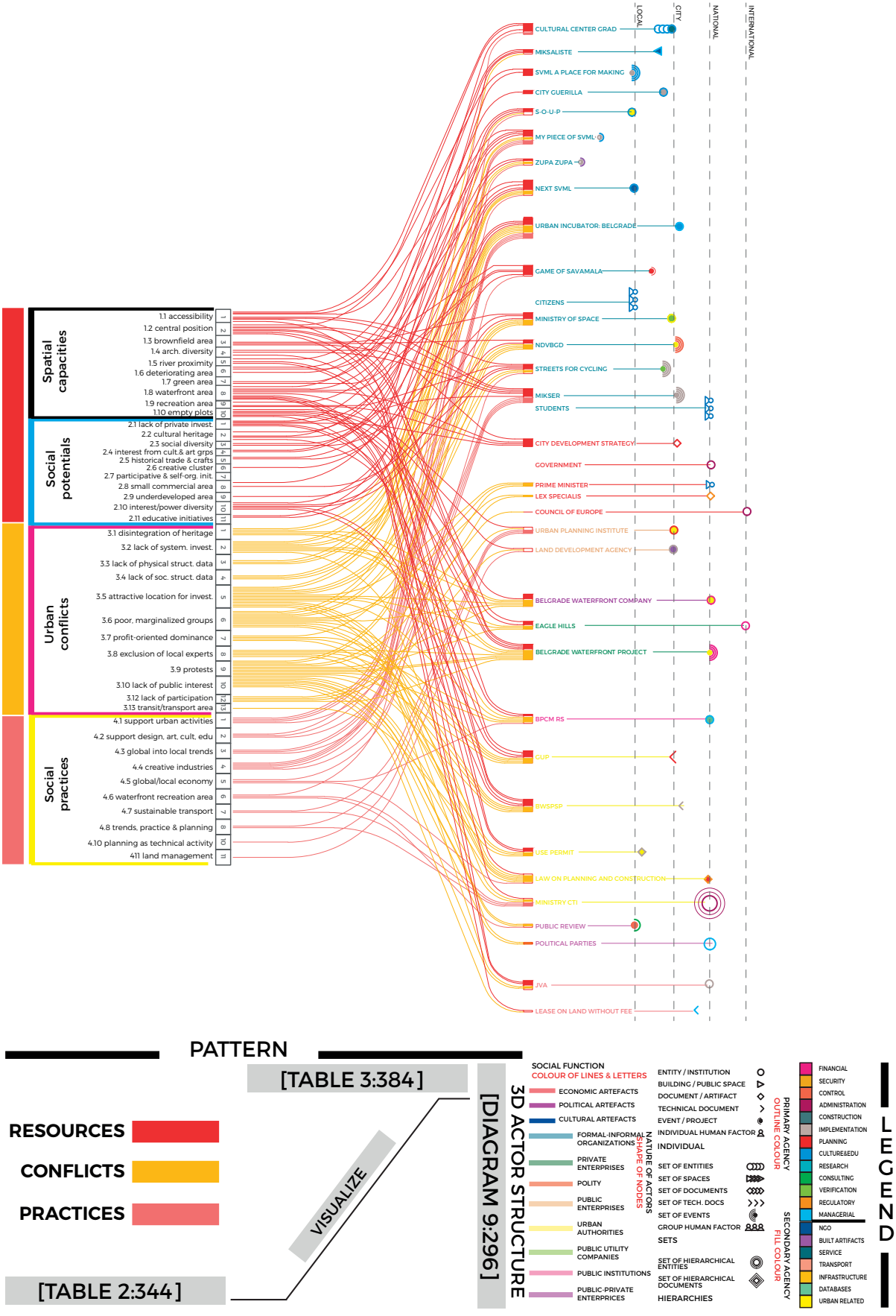
The majority of these bottom-up agents actually aspire for a consulting role within the wide field of urban issues, culture, art and education or to implement a range of ideas/solutions/interventions at the urban or social level **[Table 3:384]**. In the Serbian context, they aim to provide an alternative body for catalysing available human resources and translating global knowledge into the local context of Savamala and Belgrade.

7.2.3 Agent Behaviour

The final stage of analysis is MAS-ANT cross-pollination on the level of agent behaviour. The broad domains of agent profiles answer the question of who /what/ how acts in urban networks of complex relations among humans and non-humans.

In Savamala, dynamic, interactive urban assemblages are articulated through decision-making mechanisms of urban planning, real estate and co-design and creative participation actions. The behaviour of agents enables tracing the interrelations of contextual resources, urban conflicts and social practices (MAS) **[Chapter 6:324-358]** in these urban assemblage networks from ANT **[Chapter 5:272-315]**.

Another layer of ANT-MAS cross-pollination is the illustration of agent behaviours in terms of active-passive relations. In this way, they personify the links between key urban agents and recognized political, economic and cultural factors of post-socialist urbanity. ANT assemblage networks altogether describe Savamalas urban complexity, while MAS interpretation adds active-passive roles to key urban agents and their contextual preferences. All these behavioural paths are confirmed within the qualitative data.



[DIAGRAM 14.1] MAS-ANT DIAGRAM DESIGN: Agent preferences

Chart 9 **[Chart 9:349]** explained how political, economic and cultural tenets of post-socialist urbanity are distributed among urban key agents and in which way they influence Savamalas contextual elements. The correlation between spatial capacities and urban conflicts, which are dominant preferential elements of the chosen urban key agents, are of special interest for such analysis. The level of post-socialist urbanity directly depends on the balance between how the society/local community as a whole profit from contextual resources and reduce the negative effects of urban conflicts.

The analysis reveals that centralized decision-making and provisory rules, among other political aspects, are the front runners of biased exploitation of the spatial capital. The inconsistency of expert opinions and lack of coordinated actions for supporting certain professional values and defending the position of experts in decision-making on important social subjects also poses a threat on the regulation of planning practice and implementation of planning documents *(\Vukmirović et al. 2013)*.

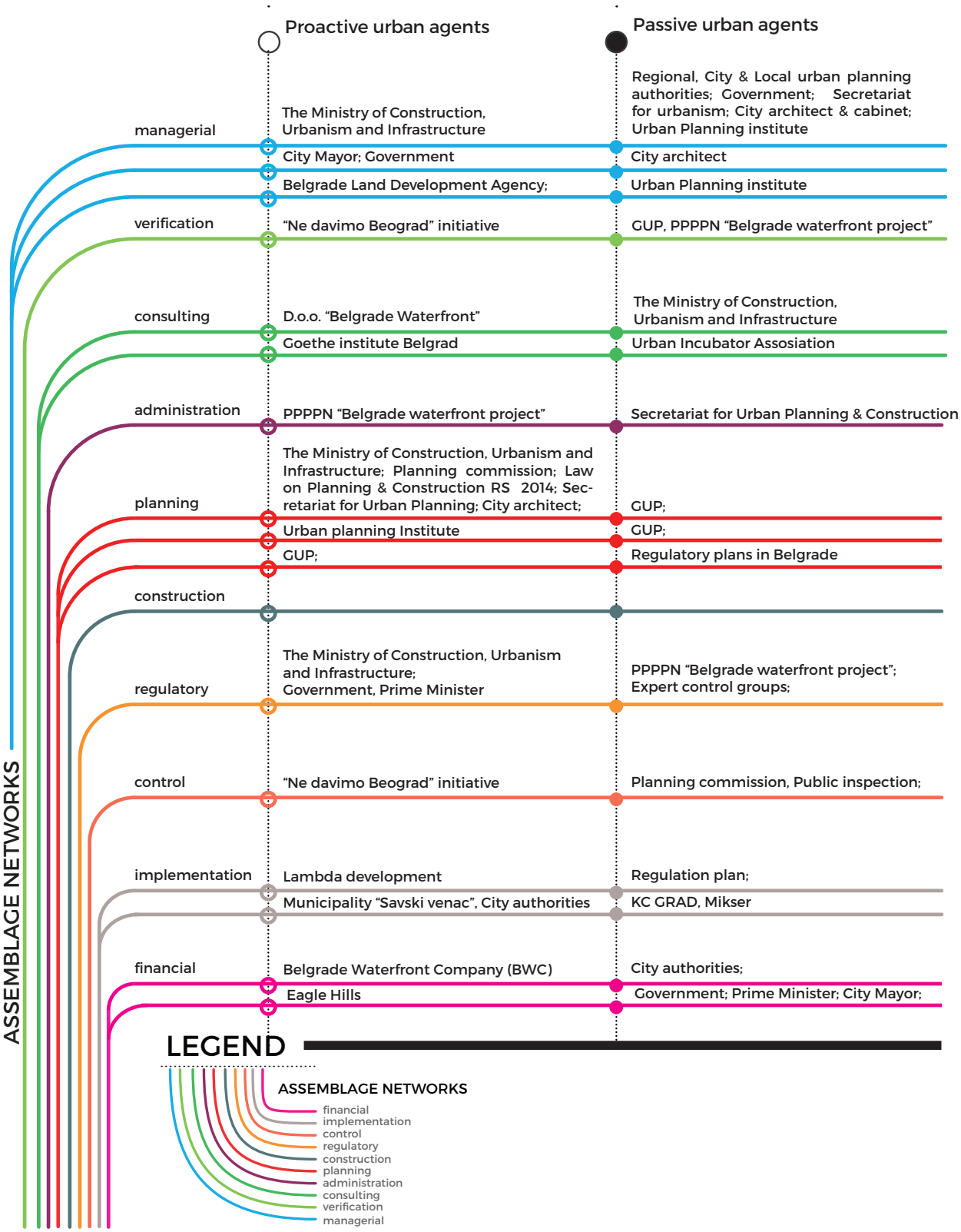
Moreover, the private investors, who easily satisfy their interest regarding Serbian spatial capital, do not have any concern or interest for the social benefits of the society. Instead of enabling the social potential of current local cultural and civil initiatives, they contribute to their extermination from the neighbourhood. This new picture of a trendy and rather safe Savamala brings with it threats of the expulsion of the local population, marginalized groups and alternative culture *(\\\Krusche and Klaus 2015)*. In addition, the disjunction between expert and practical knowledge and regulatory and implementation actions contribute to the deterioration of the quality of urban life.

These ambiguous relations induce collisions in financial, implementation and regulatory assemblage networks. In terms of spatial capacities, they particularly threaten highly profitable urban land. Institutional actors (authorities and urban planning) cherish and defend corruption and opportunism in urban transactions and land development instead of fighting and curbing it *(\Nedović-Budić et al. 2011)*. Even when the instruments to fight it are available (a tax on extra profit, reform of the security sector, reform of the tribunal, reform of the prosecution, mechanisms of restitution and de-nationalisation) *(\Vujosević et al. 2010b)*, in day-to-day administration of urban development, there isnt the political will and institutional firmness to implement them.

The coordination of actions, resistance to political pressures and endurance of regulatory processes among institutions at different levels is essential for setting up adequate and efficient arrangements in the urban land market, urban land use management and land taxation systems in compliance with urban development goals. This may also be extremely difficult in a political context where elections occur very often and the institutional structures and personnel have been changing accordingly.[145]

Furthermore, the cultural cluster, which was in a full swing 2012-2015, was so neglected by the official authorities that it has not managed to produce long-lasting effects in terms of place-making, the promotion of arts and the integration of culture in the city, and to positively influence local tourism. These tenets of creativity for urban development in Savamala were wasted in vain when the whole establishment turned to the BWP. While national and international experts, cultural and civil workers and

145 In the last 6 years, three rounds of elections have been held (1) Early Presidential Elections (2012), (2) Early Parliamentary Elections (2014) , and (3) Early Parliamentary Elections (2016). The 2012 elections proved to be a turning point as the Serbian Progressive Party (SPP) took power, led by Tomislav Nikolić and Aleksandar Vučić. The next elections did not bring any change, thus further strengthening the SPPs power and especially that of its leader, the current Prime Minister (2017).



[CHART 10] Distribution of active-passive agent behaviour in urban assemblage networks in Savamala

several independent media tried to protect this new spirit of Savamala, the Ministry for Culture, Official and Popular Media in Serbia did not work in favour of cultural purposes *(Interview B5)*. The destiny of these activities and places depend on private investors, their buddies in the authorities (city and national) and their whims, interests and decisions. As they are not interested in volunteering or any socially beneficial work or cultural or artistic practices, even if the purposes of city branding are at play, the only left option for these organisations is to leave Savamala *(Interview B6).*

In terms of urban conflicts, these are already entrenched in the complex relations surrounding contextual resources in Savamala as has already been mentioned. Apart from the institutional incapacity, the major source of conflict is the lack of participation, transparency and respect for the general public interest. In Savamala, this issue is of special importance as all three layers of urban decision-making express a certain interest and have a certain power within the Savamala boundaries. That said, it is important to acknowledge that the clash of the authoritarian and civil sector in Savamala over the controversial megaproject (MP) is the shifting point of agents behaviours in Savamala when comparing it to other neighbourhoods in Belgrade and Serbia.

Aside from regulatory adjustments to accommodate private investor interests that have paved the way as an official planning practice and instrument in urban decision-making in Serbia, this narrative at the neighbourhood level has another actualization. The cultural and civil activities in Savamala are on the verge of accommodating, and even catering to the interests and tastes of the new audience coming to the neighbourhood, with whom they share few values (Interview B5). Other activities are on the verge of expulsion with no real means to fight it.

This was the case for the refugee center "Miksaliste", whose demolition was announced only 48 hours beforehand, which is on no account sufficient for moving infrastructure and people *(Interview B6)*. Disobedience was also out of question, because at stake was the destiny of hundreds of refugees pouring towards Europe *(Interview B6).*

There are others (NDVBGD) who do not want to communicate and collaborate with the BWP staff and supporters as long as certain illegitimate issues that threaten public interest are not solved. Even though their actual achievements to stop the project are minor, their public actions, elaborated documentation, sharp analysis and legal moves have raised awareness about the social values and rights in the city. They have made the illegitimate circumstances of this project visible at an international level.

Following their civil protests in the capital with dozens of participants and the official, high level criticisms that they provided from numerous experts, the unresolved issue of the Savamala night demolition and terrain clearance became an issue of high citizen priority and a burning political issue.[146] From the point of view of the tourists coming to Belgrade, after their positive suprise at the scale of construction at work in Savamala, they soon became disappointed when they heard the whole story about the demolitions, illegality and above all about the "Dubaization" of the Belgrade waterfront, which they were not eager to come to see in the Balkans *(Interview B14).*

However problematic, the amenability of urban plans and its implementation in the Serbian planning discourse was historically built and consolidated during the socialist period. In the socialist discourse, with enough political will, any urban project

146 David McAllister, European Parliament rapporteur for Serbia, mentioned the "case of Savamala" in a draft of his latest report before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament (EP). He was asking for quick and efficient legale resolution of controversial circumstances around Savamala demolition ***(\\\\ Stojanović 2017).***

can be realized, at least it could be provided with the regulations and documentation needed. For example, the introduction of new building/construction indexes that make possible the construction of high-rise buildings at the Belgrade Waterfront actually means that it will be the new reality on the Belgrade skyline (veduta). As soon as the indexes are raised in official documents (legal and technical), they will not ever be lowered again *(Interview B13)* In terms of urban practices, the system reproduces itself and is slowly coordinating with European legislation and trends; the city is functioning, but what is happening is rather spontaneous occurrence than a strategic pathway.

The second step of agent behaviour analysis is estimating its influence on the distribution of urban agency within urban assemblage networks - the differentiation between proactive and passive urban key actors. **[Chart 10:391]** therefore displays the preliminary division of agents according to the ANT and MAS analyses performed previously **[Chapter 5:272-315]**; **Chapter 6:324-358]**.

Chart 10 [Chart 10:391] displays the agents that hold of influences in urban assemblage network and the passive distributers of their influences. The colours assigned in the chart correspond to the colour of urban assemblage networks (the first column) assigned in the [Diagram 9:296]. Urban assemblage networks and the agents that contribute to them are identified through the ANT analysis and the recognition of their active/passive roles result from the analysis of agent behaviours through qualitative data *(Workshop D3)*.

Browsing through different networks, the distortion of post-socialist institutional framework is conspicuous, because policy agendas usually feature as passive elements despite their essence as a regulatory framework for strategies and actions. Personalized institutional relations, figuring in particracy dominance over political power, make public authorities more vulnerable to a variety of political and economic interests. Horizontal, vertical and cross coordination among individual decisions and public policies loses its professional feature and falls into the domain of marketing and political campaign. Leaving decisions on the public interest in the hands of individuals eases the abuse of power. Furthermore, the weakness of the institutional framework leads to the lack of control and flawed implementation of sanctions.

Another important question is the responsibility for the design solutions of the prime urban location in the Serbian capital. Namely, the Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment LLC (the foreign investor's company) is the sole provider of the design, construction, management, marketing and trade activities according to the Joint Venture Agreement for the BWP *(\\\NDVBGD 2016).* The foreign investor defines the Master plan and all levels of planning documentation, while the Republic of Serbia is responsible for its legalization, terrain clearance and infrastructural works *(\\JVA2015).*

Finally, the citizens (inhabitants of Belgrade and Savamala) are the most neglected party, deprived of any role in the public domain and even of that to express their preferences and interests regarding urban changes that affect their own property. The authorities are not actively providing any help and support in defending citizen rights and interests. Moreover, when citizens officially require it, the procedures are so complicated and time consuming that people do not dare to engage in such possibly vain efforts *(Interview B10).*

The two levels of agent behaviour explain the proactive or passive role of agent structure and connect agent preferences with urban assemblage networks. **[Diagram 14:416]** visualises the MAS-ANT analysis in relation to agent structure, preferences and behaviour of urban key agents in Savamala. In the diagram the links between contextual preferences, the social aspects addressed and the agents with their explicit structure (level, nature, functions) and roles (proactive-passive) are well-illustrated.

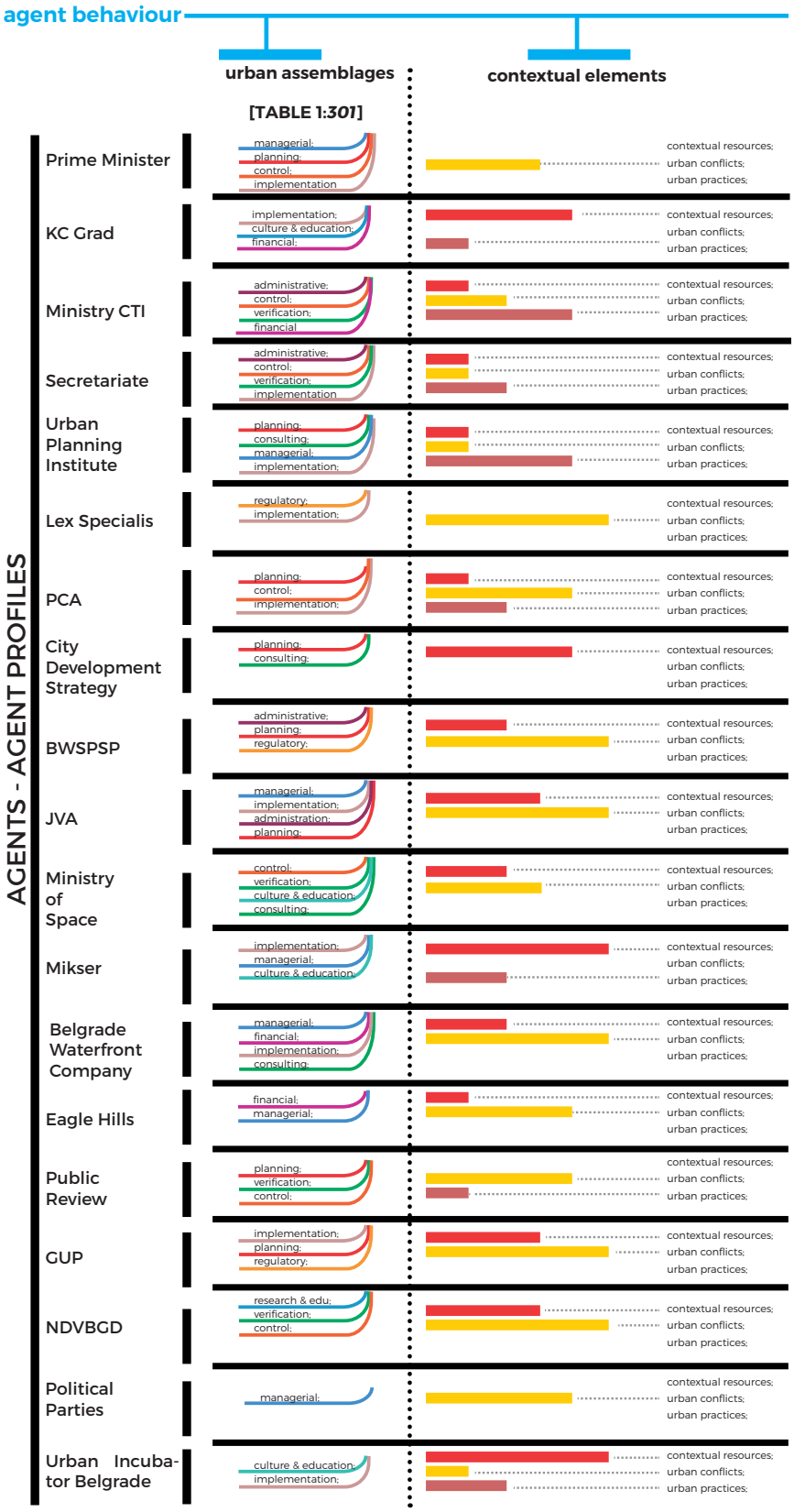
In this respect, we can acknowledge urban system references - the indicators of maintenance, transformation and/or change. The agency and relationships of the urban key agents are the cornerstone of urban assemblage networks constituted at the local level **[Table 4:395]**. As they primarily depend on the contextual preferences which the agents attribute to their activity and relations, tracking these associations is also a crucial factor of urban development processes, if there is any **[Table 4:395]**. With the MAS-ANT method the aim is to describe the resilient components that maintain the urban system, suggest the flexible factors of constant adaptations and point out the threats and opportunities for dynamic shifts in urban system evolution.

7.3 Decision-Making Layers' Scenarios as an Indicator of Urban Development Prospects

Multiple maintenance, transformation and change actions that influence the state of the urban environment in Savamala are identified according to agent profiles and networks. Contributing to the body of local social practices, and benefiting from social potentials and spatial capacities (contextual resources), as well as addressing urban conflicts involve the continuous reviewing of how the collision of these positive and negative influences actually produce a variety of opportunities for maintenance, transformation and change. In this case, the conceived social aspects (political, economic and cultural) of Savamala are those that contribute to local resources, conflicts or practices and thereafter aspire to generate system evolution *(\Cvetinović et al. 2013).*

The current situation in Savamala is a prime example of the overall state of Serbian society and its attitudes and propensity towards evolutionary processes. Namely, in Serbia transformations usually go with the flow, especially those that engage a broad civil audience, like the cultural initiatives in Savamala did *(Interview B5).* On the contrary, having something strategized, planned and implemented necessarily involves political power poles and financial actors *(Interview B5)*. The structure is replicated and multiplied from the local to the national levels emphasizing an authoritarian state of mind and values for the society as a whole.

Bearing this in mind, the case of Savamala is also an example of what is possible in Serbia. In this reference, the future prospects of different decision-making layers will be described in chronological order - based on their occurrence in Savamala and their engagement into its developmental interventions - from bottom-up actions, a mega-project to the urban regulatory framework and state institutions who were mere providers of the framework and the framework of legitimacy.



[TABLE 4] Agent behaviour

7.3.1 Operationality of bottom-up, on-site interventions

traditional shops and crafts;
Savamala creative cluster;
local citizens are not the main actors;
no strategy;
transportation hub;
night demolitions;

In order to identify and elaborate how participatory activities influence urban develop-ment in Savamala, it is essential to translate these qualitative categories into factors which could denote a positive impetus.

First of all, the settlement of civil organisations has supported service and commercial activities and recreation zones already present there. Several traditional craft shops have been in Savamala for decades and now. Following the hype of its low-profile, bars and restaurants, as well as art and culture initiatives fostering cooperation, globalisation and modern business trends have positioned themselves there. Their significance, not only in the city but also at the international level, promotes Savamala among architects, artists and all young creative workers of the region and Europe.

Visible spatial transformations are (1) the activation of the waterfront area (for a while activities and events were organised on the abandoned ships on the Savamala coast before they were removed), and (2) the preservation and improvement of cycling paths (the initiative of the Streets for Cyclists NGO). (3) The preservation of skills and traditional crafts (Savamala, a Place for Making project); (4) fostering the sense of community and sharing (UIB was the pioneer in this participation, followed by the Goethe guerrilla collective, which organises and supports civil, participatory and design activities and operates in the KM8 community space); and (5) informing and educating the public (The Game of Savamala, My Piece of Savamala and other projects and programmes) are the major social transformations which have been directly induced by this pioneer bottom-up agency.

The local population emphasises that these participatory programmes, with reference to their organisational preferences and capacities, take into account the needs of the locals (Cooking together, Roasting Peppers), youngsters (UIB) *(\\\Muller-Wieferig and Herzen 2013)* and marginalised groups (Ministry of Space and NDVBG) *(\\\\ Mitic and Miladinović 2016).* Conversely, the development of Savamalas creative cluster, small-scale hype brownfield regeneration and public place design are the major smooth transformations that have made Savamala visible on an international scale.

Having followed the aims and results of the activities in Savamala analysed herein, the following capacities worked for Savamala to transform a crisis of aggregated urban conflicts into an opportunity for urban development: mobilisation of available local human resources, complying with current global trends in participatory urbanism, low-budget revitalisations and creative economy initiatives, educating the apathetic local population on the importance of active participation in urban planning and development, and having a critical and ”learning by doing” attitude towards urban planning.

It is also important to acknowledge that, even so, local citizens are not the main actors in these interventions. In this manner, the bottom-up nature of the agency in Savamala is rather limited to the activation of the alternative and non-institutionalised cultural scene with the focus on the whole city, as well as the aggregation and multiplication of similar NGOs in Savamala. However, negative changes have taken place as

well - the first intrinsically bottom-up organisation in Savamala (the Club of Savamala fans and friends) having been placed in the middle of different agendas and interests, has ended up as a type of informal political body in service of the party in power.

To this extent, the livelihood of Savamala is still assumed to be at least disseminated from the ground up through the social bonds between different social groups (artists, youngsters, students, senior citizens) and among neighbours and locals. The vibrant atmosphere in Savamala was achieved through the mutual efforts from participation and dialogue among these urban actors with different backgrounds. At some point, these internal relationships surpassed all their campaigned and institutionalised initiators (UIB, Mikser festival), being followed by informal events such as: meetings of the locals in the "Spanish house", the co-action of roasting peppers, and open access to spaces for artistic and educational purposes (KM8). Through these activities, a variety of urban actors have become engaged in using these open public spaces (UIB, KM8, Mikser festival) and they have been actively thinking and imagining what the positive future of these places might be. In this light, the major benefit that could transform the socio-urban landscape of Serbian cities is the strong expression and statement of cultural and artistic interests within the agendas of these activities and raising the awareness and promotion of participation in the urban domain.

Though it may also sound pretentious, the intensive UIB media campaign and the role of the Goethe-Institute have certainly paved the way for Savamala and have ensured its place among the European neighbourhood symbols of creative clusters and urban upgrade potentials. In response, it should be attentive to the possible negative effects of such a trendy image that could lead to gentrification and the expulsion of the current population. The growing presence of Savamala in the media has also led to the exposure of its contextual resources to several powerful and uncompromising actors. In addition, instead of exploring the potential of bottom-up approaches, actions and actors, certain decision makers have contributed instead to the commodification of culture and space and resorted to transnational companies to support their activities. In sum, the lack of strategic development goals, public funding and institutionalised approaches for cultural institutions and agendas have certainly made these bottom-up activities seem ephemeral and sporadic. Consequently, they could easily be wiped away by the whim of more powerful interests and political influences focused on Savamalas spatial capital.

Urban change induced by these bottom-up activities is limited in its scope, but it shows significant potential if these activities encounter understanding and support from city authorities. Forming the Savamala civic district, as well as participatory urban upgrade, brownfield and urban heritage regeneration became their ultimate goals.

It is also important to mention that the combination of Savamalas spatial capacity (its central urban position and its proximity to the bus and train terminals) and the primary activity of these bottom-up agents (inclined to boost knowledge and vision building as well as experience sharing potentials) has led to prompt and adequate reactions to the current refugee crisis that has hit Europe, and with it, Belgrade. The activities for helping refugees/migrants were coordinated by Mikser and financially

supported by many national and international organisations - the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), CARE International (Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere), the Red Cross etc., as well as by supplies and care from the locals. These efficient actions also speak of the competence and alertness of bottom-up agents to respond to the dynamics of the modern urban context.

Finally, in an authoritarian society like Serbia, gaining power means being close to the political parties or the state nomenclature *(Workshop D1)*. The cultural scene, following the tradition of free and independent actions, while being densified with these activities in Savamala, is continually obstructed by the state *(Interview B5)*. As these initiatives have neither socio-political power, nor public support outside the municipal authorities and the citizens of Belgrade, their future seems uncertain and their effects short lived *(Workshop D1)*.

In light of recent changes happening after the night demolition in Savamala during election night of 2016, the physical structure of the neighbourhood has altered, citizens feel unsafe,[147] and the function of rented spaces is changing. The value of these spaces is degrading with new, insignificantly different activities. These overall circumstances generally reflect the temporariness of the new situation and suspense over what will come next. In these circumstances, cultural activities are moving out.[148]

147 As the police did not react when 30 masked man armed with poles were destroying the property in Savamala on the plots commissioned to BWP by the BW SPSP.

148 KM8 was closed in November 2016. Mikser House makes plans to move and KC Grad most likely willdo the same (Interview B5, B6).

The end of Savamala cultural cluster does not mean the end for alternative culture in Belgrade, actually quite the opposite. The experience from the Savamala period and the local bonds created through it are certain signs that the cultural scene will pop-up somewhere else, and there are already other places in the city indicating this, such as Dorcol Platz *(\\\\Jovanović 2016)*.

Even though limited in scope, these cultural and civil activities, with special emphasis on the activities of NDVBGD, represent an important step towards a critical society. Subtly and slowly but surely, they train the populace to recognize, show and advocate their needs to be directly applied in the city. They also mould these needs according to what the city can actually offer and how they altogether have to act or interact with the world around them, which is in constant change *(\Harvey 2003)*.

7.3.2 Interest-based Waterfront Future

urban economy;
legislation changes;
political elite and powerful economic actors;
patriarchal context;

In practice, the small-scale vision of the cultural cluster in Savamala was replaced with a waterfront megaproject assigned as a national priority of strategic importance *(\\Government Decision 2014; \\Ordinance 2015)*. The basis for the decision at the national level was not a strategy, a vision, a long-term plan, but an anonymous model of BWP presented in Dubai and in Cannes in 2014 *(\\\\Politika 13/03/2014)*. The idea for this project began in 2012 as a part of the political campaign for the national elections. It later transcended into city gossip, explained as a testing strategy for the Belgrade city authorities governed by the opposition party *(\\\\Georgijev 2014)*.

Apart of a profit-oriented strategy typical for megaprojects, the flawed circumstances of the Serbian regulatory framework contributed well to the feasibility of such a project from the investors point of view. No efficient market-oriented taxation on

land and urban land, the regulation on the conversion of the right to use the land to the private property ownership and the practice of buying deteriorating state assets due to its underestimated land value were the main sources that impoverished the country in the transitional years after 2000 *(Interview A7, B1)*.

In the case of BWP, within the agreement between the RS and the investor, these legal instruments were improved to provide maximal financial benefits for the investor. Firstly, as soon as the buildings are to be constructed the investor has right to gain ownership of the most expensive urban land without fees *(\\JVA 2015)*. Then there is a list of non-contributed buildings with significant cultural and architectural value offered for reconstruction to the investor with the right to lease without a fee *(ibid.)*.

During less than 3 years, several legal and planning documents have been enacted that will forever change the disposition of power between the political and financial poles on one side and the citizenry and general public on the other; i.e. **[Diagram 13:402]**:

- A Study of high-rise buildings of Belgrade ceased to be valid in April 2014. It means that buildings higher than 10 floors are allowed to be built without any zoning restriction or recommendations;
- The changes in 2015 of the Amendments of GUP 2021 excluded the obligation of international competition and changed the land-use rules. This action contributes to the centralization of power and and privilege of the Government (and political powers within it) to directly influence the decision on the projects;
- The secretive "Belgrade Waterfront Master Plan"was an official base for the compilation of the Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWPSPSP) and the sole source of the on-site design solutions;
- The Amendments of the PCA without real constitutional background introduced the project of national importance as a source of "protected status" for projects;
- Adoption of BWSPSP offers a special project status and gives the exclusive decision-making role to the Government over the central area of the capital city;
- The discontinuation of the Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (RASP) is a direct intervention of the high national authorities in the urban planning cycle and another act of power centralization. Reassigning the RASP tasks to the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure (MCTI) puts this institution in an obvious position of conflict of interest and degrades planning as an organised and regulated profession in Serbi*a (\\\\Stojkov 2015c);*
- Fast-lane enactment of Lex specialis, the special law regulation for the expropriation of land for BWP. Such a legal instrument for private residential and commercial premises is a dangerous, first-hand tool for manipulation and it threatens the property rights guaranteed by the Serbian constitution **[Diagram 11:340]**.
- Finally, the Joint Venture Agreement (\\JVA) is formulated in such a way that it guarantees the profit to the foreign investor whatever may happen with

the implementation of the project. It puts a financial burden on the RS budget, whose actual value is not yet exactly prescribed or estimated, and makes the case for the investor in front of any international tribunal. [149]

These interventions within the regulatory framework opens a new field of not only architectural, but economic deals, while some are already taking place: privatization of the Belgrade airport, the issue of rural land in Voivodina etc. *(Interview 13).*

Diagram 13 [Diagram 13:402] visualizes a timeframe of the Belgrade Waterfront Project whereabouts. It presents 5 vertical timelines of urban assemblage networks engaged in it. Regulatory, planning, implementation and financial course of the events are presented on the left-hand side and civil and media highlights and events are on the right-hand side. Vertical columns also trace several important traits of the BWP dealings (BWSPSP and GUP). Within these timelines, highlighted points are also assigned a type – institution, document, technical document or event – according to the ANT terminology. Its aim is to clarify the complex situation around this highly important but disputable mega-project.

All these issues make the actual future of the Belgrade waterfront murky and uncertain. Taking a closer look at the neighbourhood, only the investor of the BWP and his closed circle within the national political elite know what is going to happen and can make strategies for their own gains in Savamala *(Interview B13)*. In this respect, certain people are opening businesses and renting spaces in Savamala, while local entrepreneurs feel frustrated and scared about what is going to happen *(Interview B14).*

Moreover, the locals in Savamala testify that local investors who collaborate within the BWP (without clear knowledge of the exact initiators) are offering the renovation of façades in Savamala (but only the front façades) *(Interview B5)*. According to these on-site signs and expert opinion, in the long run Savamala will be destroyed as part of the "Belgrade Waterfront" programme *(Workshop D1).*

Taking into account the privileged position of the investor according to the JVA, the suspense actually follows the question of what is actually going to be built except for the two residential towers whose construction already started in 2016. Even more, the question arises of whatlife will be like in the central area of Belgrade if it is going to be a permanent construction site for the next 30 years.

Bearing in mind that rail-tracks serving the transportation of dangerous materials through Serbia cross the BWP area close to the residential towers under construction and that these tracks cannot be removed until new ones are built, [150] these materials will be passing by luxurious housing twice a day for some time *(Interview B12).* In addition, the preservation of the current rail-tracks in the area requires that the lowest terrain level remains at 75 m above sea level, the highest sea levels have reached in the last 100 years *(Interview B12).*

In these circumstances, citizens and the civil sector have no efficient civil society tools and mechanisms at hand to claim their rights *(Interview B2)*. The people and the public interest are seen as the victim in this case - the fight between David (Savamala and the people) and Goliath (BWP) is a picturesque metaphor used by an informant *(Interview B14)*. Moreover, people are scared to express their discontent and protest, because in the Serbian patriarchal and nepotistic context their personal and professional lives depend on the whims of political actors *(Interview B8, B9).*

149 The time-frame for the completion of the BWP is 30 years. The first evaluation is set for after 20 years, whereas the positive limit of implementation is 50% of all the works by both partners, taking into account the preparatory infrastructural works assigned to the RS. In case of a negative evaluation, empty plots will be sold according to the foreign investors preferences and the profit will be split based on the investment percentage - 68% for the investor and 32% for the RS ***(\\Pravni skener 2016; \\NDVBGD 2016).***

150 These new rail-tracks incorporate the railway bridge near Vinca whose construction has not yet even started.

The engagement of the NDVBGD initiative and their partner organisations (the Ministry of space being one) is seen as a brave upswing toward the overused and abused concepts of democracy and civil society. At every stage of the BWP, NDVBG continually reacted in opposition to them *(\\\NDVBGD 2016)* **[Diagram 13:402]**:

1. official complaint to urban, national and city authorities regarding the project and consecutive regulatory framework changes;
2. organized actions for filing complaints against BWPSPSP and Amendments of GUP 2021 and protest performances against irregularities around public hearing events;
3. urban protest against signing the JVA contract, construction works and opening events, destruction of bicycle paths etc.;
4. letters and declarations, printed media issues, web publishing, press conferences, critical and expert documents;
5. a set of 6 massive urban protests against the irregularities of night demolitions in Savamala, requesting identifying the responsible for the obvious criminal offense.

Even though these actions did not really endanger the implementation of the BWP, they had more effect on the mindset of Belgradians through the slow incremental transformation of behaviour, at least among the young toward a more participatory approach and the practical application of the civil right to disobey and intervene when the public interest is threatened, and, above all, to apply an educative approach to the urban regulatory framework and the rights to the city *(Questionnaire C4).*

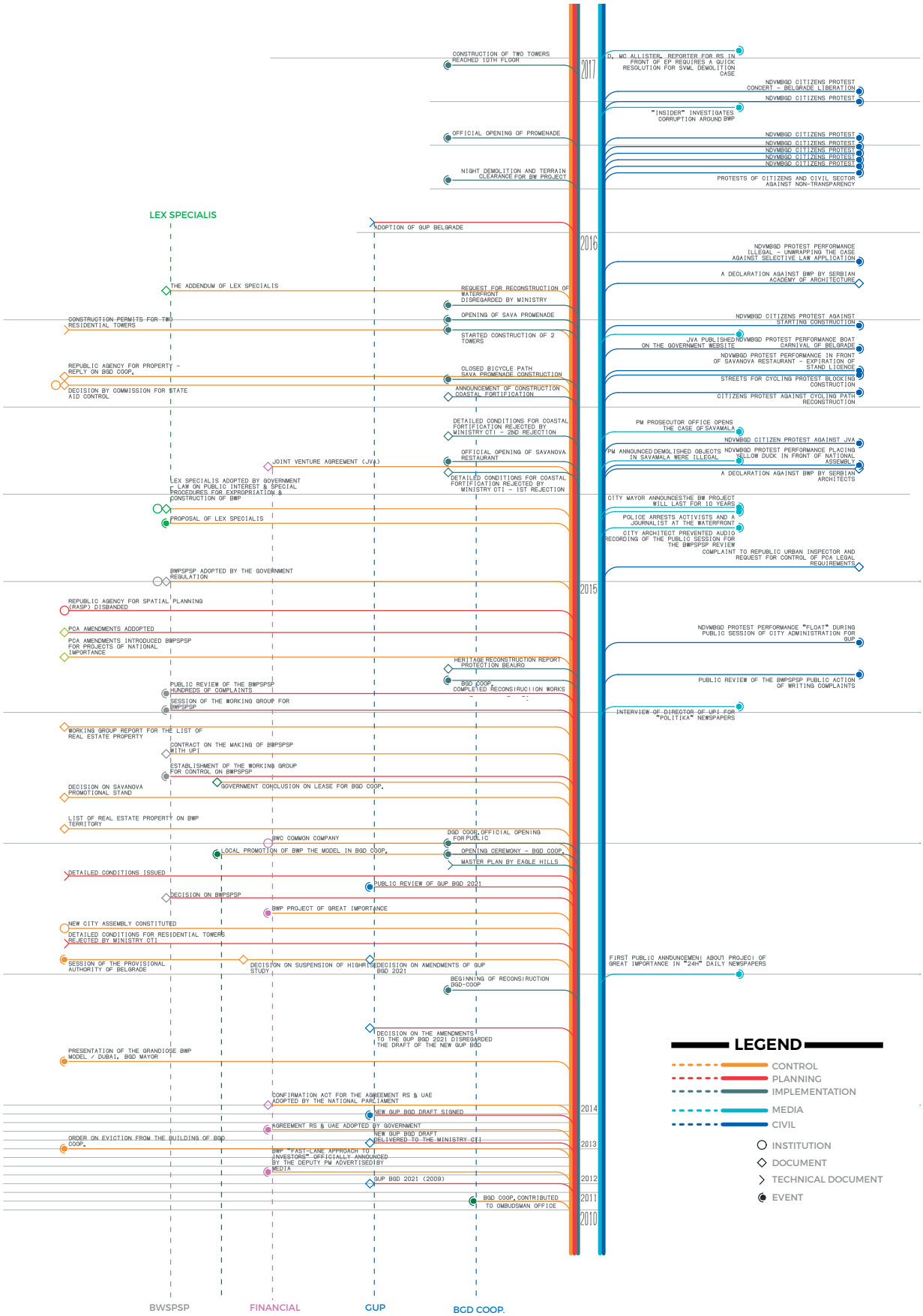
7.3.3 Strategies and Tactics of Urban Institutions

In all these circumstances, urban planning institutions have been either sidelined or so continually directly subordinated to political powers that their sense of their profession and the city in general has become demoralised, disconnected and biased.

terrain clearance;
passive planners;
double roles ;
lack or spontaneity;

A public servants testimony speaks to this by explaining how the urban transformations happen: first of all, the terrain is cleared by any means at hand, legal or illegal, but even illegally cleared terrain is a step closer to transformation. The building, however, happens according to the laws and the procedures in force at that moment *(Interview B4)*. A very important issue is that the procedures are abiding, so for large scale interventions it is more likely that procedures will be changed than that anything will be built against the law - were the further explanations *(Interview B4).* This interpretation explains the urgency of providing legal instruments. With the cumbersome institutional infrastructure inherited from socialism, these newly established procedures are the only real means that secure the interest-based construction and land acquisition around the BWP.

On the other hand, the attitude of urban planners in Serbia are extremely passive. They are not reacting to what is happening in the city, butwait to be invited by the authorities or investors before they take an active role in urban projects and urban development issues in general *(Interview B3)*. Therefore, planning solutions are usually technical and involve engineering tasks mainly concerned with infrastructural equipment *(\Stojkov 2012).*



[DIAGRAM 13] Timeline: Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP)

While it has lost the monopolistic position held for so long during socialism **[Chapter 4:186-251]**, the planners profession is paying a price for its lack of knowledge and appreciation of the humanities and the missing social approach to planning *(\ Peric 2016)*. Accordingly, they have become passive observers in their professional environment, testifying to the incompetence of political figures who take over decision-making and even planning, which last happened during the rule of Prince Milos **[Section 4.1.2.1:210-2014]**. These circumstances explain the double roles they often play concerning the planning of political projects (and in this case the BWP) - in the professional domain they work in favour of it and in their private lives they publicly advocate against it *(Interview B8, B9)*.

Due to these conditions, any particular education on horizontal coordination, the importance of transparency, risk management and evaluation methods for administrative stuff *(Questionnaire C2)*, or further policy agendas on the integration of planning, design and cost-benefit and feasibility analyses, may be insufficient and ineffective busy-work in practice. Urban transformations and changes at play in Belgrade, and in Serbia in general, are rather a result of luck or spontaneity, but certainly not of an operational action within a framework of rules and regulations, and not at all in reference to any strategy or long-term elaborated programme in the public interest *(\Vanista Lazarević 2015)*.

7.4 Resilience, Flexibility and Contradiction in Urban Processes

According to the current circumstances, Savamala is the playing field of visible and invisible power structures, group interests and on-site activities, all of which have their own intentionalities towards its future. Following the arguments provided here, the prosperity of certain interest groups does not imply prosperity for the whole neighbourhood. Radical changes themselves do not mean qualitative improvement.

The multi-level MAS-ANT analysis performed in this research offers a double-layered picture of the system evolution processes at play in Savamala. In the previous section, the results of the MAS-ANT analysis were presented in the narrative of short-term evolutionary paths according to each layer of urban decision-making. In this respect, certain future prospects for Savamala are formulated from the illustrated agent profiles.

Following that, a more general overview on the agency of long-term urban processes will be introduced. The elaboration of these processes consists of pointing out agents and networks of urban resilience, flexibility and contradictions in the neighbourhood. Such an outline addresses the question of urban development in a manner that does not speak of constant growth, but of the positive and negative impulses of maintenance, transformation and change of the urban system.

7.4.1 The Practice of Maintenance

authoritarian decision making; administrative networks; favoritism and nepotism; not binding regulatory framework; international competitions; distribution of urban functions

In terms of urban development, the role of system maintenance processes is usually disregarded as a self-evident proof of the reproduction of the social order and cultural values **[Section 2.1.1:30]**. When it is mentioned, it is its negative effects which are emphasized and presented as threats to developmental preferences.

Evidently, in the Serbian context, there is a multitude of problematic practices, procedures and values nurtured over time within the regulatory framework and social relations. The continual reproduction of the authoritarian decision-making structure and vertical institutional communication have marked the Serbian regulatory framework since the early years of the Serbian State **[Section 4.1.1.2:191]**. In such circumstances, regulatory networks are run by power, fear and authority rather than by legitimate and knowledgeable subjects. This is further jeopardized by cumbersome institutional organisation and a divergence of accountability inherited from socialism. These circumstances have gravely affected administrative networks, which function in a self-sufficient, impractical manner, without taking into account real users and the ephemerality of procedures. The users and the space are actually defined regulations on paper, devoid of any real attachment to the people or the city *(Interview B13)*.

Another backward practice is the tradition of favouritism and nepotism. This is not a distinctive feature of Serbia and is present in every culture, though the practices, symbols and rules differ from context to context *(\Carikci et al. 2009)*. In Serbia, favouritism and nepotism are followed by corruption and stem from the Ottoman cultural discourse *(ibid.)*, which was adopted in Serbia during the five centuries of their rule. Even though this method of assigning roles was less present during socialism, it was far from eradicated. Although the socialist system that was established in Yugoslavia [151] put for th e galitarian values, its influence, even though effective for the time being, was easily dismantled and abandoned with the rise of capitalist values. *Carikci et al. (\2009)* state that the applications of nepotism result in the regulatory framework altogether losing any real power over the economy and politics. Apart from the obvious negative influence on the social circumstances of everyday life for ordinary people and the overall public interest, the issues of civil rights and control networks are especially altered while being ruled by the principle "justice does not serve everybody equally".

151 During theSFRY period, even though the republics had significant autonomy and denoted particular Slav nations, the idea of one Yugoslav nationality for all was strongly supported and promoted.

The socialist period has left another, though nominally positive practice. The regulatory discourse of policy agendas, rules and documentation ruled over urban space during socialism. Even then, the implementation and binding role of these regulations were problematic, but the situation has escalated ever since. Namely, rthe egulatory framework has was established and set to work during socialism (compared to some other developing countries); regulations are multiple and multiplying; and they are necessary, but they are not binding actions in space. More precisely, they might be binding, but not necessarily, which refers back to corruption, favouritism and nepotism as the rule of choice in the institutional framework.

Another highlight might be the tradition of international competitions, already introduced during the Serbian state and the first Yugoslavia and welcomed and cher-

ished in SFRY **[Section 4.1.1.2:191-193]**. The harsh pressure for easy money and profit have been threatening to disband this good practice. Bearing in mind what happened with the BWP and BWPSPSP, this issue becomes even more discouraging.

Regarding Savamala within its physical boundaries, certain issues have been maintained in more-or-less positive manner throughout its long history. The distribution of its urban functions have been maintained throughout the different periods - cultural, leisure, residential, commercial, port and public services might have varied in their emphasis during the different periods, but they have all been there *(Questionnaire C5)*. Above all, all its activities and places were always accessible to all social groups and classes, which might not be the case after the construction of the BWP.

Moreover, its spirit of urban culture from the early periods of the Serbian state spread its sparks to the civic district which found its place in Savamala for some time (2008-2012), before they were brushed away by the BWP. It may sound strange, but having the cultural scene on the run is rather its permanent status *(Interview B5)*.

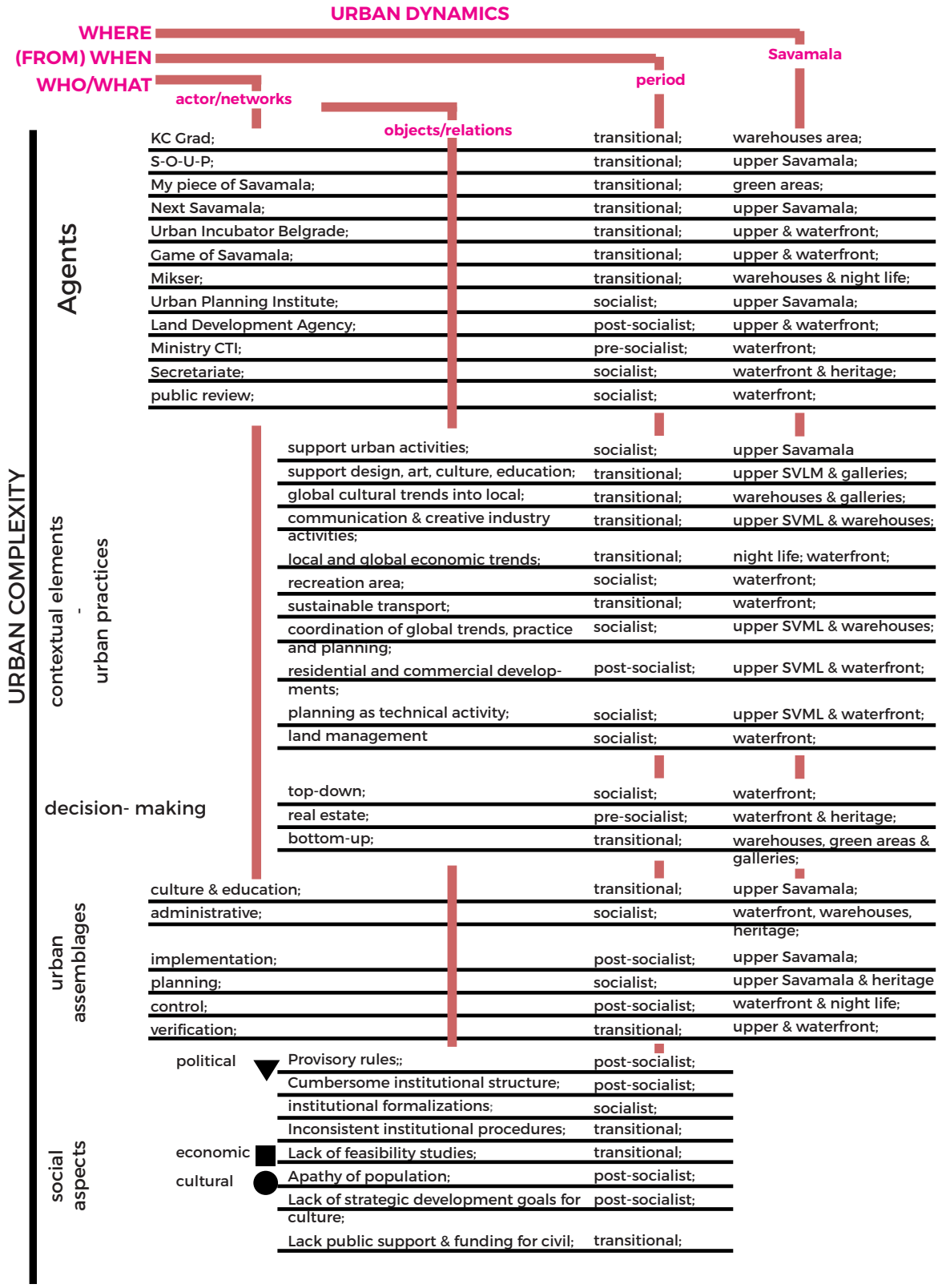
Table 5 [Table 5:406] summarizes different elements of the processes of urban maintenance by taking into account aknowledged urban complexity and dynamics of the context and by putting it in space-time perspective. Taking into account all these different examples, this research justifies the hypothesis raised about the Serbian version of history, where usually the coming periods run down the inventions from the previous ones, but more often than not keep its flawed mechanisms and biased practices *(\Peric 2016)*. Even though this might be a cultural trait, there is a certain level of perseverance (with internal consistency, avoidance of fragmentation and excessive complexity, a holistic view and the small-steps approach) which could only be achieved over time. This might be a problem in Serbia as the periods of continual evolution in a Serbian case are reduced to up to 50 years.

7.4.2 System Transformation

socialist systemic approach to space; urban and architectural heritage; uninstitutional cultural transformations;

Urban planning in its essence is the professional practice for effective and rational urban transformations. Planned urban transformations are ever present phenomenon, though their effects vary. The causes for urban transformations to fail are found in the imperfections of urban legislation and regulations, the personal biases of those involved in decision-making processes and low quality urban designs and implementations *(\Grozdanic 2008)*. Coherency, sequency, deliberateness, careful implementation, a gradual course of actions, targeted propositions, concrete statements are at the core of good planning practices of space transformation *(\Boisiere 1981)*. In this respect, spatial and urban strategies are the core documents that should ensure their quality, supported through planning and implementation networks.

As for the strategic level, the National Strategy of Sustainable Development 2009-2021 and the Belgrade Urban Development Strategy 2011-2016, which are currently in force, back up the low capacity and provisory role of such a document. Both strategies raise the issue of the Sava Amphitheater and the Belgrade Waterfront, but more in terms of integrative development plan, which was abruptly and suddenly turned into a massive Belgrade Waterfront megaproject *(\\NSDS 2008; \\BUDS 2008)*.



[TABLE 5] Maintenance

According to the informants currently working on its draft version, Belgrade Urban Development Strategy 2016-2021 deals with infrastructural and transportation problems and solutions for city's central zone, but it hardly even mentions the BWP, treating it as a insignificant project *(Interview B9).* Having such a large-scale, publicly promoted project side-lined within the new strategy is evidence of either the future of the project or that of the strategy. In any case, the regulatory framework is at loss.

Speaking of urban documentation, the urban regulatory framework is still maintaining certain systemic solutions from the past. During socialism, the rules ruled, the constraints were the essence of urban transformations *(Interview B3)*. Urban transformations were questions for professionals. Local opinions and needs, the actual physical context with its history and social frameworks (genius loci) were hardly taken into account *(Interview B13).* Such professional and institutional practice that disregards what is possible/desirable (contextual resources) posed a threat to the city when it was confronted with financial capital and private interests coming with transition.

Under these circumstances, urban and architectural heritage is the first victim. While the active protection of the cultural heritage might fit it in with the life of the city, an attitude of neglect contributes to the production of abandoned and deteriorating places *(\Vanista Lazarević 2015).* This was the practice of socialist city authorities towards Sava-mala that led to the deterioration of its pre-socialist architectural heritage **[Section 4.1.3:224]**. Further abandonment during the post-socialist period put that heritage at the disposal of public usage when transitional and capitalist values appeared on the stage *(Interview B14).*

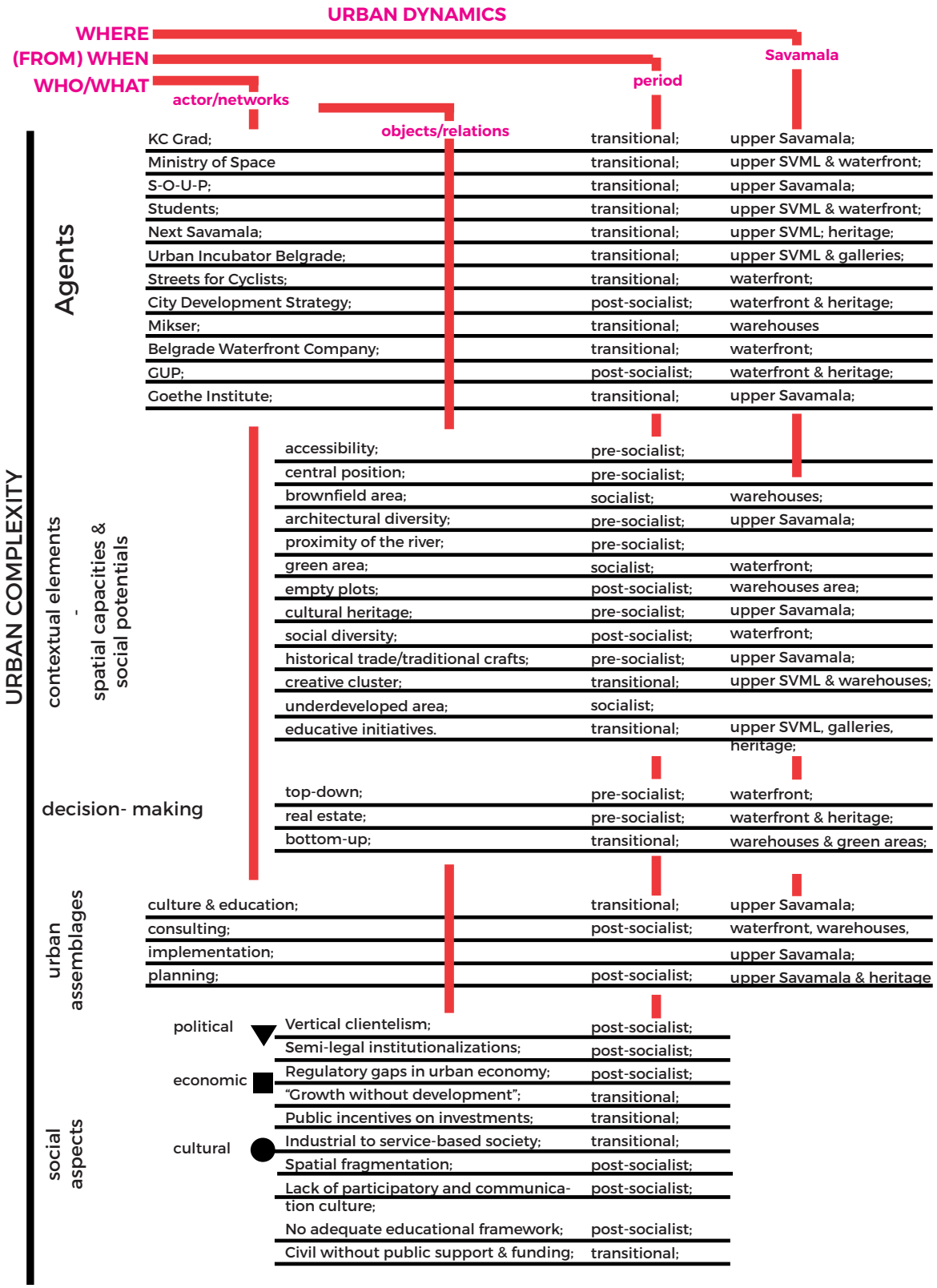
The cultural transformations in Savamala were the product of space, time and activities **[Table 6:408]**. These gradual civil and cultural improvements were the only intrinsic engines of transformation at the local level, without significant support from institutions and no help from the state **[Table 6:408]**.

Comparing these civil initiatives to planners activities demystifies the status of urban transformations in the Serbian context that are hardly at all happening at an institutional level **[Table 6:408]**. Institutionalization encircles sustainable investment programmes and management structures, aspirations towards community involvement and global competitiveness, involvement of experts and the sense of identity and public interest *(\Volić et al. 2012)*. Obviously, what was happening in Savamala was an informal, but effective action that is now over.

7.4.3 Urban Change

conservative vs. progressive; polwer-mongers & profit-seekers; new morality

In historical terms, Belgrade is in a constant struggle between traditionalism and modernism, the conservative and the progressive *(\Roter Blagojević 2015)*. The crisis might be also treated as an opportunity for building an evolutionary resilience within the urban system. The permanent state of conflict at play in the Serbian capital speaks otherwise. This situation stems from the lack of consensus on the most important issues: poor political legitimacy of transitional reforms, no clear political will for institutional regularizations, and no societal consensus on the priorities and actions toward the public interest *(\Vujosević et al. 2010b).*



[TABLE 6] Transformation

In such circumstance, the everlasting vision of abrupt, radical change is usually promoted as a solution. Aa an informant put it - instead of focusing attention on what is going on, the authoritarian regimes hold power over urban space and usually turn to building a new city *(Interview B14).* The historical narrative tells the same **[Section 4.1.1:188-215]**. The notion of erasure and the condition of tabula rasa urbanism is associated by local professionals as the inheritance of E. Josimović and his plan for Belgrade *(\Maksimović 1978; \Perović 2008; \Blagojević 2009).* It might also result from the technical approach to the city still at play in Serbia, in which case every change is seen as good and the more radical it is the better, as an expert explained *(Interview B2).*

With architectural and urban planning professions in transitional crisis, they have neither been regulated nor adapted to new market rules and EU regulations *(Interview B13)*, as professionals, they become easily eliminated from the decision-making processes. In Serbia, urban change, if there is any, can be and must be brought up by economic or political actors, or most often by both groups working in mutual interests.

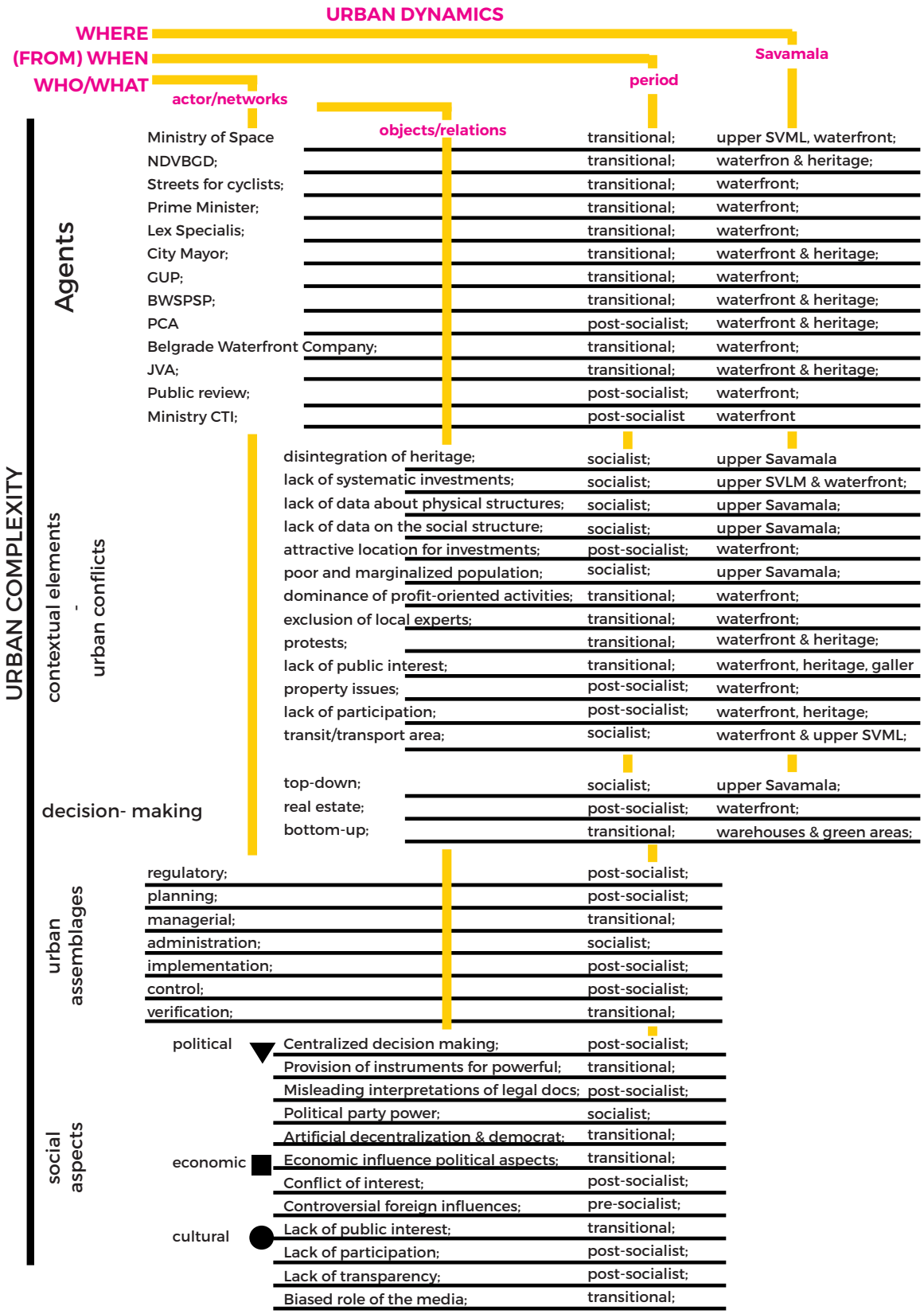
Economic actors are led by profit. Urban land, as a scarce resource, is an unmistakable source of profit, especially in countries with hybrid land-market circumstances. The entry of global capital into Serbia, the general trends of residential construction and the availability of urban land in the centre of the Capital is a good combination for "building large, flashy and often gated communities, targeting expatriates, employees of foreign firms and embassies, and Belgrades top business echelon" *(\Hirt 2009)*. Thus, the BWP has already been announced with great precision by the experts, but the overall disregard for research and scientific discourse in Serbia set it out of sight.

In fact, political actors are power mongers. Moreover, there is also a statement that Serbs (though not exclusively them) have a strongly spatialized identity through the discourses of a small, but extraordinary country/nation *(\Savić 2014)*. Radical and large-scale interventions in space are the manifestation of power, a mark set in the historical space-time, a long-lasting "spatialization" of the people (elite) in power.

Conversely, those who oppose the project (led by NDVBGD) have no power or capacity to intervene. They do not even pretend to offer a systematic solution or to open a dialogue. They only aim to address the individual sense of righteousness and to educate and empower people for future actions as this is only the beginning of the new morality, set by new legal, institutional and media means.

The strategy of these powerful structure is such that their interventions for urban change either disrupt or distort urban assemblage networks; such actions twist the system setting as practices something that might have been hitherto illegal/illegitimate.

The summary of the analysis displayed in **[Table 7:410]** shows that current urban conflicts in Savamala mainly stem from transitional and previous socialist periods and the collisions and antagonisms between social values and the approach to space and urban land of the two. However, the bearers of agency in these processes are mainly those that come to scene with transition.



[TABLE 7] Change

7.4.4 The Level of Urbanity

Tables 5, 6, 7 **[Table 5:406; 6:408; 7: 410]** trace back the processes of maintenance, transformation and change to the previous times marked in the historical analysis **[Chapter 4:186-257]** and connect them to urban assemblage networks, social aspects and urban decision-making layers that contributed to their formation and development. In this manner, **[Table 8:411]** gives an overview of different periods and the level of urbanity in Belgrade (and consequently Savamala) through the aggregation of urban complexity (social aspects and urban networks) and the dynamics of urban system transitions. Bearing the qualitative data analysis, tabular overview and diagrammatic visualizations, the table summarizes the level of urbanity in Savamala now by tracing back actors and networks of urban system transitions.

The level of urbanity is the evaluation of the current state of affairs in an urban context, the processes of maintenance, transformation and changes and urban agency, urban decision-making and contextual elements that conduct them **[Table 5:406; 6:408; 7: 410]**. Comparing the state of urbanity in different historical periods reveals urban dynamics over time, generally without assigning to it any qualitative judgement of their respective levels of urbanity. The level of urbanity is a temporary balance of the processes of maintenance, transformation and change and keeping track of it over time indicate how urban maintenance becomes a source of urban conflicts, while resolving urban conflicts could bring in positive urban transformations **[Table 8:411].**

	urban assemblages	social aspects	maintenance	transformation	change
PRE socialist >1940	regulatory; planning;; administration; implementation; construction; financial;	capitalism; centralized decision-making; establishing national cultural identity; intensive construction in the capital city; burgois districts, controversial foreign influences; insentives on investments; political aspects influece economic ones;	stagnant & backward practices; temporary solutions; political incompatible with economic; importance of political party & political party interests; nepotism & corruption mechanisms;	hyperproduction of solutions; lack of systematic approach;	western models; private initiatives & funds; interplay of political & economic actors; disregard of local experts; grandiose, inadequate & self-glorifying ideas;
socialist 1940<>1990	regulatory; planning;; administration; control; construction; infrastructure; research;	self-managed socialism; decentralized planning; industrialization; egalitarian society; professionalization of planning; fostering urban identity; public participation; public interest; public ownersihp of land;	building urban planning system, institutions and profession; operationalization of urban policies; state control over capital investments & infrastructure;	urbanization; large construction projects - industrial, residential, infrastructure; comprehensive planning; public recreation areas;	disregard towards burgois pre-socialist heritage; integrated participatory planning; large industrial estates in attractive urban areas; disregard of economic factors in planning;
POST socialist 1990<>2000	administration; managerial; construction;	geopolitical changes & warfare; re-centralization of state & planning; international isolation; economic decline; deteriorating of industry & industrial estates; political supremacy over development; lack of social participation; nationalism;	culture, research & education from previous times; informal business practices; abandoned public property & industrial estates;	leasehold of empty plots to private investors; illegal use of land; suburbanization & urban sprawl; deviation from what was planned;	illegal construction; rise in crime & corruption; public spaces as venues of civil movements & struggle; prolonged refugee crisis in the capital;
transition >2000	managerial verification; implementation; financial; culture & education; NGO;	Provisory rules; cumbersome institutional structure; "Growth without development"; Spatial fragmentation; Lack of transparency; Apathy of population;	urban planning wasn't priority; unorganized elite; reproduction of urban regulations; formalized institutionalizations ungrounded in reality; administrative approach to space; party dominance over institutions;	asimilation of suburban environments in the capital city; market-led spatial interventions; disregard for cultural & architectural heritage;	de-industrialization; influx of global trends & international actors/investments; large-scale public-private redevelopment projects;
the level of **urbanity** now	**MAINTENANCE:**	favouritism & nepotism - pre-socialist; administrative networks - socialist, formalization of administration- post-socialist; provisory regulatory framework - post-socialist; urban regeneration & construction - without strategies & feasibility studies;			
	TRANSFORMATION:	market-oriented approach to urban & architectural heritage - transitional; loose planning & regulatory networks - transitional; technocratic approach to spatial transformations - socialist; uninstitutionalized culture & arts - transitionsl;			
	CHANGE:	controversial foreign influences in implementation networks- pre-socialist; interplay of political & economic actors - pre-socialist; control, verification & implementation networks in practice disconnected from planning & regulatory networks - transitional; disregard for local practices & values - pre-socialist; large-scale urban projects - socialist;			

[TABLE 8] The level of urbanity

"In the current context of the Serbian polity, the binding of all stakeholders and moving towards a common interest might seem a difficult endeavor."

Volić et al. (2012)

7.5 The MAS-ANT Diagram

The MAS-ANT illustration of agent profiles formulates an exhaustive classification of elements, relations and processes that concern urban development. Its goal is also to enable the necessary relation of all social phenomena to the physical space through the categories of contextual resources, urban conflicts and urban practices. Their spatial projections (maps) are also a strategy to surpass the time perspective.

Following *Braudel (\1970)*, events and actions are only instantaneous interventions in space, but urban processes are long-term processes - a reality of foundations and obstacles that survives through time and is only slowly eroded. The MAS-ANT diagram aims to apply visual techniques to represent the relation of social phenomena to geographical space and to introduce a long term historical perspective. Such visualized methodology, characteristic for architectural interpretations of space and society, responds to *Braudel (\1970)* challenge posed upon social studies, as he criticized their approach for either event-based research or omitting the time dimension altogether.

The MAS-ANT methodological approach, modest in its initial conclusions but reach in simple illustrations and clarifications, builds a framework for actions outside biased expert and institutional dimensions **[Diagram 14:416]**. It describes urban dynamics, positions the level of urbanity of the chosen environment and indicates the field of action, but without clarifying the single steps in that direction. The historical perspective or maintenance, transformation and change processes expose the weakest links and the contingent points of intervention and conceivable actions.

Diagram 14 [Diagram 14:416] sums up networks and agencies of contextual processes of urban maintenance transformation and change. These processes are divided by the colour of links. They connect agents with the urban assemblage networks they take part in [Diagram 9:296], the set of contextual elements and particular places in Savamala [Table 2:344] and the range of social aspects that are put in a horizontal order according to the urban decision-making layers to which they correspond [Chart 9:349]. The diagram is the result of all previous data analysis [Charts], data display [Tables] and data mapping [Diagrams]. In order to clarify how these different analysis are put together into the MAS-ANT visualization of maintenance, transformation and change in Savamala, the diagram is followed by a pattern of assembling - MAS-ANT diagram pattern [Diagram 14:415]. The set of 35 agents with their symbolic interpretations and links represent their agent structures based on ANT diagram of urban complexity [Diagram 9:296]. The agent relations with spatial capacities, social potentials (contextual resources), urban conflicts and urban practices are traced within their profiles [Table 3:384]. These links are visualized in the waves of connections (maintenance, transformation, change) on the right-hand side. The left-hand waves of links is the result of the analysis on the context [Diagram 12.1:346], the correlation analysis of social aspects to the particular places in Savamala [Chart 7:309] and the analysis of dispersion of these aspects across top-down, real-estate and bottom-up urban decision-making [Chart 9:349]. All these elements are the core attributes of maintenance, transformation and change in post-socialist urban neighbourhood of Savamala. The controlling elements for the established interdependences between urban agency, urban networks and the context are the already identified agent behaviours for the chosen agents [Table 4:395]. They connect urban assemblage networks to contextual elements (resources, conflicts and practices) and the analysis of the distribution of political, economic and cultural aspects across urban assemblage networks [Chart

8:310]. Cross-checking the interrelations between elements and their verification within separate visualizations of urban complexity with ANT [Diagram 9:296] and urban dynamics with MAS [Diagram12:358] contribute to the validity and relevance of the mixed method (MAS-ANT).

This diagram gives an rather illustrative overview of these contextual processes altogether. Either individual links could be traced [Table 4:395; 5:409: 6:413] or a general overview of complex and dynamic contextual processes could be perceived. First of all, transformation processes are most present across wide networks of agents and urban decision-making layers. They engage the variety of socially functional networks, even though the focal point of transformations in Savamala is in hands of formal/informal organizations and generally civil sector. Savamala has an enormous capacity of transformation entangled in complex political, economic and cultural relations of all layers of decision-making. Urban maintenance, which is generally present in practices of top-down and bottom-up urban –decision making, on the other hand, does not serve to connect different categories of actors, but mainly reside with public institutions and enterprises. In sum, of all contextual processes, maintenance is the least present. Finally, the processes of urban change in Savamala are mainly focused in the interplay of top-down and real-estate decision-making. Institutional and private engagements of actors (in planning, implementation and financial networks) are in the core of current urban conflicts in Savamala. All identified data structures together contribute to tracking the processes of urban maintenance, transformation and change and their contributors. The result of this visual data mapping are presented in tabular form [Table 5:406; 6:408; 7: 410]. Bearing in mind the amount and complexity of the data presented in the diagram and its pattern, this is rather a schematic overview of how this MAS-ANT analysis could be digitalized. Such data mapping is especially useful when the user could navigate through, zoom in/out, click & open, click & overview etc.

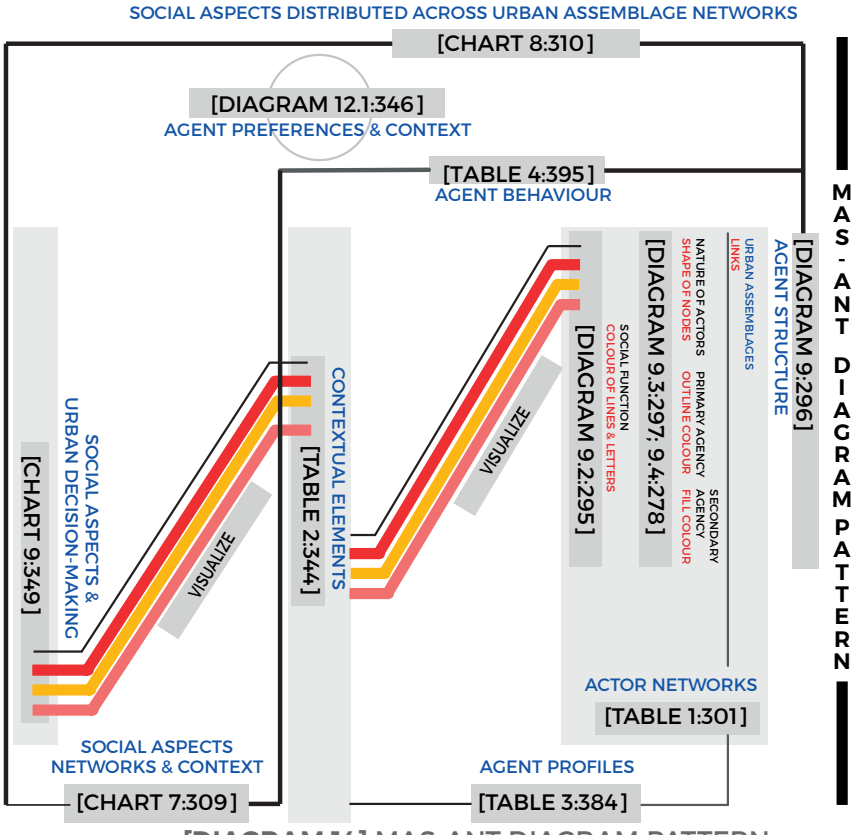
In the case of Savamala, the Serbian institutional discourse lacks mechanisms serving to translate destructive conflicts into constructive and productive elements *(\ Vujosević et al. 2015).* An elaborated indication of the weakest links as well as unleashed socially harmful relations may be a driver for interventions from either top-down (public expert institutions) or ground up (civil organisations, NGOs, independent professionals, artists and cultural workers). Even though these conclusions may sound familiar and obvious, the lack of methodological and evidence-based explanations may have hitherto led to dissolution and manipulation of the information.

The current state of the urban environment in Savamala indicates that what is going to happen is not yet beyond the point of no return. The chance has surely been missed for making Savamala a mixed neighbourhood where the bottom-up and top-down meet to build a vibrant cluster for leisure and a tourist destination with the combination of heritage, old crafts, a balance of public and private services, and a mixture of day-night usage. On the other hand, this prime city location on the riverside is cleared and infrastructurally prepared for the first time in 200 years. However, according to the elaborated vision on urban processes in Savamala, both utopian and dystopian visions for Savamala are still in the air. Therefore, it is essential to recognize the discrepancy between what is agreed behind closed doors, what is planned and incorporated in policy agendas and urban documentation and what is being built.

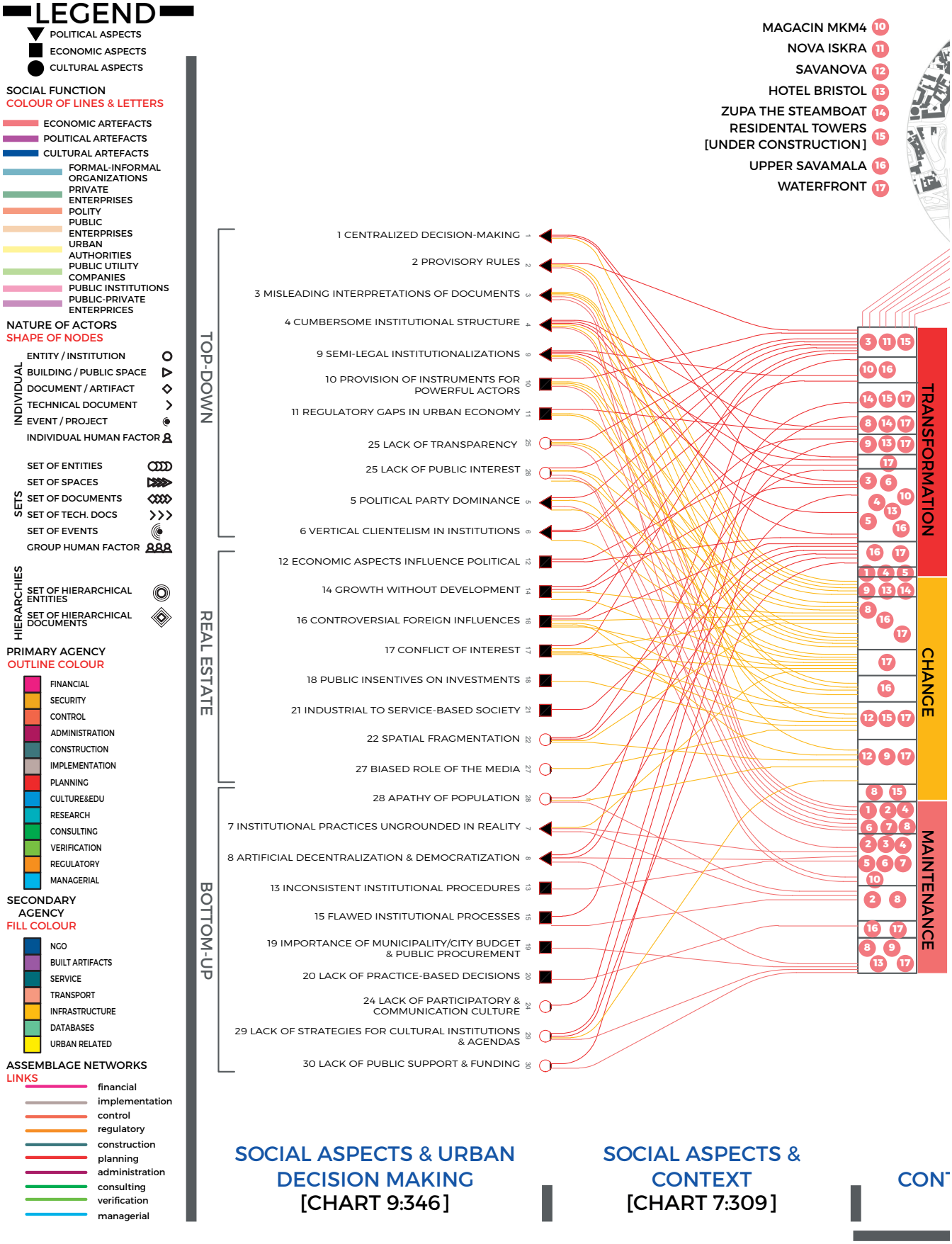
First of all, urban planning professionals and researchers in Belgrade have to work out all the different urban scenarios that will result from the BWP and continu-

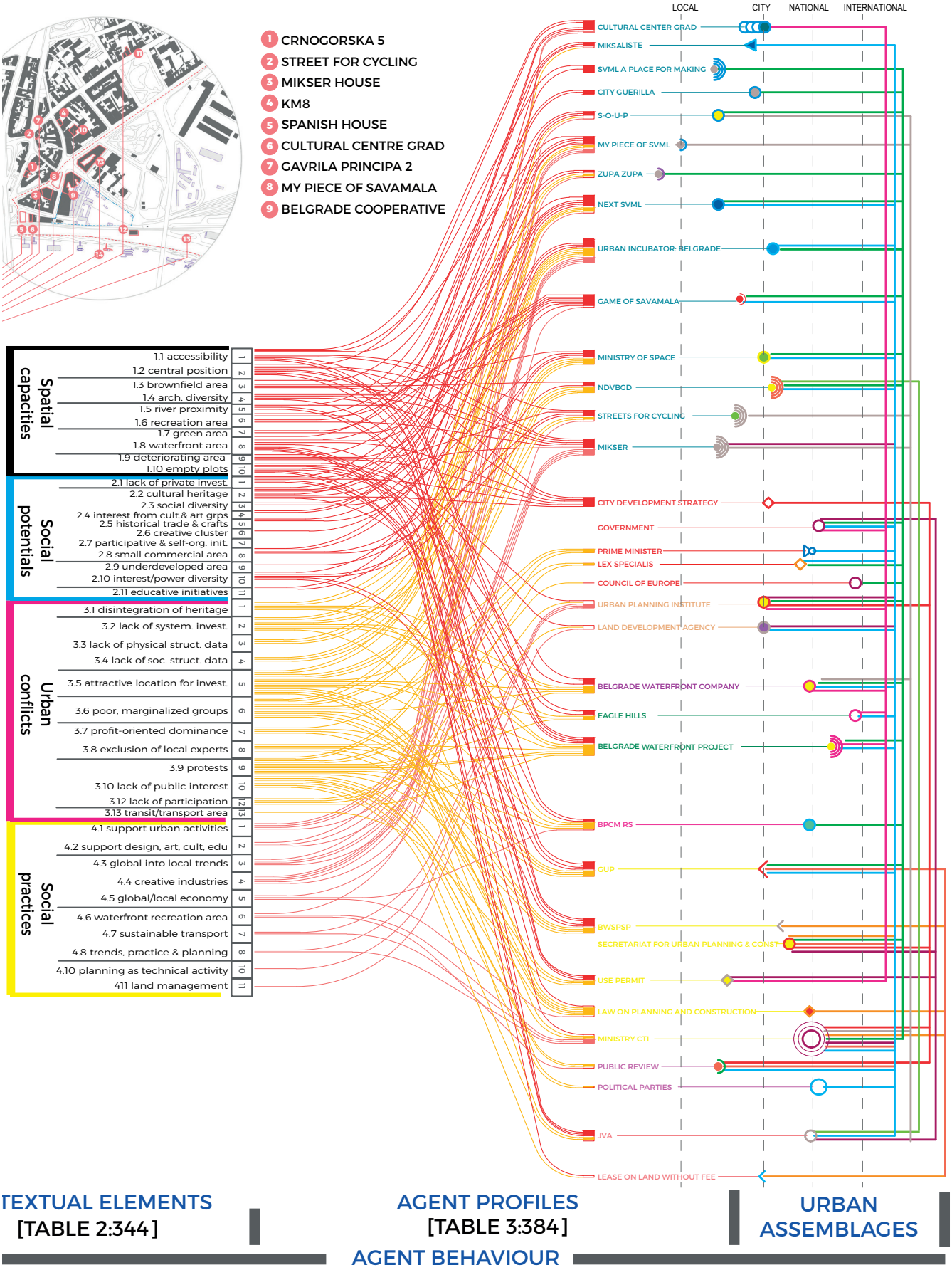
ously adapt the measures to assess impact and reduce risks of such a large-scale project in the city centre. Such a project, if not adequately managed, can ruin the overall international image and urban potential of the city, which once was a cosmopolitan metropolis of the Balkans. It is also important to work on an interactive model for planning implementation *(\Alexander and Faludi 1989)* and educate professionals to surpass the static and linear, administrative and technical approach toward the city *(\Stojkov 2012)*. However, the biggest problem still remains the regulatory changes that re-mould urban reality, the profession and the limits of right and wrong in Belgrade. Instead, the civic and cultural initiatives should continue the strategy of the watchful eye, waiting on every wrong move and examining the pulse of the city in order to profit and maintain its cultural, educational and artistic programmes and likewise make them more participatory and better adjusted to citizen needs.

In order for these actions to better correspond to current post-socialist urban reality, diversity and reciprocity in the nature of current social circumstances must be acknowledged and taken into account. Economic (transformation of production and consumption in relation to space, income polarization and poverty), political (urban governance, participation and decentralization), spatial (demographic trends and distribution of functions) and cultural (social exclusion, civil activism and informality) issues all have their signifiers in the behaviours of urban key agents and should be traced accordingly. In sum, the MAS-ANT diagram gives an overview of what constitutes the level of urbanity of an urban neighbourhood - the core of the maintenance, transformation and change processes spread among key urban agents and within urban assemblage networks throughout space and time.



[DIAGRAM 14] MAS-ANT DIAGRAM PATTERN


LEGEND
POLITICAL ASPECTS
ECONOMIC ASPECTS
CULTURAL ASPECTS
SOCIAL FUNCTION
COLOUR OF LINES & LETTERS
ECONOMIC ARTEFACTS
POLITICAL ARTEFACTS
CULTURAL ARTEFACTS
FORMAL-INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONS
PRIVATE ENTERPRISES
POLITY
PUBLIC ENTERPRISES
URBAN AUTHORITIES
PUBLIC UTILITY COMPANIES
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS
PUBLIC-PRIVATE ENTERPRICES
NATURE OF ACTORS
SHAPE OF NODES
INDIVIDUAL
ENTITY / INSTITUTION
BUILDING / PUBLIC SPACE
DOCUMENT / ARTIFACT
TECHNICAL DOCUMENT
EVENT / PROJECT
INDIVIDUAL HUMAN FACTOR
SETS
SET OF ENTITIES
SET OF SPACES
SET OF DOCUMENTS
SET OF TECH. DOCS
SET OF EVENTS
GROUP HUMAN FACTOR
HIERARCHIES
SET OF HIERARCHICAL ENTITIES
SET OF HIERARCHICAL DOCUMENTS
PRIMARY AGENCY
OUTLINE COLOUR
FINANCIAL
SECURITY
CONTROL
ADMINISTRATION
CONSTRUCTION
IMPLEMENTATION
PLANNING
CULTURE&EDU
RESEARCH
CONSULTING
VERIFICATION
REGULATORY
MANAGERIAL
SECONDARY AGENCY
FILL COLOUR
NGO
BUILT ARTIFACTS
SERVICE
TRANSPORT
INFRASTRUCTURE
DATABASES
URBAN RELATED
ASSEMBLAGE NETWORKS
LINKS
financial
implementation
control
regulatory
construction
planning
administration
consulting
verification
managerial
MAGACIN MKM4 10
NOVA ISKRA 11
SAVANOVA 12
HOTEL BRISTOL 13
ZUPA THE STEAMBOAT 14
RESIDENTAL TOWERS [UNDER CONSTRUCTION] 15
UPPER SAVAMALA 16
WATERFRONT 17
TOP-DOWN
REAL ESTATE
BOTTOM-UP
1 CENTRALIZED DECISION-MAKING
2 PROVISORY RULES
3 MISLEADING INTERPRETATIONS OF DOCUMENTS
4 CUMBERSOME INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE
9 SEMI-LEGAL INSTITUTIONALIZATIONS
10 PROVISION OF INSTRUMENTS FOR POWERFUL ACTORS
11 REGULATORY GAPS IN URBAN ECONOMY
25 LACK OF TRANSPARENCY
25 LACK OF PUBLIC INTEREST
5 POLITICAL PARTY DOMINANCE
6 VERTICAL CLIENTELISM IN INSTITUTIONS
12 ECONOMIC ASPECTS INFLUENCE POLITICAL
14 GROWTH WITHOUT DEVELOPMENT
16 CONTROVERSIAL FOREIGN INFLUENCES
17 CONFLICT OF INTEREST
18 PUBLIC INSENTIVES ON INVESTMENTS
21 INDUSTRIAL TO SERVICE-BASED SOCIETY
22 SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION
27 BIASED ROLE OF THE MEDIA
28 APATHY OF POPULATION
7 INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES UNGROUNDED IN REALITY
8 ARTIFICIAL DECENTRALIZATION & DEMOCRATIZATION
13 INCONSISTENT INSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURES
15 FLAWED INSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES
19 IMPORTANCE OF MUNICIPALITY/CITY BUDGET & PUBLIC PROCUREMENT
20 LACK OF PRACTICE-BASED DECISIONS
24 LACK OF PARTICIPATORY & COMMUNICATION CULTURE
29 LACK OF STRATEGIES FOR CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS & AGENDAS
30 LACK OF PUBLIC SUPPORT & FUNDING
TRANSFORMATION
CHANGE
MAINTENANCE
SOCIAL ASPECTS & URBAN DECISION MAKING [CHART 9:346]
SOCIAL ASPECTS & CONTEXT [CHART 7:309]
CONT



[DIAGRAM 14] DATA VISUALIZATION: MAS-ANT analysis of urban processes in Savamala

7. 6 Conclusion

This is the final chapter of analysis that blends the results achieved through separate examinations of ANT **[Chapter 5:272-315]** and MAS **[Chapter 6:324-358] in order to isolate urban system transitions** within the category of agent profiles. These methodological achievements are later applied for theoretical discussion on: context-related developmental prospects from the decision-making perspective and on more general issues of the level of urbanity interpreted through the exhaustive set of urban transitions. Based on these data, the MAS-ANT diagram provides a robust illustration of urban complexity and dynamics.

From the historical perspective, such interpretation offers a playing field for estimations of what contributes to an improvement of the life and functionality of urban systems through the example of this case study.

From the point of view of urban theory, the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid brings about a vision of a multidimensional environment that incorporates space and time, but exceeds the Euclidian interpretations of the same. This environment is in constant movement relative to everything around it; and as such, acknowledges the importance of system maintenance for the urban system evolution.

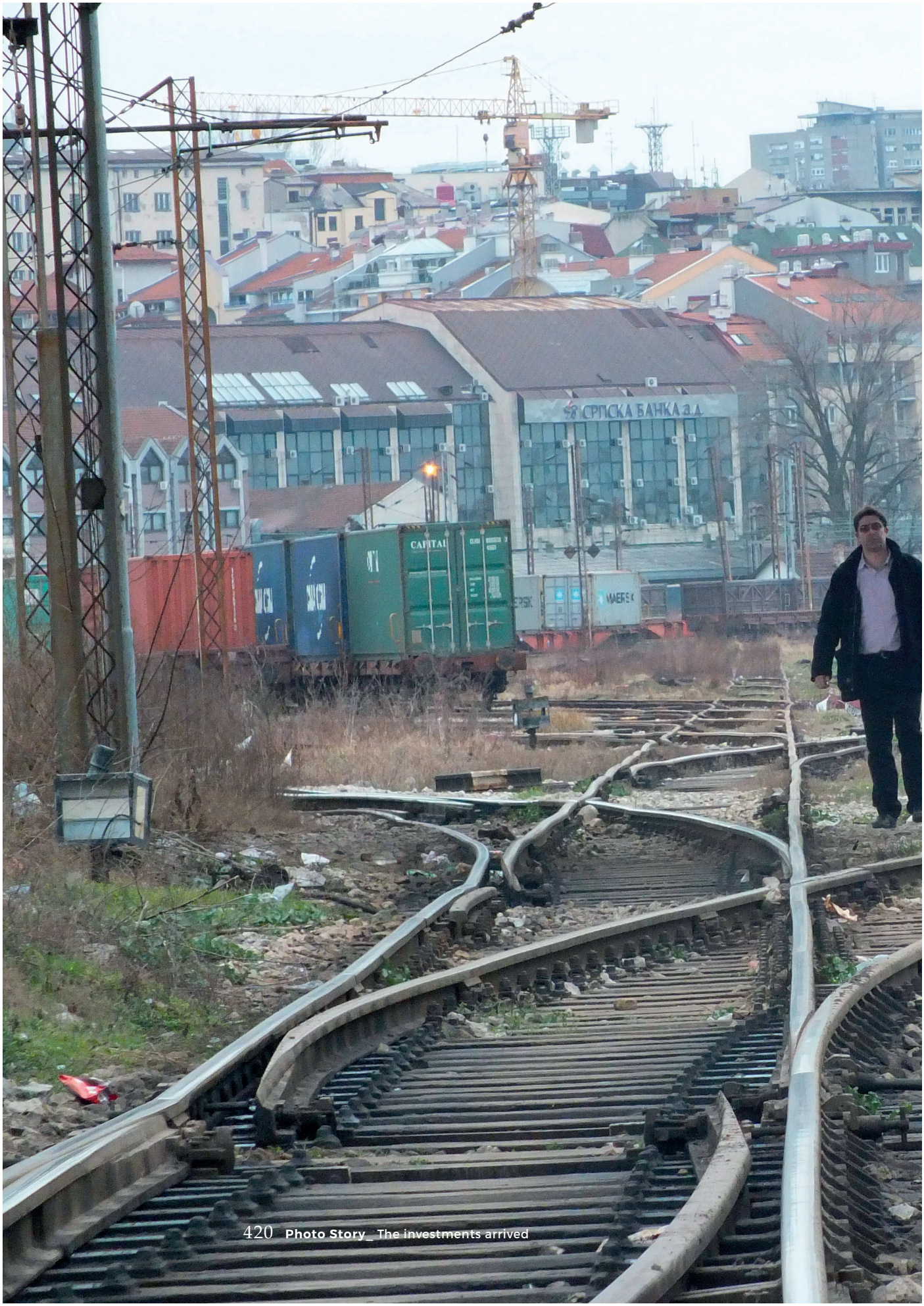
In terms of urban practice, MAS-ANT methodological approach suggests the flexibility of reference frames and a posteriori reasoning that enable differentiation of what should be done from what is possible to be done.

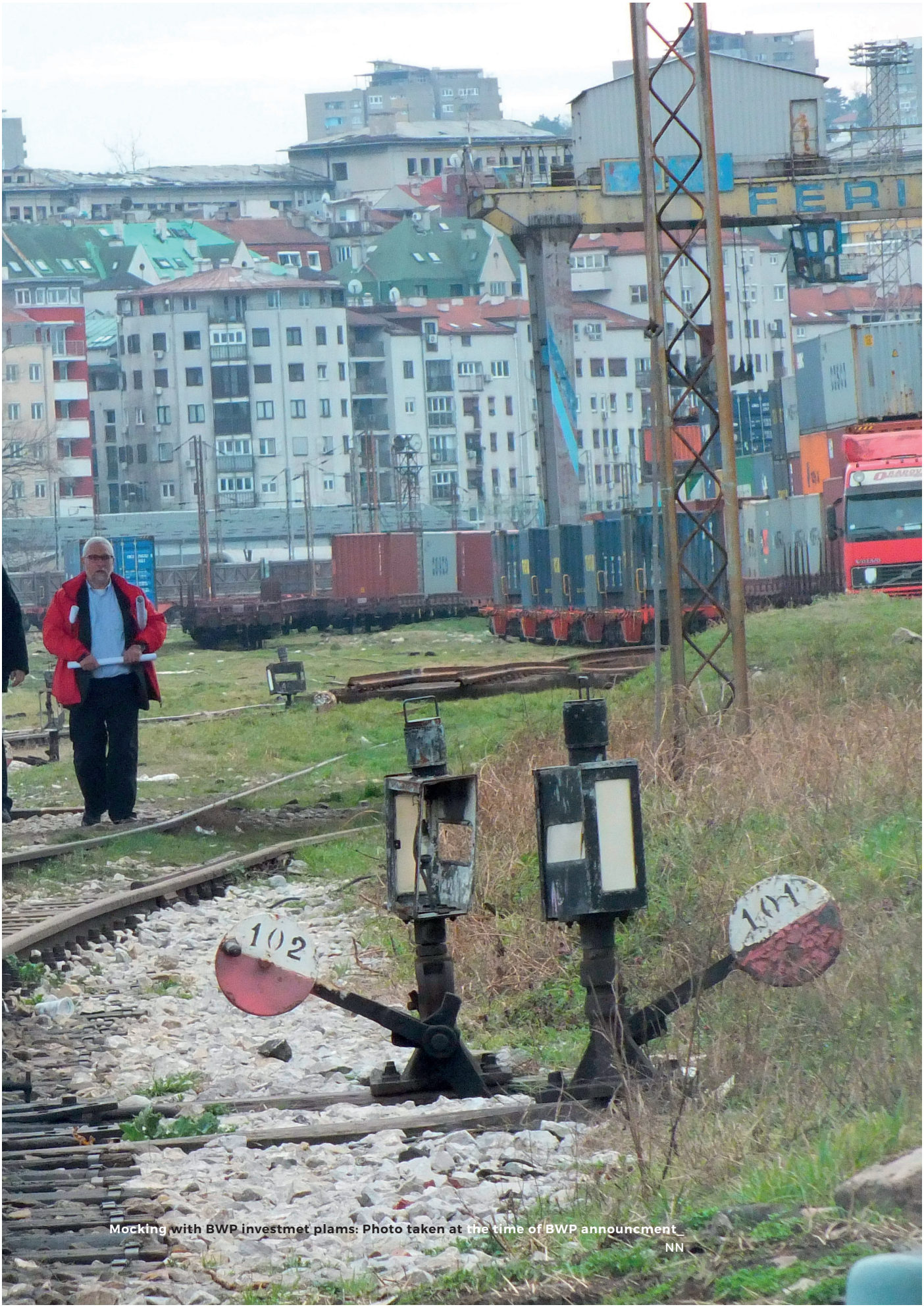
In terms of urban theory, this analysis has aimed to address the issue of evaluating the level of post-socialist urbanity through the deconstruction of the complex planning logistics and the exposure of links between and among top-down, real estate and bottom-up forces, interests and actions at the neighbourhood level **[Table 8:411]**.

In terms of Savamala, it is difficult to not refer to Serbia and the urbanity of Serbian cities in general, when considering Savamala. Even more so, as it has recently become the symbol of citizen revolt against the system and against the intrusion into the citizens comfort zone, symbolized by the recent illegal demolitions. With that event, the short span of the tradition of system maintenance rather brought to the fore the issue of history repeating itself in the Serbian capital and partly in Savamala. Belgrade is a city with a long history of citizen revolts and revolutions (the liberation of Serbian cities from the Ottomans, the beginning of WWII, revolts against Milosevics regime, against NATO bombing). Such a state of affairs has made Belgrade teeter between the reproduction of the repressive order and the radical change of its system, while transformations have also been easily wasted in these heroic and turbulent times. The current situation in Savamala includes all these elements. When referring to the future, the destiny of the Belgrade Waterfront Project will demarcate a new transitional urbanity in Serbian cities.

Finally, this visualization technique is a deployment model for the representation of urban system evolution that takes into account urban complexity and dynamics, prioritise the action and practical lessons learning while leaving some space for value judgments of the interpreters,. In the manner, MAS-ANT qualitative data analysis and visual data display have the potential to be digitalized and loaded with the layers of information in different dimensions.

[And the investments arrived with big plans]


СРПСКА БАНКА а.д.
CAPITAL



Mocking with BWP investmet plams: Photo taken at the time of BWP announcment_ NN

REFUGEES
WELCOME

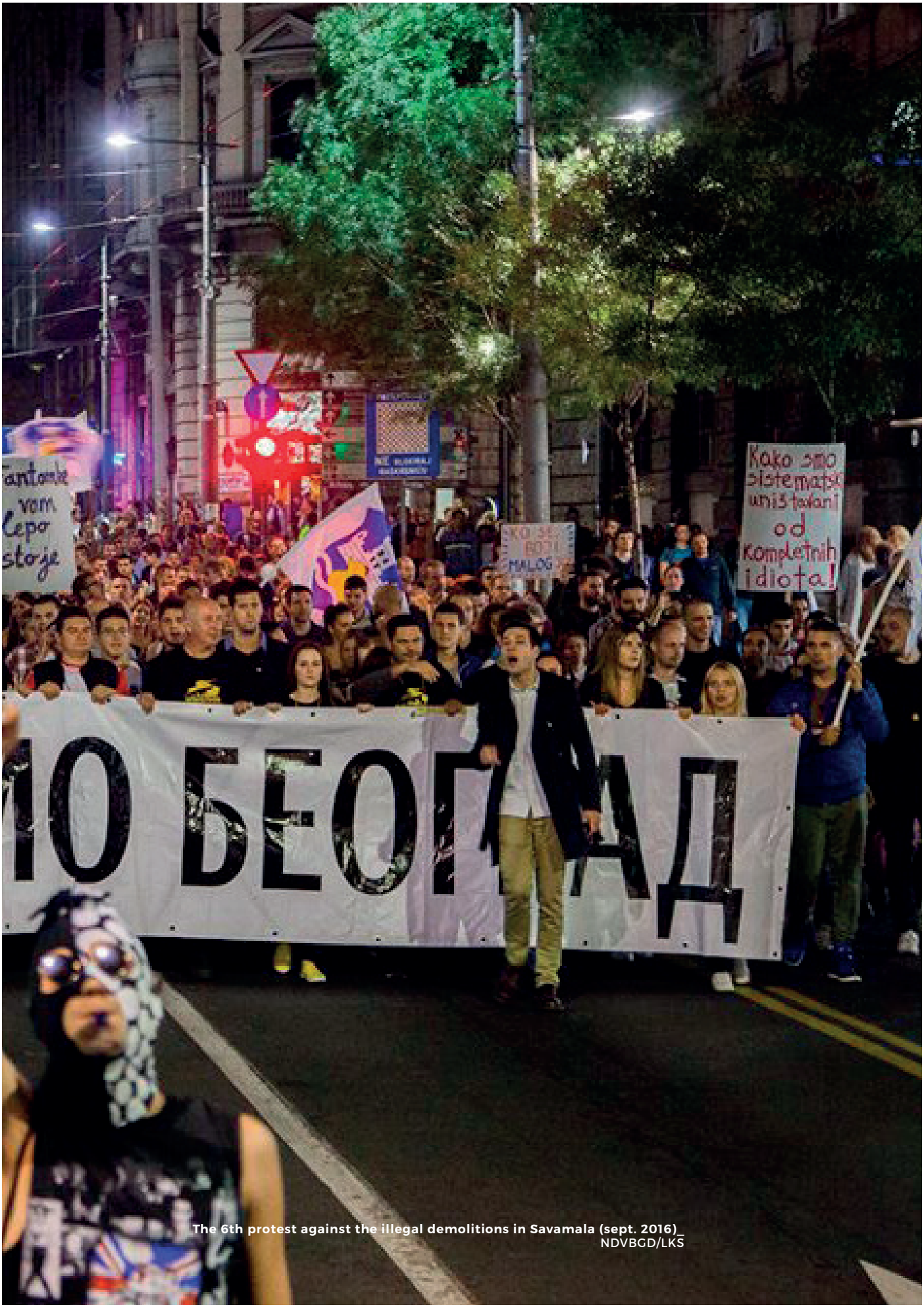
Savamala street grafitti (2015)_ MC

Renovated Savawaterfront _ NN

Cyclists protest against closing bicycle paths of the Sava waterfront (2015)_ SfC

The 2nd NDVBGD protest against BWP (may 2016) _ NDVBGD/LKS

ЧИЈ ГРАД? НАШ ГРАД!
НЕ ДА(ВИ)



The 6th protest against the illegal demolitions in Savamala (sept. 2016)_
NDVBGD/LKS

HUAWEI

The 3rd NDVBGD protest again illegal demolitions in Savamala (june 2016)_
NDVBGD

ENEOS
DONCAFE
NG CENTER
SPRING SUMMER 2014

The 4th NDVBGD protest against illegal demolitions in Savamala (july 2016)_ BS

Middle East Migrants settled on thebrink of BWP (2016/2017)_ NN

BWP construction site_ Beobuild.rs

BWP construction started (aug. 2015)_ MC

BWP construction site was flooded in spring 2016 _ NN

Savanova restaurant & new Sava Waterfront_ NN

[Belgradians face the future]

Citizens of all ages protesting against BWP_ NDVBGD/LKS

The banner & the symbol of NDVBGD (yellow duck) appeared at the international exibition of BWP model_ NN

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The scope of this thesis was to grasp the actual urban development in cities based on a case study of a post-socialist neighbourhood in Belgrade. Post-socialist environments in Serbia have proven to be extensively complex and intensively dynamic, especially in terms of its "path dependent" reference to the socialist period and "growth without development" articulation of transition. Yet, the researcher's initial position was not to solve a problem, but to establish an exploratory framework for disassembling urban complexity and tracing urban dynamics as constitutive elements of urban development processes. The starting point was the methodological question of how to investigate these issues in an inclusive and flexible manner.

Taking an interdisciplinary course through a diagrammatic approach in urbanism, the determined field of research in terms of post-socialist cities and the neighbourhood unit of analysis helped bound together urban agency, urban decision-making and urbanity for an operational and procedural study. The general research assumption was that the hybrid method of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and the Multi-agent System (MAS) is the tool for mapping the body of urban system transition. While the scientific background of this thesis was in urban theory and research methodologies, at the research level it argues for a double-layered approach to data, both qualitative and visual.

This chapter is divided into four parts.

The first part summarizes the research findings from a three-part analysis of Savamala (the actors, socio-spatial elements/patterns and the processes of urban system transitions). In reference to the research hypotheses, the empirical results testify: (1) how ANT addressed post-socialist urban complexity (especially by emphasizing the effects of non-human agency; (2) in which way the MAS method explains urban dynamics through the interrelation of urban agency and Savamala context (while also linking it to the current state of urban decision making in the post-socialist context); and finally, (3) what are the long duration processes of urban maintenance, transformation and change identified in Savamala through the MAS-ANT hybrid method.

The second part represents the scientific results of the study in relation to the research framework. This part provides the precise answers to the research objectives, questions and hypotheses in the reversed order. As this thesis revolved around methods in urban research, this part is concluded with a section on the MAS-ANT methodological approach and how it responds to the research questions and hypotheses.

The third part of the chapter returns to theory. Even though methodological explorations and practical applications are the core of this thesis, the concepts that supported the research in the beginning were relevant again as a binding force for the generalizations and attributions. Bearing in mind that urban theory was mainly off-focus for this research project, the key conclusions in this regard are pointed out in the limited scope for the central concepts and partly for those that were controversial. While the questions of this research revolved around how to investigate urban development, the consistency of both methods and their mutual congruency brought to light theoretical conclusions concerning urban development, urbanity, an ordinary city, and a post-socialist city. The more general conclusions on the local context (Savamala, Belgrade and Serbia) are also presented in this part.

The forth part starts with a critical review. It consists of an evaluation of the conducted research project. Finally, the future-oriented reasoning addresses the practical sides of the work and the "to-be-developed" (TBD) potentials for future research in terms of what has been done and to what extent **[Conclusions:451-464 , Limitations:464]**, and what can be done and how it could be done in the future **[Practical Implications:465, Future prospects:467]**.

8.1 Actors and Processes in Savamala

political-economic-legal;
culture and class;
professional discourse;
citizens and locals;
BWP future;
failing reforms and transformations;

The cross-pollinated method of analysis containing the Multi-agent System and Actor-network Theory set an actor-network-process scheme for interpreting the urban complexity and dynamics of the Savamala neighbourhood. The application of Actor-network theory onto the qualitative data from Savamala provided an overview of urban complexity in post-socialist circumstances. On the other hand, Multi-agent system put in motion the localized contextual elements and processes for simulating urban dynamics. The MAS-ANT methodological hybrid serves to interpret urban system transitions:

While the articulation of urban agency through actor figuration and networks revealed the complex relationality of urban elements **[Diagram 9:296]**, in terms of real factors of influences, the scheme has become much simpler. While the production of urban space in general might be treated as a conglomerate of political, economic, professional and civil sectors and elements, in Savamala, the picture is exceedingly disbalanced. Nominally, the regulatory framework dominates space interventions in Serbia. The advanced system of legal and planning institutions and documents, as well as the institutional basis for participation in urban decision-making, are inherited from the socialist period. Yet, the recent transition towards capitalism has fostered the bonds between political and economic actors and instated parallel structures for navigating through the system. Political voluntarism and favouritism rule the relations and procedures of the legal, institutional and planning frameworks in Serbia. Furthermore, corruptive mechanisms open the floor for external interests and influences to enter the system. In reality, power-mongers and profit-seekers actually dominate the Serbian regulatory framework. And what has been happening in Savamala is not an exception, but the rule of functionality of post-socialist systems.

Middle-class society, a stronghold of socialism, is disappearing in Serbian society today. Meso-layers of professional and civil sectors and citizens, even though present on the ground, are invisible in urban decision-making. Serbia and Belgrade are an inseparable part of the European cultural discourse, especially boosted during socialism when it was a cultural space that overpassed the iron curtain separating the East and the West. The recent rise of culture on offer in Belgrade and Savamala has showed that this image is to come back. However, the culture in Serbia is moving out of the institutions. Without any official assistance provided at the national level, this sector has been handed over to international support systems and funding instruments to set the framework and agenda for their activities. Being slowly but surely dislodged from Savamala, this sector is time and again on the run at the city level.

On the other hand, professional discourse has become narrowed down to the

clique of technicians and apparatchiks for constructing the legitimacy of decisions within the bureaucratic system. The planning framework in Serbia replicates either practices or conflicts, but there are very few mechanisms and instruments for finding solutions and adaptations. Any expert activity, research and critiques have been destructed and obstructed from public institutions and political party officers (partocracy). Serbian society is fundamentally authoritarian, and decision-making is extensively marked by hierarchical conformation of institutional roles and individual political figures within the institutions.

In this setting, locals are the underprivileged group. Even though a great part of Savamala citizens identify themselves with the neighbourhood, their needs have not been a priority of the civil initiatives present there and even more so they are victims of the Belgrade Waterfront Project and its investors whims. The recent situation in Savamala is an example of the transitional blend of the global and local that is happening now above all in the civil and real estate domains in Serbia. The art and cultural activities in Savamala have been an exercise in democracy, while the BWP deal is a school of free market mechanisms at play in class societies. Without judging its positive and negative influences, the case of Savamala brings this new mindset inherent in the capitalist order to the local stage.

The future of Savamala is now tied to the destiny of the Belgrade Waterfront Project. The urbanity of Savamala is now labelled by the social and spatial segregation of the upper Savamala and the waterfront areas. The historically mixed neighbourhood with visible heritage from previous urban times is undoubtedly on the path of unification towards the envisioned future for the Waterfront. The tradition of the diversity of urban functions and their accessibility is unavoidably threatened by the BWP requirements that are spreading extensively to the Savamala hinterland. The circumstances in Savamala indicate the point of discontinuation with its present of civil engagement and current regulatory framework in Belgrade, as well as its urban and architectural inheritance from the past.

In terms of urban development in Savamala, the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid interprets urban transitions as the dynamic processes of inapparent regularities in the fluctuations of urban complexity over time *(\Lee 2012)*. Generally speaking, there is little historical continuation in the development of Serbian cities; while there is a certain repetition in urban processes over time, they are usually short-lived. In Serbia, urban evolution either suffers from backward system replication or is faced with abrupt changes and ”tabula rasa” solutions. In any case, there is hardly any tradition of transformation, reform or systematic and gradual adaptation. Transformation and change processes in Savamala are under the strong influence of recent transition with lame links to previous times. Urban maintenance relies on socialist institutional frameworks and new civil actors who are coming on stage with transition of global trends into Serbian local context. Whichever scenario is to be followed in Savamala, the most important question of any time is the legitimacy of the decisions made and a clear distinction between the public interest and something that endangers it; which may well be the case in Savamala and its neighbouring future megaproject.

8.2 Conclusions to the Research Framework

The research conclusions first of all address the goals, inquires and assumptions set in the research framework. An initial deductive line of reasoning in constructing research objectives, questions, and hypotheses of research are herein taken into account in the opposite, inductive order. Having the results presented in this manner, also enabled the reflection upon the capacities and limits of the study. Moreover, the special position of the mixed method used for the analysis and the display of data and the originality of this methodological pairing brought to the fore several important issues that were not anticipated in advance.

8.2.1 [. . .] to the research hypotheses

[RH] MAS-ANT methodological approach captures urban development processes in terms of urban system transitions by giving an exhaustive image of urban complexity and providing transparency and flexibility in describing urban dynamics in a post-socialist city.

An overall assumption of this research was that the mapping of urban complexity and dynamics is the necessary and sufficient condition for tracing urban development processes **[RH_Section 3.1.2:127]**.[152] This viewpoint was further supported by the interpretation of urban development in terms of urban system transitions **[Section 2.1.1:33,34,41]** and the transparency and adaptability of the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid **[Diagram 2:81]**. The turning point of such an approach was seeing urban development as not a goal, but as a set of processes. In addition, the validity of such a conceptual connection was found in the openness and extensiveness of this method and the overarching nature of the process to surpass and to incorporate a goal or a prospect, if necessary **[Section 3.3.3:169-170]**. This was documented in the overview of different scenarios for Savamala **[Section 7.3:398-405]**.

[RH3]

Answer to [RH3]: The MAS-ANT methodology track and trace urban development processes through qualitative data analysis and visual data display.

Urban development processes set as an iterative procedure to trace the level of urbanity and the morphology of urban decision making within the urban agency map capture urban dynamics and re-frame urban complexity at the neighbourhood level by using a methodological hybrid that combines the Multi-agent system (MAS) and the Actor-network theory (ANT).

In view of this, urban system transitions were extracted from the vast image of urban complexity and dynamics by the mixed method **[RH3_Section 3.1.2:128]**. The source of agency of urban system transitions was identified within the morphology of urban decision-making **[Section 2.1.4:76-77]**. Actors, urban assemblages, contextual elements and social aspects were identified as the holders of agency and the sources of dynamics for each of the maintenance, transformation and change processes **[Table 5:406; 6:408; 7: 410]** On the other hand, the level of urbanity embodied the track of the evolution of these processes in the context **[Table 8:411]**. **Urban system transitions extended the current image of Savamala with traces of historical processes of long duration, but limited the view of the current state of the system only to those elements that have active agency and to socio-spatial patterns that are attributed the role** **[Section 7.4:406-413]**.

[RH1]

Answer to [RH1]: Urban complexity is deconstructed with ANT by bounding roles, networks, influences & relations of actors throughout urban decision making.

The Actor-network theory (ANT) clarifies urban complexity through the networks of urban key agents initialized by the morphology of urban decision-making in a post-socialist city.

The resulting urban development processes in Savamala were deduced from the complex map of urban agency [Section 5.2:298] disseminated within the morphology of urban decision-making [RH1_Section 3.1.2:128].. In terms of urban complexity, the morphology of urban decision-making served to identify human and nonhuman, material and non-material actors. The distribution of complex actors and networks was illustrated in the 5-dimensional map of urban agency [Diagram 9:296]. **This abstraction, which was based on ANT principles, is an extensive categorization that exceeds the concrete situation in a post-socialist neighbourhood and bounds urban complexity based on roles** [the nature of actors (individuals, sets, hierarchies of human, material, relational and spatial), **the nature of networks** (structural, supportive and functional), **the nature of influences** (international, national, city, local)] **and relations** [the nature of assemblages and exposure] [Section 5.2:298-299].

[RH2]

Multi-agent system (MAS) expresses urban development dynamics by tracing the level of urbanity within the relations of urban agency and contextual elements in a post-socialist city.

Answer to [RH2] : The level of urbanity traced by MAS refers to both a state of an urban environment in a particular time and theprocesses of transitions that together constitute urban development dynamics

The dynamic system of the fluctuating level of urbanity bounds relations of urban agency and contextual socio-spatial patterns [Section 6.2:345-349] at the neighbourhood level [RH2_Section 3.1.2:128]. Conversely, the level of urbanity contextualized urban dynamics by linking actors to local socio-spatial elements within the Savamala boundaries [Table 2:344]. The level of urbanity is not a static concept, it has the capacity to interpret a fluctuating state that depend on the balance among urban conflicts, contextual resources and urban practices and the agency that attributes them [Section 2.1.5:75-76]. T**he contextualized MAS map of the level of urbanity therefore spatialized the points of harmonization, contestations and collisions at the neighbourhood level** [Diagram 17:346].

The logic of complexity (ANT), dynamics (MAS) and transitions (MAS-ANT) were based on the researcher's analysis of the distribution, congregation and reduction of the qualitative data. While the course of interpretations might vary depending on the researcher's standpoint, the logic of the process and the categorizations of elements were persistent, as was suggested within the hypotheses [RH-1-2-3_Section 3.1.2:127].

[RQ] How to investigate the socio-spatial patterns of post-socialist cities in order to reinvent a more inclusive and flexible approach to understanding urban development processes engaging the complexity of an urban context?

8.2.2 [. . .] to the research questions

The question of an inclusive and flexible approach to urban development [RQ_ Section 3.1.1:127] was dealt with scientifically (in order to achieve comprehensiveness) and socially (in order to make it comprehensible and accessible for broader audience).

[RQ1]

What constitutes an inclusive approach to urban development in a post-socialist city as an ordinarc city?

Answer to [RQ1]:- URBAN COMPLEXITY that stands for the morphology of urban decision-making, urban agency and non-humans are recognized as the constituents of an inclusive approach to urban development

An inclusive approach to urban development must take into account urban complexity an urban environment in order to give an exhaustive overview of different sources for the scenarios and processes of urban system transitions. The investigation on urban complexity was constructed from all human and non-human elements

who were attributed **agency in urban networks** [Section 5.1.1:274-295]. Extending the figuration of non-humans from its symbolic role in urban networks to an active urban agency shed new light on how decision-making happens. While human agency produces non-human artifacts, once these **non-human agents** are established and instated in urban networks, they become generators of activities and transitions. So, in urban agency networks, non-humans then interact and interconnect with human and other non-human agency, producing the effects for both humans and non-humans. Non-human agency then is disseminated and regenerated through **the morphology of urban decision-making**. While decision-making processes and networks are unavoidable in the urban realm, they are not necessarily the sources of explanations per se, but the generators of urban agency [Section 5.2.1:300-304]. The decision is the precedent of any action, but it does not necessarily imply a predetermined political, power and interest association in it. This three-party fusion (non-human, agency, decision-making) encapsulates urban complexity in an ordinary city. while the roles might be passed around differently, the non-humans, urban agency networks and decision-making distributions are its core concepts [RQ1_Section 3.1.1:127].

Answer to [RQ2]:- QUALITATIVE TRANSITION OVER TIME Association between urban agency, contextual elements and system evolution within the level of urbanity enables tracing actors, networks and context over time.

[RQ2]

To which extent does the level of urbanity determine flexible pathways for addressing urban development in post-socialist cities in particular and ordinary cities in general?

Flexibility was achieved in addressing urban dynamics according to the qualitative character of the processes and in reference to the system as a whole. Association between **urban agency, contextual elements and system evolution within the level of urbanity enables tracing actors, networks and context over time.** Whatever happens at the qualitative level must result in the maintenance, transformation or change of the whole system and is reflected in the level of urbanity of the neighbourhood [Diagram 18:358]. In a dynamic system there exists no status quo [RQ2_Section 3.1.1:127]. **The relationships between urban agents, contextual objects and relations constitute dynamic social aspects over time , and at any chosen point in time they reflect the level of urbanity of an urban environment.**

Answer to [RQ3]:- MIXED METHOD Binding together urban complexity and dynamics within the MAS-ANT mixed method.

[RQ3]

How to frame the urban development process to embody the complexity of urban systems and the dynamics of urban transitions in post-socialist cities?

The mixed method, in this case the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid, frames urban complexity and coins urban dynamics through the combination of sociological (ANT) and computational (MAS) methods. While the ANT provided a foundation for analysing urban complexity through urban networks, non-human agents and the morphology of urban decision making, the MAS gives an overview of urban dynamics through urban agency, contextual elements bound by the social aspects. **In this manner, the MAS-ANT method together summarizes the agency and the context of urban system transitions.** Another point of view on the MAS-ANT approach was resorting to terms that explain urban system transitions in general and comprehensive categories in order to operationalize the methodology for practical application in different contexts, for different users and readers of the diagrams [Section 7.5:415-417]. The information loaded visual material might be more appealing and understandable for uses in the field and might improve participatory practices [RQ3_Section 3.1.1:127].

8.2.3 [. . .] to the research objectives

[RO] This research aims to encompass the complexity and dynamics of urban transitions as an urban development indicator at the local level in a transparent way.

Envisioning an inclusive and flexible approach to urban development processes, as outlined beforehand, constituted a challenge with regard to redefining the theoretical framework to meet practical needs **[RO_Section 1.3.1:17]**. Re-evaluating theoretical concepts and setting operational definitions for the terms used in this thesis [urban development, urban agency, urban decision-making and urbanity] addressed the growing urge set upon the humanistic sciences, especially in a fragile context, to at least reflect upon bringing theory to the ground **[Section 2.4:108-109]**.

If applied in practice, the localized attitude to development, sources of agency, paths of decision-making, conflicts, practices and resources might be applicable for the non-professional. While transformations and radical changes are inseparable from political and power actors, the civil sector has success in nurturing urban maintenance. Bringing the means of analysis outside the professional and decision-making clusters allow non-professionals to better articulate their needs and visions, state their position and elaborate the choice of positive urban practices to be maintained. While other sources of power might be difficult to seize, knowledge could be the way to intervene and insist on a common vision of the city that is best suited to the local context, in this research post-socialist cities and neighbourhoods.

[RO2]

Examine urban development concept in terms of dynamics state of an ordinary city in its full complexity.

Answer to [RO1]: The dynamic concept of urban development is moulded by; urban agency, urban decision making & urban system transitions.

Re-formulating urban development to encompass the dynamics on the ground, yet staying tuned to the local and ordinary, is a solid background for envisioning the empirical reality at the neighbourhood level [RO1_Section 1.3.1:17]. **[Table 5:406; 6:408; 7: 410]** summarize the causal relations in urban system transitions in Savamala.

[RO2]

Investigate socio -spatial patterns of an ordinary city.

Answer to [RO2]: The level of urbanity relies on the relations between the contextual elements and relations and social aspects of an urban environment.

A contextualized concept of urbanity through urban conflicts, contextual resources and urban practices directly links spatial capital with social and urban agency and localizes the actions through the entities/materials/places of common interest at the neighbourhood level [RO2_Section 1.3.1:18]. **[Table 8:411]** gives an overview of urban assemblages and social relations that constitute urban system transition in Savamala over time.

[RO3]

Find a proper methodology for tracing both urban complexity & dynamics.

Answer to [RO3] The mixed method that combines socilogical and engineering approaches is apt to address urban complexity & dynamics

The diagrammatic vision of the social and the spatial in cities was a means to display data without directly assigning meanings. In addition, the overlapping of methods and visualizations through diagrams was a system of data triangulation and presentation of shifting points - from urban agency (complex actor roles and synthesized networks), through urbanity (contextualization of interests and interventions) to urban system transitions (contextualized relations between urban networks and time-frames between past, present and future). **The systemic correlation between theoretical, methodological and empirical frameworks was presented as a tool for addressing urban complexity and dynamics [RO3_Section 1.3.1:18].**[158]

The proposition of the neighbourhood as a source of useful empirical data and a playground of action was the way to defy the global. According to the research findings, all major circumstances of post-socialist urbanity (political, economic and cultural aspects) are traced within actor-networks and contextual relations in Savamala. It was an important level of strategic organisation in cities throughout history and recently it is coming back on stage **[Section 2.3.3:106]**. While cities are spreading and diluting, even more so with new technological means of transport and communication, the neighbourhood can foster social bonds as a level of data collection and practical interventions in an ordinary city **[RO-RO1-RO2-RO3_Section 1.3.1:17-18]**.

8.2.4 [. . .] to the methodological approach

ANT describes complexity, MAS tracks dynamics; MAS-ANT operationalizes theoretical framework; Diagrams communicate data & scientific reasoning;

This thesis answered the question how ANT and MAS methods complement each other in the combination of the analysis on urban complexity and dynamics **[Diagram 2:81]** and how they address urban reality at the neighbourhood level through the urban system transition. While ANT describes the complex state of an urban environment, MAS tracks the dynamics of a system evolution.

The hybrid method was constructed on the tendency to operationalize the theoretical framework and to visually analyse and display the data. This approach is very common or architectural research. Diagrams are actually very useful for communicating research-based data and scientific reasoning to nonspecialists. The task of the researcher was to follow actors and processes in all their heterogeneity - track the relation types and get rid of inscribed symbolic meanings by the assignment of actual agency *(\Nimmo 2011)*. Like many other methods in the social sciences, the researchers brought in their point of view on facts and data. Especially in the case of the Belgrade Waterfront Project, even non-intentionally, the researchers introduced their subtle critical engagements and providing legitimization for certain attitudes, points of view and actions, which, if disseminated, may influence the system, processes and actors *(\Baiocchi et al. 2013)*.

This illustration of the Savamala urban context is but only one version of visualizing urban agency, urbanity and urban system transitions. The contribution of the hybrid method lies in the rise of the explanatory framework from rigid and static to relative and dynamic and susceptible to adaptations through continual iterations that refer to urban system transitions. At the professional level, MAS-ANT addresses diagnosis and action tools for practice-based research. Moreover, the users of this map (professionals) could be able to indicate gaps (actors, networks, contextual elements, processes) for possible operational interventions in their respective domains. At a local level, visual methods with a scientific stronghold/background could be very useful for activists to distribute knowledge and substantiated facts among powerful media campaigns, top-down dissemination of information and an overall trend of ”alternative facts”.

8.3 Conclusions Related to the Theoretical Framework

In the course of this thesis, the theoretical background was used for building the internal validity of the methodological hybrid and data analysis. Even though the

analytical strategy was not extended for use across cases, the results from applying theory over qualitative data and the other way around contributed to sharpening the definitions of theoretical constructs and to re-frame their theoretical scopes for the operationalization in practice.

While theory is a neutral, explanatory tool *(\Sears and Cairn 2005)*, it also supplies meanings and interpretations that enter everyday life and influence processes and practices. In this respect, I have returned to the initial conceptual, epistemological and local frameworks in order to re-place the results of this research within its initial theoretical boundaries.

8.3.1 Urban Development Taxonomy

Urban development is a predominant concept in urban theory and practice and even more, in everyday life. The issue of urban development was extensively addressed and used in this thesis research. The concept was traced back in scientific literature and the view on it as a goal, prospect or process was dealt with respectively. According to these interpretations, its articulation in practice, I argue, subtly moulds the behaviours of professionals and authorities and decision makers in general. Furthermore, urban development as a positive vision of the future has also been put to question. Not only concerning whose positive vision it is, but also in terms of the evaluation of what positive might be and the authority to decide upon it.

Taking all this into account, the issues raised about urban development are summarized as such:

- **Urban development involves a vision, yet not a single one, but multiple individual visions of the future**. When we speak about urban development as a goal, it is a positive vision directed by the particular interest group who see it so. In Savamala, there is a vision officially present in strategic documents, the projects of local and global private investors and the vision put forth by the civil sector, international creative capital and athe locals. The accorded positive values of contemporary global society already, long ago, implicitly encroached upon the connotation of development giving it a value of growth, evolution, maturation, modernization and created a wild-goose chase of, actually, an illusory expectation *(\Esteva 2010)*. Instead of futile pursuits disconnected from the concrete space and historical moment, urban development should be accorded among local populations, the civic sector, professionals, experts in their local spaces, while the implementation rests with the negotiations among different layers of decision-making from the international to local level.
- **Urban development addresses the present as much as the future - it is a process, yet not a single one, but a range of processes.** Human actions and behaviours are inherently temporal. They involve an intention, a decision (conscious or unconscious) and implementation, so that they necessarily stretch from the present moment into the future. In this respect, on the way to achieving one goal, multiple other goals cross human paths and pull the original goal off course. While urban reality is inherently populated by humans, urban development should stand and work for multiple actors and various interests at play. Regardless of their particular nature which might greatly vary depending on actors and time-frames,

the reference of these processes to the current state of the system could be referenced as the maintenance, transformation or radical change of the same system. Finally, the processual nature of urban development comprises whatever may occur in the future, without explicating its interest/value notion, but only its influence on the current state of the system.

- **It is important to be clear what urban development means and how it is articulated in between a goal, a prospect and a process.** The symbolic meaning of urban development is deeply rooted in human historical and social discourse. It is unrealistic to expect it to be changed and abandoned, though the narrative of urban development has cautiously been questioned in scientific and professional domains. Consequently, it is also important to reference the results to different interpretations of urban development (a goal, prospect, process). In comparison to a goal- and process-oriented idea, urban development prospects keep track of the reality and probability among what the might scenarios be and what the particular interests of different actors and stakeholders are. Within the modern urban framework, the implementation of urban development intervention is be dispatched through: policies [the broad field of possible actions], programmes [prioritized actions set as procedures or protocols], and projects [a course of actions over time with clear goals and detailed plans and budgets: clearly stated goal - a period of time - defined budget] (\Vujosevic et al. 2015). Accordingly, after being clear about what urban development is, it is important to also tackle how it is set in motion within policies, programmes, and projects.
- **Urban development addresses the future in relation to the past and present - it might be everything one can make of it.** Apart from the crisis of capitalism and the critics of growth, the urges for the right of diversity (\Amin 2006) the participatory approach speak also about urban development and the importance of the redefinition of the term. In this reference, one step forward might be acknowledging the significance of the system maintenance processes (which might be wrongly referred to as only stagnant), not only those that imply improvements and growth.

In sum, urban development is rather a biased concept for describing and guiding urban processes in cities outside the Global North. This is even more the case, because the term is being used for tracing and directing urban system transitions in the way that levies the same, globally accorded as universally beneficial objectives to particular inhabitants and a particular urban environment. Generally speaking, it is a widespread and rarely criticized concept that is extensively used in practice and practice-based research. Without delving into hidden motives and circumstances (economic, political, colonial), this research addressed the core meaning of this concept and puts forward the concept of urban system transitions, while its scope and aim were kept in order to produce an operational methodological framework for possible practical investigations of the palette of different cities around the world.

8.3.2 Urbanity

Urbanity was another crucial concept undertaken in this research and framed to denote:

- **Traceable concept:** Urbanity includes a state and a transition/evolution and therefore it can be qualitatively evaluated through the state of urban agents, contextual objects and relations, urban (assemblage) networks and social aspects.
- **The level of urbanity: I**n a neutral value state, an overarching definition of the level of urbanity enables grasping urban dynamics while tracing urban system transitions (maintenance, transformation and change processes) at play.
- **Contextualization of urbanity:** Urbanity is inseparable from the context as it is based not only on processes (density and diversity), but also on local socio-spatial capital.
- **Urbanity results from the combination of planning and design:** The level of urbanity represents the balance of social and economic planning and socially and culturally responsible urban design. In order to exceed procedural nature of planning and aesthetic function of the design, this research project evaluates urbanity from 3 different layers of urban decision-making and their particular roles in urban scenarios in Savamala.

8.3.3 An Ordinary City

Having this research grounded in ordinary cities theory, an important question must be raised about the relevance of the redefined urban development concept for this theory and these cities in terms of their urban complexity and dynamics.

A dominant practical suggestion within the ordinary cities theory is putting all cities together so they learn from their contrasting contexts and experiences. The research on ordinary cities is mainly about comparisons and theorizing the South at the South and theorizing the North from the South *(\Choplin 2014)*. In *Jenifer Robinson's words (2016)*, comparing and developing frameworks, presumptions and dynamic factors that govern urban systems help in constructing validity and cut across the empirical to reach the general (categorizations, concrete and practical abstractions) *(\ibid.)*.

This research is based on a single case study, testifying to the complexity and dynamics of a single urban system and its space-time realm. Yet, it tends to propose several observations on how urban development processes are bound together in an ordinary city.

- Local urban culture, the civic order and the value systems enclosed in the historical processes of long duration cast localized urban development processes, contribute to make the city ordinary and entail their intrinsic context. Building cities as clones from the visions and models of other places and other cities deprive them of their particular historical path. **An ordinary city cannot be observed in the present and the present alone.**
- In order to make the urban system evolution contextually appropriate and resistant to biased power relations and individual interests, it is important to continually keep track of wider social repercussions and assess the risks of a range of swift or biased interventions or transits in the timeline of the historical processes of long duration. **Embracing uncertainty, the trial and error iterations and locally adjusted pace are essential for catalysing local and global developmental interventions.**

• When speaking about cities as ordinary, it means that they navigate their system evolution in an original manner. In historical terms, the processes of maintenance, maturity, reproduction and resilience *(\Galtung 1996)* indicate a historical course of urban development. In this research project, the processes of maintenance, transformation and radical change are thereafter localized versions of historical time. Accepted as such, there is no room for an imposed vision of what the future should look like, as the way from maturity to resilience is a strongly personalized path. In this light, most of top-down, outside-in actions seem like tactics of imposition. **An ordinary city should be assembled, not governed from top-down.**

8.3.4 A Post-Socialist City

The scope of post-socialist cities has directed and confined this research in the methodological and empirical sense. The deficiencies and incompatibilities between the reality of post-socialist cities and the existing western paradigm of the urban have directed the theoretical account of those cities. Post-socialist cities, in general, are struggling to balance post-socialist path-dependent traits with transitional trends and influences. In reference to these points and according to the analyses conducted in this thesis, several issues should be highlighted, such as:

• **A reflective, yet less presumably critical attitude towards the socialist past should be embraced in urban practice;** Neither a future-oriented nor path-dependent directive is solely adequate for approaching urban complexity and the dynamics of post-socialist cities. Namely, a synthetic and objective attitude towards the space-time flux is necessary for understanding post-socialist urban evolution *(\Thomas 1998; \NedovicBudic and Cavric 2006)*. There are numerous examples that socialist practices, traditions and values were disregarded and dismissed without a grounded reason and replaced without real criticism with those imposed by transition. As already mentioned, the evolution of urban systems is not a directional trajectory towards a single goal. The state of post-socialist cities today has resulted from a convergent path from past to present that should be continued toward the most contingent future, not just interrupted and replaced with something trendy and brand new.

• **Balanced borrowing, imposition and replication practices with finding locally grounded solutions;** Urban development outside the Western world was undoubtedly a practice of borrowing, imposition and replication *(\Nedovic-Budic and Cavric 2006)*. So, it could neither be avoided nor neglected. Yet, it is important to base and argument choices and plans in what is found on the ground. In developing countries, regulating and guiding urban development usually starts from exogenous references. On the other hand, in post-socialist cities the regulatory framework exists, and often it does not lack quality or local reliance, but institutional processes and difficult societal circumstances make them fail in implementation *(\Nedovic-Budic et al. 2011)*. In these circumstances, elaborated and objective evaluations, a professional approach, and expert and local knowledge are necessary for making the right decisions.

• **Control, verification and consulting networks should be extensively distributed among local actors, in planning processes and within institutional procedures;** A burning issue in post-socialist cities is the issue of coordination and

cooperation within the urban framework. Horizontal and vertical distribution of roles and decision-making urges for revisions. While vertical relationality should be fostered in legislative coordination and rules of conduct, horizontal connections are necessary for internal rationalization, de-politicization, continual improvements through education and code of ethics toward work and in interpersonal relations *(\ Vujosevic et al. 2015).*

- **Culture, tradition and values that affect the urban framework should be mainly local, not global;** Culture has been recently growing in importance as a resource for urban and community development *(\Nystrom and Fudge 1999; \ Mercer 2006; \Volic et al. 2012)*. Culture is now ever present and global. Following the example of Savamala, opening to the international markets, democratic social values and EU joining procedures introduces global cultural practices into the local system with traditional cultural values. In this blending, the local population with their contextually rooted priorities and needs become side-lined in this quest for internationally recognized innovation, creativity and diversity. Yet, as Manuel Castells has argued: '...local societies...must preserve their identities, and build upon their historical roots, regardless of their economic and functional dependence on the space of flows. The symbolic marking of places, the preservation of symbols of recognition, the expression of collective memory in actual practices of communication, are fundamental means by which places may continue to exist as such...' *(\Castells 1991: 350-351)* As post-socialist cities embrace these international cultural trends more and more, it is also important to appreciate the local and historical in their immediate surroundings. While global trends are important to follow in order for urban environments to find their place in the global world nowadays, taking care of local identity and "genius loci" of the context proves essential as urban processes are the processes of long duration and history of the context has been time and again coming back to stage, as the case of Savamala shows **[Table 5:406; 6:408; 7: 410].**

- **Post-socialist cities are in between the North and the South and should profit from the position;** There are many examples of processes, procedures and practices indicating that what is happening in post-socialist cities neither features the developing world, nor pertains to the developed one, but is rather a link between the two *(\ETH Studio Basel 2012)*. Post-socialist cities very often suffer from a biased political order, flawed economy and dysfunctional social organisation, but they have usually sustained its developed regulatory framework from socialism and high level, public educational practices and social services. Having engendered problems from both developed and developing countries, post-socialist cities many a time also have a mixture of solutions from both worlds. Taking into account the recommendations based on ordinary cities theory, what could be a knowledge transfer from the South to the North, might actually begin in post-socialist cities. In post-socialist urban theory, it is necessary to clearly distinct positive and negative influences from both the North and the South and to set its urban development path accordingly.

- **Local professionals should increase their knowledge of risk and vulnerability and accept the need to deal with uncertainty;** In relation to the concrete context in Serbia, which is not a unique case (at least not in the Balkans), the sharp social decline and system dissolution is an example of anti/de-development. Mistakes and misconducts should be exposed in order not to be repeated and a critical and introspective attitude might provide potential knowledge about what makes the system maintain itself, reproduce, mature and finally become resilient.

8.3.5 And in the local context... [Serbia - Belgrade - Savamala]

The integrity of this research is supported by the significance of the case study selection for general public interest, contextually relevant recommendations and practical implications *(\Yin 2009)*.

The case study choice was based on the recognized potential of the incomplete and spontaneous urban system evolution happening in transition. An unclear social, economic and political situation in post-socialist cities provides fertile ground for a fragmented, small-scale approach to urban conflicts, which could eventually produce long-term and far-reaching results. A myriad of strategies from above, interventions instigated by different interests and small changes from the ground up are the constitutive forces of the aforementioned incompleteness of post-socialist cities. Research into these underlying forces has been limited, notwithstanding the importance of solving urban conflicts and making cities durable, flexible and visible on the global scale.

The researched local context is rather chaotic and difficult to handle. Serbia is still identified as a post-socialist melting pot where representative democracy, civil society and market economy principles collide and merge with authoritarianism, vertical decision-making and the practices of populism. Serbia is experiencing a reversed tendency from what urban development should stand for - it is under strong pressure of negative natural increase *(\\\UNICEF 2013)*, declining economic capacity and deteriorating living standard *(\\\CATO Institute 2015)*, growing ignorance of democratic political practice *(\Peric 2016)*, and a disregard for research, education and knowledge *(\Vujosevic and Maricic 2012)*. In these circumstances, the most important issue to deal with is the harmonization of the disbalanced morphology of post-socialist urban decision-making towards solving urban conflicts, so that:

- **Local experts and professionals** - return dignity and influence to experts and professionals, who are often side-lined;
- **Professional domains** - move away from authoritarian and partocratic approach in professional domains;
- **Urban planning** - re-establish the role of urban planning as an instrument of the knowledgeable, not the powerful, and as a practice of socio-spatial management of urban environments, not a technical task;
- **Bottom-up actions and initiatives** - provide means for prioritizing and fostering positive practices, which usually happen on the ground with no effective and binding policies and institutionalized regulatory means for synchronization and coordination among them.

The study of the Savamala neighbourhood enabled exposing the game of power relations and influences among key urban agents by indicating (1) the interrelated processes and procedures generated by local urban agency; (2) the assemblage network of relations between the regulatory framework, urban actors, and spatial issues generated through a bottom-up logical argumentation; and (3) the urban patterns and social impact that are produced therein.

Unfortunately, based on what is happening on site, Savamala could not be saved from the destiny prescribed to it from the top-down. Yet the scientific results taken

from this case study might be a strategic basis for more effective reactions in the future and didactic material for further education that addresses the on-going generation of urban conflicts and bottom-up interventions and offer a summary of small movements and partial approaches that surpass the model of a post-socialist city on which it was built and target an integrated system of urban development processes.

8.3.6 Epistemological framework - When ANT opens doors for revisions...

This research recognized the quality of ANT scientific approach as an explanatory construct that studies associations and symmetrical relationality *(\Farias and Bender 2011)*. From the results presented herein, the usefulness of an ANT interpretation was a mere entry point on an operational agenda for further research. Accordingly, ANT appeared to have limited capacity for going any further, and it seemed unable to receive practical recognition, influence the reality and go beyond descriptions.

Bearing in mind the complexity and dynamics of urban development, the vitality of the ANT approach lies in: (1) encompassing the active role of non-humans, (2) seeing the totality of the world as process, and (3) overreaching the radical categories of time and space by representing horizontal links and associations. Although these premises grasp the core concept of urban dynamics, this methodology does not imply the capacity to deconstruct and interpret such a complex aggregation of all real-life urban processes. In urban terms, ANT is still perceived as a conceptual methodology whose integral approach works out only in confined urban environments, where it could comprise a dynamic, interactive process of interdependences and connections among active urban actors and the formation of urban assemblages through roles, associations and agencies and their calibration within urban decision-making.

In this respect, I would like to recapitulate ANT setbacks to stand out as an overarching methodological approach for urban research:

- ANT in its insistence on general symmetry **fails to go beyond the description of the empirical reality of urban processes.** Although it succeeds to include causal relations between actors, the future state of the system based on these relations stays undiscovered *(\Elder-Vass 2008)*.For example, the engagement of the political, economic and cultural aspect in networks was signified, but without any insight on the valence of these aspects to engage in new networks, while this relation between what is and what will/would/could be is actually the essence of the urban development concept.
- Though ANT inaugurates flat ontology of the social *(\Latour 2005b)*, **ANT networks are "narrated" by human constituents** *(\Collins and Yearley 1992; \\Czarniawska 1997; Whittle and Spicer 2008; Marshall and Staeheli 2015)* and interpretations and translations are chiefly the product of the researcher's positionality *(\Rose 1997; \Ruming 2009)*. It is acknowledged that the ANT diagram reorders and multiplies if transferred from an actors viewpoint to others or if it is reiterated by other researchers. Therefore, the question of producing the same results regardless of iterations or agency could be raised.
- Perceiving ANT results only as detailed empirical descriptions means

discrediting "how and why" questions, leads to thinking that **its sole aim is maintenance of the system** *(\Amsterdamska 1990; \\Lee and Brown 1994)*, with no regard to prospects for its change or transformation *(\Gabriel and Jacobs 2008)*. From ANT examinations of Savamala, the results were the developmental flows of human collisions and coalitions, finances, practices, information and knowledge, yet without any tools at hand to point out where maintenance, transformation and change of the system happens. With ANT results the researcher was incapable of intervening in an urban system - to articulate social practices, anticipate conflictive urban issues, and provide an overview of actions, solutions and changes - which were identified as the pillars of urban development within this research project.

The ANT diagram assembled in this research addressed the complexity and provided a framework for a future extension of actors and new relations when they collide, overlap and interfere in networks. These networks represented a base for the system dynamics of cooperative, discontinuous, contradictory or even mutually exclusive relations among constantly changing actors and consequent continuous production of new urban realities. In this research, the ANT scheme could neither have told us anything about this, nor have indicated how the urban system maintains, transforms or changes itself. In this respect, even though ANT categorizations and interpretations have successfully dealt with urban complexity, it still fell short of meeting expectations as a potential interpretive tool for urban dynamics.

Bearing all this in mind, this research undertook the task of complementing the ANT approach in order to facilitate an understanding of undercover processes and mechanisms or to provide explanations, recommendations or operational diagnoses on how to cope with urban development as a process. While the MAS provides an engineering approach to space, when applied alone, it fails to address the complex social realm backed up by urban theory. Finally, the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid combines the relativistic view of sociological approach through the Actor-network theory and the reductionist manner of the Multi-agent system in order to build more inclusive and flexible method for addressing the core urban concept - urban development.

8.4 Limitations of the Research

The limitations of the research project mainly result from the restrictions of the research framework and of the methods used.

To begin with, **a trade-off between knowledge and time** is very often at play in the domain of thesis research *(\Harrison 2002)*. The study was an individual research project and processes of data collection and analyses were adapted to the resources at hand. Firstly, the enormous amount of data could not be disentangled completely. Cautious classification of data within numerous clusters gave the opportunity to the researcher to choose the scope of the research. In this sense the environmental questions and issues and infrastructural scapes have been excluded from the study.

The situation on the ground has been changing since 2013 and even more rapidly in the last two years (2015-2017). These fluctuating circumstances required a constant adjustment of the scope of data collection and important re-think toward the systematization and categorization of data. Even though these recent changes have been undertaken to a certain extent in the project, the researcher is aware of the possible gaps and missing updates.

Another pertinent issue was raised around **the case study bias toward verification** *(\Flyvbjerg 2006)*. While the aim of the ANT application was to reduce the influences of the researcher's preconceived notions, the researcher encountered difficulties in this sense within data analyses. Namely, thorough data triangulation was possible on a limited scale, while several clusters of data from the field needed additional verification so that they were excluded from the results. In this scope, another important matter revolves around the categorizations of qualitative data proposed within ANT, MAS and MAS-ANT. Such systematization of the field data required an additional, multitudinous critical and multi-disciplinary review from experts, professionals and practitioners for further uses. Above all, the identified clusters of contextual data [facts, factors, motives, values, aspects etc.] need an extensive quantitative verification before they can be used in practice.

Finally, the researcher aimed to take a critical stance towards the capacity of the study to summarize and develop generalizations and theoretical abstractions. There is **a yawning gap of multifarious verification still to be done for transferring localized categories into abstract clusters for general application.** As *Robinson (\2013)* elaborated, there is not a paved path for moving from the concrete field-work findings and abstractions to a universal analytical framework in urban analysis. A theory/method may work well for a single case, but it does not necessarily apply to another; if it works for several, it may not be the case for many; and if it is applicable for many, very often it does not imply to all cases, in all circumstances. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that MAS-ANT has the potential to be applied in different contexts, but to which extent it cannot be stated or expressed.

8.5 Practical Implications

This thesis aimed to define a method for addressing a concrete situation on the ground through a process of understanding and dealing with current difficulties as they emerge and evolve. Visualized interpretations of the complex agent-network-process map could be applied for **practice-based research on the ground.** Formal and informal groups and international and local organisations as well as activists and citizens could profit from such an exposition of actors and relations for better understanding of how and by whom cities are made and governed.

The style of **infographics** used for data display is highly open for computerization, which enable continual updates of the results, extensive generalizations and conclusions drawing and uninterrupted input and progressive description of new elements and relations. It is important to emphasize that such an idea has already been introduced in urban studies and even more so in practice-based urban research.

Cities tend to urbanize technologies semi-autonomously with increases in density and networked systems that new technologies have made possible. There emerges, however, a growing discrepancy between the dynamics of socio-spatial changes and the weakness of technical supervision; not only in the course of human factors, but also in technological sources and solutions *(\Vauquelin 2010)*. Thus, this research contributes to responding to the necessity to shift the deterministic concept of how

to approach urban research to a more comprehensive, network-oriented vision that considers generating **ICT-oriented approaches and tools** *(\Huang 2012)*.

Bearing this general picture in mind from the very beginning, this research aimed to take a practical course in terms of finding an intermediary between the qualitative data analysis and the data display closely related to modern means of communication. In this regard, the display of results from this study through illustrations creates a precondition for the visualization of these data and eventual digitalization of urban development processes through an ICT model.

8.5.1 Data Visualization

This exercise of visualizing data through the MAS-ANT methodological approach expresses an attempt to depict the complexity of urban actors, forces and artifacts and the dynamics of networks, interdependences and processes to a legible, data-loaded scheme of nodes and links.

The idea behind the visual interpretations was to create a pattern that can be visualized digitally with HTML5 or Java. Static illustrations are limited in terms of the amount of data that can be taken into account and represented while keeping track of the legibility of the diagram. Conversely, dynamic data visualization provides an opportunity to present a lot of data simultaneously, with a large and ever-growing background database.

Accordingly, a digitalized version can be easily modified and updated with data, elements, relations, and conclusions, in comparison to a paper-based version. Digitally visualized data are more user-friendly and user-oriented in the sense that users can easily navigate through, decide upon the scale of the diagram, choose what they want to see and users can browse vertically and horizontally across the dataset.

8.5.2 Approaching Urban Development through an Open-ended Model of Urban System Transitions

The idea of a digital urban development model addresses the current change trends in urban analyses towards an open-ended future concept with an emphasis on inclusive, transparent and flexible procedures *(\Rode 2006)*. The flow of information and pervasiveness of communication technology constitute a developmental core of modern society *(\Sassen 2012)*. These technological advancements have influenced the perception and constitution of reality, they have allowed an accelerating process of the dispersion of activities, a transfer of products, the hypermobility of capital, data distribution, knowledge sharing, and a redefinition of physical space *(\Firmino et al. 2008)*.

A further extension from the illustration through data visualization is a multidimensional digitalized model. The model should be dynamically programmed to comprise local patterns [actor-networks, contextual elements and maintenance, transformation and change processes]. The initial database and the algorithms for their entailment, implication and structuralization should be constructed on the principles of the MAS-ANT methodological approach and its graphical and data visualization tactics. The represented state of urban development processes should be continuously

updated with relevant data to mirror the current situation in the field (e. g. changes in the regulatory framework and space).

The model should enable users to intervene and propose their interpretations of nodes, links and processes. A sum of urban development processes should be based on the individual's direct experience and continually congregated from the data input from participants. Such tendency fosters social inclusion not only in urban practice but also in urban research working also as a knowledge sharing platform on the urban development, complexity and dynamics of urban systems and on the local context. Therefore, an inclusive and dynamic urban development model is actually an articulation of human life in an urban realm which encourages active citizenship.

8.6 Future Prospects

The far-reaching contributions of this research are addressed on the theoretical and methodological level.

In theoretical terms, the question of **urban development in terms of urban system transitions** is an assumption that should be investigated further. This is even more relevant in terms of the distinction of maintenance, transformation and change processes and how they are assembled and distributed in local contexts. Urban development as a set of system transitions in ordinary cities, notwithstanding their developed, developing and transitional nature, should also be put to investigation.

Another issue is the possible practical usefulness of **the MAS-ANT schematic interpretation of data and processes** for participatory planning and ground-up interventions. Its flexibility and iterative nature should be investigated in terms of its capacity to exceed the abstractions of urban planning, the concrete specifics of urban design and the politicization of urban transformations and participatory processes, bringing all of these together as bridges for realms of ideas about urban future.

In this sense it is not only that information acts upon technology, but that technologies also act upon information. While technology and information form an integral part of all human activity today, all processes and relations of individual and collective existence are directly shaped by the new technological medium. What is more, much of the economic, social, political and cultural action shifts into cyberspace *(\Mitchell 1996)*, in the form of a legitimate second reality *(\Baudrillard 1983)* where the interrelations of all material and non-material objects are revised in terms of spaces of relations *(\Graham and Healey 1999)*. Controversially, this does not make the actual places (urban spaces) redundant, but rather it initiates an active reconstruction of urban places *(\Graham and Marvin 2001)* as social constructs whose meaning depends on particular social contexts and their nodes of intersection *(\Healey 2004)*. In the digital world, all cities might become ordinary, just as the Internet enables all the various, ordinary voices/opinions to be heard.

"To live is to leave traces"

Walter Benjamin

8.7 ... Few More Words .. on post-socialist cities

The conceptual framework explained herein pinpoints the blurred and askew morphology of post-socialist cities in the gamut of ordinary cities around the world. Cities in general require dynamic solutions in order to skip the classical procedure of urban formation and development. Consequently, the post-socialist context shows the increased need for proper techniques that exceeds western models and that are spatially and temporally adjusted to current socio-spatial issues, characterized by the blended reality of socialist path and the transitional present.

The urban development of post-socialist cities is perceived as a dynamic concept, a multi-dimensional and integrated system composed of qualitatively different and semi-autonomous processes, with the inclining tendency to address the economic, social, demographic, political and technological state of an urban environment. In view of all this, this thesis proposes an overarching approach to urban development that can encompass all discrepant decision-making forces: future-oriented urban projections (urban planning strategies), in situ transformation forces and potentials (urban transformations), and to follow the creative paths of urban dwellers (participatory urban design activities) for imagining paths of new urban futures. The question of facilitating and localizing urban transitions rests with overlapping urban scenarios from dissonant layers of decision-making, tracking cultural identities, and the requirements and needs of all urban actors, and, in general, indicating the contextual processes of maintenance, transformation and change within an urban system.

[Savamala today..]

Belgrade Waterfront Project in progress_Beobuild.rs

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EDUCATION

[October 2011 – April 2017]
Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), Lausanne, Switzerland PhD thesis *"Urban Development Processes: A Methodological Investigation into the Complexity and Dynamics of Post-Socialist Cities - Case study of Savamala neighbourhood, Belgrade, Serbia"*
Supervisor: Prof. Jean-Claude Bolay, CODEV-EPFL

[June 2007]
Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade, Serbia
Diploma Thesis in Architecture"*Theatre, Music and Dance Centre*"

[October 2000-June 2007]
Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade, Serbia
Master of Architecture (10 semesters+praxis)
Specialization: Urban design and reconstruction

PUBLICATIONS

Contributions to books

* Zeković, S., Maričić, T., Cvetinović, M. (2016) *Transformation of Housing Policy in a Post Socialist City: The Example of Belgrade*. in Regulating the City: Contemporary Urban Housing Law (Eds.J. Sidoli, M. Vols, and M. Kiehl), Eleven International Publishing - Boom Uitgevers Den Haag, The Nederlands, 2016, pp. 41-64, ISBN: 978-94-6236-711-1, ISBN: 978-94-6274-619-0 (e-book)

* Cvetinović, M. and Veselinović, D. (2014) *Instrumental Participation in Serbia: Online Platform for the Dialogue about Public Spaces. Their Availability and Usage*. In Technologies for Sustainable Development, edited by Jean-Claude Bolay Silvia Hostettler, and Eileen Hazboun, 159–70. Chapter 14: Springer International Publishing (http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-319-00639-0_14).

* Cvetinović, Marija. (2016) *Reading Case Studies*. In Learning from the Slums for the Development of Emerging Cities, edited by Jean-Claude Bolay, Jérôme Chenal, and Yves Pedrazzini, 45–46. Cham: Springer International Publishing. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-31794-6_4.

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* Cvetinovi, M., Nedovic-Budic, Z., Bolay, JC. (2017) *Decoding Urban Development Dynamics through Actor-Network Methodological Approach.* Geoforum 82: 141–57. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.03.010.

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* Zekovic S, Vujosevic M, Bolay JC, Cvetinovic M, Zivanovic Miljkovic J, M (2015) *Planning and Land Policy Tools for Limiting Urban Sprawl: The Example of Belgrade*. SPATIUM, N° 33, June 2015, pp. 69-75.

Conference Publications

* Cvetinovic, M. (2016) *Is the Economy of Social Exchange in Service of Bottom-up Urban Development? Savamala Civic District in Belgrade, Serbia*. RC21 The transgressive city 2016. Mexico City, Mexico..

* Cvetinovic, M. (2016) G*uidelines to Reinterpret Decision Making Complexity for Multifaceted Urban Governance in Belgrade, Serbia.* RSA 2nd North America Conference Cities and Regions, Atlanta, USA.

* Cvetinovic, M. (2015) *Unfolding governance practices for top-down management of urban conflicts in a post-socialist neighbourhood in Belgrade.* International Conference "Local Government And Urban Governance: Citizen Responsive Innovations In Europe And In Africa". Lisbon, Portugal.

* Cvetinovic, M. (2015) *Urban development model of an ordinary city in the constant state of change - the MAS-ANT methodological approach.* RGS-IBG Annual International Conference 2015 - Innovative Methodologies in Postgraduate Research. Exeter, UK.

* Cvetinović M, Bolay JC (2014) *Decoding Urban Dynamics through Cross-Pollination Transfer of Concepts and Frameworks within MAS-ANT Methodological Approach in Urban Planning.* ICITSBE 2014: The Second International Conference on Innovation and Technology for Sustainable Built Environment, Ipoh, Malaysia

* Cvetinović M, Sretović V (2014) *Unfolding Urban Planning Model for Top-down Management of Urban Conflicts in a Post-socialist City: Case Study of Savamala Neighbourhood in Belgrade*. Urban and Landscape Days: the 11th Conference - Socialist and Post-socialist Urbanizations, Architecture, Land and Property Rights, Tallin, Estonia

* Cvetinović M, Kucina I, Bolay JC (2013) *An Engine for Bottom-up Urban Development in Action: A Case Study of Savamala Civic District*. ISOCARP Congress 2013: Frontiers of Planning – Evolvoing and Declining Models of City Planning Practice, Brisbane, Australia (http://www.eventure-online.com/parthen-uploads/95/13BRI/add226821_E2r5KXwZtn.pdf)

* Cvetinović M, Bolay JC (2013) *How to Technologize Urban Planning Procedures in Order to Boost Urban Development*. RESPAG Conference 2013: Regional Development, Spatial Planning and Strategic Governance, Belgrade, Serbia (http://iaus.ac.rs/upload/download/Monografije/Conference%20Proceedings-RESPAG.pdf)

* Cvetinović M (2012) *Shared Creativity – a Driving Force of Urban Development*. ISOCARP Congress 2012: Fast Forward - Planning in a (Hyper) Dynamic Urban Context, Perm, Russia (http://www.isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/2272.pdf)

* Sretović V, Brković M, Cvetinović M (2011) *Green Energy and Cultural Heritage Preservation: Case Studies from Serbia*. ISOCARP Congress 2011: Liveable Cities - Urbanising World, Meeting the Challenge, Wuhan, China (http://www.isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/2034.pdf)

* Brković M, Sretović V, Cvetinović M (2011) *Green Energy to Support Liveability: A Case Study of Energy Shift to the Small Hydro-Systems in Serbia*. ISOCARP Congress 2011: Liveable Cities - Urbanising World, Meeting the Challenge, Wuhan, China (http://www.isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/2031.pdf)

Unpublished work

* Cvetinovic, M., Nedovic-Budic, Z., Bolay, JC. (2017) *Examining Post-socialist Urbanity by Methodological Cross-Pollination*.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

[September 2016]
EPFL-ETHZ board funding for Summer school organization
EPFL-ETHZ Summer school "*Assembling cities*", ETHZ Zurich, Switzerland

[May 2016]
Scientific Committee of the 2016 Tech4Dev Conference
UNESCO Chair in Technologies for Development: From Innovation to Social Impact
Lausanne, Switzerland

[2015 – 2018]
SNSF Institutional partnerships (SCOPES)
SNSF Research Project IZ74Z0_160503 / 1
"Support to Process of Urban Development in Serbia (SPUDS)"

[2014 – 2017]
SNSF Project funding in Architecture and Social urban science
SNSF Research Project 100013_152572 / 1
"Urban Development Model of a Post-socialist City in a Transitional Country: Case Study of Savamala Neighbourhood, Belgrade, Serbia"

Research related experience

[August 2016]
EPFL-ETHZ Summer school "*Anthropolgy of Complexity*", Lausanne, Switzerland

[May 2013]
ITU Istanbul International workshop "*Computational Urban Analysis*", Istanbul, Turkey

[July 2011]
Workshop "*Culture & The CITY, Entrepreneurship in the arts*", KC Grad, Belgrade

SCHOLARSHIPS

[October 2015 - April 2016]
SNSF - Mobility in projects, Switzerland

[September 2011 - June 2012]
Swiss Government scholarship, Swizerland

[October 2003 - June 2005]
Serbian Government scholarship, Serbia

WORK EXPERIENCE

[August 2012 – May 2013]
"IG-news" Web platform, Montreux, Switzerland
Graphic design & Web content management
Position: *Graphic Editor*

[February 2011 – September 2011]
"Culturbanization Project" Initiative for Urban Studies and Urban Development, Belgrade, Serbia
Site-specific projects for dealing with non-functioning urban environments in Belgrade, Serbia.
Position: *Project Management and Research*

[March 2010 – June 2010]
"Viva Arhitektura" Bureau of Interior Design, Belgrade, Serbia
Interior Design & Execution
Position: *Senior Architect*

[May 2008 – January 2010]
"Architerra" Bureau of Architectural Affairs, Belgrade,Serbia
Design & Execution of Buildings
Position: *Architect*

[July 2007 - May 2008]
"S. P. Eurodom Co. Co." Company for Execution and Construction of Projects, Athens and Belgrade
Construction of Interiors
Position: *Architect*

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Serbian Association of Architects
Member; license number: 300 K257 11

TECHNICAL SKILLS

Office suits: MS Office, Endnote, Zotero, Mendeley

GIS & Databases: QuantumGIS, PostgreSQL, RapidMiner

Graphic Software: AutoCAD, Rhino&Grasshoper, Adobe (Illustrator, Photoshop, InDesign), Google SketchUp

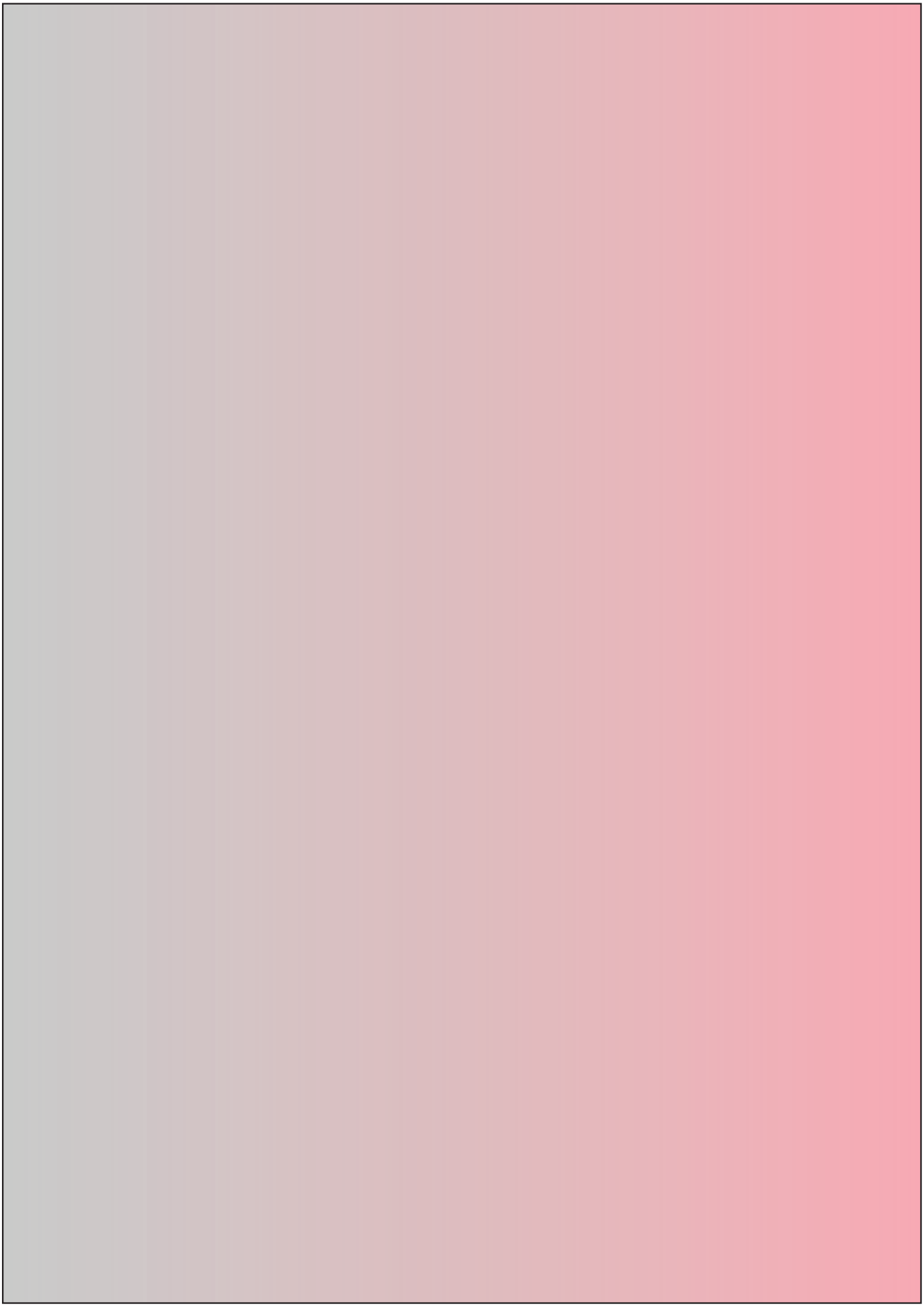
Open source: Linux. Latex, Git

LANGUAGES

English
CAE certificate, British Council (2010);
Toefl IBT, (2011-2013)

French
Français DELF B2, le Ministère français de l'Education nationale (2011)

German
B2 Mittelstufe Deutsch, Österreich Institut (2010)



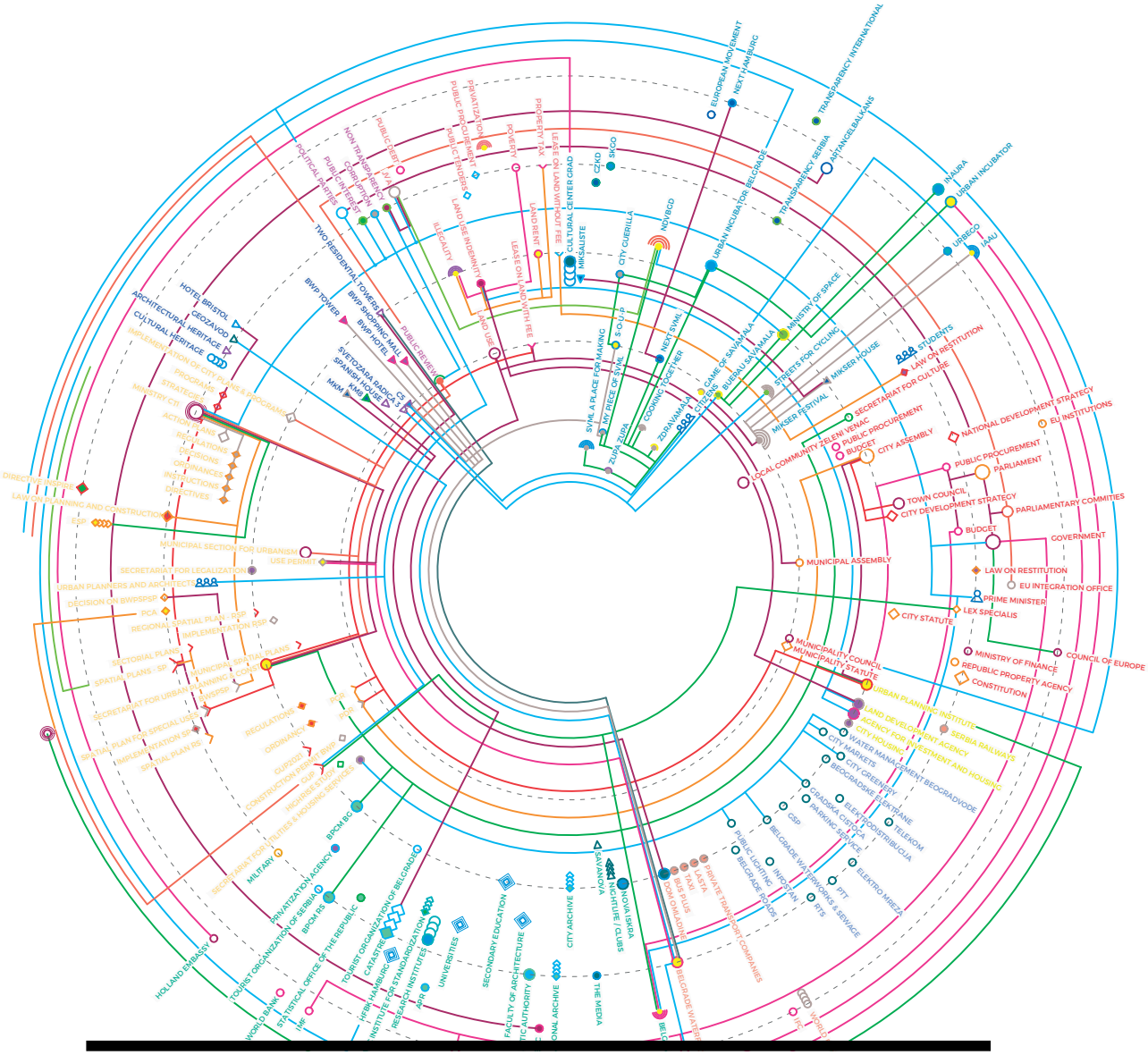
Urban Development Processes

A Methodological Investigation into the Complexity & Dynamics of Post-socialist Cities

A Case Study of Savamala Neighbourhood in Belgrade, Serbia

by Marija Cvetinovic

[ANNEX]



Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June, 2017

ANNEX A

Preliminary Interviews

[A: Preliminary Interviews]

*conducted in Serbian

	position	institution	date	topic	urban decision-making layer			
					urban planning	real estate	participation	urban design
[A1]	expert	FAUB	Jun-13	operational strategy of Goethe Institute in Savamala; urban issues in Belgrade from 1970s onward	#		#	#
[A2]			Aug-14	practice-based urban research in Savamala			#	#
[A3]			Sep-15	Savamala district, URBEGO activities, Spanish house			#	#
[A4]			Nov-15	the future of Savamala in between NGOs, arts and cultural activities and BWP		#	#	
[A5]	PhD student	FAUB	Nov-15	young professionals and their insight in Savamala activities			#	
[A6]	international activist		Sep-15	activities of NGOs, professionals and citizens in Savamala			#	
[A7]	expert	IAUS	Apr-15	The role of planning Institutions and public participation in urban planning and real estate	#	#		
[A8]			Apr-15	Development of post-socialist cities in Serbia	#	#		
[A9]			Oct-15	BWF	#	#		
[A10]			Apr-16	BWF, Urban land management in Belgrade	#	#		
[A11]			Nov-16	History of urban planning and land management in Serbia	#	#		
[A12]	activist	Ministry of Space Collective	Nov-13	Bureau Savamala activities			#	#
[A13]			Jul-14	NGOs in Savamala; activities of the Ministry of Space collective			#	#
[A14]			Sep-15	BWF; NDVBG	#	#		
[A15]	architect	School of Urban Practices collective [Skola urbanih praksi]	Sep-15	My piece of Savamala			#	#
[A16]			Nov-15	School of Urban practices, Spanish House, Urban Incubator			#	#
[A17]	public officer	Municipality "Savski venac"	Jul-14	local & municipal legislation			#	#
[A18]	cultural worker	Urban Incubator	Sep-14	activities and plans			#	#

ANNEX B

In-depth Interviews

[B: In-depth Interviews]

*conducted in Serbian

	profession	institution	date	MAS-ANT related concepts	Interview Grid
[B1]	expert	IAUS	Nov-16	regulatory framework; planning framework; real-estate; urban conflicts; spatial capacities	A
[B2]	expert	University ofDesau, BINA organization (Belgrade)	Aug-15	social potentials, urban conflicsts, urban practices	A
[B3]	planning professional	Urban Planning Institute	Nov-16	spatial capacities, social potentials, transformations, top-down urban planning, urban assemblage networks, networks of influences	B
[B4]	urban planner	Secretariat for Urbanism	Nov-16	urban assemblage networks	B
[B5]	cultural worker	KC Grad	Nov-16	social potentials; urban transformations; networks of influences; urban assemblage networks; urban key agents	C
[B6]	cultural worker	Mikser	Nov-16	urban assemblage networks; urban key agents; social potentials; urban conflicts	C
[B7]	members	School of Urban Practices collective [Skola urbanih praksi]	Nov-16	spatial capacities, social potentials, urban conflicts	C
[B8]		NDVBG organisation	Nov-16	urban conflicts; urbanity; urban transformations, changes; urban key agents; spatial capacities; social potentials	C
[B9]	expert	Palgo Centar	Dec-16	spatial capacities; top-down urban planning; real-estate transformations; urban assemblage networks; socially functional networks	A
[B10]	citizen		Nov-16	networks of influeces; Urban assemblage networks; urban key agents; social potentials	D
[B11]	citizen		Nov-16	urban key agents in Savamala; contextual resources	D
[B12]	employee	Belgrade Waterfront construction	Nov-16	urban assemblage networks; human and non-human agents	E
[B13]	architect / board member	Association of Architects [Drustvo arhitekata Beograda]	Nov-16	real-estate transformations, processes of maintenance, transformation and change; urban conflicts; urbanity; spatial capacities; social potentials	A
[B14]	enterpreneur	Private enterprise	Nov-16	processes of maintenance, transformation, change; spatial capacities, social potentials, social practices and urban conflicts	D

Interview Grid A : researchers, experts

What are the most significant territorial capital in Belgrade?
What is your opinion on planning documents and institutions?
What is your opinion on the transparency of urban planning processes and procedures?
What is your opinion on the current state of urban decision making, land policies and regulatory framework in Belgrade?
What about public financing, privatization and taxes?
What do you think about public participation in Serbia, and regulations and institutions that are behind it?
What is your opinion on top-down approach and its presence in serbian planning discourse?
Is a wider social context being properly considered, e.g. social, economic, ideological? If not, what are the major issues?

How do you see management of NGOs that deal with urban activities?
What is, in your opinion, the relationship between these NGOs and local authorities and Secretariat for Urbanism?
How do you perceive the relations between NGOs and real-estate in dealing with current issues?
What is your opinion on the Belgrade Waterfront project? How do you see the future of this project and what will come out of it?
What do you think about the local/global conflicts in Savamala, and how do the involved parties deal with these issues?

What is your opinion on the new regulations regarding urban planning in Belgrade and Belgrade Waterfront project?
What are the roles of city manager and city architect in dealing with these issues?
What is the role of Secretariat and Ministry of Construction in these issues?
What do you think about the ongoing projects - Beko Master Plan, The City on the Water, Beton Hala, Belgrade Waterfront?
What is your opinion on the activities and events happening in Savamala, e.g. Urban Incubator, My piece of Savamala etc.?
What are the activities of your Society regarding Savamala?
Does your Society collaborate with any other organizations and/or individuals in regards to activities in Savamala?
What are the usual practices and conflicts in Savamala, regarding social and spatial resources?
What are your strategies regarding spatial and social capacities of the city?
What is the definition of urbanity for you? Is that term adequate to explain the state of urban milieu?

How would you characterize current strategic documents in Belgrade?
What is the attitude of experts towards BWP?
What is, in your opinion, current status of cooperation between city authorities, urban planning authorities, professionals, and NG research organizations?

Interview Grid B: urban planning professionals, public servants

Who are parties involved in Savamala activities, and who are you collaborating with, institutions and others?
What is you opinion on projects and regulation plans for Savamala? What is the role of your Institute in this?
What are the usual practices and conflicts around Savamala, regarding social and spatial resources, in last 10 years?
Do you think the projects and plans are transparent? Are the citizens involved in the process?
Has anything changed in regards to strategic approach to planning? How are things implemented, and what are the challenges?
What is your role in implementation?

How does the planning process work? How would you characterize institutional documents, relations, procedures, processes?
What is your opinion on current situation in Savamala?
What has been happening in urban planning in Belgrade during your professional career (15 years)? How things have been changing?
What is going to happen in Savamala?

Interview Grid C: civil sector

What kind of activites do you carry out?
Since when have you been present in Savamala?
Do you communicate and collaborate with representatives from the city, or with some foreign organizations? What kind of relationship do you have with city and municipal authorities?
In which way do you engage in issues of space and environment?
What are the ways your activities are connected with Savamala?
What is your opinion on the City on Water project?
What are your plans for the future?
What is your opinion on NDM BGD organization?
In your opinion, is the Mikser House the cause or the effect of all the activities that had happened in Savamala?

How are the organizations in Savamala financed?
How are activities and events in Savamala financed, e.g. "My piece of Savamala"?
Has the perception and participation of some of the involved changed? In which way?
Do you think there will be a lasting effect of all the events and activities that took place in Savamala?
What is the relationship with republican, city, municipal and local community authorities? Do the Belgrade Waterfront project and the Mayor and the City Architect have the same interests? Are they on the same page?

What's your relationship with other involved parties (individuals or organizations), e.g. City Secretariat, Institute for Urban planning, Faculty of Architecture, citizens, Goethe Institute, Mikser, KC Grad etc?
What is your opinion on the demolition in Savamala?
What are your short- and long-term strategies? Which social aspects are you dealing with, through what kind of activities?
What are the usual practices and conflicts in Savamala, regarding social and spatial resources? What is the stance of bottom-up approach towards these issues?
In which ways is the bottom-up approach active and in which passive?
How does the bottom-up approach relate to maintenance, transformation and change of urban environment?
Is the bottom-up approach really from bottom to up?

What was the genesis of Ministry of Space, from the spatial interventions to political activities?
Do you think that other capacities of Savamala are ""forgotten"" (e.g. cultural heritage) because of its attractive location?
What is happening with the demolition that took place?
What do you think will be the consequences? Who is responsible for the demolition?
Do the Institutions see these problems only through the legislation? Do they take into account private and cultural heritage?
Do you think that the Belgrade Waterfront project is more a change based on conflict then a real transformation?

Does the top-down approach really consider all the involved parties and do the regulations serve the best interest of all?
Are there any other changes happening in the city because of the changes of regulations regarding Belgrade Waterfront project?
What is your opinion on the relation of different stakeholders towards spatial and social resources?
Do you think that Belgrade Waterfront project is a genuine Belgrade problem, or is it just a representative of similar things happening all over the world?
What do you think should be done to empower civil sector and citizens so their voice on the matter can be heard?
What is your definition of the term urbanity and do you use it?

Interview Grid D: citizens, local entrepreneurs

When did the activities in Savamala begin?
For how long have you been living in Savamala?
Did you, or do you, take part in Savamala activities? In which way?
In your opinion, what are the positive and negative sides of Savamala?
Do you communicate and cooperate with anyone regarding Savamala activities, individual(s) or organizations?
What do you think are the effects of activities and changes happening in Savamala?
What is your opinion on Belgrade Waterfront project?
What is the attitude of the City, the Municipality and Local Community towards Savamala?
Are you a member of any organization?
What do you think will happen with Savamala in 5 to 10 years?

Interview Grid E: BWP milieu

When did the cooperation begin?
What are the constructions and projects you are working on?
What type of contracts do you sign? And your company?
Was your company involved in the reconstruction of Belgrade Cooperative?
Do you have all the permits for the construction of towers? And for coastal fortification? What companies will work on the construction? Who are the architects?

What is your stand on the issue of coastal fortification?
What is your relationship with the Bureau for the protection of Heritage?
What is the future of the Belgrade Waterfront project? What about the infrastructure, transportation, the complex as a whole?

Questionnaires

ANNEX C

[Q1: Post-socialist framework]

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Post-socialist Institutional Practice: Agents & Relations

1. General Information

* 1. **Gender**

- Male
- Female

* 2. **Age**

- <30
- 30-50
- >50

* 3. **Present job**

Please select only 1 response.

- urban planning practice
- urban research
- urban authorities
- other

Please specify what you mean by "other"..

Answers in Serbian are accepted.

* 4. **Specialization**

Please select only 1 response.

- social sciences
- architecture
- urban planning
- design
- other

Please specify what you mean by "other"..

Answers in Serbian are accepted.

5. **Does your company/institution work internationally?**

- [ ] No
- [ ] Yes, my company has international supervisors/advisers
- [ ] Yes, my company presents its work internationally
- [ ] Yes, my company works on international research projects
- [ ] Yes, my company has international clients

Yes,..

Answers in Serbian are accepted.

6. **Are you involved in international collaborations of your company/institution?**

- Yes
- No

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Post-socialist Institutional Practice: Agents & Relations

2. Actors & Networks

* 7. Reorder the local actors in *Belgrade* according to their importance, from the most to the least important actor group..

Drag & drop the local actors in vertical order of importance (1 on the top being the most important)

- Citizens
- Local NGOs
- International NGOs
- Local community (mesna zajednica)
- Municipal authorities
- City authorities
- National authorities
- City planning deparments
- Ministry of construction, urbanism & infrastructure
- Private investors
- Universities and educational institutions
- Public enterprises
- Public-private enterprises
- Research institutions
- Political parties
- The media
- Private investment funds
- Professional association of architects

8. **If you can think of any other urban actors and stakeholders, which are not mentioned in the above list, please list them.**

Answers in Serbian are accepted.

5

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Post-socialist Institutional Practice: Agents & Relations

3. Actors & Networks

* 9. **From your point of view, who are *the agents* of the urban regulatory framework?**

- [ ] Public administration
- [ ] Urban planning authorities
- [ ] Policy agendas
- [ ] Legal framework
- [ ] Technical documentation
- [ ] Other

Please specify what you mean by "other".
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

6

* 10. **What networks result from *institutional relations* between agents of the urban regulatory framework?**

- [ ] Planning
- [ ] Administration
- [ ] Regulations
- [ ] Management
- [ ] Consulting
- [ ] Verification
- [ ] Control
- [ ] Financial
- [ ] Archiving
- [ ] Implementation
- [ ] Construction
- [ ] Research
- [ ] Education
- [ ] Other

Please specify what you mean by "other".
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

7

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Post-socialist Institutional Practice: Agents & Relations

4. Social Aspects of Post-socialist Cities

Political aspects

8

* 11. **What are the most significant political aspects of *post-socialist cities*?**

	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition
Interest based pluralist political life			
Social polarization			
De-institutionalization of socio-spatial practices			
Centralized state			
Ungrounded institutional formalizations			
Artificial/shallow decentralization & democratization			
Total dependency on global trends/guidelines			
Local incapacity			
Inconsistent institutional procedures			
Flawed institutional processes			
Cumbersome institutional structure			
Political voluntarism			
Provisory rules			
Planners deprived of binding authority & professional dignity			
Controversial foreign influences			
Vertical clientelism in institutional framework			
Prolonged regulatory gap in terms of urban development policy			
Inadequate policies and instruments for urban management			

12. **Can you think of any other political aspects not mentioned in the above table?**
If yes, please, provide examples.
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

9

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Post-socialist Institutional Practice: Agents & Relations

5. Social Aspects of Post-socialist Cities

Economic aspects

10

* 13. **What are the most significant economic aspects of *post-socialist cities*?**

	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition
Controversial foreign influences			
Dependence on global economic circumstances			
Inequal distribution of resources			
From supply to demand driven economy			
Growing imbalance between the social role of the budget (public social services) and the its developmental role (market-oriented)			
Growth without development			
High public debt			
Low economic growth			
Planned to market based economy			
Poverty			
Prolonged regulatory gap in terms of investments			
Public to private ownership transition			
Rudimentary market based regulatory instruments			
Transition - industrial to service based society			
Vertical clientelism in institutional framework			
Unfair wealth redistribution			
Urban centralization			
Ungrounded institutional formalizations			
Unregulated urban economy incentives & measures			
Unemployment rate			

14. **Can you think of any other economic aspects not mentioned in the above table?**
If yes, please, provide examples.
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

11

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Post-socialist Institutional Practice: Agents & Relations

6. Social Aspects of Post-socialist Cities

Cultural aspects

* 15. **What are the most significant cultural aspects of *post-socialist cities*?**

	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition
Authoritarian hierarchy of institutional power			
Cities as centres of innovation, diversity			
Cuts in budget spending for culture			
Globalization impact - from isolated to integrated position in the world			
Lack of strategic development goals for cultural institutions & agendas			
No adequate educational framework			
Planner profile nominally dominant role in urban context			
Planning laws are deeply embedded in their societal context			
Planning is deeply embedded in the societal context - planning law & planning practice			
Poor networking & collaboration among cultural institutions			
Privatization of media (television, radio, newspapers)			
Spatial fragmentation			
Total dependency on global trends/guidelines			
Transition - from nominal equity to citizen passivity & resignation			
Urban vision changed - from big is beautiful to small & private commercial ventures			

12

16. **Can you think of any other cultural aspects not mentioned in the above table?**
If yes, please, provide examples.
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Post-socialist Institutional Practice: Agents & Relations

8. Professional Practice

* 19. **How do you treat your professional role?**
Please select only 1 response.

- As a profession (financial foundation)
- As a calling (altruistic incentives – a desire to do something for others)
- Other

Please specify what you mean by "other".
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

20. **If you have any additional comments, please list them below.**
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Post-socialist Institutional Practice: Agents & Relations

7. Social Aspects of Post-socialist Cities

17. **Can you think of any other social aspects not mentioned in the above tables?**
If yes, please, provide examples.
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

18. **Can you think of any other contextual aspects in *Belgrade*?**
If yes, please, provide examples.
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

[Q2: Savamala]

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

General Information

1. **Gender**

- Female
- Male

* 2. **Current level of your studies**

- Bachelor
- Master
- Master 2
- PhD
- Other

Please specify what you mean by "other".
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

* 3. **Your professional field of interest**

- social sciences
- architecture
- art & design
- urban planning, urban studies, human geography
- engineering
- computing
- other

Please specify what do you mean by "other".. (Answers in Serbian are also accepted)

* 4. **What is the supposed/ideal future domain of your work?**

- Practice
- Education
- Research
- NGO
- Administration
- Design
- Freelance
- Activism
- Art
- Other

Please specify what do you mean by "other".. (Answers in Serbian are also accepted)

* 5. **Have you studied Savamala in your bachelor/master courses or have you done any of your student projects on the case study of Savamala?**

- Yes
- No

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

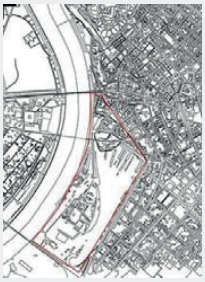
Savamala: General Information

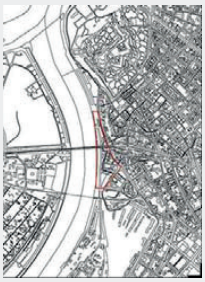
* 6. **How would you describe Savamala in 2 words?**
Choose 2 responses.

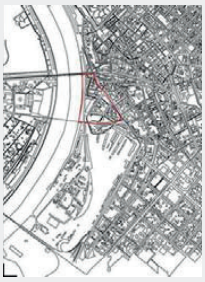
- deteriorating
- devastated
- creative cluster
- central area
- polluted
- noisy
- underdeveloped
- disadvantaged
- unsafe
- small commercial area
- waterfront area
- incubator of culture
- brownfield area
- urban heritage
- transit area
- other

Please specify what you mean by "other".
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

* 7. **What are the boundaries of Savamala?**
Choose the picture wihich best corresponds to your impression.







ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

Savamala: General Information

* 8. **What was the topic addressing Savamala in the course? What was your student project in Savamala about?**

Answers in Serbian are accepted.

* 9. **How would you describe Savamala in 2 words?**

Choose 2 responses.

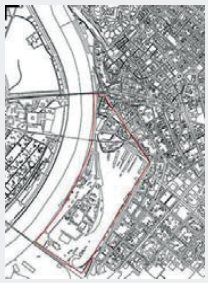
- [ ] deteriorating
- [ ] devastated
- [ ] creative cluster
- [ ] central area
- [ ] polluted
- [ ] noisy
- [ ] underdeveloped
- [ ] disadvantaged
- [ ] unsafe
- [ ] small commercial are
- [ ] waterfront area
- [ ] incubator of culture
- [ ] brownfield area
- [ ] urban heritage
- [ ] transit area
- [ ] other

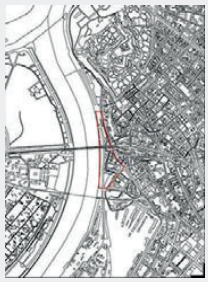
Please specify what you mean by "other".

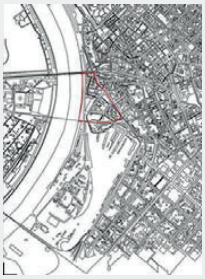
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

* 10. **What are the boundaries of Savamala?**

Choose the picture wihich best corresponds to your impression.







* 11. Reorder the urban functions in *Savamala* according to their presence in the neighbourhood, from the most to the least represented urban function..
Drag & drop the urban functions in vertical order (1 on the top being the most represented)

- residential
- commercial
- transport
- industrial
- cultural
- educational
- port
- leisure
- public services
- abandoned areas

* 12. **Who are the local actors& stakeholders in Savamala?**
Please choose all possible answers.

- [ ] citizens
- [ ] the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade
- [ ] local NGOs
- [ ] international NGOs
- [ ] local community (mesna zajednica)
- [ ] municipal authorities
- [ ] city authorities
- [ ] city mayor
- [ ] city architect
- [ ] national authorities
- [ ] city planning departments
- [ ] Ministry of construction, urbanism & infrastructure
- [ ] private investors
- [ ] universities and educational institutions
- [ ] public enterprises
- [ ] public-private enterprises
- [ ] research institutions
- [ ] political parties
- [ ] professional association of engineers (inzenjerska komora)
- [ ] other

Please specify what you mean by "other".
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

Savamala: General Information

* 13. Reorder the local actors in Belgrade/Savamala according to their influence/power, from the most to the least influential/powerful actor group.
Drag & drop the local actors in vertical order of influence/power (1 on the top being the most influential/powerful)

- No local power poles, everything is grounded upon the powerful, centralized nation state
- city authorities
- powerful economic actors
- public enterprises
- management offices in public companies, public utility companies, public administration
- powerful international institutions
- citizens

* 14. **Please indicate how these circumstances influence the quality of urban environment in Savamala?**

	positive	neutral	negative
selective application of the law			
unstable urban regulatory framework (continuous changes & adaptation of laws & regulations)			
unsolved property issues			
social and spatial segregation of rich and poor			
circumstances arising as a result of marketization of society			
privatization of urban space			
dominance of "nouveaux riches" social cluster			
demographic pressure			
service economy			
global economic crisis			
influence of powerful economic actors on urban transformations			
consumerism			
micro interventions & private ventures in urban space			
international & national NGO projects on urban issues			
informal liaisons among urban actors & stakeholders			

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

Bottom-up activities in Savamala

* 15. **To your knowledge, what formal & informal groups & organisations were/are active in Savamala?**
Please, make an exhaustive list of all international, non-governmental, civil and private organizations.
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

* 16. **What activities these organisations/groups are engaged in?**
Please choose all possible answers.

- [ ] artistic
- [ ] promoting culture
- [ ] design
- [ ] entertainment
- [ ] commercial
- [ ] communal
- [ ] political
- [ ] leisure
- [ ] educational
- [ ] research
- [ ] promoting participation
- [ ] architectural
- [ ] promoting urban design
- [ ] humanitarian

17. **If you have in mind any other activities of these organisations/groups, please list them below.**
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

* 18. **What is the most important entry point to increase social participation and transparency in Savamala local context?**

- ○ legislation changes
- ○ further/special education for the staff of administrative & regulatory institutions
- ○ civil disobedience & interventions
- ○ decentralization & limiting political power
- ○ slow, incremental transformation
- ○ other

Please specify what do you mean by "other".. (Answers in Serbian are also accepted)

* 19. **Please indicate which of the listed characteristics of Savamala are addressed/profited from in the bottom-up activities in the neighbourhood.**
Only one choice per row is possible.

	yes	no
Abandoned & ruined buildings	○	○
Accessibility	○	○
Amorphous urban form	○	○
Architectural heritage	○	○
Attractive location for private investments	○	○
Cultural & artistic trends in the neighbourhood	○	○
Criminal activities (petty crimes)	○	○
Cultural heritage	○	○
Deteriorating industrial areas	○	○
Disintegration of tradition & heritage	○	○
Empty plots	○	○
Renovation & revitalization of urban & architectural heritage	○	○
Inadequate regulatory framework	○	○
Interest from powerful economic actors with strong political influence	○	○
Lack of data on physical environment	○	○
Lack of data on social structure	○	○
Marginalized groups living in the area	○	○
Marketization, privatization & commodification pressure	○	○
Creative capital in Belgrade	○	○
Noise & pollution	○	○
Openess/willingness of citizens to participate/collaborate	○	○
International interest in Savamala potential	○	○
Proximity of bus & train terminal	○	○
Proximity of city center	○	○

	yes	no
Proximity of the river	○	○
Recognizable cultural identity	○	○
Richness of tradition (crafts)	○	○
Trade & artisanal area	○	○
Transition area (traffic bottle neck)	○	○
Vivid night life	○	○

ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

The future of Savamala

* 20. **From your point of view, what are the most suitable urban functions for Savamala so that it can represent a successful story of harmonized urban development?**
Please choose 1-4 options.

- [ ] residential
- [ ] commercial
- [ ] transport
- [ ] industrial
- [ ] cultural
- [ ] educational
- [ ] port
- [ ] leisure
- [ ] public services
- [ ] abandoned areas
- [ ] other

Please specify what you mean by "other",
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

* 21. **From your point of view, what is the future of Savamala in terms of urban development, governance and management?**

- ( ) Savamala will stay as is: a shabby cultural cluster for new social class of hipsters & yuccies
- ( ) Savamala will continue to deteriorate with several occasional renovations of its physical structure from time to time
- ( ) Savamala will be gradually renovated through phases of destruction and construction of individual buildings, but its spirit will stay the same
- ( ) Savamala will lose its importance after bus and train terminal are moved to new locations
- ( ) In due course, new plan for Savamala will be enacted and it will define its future that best corresponds to its position and character
- ( ) Savamala will become the part of public waterfront area with public cultural, educational, recreational spaces and open green areas
- ( ) In the long term, Savamala will be destroyed as the part of "Belgrade Waterfront" programme
- ( ) Other

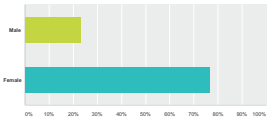
Please specify what do you mean by "other".. (Answers in Serbian are also accepted)

22. **What are your learning goals and expectations for this workshop?**
Please list below whatever you find relevant in terms of professional domain, educational and research approach, type of information and data analysis, evaluating criteria..
Answers in Serbian are accepted.

[C1: Post-socialist framework - EXPERT results]

Q1 Gender

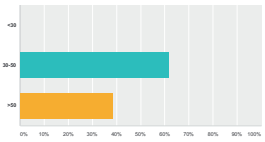
Answered: 13 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
Male	23.08%	3
Female	76.92%	10
Total		13

Q2 Age

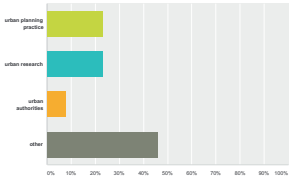
Answered: 13 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
<30	0.00%	0
30-50	61.54%	8
>50	38.46%	5
Total		13

Q3 Present job Please select only 1 response.

Answered: 13 Skipped: 0



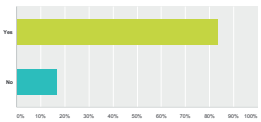
Answer Choices	Responses	
urban planning practice	23.08%	3
urban research	23.08%	3
urban authorities	7.69%	1
other	46.15%	6

Yes, my company has international supervisors/advisers	8.33%	1
Yes, my company presents its work internationally	16.67%	2
Yes, my company works on international research projects	58.33%	7
Yes, my company has international clients	25.00%	3
Total Respondents: 12		

#	Yes...Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	Libija, Bosna, Crna Gora	10/21/2015 9:00 AM
2	retired	10/20/2015 5:37 PM

Q6 Are you involved in international collaborations of your company/institution?

Answered: 12 Skipped: 1



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	83.33%	10
No	16.67%	2
Total		12

Q7 Reorder the local actors in Belgrade according to their importance, from the most to the least important actor group.. Drag & drop the local actors in vertical order of importance (no1 on the top being the most important)

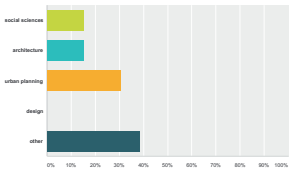
Answered: 10 Skipped: 3

Total	13

#	Please specify what you mean by "other"...Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	Urban activism	10/26/2015 11:02 PM
2	Associate Professor	10/21/2015 11:27 AM
3	održivi transportni sistemi, infrastrukturni planovi projekti i istraživanja, regionalno planiranje	10/21/2015 9:00 AM
4	retired	10/20/2015 5:37 PM
5	Non governmental organization	10/20/2015 4:45 PM
6	spatial and urban planning	10/19/2015 12:44 PM

Q4 Specialization Please select only 1 response.

Answered: 13 Skipped: 0

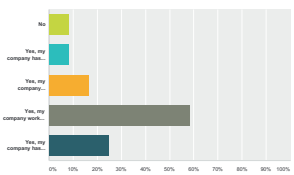


Answer Choices	Responses	
social sciences	15.38%	2
architecture	15.38%	2
urban planning	30.77%	4
design	0.00%	0
other	38.46%	5
Total		13

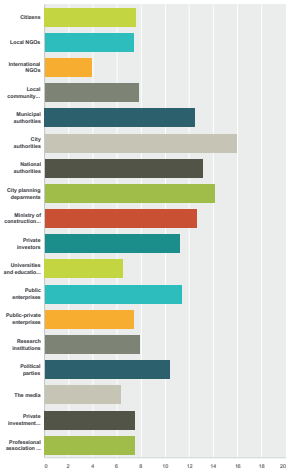
#	Please specify what you mean by "other"...Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	regional planning, economics, investment	10/21/2015 7:27 PM
2	Prostorno planiranje infrastrukturnih sistema	10/21/2015 9:00 AM
3	spatial and urban planning; land use planning; land policy; urban, peri-urban and rural planning; urban and peri-urban agriculture; protection and use of agricultural land; valorization of natural conditions and constraints of the spatial development	10/19/2015 12:44 PM
4	spatial planning	10/19/2015 7:03 AM
5	spatial planning and strategic issues	10/16/2015 1:09 PM

Q5 Does your company/institution work internationally?

Answered: 12 Skipped: 1



Answer Choices	Responses	
No	8.33%	1



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	Sc
Citizens	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	10	7
Local NGOs	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	30.00% 3	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	7
International NGOs	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	30.00% 3	10	3
Local community (mesna zajednica)	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10	7
Municipal authorities	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	30.00% 3	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	12
City authorities	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	30.00% 3	20.00% 2	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	15
National authorities	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	13
City planning deparments	0.00% 0	40.00% 4	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	14
Ministry of construction, urbanism & infrastructure	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 5	30.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	12
Private investors	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	11
Universities and educational institutions	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	30.00% 3	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	10	6
Public enterprises	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	11
Public-private enterprises	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	30.00% 3	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	7

Research institutions	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	40.00% 4	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10	7
Political parties	30.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	10	10
The media	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	10	6
Private investment funds	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10	7
Professional association of architects	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	30.00% 3	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10	7

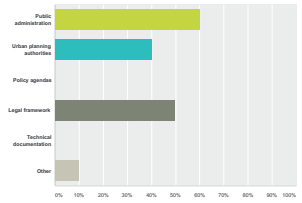
Q8 If you can think of any other urban actors and stakeholders, which are not mentioned in the above list, please list them. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 3 Skipped: 10

#	Responses	Date
1	no	10/21/2015 11:33 AM
2	artists	10/16/2015 11:37 PM
3	The Prime Minister	10/16/2015 1:14 PM

Q9 From your point of view, who are the agents of the urban regulatory framework?

Answered: 10 Skipped: 3

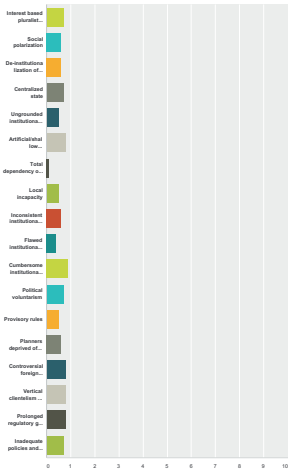


Answer Choices	Responses	
Public administration	60.00%	6
Urban planning authorities	40.00%	4
Policy agendas	0.00%	0
Legal framework	50.00%	5
Technical documentation	0.00%	0
Other	10.00%	1
Total Respondents: 10		

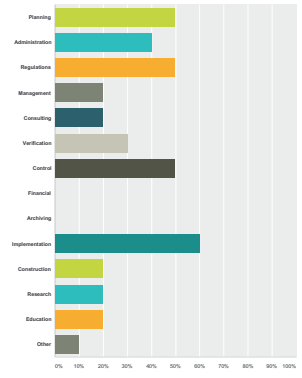
#	Please specify what you mean by "other". Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	decision-makers - actors and stakeholders	10/21/2015 7:43 PM

Q10 What networks result from institutional relations between agents of the urban regulatory framework?

Answered: 10 Skipped: 3



	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition	Total	Weighted Average
Interest based pluralist political life	80.00% 8	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10	0.70
Social polarization	80.00% 8	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	10	0.60
De-institutionalization of socio-spatial practices	70.00% 7	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	10	0.60
Centralized state	80.00% 8	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10	0.70
Ungrounded institutional formalizations	60.00% 6	10.00% 1	30.00% 3	10	0.50
Artificial/shallow decentralization & democratization	90.00% 9	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10	0.80
Total dependency on global trends/guidelines	44.44% 4	33.33% 3	22.22% 2	9	0.11
Local incapacity	70.00% 7	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	10	0.50
Inconsistent institutional procedures	70.00% 7	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	10	0.60
Flawed institutional processes	50.00% 5	10.00% 1	40.00% 4	10	0.40
Cumbersome institutional structure	90.00% 9	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10	0.90
Political voluntarism	80.00% 8	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10	0.70
Provisory rules	70.00% 7	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	10	0.50
Planners deprived of binding authority & professional dignity	60.00% 6	0.00% 0	40.00% 4	10	0.60
Controversial foreign influences	90.00% 9	10.00% 1	0.00% 0	10	0.80
Vertical clientelism in institutional framework	80.00% 8	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10	0.80



Answer Choices	Responses	
Planning	50.00%	5
Administration	40.00%	4
Regulations	50.00%	5
Management	20.00%	2
Consulting	20.00%	2
Verification	30.00%	3
Control	50.00%	5
Financial	0.00%	0
Archiving	0.00%	0
Implementation	60.00%	6
Construction	20.00%	2
Research	20.00%	2
Education	20.00%	2
Other	10.00%	1
Total Respondents: 10		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other". Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	ne razumem pitanje	10/21/2015 11:36 AM

Q11 What are the most significant political aspects of post-socialist cities?

Answered: 10 Skipped: 3

Prolonged regulatory gap in terms of urban development policy	80.00% 8	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10	0.60
Inadequate policies and instruments for urban management	80.00% 8	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10	0.70

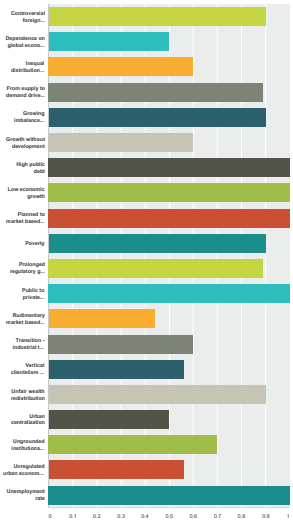
Q12 Can you think of any other political aspects not mentioned in the above table? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 11

#	Responses	Date
1	political decisionism; concentration and cooperation of political and financial powers	10/21/2015 8:33 PM
2	no	10/21/2015 11:39 AM

Q13 What are the most significant economic aspects of post-socialist cities?

Answered: 10 Skipped: 3



	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition	Total	Weighted Average
Controversial foreign influences	90.00% 9	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10	0.90
Dependence on global economic circumstances	70.00% 7	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	10	0.50

Inequal distribution of resources	70.00% 7	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	10	0.60
From supply to demand driven economy	88.89% 8	0.00% 0	11.11% 1	9	0.89
Growing imbalance between the social role of the budget (public social services) and the its developmental role (market-oriented)	90.00% 9	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10	0.90
Growth without development	80.00% 8	20.00% 2	0.00% 0	10	0.60
High public debt	100.00% 10	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	1.00
Low economic growth	100.00% 10	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	1.00
Planned to market based economy	100.00% 10	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	1.00
Poverty	90.00% 9	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10	0.90
Prolonged regulatory gap in terms of investments	88.89% 8	0.00% 0	11.11% 1	9	0.89
Public to private ownership transition	100.00% 10	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	1.00
Rudimentary market based regulatory instruments	55.56% 5	11.11% 1	33.33% 3	9	0.44
Transition - industrial to service based society	70.00% 7	10.00% 1	20.00% 2	10	0.60
Vertical clientelism in institutional framework	66.67% 6	11.11% 1	22.22% 2	9	0.56
Unfair wealth redistribution	90.00% 9	0.00% 0	10.00% 1	10	0.90
Urban centralization	70.00% 7	20.00% 2	10.00% 1	10	0.50
Ungrounded institutional formalizations	70.00% 7	0.00% 0	30.00% 3	10	0.70
Unregulated urban economy incentives & measures	77.78% 7	22.22% 2	0.00% 0	9	0.56
Unemployment rate	100.00% 10	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	1.00

Q14 Can you think of any other economic aspects not mentioned in the above table? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 11

#	Responses	Date
1	access to finance, economic development as participatory process, fiscal stability, lack of investments, lack of strategic and innovative development approaches	10/21/2015 8:34 PM
2	no	10/21/2015 11:41 AM

Q15 What are the most significant cultural aspects of post-socialist cities?

Answered: 10 Skipped: 3

	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition	Total	Weighted Average
Authoritarian hierarchy of institutional power	66.67% 6	11.11% 1	22.22% 2	9	0.56
Cities as centres of innovation, diversity	70.00% 7	30.00% 3	0.00% 0	10	0.40
Cuts in budget spending for culture	80.00% 8	10.00% 1	10.00% 1	10	0.70
Globalization impact - from isolated to integrated position in the world	60.00% 6	20.00% 2	20.00% 2	10	0.40
Lack of strategic development goals for cultural institutions & agendas	100.00% 10	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	10	1.00
No adequate educational framework	50.00% 5	30.00% 3	20.00% 2	10	0.20
Planner profile nominally dominant role in urban context	30.00% 3	50.00% 5	20.00% 2	10	-0.20
Planning laws are deeply embedded in their societal context	33.33% 3	66.67% 6	0.00% 0	9	-0.33
Planning is deeply embedded in the societal context - planning law & planning practice	44.44% 4	44.44% 4	11.11% 1	9	0.00
Poor networking & collaboration among cultural institutions	60.00% 6	10.00% 1	30.00% 3	10	0.50
Privatization of media (television, radio, newspapers)	80.00% 8	0.00% 0	20.00% 2	10	0.80
Spatial fragmentation	70.00% 7	0.00% 0	30.00% 3	10	0.70
Total dependency on global trends/guidelines	22.22% 2	44.44% 4	33.33% 3	9	-0.22
Transition - from nominal equity to citizen passivity & resignation	70.00% 7	0.00% 0	30.00% 3	10	0.70
Urban vision changed - from big is beautiful to small & private commercial ventures	40.00% 4	20.00% 2	40.00% 4	10	0.20

Q16 Can you think of any other cultural aspects not mentioned in the above table? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 11

#	Responses	Date
1	culture of communication	10/21/2015 8:34 PM
2	no	10/21/2015 11:44 AM

Q17 Can you think of any other social aspects not mentioned in the above tables? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 11

#	Responses	Date
1	Legal aspects in making post-socialist cities and urban order; demographic movement and structures; lack of knowledge in some fields	10/21/2015 8:34 PM
2	no	10/21/2015 11:44 AM

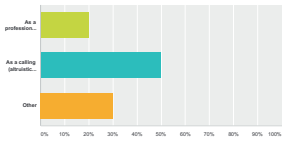
Q18 Can you think of any other contextual aspects in Belgrade? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 11

#	Responses	Date
1	weakness in planning authorities, un-efficiency metropolitan and urban governance, unclear decision-making, irregular implementation of plans, absence of public participation, dominant political influence in urban economy, construction...	10/21/2015 8:34 PM
2	no	10/21/2015 11:44 AM

Q19 How do you treat your professional role? Please select only 1 response.

Answered: 10 Skipped: 3



Answer Choices	Responses
As a profession (financial foundation)	20.00% 2
As a calling (altruistic incentives – a desire to do something for others)	50.00% 5
Other	30.00% 3
Total	10

#	Please specify what you mean by "other"... Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	as researcher, as estimator, professional support, intermediary/agent role	10/21/2015 8:43 PM
2	something between	10/21/2015 11:45 AM
3	both as a profession and as a calling	10/19/2015 1:25 PM

Q20 If you have any additional comments, please list them below. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

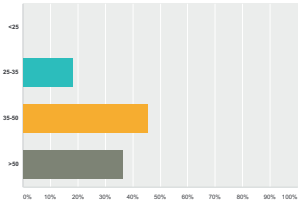
Answered: 1 Skipped: 12

#	Responses	Date
1	no	10/21/2015 11:45 AM

[C2: Savamala - EXPERT results]

Q1 Age

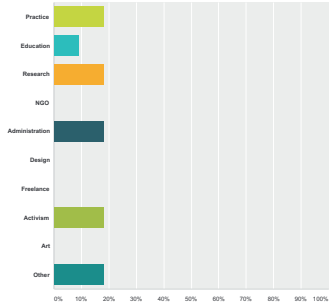
Answered: 11 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
<25	0.00%	0
25-35	18.18%	2
35-50	45.45%	5
>50	36.36%	4
Total		11

Q2 Present occupation

Answered: 11 Skipped: 0



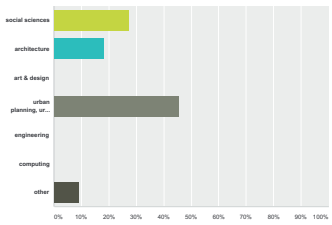
Answer Choices	Responses	
Practice	18.18%	2
Education	9.09%	1
Research	18.18%	2
NGO	0.00%	0

Administration	18.18%	2
Design	0.00%	0
Freelance	0.00%	0
Activism	18.18%	2
Art	0.00%	0
Other	18.18%	2
Total		11

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	retired	10/26/2015 9:28 AM
2	Associate Professor	10/22/2015 8:53 PM

Q3 Specialization

Answered: 11 Skipped: 0

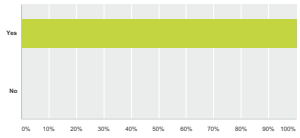


Answer Choices	Responses	
social sciences	27.27%	3
architecture	18.18%	2
art & design	0.00%	0
urban planning, urban studies, human geography	45.45%	5
engineering	0.00%	0
computing	0.00%	0
other	9.09%	1
Total		11

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	regional planning, urban land policy, investment	10/26/2015 6:46 PM

Q4 Do you find the level of urbanity an important category for qualifying the state of an urban environment?

Answered: 11 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	100.00%	11
No	0.00%	0
Total		11

Q5 From your point of view, what is the category that best describes the quality of an urban environment? Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 0 Skipped: 11

#	Responses	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q6 How would you define the relationship between that category & decision making in an urban environment?

Answered: 0 Skipped: 11

⚠ No matching responses.

Answer Choices	Responses	
Operationalization of decision making is directly proportional to the environmental quality	0.00%	0
Quality of an urban environment directs decision making strategies, tactics and operations	0.00%	0
There is not any relationship whatsoever between these elements	0.00%	0
Other	0.00%	0
Total		0

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q7 Please explain what the level of urbanity means to you.. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

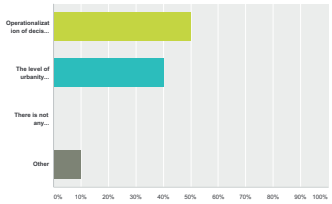
Answered: 8 Skipped: 3

#	Responses	Date
1	Nivo urbaniteta mogao bi da se nazume kao stepen razvijenosti urbanih podrucja, a podrazumevao bi veci broj aspekata i kriterijuma, od razvijenosti infrastrukture, stanja zivotne sredine, dostupnosti i zastupljenosti funkcija drustvenog standarda, javnih povrsina i prostora, zelenih povrsina, dobre povezanosti sa drugim celinama, zadovoljavajuceg stanja gradjenog fonda, sto sve doprinosi boljem kvalitetu zivota i urbanog okruzenja.	10/27/2015 9:48 AM
2	Level and structure of activities, characteristics of built environment/physical structure and relation to the general environment	10/26/2015 10:35 PM
3	high standard of living, acessibility to urban services, good public connections, quality of life	10/26/2015 6:52 PM

4	To je ne samo sirenje gradskig sredina, vec sveukupna kvalitativna promena na bolje, u ekonomskom, estetskom, ali i socijalnom pogledu.	10/26/2015 9:44 AM
5	Nivo odgovornosti i ucesca gradjana u pitanjima uredjenja i upravljanja gradom. Podrazumeva se vladavina prava i garantovanje ljudskih prava.	10/26/2015 9:31 AM
6	level of the development of the society living in the cities and the development of the urban infrastructure for the needs of the society.	10/23/2015 10:56 PM
7	nivo razvijenosti, kvalitet zivota	10/22/2015 8:55 PM
8	Uredjenost svih urbanih struktura, javnih i komunalnih servisa, dostupnost javnih institucija svim gradjanima. Odgovornost svih clanova zajednice u smislu ocuvanja urbanih vrednosti...	10/22/2015 12:20 PM

Q8 How would you define the relationship between the level of urbanity & decision making in an urban environment?

Answered: 10 Skipped: 1

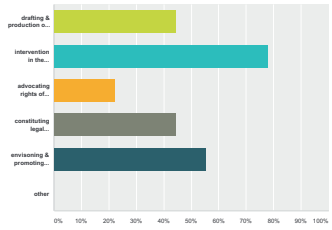


Answer Choices	Responses	
Operationalization of decision making at the local level is directly proportional to its level of urbanity	50.00%	5
The level of urbanity directs decision making strategies, tactics and operations	40.00%	4
There is not any relationship whatsoever between urbanity and decision making	0.00%	0
Other	10.00%	1
Total		10

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	Kljucno je ucesce gradjana i javnosti u donosenju odluka.	10/26/2015 9:31 AM

Q9 What is the role of the urban planner as a professional in the planning and regulatory processes?

Answered: 9 Skipped: 2

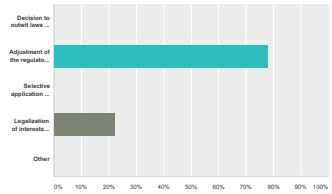


Answer Choices	Responses	
drafting & production of technical documentation	44.44%	4
intervention in the regulatory, planning & implementation phases	77.78%	7
advocating rights of various actor & stakeholder groups	22.22%	2
constituting legal regulations, obligations & boundaries	44.44%	4
envisioning & promoting opportunities & possibilities	55.56%	5
other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 9		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q10 By what means are real estate interests implemented in urban governance & management?

Answered: 9 Skipped: 2



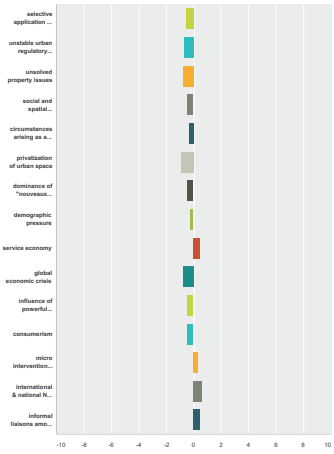
Answer Choices	Responses	
Decision to outwit laws and procedures in force	0.00%	0
Adjustment of the regulatory framework to accommodate interests	77.78%	7
Selective application of laws and procedures	0.00%	0
Legalization of interests and activities	22.22%	2
Other	0.00%	0
Total		9

Correlation between political interest groups and planners as a profession	55.56%	5
Lack of transparency and social participation in the planning process	77.78%	7
Neglected estimation of real implementation costs	33.33%	3
I disagree with your statement	0.00%	0
Other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 9		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	Planning is tool for the implementation the investors requirements in some cases, by applying approach "fast line for investors" (as consequence of global neoliberal "code'.	10/26/2015 7:05 PM

Q13 Please indicate how these circumstances influence the quality of the urban environment in Belgrade?

Answered: 9 Skipped: 2

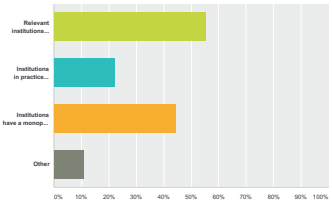


	positive	neutral	negative	Total	Weighted Average
selective application of law	22.22% 2	0.00% 0	77.78% 7	9	-0.56
unstable urban regulatory framework (continuous changes & adaptation of laws & regulations)	11.11% 1	11.11% 1	77.78% 7	9	-0.67
unsolved property issues	11.11% 1	0.00% 0	88.89% 8	9	-0.78
social and spatial segregation of rich and poor	22.22% 2	11.11% 1	66.67% 6	9	-0.44

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q11 The characteristics of inconsistent institutional apparatuses & procedures in Belgrade are..

Answered: 9 Skipped: 2

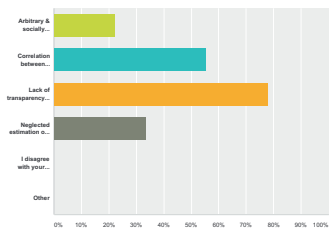


Answer Choices	Responses	
Relevant institutions in conflict of interest	55.56%	5
Institutions in practice exceed the jurisdiction they are legally assigned to	22.22%	2
Institutions have a monopoly in certain domains	44.44%	4
Other	11.11%	1
Total Respondents: 9		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	all possible answers are relevant	10/26/2015 7:05 PM

Q12 Which aspects of planning practice in Serbia resulted in a low level of urbanity & investor urbanism (based on Petovar 2014)?

Answered: 9 Skipped: 2



Answer Choices	Responses	
Arbitrary & socially unjustified planning propositions	22.22%	2

circumstances arising as a result of marketization of society	22.22% 2	22.22% 2	55.56% 5	9	-0.33
privatization of urban space	0.00% 0	11.11% 1	88.89% 8	9	-0.89
dominance of "nouveaux riches" social cluster	22.22% 2	11.11% 1	66.67% 6	9	-0.44
demographic pressure	11.11% 1	55.56% 5	33.33% 3	9	-0.22
service economy	55.56% 5	33.33% 3	11.11% 1	9	0.44
global economic crisis	11.11% 1	0.00% 0	88.89% 8	9	-0.78
influence of powerful economic actors on urban transformations	22.22% 2	11.11% 1	66.67% 6	9	-0.44
consumerism	11.11% 1	33.33% 3	55.56% 5	9	-0.44
micro interventions & private ventures in urban space	55.56% 5	22.22% 2	22.22% 2	9	0.33
international & national NGO projects on urban issues	66.67% 6	22.22% 2	11.11% 1	9	0.56
informal liaisons among urban actors & stakeholders	66.67% 6	11.11% 1	22.22% 2	9	0.44

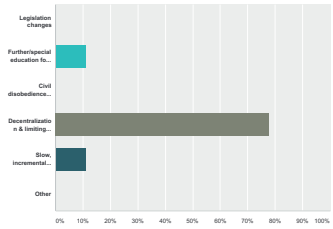
Q14 If you can think of any other circumstances, please list them below. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 9

#	Responses	Date
1	Nedefinisani prioriteti i slaba procena finansijskih konsekvenci, nedostatak ozbiljih studija opravdanosti.	10/27/2015 9:59 AM
2	social excluding of some groups, misinformation, low communication, etc	10/26/2015 7:11 PM

Q15 What are the entry points to increase social participation & transparency in urban governance, planning and management in Belgrade?

Answered: 9 Skipped: 2



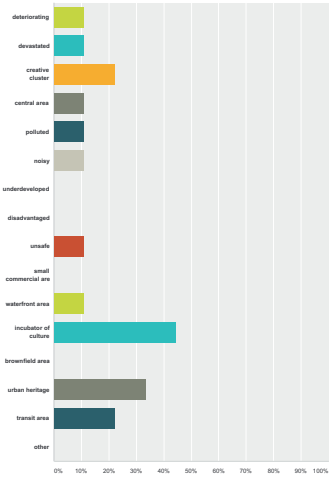
Answer Choices	Responses	
Legislation changes	0.00%	0
Further/special education for the staff of administrative & regulatory institutions	11.11%	1
Civil disobedience & interventions	0.00%	0
Decentralization & limiting political power	77.78%	7

Slow, incremental transformation	11.11%	1
Other	0.00%	0
Total		9

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

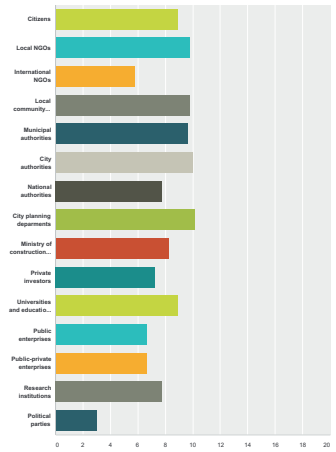
Q16 How would you describe Savamala in 2 words? Choose 2 responses.

Answered: 9 Skipped: 2



Answer Choices	Responses	
deteriorating	11.11%	1
devastated	11.11%	1
creative cluster	22.22%	2
central area	11.11%	1
polluted	11.11%	1
noisy	11.11%	1
underdeveloped	0.00%	0
disadvantaged	0.00%	0
unsafe	11.11%	1

Answered: 8 Skipped: 3



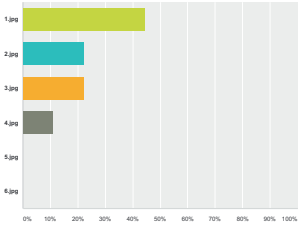
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total	Score
Citizens	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	8.88
Local NGOs	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	9.75
International NGOs	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	8	5.75
Local community (mesna zajednica)	12.50% 1	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	8	9.75
Municipal authorities	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	9.63
City authorities	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	10.00
National authorities	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	7.75
City planning deparments	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 4	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	10.13
Ministry of construction, urbanism & infrastructure	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	8	8.25
Private investors	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	8	7.25
Universities and educational institutions	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	8.88

small commercial are	0.00%	0
waterfront area	11.11%	1
incubator of culture	44.44%	4
brownfield area	0.00%	0
urban heritage	33.33%	3
transit area	22.22%	2
other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 9		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q17 What are the boundaries of Savamala? Choose the picture which best corresponds to your impression.

Answered: 9 Skipped: 2



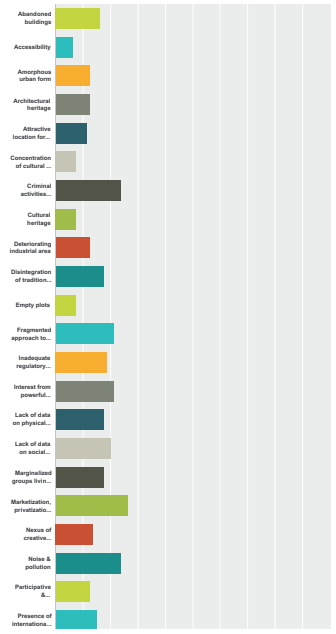
Answer Choices	Responses	
	44.44%	4
	22.22%	2
	22.22%	2
	11.11%	1
	0.00%	0
	0.00%	0
Total		9

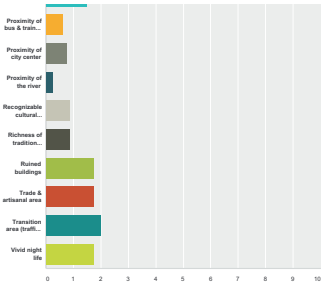
Q18 Reorder the local actors in Belgrade/Savamala according to their importance, from the most to the least important actor group. Drag & drop the local actors in vertical order of importance (no1 on the top being the most important)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total	Score
Public enterprises	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	6.63
Public-private enterprises	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	6.63
Research institutions	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	8	7.75
Political parties	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	50.00% 4	8	3.00

Q19 Please choose the most suitable term to categorize several characteristics of the Savamala neighbourhood.. Only 1 choice per row is possible. Explanations in Serbian are also accepted.

Answered: 8 Skipped: 3





	spatial capacities	social potentials	urban conflics	situated practices	Other	Total	Weighted Average
Abandoned buildings	37.50% 3	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	8	1.63
Accessibility	50.00% 4	37.50% 3	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	0.63
Amorphous urban form	50.00% 4	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	8	1.25
Architectural heritage	25.00% 2	37.50% 3	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	1.25
Attractive location for private investments	37.50% 3	12.50% 1	50.00% 4	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	1.13
Concentration of cultural & artistic activities	25.00% 2	75.00% 6	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	0.75
Criminal activities (petty crimes)	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	37.50% 3	12.50% 1	25.00% 2	8	2.38
Cultural heritage	50.00% 4	37.50% 3	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	0.75
Deteriorating industrial area	50.00% 4	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	37.50% 3	0.00% 0	8	1.25
Disintegration of tradition & heritage	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	62.50% 5	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	1.75
Empty plots	62.50% 5	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	0.75
Fragmented approach to renovation & revitalization of urban & architectural heritage	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	75.00% 6	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	8	2.13
Inadequate regulatory framework	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	75.00% 6	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	1.88
Interest from powerful economic actors with strong political influence	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	75.00% 6	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	8	2.13
Lack of data on physical environment	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	50.00% 4	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	8	1.75
Lack of data on social structure	0.00% 0	37.50% 3	37.50% 3	12.50% 1	12.50% 1	8	2.00
Marginalized groups living in the area	0.00% 0	50.00% 4	37.50% 3	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	8	1.75
Marketization, privatization & commodification	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 4	37.50% 3	12.50% 1	8	2.63
Nexus of creative capital in Belgrade	12.50% 1	50.00% 4	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	1.38
Noise & pollution	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	37.50% 3	50.00% 4	0.00% 0	8	2.38
Participative & self-organizing initiatives	0.00% 0	87.50% 7	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	1.25

	There are no responses.
#	Comments for "Presence of international & national NGOs"
	There are no responses.
#	Comments for "Proximity of bus & train terminal"
	There are no responses.
#	Comments for "Proximity of city center"
	There are no responses.
#	Comments for "Proximity of the river"
	There are no responses.
#	Comments for "Recognizable cultural identity"
	There are no responses.
#	Comments for "Richness of tradition (crafts)"
	There are no responses.
#	Comments for "Ruined buildings"
1	required urgent renewal
#	Comments for "Trade & artisanal area"
1	should develop or revitalise old artisanal activities, museum of artisan, etc
#	Comments for "Transition area (traffic bottle neck)"
	There are no responses.
#	Comments for "Vivid night life"
	There are no responses.

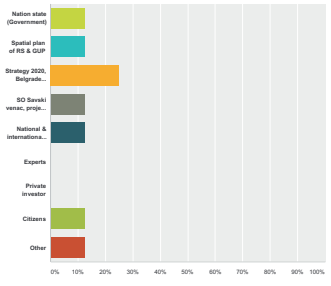
Q20 Can you think of any other characteristics of Savamala that are not mentioned in the above list? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 1 Skipped: 10

#	Responses	Date
1	recreation, free spaces	10/26/2015 7:41 PM

Q21 Who is responsible for urban plans & implementation strategies for Savamala?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 3



Answer Choices	Responses	
Nation state (Government)	12.50%	1

Presence of international & national NGOs	0.00% 0	75.00% 6	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	8	1.50
Proximity of bus & train terminal	62.50% 5	12.50% 1	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	0.63
Proximity of city center	50.00% 4	37.50% 3	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	8	0.75
Proximity of the river	75.00% 6	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	0.25
Recognizable cultural identity	12.50% 1	87.50% 7	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	0.88
Richness of tradition (crafts)	12.50% 1	87.50% 7	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8	0.88
Ruined buildings	37.50% 3	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	8	1.75
Trade & artisanal area	12.50% 1	50.00% 4	0.00% 0	25.00% 2	12.50% 1	8	1.75
Transition area (traffic bottle neck)	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	62.50% 5	25.00% 2	0.00% 0	8	2.00
Vivid night life	0.00% 0	62.50% 5	0.00% 0	37.50% 3	0.00% 0	8	1.75

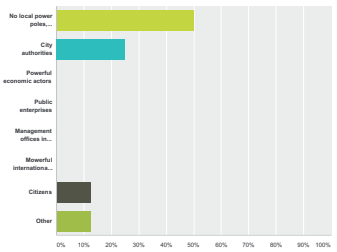
#	Comments for "Abandoned buildings"	Date
1	renewal of buildings with a new functions	10/26/2015 7:41 PM
#	Comments for "Accessibility"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Amorphous urban form"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Architectural heritage"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Attractive location for private investments"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Concentration of cultural & artistic activities"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Criminal activities (petty crimes)"	Date
1	I don't have information about it	10/26/2015 10:54 PM
2	nejasno pitanje	10/22/2015 9:15 PM
#	Comments for "Cultural heritage"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Deteriorating industrial area"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Disintegration of tradition & heritage"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Empty plots"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Fragmented approach to renovation & revitalization of urban & architectural heritage"	Date
1	challenges for urban reconstruction	10/26/2015 7:41 PM
#	Comments for "Inadequate regulatory framework"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Interest from powerful economic actors with strong political influence"	Date
1	lead to limited national legal indipendence because protection of interest of strong economic actors (investors)	10/26/2015 7:41 PM
#	Comments for "Lack of data on physical environment"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Lack of data on social structure"	Date
1	require research and better transparency of different registries and social networks	10/26/2015 7:41 PM
#	Comments for "Marginalized groups living in the area"	Date
1	they are excluded from all phases of planning, governance...	10/26/2015 7:41 PM
#	Comments for "Marketization, privatization & commodification"	Date
1	global trend which should be adopted on local way	10/26/2015 7:41 PM
#	Comments for "Nexus of creative capital in Belgrade"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Noise & pollution"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	Comments for "Participative & self-organizing initiatives"	Date

Spatial plan of RS & GUP	12.50%	1
Strategy 2020, Belgrade development strategy	25.00%	2
SO Savski venac, projects for Sava riverbank	12.50%	1
National & international NGOs	12.50%	1
Experts	0.00%	0
Private investor	0.00%	0
Citizens	12.50%	1
Other	12.50%	1
Total		8

#	Please specify what you mean by "other". Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	all options, but, unfortunatelly, Government is factor no 1 in top-down decision making for Savamala	10/26/2015 7:49 PM

Q22 What are the local power poles which influence urban planning & urban development in Savamala?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 3

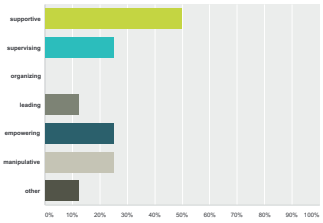


Answer Choices	Responses	
No local power poles, everything is grounded upon the powerful, centralized nation state	50.00%	4
City authorities	25.00%	2
Powerful economic actors	0.00%	0
Public enterprises	0.00%	0
Management offices in public companies, public utility companies, public administration	0.00%	0
Mowerful international institutions	0.00%	0
Citizens	12.50%	1
Other	12.50%	1
Total		8

#	Please specify what you mean by "other". Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	kreativni sektor	10/22/2015 9:17 PM

Q23 How are international organizations involved in urban activities in Savamala?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 3

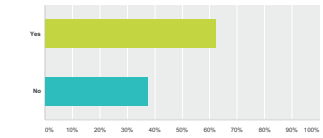


Answer Choices	Responses	
supportive	50.00%	4
supervising	25.00%	2
organizing	0.00%	0
leading	12.50%	1
empowering	25.00%	2
manipulative	25.00%	2
other	12.50%	1
Total Respondents: 8		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	I dont know about their role in urban activities in Savamala	10/26/2015 7:49 PM

Q24 Have you ever heard of an urban project related to the Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 3



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	62.50%	5
No	37.50%	3
Total		8

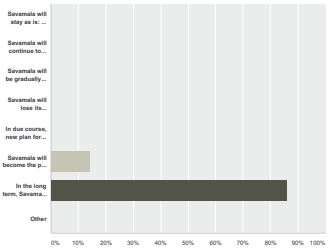
Q25 Please provide details on these projects Briefly describe the field, investor/responsible authority, topic, results etc; whatever you know or find relevant. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 4 Skipped: 7

#	Responses	Date
1	Informal initiatives conducted in Mixer house and other nodes of public interaction	10/26/2015 10:56 PM
2	BgH2O or Jututuneka juhahaha	10/26/2015 7:50 PM
3	Waterfront project/UAE/City authorities/ creating a bubble like Dubai on the riverbank/will give unrepairable damage to urban landscape and to the existent culture industries.	10/23/2015 11:17 PM
4	poslo ji mnogo neformalnih inicijativa koje su usmerene na promišljanje razvoja Savamale, osim toga, prostor Savamale je u neposrednoj vezi sa projektom "Beograd na vodi", ali projekat nije transparentan	10/22/2015 9:18 PM

Q26 From your point of view, what is the future of Savamala in terms of urban development, governance and management? Answers in Serbian are also accepted.

Answered: 7 Skipped: 4



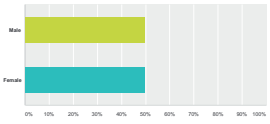
Answer Choices	Responses	
Savamala will stay as is: a shabby cultural cluster for new social class of hipsters & yuccies	0.00%	0
Savamala will continue to deteriorate with several occasional renovations of its physical structure from time to time	0.00%	0
Savamala will be gradually renovated through phases of destruction and construction of individual buildings, but its spirit will stay the same	0.00%	0
Savamala will lose its importance after bus and train terminal are moved to new locations	0.00%	0
In due course, new plan for Savamala will be enacted and it will define its future that best corresponds to its position and character	0.00%	0
Savamala will become the part of public waterfront area with public cultural, educational, recreational spaces and open green areas	14.29%	1
In the long term, Savamala will be destroyed as the part of "Belgrade Waterfront" programme	85.71%	6
Other	0.00%	0
Total		7

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

[C3: Post-socialist framework - PhD student results]

Q1 Gender

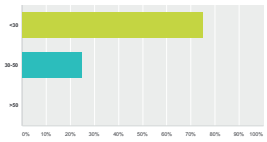
Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
Male	50.00%	4
Female	50.00%	4
Total		8

Q2 Age

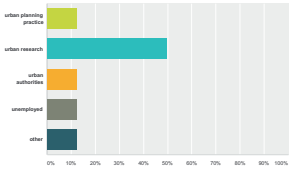
Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
<30	75.00%	6
30-50	25.00%	2
>50	0.00%	0
Total		8

Q3 Present job Please select only 1 response.

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



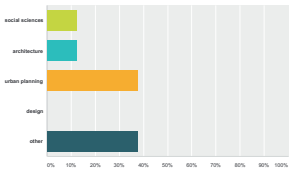
Answer Choices	Responses	
urban planning practice	12.50%	1
urban research	50.00%	4
urban authorities	12.50%	1
unemployed	12.50%	1

other	12.50%	1
Total		8

#	Please specify what you mean by "other"... Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	sociologist at an NGO	3/11/2016 12:03 PM

Q4 Master degree in.. Please select only 1 response.

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0

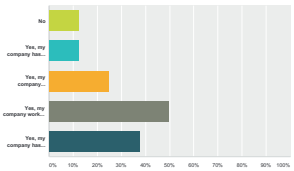


Answer Choices	Responses	
social sciences	12.50%	1
architecture	12.50%	1
urban planning	37.50%	3
design	0.00%	0
other	37.50%	3
Total		8

#	Please specify what you mean by "other"... Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	spatial planning	3/3/2016 10:46 PM
2	Spatial Planning	3/3/2016 8:46 AM

Q5 Does your company/institution work internationally?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0

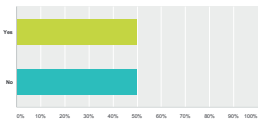


Answer Choices	Responses	
No	12.50%	1
Yes, my company has international supervisors/advisers	12.50%	1
Yes, my company presents its work internationally	25.00%	2
Yes, my company works on international research projects	50.00%	4
Yes, my company has international clients	37.50%	3
Total Respondents: 8		

#	Yes...Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q6 Are you involved in international collaborations of your company/institution?

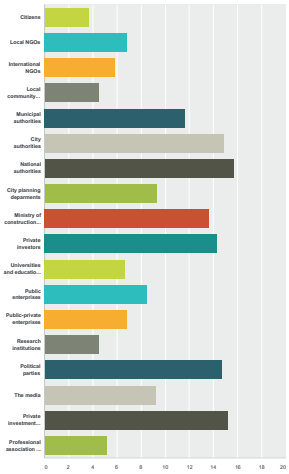
Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	50.00%	4
No	50.00%	4
Total		8

Q7 Reorder the local actors in Belgrade according to their influence/power, from the most to the least powerful/influential actor group.. Drag & drop the local actors in vertider of influence (no1 on the top being the most powerful/influential)

Answered: 6 Skipped: 2



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	Sc
Citizens	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 3	33.33% 2	6	3
Local NGOs	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	6
International NGOs	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	6	5
Local community (mesna zajednica)	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 3	6	4
Municipal authorities	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	11
City authorities	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	14
National authorities	50.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	15
City planning deparments	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	9
Ministry of construction, urbanism & infrastructure	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	13
Private investors	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	14
Universities and educational institutions	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	6
Public enterprises	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	8
Public-private enterprises	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	6
Research institutions	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	4
Political parties	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	14
The media	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	6	9
Private investment funds	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	15
Professional association of architects	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6	5

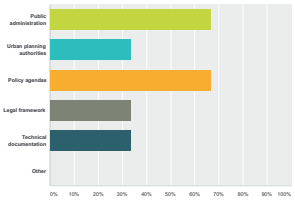
Q8 If you can think of any other urban actors and stakeholders, which are not mentioned in the above list, please list them. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 1 Skipped: 7

#	Responses	Date
1	Verske zajednice - crkva	3/2/2016 8:55 PM

Q9 From your point of view, who are the agents of the urban regulatory framework?

Answered: 6 Skipped: 2

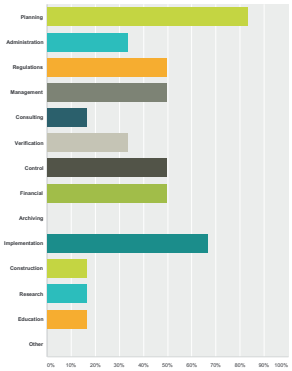


Answer Choices	Responses	
Public administration	66.67%	4
Urban planning authorities	33.33%	2
Policy agendas	66.67%	4
Legal framework	33.33%	2
Technical documentation	33.33%	2
Other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 6		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other". Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q10 What networks result from institutional relations between agents of the urban regulatory framework?

Answered: 6 Skipped: 2

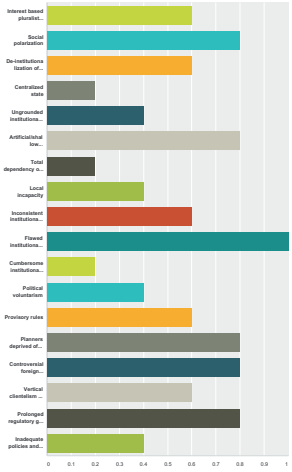


Answer Choices	Responses	
Planning	83.33%	5
Administration	33.33%	2
Regulations	50.00%	3
Management	50.00%	3
Consulting	16.67%	1
Verification	33.33%	2
Control	50.00%	3
Financial	50.00%	3
Archiving	0.00%	0
Implementation	66.67%	4
Construction	16.67%	1
Research	16.67%	1
Education	16.67%	1
Other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 6		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other". Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q11 What are the most significant political aspects of post-socialist cities?

Answered: 5 Skipped: 3



	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition	Total	Weighted Average

Interest based pluralist political life	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Social polarization	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	5	0.60
De-institutionalization of socio-spatial practices	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Centralized state	40.00% 2	20.00% 1	40.00% 2	5	0.20
Ungrounded institutional formalizations	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40
Artificial/shallow decentralization & democratization	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	5	0.60
Total dependency on global trends/guidelines	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	0.00% 0	5	0.20
Local incapacity	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40
Inconsistent institutional procedures	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Flawed institutional processes	100.00% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5	1.00
Cumbersome institutional structure	40.00% 2	20.00% 1	40.00% 2	5	0.20
Political voluntarism	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40
Provisory rules	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Planners deprived of binding authority & professional dignity	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	5	0.80
Controversial foreign influences	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	5	0.80
Vertical clientelism in institutional framework	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Prolonged regulatory gap in terms of urban development policy	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	5	0.80
Inadequate policies and instruments for urban management	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40

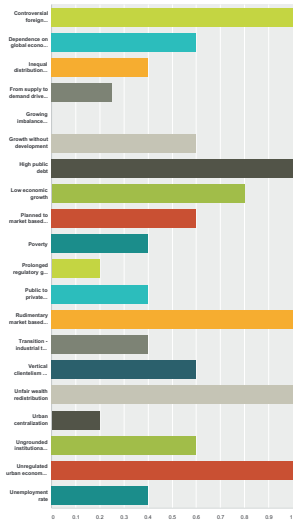
Q12 Can you think of any other political aspects not mentioned in the above table? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 0 Skipped: 8

#	Responses	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q13 What are the most significant economic aspects of post-socialist cities?

Answered: 5 Skipped: 3



	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition	Total	Weighted Average
Controversial foreign influences	100.00% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5	1.00
Dependence on global economic circumstances	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Inequal distribution of resources	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40
From supply to demand driven economy	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	75.00% 3	4	0.25
Growing imbalance between the social role of the budget (public social services) and the its developmental role (market-oriented)	40.00% 2	40.00% 2	20.00% 1	5	0.00
Growth without development	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
High public debt	100.00% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5	1.00
Low economic growth	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	5	0.80
Planned to market based economy	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Poverty	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40
Prolonged regulatory gap in terms of investments	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	0.00% 0	5	0.20
Public to private ownership transition	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40
Rudimentary market based regulatory instruments	100.00% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5	1.00

Transition - industrial to service based society	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40
Vertical clientelism in institutional framework	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Unfair wealth redistribution	100.00% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5	1.00
Urban centralization	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	0.00% 0	5	0.20
Ungrounded institutional formalizations	60.00% 3	0.00% 0	40.00% 2	5	0.60
Unregulated urban economy incentives & measures	100.00% 4	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	1.00
Unemployment rate	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40

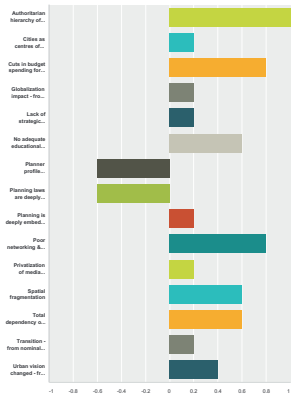
Q14 Can you think of any other economic aspects not mentioned in the above table? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 1 Skipped: 7

#	Responses	Date
1	criminal privatization with devastating consequences for Serbian economy, high unemployment rate	3/11/2016 12:16 PM

Q15 What are the most significant cultural aspects of post-socialist cities?

Answered: 5 Skipped: 3



	Agree	Disagree	Wrong definition	Total	Weighted Average
Authoritarian hierarchy of institutional power	100.00% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5	1.00
Cities as centres of innovation, diversity	40.00% 2	20.00% 1	40.00% 2	5	0.20
Cuts in budget spending for culture	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	5	0.80
Globalization impact - from isolated to integrated position in the world	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	0.00% 0	5	0.20

Lack of strategic development goals for cultural institutions & agendas	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	0.00% 0	5	0.20
No adequate educational framework	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Planner profile nominally dominant role in urban context	0.00% 0	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	5	-0.60
Planning laws are deeply embedded in their societal context	20.00% 1	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	5	-0.60
Planning is deeply embedded in the societal context - planning law & planning practice	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	0.00% 0	5	0.20
Poor networking & collaboration among cultural institutions	80.00% 4	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	5	0.80
Privatization of media (television, radio, newspapers)	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	0.00% 0	5	0.20
Spatial fragmentation	60.00% 3	0.00% 0	40.00% 2	5	0.60
Total dependency on global trends/guidelines	80.00% 4	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5	0.60
Transition - from nominal equity to citizen passivity & resignation	40.00% 2	20.00% 1	40.00% 2	5	0.20
Urban vision changed - from big is beautiful to small & private commercial ventures	60.00% 3	20.00% 1	20.00% 1	5	0.40

Q16 Can you think of any other cultural aspects not mentioned in the above table? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 0 Skipped: 8

#	Responses	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q17 Can you think of any other social aspects not mentioned in the above tables? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 0 Skipped: 8

#	Responses	Date
	There are no responses.	

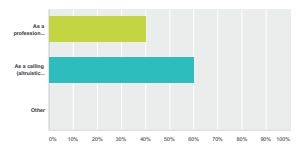
Q18 Can you think of any other contextual aspects in Belgrade? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 1 Skipped: 7

#	Responses	Date
1	changes in regulation of the housing needs is relevant, expecially how it reflects on changes of the post socialists city's growth and development	3/11/2016 12:24 PM

Q19 How do you treat your professional role? Please select only 1 response.

Answered: 5 Skipped: 3



Answer Choices	Responses
As a profession (financial foundation)	40.00% 2

As a calling (altruistic incentives – a desire to do something for others)	60.00%	3
Other	0.00%	0
Total		5

#	Please specify what you mean by "other"... Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q20 If you have any additional comments, please list them below. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

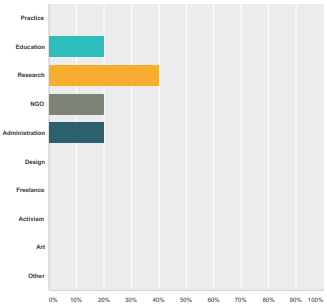
Answered: 0 Skipped: 8

#	Responses	Date
	There are no responses.	

[C4: Savamala - PhD student results]

Q1 Present occupation

Answered: 5 Skipped: 0

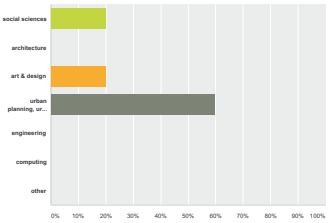


Answer Choices	Responses	
Practice	0.00%	0
Education	20.00%	1
Research	40.00%	2
NGO	20.00%	1
Administration	20.00%	1
Design	0.00%	0
Freelance	0.00%	0
Activism	0.00%	0
Art	0.00%	0
Other	0.00%	0
Total		5

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q2 Domain of your research interests is..

Answered: 5 Skipped: 0

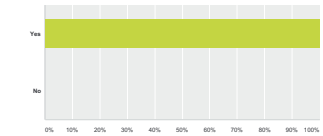


Answer Choices	Responses	
social sciences	20.00%	1
architecture	0.00%	0
art & design	20.00%	1
urban planning, urban studies, human geography	60.00%	3
engineering	0.00%	0
computing	0.00%	0
other	0.00%	0
Total		5

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q3 Do you find the level of urbanity an important category for qualifying the state of an urban environment?

Answered: 5 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	100.00%	5
No	0.00%	0
Total		5

Q4 From your point of view, what is the category that best describes the quality of an urban environment? Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 0 Skipped: 5

#	Responses	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q5 How would you define the relationship between that category & decision making in an urban environment?

Answered: 0 Skipped: 5

⚠ No matching responses.

Answer Choices	Responses	
Operationalization of decision making is directly proportional to the environmental quality	0.00%	0
Quality of an urban environment directs decision making strategies, tactics and operations	0.00%	0
There is not any relationship whatsoever between these elements	0.00%	0
Other	0.00%	0
Total		0

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

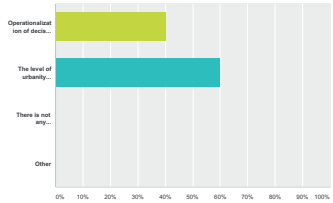
Q6 Please explain what the level of urbanity means to you.. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 3 Skipped: 2

#	Responses	Date
1	The quality of life in urban areas	3/19/2016 11:40 AM
2	density and quality of urban contents and services	3/11/2016 12:30 PM
3	Pokazuje stepen razvijenosti i uredjenosti. Kao i da li su u proslosti aprovodjenje urbane politike.	3/3/2016 9:20 AM

Q7 How would you define the relationship between the level of urbanity & decision making in an urban environment?

Answered: 5 Skipped: 0



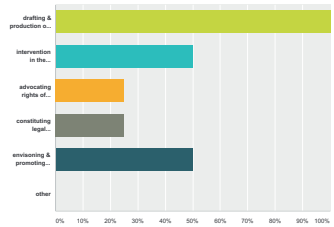
Answer Choices	Responses	
Operationalization of decision making at the local level is directly proportional to its level of urbanity	40.00%	2
The level of urbanity directs decision making strategies, tactics and operations	60.00%	3
There is not any relationship whatsoever between urbanity and decision making	0.00%	0

Other	0.00%	0
Total		5

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q8 What is the role of the urban planner as a professional in the planning and regulatory processes?

Answered: 4 Skipped: 1

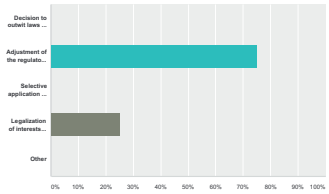


Answer Choices	Responses	
drafting & production of technical documentation	100.00%	4
intervention in the regulatory, planning & implementation phases	50.00%	2
advocating rights of various actor & stakeholder groups	25.00%	1
constituting legal regulations, obligations & boundaries	25.00%	1
envisioning & promoting opportunities & possibilities	50.00%	2
other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 4		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q9 By what means are real estate interests implemented in urban governance & management?

Answered: 4 Skipped: 1

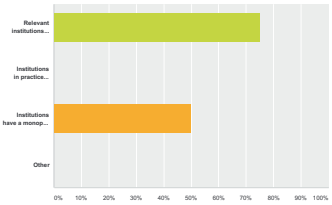


Answer Choices	Responses	
Decision to outwit laws and procedures in force	0.00%	0
Adjustment of the regulatory framework to accommodate interests	75.00%	3
Selective application of laws and procedures	0.00%	0
Legalization of interests and activities	25.00%	1
Other	0.00%	0
Total		4

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q10 The characteristics of inconsistent institutional apparatuses & procedures in Belgrade are..

Answered: 4 Skipped: 1



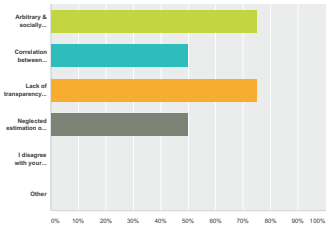
Answer Choices	Responses	
Relevant institutions in conflict of interest	75.00%	3
Institutions in practice exceed the jurisdiction they are legally assigned to	0.00%	0
Institutions have a monopoly in certain domains	50.00%	2
Other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 4		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q11 Which aspects of planning practice in

Serbia resulted in a low level of urbanity & investor urbanism (based on Petovar 2014)?

Answered: 4 Skipped: 1

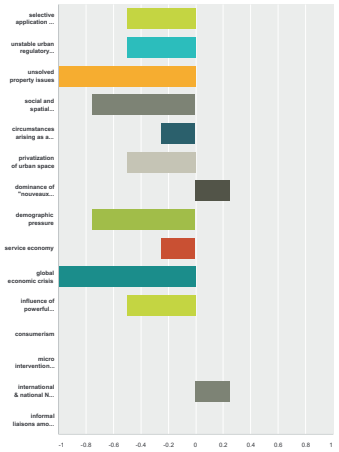


Answer Choices	Responses	
Arbitrary & socially unjustified planning propositions	75.00%	3
Correlation between political interest groups and planners as a profession	50.00%	2
Lack of transparency and social participation in the planning process	75.00%	3
Neglected estimation of real implementation costs	50.00%	2
I disagree with your statement	0.00%	0
Other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 4		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q12 Please indicate how these circumstances influence the quality of the urban environment in Belgrade?

Answered: 4 Skipped: 1



	positive	neutral	negative	Total	Weighted Average
selective application of law	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	75.00% 3	4	-0.50
unstable urban regulatory framework (continuous changes & adaptation of laws & regulations)	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	75.00% 3	4	-0.50
unsolved property issues	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 4	4	-1.00
social and spatial segregation of rich and poor	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	75.00% 3	4	-0.75
circumstances arising as a result of marketization of society	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	50.00% 2	4	-0.25
privatization of urban space	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	50.00% 2	4	-0.50
dominance of "nouveaux riches" social cluster	50.00% 2	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	4	0.25
demographic pressure	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	75.00% 3	4	-0.75
service economy	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	50.00% 2	4	-0.25
global economic crisis	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 3	3	-1.00
influence of powerful economic actors on urban transformations	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	75.00% 3	4	-0.50
consumerism	25.00% 1	50.00% 2	25.00% 1	4	0.00
micro interventions & private ventures in urban space	50.00% 2	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	4	0.00
international & national NGO projects on urban issues	50.00% 2	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	4	0.25

informal liaisons among urban actors & stakeholders	50.00% 2	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	4	0.00

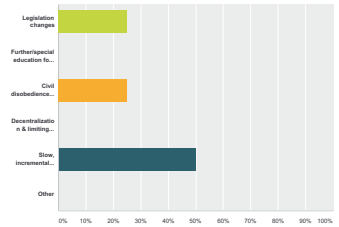
Q13 If you can think of any other circumstances, please list them below. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 0 Skipped: 5

#	Responses	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q14 What are the entry points to increase social participation & transparency in urban governance, planning and management in Belgrade?

Answered: 4 Skipped: 1

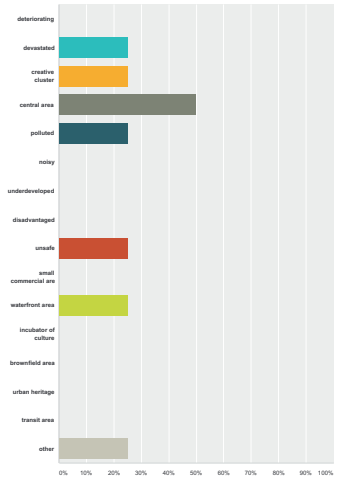


Answer Choices	Responses	
Legislation changes	25.00%	1
Further/special education for the staff of administrative & regulatory institutions	0.00%	0
Civil disobedience & interventions	25.00%	1
Decentralization & limiting political power	0.00%	0
Slow, incremental transformation	50.00%	2
Other	0.00%	0
Total		4

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q15 How would you describe Savamala in 2 words? Choose 2 responses.

Answered: 4 Skipped: 1

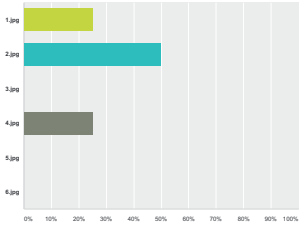


Answer Choices	Responses	
deteriorating	0.00%	0
devastated	25.00%	1
creative cluster	25.00%	1
central area	50.00%	2
polluted	25.00%	1
noisy	0.00%	0
underdeveloped	0.00%	0
disadvantaged	0.00%	0
unsafe	25.00%	1
small commercial are	0.00%	0
waterfront area	25.00%	1
incubator of culture	0.00%	0
brownfield area	0.00%	0
urban heritage	0.00%	0
transit area	0.00%	0
other	25.00%	1
Total Respondents: 4		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	mainstream	3/19/2016 11:45 AM

Q16 What are the boundaries of Savamala? Choose the picture which best corresponds to your impression.

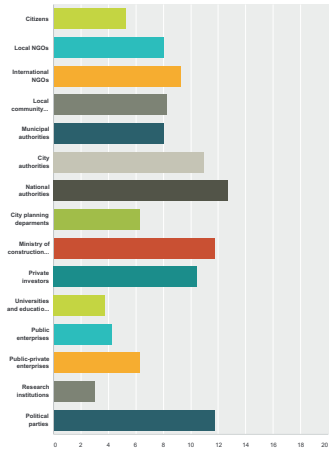
Answered: 4 Skipped: 1



Answer Choices	Responses	
	25.00%	1
	50.00%	2
	0.00%	0
	25.00%	1
	0.00%	0
	0.00%	0
Total		4

Q17 Reorder the local actors in Belgrade/Savamala according to their power/influence, from the most to the least powerful/influential actor group. Drag & drop the local actors in vertical order of power/influence (no1 on the top being the most powerful/influential)

Answered: 4 Skipped: 1

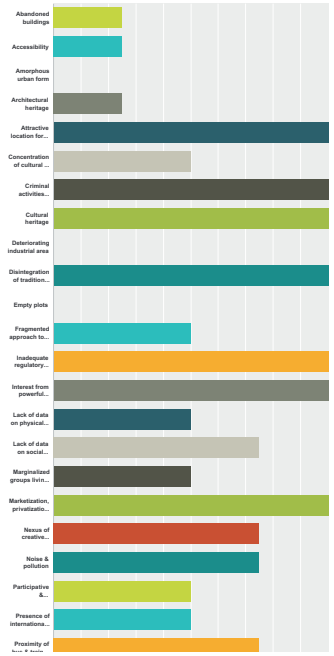


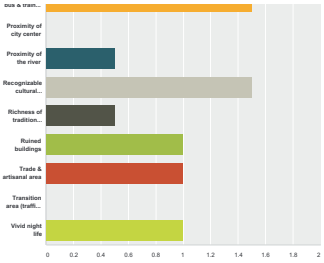
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total	Score
Citizens	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	4	5.25
Local NGOs	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	8.00
International NGOs	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	9.25
Local community (mesna zajednica)	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	4	8.25
Municipal authorities	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	8.00
City authorities	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	11.00
National authorities	75.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	12.75
City planning deparments	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	4	6.25
Ministry of construction, urbanism & infrastructure	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	11.75
Private investors	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	10.50
Universities and educational institutions	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	4	3.75
Public enterprises	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	4	4.25

Public-private enterprises	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	6.25
Research institutions	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	50.00% 2	0.00% 0	4	3.00
Political parties	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4	11.75

Q18 Please choose the most suitable term to categorize several characteristics of the Savamala neighbourhood.. Only 1 choice per row is possible. Explanations in Serbian are also accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 3





	spatial capacities	social potentials	urban conflics	situated practices	Other	Total	Weighted Average
Abandoned buildings	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.50
Accessibility	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.50
Amorphous urban form	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.00
Architectural heritage	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.50
Attractive location for private investments	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	2.00
Concentration of cultural & artistic activities	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00
Criminal activities (petty crimes)	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	2.00
Cultural heritage	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	2	2.00
Deteriorating industrial area	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.00
Disintegration of tradition & heritage	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	2.00
Empty plots	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.00
Fragmented approach to renovation & revitalization of urban & architectural heritage	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00
Inadequate regulatory framework	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	2.00
Interest from powerful economic actors with strong political influence	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	2.00
Lack of data on physical environment	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00
Lack of data on social structure	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.50
Marginalized groups living in the area	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00
Marketization, privatization & commodification	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	2.00
Nexus of creative capital in Belgrade	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.50
Noise & pollution	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.50
Participative & self-organizing initiatives	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00
Presence of international & national NGOs	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00

	Proximity of bus & train terminal						
	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.50
	Proximity of city center						
	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.00
	Proximity of the river						
	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.50
	Recognizable cultural identity						
	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.50
	Richness of tradition (crafts)						
	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.50
	Ruined buildings						
	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00
	Trade & artisanal area						
	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00
	Transition area (traffic bottle neck)						
	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	0.00
	Vivid night life						
	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2	1.00

#	Comments for "Abandoned buildings"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Accessibility"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Amorphous urban form"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Architectural heritage"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Attractive location for private investments"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Concentration of cultural & artistic activities"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Criminal activities (petty crimes)"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Cultural heritage"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Deteriorating industrial area"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Disintegration of tradition & heritage"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Empty plots"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Fragmented approach to renovation & revitalization of urban & architectural heritage"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Inadequate regulatory framework"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Interest from powerful economic actors with strong political influence"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Lack of data on physical environment"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Lack of data on social structure"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Marginalized groups living in the area"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Marketization, privatization & commodification"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Nexus of creative capital in Belgrade"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Noise & pollution"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Participative & self-organizing initiatives"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Presence of international & national NGOs"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	

#	Comments for "Proximity of bus & train terminal"	Date
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Proximity of city center"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Proximity of the river"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Recognizable cultural identity"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Richness of tradition (crafts)"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Ruined buildings"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Trade & artisanal area"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Transition area (traffic bottle neck)"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	
#	**Comments for "Vivid night life"**	**Date**
	There are no responses.	

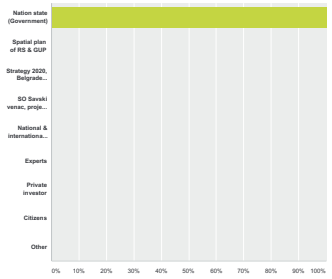
Q19 Can you think of any other characteristics of Savamala that are not mentioned in the above list? If yes, please, provide examples. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 0 Skipped: 5

#	Responses	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q20 Who is responsible for urban plans & implementation strategies for Savamala?

Answered: 2 Skipped: 3



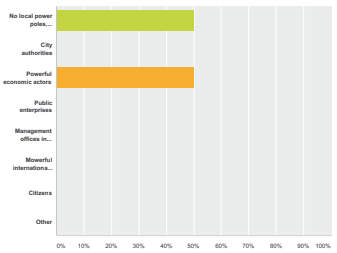
Answer Choices	Responses	
Nation state (Government)	100.00%	2
Spatial plan of RS & GUP	0.00%	0
Strategy 2020, Belgrade development strategy	0.00%	0

SO Savski venac, projects for Sava riverbank	0.00%	0
National & international NGOs	0.00%	0
Experts	0.00%	0
Private investor	0.00%	0
Citizens	0.00%	0
Other	0.00%	0
Total		**2**

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q21 What are the local power poles which influence urban planning & urban development in Savamala?

Answered: 2 Skipped: 3

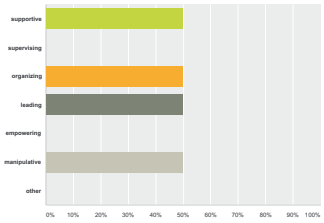


Answer Choices	Responses	
No local power poles, everything is grounded upon the powerful, centralized nation state	50.00%	1
City authorities	0.00%	0
Powerful economic actors	50.00%	1
Public enterprises	0.00%	0
Management offices in public companies, public utility companies, public administration	0.00%	0
Mowerful international institutions	0.00%	0
Citizens	0.00%	0
Other	0.00%	0
Total		**2**

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q22 How are international organizations involved in urban activities in Savamala?

Answered: 2 Skipped: 3

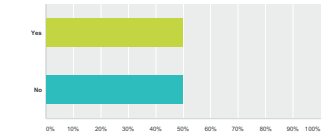


Answer Choices	Responses	
supportive	50.00%	1
supervising	0.00%	0
organizing	50.00%	1
leading	50.00%	1
empowering	0.00%	0
manipulative	50.00%	1
other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 2		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q23 Have you ever heard of an urban project related to the Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade?

Answered: 2 Skipped: 3



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	50.00%	1
No	50.00%	1
Total		2

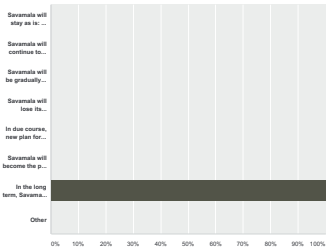
Q24 Please provide details on these projects Briefly describe the field, investor/responsible authority, topic, results etc; whatever you know or find relevant. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 3

#	Responses	Date
1	Urbani Inkubator	3/19/2016 11:51 AM
2	Cuo sam za projekat ali nisam upoznat sa detaljima.	3/3/2016 10:00 AM

Q25 From your point of view, what is the future of Savamala in terms of urban development, governance and management? Answers in Serbian are also accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 3



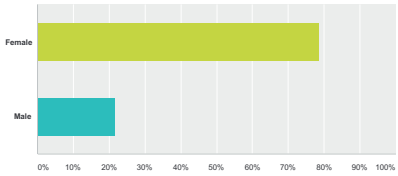
Answer Choices	Responses	
Savamala will stay as is: a shabby cultural cluster for new social class of hipsters & yuccies	0.00%	0
Savamala will continue to deteriorate with several occasional renovations of its physical structure from time to time	0.00%	0
Savamala will be gradually renovated through phases of destruction and construction of individual buildings, but its spirit will stay the same	0.00%	0
Savamala will lose its importance after bus and train terminal are moved to new locations	0.00%	0
In due course, new plan for Savamala will be enacted and it will define its future that best corresponds to its position and character	0.00%	0
Savamala will become the part of public waterfront area with public cultural, educational, recreational spaces and open green areas	0.00%	0
In the long term, Savamala will be destroyed as the part of "Belgrade Waterfront" programme	100.00%	2
Other	0.00%	0
Total		2

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

[C5: Savamala - Student results]

Q1 Gender

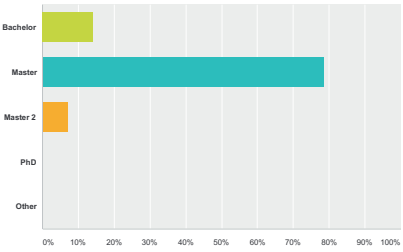
Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
Female	78.57%	11
Male	21.43%	3
Total		14

Q2 Current level of your studies

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



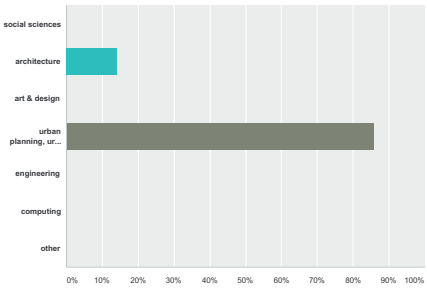
Answer Choices	Responses	
Bachelor	14.29%	2
Master	78.57%	11
Master 2	7.14%	1
PhD	0.00%	0
Other	0.00%	0

Total	14

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q3 Your professional field of interest

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

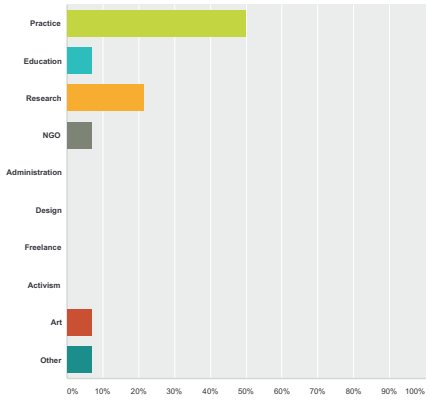


Answer Choices	Responses	
social sciences	0.00%	0
architecture	14.29%	2
art & design	0.00%	0
urban planning, urban studies, human geography	85.71%	12
engineering	0.00%	0
computing	0.00%	0
other	0.00%	0
Total		14

#	Please specify what do you mean by "other".. (Answers in Serbian are also accepted)	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q4 What is the supposed/ideal future domain of your work?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

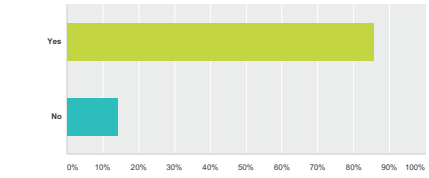


Answer Choices	Responses	
Practice	50.00%	7
Education	7.14%	1
Research	21.43%	3
NGO	7.14%	1
Administration	0.00%	0
Design	0.00%	0
Freelance	0.00%	0
Activism	0.00%	0
Art	7.14%	1
Other	7.14%	1
Total		14

#	Please specify what do you mean by "other".. (Answers in Serbian are also accepted)	Date
1	Combination of practice, research and freelance.	11/12/2015 9:03 AM

Q5 Have you studied Savamala in your bachelor/master courses or have you done any of your student projects on the case study of Savamala?

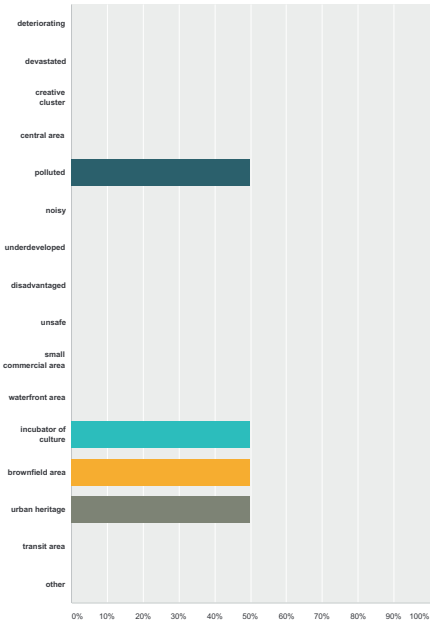
Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	85.71%	12
No	14.29%	2
Total		14

Q6 How would you describe Savamala in 2 words? Choose 2 responses.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 12



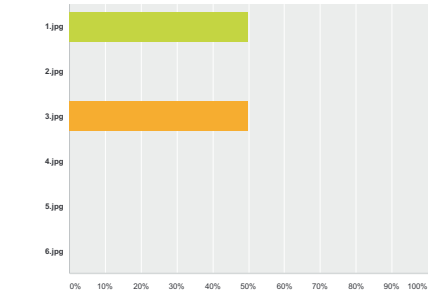
Answer Choices	Responses	
deteriorating	0.00%	0
devastated	0.00%	0
creative cluster	0.00%	0
central area	0.00%	0
polluted	50.00%	1
noisy	0.00%	0
underdeveloped	0.00%	0

disadvantaged	0.00%	0
unsafe	0.00%	0
small commercial area	0.00%	0
waterfront area	0.00%	0
incubator of culture	50.00%	1
brownfield area	50.00%	1
urban heritage	50.00%	1
transit area	0.00%	0
other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 2		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q7 What are the boundaries of Savamala? Choose the picture which best corresponds to your impression.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 12



Answer Choices	Responses	
	50.00%	1
	0.00%	0

	50.00%	1
	0.00%	0
	0.00%	0
	0.00%	0
Total		2

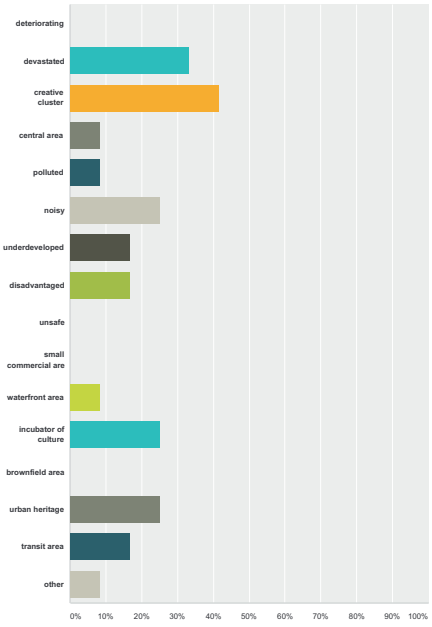
Q8 What was the topic addressing Savamala in the course? What was your student project in Savamala about? Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2

#	Responses	Date
1	Civic center in Savamala (studio project, 2nd semester of master studies) Participatory design for common space for neighbors in Cmogorska 5 street (studio project, 4th semester of master studies of architecture) mapping the locations for future Goethe-Institut (workshop, 1st semester of master studies) Ethnological research of potentials in Savamala (workshop, 3rd semester of master studies) Re-Birth - new life for abandoned spaces Savski amfiteatar - izvođačke umetnosti u redefiniciji gradskog prostora (studio project, 3rd semester of master studies) Landscape, structure and infrastructure: Beton Hala case study (Seminar, 3rd semester of master)	11/28/2016 12:39 AM
2	Savamala je bila tema istraživanja na više predmeta tokom osnovnih i master studija. Poslednji zadatak odnosio se na identifikaciju i rešavanje problema koji je za nas ključni, a to je bilo očuvanje i podizanje identita Savamale.	11/14/2015 6:23 PM
3	About culture in Savamala district.	11/12/2015 5:24 PM
4	Aktiviranje priobalja Savamale	11/12/2015 9:59 AM
5	Savamala kao deo lokacije u okviru studio projekta 3 spustanje ka reci	11/12/2015 9:24 AM
6	Strategy of integral urban development, and Studio project2, focused on action planning.	11/12/2015 9:10 AM
7	Kreativni grad	11/11/2015 11:41 PM
8	TEMA: OD TERAZIJA DO SAVE, NOVA VIZURA BEOGRADA KONCEPT: KREATIVNA POZORNICA	11/11/2015 11:20 PM
9	Savamala-kreativni grad	11/11/2015 9:40 PM
10	Lokacija koja se obradivala je bila područje projekta Beograd na vodi i tema je bila Primena koncepta pravednog grada na toj lokaciji.	11/11/2015 9:37 PM
11	Izrada strategije razvoja za područje Savamale	11/11/2015 9:21 PM
12	My student project about Savamala was a result of a student paper from the subject called "Formation of city spaces" (oblikovanje gradskih prostora) with the topic "Identity of a public space in Belgrade". I chose Savamala in the context of a place whose identity is still being formed and is being changed by recent activities.	11/10/2015 10:12 PM

Q9 How would you describe Savamala in 2 words? Choose 2 responses.

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2



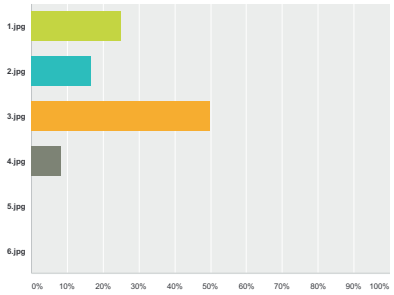
Answer Choices	Responses	
deteriorating	0.00%	0
devastated	33.33%	4
creative cluster	41.67%	5
central area	8.33%	1
polluted	8.33%	1
noisy	25.00%	3
underdeveloped	16.67%	2

disadvantaged	16.67%	2
unsafe	0.00%	0
small commercial are	0.00%	0
waterfront area	8.33%	1
incubator of culture	25.00%	3
brownfield area	0.00%	0
urban heritage	25.00%	3
transit area	16.67%	2
other	8.33%	1
Total Respondents: 12		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	potential, cultural center	11/10/2015 10:12 PM

Q10 What are the boundaries of Savamala? Choose the picture which best corresponds to your impression.

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2



Answer Choices	Responses	
	25.00%	3
	16.67%	2

commercial	8.33% 1	58.33% 7	0.00% 0	16.67% 2	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	12	7.75
transport	16.67% 2	0.00% 0	58.33% 7	16.67% 2	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12	7.92
industrial	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	16.67% 2	33.33% 4	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	12	3.33
cultural	50.00% 6	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	16.67% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	12	8.00
educational	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 2	0.00% 0	16.67% 2	33.33% 4	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	12	3.83
port	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	16.67% 2	0.00% 0	25.00% 3	16.67% 2	12	3.92
leisure	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	33.33% 4	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12	5.75
public services	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	25.00% 3	33.33% 4	12	3.50
abandoned areas	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	25.00% 3	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	12	5.75

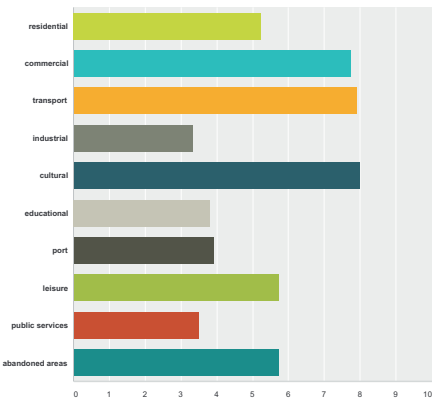
Q12 Who are the local actors& stakeholders in Savamala? Please choose all possible answers.

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2

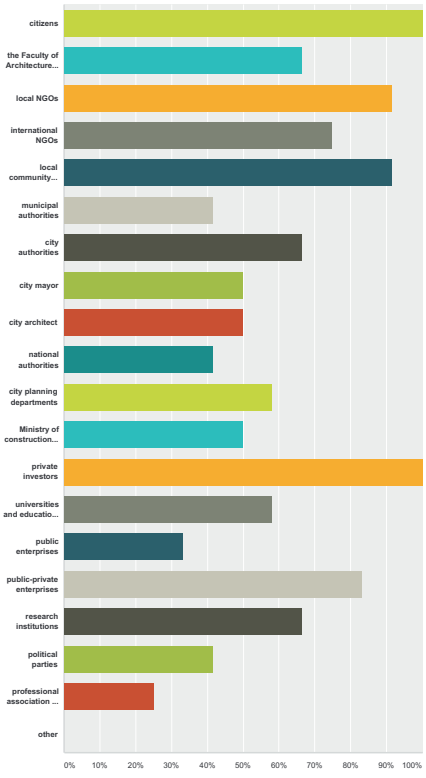
	50.00%	6
	8.33%	1
	0.00%	0
	0.00%	0
Total		12

Q11 Reorder the urban functions in Savamala according to their presence in the neighbourhood, from the most to the least represented urban function.. Drag & drop the urban functions in vertical order (no1 on the top being the most represented)

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	Score
residential	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	12	5.25



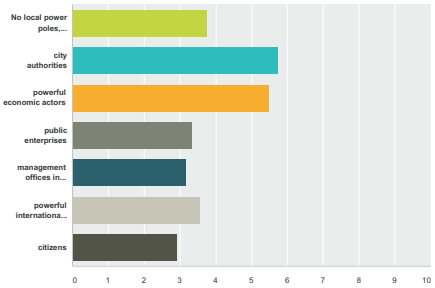
Answer Choices	Responses

citizens	100.00%	12
the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade	66.67%	8
local NGOs	91.67%	11
international NGOs	75.00%	9
local community (mesna zajednica)	91.67%	11
municipal authorities	41.67%	5
city authorities	66.67%	8
city mayor	50.00%	6
city architect	50.00%	6
national authorities	41.67%	5
city planning departments	58.33%	7
Ministry of construction, urbanism & infrastructure	50.00%	6
private investors	100.00%	12
universities and educational institutions	58.33%	7
public enterprises	33.33%	4
public-private enterprises	83.33%	10
research institutions	66.67%	8
political parties	41.67%	5
professional association of engineers (inzenjerska komora)	25.00%	3
other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 12		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q13 Reorder the local actors in Belgrade/Savamala according to their influence/power, from the most to the least influential/powerful actor group. Drag & drop the local actors in vertical order of influence/power (no1 on the top being the most influential/powerful)

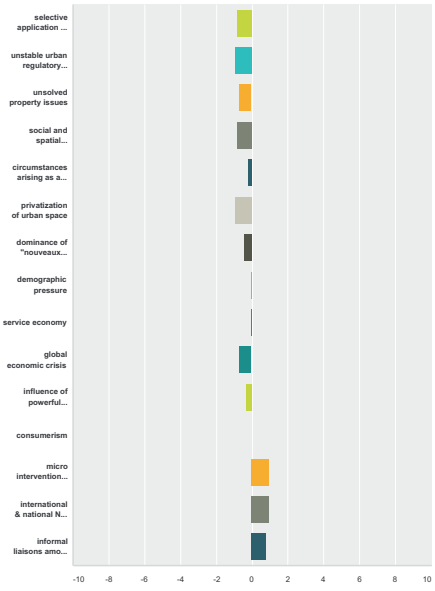
Answered: 12 Skipped: 2



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	Score
No local power poles, everything is grounded upon the powerful, centralized nation state	8.33% 1	25.00% 3	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	0.00% 0	16.67% 2	25.00% 3	12	3.75
city authorities	50.00% 6	25.00% 3	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	12	5.75
powerful economic actors	16.67% 2	41.67% 5	16.67% 2	25.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12	5.50
public enterprises	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 2	33.33% 4	25.00% 3	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	12	3.33
management offices in public companies, public utility companies, public administration	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 2	16.67% 2	50.00% 6	0.00% 0	16.67% 2	12	3.17
powerful international institutions	8.33% 1	8.33% 1	25.00% 3	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	8.33% 1	25.00% 3	12	3.58
citizens	16.67% 2	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	58.33% 7	16.67% 2	12	2.92

Q14 Please indicate how these circumstances influence the quality of urban environment in Savamala?

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2



	positive	neutral	negative	Total	Weighted Average
selective application of the law	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	91.67% 11	12	-0.83
unstable urban regulatory framework (continuous changes & adaptation of laws & regulations)	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	91.67% 11	12	-0.92
unsolved property issues	8.33% 1	16.67% 2	75.00% 9	12	-0.67
social and spatial segregation of rich and poor	0.00% 0	16.67% 2	83.33% 10	12	-0.83
circumstances arising as a result of marketization of society	8.33% 1	58.33% 7	33.33% 4	12	-0.25
privatization of urban space	0.00% 0	8.33% 1	91.67% 11	12	-0.92

dominance of "nouveaux riches" social cluster	16.67% 2	25.00% 3	58.33% 7	12	-0.42
demographic pressure	33.33% 4	25.00% 3	41.67% 5	12	-0.08
service economy	25.00% 3	41.67% 5	33.33% 4	12	-0.08
global economic crisis	0.00% 0	33.33% 4	66.67% 8	12	-0.67
influence of powerful economic actors on urban transformations	33.33% 4	0.00% 0	66.67% 8	12	-0.33
consumerism	45.45% 5	9.09% 1	45.45% 5	11	0.00
micro interventions & private ventures in urban space	91.67% 11	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	12	0.92
international & national NGO projects on urban issues	91.67% 11	8.33% 1	0.00% 0	12	0.92
informal liaisons among urban actors & stakeholders	81.82% 9	18.18% 2	0.00% 0	11	0.82

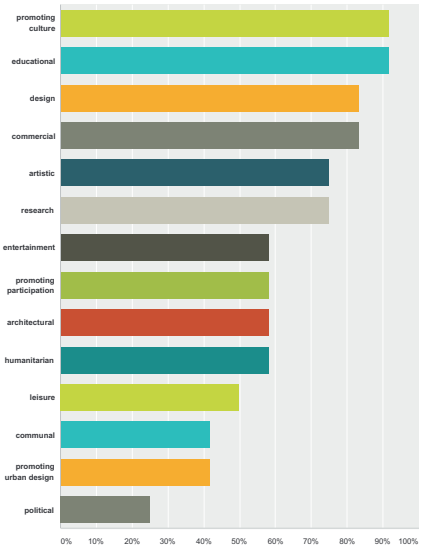
Q15 To your knowledge, what formal & informal groups & organisations were/are active in Savamala? Please, make an exhaustive list of all international, non-governmental, civil and private organizations. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2

#	Responses	Date
1	mikser festival and mikser house (brought a lot of international artists and organizations) + balkan design network miksalište refugee aid info park refugee info aid kolektiv gallery and radio station "sparaf" karkatag kolektiv city guerilla association urban incubator association (brought some international artists and organizations) hub gallery (brought some inernational artists) štab gallery ljubitelji savamale cultural center GRAD (brought some international artists and organizations) magacin gallery (brought some international artists and organizations) bike kitchen belgrade uice za bicikliste ne davimo beograd nova iskra (is close) (brought some international artists and organizations) belgrade flower festival liceulice	11/28/2016 2:44 AM
2	Goethe institut, Nova Iskra, Mikser House, itd.	11/14/2015 6:51 PM
3	Mikser, KC grad	11/12/2015 5:52 PM
4	Mikser, Gerila, Gete,	11/12/2015 9:49 AM
5	City gerila, Mikser house, KC Grad, Nova Iskra.	11/12/2015 9:21 AM
6	KC grad, Mikser, Magacin	11/12/2015 12:07 AM
7	MIKSER, KC GRAD, MAGACIN	11/12/2015 12:06 AM
8	Mikser house	11/11/2015 11:55 PM
9	Mikser, Nova Iskra, UG Ulice za bicikliste, Goethe Guerilla, galerija Štab, Beograd na vodi d.o.o., Arhitektonski fakultet, FMK, KC Grad, Pristanište, UrbanLAB, ...	11/11/2015 11:02 PM
10	Nisam u mogućnosti da ogovorim	11/11/2015 9:27 PM
11	Urbani inkubator, Gradska gerila, KC Grad, Mikser Haus, Kolektiv, Karkatag kolektiv, Bike kitchen, Nova Iskra, HUBG12, Eagle Hills, Magacin, Zdravamala, Društvo ljubitelja Savamale,	11/10/2015 10:31 PM
12	MIKSER , GERILA	11/10/2015 9:43 PM

Q16 What activities these organisations/groups are engaged in? Please choose all possible answers.

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2



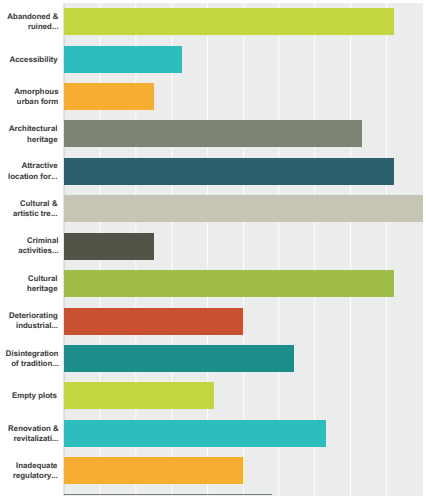
Answer Choices	Responses	
promoting culture	91.67%	11
educational	91.67%	11
design	83.33%	10
commercial	83.33%	10
artistic	75.00%	9
research	75.00%	9

legislation changes	8.33%	1
further/special education for the staff of administrative & regulatory institutions	16.67%	2
civil disobedience & interventions	0.00%	0
decentralization & limiting political power	41.67%	5
slow, incremental transformation	25.00%	3
other	8.33%	1
Total		12

#	Please specify what do you mean by "other".. (Answers in Serbian are also accepted)	Date
1	Combination of openminded city officials/planners, public stakeholders and soft interventions.	11/12/2015 9:21 AM

Q19 Please indicate which of the listed characteristics of Savamala are addressed/profited from in the bottom-up activities in the neighbourhood. Only one choice per row is possible.

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2



entertainment	58.33%	7
promoting participation	58.33%	7
architectural	58.33%	7
humanitarian	58.33%	7
leisure	50.00%	6
communal	41.67%	5
promoting urban design	41.67%	5
political	25.00%	3
Total Respondents: 12		

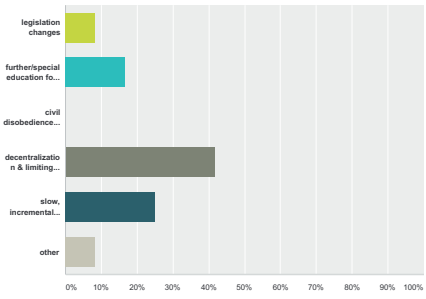
Q17 If you have in mind any other activities of these organisations/groups, please list them below. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 12

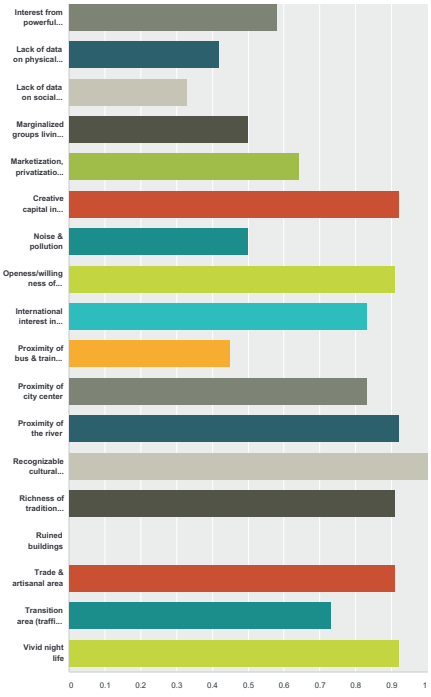
#	Responses	Date
1	aktivizam, jačanje lokalne zajednice, podsticanje lokalnog preduzetništva	11/11/2015 11:02 PM
2	/	11/10/2015 9:43 PM

Q18 What is the most important entry point to increase social participation and transparency in Savamala local context?

Answered: 12 Skipped: 2



Answer Choices	Responses



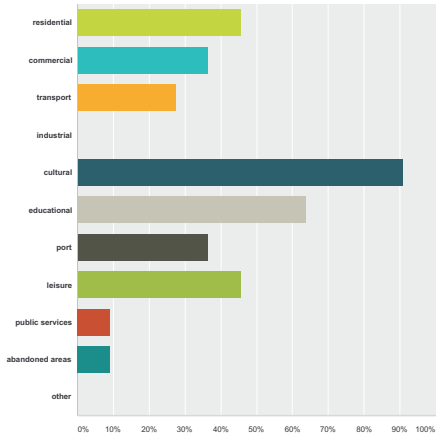
	yes	no	Total	Weighted Average
Abandoned & ruined buildings	91.67% 11	8.33% 1	12	0.92
Accessibility	33.33% 4	66.67% 8	12	0.33
Amorphous urban form	25.00% 3	75.00% 9	12	0.25

Architectural heritage	83.33% 10	16.67% 2	12	0.83
Attractive location for private investments	91.67% 11	8.33% 1	12	0.92
Cultural & artistic trends in the neighbourhood	100.00% 11	0.00% 0	11	1.00
Criminal activities (petty crimes)	25.00% 3	75.00% 9	12	0.25
Cultural heritage	91.67% 11	8.33% 1	12	0.92
Deteriorating industrial areas	50.00% 6	50.00% 6	12	0.50
Disintegration of tradition & heritage	63.64% 7	36.36% 4	11	0.64
Empty plots	41.67% 5	58.33% 7	12	0.42
Renovation & revitalization of urban & architectural heritage	72.73% 8	27.27% 3	11	0.73
Inadequate regulatory framework	50.00% 6	50.00% 6	12	0.50
Interest from powerful economic actors with strong political influence	58.33% 7	41.67% 5	12	0.58
Lack of data on physical environment	41.67% 5	58.33% 7	12	0.42
Lack of data on social structure	33.33% 4	66.67% 8	12	0.33
Marginalized groups living in the area	50.00% 6	50.00% 6	12	0.50
Marketization, privatization & commodification pressure	63.64% 7	36.36% 4	11	0.64
Creative capital in Belgrade	91.67% 11	8.33% 1	12	0.92
Noise & pollution	50.00% 6	50.00% 6	12	0.50
Openess/willingness of citizens to participate/collaborate	90.91% 10	9.09% 1	11	0.91
International interest in Savamala potential	83.33% 10	16.67% 2	12	0.83
Proximity of bus & train terminal	45.45% 5	54.55% 6	11	0.45
Proximity of city center	83.33% 10	16.67% 2	12	0.83
Proximity of the river	91.67% 11	8.33% 1	12	0.92
Recognizable cultural identity	100.00% 11	0.00% 0	11	1.00
Richness of tradition (crafts)	90.91% 10	9.09% 1	11	0.91
Ruined buildings	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0	0.00
Trade & artisanal area	90.91% 10	9.09% 1	11	0.91

Transition area (traffic bottle neck)	72.73% 8	27.27% 3	11	0.73
Vivid night life	91.67% 11	8.33% 1	12	0.92

Q20 From your point of view, what are the most suitable urban functions for Savamala so that it can represent a successful story of harmonized urban development? Please choose 1-4 options.

Answered: 11 Skipped: 3



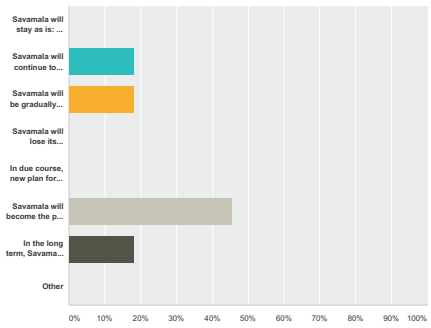
Answer Choices	Responses	
residential	45.45%	5
commercial	36.36%	4
transport	27.27%	3
industrial	0.00%	0
cultural	90.91%	10
educational	63.64%	7

port	36.36%	4
leisure	45.45%	5
public services	9.09%	1
abandoned areas	9.09%	1
other	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 11		

#	Please specify what you mean by "other".. Answers in Serbian are accepted.	Date
1	art, design, music	11/10/2015 10:37 PM

Q21 From your point of view, what is the future of Savamala in terms of urban development, governance and management?

Answered: 11 Skipped: 3



Answer Choices	Responses	
Savamala will stay as is: a shabby cultural cluster for new social class of hipsters & yuccies	0.00%	0
Savamala will continue to deteriorate with several occasional renovations of its physical structure from time to time	18.18%	2
Savamala will be gradually renovated through phases of destruction and construction of individual buildings, but its spirit will stay the same	18.18%	2
Savamala will lose its importance after bus and train terminal are moved to new locations	0.00%	0
In due course, new plan for Savamala will be enacted and it will define its future that best corresponds to its position and character	0.00%	0
Savamala will become the part of public waterfront area with public cultural, educational, recreational spaces and open green areas	45.45%	5
In the long term, Savamala will be destroyed as the part of "Belgrade Waterfront" programme	18.18%	2

Other	0.00%	0
Total		11

#	Please specify what do you mean by "other".. (Answers in Serbian are also accepted)	Date
	There are no responses.	

Q22 What are your learning goals and expectations for this workshop? Please list below whatever you find relevant in terms of professional domain, educational and research approach, type of information and data analysis, evaluating criteria.. Answers in Serbian are accepted.

Answered: 6 Skipped: 8

#	Responses	Date
1	Očekujem da ću dobiti mogućnost da istražim aspekte Savamale koje do sada nisam imala prilike, čime bi poboljšala shvatanje same lokacije, bolju identifikaciju problema, i njihovo buduće rešavanje.	11/14/2015 6:59 PM
2	I expect to contribute to the exploration of Savamala and its full potentials...	11/12/2015 5:58 PM
3	Deeper understanding of Savamala identity and possible ways of civil psrticipation and decision making	11/12/2015 9:24 AM
4	Očekujem da se bliže upoznam sa načinom rada u praksi.	11/11/2015 9:46 PM
5	I hope to learn new methodologies and strategies for participatory urban design and development which will aid me in my future professional work, as well as to have discussions with people who have interest in Savamala about its potentials, problems, and resolutions.	11/10/2015 10:37 PM
6	Trying to find suitable solution for Savamala, with other students.	11/10/2015 9:49 PM

ANNEX D

Workshops

[D1 EXPERT Workshop]

URBAN PLANNING METHODS AND INSTRUMENTS:

Lessons and Application in Post-socialist Cities

Expert workshop: October 27, 2015

SPUDS Project

The post-socialist transition induced substantial changes in society, public policy, urban economies and structures, and significantly transformed existing urban development processes (UDPs) in Serbia. It increased the significance of political and institutional regulations, as well as the importance of introducing new wave of research, strategic thinking and governance.

This project aims to support a gradual building of a new heuristic approach to urban issues in the post-socialist transitional context in Serbia, in parallel with the empowerment of scientific community, stakeholders and a set of organizations of civil sector dealing with urban development, governance, urban management, as well as urban planning methods and instruments. Lasting effect will address biased decision making process, insufficient and weak institutional regulations, provisory evaluation, controlling and monitoring system for plans, policies and projects.

Acknowledgements

This workshop is part of SCOPES IP project "Support to the Process of Urban Development of Serbia - SPUDS" (No 160503) and SNSF research project "An Urban Development model of a post-socialist city – case study of Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade", supported by **Swiss National Scientific Foundation**.

Cooperation partners are **CODEV-EPFL** (Cooperation & Development Center - Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne) and **IAUS** (Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia).

Project coordinator: Prof. Jean Claude Bolay, CODEV-EPFL
Coordinator for Serbia: Tamara Maričić, IAUS
Project participants: Slavka Zeković (IAUS), Miodrag Vujošević (IAUS), Marija Cvetinović (CODEV-EPFL), Tanja Bajić (IAUS), Abigail Kern (CODEV-EPFL), Jelena Živanović (IAUS), Božidar Manić (IAUS).
Special guest: Julien Woessner (FPH Lausanne)

Workshop

The main aim of this workshop is to analyse and discuss diverse urban planning methods and instruments in European, developing and emerging countries in order to analyse and discuss diverse urban planning methods and instruments in European, developing and emerging countries in order to consider successful practices/experiences and their possible application in post-socialist context. The first part (part B) will be devoted to urban models in Europe and to urban planning methods in the global South (with two examples: poor cities in Africa and intermediate cities in Haiti). The second part (part C) will focus on review of institutional practice of the post-socialist urban planning in Serbia, which will be further elaborated in detail on the neighbourhood level (Savamala local district/community) in Belgrade (part D).

A loose and blurred hierarchy of institutions, informal linkages and procedures within complex institutional organizations together with inefficient and incomplete communication between different levels (national, regional, local) are just a few of the open issues that arise in the post-socialist transition, when remnants of the cultural, social and administrative heritage of the socialist system overlap with the new approaches and instruments advocated by neoliberalism. However, it is also clear that post-socialist regulatory framework has a particular and complex set of diverse elements (agents) that govern its formal and informal institutional practice, rules and routine, which are not yet fully identified, demystified, traced and evaluated in order to provide a functional post-socialist institutional design of urban planning & governance.

Following the complexity of post-socialist urban practice, we intend to interpret its dynamics as a network constituted of active, operationally independent urban key agents that are being methodically orchestrated by the variety of decision making pathways. We also emphasize that legislative framework regulates formal decision making, while informal connections contribute to improvement of decision-making process. This comprises structural analysis of administrative procedures and content analysis of policy agendas as a toolset to systematically schematize local urban governance in terms of political, socio-economic, legal, cultural and environmental aspects of connections, type of roles and the level of influence (international, national, regional, local).

In the part C we will further analyse general socio-economic and political context in Serbia and Belgrade, policy and instruments of construction land in urban planning in Serbia, methodological approaches in planning urban transformation through mega-projects, as well as strategic (environmental and social) impacts and their evaluation.

The part D considers case study of Savamala, an attractive, but neglected neighbourhood in Belgrade exemplifies how the abrupt shift from a socialist to a neo-liberal economy poses a strategic challenge in shaping the historical cultural and economic Belgrade urban core (including structural changes of land–use) in the process of attracting foreign direct investments and powerful business actors, as well as the pressure of subtle gentrification tendencies incited by various international cultural and design incubators recently placed in the neighbourhood.

The main result of this workshop will be knowledge exchange resulting in a deeper analysis of different urban planning methods and instruments in different parts of the world and in the different political & economic systems, and their possible implication on improvement of urban planning practice in Belgrade and Serbia through a set of recommendations.

Workshop organisation:
In this respect, the workshop will be organized for a selected group of **local experts** (8-12 participants) from different backgrounds (research, administration, practice).

Outcomes:
The conclusions of this workshop will contribute to creation of a scheme of urban development on the neighbourhood level. **Recommendations** for research community will be incorporated in SPUDS booklet of recommendations (in the next phase), including the list of research topics, unresolved issues & their relations. Written report will be published on SPUDS web site.

Venue:

Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije – IAUS
Bulevar kralja Aleksandra 73/II
11000 Beograd

Speakers:

Julien Woessner, Fondation Charles Léopold Mayer
Jean Claude Boley, CODEV-EPFL
Abigaïl-Laure Kern, CODEV-EPFL
Ksenija Petovar
Miodrag Vujošević, IAUS
Slavka Zeković, IAUS
Tamara Maričić, IAUS
Marija Cvetinovic, CODEV-EPFL

Programme: 9,00 – 17,00

A INTRODUCTION		
9,00	Welcome and introduction of all participants	
9,15	Introduction on SPUDS project and workshop aims	Tamara Maričić, IAUS
B URBAN PLANNING METHODS AND INSTRUMENTS: EXAMPLES FROM EUROPEAN, DEVELOPING & EMERGING COUNTRIES		
9,25	Beyond „Mechanism“, search for Alternative Urban Models in Europe	Julien Woessner, Fondation Charles Léopold Mayer
9,45	Discussion	
9,55	Urban planning in poor cities: a case in Africa	Jean Claude Boley, CODEV-EPFL
10,15	Discussion	
10,25	Urban governance in a context of crisis, the Haitian study case	Abigaïl-Laure Kern, CODEV-EPFL
10,45	Discussion	
10,55	Coffee break	
C URBAN PLANNING METHODS AND INSTRUMENTS: SERBIA		
11,15	Socio-economic-political context in Serbia	Miodrag Vujošević, IAUS
11,35	Urban land policy, mega projects in urban planning	Slavka Zeković, IAUS
11,55	Strategic impacts (environmental, social) and their evaluation	Tamara Maričić, IAUS
12,10	Panel discussion	
12,40	Coffee break	
D URBAN PLANNING METHODS AND INSTRUMENTS: BELGRADE		
12,50	Savamala: Planning and institutional aspects	Miodrag Vujošević, IAUS
13,10	Savamala : Social context, actors, participation	Ksenija Petovar
13,30	Panel discussion	
13,50	Lunch break	
14,35	Savamala: multi-agent mapping	Marija Cvetinovic, CODEV-EPFL
14,45	Cartoon Belgrade waterfront development	
14,50	PANEL discussion	
16,50	Conclusions	

[D2 PhD STUDENT Workshop]

SCOPES project: Support to Process of Urban Development in Serbia (SPUDS)

Workshop for PhD students: Post-socialist city development in Serbia: the role of public participation/ plan/project evaluation

The Institute for Architecture and Urbanism of Serbia (**IAUS**) and the Center for Cooperation and Development, Ecole Polytechinique Federale de Lausanne (**CODEV-EPFL**) organize the workshop about current policy trends and post-socialist city development instruments in Serbia for PhD students. In particular, the issues of transparency and participation in planning, project and planning regulations evaluation and urban dissemination will be considered. Other similar topics will also be discussed (urban management, city investments, residential policies, illegal construction, and legalization).
Following introductory lectures from the team members, students will have the opportunity to analyze selected case studies (Ada Bridge, Savamala/Belgrade Waterfront, Kaluđerica, with the possibility of defining one more case study), working in small teams and using suggested methodology with the support from the workshop organizers. The results of the study (graphical representation/schematics and short assay) will be published on future website of SPUDS project.
The participation in the workshop is free of charge.

The aim of the workshop is to provide a support for the development of heuristic approach in basic areas of post-socialist city development in Serbia, specifically taking into account the role of institutions and public participation; to strengthen research abilities in the area of urban development (evaluation, assessment, utilization of methods and instruments of urban planning, implementation); and the exchange and transfer of knowledge in the process of collaborative learning and practical work using strategic urban projects examples.

Schedule

- 1st day – February 23, 2016, Tuesday: 5 hours
  - Introductory lectures – 2 hrs
  - Assignment: Team work – 2 hrs
- 2nd day – February 24, 2016, Wednesday: 4 hours
  - Assignment: Team work, continued
- 3rd day – February 26, 2016, Friday: 2 hours
  - Consultations (if needed)
- 4th day – March 7, 2016, Monday – 3 hours
  - Presentations of group work (ppt)

Time and venue

The workshop will be held at the Institute for Architecture and Urbanism of Serbia, Bul. kralja Aleksandra street, 73/II.
The workshop will start at early afternoon each day. Precise time schedule will be announced. We politely ask you to apply only if you can attend the workshop according to the schedule. All the participants will be given the certificate of attendance upon the completion of the workshop.

How to apply

A cover letter and a short biography (including the theses' subject, enrolment in research projects etc) should be sent to: tamara@iaus.ac.rs not later then January, 25th 2016. Results of the selection and workshop details will be announced on February, 1st 2016. The workshop is limited to 12 participants.

Support

This workshop is a part of the SCOPES IP project "Support to the Process of Urban Development of Serbia-SPUDS" (No 160503) and SNSF research project "An Urban Development model of a post socialist-city - case study of Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade", with the financial support from Swiss National Scientific Foundation.

Organizers of the workshop

Tamara Maričić, PhD, urban planner (IAUS)
Slavka Zeković, PhD, urban planner (IAUS)
Miodrag Vujošević, PhD, economist and urban planner (IAUS)
Tanja Bajić, MA, architect (IAUS)
Marija Cvetinović, architect (EPFL-CODEV)

[D3 STUDENT Workshop]

Student workshop: **Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala**
Organized by IAUS, within the project SPUDS

Workshop – overview

Location: IAUS (Institute of architecture and urban&spatial planning).

Date: 12, 13, 16 November 2015.

Workshop participants:

Representatives from the project SPUDS and IAUS; Students of Master studies in Integral Urbanism, Faculty of Architecture, attending the part of the course „Professional practice" at the Institute of architecture and urban&spatial planning; Head of the course: doc. Biserka Mitrović, B.Sc.Arch., M.Sc; Coordinator of the student practice at IAUS: Ana Niković, B.Sc.Arch., Ph.D., Research Fellow at IAUS.

Workshop organizers : Tamara Maričić, B.Sc. in Spatial Planning, Ph.D., IAUS, Marija Cvetinović, B.Sc.Arch., Ph.D. student at CODEV-EPFL (Cooperation & Development Center - Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne).

Overall aim:

Research oriented: identify implications of participatory urban design activities in Belgrade in terms of introducing a set of bottom-up level actors & stakeholders, types of participatory & urban design practices they engage in, and new networks of interactions & actions.

Education oriented: Introduce critical thinking and balanced approach to urban issues to students of architecture and spatial planning.

Particular aim:

Research oriented: Analyse participatory activities in Savamala, map bottom-up level actors & stakeholders and identify networks created among them.

Education oriented: Teach students to apply certain techniques of urban analysis Approach:

stakeholder analysis and mapping; actor-networks & actor profiles

Outcome: develop critical approach towards bottom-up activities present in Belgrade and Savamala

Research oriented: A critical overview on participation in Savamala & Belgrade at the neighbourhood/local level: possibilities, challenges & pathways in post-socialist neighbourhood.

Education oriented: Give students an opportunity to know better their local urban environment and the opportunities to intervene on various levels.

Field work - site: Savamala case study Tasks:

(1) Introduction to participation, bottom-up activities in Savamala: field work;

(2) Identification of stakeholders – techniques for stakeholder identification (generic lists – extensive literature review, set of questions, snowballing);

(3) Bottom up activities for Savamala – analysis through the application of stakeholder identification techniques & information on participatory activities in Savamala;

(4) Mapping bottom-up networks – actor profiles & interactions – Multi agent system as a method of analysis;

(5) Visualization of networks – Actor-network theory (ANT). Provided bibliographic references:

- Hand out reading material before & during the workshop (printed or/and pdf)
- Give an extensive list of bibliographic references in the field, sorted by domains
- Offer some visual material on Savamala (analytical framework from SNSF "Urban development model of a post-socialist neighbourhood")

SCOPES project: Support to Process of Urban Development in Serbia (SPUDS)
Student workshop: Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

Workshop – abstract:

This workshop intends to analyse the implications of participatory urban design activities in Savamala.

- Participatory activities in Savamala

The series of unsolicited activities in the last few years contribute to setting up a specific micro environment in Savamala where national and international civic sector and inhabitants has become ready to invest their time and creative resources in converting their devastated neighbourhood into a series of self-sustainable civic places. The most famous advertised aim has been: (1) to promote sustainable urban development, (2) surpassing current profit-orientated trends, and (3) benefitting from spatio-social contradictions as opportunities for creativity and participation.

"The neighbourhood of Savamala is among the most important Belgrade landmarks, situated in the proximity of the city centre. Endowed with rich historical heritage and with an extraordinary spatial and economic potential, Savamala is now a traffic bottleneck with intense pollution, urban noise and obvious spatial and social conflicts. It is economically underdeveloped and socially disadvantaged."

It was the obvious, officially published reason for multiple local, national and international NGOs and international organizations to launch several streams of participatory activities in Savamala, namely: (1) several online platforms and social network activities, (2) urban data collection and practice-based research, (3) pop-up events and instant actions for societal progress and bottom-up economic activities.

- Workshop on bottom-up actor-networks in Savamala

In order not only to obtain valid results, but also to inform students about few up-to-date methodologies for urban research, we plan to evaluate the capacity of this local development program to streamline such diversity and reciprocity of people in action for scrutinizing alternative methods of bottom-up urban development within unclear legal regulatory framework and beyond big financial means for investment. In this respect, we will present and apply with students a range of methods such: (1) Stakeholder analysis, (2) Multi-agent system (MAS) and (3) Actor-network theory (ANT).

These methods help students to envision what the tools for urban analysis are, how they are applied in practice and what the possible results could be. In particular, we would like to demystify the circumstances of participation and the role of local population, social activists, young professionals, and education and research institutions in building a comprehensive overlay of urban scenarios for interventions and pathways of urban transformations in Savamala.

In summary, it is also very important to present to students how a complex post-socialist framework constitutes a challenge for cultural projects and networking activities to effectively provide an opportunity for participatory urban transformations, based on social interest rather than on real estate speculations. Finally, as a long-term, overarching goal we would like to emphasise that showing different research and analysis perspectives to students involves also estimating whether there is an opportunity for this kind of economy of social exchange, and for the commons in general, to contribute to an improvement of life and functionality of urban structures and systems in lack of official strategies and without the pressure of powerful business initiatives.

Learning outcomes

- Introduce critical thinking in urban research & practice
- Promote balanced approach to bottom-up & top-down approaches in urbanism;
- Apply certain techniques of urban analysis;
- Investigate local urban environment and opportunities for professional interventions.

Deliverables

Entry survey: short multiple choice questionnaire (10-30min)

Workload: group work

Contribution from students: a poster per group

Work & Credits
The course may equal certain number of ECTS credits at the Faculty of Architecture.
The total of 16 hours is divided between the preparation & contribution (6 hours) and active participation (10 hours).
The preparation consists of an entry survey and a contribution – sum up of the results through a poster (map of bottom-up activities). Each group should deliver at least 1 poster.
The paper will be reviewed by the participants and the organizers and will be discussed in the workgroups on the final day. Students are provided some time (a weekend) between the work days and presentation day in order for them to be able to produce quality material (max 8 hours of work per person).

Workshop – timetable

- 3 days = 10 hours
  - **1 day – 12.11.2015 - Thursday: 11 – 15 h (total 4 h)**
    - Lecture: Stakeholder analysis – 15 min
    - Site visit: itinerary through most significant points of action in Savamala - 1h
    - Task: group work (2-3 students) on lists of stakeholders - 1h30
    - Lecture: Multi agent system – 15 min
    - Task: Building networks – 1h
  - **2 day– 13.11.2015 - Friday: 11 – 15 h (total 4 h)**
    - Task: defining the quality of networks & the role of actors & stakeholders in networks – 2 h
    - Lecture: Actor-Network theory - 15min
    - Task: visualization of networks - 1h30
  - **3 day– 16.11.2015 - Monday: 12 – 14 h (total 2 h)**
    - Poster presentations
    - Discussion
- Online entry survey: Survey monkey
- Contribution: Poster

Workshop participants:
Representatives from the project SPUDS and IAUS; Students of Master studies in Integral Urbanism, Faculty of Architecture, attending the part of the course „Professional practice“ at the Institute of architecture and urban&spatial planning; Head of the course: doc. Biserka Mitrović, B.Sc.Arch., M.Sc; Coordinator of the student practice at IAUS: Ana Niković, B.Sc.Arch., Ph.D., Research Fellow at IAUS.

Workshop organizers:
Tamara Maričić, B.Sc. in Spatial Planning, Ph.D., IAUS, Marija Cvetinović, B.Sc.Arch., Ph.D. student at CODEV-EPFL (Cooperation & Development Center - Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne).

Location: IAUS (Institute of architecture and urban&spatial planning).
Date: 12, 13, 16 November 2015.

[D3 STUDENT Workshop Results]

1. Projekat: Platforma „Urbanistički kuvari" (Urban cooks)

- Opis projekta: Projekat koji ima za cilj da poveže znanje i iskustvo stručnjaka iz različitih evropskih zemalja, za lokalnim zajednicama. Platforma je osnovana u Beogradu, u martu 2014. kako bi se pokrenuli gradani i udruženja Savamale da lakšu svoje stavove u planiranju razvoja ove četvrti.

- Aktet: The School of Architecture and the Built Environment ABE
  Faculty of Architecture
  Instituto Cervantes
  Mikser House
  Stanovnici Savamale

2. Projekat: Zdravamala

- Opis projekta: Projekat okuplja mlade dizajnere, bolničare i stanovnike Savamale. Delovanje edukativnog karaktera o urbanoj ekologiji i javnom zdravlju dopunjavalo aktivnosti koje se obracaju i motivisu i druge zainteresovane grupe u Savamali.

- Aktet: Goethe-Institut
  Urban Incubator
  Mladi dizajneri
  Bolnicari
  Stanovnici Savamale

3. Projekat: Camenzind

- Opis projekta: Kamenzind je švajcarski časopis i istraživačka platforma koja se bavi arhitekturom i urbanizmom, ne samo iz perspektive arhitekta nego i muzičara, umetnika, građevinskih inženjera, sociologa i drugih profesionalaca koji se bave gradom. Kamenzindova uloga je da dokumentuje kao i da se kritički osvrne na projekat Urban inkubatora kao celine, da obezbedi spoj između projekta i stanovnika Savamale i da pruži obuku grupi dobrovoljnih lokalnih učesnika u vim aspektima lanade časopisa i audio dokumentacije.

- Aktet: Goethe Institute Belgrade
  Pro Helvetia Switzerland
  Swiss Embassy Belgrade
  BHSF Architects, Zürich

4. Projekat: Moje parče Savamale

- Opis projekta: Moje parče Savamale je naziv petodnevne participativne radionice koja ima za cil da građane direktno uključi u proces planiranja i kreiranja javnog prostora. Na ovaj način gradani imaju priliku da izreknu svoje mišljenje i utiču na procese planiranja grada.

- Aktet: Gradska Gerila
  Mikser House
  Gradska uprava
  Eagle Hills - projekt iz oblasti arhitekture i urbanizma
  Stanovnici Savamale

5. Projekat: Nextsavamala

- Opis projekta: Nextsavamala je onlajn platforma zasnovana na višoj stanovništva za urbani razvoj Beograda. Cilj je napraviti agendu zasnovanu na znanju, vizijama i potrebama lokalnog stanovništva.

- Aktet: Goethe Institute Belgrade
  Urban incubator
  Nextharnburg
  Stanovnici Savamale

6. Projekat: Urban Incubator Walks

- Opis projekta: vođene ture kroz stari i novu Savamalu (Prolaci ispred Španske kuće, Braće Krsmanović 3). Ture vode na skrivena mesta Savamalske četvrti, posećuju projekte na mestima nijihove realizacije i upoznaju sa ljudima koji stoje iza njih. Španska kuća servis hrane vodi u URBAN INCUBATOR BELGRADE – u integrisanim prostorima, umetničkoj i društvenim dimenzijama.

- Aktet: Nemačka organizacija za tehničku saradnju GTZ
  Savezno ministarstvo saobraćaja, građevine i urbanizma SR Nemačke
  Grad Beograd i Opština Stari Grad
  Fondacija Pro Helvecia
  Grad Beograd
  Opština Stari grad
  Kulturni centar „KC Grad"
  Opština Savski venac Beograd
  ETH Zürich

7. Projekat: Akupunktura grada, Beograd

- Opis projekta: Projekat Akupunktura grada obuhvatila gradove Beograd, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Skoplje i Split, a realizuje se pod pokroviteljstvom Evropske komisije u programu Kultura 2007 – 2013. Osnovna ideja projekta jeste realizacija malih urbanističkih intervencija u određenom gradskom kvartu koje će na neki način poprnositi kvalitet života u istom okruženju.

- Aktet: Kulturni centar „KC Grad"
  Interdisciplinarni forum iz Beograda, Sarajeva, Zagreba, Skopja i Splita
  Društva arhitekata Zagreba
  Mikser House Beograd
  Public Room Sarajevo
  Kulturni front iz Beograda
  Društva arhitekata Splita

Student workshop:
Studenti: Andrija Vujić, Suzana Petrović

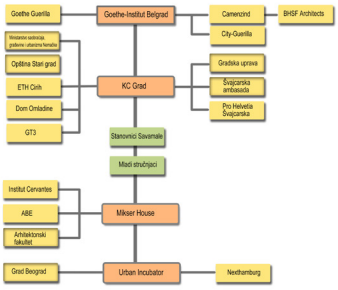
Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

Analiza stejkholdera

Uzrok:
Sadržaji namenjeni uskoj ciljnoj grupi.

Posledica:
Nedovoljna uključenost lokalnog stanovnistva u proces reanimacije Savamale.

Cilj:
Podizanje identiteta Savamale i osecaja zajednice.



ova dva najniža nivoa su u stvari oblici "ne participacije" koje određene strukture izmišljaju i daju građanima kao neadekvatnu zamenu za pravu participaciju. Svrha ovog oblika nije da osnaži ljude da učestvuju u planiranju i vođenju različitih programa već da omogući močnicima da "podučavaju" i "leče" građane.

Ovaj vide uključivanja omogućava onima bez moći da čuju i dobiju određene informacije. U ovom slučaju građani ne raspolažu mehanizmima kojima bi mogli da utiču da njihova mišljenja zaista budu uvažena od strane ljudi na vlasti.

Ukazuju na značajnije učešće građana u procesu donošenja odluka. Partnerstvo omogućava pregovaranje i postizanje konsenzusa sa ljudima na vlasti a delegiranje moći omogućava građanima mogućnost da donose odluke.

Анализа стејкхолдера - Bottom-up Actor-networks in Savamala

ГРУПА 4 - СОФИЈА НЕДЕЉКОВИЋ BArch, КАТАРИНА ПАНТИЋ BArch, ЈЕЛЕНА СЛОВИЋ BArch

савамала = транзит

ТРАНЗИТ
КЕМА ИЗЛАСКА НА РЕКУ
ПРУГА
ЗАПУШЕНОСТ

НАРУШАВАЊЕ ПРИВАТНОСТИ СТАНАРА
БЕЗБЕДНОСТ
СТАРА ИНФРАСТРУКТУРА
ЛОШ БОНИТЕТ ОБЈЕКАТА
ОГРАНИЧЕНОСТ КРЕТАЊА
БУКА И ЗАГАЂЕЊЕ
НЕЈАСНА Ф-ЈА ПРОСТОРА
ВЕЛИКИ ПОЛИТИЧКИ АПУРОРИТЕТ

СЦЕНАРИО 1 - ПОСТОЈЕЋЕ СТАЊЕ - ТРАНЗИТ У КАРАЂОРЂЕВОЈ УЛИЦИ

ко одлучује?	на кога утиче?	ко има моћ да реагује?

ПРОБЛЕМ 1.1
НАРУШАВАЊЕ ПРИВАТНОСТИ СТАНАРА

ГРАД БЕОГРАД
ОПШТИНА САВСКИ ВЕНАЦ

НЕГАТИВАН УТИЦАЈ - ПОВОЉАЊЕ ГОДИ
ЛОКАЛНО СТАНОВНИШТВО
ЗАПОСЛЕНИ
РЕКРЕАТИВЦИ
ТУРИСТИ

НЕГАТИВАН УТИЦАЈ - ПОВОЉАЊЕ НИКОМ
ШПЕКУЛАНТИ ПРЕДУЗЕЋА

ИДЕНТИФИКАЦИЈА (ПАРТИЦИПАЦИЈА)
УРБАН ИНКУБАТОР
КЦ ГРАД
НОВА ИСКРА
ГЕТЕ ИНСТИТУТ

ИЗРАДА ПЛАНОВА
МЗ САВАМАЛА
УРБАНИСТИЧКИ ЗАВОД
ИАУС

ИМПЛЕМЕНТАЦИЈА ПЛАНОВА/ПРОЈЕКАТА (ПАРТИЦИПАЦИЈА)
УРБАН ИНКУБАТОР
КЦ ГРАД
НОВА ИСКРА

ПРОБЛЕМ 1.2
БУКА И ЗАГАЂЕЊЕ

ГРАД БЕОГРАД
МИНИСТАРСТВО ЗАШТИТЕ ЖИВОТНЕ СРЕДИНЕ
ЈП БЕОГРАД ПУТ

СВИ

ИДЕНТИФИКАЦИЈА (ПАРТИЦИПАЦИЈА)
УРБАН ИНКУБАТОР
КЦ ГРАД
МИКСЕР
ШКОЛА УРБАНЕ ПРАКСЕ

ИЗРАДА ПЛАНОВА
УРБАНИСТИЧКИ ЗАВОД
АРХИТЕКТЕ + ПЛАНЕРИ
АРХ. ФАКУЛТЕТ
ИАУС
ЈП ЗЕЛЕНИЛО

ИМПЛЕМЕНТАЦИЈА ПЛАНОВА/ПРОЈЕКАТА (ПАРТИЦИПАЦИЈА)
КОРИСНИЦИ ПРОСТОРА
УРБАН ИНКУБАТОР
КЦ ГРАД
НОВА ИСКРА
МИКСЕР

ПРОБЛЕМ 1.3
ОГРАНИЧЕНОСТ КРЕТАЊА

ГРАД БЕОГРАД
МИНИСТАРСТВО САОБРАЋАЈА И ИНФРАСТРУКТУРЕ
ЈП БЕОГРАД ПУТ
УРБАНИСТИЧКИ ЗАВОД

ЛОКАЛНО СТАНОВНИШТВО
ЗАПОСЛЕНИ
РЕКРЕАТИВЦИ
БИЦИКЛИСТИ
ТУРИСТИ
АС ЛАСТА

ИНИЦИЈАТИВА + ЗНАЊЕ
УГ УЛИЦЕ ЗА БИЦИКЛИСТЕ
ИНВЕСТИТОРИ
УРБАН ИНКУБАТОР
АРХИТЕКТЕ + ПЛАНЕРИ (ИНИЦИЈАТИВЕ)
КЦ ГРАД
МИКСЕР
ИНВЕСТИТОРИ
ИДЕНТИФИКАЦИЈА
ИМПЛЕМЕНТАЦИЈА
ЈП БЕОГРАД ПУТ
ЈП ЗЕЛЕНИЛО
МИНИСТАРСТВО САОБРАЋАЈА И ИНФРАСТРУКТУРЕ
ЗАВОД ЗА ЗАШТИТУ СПОМЕНИКА

АНАЛИЗА

Анализа стејкхолдера обухвата дефинисање једног од кључног проблема на задатој локацији Савамала. Као кључни проблем одабран је проблем транзита који са собом вуче неке друге проблеме, утичући на локалну заједницу, али исто тако и на репрезентацију идентитета око Савамала последње. Као три најучесталија проблема транзита одабрани су следећи: нарушавање приватности станара, бука и загађење и ограниченост кретања. Шарко тоне, дефинисане је шест стејкхолдера за сваки проблем посебно. Наиме, стејкхолдери су подељени још и по улицају који имају на: стејкхолдери на које задате проблеме утиче, стејкхолдери који имају моћ да донесе одлуке и стејкхолдери који имају моћ да реагују.

Уочено је да су сви стејкхолдери који доносе коначне одлуке припадници јавног сектора, односно државних и градских институција. Стејкхолдери на које утиче одређени проблеми, на позитиван или негативан начин, научили су суфлирање и туристи који користе простор Савамале због различитих активности попут: стамбена, рекреације, пословно-трговинских активности, туризма и сл. Недовољнотврди стејкхолдери су они који имају моћ да реагују, односно да директно раде на решавању проблема и најчешће дволи припадају јавном и цивилно-приватном сектору као што су јавна предузећа и институције, као и невладине организације.

СЦЕНАРИО 2 - БУДУЋЕ СТАЊЕ - ИЗМЕШТЕН ТРАНЗИТ

ПРОБЛЕМ 2.1
НАРУШАВАЊЕ ПРИВАТНОСТИ СТАНАРА

ГРАД БЕОГРАД
МИНИСТАРСТВО ТУРИЗМА
ТО БЕОГРАДА

ЛОКАЛНО СТАНОВНИШТВО
БИЦИКЛИСТИ
ТУРИСТИ
РЕКРЕАТИВЦИ
ПРЕДУЗЕТНИЦИ

EAGLE HILLS
МЗ САВАМАЛА
МИНИСТАРСТВО ТУРИЗМА
ТО БЕОГРАДА

ПРОБЛЕМ 2.2
ОТЕЖАНО КОНТРОЛИСАЊЕ ПРИЛИВА ЉУДИ

ГРАД БЕОГРАД
МИНИСТАРСТВО ТУРИЗМА
ТО БЕОГРАДА
ТО СРБИЈЕ
УРБАНИСТИЧКИ ЗАВОД

ЛОКАЛНО СТАНОВНИШТВО
БИЦИКЛИСТИ
ТУРИСТИ
РЕКРЕАТИВЦИ
УГОСТИТЕЉИ
ПРЕДУЗЕТНИЦИ

ПРИВАТНИ ИНВЕСТИТОРИ
МЗ САВАМАЛА
НВО
УРБАН ИНКУБАТОР
КЦ ГРАД
МИКСЕР

ПРОБЛЕМ 2.3
БУКА И ЗАГАЂЕЊЕ - ПРОБЛЕМ КОНТРОЛИСАЊА ОТПАДА

ГРАД БЕОГРАД
МИНИСТАРСТВО ЗАШТИТЕ ЖИВОТНЕ СРЕДИНЕ
МИНИСТАРСТВО ЗАШТИТЕ ЖИВОТНЕ СРЕДИНЕ
ОПШТИНА САВСКИ ВЕНАЦ

ЛОКАЛНО СТАНОВНИШТВО
ТУРИСТИ
РЕКРЕАТИВЦИ
УГОСТИТЕЉИ
ПРЕДУЗЕТНИЦИ

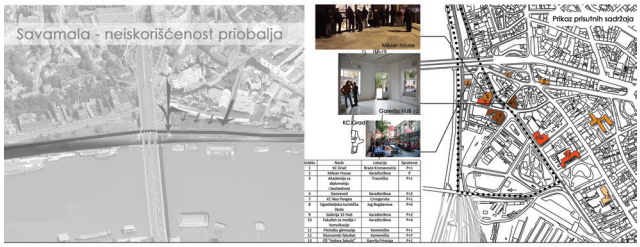
ЈКП ГРАДСКА ЧИСТОЋА
МЗ САВАМАЛА
НВО
УРБАН ИНКУБАТОР
КЦ ГРАД
МИКСЕР
УГОСТИТЕЉИ
ПРЕДУЗЕТНИЦИ
РЕЦИКЛАЖНИ ЦЕНТРИ
КЗСО БЕОГРАД
ЕКОСИСТЕМ Д.О.О.

АНАЛИЗА

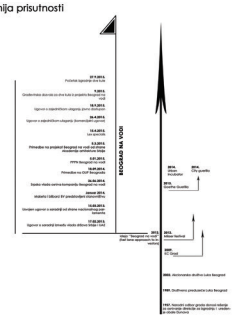
Измештањем транзитног саобраћаја из центра града, решили би се проблеми наведени у проблемима 1.1 и 1.3. Међутим, уочили смо да ће потенцијални проблеми који би могли да настану као последица тога. Наиме, Савамала би у том случају постала атрактивнија место, не само за њене активности већ и за дневне. Проширењем би се ти извештачени транзита дошло до повећања потребе за неким новим активностима, нарочито туристичких. Потенцијални проблеми се надовезују на тренутне, нека су исти само са различитим упрошћеним проблема, док су неки потпуно нови. То су следећи проблеми: нарушавање приватности станара, стварање контролисане прилива људи (односно тих повећана потреба за новим туристичким садржајима) и проблем контролисања отпада који настаје оваквим повећаним људским капацитетима. Стејкхолдери тренутних и потенцијалних проблема су већим делом исти и са истим

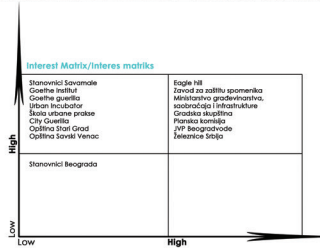
ANALIZA NEISKORIŠĆENOSTI POTENCIJALA PRIOBALJA - STEJKHOLDERI

Sofija Tanasković Miloš Babović Dragana Joksimović Sofija Tanasković Miloš Babović Dragana Joksimović Sofija Tanasković Miloš Babović Dragana Joksimović Sofija Tanasković Miloš Babović Dragana Joksim

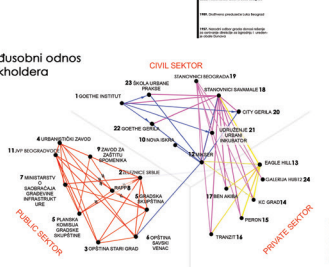


Vremenska linija prisutnosti stejkholdera





Medusobni odnos stejkholdera

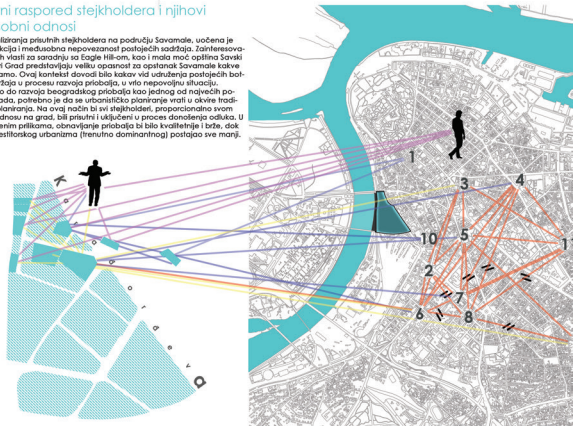


Legenda medusobnih odnosa
Prekinut odnos
Nejasan odnos
Direktan odnos
Neformalan odnos
Institucionalni odnos

Prostorni raspored stejkholdera i njihovi medusobni odnosi

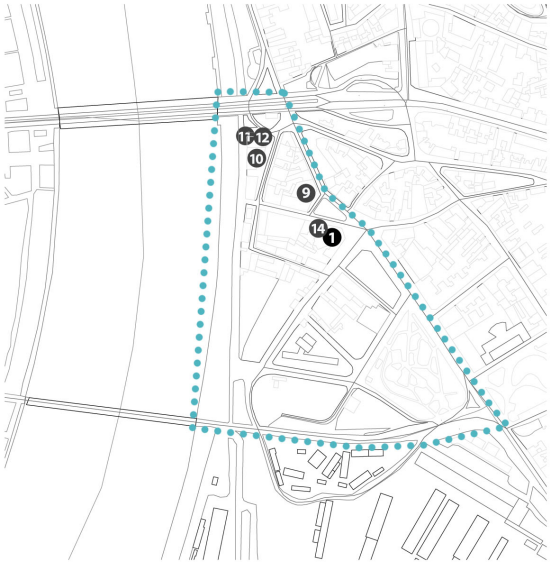
Prilikom analiziranja prisutnih stejkholdera na području Savamale, uočena je slaba interakcija i međusobna nepovezanost postojećih sadržaja. Zainteresovanost gradskih vlasti za saradnju sa Eagle Hill-om, kao i mala moć opštine Savski Venac i Stari Grad predstavljaju veliku opasnost za opstanak Savamale kakve je danas znamo. Ovaj kontekst dovodi bilo kakav vid udruženja postojećih bottom-up sadržaja u procesu razvoja priobalja, u vrlo nepovoljnu situaciju.

Da bi došlo do razvoja beogradskog priobalja kao jednog od najvećih potencijala grada, potrebno je da se urbanističko planiranje vrati u okvire tradicionalnog planiranja. Na ovaj način bi svi stejkholderi, proporcionalno svom značaju u odnosu na grad, bili prisutni i uključeni u proces donošenja odluka. U ovako stvorenim prilikama, obnavljanje priobalja bi bilo kvalitetnije i brže, dok bi uticaj investitorskog urbanizma (trenutno dominantnog) postajao sve manji.

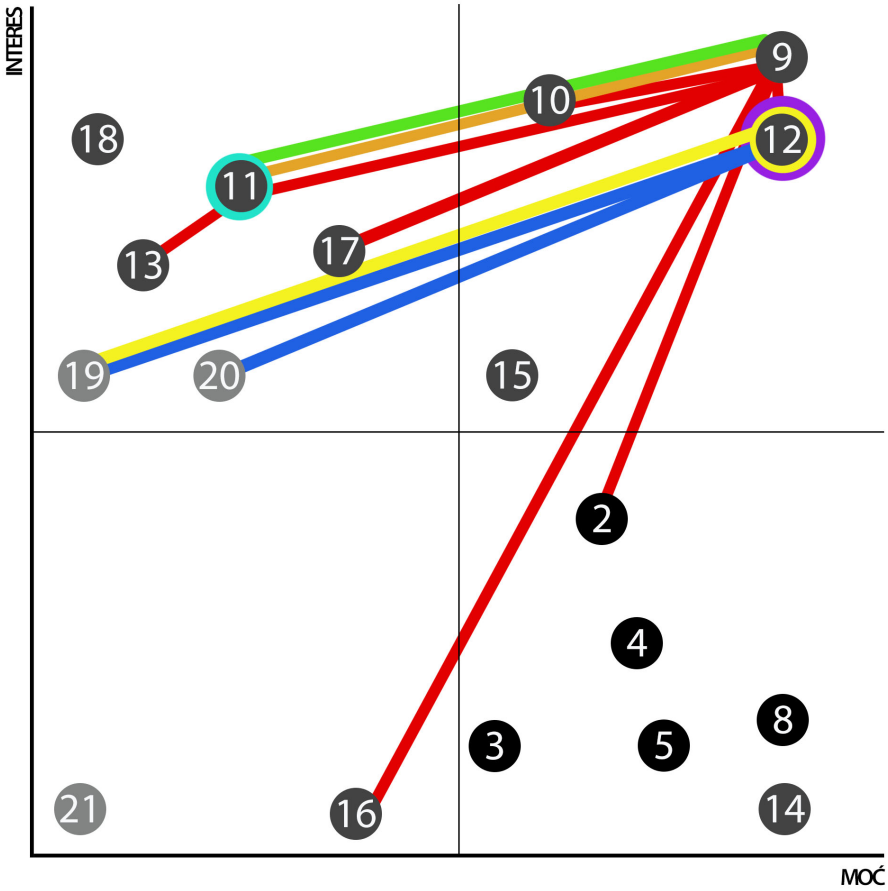


Bottom up Actor netowrks in Savamala

Problem : Nepostojanje institucionalnog upravljanja povezivanje postojećih i planiranih sadržaja u Savamali

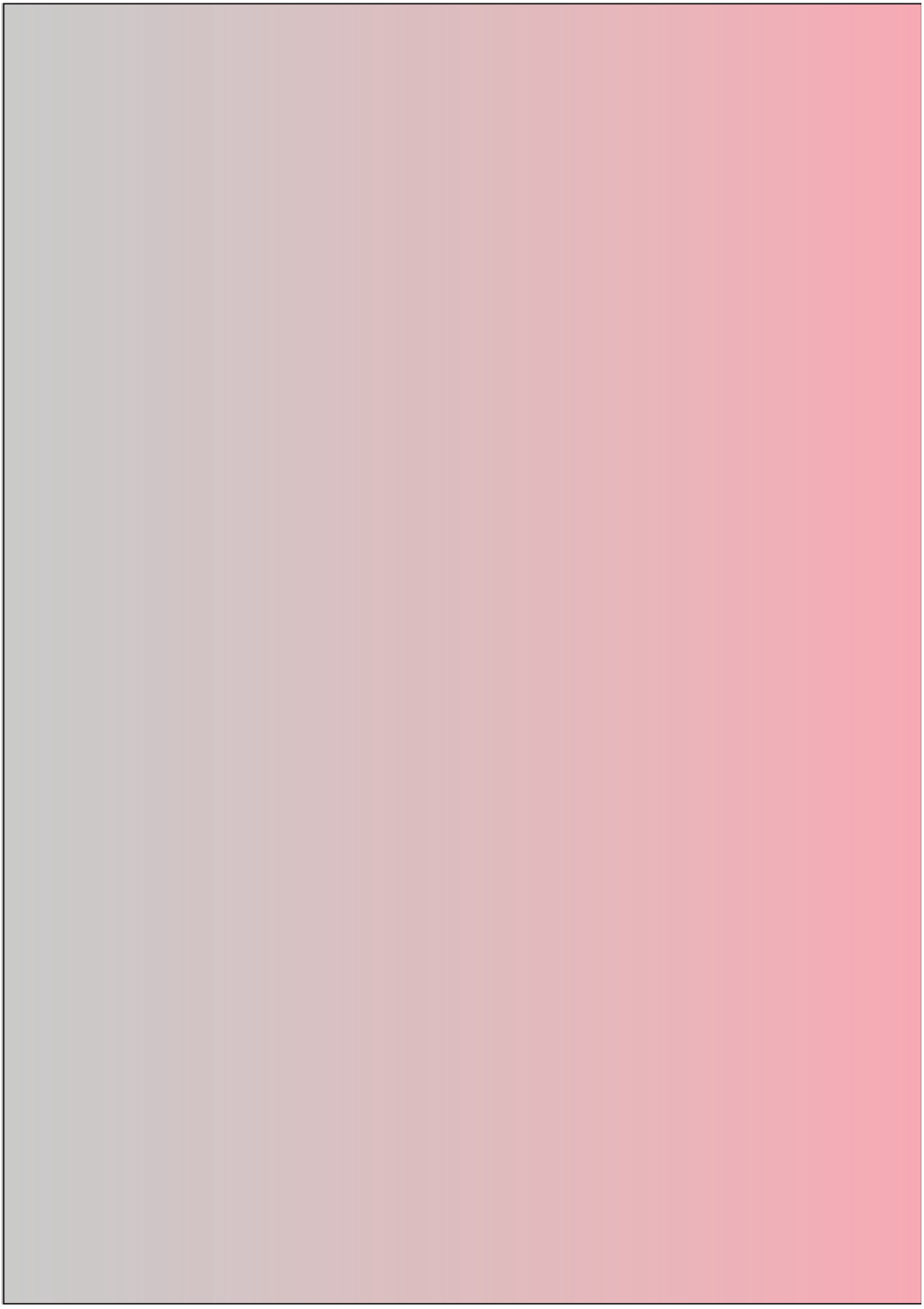


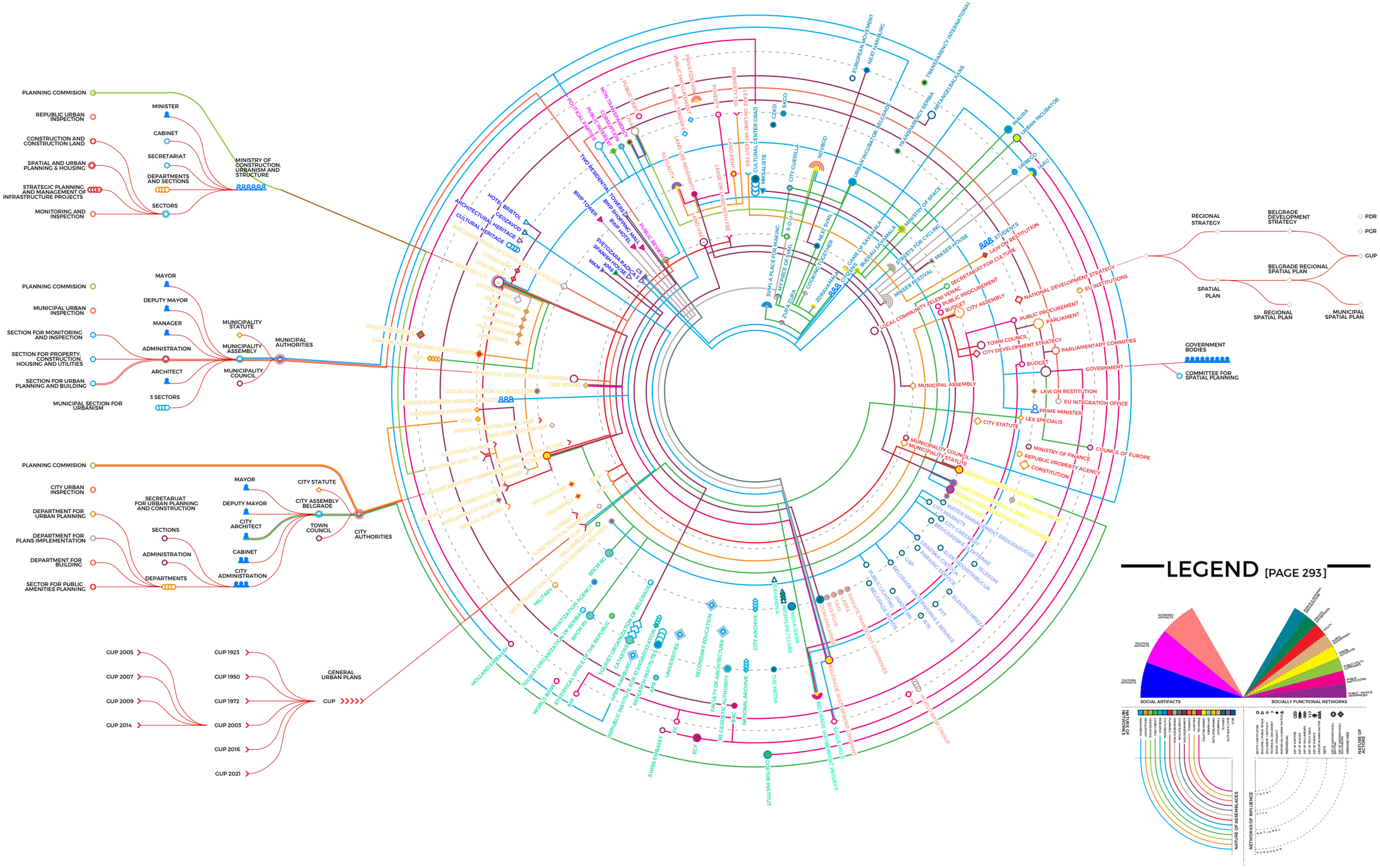
JAVNI SEKTOR	PRIVATNI SEKTOR	CIVILNI SEKTOR
1 Geozavod	9 Mikser house	18 Ministarstvo prostora
2 opština Savski Venac	10 KC grad	19 Lokalno stanovništvo
3 Arhitektonski fakultet	11 City guerilla	20 Udruženje starosedelaca Savamale
4 Milutin Folić	12 Institut Goethe	21 Turisti
5 Siniša Mali	13 Nova Iskra	
6 Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda	14 Belgrade Waterfront	
7 Sekretarijat za urbanizam	15 INURA	
8 SNS	16 Mediji	
	17 Magacin	



Projekti

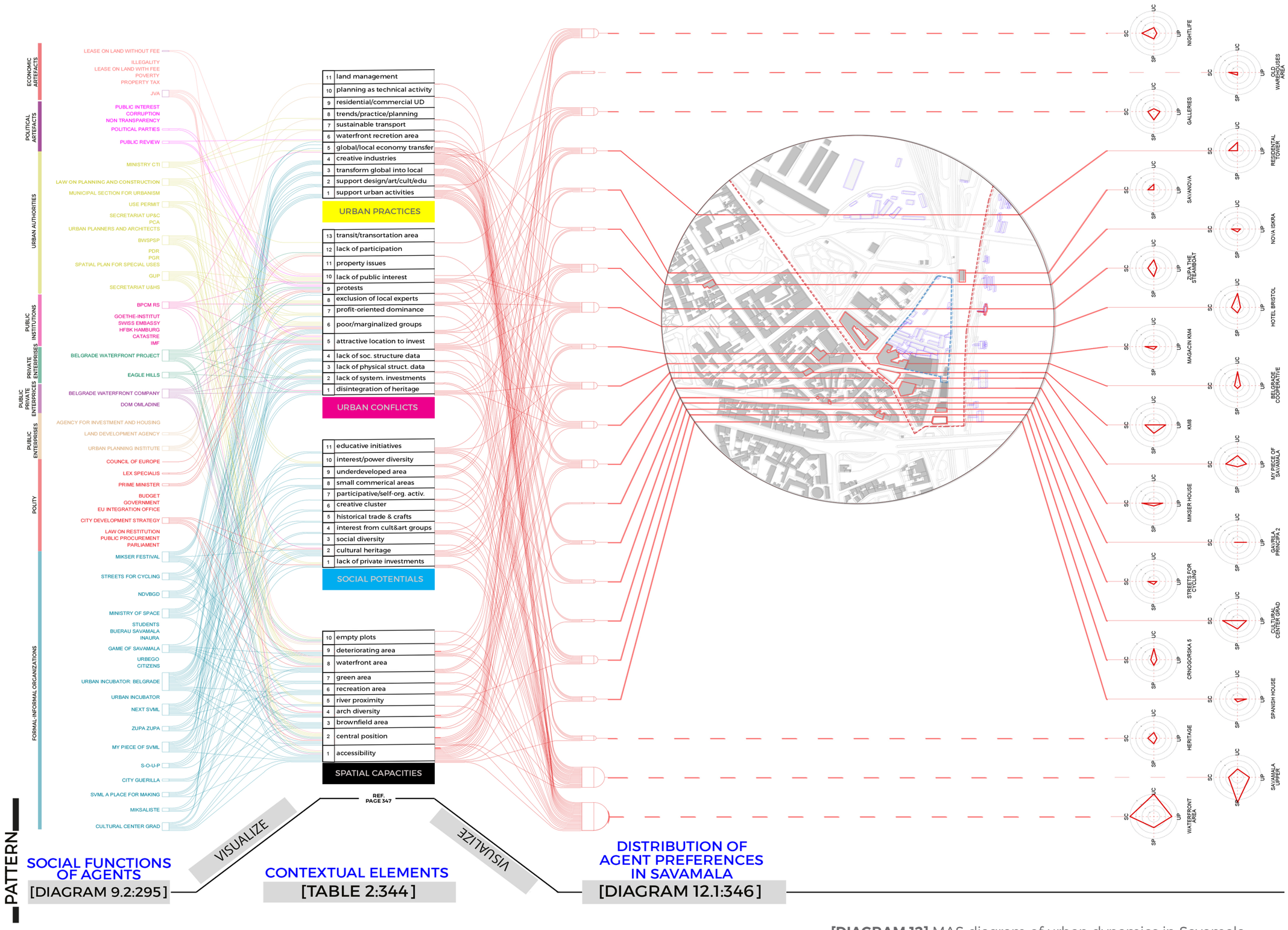
- Mikser festival
- Moje parče Savamale
- Pečenje paprike
- Zdravamala
- Stolica
- Projekat Model for Savamala
- Micro factories
- Biro Savamala



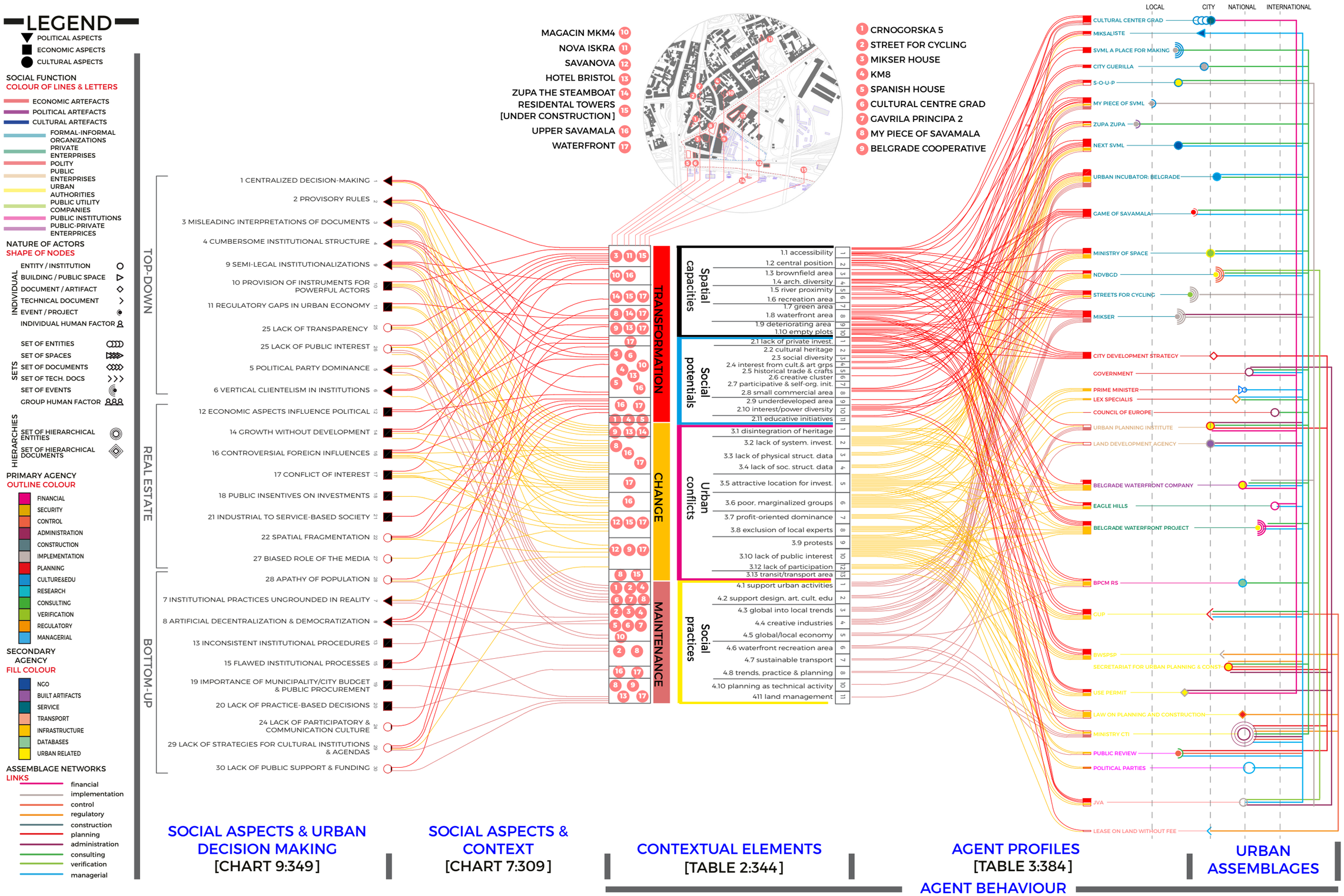


LEGEND [PAGE 293]

Data visualization: ANT analysis of urban complexity in Savamala **[DIAGRAM 9]**
(Cvetinović et al. 2017)



[DIAGRAM 12] MAS diagram of urban dynamics in Savamala



[DIAGRAM 14] DATA VISUALIZATION: MAS-ANT analysis of urban processes in Savamala