

CONFERENCE
PROCEEDINGS

**3RD INTERNATIONAL
ACADEMIC CONFERENCE ON
PLACES AND TECHNOLOGIES**

EDITORS
EVA VANIŠTA LAZAREVIĆ
MILENA VUKMIROVIĆ
ALEKSANDRA KRSTIĆ-FURUNDŽIĆ
AND ALEKSANDRA ĐUKIĆ

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Eva VaništaLazarević, Milena Vukmirović, Aleksandra Krstić-Furundžić, Aleksandra Đukić

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PLACES AND TECHNOLOGIES 2016

KEEPING UP WITH TECHNOLOGIES TO CREATE COGNITIVE CITY
BY HIGHLIGHTING ITS SAFETY, SUSTAINABILITY, EFFICIENCY,
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ARCHITECTURAL TECHNOLOGIES I – ENERGY ISSUES

DETERMINATION OF ENERGY CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSPARENT ELEMENTS OF ENVELOPE OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA Darija Gajić	3
ECO-ENERGETIC RECONSTRUCTION OF ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES BY APPLYING MODERN FACADE TECHNOLOGIES Olja Joksimović, Katarina Vukosavljević	11
MODERNIZATION OF EXISTING GLASS FACADES IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT ENERGY EFFICIENCY AND MEDIA CONTENT Jasna Čikić Tovarović, Jelena Ivanović Šekularac, Nenad Šekularac	19
EFFECTS OF WINDOW REPLACEMENT ON ENERGY RENOVATION OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS – CASE OF THE SERBIAN BUILDING PRACTICE Ana Radivojević, Aleksandar Rajčić, Ljiljana Đukanović	27
GREEN ROOF RETROFIT POTENTIAL IN A DENSELY POPULATED BELGRADE MUNICIPALITY Katarina Vukosavljević, Olja Joksimović, Stevan Vukadinović	35
ENERGY REFURBISHMENT OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN SERBIA Milica Jovanović Popović, Miloš Nedić, Ljiljana Djukanović	43
PROBLEM OF PROTECTION OF ORIGINAL APPEARANCE OF PREFABRICATED CONCRETE FACADES AND ENERGY IMPROVEMENT MEASURES – EXAMPLE OF NEW BELGRADE Nikola Macut, Ana Radivojević	51
SUNLIGHTING: A BRIGHT LIGHT SOURCE FOR MULTI-STORY BUILDING CORES Liliana Beltran	59

ARCHITECTURAL TECHNOLOGIES II - INNOVATIVE METHODS, SOFTWARE AND TOOLS

BIM AND GREEN BUILDING DESIGN: EXPECTATIONS, REALITY AND PERSPECTIVES Igor Svetel, Marko Jarić, Nikola Budimir	69
UNDER THE SKIN - DETERMINING ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES FROM SURFACE 3D SCANS Ulrich Krispel, Torsten Ullrich, Martin Tamke	77
ARCHITECTURAL DIAGRAM OF A CITY Olivera Dulić, Viktorija Aladžić	85
DIGITAL TOOLS - BASED PERFORMANCE EVALUATION OF THE ADAPTIVE BUILDING ENVELOPE IN THE EARLY PHASE OF DESIGN Komnen Žižić, Aleksandra Krstić-Furundžić	93

INCREASING QUALITY OF PLACE BY USERS VALUE ORIENTATION Alenka Temeljotov Salaj, Svein Bjorberg, Nikolaj Salaj	101
COMFORT QUALITY IN THE ARCHITECTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF EXISTING FACILITIES Saša B. Čvoro, Malina B. Čvoro, Una Umićević	109
BUILDING STRUCTURES AND MATERIALS	
CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURAL DESIGN STRATEGIES FOR REDUCING ENERGY CONSUMPTION IN BUILDINGS Aleksandra Nenadović, Žikica Tekić	119
COMPARISON OF THE SUSTAINABILITY OF DIFFERENT TECHNIQUES FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF REINFORCED CONCRETE COLUMNS Tanya Chardakova, Marina Traykova	125
THE ARCHITECTURAL ASPECT OF DESIGNING THE OFFICE ENVIRONMENT IN THE MULTIFUNCTIONAL BUILDING IN THE CITY CENTRE Anna Rynkowska-Sachse	133
MITIGATE THE HOUSING DEPRIVATION IN THE INFORMAL CITIES: MODULAR, FLEXIBLE AND PREFAB HOUSES Frabrizio Finucci, Adolfo Barrata, Laura Calcagnini, Antonio Magaro, Ottavio Minnella, Juan Martin Piaggio	141
AN EXAMPLE OF USING RECYCLED CRUSHED CLAY BRICK AGGREGATE: A PREFABRICATED COMPOSITE FAÇADE PANEL WITH THE FACE OF STONE Tijana Vojinović Čalić, Dragica Jevtić, Aleksandra Krstić-Furundžić	149
CLIMATE CHANGE I – ENERGY ISSUES	
ENERGY MAP OF KRAGUJEVAC AS AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS OF NECESSARY INTERVENTION MEASURES ON BUILDINGS IN ORDER TO ADAPT TO CLIMATE CHANGE Iva Poskurica Glišović	159
THE IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON THE ENERGY PERFORMANCE OF HISTORICAL BUILDINGS Alexandra Keller, Cristian Petrus, Marius Mosoarca	167
INFLUENCE OF DIFFERENT PAVEMENT MATERIALS ON WARMING UP OF PEDESTRIAN AREAS IN SUMMER SEASON Jelena Đekić, Petar Đekić, Milena Dinić Branković, Mihailo Mitković	175
ANALYSIS OF ELECTRICITY GENERATION RESULTS OF FIRST MINI SOLAR POWER PLANTS IN THE SOUTH OF SERBIA WITH VARYING INCLINATION OF PHOTOVOLTAIC PANELS AND DIFFERENT ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS Mihailo Mitković, Jelena Đekić, Petar Mitković, Milica Igić	183
EDUCATION NEEDS AND INFLUENTIAL FACTORS ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION IN FUNCTION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AT HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS Marijola Božović, Milan Mišić, Zorica Bogićević, Danijela Zubac	191

BUILDING CLIMATE CHANGE II – STRATEGIES, PROTECTION AND FLOODS

EVALUATING THE CO-BENEFITS OF FLOOD MITIGATION MEASURE – A CASE STUDY OF SOUTHERN YUNLIN COUNTY IN TAIWAN Yi-Hsuan Lin	201
FLOODING RISK ASSESSMENT IN MOUNTAIN VILLAGES—A CASE STUDY OF KAOHSIUNG CITY Ting-Chi Hsu, Han-Liang Lin	209
SPATIAL PLANNING IN VIEW OF FLOOD PROTECTION-METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE BALCAN COUNTRIES Brankica Milojević	217
CLIMATE WARS AND REFUGEES: HUMAN SECURITY AS A PATHWAY TOWARDS THE POLITICAL? Thomas Schad	225
LOW-IMPACT DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES ASSESSMENT FOR URBAN DESIGN Yu-Shan Lin, Han-Liang Lin	235

SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES AND PARTICIPATION I – PLANNING ISSUES

THE POSSIBILITIES OF SURVEY AS A METHOD TO COLLECT AND THE DERIVE MICRO-URBAN DATA ABOUT NEW COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN SERBIA Branislav Antić	247
POSITION OF THE SOCIAL HOUSING ACCORDING TO THE URBAN PLANNING REGULATION OF THE CITY OF NIS – DO THEY PROMOTE THE INCLUSION? Nataša Petković Grozdanović, Branislava Stoiljkovic, Goran Jovanović	255
INFLUENCE OF DIFFERENT APPROACHES IN DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL RESIDENTIAL BUILDING TYPOLOGIES FOR ESTIMATION OF BUILDING STOCK ENERGY PERFORMANCE Milica Jovanović Popović, Dušan Ignjatović, Bojana Stanković	263
TOWARDS A LOW-CARBON FUTURE? CONSTRUCTION OF DWELLINGS AND ITS IMMEDIATE INFRASTRUCTURE IN CITY OF SPLIT Višnja Kukoč	271
SCENARIOS IN URBAN PLANNING AND THE MULTI-CRITERIA METHOD. A MEANINGFUL EXPERIENCE IN ITALY: PIANO IDEA IMPLEMENTED IN JESI AN,2004 Giovanni Sergi, Paolo Rosasco	279
THE PUBLIC INSIGHT AND INCLUSIVITY IN THE PLANNING PROCESS Nataša Danilović Hristić, Nebojša Stefanović	287
TOWARD THE SUSTAINABLE CITY – COMMUNITY AND CITIZENS INCLUSION IN URBAN PLANNING AND DESIGN OF URBAN GREEN SPACES: A REVIEW OF SKOPJE Divna Penčić, Snezhana Domazetovska, Stefanka Hadji Pecova	295

SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES AND PARTICIPATION II – CONCEPTS, METHODS AND COMMUNITY

HOW TO DEVELOP AND DESIGN HEALTHY URBAN ENVIRONMENT? Sanja Štimac, Anja Jutraž	305
SUSTAINABILITY AND BROWNFIELD REGENERATION Kristina Azarić	313
THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF A SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY: UNDERSTANDING OF THE EXISTING SPACE Silvia Grion, Elisabeth Antonaglia, Barbara Chiarelli	319
HOW TO UNDERSTAND THE GLOBAL PHENOMENON OF URBAN SHRINKAGE AT LOCAL LEVEL? COMPARISON OF URBAN AREAS IN ROMANIA AND SERBIA Mihai-Ionut Danciu, Branislav Antonić, Smaranda Maria Bica	327
SPATIAL PATTERNS OF SERBIAN MIGRANTS IN VIENNA AND IN THE SETTLEMENTS OF THEIR ORIGIN IN EASTERN SERBIA Branislav Antonić, Tamara Brajović	335
KEEPING THE CITY LIVEABLE FOR INHABITANTS AND EFFICIENT FOR TOURISTS: THE PILGRIMAGE ROUTES Lucia Martincigh, Renata Bizzotto, Raffaella Seghetti, Marina Di Gauda, Giovanni Perrucci	347
ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS OF SERBIA Anđelka Mirkov	355
URBAN PROBLEMS OF HILLY AND MOUNTAINOUS RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN NIŠ MUNICIPALITY Milica Igić, Petar Mitković, Jelena Đekić, Milena Dinić Branković	361

IMAGE, IDENTITY AND QUALITY OF PLACE I – PLANNING ISSUES

THE STRATEGIES OF PLACE-MAKING. SOME ASPECTS OF MANIFESTATIONS OF POSTMODERN IDEAS IN LITHUANIAN ARCHITECTURE Martynas Mankus	373
DESIGNING CENTERS OF SUBURBAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE POST-SOCIALIST CITY – NIŠ CASE STUDY Milena Dinić Branković, Jelena Đekić, Petar Mitković, Milica Igić	381
TRANSITION AND THE CITY: TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN STRUCTURE DURING THE POST-SOCIALIST PERIOD Dejana Nedučin, Milena Krklješ	389
POST INDUSTRIAL CITIES: CREATIVE PLAY - FAST FORWARD BELGRADE 2016 Eva Vaništa Lazarević, Marija Cvetković, Uroš Stojadinović	395
THE FUTURE OF OLD INDUSTRIAL AREAS - SUSTAINABLE APPROACH Anica Tufegdžić, Maria Siladji	405

CREATING IDENTITY AND CHARACTER OF NEW SETTLEMENT FORMED DUE TO GROWTH OF THE CITY- ON THE EXAMPLE OF PODGORICA Ema Alihodžić Jašarović, Edin Jašarović	413
SPINUT-POLJUD RESIDENTIAL AREA IN SPLIT, CROATIA Vesna Perković Jović	421
IMAGE, IDENTITY AND QUALITY OF ZAPRUĐE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN NOVI ZAGREB Ivan Milnar, Lea Petrović Krajnik, Damir Krajnik	429
URBAN IDENTITY OF BORDER SPACES. CONSTRUCTING A PLACE IN THE BORDER CROSSING BETWEEN SPAIN AND MOROCCO IN CEUTA Belen Bravo Rodriguez, Juan Luis Rivas Navarro, Alicia Jiménez Jiménez	435
ZEITGEIST & GENIUS LOCI: TRADE VALUE AESTHETIC AND WEAKNESS OF AUTHOR'S IDENTITY IN RECENT SERBIAN ARCHITECTURE Aleksandar Kadijević	445
 IMAGE, IDENTITY AND QUALITY OF PLACE II – PUBLIC SPACES	
PRESERVING PLACE MEANING IN FUNCTION OF TRANSFORMATION OF OPEN PUBLIC SPACES Ana Špirić, Sanja Trivić	455
STREET LIFE DIVERSITY AND PLANNING THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOFIA AND MELBOURNE Silvia Chakarova	463
TRANSFORMATIONS AND PERMANENCE OF REPUBLIC SQUARE Stefan Škorić, Milena Krklješ, Dijana Brkljač, Aleksandra Milinković	473
THE IMAGE OF THE CITY VS. SEMI-PUBLIC SPACES OF SHOPPING MALLS: CASE STUDY OF BELGRADE Marija Cvetković, Eva Vaništa Lazarević	481
THE MARKET HALL OF PÉCS Balazs Kokas, Hutter Ákos, Veres Gábor, Engert Andrea, Greg András, Sike Ildikó, Alexandra Pető	489
INNOVATIVE PUBLIC SPACE REHABILITATION MODELS TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR COGNITIVE - CULTURAL URBAN ECONOMY IN THE AGE OF MASS INDIVIDUALISATION Katarzyna Bartoszewicz, Piotr Lorens	497
ILLUMINATION OF FACADES OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN NOVI SAD AND ITS IMPACT ON SPATIAL PERCEPTION Dijana Brkljač, Milena Krklješ, Aleksandra Milinković, Stefan Škorić	507
COGNITIVE PERFORMANCES OF PEDESTRIAN SPACES Milena Vukmirović, Branislav Folić	515

IMAGE, IDENTITY AND QUALITY OF PLACE III – CONCEPT, METHODS, EDUCATION

THE CRIMINAL CITY: URBAN RESET AFTER "COLECTIV" Agelica Stan	527
TOWARD THE ULTIMATE SHAPE-SHIFTER: TESTING THE OMNIPOTENCE OF DIGITAL CITY Aleksandra Stupar, Tatjana Mrđenović	535
MANAGEMENT OF URBAN IMAGE AS A TOOL FOR PLANNING. THE CASE OF THESSALONIKI Kleoniki Gkioufi, Eleni Gavra	541
VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE PROCESSES AND FLOWS OF TIME-SPACE OF ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN CONTINUITY OF THE CITY Velimir Stojanović	549
FORMS OF CONTINUITY IN ARCHITECTURAL SPACE Petar Cigić, Milena Kordić	555
URBAN DESIGN EDUCATION FOR PLACEMAKING: BETWEEN COGNITION AND EMOTION Jelena Živković, Zoran Đukanović, Uroš Radosavljević	565
SKETCHBOOK AS AN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN INSTRUMENT OF THE COGNITIVE CREATION PROCESS FOR THE QUALITY OF PLACE Igor Rajković, Uroš Radosavljević, Ana Zorić	573
THE MUSICALITY OF UNDULATING GLASS PANES IN THE CONVENT OF LA TOURETTE Marko Slaviček, Anja Kostanjšak	581
THE ROUTES OF DIGITALIZATION – FROM REAL TO VIRTUAL CITY AND VICE VERSA Miodrag Ralević, Tatjana Mrđenović	587
RESILIENCE OF PLACES	
A SHRED OF PLACE IN A DIGITAL ERA HUMANITARIAN DISASTER Pavlos Lefas, Nora Lefa	599
URBAN SPACES MORPHOLOGY AND MICROCLIMATE CONDITIONS: A STUDY FOR A TYPICAL DISTRICT IN THESSALONIKI Stella Tsoka, Katerina Tsikaloudaki, Theodoros Theodosiou	605
SPONTANEOUS DEVELOPMENT AND RESILIENCE PLACES – A CASE STUDY OF ELECTRONIC INDUSTRY NIS (SERBIA) Liljana Jevremović, Branko Turnsek, Aleksandar Milojkovic, Milanka Vasic, Marina Jordanovic	613
SUSTAINABLE MODEL FOR REGIONAL HOSPITALS IN HUMID TROPICAL CLIMATE Nataša Čuković Ignjatović, Dušan Ignjatović, Dejan Vasović	621

MATERIAL AND COGNITIVE STRUCTURES OF BUILDINGS AND PLACES AS INTEGRATED PATTERNS OF PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE Dženana Bijedić, Rada Cahtarevic, Mevludin Zecević, Senaida Halilović	627
BOOSTING THE RESILIENCE OF THE HEALTHCARE SYSTEM IN BELGRADE: THE ROLE OF ICT NETWORKS Jelena Marić, Aleksandra Stupar	635
INTERCONNECTION OF ARCHITECTURE AND NEUROSCIENCE - RESHAPING OUR BRAINS THROUGH PHYSICAL STRUCTURES Morana Pap, Mislav Pap, Mia Pap	645
THE POTENTIAL OF URBAN AGRICULTURE IN REVITALIZATION OF A METROPOLIS Gabriela Rembarz	651
ADAPTIVE REUSE	
IMPROVING STRATEGIES FOR FUNCTIONAL UPGRADE FOR AN "INTEGRATED REHABILITATION" Francesca Guidolin	661
ADAPTIVE REUSE AND SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN THE REGENERATION PROCESSES OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE SITES Sonja Ifko, Ana Martinović	669
REVEALING THE MONTENEGRIN KATUN AS A PLACE OF REUSABLE COGNITIVE TECHNOLOGIES Edin Jašarović, Ema Alihodžić Jašarović	683
INTERSECTIONS OF NOW AND THEN; IMPLEMENTATION OF ADAPTIVE REUSE AS CATALYST OF SPACE TRANSFORMATION Anja Kostanjšak, Nikola Filipovic	691
MULTIFAMILY HOUSING IN BELGRADE – ENERGY PERFORMANCE IMPROVING POTENTIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL CHALLENGES Nataša Ćuković Ignjatović, Dusan Ignjatovic, Bojana Stankovic	699
SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF THE SUBURBAN ZONES IN SELECTED ENTREPRENEURSHIPS NESTS OF THE TRICITY METROPOLITAN AREA Grzegorz Pęczek, Justyna Martyniuk-Pęczek	707
INNOVATIVE METHODS AND APPLICATIONS FOR SMART(ER) CITIES	
TECHNOLOGY AS A MEDIATOR BETWEEN MAN AND CITY IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES Katarina Stojanović	725
CITY INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION MODELING Alice Pasquinelli, Silvia Mastrolembro, Franco Guzzeti, Angelo Ciribini	731
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHYSICAL PLANNING INFORMATION SYSTEM OF CROATIA AND NEW GENERATION OF SPATIAL PLANS Sunčana Habrun, Lidija Škec, Danijel Meštrić	739

THE CONCEPT OF SMART ARCHITECTURE IN SERBIA – ONE BELGRADE EXPERIENCE Dragan Marčetić, Andrej Josifovski	747
THE IDEA OF COGNITIVE CITY - A CHALLENGE FOR NEW TECHNOLOGY TO PROMOTE HEALTH Aleksandra Krstić Furundžić, Nikola Z. Furundzić, Dijana P. Furundzić	755
MIXED REALITY ENVIRONMENT AND OPEN PUBLIC SPACE DESIGN Aleksandra Đukić, Dubravko Aleksić	761
VULNERABILITY OF PUBLIC SPACE AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE CRISIS Milena Vukmirović, Miroslava Raspopović	769
NEUTRAL GROUNDING POINTS WITHIN THE GENERAL DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM AS AN ELEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION Zorica Bogičević, Slobodan Bjelić, Bojan Jovanović, Milan Misic	779
THE ROLE OF COGNITIVE – CULTURAL ECONOMY IN CITY’S GLOBAL POSITIONING Sanja Simeunčević Radulović, Biserka Mitrović	789
URBAN MOBILITY, TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC SOLUTIONS	
THE CONTRIBUTION OF ITS TO THE SAFETY IMPROVEMENT OF VULNERABLE ROAD USERS Bia Mandžuka, Ljupko Šimunović, Pero Škorput	799
BUILDING ENVIRONMENTAL PERSPECTIVE OF AIRCRAFT OPERATIONS AROUND BELGRADE NIKOLA TESLA AIRPORT Olja Čokorilo, Ivana Čavka	805
TRANSPORT PROJECTS AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION Davor Brčić, Stjepan Kelcec-Suhovec	813
DISLOCATION OF THE EXISTING RAILWAY AND BUS STATION IN THE CITY OF KUMANOVO AND THEIR INTEGRATION INTO A TRANSPORT HUB WITH ADJOINING CONTENTS Mihajlo Zinoski, Medarski Igor, Stefani Solarska	817
THE IMPACTS OF TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURES ON URBAN GEOGRAPHY Federico Andrea Innarone	825
LIQUID LIFE: A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VULNERABILITY AND MOBILITY – THE CONSEQUENCES FOR A SUSTAINABLE CITY, StevanTatalović	831

SPATIAL PATTERNS OF SERBIAN MIGRANTS IN VIENNA AND IN THE SETTLEMENTS OF THEIR ORIGIN IN EASTERN SERBIA

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ABSTRACT

At this moment, the question of immigration became a pan-European issue and it overlaps with other emotional matters such as ethnicity and identity. As a consequence of an increasing globalization, international migrants are targeting primarily larger cities as they provide more opportunities and support networks which are so crucial to newcomers. In the same time, such an immense emigration is significantly influencing development of communities and their places of origin.

Vienna has a long tradition of multicultural population, where immigrants from Serbia the largest minority group in the city. Researching Serbian immigrants in Vienna can be used as a reference point in establishing specific characteristics of the group and determine the scope of the idea of „Balkanization” as an urban pattern.

The proximity and accessibility of Vienna to homeland is also an important factor for vivid reciprocal influences. Majority of Viennese Serbs is spending holiday time in settlements of their origin. They are also bringing new-acquired habits in this environment, transforming old spatial patterns. This process is especially observable in the case of Eastern Serbia, as a part of country with the highest level of emigration.

Thus, specific spatial patterns are recognizable in both cases - as well in Vienna as in Eastern Serbia. The aim of this paper is to present these “mixed” patterns. Finally, the contribution of the paper is to open academic and scientific debate about spatial patterns of migrants’ life in these complex spaces that they can be used as a role-model for further research of spatial patterns of “migrant culture”.

Keywords: Migration, spatial patterns, Vienna, Eastern Serbia

INTRODUCTION

The question of immigration is one of the mayor topics in Europe today. The year 2015 was a year with the record numbers of immigrants - more than one million refugees entered Europe in 2015 (BBC, 2015). Nevertheless, migrations are the constitute part of European history and have had

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3rd INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC CONFERENCE

both positive and negative impacts to European urban culture and city image. Furthermore, migrations can be observed in both directions; the impact of immigrants to the places of receiving countries and their invert impact to the settlements of their origin in sending countries. In last decades one of the most noticeable trends, caused by the emerging phenomenon of globalization, is accelerated migration to Europe, both in speed and in numbers (Marozzi, 2015). Global trends have influenced urban patterns - international migrants usually target larger cities in Western Europe, as they are giving more opportunities and have developed support networks (IOM, 2015). The influence of welfare-state in Western Europe has also played significant role in this process (Mau and Burkhardt, 2009).

As a capital of former Habsburg Empire, Vienna has a long tradition of immigration and multicultural atmosphere (Feichtinger and Cohen, 2014). Nowadays, immigrants from the Balkans are the largest immigrant group in the city and Serbians are the most numerous among them (MSW, 2015). In accordance to this data, Serbian as well as other Balkan-Diaspora has inevitable influence to urban patterns in Vienna. Hence, it can be used as a reference point in establishing specific characteristics of the group and determine the scope of the idea of „Balkanization“ as an urban pattern.

Viennese Serbs still have strong connections with their places of origin. The influence of the emigrants is particularly visible in rural settlements in Eastern Serbia that is well-known by high percentage of emigrant population on national level. Here, the emigrants have gradually transformed settlement structure, adding so-called „Gastarbeiter“² elements (Mitrović, 2015).

However, the problem is the general lack of scientifically valuable information about Serbian emigrant and immigrant population, as well about spatial representation of it. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to open discussion on this topic, with special intention to clarify the possibilities of the use of statistical data and observation in situ to obtain the aim. Keeping this in mind, the first task is to define those spatial elements and urban patterns which are crucial for the observation of the entire phenomenon. Urban patterns will be starting point for the further research on both cases: Vienna and settlements in Eastern Serbia. Finally, the contribution of the paper is to open academic and scientific debate about spatial patterns of migrants' life in these complex spaces that they can be used as a role-model for further research on spatial patterns of „migrant culture“.

SPATIAL PATTERNS OF IMMIGRATION IN EUROPE

In today's age of unprecedented mobility, hundreds of millions migrants are on the move internationally – and hundreds of millions of potential migrants would join them if they could (IOM, 2011b). At the moment the question of immigration became a pan-European issue and it overlaps with on-going so-called „migrant crisis“ and struggling European Union member states. „More than a million migrants and refugees crossed into Europe in 2015, sparking a crisis as countries struggle to cope with the influx, and creating division in the EU over how best to deal with resettling people“ (BBC, 2015).

For purpose of this paper it is necessary to distinct term asylum-seekers/refugees from other forms/terms of migration, which has an abiding influence on the urban patterns in the cities. For instance large-scale immigration into Europe, started from the Second World War to the present, has brought multicultural image to everyday city life. „As migrants converge on cities, groups sharing a common origin, ethnicity or culture, can leverage common resources in order to tackle barriers experienced in cities of destination in a collective fashion“ (IOM 2015, p. 99). Definitions for the terms „immigration“ and „migrant“ will be used as given in „The Glossary on Migration“ by International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2011)³.

² Gastarbeiter – Germ. *Guest worker*.

³ Immigration - A process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement. Migrant - At the international level, no universally accepted definition of migrant exists. The term migrant is usually understood to cover all

Urban pattern

In this document, we are exploring connections between spatial manifestations of migration which are then visible as micro-images and related to question of identity and quality of place. Hall said “The contemporary “global/multicultural” city has emerged in recent years as a new type of urban configuration” (Hall, 2006, p. 28). While Elin (2004) emphasizes that the number of socially homogenous ghettos increases along with the development of U.S. road network, this phenomenon is not uncommon on the European continent as well. Harvey also points out that the urban process has undergone another transformation: “This global scale makes it hard to grasp that what is happening is in principle similar to the transformations that Haussmann oversaw in Paris” (Harvey, 2008, p. 30).

In Western Europe became common to discuss about image representation of immigrants, their neighbourhoods, as well as their communities and identities. This issue goes from melting pot on the one side, till ghetto on the other. “Generally immigrant entrepreneurship tends to be concentrated in urban areas, especially ethnic enclaves” (EC, 2008). Discussing about reshaping in European cities, Hall also noticed: “My particular concern is with the new social and spatial division in the city which are emerging as a consequence of the interdependence between new forms of globalization and new patterns of migration, and the distinctive tension and conflicts to which they give rise” (Hall, 2006, p. 49). The spatial component became also part of social division that has replaced the vertical segregation with the horizontal. In the same time, there are indications that migrants readily identify with host cities but not with the host country (IOM, 2015). Immigrants in EU and USA were found to identify more with the city where they live than with the state of which it is part. “As a consequence, towns and cities have a unique role to play in creating a sense of shared community and common purpose” (Ash et al, 2013).

There are some usual terms in immigration policy discourse used and there is an on-going debate about what the concept signifies, but there is a constant lack of their definition in the context of city and its patterns. Somehow, the shift from a term to an exact spatial form is missing. That implies that the concept of integration in the context of urban planning should be considered as a methodological concept too. Using an analytical framework based on host–stranger relations Alexander (2012) is illustrating typology of local migrant policies by domains and issues areas – here spatial:

POLICY TYPES	NON-POLICY	GUESTWORKER POLICY	ASSIMILATIONIST POLICY	PLURALIST POLICY
<i>DOMAINS/Issue areas</i>				
Public awareness/ Communication policies	–	–	Anti-racism/anti-discrimination campaigns	Multicultural manifestations, projects ‘celebrate diversity’ (Berlin, Frankfurt)
<i>SPATIAL</i>				
Housing	Ignore housing problems, ad hoc reaction to crises (Rome 80s)	Possible short-term solutions (guestworker lodging (Berlin 50s, Amsterdam early 70s)	Equal access to social housing (universal criteria). Ignore ethnic-based discrimination in housing market (Marseille)	Anti-discrimination policy including ethnic monitoring (Bradford, Birmingham)
Urban development, relation to ethnic enclaves	Ignore ethnic enclaves, disperse if crisis arises (Rome 80s)	Ethnic enclaves considered temporary (Amsterdam 70s, Tel Aviv 90s)	Ethnic enclaves seen as urban problem. Dispersal policy (Berlin, Frankfurt 70s). Gentrification policy (Cologne, Brussels, Paris)	Recognize potential of ethnic enclaves (Tel Aviv). Renewal with residents policy (Frankfurt)
Symbolic uses of space, public spaces	Ignore in peripheral locations, discourage in central locations (Rome)	Ignore in peripheral locations, discourage in central locations (Tel Aviv)	Oppose physical manifestation of Otherness (‘mosques w/out minarets’) (Utrecht, Paris)	Support physical manifestations of Otherness (minarets, monuments, museums) (Amsterdam, Cologne)

Note: Selected policies and cities are given as examples, based on survey of local policies and case studies (see Chapter 1).

Figure 1: Spatial domains of local migrants (Source: Alexander, 2012)

cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of “personal convenience” and without intervention of an external compelling factor. This term therefore applies to persons, and family members, moving to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family (IOM, 2011).

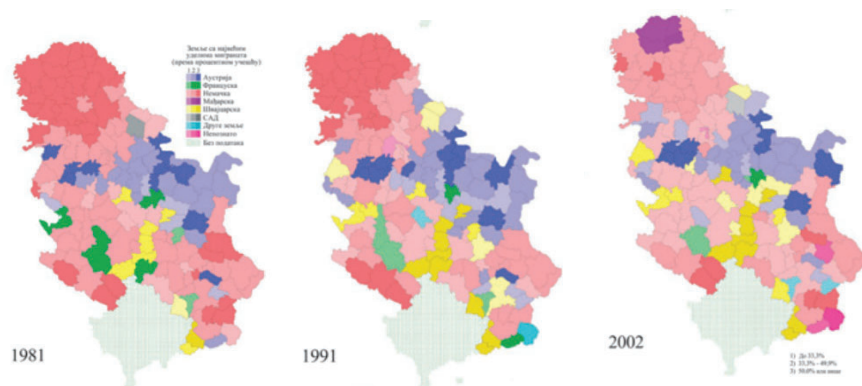
Spatial patterns of Serbian emigration

Despite rich corpus of macro-spatial and demographic researches about emigration from Serbia, there are no many researches which analyse micro-spatial patterns, which refer to settlement level. In fact, more information about these patterns can be found through as indirect researches and from exploration in situ. Nevertheless, before explanation of the basic spatial characteristics of Serbian emigration, it is important to explain the complexity of the entire phenomenon at macro-spatial level.

First, the official methodology of relevant statistic data has been changed in the last censuses (Stanković, 2014). Second, the size of the country has been changed dramatically in the case of the former Yugoslavia since the start of Yugoslavian wars in early 1990s. This makes clear obstacles in the comparison of adequate data. Third, the problem related to the qualitative record of the persons who are emigrants abroad, has been also observed (Stanković, 2014).

However, some trends can be identified. Despite Serbia has not been considered as a "classic" emigrant country in Europe during history⁴, it has become the area with very present emigrant tendencies in the last decades. The official statistical data of the Republic of Serbia proves it. In official statistical classification in the National census 2011, there were 313,411 persons who were permanently staying abroad or circa 4% of local population. This was more than 50% more than in the census 1971 (Stanković, 2014). It is important to clarify that all presented data does not include many persons of Serbian origin who have not Serbian citizenship, but they considered as a part of Serbian diaspora due to their active linkages with Serbia and Serbian culture.

Serbian emigrants have mainly immigrated to Western Europe. The most important destinations were: Austria (70,488 persons), Germany (55,999) and Switzerland (41,008) (by the National Census in Serbia 2011).



Figures 2, 3 & 4: The shares of immigrant population per countries of immigration – Municipalities in Serbia in 1981, 1991 & 2002: Red – Germany, Blue – Austria, Green – France, Yellow - Switzerland (Source: Predojević-Despić, 2011)

Generally, spatial patterns of Serbian immigrations have been significantly changed in recent 25 years, during post-socialist transition of south-eastern Europe. During socialist period, the majority of migrants were uneducated persons from rural areas. In contrast, the results of the last national census in 2011 shows quite different tendencies; the contingent of urban emigrants with higher education is very noticeable now (Stanković, 2014). However, the census also presented that the mostly rural and underdeveloped region of Eastern and Southern Serbia, which has been

⁴ For example, the Republic of Ireland has much bigger diaspora.

traditionally considered as an emigrant region inside the country, was still the region with highest percentage of emigrant population – 6.65% of total population of the region (Stanković, 2014). This status of “emigrant area” was especially reserved for the areas in eastern Serbia, where the very high percentages of emigrant contingent in total population (>20%) were obtained in the last two national censuses in 2002 and 2011 (Predojević-Despić, 2011).

CASE 1: VIENNA

Vienna as the capital of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire has a long tradition of multicultural residents and remained one of the cultural, economic, and political centres of Europe. During the age of Empire, due to the industrialization and migration from other parts of the country, Vienna had more than two million inhabitants. In this time round one fourth of the Viennese population had Slavic origin. In the mid-sixties Yugoslav workers have begun to work in the European cities, mostly in Germany and Austria. In just ten years, the number of Yugoslavian workers in Western Europe has increased to nearly half a million. In the beginning of the nineties, the fall of Eastern Block, new Balkan war, and the dissolution of Yugoslavia caused new migration. Austria, being one of the closest countries and previously known to the many workers who have settled there, became one of the primary destinations for Yugoslavian and especially Serbian emigrants.

In year 2014, almost 49% of the Vienna’s population had immigrant origins⁵ and almost 33% was born in foreign country. Vienna is a model city for this type of research for several reasons: a group of immigrants from Serbian constitute the largest minority group in the city. Vienna is also the city with the largest number of immigrants from the territory of Serbian in Europe (Chicago holds this title on a world scale). Following illustration is showing that the largest group consists of migrants from Serbia (grey and turquoise), followed by Turks and, then, Germans. It is also showing the number (grey) of Serbian-born inhabitants which obtained the Austrian citizenship through the naturalisation process.

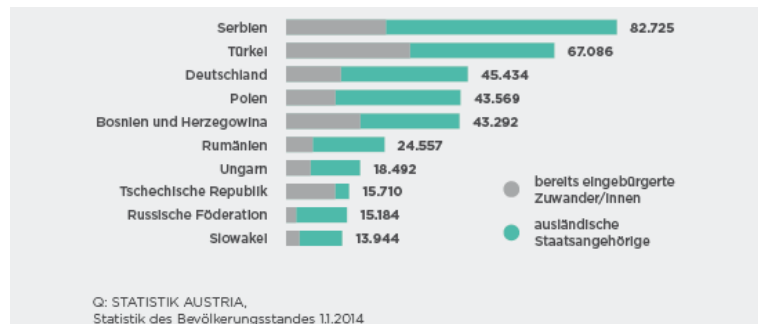


Figure 5: Vienna – number of foreign born inhabitants in 2014 (Source ÖIF, 2015)

Current state of urban patterns of Serbian emigration: main facts

For large portions of society, there are common stereotype pictures for architecture of several typical immigrant nations such as Chinese. Is there a uniform, characteristic and easily recognizable design for “Jugo(s)” and its domains outside “Yugosphere”? It does not necessary have to be part of the city, it can as well be a layer of the city-an urban pattern.

Vienna’s public housing model has been developing for more than eighty years and is promoted as a part of social-oriented city planning. Today almost 65% of all Vienna households live in some

⁵ It means that 49% of all Viennese were either born abroad or at least one parent was born abroad or has foreign citizenship.

type of subsidised apartments, including 220,000 in council housing. Until 2006, most of the immigrants have not been allowed to settle in public housing. Based on all that, we come to the fact that migrants were excluded from the larger part of the city. This, among the other factors, influenced concentration in certain parts of the city - where the private housing is dominant type and on the outside of the Vienna Beltway.

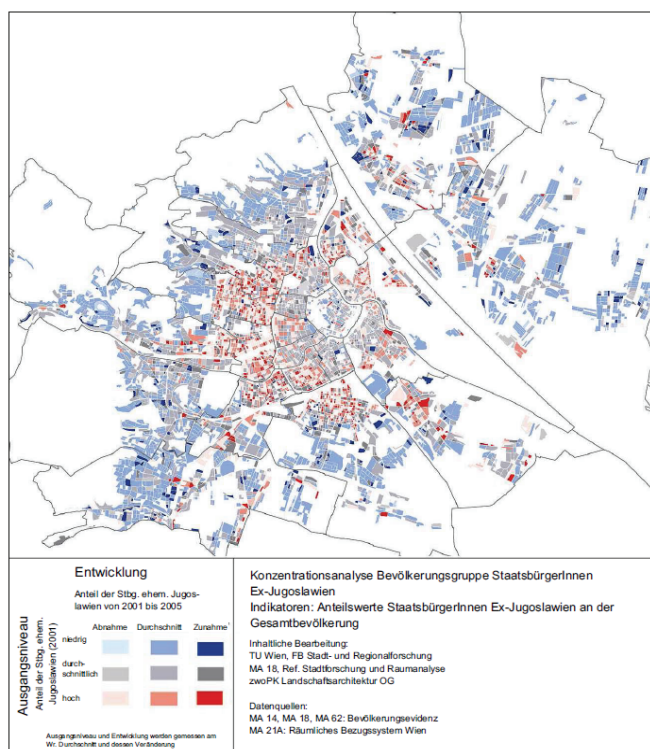


Figure 6. Vienna - concentration (red) of Ex-Yugoslavian citizens 2001-2005 (Source MA18, 2010)

In 2006, there was a change in immigrant's accessibility to affordable housing. Those changes influenced Vienna's neighbourhood image and created new redistribution. In Vienna, these evidences are showing that immigrants are dispersing among certain districts, but due to large number of immigrants⁶ we cannot speak about ghettoisation or a "Serbian town" in Vienna.

Despite of better accessibility to affordable housing, even in 2014 it is still noticeable that "Yugos"⁷ are living in substandard apartments (private apartments in old houses, so called category D-without toilet in the apartment, etc-(MA17, 2104)). It is believed that those ones are coming from "gastarbeiter villages"⁸, and they are saving money for houses in homelands.

It also explains that other urban functions then housing are more important in the everyday life and image of Serbian community. Those micro-patterns in the "Balkan Street" in Vienna could be good example (Dika et al, 2011). The Ottakringer Strasse – also known as the "Balkan mile" or

⁶ in percentage even higher then London

⁷ population coming from former Yugoslavia, without countries that joined EU

⁸ Gastarbeiter villages are explained in the chapter 4.

“Balkan Strasse”, has a high concentration of “Yugo” cafes, nightclubs and small entrepreneurs. “In Western Europe, urban development is essentially structured by economic interests and communal planning within a highly formalised framework, whereas in the Balkans it is still led by family organization and shaped by a patronage economy” (Vöckler, 2009, p. 9). That is why neighbourhoods in the 17th and 16th districts of Vienna, centred along the major street Ottakringer Straße, are considered as “Yugo”, although the inhabitant concentration based on census data (housing) would be in the 15th district.

Table 1: The main micro-spatial characteristics of “Serbian/Yugo” neighbourhoods in Vienna

No	Characteristic	Description
1.	Serbian entrepreneurs: food shops, hair studios, sport shops, car shops, craft enterprises, etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • can be an efficient means of socioeconomic integration • Main contributors to image of the Balkan neighbourhoods with bilingual windows or even only one languages (Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian) as well as choice of products, etc
2.	Traditional community institutions: church, Serbian folklore clubs, official Serbian organisations, unions and society, media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional community is gathering around church and graveyard • Situated in the buildings/spaces that were not built for such purposes • Mainly imperceptible from outside/public space
3.	Representation of public function: health (dentists & doctors), transport (bus transfers), children groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elements of “parallel society” • Fragmented all over the city, building a network
4.	Open public spaces (as parks and public spaces)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-commercial places of gathering • Concentration based on ethnic background/language/religion in different areas of public spaces
5.	Night Clubs, Coffee shops & bars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainly night contributors to image of the “Loud Balkan neighbourhoods” (where the Serbian language is mainly spoken, and Turbo Folk music is mostly played.” • gathering places and informal job market • well-maintained, with some elements of extravagance

CASE 2: EASTERN SERBIA

The region of eastern Serbia geographically occupies the territory in central-eastern Serbia, next to Romanian and Bulgarian border, which is the eastern border of both Serbia and this region. Internal borders of the region in Serbia are physical and based on the major rivers – Danube in north, Velika Morava on west, and Nišava on south (Knežević, 2013). However, for the purpose of this research, it is important to use administrative units. Thus, the settlements and the municipalities in Braničevo, Bor, and Zaječar districts, as three districts which are entirely located in the region, are selected for analysis.

In relation to the rest of Serbia, analysed territory has had some very specific demographic patterns during history. For example, the high percentage of Vlach ethnic population⁹ has been always the feature of the region, especially in its mountainous areas. Then, demographic problems of low birth-rate occurred here in the first half of 20th century, i.e. earlier than in the rest of the country (Knežević, 2013). These problems, side by side with strong emigration, are very observable today. Settlements, municipalities, and districts in Eastern Serbia are demographically the most vulnerable in the country, with the huge loss of population in the last decades (SORS,

⁹ Eastern Romance-speaking peoples in the Balkans.

2011). Consequently, they strongly influence to other negative demographic trends, such as very fast population aging or unfavoured educational attainment (Kupiszewski et al, no date).

Three analysed districts are well-known in Serbia by huge contingents of both (e)migrants and repatriates from abroad¹⁰. To illustrate, 4.2% of the entire Serbian population was counted as emigrant by the last census. The five Serbian municipalities with the highest percentage of such population (>25%) were situated in these three districts (Stanković, 2015). The "recorder" among the districts in Serbia is Braničevo district, where the share of emigrant population is 21% (Stanković, 2014). Furthermore, the emigration from these districts is mainly directed to Austria and Vienna (Predojević-Despić, 2011).

Micro-spatial aspect of immigration in eastern Serbia is less scientifically covered, even though it is very unique. The first kind of adequate resources are scientific resources from other related disciplines. They usually cover the issue of "gastarbeiter villages" (Serb. Gajsterbajtersko selo / Гајстербајтерско село), which have developed in the gap between preserved traditional cultural and social patterns and fast economic transformation from foreign earnings (Božilović, 2010). First, despite their name, these villages are not settlements with immigrant population. Actually, those are settlements in Serbia where emigration is the most presented. Spatial manifestation has been the most important result of this gap, through "the external emphasis of wealth and related competition among neighbours" (Mitrović, 2015, p. 167). In accordance to this observation, these villages are the most "famous" by expensive and spacious houses and households with many decorative elements and the combination of different architectural styles, which aesthetics is very questionable (Mitrović, 2015). There are no investments directed to business in these villages. Thus, village economy is decreasing, even in the case of traditional sectors (agriculture, forestry).



Figures 7 & 8. Two examples of houses/households in Eastern Serbia, near Požarevac (Source: mondo.rs)

More often resources come from mass media in Serbia, where the topic of extravagant "gastarbeiter villages" in Eastern Serbia is very popular for broader audience. Mass media usually confronts the problem of their external extravagance with their emptiness and demographic "over-aging" in essence. Some sub-topics of such media articles are: very old population vs. general look and equipment of houses, the problem of theft in empty villages, under-utilization of spacious houses, the "aesthetics" of houses and related structures and seasonal liveability of such villages during summer holidays.

The third observation of „gastarbeiter villages“ can be achieved by the exploration of their micro-spatial patterns *in situ*. Profession engagement in urban- and spatial-planning work is very suitable for the wider analysis of these patterns¹¹. The most significant observations are shaped in the form of dominant characteristics:

¹⁰ Usually elderly and retired persons.

¹¹ The author of the paper has been involved in such work in the case of several municipalities in Eastern Serbia (Malo Crniće, Požarevac, Golubac, and Veliko Gradište).

Table 2: The main micro-spatial characteristics of „gastarbeiter villages” in Eastern Serbia

No	Characteristic	Description
1.	Settlement sprawl along main corridors	Settlements have been spread linearly, along main transport corridors. In some cases of the villages which were situated far from such corridors, the dislocation of the entire settlement has been occurred.
2.	The preservation of the symbols of traditional community	Traditional community is preserved and represented in space through main settlement traditional/religious landmarks, such village church and graveyard. They are usually well-maintained, with some elements of extravagance.
3.	The decline of public buildings	Public buildings (cultural houses, local administration) are usually in bad state and unused or insufficiently used. Schools and health stations ¹² are often in better condition, but also with problem of exceeding space.
4.	Open public spaces are neglected	The settlements in Eastern Serbia have had traditionally spontaneous spatial development. This occasion have caused the problems with narrow and wiggly streets and the absence of real squares. Thus, the important of open public space has not been important for local population. Finally, the influx of earnings from emigrants has not improved its shape and design.
5.	Extravagant and spacious houses and households	Being the main symbol of the economic progress of a family, houses and households are usually expensive and spacious with many decorative elements and the combination of different architectural styles, which aesthetics is very questionable.
6.	The gap in quality between public infrastructure and related private equipment	The extravagant and spacious houses are usually well-equipped with up-to-date installations. Besides everyday installations, some unnecessary and status-related installations can be found, such as interphones and ambient lightening. Oppositely, public infrastructure in villages is in relatively bad state. Some types of the infrastructure do not exist. For instance, village water system is underdeveloped in many cases. The lack of canalisation is evident in all villages.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper was to open the debate on spatial patterns of “migrant culture” and their urban representations. Urban patterns of Serbian migrants were taken as base for research on those complex spaces and understand how they are interconnected. Through the case studies of Vienna as receiving city and “gastarbeiter villages” in Eastern Serbia as sending settlements, there are several connections that could be established in this paper.

Open public spaces as places for socialization in the case of Vienna are in direct connection with customs from homelands. Traditional village culture was more linked with natural places (fields, forests) and house yards than to open public space in villages. This stance has been spatially preserved in the unorganized network of streets and other open public spaces in the villages in Eastern Serbia. In Vienna, the deficiency or the inadequateness of natural places and yards for socialization has been transferred to open public places as new “meeting points”. Moreover, their attention is also addressed to the church as a trusted institution. Therefore, local churches and graveyards are usually well-maintained, and have also symbolic and representative function.

The most noticeable feature is certainly housing. It seems that Serbian emigrants, who often live in substandard housing in Vienna, tend to replace this unenviable position with the extravagance of their houses in their settlements of origin. Serbian immigrants are main working power in Vienna and Serbian emigrants are the main investors in in Eastern Serbia. This opens a question of long how to manage long time development in both cases. For example, Vienna has started recently with social inclusion through public housing and the results are still modest. In the case

¹² Particularly due to older population.

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of sending settlement – villages in Eastern Serbia, general problem with weak economy and the lack of entrepreneurship can be observed as the main element for action.

The concept of "Migrants as a bridge between the cities" (IOM, 2015, p. 146) could be also applied to Serbian Diaspora, and could contribute on future research on spatial relations between Serbian homeland and Serbian emigration, as well on its development.

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