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Urban Development: Goal, Process or Prospect?

A Methodological Investigation into the Complexity and Dynamics of Post-socialist Cities

A Case Study of Savamala Neighbourhood in Belgrade, Serbia

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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

William Blake, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell

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Abstract

Declaration of Authorship

I, xxxx, declare that the thesis entitled xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

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- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

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Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Urban development is a widespread archetype for out-of-reach improvement in cities outside the Western World. However, in its essence it is more a kind of constant catch up with the West and western urban paradigm than an elaborated form of intrinsic local perception, knowledge and action toward urban system transitions.

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

The urban transformation of Serbian cities falls into this clich of the new post-socialist urban reality, which emerged during the "transition to markets and democracy" (Tsenkova, 2006). The dismantling of Yugoslav socialist regime during the late 1980s represented a substantial change in all aspects of social organization, the economic model and the political system. However, Serbia is still identified as a post-socialist melting pot where representative democracy, civil society and market economy principles collide and merge with authoritarianism, vertical decision making and populism practices. In such a situation, concern about the urban has been left out and given over as a battlefield for social needs in practice and technical solutions on paper and an easy prey to the exercise of power and interest. Therefore, the practice of planning and designing Serbian cities has been narrowed down to a mere technical issue most often even without an actual or adequate realization in practice. Not to mention that very few theoretical or general methodological research studies bothered to examine alternative planning modes, techniques and instruments in transition, but continued with the manner of replication from well-known counterparts of the West.

Among others, architects have a vital role in not only directing but also framing the path

of urban formation and development in post-socialist cities. Even more so, as they are primarily focused on practice and "savoir faire" about making the built environment. Yet, in Serbia, acquisition of land and illegal construction are spatial interventions that have marked post-socialist production of space more than any planning or theoretical activity. In general, even though for construction and space organization, we have different drivers on the global scale and in developed countries, there is rather a global trend of resorting to sociological, planning or even ICT (information and communication technology) approach in scientific studies on the urban.

In order for architectural intervention in space to compete for more relevancy and rigour, architects all over the world have been gradually grown interest for scientific discourse on the context of built structures, spaces and cities in general. In the rivalry between spatial and social basis for their interpretations, the fact that the field of architectural research is not yet standardized in terms of methodologies and techniques opens the floor for experiments and innovations (ref). In the circumstances of developmental bouillon or "developmental schizophrenia"(Vujosevic) at the local level and an overall urge for architectural research framework internationally, my aim is to elaborate a standpoint of an architect when applied on complex post-socialist urban reality in order to establish a methodological approach suitable, to a certain extent, for architectural scientific discourse on the matter.

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

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

1.1 Urban development: What, Where and How to study it

Due to growing social and physical transformations that become ever more intensified as current globalization continues to spread out profit maximization, consumption patterns and information networks (Harvey 2012), the cities have been experiencing a progressive reorganization at spatial and social levels. Even though accelerating urbanisation is a worldwide process, it still assumes different forms and meanings, depending on the prevailing local conditions (Bolay, 2007). These overall circumstances of continuous urban development influence cities to serve as the primary channel linking local realities to global social, political and economic forces (Yates and Cheng, 2002; Tsenkova, 2006).

Cities are not simply market products and consumption patterns, but locally customized socio-political constructs as well (Marcuse et al. 2008). These external influences form a range of qualitatively different contextual circumstances for positive urban system transition, i.e. urban development. Most settlements and cities from previous historical periods had reflected upon the various degrees of forethought and conscious design in their layout and function. This approach was referred to as a fixedly planned development, albeit many cities had tended to develop organically. Generally speaking, a range of urban disciplines (urban planning, theory, sociology, legislation and design) aim to decode and harmonize growing urban issues as a side-effect of the current globalization, urbanisation processes and spread of capitalism. These trends are mainly affecting cities and production of urban space and bid for the expertise on managing urban development (Allmendinger, 2009; Faludi, 1973).

In practice, these disciplines are embedded in a particular social context or a territorially based system of social relations. They react to the shifts in socio-economic and political settings (Tsenkova, 2006b), but have kept privileged relationship toward Western cities, which assumed to be the sources of urban creativity, vitality and innovativeness in urban domain (Robinson, 2006:2). Accordingly, they tend to fail substantially within the range of spatially and economically different environments that have undergone highly dramatic change in political, economic and social terms. For example, urban research and practice in transitional countries in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) should unfold to help understand these phenomena in their immediate and wider context. The crucial is to identify patterns of the dynamic reality in these cities and be more consistent with spontaneous, everyday urban system transitions. Furthermore, a corresponding change in approaching urban development can then be addressed by heterogeneous, iterative and generative process of urban space production in physical and social sense. Such approach aims to surpass the perception of cities as merely economic, social and cultural venues treating them as complex and dynamic urban systems. In these circumstances it is necessary to apply proper techniques and methodologies for urban research and analyses which encompass complexity and dynamics of cities for the improvement of their living conditions and the facilitation of social interactions in the process of urban development.

Each discipline keeps its own track and pace in approaching urban matters. My architectural background has moulded my own research interest towards gaining knowledge and understanding on management of space and built environment. Moreover, production of space is also the core concern for architects. Architecture is a discipline that is focused on practice. It consequently calls for parameters, categories and structure for its practice-based analyses, especially as a layer of societal challenges becomes increasingly superimposed on the space production core of the discipline. Hitherto history and theory of architecture have been the main fields of architectural research. Nonetheless, the production of space and place-making have been the topic of architectural output since the classical period (Braunfels, 1990; Rossi, 1982; Vitruvius, 20BC; from Van Assche et al. 2013), subsequently contributing to the drafting of theory in landscape architecture and urban design (e.g. Child, 2010; Braunfels, 1990; Rossi, 1982; Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1991; Lynch, 1981 from Van Assche et al. 2013) On the contrary, recent growth of a.rchitects doing urban research makes a case for transforming the general body of knowledge on cities into a real-life problem-solving strategy that address human lifestyles, social relations and the concept of space Castells 2000, Dijk 2002 add more. However, ever growing presence of multidisciplinary research frame of reference urges for the advancement of each discipline in terms of the relevance and reliability of the knowledge herein produced. However, missing links with the classical scientific discourse has caused a growing concern for what is research appropriate for architectural and design practice as well as for architectural stance in urban studies ref. This concerns especially methodologies, methods, approaches, domain and credibility (ref+Savic 2016b). Lacking the traditional scope of analysis, architectural approach in urban studies has been a polygon for innovations and experiments.

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

What I have recognized as a crucial change in the methodological paradigm of an applicable urban research from the architectural standpoint can then be condensed/boiled down to the rise of the global concept from static to iterative and dynamic. Commonly speaking, a static world is one in which all transitions are according to a known law and which do not give rise to uncertainty. When defining the evolution of analyzing and simulating an urban phenomenon or process, it is fundamental to state that the existence of a problem depends on the future being different from the past, while the paradigmatic possibility of finding the solution to the problem depends on the future being like the past. Therefore, a transition in some sense is a necessary condition for problem to exist. The

complex empirical realities of urban system transitions collide therein with the powerful and dominant policy of continuous comprehensive production of knowledge. A scientific approach towards formulating the dynamics of urban system transitions have to count on uncertainty as one of its fundamental facts and in this way accept and deal with an open-ended future and the limits of human knowledge about it.

Gaining knowledge has come to be a strategic activity rather than a search for truth (Kirby 2013). So science becomes incapable of controlling society and the rationalized reality appears false and irrelevant (Alfasi et al., 2004). Given these conditions, the growing gap between the formal structure and the dynamics that takes place in cities triggers an internal and independent process by which the system tends to spontaneously self-organize (Portugali 2011). Therefore, a city should be conceived as an organism, not a mechanism Charles Laundry, The Creativity City. In these terms, the city is interpreted as a living system which is constantly mutating and emitting new elements, a container for processes of coming to be, breaking up and falling out, fragmenting and recomposing ref. Contemporary cities tend to be concentrations of multiple socio-spatial circuits, diverse cultural hybrids, and sources of economic dynamism - a venue where the past and the present converge upon one another. The city tells a story of one society and its attempts to move towards a positive vision of the future, through complex ranges of processes that flow together to construct a single consistent, coherent, albeit uncertain, interactive and multifaceted time-space system (Graham, 1998). These ceaseless processes are the core of spontaneous, everyday urban development. Grasping the scope of urban development occurs as a major challenge for modern science about cities.

My intention is not to produce another pattern applicable to certain cities to a certain extent, but rather to apprehend a process that embodies the complexity and dynamics of the mentioned relations in a transparent way. This framework of research enables to ponder upon means of generating a vibrant and fluid context open to permanent transformations and, most importantly, to grasp the idea of an adjusted and balanced model, adaptive to changing views and situations of accelerating urban development. (Portugali Complexity cognition and the city). This to be achieved requires supple approaches which should aim at explaining the correlations of various urban elements and to better correspond to the socio-spatial patterns of the range of urban environments. In such a plenitude of factors, I have chosen the case study as an adequate research method and a neighbourhood as a relevant level of analysis.

Dynamic urban context is a complex phenomenon with a plenitude of data. Case study research method enables close, in-depth and holistic examination of a great deal of data, but requires a bounded environment in order to accurately describe and illustrate such a context and to use it for broader interpretations and demystification of modern cities. Specifying physical limits is not in itself enough for circumscribing the identified complexity of urban system transitions, the issue of scale is also at stake. In urban terms, different spatial and social elements are intensified or muted at different levels (global, national, regional, local). In order to acquire active follow-up, interpretation and assessment of

urban issues, it is important to define a representative environment, a robust source of prominent urban "processes". Thereupon, I argue for a neighbourhood level of analysis to become a paradigm for complexity and dynamics of modern urban context. It serves as an urban micro environment, which eventually increases the body of knowledge on cities concerning the methodologies used to deal with urban development and corresponding urban system transitions.

"The contemporary city is a variegated and multiplex entity - a juxtaposition of contradictions and diversities, the theatre of life itself" (Amin and Graham, 1997).

1.2 Urban development: an issue in post-socialist cities

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

Post-socialist cities are treated herein as a range of qualitatively distinctive cities that "deal differently with their difference" ref. In their incompleteness, plurality and informality, post-socialist cities in transitional countries represent dynamic and diverse arenas of contemporary urban life, experience and theory. Included in this range of spatially and economically developing surroundings, transitional countries in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have undergone highly dramatic change in political, economic and social terms. The disintegration of Yugoslav socialist system led to the destabilization of the institutions and the social value system in Serbia. Such confusing political and social circumstances have deprived an average citizen of sufficient information about the possibilities and tools to take an active part in the development of their city. These factors provoked a legal void susceptible to shady deals and questionable public-private partnerships (illegality); a lack of strategically proactive urban governance, which resulted in tolerance to illegal building practices (informality); the increasing social polarization (inequity); and unemployment and poverty in this region (the number of poor people had reached 100 million in CEE by 2001) (Tsenkova 2006a). This rather organic path of urban development leads to the classifying post-socialist cities in transitional countries as unregulated capitalist cities (investment-led) with third world urban development elements (substantial illegal activities and informal markets) (Petrovic 2009).

Conditioned by the geographic location of Serbia (in CEE), murky circumstances of transition (towards liberal market, private property, profit motive and consumer sovereignty) are followed by a set of decentralization and democratization protocols for joining EU, availability of European research and civil sector funds, as well as the promotion of participation and engagement from the ground up ref. Having said that, the lack of successful urban planning models and actions make possible that the rising economy of social exchange and local capacity building could contribute to an improvement of life and functionality

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

Conversely, under the hood of scientific neutrality, urban development concept is critically approached, broken down and recomposed as a process of urban system transitions, not as an indicator or the final product in urban practice. Ergo, urban development of post-socialist cities is seen as a complex, multifaceted network of urban system transitions that evidences:

1. urban key agents - constitutive elements for the morphology of urban decision making;

2. legitimacy of different layers of urban decision making [top-down urban planning strategies, tactical urban transformations, and bottom-up participatory activities];

3. numerous urban conflicts, social practices and contextual resources that result from the incompleteness, plurality and informality of post-socialist cities.

4. the level of urbanity - qualitative reference of maintenance, transformation and changing processes of an urban system;

1.3   Background

At the beginning of the 21st century, the world experienced a progressive reorganization at an economic, political and social level: profit maximization, globalization of urban processes and the devastating history of deindustrialization and dematerialization of the world (Harvey 2012). Nowadays, while about 50 percent of the world population lives in urban settlements (United Nations 2008), the question of techniques and methodologies for urban development research and analyses should undoubtedly address these major shifts in urban life and contemporary cities (Healey 1997).

Cities are rather primary venues, power poles and capacity builders of economic, social and cultural development at stake in modern societies (Castells, 1998). Conversely, cities are dynamic and diverse urban entities that are given to shaping their autonomous and innovative future on the basis of human resources and creative human potential (Knight and Gappert, 1989; Yigitcanlar, 2008). The prosperity of cities depends on how competitive they are on a global economic scale, how flexible they are in terms of adjusting to current trends and needs, and how fertile they are for the development of knowledge and

the application of innovation. These major uncertainties of contemporary life, created mainly but not exclusively by the current method of production and management, are acutely symbolized by concerns about urban development (Healey 1997).

Urban development is widely accepted even though also contested category usually associated with urbanisation processes in "so called" developing countries. Lots of professionals in urban research and practice use the term, not to mention the great number of people around the world affected by their work. Nevertheless, the notion of the word "development" itself means different things to most of them. However, traditional and widespread interpretation comply with the western paradigm of development: modernisation and economic growth ref. Interpreted in this way, the notion of urban development actually promotes the leading hierarchies and categorization of cities in the world, based on the impact of globalization, new transnational economic progress and networking of cities ref. Both of these approaches impose the hierarchical relation among them, as Jennifer Robinson (2006) bluntly puts it, "while some are exemplars and others are imitators". Besides, the chronological paradigm of western urban planning dilutes when it is spatially translated to these qualitatively different environments (Robinson 2002), causing them to lose their substance as an urban phenomenon through the ill-decoded application of western patterns (Bolay 2004). In addition, modern urban thought could be stuck in this rut, inducing negative background effects on the whole gamut of urban activities (Amin et al. 1997), causing urban conflicts to thrive on the basis of inequitable power relationships, and cultural differences, as they develop from an individual level towards a socio-urban dimension (UN Habitat 2009).

In this respect, Jennifer Robinson summarizes that categorization and differentiation of cities, according to Modernity and Development, are a pure product of the colonial past. This actually means that in the scope of widely praised universal image of "cityness", which is imposed to be the final goal of the ambition of cities, successful examples of cities are included in the following categories. World cities are defined in relation to their regional, national and international influence inside global economy where the country categorization is transferred into this categorization ref. Conversely, global cities are categorized according to their industrial and communication potential of transnational management and control ref. Both categories focus on the characteristics of cities and potentials in the scope of global economy, its flows and networks. This approach has proved to be insufficient, exclusive and restrictive for cities in less developed countries, if we keep up with the same terminology at the national level. On the other hand, cities which are outside these categorizations but with a same ambition and vision of "cityness" are regarded as third World or developing cities. Consequently, there are even more categorizations such as those of western, wealthy, third world, developed and developing cities. However, with all of them together, there is still a vast number of cities which are left out and with barely any possibility to ever fit in any of the categories (Robinson, 2006).

This brilliant insight put forward by Jennifer Robinson in her book "Ordinary cities between modernity and development" questions the geopolitics of urban theory and urban

development (Fraser 2006). Taken from this standpoint, each and every city is an indicator of what an urbanized society is and what course of urban development it may take. The research scope of this thesis perseveres with post-colonial critique of urban studies and the notion of ordinary cities, introduced by Amin and Graham (1997) and further developed by Robinson (2002). This concept approaches the knowledge of diversity and complexity that exists within the world and "distributes the differences amongst cities as diversity rather than as hierarchical category" Robinson (2002).

Ordinary cities approach provides unique assemblage of internally different, distinctive and context-based urban system transitions as well as overlapping space-, time- and relation-networks across cities. In other words, it is not only necessary to examine the ways in which countries/cities interlace with the global economy, but also social, cultural and historical legacies that each country/city carries into the era of globalization. Within such range of explanations, this thesis revolves around the interpretation of urban development as an answer to the question "how can cities facilitate urban system transitions while also maintaining the culture and values of the community itself?" (ref article: Does Place-making Cause Gentrification? Its Complicated.) The idea of indicating what encompasses urban development of an ordinary city lead to identifying its internal and external influences that constitute the core of maintenance, transformation or change processes in an urban system of a city, when treated equally within the global hierarchy of cities (Robinson 2002).

This approach makes a worldwide, broad, general and mutable process of urban development actually connected to place. Making an actual urban setting is a vital factor for case specific uncertainties and a polygon for transformation of global aspects to meet local specificities. My aim is to move away from the general theoretical research into an on-site practice-based investigation. Consequently, this research project attempts to show how the real-life focus on Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade eventually increases the body of knowledge on post-socialist urban environment and the methods used to deal with complex and dynamic urban contexts.

Complying with "ordinary cities" approach, I would like to elaborate that post-socialist cities in transitional countries meet extraordinary difficulties when copying urban models from the West. The cause is found in the lack of the institutional infrastructure and cultural patterns essential for the functional unity present in western cities (Petrovic 2009). Furthermore, fundamentality and intensity of economic and political change in Balkan post-socialist countries may be a historic exemplary of social transition hard to find in a "typical" capitalist city (Sykora 1994). Its internal environment is in a state of flux, with the rapid adjustment of the physical, economic, social, and political structures of the city itself (Sykola, 1999).

Included in this range of spatially and economically turbulent surroundings, post-socialist cities in transitional countries are under significant political, economic and social pressure. The mayor consequences of such transition introduce, on one hand, the disastrous effects of increasing social polarization (inequity), deinstitutionalization of socio-spatial

practices (informality) and unfair wealth redistribution (poverty). On the other, the huge socio-cultural base inherited from the socialist period with centralised and authoritarian practices dominate post-scoialist urban governance. This has had a profound influence on the spatial adaptation and social repositioning of post-socialist cities.

Turbulent social times, such as the disintegration of Yugoslav political system and the introduction of the new context of market economy, decentralized administrative powers and a lack of investment and resources are reflected in chaotic urban development pattern. Urban systems of post-socialist cities are highly susceptible to tense on-going transformations, diverse but reciprocal in their nature: economic transformations (transformation of production and consumption in relation to space, income polarization and poverty), political transformations (urban governance, political voluntarism, participation and decentralization), spatial transformations (demographic trend and distribution of functions) and social transformations (social exclusion-inclusion, social activism and informality). In other words, what proceeded after the end of the socialist era is a neoliberal model of urban planning with the supremacy of market-oriented solutions for urban problems (Sager 2011). Conversely, with the huge socio-cultural base inherited from the socialist period, cities in transitional countries have continued to be centres of economic growth with a variety of services, expansion, technological innovation and cultural diversity. While some trends and directions within these transformations are clear and defined, uncertainty dominates decision making and implementation in the turbulent environment of post-socialist cities (Nedovic-Budic 2001). Therefore, the post-socialist period in these cities contains prevailing characteristics of the disintegration of the preceding system rather than a coherent vision of what should follow.

In practice these conditions ended by having the strategic plan as an advisory long-term urban vision, but leaving the real actions and decision making to political and market forces. Thenceforth, urban development of post-socialist cities most often has exceeded and diluted the common strategic framework defined from top-down: to establish clear links between the process of strategy development, its institutional framework, the hierarchical structure of long-term and short-term objectives of all actors involved, and the real-time changes happening simultaneously in an urban environment. The major characteristics of post-socialist urban development are: a multitude of actors, various economic, social and political interests, social aspects and fragmentation of urban spaces. Consequently, post-socialist cities lack complex, operational logistics (check!!!Repetti et al. 2010) to link top-down changes to bottom-up interventions in urban systems. There exists a growing discrepancy between the national and global levels, on one side, and city and neighbourhood levels, on the other.

The conceptual framework explained herein pinpoints the blurred and askew morphology of post-socialist cities which requires dynamic solutions in order to skip the classical, western procedure of urban formation and development. Consequently, this particular context shows the increased need for proper techniques that are spatially and temporally adjusted to current socio-spatial issues. The far-reaching goal actually is to transform the negative

side effects of imitating and lagging behind the western urbanization model and those of the accelerating globalization into a development impetus suited to these environments. Urban development of post-socialist cities is perceived as a dynamic concept, a multi-dimensional integrated system composed of qualitatively different and semi-autonomous processes, with the inclining tendency to address the economic, social, demographic, political and technological state of an urban environment. In view of all this, we need an overarching theory of urban development that can encompass all discrepant decision making forces: future-oriented urban projections (urban planning strategies), in situ transformation forces and potentials (urban transformations), and follow the creative paths of urban dwellers (participatory urban design activities) for imagining new urban futures. The question of facilitating and localizing urban transitions rests with overlapping urban scenarios from dissonant levels of decision making, tracking cultural identities, requirements and needs of all urban actors, and, in general, indicating contextual processes of maintenance, transformation and change of an urban system.

"Ordinary cities also emerge from a post-colonial critique of urban studies and signal a new era for urban studies research characterised by a more cosmopolitan approach to uderstanding cityness and city futures. This can underpin a field of study that encompasses all cities and that distributes the difference amongst cities as diversity rather than as hierarchical categories. It is the ordinary city, then, that comes into view within a postcolonialised urban studies" (Robinson, 2006).

1.4 Thesis Aims and Scope: Urban Complexity and Dynamics

research scope: grasp the actual urban development process in cities

1.4.1 Research Objectives

Overall objective: encompassing complexity and dynamics of urban transitions as an urban development indicator at the local level in a rather transparent way

RO1

re-formulate urban development concept in terms of urban transitions to fit the idea of dynamic state of an ordinary city in its full complexity

- RO1a: identify what urban system complexity is

- RO1b: map urban networks

- RO1c: trace the morphology of decision making

- RO1d: define dynamic state of a complex urban system in an ordinary city - description of empirical reality of urban networks and processes

RO2

gain an in-depth understanding of the level of urbanity in an ordinary city as an indicator of urban dynamics

- RO2a: elaborate the level of urbanity

- RO2b: connect the level of urbanity to urban dynamics

-

- RO2d: contextualize the level of urbanity categories in post-socialist cities

RO3

conceptualize a methodological hybrid for tracing urban complexity and dynamics

- RO3a: specify a neighbourhood level of analysis

- RO3b: describe urban complexity - networks - to indicate the morphology of urban decision making

- RO3c: trace the level of urbanity - urban processes - to indicate urban dynamic

- RO3d: proceduralize urban transitions for circumscribing urban development process

1.4.2 Overall Research Question

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

1.4.3 Thesis built-in concepts

The city is regarded as a geographically condensed, highly structured economic, and the most complex social phenomenon (Mumford 1961). "Time" and "social interactions", in the modern qualitative sense of the term, are now the leading determinant for the way urban systems function (ref SNF1). Urban structures interact in an environment that is constantly undergoing transitions, as they themselves are not permanent and unchangeable. As a result, this constantly influences and changes our point of view, influencing our way of solving problems that exist in our environment, as we and all of our surroundings are in a constant state of flux (Harvey 2003). This sort of relativism, where the interactions of as many elements as they emerge determine the context in which they are placed, should be a formative factor in addressing urban complexity and dynamics in terms of

urban development prospects and circumstances. The theoretical stronghold of this thesis is the interpretation of urban development, namely going away from qualitative notion of the term and indicate its operational equivalence with more neutral and relativistic idea of urban system transitions. Urban system transitions encompass complexity and dynamics of an urban environment within the combination of urbanity (description of the state of an urban system and the agency of its transitions) and urban decision making (sorting urban elements and transitions according to the layers of interventions - planning, investment-based transformations, and participatory activities).

Urban development is rather a generic term for circumscribing the progress of and in cities addressed in the blurred field of practice-oriented research World Bank ref. Nowadays, when cities are primary venues, power poles and capacity builders (Castells, 1998), the theorem that the growth of cities expand opportunities seems to hold up. Moreover, urban development concept has been easily mixed up with urbanization and economic growth and more often ruled out by the appealing righteousness of sustainable development trends ref. In this sense, urban development has been either patterned or predicted referring to whether it is the part of a model or a project for a city or an urban environment. However, in both cases it implies change. The programmed change is usually assumed positive in its intention or marked as developmental if it has positive economic or, less often, social outcomes ref. In reality urban change is most often the consequence of power struggle and has conflictive outcomes on different stakeholder groups Fainstein 2010 and else ref. Yet it has been bounded only spatially - referring to a city or a part of the city. Not to mention that today's solution may be the conflict of tomorrow Holden 2015, ref. Therefore, this thesis approaches urban development concept in relativistic terms.[1] In this sense, urban development is applied as an overarching codifier for urban complexity bounded rather as a comprehensive overlay for urban dynamics, not as its qualitative, prognostic nor delineative indicator. In other words, urban development is circumscribed herein by a set of premises as follows:

- Urban development is treated as a process of urban system transitions over time;

- Urban system transition both stems from and affects the range of human and non-human elements of an urban environment/system;

- Urban system transition is the consequence of urban decision making;

- Urban system transitions indicate every socio-spatial reference that affects an urban system;

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[1] Relativistic approach to space and time and their relations stems from modern physics and in urban research, it was introduced by David Harvey with the term "space-time compression" that explained altered relations between space and time caused by capitalist order The Condition of Postmodernity. However, the series of authors speak about condensed or diluted (speeding up and spreading out) space-time relations, but they connect it with, globalization and urbanization trends and technological advancement rather than with exclusively capitalism Doreen Massey A Global Sense of Place.

This interpretation of urban development not only emphasizes its processual nature, but also moves away from its project- or model-based feature by incorporating locally contingent socio-spatial patterns (Guy and Henneberry 2000) and non-human basis of urban agency(Healey 1991 add others). The units of analysis are temporarily and spatially bounded urban systems, either whole cities or its conventional parts (ref). **Socio-spatial patterns of urban transitions** is a provisory term that contributes to develop an understanding of development processes beyond mere strategic economic and social framing of needs and events and taking into account sporadic and spontaneous agencies of urban systems. The sensitivity to this range of needs, events and agencies means that whatever happens refer to the state of an urban system - the processes of maintenance, transformation and/or change which we define as urban system transitions ref. Accordingly, the complexity of an urban system, which involves the unpredictable and uncertain in its structure, is bridged by emphasizing the reference to its state and corresponding urban dynamics. This approach indicates political aspect of urban processes not that of urban structures. Moreover, it coincides with the political view of urban planning Friedman 1987, though it takes a more inclusive turn with all the agents of interventions, relations and events taken into account, not withstanding their nature, function or purpose. In other words, urban development becomes reconfigured to a fine-grained urban dynamics, adding up elements to the battlefield of urban decision making, while it enables labeling the complexity of urban systems.

In general, the important research challenge of this thesis is testing the legitimacy of urban decision making in addressing urban development. The issue at stake is to encompass planning, power struggle, economic interests, design and participation in an overarching urban decision making procedure. Namely, the source of urban system transitions are decisions made through these various top down, bottom up and interest-based interventions, relations and events. Political and governance practices are open and susceptible to choice, through contestation and struggle, and accident, historical or natural. "But decisions become locked in" and instigate urban system transitions - maintenance, transformation or change of the current state (Hudson and Leftwich 2014). **The morphology or urban decision making** therefore comprises and reconciles all its different layers that spread urban transitions through and across an urban system and engages certain level of forethought. These layers are: top-down urban planning strategies, tactical urban transformations, and bottom-up participatory activities recognized on site ref. They serve to enclose the historical continuum of global urban trends and patterns in a local socio-spatial framework and translate them into an internal, on-going interaction of individuals or constituted groups.

Identified overarching decision making procedure acknowledges human agency. Through these interactions, urban actors initiate the process of their integration into the environment through an appropriation and transformation of space. In this sense, we could refer to the classical vision upon cities as a setting that consists of: venues (their spatial and built environment) for social interactions (economic, political and cultural), social prac-

tices (policies and processes) and reproduction of social order of all urban actors (Firmino et al. 2008). The way cities function shapes the expectations and actions of all the urban actors involved, who also influence the constitution of the city itself. The network of these internal and external influences between human and non-human elements engaged in urban system transitions introduces urban agency as a property of all urban key elements. Henceforth, people (urban actors and stakeholders), objects (built environment), territories (space), institutions (regulatory framework), infrastructure and social aspects (political, economic and cultural circumstances) are all correlated through the morphology of urban decision making. They are also granted agency in urban system transition where they figure as **urban key agents** (Firmino et al., 2008) and ref. This multitude and diversity of elements is an urban system and, while embodying its dynamic state, it is rather blackboxing the agency of urban dynamics than decoding it.

Urbanity is another rather blurry concept, applied often in architectural research and practice with the potential for decoding urban dynamics. In general terms, it relies on urban complexity as an active attribute of the overall state of an urban environment (Canuto et al. 2012). Cities are the source of both problems and solutions of contemporary life. Cities are the polygon of contemporary decision making. Socio-spatial patterns of urban system transitions bend the way how decision making layers address urbanity as its constitutive reality and its ultimate positive goal ref. The conceptual framework of urbanity examines the urban key agents, numerous urban conflicts, social practices and contextual resources and how - in their incompleteness, plurality and informality - they form urban system transitions.

Moreover, this thesis argues that an overarching definition of urbanity concept improves scientific capacity for grasping urban dynamics. It elaborates how the level of urbanity figures as an indicator for maintenance, transformation and change processes of an urban system, incorporating simultaneously its state and the transitions. The relationship between the physicality of urban form and the social components of urban life generates the level of urbanity - the quality of continuous harmonization of the variety of structural elements, social factors and vested interests existing in an urban environment (Holanda 2002, Canuto et al. 2012). Moreover, all these urban key elements are assumed to be equal agents in the continuous process of urban development that has been marked by maintenance, transformation and change of the urban system in order to improve its living conditions and facilitate social interactions.

1.4.4 Methodology as a starting point

Following contemporary relativist trends for rethinking space, time, globalization and cities, future research challenge can be defined as "visualizing cities as unformed, unorganized, non-stratified, always in the process of formation and deformation, eluding fixed categories, transient nomad space-time that does not dissect the city into either segments and things or structures and processes" (Smith 2003:574). Accordingly, a corresponding change in approaching urban development can then be addressed by heterogeneous and it-

erative approach that has surpassed the perception of cities as merely economic, social and cultural venues treating them as complex and dynamic urban systems. In these circumstances it is necessary to apply proper techniques and methodologies for urban research and analyses which encompass complexity and dynamics of cities for the improvement of living conditions and the facilitation of social interactions in the process of urban development.

Bearing in mind the complexity of such relativistic approach to the urban and the necessity of practice-oriented knowledge, this thesis proposes a mixed-method case-study approach (check Flyvbjerg et al, 2012). According to Kuhn's paradigm shift (1962) science about the city is constantly swinging as a pendulum between scientific and hermeneutics approach - quantitative analysis vs. descriptive study (Portugali Complexity Cognition and the City). Mixed research method in this case provides complementary information and in-depth knowledge of the problem. However, it has been solely moulded according to qualitative data sets. The research is influenced by the choice of an innovative methodological approach, but the set of qualitative techniques and their sequence are guided by the requirements of the research problem check ref(Flyvbjerg, 2004; Aitken, 2010).

The choice of the methodologies is justified by the process-driven, correlational research design and the exploratory character of the research itself. In this reference. the thesis suggests the potential of the combination of multi-agent system (MAS) and actor-network theory (ANT) methodologies. ANT has been extensively applied in sociology for the analysis of cities and the urban, while MAS itself is more mathematical-computational method for agent-based modelings. MAS-ANT hybrid methodology herein serves to capture local urban dynamics and reframe complexity of permanent urban system transitions for urban development. This argument is built on the usefulness of ANT for describing urban reality. ANT approach provides a potential capacity to afford openness and flexibility necessary for founding logical argumentation before tracing urban dynamics. It will be then demonstrated that MAS adds the framework of action when applied over ANT. Finally, its application is presented on the case study of a post-socialist neighbourhood in Belgrade. In this case, the researcher had the opportunity to be educated in Belgrade and to work in the architectural production in the Serbian capital. Therefore, the researcher is to some extent familiar with the local context and has possibilities to access certain data.

This thesis adopted MAS-ANT methodology in order to:

1. describe complex urban reality (urban agency, decision making) in a post-socialist city (ANT);

2. understand how the level of urbanity path serves for tracking socio-spatial patterns of transition in Belgrade, Serbia (MAS)

3. indicate the processes of urban system transitions (ANT+MAS)

1.5   Contribution

research impact: the quality of an urban system generates a vibrant and fluid context open to permanent transitions gives rise to potential to originate diverse opportunities for new rounds of exchanges among research, innovation, action and development (Bolay et al. 2011).

The idea is to create visual interpretations that can be easily computerize (html5), and then easily changed. This enables the continuous generalizations and conclusions drawing and the introduction and description of new elements.

A by-product would be this new definition of urbanity and urban development.

This proposal aims to define a method of solving concrete problems through a process of understanding and dealing with current difficulties as they emerge and evolve.

urban development concept is reconsidered for describing and guiding urban processes in cities outside the Global North.

1.6   Thesis Structure

The study is structured in seven chapters.

This chapter (**CHAPTER 1**) sets the path for reaching the research objectives, its crucial role is to provide the basic understanding and scientific justification of what forms and conditions urban complexity and dynamics and how the problem is approached within the limits of this research. The next **CHAPTER 2** contains an extensive literature review concerning the applicable concepts and the chosen methodologies. These concepts form the essence for categorizations with the chosen methods. The conceptual and methodological parts build the theoretical framework for this thesis.

CHAPTER 3 relies on the primary statements from this introductory chapter, builds on the range of indicators identified within the theoretical framework and further elaborates the methodological approach and the scientific argument of the research.

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

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

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

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

In **CHAPTER 8** the performed research is pulled together. The resulting discussion is drawn upon the outlined background information on the theoretical framework, the deconstructed MAS-ANT methodological hybrid, and collected and analysed data on the

cases study from the previous chapters. Based on these results, this thesis is concluded on two separate levels, regarding research and theoretical framework. The final results are also presented in the wider perspective concerning its practical application and limits and potential of its framework

Chapter 2

Urban Development - What, How, Where and Why - Theoretical Framework

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

2.1 Conceptual Framework

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

Starting with the general notion of urban development, the narrative is constructed from the critics of its focus on economic growth towards its processual and more inclusive nature. In this reference it also brings forth the ordinary city, a theoretical stance that emphasizes no qualitative difference among cities according to their geographical location, history and economic prosperity. Therefore, urban complexity is deconstructed in terms of urban agency and urban decision-making. Urban agency (**?**) sets in motion urban environments Its distribution in cities is governed through the complex organizational logic of urban decision-making - the morphology of urban decision-making (**?**). On the other hand, the concept of urbanity (**?**) was the point of departure for addressing urban dynamics by linking urban agency to socio-spatial references as the source of qualitative urban transitions.

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

2.1.1 What Urban Development stands for?

The quest for recapitulation of urban development concept undoubtedly keeps the reference to something that was its initial concept. The phrase "urban development" consists of the words urban and development, both widespread and crammed with connotation, but poor, loose and inefficient when used in the narrative of actions (?; ?; ?;?).

The urban is a self-contained theoretical term, yet, according to (?) in practice it is not a pre-given, self-evident reality, condition or form. However, following the authors' explanations the urban is territorially bounded historical process where the population is concentrated and where social relations unfold (ibid.). Soja and Kanai (2006: 59) explain the urban as a way of life, binding its spatial and social dimensions together. Taking into account its processual nature and socio-spatial polymorphism, the urban phenomenon is acknowledged its fluid, extensive and variable actualization in space-time (?).

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

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

In its 200 years long history, the concept has been significantly updated and modified mainly in the course of development and environmental studies (?). In this reference, Walker and Walker (1989) speak about industrial and social development, and scientists and practitioners in the world have been talking also about capitalist, economic, spatial, metropolitan, uneven development, climate change and development etc. Another developmental catchword was that of sustainable development. Its theoretical scope tends to

reconcile opposites growing around the restrictive requirements of the environment and economy devouring borders and different systems into a flexible, workable unity (**?**). Its operational definition that brings together environmental and socio-economic questions was expressed as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (**?**:43). Setting it in the time perspective, brings after all a steady, anthropocentric frame of reference (**?**). which, in certain sense, defy the initial association of development with mainly economic growth.

Being bounded in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), sustainability became an agenda of international pursuit (**?**). Having it as a goal at the vast global scale, development was in need of ever better adjustments to the local context and an continual update with scientific and technological trends. Therefore, the leading paradigm sets it in the domain of moral and practical commitments, bottom-up crowd-sourcing activity, technological and social improvements and global mobilization of knowledge (**?**). Still, comparing to its all-inclusive definition, when turned into practice, sustainability also meets its limits (**?**). After multiple results and setbacks, growing number of field-research and action-plans, the developmental agenda has grown from the initial 8 goals into 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) of the post-2015 Development Agenda (**?**). [1]

Even though essentially humanitarian in its meaning, the openness and less rigor of the definition allowed at one point ambiguous interpretations. Several experts claim that sustainability with its environmental and timeless human awareness threatens capitalist order of things (**?**; **?**; **?**). Nonetheless, there are others who point out that business and governments to be in favour of sustainability without any fundamental challenge to their present course (**?**) and easily make it a synonym of "sustainable growth" (**?**;**?**; **?**). An example may be the case of Serbia, abstract and general criteria and principles of sustainability are easily introduced into strategic and planning documents, but only on paper and without any actual translations of the terms into implementation-oriented regulations (**?**).

still keeping the reference of betterment Continually criticized and easily abandoned, these specializations of development evidence the everlasting scientific trend of the concept. Moreover, these many attribution of development suggest disciplinary attunement of the term, yet one thing is sure from the perspective of various disciplines - it is seen as growth and "growth machine" is an unavoidable interpretation in discussing development <mark>Gottdiener 1994</mark>. Moreover, the words development and growth are used interchangeably across the social science studies and usually with hardly any critical recapitulation of this matching.

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[1] While being critical on MDGs in the first place, experts are even more divided about the possible effectiveness of such extension, describing it naively idealistic and in this sense even more liable to deviations andabandonment in practice. (**?**+ other ref scientific)

Subsequently, urban development also involves the ideology of growth, but in reference to space, spatial organization, space in social organization, urban space. With the bonds to pro growth boosterism, the production of space is necessarily marked as capitalist, even though capitalist relations are not reflected directly in urban forms Gottdiener 1994. However, marxist theory of urban development emphasizes that economic and political processes of technology, labor power and existing relations of production in cities entail contradictions and crises pertaining to the built environment and class struggle Harvey 1978. According to sophisticated architectural rhetoric, capitalist growth is also a physical act of land interventions (presence of bulldozers and concrete, high-rise buildings and costly designs). Conversely, in planners terms, it involves de-concentration and de-centralization (suburbanization and urban sprawl as the other side of the medal) Gottdiener 1994. [2]

Galtung 1996 There are different and numerous interpretations of what is and what should be development in general and concurrently urban development in this case. Following the growth paradigm, Galtung (1996) pointed out several readings of what development is:

- spread of capitalist system and its values;

- bureaucratic evaluation of success of projects that compete for development subsidies under the slogans of health and safety, participation, inclusion, equity, the poor etc;

- appropriation of civilization history by the west, were Western development becomes Modernization and for the rest of the world it is GNP growth (gross national product);

- appropriation of economic growth to the Judeo-Christian (JC) Northwest and the Buddhist-Confucian (BC) Southeast regions, while the rest of the world is condemned to a periphery status;

- development assistance coming from imperialist and missionary traditions.

All these interpretations not only that glorify growth, but directly define development by its opposite, the connection to underdeveloped other. The reference to underdeveloped changed the meaning to development after WWII, when President Truman in his speech put forth the thesis of making available own industrial and scientific achievements (those of US and western countries) to the rest of the world Esteva 1992. Thenceforth development is being marked as a ceaseless pursuit of escaping underdevelopment Esteva 1992. Instead of these practical social and economic aspects of postponement of gratification, national divisions and profit orientation, the terminological core of the term development is a holistic and dynamic approach to the human condition Galtung 1996. In accordance, its tangible definition should be contextually constructed with not one global development, but as a sum of different developments and with its self-development not transitive

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[2]Recent shifts from sustainability towards urban resilience demonstrate at least etymological alteration from "develop something" "something development", even though the term development (and even sustainable development) is still present in its explanations and discussions ref web of science.

essence[3]Galtung 1996. This interpretation proves obsolete the well known center-periphery dichotomy in development pursuit Galtung 1996, Robinson 2006. And even if it entails any relations of any kind and even assistance, those should be the reciprocal. Development also holds a culture-centered notion of the unfolding of a culture and needs-centered reference towards meeting the needs of human and natural worlds Galtung 1996, which both collide with the initial ideal of development as growth.

Urban development is not a goal, but a process. From the growth perspective it implies favourable change, a transition to the superior and the better, like there is a necessary, universal law to judge it Esteva 1992. However, even in its essential, value neutral sense of processual transition, development may be the result of radical change, societal or spatial. Destitute of its simplistic market explanation, radical change therefore entails the redistribution of population, social order or physical structures that challenges the ontologically fixed city organization, a dramatic forward-motion Brenner and Schmidt 2013. On the contrary, development is also a relentless churning of city morphology and management, which may be referred as a continual socio-spatial transformation Brenner and Schmidt 2013. Furthermore, keeping the distance from growth and addressing its process in non-normative way should also be a part of an overall "right to development"[4]to be chosen by those who perform the self-development and who are also allowed to choose to maintain the system as is. It means that urban development seen as a distribution of urban transition that incorporates the basic dynamics of territorial/urban systems: maintenance, transformation and change Friedmann 1987.

Urban development is treated as a process of urban system transitions over time. The term "transition"[5]is herein used to refer to a process that leads from one state of the urban system to another Stark (1992), with the clear categorization of its pre-transition situation, the deterministic influence of the past (i.e. path dependency) and it includes the moment of discontinuity (Thomas, 1998) or the reflected continuity Mornings after Nedovic Budic.

For better understanding, putting the equation sign between urban development and system transitions and its reference to maintenance, transformation and change of the urban system should be elaborated in terms of how the transitions are qualified as transitional (maintenance) vs transformative (transformation) or evolutionary (change) and what determines the start and end points and the moment of discontinuity / reflected continuity

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

[4]From the perspective of this research, the official UN "Declaration on the Right to Development" is rather drafted in the notion of growth and development-underdeveloped dichotomy.

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

Mornings after Nedovic Budic. For Friedmann (1987) maintaining forces are practice.[6] He further elaborates the systemic change as the process is riddled with conflict and compromise, when radical proposals become integrated with the structure of the guidance system of society Friedmann 1987. According to the same author, transformation is the tolerated disruptive action that is a legitimate part of the established political order Friedmann 1987. On the other hand, to define the space-time reference of transition (start, end and the moment) it is important to take into account: its constant contingency, the complex contextual influences, the directional proceedings, continuity and its incremental nature. Thus, it is necessary to shift the deterministic concept of urban development to a more comprehensive vision that considers complex networks and their dynamic interfaces that generate better understanding and strategizing of urban development (**?**). Apart from the confusing mix of global and local influences, the complexity of such stand-alone artefacts is encumbered with layers of infrastructure that progressively interweave and infiltrate urban systems, life and culture in cities (Graham 2001, Portugali 2011). The powers of such networking support a complex restructuring of urban elements, along with a capacity for recombining economic, political, cultural, technical or natural factors (Murdoch 1998). Such urban heterogeneity consists of operationalization, interrelation and interaction of socio-technical assemblies within a city (Graham and Marvin 2001). These become extended over the times and spaces of urban life (Mitchell 1996) and offer us an opportunity to construct dynamic, sophisticated and synthesized approaches to contemporary urban development. Consequently, cities nowadays are in a constant state of flux, with the rapid adjustment of its physical, economic, social, and political structures (Sykola 1999) to the information flows and infrastructural scapes. The urban present is not any more attributed only to spatial forms, economic units and cultural formations, but also to integral and complex socio-material and sociotechnical systems in cities (Farias and Bender 2011).

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

The orientation towards future is central to modern society and even more so it is its orientation towards a positive vision of the future, whatever it might be. In an organized system as urban one, this concept corresponds to that of risk, where the control of all future events is calculable and predictable in probabilistic terms. In realty all urban agents

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[6]In his planning oriented concept they refer to them as usually bureaucratic in nature and articulated by the state Friedmann 1987.

actively respond to these everlasting condition changes which imply that uncertainty must be accepted and managed. In these circumstance, the morphology of urban decision making represents how the system deals with this notion of an open-ended future.

Urban system transitions are the consequence of urban decision making. Cities are constantly forming and reforming by human and non-human agency Portugali Complexity theory of cities. It also means that urban system transitions are ever present. Urban development is a continuous, unstoppable process, while the separate transitions could be identified according to: the description of the pertaining agencies, identification of their roles and relations, assessment of strategies and interests associated to these role, how these roles are shaped by resources, rules and ideas and the relation between these resources, rules and ideas to the local social aspects Healey 1992. In this sense, it is important to acknowledge that diminishing the growth paradigm of development does not mean the negligence of power relations that dominate modern urban context. Even though nowadays the term "governance" is more benevolently used than that of decision making, this research project purposely avoids it. Governance deals with strategies, tactics and operations on how to steer the economy and society and to reach [common] goals Pierre and Peters 2000. However, for the topic of urban transitions, the process that precedes is not of the importance - when decision is set then the process of urban system transition, whichever it is, starts. Therefore, the morphology of urban decision making explains beginning, system transition (discontinuity / reflected continuity) and its ending point. "It is the ongoing development of that system which comes to be materialized in space at any given time, so that observable patterns of socio-spatial organization are [its] phenomenal forms" Gottdiener 1994.

Urban system transitions indicate every socio-spatial reference that affects the urban system. Urban development process involves socio-spatial relations to urban agency through the morphology of urban decision making. Socio-spatial patterns are the product of the uncoordinated nature of urban processes and they further entail urban system transitions Gottdiener 1994. Urban conflicts manifest themselves in space through contradictory, contentious processes (radical change), urban practices reproduce necessary functionality of the system (maintenance) and the contextual resources induce cycles of exchange (transformation) determined by the mature system logic Galtung 1996.

In sum, urban development is anything what may happen to a city in terms of maintenance, transformation and change of its original state (Friedmann 1987). Such a context implies that physical spaces are constantly intermingling with social constructions of these spaces (Firmino et al. 2008), annihilating the idea that a place is a single material object and transforming it into a "space of flows" (Castells 1998). The "city" concept is thereafter redirected from spatially bounded, people-centred phenomenon to dynamic and complex urban systems, which in their incompleteness and indeterminacy, are stages where all urban elements participate in their "making", changing and transforming. In other words, a city is perceived as a nexus that balances relational proximity in a fast-moving world with

time-space extensibility and all human actors and material objects engaged in networks extended beyond the immediate corporeal environment (Graham and Marvin 2001).

"**By the beginning of the twentieth century, a new use of the term became widespread. Urban development has stood, since then, for a specific manner of reformulation of urban surroundings, based on the bulldozer and the massive, homogeneous industrial production of urban spaces and specialized installations.**" (Esteva 2001)

2.1.2 An Ordinary City in a Constant State of Change

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

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

This commodification robs cities of their particular identities and turns them into clones (Miles, 2010). Cities are no longer perceived as geographical entities with their own distinct identities. They have become places of extraordinary circulation and interconnectivity without any clear boundaries, and the essence of urbanity has stretched beyond their spatial proximity (Amin, 2006), leading to a "compression of the world" (Robertson, 1992) or to put it in other words, "world shrinkage" (Larsson, 2001). This is a vivid example of how rapid globalization that intensifies the perception of the world as a unitary, world society (Albrow and King, 1990) of wide social relations and interconnections (Giddens, 1992).

The extensive urbanization of the landscape and globalization shrinkage of social conditions to meet certain standards and trends more than ever put the pressure on cities to fit in an overall classification and compete for a position in the overall growth machine that dominates the world under the capitalist order. In these circumstances, urban research as well as its practice aim to tame urban dynamics and reduce urban complexity in order to provide the desirable results (Jacobs 1984 Cities and the wealth of nations). The overarching classification and the overall goals surpress the intrinsic complexity and dynamics

of cities and push for a predictable future which could be chosen from a menu. However, what actually happens in most of the cities, especially those outside the Western world is rather a multiplicity and variety of possibilities that come up from the particularities of the local urban experience Amin Good city.

The problem might be obvious - the danger of overemphasizing and overgeneralizing from particular entities/characteristics/relations Nigel Thrift (1996a) Not a straight line but a curve. Following the the theoretical concept of ordinary cities proposed by Amin and Graham (1997) to represent locally moulded just and genuine city, Robinson (2006) provides clarifies a cosmopolitan tactics for surpassing hierarchical categorization of cities in the world, which in terms of modernity and development kept them apart. Her main point was to avoid the hegemony of western urban theory, as well as the growing strength of a discourse of development, which from 1970s onward has been emphasizing the differences between cities in the west and elsewhere Robinson 2006.

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

This line of thought belongs to the critics of colonial urbanism and the idea that urban modernity belongs to the cities of the West, while development are left to the other cities as "third world cities" Robinson 2006. In terms of the reference to the experience of colonialism, Scott and Storper (2015) claim that the theory has also appropriated from the early postcolonial urban theory from AbuLughod (1965), Jacobs (1998) and King (1976). In any case, it has been further adapted and improved by the other herself (Robinsons all ref), but also by other human geographers (Parnell and ref). It also echoed in through "worlding cities", a methodological striving to refer to the global in the investigations on the ordinary citiesRoy and Ong 2011. The most recent trends are the mergings of ordinary cities theoretical background into Actor-network theory and assemblage theory analyses. The theoretical stance of the ordinary is built in between the critics of urban modernity and developmentalism. Robinson identifies urban modernity as a pure product of western cities and other cities became - "the objects for developmentalist intervention" - meaning that modernity of poor cities is always about development Robinson ref. Therefore, the current categorization and differentiation of cities, is a pure product of colonial past and capitalist present. In these circumstances, cities are under constant threat of catching-up in an increasingly hostile international, economic, and political environment. In this re-

spect, the first step for addressing urban development is reframing the concept to meet the challenges of both the wealthiest and the poorest cities.

Bearing in mind Escobars (1995) critic of power and knowledge concerning development and developmentalism, the ideology of "ordinary cities" serves as an equalizing element for all cities to become able to shape their distinctive futures/ developments whatever politic, economic and cultural position they hold in relation to other places. Within the compass of "ordinariness", cities are viewed as multi-dimensional integrated systems composed of qualitatively different and semi-autonomous processes. According to Robinson (2006), cities feature as platforms facilitating diverse economic activities and social life, sites for reformulation and redistribution of social needs and arenas for political contestation. In such a context, "ordinary cities" theory confirms and relies upon Saskia Sassens vision of global city (1991), where global economic connections are can not be neglected for city's structural and social formations.

Taking into account both global and local, multiple geographies and temporalities of the urban, but also deterritorialized external influences shape specific local urban system transitions Robinson 2013. Therefore, envisioning concrete urban complexity and tracing its dynamics encompasses:

1. Dislocating urban development accounts from what come up from the western urban practice which claims to be its originator;

2. Sensitivity to the specificity, diversity and specialization of the city;

3. Justifying how people in particular urban settings have produced their particular production and circulation of novelty, innovation and new fashions;

4. Responding to citys relations within wider networks of circulations, competition and power;

5. Letting the cities shape their developmental perspectives depending on their distinctiveness and creative potential, without any hierarchical order among them cities.

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

Robinson's theoretical turn in human geography is seen from some as revolutionary as that of Lefebvre Chapelin ville contenstes. James Fraser (2006) supports this approach by elaborating that in terms of urban theory the main trap has been the "spatial turn" in theorizing about cities where they are actually reduced to global issues and their competitiveness in globality and, instead of western centrality, "the world is [actually] being flattened". However, its comparative methodological framework engender several theoretical traps: how far-reaching are concepts generated from an instance, what are methodological

tools for navigating amongst instances, and how to distinguish repetitive and distinctive causes and outcomes across cities Robinson 2015. This has been partly resolved by keeping the initial, although vague reference to the notion of "ordinary city", but moving away from comparisons and generalizations through flattened networks of both human and non-human elements Ong and Collier, 2004; Robinson, 2004; Sassen, 2008; Faras and Bender, 2010; McFarlane, 2010; 2011; Rankin, 2011. This is rather descriptive approach of actor-network theory (ANT) and assemblage theory that aims at constructing universal typologies of urban agency based on their associations Scott and Storper 2015.

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

2.1.3 The Constitution of Urban Agency

Already Weber identified urban as a place of civility, civics and culture confronting it with disorder and chaos Weber ???. Urban living is therefore a social construct, the human environment characterized by layered complexity and apparent entropy entailed from extreme dynamics (Jacobs 2000). Avoiding straight-forward explanations coming from class, market relations and individualism, the questions rises about what are the means and modes of acting that generate the urban condition.

General theories on agency always involve also structure as an micro-macro, element-system or individual/society dichotomy. This renewed structure-agency reflects the return to individual capacity and its wider social repercussions in contrast to structuralism, and functionionalism and system theories. Giddens' structuralization theory claims that structure and agency are dual and mutual and interrelated through the distribution of power in society Giddens constitution of society. While institutions hold structural principles with the greatest time space extension, agency implies power through actions that challenge a preexisting "state of affairs" Giddens constitution of society. Giddens' theory addresses the process of institutionalization over time. Contesting this approach, Archer (1982) introduces culture (non-material phenomena and ides) within the structure (material phenomena and ides) and explains how transformation, but also the maintenance of the systems are produced through the actions and interactions within agency-structure dichotomy. The idea was further developed by Bourdieu (XXX) in his theory of practice, where the structure of the social world forms the setting and the constraints (usually that of power and class) for the perception of actors, but is being simultaneously contested by agent's capital (social, economic and cultural). Structure, in other words, holds the supremacy and logic of social patterns Rafiee. Finally, in communication action explanations from Habermas (XXXX), the agency is human centered and the system (structure) is the macro settings where these interactions are embedded. And the action is actually an interaction, a two-sided agency.

All these agency-structure theories have a human as its conceptual core. However, it seems

that this structure-agency integration rather returns the systemic view of the world. It is more of a counterpart of micro-macro integration, where the previous division (emphasized by the integration part) has already made, I argue, the way for different types of clustering (such as those of cities), values chains and goals sets (urban development as growth). However, the acknowledgment of institutional roles and relations, maintenance and transformation processes of social systems, everyday practices and interactive associations among human agencies bring into discussion the question how the social is distributed.

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

Moreover, assemblage brings about the notion of process, "the agency of assemblage emerges in process, in bringing different actors together, in their dissolution, contestation and reformulation" McFarlane 2011. These conceptions attribute creative, contingent, and un-structured characteristics to the agency Rafiee et al. 2014, McLeod 1987,Taylor 1991 and focus on the individual sources of agency as well as on the interactive whole McFarlane 2011. It could be reckoned then that any social being has agency. To be more precise, agency could be ascribed to any human and non-human, organic and inorganic, technical and natural element of the system Anderson and McFarlane 2011.

Consequently, urban agency is defined as the action or the force that brings about the particular state of the city as an urban system, but in its heterogeneous and processual nature Faras (2011, p. 15). So, while bearers of urban agency could be materialities as well, the interactions and distributions that produce complex and dynamic urban system happen not only between humans and humans and non-humans, but also in the interactions of materials themselves Manuel De Landa (2011).

Assigning agency in the form of acts, to the whatever it could be, actually allude that the world is not flat Roy 2009, while the domain of thick description of relations between past, present and future ("history and potential") becomes such (flat) Rankin 2011. Therefore, bringing agency to sociomaterial interactions is also a way to approach ordinariness. In the ordinary cities perspective, urban agency decoupled from the presuppositions of intentionality, subjectivity, and free-will enable to see the processes difference in terms where and how they are emerging Sayes 2014, McFarlane2011 It is not only intentional action that matters, but the causal one Sayes 2014.

In this respect, the overarching knowledge/understanding/description of the city, as a complex system, and the transitions it is engaged in, as the representation of its dynamics and

broadly development, is constituted both from the general models of agency and agent behaviour and local interpretations of authority, behaviour, events and materialities in this process Healey 1992. As a result, people (urban actors), objects (built environment), territories (space), institutions (regulatory framework), infrastructure and social practices are all assumed to be equal agents in the dynamic process of contemporary urban development (urban system transitions) and therefore should be equally treated in delegating them key roles. The interaction and interconnections among these key agents in an urban environment evidence the production of diversity of social practices and also the challenge of urban conflict, which are the major issues that influence urban decision making.

2.1.4   The Morphology of Urban Decision Making

The city, when viewed from the presented framework of overarching and contingent urban agency, is not simply as an output or resultant formation, but as ongoing construction McFarlane 2011. In this sense, urban decision making is not only a formal conduct of visible and institutionalized power, but it is complemented with informal and less obvious sources of agency (Lukes 1974 from Healey 1997). According to contemporary trends in social sciences as well as in practice, these circumstances are generally associated with the term governance Pierre and Peters 2000.

Much like urban development, the term governance is used in different contexts and with different meanings, mainly because of its capacity to cover vast arena of formal and informal relations and structures Pierre and Peters 2000. In this respect, we can speak about 4 generations in the theory of governance: governance for development management, political and historical nature of governance, political economy approach to governance and the return of politics into governance through the notion of power, idea, agency and contingency Hudson and Leftwich 2014. However, the recent practice-oriented trends showed also the tendency to have the governance "measured" and the World Bank Group (WBG) came up with the report proposing the worldwide governance indicators, which address the national level and were based on the data from over 200 countries during the last 20 years.[7]

In urban discourse, the term urban governance covers a range of social and political processes through which the management of urban issues is conducted Healey 1997 Collaborative planning. Governance itself is a process of steering the economy and society to manage the interplay of rules, interests and values in cities conducted through hierarchies, markets and interests Pierre and Peters 2000 - a battlefield of policy-driven, profit oriented and just city.[8]And it is set up through the human actions, that of individuals, organizations, and coalitions Hudson and Leftwich 2014. In short, governance is how the decisions are made.

In political terms, governing (or steering) at the city level is brought forward from either

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[7]These indicators cover 6 dimensions of governance: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of Violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption WGI 2016.

top-down or bottom-up, having the authorities at the one end and the communities at the other Hudson and Leftwich 2014. However, the current trends of globalization also contributed to moving the steering poles from nation state to the international level. Namely, the concept of underdevelopment[9]guided through global system and development agencies (e.g. World Bank and International Monetary Fund) rather produce benefits to powerful countries and multi-national corporations through economic, political, and military actions Sears 2008 Consequently, international organizations and international corporate capital can easily override the state and come down directly to the city level. And the picture becomes ever more complex with private investors and non-governmental sectors growing in importance and moving in the play. For that reason, Pierre and Peters (2000) advocate that steering society and economy is increasingly moving up, down and out from state institutions as its supreme authority.

While politics is open, governance is a directional process and decisions become locked in Hudson and Leftwich 2014. In this respect, the goal of governance is to: contribute to conflicts resolution, capture and apply multiple forms of knowledge. facilitate enhancement of local capacity and enable inclusive decision making Mathur et al., 2007. According to before mentioned global predominance, governing is moving up (international organizations), down (regions, localities, communities) and out (NGOs, corporatization and privatizations) to enable these multifaceted and complex negotiations Pierre and Peters 2000. On the contrary, decision making is an effective exercise of judgment and the first step in implementation by taking the consequences of decisions Knight 1964.

Decisions involve risk and uncertainty, but also they imply resulting actions, risk of errors and responsibility for their correctness Knight 1964. Actions, risk, errors and responsibility are managed differently when decisions are made by those who stand to bear main consequences (Meppem and Gill, 1998), but may turn out with grave consequences when it is not the case caused by the unclear values, lack of information and inefficient coordination (Friend and Hickling 1987). In short, while governance aim to resolve a conflict, decision making solve or produce it; governance instate practices and decision making produce or reproduce them; finally, governance capture socio-spatial resources, while decision making either neglect or exploit them.

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

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[8]Just city phrase is used to designate criteria of democracy, diversity and equity proposed by Farnstein (Just city).

[9]This concept is generally applied to Third World countries, both during colonization and after national independence. Nevertheless, following the discussion from ref section develpoment and ordinary cities, it is also applicable to all countries and cities outside the Western world.

Leftwich 2014. Urban planning mechanisms, real estate transformations and participatory practices will be elaborated respectively as the layers of urban decision making.

Urban Planning Strategies

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

It was only from the beginning of the 20th century onward that the scientific discourse of planning became distinguished from that of sociology and from urban design and landscape architecture traditions stemming from architecture and design, which we established as disciplines since Greek times Van Assche et al. 2013, Platt, 2003, Allmendinger, 2002; Hall, 2002; Handlin and Burchard, 1966. Consequently, urban planning theory has always complied with the prevailing theoretical framework of social studies (Portugali 2011). On the contrary, in order for planning activities to be practically effective, they should be embedded in a particular socio-spatial context, and they react to the shifts in socio-economic and political settings.

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

Furthermore, according to one of the leading urban theories of David Harvey and Manuel Castells, urban planning cannot be seen as an autonomous process of spatial development, but rather it is situated in its political economic context where current economic and social organizations are constantly overlapping (Taylor, 2006). Urban planning in practice is intrinsically connected to the property market (which in turn involves a particular political ideology) and this tends to maintain current social order (Dear and Scott, 1981;

Taylor, 2006), both of which are grounded in the development and expansion of industrial capitalism, neo-liberalism and consumerism (Ellin, 1999; Harvey, 1989). In other words, urban planning system is, and have always been, the spatial and symbolic manifestations of broader social forces (Giddens, 1992), following the societal evolution to various degrees and at various speeds (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

Socio-spatial organization of cities therefore involves high-level coordination of policy and practice, procedures and content (Van Assche and Verschraegen, 2008), so that urban planning should balance the roles of authorities and markets, legal, economic, and political perspectives from national and sub-national levels (regional, city, community) Mornings After Nedovic Budic 2011. Urban planning is therefore regarded as an institutionalized profession and more often than not its decision making mechanisms are deployed from top-down.

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

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

- institutional framework consisting of public administration and urban planning authorities and addressing political and administrative jurisdiction;

- legal framework that comprise rules and procedures and deals with social, economic, political and ethical implications of planning interventions;

- planning framework with policy agendas and technical documentation for programming and implementation in planning.

The top-down authority in planning also involves bringing together, structuring and regulations of relations within a planning system between public, private, common, cor-

porate and collective interests[10]Maksic 2012, Vujosevic 2015 Regionalizam u Srbiji 2. Growing dominance of markets, power of private and corporate investors brought up a change from ethically-based to profit-oriented decision making in urban planning, especially in weak political contexts Lazarevic Bajec 2009. In such circumstances, power manage to manipulate knowledge and determine'what kind of interpretation attains authority as the dominant interpretation' Getimis 2012, in this sense political poles and financial centers are brought into decision making ravishing through and across the structures of the system.

Real Estate Bias

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

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

Historically speaking, spatial organization and design has been strongly tied to top-down political and institutional powers, but also more indirectly, through the presence and increase of patronage Van Assche et al. 2013. In the extreme circumstances, influential economic and political actors tend to abuse their powers and appropriate urban space, when the regulatory framework is blurred, biased or, in extreme cases, corrupt. In other words, their projects and interests intervene in planning frameworks Hudson and Leftwich 2014 and therefore they are associated with urban agency. Their actions usually defy public interest and tend to endanger the rights and interests of less powerful and more often marginalized groups Sager 2006. This interference in urban planning framework is enabled through social networks and interest which relations these actors have with politicians and officials Healey 1997 Collab. This is Healey's (1997) definition of clientelism - economic actors gain profit in return for political favours through this personal patron-client rela-

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[10]In ideal conditions these interest are distributed such that state represents public interest, market - private interests, communities have common interests, companies - corporate interests and association - collective interests. But in real and even more so in turbulent political systems the distribution of interest is disrupted and confused among these initial patron groups of actors.

tion.

However, this is only one form of corruption. Other forms of corruption that dominate urban planning are: legislative and regulatory corruption,[11] bureaucratic corruption,[12] and public works corruption[13] Chiodelli and Moroni 2015. Corruption involves the intentional non-compliance with the formal rules by the public power holders for personal or related private benefits (World Bank Kaufmann, 1997, Tanzi quoted in Begovic and Mijatovic, 2001:9, Chiodelli and Moroni 2015).

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

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

"**Politicians like to benefit their political supporters. Officials may come under pressure to bend rules to favour the friends of politicians and disadvantage their enemies. Individuals with particular interests may lobby vigorously for 'special attention' in relation to their development project.**" Healey 1997

Traces of Participation

Public participation generally encompasses bottom-up, action-orientated and socially inclusive engagement of all individuals or constituted groups (UN Habitat, 2009). What is more, successful participation firmly relies on the accessibility, transparency, responsiveness, and accountability of all institutional processes. Active urban agency of individuals or constituted groups places them into political and economic processes, and therefore deliberately includes them in the future of their society (Arnstein 1969; Fisher 2001).

Following Arnsteins ladder of participation idea, each society is left to mix and match the participatory processes that meet its needs and influence power relations (Fisher 2001). Accordingly, including citizens priorities, values and needs aims at achieving certain end-results, contributing to the efficiency of society as a whole in a process for accumulating social capital, and creating institutionalizing networks of civic engagement (Putnam et al. 1993). It means that every society would be able to produce its own space with a strong impact of its ideology and cultural spheres, and thereby controls its urban development

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[13] Influence on rules and legislations ibid.

[13] Corrupt acts of bureaucrats within their domains of work ibid.

[13] "The systemic graft involved in building public infrastructures and services" ibid.

(Lefebvre 1974). he identity of an ordinary city constantly in flux is then defined as the process of self-understanding, self-creation and self-representation of an operating urban environment by its urban actors, all of whom are mobilized to intervene responsibly and who willingly integrate their customs and needs into this process (Bolay 2004).

Participation in planning is a process that is usually designed to address urban conflicts with the aim of resolving or exploiting it successfully (Fisher 2001). Namely, from the introduction of communicative planning approach in 1980s onward, public participation has been set in motion as a tool for exploiting democratic capacities of modern society in order to locally mobilise all available human resources, develop discourses and practices, change institutional conditions to transform a crisis of aggregated urban conflicts into an opportunity for urban development (Healey 1996, Scharpf, 1997).

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

The alternative vision was recently set in practice with the paradigm of tactical urbanism whose main goal is to set forth economic, political, cultural and spatial transformation in global cities by instigating creative interventions that guide their change, giving them unique identities (Lydon 2012). The conceptual core of such an approach circumvents involvement of the least powerful urban actors in decision making, encourages them to creatively trace their cultural identity through adequate professional supervision and bring positive changes, develop social capital and organisational capacity that involves shaping a physical and a social component of cities (Bolay 1996). Moreover, their needs should also be modified to what urban planning framework can actually offer; they need to act or interact with the world around them, which is in flux (Harvey 2003). Moreover, the way cities function shapes the expectations and actions of all the urban actors involved, who also influence the constitution of the city itself.

The identity of a city in flux is defined as the process of self-understanding, self-creation and self-representation of an operating urban environment by its urban actors, all of whom are mobilized to intervene responsibly and who willingly integrate their customs and needs into this process (Bolay 2004). In this way, these individuals or constituted groups may become the actual "makers of the city". They determine space as a social product of their values, the logic that pilots them, the relationships and representations that influence them and the aspirations that motivate them (Lefebvre, 1974). Individuals reproduce and adopt explicit or implicit local/everyday/milieu knowledge (nature, culture, and social conceptions within a social network) and build non-institutional frames (based on their expectations, beliefs, attitudes and values) (Getimis 2012). However, in recent scientific studies in the domain, this positive image of the urban and participation is rather char-

acterized as unrealistic and even Utopian (Lindner 2009).

Yet the trends of globalization and urbanization moved up and out the poles of decision making and have brought in new sources of urban agency into local arenas, which also pead for participatory purposes - that of international organizations (IO) and local and global non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and sporadic private elements. Apart from social issues, planning-as-design has been an important entry point for these actors to engage in local urban decision-making (Van Assche et al. 2013). The focus on content, incremental changes and attractiveness of place is the point of their engagement in particular interventions in cities by advocating participatory urban design.

Yet, instead of enhancing the micro urban environment for the locals and train a populace to know, show and actively express their needs and directly apply them in space intervetions and social practices (Ostrom 1995), these attractive very often yield the increasing commodification of urban public space ?, gentrification and commercialization of urban neighbourhoods Zukin 1982, Lloyd 2006) and low-wage services as only new source of economic activity (Basett 1993).

Urban Decision-making Layers

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

Much like planning systems alone, whole structures of urban decision making develop continuously throughout the world through the waves of innovation, imposition, borrowing and adjustment waves of planning 2006. Concurrently, there are certain global trends which could not be denied Van Assche et al. 2013+ref: (1) pull for institutionalization and coordination of planning systems; (2) regulating the overlap of markets and planning; (3) professional and disciplinary articulations and legitimacy of spatial interventions; (4) the role of aesthetics in socio spatial interventions, and (5) increase in transparency, public participation in socio-spatial transformations. This may suggest that the distribution and structuralization of urban agency and the corresponding networks of influences from top, bottom and outside (ref section 2.1.4), by belonging to the same cluster of elements, produce the effects and contexts which could be classified and put in hierarchical order. Nevertheless, in particular local contexts it is not the case. The specific mixtures of internal and external influences result in a concrete local organizational system, style of

action and quality that evolves over time according to its intrinsic, 'ordinary' logic. While complexity and dynamics of urban systems resemble one another, they all may mature differently constituting its intrinsic socio-spatial patterns, if they are let to.

2.1.5 How to frame urbanity to grasp system dynamics

Side by side with the historical continuum of global development patterns, socio-political framework at the neighbourhood level is shaped by human integration into the local environment. Appropriations, adaptations and modifications of space are the main agencies of physical interventions, which are followed by continual adjustments of its political, economic, and cultural structures (**?**). This process captures the pace of change and the multi-layered nature of transformation, with the focus on transitions in local economy, society, system of governance and the spaces of production and consumption. A systematic approach to such dynamics should integrate different modi operandi, transcend multiple scales and recognize temporality of information, actions and intentions that are followed up by satisfactory results (**?**). While nowadays about 50% of the world population lives in cities (United Nations 2008), it has been also argued that "not all or even the greater part of this existences [and circumstances] can be described as being intrinsically urban" Scott and Storper 2015. In urban studies the concept of urbanity is used as a parameter for the quality of urban spaces, but the particular meanings of the concept vary from contexts and disciplines ((Bisson 2016). According to the following argument, this rather "fuzzy concept" (Bourdin, 2010 could also be used to grasp and operationalize urban dynamics, if taken in the course of Actor-network theory and updated to better indicate the parameters of urban dynamics through urban system transitions of maintenance, transformation and change.

From the historical viewpoint, the term "urbanity"[14]is used as a qualitative indicator for physical cities and urban life. Based on the language discourse, different disciplines moulded the meaning of the term. Therefore, it is possible to distinguish 2 different scientific views of urbanity - theoretical and practical, sociological and architectural.

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

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[14]Urbanitt means urbanity in German and urbanit in French. In all 3 languages it refers to either cities or urban life with slight differences according to the scientific domains where it is used. This research prefers to stay away from etymological and discursive interpretation of the term, but tend to emphasize that it is bounded theoretical concept often used/referred to separately/independently from the notion of the word urban.

ban studies, it has been a more common reference for urban policy and planning, where it denotes the urban way of life and typical structural properties of a traditional "European city" (Prigge 1996, Wust 2005, Lossau 2008). As an overall definition in sociological and planning traditions of the 20th century (Georg Simmel, Louis Wirth, Robert Park, Jane Jacobs, Henri Lefebvre, Thierry Paquot, Richard Florida among others), urbanity is a condition and setting that makes possible specific way of life characterized by the city Lvy 2013.

In contemporary urban theory, urbanity is identified as the state of a city/space coming up of the balance between physical and social. On one hand, urbanity figures out as a conditional set up for arguing and evaluating actions towards an overall vision of the common good Holden et al., 2015. This rather contested and open-ended articulation of contemporary urbanity aims at balancing top-down, market and civic-based governance roles, responsibilities and outcomes within the interrelations of biophysical and sociocultural urban elements - people and spaces, regulatory framework and urban structures (Groth and Corijn 2005, Tardin 2014, Holden et al 2015). On the other hand, urbanity as a state of the urban is deconstructed through its density and diversity Lvy's (1997, 2003). In this reference, it could be also graded and thereafter giving cities the characteristics of "the level of urbanity" (strong/weak) Lvy 2013.

On the other hand, the sense of urbanity as a way of life (urban life) and culture (urban culture) emphasizes the temporal property of the concept (Farias and Bender introduction). In the light of assemblage and ANT theory, urbanity emerges within socio-spatial networks at multiple scales (Kamalipour and Peimani 2015). This approach emphasizes the idea that a city might be just a fixed actualization of the urbanity in a particular space-time bound (Farias and Bender:297). The biggest challenge for urban analysis, addressed by the practitioners of ANT, is the definition of "rational urbanity" that addresses urban experience over time. Proposed by Spanish anthropologist Delgrade (Farias and Bender p211), it embodies fluid, unstable and ambiguous forms and principles of life in space-time flux of a city.

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

The rich meaning of urbanity as a structural continuity of spaces in cities has been adequate for application in urban design practice. Historically speaking, this viewpoint

was backed up by theories from Camillo Sit, Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch and Christopher Alexander (ref). This line of interpretation has led to the formulation of parametric vision of urbanity as an architectural category for spatial configuration of urban spaces (ref). The idea of breaking urban space down into components is bounded up in space syntax set of theories and techniques for the practical application of the concept of urbanity. The most common definition of urbanity in space syntax domain explains it as "the generic need for people and societies to access differences as a means for social, cultural and economic development" (Marcus 2007:10). In this respect, the operational definition of urbanity stems from its integration in urban morphology and refers to it as accessible diversity and efficient integration to locally capture the spatial capital (Marcus 2007). This interpretation might be easily politicized and rather reductionist by seeing urbanity as nothing more than an instrumentalized, aestheticizing perception filter (Mnkler 1989, Wst 2005). In this battle for dominance of either social or spatial (theoretical and practical) reference, the first invokes socio-cultural dimension of cities (Durth 1987, Haussermann and Siebel 1997, Christiaanse 2000), while the second turns to their architectural and design qualities (Neuffer 1976). However, all of them agree to a certain point that acknowledging difference and heterogeneity as well as embracing fragmentation and contradictions in social and spatial sense are the prerogatives for accessible diversity and therefore quality of the urban (Durth 1986: 1838; Herterich, 1988: 273; Krmer-Badoni 1996: 75, Wust 2005, Marcus 2007).

Taking into account a close scrutiny of these polarized explanations, there has recently emerged a tendency for an operational combination of sociological and architectural notions of urbanity to stand for not an urban condition but a dynamic urban process (Hortmann 1990). While sociological interpretation exposes its processual potential, practical focus of its application in architecture connects it to the local setting. Urban reality in this way was amplified towards a heterogeneous, dynamic set of flows (de Aguiar 2013).

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

The line of research in this aims at combining parametric nature of urbanity with ANT description of all urban key agents and tracing it within the level of urbanity. In this way, the test of urbanity level justifies opportunities for socio-spatial continuations, options, and turnovers to reach the collective demand towards the common good in the public sphere (Holden et al. 2015:4). When defined as such, urbanity may serve as a valid scope that offers categories for restricting complexity towards a structural unity of urban elements and comprises a sum of social interactions that "enable people to live to-

gether, without conflicts, in dense places" Bisson 2016; Monnet, 1999, in Dorrier-Apprill, 2001 Concomitantly, the level of urbanity incorporates dialectics of values, identities and relations that make the urban system nurtured locally and open to constant, flexible, spontaneous system transitions (Groth and Corijn 2005). In these circumstances, networks of urban agency and contextual elements define urbanity through the character of space and the corresponding agenda for social encounters.

Contextual resources In general, the character of space captures its spatial capital. Moreover, it has been widely accepted that spatial, social and human capital has been created from the accessible difference/discrepancy/change (Becker 1964; Coleman 1988), or urbanity as accessible diversity from space syntax point of view Marcus 2007. In other words, contextual resources are formed by making use of available territorial capital. Territorial capital is localized set of objects and relations Camagni and Capello 2013: (1) localized externalities (economic and technological), (2) localized actions (activities, traditions, skills and know-hows), (3) localized relations (system of rules and practices), (4) all material and non-material elements physically produced, supplied by history or derived from nature, in an intentionally or unintentionally manner. In sum, territorial capital consists of social, human and spatial capital (Grnlund 2007). While human capital refers to knowledge (intellectual capital), personality (habits and personal attributes) and creativity (creative capital) of an individual Gary Becker, social capital is mobilized through social networks and relations Bourdieu 1987, and might be followed by economic (monetary income and financial assets) and cultural (demonstrated through education and aesthetic values) Rerat and Lees 2011.

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

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

A constant change of urban actors and urban structures also accelerates flows of social practices (policies, actions and processes) that together induce the complexity and diversity of city life, build urban experiences and urban capacity (Robinson 2006). Urban practices contribute to the reproduction of the current urban order through institutional capital of informal institutions within private, public, voluntary sectors Vujosevic 2015 Regionalizam u Srbiji 2, daily life, local rituals, ambiance and atmosphere, a sense of belonging ref (Volic et al, 2012).

On the contrary, urban conflicts are defined as a confrontational situation between at least two actors, actor groups or categories of actors with respect to the management of urban issues Nel'lo 2003, Aznar et al. 2006. from Renau and Lozano 2016 TerrPolGovern journal.

Conflicts in general are incorporated in the systems of rules, habits, norms, even though they represent the treats and challenges to the current social order Sears and Cairn. Urban conflicts derive from and target relatively stabilized, routinized particular spatio-temporal set Brenner and Theodore; Lipietz 1996, and therefore have intrinsically local character Sassen 2007.

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

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

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

Urban System Transitions   Bearing in mind this complex vision of urban reality, it is the micro level, in this case it is a neighbourhood, where the test of urbanity could find its expression to the fullest in terms of the societal challenges and the production of urban spaces (Blotevogel et al. 2008). Namely, the relation between urban life and urban form creates potential/opportunity for urban system transitions (Marcus). The operationalization of the concept of urbanity is then possible in monitoring the level of urbanity of a local context as an overview of processes fueled by urban practices, contextual resources, and urban conflicts. Instead of taking a predefined political position by applying reasoning based on social order, power and class; the level of urbanity figure as an indicator of urban dynamics that combines: (1) the resilient processes of the old socio-spatial order (maintenance), (2) flexibility of structures and behaviours towards a "projected future" (transformation), and (3) contradiction of preservation forces and radical differences (change).

Benefiting from urban practices maintain the urban system (Tardin 2014), harnessing contextual resources indicate the possibility for transformations, and urban conflicts convey radical changes coming up by the resolution of conflicts. Therefore, the level of urbanity reflects multilateral, multichannel nature of cities that incites not only the constellation

of social practices and harnessing contextual resources, but also evidences the production and the challenge of urban conflicts.

This is the theoretical ground on which the proposed methodological hybrid methodology traces the elements of an particular context for its categorical convergence and map their interconnections and contributions to continuations, transitions and turnovers within urban development processes at the neighbourhood level.

"The disadvantaged have structural interests that run counter to the status quo, which, once they are assumed, will lead to social change. Thus, they are viewed as agents of change rather than objects one should feel sympathy for." ==Sears 2008==

2.2 Epistemological Framework

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

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

In urban studies, there are not but one method that acknowledges the active role of non-humans in urban systems - Actor Network Theory (ANT). All other methods that analyze actors' constellation are exclusively oriented towards human elements, to name but a few: various types of stakeholder analysis [impact/priority matrix, power/interest matrix, readiness/power matrix, support/opposition, importance/influence matrix, constructive/destructive matrix] ==Mathur et al. 2007==, The Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) Model ==Ostrom et al., 1994; Ostrom, 2007; from Getimis 2012==.

In urban studies, ANT has been already extensively applied as the explanatory construct that studies associations and symmetrical relationality of all active elements of an urban environment (Faras and Bender 2011). This initial choice of ANT is further backed up by its potential capacity to afford such openness and flexibility that is well suited within ordinary cities scope[15]and enables deconstructing complex urban systems without assigning to them preexisting explanations. Although ANT enables exhaustive systematic description of an urban system, in concrete case studies researchers meets its limits as it very often does not bring up anything new in terms of facts, analysis, and conclusions. It provides a detailed description of confined urban environments, but meets its limits when confronted

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[15]It has already been applied within this framework ==ref section ordinary cities==.

with complex real-life urban processes.

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

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

2.2.1 ANT in analysis of urban development

In recent urban studies, the grasped complexity and dynamics of networked urban system has been extensively reinterpreted by Latours Actor-network theory (ANT), with all human, social and technical elements which are symmetrically treated within a system. All these entities contribute together to a dynamic perpetual networking, where understanding of all phenomena, including the social ones, lies in the associations among them (Latour 2005). Differently put, it brings up the reproduction of inherent complexity and incompleteness of urban development in 3 gradual steps: (A) labelling all active elements of an urban system (B) identification of their roles, and (C) focusing on the associations among them (Table 1). The contribution of ANT lays in: (1) instating socio-material topology of urban networks, (2) navigating the interpretative dualism of urban theory (nature/society, local/global, action/structure), (3-3) elaborating the supremacy of associations that configure the relational understanding of the city, (3-4) overcoming spatial hegemony in complex urban reality, and above all (3-5) radicalisation of symmetry principle for human actions and non-human materials that allows tracing the consistency and extensibility of urban phenomena beyond its spatio-temporal manifestation (Latour 1993, Murdoch 1998, Farias and Bender 2011) (Table 1).

Even though human is still the essential, inseparable urban element, this blending establishes new interpretation of cities as composite entity where all objects (physical spaces and structures, tools, technologies, data, formulae and regulations, institutions and, of course, humans) are mutually constituting through enactment, interaction and translation of different elements (Faras and Bender 2011)In Latours (2005:71) words - "any thing that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor actor is granted activity by others, can be subject or object of an activity (Latour 1996). As such, the heterogeneous body of associations and symmetrical treatment of humans and non-humans contribute to place action outside the actors where [a]n actor... is not the source of an action but

the moving target of a vast array of entities swarming toward it (Latour 2005:46). The figuration of a relation is what counts, not its nature, function or purpose; the network is established when arrangements between actors produce stable patterns of performance and practice (Smith 2003).

ANT methodology redraws principal urban theory concepts in actor-network terminology naming only a few: social order; scale, power, decision making, governance, urban development . The wide field of ANT application in urban research and practice addresses urban core by encompassing not only analytical views on theory and research (Boelens 2010), but also planning methodologies, policy and practice recommendations, and development prospects (Healey 2013). All these works adhere to the basic ANT principles: (1) treatment of material objects and representations through actor-networks; (2) reduction of well-known dualities and general concepts to in situ actors and networks; (3) the nature and process of networking in terms of associations and translations (Table 1).

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

Furthermore, network related ANT framework has been stretched to analytical research tendencies toward urban practices. While Doak and Karadimitriou rely on Callons four steps in actor-network translations (Callon 1986) to map complex redevelopment processes once reduced to a set of associations in social relations and material objects and stabilized by intermediaries (Doak and Karadimitriou 2007); Holifield advocates for the version articulated by Latour (1996) and political usefulness of ANT suggest using intermediary/mediators role of risk assessment changes as a tool for "tracing the (contested) assembling without taking the existence of social relations" like capitalism and class "for granted" (2009:647). Similar stance has been taken by Boelens (2010) to promote relational view on spatial planning and how it interacts with behavioural urban regime in a way that ANT serves to identify actors and see how they organize from the ground up, and not being identified from above through an objective, vision or plan. ANT seems to

have been recently gaining attention as part of the wider poststructuralist approach to cities (Smith 2013), therein further emphasizing its role in the process of production and acceptance of associations in terms of evaluating the positionality of researcher agency in human geography (Ruming 2009), and reflecting the process of production and acceptance of associations in urban enclaves (Wissink 2013).

Even though this post-structuralist ANT tenet mainly holds on flattened, network-oriented interpretation of system dynamics, it has been recently argued that the role of material objects must also be acknowledged in all its vigour and heterogeneity. Tracing back non-human elements from Latour to Foucault, it is obvious that material objects can be everything but passive and have been playing various social roles such as: (2-1) reflecting and maintaining social order, (2-2) facilitating social relations, (2-3) moral and political signposts, and (2-4) intermediaries of the social across space and time (Sayes 2014; Van Assche et al. 2014) (Table 1). Henceforth, non-humans, when granted agency, become intermediaries/mediators and actors and their active engagement in urban development refers back to various levels of urban decision making: (X) upholding legitimacy of urban planning, (XX) underpinning multiple realities of real-estate interest, and (XXX) personalizing participatory urban transformations through actor-network perspective (Latour, 1996; Rydin, 2010; Latour et al., 2012; Van Assche et al. 2014) (Table 1).

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

The rudimentary yet hyper dynamic circumstances of transitional societies offer an insight from within the network on how the body of norms, projections and structures of urban development unfold and upon the network of how the associations and translations of basic elements are formed and developed. In Serbia, urban planning framework withstands complex and elaborated institutional legacy yet holding rather a symbolic meaning (Nedovi-Budi 2001), fragmented and uncontrolled spatial transformations is governed by the constellation of different, often illegitimate, interests (Petrovic 2009), and, on site, the spectrum of active but powerless urban actors struggle to develop flexible social patterns and networks (Cvetinovic et al. 2013). Therefore, the case study of a post-socialist neighbourhood in the capital of Serbia is a good illustration for observing the relationships between top-down urban planning, interest-based urban transformations and bottom-up urban design activities. Moreover, very few methodological research studies bothered to examine urban development modalities in transition, apart from replications of the ap-

proaches taken by neo-liberal or institutional economies (Tsenkova 2007). In this respect, we aim to examine utility of ANT analysis for understanding the developmental reality of Savamala neighbourhood in Belgrade.

2.2.2 Multi-Agent System for Process Simulation

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

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

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

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

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

2. Describing the impact of procedures/agencies by categorizing the agents accordingly (Arsanjani et al. 2013). These agencies are usually system transitions.

3. Exploring a generative bottom-up typology of the system by defining rules that govern urban dynamics (Bretagnolle and Pumain 2010). Identification of the rules facilitates bridging the gap between top-down (evaluation of global trends) and bottom-up agent behaviours (local decisions which lead to emerging landscape patterns over time) (Bone et al. 2011).

4. Analysing complex systems through the agent-based view on urban decision-making (links among agents' perceptions, representations and actions), control (hierarchical relations among agents) and communication (the syntax of the interaction between human decision-makers and biophysical changes) (Bousquet and Le Page 2004; D. G. Brown et al. 2008).

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

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

2.3 Local framework

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

While the evolution of urban systems very often happens in a series of cycles, the periods

of fundamental transformations and radical changes in micro environments therefore become an congregated space-time bound to observe how urban agency is aggregated and articulated through the morphology of urban decision making Watson 1998 from waves of planning 2006. Bearing in mind the proliferation of global solutions, copying strategies and imitating models, difficult circumstances and hybrid situation may provide a resourceful insight in how urban development processes unfold Harris 2001 from waves of planning 2006.

The choice of post-socialist cities as a localized typology of analysis respond to both the need for an intensive, diverse, localized dynamics and a complex set of various factors, facts, forces and prospects. Moreover, as the country of Serbia does not belong to either Western world nor their colonies, its developmental path may reveal certain conditions and processes which could not be research otherwise Ward 2000 Diffusion of planning. In compliance with with Sjberg's presumption that it is now at play a emerging scope of contemporary urban studies that comprise both post-socialist/post-communist and post-colonial study research, the case study in the Serbian Capital therefore contribute to "building a de-Westernised version of urban theory" (Sjberg 2014:8)

Namely, current circumstances in neighbourhoods in Belgrade are referenced as not only post-socialist, but also transitional. In general, the theory of transition usually addresses democratization processes in country context and emphasizes the links between the current transitional moment with pre-transition past Thomas 1998; Holmes Post-Communism 1997. In the domain of this research, the time frameworks of post-socialist and transitional conditions and processes are revised to comprise both past-based and future-oriented circumstances.

2.3.1 Socio-spatial Patterns of Post-socialist Cities

As already indicated before (ref introduction section), transitional countries in CEE have undergone severe social changes on their way from socialism to capitalism after the fall of Berlin Wall and dismantlement of Yugoslavia. Naturally, cities in these countries have followed the same transitional path to get away from their socialist past.

In urban studies, transition is explained as a process of transformations from "a ubiquitous socialist city" (French and Hamilton 1979 from Mornings after) to "a capitalist city" as the final goal of this process Mornings after Nedovic Budic. In theoretical terms, the transitional process considers radical shifts from (Petrovic 2009):

- Totalitarian to democratic political system;

- Planned to market-based economy;

- Public to private property ownership;

- Supply to demand driven economy;

- Industrial to service based society;

- Isolated to integrated position in the world economy.

The major characteristics that theoretically predefine transition is the non-democratic political past[16] and the consolidation of the new order through 5 arenas of democracy: civil society and freedom of speech; political system based on free elections, the rule of law, consistent and legitimate state apparatus and economic society with an institutionalized market Thomas 1998. Nonetheless, in practice, important macro integration factors that initiated transition is not only the change in the political regime, but also the crisis of cultural identity and, above all, structural economic change and the shift in the mode of production (ibid.).

Generally speaking, transition marks the period of substantial reconstruction of the pillars of the system and society, turbulent economic processes and fluctuating urban development circumstances (Tasan-Kok, 2004, Mornings after Nedovic Budic) While political and social changes tend to happen slowly, if happen at all, economic transition conquers local context very fast. In this respect, urban economy becomes a playground for: (1) macro-economy policy reforms at the national level, (2) installment of free-market ideology: (3) the first steps in privatization, (4) promotion of consumerism, and (5) dismantlement of industrial production (Cities in Transition 2013).

These adaptations and transformations happen under the watchful eye of international actors, while foreign influences become crucial for the actual conduct of the transitional processes. Namely, several authors mention ambiguous influences from Western states in CEE context, declaring that it might be that these post-socialist states serve as a laboratory of changes for the west (Maier 1994, Adjustments of Planning practice Nedovic budic 2001, Vujosevic et al 2010 Post-soc transition). Therefore, even though the essence of transition is rooted in pre-transitional past, the processes at play are rather future-oriented targeting the core of capitalist value system and social order.

However, with the huge socio-cultural base inherited from the socialist period, cities in transitional countries tend to partly continued with their pre-transitional past. They usually keep their dominant positions nd stay the centres of economic growth with a variety of services, expansion, technological innovation and cultural diversity. Therefore, the post-socialist period in these cities contains prevailing characteristics of the disintegration of the preceding system rather than a coherent vision of what should follow (Stanilov 2007). The concept of "path dependency" has become crucial to express the influence of the past on the current urban processes Stark 1992, Thomas 2007, Djordjevic and Dabovic 2009. In post-socialist city, these are the institutions and practices that have survived the system transition as well as the initial defensive policies of socialist states Thomas 1998: (1) acceptance of market forces and regulatory efforts of the state towards it; (2) basic coordination with international laws and regulations; (3) efforts toward the reduction of public spending; (4) acceptance of the welfare state limits;[17] (5) acceptance of privatization

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

[17] as the famous quote has it: "the welfare state can be defended but not extended." (Thomas 1998)

is unavoidable; (6) challenge equality with incentives and competition; (7) acceptance of international finance through international agreements; (8) accepting the opportunities contained in European integration programmes.

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

1. Urban management - political and financial powers profit from weak institutional framework and extend their wealth and influence by further loosening official urban planning framework and practice)

2. Urban patterns - illegal construction reduces the spatial scale and spatial formalism of urban structures;

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

In other words, what proceeded after the end of the socialist era is a neoliberal model of urban planning with the supremacy of market-oriented solutions for urban problems (Sager 2011). In such a situation, urban planning was not a priority (Sykola, 1999), and it was not considered effective for managing local urban issues (Maier, 1998; M. Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic, 2006). Therefore, planning was narrowed down to merely technical issue and very few theoretical or general methodological research studies bothered to examine alternative planning modes in transition, apart from replications of the approaches taken by developed countries (Begovic, 1995). Thus, Zekovic et al. (2015) mark the points where post-socialist urban planning system breaks down through the collisions and mixtures of : (1) comprehensive vs incremental planning; (2) centralized vs decentralized decision making; (3) top-down vs bottom-up approach; (4) interventionist vs entrepreneurial urban management. The post-socialist urban decision-making substantially fails through the discordant visions and interests, nonexistent implementation and authoritarian vertical coordination. Furthermore, very few theoretical or general methodological research studies bothered to examine alternative modes for urban development in transition or post-socialist urban planning, apart from replications of the approaches taken by neo-liberal or institutional economies (Tsenkova 2007).

2.3.2 Post-socialist Urban Planning in Belgrade

The dismantling of the socialist system[18] in Yugoslavia during the late 1980s was the entry point for substantial transitional change in all aspects of the economic model, the political order and social organization in Serbia. However, after 25 years, Serbia still finds itself in a post-socialist proto-democracy without functional, reliable, and developed institutions of a representative democracy, civil society and market economy (Vujosevic et al. 2010). Therefore, the course of merging socialist and neoliberal socio-economic condition in Serbia, regulatory practices and organizational solutions led to inefficiently operationalized and inconsistently formalized institutional reforms rather known as "growth without development" Vujosevic.

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

Accordingly, urban planning system in the Serbian Capital of Belgrade presented a high degree of strategies and its practical implementation during the previous socialist regime, while during the post-socialist period of the 1990s it became continuously hindered by political instability, convergent socio-economic forces and inconsistent planning models. The situation was not any better when more intensive transition started in the early 21st century. Even then, it was rather qualified as slow socio-economic transformation with low rate of foreign investments, dominated by the flurry of wild capitalist and stumbling rudimentary democracy.

While the western planning paradigm involves corrective factors for urban failures inherited from the free market and democratic principles (Nedovic-Budic 2001), the path dependency tradition of urban planning in Belgrade nurtured an insufficient, ineffective and biased urban planning framework. Complex institutional legacies influenced the behaviour of all urban actors, prevent the development of flexible social patterns and networks and

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[18]The system in Socialist Federate Republic of Yugoslavia was addressed as socialism or communism in various works of urban studies and urban planning research. However, after an extensive revision of literature and consultations with local experts, this research keeps up with the term socialism. Namely, the constitution and the name of the state indicate that socialist political system ref constitution.

fall short of providing overall legitimacy for the constellation of different interests in the post-socialist context of Belgrade (Petrovic 2009).

These circumstances imply that urban decision-making in Belgrade was performed through negotiations between investors and local governments, where local authorities and civic sector, even though they possess legal empowerment, lack adequate and operational instruments for exerting their power and acting as equals in the negotiation process (Bajec 2009). In addition, public interest in local authority services is a result of the direct influence of political programs of those who are involved in local authorities and are active protagonists at global and national political scene at the same time (Djokic et al. 2007). The pervasiveness of such uncontrolled and even illegal development leads to the deconstruction of urbanity (Vujovic et al. 2007).

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

- investor urbanism stemming from loose regulatory framework and vulgar economy patterns (Vujosevic 2010);

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

- pluralist political life and political voluntarism which dominates the implementation of laws (Djokic et al. 2007);

  In Serbia, the oligarchy from the 1990s was and is still influential. Even though the regimes have been changing, "buddy" and brotherhood networks are making their ways through inefficient and corrupt public institutions to satisfy their interest (Vujovic and Petrovic 2007). Corruption, manipulation and clientelism have governed most of institutional relations and practices in the public domain, where political actors have become powerful economic actors within an un-transparent and semi-legal system (Vujovic and Petrovic 2007).

- citizen resignation and political passivity holding back the expansion of participation (Vujovic et al. 2007).

  Within such blurred institutional framework urban actors with no political or economic power become marginalized and deprived of their rights to be actively involved

in designing their urban environment (Bolay et al. 2005). These circumstances, strongly demotivate citizens to participate in society to even defend their interest in the system where the quality of law and the political connections are those that matter Vujovic and Petrovic 2007.

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

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

2.3.3 Neighbourhood is the Local Unit

Even though post-socialist cities represent a research challenge for understanding urban development processes taking into account urban agency of all types (human and non-human), its substantial complexity and dynamics might be hard to follow and to produce meaningful results. In this reference, neighbourhood unit, as part of the city with distinct spatial and social identity and functional coherence Merlin et Cloay 2009, is a favourable choice as a representative micro environment. Moreover, neighbourhood unit has already been used as an indispensable tool for the analysis of development processes and the practice of city organization around the globe Meenakshi.
Speaking of the neighbourhood as a fact of nature - place where people are living together y common origins or common purposes - is an old definition from Mumford (1954) has been used still in theory in practice. Neighbourhood is not intrinsically urban phenomenon, it can be found in both urban and rural environments Merlin et Cloay 2009.
Throughout history, it aggregated spontaneously, while now neighbourhoods are build

systematically, but even then and now the neighbourhood represents a strong sense of attachment, identity, admittance and belonging for inhabitants Meenakshi. Having said that, the concept of neighbourhood is nowadays extensively used in urban design and planning as a tool for providing a sense of place Patricios and social well being Meenakshi. However, neighbourhood must have mobile borders and figurating in this way as a part of the city. It is an aesthetic unit, but it and should not be self-containted or self-enclosed Mumford 1954. A neighbourhood is distinguished by its: (1) particular topography, (2) common history, (3) specific built environment typology, and (4) characteristic social distributions. Merlin et Cloay 2009 It is not necessary that it is an administrative unit Merlin et Cloay 2009. Yet they require minimal autonomy and space-time continuation Merlin et Cloay 2009.

The idea of neighbourhood is also a symbolic manifest for the ideology of community and togetherness (Lefebvre) Furthermore, the growing interest in neighbourhoods and the sense of neighbourhood is a part of new traditionalism approach for preserving the socio-cultural values of the past in contrast to current technologized and virtualized sense of being and place Meenakshi. Neighbourhoods are the representatives of urban life, specificities and differences of particular lives of paricular neighbourhoods creat the spirit of the city. Neighbourhoods are always recongnizable, but a specific set of spatial attributes and historical consitency paired with distinguished urban life makes of a neighbourhood a key landmark in the city Merlin et Cloay 2009

"le quartier (...), organis par les forces sociales qui ont model la ville et organis son dveloppement (...) est une forme d'organisation de l'espace et du temps de la ville (..). Il serait la moindre difference entre els espaces sociaux multiples et diversifis, ordonns par les institutions et centres actifs. Il serait le point de contact le plus ais entre l'espace geometrique et l'espace social, le point de passage de l'un l'autre" Lefebvre from Merlin et Cloay 2009

2.4   Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this research is based on the superposition of the conceptual layer over the layer of local context with help from the epistemological framework of the mixed method.

Local context represents the practical base of the theoretical framework. The relevance of the post-socialist context is demonstrated through the multitude of data that comply with the categorical requirements of both conceptual and epistemological frameworks. On the other hand, a further reduction to the neighbourhood level is argued with the need of controlled circumstances and therefore bounded micro environement. What is more, the theoretical elaboration on the neighbourhood as a socio-spatial element of a city also provide a theoreticaln an urban neighbourhood and its relevance for this research. The issue will be further elaborated in the following chapter Chapter 3 local context.

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

- Urban development is addressed a sum of context-specific processes of urban system transitions.

- Urban agency is everything that makes a difference/engage with other elements in an urban system (human/non human, material/non-material).

- Urban decision making represent a social distribution of urban agency in an urban system.

- Urbanity links contextual properties (socio-spatial patterns) with urban agency and indicate paths for urban system transitions.

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

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

Elaborated theoretical reasoning frames the theory behind the research objectives Chapter 1 section, backs up the general research question defined in Chapter 1 section, indicate its relationship to the research problem and explicate the path for the drafting of hypotheses within the specified relations within the conceptual framework, their compatibility with the local context and their applicability within the chosen hybrid method.

"Realities are not flat. They are not consistent, coherent and definite. Our research methods necessarily fail. We need to understand that our methods are always more or less unruly assemblages." Law 2007

Chapter 3

Methodology

Before delving into the data sampling and outcomes of this research, it is crucial to delineate the research process and procedures. Within the scope of this thesis, the research process involves the development of an organized body of knowledge on urban development processes in post-socialist cities. The aim of this chapter is to justify the choices made about what and how to research and the means to collect and analyze the data. The chapter starts with a presentation of a larger framework where the research objectives presented in the introduction are conducted into the context-specific research questions and working hypotheses. In the following, an explanation for the choice of the case study method, the criteria for the case study selection, as well as mixed method methodological approach are listed, along with a brief overview of the methods and techniques used.

3.1 Research Framework

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

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

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

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

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

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

under the hood of urban development and, even more, how it is occurring.

The current body of knowledge on this matter gives an input on how to transform and adapt the general concepts mentioned before into the indicators of the complexity and dynamics of urban systems and corresponding development processes. Theoretical framework has provided the foundation of phenomena, facts, and theories in this direction, by acknowledging the conversion of general concepts into indicators as follows:

1. **Abstract concepts are reinterpreted through complex indicators, which could be traced through the relations of field-data ref Chapter 2:**

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

2. **Indicators constructed as dependent variables ref Chapter 2:**

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

3. **Indicators reduced to independent variables ref Chapter 2:**

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

Bearing in mind this extensive re-categorization and structuralization of urban development concept, the analytical tool in this research is the MAS-ANT methodological hybrid ref Chapter 2. It provides the road map for an inclusive and flexible approach to exploratory research - describing, tracing and representing the dynamics of urban processes. The Actor-network theory illustrates urban agency and decision-making concepts while the Multi-agent system operationalizes the concept of urbanity at a qualitative level and brings up the logic of the whole MAS-ANT procedure. Such statements shed new light on the overall research questions and turned this thesis into a methodological exploration.

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

- questions the concepts of urban development, urbanity in general and urban decision making in post-socialist cities;

- proposes the terminology of urban system transitions transition which connects the processes of maintenance, transformation and change to urban conflicts, social practices and contextual resources through the morphology of urban decision-making at the local level;

- invents visual interpretations for practical use.

The research is thus built on 3 hypotheses. Each hypothesis addresses both theoretical and methodological issues. They are drawn in a consecutive order. The justification of the hypotheses is gradually built by means of describing, exploring and proceduralizing in order to master the complexity and dynamics of urban development processes.

3.1.1 Context-specific Research Questions

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

RQ1

What constitutes an inclusive approach to urban development?

- RQ1a: (indicator: figuration of human and non-human elements as urban key agents) What constitute spatial and social differences and specificities in an ordinary city?

- RQ1b: (indicator: urban networks of all human and non-human elements) How cities as specific socio-spatial phenomena are manifested through urban dynamics?

- RQ1c: (indicator: morphology of urban decision making) Why does the morphology of urban decision-making define pathways for urban development (urban system transitions)?

RQ2

Why does the level of urbanity traces determine pathways for urban dynamics (urban system transitions)?

- RQ2a: (indicator: socio-spatial patterns in terms of local urban conflicts, social practices and contextual resources) What are the conditions for specifying the level of urbanity in an ordinary city?

- RQ2b: (indicator: urban system transitions) How to frame urban processes to embody the dynamics of socio-spatial patterns in post-socialist cities?

- RQ2c: (indicator: urban dynamics) How does the level of urbanity systematically approach urban system transitions?

RQ3

How to frame the urban development process to embody the complexity of urban systems and the dynamics of urban transitions?

- RQ3a: Why does tracing the level of urbanity within the morphology of urban decision making embody the dynamics of urban system transitions?

- RQ3b: How to frame the morphology of influences at different urban decision-making levels to describe the complexity of urban networks?

- RQ3c: How to design the framework for action in order to operationalize the urban development concept?

3.1.2 Research hypotheses

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

RH1: Urban complexity

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

RH2: Urban dynamics

MAS highlights/expresss urban development dynamics by tracing the level of urbanity within the relations of urban agency and local, to-date socio-spatial patterns in a post-socialist city

RH3: Urban system transitions

The Multi-agent system (MAS) and the Actor-network theory (ANT) methodological hybrid reframes urban complexity in relation to urban dynamics in order to absorb urban system transitions within the urban agency map that documents the level of urbanity and the morphology of urban decision-making.

3.2 Research Design

The aim of this section is to present the reasoning behind the research and the adopted methodology, namely the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to research questions, hypotheses and conclusions. In designing the research process, the defined goals are assumed to be exploratory in its nature and to address methodological investigations and testing in urban studies. The study is gradually building from specific observations

of the literature towards an in-depth analysis. An exploratory standpoint is chosen with regard to the theoretical and practical goals of the research. This division is crucial for establishing the research methodology. The first, theoretical part relies on secondary data and is based on theoretical constructs, while the second, practical one provides primary data and empirical evidence from the study field.

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

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

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

1. understanding the phenomenon,

2. creating an overall framework,

3. identifying the pattern of dynamic urban reality in terms of urban system transitions.

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

3.2.1 Case study

This research adopted an in-depth case study inquiry as the adequate method for collecting and framing empirical data. The case study serves as a data collection engine, a catalyser and a boundary framework. The method's exploratory and descriptive nature are of particular importance. In general, the former captures the process, while the later prepares and illustrates the incidence/prevalence of the phenomena **?**. These features provide us with a comprehensive framework to describe contemporary phenomena with extensive data-types and sources of data **??**. The goals are a holistic description of urban development and understanding the processes at work over time **?**. In this manner, the case study takes an embedded approach with multiple units of analysis **??**: urban key agents, the morphology of urban decision making, urbanity and urban system transitions. These units of analysis define the scope of the investigation - which elements are to be studied in detail and which processes are to be excluded **?**.

Therefore, the case study observes the complexity of urban development processes and recounts their dynamics by adding the dimension of time to the analysis **?**. Case study research process is broadly divided into three parts: designing, conducting and reporting.

However, a set of well-known components of **designing case study** triggered its application in this research, such as **?**:

1. focus on HOW and WHY questions about the researched phenomena;

2. units of analysis, the information relevant for the case construction, depend on the definition of research questions;

3. exploratory nature of research hypotheses, as each proposition is built on something relevant within the scope of the study or for one or more units of analysis;

4. linking findings to the hypotheses, units of analysis to theoretical background, i.e. "pattern matching" **?**;

5. data collection focus for the case study; testing methodologies and existing theories provide rich theoretical framework therefor.

The case study is commonly but not exclusively applied in anthropology and sociology. In general, it is used to ground observations and concepts about social phenomena in their natural setting. Consequently, it has been increasingly applied in other disciplines including urban studies and architecture **?**. Even though major criticism is levied towards a single case research focus and doubts are voiced about the scientific generalizations based on an individual case, this research builds on Flyvbjerg's elaboration (2006) that a careful and strategic choice of cases, and thereafter the units of analysis, contributes to the collective process of knowledge accumulation. Advocating the scientific relevance of the case study, Flyvbjerg (2006) distinguishes several selection strategies: random, extreme, multiple, critical and paradigmatic cases. A selection that is based on expectations about information content is the most proper strategy for the scope of testing methodologies.

For example, extreme case circumstance enable close examination on the embedded units of analysis.

Flyvbjerg (2006) also states that the descriptive manner chosen herein puts forward the path for scientific innovation, which in this thesis is the hybridization of methods for urban data analysis. Henceforth, the most important herein is this opportunity for application of multiple methods (Yin ??) and consequently methodological hybrids, MAS-ANT. Data obtained from the case study aim to contribute to objectives of the research by providing the local layer with real-life data. Accordingly, case study enables testing such methodological approach by systematization and validation of case study data analysed by the involved methods, Actor-network theory and Multi-agent system. In these circumstances, case study is referred to as a sort of data sampling strategy, used to select, manipulate and prepare a representative subset of data points for the analyses by the chosen methods. It delivers patterns, trends and structures in the larger data-set afterwards.

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

- data triangulation,

- methodological triangulation.

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

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

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

1. explicate and justify the boundaries of the case;

2. design the research according to the known constraints;

3. indicate exhaustive data collection process;

4. consider alternative perspectives and different points of view;

5. display sufficient evidence.

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

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

"The case study can enable a researcher to examine the ebb and the flow of social life over time and to display the patterns of everyday life as they change." (Feagin et al. 1991)

3.2.2 Case study selection

As previously stated, this research is established on the basis of mixed method and its adequacy for research on complex and dynamic urban phenomena. Verifying such methodological hybrid in practice means that proposed categories and mechanisms within the methodological procedure should be tested by further research activities. These activities include: (1) observing real-life context, (2) putting forward the coined phenomena and relations and (3) postulating the correspondence of proposed methodological structures to the reality, which, if exist, answer the research question. In a nutshell, this methodological framework acts as an a priori logic to explore particular instances, but it still must account for their various deviations and aim at few conclusions that contribute to the

general, scientific body of knowledge on the urban. The case study point of view is herein deduced from general statements and signified as a derived, localized, contextualized form of researched phenomena, in this case urban development processes. It gives an overview of relations, factors and influences in a holistic manner, providing understanding of phenomena (units of analysis) within its operating context **?**.

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

1. exhaustive data collection process with sufficient interpretative and artefactual evidence,

2. multiplicity and variety of data sources, especially human, but with

3. explicit case boundaries and

4. precise data constraints.

(1)/(2) Case study database is built upon investigator's report (narrative, notes, tabular material, diagrams etc.) and the quality of reporting depended on an extensive evidentiary base. In order to provide exhaustive evidence, case study choice relied on heterogeneous data sources **?**:

- exact documentation, archival and qualitative data and records documentation (service records, maps, charts, lists, survey data, personal records) ref Bibliography sections;

- physical artifacts (tools, instruments, works of art) - insights into cultural features and technical operations;

- insightful, targeted interviews depended on the construction of research questions ref Appendix interviews;

- participant-observation - workshops - as direct observations, insights into motives ref appendix workshops

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

Bearing these in mind, favourable circumstances for a comprehensive data collection is knowledge of the local language, previous general knowledge of the context, professional connections and extensive site visits. Even though foreknowlodge can impact the neutrality of the researcher, within this research project, quick and systematic understanding of

the local urban development processes facilitated data collection and improved flat classification, a well-known feature of Actor-network theory.

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

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

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

"Case study research is flexible and can be adapted to many areas of knowledge creation. And the researcher is continuously confronted with the question does this make sense?" (Harrison 2002)

3.2.3   Local Context of the Savamala Neighbourhood Case Study

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

work of analysis for urban development processes.

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

1. context - global and local, outer and inner in reference to time and space;

2. content - urban key agents and urban decision making layers that put forward urban development processes;

3. income and outcome variables - link urban system transitions to socio-spatial patterns and urban networks.

The boundaries of the research are spatial, though Savamala neighbourhood is not an administrative unit nor it has its own local authorities. It is rather a place on the mental map of Belgrade and an important landmarks of the city, than an official unit. Consequently, the exact spatial boundaries are drawn according to the survey conducted among professionals and citizens ref Appendix survey.

This neighbourhood is a scaled example of pre-socialist, socialist, transitional and post-socialist urban developments. These elements also frame the epistemological constraints for the case study research in this case.

The units of analysis comprise a knowledge-based chain of decision-making and a dynamic, interactive process of interdependences and interconnections among all active urban key agents and socio-spatial patterns identified in Savamala through the qualitative inquiry exclusively.

To sum up, urban agency and urban networks are not spatially bounded phenomena, they develop as products of interaction between human and non-human elements in particular localities. In this respect, they contribute to an understanding of the broader urban systems and enhance theoretical frameworks. (Giddens, 1984; Grubovic XXXX)

3.3 Adopted Methodology

This thesis adopted an in-depth case study research design with the hybrid methodology approach. The reasoning behind the selection of methods is elaborated in relation to the objectives, questions and hypotheses of the research (Figure 1).

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

MAS-ANT methodological cross-pollination.

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

3.3.1 Savamala Case study - Data collection

The case study research design is adopted as the most comprehensive one, to a certain extent as a research strategy, for an overview of possible categorizations and linkages in terms of complexity and dynamics of urban development processes (??). In short, case study research design seeks patterns of the available and myrad data in the bounded space-time of the selected case (?). A systematic approach for this empirical research is founded on the verification of the hybrid methodology. The data collection process has been recurrent, iterative consultations and interpretations of qualitative data (Figure XX). Thus, participant observations, interviews, and surveys are all eligible methods which can be deployed in these circumstances.

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

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

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

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

4. triangulating key observations and data sources;

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

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

Qualitative inquiry

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

Qualitative inquiry is applied as a research instrument which enables scientific processing of soft data - meanings, experiences and descriptions (**??**). The researcher is faced with the challenge of coping with large amounts of incommensurate data. In this thesis, it serves to incorporate the socially constructed knowledge of urban phenomena into the MAS-ANT modelling (**???**). In order to ensure replicability of the hybrid method, it is crucial to collect data in a coherent way and condense the complex spectrum of issues into a logical unity familiar not to the researcher only. High research priority herein is to cover the wide panoptikum of humanly moulded data. The proposed reporting scope of the morphology of urban decision making puts forward the data structure through: the top-down management of urban issues, the legitimacy of real-estate interests and the dynamism of bottom-up urban agency. To do so, qualitative inquire followed the case study protocol proposed in the previous section ((1) documentary analysis, (2) preliminary interviews, (3) workshops, (4) surveys, (5) in-dept interviews); while the range of data sources within these separate inquires should have coincided with the concept of supporters, opponents and doubters for any recognized data point of importance (**??**).

A common criticism revolves around internal and external validity of qualitative data ref. Within this methodological research, the validity issue is not particularly at stake as the perceptions and interpretations of urban actors (human factor), whatever they may be, influence urban systems and networks in their raw format, the same in which they appear in interviews/discussions/surveys. The major threat has been either researcher bias (in directing the interactive data collection processes towards confirming the researcher's preconceived notion) or reflexivity of interviewee's interests rather than the statement of their perceptions or opinions. However, the triangulation of qualitative data as well as an

iterative case study conduct should have reduced these negative effects.

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

(1) Documentary analysis (see Bibliography xxx)

Documentary analysis is rather discursive research technique for identifying and interpreting documentary evidence in order to support and validate facts and incorporate them in a scientific research. In this thesis, documentary data are used directly for data collection within the initial research phase. By addressing the first research question (*RQ1: "What constitutes an inclusive approach (complexity and dynamics) to urban development?"*), the documentary research method provided an insight into the first round of independent variables. Not only that interviews and surveys may not be appropriate and cost-effective in this phase (**?**), but also improved the preconditions for interviews by introducing basic issues and concepts, indicating the potential interviewees and setting the path for open-response dialogues (**??**). Documents are naturally occurring objects, independent and beyond particular scientific production within a research project. Through their concrete and semi-permanent existence beyond the produce and the context of its production, they indirectly narrate the circumstance of the social world as well as the actors and circumstances of their production at a specific time and space (**?**).

It must also be recognised that documentary narratives may be inaccurate, fragmented and subjective (**??**). Therefore, an early data validation was performed following Scott's (2006) criteria for assessing the documentary sources and data: authenticity (genuine, original and reliable material), credibility (fateful explanations and accuracy), representativeness (reliability for the research), meaning (whether the documents are clear and comprehensible). In this respect, reinforcing the robustness and rigour of this research in the first place is enabled by a preliminary investigation of documentary data sources, which is followed by examination, categorization and the identification of their limitations accordingly (**?**) Figure XX. Moreover, the documentary data are continually adapted and validated in progress within the data analysis through the process of triangulation of data obtained from other qualitative research techniques (interviews, workshops and surveys) (**???**).

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

- post-socialist urban and scientific literature;

- legal documents: laws, by-laws, strategies, official gazettes etc.;

- technical documents: spatial and urban plans and projects;

- internal contracts, reports, projects, meeting minutes etc.;

- media coverage.

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

(2) Preliminary interviews   (see Appendix xxx)

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

The preliminary interviews set out the framework for constructing dependent variables of this research in the context of the second research question (*RQ2: "Why do the level of urbanity traces determine pathways for urban development dynamics (urban transitions)?"*) and third research question (*RQ3: "How to frame urban development process to embody complexity of urban systems and dynamics of urban transitions?"*). In this case, the interviews were targeting local experts in urban research and practice, local and city authorities staff as well as activists operationing on ground in Savamala. Several interviews are done in iterations. At times, interviews also took a snowballing course, when the informants were identified by the interviewees from the previous round. The interviews were carried out in circles and the level of dialogue restriction varies from the occasion and interview iteration. The focus is usually on interviewee's thoughts, experiences, knowledge, skills, preferences ideas. All the interviews are undertaken face-to-face.

These interviews were carried out during an extensive period of time, in the overlap with other data collection processes and even during the first stages of data analysis. The timing was also influenced by the on-going processes in Savamala as well as by the formal and informal channels for establishing the contacts with these interviewees. In several cases, the interviews were directed in the least restrictive, informal way, in a form of a dialog, without actual preparation, but instead through asking the questions spontaneously in

the course of a wider context of the research topic. Subsequently, no two informal interviews are alike. The expert and activists interviews were conducted in a semi-restrictive manner. These interviews follow a general outline of issues of interest, but several questions were generated spontaneously or were transfered to other topics when interviewee's answers prompted for more connected information (Payne and Payne 2004). The research questions were grouped into X major themes Appendix XXX. Only few interviews were recorded as these interviewees approved it. These interviews were used for the further identification of major concepts within research variables, while the clarity and understanding of interview content was sufficient.

(3) Workshops   (see Appendix xxx)

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

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

Within the scope of this research, three workshops have been organized: expert, PhD and student workshops. Two of them (expert and student workshops) were on a precise, research oriented topic and one (PhD student workshop) was with a broader context in mind. Table XXX gives an overview of the organized workshops and evaluates their role in building a relationship between theory and practice according to the above mentioned criteria. All the workshops were moderated by local experts, while the participants of student and PhD workshops were engaged in using urban research methods for constructing knowledge on the topic. Even though the active role of participants was crucial for the success of the workshop, uncertainty of their choice was also very important (**?**). In terms

of participants' control the conduct of the workshop, they chose to react, interact or stay passive. Workshop data also tested the credibility of data collected with two previous qualitative research techniques (documentary analysis and preliminary interviews).

(4) On-line Surveys   (see)

On-line survey is a type of questionnaire. Questionnaires are better suited to collecting factual information (**?**). However, they can be used for provisory verification of subtle and complex data sets, if the questions could be formulated in simple, non-technical and unambiguous way, and if they use the language easily understandable to all participants ref.

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

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

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

(5) In-dept Interviews   (see)

In-depth interviews pertain to the final stage of data collection process. They were carried out on specific topics within the research framework in order to provide an in-dept account and validation of research hypotheses. All the interviews were face-to-face encounters, but not all of them are recorded. Recorded or note-based conduct was left as an option for interviewees to decide. Few recorded interviews were summarized and cross-referenced

with the notes taken during the non-recorded ones to ensure clarity of interview content and verification of research data.

The collection of data herein was predominantly by a semi-structured interviews. However, the sequence of addressed topics was more rigid and corresponded to that of the research framework and the structuralization of research questions and hypotheses (RH1, RH2, RH3). The question grid was restrictive, and the exact same questions on specific topics were prepared for each interview, even though the slight variations occurred in response to rather open-response style of the dialogues. The careful wording of, in advance, prepared questions contributed to avoiding ambiguity or specifically undesired connotations. Nevertheless, the semi-structured nature of interviews enable the researcher to develop a positive rapport with the interviewee and vice versa. Even though semi-structured nature of interviews is more adequate where the range of interviewee accounts and overviews about the research topic are not well known in advance (?), in this case it was useful to obtain the factual information on the matter and to facilitate the data collection with the interlocutors from different professional and disciplinary backgrounds.

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

3.3.2 ANT and MAS approaches - Data analysis

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

ANT Discourse analysis

According to the interpretation provided in Chapter 2, ANT is addressed herein neither as a network in technical sense, nor a theory in social sense (?), but as a methodological approach which prioritizes 'relations over their characteristics' (?: 536) and 'action over mind' (Ibid: 543). These relational and operational elements that mould urban development circumstances in Savamala were explained with ANT. The focus is on an actual post-socialist urban setting and the generation of maintenance, transformation and/or change of the current state of the affairs when global aspects are transformed to meet local specifications and vice versa. In terms of post-socialist cities, copying urban models

from the West meets extraordinary difficulties because these cities lack the institutional infrastructure and cultural patterns essential for the functional unity present in western cities (Petrovic 2009). Furthermore, fundamentality and intensity of economic and political change in Balkan post-socialist countries may be a historic exemplary of social transition hard to find in a 'typical' capitalist city (Sykora 1994).

In Savamala, the researcher confronted with a dynamic reality, a battlefield of different influences, interests and interpretations which determines the future of the urban system itself. The qualitative data collection through case study with interpretative and participatory action research provided the background for ANT analysis enforced with correlational study. Moreover, engineering approach of logical argumentation and schematic interpretation were later on used for the dissemination of data. Principal data sources were human and non-human. They were identified from the qualitative data collected through the range of collection methods [(1) extensive review of written sources, (2) interviews, (3) workshops, and (4) questionnaires], provided from the key informants [(A) experts, (B) young professionals, (C) participatory activities, (D) Belgrade Waterfront Project] (Table 2) ref section XXX. These key informant categories also matched the aggregated human and non-human bearers of action and meaning (?) among the traces of relevant influences, interests and interpretations in Savamala.

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

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

1. **All human and non-human actors:**

From ANT viewpoint, the source of an action accounts equally for humans and non-humans, and only action/relation counts (**?**). Animals, object, texts, symbols, events, even mental concepts may be actors depending on their activities and/or relations (**?**). Based on the case study, the analysis distinguished the figuration of all particular human and non-human entities that are subjects of translations at the neighbourhood level of Savamala. The argument was grounded in the local context of planning procedures and practice concerning Serbian urban system and post-socialist neighbourhood level, as well as bottom-up activities in Savamala. In this manner, the reseacher pondered upon the complexity of the case study of a neighbourhood to be made up of human - people (urban actors and stakeholders), and non-human entities - urban structures and territories (natural and urban space), institutions and policy agendas, urban and communication infrastructures (**?**; **??**) and social aspects (economic, political and cultural) (Table 3). These operational categories of urban key agents were traced through the extensive content analysis within theoretical scope of this urban study. All case-specific entities are identified within the content analysis of various sources on the morphology of urban decision making in Savamala (post-socialist urban theory, planning legislation and documentation, media sources) and from on-site examinations.

2. **Intermediaries and mediators:**

Following Latours definition (2005), these human and non-human entities become "the means to produce the social" (Ibid.:38) only when their roles in the system enact them as intermediaries or mediators (Ibid.). In his words, intermediaries are simple bearers of meaning and mediators actually change actions/relations they are engaged in. Based on the content analysis of scientific, legislative, operational and media data, the results of the analyses recognized that certain elements only through certain figurations in networks take the actor roles (Table 3). 4 element types (entity, human, artefact, and event) were distinguished respectivly. For example, all 4 matter differently whether they were taken individually or in a set/group. Speaking of artefacts, it was crucial to consider if they are of strategic, technical or repository type. In terms of illustrations, the shape of the nodes depends on what figuration of an element makes it an actor.

3. **Free associations:**

One of mayor achievements of ANT is its attempt to redefine sociology as tracing of associations and thereafter designating social not as a quality of an element-entity, but as "a type of connection between things that are not themselves social" (**?**:5). Aforementioned urban key actors (urban actors, spatial forms, regulatory framework, and social aspects), after being denoted as mediators, have an active role in networks, and in ANT terminology it is referred to as the performance of subject (human entities) and the enactment of objects (non-human) (**?**; **?**). As part of ANT data analysis, the recognized entities were juxtaposed and converted into

actors. The established actors were those who associate and form networks (Table 3). The reason to reinterpret classical categories of scale, structure and the social in network terms was grounded in qualitative inquire from experts (Table 2). These categories were not taken for granted but applied only when they influence actors relationality.

4. **Stabilizing and destabilizing agencies:**

When applying ANT for urban analysis, the importance lies in avoiding pre-established social science categories (?). It is essential to refer to agency as a relation that connects multiple actors, and distributes causality and explanations across networks in stabilizing or destabilizing manner (Ibid.). Based on expert insights and data from PhD workshop and documentation on local, regional and national levels, the researcher examined complexity and interactions among the actors at the neighbourhood level - how they cooperate/coordinate/negotiate/collide and organize into networks according to their roles (Table 3). In graphical terms, node colours correspond to the agency of actors and active, but standardized networks they are engaged in. The difference between association and agency in this interpretation lays in their dynamics - these networks, though standardized have the bipolar potential - ability to influence actor-networking.

5. **Urban assemblages:**

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

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

MAS Structural analysis

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

- E(vironement) - environment: static, defined by the level of analysis - this research: post-socialist neighbourhood;

- A(gents) - assembly of agencies: static state of urban key agents;

- O(bjects) - set of objects: passive contextual elements - this research: socio-spatial patterns of spatial capacities and social potentials;

- R(elations) - assembly of relations: active elements - this research: socio-spatial patterns of urban practices and urban conflicts;

- Op(erations) - assembly of operations: active morphology of urban decision making - this research: top-down urban planning, real estate transformations; participatory bottom-up activities;

- S(ystem) - reaction of the context: static, research goal - this research: urban system transitions in terms of maintenance, transformation and change processes.

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

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

AGENT PROFILE = AGENT STRUCTURE + AGENT PREFERENCES + AGENT BEHAVIOUR

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

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

3.3.3   System Building - Data display

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

Setting a procedure

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

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

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

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

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

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

The display of these data is executed in hierarchical order. ANT served for the identification of all actors (human/non-human, material/non-material) and flattened the social into a panoptic internalized ontology. MAS traced the character of their appearance in

networks and their internal relations and connections. In this way, 'actors (ANT) are transferred into 'agents' (MAS). While theoretical layer represented a generative body of concepts suitable for tracing urban dynamics. Such triangulation is carried out in three steps (Figure 1):

1. Interpreting agent structure:

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

2. Conecting urban agency with socio-spatial patterns:

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

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

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

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

3.4 Methodological Framework

This chapter dealt with the technical explanation of reasoning and scientific domain and interpretative tools applied in this research. In this respect, the methodological framework of this thesis followed the logic of translation from the research framework into the research design, instrumentalized through the adopted methodologies. The identified research questions and hypotheses were developed from the initial research aims and further

adopted in reference to the theoretical frameworks of the main concepts and methods. They were presented in a consecutive order, then bounded in the scope of the chosen case study, and finally methodically traced within the elaboration of the methodological approaches and their deployment in data collection, analysis and data display.

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

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

Chapter 4

Case study: Belgrade - Savamala

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

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

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

4.1 The State of the Society and the Urban

Investigating autochthonous urbanity in the chosen context implies attributing socio-spatial circumstances to the continuous urban transitions. A versatile geographical landscape of Balkan Peninsula harboured an amalgam of cultures and religions and produced a condensed history of social, political and economic turmoils that compose urban struc-

tures and processes (waves of planning 2006). The key factor of this historical account is understanding how a structural unity of urban key elements has been deployed in different space-time frameworks and how they reference back to the social and urban processes of maintenance, transformation and change (urban system transitions).

4.1.1 The Evolution of the State Affairs

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

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

1. the Ottoman dominance;

2. the Serbian state (1804-1914);[1]

3. Yugoslav self-managed socialism, the union of Southern Slav nations and the Federation of 6 republics (1945-1990);

4. the post-Yugoslav, post-socialist transition (1990-).

A structural unity of urban key elements is bounded in the broad, factual and chronicled identity of the pertaining urbanites (urban actors) (ref). The choice of the periods does not strictly follow the historical continuum [2], but relies on the socio-spatial constituents of the contemporary urbanites. The urbanity in this area is reflected through the fluctuating relations with European cultural and geopolitical realm (ref), strongly spatialized identity of the local population (ref Savic 2014) and a continuous revolution through the transitions of the mentioned historical periods. Henceforth, these periods indicate the key points of the alterations and development in terms of: the political sphere, a socio-economic realm, formation of urban actors, urban culture, urban profession and the distribution of urban forms.

Ottomans

Ottomans were dominating the central part of the Balkan peninsula (todays Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia, Kosovo in particular) for around 500 years.[3]Since the

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

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

Ottoman empire was an Islamic theocratic state, decision-making was conducted through the complex centralized administrative structure under the supremacy of the Sultan. Local christian majority was marginalized, rural population ruled over by the constant threat of extinction. Urban nexuses were populated mainly by ruling social class of Ottomans and local converts. As the Ottoman rule of this region could be characterized as an authoritarian imposition, any type of development was slowed down and reduced to a minimum waves of planning 2006. It was an archaic agrarian society. The territory of contemporary Central Serbia was the border zone between the Ottoman and Austrian empire, the Muslims and the Christians, the East and the West, The Europe and the Other ref. Drina and Sava rivers were natural borders of two civilization patterns. Few, predominantly small cities in the area were susceptible to the often war destruction, either in Turco-Austrian wars or during population revolts. The fortress of Belgrade was the borderland vulnerable to frequent conquests and invasions of the two empires. The cities developed organically, under the influence of middle-east, Islamic planning and building traditions ref from waves of planning 2006. However small, those cities were centers of social and cultural life of the said state. Unhygienic, haphazard construction and urbanization patterns are typical for Ottoman cities in the Balkans Kadijevic XXXX.

"The settlements (called kasaba if small; varos if large) had a distinct structure including: central section (carsija) for public functions like baths (amam), schools (metresa), coffee houses and entertainment places (kafana), worshiping buildings (dzamija), crafts and trading posts (bazar), and travel inns (han); and a residential section (mahala) separated into two parts - upper for Muslim residents and lower for the Christian population. Residences were built around yards (avlija) surrounded by high walls used to protect the privacy of the extended family." *waves of planning 2006*. The christian population either was excluded from social structures and any form of decision making or gathered around christian neighbouring states from the West and participated in their warfare against the Ottomans. Consequently, local religious powers (christian - catholic and orthodox) mastered the societal context of the subdued population.

The Serbs cherish negative collective memory of this period, which resulted in the extended dissolution of Ottoman cultural and urban heritage and disregard and subsequent dilapidation of the Ottoman architecture, while retaining unconsciously certain social, urban and decision making practices (Blagojevic 2009)

The Serbian State

The liberation of Serbs slowly but surely started with the uprising in 1804. In parallel with the efforts toward a nation state, educated Serbs followed the European wave of enlightenment and joined efforts to standardize the national language and set a national

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

educational framework. The University of Belgrade was founded in 1808[4], The National Theatre was established in 1869 and The National Museum was opened on the 10th of May 1844.

From 1882. onward, Serbia is recognized as a constitutional monarchy with capitalist social order. Even during the constitutional years before the official recognition of the country, the population in Serbia raised from 678,192 in 1834. to 1,669,337 in 1884. ref old statistics. The total number of 2,922,258 was reached in 1910 ref old statistics. In parallel with wiping out the surface signs of Ottoman legacy, the mentality of deprived, rural majority of indigenous population under the theocratic Ottoman regime had survived and contributed to the patriarchal, paternalistic and authoritarian political model [5]at stake more often than not in the Kingdom of Serbia (Vukmirovic et al 2013). Moreover, the state was poor, dominated by a weak and vulnerable, autarchic economy based on either trade or foreign investments and closely related to the state and to privileged groups (Vukmirovic et al 2013, Samardzic in Doytchinov 2015, add ref for foreign investments). Dubravka Stojanovic (2010), a famous historian who investigates this period of Serbian state constitution, explained that the state affairs, civil sector and society circles have developed without any real interconnections from the very beginning of the Serbian modern nation state. She further developed the thesis that the state is usually taken for granted as a society itself, the supreme driver of development and modernization, and the most important source of influence/authority/status/wealth for an individual. In other words, the political ruled out and dominated the economic and the social during the rise of the modern Serbian state (Stojanovic, 2010).[6]However, the Kingdom of Serbia was slowly gaining its status in the European realm, forming close ties with European centers either by educating professional staff there or by importing models, systems and structures from the West ref. This phase had been also crucial for the foundation of Serbian elite and a modest emergence of local "nouveau" bourgeosie and aristocracy based principally in the capital. Those circles were filled with the soldiers, clergy, scarce intelligentsia and highly obedient bureaucrats, while the first signs of Civil Society (traders, scholars, officers, civil servants) also emerged, along with new challenges and opportunities for development Vukmirovic et al 2013. The increasing number of engineers educated in the West (mostly in Austria) led the construction of the city towards western models that extended disregard for the Ottoman city organizationa and building principles and subsequent dilapidation of the leftovers of the Ottoman architecture (Blagojevic 2009). Nonetheless, the urban population in the Kingdom of Serbia was dispersed in small cities

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

[5]with the huge rural hinterland and its traditional notions and influences

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

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

Urban morphology of Serbian cities in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was obviously strongly affected by Western European ideas originating in France, Germany and Great Britain (ref other than waves of planning 2006). This selective, undiluted borrowing of European building principles, methods, and techniques transformed them into modern towns (waves of planning 2006, Kadijevic XXXX). Architectural and city planning practice was gaining momentum from an emphasis on urban growth with a new orthogonal street network and central places (piazza, square. place) and within a modular grid of plots, blocks and streets Kadijevic XXXX. An additional functional layer of traffic, sanitation and utility infrastructure contributed to the modernization of urban structures and harmonization of urban systems and networks (ref).

Urban Regulatory Framework and Practice   The pioneers of this new wave of construction and activity were individuals educated abroad (mostly in Vienna, Budapest and Praque, and later in Paris and Germany) and foreign experts under the auspices of the state (Branko Maksimovic). They usually received the state scholarships to attend elite European universities and were given the opportunity to engage in practice straight afterwards, even without any significant professional experience (Mladjenovic projekat Rastko). However, town planning was often used as a controllable tool at hand to consolidate political power by high authorities (Governments and even rules). [7] The Ministry of Construction/Civil Engineering, backed up later with specialized Architecture section, was the leading actor in architecture and planning of the time. The young state administration controlled by centralized political will, directing the development of architecture, adapting it to the needs of the newly established, young Serbian state (Maksimovic,waves of planning 2006). However, in such petite, young state, human resource with high expertise are often scarce, so that, when the Faculty of Architecture was founded in Belgrade (1897), the same professionals working for the Ministry also obtained the teaching positions - pursuing in this manner parallel careers (ref). In general, private architectural practice of

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

the time was highly underdeveloped (Mladjenovic projekat Rastko). Such circumstances of centralized power, the overlapping of jurisdiction and competence and biased relations between political and economic strata opened the floor for corruption, privately driven initiatives and land speculations by powerful and rich individuals (ref).

This institutional framework and building practices were followed by the constitution of regulatory and legal framework of urban development, planning and construction. In the Kingdom of Serbia and its successor The Kingdom of Yugoslavia,[8], the legal framework for urban planning was based and developed according to the European continental law traditions Zekovic 2016 History law. The first adopted document was a sort of the regulation plan - The Regulation Line for Construction of Private Buildings (1864), followed by the adoption of laws - The Law on Construction of Public Buildings (1865) and the Law on Expropriation of Private and Real Estate Property for Public Use (1866) (waves of planning 2006).

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

The only response to such condition was the continual re-establishment of tabula rasa urban actions seeing it as the only means of intervention in historical time, which may eventually have rendered false **?**. In this manner, the egocentric-megalomanic attitude to urban planning during the period 1912-1922 reflected the state pretensions to ascertain the changed condition of sovereignty in the state significantly enlarged after the WWI(the First World War) ref from Blagojevic 2009.

The period of The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1929) known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (popular also as "the first Yugoslavia") from 1929. till the German occupation in Second World War is excluded as it follows the trends set forth during the previous period (1804-1914) with small insignificant shifts and certain emancipatory and modernization efforts and successes. On the contrary, the country comprised almost the same the territory as its descendant SFRY with the population of 11,984,911 inhabitants in 1921. The most important document was the Building Act (1931), an up-to-date urban regulatory document of the time. It features the Regulatory Plan as the main instrument of urban development, regulates technical building details and prescribes the format of planning documents and the planning procedure (waves of planning 2006).

SFRY

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

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[8]as well as The Kingdom of SHS

After the Second World War, a new political order was installed, The first Yugoslav post-World War II elections[9] were held in November 1945 and the results were undoubtedly in favour of the coalition of parties backing the Partisans[10] On 29 November 1945, the Constituent Assembly of Yugoslavia formally abolished the monarchy and declared the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPR Yugoslavia, FPRY) with 6 "People's Republics" (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia). In the post-war geopolitical divide, FPR Yugoslavia expanded beyond the borders of its predecessor (the Kingdom of Yugoslavia).

The socialist period in Yugoslavia is best known for its self-managed socialism phase (1953-1990) [11]. Political regime at stake was decentralized yet authoritarian with both capitalist and socialist elements. It was single party system with a president for life (Josip Broz Tito). However, decision making was partly shared between central and supreme authority of the government and republics, municipalities and even several public enterprises. Economic reforms put to work were quasi-market and quasi-liberal with self-management in the most of enterprises, societal ownership over large industrial enterprises, and a number of small, private businesses (services and crafts) (Estrin 1991). The economic system survived on non-market mechanisms and administrative decisions (Estrin 1991). Its most important trait was "social ownership" , i. e. workers' self-management and control of enterprises (Estrin 1991). Finally, cultural exchange was significant either with the West or the East (Hirt 2009, Vujosevic and Maricic 2012). The country experienced successful economic reforms, cultural revival, labor productivity, urban and infrastructural development and construction in its first years (until the late 1970s).

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

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

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[9]The elections were secret and generally speaking fairly conducted, but there are several accounts doubting the regularity of the campaign.

[10]People's Front (Narodni front, NOF) coalition was led the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) and represented by Josip Broz Tito.

[11]Self-managed socialism or market socialism are popular terms for the type of socialism applied in SFRY and is known as pure Yugoslav brand (Estrin 1991)

Social, political and economic circumstances also reflected onto cities and urban life. The overall concepts of urban development and planning in SFRY were based on CIAM principles and proclaimed various urban standardization, center-periphery urban dichotomy and local community concept and decentralization in decision-making (self-management at various levels - community, municipality, enterprises, organizations etc.) (Fisher 1962, waves of planning 2006). Urban institutions, regulations and profession in general functioned on quite mature, comprehensive, and multi-disciplinary base - systemic institutional approach distributed planning tasks from top-down involving experts from various fields with initiatives to apply self-management paradigm and participatory practice in also in urban planning. Well conceptualized, they were failing in the implementation of guidelines and control measures of various urban processes; as Nedovic Budic (Mornings after XXXX) states "it was well conceptualized but failing in implementation just as the state socialism itself". Advanced planning system yet biased implementation reflected political and economic shifts in the course of Yugoslav state development. These changes were grounded upon the legislative transformations of the Yugoslav realm (waves of planning 2006):

1. **post-war reconstruction (1945-1953);**
   During the first years, SFRY was under strong influence of soviet political ideology. These were also the years of reforms and deployment of the ideology in socio-political, economic, and cultural terms of the newly established state. However, with slow but significant separation from the Soviet model, Yugoslav administration put to work the principle of workers' self-management in the enterprises (ref). The principle was that employees had a key role in the decision-making structures of their enterprises. While in practice decisions were guided by management departments, workers were usually involved in dealign with socio-economic issues[12] (Estrin 1983; Lydall, 1984). Such structure proved unsatisfactory and inefficient in creating effective capital and labor markets from the very beginning.

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

2. **institutional decentralization(1953-1963)**
   The period was initiated by the constitutional change in 1953. The reform of social instead of state ownership was introduced in 1952. and came to the fore only in correlation with the new legal framework ref. Such "social ownership" and nominal workers' control over the surplus were effectively in practice as a form of non-

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[12]questions of welfare, employment and pay (Estrin, 1983; Lydall, 1984)

ownership, with the plurality of self-management interests, delegate structure, accumulation of decision-making, but no legal individual rights over the assets (Estrin 1991, Zec 2012). However, apart from the mainly state property ownership and market control, private ownership of small and medium business enterprises were permitted (Hadzic 2002). In parallel, the country's external affairs were marked by the politics of neutrality and initiating the foundation of Non-aligned movement (NAM). The policy of institutional decentralization put forward the first generation of urban planning laws in the same manner (ref). As this new legal framework was enacted, a set of decentralization practices emerge in professional urban planning, especially from 1959. to 1970. In this light, new professional organizations spread around urban centres. Planning profession profited through organizational division of urban planning structures and the dispersion of roles among newly established entities (1954-1959) (Mornings after Nedovic Budic).

3. **strengthening of the republican level legislation (1963-1973);**

In 1963. the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Constitution of Serbia were adopted. Moreover, in compliance with pervasive constitutional reforms, the name Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was introduced. This phase was the emancipatory phase of Yugoslav self-managed socialism marked with a strong economic factor in terms of the decentralization from state investment funds to socially owned banks (1965). The reform aimed at the transition to market liberalization. It was grounded upon the belief that, under the liberal market conditions, enterprises based on social ownership would behave like those privately owned (Estrin 1991, Zec 2012). Consequently, these principles influenced urban development of Yugoslav cities and contributed to the golden age of Yugoslav planning profession under the second generation of urban laws adopted during this period.

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

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

Public ownership and non-property system in economy resulted in irrational practice of public spending, budget allocation and investment and the lack of sufficient accumulation and the absence of effective financial discipline. The grave social outcomes were declining labor productivity and made socially owned enterprises inefficient. Self-management practices were basically participatory instrument in decision-making. Yet, as an side effect, such decentralization entailed a plenitude of documents (mainly social agreements and self-management contracts) that were hard to manage within the economic system. In the aftermath, they brought the emancipatory model of self-management socialism to the verge of collapse (Lydall,

1984, 1989, Estrin 1991). The state of crisis exerted the tensions among the republics and further state decentralization through agreement by all interested parties was welcomed (Zec XXX). It brought about blossom of ethnic nationalism and later on was perceived as a means to guide the federal political structure into the post-Tito era (Estrin 1991, Post soc tranzicija Vujosevic).

Even though urban planning organizations profited from the state position in between the East and the West combining experiences and knowledge from both sides[13], in these times of financial crisis they were also confronted with new economic conditions and the market. The attempts of adjustment brought in the third generation laws with significant proliferation on the republic level with hyper-production of urban statutes and regulation (Borovnica 1980, Pajovic 2005, Mornings after Nedovic Budic, Peric 2016). The politics of self-management reflected in urban planning through significant decentralization of planning process where plans were subordinated to social contracts, and any problem of incompatibility of plans and public spending programmes and the budget cause the halt or deviations in implementation phase ref.

5. **unfortunate split and warfare (1989-1992);**

   After Tito's death in 1980, the level of political differentiation increased. These final years at first indicate that, most of all, the peculiarities of the Yugoslav economic order led to the decision of high political (party) structures for Yugoslavia to abandon this unique socio-political system and move towards western version of capitalism (Estrin 1991). On the contrary, economic questions have increasingly been overshadowed by ethnic tensions. In these circumstances, extensive and ungrounded decentralization after the Tito's death pushed the federal government against the republican decision-making bodies and bring the federal country to the critical breaking point (Estrin 1991, Post soc tranzicija Vujosevic).

In sum, communist institutional and ideological framework entered every sphere of professional and private life in SFRY[14]An author push this interpretation to the limit explaining that the political was seen as a religion in Yugoslavia, "political religion of Marxism" ?. and most of all urban planning systems in the state and cities.

Urban Regulatory Framework and Practice :

The practice of planning and its implementation in SFRY can be circumscribed as the development of single paradigm, in its various theoretical and practical manifestations Vukmirovic et al 2013. The hierarchical political structure and the supremacy of the communist party dominated urban decision-making. Even though urban planning expertise was socially accepted and highly valued (Piha 1986 find waves of planning 2006), all expert suggestions and actions were subjected to the permanent supervision of the state

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

leadership.

In any case, SFRY socialist regime put forward several significant legislations and practives that made Yugoslav urban planning competitive at global scale, such as: (1) establishment of professional agencies, bureaux and institutions at all decision making levels (national, republic, local);[15] (2) national professional associations were founded to certify and monitor the activities (Bakic 1988); (3) continual education and knowledge exchange platforms were encouraged and supported by the authorities; and (4) local experts were participating in educational and professional programmes in Western Europe and North America waves of planning 2006. Moreover, such knowledge-based and capacity-building attitude enforced the emerges of the interdisciplinary character of Yugoslav urban planning (Vriser 1978find waves of planning 2006). Consequently, Yugoslav urban planners, urbanists and architects were the pillars of urban development and transformations in the range of Asian and African countries, mainly the members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

In terms of the local context, urbanity of Yugoslav cities result in being strongly tied to the underlying political organization and socio-economic order of the time. Consequently, the transitions in the matrix of urban actors and stakeholders, pertaining cultural patterns and urban forms, as well as professional approach are linked to the most influential political and economic shifts actually based on the legislative reforms (1945, 1953, 1963, 1974 and post 1989) (Pajovic 2005, Mornings after Nedovic Budic, waves of planning 2006):

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

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

   This approach was the manifest of the new social organization Dobrovic 1946 from waves of planning 2006. However, the 1931 Building Act was applied until the the Master Urban Planning Regulation was passed in 1949 **?**. This document showed the first traces of the influence from western European planning legislations ref Peric 2016, waves of planning 2006.

2. **Institutionalization (1953-1963):**

   The combination of western planning models and socio-economic elements of Yugoslav self-managed socialism paved the way away from the Soviet centralized planning toward a participatory system of comprehensive planning Mornings after Nedovic Budic. The rationalist planning model was applied to a set of laws and bylaws that regulated the construction of the recently nationalized land Vesna Cagic 2014.

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[15]In Belgrade it was JUGINUS 1957, ZUKD 1962, IAUS 1958

This modernist practice of planning marked the beginning of the golden era of spatial and urban planning in SFRY (Vujosevic, 2004) from Vukmirovic et al 2013, waves of planning 2006. The system of plans reflected significant improvements toward political decentralization and economic liberalization within the limits of self-managed socialism that started to riseref Peric 2016.

3. **Further decentralization (1963-1973):**

   The decentralizing political and economic measures[16] contributed to the introduction of integrated and comprehensive planning in Yugoslav context. Its main achievements are: (1) the administrative hierarchy and the distribution of plans, (2) interdisciplinary planning practice, (3) increased public participation, and (4) social approach through the mass provision of affordable housing **??**. This model was introduced as the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering and passed by the State Parliament in 1971 **?**. Namely, Yugoslav planning system was internationally acknowledged as significantly decentralized and multidisciplinary with strong tendencies to include and balance spatial, social, economic, and environmental principles (Simmie, 1989; Miodrag Vujosevic, 2003, Peric 2016).

4. **The prime of golden age of Yugoslav planning and its decline (1974-1989):**
   At this time, cross-acceptance planning principle, the operationalization of integrated social, economic, environmental and spatial aspects in urban policies and hyperproduction of detailed plans meant the high point of Yugoslav planning **?**. Its decentralized systems of planning and policy and "bottom-up" participatory approach were the core of the planning system at least nominally. They preceded similar practices in developed western countries for about a decade Cullingworth 1997, Vujosevic Collapse of strategist thinking. The 1985 Law on Planning and Spatial organization was the manifest of the planning practice where local communities (or communes) were the main planning and implementation authorities **?**. This meant an effort toward the harmonization of interests through: (1) a bottom-up consensus building, (2) inclusion of environmental protection prospects, (3) the distinction of land and building ownership (societal, municipal, national for land; and societal, enterprise, municipal, cooperative, and private for buildings) and (4) the acknowledgment of the variety of urban actors (citizens, workers, professional control, local authorities, socio-political organizations and civil sector) **?**. However, by the end of the 1980s, these innovative features of urban planning system and practice were diluted within the hypertrophied and bureaucratized social and political system (Oi, 1998; Peric 2016). They eventually became cumbersome and dysfunctional and the dissolution of urban planning system coincided with that of society, politics and the state.

No mater how single-minded was the paradigm of socialist urban planning, the regime actually managed to produce the diversity of planning systems: from the initial cen-

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[16]Strengthening the role of the Federal units and semi-market economic system

tralized, urban and economic growth-based planning to an integrated fully decentralized participatory process and the physical development susceptible to economic and social circumstances Haussemann (1996) from Mornings after Nedovic Budic.

"Planning in Socialist Yugoslavia was the dominant type of regulation and control of modern society, economy and urban space." Vukmirovic et al 2013.

Post-communism

Herein explained multi-sectorial crisis brought self-managed socialist system and SFRY to its halt. The dissolution of Yugoslavia coincide with the breakdown of other communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Conflicts and warfare led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia into several sovereign states. Only two of the federal republics, Serbia and Montenegro, stuck to SFRY state legacy and formed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Later on, it was transformed into a confederation - the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (SCG) until the state referendum in Montenegro in 2006 followed by its separation and independence. During these geopolitical restructuring, the term "former Yugoslavia" has been commonly used retrospectively to designate the socialist state 1945-1992.

These political transformations were broadly present in all ex-communist countries. They were denoted as a policy of openness towards economic, political and cultural influences from the West, and consequently a transition towards markets and democracy (Vujosevic and Maricic). In contrast to other East European countries, the years that followed showed significant stagnation and regress in most of ex-Yugoslav republics. In Serbia, post-communist transition distinguishes two phases Mornings after Nedovic Budic

- 1990s with strong re-centralization, multi-party system, sharp economic decline and international isolation;

- 2000s with regime change, re-decentralization and progress towards democracy, wild proto-capitalism and unprotected public interest

The urban transformation of Serbian cities may be declared as typical "transition to market-driven economy and democracy" (Tsenkova, 2006) except for several parts. The dismantling of the socialist system during the late 1980s represented a substantial change in all aspects of the economic model, the political system and social organization. Serbia was confronted with national wars in the neighbouring states and the 3-month bombardment from The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in 1999.

During the 1990s, Europe was economically and culturally flourishing with peace, prosperity and order installed across its territory. Nonetheless, Serbia missed the train to join vibrant and healthy realm of European Union (EU) and submerged into isolation and wars. [17] This initial transitional period in Serbia is known as "blocked transformation" (Lazic and Vuletic 2009, Vujosevic and Maricic 2012). Economy was isolated, grey and semi-martial, stagnating with disastrous effects of high unemployment, hyper-inflation, pauperization and vanishing production. Post-socialist economic regulations were both

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[17]Serbia was under the full UN sanctions since 1992 to 1995.

inconsistent and unstable as the institutional business regulations kept changing in response to the overall political situation. The concrete economic conditions of exchange rate and prices were susceptible to the circumstances of international isolation and the expansion of the informal sector (**?**). There were hardly any large-scale domestic and foreign investments in the local market, industry, businesses and construction **?**. Socially owned enterprises became private through murky privatizations and they were building their success rather through political and business connections than professionalism (ref). Being surrounded by wars and participating in them clandestinely, politically powerful actors in Serbia set up centralized decision making system for all political, economic and cultural topics of high interest Mornings after Nedovic Budic. The political scene was dominated by one figure, Slobodan Milosevic. He ruled over Serbian and partly FRY realm through a type of nationalist dictatorship followed by political unrests from dissatisfied population and organized opposition supported by the West. This top-down government principle was backed up by newly established economic elites, a powerful interest group, who supported authoritarian style of governance Vujovic and Petrovic 2007. The situation of halted political decentralization caused institutions to collapse under the centralized authority, while political and economic pressures also deepened societal regressions Mornings after Nedovic Budic.

Serbian social structure had crumbled accordingly. 1991. census document that Serbia with Kosovo numbered 9,791,475 inhabitants (7.836.728 without Kosovo) (jugoslovenska evidencija), while in 2002. the number of inhabitants in Serbia without Kosovo declined to 7,498,001 and it further plundered to 7,186,862 inhabitants (Census). Not to mention the skyrocketing increase in poverty rate - as of the 2002 statistics, 20% of the inhabitants lived below the poverty line **?**.

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

The dismantlement of the socialist regime in 1990s radically altered the function of public space by making it a venue for the struggle for human rights, freedom of speech, movement and actions. Expecting to gain more freedom, people fought to replace socialism with a new neo-liberal order. Unfortunately, this new transitional episode, which is still in progress,

has brought subtly controlled and carefully restricted freedom tech4tev online platform paper. With the end of Milosevic's regime in the year 2000, the country entered fairly dynamic,[18] but insufficient economic recovery. These transformation targeted primarily banking sectors and privatization of socially owned enterprises. Transitional processes in the early 2000s were designated by marketization, privatization, and deregulation - the instruments of neoliberal capitalism. Proto-capitalist accumulation and the dominance of tycoons, who were made rich in 1990s, were main catalysts of grand redistribution of social wealth and allocation of assets and incomes after the destruction of the former economic system (Vujosevic et al. 2010). Nearly destroyed industrial production, high percentage of unemployment, debt crisis, and income gap suggest unstable socio-economic situation and long unsustainable prospects of development ((Vujosevic et al. 2010, Mornings after Nedovic Budic),Vujosevic et al. 2010). Especially the case of growing financial debts and strong influence of international political, economic and financial actors has been making the country rather a semi-colony than a prosperous environment on development tracks. Serbia has become a kind of new, inner periphery of Europe, as Gler (2004) puts it (Vujosevic et al. 2012).

This colonial attitude also reflects the ideological background of post-socialist transition. Serbia was a poor country with regressive rather than progressive tendency in development, stuck on the verge of social, political and economic crisis. In the last 50 years, its geopolitical profile changed multiple times. In 2003, Yugoslav federation (3rd Yugoslavia) was replaced with Serbia and Montenegro confederation. With the independence of Montenegro, Serbia also got its country status in 2006. The Kosovo has been under UN protectorate according to the Security Council Resolution 1244 from 1999 onward. However, it declared its independence in 2008. In 2009 Serbia applied for the candidacy status for EU, and in 2012 it had it approved. .

Being on the European path, but not yet a EU member, puts Serbia in a position to reconsider its position in the global geopolitics and economy and accordingly adopts priorities and strategies for development. Its economic dependence on international capital and non-critical and non-strategic attitude towards political, social and cultural spheres of European integration suggest that alternative options were neither framed nor researched nor taken into account at all Vujosevic et al 2012. With cumbersome institutional structure and non-competent administration inherited from socialism, the principles of governance were not high-end priorities in Serbian political culture (trkulja 2012). When the capacity for research, strategic thinking and governance was reduced to zero, the country becames a blind follower of global forces and a polygon for power and interest struggles Vujosevic and Maricic 2012. Thus the majority of reforms were exclusive Vujosevic et al 2012, revealing extreme asymmetry of power over their creation and implementation in practice (Vujosevic 2015 Regionalizam 2).

In the course of history, manipulation, paternalism and clientelism have been carefully and gradually braided features expressed to their fullest in "systematic and organized

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[18]with 5% of yearly growth of GDP during the first years

mobilization of interests and bias" of Serbian political domain nowadays (Vujosevic et al 2012). In sum, in the lack of broader political and societal dialogue, transitional reforms were imposed by political and economic elites, while corruptive channels of the same elites dominate decision-making process and everyday practices (Vujosevic and Maricic 2012, Vujosevic et al 2012).

The post-Milosevic reconstruction of Serbian society contains prevailing characteristics of the disintegration of the preceding system rather than a coherent vision of the future (Stanilov 2007).

Even with overall mantra of re-decentralization and democratization, top-down and centralized approach was manifested at all levels: national, regional, and municipal Vukmirovic et al 2013. Centralization may be linked to the most powerful regional deindustrialization in Europe happening in Serbia and significant territorial disparities among regions and between the inland and the capital, or the "Serbian spatial banana"[19] ((Zekovic 2009 Regionalizatija, Vukmirovic et al 2013)). The main victims of transition were ordinary citizens, disempowered and impoverished during extensive periods of conflicts, crises and turmoils (Mornings after Nedovic Budic, Vujosevic et al. 2010). Difficult life conditions caused prolonged demographic recession, which already started in 1990s (brain drain, aging population, refugees) ref. In pursuit of better life conditions, significant amounts of population migration toward economic centers and in this case mainly the CapitalVukmirovic et al 2013.

The social structure in Serbia nowadays looks more like that of a Third-World country than of either European welfare state or its middle-class predecessor SFRY. A tiny layer of wealthy people, weakened and decimated middle class and rising number of poor population are urban actors of Serbian cities. Parallel to the still present nationalist discourse, mass consumerism and globalization values entered Serbian society and cities after 2000. The loss of certain traditional values may not be a problem per se, as new trends are also forcing to exchange the affinity to authoritarianism and cultural and ethnic isolation for cultural diversity, active communication, collaboration and participation in urban affairs and decision-making. However, several authors argue that the installation of contemporary neoliberal democracy and globalization values contributes to the economic and cultural erosion of the middle class society values inherited from socialism, threatens the sense of solidarity and empathy and dissolves the sense of overall public good and community bonds Cvejic 2010, Vukmirovic et al 2013, Samardzic in Doytchinov 2015.

Urban Regulatory Framework and Practice :

The post-socialist circumstances in urban planning, in now again Serbian context, actually represent the legitimization of newly established societal circumstances and needs. The period started with the end of the Cold war and the global dominance of market-based economy, and in Serbian context with the authoritarian political regime with the supreme

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[19]The term was used by Vujosevic 2010 sptrategic to mark the broad metropolitan area of Belgrade and Novi Sad where most of Serbian population and economic activity are located.

authority of the president Slobodan Milosevic. This situation created a fertile ground for various malfeasance, and urban planning was not an exemption therein.

Top-down, but rather fragmented and uncoordinated planning approach with a marginalized position of planners was justified by the lack of funds, ineffective regulations, slow administrative procedures and inadequate tools for implementation **?**. Namely, urban planning in Serbia was suffocating under a range of contextual difficulties in terms of (1) the disregard for public interest or strategic national development policy, (2) no participation nor transparency in planning practice, and (3) the lack of planning expertise and administrative capacity at local and regional levels (Vujosevic 2003; Vujosevic et al. 2000, Stojkov et al. 1998 from Vujosevic and Nedovic 2006)). The planning lost its overall legitimacy and was reduced to a technical practice of land-use distribution exclusively driven by private investments.

These factors provoked a legal void susceptible to shady deals, a lack of proactive urban governance, and the increasing social polarization (Tsenkova 2006a). Several legal documents enabled this dubious degradation of urban planning practice and the state of urban environment in post-socialist Serbia. First of all, the Law on the Basis of Property (Zakon o osnovama svojinskopravnih odnosa) from 1990 enabled turning housing into private property. It masked the terrible economic and environmental situation happening in front of the citizens by giving them rights to purchase their homes at discount prices. Furthermore, the establishment of 29 regions in 1992 was the act of pseudo-decentralization where the regions were just the territorial subbranches of the state without any legal and administrative authority in itself **?**. Finally, 1995 Law on Planning and Arrangement of Space and Settlements of the Republic of Serbia formalized the centralization of urban decision making **?**. However, the document kept the state ownership structure for land, but state, municipal and private property modes for buildings. Moreover, it also promoted, at least nominally, the rational use of space and transparency through professional control and public review of plans **?**.

In the same manner political elites has also been indifferent towards urban policy leaving it at the mercy of wild capitalism principles dominating Serbian post-2000 discourse Vujovic and Petrovic 2007. In fact, newly installed neoliberal paradigm outdid the institutional capacity to support it **?**. The political actually dominated other spheres of urban life. The deficiency of the planning system supported from political elites made spatial development not a priority, but rather spatial transformation has become a side-effect of political and economic decisions (Stojkov, 2009). The lack of policies, instruments and institutional measures neither contributed to horizontal, vertical and cross coordination nor increased a body of knowledge and data on the urban, resulting in reinvigorated illegal construction practices and illegitimate real estate transformations (Trkulja 2012, Cities in Transition 2013).

Within the regulatory framework, the most disastrous effects are affecting urban land. Urban land is territorial capital neglected during socialism, where there was no competitive

land market and restricted private property ownership[20] and unresolved issue of property restitution[21], which ultimately hindered foreign direct investment (FDI) Djordjevic (2005) from Vujosevic and Nedovic 2006. Consequently, the deficiency of property policy, laws and institutions as well as the lack of substantial urban policy, urban land management approaches and measures and urban land use strategies and rules are the major pit-holes of current urban planning, regulatory framework and practice (Stojkov, 2009, Zekovic et al. 2015)

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

4.1.2 Urbanity in Serbia through the lens of the Capital

Having an overview of the historic development of the Serbian state and its urban regulatory framework, it must be noted that it is lacking continuity of good practices and transformative actions. The trend of running down the inventions from the previous period in terms of planning process and planning practice strongly reduced the developmental potential of Serbian cities?. However, the planning context has kept its culturally moulded coherence, even though different political systems have been at play at the national level. This rather organic path of urban development led to the classifying of post-socialist cities in transitional countries as unregulated capitalist cities (investment-led) with third world urban development elements (substantial illegal activities and informal markets) (Petrovic 2009).

These historical processes of urban transitions affect Serbia's competitiveness on global scale by problematizing and reducing its local structural qualities and territorial capital Vujosevic and Maricic 2012. Local experts describe current state of Serbian society as a whole as "growth without development" or even "developmental schizophrenia"[22] (Vujosevic and Maricic 2012, Vujosevic ?). Its source may be traced back to the first years of the Serbian state (the Kingdom of Serbia), when political overruled any other social domain (see XXX). This disposition of factors is still at play. In light of recent party pluralism in Serbia, multiplication of political actors do not bring democratization of the political sphere and constructive dialogue. On the contrary, political discord in Serbia

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[20]until 2003

[21]as a precondition for joining EU

[22]This idiom was created by Vujosevic to explain the behaviour of Serbian authorities in transition characterized by empty signifiers, unclear planning, confused strategies and an overall failure to understand what is at play in the local context.

is performed as a struggle between enemies, while their objective is to dislodge others in order to occupy their place. In reality, all political parties together work on preserving the dominant hegemony and stagnant power relations (Mouffe 2002).

Instead of showing rigor and determination in finding creative, strategic, locally adapted solutions, the path of development in Serbia is marked by western imports, stale dogmas and over-represented international influence. However unlikely, this attitude also dates back to social and urban practices of the previous periods and regimes. During most of the times (Ottoman, Serbian Kingdom, the communist regimes), imposition was the rule of the thumb for urban transformation (waves of planning 2006). Even though importing, at least on the conceptual level, has had been continuously at play; at certain points in history locally grounded contemporary systems[23] had emerged (waves of planning 2006). local professionals

In this light, social and urban revitalization in 2000s from the wars of the 1990s, has been and still is encumbered with inherited local tradition of nationalism, hierarchy, authority and parochialism coupled with consumerist and neoliberal global forces (Stupar 2004). Not to mention that recent rise of new-right in Europe also found its counterparts in Serbian context. The urban quality of Serbian cities still suffer from constant waves of economic migrants from rural areas who have difficulty to identify with a modern capital, like it was during the first years of formation of the Serbian capital (see XXX) Doytchinov 2015. Not to mention strong nationalistic, spatialized identity (Savic 2014) that threaten multicultural and multi-ethnic urban fusion cherished during the socialist period (Stupar 2004).

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

"Za Srbiju moze vaziti jedno opste pravilo: cija vlada toga i drzava,cija vlast toga i sloboda" (in Serbia there is a rule at stake: They who form the government, they lead the country and rule over freedom) Dubravka Stojanovic in the book "XXX" citing an anonymous MP during the period of the Kingdom of Serbia

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[23]For example, the local administrative commitment to planning in the Kingdom of Serbia; locally adapted and intrinsically unique world trends by distinguished local professionals (1914-1940); and interdisciplinary and participatory approaches in integrated planning process during the socialist era (waves of planning 2006).

Belgrade - a City in Constant Transition

The city of Belgrade has the fixed location in the northwestern part of the Balkan Peninsula and Southeastern Europe for centuries. It has been built at the borderline of two large geographical areas, where the Pannonian Plain meets the Balkans. It overlooks the confluence of the Danube and the Sava rivers and spreads along their banks to the north, south, east and west. First traces of its existence date back to around 5000 BC, from Vinca culture developed nearby, Celtic settlement of Singhidunum, Belograd mentioned in the Papa Iohannes letters from the 9th century , Alba Graeca, Alba Bulgarica, Nandor Alba, Griechisch Weissenburg, Castelbianco, variety of names used until 19th century depending on its current rule, finally to the current name of the modern Serbian capital - Belgrade. From the early period of the Roman empire split, and even more so during the Ottoman rule, the city was the crossroads between the East and the West. Comparably, its contemporary location is the junction of two pan-European transport corridors (Corridor VII from Romania to Germany, and Corridor X from Greece to Austria and Germany). As a node of regional importance, Belgrade also belongs to the category MEGA 4 of the European areas of growth and development.

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

Belgrade is the historical capital of Serbia since the constitution of the Serbian nation state in the 19th century (1867). Its geographical position has always been close to the national border, a location easy to reach and occupy Doytchinov 2015. Nonetheless, it also had been the capital of Yugoslavia, throughout its overall period of existence - Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovens (1918-1947), Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1992), Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992-2003); and the capital of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (2003-2006), before the final split and the re-establishment of the Republic of Serbia (2006-). After the national revolution period, abrupt shifts in its status and field of influence[24] complicated its ideological, political and cultural articulation in local terms and towards national and global discourses.

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

- when Ottoman garrisons left the city and before the outbreak of WWI (1867-1914)

- the period between the two World Wars (1918-1941)

- the period of Yugoslav self-managed socialism (1941-1991)

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[24]From 19th century onward, Belgrade was at first the capital of a small nation-state, then the capital of a big federation and afterwards the capital of an ever declining territory, finishing finally as the nation-state capital once again (HIrt 2009)

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

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

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

1. Ottoman Belgrade (1521-1804)

2. The capital of the kingdom state (1804-1941)

3. The socialist city (1945-1991)

4. Post-communist urban path (after 1991)

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

Even though Habsburgs occupied Belgrade several times (1688-1690, 1717-1739, 1789-1791), it received some basics of European urban patterns only during their longest rule between 1718 and 1739 Samardzic in Doytchinov 2015. Strict Austro-Hungarian administration also imposed urban regulations in terms of equal plot sizes, street patterns and building shapes with necessary facilities and numerous ornaments in to-date popular European architectural styles (check styles ref Kadijevic, Mladjenovic XXXX). The Habsburgs also introduced focal public spaces into the settlement structure with important civic and community buildings built around it Kadijevic, Mladjenovic XXXX.

The city has been continuously rebuilt under Islamic principles, with central street (carsija) and organic street network, mosques (dzamija), market places (bazar), every time it passed back under the Ottoman jurisdiction (ref). Yet, Brushs map from 1789 reveals great

mixture of both Ottoman and Habsburg urban matrix - an overlapping of narrow, curved streets with several parts with straight street grid and the Great Oriental Market located in the central square of the city (Roter Blagojevic in Doytchinov 2015). At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, most sources confirm that the city was rather a small, ruined and negligent Ottoman fortification with civilian neighbourhoods suffocating under uneven, congested and unhygienic urban structure, while the rare, sporadic Christian neighbourhoods were scattered around and immersed in the suburban landscape Roter Blagojevic in Doytchinov 2015. Finally, the city that Ottomans left behind after the symbolic "city key delivery" in 1867 was actually a hybrid Oriental-Occidental city (Blagojevic 2009).

Belgrade (1804-1940)   The first record of Belgrades population of this time is from 1838. There were 8483 Christians, 2700 Muslims, 1500 Jews and 250 foreigners, in total - 2963 people. This record dates back to the times between the enactment of the Turkish Law (Hatisherif) in 1830, which institutionalized Belgrade as the seat of both the Serbian and Turkish administration, and the official establishment of Belgrade as the capital of the Ottoman vassal state of Serbia (1841).[25] In the time span before the city evolved into the capital, the spatial concept and the building construction patterns still followed vernacular Ottoman traditions Roter Blagojevic in Doytchinov 2015.

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

Growing interference of the Serbian side in the city administration and management made these individual, chiefly civic buildings, newly built and decorated in various historicity styles, which stand for strengthening Serbian national identity and its obvious striving to join the broader context of European civilizations (Hirt 2009). In this respect, the yawning gap between the Oriental and Serbian (more European-like)[26] part of the town, in terms of urban matrix, structure, and even urban culture, has became obvious even before Belgrade had become the capital of the Serbian principality.

Therefore, even before the official takeover of the city from Ottomans, the Serbian new capital had asserted itself as the supreme national administrative, economic and cultural center. The period of Serbian state construction was also the period of shaping the European identity of its capital city and gradual application of European planning ideals

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[25]In 1841. Prince Mihailo Obrenovic moved the capital from the city of Kragujevac to Belgrade.(ref "History (Important Years Through City History)". Official website.

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

therein.[27] The year of the official departure of the Ottoman administration and military from Belgrade (1867) coincided with the date of the very first try with General Urban plan of the city.

The necessity for having an urban plan that regulates the development of the capital city originated from Prince Mihailo Obrenovic's vision of putting Serbia in the cultural and social league of other Central and West European countries. A detailed geodetic survey of Belgrade's soil was undertaken by Emilian Josimovic himself in 1864. A mathematician by education and an engineer by profession, the plan he prepared in 1867. was labeled as the regulatory. Very technical in its approach and with significant practice-oriented data, the mentioned plan corresponded to what today is a combination of a general and master plan, a plan of implementation or feasibility study.[28] Josimovic's plan envisioned re-unification of the two parts (free Serbian city and Ottoman fortress) clearly separated within the previous Ottoman plan from 1963 (see above). The plan could be considered in line with the essentials of the European planning paradigm of the period[29].

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

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

In practice, General Urban Plan from 1867 was coupled with the Law on Regulation of the Town of Belgrade. However, both the plan and the law was rejected in Parliament

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

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

[29]application of the ring zone

check where under the politically biased circumstances.[30] This was also the relief for Belgrade Municipality authorities and administration as they were lacking technically skilled stuff to accomplished demanding reconstructions proposed in the plan. It appears that multiple urban stakeholders of the time hailed the prolongation of the status quo, where any further urban regulations did not have an appropriate legal basis (Roter Blagojevic in Doytchinov 2015). It was therefore no surprise that the town was still greatly expanded beyond control, but mostly in terms of low quality illegal construction in the suburban areas (Roter Blagojevic in Doytchinov 2015).

In 1896 the Belgrade Building Law is adopted (with amendments in 1898 and 1901) and from 1897 onward, the Building Code for the Town of Belgrade 69 regulated all issues relating to construction in different town zones.

By the end of the century, two more urban plans were proposed - Stevan Zaric's(1878) and Jovan Beslic's (1893) plans - and the Construction law for the city of Belgrade was adopted in 1896. These urban plans tended to build on Joksimovic's plan and to continue with European modernization trends. However, by gradual abandonment of the core innovation of Joksimovic's plan - idiosyncratic idea for the network of urban parks and town wreaths - these plans showed more of copying western models than fine tuning of traditional and modern within the boundaries of newly established country and its rising capital (Blagojevic 2009). On the contrary, the adopted law (1896) was not at all modernizing, but served for the legitimization of the system and interests at play. It was a populist compromise to leave the state of affairs as is, with no sanctions for not abiding the law and where the corrupted judiciary failed to apply it in practice (Dubravka Stojanovic konf BGDH2O).

The regime change[31] and the extended period of peace (more or less from 1817. to the Balkan wars starting in 1812.) gave rise to social prosperity, cultural upswing and stabilized institutional framework at the beginning of the 20th century. Consequently, it brought a multiplicity and heterogeneity of urban forms, the renovation of public spaces and large-scale projects.

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

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

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

and the demolition of the heritage ((Roter Blagojevic in Doytchinov 2015)).

The pre-war Master Plan from 1914. settled down the tensions by locally framing the Monumental City design tradition[32] (Perovic iskustva proslosti). This planning trend was influential during the first years of the new, larger state - The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The General Plan of Belgrade from 1923 was the first urban plan to be officially adopted. It was of the same nature as the Master Plan from 1914, but even more megalomaniac and with an egocentric attitude boosted by the significance of the new larger state. The expansion of the state also made the city expand territoriality toward the north to include Zemun, which had a largely Slavic population that was beforehand ruled by the Hapsburgs. The plan targeted radical, after-war reconstruction with dense urban fabric and medium-scale residential and mixed-use buildings. However, the plan was prepared by the team of exclusively foreign architects. This fact may explain why the proposed interventions actually negated Belgrades topography and its urban character (Grozdanic 2008,Blagojevic 2009). The General Regulation Plan from 1939 reflected the state affairs before WWII.

conclusion on the period In the course of the 19th century, Belgrade paved its way as the national capital that was facing Europe out of remnants of an Oriental border-town. However, swift transformations and abrupt changes of its urban system were rather supplemented by sluggish adaptations, imported innovations and generally maintenance of uninstitutionalized practices and of the variety of nepotistic relations within decision making structures. Urban development of Belgrade as the capital of the first Serbian nation state therefore seemed like a bouillon of doings and not-doings in the city that nevertheless eventually produce results. For example (based on (Stojanovic 2015)):

- urban transformations - sluggish adaptations:

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

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- urban change - imported innovation:

    - Apotheosis of the western models;

    - Intervention initiatives left to private individuals or funds;

    - Economic and political actors and interests braced together;

    - Disregard for the opinion of local experts;

    - Importing grandious, inadequate, self-glorifying ideas;

- urban maintenance - the maintenance of stagnant and backward practices

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[32]Monumental City design refers to orthogonal street system, distribution of urban parks, multiple long diagonal vista and spectacular public plazas at the intersections (Hirt 2009)

- In the lack of political will for implementation, decision-makers constantly stick to "temporary solutions" while the costs of implementations and adjustments were rising.

- Incompatibility of political ideology and the economic model at play - the politics of urban growth was thwarted by the inefficient economic model (no budgetary allocation for the capital city, tax system was not adapted to urban environment prerogatives,[33] no incentives on urbanization and construction);

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

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

- disregard for the public interest - the policy of obstruction and destruction as a party campaign;

- reproduction and expansion of corruption mechanisms - the culture of populist measures for the party sake;

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

"It happened that in the capital the opposition held the power very often, obstructed by the state authorities and breakdown of the decision making system. When the party in power was changed, it adopts new standards and forced to dismantle all the structures brought up by the previous regime." (Stojanovic 2015))

Yugoslav Capital (1945-1990)   In SFR Yugoslavia Belgrade became an important multinational and multifunctional metropolis. During these 50 years, the image of a dorp between the East and the West was transformed into a modernist city with a cultural scene spreading its tentacles both toward the East and the West. Belgrade was and is the symbol of Yugoslav self-managed socialism. The system reflected itself in the social layer and spatial structures of its capital city.

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

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

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

   The Design of the General plan for the city of Belgrade in 1948 was the first post-war urban planning document prepared by Nikola Dobrovic, the director of Serbian Urban planning institute. The plan primarily dealt with transport system in order

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[33]Tax system did not stimulate the construction

to propose a new transportation network more suitable for the expected population growth. The design of the plan was preceded by several transportation studies (for all types of transport). The presented design seemed radical and unrealistic and not only that it resulted in rejection, but the chief architect Professor Nikola Dobrovic was removed from the position as the director of the Urban Planning Institute of Serbia and was transferred to work at the Faculty of Architecture.

2. **professionalization of planning (1953-1963)**

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

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

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

The ideas and principles of comprehensive and integrative urban planning found its actualization in The General Urban Plan of Belgrade adopted in 1972. The authors, Aleksandar Djordjevic and Milutin Glavicki, by honoring the values of the past, called for historic preservation and architectural contextualisation of Belgrade's urban fabric. Moreover, they advocated for more rational use of land and integration of central urban functions by making the final decision on Ada Ciganlija zone and attributing it leisure and recreation functions exclusively. They also took into account that some relatively large industries are located in attractive parts of the city (e.g., in Novi Beograd) as a result of the socialist policy of prioritizing industry over other land uses and thereupon proposed more equitable distribution of new infrastructural projects and related facilities and better transport connections between urban areas (Hirt 2009).

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

Yugoslavias continuing political decentralization and democratization in the 1970s was mainly visible through the local level of decision-making, successful participatory initiatives and the multiplication of projects and implementations. In Belgrades urban fabric from the 1970s, this was reflected in the break with severe Modernism principles and timid introduction of new building styles (Hirt 2009).

The Modifications and Supplements/Annexes to the General Urban Plan of Belgrade up to 2000 were adopted in 1985. The author was Konstantin Kostic. The Plan did

not differ much from its predecessor, but its purpose was to propose and implement more realistic solutions (Grozdanic).

Yugoslav urban discourse Urban transitions during the self-managed socialist era were in fact interventions in the urban fabric of Belgrade that clearly broke with pre-WWII spatial and built patterns (Hirt 2009). Superior architectural design quality and progressive trends in urban planning made those districts in Belgrade built during socialism globally recognized and attributed to Yugoslav socio-spatial discourse. To a certain extent, it may be stated that the modernist building style for public buildings and large housing estates were adapted to the local conditions in Yugoslavia and Belgrade (ref). Moreover, these Modernist ideals of industrial efficiency and progress influenced the corresponding urban practices and produced a new wave of urban culture in Modernist districts of Belgrade.

It may be argued that the essence of Belgrade's contemporary urbanity is based on the management of conflicts and resources and the production of urban practices during the SFRY period. The city had undergone constant transformations while the corresponding system of planning was evolving - from the initial phase of selective borrowing, through system transformations by its internal adjustments to the final synthetic innovation represented in its own model of integrated, participatory planning (Nedovic budic waves of planning).

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

- The capital of the 3rd Yugoslavia in post-communist circumstances (1990s)

- The post-socialist capital in transition to markets and democracy (2000s)

The isolated metropolis of the 1990s Political and social circumstance of the Yugoslav "break-up" changed the climate in the capital of the crumbling state and of new, shrunk Yugoslavia-to-be. Under the umbrella of protecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and functional unity of the truncated state, the country had been re-centralized. As a consequence, the constitutional role and the authority of the local, regional and city levels were weakened and reduced to the minimum (**?**).

In times of raging civil wars in the region, Serbian and ex-Yugoslav capital was caught in a stagnant and even backward position. The major population outburst happened during the 1990s when the refugees of Serbian origin came to Serbia from war-affected regions in Slovinia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of them settled down in Belgrade as in the re-centralized country in the state of economic crisis, only the capital may have offered any possibility for people evicted from their homes and deprived of their possession

to start a new life. The antithesis of the fascinating development of communist Belgrade was its ideological degradation based on regional militarization, nationalization, ruralization, pauperization and, in general, the state of corruption, crime and chaos **?**.

In times when previous political ideology were falling apart, the necessity to produce an appealing "creo" for the imploding populous had retrograde social effects. In the 1990s, the ideology of self-managed socialism in the social realm was replaced by previous forms of social relations, namely by traditional models, mythicizations of the nation-state and exceptionalist discourses of heroism and smallness[34] **??**. Surprisingly, the actors and regulatory frameworks involved in both ideological concepts were the same. The middle class, already deprived of its economic assets and the acquainted cultural matrix, became confused and apathetic. The influx of refugees migrating from war-zones paired with extensive brain-drain was also complicating the social structure of the city (**?**).

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

During a decade of continuous crises, the physical structures in the city began to deteriorate. The refugee crisis, the lack of any official construction projects and the explosion in the number of illegally built dwellings[35] signified an extensive state of shock for the city. However, NATO bombing in 1999 was actually the peak of the crisis. The bombs brought the real war over the rooftops of Belgrade and collateral civilian damage in the city. A number of buildings still bear signs of the damage, naming but only the most significant one - The Building of the Yugoslav Ministry of the Defence in the central urban area of Belgrade. [36]

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

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[34]There is an indication that the specific position of Serbia being the border between the East and the West has created specific local identity as a crucial feature of geopolitical exceptionality (Savic 2014)

[35]A vast number of illegal buildings in Belgrade were homes for the upper classes and Milosevic's elites constructed and ornamented in rather lavish and kitschy styles that best represents the state of values and qualities of these "nouveau riche" profiteers of transition **?**

[36]The building was designed to symbolize the decisive WWII battle when partisans defeated Hitler's forces in the canyon of Sutjeska. The form of the two buildings represent the canyon itself. The designer was famous Serbian architect Nikola Dobrovic.

Belgrade Now

Belgrade stepped into the 21st century in the state of the prolonged emergency. The city went through the warfare state under the NATO bombs in 1999. Almost did so again in October 2000 when the opposition took over the power after the citizen revolt and mass demonstrations. And then once more in 2003 the official state of emergency was lifted after the assassination of the Serbian prime minister Zoran Djindjic. The years 2003, 2006 and 2008[37] also figure the points of discontinuation in Belgrade's history as the state capital. To be brutal with explanations, it actually means that Belgrade lost its Europe-wide significant role as a metropolis where the West and the East meet and break the iron curtain (**?**).

Respectively, its role as a capital of the unstable geopolitical realm puts the city time and again in the position to rule over the minorities of different nationalities and different lifestyles in the remote areas of the country (1st, 2nd and 3rd Yugoslavia). If not otherwise, these circumstance strongly endanger the acceptance of the Belgrade as the symbol of the state. Not to mention, the clash of interests in reaching the broad societal accord for the privileges it, as a capital, deserves.

In general, such circumstances imply ethnic diversity and multicultural urban fusion. Unfortunately, Belgrade had dominated these state realms with negligent imposition and pressurized assimilation in an overall poor rural environment, under the obsession of the nationalist agendas, and in forms that fostered ethnic misapprehensions and conflicts ((other ref Samardzic in Doytchinov 2015)). Therefore, over the course of different states, Belgrade has always been perceived as predominately the centre of Serbian-dom ((Savic 2014, Heppner in Doytchinov 2015)). Coming off as a retaliation, Belgrade has been often governed in such a way that its own ruling class jeopardize its development by a current of alienated, estranged decisions (Samardzic in Doytchinov 2015).

Its vulnerable geo-strategic location, turbulent history and unsettling sociatal framework make the city struggle to set up its modern identity and accordingly to defend the landscape and public interest of all its inhabitants. As a consequence, Belgrade has always been the combination of the rural in physical and organizational terms and strong tendencies to rise cultural and ethnic cosmopolitanism. The respect for urban memory of the city is still present through the centrality of its diversified cultural and historical matrix, from the center (Knez Mihajlova street) through New Belgrade to Zemun. Its unique and strongly bonded unity of historic and architectural heritage and its vibrant civic life lead to having Belgrade voted as Southern European City of the Future in 2006-2007 (**?**). On the other hand, international real-estate market forces, which were introduced in Belgrade with the liberalization and democratization coming from the political changes in the year 2000, press for de-industrialization and the aesthetics of globalization in the capital city (**?**).

Regardless of relative de-industrialization, Belgrade still employs the largest amount of

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[37]2003 was the year when Yugoslavia was officially replaced by the state union of Serbia and Montenegro. In 2006 Montenegro became an independent state. In 2008 Kosovo proclaimed independence

countrys industrial labor-force (20%) (**?**). Not to mention, ever increasing commercialization of the urban fabric started in 1989. While in 1990s small and local retails were dominant chiefly around the city center, in 2000s malls and hyper-markets sponsored by a combination of Western and Serbian capital thrive in greenfield areas at the fringes of the central urban zone (New Belgrade) (**?**). As a sign of cultural and real estate revival of the new political regime (2000-2004), these commercial zones as well as several interesting location in the historical cores of Belgrade and Zemun were topics of numerous architectural competitions [38] (**?**). The goal was to put together all available creative and expert forces to work on the renewal of urban culture for improving living conditions in the city and preserving the oasis of nature in the urban fabric (riverbanks, parks within city blocks, green areas, urban forestry) (**?**). However, the issue of inefficient transportation system and traffic congestion has been systematically neglected. In the rush to build more and quicker, the new structures revealed subtle eclecticism of styles and scales, sometimes even tricking the regulatory rules, or built illegally or informally. These uncontrolled and impulsive actions and faulty procedures result in (1) urban expansion (over-consumption of agricultural land), (2) rampant sprawl and (3) the loss of public space. Coupled with the unresolved transition of property from the socialist period, Belgrade has been slowly growing into a spatially inefficient city on the road of suburbanization (**?**).

In 2002, Belgrade covered 3.6 percent of Serbian territory and 17.3 percent of Serbian population is living in its metropolitan area (**?**). Belgrade metropolitan area also accommodates the highest share of highly educated population in Serbia (13.76%) (**?**). According to the 2011. census, the city has a population of 1,166,763 (ref census). The population of the metropolitan area[39] stands at 1,659,440 people and accounts for 17 municipalities. 10 of them are classified as "urban" and 7 are "suburban" municipalities, whose centres are smaller towns (ref "Urban Municipalities"). In fact, the city is additionally burdened by joining the predominantly rural settlements and conglomerates of Barajevo, Grocka, Lazarevac, Mladenovac, Sopot, Surcin and Obrenovac (**?**). Not to mention the devastating legacy of the 1990s that threatened the urban culture generally and eroded the civic order and the value systems instated during the communist era. Notable socio-spatial stratification with the formation of very expensive districts (the historical core and several traditionally wealthy neighborhoods) and very poor ones (near the large industrial estates and in the far-out outskirts) enlarged social divisions and collisions of interests and life styles (**?**).

With the at least a nominal revitalization of democratic diversity and a rising influx of global trends, Belgrade once again became a place of striking extremes and contrasts. Spontaneous revival of civic, cultural, artistic activities in Belgrade happened with support and out of interest from international organizations and initiatives of the same nature. Moreover, the presence of market-oriented value system and capital prompted the lively

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

[39]the administrative area of the City of Belgrade

lifestyle of the Serbian capital to transform into a famous and infamous European destination for mischievous, casual and exciting nightlife (**?**). However, the rise of the civilian values has been continuously threatened by the non-urban tendencies, disordered, chaotic and violent practices mushrooming around as the result of weak, biased or completely absent institutions and regulatory frameworks. Current urban identity of Belgrade is the combination of city's position and politics, urban culture and traditional values and it is full of gaps and deficiencies which determine its urban future.

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

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

- Urban planning has not been a priority (Sykola, 1999) and planning documentation has already been turned into symbolic documents (**?**);

- Urban transformations mainly concerned land use and property ownership changes overwhelmed with powerful economic actors who take advantage of the undefined environment in order to protect and promote their activity and extend their property ownership;

- The topology of powerless urban actors (ordinary citizens and the civic sector) is such that they have almost no prospects for meaningful social participation and nobody is defending their rights therein (**?**);

- Fragmented spatial development dominated by informality and confused eclecticism shows the characteristics of urban design bricolage rather than the purposeful stratification of socialist and post-socialist layers upon the urban fabric (**?**).

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

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

4.1.3 Savamala

Savamala is a neighbourhood of Belgrade's central zone. It is situated on the southern bank of the Sava River in the old part of Belgrade (Figure 2). According to the 2002 Census, the neighbourhood had 4500 inhabitants at that time (2002 Census). The neighbourhood of Savamala is rather a place on the mental map of Belgrade and important landmarks of the city, than an official administrative unit (Figure 1). Its name means "Sava neighbourhood", and it is derived from the Turkish word for neighbourhood "mahala", combined with the name of the river whose bank it is situated on.

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

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

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

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

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

In a nutshell, this neighbourhood is a scaled example of pre-socialist material legacy, socialist cultural and societal matric, a transitional reality and a condensed case of its multi-faceted circumstances of post-socialist urban development (Table 4):

- Pre-socialist past marks its presence in Savamala through architectural and cultural heritage (Figure 3);

- Cultural and behavioural patterns from Yugoslavian socialist regime;

- Post socialist backtracking;

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, the symbol of Savamala's early existence are underground passages and dungeons. These passages are the part of the pre-Ottoman history of Belgrade, but they have been served several other purposes in the course of the years, for example as wine cellars or

large refrigerators. uring World War II, Jewish families used them for hiding or escaping from the Germans.

Ottomans

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

The Serbian State:

After the successful political deal that followed the Second Serbian Uprising (1815), Prince Milos was granted the Savamala land by the Grand Vizier of Belgrade. As he wanted to keep himself away from the Ottoman watch, he positioned himself in Topcider and allowed for the Savamala territory to be freely settled. This new suburb developed fast above the marshy terrain, but was initially inhabited by gypsies and the poor. Prince Milos had a strategy to raise economically powerful Serbian Belgrade around the Turkish settlement (**?**). The port in Savamala and its docks were the main trade point and the only connection between Belgrade with the city of Zemun and the European neighbors (**?**). The prince planned to develop a new mercantile district on the Sava slopes around the port. Karadjordjeva street was the first road built by the Sava by engineer Zujovic in 1828. However, Savamalska (Gavrila Principa) and Abadzijska (Kraljice Natalije) were the first straight, wide traffic corridors in Belgrade. All the Serbian merchants and craftsmen were supposed to be settled in modern, new houses facing these streets (**?**). Consequently the Savamala poor were evicted to Palilula. In realty this new city commercial center was begotten by the act of the Prince to forcibly move tailors (abadzije) here. In 1842 the Serbian capital was moved from Kragujevac to Belgrade (**?**). Therefore these streets were representing Princ Miloss urban visions for the future capital of the future Serbian state (**?**). They were also the part of Jankes urban plan of the outer city development in 1830s (**?**).

As merchants started settling in Savamala with their families and commercial premises, Little Market commercial area was the heart of Savamala. Little Market stood approximately where now is the roundabout in front of the Belgrade Cooperative and Hotel Bristol. The construction of Belgrade Cooperative was financed by the famous merchant and humanist Luka Celovic. It was build in 1907 in the academic style by the architects Andra Stevanovic i Nikola Nestorovic. It was the seat of the Belgrade financial institution for traders, craftsmen and clerks. After WWII the building became the seat of the Geodetic authority. The building is the prime example of Belgrade classical architecture, but

it underwent serious degradation during the 1990s. The Bristol Hotel was build in 1911. It was also financed by Luka Celovic with support of Brother Krsmanovici and design by Nikola Nestorovic. Placed next to the old and significantly smaller Hotel Bosna, Bristol became the best city hotel and kept this title for the long period of time. Other examples of secession architecture were the home of Luke Celovic-Trebinjac (1903) and the house of Vuca (1908).

The house of the Greek Manojlo Manak was build in 1830 and is nowadays a great and rare example of Balkan style architecture in the area in 19. century. It is located at Gavrila Principa 5. However, the very first official building to be built was the old customs office (Djumurkana). It was erected in 1835 and designed in European classical style by Hadzi NIkola Zivkovic (ref; or Janke ref Blagojevic 2009). It stood on the land where is KC Grad now . Djumurkana served various purposes, as the first theatre show was also performed there in 1841. In 1937 more modern building appeared: the Prince's Palace,[40] the Country Court and the Great Breweries. Further development of the neighbourhood was enabled when draining programme was put at work in 1867. The Sava riverbank was linked to the city center by "Big Stairs", ordered and invested by Prince Mihajlo, Prince Milos's successor. Consequently, Savamala extended along Sarajevo Street (now Gavrila Principa Street) in 1870s (?). Railway station was built in 1884 and designed by Viennese architect von Flattich. At that time it was assumed to be the part of Savamala, which now might not be the case, according to our surveys (questionnaires). As a result, at the end of 19th century Savamala was established as the financial and trade center of the kingdom and merchants settled there wanted to build proper mansions. It is also important to note that cafs were always an important part of the identity of Savamala (??). A living memory from this period is the Candy shop Bosiljcic in the Gavrila Principa Street that kept the interior style and the business model from those times.

After WWI, the most important constructing venture was building the bridge over Sava in order to connect Belgrade with Zemun (1931-34). The bridge was also the symbol of bonding with the new extended territory of the state and it put some new light to Savamala. Namely, the neighbourhood experienced a construction boom during this period. Unfortunately, the German bombardment in 1941 and even more American air raids in 1944 razed Savamala blocks to the ground.

SFRY - socialist regime:

Immediately after WWII, Savamala docks had important role for naval transport. Therefore, dock workers became the first post-war citizens of Savamala. They had their hostel, restaurant, cinema, and even a monument there. However, in 1961 a new Belgrade port was built on the Danube and social and material structure of the neighbourhood changed. The ships, warehouses and the workers vanished. Savamala became even less than a regular Belgrade neighbourhood; during the socialist rule Savamala was disregarded as the

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[40]Milos's hamam is the only left part of his manson in Savamala. However it is now outside what we consider Savamala. It is set in Admirala Geprata street and the parts of it can be seen within the interior of the restaurant Monument.

legacy of the capitalist era. The seat of the Yugoslav River Shipping company was in the area. Tito Shipyard, where most of the leading freight river boats were designed and constructed, was also located nearby on the Sava river (**?**). The significant functional change came with the construction of city's central bus terminal next to the railway station. In lack of the ring road for heavy traffic to bypass the city and for the needs of the traffic hubs located in Savamala, it was turned into a transit roadway surrounded by corresponding building stock (warehouses and manufactures). Despite these signs of an old and dirty urban neighbourhood, Savamala still kept a part of its residential and commerce nature. A symbol for an old-fashioned socialist approach to services and catering is the old bakery *Crvena zvezda* that still stands in the Karadjordjeva street.

Post-socialism - 1990s:

The 1990s left its mark on Savamala as well. The physical structures in the neighbourhood kept deteriorating during these years. As an example, instead of the busy docks, the Savamala riverbank became a ship graveyard. A few famous ships from the WWi and WWII were located here until recently when they were secretly removed for the purposes of *Belgrade waterfront project (BWP)*.

The steam freighter *Zupa* had been a Hungarian naval ship from WWI and it was again used in WWII by the Soviet troops. Zupa was under state protection as a cultural heritage of extraordinary value. *SIP* concrete ship was a cargo ship from the WWII. It was used as a home for refugees until it half-submerged in the water. There is no records of how it showed up in Savamala. *Krajina* was King Alexander I Karadjordjevic naval residence, which was later used by Tito until his death in 1980. Because of its outstanding design, the ship was used for the movie setting purposes until it was set on fire and heavily destroyed on one such occasion.

On the other hand, the social structure of Savamala was marked by stagnation, war migrations and grey economy. Apart from other landmarks of Savamala, the proximity of bus terminal determined the social and business model of the neighbourhood at the time. The emergence of small service and trade businesses for lower classes who used public city and regional transportation and the grey economy meeting points were the major activity generators in the area.

Transition - after 2000

After the major political shift in the year 2000, the attractive location of this neighbourhood was put at risk to become a playground of interest for corrupted public authorities and powerful private developers working together under the hood of urban development and economic prosperity. Despite the ownership change, Savamala was saved for a while from this newest development trend, mostly because of its long-term decay that made it a complicated case for the limited investments with short-term turnovers that were dominating in Serbia. In this respect, during the fist transitional years only cafs, restaurants, clubs and several galleries chose to profit from the central location of the neighbourhood and its low-rent properties and they invested in setting up their small scale businesses there. However, the situation has recently changed as powerful international investors

found a counterpart in Serbian authorities on various levels to jointly use their economic and political dominance for gaining control over a highly profitable waterfront area of the capital city (**??**).

Savamala is a typical East-European neighbourhood caught in post-communist processes of economic and political change in Balkan transitional countries. In these circumstances, such cityscapes cannot resist copying urban models from the West, but meet extraordinary difficulties in doing so, because these cities lack the institutional and cultural infrastructure essential for the functional unity present in western cities (Petrovic 2009). Savamala is a unique area in Serbia with such plausible collision between traditional and modern and past and present, rich in tradition, history and heritage. Therefore, Savamala, with its even more intensive top-down and bottom-up pressures, is a representative testing environment.

> **"As a result, the area's old inhabitants were summarily evicted to Palilula and their fragile homes flattened overnight by the Prince's men"** ?

Contextual circumstances of Savamala's Urbanity

When addressing urbanity of Serbian cities, mainly its capital city and particularly Savamala, the goal is to affirm the deposition of temporal layers and to establish continuity in the process of urban system transitions (**?**). In the course of history, it has been conspicuous that in this context the state has not hitherto managed to solidify the main pillars of coherent socio-economic progress pipeline and adequate legal, institutional and educational framework in order to ensure stability and sustainability of the whole system. Even during the periods when the standard of living has increased and national economy seemed partly revived, the socio-political system showed the traces of surface decentralization and democratization. In general, Serbian society stayed heavily dependent on international relations, worldwide economic circumstances and regional political movements, being usually even only a passive recipient of what is happening at global scale.

The major characteristics of chaotic patterns of urban development in Serbia are:

- a multitude of actors,

- various economic and political interests,

- fragmented spatial transformations.

Therefore, socio-spatial patterns of urban system transitions at the neighbourhood level are still the product of only the variety of top-down interventions from the regulatory framework, exertion of local power poles and interests and influences from international and foreign bodies. In order for these actions to harmonize the consequent urban system transitions, they should (a) be embedded in a particular social context, (b) be reactive to the shifts in local socio-economic, political and cultural settings and (c) be attentive to bottom-up tendencies and needs. Namely, the urbanity category referred herein is the congregation of past that led to the particular state of tensions between the urban life and

the urban structure, while the superposition of current state of urban decision-making brings about the prospects of the system evolution.

4.2 Stimulants and deterrents of urban decision-making tradition at the neighbourhood level

As it is described in the previous section, Serbian society as a whole is undergoing the period of radical and swift shifts in terms of: (a) political system, (b) economic order, (c) social model, (d) ideological postulates, and (e) cultural patterns (Petrovic 2009). Belgrade, its capital city, is thereafter a representative environment of the diversity and reciprocity in the nature of the on-going transformations: political, economic, social and spatial ones. While some trends and directions within these transformations are clear and defined, uncertainty dominates decision-making and implementation in the turbulent environment of post-socialist urban system transition (**??**).

In the course of the events, Savamala neighbourhood has become a condensed example of overlappings, collisions and linkages of different layers of decision making. In Savamala, the dynamic adjustments of the socio-spatial patterns depend on (a) the relations between top-down impositions of urban frameworks, (b) national and supra national regulatory mechanisms, (c) flows of international capital, (d) local real estate arrangements, (e) global cultural trends, and (f) bottom-up civic arrangements.

The purpose of Savamala case study in this research project is to establish a context for the description and mapping of socio-spatial patterns and corresponding urban system transitions. The post-socialist path dependency and transitional prospects limited to the neighbourhood level is a chosen context for testing a new, MAS-ANT methodological approach (**??**). Therefore, Savamala in its emphasized and vulgarized complexity and dynamics is a viable choice for accurately describing and illustrating:

- top-down urban frameworks;

- interest based real-estate transformations:

- bottom-up participatory activities.

Thus, based on the conceptual framework of this research project and the empirical data from the context, the process of urban decision-making is broken down into these 3 level of strategizing and operationalizations for directing urban system transitions.

4.2.1 Top-down management of urban issues

Spatial planning is an interdisciplinary field and an activity that aspires to manage systematizations, implementations, monitoring and evaluations of growing number of urban issues (Fisher, 2001). Its urban regulatory framework operationalizes the procedures of setting up strategies and action plans for development that achieve common viewpoints, goals and priorities within a bounded territory, an urban environment (i.e. a city) in

the case of urban planning. Urban planning is an essential part of the public domain of contemporary cities, it is deeply embedded in its concrete societal context. The societal context is territorially bounded system with its unique identity formed from thesocial relations: political (regime, bureaucracy, governance), economic (market), and cultural ones (trends, values) (?). Having said that urban planning system reflects the identity of its immediate surroundings (?;, ?), all the historically condensed negative effects and anomalies of post-socialist and transitional urbanity must be taken in consideration within urban regulatory framework.

The detailed analysis of urban regulatory framework at work in Savamala requires addressing the scale of its influence and the nature of its agency. Based on the conceptual framework of this research and the empirical data, the agents of urban regulatory framework are generally divided into (1) urban records and (2) urban institutions and they are all active on roughly 4 different levels: international, national-state, regional-city, local-municipality. Urban records refer to either (1a) legal documents, or (1b) policy agendas or (1c) technical documentation, while urban institutions are either (2a) public administration or (2b) urban planning authorities. The hierarchical structure of the urban planning framework in Serbia determines the management of urban issues in a top-down manner first in Belgrade and then in Savamala. The structuralization of the collected data follow the scale supremacy within the hierarchic agency at work in Savamala, starting from the international level of urban records and finishing with the city level of urban planning authorities.

As Serbia is not yet the part of EU, the binding urban records that may address urban system transitions in a neighbourhood in Belgrade (Savamala) are reduced to the legal framework of EU candidacy negotiations[41] and they are specifically focused on policy agendas of European regional development.

International Policy Agendas

As a part of European political space, Serbia-Belgrade-Savamala pertain to the regional policy of European spatial development. Belgrade is positioned at the crossing point of the European corridor VII (Danube) and corridor X (international highroads E75 and E70). Its geostrategic location induce regional networking on 3 levels ?:

1. European:

   - ESPON 2020 (European Spatial Planning Observatory Network) is a programme to support the reinforcement of EU Cohesion Policy in terms of national and regional development strategies;
   - Directive INSPIRE (2007) is a EU initiative to support sustainable development and infrastructure for spatial and geographical information;

2. macro-regional:

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[41] In 2007 Serbia initiated a a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the European Union. Serbia officially applied for EU membership in 2009 and in 2011 it became an official candidate. In 2012 Serbia received the full candidacy.

- South-East Europe (SEE) program for transnational spatial planning cooperation among Adriatic and South-East European region countries (17 countries).

- Danube 21 programme to fight criminal networks in the Balkan region.

3. metropolitan:

- INTERREG IIIb network of cities for transnational cooperation in Europe (30 cities 13 countries).

- EU Strategy for the Danubian Region.

The Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia 2010-2020 acknowledges Danube 21 programme and the continuation of ex-CADSES countries programmes (a regional spatial planning cooperation in the smaller territorial scope of South-East Europe (SEE)). IN-TERREG IIIb network is included in the Regional spatial plan of Belgrade administrative area (2004). Directive INSPIRE is incorporated in the Planning and Construction Act (PCA) in 2000s All these international documents are present in the Serbian urban regulatory framework as a forms of recommendations and they abide to the local laws.

National Legal framework

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (2006), all spatial and building issues are incorporated in the Planning and Construction Act 2003 (revised in 2006, 2009, 2011, 2014). The positioning of a neighbourhood level at national scale is precised with the Local Governance Act. Finally, the battlefield of different interests in Savamala is under the jurisdiction of the laws that address urban land and the change of property for public urban land.

- The Local Governance Act 2002 (revised in 2007);

  The Local Governance Act (2002) represented new democratic and decentralization trends after the regime change in 2000. The local authorities are of 2 levels: municipal and city authorities. Municipal authorities are: the municipal assembly, the president of the municipality, the municipal council and the municipal administration. The Act also aims at empowering cities in decision-making that concerns their territorial realms. In this respect, the first edition of the act (2002) instates the role of the city mayor, the city council and the city assembly. Moreover, the introduction of the City Manager, responsible for local economic development, and the City Architect, in charge of territorial development, in the city administration puts these role holders at the forefront at the local level (**?**).

  The major change in the revision of 2007 is the specification of the City and Municipality status according to the pertaining population. This decision deprived former cities of its status if their overall urban population is less than 100,000 inhabitants. [42]

  The issue of Belgrade is left to be regulated with the Capital City Act. However,

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the Local Governance Act is not precise about the distribution of power in Belgrade - between the center and the districts and the city authorities and the city municipalities.

- Planning and Construction Act of the Republic of Serbia (PCA RS) 2003 (revised in 2006, 2009, 2011, 2014);

The 2003 Planning and Construction Act was pronounced as a modern law, which had been drawn on contemporary international experiences. In practice, the contemporaneity of the act is mostly in its compliance with common terminology applied in EU legal urban documents (sustainability and sustainable development for example) (**?**). Moreover, it was rather focused on technical disciplines and engineering approach (**?**) modeled after French urban legal framework. Possibly because of the influence of French urban tradition, the Act was mainly drafted after the 1931 Planning and Construction Act. This reliance on an outdated law was harshly critisized as an old-fashioned recessive measure that neglects the demand for coordinated up-to-date development strategies and the importance of the harmonization with EU norms **?**.

The burning issue of the 2003 Act was putting together the issues that dealt with space and construction together. In fact, 2003 Planning and Construction Act incorporated three previous laws: the Act on Planning and Arrangement of Space, the Act on Construction and the Act on Construction Land (**?**). This Act also institutionalized the strategies for spatial and urban development on various levels. The part on space and planning regulates the organization of spatial and urban plans in an hierarchical order as technical urban planning documents. Conversely, the practical purpose of the part on construction was to fight thriving illegal construction. One of the issues was the introduction of legalization procedure as well as setting a better suited procedure for building permits. These norms aimed to solve the problem of urban informality. The goal was to improve living conditions mostly in Belgrade, where there was around 140,000 illegally constructed objects at that time. The radical novelty was also the denationalization of urban land and the return to private land ownership. Therefore, the act distinguished 3 types of land and building ownership: national, local and private (**?**).

The overall goal was to set a legal framework in order to boost slow socio-economic transformation and low rate of foreign investments (**?**). The act underwent significant revisions in the course of the past 14 years [revisions - in 2006, 2009, 2011 and 2015]. Kresic (2004) suggested that the practical dysfunctionality of the act was caused by the inaccurate assessments of the local condition as well as by ungrounded expectations of post-scoialist transition at play locally.

However, the latest revision of 2014 is of particular importance for the Savamala neihbourhood case study. Several revisions introduced in this act address the Spatial Plan for Special Purposes (SPSP). These revisions hide opportunities for exclusive

and elite-driven urban interventions at play now in Savamala through a waterfront redevelopment project.

- The Act on Property Restitution and Conversion 2014;

- The Act on conversion of urban land leasehold rights into urban land property rights 2014;

- Lex specialis 2015 (The Act on expropriation for private elite-housing and commercial purposes for the Belgrade Waterfront Project);

Policy Agendas - National and City levels

- National Strategy for Resolving the Problems of Refugees and Internally Displaced People 2002;

  The harsh legacy of the wars from the 1990s was the number of Serbian refugees (mostly from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) from the war affected Balkan regions. Most of the refugees settled down in cities, and moreover in the capital. After the 2000 regime change, this strategy aimed at solving the refugee problem. In doing so, the strategy was also a pioneer in dealing with the status of urban land (**?**).

- The National Strategy of Sustainable Development 2008;

- Implementation Act for the National Strategy of Sustainable Development 2009-2017;

- The National Strategy of Spatial Development of the Republic of Serbia 2009-2013-2020 was never formally adopted;

- The Strategy of Regional Development of the Republic of Serbia 2007-2012;

- City of Belgrade Development Strategy 2008;

  The strategic approach to territorial capital was also introduced with the transition processes after 2000. The purpose of the strategic document for Belgrade is improving the status of the city at the European level[43] (**?**). The strategy was done in the form of recommendations for strengthening local identity of the city. The main domain of strategic interest were: (a) decentralized local governance, (b) competitiveness and mobilization of capital, (c) citizen participation and ()touristic and cultural activities (**?**). Following the liberal trends after 2000, the actions considered private property as a basic land ownership type. What is more, in decentralization manner, the key authority are not the city authorities but municipal ones. The strategy also recognized the role of land developers and investors as a stakeholders in a transitional, post-socialist environment.

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[43]Belgrade is now classified as MEGA 4 level of European

Technical documentation - National, City and Municipality levels

Spatial and Urban plans are the core technical documents prescribed by several laws and bylaws to regulate territorial development in Serbia. These documents set goals and strategies around environmental sustainability, economic competitiveness, territorial decentralization, social cohesion and strengthening cultural identity (**?**).

Spatial plans cover distribution of territorial resources in space of various, usually larger scales. Spatial plans deal with urban and agricultural land, as well as environmentally protected natural areas. They comprise the Spatial plan of the Republic of Serbia, different regional plans,[44] municipal plans,[45] and spatial plans for special purposes. Even after significant decentralization efforts within Serbian legal framework, the regions do not signify as real units of development and planning (**?**). Consequently, the corresponding regional plans deal with protection, regulation and development, but they do not hold an official authority over spatial changes in their respective territories.

On the other hand, urban plans consist of General Urban Development Plans, Plans of General Regulations and Plans of Detailed Regulations. They cover respectively smaller territory, incorporate all sorts of innovative, strategic and up-to-date methods, and in general offer the detailed solutions for issues already conceptually covered with spatial plans - such as land use and building zones, transportation, infrastructure, natural and cultural heritage, green, recreation, protected areas etc. For example, General Urban Development plans control development on a local level, so that they are prepared and adopted locally; but, being regarded as strategic documents with a certain influence at national and/or regional level, the final consent upon their adaptation rest with the Ministry in competence. Spatial plans of interest for this research are:

- The Spatial plan of the Republic 2010-2021;

  This spatial plan is less a blueprint technical projection of changes, but rather a compendium of binding spatial and sectorial strategies for the autonomous provinces (**?**).

- The Regional Spatial plan of Belgrade administrative area 2011;

  The Regional Spatial plan of Belgrade was adopted in 2004. It positions the city among other metropolitan cities (MEGA 4 and MEGA 3 in perspective) and capitals in the region. The Regional Plan addresses natural and urban heritage in the area, zoning and infrastructure.

- Spatial Plan of Special Purposes for "Belgrade waterfront Project" (BWP SPSP);

  Concurrent urban plans are:

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[44]Autonomous provinces are assumed to be territorial entities at the NUTS2 and NUTS3 levels, and Belgrade administrative area (**?**). Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) is a standard for referencing the subdivisions of countries for statistical purposes. The standard is developed and regulated by the European Union, and thus only covers the member states of the EU in detail.

[45]Municipal spatial plans are at the NUTS 4 level.

- General Plan GP 2003 (revised in 2005, 2007, 2009, 2014), and General Urban Plan GUP 2016;

The General Plan of Belgrade 2021 was adopted by Belgrade City Assembly in 2003. The plan was made by the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade in 2003 (**?**). The team leaders were Vladimir Macura PhD and Miodrag Ferencak MSc. The 4 actualizations and the brand new document adopted in 2016 reflect: (a) the turbulent and inconsistent trajectory of urban regulatory framework in the Republic of Serbia and the city of Belgrade, (b) a changing nature of legal urban framework, and (c) the swinging needs and projections of the structures in power (**?**). The basis for the plan was the integration of Belgrade into the global network of socially-culturally-economically opt cities and the creation of recognizable Belgrade identity (**?**). Following global and moreover European planning trends, this plan is only a strategic base for setting spatial development in motion and bounding future urban planning activity as sttrategic processes of urban transformations (**?**). The insistence on flexibility and processual nature of the plan resulted in missing several key points and legally abiding elements for directing its implementation.[46] The results of fragmented implementations led to deregulation and chaos and endangered public interests eventually.

The major technical challenge was the regulation of the population growth and urban sprawling. Comparing to the former plan adopted during the SFRY period (1985), Belgrade had grown demographically 2.5 times its size (**?**). The plan recognizes 2 developmental phases:

- until 2006
- 2006-2021

The key urban transformations are identified as such (**?**):

- Brownfield, urban and natural heritage regeneration and preservation (ex-industrial areas, traffic nodes, riverfronts, suburban and rural neighborhoods);
- renovation and extension of urban infrastructure networks;
- introduction of modern, technologically advanced and efficient modes of urban management;
- numerous architectural competitions (Belgrade marina, multifunctional business center 'Usce", numerous central squares, pedestrian streets, new office blocks, affordable housing etc.);

However, several contested issues within this plan were (reg):

- commercialization of urban historical core;

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[46]Several authors emphasize the lack of street regulations, allotment plans, infrastructural systems etc **?**.

- – completion and extension of residential areas in central urban areas;

- – socio-spatial segregation as the result of the distribution of urban functions and unbalanced economic development;

- Plan of General Regulation (PGR);

  Savamala related PGRs are: PGR for central Belgrade, Plan 4 phase 2 and PGR for fire station network 32/13.

- Plan of Detailed Regulation (PDR); PDR Kosancicev venac 37/07, 52/12, 9/14

Public Administration - National, City and Municipality levels

Even after the decentralization initiatives after 2000, centralized practices introduced during the 1990s produced an extended period of democratic deficiency and the lack of societal consensus on what is the public interest in development-oriented planning (**?**). However, the legal framework acknowledges that the Ministry of Civil Engineering, Transport and Infrastructure is in charge of spatial and urban planning at the national level. Conversely, the National Government and the Parliament initiate their preparation and adopt the finalized versions. Moreover, implementation plans and programs dealing with spatial development are also the responsibility of the Parliament and the Government of the Republic of Serbia. The vertical coordination of activities incorporates: the Government with the Parliament and the Prime Minister, and Ministries with their Cabinets, Departments and Sections (**?**).

Consequently, decentralized decision making enacted through the Local Governance Act stays mostly on the paper. The authority of the city mayor, the city council and the city assembly have only local character, but with direct link and subordination to the national authorities. It is even more so for the municipal authorities, that consist of: the municipal assembly, the president of the municipality, the municipal council and the municipal administration. While all urban interventions in the city are officially under the jurisdiction of the city authorities, it does not happen to be the case for issues of political or economic importance.

Urban Planning Authorities - National and City levels

Institutional organization of urban planning authorities in Serbia corresponds to the administrative organization of the Republic. The Republic of Serbia is divided into 29 districts and 189 communes (including 16 municipalities of Belgrade and city municipalities of Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac). The districts act as political bodies, but they are not authorized to make their own decisions regarding spatial development. Therefore, in practice, the Spatial plan of the Republic, regional spatial plans and spatial plans for special purposes are under the jurisdiction of the National authorities.

In this respect, the Ministry of Civil Engineering, Transport and Infrastructure is the key public actor at the national level in the domain. Its field of influence extends from spatial and urban planning, construction and housing, infrastructural projects to the inspection and monitoring of activities. In practice, this Ministry has the authority to (**?**):

1. conduct administration tasks;

2. govern strategic construction, site-development and infrastructure equipment works;

3. carry out monitoring;

4. perform inspection and supervision actions in the field;

On the other hand, cities and municipalities have legal means and rights to make their own strategies, plans, and programs, as well as local regulations and rules in terms of urban development. In this respect, local authorities initiate and adopt all planning documents that control urban development and comprise guidelines for administration of their respective municipalities/cities/communities. In parallel, the verification of plans functions on all 3 levels under the competence of corresponding Commissions for expert control of plans (national, city, municipality).

At the national level, the supreme executive planning body had been the National Agency for Spatial Planning (NASP). The authority of this institution was defined by the Planning and Construction Act of 2003. As a result of its constitution, all regional planning institutions had been canceled and all regional planning tasks and issues were associated with the Agency. The Agency was discontinued in 2015 under the murky circumstances simultaneously with the adoption of BWP SPSP. The Agency was in charge of the preparation of this plan (BWP SPSP) just before its closure. However, its sphere of competence had been (**?**):

- development of spatial plans at all levels (national, regional, special uses, municipal);

- technical assistance for plan preparations;

- trainings in spatial planning ;

At the city level, the Secretariat for Urban Planning and Construction conducts regulatory, control, consultation and implementation tasks. The work on urban plans are associated with the Urban Planning institute of Belgrade, which in practice functions as a public-private enterprise. Finally, all urban interventions in the city should follow the GUP and they are performed in cooperation with Belgrade Land Development Agency, professional associations (The Chamber of engineers, The association of Serbian architects, The association of Belgrade architects), foreign embassies, international and national companies.

This is a brief overview of the regulatory framework at work in Savamala. The body of urban records presented (legal framework, policy agendas and technical documentation) show that territorial issues have an inadequate attention in Serbia. They are based on "borrowing" methods, not adequate operational frameworks, managing the crisis but not solving problems (**??**). In the same manner, urban institutions are crammed with outdated and inert institutional arrangements and inefficient, incompetent management

agencies (**?**). To sum up, current urban regulatory framework lacks legitimacy and competence for controlling social, ideological, political, economic, cultural and environmental transformation of the society.

"**Planning practices suffer from a generally inadequate information and research support.**" **?**

4.2.2   Legitimacy of Interests in Transition

As noted before urban development relies on much more than strategic urban planning, in spite of the propensity of the planning community to regulate development processes to the greatest extent possible. Every urban issue relies directly on the economy and the mode of production and consumption in modern global cities. Namely, the capitalist economy needs urbanization to absorb the surplus products, so that the deregulation of land use and property markets is the precondition for capitalist accumulation and thereafter proceedings to economic growth **?**. Following Harveys line of thought, the power extracted from the exclusive control over property or land is the source of capital produced by its locational, infrastructural, social or cultural capacity.

In other words, the contextual resources of an urban environment in a developing country make it appealing for incoherent distribution of resources and responsibilities (**?**). Furthermore, within a diverse urban milieu, influential economic and political actors tend to abuse their powers and appropriate urban space, when the regulatory framework is blurred and biased as it is in post-socialist cities (**?**). Therefore, urban governance in these cities is more reactive to the interests of capital investments. These cities have shown to be susceptible to tolerate illegal practices more than it is strategically proactive, which leads to organic rather than comprehensive entrepreneurial city development (Petrovic 2009). Moreover, a laisser-faire economy and global consumer culture dissolves the democratic capacity of countries in transition (**?**). The main characteristics of urban transformations in post-socialist cities are marked by ref state of the art:

- investor urbanism (**?**);

- pluralist political life and political voluntarism (**?**);

- citizen resignation and political passivity (**?**).

In such circumstances, private interest and investment rationale dominate all decision-making levels. In practice, political corruption is responsible for the translation of interest into unjustified and biased planning decisions (**?**). Political corruption thrives over underdeveloped democratic institutions and the absence of the rule of law and germinate from national to city and local levels. In times of transition powerful economic actors, corporate bodies and local oligarchy engage in tactical interest exchange with political actors in order to take the advantage of empty or deteriorating areas. Their aim is to to protect socio-political circumstance of their success, promote their business models and extend their property ownership and individual wealth/capital (**?**).

In practice of Savamala developmental circumstances, powerful investors use their economic and political dominance to gain a good bargain for buying highly profitable waterfront area of the Serbia capital and to ensure that its future development serve their needs. The most important ones hitherto active, interest-based urban transformations in the extended area of Savamala are:

- **The Beko Master Plan**

  The former "Beko" textile factory is situated in the immediate vicinity of the city center and the Belgrade Kalemegdan Fortress. Accordingly, it is located on the cultural axis that connects several landmarks in Belgrade (**?**). This property was sold to Lambda development (LD), a Greek investment fund, in 2007. LD did not intended to renew the production activities of the textile factory, but it soon after the purchase engaged in planning the property renovation and site redevelopment.

  The former master plan for the Beko factory area dates back to 1969 and it does not allow building permanent structures on site. Instead, it proposes an extensive, open recreational area. Conversely, Belgrade Development Strategy of 2008 marked this area as brownfield and the most recent General plan for Belgrade from 2007 states that the detailed plan for the area is not mandatory (**?**). Following the requests from the investor, in 2008 the Department of urban development of the Municipality of "Stari Grad" engaged the Center for Urban Development Planning ("Centar za planiranje urbanog razvoja" CEP), a local enterprise licensed for urban planning activities, to work on the new Regulation Plan.

  In 2009 the amendment to the City Regulation plan were officially established. The previous regulatory plan of 1969 ceased to be valid. The drafted plan conformed the interest of the investor. Namely, the investor was financing the drafting of the Plan, while several responsibles had double roles being the makers of the plan and the employees of LD afterwards.

  The public was initially informed in 2009, but the draft plan was put on the public display only in the summer 2011. The plan was adopted in March 2012. It is still unclear if the investor ordered the Master plan before the adoption of the Regulation Plan or straight afterwards. However, at Belgrade Design Week event in 2012, the new design of the Master plan for Beko factory area was on display. The master plan contained the design for a multifunctional complex that will replace the existing depleted building of the factory. The plan was prepared by Zaha Hadid Architects. The design complex covered 94,000 square meters. It consisted of a state-of-art congress centre, retail spaces, a five-star hotel and a department store. There was a certain percentage planned for residential spaces, galleries, and offices.

  The general public and moreover local experts and civil organizations contested the plan and the design. The critics were set on two levels. Concerning the urban regulatory framework, they were of opinion that swift and nontransparent change of technical documentation diminished the amenability of regulations and norms. Such trend makes urban decision-making a deregulated and relative process of putting the

interest of the powerful and wealthy into building and development practices in the city (**?**). If such practices continue to dominate the urban realm in the city, it may de-strategize the exploitation of territorial capital and make the contextual resources in Belgrade melt down in the battle of economic and not at all public interests. Conversely, in terms of urban management the critics were summed up around the issue of engaging a "starchitect", such as Zaha Hadid, for deciding the future of one of the most important locations in the city without consultations and collaboration with local experts. The plan and the eventual project were marked as a product of political propaganda and the manifest of new neoliberal economic order (**?**).

- **The City on Water - Belgrade Port**

The area of ex Belgrade Port Company is also a strategic location that spreads from the Danube Riverfront to almost the city center. The territory covers an area of 470 hectares. The Planning and Construction Act 2003 suggests that the urban design for the location of such importance should be the result of a professional competition (PCA 2003). In 2006 the Urban Institute of Belgrade announced a competition upon invitation for five public professional institutions: the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Belgrade (FAUB), the Association of Urban Planners of Belgrade (AUB), the Association of Belgrade Architects (ABA), the Academy of Architecture (AA) and the Architect Club (AC). The results were five different visions for an urban transformation of the area.

The Belgrade Port Company was privatized 2008. Since its privatization, the new owners started their own campaign finding the best solution for the area. Urban design of the Danube waterfront as well as upgrading the quality of the pertaining public spaces were commissioned to architects Daniel Libeskind and Jan Gehl. Official general urban design project was prepared in their cooperation during the period 2008-2010. The plan dealt with the renovation of the Dorcol Marina and surrounding area.

Project preparation activities were followed by a series of public presentations about the project details at the beginning of 2009. Gehl Architects held the presentation of the project in the Belgrade Chamber of Commerce and Daniel Libeskind's gave the lecture at the University of Belgrade on the same topic. A final presentation of the project was arranged by the Belgrade Land Development Agency (a public enterprise) at the Real Estate and Investment Fair in Cannes later on in 2009. The plan envisages the construction of residential and commercial buildings, objects for cultural facilities, a congress centre, a school, a nursery and a hotel. The main landmark of the area would be a 250 meters high skyscraper marking the confluence of the two rivers, the Sava and the Danube.

The Detailed Regulation Plan for the area was adopted by the City Parliament in 2012. The plan propositions were in accordance with the physical and functional program of the proposed design prepared again by star-architects. Even though the project was in line with the contemporary town planning principle that promote

quality of urban spaces and diversity of urban practices, the governing rule in designing urban spaces was to offer investment possibilities to powerful business and corporate actors **?**.

Moreover, the question of the controversial privatization of the Port of Belgrade and the unresolved situation with the ownership of land put the project on hold. However, these murky business agreements were the focus of public attention. The interest for the project was significantly reduced after the political change of the party in power at national level in 2012 and at city level in 2014.

- **Beton Hala Waterfront**

"Beton Hala" (Concrete Hall) was built in 1937. It was a multi-functional port storage on the Sava river. Incorporating commercial, harbour and railway purposes, "Beton Hala" was very modern for the time being. It served its purpose for decades. During the isolation of the 1990s, its activities gradually declined and it became a depot and an industrial wasteland for Yugoslav inland waterway shipping enterprise (JRB) under SRY jurisdiction, or for Kalemegdan fortress institution under the jurisdiction of the RS. Later on the management of the space was conferred to the city authorities and ever since it has been swung between public enterprises - City Greenery ("Gradsko zelenilo"), Agency for office spaces ("Agencija za poslovni prostor") and and green spaces, Agency for property ("Direkcija za imovinu").

After the regime change in 2000, "Beton Hala" became a catering and commercial hub first for tourists and then also for local upper middle class. This practice spreads sparks of life along the Sava riverside, but the area remains without proper access points from the city center, which is in its close vicinity (Kalemegdan Fortress and Knez Mihailova street).

"Beton Hala" (Concrete Hall) Waterfront Center was identified as a brownfield area according to the Belgrade Spatial Plan 2021 and Belgrade Development Strategy 2008. In 2011 the Association of Belgrade architects with the support of City administration (Investment and Housing Agency and Urban Planning Institute) announced an International competition for architectural and urban solutions of the Sava riverside, pertaining industrial heritage and corresponding city center-waterfront access lines. Even though two equal first prizes were delivered, the winning project "Cloud" designed by Sou Fujimoto Architects caught the attention because of its innovative and hyper modern character of the cloud hub that makes continuity and totality of the structures and history to co-exist and function.

The detailed plan of "Beton Hala" and the area of the waterfront to the Kalemegdan fortress started in 2012. The pproposes a new, ultra-modern identity for the area with an iconic ring structure and mainly commercial purposes. Bearing no detailed implementation strategy and unclear urban development model, the public lost track of the plan and the projects for the area as soon as the political party in power changed at the national (2012) and city (2014) levels. Consequently, the condition and the status of "Beton Hala" stayed the same and this urban trans-

formation is remembered as an advertising campaign that presents possible modern urban and architectural identity of Belgrade rather than it investigates and proposes sustainable ways of its realization (Vukmirovic in Doytchinov et al 2015).

- **Belgrade Waterfront Project**

The waterfront area between Brankov and Gazela bridges is listed as a development area in all three strategic-planning documents for Belgrade: Belgrade City Development Strategy 2008, the Regional Spatial Plan (RSP) for Belgrade 2009 and the General plan for Belgrade 2021 (GP Belgrade 2021). In these documents, the area is addressed as the Sava waterfront (Development Strategy), the Sava Amphitheatre (GP) or even a part of New Belgrades centre (SP). The area could also be addressed as a zone for brownfield regeneration of high regional and national importance (**?**). The vicinity of the Kalemegdan historical site and the confluence of the two major rivers, the Sava and the Danube, makes it the prime location for construction in the Serbian capital.

Ever since the announcement of the railway station relocation in 1923 GUP of Belgrade, the topic of the Sava amphiteatre and the distribution of the central urban zone of Belgrade down and along the Sava river became a burning issue. As a part of the waterfront area and Sava Amphiteatre, the area was a subject of the series of competitions.

Already in 1946, Nikola Dobrovic in his text on urban development prospects of Belgrade offered a sketch of a park that connects right Sava bank to the city center. Later on this riverside was joint to the New Belgrade center that covered two spatial, geomorphological and administrative units divided by the River. Respectively, the area was targeted by the international competition in the 1980s for the centre of New Belgrade while in the 1990s it was addressed in the competition for the Sava Amphitheatre and the project Europolis.

Simultaneously, as a part of wider society modernization prospects, in the late 1980s authorities promoted "Town on the water" project. Consequently, infamous Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic supported Europolis project as a part of his electoral campaign in 1995. The project was prepared by the Institute of Transportation CIP. Finally, in 2012 Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade collaborated with German international cooperation with the Republic of Serbia (GIZ) to prepare an urban study on integrated urban development prospects for Savamala (**?**). The document aimed at announcing a new round of international competitions for the Sava Amphitheatre (**?**).

Belgrade Waterfront Project is targeting the area within the Sava amphitheatre. It covers 90 ha of land and introduces 1.5 million m to be built up within the framework of the project. The project was announced for the first time in 2012. Taking into account the scope and size of the project, it could not be financed only by public funds and loans (**?**).

Belgrade Waterfront Master Plan gained publicity before national elections in March

2014 as a strategic partnership between RS Government and an investor from United Arab Emirates (UAE). It was presented in Dubai in March 2014 by Mohamed Ali Alabbar, a potential investor[47] He is also the director of "Eagle Hills" investment company, the recently established investment company targeting the flagship mega project in cities around the developing world.

As the project had been developing, the strategic partnership grew into the "Belgrade Waterfront Company", a mutual enterprise of the Republic of Serbia and "Eagle Hills". The initial value of the project was advertised as being 2.5 billion euro. However, by the time the official contract is made public in summer 2015, the amount has shrunk to 300 million euro with up to half of the money obtained from the loan on the expense of the Serbian citizens.

The purpose of the development project is to create a multi-functional complex with large commercial and business premises, exclusive apartments and luxury hotels overlooking the Sava River. The spatiality and height of the projected construction on the muddy terrain of the riverbank and at the exclusive urban spot of Belgrade metropolitan area required significant legal adjustment to comply with urban regulatory framework in Serbia.

Already in 2014, national and city authorities introduced speedy procedures for legal adjustments. The amendments to the General Plan (GP) of Belgrade 2021, new Planning and Construction Act and the Spatial plan for Special Purposes for the purposes of "Belgrade Waterfront Project" were adopted. In the process, several national and city bodies were established (Temporary decision making body of the city of Belgrade) or discontinued (National Spatial Planning Agency) according to the sole interests of BWP. As the legal framework has been adapted to the needs of thist project, the investor had in advance a Master plan that was already prepared by foreign architectural firms.

Adoption of the Lex specialis, a special law, in 2015 solved the on-site property issues and enabled the construction to start. The first 5-year phase consists of building two high-rise residential buildings, a huge shopping mall, a tower and the necessary transport infrastructure. In the course of 2016 the clearance of the area continued to happen while the authorities even resorted to forceful removal of structures and inhabitants in order to speed up the process. Residential buildings passed all necessary legal checks. The construction is supposed to be finished in 2017. On the contrary, the Sava promenade along the Sava riverbank was in its final stage at the end of 2016, even though the issue of coastal construction and the corresponding permits had not been dealt with (ref BWP interview). The work on the iconic tower is due to start in 2017.

The smooth path of legal adjustments and administrative procedures for the project are enabled through the tight cooperation between the city and the national au-

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[47]He became famous for chairing the Emaar Properties that was engaged in the construction of the skyscraper Burj Khalifa in Dubai.

thorities, mainly through the political party links[48] **??**. Adopting legislation that legitimizes investor-based urban decision-making is the result of centralized political power through political party mechanisms. In practice the decisions made on national level become imposed on the regional/city/local levels. Having political bodies coordinate the creation of planning solutions cause the usurpation of both the formal planning procedure and the professional expertise by bureaucrats and private investor interests (**??**).

With no wider socio-spatial strategy, this nontransparent bureaucratic conduct of interest-based urban transformations seriously endanger the public interest (**?**). Generally speaking, the major critics apart from the complete lack of transparency and the exclusion of the local experts and practitioners on the national level are:

- overcrowded space and an enormous amount of m^2,

- land given to the investor to build whatever he wants however he wants,

- wasting such location (geometrical center of Belgrade and waterfront area) for housing and commerce with less than 1% for cultural facilities,

- collision with GP and planned National opera in the area,

- difficulties for underground construction of parking space following the tenure examination,

- the issue of cultural urban planning - what suits UAE does not necessarily correspond to Serbian context)

- eviction of marginalized local groups following the problematic special law (Lex specialis)

Vukimirovic (2015) well elaborated that the lack of the context-related substance and a symbolic action makes Belgrade Waterfront Project rather a spin in its broad scope and intentions. However, its strong political background and financial interest calculations pave its way at least to partial implementation.

These circumstances lead to the multitude of interests, initiatives and projects of different scales with no effective and binding policies and institutionalized regulatory means for synchronization and coordination among them. Within such provisory framework, social, cultural and programmatic clashes that are happening between present cultural and civic activities located in Savamala and the influential foreign investor backed by politicians of the highest rank are most likely to end up only in favour of the latter.

4.2.3 Network of civic engagement

Bottom-up, step-by-step urban transformations have been promoted as an inclusive, gradual and effective in cities that are going through traumatic urban transitions, like post-socialist ones. In theory, it offers an alternative for surpassing current profit orientated

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[48]From 2014 onward, the prime minister and the city mayor are from the same political party.

neoliberal trends and benefiting from social-spatial contradictions rising from the often blurred and twisted structure and puzzling development prospect at play. The recent boom of bottom-up spatial interventions and small-scale cultural projects in Savamala neighbourhood aimed at setting up such specific micro environment in Belgrade (**?**).

In general in Serbia and in especially Belgrade, the revival of the civil sector activities started with the regime change in 2000. Meanwhile, taking advantage of the long gap in development, a number of local and international organisations and cultural entrepreneurs have focused their actions on Savamala. The neglected socialist and post-socialist status of this neighbourhood rich in urban and architectural heritage attracted their attention. Their initiatives to transform abandoned places and to reactivate them through participatory, cultural, artistic and educational activities have been mainly supported by the local municipality "Savski Venac" and international cultural institutions and programmes.

What at first seemed like a sum of ephemeral local activities has become a driving force for the possible urban future of Savamala, at least the future preferred by most local urban actors who have taken an active role in it. Without questioning its civic nature currently advertised as such, these pillars of Savamala urban reactivation are rounded up in: (1) Savamala cultural hubs, (2) urban transformation programmes, (3) individual urban projects, and (4) NGOs addressing Savamala socio-spatial issues.

Savamala cultural hubs:

The first to settle in the neighbourhood and to promote this new image of Savamala was *Cultural Center Grad (KC Grad)*. Establishing an alternative cultural institution in Belgrade was a joint initiative of the Cultural Front Belgrade and the Amsterdam Felix Meritis Foundation. They obtained the old customs building from the Municipality "Savski Venac". The building was vacant for years and the municipality consigned the premises to *KC Grad* for the undetermined temporary use. Consequently, its alternative artistic and cultural engagement set in motion the new spirit of Savamala though in barely significant scope.

Intensive aggregation of participatory activities actually started when *Mikser Festival* was organized on the streets of Savamala in 2011. Cultural activism of the Mikser team became branded when they rented the abandoned, recently privatized old warehouse building in the Karadjordjeva Street 46. In 2013 a multifuctional space of Mikser House was opened for public representing an official hub for its cultural, educational and commercial activities ever since. Hitherto *Mikser* Festival continue to serve as a common denominator of cultural and artistic crowdsourcing and participatory engage in activating Savamala public spaces.

What is more, on the border of Savamala in the Gavrila Principa Street a group of young cultural managers and entrepreneurs opened the door of its 350m^2 co-working space of an Design Incubator *Nova Iskra* in 2012. Supporting young, emerging professionals of diverse freelance backgrounds by offering them the use of full-capacity office and workspace at below-market value fairs is a well-known trend in the developed countries. Putting to work this combination of co-working and creative business, innovation platform, edu-

cation, and design labs contributes to adding Belgrade to the map of European creative economy sector.

KC Grad, *Mikser* and *Nova Iskra* were the forerunners of this unconventional programming, functional and business model in Savamala, Belgrade and generally in Serbia ((ref Vanista Lazarevic in Doytchinov 2015)). It also must be acknowledged that *"Dom omladine Beograd"*, a cultural and education city organization, has been using the old depository in the Kraljevica Marka Street (MKM) for various activities since 2007. The space (*MKM*) is famous for hosting the programme of the independent cultural organization at the national and city level. It can be noted that the relationship with the particularity and wider context of Savamala, *MKM* established only when it agreed to accommodate several activities of the *Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB)*.

This new cultural spirit that was spreading around Savamala prompted several gallery platforms and design collectives to house their activities in the ground-floor premises of Savamala buildings, which were built in classical style before WWII (Gallery Kolektiv, Gallery G12HUB).

As long as the management practices of these alternative places are closer to social improvement and empowerment of local communities than to profit-oriented business, their particular and scattered interests still help spreading the participation spree in this post-socialist context.

Urban transformation programmes:

However, participatory activities are mainly rounded up in an urban transformation programmes named *Savamala Civic District*, in the *Urban Incubator Belgrade* activities and their successors. Neither the wide variety of these actors, nor exact steps and state in this process were to a great extent clarified beforehand, they were rather "work in progress" projects.

Savamala Civic District was originally envisioned as a set of participatory activities supported by the *Mikser Festival*. In this manner, *Mikser Festival* represented an umbrella for building a platform of all urban actors and stakeholders to engage in changing their immediate surroundings. However neither the wide variety of these actors, nor exact steps and end states in this process, were to a great extent clarified beforehand. Its priority goal was to create a sort of civic district as a long-term participatory realm for taking the most of a range of opportunities for non-institutionalised, flexible and dynamic urban transformations through various levels of sharing: knowledge-, experience- and vision-sharing activities. In order to test this programme, an international group of experts, who worked on innovative models for bottom-up synergies coming from social, cultural, infrastructural, ecological and economical aspects of urban development, gathered in Savamala during the Mikser Festival in 2012 (**?**). The event included a series of meetings, debates, collaborative works and public space installations taking place in Savamala neighbourhood[49]

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[49]In order to reach this goal seven parallel workshops addressed the status and development of Savamala from different prospectives, such as (**?**):

- Unheard Stories of Savamala (SIMKA and Ana Ulfstrand, Stockholm) -

Among others, *Urban Incubator Belgrade* - a Goethe Institute initiative - stands out as a certain operative and strategic gateway to influence the future development of this devastated but promising neighbourhood. As a part of a broader international strategy of the German cultural institution (Goethe Institute) to focus on urban development, the programme and the organizational structure that it produced stemmed from Goethe Guerilla, an informal collective founded in 2010 under the umbrella of this cultural institute.

The cluster of 10 site-specific project targeted urban design and regeneration, art and culture in Savamala for the period of one year (2012-2013). All the actions within this project relied on communication among individuals, self-organised associations, public services and private enterprises as equal participants in the societal realm which will demonstrate its influence by performing spatial changes as social exchange. The aim was to eventually boost urban transformations in Savamala.

These activities were divided into 3 groups depending on what they address:

- the developing infrastructure for social change:

    - *Nextsavamala* - Crowdsourcing a City Vision[50]

    This artistic workshop promoted an ethnological approach towards research that could interpret the urban devastation through qualitative data.

- Urban Body (Alexander Vollebregt, Rotterdam) - The workshop addressed the question of resilience and prosperity in the contemporary condition of Savamala. The participants had to learn to use the full potential of their minds and bodies to develop an enhanced urban comprehension.

- 5 Obstructions for Urbanism (Todd Rouhe and Lars Fischer, Common Room, New York) - Several on-site installations had been built according to creative methodology approach. They were articulated by this collective, addressingthe ordinary, interconnected, shared, different and the new in making and using architecture.

- Butong Installation (Lars Hoglund, Stockholm and Benjamin Levy, Paris) - The Installation was made of Butong, material that was created in 2009. It served as a convertible eco barrier in order to protect the public space from the intrusive noise and pollution of heavy traffic.

- Urban Bundle (James Stodgel, Santa Fe) - A temporary public space installation provided an initial condition for citizen to gather, meet, debate, and collaborate in the process of creating and maintaining their social and urban environment.

- A Sense of Place (Ljubo Georgiev, Maja Popovic, Failed Architecture, Amsterdam) - The workshop aimed to transform the courtyards of Karadjordjeva Street into a place where neighbours gather together to reinforce their sense of belonging to the place and to upgrade the space they are forced to share.

- City COOP Web Platform (Ana Lalic, Vancouver) - The workshop gathered students to conceptualize the website platform could build a social network of citizens, experts, developers and institutions to exchange ideas and opinions related to the urban transformation of Savamala.

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[50]This activity was based on its successful application in Hamburg, where these instruments have been developed and tested. It represented a web-based public forum and workshops for collecting and filtering citizens visions and discussing, developing and pitching ideas that can be later on implemented in actual planning processes for Savamala neighbourhood.

- systematic collaboration within the network of civic engagement:

  - *Bureau Savamala*[51]

  - *We Also Love The Art of Others*
    [52]

  - *Model for Savamala*[53]

- pop-up events and instant actions for the reconstruction of everyday life:

  - *Listen Savamala*[54]

  - *Camenzind*[55]

- upgrading the Urban Environment:

  - *Savamala Design Studio*[56]

  - *School of Urban Practice*[57]

  - *Micro factories*[58]

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[51]This symbolic institution figured as the critical commentator of the whole *Urban Incubator Belgrade* project. It focuses on critically monitoring and analysing the contribution of artists, any creative projects and creative capital in general on the socially sustainable development of Savamala. Savamala at that moment was perceived as a venue for that allowing alternative lifestyles very attractive to creative individuals. The result of this activity was a sort of record on mapping how this neighbourhood changes and how the perception of locals and the broader public has changed accordingly (**?**).

[52]This symbolic name denoted fostering a network among the artistic scene of Belgrade and beyond, with members from different origins. These artists entered into dialogue in this neighbourhood and were motivated as a group to engage in artistic research and interventions in a forgotten place, where all the artistic work should have been adjusted to the current context.

[53]This component came from an architectural practice that had set itself a goal of building an 1:200 model of Savamala on the basis of collected local knowledge(Model for Savamala 2013). This 3D representation of physical structure incorporated soft data, namely the social structure of the neighbourhood, which was not based on aesthetics, but on information. So, the information implied tracing of all urban spaces and structures by creating a passport for each and every structure inside this area.

[54]This sound-art project traced urban changes through sound recording in order to justify that it is not only a visual phenomenon.

[55]This was a Serbian edition of the Swiss magazine with the same name. It was an outcome of the exchange of Serbian-Swiss-German knowledge on the built environment through four issues of this new Serbian journal covering architectural issues and urban public events. It also reported on the collected local knowledge in and about Savamala.

[56]The aim of the Savamala design studio was to establish a participatory design practice that could create new relationships among various urban actors and stakeholders with an emphasis on encouraging Savamala residents to join and find advice and active support for their own design and construction demands and requirements.

[57]This project encouraged students in architecture and arts to seek the way to improve the everyday environment of Savamala, whether through creating public policy, mediation, urban planning and architecture design, or any other form of design that involves citizens from the very beginning of the designing process.

[58]These small and new production facilities in Savamala, as the name says, strove to identify small suitable spaces in Savamala and to attract participants in order to define and tap into a creative produc-

The project reactivated 5 abandoned physical locations in the neighbourhood:

1. *Spanish House*, a roofless structure in Brace Krsmanovic 2, where they built a temporary pavilion for the purposes of the programme;

2. Common space in Kraljevica Marka 8 street (*KM8*);

3. Basement of the building in Crnogorska 5 street;

4. The municipality office space in Svetozara Radica 3;

5. The space in Gavrila Principa 2.

The *UIB* obtained these spaces from the Municipality "Savski venac" and created new local and international networks around them. These new spaces for art and culture in Savamala formed the first network of symbolic capital identified therein.

Individual urban projects:

The predecessor of all urban design investigations in Savamala may be the Master Class for urban students and young professionals that happened in October 2011. The course was organized by Stadslab European Urban Design Laboratory and focused on the right Sava riverside. Organizational and financial support was provided from local institutions (Belgrade international week of architecture BINA, Urban Planning Institute Belgrade and Serbian Railways) and international partners (Amsterdam Institute for Physical Planning).

However, it was only the international initiative of the *Goethe institute* which positioned Savamala on the mental map of urban culture in Europe. (**??**). By the time UI was finished, most of the projects found local counterparts and continued to exist in this new form. Consequently, the spatial capital in Savamala incited cultural entrepreneurial collectives and research groups to focus their activities there. The successor of UIB programme, Mikser Festival and KC Grad have remained the gatekeepers and supporters for any kind of social, cultural or education activism in Savamala.

Savamala, a place for making was a participatory project, that proposed collective performative actions for re-vitalizing the neglected community space in Savamala. They worked with a Urban incubator studio space KM8 and "Zupa" an old abandoned steamboat, situated at Savamalas riverbank. The project took place during spring and summer months in 2013 in conjunction with UIB and the design class from The University of Fine Arts of Hamburg ("The Hochschule fr bildende Knste" HFBK Hamburg).

The game of Savamala was a participatory urban planning workshop organized for foreign students and locals under the umbrella of the *Mikser Festival* in 2015. Its aim was the capacity building in terms of producing urban business model supported by in-depth empirical research of the students. The result of the board planning game was the notion

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tion process that could transform local knowledge, capacities and ideas into innovative design products. Participants collected local materials (usually from abandoned apartments or other places) and worked on the design of products that reflected what they find in Savamala and its tradition of small craft workshops (i.e. carpentry).

that participants got in terms of the role of architecture and design in urban economy. Finally, another participatory project was organized in 2016 which addressed the on-going issue of urban transformations in Savamala under the pressure of the neighbouring Belgrade Waterfront Project. *My piece of Savamala* was an urban design workshop organized by the *School of Urban Practices*, *City Guerilla* and *Mikser* and monitored by city authorities and City Architect himself. Young designers, arthists, architects and urban professionals from these organizations were working with citizens during 3 sesions in order to produce different urban solutions for the urban block at the crossing of 5 streets in Savamala: Karadjordjeva, Svetozara Radica, Kraljevica Marka, Hercegovacka and Travnicka. The resulting design solution as well as the report from the workshop were transferred to the city authorities and the Belgrade Waterfront company (BWC). According to the organizers, more than a year after they still remained without any response.

Other projects active in Savamala from 2013 onward are presented in the timeframe diagram (see diagram 1).

NGOs addressing Savamala socio-spatial issues:

Bearing in mind all initiatives, programmes, projects and events in Savamala, it is conspicuous that the main organizations dealing with its social and spatial resources and urban conflicts were those that stem from Goethe Guerilla and Urban Incubator Programme. Urban Incubator was succeeded by UIB Association, the organization that dealt with post production of the programme. However, most of the newly established organizations that participated in UIB gathered under the City Guerilla.

Even though UIB managed to activate and collaborate with all important civil sector agency in Savamala, there are still several organizations whose agendas diverges from that of UIB. *Streets for cyclists* is an NGO founded in 2011 and located in Savamala. Even though their main activity is promoting biking culture in Belgrade, they played a crucial role in confronting with local authorities and Belgrade Waterfront investors when they closed the principle cycling path along the river for the construction purposes. *Ministry of space* is an informal collective focusing on critical approaches to urban transformations in Belgrade. The organization collaborates with national and international research and activist networks. With similar purpose, the collective participated in *UIB* within the *Bureau Savamala* framework. As a response to investor urbanism embodied in Belgrade Waterfront Project, *Ministry of space* formed another NGO *Ne da(vi)mo Beograd* initiative (NDVBGD) with the sole purpose to get together human and material resources and proofs in order to fight the project and negative effects that it has on the overall urban development in Belgrade.

4.2.4 Urban Decision Making in Savamala

The elaborated state of urban decision-making in Savamala shows the crucial signs of failure of all 3 layers of influences. Establishing clear links between the process of strategic development, its institutional framework, the hierarchical structure of long-term and short-term objectives of all actors involved, and the real-time changes happening simulta-

neously in an urban environment has not ever been its goal.

The post-socialist, transitional urban planning broke down through the lack of consensus on priority goals, action-oriented programmes of implementation and flawed coordination of different levels, sectors and areas. In practice these conditions ended by having the policy agendas and technical documents as advisory vision on paper, but leaving the real actions and decision making to political and market forces. The actual carriers of urban interventions not only in Savamala, but in Serbia in general, are the representatives of big businesses. In these circumstances, presented civic initiatives are also manifests of interests, though different, but still might not be of those disempowered and marginalized and ordinary.

Thenceforth, urban transformations of Savamala has exceeded and diluted the common strategic framework defined with public interest in mind. The complexity of this interplay of urban decision making agents make Savamala a prime example of historical and contextual processes that could instigate such urban dynamics.

4.3   Case Study Framework

This chapter recognized, decomposed and restructured a historical and discursive overview of socio-spatial patterns of urban system transitions in the Savamala neighbourhood. This chronological and causal interpretation of the complexity and dynamics of the urban system in Savamala exposes the factual and symbolic nature of all different elements at play at the neighbourhood level. Respecting their origins and paths of evolution enables the estimation of the conditions and needs of today and the proposition of transition scenarios (?).

Chapter 5

Urban Complexity through Actor-network Theory Lens

Apart from its physical structure, cities are the summary of all citizen behaviours, emotions and value systems of all previous times and the source of prospects for the future ones of upcoming generations (**?**). Social and physical structures are perpetually interacting one with the other while the historical strata of these interactions accumulate one upon another. The city, and more generally the urban, is therefore ultimately dynamic and immensely complex phenomenon. The term urban system transitions is used in this research to bound up the continuity of its fluctuations over time. Adding the time component in terms of discrete states of past, present and future enables contextualizing these processes. In this research, the study will concentrate on post-socialist cities and analogous contextual processes at the neighbourhood level.

The current state of affairs in Savamala results from the deposition of the historical layers with their own explicit decision-making mechanisms of the time and its final blend with the current machinery of decision-making. Associating a spatial component to the structuralized historical deposits of data, procedures, and identities provides a background for space-time translation that have constituted the state of the elements/entities at play in Savamala (Table X). The historical component elaborated in the previous chapter is just an one-way directional vector that reaches the present. However, all human, social and technical elements and networks assemble in their current incidence in Savamala. They are actually the active agents and the the actors of the on-going transitions. The present of Savamala is timely bounded picture of localized urban system transitions.

In this research project, Actor-network theory (ANT) serves for interpreting the present state of the local context in Savamala. Most prominent characteristic of ANT is flattening the social by symmetrical treatment of human, social and technical elements that all might be actors of urban system transitions (**??**). Based on Latours argument on the new research agenda for globalization and world cities, ANT is herein applied not as a theory but as a method. A figuration of human and non-human actors through networks

makes them the agents of urban dynamics in concrete space-time and produces a complex reality of urban system transitions. The actors existence is its status in a connection or connections. According to ANT, actors do not exist if their networks are not labeled. In this way they become agents. Therefore ANT serves for structuring the data on human and non-human agents and urban assemblage networks at the neighbourhood level.

This chapter brings the first round of data analysis with Actor-network theory. First of all, it tentatively reinterprets specificities of a post-socialist neighbourhood according to ANT logical framework and terminology. The boundaries of Savamala for the purposes of this analysis are established according to the investigation among experts and young professionals on the issue (Savamala questionnaires - experts Q18, phds, strudents). The Savamala neighbourhood corresponds to the area between Brankov and Old Sava bridges; from the Sava riverside to Brankova street, Green Wreath (*Zeleni venac*) and the park in front of the Faculty of Economics. An urban assemblage map, which is laid down further on in the chapter, summarizes these ANT interpretations in terms of the relational networks between urban key agents and identified social aspects at work in local and wider context of Savamala. Finally, the conclusion discusses the results, risks and opportunities of extending ANT in order to enable research to go beyond descriptions toward its operationalization in a particular urban setting. In Savamala, the results are summarized to address current state of the neighbourhood and the course of its possible future developments.

5.1   An ANT Overview of Urban Agency in Savamala

Bearing in mind that actor-network explanations give real results only in strongly defined situations (**??**, the neighbourhood level is a confined but yet significant enough for the analyses to work and for the results to matter. The study applied a flattening composition of all heterogeneous (1) human/non-human actors (ANT) in Savamala. These actors (1) were identified from qualitative data collected on 2 different tracks: as urban key actors and within the layers of urban decision-making. Further on, the collected data are structured on 4 more levels in relation to ANT, in terms of (2) intermediaries/mediators, (3) free associations, (4) stabilizing & destabilizing agencies and (5) urban assemblages (Table 3 ANT paper). The congregation of these categories serves to visually describe urban reality of a post-socialist neighbourhood - Savamala.

Following the circumstances found through the in-depth case study research design, the empirical and theoretical data are structured according to 5 dimensions of actor-netowrks in the following way:

1. all human and non-human actors;

2. intermediaries and mediators;

3. free associations;

4. stabilizing and destabilizing agencies;

5. urban assemblages.

5.1.1 All human and non-human actors

The rough scheme of human and non-human actors is formed according to the case study description ((Chapter 3)). It is further completed with the data from the questionnaires (experts, young professionals and students) and the interviews (ref Annex 1).

In ANT terms, Savamala neighbourhood is represented as a venue (urban territory/ space) with material constitutional elements (built environment - urban structures), wherein a variety of urban actors and stakeholders (individuals and groups) - interrelated to social factors (political, economic, cultural and social components of urbanity) and within a specific regulatory framework (institutional relations and records) - engage in actions.

Since it was herein argued (Chapter 2) that the rapid flow of people and information in the modern globalised world has profoundly transformed the perception of space and time, lifestyles and our sense of community and self (Ellin 1999), it must be then acknowledged that the vital cohesive force of the modern city incorporates also technical solutions (urban infrastructures) and technologies (communication and media). Graham and Marvin (2001) address them with an all-embracing term "the infrastructure scapes (electropolis, hydropolis, cybercity, autocity)" stating that these elements invigorate urban life, fuse urban spaces and serve as mediators of transitions.

Complex infrastructural systems are nowadays also the core of human actions and institutional relations that enables its extension in space and time and produces new conditions of urban reality (Splintering urbanism 2001). The ampleness of these non-human actors as well as their intrinsic geography of places and connecting flows ((swyngedouw, 1993) from splintering urbanism) bring in a new layer of actors and networks. Its specificity and volume allows for this research to exclude these actors to a certain extent, mainly for the reasons of the limited resources. However, the structure of the methodology account for its inclusion in future works and studies.

The main sources of human and non-human agency taken into consideration in this analysis are: (a) urban actors and stakeholders, (b) urban space and built environment, and (c) urban regulatory framework. Social components (political, economic and cultural aspects) are rather considered in an integral way as contextual, post-socialist or transitional circumstances traversing these different space-time layers. Taken also into account as the bearers of non-human agency, they are figurating in urban assemblage networks as active elements linking urban actor-networks, space-time layers and the levels of decision

making with urban development prospects.

The morphology of urban decision-making tend to catalyze and hold sway over urban complexity. The layers of urban decision-making function through network. They embody the relationality of urban elements and reveal the sources of urban agency (Chapter 4, pp. XX). Even more so, the reason for this limitation of the scope of analysis is Friedmann's (1992) thesis of 4 key determinants of urban agency: (1) governance (executive, legislative and civil), (2) polity (political organizations, social movements), (3) economy (markets, corporations, financial institutions) and (4) society (individuals, groups and associations). In this manner, the initial identification of human and non-human actors is summarized within: (o) top-down urban planning structure, (o) interest-based transformations, and (o) bottom-up participatory and urban design activities, in the urban realm of Savamala.

- **Top-down urban planning actors**:

  The analysis of top-down decision-making in Savamala retains the structure of this layer identified through the data collection. Human and non-human actors include: (a) regulatory framework, (b) urban actors and (c) space.

  Regulatory framework: These actors are divided into institutions (public administration and urban planning authorities) and records (legal framework, policy agendas and technical documentations). They are assorted on scale levels: international, national-state, regional-city and local-municipality (Chapter 3, pp. XX).

  Being adapted to the European administrative framework (**?**), urban regulatory framework in Serbia has been hitherto following the recommendations of the Council of Europe (**?**). The set of European strategies and programmes influence rather general organizational flow of Serbian urban institutions and assign mayor directives for the adaptions of urban records. According to the local experts (IAUS interview), the international regulatory levels do not hold direct relations to the Savamala urban environment.

  On the other hand, the institutional framework in Serbia corresponds to the administrative organization of the Republic. The Republic of Serbia is divided into 29 districts and 189 communes (opstine) [including 16 municipalities of Belgrade and city municipalities of Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac]. The districts act as political bodies, but they are not authorized to make their own decisions regarding spatial development. Therefore, in practice, The Spatial Plan of the Republic, Regional Spatial Plans and Spatial Plans of Special Purposes are under the jurisdiction of the National authorities. The Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure (CTI) is the key public actor at national level in the domain which it: (1) conducts administration tasks, (2) governs strategic construction, site-development and infrastructure equipment works, (3) carries out survey jobs, and (4) perform inspection and supervision actions in the field (Maksic 2012).

Conversely, cities and municipalities have legal means and rights to make their own strategies, plans, and programs, as well as local regulations and rules in terms of urban development. Urban plans consist of General Urban Plans (GUP),[1] Plans of General Regulations (PGR) and Plans of Detailed Regulations (PDR).[2] They cover respectively smaller territory, incorporate all sorts of innovative, strategic and up-to-date methods, and in general offer the detailed solutions for issues already conceptually covered with spatial plans. For example, General Urban Plans control development at a local level, so that they are prepared and adopted locally. Yet, being regarded as strategic documents (GUPs) with a certain influence at national and/or regional level, the final consent upon their adaptation rests with the Ministry in competence. Local authorities adopt all urban plans and strategic documents, that control urban development and comprise guidelines for administration of their respective territories. These plans are rectified by the City Assembly.

National and city authorities, planning bodies and policy agendas are subjected to continuous pressure to solve an old issue of Belgrades peak waterfront area. This area is rather adjacent to or even part of Savamala, depending of the interpreters[3] These initiatives date back to 1920s. 1923 GUP announced relocation of the railway station. Milos Somborski's 1950 GUP formalizes the new spatial organization of Belgrade as an integrated unity of Zemun, New Belgrade and old Belgrade, making the Sava river and Savamala's coast the central urban area. Later on, Sava subway project, which was cutting through Savamala, was included in 1972 GUP. 1985 GUP focused the attention of the Sava Amphiteatre on the both sides of the Sava river as the prime location for urban redevelopment with central urban functions. Finally, 2003 GP and Belgrade Development Strategy 2008 (BDS 2008) confirmed the importance of the revitalisation of Kosancicev Venac and the rehabilitation of Savamala in the domain of Belgrade brownfields. BDS 2008 was even more specific marking the period for the interventions (January - June 2011) (BDS 2008).

Urban space: According to the technical documentation and policy agendas, Savamala urban space is treated unilaterally or it may be eventually separated from its coastal area. Urban heritage in Savamala is also covered by the legal framework, policy agendas and present in technical documentation. Moreover, pre-socialist past is still present in Savamala with reference to architectural and cultural heritage from the period after the liberation of Belgrade from the Ottoman Empire and before WWII. Serbian rulers persistently attempted to fight substandard living cir-

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[1] GUDP present long-term strategic commitments and land use proposition at the city level.

[2] PGR and PDR are operational documents and they are prepared where applicable.

[3] According to the data from questionnaires (ref Annex B), there are several interpretations of what the borders of Savamala are: either a large area from Gazela bridge to behind Concrete Hall (*Beton Hala*) and to the Gavrila Principa in the north and along the Waterfront in the south, or several different smaller territories including the one adopted in this study. These different ideas on Savamala borders are as well spread among expert and professionals as among citizens.

cumstances in this neighbourhood and to develop a commercial and artisan town quarter and administrative centre there. Various traces of these initiatives are still present in Savamala public spaces and built environment infrastructure. For currently in force urban plans and strategies addressing the Savamala neighbourhood consult the table below (¡hlTable X)

Social aspects: Documents on urban development (development strategies, spatial and urban plans) serve to define public interest in cities. Yet, the singular initiative for technical urban documentation (plans) usually comes from the investor (private or public) and is being drafted based on the investor's interests and guidelines by a public or private enterprise certified for urban planning practice (**?**). The initiative is submitted to local authorities (e.g. Secretariat for Urbanism, Urban Planning Institute, Municipality Planning Departments) for further procedures.

The design of spatial and urban plans is under compulsory supervision of the Planning commission on the corresponding level (national, city, local). The commission validates the subjugation of the plan with urban legislation and with planning documents of higher authority, as well as from the feasibility study of the plan and its accordance with the results of the public review (javni uvid) (interview data Sekretarijat). Public review is an filing objections process during 30 days with an open-to-public session where the objections are discussed by the Planning commission. However, the report over the review of the general public and the final decision is made in a closed session by the Commission. When the procedure is over, the decision is published in the local gazette.

Based on the local experience (citizens, civil sector, urban planning professionals) political interests have the hegemony over urban planning decisions in Serbia (interview data). Civil and public interests are being neglected and diminished by the non-transparency of the planning process and pertaining corruption - in terms of supervisions, inspections and public hearings interview data. Urbani razvoj u Srbiji Ministry of Space 2014 Local authorities also emphasize that the lack of financial institutional capacity (means and resources) contributes to the poor public participation (**?**).

Centralized decision-making is conducted even more through political dominance than by the legal framework itself. Even more so, as the central decision-making body in practice is not the national authority, but the political party in power; more precisely, the Prime minister or the President, depending on how important and influencial they are in the political realm in Serbia (expert questionnaire, interviews). Such administrative hierarchy extensively subdue any legal, professional and financial jurisdiction of local authorities to the National authorities making the scope and the management of their activities unstable and difficult to strategize (**?**).

High politicization of the institutional relations contributes to the growing imbalance between the social goal of public spending (public social services) and its develop-

mental role (market-oriented) (<mark>questionnaire data: experts post-socialist framework q13</mark>). In the case where political interests are often tied to individual interests of economically powerful actors and to investors' financial power, the issues of the budget (all levels), public procurement and public tenders become the means of unregulated urban economy (<mark>questionnaire data: experts post-socialist framework q13</mark>). Coupled with flawed taxation system, broken property structure and inadequate land use indemnity and land rent, prolonged regulatory gap in terms of investments led to inadequate and even illegal construction practices, overload of the infrastructural systems and lowering overall urban conditions in Serbian cities (<mark>interview IAUS</mark>).

Majority of these social issues are linked to the multifaceted circumstances of the post-socialist urban development and the prospects of transition toward a capitalistic social order. Post-socialist backtracking speaks primarily of the present of Savamala, but in reference to the past and the characteristics of the socialist regime which are fading away (but not yet completely and not without leaving the traces):

- state control;
- public ownership;
- hybrid market circumstances.

Transitional prospects refer more to what future brings. Transition actually means marking the processes of change towards:

- democratic political system;
- privatization and the dominance of private ownership;
- market led economy and market mechanisms;
- clear class division and uneven distribution of resources.

The confusing overlap of these conditions has been especially aggravating economic order producing: (1) low economic growth, (2) high public debt, (3) high unemployment rate and (4) poverty germination (<mark>questionnaire experts post-soc framework q13</mark>). Such as the case is, the overall social situation is represented by rather spontaneous urbanization, ad hoc definition (or merely formalization) of public interest and the institutional adjustments to prevalent illegal construction and occupation of space (**?**).

Urban actors and stakeholders: Strategic behaviours and political power relations are identified as the pillars of top-down urban planning practice. They aim at enabling dialogue between: investors, citizens, local authorities, and planning bodies. (**?**).

Even though the sole purpose of political structure, authorities, and political bodies is to define and protect public interest, it usually is not the case. More often than not,

political actors act on behalf of political parties, movements and leaders, lobbysts or in the worst case of real estate investors (**?**). Consequently, in Serbia urban planning professionals are those who ahndle and balance different interests. Unfortunately, as a result of the biased institutional relations and emphasized institutional hierarchy, they usually serve only as a technical body, staff to pursue investors' wishes (inter-view data). Therefore, it is important to establish a two-way, meaningfull dialogue between: investors, citizens, local authorities, and planning bodies.

In this respect, the key top-down actor and stakeholder groups active in Savamala are (questionnaire experts post-soc framework q7):

- municipal authorities;
- city authorities;
- national authorities;
- city planning departments (architects, town planners, engineers, public administrators);
- Ministry of Construction, Transportation & Infrastructure;
- Professional association (architects, town planners, engineers, artists);
- Universities and educational institutions;
- Public enterprises;
- Public-private enterprises;
- Private enterprises;
- Citizens;

- **Interest-based real transformations**

Social aspects: As it was already elaborated above, transitional reality is a thriving ground where planning very often serves as a supportive mechanism for <u>uncontrolled privatisation</u> and <u>wild marketisation</u>. These circumstances bring to the fore big (mega) projects instead of strategic programs. Furthermore, influential business stakeholders and corporate bodies profit from *ungrounded institutional formalizations*, *inconsistent institutional procedures* and *flawed institutional processes* and above all from *vertical clientelism* in institutional framework to cater for their profit-oriented interests.

Urban actors and stakeholders In practice nowadays, public interest is defined by the most powerful social class (enterprises, services, corporate business, politicians and ruling elites, landlords, banks, Trade Negotiations Committees) - in the brace between political and economic elites (**?**). In the local context, these private interest are also promoted through national and local media (publicly and privately owned newspapers, TV and radio stations) and some of the mainstream intellectuals (**?**).

The human engine of interest-based real estate transformations consists of (<mark>questionnaire expert post-soc framework Q7</mark>):

– private investors

– Private investment funds

– The media

Urban space: Powerful investors use its economic and political dominance to gain a good bargain for buying highly profitable waterfront area of the Serbian Capital and to ensure that its future development serves their needs. This battle for land started even before the official fall of socialism in SFRY.

In the late 80s, National authorities promoted "Town on the water" project, which addressed the whole area of the Sava Amphiteatre integrally with its counterpart on the New Belgrade side (**?**). Later on, the infamous Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic supported CIP Europolis project as a part of the electoral campaign for local elections (gradski izbori) in 1995. The project was based on the international competition for urban design of the Sava amphiteatre (**?**).

After 2000, the most important ones hitherto active in the extended area of Savamala are:

– Lamda Development investment for Beko factory renovation;

– "City on water" project by Belgrade Port Company (*Luka Belgrade*);

– an international competitive bidding for architectural design of the Beton Hala Waterfront;

– Eagle Hills and Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP).

According to the current state of affairs, the crucial interest-based intervention in Savamala space was when in 2013 the investor from United Arab Emirates (UAE) [*Eagle Hills* Company] bought National Shipping Company and all its land. Slowly but surely afterwards, the company set sails for a range of legislation and planning document changes to accommodate investor's interests within *Belgrade Waterfront Project* (BWP).

The exact area of intervention in these project phases varies from Gazela Bridge to the far end after Dorcol marina or even takes into account New Belgrade side. The common denominator for most of them is the coastal area on the right Sava riverbank. Majority of the projects also advocated for the relocation of bus and railway station. [4] Furthermore, recent Belgrade Waterfront project also targets several architectural heritage buildings. According to the agreement signed between: (1)

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[4]Bus terminal and railway station are actually outside the area which is referred as Savamala in this research. Being very close to Savamala as well as being a busy urban hub, they are still important generators of urban functions, activities and urban actors in Savamala.

The Republic of Serbia (The Minister of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure), (2) Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment LLC (Mohamed Ali Alabar), and (3) Belgrade Waterfront d.o.o. (acting director) and Al Maabar International Investment LLC (Mohamed Ali Alabar) Serbian national authorities committed to concede several protected buildings in Savamala for investor's purposes without any financial compensation. The agreed non-contributed buildings are: Belgrade Cooperative, Bristol Hotel and "Simpo" building inside Savamala; and Railway station headquarters, Paper mill, Train Turn Table and Post Office outside Savamala. The buildings of Belgrade cooperative, Hotel Bristol, and "Simpo" are the examples of architectural heritage of national and city importance.

- **Bottom-up participatory and urban design activities**
  Social aspects: A most important particularity of Savamala is the rise of civil sector and non-formal organizations, rather typical for western European cities than for post-socialist ones. Namely, the idea was that, in the lack of efficient institutions and official strategies, the protection of public interest happens through non-institutional, non-governmental organizations (**?**).

  In Serbian context at play are cultural and behavioural patterns inherited from the 40 years of socialism: (1) predominantely <u>middle class society</u>, (2) *suspicion, lethargy and ignorance* toward social participation, (3) top-down approach to spatial and social development and (4) *ideologically-framed civil rights* (**?**). These circumstances entail significant resources (time, knowledge, human capital, networking) which are required for those activities to work (**?**). What is more, it is also essential for the organizers and participants (citizens) to have at least a vague notion with whom they might confront.

  Urban actors and stakeholders: Having identified the transitional capital of Savamala in the local context, from 2008 onward a number of small-scale public initiatives and creative services have found their place in Savamala (**?**). In absence of an overall urban development strategy, these independent cultural entrepreneurs, supported by the municipality Savski Venac, have started the transformation of unused warehouses and craft shops into spaces open for public participation and social production. These associations and private initiatives have finally introduced the opportunity for an alternative strategic path to influence urban development of the neighbourhood (cite("Mikser Festival" 2012)) and made it famous on a global scale as one of creative clusters in European metropolises (**??**).

  Bottom-up actors and stakeholders identified to be active in Savamala are confirmed through the questionnaires and interviews in the qualitative data collection process (questionnaire experts post-soc framework q7; questionnaire experts Savamala; questionnaire students Savamala):

    – Citizens;

- Local NGOs;

- international NGOs;

- local community;

- Artists and cultural workers;

- national cultural institutions;

- international cultural institutions;

- national and international educational institutions.

A detailed descriptions of the bottom-up participatory activities in Savamala is provided in (Chapter 4, pp. XX). Taking into account their number, but also similitude in their activities, the ones that signify as poles of urban agency within this analysis are (Figure 2): (1) Cultural centre Grad (*KC Grad*); (2) Old depository in Kraljevica Marka Street (MKM); (3) *Mikser* multidisciplinary platform; (4) *Nova Iskra* design incubator; (5) *Urban Incubator Belgrade* project (UIB); (6) *Ministry of space* collective; (7) *Ne da(vi)mo Beograd* initiative (NDVBGD); (8) *My piece of Savamala* - participatory urban design workshop; (9) *The game of Savamala* - participatory urban planning workshop; (10) *Savamala, a place for making* participatory project; (11) *Streets for cyclists* NGO; (12) Common space in Kraljevica Marka 8 street (*KM8*).

Urban space: These civic activities aimed also to profit from abandoned and empty spaces in Savamala. In this respect, most of the spaces were obtained for a temporal use or for use over a non-determined period by the Municipality of Savski Venac. However, some are also rented from the private owners under market conditions. The very first established place was the Gallery Magacin (MKM), a space in Kraljevica Marka 1. In was under the supervision of *Dom Omladine* (Belgrade Cultural Institution) and it hosted the activities of the independent cultural platform in Belgrade. However, the crucial step in making Savamala a home for non-formal civic and cultural scene was when KC Grad moved in the old building in Brace Krsmanovic 5. It was followed by setting Mikser Festival on the streets of Savamala and renting the old storage in Karadjordjeva 46 to accomodate Mikser House. Later on, Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB) activated several spaces for their programme in the broader area of Savamala: (o) the Spanish house (Brace Krsmanovica 2), (o) KM8 (Kraljevica Marka 8), (o) C5 (Crnogorska 5), (o) Bureau Svamala (Svetozara Radica 3, and (o) Nextsavamala (Gavrila Principa 2). It is also important to mention Nova Iskra, the private co-working space and the platform for cultural activities. It is located in Gavrila Principa 43, the building at the very edge of what is in this research assumed as Savamala neighbourhood.

5.1.2 Intermediaries and mediators

Starting with ANT and its open approach to comprise whatever may be an element of a complex urban system and the loose definition of actors relationality, acutal actors influence on site was rather straight-forward and indicative. It has been realized that their human/material nature should be acknowledged as it unmistakably designates their roles in urban development processes. Therefore, this wide conceptual field has been shrunk to the category of actor nature. It tells us if human/non-human element serves as intermediary or mediator. In this respect, the researcher differentiated its figuration as human, entity, artifact, or event, and indicated if it is an individual or group element (set of elements). So to speak, the nature of an element defines if it actually bears or merely changes meaning - in one manifestation they do, in the other not ((Figure 5 ANT paper)).

Individuals The distribution of roles in Serbian regulatory framework is substantially dependent on the individual and group human actors who are assigned certain position (expert questionnaire post-socialist). Namely, the institutional structure is more often than not encumbered by tripled representation of functions for certain positions [i.e. Prime Minister (questionnaire, interview data)]: (1) the official administrative scope of the institutional role assigned to an individual, (2) the symbolic significance assigned to the role based on the historical dominance of the individual approach over the institutional one, (3) an individual human agency of the person who holds the position.

This is especially evident when an official engagement of the institution in local networking depends on the role of its executive officer. For example, the activities of the Urban Planning Institute are often molded according to predominantly managerial or professional approach of its lead, in which sense the whole duty of the institution varies from consultative to managerial tasks at the city level (UZ interview).[5]

However, another important figuration is a parallel decision-making structure installed in Serbian institutional framework through the political party individuals who perform certain institutional duties. Political party usually sets its own party staff at high public positions, so that they, as public officers, make important decisions in the public domain. But, on the other, they are subordinate to the party interests through the party hierarchy and they introduce their political party reasoning into public-interest decision-making. [6] Another layer of importance for human agency is added by an overlap of jurisdictions from local and international professionals. New market conditions have brought in international corporate capital with their own business conducts and rules, and installed it in the local market in Serbia. Namely, there is an substantial subordination of tasks from international to local personnel. While foreign architects, engineers, project teams perform all

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[5] According to an interviewee, based on the attitude of its executive officer, the Urban Planning Institute may take up an active role in directing interventions and advising the city authorities upon strategies and plans UZ interview.

[6] An interviewee gave the example of the public money spending to accommodate private interests, while the financial structure of political parties in Serbia is still non-transparent and there is no legal means to investigate it Kucina interview 2013.[7]

designs, calculations and decision-making, Serbian enterprises and professionals work only to adjust it to the local requirements and standards with a significant restrictions even in this domain[8] BWP interview. Even more important may seem that different business model traditions [socialist "to have the work done" among local professionals comparing to profit-oriented approaches from the foreign ones] influence their respective financial and managerial arrangements with the investor and in this manner direct the course and the implementation of projects.

"The politicians in Serbia become blinded by power and benefices for less than a year of working as party staff in the public domain" Association of architects interview.

Documents   An additional interventionist role in terms of "localizing the global" Latour 2005 is put to work through different unfold of the agreements and projects in Serbian setting comparing to that of the others. For example, Serbian urban framework does not recognize a legally binding role of a Master plan. Without discussing its political and economic articulation in the local context, the Belgrade Water Project obviously features at a source of new urban regulations. And as such, it extensively influences land use and property management in Serbia.[9]

The issue of a new Spatial plan for Special Purpose Area, Lex specialis and changes in the General Urban Plan of Belgrade set up a new order of priorities, allowances and restrictions in local planning ecosystem. An interviewee with the background in architecture stated that having construction indexes once raised they will never be lowered again and it will surely change recognizable Belgrade veduta interview DAB.

Spaces   Furthermore, the widespread network of civic engagement brings to the fore mediatory function of the newly established spaces for culture and arts in Savamala. Dozen of local sites in the neighbourhood (Spanish house, KM8, Magazin, KC Grad, Mikser House, Galley Stab, HUBG12, Nova Iskra, C5, Svetozara Radica 3, Miksaliste) lodge different local, national and international organizations and actors, tourists and clients in overlapping time-frames (Figure X), while being extensively covered by local and international media (**?**).

In this manner, this continuous communication of entities from different backgrounds promotes an active role of the local towards the global comparing it to the passive role of construction industry professionals in BWP. An engaging example is the quick reaction of Mikser house to establish a centre for the middle-east refugees passing through Belgrade on their way to the Western Europe. The promptness and efficiency of their [Mikser House]

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[8]Valid BWP agreement contains an article that obliges RS to adjust its laws and regulations if they prevent smooth implementation of the project.

[9]BWP is also included in the Belgrade Waterfront Spatial plan for Special Purpose Area. Namely, the project is part of its title - The Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area "for the Belgrade Waterfront Project". As local experts argued, this is an official benchmark for high urban planning authorities to accommodate the needs of a single project.

response got them quickly into the international humanitarian aid network making their work acknowledged by the international actors in the domain (<mark>Mikser interview</mark>).

Events   Finally, multifaceted nature of events organized in Savamala and their multi-scale character practically intertwine local interactions and global structures in order to: (1) regionalize culture and artistic production in the Balkans, (2) set a local life cycle of design, (3) promote cooperation strategies for multidisciplinary activities and international projects (<mark>Mikser interview</mark>). To name but a few: Mikser festival and Mikser house [set to work Balkan Design Network, Mikser festival; Miksaliste refugee camp and info park aid - humanitarian work]; City guerilla association and Urban incubator (UI) association [brought international artists and organizations to temporarily work in Savamala]; Hub, Stab and other galleries [exibiting international artworks as well]; KC GRAD [international funding and collaborations]; Magacin gallery [incentives for national cultural scene and international collaborations], Bike kitchen, Streets for cyclists, "Beograd Vlograd" festival [international visibility] etc. (<mark>Q15 students questionnaire Savamala</mark>).

The process of associating agency to human and non-human actors without leaving to social forces to endow it with meaning is under constant threat of reductionist approach to uncertainties and controversies about who and what is the actual source of action (**?**). In this, the interpretation of intermediary/mediator role depends on "localizing the global", "redistributing the local" and "connecting" within a zero-value map of "local interactions to the other places, times and agencies" (**?**). Based on the empirical data, the crucial distinction of an individual, documentary or event source of action actually determines local or de-localized[10] nature of interventions in Savamala. What is more, it is also the way to place in networks what may in other prevailing conditions be determined as uncertain, controversial or, in general, the social.

<mark>Interveiwee</mark>: "Even in the legal framework, in Serbia everything is left to an individual"

5.1.3   Free associations

From the qualitative data (expert questionnaire, workshop, interviews and documentation), it has been realized that classical urban categories (the social, structure and scale) cannot be fully undermined, though they are used not as explanations, but as associations of performativity and enactment (network of influence and socially functional categories) (<mark>Figure 6</mark>). Thus pertaining artifacts are also converted into actors. In other words, these association-based actors actually operationalize urban concepts and categorize actual forces and actions.

Structure networks   To answer the how question of actors' activation in networks involves also the character of their agency within the local boundaries. Institutionalized

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[10]In Latour's (2005) terms, de-localization does not serve to de-spatialize the action, but to indicate that it is been disconnected and re-connected to some other place, namely globalizes under certain circumstances.

urban planning structure is under the top-down, supreme jurisdiction of the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastrcuture, which makes it a supreme regulatory, planning, administration, control and verification body in urban domain.

However, the city of Belgrade planning institutions manage to gain certain authority in the national discourse. First of all, they produce massive amount of general and detailed regulation plans which equals the production of the rest of Serbia altogether. Then, they hold a special role in the national scope as the city legally has a special status[11] (Law on Capital City). Finally, various regulations were once pioneered in Belgrade, like that of Planning commission instated in Belgrade through the City Statute since 1974 and legally introduced at the national level with the 2003 Planning and Construction Act (Sekretarijat interview).

On the contrary, private initiatives are actually the pillars of transformations in Savamala. The case of Belgrade Waterfront Project exemplifies that even though Master plan is not a legally binding document in Serbia, but a simple statement of investor's wishes, its rules and decisions are implicitly assigned as an obligation to be incorporated in Detailed Urban Plan for the area. They [master plans] in this manner become legalized and legitimized (Sekretarijat interview).

Similarly, the activities of first Mikser Festival and later on Mikser house, even though they aimed at culture, art and design at first, they actual implementation go more into fair-like and consumerist direction. In this respect, the other cultural workers in the neighbourhood use to say that Mikser attracted the attention for Savamala as a neighbourhood for partying and easy money and, in the long run, paved the way for night clubs, cafes and restaurants to install there (KC Grad interview).

Finally, the wide range of activities instigated by the civil sector in Savamala evidence an informal collaborative network that involves local and international actors and address the spaces in Savamala and other places. Their engagement revolves around local implementation for: (o) promoting urban culture, arts, design, architecture and urban design; (o) supporting of strategic project management, education and practice-based research; (o) humanitarian and fund-raising actions; (o) empowering citizen participation and local community bonds; and (o) incorporating certain number of commercial, entertainment and leisure activities (students questionnaire Savamala). Their potential to move around the city[12] under the unsupportable threat of the local megaproject (BWP) proofs the resilience of the constituted network.

Network of influence   According to the detailed analysis of the decision-making structure in Belgrade and in Savamala (Chapter 4, pp. XX-XX), it is conspicuous that there are several scales of the distribution of agency in local context throughout different lay-

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[11]For example, for central city municipalities there is no need for Regional spatial plan and Detailed Urban Plans as they are regulated with General Urban Plan; even though GUP 2009 is only strategic document, while 2003 GP included the articles on implementation as well (Sekretarijat interview).

[12]Several interviewees from the cultural sector mentioned the possibility of having Mikser House, KC Grad and Galleries (Stab and HUB) decide to move from Savamala in very near future.

ers of decision making. In urban planning discourse, the issue of internationalization is present to a small extent in the adjustment to the European Union urban legislative. As the pace of the joining process is slow, slow become the change of the system as well (ref). However, a certain confusion in the local context is produced by continual shifts of jurisdictions on certain issues from top-down and then from ground-up through the hierarchy of the regulatory framework (association of architects). With the lack of insight into the judiciary structure, citizens, stakeholders and investors usually resort to individual sources of authority in the public institutions (ref interview). On the contrary, in the historical overview of real-estate transformations after 2000, the influence of international corporate actors and investors has been indisputable (e.g. Beko Factory, BWP etc.).

Finally, in the so-called bottom-up network of engagement, international actors usually serve as source, support and manager of local actions. Even though their role is usually described as empowering and/or leading, the management strategies of international organizations in the civil sector are also indicated as manipulative in how they formulate the actions and adjust them to their own goals rather than inquire about and investigate what the [goals] of the local population are (expert and phd student questionnaire and workshop). The local distributors of international actions are: Goethe Institute Belgrade, KC Grad, Mikser House and Urban Incubator. While citizens, young professionals and students become mere participants/clients of these also top-down built agency networks (expert, student questionnaire Savamala, citizen interviews). The only real bottom-up actions may then be small-scale and sporadic initiatives of several citizens to either help minorities in their neighbourhood, or renovate parts of common spaces, or contribute with something what the neighbourhood is in need of (tap with fresh water in the waterfront area) on their own expenses (citizens interviews)

This further deconstruction of the actor roles serves to reveal rather an internal networking than an external one. Namely, the structure and scale internalized in the social manifestation of the analysed actors offer a possible perspective on how they engage in networks and bring up certain social constellations (urban development prospects).

5.1.4   Stabilizing and destabilizing agencies

In general, the actors were spotted according to their social function/action in the urban realm, and accordingly "flattened" and re-addressed from an ANT standpoint. According to the qualitative data collected mainly through non-structured interviews, it came up that analyzing functional and supportive agency bring an additional layer of explanations on urban reality. Apart from intermediary/mediator roles and associations, this interpretations brings in another type of internal networking (Figure 7).

In fact, the differentiation of functional and supportive networks indicate possibility that the actors change their roles by alter their internal network engagement. Socially functional networks indicate the social category of actors in reference to general categories of politico-economic social order (political role and the system of finance). The notion of supportive/secondary networks is laid out more as a significant subset of actors' agency

already figuring in any of structural networks. However, secondary networks explicate their bipolar character and their presence in more than one internal network simultaneously. As primary role is associative within structural networks, a secondary role might be stabilizing/destabilizing and it figures within supportive networks.

Socially functional networks   The most important issue of these networks is to (re)-distribute actions across local social realm. Of special importance is the fine tuning of the range of public actors: polity, public institutions, urban authorities, public enterprises and public utility companies. The data on these socially functional networks are extracted from the questionnaires among senior and young experts and young professionals in urban planning and architecture.

An interesting example is the case of Urban Planning Institute. Even though it is the most important consultant of the city authorities upon urban development and the major planning body in the city, it is not anymore financed directly from the city budget. According to the informant and publicly available data, Urban Planning Institute is financed from public procurement at the city level and from the financial means of the Belgrade Land Development agency for the public sector enagament at the city level. Moreovoer, it also acts as a private company, being engaged by the public sector through the public procurement at the national level; as well as it competes for other privately financed jobs at the market (UZ interview). The procedure is the same, either the client is a private company or a public institution; while the conduct may vary depending on clientele relationships within institutions.

A special place is devoted to rising agency of public-private partnership: BWP, public transportation in Belgrade, "Dom omladine" cultural institution; as well as those in prospect: Sava center congress hall and Airport Belgrade. While private enterprises is a sole metaphor of private interest, the agency tracking within networks indicate that it is very common that public-oriented actors actually pursue private interests through their activities.[13]

The representatives of civil sector are formal and informal organizations. The informants indicated a wider range of categories [i.e. National authorities, City authorities, Municipality authorities, the Ministry of CTI, City planning departments, Research institutions, Universities and education, Professional associations, Public enterprises, International NGOs, Local community, Local NGOs, The media, Political parties, Public-private enterprises, Private investment funds, Private investors and citizens) that had been aggregated to distinct public, private or civil agency of actors.

An example is the importance of public enterprise and public utility companies for local planning, namely on the scope of physical and practical constraints they set on spatial interventions and building (expert questionnaire post-socialist). An interviewee from the public sector stated that, during the plan preparation procedures, Urban Planning

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[13]This is especially evident in the agreements and activities of the authorities around Belgrade Waterfront Project. (Ministarstvo prostora collective interview)

Institute has usually to consult between 50 to 100 public institutions upon their requirements and constraints for planning and construction (UZ interview). In the case of BWP, the right Sava riverside in Belgrade is of substantial interest for several public enterprises (Javna Preduzeca) and public utility companies (Javno-komunalna Preduzeca), such as (IAUS interview):

- Coastal services: Serbia Water-management company and the Directorate for Inland Waterways;

- Railway transportation company;

- Belgrade waterworks and sewage;

- Belgrade Land Development agency;[14]

The very important question is their articulation in local networks and the discrepancy of the real and formal role they take in the cycles of urban planning and implementation.

Supportive/secondary networks Another very important issue in terms of stabilizing and destabilizing agency in urban space is the actual relationship with space which is in itself incorporate in the actor's nature. The extended list of urban functions was identified in Savamala through the qualitative inquiry[15] (Q11 students questionnaire Savamala). Apart from primary functions, which in this case may serve as secondary, the secondary networks are summarized to separate and involve also: urban related, space related, data related, non-governmental, infrastructural, services and transportation related issues (Q11 students questionnaire Savamala). Besides, these added categories are significant stabilizing/destabilizing source of agency in Savamala.

In these circumstances, it is crucial to mention how the rising global trend of practice-based research and education, which is coming outside the formal institutions, have also entered Savamala through the initiatives from Goethe Institute (international actor), Mikser House and KC Grad (national actors). These actors gather cultural workers and associations, young academics, architects, designers, and young people in general around methodological (School of urban practices), educative (The game of Savamala), participatory (My piece of Savamala), practice-based (Urbego), and urban related activities (Kucina interview 2013+2015, Mikser interview).

Moreover, the relationality to space in Savamala was kept above all as the question of resources - either for alternative culture, artists, social organizations, service-oriented entrepreneurs[16] or even for local residents. They have been all in need of space for their rather diverse interests (intervies: KC Grad, Citizens, private sector). In this respect,

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[14]as the financial management office for real estate in the city

[15]These function are: culture, transport, commercial, abandoned areas, leisure, residential, educational, public services and industrial

[16]The founder of a bike tour company indicated that Savamala was the perfect place for his business, because of its location and the density of tourist-oriented urban activities in the neighbourhood. (private sector interview)

the actions of the non-governmental sector has been marked as limited as it was not participatory enough nor enough bottom-up - the activities were not coming from the local community and did not represent local needs interview citizen, private. The framework of initially announced bottom-up actions has been actually rather imposed from the top-down by the international actors and local action distributors.

Finally, the issue of infrastructure (connectivity) and transportation (accessibility) in technical terms is marked as a materialization of the level of urbanity of a location (Association of architects interview). In this manner, Savamala has high importance and high rank in the city, but according to the artificial market conditions[17] in the real-estate market in Belgrade, the actual value of land and building stock does not always correspond to the real, material value (ref).

Stabilizing and destabilizing agency of functional and supportive networks
While tracing interactions and interconnections among actors collected through participatory action research methods (Table 3), it was revealed that various social manifestations of these actors have double effect. They can either work stabilizing (practice-based urban related research) or (de)stabilizing (public utility companies in planning, non-governmental actions in Savamala). In both ways they are offering another "reading" of the social world in Savamala.

Research activities taken up by non-governmental sector and international actors provided an elaborated picture of what can be found on the ground and how it can be put into action with minimal financial means. An example is *The Model of Savamala* project within Urban Incubator which provided a detailed data on physical and social structure of 5 streets in Savamala. The physical model presents the area and saturate the represented built structures with parallel data on social structure and local information and knowledge about the quarter. The Model has been exhibited for public during around 2 years with the aim to expose local knowledge and provide a time-space-data vision of the neighbourhood. With such activities, Savamala vivid cultural present was supported with a layer of verified data and elaborated knowledge.

On the other hand, public utility companies directly influenced by the BWP chose to stay quite about the actions that threatens their property and activities and endanger public interest in general. The voice of Coastal services has not been publicly heard in the case of illegal coast fortification. Similarly, Railway transportation company did not reacted over Lex specialis and the land offered to the foreign investor, whose large part is the property of the said company. While this is not the regular behaviour of this actors, in this case they contributed to destabilizing the procedures of how planning is administered and managed in Belgrade.

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[17] The approach to urban land regulation in Belgrade and Serbia is more administrative than market-oriented, yet construction land management takes place according to real-estate market rules (**??**). The series of instruments are working in favour of the real, functional real estate market rules: conversion of land-use rights, leaseholds on urban (construction) land, no taxation of land rent etc. (ibid.).

5.1.5 Urban assemblages

After having illustrated Savamala urban environment through actors, their figuration and agency, the complexity of its urban development was interpreted through node-link reality (Figure 8). Taking into account post-socialist context, significant pressure from private investors and articulation of civic initiatives and participation in Savamala, the network of translations were identified to refer to different layers of decision-making.

These translations consider centrality of actors and nature of links among them. In this sense they represent an "assemblage" process of agency dissemination. These overarching urban assemblage networks are: management, verification, consulting, administration, planning, construction, regulation, control, finances, implementation and social aspect networks (Figure 4) (expert questionnaire post-socialist). They encompass significant number of humans and non-humans, their actions, agencies and forces. They all have a figuration in Savamala, which allows outlining and tracing the distribution of any political, economic and cultural repercussions among them (Table 5 and 6).

As a result, the full congregation of urban assemblage networks in Savamala reveals different order of things/actors. From Latour's perspective of how the social may be reassembled, there is certain redistribution of decision-making layers on the mentioned case study (**?**):

1. "localize the global" (governance)
   Interestingly, the main agents of setting up the real environment of new transitional circumstances (neoliberal market, democratization of social realm) in Savamala, do not originate locally, but come from either powerful international investors/investment funds intervening in the real-estate or from international formal/informal organizations and NGOs engaged in, popularly known as, bottom-up activities. The engagement of these actors, even though it is different in its actualization (real-estate and bottom-up) is actually effectuated through the same networks of conduct: financial, managerial and implementation. In reality, these actors also act as a supreme decision-making bodies, as a type of top-down authority instating the issue of the network of influence as the important question in the local context.

2. "re-distribute the local" (operationalization)
   Recognized top-down urban planning actors are active in planning, regulatory, and consulting urban assemblage networks. Instead of instating urban strategies and distributing tactical operations and interventions in urban space; the pillars of urban regulatory framework in Serbia, in the case of Savamala and the Sava waterfront took completely subordinate position and acted as an executive body of private interests defined elsewhere.

3. "connecting sites" (actualization)
   Finally, what happens on site in Savamala is fragmentation of spaces at different lev-

els. This far-end decision making is actualized in terms of Belgrade Waterfront construction activities (assemblage network) or it is the local administration of projects, events, and activities prepared away and unaware of citizen opinions and needs (citizen interview). In both cases (real-estate transformations and bottom-up activities), there are certain controversies raised from the amenability of urban assemblage networks through the networks of influences (international-state/national-city/regional-local), or, in other words, directional subordination from top down.

Urban assemblage networks, when approached in its totality, represent a processual construction of the Savamala neighbourhood through ANT lens. Namely, the combination of external networks (assemblages) and internal ones (nature of actors) holds in itself actualization of social relations of power, influence, class and capital rather than having it as a starting point. From this perspective, ANT analysis of Savamala neighbourhood contains answers to how and why certain urban development prospects of post-socialist neighbourhood have come into being.

5.2 Urban Assemblage Map

At the final stage of ANT analysis, the contribution of this research project is the translation of what have been perceived through 5-step ANT framework of Savamala urban complexity onto its visual map of ANT relations (Figure 9).

Data are collected from context-based information and knowledge and also traced from relevant influences, interests and interpretations on Savamala. Agency and relationships of the above chosen human/non-human actors are tracked by their associations within different levels of decision making (top-down urban planning, interest-based transformations and bottom-up participatory and urban design activities) in a visual manner. The resulting actor-network map is a node-link illustration of the present-day urban complexity in Savamala. The visualization strategy in terms of categories comes from the adopted ANT elements: each node is a human/non-human entity (category: anture of actors) visually interpreted through mediator, association and agency properties (nature of networks and networks of influences) while the number and quality of links (nature of assemblages) represent type and number of urban assemblage networks they contribute to.

First of all, the potential of such illustration of actor-networks at the local level is in its strong relationship to "the global". Moreover, such visual map of actors and relations they build contain information loaded associations (nature, type, primary & secondary function, scale of influence). While actors are nodes whose form depends on their intermediary/mediatory role, the size indicate influce, the fill and outline represent their primary and secondary function, its location in the cycle corresponds to their social function, and the proximity to the center is their network of influence. The connections between them

are assemblages

Yet, such interpretation could not bias the potential reader, as it is without any notion of value or meaning initially inscribed in it. Namely, the networks could be interpreted differently according to the interpreter's background and interest, but still keeping the minimal amount of information already inscribed in how the networks are visualized. Another quality may be its data saturation and contingency and its capacity to contain the complexity of the social world.

The introduction of qualitative tuning for nodes-actors gives it a self-containing character. Namely, its advantage to other ANT diagrammes is that this one embodies internal networks (the nature of elements) as well external ones (assemblages). Moreover, this diagramme aims at keeping relation to spaces as well by making the concrete spatial references of the social distributions (actor-networks) to the exact places on the map (Figure XX).

In sum, the combination of such traits facilitates the digitalization of the diagramme and keeps it strongly related to reality. Digitalizing the diagramme may enable adding a 3rd dimension to it and visualising the time component through the stack of parallel layers. Even though piled, these time-space realms of the social are also interconnected. Therefore, it is also essential to overcome intersecting and represent the social as continuity, what it actually is in reality.

5.2.1 Mapping actor-network distributions in urban decision making

Bearing in mind that the initial actor/actor groups are identified through the morphology of urban decision-making, this extensive ANT analysis has argued in favour of representing its amenability/conduct in terms of the overlap and collision of different urban assemblage networks.

Most of preexisting methodological approaches in urban development studies consider certain socially bounded explanations like the dichotomies of importance-influence, impact-priority, power-interest, support-opposition, and constructive-destructive attitude as self-containing explanatory categories for mapping actor and stakeholder engagement in the social realm (**?**). However, ANT approach starts from the other end, flattening the social unity of all human and non-human actors. Only afterwards, generating networks in themselves contain the information upon the social world. In this manner, the ground-up ANT analysis performed herein provides the answers on how urban decision-making is processed in Savamala and enables an argumentation on why mentioned social dichotomies are still at stake in post-socialist neighbourhoods.

Table 5 incorporates the listing of many actors (vertical and horizontal), the reference to space in Savamala and their distribution through the morphology of urban decision

making (columns). Through the table, the main agency of action is associated with the actors of urban regulatory framework (rows). Moreover, their interconnections with other actors through urban decision-making layers are also characterized by the social effects they produce within these actor-networks (political, economic and cultural aspects: 1-22).

Biased Regulatory framework

The most obvious and even self-evident factor of local urban planning is contained within the agency of regulatory framework actors. However, a significant space fragmentation in their approach must be admitted. Namely, their interest and action are almost exclusively oriented towards the highly-attractive waterfront area, without taking into consideration potential and development status of already established civil and cultural agency in the upper Savamala.

As Vujosevic (2012) states - urban decision-making in Serbia in general is rather the combination of crisis-management, supporting privatization, market-oriented and project-led conduct of technical issues than critical overview of local factors and global methodological shifts in planning and the acknowledgment of stakeholder collaboration and strategic governance. While 2003 Planning and Construction Act as well as 2009 General Plan of Belgrade 2021 show an improvement in terms of strategic approach to urban development, their loose connection to implementation networks produce certain regulatory gaps when it comes to public administration and city planning authorities.

As more than one informant explained the situation - city planning authorities are used to approach urban planning as a procedure embedded in the legal framework, so that any less deterministic attempt ends up either in perpetual adaptations of legal documents and technical documentation or in arbitrary decisions on priorities and projects. In this case, most of urban planners and public representatives do not show enough vigor, interest and professional necessity to expand their knowledge over new global trends in planning and radically changed circumstances of transition.

From the institutional perspective the sole solution is seen in the hyper production of policy agendas and technical documentation and their constant revisions without concrete and operational implementation mechanisms.[18] According to the elaboration of decision-making amenability through urban assemblages networks (Section 5.1.5, pp.XX), urban regulatory framework in Serbia does not hold any effective means of control and verification. By confronting internal and external networks of the actors engaged in control and verification assemblages, it may be concluded that they do not go beyond mere institutional formalizations which are either not applied in reality or their application is rather bogus/phony/artificial.

This trend is even more at play for numerous policy agendas. The conditionality of rules and strategies does not only depend on political and economic influences, but also

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[18] Substantial changes to the once adopted 2003 Planning and Construction Act had happened in 2006, 2009, 2011, 2014. Speaking of general plans, 2003 GP Belgrade was updated in 2005, 2007, 2009, 2014 and 2016. The most important changes were in 2009, when official does not comprise any prescriptions on implementation, and in 2016, when it was redefined as General Urban Plan of Belgrade.

on inadequate policies and instruments for its conduct and management. An example is the loss of conducting agency through the networks of implementation even though all actors of conduct were defined. In the detailed Implementation programme for the Spatial Plan of Serbia 2010-2020, it was prescribed who (The Ministry of Finance), what (urban rehabilitation, environmental protect and tourist strategy) and how (budget) conducts small rehabilitation program of Belgrade waterfront areas. After one year, in the report the issue is marked as "data not available", and by the end of the first phase of the implementation plan (2015), at the Sava waterfront happened significant demolitions and the first megastructure arose which does not have anything to do with the strategic priority number 51 from the mentioned implementation programme.

These and similar practices were made possible usually by the politically biased roles of individuals in the institutional framework (Intermediaries/mediators, pp.XX). The interest-based pluralist political life also sneaked in urban planning domain. Political background of actors in urban regulatory framework has made planning networks at some points coincide with either administrative or financial networks. However, in both cases urban planning institutions are deprived of its professional, strategic and public-interest role and planners consequently end up deprived of binding authority and professional dignity in doing their public functions.

Another position of the conflict of interest may be that of the institutions when they have overlapping roles in the public domain (and overlapping assemblage networks consequently), so that all their institutional activity become flawed. This was the case of the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure after the discontinuation of the Republic Spatial Planning Agency. The Ministry became the responsible body for both regulatory and executive tasks in the public domain of urban planning.

On the other hand, the Cadastre has been holding the position as the supreme body for defining criteria, means and methodologies for land and building assessments and the executive body for performing assessment tasks for a long time. The position of the conflict of interest on various levels is also a point of departure for introducing individual interests into the institutional framework. Still centralized structure of urban decision-making (with the Ministry of construction as the supreme decision-making body in planning, implementation, control and verification networks) and concentration and cooperation of political and financial powers under new demand driven economic model instate vertical clientelism and powerful economic actors as the know-how of doing business in the post-socialist cities in transitional countries.

Powerful Private Investors

The transition from planned to market based economy created certain void in political and social practices and in aspects and solutions of the legal and economical frameworks. Rudimentary market-based regulatory instruments enable powerful financial actors to involve individually in building process. Not only that building codes and regulations become defined by investor interests, but they also profit from unregulated urban economy incen-

tives and measures and gain valuable urban land in public to private ownership transition processes.

In these circumstances, financial engagement of the public institutions (Budget of the Republic and its decision making bodies - the Government and the Parliament) becomes also problematic, such as a growing imbalance between the social role of the budget (public social services) and its developmental role (market-oriented). The prime example of the kind is the adaptation of urban regulative and public-private partnership built around Belgrade Waterfront Project.

Most of regulatory, planning and implementation processes around the project are conducted behind the closed door and only became introduced to public through the interventions of Transparency Serbia NGO, National anti-corruption agency and NDVBGD collective. A set of official decisions have been made in order to enable smooth conduct of the project: (1) The Government Resolution (Decision) introducing BWP as the project of special importance for the Republic, (2) changes of the General Plan to enable construction of high rise buildings at the Sava waterfront, (3) Spatial Plan of Special Uses explicitly formulated to accommodate interests of BWP investment group, and (4) Lex specialis on the property issues in the area.[19]

Not to mention that most of these decisions were followed by inconsistent institutional procedures and mainly happened without public insight into the procedure and documentation (?). The approach of public institutions and urban planning bodies in this case acted without any major concern what could be the public interest in the case and what are wider space-time concerns of such projects.

Urban planning is actually deeply embedded in the context of transition towards service based society, where planning law and planning practice have not yet managed to integrate physical planning, economic factors and market mechanisms into urban interventions that comply with public interest and outweigh mere growth without development actions (?). An example of a biased, potentially financially dangerous binding document for the city of Belgrade and the Serbian society[20] is the agreement that was signed in April 2016 by: (a) The Republic of Serbia (The Minister for construction, transportation and infrastructure), (b) Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment LLC (Mohamed Ali Alabar), (c) Belgrade Waterfront d.o.o. (acting director), Al Maabar International Investment LLC (Mohamed Ali Alabar).

The agreement was made public only 3 months after the agreement was signed when terrain clearance and the construction were already launched. [21] The Republic of Ser-

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[19]Apart from biased legal reasons and incentives for most of these legal documents, very important is the posteriority of some of them. Namely, several decisions targeted the project, Belgrade Waterfront Master plan, but in the manner of its formulation it was obvious that these documents were also the source and the cause of the decision (Government Resolution, BWP SPSP) ?.

[20] According to the agreement, a part of the obligations of the project are transferred from the city to the national level (JVA 2015).

[21]The document was published on the website of the Government in September 2015- a full version in English on 259 pages and the version in Serbian on only 69 pages. Taking into account language barrier, the exact details and consequences of the contract are still not available to the general public in Serbia.

bia obliged itself in construction, financial, regulatory and administrative conduct of the project (assemblage networks of the project).[22] Above all, the agreement constrains the Serbian institutional framework to prevent any verification or control activities addressing the project or the area of its interest.

After all, the most disturbing fact might be that national and city institutions have consequently no influence on the technical urban planning documentations for the location The Republic obliged itself to establish a state agency for Belgrade Waterfront legal adjustment tasks on its own expense and that, once having the use permit, the investor obtains the full property right of this most valuable land in Belgrade. [23] It is not only the case of unequal distribution of resources, but a certain practice of the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity abolition on the Belgrade Waterfront plots of land is also at play.

The strong space relation of the foreign investor's activities speaks of local incapacity to address and solve the issue of prolonged regulatory gap in terms of investments (expert questionnaire). In this manner, secondary network involvement of Eagle Hills (the initial company of the foreign investor) indicates that the representatives of corporate and international capital manage to find the weakest and most profitable point of entrance into the local market - the unregulated and still centrally governed land market in Serbia.

Un-institutionalized culture (ref Spatium article)

The core of the analyses are also publicly present civic and private organizations. Even though they most often pertain to either urban or NGO secondary networks, several of them have unclear and in detail non-transparent funding structure - while they receive some public funding, they are also partly profit-oriented (KC Grad, Mikser). Even though some of their activities are publicly funded, KC Grad and Mikser also incorporate profitable services (caf-bars, shopping areas, concerts, exhibitions and other lucrative events/activities). While for KC Grad, the sponsors and partners are publicly presented on

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[22]The Republic of Serbia obliged to: (o) perform infrastructural works at the location; (o) exempt the investor of infrastructural equipment fees; (o) confer the property right for architectural heritage buildings to the foreign investor Bristol Hotel, Railway station headquarters, Paper mill, Train Turn Table, Post Office; and the first in line to be contributed are Belgrade Cooperative (already in possession), Simpo and Iskra (from the beginning of 2017); (o) guarantee for additional loans not predicted by the contract or the feasibility study provided by the foreign investor but guaranteed by RS; (o) take loans for infrastructural works; (o) enable future conversion of property rights to the investor without compensation; (o) adjust the legal framework to ensure the rights stated in the agreement. On the contrary, the official financial binds of the foreign investor are not 3,5 billions of euros as it was advertised in the media (Politika XX), but 150 millions of euros and 150 millions of euros as a loan with no obligation or any guarantees for the project implementation. Moreover, the agreement gives the rights to the foreign investor to request infinite project changes and the adjustments of the legal framework accordingly. With all this contributions, Serbia stays the minority owner of BWP company and the future profit of the project.

[23]This means also the right to sell it without any influence from the local or national authorities. Even during the construction phase, Belgrade waterfront d.o.o. was conferred the right of land use and the collection of all the profit from temporary structures and advertisement on the territory. During 2016 the company started subrenting spaces under non-transparent conditions (Restaurant 1905, Eagle hills and construction subcontractor offices, Savanova restaurant).

their website, it is not the case for Mikser. Nova Iskra is the only explicit privately-based organization.

Actors social function is strongly connected to their level of influence in this case. All these bottom-up actors are active at local, less often city level, and usually international level. Though their international role is rather passive and their international visibility is more in the domain of funding - several are recipients of international financial support (foreign embassies and foundations, European cultural and art organizations and programmes) or under direct supervision of international entities (Urban Incubator Belgrade was the initiative of Goethe Institute). This character of civic activities is also the result of cuts in national and city budget spending for culture (expert interviews). However, there are others with transparent financial scheme (Ne da(vi)mo Beograde initiative).

This concentration of culture, creativity and innovation in Savamala also results from transition toward neoliberal markets and country's opening to global funding, trends and guidelines (expert questionnaire). This limited scope of intervention and radical change of urban vision from "big is beautiful" to small and private is the prototype of non-intrusive commercialization of arts and cultures as well (expert interview). Namely, the creative cluster in Savamala was not anything unique, but rather a typical example of current European wave of hype urban culture (ref media). Thus, local cultural, artistic and civic scene shows signs of total dependency on global trends and guidelines rather than an independent and bottom-up movement.

5.2.2 Mapping urban agency and social aspects

In Savamala, identified a dynamic, interactive actor-networks were articulated through decision making mechanisms of (1) top down planning, (2) interest-based real estate transformation, and (3) co-design and creative participation actions. In this case, global and local political, economic, and cultural factors, placed in the particular spatially and socially constrained context (Serbia, Belgrade, Savamala), are the main forces of urban development and they constitute social artifacts (actors) and social aspect networks (urban assemblages) (Table 3). The detailed mapping and visualization of these actor-networks also accounts for contextual, post-socialist and transitional circumstances, but by avoiding explanations coming from the reproduction of social order, power and class.

In other words, the collision of these grand narratives is present in the current Serbian context through:

1. the crisis of common social values and civic society standards,

2. the lack of healthy investment interest and fair competition,

3. the absence of public interest and public good concerns,

4. a battlefield of significant power pressures and interference of interests from authorities, business actors and civil actions.

Based on the performed ANT analysis on Savamala urban actor-networks and their distribution within urban decision making layers, general summary of urban development prospects in the neighbourhood may be the following: (1) lack of elaborated, strategic policies in urban development and investment; (2) cumbersome institutional structure; (3) distribution of publicly owned empty plots and spaces in Savamala to private investors/owners; (4) vertical clientelism in institutional framework (**??**); (5) up-to-date legal documents and policy agendas which do not correspond to urban reality; (6) overpowered and personalized Nation State as a key actor on citywide scale (BWP example); (7) semi-legal institutionalizations become official practice and a pool of opportunities for future exploitation; (8) provision of instruments for powerful actors to realize their interests through controversial institutionalizations; (9) unregulated economic incentives and measures; (10) economic aspects strongly influence political aspects and actors in post-socialist context; (11) institutionalization of private interests of powerful economic actors and marginalization of civic initiatives and public interest; (12) "growth without development" (**??**) roots in top-down approach to regulatory, managerial and financial networks; (13) privileged foreign and domestic developers in Waterfront/ Sava amphitheatre/ Marina Dorcol Redevelopment (**??**, Stojkov, 2015); (14) political actors in Serbia have support for the replication of extreme neoliberal practices, such as Thatcher-Regan model (workshop data); (15) housing and commercial purposes of 80% of BW spaces (**??**); (16) spatial fragmentation and unequal distribution of resources in Savamala - Waterfront and Upper (Urban) Savamala; (17) the lack of participatory and communication culture; (18) biased role of the media in advertising urban projects (BWP); (19) apathy of population concerning semi-legal, anti-constitutional, neglected public interest issues in BWP; (20) the lack of long-term strategic approach to cultural institutions and agendas - activities and initiatives (such as those in Savamala) are short lasting with no certain future (expert interview Petovar); (21) civil initiatives in Savamala have neither social nor political power, nor sufficient public support and funding (expert interview Petovar); (Table 5,6).

The dissemination of these important factors through the distinguished urban assemblage networks offer an overview of how pre-socialist, socialist, post-socialist and transitional in the Savamala neighbourhood have merged into its current urban reality. Based on Table XX and Figure XX (ANT paper), the effects of the mentioned urban development prospects (1-21) within urban assemblage networks are such that:

- **Managerial**

  The pillars of the managerial amenability of task at the neighbourhood level in Belgrade are the functions of City Mayor, City Architect and City Manager introduced by 2002 Law on local governance (**??**). More generally, it is the role of the Minister of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure at the national level. As of practice, these functions have shown to be political party figures and crucial links in distributing central decisions (government, prime minister) at the city level.

For example, in the case of BWP, although the Prime Minister was the leading figure in the negotiations and deals with the Arabian investor, the agreements were signed by the Minister and the City Mayor in the name of the Republic of Serbia While taking all the credits in the media of the announced success of the project, the Prime Minister has enough power to distribute duties and avoid direct responsibility in this obviously disputable case (Association of architects interview).

Another example is the instant discontinuation of the Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, the chief national executive body of spatial planning, after its director refused to sign the questionable Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area of Belgrade Waterfront (BWPSPSP). It was not a change of the management structure in the agency but its complete removal that, above all, figures as a manifest of political decisionism in national institutional structures and contributes to a complete disruption of its spatial planning system.[24]

Therefore, in the mediatory manner, these individual roles (intermediaries and mediators section, pp.XX are also the core bearers of the set of political issue instigated by political voluntarism, very present in Serbian urban planning discourse even from pre-socialist times (Chapter 3, pp. XX) ((Table 6)). It may be said also that urban planning framework and practice are deeply embedded in their societal context. While people are aware that there are troublesome laws, corrupt institutions and complicated local circumstances, they usually avoid or get use to them without battling against them (Table 6 cultural aspects). Following the thesis of Stojanovic ((XXXX)), one informant also suggested that it is the result of the Ottoman period and Ottoman corruption model that also thrived during the pre-socialist period (Association of architects interview).

- **Control and Verification**

  The issue of control and verification networks is an example of formalized and provisory legal framework and its conditional and performative implementation. While public hearings and planning commissions are legally assigned bodies of verification and control of spatial and urban planning, they are either dismissed or performed without any real authority. [25] Such application of legal procedures was enabled not only by the inconsistency of legal framework formulations, but also by irregularity of its implementation (Association of architects interview)

  This inconsistency of yet formalized institutional procedures may also be interpreted as a legacy of centralized state from socialism which is still at play even under dif-

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[24] After the discontinuation of the agency, the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure holds both the regulatory and executive role for all spatial planning tasks in the national domain.

[25] Concerning the public review and hearing of BWPSPSP and the changes of GUP Belgrade 2021, numerous remarks were artificially summarized (98 remarks of various institutions, private and public entities were reduced to 48 examples), and then easily rejected usually with superficial and evasive explanations (**?**).

ferent political and economic regime praising neoliberal transition. The artificial decentralization and democratization is now enriched with a layer of powerful economic actors,[26] who profit from top-down decision making. They couple with political powers in order to reduce control and verification procedures and troublesome professional actors to the minimum.

- **Consulting**

  The core element of consultation networks are research and professional organizations and international organizations through European and international capacity building programmes and funding instruments.

  Citing their research oriented colleagues, urban planning professionals in Belgrade usually approach city as a procedure combined with a technocratic view on urban development so that their role in incorporating opportunities and possibilities to improve regulatory and implementation phases of planning becomes rather a repetition of what has been standardized or imposed from top-down (hlExperts - Savamala - questionnaire; Association of architects interview). However, in the case of regulation changes for BWP, multiple professional organizations (Academy of architecture, Association of architects, Serbian academy of sciences and arts) raised their voices against the irregularities and endangering public interest and presented elaborated reports and statements, but without enough media coverage and any consideration from the side of the authorities (ref documents). In this manner, it is possible to say that the part of these networks is invisible and without any real influence in the public and regulatory domain.

  On the other hand, the not up-to date practice of urban planning in Serbia also pays its toll to the marketization of planning domains and by expanding foreign influences that do not fall under any of evaluating procedures. It was the case with urban design and construction solutions for BWP. The practice of copying European documents and experiences without critical perspective and important adjustments to the local traditions and context, as well as introducing international experts directly into local field for interventions, are very present in Serbia. More often than not, political powers directly interfere in planning and decide and communicate with foreign professionals without consulting local scientific and professional communities. Such practices contribute to rather controversial than progressive foreign influences (ref). They are are not properly translated to the situation in Serbia and in this manner make more room for misconducts than for preventing it (**?**).

- **Administration**

  The administrative body of urban planning at city level in Belgrade is the City Secretariat for Urbanism with its departments and sectors that aim to proceduralize

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[26]Not only the state as it was the most powerful economic actor during socialism.

any transformation and change introduced through urban planning instruments[27] (Sekretarijat interview).

Continuous changes of regulations, conditions and authorities in charge of decision-making are reported as the cause of practical problems such as (experts questionnaire post-socialist):

- having relevant institutions in conflict of interest (ref Chapter 5, pp. XX);

- institutions having a monopoly in certain domains (ref Chapter 5, pp. XX);

- institutions in practice exceeding the jurisdiction they are legally assigned to (ref Chapter 5, pp. XX);

Apart from the authoritarian hierarchy of institutional power that empowers certain institutions to exceed or bias their jurisdictions, the issue of individual responsibility is seriously taken into account in the old socialist manner. Namely, most of public officers avoid taking responsibility and therefore split it among themselves. In practice, having many people signing a documents usually means slowing down and encumbering the process and postponing the implementation (Association of architects interview). In such circumstances, manipulation, clientelism and paternalism became the most successful strategy to navigate through existing system nurturing multiple institutional zombies from previous socialist times (?).

- **Implementation and Construction**

  Construction and implementation networks are associated together as construction is a practice of spatial interventions while implementation involves both social and spatial practices. Moreover, both issues confront certain de-institutionalization of their practices in recent transitional context in Serbia and both suffer from over-presence of international actors at the local level - either from international formal and informal organizations or from private and corporate investors.

  While Urban Incubator Belgrade and its successors demonstrate the capacity to implement at least small-scale socio-spatial projects, they also indicate significant lack of strategic development goals for cultural institutions and agendas and a limited extend of networking and collaboration at the local level in cases when it is not bonded within larger institutional framework and financial model (expert questionnaire post-socialist). This also testifies the disappearing middle class disempowered and impoverished by transition, as well as marginality and incapacity of cultural and educational institutions in these new circumstances of transition (?).

  Even though certain experts state that Savamala established its identity through

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[27]However, any spatial and social change happening on sites and not from top-down stays somehow invisible for this body. For a long time, this was also the issue with illegal construction (add exact number and year). Fortunately, there is now separate City Secretariat focusing on this issue, the Secretariat for Legalization.

these civic activities (Kucina interview 2), others claim that these programmes were too professional, typical for either local architects or the "genius loci" of some other places - artistic and foreign trends which were not adequately translated into local context (Association of architects interview). The similar opinion share the citizens, explaining that it seemed that they [foreign and local organizations] came up with already prepared solutions and visions to be implemented, and with no concern for real needs and ideas of local population (citizens interview).

Similar dependence on global trends and circumstances is obvious in growing involvement of foreign investors and investments funds in the real estate in Serbia. The consequences of political treatment of property and discrepancy between planning and implementation during socialism take its toll being still at play through fast-moving, profit-oriented practices under neoliberalism and transition - once built, the structures are more difficult to change, which has been the logic of BWP[28] (Association of architects interview).

- **Regulatory and Planning**
  The overlapping of regulatory and planning networks is multiple and overwhelming, even more so as most of the responsible institutions act like management agencies rather than taking strategic approaches (**?**).

  Generally speaking, in Serbian urban planning discourse built environment is rather the product of the regulatory framework than any strategic and professional engagement that surpasses it (Association of architects interview). In this manner, the troika of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure and the City Mayor are the actual power poles in urban decision-making in Serbia. Namely, inconsistency in the legal framework and overlapping of the jurisdiction (municipality, city, republic) support parallel structures of power and parallel roles (Intermediaries/Mediators, pp. XX (Kucina interview 2). In these circumstances, it is not even the quality of legal and planning documentation frameworks, but it is the reliance on individual sense of responsibility and public interest that causes problems. [29]

  The extended influence in different domains of the individuals having the supreme political power has been a historical heritage in Serbia from pre-socialist (Prince Milos and Mihailo, King Alexander), socialist (Josip Broz Tito) and post-socialist and transitional times (Slobodan Milosevic and the Prime Minister now). Disregarding

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[28]Despite the double rejection for the building permit from the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure, the coastal fortification was finalized during 2016. It is difficult to estimate, but, having two residential towers under construction nearby, it is very unlikely that the coastal fortification will be dismantled and removed, or even adjusted to the local technical requirements.

[29]Knowing that the Prime Minister and City Mayor are political functions and that they usually are not experts in the domain of urban planning and architecture, the influence on the most important decisions comes from either those who advice them or those with economic means and clear and rationally-defined criteria of their interests (Association of architects interview).

the importance of institutions resulted in lack of operational and efficient feasibility studies, provisory reports and strategies and corrupted plans and regulations (ref). In these new transitional circumstances, authorities address the issue of the economic revival by focusing their capacities and attention on investors and adapting the regulatory framework to serve their needs, [30] while citizens are excluded from the decision making (**?**).

While planning has been identified as an implementation tool for investors' requirements to be effectuated in the transitional discourse ["fast line for investors" as it was explained by an informant (expert questionnaire post-socialist)], several experts suggest a possibility that "investor urbanism" may be traced back to socialist period after the constitutional change of 1974 and the introduction of self-managed public enterprises that dominated supply-demand chains at local real estate market (Kucina interview 2). Either public (socialism) or private (transition), the instruments to exercise their power might be similar, and the instruments that once served to reinvigorate housing construction and nation state economy in public interest might also become dangerous weapons if used for individual interests and particular purposes.

Another problematic issue of the cumbersome institutional structure inherited from socialism is the lack of any official procedures to assign a regulation as outdated. With strong authoritarianism and hierarchy in urban institutions, it is very often that obsolete and inefficient structures, documents and procedures are replicated, while public interest is usually not good and sufficient excuse for regulation changes (Association of architects interview). In this manner, once thriving cultural and civic activities in Savamala (2012-2013) have to date left unregulated and uninstitutionalized (KC Grad), even though politicians often officially use them as examples of good, local practice (ref media).

- **Financial**

  The distribution of financial networks coincide with the impact of globalization and this new context of transition from the international isolation of Serbia in the 1990s to the integrated position in Europe and in the world after 2000.

  Global capital and finances have affected all layers of decision-making in Serbia: top-down, real estate and civic sector, either by international investment banks, private and corporate investors and international organizations, embassies, NGOs and European and international funding bodies. However, the amenability at the

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[30]Various informants and multiple reports and analysis indicate the existence of Investor's Master Plan for BWP which was the source for numerous regulation changes and even more so it was used in the construction phase of the coastal fortification and towers, but it has been kept secret to this day (BWP interview, Association of architects, experts, ref Alternativni izvestaj, Ministarstvo prostora). Several experts also emphasize that the design for BWP urban structures was created under different circumstances and was rather an urban structure for the seaside as river-currents have different dynamics from sea tide (Association of architects interview).

local level still keeps the trends from the 1990s when pressure, money and connections were the means of local tycoons, who also were the major economic actors at that time (ETHZ 2012 Belgrade Formal Informal).

Moreover, the access to public funding is also an issue in Serbia. While the public debt of Serbia is growing (**?**), the budget spending of public money are more in favour of questionable business models of several public-private companies (Air Serbia, Belgrade Waterfront), while civic initiatives in Savamala receive minor local funding and support and usually only at the municipality level (ref interviews).

The ANT approach to actor identification and their distribution through networks facilitates (o) logical argumentation for urban dynamics, (o) enables mapping urban complexity, and (o) visualizing actors and networks through diagrams. In order to interpret urban development of Savamala, specific political, economic and cultural aspects are treated also as actors (social artifacts). The distribution of these networks is traced within the map through the identification of:

1. key actors involved,

2. levels of decision making which it stems from,

3. sets of social aspects aggregated together.

The key findings are articulated through a comprehensive description of on-site complexity, which these conflictive political, economic and cultural aspects produce. In this approach, the researcher kept certain traditional concepts from urban theory and practice, but reinterpreted them in ANT logical framework. In this manner, it was clarified what type of networks (urban assemblages) these conflictive aspects address. However, the ANT's quality of offering the playground for explanations from within and below makes the task of relating and distributing agency through networks a never-ending story that also depends on the participant/researcher who does it. Therefore, even historical transpositions/interlacements, roles and links through networks become ephemeral and should be put to inquiry through multiple perspectives, if possible (**?**: pp.256-257).

"The urbicide in Belgrade is fed by the mentalities and the logic of incompleteness: unfulfilled urban development plans, vane political promises and abandoned projects. Samardzic in Doytchinov 2015"

5.3 Conclusion

The ANT data analysis presented in this chapter addresses contemporary urban reality in Savamala. Most of pre-existing methodological approaches in urban development studies consider certain socially bounded explanations (like the dichotomies of importance-influence and power-interest) as self-containing explanatory categories for mapping actor and stakeholder engagement in the social realm (**?**).

First of all, ANT approach starts from the other end. Its point of departure is the identification of human and non-human actors from ground-up, within the historical deposits of data, procedures, and identities contextualized through the morphology of urban decision-making in Savamala. Thereafter, the analysis is directed toward pinning down, describing and tracing their agency and relations at the neighbourhood level.

In short, the catalyzation of urban agency in Savamala had been 2-folded: spatial and social. In spatial terms, intensive real-estate transformation created an invisible division of Savamala. With complete disregard for the cultural agency active and the life and activity there in general, recent radical, profit-oriented construction enterprises at the waterfront are directing the development of the area toward what is known as "gated community" where upper Savamala will be only a unpleasant passway.

Socially speaking, the role of individuals is at the core of urban interventions. While in the regulatory framework this practice is obvious and dominant, with politicians making decisions in favour of their political parties not their respective public whose public servants they are. On the real-estate side, it is very often spoken about individual international investors or domestic tycoons as the one's pulling the strings. Moreover, for bottom-up engagement, the informants usually testify that for having the job done, it is usually needed to have powerful and persistent individuals behind it. Taking into account historical background, Serbian society may be described as fundamentally authoritarian. In such circumstances, both functionality and reliability of institutions and empowerment of bottom-up sectors would hardly happen until the approach is changed for more egalitarian and horizontal one.

Secondly, on the side of the methodology, the chosen 5-step ANT analytical framework served for fine-tuning of internal and external actor-networks and revealing the nature of urban agency. The final diagram illustrated the totality of circumscribed urban assemblage networks through ANT lens (Figure X). Moreover, the visualized overlaps and the collisions of various actor-network and social aspect distributions provided the extensive explanations on how urban decision-making is processed in Savamala and why the mentioned social dichotomies are still at stake in a post-socialist neighbourhood.

Enriching it with the space-time component, this ANT analysis aims at decoding urban complexity and dynamics of Savamala from the past to the present moment. In this respect, very important point of disruption and radical change in Savamala is the officialized procedure for the adjustment of the regulatory framework to the investor needs. At this point, the future of spatial interventions in the whole city might be directed according to what here and now a single investor prefers and requires.

Furthermore, the methodological asset of ANT is its tendency to enable explanations from within and below. Such descriptive research practice makes the task of relating and distributing agency through networks a never-ending, researcher-based story telling. Therefore, even historical transpositions, roles and links through networks become ephemeral and with no means to address and question what will come next.

In Savamala and even more so in Belgrade, an important spatial issue are the transformation of the city landscape according to the new regulations set to satisfy BWP requirements. The city will rise in height and most probably, as there are no zonal restrictions, it may happen it the center. While the number of people living and visiting the area will rise, the question of efficient and sustainable transport could come up. Even though it seems that professionals are not strategically addressing such future. At the social side, the role of international actors and global trends at all levels is unavoidable and overwhelming. The question of positioning local experts, professionals, authorities and citizens therefore might be crucial. Between international influence and an intervention in the particular context, there must be a meso-layer of local urban actors and professional and regulatory frameworks.

Finally, the capacity of ANT to practically address the future from the made conclusions is lame. In general, practice-based approach in urban studies has had hardly any benefits from ANT. The hitherto application of ANT did not address operational diagnosis worthwhile for tracing urban system transitions. Therefore, the next stage of the analysis in this research focuses on a framework for constant extension of agency and relations when the actors collide, overlap and interfere in networks.

Chapter 6

Re-assembling Urban Dynamics within Multi-Agent System

Within an urban system, all elements are interdependent. The ANT analysis provided an extensive overview of complex actor-network relations. These assemblages also bounded space-time dynamics linking past-to-present translations of urban decision-making practices and processes. Actor-networks, while being influenced by the others, also influences them simultaneously. As do the agents, within the Multi-agent system (MAS) methodological approach (**??**).

Similarly to Actor-network Theory (ANT), Multi-agent system (MAS) further deconstructs urban complexity and dynamics. It traces agent profiles (assembly of urban agency) and their inter-relations (assembly of operations). The bearers of urban agency are urban key actors operated under the continuous negotiations within the morphology of urban decision-making.

However, the main contribution of MAS lies in tracking down the character of agents' links. These qualitative categories are reinterpreted by MAS through passive and active contextual elements (objects and relations). They serve for connecting present to future based on the past-to-present explanations of agencies and relations. In this manner, MAS also manages to operate the concept of urbanity through the categories of: social practices, urban conflicts and contextual resources (spatial capacities and social potential). While spatial capacities and social potentials are passive, social practices and urban conflicts are active contextual elements which are continuously operated by the key actors and within this initial networking.

In Savamala, these contextual elements are entrenched in Serbian urban regulatory framework, current urban and architectural projects on site, and civic initiatives that activate social fabric of the neighbourhood. Savamala has been marked by all mayor transformations of Serbian society over time, current hype of arts and culture in line with worldwide spread of hipster neighbourhoods. Besides, it has also fallen under the massive,

but rather disputable waterfront mega-project, that aims to remodel Belgrade's landscape according to modern high-rise metropolis patterns (Figure X). These overlaps of past, present and future processes and mechanisms are the core framework for socio-spatial patterns in Savamala.

This chapter provides the second stage analysis with MAS. First of all, a narrative of resources, conflicts and practices indicates the links between the current state of affairs in Savamala and future oriented urban system transitions. Further on, associating these socio-spatial patterns with urban agents reveals agent preferences. Within MAS, agent preferences are defined to have bounded up the agent's capacity to influence the future of the neighbourhood. Finally, this chapter is concluded with the notes on how these capacities might be operationalized within urban transitions by the hybrid method that combines MAS and ANT.

6.1 Socio-spatial Patterns in MAS: Dynamism of Objects and Relations in Savamala

Any urban environment is in a constant state of flux. In this respect, a kaleidoscope of collected data on Savamala and the first round of analysis on urban assemblages have revealed sets of relationships between urban agents, the morphology of urban decision-making and urban complexity. As discussed above, these relationships contain only the reference to past and present urban processes. Conversely, "glocalized" [1] socio-spatial patterns cover up the space-time relations of urbanity and address the future prospects of development.

To gain a fuller appreciation of these future-oriented processes, close vivisection of socio-spatial patterns in Savamala relied on the qualitative data obtained in four rounds of consecutive data collection: documents review, questionnaires, workshops, and interviews. Based on these data and in reference to MAS methodological framework, socio-spatial patterns are divided into:

1. Passive contextual elements or objects in MAS terminology

2. Active contextual processes or the assembly of relations in reference to MAS.

6.1.1 Passive contextual elements

As already mentioned, passive objects (contextual elements) are a MAS unit of analysis. In its methodological scope, they are assumed passive because agents (urban key agents) are the core activators/exploiters of their agency. More precisely, such category is not about the individual objects, but rather brings up sets of elements, factors and circumstances that, once united, become the basis for action. Thus, this interpretation already

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[1] global and local simultaneously

reveals its future oriented span.

Theoretically speaking, passive contextual elements refer to the concept of urbanity and its potential to be measured (**?**; **?**). Based on the conceptual framework of this thesis (Section 2.1.5), the measurability of the urbanity concept stems from the issue of territorial capital (**?**), and more in detail: spatial (**?**) and social capital (**?**). Moreover, there are several different categorizations of capital, to mention but a few: hard and soft, material, social intellectual, human capital.. (**?**).

However, for the purposes of the MAS methodology the issue of capital is simply addressed in the sense of resources. In this manner, all possible variations of the term are reduced to its reference to either space (spatial, material, hard capital) or society (social, human, intellectual, soft capital), and context altogether (territorial capital).

Thus, passive contextual elements are considered as:

- spatial capacities

- social potentials

Spatial capacities

Rivers are very important city landmarks of modern cities. As Mann (1988) puts it, there are various trends in waterfront redevelopment, [2] but they all indicate refocusing the attention of planners, investors and citizens on "the central urban waterfronts with their transitions away from the inefficiencies and clutter of 19th and early 20th century industrial and commercial patterns" (ibid.).

In Serbia and Belgrade, this transition of trends coincided with the moment when the river Sava was not the border anymore.[3] Even though Savamala rise started much before, it referred more to the hinterland while the only sparks of urban life on its waterfront were the docks. According to the experts, Savamala was considered as the flooding zone (the whole area below Crnogorska) at those times (Interviewee X). It was only when Belgrade and Zemun became the cities of the same country that the Sava waterfront gained importance. Soon afterwards the bridge [Brankov bridge] was built to emphasize this connection and the Savamala hinterland was fortified against flooding.

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[2]Mann (1988) identifies ten most influential ones: (1) large-scale mixed-use development; (2) open and accessible riverside; (3) reducing the railroad and highway capacity along the riverbanks; (4) the development of commercial areas along small bankside waterways; (5) historic restoration of river corridor; (6) blossoming of market places; (7) world exposition development on the waterfront; (8) environmentally adjusted art; (9) ephemeral events and structures; (10) growing local urban regulations of waterfront sites.

[3]after the First World War (WWI).

Henceforth, the development of Belgrade was led in such a way that the connection with Zemun and the left Sava riverbank (New Belgrade side) were ever intensified. Therefore, even though Belgrade is physically placed at the confluence of two rivers, it is nowadays rather perceived as a city on the Sava river and the Danube is the nearby river, than as a city on the Sava and the Danube (Interviewee X).

The long, accessible, central waterfront zone largely determined the position of Savamala in growing Belgrade metropolitan area with not yet efficiently resolved public transport and heavy traffic infrastructure (Questionnaire X). The combination of the proximity of the river and the city center, but even more so its position in the geometrical center of the vast area of the city of Belgrade was its major capital; "the middle of the three cities [Belgrade, New Belgrade, Zemun]" as one informant said (Interviewee X).

However, all these favourable factors did not prevent the neglected attitude of the socialist authorities after the Second World War (WWII). Actually, it was the high representation of urban, architectural and cultural heritage from previous (prewar) capitalist times[4] in Savamala that determined the viewpoint of the socialist regime (Section 4.1.3).

Making its transversal Karadjordjeva street the main road for heavy transport as a way to bypass the city center predominately marked the nature of Savamala urban neighbourhood during the socialist period. What is more, this transit roadway became increasingly surrounded by poor warehouses and manufactories that replaced the bombed palaces for a while (Section 4.1.3). With the extensive construction of transport infrastructure in the recently industrialized country (SFRY), the growing industry of transportation means, and consequent rising mobility of people; the urbanity of Savamala then was also aggravated by the proximity of the busy bus and train terminals. [5] The socialist Savamala was crowded, polluted, noisy area and the home for marginalized groups, outcasts and prostitutes. Unfortunately, this atmosphere and image had long surpassed the socialist regime and has followed Savamala to the present day.

The first post-socialist period in the 1990s continued to contribute to its deterioration and devastation. The abandoned industrial plots and derelict and ruined buildings, its problematic social structure and the gloomy circumstances of the civil wars and national turmoil in the Balkan region flagged Savamala as economically underdeveloped, socially disadvantaged, and unsafe with a reputation as a home to outcasts, prostitution and crim-

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[4]A helping circumstance for the socialist authorities was almost complete destruction of Savamala during the bombardments in WWII (Section 4.1.3).

[5]"Savamala hosted the enlargement of the state major traffic infrastructure, including the nearby main train station, the bus terminal, the river terminal and two of the citys main bridges connecting the city centre to New Belgrade, newly constructed capital of a socialist Yugoslavia that projected its high collective ideals onto urban development by appropriating the concept of modernist urban development." (?)

inality (**?**).

Conversely, the urban and architectural richness of the pre-socialist times was also preserved to date. The architectural masterpieces from the beginning of the 20th century Belgrade Cooperative [Geozavod], Bristol Hotel, Vuca's house) still adorn the neighbourhood and the city. Their accessibility (bus and train terminals, city center) and even more so its promotion by the recent hubs of hype culture, which have been placed in the neighbourhood, put these buildings on the tourist maps and make them "must-see" of the post-socialist south-eastern European capital (Questionnaire X).

The amorphous urban form and small, irregular street matrix below the Karadjordjeva street (Questionnaire X) has been the recognizable urban structure of Savamala to quite recently, when it was forcefully and illegally destroyed for the purposes of the Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP). [6]

The recent terrain clearance is actually the most radical, but also consequential step of national and city authorities, legal framework and planning bodies resulting from the continuous political and economic pressures to solve an old issue of Belgrades peak waterfront area. [7] After multiple competitions and projects for Sava amphiteatre (Section 5.1.1), Urban Planning institute came out with a circumstantial urban analysis and a programme for the area. Referring to much of what is herein said and with extensive multidisciplinary expert analysis, they specify the spatial circumstances and developmental capacity of Savamala as such (**?**):

- the bounding network of mayor city roads directly connected to Savamala street map and limited by surrounding private property structures;

- the importance of the wider city context and utmost priority of linking its urban development to that of the corresponding area on the left Sava riverbank (New Belgrade side);

- the outstanding quality of the location and its urban vizuras on the city;

- the priority of waterfront revitalization as a significant spatial resource of the city and its common good;

These positive traits as well as the vicinity of the major transportation hubs of Belgrade [8] were the main linchpins for the first civil and cultural initiatives to settle in the

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[6]Under the pressure of the BWP agreement obligations and under murky circumstances in the voting night between the 24th and 25th of April, the shabby structures in Hercegovacka street were razed to the ground by the group of masked men armed with baseball bats (**?**).

[7]These initiatives date back to 1920s (Section 5.1.1). The exact area of intervention in these planning phases has varied from Gazela Bridge to the far end after the Dorcol marina, but their common denominator is the relocation of bus and railway station.

[8]"having visitors/tourists coming by chance on their way from the bus terminal or the train station" (Interviewee X)

neighbourhood. According to the informants, the choice of Savamala was made after the preliminary, draft mapping of its contextual resources (spatial and social ones) (Interviewee X). Another important quality emphasized by civil sector is the disposition of plots and buildings to be reactivated and offered to citizenry to re-use it for recreating, cultural and community activities (Questionnaire X).

Speaking of the spatial capacities, it is also crucial to stress that, even though they may sound permanent, spatial capacities (and conversely spatial drawbacks) are highly dependent on the distribution of urban activities and indirectly moderating situated urban practices and urban conflicts. In Savamala, even though there were not significant urban reconstruction of buildings and spaces at play before the BWP was instated, the devastated and deteriorating state of the neighbourhood was reduced with cultural, artistic and civic activities happening in the area, giving it rather a hype than ruined appearance. Even more importantly, with the increasing number of users from different social backgrounds and accompanying services, Savamala became posh and safe area, but conversely without obvious signs of gentrification and the social status change as there was not present any significant increase in rents and apartment costs (Interviewee X).

It has been conspicuous that Savamala's position and provision of empty spaces and buildings, brown- and greenfield areas was a ready-made trigger. Once activated, it becomes an almost unstoppable drive of urban transformation or radical change, even though its urban essence within the image of the whole city of Belgrade stays the same for a while with its run-down buildings, derelict empty plots and open spaces. [9] However, in the lack of a sustainable, participatory, transparent, feasible, and long-term development model, these spatial capacities may easily turn into social impediments and setbacks.

Social potentials

Urban planning and urban design are the offsprings of architecture and spatial development that mold urban transformations in contemporary cities (**?**). While planning anticipates urban future through the debates and decisions on the playground of different interests, urban design focuses on urban form aiming to capture its dynamics in compliance with human objectives (**?**: 201).

However, while urban forms represent designers' intentions of the particular time, its life cycle outgrows these intentions and forms contextual urban processes (**?**). Physical structures are formative for what goes on in an urban setting, but urban reality is in constant flux through its merging with particular urban practices at play. The ongoing everyday transformations and future urban design solutions thereafter are set by

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[9] Even with large waterfront intervention within the BWP, from certain perspective and in certain areas (i.e. Savamala hinterland aka Upper Savamala), Savamala looks exactly the same as few years ago when it was only a cultural and creative hub of the city.

social capital, rational action that embody social relations (**?**). These are social potentials bounded in any urban context. In Savamala, the morphology of urban decision-making sets forth and catalyses transformative social forces.

Top-down urban planning interventions bound planning mechanisms emerging from the new political context, the universal and regime-based forces and trends, society-specific and culturally unique features of the context and the applicability of experiences and tools in the local system (**?**). Participatory, transparent mechanisms and public interest aims have been already defined in regulatory and strategic documents in Serbia (**?**). However, the particular practice and patterns show that institutional and organizational frameworks at play are rather the clients of developers and private actors (**?**). In this manner, certain individuals in institutions, while they can be the executors of such interest, also can contribute to promoting and supporting participatory and transparent processes. For example, at some point, the municipal authorities officially supported the civil and international initiatives to extend the urban life of Belgrade down to its riverbanks and to reactivate Savamala spaces (**?**). [10]

On the contrary, small-scale cultural and civic initiatives that were popping around Savamala from 2008 onward signified as the actual congregators of social potential. This conglomerate of artistic practices, crowdsourcing activities, creative industries, urban manufactories, and cooperative economies was growing gradually infusing the sparks of new urban life in Savamala. Conversely, these activities also aimed at returning Savamala its old pre-socialist fame through the attempts to revive old arts and crafts still present but almost disappearing in Savamala.

The first driver of such trend was Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB) with 2 projects focusing on recognizable cultural identity of Savamala and its richness of tradition and crafts. "Savamala Design Studio" aimed to produce a manual of local knowledge, practices and cultural values through participatory action research (**?**). The idea was to work with residents and other urban actors, learn from them and map their everyday practices (i.e. preserving food, recycling waste, barter economy, illegal building construction) (ibid.).

Similary, "Micro factories" was another participatory activity targeting collecting local materials (usually from abandoned apartments or other places) and working on the design of products that reflects firstly what they had found in Savamala and secondly its tradition of small craft workshops (i.e. carpentry) (ibid.). These new small production facilities are intended to be microeconomic structures establishing the relationship between urban space and industrial production and boosting local pride and identity of once prestigious trade

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[10]For example, Nemanja Petrovic, the Assistent Mayor of the Municipality "Savski venac" and Nina Mitranic, the chief architect of the Municipal building inspection (**?**). Their positive role was also emphasized by the civil sector informants (Interview X, Y).

and artisanal area (**?**). This initiative was nurtured and extended with UIB successors, such as the projects: "Cooking together", "Healthy living in Savamala", "Heritage of the ship graveyard" and "Zupa Zupa". All these activities were situated on the old abandoned steamboat Zupa (**?**).

In the long-run, they strove to physically transform the neighbourhood and to influence urban transformations that are based on social interest rather than on real estate speculations. However, the choice of Savamala was not accidental. Availability of abandoned buildings, abundance of architectural heritage might be the major instigators of such choice (Questionnaire X) Several organizations testify mapping Savamala before installing there and except for its spatial capital, the sparks of night life (cafs, clubs) were the main reasons for such decision (Interview X)

The goal was to change Savamala's urban image by converting abandoned warehouses into socially productive facilities, activating riverfront usage, encouraging local community participation, attracting new visitors to the neighbourhood (professionals and general public, both local and global), and finally revalorizing and repositioning the Savamala neighbourhood within the physical and functional scheme of the whole city of Belgrade (**?**).

Yet, through qualitative investigation of these activities, it was revealed that this wave of action was only possible with high influence and strong presence of national NGOs and, even more, international NGOs and formal organizations (Questionnaire X) "Urban incubator Belgrade" was based on Berlin experience (Interview X) The rationale of this project was also embedded in Goethe institute strategy, whose focus has been urban development, urban transformations and creative industry. As creative industry is an important sector of German economy (**?**), such financially and logistically supported activities may also be interpreted as an economic strategy for the export of services (Questionnaire X) In any case, the outburst of these and similar projects, events and activities (Section 4.2.3) made Savamala the nexus of creative capital in Belgrade (**?**).

In sociological terms, Savamala developed a multiple identity recognizable at national and international scene For limited artistic scene in Belgrade, Savamala with several important galleries settled there (Figure X) is an national, urban, artistic hub. For cultural and civil workers, it is a cultural cluster. Finally, for numerous tourists and visitors, it is a place to party all night long (Interview X).

While Savamala was very peaceful area during communism,[11] it was only during the turbulent wartime of the 1990s that it became unsafe. The neighbourhood kept that image

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[11]As an informant, a Savamala inhabitant for many years, recalled: during the SFRY era there was a lot of local police in the streets and the social discipline was different (Interview X). Such circumstance might have created different safety net then.

until these new fusions of urban life settled in Savamala (Interview X).

This new spirit accompanied by a lot of night clubs[12] settling in the neighbourhood, put Savamala on the city map as the party area with vivid night life (BureauSavamala2013). The gradual reduction of heavy traffic, which was caused partly by the construction of the Pupin bridge over Danube, was replaced with intensive and loud music from the clubs that created the severe noise all night long in Savamala (Interview X). Consequently in 2012, Belgrade and indirectly Savamala were internationally presented as the mayor party capital in the world by Lonely planet (?).

Similar to the wasted potential of this uninstitutionalized culture that has never been included in any official cultural strategy of the city and the state (Section 5.2.1), this potential of making Belgrade internationally famous was abruptly stopped by the regulation of 2011 when the commerce of alcohol was banned after 11 PM and the bars were to close at that time as well (Vreme2011). On one hand, it made a bad influence on tourism, on the other, the ban changed Savamala, too. That is to say that even more bars moved there as its position offers a possibility to extend the party hours. Less populated and close to the riverside recreating area and abandoned plots, in Savamala people still could have partied the whole night (Interview X). Even though the ban on alcohol is not any more at play, the party places stayed in Savamala and have been influencing its image as rather cultural and civic hub.

This recent sequence of events testified that the city authorities did not apply any sustainable strategy for either spatial capacities of Savamala (empty spaces and plots) nor for cultural and touristic activities (Interview X). This rather sporadic interest in envisioning developmental options was even more obvious in terms of Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP). Taking into consideration the circumstances around BWP deals, the attitude of the city and national authorities towards the exploitation of the spatial capacity of Sava waterfront contained little, if any, concern for public interest and relinquished this outstanding resource to the whims of interest of the private investor.

Fortunately, the initiative NDVBGD took this real estate transformation very seriously and critically addressed the issue from the very beginning (?). The initiative assembled local organizations and individuals around the issue of urban and cultural policy and urban development in Belgrade. As soon as the first irregularities appear accompanying the collaboration between the RS and the company from UAE ("Eagle Hills"), the activists from the initiative raised their voices and organized public performances against, what they call "investor urbanism" (?). At the beginning, they were mainly active through social media (Facebook, Twitter) and with sporadic public performances that made them

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[12]During several years, famous clubs and cafs in Savamala were: Disko klub Mladost, Brankow, Apartman, Corba, Magacin, Ben Akiba, Dvoristance, Prohibicija etc.

visible beyond the city scale.

As the irregularities raised, so did the activities from the initiative. The social role they took in Savamala, also contributed to raising the consciousness and involvement of citizens in urban decision-making. Following this path, the initiative has been continuously organizing critical events in parallel with BWP project and planning proceedings. Adoption of Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWPSPSP), GUP Belgrade 2021, Lex specialis, as well as signing the contract with foreign investor, starting construction works, and gloomy demolitions in Savamala, all these have been marked with citizen protests (**?**), symbolic public performances (**?**) and the range of critical text from local (**?**) and international experts (**?**; **?**).

However, for understanding how they set the right actions at the right place and time, it is crucial to mention the genesis of their involvement in Savamala. Their parental organization "Ministry of space" was present in Savamala within Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB), through Bureau Savamala as the critical commentator of the project. Moreover, the collective "Ministry of space" has been persistently pointing out the problems in urban policy, management and civil rights in Serbian Capital.

After the scandalous demolition in Savamala in April 2016, NDVBGD organized several protests with up to 20000 participants at one point (**?**). Not only that these actions made this flawed fast-lane approach to investors internationally visible (**?**; **?**), but also these manifestations of civil disobedience made local population less afraid to protest and express their concerns for public interest and public good (Interview X). The slogan "Whose city? Our city" (**?**), even though a political phrase, express the rise of consciousness about civic rights and the capacity to understand the importance of participation and transparency in urban management after the decades long citizen apathy and authoritarian governance model.

According to the herein presented state of the affairs, it is obvious that social potentials are highly variable and easily shifted from positive ability for transformation into a retrograde and dangerous urban conflicts. Yet, if any, they are essential force for transforming the negative effects of conventional urbanisation model, accelerating globalization influences, neoliberal trends and unsuitable urban patterns into a contextually appropriate developmental impetus.

6.1.2 The Assembly of Relations

Based on the convergence of urban agency toward the contextual presented above, several issues seem to be stumbling blocks throughout all the layers of urban decision making (Questionnaire X):

- the lack of transparency;

- correlation between political and economic interest groups;

- neglected estimation of real circumstances and feasibility;

- social polarization and unfair wealth redistribution;

- total dependency on global trends/guidelines.

These obstacles surpass the local context of Savamala and further characterize urban development circumstances in Belgrade and in Serbia in general.

The urban development of Belgrade is revealing routines, challenges and traumas both from the historical perspective and the traits of culture and mentality [13] and the analyses of the current condition (?). The dynamics of these antagonistic relations set forth the complex system dynamics. While it is essential to incorporate the transformative capacity of passive contextual elements, congregating the relations of system maintenance and system collisions sets a comprehensive overlay of procedural resilience of the system and urban scenarios for radical interventions.

In this respect, active contextual relations in Savamala are categorized as:

- urban practices

- urban conflicts

Urban practices

Social practices are embedded in local context. Therefore, situated urban practices generate space production and its usage (?), so that they are the engines of urban system evolution.

In Serbia what happens in local context very often deviates from what is planned. So to speak, it may rather be spoken of a practice of abandoning urban plans and the discrepancy between plans and realizations than of serious strategies with parameters of economic development, comprehensive socio-spatial analysis and feasibility studies. Therefore, the approach to urban planning documentation is technocratic with loose links to implementation and actions in actual space.

Usually attributed to socialist inheritance in planning (?), such praxis is aggravated with the dominance of political party or private investor interests (Workshop 1). In the post-socialist Serbia, its pluralist political life makes the dominance of political and powerful economic actors highly dependent on everyday politics and shifts of political parties

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[13]Under cultural traits and mentality, Samardzic (2015) gives these examples: poverty, sharp social, cultural and ideological differences, inheritance and influence of nationalism, socialism and political religion, undeveloped, inappropriately or poorly maintained developed infrastructure.

in power. Consequently, activities of high planning and decision-making authorities rarely produce sustainable urban practices when brought down to the neighbourhood level.

Yet, social coherence of urban neighbourhoods in Serbia is also inherited from the socialist period. Still present public land ownership and significant amount of accessible open spaces bind civic activities to urban space (Workshop 3). Numerous empty plots and abandoned buildings in Savamala made urban related framework of rising civic activities (Section 4.2.3).

Moreover, the distribution of these places and the compactness of urban forms and spaces spatialized these activities even more than they intended to. Mikser festival, for example, even though its initial relationship to Savamala was only as a site specific event, in its later festival years incorporated more and more urban and Savamala related activities (??). Furthermore, seen as an important local actor, Mikser House staff testify that locals often come there for an advice or to express their doubts and fears about the current spatial transformations coming from the BWP interventions (Interview X)

On the other hand, during the period 2008-2015 design, communication and creative industry were the main drivers of urban revitalization of Savamala. This global trend created local impact through micro interventions and private ventures in urban space. Even though informal liaisons among urban actors and stakeholders were set off locally, the supreme authority were international and national formal and informal organizations (NGOs and collectives) (Section 4.2.3).

These new circumstances arose as a result of transitional marketization of society, increased interest in service economy and spur of consumerism. The dominance of international actors, new creative class, young cultural entrepreneurs and local hype design activities made a strong, yet uninstitutionalized and informal cultural and artistic base in Belgrade (Workshop 2). However, as it is widely known that such circumstances are the key triggers for gentrification (?), it generally was not the case with Savamala (Interview X). Namely, the residence structure in Savamala has not significantly changed during the years of intensive cultural activities, neither do the rents, which are are still in the same price register as before (Interview X). An important circumstance in this favour is that 90% of the building stock in Savamala is owned by its inhabitants, so that they are to decide on selling the apartments (?). Furthermore, the real-estate market and the policy on urban services in the city is not yet regulated so that it is difficult to expect that the prices in Savamala are susceptible to current social trends. Finally, the legal process for obtaining construction permits is cumbersome and complex, that any small changes and adaptations as well as initiatives coming outside the circle of authorities and those close to them is unlikely to happen (ibid.).

Yet, the change in residential structure happened actually later on with the advancement of the BWP, their relocation programmes and forceful evictions of local population (**?**). The case of Belgrade Waterfront mega-project and its blatant focus on residential and commercially purposes almost exclusively [14] results also from low suburbanization trends in Belgrade as there are plenty of attractive areas in the vicinity of the city center that have empty or deteriorating land available for such development (**?**).

Even more so as the transport system in Belgrade seems old-fashioned, inefficient and centralized (**?**) and the best accessibility characterizes mainly central urban locations (historical center and New Belgrade). Therefore, any significant change in land use is grounded upon reconceptualized transportation patterns, which is the core of the new urban development strategy for Belgrade 2016-2020 (Interview X)

In this regard, development of sustainable transport, walking paths and especially cycling, came up as an overall priority and consistent urban practice that is being rising regardless of the circumstances. While the rising civic protests against the BWP are widely ignored by the authorities, the similar activities coming from the biking community were taken into account, their voices were heard in official meetings (**?**). Their requirements were met regarding the new temporary bike lines while the waterfront is occupied with the BWP construction site (**?**).

Generally speaking, urban policy agendas at one side and the localized civic engagement on the other produce certain consistency in socio-spatial interventions in Savamala. However, the lack of transparency of all decision-making procedures, inaccessibility of all the following documentation and biased and provisory participatory mechanisms and instruments destroy any such positive effects and transform practices into conflicts (**?**).

Urban conflicts

Cities entail urban conflicts. The dynamics of spatial distributions and social relations in cities unavoidably produce conflictive urban issues (Interview X). Though the task of good urban management is to reduced them to the minimum and ensure harmonious urban environment for all citizens. In reality, the tensions between antagonistic interests and power poles collide within the morphology of urban decision-making. The escalated urban conflicts lead to the shifting points in urban system development.

Socio-spatial patterns of post-socialist development and transition entail the majority of current urban conflicts in Serbia (Section 2.3.1). The socialist system instated a certain vision of the urban and institutionalized a range of practices toward its achievement. So far. institutional and legislative reforms and ad-hoc interventions in recent years con-

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[14]According to the Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWSPSP) less than 2% of the total area is allocated to public and non-commercial urban functions (**?**).

tributed to the dissolution of the old system, but with poor legitimacy of proposed reforms (**?**; **?**. Therefore, it may be concluded that the hyperproduction of current conflicts stems from keeping "the worst of both worlds". Savamala with its accentuated antagonism of interests undoubtedly reflect the mentioned circumstances.

The recent course of events in Savamala prove the domination of **anti-planning concept and unsustainable development patterns** (**?**) in dealing with the high profitable land in the capital. The non-institutionally managed cultural and civic activities in Savamala informally built the base for what was suggested in the General Plan 2021 (2009) insisting on the importance of culture to promote attractiveness of urban areas with planning and organizational solutions (**?**). The obvious lack of data on social and physical structure was recognized and partly dealt with through the Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB) and the Model of Savamala project.

The 3D representation of the Savamala neighbourhood incorporated soft data (**?**). All urban spaces and urban structures in Savamala were tracked through "passports" that comprised objective facts (i.e. height of building, type of roof, faade, number of units, age of the building) and subjective references (the historical layers, social structure and general impression of the structures) (**?**). All these non-governmental initiatives revived the image of forgotten architectural and urban heritage in Savamala and produced its current recognizable cultural identity (Questionnaire X)

The reactivation of Savamala spaces and filling them in with new functions reflected also the domination of free market ideology for generating socio-spatial configurations (**?**). At the beginning having the bulk of country's creative human capital coming and staying in Savamala was seen as a social potential for revival and urban revitalization. In reality, Savamala soon turned into the heart of mainstream world culture and urban trends in Serbia. Spaces of alternative culture were neither further extended nor diversified, but insistently more and more surrounded by hipster hubs, services and gathering places, and even more with fancy clubs, cafs, restaurants. In general, **marketization** and **globalization** patterns in Savamala became also rendered from the "quasi" ground up.

The international and particular interest-based (popular art and culture) network generated in this way held the bonds that surpassed the spatialized identity of these activities represented in the image of Savamala. Recent unfolds of the situation show that even though they are weak in confrontation with powerful economic interests and local authorities, they are able to keep their audience and actors and move them around the city (**?**). On the contrary, the actual cultural policy in Serbia and Belgrade was rather reduced to **city marketing** - without an overall cultural policy and the law on culture and cultural activities (**?**).

Nevertheless, there are still some traces of professional initiatives to improve and update urban planning approaches in Belgrade, even though usually with gloomy prospects to be realized. Urban Planning Institute in 2012 established a project on making an integrated urban development plan for Savamala, which would rely on previous studies of the Waterfront area (2007) (**?**) and of the Sava amphiteatre (**?**). The project relied on the account of the up-to-date activities in Savamala, its brownfield capacities, and it addressed global sustainable development, creative industry, and climate change trends (**?**). This forward-thinking project was the result of professionals and experts in Urban Planning Institute and their non-governmental partners "Ambero Serbia" (Service for Strengthening of local land management in Serbia) and "GIZ Serbia" Serbian branch of GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft fr Internationale Zusammenarbeit), who tried to keep tracks of what is going on in the city. Unfortunately, this is not the regular practice, as the procedures, strategies and plans in Serbia are more often than not detached from actual space (Interview X).

Generally speaking, the regulatory framework in Serbia supports an **administrative approach to urban-land management** that becomes inefficient with market rules at work in post-socialist urban practice (Interview X). The initiatives for improvements mainly ended by rushed-in decentralization and problematic horizontal coordination (**?**). Top-down regulatory structures and individuals in these institutions tend to keep power in their hands (**?**), while there is a general lack of political will and institutional and expert capacity to solve the issue of missing or inefficient regulatory mechanisms and institutions (**?**). In this manner, even cultural ventures, interventions, and policies when they have repercussions in urban economy become politically biased.

Prolonged regulatory gap in terms of urban economy instruments, real estate investments, urban development mechanisms were even further deepened in the local contexts of SEE (South Eastern Europe) with the global economic crisis (ibid.). No wonder that such contextual conditions put forth the appetites of the private investors as the fast-lane, short-term approaches to dealing with disastrous consequences of transition: low economic growth, high public debt, high unemployment, and the rise of poverty (**?**). Megaproject development for the very attractive location at Sava waterfront that relied on government interventions and was dependent on external investments reflected more the peak of the **commercialization of urban fabric** that actually started in 1989 (**?**) than an effort to establish a systematic investment policy in country's construction industry (**?**.

While the choice of the Sava waterfront, that partly pertains to Savamala was made because of its spatial capacity, the biased planning process, the disputable change of legislation and institutional framework and unprecedented top-down political pressures that followed, turned decision-making on the BWP into highly conflictive issue at local, city and national levels. Fragmented approach to evaluations of such project (non-defined priorities, no feasibility studies, poor if any cost estimations) and generous attitude toward

the economic interests of the investor (the contract between the RS and the investor with detrimental consequences for the Serbian taxpayers, regulated possibility for the investor to privatize urban land and convert the leasehold on urban land into property without a fee) contributed to thriving **commercialization, commodification and privatization mechanisms in urban economy** (Questionnaire X). Inadequate and unstable regulatory framework and its selective and solely administrative application make these mechanisms far from strategic spatial and urban development instruments and contribute to unregulated, proto-capitalist market with limited legal and regulatory independence and reliance for the protection of public interest (Questionnaire X)

Moreover, the planned urban functions and aesthetization of the Sava waterfront proposed by the BWP reflect major conflicts rooted in post-socialist and transitional spatial patterns. **Socio-spatial fragmentation of urban land**, the segregation of the rich and poor, and de-industrialization of urban economy may further result from luxury residential and over-sized commercial areas planned for the area. Reliance on automobile transport and commercial functions for mass use [15] in the central urban area testify territorialization approach in urban economy (Hirt2009), but without elaborated strategies for long-term turnovers and urban development in public interest. Promoted as the local driver of economic growth media, the roll-out of the BWP actually does not touch upon the current situation at the wider city scale.

The issues of traffic bottle neck, poor population and marginalized people living and gathering in the area, illegal building, informal economy and petty crimes are not fought against, but only moved to other areas in the city. Namely, the violent measures of terrain clearance and unjust circumstances of citizen relocation even worsened the situation (**?**). And what should have been the project of urban regeneration, in reality was a threat of disintegration of urban and architectural heritage and tradition. Offering the most important historical heritage in the neighbourhood (e.g. Hotel Bristol, Belgrade Railway station headquarters, Belgrade Cooperative, Post office, Paper Mill) as the contribution in kind for BWP represent high disregard of the decision-making bodies (the Government) for what should be cultural heritage of national importance (**?**).

All measures, incentives, instruments and mechanisms put in place to enable smooth path for the BWP epitomize **the lack of political dialogue and consensus** on what is public interest and what are the modalities to achieve it VujosevicEtAl.2010b. As an expert explained, people in Serbia and Belgrade do not trust community actions and bottom-up engagement, because, as an impulse inherited from socialism, they expect from the authorities to organize them (Interview X). Jumping from socialism into neoliberalism and wild capitalism, which highly value the conflict of interests and competitions, the citizens are introduced into democratic procedures with nominal equity but with no measures

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[15]"the biggest shopping mall in the Balkans" (**?**)

and means of participation and cooperation, the expert further explained (Interview X). In such circumstances citizens are resigned and passive, so that voting has become the only act of participation in Serbia, he concluded (Interview X).

Non-transparency and low communication in and around the BWP led to social exclusion and misinformation of the general public (Questionnaire X) Citizens, independent and local experts, media and civil society, namely the broad public and the representatives of public interest in general, were not informed adequately and on time about what was happening, What is more, they were not explicitly warned about the actions and consequences and generally were excluded from all planning phases (**?**). It is not surprising at all that several actions in particular (signing the contract between the RS and the investor; unclear circumstance of night terrain clearance in Savamala, setting up legal processes against the media workers who reported about the phantom demolitions for the BWP) were followed by protests of civil sector and thousands of citizens in Belgrade (**??**).

The most disastrous effects came from **the systematic exclusion of local experts**. Being bluntly skipped in strategic and planning phases of the project, the educated public, professional and expert organizations and individuals loudly advocated against various aspects of the projects and legal and planning adaptations and changes that accompanied it (**?; ?; ?; ?**). Even though there were multiple competitions, analysis and studies that aimed to optimize the urban design solution for the Sava Amphiteatre and the pertaining waterfront, neither of them were taken into account in the preparatory phase of the BWP (**?**). Not only that vast amount of work and solution framing was wasted, but also the BWP is under threat to entail the exact conflicts and construction deadlocks already predicted in the mentioned documentation (i.e. difficulty of construction on the wetland, threats of flooding because of the low ground level of the Sava waterfront etc.) (**?**).

National anti-corruption agency in its report on 2013-2018 period presented the detailed analysis of the BWP and the corresponding regulatory framework adaptations. All the ambiguities, biases. flaws and deviations in official procedures and documents, and in the work of institutions were analysed by the multidisciplinary expert team and elaborated and precisely referenced in 70 pages of text (**?**).

Apart from the various documents analysing and critisizing the whereabouts of the project by civic sector (wth the NDVBG in front) (**?**), independent media (**?**) and international media (**?**), the professional organizations of architects (**?**) raised their voices against the project. The Association of Serbian Architects (ASA) officially published 2 declarations against the BWP. The Association of Belgrade architects (DAB) reacted and officially filed complains against the BWPSPSP and against the changes and adaptations of GUP 2021 in favour of the BWP (**?**).

Finally, the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SANU) published a voluminous documents with complains and suggestions concerning this new Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area. The document kept the neutral tone and the authors tried to substantiate their arguments elaborating on the issues of: (o) adequacy of the area for special purposes plan and the planning and legal basis for such attribution; (o) the reliability of 3D model; (o) subordinate function of local institutions; (o) methods, measures and instruments of planning at play; (o) capital investment and infrastructural design solutions; (o) distribution and choice of urban functions for the area; and (o) the choice of the implementation instruments among others (**?**). However, according to several informants, this harsh critic was diluted in the individual engagement of professionals and experts when they are directly, openly confronted with political authorities or when they are offered official engagements (Interview X,Y)

Away from its broad consequences at the national and city level, the BWP substantially **changed the atmosphere** in Savamala and the social structure of people now present there (Interview X). Bicycle paths are gone or re-routed and the way from the city center to Ada Ciganlija is not straight forward anymore. Urban poor are evicted and their shabby, partly illegal structures are replaced with a big, muddy construction site. Besides, even tourists, when they inquire and are informed on all the circumstances become affected by the corrupt project and instinctively build a hostile attitude towards it (Interview X). No information on what is going on and what is going to happen is reported as a problem especially for local entrepreneurs (Interview X). Hitherto, the toll of the BWP is that it ruined a lot, created insecurity, covered the project with the veil of obscurity and secrecy, made hard time for local businesses and put them on the verge of the decision to move or to stay (Interview X). In sum, the BWP is not only the creator of the conflicts, but a sort of the inherit conflict in itself. Consequently, the biggest fear of all is that the project will never finish, the situation which may entail enduring, aggravated urban conflict at the city scale and seal the fate of Savamala for many years.

"However, the biggest urban conflict of all is such that actually certain people ("those close to the authorities and the investor", speculated an informant) and they take advantage of the situation (renovating faades, renting places, even the City architect has a bar in Savamala) while the others are under constant threat of eviction and their business plans and projects are consequently abode and at risk." Interview X

6.2 Agent Preferences: Scope and Operationality

Contextual analysis of the social circumstances in Savamala has shown that the contextual capital, which was identified therein, has always been a driver of top-down propositions and solutions for Sava amphiteatre and Sava waterfront. However, in recent years, it had been also gradually attracting a number of small-scale civil initiatives and creative ser-

vices to settle in Savamala (**?**). Only after, but might be independently, the waterfront attractiveness brought very powerful international actor to the neighbourhood. The links to high political structures enabled tremendous changes of the regulatory framework. The negligible and violent attitude of the new dominant and powerful actor to the context in Serbia and Savamala was later on the main source of local conflicts.

Historically speaking several important characteristics have been continually developed and finally escalated in recent transition years in Serbia (Section 2.3.1; Section 4.1.1). They have influenced the distribution of urban conflicts and management of contextual resources during the different periods through (Figure 1) (**?**; **?**; **?**; **?**): (a) restricted and ideologically-framed civil rights, (b) state control over capital areas, resources and infrastructure, (c) top-down approach to spatial and social development and renovation and revitalization, (d) public ownership of land and building stock, (e) hybrid market circumstances, (f) societal self-management planning

The antagonistic societal values hidden within the political background of the issues in practice heavily endangered the legitimacy, contents, and procedures regarding the space management (**?**). The authority of law and traditional social rules are left in limbo through newly generated distortions in the power - knowledge - action triangle (**?**). In broader social and spatial context of Belgrade, it meant contradictory and inconsistent manner of city branding and urban management (**?**).

Reduced to the neighbourhood level, these circumstances made Savamala a scaled example of pre-socialist material legacy, socialist cultural and societal matrix, a transitional reality and a condensed case of multi-faceted circumstances of post-socialist urban development (**?**. The extreme variations in societal circumstances to which the regulatory framework and planning practice should respond offer rich opportunities to observe the distribution of decisions from top-down and from outside-in (**?**). Bearing this in mind, Savamala is a good illustration of changing political and socio-economic circumstances, and both challenges and traumas from the recent turbulent history (Chapter 4) and the long term social values and mentality (**?**).[16]

Based on the previous analyses {historical/contextual (Chapter 4), actor-network (Chapter 5) and object-relations (Section 6.1)}, the therein aggregated urban agency is retained in the layers of urban decision-making and disseminated through the networks of influence (national, city, local). In this respect, it has been noted that urban agency is distributed among various and dispersed elements, but several agents exceed and overtake the direc-

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[16]As it was mentioned previously in this chapter, under mentality, the author alludes on poverty, sharp social, cultural and ideological differences, inheritance and influence of nationalism, socialism and political religion, undeveloped or inappropriately attitude towards capital investments and infrastructure development (ibid.).

tion of contextual elements and relations.

The most influential top-down agents are: (1) The Ministry of Construction, Urbanism and Infrastructure (MCUI), (2) Belgrade General Urban Plan 2021 (GUP BGD 2021), (3) Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWPSPSP), (4) City architect (CA), (5) Urban planning institute (UPI), (6) City mayor (CM), (7) Lex specialis (LS), (8) The Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (RASP), (9) The Prime Minister (PM), (10) Planning and Construction Act (PCA), (11) Belgrade Urban Development Strategy (BUDS).

As follows, the agents of investor-based real estate transformations are human actors assembled around (12) the Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP). Moreover, the recently established Savamala's hotbed of creativity and participation of national importance and the main protagonist of bottom-up participatory activities are also the protagonists at the local scene: (13) Cultural centre "Kulturni Centar Grad" (KC Grad), (14) Old depository in Kraljevica Marka Street (MKM), (15) Mikser multidisciplinary platform, (16) Nova Iskra design incubator, (17) Urban Incubator Belgrade project (UIB), (18) Ministry of space collective (MSC), (19) "Ne da(vi)mo Beograd" initiative [Don't drown Belgrade] (NDVBGD), (20) "My piece of Savamala" participatory urban design workshop, (21) "The game of Savamala" - participatory urban planning workshop, (22) "Savamala, a place for making" participatory project, (23) "Streets for cyclists" NGO, and (24) Common space in Kraljevica Marka 8 street (KM8).

Agent preferences are defined in connection to their relationality towards the contextual resources, social practices and urban conflicts figuring in Savamala and the social artifacts they are influenced by or they have influence on. In this manner, we become aware of their field of maneuvers in Savamala. In order to identify and elaborate how urban planning, real estate interests and participatory activities influence urban development in Savamala, it is essential to translate these qualitative categories into factors which could denote a positive impetus.

Accordingly, with regards to the definition of urbanity in this research (Section 2.1.5), it may be concluded that contextual resources, either spatial or social, are the attraction factors that make Savamala a neighbourhood saturated with different actors and interests. Based on our qualitative research on Savamala, the most prominent aspects in direct correlation with agent functioning at the local level are: (o) political (participation, transparency, and institutionalization of culture), (o) economic (public funding), and (o) cultural (global flows of ideas, trends, information and knowledge). Consequently, the following clusters of resources, conflicts and practices have recognized (Figure 4):

- **Spatial capacities (SC)**: (1.1) accessibility; (1.2) central position in the city; (1.3) brownfield area; (1.4) architectural diversity; (1.5) proximity of the river; (1.6) de-

teriorating area; (1.7) green area; (1.8) waterfront area; (1.9) recreation area; (1.10) empty plots.

- **Social potentials (SP)**: (2.1) lack of private interests before 2012; (2.2) cultural heritage; (2.3) social diversity; (2.4) aroused interest for this neighbourhood from cultural and artistic groups, individuals and organisations; (2.5) historical trade and artisanal area - traditional crafts; (2.6) creative cluster; (2.7) participative and self-organisational initiatives; (2.8) small commercial area; (2.9) underdeveloped area; (2.10) diversity of interests and power poles in the area; (2.11) educative initiatives.

- **Urban conflicts (UC)**: (3.1) disintegration of heritage; (3.2) lack of systematic investments in constructing industry (debt crisis 2008-2012); (3.3) lack of data about the state of physical structures; (3.4) lack of data on social structure in the neighbourhood; (3.5) attractive location for private investments; (3.6) poor population, squatters and marginalized groups in the area; (3.7) dominance of profit-oriented activities from 2014 onward; (3.8) property issues;

- **Social practices (UP)**: (4.1) support of urban related activities (urban design and public participation); (4.2) support design activities (interior, fashion, graphic), art, culture, education on city level; (4.3) translation of global cultural trends into local and regional practices; (4.4) design, communication and creative industry activities in Belgrade; (4.5) local and global economy trends in the area; (4.6) develop waterfront recreation area; (4.7) sustainable transport (cycling); (4.8) technical planning activity; (4.9) land management.

The data in (Table X) show how different agents opt for these contextual resources, urban conflicts and social practices in Savamala and what the relation is between the decision-making layer (Section 4.2) they represent, their actor nature(Section 5.1) and these preferences.

6.2.1 Civil and Creative Articulation of Agents

Speaking chronologically about this aggregation of urban agency in Savamala, the so-called "bottom-up activities" are the first to revive the image and the role of this neighbourhood at the city and national scale and beyond (Section 4.2.3).

The very first bottom-up activity in Savamala was the establishment of MKM cultural space in 2007. However, the intensive aggregation of participatory activities started when KC Grad gained an abandoned building in Brace Krsmanovic street for their cultural activities in 2009. Mikser house (MH) was officially opened in April 2013, while the Mikser Festival moved to Savamala in 2012. Before that, the MH building was serving the festival in 2012 and was occasionally used for exhibitions and markets immediately prior to the opening (Interview X).

Beforehand, the premises of MH were a warehouse and a garage used by the current owner, who bought it during the mass privatization initiatives after the 2000 regime change (Interview X). With other cultural activities coming from the Goethe institute initiative, moving in to Savamala exploded at the end of 2013. This condensed interaction between urban spaces and civic life lasted for around 2 years (Figure X).

The instigator for the choice of Savamala may therefore primarily be its location and the availability of affordable places for the mentioned activities. However, the further concentration of similar activities was based on the social potential and appealingness generated with these first cultural forerunners. Finally, the settling of the significant number of commercial activities (clubs, cafs, restaurants) was incited by both spatial and recently added social quality of the neighbourhood (Interview X).

As the cultural, artistic and educational activities continue to settle there, the neighbourhood started to gain attention of the other top-down (municipality) and international actors (foreign embassies, cultural centers, formal and informal institutions), but with the very limited actual involvement of local citizens (Interview X; Workshop 1). Therefore, for further explanations, the focus is on the most is shifted to influential public and private organizations involved in these civil initiatives.

With the entrance of top-down and outside-in actors to the local scene, the issue of funding appears as an important distributive factor. Namely, several of these agents have an unclear and non-transparent funding structure - while they receive some public funding (usually from the municipality and foreign funds), they are also partly profit-oriented (KC Grad, MH) and incorporate profitable services (caf-bars, shopping areas, concerts, exhibitions and other lucrative events/activities). Nova Iskra is the only explicit privately-based organization. However, there are others with transparent financial schemes and crowd-sourcing attempts (NDVBGD). [17]

Above all, exploitation of Savamala contextual capital at the international level is based on the recently attractive issue of creative industry and its economic potential (**?**). Goethe institute officially emphasizes the focus on urban development (especially the fields of architecture, culture, urban planning, public space, public participation, urban art) in their programmed activities (**?**). In collaboration with motherland universities, international stakeholders (i.e. other cultural centers) and local actors they promote the creativity as an asset for city branding across the transitional and developing countries (Hamburg, Baltic region, Malaysia, Indonesia, China Vietnam) (**?**).

In local context, the targeted audiences are at all levels of decision making: policy makers, professionals, scientists, artists, NGOs, and general public (**?**). In this respect,

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[17]The data on gains and spendings are presented in detail on their website **?**.

they also touch upon the delicate social issues and address urban planning and research, by asking questions (such as who owns the city, who creates the city, what is the good city) and producing the documentation on what is achievable based on their urban interventions in developed cities (**?**). By promoting practice-led urban research, these institutions also foster their influence on various local contexts around the world. While creative economy is an important source of income in Germany (**?**), it is also the product for exportation through such initiatives. [18]

Contextual resources in Savamala were recognized and used by these civil and creative agents, but it must be clear that the ideas and organizational initiative did not come from ground up. The torrent of cultural and participatory activities was instigated from outside, even though they were seen as an asset for economic upgrading and local recovery (**?**).

The consequences of civil-oriented catalysis of Savamala contextual capital under the watchful eye of international cultural organizations and actors, formed in Savamala what everywhere else in the world is creative sector and urban creative hub: co-working spaces, initiatives of local cooperation (crowdsourcing of activities, open sourcing for vacant self-organized spaces and industrial lots, creative commons, vacant industrial lots), and visibility at the city, national and international scene.

According to the experiences from the developed cities, this might be the long awaited impulse for the diversification of social power structure and cultural development (Workshop 1). Furthermore, following the nature of these agents, the researcher apprehended that the cultural and artistic activities in Savamala do not belong to the national cultural and artistic frameworks and programmes. Having said that, most of them relate to the NGO sector or they acquire or occupy publicly owned spaces which they use for these activities. MKM and KM8 are municipal spaces shared with different NGOs and offered for multiple projects/activities/events by different actors.

The majority of these agents aspire to have a consulting role on a wide range of urban issues, culture, art and education or to implement a range of ideas/solutions/interventions at an urban or social level. In the Serbian context, they aim to provide an alternative body for catalysing available human resources and translating global knowledge into the local context of Savamala and Belgrade. All bottom-up agents that have an active approach to the urban environment (through projects, activities and events) also direct their initiatives toward solving urban conflicts. However, those that include profit converge more to social practices that maintain the current urban order. Consequently, these agents refer to their

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[18]In different countries around the world, through similar activities Goethe institute also introduce German scientific and creative actors (universitites, collectives, NGOs, freelance individuals and small enterprises) into new markets (**?**).

contextual preferences, and they organise and engage in networks at local or superior levels, in this way influencing the state of the urban environment in Savamala.

6.2.2 Top-down Technocratic Approach to Space

The socialist tradition of planning as technical activity (**?**), result in having documents often detached from actual space, users, architects and designers who actually intervene in reality. On the other hand, laws and bylaws give orders not recommendations, and that is also the case with laws on spatial and urban planning and construction.

In the context of Belgrade, Urban Planning institute (UPI) that, according to law, gets strategic tasks concerning urban development (**?**). Therefore, UPI represents the city authorities in planning process through drafting bodies, inspections and commissions (Interview X). While the research and professional education are not requested or supported by the authorities; as a professional institution, UPI collaborates with European planning bodies and local educational institutions, but these happen rather on the personal basis than as an official, institutional activity (Interview X).

However, underdeveloped legal framework and political party power over the social domain allow for private and group interests to rule the actions of planners (**?**). In this manner, planning bodies do not actually relate to the real context and contextual resources, but engage only in reproduction of the current social order (social practices) by the application of minimum urban standards (ibid.) or engender new urban conflicts by succumbing to the investors' dictate and political pressure (Workshop 1).

Planners are actually deprived of dignity and professional authority and the low capacity of their actions is characterized also by the lack of overall planning principles (**?**). In the case of public participation and public hearing, the fear to defend public interest marks the behaviour of planners (Workshop 1).

The Planning and Construction Act (PCA) prescribes that planners have to consult everybody: public power holders (nosioce javnih ovlascenja) and general public through public hearings (one in an early planning phase and the other for the draft of the plan) (**?**). The public hearing is the moment when conflicts come out, should be dealt with and, at the end, all the solutions must be argumented (Interview X). Taking into account recent experience with the Amendments to the PCA and the adoption of BWPSPSP (**?**), public participation was rather a farce and public hearings were pure formality with obvious and maybe even illegitimate disregard of negative comments (Workshop 1).

This extensive weakness of urban planning regulatory framework was emanate from the blurred transition of old, socialist institutions into the new liberal ones, with the conversion of political capital into economic one (**?**). In Serbia, wealth and power are

concentrated in the hands of political and economic actors. While the politicians are focused on the image of the Serbian Capital in the world and their short-lived success on the elections (Interview X), private investors dominate Belgrade's urban development and have the sole interest for construction land, especially that of the Capital. As the most valuable part of the territorial capital of the country, the land market in Belgrade has not yet been regulated according to market principles and therefore has had the land on offer below its market value (**?**; **?**).

"The most dramatic problems of Belgrades urban development during the last 15 years, in planners views, were linked to the pervasiveness of uncontrolled and illegal development. In the city, such patterns of development led to the deconstruction of its urbanity and the abuse of its public spaces." citeVujovicAndPetrovic2007

6.2.3 Belgrade Waterfront Whereabouts

Current large-scale redevelopment of the Sava Waterfront is commissioned to privileged foreign and domestic developers (Workshop 1) according to the above mentioned scheme (Section 6.1.2). The simple calculation is such that they got the good bargain with Serbian authorities for the highly profitable urban land in the capital city (**?**). Even though Serbian tycoons beforehand managed to secure similar successful investments (**?**), experts say that limited financial capacity of the State and the current financial crisis have contributed to urgent needs for real estate investments after its sudden halt in 2010 (**?**).

Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP) is a typical megaproject (MP) and a flagship of the neoliberal doctrine dominance the Serbian context (**?**). Widely known hypothesis saying that the success of MPs depends on its appreciation into local historical and current context, its ability to respond to the contrasting aims and objectives and the integration of communities and localities involved (**?**).

However, what happened in the case of the BWP was quite the opposite and it more corresponds to the Machiavellian formula for MPs roll-up with underestimated costs, overestimated revenues, undervalued environmental impacts and exaggerated developmental effects (**?**: 18).

The situation in Belgrade (and Savamala) can be rather explained as a classic case of investor urbanism with powerful political figures having the fetish on investments, a powerful financial investor and a shiny, faulty 3D model - as explained an interviewed expert (Interview X). Interestingly, another one explained that having the actual model made all the socio-spatial faults of the project visible [19] (Interview X) And, without a doubt, the BWP is the instigator of the pleiad of urban conflicts if we speak about Savamala

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[19]Contrary to this, usually urban plans in Serbia have no spatial interpretations so that their flaws and conflicts stayed hidden, especially for design and construction professionals and citizens (Interview X).

(Interview X).

Very important legal precondition for the realization and distribution of benefits within the BWP was a Joint Venture Agreement (JVA) [20] between the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment LLC, Beograd na vodi, d.o.o. and Al Maabar International Investment LLC [21] (UAE). The agreement was signed in April 2015 and publicly announced on the website of the Serbian Government 5 months later (September 2015). The consequences for the Serbian society are also as following (Workshop 1; ?): (a) prompt law and urban regulation changes (Lex specialis, GUP 2021); (b) cultural patrimony and architectural heritage contributed without financial benefits,; (c) exemption from any legal duty (Law on Applying Agreement on Cooperation Between Serbia and Emirates); (d) protected assets provided for the private developer (BWPSPSP); (e) state aid and expropriation for elite-housing and commercial spaces (Lex specialis), (f) lease of public land without fee. Conversely, the investor does not have to wait for construction to ends and to count on the future gentrification of the entire area to make profit; he gains the profit easily with minimum investment and with the minimal realization of the plan/agreement (Interview X).

As worldwide examples show, urban decision-making on MPs is often exclusive with an ex post integration into planning documents (??) and with possible serious legal and ethical issues (?; ?). In this case, the BWPSPSP also serve to the Serbian Government currently in power to gain exclusive right to act in the center of Belgrade (Interview X). Such legal adaptations weaken the local authorities by imposing orders from the national level and the top-down pressure to realize projects with neither interference nor objection (Workshop 1).

In sum, there are no local power poles or real decision makers in Savamala, everything is grounded upon the powerful, centralized nation state (Questionnaire X). Moreover, the BWP exemplifies the closed wheel of decision-making procedure circumscribing political and economic actors into an interconnected and interdependent system.

"Belgrade stepping into the neoliberal trends, disregarding the relevant planning documents and causing them to change, lacking the long term vision." ?

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[20]While the shares of profit are: 32% for Serbia and 68% for UAE partner (??), the actual division of costs according to the agreement is estimated as fully reversed (there are unofficial estimations that 88% to even 98% of invested funds are to be borne by the Republic of Serbia).

[21]The data on this company owned by the investor are officially proclaimed secret by the Commission for Protection of Competition. According to the online data the company was licensed in 2015 with 0 money share and with limited license for 1 year (?).

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter displays the MAS analysis of current urban reality of Savamala. It brings up the analysis of urban agency in terms of elements and relations. The MAS method terminology is contextualized through the story of local contextual resources, social practices and urban conflicts. Such structuralization of elements and events in Savamala puts new light on already analysed actors and their networks (Chapter 5). The aggregation of agent preferences summarizes the socio-spatial patterns identified in Savamala. Finally, setting up the relations of urban agency and the identified resources, practices and conflicts offers the explanation of its dynamics within the scope of urban decision-making layers.

In theoretical terms, the interaction of urban agency with contextual elements and in contextual relations defines urbanity (Section 2.1.5) - the level of urbanity in Savamala is created from the fluctuating relationship between the agency and the context. While the initial disbalance produced in 2011-2014 worked pro social potentials and the activation of spatial capacities toward vivid and diverse urban life; the intensive aggregation of urban conflicts from 2014 onward proves the other way round. There is a growing unification of functions and activities in Savamala, while the civil life has been slowly retreating and moving away. Conversely, the waterfront area is at a stable pace growing with architectural mastodons bringing in new, modern architectural front to the historical hinterland. The level of urbanity in Savamala seems like trotting up and down various scales while its contextual elements and relations are exposed to the battlefield of multiple human and non-human agents.

Following the operationalization of agents and their preferences presented in this chapter, several causal relations on the current circumstances in Savamala become conspicuous. The social and spatial capital of Savamala were accentuated and activated through these abundant civic and creative initiatives. These initiatives responded to global trends and the urgent need for social and cultural spaces in the city. However, this alternative status of Savamala has its insurmountable limitations - the obstruction and neglect from the State. Thus, this relationship between alternative culture and institutions, instead of becoming the harmonized practice, has germinated into an urban conflict generator.

Moreover, this theme park narrative of the BWP projected future, the disastrous estimations of the obligations for Serbia and the secretive and murky circumstances of its current realization is an immense and even bigger source of urban conflicts and a kind of exploitative mechanism for local capacities and potentials. In these circumstances, urban planning institutions and documentations appear passive and figure only as an instrument of power and interest, replicating thusly either the practices or the conflicts at play.

The identification of agent preferences through the links between the agents/actors and the context work out the current state of urban dynamics in Savamala. However,

as urban dynamics alludes on continuous changes and constitutions of new realities and urban development prospects simultaneously, the aggregation of agents' preferences and the structure of their agents' nature evolve into a dynamic category forming the agent behaviour. The consequences of this agent behaviour are actually the forces of maintenance, transformation and/or change processes of an urban system. The proposed hybrid method that combines MAS and ANT could serve for setting up an iterative procedure that refers to urban development in terms of urban system transitions. Such narrative might provide a framework to reframe urban complexity and to capture urban dynamics at the neighbourhood level.

Chapter 7

Urban Processes and Cross-Pollination of Data

The narrative of urban system transitions turns new light on urban development and its processual nature. It relates back to the totality of an urban system addressing harmonization, contestations and collisions of the variety of structural elements, social factors and vested interests existing in an urban environment. While the theoretical scope of the levels of urbanity and the multi-layered morphology of urban decision-making circumscribe urban complexity and dynamics, there appears a gap between fluid interpretations of contemporary cities and operational urban development prospects.

Due to the conditions, weak urban systems, such as post-socialist cities surely are, tend to poorly understand and anticipate trends, risks and changes (**?**). The far-reaching aim is to capture urban complexity and dynamics of post-socialist cities in order to avoid urban development and related mistakes based on the western planning paradigm. But the more general question remains as such: how to systematically approach analysing a vibrant and fluid context in order to adjust and balance urban development processes (**?**)?

This thesis research argues in favour of methodological revisions, adaptations or complements for urban research. It applies a methodological hybrid that combines the Multi-agent system (MAS) and the Actor-network theory (ANT) to demystify contextual processes of system resilience, flexibility and contradiction (transformation, maintenance, and/or change) within the complex urban agency map.

To begin with, these contextual processes will be bounded into the narrative of urban system transitions explaining how this MAS-ANT theoretical construct is to be applied on Savamala. Bearing in mind the identified local actors and networks they engage in (Chapter 5), and having indicated the links between the actors/agents and the context (Chapter 6), the logics of agent behaviour will provide the explanations on interconnections between urban decision-making layers, localized socio-spatial patterns and the dynamics of contextual processes. Later on, this chapter also displays the collected and analysed

data in a new MAS-ANT cross-pollinated set of agent profiles. Tracking agent profiles indicates the paths of maintenance, transformation and/or change in Savamala as an urban development indicator. Furthermore, the MAS-ANT diagram displays the results in such manner that the multitude of urban elements (complexity) are incorporated, the variety of their links are mapped (integration), and the past-present-future processes of long duration (dynamics) are marked. As the final result, the chapter is concluded with the elaboration of the flexibility trait of such diagram based on its potential for both social and algorithmic approach toward urban development.

7.1 The Body of Urban Transitions

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

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

High dynamics, interdependence and overlaps of these and similar factors endanger efficiency of urban system planning, which does not mean that the system was prevented from evolving. While most Western capitals gradually assumed their urban coherence and cultural identity, urbanity of post-socialist cities is either diluted during its turbulent history or is happening immediately at an extraordinary pace (?). Contextual processes in post-socialist cities that cover actual on-site system evolution usually are not planned or directed, though they are also far from chaotic - in short time lapse they show their intrinsic logic, functionality and time-coherence which usually becomes complicated, neglected and blurred from a wider perspective. Even though unrolling patterns for such processes are not obvious, their influence on the system evolution is quite deterministic - either maintaining, or transforming or changing it (Section 2.3.1).

To gain a fuller appreciation of different types of contextual processes, already during the initial research phase, dynamic, historical, contextual and on-site data were critically addressed and filtered through the rounds of data collection going from an abstract document-based version through group analysis in professional, educational workshops and

elaborated interpretations from local experts and coming back to the theoretical stances.

As discussed above, a kaleidoscope of collected and analyzed data on Savamala neighbourhood have revealed sets of relationships between the identified actors, the morphology of urban decision-making and the level of urbanity. ANT analysis highlights individual features of actors and constitutes agent structures, while MAS elaboration explains their contextual preferences and the involvement in urban affairs. Relating human and non-human actor-networks to urban decision- making mechanisms and urban agency to contextual elements and relations enables pointing the key actors of urban system transitions - maintenance, transformation and change of urban systems.

A multitude of human and non-human actors shape top-down, interest-based and bottom-up developmental action and influence multi-layered decision-making structure in terms of decisions for maintenance, transformation and/or change of the system. Therefore, the character - profile - of these agents might provide the explanations of their references to the system evolution. Agent profile is a combination of agent structure, agent preferences, and agent behaviour (Section 3.3.2). In this research project, the agent behaviour combines agent structure and preference and refers to system development (maintenance, transformation or change). Agent preferences have a crucial role for tracing urban transitions: (a) resources instigate transformations, (b) practices identify system maintenance, and (c) conflicts boost potential changes. On the contrary, agent structure in combination with these preferences determines the agent's role within the morphology of urban decision-making. Moreover, the decision-making networks also define what is desirable, possible or what is actually happening.

The analysis of the identified agents according to these principles gives us the opportunity to determine urban development prospects - their influence on the system evolution, their capacity to intervene and their biases that cause eventual negative effects.

7.1.1 Profiling the agents

The first step in displaying the body of urban transformations and developmental prospects in Savamala is the definition of agent profiles. The core of agent profiles are their structure and preferences, based on ANT and MAS analyses of contextual, qualitative data. Agent structure and preferences are treated as dynamic features of urban agency and the level of urbanity in Savamala. They are the basis for tracking the behaviour of these agents and their influence on the state of urban environment and urban system evolution in Savamala. Finally, this allowed summing up their capacities and limitations and demonstrated how they influence urban development prospects.

Post-socialist urban development induced radical political, economic and cultural shifts in neighbourhoods in Belgrade. Savamala has been marked by all mayor transformations

of Serbian society over time and therefore is a representative case for intensive collision of top-down and bottom-up pressures. Endowed with a prime location in Serbian capital, Savamala has been directly or indirectly targeted by most of General Urban Plans (GUPs) and/or General Plans (GPs) since the beginning of the 20th century (GUP 1923, GUP 1950, GUP 1972, GP 2003 (revised in 2005, 2007, 2009, 2014), and GUP 2016) (Section 4.2.1). It has also having been capturing the attention of national and international capital through glorious architectural projects ("Town on the Water", CIP Europolis, Beko Masterplan, Belgrade Waterfront Project etc.) (Section 4.2.2). Following the trends, it has also fallen under a recent, massive, but rather disputable waterfront mega-project, that aims to remodel Belgrade landscape according to modern high-rise metropolis patterns (Figure X)(Figure X) In Savamala, a complement of post-socialist urban development is found in small-scale cultural practices, crowdsourcing civil and activities, artistic projects and educational programmes which, slowly but surely, spread from the upper Savamala to the riverbanks (Section 4.2.3).

The hybrid field of overlapping MAS (Multi-agent system) and ANT (Actor-network theory) methodological approaches proposed an innovative concept to define causal relationships among all different urban elements and developmental prospects of their interrelations and interconnections.

Agent structure For the analysis of agents' structure, their basic characteristics are already identified within the key categories from the ANT methodology (Figure X). These ANT categories indicate the figuration of the chosen agents in their environment. They are adapted according to the interpretation of the ANT methodological approach applied in this research. Agent structures are circumscribed based on the roles these agents play in Savamala, i.e. (?; ?):

1. agent nature - its operational manifestation;

2. level of influence - the boundaries of the activities and target groups;

3. structural networks - the agents primary activity;

4. socially functional networks - social function they are assigned;

5. secondary networks - subordinate function(s) they take up.

Agent structure is the product of thorough ANT analysis (Section 5.1). (Figure X) summarizes the structure of the set of urban key agents based on the data provided from the key informants. Different layers of decision-making reflect the difference in agent nature, while structural networks interpret the functions of these agents at the local level.

The social function of the agent is strongly connected to their level of influence in the case of bottom-up actors. They are all active at the local, but less often at the city

and international levels, though their international visibility is also more in the domain of funding - several are the recipients of international financial support Foreign embassies (Swiss and Netherlands embassies) and European cultural and art foundations, organizations and programmes (Felix Meritis, Balkan Design Network, EU funding instruments) or under direct supervision of international entities Urban Incubator Belgrade (UIB) was the initiative of The Goethe-Institut.

Top-down agents are activated in the form of documents (BW SPSP [1] and GUP BGD 2021), [2] institutions (MCTI [3] and UPI) [4] or the assigned roles in the public domain (Prime Minister, Cty Mayor, City Arcnitect).

The dual position of the Ministry of Construction, Urbanism and Infrastructure (MCTI) as both normative and executive planning body after the ambiguous discontinuation of the Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (RASP) opens the floor for twisted institutional practice reflected further on in agent behaviour. The choice of policy agendas is based on their problematic engagement in the enactment and changes of regulatory mechanisms for the wide area of Belgrade waterfront. BW SPSP and GUP BGD 2021 received harsh professional criticism. The first relied on the multiple misinterpretations of the Planning and Construction Act (PCA), while the modifications of the second enable construction of profitable high-rise commercial and residential buildings in the coastal area. Furthermore, in the process of BW SPSP adaption, the City Architect and its cabinet exert power and influence in expert control and public inspection process (?). The responsibility and the competitiveness of the local authorities is insignificant in this case and is being controlled mainly through political mechanisms (political party structures).

The key inspirator for these actions has been the private investment of the Belgrade waterfront project (BWP). Similar ambiguities have happened to the amendments to the City Regulation Plan (CRP) dealing concerning Beko factory location nearby. Foreign investor figurated by Lambda Development financed the drafting of CRP and directly influence the makers of the plan by employing them afterwards. Conversely, the initiative NDBGD is the key entity performing control of urban governance outside the top-town regulatory framework. Through its actions (events, media and publishing) NDBGD has been constantly advocating for more transparency and participation in Serbian urban planning framework.

The engagement of various individual and group human actors surrounding the BWP investment is mainly assembled around the financial agreements and benefits (structural networks). Following contradictory information in the media, the exact details on the

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[1] Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area

[2] General Urban Plan for Belgrade - different versions

[3] Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure

[4] Urban Planning Institute

profit distribution is not yet clear (**?**). These circumstances result in the conflictive relations on land use and property issues (secondary networks in reference to space and built environment): (o) the harmful, illegitimate, unconstitutional decision on expropriation of land for residential and commercial purposes based on the special law (Lex specialis) (**?**); (o) the misleading information on the land property agreement, the land is not rented for 99 years, but granted to the investor as soon as the buildings are constructed (**?**); (o) the obscure circumstances of the initial apartment sale before the construction even began - who and how actually governs this sale managed by the BWC (Belgrade Waterfront Company) (**?**; **?**); and (o) the unrealistic real estate market circumstances in Belgrade and the irrationality of residential construction projects such as BWP while the significant amount of recently finished residential buildings are empty in the extended central area of Belgrade (i.e. Belville in New Belgrade) (ibid.;Workshop 1).

Conversely, another important questions rose around the infrastructure and infrastructural works in the BW area (secondary networks). As the public utility services and municipal infrastructure are the main sources of costs and profits on land, neither of the economic regulatory rules have been applied in the case of BWP, such as operational separation of executive and regulatory role, stability control and transparent mechanisms (**?**); The costs for the infrastructural works are: underestimated, large in scale and unrealistically planned under the agreement bonds, [5] and in practice marked by murky financial deals with investors[6] (Interview X). It means putting the additional burden on Serbian tax payers in the future and endangering the economic prosperity of the country rather than boosting it (**?**). Moreover, the role of public utility companies (socially functional networks) is sidelined, devaluated and reduced to vertiacal, political obedience, e.g. Belgrade Waters [Beograd vode], Serbian Railways [Zeleznice Srbije] etc.) (**?**).

Conversely, in terms of agent nature, the chosen bottom-up agents figure as sets of horizontal entities of events/projects/activities. In this respect, the scope of secondary network characteristics is focused on urban or NGO sectors or small-scale services. Moreover, socially functional networks formed from the ground up are mainly formal/informal collectives with non-transparent or unclear internal organizational or foundational procedures.

KC Grad, as the first informal collective settled in Savamala, was also known as "Dutch center" as the Dutch embassy provided the initial funding support to establish such alternative cultural center in Belgrade at the moment when Student Cultural Center (SCC)

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[5]Among others, the infrastructural works incorporate: constructing the vehicle and railway bridge near Vinca, relocating the railway station and bus terminal, finishing the railway station "Prokop" and building from scratch another single or multiple bus terminals (**?**).

[6]According to the informal sources from the BWP construction site, the initial infrastructural works are funded by the foreign investor and will be reduced from the land indemnity payment obligation. The circumstances of the value calculation and obligations for both sides are not known (Interview X).

[Studentski kulturni centar (SKC)] was falling apart and "Dom omladine" Cultural Center was under reconstruction (Interview X). As soon as Mikser took over the leading role as the local stakeholder, it kept it to this day, with significant efforts put to have an overview what is going in Savamala. [7] However, both of them are the only organizations/ collectives/ non-formal actors to be included in the new plans for Savamala (BWP SPSP, GUP 2021, Investor's Master Plan for BWP).

The analysis of agents structure and qualitative data on Savamala neighbourhood indicates urban assemblage networks formed and contributed from ground up. Namely, implementation and management of participatory activities is the focal point of urban interventions in Savamala. These networks involve the range of local and city NGOs as well as several IOs, initiatives and collectives. In few cases (Urban Incubator Belgrade, Mikser festival etc.), municipal authorities provide support in these managerial networks. However, local, municipal and city authorities as well as international funding organizations take part in financial networks and for several projects in the implementation networks (i.e. Savamala, a place for making; The game of Savamala; Camenzind, NextSavamala and Savamala design studio projects within UIB).

In the case of UIB, the activities in Savamala also comply with the campaign of Goethe Institute to focus part of their activities on "Cities and Urban space" in their branches worldwide. Namely, there are several different Urban Incubator projects around the world Goethe Institute assembles local and international actors around participatory and educational projects for rethinking the city and practicing citizenry. In this respect, they are endeavor to involve local educational institutions (Universities and most often Faculties of Architecture and Arts) and to foster collaborations among them. Setting the extensive and diverse network in the local context, UI and Goethe Institute are not primary agents on the ground

On the limited level few agents (My piece of Savamala, KC Grad, Mikser) engage in consulting networks with municipal and city authorities (City mayor, City architect, Municipality of Savski venac) and real-estate actors (Eagel Hills, Belgrade Waterfront Project). In these relations, critical connotations against the authorities are aptly avoided and the projects and participants become side-lined. [8]

Finally, the sole interest of Ministry of Space [Ministarstvo Prostora] collective and Ne da(vi)mo Beograde initiative (NDVBGD) is activation in control and verification networks for all urban questions, problems and solutions. The agency of these entities are overlap-

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[7] In this sense, Mikser also took part in or actively supported several projects such as UIB, The Game of Savamala, My Piece of Savamala etc.

[8] This happened to "My piece of Savamala" project. As soon as they submitted the results, which did not comply with the official solution for the park in Savamala, to the authorities and to the BWP officers, the communication was interrupted and they have not received any reply to date (Interview X)

ping in the course of individual participants and actions as NDVBGD is the initiative led by this collective. In general, their civil and urban activism refers back to the city as the place for all its citizens and to city and national urban and political authorities and experts respectively.

In general, various structural networks clarify agents roles and indicate the paths of their behaviour and networking capacities at the local level.

Agent preferences The second level of data analysis is MAS analysis of agent contents, fields of interest and influences. Based on the MAS-ANT methodological pollination, agent preferences are defined in accord to their relationality towards the contextual resources, social practices and urban conflicts figuring in Savamala (Section 6.2). In this manner, we become aware of their field of maneuvers in Savamala.

The visualization of agent preferences confirms that the spatial and locational capital of Savamala is the main attraction for human and institutional actors at various levels. Interestingly, locals have not exclusively perceived it like that. According to some, the BWP is the recent spark that brings back economic and aesthetic value in the neighbourhood (Interview X). Conversely, the recent wave of refugees from the Middle East is perceived as a danger and a problem (Interview X).

Their short-term visions suggest that refurbished faades and cleared waterfront are seen as a step forward, while the Savamala inhabitants actually show little interest for illegal and corrupt actions surrounding the project. In the city context, it shows that shallow actions and obvious cosmetic changes have wider social effects than any disastrous decision that is limited to policy agendas or documentation in general.

While Savamala's contextual resources are of special importance for Belgradians and Savamala inhabitants, the attitude of the investor shows no difference between Belgrade waterfront or any other waterfront in the world, and especially in the Arab/Persian Gulf (Interview X, Y, Z). The investor plans to build: the coastal fortification, walking paths, urban furniture, 2 residential towers (20 storeys each), the central tower (160m) with the network of streets leading toward it, a shopping mall behind this tower, and a hotel next to Brankov bridge (Interview X). Numerous expert assert that the design of the area and buildings better correspond to the environment between the dessert and the sea like in Dubai than to that of Belgrade (Interview X, Y). The BWP spatial plan and functional programme show that it does not take into account contextual resources and urban conflicts of the whole city, as a project of such scale should. Its only purpose is access - people are coming, parking-settling down and consuming - as an informant close to BWC explained (Interview X).

On the contrary, the professionals advocated for an integral development strategy for Savamala, scientifically and practically elaborated that is actually based on intrinsic qualities and that addresses well-known urban conflicts at the city level, such as: (1) linking the design solution to Sustatainable urban mobility plan the project was prepared within United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with the support from city authorities through the engagement of the Land Development Agency (or Directorate for Construction Land - direkcija za gradsko gradjevinsko zemljiste); (2) promoting the policy of land management and sustainable restitution plan; (3) supporting financially liable project to be financed from City budget; (4) reducing design costs through viable competitions, (5) the participation of representatives of the city authority and city management offices in the cut-off workshops and decision-making (Interview X).

The first, local source of problem was the position of wider area of Savamala on the border between 2 city municipalities - Savski Venac and Stari grad, with different management structures and priorities. Morever, an insurmontable obstacle for such a project at the city level was unresolved property issue and illegal construction in the area (Interview X, Y). Under any other circumstances and under different times, the action is usually halted. However, these problems were solved in a blink of the eye as soon as it was promoted from the national level and by the political party in power. Large scale urban project and big investment were seen as a source of finance and popularity for the new elite coming to power with the political change that followed the national elections in 2012 (Interview X). After all, it proved that centralized state is the main power pole of urban development in Serbia.

When complemented with information from expert and participant interviews, the conclusion is such that urban regulatory framework has been purposely distorted to accommodate private (investors) interests. In so doing, city authorities and city planning departments are the pillars of such biased governance mechanisms, while failing to provide adequate expert control of the planning processes, development plans and implementations and to enable smooth transformation of post-socialist urban systems.

Finally, BWP SPSP is a flagship among regulatory documents that legitimizes blurred, non-transparent, un-feasible, interest-based urban planning procedures In addition, the BWP lead in itself manifests an official disregard for expert opinion, induces citizen revolt and causes disbelieve in public authorities. On the city scale, investment-based initiatives like this one reduce the potential of democratization and decentralization of urban processes.

Even though social potentials are nominally addressed by policy agendas, the leader of gradual, small-scale, participatory urban changes and possible brownfield regeneration has been cultural initiatives and NGOs settled in Savamala in the last 3-5 years. As they are part of the NGO sector, provision of spaces has been a crucial question not for their

existence, but for their visibility and activity at the city level. In this respect, "Magacin u Kraljevica Marka" (MKM) and "Kraljevica Marka 8" (KM8) are perceived as anchor places. Obtained for use from the Municipality "Savski Venac", they are shared among different NGOs and offered for multiple projects/activities/events from different actors, even outside these organizations.

Although collaboration is not a strong point among these bottom-up initiatives, these shared spaces incite the sparks of mutual projects and actions usually among those organizations based on voluntary work of young activists and professionals (around Goethe Guerilla) (Interview X). In general, most of the participants and orgnizers are architects, artists or cultural workers. There are actually people with different backgrounds and they all share the same interest for continual personal development and education and critical approach towards their profession and their city (Interview X).

These organizations are found in the middle of real estate interests around BWP and of cultural institutions in the city ("Dom Omladine", Goethe institute). As a consequence, they were eventually dislodged from the KM8 when the place was officially returned to the city authorities at the end of 2016. Even though in limbo while trying to acquire new place, they still work on the strategies for future projects on participation and better internal organizations that will help popularize and widen the scope of their actions (Interview X). In terms of space, they usually meet informally or are contributed space from their partner and friend organizations.

Another way of profiting from Savamala's contextual resources is the non-governmental promotion of biking culture, an organized action to fight urban "pollution and stink" (Interview X). Savamala's location (waterfront, proximity of the marina, half-way to Ada and Novi Beograd) led to positioning the headquarters of the biking community there. Following the international boost and support for city biking, the biking community "Streets for cyclists" became an important actor and one of the few listened and consulted by the city authorities (City Mayor and City Architect) (Section 6.1.2).

Namely, the majority of these bottom-up agents actually aspire for a consulting role on the wide field of urban issues, culture, art and education or to implement a range of ideas/solutions/interventions at urban or social level. In Serbian context, they aim to provide an alternative body for catalysing available human resources and translating global knowledge into the local context of Savamala and Belgrade.

Agent Behaviour The final stage of the analysis is MAS-ANT cross-pollination on the level of agent behaviour. The broad domains of the agent profile answer the question of who, what and how acts in the network of complicate relations among human and non-

human urban elements.

In Savamala, a dynamic, interactive urban assemblages are articulated through decision-making mechanisms of urban planning, real estate and co-design and creative participation actions. The behaviour of agents enables tracing the interrelations of contextual resources, urban conflicts and social practices (MAS) (Chapter 6) in these urban assemblage networks from ANT (Chapter 5).

Another layer of ANT-MAS cross-pollination is the illustration of agent behaviours in terms of active-passive relations. In this way, they personify the links between urban key agents and recognized political, economic and cultural factors of post-socialist urbanity. Namely, ANT assemblage networks altogether describe Savamala's urban complexity, while MAS interpretation adds active-passive roles to urban key agents and their contextual preferences. All these behavioural paths are also confirmed within qualitative data.

Table X explains how political, economic and cultural tenets of post-socialist urbanity are distributed among urban key agents and in which way they influence Savamala's contextual elements. The correlation between spatial capacities and urban conflicts, which are dominant preferential elements of the chosen urban key agents, are of special interest for such analysis. The level of post-socialist urbanity directly depends on the balance between how the society/local community as a whole profit from contextual resources and reduce the negative effects of urban conflicts.

The analysis reveals that centralized decision-making and provisory rules, among other political aspects, are the front runners of biased exploitation of the spatial capital. The inconsistency of expert opinions and no coordinated actions for supporting certain professional values and defending the position of exerts in decisio-making on important social subjects poses also a threat on the regulating planning practice and implementing planning documents (?).

What is more, the private investors, who easily satisfy their interest regarding Serbian spatial capital, do not have any concern or interest for social benefits of the society. Instead of enabling the social potential of current local cultural and civil initiatives, they contribute to their extermination from the neighbourhood. This new picture of a trendy and rather safe Savamala on the one hand renders threats of expulsion of the local population, marginalized groups and alternative culture on the other (?) Not to mention that disjunction between expert and practical knowledge and regulatory and implementation actions contribute to the deterioration of the quality of urban life.

These ambiguous relations induce collisions in financial, implementation and regulatory assemblage networks. In terms of spatial capacities, they particularly threaten highly

profitable urban land (Figure X) Institutional actors (authorities and urban planning) cherish and defend corruption and opportunism in urban transactions and land development instead of fighting and curbing it (?) Even when the instruments to fight it are available (tax on extra profit, reform of the security sector, reform of tribunal, reform of prosecution, mechanisms of restitution and denationalisation) (?), in day-to-day administration of urban development, there is not political will and institutional firmness to implement them.

Coordination of actions, resistance to political pressures and endurance of regulatory processes among institutions at different levels is essential for setting up adequate and efficient arrangements in urban land market, urban land use management and land taxation systems in compliance with urban development goals. It may also be extremely difficult in the political context where the elections are happening very often and the institutional structures and personnels have been changing accordingly [9]

On the other hand, cultural cluster, which was in a full swing 2012-2015, was so much neglected by the official authorities so that it has not managed to produce real, long-lasting positive effects in terms of place-making, promotion of arts and integration of culture in the city, and to positively influence local tourism. These tenets of creativity for urban development (?) in Savamala were wasted in vain when the whole establishment turned to the BWP. While national and international experts, cultural and civil workers and several independent media tried to protect this new spirit of Savamala, the Ministry for culture, official and popular media in Serbia did not work in favour of cultural purposes (Interview X). The destiny of these activities and places depend on private investors and their "buddies" in the city and national authorities and their whims, interests, decisions. As they are not interested in volunteering or any socially beneficial work or cultural and artistic practices, even if the purposes of city branding are at play; the only left option for these organization is to leave Savamala (Interview X)

Speaking of urban conflicts, they are already entrenched in complex relations surrounding contextual resources in Savamala as it was already mentioned at the beginning. Apart from the institutional incapacity, the major source of conflict is the lack of participation, transparency and respect for general public interest. In Savamala, this issue is of special importance as all three layers of urban decision-making express certain interest and have certain power within the Savamala boundaries. Having said that, it is important to acknowledge that the clash of authoritarian and civil sector in Savamala over the controversial megaproject (MP) is the shifting point of agents' behaviours in Savamala comparing it to other neighbourhoods in Belgrade and Serbia.

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[9]data on elections in last 6 years XXXXXXX

Aside from regulatory adjustments to accommodate private investor interests that paved their way as an official planning practice and instrument in urban decision-making in Serbia, this narrative at the neighbourhood level has another actualization. The cultural and civil activities in Savamala are on the verge of accommodating, and even catering for their interests and tastes, the new audience coming to the neighbourhood, whom they are not sharing any values with (Interview X). Or on the verge of expulsion without real means to fight it (?).

This was the case for the refugee center "Miksaliste", whose demolition was announced only 48 hours before, which is on no account sufficient for moving infrastructure and people (Interview X). Moreover, disobedience was also out of question, because the destiny of hundreds of refugees pouring in Serbia and Belgrade was at stake (Interview X).

On the other hand, there are others (NDVBGD) who do not want to communicate and collaborate with the BWP staff and supporters as long as certain illegitimate issues that threaten public interest are not solved (?). Even though their actual achievements to stop the project are inconsiderate, their public actions, elaborated documentation, sharp analysis and even legal moves are raising awareness about the social values and rights in the city (?). They as well made the illegitimate circumstances of this project visible at an international level.

Following their civil protests in the Capital with dozens of participants and official, high level critics that they provided from the numerous experts, the unresolved issue of Savamala night demolition and terrain clearance became an issue of high citizen priority and burning political issue. [10] From the point of view of the tourists coming to Belgrade, after the positive suprise with the scale of construction at work in Savamala, they become soon disappointed when they hear the whole story, about demolitions, illegality and above all about the "dubaization" of Belgrade waterfront, which they are not eager to come to see in Balkans (Interview X).

Finally, however problematic, the amenability of urban plans and its implementation in Serbian planning discourse is historically built and consolidated during the socialist period. In the socialist discourse, with enough political will, any urban project can be realized, at least it could be provided with the regulations and documentations needed. For example, the introduction of new building/construction indexes that make possible construction of high-rise buildings at the Belgrade Waterfront actually means that it will be the new reality on the Belgrade highline (veduta). As soon as the indexes are raised in official documents (legal and technical), they will not be lowered ever again (Interview

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[10]David McAllister, European Parliament rapporteur for Serbia, mentioned the "case of Savamala" in a draft of his latest report before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament (EP). He was asking for quick and efficient legale resolution of controversial circumstances around Savamala demolition. ?

X) Speaking of urban practices, the system reproduces itself and is slowly coordinating with European legislation and trends; city is functioning, but what is happening is rather "spontaneous occurrence" than a strategic pathway.

The second step of agent behaviour analysis is estimating its influence on the distribution of urban agency within urban assemblage networks - the differentiation between proactive and passive urban key actors. Table X therefore displays the preliminary division of agents according to previously performed ANT and MAS analyses (Chapter 5; Chapter 6).

Browsing through different networks, the distortion of post-socialist institutional framework is conspicuous, because policy agendas usually feature as passive elements despite their essence as a regulatory framework for strategies and actions. What is more, personalized institutional relations, figuring in particracy dominance over political power, make public authorities more vulnerable to the variety of political and economic interests. Horizontal, vertical and cross coordination among individual decisions and public policies looses its professional feature and falls into the domain of marketing and political campaign. Leaving the decisions on public interest in hands of individuals eases the abuse of power. Furthermore, weakness of the institutional framework leads to the lack of control and flawed implementation of sanctions.

Another important question is the responsibility for design solutions of the prime urban location in Serbian capital. Namely, Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment LLC (the company of the foreign investor) is the sole provider of design, construction, management, marketing and trade activities according to the Joint Venture Agreement for the BWP (JVA) (?). The foreign investor defines the Master plan and all levels of planning documentation, while the Republic of Serbia is responsible for its legalization, terrain clearance and infrastructural works (?).

Finally, the citizens (inhabitants of Belgrade and Savamala) are the most neglected party, deprived of any role in the public domain and even of that to express their preferences and interests on urban changes that affect their own property. The authorities are not actively providing any help and support in defending citizen rights and interests. Moreover, when citizens officially require it, the procedures are so complicated and long-term that people do not dare to engage in such possibly vain dealings (Interview X).

The two levels of agent behaviour explain proactive or passive role of agent structure and connect agent preferences with urban assemblage networks. Figure X visualises the MAS-ANT analysis in relation to agent structure, preferences and behaviour of urban key agents in Savamala. In this diagram the links between contextual preferences, the social aspects addressed and the agents with their explicit structure (level, nature, and

functions) and roles (proactive-passive) are explicited.

In this respect, we can acknowledge urban system references - the indicators of maintenance, transformation and/or change. Agency and relationships of the urban key agents is the cornerstone of urban assemblage networks constituted at the local level. As they primarily depend on the contextual preferences which the agents attribute to their activity and relations, tracking these associations is also a crucial factor of urban development processes, if there is any. Therefore, with MAS-ANT method the aim is to describe the resilient components that maintain the urban system, suggest the flexible factors of constant adaptations and point out the threats and opportunities for dynamic shifts in urban system evolution.

7.1.2 Decision Making Layers' Scenarios as an Indicator of Urban Development Prospects

Multiple maintenance, transformation and change actions that influence the state of the urban environment in Savamala are identified according to agent profiles and networks. Contributing to the body of local social practices, and benefiting from social potentials and spatial capacities (contextual resources), as well as addressing urban conflicts involve the continuous reviewing of how the collision of these positive and negative influences actually produces a variety of opportunities for maintenance, transformation and change. In this case, the conceived social aspects (political, economic and cultural) of Savamala are those that contribute to local resources, conflicts or practices and thereafter aspire to generate system evolution (**?**).

The current situation in Savamala is a prime example of the overall state of Serbian society and its attitudes and propensity towards evolutionary processes. Namely, in Serbia transformations usually go with the flow, especially those that engage broad civil audience, like the cultural initiatives in Savamala did (Interview X). On the contrary, having something strategized, planned and implemented necessarily involves political power poles and financial actors (Interview X). The structure is being replicated and multiplied from the local to the national levels emphasizing an authoritarian state of mind and values for the society as a whole.

Bearing this in mind, the case of Savamala is also an example of what is possible in Serbia. In this reference, the future prospects of different decision-making layers will be described in the chronological order - based on their occurrence in Savamala and their engagement into its developmental interventions - from bottom-up actions, a mega-project to urban regulatory framework and state institutions who were mere providers of framework and the framework of legitimacy.

Operationality of bottom-up, on-site interventions

In order to identify and elaborate how participatory activities influence urban development in Savamala, it is essential to translate these qualitative categories into factors which could denote a positive impetus.

First of all, the settlement of civil organisations has supported service and commercial activities and recreation zones already present there. Several t additional craft shops have been in Savamala for decades and now. Following the hype of its low-profile, bars and restaurants, as well as art and culture initiatives fostering cooperation, globalisation and modern business trends have positioned themselves there. Their significance, not only in the city but also at the international level, promotes Savamala among architects, artists and all young creative workers of the region and Europe.

Visible spatial transformations are (1) the activation of the waterfront area (for a while activities and events were organised on the abandoned ships on the Savamala coast before they were removed), and (2) the preservation and improvement of cycling paths (initiative of Streets for cyclists NGO). (3) The preservation of skills and traditional crafts (Savamala a place for making project); (4) fostering the sense of community and sharing (UIB was the pioneer in participation, followed by Goethe guerrilla collective, which organizes and supports civil, participatory and design activities and operates in KM8 community space); and (5) informing and educating public (The game of Savamala, My piece of Savamala and other projects and programmes) are the major social transformations which have been directly induced by this pioneer bottom-up agency. Moreover, the local population emphasises that these participatory programmes, with reference to their organizational preferences and capacities, take into account the needs of the locals (Cooking together, Roasting Peppers), youngsters (UIB) (**?**) and marginalised groups (Ministry of space and NDVBG) (**?**). Conversely, the development of Savamalas creative cluster, small-scale hype brownfield regeneration and public place design are major smooth transformations that have made Savamala visible on an international scale.

Having followed the aims and results of the activities in Savamala analysed herein, the following capacities worked for Savamala to transform a crisis of aggregated urban conflicts into an opportunity for urban development: mobilisation of available local human resources, complying with current global trends in participatory urbanism, low-budget revitalisations and creative economy initiatives, educating the apathetic local population on the importance of active participation in urban planning and development, and having a critical and "learning by doing" attitude towards urban planning.

It is also important to acknowledge that local citizens are not the main actors in these interventions. In this manner, the bottom-up nature of the agency in Savamala is rather limited to the activation of the alternative and non-institutionalised cultural scene with

the focus on the whole city, as well as the aggregation and multiplication of similar NGOs in Savamala. However, negative changes have taken place as well - the first intrinsically bottom-up organization in Savamala (the Club of Savamala fans and friends) having been placed in the middle of different agendas and interests, has ended up as a type of informal political body in party in power service.

To this extent, the livelihood of Savamala is still assumed to be at least disseminated from the ground up through the social bonds between different social groups (artists, youngsters, students, senior citizens) and among neighbours and locals. The vibrant atmosphere in Savamala was achieved through the mutual efforts from participation and dialogue among these urban actors with different backgrounds. At some point, these internal relationships have surpassed all their campaigned and institutionalised initiators (UIB, Mikser festival), being followed by informal events such as: meetings of the locals in the "Spanish house" space, the co-action of roasting peppers, and open access to spaces for artistic and educational purposes (KM8). Moreover, through several of the activities, a variety of urban actors have become engaged in using these open public spaces (UIB, KM8, Mikser festival) and they have been actively thinking and imagining what the positive future of these places might be. In this light, the major benefit that could transform the socio-urban landscape of Serbian cities is the strong expression and statement of cultural and artistic interests within the agendas of these activities and raising the awareness and promotion of participation in the urban domain.

Though it may also sound pretentious, the intensive UIB media campaign and the role of the Goethe-Institute have certainly paved the way for Savamala and have ensured its place famong the European neighbourhood symbols of creative clusters and urban upgrade potentials. In response, it should be attentive to the possible negative effects of such a trendy image that could lead to gentrification and the expulsion of the current population. The growing presence of Savamala in the media has also led to the exposure of its contextual resources to several powerful and uncompromising actors. In addition, instead of exploring the potential of bottom-up approaches, actions and actors, certain decision makers have contributed instead to the commodification of culture and space and resorted to transnational companies to support their activities. In sum, the lack of strategic development goals, public funding and institutionalised approaches for cultural institutions and agendas certainly made these bottom-up activities seem ephemeral and sporadic. Consequently, they could be wiped away by any whim of more powerful interests and political influences focused on Savamala spatial capital.

Urban change induced by these bottom-up activities is limited in its scope, but it shows significant potential if these activities encounter understanding and support from city authorities. Forming the Savamala civic district, as well as participatory urban up-

grade, brownfield and urban heritage regeneration were also their ultimate goals.

It is also important to mention that the combination of Savamalas spatial capacity (its central urban position and the proximity to bus and train terminals) and the primary activity of these bottom-up agents (inclined to boost knowledge and vision building as well as experience sharing potentials) has led to prompt and adequate reactions to the current refugee crisis that has hit Europe, and with it, Belgrade. The activities for helping refugees/migrants are coordinated by Mikser and financially supported by many national and international organisations - the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), CARE International (Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere), the Red Cross etc., as well as by supplies and care from the locals. These efficient actions also speak of the competence and alertness of bottom-up agents to respond to the dynamics of the modern urban context.

Finally, in the authoritarian society like Serbian one, gaining power means being close to the political parties or the state nomenclature (Workshop 1). The cultural scene, following the tradition of free and independent actions, while being densified with these activities in Savamala, is continually obstructed by the state (Interview X) As these initiatives neither have socio-political power, nor public support outside the municipal authorities and the citizens of Belgrade, their future seems uncertain and their effects short lasting (Workshop 1).

In the light of recent changes happening after the night demolition in Savamala in the election night in 2016, physical structure has been changing, citizens are feeling unsafe, [11] and the function of the rented spaces are changing etc. The value of these spaces is degrading with new, insignificantly different activities. The overall circumstances generally reflect the temporariness on the new situation and the suspense on what will come next. In these circumstances cultural activities are moving out. [12]

The end of Savamala cultural cluster does not mean the end for alternative culture in Belgrade, actually quite the opposite. The experience from Savamala period and the local bonds created through it are the certain signs that the cultural scene will pop-up somewhere else and there are some other places in the city referred as such i.e. Dorcol platz (**?**)].

Even though limited in scope, these cultural and civil activities, with special emphasis on the activities of NDVBGD, represent an important step towards a critical society. Subtly and slowly but surely they train the populace to recognize, show and advocate their needs to be directly applied in the city. They also mould these needs according to

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[11]..as the police did not react when 30 masked man armed with poles were destroying the property in Savamala on the plots commissioned to BWP by the BW SPSP (**?**)

[12]KM8 was closed in November 2016, Mikser House makes plans to move and KC Grad most likely will do the same (Interview X)

what the city can actually offer and how they altogether have to act or interact with the world around them, which is in constant change (**?**).

Interest-based Waterfront Future

In practice, the small-scale vision of cultural cluster in Savamala was replaced with a waterfront megaproject assigned as a national priority of strategic importance (**?**; **?**). The basis for the decision at the national level was not a strategy, a vision, a long-term plan, but an anonymous model of BWP presented in Dubai and in Cannes in 2014 (**??**). The idea on this project began in 2012 as a part of the political campaign for the national elections. It later transcended into a city gossip explained as a testing strategy for the Belgrade city authorities governed by the opposition party (**?**).

Apart of a profit-oriented strategy typical for megaprojects, the flawed circumstances of the Serbian regulatory framework well contributed to the feasibility of such a project from the investor point of view. No efficient market-oriented taxation on land and urban land, the regulation on the conversion of the right to use the land to the private property ownership and the practice of buying deteriorating state assets due to its underestimated land value were the main sources that impoverished the country in transitional years after 2000 (Interview X; **?**)

In the case of BWP, within the agreement between the RS and the investor, these legal instruments were improved to provide maximal financial benefits for the investor. Firstly, as soon as the buildings are to be constructed the investor has right to gain the ownership of the most expensive urban land without fees (**?**). Then there is a list of non-contributed buildings with significant cultural and architectural value offered for reconstruction to the investor with the right to lease without a fee (ibid.).

What is more, during less than 3 years, several legal and planning documents have been enacted that will change forever the disposition of power between political and financial poles at one side and citizenry and general public on the other; i.e.:

- A Study of high-rise buildings of Belgrade ceased to be valid in April 2014. It means that buildings higher than 10 floors are allowed to be built without any zoning restriction or recommendations;

- The Amendments of GUP 2021 changes in 2015 excluded the obligation of international competition and changed the land-use rules. This action contributes to the centralization of power and an privilege of the Government (and political powers within it) to directly influence the decision on projects;

- The secretive "Belgrade Waterfront Master Plan"was an official base for the compilation of Belgrade Waterfront Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area (BWPSPSP) and the sole source of the on-site design solutions;

- The Amendments of the PCA without real constitutional background introduced the project of national importance as a source of "protected status" for projects;

- Adoption of BWSPSP offers a special project status and gives the exclusive decision-making role to the Government over the central area of the capital city;

- The discontinuation of the Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (RASP) is a direct intervention of the high national authorities in the urban planning cycle and another act of power centralization. Reassigning the RASP tasks to the Ministry of Construction, Transportation and Infrastructure (MCTI) puts this institution in an obvious position of conflict of interest and degrades planning as an organized and regulated profession in Serbia (?);

- Fast-lane enactment of Lex specialis, the special law regulation for the expropriation of land for BWP. Such legal instrument for private residential and commercial premises is a dangerous, first-hand tool for manipulations and it threatens the property right guaranteed by the Serbian constitution (?).

- Finally, Joint Venture Agreement (JVA) is formulated in such way that it guarantees the profit to the foreign investor whatever may happen with the implementation of the project. It puts a financial burden on the RS budget, whose actual value is not yet exactly prescribed or estimated, and makes the case for the investor in front of any international tribunal (?). [13]

These interventions within the regulatory framework opens a new field of not only architectural, but economic deals, while some are already taking place: privatization of Belgrade airport, the issue of rural land in Voivodina etc. (Interview X)

All these issues make the actual future of the Belgrade waterfront murky and uncertain. Taking a closer look at the neighbourhood, only the investor of the BWP and his closed circle within the national political elite know what is going to happen and can make strategies for their own gains in Savamala (Interview X). In this respect, certain people are opening businesses and renting spaces in Savamala, while the local entrepreneurs feel frustrated and scared of what is going to happen (Interview X).

Moreover, the locals in Savamala testify that local investors who collaborate within the BWP (without clear knowledge of the exact initiators) are offering the renovation of the faade in Savamala (but only the front faades) (Interview X). Accordint to these on-site signs and the expert opinion, in the long run Savamala will be destroyed as the part of

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[13]The time-frame for the realization of BWP is 30 years. The first evaluation is set for after 20 years whereas the positive limit of implementation is 50% of all the works by both partners, taking into account the preparatory infrastructural works assigned to the RS. In case of the negative evaluation, empty plots will be sold according to the foreign investor preferences and the profit will be split based on the investment percentage - 68% for the investor and 32% for the RS (?).

"Belgrade Waterfront" programme (Workshop 1).

Taking into account the privileged position of the investor according to the JVA, the suspense actually follows the question about what is actually going to be built except for the two residential towers whose construction has already started in 2016. And even more, how the life will look like in the central area of Belgrade if it is going to be a permanent construction site for the next 30 years?

Bearing in mind that rail-tracks serving the transportation of dangerous materials through Serbia are crossing the BWP area close to the residential towers under construction and that these tracks cannot be removed until the new ones are buil,d[14] this means that these materials will be passing by luxurious housing twice a day for some time now (Interview X). Not to mention that, the current preservation of the rail-tracks in the area dictated that the lowest terrain level stays on 75 m over the sea level which is on the limit of the level of century-old water (Interview X).

In these circumstances, citizens and civil sector have no efficient civil society tools and mechanisms at hand to claim their rights (Interview X). People and public interest is seen as a victim in this case - the fight between David (Savamala and the people) and Goliath (BWP) is a picturesque metaphor used by an informant (Interview X). Moreover, people are scared to express their discontent and protest, because in Serbian patriarchal and nepotistic context their personal and professional lives depend on the whims of political actors (Interview X).

Consequently, the engagement of the NDVBGD initiative and their partner organizations (the Ministry of space being one) is seen as a brave upswing toward the overused and abused concepts of democracy and civil society. Along the lines of BWP moves, NDVBG continually reacted in opposition to them (?):

1. official complaint to urban, national and city authorities regarding the project and consecutive regulatory framework changes;

2. organized actions for filing complaints against BWPSPSP and Amendments of GUP 2021 and protest performances against irregularities around public hearing events;

3. urban protest against signing the JVA contract, construction works and opening events, destruction of bicycle paths etc.;

4. letters and declarations, printed media issues, web publishing, press conferences, critical and expert documents;

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[14]These new rail-tracks incorporate the railway bridge near Vinca whose construction has not yet even started.

5. a set of 6 massive urban protests against the irregularities of night demolition in Savamala and requesting responsibility for obvious criminal offense.

Even though their actions did not really endangered the implementation of the BWP, they actually had more effect on the mindset of Belgradians by slow incremental transformation of behaviours toward more participatory approach at least among the young, the practical explication of civil right to disobey and intervene when the public interest is threaten, and, above all, educative approach on urban regulatory framework and the right to the city (Workshop 2).

Strategies and Tactics of Urban Institutions

In all these circumstances, urban planning institution have been either sidelined or continually directly subordinated to political powers that their sense of the profession and the city in general has become biased.

A public servent's testimony speaks in this favour by explaining how the urban transformations happen: first of all, the terrain is cleared by any legal or illegal means at hand; even the illegally cleared terrain is a step closer to transformation; building is happening by the laws and the procedures in force at that moment (Interview X). Very important issue is that the procedures are abiding, so for the large scale interventions it is more likely that procedures will be changed than that it will be built against the law - were the further explanations (Interview X). This interpretation explains the urgency of providing legal instruments. With the cumbersome institutional infrastructure inherited from socialism, these newly established procedures are the only real means that secure the interest-based construction and land acquisition around the BWP.

On the other hand, the attitude of urban planners in Serbia are extremely passive. They are not reacting to what is happening in the city, but they wait to be invited by the authorities or investors before they overtake the active role in urban projects and urban development issues in general (Interview X). Therefore, planning solutions are usually technical and engineering tasks with the main concern over the infrastructural equipment (?).

While they lost their monopolistic position so long held during socialism (Chapter 4), the planners' profession is paying its toll to the lack of knowledge and appreciation of humanities and missing social approach to planning (?). Accordingly, they have become passive observers in their professional environment testifying how incompetent political figures take over decision-making and even planning, which last time happened during the rule of Prince Milos (Section 4.1.2). These circumstances explain the double roles they usually play concerning the political projects in planning (and in this case the BWP) - in the professional domain they are working in favour of it and in their private lives they are

publicly advocating against it (Interview X, Y).

Due to the conditions, special education on horizontal coordination, importance of transparency, risk management and evaluation methods for administrative stuff (Workshop 1), or more policy agendas on the integration of planning, design and cost-benefit and feasibility analyses (?), may be insufficient and rather a "paper-work" ineffective in practice. Urban transformations and changes at play in Belgrade, and in Serbia in general, are rather a result of luck or spontaneity, but certainly not an operational action within the framework of rules and regulations, and not at all in reference to any strategy or long-term elaborated programme in public interest (?).

7.1.3 Resilience, Flexibility and Contradiction in Urban Processes

According to the current circumstances, Savamala is the playground of visible and invisible power structure, group interests and on-site activities, all of whom have their own intentionalities towards its future. Following the herein given arguments, the prosperity of the certain interest groups does not imply the prosperity for the whole neighbourhood. The radical changes themselves do not mean the qualitative improvement.

The multi-level MAS-ANT analysis performed in this research offers a double-layered picture of the system evolution processes at play in Savamala. In the previous section, the results of MAS-ANT analysis were presented in the narrative of short-term evolutionary paths according to each layer of urban decision making. In this respect, certain future prospects for Savamala are formulated from the illustrated agent profiles.

Thenceforth, a more general overview on the agency of long-term urban processes will be introduced. The elaboration of these processes consists of pointing out agents and networks of urban resilience, flexibility and contradictions in the neighbourhood. Such an outline addresses the question of urban development in a manner that it does not speak of constant growth, but of positive and negative impulses of maintenance, transformation and change of the urban system.

The Practice of Maintenance

In terms of urban development, the role of system maintenance processes is usually disregarded as an self-evident proof of the reproduction of the social order and cultural values (Section 2.1.1). Moreover, when it is mentioned, it is its negative effects which are being emphasized and presented as threats to developmental preferences.

It is evident that, in the Serbian context, there is a multitude of problematic practices, procedures and values passed down from generation to generation within the regulatory framework and social relations. First of all, the continual reproduction of authoritarian decision making structure and vertical institutional communication have marked the Serbian

regulatory framework since the early years of the Serbian State (Section 4.1.1). In such circumstances, regulatory networks are run by power, fear and authority rather than by a legitimate and knowledgeable subjects. This is being further jeopardized by cumbersome institutional organization and divergence of accountability inherited from socialism. These circumstances gravely affected administrative networks, which rather function in a self-sufficient, impractical manner, without taking into account real users and the ephemerality of procedures. The users and the space are actually defined a set of regulations, devoid of the real attachment to people or the city (Interview X).

Another backward practice is the tradition of favoritism and nepotism. This is not a distinctive feature of Serbia, it is present in every culture, though practices, symbols and rules differ from context to context (?). In Serbia, favoritism and nepotism are followed by corruption and stem from ottoman cultural discourse (ibid.), which was adopted in Serbia during the 5 centuries of their rule. Even though this method of assigning roles was less present during socialism, it was far from eradicated. However, the socialist that spread over the new country of Yugoslav nationals [15] put forth egalitarian values, but its influence, even though effective for the time being, was easily dismantled and abandoned with the rise of capitalist values. Namely, ariki and the coauthors (2009) state that the applications of nepotism start with the regulatory framework altogether losing real power over economy and politics. Apart from obvious negative influence on the social circumstances of everyday life for ordinary people and overall public interest, the issues of civil rights and control networks are specially altered while being ruled by the principle "justice does not serve everybody equally".

The socialist period has left another, though nominally positive practice. The regulatory discourse of policy agendas, rules and documentation had ruled over urban space during socialism. Even then, the implementation and binding role of these regulations were problematic, but the situation escalated ever since. Namely, regulatory framework is already established set to work (comparing to some other developing countries), regulations are multiple and multiplying, they are necessary, but they are not binding actions in space. More precisely, they might be binding, but not necessarily are, which refers back to corruption, favoritism and nepotism as the rule of choice in the institutional framework.

Another highlight might be the tradition of international competitions, already introduced during the Serbian state and the first Yugoslavia and welcomed and cherished/well-bred in SFRY (Section 4.1.1). The harsh pressure for easy money and profit have been threatening to disband this good practice. Bearing in mind what happened with the BWP and BWPSPSP, this issue becomes even more discouraging.

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[15]During SFRY period, even though the republics had significant autonomy and denoted particular Slav nations, the idea of one Yugoslav nationality for all was strongly supported and promoted.

Speaking in particular about Savamala within its physical boundaries, certain issues has been maintained in more-or-less positive manner throughout its long history. The distribution of its urban functions been kept through different periods - cultural, leisure, residential, commercial, port and public services might have varied in their extent during different periods but they have been there (Workshop 3). Above all, all its activities and places were always accessible to all social groups and classes, which might not be the case after the construction of the BWP.

Moreover, its spirit of urban culture from the early periods of Serbian state spread its sparks to the civic district which found its place in Savamala for some time (2008-2012). Before they were brushed away by the BWP. It may sound strange, but having the cultural scene on the run is rather its permanent status (Interview X)

Taking into account all different examples, this research justifies the hypothesis raised about the Serbian version of history, where usually coming periods are running down the inventions from the previous ones, but more often than not keeping its flawed mechanisms and biased practices (?). Even though it might be a cultural trait, there is a certain level of perseverance (with internal consistency, avoidance of fragmentation and excessive complexity, holistic view and small-steps approach) which could only be achieved over time. This might be a problem in Serbia as the periods of continual evolution in a Serbian case are reduced to up to 50 years.

System Transformation

Urban planning in its essence is the professional practice for effective and rational urban transformations through measures, instruments and services of strategizing, regulating, programming, financing etc. (?). Therefore, planned urban transformations are ever present phenomenon, though their effects vary. The causes for urban transformations to fail are found in the imperfections of urban legislation and regulations, the personal biases of those involved in decision-making processes and low quality urban designs and implementations (?). On the contrary, coherency, sequency, deliberateness, careful implementation, gradual general course of actions, targeted propositions, concrete statements about the content, time and space are at the core of good planning practice of space transformation (??). In this respect, spatial and urban strategies are the core documents that should ensure their quality, supported through planning and implementation networks.

Speaking of the strategic level, National Strategy of Sustainable Development 2009-2021 and Belgrade Urban Development Strategy 2011-2016, which are currently in force, back up the low capacity and provisory role of such document. Both strategies bring up the issue of Sava Amphitheater and Belgrade Waterfront, but more in terms of integrative development plan, which was abruptly and suddenly turned into a massive Belgrade

Waterfront megaproject (**?**).

Even more curious is the case of Belgrade Urban Development Strategy 2016-2021. According to the informants currently working on its draft version, it deals with infrastructural and transportation problems and solutions for the central zone of Belgrade, but it hardly even mentions the BWP, and treats it as a insignificant side project (Interview X). Having such a large-scale, publicly promoted project sidelined within the new strategy is an evidence of either the future of the project or that of the strategy. In any case, regulatory framework in Belgrade is at loss.

Furthermore, on the level of urban documentation, urban regulatory framework is still keeping certain systemic solutions from socialism. Speaking of which, during socialism, the rules were ruling, the constraints were the essence of urban transformations (Interview X). Moreover, urban transformations were the question for professionals; opinions and needs of locals, real physical context with its past and present social frameworks (genius loci) were hardly at all taken into account (Interview X). This type of professional and institutional practice that disregards what is possible and desirable (contextual resources) posed a threat to a city when it is confronted with financial capital and private interests that came in with transition.

In these circumstances, urban and architectural heritage is the first victim. While the active protection the cultural heritage might fit it in with the life of the city, the neglecting attitude contribute to the production of abandoned and deteriorating places (**?**). This was the practice of socialist city authorities towards Savamala that led to the deterioration of its pre-socialist architectural heritage (Section 4.1.3). Further abandonment during the post-socialist period put them at disposal for public usage when transitional and capitalist values appeared on stage (Interview X).

The cultural transformations in Savamala were the product of space, time and activities. These gradual civil and cultural improvements were the only intrinsic engine of transformation at the local level, without significant support from the institution and no help from the state.

Comparing these civil initiatives to planners' activities demystifies the status of urban transformations in the Serbian context they are hardly at all happening at an institutional level. Institutionalization encircles sustainable investment programmes and management structures, aspirations towards community involvement and global competitiveness, involvement of experts and the sense of identity and public interest (**?**). Obviously, what was happening in Savamala was an informal, but effective action that is now over.

Urban Change

Speaking in historical terms, Belgrade is in a constant struggle between the traditionalism and modernism, the conservative and the progressive (**?**). The crisis might be also treated as an opportunity for building an evolutionary resilience of the urban system (**?**). However, the permanent state of conflict at play in the Serbian capital speaks otherwise. This situation stems from the lack of consensus on the most important issues: poor political legitimacy of transitional reforms, no clear political will for institutional regularizations, and no societal consensus on the priorities and actions toward the public interest (**?**).

In such circumstance, the everlasting vision of abrupt, radical change is seen and usually promoted as a solution. An informant put it nicely - instead of focusing the attention on what is going on, the authoritarian regimes, who hold power over urban space, usually turn to building a new city (Interview X) And the historical narrative tells the same (Section 4.1.1). The notion of erasure and the condition of tabula rasa urbanism is associated to Serbian urban planners as the inheritance of Emilijan Josimovic and his plan for Belgrade (**?**; **?**; **?**). It might also be the result of technical approach to the city still at play in Serbia, in which case every change is seen as a good change and the more radical it is the better, as an expert explained (Interview X).

Having architectural and urban planning professions in transitional crisis as they have neither been regulated nor adapted to new market-oriented rules and EU regulations (Interview X), as professionals, they become easily eliminated from the decision-making processes. In Serbia, an urban change, if there is any, can be and must be brought up by economic or political actors, or most often by both groups working in mutual interests.

Economic actors are led by profit. Urban land, as a scarce resource, is unmistakable source of profit, especially in countries with still hybrid land-market circumstances as Serbia is. The entry of global capital in Serbia, the general trends of residential construction and the availability of urban land in central areas of the capital city is a good combination for "building large, flashy and often gated communities, targeting expatriates, employees of foreign firms and embassies, and Belgrades top business echelon" (Hirt2009). In this sense, the BWP has already been announced with the great precision by the experts, but the overall disregard for research and scientific discourse in Serbia set it out of sight.

On the contrary, political actors are power mongers. Moreover, there is also a statement that Serbs (but not exclusively them) have strongly spatialized identity through the discourses of small, but extraordinary country/nation (**?**). Therefore, radical and large-scale interventions in space are the manifestation of power, a mark set in the historical space-time, a long-lasting "spatialization" of the people (elite) in power.

Conversely, those who oppose the project (led by NDVBGD) have no power or capacity to intervene. They do not even pretend to offer a systematic solution or to open a dialogue. They only aim to address the individual sense of righteousness and to educate and empower people for future actions as this is only a beginning of the new morality, set by new legal, institutional and media means.

The strategy of these powerful structure is such that their interventions for urban change either disrupt or distort urban assemblage networks; such actions twist the system setting as practices something that might have been hitherto illegal/illegitimate.

"In the current context of the Serbian polity, binding of all stakeholders and moving towards a common interest might seem as a difficult endeavor." ?

7.2   The MAS-ANT Diagram

The MAS-ANT illustration of agent profiles formulates an exhaustive classification of elements, relations and processes that concern urban development. Its goal is also to enable the necessary relation of all social phenomena to the physical space through the categories of contextual resources, urban conflicts and urban practices. Their spatial projections (maps) is also the strategy to surpass the time perspective.

Following Braudel's perspective (1970), events and actions are only instantaneous interventions in space, but urban processes are long-term processes - a reality of foundations and obstacles that survives through time and is only slowly eroded. In this respect, MAS-ANT diagram aims to apply mathematical techniques to represent the relation of social phenomena to geographical space and to introduce a long term historical perspective. Such visualized methodology, characteristic for architectural interpretations of space and society (?), responds to Braudel's (1970) challenge posed upon social studies, as he criticized their approach for either event-based research or omitting the time dimension altogether.

MAS-ANT methodological approach, modest in its initial conclusions but reach in simple illustrations and clarifications, builds a framework for actions outside biased expert and institutional dimensions (Figure X). It describes urban dynamics, positions the level of urbanity of the chosen environment and indicates the field of action, but without clarifying the single steps in that direction. The historical perspective or maintenance, transformation and change processes exposes the weakest links and the contingent points of intervention and the conceivable actions.

In the case of Savamala, Serbian institutional discourse lacks mechanisms serving to translate destructive conflicts into constructive and productive elements (?). An elaborated indication of the weakest links as well as unleashed socially harmful relations may be

a driver for interventions from either top-down (public expert institutions) or ground up (civil organizations, NGOs, independent professionals, artists and cultural workers). Even though these conclusions may sound familiar and obvious, the lack of methodological and evidence-based explanations may have hitherto led to dissolution and manipulation of the information.

The current state of urban environment in Savamala indicates that what is going to happen is not yet over the point of no return. The chance is surely missed for making Savamala a mixed neighbourhood where the bottom-up and top-down meet to build a vibrant cluster for leisure and a tourist destination with the combination of heritage, old crafts, a balance of public and private services, and a mixture of day-night usage. On the other hand, this prime city location on the riverside is cleared and infrastructurally prepared for the first time in 200 years. However, according to the elaborated vision on urban processes in Savamala, both utopian and dystopian visions for Savamala are still in the air. Therefore, it is essential to recognize the discrepancy between what is agreed behind the closed doors, what is planned and incorporated in policy agendas and urban documentation and what is being built.

First of all, urban planning professionals and researchers in Belgrade have to work out all different urban scenarios that result from the BWP and continuously adapt the measures to assess impact and reduce risks of such large-scale project in city center. Such project, if not adequately managed, can ruin the overall international image and urban potential of the city, which once was a cosmopolitan metropolis of the Balkans. It is also important to work on an interactive model for planning implementation (?) and educate professionals to surpass static and linear, administrative and technical approach toward the city (?). However, the biggest problem remains still the regulatory changes that remould urban reality, profession and the limits of right and wrong in Belgrade. On the contrary, the civic and cultural initiatives should keep the strategy of a watchful eye waiting on every wrong move and examining the pulse of the city in order to profit and continue its cultural, education and artistic programmes; and likewise make them more participatory and better adjusted to citizen needs.

In order for these actions to better correspond to current post-socialist urban reality, diversity and reciprocity in the nature of current social circumstances must be acknowledged and taken into account. Economic (transformation of production and consumption in relation to space, income polarization and poverty), political (urban governance, participation and decentralization), spatial (demographic trend and distribution of functions) and cultural (social exclusion, civil activism and informality) issues all have their signifiers in behaviours of urban key agents and could be traced accordingly. In sum, MAS-ANT diagram gives an overview of what constitute the level of urbanity of an urban neighbour-

hood - the core of maintenance, transformation and change processes spread among urban key agents and within urban assemblage networks throughout space and time.

7.3   Conclusion

This is the final chapter of analysis that blends the results achieved through separate examinations of ANT (Chapter 5) and MAS (Chapter 6) within the category of agent profiles. These methodological achievements are further-on applied for theoretical discussion on: context-related developmental prospects from the decision-making perspective and on more general issues of the level of urbanity interpreted through the exhaustive set of urban transitions. Based on these data, the MAS-ANT diagram provides a robust illustration of urban complexity and dynamics.

From the historical perspective, such interpretation offers the playground for estimations of what contributes to an improvement of life and functionality of urban systems on the example of the presented case study.

From the point of view of urban theory, MAS-ANT methodological hybrid brings about the vision of a multidimensional environment that incorporates space and time, but exceeds the Euclidian interpretations of the same. This environment is in constant movement relative to everything around it; and in doing so, acknowledges the importance of system maintenance for the urban system evolution.

In terms of urban practice, MAS-ANT methodological approach suggests the flexibility of reference frames and a posteriori reasoning that enable differentiation of what should be done from what is possible to be done.

Speaking of urban research, the presented analysis aimed to address the issue of upgrading the level of post-socialist urbanity through the deconstruction of the complex planning logistics and the exposure of links between and among top-down, real estate and bottom-up forces, interests and actions at the neighbourhood level.

In terms of Savamala, it is difficult to not refer to Serbia and the urbanity of Serbian cities in general, when speaking about Savamala. Even more so, as it has recently become the symbol of citizen revolt against the system and against the intrusion in the citizen comfort zone, symbolized through the recent illegal demolitions. Herein, the short span of the tradition of system maintenance rather bring to the fore issue of history repeating. Belgrade is a city with a long history of citizen revolts and revolutions (liberation of Serbian cities from Ottomans, beginning of the WWII, revolts against Milosevic's regime, against NATO bombing etc.). Such state of affairs has made Belgrade teetering between the reproduction of repressive order and radical change of its system, while transforma-

tions have been easily wasted in these heroic and turbulent times. And current situation in Savamala has it all. When referring to future, the destiny of the Belgrade Waterfront Project will demarcate new transitional urbanity in Serbian cities.

Finally, this visualization technique is a deployment model for the representation of urban system evolution that takes into account urban complexity and dynamics, leaves value judgments to the interpreters and has the potential to be digitalized and loaded with the layers of information in different dimensions.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The scope of this thesis was to grasp the actual urban development in cities. In this reference, the initial researcher's position was not to solve a problem, but to establish an exploratory framework for disassembling urban complexity and tracing urban dynamics as constitutive elements of urban development processes. The starting point was the methodological question on how to investigate these issues in an inclusive and flexible manner.

Taking an interdisciplinary course through architectural approach in urbanism, the determined field of research in terms of post-socialist cities and the neighbourhood unit of analysis helped bound together urban agency, urban decision-making and urbanity for an operational and procedural study. The general research assumption was that hybrid method of ANT and MAS is the tool for mapping the body of urban system transition. While the scientific background of this thesis was in urban theory and research methodologies, at the research level it argues for a double-layered approach to data, qualitative and visual.

This chapter is divided into 3 parts. The first part represents the exact scientific results of the study in relation to the research framework. An initial deductive line of reasoning in constructing research objectives, questions, and hypotheses of research are herein taken into account in the opposite, inductive order. Having the results presented in this manner, also enabled the reflection upon the capacities and limits of the study. Moreover, the special position of the mixed method used for the analysis and display of data and the originality of this methodological pairing brought to the fore several important issues that were not anticipated in advance.

The second part of the chapter is coming back to theory. Even though methodological explorations and practical application are the core of the thesis, the concepts that supported the research in the beginning came back also as a binding force for generalizations and attributions. Bearing in mind that urban theory was mainly off-focus for this research project, the key conclusions in this regard are pointed out in the limited scope and for central concepts and partly for those controversial ones.

In sum, the chapter and the overall work is concluded in 2 directions - in terms of what has been done and to which extend, and what can be done and how it could be done in the future. The critical review consists of an evaluation of the of the conducted research

project. Finally, future-oriented reasoning addresses the practical sides of the work and the "to-be-developed" (TBD) potentials for future research.

8.1 Conclusions related to the research framework

In a nutshell, this research is framed around a very common and broad topic of what is going on in cities under the hood of such an intuitively positive term as urban development is. Built upon the chain of scientific research in urban studies, this research took an initial position of value-neutral definition of the urban development and articulated several further concepts (urban agency, urban decision making, urbanity) that comply and support this stance. Without engaging in the philosophical discussion about the possibility to achieve a neutral position towards the world while the researcher is an indivisible part of it, the analysis of the qualitative data proved the same.

Namely, "the best of all worlds" could be that where urban development is molded by the local context and in negotiations of different actors, but the collision of interests could not be avoided. What is more, the view on urban development, future and, therefore, urban system transitions is a personalized vision for each actor/agent/actor group/stakeholder. It is qualitative and interest-oriented. In this respect, different actors take different positions toward urban processes of maintenance, transformation and change and the resulting body of urban transitions may coincide with power-interest matrix. Still, the resulting value-neutral map of urban system transitions tend to avoid the shibboleth of constant growth and rather present a field of possibilities than a board of predictions or know-hows. Thus a particular blending of urban complexity and dynamics in Savamala and Belgrade was chosen as a playground of "possible worlds". Condensed historical processes (different regimes, social orders, countries) and extended periods of crisis nowadays (regional conflicts, transition), changing concepts and ideologies have made these cities living labs for interest, research, and.. life. Instead of a successful story, the history and context of this post-socialist city shows a curbed development with its peak already in the past. This path from middle-income country in the 1970s to the position among the poorest countries in Europe is an example of regress - de-development. As such, it is a source of knowledge on the dynamics of decline and the complexity of rising conflicts.

Ultimately, the applied methodological hybrid was used as a vessel to navigate through the theory and on-site data. The capacity of ANT to engage in identifications and follow-ups was vast and overwhelming. ANT was used as a tool at hand for reflective and analytic descriptions. Nonetheless, throughout this research study, it was noticed that the researcher's bias might be always present, even though it might not be the case that it has negative consequences on the analysis and fundings. In an effort to keep up with general categories and simplistic relationality, the researchers view was presented as only one of the many. Furthermore, the agent-based reasoning supported by MAS worked in that favour. MAS-ANT diagram is an abstract matrix that displays the results in strictly confined environments and exclusively according to researcher's/user's consecutive logic.

8.1.1   [..] to the research hypotheses

An overall assumption of this research was that the mapping of urban complexity and dynamics is the necessary and sufficient condition for tracing urban development processes [H]. This viewpoint was further supported by the interpretation of urban development in terms of neutral urban system transitions and the transparency and adaptability of MAS-ANT methodological hybrid. The turning point of such approach was seeing urban development as not a goal, but a set of processes. Besides, the validity of such conceptual connection was found in openness and extensiveness of this method and the overarching nature of the process to surpass, also incorporate a goal or a prospect, if necessary. This was documented in the overview of different scenarios for Savamala.

In view of this, urban system transitions were extracted from the vast image of urban complexity and dynamics by this mixed method [H3]. The source of agency of maintenance, transformation and change processes was identified within the morphology of urban decision making. On the other hand, the level of urbanity embodied the track of the evolution of these processes in the context. Namely, urban system transitions extended the current image of the context with traces of historical processes of long duration, but limited the view of the current state of the system to only the elements that have active agency and socio-spatial patterns that are attributed the role.

In this manner, the resulting urban development processes were deduced from the complex map of urban agency disseminated within the morphology of urban decision making [H1] and the dynamic system of fluctuating level of urbanity that bounds relations of urban agency and contextual socio-spatial patterns [H2].

In terms of urban complexity, the morphology of urban decision-making served to identify human and nonhuman, material and non-material actors. However, the distribution of complex actors and networks was illustrated in the 5-dimensional map of urban agency. This abstraction based on ANT principles is an extensive categorization that exceeded the concrete situation in a post-socialist neighbourhood and bounds urban complexity based on roles [the nature of actors (individuals, sets, hierarchies of human, material, relational and spatial), nature of networks (structural, supportive and functional), nature of influences (international, national, city, local)] and relations [nature of assemblages and exposure].

Conversely, the level of urbanity contextualized urban dynamics by linking actors to local socio-spatial elements. While urbanity is a static concept and refers to a state in a particular time, the level of urbanity has capacity to interpret a fluctuating state that depend on the balance among urban conflicts, contextual resources and urban practices and the agency that attributes them. Contextualized MAS map of the level of urbanity therefore spatialized the points of harmonization, contestations and collisions at the neighbourhood level.

The logic of distribution (ANT), congregation (MAS) and reduction (MAS-ANT) were based on the researcher's analysis of the qualitative data. While the course of interpre-

tations might vary depending on the researcher's standpoint, the logic of the process and the categorizations of elements were persistent, as it was suggested with the hypotheses.

8.1.2 [..] to the research questions

The question of an inclusive and flexible approach to urban development was dealt with on 2 levels:

- scientifically - in order to achieve comprehensiveness;

- socially - in order to make it comprehensible and accessible at the larger scale.

An inclusive approach to urban complexity was constructed from all human and non-human elements who were attributed agency in urban networks. Extending the figuration of non-humans from its symbolic role in urban networks to active urban agency put new light on how decision-making happens. While human agency produces non-human artefacts, once they were established and instated in urban networks, they became generators of activities and - transitions. So, in urban agency networks, non-humans then interact and interconnect with human and other non-human agency. producing effects for both humans and non-humans. Non-human agency then is disseminated and regenerated through the morphology of urban decision making. Therefore, while decision-making processes and networks are unavoidable in urban realm, they are not necessarily the sources of explanations per se, but the generators of urban agency. The decision is the precedent of any action, but it does no necessarily imply political, power and interest association in it. Thus, this 3-party fusion encapsulates urban complexity in an ordinary city, while the roles might be passed around differently, non-humans, urban agency networks and decision-making distributions are its core concepts.

On the other hand, flexibility was achieved in addressing dynamics not according to the qualitative character of the processes, but in reference to the system as a whole. What ever happened at the qualitative level must result in maintenance, transformation or radical change of the whole. In dynamic system there exist no status quo.

Another point of view on the MAS-ANT approach was resorting to terms that explain system dynamics in general (used for systems in engineering and natural sciences) and comprehensive categories in order to operationalize the metholdology for practical application in different contexts, for different users and readers of the diagrams. Information laden visual material might be more appealing and understandable for uses in the field and might improve participatory practices.

8.1.3 [..] to the research objectives

Envisioning an inclusive and flexible approach to urban development processes, as outlined beforehand, constituted a challenge with regard to redefining the theoretical framework to meet practical needs. Reevaluating theoretical concepts and setting operational definitions for the terms used in this thesis [urban development, urban agency, urban decision-making

and urbanity] addressed the growing urge set upon humanistic sciences, especially in fragile context, to at least ponder upon bringing theory to the grounds. If applied in practice, the localized attitude to development, sources of agency, paths of decision making, conflict, practices and resources might be applicable with non-professional. Bringing means of analysis outside the professional and decision-making clusters make them better articulate their needs and visions and elaborate their position. While other sources of power might be difficult to seize, knowledge might be the way to intervene and insist on a new vision of cities that is best suited to the local context, in this research post-socialist cities and neighbourhoods.

The proposition of neighbourhood as a source of useful empirical data and a playground of action was the way to defy the global. It was an important level of strategic organization in cities throughout history and recently it is coming back on stage. While cities are spreading and diluting, even more so with new technological means of transport and communication, the neighbourhood might foster the social bonds.

Moreover, contextualized concept of urbanity through urban conflicts, contextual resources and urban practices directly links spatial capital with social and urban agency and localizes the actions through the entities/materials/places of common interest.

Finally, the diagrammatic vision of the social and spatial in cities was a means to display data without directly assigning meanings. Besides, the overlapping of methods and diagrams was a system of data triangulation and presentation of shifting points - from urban agency (complex actor roles and synthesized networks), through urbanity (contextualization of interests and interventions) to urban system transitions (contextualized relations between urban networks and time-frames between past, present and future).

8.1.4 [..] to the methodological approach

This thesis answered the question how ANT and MAS methods complement each other and how they address urban reality at the neighbourhood level. While ANT describes complex state of an urban environment, MAS describes the dynamics of system evolution. The hybrid method was constructed on the tendency to operationalize the theoretical framework and to visually analyze and display the data, which is very common among architects. Diagrams are actually very useful for communicating research-based data and scientific reasoning to nonspecialists. The task of the researcher was to follow actors and processes in in all their heterogeneity - track the relation types, get rid of inscribed symbolic meanings by assignment of actual agency (Nimmo 2011). However, like many other methods in social sciences, the researcher brought in their point of view on facts and data. Therefore, even non intentionally, the researcher introduced their subtle critical engagements and providing legitimization for certain attitudes and points of view and action, which, if disseminated, may influence the system, processes and actors Baiocchi et al 2013 This illustration of Savamala urban context is but only one version of visualizing urban agency, urbanity and urban system transitions. However, the contribution of the hybrid method lies in the rise of explanatory framework from rigid and static to relative and

dynamic and susceptible to adaptations through continual iterations. At the professional level, MAS-ANT addresses diagnosis and action tools for practice-based research. Moreover, the users of this map (professionals) could be able to indicate gaps (actors, networks, contextual elements, processes) for possible operational interventions in their respective domains. At a local level, visual methods with scientific stronghold/background could be very useful for activist to distribute knowledge and substantiated facts among powerful media campaigns, top-down dissemination of information and an overall trend of "alternative facts".

8.2 Conclusions related to the theoretical framework

In the course of this thesis, theoretical background was used for building internal validity of the methodological hybrid and data analysis. Even though the analytic strategy was not extended for use across cases, the results from applying theory over qualitative data and the other way round contributed to sharpen construct definitions and to reframe their theoretical scopes for operationalization in practice. While theory is a neutral, explanatory tool (**?**), it also supply meanings and interpretations that enter everyday life and influence processes and practices. In this respect, I have returned to the initial conceptual, epistemological and local frameworks in order to re-place the results of this research within its initial theoretical framework

8.2.1 Urban Development Taxonomy

Urban development is a predominant concept in urban theory and practice and even more, in everyday life. However, the issue of urban development was extensively addressed and used in this thesis research. First of all, the concept was traced back in scientific literature and the view on it as a goal, prospect or process was dealt with respectively. According to these interpretations, its articulation in practices, I argue, subtly mold the behaviours of professionals and authorities and decision makers in general. Furthermore, urban development as a positive vision of the future has also been put to question. Not only concerning whose positive vision it is, but also in terms of the intrinsic evaluation of what positive might be and the authority to decide upon it.

Taking all this into account, the issues raised about urban development are summarized as such:

- **Urban development involves a vision, multiple individual visions of future.** When we speak about urban development as a goal, it is a positive vision directed by particular interest group who see it so. The accorded positive values of contemporary global society already, long ago, implicitly encroached upon the connotation of development giving it a value of growth, evolution, maturation, modernization and created a wild-goose chase of, actually, an illusory expectation Esteva 1992. Instead of futile pursuits disconnected from the concrete space and historical moment, urban development should be, not built but defined by local populations, civic sector,

professionals, experts in their local spaces, while the implementation rests with the negotiations among different layers of decision making from international to local level.

- **Urban development addresses present as much as the future - it is a process, a range of processes.** Human actions and behaviours are inherently temporal. They involve an intention, a decision (conscious or unconscious) and implementation, so that they necessarily stretch from the present moment into future. In this respect, on the way to achieve one goal, multiple other goals are crossing human paths and pulling off course. While urban reality is human reality (an environment for humans), urban development should stand for multiple actors and various interests at play. Regardless of their particular nature which might greatly vary depending on actors and time-frames, the reference of these processes to the current state of the system could be referenced as maintenance, transformation or radical change of the same system. Finally, processual nature of urban development comprise whatever may occur in the future, without explicating its interest/value notion, but only its influence the current state of the system.

- **It is important to be clear what urban development means and how it is articulated in between a goal, a prospect and a process.** The symbolic meaning of urban development is deeply rooted in human historic and social discourse and it is unrealistic to expect it to be change and abandoned, though it has cautiously been so in scientific and professional domains. Consequently, it is also important to reference the results to different interpretations of urban development (a goal, prospect, process). In comparison to a goal- and process-oriented idea, urban development prospects keep track of reality and probability among what may the scenarios be and what are particular interests of different actors and stakeholders. Within modern urban framework, the implementation of urban development intervention is be dispatched through: programmes [broad field of possible actions], policies [prioritized actions set as procedures or protocols], and projects [a course of actions over time with clear goals and detailed plans and budgets - clearly stated goal - a period of time - defined budget] Vujosevic 2015 Regionalizam 2. Accordingly, after beening clear about what urban development is, it is important to tackle also how it is set in motion within programmes, policies and projects.

- **Urban development addresses future in relation to past and present - it might be everything you can make of it.** Apart from the crisis of capitalism and the critics of growth, the urges for diversity right (Amin Good city) and participatory approach speak also about urban development and the importance for the redefinition of the term. In this reference, one step forward might be acknowledging the significance of of the system maintenance processes (which might be referred to as stagnant in some cases), not only those that imply improvements and growth.

In sum, urban development is rather an inappropriate concept for describing and guiding urban processes in cities outside the Global North. Even more so, when tracing and directing urban system transitions in the way that brings social and environmentally sustainable benefits to the inhabitants and the urban environment. However, it is a widespread and rarely criticized concept that is extensively used in practice and practice-based research. Without delving into hidden motives and circumstances (economic, political, colonial), the concept was redefined in this research, while its scope and aim was kept in order to produce an operational methodological framework for practical investigations of the pallette of different cities around the world.

"To root oneself in the present demands an image of the future. It is not possible to act here and now, in the present, without having an image of the next instant, of the other, of a certain temporal horizon. That image of the future offers guidance, encouragement, orientation, hope." Esteva 1992

8.2.2 Urbanity

Urbanity was another crucial concept undertaken in this research and re-framed to denote:

- **Measurable concept:**
  Urbanity includes state and a transition/evolution and therefore it can be socially and spatially evaluated through the level of urbanity.

- **The level of urbanity:**
  In neutral value state, an overarching definition of the level of urbanity enables grasping urban dynamics.

- **Contextualization of urbanity:** Urbanity is inseparable from the context as it is based not only on processes (density and diversity), but also on local socio-spatial capital.

- **Urbanity results from the combination of planning and design:** The level of urbanity represents the balance of social and economic planning and socially and culturally responsible urban design Otherwise, "planning can slide into blind procedure and design can deteriorate into blind aesthetic (Van Assche et al. 2013) and both cases affects urbanity.

"Space is a physical residue of [despised] socio-economic and political system and it becomes principally its ideological monument." Stanek 2014

8.2.3 An Ordinary City

Having this research grounded in the domain of ordinary cities theory, an important question must be raised about the relevance of the redefined urban development concept for ordinary cities in terms of their urban complexity and dynamics.

A dominant practical suggestion within the ordinary cities theory is putting all cities together so they learn from their contrasting contexts and experiences. Doing research on ordinary cities is, more or less, all about comparisons and theorizing south at the South and theorizing north from the South (Chapelin). In Jenifer Robinson's words (2016), comparing and constructing frameworks, presumptions and dynamic factors that govern urban systems help in constructing validity and cut across the empirical to reach the general (categorizations and concrete and practical abstractions).

This research is based on a single case study, testifying the complexity and dynamics of a single urban system and its space-time realm. Yet, it tends to propose several observations on how urban development processes are bound together in an ordinary city.

- Local urban culture, the civic order and the value systems enclosed in the historical processes of long duration cast localized urban development processes and contribute to make the city ordinary and to. Clone cities do not have history. **An ordinary city cannot be observed in present and in present only.**

- In order to make the urban system evolution contextually appropriate and resistant to biased power relations and individual interests , it is important to continually keep track of wider social repercussions and assess risks of a range of swift or biased interventions or "inter-states" in the timeline of the historical processes of long duration. **Embracing uncertainty, the trial and error iterations and locally adjusted pace are essential for catalyzing local and global developmental interventions.**

- When speaking about cities as ordinary, it means that they are navigating its system evolution in an original manner. In historical terms, the processes of maintenance, maturity, reproduction and resilience (Galtung 1996) indicate historical course of urban development and processes of maintenance, transformation and radical change are localized version of historical time. Accepted it as such, there is no room for imposed vision of what the future should look like, as the way from maturity to resilience is strongly personalized path. In this light, most of top-down, outside-in actions seem like a tactics of imposition. **An ordinary city should be assembled, not govern from top-down.**

"To live is to leave traces" Walter Benjamin

8.2.4   A Post-socialist City

The scope of post-socialist cities has directed and confined this research in methodological and empirical sense. The deficiencies and incompatibilities between the reality of post-socialist cities and the existing western paradigm of the urban directed the theoretical account on the said cities. Post-socialist cities, in general, are struggling to balance post-socialist path-dependent traits with transitional trends and influences. In this references and according to the analyses conducted in this this thesis, several issues should be highlighted, such as:

- **A reflective, yet less presumably critical attitude towards socialist past should be embraced in urban practice;**

  Neither future-oriented nor path-dependent directive is solely adequate for approaching urban complexity and dynamics of post-socialist cities. Namely, a synthetic and objective attitude towards space-time flux is necessary for understanding post-socialist urban evolution (**?**; waves of planning 2006). There are numerous examples that socialist practices, traditions and values were disregarded and dismissed without a grounded reason and replaced without real criticism with those imposed by transition. As already mentioned, the evolution of urban systems is not a directional trajectory towards a single goal. The state of post-socialist cities nowadays resulted from a convergent path from past to present that should be continued toward the most contingent future, not just interrupted and replaced with something trendy and brand new.

- **Balance borrowing, imposition and replication practices with finding locally grounded solutions;**

  Urban development outside the Western world was undoubtedly a practice of borrowing, imposition and replication(waves of planning 2006). So, it could not be avoided nor neglected. Yet, it is important to base and argument choices and plans in what is found on the ground. In developing countries regulating and guiding urban development usually starts from scratch. On the other hand, in post-socialist cities regulatory framework exists and often it does not lack quality nor local reliance, but institutional processes and difficult societal circumstances make them fail (Mornings after Nedovic Budic). In this circumstances, elaborated and objective evaluations, professional approach, expert and local knowledge are necessary for making the right decision.

- **Control, verification and consulting networks should be extensively distributed among local actors, in planning processes and within institutional procedures;**

  A burning issue in post-socialist cities is the issue of coordination and cooperation within urban framework. Horisontal and vertical distribution of roles and decision-making urges for revisions. While vertical relationality should be fostered in legislative coordination and rules of conduct, horizontal connections are necessary for internal rationalization, depoliticization, continual improvements through education and code of ethics toward work and in interpersonal relations (Vujosevic 2015 Regionalizam u Srbiji 2).

- **Culture, tradition and values that affect urban framework should be mainly local, not global;**

  Culture has been recently growing in importance as a resource for urban and community development (Bianchini 1999; Mercer 2010; **?**). Culture is now ever present and global. However, post-socialist cities are more and more embracing this interna-

tional cultural trends, though it is also important to appreciate local and historical in their immediate surroundings.

- **Post-socialist cities are in between the North and the South and should profit from the position;**
  There are many examples of processes, procedures and practices proving that what is happening in post-socialist cities is neither that featuring developing world, nor it pertains to the developed one, but it is rather a link (ETHZ 2012 Belgrade Formal Informal). Taking into account the recommendations based on ordinary cities theory, what could be the knowledge transfer from the South to the North, might actually begin in post-socialist cities.

- **Local professionals should increase their knowledge of risk and vulnerability and accept to deal with uncertainty;**
  Finally, in relation to the concrete context in Serbia, which is not the unique case (at least not in the Balkans), sharp social decline and system dissolution is an example of anti/de-development. Mistakes and misconducts should be exposed in order not to be repeated and a critical and introspective attitude may provide a potential knowledge on what makes the system maintain itself, reproduce, mature and finally become resilient.

8.2.5 And in local context... [Serbia - Belgrade - Savamala]

The integrity of this research is also supported with the significance of the case study selection for general public interest, contextually relevant recommendations and practical implications (Yin).

The case study choice is based on the recognized potential of the incomplete and spontaneous urban system evolution happening in transition. An unclear social, economic and political situation in post-socialist cities is a fertile ground for a fragmented, small-scale approach to urban conflicts, which could eventually produce more long-term and far-reaching results. A myriad of strategies from above, interventions instigated by different interests and small changes from the ground up are the constitutive forces of the aforementioned incompleteness of post-socialist cities. However, research into these underlying forces has been limited notwithstanding the importance of solving urban conflicts and making cities durable, flexible and visible on the global scale.

However, the researched local context is rather chaotic and difficult to tangle. Serbia is experiencing the reversed tendency from what urban development should stand for - it is under strong pressure of negative negative natural increase (UNICEF 2013), declining economic capacity and deteriorating living standard (Vujosevic), growing ignorance for democratic political practice (Peric 2016), and disregard for research, education and knowledge Vujosevic and Maricic 2012. In these circumnstances, most important issue to deal with is the harmonisation of the disbalanced morphology of post-socialist urban decision making towards solving urban conflicts, in the way that:

- **Local experts and professionals** - return dignity and influence to experts and professionals, who are often side-lined;

- **Professional domains** - move away from authoritarian and partocratic approach in professional domains;

- **Urban planning** - re-establish the role of urban planning as an instrument of knowledgable not powerful, and as a practice of socio-spatial management of urban environments, not a technical task;

- **Bottom-up actions and initiatives** - provide means for prioritizing and fostering positive practices, they are usually happening on the ground with no effective and binding policies and institutionalized regulatory means for synchronization and coordination among them.

Finally, the study of Savamala neighbourhood enabled exposing the power game of relations and influences among urban key agents by indicating (1) interrelated processes and procedures generated by local urban agency; (2) assemblage network of relations between regulatory framework, urban actors, and spatial issues generated through a bottom-up logical argumentation; and (3) urban patterns and social impact that is produced therein. Unfortunately, based on what is happening on site, Savamala could not be saved from the destiny prescribed to it from the top-down. Yet the scientific results taken from this case study might be a strategic basis for more effective reactions in the future and didactic material for further education which address the on-going generation of urban conflicts and bottom-up interventions and offer a summary of small movements and partial approaches which surpasses the model of a post-socialist city on which it has been built and target an integrated system of urban development processes.

8.2.6 Epistemological framework - When ANT opens doors for revisions..

This research recognized the quality of ANT scientific approach as an explanatory construct that studies associations and symmetrical relationality (Farias et al. 2009). From the results presented herein, usefulness of ANT interpretation was as a mere entry point on an operational agenda for further research. Accordingly, ANT appeared to have limited capacity for going any further and it seemed unable to receive practical recognition, influence the reality and go beyond descriptions.

Bearing in mind complexity and dynamics of urban development phenomenon, the vitality of ANT approach lies in: (1) encompassing the active role of non-humans, (2) seeing the totality of the world as process, and (3) overreaching radical categories of time and space by representing horizontal links and associations. Although these premises grasp the core concept of urban dynamics, this methodology does not imply the capacity to deconstruct and interpret such complex aggregation of all real-life urban processes. In urban terms, ANT is, therefore, still perceived as a conceptual methodology whose

integral approach works out only in confined urban environments, where it could comprise a dynamic, interactive process of interdependences and connections among all active urban actors and the formation of urban assemblages through roles, associations and agencies and their calibration within the chain of decision making.

In this respect I would like to recapitulate ANT setbacks to stand out as an overarching methodological approach for urban research:

- ANT in its insistence on general symmetry **fails to go beyond the description of the empirical reality of urban processes**. Although it succeeds to include causal relations between actors, the future state of the system based on these relations stays undiscovered (Elder-Vass 2008). For example, the engagement of political, economic and cultural aspect in networks was signified, but without any insight on the valence of these aspects to engage in new networks, while this relation between what is and what will/would/could be is actually the essence of urban development concept.

- Though ANT inaugurate flat ontology of the social (**?**), **networks are "narrated" by human constituents** (**?**; **?**; **?**; **?**) and interpretations and translations are chiefly the product of the researchers positionality (**?**; **?**). It is acknowledged that the ANT diagram reorder and multiply if transferred from one actors to others viewpoint or if it is re-iterated by other researcher. Therefore, the question of producing the same results regardless of iterations or agency could be raised.

- Perceiving ANT results only as detailed empirical descriptions means discrediting "how and why" questions, leads to thinking that **its sole aim is maintenance of the system** (Amsterdamska 1990; **?**; Whittle and Spicer 2008), with no regard to prospects of its change or transformation(Gabriel and Jacobs 2008). From ANT examinations of Savamala, the results were the developmental flows of human collisions and coalitions, finances, practices, information and knowledge, yet without any tools at hand to point out where maintenance, transformation and change of the system happens. With ANT results the researcher was incapable to intervene in an urban system - to articulate social practices, anticipate conflictual urban issues, and provide an overview of actions, solutions and changes - which were identified as the pillars of urban development within this research project.

In sum, while ANT theoretical perspective has aspired to explain the totality of the world without relying on "other" frameworks (**?**, **?**), it actually remained on the level of description that may appear insufficient and ineffective for practical application (**?**). The ANT diagram assembled in this research addressed complexity and provided framework for future extension of actors and new relations when they collide, overlap and interfere in networks. These networks represented a base for system dynamics of cooperative, discontinuous, contradictory or even mutually exclusive relations among constantly changing actors and consequent continuos production of new urban realities. In this research, ANT scheme neither could have told us anything about this, nor could have it indicated how

the urban system maintain, transform or change itself. In this respect, even though ANT categorizations and interpretations have successfully dealt with urban complexity, it still fell short to meet the expectations as a potential interpretive tool.

Bearing all this in mind, this research undertook the task of complementing ANT approach in order to facilitate an understanding of undercover processes and mechanisms or to provide explanations, recommendations or operational diagnosis on how to cope with urban development processes.

8.3 Limitations of the research

The limitations of the research project mainly result from the restrictions of the research framework and of the methods used.

To begin with, in the domain of thesis research **a trade-off between knowledge and time** is very often at play (Harrison 2002). The study was an individual research project and processes of data collection and analyses were adopted to the resources at hand. Firstly, the enormous amount of data could not be tangled completely. In this respect, cautious classification of data within numerous clusters gave the opportunity to the researcher to choose the scope of the research. In this sense the environmental questions and issues and infrastructural scapes have been excluded from the study.

Then, the situation on the ground has been changing since 2013 and even more rapidly in the last 2 years (2015-2017). These fluctuating circumstances required a constant adjustment of the scope of data collection and important re-think toward the systematization and categorization of data. Even though these recent changes have been undertaken to a certain extent in the project, the researcher is aware of the possible gaps and missing updates.

Another pertinent issue was raised around **the case study bias toward verification** (Flyberg). While the aim of ANT application was to reduce the influences of the researcher's preconceived notions, the researcher encountered difficulties in this sense within data analyses. Namely, thorough data triangulation was possible on a limited scale, while several cluster of data needed additional verification so that they were excluded from the results. In this scope, another important matter revolves around several categorizations of qualitative data proposed within ANT, MAS and MAS-ANT. Such systematization of the field data require an additional, multitudinous critical and multidisciplinary review from experts, professionals and practitioners for the further uses. Above all, identified clusters of contextual data [facts, factors, motives, values, aspects etc.] need an extensive quantitative verification before it can be used in practice.

Finally, the researcher aims to take a critical stance towards the capacity of the study to summarize and develop generalizations and theoretical abstractions. There is **a yawning gap of multifarious verification for transferring localized abstractions and general ones**. As Robinson (2013) elaborated, there is not a paved path for moving from the concrete field-work findings and abstractions to an universal analyticial framework in

urban analysis. In a theory/method works for a single case, it does not necessarily apply on other; if it works for several, it may not be the case for many; and if it is applicable for many, very often it does not imply all the cases in all the circumstances. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that MAS-ANT has a potential to be applied in different contexts, but to which extent it cannot be stated nor expressed.

8.4   Practical Implications

The flow of information and pervasiveness of communication technology constitute a developmental core of modern society (Sassen 2012). Furthermore, this technological advancement has influenced the perception and constitution of reality, they have allowed accelerating process of globalization, a shift from traditional industrial activity to the dispersion of production, a transfer of products, hypermobility of capital and a redefinition of physical space (Firmino et al. 2008).

In this sense it is not only that information act upon technology, but technologies also act upon information. While technology and information form an integral part of all human activity today, all processes and relations of individual and collective existence are directly shaped by the new technological medium. What is more, much of the economic, social, political and cultural action shifts into cyberspace (Mitchell 1996), in the form of a legitimate second reality where "single, integrated, unitary, material objects" have all been re-conceived (Baudrillard 1983) and their interrelations revised in terms of spaces of relations (Graham and Healey, 1999).

Controversially, it does not make the actual places (urban spaces) redundant, but rather it initiates an active reconstruction of urban places (Graham and Marvin 2001) as social constructs whose meaning depends on particular social contexts and their nodes of intersection (Healey 2004). Cities tend to urbanize technologies semi-autonomously with increases in density and networked systems that new technologies have made possible. There emerges, however, a growing discrepancy between the dynamics of socio-spatial changes and the weakness of technical supervision; not only in the course of human factors, but also in technological sources and solutions (Vauquelin 2010). Thus, it is necessary to shift the deterministic concept of how to approach urban research to a more comprehensive, network-oriented vision that considers generating ICT-oriented approaches and tools (?).

Bearing this general picture in mind from the very beginning, this research aimed to take a practical course in terms of finding an intermediary between the qualitative data analysis and the data display closely related to modern means of communication. As regards, the display of results from this study through illustrations create a precondition for the visualization of these data and eventual digitalization of urban development processes through an ICT model.

8.4.1 Data visualization

This exercise of visualizing through ANT methodological approach expresses an attempt to depict the complexity of urban actors, forces and artifacts and the dynamics of networks, interdependences and processes to a legible, data-loaded scheme of nodes and links and nodes.

The idea behind the visual interpretations was to create a pattern that can be visualized digitally with HTML5 or Java. Static illustrations are limited in terms of the amount of data that can be taken into account and represented while keeping track of the legibility of the diagram. Conversely, dynamic data visualization gives an opportunity to present a lot of data simultaneously, having a large and ever growing background database.

Accordingly, digitalized version can be easily modified and updated with data, elements, relations, and conclusions, in comparison to the paper-based version. Furthermore, digitally visualized data are more user-friendly and user-oriented in the sense that users can easily navigate through, decide upon the scale of the diagram, choose what they want to see and they can browse vertically and horizontally across the dataset.

8.4.2 Urban Development Model

The idea of a digital urban development model addresses the current change trends in urban analyses towards an open-ended future concept with an emphasis on inclusive, transparent and flexible procedures (Rode 2006).

Therefore, a further extension from the illustration through data visualization is a multidimensional model. The model should be dynamically programmed to comprise local patterns [actor-networks, contextual elements and maintenance, transformation and change processes]. The initial database and the algorithms for their entailment, implication and structuralizaton should be constructed on the principles of the MAS-ANT methodological approach and its graphical and data visualization tactics. The represented state of urban development processes should be continuously updated with relevant data to mirror current situation in the field (e. g. changes in the regulatory framework and space).

The model should enable users to intervene and propose their interpretations of nodes, links and processes. A sum of urban development processes should be based on the individual's direct experience and continually congregated from the data input of participants. Such tendency fosters social inclusion not only in urban practice but also in urban research working also as a knowledge sharing platform on urban development, complexity and dynamics of urban systems and on the local context. Therefore, an inclusive and dynamic urban development model is actually an articulation of human life in an urban realm which encourages active citizenship.

8.5 Future Prospects

The further contributions of this research is addressed on theoretical and methodological level.

In theoretical terms, the question of urban development in terms of urban system transitions is an assumption that should be investigated further. Even more so in terms of the distinction of maintenance, transformation and change processes, how they are assembled and distribute in local contexts. Besides, urban development as a set of system transitions in ordinary cities, notwithstanding their developed, developing and transitional nature, should also be put to investigation.

Another issue is possible practical usefulness of MAS-ANT schematic interpretation of data and processes for participatory planning and ground-up interventions. Its flexibility and iterative nature should be investigated in terms of its capacity to exceed the abstractions of urban planning, the concrete specifics of urban design and the politicization of urban transformations and participatory processes, bringing all of these together as bridges for realms of ideas about urban future.

Bibliography

Chapter 9

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Appendix A

Data collection

A.1 Interviews

A.2 Questionnaires

A.3 Workshops

Appendix B

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