

Conference proceedings

POST-SOCIALIST  
TRANSFORMATION OF THE  
CITY

International scientific conference

Post-socialist transformation of the city, November 12 & 13,  
2019, University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of  
Sociology

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NOVI SAD, 2020

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND CENTRE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Publisher: Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad  
For the publisher: Ivana Živančević – Sekeruš  
Proceedings editor: Ana Pajvančić – Cizelj

Reviewers:

Dušan Ristić, Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad  
Vera Backović, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade

ISBN

978-86-6065-602-7

URL

<http://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2020/978-86-6065-602-7>



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The conference is supported by the Provincial Secretariat for higher education and scientific research and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia, within the project “Promene u društvenoj strukturi i pokretljivosti kao činioci evropskih intergacija Republike Srbije, sa posebnim osvrtom na AP Vojvodinu” (179053).

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

International Conference *Post-socialist transformation of the city* gathered participants from eight countries, with the different disciplinary backgrounds, from sociology, geography, anthropology, ethnology, political science and history, to architecture, economics, dramatic arts and engineering. The Conference was dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the book *City without the Face* written by the urban sociology professor Ljubinko Pušić and aimed to rethink the changes that took place in post-socialist cities, especially of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

The book *City without a Face* (2009) included an overview of the first significant consequences of the post-socialist transformation in the city of Novi Sad. Many problems observed in the book are still relevant and others have arisen in the meantime. The basic principles of urban "development", in fact the pure urban growth, described in the book have remained the same as 10 years ago when Pušić wrote: "What destroys the city from the inside and usually cannot be stopped, appears like urban cancer. The city is being destroyed from within by members of that same society, we would say, those members who came from various directions and got lost in urban societies. Their weapon is the lack of understanding of the meaning of the urban society and they conquer the power seeing the city exclusively as the most profitable creation that man has ever designed". This conquering happens spontaneously, without a clear goal or strategy. If we take this into account, the question arises whether we can talk about transition, transformation or any urban change at all, if all the reconstructions lead to nothing but the *collapse of urbanity*, during the entire transition? Nevertheless, in these ten years we have also witnessed a rising critical awareness of urban problems, which did not exist before. The flourishing of various initiatives and movements, as well as the activation of professional associations, redirected the public attention to the long suppressed urban issues such as the housing, public and green spaces, culture and the like.

Twelve papers included in this book discuss some of these topics and analyze various aspects of the urban transformation of the cities in Balkans, hopefully making a way for better conceptualizations of this region in the post-socialist city literature.

Ana Pajvančić – Cizelj



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## POST-SOCIALIST BELGRADE AS A GLOBALIZING CITY: TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

**Abstract:** Relying on the concept of reterritorialization as a constant redefinition of the city identity, this paper aims at discussing certain aspects of Belgrade post-socialist transformation through confronting a sediment socio-culture experience within the city space, and socio-spatial changes generated by the process of contemporary globalization. The conceptual frame is developed by combining Lefebvre's ideas on production of space, Raffestin's concept of territorialisation, Castells' spaces of flows vs. spaces of place, Smith's notion of transnational urbanism, and Strassoldo's idea of glocalization, in order to confront challenges of globalization taken as standardization of space in both social and physical aspects, and those of glocalization considered as innovation in interpreting and preserving local values in a profiling distinctive city identity. Empirically, the analytical focus is on perspective of transnational actors in Belgrade as they generate an intensive exchange between local and global experiences and meanings. The analysis consists of 20 interviews with foreign experts who have worked and lived in Belgrade at least for one year. It was conducted by the Institute for Sociological Research, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, from November 2018 to March 2019. The main hypothesis is that transnational actors are mostly attracted by places with local flavor in Belgrade, contrary to the prevailing urban policy tendencies to channel Belgrade post-socialist transformation towards emulation of globally standardized city development in order to increase its competitiveness. The findings confirm the starting hypothesis and also reveal that practices of transnational actors are impeded by insufficiently developed glocalised milieu as an important precondition of Belgrade development like globally recognized and attractive city.

**Key words:** post-socialist city transformation, globalization, glocalization, territorialisation

### INTRODUCTION

The paper's aim is to discuss post-socialist Belgrade as globalizing city from the perspective of foreigners living and working in Belgrade for at least one year. A key analytical significance is given to the relationship between globalization, as a process by which a city adheres to certain universal standards, and glocalization, as a process of global networking through which city (re)affirms its local characteristics and values. In the first part of the paper, an analytical frame is developed by linking the social production of space to the processes of globalization and glocalization. In relation to that, the transnational urbanism is introduced as a concept that signifies a complex intertwining of global and local dynamics

with special emphasis on transnational actors as potential supporters of glocalization process. Further, the introduced concepts are related to the globalization of post-socialist cities in general, and Belgrade as a research subject in particular. Second part of the paper contains data analysis of the research based on the interviews conducted in late 2018 and early 2019. The research findings are focused on the respondents' opinion on housing and working conditions they have in Belgrade, and on the way of life, daily routines they can or cannot realize in Belgrade. Besides that, respondents' perception of Belgrade as locally specific and/or globally standardized city is examined as a possible input to urban policy development on what Belgrade is and should be recognized for. In concluding remarks, the key research findings are summarized. In short, the opportunity structures for transnational actors' daily routines are somewhat restricted because Belgrade is (perceived as) insufficiently developed according to global standards. At the same time, the local atmosphere is perceived as the key city attractiveness precisely because transnational actors believe that Belgrade has not yet been deeply absorbed into global capitalism. In that regard, research findings indicate that Belgrade urban policy should put greater emphasis on the glocalization strategy, contrary to current efforts to reposition Belgrade within the European urban hierarchy by reproducing globally standardized flagship projects.

## ANALYTICAL FRAME

### **Local- global interplay and transnational perspective of globalizing cities**

Lefebvre's approach to space as 'the product of interrelations' indicates that space is not only a frame of structuring social relations and processes, but also a structure shaped by social activities and meanings (Lefebvre 1991: 326). Following Lefebvre, social geographers Raffestin and Butler employ a term territory to define an outcome of the relations that society (groups, individuals) establish with its physical and social environment. They put culture in a centre of the territorialization process taken as production of space, understanding the culture simultaneously as a frame that defines existing limits to territory-space production, as well as an inevitable creative resource to overcome these limits (Raffestin and Butler 2012:125). As such, production of space is understood as very dynamic process, with constant adapting of territory to social changes, and vice versa. Globalization, as an accelerator of social changes, speeds up massively the process of space production and, according to Raffestin and Butler, brings a risk of fabrication of space, by which (local) culture becomes subordinated to (global) standardization (ibid:126).

Many scholars have opened the question of how urban space is refashioned by complex global-local relations (Massey 2004, Swyngedouw 2004, Sassen 2001, Agnew 2000, Brenner 1999, Scholte 1997, Strassoldo 1992, Harvey 1989). By introducing the term glocalization Robertson (1995) wants to stress that heterogeneity and homogeneity are both equally possible outcomes of these complex relations. Similarly, Castells (2002) asks whether the globalization will nullify or energize the potential of the local having in mind fundamental contradiction between space of flows (of global economic and technological power) and space of places (of cultural meaning and local experience) in globalizing cities. However, urban researchers are mainly focused on how cities are becoming globally standardized in order to attract multinational capital and actors through applying similar architectural forms and designs, gentrifying urban settings and importing cultural globalism, while little attention is paid to how transnational actors actually meet the local (Walsh 2006, 2014, Rofe 2003, Szerszynski and Urry 2002).

Accordingly, Smith introduces the term transnational urbanism to signify a complex process of intertwining between global transnational and local dynamics, underlining that urban space is constantly produced by the new light that external influences throw on existing socio-spatial structure and practices (Smith 2001:183). On one hand, he uses the term transnational urbanism as a metaphor for the processes through which transnational actors are changing our ways of understanding “place,” “locality,” and “the urban” (Smith 2005: 91). On the other, Smith wants to underline agency perspective by stressing that our analytical lens should be focused more on the socio-spatial processes through which the emplacement of mobile subjects occurs (Smith 2005a: 237). Thus, in line with mobility paradigm that sheds a new light on the dynamic of day-to-day production of space in globalizing cities (Sheller 2017), the transnational urbanism affirms an approach oriented towards everyday practices and lives of transnational actors. Viewed from that quotidian angle, even the most hyper-mobile transnational elites are seen as ordinary people who eat, sleep and seek to be, at least partly, situated locally. Their everyday practices are also under the impact of habitus developed in previous locality(ies) (Plöger and Becker 2015:1519, Collins 2009:841). That implies that the space in which transnational actors (currently) live should provide both sufficient predictability (consistency with their previous experience, presuming through certain global standards) and attractive (local) differences. Therefore, transnational actors might be seen as carriers of a new localism, marked by selective association of global and local in a given space (Strassoldo 1992: 46-47). It could also be said that greater the variety of characteristics (global and local) which certain city obtains the

higher is the probability that it will combine these characteristics in a unique way, preferably through rejecting parochialism and retaining authenticity (Massey 2004:14). Accordingly, dialectic complexity of global-local relations produces what Massey (1994) refers to as ‘global sense of place’. In that manner, globalizing cities allow transnational actors to practice global in the local, and vice versa. Similarly, Smith thinks that much progress could be made by grounding the discourse of the ‘transnational’ into ‘translocal’ place making practices (Smith 2005a: 236).

Within the field of global city and migration studies, the research was mainly focused on highly skilled or low-skilled transnational migrants, while the middle-class migrants’ perspective presents quite a new field of research<sup>1</sup> (Plöger and Becker 2015, Glick-Schiller 2012). The extension of analysis to the ‘middling’ transnational migrants contributes to the recognition that expatriates do not look primarily for social and cultural homogeneity, but tend to settle in a dispersed way and merge with the local population. In that way, when speaking about upper to middle scale of social stratification, middle transnational migrants are those that might be seen as supporters of glocalization or ‘heterolocalism’ (Maslova and Chiodelli 2018:209).

### **Globalization and post-socialist cities**

Historical and institutional background of a particular city plays a crucial role in the way in which it globalizes and creates different opportunity structures for migrants (Smith 2005, Glick-Schiller 2012, Plöger and Becker 2015). In the same vein, Marcuse and van Kempen use of the term of globalizing cities to indicate that almost all cities are touched by the process of globalization but do not converge to a single model of a globalized city (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000:263). From the perspective of the First-World urban development model, post-socialist cities are seen not only as development lagers but also as deviators, expected to gradually catch up “normal” economic relations rooted in a capitalist system (Ferenčuhová and Gentile 2016:4). Szelenyi’s (1996) outlined less urbanism (less diversity and marginality) and less economizing of space (neglecting rent mechanism) as distinguished features of socialist city in comparison to the capitalist one. Similarly, other scholars pointed to rigid regulation and suppression of private initiative in cities under socialism (Schwartz and Bardi 1997:385). With post-socialist transition, these cities were

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<sup>1</sup> Even Smith is mainly concentrated on transnational dimension of urban development strategies related to transnational flows “from above” (of transnational elite) and “from below” (of lower status migrant communities) (Plöger and Becker 2015).

expected to adapt not only to market economy, but also to global connectivity and competitiveness. After the turn of the millennium, scholars even began to recognize that challenges deriving from the globalization process started to dominate development of East-Central European cities. The urban decision-makers tried to overcome both the economic lag and socialist legacies by embracing globalization and urban entrepreneurialism, which made post-socialist cities prone to neoliberal impacts without any wider alternative discourses (Ferenčuhová and Gentile 2016, Liviu and Druță 2016, Golubchikov 2016). That has caused various negative effects, such as increasing inequalities, commodification and wide-ranging marketization of public space, strong position of the private sector and a rather weak public sector, clientelism, etc. (Lauer mann 2018, Nedučin and Krklješ 2017, Vujošević 2004). Therefore, post-socialist cities have been facing high risk of space fabrication (Raffestin and Butler, 2012), marginalization of local culture and neglecting of globalization process.

### **Post-socialist Belgrade as globalizing city**

Catching up with modern European capitals has been a constant goal of Belgrade city development since its first urban plan in 1867. According to the most recent Regional Spatial Plan for the City of Belgrade, special developmental task is to “elevate the City of Belgrade to a high-ranking level among the metropolitan cities and the capitals of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe” (Official Gazette of the City of Belgrade 2015: 21). Similarly, the City of Belgrade Development Strategy 2021 highlights the effort to raise the City of Belgrade to a higher level, the level of big European cities (City of Belgrade Development Strategy, 2011). In accomplishing that goal, the priority is given to several flagship projects developed by the world-famous architects such as Daniel Libeskind, Jan Gehl, Zaha Hadid, etc. The high importance is also given to the ambitious ongoing flagship project “Belgrade Waterfront” (BTW). However, the implementation of BTW project as a joint venture between a United Arab Emirates-based investor and the Republic of Serbia completely neglects the local urban planning procedure (Koelemaij and Janković 2019, Backović 2019). It forces repetitive and serial reproduction of global development patterns (of waterfront development), without taking into account local specifics (infrastructure, cultural, etc.). Although BTW is certainly the largest construction venture in the post-socialist Belgrade, it is only one in a series that confirms the practice of investor’s urbanism through which the production of urban space has been subordinated to the interests of private investors (Petovar

2006, Vujović and Petrović 2007, Petrović 2009). Thus, it proves Belgrade's vulnerability to neoliberal trends (Vukmirović 2015).

Due to slow post-socialist transformation in Serbia during the 1990s (Lazić, 2005), it was after 2000 when Belgrade's urban policy has begun to fit into a wider global trend of 'city entrepreneurialism' with ambition to reproduce patterns of development related to city gentrification, touristification, mallization, on one hand, while facing increasing socio-spatial inequalities and challenges related to under-developed (traffic and utility) infrastructure, on the other. With concentration of attractive facilities in central city locations, inherited socio-spatial inequalities from both pre-socialist and socialist period have been reinforced. The central urban areas thus remain or become even more desirable as well as expensive places to live. That might be illustrated by high concentration of university educated people in central city municipalities, which is (almost) twice as high as in the whole city.<sup>2</sup>

There is no reliable data on the number of foreigners living and working in Belgrade. According to the National Employment Service, around 5000-6000 annual work permits were issued to foreigners in the last couple of years.<sup>3</sup> Although there is paucity of statistical data on the occupation or education of foreign immigrants in Belgrade, they usually have a high school or university degree, most of them are employed in multinational companies, foreign banks, etc., while a number of them have also established small and medium-sized enterprises, or are employed by domestic enterprises.<sup>4</sup> There is no significant residential concentration of certain nationalities, which would create specific ethnic quarters in Belgrade. In addition, quite a small number of transnational elite members (holders of top managerial positions in multinational companies), as well as locals working for multinational companies (at the top managerial positions) still does not create significant demand for gentrification projects, which is rather typical for early phases of urban transformation in post-socialist cities (Sykora 2005, 2009, Kubes and Kovach 2020).

Starting from the assumption that each city should try to respond to challenges of globalization by increasing 'global sense of place' (Massey 1994), the following analysis

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<sup>2</sup> According to the census data from 1991, the share of university educated people in Stari Grad was 23,8%, in Vračar – 27,6%, in Savsk Venac -23,6%, while in Belgrade it was 11,7%. Respective data from the census in 2011 were the following: Stari Grad – 50,2%, in Vračar – 52,3%, in Savsk Venac -46,6%, Belgrade – 27,87% (Knjiga Popisa 3: Školska sprema i pismenost, popis 1991; Census Book 3: Education attainment, literacy and computer literacy, 30.09.2011. - <https://www.stat.gov.rs/publikacije>).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/410449/Drustvo/Stranac-svaki-250-gradanin-Srbije>; visited on February 1st, 2020.

<sup>4</sup> <https://moodiranje.rs/kako-zive-stranci-u-srbiji-oni-su-odabrali-nasu-zemlju-kao-svoj-dom-i-ima-ih-mnogo-vise-nego-sto-mislimo/>; visited on February 15th, 2020.

focuses on assessing present globalization of post-socialist Belgrade from the perspective of middle transnational migrants.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

### Methodological notes and research questions

The analysis is based on the interviews with 20 representatives of the transnational middle class - experts with university education, who have been living and working in Belgrade at least for a year. The interviewees were selected through snowball method. The semi-structured interviews were conducted from November 2018 to March 2019, by Institute for Sociological Research, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. The respondents themselves chose the place of the interview, most often coffee shops close to their place of work or residence. Interviews were conducted in English.

Some relevant socio-demographic characteristics of our 20 interviewees are the following: there are more men (13) than women (7), most of them belong to younger middle-age cohorts (14: 26 to 40 years; 6: older than 40). Eleven interviewees were born in country that belonged to EU before its 2004/2007 enlargement, four in a new (post-socialist)<sup>5</sup> EU country, three in USA and two in Turkey. Therefore, all of respondents have living experience in cities of developed countries or countries more developed than Serbia. According to the places where they worked the respondents' perspective is somewhat wider: only for three of them Belgrade is the first working place outside their country of origin, most have experience of working in several EU countries or in USA (15), eight have more extensive experience of working also in Asian, African and South American cities, while two worked only in other Western Balkan countries before coming to Belgrade (Graphic 1). Most respondents work for international companies or development agencies, just two are directly employed by Serbian enterprise or institution, and only one runs its small business in Belgrade.

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<sup>5</sup> None in ex-Yugoslav republics as that was the precondition for selecting respondents.



*Graphic 1: Respondents' careers trajectories*

Most respondents have been living in Belgrade for one to two years (10), three between three and five years, and seven for more than five years. At the moment of research, majority of them did not have plans for leaving Belgrade (12), while eight respondents planned to leave Belgrade within a year. For most of them, thus, Belgrade is a place where they have spent or will spend several years of their lives.

Starting question of the research is about what Belgrade can offer to the members of transnational middle class, given the fact that it is far from the top European cities in respect of lifestyle or career priorities as important selection criteria for choosing migratory destination within middle class (Scott 2006). Therefore, the focus is on the respondents' opinion on housing and working conditions they have in Belgrade in comparison to their previous experience, as well as on the way of life, daily routines and practices that they can or cannot realize in Belgrade. Special emphasis is given to how respondents perceive the quality of living in Belgrade from the perspective of global standards and preferred local specifics. These elements are taken as necessary for both, sufficient life predictability and situating of migrants in the current place of residence. Finally, respondents' perception of Belgrade as locally specific and/or globally standardized city is examined, taken as a possible input to urban policy development regarding what Belgrade is or should be recognized for.

## **Data Analysis**

### *Perception of Belgrade as a place for living and working*

The first analytical segment is focused on respondents' personal experience of residing and working in Belgrade, including activities such as shopping, visits to cultural events, going out, etc. As regard to housing, the research results show no clear preference in residential districts just in areas close to the city centre with relatively high diversity,

attractiveness and quality of urban activities. Thus, most of the respondents (16) reside in central city municipalities Stari Grad and Vračar, especially in the most central city neighborhoods of Dorćol, areas around Knez Mihajlova Street, Cvetni trg, etc. Two respondents reside in Dedinje (exclusive pre-socialist, socialist and post-socialist elite residential area near the city centre), two in neighborhoods of Zvezdara, also very popular rather green residential area quite close to the city center, and one in New Belgrade, an ambitious socialist project experiencing a boom in the post-socialist period owing to its favorite position near the Belgrade central zone and available construction land (Graphic 2).



Graphic 2: Respondents' residential areas

Housing conditions are considered as very favorable and comparable to EU standards regarding both, the size and equipment of flats. Some respondents indicate to the existence of dual housing market, finding that prices for foreigners are high even when compared to more developed EU cities. However, most respondents have an opposite view that flats are cheaper than elsewhere in Europe.

*As regards the quality of flat, yes, but this is I think the most expensive flat that I live in, so, let's say, normally if I'm not here for the work I would not be paying this. And I feel actually that I'm paying more because I'm foreigner (R 10);*

*Yes, it is very nice, and it is so much better than you can get for the same money in Brittan or even in Hungary, probably. I think this is nicer than most places I've lived, I think. Actually, is good value. In Scotland, I shared (apartment) for more money than I pay for the (whole) apartment now (R19).*

In general, the respondents work in newly built or refurbished office space in accordance with the latest world standards. Therefore, they evaluate their working conditions as very good, even in comparison to those experienced in EU and other well-developed countries/cities, and especially if compared with cities in other (less developed) parts of the world. A few respondents stress that institutional and business infrastructure could be better,

but even they do not consider it as below the European level. The vicinity of the place of work and the place of residence is emphasized as special advantage, since the office space where respondents work is also concentrated in the central city.

*Our office is in the Airport city, it is actually quite nice, really well furnished, and environment is cool, you don't feel that you are actually in Belgrade. I can't complain, it is quite awesome, even better than office in Boston (R12).*

*I work in an American company, with a lobbying office in Serbia, in Belgrade, and it is very nice, just as I would have in Scotland (R19)*

*Infrastructure may be improved, but if I see things here and I compare it to Europe, it's the same level (R5).*

*The comparison with London, where I worked for seven years, I think the big difference here is that I can live in Belgrade ten minutes' walk away from my office (R13).*

When talking about shopping, especially clothes, shoes and other non-food products, the respondents indicate to Belgrade's peripheral position on the global market. Although most respondents claim they are not fans of shopping malls they visit them primarily due to language barrier they face in other shops. In addition, almost all interviewees indicate to rather narrow choice and high prices, which is why they prefer not to buy clothes, shoes, electronics, etc., in Belgrade.

*If it is very urgent, I prefer malls, then I don't need to speak much with people, I avoid the places where I need to go and talk, because usually they wouldn't speak English well, and my Serbian is not enough (R12).*

*Well I try as hard as I can in the Netherlands. The prices are better, the quality, may be. There is that difference in market orientation of the firms, unfortunately. So, they produce for the A and B and C markets. And yes, the prices are much lower. And for electronics, for example, up to 30 percent cheaper, which is complete absurd, since the standard is five times higher (R14).*

Belgrade's under-inclusion in global flows is also evident from respondents' avoiding online shopping because they perceived it as inefficient in Serbia.

*I have not use it in Serbia because I have heard a lot of stories about customs, stuff stuck in customs so long. I've been doing online shopping while I am in Belgrade, but I ordered to Norway, so when I go to vacation, I will betake it by me (R6).*

*It's not unsafe but somehow don't even trust that the shipment will arrive at the right time .... That is, for example, much more elaborated in the Netherlands. Buy that day and it will*

*arrive the same day or the next day. And the system is somehow much better developed (R14).*

Food shopping, on the other hand, is a practice that brings more positive perception of Belgrade primarily because of green markets, with a few critical remarks related to organic food production, although recent reorientation in that direction is also appreciated. However, the limited supply of non-local food, both in shops and restaurants, prevents some respondents from continuing the diet they are used to.

*I like to go to the green market; I spend two or three hours there. Walking, choosing.... I enjoy it (R7).*

*So, I must say, couple years ago it was more difficult but now there is a lot of organic shops, even Kalenic pijaca has organic products. It's ok, it's starting (R3).*

*When I think about all the things I could have in my diet, and you just can't find anywhere. You can't find good quality import. I suppose it's the imported stuff, the domestic stuff is fine, but the range is very limited (R13).*

*Sometimes I would like a little bit more international food in the supermarket..There's no Indian food, stuff like that, I don't find it very regularly....(R18).*

*Yes, I guess I need variety of food. I am missing eating African food, Peruvian, Lebanese, Thai, Japanese...they have restaurants here but they missing those ingredients (R2).*

The majority of respondents think that the offer of cultural events is good or even excellent in Belgrade, especially given the size of the city, but also in comparison to larger European cities. In addition to concerts and theaters, the museums are cited as the most visited places, thus confirming their importance in promoting local history and specifics of contemporary cities. Unfortunately, due to the lengthy reconstruction the National Museum is rarely mentioned, while the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Museum of Yugoslavia and the Nikola Tesla Museum are most often cited. Nevertheless, the respondents frequently point to the language barrier not only for attending theater performances but also museum settings. Another reported obstacle also linked to the language barrier is inadequate supply of books in English, both in bookstores and libraries. Therefore, despite the positive assessment of the city's cultural offer, many respondents are not able to meet completely their cultural needs or habits in Belgrade.

*I think Belgrade has a better cultural offer than Milan (R1).*

*I can't go to theater because I don't understand the language, I would love actually. What I usually do is either concerts or ballet (R10).*

*Museums could do a lot more to be aware that there are people who don't speak Serbian. I mean the translations some times are horrible. ... There are a lot of interesting little museums, but they're not really accessible to foreigners. I think my big frustration is that there are no good English language bookshops. There are some, but their selection is really poor, especially for children books (R13).*

The significance given to both global standards and local flavors might be perceived through the places where respondents like to go out and socialize. These places can be divided into four categories although respondents rarely stick just to places within one category. The first relates to places that follow global trends but emphasize local atmosphere and offer some local products (drinks and food, like “Samo pivo, “Centrala”) while the second category indicates similar trendy places whose accent is put more on alternative ideas and events (environmental, social, cultural – like places in Savamala or Cetinjska street). Both categories relate to places favored for leisure activities while globally standardized or international places are more frequently cited for business contacts, like fancy restaurants in Beton Hala or downtown. Somewhat less frequently cited is the fourth category that includes traditional Belgrade cafes, such as Moskva cafe, or traditional kafana (restaurants), like “Šaran”, “Kalenić”, “Orašac”, places that are favored primarily for eating out.

*Beton hala, If I have business meeting with people from Austria usually we go somewhere on the river or near river, ...or we go to city center in one of those fancy restaurants (R4);*

*“Samo pivo”, I really like that place, and the staff speaks English, if you need to ask something that you are not familiar with, they can help..... (R12).*

*I love “Centrala”, precisely because it paints Belgrade - or Dorcol. It has a mixture, to put it more simply, from clochards to professors, doctors, politicians..... Everyone hangs out there, so I like that set of people. It has a certain charm (R14).*

*“Oktobar”, my friends who are eco activists showed me this place and we go sometimes to parties and sometimes to a kind of cultural event, public debate, similar places in Cetinjska street, “Polet” is nice, and “Zaokret”, as well (R20).*

Respondents were asked to single out the most positive and most negative side to living in Belgrade. The specific atmosphere of the city appeared as the most common and almost universally stated positive side. It is mostly associated with the local culture and people, their way of life, openness and kindness, which makes the respondents feel more relaxed, safe, accepted or even integrated than elsewhere.

*The fact that you have concept "bašta", it gives this message people are out, they are willing to interact, they are not isolated, they are at the open, they are socializing. I like that about Belgrade (R12).*

*Both me and my wife we actually like the atmosphere in Belgrade, the way people are, we feel that we are welcomed (R5).*

*Compared to Western European cities I think it is more relaxed. I'm integrated here more, then in other places .... I mean I still feel like a foreigner, but last Friday I went to a bar, the barmen knew me, a friend walked in I didn't expect, I felt more local (R19).*

*It's very open, it's very safe city, when you compare to other cities. It's not like London where you have to say "Don't go to this part of town, you'll get mugged" (R13).*

*Walking the streets. In a way, you feel life. And you don't feel like in the Netherlands after a certain hour in the evening that you should not be on that street anymore (R14).*

Respondents do not appreciate only the "bašta" concept of living *per se* but also the fact that it has not yet been commercialized like in other European cities that moved away in the process of touristification.

*You know,... in the Czech Republic one must always drink something or waiter gives some sign that she or he should leave. I like to sit relaxing and working or editing texts or something, reading a book and no one reminds me to order another drink or something (R8). It's not corporate and it's not full of tourists, and you know it's pleasant place to live (R13).*

Relatively affordable cost of living and satisfactory cultural life are also highlighted positive sides to living and working in Belgrade.

*We can afford to live in a capital city of European country, I couldn't afford to live in London and go to really nice restaurants, bars, do stuff culturally all the time, but in Belgrade we can still afford to live a very nice life, like cultural rich life (R19).*

*The availability, frequency and affordability of cultural events, it is something that I really like. In Belgium, I would have to pay much more, in Istanbul I would have to travel for an hour at least to get somewhere, and here it is easy, small city, affordable, good quality of performances...(R10).*

The respondents were also asked to enumerate the most negative side to living in Belgrade, having in mind the needs and habits they cannot (or barely can) meet in Belgrade. Besides those already mentioned and related to shopping and culture, most negative aspects were linked to the underdeveloped (transport and utility) infrastructure. Although most respondents do not use public transport in their daily routes throughout the city, thus not

being significantly affected by its quality, most of them have critical remarks regarding the quality of vehicles, failures to stick to the timetable and provide information in English.

*When I take public transport, it's frequent, which is good. Just the quality of the buses is horrible (R13).*

*There is no timetable, when you have it at the first stop you can't orient yourself because it doesn't really matter, ... and I've seen 57 minutes delay here and no one is worried, that's fine (R8).*

*It happened to me that there was no tram, maybe they announced it, but I couldn't understand, because of the language, and I don't know where to find that information (R19).*

More important for the respondents is Belgrade's traffic connection with other destinations. Depending on the routes that are important for them, the respondent's opinions differ. However, they share the view that connectivity can and should be better, especially when it comes to the low-cost flights taken as necessary for good city networking. In fact, most of the respondents assess Belgrade's international traffic connections perceiving it as a peripheral European city.

*Belgrade is reasonably well connected, because it is easy to go through another airport. It's easy to go through Vienna or Frankfurt or...(R13)*

*It is OK, I mean, you can fly to Rome or Paris or London, from there you can go anywhere (R17).*

*I would like to have a flight to all the hubs every hour, but that is wishful thinking. Probably compare to the demands that is available it is already reasonably well connected. But sometimes I fly abroad for the weekends and it is difficult to find this good weekend return trips (R10)*

*When we lived in Milan, it was so much easier, they have multiple airports and they have budget airlines so it is affordable and they have really nice and easy to use train stations. Belgrade, I'm not brave enough to take a train or out of city bus on my own, in my experience no one speak English. The airport, I like the airport, but all flights are expensive, I think Nis is the closes place for budget airlines (R11)*

Much emphasis is placed on under-developed utility infrastructure, as it limits respondents' daily routines and (expected) quality of life. The most common objections are linked to questionable quality of the water and the air, as well as to neglected recycling or bicycling opportunities. The reasons for that are detected in inadequate ecological awareness and behavior of both citizens and city administration.

*Quality of water is low, I use filters, and water has a lot of things that you don't want to drink (R12).*

*Air quality, 100% it is the worst thing (R19).*

*I am a person who recycles everything, and to be honest, I don't know what to do with my rubbish. It accumulates in my house, and then in the end I just throw it.. Because now, where I am, there is no separated collection, that I find also incredible.... I used to bicycle to work.. I should've said that the city is bike friendly, there is a bike pass. But if you want to use the bike as a normal means of transport, of commuting, it's not safe. So maybe it is something that I had to leave behind, and it's a bit sad (R17);*

*And all this kind of (recycling) stuff, I always have a feeling it's only about marketing, but you put everything in the same bin anyway, so I don't think any of that is taken seriously... (R18).*

Many respondents also speak about unregulated practice of smoking in public as something that hits them personally and which they perceive as unacceptable.

*Only thing that is below the standard is smoking. It should be regulated. The restaurants are really great, the food is really nice but you are allowed to smoke basically everywhere (R4).*

*I think that there is a big problem in Belgrade regarding global standards because everybody smokes everywhere. They should just ban smoking inside. ... This is really going back in time (R10)*

Some respondents perceive Belgrade as a rather complex and contradictory place to evaluate, and describe it as chaotic but charming.

*Belgrade is just so hard to describe, is not like any other city I've ever been to, I don't know, just like a lot of contradictions (R11).*

*Perfect chaos, imperfect balance, some kind of an irony - for me, that's what makes this city stand out (R2).*

*This Ciglana or whatever, these are really cool spaces, you know, a lot of empty very interesting places that are .... all these semi-legal, strange things, but I quite like this kind of stuff, and I always enjoy that about Belgrade, and the more it gets regulated the more boring it becomes. Yeah, I think this is something that compares a little bit with Berlin in some ways, you know... (R18).*

### *General perception of Belgrade as globalizing city*

This section contains the analysis of how respondents perceive Belgrade as locally specific or globally standardized city and confirms the above-mentioned complexity of their perception. Most of the respondents do not consider Belgrade as an attractive city, in terms of having great architecture and famous historic monuments, except for its geographical location, two rivers, etc. Accordingly, the Belgrade attractiveness is seen as hidden in specific mixture of cultures of the East and the West that defines its atmosphere, which respondents perceive as not yet irrevocably immersed in corporate capitalism:

*For me, what is so interesting is a mix of everything. Like a present wrapped in a boring paper but when you open you see so many thing (R6).*

*But I don't think it's a very sight specific place, you know, if you want to do that you go to Rome, here it's more about the atmosphere .... (R18).*

*It's this sort of... its culture, ... it's not corporatized in the way that many other cities have. ....There are many cities you can go to where you get just the same experience, from one city to the next, and there's no difference. But I think that Belgrade something that's different, that is unique (R13).*

Respondents were asked if Belgrade has enough places that are globally standardized in terms of organization and type/quality of service which provides a “familiar“ space to foreigners (such as international hotels, cafes, restaurants, shopping malls). According to the given answers, respondents can be classified into three groups: those who think that Belgrade has globally standardized places exactly as needed, and those who think that there are too many or not enough standardized places. In accordance with the already expressed respondents' affection towards the local contents, the third group is in large minority (only a couple of respondents), while the respondents in the first and second group actually share the same, relatively repulsive attitude towards global standardization of cities. Therefore, most of respondents are critical towards increasing standardization or are quite content because it has not yet been so widespread to jeopardize Belgrade's local character:

*Global standardization is too much for me. I'm happy with Belgrade the way it is (R13).*

*Belgrade has one face when it comes to having fun, going out, places where different type of people come out, places that are very specific and very individual, and I think it's a special face of Belgrade and it would be a shame to enforce that global standardization, like as a hipster lifestyle or like Starbucks or something. It is better for Belgrade to remain so with the local face (R16)*

*When you go from Terazije to Kalemegdan, there are more and more places that look like they could be on the main street of any major city. That is not something that I would look for. So I would say not many, but enough (R19).*

In line with the predominantly negative attitude towards global city standardization, only a few respondents consider that Belgrade Waterfront project brings positive changes, while critical attitudes prevail and indicate that the project negates unique character of the city.

*I like what is happening on the banks of Sava and Dunav. It's fantastic, everything is more or less cleaned out and it looks nice and it will be nice (R5);*

*I think they've been trying to create a fake [laughs] posh neighbourhood. So that's maybe global standard, but I think it's a bit out of place in Belgrade (R17).*

*I mean, they try to present all those Waterfront areas as a brand, but it is so problematic. Rivers are brand but they take it in the wrong way. It makes me feel like, that the city is kind of less inclusive, that developers don't think about people needs and that this creates pressure and negative atmosphere.... killing unique culture (R20).*

Respondents' general inclination to local specifics can also be illustrated by prevalent thoughts that Belgrade should not emulate development projects of other cities:

*You can't blindly copy something.... Copying in the sense of, you know, just because Baku has a flagpole that's 500m high, doesn't mean that Belgrade should have a flagpole that's 500m high. That's nonsense. That's what really is frustrating about Belgrade, because it could be a fantastic city (R13).*

*No. I think that is the problem. Belgrade Waterfront is bad emulation (R19).*

When asked to cite the places they consider as specifically local, respondents most often mention traditional kafana (Orašac, Kalenić, Znak pitanja, etc.), or newly opened restaurants in accordance with the “kafana” model, but do not refer to Skadarlija, which is perceived as commercial attraction for tourists. In addition, green markets (pijaca) and design shops (footwear, clothing, etc.) are frequently considered as locally specific places. Besides that, both newly opened kafanas and design shops are perceived as good examples of mixing local ideas with global standards in line with the meaning of glocalization process.

*Green markets (pijaca) yes, they have great products. It reminds me of Paris actually (R2)*

*For example Šaran, the music there is in my understanding typical Serbian. There are more Serbs there so it's probably more typical than Skadarlia, which is nice but not authentic (R5).*

*There are still some good kafanas around. There could be more...but no, there are good enough, there are lots of good ones. Not necessarily really traditional kafana types, but things that are new and interesting but, you know, have a real Belgrade flavor (13).*

*And there are a few nice designer shops, even if they are not particularly... Serbian, in that sense. They are recycling a Serbian product into something fashionable. But they are very nice brand (R17)*

It is also important to point out respondents' opinion that Belgrade should promote its socialist heritage, with frequent mentioning the Museum of Yugoslavia, as well as the architecture of New Belgrade (concrete brutalism):

*It's also interesting to find out about Tito, you know, nostalgia. I have friends who did tour on Brutalism, and that was really great, because like it or not, these buildings are something special, it's extreme (R4); Blokovi are quite distinctive (R19).*

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Starting from the idea that globalization reinforces the impact of external influences on existing socio-spatial structures in production of urban space, taking transnational actors as possible supporters of glocalization process, and following Smith's suggestion to observe transnational actors from more quotidian angle, this explorative research aimed to open the question if Belgrade provide middle class transnational actors with sufficient predictability (consistency with their previous experience, presuming through certain global standards) and attractive (local) differences.

Research findings show that Belgrade stands very well regarding the housing and working conditions that transnational actors evaluate as equally good as in EU and other well-developed countries/cities. However, mapping of transnational actors' emplacement in Belgrade, including places of their leisure activities, reveals that globalization strengthens the process of city dualisation. That contributes to rather narrow respondents' perception of Belgrade and confines their insights regarding the quality of public transport, for instance. When it comes to daily routines and practices that respondents cannot realize in Belgrade, they indicate to limited accessibility of non-local food, books and cultural events in English (theater performance or museum settings), to inefficient on-line shopping, to inadequate supply of good quality/reasonable prices of clothes, shoes, electronics, etc. These limitations are linked not only to Belgrade's peripheral position on the global market but also to insufficient effort that city administration invest in bringing local contents closer to

transnational actors. Respondents single out under-developed utility infrastructure as something that confines opportunity structure for their everyday routines, such as recycling or bicycling. They are also very concerned about quality of the air and the water in Belgrade. Some respondents perceive them as below the health standards they are used to follow in the previous settings, and are extremely bothered about widespread smoking in public space.

While the opportunity structure for transnational actors' daily routines is somewhat restricted because Belgrade is (perceived as) insufficiently developed according to global standards, the Belgrade local atmosphere is seen as its main attractiveness. Therefore, having in mind that respondents do not consider Belgrade as attractive (beautiful) city, it is exactly the local flavor that, in their view, defines Belgrade identity. Respondents' general inclination to local specifics is readable throughout the interviews, for instance, by prevailing attitude that Belgrade should not emulate development projects of other cities, critical thoughts about Belgrade Waterfront project, or recognized value of the socialist heritage. When speaking about relaxed atmosphere which makes the city attractive for living respondents frequently emphasize that Belgrade has not yet been deeply absorbed into global capitalism like most European cities. Unfortunately, that is certainly more related to slower/delayed processes of socio-economic transformation and globalization than to comprehensive urban development strategy.

Contrary to entrepreneurial approach to attract transnational capital and actors, which makes post-socialist cities so exposed to high risk of space fabrication, quite evident in Belgrade as well, the research findings confirm that over-standardization of urban space is not that attractive to middle class transnational actors. There is no doubt that globalizing city must try to increase familiarity of its urban space to foreigners, but as our research indicates, it should not be accomplished primarily by boosting number of shopping malls and similar uniformed spaces. Contrary to that, following the respondents' views, Belgrade should concentrate primarily on bringing authentic local values closer to transnational actors by overcoming language barriers in communication, raising standards of urban services, etc. The research findings also confirm that sustainable improving of the city image can only be achieved if the general quality of life and urban infrastructure is enhanced. In short, the presented analysis indicates that Belgrade urban policy should put greater emphasis on the glocalization strategy, contrary to current entrepreneurial efforts to reposition Belgrade within the European urban hierarchy by reproducing globally standardized flagship projects.

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## SYMBOLIC CONSUMPTION OF THE CITY AS A MEANS OF DISTINCTION

**Abstract.** Morphology and social space of the contemporary city have been changed under the influence of certain aspects of consumerism. The social context of changes is marked by material progress and mass production of goods, the development of the mass entertainment industry which manipulates consumers by promoting symbolic values, establishing importance of building self-identity and lifestyle mainly through consumption, the inconstancy of fashion and trends as a result of marking lifestyles, imposing various modes of consumption through advertising, branding and the media – changes occur in the physical structure of the city as well as in its social space.

We band together Debord's premise that everything in the modern consumer society has become a commodity whose usability is seen only in terms of exchange, and Bourdieu's idea of consuming symbolic values of goods as a means of differentiation: the city space is identified with the commodity that becomes the subject of consumption. A particular focus is on the change in the meaning of goods in the consumer society, and the parallel processes that have led to the fact that the city as a commodity with symbolic values providing social identity, becomes a means of differentiation. This is a postmodern city which, in the context of the dominance of the symbolic and exchange value of goods over its use value, ensures profit through symbolic consumption.

The paper raises the following questions: How are the symbolic values of the city consumed and what are the consequences of such consumption? How does the prevalence of symbolic aspects of consumption in relation to its usefulness manifest in the city itself, if the unstable symbolic value of goods plays a crucial role in the social realization of an individual who is in constant search for new values? Does the city provide constantly new symbolic values of its space? What changes are taking place in the design and use of urban spaces as a result of this process?

**Key words:** city, goods, differentiation, consumerism, symbolic consumption

### INTRODUCTION

In the modern city, the increase in the importance of shopping activity and consequently building of shopping spaces, was conditioned by changes in the modern way of life in which goods became very important, in a way that social status and building of identity

are more and more achieved through consumption<sup>1</sup>. In the context of mass production of goods and the constant change of fashion and trends as a result of marking lifestyles, everyday life is more and more taking place in the domain of consumption, and public spaces are being transformed into consumption spaces. The role of spaces for consumption, and above all of spaces for shopping, as a places creating the public culture, increases because of the change of public space into commercial space and because of the transition of society from industrial to consumer society (Jamison, Baudrillard, 1998).

Relying on Lefebvre's (1991) assumption that each society produces its own space, this paper considers the changes within the city inside the consumer society, where, according to Debord everything becomes a subject to commodity logic, so does the city itself, that, treated as a commodity suffers certain changes; and second, it considers symbolic consumption of the city, considering that the city, like any other commodity within a consumer society, has replaced its usefulness value for the value of the sign, in order to provide achieving social differentiation, as defined by Bourdieu (1984).

### **The social context**

City life in modern times is a precondition for cultural life, and visual performance<sup>2</sup> has become an essential source of communication and understanding of meaning. The emphasis on the outside is one of the hallmarks of postmodern culture. By emphasizing authenticity, meaning seems to have lost its natural connection with what it represents (Cheney, 2003). Meanings are variable and therefore dependent on arbitrary observation and arbitrary application. Authentication is the essence for which all lifestyle topics are searching for, using marketing tools, brand, logo or slogans, and this especially refers to the authenticity of outside appearance. Consumers are manipulated by illusions, the language of the outside looks, used by mass entertainment and culture industries.

The postmodern city is full of (visual) symbolism shaped by commercial interests and mass consumption. Unlike consumption in earlier societies, in the twentieth century it was marked by an escalation in the development of goods and producers of those goods that were making a profit on the basis of the increasing purchasing power of the middle class, as well as on the expansion of advertising, and the need to build identity and lifestyle encouraged by advertising. Goddiener points to advertising as an essential activity in a postmodern society,

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<sup>1</sup> Creation of identity is realized through the active role of an individual in own consumer choices (Giddens, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> *'In the society of spectral, images are the only reality'* Baudrillard

which is found everywhere, ranging from magazines and television commercials, to expansion throughout the city. Sophisticated psychological techniques are used to identify insecurities and to identify the needs of particular groupings, and then through advertising, creating presentations tailored to identified desires (also imposed desires), in order of selling goods (earlier sales were conducted on the basis of utility of goods).

### **Symbol of goods as a value for *distinction***

More than ever before, in modern times goods represent an important aspect of human life. In the classical interpretation, goods are defined as products that serve to meet human needs, intentionally made to be exchanged for money<sup>3</sup>. The value of goods is determined by the amount of work invested in them, but the most important element for defining their value is the sphere of exchange. This shifts the focus from the sphere of production to the sphere of consumption in the valuation of goods.

In the period of development of new technologies and mass production in the first half of the twentieth century (1920-1960), it was necessary to manage market demand in order to increase consumption - the care of production was replaced by the need for managing market demand. In such a system of conducted consumption, the sign as a value is gaining importance, and the goods of mass consumption could no longer be valued and interpreted through their usefulness. A sign has become the essence of goods. In this way consumption has become much more than a simple use of goods and services - signs and symbols are actual subjects of consumption, according to Baudrillard. Similarly, according to Pierre Bourdieu, consumption is an essentially social process, which means that others are involved in it, as the consumer makes relations with them through his choices.

Concepts of personal and social identity are prone to instability and variability within the culture of consumerism<sup>4</sup>, so the most important aspect of consumption becomes the one concerning identity, and that is - symbolic consumption. As mass consumption was increasingly getting importance of symbolic consumption, its role was to ensure identification of consumers with what is being spent. The symbolic value of goods is of crucial importance for the formation of own's identity (Veblen, 1966, Bourdieu, 1984). Symbolic consumption apart from shopping implies consuming desirable experiences and events, sports or music,

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<sup>3</sup> Marx (1867)

<sup>4</sup> '*Identity*' is the new junkfood for the dispossessed, globalization's fodder for the disenfranchised. (Koolhaas, 2001)

traveling to prestigious destinations, making political choices, consuming architecture and the city spaces, choosing a lifestyle<sup>5</sup> (Debord, 2003, Campbell, 1996, Chaney, 2003).

The concept of differentiation on the principle of taste is what produces symbolic domination according to Bourdieu (1984). Differentiation, or excluding other by creating a deficiency<sup>6</sup>, is the only way that enables earning symbolic values. What is actually consumed, according to Baudrillard, is a distinction of goods as signs in relation to other signs (1996:200).

As mass consumption was gaining more importance as a symbolic consumption whose role was to identify consumers with what was being consumed, the need for conducted consumption has replaced the concern about production. The advertising industry has used this through *psychogramming*<sup>7</sup>, an attempt to penetrate into the consciousness of consumers in order to anticipate their wishes for consumption, and to influence their consumption decisions by advertising. The new content of the advertised product-sign was known as '*added value*' (Hosoya, Schaefer, 2001:559), which was able to grow and to be consumed infinitely. By shopping goods or by consuming desirable destinations as a means of differentiation, one can gain own place in society.

### **The city as a source of *added value* / symbolic consumption of the city**

Consuming the brand, as something that determines the status of consumers, refers not only to the consumption of branded goods, but also branded architecture and branded destinations. Consumption spaces in a modern city have increasing symbolic value. They are physically, economically and culturally isolated from the environment, by strong branding through location, synergies, famous brands.

The first brand shops were *Louis Vuitton* in London opened in 1885, *Cartier* in London opened in 1906, and in New York opened in 1907, and *Dunhill* in New York and Paris in the 1920s. In the early 1980s, there was a big increase in brand stores, whose companies opted to be basically commercial rather than product oriented. In the beginning

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<sup>5</sup> *Lifestyles* are a special topic within the culture of consumerism; the modern form of grouping around status is more related to the way of using goods, then possessing them. Particularly tourism as a part of the concept of lifestyle has become one of the most desirable identity-building activities, in a globalized world where national and cultural borders are disappearing as well as cultural diversity. According to Debord, tourism is just another commodity.

<sup>6</sup> *A stringent dress code – last spasm of etiquette? – governs access to junkspace: short, sneaker, sandal, shell suit, fleece, jean, parka, backpack. As if the People suddenly accessed the private quarters of a dictator...* (Koolhaas, 2001: 410)

<sup>7</sup> Hosoya, Schaefer, 2001: 558

advertising referred to large product labels, and then more and more companies took over the identity and brand image, which also meant building monumental office buildings with recognizable company design and logo.

Nike - one of the most powerful brands in the modern world, a manufacturer of sports equipment, is above all an impressive global marketing phenomenon. From a small city sneaker manufacturer it has developed into an urban icon and a global company, and the logo ('Swoosh') has become powerful and recognizable worldwide. Over the years with the company's growth, Nike has grown into a 'brand-conscious' (Klein, 2000) manufacturer and then a marketing-oriented company, which completely abandons the production of its sneakers, which it passes on to smaller subcontractors. The core concern of the company becomes advertising, not the product itself.

The city is not only the main source of Nike brand marketing ideas and content, it is also the target of Nike advertising material; 'The city was a recipe for company growth' (Klein, 2000). Street style and youth culture are recognized as market goods of enormous potential because young people<sup>8</sup> are willing to pay for their status, since they are naturally characterized by insecurity. Nike also produced its own 'version of the city', which is NikeTown. The first NikeTown was made in Portland, Oregon, and now there are many of these across America, each becoming a tourist attraction. These stores undergo total changes every two years to keep pace with global changes and maintain their attractiveness. NikeTown which opened in New York in 1996, is a mix of museum, shopping, entertainment, and 'high-tech' media attractions and activities - *'apart from athletic apparel, NikeTown represents culture and lifestyle'* (Goldberger, 1996: 45). In addition to the museum and sales pieces, this concept functions primarily as a promotion of the brand itself. Disney shops are an example of a similar concept.

Consumption, according to Hannigen (1998), is increasingly taking place within the context of programmed leisure experiences, through a combination of sports, restaurants, entertainment and high-tech experiences. Architects incorporate entertainment experiences<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Teens live in a 'global consumer trap': they are connected via the internet and mobile phones to the whole world, and as such, represent 'one of the greatest marketing opportunities in history' for the advertising industry. Nike's particular target as a source of content was American urban blocks and the taste of urban black teenagers, as the company recognized that in the 1990s it was more important to be cool to be recognized (which meant being black, listening to blues and jazz, playing basketball) than being wealthy.

<sup>9</sup> Simulation - patriotic rockets, infrared scenes for night warfare and other Star Wars era inventions are mounted just a few miles from where tourists embark on fantastic rocket launches based on George Lucas' Star Wars. The Disney World has a Space Mountain roller coaster; Orlando owns FreeFlight Zephyrhills, a firm that experiments with aerodynamic tunneling technology to simulate the experience of jumping a parachute

into the cultural capital offering, thus creating a new type of consumer who expects constant entertainment.

By placing brand stores in a common zone, side by side, so that they mutually raise each others value, brand zones<sup>10</sup> are formed as environments with *added value*.<sup>11</sup> Such zones are, *Madison Avenue* in New York, *Ginza* in Tokyo, *Bond Street* in London, *Champs-Elysee* in Paris, *Rodeo Drive* in Los Angeles. According to the branding logic, the city itself becomes part of the added value of the brand. These places, in turn, are becoming more and more important to the city, offering a special type of consumption, selling a lifestyle that, in addition to buying branded goods, also involves the consumption of the spaces where the shopping takes place - '*Brand zones are the genius loci of a city of late capitalism*' (Hosoya, Schaeffer, 2001: 166). Brand zones are created with the skills of new professionals, ranging from advertising, product design, architecture and urban development, to behavioral sciences and the use of psycho techniques in an attempt to understand the wishes and behavior of the customers, and then influence their decisions. These experts, by examining the market as a first step, and then by advertising and designing their identities through design and architecture, create places as appropriate brand identities.

Consumption of these spaces occurs through shopping, mostly through shopping tourism. Tourism has become one of the new important consumer activities as part of the lifestyle, and Hannigen mentions the importance of visiting these places (tourism to exotic but also global consumer places) as one from the powerful identity-building tools that the consumption industry has exploited through 'event passporting'<sup>12</sup>. These new potential sources of advantage over others in a consumer society context can be expressed through 'been there, done that', which replaced the earlier 'buy it and parade with it' as a consumer strategy of the past (Hannigen, 1998). '*Place and brand are on the same footing in the system of reciprocal identity verification*' (Hosoya, Schaefer, 2001: 172).

The brand zones are dominated by the cult of the person, these are in fact '*places of worship*', and '*participation is achieved through the ritual of shopping*' (Hosoya, Schaefer, 2001). The public has been replaced by the individual, so the consumption of these places

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to the ground. Disney's Epcot Center features Michael Jackson in 3-D as Captain Eo; Orlando created simulators where Allied pilots learned rocket guidance' (Koolhaas, Definition of Simulation, 1995: 1158)

<sup>10</sup> '*Brand zones are the sacred precincts of the last global religion – capitalist consumerism. They are places of communion with the pantheon of brands*' (Hosoya, Schaefer, *Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping*, 2001: 172)

<sup>11</sup> '*Theming is about adding value*' Jack Rouse

<sup>12</sup> 'It is a stamp on the passport confirming that the tourist has come and gone' (it is more important to have proof of presence than experience); (Hannigen, 1998)

acquires a part of the individual, which encourages consumption. Designers (especially fashion designers) are postmodern marketing icons, and their authenticity is sold through media systems, through corporate identity, design and etiquette. The identity of the designer is crucial to the design of the brand shop - the design of the shop supports the mapping of its identity as a source of authenticity to the brand zone itself.

*Apple* has stores with a distinctive image, patented design first in America and then in Europe, mainly the product of the 'Bohlin Cywinski Jackson' architectural studio for major retail projects - Shanghai, New York (large cubic glass shop), and architect Peter Bolin<sup>13</sup>. These are not just places to shop, but also a service and a showcase for brand advertising. Apple's patented and protected design mostly means incorporating of glass stairs as a distinctive element of these stores within multi-storey buildings, some of which even have a glass bridge; then a glass facade with a massive brand symbol, wooden display tables, glass windows, and sidewalks in front of the shops, most commonly dimensioned to be in dialogue with the interior elements, which is achieved by multiplying the dimensions of the stone or tiles used within the shop.

These places offer a new experience (symbolic capital) with affirmation of the brand image (experience plus advertising). Brand zones in this way combine the image of the individual and the image of the city. The personality of the designer is imprinted on the iconography of the brand, and the city is a source of added value to the brand (*'the act of purchase is a totemic ritual, in which the individual acquires, together with the commodity, a piece of the city and the modern for which it stands'* - Hosoya, Schaefer, 2001: 172) and the brand store becomes an essential part of the city. The design of a brand store actually becomes a kind of three-dimensional brand advertisement at the very place where the purchase is happening. Various aids such as movement, symbols, logo, sound, smell, electronics are used to enhance the brand experience, offering euphoria and spectacle with the help of powerful technology.

At the same time, brand zones are spaces of control. *'Brand zones are the ecstatic complement to the paranoia of 'control space'; they are to control space what the gospel is to the inquisition'* (Hosoya, Schaefer, 2001: 172). Often, the design of a store brand is targeted at an audience whose preferences have been studied, translated into marketing messages and then into the shop itself, as a kind of consumer control.

In further development, a branding system that counts only with visual, has been overcome (Lindstrom). There came to the ability for branding intended for all the senses,

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<sup>13</sup> *'...Apple is not just a brand, it's a religion'* (Lindstrom, 2010: 153)

which is simple when it refers to specific products, but it is much more difficult to be made for intangible products like services for example. Eyesight is not anymore the most powerful sense when shopping. It suffers tremendous stimulation today, and the more difficult it is to attract one's attention - visual saturation results in blindness rather than an increased desire to buy. Odor and sound have proven to be much more powerful buying factors - they are used for so-called sensory branding<sup>14</sup>. Music is used as one of the powerful stimuli. 'Muzak' is considered an audio architecture, it produces music that is not heard, but merely produces a diffused sense of pleasure and peace, and influences the customer subtly, almost at a subconscious level, raising his or her will to buy. This was first used only for employees to increase their work performance and then, due to the success of this method, it was also applied to customers. Sounds are used to create a sense of real-life experience (NikeTown for example), relying on ever-evolving technologies.

Shopping environments are increasingly in control of sound, light, nature<sup>15</sup> and even the chemical composition of the air; consumer manipulation is done by controlling the stimuli of the environment, all in the service of their desirable reaction as the effect of stimulated senses, raised consciousness on a collective rather than an individual level - everyone experiences the same **total** environment. Some research has shown that the molecules of the active chemical (onone), which is smelled of fresh hay, make consumers feel unusually calm, and that air with a high percentage of oxygen produces a mild euphoria in consumers. This is used by shopping malls that inject oxygen and the substance through air-conditioning systems. Even nature has been transformed into a commodity within a shopping environment<sup>16</sup>. It exists in a technologically modified form, as an 'improvement' of nature; reconstructed and 'optimized' by a combination of real and synthetic nature<sup>17</sup>, the so-called

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<sup>14</sup> Pako Anderhil dealt with the study of the share of our senses in shopping choices, and so it appeared that the touch of textiles was the most important reason to buy it. Sound is also used as a shopping stimulus: the sound of opening an instant coffee or a can of Pringles chips is designed to remind us to smack of lips; the smell of vanilla has proven to be a powerful stimulant in shopping, and experts speculate that the reason is the presence of that smell in breast milk; the smell of baked bread is also a guaranteed means of higher sales.

<sup>15</sup> For example artificial trees with a tendency to imitate the natural: one of the bestsellers are palm trees that, as a young tree, are transformed into artificial trees by a special procedure. They can be installed anywhere, with a minimum of maintenance, as 'hypernatural', technically optimized, eliminating imperfections (Luis Wyman, 2001)

<sup>16</sup> Ecology and economics have come together in Junkspace as *ecolomy*: all natural resources are engaged in the production of *HyperecologyTM*, the 'New Rainforests'. 'Oxygen banks, Fort Knoxes of chlorophyll, eco-reserves as blank check for further pollution. Junkspace again writes the apocalypse; we can die from oxygen poisoning' (Koolhaas, 2001: 419)

<sup>17</sup> In Las Vegas, in the Mirage casino, there is a tropical jungle installation: a steel pipe inserted into a tree to keep it desirable, there are rain drainage pipes, security video monitoring, speakers, lighting equipment

'Replandscape, a technologically enlarged replica of the landscape' (Louise Wyman, 2001: 619), also in the service of recognition, followed by consumer comfort and willingness to spend.

The corporate brand has been extended to a brand in architecture. The impact of branding on the form of objects and city structure is due to the fact that brand identity has shifted from commodity traded to the city itself. Corporations are constantly coming up with new ways to highlight a brand, and increasingly, architecture is one of those ways. Destination branding is a relatively new marketing concept that applies the principles of branding goods to geographical areas based on their specifics. A specific area is advertised for its special history, or authenticity, or a different aesthetic, for its story or event<sup>18</sup>. In the modern world as a 'global village', with a changed understanding of space, all places are becoming accessible, so tourism has become a profitable industry (apart from being part of a 'desirable' lifestyle) increasingly seeking marketing and branding to differentiate destinations in the global marketplace competitiveness. The act of branding cities in the modern city is emphasized by the marketing technique of private entrepreneurship, and thus influences the urban form. Through the brand concept, certain destinations will be imposed as an integral product of a recognizable identity, and become a successful destination brand.

Brand in architecture emerges as an expression of a particular function of a corporation. Brand zone architecture (should) carry a clear message for the consumers it was created for, so brand management is therefore most concerned with desirability creation. Apart from the interiors of brand stores, these are often the dominant megastructures in the city's structure, as new city landmarks that play an important role in creating a city image (not by planning, but by imposing these structures). These are objects of specific forms, constructed of contemporary materials, as spectacle objects, museums, stadiums, department stores, shopping malls<sup>19</sup>, which serve to entertain consumers of the modern consumer society, and attract tourists and investments in the development of a certain area. The mall is no longer designed as a warehouse but as an object of highly defined architecture<sup>20</sup> for the sale of branded goods.

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<sup>18</sup> Milano – fashion, Toscana – vine, Munich – Oktoberfest, *100% Pure New Zealand*, *I Love NY* etc

<sup>19</sup> The mall tends to be a tourist destination to visit and experience, and corporations are in constant fight for the identity of each. '*Creating a destination*' is the key buzz-phrase for the superstore builder: these are places not only to shop but also visit, places to which tourists make ritualistic pilgrimages (Klein, 2000: 202).

<sup>20</sup> *One New Change* shopping mall in London, by Nouvel: highly defined architecture of a shopping mall (different than earlier warehouse concept of a mall); more and more shopping of branded goods takes place inside an object which is brand itself.

New York's Prada, the most visited retail space by tourists and much less by buyers, also an exclusive boutique, public space, gallery, performance space, and 'lab', opened in 2001 as the brand's first store. The large empty ground floor space with a huge circular elevator for 20 people, which serves to lower customers to the lower, narrower and darker level for shopping, has just a small part for sale; it is recognizable by its main motif, the wooden curved surface 'big wave', which visually connects the two levels, and which has sacrificed much of the sales space. Innovative architecture, high design and the ability to transform the interior make this space recognizable<sup>21</sup>. Tokyo's Prada Hercog and de Meron has continued this collaboration between architecture and fashion. The architecture of the object itself changes; the object becomes a brand (*'Brand zones are brands themselves. These are places that consume consumption'*, Hosoya, Schaefer, 2001: 172).

The built object receives the status of tourist attraction or symbol of an environment, or its identification. Gaining of new identity and being initiated into a global space<sup>22</sup>, represents using of architecture as strategic marketing move, apart from being a reflection of the cultural value of the place. Architecture has become a means for achieving diversity.

An object of contemporary architecture gets the function of advertising, offering entertainment, culture, sports, as an object of spectacle. The development of a significant cultural landmark becomes a synonymous with the names of great architects and the new global places they create. The relationship between branding architecture and development of the city actually represents a new image of the global city. *'Urban semiotics is emerging as a product of urban branding and glocalization strategies. As a place of consumption, the post-Fordist city itself very often presents itself as a commercial product'* (city as a brand) (Stahl, 2010: 921).

In contrast to the brand zones of the West, there are free trade zones that work for them. Since many companies have closed their factories that produce the product, focusing on marking rather than on producing (Klein, 2000), production itself had to be transferred to some other place. These places become the main manufacturers, that exist simultaneously with brand zones of the West. The cheapest locations with the cheapest workforce are, as a rule, the main producers (mainly Indochina, China, the Philippines, Vietnam, Mexico). These are unstable and unsafe areas where workers live in inhumane conditions within the

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<sup>21</sup> *'Think of this as a museum exhibition on an indeterminate display'* Herbert Muschamp

<sup>22</sup> Similar, CCTV by Koolhaas, or the Stadium by Herzog and de Meuron, as landmarks of Beijing; Oslo Operahouse has activated river banks in a neglected part of the city's abandoned port space, as a driver of the process of planning and urban transformation, and then became a recognizable symbol of the city.

economic zones of the complex, controlled by video surveillance. The factories themselves do not have the mark of the brand they produce, and access is prohibited to everyone other than those directly engaged. Klein (2000) describes one of these export trading zones, Cavite, in the city of Rosario, 150 kilometers away from Manila, which she names a 'marked storage'. The bedrooms found here are inhumane because of overcrowding - like a parking lot, the sleeping places on the floor are separated by a white line<sup>23</sup>. The workforce is destabilized by workload and underpayment, unable to organize into trade unions (China) and eventually negotiate for better conditions. Most employees are young people (part-time or so-called 'hobby' jobs for young people, which bring savings to the employer, with an excuse of inappropriate types of adult work). Young women are especially avoided, like anything else related to unforeseen or extra costs. Video-controlled workers are most often unaware of the gap between the real value of the goods / selling prices of the goods they produce, and their wages.

Often, these large companies do not own production machines, and thus are deprived of the responsibility of owning and operating factories and hiring labor - they only pass on orders, while their power over production increases. This even goes to the complete abandonment of the employment by some companies. The consequences of this kind of big corporation business are, in addition to the growing gap between rich and poor and the disappearance of the middle class in the west, the destruction of the natural environment and the local population and culture. The instability faced by workers and the loss of permanent employment have led to increasing anti-corporate resistance.

## CONSEQUENCES

### **-total space as an initiator of the reconfiguration of the city**

There are complex changes happening in the physical structure and in the social space of the city, under the influence of various aspects of consumerism.

Structural changes occur due to the shift of the balance between the center and the periphery initiated by the positioning of consumption spaces (as **total spaces**)<sup>24</sup> in zones where as new

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<sup>23</sup> Documentary *Sweat*, with the slogan *Just stop it. Whose sweat is on your shoes?*, shows the slums where workers, live, work and sleep in corners separated by curtains, opposite to the exclusive shops for which they produce expensively sold products.

<sup>24</sup> Batarilo (2016: 132)

focal points they become the generators of the development<sup>25</sup> or the initial phase of the city<sup>26</sup>. The geographical result of the restructuring according to Soja is an exopolis or a *city without cityness*, an external city which is growing as a result of newly built commercial spaces, and of combined processes of decentralization and centralization. The centrality of the metropolis is being reconfigured on the urban periphery (Christian Schmidt). The consequence is social stratification - the settlement of an inner city by the rich elite, or the departure of the poorer to the suburbs. In parallel with these processes, there is a destruction of local values and identities, as well as of the rest of the public democratic space.

### **-new relationship public/private space – controlled space**

Changes in social space relate to the changed role of socialization of former consumption spaces together with the shift in balance between public and private spaces and with the control of space, or with increasing segregation based on the different possibilities for consuming these spaces.

The postmodern city is identified with a commodity. The space is turned into goods for profit and as such it participates in exchange value, while its use-value is less significant<sup>27</sup>. Privatization of the public space in the capitalist system is a consequence of the economic interest of the dominant social groups (Lefebvre, Harvey), and consequently a city suffers from aesthetics that corresponds to the private interest of the one who owns it. The commercialization of space and its control have led to the disappearance of public space in the traditional sense. Urban public spaces that have played a central role in the social life through history, are losing their importance in a modern city, and new privatized public spaces are strictly **controlled** in terms of access and behavior through various monitoring systems, but they are also controlled in terms of simulation of needs and forced consumption

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<sup>25</sup> This can be seen in the example of a shopping mall, or later any other object of consumption, as it within its enclosed box form, as a *total space* (Jameson), pretends to offer the role of the center in the peripheral parts of the city, offering a variety of facilities besides shopping.

<sup>26</sup> Exopolis comes out the process of peripheralisation, whereby all peripheral places (referring primarily to shopping malls) become centers of their own, while the city center collapses (Soja, 2000). Similarly, Blagojevic says that "... the centrality of new Belgrade has been reconfigured on its periphery, ...in the free market landscape." (Blagojevic, 2008:58)

<sup>27</sup> *Once sacred and even inalienable as a patrimonial and collective good, space becomes a commodity like any other* (Lefebvre, 2009: 214)

which is hidden. Consequently, this has led to spatial and **social segregation**, growing gap between rich and poor, because of different possibilities for using these spaces.<sup>28</sup>

Public space is being used as an instrument for increasing the competitiveness of the place<sup>29</sup>, so the principles of branding of goods are being applied to the parts of the city. Through the concept of the brand, certain parts of the city or its objects, are becoming valuable because of their symbolic meaning, as a desirable destination within the concept of socially acceptable lifestyle. The link between architecture branding and the development of the city, that is a new image of the **global city**. The postmodern city loses its traditional qualities and gets the mark of the global city. The authentic values of the historical city areas have been replaced by controlled models (total spaces) of urban experience related to shopping and entertainment inside environments that support division problems.

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<sup>28</sup> Privatized public space has become a filter for those who can pay to use it. The nature of the city has changed from something that is fundamentally free, to something that has to be paid for. (Koolhaas, 1995)

<sup>29</sup> *The city becomes an aesthetic display for sale and public spaces become an integral part of this privatization and commercialization* (Madanipour, 2003:238)

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## POST-SOCIALIST URBAN IDENTITY IN SERVICE OF CITY: THE CASE OF BANJA LUKA

**Abstract:** The paper analyzes the specific forms of urban transformation of Banja Luka, which in the period of post-socialism influenced the creation of a new urban identity in the service of strengthening entrepreneurial initiatives and national awareness initiated by previous war events. The core hypothesis of the paper is that the conversion of the purpose of built objects, changes in the name of public institutions, space, surfaces, streets, etc., and the revitalization of the urban center with accentuated historical components of national affiliation, has influenced the creation of a new urban identity that suited and suits economic, political and cultural development of the city. The comparison of Banja Luka with certain cities of the former Yugoslav republics contributes to shaping or synthesizing of the knowledge about the analyzed subject of research with emphasis on certain specifics of its post-socialist development, which is also the goal of this paper. The post-socialist transformation of Banja Luka was supposed to respond to the needs of a new market-oriented neoliberal society in which investment and development of economic activities are linked to the new urban identity of national characteristics. These processes certainly included the dominance of economic and political actors in the creation of a new urban environment and space, which were stimulated by the possibility of making profits, while neglecting the needs of citizens. This ultimately affected the quality of life of the population and the social sustainability of the city. Changes in urban space are accompanied by the functional changes of the city. In this sense, Banja Luka is transforming itself from the industrial into the city of dominant service activities and specific consumer habits of the citizens, which influences the creation of new status characteristics of the population.

**Keywords:** transformation, urban identity, national affiliation, conversion.

### PHASES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF BANJA LUKA

#### The first phase

The history of the development of Banja Luka shows different stages with specific characteristics that are mainly determined by social, economic and political circumstances. Although the development of Banja Luka dates back to the 15th century when it was called Vrbaski Grad, and when it was under the influence of Turkey, and later of Austro-Hungary,

its most intense development is recorded during the reign of Ban Svetislav Milosavljević Tisa (beginning of the 20th century) (Džaja, 1962, Ševo, 2003). During this period, representative objects were created and today they still make recognizable features of Banja Luka. However, intensive urban development of the city is evident after the World War II, and at the same time it represents the first socialist phase of development, which lasted from 1945 until the great earthquake in 1969. This period is characterized by intensive industrial development, which also represented the recovery of a war-torn society, and is characterized by low-rise residential construction interpolated into a fragmented physical structure (Milojević, 2015: 212-213). As in the other European cities of socialist organization, Banja Luka was characterized by suburbanization, which showed visible effects in disproportion between industrial, residential and infrastructural investment. This period is characterized by a low level of furnishing of residential facilities, which were intensively concentrated between the Green Bridge and the City Bridge, along the Vrbas river and west of the "Petar Kočić" park and the old bus station (Milojević, 2015: 212).

### **The second phase**

The second phase of socialist development began after the devastating earthquake in 1969 and it lasted until the early 1990s. The beginning of this period is characterized by the reconstruction of the destroyed Banja Luka, which referred to the construction of new residential facilities and new companies, the reconstruction of demolished ones, as well as the construction of facilities of social purpose and social standard, which affected the quality of urban life and creation of sense of commodation. For the most part, the construction was aided by donations coming from the former Yugoslav republics, as well as from other countries. The main feature of this period refers to the systematic, planned development of the city which began by the Urban Plan from 1975. The construction was specific for the creation of planned settlements with better utilization of the existing urban space and the construction of green spaces and other facilities, but the scattered urban structure was still present. Construction was performed according to the standards, so the quality of the constructed facilities was far higher than in the previous period. The concept of zone and functional content was also known in other cities, but according to the Urban Plan of Banja Luka, it was insisted on a balanced representation of work, housing and recreation, which caused the construction of residential zones as collective neighborhoods. In fact, it was about

building by blocks, i.e. by areas and local communities, which in content had everything that was necessary for comfortable living conditions.

The construction of semi-functional city centres was a typical feature of the socialist Banja Luka, and certain activities had to be organized in specialized centres (medical, higher education, sports, etc.). However, some ideas from the Urban Plan did not see the light of day. Also, the Plan implied the placement of heavy industry in the northwest and eastern parts, while the light industry was incorporated into residential areas. The central zones of the city, apart from housing were filled by public institutions, which partly resembled the central zones of the city in capitalist society. However, the narrowest centre remained unburdened by intensive construction, which has been significantly changed in the post-socialist period.

### **The third phase**

The third post-socialist intensive phase of Banja Luka's development is the period after the 1995 war. As in the other larger cities, we can notice intense investment in the transition period, which changes urban identity of the city, often to the detriment of public spaces that receive commercial features. There is increased investment in the city centre, which results in the increase of the role of profit and residents' consumer habits. Political and economic stakeholders play the main role in creating a new urban outlook of the city where social interest is put aside against large appetites of large investors. Unlike the socialist period, in which collective interests were imposed as general in capitalism, few cares about them. In most cases, there is no private-public partnership. "If we consider the city as a collective - a joint project of urban living - the question is who in these economic calculations negotiates for collective - public - interests (Gulin Zrnčić, 2012:184). The concept of housing construction is changing intensively with the aim of maximum use of the available building land, which mostly involves reducing public space and green spaces. In addition, in all larger post-socialist cities, including Banja Luka, there are examples of illegal construction, upgrading of floors beyond the statutory limit. The transition period, like in the other post-socialist countries, implies privatization and denationalization of social property and land with the emergence of a new quasi-elite, which in a suspicious way became the owner of many companies that later stopped operating. The goal was not even to start the production, but to gain personal tangible benefits. Nonetheless, socialist cities even nowadays still have strong industrial identity characteristics, with the attempt to introduce more modern and

cleaner industries to suit the process of Europeanization. (Petrović and Toković, 2018: 42). This was the period when Banja Luka was building its position on the basis of the division of cities which, after the collapse of the industry, had more to offer. In the earlier period, the city had already had a strong historical legacy of national identity character, which served as a refuge for the consolidation and development of the identity of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the other hand, in the post-war period, private entrepreneurial initiatives of small and medium-sized enterprises increased in the attempt to make Banja Luka as European as possible and at the same time break up with socialist past dominated by social property. The decentralization of political power reinforced the role of cities that had to establish and maintain their legitimacy not only with citizens but also with an external factor (Jevremović, 2011: 2). Maintaining national identity recognized right in the cultural and historical heritage of Banja Luka established a kind of identity among citizens, while foreign entrepreneurial initiatives were considered essential for building the position of a Central European city. The development of new and nurturing of existing national identity values, mainly through cultural and historical monuments and other facilities, has attracted a greater number of settlers who sought refuge during and after the war in Banja Luka, considering this city as a place of their own identity and security. This has also resulted in a mix of rural and urban value habits and behavioural patterns of residents, on the one hand, as well as creating awareness of a rapidly developing city where it can be invested with certainty, at least when it comes to trade and services. Almost the same processes are visible in other cities of the newly created countries after the breakup of the former Yugoslavia. Anđelina Svirčić Gotovac analyzes transformation processes in Zagreb. "Often apart from highlighting historical symbols, these cities are even more eager to attract large financial investments that they would use to transform themselves through a dual identity, traditional and national, on one hand, and modernist and globalist, on the other hand" (Svirčić-Gotovac, 2016: 206). The case of Podgorica also shows that investment urbanism disrupts the identity of the city that is adjusted to global capitalist trends, while, on the other hand, does not meet the needs of citizens. "This is reflecting on a new identity - the identity of contemporary Podgorica, which is recognized and understood by new generations, but not by older ones. Most experts believe that cultural identity cannot be maintained if its basic characteristics are shifted or changed in line with current trends (Zlatar-Gamberožić, 2016: 89).

The above stated examples show that in most post-socialist cities where intense transformational processes are visible, there is a loss of city identity. However, Banja Luka

differs in some aspects of the transformation from the above given examples. Unlike other cities where investment urbanism in conjunction with political and economic actors has altered the historical identity of the city (the case of Cvjetni trg in Zagreb), Banja Luka has remained faithful to the preservation of precisely these elements, further strengthening and expanding them.

This reinforced national identity, especially by expanding the city's historic core through a new regulatory plan that envisages the construction of memorials to fallen war veterans of the last war, while halting the previously announced construction of a shopping centre. This concept of development of Banja Luka has influenced the increase of domestic investors and entrepreneurs and then of foreign ones, which are mostly connected to the service sector. In that sense, Banja Luka can be compared to Sarajevo, which, through strengthening the distinctive element of the traditional core of the city (Baščaršija), proved the historical identity of the Bosniak people to that city. By nurturing the cultural and historical core, Sarajevo has strengthened its national identity and, on the same basis, attracted a large number of residents from smaller municipalities, which has caused the development of the city with the help of domestic as well as foreign investors, at the expense of smaller cities, which have been weakened in terms of demographic and economic development. It can be concluded that the two largest cities (one in Republic of Srpska and the other in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina), by preserving the identity values of the city, emphasizing the religious and national elements, determined the territorial affiliation of the ethnically divided people in the former Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Srđan Radović equally observes these processes in Priština and Banja Luka. "Instead of the former cities on the margins of the national text, places like Priština and Banja Luka are being transformed symbolically into (ethno) national centers, by changing the names of streets, squares, and settlements and by planned policy of building public architecture and monumental heritage" (Radović, 2013: 167). Therefore, the preservation of the aforementioned elements of urban space and ambience was also conditioned by the need for national positioning. The assumption is that the emphasis of national identity values in the urban space, mostly concentrated in the city center, made these parts protected from large-scale investors' attacks, unlike other post-capitalist cities where even the historic urban core could not be preserved from the demands of investment entrepreneurs.

## INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING OF BANJA LUKA AS THE URBAN CENTRE OF REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka is not the capital of the Republic of Srpska. Immediately after the war, it became clear that the development of East Sarajevo compared to Banja Luka had almost no prospect. Before the war, apart from the industrial potential, Banja Luka had other advantages. Namely, it was a university, as well as a medical centre. Certainly, it also represented particular cultural potential with a number of institutions that were mainly established during the Ban Milosavljevic period.

The political elite recognized the advantages of Banja Luka over the other urban centres, and although branch offices of national political institutions are in East Sarajevo, their headquarters are located in Banja Luka. The administrative centre of the Government of the Republic of Srpska is one of the most significant institutions that represents the incorporation of national identity into urban space. The construction of the mentioned centre caused the changes of the valid spatial planning documents and the disruption of the vision of the city development from the period of 1975, when the last Urban Plan was adopted. The construction of the Administrative Centre lasted from 2002 to 2010 and the "Aleja-Centar" Regulatory Plan has been changed for even seven times (Malešević, 2012: 58). It is important to mention that the aforementioned construction partly changes the traditional context of Banja Luka, as the focus from the historical recognition of the Austro-Hungarians' earlier dominance shifts to the institutional strengthening of the Republic of Srpska entity and thus the national identity of the Serbian people.

However, it would be naive to speak of the possible absolute preservation of the historical context of the city during the beginning of the new millennium. Even the construction of the Administrative Centre of the Government of the Republic of Srpska did not cause the demolition of recognizable facilities from the Austro-Hungarian period, and the Commission for Preserving National Monuments protected the facilities built in this period. For example, a small train station, which is nowadays functioning as a restaurant, has been preserved (Perić Romić, 2018b: 69-70). In this part of the city, the name of the former main street known as "Carski drum" (Imperial Road) has been changed to King Peter I Karađorđević Street, thus adding a historical element to the existing urban context, fostering the strengthening of national awareness. Many other streets are also named after prominent figures of Serbian history. The practice of changing the names of streets, squares, and cities was intense in all the former Yugoslav states, thus seeking to break up with the previous

socialist system, as well as to strengthen the national identity of the almost ethnically pure newly established states. (Rihtman-Avguštin, 2000). All larger cities worked intensively on proving their national identity in the aforementioned way ... ", which would emphasize that these countries had a much earlier national identity that had been destroyed by the former system. "(Svirčić-Gotovac, 2016:205).

## **TRANSFORMATIONAL URBAN PROCESSES**

The conversion of the purpose of constructed facilities of social importance from the socialism period made the development of Banja Luka easier. For example, the institutional strengthening of the city did not always require the construction of new facilities, which was certainly the advantage over East Sarajevo. Former military barracks where the faculties and the rectorate of the University of Banja Luka are located now, can serve as an example. Also, the National Assembly is located in the building of the former JNA House (Yugoslav People's Army House), while the former Mortgage Bank building served as the Palace of the President of the Republic of Srpska. (Perić Romić, 2018).

What has especially strengthened the national identity in Banja Luka is the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the historic urban centre of Banja Luka, which is related to the Gospodska Street and the buildings of the former "Banska uprava" and "Banski dvor". One of the most significant investments made at this site is the construction of the Temple of Christ the Savior on the site of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which was demolished during World War II, but was not reconstructed after the end of the war. Since the national identity of the Serbian people is related to religion, the construction of the temple has influenced the incorporation of identity values for urban space.

Investing in the central part of the city with significant historical heritage has influenced the growth of entrepreneurial initiatives, particularly in the field of construction, i.e. residential construction. In that regard, Banja Luka is similar to other cities of the former Yugoslavia. The real estate market is becoming the most significant economic feature of the development of Banja Luka, and the prices of residential buildings which are situated closer to the centre are rising significantly. However, there is lack of gentrification processes (in the full sense), as investment urbanization often grows through interpolations into pre-existing structures, while previously constructed residential facilities are retained with sporadic beautification, for example, through facade reconstruction or murals (Perić Romić, 2018a: 94-95). The former working class stays in their dwellings, and the working-age population of

better material status also inhabits the central parts of the city, which leads to specific age structure of the inhabitants in these areas. The newly built settlements closer to the center are intended for the wealthier population. However, it could be said that "Increased social inequality is reflected in the spatial plan .... While socialism sought to avoid spatial segregation, in the post-socialist era it became the expected expression of the growth of material inequalities. (Ćeranić, 2016: 116).

However, what makes Banja Luka different from other cities is the fact that the increase of private entrepreneurial initiatives in the form of increase in service activities did not damage the historical heritage of the city, but made this area lively and tourist attractive. The protection of urban historical heritage, in which national identity values are recognized, stemmed from the legal regulation on permitted i.e. prohibited construction. In that sense, the Gospodska Street, on which end there is the Temple of Christ the Saviour, represents mostly preserved (but not completely) and refreshed context of the former outlook of this street from the period of Ban Milosavljević, adjusted to the time period we live in. Secessionistic style of construction is still dominant in the Gospodska Street.

The rehabilitation and reconstruction of the urban centre has influenced the enhancement of the functionality of a particular space. Although the strengthening of national identity values has been largely aided during the development of Banja Luka as a political centre, it has not yet regained its former industrial city reputation. Today, its development refers to the tertiary sector, and the impact of economic and political factors makes visible consequences on the quality of life of residents in many segments. Business construction is dominated by banks, insurance companies, and a large number of shopping centres. The construction of facilities of social purposes is rather slow because it is financed from the budget of the city or the republic. In that sense, Banja Luka is identical with other post-communist cities such as Zagreb and Podgorica that we have taken for comparison purposes. "By opening trade networks in larger cities of Montenegro, especially in Podgorica, the so-called "Trade fetishism" appeared (Samardžić and Živković, 2016: 194). In its transformational process and in the need to become a recognizable urban centre of national identity values, in many segments Banja Luka is identified with other cities. Increase in consumer habits, increase in investment urbanism followed by a decline in the quality of content of new housing estates, the usurpation of green spaces and public spaces, the dominance of political and economic actors in the creation of urban space, the collapse of the industrial sector and the increase of services.

## CONCLUSION

Finally, it can be said that the consolidation of national values was attractive for the investments of domestic investors and for the inflow of population from smaller urban areas. The conversion of former industrial plants was related to the development of service, catering and trade activities. Foreign investors, as important factors in initiating economic development, are more interested in the infrastructure of business zones, as well as stable economic and political situation and precise legal regulations in the field of business, than in the national identity values. However, strengthening the national identity in the urban part of Banja Luka has strengthened the centralization of this city compared to smaller urban settlements which are fighting for their own economic and demographic survival. In that sense, Banja Luka has a development advantage compared to other urban areas in Republic of Srpska, in a sense that it has succeeded in maintaining the identity of the city by fostering national awareness of the territorial affiliation of the Serbian people to this region.

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## THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON CHANGING THE IDENTITY OF THE CITY OF SKOPJE

**Abstract:** The process of globalization has led to intense social changes in every segment of social life in the postmodern society. Such changes are most easily detected in the sphere of the urban, especially in the post-socialist city, recognizable in the change of its identity (occurrence of residential zones, residential segregation, disappearance of green belts and “urban rampage”), opening the issue of unification of the urban space and the constant “present fear of losing the face of the city”. The paper captures the real perception of the impact of the globalization process on the transformation and modification of the identity of the city of Skopje, and how much the residents of Skopje accept and adapt to contemporary social trends. The increase in the differences between social strata is detected in the society through residential segregation and social distance, recognizable in the urban mosaic of residential zones in the city both in the central city area and on the outskirts of the city. By using the method of interview conducted through the questionnaire in this theoretical empirical study, we get to know the attitude of the citizens of Skopje, more precisely their opinion about the changes in the urban living in the city, the “urban rampage” and elitism, which contribute to the image and identity of the city.

**Keywords:** globalization, identity, post-socialist city, residential areas, Skopje.

### INTRODUCTION

Urban space is a meeting location between the modern and traditional, between the modern city and the city of the past, a blend of the city’s urban history. Urban identity is a system of values, achievements and way of living, architecture, culture and art, ethnic features, squares, street art, green belts. The post-socialist city has faced a double challenge since the beginning of the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the process of transition and the process of globalization, with global influences initiating visible changes in the city. Emphasizing the process, but also the problem of urban homogenization, as well as depersonalization of the city, loss of some of the local urban identities recognizable in the past.

The evolution of urban society arose in the context of global tendencies, i.e. values, which actually initiated the transformation of urban space. Through its own identity symbols, the city enables its own identification as well as the recognizable mark from the other cities on a local, regional or global level. When we speak of the city in the postmodern society, we

refer to a heterogeneous environment according to ethnic, cultural and confessional affiliation. Talking about the identity of the city, it is inevitable to define the very concept. In this context we will refer to the definition of the urban identity of the city given by Kevin Lynch and Saskia Sassen. "Identity is the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places-as having a vivid, or unique or at least a particular, character of its own identity and structure are the formal components of sense. Congruence, transparency, and legibility are specific components, which connect environment to other aspects of our lives" (Lynch,1984:131). It is evident that Lynch pays special attention to the city-individual relationship (its resident), as well as to the connection between the city with its guest visitors. He is also emphasizing the importance of certain locations and objects that are symbols of the city through which the mosaic of the city identity is built. From another point of view, by understanding Saskia Sassen's theory of the urban space, we refine our perception of the urban identity of contemporary cities. Sassen points out:

"Today's big cities in the West are concentrating on diversity. Their space is marked by a dominant corporate culture, but also a diversity of cultures and identities. The slipping is quite obvious; the dominant culture can only cover part of the city. And while corporate culture celebrates different cultures and identifies them as "devalued at the same time, they are ubiquitous" (Sassen in Vujivic & Petrovic, 2005: 204).

The urban symbols actually represent its identity. It is understandable that not every city can have grandiose buildings for its own recognizable symbols, so the existing ones should be protected. "City symbols are created over long periods of time: for centuries or longer. It is clear that not every city in the world can have such symbols as, for example, The Eiffel Tower, Tower Bridge, The Golden Gate, Empire State Building, Lomonosov Moscow State University or St. Peter's Basilica" (Pušić,2009:236-237). Reading the symbols of a city is actually the essence of urban identity. The urban identity system of the city is made up of several elements, characteristic symbols that form an integral part of the urban identity. Each part of the city that is recognizable by a certain symbol represents a part of the city's identity mosaic. Pušić claims that in a city one can easily recognize social circumstances or unpleasantness, its actors, ideology, and even the stratifying position of the individual or group, religious traits and alike.

This urban-sociological study is focused on the identity of the post-socialist city (Skopje), the "conflict" between the modern with the city of the past, but also the city that comes with all those positive and negative tendencies caused from the process of globalization. Determining the identity of the city is a complex urban-sociological process.

The link between the urban identity and people living in the urban space is of strong importance. In order to explore the urban identity of the post-socialist city of Skopje in conditions of globalization, a survey was conducted in the period September - October 2019 on its territory, which included 400 inhabitants of the city. When forming the sample, we used the quota sample. The unit of analysis were the adult citizens of the City of Skopje. The sample integrated the members of all major ethnic groups living in the city, represented by percentage from the latest 2002 census.

### **THE CITY AND ITS IDENTITY IN POSTMODERN SOCIETY; THE CASE OF SKOPLJE**

It is evident that cities are increasingly investing and working on their own distinctiveness, on their identity, trying to build a recognizable brand. The city as a social-urban-spatial form is increasingly becoming the carrier of the process of globalization. Urban communities in postmodern society are recognizable by the presence and existence of different cultural models that reflect the multicultural character of the cities. “The intercultural approach goes beyond equal opportunities and respect for existing cultural differences (multiculturalism) and leads to dialogue and exchange between people of different cultural heritage and the promotion as well as transformation of the public space, civic culture and institutions” (Ričards & Palmer, 2013: 26).

Quite legally, in the spirit of urban transformation of the city, arises the question regarding the way on which the city will retain its own recognition, and protect its own symbols, which are crucial for the urban space identity. “The wealth of events is largely linked to the creation of the place's cultural identity. As a result of the undertaking of cultural and economic development in the last three decades there is also a “cultural economy” i.e. ideas and artistic qualities that contribute to the emergence of new development paradigms” (Ričards & Palmer, 2013:38-39)

Reading Skopje's identity story, we are introduced to its symbols, characteristic urban locations as well as the urban memory of the citizens. The city has its own face, its own identity created by the generations living in it. It incorporates the creativity and motivation of the individual, the culture and identity of the ethnic groups. The paper is focused on the objects and locations which are the main mark of the identity of the City of Skopje. A city recognizable by its old neighborhoods, Skopje's Korzo, but also a city of solidarity. The city lost some of its charm in the devastating earthquake of 1963, when part of its identity was

lost (The Post Office, Officer's Hall, old National Theatre, old Railway Station). The urban core of every city is the Square. It is the heart, the life of the urban space. Macedonia Square has experienced its evolution throughout the historical period. “In the European culture, the city square is the most important symbol of civilization, as well as in the economic and political life of citizens; in some ways the square is an instrument of democracy and civil society.” (Selinkič in Dragišević & Šešič and Shentevska, 2000: 32).



*Picture No. 1 Macedonia Square across the four identity ranks*

The first picture shows the evolution of Macedonia Square before 1963 Earthquake, in the period of Socialist Yugoslavia, the way it evolved in the period of social transition, until its' last evolutionary form after the realization of the Skopje 2014 project. The Square is a pedestrian zone, a promenade for the citizens, a place where the street art is experienced, where official events and celebrations of special public interest are taking place. In the past, Macedonia Square as well as the Stone Bridge on the Vardar River were part of the traffic network, although from an infrastructural point of view there was no need for it. This characteristic role of the Square is typical of most socialist cities. The square evolves over time. Pre-earthquake Skopje talks about the Officer's Hall, Ristić Palace as well as The National Bank. The earthquake caused losing some parts of the city's identity, which have remained only in the memory of the older generations. For a moment the square remains very modest and unrecognizable.

The beginning of the nineties meant a significant change of the role of the square, which is enclosed with the Skopje 2014 project. The square contains a numerous content related to historically significant personalities from the distant past as well as to something more recent. The monuments leave a message of one distant time, marking the history and destiny of a population. They are crucial for the city's and state continuity, also are very

magnetic and know how to attract the attention of groups gatherings. In this context, most notable are: the monument of Alexander III of Macedon and Porta Macedonia located on the Pella Square.

It is inevitable to mention the Stone Bridge, the most striking connection that connects the two parts of the city, a bridge that has marked part of the city's history. The Old Bazaar is a location of multicultural coexistence, guild life and trade in the city, as well as a multi-confessional belonging of the city population, and the large number of mosques and hammams speaks of the centuries-long Ottoman presence in the area, that left its mark. The image of the city is completed by the Kale Fortress.

At the beginning of the third millennium the city received a marvelous symbol, the Millennium Cross on the top of Vodno Mountain.

The city lives when it is offering a quality program of art, culture and sport. It is adorning the remake building of The Macedonian National Theatre. Known for the Skopje Jazz Festival, also it is recognizable by the quality music of the jazz-rock band Leb I Sol and the cult symbol Vlatko Stefanovski, it is also known for Ansambl Tanec, Skopje's Marathon, HC Vardar. Our city is recognizable by its great professionals, whose work is known outside the borders of our country like: the humanitarian Mother Theresa, Simon Trpcheski, Milcho Manchevski, Vlatko Stefanovski, also its known by Gane Todorovski, Venko Andonovski, Petre Prlichko, Risto Shishkov, Nikola Ristanovski, Tavitjan Brothers, Igor Durlovski ... their cultural artistic activity contributed to and enriched the identity story of the city. The architectural buildings that have left a mark on the city in the past include the Ristić Palace, Arab House, as well as Villa Skaperda.

### **THE ANALYSIS OF THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**

Each city has its own urban story, its own "face" or its own identity. The city radiates its own aura, further attaching those who live in it, as well as those who once visited to repeat it. Skopje is a city in which global tendencies are detected in the way of living, as well as in the creation and planning of the urban space. The city has its own identity and can be clearly distinguished from other cities in the region. The urban identity of the city has a dynamic-evolutionary component (in which the peripheral elements evolve), but the identity core (the symbols that construct the identity) remain static (unchanged). In this context, we will analyze the data obtained from the empirical research.

We start the analysis of the empirical research from the basic problem of whether the city's identity differs from other cities globally.

Attitude	Percentage
Yes, I totally distinguish it	50.0
I distinguish it	36.5
Do not have an opinion	10.0
I do not distinguish it	1.9
I do not distinguish it at all	1.6
Total	100

*Table n.1: Do you distinguish the city of Skopje from other cities in the world?*

Summarizing the obtained data, it is noticeable that the majority of the respondents, that is, 86.5%, identically distinguish the city of Skopje from other cities in the world. Respondents are of the opinion that the city has a recognizable identity, after which it differs substantially.

In the analysis we integrate the crucial symbols of the city such as: Macedonia Square, the significance of the monumental art, Porta Macedonia, the Old Railway Station, Stone Bridge, Old Skopje Bazaar, the building of the Macedonian National Theatre, Kale Fortress, Millennium Cross.

The analysis of the urban identity of the City of Skopje will be followed chronologically through the most important identity symbols as well as key locations of the urban living.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	59.0
Agree	33.2
Do not have an opinion	5.2
Disagree	2.6
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

*Table n.2: Macedonia Street and Square Macedonia are a significant fragment of the cities' identity story.*

The majority of the surveyed believe that it is the Square and its immediate surroundings that speak and reflect a good part of the city's identity. It is a place where one can experience the mentality of its inhabitants, culture, multicultural character of the city, recognition of its authenticity, as well as the detection of certain social problems. Skopje 2014 Project has enriched the Square with more monuments from a distant and closer historical past (the monument Warrior on a horse, Metodija Andonov-Chento's monument, Tsar Samuil's Monument, as well as Porta Macedonia).

The analysis also covered the most significant symbol of the Square, the monument Warrior on a horse.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	44.2
Agree	36.5
Do not have an opinion	14.8
Disagree	4.5
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

*Table n.3: The monument Alexander III of Macedon (Warrior on a horse) is an identity symbol of the city.*

The monuments from the Skopje 2014 project, like the most remarkable piece the monument of Alexander III of Macedon, are symbols of the Square, which leave a significant mark on the square, as well as on city's identity. The respondent's opinions reflect that. The data presented in Table n.3, show that most of the surveyed agreed with this view. The largest percentage of respondents who disagreed or did not share the opinion belonged to respondents from the Roma and Albanian communities.

We continue the analysis with data related to the respondents view for Porta Macedonia located on the Pella Square.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	47.1
Agree	33.9
Do not have an opinion	11.3
Disagree	3.9
Totally disagree	3.9
Total	100

*Table n.4: Porta Macedonia is a part of the city's urban identity.*

Porta Macedonia as an object represents an identity symbol of the City of Skopje, engraved in the memory of the citizens of the city primarily on the three major state and city celebrations, like the great achievements of the Macedonian athletes, it is also the Gate through which Pope Francis passed during his visit in 2019. The data presented in Table n.4, shows that the surveyed consider Porta Macedonia an identity symbol of the downtown core.

The Stone Bridge of the Vardar River is also included in the identity analysis of the city. It is one of the most important and oldest identity symbols. The bridge connects the Square with the Old Bazaar. The respondents consider the Stone Bridge to be one of the city's most important symbols. For them, it is a bridge that its known throughout history for

connecting the different cultures and ethnicities, a bridge to build coexistence and tolerance, but also a place marked in the Macedonian history.

The Old Skopje Bazaar is a symbol of the multicultural life and coexistence that has existed for centuries. The rich historical heritage, the old Macedonian architecture as well as the religious buildings and hammams' have marked the centuries-old presence of the Ottomans in Macedonia and Skopje. Table n.5 shows the data related to the meaning and the role of the Old Skopje Bazaar as a symbol of the city.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	56.8
Agree	39.4
Do not have an opinion	2.6
Disagree	1.3
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

*Table n.5: The Old Bazaar is an identity symbol of the multiculturalism in the city.*

The majority of the surveyed have a positive attitude towards the identity symbols in the Old Bazaar. Most of them, regardless of their nationality, are perceiving it as a place where the city's multi-cultural and multiethnic coexistence is most striking.

Table n.6 shows that the Millennium Cross on Vodno Mountain is also a part of the city's identity

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	42.3
Agree	45.2
Do not have an opinion	10.3
Disagree	10.3
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

*Table n.6: The Millennium Cross on Vodno Mountain is a symbol of the identity of the city.*

Cultural models were also included in the analysis of the identity of the city of Skopje. Macedonian culture is the most dominant in creating the city's culture mark, but the Albanian and Roma cultures also have a significant input, which is especially noticeable in the larger ethnically homogenized areas.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	46.1
Agree	48.1
Do not have an opinion	5.8
Disagree	/

Totally disagree	/
Total	100

Table n.7: The urban space identity is tightly linked to the cultural model of the population.

According to the data, presented in the Table n.7, it is evident that the opinions of the surveyed residents are closely linked to the cultural model of the population living in the city.

The Macedonian National Theater is crucial for the Macedonian culture. The new theater, located on the left bank of the Vardar River, awakens the older Skopjans' memories. The New Theatre is a reproduction of the Old one. It is a building that is a copy of the "lost" National Theatre, that went down in history after the catastrophic 1963 earthquake. The new theater has a symbolic connection between the pre-earthquake identity and today's urban identity of the city.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	38.4
Agree	41.6
Do not have an opinion	15.5
Disagree	4.5
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

Table n.8: The building of the Macedonian National Theatre is an identity symbol of the city

When it comes to the building of the Macedonian National Theatre, the impressions of the surveyed population are quite positive. The majority of the respondents, more precisely, 80%, agree that the New theatre is an identity symbol of the city, however 20% of the respondents do not have an opinion (15.5%), or do not agree (4.5%). Such a high percentage is assumed to be a result of the different opinions of the respondents regarding the "Skopje 2014" project.

The devastating earthquake that happened on July 26, 1963 is deeply embedded in the urban memory of the citizens of Skopje. It is quite symbolic that the clock at the Old Railway Station – today the Museum of the city of Skopje, shows the exact time when the earthquake took place - 05.17 am. The Old Railway Station testify about the vibrant urban life in the city's core. In the past, the Old Railway Station was connecting the North Macedonia with the outer world, and today, as a museum, it is connecting the citizens us on a cultural level.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	63.2
Agree	34.8
Do not have an opinion	1.0

Disagree	1.0
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

*Table n.9: The Old Railway Station-Museum of the city of Skopje is a fragment of the urban memory and identity of the city.*

Data presented in Table n.9, shows that the majority of the surveyed, almost 100%, think that this particular symbol is a fragment of the urban memory and identity of the city. Although we cannot ignore the opinions of some of the respondents who think that the intense construction of buildings in its vicinity is now “suffocating” the Museum of the City of Skopje.

The identity story of a city would not be complete without the part that points to the cultural and art events of the city. One of the most famous events taking place in the city of Skopje, which is globally known, is the Skopje Jazz Festival.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	56.5
Agree	32.6
Do not have an opinion	6.8
Disagree	4.2
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

*Table n.10: Skopje Jazz Festival is a fragment of the urban identity of the City.*

The majority of the respondents agree with the fact that the Skopje Jazz Festival is a real opportunity to bring life to the city in terms of getting closer to the world-renowned jazz names.

The urban identity story of the City of Skopje is enriched through the role and significance of the sports collectives. The analysis included the most famous sport team in the city, the double European handball champion Vardar, a distinctive brand by which the city of Skopje is known on a global level.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	55.8
Agree	28.7
Do not have an opinion	11.6
Disagree	3.9
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

*Table n.11: HC Vardar is a symbol of the city of Skopje.*

The data presented in the Table n.11 shows that the majority of respondents, regardless of their nationality, agree that HC Vardar is an important brand and the part of the identity of the City of Skopje.

The demolition of individual houses and the building of residential blocks in the downtown area are changing, not only the identity of the city, but also the last remnants of traditional neighborhood life that are disappearing. That also brings vanishing of the closeness, solidarity, and mutual understanding, and is simultaneously opening the door to the already growing alienation among residents. The globalization enhances these processes even further.

Attitude	Percentage
Totally agree	52.3
Agree	34.2
Do not have an opinion	10.6
Disagree	2.9
Totally disagree	/
Total	100

*Table n.12: Under the influence of the values of the process of globalization we are facing changes in the identity of the city of Skopje.*

From the data presented in Table n.12, it is evident that most of the respondents agree that the process of globalization initiates changes in the urban identity of the city.

## CONCLUSION

Skopje is a city rich with the symbolic elements that build its identity. They can be, analytically, divided into two groups: symbols that can be seen from all around the city, like: The Millennium Cross on Vodno Mountain and the Kale Fortress, and the symbols that can be observed in the immediate vicinity, like: the monuments, museums, churches and monasteries, Old Skopje Bazaar, Matka Canyon, the Zoo etc. Also, the city has the architectural buildings that have existed in the central core for more than a century, recounting the architectural history of the city between the two world wars, and are still part of the city's identity.

The research aimed to examine what are the most important features of the city of Skopje identity, and what is prevalent among the citizens in terms of the urban symbols. It is evident that most of the respondents are focused on several landmarks of the city, such as the Kale Fortress, Stone Bridge, Old Skopje Railway Station, as well as the Old Skopje Bazaar.

The post-socialist period, as well as the accelerated but unplanned urbanization, leads to a visible suffocation of the city, which causes the urban “stress” in various segments (lack of parking space, frequent traffic jams in the residential zones, lack of parks, hiking trails, bicycle trails, etc.). Such accelerated urbanization leads to the loss of one of the basic features of city’s identity and life. This is confirmed in the most beautiful neighborhoods in Skopje such as: Debar Maalo, Madzermal, Topaana, and alike. The Skopje city core is packed with hotels and monuments, as the parts of the “Skopje 2014” project, that are met with different reactions in the public. However, the city core including the new monuments, that refers to the nearer and more distant Macedonian history, speak about the multiethnic character of Macedonia, but also about the multiethnic and multi-confessional Skopje.

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## METACODE OF MODERNISM: NOVI SAD THE MODERN CITY

**Abstract:** Reading the identity of Novi Sad through architectural heritage prevails the position of Novi Sad in the group of mid-European cities, whose built-up areas are mainly connected with the stylistic determinants characteristic for the period of the 18th and 19th centuries in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The basis of this view in spatial terms could be easily found in the historical core of the city, as well as in the individual landmark points, such as the Petrovaradin fortress with its suburb, the Town Hall or the Name of Mary church. Even though Novi Sad experienced its largest expansion in spatial and demographic terms with modernization after the Second World War, when it was planned and infrastructurally established as the city we know today, in terms of identity, the key references remain in the already mentioned spatial and time determinants. We can find the reasons for this view in the unfinished and not absorbed modernization of the city and society, the radical rejection of the political and social system that was the carrier of this process, but also a short time distance compared to the framework of the history of the city. In the post-socialist context, negative consequences of transition are noticeable in the aspects of the generic, not thought-out and non-contextual development of the city. While using the exact data, statistical parameters, as well as reading the textual function of the city, this paper has the ambition to position the city's modernist code in the "genetic sequence" of Novi Sad's identity. The consideration of Novi Sad as a city that is significantly identified with the modernist building heritage in the contemporary context has the intention to help achieve correct valorisation of this heritage, preservation and future transformations, as well as to establish another fundamental determinant which future strategic planning can rely on, as well as to overcome the problems of the post-socialist city in transition.

**Keywords:** Novi Sad, urban identity, modern code, modern city, Modernist heritage

### NOVI SAD - THE CITY

Observing and evaluating architecture from the period of socialist Yugoslavia inevitably involves the question of the influence social ideology has on the built environment. The reasons for this are multiple. First of all, the newly introduced social order rested on the foundations of a socialist society, which meant that most of the construction production was financed precisely from state funds. This fact points to the clear influence of the state on what is the domain of architectural activity; this made architecture a reflection of the political,

social and economic developments of the young socialist state. The war-ravaged country was rebuilt on the basis of new social-economic orientations, and the result of these efforts soon began to reflect the values of the architecture of Modernism or, global architectural phenomenon - International style. The establishment of such an architectural course in the former country set Yugoslav architecture apart from the consideration of post-war modernism, since it was practiced in a socialist country, but also of Soviet realism. In this respect, there is a significant discrepancy between what is commonly held opinion about the social relations behind Modernism, as well as the architectural language that expresses socialism. The works of Yugoslav architecture rest on the modernist tradition or, more precisely, “on the ideology of social modernization and the construction of a new social reality - through careful programming of architecture for new social functions created through a revolutionary moment” (Konstantinović, 2014:87).

The post-war reconstruction of the country, industrialization and modernization were carried out according to these principles, enabling the urban expansion of cities, and especially of administrative centres, such as Novi Sad. The urban remodelling of the city, initiated and supported by the industrialization of the area, rested on a very radical urban scheme, which was supposed to provide urban capacity for concentration, but also a break with the traditional city matrix, introducing a new identity pattern - the modern city. This idea was not entirely new, because "Modernism came to Novi Sad from the river Danube" (Jakšić Subić, 2019) even before World War II, reaffirming its presence on the ceremonial Boulevard of Queen Mary, through a series of modern or proto-modern buildings, scattered along the front. Post-war Modernism, however, began its development by "inscribing" the Boulevard of October 23<sup>rd</sup> into the city matrix, from the Danube, in the south, and from the new Railway station building, on its north end. Thus, Novi Sad became a playground for a new, modern urban practice, which will give way space and outline new housing, with the highest standards, and which will realize the visions of the pre-war participants of the urban competition for the Regulatory Plan of Novi Sad, from 1937, when Pantović, Najdhart and others brought fresh ideas from the Le Corbusier's and Behrens' bureaus and incorporated them into the maps of their competition entries (Blagojević, 2007:30-31).

### **NOVI SAD - CENTRAL EUROPEAN CITY**

Today's image of the city in official cultural and tourism policies is based on highlighting the European dimension of the city and its geographical affiliation to the Central

European area. The main determinants of the city's identity are the Petrovaradin fortress and the urban city core "characterized by baroque, neo-renaissance, classicistic, and Bauhaus buildings" (Novi Sad- Tourism Organisation (a) n.d.). This definition of the predominant determinant of the Novi Sad space, halted the development of the city in the 1930s, when Novi Sad began to define general contours of its urban environment by constructing facilities for the fulfilment of its Banate capital function. The "Bauhaus" label may well be to include buildings of this period, such as the Ban's Palace (Banovina), in the official tourist offer, although the reflections of the Bauhaus on this building, as well as all others from that period, are indirect and fragmented.

Further acquaintance with the architecture of Novi Sad introduces the term "modernist framework", citing a wide central Novi Sad Boulevard of modernly designed contours that still radiates the propinquity of the socialist period", where the qualitative architectural determinant of this space is left to the visitor. The ultimate destination for tourists, via this wide road, is "a mixture of multi-ethnic architectural milieu typical of central Europe dating back to the 19th century and the early beginning of the 20th century. The urban city core is determined by towers and domes of protestant churches, Greek-Catholic church, Synagogues, Roman Catholic and Orthodox temples" (Novi Sad- Tourism Organisation (b) n.d.) In this way, a selection of objects representing the Novi Sad area was formed, precisely from the collection of eclecticism of the 19th and early 20th centuries, where Banovina is mentioned as "representative" of the city's modern past, along with, quite unexpectedly, SPENS - sport and recreation facility from the very end of the socialist period, which was recently in the epicentre of the media debate regarding its demolition.

The Central European dimension of Novi Sad is also set as the strategy of the NEW BRIDGE, a programme chapter of the City's Application Form for the European Capital of Culture. Within this strategic orientation, the main focus is on heritage and hospitality, where the theme of the Petrovaradin Fortress stands out as a separate topic, apart from mobilizing the citizens in the reconstruction of the townhouses of national entities. "All activities are aimed at protecting the Fortress as a symbol of Novi Sad and part of Europe's cultural heritage" (Европска престоница културе, 2015: 52), which views the European dimension solely through belonging to the nineteenth-century context of the Austro-Hungarian space and the collection of fortifications that are being scattered around its former territory. The investigation of Other identities, as a chance "to overcome the CONFUSION of our fragmented history and censored mentality" is left to personal initiatives, and other Capitals of Cultures, whose concepts are "fully acknowledging (our) past and thus shaping (our)

present” through the investigation of “unifying identity”, which considers their contested, but existing identities, which shaped the environment of the city (“Kaunas – European Capital of Culture 2022” Final Bid Book, p.2).

The official website of the city treats the issue of architecture solely as a matter of particular buildings, spaces and monuments, and presents a very modest collection, which seems to be considered basically according to the importance of the institutions situated in buildings and their cultural offer of the city. Any reference to the qualitative presentation of the city as a built environment was not included. Such approaches to the city's official cultural and tourism policies raise the issue of identity selection, as a socio-political construct for the purposes of mediating a particular agenda. As Ignjatovic states, "any identity [is] a social construction that society develops and uses for processes of self-identification and maintenance of symbolic and utilitarian functions." (Ignjatović, 2007:12) In addition, identity is "politically motivated knowledge" that is created by the efforts of institutions which mediate valid ideology through their actions and translate it into systems of knowledge and experience that define culture. In this way, one can also view architecture as a symbolic system of "permanent" structures, by which this constructed knowledge is represented, still being upgraded with its interpretations within the same pretext. In the context of this analysis, it is a matter of selecting "desirable" identities resulting from the crisis of society and resorting to historicism, but also unresolved "relations" to the period of socialism, which is "responsible" for the prevailing modernist stratum of the city. Deviating from that part of the past, in a result means deviation from that part of the built environment.

If we talk about identity, as a category, that is, a social mechanism, its basic characteristics can be defined as following (Ignjatović, 2007: 18):

- each identity establishes equality of a social entity with itself, that is, expresses equality and identity; thus, developing a state of belonging to a certain identity, which is very important for establishing recognizable identity patterns;
- identity is “the totality of indicators that serve to differentiate one person or phenomenon from another”; this means that the establishment of each identity requires the existence of an "other", understood as a general totality or opposite, in relation to which the "first" identity stands out.

In relation to this, it is also possible to speak of recognising an architectural *oeuvre* acceptable to the city's multiethnic and multicultural society, which emphasizes its European dimension. It is particularly important to point out here that the extra-national and international character of modern architecture was its determining character which allowed it

to become the base of the architectural post-war Yugoslav *oeuvre*, seen as the solution for the harmonisation of national cultures and traditions. Today, however, the (undoubted) European dimension of the environment is emphasized by the acquisition of a recognized 19th century Central European identity, which stands out as defining. In these efforts - to highlight the right path, beyond nationalist tendencies and global "blending" - the socialist period modern architecture is left out of consideration for a repository of positive examples and models.

### NOVI SAD - MODERN(IST) CITY

*“A national expression, on the other hand, is, at its highest, the expression of consolidation. This is because a nation is a people consolidated. The purpose of a national architecture is to further unite people as citizens. Since the nation is essentially a symbol, a national architecture must provide an image of the qualities the nation it symbolizes”*

*Harwell Hamilton Harris (1965:29)*

Novi Sad is one of the few cities in the region that boasts the fact that it has been continuously regulated for nearly a century by professional planning documents. Ever since 1920, the development of Novi Sad was guided by various planning documents, although this continuity of plans did not always bring about the evolutionary development of the city. The waves of discontinuity on which this space has been located for the past 100 years have also clearly reflected on the space of the City, which is largely layered and contradictory due to the cross-expressions of different social, economic and political systems. The development of the city in the 20th century in this sense brings about the greatest urban transformations, on the foundations of modern architecture and urbanism, which are being established as the basic definition of this process. The question of the identity of Yugoslav post-war architecture is based on the "construction" of the meaning of modern language, with its "accumulated symbolic values (...) along with a system of fundamental information about the context in which was created, and " which was then delivered to history"(Konstantinović & Jović, 2018: 114) . The iconography of architectural production was not taken over or "constructed" through the scientific and historical explication of such a process (which was, for example, the case of socialist realism), but was already established - modernist - iconography "transcoded" for the purposes of a national cultural construct.

Establishing the thesis that Novi Sad is a predominantly modern city is based on a series of quantitative and qualitative indicators, which first of all states that Novi Sad

achieved its urban potential precisely and thanks to the intensive process of modernization, which enabled the concentration of the population, industrialization and the infrastructural basis for the urban development. In this sense, it is possible to analyze the spaces of production, the drivers of these changes; the spaces where the standards of living were established, in the field of housing, leisure, culture and urban life, which are certainly Novi Sad's boulevards; but also spaces for living, in terms of the most massive construction activity of the post-war period - residential architecture. These topics are the most indicative for examining and presenting all the relevant indicators of the radical urban remodelling that transformed Novi Sad into a capital, an administrative headquarter, a regional centre and a modern city.

### **Places for production**

The relocation and repositioning of industry and production is one of the most successful urban processes in the spatial transformation of Novi Sad. The first regulation plans in 1948 and 1949 already noted the unfavourable and scattered location of industrial plants in the city and the beginning of the idea of the concentration of the industry. However, we should keep in mind the initial position of the city's industry in general in the period after World War II. "The low level of economic development and the aftermath of the war years resulted in 60% of the unemployed citizens in Novi Sad in 1946. The main occupation of the population was agricultural production (13%), while industrial workers were only 4%, which gave Novi Sad the characteristics of a rural settlement." (Velimir Banjanin, et.al, 1996:65) This position influenced the modest planning of industrial development in the General urban plan (later in text abr. GUP) in 1950. The plan begins to establish two industrial zones - along the future DTD channel and in the northeast of the city, on the Petrovaradin side. Novi Sad is planned as a "medium industrial city" with 10-15% of the population employed in the industry. This wrong prediction tells the truth that no plan can completely predict exactly what is going on in one city's life. On the wings of widespread post-war enthusiasm, the great industrialization of the whole country and the average growth rate of the Yugoslav economy of 6.5% in the period 1950-1960, (Miodrag Nikolić, 2017:53) the industry development exceeded all expectations of the GUP 1950. In the mid-1950s, industrial production accounted for the majority of Novi Sad GDP, and in "the period from 1957 to 1960, the number of employees in the industrial sector of Novi Sad increased for about 3900 persons

annually, which is faster than the annual growth of the active population.” (Velimir Banjanin, et.al, 1996:66).

This resulted in a significant correction of the space intended for industry and in the GUP 1963: the area intended for industry was doubled. The extent of the city's industrialization can be summed up in the following fact: "according to the GUP 1974, the planned area of the city has almost tripled, while the planned area intended for production has increased six times compared to the plan from 1950."(Svetlana Vuković, 1982:9)

Logically, the development of the industry also influenced the increase in population, but it became first and foremost a strong motive for the huge infrastructural changes in the city. The relocation of the industry is directly linked to the relocation of the railway route, the construction of the Žeželj Bridge and the main railway station, the construction of the DTD canal - leaving behind the premises for the development of Liman and significant facilities such as SPENS, located at the former Novkabel plant site. Also, Novkabel and other big companies have been the bearers of social and economic development of Novi Sad for decades, and their existence has changed the structure of the population, making Novi Sad a significant industrial centre that reached the height of sophisticated industry in the 1980s, with the advent of the first IT facility in the tower of Novkabel, which we can observe as the proto-site of the city's IT industry. Although this process is completely in line with the hardcore modernist theory of zoning, in the case of Novi Sad this decision was based on correct logic, rightly described by Vladimir Braca Music - "Industry sought urban concentration of the population and later the city sought the concentration of industry."(Vladimir Braca Mušić, 1980)

In the 1980s, post-Fordist processes also engulfed Novi Sad, which began to abandon its secondary industry and turn to the tertiary industry - services, which seemed to herald the collapse of the socialist economic system and the turn towards a market economy. This is especially evident in the plans for Mišeluk, where the urbo-economic model suggests the return of small crafts, service development and the "*Courbis type b* industry whose location is determined by demand and itself seeks specialized services of researchers, marketing, design and similar activities"(Vladimir Braca Mušić, 1980); in fact, this is the initial form of the creative industry recognized far back in 1980.

### **Boulevards – new standards of city life**

One of the key political decisions in the history of the city is the establishment of Novi Sad as the administrative centre of the Danube Banate. This decision generated the rapid development of the city, which was immediately interrupted by the war. However, even in the new political system, the idea of Novi Sad as the centre of the region remains in place and all planning documents followed this decision. We can say that this was the universal justification for very brave, radical and even controversial urban moves. Novi Sad as the capital city of (S.) A.P. Vojvodina became a training ground where all the glories and mistakes of modernization carried by the new socio-political order will be seen. The title of “capital city” was a precondition for Novi Sad to become a significant industrial place, obtain the University campus, a network of cultural facilities, public facilities and proper infrastructure for this kind of city.

One of the most radical decisions was changing the traffic scheme from a radial to an orthogonal one. Although at the time of anticipation of the GUP in 1954 Novi Sad had up to several thousand cars, this plan envisaged the route of two completely new large boulevards with several lanes. The idea of tracing those directions directly to the Danube was correctly based on the projections of the city's growth. We can be aware of the radical moves only when we look at the archival footage of the construction of October 23rd Boulevard (today known as the Boulevard of Liberation).

The idea of the parallel boulevards (nowadays known as the Boulevard of Mihajlo Pupin, the Boulevard of Liberation and the Boulevard of Europe) connecting the highway in the north to the south exit of the city via Fruška Gora was established by the GUP in 1950 and has not changed significantly to this day. From a historical distance we can be honest and say that in addition to the justified need for the modernization and development of the city, these Boulevards were used for political and social confrontation with the pre-war political system. Thus, the extension of the former Boulevard of Queen Mary (also known as the Red Army and Maršal TitoBlv.), now called Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard, in addition to the new traffic logic of the bypass around the central city square, also meant a representation of the state of power. With this extension, a series of administration buildings continued, ending with another symbol of the state - the Post Office, which completed a series of vertical benchmarks from the Fort to the city centre. Nothing was to stand in the way of the realization of this idea, and a series of unnecessary demolitions of the old urban matrix can be

symbolically condensed in the demolition of the Armenian Church, which is to this day one of the most controversial urban decisions of this period.

If the extension of Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard meant "reckoning" with the previous political system, the Boulevard of October 23rd, was a cut intended to put the working class at the centre of urbanization and as a key factor in society. This meant the transition from individual housing on plots, with clear ownership, to socially owned collective housing, consequently minimizing the remaining class enemies – peasants, landowners and the bourgeoisie. The October 23rd Boulevard was a clear manifestation of the new social order. In the GUP of 1950, this space was conceived as a classic "ceremonial" axis with a new main train station at one end and a stadium at the other. At its centre - (at the intersection with Jevrejska and Futoška Street -) a new city centre was planned, along with several vertical landmarks and "gates". Interestingly, according to the original idea, this boulevard did not cross the Danube and only the GUP of 1974 foresees the current Bridge of Liberation (previously known as October 23rd Bridge). Until then, only the bridge along the Boulevard of Europe was planned, which has not yet been completed.

Despite the radical nature of these interventions and some undoubtedly problematic decisions which followed the construction process, establishing these boulevard systems and breaking up the radial network is one of the key aspects of the modernization of Novi Sad and the precondition for urbanization that will socially and spatially create the picture of Novi Sad that we recognize today. We could compare this process with the process of the creation of the Ring around Vienna's historic core or Haussmann's Boulevards in Paris. Common to both was, in fact, a spatial response to the need for the growing middle class to show their political authority, authentic identity and set new standards of living in the city space. Paradoxically, this process, which is one of the key pillars of the capitalist city, was being realized in Novi Sad by the communist political apparatus, which gives this transformation a sort of specificity. This is not surprising, however, if we realistically look at the social parameters in the history of the City. The significant industrialization of Novi Sad after the Second World War allowed for a greater concentration of the population, but also the creation of a new social class which worked in the industry and which needed its own space in the city. The boulevards thus became one of the most significant spaces of working-class urban life, which brought new standards of housing, education and the services which followed them.

## **New housing**

Although we cannot measure the level of a city's urbanity solely by its size, population and number of residential buildings, at least, in psychological terms, these parameters can define the difference between a rural and an urban settlement. Analysis of the population shows that Novi Sad's population was around 70,000 people in the pre-war period and reached 40,000 inhabitants at the end of the war. Already in 1961 Novi Sad reached the number of 155,685 inhabitants. We associate this demographic boom with the intense industrialization and urbanization of the entire state and of Novi Sad itself. After 1961, the population increased linearly and almost equally over the coming decades and, according to the 1971 census, it amounted to 206,821. In 1981 it was 250,138 and in 1991 it was 265,464 inhabitants. According to the last official census from 2011, Novi Sad had 341,228 citizens (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia). This data shows that Novi Sad has increased its population almost 10 times since the end of World War II. A significant concentration of the population also required a significant expansion of the urbanized area of the city. Considering that Novi Sad is largely fringed by the Danube, which created wetlands on large areas adjacent to the historic city centre, new urban spaces needed to be "conquered" and acquired from nature. The embankment, ditching, drainage and soil filling were prerequisites for the development of new residential areas. Such "conquered" territories have always represented ideal training grounds for the implementation of various urban strategies.

By the same logic, before the war, Novi Sad got the first fully planned urbanized part of the city - Mali Liman. The GUP in 1950 established residential zones that were consistently implemented and elaborated in the GUP in 1963 and 1974. The outflow of Novi Sad on the Danube along the Belgrade Quay and across Liman was already foreseen with the first GUP. Due to the very high population growth in the decade after the war, it was necessary to build enough housing units in a very short time. In the period between the plans in 1950 and 1974, "11,019 dwellings were built in 5 macro locations: Liman (1969) (3,253 dwellings), the train station area (4,164 dwellings), Detelinara (1958-1968) (2,180 dwellings), New settlement on Futoški Road (1958-1966) (772 apartments) and Belgrade Quay (650 apartments)." (Velimir Banjanin, et.al, 1996:81)

In the following decades, construction continued on these locations. The plan from 1974, which, at the height of the city's economic development, envisioned the transition (return) of the city to the other side of the Danube. With this plan, Mišeluk became a zone of priority for the expansion of the city. We can say that the idea of creating a new part of the

city in this area is the peak of self-confidence and expertise of urban planners in Novi Sad, but also the biggest failure that, we must admit, was mostly caused by the political, social and economic collapse of Yugoslavia. In the 1990s, instead of a planned expansion of Mišeluk, Novi Sad went in the other direction unplanned, largely as a result of the mechanical influx of war-affected populations.

Most of the housing at that time was defined by social ownership and financed by state housing funds. Common ownership and allocation of apartments to different social categories, regardless of material and social status, has contributed to great social diversity in all parts of the city. In this way, the city defended itself against the creation of "elite" settlements and the spatial separation of different social groups. All contemporary research points to the positive aspects of this situation in cities. Also, this type of housing, not only in Novi Sad, is characterized by the establishment of quality spatial standards both at the level of the apartment unit and at the level of urban blocks. All these residential buildings were realized with the full consent of the urban plans, and the largest number of them were conceptually researched through a series of urban-architectural competitions. "There were several urban-architectural competitions organized for obtaining the most favourable solutions for residential buildings and building blocks and for public buildings of general city significance. The institution of the competition in this period was especially nurtured, as it was considered that architects outside this area should be interested in the process of designing important public buildings and spaces. In this way, professional cooperation was established, knowledge and experience were gained referencing the development of Yugoslav and world thoughts in urban and architectural design." (Velimir Banjanin, et.al, 1996:81) By observing different residential zones, we can see the evolution of knowledge and the concentration of experiences of urbanists who have implemented and questioned different urban theories and strategies over the decades. Thus, from the initial layout of typical buildings that were a quick response to the large shortage of apartments, through the hardcore implementation of the Athens Charter in the Liman area, the practice evolved to semi-closed blocks in Novo Naselje, as a response to the noticeable disadvantages of the realized residential areas. This was primarily due to the lack of supporting facilities, vanishing of urbanity through the loss of public spaces such as streets, but also to the standard of living in residential buildings with a large number of housing units. Thus, the GUP from 1985 formally declared this need as follows: "In areas of predominant housing use, the obligation to introduce the contents of the local centre and related facilities (children's institutions, primary schools, nursing homes; supply, catering, services, social space, etc.), with the

possibility of introducing other facilities, primarily work activities that are not contrary to the purpose of the dwelling."(Velimir Banjanin, et.al, 1996:90). Also, the introduction of formal and informal floor restrictions to the maximum of 5 to 6 floors were an attempt to improve the situation. As mentioned above, the competition for Mišeluk as well as the complete study related to this area, represented the most mature stage of Novi Sad's urbanism. In this case, a specific, original solution was explored for one large urban space with a clear ideological premise –A self-governing city. Although unrealized, the quality and standard of this process is something that needs to be reinstated in today's urban planning.

Unfortunately, the transition and market economics have influenced us to move from urbanism based on qualitative spatial parameters to urban planning based on quantitative parameters of the amounts and price of square meters. This has brought tremendous changes both at the level of individual buildings and at the planning level, which has caused the urban mess that we live in today. One comparative data can explain the difference in motives for urban development in the SFRY and the period of the past 30 years. According to the 1991 census, Novi Sad had 85,537 apartments with 265,464 inhabitants, while according to the latest census in 2011, it had 344,628 apartments and 341,228 inhabitants.(Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia) Thus, there was about a 28% increase of the population, while the number of apartments was increased by 80%. Trends like this have continued in the last decade. Although today's hyper-production of residential properties is justified by demographics, the reality and all statistical parameters speak differently. The answer to this difference lies in the extremely active real estate market, which is mainly due to economic parameters. Considering that the demographic trends do not show a significant increase of population in the forthcoming period (estimates are that Novi Sad will have from minus 20,000 to plus 40,000 inhabitants in 2040), there is no demographic reason for new city growth. It seems that new modernization will be based on the reinvention of the existing urban structures, mostly created in the post-war period.

### UNABSORBED MODERNISATION

*"Our blocks and towers and new boulevards are not really aesthetic artefacts that tourists will visit, and their ambient charm is unlikely to feature either old-town or turbo folk songs. However, it might make sense to look realistically at what the space and the houses they eliminated looked like, so as not to be exhausted on the wrong problem, while something significantly eluded us." - Vladimir Macura (Velimir Banjanin, et.al, 1996:55)*

In a survey of citizens of Novi Sad, in 1981, for the purpose of the Study of central functions during the planning of the Mišeluk settlement, the second reference building mentioned by the citizens was the Post office, work of the architect Dragiša Brašovan (Karapešić, et.al, 1982: 187-188). This building is an integral part of the remodelling project of the Marshal Tito Boulevard (nowadays Mihajlo Pupin), in whose vista it was placed, when coming from the direction of Petrovaradin. For citizens, it represents the identity marker, spatial and symbolic reference of the city in which they live and in which they move. Also, the building is a symbol of the program of social modernization and acquired social standards, economic growth and infrastructure development (telecommunication systems), which unambiguously becomes a feature of the city. As Dovey points out, the grounding of architecture in the reality of social relations makes that precisely these relationships give the final meaning to the built form (Dovey, 1999, 193). Hence, it is possible to speak of "programmed communication", which is an upgrade of the programmatic conception, implemented at the spatial level, and a form of an established way of understanding the built environment, in social and cultural terms (Tafari,1979,160). The shape of the tower thus became not only a spatial dominant, but a symbol of progress and development, which enabled it to be realized.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia has raised many questions about dealing with the legacies of the Yugoslav past and has produced a crisis of identity for nations outside the Yugoslav corpus of ideologies. The social contextualization of architectural practice is the basis of its meaningfulness. Instead of "drawing on ideological intentions from the imagination" (Ito, 1996: 22), architecture is an act of honest and critical reaction to the social context. In this respect, the question of the understanding of Yugoslav architecture, whose program and social functions are significantly relativized by the fact that the system in which it was created suffered a breakdown and the state - whose unity it reflected - fell apart. This change of the context raised a number of concerns about the comprehension of this heritage - architectural pieces, but also entire urban environments.

However, a much more significant process seems to be the internal perception of the complex corpus of "contemporary socialist architecture" and the determination of its contribution to the establishment of the **modern architectural tradition**. So far, a particularly shaped attitude towards the socialist past has also determined the approach to the valorisation of architecture. In this way, the "ideological pressure" of the socialist past determined the approach to these works - their stylistic categorization through analytics full of prejudice or superficial classification into one of the existing niches. In this fact lies the

basic problem of choosing the right approach: the exclusion of the Yugoslav architectural oeuvre outside the corpus of ideologies deprives it of its basic quality - social meaning, while considering it in these same frames in some cases diverts it from contemporary acceptance in the complex conditions of post-Yugoslav times.

Detecting, systematizing and valorising the legacy of the architecturally most exuberant period of the state's past is a possible starting point for the perception and understanding of "the truth about us." (Richter, 1961: 19) This process is significant for an essential understanding of the streams of architectural traditions, only through which the line of its continuity can be established. Here, we are not referring to the application of the architectural styles of the previous period, but rather to the continuity of the progressive role of architecture, which improves the built environment, and the nurturing of such phenomena in architecture that modernizes life.

Today, recognition of the modernist code is not present in the official conceptions of urban and cultural politics, but, paradoxically, in the identity visualizations of certain social groups, for which the buildings of the modern period represent a framework for the realization of their own tradition. Thus, on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the FK Vojvodina's *ultras*, they used a billboard on which SPENS was highlighted as a reference point of their existence in terms of time and space. Although the tradition of the club to which this group of supporters is tied is much longer, and related to the football stadium in the immediate vicinity of SPENS, in this case this particular building is recognized as a symbol of the city, or unequivocal identification of Novi Sad. In the city's official policies, this symbol is "transcoded" into a symbol of a failed state and regime.

Today's image of the architecture of our environment points to a strong contextual detachment and reflection of society without the idea of self. Exploring new architecture is, as Vidler points out, an exploration of *new modernity*, which would "continue to address the questions of the present with the imagination of an avant-garde stance, but now with the wisdom of hindsight, and a long history of the modern on which to rely on" (Vidler, 2005: 217). A contextual critical review of the "blind spots" of one's own built environment, where Yugoslav architecture is an understood and valued phenomenon, considered not as a model of artistic interpretation of an International style, but a form of substantive programmatic architectural grounding, can give a clue to Summerson's "missing language" (Summerson, 1990) and become a starting point of architectural tradition that promotes the values of life.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The paper was done within the project “Technical and Technological Condition and Potentials of Community Cultural Centre Buildings in the Republic of Serbia” (No. TR36051), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

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## TWO MODERNIST BUILDINGS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DOUBLE TRANSITION - RADNIČKI DOM AND SOKOLSKI DOM IN NOVI SAD, SERBIA

**Abstract:** During the period between the two World Wars, after Vojvodina joined the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, with the city being the capital of the Danube Banate, the beginning of Novi Sad's modernisation was initiated. It was characterised by a strong urban development, with the construction of numerous public, cultural and residential buildings amongst which were the first examples of Modernist architecture in Novi Sad. The specific appearance of today's Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard was created, as a series of modernist buildings with different functions, with the Building of the Danube Banate (1940) and Radnički dom (1931) designed by the architect Dragiša Brašovan, as well as the Home of the Novi Sad Trade youth (1931) designed by Đorđe Tabaković, along with his other project, the building of Sokolski dom (1935) near the Boulevard standing out.

However, two buildings from this group, which stand out due to their specific programs – Radnički dom and Sokolski dom have undergone a series of different physical, ownership and organisational changes while going through two transitional periods (transitioning from the Kingdom to socialist Yugoslavia and entering the post-socialist transition afterwards). Today, Radnički dom „Svetozar Marković“ – the building used by the Alliance of Independent Trade Unions of Novi Sad, has become fragmented, reconfigured and is partly rented-out, due to the fact that its primary function has become “out-of-date”. Although it is protected on a certain level as heritage, the lack of investment is leading to its continued devastation. On the other hand, the building of Sokolski dom is still functioning and fulfilling its original sporting function, even though the concept of “sokolstvo” (a Czech system of gymnastics practice, with the Society based on the ideas behind the French Revolution – freedom, equality and fraternity) is outside the focus in this day and age. Nevertheless, the building itself was divided, whereby a part of it houses the Novi Sad Youth Theatre, with problems in communication between these two institutions.

The aim of this paper is to examine the individual processes of change that these two icons of the beginning of Novi Sad's modernisation underwent during the transitional periods, through researching their architectural, ownership and organisational (re)configurations. Both buildings belong to the valuable modernist heritage of Novi Sad, which is why it is important to raise awareness of their current condition and encourage a discussion about their future.

**Key words:** transition, Architecture, Modernism, Novi Sad, Sokolski dom, Radnički dom

## INTRODUCTION

During the period between the two world wars, after Vojvodina joined the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, with the city being proclaimed the capital of the Danube Banate, the beginning of Novi Sad's modernisation was initiated. *This new system of naming new capitals of individual Banates generated a strong zest for their urban development* (Mitrović, 2010, p. 134).

It is worth noting that *even before it became the centre of the Danube Banate, Novi Sad underwent great urban development and expansion. The landscaping of the banks of the Danube and the influx of clerks and industrial workers boosted urbanisation of the wider city centre. These activities resulted in a number of public, cultural and commercial buildings, as well as residential apartments for the new inhabitants, rendering the city truly the architecture centre of the whole Banate* (Mitrović, 2010, p. 409). However, the circumstances under which architecture was being realised changed with the configuration of the new Kingdom, which brought forward different political, economic and cultural conditions. For example, *in the previous period, the architects came from elsewhere - mostly Budapest, while between the two world wars, local architects of Vojvodinian origin educated in some of the European centres of architecture and engineering studies – Vienna, Budapest, Prague or Berlin – took the lead. This was mostly due to the fact that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes until 1929) represented the union of the southern Slav states. According to Mitrović (2010), “the new Slav state was no longer a supra-national entity, as was the Austro-Hungarian regime, which insisted on a European style not favouring any particular nationality. Although it was also a multinational creation, the new state at first supported the style of academicism. Later, however, with emerging modernism as well as the renewal of the Serbian national style, the state supported all three strands almost simultaneously, as a way of harmonising different cultures in the kingdom”* (p.410).

Even though more than one architectural style was present in Novi Sad during the period between the two world wars, *“the rise of modernism in the region coincided with the establishment of new government units, the key factor in its development could be related to changes in the very process of design and construction. [...] Buildings with flat roofs in modernist, unornamented style became the norm”* (Mitrović, 2010, p. 410).

The time period was characterised by a strong urban development, with the construction of numerous public, cultural and residential buildings amongst which were the first examples of modernist architecture in Novi Sad. The specific appearance of today's Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard was created, as a series of modernist buildings with different functions, with the buildings the

Palace of the Danube Banate (1940) and Radnički dom (1931) designed by the architect Dragiša Brašovan, as well as the Home of the Novi Sad Trade youth (1931) designed by Đorđe Tabaković, along with his other project, the building of Sokolski dom (1935) near the Boulevard standing out. The two architects represented the leading names in architecture at the time and remain to this day extremely important for the development of Novi Sad.

Since the creation of these modernist icons, Novi Sad went through numerous changes due to the shift of political regimes which first occurred after the Second World War with the formation of socialist Yugoslavia and then during and after the process of the disintegration of the SFRY by entering post-socialism. Two buildings from this aforementioned group, which stand out due to their specific programmes – Radnički dom and Sokolski dom have undergone a series of different physical, ownership and organisational changes while going through two transitional periods - transitioning from the Kingdom to socialist Yugoslavia and entering the post-socialist transition afterwards.

The aim of this paper is to examine the individual processes of change that these two icons of the beginning of Novi Sad's modernisation underwent during the transitional periods, through researching their architectural, ownership and organisational (re)configurations. Both buildings belong to the valuable interwar modernist heritage of Novi Sad, which is why it is important to raise awareness of their current condition and encourage a discussion about their future.

## 1. RADNIČKA KOMORA – THE WORKERS' CHAMBER

Radnička komora (The Workers' Chamber), represents the first building in Novi Sad that was designed by the architect Dragiša Brašovan (1887-1965), who remains to this day one of the most important modernist architects of the former Yugoslav region. The architect has made a great impact on the development of the architecture in Novi Sad, with his most significant building being the Palace of the Danube Banate (1936-1939), which is, along with the other building in the complex of the Danube Banate "*considered the most representative modernist building in Vojvodina*" (Mitrović, 2010, p. 171). Apart from these two buildings, Brašovan created a third one which is also located on the same Boulevard – the Post office building which was finished in 1962. With these three structures, which are positioned in great proximity to each other, Brašovan marked the appearance of the street front of one of the most important axes in the city's urban fabric. Since all three buildings stem from different time periods, it is possible to visually track the development of the architect's style which goes hand-in-hand with the changes that

architecture underwent due to development of the state and fluctuations in social, cultural, political and economic conditions.

We can consider the building of The Workers' Chamber to be a major turning point in Brašovan's architectural career, since it is during this project that he left historicism and accepted a new aesthetic through art-deco, heading towards modernism that we can see in his works carried out in the following years.

### 1.1. Anticipation of building

The building was intentionally commissioned for the Workers' Chamber which was established *in order to protect the moral and material interest of the workers of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia* (Savez samostalnih sindikata grada Novog Sada i opština). Generally speaking, the Workers' Chamber represents the continuation of the work and effort executed by the *workers' movement in this region which originates from the middle the XIX century* (Jovičin, 2013, str. 5). The objective of this organisation which exists today in the form of the Alliance of Independent Trade workers of Novi Sad is to assist workers and workers' associations in gaining and maintaining their rights in terms of material and moral interests.

Brašovan won the competition for the new building of the Workers' Chamber in 1929 and the building was erected soon afterwards. The workers of Novi Sad gained their own space with the creation of The Worker's Home: They obtained a place to organise Union's work, as well as activities meant for free time. Events such as concerts and theatre plays were organised in the building, and it even housed a library which was meant for their members.



Figure 1: Radnički dom, Novi Sad; Source: Graditelji Novog Sada; Available at: <https://graditeljins.wordpress.com/graditelji-info/dragisa-brasovan/brasovan-radnicki-dim/>

The corner on the intersection of today's Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard and Sonja Marinković Street dominates the entire building, emphasizing the staircase within which

is lit by natural light via the continuous vertical fenestration. The façade itself is polychromatic, with a strong contrast being made between the white surfaces and the darker brick areas. In terms of style, the building represents a mixture of expressionism, modernism and romanticism (Mitrović, 2010, p. 167). Also, Mitrović (2010) contemplates the usage of these particular materials and colour schemes, along with the entire architectural expression Brašovan created in the following way: “The façade executed in brick, with a layered accentuation of the corner, generates associations regarding to theatrical décor and scenography, which is emphasized by the sculpture made by the sculptor Toma Rosandić”(167).



*Figure 2: The sculpture "The Worker", Toma Rosandić; Source: <http://www.novisad.in.rs/2018/08/novi-sad-radnicki-dom-svetozar-markovic.html?sref=pi>*

The sculpture (Figure 2) is located on the main façade, facing the Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard. It is encompassed in the building and represents a significant visual marker, which can be linked to the impact of art-deco. The symbolic meaning of the sculpture is self-explanatory if one looks to its title: “The Worker”.



*Figure 3: Radnički dom, Novi Sad, after the adaptation; Source: <https://palmculture.eu/sr/places/radnicka-komora/>*

A wing of the building towards Sonja Marinković Street was added in 1940. The adaptation was designed by Đorđe Tabaković and it fully follows the original concept created by Brašovan. It is quite interesting to see the work of two of the most important modernist architects side-by-side in this way, especially when one had the task of continuing the other's design.

### **1.2. The First transition – from Chamber to Home**

After the Second World War, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was formed, which encompassed a new social, political and economic system. In this new set of circumstances, The Workers' Chamber kept its programme and function, but changed its name to Radnički dom "Svetozar Marković" – The Workers' Home "Svetozar Marković" in 1946. However, since the ruling ideology of the new state was socialism, the organisation had much more freedom which will reach its peak in the period of self-management socialism. The workers' rights are theoretically guaranteed in socialist Yugoslavia, so the working conditions were much better than they were prior to the war, in the period of the establishing of the initial Workers' Chamber. The building itself was well-maintained, since the idea was that workers' homes, along with so-called "cultural homes" played an important part in socialist Yugoslavia, and they represented the general well-being of the state and its citizens. The building's interior was adapted in 1982/1983 by the architect Miroslav Krstonošić (Mitrović, 1996).

### **1.3. The Second transition - Post-socialism**

Political disagreements about the organisation of the federal state after Tito's death in 1980, culminated with armed conflicts in the nineties which eventually led to the total disintegration of the Federation. A series of changes was made to the state's governing, hand-in-hand with the economic crisis that was becoming more and more serious. The state's role was reduced in almost all sectors, and private investors and institutions were gaining more and more power. One could argue that the workers' status was beginning to resemble the status and rights that they had before the Chamber was established.

As for the building of the Workers' Home, it was neglected after the socialist era, along with its programme. Radnički dom „Svetozar Marković“ has become a building which lacks its original function in its full capacity, with its many spaces being reduced to simply being offices for the employees of the Alliance of Independent Trade Unions, who are using the building

today. Its grand hall fit for performances remains empty and is occasionally rented out to interested parties. The issue lies in the maltreatment and neglect of the interior, as well as the ignorance of the broader public concerning this building's potentials.



Figure 4: The interior of Radnički dom, Novi Sad. Author: Violeta Stefanović, 2019.

Considering that we are still in the post-socialist transition concerning many spheres, it is no surprise that the state of the building has remained the same since the economic and political crises that followed the disintegration of the Federation. Regardless of the historical significance of the building and its architecture, no city or governmental institution shows interest in financing the building's maintenance and renovation. According to the members of the Alliance, the only party that invests in the building is the Alliance of Independent Trade Unions of Novi Sad, along with the municipality and they managed to carry out an architecturally problematic, but necessary renovation of the courtyard façade.



Figure 5: The interior of Radnički dom, Novi Sad. Author: Violeta Stefanović, 2019.

Nevertheless, The Workers' Home remains an iconic modernist building, albeit there is a great need for raising awareness of citizens and local governmental authorities alike in terms of its significance – both as an architectural landmark and as an important part of the cultural and historical heritage of the city of Novi Sad.

## 2. SOKOLSKI DOM (THE SOKOLS' HOME)

The building of Sokolski dom (Sokols' Home) was designed by the architect Đorđe Tabaković (1897-1971). In the opinion of Mitrović (2010), Tabaković is “*the most accomplished interwar architect of modernism in Vojvodina. [...] His gift for shaping detail and architecture structure is enriched with the use and contrast of different building materials such as artificial stone, reinforced concrete, ceramics and bricks of all kinds. His works were original contributions to the modernist tradition and not mere imitations of Western architecture, with which he was familiar. Tabaković's architecture was closely tied to Panonia and Vojvodina, but not to decorative folk style practiced by the architects of Hungarian secession*” (412).

Apart from the building of Sokols' Home, there are two significant architectural works designed by Tabaković located nearby, in the proximity of the Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard and the aforementioned Brašovan's buildings. The Home of the Novi Sad Trade Youth was built in 1931, and the Tanurdžić palace was finished in 1936. All three buildings possess the architectural expression which is characteristic for Tabaković, even though they greatly differ in form and programme. The significance of the impact that this architect had on the city of Novi Sad is confirmed by the fact that *the Association of Novi Sad architects established an award for architecture in his name in 1994, which is still being awarded annually* (Društvo arhitekata Novog Sada, n.d.).

### 1.4. The Sokol Society and its Home

The Novi Sad Sokol Society which was formed in 1905 did not have a proper “home” until the realisation of Tabaković's building. *In 1930, the Alliance of Cultural Societies of Novi Sad were in support of the idea to construct a representative “folk” Home, so the two Institutions joined their efforts* (Došen).

“Sokolstvo” represents an original system of gymnastics which was developed in the Czech Republic. It was formed as a way to fight against germanisation and was an extremely Slovene movement with the aim of reaching freedom and national unification. It spread

across all Slovene countries after its formation in 1862. Its work included physical, moral and social education and it was open to all members of the society, but focused on youth. *The programme of the Novi Sad “Soko” included not only gymnastic exercises with equipment, simple exercises, athletics and horse riding, but also other sports which were practiced through newly formed sections, such as shooting, music and theatre* (Protić, Paunović, & Kovačev, 2015, str. 61). The Puppet theatre was formed in 1930, stemming from the theatre segment of the Society (Pozorište Mladih).

It is precisely the different sectors which included the education of youth, as well as the performing arts that enabled the cooperation between the Alliance of Cultural Societies of Novi Sad and the Novi Sad Sokol Society, which gave them the possibility to raise enough funds for the building. It was decided that *The Sokol Society was the rightful owner of the property, whilst the Alliance would get office spaces for free* (Protić, Paunović, & Kovačev, 2015, pp. 72,77).

Sokols' Homes were the first condition for the existence of Sokol Societies due to the fact that their motto was: *“to have Sokol Homes is to have Sokolstvo”*. *The Sokol ideals could only be realised if they had their own Home. The Home didn't represent a single large exercise space, [...] it couldn't be imagined without an outdoor exercise space, a library and reading room, without rooms for the management, for educational purposes, without a puppet theatre and a hall for performances* (Protić, Paunović, & Kovačev, 2015, p. 67). These homes were meant for the interdisciplinary development of young people in a physical, moral, spiritual and cultural way and therefore had to be able to provide its users with a wide range of different functions.



Figure 6: Sokolski dom, Novi Sad; Source: <https://graditeljins.wordpress.com/graditelji-info/dor-de-tabakovic/tabakovic-javni/#jp-carousel-822>

The building was conceptualised in the style of Modernism, and its main architectural expression is formed through cubic forms. The building is perfectly symmetrical which amplifies the order of architectural segments and elements. The building is clad with brick and stone, which contrast each other in terms of colour. The fenestration is accentuated by creating orthogonal frames, with the façade lacking any form of ornamental elements. The original inscription on the main façade was “Kralju Ujedinitelju” (to the Unifying King), but this was altered during the years after the Second World War, which will be explained in the next chapter. The Sokols’ Home was seen also as a Commemoration Home for King Alexander I, the Unifying King. *On the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1936, the building was inaugurated and officially handed over to its planned programme. This date will be forever known as the most significant day in the history of the cultural life of Novi Sad, as a visible symbol of the people’s gratitude towards the Great King (Došen).* This memorable event is closely linked to the fact that Novi Sad had recently become the capital of the Danube Banate, meaning that a lot of attention and effort was being put into its development.

## 2.2. The First transition – from Sokols’ to Culture Home

After the Second World War Pre-war gymnastic organisations could not exist in the way that they used to because the political circumstances demanded a reconfiguration. The Physical Education Board of Yugoslavia was formed in 1945, and a plan for the organisation of sport organisations was made and accepted. The plan proclaimed that all existing sport societies and clubs are to be unified legally, or cease to exist (Protić, Paunović, & Kovačev, 2015, p. 89).

According to this Act, *the work of the Society under the name “Soko” wasn’t allowed anymore. The programme, material and staff base of the pre-war Soko was used to transform the Society into “The first gymnastics Society”, which was the only possible name at the time* (Protić, Paunović, & Kovačev, 2015, p. 91). The Society itself continued with its activities as it did previously. The aforementioned inscription “To the Unifying King” was removed only to be replaced by “Dom Kulture” (Culture Home) which was the name of one of the most important architectural typologies in socialist Yugoslavia. The fact that the building housed functions which were related to cultural and performative activities, made this “renaming” possible.



*Figure 7: Sokolski dom, Novi Sad, after the Second World War; Source: <https://vojvodina.com/kultura/pozorista-i-kulturni-centri/pozoriste-mladih-novi-sad/>*

As for the theatre, most of the equipment and puppets were lost during the war. However, it continued its work. The theatre changed numerous names such as: “the City Puppet theatre”, followed by “The Puppet theatre” (1952-1968), and it received the name it has today “Pozorište Mladih” or “Youth theatre” in 1968 (Pozorište Mladih, n.d.).

### **2.3. The Second transition - Post-socialism**

As a result of the economic and political crisis that followed the armed conflicts which inevitably caused the disintegration of the Federation, the Gymnastics Club “Vojvodina” was facing a financial crisis of their own. However, thanks to the hard-working employees and some sponsorships, the Society managed to stay afloat. In 1992, the Society changed its name back to its original one: The Novi Sad Sokol Society, becoming the first Society in the country to continue its tradition and work philosophy (Protić, Paunović, & Kovačev, 2015, str. 177). “The Youth Theatre” formed an “evening” scene in 1991. Since then, the theatre encompasses two scenes – one for children and the “evening” scene (Pozorište Mladih, n.d.). Today, the theatre still maintains its function and there are numerous performances being given, including completely original plays and guest-shows.

The building was registered as monument of cultural heritage in 2002 by the Novi Sad Institute for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage, which is an important step in the process of raising awareness of the broader public about its significance.

Today, the Sokolski dom building houses two individual organisations, the *Novi Sad Sokol Society* and *the Youth theatre*. Even though the theatre would have never existed if it weren't for the Society, it functions as a completely separated building, despite being under the same roof. The theatre is prospering, having more and more shows, whereas the Society's role has been reduced to maintaining gymnastics and other sports through providing training for youth. The two institutions are on extremely bad terms, which is completely against the circumstances under which the building was initially planned.

### **3. THE AFTERMATH – THROWING THE BUILDINGS A LIFELINE**

Architecture is always highly impacted by the social, political and economic conditions which are present at the moment of its design and realisation. However, since these conditions could be categorised as “ever-changing”, the question of the building's usage and role when new conditions and circumstances arise is always present. The ability of the building to keep its original function in a new era has a lot to do with the way society functions on an every-day level during the given time period.

The Workers' Home, given that its original programme was strongly connected to the purpose of defending workers' rights at a time when they needed to be requested and fought for, lost its significance during socialism. However, because of the workers' class being valued in this regime, its position as an Institution was actually elevated. The new changes brought on by post-socialism and the economic and political instability meant that the workers were once again in need for the bettering of working conditions. In spite of that fact, the overall downfall of the state left no sphere untouched and it was impossible to obtain funds for this kind of action. As the country slowly settled into the never-ending process of the post-socialist transition, the cause that was once fought for was being forgotten. The sequence of these significant changes led to the present state both of the building of The Workers' Home and the Institution currently using it.

The Sokols' Home, on the other hand, with its original programme supporting activities such as sport, education and performance, was much less impacted by the fluctuation of circumstances regarding the political, social and economic spheres. The

institutions related to this building underwent changes which were mostly connected to their own structures, but the building kept its function in more or less the same capacity as it was envisioned with the project. The fact that it was continuously used by a large number of guests and visitors, as well as athletes and performers made it possible for the building to remain a point of interest and therefore never succumbed to the degree of neglect that The Workers' Home has endured. It is important to also note that a new chapter in the story of Sokols' Home is starting at this very moment. Namely, through a process of restitution, the Novi Sad Sokol Society was recently reinstated as the sole owner and manager of the entire building, which will surely initiate numerous changes in its usage model, maintenance and protection, which are difficult to qualitatively assess at the moment.

The fact that Sokols' Home has been recognised as a monument of culture and therefore is under a certain degree of protection for the purpose of its preservation, while the Workers' Home remains under a lesser degree of protection, highlights the importance of raising awareness of the citizens of Novi Sad about its significance. The Sokols' Home owes its recognition partly to the fact that a large number of the public visited it regularly and that its programme is being shared amongst different generations. The Workers' Home has the disadvantage of being mostly closed to the public, so it needs different approach for raising public awareness. One possible model in such an effort was demonstrated last year, during the event "DAN", an exhibition event held in the building itself, which was open to the public for a consecutive 24 hours, starting from noon on September 21, 2019. The authors of the concept of the *DAN*, gathered around the *BAZA – spatial praxis platform*, created this format of interacting with the public, with the idea to "open and activate a specific abandoned, closed, invisible space or a space unreachable by the public" (*BAZA - platforma za prostorne prakse*, n.d.). For most visitors of the exhibition, this event represented their first interaction with Brašovan's building, its story and until then mystified interior. The exhibition itself featured 43 international author works which were selected through an interdisciplinary call titled: "*Seeing the Invisible*". The works were exhibited in numerous spaces in the building, providing the public to get (re)acquainted with this modernist icon. During the 24 hours of the event, 3 professional tours were organised, as well as two professional architectural tours through Brašovan's building (*BAZA - platforma za prostorne prakse*, n.d.).



Figure 8: The "DAN" exhibition – “Seeing the Invisible”, Author: Tanja Zarić, September 2019

This theme of *seeing the invisible* represents the focal point of the effort being made by a number of architects in the city through various formats, in order for the citizens of Novi Sad to recognise, get to know, respect and to be proud of the many buildings which have endured fates similar to the one of The Workers' Home.

Almost all modernist buildings in Novi Sad are being overlooked and are usually not considered as cultural and historical heritage. This is largely due to the fact that not even the local and state institutions have included them in their actions of broadening the list of architectural works which are considered valuable heritage. When it comes to the general public, these buildings do not strike them as heritage probably because the period that they were created in lacks the public's interest since, subjectively, not enough time has passed for it to be considered “history”. The problem lies in the fact that if the institutions that deal with preservation, along with the public, don't recognize them as valuable architectural heritage in the near future, their state will continue to worsen and their neglect will continue, which could result in us not having any buildings from this period to preserve and cherish when “their time” does come. Only by educating the broader public about the history, architecture and stories of these buildings, can we hope to awaken the need for adding them into the collective consciousness of all of the citizens of Novi Sad, which will lead to them being more broadly recognised as valuable architecture works.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The paper was done within the project “Optimization of Architectural and Urban Planning and Design in Function of Sustainable Development in Serbia” (No. TR36042), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

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## THE PROBLEM OF FINANCIAL SUSTAINABILITY OF YUGOSLAV COMPANIES IN POSTSOCIALIST SOCIETIES: CASE STUDY SPENS, NOVI SAD

**Abstract:** This paper represents an attempt at a recreation of the construction of the Sports and business centre Vojvodina in Novi Sad (SPENS), as well of its functioning and business operations from 1980 until today. The aim of the paper is to point out all the issues, from the time of the centrally-planned economy and the transition to its existence in the post-socialistic society, which one of the numerous business giants, as well as one of the symbols of Novi Sad and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina at the same time, had to face. The transition of socialistic societies in Eastern Europe turned out to be a very painful process, both personally and for the whole system as well. Relatively easy transition processes existed, which can be seen in the example of the incorporation of Eastern Germany into the common state with Western Germany and the so-called "overnight entry into the EU". The events in the post-Yugoslav area during the 1990s had a negative impact on economic transformation. The process of privatization of state-owned enterprises was spontaneous, without a proper plan and program. Numerous privatizations have remained very controversial, from a legal point of view. A number of companies, which have remained under state control over the past years, have proven to be unnecessary and overweight ballast for the Republic of Serbia. SPENS represents an unresolved problem in terms of financial and economic sustainability for the City of Novi Sad. The analysis of the case study will be related to the consideration of the current state of this center, the consideration of spatial capacity, comparison with similar examples in the country and the region, processing of data pertaining to business, the review of energy capacities and of course human resources.

**Keywords:** *SPENS, Novi Sad, SFRY, economy, post- socialism.*

The end of World War II has brought, besides peace, incomprehensible devastating consequences to the people across the European continent. Even though at first glance it seemed that there will be no more wars, that Europe and the World are entering a long-term pacification phase and gradual globalization, too big differences, in the first place in the ideological view, have generated something completely opposite.

Between the victors, an insurmountable gap and a period of half a year of tension, peripheral guerilla wars, a constant arm "race", and finally a time of fear and insecurity have appeared. This phenomenon of a 50-year period in the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is called the Cold War.

Besides the ideological and political divide of the European continent, the Cold War has led to the divide in the economic sense as well. In Western Europe, a free (market) economy was in place while in the eastern part of the European continent a centrally planned economy under the watchful eye of the Soviet Union was implemented. Due to the process of European integration in the West, a new economic system based on social solidarity and strong state interventionism appeared. This system has appeared in its mildest form just after the end of the war under the name *Socialpartnerschaft*. It was clear to everyone that the state yielding to liberal capitalism after the war would strike an unbearable blow to the people so it strived towards the Roosevelt model of the state's control of the economy. It could be said that there was a period of social capitalism, with which Ernest Mandel, a Marxist theoretician would agree. Namely, an agreement has been reached which was never been made before. Both capitalists and workers have reached a "cooperative balance" reflected in a mutual agreement on restrictions. This situation was an immediate effect of the Keynesian economic revolution that erupted in Breton Woods in 1944. What is significant is that this Keynesian politic has united both the left and the right across Western Europe, especially in France. The state has strived to reach an agreement, together with the syndicates, on establishing institutions for coordination of mechanisms that form paychecks and prices, as well as for curbing inflation. An example of successful cooperation between workers and employers where the workers had a decisive voice in economic and entrepreneurial decisions comes from Australia. Thanks to the initiative of Julius Raab, the president of the Austrian Chamber of Commerce (*Bundeswirtschaftskammer*), this institution has included representatives of the state, syndicates, and entrepreneurs, and has essentially contributed to the adoption of the first agreement on salaries and prices in August 1947. Afterward, new agreements followed – September 1948, May 1949, September 1950, July 1951 (Berend, 2009: 244-245).

This, and other similar forms of workers' contribution in managing companies and decision-making concerning elementary working conditions, have contributed to the social and economic recovery at the end of the war. Even though it seems absurd, *Socialpartnerschaft* model for sure had strong effects on the establishment of workers' self-management in SFR Yugoslavia. especially when the approach and enforcement of Yugoslav state leadership are analyzed, which has turned to the West after its break-up with SSSR while keeping its socialistic structure with the Communist Party in the leading position. After its conflict with the Cominform in 1948, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia begins its own self-managed centrally planned economy with hints of a market economy. This type of economy is known as the worker's self-management. It is a model devised on behalf of the Communist

Party of Yugoslavia and implemented between 1950 and 1990. The idea is based on the transformation of company management where workers were, in theory, the bearers and self-managers of the state property. This idea of economic deetatism, respectively separation of the state from the economy, was never actually implemented because the state has remained as the central lever of control and management for the whole time (Ramsay Steele, 1992: 323).

The concept of worker's self-management was designed so that workers' councils would manage companies established after the war whose real owner was the state. These after-war companies were established, in the first place, through the previously implemented processes: nationalization, sequestration, confiscation, agrarian reforms, colonization, as well as other forced seizures of citizens' private property and its transformation into state or public property. The most efficient form of alienation of private property was nationalization enforced in two big waves. First was realized in 1946 when "all surplus" of movable and immovable property, mainly business assets, was taken from the citizens while the nationalization in 1958 has taken all apartments, buildings, houses, building land which was above the legal maximum *per capita* (Закон о национализацији приватних привредних предузећа, Службени лист ФНРЈ, бр. 98/46; 35/48).

For the process of denationalization, the citizens of the Republic of Serbia had to wait literally until today. However, at the end of 2006, the *Law on Restitution of Property to Churches and Religious Communities* was passed but it does not apply to citizens. The process of restitution is currently underway while the complications for its implementation are more frequent and the issues harder to resolve. Nevertheless, next to all deficiencies and shortcomings during the state-building process, it has to be noted that SFRJ has achieved important results when it comes to industrialization, modernization, electrification, improvement of life standard, and social human rights.

As stated beforehand, the first several years after World War II the economic development was characterized by a centrally planned economy that reached the before-war level of economic development in only 2 years. After the conflict with Cominform, the average yearly rate of economic growth was 8,2% and of industrial production 12,2% (Kulišić, 1967: 95-98).

The important time for this analysis is the period of the so-called agreed economies which lasted from the beginning of the 1980s until the disintegration of SFRY. For the sake of comparison, the average yearly rate of economic growth between 1980 and 1988 was 0,6%. According to world economic analysts, this was the worst period of economic development of Yugoslavia which represented only an introduction to its disintegration at the beginning of the

1990s. Politics have surely affected these economic indicators reflected in the adoption of the 1974 Constitution and the 1976 Associated Labor Act. These two documents were the catalyst of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and when it comes to economy, companies were completely shattered because, according to Kardelj, it was much more important to create organizational assumptions for the functioning of self-management than for Yugoslav companies to operate based on principles of economic efficiency (Самарџић, 2017: 2-3).

Apart from the issues caused by permanent changes and aspirations for the amelioration of management of the whole Yugoslav economy, a fact that the external debt was constantly growing must be mentioned so that at one point in 1981 even the republics themselves had to become individually indebted, with the federal authority losing all control over the republics and provinces. This situation is *de facto* a consequence of radical constitutional reforms carried out in June 1971 when the federal assembly of SFRY adopted a third package of constitutional amendments which were nothing more than an introduction into the foundations of the Constitution voted upon on 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1974. In the mentioned package 23 amendments stand out (XX-XLII) for having a nationalistic character which fundamentally changed the foundation of Yugoslav federalism. Namely, federalism was unequivocally shaken up already with the first amendment passed in 1971 in which it is stated that "the working peoples of Yugoslavia exercise their rights in the first place as the members of their republics, respectively provinces, and only afterward if they find a common interest as the members of the Yugoslav federation". This approach has contributed to the economic chaos which culminated after the death of Broz. Even though the XXV amendment guaranteed uniqueness and superiority of Yugoslav market, the XXXIV amendment degraded the unique integrity and inviolability. The Federation could not make investments and take responsibility and obligations instead of individual Republics/ Provinces, except a consensus between the Republic, the Provincial assemblies has been previously achieved. This is a very important moment when we talk about the economic policy of Yugoslavia and its internal management. It is clear that the more developed republics, like Slovenia and Croatia, did not agree to boost the industrial and economic development of the lesser developed Macedonia and Kosovo and Metohija. However, what is left in the federation's jurisdiction is to partially support non-developed parts of the state. Nevertheless, that was almost negligible comparing to the overall industrialization and the economic progress of the whole federation. When the political situation between 1974 and 1990 is analyzed and compared with the first decade after World War II, it can be ascertained that deetatization was carried out completely. The dying out of the federation reached its peak during the 1980s and it can no longer be said that "the

sovereignty belongs only to the federation”, precisely stated in the constitutional law of 1953 (Milosavljević, 1992: 368).

At the end of the 1970s, Novi Sad made up 12% of the population of the AP Vojvodina and 16% of the total production of the province. Economic giants like Pobeda, Neimar, Novkabela, Jugodent, Jugoalat, Novopaka, Danubius, Standard, Novosadska mlekara, Fabrika žice “Petar Drapšin” represented the backbone of production and economic growth of Novi Sad as well as Vojvodina, Serbia, and Yugoslavia (Војновић, 2013: 49). Since 1945 Novi Sad went through several urbanistic transformations: several boulevards were broken through, the railway station was dislocated together with the railroad going through today’s Boulevard of Car Lazar, the construction of new urban settlements next to the Danube has begun (Limans), trams have been shut down, new bridges have been constructed, the industrial zone covering the area between today’s Radnička street all the way to Liman market was dislocated...

The Assembly of Novi Sad and the Assembly of the Self-Governing Interest Community for Physical Culture made a decision on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1978 to build a sports center for the 1983 World Table Tennis Championship. The construction permit was acquired on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1979 with Neimar as the main contractor, which left its construction mark on the most important buildings of Novi Sad. The construction of the hall begun on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May 1979 and was finished in the spring of 1981. The total surface that Sports and Business Center Vojvodina covers amounted to 200.000 m<sup>2</sup> (<http://www.spens.rs/arhiva/>, retrieved on 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 2019). Next to GP Neimar, in charge of the constructions, other companies participated as well: Brodogradilište Novi Sad in charge of steel constructions, then TLM-LMS from Šibenik and Alumin from Skopje which delivered aluminum constructions. Subcontractors where: Alba from Novi Sad; Pobeda, Elektron, Jugodrho, Jugofund, Partizanski put, and Izolacija from Belgrade; Edžport from Zagreb; Jadran kamen from Split; Mermer from Šehović; Dekor from Šabac; Udarnik from Osijek; Sintelon from Bačka Palanka; and Treska from Skopje. Preparation of the terrain for the construction, demolition, and cleaning up the debris of the former factory Novkabel was carried out by Urbis – OOUR Zemljište from Novi Sad. Having in mind the complexity and size of this national Yugoslavian investment, the Municipal Assembly of Novi Sad established a Directorate for the Construction of the city Sports Center “Vojvodina”. It was reorganized in 1981 from a controlling to a managerial body which since carries a new name - Working Organization Sports and Business Center “Vojvodina” (<http://www.spens.rs/arhiva/>, retrieved on 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 2019).

When it comes to the funding of the Center it was collected from the following sources:

Self-contributions: 70,80% - from the citizens of Novi Sad and pooled funds of SIZ for physical culture, self-governing agreement of OOUR of the Novosadska, Ljubljanska, and Vojvođanska bank, as well as from the self-governing agreement of the National Bank of Vojvodina.

SIZ for health protection: 4,24%

SIZ for general education and upbringing: 1,4%

SIZ for physical culture: 2,09%

Vojvodina lottery: 18,67%

Federation with other republics and AP KiM (2, 8%)

Since China gave up being a host of the 1981 World Championship, Yugoslavia has taken up the role and the opening ceremony of the Sports Center "Vojvodina" was held on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1981, together with the opening ceremony of the 36<sup>th</sup> World Table Tennis Championship. An interesting fact is that, at one moment, the caption "SPENS 81" was found on a stamp. The World Table Tennis Championship was held from 14<sup>th</sup> till 26<sup>th</sup> of April 1981. Players from China won most medals while the representatives of SFR Yugoslavia, Dragutin Šurbek, Antun Stipčanić, and Branka Batinić came second (<https://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-ec/CIEHC>, retrieved on 3rd November 2019).

The project was designed by architects from Sarajevo, Živorad Janković and Branko Bulić from the Institute of Urbanism at the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo. Even though the decision to construct the center was made at the end of the 1970s, the idea itself and the initiative originated in 1950. Namely, the construction of the facility was foreseen by the city's 1950master plan, drawn up in the Republic Urban Planning Institute in Belgrade. Among other things, the continuity of planning today's complex is possible to trace through the development of urbanistic plans of Novi Sad from 1963, 1974, 1985, and 2000 (<http://www.spens.rs/arhiva/>, retrieved on 3rd of November 2019).

From 1981 till 1990, the additional works on the facility A+B (Big and Small hall, press center) were finished. After that, the block C was finished (closed and open-air pools), martial arts halls were open, the Ice Hall was finished as well as a bowling alley with 8 automatic lanes, tennis courts<sup>1</sup> and a shooting range with 30 moving targets were constructed. After all the finished construction works on the Sports and Business Center Vojvodina,

<sup>1</sup> Tennis courts were constructed in 1988 and demolished in 2018 when a contemporary mall "Promenada", currently one of the largest malls in Southeastern Europe, was constructed in their place,

Municipal Assembly of Novi Sad made a decision at the end of 1991 to transform this facility into a public company starting from 1<sup>st</sup> January 1992.

In the meantime, Sports Center Sajmište was added to the Center, previously under the management of the Institution for the Maintenance of the Physical Culture Facilities of the City of Novi Sad. Management of sports facilities is stated as the primary activity of this company and for the purpose of more efficient and productive management, the company deals with other entertainment activities, sports, and recreational education, as well as renting space and real estate (<http://www.spens.rs/arhiva/>, retrieved 3rd of November 2019).

The Sports and Business Center Vojvodina is defined as a public company only at the end of 1991 when the disintegration of Yugoslavia begun. Even though a young company, it entered the transformational processes, respectively transition, alongside other Yugoslav companies which continued its post-socialistic transformation in accordance with their geopolitical positions. In other words, it depended on the Yugoslavian republic they were located in.

Three decades have passed since, and it can be freely said that only a few companies finished the transformation process successfully, leaving all sides satisfied. Even though they left Yugoslavia as an unsustainable and utopian project, some of the republics can boast today that, they have "surpassed" the results achieved by Yugoslavia from both an economic and political perspective. However, a large number of companies in the post-Yugoslav space is somehow caught up in "limbo" between socialism and capitalism. Having in mind that the main focus, in this case, was the transition from Yugoslav socialistic economy into a new Serbian post-socialistic era the period from 1990 till today, the Economic Reform Program and its measures for realization should be mentioned also (Ante Marković's Program). This program, supported by the republics' governments and the federal government, was based on the Washington Deal, which will later become the backbone of many transitional economies implying financial stabilization, liberalization of the economy, and company privatizations. Basic measures foreseen by the Program were: restrictive monetary policy, denomination of the Serbian dinar (10,000 old dinars for the new 1 dinar) as well as endeavoring to fix the exchange rate of dinar to marks in a 7:1 ratio after which the growth of nominal paychecks and prices of energy resources and infrastructure would be frozen, alongside the privatization. It was expected from companies to accept these reforms while decreasing the prices in order to secure liquidation. However, the Program failed because the prices were growing rapidly together with paychecks. Having in mind the frozen exchange rate, Serbian dinar became overrated so export became unprofitable for the country and import lucrative because imported

goods were cheaper while domestic goods were not competitive with foreign. This led to a decline in production and the increase of unemployment in Yugoslavia at the same time – 18%. Projections for 1990 experienced a debacle with the SFRY Prime Minister Ante Marković resigning. After these events, the political situation became aggravated in many ways, including interethnic and interconfessional conflicts, the republics achieving independence and Yugoslavia disappearing in the last decade of the XX century. After the war for Yugoslavian heritage and democratic changes, the expectations were high. Total indebtedness at the end of 2000 of SRY was over 200% BDP which says enough about the situation in which the Serbian economy has found itself. Having in mind mistakes made during the period of transition in which all post-socialist countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe have found themselves, it was expected that the new democratic management will succeed in overcoming the “childhood diseases” that other transitional countries have caught, even with a decade’s delay. However, the result was catastrophic. To this day, the Republic of Serbia carries problems caused by improperly implemented and unfinished privatization of public companies. The rest of the companies which were not privatized usually present a political basis of the social peace. The information about frequent strikes, affairs, losses, new loans, debts, changes of company executives, and layoffs can rarely be heard in the press and other media (Mazover: 2011: 419-424).

Having in mind all these circumstances it could be said the Sports and Business Center Vojvodina belongs to this category of unsolved cases. Namely, Novi Sad still has this sports giant that bears in its biography, the World Table Tennis Championship (1981), finals of the European Cup Winners’ Cup between Cibona and Scavolini (1987), Chess Olympics (1990), then European Basketball Cup (2005), European Handball Championship (2012), and numerous international water polo and volleyball matches of the Yugoslavian and Serbian teams. Besides that, it is very important to mention that that sports giant, which represents the turning point of Novi Sad’s and Vojvodina’s sport, also represents one of the most indebted public companies in the Republic of Serbia (<https://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-ec/CIEHC>, retrieved 5th of November 2019). Having in mind the analysis of the financial documents from 2014 to 2018 which is available on the SPENS website, as well as information from the press, yearly losses of this company exceed 300 million dinars (<http://www.spens.rs/arhiva/>, retrieved 1st of November 2019).

So, the question of purpose and functionality of this facility is rightly asked. At the time when this facility was designed and constructed, there was not much thought about the competitiveness and energy efficiency, because the state has guaranteed economic stability as

well as energy coverage and sustainability. Today, after almost four decades, a lot has changed both inside and outside the country. More than a serious competition for SPENS appeared in the construction of several malls in Novi Sad, before all the Parisian Magazine, new adaptation of the old Nork building, Apollo Center, Mercator, Big Shopping Center, and lastly Promenada in the near vicinity, in the sense of renting space, attracting foreign and domestic brands, attendance, as well as marketing and popularity itself. The Bazaar in the center of the city is in no better position. When it comes to energy efficiency, the construction itself is unsustainable. The main issue with SPENS is the fact that this facility is run-down. The existing technical systems are outdated, marketing management is at a very modest level, sports activities are poor, conditions and hygiene are on a minimal level. There are around 250 employees in this public company, out of which 90% is technical staff while the representation of management is minimal.

City Government of Novi Sad, headed by the current Mayor Miloš Vučević, has tried several times to find a solution for this serious issue. Several solutions were presented. The first one is to demolish the existing facility and to build a new one which would be smaller, more functional, more economical, and more efficient.

However, this thinking provoked public outrage so the proposal was quickly withdrawn (<http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/125/drustvo/3271616/da-li-se-rusi-novosadski-spens.html>, retrieved 14th of January 2020). But in fact, this proposition, if the sentimentality of the majority of citizens of Novi Sad who self-contributed to the construction of this facility is put aside, makes sense. For example, the majority of facilities constructed for the 1996 Games of the XXVI Olympiad in Atlanta, USA do not exist today. New malls, parking garages, industrial facilities, as well as headquarters of international corporations are located there instead. Wembley Stadium is a good example, built in 1922, closed in 2000, demolished in 2003, and re-opened on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 2007. As a bad example, there is the failed investment in the bob trail constructed for the 1984 XIV Olympic Winter Games in Sarajevo. Today, after the 1991-1995 war in BiH it represents a completely abandoned and devastated part of Igman. So, this proposition can be viewed from multiple aspects without forgetting that we live in the time of absolute domination of neoliberalism as the cruelest form of capitalism.

The second proposition was to transform the facility into a Center for High Technology, Artificial Intelligence and IT, which was considered together with the current Minister of Education, Science, and Technological Development, Mladen Šarčević. Having in mind the proximity of the UNS and the Science and Technology Park, SPENS could be the

ideal place for it (<http://www.novisadinfo.info/2019/08/resenje-blizu-novi-spens-objekat.html>, retrieved 14th of January 2020).

The latest news, when it comes to the future of SPENS, is that the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has accepted to participate in the SPENS reconstruction project with an estimated worth of the endeavor of 4,5 billion dinars. The city of Novi Sad and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development have recently signed an agreement of financing works on the mentioned facility. EBRD has until now delivered EUR75.000 for the purpose of drafting a study on the future of SPENS next to which the city will receive a non-refundable grant in the amount of EUR800.000 for drafting the whole technical documentation (<https://www.novosti.rs/vesti/srbija.73.html:837798-Obnova-Spensa-od-skoljke-Uredjenje-sportskog-i-poslovnog-centra-Vojvodina-finansirace-grad-ali-i-drzava>, retrieved on 22nd of January 2020).

According to certain information from the media, the idea behind the mentioned study is for SPENS to become some sort of ECO facility in terms of energetic sustainability and efficiency. It is important to mention the fact that a "non-binding open call for SPENS" was launched after which 7 offers from 3 foreign and 4 domestic companies with different concepts arrived in the city administration. Having in mind the current situation of SPENS, an example from Belgrade and its Sava Center, currently prepared to be put on sale, can be taken into consideration. Therefore, the option of absolute privatization should not be excluded as one of the solutions for the future of this Novi Sad's symbol of sport and recreation (<https://www.blic.rs/biznis/vesti/kupac-sava-centra-mora-da-spremi-75-miliona-evra-na-prodaju-i-beogradanka/7f4q6wz>, retrieved on 22nd of January 2020).

Taking into account all of the aforementioned facts, from the aspect of studying the history of a city the final conclusion is that the efforts of finding the solution for the situation of this and other important facilities in Novi Sad should be continued. Efforts of finding *modus vivendi* should be made, which will keep all heritage and history which SPENS carries but at the same time economic sustainability and cost-effectiveness in the society and time when money represents the highest material and unfortunately spiritual value.

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## POSTSOCIALIST NOVI SAD - A STRUGGLE FOR PRESERVING IDENTITY

**Abstract:** Urban policies which place capital before the wellbeing of citizens, that nourish the concept of demolition and instant results are some of the characteristics of the post-socialist management of cities. In the moment in which private investors are given the right to the building land, that may or may not have buildings that are under the legal protection, *genius loci* and its significance for the local community is disregarded in the name of the profit the new building could bring. In most cases, numbers show that it is cheaper to demolish rather than adapt the existing architectural heritage, withstand the short-term critique of the public, and build something new that only represents the investor's identity. By doing so, the citizens no longer find themselves in a city that represents their history, culture and memories, but in a sea of buildings which represent solely the (financial) power of the investor. This is the case of Novi Sad as well, with reactions of citizens becoming more and more turbulent in regards to the demolition of local contexts created not only in the time of the city's occurrence but also the ones created in the spirit of modernism. Is the culture of post-socialist cities seen in following of the trend of trading "the old for the new"?

The aim of this paper is to, through the deliberation of the current spatial policy of Novi Sad which is characterised by mass complaints made by citizens at public plan viewings, as well as their bypassing, research the cases which included the annulment of local contexts and raise awareness of the consequences of this kind of urban planning. Through researching and documenting these processes, we wish to show the inadequacy of the current model. Through this research and the encouragement of others, the citizens gain affirmation from the professional public, which is necessary for creating potential models within which the city would develop in a way that includes nurturing the existing local contexts, but also creating new ones in accordance with the current and future needs of the citizens.

**Key words:** post-socialism, Novi Sad, architectural heritage preservation, spatial policies

### A MATTER OF IDENTITY

Before answering the two key questions this paper explores – What are the key symptoms and what are the causes of the identity crisis in Novi Sad, there is a need to explain what identity is, in this particular context. When speaking of identity, this paper will refer to

its architectural representations throughout the city of Novi Sad, tying it to a specific place in the local communities. Architectural identity will, therefore, be defined as a set of buildings and locations that have become embedded in the collective memory as something personal and unique for the environment in which they appear. For Novi Sad, these representations are, for example, seen in the Petrovaradin Fortress, the Roman Catholic Church of the Name of Mary, or in SPENS (The Sport Business Centre of Vojvodina). Also, on a smaller scale, each municipality has its own set of particular spaces that the residents have established a connection with. The more residents use and think of some space, the more important it becomes for the local community.

“The man dwells when he can orient himself within and identifies himself with an environment, or, in short, when he experiences the environment as meaningful.” (Norberg-Schulz, 1980:5).

Schulz here mentions an important concept for the development of the architectural identity – a dwelling. A dwelling is described as something more than just an archetypal house for fulfilling one’s existential needs. “Dwelling implies more than a mere shelter; it implies that the spaces where life occurs are places. A place is a space that has distinct character. Place is an integral part of existence.” (Norberg-Schulz, 1980:5). This implies a connection between how one is feeling and the space they are in. One is able to perceive a place only if recognizes (consciously or unconsciously) certain spatial qualities. To dwell means to live fully in a place. Upon realizing that, the previously mentioned sentence – the more residents use and think of some space, the more important it becomes for the local community, is rephrased into – the more resident’s dwell in a particular place, the more important it becomes for the local community.

For the municipal community, these places are important for the formation of their local identity. They could serve as focal points, places of socialization and contact, represent the history, or serve as a small oasis in the tightly knit urban fabric. Whatever their form, these places are experienced as extremely meaningful and have an important role in the everyday life of its users.

### **INVESTOR-LED URBANISM SYNDROME**

Out-dated urban planning practices of Novi Sad have no actual model for tracking and preserving these architectural identities. When it comes to urban planning in Novi Sad, it is in a similar state as other cities in the country. After the disintegration of the Socialist Federal

Republic of Yugoslavia, during the economic and political in the nineties, the state's role in the building sphere was reduced to a minimum. The increase of people in need of housing that were massively migrating to Novi Sad commanded the construction of a lot of new residences. Due to the financial and political state at the time, private investors were given the opportunity to take advantage of this situation and initiate the building of multifamily dwellings with the aim of maximising profit and the number of built square meters. Even though the circumstances have changed since that period, the role of private investors in urban development of the city is still a leading one. Nowadays, a large number of people are moving to Novi Sad due to job opportunities, especially in the IT sector, and there is a lack of housing once again. This situation represents an invitation for private investors to scout out free land in the city and there are numerous operational building sites all over Novi Sad. These projects are made possible via general and detail regulation plans, drawn up by the *Urban and Spatial Planning Institute of Novi Sad*, which defines the use of individual areas in the city.

Private investors are presented as a modern-day hero of urban planning because they have the ability to use their resources to build on an unused piece of land or the land that has yet to reach its full potential, thus solving the city's housing problem. Buildings are being erected on parcels that may or may not have buildings on them, and those buildings are sometimes are under the protection of *Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments* or the *Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments*. The demolition of such cultural monuments is justified by the priority of resolving the housing crisis, and the projects are highly advertised as a good development for the city.

Therefore, it can easily be seen how in the absence of models for tracking and preserving places, those places that are important for the local community are being destroyed because the private investor has no use of them, but needs the space they are located on. Vice versa, the local community has no real benefit of these developments, but it is slowly harming and changing their identity on a large scale.

### **ACTION AND REACTION**

A series of cases, where places have been destroyed, has led to the increasing public interest in a way urban planning decision are made, and rising demands for the citizen involvement into the management of their own municipalities. Locals have realized the importance of spaces they consider their own, and have started to organize activist groups in

order to keep track of the changes in their surroundings, as well as to turn the official Institute's attention to their dissatisfaction with the decisions that are being made for them. These actions only stand to prove how meaningful the built environment is for the wellbeing of its citizens, and how diverse these places can be. Whether they are cultural landmarks or small pieces of grass, people have identified with them, and the systematic threatening of their identity has provoked strong reactions.

One of the first demolitions that caught the public's eye was that of the Communal Bank Building in the city centre. Also known as the building of the Armenian community, this building was built in the 1910, for the needs of the Armenian Church (Kovačević, 2016). As the Armenian Church was demolished in 1964, in order to make way for a new boulevard, today known as the Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard, this building along with the memorial to the Chenazi family in its vicinity were the only traces of Armenian heritage remaining in Novi Sad. The building received the status of a landmark that was supposed to keep that heritage safe and therefore available to future generations to come.



*Figure 1. Communal Bank Building - the Building of the Armenian Community*

However, its prime location in the city centre has made the parcel it was built on a valuable piece of land to the private investor. Under the excuse of promoting the development of the city, in 2016 the city officials decided to remove the landmark status of the entire building and place the protection on the façade only, claiming its importance as a secessionist piece of art, thus also neglecting the history of the Armenian community.

*„NGO's of Vojvodina<sup>1</sup> are repeating the question many of the experts and citizens have already asked, and that is: Why did the authorities, and to whose benefit, decide to demolish the city's cultural heritage? ... who is behind this investment, and how is he connected to the ruling political party?” (NGO's of Vojvodina, 2016)*

In an open letter to the Novi Sad mayor, non-governmental organizations of Vojvodina have outlined their major concerns in regards to the demolition of this building, but have not received an appropriate response. The result? A thirteen-story-high building in the city centre with no regard to the context in which it was placed.



*Figure 2. Pupin's Palace Residential Complex*

Another case, where the land was bought by the same investor as the one who bought the Commercial Bank Building, was that of the Reed houses in Kraljevića Marka Street in Novi Sad. These houses were built in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and represented a unique monument to the construction ways of that time.

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<sup>1</sup> Centar za regionalizam, Građanska akcija, Zelena mreža Vojvodine, Nezavisno društvo novinara Vojvodine, Građanski fond Panonija, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, Centar za interkulturnu komunikaciju, Vojvođanski građanski centar, Centar građanskih vrednosti, Centar za afirmaciju slobodne misli, NGO authentic vojvodina, Pokret za očuvanje kulturnog nasleđa Save Subotica, Volonterski centar Vojvodine, Pokret gorana Novog Sada, Iz kruga – Vojvodina i Kulturanova



Figure 3. Reed House in Kraljevića Marka Street

*“Spatial cultural-historical entity is comprised of a row of five one-story-high houses that are of Vojvodina’s folk house type and that were built in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century out of compacted mud with a reed roof covering ... and this entity has examples of the most common house type of the old Novi Sad which today as a rarity has a cultural-historical and ambient significance.” (Sl.Glasnik RS 8/98)*

This clipping from 1998, from the time when these houses were proclaimed as landmarks proves the importance that they had in the society of Novi Sad, as well as their significance for understanding the history of Novi Sad. They were specific for the local municipality, and comprised not only the micro-local identity, but also that of the entire city of Novi Sad. The locals had an unambiguous landmark spatially rooted in their environment.

In 2014, a decision was made to remove the landmark status and make way for a new residential complex titled “The King’s Park”. This led to a mass discontent among the citizens which felt as if their history was being erased and their space was being invaded by something, they have no emotional connection with and no use of. A series of lectures was organized in 2016 on the importance of having the local community informed and included in the decision-making process by a group of citizens called *“A battle for Novi Sad- stop the demolition”*. These discussions were meant to get the attention of city officials in order to revoke the dismissal of the landmark status and find an alternative location for the complex, but it failed to do so, and the last reed house was demolished in 2017, with the King’s Park being built in its place.



Figure 4. The King's Park Residential Complex

The Communal Bank Building and the Reed Houses both had the landmark status, which meant that their value was recognized not only by the citizens, but also by the official governing bodies which awarded them with this status. Nevertheless, they were torn down, and for the citizens of Novi Sad this meant an irreversible change in their every-day, and with that, their identity.

An unsuccessful attempt was made in 2018 to promote the demolition of one of the modernistic giants of Novi Sad – The Sport Business Centre Vojvodina, more commonly known as SPENS. This massive multifunctional complex was opened in 1981 for the purpose of holding the 36<sup>th</sup> World Table Tennis Championship. It was built by some of the most notable architects of that time Živorad Janković, Branko Bulić and Duško Bogunović, and represents an important monument of the modernistic movement, not only in Novi Sad, but in the region as well. As with many of the objects of this era, it lacks the official protection which is proclaimed by the Provincial Institute for the preservation of cultural heritage. The importance that SPENS has in the collective consciousness of the citizens of Novi Sad is emphasized by the fact that it was the citizens who decided that the complex should be built back in the day and its *construction costs were 70% covered by the citizens- which was enabled through a local referendum held back in the day.*”(Stefanović, Stričević, 2019:5)



*Figure 5. The Sports-business centre Vojvodina*

SPENS houses the main sporting facilities in the city, with two swimming pools, a bowling alley, climbing facility, and multiple sport courts which are fit for hosting sporting events of the highest level. The remaining space in the building is rented out to businesses and are used for commercial purposes, but the shops are not making the profit they need to maintain their businesses. In light of this situation, in 2018, the current mayor of Novi Sad gave a statement to the public in which he supports the idea of demolishing SPENS and making a smaller multifunctional structure in its place. This idea was so strongly dismissed by the experts and the public in the media, that the mayor had no other choice but to give this thought up, and find a solution for this place to become more sustainable, but in the form that this building already has. The fact of the matter is that SPENS was never meant to be a shopping facility, and this programme was established in the nineties in order to solve the financial situation that the building was facing due to the overall economic and political crisis. Therefore, SPENS should be seen as an excellent sports centre, which it undeniably is, with users passing through and training in the facilities daily. SPENS is therefore embedded in the collective consciousness and identity of Novi Sad's citizens who have been visiting it for generations.

The proof that places of dwelling do not necessarily have to be buildings, but can also be green surfaces the local community gathers on, is the small piece of land on the corner of Kisačka and Jovana Subotića Street. This piece of land has served as a dog's park for years,

where the local residents could take their dog for a walk, whilst they sit in the shadow of the nearby tree. This location is set at a crossroads of two streets with high traffic, but still, it represents the only maintained patch of greenery in the area and is valued by the locals for it.

In the absence of a dialogue between the city planners and the residents, an urban plan for that area was published, in which that same green surface was predicted for a seven-story-high residential building. Residents of the neighbourhood, led by the previous examples, started to organise themselves into groups, while consulting with professionals in the fields of architecture and urban planning, to learn the procedure for the enforcement of such general regulation urban plans and officially protest complain via the official city channels. The process of handing in complaints to the city's urban planning institute whilst the plan was on public display, and attending the public discussion about the plan resulted only in the citizens hearing that their complaints were disregarded in person.



Figure 6. Protest of the We are not giving our meadow away group

Another example of a citizen-organised initiative is the one that was formed when it was announced that several public garages were to be built in the Liman neighbourhood. A number of them were to be placed in locations that were already used by the local community as points of socialisation, and others were supposed to be erected on existing parking areas. However, the fact that the garages were planned to be one-storey high presented an issue in terms of insolation, ventilation and safety. The need for new parking spaces comes as a consequence of new residential buildings being built in the area, along

with business and commercial facilities. The Liman neighbourhood was built in socialist Yugoslavia, following the pattern of modernist architecture and urban planning which was present in the architectural discourse of the time. Large, natural areas, with self-standing buildings, along with adequate parking spaces located along the edges of the blocks are the main elements of the urbanism of Liman. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that its residents objected to the city's intention of disrupting this balance of spaces and functions. This initiative was the largest one yet, and was planned to serve as an informational point for anyone who wants to participate in the process of creating the outline for urban plans. On some level, this initiative has succeeded in including the local community in something that is important for their wellbeing. Despite having handed in official complaints, the majority of them were completely disregarded.



*Figure 7. Public plan viewing of the Liman neighbourhood*

## **DEALING WITH THE IDENTITY CRISIS OF NOVI SAD**

The realization that a city is nothing without its citizens and memories represents the first step toward changing current urban planning practices. Something that is seen as a constant, which is the urban fabric, provides the community with a foothold that they can always relate to. It is essential for the inhabitants of a city to feel connected to the spaces which affect and shape their everyday existence, hence the need of enhancing, or in the case of Novi Sad, introducing public participation as a key element in the process of drafting and conceptualising urban plans. In order to assist the public in taking part in the discussion

regarding the urban development and changes in Novi Sad, the Association of Novi Sad architects started a project called “the Urban Watch”, which represents *a platform through which all interested citizens can take part in urban planning processes in Novi Sad in an organised and active way, as well as the official spatial policies. The Urban Watch team follows planning processes in the city, informs the public about participation opportunities through the period when the plans are on public display and assists them in their efforts to be a part of the decision-making process.* (The Association of Novi Sad Architects, n.d.). This project was extremely well accepted by the citizens, who now feel empowered to participate in these processes since they are able to ask for help on every step of the way. Members of the multidisciplinary team help them by analysing the plans, making the changes that the plans bring more clear, along with educating the citizens about the formal process of how an urban plan is instated, from beginning to end, focusing on the segment of the process which allows for public participation via handing in official complaints.

The fact that more and more citizens are realising the importance of taking interest in the spatial decisions that are being made regarding their city is extremely encouraging, since the only way to bring about great change is to be united in a communal goal. If the inhabitants of Novi Sad become more involved in the future urban development, not only would they steer the growth and further shaping of the city in a way that will support and fulfil the actual needs of the spaces’ end-users, but those solutions would be built on the spatial, cultural and historical identity of Novi Sad. It is in this way that the city will manage to support the present and future lifestyles of its inhabitants, making it a space that will enhance their everyday experience, allowing them to tie their personal identities with their city, which reflects them.

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

The paper was done within the project “Optimization of Architectural and Urban Planning and Design in Function of Sustainable Development in Serbia” (No. TR36042), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

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## GRAFFITI AND URBAN IDENTITY: NEGATIVE PERCEPTION OF GRAFFITI AS AN INDICATOR OF URBAN IDENTITY CRISIS

**Abstract:** As an act of rebellion and subversion against the authority that embodies its power in space, graffiti represent the visual basis of urban identity. Hence, the negative perception of graffiti in the public is an indicator of the urban identity crisis. In the article that follows, we will expose the results of our quantitative survey. Our main objective was an attempt to find out the status of the urban identity of the city of Banja Luka, researching public opinion towards graffiti. Research has shown 3 main results. The first one: Graffiti can be an indicator of urban identity status. The second one: The urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is under development. The third one: Social origins have the most significant influence on the perception of graffiti and the status of urban identity.

**Keywords:** Graffiti, Space, Territory, Power, Lifeworld, Urban identity, Banja Luka, Transgressiveness, Heterotopia.

### INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The construction of (urban) space is fundamental to identity because it determines the value system, perception as a way of understanding and the horizon of experience. The difference in the construction of rural and urban space reflects the difference in the construction of urban and rural identity. Urban identity is open, liberal, eccentric, transgressive and fluid. Rural identity is closed, conservative, traditional, ethnocentric and rigid. Graffiti adequately represents the urban identity. As part of urban identity, graffiti is non-territorial, global, transgressive and heterotopic. Therefore, the analysis of graffiti and knowledge of graffiti necessarily includes knowledge about space and analysis of space. The knowledge about space is not only knowledge of space as an abstract principle. It necessarily includes knowledge of power, ideological and material control, which in everyday life and practice, creating values, norms, meanings, and symbols.

#### **Power, space and territory**

Space is a political and ideological concept. (Lefebvre, 1977:341, 1991:278-282). Every order, every constellation of power, produces own space to ensure its sustainability and

prevent its overcoming. Abstract space is the political product of state spatial strategies—of administration, repression, domination and centralized power. Abstract space is inherently violent and geographically expansive. (Brener, 2009:359). The presence of power in space always takes the form of strategic intervention. The power performs strategic intervention in the geographical space in the direction of its reorganization. The power intervenes in the geographical space through the processes of fragmentation, hierarchization, and homogenization. In this way, power institutionalizes geographical space, colonizes geographical space and transforms it into a political space. In short, power is embodied in space and transforms space into the territory.

Space is subsequently transformed into the territory through various political mechanisms, strategies, interventions, and representations (Raffestin 1980:129–130). The dominant authority its power manifests and reified in space in two ways. First, the authority trying to control space directly the visual-aesthetic organization of space. The authority embodies itself in the space by manifesting its power in monumental buildings. Second, authority trying to control space indirectly by prescribing acceptable forms of behavior in a public space. The authority embodies itself in the space by defining meanings in the sense that it prescribes what type of behavior is acceptable and appropriate for a particular space. In this way, an authority not only establishes physical control over space (repressive control of space) but also establishes symbolic, social and psychological control over behavior in space (the metaphysical regulation of behavior in space). By establishing a monopoly of the public (impersonal) over the private (personal), authority is systematically colonizing the Lifeworld.

Hence, the territory is the power materialized in space. There is no state without a territory and there is no territory without a state. The territory is the political form of space produced by and associated with the power (Lefebvre, 2009:224). The territory is a politically organized space - a structured system of rules governing the exchange of meaning (culture), the exchange of goods (economy) and personal relations (sociability). At this point, it becomes visible a substantial connection between the notions of *terror* and *territory*. (Lefebvre 1991:242). The concept of territory already implies the notion of sovereignty as a politically organized and controlled space. Therefore, the idea of the state is inseparable from the idea of a concentration camp (Agamben 1998; 2005). The state and the concentration camp are based on sovereignty as own existential principle. As the primary object of their political power, they have the production of „bare life“. The territory, the prison, the state, and the concentration camp are synonymous - they are just techniques by which the power

reduces life as existence (ζῆλον) to life as a biological presence (βίος). Consequently, the question of the territory as a relation between the power and space has ontological character because it most directly concerns the idea of life. Hence, the answer to the question of territory as a relation between the power and space must be ontological - it must consist of a transgressive and heterotopic negation of the idea of territory as a spatial form of power.

### **Graffiti**

Graffiti has an ontological and political function. The power in modern society seeks to produce, preserve and expand its control of the space, transforming space into a territory by different spatial strategies that transform space into a manageable and calculable category. The power regulates space - regulates the contents of the space, sterilizes the space and transforms the space into a function and production category. At the same time, different social forces are trying to create, defend and expand the free (non-colonized) space of social everyday life. One of these practices of creating, defense and expansion of free space of the social everyday life is graffiti. As a non-territorial, transgressive and heterotopic, graffiti disrupt and prevents power in the continual production of territory. Graffiti deteriorate the space – by graffiti territory has been subjected to processes of destabilization, restructuring, and transformation. Graffiti shows that power is losing space. Finally, graffiti is becoming a form of resistance to terror. Understanding of graffiti is an „understanding of the challenges addressed to the hegemonic orthodoxy of the homogenizing practices of planning, design, commerce, and the overarching concern with risk assessment and avoidance, surveillance, order and security, and the needs of capital to create conditions for maximizing profit.“ (Zieleniec, 2018:5). Hence, the policy of urban development is not just a practice of space functionalization than much more – its a development strategy of Lebensraum (space, not a territory, necessary for survival).

Modern graffiti is a quintessential universal urban phenomenon (Zieleniec, 2016: 1). In the sociological sense, graffiti represent the ontological and revolutionary potential of Lifeworld. They should be understood as an act of rebellion and subversion against the Systematic colonization of the Lifeworld – as an intervention in the practice of everyday urban life that attempts to make and use urban space to represent more than merely the interests of capital, finance or institutional power (Zieleniec, 2016). The authority trying to control space directly by defining and manifesting its power in monumental buildings (by the visual-aesthetic organization of space). In that case, graffiti relativizes the physical control of

space. As the visual disruption in the space, graffiti has a direct connection with the moral disorder. Showing the inability of authority to control the physical space, graffiti takes away sovereignty from the authority in the most explicit way - in those places where authority celebrates its sovereignty through monumental buildings. The authority trying to control space indirectly by prescribing acceptable forms of behavior in a public space (by standardization psychosocial connection between the meaning, behavior, and space). In that case, the presence of graffiti in the public space disturbs the dominant distribution of meaning. Graffiti relativizes the symbolic, social and psychological control of behavior in space, because as a practice of personal and free symbolic marking of public spaces, graffiti contrasts the impersonal and static power of authority with the personal and fluid power of subordinates, showing that this marked space does not belong to the sterile and impersonal authority that juristically claim it, but to them - to the people who live there every day. In both cases, graffiti represents the triumph of the individual over the monuments of authority, the triumph of the name over the nameless. (Zieleniec, 2016).

As a symbolic and moral challenge to the dominant constellation of power, graffiti can be an indicator of urban identity because, as an expression of the modern urban condition, they represent a clash over the use and exchange values of social and public space (Zieleniec, 2016: 4). Hence, the negative perceptions and negative attitudes toward graffiti, or the absence of graffiti in urban space as such, can be an indicator of the crisis of urban identity, because they reflect the absence of rebellion space as the humanistic-emancipatory potential of Lifeworld. The negative perceptions and negative attitudes toward graffiti, or the absence of graffiti in urban space is an inability to see that dichotomy between private and public space represent an inherent feature of the city and the urban (Craswel, 1996: 31-61).

## METHODS

The research for this article was performed in the period from September to November 2019., in the city of Banja Luka. The research was done by questionnaire - face to face and online. The questionnaire was prepared with the aim of extracting public view on the existing street art culture in Banja Luka and their liking towards this art form. In this way, it becomes possible to determine the status of the urban identity of the city Banja Luka. Around 342 respondents have participated in the research, which is around 2% of the total population of the city of Banja Luka. The respondents in this survey were selected based on a random sample.

The survey consisted of two parts which resulted in qualitative and quantitative data. The first part of the survey included respondents with whom the survey was conducted face-to-face. The second part of the survey included respondents who were surveyed online. Participants could fill in the survey from their computers at home, which took an average of ten minutes. Two participants did not complete the entire questionnaire. Participants were asked to provide answers to the 10 questions. The first 5 are related to gender, age, education level, economic status, and social origin. The second 5 questions were related to attitudes toward graffiti, whether graffiti could be regarded as some kind of arts, the influence of graffiti on urban identity, the type of this influence of graffiti on urban identity and the status of urban identity in the city of Banja Luka.

This research allowed us to examine the determinants of public opinion towards graffiti and various correlations between age, gender social origin, education and economic status on the one side and perceptions toward graffiti and urban identity status on the second side. In that way, in this article, we were elaborate on several themes that we think are relevant for further research.

## RESULTS

Our task was completed by attaining 342 answered questionnaires. They were compiled into a tabular format to ease the analysis procedure. The questionnaire was designed to reveal a few basic personal details of the person answering them. This was done to check if there was any obvious answering pattern created in the process. The main questions were typically dichotomous, to obtain simple results in the form of ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The data are weighted in terms of gender, age, education, economic status, and social origin and are representative of the population of Banja Luka City.

Gender	Male	42,1%
	Female	57,9%
Age	15-29	37,8%
	29-50	55,7%
	50+	6,5%
Educational level	Higher education	59,5%
	Secondary education	10,56
	Students	29,6%
	Primary education	0,29%
Economic status	Upper class	10%
	Middle class	33,5%

	Lower class	27,6%
	Unemployment	29,41%
Social origin	Rural	22,87%
	Urban	77,13%

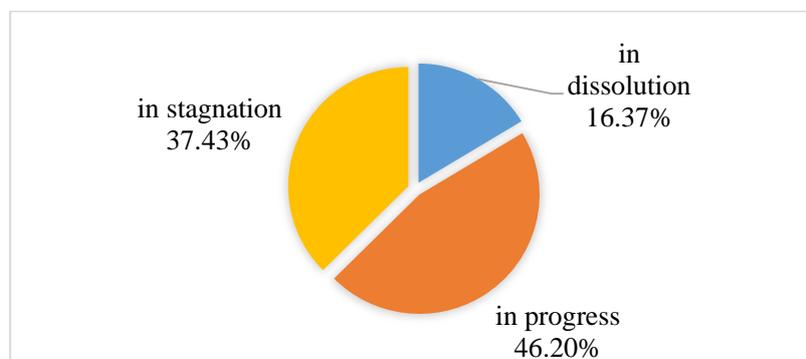
*Table 1. Basic information*

According to the interviewees, graffiti represent a form of art and as such are not a form of vandalism, but on the contrary - they are an expression of urban identity. The table below precisely indicates the number of people favoring this art form and willing to see more of it in Banja Luka City.

Your attitude toward graffiti	I like it	84,16%
	I do not like it	15,84%
Are graffiti an art?	Yes	85,04%
	No	14,96%
Does graffiti affect the urban identity of the Banja Luka city?	Yes	84,91%
	No	15,09%
How graffiti affects urban identity?	Positive	80,24%
	Negative	19,76%

*Table 2. Perceptions about graffiti*

The results of the analysis clearly state that 84,16% of respondents have a positive perception of graffiti. Of the total number of respondents, 85,04% of them support graffiti as an art form and expressed keen interest to see a lot more of them. Of the total number of interviewed, 84,91% of them think that graffiti influences the urban identity of the city of Banja Luka and 80,24% of respondents think that graffiti has a positive influence on the urban identity of the city of Banja Luka. The urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is not in crisis as it was assumed. Actually, according to the opinion of the largest number of respondents, the urban identity of Banja Luka is growing up.



*Chart 1. Urban identity status of the Banja Luka City*

As the chart shows, 46,2% of total number of respondents think that urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is in development; 37,43 % of total numbers of respondents think that urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is in stagnation and 16,37% of total number of respondents think that urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is in dissolution.

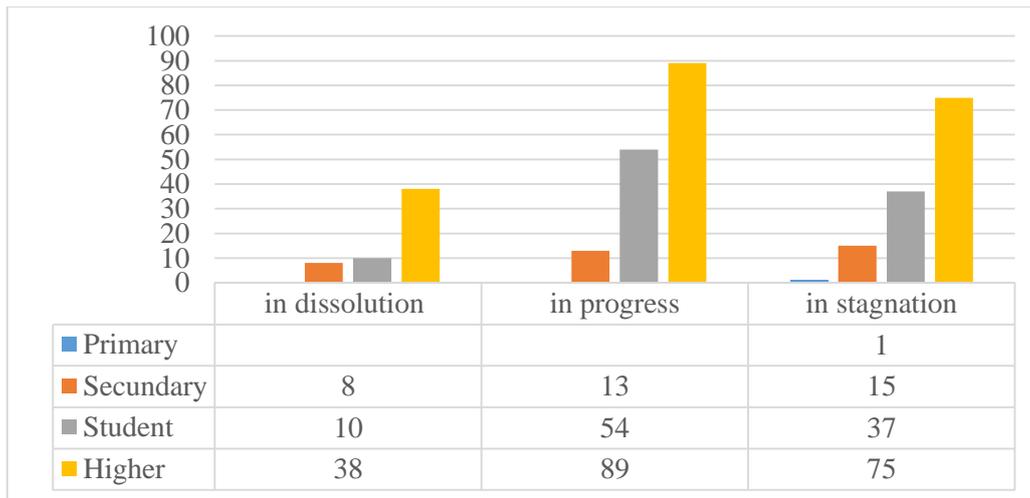
Social status is linked with the perception of graffiti. Around 50% of the total number of respondents of rural social origin have a negative attitude toward graffiti. Only around 15% of the total number of respondents of urban social origin have a negative perception of graffiti. Economic status is also linked to the perception of graffiti. The middle class has the most positive attitude toward graffiti. The diagram below shows this information more precisely.



*Graph 1. Link between Economic status and Perception of graffiti*

The data collected from the questionnaires reveal that people belonging to the middle class has the most positive attitude toward graffiti. Members of the middle class are of urban social origin and higher education, making them less conservative. They have a more liberal system of values and the system of perception. Also, the members of the middle class have more knowledge about urban lifestyle and the art, in comparison to those who belong to the lower class.

Third, educational status is linked to the perception of urban identity. People with higher education are most dissatisfied with urban identity. The diagram below shows this information more precisely.



Graph 2. Link between Education level and Urban identity status

The data collected from the questionnaires reveal that people with higher education are most dissatisfied with urban identity. Educational status is linked with the perception of urban identity because higher education develops a higher critical attitude. Irrespective of their economic background, people with higher education in field humanities and social science have a more positive attitude toward graffiti and more negative perception of urban identity status, in comparison to those from technical and professional fields.

## DISCUSSION

The research showed a link between social status and perception of graffiti in terms that social origin has a significant influence on the perception of graffiti. The data collected from the questionnaires reveal that people belonging to the rural social background have a negative attitude toward graffiti. According to the results of our survey, 50% of the population of rural social origin have a negative attitude toward graffiti. Only 15% of the population of urban social origin have a negative perception of graffiti.

According to the population with rural social background, graffiti do not represent an art form but rather a form of vandalism. According to the participants with urban social background, graffiti represent a form of art and as such are not a form of vandalism, but on the contrary - they are an expression of urban identity. According to them, graffiti as an art form in the urban space adds to the aesthetic value of a place. They developing the architectural surfaces in the city, creating a visual impact on the perception of the urban environment.

In the next section of the article, we will try to analyze the negative attitudes towards graffiti.

### Transgressiveness

The negative attitude towards graffiti lies in the rejection of their disruptive nature. The metaphorical interpretation of graffiti in the categories of garbage, contagion, dirt, obscenity, violence, epidemics, etc., indicates that graffiti does not belong to „this place“, but as something else, as alien and foreign, they disturb the established aesthetic, symbolic and moral order. The understanding of graffiti in value-negative categories is inherent to any self-centered conception of identity (ethnocentric, racial-centric, economic-centric, etc.), and it is essentially a conservative reaction generated by the fear of losing control and by the sense of deep vulnerability. Thus, for example, the reactions of the American public on the first graffiti that appeared in New York City in the 1960s were negative and generated by racial-centric fear. Graffiti has been described as a mass of dirty, obscene and madness metaphors that do not belong to the public space that as such threatens to public space because they belong to „another place“, and that, as plague and infestation, spreading itself the countries of the Third World, disrupting the environment, threatening order and causing moral destruction by bringing the Otherness and Foreign. (Craswel, 1996: 31-61).

In this sense, understanding of graffiti as dirt, plague, disease, and madness, actually explains their transgressive and heterotopic nature and essence: “Dirt is something in the wrong place or wrong time. The meaning of dirt is dependent on its location. Because dirt appears where it shouldn't, it lies at the bottom of a hierarchical scale of values. Removing dirt is part of the establishment of an ordered environment. We make the environment conform to an idea, a sense of order. Dirt is "matter out of place," a definition that suggests simultaneously some form of order and a contravention of that order. Dirt depends on the preexistence of a system, a mode of classification” (Cresswell, 1996:38).

Also, graffiti, understood as an infection implies the contamination of the city body. The infection is the result of an invasion of foreign objects, which by the nature of things, belong somewhere else, and which as such (foreign and ill) do not belong to us, do not belong to a particular place, do not belong to the body of the city. Graffiti interpreted as an infection produces a simple conclusion - the body of the city is sick. Also, the description of graffiti in the meaning of the plague implies a foreign origin. In the same sense, an understanding of graffiti in the categories of health and madness shows that the distribution of health depends on the correlation between moral and physical environment (Foucault, 1967).

### **Heterotopia**

The negative attitude towards graffiti lies in a specific perception of their function. The heterotopic nature of graffiti is evident in the fact that they have two opposite functions at the same time. In the same time, they represent the privatization of public space and they make space social and public: „Graffiti can be understood in terms of making and owning space, however temporary, but in the same time, graffiti makes space social and public, through the promotion of use-values and meaningful acts of colonization and inhabitation versus the homogenizing practices of planning, design, commerce, and their overarching concern with surveillance, order, and security. That is, to read graffiti as a means for reclaiming and remaking the city as a more humane and just, social space“ (Zieleniec, 2016:1-2).

Also, the heterotopic character of graffiti is evident in their dual nature: „On the one hand portrayed and understood as an expression of a vibrant urban street life and culture, an important practice in the creation of subcultural and youth identity, as urban decoration and quotidian art in the streets, representation of youth, urbanity, and creativity. On the other hand, it is viewed as vandalism, anti-social deviant behavior, the symbol of community breakdown and decline, symptom of urban blight, a lack of direction, discipline and deviance in youth.“ (Zieleniec, 2016:3).

### **Environment**

The negative attitude towards graffiti lies in the specific sense and understanding of the environment. Children of rural social origin and children of the urban social origin do not have the same perception of the environment (Williams, 1990:157-162). The reason for the negative perception of graffiti by the population with rural social origin lies in the fact that in the village there is no public space. Therefore, there is no graffiti in the countryside. Modern graffiti is a quintessential universal urban phenomenon (Zieleniec, 2016: 1). As a symbolic and moral challenge to the dominant constellation of power, graffiti can be an indicator of urban identity because, as an expression of the modern urban condition, they represent a clash over the use and exchange values of social and public space (Zieleniec, 2016: 4). Hence, the negative perception towards graffiti or the absence of graffiti as such, can be an indicator of the crisis of urban identity, because the negative attitude towards graffiti or their absence in the public space reflects the inability to see that dichotomy

between private and public space, represent an inherent feature of the city and the urban (Craswel, 1996: 31-61).

### **Culture**

The negative attitude towards graffiti lies in the traditional and closed system of perception, rigid and structured value system, psychologically submissive attitude towards authority and rudimentary aesthetics. The rural symbolic space is based on the authority of tradition and the past. The system of values and the system of perception in rural space is closed, static and conservative. Ethnocentrism, collectivism, and tribalism are the dominant forms of identification and sociability. Religious objects have a central place in the organization of the rural environment. The basic psychological characteristic is the fear of foreign that threatens the order. On the contrary, the urban symbolic space is based on the idea of openness. The system of values and the system of perception in urban space is inclusive, dynamic and fluid. Individualism is the dominant form of identification and sociability. Secular objects have a central place in the organization of the urban environment. The basic psychological characteristics are rebellion against authority.

### **CONCLUSION**

Our survey has shown that graffiti can be an indicator of urban identity status; the urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is under development and the social origins have the most significant influence on the perception of graffiti and the status of urban identity.

Graffiti can be an indicator of urban identity status. Belonging to the Lifeworld, graffiti as an authentic act of rebellion and subversion against the authority that embodies its power in space, cannot be calculated into the instrumental logic of political and economic rationality. By itself, graffiti inherently contains a high level of humanistic- emancipatory potential, which makes them the visual basis of urban identity and the criterion of urbanity. The negative perceptions and attitudes toward graffiti, or the absence of graffiti in urban space as such, can be an indicator of the crisis of urban identity, because the negative attitude towards graffiti or their absence in the public space, reflects the inability to see that dichotomy between private and public space represent an inherent feature of the city and the urban. The results of our research show a link between a positive perception of graffiti and a positive attitude towards urban identity status. The results of the analysis clearly state that 84,16% of respondents have a positive perception of graffiti. Of

the total number of respondents, 85,04% of them support graffiti as an art form and expressed keen interest to see a lot more of them. Of the total number of interviewed, 84,91% of them think that graffiti influences the urban identity of the city of Banja Luka and 80,24% of respondents think that graffiti has a positive influence on the urban identity of the city of Banja Luka.

The urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is under development. According to the opinion of the largest number of respondents, the urban identity of Banja Luka growing up: 46,2% of total number of respondents think that urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is in development; 37,43 % of total numbers of respondents think that urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is in stagnation and 16,37% of total number of respondents think that urban identity of the city of Banja Luka is in dissolution.

Social origins have the most significant influence on the perception of graffiti and the status of urban identity. The results of our research show a link between social status and perception of graffiti in terms that social origin has a significant influence on the perception of graffiti. The data collected from the questionnaires reveal that people belonging to the rural social background have a negative attitude toward graffiti. According to the results of our survey, around 50% of the population of rural social origin have a negative attitude toward graffiti. Only around 15% of the population of urban social origin have a negative perception of graffiti.

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## THE MYTH OF THE CULT PLACE IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

**Abstract:** By utilizing the historical method and the ethnomethodological paradigm, the author has defined and provided a view of the evolutionary formation and specificity of the cult place throughout history and in the present day. This paper stems from the general concept of geo-epistemological consideration and the localization of space in the urban environment. The collapse of the traditional spatial structure by communist architecture did not erase the traces of old memories; instead it established a duality regarding the naming of the old place. This is in spite of the frequent devastation of the old dedicated structure and a sign of the democratization of the culture in which architectural designs provide a potential outlet for freedom of expression towards political and sensual affinity. The dialectics, imitation (copying), planning and discovery of new spaces are the marks of globalization which collapse the routine and experience of the cult place. Spaces and events are becoming the highest interest of the city authorities. The creation of an image and the accumulation of profit supersede the importance of cult places. The importance of the location becomes less and less sacralized and more and more hedonistically routinized and calculated in its motivation. Physical structures and buildings have become literally physically and statically perceived in the thought recollection processes of everyday life. As opposed to the theory of polycentric chaos in which disorder robs cult places of their significance the theory of emotional transmission puts emphasis on the social components of the past, preserving structures from oblivion. The localization of space and its geo-epistemology is primarily a cultural phenomenon. It profiles buildings through discourse and interaction. The significance of leisure time and its cultivation in developed cities brings forth feelings of spatial recognition and motivates various needs. The fight for the existential minimum of the citizens living in numerous cities of developing countries robs cult places of their significance, while myths can only be found in religious shrines.

**Key words:** cult places, devastation of space, spatial orientation landmarks, globalization, cities

### I

A cult place represents the socio-psychological quality of a social space or a physical object in it which gives meaning and significance to human communities or populations as a whole. The self-perception of people in the space reflects the dynamic social activism which emerges as a specific form of cultural experience and transformation of nature. In this sense, man's world and cultural significance are created on the basis of a reduced understanding of a place, its designation, cultural structuring with an articulated or obsolete purpose.

Along with historical development, the “cult place”, as an integral part of spatial and total culture, changes its meaning and form, increasingly giving way to devastating chaos, as well as to the secular pattern of urban culture. The urbanization of social forms shows a contradictory character in the historical shaping of the cult place. These forms and the preceding, pre-urban undifferentiation of nature, constitute a moving point in the apparent perceptiveness of our phenomenon. The theoretical perception of the “cult place” in the urban environment is one of the most complex levels of considering space from the viewpoint of human daily life. Nevertheless, the history of the cult place has left material and spiritual traces which suggested its genesis and the foundation of regularity regarding its formation.

In the Middle Ages, space was sacralized, hierarchized and legally segregated. For example, prostitutes were not allowed to conduct their business in the vicinity of the church. In addition, nature was undoubtedly sacralized, and movement in space aroused fear based on the belief that forests, trees and hills were full of spirits. Therefore, any space in which people stayed or rested had to be sacralized through the erection of miniature constructions, most often crosses or other Christian symbols. In addition, the world was represented as a concentric circle in the center of which was an area with the highest potential for *good*, while *evil* could be gleaned more as one moved closer to the outer circumference. Consequently, Dincelbacher reminds us of the medieval *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (between 1357 and 1371) which states that Christianity is in the center, Greek Orthodoxy is still relatively close to the center, while the Muslims are further from it, followed by Asian idol worshipers, and finally at the edge of the world, there are monsters (Dincelbacher, 2009: 505)

As such, dormancy, consistent with the church order, represented the equivalent of a desirable moral capacity. Therefore, despite the chaos of traffic and almost savage mobility filled with stress, today's cities reflect a new ideological order based on the democratization of everyday life. They do not form a gradation of values in this way, to a certain extent, the values maintain their uniform level without the need for moral judgment through the invocation of religious symbols.

In Modern Age, peasant culture views space as a means of economic utilitarianism, while the beginnings of experiencing aestheticism can be found in the urban areas... In short, the peasant saw wheat fields, pastures, firewood and construction where the city dweller began to observe, listen to and smell the scenery, flowers, meadows and lush forests simply for the sake of enjoyment (Pt. Stromyer, 2009: 511). Therefore, the devastation of the structure over a long continuity of historical time, including today, is largely an urban experience as a response to the peasantry and provincial relationship with space. In modern

society, every form of devastation of space is seen as almost blasphemous. Particularly sinful is the destruction of forests for the sake of industrial and urban growth and personal needs.

However, in earlier times, deforestation was a constructive act and, in the time of Charlemagne's rule, it was even considered a pious act (Kinel, 2009: 471). This practice was based on the perception of the forest at the time, in which the absence of traffic dictated the perception of space. The forest could be nothing more than a threatening place and a source of great unease. With its deforestation for agriculture, foundations have been for the artificial structures in the making, and consequently cult sites and city landmarks.

In order for a place within an urban agglomeration to carry the attribute of a cult destination and the like, its name should be universally adopted and recognizable in communication and public discourse. Certainly, if it is a place outside of the realm of professional work which reflects the current function related to group visits - it deserves to be cult. However, without a social relationship established with it by at least two persons, people cannot recognize the meanings in space or the connective tissue of the social recognition of places. The individual in itself is incompatible with the logic of the cult place. His "private inherent spirituality" is a meaning without society which cannot be reduced to its wider use. For example, a monk who does not visit his sacred space and who is without occasional, if not more widespread, social support, remains a mere hermit breaking tradition and doing a disservice to the memory. The private and the cult are incompatible beyond the sphere of mutual conceptual understanding.

In a word, a cult place corresponds to the requirement of sociability and urbanity, even in its beginnings and underdeveloped forms. The linguistic pattern for putting emphasis on a place is not just a matter of meaningfully marking the space and its meaning. Communication, mediated by the name of a place and determined by voluntary action, becomes the same as space itself, a motive for its exploitation. Considering the theoretical perspective and the tasks we have set out regarding this topic, we distinguish several types of cult places:

- a) *Hedonistic places* are sites of high tourism, usually located not far from, but still outside of the city center. Some examples of these cult places include Avala, Lovćen, Oplenac, Petrova Gora and the like. These places provide enjoyment while fulfilling the needs for rest and consumption.
- b) *Hedonistic places located in the very center of the urban area*. These places are agglomerations of different, often incomparable cultural levels and numbers of both visitors and people native to the city. They can have permanent (traditional) and

periodically organized content. The dynamics and organization of their events are their basic feature (Guča, Dubai, Pamplona, Open Heart Street (Belgrade), Mimosa Festival, etc.).

- c) *Cultural places of developed artistic production.* They inherit a passive articulation of a specific purpose which preserves the memory of a development complex of special artistic purpose.
- d) *Toponyms located in the megalopolis itself* are linked to monumental buildings of high culture (Brandenburg Gate, Big Ben, Bois de Boulogne, Eiffel Tower, etc.).
- e) *Ideological places with a former and possibly present purpose.* The very names of these places testify to the ideological significance or their recurrence (Youth Center, Partisan House, Air Force Command Building, etc.).
- f) *Places with names of recurrent historical meaning with a modified purpose structure.* There is no dividing line between this type and the ideological type.
- g) *Dedicated places with a healing purpose, also known as shrines.* Their main feature is their tourist-financial articulation and partial, mostly predominant displacement from the city (Our Lady, Ostrog, etc.).
- h) *Monumental shrines located in the city center,* which include of prominent temples of great cultural reach.

In all these types of cult sites, there exists a need to establish different levels of urbanization, to build road infrastructure and to occasionally rebuild structures. Their common feature is that they have grown into sites of great national or emotional significance. However, the way people behave and their changing lifestyles testify that human emotion tends to extend to the formation of a special psychology and the tendency to place cult places and attitudes toward festivities in a more dynamic context in the space, thereby affecting personal experience in changed life conditions.

The everyday life of the 21st century testifies to the disappearance of event cult places and the emotionality in them. Therefore, expressive and spiritual changes in the behavior are the best replacement for them. New Year's greetings charged with emotion, pathetically listing off best wishes to acquaintances are replaced by a cold, restrained and polite greeting. The cult places of traditional gathering are disappearing by moving to other locations. The dislocation of important events is an integral part of the democratization of culture. At least when it comes to Belgrade, the oasis of Košutnjak is a cult place for a May Day gathering - has displaced the joy of gathering on Ada Ciganlija and Ušže. New Year celebrations have

changed from a carnival atmosphere of unbridled optimism to a calm and collected night of drinking, devoid of exaggerated and euphoric optimism.

Dislocation of festivities is usually the result of the search for a more attractive location. It is linked to the proximity of central areas, better traffic connections, a chain of catering services and interesting content. With further spatial development, the festivity becomes socially and economically viable at the new location. The old site does not die, but its number of visitors goes down, being reduced to local residents or picky nature lovers. The technical infrastructure required by the event is not delivered to Košutnjak because it is more cost-effective to wait at Ušće or Ada. The development of modern urban space is the most common cause of the dislocation of cult events. The older generations remember a set of specific places where the almost forgotten rock and roll and twist were once danced. These places remained only as toponyms recognizable by their old name.

Profit consciousness determines and changes the location of traditional events, replacing the spiritual cult with more earthly goals which are most often economic in nature. Richards and Palmer (2013), referring to Long's (2004) observation, note that the Morecambe Punk Festival was held at a British seaside resort where many punks often gathered in the 1970s. However, despite significant support from the city council of Morecambe, the event was later moved to Blackpool due to the lower cost of the festival. The aforementioned authors consider that public space is accessible to different groups that may have different views on the right to use those spaces. As for events, they are transient, and arguments for the use of space must be recreated (Richards & Palmer, 2013: 73). The more activities in one place, the greater the diversity of people (in terms of gender, age, individuals and groups), and the better the distribution of these activities throughout the day, the better the result (Ibid, 77).

A walk in the sunlit streets represents a new challenge, replacing the dullness and depressing nature of the family home. The street has become a civilized form of solace, changing the content of what is experienced. No longer is there a *code* of loyalty to the dominant cultural pattern. Shocking practices do not arouse curiosity and are not perceived as code violations.

People's obsession with work and space, despite developmental assumptions, will often run into a dead end of kitsch and the collapse of what is considered sacred by generations and nations.

Hyper-consumer consciousness has exerted pressure on the thought and the physical experience of space. The expansion of the church, for example, does not have a spiritual

component only, but a physical-spatial one as well. There is already a threshold in place which separates healthy sacramental institutional life from kitsch and ignorance. Mobile churches (which can be transported via vehicle) are already a reality, just like fast food trucks and other human needs which can be fulfilled via order. However, the spirit has specific autonomy because it feeds on itself, despite the fact that its reproductive reservoir of ideas lies in facing reality. It rejects all communication barriers, except the one with which it protects itself from moral depravity, violence and ignorance. In short, the church should not come to people via a mode of transportation; instead people should go to the church themselves. Shrines must have a place of their own. Otherwise, it is not a shrine. In short, from a civilization standpoint and from the standpoint of the subtle experience of spirituality, the dislocation of the cult place of a religious shrine is not possible.<sup>1</sup>

However, the former splendor, significance and primacy of local churches may fade. Even though almost every temple has a rich history, the Topčider church serves as the most striking example of the previous claim. In this church, many greats of Serbian history have met their spiritual needs. Today it is on the sidelines of spiritual events. Churches in the central zones are, of course, the ones most visited.

The philosophy of comfort and technical rationality influences the location of creative work at an essential level. Science has also become bureaucratic in that the activity of its workers is carried out exclusively in classrooms, laboratories, behind a table and with a planned focus on the subject of the research. Spontaneity also disappears, and it seems that the time when great ideas and values were created while “on the toilet” has passed. Planning orientation and a uniform stereotypical creation framework is an official relationship that mainly meets the needs of status. Drafts of doctoral dissertations used to be written at bus stations and in transit, while today their creation without the use of laptops and Skype can be hardly imagined.

And what of the individual and their relationship with the need for clear navigation? Does the myth of a cult place reflect their cultural and everyday needs in the first decades of the new millennium? The analysis of a poll conducted on a sample of 100 adult citizens of Belgrade reveals that 90% have a preferred barber shop, 86% buy baked goods at the same bakery on weekends, 61% get their meat and drinks at cheaper discount stores, 73% go to

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<sup>1</sup> The McDonaldization of the shrine at the national did not manage to escape the stupidity of high politics promoted by the greatest power in the world either. In proposing a solution to the Serb-Albanian dispute, in an outpouring of “generosity” towards the Serbs, Bill Clinton state once: if Gračanica is a problem, it’s not out of the question that it could just be moved.

their favorite kafana (café), in which they meet with friends or business partners. The cult places where people supply themselves with their clothing also remain unchanged (64%). The place where they go to their summer vacations also remains consistent (60%). An insistence on the security and certainty of a pleasant feeling and an affordable price, determine the space of our needs and creates our everyday routine.

Despite the mobility of people in today's dynamic society, random choices are becoming less common. People remain attached to places, recovering from stress by fixating on the places they have chosen based on the pricing of the service, residential status, social status, preferences and choice of partner. Habit and dormancy become an alternative to endless "snooping around" and the former logic of "going for a look." Recreation walks and cycling are moments that do not change despite the need to see everything. The greater the previous activity and the richer the experience of visiting exclusive tourist destinations, the greater the need for security and quieter places as a hallmark of personal property and habit. Furthermore, institutions lose their attachment and fixation to a particular place, the aspirations of an individual expressed through a fixation aimed at winning and occupying one's favorite micro space.

Three decades ago, the concept of a stable and proven place of good youth entertainment was inseparable from university life and its impeccable organization in the pursuit of democracy, financial initiative and a model of concentrated happiness that would later be diluted by the political pluralisation of society. Going to the KST (the students of technology club) represent the peak of belonging to one space, a feeling that legitimized an exciting status among more passive and indecisive peers.

Saturday gatherings heightened the feeling and beauty of the anticipation with a spontaneously formed consciousness of the obligations that should be completed in time. Beyond these fond memories there remains a crater of transitional change, with many atomized and temporary groups and individuals of young people predisposed to apathetically evoke depression. The birth of these dramatic differences stems partly from the altered physiognomy of the cult place. However, the apparent sense of personalization, inflation of sports offerings, digitalization, hyper-differentiation of consumption and passion for pets have influenced the production of a prosaic and alienated space, lazy walking and a divorce from tradition.

Regardless of the geographical space of the emergence of cities, the cult place associated with them is the product of a Western mindset and a strategy to remodel the space functionally, to plan and to abandon the dynamics of Eastern streets, associated with

multifunctional chaos. This trend was observed in the colonial authorities in India, with their intention to put the carnival experience of the street under the control of regulation, and to have the space organized. Edensor (2002) writes that Western street spaces are designed to stimulate desires: to escape, to meet others, to overcome everyday existence (Edensor, 2002: 301). Therefore, the target objects of demand and actual needs are given the reference of the framework of space and reinforce the marking of places and important buildings.

However, Edensor also wrote about the culture of the Indian street, in which literally everything could be found and in which the cult of the place inevitably and spontaneously disappears. Taking a buffalo down the street loafing, playing cards, cooking, washing, conducting personal hygiene, all reflect what Edensor described as a constant flow of temporary pleasure, fun and transaction (Edensor, 2002: 292). In these circumstances, resistance to the feeling of ownership and emotions towards it are also weakened. This sentiment which dispels the myth of ingrained urban identity models is conditioned by the misery of the slum ridiculing the aesthetics of space. Consequently, in their construction and deconstruction, Chandhoke (1993) recognized an unarticulated feeling of revenge through which these people clash with history and geography (Chandhoke, 1993:64). Can this trend not be observed in the members of the new entrepreneurial class in our own country, whose work is the reason Pušić spoke about the complete sale of the city.

In his writings on the modern trend of opening Belgrade cafes during the 1990s, Maširević expresses his belief that the problem involves the misunderstanding of the reciprocity of man and the space, whereby the space is something one puts up with rather than being pleased by. (Maširević, 1996:297). Reorganization of space in modern capitalism, he conceived the idea of exclusivity which loosely floats on the superficial foundations of prosaism. Therefore, exclusivity usually stems only from the novelty and lasts as long as the sense of novelty itself. I do not know of any other city, said Maširević, where the novelty and attractiveness of a place was consumed as quickly as they are in Belgrade (293). Certainly, the myth of a cult place in an urban environment cannot neglect the factor of meeting between people. However, the loss of high-quality exclusivity of the meeting place in the post-socialist remodeling of space is the result of superficiality in personal relationships that have arisen as a result of the collective obsession with digital consumerism. People are increasingly less likely to actually hear others, much less themselves. One can no longer speak of the meeting, which, up until now used to be something taken for granted. (Maširević, 1996:297).

The mercantilist transformation of urban forms has stripped the static serenity of the force anchoring it into a historically and spiritually recognizable space. Certainly, the pleasure of meeting, as a specific form of personal relationship, was also taken away. Auge (1995) argues that urban spaces such as residential areas and shopping malls lack context, history and identity. Moreover, they are more of a transit zone than a “place of residence”, a place of “exchange” rather than a meeting place or intersection where communication (with its own codes, ideas and strategies) takes place, and where the affected language of sociability is not used (Auge, 1995: 107- 108). In a word, the cult of exchange is a global geographical phenomenon, to be limited by the “cult of place” with particular preference and romantic values of pleasure and interpersonal meeting.

A modern city which emphasizes the need for a leisure break in relation to the conventional place, testifies to the mode of sociability which is established in relaxed communication. As the myths and cults of modern society fade, so do the myths of cult places intended for a relaxing break lose out on their former tenacity. The homogenization of a certain group reinforces the need for the same space and a place which becomes the traditional location for their gatherings. However, breaking down compactness due to the division of labor and different interests opens up spaces to other animosities as well. In this sense, the splitting and dislocation from the former place become common. So, for example, a man from Danilovgrad asked me to write a review of one of his manuscripts and we agreed to meet at Terazije. After we met, as I suggested that we then go to the kafana in hotel Moscow, he asked if we could go elsewhere, explaining that many of his “pesterers” (fellow countrymen - Z.G.) frequently go there. On the other hand, physical distances usually bring people from the same place closer together, so when they find themselves in a foreign place, every meeting place becomes a cult place.

However, we have seen places with a high level of persistence and traditionally high estimation of value. In addition to the aforementioned churches, the spiritual incorporation of cult places into the consciousness of people encompasses other traditional and modern preoccupations. The cult of the grave site where people indulge in memories, restoring reverence for their dead, the spatial ambience of political events, and the intellectual type of sacred place, where the institution is the subject of utmost respect should all be mentioned here. Therefore, it is not surprising that the toponym of a university site is still perceived today as a temple of science, combining the prefix of the sacred with the mundane. All these types of traditional place-related gatherings reflect people's need for sociability, culture and achievement. Furthermore, today's political and economic summits held around the world

relate to specific topics, while their annual frequency of gathering is similar to religious ritualization.

The traditional values of certain universities establish the sacralization of their perception, regarding the popularity, quality and cult of the place. According to Sardar in a British supreme court composed of legal lords, only two representatives of Scotland and Northern Ireland were not educated at Oxford or Cambridge (Sardar, 2017: 214). Today, however, hyper differentiation in the form of the choice of faculties given to young students is being imposed on them as a dramatic choice. In the past, the traditional root of knowledge was seen as being attached to only a few reputable universities and colleges. In the Yugoslav countries, however, it is only after an affair, and the subsequent shock resulting from it, that some of the former media stars and prominent figures are denounced.

## II

From the point of view of modern tourism, the physiognomy of the cult place is determined by the globalization of traffic. The promenade around hotel “Yugoslavia” is a very peaceful and uninteresting place which I jog by disinterestedly. However, this boring place has been visited for years by groups of foreign tourists who are simply fascinated by it. Globalization has made the place we live in almost worthy of resentment. Today, preferential self-denial is typical not only in relation to the space in which we lead our daily lives, but in relation to the political (self)perception of our country and the conditions within it as well. Most people interviewed think that the conditions in their area are bad when compared to others, if not the actual worst. This perception becomes all the more powerful if the feeling of loneliness and stress in today's cities is more pronounced. Nothing is like it used to be, the dissatisfied in Sarajevo exclaim, just as much as those in Paris do.

My walking habit is no longer a form of sociability, but an expression of the mentally and subjectively experienced loneliness in which only the eyes remain alive. The new world order has brought strife and bitterness - and of course, kitsch as the supreme expression of existence. With the fall of the Berlin wall the *code* of good etiquette fell too. I live on sentiment and mention places in the light of current events even though they no longer exist. Today, their names are mere landmarks for orientation in urban environments. Nowadays, it is not uncommon for old citizens of Zemun to arrange to meet at the *cavalry school*, even though the Traffic-technical school and newsstand chains have been in operating in its stead for 72 years.

For decades the Belgrade Youth Center has been a cult place in the spatial orientation of citizens, though no one really knows exactly what is located there. An unsightly kafana without any indication that there was ever a Youth Center there, with occasional scattered cranes and construction machinery - is the décor people are most likely to see there. Homes, markets and kafana have become the frames of reference for linguistic map and public communication. They live on not only in people's memories, instead continuing their journey in a different, new form. Space and linguistic form constitute the common denominator of unique emotion.

Public consciousness is a reflection of greater persistence and perseverance than the arrogant attitude towards space and its futile exploitation. The conflict between spirit and matter, at least in the linguistic form, is in favor of the spirit, a victory over the inordinate expansion and the suppression of former forms. The endless present which, through the exploitation of space, conquers the future is the illusion of victory over the past and the power of memory. On the contrary, the order of memory is the same as resistance based on the self-foundation of the history of a space.

The process of renaming streets as a form of ethnocentrism and signifying a divorce with the communist past has been ongoing in Belgrade since 1989. However, despite the old name signs being removed, some streets still live on with their old names. Pohorska and Goče Delčeva could not be reduced to just an artifact of the past because they are symbols of New Belgrade, its origin and recognition. In the official correspondence I do not hesitate to say and sign that I am from Pohorska, despite the name of the street having been officially changed. This is done by its other residents as well, without any repercussions or reprimands.

A precondition for a toponym to maintain its old name is a sufficiently deep spiritual meaning, an attitude of self-respect regarding personal history in particular. Does this mean that the Belgrade Beer and Dust Festival or the Exit Festival in Novi Sad will preserve the hope of its future in general? I doubt it. Despite the ability of city authorities to raise capital and use events to create a brand - the nature of controversial events does not inspire hope for their survival. "Taš", "Topčiderska zvezda", "Gospodarska mehana", "Krst" - are toponyms where something was happening and which have almost no remaining visible features today. They are not the same as their meaning, because other than emotions, routine learning about institutions and their spontaneous adoption are crucial for people.

However, cult places of official religious life, such as "Our Lady" and "Ostrog", hold a mark of holiness almost exclusively only for the outside population who find meaning in pilgrimage. The *ad-hoc* anchoring of residential structures counteracts the sense of

experiencing a cultural place as a cult one. The mission of cult places in the spatial structure of cities is to strive to give meaning to our actions and serve as landmarks for orientation, to encourage motivation in expanding scientific topics and choosing methodological procedures.

In the scientific sense, they bring together the psychological with architectural discourse, anthropology with the people's economic needs, and the inextricable philosophical and sociological approach. In anthropological terms, cult places extend the range of spiritual topics from national history and culture, urbanization, urbanism and activities of daily life to the secularization of ordinary and religious life.

The cult place is a daily expression of the established unity of the worldly and the sacred; the mundane and the special; the global and the local; the emotional and the interest driven; the mercantile and the recreational, the festive and the sad. In all these circumstances, "cult places" produce and shape space, and space the motivation and physical effort that brings us closer to a cult place in the pursuit of our daily goals.

The mythology of the cult place could not exist without the ideological control of space. Its recomposition seeks to establish structures which will promote monumental buildings as recognizable points of identification. When the totalitarian system begins with forced production of space and urbanism tailored to the system, new forms of cult places are created, with the physical disappearance of the old ones. However, the traditional collapse of the spatial structure implemented by communist architecture did not erase the traces of old memories, instead establishing an attitude of duality in the naming the old places. This is despite the frequent devastation of old dedicated structures - a sign of the democratization of a culture in which architectural solutions offer the potential for free expression according to political and sensual affinity. For example, Pušić (2009:27) emphasizes the presence of political nostalgia, which very strongly marks each time period and every city, being in clear view in some places and only barely discernable in others.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> It is an indisputable fact that waves of political influence sometimes flood the walls of the cult place, giving it an interesting physiognomy. On the other hand, they can also hide the accumulated layers which deny or conceal its cult attribute. The political manipulation of the cult place subordinates structures to a particular interest by placing them within the living framework of history. The politicization of the cult place in modern religious life is not only present in the current political decisions of the schismatic fragmentation of churches, but in the prevention of free religion in the name of the so-called laws of God as well.

The immortalization of a cult place is justified by the negation of earthly needs and the hazy representation of the "will of God". In denying the independent status of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Patriarch of Moscow and all Rus' recalls: "if the Lord will not build a home, those building it do so in vain; if the Lord will not guard the city, it is in vain that the guard stays awake" (PS.126, 1).

A cult place can also be a product of selective and specific human, minority needs because it is created to live, not to be limited and temporary. The contradictory declaration of divine fiction has no advantage in constituting the vision of a cult place, when compared to an endeavor which seeks more selective needs. It

Many today still refer to Kralja Petra Street in Belgrade as “7. Jula”, which confirms the relative attitude towards the perception of democratic change and what we perceive as totalitarianism today.<sup>3</sup> More precisely, both time periods, although severe and historically turbulent, carry certain value potentials which result in the more relaxed attitude regarding the use of linguistic patterns when referring to landmarks for orientation in the big city. This perception of the values which underpin the persistence of a cult place would most converge with the part of the urban image that Harvey refers to as the *collective symbolic capital* (Harvey, 2013:192). However, when true totalitarianism is defeated, verbal sensualization and caution in the willingness to use a new name become as imperative of both culture and rights.

A certain supermarket that has emerged from the business wave of hyper-consumerist society and communication of cultural idleness can no longer be considered a reliable or culturally relevant object for people to orient themselves and navigate the space by. It is an expression of the forced McDonaldization of consumer culture which erases old structures and establishes a chain order. Countless small identification points created decades ago are gradually dying out, except for those who have already entered the public consciousness and have remained inseparable from the spirit of a city and its longevity.

There are squares where there are monuments of historical figures or figures that symbolize various values, such as freedom and patriotism. The significance of this space is more greatly dependant on the context of everyday needs than on raising awareness of the importance that the historical figure it represents. Space is more important than the image, regardless of the fact that it is culturally defined by the figure. School field trips and young couples in love, who are almost completely uninterested in the symbolism of its meaning,

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tells of the spirit, obscuring its light and creating an illusion of it, it contests *the other* in the glory of the monopoly, not God. Therefore, city structures with the attributes of a cult place are the highest contributors to spontaneous rhythm as they are offered through visual perception, contributing to urban awareness by recognizing goals in everyday interactions of interactional pacification.

The power of the linguistic form in relation to the cult place and its manipulation does not bypass the area of high tourism. Kosovo is a “holy land”, but why did it (as a whole) not form an integral part of branding and tourism before its occupation? Jovanović D. (2008) notes that strategies, as well as brochures, seek to nullify or embellish, while tourism and branding the perfect channel to suppress the unwanted image. Marginalizing nationalism, branding is also a process of pacification (Jovanovic, 2008: 112)

<sup>3</sup> When asked how they perceived and referred to this street, as many as 68% of respondents have shown that they are attached to the old name. A contingent of senior citizens aged 50 and over was attached to the old name, while the younger ones, understandably, linked their perception of the street to the new (changed) name. The more crowded and famous a street like the Boulevard is, the more likely it is that not only will it retain the old name, but also that the inclination and attachment to the “old” will be ideologically motivated. In both cases (Bulevar revolucije and 7. Jula Street), they led the respondents to choose the name they did through deep-seated habit and the identity of the area.

meet up at the square. The space marking the place is important. What is more important than the moment of happiness followed by a kiss between friends who have not seen each other for a long time and the relief that the toponym has served the purpose of allowing them to do so.

Ultimately, dialectics, imitation (copying), planning and discovering new spaces are hallmarks of globalization which undermine the spontaneous routine and experience of the cult place. Space and city events are becoming a top interest of city administrations. The creation of an image and profit displaces the significance of cultural points from one place to another. In this sense, the importance of the place becomes less sacralized, and increasingly hedonistic and routinely calculated in its motivation. Physical structures and objects have become literally physically and statically perceived in the processes of invoking thought and creating everyday life.

Literally, cult places, albeit related to culture, fade before the rush of cultural consumption and the creation of new spaces. Lipovetsky (2008:239) notes the expansion of cafes, restaurants, fashion boutiques, craft shops, exhibition galleries and multiplex halls in modern cities. This prosaic world of superficiality in which the entertaining city is ready for market and cultural consumption breaks up identification symbols and establishes unplanned *ad-hoc* meeting places. Moving festivals enrich immovable structures which face the risk of devastation and disappearance. However, today's manifestations should take care not to create new dangerous places which should not be visited. (Richards & Palmer, 2013: 335). Unfortunately, a dangerous life does not desacralize space and place, instead, it breathes in specific myths and new standards of pride into it. Hedonism too is deculturalized. The idea of pairing indulgent overeating with clean air is not to enjoy nature and even less to show respect for the place. New places are becoming questionable from the standpoint of cultural content. Formerly linked to culture and religion, today spaces of forced dynamic rhythm and unbridled consumption are artificially calculated.

We have observed that there is a multifunctional character to the street in the developing world, where the distinction between public, private and intimate life disappears. The very center of a city is the picture of event which go beyond the stereotypical rules of cultural behavior, shaping the various rhythms and structures of polycentric chaos.

### III

*Emotional transmission theory* reminds us of the well-established tendency of urban habit to give names to structures and spaces in spite of their altered function or the questionability of their existence. Unlike the *polycentric chaos theory*, in which the notions of cult places are rendered meaningless, emotional transmission theory reinforces the social components of the past, preserving structures from oblivion. The theory polycentric chaos refers to the insignificant routine activities of scattered individual aspirations beyond a deeper spiritual meaning. Decultification through the exploitation of city streets, along with many personal intimate activities, creates the assumptions that motivate the orderly organization of space, and thus, the emergence of modern cults.

On the other hand, they are also irrelevant because of the collective hustle and bustle in which the preoccupations of road users with safety and concentration on the road itself distract them from the developed sense of perception, selection and differentiation of objects in space. The significance of leisure time and its cultivation in developed cities brings forth feelings of spatial recognition and motivates various needs. The fight for the existential minimum of the citizens living in numerous cities of developing countries robs cult places of their significance, while myths can only be found in religious temples.

*Perceptual theory* puts emphasis on the anticipation of structures whose origin is explained by their current state based on the observed characteristics of space. These theories seek the possibility of historically shaping the cult place, however, they suffer somewhat from implicit, generalized and subjectivist solutions, based on the construction of existing connections that we perceive in the urban environment. Therefore, the cult place, although recognized in inter-personal interaction, is defined as a significantly recognizable space from the perspective of social values. Writing about the kafana specifically, Marinković, Ristic, and L.Marinković (2016) emphasize the importance of the *third place* which breaks down the walls between family and production, between productive sexuality and labor productivity (Marinković, Ristić, L.Marinković, 2016: 40).

Still, it (the kafana - Z.G.) is just one of the places with the attribute of the third, a place marked with the feature of reconciliation and compensating between the aforementioned existential poles. There are many such places which enrich the idea of *freedom* in the prevalence of necessity. *Necessity* and *freedom* are intertwined in the marking of places which determine and plan current needs. Rationality, as understood in Weber's terms, connects means and ends, meaningful movement in space. Between them, structures

that do not obstruct the human notion of mere means of orientation hold no deeper meaning. Localization of space as part of its geo-epistemology is primarily a cultural phenomenon. In it, structures are profiled through discourse and interaction. The cult place is neither the third nor the first destination in the importance attributed to it by *homo urbanicus*, but a form of existence which is given meaning while enriching the diversity of space and mind. The aforementioned authors also rightfully add to time and knowledge to this relation, without the context of which the phenomenology of the cult place cannot be understood.

Certainly, it should be noted that the modern age places the cult place on the plane of the individual and personal, and maybe that of the smallest groups as well, with motivation that is less collectivist-based. From the 1990s to the present day, the rise of social aberrations has shaped urban forms with violent valence, with the primary message that tragic events should be preserved from oblivion. Until then, it was just a specifically shaped rural phenomenon or a feature of the road suburbs. The likenesses of dead young men have become urban legends that have been decorating the facades of some apartment buildings for more than two decades. With them, specific places of death such as lawns, plazas, stairs and entrances are clearly marked. In the end, such a local-memorial form of culture became a significant form of communication in which compassion suppressed intolerance, reconciling public and private interest, eventually making the idea of remodeling them into a taboo (mis)deed.

Finally, out of respect towards Professor Ljubinko Pušić and his famous work “Grad bez lica” (“The City without a Face”) a reminder that this distinguished person has written about a pluralistic map symbolizing what constitutes a city is not out of place. However, in this humble addendum, I started from the other end of the “coast”, where thoughts converge according to the singular recognition of the place. Pušić has undoubtedly successfully combined the aforementioned tendencies of thinking in the historical perception of the identity of a city when he states: There need to be those who are able to preserve the acquired, but also those who are shrewd enough to see through the hardships of time and what needs to be changed, to build on the old and create the new (Pušić, 2009: 346).

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## THE ECOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE POST-SOCIALIST URBAN TRANSFORMATION: THE GREEN SPACES OF NOVI SAD

**Abstract:** More than 30 years after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the academic debate about the character of post-socialist urban transformations is still very live. While those debates are mainly focused on the built environment, the transformation of natural environment in the post-socialist urban context has been largely missing from the discussion. This paper aims to fill this gap and start from the assumption that the ecological consequences of post-socialist transformation of cities present a key challenge for their further (sustainable) development. We test this assumption by focusing on the transformation of green spaces in Novi Sad, second largest city in Serbia. First, we analyze the role of green spaces in the planning documents between 1950 and 2019 and then comparatively analyze the results of two surveys (from 2009 and 2019) aimed to identify citizens satisfaction with the green spaces in Novi Sad. In conclusion, we point to the suppression of green spaces in the planning documentation at the expense of other urban forms and functions, and show how opinions of citizens reflect these changes. Finally, we argue for the deeper integration of the ecological dimension in the post-socialist urban studies.

**Key words:** Post- socialist urban transformation; City; Green spaces; Novi Sad

### INTRODUCTION

The post-socialist city literature mainly focuses on changes in the a) built environment, such as housing transformations (Petrović, 2004) and urban morphology, b) socio-cultural changes, such as new patterns of urban lifestyle and new urban symbols (Spasić, 2019) and c) political changes, such as the new urban actors (Seferagić, 2007). Transformations of the natural environment and the ecological dimension have been largely missing from these discussions. The artificial distinction between “human” or “built” and “natural” environment has a deep root in sociological thinking and leaves the urban sociology and the post-socialist city debate stuck in “human exemptionalism paradigm” (Catton and Dunlap, 1978). This paper aims to fill this gap and start from the assumption that the ecological consequences of the post-socialist transformation of cities present a key challenge for their further (sustainable) development. We test this assumption by focusing on the transformation of green spaces in Novi Sad. First, we briefly show the role of green spaces in

the planning documents between 1950 and 2019 and then comparatively analyze the results of two surveys (from 2009 and 2019) aimed to identify citizens satisfaction with the green spaces in Novi Sad. In conclusion, we point to the suppression of green spaces in the planning documentation at the expense of other urban forms and functions, and show how opinions of citizens reflect these changes. Finally, we argue for the deeper integration of the ecological dimension in the post-socialist urban studies.

### **Urban ecology of the post-socialism**

The urban greenery, such as parks, forests and gardens are vital parts of urban landscapes that can positively influence human well-being (Hartig et al. 2014; Jackson et al. 2013; Wolf and Robbins 2015). Besides, green spaces in a close proximity to home encourage exercise, improve mental health and reduce overall levels of stress. According to Ognjen Čaldarović and Jana Šarinić (2008) the social importance of nature in the urban context has the following elements: 1) direct use value - landscapes suitable for tourism, walking, hiking, the esthetical value of the landscapes, 2) indirect use value: maintaining the existing ecosystem, microclimate, biodiversity and 3) potential use-value which can be achieved in the future for tourism, sports activities, etc. Limited access to urban green spaces and their respective health benefits also include environmental and social justice issues (Jennings et al. 2012). The spatial distribution of green spaces affects the extent that people from all socioeconomic groups can access these environments.

The process of urbanization is profoundly changing landscapes around the world and brings whole series of both opportunities and risks for individuals, societies and ecosystems. Urbanization is thus the main setting in which humans are transforming the natural ecosystems with both positive and negative consequences. The demands placed on rapidly diminished green space are only expected to increase as over 60% of land expected to become urban by 2030 has yet to be built (Secretariat of the Convention of Biological Diversity 2012; Jennings, 2017).

Out of the many definitions of sustainable urban development, mostly organized around the idea of balanced economic, social and ecological dimension, we refer here to the definition of Rebeca Glasscock who state that “a sustainable city develops responsibly and is doing its best to preserve the natural environment, to conserve resources and to minimize impacts on the local and wider natural environment” (Glasscock, according to Pušić, 2014, 244).

Urbanization patterns and their ecological consequences certainly differ around the world which emphasise the importance of the contextual approach to the issue of sustainable urbanization. The global south is mainly characterized by the weakly controlled hyper urbanization and the lack of ecological considerations in urban planning and development. The cities in the global north, on the other hand, pursue the sustainable planning but also have the highest ecological footprints.

The post-socialist urbanization and urban development patterns have a specific ecological consequence but these are highly missing from the global sustainable city debates. Some recent studies pointed out how harsh transition to a capitalist mode of urban development led to the (uneven) production of urban nature in a post-socialist context (Gibas, Boumová, 2020). The same authors suggested that nature becomes part of urban space by means of an interconnected process of planning (and related policies) and everyday practices (of taking care of natural elements in the city) (ibid.).

Following that, this paper will try to address the question: How did the post-socialist urban transformation, both on the level of planning and the everyday practices, effected the urban green spaces? We will look into this question on the example of the city of Novi Sad.

## METHODOLOGY

In this paper we present the comparative overview of the results of two sociological surveys about the citizen's views of green public green spaces in Novi Sad. The first survey was conducted in 2009 on a quota/convenience sample of 375 respondents. First, the green spaces were selected and in the next step, respondents were selected into the sample. Respondents were initially selected on purpose (persons found in a specific green space that was included in the sample and who usually come there), and then by convenience sampling, taking into account the equal representation of respondents by gender and age. According to this principle, 56 respondents were interviewed in Limanski park, 47 in Železnički park, 55 in Danube park, 42 in Futoški park, 43 in Kamenički park, 48 in the green spaces of Petrovaradin Fortress and 54 in the Quay by the Danube.<sup>1</sup> The questionnaire contained the following groups of questions: Socio-demographic characteristics, social factors affecting the visit to certain green spaces; Satisfaction with green spaces; The way of using green spaces; Potential for active participation in the development of green spaces.

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<sup>1</sup> During the fieldwork, we make sure to care to evenly interview respondents on working days/weekends as well as at different times of the day.

A second survey was conducted in 2019 via an online survey of a sample of 325 respondents. The survey was shared across social networks without a specific target group. The questions mainly corresponded with the questions from the previous survey in 2009. This research aimed to investigate the social response to the intense changes in the built environment of the city in the previous 10 years.

Although the instruments for the data collection were almost identical, the samples on which the research was conducted do not allow a simple comparison of the data. While the first survey examined citizens we found in a specific public green space (with equal selection by gender and age) in the second survey, respondents were "met" on social networks, those attracted by the topic of the survey. This was reflected in the gender and age structure of the sample. The 2009 survey included 50% of men and 50% of women, as well as 25% of respondents over 56 years of age. The 2019 survey included 30% of men and 70% of women and only 5% of respondents over 56 years of age. Besides, we can assume that an online survey was shared on the social networks that bring together environmental activists or those interested in the state of greenery in the city. However, the observed changes cannot be connected only to the differences in the sample, but also to the general change in the social context in the city over the past ten years.

### **Contextual remarks: Novi Sad in transformation (2009-2019)**

For an adequate comparative interpretation of the results from the 2009 and 2019 surveys, it is necessary to explain the contextual changes during this period. An overview of the basic indicators of city transformation in these ten years, based on available data from the Statistical Office, is given in the following table (Table 1).

Year	Inhabitants	Inhabitants per km <sup>2</sup>	Value of the construction works	Number of finished apartments	Number of restarted motor vehicles
2011	333268	477	13.680.154	2122	88486
2013	346163	495	16.116.545	1222	95797
2015	350930	502	13.219.432	705	100524
2017	356126	509	20.655.292	2440	108938

*Table 1: Transformation of Novi Sad 2011-2017: Basic indicators (Source: RSZ<sup>2</sup>)*

<sup>2</sup> Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, Reports on the municipalities and regions in Serbia, 2012, 2014, 2016 and 2018.

The table shows the continuous demographic growth in the last ten years during which Novi Sad gained almost 23,000 new inhabitants (about 7% of the total population). Unlike most other urban areas in Serbia whose population is stagnating or declining, and similar to the capital city of Belgrade, Novi Sad continues to absorb the rural population and the population of smaller Serbian cities. In other words, Novi Sad is still being significantly influenced and modified by the urbanization process. As stated in the introduction, urbanization simultaneously brings many new opportunities to the population and (usually) goes hand in hand with economic growth and improvement of living standards, but on the other hand, it also produces many socio-environmental risks and challenges. The role of the urban planning is to mediate this transformation, to support the positive aspects of urbanization and to minimize their environmental and other risks at the same time.

Data on population increase per square kilometer, show how urbanization in Novi Sad leads to increased population density. Increasing density in sociological terms can lead to an increase in sociability and vitality of the city, but on the other hand, requires thorough planning and balancing between the needs of a growing population and the maintenance and improvement of quality of life. When it comes to green spaces, an increase in population density can lead to a decrease in a green fund and public urban spaces in general at the expense of housing construction, which, as the table shows, is also increasing. With the good planning, these problems can be avoided, as can be seen from the example of Vienna, in which the population density is 4,000 inhabitants per square kilometer, but nevertheless, it has extensive urban greenery that is evenly distributed throughout the city (about 60% of the city space).

The table finally shows a drastic increase in motor vehicles in this period, by as much as 23%. This, on the one hand, reflects the demographic growth and rising standards of the population, but on the other, insufficient investment in public transport and insufficient promotion of environmentally friendly modes of transport. It is well known that uncontrolled growth of motor vehicles followed by poor public transport is one of the key causes of the unsustainability of major cities in the world. In addition to traffic jams and pollution, motor vehicles also require the construction of parking lots and garages, which are often built on the expense of the green spaces.

Poorly planned urbanization also leads to increased pressure on the social infrastructure of the city, which is developing at a much slower pace compared to demographic and economic changes. Statistical yearbooks show that the development of

the social infrastructure in Novi Sad has stagnated over the last ten years (e.g. the number of preschools, schools, health centres, etc.). In terms of culture, as an important dimension of sustainable urban development, it is not easy to identify changes in these 10 years, as reliable sources like the Statistical Office, monitor only a small number of indicators (for example, number of cinemas).

This data helps us gain a general insight into the demographic, economic, infrastructural, social and cultural changes that have taken place in Novi Sad in the last 10 years. However, indicators relating to the changes that have taken place in the urban ecosystem during this period are lacking. The only environmental indicator that is monitored - the amount of wastewater discharged - is not nearly enough to look at the ecological consequences of post-socialist urban transformation. In the public there is a wide spread information that the city's green fund has fallen to less than 5%, but this cannot be verified, because there is no systematic monitoring.

During this period, and especially in the last 5 years, there has been a rapid emergence and organization of various citizens initiatives in Novi Sad aimed at preserving green spaces. The overall increase in public attention to urban problems in general can also be observed. In the time when Ljubinko Pušić wrote the book "City without a Face" (2009), and identified the key social problems of transitional Novi Sad for the first time, environmental and urban issues were almost unknown to the public. In other words, there was no articulated political awareness of local, urban issues such as housing, green and public spaces or public transportation, and the political attention was mainly focused on the national level.

This is also one of the reasons why we cannot compare the results of the two surveys in the paper directly and without considering the socio-political context. Namely, at the time of conducting the first survey in 2009, there were no associations or groups of citizens that dealt explicitly with this topic and we can say that awareness of the importance of green spaces in the city was at a low level. Ten years later, this situation has changed significantly, and in Novi Sad (as in many other cities in Serbia), citizens' critical awareness of urban problems has increased.

### **Greenery in the planning documents**

According to Bajić (2011) who analyzed the development of greenery in the planning documents of Novi Sad, the green spaces did not evenly follow the increase in the

number of inhabitants and its development always depended on the realization of other city functions. This analysis shows that although greenery has been continuously planned since 1950 through the city's general urban plans, the model of the city being promoted and the goals being defined were not implemented in practice. For example, from the seven main recommendations of the study of urban greenery for the development of the General Urban Plan of Novi Sad in 1982 - such as the principle of compensation, seeding the new tree after every tree removal and making the greenery register - only two was realized until 2004 (Study of green and recreational areas, Institute for Urbanism, 2009). This points to the discrepancies between urban planning goals and the urban reality in the post-socialist context. Besides, this reflects the difficulty of controlling the process of urbanization in post-socialism where the greenery was collateral damage of catching-up with the developed capitalist cities.

## RESEARCH RESULTS

This part of the paper presents a comparative overview and analysis of sociological research conducted in 2009 and 2019. The following table shows a general assessment of the extent of green space in Novi Sad.

	<b>Very good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Acceptable</b>	<b>Poor</b>	<b>Very poor</b>
2009	11.90%	43.20%	33.00%	10.40%	1.60%
2019	/	4.30%	22.10%	43.90%	29.50%

*Table 2. General assessment of the extent of green spaces in Novi Sad 2009 and 2019*

The results show a significant decline in citizens' satisfaction with the green spaces in Novi Sad in the last 10 years. While in 2009 about 12% of citizens rated green space as "very good", in 2019 such cases were not recorded at all. Even more drastic difference can be seen in the "good" rating given by 43% of respondents in 2009 and only 4.3% in 2019. The representation of green spaces as "very bad" in 2009 was estimated by a negligible number of respondents (1.6%), and that rise to 29.5% in 2019.

The next table (Table 3) comparatively present satisfaction with various aspects of green spaces in Novi Sad in 2009 and 2019.

Aspects	Satisfied with the aspect <sup>3</sup>	
	2009	2019
Accessibility	71.30%	37%
Naturalness	49.00%	10%
Design	50.70%	25%
Playgrounds	25.00%	17,4%
Infrastructure	50.80%	27%
Trees, greenery	55.10%	22%
Security	38.40%	25%
Cleanness, maintenance	47.20%	22%
Cultural content	17.00%	10%
Sports facilities	19.20%	9,8%

Table 3: Satisfaction with specific aspects of green spaces in Novi Sad 2009-2019.

It can be seen that citizens' satisfaction concerning the greatest number of aspects has significantly decreased in the last 10 years.

The following table (Table 4) shows the opinion of the respondents on the best park in the city in 2009 and 2019.

2009		2019	
1.	Danube park	1.	Danube park
2.	Liman park	2.	Futoški park
3.	Kamenički park	3.	Kamenički park
4.	Futoški park	4.	Liman park

Table 4: Citizens opinion about the best park in Novi Sad 2009-2019.

The Danube Park, the central city park, retained its first position, while the Liman Park, the local neighborhood park, fell to from the second to the last place. Investments in Limanski park and the surrounding area were and still are extensive. However, all those investments turn out to be insufficient, even with the counter-effect. On the contrary, parks where natural ecosystems were not changed significantly, such as the Futoški Park maintain their position in all aspects of quality.

With the next question, we tried to analyse whether citizens think they can influence the development of green spaces in the city. The answers to this question indicate that citizens' perceptions regarding this issue have not changed significantly. Respondents are still

<sup>3</sup> For the simpler presentation and comparison of findings, those who responded with "good" or "very good" within the Likert scale were classified as being satisfied with the aspect (very bad, bad, average, good, very good).

divided over this issue so one half thinks they can and the other that they cannot influence the development of the greenery in the city.

	2009 (answer NO)	2019 (answer NO)
<b>Do you think you can influence the development of green spaces in the city?</b>	52,9%	46,3%

*Table 5: Perception of the ability to influence the development of urban green spaces*

Finally, the table 6. shows citizens agreement with a particular statement related to the urban green spaces.

	2009 (agree)	2019 (agree)
If I had the opportunity, I'd be happy to get involved in the maintenance of the green spaces in the city.	51,8%	77%
Taking care of urban greenery is just as important as taking care of urban politics and the economy.	88%	96%
If green spaces are greatly changed, the urban neighborhoods would lose its identity.	61,8%	65%

*Table 6: Attitudes related to the green spaces, 2009 and 2019.*

While in 2009, about half of respondents said they would be happy to get involved in urban greening activities, in 2019 this percentage rose to as much as 77%. This result can be interpreted in different ways. First, it can be the result of an objective reduction in the volume and quality of urban greenery. Citizens, therefore, feel threatened by the lack and poor quality of greenery and their motivation to engage in solving this problem is growing. Secondly, this result can be interpreted as a consequence of the emergence of the grassroots environmental movement Novi Sad in the past ten years, which promoted the importance of greenery and citizen participation. And third, this result may be related to a general trend of diminishing public control over the urban development at the expense of strengthening the private initiative. Although not investigated through this research, it is well known that deregulation and diminishing power of urban institutions are important features of cities in neoliberal transformation, such as Novi Sad. Citizens can, therefore, feel that the development of the city (and the city's greenery) is happening spontaneously, which consequently produce their need to take that control themselves.

With the following statement, we wanted to examine citizens' attitudes towards the concept of sustainable urban development. As this concept rests on the balanced and harmonious functioning of the three pillars: economic, socio-political and environmental, citizens were asked to assess the importance of urban greenery compared to the urban politics

and the economy. The fact that in 2009, 88%, and in 2019 as many as 96% of respondents agreed that the care of urban greenery is as important as the care of urban politics and the economy seems surprising. Namely, some other studies of environmental awareness in Novi Sad and Serbia (Pajvančić and Ristić, 2010; Pušić and Pajvančić, 2012) showed that citizens give primacy to economic development comparing to ecology, which is an expected consequence of a poor economic situation but also of a dominant “for profit” type of urban development in Serbia during the transition. If we follow the “Giddens paradox” according to which citizens will do nothing about solving environmental problems (nor will they care much about them) until such problems become directly visible in everyday life, we can say that our results are a consequence of the total devastation of urban greenery in the transition period.

More than 60% of the respondents agree with the last statement and this percentage has not changed significantly in the previous 10 years. Thus, for a significant number of respondents, urban green spaces were and remain important elements of overall socio-spatial identity.

Below are some of the respondents' comments they have given in the open-ended questions.

*“Too much is being destroyed and greenery is just suffering... We have to plan green spaces in parallel with the construction of new buildings. This can affect pollution, noise, dust, which has only been increasing in recent years”*

*“The whole neighborhoods are overbuilt. The symbolic “green” belts are marginal. Cutting healthy trees can be seen everywhere. Renewal with new trees is unacceptably low. Whole Vojvodina has been devastated to an alarming level. The problem of illegal logging in Fruska Gora is also growing in importance. The city boulevards are “naked”, there are streets without a single tree. The areas with the grass quickly become wild parking lots because they are not fenced. Environmental awareness is insufficient. This kind of urbanization is leading us nowhere. And now Fruska Gora is disappearing, before our eyes.”*

## CONCLUSION

In this paper we pointed out the gap in the post-socialist city literature which relates to the lack of consideration of the ecological dimension of urban transformation. By looking into the example of the post-socialist city of Novi Sad, we observed the interplay between overall urban transformation, changes in the ecological concerns in the planning documents

and citizen attitudes towards green spaces. Although the planning documents clearly address the need for urban greenery, in practice green spaces are suppressed at the expense of other urban forms and functions. Demographic growth of the city and its territorial expansion wasn't coupled with the development of the adequate green infrastructure and opinions of citizens clearly reflect these changes. This puts the issue of environmental sustainability at the top of the priorities for the urban development in the future.

Broader scientific implications of our conclusion could be defined as the need for the deeper integration of the ecological dimension into the studies of post-socialist urban transformation. Post-socialist city literature, and urban sociology in general, needs to overcome the "human exemptionalism paradigm" that sees humans and their societies as independent/above the limits of the natural environment and move towards the "new ecological paradigm" which intends to overcome the anthropocentrism in social sciences.

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Republički zavod za statistiku, Opštine i regioni u Srbiji 2012

Republički zavod za statistiku, Opštine i regioni u Srbiji 2014

Republički zavod za statistiku, Opštine i regioni u Srbiji 2016

Republički zavod za statistiku, Opštine i regioni u Srbiji 2018

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## PROGRESS IN FULFILLING THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

**Abstract:** *The Paris Agreement on Climate Change* is one of the most important active acts on limiting the overall effect of global warming, but also reducing it to the lowest possible levels. The idea was launched by the United Nations Convention on Climate Change and the agreement was signed by 197 countries, which have committed themselves to reduce the level of global warming to below 2 degrees Celsius by 2030, and by the end of the century to the fullest reduction. The subject of the study is an overview of the extent to which the countries of the Western Balkans (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, and North Macedonia) managed to achieve the conditions that they were obligated when signing the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. The achievement of the countries in the Western Balkans is compared with the results achieved by the countries of the European Union that are located in the region close to the Western Balkans (Croatia, Slovenia, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary). The methods used in the work are comparative and analytical. The assumption from the research is that the gap exists in the projected goals, but there is a significant backlog in the results achieved by the countries of the European Union in the region. The paper presents a possible solution to this problem as well as the process through which these countries should pass to achieve planned goals in the shortest possible time.

**Keywords:** Paris Agreement, European Union, Western Balkans, climate change.

### INTRODUCTION

Climate change represents one of the key issues that mankind has to solve, to preserve the planet for future generations. Results of climate change are devastating, numerous changes in the weather patterns have been occurring all over the world, most of them being manifested as temperature raises, labeled Global Warming. It represents increases in average global temperature, mostly due to man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (UNFCCC:2007,8). With no hesitation, labeling global warming as the biggest eco-problem today would be an accurate description of the global ecological position, although it is not only man-made. We are experiencing a rapid rise in temperature due to the change in weather patterns, and if that what can be controlled is not prevented, it will make irreversible damage. Since the 1900s, we have seen a consistent and detailed calculation of the impacts of the

observed increase in atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub>, and other human-induced changes, on Earth's energy balance (NAS: 2014, 5). The most vulnerable areas are the economy and population problems. Global GDP is falling as a result of climate change, and also is the life standard. The results can be fatal, from an economic point of view, if nothing is done to prevent the fall of GDP. As a result of global warming, it is expected to reshape the global economy by substantially reducing global economic output and possibly amplifying existing global economic inequalities (Burke, Hsiang, Miguel:2015,239).

One of the results of global warming is migration<sup>1</sup>. People are forced to leave their homes all over the world. According to the UN migration center (IOM), there will be between 25 million and 1 billion migrants until 2050, as a direct result of climate change.<sup>2</sup>

### **AGREEMENTS ON CLIMATE CHANGE BEFORE PARIS**

Before climate change agreements were signed, there were more efforts to prevent disasters from happening. Being that climate change was addressed late as a global problem, in the 1980s<sup>3</sup>, the first agreement was signed in 1992. Rio was the host of this significant affair, which united 170 countries in the fight for a cleaner environment. This summit became known as the "Earth Summit". This happened to be the first time these problems were addressed, and that cooperation was encouraged between the states to prevent further damage. Rio introduced the so-called, Agenda 21. It is regarded as a "strives to reconcile the twin requirements of a high-quality environment and a healthy economy for all people of the world, while identifying key areas of responsibility as well as offering preliminary cost estimates for success" (Rio:1992,6). The Agreement had some success in the field of climate protection, but still, the problem remained. As a result of that, there needed to be more changes and strengthening of the agreement. That happened in 1997, at the summit in Kyoto. It was planned to have a specific task of limiting gas emission, before all carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), therefore the agreement laid out the foundation to "implementation and/or further elaborate policies and measures in accordance with its national circumstances" (Kyoto:1997,2). Policies included a long range of different actions, from eliminating emission as much as possible to forming a sustainable development plan. This agreement not only enhanced legislations of the previous in Rio but expanded the number of state members

<sup>1</sup> Although, not all migrations happen because of this phenomenon

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.iom.int/migration-and-climate-change-0>

<sup>3</sup> Generally, there were summits between 1972 and 1983, but they didn't result in any form of a solid act of climate change prevention

that signed. After Kyoto, there were 192 signatures. Also, the agreement was strengthened during the summits in Malta (2001) and Bali (2007). After the outbreak of the economic crisis, some policies needed to be changed, regarding climate change challenges. That happened during COP 15 in Copenhagen, in 2009. What happened during the Copenhagen summit is that the decision form Kyoto was strengthened, adapted to the current crisis, and adopted new ones. It called for more cooperation and funding, being the first to set a deadline for the 100 billion dollar funding on mitigation of climate change. The Copenhagen accord recognized a “crucial role of reducing emission from deforestation and forest degradation and the need to enhance removals of greenhouse gas emission”<sup>4</sup> (Copenhagen:2009,11). Copenhagen agreement is the first one to have a report deadline. It was 2020, and all the states had complete freedom to determine their measures on which to build on which guaranteed to form specific goals. The optimate goals set were: “reduce global emissions to hold the increase in global temperature below 2 degrees Celsius, and take action to meet this objective consistent with science and based on equity, cooperate in achieving the peaking of global and national emissions as soon as possible, recognizing that the time frame for peaking will be longer in developing countries and bearing in mind that social and economic development and poverty, radication are the first and overriding priorities of developing countries and that a low-emission development strategy is indispensable to sustainable development” (Copenhagen:2009,6).

### **THE PARIS AGREEMENT (COP21)**

The Paris agreement is currently an active agreement on preventing further climate change, especially global warming and lower the existing effects. This does not mean that all of the other agreements were unsuccessful, or have been forgotten during the COP 21. They have been a sort of a mechanism for clarification of the idea to keep our environment as less affected as possible. Mechanisms that are determined in agreements are susceptible to changes in the environment, economy and political standards of the given period. It is all based on current affairs, the world has gotten out of a major recession, in which it was during the Copenhagen summit, and moved towards further development. Environmental issues, though, they got worse in the majority of the world countries. That is why this Agreement was needed, to complete a line it with the momentous occasions.

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The main goal at the COP21 was to reach long term adaptations for our environment. The main points of the Paris agreement are ” Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, recognizing that this would significantly reduce the risks and impacts of climate change; Increasing the ability to adapt to the adverse impacts of climate change and foster climate resilience and low greenhouse gas emissions development, in a manner that does not threaten food production; and Make finance flows consistent with a pathway towards low greenhouse gas emissions and climate-resilient development (Paris:2015, 3). Same as in Copenhagen, there were goals to be set individually by a nation-state. Three big periods were chosen to be "checkpoints" for fulfilling the goals set: 2025, 2030 and 2050. In all of these periods, the lowering of pollution must be bigger than the last.<sup>5</sup> National states were free to set their own goals, but the next one has to be bigger than the last. They will also have an obligation to send the results of the finished tasks every five years for evaluation and to suggest new ideas for preventing further climate change. International cooperation is highly encouraged, especially with the developing states. The developed states should take it on themselves to prepare the funding for the projects. Transparency is considered as one of the most important aspects of the Paris agreement. On a national level, participants are obligated to organize training, educations about climate change, to inform local media about their progress and share information about the problem, in hope of the embracement from the public. NGOs are also called to participate in the agreement.

Although the Paris agreement presented something that shapes the future of mankind, some countries did not agree with it. According to article 28 of the Agreement, every nation can succeed from the agreement "three years after three years from the date on which this Agreement has entered into force for a Party" (Paris:2015,27), which means no parties can exit until November 2020. The first country that has an idea to succeed was the United States of America. President Donald Trump, from his presidential campaign, did not have strong ties to environmental problems, even brushed them aside in most of his speeches an rallies. The manner continued into his presidency, so in August 2017 he sent a formal document to the UN, in which it staded that the US “intends to exercise its right to withdraw from the Agreement”<sup>6</sup>. As for the succession from the Paris Agreement, President Trump has

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<sup>5</sup> Hopefully, by 2050 the pollution should be lowered to the minimal possible standard.

<sup>6</sup> Reference: C.N.464.2017.TREATIES-XXVII.7.d

spoken to the media about it. In his words, The Paris agreement is a “threat to the ability of his administration to reshape the nation’s environmental laws in ways that benefit everyday Americans”<sup>7</sup>. The United States is responsible for almost 18% of the world’s CO<sup>2</sup> emission, which will place it in second place, just below China. Leaving the Paris Agreement will have a devastating effect. One more consideration is that President Trump didn't appear at the COP25 in Madrid, nor did he send any delegates to the meeting.

### *Points of analyses*

The main point of this paper would be the analysis of all the available factors, the biggest part of which is in the official documents made by the UN or EU. There have been some difficulties in the preparation of the paper that have to be overcome. The main problem was the lack of sufficient information about a related parameter, which has to be used for the analysis. This occurrence happened mostly when analyzing some states of the Western Balkans. Lack of information is a result of uneven and non-regular reports on climate change. Overcoming this problem is very difficult, so I have resorted to using the official EU documents, which the European Commission has prepared for each country of the Western Balkans.<sup>8</sup> As for the EU countries, they have regular, annual reports covered by the EU Commissions climate sector. The analysis is done first for the Western Balkan countries, then regional countries in the EU. Main points of analyses are: Amount of GHG gasses (emphasis on CO<sup>2</sup>), Transport, Waste management and the amount of waste, Sustainable development (Renewable energy (RES), energy efficiency), Implementation of “Eco-laws”, Political parties with “Green policies”, National strategies (plans) for the prevention of climate change.

## **WESTERN BALKANS AND THE PARIS AGREEMENT**

The Balkans have always been a turbulent region in Europe, either demographically or politically. During past centuries, the Balkans have been described quite differently and very vividly, ranging from “regenerated Orient, depicting valuable elements of power, order, and civilization” (Todorova:2006,178) to “Marvelous escape from a Pro-European society” (Todorova: 2006,202). From Medieval states, Ottoman rule and sovereign states in the XIX and XX century, a lot has changed in the Balkans. Unbalanced political life culminated

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<sup>7</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/01/climate/trump-paris-climate-agreement.html>

<sup>8</sup> Documents that are used are a general overlook of the development in, potentially, future EU member states. The reports used are the newest possible, from 2019.

during the second part of the twentieth century, when almost all of the countries fell under socialist rule, excluding Greece. That formed a unique system in every single country that lasted until the fall of the Berlin Wall. This system was built mostly on economic standards, which embraced aggressive industrialization as one of the main goals. That caused a great deal of danger to the environment, because there was never a plan to prevent gas emissions and exhausts. That changed when democratic regimes were established in the '90s and 2000s when the environment became a concern and a question of prosperity in the region. Most of the Balkan states entered the EU, leaving the Western Balkans the only part of ex-socialist states in South-East Europe not to do so, although all of the countries have started some form of negotiations.<sup>9</sup> Getting the “eco-friendly feeling” took quite a long time to form in the Western Balkans. The process has just started as late as the beginning of the twenty-first century. When it comes to negotiations, the environment is in Chapter 27.

What is particularly concerning is facts about air pollution. When ranked among the greatest amount of pollution contributed from CO<sub>2</sub>, the Western Balkan countries, with neighboring EU countries don't count as major providers. But when you look at the exhausts of SO<sub>2</sub>, 8 out of 13 major polluters are located in the region.<sup>10</sup> That is the main contributor of low quality air in the region, when it comes to controllable measures.

### Albania

Albania is a country located in the western part of the Balkan peninsula. During the communist period, the country was devastated, economically and politically. The industry in Albania is based on “agricultural goods and minerals, instead of emphasizing the development of the heavy industry” and demonstrated “self-sufficiency, light industry, and agriculture” (Zickel, Iwaskiw:1992, 42-46).

Albania didn't submit its results when it comes to the measurement of CO<sub>2</sub> to the European Commission, but they can be found in the environmental report for fossil fuels. That amount is 4.802 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>/yr, which is lower than it was in 1990 when it was 6.583 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>/yr, but transport has increased for 232% (Crippa, Oreggioni,, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 42). As for waste management, Albania has a problem. It has a tendency of importing waste from other

<sup>9</sup> Whether to become a member, candidate or start official negotiating.

<sup>10</sup> According to the The European Pollutant Release and Transfer Register [https://airclim.org/sites/default/files/images/AcidNews/2014/AN2/Europes-SO2\\_0.jpg](https://airclim.org/sites/default/files/images/AcidNews/2014/AN2/Europes-SO2_0.jpg)

countries, which contributes to grater pollution rates and lower recycling rates. Waste management in Albania, therefore, is not developed. The biggest problems are landfills and dumps, that are made all over the country. Their number has increased to 199, and the EU insists that they should be closed and “start implementing separate collection of waste streams, increase recycling and reuse, and start composting bio-waste “(COMMISSION STAFF(AL):2019,90). Renewable energy in the country has been stagnating, even falling, but it is only in the starting phases. The most recent results, from 2017, indicate that “generated from renewable sources relative to gross electricity consumption” is 60,8% (COMMISSION STAFF(AL):2019,112). That is a big decrease in contrast to 2006 when it was 90%. As for the Eco-laws, like most countries in the Western Balkans, they have to be adjusted with the ones of the EU, or are in the process of adjustment, so the GIZ report recommended to “generate information and data flow is only indirectly addressed in all laws dealing with environmental and biodiversity information” (Ibrahimi:2017,27). Albania has adopted a National plan for climate change in 2016 and is starting to work on it, to ensure that it fulfills the Paris Agreement. Since the adoption of the National Plan, the Parliament has passed some important laws, mostly on renewable energy and energy efficiency, as recently as 2017. Politics in the country, when regarding the existence of Green parties, is low. Only one party which is implementing “Green-ideas”. That is the Environmentalist Agrarian Party, which doesn’t have any MP in the Albanian Parliament. Targets for the Paris Agreement: RES at 38% by 2030, GHG at 11,5 and Energy Efficiency at 6,8% since 2009.

### **Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>11</sup>**

Part of Yugoslavia during the bigger part of the twentieth century, Bosnia and Herzegovina had time to prosper in industrial and agricultural surroundings. Although Yugoslavia represented one of the leading economies in South-East Europe, Bosnia and Herzegovina lagged behind. BiH was marked as an “undeveloped region of the country” and received 38% of investments in the period from 1952-1983 (Petranović:1988, 454).

When we talk about the environmental situation in BiH, we can say that it is the single worst example in the region, there fourth, a lot of effort and policymaking will have to be made to become a candidate and start negotiations with the EU. BiH has experienced an opposite reaction when regarding the lowering of CO<sub>2</sub>. Since 1990, when it was 24.559 Mt

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<sup>11</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina are divided into three entities. Taking to thought complexity of the situation, Bosnia and Herzegovina will be viewed as a whole. This makes it more precise to analyze an already complicated situation with the lack of reports.

CO<sub>2</sub>/yr, it grew to 27.436 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>/yr, and transport grew 65% (Crippa, Oreggioni,, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 58). Waste management is practically non-existent, since it has only been organized in Brčko District. That is why there needs to be an “adopted respective of Directive Specific Implementation Plan and close or rehabilitate non-compliant landfills”(COMMISSION STAFF (BiH):2019,157-158). Energy efficiency is at the level of 3,77, which is very low, but the problem is that “there is no state-level legislation on energy efficiency” (COMMISSION STAFF (BiH):2019,126). The percent of renewable energy varies from reports, the scales are around 25%. As for justice in BiH, there are a lot of problems. The biggest one is there is no Government for more than one year, therefore, the Ministry of Justice is non-existent, and that enables the imposing of new eco-laws. BiH doesn't have a national plan for climate change, only a strategy that has been drawn in 2018. There are no Green parties in the country. Targets of the Paris Agreement: RES 20%, GHG 2-3%, Energy Efficiency 9. % (all since 2009).

### Montenegro

Together with Serbia, Montenegro is the only Western Balkan country that is in the process of negotiations. During the period of socialist Yugoslavia, Montenegro was mostly an agricultural part of the country, with little industry. Back then viewed as a disadvantage, but it had big benefits for the environment, which can be regarded as clean because of that fact, and its geographical position.

Even though Montenegro will have problems closing Chapter 27 of the European negotiations, it has been doing a good job over the years to protect the environment and fight climate change. It is not specified what will be the growth of temperature in Montenegro. As for the GHG emission, it has been lowered from 5,238.52 to 3,178.28 GgCO<sub>2</sub>eq by 39,3% (Djurovic, Cetkovic, Djurovic, Jablan: 2018, 121), which is already exceeded the expectation set for 2030. Transport in Montenegro has grown, but the measures were tracked while it was in a state union with Serbia, so they are not mostly accurate<sup>12</sup>. As for waste management, The EU commission reported that Montenegro has "achieved on managing municipal waste and separate waste" (COMMISSION STAFF (MNE):2019,87). Right now, it is around 39%. As a result of using renewable energy, 40% of “gross final consumption of energy came from

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<sup>12</sup> Due to the fact that Montenegro is a significantly smaller state than Serbia and the results can't be divided in half.

renewable sources" (COMMISSION STAFF(MNE):2019,72). As for the eco laws, there has been significant progress, but efforts still need to be put in to be fully in line with EU laws. A big problem is that there is no Environmental Ministry, it is a part of Energy and Development Ministry. Montenegro has adopted a National plan in 2016 and has been fulfilling it successfully. United Reformed Action is the only party that has green policies, and it has 2 MPs in the Parliament. Targets for the Paris Agreement. Targets for the Paris agreement are: GHG 30%, RES 33%, Energy Efficiency 20%.

### **North Macedonia**

Before known as FYR Macedonia, the country was an integral part of Yugoslavia. Together with Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, North Macedonia was one of the least industrially developed regions, predominantly because of its terrain. Same as Albania, it has submitted a request for EU negotiations in 2019, but was denied.

The environmental situation in North Macedonia can be labeled as a low average from the Western Balkan point of view. As for the GHG in Macedonia, it has fallen since 1990, when it was 11.202 MtCo<sub>2</sub>/yr to 8.074 MtCo<sub>2</sub>/yr, but transport has risen by 150% (Crippa, Oreggioni, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 178). Waste management has always been a problem for all the Balkan countries, and it is still on a lower level. Regional waste management still has a "lack of administrative and financial resources" (COMMISSION STAFF (NMC): 2019,88), which will have to change before becoming an EU member. Renewable energy was at the highest point in 2015 when it was 15,3%, but it has fallen since. North Macedonia had big political problems in the past, which have taken a toll on its current situation. There is no Ministry of Ecology, it is joint with the Ministry of Planning, and the policies aren't very strong. A very good thing is scheduled reports, that have been regular in the past few years. Although that is the case, the National plan for climate change exists and it is active since 2016. As for the political parties, none have declared themselves to be Green, but only have a few opposition parties who advocate for eco-policies. Targets for the Paris Agreement: GHG 30% by 2030, RES 33%, EE 20%

## Serbia

Serbia has endured big changes during socialism. It was regarded as one of the most developed regions of Yugoslavia<sup>13</sup>. Most notably, the change was industrial. All major towns and cities in Serbia had industrial zones, where protective filters weren't used as much as the industry was thriving. Now Serbia is a country that is negotiating its acceptance into the EU.

The aggressive industrial expansion has made some major environmental problems, that have to be solved. In the latter years, Serbia has become more environmentally conscious and started implementing new features in eco-development. When looking at the reports on GHG, when matched with the results from 1990, Serbia was that still a part of Yugoslavia. So, in some reports, Serbia is together with Montenegro. As for the GHG, it has been lowered to 62.487 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>/yr from 66.388 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>/yr, and the transportation rate raises by 83%. (Crippa, Oreggioni,, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 194). Serbia's waste management was lower than expected at this time. But now the regulations have been passed, and the situation is starting to change. Non the less, Serbia still needs to design a "national integrity waste management plan and other economic instruments for special waste management flows" (Европска Комисија, 2019: 88). Renewable energy is at the point of 21,8%, which is close to the goal. As for the laws regarding ecology, in the latest report of the EU Commission, Serbia has reached "a high level in alignment with the legal regulations" (Европска Комисија, 2019: 87), but still has to work very hard to achieve full success. Chapter 27 will be one of the hardest for Serbia. Since 2014, Serbia has a Ministry of Environment, that has had changeable success in recent years. The reports of climate change have become regular in recent months, and new measures have been imposed to fulfill the set terms. Serbia has a national plan since 2016 and has just recently started putting it to action. As for the political parties, there are two who are labeled as Green parties: Serbian Green Party and Green Party. They both have 2 MPs in the Parliament. Goals of the Paris Agreement. GHG 9,8%, RES 27% EE 20%.

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<sup>13</sup> Next to Slovenia and parts of Croatia.

## EUROPEAN UNION AND THE PARIS AGREEMENT

The European Union represent a unique organization in the countries, and also the second biggest democracy in the World.<sup>14</sup> Since it's formation in 1957, The EU represented a group of states that wanted a United Europe, on an economic, and later political field. Since the Maastricht Agreement, it has been a "concrete political project to separate political from the utopistic" (Vuksanović:2007,12). That way, it has imposed progressive agendas that help all 500 million citizens living in the EU. One of the major concerns was climate change.

Even before the Paris agreement was adopted, EU commission members recognized the problem of climate change. Three plans were made, each longer than the last. Every one of them had three main points: to lower greenhouse gasses and effects, make more renewable energy sources and to become more energy-efficient, lower the use of vehicles with higher CO<sup>2</sup> emission and build a more energy-efficient industry. That happened in 2007, and it became known as the "three-twenty plan". The reason for that was because all the EU states had to improve all the points for 20% by 2020. The next agreement was a little bit different: the greenhouse effect was to be lowered by 40%, renewable energy raised by 32%, and energy efficiency should be more than 32.5 % by 2030. The third, and biggest plan, was a long term plan which has to be realized in 2050. The main goal of this is climate neutrality, which means all three goals have to be under 80%. That can be achieved by investing in green projects, making new ways to protect the environment, and raising social awareness.

As we were able to hear during the elections in May 2019, the European Union is very environmentally conscious. That fact is covered by the result of the election, in which the Green parties got 13% of the votes.<sup>15</sup> Ska Keller, who was the lead candidate of the European Green party has been seen as one of the people who marked the elections and will do so in the coming years. The Green's had significant success in many big European countries. In Germany, which gets the most seats in the European Parliament, the coalition of the Green party won 25 seats and became the third most successful party in the country. In countries like France and Belgium, they also won a big margin of the votes, becoming one of the best-ranked parties in the countries respectively. Even in the United Kingdom, which has left the EU on January 31, they won 10 sits out of 73. This phenomenon has gotten the name "Green wave".

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<sup>14</sup> When counting the number of people voting to elect their future leader, the EU comes second, just behind India.

<sup>15</sup> They all participated in a group called EGA (European Green Alliance).

Also, it is not only the Greens who are environmentally conscious, but other parties also have ecological opinions in their Manifestos. The two biggest groups in the Parliament, EPP and SD, have expressed concern about the eco-laws, which are in many countries still not in effect. Frans Timmermans, a lead candidate of the SD, addressed this issue in many of his talks, as one of the most important. EU Commission President Nominee, Ursula Von der Leyen, a member of the EPP group, said that one of her priorities will be an environmentally cleaner EU. In her political guidelines for the nomination to be the next Commission president, while she was addressing the Parliament, she stressed out the facts and the importance of a cleaner Europe. She added that she “will propose a European Climate Pact, bringing together regions, local communities, civil society, industry and schools” and a “New Circular Economy Action Plan focusing on sustainable resource use, especially in resource-intensive and high- impact sectors such as textiles and construction. (Leyen:2019,6-7).

Having known this, it is not a big surprise that all of the countries in the Union entered the Paris agreement. They ratified the agreement in national Parliaments, and also as members of the EU Parliament, which occurred on October 10, 2016. Analyzing the achievement of EU countries is much easier because they have regular environmental reports issued by the European Commission.

### **Croatia**

Regarded as one of the leading republics of Ex-Yugoslavia, Croatia has gone through the same changes as the whole region. After the 1990s, Croatia began a road to becoming an EU member, of which aspirations were realized in 2014. That means significant changes in the country, including environmental law moderations.

Waste management has been a field where there was made significant progress. When it entered the EU, Croatia had an increase when it comes to waste management, so much that it was thought that it will surpass the EU average with no problems. In its first year, it was up by 18%, and then started to stagnate, and didn't rise much annually. Now it is 24%, the EU average is 46%, so it “remains quite low” (COMMISSION STAFF (CRO), 2019: 7). Croatia is doing well on the renewable energy field, it has been labeled as “generally in line with EU averages” (COMMISSION STAFF (CRO), 2019: 5). As for energy efficiency, Croatia is in the middle of 27 countries of the EU. Eco laws are in line with the EU since it is a member, and all the necessary measures were accepted. As for the National plan on climate change, it is in the process of development, being accepted in 2016

the first time. Also, there are 4 parties in Croatia that support Green politics as one of their goals. Currently, they have 7 MPs and no MEPs.

### **Bulgaria**

Bulgaria is a country that has heavily influenced by socialism and its aggressive industrialization. After establishing democracy in the 1990s, it started its journey to becoming an EU member, which happened 2004.

GHG in Bulgaria is at 60% of the amount it has been in 1990, which is far off for the point it has to be by 2020, or 2025. Non-the-less, they were still targeted as “below its annual emission allocations” (COMMISSION STAFF (BG), 2019: 8). Transport has increased by 40% since 1990 (Crippa, Oreggioni, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 59). Waste management is lower than the average, at the point of 35%. But there is a problem with landfills. As the newest report says, Bulgaria “highest landfill rates for municipal waste in the EU at 62%” (COMMISSION STAFF (BG), 2019: 7). Therefore, the country has set landfill cleaning as one of the goals. Next to waste management, innovations in ecology are also a problem for the country. Bulgaria is the “sixth-worst growing innovator” with the growth of just 1,5% since 2010 (COMMISSION STAFF (BG), 2019: 4). As for the government, Bulgaria has a Ministry of Environment and the laws are in line with the EU. Bulgaria has adopted a few National plans, the newest being in 2018, which is being renewed currently. It will need to be a “climate adaptation assessments in nine sectors of interest and by a study on the macroeconomic implications of climate change” (COMMISSION STAFF (BG), 2019: 9). Also, 2 parties have green policies, and they have 1 MEP, and no MPs.

### **Greece**

Greece is the first Balkan country to join the EU, back in 1981, and also the only one that has not been influenced by socialism. But during the 20th century, Greece had big political, and economic problems, which have reflected on the industry and limited its growth.

The amount of GHG in Greece is around 95% since 1990, which is high above the average of the EU. Therefore, the EU Commission has concluded that “additional efforts are therefore encouraged” (COMMISSION STAFF (GR), 2019: 8). Transport has not been such a big problem compared to other Balkan countries, even the EU. It has increased by 12%

since 1990 (Crippa, Oreggioni, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 107). Recycling is developing at very low pace. Currently it is 19%, the average of the EU is 46%, making it one of the worst countries in the entire EU when it comes to recycling. The biggest problem are landfills, that contribute to the highest percentage of unrecycled waste in the country. Compared to the last report, Greece's "recycling rate has slightly increased" (COMMISSION STAFF (GR), 2019: 6). Renewable energy is 28%, which is above the average of the EU at 22%. That is mainly because of the use of wind and water power, which Greece has geographical access to. Greek laws are in line with the EU eco laws, but the Ministry of the Environment does not exist solely on its own, it is a sector within the Ministry of Energy. Greece has 4 parties that have Green politics, but none have MPs or MEPs.

### **Hungary**

Hungary was also a country heavily influenced by communism, and its industrial expansion. Joining the EU in 2004, Hungary has developed massively in the field of ecology and climate protection.

Hungary's GHG is around 70% since it was in 1990 (COMMISSION STAFF (HU), 2019: 9), which is still higher as it should be. The main contributor to the production of GHG gasses is transport, which has gone up by 54% (Crippa, Oreggioni, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 118). Waste collection is high, at the amount of 48%. A big problem is separating waste, which is something that the whole Balkan region has problems with, because it lacks a Regional recycling center. The EU Commission has stated that "no systems in place in Hungary for the separate collection of food waste" (COMMISSION STAFF (HU), 2019: 7) and still needs work to meet the set targets. As for renewable energy, Hungary ranks low. Its resource productivity is 0,88 EUR/kg, the average in EU is 2,04 EUR/kg, which will make Hungary "below the EU average for resource productivity" (COMMISSION STAFF (HU), 2019: 4). Hungary doesn't have a Ministry of Ecology, but the laws are in line with EU laws. The National plan was adopted in 2012. There are 4 political parties have Green policies, and together they have 11 MPs.

## Romania

Romania, just like the other neighboring countries, has been influenced by communism. It became a member of the EU in 2004, during the "Big expansion".

As for the statistics, Romania has rather basic results when we compare it to other countries in the region. The level of GHG in Romania is at 45% of the level it was in 1990. That is a big success when you take into account that Romania "lower emissions than its annual targets in each of the years 2013-2017" (COMMISSION STAFF (RU), 2019: 9). Transport has grown by 38% (Crippa, Oreggioni, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 182). Municipal waste recycling is high, 47%, which is a measure that is satisfying, but there are other problems. Landfills are, just like many other Balkan countries, contributing to a lower length of waste removal. Romania has a task to "will have to close and also rehabilitate 101 non-compliant landfills" (COMMISSION STAFF (RU), 2019: 7). There is no information on Renewable energy statistics detailly, but the country is in the lower half of the EU when it comes to eco-innovations and standards. Romania has a Ministry of Environment and laws that are in line with the EU. Also, the country has developed its national plan many times. It has been under constant reform from 2007 to 2013. There are no Green parties in Romania.

## Slovenia

Slovenia was one of the most developed parts of Yugoslavia and therefore had a thriving industry. It entered the EU in 2004.

Slovenia has done a lot when it comes to climate change since joining the EU. Levels of GHG are on 95% of the results in 1990, which is not a great result and contributes mostly to the expanding transportation sector, and it has increased by 114% since 1990. (Crippa, Oreggioni, Guizzardi, Muntean, Schaaf, Lo Vullo, Solazzo, Monforti-Ferrario, Olivier, Vignati:2019, 199). In that spirit, Slovenia has issued a plan to prevent this. In contrast to that, when it comes to annual plans, Slovenia has a "lower emission than its annual targets in each of the years 2013-2017" (COMMISSION STAFF (SL) , 2019: 9). Waste management is a field where Slovenia excels far more than the rest of the region. It is at the level of 58%. This result has been reached mostly because of policies. That made a transition in the country, "moving from a nearly all-landfilling (the landfilling rate was 65 % in 2007) to a predominantly recycling society" (COMMISSION STAFF (SL), 2019: 8). Slovenia made a great impact when it comes to eco-innovations, where they take 12<sup>th</sup> place in

the EU, with a 1,4% increase from 2014. The biggest problem is a “lack of a green budget reform” (COMMISSION STAFF (SL), 2019: 6). Slovenia has taken measures to change that make it better. There is a Ministry of Ecology in the country, and the laws are in line with the EU ones. Slovenia has one political party with Green policies, and it has 9 MPs, but no MEPs.

## CONCLUSION

When we are talking about the Balkan states, we have to take into consideration that climate activism of any kind started later than in the rest of the EU. That is not the reason for mitigating circumstances, but for a faster change. Judging by the statistics shown, Western Balkan countries are lagging behind the EU, even in our neighborhood. There are a few reasons for this claim. The first one, and the most important is education. Children don't have basic knowledge of what environmental protection, climate change or global warming is. The only way they can get acquainted with these terms in some non-formal learning programs. That has to continue, even be more transparent, but formal education needs to be enforced as well. In schools, children should get proper knowledge of what affects our society and how we can help prevent what is up to us. Second is policy making. As one of the key factors in making climate change prevention adaptable, it is a must for every country that wants to excel in the field of environmental protection. EU makes good environmental policies, with which all the member states must be in sync. Western Balkan countries don't have that kind of model, but they make their own policies. That will have to change when entering the EU as fulltime members. The third problem is waste. Same as neighboring EU countries, the whole Balkan region has a problem with waste management. When emphasizing the Western Balkans, the problems seem quite big. All of the countries have a landfill, and they are not resolving that problem properly. That will need to change, and there are various ways. The regional recycling center would be of great help for a cleaner region, but that requires big funding. That is where the Paris agreement comes into effect, by having a chapter on helping poorer regions. By investing in the Western Balkan recycling center, the amount of RES would rise, energy efficiency, and it will even lower the GHG. As for the GHG, that is a problem in the Western Balkans. The region has one of the worst polluting power plants in Europe, and that will need to change. Either going on a clean energy plan or shutting some down because of the harm they cause. And the last factor is the political situation. Unlike in the EU, there has not been a raise in popularity of Green parties, and their politics stays

largely unrecognized. If we make reforms and raise awareness in people's opinion, not by labeling them on a political spectrum, Green parties would be regular members of Parliaments and a vital part in eco-policy making.

Some of the Balkans countries have gone to great lengths to make their environment cleaner, and all of them started preventing climate change, and global warming before all else. That trend should have to continue and even increase. As for meeting the Paris agreement set terms, Western Balkans mostly won't succeed if they continue at this pace. Generally, many EU countries that joined in 2004 and 2007 will not be able to fulfill their set targets, with the exception of Slovenia. Balkan countries in the EU also don't have good odds to succeed in fulfilling all the set targets, but they are recommended to try harder because of the EU. Chapter 27 is a problem for all Western Balkan countries, and it will continue to be if there is no change. With stronger reforms, planning and funding, the situation can be better.

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CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији  
Библиотеке Матице српске, Нови Сад

316.334.56(082)

**POST-socialist transformation of the city** [Elektronski izvor] / [proceedings editor Ana Pajvančić-Cizelj]. - Novi Sad : Faculty of Philosophy, 2020

Način pristupa (URL): <http://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2020/978-86-6065-602-7>. - Opis zasnovan na stanju na dan 21.7.2020. - Nasl. sa naslovnog ekrana. - Str. [5]: Introductory note / Ana Pajvančić-Cizelj. - Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. - Bibliografija.

ISBN 978-86-6065-602-7

а) Социологија града - Зборници б) Град - Трансформација - Постсоцијалистички период - Социолошки аспект - Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 17808137

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