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Eva Vaništa Lazarević

Urban regeneration tools (city branding) in Belgrade after the democratic change in 2000 – social frame

Introduction

Serbia's capital Belgrade received in the past decade one of the best 'presents' it has ever received in its turbulent history: a brand name. This developed both spontaneously and naturally. The city went in the span of just a couple of years from having a terrible image to one of quality, interest and recognition.

Despite several Hollywood thrillers which tried to cast the Serbs as the 'baddies', or the main negative protagonists (a role inherited by the Russians) fighting against the good and noble US soldiers, a few pleasantly unexpected events occurred fortunately for Serbia during the transition period after 2000. A diverse mix of positive circumstances helped play their part in order to enhance these favourable outcomes.

If we look to the past, one that varies in comparison to other eastern European countries, Serbia and the Western Balkan region had the misfortune of living through an entire decade of cruel civil wars (1991-1999). This resulted in a long period of transition (1989-2000) from one system to another, namely to liberal capitalism.

The transition towards the liberalisation began after a dictatorial period lasting over five decades and ending in a period of postponed 'heroism', full of controversy. It was marked by a lack of strict laws and a laid back attitude of the state regarding the societal order. This prevailed until the tragic events of 2003, when the Prime Minister, the very person who liberated the country from the previous ruler, was assassinated. The ministries were occupied by new politicians, who came for the most part from the governmental institutions and lacked any real political experience. These individuals gelled well with the repositioned moral values of the society. Some political leaders came from

abroad, after receiving an education far from home, and were unversed in the local happenings. Unexpectedly, they met in their new posts with individuals who can be defined as inexperienced local 'revolutionaries'. This multi-party system helped to establish quickly a brand new and fresh society.

A whole decade after the Czech Velvet Revolution, the bloody fall of Ceausescu and just a few years before Bulgaria and Romania traced their road towards the EU integration Serbia found itself in 2000 in the middle of a whirlpool, crammed full of huge social reforms.

Analysing Serbia's social framework by that time seems to be a daunting task: The huge number of refugees migrating from Bosnia and Croatia changed completely the social structure in Serbia. The brutal behaviour of local soldiers, returning home after the war, very nearly became the norm. The young and middle aged intellectuals fled as far away as possible from the overcrowded country and the local media, with its newly gained freedom, misused their position and popularised this kind of behaviour, allowing it to further poison the country's already weak social structure. What is more, the crime, the drug trafficking and the corruption, penetrated all the social strata.

Still, the lively lifestyle of the Serbian metropolis has morphed to offer an amazing and mischievous nightlife taking place on countless raft water clubs and great local restaurants. This has given the City of Belgrade its spontaneous and famous image of being the European equivalent to Las Vegas or, even a 'sin city'. This is a place where everything seemed to be allowed, a place accessible for everyone. It is not only the mentality of the local population which defined this observation. It was also due to a set of circumstances, which give momentum to the local patriotism felt by its inhabitants, pushing the city to stand once again proud on its own two feet.

The City of Budapest has put for example a great amount of effort to invent and promote its image of being a gourmet's dream destination, as well as having a fantastic nightlife. The City of Sofia has done the same with its well-known "free spirit" slogan, promoting various forms of entertainment available. Belgrade, however, if we look at statistics, has taken over the role of the 'Kingdom of the Balkans' with regards to the opportunity for fun affordable for foreigners, with an environment that has a relatively blasé attitude towards a strict sense of order, but is still relatively safe. In the meantime, Belgrade's fresh creative community has once again spontaneously built all sorts of cultural amenities, which are both alternative and mainstreaming. The free spirited atmosphere resulting from the democratic changes that had taken place in the region, encouraged the free thought, a main characteristic of the cities we consider creative. Within only a few short years, Belgrade became famous for its affordable nightlife, liberated from the type of order which characterises western European countries. This image caught the attention of the tourism economy, which then led to economic regeneration. Economic prosperity

was generated independently, naturally, without any strategic assistance. The positive image of an easy and 'cool' place encouraging the organisation of events famous all over the globe, like EXIT, or people like the champion tennis player Novak Đoković whose success in his field has turned his name into a worldwide brand, a brand positively associated with the City of Belgrade and Serbia. The city's positive image change, or its new brand name happened more naturally and less strategically, which is a rather unusually occurrence, one that is rarely achieved with success. Plus, although the word, 'cool' is not strictly synonymous with 'good', it possesses a bit of the 'let's be naughty' in it: i.e. liberated from discipline and strict order.

Guidelines: urban regeneration tool and city branding

The image of a fresh capitalistic and consumer-oriented nation was soiled at the beginning due to its loaded role during the civil war. However, things began slowly to change in the first decade of the new millennium. The *city branding*, an important tool in the urban regeneration process was so present that we could almost feel it in the air, throughout the short period of a mere decade. However, it was not without its difficulties.

The city of Belgrade, with its population of almost 2 million, did its best to pass several steps in managing the newly gained position of a liberated metropolis faced with increasing social and urban issues. The author of this paper became a member of the City Council of Belgrade in November 2000, immediately after the Democratic change and the circumstances surrounding it.

Certain innovations were implemented from the moment the collaboration began on urban planning. In the euphoric post-revolutionary spirit and the four years afterwards, a great number of plans for the urban redevelopment and regeneration were established and implemented, from detailed regulation plans to regional ones. A new Plan for the General Regulation of Belgrade 2025 was adopted as well. Some new experts were invited by the municipal government to lead the process: the architects Vuk Đurović, Đorđe Bobić and Ljuba Anđelković, who took the role of the Head of the Commissions for Urban Planning. Thanks to their rich practical experience in urbanism and architecture and their persistence and drive, they were successful in categorising efficiently the many questions related to urbanism that remained open, bringing some sense of order and helping to prevent the expected chaos that was to be permeated by the city under its new leadership.

But the avalanche of events that occurred was greater than any law could prevent. The whole new illegal slums sprung up and were then wiped out in the late 1990s. The federal government's standpoint was, without any thought of the consequences, that this should all be accepted in order to help those forced to migrate into the country. Even today, the millions of square meters of illegally built neighbourhoods, full of unsuitable buildings and other structures,

like Kotež, Banjica, Jajinci, Altina (near Zemun), Medaković 3, Kaluđerica and Mirijevo can be seen throughout the city. Furthermore, some entire areas like Voždovac, Vračar and even Dedinje have increased due to the illegal building additions by 'faux' contractors, a trend which was impossible to stop all at once. This trend was able to go on due to impunity, giving the locals the 'green light' to do the same. It was the grave consequence of the state and the city's relaxed attitudes towards the critical social migration issue.

Another example of inappropriate construction is the Pink TV's building. The building grew under the influence of the previous (autocratic) ruler and was used as their main propaganda machine. Strangely enough, after the fall of Milošević, Pink continued to work and to grow, it was business as usual. Those now in charge located it on the best plot of land in Dedinje's residential neighbourhood and built a huge, utterly unsuitable in both form and in size building without the necessary permissions. Later on, with the help of persons with influence, the particular building received all the necessary construction permissions. Even worse, it became a model for future construction of raw, doubtful aesthetics, a display of arrogance.

Nevertheless, let's revert back to the relevant methods of urban regeneration offered. According to Prilenska,¹ the methods are the *Experience city* founding on the cultural and architectural heritage, the *Creative city* founding on the arts and finally the *Flagship 'mega' projects*. Both the *Experience* and *Creative cities* can be recognised as the main tools or factors used to brand a city, while the *Flagship mega projects* seem to be démodé. The international experience recognises that a strategy based just on one mega project is in the periods of economic crisis not opportune, as its purpose and expenses cannot be certainly defined.

The fashionable landscape and how to achieve it?

An enormous and somewhat ruthless struggle is currently taking place in the cities of Western Europe and the US as a result of the 'fashionable landscaping'. *Fashionable landscape* is perceived as the highest mark of excellence giving the city an image of success and is the final goal in the city branding.

The two main branches² towards the primarily goal of achieving a better urban image are the *spatial* and *non-spatial* ones. The *spatial* aspect includes the classical redevelopment or upgrading of the city landscape and of the infrastructure, while the *non-spatial* aspects focus according to Kavaratzis on the *structure* and *behaviour*.

The *structure* contains the community network, the public participation and the public-private partnerships. The *behaviour* deals more with the financial incentives, the service provision and most important, the event organisation. At that point we approach the creative aspect and incorporate the culture and

the arts. The final result of the various stages of city branding is certainly the improvement of the urban tourism, which depends on the previously stated factors. This means that the final scope of our goal is to achieve definitively the economic layer of urban regeneration, i.e. the economic regeneration.

The secondary approach implies the direct promotion or advertising, while the tertiary one relies on the word of mouth, reinforced by media, which is rather uncontrollable. The third one is extremely important in Belgrade's case, because the spontaneous and relatively fast upgrade of the city's image after 2000 relies in fact upon the word of mouth, the positive recommendations incl. the recommendations posted in the social network sites. The target group for the flagship strategy "cool nightlife" in Belgrade's brand is young, flexible and constantly on move from place to place.

The *creative cities* show a high concentration of creative economic outcome and rely on having a lot of creative groups present (human resources), and can overlap with those in the *experienced cities*, but they can also stand alone in a relict area, devoid of any architectural heritage, as it is the case of Savamala presented in this paper. Nevertheless, *experience cities* can stagnate if there isn't enough 'life' in them (for example, the Strahinjića Bana Street, treated in this paper too). The best results for city branding come through the combination of both: *creative* and *experienced*.

Three case studies of branded neighbourhoods in Belgrade after 2000

Belgrade's successful branding story is unique and rare and comes about without the help of the strategic marketing, clever politics or intentions. All of Kavaratizis' previous mentioned characteristics, point out that this is closely linked to the non-spatial models of city branding: *structure* and *behaviour*. It involves all the impact of the human resources, the role played by the behaviour of the public, the social networks, the word of mouth marketing, the advertising and the events organisation by public-privat partnership and/or the agencies involved. The transparency is a necessity for the urban regeneration, for the purpose of rebranding a city, or for achieving a fashionable urban landscaping. In the *creative city* paradigm the fashionable urban landscaping strengthens the city's competitive advantage, while in the *experience city* paradigm the urban quality is a key attraction factor. The *flagship project* approach is seen as an old-fashioned method, but remains rather significant.

The experience city: Strahinjića Bana Street

One of the reasons of Belgrade's turbulent history is the location on the confluence of the rivers Sava and Danube, regarded as a focal point in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the point of East-West meeting in the psychological and geographical sense. Belgrade possesses as an old European city a cultural heritage, famous for the important historic roles it has played: the core of the



Fig. 1
Strahinjića Bana Street, Dorćol, Jewish neighbourhood.
(<http://www.nadlanu.com/ostalo/adresar/kafici/Kafic-Insomnia.d-1650.161.html>)

prehistoric Vinča culture, a border stronghold of the Roman empire and a place, where several cultures and religions mixed during the five centuries of Ottoman rule and afterwards, as the border to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Therefore, those passing through and the turbulent changes that occurred traced indeed the main characteristic of this interesting and loaded spot. The fact that there has never been a period of more than 30 years between wars says a lot about Belgrade's history and explains all its characteristics and the drama that has made the city what it is today.

Belgrade's Jewish neighbourhood, Dorćol, with its traditional, mainly 19th century academician and neo-styles architecture, is a popular place today for both the city's inhabitants and the tourists. The experiences and memories of the past strongly impact the atmosphere. The Strahinjića Bana Street is ironically referred as the *Silicon Valley* because of the negative, but at the same time popular association with the type of young women who frequent the local bars, cafés and restaurants. It has become a trend setting spot where the new, post-war 'high' society consisting of profiteers and dubious business people in their expensive cars come to play after dark. The girls, however, are not prostitutes in the traditional sense, but are rather dependant on the wealthy businessmen, becoming their short-term companions, girlfriends or in some cases even wives. This sociological phenomenon is the result of the poverty of the eastern European countries, where it became very quickly a kind of business for women, showing the depressive and gloomy side of the society.

Dorćol with its target group of wealthy 'nouveau riche', but sometimes dangerous patrons is totally different from the other *creative city* case Savamala. Despite being famous for its beautiful architectural heritage and its status as the historical city core, deprived and neglected at the turn of the century, it still managed to produce a unique and interesting place for the 'easy going' day and nightlife. The post-transitional society explodes refreshed by the liberal capitalism with its ideas promoting the *easy life of golden youth* as already seen in Cuba in the 1950s, in Big Gatsby's New York of the 1930s or in Moscow of Beigbeder's novels of the late 1990s.

The tourism flourished in this period, because every post-war visitor wanted to enjoy and to take a photo of the extremely showy cars and the crowds of beautiful women in Strahinjića Bana Street, and than to see some counterparts, such as the sad remains in Kneza Miloša Street, left after the bombing in 1999.

Bayreuth's post-war image of Europe from the same year is, unfortunately, one of the sad aspects of the Belgrade brand that everyone wants to see, which is a phenomenon reminding the decadence at the end of the Roman Empire. The war-tourism has become trendy all over Europe and was a 'fashionable' way to spend one's time, visiting sharp and dangerous places like Chechnya or the Middle East. The smell, the feeling of insecurity and the novelty of a place yet to be explored also adds spice to Belgrade's image.

Due to the huge impoverishment of the people it has become nowadays rather tasteless to spend time sitting in cafés. The Strahinjića Bana Street is losing slowly its significance. The Sava river raft restaurants and nightclubs and even *Beton hala*, a former industrial facility adapted to accommodate trendy restaurants, have all dealt a final blow to Strahinjića Bana's image. Its reputation of a nightlife place has moved on to other areas of the city. Neither the significance nor the importance of its cultural heritage was enough to save the street. It seems the *experience city model of city branding* alone is not enough as a trigger to revitalise a neighbourhood.

The creative city: Belgrade's Savamala

Belgrade's Savamala area is elected as a case study for the *creative city model* because it's a rare phenomenon: it shows how sometimes a huge gap can be overleaped: a poor area, with a lack of valuable architectural heritage is increasing to an extremely attractive tourist spot, due solely to the creative industries presence. An important fact is its social framework and its creativity happening even under the poor economic conditions. The district, which is one of Belgrade's oldest neighbourhoods and the previous industrial port, officially opened its doors to welcome the tourists last year. Savamala (in Serbian 'Little Sava') presents rare remains of cultural heritage by some Ottoman relicts and historical buildings from the 19th and early 20th century. A lot of historical buildings were completely destroyed in the WW II, first by the Germans in 1941 and once again by the allied forces in 1944.

Savamala's dramatic and martyred history as well as the remaining, yet deteriorated architecture is what attracts people to the area. Perhaps we can compare it to East Berlin after 1989. Built as an industrial port on the Sava River during the Ottoman rule, it establishes in the 19th century as a trade and market centre, well-known for its talented craftsmen. The port experiences dramatic historical ups and downs. Many of the visitors have today the opportunity to hear interesting stories and myths and to become acquainted with Savamala's creative and cultural image. The *non-spatial* type of branding can easily be noticed here. The current most popular Belgrade tour is particularly focused on the cultural spots which sprung up over the last decade and which are based on the promotion of the creative industries: the Cultural Centre Grad, the Mikser house, the jazz and nightclubs and the designer collections presented in creative hubs contribute to the rebirth of



the formerly deprived neighbourhood. The cultural events and places happen spontaneously the last decade and create a cultural hub with a rather interesting and alternative approach. The target group: hipsters, low income 20-somethings, as well as trendy, middle aged professionals give the area a new age urban spirit, far from the spirit of Strahinjića Bana Street at the early 1990s.



The economically and socially disadvantaged Savamala had a bad reputation to shelter the city's prostitutes and criminals. Many buildings were and are still vacant. Karađođeva Street, formerly one of Belgrade's most glamorous streets, is still serving today as one of the main traffic arteries used by semis and other transport vehicles, creating incredible noise and air pollution.



The prospect of some parts of Belgrade to become "creative districts or hubs", business and tourist attractions, surprised even the most imaginative urban planners. The individual and cultural initiatives, such as the Cultural Centre Grad, the Mikser Festival, or the Design Incubator Nova Iskra were the real forerunners on this new path. Throughout their unconventional 'step by step' acting and the renunciation of any plans or public financial support, the individual activities succeeded in resisting and overcoming all obstacles. Certain individuals, like the architects Nemanja Petrović and Nina Mitranic from the Savski Venac community, to which a part of Savamala belongs, helped supporting the process.

Fig. 2, 3, 4
Savamala neighbourhood.
(www.goethe.de/ins/cs/bel/prj/uic/prj/slu/enindex.htm)

The cultural and design-led regeneration has reached, without any initial strategic prospective, results of high quality. That being said, there are still many unresolved issues of property ownership due to the inefficient local courts (one example being denationalisation). Savamala's future prospects, however, are unpredictable. The experience from the late 1990s onwards has shown that the combination of authorities of little influence and of powerful tycoons supported by even more powerful politicians will leave too little space left over for the social and cultural re-development of Savamala, despite the

fantastic efforts of the people with vision, whose spontaneous actions have been breathing life in the neighbourhood. It seems that a number of Serbian tycoons as well as several war profiteers and people engaged in shady business have, in secret, become property owners in Savamala. They have purchased property at extremely low prices and are now waiting for the future gentrification of the entire area, to make profit. The economists say that the limited public resources, the urgent needed investments in the infrastructure and the current financial crisis have contributed to the collapse of the real estate market in Serbia as well as to the sudden halt of investments after April 2010. Still, Serbia's tycoons have already managed to secure successfully great investments in this area.

Savamala sits today restless between the former and the current political climate, each struggling for supremacy. Both offer good conditions and alternative forms and approaches on how to revitalise the city's quarter but only on 'short-term lease' to those individual enthusiasts who dare to take the plunge.

The flagship project: Belgrade on the water³

The Serbian government launched in collaboration with an investment fund from Dubai the *flagship mega project* "Belgrade on the Water" presented to the public in 2014 and introduced by a huge media campaign. The urban renewal project aims to create a new business hub in Belgrade, with the intention of giving some hope to the people in times of economic difficulties and a disaster-stricken country. About 1.5 million m² are to be built up within the framework of the project. What makes the project so unique is that the new buildings are situated right along the banks of Sava, the area referred to by the *Sava amphitheatre*. The extremely desirable location has gone in the past through several unsuccessful renewal attempts. The first step to be overcome is to clear the land and to prepare it for the urban development. Thanks to a loan from the Kuwait Fund amounting to € 25 million, it will become possible to complete the works on the new, relocated railway station. The investors hope, the 'overly ambitious' considering Serbia's current situation project will be implemented within five to six construction phases. The first phase consists of building a huge shopping mall and a tower. Mohamed Alabbar, the investor famous for the skyscraper Burj Khalifa in Dubai, has estimated the investment volume on € 2.5 to 2.8 billion.

Fig. 5
Flagship projects: Belgrade on the water.



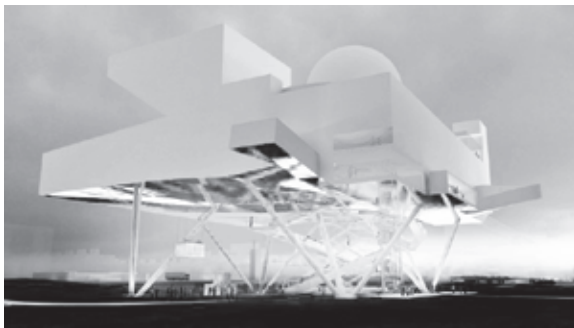


Fig. 6, 7
Flagship projects: Belgrade on the water.

The project proposed by foreign architects without any local impact has provoked a lot of negative public attention. Both the public and the architectural professionals are opposed to the project. The self-satisfied vibe of those who presented this project, not chosen from an open, international competition, but rather imposed and elected by politicians, provoked general disapproval from the public. The purpose of the development project is to create a multi-functional complex with luxury hotels, trade and business premises and exclusive apartments overlooking the Sava River. The disapproval of the public continues to grow, as the general opinion is that this type of development is inappropriate and unnecessary, considering the country's terrible social situation. Some brave enough to step forward institutions and local NGOs like the Ministry of Regional Development and the Architect's Society objected very publicly. Their main concerns being: the absence of decisions made locally, the absence of transparency in the decision-making process and the urban and architectural concept worked out without the launch of an international competition or the participation of the local architects.

One of the arguments for this type of investment, which represents a possible way to a successful city branding, is that the Serbian capital boasts a very favourable and well connected geographic position in South-Eastern Europe. However, even an expensive flagship strategy has the possibility of misleading, especially when those who present the main triggers for such a development evade both the public and the professional community by failing to fully engage and inform the locals in the process.

There are more flagship projects on hold in Belgrade today: the new *Beton hala renewal project* and the *Centre for the promotion of science* project in New Belgrade, both elected after competing in large international competitions. Also, several brownfield locations receive (still in the project phase) a new image: the *New Mill* near Mostar Bridge, the *Luka Beograd* and the Danube River regeneration project. Neither of these flagship projects received as high marketing boost as the *Belgrade on the water*.

The stakeholders in the urban regeneration process, local agencies: URA

After two decades of urban regeneration experience in Europe, several conclusions can be made which help us to empower this method in order to achieve cultural sustainability and to promote the city branding and the city's competitiveness:

- A ministry or at least an agency responsible for urban regeneration⁴ must be established in order to create and regulate procedures.
- A strategic plan of the redevelopment areas and the incorporation of the gentrification and regeneration into legislation.
- The culture design-led regeneration presents successful and relatively quick results.
- The main concepts we focus on are primarily sustainable designs of high quality supporting the urban identity.

By the new and improved models, known as the Renaissance Process, happening now in Great Britain, we can highlight the general guidelines, which are commonly used today global:

- The public-private partnership is a smart and successful way of organising the regeneration process.
- A master plan is needed for all public regeneration projects.
- All the regeneration projects must be the subject of public, national or international design competitions.
- A National Urban Design Framework must be established with key design principles integrated into the planning guidelines.
- The local architectural centres and communities must be involved on a national level to promote urban regeneration projects and to disseminate information, engaging the public.

The experience tells us that the influence of the so-called "active protection of the cultural heritage" is crucial. This includes respecting heritage and building around it, in such a way that fits in with the life of a city and/or its regeneration process. The changing of the function and the interpolation of the old urban fabric and its mighty and prominent architecture is a process meant to draw the capital into the neglected areas, making them desirable and justifiable.

The author of this paper formed in 2003 one of the first NGOs in Serbia which concerned itself with urban issues. The Association for Urban Reconstruction (URA) focused on establishing the collaboration between the City Hall and the University of Belgrade with its experts and the investors and sponsors. It was founded following the European model, including a well focused team of experts, ready to provide know-how.

The URA was created to be flexible, a small organisation consisting of post graduate professionals (with the aim of avoiding length and drawn-out red tape) and invited experts to solve specific issues in accordance with their particular

field of expertise. The URA's structure could not fall as a non-profit organisation a victim to corruption. The URA was initially organised to be the promoter of city branding and the initiator of the urban regeneration. Their experts were meant to provide plans and projects for urban renewal. Their methods were formed in accordance with successful and well documented case studies and models from all over the globe. They were to invite possible investors and other organisations to help finance the renewal of particular areas of the City of Belgrade. They were created as an open, transparent association, one that was considered an incorrupt trigger for the urban regeneration process. Unfortunately, this model was never implemented in our society. After several unsuccessful attempts, it seems that this type of organisation would serve only to disrupt the status quo: trigger – federal government – private investors – urban regeneration process.

Conclusion

For a healthy society it is important to educate future stakeholders to lead and promote urban regeneration projects. The principles of city branding observed in this paper, the *Experience city*, the *Creative City* and the *Flagship projects* can be used in order to promote regeneration projects. The advantages and disadvantages as well as the potentials and possibilities are shown in a table. We can conclude that each of the several principles mentioned has more or less potential and good and not so good characteristics. We can suggest they be mixed and overlapped in order to better each individual method, creating one that has more drive and is more efficient. The competition between the European cities has never been so fierce. We cannot rely on spontaneity and natural processes, believing in good-fortune. In order to become a city that can compete with the other great cities of Europe we have to use all the tools we have available at our disposal.

We must take full responsibility in this matter as well, by making all information accessible for the public and to hire local professionals.⁵ Only a well prepared organisation, competing through international architectural competitions can provide the best possible designs, which are crucial to the urban regeneration process.

The fact that the public-private partnerships or the NGOs, such as the URA, which are most needed in Serbia's urban regeneration, have to become part of the framework of recommended guidelines in this process is an indication for the still somehow chaotic situation in the country. So many activities analysed in this paper were done on an ad hoc basis is a proof that the complex urban regeneration is not under control as it should be. The mixed combination of social unreset, economic disaster and political transitions which began in the 1990s and still continue today, have resulted in a serious lack of strategy, discipline and total disregard of the rules. Belgrade's *city branding* happened as a result of luck or spontaneity and not within the framework of rules and

regulations and certainly without a strategy. An important tool in urban regeneration is the expertise of the local professionals and the implementation of the international one. As for us, the professionals, it is up to us to implement proven and new strategies and to persist, despite the less than desirable current climate.

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- 1 Prilenska, Viktorija: City Branding as a Tool for Urban Regeneration: Towards a Theoretical Framework, in: *Architecture and Urban Planning*, 2012/6 pp. 12-16.
 - 2 Kavaratzis, Ashworth: City Branding: an Affective assertion of identity or a transitory marketing trick?, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 2005, No 96, pp. 506-514.
 - 3 <https://www.wieninternational.at/.../belgrade-on-water>.
 - 4 The NGO called the *Agency for Urban Regeneration* (URA) began operating in July 2004 under No. 6903, Reg. No. 2494 and protected as 'intellectual property;', under the leadership of the Author of this paper. It was the first NGO to focus on urban issues in Serbia.
 - 5 Dr Keith Dinnie: *City Branding: Theory and Cases*; www.amazon.co.uk.