

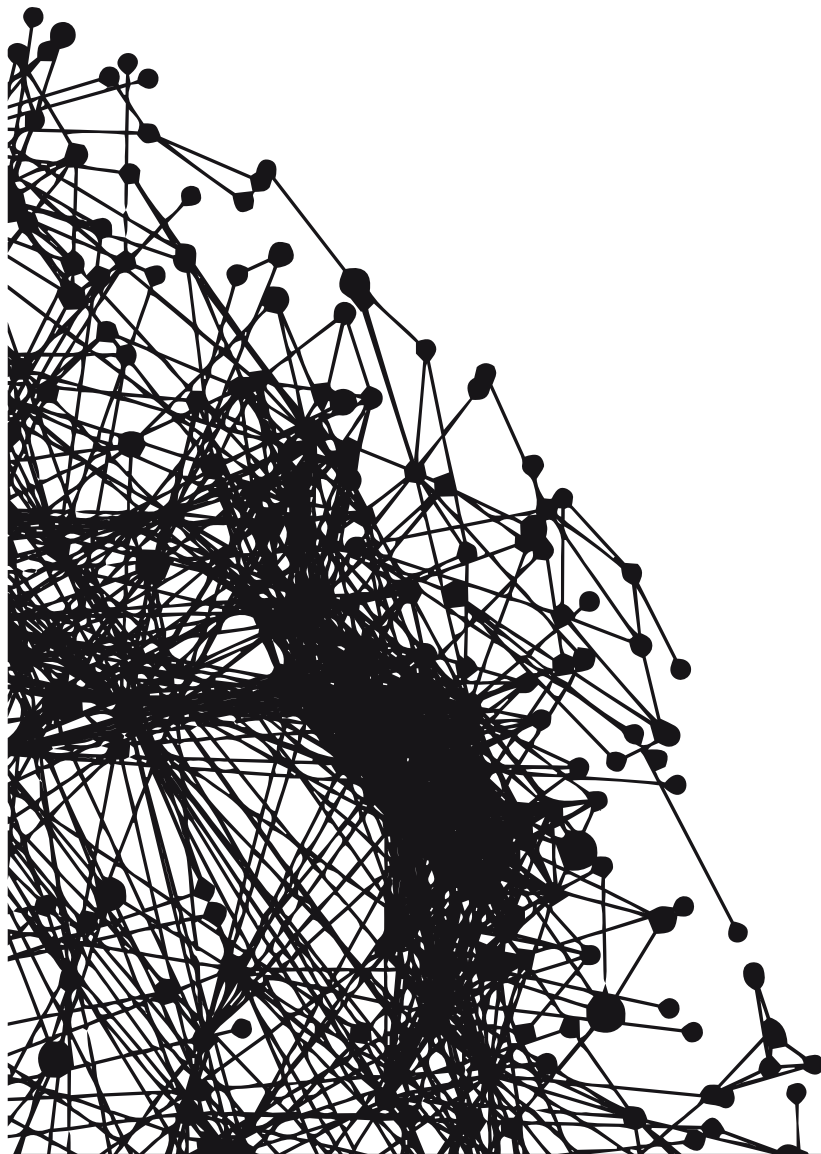
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PLACES AND TECHNOLOGIES 2014

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Eva Vaništa Lazarević, Aleksandra Đukić,
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CONTENTS

PART I: URBANISM

Urban planning and technologies

OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO GROWTH

Stephen Platt 16

URBAN CHALLENGES OF ENERGY EFFICIENCY AND CONTEXT-SENSITIVE PLANNING APPROACHES IN BULGARIA

Elena Dimitrova 25

NEW URBAN PROTOCOLS FOR FRAGMENTED TERRITORIES _ THE EXAMPLE OF WESTERN THESSALONIKI

Styliani Rossikopoulou-Pappa, Valia Fragkia 33

A FEASIBILITY STUDY FOR A TECHNOLOGICAL PARK IN FALCONARA MARITTIMA AN, ITALY

Giovanni Sergi 41

SAVING URBAN PLANNING FROM ANOTHER UTOPIAN MODEL

Danijela Milojkić, Marija Maruna 48

THE IMPLICATIONS OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY ON THE PERCEPTION OF CENTRALITY

Mihai Alexandru, Cătălina Ioniță 56

TECHNOLOGY AND LANDSCAPE: REDUCE, REUSE AND RECYCLE THE MINING DROSSCAPES

Nicola Martinelli, Francesco Marocco, Alessandro Reina, Maristella Loi, Federica Greco 63

THE ILLEGAL SETTLEMENTS IN BELGRADE VS. TAMING CITY GROWTH: CASE STUDY OF BELGRADE

Biserka Mitrović, Miodrag Ralević, Branislav Antonić 71

IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN URBAN PLANNING

Tamara Tošić 78

CONCEPT OF URBAN VILLAGE: THE APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPT AS A FOUNDATION FOR NEW TYPOLOGY OF URBAN VILLAGES

Branislav Antonić 85

RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY OF URBAN SYSTEMS. A METHODOLOGICAL PROPOSAL FOR SEISMIC RISK MITIGATION

Rigels Pirgu 94

Urban design and technologies

PUBLIC PLACES AND SPLIT DEVELOPMENT MODEL Višnja Kukoč	103
AGILE LANDSCAPES: REDESIGNING URBAN SPACE Anastasios Tellios, Despoina Zavraka	110
PLANNING AND DESIGNING SAFE AND SECURE OPEN PUBLIC SPACES IN SERBIA Svetlana Stanarević, Aleksandra Djukic	118
SPATIAL AND FUNCTIONAL TRANSFORMATION OF BUSINESS AREAS UNDER THE IMPACT OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES – CASE STUDY OF NIŠ ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT Aleksandar Ristić, Petar Mitković	130
THE IMPACT OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES ON CITY ACUPUNCTURE METHODOLOGY AND INTERVENTIONS Kristina Careva, Rene Lisac	138
COMFORT OF OPEN PUBLIC SPACES: CASE STUDY NEW BELGRADE Aleksandra Djukic, Nevena Novakovic	145
005 PUBLIC ART IN BERLIN Biljana Arandjelovic	151
PROTECTION OF PERSON WHIT DISABILITIES: IMPLEMENTATION OF ACCESSIBILITY STANDARDS Dragana Vasiljevic Tomic, Radojko Obradović	160
VERTICAL PUBLIC SPACE Sorana Cornelia Radulescu, Roger Riewe	167
READY-AVAILABLE HYBRID METHODOLOGIES FOR CONTEMPORARY PUBLIC SPACE RESEARCH Milena Ivkovic, Berit Piepgras, Robin van Emden	175
RETAIL – NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND URBAN CENTRALITY Martin Brabant	181
TECHNOLOGY AND NEOLIBERAL URBAN PLACES Marija Cvjetković	191
NEURAL CITIES OR HOW CITIES TEACH US TO DESIGN THEM BETTER Angelica Stan	198
MORPHOLOGICAL AND TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF GREEN STREET FORMS: MLADEN STOJANOVIC STREET IN BANJA LUKA Tanja Trkulja	206

Urban regeneration and technology

PROPERTY ISSUES IN THE TURKISH URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS

Mehmet Çete, Yunus Konbul 215

URBAN ENERGY AND URBAN REGENERATION STRATEGIES: EVALUATION OF IZMIR-UZUNDERE URBAN REGENERATION PROJECT

Yakup Egercioğlu, Çilem Türkmen 222

THE EMPTY URBAN SPACES AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CITY TO REINVENT ITSELF: THE CASE OF THE INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGICAL OBSOLETENESS

Cătălina Ioniță, Mihai Alexandru 230

ENHANCEMENT OF URBAN LIFE QUALITY IN URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS: IZMIR-BAYRAKLI URBAN REGENERATION PROJECT

Yakup Egercioğlu, Tuğçe Ertan 238

THE INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS WHICH USED IN SAUDI ARABIA AND SUSTAINABILITY

Wael Al-Buzz 246

AN OVERVIEW OF URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS IN TURKEY

Yunus Konbul, Mehmet Çete 257

ART AND CULTURE AS INITIATORS OF ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN SAVAMALA

Ksenija Pantović, Iva Čukić, Jasna Kavran 265

Smart cities/regions and network protocols

SMART CITY GRAZ: FROM THE VISION TO THE ACTION

Carlos Varela Martín, Ernst Rainer, Hans Schnitzer 276

RESIDENTS INTERACTION WITH HOME RESOURCES

Cerasela Dinu, Constantin-Daniel Oancea 285

RENEWABLE AND DISTRIBUTED SOURCES WITHIN SMART ENERGY REGIONS

Jovan Todorovic 293

THE SMART CITY FOR THE FUTURE. HOW A SPATIALLY ENABLED AFFECTED BY THE URBAN POPULATION?

Shahryar Habibi 300

PERFORMANCE EVALUATION OF ROUTING PROTOCOLS FOR AD-HOC NETWORKS

Ledina Karteri, Valma Prifti 306

SMART CITIES AND CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINABILITY	
Rigels Pirgu	315
A FUZZY BASED CALL CONTROL SYSTEM IN MOBILE NETWORKS, CONSIDERING PRIORITY COMMUNICATIONS	
Valma Prifti, Ledina Karteri	323
Historical centers, Building heritage and Technologies	
ICT AND VGI TO PROMOTE MINOR HISTORIC CENTRES AND THEIR LANDSCAPE	
Pierangela Loconte, Francesco Rotondo	331
THE SUSTAINABILITY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT	
Christian Kersten Hofbauer, Elham Madadi Kandjani, Jean Marie Corneille Meuwissen	339
CONCEPTS OF FORMING OF URBAN SOLUTIONS IN HOUSING SETTLEMENTS IN BELGRADE BUILT IN PRECAST INDUSTRIALIZED SYSTEMS IN SECOND HALF OF XX CENTURY	
Dragana Mecanov	346
NEW ARCHITECTURE IN HISTORICAL CENTRES	
Alessandro Bruccoleri	355
INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES TO IMPROVE THE KNOWLEDGE OF PLACES. THE ROME HISTORICAL CENTRE AS A CASE STUDY	
Francesca Geremia	363
CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS IN HISTORIC PLACES _ THE EXAMPLE OF THESSALONIKI METRO	
Stavros Apotsos	372
Image and Identity of place	
THE IMAGE OF TRIFKOVIĆ SQUARE (NOVI SAD, SERBIA) THEN AND NOW	
Ivana Blagojević, Ksenija Hiel	380
IDENTITY OF NEW MEDIA SPACES	
Jelena Brajković, Lidija Đokić	388
THESSALONIKI: A MULTICULTURAL ARCHITECTURAL DESTINATION	
Niki Manou-Andreadis, Maria Milona	400
ELEMENTS OF IDENTITY AND UNUSED POTENTIALS OF CENTRAL ZONE IN NOVI SAD	
Milena Krklješ, Dijana Apostolović, Aleksandra Milinković	408

BELGRADE SKYLINE: CONTINUITY, PARADOXES & DESIRES Vladimir Milenković, Snežana Vesnić, Tatjana Stratimirović	416
CITY OF THE MIND - INVISIBLE IN THE MAP Jelena Stankovic, Milenko Stankovic	424
WHAT MAKES A PLACE? Saskia I. de Wit, Denise Piccinini	432
SUSTAINABILITY, IDENTITY AND ROLE OF TRADITIONAL MATERIALS Olivera Ilić Martinović, Mirjana Miletić	441
IDENTITY OF URBAN SPACES; ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION Elham Madadi-Kandjani, Christian Kersten Hofbauer, Jean Marie Corneille Meuwissen	448
IMAGE OF SUSTAINABLE PLACES Vladimir Parežanin, Miloš Mihajlović	456
PRESERVATION OF IDENTITY OF SPACE WITHIN RAPID ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TOURIST DESTINATIONS IN THE EXAMPLE OD JIJOCA DE JERICOACOARA IN BRAZIL Maja Momirov	469
 PART II: ARCHITECTURE AND TECHNOLOGIES	
Sustainability, Sustainable buidings and technologies	
SUSTAINABLE RETROFITTING OF EXISTING AND HISTORIC BUILDINGS Marina Traykova, Tanya Chardakova	477
OSMOTIC LANDSCAPES - RECOVERED IDENTITIES Venetia Tsakalidou, Anastasia Papadopoulou	485
DESIGN SCENARIOS FOR AN OFFICE BUILDING – ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS Aleksandra Krstic-Furundzic, Tatjana Kosic	493
TECHNOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS OF RAPID HOUSING CONSTRUCTION Nikola Macut, Bojana Stanković, Nataša Ćuković-Ignjatović	507
ENERGY ANALYSIS AND REFURBISHMENT STRATEGY FOR ZAGREB UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS: FORMER FACULTY OF TECHNOLOGY IN ZAGREB BY ALFRED ALBINI Stanka Ostojić, Zoran Veršić, Iva Muraj	515

SUSTAINABLE REUSE OF OLD STRATEGIC INFRASTRUCTURE CANAL DANUBE-TISA-DANUBE	523
Mirjana Jočić, Nataša Kuburović	
PLACE ATTACHMENT AS POTENTIAL FOR SUSTAINABLE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN SERBIA	533
Anđelka Mirkov	
LOW ENERGY BUILDINGS: CONCEPT OF ENERGY PERFORMANCE OPTIMIZATION OF SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSES	540
Katarina Slavković	
TECHNOLOGY AND PRODUCTIVE PROCESS: MINING REJECTIONS FROM WASTE TO SUSTAINABLE RESOURCE	549
Vincenzo Paolo Bagnato, Giovanna Mangialardi, Silvana Milella, Michele Mundo	
ADAPTATION OF AN INDUSTRIAL BUILDING INTO HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH IMPROVED ENERGY PERFORMANCE	557
Branko Slavković, Komnen Žižić, Danilo Dragović	
FUNCTION OF A DESOLATE SPACE	565
Aleksandra Pešterac, Daniela Dimitrovska	
ENVIRONMENT CERTIFICATION OF REHABILITATION DESIGN PROJECTS: PUT AND SHU BUILDINGS AS CASE STUDY	570
Florian Nepravishhta, Gerta Veliu, Ramadan Alushaj	
Green strategies and technologies	
GREEN URBAN STRATEGIES IN THESSALONIKI IN THE CONTEXT OF CRISIS	580
Evangelia Athanassiou	
GEOSCIENTIFIC EDUCATIVE CENTRE AS SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES BUILDING MODEL – POSITIVE COOPERATION EXAMPLE OF LIKA-SENJ COUNTY (CROATIA) AND UNA-SANA COUNTY (BIH)	587
Ivan Brlić, Anita Bušljeta-Tonković, Katarina Milković	
THE OCCUPANTS' PERSPECTIVE AS CATALYST FOR LESS ENERGY INTENSIVE BUILDINGS	597
Lucia Martincigh, Marina Di Guida, Giovanni Perrucci	
THE COLLECTIVE SELF ORGANIZED HOUSING EXPERIENCE IN ITALY	605
Silvia Brunoro, Giacomo Bizzarri	

APPLICATION OF ROOF GARDENS IN THE DEFINING IMAGE OF THE CITY	
Mirjana Sekulić, Bojana Stanković, Ljiljana Dosenović	613
STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL DEFINITION OF NEARLY ZERO ENERGY BUILDINGS	
Milica Jovanović Popović, Bojana Stanković, Jasna Kavran	621
ENERGY OPTIMIZATION OF THE BUILDING ENVELOPE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF THE EXISTING RESIDENTIAL BUILDING IN BANJA LUKA	
Darija Gajić, Aleksandra Krstić – Furundžić	629
BLUE GREEN DREAM AND DAYLIGHT	
Srdjan Stankovic, Cedo Maksimovic, Milenko Stankovic	637
POSSIBILITIES FOR ENERGY REHABILITATION OF TYPICAL SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE IN BELGRADE – CASE STUDY	
Bojana Stanković, Dušan Ignjatović, Nataša Ćuković-Ignjatović	646
BLUE-GREEN INTEGRATED MODELING SOLUTIONS IN URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN	
Miloš Mirosavić, Ivana Mirosavić, Srđan Stanković, Čedo Maksimović, Ranko Božović	654
POTENTIALS AND LIMITATIONS FOR ENERGY REFURBISHMENT OF MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS BUILT IN BELGRADE BEFORE THE WORLD WAR ONE	
Ljiljana Đukanović, Ana Radivojević, Aleksandar Rajčić	661
FROM BUILDING INFORMATION MODELS TO SIMPLIFIED GEOMETRIES FOR ENERGY PERFORMANCE SIMULATION	
Daniel Ladenhauf, René Berndt, Eva Eggeling, Torsten Ullrich, Kurt Battisti, Markus Gratzl-Michlmair	669
ENERGY CITY GRAZ - REININGHAUS: FIRST RESULTS FROM AN ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENT QUARTER	
Heimo Staller, Ernst Rainer, Carlos Varela Martín	677
ENERGY EFFICIENCY AS ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY FOR A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF DEPOPULATION OF RURAL AREAS IN SERBIA	
Jovana Stanišić	684
THE ENERGY EFFICIENT CITY	
Ivan Dochev	692

Innovative materials, systems and technology

INVESTIGATION OF FLY ASH INFLUENCE ON CEMENT MORTARS PROPERTIES

Dragica Jevtić, Aleksandar Savić 701

INFLUENCE OF GLASS COMPONENT JOINTS ON THE STRUCTURAL GLASS FACADE DESIGN

Aleksandra Krstic-Furundzic, Tatjana Kosic, Jefto Terzovic 709

QUANTIFYING THE THERMAL BRIDGING EFFECT WITH REGARD TO THE FAÇADE'S CONFIGURATION

Katerina Tsikaloudaki, Theodore Theodosiou, Dimitris Aravantinos, Karolos Nicolaos Kontoleon, Dimitrios Bikas 720

THE INFLUENCE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES ON MODERN CITY FACADES

Jasna Čikić Tovarović, Jelena Ivanović Šekularac, Nenad Šekularac 728

DYNAMIC APPEARANCE OF URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL SURFACES

Tihana Hrastar, Tamara Marić, Bojana Bojanić 736

TOWARDS GENERATIVE CONVERGENCE IN DESIGN OF ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES

Jelena Milošević, Zoran Šobić, Miodrag Nestorović 744

APPLICATION OF WOOD AS AN ELEMENT OF FACADE CLADDING IN CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE OF BELGRADE

Jelena Ivanović Šekularac, Jasna Čikić Tovarović, Nenad Šekularac 752

COMPARISON OF INSULATION APPLIED ON SURFACES OF MODEL PLACED IN THE AREA OF SKOPJE

Aleksandar Petrovski, Todorka Samardzioska, Ana Trombeva Gavriloska 758

APPLICATION AND EFFECTS OF PHASE CHANGE MATERIALS IN A MODERN ARCHITECTURAL AESTHETICS

Vladana Stanković, Goran Jovanović, Mirko Stanimirović 766

INTEGRATED DESIGN OF STRUCTURAL SYSTEMS

Aleksandra Nenadović 772

NEW COMPOSITE SLAB SYSTEM – LIGHTWEIGHT CONCRETE, STEEL SHEETING AND REINFORCEMENT

Zoran Šobić, Jelena Milošević, Miodrag Nestorović 780

MODERN METHODS OF STRENGTHENING MASONRY WALLS

Nenad Šekularac, Jasna Čikić Tovarović, Jelena Ivanović Šekularac 788

NEW PERSPECTIVES FOR FERROCEMENT

Ornela Lalaj, Yavuz Yardim, Salih Yilmaz 796

Cultural patterns, Architecture and technologies

SPATIAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE ARSENAL TRANSFORMATION, MILITARY PORT IN TIVAT INTO NAUTICAL – TOURISM SETTLEMENT AND PORT „PORTO MONTENEGRO“ Goran Radović	805
DIGITAL FABRICATION IN THE FIELD OF ARCHITECTURE Roberto Vdović, Morana Pap	816
THE IMPACT OF SMART HOME TECHNOLOGIES ON ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN Goran Petrović, Marko Aleksendrić	822
BETWEEN THE PLACE AND NON-PLACE: ARCHITECTURE AND TERRITORY ON THE EXAMPLE OF SKOPJE Saša Tasić, Mitko Hadzi Pulja, Minas Bakalchev	830
INTEGRATED ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEXITY - FROM ABSTRACTION TO TECHNOLOGY AND MATERIALISATION Rada Čahtarević, Dženana Bijedić, Amra Taso	838
EVOLUTION DIGITIZED: ARCHITECTURE OF THE SUBLIME DREAM Mihailo Popović, Vladimir Milenković	846
MONOCHROMATIC IN THE ARCHITECTURAL COMPOSITION: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE APPLICATION OF WHITE COLOUR Dragana Vasiljevic Tomic, Rifat Alihodzic, Dragana Mojsilovic	853
(RE)GENERATION & REFLECTIONS OF THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE – BANJALUKA IN THE CENTURY OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS Milenko Stanković, Una Umićević	864
QUANTUM ARCHITECTURE, NON-PLACE AND ACCULTURATION Dubravko Aleksić	873
PLACES AND PRACTICES OF CONSUMPTION IN THE POST-SOCIALIST CONTEXT Dejana Nedučin, Dušan Ristić, Vladimir Kubet	880
INTERACTIONS BETWEEN LIGHT AND ARCHITECTURE: AN EXPERIMENT USING MODELS AND PHOTOGRAPHS Anita Stoilkov-Koneski	888
THE INTERPLAY OF MUSIC AND ARCHITECTURE: LAYERING OF SOUND AND SPACE Anja Kostanjšak, Morana Pap	895
CULTURAL PATTERNS AND SENSITIVITY TODAY: FROM THE PHILOSOPHY TO THE TECHNOLOGY IN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN PROCESS	

Małgorzata Kądziela, Anna Sachse-Rynkowska	904
PART III: PLACES, TECHNOLOGIES AND RELATED FIELDS	
Big data, apps, social networks and microblogs in urban planning and design	
PLACE COMPETITIVENESS EXPRESSED THROUGH DIGITAL DATA. MEASURING THE PLACE ATTRACTIVENESS TRACKING THE GEOTAG DATA VISUALS	
Milena Vukmirovic, Eva Vanista Lazarevic	914
ROOM BOOK 2.0 – BRING BACK THE INFORMATION TO ITS PLACE	
Christoph Breser, Stefan Zedlacher	926
THE INTERCONNECTED OBJECT: ARE YOU AT HOME IN A NETWORK?	
Kalina Ntampiza, Polina Zioga	936
THE INTERACTION TIME IN A NETWORKED SOCIETY	
Danijel Baturina	944
GOOGLE EARTH AS A MICROWORLD	
Milena Zindović	962
TRANSPARENCY OF SCALE: GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION PROGRAM (GOOGLE EARTH) AND THE VIEW FROM BEYOND	
Pavle Stamenović, Dunja Predić, Davor Ereš	970
Geodesy and modern cartography	
ROBUST ESTIMATION APPLIED TO GEODETIC DATUM TRANSFORMATION USING A METAHEURISTIC ALGORITHM	
Mevlut Yetkin	979
THE STATE OF THE ART SURVEYING BY TECHNOLOGY OF THE TERRESTRIAL LASER SCANNING	
Marko Pejić, Branko Božić, Verica Erić, Jelena Pandžić	987
ROLE OF CARTOGRAPHY IN MAKING A “SMART CITY”: CASE STUDY OF INDIJA	
Dragutin Protić, Ivan Vučetić, Ivan Nestorov	995
MODERN CARTOGRAPHY IN PROJECT OF CENSUS	
Maja Kalinić, Dragoljub Sekulović	1002

Mobility and technologies

PERSONAL RAPID TRANSIT – A SUSTAINABLE URBAN TRANSPORT SYSTEM

Ljupko Šimunović, Luka Novačko, Mario Ćosić 1011

FLIGHTPATH TO AN ENVIRONMENTAL FRIENDLY AIR TRANSPORT

Ivana Čavka, Olja Čokorilo, Slobodan Gvozdenović 1020

PRESERVATION OF PLACE-IDENTITY THROUGH URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS BASED ON SUSTAINABLE FORMS OF TRANSPORT

Miloš Kopic 1029

BELGRADE RIVERSIDE TRAFIC INTERCHANGES

Ksenija Stevanović, Milena Stevanović 1037

SUSTAINABLE URBAN MOBILITY PLANS IN EUROPE

Davor Brčić, Ljupko Šimunović, Marko Slavulj 1045

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN BELGRADE IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL TRENDS: CHANCES OF ILLEGAL HOUSING INTEGRATION

Biserka Mitrović, Miodrag Ralević, Branislav Antonic 1051

RE-THINKING INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECT FOR THE METROPOLIS: LABORATORY GRANADA

Juan Luis Rivas Navarro, Belén Bravo Rodríguez 1059

Public participation, e-governing and tehcnology

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND GREEN INFRASTRUCTURES: A DELIBERATIVE EVALUATION METHOD

Saverio Miccoli, Fabrizio Finucci, Rocco Murro 1067

RESULTS OF INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPATORY TOOLS IN URBAN PLANNING IN SERBIA – 7 CASE STUDIES

Ratka Čolić, Harald Mueller 1075

WAYS TOWARDS A CITY OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Miodrag Ralevic, Tatjana Mrdjenovic, Natasa Krstic, Djemila Beganovic 1083

PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS IN TOWN PLANNING PROCEDURES IN NEIGHBOURHOODS WITH FORMER REFUGEE AND DISPLACED POPULATION IN PRIJEDOR, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Rada Latinović 1090

THE ROLE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY IN A VIRTUAL ORGANIZATION

Jelena Lukić 1098

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN BELGRADE IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL TRENDS: CHANCES OF ILLEGAL HOUSING INTEGRATION

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ABSTRACT

One of the most important aspects of sustainable planning today is sustainable land use and managing city growth. Land use and transport planning have a key role in delivering social, economic, and environmental sustainability and can contribute a great deal in solving the variety of urban planning and transportation issues. By shaping the pattern of development, planning can help to facilitate an efficient transport and land use system through consistent application of sound planning principles and development guidelines to ensure the effectiveness of land use and transport policies. Urban sprawls, regardless of the reasons causing their spread, are considered as one of the biggest problems of the cities in developing countries. Belgrade has been witnessing a wide spread urban sprawls in form of illegal housing and settlements in its suburban areas during a long period. This paper will discuss the possibilities of using the instruments of land use and transport planning with the aim to achieve urban upgrading of informal housing and settlements on the outskirts of Belgrade. Thus the integration of informal settlements could become the true test of the integrated planning, since informal urban sprawls are one of the most challenging issues in Belgrade development, as well as in the other cities with similar urban problems²⁶⁹.

Keywords: Land use planning, transport planning, informal settlements, urban upgrading

²⁶⁹ This paper is done as a part of research project "Research and systematization of housing development in Serbia, in the context of globalization and European integrations, with the aim of housing quality and standard improvement" (TR 036034), financed by Ministry of education and science of Serbia.

SHAPING THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT BY SUSTAINABLE LAND USE AND SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORT PLANNING

Recently, the World Bank (2012) has launched Urban and Local Government Strategy, which advocates a new paradigm aimed at harnessing urbanization for growth and poverty reduction. The strategy emphasizes several crucial aspects for cities and local governments in the decade ahead, namely: 1. City management, finance and governance; 2. Urban poverty and slums, making pro-poor policy one of the priorities; 3. Urban economic growth; 4. Urban planning with progressive land and housing markets; 5. Urban environment, climate change and disaster management; 6. Linking urban planning, transport and infrastructure planning, thus emphasizing the importance of integrated approach to urban, transport and infrastructure planning.

Table 27: Transport mode and land use planning (according to: World Bank Institute (2012.): Sustainable Land Use Planning: How Land Use Planning Contributes to Sustainable Urban Development, script)

Non-mechanized transport	Automobile dependent	Transit oriented development
Pedestrian movement Animal dependent Water-based	Private motor cars Buses, trucks, motorcycles	Street cars Railway/metro Light rail transit Bus rapid transit
Compact city	Concentric city and urban sprawl Gridiron layouts	Liner and multi-nodal city
Explanation: Typically the oldest parts of cities are based on street patterns. More recent urban areas in developing countries have slums and informally organized shanty towns. Some parts of city have recently organized motor-car free areas in older precincts.	Explanation: Radial routes to accommodate the widespread use of motorcar. Successive ring roads planned to relieve traffic congestion. Extended periphery development as urban sprawl and/or multi clustered satellite development. Recognising the high level of accessibility achieved by motor cars, new parts of the cities have been developed on the basis of gridironed hierarchical road system.	Explanation: Public transport networks have encouraged higher density development around principal transportation terminals within the main urban area, as well as lower density linear corridor development on the periphery.

The relation between land use and transportation is well known in theory but not so well practiced, especially in the cities in developing countries such as Serbia. By shaping the pattern of development and influencing the location, scale, density, design and land use mixes, planning can help to facilitate an efficient transport and land use system through consistent application of sound planning principles. On the

other hand, transport system and models greatly shape land use pattern, affecting not only the distribution of different urban functions, but also influencing land market. The Table 1 shows how different transport concepts shape urban land use.

Broad approach	Important terms and approaches	Strengths	Weaknesses and contingencies
Smart growth and transit-oriented development	Smart growth Compact development Integrated development Mixed-use development Intensification Coordination Transit-oriented development	Encourages inter-sectoral and inter-agency links Encourages links between planning and implementation Improves sustainability Improves public transport Strong transport-land-use links Can slow urban sprawl	These good links are difficult to achieve Assumes significant capacity and organization Poor or narrow implementation undermines prospects Popular support difficult to achieve due to conflicting views and lifestyles Claimed benefits contested
Integrating land use and transport	Bus rapid transit (BRT) Corridors and axes Integrated rail redevelopment Linking economic activities to transport type New transport/land-use models	Improves public transport Improved usage of public transport Reduces energy and improves efficiency Better transport-land-use links New models enable better understanding of patterns	Heightened property prices on transport axes can marginalize the poor Required integration can be difficult to achieve Needs good understanding of social and economic dynamics and space – difficult to achieve Land use-transport links undermined by different logics, institutional divides New models still data hungry, aggregated, distant
Strategic spatial planning and infrastructure planning	Strategic plans Infrastructure plans Transport-land use links	Can give long-term direction to development Can avoid inequitable and unsustainable development Avoids fragmented development	Conditions required to work are demanding/difficult to achieve Credible analysis Inter-sectoral coordination Stakeholder involvement and buy-in Regular review Internal champions Special agencies
Integrated urban development and management plans	Multi-sectoral investment plans (MSIPs) plans (PEDPs) Physical and environmental development	More flexible, less data demanding, and easier to prepare than master plans Participatory Helps to manage urban growth in context of scarce resources/capacity Can be used iteratively in decision-making process	Problematic if seen in static or narrow way Required inter-sectoral cooperation hard to achieve Can be countered by political decision-making
Strategic structure planning	Integrative framework Long-term vision	More flexible, less data demanding and easier to prepare than master plans Participatory Multifaceted approach Combines short-term actions with long-term planning	Required political and stakeholder buy-in may be difficult to achieve May still be relatively technocratic May not provide detail necessary for some decisions
Linking spatial planning to infrastructure planning	Integrated development plans Spatial frameworks	More flexible, less data demanding and easier to prepare than master plans Participatory Gives direction to infrastructure planning GIS-based models can be used as an input	Required consistency in policy and coordination between agencies difficult to achieve Can be too broad to be useful May be contradicted by the market
Linking mega-projects to infrastructure development	Urban regeneration Multifunctional	Powerful driver in urban form Evolving approaches allow linking to planning over the long term Building cooperation between various sectors and agencies	Mega-projects often politically driven and one-off approach is hard to achieve Level of integration and cooperation difficult to achieve

Figure 90: The interdependence between land use planning and transport planning (Source: World Bank Institute (2012): Sustainable Land Use Planning: How Land Use Planning Contributes to Sustainable Urban Development, script)

Table 2 shows the interdependence between overall approach on city development, the characteristic of land use planning and transport planning, as well as strengths

and weaknesses of each approach/concept. Main features and negative effects of concepts are:

- Smart growth and transit oriented development assumes significant capacity and organization, narrows implementation, while it is difficult to achieve popular support and there are negative sides of transit oriented development.
- Integrating land use and transport, while forming axes and corridors and linking economic activities to transport type, also heightens property prices on axes and marginalizes the poor, integration is hard to achieve, there are complex social and economic issues and institutional divides.
- Strategic spatial and infrastructure planning, based on long term direction development, does not support fragmented development and also avoids unsustainable and unequal development, but on the other hand requires high inter-sectorial coordination, regular revision, special agencies and massive stakeholder involvement.
- Integrated urban development and management plans stress out physical and environmental planning and multi-sectorial investment plans, but on the other hand require high inter-sectorial cooperation and can be countered by political decision making.
- Strategic structure planning based on long term vision – though more flexible and less data demanding, can be technocratic and may not provide details.
- Linking spatial and infrastructure planning, with similar characteristics as above, requires consistency and coordination between institutions which is difficult to achieve, can be too broad to be useful and may be contradicted by the market.
- Linking mega projects to infrastructure development, though being powerful driver and multifunctional, also bringing coordination between various sectors, can be politically driven.

There is no doubt that land use and transport planning should recognize the effects of transport interventions on future development, but the reverse process – when land use planning or even when land use development/growth happens without plan – has the same effects.

GROWTH AND URBAN SPRAWLS IN BELGRADE

Although the urban policy in EU has defined limiting urban sprawl (N. Pichler-Milanovic, 2009), Balkan states, having limited possibilities of regulation, make the exception to this rule, specially having in mind the migrations as a negative effect of the civil wars by the end of the 20th century. As an effect, bigger cities' built areas have expanded mostly in the form of uncontrolled illegal housing settlements in the suburbs. Such characteristics have given the attributes of the Third World city development to many Balkan cities, making Belgrade the representative case.

Some of the main issues related to the land use and city growth in Belgrade are:

- Illegal and unplanned settlements, which have grown and spread over the Belgrade territory during several decades, with the exception of historical centre of Belgrade;
- Unfinished and insufficient traffic network, mostly manifested in lack of transit roads and mass public transport;
- Insufficient infrastructure equipment (urgent problems related to the waste disposal and treatment of wastewater);
- Inadequate use of the most attractive areas and locations in the city, especially in the river coastal areas;
- Unequally dispersed greenery and the lack of real green network;
- Chaotic growth along the main traffic corridors.

Though city development policy is not oriented to and is not officially supporting the informal housing, it is estimated that informal settlements take as much as 44% of housing areas in Belgrade. The city growth unwillingly turned to the agriculture land at the outskirts of the city. The problem of illegal and unplanned settlements in Belgrade region is strongly related to the other problems of city development, sometimes being a cause, but more often being a consequence of complexity of spatial, economic, social and political issues. Instead of being respective residential area, with high quality of life, great green areas and good urban pattern with some amount of planning intervention, informal housing areas in Belgrade are mostly perceived as impersonal and disharmonized residential area, being neither quite urban, nor rural settlements.

Issues in peri-urban areas overlap strongly with weakness of planning institutions and lack of infrastructure. The high incidence of slums in peri-urban areas overlaps with issues of socio-economic inequalities and comprehensive concerns of the urban area expansion.

HOUSING INTEGRATION - THE APPROACH AND ACTIONS

Recommendations and suggestions for improvement of informal urban areas in Belgrade reflect the idea of comprehensive approach to the solution, but also being realistic for the habitants and the economic conditions of the city:

- Adopting the set of special regulations referring the urban planning aspect of these settlements and including urban upgrading principles and indicators. They would enable the infrastructure and traffic equipment of the most of the illegal buildings and settlements with minimum of investment. The regulations would also refer to the lower standards and 'softer' criteria than the ones defined for the rest of the city territory.

- Intensifying the production of urban land use plans for these parts of the territory, which will be the legal basis for the construction of necessary traffic network, public transport and social infrastructure. Fast plans implementation is crucial for the process of 'taming' the illegal – informal settlements. Planning action should quickly respond to the building initiatives, no matter if they are legal or illegal (World Bank Institute, 2012).
- It is also necessary to provide the areas where these citizens could organize some of the economic activities that will enable them economic survival and social integration.
- Since this settlements lack social infrastructure, especially education facilities, it is necessary to enable the introduction of additional lines of (less-massive) public transportation or school mini-buses that would allow children a relatively quick and safe access to schools. In this regard, it is necessary that regulatory plans provide for adequate street widths for the movement of school mini-buses.
- Planning the public places, meeting the social and other needs of youth and children. The implementation should involve facilities in private sector, as well as public private partnership. Furthermore, building of affordable private units should be fostered, since it is hard to provide public construction land in already dense built informal areas.
- The improvement of the functional structure of the (informal) units, e.g. by introducing greater share of non-housing land use, such as services, retail, restaurants, manufacture, agencies and similar activities appropriate for the local level. Apart from being recommended in regulatory plans, these actions should also be encouraged through local regulatory framework (subsidies, restrictions, different taxes). This model should achieve mid-scale density (Caruthers, J. I., G. F. Ulfarsson. 2003). High density should be prevented as it might lead to diseconomies of scale (crime, traffic congestion) (Ladd, Helen F, 1994).
- Finally, the most important recommendation refers to the set of future actions for planners and city government: a/defining the city border in order to prevent further re-use of agricultural land out of the city territory; b/fast planning action (regulatory plans) with the aim to provide planned areas for further residential needs of the city within the city border; c/preservation and acquisition such planned areas for traffic and infrastructure equipment, using the model of public and private partnership.

New public transport routes should be planned to ensure safe and convenient passenger accessibility and also to facilitate sustainable urban regeneration. The focus is on integrated planning as a mean of achieving a balance between the need to provide for accessibility and mobility and to create a sense of place where vehicle traffic does not dominate and the impact does not affect people's life styles.

The implications of the above actions would reflect in numerous aspects of city life and development such as: higher quality of life and rational city construction land;

new boost for the economic development of the city and new jobs; consolidating the demographic structure by creating conditions for young people to live and work in the city.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The treatment of informal settlements should be related to the local characteristics and cultural, social, economic and other background. Cutting the informal settlements in the surgery manner during the economic crisis is neither effective nor wise. At the same time, it is neither possible nor useful to define one pattern applicable all over the world, though there are similarities about informal sector worldwide. Though we are in the era of global economy and under the influence of global forces, it is local resilience that will make our cities survive.

In the context of sustainable urban planning it is important to emphasize mutual dependence between land use and growth of the city on one hand, and ecological, social and economic development on the other. In the case of Belgrade its correlation is even more obvious since the spatial consequences of imbalanced 3E are more than visible. Wise governance instead of governing as a way of implementing institutional sustainability will result in balanced land use planning and inner city growth, replacing the practice of spreading and widening the city territory.

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