

Nikola Jocić

Creative Economy in a Post-Socialist Transitional Context

Spatial Distribution of Creative Activities and their Interrelation
with Urban Milieus in City Quarters of Belgrade



University
of Bamberg
Press

30 Bamberger Geographische Schriften

BAMBERGER GEOGRAPHISCHE SCHRIFTEN

herausgegeben vom Institut für Geographie
Andreas Dix, Daniel Göler, Marc Redepenning, Gerhard Schellmann

Schriftleitung: Astrid Jahreiß

Heft 30

Creative Economy in a Post-Socialist Transitional Context

Spatial Distribution of Creative Activities and their Interrelation
with Urban Milieus in City Quarters of Belgrade

Nikola Jocić

Bibliographische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Informationen sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de/> abrufbar.

Diese Arbeit hat der Fakultät Geistes-und Kulturwissenschaften der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg als Dissertation vorgelegen.

Gutachter: Professor Dr. Daniel Göler

Gutachter: Professor Dr. Marc Redepenning

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 12.11.2018

Dieses Werk ist als freie Onlineversion über den Publikationsserver (OPUS; <http://www.opus-bayern.de/uni-bamberg/>) der Universität Bamberg erreichbar. Das Werk – ausgenommen Cover, Zitate und Abbildungen – steht unter der CC-Lizenz CC-BY.



Lizenzvertrag: Creative Commons Namensnennung 4.0

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>

Herstellung und Druck: docupoint, Magdeburg

Umschlaggestaltung: University of Bamberg Press, Larissa Günther

Umschlaggrafik: © Nikola Jocić

© University of Bamberg Press Bamberg 2019

<http://www.uni-bamberg.de/ubp/>

ISSN: 0344-6557

ISBN: 978-3-86309-633-5 (Druckausgabe)

eISBN: 978-3-86309-634-2 (Online-Ausgabe)

URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:473-opus4-543575

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20378/irbo-54357>

Acknowledgements

At this point, I want to thank several persons. Without their support and help, it would not have been possible to complete this dissertation. Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Daniel Göler. Prof. Göler helped me to define the research topic, and offered me a position of a PhD student. His patience, motivation, and expertise guided me through all the time of research and writing of this thesis. I would also like to thank my second supervisor Prof. Dr. Marc Redepenning, who was familiar with my work since the first drafts, and supported me on the research way.

Many people helped me through the research process. I would like to express gratitude to all interviewees and participants in the questionnaire survey. Interviews and conversations with people familiar with the development of creative economy in Belgrade gave me right hints in which direction my research process should go. Thanks to colleagues from the Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade Dr. Ivan Ratkaj and Aljoša Budović who supported me through discussions and field work in Belgrade. Aljoša helped me through interviewing process, and also with mapping.

Very productive discussions and conversations I had during several international conferences helped me a lot in revising my points of view in the dissertation. Thanks to all scholars and experts who were involved.

I also own immense gratitude to my friends who were reading my drafts and giving their detailed and critical opinion about my work, as well as substantial inputs. My deepest gratitude goes to Johannes Müller, Tea Požar, Anya Prommetta, Simone Treiber, and Dr. Andreas Winkler for all the years we spent together discussing this research. Thanks a lot Andreas Böhler for proofreading, and Angelina Hammon for checking my statistical outputs. Without you, finishing this dissertation would not have been possible.

This dissertation could not be achieved without financial support from the Bavarian Academic Center for Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe (BAYHOST). I am very grateful for the three-year scholarship BAYHOST provided me with.

I would like to thank all members and staff of the University of Bamberg who made me feel at home from the very first day. In that sense, I owe more than gratitude to Alexandra Wolf from the Welcome Centre of the University of Bamberg.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, sister, and all friends from Belgrade and Bamberg who continuously supported me and gave me motivation on the research way. I owe special gratitude to Anya – for all the patience and encouragement through tough times.

Bamberg, 19.07.2018

Nikola Jocić

Table of Content

Acknowledgements	V
Table of Content.....	VII
Table of Figures	XII
Tables.....	XVI
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 The context of the post-industrial city.....	1
1.2 Creative economy and urban development.....	3
1.3 The context of post-socialist transition and post-socialist Belgrade.....	5
1.4 Research question and research design	9
1.5 Research methodology.....	10
1.6 Research outline	16
2 Step by step - From creativity to the creative economy.....	18
2.1 Creativity – What it actually is	19
2.2 Culture and cultural industries – A way from ‘ideological manipulation’ to the market.....	22
2.3 Creative industries – A creative diversity.....	23
2.4 Creative economy – Market confirmation.....	28
2.5 ‘Creative class’ – A new class driving new urban economic development – Does it really exist?	30
2.6 Creative occupations	33
2.7 Conclusion.....	34
3 Fertile soil for creativity – Interrelation between creativity and urban environment.....	36
3.1 Contemporary urban development.....	36
3.2 The context of post-socialist urban development.....	39
3.2.1 Research on creative economy in post-socialist Europe.....	43

3.3	Characteristics of urban regions decisive for creative economy development	44
3.4	Creative milieu and creative quarter	45
3.5	Stakeholders shaping cultural and creative quarters	48
3.5.1	Creative producers.....	49
3.5.2	Entrepreneurs	50
3.5.3	Visitors	51
3.5.4	Policy makers – Governance types and policies	51
3.5.5	Residents	53
3.6	Conclusion	54
4	Preconditions for the development of creative economy	
	– The development path of Serbia and Belgrade.....	56
4.1	The development path of Serbia – The last two centuries.....	57
4.1.1	Liberation and enlightenment in 19th and 20th century.....	58
4.1.2	Socialist era	58
4.1.3	Social and economic challenges in post-socialist Serbia	60
4.2	Social-geographic characteristics of Belgrade relevant for the development of a creative economy	62
4.2.1	Historical development	63
4.2.2	Population	65
4.2.3	Educational background.....	67
4.2.4	Cultural background.....	68
4.2.5	Economic development.....	71
4.2.6	Urban development in the post-socialist era	73
4.3	Conclusion	75
5	Diverse urban development in city quarters of Belgrade	
	– Location analysis.....	78
5.1	Savamala as a striking city quarter within the urban mosaic of Belgrade	78

5.1.1	City quarter ‘hidden’ in downtown – Geographic position and accessibility.....	78
5.1.2	The beginning, rise, and (temporary) fall – Historical background	82
5.1.3	Crafts, trade, and industry – Economic background	85
5.1.4	Architectural diversity – Built environment.....	86
5.1.5	Influences from above – Political influence.....	88
5.1.6	Diversity of the population – Social overview	89
5.2	Following the steps of a larger urban district – Blok 12 as one of the neighbourhoods in New Belgrade.....	90
5.2.1	In the middle of a new city – Geographic position and accessibility	90
5.2.2	A city within the city - Historical background.....	92
5.2.3	Functional changeability – Political and economic influences.....	95
5.2.4	Social overview	96
5.2.5	Architectural diversity	97
5.3	Conclusion.....	100
6	Creative transformation in Belgrade city quarters in the 21st century – Stakeholder analysis	103
6.1	Revival of the neighbourhood of Savamala and its 21st century Renaissance	103
6.1.1	Infiltration of culture and creativity in Savamala – Key role of creative organisations	105
6.1.2	Discrete support from aside – The role of the municipality and external funding	112
6.1.3	More visible than influential – Artists, creative professionals and the rediscovery of Savamala	113
6.1.4	Reshaping the image of Savamala – Entrepreneurs and influence of business and profit	115
6.1.5	Powerful players – Influences of the Republican and the City government.....	117

6.2	Functional resurrection of New Belgrade and the role of the IT sector in the recent urban development in the central part of the municipality.....	123
6.2.1	Spatial tendencies in urban transformations of New Belgrade – The role of politics, urban planners, and finally of the open market	123
6.2.2	Following actual trends – Central New Belgrade as an IT centre of Belgrade	127
6.2.3	The importance of a new class – IT professionals in the focus	131
6.2.4	Advantages of the Blok 12 which attracted knowledge-intensive creative economy – How entrepreneurs enrich the environment ...	132
6.3	Conclusion	133
7	The meaning of creative economy in different Belgrade’s neighbourhoods – Sectoral analysis	136
7.1	The economic importance of cultural based creative economy in Savamala.....	137
7.1.1	Visitors – A group ruling the economic flow in Savamala	142
7.1.2	Changing the location – Preserving the idea? Part one	145
7.1.3	Changing the location – Preserving the idea? Part two	148
7.2	Economic importance of knowledge-intensive creative economy in Blok 12 and its vicinity.....	150
7.2.1	Employees – A group steering the urban economic flow in Blok 12 and its vicinity	159
7.3	Conclusion	162
8	Creative neighbourhoods of Belgrade – Status and perspectives	165
8.1	Culture-based creative economy in Savamala – Concluding remarks.....	165
8.1.1	Bottom-up initiatives and following effects	165
8.1.2	Nightlife expansion	167
8.1.3	Instability of the creative sector	168

8.1.4	Top-down governance on the highest level – Influences of the Republican and the City government	171
8.1.5	Is there gentrification in Savamala?	172
8.1.6	Path-dependent development in Savamala	173
8.2	Knowledge-intensive creative economy in Blok 12 and its vicinity – Concluding remarks	175
8.2.1	Processes driving spatial manifestations and urban practices	175
8.2.2	Global-local interrelation and the importance of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ location factors	177
8.2.3	Local and international competition, and indirect governmental influences.....	178
8.2.4	Path-dependent development in Blok 12 and its vicinity	181
8.3	Final remarks.....	183
	Bibliography	187
	Scientific literature	187
	Publications and Reports.....	229
	Media and Internet sources.....	231
	Other sources.....	236

Table of Figures

Fig. 1:	Metropolitan functions in metropolitan areas	8
Fig. 2:	The complexity of creativity	21
Fig. 3:	Classification of creative industries	25
Fig. 4:	Cultural and creative industries	26
Fig. 5:	Two groups of creative occupations	35
Fig. 6:	Stakeholders in a creative city quarter	55
Fig. 7:	Important historical events for Serbia in the last two centuries.....	57
Fig. 8:	The size of Belgrade's creative economy comparing to Serbian in 2011.....	62
Fig. 9:	The rise of the population of Belgrade in the period between 1910 and 2011	65
Fig. 10:	Number of industrial workers in Belgrade in 1966, 1980, and 1991	72
Fig. 11:	Contribution of different circumstances for creative and knowledge-intensive industries development in Belgrade.....	77
Fig. 12:	Location of Savamala within Belgrade	79
Fig. 13:	Savamala neighbourhood	80
Fig. 14:	Tramlines and traffic jam in Savamala.....	81
Fig. 15:	Neglected buildings and façades in Savamala.....	87
Fig. 16:	Location of Blok 12 within Belgrade	91
Fig. 17:	Blok 12 in 2018 – view from a neighbouring building	94
Fig. 18:	The building of Telefonska centrala and the building in the Blok 12 in 2018.....	99
Fig. 19:	Location characteristics of Savamala.....	101
Fig. 20:	Location characteristics of Blok 12 and its vicinity	102
Fig. 21:	Land use in Savamala in 2015	104
Fig. 22:	Building of the European Centre for Culture and Debate Grad	106

Fig. 23:	Mikser House in Savamala and its surrounding.....	107
Fig. 24:	The location where Mikser Festival started, and was held also in 2017	108
Fig. 25:	Spanish House is a location used by the Goethe Institute for several exhibitions.....	110
Fig. 26:	Street art in Savamala	115
Fig. 27:	Belgrade Waterfront Masterplan	118
Fig. 28:	Belgrade Waterfront in summer 2017.....	119
Fig. 29:	Cleared area of Hercegovačka Street after the demolition.....	120
Fig. 30:	Protest on the June 25, 2016	121
Fig. 31:	Protest on July 13, 2016	122
Fig. 32:	Contrast – pre-transitional and post-transitional New Belgrade – the face of Serbian post-modern	124
Fig. 33:	New-built stores on the streets of New Belgrade.....	125
Fig. 34:	Commercialisation effect in New Belgrade	126
Fig. 35:	Spatial distribution and density of the IT sector in Belgrade ...	128
Fig. 36:	Newly developed perspectives of Savamala.....	134
Fig. 37:	Newly developed perspectives of Blok 12 and its vicinity	135
Fig. 38:	Net income per month in the subsector of Creative, artistic and entertainment activities, and overall net income per month in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016..	138
Fig. 39:	The total number of employees in creative organisations in Savamala in the period between 2010 and 2016.....	139
Fig. 40:	Average number of employees per creative organisation in Savamala in the period between 2010 and 2016.....	140
Fig. 41:	Average yearly turnover and average yearly profit per creative organisation in Savamala in the period between 2011 and 2016.....	141
Fig. 42:	Means of transport used by visitors of Savamala	142
Fig. 43:	Motives of visitors for visiting Savamala	143
Fig. 44:	Dominant functions in Savamala according to visitors	144

Fig. 45:	Graffiti and street art in Savamala	145
Fig. 46:	Bar and night-club in the former space of Mikser House.....	146
Fig. 47:	Mikser House Sarajevo	147
Fig. 48:	A new ‘cool’ city quarter in Cetinjska Street?	148
Fig. 49:	Net income per month in the subsector of Computer programming and consulting activities, and overall net income per month in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016	152
Fig. 50:	Total number of companies in IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2011 and 2016	152
Fig. 51:	The total number of employees in IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016.....	153
Fig. 52:	Annual growth of companies and number of employees pro year in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2011 and 2016	153
Fig. 53:	Average number of employees per IT company in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016.....	154
Fig. 54:	Number of employees in IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016	156
Fig. 55:	Total employment growth rate in Belgrade, employment growth rate in the sector of Information and communications in Belgrade, and employment growth rate in the IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2012 and 2016 ..	158
Fig. 56:	Average yearly turnover and average yearly profit per IT company in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016	159
Fig. 57:	Means of transport used by employees in the IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity	161
Fig. 58:	Economic characteristics of Savamala	163
Fig. 59:	Economic characteristics of Blok 12 and its vicinity	164

Fig. 60:	Development process of the creative city quarter of Savamala.....	169
Fig. 61:	Land use in Savamala in 2018.....	170
Fig. 62:	Threats for further development in the creative city quarter of Savamala	172
Fig. 63:	Development process of the creative city quarter of Blok 12 and its vicinity	177
Fig. 64:	Threats for further development in the creative city quarter of Blok 12 and its vicinity.....	179
Fig. 65:	Students' protest against the regime in Belgrade 1996 and 'Belgrade is the world' banner	186

Tables

Tab. 1:	Spatial contrasts between the socialist and the post-socialist city.....	41
Tab. 2:	Population of Belgrade and its growth rate	66
Tab. 3:	Educational structure of population older than 15 in Serbia and in Belgrade.....	68
Tab. 4:	Population of New Belgrade and its growth rate	90
Tab. 5:	The number of employees in the sector of Arts, entertainment and recreation, and the number of total employees in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016 ..	137
Tab. 6:	Gross and net income per month in the subsector of Creative, artistic and entertainment activities, and overall gross and net income per month in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016	138
Tab. 7:	Total employment growth rate in Belgrade, employment growth rate in the sector of Arts, entertainment and recreation in Belgrade, and employment growth rate in the creative organisations in Savamala in the period between 2013 and 2016 period	140
Tab. 8:	Average yearly turnover and average yearly profit per creative organisation in Savamala in the period between 2011 and 2016	141
Tab. 9:	Number of employees in the sector of Information and communication, and the number of total employees in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016	150
Tab. 10:	Gross and net income per month in the subsector of Computer programming and consulting activities, and overall gross and net income per month in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016.....	151

Tab. 11: Average turnover and average profit per IT company in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016 period	159
--	-----

1. Introduction

Spatial practices in any society abound in subtleties and complexities. Since they are not innocent with respect to the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of class relations under capitalism, they are a permanent arena for social conflict and struggle. Those who have the power to command and produce space possess a vital instrumentality for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power. Any project to transform society must, therefore, grasp the complex nettle of the transformation of spatial practices.

DAVID HARVEY (1987: 265)

Creative economy¹ is a broad concept which became popular among scholars and policy makers around the world since the 1990s as a response to contemporary economic and social trajectories (GIBSON AND KONG 2005, POTTS 2011). Post-industrial circumstances which have befallen traditional industrial urban regions (BREITBART 2013, CARTER 2016) supported the rise of the creative economy. The following introduction gives a short insight into the circumstances which led to the creative economy's positioning in post-industrial urban environment, with respect to post-socialist transition.

1.1 The context of the post-industrial city

The bipolar world structure after the Second World War emphasised the contrast between two antagonistic systems: Even though Western and Eastern parts of the world followed different political and market principles, the industrial production was fundamental for both economic systems respectively (LIPTON ET AL. 1990, MOWERY AND NELSON 1999). Nevertheless, the industrial development in those systems showed different tendencies.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the industry started to translocate from the Western urban regions as a result of the free market paradigm, running globalisation, and capitalistic sprawl (ROWTHORN AND RAMASWAMY 1997, RODRIK 2016). In the Eastern part of Europe, however, large parts of the industry collapsed after the fall of the Berlin Wall due to the breakdown of the socialist economic system, and the inability to adjust (LANDESMANN AND SZEKELY 1995, KUNC ET AL. 2014). Particularly, the industrial production outlined for a socialist planned economy could not cope on a free market and the emerging competition prevailing at the end of the 1980s.

¹ The literature offers similar and related concepts such as *culture industries*, *cultural industries*, *creative industries*, *creative and knowledge-intensive industries*, which are explained in chapter 2.

The consequences of deindustrialisation spread in the capitalist West and former socialist East, especially in Europe and North America, and bore challenges to deal with (CARTER 2016). Although in different periods, both sides of the former Iron Curtain faced similar challenges. The stable economic and social base of the cities was changed, and they had to face multidimensional processes which led to a change of spatial order and urban functions in most cases (MARCUSE AND VAN KEMPEN 2000). The post-industrial development caused changes within urban environments, such as polycentric urban structures, the rise of the service sector, and the mobility of labour (PHELPS AND OZAWA 2003). Deindustrialisation led to a reduced employment in the manufacturing sector (LEVER 1991), and furthermore heightened complex political, social, and spatial concerns (TOSICS 2005). It even resulted in an urban shrinkage in some cases (MARTINEZ-FERNANDEZ ET AL. 2012, PALLAGST ET AL. 2014), where economic and social issues caused demographic decline². Replacing the habituated modus of the economic functioning and once dominant industrial production became the priority of urban regions.

The emerging service sector alleviated negative consequences of deindustrialisation in some traditional industrial regions (GOMEZ 1998). The availability of jobs, however, did not match the emerging job demand (O'LOUGHLIN AND FRIEDRICHS 1996), and a restructuring was necessary (HALL 1997). Therefore, urban governance made a shift from a managerial to an entrepreneurial phase to attract new businesses, external sources of funding, and new employment sources (HARVEY 1989).

“Cities responded by adapting themselves to the new international division of labour, attracting and developing advanced service industries such as banking and finance, business services, headquarters, government, tourism and creative and cultural industries” (HALL 1997: 317).

This process is still ongoing. Cities are forced to improve their attractiveness and competitiveness (BEGG 1999, BUCK ET AL. 2005) while considering their social cohesion (RANCI 2011). The amount of professional, service-based and technological jobs also emphasises the importance of urban amenities and culture to urban economic vitality (CLARK ET AL. 2002). The enhancement of the post-industrial city's³ image aims at the economic growth (GOSPODINI 2006), by attracting and keeping talented, educated, and creative people (FLORIDA 2003).

² The population of about 42% of all large European cities is declining (HAASE ET AL. 2016: 87).

³ Several related concepts explain society after the traditional industrial era – post-industrial, post-Fordist, or post-modern society (KUMAR 2005).

It can be observed that the decline of the industrial production in the second half of the 20th century created unemployment and newly desolated spaces, but made it possible for the creative economy to shape the urban development (BREITBART 2013).

1.2 Creative economy and urban development

The allocation of creative economy has been noted in the Western world since the 1970s and 1980s (FLEW 2010). Creative activities eased economic and social struggle in post-industrial cities by generating new jobs (ZUKIN 1998). The period of growing tertiary, and later quaternary economic sectors⁴ consequently allowed that service, artistic, and finally knowledge-intensive activities not only play an important role in urban economy but also shape the urban landscape (HUTTON 2006). Such an environment yields milieus which inspire creative thinking, and therefore, creative production (CURRID 2007). Furthermore, this development attracts people with creative potential willing to migrate, intrigued by the allure and charm of certain urban milieus (FLORIDA 2002, LEE ET AL. 2004, WOJAN ET AL. 2007). The dynamics surrounding creative economy have become an important factor in the contemporary urban development (SCOTT 2006).

Creative economy is associated with activities that exploit and generate culture, knowledge, and information (FLEW 2002).

“The concept of the ‘creative economy’ is an evolving one that is gaining ground in contemporary thinking about economic development. It entails a shift from the conventional models towards a multidisciplinary model dealing with the interface between economics, culture and technology and centred on the predominance of services and creative content” (UNCTAD 2008: 3-4).

Creative economy is an expanding field, and is seen as the initiator of a new economic growth by many urban regions’ leaders and planners (OAKLEY 2004, CUNNINGHAM 2005, LANGE ET AL. 2008). Besides, it is considered as a group of activities which can successfully lead to urban regeneration by renewing neglected city quarters (FLORIDA 2004, HARTLEY 2005, ANDERS AND GRESILLON 2013). Another important role of creative economy is to support, promote, and enhance cultural capital (ZUKIN 1990). Furthermore, in a creative flow, creative economy increases technological progress (CUNNINGHAM 2004). In that way, creative and knowledge-based activities support not just economic, but also social progress (POTTS 2007). In an ideal case, they support a sustainable development of urban regions (SCOTT 2004, YIGITCANLAR AND VELIBEYOGLU 2008, CARAGLIU ET AL. 2011).

⁴ While the primary and secondary economic sectors include agriculture and industry, the tertiary and quaternary include different service activities (KENESSEY 1987).

“Creative industries are becoming increasingly important components of modern post-industrial knowledge-based economies. Not only are they thought to account for higher than average growth and job creation, they are also vehicles of cultural identity that play an important role in fostering cultural diversity” (UNESCO 2006).

Creative economy consists of diverse activities – from the cultural and arts sector to the information and communication technology (ICT) sector – which have creativity in their core (JEFFCUTT AND PRATT 2002).

Creativity depends on the geographic environment (MEUSBURGER ET AL. 2009A). A brief look into urban history shows that creativity had various spatial strongholds in different historical periods (HALL 1998, HEßLER AND ZIMMERMANN 2008). Locations with strong creative concentration often were at the same time social and economic centres in each particular period. As MEUSBURGER ET AL. (2009B: 8) notice: “Why were Florence (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), Prague (about 1600), Manchester (about 1800), Paris and Vienna (about 1900) such creative places?” Mentioning creativity today has to include places such as Berlin (HEEBELS AND VAN AALST 2010, COLOMB 2012), and Silicon Valley (LEE ET AL. 2000). There are different debates and opinions in public, business, and academic communities trying to anticipate new creative centres around the world, such as Austin (LONG 2009), Dublin (MURPHY AND REDMOND 2009), or Shenzhen (BONTJE 2014). These examples show that urban regions and their amenities prevail as a suitable habitat for creative economy development (O’CONNOR 2004).

“Cities are cauldrons of creativity. They have long been the vehicles for mobilizing, concentrating, and channelling human creative energy” (FLORIDA 2005A: 1).

Accordingly, the development of creativity cannot be taken as an independent phenomenon. Discussions concerning that topic should consider the spatial context and socio-economic factors in certain urban regions. The development of creative economy and urban development are interconnected processes (COMUNIAN ET AL. 2010). On the one hand, urban environment is the development field of creative economy. On the other hand, creative economy drives urban development.

Additionally, most creative centres have been and still are bigger and highly populated urban regions, some kind of metropolises, regional and/or global centres. As it was noticed at the inception of urban researches, and with the beginning of the aggressive urban growth - individuality and openness offered by bigger cities provides a permanent spreading of their influence (SIMMEL 2006). Some smaller towns had moments of strengthened creative activities but that effect did not last for long.

One example is the German town of Weimar⁵ which became famous worldwide because of the work of its citizens Goethe and Schiller, as well as the architectural phenomenon of Bauhaus. Although Goethe and Schiller were world-renowned writers, the creative effect did not spread significantly in Weimar after their farewell. However, the idea created by Goethe, Schiller or, later on, Bauhaus, continued to spread in Germany and in the world, while Weimar lost its position as a creative hotspot due to the inability to reproduce creative impulses.

Obviously, only bigger urban regions, with their diversity and multifunctional nature (JACOBS 1969, HOSPERS AND VAN DALM 2005, BAYCAN-LEVENT 2010), manage to remain creative centres, and to reproduce creative ideas. A multifunctional nature, the significance, and finally the size of the city seem to be the characteristics that foster the continuity of creative processes, and the fluctuation of creative people (HALL 2000).

1.3 The context of post-socialist transition and post-socialist Belgrade

The rise of creative milieus, their embeddedness in urban development, and the increasing role of creative people in shaping city quarters became a widespread and well-known trend in Western cities in the last decades. The Anglo-American academic community hence dominated the research about the creative economy and mainly studied Western urban regions (BORÉN AND YOUNG 2016). Their focus lay on the status of creative economy, creative workers, and creative city quarters in North America and in Western Europe (e.g. BIANCHINI AND PARKINSON 1993, HOSPERS 2003, CURRID 2006, CLIFTON AND COOKE 2009, NOVY AND COLOMB 2013).

In Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe, the creative economy is a rather new phenomenon and not yet as well known and well researched as in North America and Western Europe. Some of the former socialistic European countries already went through the process of post-socialist transition and became members of the European Union⁶, whereas others have not achieved

⁵ Weimar is a town in the German federal state of Thuringia (Thüringen) with a population of about 85,000. Weimar is still a significant local creative hotspot, but not anymore on a national, and especially not on a global level.

⁶ Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are European Union member states since 2004. Bulgaria and Romania became members in 2007. Croatia is a member since 2013. Cyprus and Malta became member states in 2004, but cannot be observed as transitional Eastern European countries because they did not have a socialistic economic and political system. Eleven out of thirteen new member states passed through post-socialist transition.

this goal yet, still overcoming the transition to obtain a membership. Knowledge about creative economy in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe is expanding, especially in those countries which are now members of the European Union (e.g. MARTIN-BRELOT ET AL. 2010, LENGYEL AND SAGVARI 2011, MURZYN-KUPISZ 2012, SLACH ET AL. 2013, ROZENTALE AND LAVANGA 2014). Regardless of the growing stock of literature, dynamics following creative economy and its influences on urban development represent a niche which is not explored enough regarding post-socialist cities.

Urban creativity in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe developed spontaneously in the beginning (STRYJAKIEWICZ ET AL. 2014: 32). Due to the turbulent transition paths from the socialist to the market oriented economic systems, and from the political one-party system to the democratic political pluralism in former socialistic European countries, policies supporting the economy were not on the priority list of the political agenda. “Primary efforts of central, regional and local governments were focused on dealing with the recession caused by the initial shock of the transition period” (CHAPAIN ET AL. 2013: 113).

With respect to the socialist heritage in the administrative organisations and in the self-conception of local political elites, bottom-up approaches had long been neglected in urban development strategies (VUJOVIĆ AND PETROVIĆ 2007, KERESZTELY AND SCOTT 2012). In any case, influence of the creative economy was not of crucial importance in the post-socialist era. “The creative knowledge sector had to develop from the ground up against a deficiency of capital, institutions and supporting policies” (STRYJAKIEWICZ ET AL. 2010: 106). That is particularly true for Serbia, where late political, social, and economic transition started after the ‘democratic revolution’ at the end of 2000⁷, after a decade of international isolation, armed conflicts and severe economic crises during the 1990s (BIEBER 2003). Many trends regarding political and economic spheres already accepted in the West were brought to Serbia in the period after 2000 (GREENBERG 2006, HOLLINSHEAD AND MACLEAN 2007, GREENBERG 2014). A creative-led development is one of the Western trends which was introduced to Serbian urban practices. Thus, creative-led city quarter development is one of the new phenomena in Serbia worthy of research and analysis. Especially Belgrade⁸ as the most significant Serbian urban centre and capital city imposes

⁷ On October 5, 2000, after more than ten years at power, Slobodan Milošević was ousted. After he had tried to fake the election results, hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated successfully on the streets of Belgrade, and got a new government, the first democratic one in Serbia.

⁸ Serbian: Beograd (lat.)

itself as a challenging research field (GÖLER AND LEHMEIER 2011). Belgrade has gone through a restless development in the last 200 years. It has grown from a small town in the 19th century, to an almost 'two million city' nowadays. It passed through different phases with various state forms, as well as various social, political and economic systems. Finally, there is a phenomenon differing it from other Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern European metropolises: delayed post-socialist transition.

A study of the German Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development (BUNDESINSTITUT FÜR BAU-, STADT- UND RAUMFORSCHUNG [BBSR] 2010) concerning functions of European metropolises showed that Belgrade cannot be competitive with other major European metropolises (Fig. 1). The study shows the significance and size of five functional areas in European metropolises, as well as the shares of these functions. Political, economic, scientific, transport, or cultural functions of Belgrade do not have a major significance in European frames. The cultural sphere of Belgrade is notably more important than other spheres. This cultural predominance offers foundation for additional cultural development and furthermore the development of creative economy.

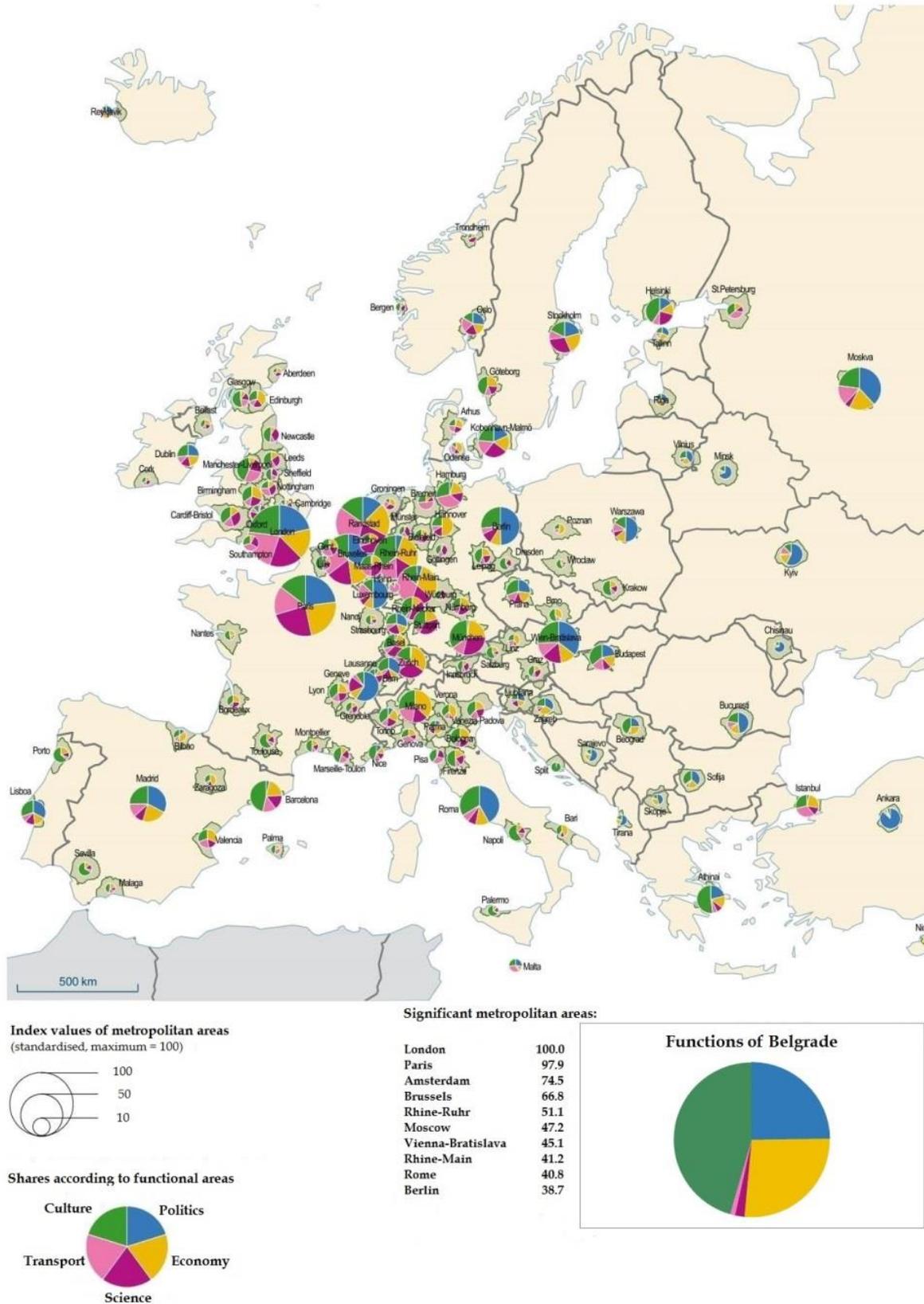


Fig. 1: Metropolitan functions in metropolitan areas (source: BBSR 2010: 12, the figure is altered compared to original by adding 'Functions of Belgrade')

Belgrade does not belong to the group of prerogative global cities⁹ with social, economic, financial, political, and technological significance influences global urban dynamics. Nevertheless, Belgrade is catching-up permanently on the lists which show global inter-city relations. According to the list of the Globalisation and World Cities Research Network (GAWC 2018) for 2016, Belgrade is identified as a city linking the region and state into the world economy (rating 'Beta minus'). According to the same source, Belgrade was not on the list of global cities in 2000. In 2004 Belgrade entered the list as a city with certain elements of forming a global city, and kept the position in 2008. In 2012 Belgrade made an improvement and earned a position which it still holds on the list for 2016. On the Global Talent Competitiveness Index list for 2018, Belgrade is positioned on the 64th place among the ranked world cities (LANVIN AND EVANS 2018).

1.4 Research question and research design

This dissertation pays attention to the spatial configuration and distribution of creative economy, its socio-economic significance and urban manifestations, as well as the interrelation between creative economy and urban environment. Historical and socio-economic changes in former Yugoslavia in the last decades imply that the development path of creative activities in the Serbian urban environment differs from the rest of Europe. This research should contribute to the discussion about the influence of creativity, of cultural and creative industries, as well as creative economy on urban developments and urban geographies.

The research focuses on the development of creative economy in Belgrade because of its socio-geographic and cultural centrality within the region of South-Eastern Europe. In addition, a delayed post-socialist transition with social, political, and economic manifestations has led to a unique urban development in Belgrade. Because of its regional importance and unique development trajectory, Belgrade is chosen as an appropriate urban region case study with the following research question:

How does the creative economy shape the urban landscape in the post-socialist context following the example of Belgrade?

The research approach includes a three-level analysis (location, stakeholder, and sectoral analysis) that is meant to reveal a development path of the creative

⁹ The concept of global cities is already well researched and can be found in e.g. BRENNER 1998, SASSEN 2001, GRČIĆ AND SLUKA 2006, MCNEILL 2017.

economy in Belgrade in order to derive different types of urban development it initiates.

The location analysis aims to detect location advantages and disadvantages that affect the development of the creative economy in Belgrade by introducing two questions:

- Which circumstances generated a ‘creative’ environment in Belgrade?
- Which kind of geographical, historical, economic, political, social, and architectural background supported the rise of a creative economy?

Many different groups are involved in a creative-led urban development (BERGER AND ZIEMER 2017). Creative organisations, companies and professionals impel such a development in general. Besides them, policy makers, politicians, businessmen, entrepreneurs, companies, various organisations, residents and visitors, are involved in creating the ambience of a city. Each group has certain motives and interests. Therefore, the stakeholder analysis aims to answer the following questions:

- Which stakeholders are involved in the creative-led urban regeneration?
- Which mechanisms do certain stakeholders use to spread their influence?
- How strong is the influence of certain stakeholders respectively?

Furthermore, this research focuses on different sectors of the creative economy and its economic results. The sectoral analysis aims to answer the following questions:

- Which economic results do different types of creative economy have?
- Does the creative economy show an increasing or decreasing trend compared to the total economic trends in Belgrade?
- Which additional footprints does the creative economy leave in the urban environment?

The results of these three analyses aim to expose development trajectories of the creative economy in Belgrade.

1.5 Research methodology

The research first presents the consensus about the activities of creative industry and creative economy by giving numerous different definitions. Second, the two activities of the creative economy spectrum are identified and localised. Finally, the research methods applied in this dissertation are explained.

There are many discussions and different opinions about the scope of the creative economy. Accordingly, “different definitions will be applicable in

different circumstances” (DRAKE 2003: 513). Hence the activities said to belong to the creative economy varies (GALLOWAY AND DUNLOP 2007, HIGGS ET AL. 2008, PRATT AND JEFFCUTT 2010), especially as the discussion also includes approaches that are considered as popular scientific (PRATT 2010). Regardless of the approaches to creative processes, it is agreed that culture and art represent the base of the creative economy (e.g. THORSBY 2008A).

Cultural and artistic-based activities are the core of the creative economy (MARKUSEN ET AL. 2008), and often used as an inspiration and foundation for various other creative activities (CUNNINGHAM 2006). Such activities search for inspiring urban milieus, leave unique footprints, and trigger transformative processes in urban environments (MARKUSEN 2006).

If art lies on one end of the creative spectrum, the ICT sector with its products is at the very other side (e.g. CUNNINGHAM 2004, TAYLOR 2006). Creative milieus are seen as determining factors for those activities (COHENDET AND SIMON 2008), and without any doubt, creativity also is the substance of this sector. Because of the dominant characteristics which are prevailing here – knowledge and creativity - these activities can be classified as knowledge-intensive creative activities (e.g. HOSPERS 2003, HUTTON 2006, MUSTERD ET AL. 2007).

The difference between the activities regarding art and culture as well as ICT also reveals the variety of the creative economy. Both of these groups of creative activities - cultural and artistic-based, and knowledge-intensive - are the links within the creative chain. At the same time, they are very different in their nature, and the ways of their functioning. From that perspective, it is reasonable and legitimate to suppose that they need different settings in order to thrive.

Specific conditions such as the post-socialist context, the delayed post-socialist transition, and the variety of the creative economy are also taken into account. Therefore, this research analyses two micro geographic locations, namely two city quarters or neighbourhoods in Belgrade, where these conditions can be found. The analysis and comparison of these two city quarters should give a deeper insight into the development paths of these locations as well as the interrelation between locations and creative economy. This research also aims at a generalisation of the results found by relating them to a wider context of the urban region, and other post-socialist societies.

The complexity of the research question requires the implementation of a mixed-method research approach (TEDDLIE AND TASHAKKORI 2009). Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches in this research case allows an insight into reasons and consequences of the geographical distribution and

development of two different creative activities. The research methodology involves elements of social sciences and ethnography, granting a broad social-geographic empirical approach to this field of research.

The research, therefore, builds on various sources. Material was collected in 27 in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews¹⁰ with relevant stakeholders in the research areas. The selected interviewees belong to one of the groups which are on various ways included in creative-led urban development in Belgrade. The interviews were conducted face-to-face. Specific larger groups involved in creative-led urban development participated in a survey through questionnaires. 247 participants were chosen via two sampling methods: the simple random sampling, and the snowball sampling (FRICKER 2012). Participants were able to complete the questionnaire online.

The database of the Serbian Business Registers Agency (AGENCIJA ZA PRIVREDNE REGISTRE [APR] 2018) is used as an official source that provides economic performances of most significant companies and organisations. The Statistical Yearbooks of Belgrade provided information about the average monthly income in the observed creative sectors in Belgrade, and their fluctuation through the years (CITY OF BELGRADE - SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION - SECTOR FOR STATISTICS 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, AND 2017). The descriptive statistics and relative statistical results made it possible to compare the economic results of observed creative economy activities with the economic results of the overall economy in Belgrade.

Combining different sources gives a total insight into this field of research from various perspectives. Therefore, the research material and scientific literature is complemented by press information, internet sources, policy documents, and relevant publications.

In some cases, a verbal explanation of changes in urban environment, especially in aesthetics, is hardly feasible. In such cases, geographic methods like mapping and field observation are coming to fore. The visualizing of collected data and obtained results is gathered through maps and graphs. The observation, display, and analysis of the available data and the achieved results were also facilitated that way.

¹⁰ Statements from interviews will be quoted anonymously. Several interviewees asked for discretion, either because they were talking about some titillating public topics, or about some elements concerning the company they are working for. There are strong reasons why they requested anonymity as a condition for an interview. Some of the interviewees did not want their statements to be recorded. Because of that fact, some interviews have sound track, while some have written track. All the materials proving the results of the research were available to the supervising committee of the dissertation.

In this research, photos are also playing an important role in order to visualize situations where merely words do not fully display the situation. Most of the maps, graphs and photos presented in this dissertation are the result of the author's fieldwork.

The first step in the research process was to detect suitable research areas within the City of Belgrade. The example of those city quarters is used to display interconnection between urban development and two different groups of creative activities – cultural and artistic-based on one, and knowledge-intensive on the other hand. An analysis of the creative economy's significance and its spatial configuration and distribution in Belgrade showed that the city quarter of Savamala, and the Blok 12 and its vicinity are suitable research areas in order to answer the research question. Accordingly, these two city quarters are research object for the three-level analysis – location, stakeholder, and sectoral analysis – that was the second step of the research process.

The city quarter of Savamala represents a research area where cultural and artistic-based creative activities have a dominant influence. The example of Savamala shows how those activities drive the urban development. In the last decade, this historical part of Serbia's capital has established itself as the first quarter in Belgrade with a broader creative 'buzz'. That urban phenomenon is attracting attention of researchers from various disciplines, mostly architecture and sociology (CVETINović ET AL. 2013, KRUSCHE AND KLAUS 2015, VANIŠTA LAZAREVIĆ ET AL. 2015, CVETINović 2017), which proves that this research area and research topic are relevant. In the case of an emerging 'cool neighbourhood', different stakeholders (policy makers, creative organisations, artists, residents, and entrepreneurs) are involved in the urban development and the planning of the area. These stakeholders have different levels of power, different interests, and hence a different impact.

In this research, the part of Savamala belonging to the Belgrade's municipality of Savski Venac is examined, as this territory comprises most of the local creative activities¹¹. For this research eleven in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted from May 2015 until July 2016. Six interviews were conducted with establishers or managers of different creative and cultural organisations belonging to the civil sector – private culture centre, private creative hub, private design incubator with coworking space, two private galleries, non-governmental organisation, and private art collective. Urban

¹¹ There is also a part of Savamala belonging to the municipality of Stari Grad (Old Town). As Savamala is a historical and unofficial but acknowledged city quarter, there are doubts about its boundaries. More about that topic is written in chapter 5. This research took into account an area which undoubtedly represents the essence of the Savamala city quarter.

dynamics, as well as government mechanisms, which shape the appearance and functions of this quarter are identified through the interviews with these organisations. The goal was to understand the strategies and forces behind the transformation of this quarter from different perspectives of the creative and cultural organisations. On this basis it was possible to depict the evolutionary process of the emergence and change of a new creative space (see e.g. ZUKIN AND BRASLOW 2011, DZIAŁEK AND MURZYN-KUPISZ 2014). Two interviews with political leaders of the municipality of Savski Venac in May 2015, as well as three interviews with experts and entrepreneurs in the field of cultural and artistic-based creative economy, provided another viewpoint of the development and completed analysis of a path dependent urban dynamic. A final perspective is provided through 185 questionnaires with visitors of Savamala in January and February 2018. This survey revealed the opinion of the visitors regarding the current urban development in Savamala, as well as their usual urban practices when they visit this city quarter.

Beside the interviews and questionnaires, a review of the scientific literature and press information about this area is examined, as well as mapping of functions and creative activities in the district. Press information and articles are playing an important role in the Savamala's investigation, because the development of this area is a very recent topic and the current situation is variable. Although the interest of scholars increases in the last years, articles and other academic sources can hardly follow the pace of the changes and transformations. In addition, many aspects affecting the current development path do not happen officially, which makes it necessary to follow informal channels in order to detect if something is changing.

Beyond that, development initiatives, and the public image of Savamala as a creative city quarter is reconsidered. Having in mind that Savamala is often perceived as a cultural and artistic-based quarter, one more question arises: how far are the changes in the urban space connected to the involvement of bottom-up creative organisations and professionals? This implies the overall question, if 'cool places' in the context of a South-Eastern European city are necessarily leading to gentrification processes, as it usually happens in the Western model (CAMERON AND COAFFEE 2005, MATHEWS 2010). Given answers and research results seek to inquire about the possibilities of future development in regard to the inherent post-socialist legacies, transitional framework, the various stakeholders involved, their interests, and power.

The neighbourhood of Blok 12 and its close vicinity represent a research area where knowledge-intensive creative activities have significant influence. The example of Blok 12 and its vicinity shows how those activities affect urban

development. One of the central parts of New Belgrade is not just an area hosting knowledge-intensive creative activities, but one that is also intertwined with other economic and social activities. Observed creative activities, embodied in the IT sector, have significant influence on the local urban development. The goal of this research is to examine and define those influences, to put them in the context of the research question, and to find an answer.

Knowledge-intensive creative activities receive more attention (COMUNIAN ET AL. 2015), as well as location factors (STRYJAKIEWICZ 2010) which influence their spatial distribution (MÜLLER 2008). Still, there is no relevant literature regarding Belgrade. The analysis of the IT sectors' spatial distribution within the City of Belgrade showed that the central part of New Belgrade comprehends the highest density of IT companies.

The website of the Economic Directory of Serbia¹² shows 602 companies in Belgrade under the category 'information technologies' (PRIVREDNI IMENIK 2016). Data were collected in January and February 2016. These 602 companies are individually analysed – mostly through their websites and other web research possibilities – in order to separate these companies which are not just simple dealers of IT software and hardware, or repair service for instance, from those having creative input and output. At the end, the result is a data base of 278 companies in the field of software and video game development and production, web design, internet marketing, etc. This base includes those companies that have creative knowledge-intensive input in the course of their activities. Most of these companies are located in the municipality of New Belgrade¹³, especially in its central part.

A similar methodology, like in the case of Savamala, is used in the case of Blok 12 and its vicinity. There are also stakeholders, with different interests and power levels, which drive the urban development. An analysis of this neighbourhood brought several important insights to this research: it portrayed the dynamics of the urban development with a high knowledge-based concentration, it recognised and explained the influence of knowledge-intensive activities in urban and post-socialist transitional context, and it detected mechanisms and reasons of such a development.

Extensive research process preceded obtaining the research results. Eight in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews with representatives of IT

¹² www.privredni-imenik.com

¹³ The map of the IT sector spatial distribution and its density can be seen in the section 6.2.2 Following actual trends – Central New Belgrade as an IT centre of Belgrade (Figure 35, page 128).

companies located in Blok 12 were conducted in the period between January 2016 and June 2016. The interviewees were owners, establishers and managers from all levels in different types of IT companies. The research concentrated on companies that have creative input, these which are mostly included in software development and production. The outcome of these interviews showed the structure of IT companies on the location, their business goals, reasons why they chose the location, and how they see spatial advantages of the neighbourhood. The interview with one of the local political officials, who is involved in the municipality structures for many years, revealed information about the local political influence on forming an IT hot-spot in Blok 12 and its vicinity. Interviews with three local entrepreneurs, two architects involved in the urban planning of the neighbourhood, one local retail expert, as well as with an expert concerning the Serbian IT sector brought additional insights. The puzzle about the knowledge-intensive creative influence on the quarter's urban development is completed with opinions of those stakeholders.

Another important perspective is brought through 62 questionnaires with the employees of the local IT companies. Employees are one big group, fluctuating several hours a day through the neighbourhood, and creating certain spatial practices. They are the group directly involved into producing knowledge-intensive creativity, but also responsible for local urban transformations (YIGITCALNAR 2009).

In order to complete the picture, already existing material about New Belgrade, Blok 12, as well as the IT sector in Serbia and Belgrade was reviewed - including scientific literature, publications, internet sources, and press articles. As with the previous example of Savamala, photos and maps were used as material to display and explain the spatial and aesthetic development of the area. Most of these figures are the result of the author's fieldwork. It was important to detect which urban amenities attract knowledge-intensive creative economy on one hand, and which urban amenities follow this type of creative economy. The next important step was to define clear mechanisms that drive urban development influenced by knowledge-intensive creative economy. Beyond that, it was important to recognize if there are path dependent processes which steer Blok 12 and its vicinity in a current direction, and if that experience can be used in similar examples.

1.6 Research outline

Following this introduction, this dissertation is divided into four parts: After a literature review, a wider spatial framework as well as development conditions are defined, followed by the empirical part and concluding remarks.

Eight chapters with the introduction as chapter 1 display the outline. The second and third chapter represent the theoretical framework of the dissertation. Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature regarding creative and knowledge-intensive economy. All major concepts and terms used in the dissertation are defined there. Creativity as a concept is observed from the perspectives of different disciplines. Furthermore, concepts where creativity is included in a wider social and economic context - culture and cultural industries, creative industry, and creative economy - are defined. The concept of a 'creative class' is introduced at the end of the chapter. Chapter 3 explains the connection between creative and knowledge-intensive economy and urban environment, as well as the characteristics regarding the post-socialist urban development. Not all city quarters inspire creative activities, but some of them are more conducive for such developments. Consequently, terms like 'city quarter' and 'creative urban milieu' have to be explained. Besides that, stakeholders, policies and governance types having influence on the creative-led development are specified.

Chapter 4 is the link between the theoretical framework and the empirical study. It offers a brief history of the culture, art, and the economy in Serbia, as a precondition necessary for the creative economy development. Furthermore, strengths and weaknesses of Belgrade as a potential creative economy centre are presented. This analysis relies on historical, cultural, political, social, and economic development paths of Serbian capital.

The following chapters represent the empirical essence of the research. The first layer of the analysis is conducted in chapter 5. The location analysis of Savamala on one, and Blok 12 and its vicinity on the other hand, show their geographic, historical, social, economic and political advantages and limitations for a certain creative development. Chapter 6 focuses on the creative processes in the research areas seen from the perspective of the stakeholders involved. With respect to their roles, key actors are pointed out. The final analysis of the research areas is implemented in chapter 7. The economic impact of different creative activities is analysed through the performances of the most prominent companies and organisations.

Chapter 8 represents the synthesis of the obtained results. Through the examples of the research areas, certain regularities are extracted which can be used in a broader context of city quarter development. The answers to the research question are presented there. Finally, concluding remarks regarding the broader context of the researched topic in the dissertation are given.

2. Step by step - From creativity to the creative economy

Nothing is original. Steal from anywhere that resonates with inspiration or fuels your imagination. Devour old films, new films, music, books, paintings, photographs, poems, dreams, random conversations, architecture, bridges, street signs, trees, clouds, bodies of water, light and shadows. Select only things to steal from that speak directly to your soul. If you do this, your work (and theft) will be authentic. Authenticity is invaluable; originality is non-existent. And don't bother concealing your thievery – celebrate it if you feel like it. In any case, always remember what Jean-Luc Godard said: 'It's not where you take things from - it's where you take them to'.

JIM JARMUSCH (2004)

In the first decade of the 21st century, for the first time in human history, urban population outnumbered the rural population on a worldwide level (HALL AND BARRETT 2012). Officially, the world of today is an urban world (PACIONE 2005: XXXVI). Urban geographers study spatial processes and forces that affect urban environment. Recognizing, detecting and defining these processes and forces are first steps in the research procedure.

Post-industrial urban development (HARVEY 1989) and post-socialist transition (CZEPZYNSKI 2008) triggered transformations of contemporary urban social, economic and built environment. Beside other changes, the occurrence of creative-led urban development is noticed (MOMMAS 2004). Creative economy is not a much known concept to a wider audience. Considering that aspect, this chapter aims to explain the concept of creative economy and related terms such as creativity, cultural industries, and creative industries. Understanding these terms is of crucial importance for understanding the topic and substance of this dissertation.

There are at least two reasons why the concepts listed above should be defined. First, several terms are regularly used, and readers should be familiar with them. Second, some concepts can be interpreted in different ways. Creative economy is an 'ongoing' process. The terminology regarding that research field is not standardised. It is possible that some definitions used in this dissertation are not applicable in every single occasion. Terms and concepts defined in this chapter are suitable to this study but rely on relevant literature. They enable the reader to follow research progress, and to be familiar with the author's understanding of creative economy and related terms.

2.1 Creativity – What it actually is

As an idea, a term and a concept, creativity is interesting for a variety of research fields. From psychology and philosophy, to sociology, economy and geography, numerous research disciplines use various paradigms to explain creativity and to emphasise its significance (HENNESSEY AND AMABILE 2010, SAWYER 2012, MCCARTHY AND PITTAWAY 2014, FORGEARD AND KAUFMAN 2016). All of these disciplines are supporting that creativity is dependent on its spatial context (see MEUSBURGER ET AL. 2009A).

It is undoubtable that creativity is connected with a wide range of human activities (SAWYER 2012). Creativity itself is in the nature of human beings (MITHEN 2005). Resolving some of the simplest everyday problems demands creative attention, even though one is sometimes not aware of that. It was probably developed through the process of evolution (MORRIS-KAY 2010). Creativity helped humans to overcome many challenges through thousands of years, and to reach the contemporary level of development (URBAN 1995). The multiplying of creativity and its effects is the basis of permanent progress of human society (MORAN 2010).

Creativity is not a simple concept to grasp and it “requires both originality and effectiveness” (RUNCO AND JAEGER 2012: 92). STERNBERG and LUBART (1999: 3) define creativity as “the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e., original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e., useful, adaptive concerning task constraints)”. Originality and novelty are two essential constructive elements of creativity, but effectiveness and appropriateness as additional factors should not be underestimated (RUNCO 1993, RUNCO AND CHARLES 1993, RUDOWICZ 2003). Originality and novelty provide a substance (RUNCO 1988), while effectiveness and appropriateness are providing a use and/or exchange value (LEPAK ET AL. 2007). A creative idea, act or product is valuable if it can be efficiently used and has a purpose (BRISKMAN 1980). The final goal of creativity is to lead to some product, service or idea which will be useful, and will effectively help to resolve certain issues (CROPLEY 2004).

If a person has an idea, but is not able to turn it into reality, it cannot be said that that person is creative but rather imaginative. Being imaginative is the first step on the way along to being creative, but not yet sufficient to fulfil the prerequisite for creativeness (GAUT 2003).

Innovation and creativity are very similar concepts, but they do not stand for the same idea. KANTER (1983: 20) notes that innovation is “the generation, acceptance, and implementation of new ideas, processes, products, or services”. He adds that it brings a “problem-solving idea into use” (1983: 20). AMABILE

(1988: 126) explains that “innovation is built on creative ideas as the basic elements”.

STERNBERG and KRAUS (2014: 80) go into the correlation between creativity and innovation:

“Creativity is ... typically used to refer to the act of producing new ideas, approaches or actions, while innovation is the process of both generating and applying such creative ideas in some specific context”.

Accordingly, every case of innovation includes creativity but creativity does not necessarily include innovation. Innovation represents realised creativity - creativity framed by a specific service or product, and creativity that achieved a use value.

The research field of creativity is spreading throughout different scientific disciplines and has experienced a phase of accelerated growth during the last few decades. ALBERT and RUNCO write that “the field can only be described as explosive” (1999: 17). STERNBERG and LUBART (1999) notice that creativity was not investigated in psychology studies until the 1950s. Even though some researchers were aware of the importance of creativity, STERNBERG and LUBACK (1999) describe creativity as a neglected research topic during that time. They explain different approaches to the study of creativity, such as a mystical, a pragmatic, a psychodynamic, a psychometric, a cognitive, a social-personality approach, and finally a cognitive approach which includes multiple components. One of their theories, the investment theory, proclaims that creativity requires six interrelated resources: intellectual abilities, knowledge, styles of thinking, personality, motivation, and environment. All these resources are interconnected with certain geographical ambience.

FELDMAN (1999) writes that creative development is a complex process and that it consists of seven dimensions. These dimensions are cognitive processes, social/emotional processes, family aspects (both of childhood and adulthood), education and preparation (formal and informal), characteristics of the domain and field, social/cultural contextual aspects, and historical forces, events and trends. All seven dimensions, through their visible and invisible mechanisms, have an influence on forming creativity. Among these resources and dimensions of creativity, environment, social, cultural and historical aspects are directly dependent on spatial premises, while others are indirectly dependent or connected to the spatial setting.

CSIKSZENTMIHALYI (1999) distinguishes three interrelated factors which impact creativity – individual, domain, and field. The role of *field* refers to social, cultural and spatial preconditions. “Any field that is able to attract a

disproportionate number of bright young persons is more likely to witness creative breakthroughs” (CSIKSZENTMIHALYI 1999: 325).

Creativity can also be observed as “a complex process of innovation mixing several dimensions such as technology, science, management, and culture” (KEA EUROPEAN AFFAIRS 2006: 32). Creativity should not be observed through one dimensional spectacles, but with respect to its multi-layered nature (Fig. 2). Some activities can have characteristics of one or several creativity layers. The most effective are those which are combining more of them, possibly all four.

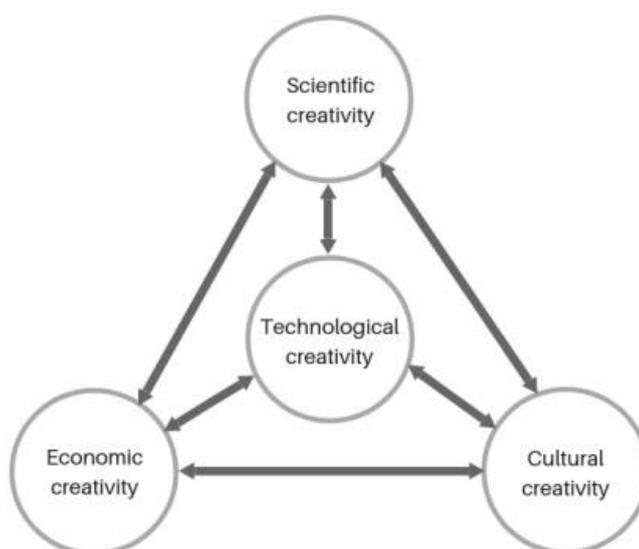


Fig. 2: The complexity of creativity (source: KEA EUROPEAN AFFAIRS 2006: 42)

Some researchers and scholars are trying to develop theories and explain the functioning of contemporary economic trends with creativity as the main ingredient in that summary. Creativity is leading economic trajectories in the direction of effective, digital, and knowledge-based economies (PETERS ET AL. 2009). For example, FLORIDA (2004: XIII) recognises creativity as the crucial economic resource which can improve many societal aspects:

“Human creativity is the ultimate economic resource. The ability to come up with new ideas and better ways of doing things is ultimately what raises productivity and thus living standards”.

Following these statements, creativity represents the core aspect for providing innovations which have a positive influence on the economic and social environment (CASTELLS 1999, MCLEAN 2005). This is both a logical and simplified interpretation. On the other hand, this interpretation itself sounds quite utopian (HOWELLS 2015).

The research not only deals with creativity in general, but also focuses on its socio-economic significance. Culture and art are among the most admired

human activities (STYHRE AND ERIKSSON 2007), and artists are creatively gifted (PIIRTO 1998).

2.2 Culture and cultural industries – A way from ‘ideological manipulation’ to the market

Culture industries were first mentioned in the work of Adorno and Horkheimer (e.g. HARTLEY 2005, O’CONNOR 2007). In 1944, Adorno and Horkheimer discussed the commodification of culture and ways of its ideological manipulation in the essay *‘The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception’*¹⁴. According to them, the occurrence of culture industries is characteristic for the stage of late capitalism. Culture industries include various forms and products of light entertainment, and have capitalistic growth as a goal. Artwork participates in building their substance, but is subordinated to higher capitalistic interests – profit and power. Adorno and Horkheimer introduced ‘culture industries’ as a term and declined the term ‘mass culture’ in an effort to show that this phenomenon does not appear spontaneously from the masses. Culture industry is seen as an apparatus serving to the capitalist elites, slaughtering the individuality of the people, and creating pseudo-individuals (HORKHEIMER AND ADORNO 2006). They briefly considered that culture lost its role as a means of enlightenment and started to play a role in the process of capitalism as its promoter (HABERMAS 1989) and argue that culture industries distract masses through light entertainment from real problems produced by capitalist society. Both conclude that people in a capitalist system share the destiny of art in cultural industries – they are victims, and are reduced to an exchange value (HORKHEIMER AND ADORNO 2006).

The contemporary concept of cultural industries relies on Adorno and Horkheimer’s work, but has been further developed. One of the main objections to their definitions is the superficiality of their economic analysis (GARNHAM 2005). HESMONDHALGH (2002) recognised the importance of changing the terminology - from culture industries to cultural industries. The concept of cultural industries determines the position of arts and cultural products on the market (PANG 2015).

Culture and arts profited from state subsidies for a long time and had no economic imperative (MINIHAN 1977). In many cases, especially in developed capitalist countries, artistic and cultural programs got reduced support from the public funds (BOORSMA ET AL. 1998). Ways of capitalizing cultural activities became one of the key issues for policy makers (MCROBBIE 1999). Cultural

¹⁴ This essay is published in the book ‘Dialectic of Enlightenment. Philosophical Fragments’ (Ger. ‘Dialektik der Aufklärung. Philosophische Fragmente’).

industries represent a network of participants – from creators to distributors – who enable cultural production and consumption (HIRSCH 2000). Its embodiment was first spotted after media deregulation¹⁵ when profit-seeking programs became dominant (MIEGE 1987).

“... the political economy version of cultural industries stressed the particular nature of the economic structure and dynamics of the cultural sector, stemming from the symbolic or immaterial nature of its product, which in its turn provided the justification for regulation on the basis of the particular forms of market failure involved” (GARNHAM 2005: 19).

Until the late 1990s, ‘cultural industries’ was a common term used to explain the position of the arts and cultural products on the market (HESMONDHALGH 2008).

2.3 Creative industries – A creative diversity

Since the 1980s, there have been initiatives insisting on the inclusion of cultural industries into policy documents in different parts of the world, but not many policies were developed, not even at a local level (HESMONDHALGH AND PRATT 2005).

At the end of the 1990s, British politicians paid attention on cultural and creative activities and included them in a policy document. In London’s policy document from 1998 (DCMS 1998), instead of ‘cultural industries’, ‘creative industries’ were mentioned for the first time (GARNHAM 2005, PRATT 2005). The Department for Culture, Media and Sport¹⁶ (DCMS) defined creative industries as “activities which have their origin in individual creativity skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS 2001: 5). They distinguished thirteen fields belonging to creative industries: Advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio. Their reports represent one of the first attempts at measuring economic impact of those sectors. Policy documents created by the British Labour government expressed high development expectations triggered

¹⁵ Media deregulation has been an ongoing process in the USA and the UK since the 1970s and subsequently in other developed countries, as well.

¹⁶ DCMS originates from the Department of National Heritage, and was renamed in 1997 as the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. In 2017, it was again renamed to Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. It is a department of the British government and has responsibilities in the fields of culture, sport, media, broadcasting and internet, but is also responsible for tourism, leisure and creative industries.

by creative industries (FLEW 2012). The attention on creative industries in the British policy document raised the interest of the international public, scholars, and policy makers (BRAUN AND LAVANGA 2007, HIGGS ET AL. 2008).

The rather vague term ‘creative industries’ includes various definitions and perspectives (MARKUSEN ET AL. 2008). In order to avoid misleading, it is very important to define the range of creative industries one talks about. Defining the field is especially important for comparative studies, either the focus is on the impact of the creative industries of two different regions, or when two different periods are observed.

During the early stages of research on creative industries, their narrow form of was implied. CAVES (2000: 1) explains that creative industries:

“supply goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value. They include book and magazine publishing, the visual arts (painting and sculpture), the performing arts (theatre, opera, concerts, dance), sound recordings, cinema and TV films, even fashion and toys and games”.

According to CAVES (2000), creative industries consist of the products which are made with dominant involvement of traditional cultural and artistic activities, plus a few activities with strong cultural and artistic impact. There are two key aspects in this definition which should be segregated – cultural and artistic activities on one hand, and goods and services on the other. These categories are used throughout further definitions of creative industries.

Many organisations deal with the definition and impact of the new rising field. The United Nations are not an exception. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) came up with a definition for creative industries during the *XI Ministerial Conference* in 2004. Here, creative industries are defined as “any economic activity producing symbolic products with a heavy reliance on intellectual property and for as wide a market as possible” (UNCTAD 2008: 13). They provide a classification of creative industries into four groups – heritage, arts, media and functional creations. These groups are furthermore divided into nine sectors (Fig. 3).

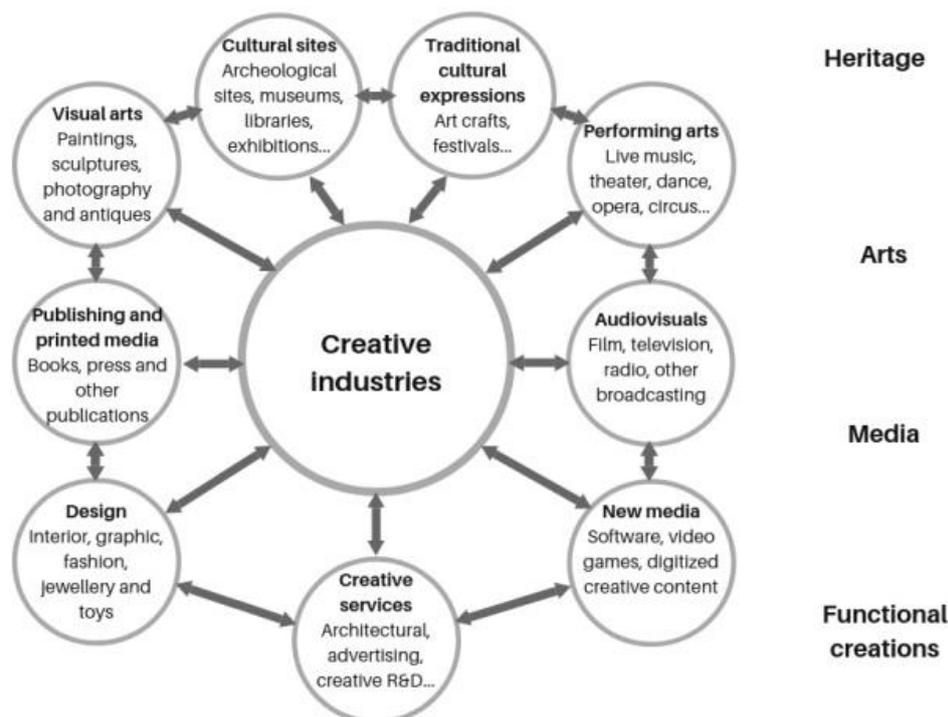


Fig.3: Classification of creative industries (source: UNCTAD 2008: 14)

According to this classification, ‘heritage’ is specified as the heritage with origin in all forms of artistic activities and it includes ‘cultural sites’ (archaeological sites, museums, libraries, exhibitions, etc.) and ‘traditional cultural expressions’ (arts and crafts, festivals and celebrations). ‘Arts’ are based on cultural and artistic activities. There are two sectors – ‘visual arts’ (painting, sculpture, photography and antiques) and ‘performing arts’ (live music, theatre, dance, opera, circus, and puppetry). ‘Media’ is defined as producing creative content with the goal of communicating with large audiences while it also consists of two sectors – ‘publishing and printed media’ (books, press, other publications) and ‘audiovisuals’ (film, television, radio, other broadcasting). The last group consists of demand-driven and service-oriented activities – ‘design’ (interior, graphic, fashion, jewellery and toys), ‘creative service’ (architectural, advertising, creative R&D, cultural and recreational) and ‘new media’ (software, video games, digitalised video content).

This interpretation of creative industries can be understood as a wider definition. Cultural and artistic activities still constitute the core, and their products represent the base of the creative industries. However, the extension of their scope is expressed by the inclusion of show rooms (museums, libraries, exhibitions) and activities with upgraded creative input (new media, design, creative services). Similar to the definition of the DCMS, intellectual property is the fundament for their market valorisation. The definition of the United Nations expresses the complexity of creative industries. Beside economic goals,

improvement in social domain is also demanded. Creative industries are seen as:

“the interface among creativity, culture, economics and technology, as expressed in the ability to create and circulate intellectual capital, has the potential to generate income, jobs and export earnings while at the same time promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development” (UNCTAD 2008: 5-6).

In one of the KEA¹⁷ publications (2006) creative industries are divided into ‘cultural’ and ‘creative’ sectors with four groups – core arts field, cultural industries, creative industries and activities, and related activities (Fig. 4). They notice that the cultural and creative sector has strong influence on other activities, especially in the information and communication technology (ICT) sector. “The growth of creative content and the expansion of the ICT sector are the two sides of a same coin” (KEA EUROPEAN AFFAIRS 2006: 7).

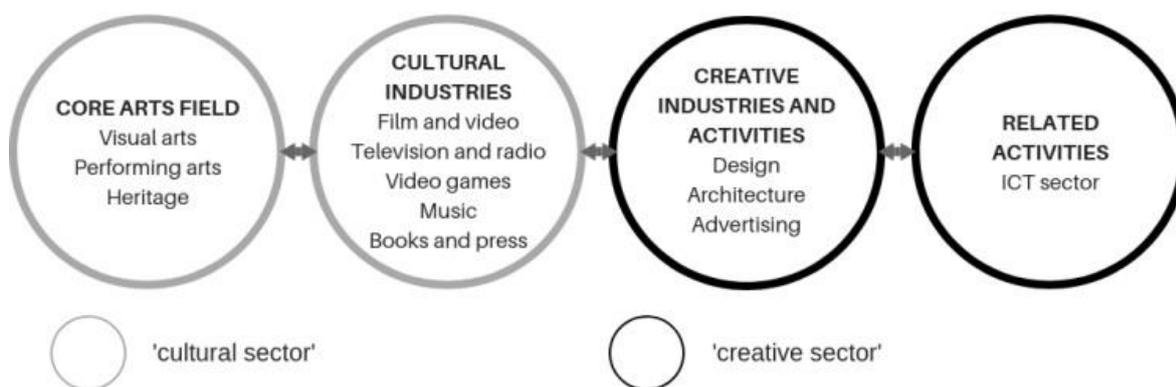


Fig. 4: Cultural and creative industries (source: KEA European Affairs 2006: 3)

This classification presents elements and development levels of creative industries. Their core consists of the artistic field. On other end of the spectrum, sophisticated creative activities including technological and knowledge-based creativity are located.

So far, presented literature review shows that creative industries rely on the concept of the creative nature of inputs, and on the intellectual property nature of outputs. POTTS ET AL. (2008: 182) advocate that creative industries “are better defined as the set of economic activities in which production and consumption outcomes are predominately determined by market-like processes on social networks”. POTTS ET AL. (2008) argue that the value of creative industry products lies in the creation of new opportunities, not simply in the creative inputs they contain. They do not deny the importance of traditional cultural and artistic activities as the source for creative economy products, but recognise that all

¹⁷ KEA is a renowned consulting agency in the sectors of creativity, sport and culture.

economic agents are through networks and choices included “in the mutual enterprise of creating values, both symbolic and economic” (POTTS ET AL. 2008: 170). This perspective shows creative industries not as a simple agglomerate of different ‘creative’ activities, but rather as a mixture of different stakeholders, their connections and abilities creating new market relations and economic manifestations. Besides creative activities, goods and services, stakeholders are another crucial element of the creative industries dynamics.

POTTS and CUNNINGHAM (2008) discussed the interrelation of creative industries and economy. They recognised four models of creative industries and different influences they have on the economic environment. These models are:

- Welfare: Creative industries which have a negative impact on the economy, consume more resources than they produce, but may have other positive effects;
- Competition: Creative industries that do not produce some special goods or significant additional value, but contribute as another industry, mostly entertainment or leisure;
- Growth: There is a positive economic relation between the growth of creative industries and the growth of general economy;
- Innovation: Driving force of the economy, not an industry *per se*, but important driving and growing element of the economy through the innovation system.

It is crucial to emphasise that the importance of one group is not related to the amount of economic impact. Economic impact is not the only purpose of creative industries. They also aim to achieve social goals (OAKLEY 2006, STERN AND SEIFERT 2008). The essential point is that one type of creative activity cannot exist without the other types. They are interconnected, complementary, and support each other.

THORSBY (2008B) distinguishes characteristics of creative industries that underline their diversity. First, their outputs are both private and public goods. Second, the structure of companies is very heterogeneous and consists of small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs), not-for-profit organisations (NPOs), public cultural institutions, and large commercial corporations. Third, their goals are not simply economic, but strongly connected to the creative and cultural products they produce. Finally, their staff is mostly made up of members of the so-called creative work force.

However they are defined, creative industries represent significant areas of the contemporary global economy (HENRY 2007).

2.4 Creative economy – Market confirmation

Creative economy is a term which respects the importance of creativity in economic flows (PETERS ET AL. 2009). Its influence exceeds the areas of culture and the arts (CUNNINGHAM 2006), and leads to the generation of knowledge (HARTLEY 2009). Contemporary economy evolves and is based on intellectual input and human creativity. ‘Creative economy’ is a suitable term explaining new economic trends (FLORIDA 2006).

HARRIS ET AL. (2013) state that Peter Coy first used the term creative economy explaining new economic trends in his lead article for *Bloomberg*. COY (2000) wrote about a new economic force having a virtual value, and producing abstract goods such as data, software, news, entertainment, and advertising.

“Creativity is not new and neither is economics, but what is new is the nature and extent of the relationship between them, and how they combine to create extraordinary value and wealth” (HOWKINS 2001: 8).

According to HOWKINS (2001), products of creative economy are the result of the creative work, but also have economic value and can be valorised on the market. He included different activities in the group - from art to science and technology. His concept represents a confirmation of a mutual interrelation of cultural, scientific, technological and economic creativity.

As FLORIDA (2004: 48) states, creative economy depends on an environment which makes the “social structure of creativity” possible and consists of:

- new systems for technological creativity and entrepreneurship,
- new and more effective models for producing goods and services,
- a broad social, cultural and geographic milieu conducive to creativity of all sorts.

DERVOJEDA ET AL. (2013) define different frameworks and necessary circumstances for creative economy development in order to give policy recommendations. They distinguish four phases in the development of creative economy. These phases are precursor, embryonic, nurture, and growth. Important factors in the initial or precursor stage are:

- Presence of historical, cultural and artistic heritage,
- Critical mass of creative and entrepreneurial people in a region,
- Broad educational and research landscape,
- Presence of physical and social creative environment.

The embryonic phase should be supported by:

- Guarantee systems and other financial engineering mechanisms,
- Availability of seed and venture capital for creative companies,
- Critical mass of supply chain actors,
- Customer proximity,
- Policy measures supporting interdisciplinary cooperation,
- Policy measures supporting creative start-up companies.

The third stage of nurture should be supported by:

- Measures supporting creativity through education,
- Copyright system,
- Neighbouring rights,
- Policy measures promoting the mobility of artists and cultural practitioners,
- Policy measures supporting internationalisation,
- Strategy documents and roadmaps for the development of creative industries in a region,
- Dedicated cluster organisation.

Finally, the growth stage should be supported by:

- Financial schemes supporting growth,
- Policy measures supporting labour markets.

The scheme given by DERVOJEDA ET AL. (2013) and classic theory of 'the product life cycle' developed by Vernon (VERNON AND WELLS 1966, VERNON 1979) is quite similar. The scheme developed by DERVOJEDA ET AL. (2013), however, includes factors specific for the development of creative economy. Briefly, the first stage of the creative development relies on congenital factors of the geographic location, while the other stages depend on 'soft' factors and policy influences. Beside geographic location factors, the initial phase includes a 'critical mass of creative people'.

2.5 ‘Creative class’ – A new class driving new urban economic development – Does it really exist?

FLORIDA (2005A, 2005B) argues about the reduced importance of traditional production factors in contemporary economic development. A central place in his theory is reserved for human creativity.

“My work is based on a relatively simple underlying theory that human creativity has replaced raw materials, physical labour and even flows of capital as the primary generator of economic value, and that a new class structure is emerging as a result of that basic economic transformation” (FLORIDA, cited in MARKUSEN 2006 from LANG AND DANIELSEN 2005: 218).

Richard Florida is decisive about the importance of creative economy. He (2004: XXVII) even recognises the emergence of a new social class:

“As with other classes, the defining basis of this new class is economic. Just as the feudal aristocracy derived its power and identity from its hereditary control of land and people, and the bourgeoisie from its members’ roles as merchants and factory owners, the Creative Class derives its identity from its members’ roles as purveyors of creativity. Because creativity is the driving force of economic growth, in terms of influence the Creative Class has become the dominant class in society. Only by understanding the rise of this new class and its values can we begin to understand the sweeping and seemingly disjointed changes in our society and begin to shape our future more intelligently”.

A creative class brings new values, norms and attitudes to the contemporary society. Its characteristics are individuality, meritocracy, diversity, and openness (FLORIDA 2004: 77-80). FLORIDA (2004: 249-252) eschews the conventional theory by introducing talent as a factor of economic growth. Besides talent, according to him, technology and tolerance are needed for development of a successful creative urban region (3T theory – talent, technology and tolerance). He defines:

“tolerance as openness, inclusiveness, and diversity to all ethnicities, races and walks of life. Talent is defined as those with a bachelor’s degree and above. And technology is a function of both innovation and high technology concentrations in a region” (FLORIDA 2005A: 37).

The issue whether people follow jobs, or jobs follow people is a permanent controversy in urban theory. Older theories were suggesting that ‘people follow jobs’ (KAIN 1968). Later studies prevailed on the side of ‘jobs follow people’ (STEINNES 1977, COOKE 1978).

Following Florida’s 3T theory (2004, 2005A, 2005B), regions which possess the three T factors – talent, technology, tolerance - are more successful in attracting

creative people to move there and become residents¹⁸. Furthermore, companies follow talented people and open their businesses in respective regions. Consequently, these regions are economically more successful, because of the concentration of a 'creative class'.

Creative and talented people are attracted by various conditions and amenities. According to FLORIDA (2005A: 82-84), they pay attention to salary, quality of life within the community, proximity to family and friends, benefits, stock options of the company, and the reputation of the company. In addition, according to the same empirical research, they are searching for amenities as such:

- Large numbers of visibly active young people;
- Easy access to a wide range of outdoor activities;
- A vibrant music and performance scene with a wide range of live-music opportunities;
- A wide range of night-life activities, including many options without alcohol;
- A clean, healthy environment and commitment to preserving natural resources for enjoyment and recreation;
- A lifestyle that is youth-friendly and supportive of diversity.

European experience, on the other hand, showed that 'soft' factors are not as relevant when the 'creative class' chooses a place of residence (MARTIN-BRELOT ET AL. 2010, LAWTON ET AL. 2013). Another problem is not "whether quality of place exists, but how to measure it" (TRIP 2007: 505).

The idea of a new emerging class brought a lot of stir in the scientific community. Even though the idea of a 'creative class' is intriguing and has many supporters, its scientific subtlety is under question (MONTGOMERY 2005).

HOYMAN AND FARICY (2009) warn policy makers against a 'creative class' strategy of urban economic development. They claim that a creative class is not related to growth based on the research of 276 metropolitan areas around the world. According to this study, human capital is a predictor of economic growth, while social capital predicts average wage, but not job growth.

¹⁸ FLORIDA (2004) involved the Gay and Bohemian index in order to measure the attractiveness of the city. According to Florida, the presence of artistic population, and gay and lesbian population reveals attractiveness of the city. Those groups choose tolerant and diverse living places. FLORIDA AND MELLANDER (2010) introduced the Bohemian-Gay Index in order to measure bohemian and gay population. Those indexes are a quantitative backing of his theory that diverse and tolerant cities attract a creative class, and consequently foster economic growth.

JAMIE PECK (2011) claims that urban policies which support ‘creative growth’, and which are formed in order to attract a ‘creative class’ have become quite popular. From that point of view, they are ‘successful’ but their results are, at best, pale. In his opinion, urban policies built upon creative development, became a ‘cliché’.

“Creativity has ostensibly become the new (universal) formula for urban growth, just as its accompanying policy routines - of culturally inflected economic development, rebadged promotional strategies, and new-age gentrification - have become decidedly formulaic” (PECK 2009: 42).

He asks whether urban planners in a neoliberal environment have become similar to their colleagues in companies’ management – going for popular (and easier) solutions and not paying attention to real comparative advantages. Some of his other articles support similar theses (e.g. PECK 2005, 2009). Peck sees municipal socialism as a solution for politicians and local authorities in the creative industries development, and gives some successful examples, like the situation in Sheffield, and Greater London Council (GLC).

“The capture and transformation of local government, as an alternative site for political mobilisation and experimentation, represented a pragmatic alternative to both the parliamentary and the revolutionary roads to socialism” (PECK 2009: 44).

These instances show that democratic development of creative economy and policies supporting that development, are possible even though neoliberal platforms permeate all of a society.

EDWARD GLAESER (2005) also doubts the empirical results presented in Florida’s work, especially his 3T’s and indexes. According to Glaeser, Florida’s three T’s - technology, talent and tolerance - can be changed to three S’s – sun, sand and sprawl. Glaeser claims that the members of the so-called ‘creative class’ are no different than other people and they “like what most of well-off people like - big suburban lots with easy commutes by automobile and safe streets, good schools and low taxes. After all, there is plenty of evidence linking low taxes, sprawl and safety with growth” (GLAESER 2005: 594). He also insists that Florida’s urban sprawl, explained by indexes and connected with alleged creative class migrations, results, amounts to nothing more than an explanation of the American scheme of the population growth during the 1990s.

In his article in *Prospect magazine*, KOTKIN (2005) writes that although all cities are eager to include “‘hipster set’ of gays, twentysomething and young creatives” in order to jump into urban prosperity, that trend is wrong. Cities tend to be regarded as ‘cool’ since the 1990s when they lost a battle with the real economic trends. According to Kotkin, a ‘cool’ city which functions on the base

of culture, creative economy, and tourism, cannot resolve real urban problems, for example middle class struggle. Hence, the question arises why so many cities try to implement the strategy of ‘coolness’ in their development paths, in order to resolve emerging problems. KOTKIN (2005) answers as follows:

“These challenges come with a price, and require public money to pay for them. In contrast, the ‘coolness’ strategy both costs little and offends no one. It is the path of least resistance, but one that offers only poor returns”.

Despite criticism within the academic community, the ‘creative class’ theory remains popular among policy makers (PONZINI AND ROSSI 2010).

2.6 Creative occupations

Florida distinguishes specific groups within the creative class. On the one hand, he argues about the ‘super-creative core’ and, on the other hand about ‘creative professionals’¹⁹ (2004: 68-69). These groups contain of many occupations (as listed in the footnote) and it is doubtful whether all of them should be labelled ‘creative’, especially those belonging to the group of ‘creative professionals’ (KRÄTKE 2010). There are several policy documents describing creative occupation in order to analyse their impact on employment (HIGGS AND CUNNINGHAM 2008). They contain significant differences depending on the approach. Academic studies also differ, focusing either on artistic (MARKUSEN 2004), or knowledge-intensive occupations (FESER 2003).

Creative occupations can be divided into two groups - ‘nerds’ and ‘bohemians’ (KOTKIN 2000, FLORIDA 2004). Creative professionals working in the science and technology sector can be classified as the group of ‘nerds’, and those with artistic background as ‘bohemians’. Artistic profession on one hand, and knowledge-intensive occupations on the other, have different influences on urban development (BONTJE ET AL. 2017).

Creative professions can also be distinguished by the types of knowledge used for their activities (BURD 2013):

- synthetic knowledge - software developers, IT sector workers, scientists;
- analytical knowledge - architects, engineers;
- symbolic knowledge - artists, designers, media.

¹⁹ ‘Super-creative core’ includes: computer and mathematical occupations; architecture and engineering occupations; life, physical, and social science occupations; education, training, and library occupations; arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations. Creative professionals are those doing management occupations; business and financial operations occupations; legal occupations; healthcare practitioners and technical occupations; high- and sales management.

This division is very similar to the division between nerds and bohemians. Creative professionals who belong to the 'synthetic knowledge' group can be compared to the 'nerds', those who are clustered together in 'symbolic knowledge' match the 'bohemians', while the 'analytical knowledge' group floats in between, possessing characteristics of both groups.

Following different definitions, creative economy covers a wide range of occupations, from artist in a traditional kind of sense, to software developers and IT engineers. The ICT sector, which blossomed in the last years and decades, is often labelled as 'the next big thing', and as a generator of new capitalist growth (CUNNINGHAM 2002: 56, GARNHAM 2005: 22, PRATT 2008: 112).

2.7 Conclusion

The review of relevant literature in this chapter confirmed that there is no one-sided definition of the concept of creative economy. Different researchers and institutions offer various explanations and spectrums (BOGGS 2009). It is also questionable what the intentions of policy makers who involve cultural industry, creative industry and/or creative economy into their policy goals are (GALLOWAY AND DUNLOP 2007). There is also the open question of whether policy makers really try to resolve urban problems, or just follow a trend of 'being cool' (PRATT 2009).

A variety of opinions on the content of creative economy complicates the measurement of its impact (TOWSE 2010). Despite numerous debates about the topic, there is still a lack of clarity about what exactly the concept of creative economy includes (PRATT AND HUTTON 2013).

According to different views presented in this chapter, general lines can be identified. Creative economy can be characterised by four common points:

- Creation, production, and distribution of goods and services,
- Products of creative economy contain significant elements of cultural, scientific, and technological creativity,
- Creativity should undoubtedly be the nature of creative products,
- Creative products should be market oriented, and possibly valorised and sold on the market.

Even though the cultural and artistic base of creative economy is not questionable, its future development is closely connected to the knowledge economy (FOORD 2008). The rise of knowledge-based activities furthermore influenced the development of related terminology. Therefore, 'creative and knowledge-intensive industries' are introduced as a term by some scholars

(MUSTERD ET AL. 2007, STRYJAKIEWICZ 2010, BONTJE ET AL. 2011). Nonetheless, 'creative economy' remains the most commonly used term.

This dissertation underlines the importance of different groups of creative occupations (KOTKIN 2000, FLORIDA 2004, BURD 2013). Creative professionals use different types of knowledge in order to comply with their professional requirements – a distinction is made here between symbolic, analytic and synthetic knowledge (BURD 2013). Depending on their professions, creative professionals can be divided into two groups – 'bohemians' and 'nerds' (KOTKIN 2000, FLORIDA 2004). Based on these divisions, research on the topic builds upon two opposing groups of creative occupations – cultural and artistic-based creative professions, and knowledge-intensive creative professions (Fig. 5).

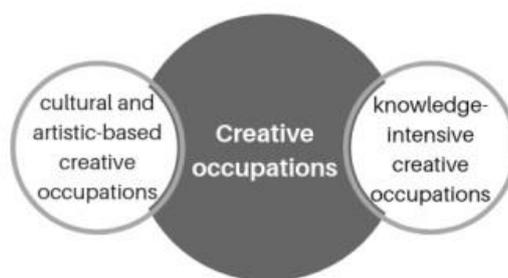


Fig. 5: Two groups of creative occupations (source: own elaboration based on the relevant literature)

Embedded into the urban environment (HUTTON 2006), creative economy initiates urban growth, but often evokes social and economic tensions (STORPER AND SCOTT 2009). This dissertation underlines the diversity of the concept of creative economy. Different creative activities and creative occupations divergently interconnect with the urban environment.

3. Fertile soil for creativity – Interrelation between creativity and urban environment

The metropolis has always been the seat of money economy because the many-sidedness and concentration of commercial activity have given the medium of exchange an importance which it could not have acquired in the commercial aspects of rural life. But money economy and the domination of the intellect stand in the closest relationship to one another.

GEORG SIMMEL (1903: 12)

Creative economy is related to its environment and dependent on geographical context (COMUNIAN ET AL. 2010). There are studies concerning creative economy and creative class presence in rural areas, and the question whether creative class is attracted by rural and natural conditions (e.g. MARKUSEN 2007, MCGRANAHAN AND WOJAN 2007, BELL AND JAYNE 2010, GIBSON ET AL. 2010, LING AND DALE 2011, HARVEY ET AL. 2012, HERSLUND 2012, CRAWSHAW AND GKARTZIOS 2016, ROBERTS AND TOWNSEND 2016). Without minimizing the importance of other geographic environments, urban regions and their condition convincingly prevail as a suitable habitat for creative economy development and growth (e.g. O'CONNOR AND WYNNE 1996, O'CONNOR 2004, LOGAN AND MOLOTCH 2007, LANDRY 2008, EVANS 2009A, SCOTT 2010, COMUNIAN 2011).

3.1 Contemporary urban development

Stronger competition in a global economy fostered doubts about the endurance of urban economy (DUFFY 1995). In the Western cities, economic power moved from production centres to finance and highly specialised services centres (SASSEN 2001). New emerging economic sectors around the world (high-tech industries, creative economy, advanced producers services) gain importance in urban development, as well as 'visitors economy' and informal economy (HALL AND BARRETT 2012). A rising challenge hitting probably every urban region in the world is their functional transformation (O'DONOGHUE 2016). That is especially pronounced in post-socialist urban regions which are forced to re-find their role (SAILER-FLIEGE 1999). Creative economy is considered one of the factors in a sustainable regeneration of such urban regions (ABER AND YAHAGI 2014).

There are several theories explaining contemporary economic and urban change, and which relate to post-industrial development. BONTJE ET AL. (2011) distinguishes concepts like globalisation and glocalisation, clustering, path

dependent development and embeddedness. Those aspects have significant influence on positioning creative economy in an urban environment.

Beck writes that globalisation influences ecology, culture, economics, politics and civil society, and distinguishes eight key manifestations (BECK 2000: 11):

- The geographical expansion and ever greater density of international trade, as well as the global networking of finance markets and the growing power of transnational corporations;
- The ongoing revolution of information and communication technology;
- The universal demands for human rights;
- The stream of images from the global culture industries;
- The emergence of a postnational, polycentric world politics, in which transitional actors (corporations, non-governmental organisations, United Nations) are growing in power and number alongside governments;
- The question of world poverty;
- The issue of global environmental destruction;
- Transcultural conflicts in one and the same place.

Globalisation created many new opportunities such as expanded markets, possibilities for new economic activities including creative and knowledge-intensive, international partnerships, and the possibility that some activities can be outsourced (BONTJE ET AL. 2011: 80-81). Processes of globalisation are conducive to cultural, social and economic homogenisation, while glocalisation is about respecting 'locality' (ROBERTSON 1995). In a globalised world, unique local characteristics are even more significant and represent means of diversification between regions (SWYNGEDOUW 2004) and the importance of 'global localness' gains in importance (MCCANN AND WARD 2011). This process is dubbed 'revival of the local' by political-economic elites who attempt "to promote economic rejuvenation from below" (BRENNER AND THEODORE 2002: v).

Clusters are the focus of contemporary academic and policy debates (CUMBERS AND MACKINNON 2004). Theoretical roots of clusters can be found in Marshall's book 'Principles of Economics' (1890) in which he writes about 'concentration of specialised industries in particular localities' (KUAH 2002). According to PORTER (1998: 78) "clusters are geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field". Clusters provide competitive advantages such as productivity gains, innovation opportunities and new business formations (PORTER 1998). Cluster theory suggests that cooperation and competition relations among stakeholders involved in clusters improve their individual and total results (PORTER 2000). Cluster growth, spreading and productivity in various regions depends on numerous processes. Path dependent development is one of them.

Path dependence is a concept that originates from economics (DAVID 1985, ARTHUR 1989). That concept supports that ‘history matters’ and calls for “finer unpacking of historical causality” (PAGE 2006: 87). Path dependence means that timing and patterns matter, and that actions, once introduced, can virtually be impossible to reverse (PIERSON 2000). Initial conditions on the beginning of a path-dependent sequence do not have crucial importance for final outcome. Crucial importance lies in causal processes, especially those occurring at the beginning of the path-dependent sequence. When these processes are consolidated, they create relatively deterministic causal patterns or ‘inertia’, and thus allow prediction of outputs in further phases of a sequence (MAHONEY 2000: 510-511). It is often applied in social sciences, and especially in geography by studying uneven regional development (STRAMBACH AND HALKIER 2013, WINKLER 2015). Economic progress or decline of regions or cities is path-dependent in that sense that initial decisions and processes in their economic path become relatively deterministic during time and lead to regional or local ‘lock-ins’. In the research on post-socialist cities that approach has been broadly adopted (STARK 1992, PETROVIĆ 2005). In many aspects, path-dependency is a place-dependent process and requires geographical explanation (MARTIN AND SUNLEY 2006). Each area, region or city has own characteristics which determine its evolution. Transformation of political, social and economic systems creates strongholds which influence further steps in regional or urban transformation. Decisions made in strongholds represent ‘lock-ins’ which strongly determine future development and trajectories (LIEBOWITZ AND MARGOLIS 1995, HASSINK 2006).

The concept of ‘embeddedness’ (POLANYI 1944, GRANOVETTER 1985) represents the social relationships between economic and non-economic actors, and economic actions grounded in ‘societal’ structures (HESS 2004). There are three major dimensions of embeddedness (HESS 2004: 176-177):

- Societal embeddedness – indicates importance of where an actor comes from taking into account the societal (cultural, political...) background;
- Network embeddedness – describes formal and informal networks where an actor is involved;
- Territorial embeddedness – indicates the level to which an actor is connected to a particular territory or place.

The concept of embeddedness is complementary to that of path dependence, because stakeholders and their decisions are embedded in the path-dependent and lock-in environments. Therefore, their decisions are determined by the place from which they operate.

“Economic activity is socially constructed and maintained and historically determined by individual and collective actions expressed through organisations and institutions” (WILKINSON 1997: 309, cited from HESS 2004: 181).

Thus ‘path-dependence’ and ‘embeddedness’ strongly influence regional and local development, and, therefore, also creative and knowledge-intensive activities, their economic development paths and their manifestations in urban environments (MUSTERD 2004).

A contemporary city faces numerous transformations. Globalisation initiated economic and social polarisation, and furthermore spatial polarisation (KAPLAN ET AL. 2014). In the light of contemporary social and economic development, various phenomena appear in urban regions (suburbs, citadels, enclaves, ghettos etc.).

Gentrification as a phenomenon was first perceived as happening spontaneously, and later accepted as a ‘global urban strategy’ compatible to globalisation and neo-liberal development (SMITH 2002). Gentrification spread globally from North America, Western Europe and Australia (ATKINSON AND BRIDGE 2005, LEES ET AL. 2016). GLASS (1964) describes gentrification as a process of changing social and aesthetical character of working-class districts by middle class residents. Upper and middle-income residents move to neighbourhoods that normally contain valuable architectural stock, and consequently rents and home prices rise to the point where former residents cannot afford to live there anymore (KAPLAN ET AL. 2014). Change of residential structure is just one layer of a complex economic, social, and spatial change occurring in such neighbourhoods (SMITH AND WILLIAMS 1986). In contemporary urban development, the middle-class is no longer the agent of regeneration. Instead, this role is now performed by governmental, corporate, or corporate-governmental partnerships (SMITH 2002).

3.2 The context of post-socialist urban development

At the end of the 20th century, after the fall of the Iron Curtain, Central, Eastern and South-Eastern European changed the course to transform their societies. According to SÝKORA and BOUZAROVSKI (2012), political, economic, and social transitions in this part of Europe are followed by urban transition. In some cases, urban transition preceded others. As TOSICS (2006: 131) states:

“The conditions of spatial processes in the transition from central planning towards a market economy are determined by political, economic and institutional factors”.

Still, socialism left profound footprints on the society and the economy of ex-socialist countries. Many of these footprints are still visible in the urban environment. Hence, an extensive stock of literature aspires to conceptualise

post-socialist urban transformations (e.g. SÝKORA 1994, ANDRUSZ ET AL. 1996, KOVÁCS 1999, SAILER-FLIEGE 1999, HAMILTON ET AL. 2005, TSENKOVA AND NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ 2006, BORÉN AND GENTILE 2007, STANILOV 2007, BRADE ET AL. 2009, DARIEVA ET AL. 2011, GÖLER AND LEHMEIER 2012, HIRT 2012, SÝKORA AND BOUZAROVSKI 2012, DIENER AND HAGEN 2015).

Already established trends from the West started to prevail to the East. SÝKORA (2005) was discussing gentrification with the examples of several post-socialist cities in Central and Eastern Europe. He points out that the most important processes of gentrification in a post-socialist city are privatisation of real estate, and appearing of gentrifiers as a significant part of the rising middle class. Still, “gentrification is not generally a major factor in the transformation of post-communist cities” (SÝKORA 2005: 104). There were other consequences which hit post-socialist cities and had a strong impact on the urban fabric. They were brought by new political and economic systems, and further on had huge social implications.

HIRT (2008) states that socialist cities are a classical example of modern urbanity. Post-socialist cities, she argues, can be observed as a paradigm of post-modern urbanity. As the result of numerous processes, post-socialist cities are changing their urban fabric. Many processes are similar to processes in post-industrial cities, but they are happening in a different social-geographic framework. Because of that, these processes also produce different results.

HIRT (2012) explains the mechanisms that influenced and followed post-socialist urban development with a case study of the Bulgarian capital Sofia. Her findings can be mainly used to interpret the situation occurring after the 1990s in almost every (capital and/or bigger) city in Central and Eastern Europe. She points out that although the Berlin wall crashed, “there are now all kinds of walls, material and immaterial, economic and political, legal and social” (HIRT 2012: 1-2). The switch from public to private ownership and the occurrence of privatism as a legacy of neo-liberalism are identified as important urban implications. Still, it is not only that “privatism as culture shapes urban forms” (HIRT 2012: 30). In other words, even though physical borders disappeared, non-material ones did survive. Architecture prevailing in new developed urban areas, areas with many new private homes and villas, has many neo-Gothic, neo-Venetian, neo-Tudor and neo-classical elements, as well as column decoration. HIRT (2012) labelled that style as *Mafia Baroque*. In general, the architecture in post-socialist city tries not to fit in the already-built environment and represents an architectural style of disunity. There is a list of spatial contrasts in socialist and post-socialist cities (Table 1).

Tab. 1: Spatial contrasts between the socialist and the post-socialist city (HIRT 2012: 38)

Spatial characteristics	Socialist city	Post-socialist city
Spatial articulation	Compact, high-density urban form and clearly articulated urban edge. Absence of sprawling suburbs. Metro-periphery comprises greenbelts, industrial zones, recreational zones and rural areas. Cities dependent on mass transit; no daily commuting from suburbs to centre or between suburbs.	Intense residential (and, recently, commercial) suburbanisation. Sprawl, blurring of the urban edge. Loss of greenbelts and agricultural lands; conversion to low-density residential and commercial uses. Start of commuting from suburbs to centre and between suburbs; dependence on the private car.
Spatial scale	Less economizing space. Vast scale of government buildings, ceremonial plazas, parks and other public spaces; vast public housing projects with large green common spaces and limited private spaces.	Decrease of spatial development scale (especially during the 1990s). Large civic spaces and housing projects no longer built (typically, only commercial projects are of vast spatial scale); proliferation of private spaces; spatial fragmentation.
Functional balance	Dominance of public and industrial uses, especially heavy industry; public uses especially dominant in city centres; industrial uses often located in prime urban locations; generous parks and green spaces. Scarcity of retail; absence of Central Business Districts.	Decline of public uses; massive de-industrialisation; ceremonial plazas de-constructed for private uses (e.g. appropriated for commerce); public buildings converted to commercial use; public green spaces (gardens, parks, etc.) decrease dramatically. Retail revolution; Re-emergence of Central Business Districts.
Social character	Mild socio-spatial stratification (although some stratification exists with social status declining from the city centre toward periphery). Less crime, informality and marginality.	Sharp socio-spatial stratification; re-emergence of ghettos of wealth and ghettos of poverty; status begins to rise in the suburban periphery. Re-emergence of marginality (e.g. homelessness, poverty, prostitution); radical informality, illegality, chaos.
Aesthetic character	Greyneess, monotony, boredom; dominance of "socialist realism" (similar to neo-classicism) in the 1950s; dominance of modernism from the 1960s through the 1980s.	Rejection of modernism; pluralism and importation of Western styles; post-modernism and "Las-Vegas-isation" of the built environment.

NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ ET AL. (2006: 4-5) explain the conceptual framework of influences on spatial and urban change in post-socialist urban areas. The change is obvious in a variety of forms and functions. New contexts that appeared, such as political, socio-economic and institutional contexts, are initial forces influencing urban change. The next wave is represented by urban planning and policies, two developments that were changed themselves during

the transitional period. There are also new processes that appeared in urban environment: the processes of transition and transformation, property rights and the influence of the market, the diversity of urban landscapes, conditions and experiences, and the conditions of competition on many different levels (local, regional, global).

TSENKOVA (2006: 23-25) develops a very similar conceptual framework for analysis of urban change in post-socialist urban environments. According to her, three shifts influence and drive urban changes: transition to democracy, transition to market economy, and transition to a decentralised system of governance. Urban environments respond to these transitions in four domains: economic change, social change, changes in urban governance, and spatial change.

Deindustrialisation and newly created vast spaces in former industrial sites are one of the main effects on of post-socialist cities. Further evident spatial representations are commercialisation and privatisation of the urban space. Many urban facilities were transferred from state to private ownership through the process of restitution (MARCUSE 1996). 'Mass consumer society' and new shapes of urban consumption have thoroughly different tendencies than in socialism developed 'mass society' (KREJA 2006). Shopping centres, malls, and hypermarkets (GARB WITH DYBICZ 2006) as symbols of contemporary consumerism (ANDRUSZ 2006) spring up like mushrooms after the rain.

Changes of urban governance in post-socialist cities brought with them a switch from government to governance, and a switch from controlled urban development to opportunity-led urban planning (TASAN-KOK 2006). Architectural styles and aesthetical impression turned from social realism/modernism, massiveness and uniformity to pluralism, individualism and variety of styles, although completely absence of style is often present.

Some analyses show that Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern European cities have many characteristics similar to Western cities and that the socialist development path did not crucially influence their evolution²⁰, and that their urban fabric is similar (BERTAUD 2006). However, most of the available literature concerning post-socialist urban development recognises social, economic and political changes that in many situations represent drastic transformations from the decades of the socialist era.

²⁰ BERTAUD's (2006) analysis is based on four indicators: average density, density profile, land price profile, and proportion of industrial land over built-up area. He compares the results from Western and CEE cities and concludes that there are no significant differences.

Summarizing all the tendencies in the post-socialist city, TSENKOVA WITH NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (2006) name four major trends:

- Globalisation and economic restructuring;
- Social differentiation;
- The new institutional context of urban development;
- Spatial restructuring: decentralisation and revitalisation.

These trends apply to most of European post-socialistic regions.

3.2.1 Research on creative economy in post-socialist Europe

Upcoming globalisation and new economic trends brought to Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern European countries new types of economy, economy based on culture, creativity and knowledge. In socialist societies, culture and arts were mostly financed and controlled by the state, and their profitability was not of the highest importance. Their primary goal was ideological. Newly created economic setting also pushed arts and culture to be tested on the market.

Detailed analysis of various processes influencing post-socialist urban development further led scholars to conduct research into the involvement of creative economy in those transformations. Late implementation of creative economy caused little knowledge to “be found on the status of creative workers in Central and Eastern Europe” (BURDACK AND LANGE 2010: 59). Also, “contribution of scholarship from within/on the post-socialist urban arena to global urban studies” (BORÉN AND YOUNG 2016: 1) is limited and should be expanded. In any event, the most recent literature that deals with the role of creative industries in post-socialist urban areas is expanding (e.g. KOVÁCS ET AL. 2007; PAALZOW ET AL. 2007; SLACH AND BORUTA 2012; MURZYN-KUPISZ 2012; STRYJAKIEWICZ ET AL. 2014), as is the case with (although more slowly) research on cultural and creative quarters. Although, so called ‘soft’ location factors are very significant in cultural and creative quarter development, their importance in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe is still not fully recognised (MUSTERD ET AL. 2007). It was agreed upon that ‘hard’ location factors cause inequalities in economic competition, and that, mostly, this is an advantage of Western cities, but some of them can be newly discovered advantage of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern European cities (MUSTERD AND GRITSAI 2009). One advantage for example, can be their newly gained importance due to their newly aligned geographical position after the opening of Europe (KOVÁCS 1999). Furthermore, as a result of former state financing of education, and remaining socialistic path dependencies, the population of post-socialist cities tends to have a high level of education (LANE 2007).

Post-socialist Europe, however, cannot be treated as one coherent unit with reference to post-socialist urban development. Even though all countries were officially socialistic, there were differences in the types of socialism and, accordingly, they should be treated differently (BOREN AND GENTILE 2007). Ex-Soviet countries, Central European states belonging to the former Warsaw Pact and COMECON²¹, Eastern Germany which went through ‘express post-socialistic transition’, and Yugoslavian countries which were not part of the Eastern Block – all had different development paths in the socialist and post-socialist era.

3.3 Characteristics of urban regions decisive for creative economy development

Since the 1970s, creative-led activities and initiatives started to occupy a specific place in the urban regeneration of Western cities (GARCIA 2004, MOMMAS 2004). Since the 1980s, encouraging and even installing creative/cultural clusters became a significant part of making public policies in the West (MOMMAS 2009). Nevertheless, creative/cultural clusters emerged spontaneously in many urban environments (KONG 2009). Creative activities, by their nature and innovative spirit, fit into global urban development trends triggered by globalisation, and furthermore into the rise of the service and finance sector (NEWMAN AND THORNLEY 2011). Although globalisation imposes unified aspirations, development of a specific area is also shaped by local economic, socio-cultural, organisational and institutional configurations (SWYNGEDOUW 1992). Contemporary changes are also supported by technological networking and digitalisation (CASTELLS 1996, VAN DIJK 2006, ETEZADZADEH 2016). Even though creative economy pronounces modern tendencies, it is in fact not so much different than the old economies. Creative economy is “embedded in past practices, industrial economic models and traditional interventions” (EVANS 2009B: 1004), and, consequently, compliant to already obtained urban development paths.

Creative economy is closely connected to the idea of a creative city. The idea of a creative city gained popularity in the last two decades. The concept behind the term differs depending on the authors. According to different opinions, a creative city is determined by indicators such as dominant employment base in new-economy industries, noticeable contingent of talented and qualified labour, extraordinary environment quality, dynamic creative milieus, and a lively nightlife scene (SCOTT 2014). The concept of a creative city (see chapter 2.5) was popularised by FLORIDA (2004) and LANDRY (2008) as a desired solution for

²¹ Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

urban development, simultaneously with the concept of a creative class (EDENSOR ET AL. 2010). Despite their popularity, some studies show that the concept of a creative city is insufficient for urban progression (O'CONNOR AND SHAW 2014, SCOTT 2014).

BOIX ET AL. (2014: 755-757) recognised patterns of co-clustering between creative clusters. According to them, low urbanisation economies and a low level of centrality tend to support 'isolated creative hot spots'. A higher level of polycentricity and a lower level of urbanity support the forming of a 'bunch' – many clusters with similar or different centralisations. A higher level of urbanity in combination with a low level of centrality is an ideal environment for 'hubs' – clusters of various creative activities organised around a focal point. Finally, in large multicentric cities, creative clusters of different activities overlap and create a 'cloud'.

According to MUSTERD ET AL. (2007), beside the cluster theory, path dependency and 'embeddedness', 'hard' and 'soft' location factors strongly influence creative economy and its urban existence. 'Hard' factors include availability of labour force, rent levels, availability of office space, accessibility, tax regimes and laws connected to the support of companies and other businesses. 'Soft' factors include an attractive residential environment, tolerance, alternative lifestyles and/or ethnic diversity, a lively (sub) cultural scene and plenty of (semi) public spaces.

LAMBOOY (2006, quoted from CHAPAIN ET AL. 2013: 101) stated that creative cities should possess four characteristics: attractiveness, productivity, connectivity, and adaptiveness. CHAPAIN ET AL. (2013) explain these four characteristics. Attractiveness has two dimensions – attractiveness for producers and attractiveness for consumers. A city is attractive for producers if qualified workers, desired locations for their business, and architectural attractive office spaces are available. A city is attractive for consumers if there is an attractive surrounding, favourable urban amenities, favourable working options, and high wages. Productivity underlines the importance of efficient and creative use of resources. Connectivity is expressed through transport connections and ICT infrastructure. Finally, a city can be said to possess adaptiveness if it is able to adapt to changes and take chance of new opportunities.

3.4 Creative milieu and creative quarter

Many scholars did not solely focus on urban regions but expanded their researched into particular city districts and micro analyses (e.g. PEACOCK 2015, TOPA AND ZENOU 2015).

“Economists and geographers have always accepted that economic growth is regional – that is driven by, and spreads from, specific regions, cities, or even neighbourhoods” (FLORIDA 2005A: 32).

Some parts of urban regions are characterised by a special social and spatial structure. These city districts represent micro or meso geographic locations, specific urban divisions, often called neighbourhoods or city quarters.

“Neighbourhood is generally defined spatially as a specific geographic area and functionally as a set of social networks. Neighbourhoods, then, are the spatial units in which face-to-face social interactions occur—the personal settings and situations where residents seek to realise common values, socialise youth, and maintain effective social control” (SCHUCK AND ROSENBAUM 2006: 62).

As part of the ‘nearness’ that a neighbourhood provides, the interweaving of social, cultural and economic horizons, it represents a special environment that functions on other principles in comparison to other environments (KEARNS AND PARKINSON 2001). Creative economy is not drastically different to other human activities. It depends on an environment which supports its development. The part of the city which successfully backs the development of a creative economy can be differently defined.

It is of minor importance if the term creative city quarter or the term creative city district is used. The literature on creative development often uses the term *creative milieu* for an environment appropriate for creative activities. LANGE (2011) introduces *creative scenes* representing “a necessary prerequisite for creative milieu formations” (LANGE 2011: 259). In his words, they are “informal, communicatively established social constructions” (LANGE 2011: 259). A social component is crucial for *creative milieus*. Without strong social inter-influence, these quarters would be just faceless urban pictures which the modern world is full of²².

“In large cities, many such hubs reflect the ethnic or historical character of place and invite residents and visitors alike across porous boundaries to visit, patronise, and enjoy” (MARKUSEN AND GADWA 2010: 3).

Different people draw inspiration from different sources. Accordingly, different people imagine creative environments in different ways, and thusly, the value of a potential creative environment is individually determined. The concept of a creative environment can be explained as a special urban formation depending on a mixture of historical preconditions, existing factors in surroundings, and

²² MARC AUGE (1995) writes about uniform anthropological spaces where people stay anonymous. Accordingly, such places are called non-places.

everyday routines and happenings, in order to inspire creative ideas and, in the end, creative production.

Previous experience shows that some urban neighbourhoods and city quarters are more favourable for creative economy development than others (EVANS 2009A). Those neighbourhoods established a specific creative milieu attractive to creative people.

“A ‘creative milieu’ is a place that contains the necessary requirements in terms of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. A milieu can be a building, a street or an area, such as Truman’s Brewery in Brick Lane, London, Rundle Street East in Adelaide, Queen Street in Toronto and Soho in New York” (LANDRY 2012: 20).

LANDRY (2008: 133) explains how such a milieu contributes to economic success:

“Such a milieu is a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success”.

HALL (2000: 644) writes that a creative milieu should depends on:

“four key features: information transmitted among people; knowledge, consisting in the storage of this information in real or artificial memories; competence in certain relevant activities, defined in term of the demands of an external environment, which can be instrument-specific or region-specific; and finally creativity, the creation of something new out of all these three activities, which could be regarded as a kind of synergy”.

According to MONTGOMERY (2003), some parts of cities with a rich historical heritage may at some point in time spontaneously become magnets for artists and cultural workers. On the contrary, some cultural quarters are designed by top-down policy mechanisms²³. As is explained by KEITH:

“In urban planning discourse, both cultural quarters and cultural districts are creations of government that speak to a particular understanding of cultural production and provide official ways to visually order and curate the city” (KEITH 2005 cited in BAIN 2013: 135).

In both cases, cultural quarters are places where a mosaic of artist consumption, cultural production, and urban place making exists (KEITH 2005). A similar definition is provided by ROODHOUSE (2010: 24):

²³ Top-down cultural and creative policies were common in Great Britain (e.g. BROWN ET AL. 2000, SHORTHORSE 2004, PORTER AND BARBER 2007).

“A cultural quarter is a geographical area of a large town or city which acts as a focus for cultural and artistic activities through a presence of a group of buildings devoted to housing a range of such activities, and purpose designed or adapted spaces to create a sense of identity, providing an environment to facilitate and encourage the provision of cultural and artistic services and activities. A distinction can be made between a cultural quarter and a creative industry quarter”.

EVANS (2009A) lists further characteristics typical for either cultural or creative quarters. According to him, creative quarters have broader target groups and are more business and market oriented. In the case of cultural quarters, the focus is mainly put on local development, preservation, promoting identity, and local/non-for-profit culture. He adds that some cities are “utilising the creative quarter/knowledge hub as a panacea to implement broader city expansion and regeneration plans” (EVANS 2009B: 1003). Strong market orientation and striving for growth can be distinguished as a dividing line between cultural and creative quarters.

A variety of different city quarters and urban milieus provides circumstances for diverse urban, social and economic development. Many researchers tried to answer the question why some city quarters are more attractive than others. “What can people be paying Manhattan or downtown Chicago rents for, if not for being near other people” (LUCAS 1988: 39)? People who live, work or visit some city part are an important variable which raises the attractiveness of that city. People are often attracted by the atmosphere which some neighbourhoods carry, and which is, *inter alia*, created by the people in a specific neighbourhood. Landry claims that “the physical things are only the accoutrements, helpful instruments and devices” (LANDRY 2006: 9). Or as Jean Jacques Rousseau mentioned yet in 1762, “houses make a town, but citizens make a city” (CASTELLS 1983: XIV). Metaphorically speaking - physical setting in one city quarter represents a body, but a body cannot be alive without spirit. That spirit is inhaled by human activities and determined by a social layer.

3.5 Stakeholders shaping cultural and creative quarters

Many different groups are involved in urban planning, and furthermore in shaping specific creative urban neighbourhoods and city quarters (BERGER AND ZIEMER 2017). Business and citizen groups are interested agents in city governing (BERRY AND PORTNEY 2013). They often have opposite interests. Synergy produced by the stakeholders’ cooperation at one location can be a very important impulse for further development (TANTALO AND PRIEM 2016). Creative-led urban development does not produce an idyllic environment and problem-free spaces.

“Instead, it is a place where conflicts over differences and power and identity struggles confront the ideal of uncontentious diversity, where the monopoly of single company challenges the ideal of balance and where concerns about property rights question the ideals of vitality and sustainable public space” (GORNOSTAEVA 2009: 39).

Stakeholders involved in creative development can initially be divided in two groups: creative consumers and creative producers (GORNOSTAEVA 2009). Other groups include policy makers and the local community (RAE 2007: 59-61).

3.5.1 Creative producers

For many cultural professionals and artists, local development and promoting culture is more important than gaining profit. Other stakeholders are usually not as devoted to the goal as creative people with cultural and artistic-based occupations are. People working in creative occupations from the opposite side of the creative chain such as IT professionals, are usually not directly interested in culture production and preservation.

Artists have a different aesthetic, political, and social influence on urban environment than engineers, scientists, and others. Therefore, they should be singled out as a special group (MARKUSEN 2006). In urban development theory, artists are often detected as the source of gentrification, too (SMITH 1996).

“Gentrification involves the transition of inner-city neighbourhoods from a status of relative poverty and limited property investment to a state of commodification and reinvestment” (LEY 2003: 2527).

Gentrification is further causing a waterfall of effects in an urban environment (SMITH 1979). Through cultural commodification and consumption, capital settles in the gentrified city quarters and changes their character (ZUKIN 1987). Artists trigger the gentrification process, while capital follows them in the second stage (CAMERON AND COAFFEE 2005). The third wave consists of public policies as a main driver of gentrification which are “seeking to use ‘positive’ gentrification as an engine of urban regeneration” (CAMERON AND COAFFEE 2005: 40).

GLAESER ET AL. (2001) argue that developing of a city is dependent of peoples’ wish to live in mutual vicinity and within a community. There are urban amenities which make a city pleasant and attractive place to live in, work, and perform the usual activities of daily living. According to GLAESER ET AL. (2001: 28) there are four critical groups of amenities which influence development and living conditions in a city: presence of a rich variety of services and consumer goods (restaurants, theatres...), aesthetic and physical setting, good public service (schools, crime rate...), and speed (accessibility, transport...).

Attractive jobs and career opportunities are another factor of interest for creative people (STORPER AND SCOTT 2009). Residential choice of creative people is mostly not different compared to other groups. Classic location factors such as cost of housing, job distance, and the quality of transport are important location characteristics (LAWTON ET AL. 2013). Both jobs and amenities are important for location choice by creative people (BONTJE ET AL. 2017).

There are significant differences in location choice among different creative groups (SLEUTJES 2016). Cultural and artistic based creative groups are oriented towards downtown areas and towards a variety of cultural amenities (LEY 2003). Knowledge based group, like ICT workers, are mostly ‘commuting tolerant’ and prefer exurban locations (VAN OORT ET AL. 2003).

3.5.2 Entrepreneurs

Besides people with creative occupations, a group consisting of businessmen and entrepreneurs is also present in creative quarters. These entrepreneurs are following profit, which is their main goal, and their business does not have to relate to creative processes. Many creative people who start their business experience a conflict between economic goals on one hand, and personal and professional goals on the other (HAUSMANN 2010). They must deal with the “paradox between individual professionalisation and dependence on social context and professional scenes” (LANGE 2018: 85). However, they follow the hype that a creative quarter generates, a growing number of visitors, and consequently increased chances for profit gain. Entrepreneurs in creative quarters can be divided into two groups. The first group contains traditional entrepreneur activities such as managing shops, restaurants, bars or some other economic subjects which are not directly connected to creative activities. LANGE (2011) recognises another group belonging to the creative quarter’s economy – *culturepreneurs*. He writes that the term is a mixture of the terms *culture* and *entrepreneur*, and that it used for the first time by FORD AND DAVIES (1998: 13).

“ ‘Culturepreneur’ describes an urban protagonist who possesses the ability to mediate between and interpret the areas of culture and service provision. He may be characterised, first and foremost, as a creative entrepreneur, someone who runs clubs, record shops, fashion shops, galleries and outlets, as well as someone who closes gaps in the urban landscape with new social, entrepreneurial and socio-spatial practices” (LANGE 2011: 260).

Entrepreneurs create not just a diverse consumer offer within a creative quarter. They are also actively involved in visual and spatial representations existing within a quarter. As the creative class seeks for a distinctive and inspirational working environment, attracting creative entrepreneurs in a creative quarter and their engagement is a win-win situation which raises the creative value (SMIT

2011). Both groups of entrepreneurs, whether their activities are directly connected with creative activities or not, have profit as motive (GRÜNWALD AND HEINRICHS 2014). By any means, entrepreneurs are dependent on the environment conceived by creative activities. Because of that, entrepreneurs should be dedicated to the preserving and progress of a creative quarter. Otherwise, they are losing favourable business environment.

3.5.3 Visitors

Visitors of the creative quarter are consumers of the creative products. They are attracted by the outputs of creative economy and belonging by-products. Visitors of the creative quarter can, in a way, be equalised with the customers. They guide demand, and to a certain level have an influence on further quarter development.

Locals from the urban region belong to the first group of the visitors. For them, the creative neighbourhood is very approachable, and their position is much more comfortable than the position of the residents. Visitors can enjoy those advantages of the creative quarter which they find attractive, and do not have to deal with the negative sides. Their flexibility allows them to leave the quarter whenever they find it uncomfortable.

Another group of visitors are tourists coming from other cities or from abroad. The creative quarter can be a primary, peripheral, or even not a reason for visiting a city. Cultural tourism was always an important segment in urban tourism.

“A place without a distinctive cultural aura is much less apt to land on visitors’ itineraries than those with such amenities” (MARKUSEN AND GADWA 2010: 14).

Contemporary trends show that tourists are always more interested in creative spaces within cities, as spaces based on cultural production, but which evolved into, from a touristic perspective, highly attractive multi-layered spaces (EVANS 2007). Creative tourists seek a more active and deeper experience (RICHARDS AND WILSON 2006). The experience they gain is the crucial factor of their decision of possibly revisiting a particular creative space (CHANG ET AL. 2014).

3.5.4 Policy makers – Governance types and policies

Any urban development is initiated and followed by some type of governance. Creative-led development follows a similar pattern. This governance process in urban development, including creative-led urban development, is not different in essence than governance processes in the other fields. LANGE AND VON STREIT (2013: 20) use approaches of KOOIMAN (1993, 2003) to define three main modes of governance:

- Self-governance (bottom-up approaches to governance; cooperation networks without or with minimal support of the government);
- Co-governance (cooperation networks between government and local groups; the government does not have decisive influence; cooperation is based on the more or less equal involvement of both sides);
- Hierarchical governance (top-down forms of governance; government and public administration have decisive influence on development process).

Issues in modern societies and economic environments are often complex and one governance type is not effective for a longer period. Hierarchical and self-governance usually lead at some point to a kind of co-governance (KOOIMAN AND VAN VLIET 1995). That is the most efficient solution for tasks and problems which are put in front of governance. Co-governance advocates to the best practices of hierarchical and self-governance and provides a synergistic effect. Basically, there should be an agreement between both sides included in co-governance processes. To be prosperous, co-governance should fulfil some preconditions (KOOIMAN AND VAN VLIET 1995: 149):

- An agreement that there is a pressing and concrete problem to be solved;
- A shared understanding of mutual interdependencies;
- A willingness and power to accept a degree of uncertainty in outcome;
- A shared responsibility and leadership.

Depending on participants, objectives, instruments involved, and expected outcomes, PIERRE (1999) distinguishes four models of urban governance – managerial, corporatist, pro-growth, and welfare.

All over the world, there are examples of initiatives of state, city or local governments which support development, regeneration, and revitalisation of some city parts. Since the popularity of creative economies has risen, there is also increased an involvement of creative-led development in official policies and documents. BORRUP (2010) thinks that top-down governance types, which roots date back to the industrial age, are not appropriate governance types for a flexible creative economy. He identifies leadership as a crucial ingredient in creative development. There, leadership is rather connected with bottom-up governance than with inert hierarchical governance. Top-down governance models were very common in the socialist system which heavily relied on industry but was also suitable for top-down decisions because of the political environment. The question is how hierarchical habituated, rigid and strict systems are adopting new plastic trends following new creative economy?

The key turning point in policies regarding culture and later creative economy was the substitution of the term *audience* with *customers*, and

subventions with *investment* (e.g. QUINN 1998). That was proof of creative activities being pushed to the open market. In the world of creative economy, there is not a 'single policy model' which is successful in every occasion (PRATT 2010).

Policies regarding creative economy can be divided into two bigger groups. The first group includes policies which directly influence creative economy by supporting production and consumption of creative products. There are also policies which have indirect influence on creative economy alone, but are very significant for the creative environment because they regulate and influence the development of 'hard' and 'soft' factors. For example, a policy can directly support creative production through subsidy programs. A policy presenting some flagship project in a creative quarter or its vicinity indirectly influences further creative development. The same can be said of education policy which, for example, fosters new stock of artists, architects, or IT engineers on the labour market.

In the absence of other successful development policies, the practice of European politicians and local authorities being involved in creative development and creative triggered regeneration policies is very popular lately. There are also cases in which they promote a flagship project which in some way should change the entire picture of a city to make it more attractive, to attract more tourists, to prevent shrinking, and to attract new talented residents²⁴.

3.5.5 Residents

In contemporary economic flows, profit is often the leading lodestar. Urban development is not an exception, and investors, figuratively speaking, can also be urban planners (FAINSTEIN 1991). That especially happens in countries with a not fully developed democratic structures, but also in developed democratic societies as a sign that "the development process is dominated by the private sector" (ADAMS 1994: 7). Residents and their rights and interests should still be respected in this development.

Interests of residents in the creative quarters can be observed from different perspectives. Their interests can be in harmony or in collision with the interests of other stakeholders in the creative quarter. Also, harmony and/or collision between residents and other stakeholders should not be taken for granted and

²⁴ The 'Bilbao effect' is often used as a successful example. The construction of a new museum multiplied the number of tourists and brought an economic boost to Bilbao. It is a result of a combination of cultural investment and architecture by the famous architect Frank Gehry.

can vary depending on the given situation. Creative quarters, and its development, though, lead to some positive and some negative changes for the residents. A rising reputation of the neighbourhood is one of possible positive changes. Probable gentrification is one of the critical changes. Additionally, creative quarters mostly become a very 'alive' and noisy place, with many visitors and tourists, and probably lose some residential attractiveness. In such circumstances, it is not simple to retain the quality of everyday life (HARRILL 2004). People living in specific quarters are more interested in environmental changes than other stakeholders (CAMPBELL 1996). Besides the contact with the environment and with other people circulating in the urban setting, urban residents express their desire to be involved in designing their communities (MATSUOKA AND KAPLAN 2008).

Residents must deal with both aspects of the change. If the negative sides overwhelm, moving to other parts of the city is also an option. That option is not that easily achievable because of residents' inflexibility rooted in residents' personal connection with space, social networks, spatial practices and routines, and their subjective feelings and memories. They often choose to seek for their 'right to the city' (PURCELL 2002, MITCHELL 2003, LIPMAN 2011).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter underlines the interconnection between urban environment and creative economy. New social and economic trends occurred in post-industrial city mostly as a result of globalisation, backed creative economy.

One of the main goals of this research is to reveal which stakeholders are involved in creative development of specific city quarters, which level of power they possess, and how they express their power.



Fig. 6: Stakeholders in a creative city quarter (source: own elaboration based on the relevant literature)

Creative development in an urban environment is rarely a simple process. It is almost inevitably causing some contradictions. The development of a creative economy faces many challenges. Sustainability as a principle permeates the pores of almost every activity in our society. The same can be said of creative development and urban environment. BIANCHINI (1993) identifies four dilemmas concerning sustainable creative economy development. First, 'audience dilemma' which includes the dilemma of a target group of creative development, for example, is creative development targeting tourists or residents? Second, 'spatial dilemma' which consists of tensions between the centre and periphery, and, additionally, includes gentrification dangers. Thirdly, the 'economic development dilemma' poses the question whether cultural production or consumption is the main focus. Finally, there is the 'cultural funding dilemma' and the question what the supporting target is – ephemeral or permanent activities.

There are characteristics of social and geographic environment which cannot be ignored by creative economy development. Furthermore, many historical incidences have either supported creative economy or represented problems for its development.

4. Preconditions for the development of creative economy – The development path of Serbia and Belgrade

I think that the image of Yugoslavia, of life in it, and what kind of country it was, will become more and more unclear as time passes from its collapse. I think it will end up in a fog, in a total ignorance of what that country once was, whether it is vilified, or glorified as a land of endless happiness²⁵.

VELJKO BULAJIĆ, famous Yugoslavian film director (2010)

As terms, creative industries and creative economy are new phenomena in Serbia. However, circumstances that enable the development of creative economy in Serbia nowadays, as well as the development of activities connected to creative economy reaches back decades ago. With a growing economic importance, creative economy receives more attention in the academic community, as well. Nonetheless, this topic has still not been thoroughly enough investigated, and there is a big gap in available knowledge regarding creative economy's development in Serbia, both in theoretical studies and statistical reports.

A society possesses inherited characteristics which enable the development of creative infrastructure, and furthermore creative economy's growth. Such evolution normally requires a certain level of cultural and artistic background, as well as a tradition of creative operations (DRAKE 2003), supported and untamed creativity (JEFFCUT AND PRATT 2002), and finally strong educational support (ARAYA AND PETERS 2010). Understanding the current development of the creative economy is conditioned by understanding related preconditions. Accordingly, preconditions for creative economy's development in Serbia and Belgrade will be analysed here.

²⁵ Serbian: „Ja mislim, slika o Jugoslaviji, o tome kako se u njoj živelo i kakva je to zemlja uopšte bila... Koliko se sve više udaljavamo od njenoga raspada biće sve nejasnija. Ja mislim da će završiti u jednoj magli. U jednom totalnom neznanju šta je ta jedna zemlja bila, bilo da je totalno negirana, bilo da je fantastično hvaljena kao zemlja neizmerne sreće” (VELJKO BULAJIĆ, quote from the movie “Cinema Communisto”).

4.1 The development path of Serbia – The last two centuries

This analysis pays attention to a period that began in the early 19th century. There are two reasons for evaluating that historical period. First, it is important on the national level, as during the beginning of the 19th century, the fight for independence was followed by a modernisation and Europeanisation²⁶ of Serbian society (SEMENČENKO 2005). The second reason relates to the City of Belgrade. Since the beginning of the 19th century, the economic (PETROVIĆ 2001A, ALEKSIĆ 2012), political and cultural importance of Belgrade as an urban region has been constantly growing. Hence, the population of Belgrade in that period increased extremely (JOVANOVIĆ AND ŽIVKOVIĆ 2006).

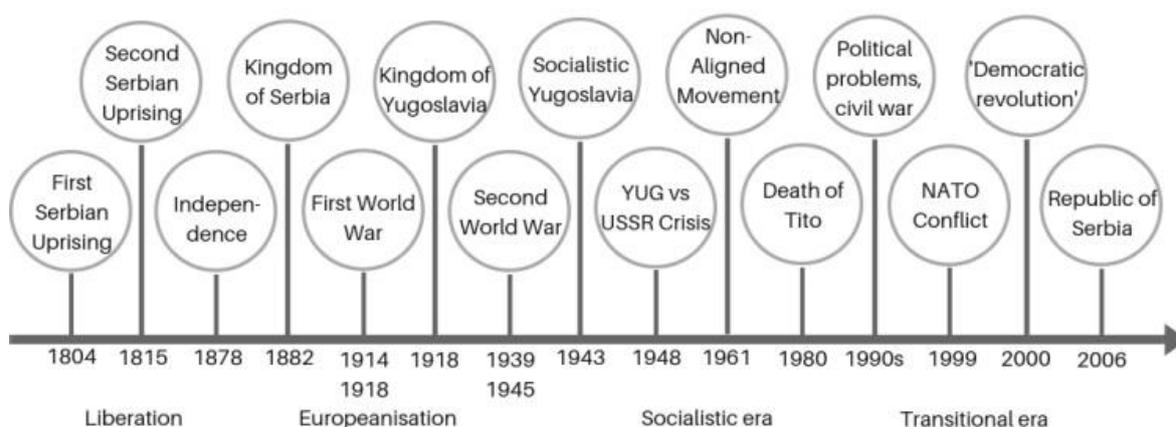


Fig. 7: Important historical events for Serbia in the last two centuries (source: own elaboration)

After two Serbian risings, a long diplomatic battle, and the final liberation from the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19th century, the first modern Serbian state was established. Yugoslavia²⁷ was later formed as a union of South Slavic people after the First World War and the dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Yugoslavia remained in its roughly initial borders until the beginning of 1990s, when Slovenia, Macedonia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina proclaimed independence. Serbia and Montenegro stayed united until 2006.

²⁶ Among Serbian historians, there are different opinions if Serbia during the modernisation had dominant influence from West European states (e.g. Predrag Marković) or from Russia (e.g. Latinka Perović). There is no doubt that, after centuries under Ottoman rule, Serbia started opened itself for European influences. Europeanisation is here used in that context.

²⁷ If the name Yugoslavia would be literary translated – from Southern Slavic languages to English – the meaning would be ‘the Land of South Slavs’.

4.1.1 Liberation and enlightenment in 19th and 20th century

Modernisation of society was one of the most important goals in the years after the liberation from the Ottoman Empire. Art and culture played an important role in that process (KOVAČEVIĆ 2012, CVETIĆ 2013). Many talented young Serbs were sent to the studies, often on the state's expense, to England, France, Austria, Hungary, Czechia, etc. Many came back with new knowledge and experiences they could practically use and materialise within the Serbian society, as the 'planned elite' of the new society (TRGOVČEVIĆ 2003).

"... Serbia in the first half of the 19th century was a centre of turbulent political turmoil, rebellion fights and big social changes, uncertain events, migrations, disagreements, Turkish violence, common administration changes ...²⁸" (DIVAC 2006: 220).

In the 19th century, Serbia was a pronouncedly agricultural country. In the first half of the century, about 95% of population lived in rural areas, and in the second half of the century the number moved to around 90% (PARLIĆ-BOŽOVIĆ 2011: 555). The lack of educational and scientific institutions during the centuries under the Ottoman Empire caused Serbia's population not to be on the same cultural level as many other European nations. An 'average Serb' of that time lived in rural areas, was a farmer or a peasant who was not able to write and read. There were only 62 schools in 1835 in Serbia, and 1101 schools in 1900. According to the census from 1866, less than 5% of population were able to write and read. By the end of 19th century this percentage grew to more than 25% (ISIĆ 2003).

Industrialisation in Serbia in the 19th century was not possible because of two missing assumptions – capital market and labour market (ĐORĐEVIĆ 1994). Foreign investments at the beginning of the 20th century initiated the process of industrialisation then (DRAŠKOVIĆ ET AL. 2014).

4.1.2 Socialist era

After the Second World War, Yugoslavia was a socialist country but was not part of the Eastern Block. A few years of good relations with the Soviet Union (1945 - 1948) brought an influence of social realism, the dominant artistic style in the Eastern Europe in the years after the war, but that did not last. Political departure of the Soviet Union²⁹ was followed also by cultural and artistic

²⁸ Serbian: „... Srbija je u prvoj polovini 19. veka bila poprište burnih političkih previranja, ustaničkih borbi i velikih društvenih promena i nesigurnosti, seoba, razmirica, turskog nasilja, čestih promena uprave...“ (DIVAC 2006: 220).

²⁹ STEFAN (1982) and PEROVIĆ (2007) wrote more about the Tito-Stalin dispute and the Soviet-Yugoslav Break.

distinctions (BOŠKOVIĆ 2011). Instead, since the 1950s Yugoslavian cultural and artistic scene was strongly influenced by the West, which was especially notable in pop culture. VUČETIĆ (2012A) marks that phenomenon as *Coca-Cola socialism*. The ‘Americanisation’ of Yugoslav pop culture was especially pronounced in the 1960s and that had a strong influence on further development of cultural scenes. The split between West and East produced many contradictories in the socialist Yugoslavia:

“However, all that was an indicator of the schizophrenic Yugoslav socialistic system. Jazz and Rock’n’Roll were played, but also revolutionary songs and songs about Tito; American movies were watched, but also movies about the people’s liberation fight and the revolution; children watched Disney cartoons, but also were pioneers and wearing red scarfs; Coca-Cola was very popular, but Russian yeast was also produced; Apolo 11 astronauts were worshipped, but also Yuri Gagarin... Having all that in mind, it is not surprising that the American magazine Time described Yugoslavia as a land of ‘fifty percent of Karl, and fifty percent of Groucho Marx’³⁰” (VUČETIĆ 2012B: 73).

During the socialist Yugoslavia, attention was paid on education, and the state invested a lot of resources in that issue (BABIĆ 1969). According to the census from 1931, almost half of the population in Yugoslavia was illiterate and the goal of the state was to improve the situation as soon as possible. Disparities between the regions were very pronounced. For example, the percentage of literacy in Belgrade was around 89%, and in Kosovo close to 16% (BONDŽIĆ 2010: 92). Functional literacy probably was on an even lower level (BAČEVIĆ 2014: 4). The percentage of those without educational attainment in Serbia fell from almost 44% in 1953, to less than 10% in 1991, and the percentage of those with higher education rose from less than 1% in 1953, to slightly over 5% in 1991 (STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA 2013A: 18).

During the socialist era, Yugoslavia became an industrial country and experienced a significant rise of industrial workers, a rise of industrial gross domestic product (GDP) and export. It was especially pronounced in the 1960-1980 period (DRAŠKOVIĆ ET AL. 2014).

³⁰ Serbian: „Sve to je ipak bilo pokazatelj šizofrenog jugoslovenskog socijalističkog sistema. Svirali su se džez i rokenrol, ali i revolucionarne pesme i pesme o Titu; gledali su se američki filmovi, ali su se gledali i filmovi o NOB-u i revoluciji; deca su gledala Diznijeve crtane filmove, ali su i polagala pionirsku zakletvu i nosila crvene marame; pila se koka-kola, ali se proizvodio i ruski kvas; obožavali su se astronauti Apola 11, ali se obožavao i Jurij Gagarin... Otuda ne čudi što je američki list Tajm Jugoslaviju ocenio kao zemlju „pola Karla, a pola Gručo Marksa“ (VUČETIĆ 2012B: 73).

4.1.3 Social and economic challenges in post-socialist Serbia

The Serbian economy during the (almost) last three decades was devastated by severe armed conflicts, international isolation and a delayed post-socialistic transition. Serbian GDP is still to reach the level it rose to in 1989. For example, the GDP in 2012 was about 30% lower than the GDP in 1989 (BUKVIĆ 2013: 560). Some traditional economic forces, including industry, do not hold an essential place in the Serbian GDP any more. Industrial production in 2012 achieved 39% compared to the level it achieved in 1989 (BUKVIĆ 2013: 560). Some of the most important companies and former heavyweights of the economy lost their market share because of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, while others could not adapt to new economic circumstances and competition on an open and globalised market (SAVIĆ 2009). They shared that destiny of 'industrial giants' in other post-socialist states (DOMAŃSKI 2003, HIRT 2013).

The new situation surprised both population and politicians, and caused many problems in the Serbian society. Emerging issues hit and crushed a previously functioning model.

"As far as Yugoslavia in particular is concerned, there is a tendency for its brake-up to be ascribed to the specific problems of the unique experiment with the self-managed socialist market economy. The fact is, however, that Yugoslavia, with all its institutional peculiarities, suffered from exactly same systemic weaknesses as all the other command-type economies, including the semi-command economies: low economic efficiency, a lack of technological dynamism and an inability to adapt. These weaknesses became increasingly obvious against the background of the wider processes of change, characterised by increasing interdependence and globalisation, which intensified in the 1980s and 1990s" (BOJIČIĆ 2014: 28).

A society in transition is often overwhelmed by struggles such as poverty and the lack of money (TSENKOVA 2006, BUZAR 2007, LAZIĆ 2011), unemployment (KOVÁCS 1998, PETROVIĆ 2011), forced bad privatisation models (ANDRUSZ ET AL. 1996, BOLČIĆ 2015), and corruption (ZAKOŠEK 1997, MILLER ET AL. 2001, KARKLINS 2005). As it follows, huge economic problems cause further social issues (HILGARTNER AND BOSK 1988). Accepting and adapting to the effects of post-socialist transition is not a simple process for the masses (BRIDGER AND PINE 1998). The system struggles to build new economic, legal, and institutional fundamentals (STARK AND BRUSZT 1998, HERRSCHEL 2007). Many people are forced to find their place in the informal economic flows (MORRIS AND POLESE 2014), and feel 'lost in transition' (VELIKONJA 2009).

Therefore, creative economy, as a new economic model, is often seen as a new engine of economic development all around the world (FLEW 2012). It is also seen as a chance for economic development in Serbia, and economic

revitalisation (e.g. RIKALOVIĆ 2012). Creative economy is a growing field continuously taking over a bigger share of an overall economy. In 2012, 10,432 active legal entities operated in the sector of creative economy in Serbia, employing 79,189 people full-time, which was 4.59% of total employment in Serbia³¹ (MIKIĆ 2014: 9).

Several trends are characteristic for the Serbian creative economy (MIKIĆ 2016):

- The creative sector employs mostly younger and high-educated workers³²;
- Most of employees are employed in traditional creative activities, but the total number of employees in traditional creative activities falls and the number of employees in modern activities rises³³;
- The number of employees in the public creative sector falls since 2000s³⁴;
- The creative economy shows better relative economic result than the overall economy³⁵;
- Most of the creative economy is concentrated in micro and small companies³⁶;
- Creative organisations have problems in finding financial sources, and state financing still takes up a crucial part in supporting traditional creative activities.

³¹ This statistic includes those who are employed in the core creative activities. If the secondary impact of the creative sector is included (equipment and supporting material services to creative industries), the number of employees is almost double and exceeds 150,000 people (MIKIĆ 2014: 9).

³² The Serbian creative sector employs mostly younger people – 70% of employees are 25-44 years old. The rest of the economy has about 45% of employees in that age category. The situation is similar with respect to the high educated workers – the creative sector has 55% of high-educated workers, while the Serbian total economy's average is about 20%. Flexible forms of employment are on a higher level in the creative sector – 14% in the creative sector, while the rest of economy takes up 11% (MIKIĆ 2016: 152).

³³ Roughly said, traditional creative activities are those that existed before the Second World War. Modern ones are those established after the Second World War, and use modern information and communication technologies. In Serbia, about 15% of employed are involved in modern creative activities, while 85% are associated with traditional activities. Such a pronounced dominance of traditional creative activities is uncommon in the EU. For example, only Greece with 67% and Spain with 60% have a similarly high employment rate, which is still lower than in Serbia (MIKIĆ 2016: 151).

³⁴ For example, 46% of all employees in the creative sector in 2001 were employed in the public creative sector. In 2013, that share was 28%. Even though new trends are obvious, traditional creative activities still dominate in the employment rate of the creative sector (MIKIĆ 2016: 153).

³⁵ GDP growth, GVA (gross value added) growth, and employment growth is higher in the creative sector than in the overall economy (MIKIĆ 2016: 200-201).

³⁶ About 95% of the companies in the creative sector have no more than 10 employees (MIKIĆ 2016: 149).

Even though some politicians are aware of the importance of new economies, creativity, and digitalisation (MIKIĆ 2016), there are no significant policies which have a crucial influence on the development of the creative sector. Cultural policies are focused mostly on the huge cultural public institutions rather than on an emerging cultural and creative scene (STEFANOVIĆ 2018).

According to the data of *Virtual Institute for creative economy – Centre for research of the creative industries* (MAD MARX 2016), on September 30th, 2012 there were 10,100 companies and 15,167 entrepreneurs in the creative sector in Serbia. In Belgrade, there were 6,360 companies (63% of the overall number) and 6,585 entrepreneurs (43% of the overall number)³⁷.

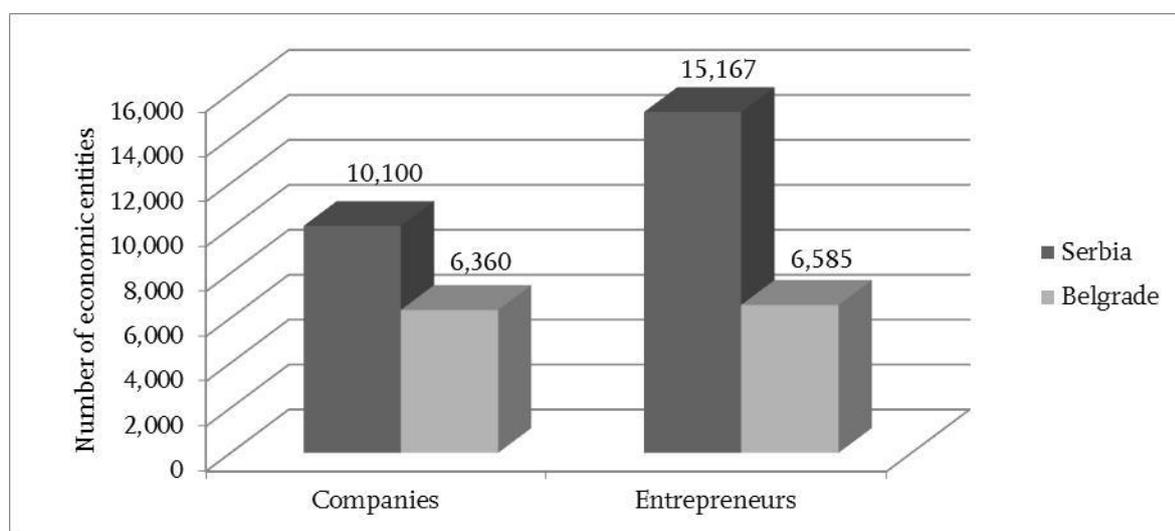


Fig. 8: The size of Belgrade's creative economy comparing to Serbian in 2011 (source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS, retrieved from MAD MARX 2016)

Considering the concentration of creative companies, Belgrade can surely be recognised as the centre of Serbian creative economy.

4.2 Social-geographic characteristics of Belgrade relevant for the development of a creative economy

Belgrade is the capital and the biggest city of the Republic of Serbia. It is located on the geographical border between the Balkan Peninsula and Central Europe, as well as on the confluence of the Danube River and the Sava River. The

³⁷ The Virtual Institute for creative economy used data of the Serbian Business Register Agency (apr.gov.rs) for this analysis. It is, however, questionable if these companies actually belong to the creative sector or are just registered as companies with creative activity. By establishing a company in Serbia, it is mandatory that the establisher(s) choose one of the economic activities which dominate the business activities of the company. They are statistically reconsidered and classified according to their chosen economic activity. Nevertheless, it is not mandatory that this economic activity really dominates their business. Accordingly, this statistical classification can sometimes be misleading.

northern and the western parts of Belgrade are lowlands, and the south-eastern part is hilly. The official altitude is 117 meters. The city of Belgrade is divided into seventeen administrative districts - city municipalities³⁸. Ten are urban municipalities and make up the urban core of the city, while seven are suburban. The metropolitan area of Belgrade consists of all seventeen municipalities. The urban area of Belgrade covers around 360 square kilometres, while the metropolitan area covers around 3,223 square kilometres.

Belgrade is located about 80 kilometres away from Novi Sad, the second biggest city in Serbia. Towns like as Indija, Nova Pazova, Stara Pazova, and Ruma are located between Belgrade and Novi Sad. This region, including Belgrade, Novi Sad and the mentioned towns, fared best in the economic transition in Serbia and represents the most attractive location for investments (WINKLER 2015).

Two European transport corridors, *Corridor X* and the river *Corridor VII*, as well as numerous national and regional roads (GRČIĆ AND RATKAJ 2003), promote Belgrade into important transport hub in this part of Europe (RATKAJ 2002). 4,638,577 passengers travelled through the *Airport Nikola Tesla* in Belgrade in 2014, which is a raise of 30.9% compared to 2013 (NIKOLA TESLA AIRPORT 2015). According to internal airport statistics, the number of passengers continued to grow in 2016 and 2017 (NIKOLA TESLA AIRPORT 2017).

4.2.1 Historical development

In the 16th century, Belgrade became very an important strategic city in the Ottoman Empire (NORRIS 2008). In the next two hundred years it was battleground between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy. Its important and favourable strategic position was often counterproductive, and Belgrade was destroyed during various conflicts. Its history is a “history of perpetual destruction and rebirth” (RADOVIĆ 2005: 141). It is assumed that throughout history, Belgrade was destroyed and re-built around 140 times (VUJOVIĆ 2014: 148). Frequent destructions have left scars on the urban fabric of Belgrade and erased some important heritage of different eras (PAVLOVIĆ 1999).

The border between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire was established on the Danube and the Sava rivers when the Treaty of Belgrade was signed in 1739 (ROIDER 1972). Since then is the development of Belgrade has been under significant Oriental influence, while the development of Zemun, the north-western part of what is now Belgrade, has been influenced by the

³⁸ The municipalities of the City of Belgrade are: Barajevo, Čukarica, Grocka, Lazarevac, Mladenovac, Novi Beograd, Obrenovac, Palilula, Rakovica, Savski Venac, Sopot, Stari Grad, Surčin, Voždovac, Vračar, Zemun, and Zvezdara.

Occident. Strategic importance of Belgrade reached its peak “between the Orient, where Belgrade, as it were, marked its end point, and the Occident, of where Zemun represented the first, though modest and marginal, port of call” (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2009A: 22).

Belgrade was the capital of the *Belgrade Pashaluk* province within the Ottoman Empire. In 1804, on the wing of national revolutions throughout Europe, the *First Serbian Uprising* began (MERIAGE 1978). This war for independence was lost in 1813, but it led to the *Second Serbian Uprising* (1815-1817) and Serbian semi-independence from the Ottoman Empire. The Principality of Serbia had a parliament, a constitution and a royal dynasty, but Serbia still had to pay a yearly tax to the Ottomans and a garrison of Turkish troops was stationed in Belgrade until 1867. Serbia gained formal independence in 1878 when the Treaty of Berlin was signed (GIBSON 2004). Belgrade officially became the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia. The first expert urban planning, and modernisation inspired by examples from Europe, was conducted in Belgrade in the 19th century (ĐORĐEVIĆ AND DABOVIĆ 2010). Most oriental buildings were demolished during this period (ARANĐELOVIĆ ET AL. 2017).

The Danube and the Sava lost their bordering function after the World War I in 1918 with the forming of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, later renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Belgrade became the capital of that Kingdom, as well.

Zemun officially became part of Belgrade in 1934. It was logical that the gap which had existed between the historical Belgrade and Zemun for centuries was closed with a new urban content. The expansion of Belgrade and the merging with Zemun, to constitute a single unit of a large urban Belgrade, was planned as part of the General Plan in 1924. Due to lack of money, this plan was not realised. A changed version has been realised since the 1950s.

During the Second World War and the bombing by both German and Allied forces, around 11,000 buildings in Belgrade were destroyed (SELINIĆ 2005: 189). The city had to be rebuilt. The newly established socialist government wanted to set itself apart from the previous monarchy. This was also visible in the city development planning and architecture measures that were taken. After these interventions, Belgrade started to get a modern appearance. This period, especially the one between the 1970s and 1980s, is often referred as ‘golden age’ of urban planning in Yugoslavia and Belgrade (MAKSIN-MIČIĆ 2003: 31, NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ ET AL. 2011: 442).

During the socialist era, many new residential buildings were built in Belgrade, especially on its outer edges, as an answer to migration trends and the

population inflow. The most important project was New Belgrade – a completely new city district which rose from sand and swamp, in an empty land between historical Belgrade and Zemun. In the last decades, New Belgrade grew to the most populated municipality of Belgrade.

The core of Belgrade and its Old Town today represent a central part and the downtown area of the large metropolitan area. Today, the most important political, cultural, and educational institutions are located there, as well as the central business zone, and the most important touristic attractions.

Since Belgrade has become the capital of the modern Serbian state in 1841, it has permanently kept that position³⁹. It was also the political centre of all these states, and the location of all higher political institutions. Today, the national parliament, the government, and all ministries are located in Belgrade.

4.2.2 Population

According to the 2011 census, the population of urban area of Belgrade is 1,344,844, while the metropolitan area counts 1,659,440 inhabitants (STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA 2014). Since the Second World War, the share of Belgrade's population in all of Serbia's population experienced a significant rise. In 1948, Belgrade made up to 9.7% of Serbian population, while in 2011 that number had risen to 23.1%.

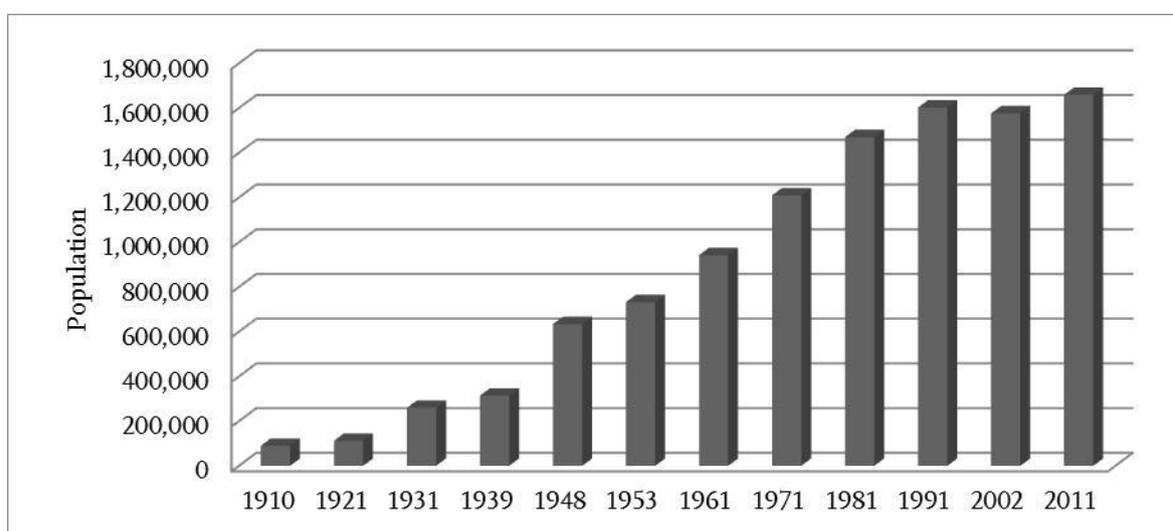


Fig. 9: The rise of the population of Belgrade in the period between 1910 and 2011 (sources: VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA 2011, STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA 2014)

As a regional centre and long-lasting capital of different countries, Belgrade has always attracted people from Serbia and the surrounding countries. At the

³⁹ It was a capital of the Kingdom of Serbia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, socialist Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, and finally Serbia.

beginning of the 20th century, around 90,000 people lived in Belgrade. In the period after the First World War, that number rose to about 112,000. In 1931, it had reached 260,000, and by 1939, it was about 314,000 (VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA 2011: 66). After the Second World War, with the regeneration of the country and the booming industrial development, the population of Belgrade rapidly grew. Internal migrations in Serbia consisted of three waves – from villages to towns, from towns to bigger urban centres, and finally to the big regional urban centre (KOKOTOVIĆ KANAZIR ET AL. 2016). People from all over Yugoslavia, mostly from the central part of Serbia, settled in the capital city (SELINIĆ 2005). Belgrade kept its high growth rates until the 1980s and 1990s⁴⁰ (Table 2).

Tab. 2: Population of Belgrade and its growth rate (STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA 2014)

Census	Belgrade	
	Population	Growth rate
1948	634,003	-
1953	731,837	15.43%
1961	942,190	28.74%
1971	1,209,360	28.36%
1981	1,470,073	21.56%
1991	1,602,226	8.99%
2002	1,576,124	-1.63%
2011	1,659,440	5.29%

A period of civil war in Yugoslavia initiated further demographic migrations. Victims of the armed conflicts emigrated to Western Europe and North America, but also to different parts of Yugoslavia. Those migrations make up the largest migration wave in Europe since the Second World War (FASSMANN AND MÜNZ 1994: 530). Between 1991 and 2002 the population of Serbian diaspora has grown and by about 150,000 people, but it is assumed that this number is even bigger (DRAGIŠIĆ 2013: 239-240).

Data of the STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA (2013B: 26) shows that 48.19% of the population were born in Belgrade, while the rest are migrants from the Republic of Serbia or other countries. The intensity of migrations was the highest between 1991 and 1995, a period which coincides with the armed conflict in former Yugoslavia.

⁴⁰ Belgrade is still keeping a positive migration balance. For example, between 2002 and 2010, only 43 municipalities in Serbia out of a total of 164 had more emigrants than immigrants. Seventeen of them were municipalities belonging to the Belgrade metropolitan area (KOKOTOVIĆ KANAZIR ET AL. 2016: 562-563).

Different sources state different numbers of refugees that Belgrade accepted during the 1990s and the early 2000s. In 1996, Serbia had accepted 617,728 enforced migrants from ex-Yugoslav republics and 170,955 of them were stationed in Belgrade (LUKIĆ 2015: 23). HIRT (2008: 792) writes about 150,000 people from Kosovo and Croatia that stayed in Belgrade.

Furthermore, Belgrade as the national capital and regional, economic, administrative, and educational centre is a gravitation centre for internal migrants from other parts of Serbia⁴¹. There are also migrations from neighbouring states, especially those with the same language and a similar cultural background, like Bosnia and Herzegovina⁴² and Montenegro. Those migrations are mostly inspired by economic, cultural or educational reasons (SELINIĆ 2005: 184, NEDELJKOVIĆ 2008: 179).

4.2.3 Educational background

Many cultural and educational institutions have been established in Belgrade since the 19th century. Those institutions supported a continuous process of gaining and sharing knowledge and innovation.

The University of Belgrade, for instance, was established in 1808 as the Belgrade Higher School⁴³. The University of Belgrade is one of the biggest and one of the most prestigious universities in the South-Eastern Europe⁴⁴. It has around 90,000 students in 31 faculties. The University of Arts, with the faculties of music, fine arts, applied arts, and dramatic arts, is also located in Belgrade.

⁴¹ Yugoslavia had a multifaceted character, and because of that, HAWRYLYSHYN (1977) writes about 'ethnic selectivity effect' regarding internal migrations.

⁴² This group consists predominantly of population from Republika Srpska, a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina where the most of the population declares themselves as Serbs.

⁴³ Other Serbian universities were established during the 1960s and 1970s in Novi Sad, Niš, Priština, and Kragujevac.

⁴⁴ For example, at the Academic Ranking of World Universities 2015 (www.shanghairanking.com), the University of Belgrade was ranked between 301st and 400th place. This ranking shows that the University of Belgrade is on the same level as the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, and better placed than the University of Ljubljana, the Eotvos Lorand University (Budapest), and the University of Szeged. In the Academic Ranking of World Universities 2016, the University of Belgrade improved its position and is ranked between the 201st and 300th place. According to the list, the University of Belgrade firmly positioned itself as one of the top universities in Eastern, Central, and South-Eastern Europe, sharing the position with the Charles University in Prague.

Tab. 3: Educational structure of population older than 15 in Serbia and in Belgrade (STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA 2013A: 32)

Education	Serbia		Belgrade	
	Population	%	Population	%
Total	6,161,584	100.00	1,426,710	100.00
Secondary	3,015,092	48.93	749,079	52.50
High	348,335	5.65	117,137	8.21

The educational structure of the population older than 15 is more favourable in Belgrade than in the rest of Serbia (see Table 3). 33.63% of the overall Serbian population with high education and 42.87% of the population with a higher education live in Belgrade (STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA 2013A: 33). The population of Belgrade has better computer skills than the rest of the Serbian population. According to the STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA (2013A: 139), there is a combined 61.97% of computer literate persons and people with partial computer literacy in the region of Belgrade. In the other parts of Serbia, the situation is worse: 50.73% in the Vojvodina Region, 42.63% in Šumadija and West Serbia, and 41.29% in South and East Serbia.

4.2.4 Cultural background

The National Museum of Serbia was opened in 1844, and the National Theatre in 1869⁴⁵. Both institutions are still located in the centre of Belgrade. The Museum of Contemporary Art was established in 1965. Its collection included Yugoslavian and Serbian art from the 20th century. It is located in New Belgrade and is responsible for preserving and presenting contemporary cultural and artistic heritage (POPADIĆ 2009).

Some of the most important cultural institutions in Belgrade like the National Museum, and the Museum of Contemporary Art have been closed for more than a decade with the excuse that they are ‘under reconstruction’. Renovation of the National Museum is often followed by many controversies, and the Museum of Contemporary Art was reopened in October 2017, after it was closed for ten years.

Artistic styles and architecture

Serbian paintings of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century are mostly results of engagement of Serbian royal families, the Serbian Orthodox Church,

⁴⁵ The first Serbian theatre was opened in Kragujevac in 1835.

and newly developed wealthier citizens' society, middle class, and young bourgeoisie (PETROVIĆ 2017). In the 20th century, until the Second World War, Yugoslavian paintings have usually depicted genesis and development way of domestic modernisms, and are abound with impressionistic impulses, avant-garde movements, and expressionism⁴⁶.

Yugoslavian sculptors and architects made thousands of monuments, most of them Second World War memorials celebrating the national liberation struggle. Their structure and architecture is very abstract, they have a futuristic look, and their artistic quality is not typical for socialistic realism pillaged Eastern Europe of the time (KEMPENAERS 2008). The second group of monuments are those devoted to work and the worker's movement (HORVATINČIĆ 2014).

Architectural styles and tastes changed several times after the Serbian risings. Initially, they were closely related to traditional architectural forms based on the national Serbian heritage, but also including Turkish influences. Following the other societal trajectories, Serbian architecture also accepted Western influences, first through classicism (POLOVINA 2012). Styles that followed are romanticism, gothic and early renaissance. 'Importing' knowledge and experts from Europe was a norm, as Serbia did not have educated staff⁴⁷ (ROTTER BLAGOJEVIĆ 2013). The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century brought a wave of educated architects who accomplished the works in academia, a period of a very successful modernism, and tried to renew the traditional style. The architecture of that time focused on three fields: monumental buildings belonging to the state, sacral architecture, and residential architecture (NESTOROVIĆ 2014).

After the First World War, architecture in Serbia developed in the direction of expressionism, and later towards functional and international modernistic architecture (KADIJEVIĆ 2012). Beside international styles, a unique style with strong traditional and national impulse – Serbo-Byzantine style – developed in Serbia (PANTELIĆ 1997).

Architecture in Yugoslavia was in the first years after the Second World War oriented towards promoting a newly developed ideology, and towards rebuilding a land after destruction. In the first years after the war, socialist realism was an acceptable architectural style (PROSEN 2007). After the crisis with the Soviet

⁴⁶ Many of these paintings and different styles are presented in the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade.

⁴⁷ Czech architect Jan Nevole was one of the first modern architects who came in Belgrade in the middle of 19th century and stayed there. He projected some important buildings and worked as a lecturer of new generations of architects (ROTTER BLAGOJEVIĆ 2013).

Union, Yugoslavian architecture turned back to functionalistic and modernistic frames (BUKVIĆ 2014). The biggest projects included constructions of completely new parts within Yugoslavian cities (ALFIREVIĆ AND SIMOVIĆ ALFIREVIĆ 2015), but also public and administrative buildings, as well as public spaces (MILAŠINOVIĆ MARIĆ 2011).

Cinematography

Cinematography developed in Serbia towards the end of the 19th century. The first movie in Balkans was presented on the central Belgrade square in 1896 (JOVIČIĆ 2010: 23). The first Serbian film, a short documentary, *The Coronation of King Peter the First*⁴⁸ was made in 1904. The production of original films in Serbia began in 1911 and until the Second World War, hundreds of films were produced (JOVIČIĆ 2010). Since the 1920s, Belgrade is the regional centre of cinematography.

The film industry blossomed in socialist Yugoslavia⁴⁹, especially the films focusing on Second World War themes, and that praised the Partisan movement. Their expansion was understandable because they were supporting official ideology and therefore were supported by the structures of governance. Since the 1960s, the state did not completely finance the structure of the film industry anymore. The plan was that the film makers produce more profitable films. Hollywood stars were often engaged as the actors (Richard Burton, Yul Brynner...). The movie *Battle on Neretva* (1969), beside the Hollywood line-up, had a poster designed by Picasso. It was close to winning an Academy Award for best Foreign Language Film. Besides war films, dramas, comedies, family films, films with social themes were also made in Yugoslavia. Among them were winners of prestigious awards from film festivals from all over the world. A film studio in Belgrade, *Avala film*, produced plenty of movies. Foreign film makers used Serbian locations for their films. That way, Yugoslavia gained an inflow of foreign currency.

Pop culture and festivals

During the first years of the socialist state, jazz⁵⁰ and popular music were considered as negative influence from the West (VUČETIĆ 2012B). With the

⁴⁸ Serbian: Krunisanje Kralja Petra I Karađorđevića

⁴⁹ Story about cinematography in the era of socialistic Yugoslavia is presented in the documentary movie "Cinema Komunisto" (2010). This documentary gathered numerous famous Yugoslavian directors, actors, producers, and movie workers who told the story about Yugoslavian cinematography, and revealed its political and social context.

⁵⁰ Roots of jazz music in Yugoslavia reach back to 1920s (BLAM 2010).

political overturn, that point of view changed. A pop and rock scene started to develop in the early 1960s in all bigger Yugoslavian cities (FAJFRIC AND NENAD 2009). It expanded strongly in the 1970s when some of the most important Yugoslavian bands were formed. Musicians in Yugoslavia were also socially and politically active. In the late 1970s and 1980s, punk and *new wave* occurred in Yugoslavian music (KYAW 2009) and influenced the creation of a special form of 'urban spirit in Belgrade' (RISTIVOJEVIĆ 2013). *New wave* in Belgrade's music scene presented the embodiment of the interconnection between place and music (RISTIVOJEVIĆ 2011). *New wave* bands were more radical and direct in their social critique than previous artists, and because of that were very accepted by coming generations which did not refuse a critical point of view on socialism. According to many lists, most of the best albums in Yugoslavian music were created during the 1980s. In the 1990s, two main movements shaped the Yugoslavian music scene – one group supported the peaceful solutions and preserving the country, and the other was on the side of the political establishment.

An innovative music scene generated a lively nightlife scene in Belgrade during the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s⁵¹. A dynamic nightlife is still one of the trademarks of the city of Belgrade (ULLMANN 2006, STEVANOVIC AND MILENKOVIC 2017: 80).

Several film and music festivals enrich the cultural and entertainment-oriented scene of Belgrade. The most prominent are: Belgrade International Film Festival (FEST), Belgrade International Theatre Festival (BITEF), Belgrade Summer Festival (BELEF), Belgrade Dance Festival, music festivals such as BEMUS, Supernatural festival, Beer Fest, Resonate and many others.

Concerts by the biggest world stars and bands were not unusual during the 1970s and 1980s in the various locations in Belgrade. Not many foreign stars visited the Serbian capital during the 1990s because of international isolation. After 2000 and the ensuing *democratic revolution*, numerous world music super stars included Belgrade in their concert and tour lists.

4.2.5 Economic development

The sudden growth of the city in the 20th century, both in size and population, brought many economic and functional changes to the urban fabric of Belgrade. Nevertheless, some manufacturers and industrial factories existed in Belgrade in the 19th century. At the beginning of the 20th century, the industry employed

⁵¹ For example, different web portals name Klub Akademija as one of the best five or ten clubs in Europe of that time (e.g. www.inthe80s.com; www.belgradeeye.com).

around 500 people (GRČIĆ 1993). Belgrade and Zemun combined counted about 55 factories and 5,000 employees in 1913, which was a share of about 5% within the overall population (PETROVIĆ 2001A: 88). In 1939, Belgrade and Zemun (then already a part of Belgrade) subsumed 238 factories and 32,000 employees, which represented a share of about 10% within the complete population of Belgrade (PETROVIĆ 2001A: 90).

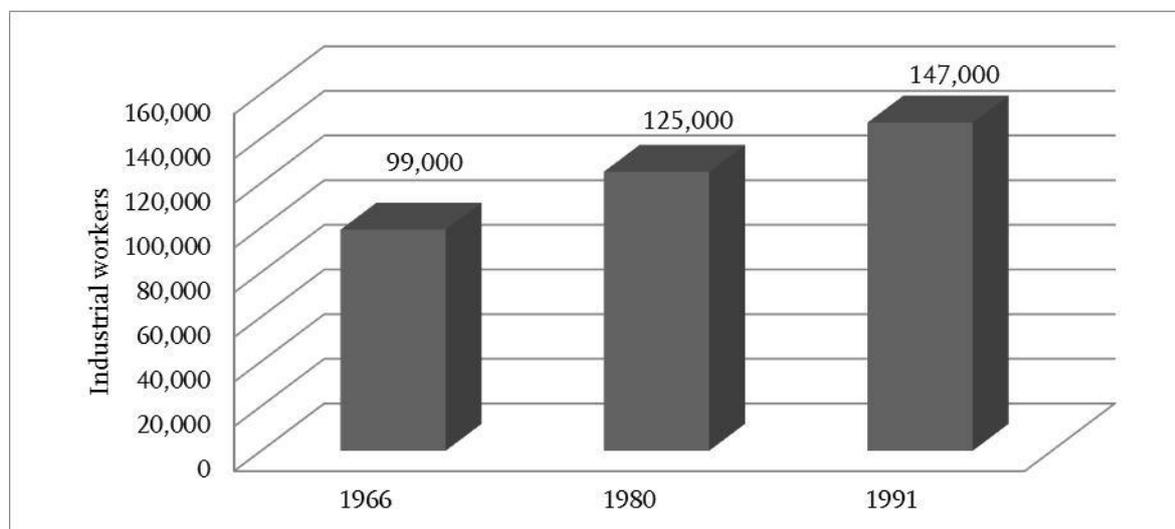


Fig. 10: Number of industrial workers in Belgrade in 1966, 1980, and 1991 (source: PETROVIĆ 2001A: 91)

Changes in urban fabric were initiated by an accelerated industrialisation in the second half of the 20th century (GRČIĆ 1990), when the number of employees within the industry sector rose (Fig. 10), as well as the overall population. The share of industrial workers within the total population was always around 10%. Initially, industrial factories were located in the central parts of the city, but since the 1970s, they moved to the suburban areas of Belgrade (VOJKOVIĆ ET AL. 2010: 229).

Even though the tertiary sector and jobs in administration had represented a significant share in Belgrade's economy, the period of industrialisation in the 1960s and 1970s represented the most important factor of urban development of Belgrade (PETROVIĆ 2001A, SELINIĆ 2005). Industry occupies more of entire developed space in ex-socialist cities, than is the case in Western cities. Industrial locations occupy about 18% of total space in Belgrade (ZEKOVIĆ ET AL. 2007: 25).

Deindustrialisation processes after 1990 drastically lowered the number of employees in the industry sector (GRČIĆ AND RATKAJ 2006). For example, the number of employees in the industry sector in 2008 was only 57% compared to that number in 1990 in Belgrade (VOJKOVIĆ ET AL. 2010: 233).

Deindustrialisation was one of the most important reasons why the economic development of Belgrade was interrupted during the 1990s (GÖLER ET AL. 2007, RATKAJ 2009). The share of Belgrade citizens employed in the service sector is about 40% (VOJKOVIĆ ET AL. 2010: 229), which is almost twice the overall the population share. Nevertheless, Belgrade is still the most significant industrial centre in Serbia and it employs about 20% of the total industrial labour force of the country (HIRT 2009: 300). In the post-socialist era, the employment in the tertiary and quaternary sectors is on a significantly higher level than the employment in the secondary sector (RATKAJ 2009). Footprints left behind by intensive industrial development are still representing important challenge for post-industrial social and economic development of the urban region. The growth of the GDP in Serbia in the 21st century is mostly supported by the service sector (JAKOPIN AND BAJEC 2009: 516). A rise of businesses which include high-skilled activities is also evident. Many of these activities are supported by privatisation, foreign investments, and governmental aid (ZEKOVIĆ ET AL. 2007).

4.2.6 Urban development in the post-socialist era

According to HIRT (2009) the evolution of built environment in Belgrade can be divided into five historical stages – ancient/medieval/Ottoman, early modern, communist, transitional, and contemporary. Urban planning of Belgrade has started in the 19th century and was already prosper in the first half of the 20th century.

VUJOŠEVIĆ AND NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (2006: 278) focused on urban development after the Second World War. According to them, urban planning in Belgrade (and the region of former Yugoslavia) can be divided in three phases:

- Central command planning (1947-1965),
- Political decentralisation and societal self-management planning (1965-1989),
- ‘Democratised’ (post-socialist) planning (1989-present).

Depending on inherited and justified urban practices, some of these periods left shallower or deeper footprints in various urban regions, their parts, or even in the specific urban neighbourhoods.

VUJOŠEVIĆ AND NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (2006) deal with urban planning in Belgrade, new institutions and legislation, as well as plans for the new system after the fall of socialism. Their premise is that the planning system is embedded in political system and practices, the bureaucracy and governance, and the economic system. They conclude that the planning system in Serbia needs a turn to new principles – to be open, transparent, fair, pro-active and flexible.

VUJOVIĆ AND PETROVIĆ (2007) focus on the actors involved in post-socialist urban development in Belgrade. Their analysis distinguishes four main types of actors: political actors, economic actors, spatial experts, and inhabitants (BASSAND ET AL. 2001). VUJOVIĆ AND PETROVIĆ highlight the main problems in post-socialist urban development in Belgrade: unsuccessful institutional and legal transformation, widespread illegal construction⁵², lack of communication and understanding among actors, and lack of proactive urban management approaches.

HIRT (2008) noted fundamental characteristics of a socialist city (see also SZELENYI 1996: 300-303): lack of functional diversity and especially of commercial functions, grandeur and massive buildings, and a monotony of architectural styles. She also distinguished changes in the post-socialist period that influence the urban fabric of Belgrade. These are primarily the decline of industry and an explosive growth of commerce, a growth of office space, the transformation of housing policies, a transformation of open public spaces, and new architectural directions⁵³.

Structural chaos in the state, lack of important urban policies, and an influx of population created enormous housing problems. A flourishing of illegal housing structures was the expected sequence of events (PETROVIĆ 2001B, CUKOVIĆ IGNJATOVIĆ AND IGNJATOVIĆ 2006, VUJOVIĆ AND PETROVIĆ 2007). Examples can be found in Belgrade's suburbs and periphery, where neighbourhoods are built without strict plans and a belonging urban infrastructure. The majority of these structures are single houses and similar dwelling constructions (ZEGARAC 1999). Architectural styles are very heterogeneous, as well as the size of the houses. These examples show various faces of transitional processes - on the one side express acquired wealth, and on the other the rising poverty (HIRT 2009). A trend towards gated housing is also noticeable in Belgrade (HIRT AND PETROVIĆ 2011).

GÖLER AND LEHMEIER (2012) state that Belgrade has a historical background which separates it from many other post-socialist cities – Ottoman influences, socialist influences, more than one million inhabitants, and a long legacy as a capital. They also consider Belgrade a (regional) metropolis, but not a global city.

⁵² Illegal construction cannot be seen just as a transitional problem, but also as a continuous problem which exist longer because of uncontrolled migration processes towards Belgrade (e.g. GÖLER ET AL. 2012). DAMJANOVIĆ (1985: 137) writes about differentiating illegal and necessary construction, among citizens who are forced to resolve housing problems that way (SELINIĆ 2005: 191).

⁵³ These architectural directions are hard to define. HIRT (2008: 802) writes that it should be “perhaps best described as *ad hoc* architecture or perhaps accidental architecture”.

4.3 Conclusion

There are three strongholds which influenced the development of cultural infrastructure in Serbia:

- A delayed modernisation compared to Western states,
- A different socialistic development compared to other Eastern, Central, and South-Eastern European states,
- A delayed transition compared to other Eastern, Central, and South-Eastern European states.

These three processes provided special social and cultural conditions which surround the contemporary development of creative economy in Serbia. 'Delayed transition', as the newest process, has an evident influence.

During the 1990s, art and creative activities in general were falling into the background of social and policy interest in Serbia (KRIVOŠEJEV 2011). Political turmoil and armed conflicts took precedence over economic and cultural development. Serbian society was under a strong influence of international isolation, economic crisis and war. The repercussion of those circumstances on the development path of creative activities in Serbia cannot be overlooked. Serbian art and culture in the transitional period is characterised by a dependence on public funds, and furthermore by a susceptibility to political influences (AVRAMOVIĆ 2013).

The global creativity index sets Serbia on the 54th place on the overall global rankings (FLORIDA ET AL. 2015: 55). It shares that place with Greece and Slovakia, and it is ahead of some neighbouring countries like Croatia, Romania, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is also ahead of some big economies like China, Mexico, and Turkey.

The affluent and long history of Belgrade created a rich social, political, and cultural infrastructure, as well as other supporting circumstances, which all together created a stable framework for the development of creative economy. Throughout history, Belgrade had an important international role, mostly thanks to its geo-strategic position. In the last centuries, it was important as a border city between two powerful states (Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman). In the 20th century, Belgrade continued to play an important role as a capital of the newly formed state of South Slavs.

Nominally, the situation that befell Belgrade after the Second World War and in the 1990s, does not seem as promising for the creation of creative infrastructure. The socialistic regime that existed for 45 years, followed by the

problematic 1990s, left scars but also produced advantages for Belgrade's creative and culture scene.

The separation of Yugoslavia from other European socialist countries provided a certain exclusivity. That was obvious through the cultural connections, especially film and music, between Yugoslavia and the West. 'Free education for all' represents one of the positive legacies of the socialistic era.

During Milošević's regime, the degradation of culture was obvious, especially because of the wars and international embargos. Nevertheless, the young and progressive part of the population cherished the achievements of vanguard cultural trends. That helped Serbia to find a way out from the cultural and social darkness of the 1990s.

The period of transition after 2000 also brought along challenges for the Serbian creative environment. Public investment in culture is at a low level, and the private sector is not strong enough (or not interested) to support some bigger cultural and creative projects.

Belgrade is still recognised as a kind of regional centre, and a world-renowned city.

Belgrade—a city that in the 1970s and 1980s was one of the trendiest and most cosmopolitan centres of Europe, yet lived through poverty and isolation during the 1990s, and is only now beginning to recover both its confidence and its vibrancy (HIRT 2009: 293).

In the last few years, interest among scholars in the creative-led urban development of Belgrade and Serbia is also growing. Nevertheless, this research field can still be regarded as unexplored.



Fig. 11: Contribution of different circumstances for creative and knowledge-intensive industries development in Belgrade (source: own elaboration based on BONTJE ET AL. 2011)

Positive characteristics of Belgrade as a potential creative city are that it has rich historical and cultural heritage, is a (inter)national decision centre, and is welcoming and pluralistic city in a regional kind of sense⁵⁴. Considering the economic development, the influence of industry in urban development is overwhelming the influence of service profile and high-skilled activities in the recent history. Policy decisions, whether general or in creative sector, could play much better role in the circumstances for creative development of Belgrade.

Different parts of Belgrade demonstrate unique local characteristics. Despite negative particular conditions, some of neighbourhoods develop micro-climate which is favourable for creative development.

⁵⁴ If we are comparing Belgrade with some big Western cities, it probably could not be marked as pluralistic. On the other side, in regional frame, Belgrade can be named as one of the most pluralistic cities in the region. There is still a certain level of intolerance which hits some groups.

5. Diverse urban development in city quarters of Belgrade – Location analysis

Created either through the enchantment of historically distinctive areas, or by developing and generating signatures for previously economically, culturally or spatially ambiguous areas, urban villages or quarters seek to appeal to the consumption practices of the emerging nouveau riche of the professional, managerial and service classes.

DAVID BELL AND MARK JAYNE (2004: 1)

This chapter pays attention to two research areas – foremost, the centrally located Belgrade neighbourhood of Savamala, and New Belgrade's neighbourhood Blok 12 and its vicinity. Social-geographic components of these two neighbourhoods will be analysed. The goal of the analysis is to reveal which location aspects are decisive for creative economy development in these two city quarters.

5.1 Savamala as a striking city quarter within the urban mosaic of Belgrade

The neighbourhood of Savamala is a city quarter with a unique development path, but which is, to some extent, still dependent of the overall development of the Serbian capital.

5.1.1 City quarter 'hidden' in downtown – Geographic position and accessibility

Savamala is an area located on the right bank of the Sava River, just in front of the confluence with the Danube. It extends over territories belonging to the Belgrade municipalities of Savski Venac and Stari Grad (Old Town). This neighbourhood⁵⁵ is located about one kilometre west of the Terazije Square and the Republic Square, sites that are considered the central parts of Belgrade, and about two kilometres north-west from the Slavija Square, the third most important square of Belgrade. It is also about one kilometre south of the Belgrade Fortress – Kalemegdan, one of the most notable symbols of Belgrade located above the confluence, and the place where Belgrade was established.

⁵⁵ A square where Karađorđeva, Travnička, Hercegovačka, and Kraljevića Marka streets meet is chosen as the central point of Savamala. Approximate distance to important Belgrade's landmarks is calculated from that point.

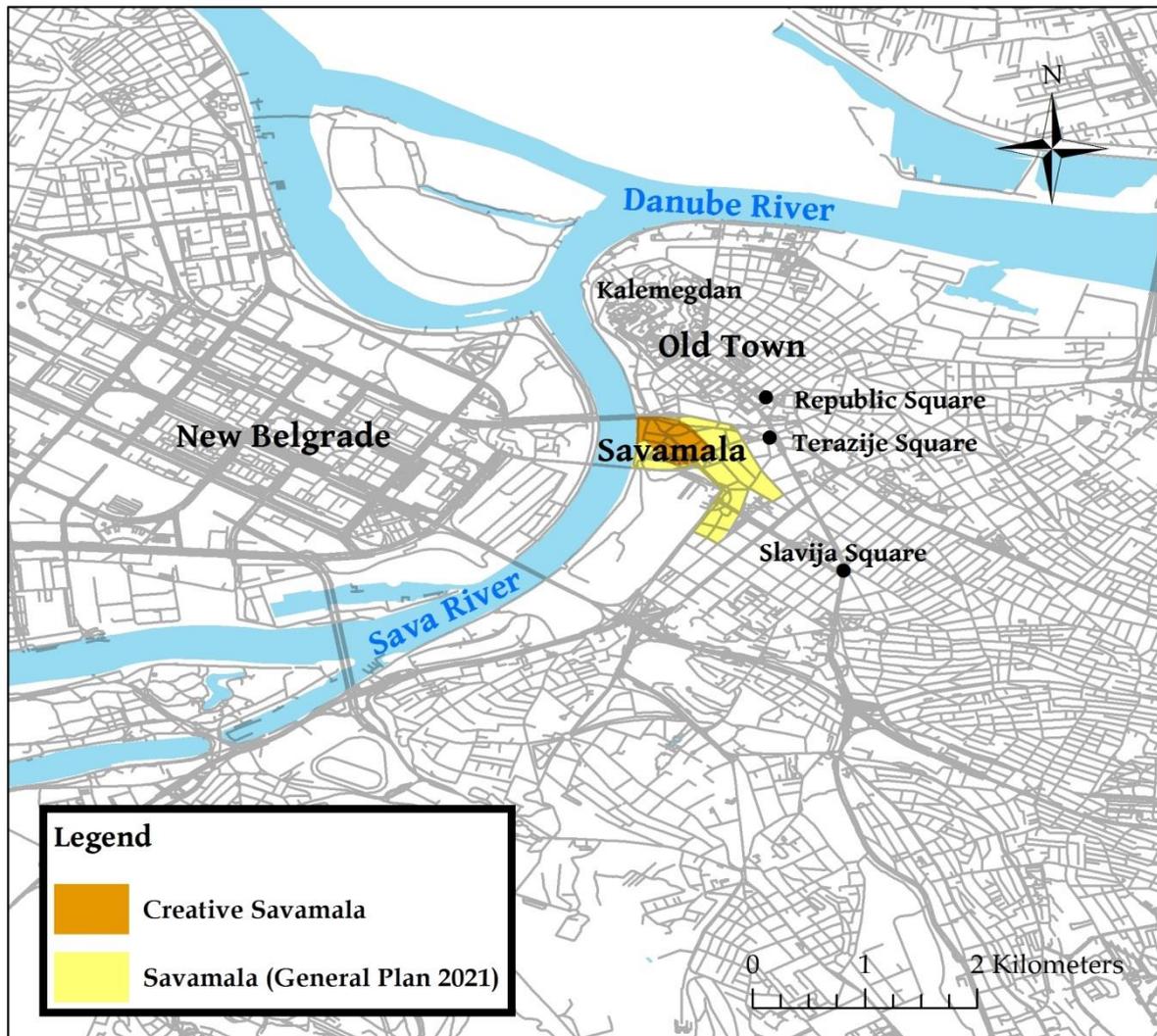


Fig. 12: Location of Savamala within Belgrade (own map based on openstreetmap.org)

Belgrade's main railway station, main bus station, and the Port of Belgrade – Passenger terminal are located on the edges of Savamala. Furthermore, Savamala usually is the first city quarter that visitors see when visiting the city.

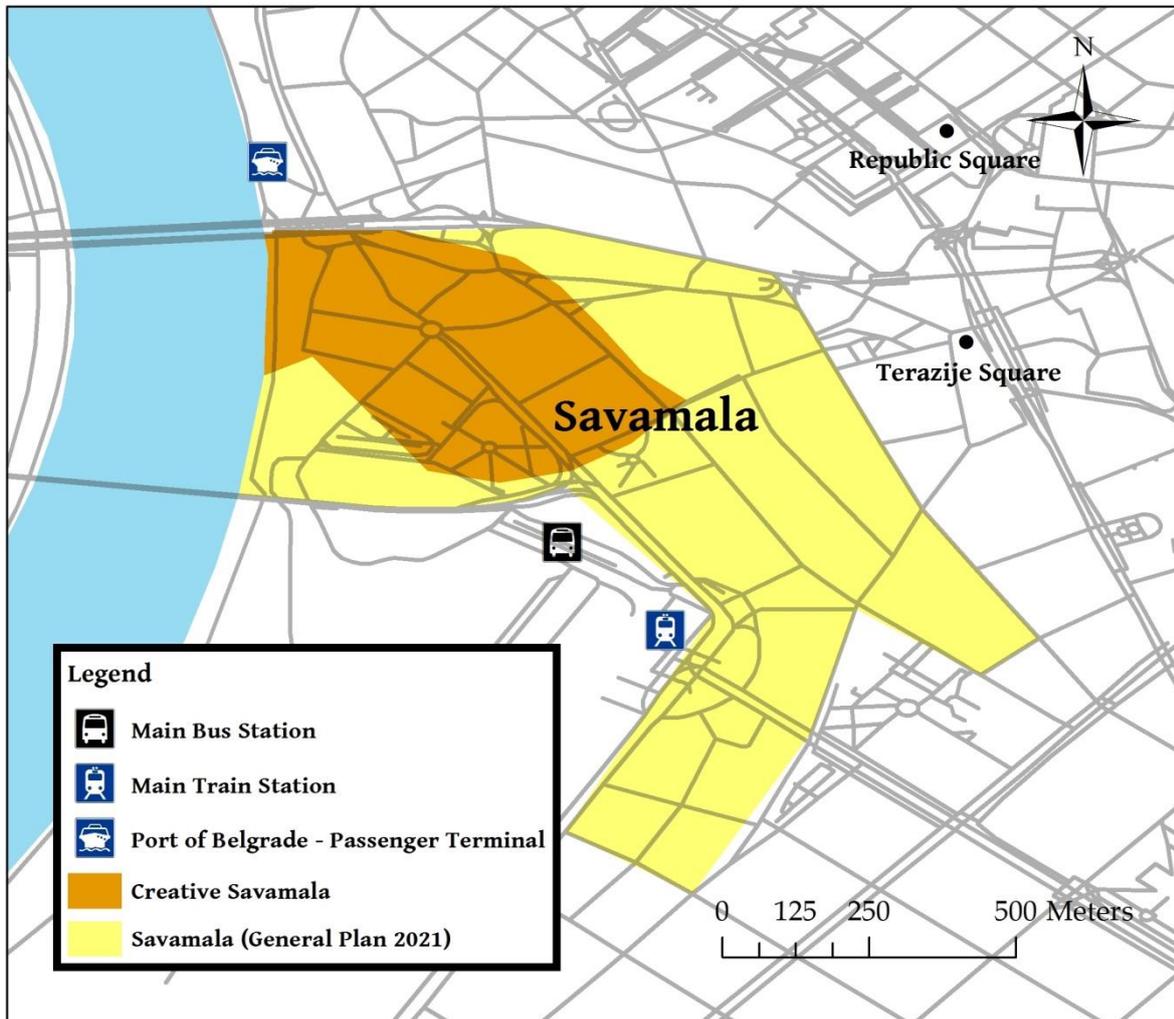


Fig. 13: Savamala neighbourhood (own map based on openstreetmap.org)

Traffic conditions and transport infrastructure in Savamala cannot be described as optimal. Streets in this quarter are not wide enough to support uncongested traffic flow. Consequently, traffic jams are a regular occurrence. The highway is approximately 3 kilometres away, and usually reachable in about 10 minutes by car.

According to the official website of the *City public transport company of Belgrade*, public transport services in Savamala are quite diversified⁵⁶ (GRADSKO

⁵⁶ Bus, tram, and trolleybus public transports are the most important kinds of public transport in Belgrade because subways do not exist. There are very old plans for its construction which have never been realised. This fact makes Belgrade the biggest city in Europe without a subway metro system. This statement is a result of the author's research. During that research, the author used many official and unofficial sources, including scientific articles, magazine and newspaper articles, as well as web presentations. A survey commissioned by the City of Belgrade in the period of October 29 – December 10, 2014, showed that about 2.5 million passengers per day use the services of the City public transport company of Belgrade (B92 2015A, BLIC 2015A). According to ARANĐELOVIĆ (2009)

SAOBRAĆAJNO PREDUZEĆE BEOGRAD 2018). Five tram lines operate in Savamala (2, 7, 9, 11, and 13). Additionally, numerous bus lines operate in the vicinity. Zeleni venac is the busiest local bus station in Belgrade's old city core and is about 500 meters away from Savamala. Twenty public bus lines operate from Zeleni venac (15, 16, 43, 52, 53, 56, 56L, 60, 65, 67, 68, 71, 72, 75, 77, 84, 95, 704, 706, and 707). Twelve public bus lines operate next to the main railway station and the main bus station (36, 46, 51, 78, 83, 91, 92, 511, 551, 552, 553, and 601). Principally central position and numerous public transport routes indicate a favourable connection of Savamala with other parts of the city. Still, massive car flow, inadequate street network, and frequent traffic jams challenge that indication.



Fig. 14: Tramlines and traffic jam in Savamala (own photo, 2018)

Savamala is located on the edges of the central city zone. It has been mentioned as an urban part of Belgrade for approximately two centuries. However, its historically associated borders cannot be accurately determined. In different

around 550 million passengers use the public transport network per year: 75% of them use buses, 22% use tram and trolleybus, and 3% of them use railway connections.

historical contexts, Savamala included different areas. Furthermore, locals have different perceptions concerning which area Savamala comprises⁵⁷.

The hype surrounding this city quarter in the last decade has affected urban planners, as well. In the first version of the *Master Plan of Belgrade 2021* (URBAN PLANNING INSTITUTE OF BELGRADE 2003) released in 2003, Savamala was not mentioned. The situation did not change after the updated *Master Plan* in 2005, 2007 and 2009. For the first time Savamala was mentioned in the *Master Plan 2021* after updates made in 2016.

Savamala is mentioned in the latest version of the Master Plan of Belgrade 2021 (URBAN PLANNING INSTITUTE OF BELGRADE 2016) as an area with significant cultural heritage and as an area that requires general renewal. According to the same document (p. 160-161), this area's boundaries are represented by the following streets: Brankova, Kraljice Natalije, Dobrinjska, Admirala Geprata, Balkanska, Hajduk Veljkov venac, Sarajevska, Vojvode Milenka, Savska, Karađorđeva, Zemunski put to the bank of the Sava River, and across the bank of the Sava River from the *Branko's Bridge* to the *Brige of the King Aleksandar the First*. This area is marked yellow in Figure 13.

This dissertation examines the *orange area* in Figure 13 ('Creative Savamala'). This area comprises most of creative-led urban development, because of density and the influence of the creative organisations which existed or still exist there (JOCIĆ ET AL. 2017). However, an influence of a wider area on creative development is also taken into account.

5.1.2 The beginning, rise, and (temporary) fall – Historical background

The forest that covered the area of what is nowadays Savamala, was cut down in the early 18th century (MILOVANOVIĆ 2016: 89). In the early 19th century, outside of the Belgrade Fortress, the civilian part of the town was located – the Borough in the Trench⁵⁸, and two villages – Savamala on the Sava's bank, and the village of Palilula on the Danube side (VUKOTIĆ LAZAR AND DANILOVIĆ HRISTIĆ 2015: 54). In 1826, Savamala was a property of one of the most important modern

⁵⁷ The first Belgrade edition of *Kamenzind* magazine includes an editorial in which the editors go into locals' perception of Savamala's boundaries: "After doing a cartographic study, where we asked locals to draw the boundary of this city quarter on a map, we found that the borders of the area known as 'Savamala' vary hugely in people's minds. Exactly where this space begins and ends seems to be an open-ended mystery..." (PEACOCK ET AL. 2013: 2). KC Grad, one of the local creative organisations, conducted a workshop on a similar topic: "And where are the boundaries of Savamala? We were conducting a large international, more architectural, workshop. The topic was Savamala. Those boundaries are very fluctuating" (Interview CS003).

⁵⁸ Serbian: Varoš u šancu

Serbian rulers, Prince Miloš, and included orchards, taverns, and more than one hundred houses (BORIĆ 2017: 360).

Turkish garrisons were still stationed in the Belgrade Fortress during the first half of the 19th century, while Savamala represented the cradle and the inception of the modern 'Serbian Belgrade'. The idea was to prevent potential conflicts between Serbs and Turks by locating 'Serbian Belgrade' a little further away from Turkish military troops (POPOVIĆ 1997: 33). The last Turkish soldiers left Kalemegdan in 1867 (BOŽOVIĆ LOPIČIĆ AND POPOVIĆ 1999: 53), but "the imperial flag fluttered until 1879⁵⁹" (IGNJATOVIĆ 2008: 58).

Prince Miloš personally promoted the development of Savamala in 1830s as a significant part of Belgrade and initiated the settling of craftsmen (PAVLOVIĆ 2013: 34). His idea was to move the inhabitants of Savamala to Palilula, and that craftsmen should take over their place (PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005: 108). That process was not easy because of Savamala's peripheral location in that time. Specifically, it was not easy to convince craftsmen to segregate the place of living and production from the Borough in the Trench as the main market for their product.

The port of Belgrade was moved to the vicinity of Savamala at the end of 1841, while the main Belgrade railway station has been active since 1884 (GAJOVIĆ 2013) when the first connection between Belgrade and Niš was established (KLEUT 2006: 39). A tram system has been operating in Savamala since 1894, connecting the port of Belgrade, the main station, and the Slavija Square (PETROVIĆ 2008: 231). Major transport sites, infrastructure, and the favourable connection possibilities with other parts of the city have influenced the development of Savamala as a trade centre (GAVRILOVIĆ 2013). Since 1862, Savamala is no longer a peripheral part of the city and became officially integrated into the city with a high concentration of successful traders, and several accommodation facilities⁶⁰ (PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005: 108). The number of visitors suddenly grew, mostly because of business reasons, and accommodation facilities were built as an answer to a growing demand. Furthermore, Savamala developed in many ways, and attracted many prosperous and affluent people.

Luka Čelović, a famous merchant of that period, financed the construction of some of the most alluring buildings which represent symbols of the

⁵⁹ Serbian: "...na kojoj se sve do 1879. vijorila carska zastava" (IGNJATOVIĆ 2008: 58).

⁶⁰ Kosančićev han, Hotel Evropa and Hotel Bosna are some of the facilities built in the period 1834-1860 (PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005).

neighbourhood, including the buildings of the *Belgrade Cooperative*⁶¹ and *Hotel Bristol* (PEACOCK 2013). Both buildings represent the work of architect Nikola Nestorović and were built in the period between 1905 and 1912 (RISTANOVIĆ 2017: 123, ROTER BLAGOJEVIĆ 2017: 85). Nestorović designed the building of the *Belgrade Cooperative* in cooperation with Andra Stevanović (PETROVIĆ 2008: 229). The building of the *Belgrade Cooperative* was “the first building in Belgrade that had its opulent official entrance and reception area with a monumental staircase leading to the upper floor with the banquet festive rooms and German sculptures” (ALEKSIĆ 2012: 125).

During that period, the central street of Savamala, Karađorđeva Street, was one of the most significant streets in the city. The construction of the city quarter was based on the European urban role-model of that time and that is largely regarded to be a merit of Luka Ćelović, his vision and open-mindedness (PETROVIĆ 2008). Still, some prominent politicians have accused Luka Ćelović of speculative activities (ALEKSIĆ 2012).

Railways covered a large part of Savamala until 1930s and blocked its access to the river bank (VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA 2015A). Further territorial development of this city quarter was therein obstructed. The negative consequences of dividing urban structure of Belgrade and rivers by railways and streets are still hard to adjust to (DŽELEBDŽIĆ 2007).

After the establishment of socialist Yugoslavia, the urban focus moved to other areas such as New Belgrade (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2004, JOCIĆ 2013), and Savamala began to fall into oblivion. The importance and glamour of this city quarter faded away.

“Savamala is a place that you pass through. Taxis, trams, trucks and trains all come in, go out, quick as they can, unwilling to risk becoming marooned in one of the ten million potholes of Karađorđeva. Only two things stay in one place: the drunk and rusted ships squatting in the mud of the river Sava, hollowed out live flutes, the wind playing old tunes through them; and the buildings that haunt the streets” (CURRION 2014: 71).

In the second half of the 20th century, the lively trade and business district of Savamala was forgotten and neglected in terms of investments and urban planning. Karađorđeva Street became a major avenue for heavy transport through the central parts of the city. Thus, the city quarter transformed from a central business zone into an unattractive transit zone.

⁶¹ Serbian: Zgrada Beogradske zadruga. Belgrade Cooperative Building is a term used by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade, and in literature (e.g. NEDIĆ 2012, PEACOCK 2013, MATIĆ 2014). This building can be found under different names in English. For example, ‘Credit Union Building’ is a term used by ROTER BLAGOJEVIĆ (2014).

5.1.3 Crafts, trade, and industry – Economic background

The first craftsmen that settled in Savamala were tailors who were making traditional Serbian clothes⁶². They moved their homes and started new businesses in Savamala after the recommendation of Prince Miloš (PAVLOVIĆ 2013: 34). Other craftsmen followed them.

A market place called *Little Market*⁶³ was formed in Savamala in the first half of the 19th century. *Little Market* was an expanded square at the crossroad of four streets, and, for a long time, the most important place for trading in Belgrade (PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005). Customhouse was built in Savamala in 1833 (POPOVIĆ 1997: 34), and it was the first building in Belgrade built under the influence of European architecture (GORDIĆ 1997: 25). In the period between 1835 and 1839 the *Prince's brewery*⁶⁴ was built (BORIĆ 2017: 365). As was noted in 1841, commerce and especially salt trading flourished in this part of Belgrade (PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005: 108). New warehouses had to be built following this development path. The most prosperous traders of that time settled in Savamala. A fusion of trading and transportation hubs on one, and numerous traders and craftsmen on the other hand, transformed Savamala into a lively city quarter, and one of Belgrade's most important business areas in the second half of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

The foundation of the *Belgrade Cooperative* in 1882 had far-reaching consequences, not only for Savamala, but also for the economy of Belgrade and Serbia⁶⁵. Namely, at the end of 19th century illegal crediting was common and interest rates were as high as 50 percent per annum (MATIĆ 2014: 177). The goal of the *Belgrade Cooperative* was to financially support development of industrial production, manufacturing, crafts, and trade. Some of the most successful businessmen of Belgrade supported that idea, and the *Belgrade Cooperative* fulfilled its goals and strongly permeated the economy of Belgrade. During the First World War it was relocated to Marseille, and after the war it did not adapt to new circumstances and never restored its old significance (ALEKSIĆ 2012). The *Belgrade Cooperative* ceased operation in 1946.

⁶² The Serbian word for that kind of craft is 'abadžija', a word of Turkish origin.

⁶³ Serbian: Mali pijac. It can be also found in the literature as 'Small Green Market' (PETROVIĆ 2008).

⁶⁴ Serbian: Kneževa pivara

⁶⁵ This institution was moved to Savamala at the beginning of the 20th century and was originally located in downtown Belgrade (ALEKSIĆ 2012).

The First World War was the first negative turning point in the development of Savamala. Planned development projects had to be stopped. The generation of traders that were protagonists in Savamala's development, was replaced by a generation which got much wider development possibilities, including the areas all over the city (PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005: 115). A first wave of economic decay hit Savamala. A second wave occurred after the Second World War. Savamala's rich heritage of crafts and trade was only fragmentarily recognizable. Several small craft workshops and stores survived. During 1946 and through 1958, many private companies in Serbia were nationalised (JOKSIMOVIĆ 2012: 17). Many commercial buildings in Savamala belonged to the newly formed public and state-owned companies and were mostly used either as offices or as storage spaces (PETROVIĆ 2008).

5.1.4 Architectural diversity – Built environment

Belgrade's architectural heritage of the 19th and early 20th century is not preserved enough. Many buildings were destroyed in subsequent wars. However, Serbian architecture of that era made a crucial turn towards European trends and abandoned Oriental influences (ROTTER BLAGOJEVIĆ 2006). Major societal changes could be characterised as a trend of 'de-Ottomanisation' (IGNJATOVIĆ 2008: 53).

“The nineteenth century is the most significant period for the historical development of Belgrade, and architectural and urban planning achievements are the testimony of the development of a young Serbian state and a young Serbian bourgeoisie⁶⁶”
(GORDIĆ 1997: 25).

The architectural heritage of Savamala has been preserved rather well, but not conserved. Karađorđeva Street and its rich built heritage represent a kind of *city-museum* and a historical “systems of documents” (MANIĆ 2016: 933).

⁶⁶ Serbian: “Devetnaesti vek je najznačajniji za istorijski razvitak Beograda, a arhitektonski objekti i urbanistički zahvati su svedočanstvo stvaranja mlade srpske države i mladog srpskog građanskog staleža” (GORDIĆ 1997: 25).



Fig. 15: Neglected buildings and façades in Savamala (source: own photo, 2015)

After the Second World War, the *Belgrade Cooperative* building was used by *Geozavod* and other public institutions which did not take good care of it (ROTAR BLAGOJEVIĆ 2014: 50). This building is on the list of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade* as a cultural monument of great value⁶⁷, and is one of the most prominent architectural achievements in Belgrade from the beginning of the 20th century (NEDIĆ 2012). Together with the Hotel Bristol it forms a representative unit and is the unofficial centre of Savamala.

Former family homes of prominent traders and businessmen who have lived there in the ‘golden-era’ of Savamala, constitute further representative buildings (PETROVIĆ 2008). Besides the already mentioned architects Nestorović and Stevanović, other famous Serbian architects of that era were involved in projecting and construction. The most prominent ones are Jovan Ilkić and Dimitrije Leko (POPOVIĆ 1997: 36).

This part of the city has not been significantly reshaped and renewed in the last decades. The variety of façades in the neighbourhood provides an insight into the rich architectural and cultural heritage of the district. There are different styles which offer a glimpse of authenticity. The architecture in Savamala consists of a mixture of Academism, Art Nouveau, Secession, as well as modernistic, Romantic and Neo-Renaissance details, but also a national style (PETROVIĆ 2008: 227). However, most façades are in a state of decay, and the

⁶⁷ http://beogradskonasledje.rs/kd/zavod/savski_venac/beogradska_zadruga.html

biggest problem is a lack of investment in maintenance and restoration (SOPIC AND GAVRILOVIĆ 2013).

The tempo of restitution in Serbia is slower than in many other former socialist countries. Open property issues have further negative influence on preservation and protection of historical significant buildings (ROTER BLAGOJEVIĆ 2014).

5.1.5 Influences from above – Political influence

Prince Miloš understood the importance of Belgrade even before Belgrade became the capital of Serbia. His first steps in conquering Belgrade included strategical positioning of Savamala and placing his residence there. He believed that to be a critical decision (NOVAKOVIĆ 1894, cited from BORIC 2017: 364):

“By this decision, I put myself under Belgrade’s Cannon, but I firmly believe that it will not be able to do anything against our progress. If I want to have an army, I must settle next to a large river, in an open space, so I can collect that army at little expense. All other positions along the Danube are either too rugged or exposed to floods. Belgrade is for us a central point; it is one of the most beautiful positions in military terms, as well as in commercial terms. If I cannot overtake the already existing town, then I want to attract it to me. A new town will be set up around my palace, and I will find in it everything I need for the army and for our great national assemblies⁶⁸”

A strong presence of the still fragile Serbian state was showed in Savamala when the *Great garrison*⁶⁹ was built there around 1835 (IGNJATOVIĆ 2008: 59). The first hospital in town was formed within the *Great garrison*. Other important administrative buildings have been established until 1839 – the *State government supreme Council*⁷⁰ (ROTER BLAGOJEVIĆ 1997: 512), and the *Princely palace*⁷¹ (BORIC 2017). The area of Savamala has been involved in different urban plans of Belgrade since the middle of the 19th century (POPOVIĆ 1997).

⁶⁸ Serbian: „Ja se time stavljam pod beogradski top, ali ja se čvrsto uzdam, da u napredak taj top neće smeti i neće moći ništa protiv nas. Ako hoću da imam vojske, treba da se nastanim na kakvoj velikoj reci, na otvorenom mestu, da bih tu vojsku mogao sakupiti o malo troška. Sve su druge pozicije duž Dunava ili suviše bregovite, ili su izložene poplavi. Beograd je za nas središnja tačka; to je jedan od najkrasnijih položaja u pogledu vojničkom, a i u trgovačkom. Kad ne mogu da prisvojim sadašnju varoš, onda hoću da je privučem sebi. Oko moga dvora stvoriće se nova varoš, i u njoj ću ja naći sve što mi bude potrebno za vojsku i za naše velike narodne skupštine“ (NOVAKOVIĆ 1894, cited from BORIC 2017: 364).

⁶⁹ Serbian: Velika kasarna

⁷⁰ Serbian: Sovjet

⁷¹ Serbian: Dvor u Savamali. It is assumed that the first public ball in Serbia with high-society members was held there (BORIC 2017: 367).

Since the middle of the 19th century, the outer edges of Savamala have become a kind of administrative centre of the state, including numerous ministry buildings (ROTER BLAGOJEVIĆ 1997). It kept that function during the 20th century, and the main government buildings, as well as many international embassies are still located there. On the contrary, central parts of Savamala became forgotten in the policy documents and convicted to stagnation.

Maintaining architectural heritage is limited due to the lack of clear rules, inefficient restitution, and problems on the relation between private owners and public institutions (ROTER BLAGOJEVIĆ 2014). Hence, the architectural decay of the neighbourhood is indirectly supported by inadequate policies.

5.1.6 Diversity of the population – Social overview

Austrian maps of the Savamala area from the 18th century show the existence of a Roma settlement *Ziganka*. To get a clear space for new urban projects, Serbian authorities burned that settlement at the beginning of the 19th century (VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA AND MACURA 2007: 16). During that time, Savamala also included “unstable houses of boatmen, watermelon farmers, and gypsies⁷²” (STEFANOVIĆ VILOVSKI 1911: 54, cited from PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005: 107). This part of the city accepted numerous migrants and refugees from surrounding territories in the 19th century (MILOVANOVIĆ 2016: 40). The only representative building in the neighbourhood was a mosque (PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005: 107), which indicates the presence of a Muslim population in this area.

The population structure of Belgrade has changed following the liberation from the Ottomans. Turkish population was expelled from Savamala to the Belgrade Fortress in 1862 (ĐURIĆ-ZAMOLO 1964: 131), and afterwards Christians became the significant majority (VUJOVIĆ 2014: 149).

At the beginning of the 1930s, population density in Savamala became critical. An average family was living in a one room house (VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA 2012: 82).

Economic and architectural decay of the neighbourhood was also followed by social decay. This is expressed by numerous unstable buildings and slums where people were forced to live in the absence of an alternative, critical hygiene and poor communal situation, as well as areas with rising social problems such as prostitution and crime at the end of 20th and the beginning of 21st century (MEDIĆ 2016: 43).

⁷² Serbian: “...trošnim kućama lađara, bostandžija i Cigana” (STEFANOVIĆ VILOVSKI 1911: 54, cited from PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI 2005: 107).

5.2 Following the steps of a larger urban district – Blok 12 as one of the neighbourhoods in New Belgrade

New Belgrade⁷³ and all its neighbourhoods were built after the Second World War as an entirely new part of the city of Belgrade. A short history and quite homogeneous development caused more similarities among neighbourhoods of New Belgrade, than among neighbourhoods in the other parts of the city. Understanding one of New Belgrade's neighbourhoods is conditioned by understanding New Belgrade as a unit. Additionally, most of them are the result of urban planning, and not of a spontaneous development.

5.2.1 In the middle of a new city – Geographic position and accessibility

New Belgrade covers a territory which was an empty space between the historical core of Belgrade on the one, and Zemun on the other side. It occupies the area between the historical core of Zemun on the West, the Danube River on the North and the Sava River on the East. It is connected with Belgrade's downtown by bridges crossing the Sava River.

Tab. 4: Population of New Belgrade and its growth rate (STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA 2014)

Census	New Belgrade	
	Population	Growth rate
1948	9,195	-
1953	11,339	23.32%
1961	33,347	194.09%
1971	92,200	176.49%
1981	173,541	88.22%
1991	224,424	29.32%
2002	217,773	-2.96%
2011	214,506	-1.50%

Until the 1990s, the population in New Belgrade experienced high growth rates, but slightly declined since then (Table 4). New Belgrade is, however, still the municipality of Belgrade with the highest population. According to the 2011 census, 214,506 residents live in New Belgrade.

Blok 12 is one of the central parts of New Belgrade. It is located in the area between the *Palace of Serbia*, Blok 30, Blok 31, Blok 11, *Hotel Jugoslavija* and the green belt next to the Danube River. It is about 4 kilometres away from the central parts of Belgrade – Terazije Square and the Republic Square, and about

⁷³ Serbian: Novi Beograd

5 kilometres away from Slavija Square (see Fig. 16). From the perspective of Belgrade downtown it does not possess a central location. It is in the proximity (about 500 meters away) of the *Municipality of New Belgrade* building, the *Palace of Serbia*, and the Danube's bank. It is about one kilometre away from *Hotel Jugoslavija* and *Belgrade Arena*.

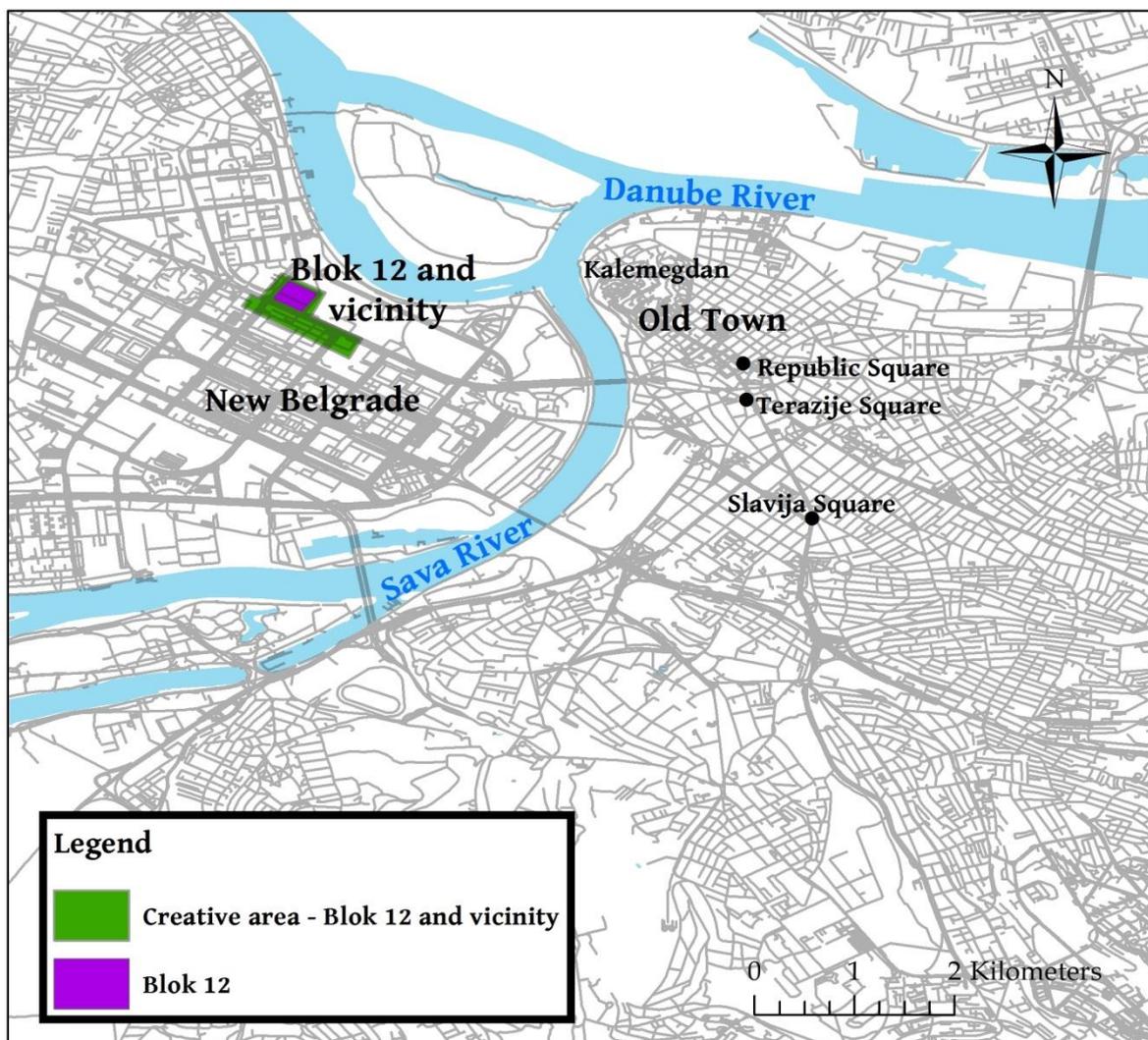


Fig. 16: Location of Blok 12 within Belgrade (own map based on openstreetmap.org)

According to the official website of the *City public transport company of Belgrade*, there are many public bus lines which operate through this New Belgrade (GRADSKO SAOBRAĆAJNO PREDUZEĆE BEOGRAD 2016). There are five lines which operate through the Boulevard of Nikola Tesla (15, 84, 704, 706, and 707). Eight lines operate through the Boulevard of Mihajlo Pupin (16, 65, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, and 83). Fourteen more public bus lines operate in the proximity (17, 18, 67, 68, 73, 74, 82, 85, 88, 610, 611, 612, 613, and, 711), which makes this part of the city very well connected with the all other parts of Belgrade. There are also several bus lines operational during night hours. Additionally, because of wide boulevards, public transport vehicles use special yellow lanes. Public buses,

taxis, and emergency services (police, ambulance, and fire brigade) use those lanes to avoid potential traffic jams. A survey commissioned by the City of Belgrade and conducted in the period October 29th – December 10th, 2014 shows that some of the busiest bus lines operate in Blok 12 and its vicinity⁷⁴.

Many public bus lines, the proximity of a highway, and two large and wide boulevards make Blok 12 well reachable from other city parts. The highway is located about one kilometre from Blok 12, and usually reachable in three minutes by car. The Boulevard of Nikola Tesla and the Boulevard of Mihajlo Pupin, which surround Blok 12, are among the streets with the highest traffic frequency in New Belgrade. Taking accessibility as a parameter, Blok 12 has one of the most favourable positions in Belgrade.

5.2.2 A city within the city - Historical background

Throughout history, a swamp where the Sava River and the Danube confluence, was not a favourable position for the founding of a settlement. Even though its geographic attractiveness was never questioned. Excluding the village of Bežanija, the old Belgrade's Airport (MIŠIĆ 2013), the *Old Fairground* (VUKOTIĆ LAZAR AND ĐOKIĆ 2006), and a concentration camp on the Sava's bank during the Second World War (BAJFORD 2011), there were no built structures in this area.

Therefore, this space represented, in a historical and urbanistic sense, a sense of *tabula rasa*, providing circumstances for developing a completely new city (or a city part) free of all historical and ideological influences (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2009A, KULIĆ 2013). The earliest detailed plans about cultivation and urbanisation of this area date back to the 1920s. Urban plans were developed by the most prominent Serbian and Yugoslavian architects of that time (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2007, VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA 2015B). Because of various obstacles, mostly financial, these plans were not realised (ĐORĐEVIĆ AND DABOVIĆ 2010: 161).

After the Second World War, the newly formed Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia wanted to abandon connections with the previously existing Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as well as relations with its capitalist legacy. Renovating the city after the war was necessary and the socialist government wanted "to profoundly transform the city and to refashion it in the image of the new political and social order" (LE NORMAND 2014: 25). New Belgrade, as a large project, was an instrument in achieving that goal. It was meant to become a

⁷⁴ For example, bus line 16 with 66,179 passengers per day, bus line 65 with 64,082 passengers per day, bus line 18 with 62,128 passengers per day, bus line 17 with 61,019 passengers per day, and bus line 88 with 58,918 passengers per day (BLIC 2015).

symbol representing the power of a new socialist state. General LJUBO ILIĆ (1948: 9) had high expectations for New Belgrade:

“New Belgrade will be our first socialist city. It will be the first, in our history, centre of people’s government. It will be the first and unique administrative, cultural, and ideological centre; a centre of brotherhood and unity for all our people”⁷⁵

After the Second World War, urban planners of Belgrade were guided by the pragmatism first (LE NORMAND 2014). That was as well supported by the national leadership.

“We are thinking too little about tomorrow when we are constructing one city. We are thinking too little about the fact that we should mark our understanding of life and people that way. New generations will observe our cities, asking themselves what our intentions were. That depends, of course, mostly on our engineers, architects, and urbanists. Today, when residential construction is developing very quickly and when its dimensions and quality are completely different than before, there is an anomaly that it looks modernistic, but is actually retrogressive. It should be achieved that it is not retrogressive, but also not ultramodern. It should be modern and functional. We should not just pay attention only on the exterior shapes, but also on interior functionality and the needs of residents”⁷⁶ (JOSIP BROZ TITO 1966).

Architectural and urban plans of New Belgrade were in accordance with actual modernist principles (MECANOV 2009). The construction of New Belgrade started in 1948, and the Municipality of New Belgrade was established in 1952 (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2009A: 22-23). The socialist Yugoslav administration predicted New Belgrade to be an administrative and governance centre of the state. Hence, the building of the *Federal Executive Council*⁷⁷, and the building of the *Central*

⁷⁵ Serbian: „Novi Beograd biće naš prvi socijalistički grad. To će biti prvi, u našoj istoriji, centar narodne vlasti. Prvi jedinstveni za sve naše narode administrativni, kulturni i ideološki centar; centar bratstva i jedinstva” (ILIĆ 1948: 9).

⁷⁶ Serbian: „Premalo gledamo na sutrašnjicu kad dižemo jedan grad, premalo mislimo na to da njime treba da obilježimo i naša shvatanja o životu i čovjeku. Jer, generacije koje će doći gledaće naše gradove i pitaće se kakve smo mi pojmove imali. To razumije se, u mnogome zavisi od naših inženjera, arhitekata i urbanista. Jer danas, kada se stambena izgradnja razvija vrlo brzo i kada su njene dimenzije i kvalitet sasvim drugačiji nego prije, postoji anomalija da ona izgleda modernistički, a u stvari je nazadnjačka. Treba postići da ona ne bude nazadnjačka, da ne bude ni ultramodernistička – već moderna i funkcionalno dobra. Mi ne treba da gledamo samo na spoljne oblike, nego i na unutarnju funkcionalnost i potrebe ljudi” (JOSIP BROZ TITO 1966).

⁷⁷ Serbian: Savezno izvršno veće – SIV. The building was also previously informally known as the Palace of the Federation. Nowadays, it is called the Palace of Serbia. It is used by the Serbian government for ceremonial purposes, also, some minister cabinets and government agencies are located there.

Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party were built there. These buildings were some of the most significant administrative buildings in the newly-formed socialistic Yugoslavia and are projected as monumental buildings (MANIĆ AND BACKOVIĆ 2010: 49). Therefore, several residential quarters, popularly called *blocks*⁷⁸ were built at the very beginning. The first residential quarters were constructed in 1950s (SELINIĆ 2007), while others were built in the following decades.



Fig. 17: Blok 12 in 2018 – view from a neighbouring building (own photo, 2018)

Blok 12 is one of the newer blocks in New Belgrade. It consists of a residential-commercial complex that comprises nine buildings and common open spaces between those buildings. The complex is located in the Boulevard of Mihajlo Pupin 10. The buildings cover an area of 180,000 square meters, and are named by letters (A, B, V, G, D, E, Ž, Z and I). The famous Serbian construction company *Energoprojekt*, which was involved in many international projects all over the world and especially in countries with non-alleged movement, started construction in 1991. Until 1994 the first four buildings were built. The complete project was finished in 2002⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ Serbian: blok

⁷⁹ General information about Blok 12, but also other activities of Energoprojekt can be found in their jubilee publication for the company's 60 year anniversary (ENERGOPROJEKT 2011).

5.2.3 Functional changeability – Political and economic influences

Even though some important state institutions are located in New Belgrade, it has never achieved a dominant administrative and governing function. On the contrary, continuous construction of residential blocks, and permanent growth of population prevailed. Residential function became dominant in New Belgrade. Until the 1990s, most of residents of New Belgrade worked in other city parts. Many are prone to refer to New Belgrade of that period as a 'dormitory suburb' or 'bedroom community' (SELINIĆ 2005: 203). The periphery of New Belgrade was one of seven industrial zones of Belgrade (PETROVIĆ 2001A). Rapid migrations motivated by industrial development caused the forming of working-class neighbourhoods in New Belgrade (SELINIĆ 2005: 183). Urban embodiment of New Belgrade can be seen from two perspectives – a planned 'administrative city', and a realised 'residential city' (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2007, MANIĆ AND BACKOVIĆ 2010: 49).

After the fall of socialism and the disintegration of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, new development tendencies are noticed in New Belgrade. The abundance of space is used for new private businesses, mostly in the commerce sector. After 2000 and the opening of Serbia to the global market, many branch offices of international companies and banks were opened, as well as shopping malls and hypermarkets. Accordingly, many people now refer to today's New Belgrade as a 'big marketplace' (SEKULIĆ ET AL. 2009: 130). The ideals behind New Belgrade's development entirely transformed in the last decades, and today's perception of New Belgrade's neighbourhoods is based on different phases of 'turbo-capitalism' (DIMITRIJEVIĆ 2009: 111). Additionally, the market paradigm and new economy changed urban perception of New Belgrade and moved it from its periphery position to a more central place in the urban frame of Belgrade (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2008). There are plenty of free spaces in New Belgrade, which still develop and transform, and which are constructing sites.

New Belgrade's economic performance positions it on the leading position among Belgrade's municipalities. New Belgrade has the highest number of employees and achieves more investments than other municipalities. Additionally, it generates the biggest part of Belgrade's GDP (VOJKOVIĆ ET AL. 2010: 221).

Commercial function of Blok 12 is conspicuous. Thus, this complex is popularly referred to as *YU Business Centre*⁸⁰. Because of its late 'production

⁸⁰ YU is a short for Yugoslavian. The complex was planned and built in the time of Yugoslavia. Even though Yugoslavia does not exist anymore, the nickname associating to the former country is still there.

date', it does not carry any of the historical burden of New Belgrade, be it 'administrative' or 'residential'.

5.2.4 Social overview

Rapid inhabitation of New Belgrade after the Second World War also resulted in certain social difficulties. New urban perspectives imposed on new residents, as well as functional ambiguity and monotony, led to alienation (SAVIĆ 2000). Many residents faced identity problems. Following generations which grew up in New Belgrade, handle that issue much better and create a "specific image of New Belgrade" (MARIČIĆ AND PETRIĆ 2009: 45). Neighbourhoods in New Belgrade were creating specific sub-cultural scenes, especially in the 1990s, such as a criminal or a graffiti scene (RADOŠEVIĆ 2009).

Before the privatisation which followed the fall of socialism, New Belgrade was characterised by collective social housing (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2009A). Around 87% of the apartments were in public ownership, and most inhabitants belonged to a modern Yugoslavian middle class (PETROVIĆ AND BACKOVIĆ 2009: 64).

New Belgrade experienced a rise in population after the turbulent period in former Yugoslavia. More than 7% of the total population of New Belgrade in 2002 were refugees and forced migrants from different parts of the former state (MARIČIĆ AND PETRIĆ 2009: 46). Migration from China to the peripheral parts of New Belgrade has been evident since the 1990s. The size of New Belgrade's Chinese population is unknown, but most of them are located in Blok 70 (MILUTINOVIĆ 2005: 153, BLAGOJEVIĆ 2009B).

A new service class inhabiting New Belgrade in the last two decades initiated construction of new and lower residential objects with high quality standards (PETROVIĆ AND BACKOVIĆ 2009: 67-68). Blok 12 fits that image.

"Its location is very appreciated... .. Price of the square meter here is still holding a very high level, despite new construction sites expanding⁸¹" (Interview EN003).

The educational structure of the population in creative district Blok 12 and its vicinity is on a higher level, compared to the rest of New Belgrade, and compared to the average statistics of the City of Belgrade (PETROVIĆ AND BACKOVIĆ 2009: 85).

"It still is a very attractive residential area, despite almost two decades since the construction works were finished⁸²" (Interview EN003).

⁸¹ Serbian: „Lokacijski je YUBC na izuzetnom glasu, mada je iz gore navedenih razloga njegova atraktivnost opala. Cena kvadrata se pored ekspanzije novogradnje i dalje drži na izuzetno visokom nivou" (Interview EN003).

Compared to the other neighbourhoods in the city, living in the creative district Blok 12 and its vicinity can be described as very attractive. Locals in general are not keen to move to some other location (PETROVIĆ AND BACKOVIĆ 2009).

5.2.5 Architectural diversity

From the very beginning, New Belgrade's construction process was centrally planned and governed. Eminent architects were involved in architectural competitions regarding New Belgrade's urban development. As an architectural style, modernism prevailed. It differs from Soviet socialist-realism on one, and Western international style on the other hand (MARIČIĆ AND PETRIĆ 2009: 44). Residential blocks are constructed as functional units and are connected through wide boulevards. After the 1990s, New Belgrade fell under the influence of neoliberal urban transformations, and many new construction sites have appeared. Urban planning is not a subject of central planning anymore, and the prevailing architectural style can be referred as 'turbo architecture' (TERKESSIDIS 2009: 92).

Initially, the central part of New Belgrade was planned for more luxurious and lower residential buildings, as a contrast to the typically high rise residential buildings in New Belgrade. Many projects in Central New Belgrade were not realised due to a lack of investment (PETROVIĆ AND BACKOVIĆ 2009: 62).

The representative role of the Boulevard of Mihajlo Pupin has never been questioned but changed its appearance throughout time. Josip Broz Tito used to be driven in his car through this street between the delighted masses (RÖMER 2009: 99). Today, this street represents a business centre of New Belgrade, and an important urban arterial road connecting old and new parts of Belgrade. It also represents a collection of both socialistic⁸³ and neoliberal footprints. Buildings and complexes considered landmarks of New Belgrade are distributed along the Boulevard of Mihajlo Pupin. The most significant landmarks on the way are the Business Centre and shopping mall *Ušće*⁸⁴, *Sava Centar*, the *Palace of Serbia*, *Belgrade Arena*, the building of the Municipality of New Belgrade, and one of the first residence blocks called *Fontana*.

Blok 12 was constructed under the guidance of two architects, Milutin Gec and Mario Jobst. One of Mario Jobst's ideas was to add a more recognizable

⁸² Serbian: „...je i dalje atraktivno mesto za zivot, pored toga sto je proslo skoro dve decenije od izgradnje“ (Interview EN003).

⁸³ Before 1990s the street was named after Vladimir Ilyich Lenin – Lenin's Boulevard.

⁸⁴ The former building of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

landmark to the string of the Boulevard⁸⁵. Blok 12, with its striking buildings and the first square in New Belgrade, was planned to fulfil that assignment (JOBST 2000). The idea was to develop Blok 12 into a new meeting point. The architect used the old building of *Telefonska centrala* in Belgrade's downtown as a role model for his project (see Fig. 18).

⁸⁵ Describing architectural attributes of the neighbourhood, ČOMIĆ (2015: 120) writes that “no buildings in the neighbourhood has some significant artistic value” and that it is “aesthetically weak architecture”.



Fig. 18: The building of Telefonska centrala and the building in the Blok 12 in 2018 (own photos, 2018)

Jobst used red colour for the building's façade because it is "known among the people as a *view-holding-colour*⁸⁶" (JOBST 2000: 14). He achieved a symbolical effect by projecting steel construction on the façade in the form of sails. Sails represent a connection with the nearby Danube River, and with the former Pannonian Sea which extended in the area. Blok 12's building G is the symbolizing connection between New Belgrade and the two rivers from which the land was 'stolen' in order to build Belgrade.

MILAŠINOVIĆ MARIĆ (2002: 150) sees the striking building of the complex (building G) as an interesting contrast to surrounding blocks:

"This work of luxurious lines and daring architecture in the Novi Beograd resembles "counterpoint" in relation to the surrounding architecture with dominating grey shade. By its modern Romantism, expressive architecture, sculptural and visual features, it has a provoking effect on observers by its psychological component of diversity and separation in the space. The project is conceived as a cube elevated on a pedestal. A simple cubic form is enclosed by oversized steel structure carrying terraces on all four façades. This steel frame, the semi-circular shapes which resemble spread canvases, strongly expressed and underlined by bright red colour, gives a dominant character to the building. The lexan sunshields soften the austere structural forms, bringing impression of trembling and lightness. The visual idea is rounded by angular motives, high-lighted suspended transparent sunshields, additionally spotlighting the over-emphasised character of the building".

This object was also a pioneering project in an aesthetic and functional sense. It is one of the first constructions in Belgrade with 'hidden' air conditioning systems (PUCAR ET AL. 2009: 108), that do not have a negative impact on the building's façade. The architectural style of the building is a representation of expressionism (Interview EX002).

The first floor of the buildings is planned as commercial and the higher floors as residential space. There is no traffic within the complex, only a pedestrian zone. Emergency service's vehicles are allowed to enter the complex, as well as delivery cars during the morning hours. The complex is surrounded by parking spaces and garages are located underground.

5.3 Conclusion

Location analysis of Savamala and Blok 12 shows the social and geographic characteristics these urban neighbourhoods acquired on their development path.

⁸⁶ Serbian: „...u narodu poznata kao stanipogled" (Jobst 2000: 14).

The creative district of Savamala is centrally located, but still hidden from the spotlights of Belgrade's downtown. Its development path reaches back two centuries. Savamala also has a rich social, cultural and historical heritage. This neighbourhood witnessed both prosperous and destitute eras. Political involvement was always important in Savamala's development, both for prosperity and a general decline. Political decisions after the Second World War left Savamala in a state of decay, and social and the architectural structure has been damaged. Buildings were neglected and poorly maintained, and the neighbourhood became unattractive because of communal problems, traffic jams and noise, as well as social incidents.



Fig. 19: Location characteristics of Savamala (source: own elaboration)

The creative district of Blok 12 and its vicinity is not centrally located compared to Belgrade's downtown, but is centrally located within New Belgrade. It represents the newly-formed, second Central Business District of Belgrade. New Belgrade's historical development path is still relatively short, and Blok 12's path is even shorter. The urban fabric of New Belgrade is interlaced by political and ideological socialistic influences. Blok 12 found its place in this environment but was constructed in the post-socialist transitional era. Even though political decisions played a large role in New Belgrade's development, Blok 12 grew on the ruins of socialistic and up-down driven New Belgrade. Its development was

mostly driven by market forces. Buildings existing in Blok 12 are mostly modern and good maintained, as well as its surrounding infrastructure. The neighbourhood is generally perceived to be an attractive living location.

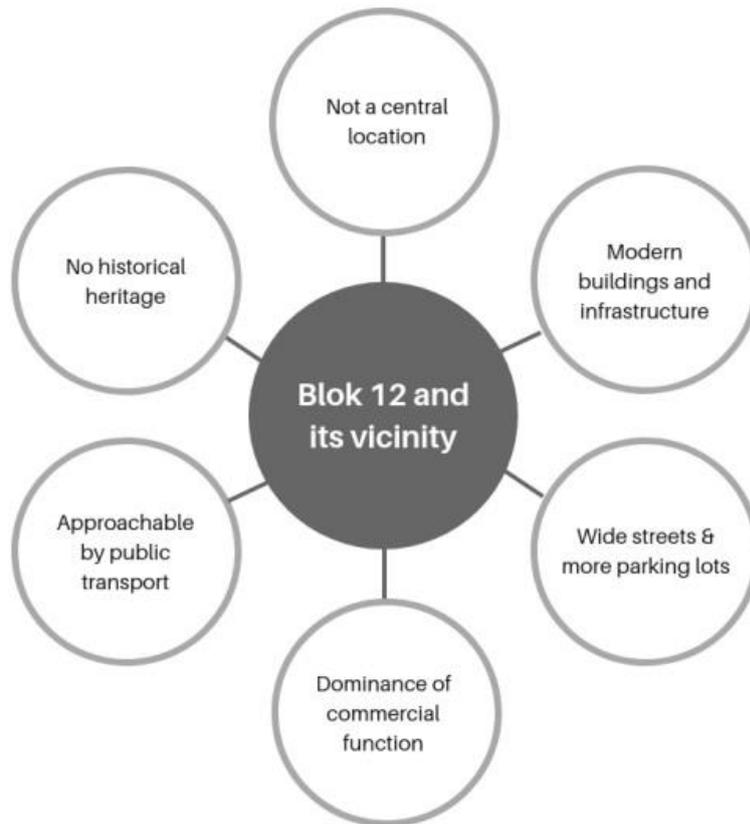


Fig. 20: Location characteristics of Blok 12 and its vicinity (source: own elaboration)

It is expected that different location characteristics attract different types of creative economy. The next chapter analyses the embodiment of creative economy in Savamala on one, and Blok 12 and its vicinity on the other hand. It shows how new urban actors confront already established economic, cultural or spatial practices.

6. Creative transformation in Belgrade city quarters in the 21st century – Stakeholder analysis

It is easier to conceive of creativity in individuals or even organisations than in a city which is, by definition, a complex amalgam of diverse people, interest groups, institutions, organisational forms, business sectors, social concerns and cultural resources.

CHARLES LANDRY (2012: 4)

The grouping of creative economies in one location is a relatively new phenomenon in Belgrade. It has been notable in Savamala and the central part of New Belgrade for roughly the last decade. Besides companies with a focus on creative economy, there are also other actors involved in urban development of those quarters⁸⁷.

This analysis aims to identify stakeholders involved in the creative-led urban development in Savamala and Blok 12. Furthermore, it recognises actions they take, and assesses their interests, influence levels, as well as their expectations. Finally, it reveals which urban footprints this kind of development in those neighbourhoods leaves behind.

6.1 Revival of the neighbourhood of Savamala and its 21st century Renaissance

Savamala's development throughout the last decade is a topic of intrigue in Belgrade, Serbia, but also abroad. It has already been stated that the cultural and creative activities resulted in an increased interest in Savamala. This chapter aims to offer an analysis how and why that kind of development occurred in this city quarter, and which implications followed.

DAVID HARVEY wrote about urban desperation in Paris after 1960s in the preface to his book *Rebel Cities*, the cause for which he outlined: "the old could not last, but the new seemed just too awful, soulless and empty to contemplate" (HARVEY 2012: x). Harvey's quote about Paris could be easily transferred to Savamala in the 2000s, as this neighbourhood was trapped in a similar limbo. Savamala is not the only case but rather part of a group of depressed post-socialistic transitional urban landscapes which are looking for a new sense of meaning.

⁸⁷ Most information about activities of creative organisations and companies are obtained through in-depth semi-structured interviews which the author conducted with officials of those entities.

“In post-socialist cities, there are frequent cases of spontaneous, unplanned and informal functional and spatial manifestations of cultural activity, which is leading to a regeneration of city parts, primarily public spaces with forgotten aesthetic values⁸⁸” (NEDUČIN 2014: 210).

The end of the 2000s can be considered as the beginning of Savamala's regeneration led by creative activities and initiatives. Before 2007, there were no creative organisations and the city quarter was in a silent oblivion. Numerous cultural and creative processes have been starting to take shape since 2009. This regeneration began on the basis of a location advantages including historic resources of the quarter and its central location. Neglected spaces also were a critical factor and, in a sense, provided a perfect playground for urban transformation.

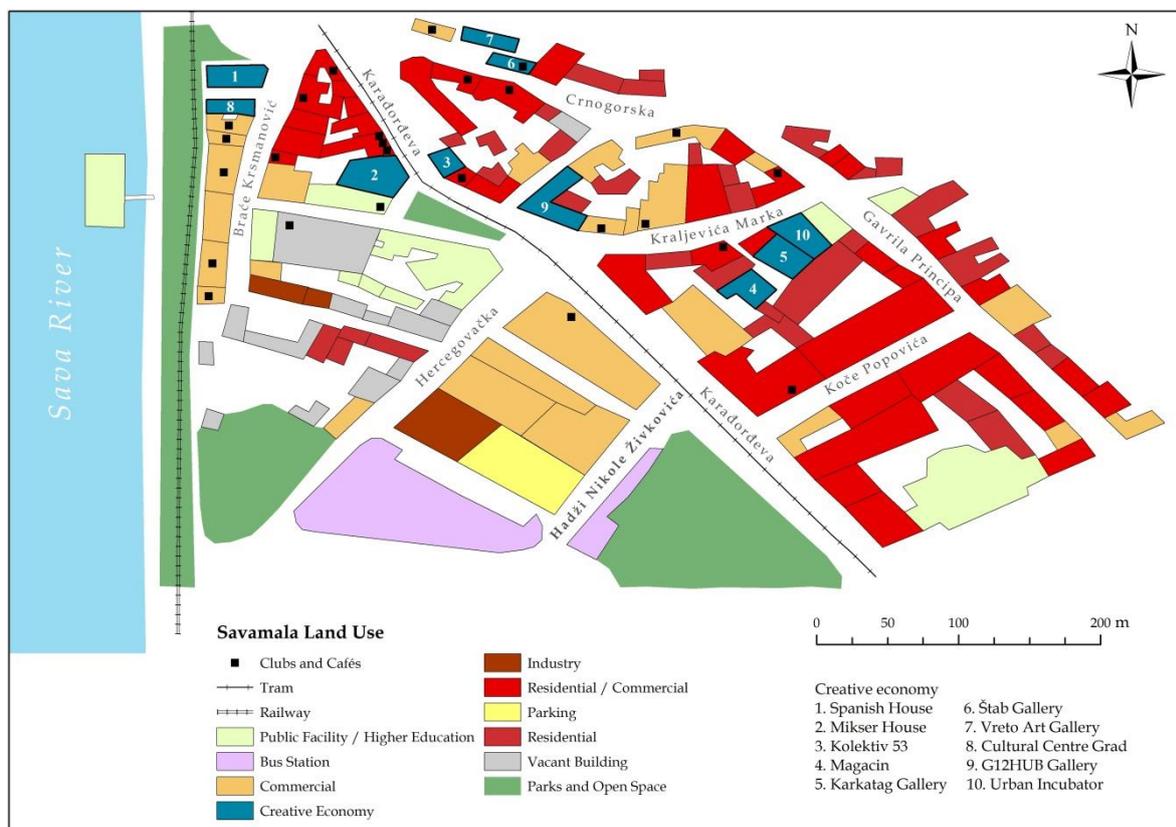


Fig. 21: Land use in Savamala in 2015 (own elaboration, own map based on Google Maps)

Creative-led regeneration took place at a fast pace and reached its peak in 2015 (JOCIĆ ET AL. 2017). The features existing in Savamala in 2015 are shown in Figure 21. A certain level of regeneration was evident when compared to 2009 and the period before the process of creative-led urban development.

⁸⁸ Serbian: „U postsocijalističkim gradovima su, sa druge strane, česti primeri spontane, neplanske i neformalne funkcionalne i prostorne manifestacije kulturnih aktivnosti, koje dovode do regeneracije delova grada, prvenstveno javnih prostora sa zaboravljenim estetskim vrednostima” (NEDUČIN 2014: 210).

6.1.1 Infiltration of culture and creativity in Savamala – Key role of creative organisations

Creative organisations which existed or still exist in Savamala became key stakeholders in the creative-led urban regeneration process. Their activities build and support the reputation and image of Savamala as a creative quarter.

An initial step for the evolutionary process can be traced back to the year 2007, when an abandoned warehouse of a former publishing company in Kraljevića Marka Street was reshaped into the cultural centre *Magacin*. A gallery with additional spaces for cultural and creative activities was opened.

“That was the first ... artistic nook in the area here where exhibitions were organised, and where artists also got a production space... Cultural content in general <got its space>, it is not related only to artists⁸⁹” (Interview CS006).

Their single efforts were not enough to initiate and guide the revitalisation of the neighbourhood.

Savamala has been garnering increasing attention since 2009, when one of the abandoned warehouses was turned into the headquarters of *Grad*, the key creative organisation that started to operate there.

“ ... The neighbourhood was abandoned. Everything was abandoned. When we settled here, all the buildings in the street were closed⁹⁰” (Interview CS003).

The European Centre for Culture and Debate *Grad* is a private organisation established by a group of experienced managers in culture and with the support provided by *Felix Meritis Foundation* from Amsterdam and by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

⁸⁹ Serbian: „To je bio prvi da kažem umetnički kutak ovde u prostoru gde su rađene izožbe, ali su umetnici dobili prostor za produkciju. Uopšte kulturni sadržaj, ne svodi se sad samo na umetnike“ (Interview CS006).

⁹⁰ Serbian: „Jer je kraj bio pust. Sve je bilo napušteno. Kad smo mi došli svaka zgrada ovde u ulici nije radila.“ (Interview CS003).



Fig. 22: Building of the European Centre for Culture and Debate Grad (own photo, 2015)

They moved into the partly restored former warehouse with the wish to keep the old charm on the one hand, and to provide functionality on the other. The building, dating back to 1884, was a parquet warehouse before the Second World War. Lately, it was used as a warehouse of the *Centrotexstil* company.

Grad's location in Savamala was not planned as their headquarters from the very beginning.

"We were initially thinking about the location of the Old Fairground. ... However, for various reasons, it was impossible, and I think it still is. Political, ideological reasons etc. ... Afterwards, we were considering different parts of the city. I mean, our main goal was to activate an abandoned industrial space. ... We saw it before all around Europe. I mean, for the activities we have been doing for previous ten years, art and culture, that was like – that is the right thing"⁹¹ (Interview CS003).

Today, this building is used as a multifunctional space, which is open to exhibitions, concerts, debates, performances, conferences and workshops (GRAD 2015). The building includes a gallery, a conference hall, a presentation and training hall, and a space for concerts and gigs. *Grad's* programme started to

⁹¹ Serbian: „U stvari, mi smo prvo razmišljali o lokaciji preko puta Starog sajmišta... Međutim, to je bilo iz raznih razloga, mislim da je i dalje nemoguće, i političkih, i ideoloških, i ovih i onih... I onda, razgledali smo razne delove grada. Mislim, uglavnom nam je bio cilj da to bude napušteni industrijski prostor... Pošto je tako, negde smo i videli pre po Evropi i negde ti je to kao... Mislim, za ono čime smo se bavili prethodnih deset godina pre toga, za tu neku umetnost i kulturu, to je bilo kao – to je to“ (Interview CS003).

attract visitors to Savamala, as well as public attention. The neighbourhood's image underwent a positive change in a relatively short time.

“In two or three years everything developed quite fast. ... It was interesting to follow the microeconomic, and, let me say, social development of the neighbourhood. It was interesting to follow that on a weekly and monthly basis...”⁹² (Interview CS003).

The success of this key organisation attracted other private projects in the following years.

The next relevant creative organisation that moved to Savamala was *Mikser*. This organisation was established by private creative entrepreneurs with the aim to gather together creative people from Serbia and the region. Their headquarters *Mikser House* opened in a renovated warehouse in 2013.

“We were attracted by the idea that through creative processes and through creative industries we could raise awareness about the importance of this city quarter, and to do something for this important part of the city, having initiatives in other metropolises of the world as a role model”⁹³ (Interview CS004).



Fig. 23: Mikser House in Savamala and its surrounding (own photo, 2015)

⁹² Serbian: „za dve-tri godine se brzo razvilo... Ali je bilo zanimljivo pratiti taj mikroekonomski da kažem, i socijalni razvoj kraja. Meni je to bilo zanimljivo onako na nedeljnom nivou, maltene i mesečnom“ (Interview CS003).

⁹³ Serbian: „Nas je privukla ideja da mi kreativnim procesima i kroz kreativne industrije podignemo svest o značaju ove gradske četvrti i da uradimo nešto za ovaj deo grada koji je značajan po ugledu na ovakve inicijative u drugim metropolama sveta.“ (Interview CS004).

Mikser House served as an exhibition and sales space for designer items from around the region, provided space for workshops and cultural events, and included a canteen and a café (MIKSER 2014).

“*Mikser is actually a creative platform which offers a possibility for young artists to show and promote their work without having to pay for that*⁹⁴” (Interview CS004).

Moreover, this institution organises the popular *Mikser Festival*, which was held for the ninth time in 2017⁹⁵. Before coming to Savamala, this festival took place in the city quarter of Donji Dorćol in the building of *Stari Mlin* (eng. *the Old Mill*)⁹⁶. *Mikser* left this space when the mill was privatised and they found in Savamala, according to their statements, a perfect milieu for their major event (Interview CS004).



Fig. 24: The location where *Mikser Festival* started, and was held also in 2017 (own photos, 2017)

Mikser House in Savamala is closed since May 2017, because they were not satisfied with the contract they had with the landlord and a continuous raising of the rent (MIKSER 2017). According to their statement, the mission of *Mikser* was never determined by location, but ideas. *Mikser* is:

⁹⁴ Serbian: „*Mikser je u stvari kreativna platforma koja pruža mogućnost mladim umetnicima da se iskažu i promovišu svoja dela bez da moraju da plate za to*“ (Interview CS004).

⁹⁵ The first three festivals were held in Donji Dorćol, the next five in Savamala, and the ninth again in Donji Dorćol.

⁹⁶ This reutilised brownfield area is located on the right side of the Danube River, under the Belgrade Fortress.

“...an initiative which is mobile. It is today here, tomorrow it can be somewhere else, and to have some other goals. Every year, exactly through our festival, we try to draw attention to actual issues in society, and to influence them by raising awareness...”⁹⁷
(Interview CS004).

Accordingly, *Mikser* suits to contemporary spatial and urban processes often described as ‘fluid’ or ‘liquid’ (e.g. NYSETH 2012).

Grad and *Mikser* generated a diverse cultural offer and symbolise the success of cultural activities in Savamala. That is noticed also by the *Guardian*’s website, which included *Mikser House* in the list of ten best ‘industrial-chic spaces’ worldwide. Beside *Mikser House* these include: *La Sucrière* (Lyon), *Basilica Hudson* (New York), *Freegan Pony* (Paris), *Librairie Avant-Garde* (Nanjing), *Hotel de Goudfazant* (Amsterdam), *The Spinnerei* (Leipzig), *Russell Industrial Centre* (Detroit), *The Pool* (Tokyo) and *Ler Devagar* (Lisbon).

“Occupying a light, beautifully renovated warehouse, *Mikser House* has become Belgrade’s most prominent arts centre since opening in the run-down Savamala neighbourhood in 2013. It joins another venue in the post-industrial area: *KC Grad*, which has a bar, exhibition space, hosts club nights and has been an important catalyst for the city’s independent creative scene” (GUARDIAN 2016).

Mikser House reopened in Sarajevo in September 2017, but the new location was not active for a long time. The building was closed after approximately three months.

Since 2010, the German *Goethe Institute* has become one of the major actors to highlight Savamala as a creative district. Together with various international organisations and support from the City of Belgrade and the Municipality of Savski Venac, the *Goethe Institute* initiated an urban regeneration project, called *Urban Incubator: Belgrade*⁹⁸, in Savamala.

“The *Urban Incubator: Belgrade* aims to improve the quality of life of local residents, arguing strongly in favour of a city on a human scale, and aims to encourage the residents of Savamala to take charge of their quarter” (GOETHE INSTITUTE 2014).

⁹⁷ Serbian: „...jedna inicijativa koja je mobilna... Ona je sada trenutno ovde, sutra može da bude negde drugde, da ima neke druge ciljeve. Svake godine, upravo sa festivalom, mi se trudimo da pokrenemo one goruće teme u društvu i da utičemo na njih podizanjem svesti...” (Interview CS004).

⁹⁸ The project officially began in March 2013 and its results were presented in November 2013.

The goal of the *Goethe Institute* was that the project not only focus on material values or speculative activities, but primarily on cultural and social values of the neighbourhood and to show that sustainable urban regeneration is possible (MÜLLER-WIEFERIG AND HERZEN 2013A; 2013B). Through its subprojects⁹⁹, this project brought new dimensions to the neighbourhood, introducing to it architectural, educational, cultural, and artistic practices. It also encouraged civic involvement, self-organised bottom-up activities, and cooperations. Some subprojects have continued to exist and develop as spin-offs of the *Urban Incubator: Belgrade* project even after the completion of the *Goethe Institute's* activities in Savamala.

The spin-off initiative of the *Goethe Institute's* project, which continued to operate in Savamala, continued also used a similar name – *Urban Incubator*. Many activists involved in the previous project, continued to be involved in the *Urban Incubator* project, providing continuity at a conceptual level.



Fig. 25: Spanish House is a location used by the Goethe Institute for several exhibitions (own photo, 2015)

They continue to follow and improve the original idea trying to boost long-term effects. Projects of the *Goethe Institute*, its subprojects and spin-offs, were a

⁹⁹ Subprojects of “Urban Incubator: Belgrade” are: Spanish House, A Model for Savamala, Micro Factories, Slušaj Savamala!, Kamenzind, Nextsavamala, Savamalski dizajn studio, Bureau Savamala, We also love the Art of Others, Goethe-Guerilla 2013, and School of Urban Practices.

massive help in presenting and preserving the cultural heritage of the micro region Savamala, as vernacular cultural practice (MARKUSEN 2010).

Beside the aforementioned creative organisations, there are also organisations that currently provide spaces for artistic and design production. One of these organisations is the design incubator *Nova Iskra* (eng. *New Sparkle*), which was opened in a vacant residential building on the outskirts of the creative quarter in December 2012. It offers a coworking creative space, and fosters formal and informal connections between creative people. The organisation is market-oriented and tends to make profitable art and designs. *Nova Iskra* differs from most of the other creative spaces in Savamala, as it is not public or semi-public but rather a coworking space used by creative professionals such as artist, designers, architects, and entrepreneurs. They expand their capacities and open a new coworking space in Zemun for 120 members.

Another organisation is *Karkatag*, a non-profit creative collective that builds objects and installations for different occasions. Their workshops provide production space and may serve educational functions.

Galleries such as *G12HUB* and *Štab* are organisations that provide exhibition spaces. Their various programmes offer possibilities to display all different kinds of visual art. These galleries give many young and unknown artists a chance for promotion. Gallery *G12HUB* was active in Savamala in the period between 2013-2016. Since then, because of problems with their space, they are active as an online platform, but are also visiting different spaces in Belgrade and other cities.

There are different types of creative organisations and spaces in Savamala. Some spaces are used for presenting creative works (exhibition spaces), and some developed as production spaces. Creative organisations specify various activities as their interests – promotion of culture and arts, an affirmation of especially young artists, connecting creative people within networks, and involvement in the education of creative people and visitors. The balance of exhibition and production spaces, as well as the balance between different activities should strengthen the position of Savamala as a creative quarter. At the moment, creative organisations operate through relationships of competition (over audience, projects, financial support), but also cooperation. Cooperation is expressed through communication, sharing of facilities, outsourcing, exchange of knowledge, and through attempts to develop joint projects.

The development of Savamala into a ‘cool’ place, brought with it alternative lifestyles, raised diversity, created a lively cultural and alternative scene, and revived some public and semi-public spaces.

6.1.2 Discrete support from aside – The role of the municipality and external funding

Savamala’s development trajectory clearly shows that the social engagement of the first creative organisations and their relative success have paved the way for other organisations. The question arises again, why creative organisations have chosen Savamala over other possible destinations. Here, an analysis cannot ignore the impact of the municipality of Savski Venac on the whole process, although the local administration has never created an official plan for the regeneration of the area. In fact, the role of municipal authorities is more clearly reflected in preliminary operations and in the development of urban regeneration ideas. Municipal leaders, through their experiences, travels and contacts with experts from Germany and Switzerland, started to appreciate the potential of this part of the city for urban regeneration led by creative processes.

According to interviews with municipality representatives (Interview PT001, Interview PT002), their preliminary ideas on cultural regeneration of Savamala were formed in 2006 and were presented at the *Architectural Biennale* in Venice. The presentation of Serbia in that year was focused on design solutions for the unused parts of Belgrade. It consisted of two parts, an urban development proposal for the *Third Belgrade*¹⁰⁰ and a regeneration idea of Savamala as the micro-location within Belgrade. Promising feedback that was received from international experts who were present at the *Biennale*, showed that the project for the revitalisation of Savamala was worthwhile to implement. Decisive pre-conditions for regeneration existed there, such as a favourable geographical location with proximity to downtown, a historical heritage, and neglected, underused spaces. Their overall plan was to attract creative people and artists, people familiar with creative economy, who could successfully work in this area and further shape a new character of the neighbourhood.

During the chaotic 1990s, numerous municipality-owned properties in Belgrade disappeared from the records and were transferred to private owners through manipulative activities. A significant challenge was the regulation of legal and ownership issues. After the restitution of property to the descendants of the pre-war owners, it was known exactly which resources were available to be used for public purposes, including the use of creative organisations. Just a few years earlier, in the early 2000s, the municipality regained formerly owned

¹⁰⁰ The left bank of the Danube River.

public facilities. Later on, as the owner of some local industrial brownfield sites and other abandoned facilities the municipality was able to offer them to creative uses at reasonable prices.

Municipality representatives pointed out during the interviews the arrival of *Grad* as a crucial moment for the future success of the district. Municipality leaders were convinced about the quality of this cultural centre given the vast experience in public cultural institutions of the establishers. A guarantee for the professional attitude of *Grad* was also seen in the support provided by the *Felix Meritis Foundation* from Amsterdam and by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

Mikser is referred to by the municipal authorities as the driving force of Savamala enhancement. After this already active organisation was searching for a new place, the municipality officials were intermediating a deal with the private owner of the warehouse where they moved in. According to interviewed municipal officials, the success *Mikser* had already shown at their previous festivals convinced them that their cultural, artistic, and creative programme may initiate a broader revitalisation of the area.

The general lack of financial resources is one of the problems that required more active and intense participation of the municipality in assisting organisations to realise their programmes. A further additional financial assistance solution is seen in the applications for European funds, whereas joint actions of the network of organisations and the municipality increases chances for funding. According to the interviewees, the office for EU projects of the municipality of Savski Venac provides support for applications for European Union funds. Several projects have been successfully implemented.

The municipality has thus established itself as a kind of umbrella organisation that provides logistical support for the active creative organisations and the revaluation of the district. Moreover, it shows the importance of personal contacts and the role of local political decision-makers in the case of Savamala.

6.1.3 More visible than influential – Artists, creative professionals and the rediscovery of Savamala

Although artists can contribute to the urban regeneration of Savamala in various ways, their activities are usually most evident through the initiatives of the creative organisations mentioned earlier. These organisations provide artists and other creative people with possibilities to express themselves, enable cooperation with other creative people, run exhibition spaces and production areas. As creative people are mostly freelancers, often without permanent

employment, some organisations also offer free legal advice (e.g. on protecting copyrights or contracts with potential employers).

Artists are present in the neighbourhood and spatial representations they produce are visible. “For example, street art has flourished here” (Interview CS003). Still, a striking impression in Savamala is that, except for some street art and graffiti, there are no other particular individual artistic activities in the public space. Given that most artists lack the individual funds to start their own projects, earlier mentioned creative organisations compensate these shortcomings. It cannot therefore be said that artists have had a decisive role in planning today’s appearance of Savamala or that they have initiated crucial processes. Still, they are very important stakeholders who give charm to the neighbourhood and participate in forming its attractive public image.

“Artists here were feeling comfortable ... Local and foreign artists are actually the key ... because they do not have prejudices¹⁰¹” (Interview CS003).

Most of the creative organisations in Savamala claim that they are “very oriented to popularisation of younger artists” (Interview CS001). However, it seems that the importance of artists is used more for their public image purposes than a reflection of their actual concrete importance in stimulating changes in the area.

Artists in Savamala are also socially and publicly active.

“They are more dedicated to the people and their needs. More than those whose job it is to think about that¹⁰²” (Interview CS003).

¹⁰¹ Serbian: „Tako da umetnici su se ovde osećali vrlo komotno i komforno... domaći i strani umetnici su u stvari ključ... zato što nemaju predrasuda“ (Interview CS003).

¹⁰² Serbian: „Više posvećeni čoveku kao, i njegovim potrebama. Više od ovih ljudi koji bi trebalo da razmišljaju o tome“ (Interview CS003).



Fig. 26: Street art in Savamala (own photo, 2015)

Additionally, most of the artists who are active in Savamala are not residents of the neighbourhood. Although Savamala is not yet an attractive residential quarter, the special situation of the Western Balkans post-socialist and post-conflict societies should be considered. This legacy is reflected in an “extremely bad housing situation as a constraint to independence” (TOMANOVIĆ AND IGNJATOVIĆ 2006: 278). The overall European trend of children living in the parental household for an extended period of time due to prolonged education, uncertain employment and housing market disturbances, is even more pronounced in South-Eastern Europe. Therefore, the difficult financial situation in general, and, thus, the highly precarious situation of creative freelancers, reduces the mobility of young artists in Belgrade. Even though housing is available in Savamala for reasonable prices, a flat in this city quarter is still not affordable for most individuals, preventing them from becoming ‘Western-style’ gentrifiers.

6.1.4 Reshaping the image of Savamala – Entrepreneurs and influence of business and profit

Savamala was not interesting for entrepreneurs and small businesses before the creative-led regeneration started. There were several small stores having trading and crafts in their focus. For instance, the traditional candy shop *Bombondžinica* is decades old and still exists.

Clubs, pubs, and other night-time economy generators were not present in Savamala, because the neighbourhood was not attractive for visitors. When the

creative-led regeneration started, just one club existed in the Braće Krsmanovića Street (Interview CS003). As the popularity of Savamala grew, and, consequently, the number of visitors, many new clubs, pubs, and cafes were opened in Savamala and continued to change the appearance of the neighbourhood. Savamala became a centre of night-life in Belgrade.

“That is normal. I mean the opening of cafes, restaurants, bars, which are actually super cool. Young people who come here, they are delighted. It contributes to the touristic offer of our city and we are proud that there are places like Berliner, Tranzit, Peron... Different profiles for different audiences¹⁰³” (Interview CS004).

The first clubs in Savamala led the alternative scene of the night-life of Belgrade and attracted a specific kind of public. They were actively contributing to the city quarter’s popularity and its number of visitors.

“They are together contributing exactly to this profile and this character of Savamala which exists today. If you ask me personally, it should be like that. I mean, there are no negative consequences¹⁰⁴” (Interview CS004).

Along with the rise of Savamala’s popularity, the range of the night-life offer expanded, introducing two new characteristics. First, the alternative scene was slowly overpowered by the mainstream. Secondly, night-life took over prominence from the culture and creativity, as a primary function of the neighbourhood.

“I think that it goes more and more in the direction that Savamala is perceived ... as a place for nightlife, and not a place where one can work, think, conceive...¹⁰⁵” (Interview CS003).

Additionally, some creative organisations organise concerts and gigs, with an open bar, in order to gain profit. In most cases, musicians and genre selection there is not led exclusively by profit, but also by reputation and quality of musicians. That cannot be said for some entrepreneurs who are organising

¹⁰³ Serbian: „To je normalno. Mislim, taj proces stvaranja kafića, restorana, kafana... Koje su u stvari super kul. Mladi ljudi koji dođu ovde, oni se oduševe. To doprinosi bogatstvu turističke ponude našeg grada i mi smo ponosni da lokali kao što su Berliner, Tranzit, Peron, i različitih profila, i za različite publike“ (Interview CS004).

¹⁰⁴ Serbian: „Tako da zajednički doprinose upravo ovom profilu i ovakvom karakteru Savamale kakav je danas i ako mene lično pitate to treba da bude tako... Mislim , nema nikakvih negativnih posledica“ (Interview CS004).

¹⁰⁵ Serbian: „Jer ja mislim da sve više ide u tome da se Savamala vidi kao neki... Kao neko mesto za provod, a ne za nešto gde nešto može i da se radi, razmišlja, smišlja...“ (Interview CS003).

mainstream music parties, which shook the image of Savamala as a progressive and creative quarter.

6.1.5 Powerful players – Influences of the Republican and the City government

The involvement of the Republican and the City government was not crucial for the creative development and regeneration of Savamala. Except the Ministry of Culture which helped to several initiatives with limited funds, there were no other significant contributions. Even though every funding was important for the creative organisations, resources they got from the ministry “were not resources which could support some project” (Interview CS001).

On the wave of the ‘populist politics’ around the democratic world (AKKERMAN 2003), Serbia got a government and such leader in 2012 (GAČEVIČOVA 2014, KRASTEVA AND VLADISAVLJEVIĆ 2017: 380-382). That administration promised many investments and projects which do not seem achievable (DASKALOVSKI 2016: 164). One of those projects is *Belgrade Waterfront*, a flagship project of both the Republican government and the government of the City of Belgrade.

Urban waterfronts transformations are known urban practice in many European and North-American post-industrial cities in the last decades (DEFOR ET AL. 2011, MARSHAL 2014). From the very beginning, many of those projects were surrounded by controversies (GORDON 1997).

Different solutions for waterfront’s urbanisation cause different public reactions, and amongst experts, and the academic community – from support to intrigues. Serbian political officials have an idea of supporting a project which should represent a symbol of new development in Belgrade, and to be its modern icon.

“Icons are projects or initiatives that are powerfully self-explanatory, jolt the imagination, surprise, challenge and raise expectations” (LANDRY 2006: 148).

This project should be realised and financed through cooperation between investors from the United Arab Emirates (*Eagle Hills Company Abu Dhabi*) and the Serbian government. It is not a project which can just influence the development of Savamala, rather a project which can change the complete urban description of Belgrade.



Fig. 27: Belgrade Waterfront Masterplan (source: BELGRADE WATERFRONT 2016)

Belgrade Waterfront is the extension of a close cooperation between the United Arab Emirates and the current Serbian establishment. The concrete achievement of that cooperation is the establishing of *Air Serbia*, a company in partner ownership of the Republic of Serbia (51%) and *Etihad* (49%). Other announced, but never realised investments were part of the agricultural and information sector.

After many announced but unrealised infrastructure projects, the public is very distrustful about *Belgrade Waterfront*. The idea of Belgrade's urban presence on the river banks existed since the first Master Plan in 1923 (SLAVKOVIĆ 2013: 7). *Belgrade Waterfront* is different than the projects from previous decades because they were often including mostly public spaces, and the actual project has dominant commercial and residential function. *Europolis* was another populist project offered as an urban solution for this part of the city. It dates back to the 1990s and was promoted by the government of Slobodan Milošević (NOVOSTI 2013). It has never been realised.

Preparation works for *Belgrade Waterfront* started during the election campaign in 2014 (RTV 2014). At the end of June 2014 a vast model of the future neighbourhood on the right bank of the Sava river was presented in a renovated building belonging to *Belgrade Cooperative*. According to the preliminary design, *Belgrade Waterfront* should cover an area of about 1.8 million square meters, and the complete investment comprises 3.5 billion Euros. A skyscraper dominates the planned environment and according to plans should be the new landmark of Belgrade. The plan includes an enormous shopping mall, office spaces, hotels, and thousands of luxury flats and

apartments. Although the preliminary design of the project covers the area between *Gazela Bridge* and *Branko's Bridge*, it does not reveal what exactly should happen with Savamala.

The Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić and the former mayor of Belgrade, Siniša Mali, are supporters and advocates of the project. Their appearances in media and interviews confirm that. Again, their statements tend to differ from another. The first deadline for finishing the project was four years, and just after a few months it was prolonged to thirty years. That is another reason why many people are distrustful of this plan. Nikola Nedeljković, *Eagle Hills'* project manager in Belgrade says that “we envisage *Belgrade Waterfront* to be a game-changing hub for Serbia”, and that it “takes into consideration the balanced sensitivity to nature, culture and modernity” (GUARDIAN 2015A).

Until 2017, *Belgrade Waterfront* consists of two still unfinished residential buildings. This project is still one of the major verbal assets of the governing party when talking about development processes.



Fig. 28: Belgrade Waterfront in summer 2017 (own photo, 2017)

Many scandals and controversies surrounded this project from its beginning. The most shocking one happened in Savamala in the night between 24th and 25th April 2016. A group of masked people destroyed part of Hercegovačka

Street using an excavator. No one has been able to identify the perpetrators. Additionally, many people tried to inform the police, but the police forces did not react¹⁰⁶.



Fig. 29: Cleared area of Hercegovačka Street after the demolition (own photo, 2016)

The statements of Serbian officials about the demolition are very contradictory. For example, Belgrade's mayor Siniša Mali said on May 4, 2016 that "The city of Belgrade, or any institution of the City of Belgrade was not involved in that"¹⁰⁷ (DANAS 2016). After some protests and pressures on the officials, mostly from the civil society, Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić said on June 8, 2016: "There are no doubts that behind the things that happened in Savamala stand the highest structures of Belgrade's authorities"¹⁰⁸ (DANAS 2016).

¹⁰⁶ There are phone transcripts showing that the police did not want to react and prevent demolition of the street. Two independent institutions, the protector of citizens of the Republic of Serbia (Ombudsman) Saša Janković, and the commissioner for Information of Public Importance and Personal Data Protection Rodoljub Šabić, pointed to many irregularities in the work of the public authorities. The protector of citizens of the Republic of Serbia provided transcript of one of the telephone calls from that night. Citizens tried to contact police forces and ask for a help. Transcripts show that the police did not want to react on these calls.

¹⁰⁷ Serbian: „Niti grad Beograd, niti bilo koja institucija grada nije u tome učestvovala“.

¹⁰⁸ Serbian: „Nesumnjivo je da iza onoga što se dogodilo u Savamali stoje najviši organi gradske vlasti u Beogradu“.

Many local entrepreneurs and residents are angry and disappointed at the same time because of the resulting situation.

“In Savamala, the situation is catastrophically bad. Nobody knows what is happening with the Belgrade Waterfront project. They are acting like bandits. Nobody knows what they will destroy during the night. ... I have had enough. I am fed up with not knowing anything. I will pack my stuff and go away from here¹⁰⁹”
(Interview ES001).



Fig. 30: Protest on the June 25, 2016 (source: NE DA(VI)MO BEOGRAD FACEBOOK PAGE 2016A)

The initiative and movement *Ne da(vi)mo Beograd*¹¹⁰ organised several demonstrations, demanding answers from official institutions. The success of the organisation is still bigger if we know that almost all mainstream Serbian media did not report the protests.

¹⁰⁹ Serbian: „U Savamali je katastrofalno loša situacija. Niko ne zna šta se dešava sa ovim Beogradom na vodi. Ovi se ponašaju kao razbojnici. Niko ne zna šta će preko noći dalje da ruše. ... Meni je dosta svega. Dosta mi je toga da se ništa ne zna. Uskoro ću da se pokupim i da odem odavde“ (Interview EN001).

¹¹⁰ The title roughly translates to We won't let Belgrade d(r)own.



Fig. 31: Protest on July 13, 2016 (source: NE DA(VI)MO BEOGRAD FACEBOOK PAGE 2016B)

The senior Legal Advisor at the OSCE¹¹¹ Mission in Serbia, Maurizio Salustro, said that he is disappointed about the incidents of April 24 and 25, 2016.

“Let us leave aside what the criminals did that night. The problem is what the police did, actually, what they did not do. If you read that report¹¹² and if it is correct what is written there – there is irrefutable evidence that the police conduct was intentional, and not just intentional, but also planned on a higher level. Otherwise, it would not be possible¹¹³” (N1INFO 2016).

Some independent media, movements and organisations, and opposition politicians try not to let this case fall into oblivion. *Vice versa*, governmental structures and mainstream media are avoiding this topic. Until today, the situation about the demolitions in Savamala stayed unclear, and nobody has been officially accused.

¹¹¹ Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

¹¹² The report of the protector of citizens of the Republic of Serbia concerning the situation of critical night in Savamala.

¹¹³ Serbian: „Da ostavimo po strani šta su uradili kriminalci te noći, ali problem je šta je policija uradila, odnosno, šta policija nije uradila. Ako pročitate taj izveštaj i ako je tačno to što piše - postoje neborivi dokazi da je postupanje policije namerno, ne samo namerno nego i planirano na veoma visokom nivou jer u suprotnom ne bi bilo moguće“ (N1INFO 2016).

6.2 Functional resurrection of New Belgrade and the role of the IT sector in the recent urban development in the central part of the municipality

New Belgrade faced serious challenges in post-socialist transition as the most prominent 'socialist-city' in Serbia. Many goals which were set during the socialist period have never been achieved, and New Belgrade stepped into a new era without a clear vision. Following the fall of socialism, previously unknown social and economic tendencies reached New Belgrade. A part of the city which grew in a controlled environment was suddenly open to ambiguous social and political influences, and influences of an ascending free-market.

6.2.1 Spatial tendencies in urban transformations of New Belgrade – The role of politics, urban planners, and finally of the open market

Remarkable symbols of suddenly condemned socialist system were standing in line ready to be changed. Many tertiary activities started to occupy New Belgrade and to change former urban practices. The changes which happened cannot be classified as planned, moreover as a chaotic reaction on an unexpected and rapid transformation of society.

Rapidly growing nationalism in the 1990s also led to spatial representations of it. New Belgrade as a symbolically pure Yugoslavian urban representative did not fit into the new circumstances. Religious objects did not find their place in the urban environment of New Belgrade in the past, because communist ideology was not benevolent towards such expressions. Even though aesthetically that represented a contrast to existing local landscape, the building of churches after 1990 put a new stamp on the urban environment.



Fig. 32: Contrast – pre-transitional and post-transitional New Belgrade – the face of Serbian post-modern (own photo, 2018)

Deregulation in urban planning did not bypass New Belgrade. Urban planning in the 1990s was characterised by deregulation and absence of control. That was especially visible in New Belgrade, which, until that period, was free of illegal constructions, and was studiously constructed from the very beginning.

Illegal constructions in New Belgrade became a typical phenomenon multiplying itself during the time. People wanted to acquire additional living space or a space for new tenants, and consequently, new constructions on old buildings' roof tops started to grow like mushrooms. Almost every building in New Belgrade was constructed to have common spaces belonging to all residents of an individual building. They were used for common purposes, either as storage and laundry rooms, or as rooms for gathering and spending time together. In the 1990s, most of them were suspiciously privatised, sometimes given away to suitable people, and converted to apartments or commercial objects.



Fig. 33: New-built stores on the streets of New Belgrade (own photo, 2018)

Small retail stores were very popular during the 1990s. Initially, those non-permanent constructions known as *kiosk*, were built of metal and placed all over sidewalks and green areas. Entrepreneurs were getting temporary licenses for these objects. Soon, almost all non-permanent constructions were illegally replaced with permanent constructions, made of bricks (see Fig. 33). Many of them are still there and became a legitimate part of New Belgrade's urban structure.

Numerous free spaces in the ground floors of buildings enabled the opening of commercial objects. Furthermore, urban planning anarchy allowed construction of new buildings on the numerous green surfaces, previously used mostly as recreational areas. Free market economy boosted the value of apartments on attractive locations, and some owners decided to rent them as office spaces. Commerce, service and financial sectors firmly positioned themselves in the urban fabric of New Belgrade. An area previously overwhelmed with residential contents became an area overwhelmed with commercialisation. In the last 25 years, many shopping malls, hypermarkets, banks, branch offices of financial and insurance companies, restaurants, and service agencies were opened. Many spatial representations characteristic for the

last 25 years in Serbia, and post-socialist urban development, seized New Belgrade for their use.

RATKAJ (2009: 67) notes forming of a new business zone in the West and North-West part of the city. That business zone rose in between the Boulevard of Arsenije Čarnojević and the Boulevard of Mihajlo Pupin, spreading further on the West, in the direction of Zemun. It can be undeniably ascertained that the traditional central business zone existing in the middle of Belgrade's old town is not the only one in the Serbian capital anymore. JOVANOVIĆ and RATKAJ (2014) argue that New Belgrade, because of strong expansion of tertiary economy, turned into new a business zone of Belgrade.



Fig. 34: Commercialisation effect in New Belgrade (own photo, 2016)

Blok 12 and its vicinity are in the centre of that new business zone. Blok 12 is built in the middle of a former socialist city but is not architectural and functional representative of the socialist era. It accepted the wave of commercialisation without any calculations, because it was never burdened from the past.

Even though a significant number of buildings from the socialist era are close to Blok 12, they did not have too much influence on its identity. Symbolic value of those buildings declined while the popularity of Blok 12 grew. The *Palace of Serbia* lost its administrative function and symbolical importance with the disintegration of Yugoslavia and is used as an occasional ceremonial venue. After 1999, the former headquarters of the Communist Party modified into a shopping mall. In the area opposite of the *Palace of Serbia* (Blok 26), which was

planned as a monumental square, several business buildings and a church have been built.

From the very beginning, Blok 12 faced a strong commercial influence. It is one of the first areas in Belgrade which was planned as a commercial-residential complex. Nowadays, there are numerous projects including similar solutions all around Belgrade. Early on, many entrepreneurs, retail shops, boutiques and small companies in the service and finance sector were set up there. They were followed by restaurants and supermarkets.

Empty urban spaces in the vicinity of Blok 12 had to figuratively wait in line for urbanisation. That left the possibility of several specialised business buildings with plenty of office space being built. After that, bigger companies in the service and finance sector started to settle in this area.

6.2.2 Following actual trends – Central New Belgrade as an IT centre of Belgrade

Blok 12 is imagined as a multi-functional space. The ground floor is planned as a commercial space, and the other six levels for residential use. Meanwhile, companies also took over spaces in the higher levels (Interview EX001). Commercial spaces in Blok 12 are not too large, and normally cover around 20-30 square meters. That is suitable for companies of a smaller scale. Some got bigger spaces by connecting more commercial spaces or even more apartments.

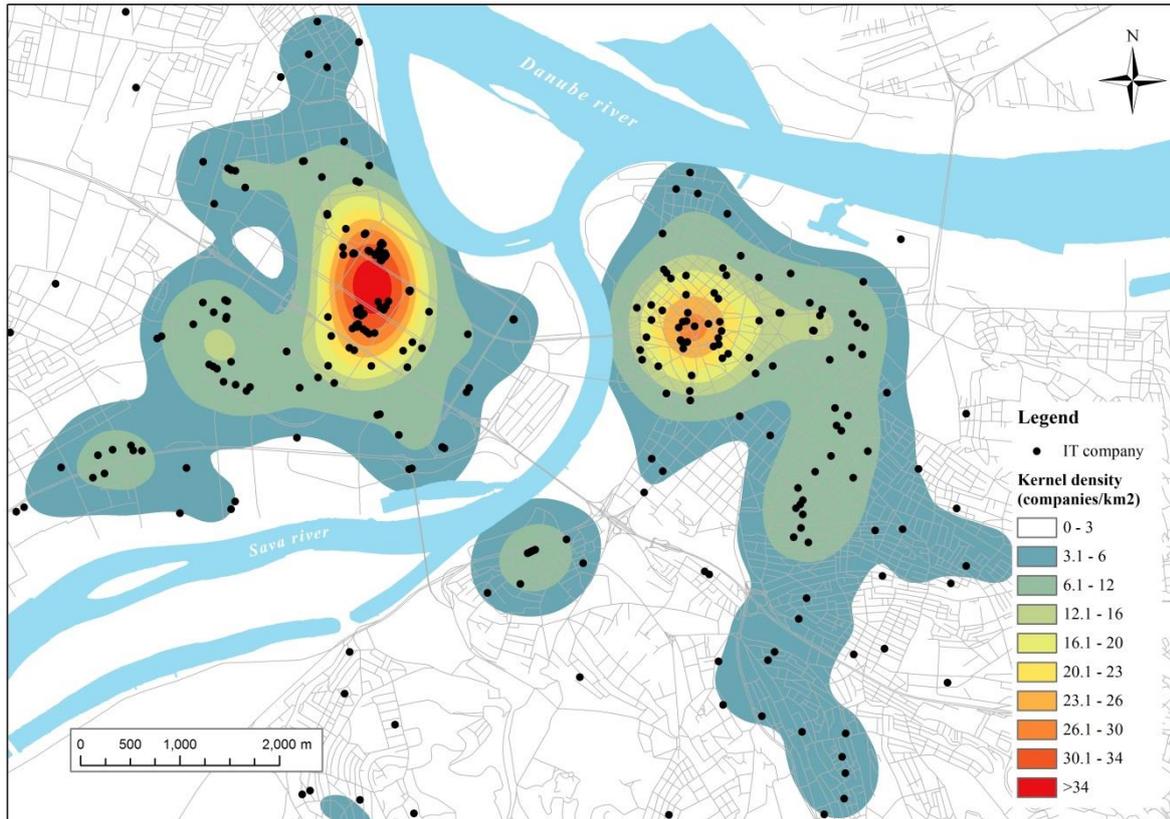


Fig. 35: Spatial distribution and density of the IT sector in Belgrade (own elaboration based on PRIVREDNI IMENIK 2016)

An analysis of the IT sector's spatial distribution in the territory of Belgrade shows that most of the companies within this sector are located in the central part of New Belgrade, more precisely in Blok 12 and its vicinity¹¹⁴ (see Fig. 35).

The opening of Serbia to the world market in 2000s supported the development of an IT sector. Location and infrastructural advantages influenced an establishing of IT sector companies in Blok 12.

¹¹⁴ This investigation and map are results of the author's own elaboration. For completing investigation data available at the website of the Economic Directory of Serbia were used. All locations of the companies from their data-base having creative input and output are being mapped. Kernel density analysis provided a result – hot spot showing the area with the biggest density of IT companies in the City of Belgrade. This neighbourhood is chosen as a relevant area for examination of the IT sector development within an urban environment.

“There are five of us partners. We had a business idea and started to realise it. Every one of us is in charge of a different segment. When we were thinking about a location, YUBC was a very easy decision. Simple – there were some empty office spaces which were not expensive. Okay, they are not on the perfect location, but cornered in passages (between and/or on the ground floors of the buildings – author’s comment), but that was not important to us. On the other hand, we are living in different city parts – New Belgrade, Zemun, downtown, Karaburma. YUBC is somehow located in the middle, and there are many buses, a high-way... Internet connection was already established, we could just bring the tables and computers and to start to work¹¹⁵” (Interview IT008).

Location advantages were crucial for the decisions of many start-ups. They emphasise that the situation is not perfect, but there are no many more favourable locations within the City of Belgrade.

“The first offices we searched for, we checked all over the city. Then ... by the analysis of prices, availability of office spaces, parking spaces, and all these factors combined, we came to the good offer which was located there (in the Blok 12 – author’s comment). The building was newer; there were many parking lots around...¹¹⁶” (Interview IT004).

One of the most successful Serbian IT start ups is located in this part of the city. *Nordeus* was established in 2010 by three developers who were previously working for *Microsoft* in Denmark. *Nordeus* produces video games, and one of the most popular Facebook games and online football managers – *Top Eleven Football Manager* is one of their projects. Today they have more than 170 employees in Belgrade, Skopje, Dublin, London, and San Francisco. They recognise the importance of creativity for their business at *Nordeus* but are also aware of other necessary factors. One of the founders of the company, Branko Milutinović, said in an interview:

¹¹⁵ Serbian: „Nas je petorica partnera. Imali smo poslovnu ideju i krenuli u ostvarenje. Svako je bio zadužen za određeni deo posla. Kada smo se odlučivali za lokaciju, vrlo lako je došlo do YUBC-a. Jednostavno – postojali su neki slobodni lokali koji nisu bili skupi. Okej, nisu ni na idealnom mestu, već zavučeni u prolazima, ali to nama nije bilo bitno. S druge strane, svako od nas dolazi iz drugog dela grada – sa Novog Beograda, Zemuna, centra, Karaburme. YUBC je nekako u sred srede, a i tu su busevi, auto-put... Internet je već bio tu, na nama je bilo samo da ubacimo stolove i kompjutere i da radimo“ (Interview IT008).

¹¹⁶ Serbian: „Prve kancelarije kad smo tražili, tražili smo po celom gradu. Onda smo spletom događaja i samom analizom cena, i pristupačnosti kancelarija, parking prostora, i svih tih faktora došli do dobre ponude koja je bila tu. Bila je i novija zgrada, imalo je dosta parkinga okolo“ (Interview IT004).

“Creativity is the key in our industry, but many other factors are also of high importance¹¹⁷” (MILUTINOVIĆ 2017).

Creativity is impossible without creative people. Successful IT companies have to be focused on that factor.

“Nothing can be more important than people and their knowledge. People are on the first place, then thousand places empty, and then money, equipment and everything else. People are most valuable because everything else is more readily available¹¹⁸” (MILUTINOVIĆ 2017).

The founders of *Nordeus* have seen their stay abroad as an advantage in their careers. Still, they do not think that it is essential for being a good developer.

“...if someone went abroad it does not mean necessarily that she or he is more capable than those who stayed in Serbia, or that they earn more. On the contrary, most of them who are highly capable stayed here. The reason is that they had the opportunity and were able to implement the ideas and earn here. I should stress that I am all the time talking about the micro universe of my profession. In this profession, when you have knowledge - the whole world is yours. We have products like everybody else, but our market is more open because there are no physical barriers. People who produce furniture or apples have a different experience¹¹⁹” (MILUTINOVIĆ 2017).

Microsoft's development centre is located in Blok 12 and its vicinity since 2012. The centre's director, Dragan Tomić, believes that the IT sector plays a very important role in the development of modern Serbia and that it has the potential of completely reviving Serbian society.

¹¹⁷ Serbian: „Kreativnost jeste ključna u našoj industriji, ali neophodno je i ključno još dosta toga“ (MILUTINOVIĆ 2017).

¹¹⁸ Serbian: „Nijedan resurs ne može biti nije vredniji od ljudi i njihovog znanja. Na prvom mestu su ljudi, onda ide hiljadu mesta prazno, pa novac, oprema i sve ostalo. Ljudi su najvredniji jer je sve ostalo dostupnije“ (MILUTINOVIĆ 2017).

¹¹⁹ Serbian: „... to što je neko otišao u inostranstvo nimalo ne znači da je sposobniji od onoga ko je ostao u Srbiji, ili da bolje zarađuje. Naprotiv. Većina vrlo sposobnih ostala je ovde. Baš zato što su bili sposobni da stvari realizuju i naplate ovde. Treba da naglasim da sve vreme pričam o mikrouniverzumu svoje struke. U ovom konkretnom poslu, kad imaš znanje ceo svet je tvoj. Mi imamo proizvode kao i svi ostali, ali je naše tržište otvorenije jer što ne postoje fizičke barijere. Kao na primer, što postoje u proizvodnji nameštaja ili jabuka“ (MILUTINOVIĆ 2017).

“I would like that the values we have here get transferred to the wider scene... I think that those values allow people to feel happy, fulfilled, and to feel that they are progressing¹²⁰” (TOMIĆ 2017).

Beside *Nordeus* and *Microsoft*, which probably are the most significant names in the IT sector in the neighbourhood, but also in Serbia, there are many other companies of all sizes developing different products.

TeleSign is an American company with a focus on internet security and authentication solutions. *GDi GisData* develops geographic information systems. There also are game developers like *SKS365*, for example. *Business Outsourcing*, *SRC Group*, and *Zühlke Engineering* develop different software and business solutions. Numerous small companies and start-ups still try to find their place on the market.

6.2.3 The importance of a new class – IT professionals in the focus

IT companies located in Blok 12 mostly do not have direct sale in focus. Their customers can be in every corner of the globe. Because of that, the location choice is not customer dependent. Their focus is oriented towards employees, as they are the key business resource.

IT professionals do not leave aggressive footprints in the urban environment. Their presence is not very visible, when compared to artists', for example. They are very interested in comfort, and their needs being satisfied. In a way, among their needs is a strong influence on the forming an urban landscape.

People are the most valuable asset for IT companies. The opposite is the case in most other Serbian industries. Serbia's general unemployment rate is high, this is not the case in the IT sector, though. It is hard to find an unemployed developer on the market. Also, fluctuation between jobs in this industry is on a higher level than in other industries.

As the digital economy is still relatively new economy, it is not uncommon that most people born in 1980s and after are more involved in these economic trends. The environment in which they were raised “gives Millennials a competitive advantage and makes them an asset when it comes to working with new technologies” (KAIFI 2012: 89). Many are prone to call them ‘digital natives’, while others are ‘digital immigrants’ (HERSHATTER AND EPSTEIN 2010: 212,

¹²⁰ Serbian: „...voleo bih da se te vrednosti koje mi ovde imamo prenesu na širu sredinu ... Mislim da su to vrednosti koje omogućavaju ljudima da se osećaju srećno, ispunjeno i da osećaju da napreduju“ (TOMIĆ 2017).

VOGEL 2015). As the *Google*, *Apple* or *Facebook* headquarters are full of young 'nerds' (FLORIDA 2004) so is the recent situation in Blok 12 and vicinity similar.

"I am also seeing people spending their complete day here. Eating breakfast and drinking their morning coffee here, then going to work. Having lunch there... At the evening, they might stay with colleagues for few beers in the pub. Anyway, many are just not sleeping here in the YUBC¹²¹" (Interview EN002).

As some IT professionals spend almost their whole day in Blok 12, they create urban practices in this part of the city. Since Blok 12 was from the beginning on planned as a partly commercial zone, there are economic activities since 1990s. Initially, small boutiques were a dominant factor in this shopping centre. They were popular in the 1990s when Serbia was under international blockade. Owners of those boutiques imported clothes and consumer goods from abroad. It was a period before big shopping malls came to Serbia. Customers and visitors of Blok 12 were mostly families and people going shopping.

Several commercial buildings in the area's vicinity caused an influx of new employees to this neighbourhood. Newly built shopping malls and hypermarkets around Belgrade caused a decrease of shoppers. Instead of families with hands full of shopping bags, a new group of people spread in the neighbourhood. Those are representatives of two dominant businesses – banking and insurance business on one, and knowledge-based creative economy on the other hand. Bankers and insurance workers are visible around respecting their dress-codes. Apart from that, there are casually dressed programmers and IT professionals.

6.2.4 Advantages of the Blok 12 which attracted knowledge-intensive creative economy – How entrepreneurs enrich the environment

Blok 12 has plenty of additional services, and soft location factors which are highly rated by people working in the IT sector. A variety of restaurants and their offers make lunch break comfortable for employees. Casual business meetings are often arranged in this atmosphere. As companies in the IT sector are often trying to provide advantages for their employees, some of them have deals with local restaurants that the employees can have a meal on the company's account. There are several supermarkets and a shopping mall in Blok 12 and its vicinity. These facilities allow and ease shopping activities.

¹²¹ Serbian: „Viđam ljude koji ovde provode ceo dan. Doručkuju i piju jutarnju kafu ovde, pa na posao... Ručaju tamo... Uveče sa kolegama ostanu na par piva u kafiću. Eto, samo ne spavaju ovde u centru“ (Interview EN002).

Additionally, almost every bank operating in Serbia has its branch office in Blok 12 and its vicinity.

“There is a bunch of restaurants, shops, banks here... That is one of the things I like. It makes my life easier. I mean, that I do not have to spend too much time thinking on these not so important things. When I say not so important, I think particularly not so important for my job. Therefore, beside the other things, it is practical to work here¹²²” (Interview EN004).

A number of gyms and fitness studios in the neighbourhood have recently been established. Most of their users are recruited among the employees of the surrounding companies.

Even though Blok 12 was partly planned as a shopping centre, it mainly lost that function since several specialised shopping malls have been built in Belgrade in the 2000s and 2010s. Most of the entrepreneurs in Blok 12 today which gain income from direct sale are dependent on people employed in the surrounding companies, and not on visitors.

6.3 Conclusion

A stakeholder analysis of Savamala and Blok 12 shows which stakeholders are involved in urban development of these neighbourhoods, and which level of influence they possess.

The creative district of Savamala developed under the guidance of creative organisations and activities they conducted. The profitability of those activities is unstable and questionable, and so many creative organisations are dependent on external funding coming from sponsors or specialised funds. The local government supported the development of the creative district, while higher governmental levels undermine such development by their decisions. Activities of creative organisations attracted numerous visitors who became one of the most important stakeholders. Their needs drive further development steps and the offer of Savamala. Consequently, many pubs, cafés, and clubs are being opened, transforming Savamala into an attractive night-life destination. Almost all entrepreneurs in Savamala, both in the creative or other sectors, are focused on customers and have direct contact with them.

¹²² Serbian: „Ovde ima gomila restorana, prodavnica, banaka... To je stvar koja mi se dopada. To mi mnogo olakšava život. Ne moram da se brinem o tim nebitnim stvarima. Mislim, nebitnim konkretno za moj posao. I zato je, između ostalog, praktično raditi ovde” (Interview EN004).



Fig. 36: Newly developed perspectives of Savamala

The creative district of Blok 12 and its vicinity was from the beginning on planned as a district with a distinct commercial function. In the last several years, many banks, insurance companies, as well as information technology companies have been set up in the neighbourhood and are a driving force for spatial practices. Their activities are profitable, and their business, therefore, sustainable. They have no need for deeper cooperation with governmental bodies and for external funding. Information technology companies' products are geographically independent and most of their contact with customers is indirect. Therefore, their focus is turned to employees, as the most important company's asset. Employees are the stakeholders driving the demand for additional offers in Blok 12 and its vicinity. Consequently, there are many restaurants and cafés which reach their peak during the lunchtime break.

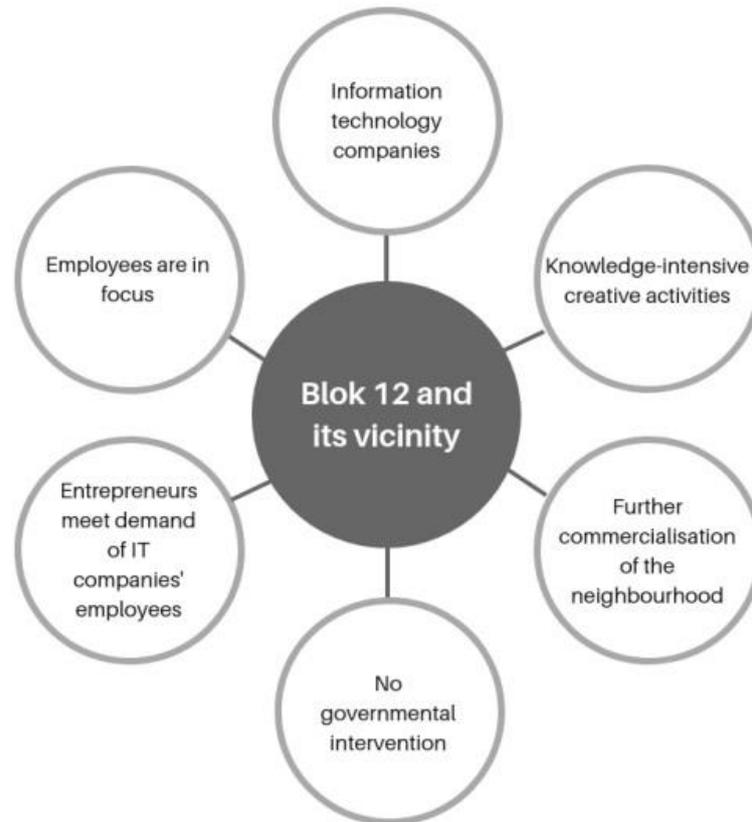


Fig. 37: Newly developed perspectives of Blok 12 and its vicinity

The dominance of different creative activities in Savamala on one, and Blok 12 and its vicinity on the other hand cause a distinctive recent development path of those neighbourhoods. The next chapter will focus on the economic importance of creative activities in both creative districts. It illustrates the economic success of different creative activities, and how this success furthers social and economic development.

7. The meaning of creative economy in different Belgrade's neighbourhoods – Sectoral analysis

... economic value – which is not synonymous with financial or commercial value, although it is ultimately expressible in terms of either a numeraire good or (preferably) money – comprises any direct use values of the cultural good or service in question, plus whatever non-market values it may give rise to (...). Cultural value on the other hand is multi-dimensional, unstable, contested, lacks a common unit of account, and may contain elements that cannot be easily expressed according to any quantitative or qualitative scale.

DAVID THORSBY (2003: 279-280)

This chapter traces the development paths of the observed creative activities – cultural and artistic-based creative economy in Savamala, and knowledge-intensive creative economy in Blok 12 and its vicinity. Their development paths are analysed through the economic results¹²³ of their most prominent protagonists – companies and organisations which are of high importance in marked activities. Nevertheless, creative economy can have various interrelations with the rest of the economy, and its direct economic results do not always represent a primary goal (POTTS AND CUNNINGHAM 2008).

The relative results of creative economy in two observed city quarters are compared with the results of related sectors on the level of Belgrade¹²⁴.

¹²³ The economic results are presented in Serbian currency Serbian Dinar (RSD). According to date of the National Bank of Serbia (NBS 2018) exchange rate in June 2018 was 118.13 RSD for 1 EUR. Since 2011, the exchange rate was highest in February 2017 (123.94 RSD for 1 EUR), and lowest in May 2011 (98.24 RSD for 1 EUR).

¹²⁴ Growth rate of employment growth and growth of salaries is defined as follows (KAMPS 2018): $GR = \frac{(X_{Present} - X_{Past})}{X_{Past}} \times 100$

where: GR = Growth rate (%), $X_{Present}$ = Present value, X_{Past} = Past value.

7.1 The economic importance of cultural based creative economy in Savamala

The number of employees in the sector of *Arts, entertainment and recreation*¹²⁵ in 2016 was 13,502, and that represented about 2% of the total employment in Belgrade.

Tab. 5: The number of employees in the sector of Arts, entertainment and recreation, and the number of total employees in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016 (source: CITY OF BELGRADE - SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION - SECTOR FOR STATISTICS 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, AND 2017)

Year	Arts, entertainment and recreation		Total economy in Belgrade	
	Employees	Growth rate	Employees	Growth rate
2011	9,966	-	576,905	-
2012	9,892	-0.74%	566,807	-1.75%
2013	10,063	1.73%	562,992	-0.67%
2014	9,804	-2.57%	559,231	-0.67%
2015	13,240	n.a. ¹²⁶	670,296	n.a.
2016	13,502	1.98%	669,845	-0.07%

The employment growth rate in *Arts, entertainment and recreation* sector was higher than the general employment rate in Belgrade in 2012, 2013 and 2016. Still, the employment growth rate in the sector of *Arts, entertainment and recreation* was lower than the general employment rate in Belgrade in 2014.

The average net income in the subsector of *Creative, artistic and entertainment activities* in Belgrade declined in the period between 2011 and 2016. It showed positive growth trends in 2012 and 2013 but has been in a constant and significant fall since then. The average net income in 2016 in the subsector of *Creative, artistic and entertainment activities* decreased by more than 12% compared to the average net income in the same subsector in 2011. The peak during the observed period was in 2013. The average net income in the sector of *Creative, artistic and entertainment activities* decreased in 2016 by almost 18% compared to the average net income in the same subsector in 2013 (Table 6).

¹²⁵ The Arts, entertainment and recreation sector includes subsectors such as Creative, artistic and entertainment activities; The activity of libraries, archives, museums and galleries; Gambling and betting; Sports, entertainment and recreational activities. It has a wider scope than cultural based creative activities, but is the statistical category which shows cultural and artistic-based creative activities closer than other available statistical categories.

¹²⁶ A new statistical method for counting employment is used since 2015. Therefore, the results from 2015 and 2016 are incomparable with previous years.

Tab. 6: Gross and net income per month in the subsector of Creative, artistic and entertainment activities, and overall gross and net income per month in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016 (Serbian Dinars (RSD); source: CITY OF BELGRADE - SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION - SECTOR FOR STATISTICS 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, AND 2017)

Year	Creative, artistic and entertainment activities		Total economy in Belgrade	
	Income Gross (RSD)	Income Net (RSD)	Income Gross (RSD)	Income Net (RSD)
2011	64,048	46,508	65,338	46,986
2012	66,751	48,384	71,092	51,121
2013	68,703	49,766	74,806	54,103
2014	68,407	49,188	76,333	55,429
2015	62,125	44,685	76,216	55,551
2016	56,691	40,818	79,242	57,717

Average net income in the overall Belgrade's economy was slightly higher than the average net income in the subsector of *Creative, artistic and entertainment activities* in 2011, but those two incomes were almost on the same level. Since 2011, the gap between these two incomes got deeper. Average total net income in Belgrade increased in the period between 2011 and 2016 by more than 18% (Fig. 38).

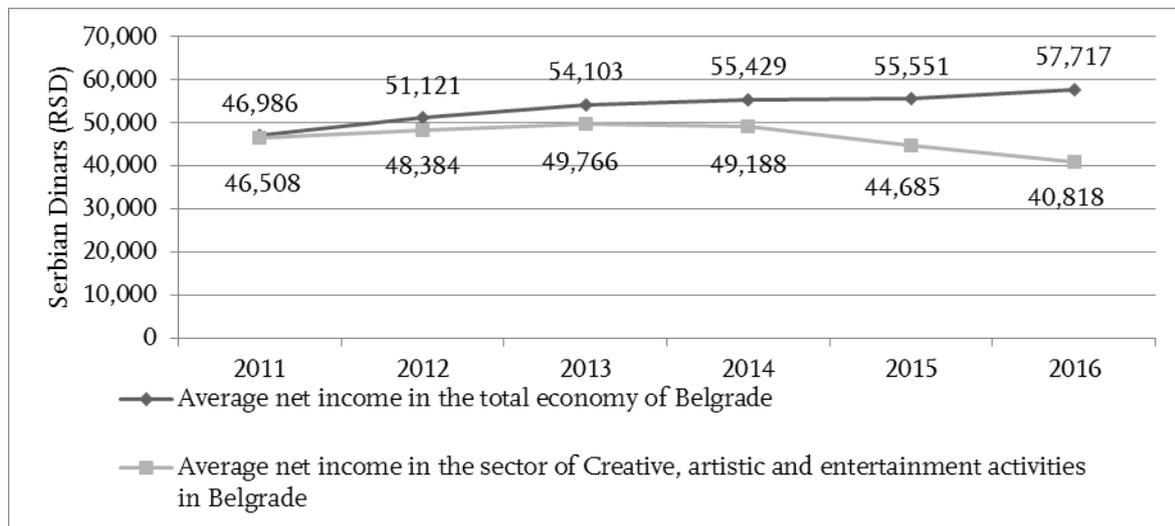


Fig. 38: Net income per month in the subsector of Creative, artistic and entertainment activities, and overall net income per month in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016 (Serbian Dinars (RSD); source: City of Belgrade - Secretariat for Administration - Sector for Statistics 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017)

According to interviewees from different stakeholder groups, three creative organisations were pointed out as crucial for creative development in Savamala:

KC Grad, *Mikser House*, and *Nova Iskra*. *KC Grad* gained importance as the organisation which introduced cultural and creative activities to Savamala. New programs and a festival initiated by *Mikser* generated mass movements within the neighbourhood and facilitated additional development possibilities. Finally, *Nova Iskra* developed a missing puzzle piece in the creative circle of Savamala – a production coworking space.

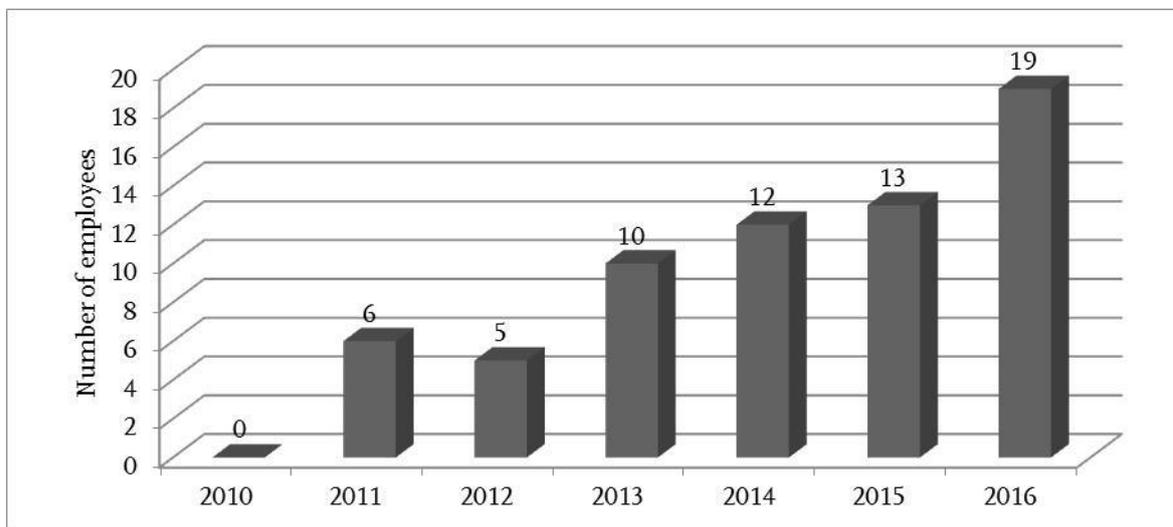


Fig. 39: The total number of employees in creative organisations in Savamala in the period between 2010 and 2016 (source: Serbian Agency for Business Registers)

Even though 2009 is marked as the starting year for creative-led development in Savamala, there were no registered employees until 2011 when for the first time *KC Grad*¹²⁷ has six employees. Since 2013 *Mikser House* and *Nova Iskra* are registered and their involvement results in the employment growth in Savamala (Fig. 39).

¹²⁷ The official name of the organisation in the base of Serbian Business Registers Agency (APR) is Kulturni front UG.

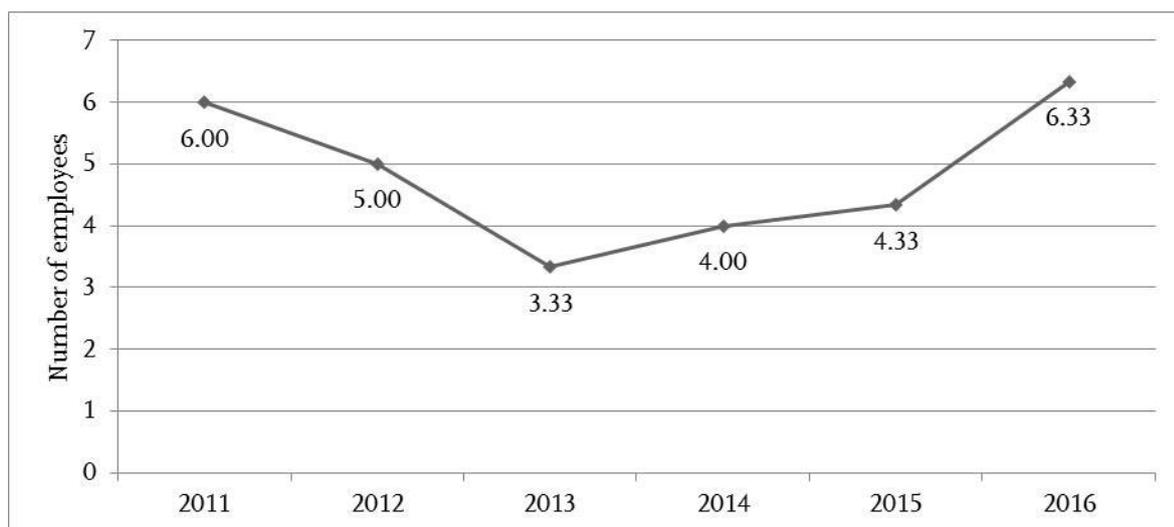


Fig. 40: Average number of employees per creative organisation in Savamala in the period between 2010 and 2016 (source: Serbian Agency for Business Registers)

The average number of employees per creative organisation in Savamala constantly varies (Fig. 40). The highest growth is noticed in 2013 when *Mikser* appeared with 7 new employees, and in 2016 when *Nova Iskra* and *Mikser* together employed six new persons. The relative growth of employment in three crucial organisations shows that the growth rate in creative economy in Savamala is significantly higher than employment growth rate in *Arts, entertainment and recreation* sector in Belgrade, and also than the total employment growth rate in Belgrade (Table 7). Still, it should be mentioned again that these results show the employment flow in just three organisations.

Tab. 7: Total employment growth rate in Belgrade, employment growth rate in the sector of Arts, entertainment and recreation in Belgrade, and employment growth rate in the creative organisations in Savamala in the period between 2013 and 2016 (source: CITY OF BELGRADE - SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION - SECTOR FOR STATISTICS 2014, 2015, 2016, AND 2017; SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

Year	Total employment growth in Belgrade	Employment growth in Arts and Entertainment Sector in Belgrade	Employment growth rate in creative economy in Savamala
2013	-0.67%	1.73%	100.00%
2014	-0.67%	-2.57%	20.00%
2015	n.a.	n.a.	8.33%
2016	-0.07%	1.98%	46.15%

The average turnover per creative organisation in Savamala varies constantly in the period between 2011 and 2016 period. Its peak was observed in 2015. The

average profit per creative organisation fluctuates in the same period. It had its peak in 2014 (Fig. 41).

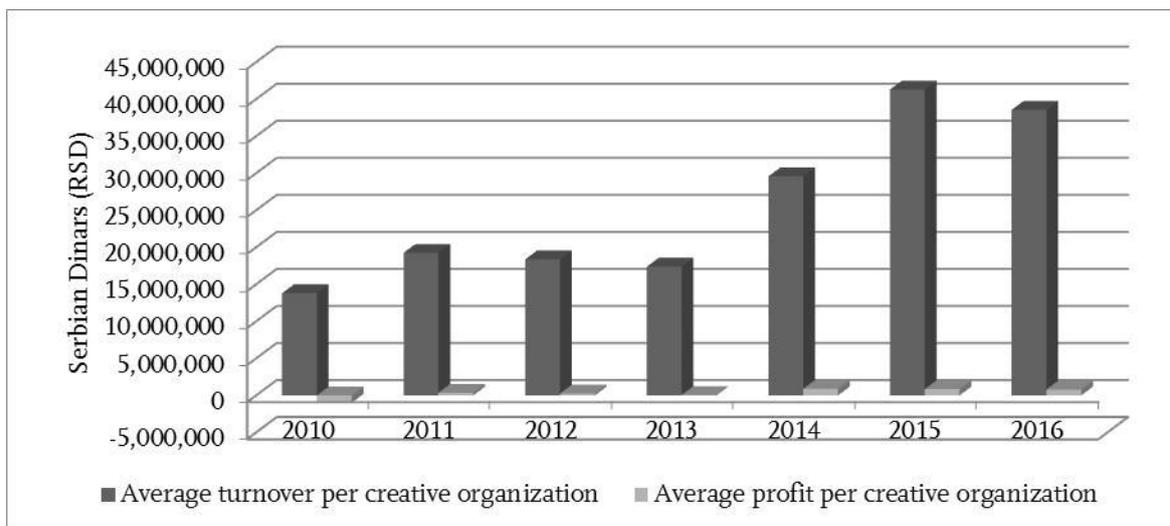


Fig. 41: Average yearly turnover and average yearly profit per creative organisation in Savamala in the period between 2011 and 2016 (Serbian Dinars (RSD); source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

The results presented for 2011 and 2012 are actually results belonging to *KC Grad*, because it is the only observed organisation in that period. *Mikser House* and *Nova Iskra* are registered in Savamala since 2013.

Tab. 8: Average yearly turnover and average yearly profit per creative organisation in Savamala in the period between 2011 and 2016 (Serbian Dinars (RSD); source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

Year	Average turnover (RSD)	Average profit (RSD)
2010	13,807,000	-1,003,000
2011	19,269,000	371,000
2012	18,386,000	258,000
2013	17,394,333	69,000
2014	29,584,000	899,667
2015	41,316,667	859,000
2016	38,561,333	806,667

The economic results of the most prominent creative organisations in Savamala are not their most important achievements. More important is that their activities attracted attention to the neighbourhood and generated a field for further economic development. In the case of Savamala, economic development is embodied mostly through night-time economy. Arising number of visitors provided the opportunity to drive the development of the neighbourhood.

7.1.1 Visitors – A group ruling the economic flow in Savamala

Creative organisations in Savamala customise their programmes to the requirements of the audience, whose needs furthermore steer the development of ancillary activities. Therefore, the visitors as a group have considerable influence on the general urban and economic development of the neighbourhood.

A survey among visitors of Savamala was done as part of this research. Results give insight into the people who visit Savamala, and which opinion they have about creative-led development in the neighbourhood.

The average visitor of Savamala is 29.12 years old. They are more educated than the average population. Almost 39%¹²⁸ of them have a master's degree. More than 34% have a bachelor's degree, and almost 24% finished high school as the highest educational degree they achieved. 2.7% of participants in the survey have a doctoral degree. Most of them, about 30%, come from municipalities surrounding Savamala (Stari Grad, Vračar, Savski Venac). Around 13% of visitors are from New Belgrade, from Zemun more than 11%, and from Palilula almost 11%. Around 13.5% of visitors do not come from urban core of Belgrade.

As most of the visitors are from urban municipalities of Belgrade and live in relative proximity to Savamala, they mostly use public transport to reach the area, or come by foot. Other means of transport include car, taxi, and bicycle¹²⁹ (Fig. 42).

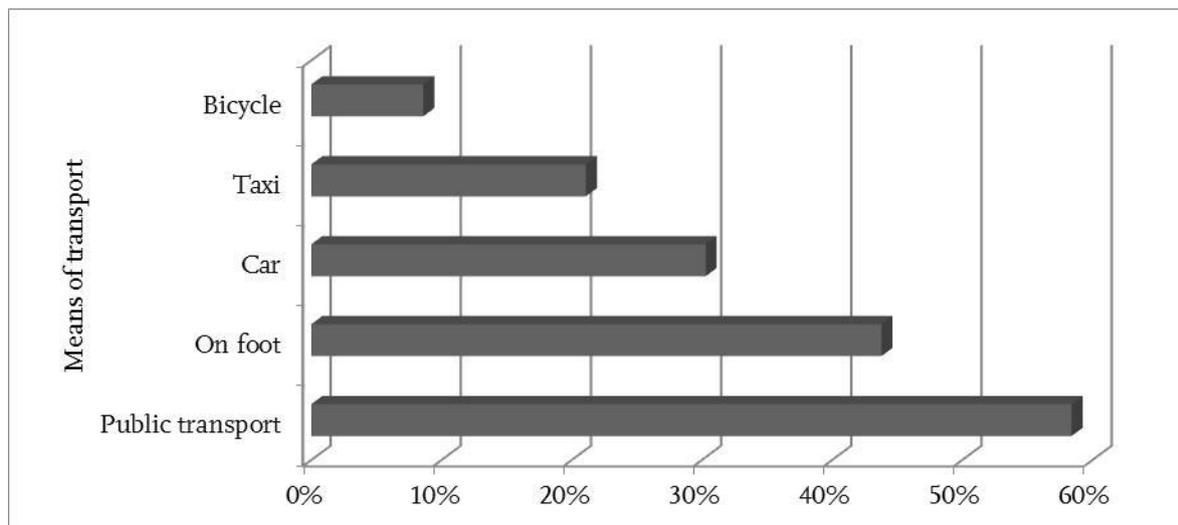


Fig. 42: Means of transport used by visitors of Savamala (own elaboration, 2018, n = 185)

¹²⁸ For the purposes of readability, almost all percentages from surveys have been rounded.

¹²⁹ Survey participants could choose multiply answers.

Most of Savamala's visitors can be marked as regular visitors. Namely, more than 51% of visitors visited Savamala more than 20 times. Visitors have different motives for visiting Savamala¹³⁰. Almost 72% of visitors chose night-life as a motive for visiting this neighbourhood. Culture is on the second place with more than 44% of visitors citing it as a reason. Other motives include daily cafés, inspirational environment, business, creative workshops, and recreation (Fig. 43).

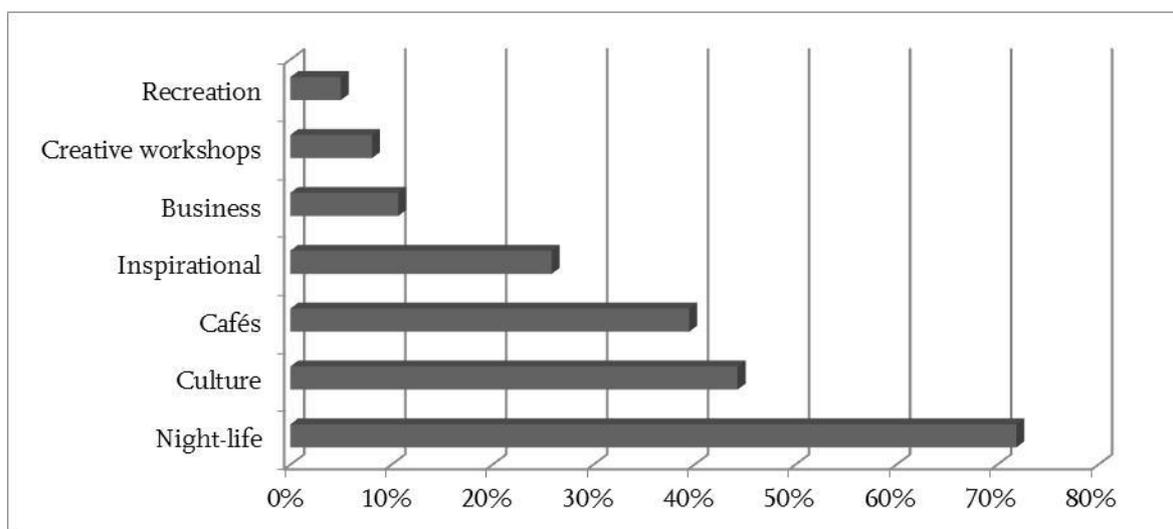


Fig. 43: Motives of visitors for visiting Savamala (own elaboration, 2018, n = 185)

More than 75% of visitors think that Savamala can be considered a hotspot of creative development. About 10% of visitors oppose that claim. Even more visitors think that Savamala is a hotspot of night-life – more than 85%, while less than 4% oppose that claim. Around 45% of visitors think that night-life prevails in Savamala compared to creative activities, while just 11% think that creative activities prevail compared to night-life segment. Almost 44% of visitors think that those two segments have same influence on the development of Savamala (Fig. 44). Still, rising night-time economy upsets the creative reputation of Savamala.

¹³⁰ Survey participants could choose multiply answers.

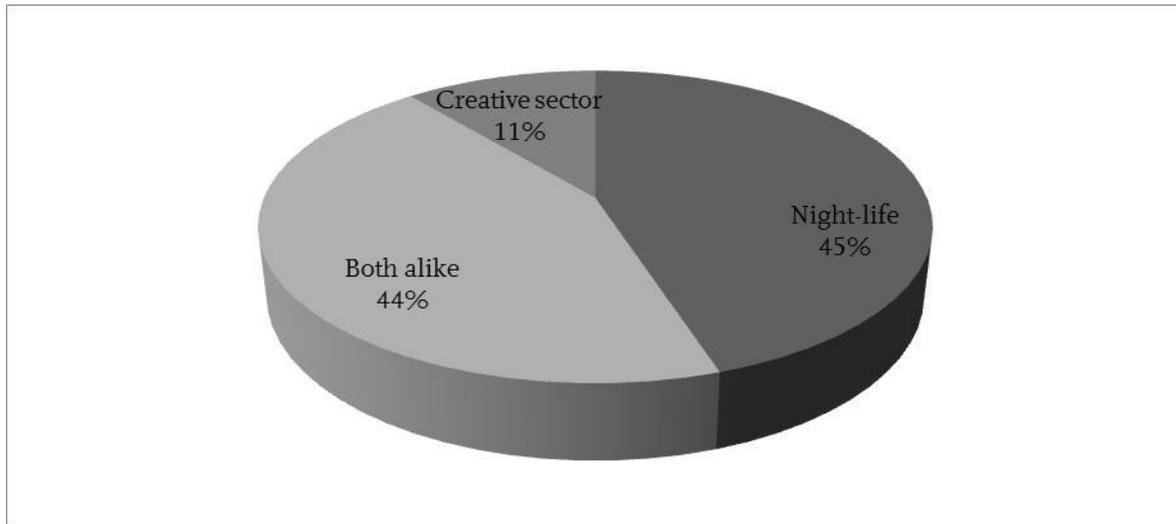


Fig. 44: Dominant functions in Savamala according to visitors (own elaboration, 2018, n = 185)

Almost 70% of visitors have a positive opinion on the creative and cultural offer of Savamala in the last years, as well as on its creative spirit. Approximately the same percentage of visitors has a positive opinion about the offer of cafés, clubs, and the night-life offer. Almost 75% of visitors appreciate the historical charm of the neighbourhood, while almost 72% think that Savamala is more tolerant regarding differences than other city parts of Belgrade.

Around 8% of visitors think that noise in Savamala is very stressful for locals, while more than 33% of them think that the noise level is stressful but does not exceed the acceptable level. More than 52% of visitors have a negative opinion about cleanliness and air pollution in the neighbourhood. More than 40% of visitors are generally satisfied with the condition of public spaces in Savamala, while almost 30% are not satisfied.

Savamala's connections to other city parts with public transport is positively rated by more than 55% of visitors, while almost 24% are unsatisfied. Parking possibilities in Savamala are negatively rated by more than 58% of visitors, while just 6% are satisfied with that segment.

Mikser House and *KC Grad* are recognised by visitors as key creative organisations for Savamala's creative development. Almost 50% of visitors think that *Mikser* played the key role, while around 17% think that *KC Grad* did. Their programs and activities are seen by many visitors as the generator of creative-led development in Savamala.

Visitors point out location, historical charm, architectural heritage, the special atmosphere, diversity of creative offer, and diversity of night-time offer as

Savamala's advantages. Some point out other visitors as an advantage, seeing them as good educated, very liberal and tolerant people.

Infrastructural problems, air pollution, cleanliness, parking problems, traffic problems, and noise are seen by visitors as the area's disadvantages. Some point out additional disadvantages: the expanding night-time economy, new mainstream music clubs, kitsch, and people who are following such developments.

Generally, around three out of four visitors think that creative organisations, cafés, and clubs have a positive influence on Savamala's development. More than 52% of visitors think that different government levels had negative influence on Savamala's development, while just around 10% of them think that the government's influence was positive. There are different opinions about *Belgrade Waterfront* and its influence on Savamala's development. More than 42% of visitors think that this project has a negative, while more than 24% think that it has a positive influence on further urban development of the area.

7.1.2 Changing the location – Preserving the idea? Part one

As the *Belgrade Waterfront* project gets more aggressive in its spatial representation, creative workers and entrepreneurs are facing numerous problems regarding their simple existence in Savamala. During the demolition in Hercegovačka Street, the refugees' reception centre, organised by *Mikser*, was destroyed. Refugees from Syria and other vulnerable areas who were on the 'Balkan Route' could receive help there (mostly clothes, beverages and food). That street was also a vibrant environment regarding graffiti and street art (Fig. 45). Crucial organisations for creative-led development of Savamala have different reactions to these current developments.

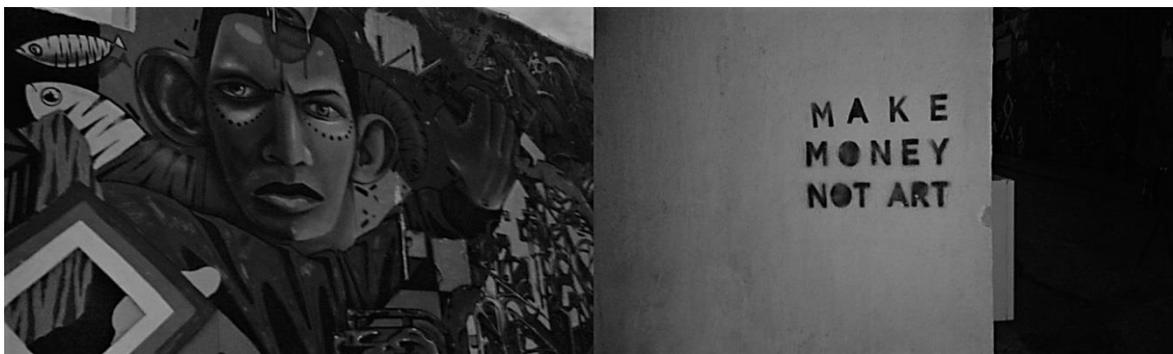


Fig. 45: Graffiti and street art in Savamala (own photos, 2015)

The already shattered reputation of Savamala as a creative quarter, shattered even more when *Mikser House* left the neighbourhood in May 2017. In their five years in Savamala, they organised more than 1,500 events which were visited by

1,250,000 people in total (MIKSER 2018). The former location of *Mikser House* is now a bar and night-club, being representative of the thriving night-time economy (Fig. 46).



Fig. 46: Bar and night-club in the former space of Mikser House (own photo, 2018)

A new *Mikser House* was opened in Sarajevo in September 2017. From the beginning on, this organisation had an idea of regional expansion, what they achieved by opening their new headquarters in Sarajevo. Even though it was greeted positively by locals, *Mikser House's* Sarajevo location did not endure for more than three months due to financial problems and a lack of external financial and institutional support (N1INFO 2017).



Fig. 47: Mikser House Sarajevo (source: MIKSER FACEBOOK PAGE 2017)

It was expected that the new *Mikser House* would be opened in Belgrade, in Donji Dorćol. *Mikser* set a goal to renovate the abandoned industrial complex of *IMK – Industrija metalnih konstrukcija*, a company which was in bankruptcy for a long time. That solution turned out to be impossible, because the company suddenly went out of bankruptcy (LALIĆ 2017). The new location of *Mikser House* in Belgrade is still being sought. As one of the founders of *Mikser* likes to point out, even though this organisation has the region of ex-Yugoslavia in focus, in their DNA is written “Made in Belgrade” (LALIĆ 2017).

KC Grad did not announce plans to leave Savamala. They hope that they will be able to remain in the neighbourhood and to continue their activities apart from *Belgrade Waterfront* (UBOVIĆ 2015).

Nova Iskra is not moving from Savamala, but opens a new coworking space in Zemun. Their creative hub in Savamala met the expectations with more than 350 people who used their coworking space in total (NOVA ISKRA 2018). Their new space has 1,100 square meters and a capacity for 120 professionals. *Nova Iskra* states that the new location is more approachable for users living in New Belgrade and Zemun, as they do not have to spend too much time in public transport or in traffic jams.

7.1.3 Changing the location – Preserving the idea? Part two

The destructive demolition of some of Savamala's parts in order to create some empty space for *Belgrade Waterfront*, forced some bars and clubs to migrate. Well known bars like *Dvorištanca* and *Peron* were demolished. The case of Hercegovačka Street showed that nobody can say what will happen in the rest of the quarter and if further annihilations can be expected (Interview ES001).

Entrepreneurs hit by the current events decided to find another suitable location to continue operation. The first step was made by entrepreneurs who own café-club *Dvorištanca*. After the demolition of this bar in September 2015, the owners tried to find a new location for the revival of business and a known brand. The spaces within the old brewery building in Cetinjska Street 15 were presented as an acceptable alternative. During the first half of 2016, a boom started to surround this location.



Fig. 48: A new 'cool' city quarter in Cetinjska Street? (own photo, 2016)

The location in between Cetinjska and Skadarska Streets has been occupied by a brewery since the beginning 19th century. The brewery has been active for more than 160 years. Initially, the owners were famous Serbian businessmen Djordje Weifert and Ignjat Bajloni. Later, it became a brewery of a big beer company in Belgrade – *Beogradska Industrija Piva* (BIP). The old brewery buildings and surrounding were privatised in 2006. According to interviewees, the Italian investor later sold the location to a British company and finally, in 2011, an American investor bought the brewery. They planned to build a luxury hotel and commercial buildings. Because of complicated regulations they had no

opportunity to realise these plans and they decided to rent out some of the spaces. For some years, there was a private parking area in the yard of the old brewery.

A favourable price for renting and atmosphere of neglected quarter attracted entrepreneurs from Savamala (Interview ES001). Since the early 2016, many cafés and clubs have been opened, including the successors of the earlier *Dvorištance* and *Peron*.

Many entrepreneurs and visitors of this location were previously involved in the events in Savamala. The revival of neglected spaces and the night-life spirit of Savamala are also present. Up to date, just cafés and clubs have moved here, not a creative part of Savamala. *De facto*, the commercial part of Savamala progressed further to the new location and continued to develop.

Residents of the neighbourhood have organised numerous protests because of loud music. City government decided that restaurants, cafés, pubs and clubs have to turn off music after 23:00 on workdays and after midnight on weekends (POLITIKA 2016A). Despite the decision, there is loud music until approximately one o'clock after midnight at weekends. It is uncertain for how long such development will be allowed in this part of the city (Interview ES001).

More than 52% of Savamala's visitors who participated in the survey also visit Cetinjska 15. Visitors have different motives for visiting Cetinjska 15¹³¹. Around 75% of visitors chose night-life as a reason. Daily cafés are on the second place with around 53%. Culture is on the third place with 25% of visitors who marked it.

According to visitors, Cetinjska 15 is significantly more associated with night-time economy than the city quarter of Savamala. 70.5% of visitors associate Cetinjska 15 with being a neighbourhood where night-life prevails compared to the creative sector. Around 30% of visitors think that Cetinjska 15 has some advantages compared to Savamala. Most of them praise the location of Cetinjska 15. Namely, it being closer to downtown and the bohemian quarter Skadarlija. Additionally, they point out that there is less traffic, noise, and air pollution.

¹³¹ Survey participants could choose multiply answers.

7.2 Economic importance of knowledge-intensive creative economy in Blok 12 and its vicinity

The number of employees in the sector of *Information and communications*¹³² in Belgrade in 2016 was 33,603 and that represented around 5% of total employment in Belgrade.

Tab. 9: Number of employees in the sector of Information and communication, and the number of total employees in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016 (source: CITY OF BELGRADE - SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION - SECTOR FOR STATISTICS 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, AND 2017)

Year	Information and communications		Total economy in Belgrade	
	Employees	Growth rate	Employees	Growth rate
2011	21,891	-	576,905	-3.33%
2012	23,587	7.75%	566,807	-1.75%
2013	24,215	2.66%	562,992	-0.67%
2014	25,229	4.19%	559,231	-0.67%
2015	33,379	n.a. ¹³³	670,296	n.a.
2016	33,603	0.67%	669,845	-0.07%

Employment growth rate in the *Information and communications* sector was higher than general employment rate in Belgrade in 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2016.

Average net income in the subsector of *Computer programming and consulting activities* in Belgrade had a significant growth in the period between 2011 and 2016 (Table 10). The average net income in 2016 in the subsector of *Computer programming and consulting activities* increased more than six times compared to the average net income in the same subsector in 2011. A high growth rate was noticed to 2012 (143.81%), 2014 (73.02%), and 2015 (36.80%).

¹³² Sector of Information and communications includes subsectors such as Publishing activities; Motion picture, television and music production; Programming and broadcasting activities; Telecommunications; Computer programming and consulting activities; Information service activities. It has a wider scope than knowledge-based creative activities, but is the statistical category which shows knowledge-based creative activities closer than other available statistical categories.

¹³³ New statistical methods for counting employment are used since 2015. Therefore, the results from 2015 and 2016 are incomparable with previous years.

Tab. 10: Gross and net income per month in the subsector of Computer programming and consulting activities, and overall gross and net income per month in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016 (Serbian Dinars (RSD); source: City of Belgrade - Secretariat for Administration - Sector for Statistics 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017)

Year	Computer programming and consulting activities				Total economy in Belgrade			
	Income (RSD)	Gross	Income (RSD)	Net	Income (RSD)	Gross	Income (RSD)	Net
2011		55,726		39,944		65,338		46,986
2012		135,556		97,389		71,092		51,121
2013		136,071		97,793		74,806		54,103
2014		226,103		169,202		76,333		55,429
2015		300,749		231,475		76,216		55,551
2016		316,652		244,641		79,242		57,717

Average net income in the Belgrade's economy was more than 17% higher in 2011 than the average net income in the subsector of *Computer programming and consulting activities* in the same year. Since then, the average net income in the subsector of *Computer programming and consulting activities* has been growing constantly (Fig. 49). In 2012, it was around 90% higher than the average overall net income in Belgrade. In 2013, it was almost 81% higher, more than 200% higher in 2014, and more than 300% higher in 2015 and 2016. The average net salary in the subsector of *Computer programming and consulting activities* is the highest average net salary among all subsectors on the territory of Belgrade in 2016 (CITY OF BELGRADE - SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION - SECTOR FOR STATISTICS 2017).

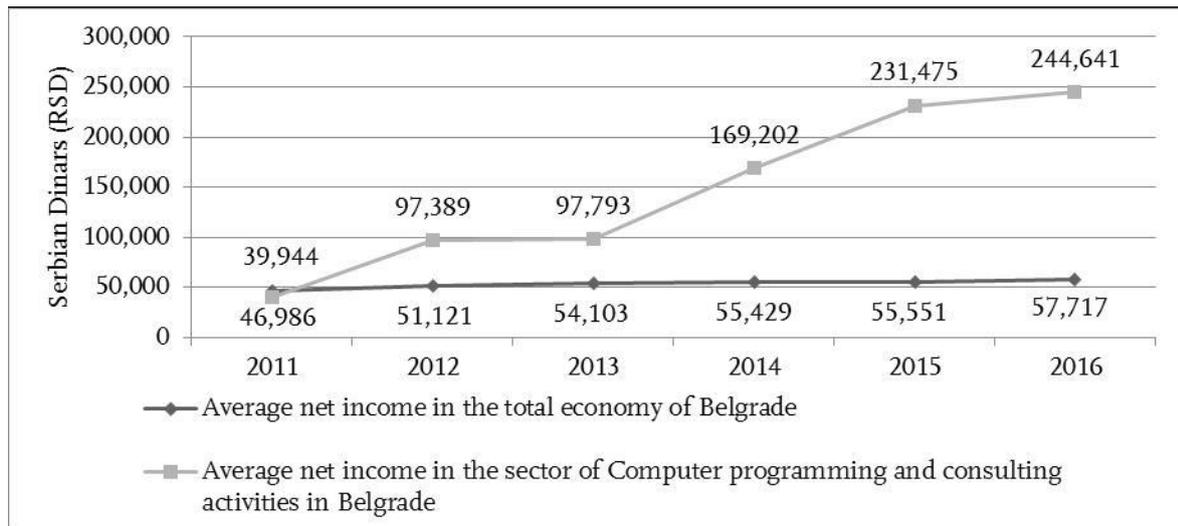


Fig. 49: Net income per month in the subsector of Computer programming and consulting activities, and overall net income per month in Belgrade in the period between 2011 and 2016 (Serbian Dinars (RSD); source: CITY OF BELGRADE - SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION - SECTOR FOR STATISTICS 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, AND 2017)

Through the research process for this dissertation, 27 companies in the IT sector which shaped the creative development of Blok 12 and its vicinity were detected¹³⁴. Their development can be traced back to 2010 when 9 companies were active in the neighbourhood. Until 2016, that number rose to 23 relevant IT companies in the observed area (Fig. 50).

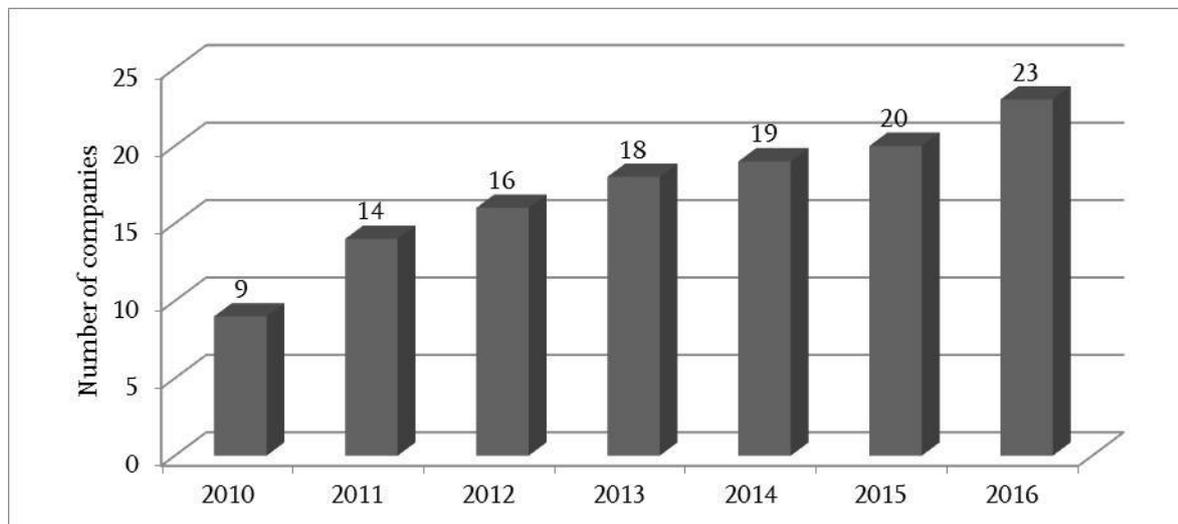


Fig. 50: Total number of companies in IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016 (source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

¹³⁴ They are detected through interviews with local IT experts, the Database of the Serbian Business Registers Agency (APR 2018), online search and online sources (PRIVREDNI IMENIK 2016).

The number of employees in the IT sector companies in the observed area rose as well. In 2010, there were 108 employees in the IT sector in the Blok 12 and its vicinity, while that number grew to 706 employees in 2016 (Fig. 51).

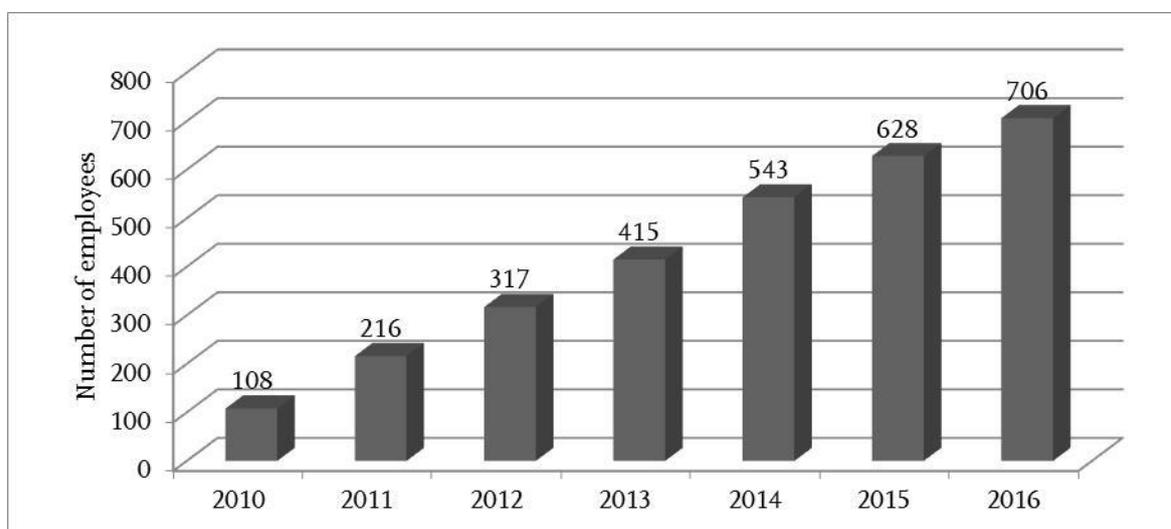


Fig. 51: The total number of employees in IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016 (source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

It is noticeable that the number of employees rose faster than the number of companies. This development is noticeable until 2016, when the employment growth rate was almost equalised, even the number of companies rose on a faster pace (Fig. 52).

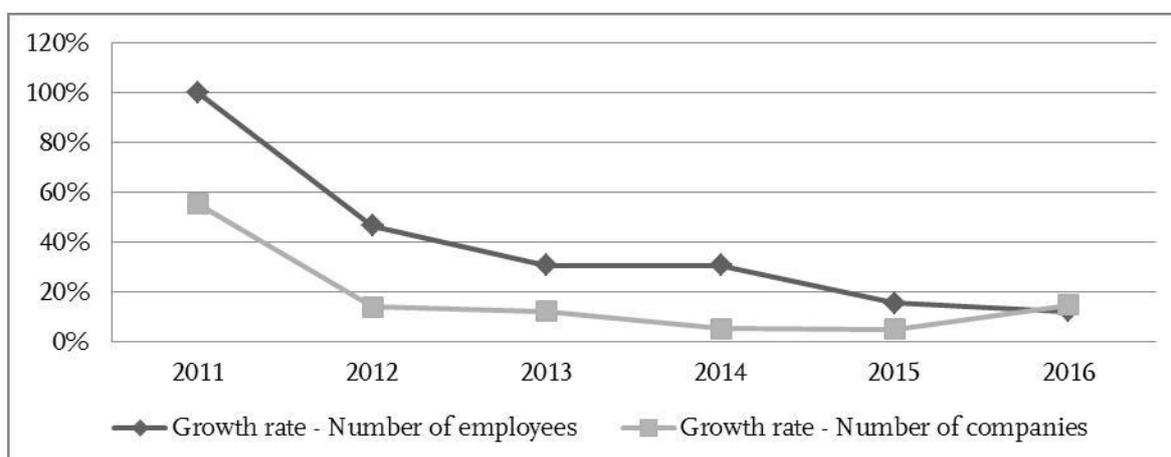


Fig. 52: Annual growth of companies and number of employees pro year in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2011 and 2016 (source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

The average number of employees per company also rose during the observed period. The first slight decline is visible in 2016 (Fig. 53).

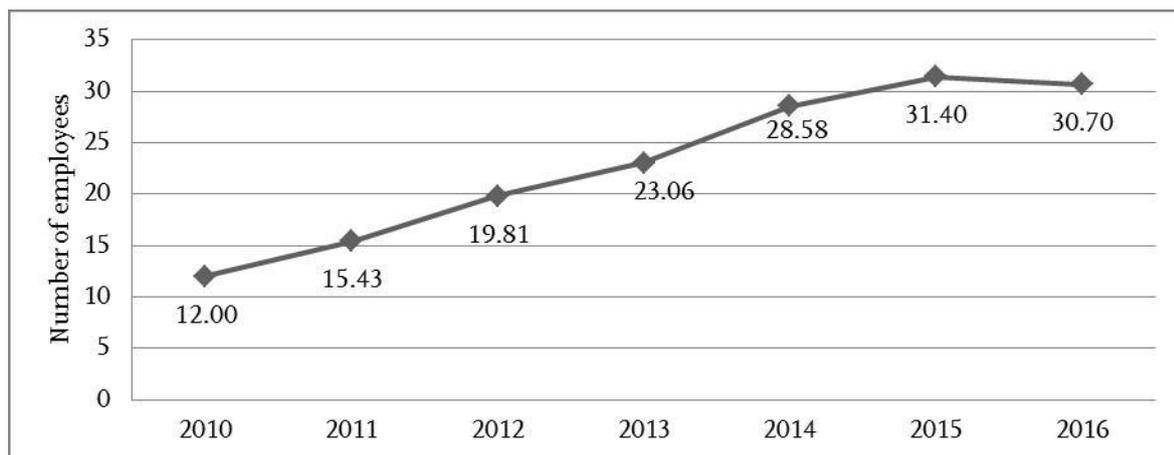


Fig. 53: Average number of employees per IT company in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016 (source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

During the first observed year of 2010, 9 relevant companies and 108 employees in the IT sector in total were located in Blok 12 and its vicinity. The biggest employers in 2010 were *SRC*, *Ekapija*, and *Smith Micro Software* with 72.22% of total employment in the IT sector in the neighbourhood. *Nordeus* had 5 employees in 2010.

In 2011, the number of companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity rose to 14. The same trend can be noticed with regard to the number of employees which rose to 216. *SRC*, *Ekapija*, and *Smith Micro Software* remained important employers. *GDi GisData* with 15 employees, *SKS365* with 16 employees, and especially *Microsoft* with 54 employees were the most significant newcomers. The number of employees working for *Nordeus* rose to 19.

The growth trend in Blok 12 and its vicinity continued in 2012. The IT sector was represented by 16 relevant companies and 317 employees. There were three noticeable employment growths, in *Microsoft*, in *SKS365 Group* and in *Nordeus*. The number of employees working for *Microsoft* rose to 75, *SKS365 Group's* employees rose to 30, and 57 people worked for *Nordeus*. A significant newcomer was *TeleSign* with 17 employees.

The fourth observed year, 2013, shows 18 relevant companies and 415 employees in the IT sector in total in Blok 12 and its vicinity. There were three noticeable employment growths: *Microsoft* (98 employees), *Nordeus* (88 employees) and *TeleSign* (48 employees). A significant newcomer was *Zühlke Engineering* with 3 employees at that point in time.

In the fifth observed year, 2014, 19 relevant companies and 543 employees in the IT sector were located in Blok 12 and its vicinity. Two companies reached more than 100 employees, and a third came close to that number. The number of employees working for *Microsoft* rose to 125, *Nordeus* employed 122 people,

and *TeleSign* 98. Significant employers also included *SKS365* with 45 employees, *SRC* with 34 employees, *Smith Micro Software* with 31 employees, *Ekapija* with 30 employees, *GDi GisData* with 15 employees, *Zühlke Engineering* with 9 employees, and *Špica Centar* with also 9 employees.

During the sixth observed year, 2015, 20 relevant companies and 628 employees in the IT sector were located in Blok 12 and its vicinity. *Microsoft*, *Nordeus* and *TeleSign* profiled as ‘giants’ of the neighbourhood as the companies with more than 100 employees. Employment growth rates are still present, but not pronounced like in the previous years.

The situation was similar in 2016. The highest rise was performed by *Zühlke Engineering*, with now 40 employees. *SKS365 Group* had 55 employees in 2016 and thus became the first company with more than 50 employees after the ‘three giants’.

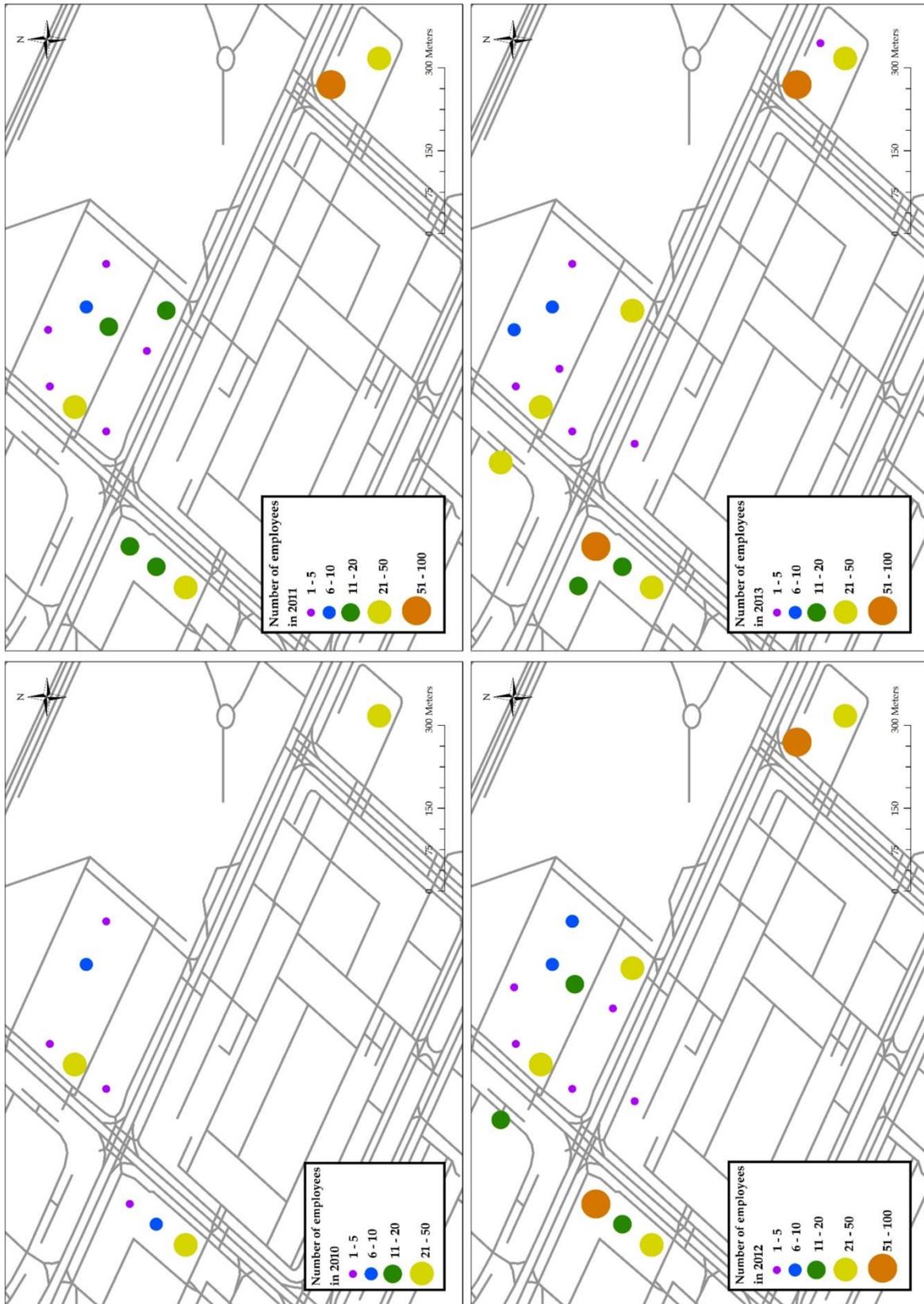


Fig. 54-1. Number of employees in IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016 (source: own elaboration based on the data of the Serbian Agency for Business Registers, own map based on openstreetmap.org)

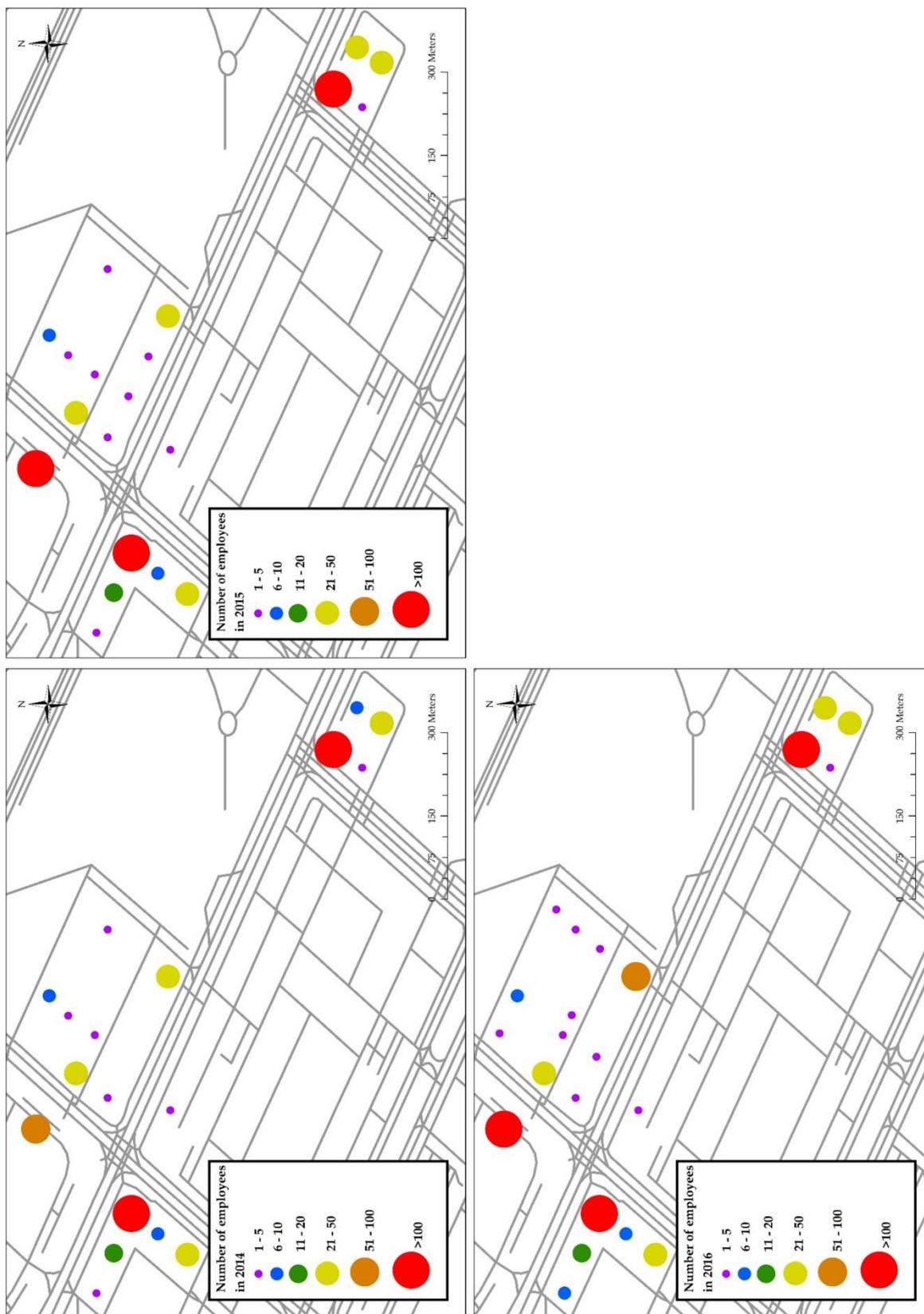


Fig. 54-2. Number of employees in IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016 (source: own elaboration based on the data of the Serbian Agency for Business Registers, own map based on openstreetmap.org)

The relative growth of employment in the knowledge-intensive creative economy in Blok 12 and its vicinity is significantly higher than the employment growth rate in the sector of *Information and communications* in Belgrade, and then total the employment growth rate in Belgrade (Fig. 55).

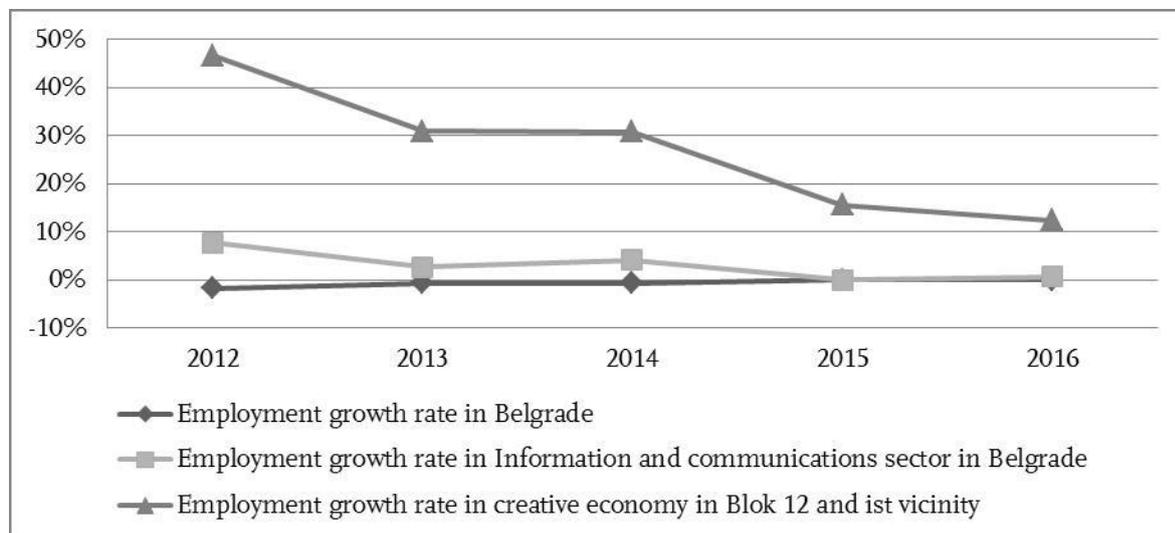


Fig. 55: Total employment growth rate in Belgrade, employment growth rate in the sector of Information and communications in Belgrade, and employment growth rate in the IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2012 and 2016 (source: CITY OF BELGRADE - SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION - SECTOR FOR STATISTICS 2014, 2015, 2016, AND 2017; SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

Other economic results, such as turnover and profit, show that companies in the knowledge-intensive creative sector gain a stable economic growth (Fig. 56). Average turnover per creative organisation in Blok 12 and its vicinity grew constantly in the period between 2010 and 2013 when it reaches its peak. In the period between 2014 and 2016, but did not achieve the level from 2013. The highest average profit was achieved in 2014, and was slightly lower in 2011 and 2016.

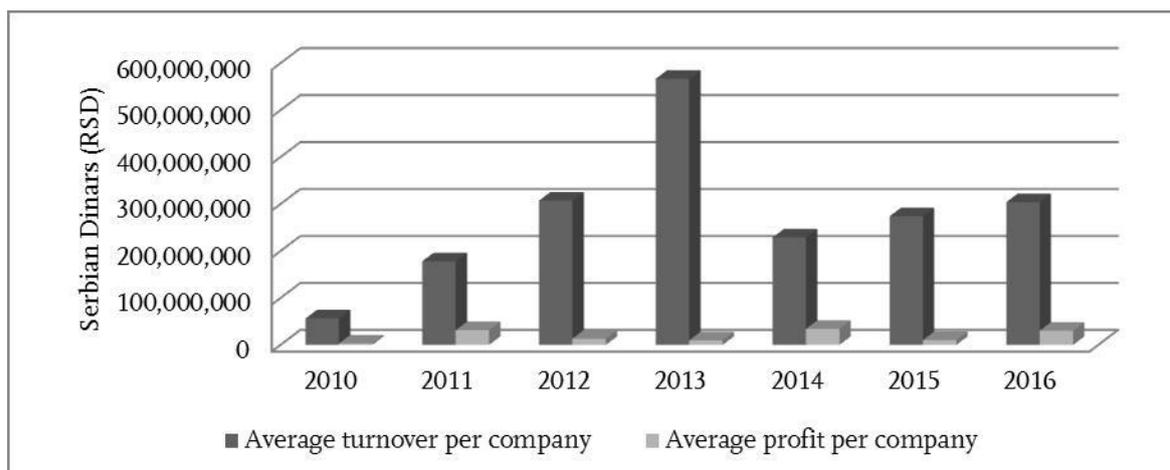


Fig. 56: Average yearly turnover and average yearly profit per IT company in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016 (source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

It should be mentioned that the highest average turnover in 2013 was mostly an achievement of *Nordeus*. That company contributed to slightly over 72% of the total achieved turnover in the neighbourhood in 2013.

Tab. 11: Average turnover and average profit per IT company in Blok 12 and its vicinity in the period between 2010 and 2016 period (source: SERBIAN AGENCY FOR BUSINESS REGISTERS)

Year	Average turnover (RSD)	Average profit (RSD)
2010	56,495,444	3,004,778
2011	178,295,571	31,348,429
2012	307,541,563	13,456,813
2013	566,919,068	10,084,833
2014	228,998,526	34,240,105
2015	273,885,900	10,432,800
2016	304,039,174	30,297,826

The turnover and profit of the most prominent IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity are one important economic outcome they generate. A second important economic outcome is the rise of the employees of the companies whose massive presence drives further development of the neighbourhood.

7.2.1 Employees – A group steering the urban economic flow in Blok 12 and its vicinity

Most of knowledge-intensive creative companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity are financially stable and significant economic actors in the neighbourhood. Still,

they do not function in an isolated bubble, but in a complex urban environment. Creative professionals working in these companies and their needs have a crucial influence on forming current urban area.

Employees in the IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity were involved in a survey conducted for this research. The results of the survey revealed their usual practices and opinions which employees have about current developments in the neighbourhood. The importance of the employees in the IT sector is noticed by local entrepreneurs:

“... really, expansion of our business is obvious since 2010... .. not just our business, but also others in surrounding! One of the reasons is absolutely the rise of IT sector. Our neighbourhood is especially interesting, because many specialised business buildings were constructed, and IT companies settled there. It had direct influence on customers rise since 2010, and we had to expand our capacities twice since then¹³⁵”
(Interview EN003).

An average employee in the IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity is 31.45 years old, works in the IT sector since almost six years, and in Blok 12 and its vicinity since almost four years. Most of them, more than 90%¹³⁶, were working only for one company in the neighbourhood. Almost 63% of participant in the survey have attended formal education for their jobs, while 37% of them are educated in informal ways.

According to this group, various factors have a different level of importance in a working environment. Their exact duties and type of job they do, as well as salary, are very important factors when participants in the survey choose their working environment. Reputation of the company and position in the company are important, but not crucial factors. Accessibility of the company's location is for them more important than the distance between company and their homes. Historical legacy of the neighbourhood is almost completely unimportant, and the existing ancillary services in the neighbourhood are of medium importance.

Employees in the IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity live, in average, more than 6 kilometres away from their company's location, and spend about 25

¹³⁵ Serbian: „...zaista od 2010. godine kreće ekspanzija posla u svakom pogledu... Ne samo kod nas, nego i u okolini! Jedan od razloga je svakako i razvoj IT sektora u Srbiji, naročito je interesantan uzi krug oko nas, jer je izgrađen veliki broj poslovnih zgrada u kojima rade firme, upravo iz IT branše, što je direktno uticalo na porast gostiju od 2010. što je i nas nateralo da od tog perioda do danas dva puta proširujemo kapacitet“ (Interview EN003).

¹³⁶ For the purposes of readability, almost all percentages from surveys have been rounded.

minutes commuting. They¹³⁷ mostly use cars or public transport, but some come to work on foot, by bicycle, or by taxi (Fig. 57).

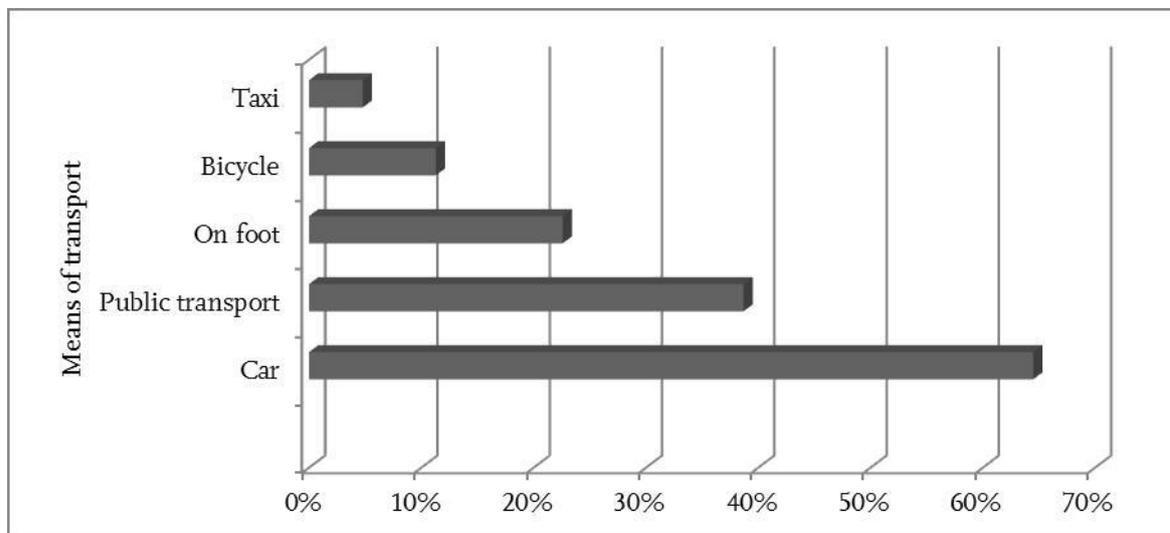


Fig. 57: Means of transport used by employees in the IT sector in Blok 12 and its vicinity (own elaboration, 2018, n = 62)

Almost 20% of the participants in the survey moved closer to Blok 12 and its vicinity when they started to work there.

Most of the participants in the survey¹³⁸ visit local restaurants (79%) and cafés (around 68%). They mostly visit them during lunch time and in the afternoon, and rarely in the evening. Banks, supermarkets, touristic agencies, hair-dressers, and fitness clubs are also popular among the employees in the IT sector. They are generally satisfied with the existing offer of ancillary services. Also, they are satisfied with the surrounding recreational and green areas, and public spaces. On the other hand, they are not satisfied with parking possibilities, but find parking possibilities in the neighbourhood significantly more favourable than those in downtown for example.

Around 75% of participants in the survey do not visit Blok 12 and its vicinity during their free time. They spend their free time in other locations such as river banks, centre of the city, neighbourhood where they live, or outside the city. Still, around 85% of them visit Savamala, or were visiting in the past. About 75% of them visit Savamala because of night-life, and cultural offer is on the second place. Night-life prevails in Savamala compared to creative activities, according to 64.5% of participants in the survey, while 14.5% think that creative activities prevail compared to night-life segment. More than 74% of participants

¹³⁷ Survey participants could choose multiply answers.

¹³⁸ Survey participants could choose multiply answers.

in the survey visit or was visiting neighbourhood in Cetinjska 15. According to their opinion, night-life prevails convincingly compared to creative sector on that location.

7.3 Conclusion

Economic results of cultural based creative activities on one and knowledge-intensive creative activities, on the other hand show that they have reached different levels of success in Belgrade.

Culturally based creative activities in Savamala are embodied through three crucial creative organisations. *Mikser House* and *KC Grad* have many cultural activities in the focus. Those organisations lead programmes and activities which profiled Savamala into a cultural quarter. Still, an overview of their economic results does not reveal their economic stability. *Mikser House* left Savamala because of financial problems and difficulties to pay always growing rent. Just after three months, they left their new headquarters in Sarajevo as they did not receive the expected amount of donations and support. *KC Grad* reduced their number of employees in 2016 compared to 2015. Nevertheless, their economic significance is not reflected in their pure economic results. Turnover and employment growth which was achieved by those companies is appreciable. Before creative organisations arrived, Savamala was in economic oblivion. Their economic significance is furthermore reflected in the number of visitors they attracted by programs and activities. Mass attendance in Savamala initiated the development of additional services. Visitors began to manage economic development of the neighbourhood through a process of demand.

Nova Iskra's focus is not on visitors, but rather on creative professionals. Their mission is successful having in mind that they expand business, and open a new coworking space in Zemun. Orientation to profitability, but staying in the frames of creative economy, steers the development of Savamala from cultural to creative quarter.

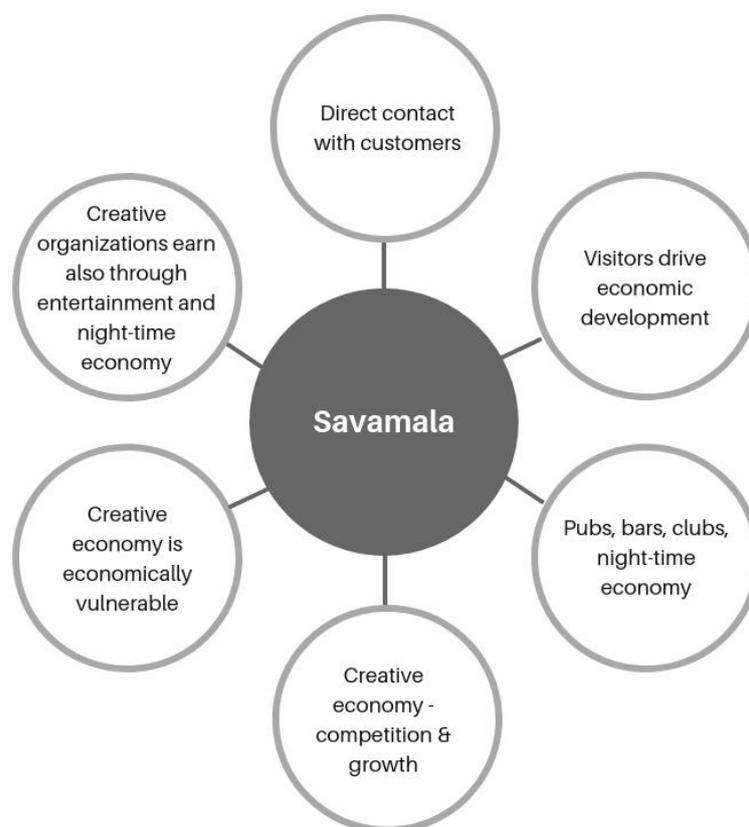


Fig. 58: Economic characteristics of Savamala (source: own elaboration)

Knowledge-intensive creative organisations in Blok 12 and its vicinity are represented by 27 relevant IT companies in the period between 2010 and 2016. The most significant employers the neighbourhood are *Nordeus*, *Microsoft*, and *TeleSign*. Each of those companies has more than 100 employees. IT companies located in Blok 12 and its vicinity turn the neighbourhood's profile into that of a creative quarter. Their economic results are stable, and most of the companies achieve permanent growth. Most of them do not have financial problems which can affect their existence. As their sale is indirect, not many customers visit Blok 12 and its vicinity. IT companies also achieve a significant part of their turnover on the foreign market. Some of them are daughter companies of foreign companies with the development of new products, not sales, as their goal.

IT companies brought many new employees in the neighbourhood. Those employees are an additional factor in the economic development of the area. Their everyday demands have an influence on new restaurants, cafés, supermarkets and gyms. Employees in the IT sector are not single users of local ancillary services, but are a significant part.

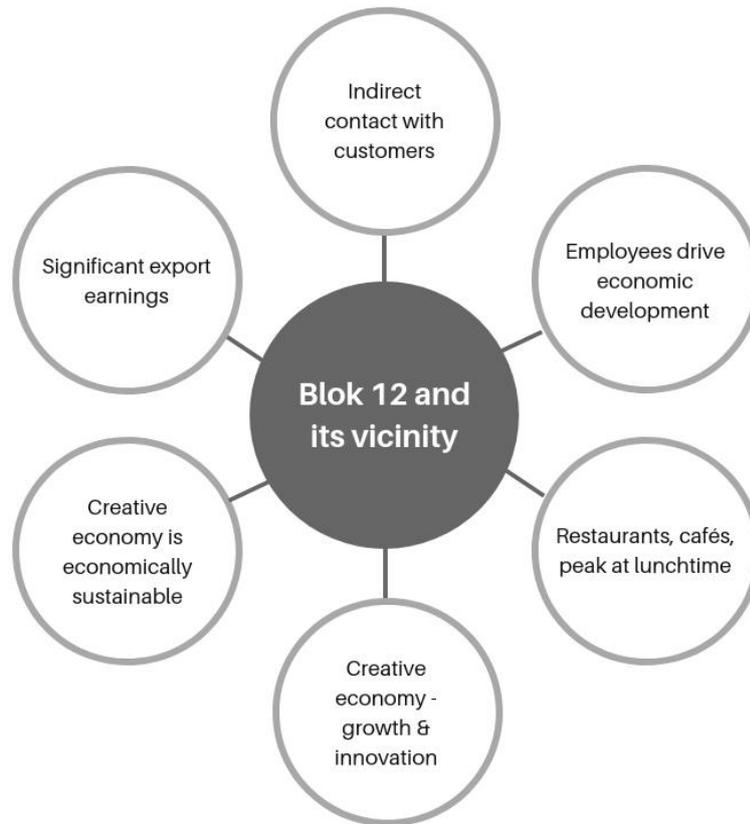


Fig. 59: Economic characteristics of Blok 12 and its vicinity (source: own elaboration)

Culture-based creative economy in Savamala, and knowledge-intensive creative economy in Blok 12 and its vicinity are of a different nature and development. Creative economy in Savamala supports growth of the general economy in the neighbourhood, but mostly through entertainment and night-time economy. The creative economy in Blok 12 and its vicinity shows economic stability and growth, supports growth of the general economy in the neighbourhood, but, through its products and innovations, also supports economic growth on a broader level.

8. Creative neighbourhoods of Belgrade – Status and perspectives

To change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced.

PIERRE BOURDIEU (1989: 23)

Specific urban environments, groups of stakeholders, and economic flows play a role in the development of creative economy and its spatial manifestations. This research indicated urban practices based on those three layers for the case study of Belgrade. An example of the city quarter Savamala depicted urban development led by cultural-based creative activities, while the example of Blok 12 and its vicinity depicted urban development influenced by knowledge-intensive creative activities.

8.1 Culture-based creative economy in Savamala – Concluding remarks

The decades-long oblivion and silent decay of Savamala was stopped by creative organisation initiatives and regeneration processes. There were always some places that attracted creative people in Belgrade, but the case of Savamala is the first where the complete neighbourhood serves such a purpose. All these events started to attract the attention of the public, as well as the attention of domestic and foreign media (e.g. GUARDIAN 2015B, BUSINESS INSIDER 2015).

8.1.1 Bottom-up initiatives and following effects

Having in mind the location advantages of Savamala, it is not strange that creative organisations occupied neglected spaces in this city quarter with rich historical heritage (MONTGOMERY 2003, COLOMB 2012). The regeneration of the historic urban waterfronts with creative activities and the resuscitation of creative milieus also attracted also groups of tourists with preferences that are not in line with mainstream flows. Such a development can be a spin wheel for a regeneration of the urban economy (KOSTOPOULOU 2013).

The rise of popularity is reflected by growing number of foreign tourists in Savamala, even though it was not the subject of marketing activities by the *Touristic Organisation of Belgrade* until 2014 (BUDOVIĆ 2014). However, on the official *Touristic Organisation of Belgrade* website, it is recently highly positioned in the section *What to see – Attractions*.

The activities of the organisations have attracted many new visitors. According to internal information, programs and events of the European Centre for Culture and Debate *Grad* attract about 70,000 people per year. For instance, *Mikser Festival 2015*, organised by the creative organisation *Mikser*, alone brought around 75,000 visitors in five days to the quarter (B92 2015B). Such an increase in the number of people who visit Savamala brought forth the emergence of ancillary services. So today in this neighbourhood there are many bars, cafés, clubs, fast-food restaurants as well as taxis. These services spontaneously developed after creative organisations started to operate on a larger scale in Savamala.

Regeneration of this neglected city quarter was possible after the typical post-socialist development characteristics of privatism (HIRT 2012) and privatisation of real estate (SÝKORA 2005) emerged. Some facilities were transferred to the pre-Second World War owners through the process of restitution. Through privatisation and restitution some buildings got new (or old) owners, and it was clear which facilities would stay in the ownership of the municipality. A second important factor was the decentralising system of government (TSENKOVA WITH NEDOVIĆ BUDIĆ 2006), which occurred in Serbia after 2000. It allowed local authorities to influence further urban development in Savamala through formal and informal ways. It is hard to believe that creative-led urban development would root without the commitment of local authorities who could strive to further urban development. Local authorities decided to support creative-led development by attracting creative organisations to Savamala and offering them available spaces.

Creative-led urban development in Savamala was also supported by location attributes and embedded socio-geographic characteristics. Elements of *neo-bohemian* development (LLOYD 2002) are evident in that neighbourhood. As LLOYD (2002: 524) states:

“neo-bohemia is more than just window-dressing. The historically embedded culture of cities is raw material in new productive processes”.

A strong cultural vibe followed by offbeat, experimental, and alternative fare is present in Savamala since 2009. Life on the streets of the neighbourhood is revived by a new flair and the neighbourhood represents a hub for street art and graffiti. Creative organisations and the streets of Savamala enabled creative people to express themselves. Such development raised the neighbourhood's attraction.

In addition to their core activities, creative professionals and entrepreneurs showed a high level of social responsibility. Through various projects they have

begun to point to the problems the district is facing. They are involved in the protest against the *Belgrade Waterfront* project in order to preserve the cultural and social heritage of Savamala. They also organised help for people threatened by the floods in 2014. Activists from Savamala organised help for the migrants from Middle East in 2015 and 2016. Also, through interaction with locals, creative professionals and entrepreneurs are trying clarify their opinions concerning the future development of the district and how they can help in achieving them. They singled out noise as one of the biggest problems. It is generated by heavy traffic during the day and by nightlife activities during the night.

Creative organisations played a crucial role in the regeneration process of Savamala. Their involvement triggered an economic revival, but also influenced other perspectives. The influence of creative organisations improved the public image of the neighbourhood and enhanced social amenities, showing that economic goals are not the only ones that creative organisations aim at (THORSBY 2008A). They participated in creating attractive multi-layered spaces (EVANS 2007) that draw the attention of visitors who look for deeper and a more active experience (RICHARDS AND WILSON 2006).

8.1.2 Nightlife expansion

With the regeneration of the quarter, the municipality rented out all the spaces they owned and, consequently, ceased to use top-down selection in order to influence which organisations settle in Savamala. Newer developments showed much more of a selection by market mechanisms. Savamala became a Belgrade hotspot of nightlife and surpassed many other parts of the city known for their high concentration of bars, cafés and clubs. According to a survey conducted for this study, most of Savamala's visitors think that the importance of nightlife in the neighbourhood overwhelmed its creative potential.

Belgrade is often associated with a very dynamic night-life. Promotional actions that represent the capital to the tourists do not omit to mention the entertainment segment. Tourists themselves, especially the younger generation, cite night-life as one of the main reasons for visiting Belgrade (ČOMIĆ AND VIČIĆ 2013).

A lively nightlife and evening economy are almost implicit in successful creative spaces (MONTGOMERY 1994, LOVATT AND O'CONNOR 1995) and entertainment zones are also becoming generators of urban revitalisation (CAMPO AND RYAN 2008). The number of clubs and cafés suddenly rose in the last years and is still rising. Their presence exceeded the amount of creative organisations in Savamala. Therefore, the question whether Savamala nowadays

is based on creativity, culture, and art or nightlife is a legitimate one. Additionally, creative organisations like *Grad* and *Mikser* earn part of their income from active participation in the formation and implementation of entertainment offers. The growing number of clubs and cafés changed the structure of visitors. At the beginning, music programmes were based on alternative styles that attracted a specific young and urban audience, but nowadays, there is a variety of music. Even though many of the nightlife clubs follow mainstream entertainment policy, there are still some that encourage a more ‘underground’ approach. Interviewees from creative organisations said that they are bothered by such an unbalanced direction of development into mainstream culture. Some do not like that their activities, albeit from quite different motives, encourage such development and emphasise that their organisations could leave Savamala if there favourable alternatives should arise. Following this example, it is complicated to keep a balance between cultural creativity, cultural resources and night-time economy (ROBERTS 2006).

New problems appeared with the growing number of visitors, such as garbage collection and elevated noise levels. Some clubs were forced to pay fines because of loud music and some are investing in new sound isolation systems. The municipal government is trying to find solutions through cooperation and by acquiring experiences from the cities that had similar problems (for example Malmö).

8.1.3 Instability of the creative sector

As the case study of Savamala shows, the cultural based creative sector development in Serbia is highly dependent on external funds. Moreover, revalorisation and regeneration of spaces is tightly connected to support mechanisms of local government (JOCIĆ AND BUDOVIĆ 2016). The way the culturally based creative sector has developed in Savamala can be described as a path dependent evolutionary process where the municipality played a key role at the early stages. Top-down management of the local government and flexible decisions, at least in conceptual terms, formed initial conditions for the inception of creative milieus in this district. Still, the quarter’s cultural development was and is further driven by bottom-up initiatives of the respective creative organisations. The municipality still provides logistic support, in particular when applying for European funds.

As the profitability of art and culture is limited (KLAMER AND PETROVA 2007), the importance of European financial funds and external financial sources, such as sponsorships, is even bigger. Most creative organisations benefited from early external financial support and some of them are still dependent on it, even though parts of their activities are profitable. Consequently, the urban

development of Savamala is strongly influenced by foreign and other external financial support and by the power and impact of local political elites.

This is attributable to socio-cultural socialist legacies, still visible in an undeveloped market economy and in the overall difficult economic situation in Serbia, as well as in the political-administrative structures of the country. Since more than a decade after the democratic revolution, the breaking-up of encrusted organisational structures and working methods is still one of the foremost challenges for local administrations. In this case study, municipality leaders, strongly influenced by Western European examples of urban regeneration, and by their ability to initiate bottom-up developments, sought to implement those Western models in Savamala and improve the inherited situation. Savamala became a cultural based creative quarter with new concentrations of artist consumption, cultural production, and forms of urban placemaking (KEITH 2005). Additionally, an open-minded kind of cosmopolitan context is created, with plenty of face-to-face communication between newcomers such as entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, and artist (LANDRY 2008).

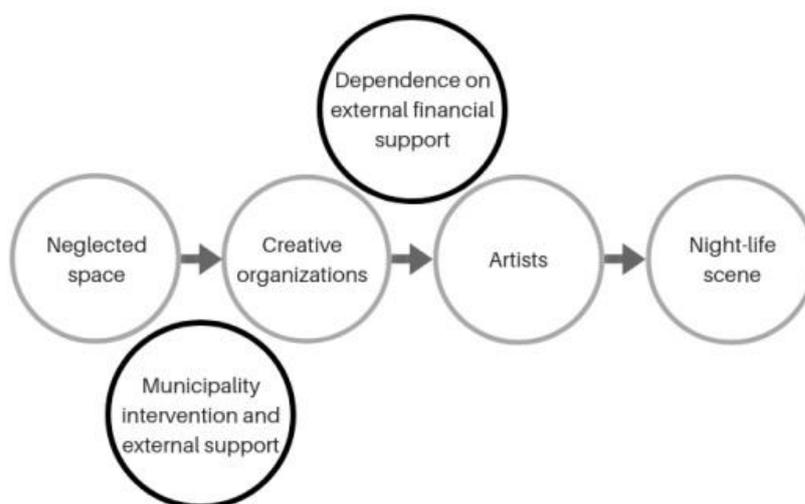


Fig. 60: Development process of the creative city quarter of Savamala (source: own elaboration)

The next evolutionary step leads to market oriented businesses that should reduce the dependence on external financial support. The first organisation that is implementing that kind of management is Design Incubator *Nova Iskra* - an organisation which generates wholly economic values through its creative activities. There were plans of opening IT HUBs in the vicinity and other similar organisations based on profitable creative economy principles. According to public officials, organising a stronger network between creative organisations is the greatest objective for the future. This would enable a

common approach and strengthen the position of Savamala. There are also plans to attract new creative organisations, mostly market-oriented. These organisations should be part of a creative project, financially sustainable, and not dependent on external financial support.

Urban dynamics typical for creative-led developments (EVANS 2009A) grounded on these examples can be noted: Savamala was on the development path from a cultural to creative quarter, which is connected with a stronger focus towards more market-oriented cultural and creative activities. Furthermore, Savamala was on the way to expand the borders of the creative vicinity to its neighbourhood areas. Still, that did not happen, and the creative quarter Savamala remained a lone island of concentrated creative influence in that part of Belgrade. A kind of cooperation between creative organisations is noticed. If there is creative clustering in Savamala, it should be interpreted as a 'hub' (BOIX ET AL. 2014: 755-757), having in mind that there are no other creative cluster formations in the immediate proximity.

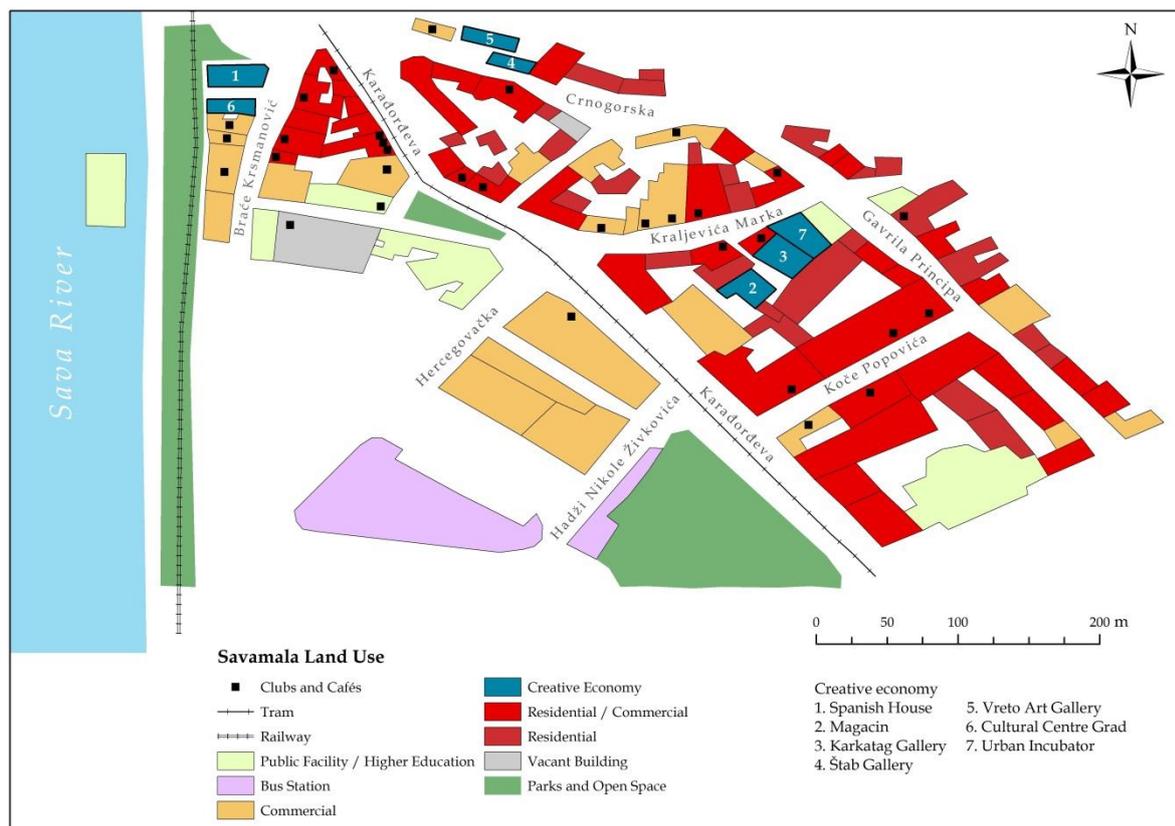


Fig. 61: Land use in Savamala in 2018 (own elaboration, own map based on Google Maps)

Field studies conducted in Savamala in 2018 (Fig. 61) and in 2015 (Fig. 21) show that the number of creative organisations is declining. On the other hand, nightlife that is flourishing in Savamala through clubs and cafés is entirely market-oriented and profitable. The emergence of a lively nightlife scene was a result of a successful cultural and creative urban regeneration, but is not

dependent on the external financial support or the municipality's support, and therefore is not manageable through top-down processes.

8.1.4 Top-down governance on the highest level – Influences of the Republican and the City government

Political elites were not always acting beneficial, but sometimes were destructive regarding cultural-led development. Influence of higher levels of government does not support creative-led urban development in Savamala, and brings its future existence into question. Such urban interventions, like those that preceded and followed the *Belgrade Waterfront* project, reflects a combination of forms of autocratic urban governance, inherited from the socialistic era (WINKLER 2015), and characteristics of opportunity-led urban development in post-socialist transition (TASAN-KOK 2006). Suspicious contracts with private investors, unclear deadlines for construction completion, as well as changing urbanistic rules by *lex specialis*, lead to such a conclusion. Taking into account PIERRE's (1999) urban governance models, it can be noticed that such developments have elements of a managerial and corporatist model. Informal actions taken in order to support this project cannot be framed by any governance model. These are indicators of a still existing transitional social and political legacy, such as non-existing neutral institutions, unstable regulation and corruption, as well as inadequate public participation (see KORNAI AND ROSE-ACKERMAN 2004). In this case, it is noticeable that investors take over the role of urban planners (FAINSTEIN 1991), and that development processes are dominated by the private sector (ADAMS 1994).



Fig. 62: Threats for further development in the creative city quarter of Savamala (source: own elaboration)

The main threats for a further creative development in Savamala are a future lack of external financial support (for those organisations with primarily cultural activities) and a failure in the open market (for market-oriented creative organisations). Additionally, the excessive commercialisation of the urban space and the rising dominance of mainstream culture, which are more and more promoted in the nightlife of the quarter, are contrary to what creative professionals, especially artists expect. The announcement of the *Belgrade Waterfront* project and subsequent activities appeared as third major threat for further creative development in Savamala.

8.1.5 Is there gentrification in Savamala?

VANIŠTA LAZAREVIĆ ET AL. (2015) argue that Savamala's quarter development already reached the level of an unstoppable process of gentrification. Current developments show some elements of urban regeneration inherent to earlier phases of a gentrification process like stabilisation of the quarter, rise of property values and local fiscal revenues, and encouragement of further development. However, it is questionable if gentrification will reach a level of full maturity in Savamala. Significant changes of the residential structure in the analysed area are not detected. There are not enough young affluent people who could be gentrification forerunners in the local residential structure. In general, the residents of Savamala are the same people who were living there before 2009. This neighbourhood, as a noisy nightlife hotspot and a transit zone, with a high density of hostels which are occupying apartments inside residential units,

undoubtedly is not an attractive residential zone for higher income groups. A partial regeneration of Savamala through new activities is surely in motion. Still, the final stages of the gentrification process are not certain, at least in short term and without some dramatic changes.

“The existence of ‘the kind of expensive restaurants, clubs and nightspots that mark many gentrifying neighbourhoods’ (SMITH 1996: 174) cannot be interpreted as being direct markers of gentrification activity” (ŠYKORA 2005: 93).

Therefore, it is questionable if gentrification can be seen as the major threat to the survival of the creative milieu in this quarter. Moreover, the case of the *Belgrade Waterfront* project should not be regarded as a traditional gentrification process. It should be interpreted as a result of corporate-governmental partnership (SMITH 2002).

8.1.6 Path-dependent development in Savamala

The development of Savamala shows four important steps which had been decisive for the creative-led urban development of this quarter:

- Savamala was pre-assigned for creative regeneration due to its historical development and neglected spaces;
- Proactive involvement of the local government encouraged creative regeneration;
- Activities of creative organisations and professionals allowed Savamala to reach a certain level of regeneration and obtain a status of a cultural quarter;
- Intense influences of the open market on the one hand, and interventions of higher levels of government and their corporate partners on the other hand, did not allow Savamala to develop into a profitable and market-oriented creative quarter.

Turbulent socio-economic development of Savamala in the last two centuries left a significant historical legacy and architectural heritage. At the beginning of the 19th century, Savamala was located on the periphery of Belgrade. The ongoing growth of Belgrade positioned Savamala in the immediate proximity of downtown in the first half of the 20th century. After the Second World War, authorities approved new large construction projects and were devoted to rebuilding the city. Savamala was not in their focus, and such political decisions left it in social and economic oblivion.

A setting characterised by its central location (LEY 2003), rich historical legacy and valuable architectural heritage (MONTGOMERY 2003, DERVOJEDA ET AL. 2013),

as well as neglected space (ZUKIN AND BRASLOW 2011) is often an inductive for creative-led development. Exactly those characteristic were pronounced in Savamala at the end of the 2000s, as the result of its historical development. Initial conditions for creative-led urban development were supported by that setting. Still, creative-led regeneration was not guaranteed by existing conditions, and further development of Savamala could go in any direction, either further oblivion, or any kind of regeneration.

The first important step towards creative-led regeneration happened when local authorities started negotiating with endorsed creative professionals, and already existing creative organisations to settle in Savamala in the end of 2000s. Cooperation between local authorities and creative organisations resulted in new concentration of creative activities in Savamala. Creative-led regeneration would not be triggered if these two groups of stakeholders did not find a consensus. Creative organisations were satisfied that they found a possibility and space to realise their programmes, and local authorities accomplished their goal by supporting the initial phase of urban regeneration.

The success of the first creative organisations which operated in Savamala, as well as the quality of their programmes, pushed further urban development of Savamala in the direction of a cultural creative city quarter. As creative-led urban regeneration became a stable process, other creative organisations started to follow the pioneers.

In the following, the work of creative organisations and creative professionals attracted public attention, but also numerous visitors to Savamala. This new development revealed the necessity of ancillary services (shops, fast-foods, restaurants, taxis) in the neighbourhood. Simultaneously, a night-time economy started to develop, again connected with an increase of visitors, a typical phenomenon for creative quarters (ROBERTS 2006).

Night-time economy was more successful on the open market than creative economy in Savamala, and was expanding on a faster pace. That was the first process that hindered further creative-led development. The second process which interrupted creative-led development in Savamala was even more powerful. Unlike local authorities who supported the creative sector in Savamala, higher levels of government discouraged it by initiating the *Belgrade Waterfront* project.

Cultural and artistic-based creative economy in Savamala was fulfilling two roles: urban regeneration and economic regeneration. Some creative organisations were successful on the open market, while some were still too dependent on external funding and sponsorships. They did not, however,

succeed in concluding the creative-led urban development process, and to push Savamala's urban development in the direction of a stable creative quarter.

Night-life expansion and interests of higher governmental levels and their corporate partners, neglected further cultural and artistic-based creative development in Savamala. Nevertheless, it was a path dependent development with a possibility to develop a sustainable creative quarter, if other steps were made in critical moments. It did not happen because rooted societal and network embeddedness could not be overcome.

Savamala represents a typical case of a culture-based creative economy development in a post-socialist transitional society. It could not reach its maturity as influences of autocratic political elites on the one hand, and influences of intense market economy on the other hand, did not allow it to advance.

8.2 Knowledge-intensive creative economy in Blok 12 and its vicinity – Concluding remarks

The IT sector in Serbia and its most successful companies are receiving more and more attention of scholars, as well as domestic and foreign media (e.g. KATIĆ ET AL. 2013, GUTTMANN 2015, PRZYBILLA 2017, SATARIANO 2017). The IT sector is one of the most successful net exporters within the Serbian economy (POLITIKA 2016B). Mostly, these scholars and media do not focus on the location, but on the economic impact those companies achieve¹³⁹. Software development and production are the main business goals of these IT companies - Urban placemaking is not a goal in itself for them, but they are certainly, as an urban actor, involved in developing and producing urban space. In Blok 12 and its vicinity, there is a significant concentration of IT companies. Their existence and activities steer the development of this neighbourhood, by transforming already established economic and urban practices.

8.2.1 Processes driving spatial manifestations and urban practices

IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity are, through various mechanisms, involved in placemaking and reforming urban environment. The physiognomy of the neighbourhood is shaped by their specific requirements concerning office space. Additionally, employees of those companies influence local urban

¹³⁹ According to data presented by the Serbian government, export of information and communication sector from Serbia reached 900 million Euro in 2017. The positive growth trend of this sector continues with more than 20% annually in three previous years (B92 2018A).

development. Their earnings are among the highest in Belgrade, and so are they through 'purchasing power' able to drive the development of ancillary activities in the area.

Even though colourful corporate signs and commercial signage are pronounced in Blok 12 and its vicinity, IT companies are not very active in leaving aggressive commercial footprints. Most of them do not depend on aggressive advertisement, as their customers can be thousands of kilometres away. Those with evident and large signs are branch giants such as *Nordeus*, *Microsoft*, and *TeleSign* for instance. Their signs are rather meant to indicate prestige, than being used for commercial reasons.

After the integration of Serbia into larger international economic flows after 2000, three specialised business buildings were constructed in Blok 12 and its vicinity. Their glass façades leave the impression of a highlighted business environment. Those buildings look 'twenty-first-century' and represent a contrast to other transitional urban symbols, such as 'kiosks' (GÖLER AND LEHMEIER 2012), or socialist urban symbols embodied in traditional construction styles in New Belgrade (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2004, JOCIĆ 2013). They represent the embodiment of a new coming capitalist and corporate urban development, typical for post-socialist states (STANILOV 2007). These typical business environments, with a modern infrastructure, should perfectly fit the requirements which IT companies have.

Further on, graffiti which are usual spatial representations, especially around New Belgrade (RADOŠEVIĆ 2009), do not emerge often in this neighbourhood. Buildings there have video surveillance systems and a security officer sitting at the front door. Additionally, there are security officers who are patrolling the complex during the night. As a contrast to collective towers which are all around New Belgrade, Blok 12 with its security systems, and particular luxury amenities show some elements which are characteristic for gated communities (HIRT AND PETROVIĆ 2011). Such an environment is different than the 'bohemian' environment typical for cultural and artistic-based creative economy, but fits to 'nerdistans' (KOTKIN 2000) with high concentration of IT professionals with higher education.

Even though it is not a rarity in Belgrade for retail shops to be open 24 hours a day, the situation is different in Blok 12. Shops in Blok 12 and its vicinity adjust their business hours to the business hours of the surrounding companies, since their main customers are the employees of these companies. Furthermore, for the same reason, local restaurants and cafés set their offers to the needs of that group. Their capacities are partially occupied in the morning and late afternoon. During the lunch break, the seats in restaurants are usually

fully occupied. Most of cafés and restaurants are empty during the early evening, though. Additionally, there are no cafés and pubs with nightlife offers in Blok 12 and its vicinity. Proximity of the companies, as well as semi-public spaces such as cafés and restaurants in Blok 12 and its vicinity, provide circumstances for localised interactions and face-to-face contact between creative professionals, which furthermore supports technological innovation, positive business results, and socialisation (STORPER AND VENABLES 2004).

8.2.2 Global-local interrelation and the importance of 'hard' and 'soft' location factors

Larger trends of globalisation, such as expanded markets, international partnerships, and outsourcing possibilities (BONTJE ET AL. 2011), support the development of the IT sector in Serbia (MATIJEVIĆ AND ŠOLAJA 2015). Typical 'hard' location factors for post-socialist countries such as a regained geographic significance after the fall of the Iron Curtain (KOVÁCS 1999), and a relatively high educational level of population (LANE 2007), work in favour of Serbia. Serbia is in the Central European Time Zone, and so business hours in Serbia match those in most European countries. The level of language proficiency and especially of Business English proficiency in Serbia is on a relatively high level (SERBIA INVESTMENT AND EXPORT PROMOTION AGENCY 2015: 17). Combined with a relatively low average salary, those facts favour Serbian companies to be a convenient partner to foreign companies.



Fig. 63: Development process of the creative city quarter of Blok 12 and its vicinity (source: own elaboration)

New Belgrade stood out as an adequate environment for knowledge-intensive creative economy with a favourable educational structure of the population (STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA 2013A), and its geographical position and accessibility within Belgrade (JOVANOVIĆ AND RATKAJ 2014: 59). Blok 12 and its vicinity, as a central part of New Belgrade, possess various advantages embodied in 'hard' and 'soft' location factors. The major advantage

of Blok 12 and its vicinity, as stated by interviewees and study participants, is its accessibility. Additionally, when compared to the central city parts, Blok 12 and its vicinity includes good parking possibilities. Compared to many other parts of the city, this neighbourhood has a modern infrastructure.

There are several types of IT companies in the neighbourhood. Some are successful Serbian companies; some are branch offices of companies from the West; and some are start-ups in their beginning stage of business. All of them strive towards their successful role-models. Because of that, the interior of their spaces are similar to business spaces of the most successful IT companies in the world. Logically, IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity have remarkably lower financial abilities than their role models. Accordingly, even though the interior is similar, the area their office spaces occupy is quite different. *Microsoft*, *Google*, *Facebook* and similar leading companies do not have any financial limits and have built large headquarters and campuses with office spaces, but also plenty of additional contents – cafés, restaurants, recreational areas etc. Blok 12 and its vicinity has been transformed into a similar all-round space capable for IT companies albeit on a smaller scale. This was achieved by mutual influences of different urban actors: knowledge-intensive creative companies, their employees, and local entrepreneurs who strive to satisfy the growing demand for products and services. To put it short, a creative professional is not forced to leave *Googleplex* or *Apple Campus* to satisfy her or his needs in almost any sense. The situation is similar with the employees of the companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity – for satisfying many of their needs, they do not have to leave the neighbourhood.

Blok 12 and its vicinity have developed into creative quarter by accepting global trends of expanding IT sector. It became successful by exploiting local advantages – location and geographical advantages, as well as favourable human resources. Blok 12 is furthermore transforming into a business space comparable to those on a global level, but still respecting local characteristics, tendencies, as well as possibilities.

8.2.3 Local and international competition, and indirect governmental influences

An increasing number of IT companies in Blok 12 and its vicinity have been noticeable in last decade, approximately. Additionally, a rising number of employees in most companies is also a common. Some of them became ‘local giants’ with more than one hundred employees. Still, an excessive rise of companies is not necessarily a positive indication for the neighbourhood’s development. Even though unused and empty urban spaces which surrounded Blok 12 allowed three new modern business buildings to be constructed, available office spaces in Blok 12 and its vicinity are currently limited.

Therefore, companies which outgrow, sometimes have to move to other locations which offer possibilities for larger office spaces. Still, Blok 12 and its vicinity is still one of the most favourable business quarters in Belgrade.

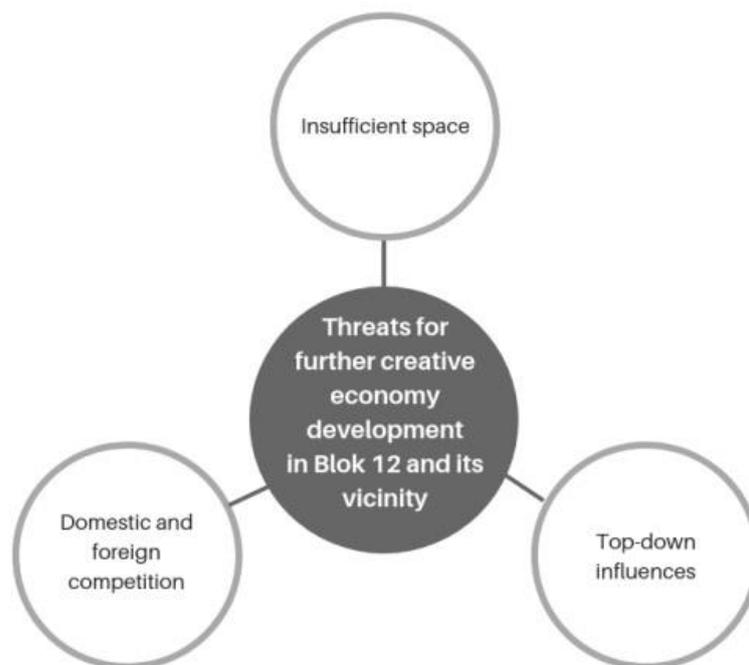


Fig. 64: Threats for further development in the creative city quarter of Blok 12 and its vicinity (source: own elaboration)

Competition is not a threat *per se*, but rather an engine in market economy. Still, competition among different locations, when some of them are limited by some factors (for example spatial inability to expand), can be a threat for further functioning and development. The competition of Blok 12 and its vicinity is embodied in various city quarters in the City of Belgrade, but also in other Serbian towns. There are several hotspots in New Belgrade which attract IT companies with their attractive office space and location advantages. There are areas, especially in New Belgrade, which share location advantages with Blok 12 and its vicinity, but possess even more empty spaces favourable for constructing new business buildings. Sometimes companies are forced to move there, while the available office space in Blok 12 and its vicinity is insufficient. Several IT hotspots in New Belgrade overlap, function on the principles of competition and cooperation, and form a certain cluster (PORTER 2000). This cluster functions in the conditions of high density and can be observed as a ‘cloud’ (BOIX ET AL. 2013: 755-757).

Clusters in other locations in Serbia such as Novi Sad or Niš are also very successful and can be said to represent a competition to the IT development in New Belgrade (PETKOVIĆ AND LUKIĆ 2014). That kind of competition can be

supportive and encouraging to IT development of all locations through the relations of competition and cooperation (PELLEGRIN-BOUCHER ET AL. 2013). Market competition is rather coming from other Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern states. They have advantages similar to those of Serbia regarding their geographical position and educational structure. Foreign IT companies doing outsourcing can eventually decide to move their branch offices to other cities in some of those states.

The analysed development in Blok 12 and its vicinity happened spontaneously as a result of market interests, and without direct influence of governmental institutions. Government pays more attention to the IT sector, as it becomes more prosperous (e.g. FONET 2017). Policy makers do not have Blok 12 and its vicinity on their agenda, but different governmental levels are involved in the development of knowledge-intensive creative economy (also) in that area through indirect policy decisions. First, there is a trend of constructing science and technology parks as a result of public-private partnerships (e.g. Indija, Zvezdara). Some growing companies decided to move from Blok 12 to those parks because of their infrastructural advantages. Second, in order to attract attractive employers, the Serbian government offers subsidies. Usual economic politics of Serbian governments in the period since 2000 are focused on attracting foreign investments (NEŠIĆ 2008: 9, KNEŽEVIĆ 2010, UNKOVIĆ AND KORDIĆ 2011). Still, the success of the IT sector in Serbia was possible without a subsidy program, and the competence of local IT experts invited big companies to invest. Current actions of the government which are turned to the IT sector through subsidy programs (e.g. SOVILJ 2018), can harm already established functioning models. Large foreign companies, which are the subject of the government's subsidy policy, are financially powerful, anyway. An addition from the governmental funding can generate unfair competition to Serbian start-ups. Third, there are governmental initiatives for educating new IT professionals, while a lack of educated personal in the IT sector in Serbia is obvious (MITROVIĆ 2017: 9). Therefore, initiatives for new educational programs are reasonable. Nonetheless, hasty actions which aim at improvement on that field do not always have to lead to positive outcomes. State officials insist on opening new educational activities (e.g. B92 2018B). A good reputation of the existing educational institutions in the IT sector can be harmed by forced, but incompetent solutions.

8.2.4 Path-dependent development in Blok 12 and its vicinity

The development of Blok 12 and its vicinity shows four important steps which are crucial for the creative development of this urban area:

- Location advantages of Blok 12 and its vicinity inherited as a result of socialist urban planning;
- The commercialisation of the urban space in the post-socialist era;
- Integration into the global market economy after the rise of IT sector in Serbia was enhanced during the 2000s;
- Further urban development of the neighbourhood, initiated by economic success of IT companies, and followed by numerous ancillary services, reveals Blok 12 and its vicinity to be an independent creative quarter.

New Belgrade was, from the very beginning, a planned urban area. Accessibility is achieved through wide streets and low construction density, while the recent construction date provided modern infrastructure. New Belgrade, before the 1990s, was a distinctively residential area, dominated by collective social housing. For decades the area was an open construction site, and never completely finished. Some projects that were never realised left unused spaces between already built blocks. Privatisation and commercialisation of spaces which appeared in the post-socialist era found a perfect playground on the territory of the 'most socialist' municipality of Belgrade. Such geographic environment assured, it will turn out, ideal initial conditions for the development of the IT sector in Belgrade.

Even though Blok 12 is built in a socialist urban environment, its functional and architectural forms do not belong to the socialist legacy. Still, socialist urban legacy connected with urban planning in Belgrade should not be overlooked even in the case of Blok 12. This neighbourhood is connected with other city parts through wide boulevards, and is excluded from the trend of massive illegal construction. That trend is typical for the outskirts of post-socialist Belgrade, while those areas were not planned in detail, the way New Belgrade in the socialist era was. Urban plans of New Belgrade were changed after the 1990s, but its form stayed in the frames of pre-1990s.

Locational and architectural advantages of Blok 12 and its vicinity provided initial conditions for the economic development achieved today, but such development was not certain. Blok 12 is, however, planned as a complex with both residential and commercial functions. A newer 'date of production' implied that this neighbourhood will immediately accept new trends of commercialisation. Continuous commercialisation, a favourable geographic

position, and good accessibility are the initial conditions which pushed Blok 12 to the current state.

Still, the beginning of the development sequence did not necessarily indicate the recent state of the art. During the 1990s, commercialisation in Blok 12 was realised through retail and commercial service activities. Crucial changes happened after 2000 and the integration of Serbia into global economic trends. The urban development of New Belgrade was affected by the arrival of international companies, banks, and insurance companies, and similar businesses seeking attractive office spaces. Again, location advantages of Blok 12 played a central role. Soon after that, the IT sector, as a growing part of the economy, started to rise in Serbia. As an emerging business, it was in need of more space.

Blok 12 offered office spaces for the mentioned sectors, but also empty spaces available construction sites in the vicinity. Three specialised business buildings were constructed in the years that followed after 2000. Availability of office space and the success of current businesses which are present in Blok 12 and its vicinity led to the future urban and economic development of the neighbourhood. Still, the most important step was made by the first IT companies that decided to settle in Blok 12 and its vicinity. Economic success of IT companies, furthermore, allows them to occupy an increasing amount of office space through the years, and to shape the local urban dynamics. The success of the first companies and image they built attracted further companies to the neighbourhood which proved itself attractive for office-intensive businesses. These companies became a powerful urban actor and pushed the development of the area in the direction it is moving today. Proximity among companies and interaction among employees lead to positive social and business results by means of direct contact. The success of some local companies which started from scratch in this neighbourhood and build well known international brands (e.g. *Nordeus*), or the arrival of some world famous companies (e.g. *Microsoft*) clearly profile Blok 12 and its vicinity as a knowledge-intensive creative quarter. Employees of the IT companies are a crucial driving force of the development of local ancillary activities in the area, and local businesses are up to some extent dependent on them. IT companies, their employees, and local businesses and entrepreneurs together – consciously or not – are involved in creating an all-round space convenient for the development of the IT sector.

The urban development in Blok 12 and its vicinity is a complex mixture of local geographic characteristics, inherited urban planning decisions, and economic flows of globalisation and the (re-)internationalisation of the domestic

economy. This example shows how globalisation and glocalisation mutually drive urban development. Path-dependent development of Blok 12 and its vicinity suggests that this area with all its achieved characteristics will continue developing in its current direction. Still, even though the IT sector is in constant expansion, it cannot be said that this neighbourhood built a lock-in which guarantees that the IT sector will overwhelm other present businesses (banks or insurance companies). Having in mind achieved level of infrastructure, it is nevertheless probable that Blok 12 and its vicinity will further develop under the influence of some office-intensive businesses.

8.3 Final remarks

The comparison of the two case studies, as well as comparing two creative activities from opposite sides of the creative spectrum, was not a main objective of this research. However, this research indeed confirmed that cultural and artistic-based creative economy on the one hand, and knowledge-intensive creative economy on the other hand, seek for different types of creative urban milieus, and leave different footprints on urban environment. They, furthermore, seek for different resources, and deliver social and economic results that are hardly comparable.

But what can be concluded from these two examples about emerging creative economies in a post-socialist context? Even though these examples are hardly comparable, there are several common threads that can be drawn out. Both creative activities proved that emerging economic sectors can be successful in a post-socialist urban environment. Based on the analysed examples, creative economy has to deal with socialist legacies, but tends to use them in a positive way. Observed creative activities are based on the legacies which are characteristic for post-socialist transitional societies, such as deindustrialisation and neglected economy, a regaining of geographic significance after the fall of the Iron Curtain and (re-)integration to global economic flows, as well as high educational standards and cultural amenities. Creative economy benefited of a niche which was formed due to deindustrialisation processes and the new economic setting after the 1990s and 2000s. It succeeded to occupy and revalorise neglected urban spaces, as well as those spaces which lost in value through the time. Additionally, creative economy succeeds in taking up a continuously growing part of the market (MIKIĆ 2016). It pronounces and uses positive legacies of the socialist era, and thrives to upgrade them through new cultural contents, and new educational programmes. Even though there are negative influences of socialist legacies such as inherited forms of autocratic urban governance, the creative economy is not as sluggish as traditional economic activities. Its flexibility allowed creative economy to overcome the

issues traditional industry for instance is not able to. Compared to traditional industries, creative economy represents a sector which functions prosperously in a post-socialist context. Creative economy was not pulled down by numerous negative legacies which follow post-socialist transition, and entered a shortlist of possible 'transitional winners'.

Noticed dynamics in the creative neighbourhoods in Belgrade cannot be observed as an isolated phenomenon. Having in mind factors influencing creative economy's development, either cultural and artistic-based or knowledge-intensive, it has to be observed through different layers. Circumstances on a global level have to be taken into account, as well as local identities. The experience of creative neighbourhoods in Belgrade showed that the synergy between these two levels plays an important role in the creative rise.

Further crucial roles in creative-led development are played by the stakeholders involved. It is especially true for transitional societies that some stakeholders (new local political and economic elites (BEST ET AL. 2012)), because of their political or financial power, have a significantly higher impact on developmental processes. Such stakeholders can, through their actions, intensely steer further development, in either a positive or negative manner.

This research analysed creative-led development in two city quarters and portrayed how typical creative quarters in a post-transitional environment develop. It does not mean that all quarters in post-socialist states develop on a same way, but it implies that similar location characteristics, processes, and stakeholders are involved and have influence. It showed critical points where and why creative development starts, and where creative-led development shows weaknesses. Even though it is not easy to overcome some developmental difficulties, this research should be an indicator where difficulties can arise, and serve as a platform for searching for appropriate solutions.

Beside positive aspects, creative-led developments in a post-socialist context leave some uncertainties. This research strived to dive into problems and gave some answers about creative-led development in post-socialist urban environment. Still, there are several research fields which should pay attention to the perspective. First, it should not be forgotten that cities belongs first and foremost to their residents. This study showed that creative-led urban development affects residents in different ways. Roughly said, creative-led regeneration of the city quarters are positive, but unfavourable living conditions (noise, pollution, social disorders) which follow do not have to be favourable. Next, investments should include residents' opinion about creative-led development, and even more important, that development should be more democratic and respect residents' opinion. Secondly, this research showed that

employees in the creative sector have a significant role in shaping urban development. Further investments should involve the position of creative professionals, the kind of job they have, their position on the labour market (are they employed full-time, or part-time; precariat discussion in the creative economy), and which further influences do they trigger during the creative-led development. Finally, an interesting perspective concerns policy makers and politicians, who, especially in a post-socialist context, have a pronounced level of power. Further studies should give recommendations how new proactive policies should be reconsidered, and how policy makers can be a supportive influence on creative-led urban development.

The last paragraphs of this dissertation stick to the positive outcomes of creative economy's development. A challenge for urban regions is to keep on track with technological progress. Automatisation and digitalisation will probably in the near future overtake and replace an increasing number of jobs, leading to possible problems of unemployment. Creative occupations have more probability to survive the age of digitalisation (FREY AND OSBORNE 2013, BAKHSHI ET AL. 2015). Thus, creative economy plays a double role in the post-socialist societies. It shows the possibility of successfully overcoming post-socialist transition, and is, at the same time, a precursor of the next transition: a digital transition.

Finding a place in a globalised world is a permanent challenge for urban regions in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Some post-socialistic metropolises, such as Prague and Budapest, succeeded and are positioned as new metropolises of a united Europe. Some others still have to find their place on that way. A legitimate question is: can this be done through creative economy? Further team work of scholars, policy makers, creative professionals and entrepreneurs can lead to a successful development in that regard. Keys to a successful development are multidisciplinary research, proactive governance, and an innovative spirit of creative professionals and entrepreneurs.

Following the results of this research, creative economy proves that it is possible to succeed in a post-socialist transitional context, and to achieve enviable social and economic results. Creative economy is an emerging economy which can reevaluate and regenerate neglected social and economic layers in post-socialist societies, especially in post-socialist urban environments.



Fig. 65: Students' protest against the regime in Belgrade 1996 and 'Belgrade is the world' banner (photo by Draško Gagović, source: VREME 2011)

During the anti-regime protests in the 1990s, students of Belgrade had a large banner bearing the words “Belgrade is the world” (see Fig. 65). That banner represented hopes of that generation, and disagreement with the actual isolation of Serbia. Finally, in 2000, that motto also became a symbol of victory against the regime and of hope for a better country.

After a hard post-socialistic transitional period and failed expectations, there is a creative sparkle which can bring Belgrade back on the map of the world. Creative and knowledge-intensive economies can serve as decisive factors in a development that might have the words ‘Belgrade is the world’ – again as its motto.

Bibliography

Scientific literature

- ABER, J. AND H. YAHAGI (2014): Emerging regeneration strategies in the US, Europe and Japan. In: K. PALLAGST; T. WIECHMAN AND C. MARTINEZ-FERNANDEZ (Eds.): *Shrinking Cities. International Perspectives and Policy Implications*: 257–278; New York (Routledge).
- ADAMS, D. (1994): *Urban Planning and the Development Process*. London and New York (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group).
- AKKERMAN, T. (2003): Populism and Democracy: Challenge or Pathology? *Acta Politica* 38(2): 147-159.
- ALBERT, R. S. AND M. A. RUNCO (1999): A History on Research on Creativity. In: R. J. STERNBERG (Ed.): *Handbook of Creativity*: 16-31; Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- ALEKSIĆ, V. (2012): Beogradska Zadruga i njena uloga u privrednom razvoju Srbije krajem XIX i početkom XX veka. *Bankarstvo* 6: 108-133.
- ALFIREVIĆ, Đ. AND S. SIMONOVIĆ ALFIREVIĆ (2015): Urban housing experiments in Yugoslavia 1948-1970. *Spatium* 34: 1-9.
- AMABILE, T. M. (1988): A model of creativity and innovation in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior* 10: 123-167.
- ANDERS, L. AND B. GRESILLON (2013): Cultural brownfields in European cities: a new mainstream object for cultural and urban policies. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 19: 40-62.
- ANDRUSZ, G. D.; HARLOE, M. AND I. SZELÉNYI (Eds.) (1996): *Cities after Socialism. Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies*. Oxford (Blackwell).
- ARAYA, D. AND M. A. PETERS (Eds.) (2010): *Education in the Creative Economy: Knowledge and Learning in the Age of innovation*. New York (Peter Lang).
- ANDRUSZ, G. (2006): Wall and mall: A metaphor for metamorphosis. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy*: 71-90; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).
- ARANĐELOVIĆ, B. (2009): Belgrade metro studies. *Urbani izziv* 20(1): 201-208.
- ARANĐELOVIĆ, B.; VUKMIROVIĆ, M. AND N. SAMARDŽIĆ (2017): Belgrade: Imaging the future and creating a European metropolis. *Cities* 63: 1-19.

- ARTHUR, W. B. (1989): Competing Technologies, Increasing Returns, and Lock-In by Historical Events. *The Economic Journal* 99: 116-131.
- ATKINSON, R. AND G. BRIDGE (Eds.) (2005): *Gentrification in a Global Context. The new urban colonialism.* London and New York (Routledge).
- AUGE, M. (1995): *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity.* London and New York (Verso).
- AVRAMOVIĆ, Z. (2013): Srpska kultura u tranziciji – nove kontradikcije. *Kultura* 140: 235-251.
- BABIĆ, I. (1969): Društveno-politička funkcija obrazovanja u socijalističkom društvu. *Politička misao: Časopis za politologiju* 6(1): 29-32.
- BAČEVIĆ, J. (2014): *From Class to Identity: The Politics of Education Reforms in Former Yugoslavia.* Budapest-New York (Central European University Press).
- BAIN, L. (2013): *Creative Margins: Cultural Production in Canadian Suburbs.* Toronto (University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division).
- BAJFORD, J. (2011): *Staro sajmište. Mesto sećanja, zaborava i sporenja.* Belgrade (Beogradski centar za ljudska prava).
- BASSAND, M.; KAUFMANN, V. AND J. DOMINIQUE (2001): *Vers une nouvelle sociologie urbaine?* In: M. BASSAND (Ed.): *Enjeux de la sociologie urbaine:* 247-256; Lausanne (Presses polytechniques et universitaire romandes).
- BAYCAN-LEVENT, T. (2010): Diversity and Creativity as Seedbeds for Urban and Regional Dynamics. *European Planning Studies* 18(4): 565-594.
- BECK, U. (2000): *What is globalization?* Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA, USA (Polity Press).
- BEGG, I. (1999): Cities and Competitiveness. *Urban Studies* 36(5-6): 795-809.
- BELL, D. AND M. JAYNE (2004): *Conceptualizing the City of Quarters.* In: D. BELL AND M. JAYNE (Eds.): *City of Quarters: Urban Villages in the Contemporary City:* 1-14; Aldershot (Ashgate Publishing).
- BELL, D. AND M. JAYNE (2010): *The creative countryside: Policy and practice in the UK rural cultural economy.* *Journal of Rural Studies* 26(3): 209-218.
- BERGER, H. M. AND G. ZIEMER (Eds.) (2017): *New Stakeholders of Urban Change: A Question of Culture and Attitude? (Perspectives in Metropolitan Research, Band 4).* Berlin (Jovis).
- BERRY, J. M. AND K. E. PORTNEY (2013): Sustainability and Interest Group Participation in City Politics. *Sustainability* 5(5): 2077-2097.

- BERTAUD, A. (2006): The spatial structures of Central and Eastern European cities. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy*: 91-110; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).
- BEST, H.; GEBAUER, R. AND A. SALHEISER (2012): Political and Functional Elites in Post-Socialist Transformation: Central and East Europe since 1989/90. An Introduction. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 37, 2(140): 7-13.
- BIANCHINI, F. (1993): *Culture, conflict and the city: issues and prospects for the 1990s, Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience*. Manchester (Manchester University Press).
- BIANCHINI, F. AND M. PARKINSON (Eds.) (1993): *Cultural policy and urban regeneration. The West European experience*. Manchester and New York (Manchester University Press).
- BIEBER, F. (2003): The Serbian Opposition and Civil Society: Roots of the Delayed Transition in Serbia. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 17(1): 73-90.
- BLAGOJEVIĆ, LJ. (2004): *Strategije modernizma u planiranju i projektovanju urbane strukture i arhitekture Novog Beograda: Period konceptualne faze od 1922. do 1962. godine*. [Doctoral Thesis at the University of Belgrade, the Faculty of Architecture].
- BLAGOJEVIĆ, LJ. (2007): *Novi Beograd: osporeni modernizam*. Beograd (Zavod za udžbenike, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda).
- BLAGOJEVIĆ, LJ. (2008): Pejzaž slobodnog tržišta. *Forum* 53: 58-59.
- BLAGOJEVIĆ, LJ. (2009a): Novi Beograd: Glavni grad ničije zemlje. In: Z. ERIC (Ed.): *Diferencirana susedstva Novog Beograda*: 22-33; Beograd (Muzej savremene umetnosti).
- BLAGOJEVIĆ, G. (2009b): Savremeni stereotipi Srba o Kinezima u Beogradu: Kada kažeš Kina, mislim Blok 70 ili... *Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke* 128: 47-61.
- BLAM, M. (2010): *Jazz u Srbiji 1927-1944*. Beograd (A. Mihajlović).
- BOGGS, J. (2009): Cultural Industries and the Creative Economy - Vague but Useful Concepts. *Geography Compass* 3/4: 1483-1498.

- BOIX, R.; HERVAS-OLIVER, J. L. AND B. DE MIGUEL-MOLINA (2014): Micro-geographies of creative industries clusters in Europe: From hot spots to assemblages. *Papers in Regional Science* 94(4): 753-772.
- BOJIČIĆ, V. (2014): The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: Causes and Consequences of Dynamic Inefficiency in Semi-Command Economies. In: D. A. DYKER AND I. VEJVODA (Eds.): *Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth*: 28-47; London and New York (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group).
- BOLČIĆ, S. (2015): Why is Contemporary Serbia close to the (economic) collapse? *Sociologija* 57(1): 90-111.
- BONDŽIĆ, D. (2010): Opismenjavanje u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji u periodu 1945-1950: nasleđe, ciljevi, tok, rezultati i nedostaci. *Andragoške studije* 1: 91-110.
- BONTJE, M. (2014): Creative Shenzhen? A Critical View on Shenzhen's Transformation from a Low-cost Manufacturing Hub to a Creative Megacity. *International Journal of Cultural and Creative Industries* 1(2): 52-67.
- BONTJE, M.; MUSTERD, S.; KOVÁCS, Z. AND A. MURIE (2011): Pathways Toward European Creative-Knowledge City-Regions. *Urban Geography* 32(1): 80-104.
- BONTJE, M.; MUSTERD, S. AND B. SLEUTJES (2017): Skills and cities: knowledge workers in Northwest-European cities. *International Journal of Knowledge-Based Development* 8(2): 135-153.
- BOORSMA, P. B.; VAN HEMEL, A. AND N. VAN DER WIELEN (Eds.) (1998): *Privatization and Culture: Experiences in the Arts, Heritage and Cultural Industries in Europe*. Dordrecht (Kluwer Academic Publishers).
- BORÉN, T. AND M. GENTILE (2007): Metropolitan processes in post-communist states: an introduction. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 89(2): 95-110.
- BORÉN, T. AND C. YOUNG (2016): Conceptual export and theory mobilities: exploring the reception and development of the "creative city thesis" in the post-socialist urban realm, *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 57(4-5): 588-606.
- BORIĆ, T. (2017): Dvor u Savamali - temelj srpskog Beograda izvan šanca. *Kultura* 155: 356-374.
- BORRUP, T. (2010): Shaping a Creative Milieu: Creativity, Process, Pedagogy, Leadership, and Place. *Journal of Urban Culture Research* 1: 40-57.

- BOŠKOVIĆ, D. (2011): Intelektualci u vlasti: Društveni obrasci u formativnim godinama druge Jugolsavije. *Filozofija i društvo* 22(3): 121-135.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory* 7(1): 14-25.
- BOŽOVIĆ LOPIČIĆ, R. AND M. POPOVIĆ (1999): Savsko šetalište sa velikim stepeništem na Kalemegdanu. *Nasleđe* 2: 53-72.
- BRADE, I.; HERFERT, G. AND K. WIEST (2009): Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Socio-spatial Differentiation in Urban Regions of Central and East Europe. A Lull before the Storm? *Cities* 26(5): 233–244.
- BREITBART, M. M. (Ed.) (2013): *Creative Economies in Post-Industrial Cities: Manufacturing a (Different) Scene*. New York and London (Routledge).
- BRENNER, N. (1998): Global cities, glocal states: global city formation and state territorial restructuring in contemporary Europe. *Review of International Political Economy* 5(1): 1-37.
- BRENNER, N. AND N. THEODORE (2002): Preface: From the “New Localism” to the Spaces of Neoliberalism. In: N. BRENNER AND N. THEODORE (Eds.): *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*: v-xi; Malden, USA; Oxford, UK; Carlton, Australia (Blackwell Publishing).
- BRIDGER, S. AND F. PINE (Eds.) (1998): *Surviving post-socialism. Local strategies and regional responses in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*. London and New York (Routledge).
- BRISKMAN, L. (1980): Creative product and creative process in science and art. *Inquiry An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy* 23(1): 83-106.
- BROWN, A.; O’CONNOR, J. AND S. COHEN (2000): Local music policies within a global music industry: cultural quarters in Manchester and Sheffield. *Geoforum* 31(4): 437-451.
- BUCK, N.; GORDON, I.; HARDING, A. AND I. TUROK (Eds.) (2005): *Changing Cities: Rethinking Urban Competitiveness, Cohesion and Governance*. Basingstoke (Palgrave Macmillan).
- BUDOVIĆ, A. (2014): *Teritorijalno-funkcionalana analiza turizma na teritoriji Beograda*. [Master Thesis at the University of Belgrade, the Faculty of Geography].
- BUKVIĆ, R. (2013): *Transition in Serbia: Foundations, Results and Perspectives*. ICES 2013, 4th International Conference on European Studies, Social,

- Economic and Political Transition of the Balkans, at Epoka University, Tirana, Conference Proceedings: 556–572.
- BUKVIĆ, D. (2014): Ideologija i arhitektura: Rad beogradskih modernista od 1929. do 1987. godine. Časopis za društvene nauke Teme 38(1): 107-125.
- BURD, C. (2013): Metropolitan Migration Flows of the Creative Class by Occupation using 3-Year 2006-2008 and 2009-2011 American Community Survey Data. Working Paper Number 2013-11, 2013 Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers (April 9-13, 2013), Los Angeles (United States).
- BURDACK, J. AND B. LANGE (2010): Accomodating Creative Knowledge Workers? Empirical Evidence from Metropolises in Central and Eastern Europe. In: B. MÜLLER (Ed.): German Annual of Spatial Research and Policy: 59-68; Berlin (Springer).
- BUZAR, S. (2007): The 'hidden' geographies of energy poverty in post-socialism: Between institutions and households. Geoforum 38(2): 224-240.
- CAMERON, S. AND J. COAFFEE (2005): Art, Gentrification and Regeneration – From Artist as Pioneer to Public Arts. European Journal of Housing Policy 5(1): 39-58.
- CAMPBELL, S. (1996): Green Cities, Growing Cities, Just Cities?: Urban Planning and the Contradictions of Sustainable Development. Journal of the American Planning Association 62(3): 296-312.
- CAMPO, D. AND B. D. RYAN (2008): The Entertainment Zone: Unplanned Nightlife and the Revitalization of the American Downtown. Journal of Urban Design 13(3): 291–315.
- CARAGLIU, A.; DEL BO, C. AND P. NIJKAMP (2011): Smart Cities Europe. Journal of Urban Technology 18(2): 65-82.
- CARTER, D. K. (Ed.) (2016): Remaking Post-Industrial Cities: Lessons from North America and Europe. New York and London (Routledge).
- CASTELLS, M. (1983): The City and the Grassroots. Berkeley and Los Angeles (University of California Press).
- CASTELLS, M. (1996): The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture, Volume I. Oxford (Blackwell Publishers).
- CASTELLS, M. (1999): Information Technology, Globalization and Social Development. UNRIDS Discussion Paper No. 114. Geneva (UNRISD).
- CAVES, R. (2000): Creative Industries. Cambridge, MA, USA (Harvard University Press).

-
- CHANG, L.; BACKMAN, K. F. AND Y. C. HUANG (2014): Creative tourism: a preliminary examination of creative tourists' motivation, experience, perceived value and revisit intention, *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 8(4), 401-419.
- CHAPAIN, C.; LANGE, B., AND K. STACHOWIAK (2013): Can medium-sized cities become creative cities? Discussing the cases of three Central and Western European cities. *Regional Development and Regional Policy* 24: 99-127.
- CLARK, T. N.; LLOYD, R.; WONG, K. K. AND P. JAIN (2002): Amenities drive urban growth. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24(5): 493-515.
- CLIFTON, N. AND P. COOKE (2009): Creative knowledge workers and location in Europe and North America: A comparative review. *Creative Industries Journal* 2(1): 73-89.
- COHENDET, P. AND L. SIMON (2008): Knowledge-Intensive Firms, Communities, and Creative Cities. In: A. AMIN AND J. ROBERTS (Eds.): *Community, Economic Creativity, and Organization*: 227-253; Oxford (Oxford University Press).
- COLOMB, C. (2012): Pushing the urban frontier: Temporary uses of space, city marketing, and the creative city discourse in 2000s Berlin. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34(2): 131-152.
- ČOMIĆ, Đ. (2015): Arhitektura kao factor kvaliteta hotelskog proizvoda. Book of proceedings, Singidunum University International Scientific Conference, *Tourism destination competitiveness*: 115-121.
- ČOMIĆ, Đ. AND S. VIČIĆ (2013): National and Tourist Identity of Cities. The Case Study of Belgrade. *Quaestus* 2: 15-27.
- COMUNIAN, R. (2011): Rethinking the Creative City. The Role of Complexity, Networks and Interactions in the Urban Creative Economy. *Urban Studies* 48(6): 1157-1179.
- COMUNIAN, R.; CHAPAIN, C. AND N. CLIFTON (2010): Location, location, location: exploring the complex relationship between creative industries and place. *Creative Industries Journal* 3(1): 5-10.
- COMUNIAN, R.; FAGGIAN, A. AND S. JEWELL (2015): Digital technology and creative arts career patterns in the UK creative economy. *Journal of Education and Work* 28(4): 346-368.
- COOKE, T. (1978): Causality reconsidered: a note. *Journal of Urban Economics* 5(4): 538-542.

- CRAWSHAW, J. AND M. GKARTZIOS (2016): Getting to know the island: Artistic experiments in rural community development. *Journal of Rural Studies* 43: 134-144.
- CROPLEY, A. J. (2004): *Creativity in Education & Learning: A Guide for Teachers and Educators*. Abingdon (Routledge).
- CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, M. (1999): Implications of a Systems Perspective. In: R. J. STERNBERG (Ed.): *Handbook of Creativity*: 313-335; Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- CUKOVIĆ IGNJATOVIĆ, N. AND D. IGNJATOVIĆ (2006): Possibilities for upgrading the existing building stock in Belgrade. *Management of Environmental Quality: An International Journal* 17(5): 527-553.
- CUMBERS, A. AND D. MACKINNON (2004): Introduction: Clusters in Urban and Regional Development. *Urban Studies* 41(5/6): 959-969.
- CUNNINGHAM, S. (2002): From Cultural to Creative Industries: Theory, Industry and Policy Implications. *Media Information Australia* 102(1): 54-65.
- CUNNINGHAM, S. (2004): The creative industries after cultural policy: A genealogy and some possible preferred futures. *International journal of cultural studies* 7(1): 105-115.
- CUNNINGHAM, S. (2005): Creative enterprises. In: J. HARTLEY (Ed.): *Creative Industries*: 282-298; Malden, MA, USA (Blackwell Publishing).
- CUNNINGHAM, S. (2006): What price a creative economy? Platform papers 9. Sydney (Currency House).
- CURRID, E. (2006): New York as a Global Creative Hub: A Competitive Analysis of Four Theories on World Cities. *Economic Development Quarterly* 20(4): 330-350.
- CURRID, E. (2007): How Art and Culture Happen in New York: Implications for Urban Economic Development. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 73: 454-467.
- CURRION, P. (2014): The Ghosts of Savamala. *Kamenzind* 5: 71-75.
- CVETIĆ, L. (2013): Tradicija i tranzicija/kulturna kontraverza. Studija slučaja: Portreti Kneza Miloša Obrenovića. *Kultura* 140: 401-418.
- CVETINOVIC, M. (2017): *Urban Development Processes: Methodological Investigation into the Complexity and Dynamics of Post-socialist Cities Case Study of Savamala Neighbourhood in Belgrade, Serbia*. [Doctoral Thesis at the Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne].

- CVETINOVIĆ, M.; KUČINA I. AND J. BOLAY (2013): Bottom-up Urban Development in Action. 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013, Brisbane (Australia).
- CZEP CZYNSKI, M. (2008): Cultural Landscapes of Post-Socialist Cities. Representation of Powers and Needs. Aldershot, UK and Burlington, USA (Ashgate Publishing).
- DAMJANOVIĆ, M. (1985): Pitomi teraju divlje – ponekad. In: M. BOBIĆ AND S. VUJOVIĆ (Eds.): Krov nad glavom, ogleđi o stambenoj bedi i siromaštvu, Biblioteka Raskršća, knjiga druga. Beograd (Filip Višnjić).
- DARIEVA, T.; KASCHUBA, W. AND M. KREBS (Eds.) (2011): Urban Spaces After Socialism. Ethnographies of Public Spaces in Eurasian Cities. Frankfurt am Main (Campus Verlag GmbH).
- DASKALOVSKI, Z. (2016): Solving problems in Europe's backyard: Prevent democratic backslide in the Western Balkans or accept the dominance of geopolitical actors with agendas not always compatible with EU's visions of the region. In: B. VUJAČIĆ AND B. VRANIĆ (Eds.): Decline or Eclipse of Democracy in Europe's New Democracies?: 161-179; Belgrade (Udruženje za političke nauke Srbije, Univerzitet u Beogradu – Fakultet političkih nauka).
- DAVID, P. A. (1985): Clio and the Economics of QWERTY. American Economic Review 75(2): 332-337.
- DESFOR, G.; LAIDLEY, J.; SEVENS, Q. AND D. SCHUBERT (Eds.) (2011): Transforming Urban Waterfronts: Fixity and Flow. Abingdon and New York (Routledge).
- DIENER, A. C. AND J. HAGEN (Eds.) (2015): From Socialist to Post-Socialist Cities. Cultural Politics of Architecture, Urban Planning, and Identity in Eurasia. London and New York (Routledge).
- DIMITRIJEVIĆ, A. (2009): Vrla nova novobeogradska susedstva. In: Z. ERIĆ (Ed.): Diferencirana susedstva Novog Beograda: 109-119; Beograd (Muzej savremene umetnosti).
- DIVAC, Z. (2006): Porodične i bračne (ne)prilike u Srbiji (19. vek). Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU 54: 219-232.
- DOMAŃSKI, B. (2003): Industrial Change and Foreign Direct Investment in the Postsocialist Economy: The Case of Poland. European Urban and Regional Studies 10(2): 99-118.
- DORĐEVIĆ, Ž. (1994): Industrija u Srbiji XIX veka: institucionalna ograničenja i razvojne posledice. Industrija 21(3-4): 105-118.

- DORĐEVIĆ, D. AND T. DABOVIĆ (2010): Ideologije i praksa planiranja Beograda 1867-1972: Period uspona. Collection of Papers – Faculty of Geography at the University of Belgrade 58: 153-174.
- DRAGIŠIĆ, P. (2013): Emigration from Serbia from the Sixties of the 20th Century until the Present. A Quantitative Review. Tokovi istorije 3: 233-249.
- DRAKE, G. (2003): 'This place gives me space': place and creativity in the creative industries. *Geoforum* 34: 511-524.
- DRAŠKOVIĆ, B.; ALEKSIĆ, V. AND J. MINOVIĆ (2014): Problemi deindustrijalizacije u Srbiji. Beograd (Institut ekonomskih nauka).
- DUFFY, H. (1995): *Competitive Cities: Succeeding in the Global Economy*. London (Taylor & Francis).
- ĐURIĆ-ZAMOLO, D. (1964): Prilog poznavanju beogradskih džamija. *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 14-15: 123-140.
- DŽELEBDŽIĆ, M. (2007): Zaštita i revitalizacija graditeljskog nasleđa XX veka na prostoru priobalja Beogradske tvrđave. *Nasleđe* 8: 199-208.
- DZIAŁEK, J. AND M. MURZYN-KUPISZ (2014): Young artists and the development of artistic quarters in Polish cities. *Belgian Journal of Geography* 3: 1-24.
- EDENSOR, T.; LESLIE, D.; MILLINGTON, S. AND N. RANTISI (2010): Introduction: rethinking creativity: critiquing the creative class thesis. In: T. EDENSOR, D. LESLIE, S. MILLINGTON AND N. RANTISI (Eds.): *Spaces of vernacular creativity*: 1-16; London (Routledge).
- ETEZADZADEH, C. (2016): *Smart City – Future City?* Wiesbaden (Springer).
- EVANS, G. (2007): Creative spaces, tourism and the city. In: G. RICHARDS AND J. WILSON (Eds.): *Tourism, Creativity and Development*: 57-72; London (Routledge).
- EVANS, G. (2009a): From cultural quarters to creative clusters – creative spaces in the new city economy. In: M. LEGNER (Ed.): *The sustainability and development of cultural quarters: international perspectives*: 32-59. Stockholm (Institute of Urban History).
- EVANS, G. (2009b): *Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy*. *Urban Studies* 46(5&6): 1003-1040.
- FAINSTEIN, S. S. (1991): Promoting Economic Development Urban Planning in the United States and Great Britain. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 57(1): 22-33.
- FAJFRIĆ, Ž. AND M. NENAD (2009): *Istorija Yu rock muzike*. Lačarak (Tabernakl).

-
- FASSMANN, H. AND R. MÜNZ (1994): European East-West Migration 1945-1992. *The International Migration Review* 28(3): 520-538.
- FELDMAN, D. H. (1999): The Development of Creativity. In: R. J. STERNBERG (Ed.): *Handbook of Creativity*: 169-186; Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- FESER, E. J. (2003): What regions do rather than make: A proposed set of knowledge-based occupational clusters. *Urban Studies* 40: 1937–1958.
- FLEW, T. (2002): Beyond ad hocery: Defining Creative Industries. In: *Cultural Sites, Cultural Theory, Cultural Policy, The Second International Conference on Cultural Policy Research*, 23-26 January. Wellington (New Zealand).
- FLEW, T. (2010): Toward a Cultural Economic Geography of Creative Industries and Urban Development: Introduction to the Special Issue on Creative Industries and Urban Development. *The Information Society* 26: 1-7.
- FLEW, T. (2012): *The Creative Industries: Culture and Policy*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington D.C. (Sage).
- FLORIDA, R. (2002): Bohemia and economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography* 2(1): 55-71.
- FLORIDA, R. (2003): Cities and the Creative Class. *City and Community* 2(1): 3-19.
- FLORIDA, R. (2004): *The rise of the creative class: And how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York (Basic Books).
- FLORIDA, R. (2005a): *Cities and the creative class*. New York and London (Routledge).
- FLORIDA, R. (2005b): *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent*. London (Harper Collins).
- FLORIDA, R. (2006): The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent. *Liberal Education* 92(3): 22-29.
- FLORIDA, R. AND C. MELLANDER (2010): There goes the metro: how and why bohemians, artists and gays affect regional housing values. *Journal of Economic Geography* 10: 167–188.
- FLORIDA, R.; MELLANDER, C. AND K. KING (2015): *Global Creativity Index 2015*. Toronto (Martin Prosperity Institute).
- FOORD, J. (2008): Strategies for creative industries: an international review. *Creative Industries Journal* Volume 1(2): 91-113.

- FORGEARD, M. J. C. AND J. C. KAUFMAN (2016): Who cares about imagination, creativity, and innovation, and why? A review. *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts* 10(3): 250-269.
- FREY, B. C. AND M. A. OSBORNE (2013): The future of employment: How susceptible are jobs to computerisation? *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 114: 254-280.
- FRICKER, R. D. JR. (2012): Sampling Methods for Web and E-mail Surveys. In: N. FIELDING, R. M. LEE AND G. BLANK (Eds.): *The SAGE Handbook of Online Research Methods*: 195-216; London (SAGE Publications).
- GAČEVIČOVA, R. (2014): The Political Shift of Tomislav Nikolić and Aleksandar Vučić and the Logics of Action. Motives for the Adoption of a pro-European Foreign Policy Orientation. [Master Thesis at the University of Leiden].
- GAJOVIĆ, N. (2013): Paris – Venice – Savamala – Istanbul. *Kamenzind* 4: 62-67.
- GALLOWAY, S. AND S. DUNLOP (2007): A critique of definitions of the cultural and creative industries in public policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13(1): 17-31.
- GARB, Y. WITH T. DYBICZ (2006): The retail revolution in post-socialist Central Europe and its lessons. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy*: 231-252; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).
- GARCIA, B. (2004): Cultural policy and urban regeneration in Western European cities: Lessons from experience, prospect for the future. *Local Economy* 19(4): 312-326.
- GARNHAM, N. (2005): From cultural to creative industries: An analysis of the implications of the 'creative industries' approach to arts and media policy making in the United Kingdom. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11: 15-30.
- GAUT, B. (2003): Creativity and imagination. In: B. GAUT AND P. LIVINGSTON (Eds.): *The creation of art*: 148-173; Cambridge, UK (Cambridge University Press).
- GAVRILOVIĆ, S. (2013): Savamala – The Myth of the City and its Spatial-physical Framework. *Kamenzind* 2: 22-29.
- GIBSON, C. AND L. KONG (2005): Cultural economy: a critical review. *Progress in Human Geography* 29(5): 541-561.
- GIBSON, C.; BRENNAN-HORLEY, C. AND J. WALMSLEY (2010): Mapping vernacular creativity: the extent and diversity of rural festivals in Australia. In: T.

-
- EDENSOR, D. LESLIE, S. MILLINGTON AND N. RANTISI (Eds.): Spaces of vernacular creativity: 89-105; London (Routledge).
- GIBSON, M. (2004): Bram Stoker and the Treaty of Berlin (1878). *Gothic Studies* 6(2): 236-251.
- GLAESER, E. L. (2005): Review of Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class*. *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 35(5): 593-596.
- GLAESER, E.; KOLKO, J. AND A. SAIZ (2001): Consumer city. *Journal of Economic Geography* 1: 27-50.
- GLASS, R. (1964): *London: Aspects of Change*. London (Centre for Urban Studies and MacGibbon and Kee).
- GÖLER, D.; GRČIĆ, M. AND I. RATKAJ (2007): Tendenzen der jüngeren industriellen Entwicklung in Serbien und ihre regionale Differenzierung – untersucht mit einem quantitativen Analyseansatz. *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 149: 109 - 132.
- GÖLER, D. AND H. LEHMEIER (2011): Belgrad – Periphere Metropole im Europäischen Städtesystem? In: W. MATZNETTER AND R. MUSIL (Eds.) *Europa: Metropolen im Wandel*: 341-358; Wien (Mandelbaum Verlag).
- GÖLER, D. AND H. LEHMEIER (2012): From post-socialist transition to globalisation and Europeanisation? Metropolitan development in Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia. *Collection of papers – Faculty of Geography at the University of Belgrade* 60: 33-48.
- GÖLER, D.; MARTINOVIĆ, M.; RATKAJ, I. AND D. ŠANTIĆ (2012): Informelles Wohnen als Routine? Multiple urbane Transformationen in der Agglomeration Belgrad: Das Beispiel Kaluđerica. *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 154: 212-234.
- GOMEZ, M. V. (1998): Reflective Images: The Case of Urban Regeneration in Glasgow and Bilbao. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22(1): 106-121.
- GORDON, D. L. A. (1997): Managing the Changing Political Environment in Urban Waterfront Redevelopment. *Urban Studies* 34(1): 61-83.
- GORDIĆ, G. (1997): Znamenite građevine Beograda XIX veka. *Nasleđe* 1: 25:31.
- GORNOSTAEVA, G. (2009): The wolfs and lambs of the creative city: The sustainability of film and television producers in London. *The Geographical Review* 99(1): 37-60.
- GOSPODINI, A. (2006): Portraying, classifying and understanding the emerging landscapes in the post-industrial city. *Cities* 23(5): 311-330.

- GRANOVETTER, M. (1985): Economic Action and Social Structure. The Problem of Embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology* 91(3): 481-510.
- GRČIĆ, M. (1990): Analiza prostorne organizacije industrije regiona Beograd. Belgrade (Ekonomski institut).
- GRČIĆ, M. (1993): Razvoj industrije u suburbanoj zoni Beogrda. *Zbornik radova geografskog fakulteta* 41: 259-268.
- GRČIĆ, M. AND I. RATKAJ (2003): Evroregioni i evrokoridori kao factor integracije zemalja Jugoistočne Evrope sa Evropskom unijom. *Zbornik radova geografskog fakulteta* 51: 1-22.
- GRČIĆ, M. AND I. RATKAJ (2006): Strukturne promene i regionalna diferencijacija industrije Srbije u period tranzicije (1988-2005). *Glasnik Srpskog geografskog društva* 86: 97-112.
- GRČIĆ, M. AND N. SLUKA (2006): Globalni gradovi. Beograd (Geografski fakultet Beogradskog univerziteta).
- GREENBERG, J. (2006): Noć Reklamoždera: Democracy, Consumption, and the Contradictions of Representation in Post-Socialist Serbia. *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 29(2): 181-207.
- GREENBERG, J. (2014): After the Revolution. Youth, Democracy, and the Politics of Disappointment in Serbia. Stanford (Stanford University Press).
- GRÜNWARD, N. AND M. HEINRICHS (2014): Cultural Entrepreneurship – A Chance For The Creative Student. *Balkan Region Conference on Engineering and Business Education* 1(1): 31-34. Retrieved 15 Nov. 2017, from doi:10.2478/cplbu-2014-0007.
- HAASE, A.; BERNT, M.; GROßMANN, K.; MYKHENKO, V. AND D. RINK (2016): Varieties of shrinkage in European cities. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 23(1): 86-102.
- HABERMAS, J. (1989): The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Cambridge, MA, USA (The MIT Press).
- HALL, P. (1997): Modelling the Post-Industrial City. *Futures* 29(4/5): 311-322.
- HALL, P. (1998): Cities in civilization. London (Weidenfeld & Nicolson).
- HALL, P. (2000): Creative Cities and Economic Development. *Urban Studies* 37(4): 639-649.
- HALL, T. AND H. BARRETT (2012): Urban Geography. Fourth Edition. London and New York (Routledge).

-
- HAMILTON, F. E. I.; DIMITROVSKA ANDREWS, K. AND N. PICHLER-MILANOVIĆ (Eds.) (2005): Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe. Towards Globalization. Tokyo and New York (United Nations University Press).
- HARRILL, R. (2004): Residents' Attitudes toward Tourism Development: A Literature Review with Implications for Tourism Planning. *Journal of Planning Literature* 18(3): 251-266.
- HARTLEY, J. (2005): Creative Industries. In: J. HARTLEY (Ed.): Creative industries: 1-40; Malden, USA; Oxford, UK and Carlton, Australia (Blackwell Publishing).
- HARTLEY, J. (2009): From the consciousness industry to the creative industries: consumer-created content, social network markets, and the growth of knowledge. In: J. HOLT AND A. PERREN (Eds.): Media Industries: History, Theory, and Method: 231-244; Malden, MA and Oxford, UK (Wiley-Blackwell).
- HARVEY, D. (1987): Flexible accumulation through urbanization: reflections on 'post-modernism' in the American city. *Antipode* 19(3): 260-286.
- HARVEY, D. (1989): From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 71(1): 3-17.
- HARVEY, D. (2012): Rebel Cities – From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution. London and New York (Verso); Cambridge, UK and Malden, US (Polity Press).
- HARVEY, D. C.; HAWKINS, H. AND N. J. THOMAS (2012): Thinking creative clusters beyond the city: People, places and networks. *Geoforum* 43(3): 529-539.
- HASSINK, R. (2005): How to unlock regional economies from path dependency? From learning region to learning cluster. *European Planning Studies* 13(4): 521-535.
- HAUSMANN, A. (2010): German Artists Between Bohemian Idealism and Entrepreneurial Dynamics: Reflections on Cultural Entrepreneurship and the Need for Start-Up Management. *International Journal of Arts Management* 12(2): 17-29.
- HAWRYLYSHYN, O. (1977): Ethnicity as a Barrier to Migration in Yugoslavia: The Evidence from Inerregional Flows and Immigration to Belgrade. In: A. A. BROWN AND E. NEUBERGER (Eds.): International Migration: A

- Comparative Perspective: 379-400; New York, San Francisco and London (Academic Press).
- HEEBELS, B. AND I. VAN AALST (2010): Creative clusters in Berlin: entrepreneurship and the quality of place in Prenzlauer Berg and Kreuzberg. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 92(4): 347–363.
- HENNESSEY, B. A. AND T. M. AMABILE (2010): Creativity. *Annual Review of Psychology* 61(1): 569-598.
- HENRY, C. (Ed.) (2007): *Entrepreneurship in the Creative Industries. An International Perspective*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA (Edward Elgar Publishing).
- HERRSCHEL, T. (2007): *Global Geographies of Post-Socialist Transition: Geographies, Societies, Policies*. London and New York (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group).
- HERSHATTER, A. AND M. EPSTEIN (2010): Millennials and the World of Work: An Organization and Management Perspective. *Journal of Business and Psychology* 25: 211-223.
- HERSLUND, L. (2012): The Rural Creative Class: Counterurbanisation and Entrepreneurship in the Danish Countryside. *Journal of the European Society for Rural Sociology* 52(2): 235-255.
- HESMONDHALGH, D. (2002): *The Cultural Industries*. London (Sage).
- HESMONDHALGH, D. (2008): Cultural and Creative Industries. In: T. BENNETT AND J. FROW (Eds.): *The SAGE handbook of cultural analysis*: 553-569; London, Thousand Oaks, CA, New Delhi, Singapore (Sage Publications).
- HESMONDHALGH, D. AND A. C. PRATT (2005): Cultural industries and cultural policy. *International journal of cultural policy* 11(1): 1-14.
- HESS, M. (2004): ‘Spatial’ relationships? Towards a reconceptualization of embeddedness. *Progress in Human Geography* 28(2): 165-186.
- HEßLER, M. AND C. ZIMMERMANN (Eds.) (2008): *Creative Urban Milieus. Historical Perspectives on Culture, Economy, and the City*. Frankfurt and New York (Campus Verlag).
- HIGGS, P. AND S. CUNNINGHAM (2008): Creative Industries Mapping: Where have we come from and where are we going? *Creative Industries Journal* 1(1): 7-30.
- HILGARTNER S. AND C. L. BOSK (1988): The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arena Model. *American Journal of Sociology* 94(1): 53-78.

-
- HIRSCH, P. M. (2000): Cultural Industries Revisited. *Organization Science* 11(3): 356-361.
- HIRT, S. (2008): Landscapes of Postmodernity. Changes in the Built Fabric of Belgrade and Sofia since the End of Socialism. *Urban Geography* 29(8): 785–810.
- HIRT, S. (2009): Belgrade, Serbia, City profile. *Cities* 26: 293-303.
- HIRT, S. (2012): Iron curtains. Gates, Suburbs, and Privatization of Space in the Post-socialist City. Hoboken (Wiley & Sons).
- HIRT, S. (2013): Whatever happened to the (post)socialist city? *Cities* 32(1): 29-38.
- HIRT, S. AND M. PETROVIĆ (2011): The Belgrade Wall: The Proliferation of Gated Housing in the Serbian Capital after Socialism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35(4): 753-777.
- HOLLINSHEAD, G. AND M. MACLEAN (2007): Transition and organizational dissonance in Serbia. *Human Relations* 60(10): 1551-1574.
- HORKHEIMER, M. AND T. W. ADORNO (2006): *Dialektik der Aufklärung. Philosophische Fragmente*. Frankfurt am Main (S. Fischer Verlag GmbH).
- HORVATINČIĆ, S. (2014): Spomenici posvećeni radu i radničkom pokretu u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji. *Etnološka tribina* 44(37): 153-168.
- HOSPERS, G. (2003): Creative cities: Breeding places in the knowledge economy. *Knowledge, Technology & Policy* 16(3): 143-162.
- HOSPERS, G. AND R. VAN DALM (2005): How to create a creative city? The viewpoints of Richard Florida and Jane Jacobs. *Foresight* 7(4): 8-12.
- HOWELLS, R. (2015): *A Critical Theory of Creativity: Utopia, Aesthetics, Atheism and Design*. Basingstoke (Palgrave Macmillan).
- HOWKINS, J. (2001): *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money From Ideas*. New York (Allen Lane The Penguin Group).
- HOYMAN, M. AND C. FARICY (2009): It Takes a Village. A Test of the Creative Class, Social Capital, and Human Capital Theories. *Urban Affairs Review* 44(3): 311-333.
- HUTTON, T. A. (2006): Spatiality, Built Form, and Creative Industry Development in the Inner City. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 38: 1819-1841.

- IGNJATOVIĆ, A. (2008): Između žezla i ključa: Nacionalni identitet i arhitektonsko nasleđe Beograda i Srbije u XIX i prvoj polovini XX veka. *Nasleđe* 9: 51-73.
- JACOBS, J. (1969): *The Economy of Cities*. New York (Random House).
- JAKOPIN, E. AND J. BAJEC (2009): Challenges of Industrial Development of Serbia. *Panoeconomicus* 4: 507-525.
- JEFFCUTT, P. AND A. C. PRATT (2002): Editorial: Managing Creativity in the Cultural Industries. *Creativity and Innovation Management* 11(4): 225-233.
- JOBST, M. (2000): Stambeno-poslovni objekat G u Bloku 12, Novi Beograd. *Arhitektura Energoprojekt* 10: 13-18.
- JOCIĆ, N. (2013): Tourism valorization of modern architecture in New Belgrade. Collection of papers – Faculty of Geography at the University of Belgrade 61: 179-204.
- JOCIĆ, N. AND A. BUDOVIĆ (2016): The Role of Local Self-Government in Regeneration of Neglected City Areas: The Example of Savamala in Belgrade. In: Šesti naučno-stručni skup sa međunarodnim učešćem „Lokalna samouprava u planiranju i uređenju prostora i naselja”, Vršac, 2-4 jun 2016, pp. 545-551. Beograd (Asocijacija prostornih planera Srbije, Beograd Univerzitet u Beogradu – Geografski fakultet).
- JOCIĆ, N.; BUDOVIĆ, A. AND A. WINKLER (2017): Dynamics Behind the Rise of a Creative Space? A Creative Quarter Development in Belgrade. In M. MURZYN-KUPISZ AND J. DZIALEK (Eds.): *The Impact of Artists on Contemporary Urban Development in Europe*: 121-139; Cham (Springer International Publishing).
- JOKSIMOVIĆ, V. (2012): Restitucija imovine u Srbiji. *Sveske za javno pravo* 7: 14-25.
- JOVANOVIĆ, J. AND D. ŽIVKOVIĆ (2006): Korelativnost geografskog položaja i demografskog razvitka Beograda u promenjivim društveno-istorijskim konstelacijama. *Demografija* 3: 139-152.
- JOVANOVIĆ, M. AND I. RATKAJ (2014): Functional Metamorphosis of New Belgrade. *disP - The Planning Review* 50(4): 54-65.
- JOVIČIĆ, S. (2010): Kinematografija u Srbiji 1896-1941. *Südslavistik Online* 2: 23-33.
- KADIJEVIĆ, A. (2012): Ekspresionizam u beogradskoj arhitekturi (1918-1941). *Nasleđe* 13: 59-77.

-
- KAIFI, B. A.; WAGEEH, A. N.; KHANFAR, N. M. AND M. M. KAIFI (2012): A Multi-Generational Workforce: Managing and Understanding Millennials. *International Journal of Business and Management* 7(24): 88-93.
- KAIN, J. (1968): The distribution and movement of jobs and industry. In: J. WILSON (Ed.): *The Metropolitan Enigma*: 1-43; Cambridge, MA (Harvard University Press).
- KANTER, R. M. (1983): *The change masters*. New York (Simon and Schuster).
- KAPLAN, D. H.; HOLLOWAY, S. R. AND J. O. WHEELER (2014): *Urban Geography*. Third Edition. Hoboken (Wiley).
- KARKLINS, R. (2005): *The System Made Me Do It: Corruption in Post-Communist Societies*. Amok, New York and London (M. E. Sharpe).
- KATIĆ, A.; MILOŠEV, I. AND S. RALETIĆ (2013): ICT Sector in Vojvodina (Serbia) as a Potential for Mitigation of Crisis Effects. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 75: 298-307.
- KEARNS, A. AND M. PARKINSON (2001): The Significance of Neighbourhood. *Urban Studies* 38(12): 2109-2110.
- KEITH, M. (2005): *After the cosmopolitan? Multicultural cities and the future of racism*. Abingdon, Oxon (Routledge).
- KENESSEY, Z. (1987): The primary, secondary, tertiary and quaternary sectors of economy. *The Review of Income and Wealth* 33(4): 359-385.
- KERESZTELY, K. AND J. W. SCOTT (2012): Urban Regeneration in the Post-Socialist Context: Budapest and the Search for a Social Dimension. *European Planning Studies* 20(7): 1111-1134.
- KLAMER, A. AND L. PETROVA (2007): Financing the Arts: The Consequences of Interaction among Artists, Financial Support, and Creativity Motivation. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 37(3): 245-256.
- KLEUT, I. (2006): Istorija i arhitektura železničke stanice u Beogradu. *Nasleđe* 7: 37-50.
- KNEŽEVIĆ, M. (2010): The importance of concession arrangements for foreign investment in the Republic of Serbia. *Ekonomski horizonti* 12(1): 89-102.
- KOKOTOVIĆ KANAZIR, V.; FILIPOVIĆ, M. AND I. MAGDALENIĆ (2016): Unutrašnja mobilnost stanovništva Srbije u drugoj polovini XX i na početku XXI veka. *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU* 64(3): 553-567.
- KONG, L. (2009): Beyond Networks and Relations: Towards Rethinking Creative Cluster Theory. In: L. KONG AND J. O'CONNOR (Eds.): *Creative Economies, Creative Cities. Asian-European Perspective*: 61-80; Dordrecht (Springer).

- KOOIMAN, J. (1993): *Modern governance. New government-society interactions.* London (Sage).
- KOOIMAN, J. (2003): *Governing as governance.* London (Sage).
- KOOIMAN, J. AND M. VAN VLIET (1995): *Riding tandem: the case for co-governance.* *Demos* 7: 44–45.
- KORNAL, J. AND S. ROSE-ACKERMAN (Eds.) (2004): *Building a Trustworthy State in Post-Socialist Transition.* New York and Basingstoke (Palgrave Macmillan).
- KOSTOPOULOU, S. (2013): *On the Revitalized Waterfront: Creative Milieu for Creative Tourism.* *Sustainability* 2013(5): 4578-4593.
- KOTKIN, J. (2000): *The new geography: how the digital revolution is reshaping the American Landscape.* New York (Random House).
- KOVAČEVIĆ, I. (2012): *Jugoslovensko kulturno nasleđe – od jugoslovenske ideje do jugonostalgije.* In: I. KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.): *Ogledi o jugoslovenskom kulturnom nasleđu.* Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa: *Okviri konstruisanja jugoslovenskog kulturnog nasleđa:* 7-20; Beograd (Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu).
- KOVÁCS, Z. (1998): *Ghettoization or Gentrification: Post-Socialist Scenarios for Budapest.* *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 13(1): 63-81.
- KOVÁCS, Z. (1999): *Cities from state-socialism to global capitalism: an introduction.* *GeoJournal* 49: 1-6.
- KOVÁCS, Z.; EGEDY, T.; FÖLDI, Z.; KERESZTÉLY, K. AND B. SZABÓ (2007): *Budapest: From state socialism to global capitalism. Pathways to creative and knowledge-based regions.* Amsterdam (University of Amsterdam, (AMIDSt)).
- KRASTEVA, A. AND N. VLADISAVLJEVIĆ (2017): *Securitisation versus citizenship in the Balkan states: Populist and authoritarian misuses of security threats and civic responses.* *Global Campus Human Rights Journal* 1(2): 373-392.
- KRÄTKE, S. (2010): *‘Creative Cities’ and the Rise of the Dealer Class: A Critique of Richard Florida’s Approach to Urban Theory.* *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34(4): 835-53.
- KREJA, K. (2006): *Spatial imprints of urban consumption: large-scale retail development in Warsaw.* In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.) *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy:* 253-272; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).

- KRIVOŠEJEV, V. (2011): Muzejska politika u Srbiji: Nastajanje, kriza i novi početak. *Kultura* 130: 291-317.
- KRUSCHE, J. AND P. KLAUS (2015): *Bureau Savamala Belgrade: Urban Research and Practice in a Fast-changing Neighbourhood*. Berlin (Jocis Verlag).
- KUAH, A. T. H. (2002): Cluster Theory and Practice: Advantages for the Small Business Locating in a Vibrant Cluster. *Journal of Research in Marketing and Entrepreneurship* 4(3): 206-228.
- KULIĆ, V. (2013): National, supranational, international: New Belgrade and the symbolic construction of a socialist capital. *Nationalities Papers* 41(1): 35-63.
- KUMAR, K. (2005): *From post-industrial to post-modern society: New Theories of the Contemporary World*. Malden, USA, Oxford, UK and Carlton, AU (Blackwell Publishing).
- KUNC, J.; MARTINAT, S.; TONEV, P. AND B. FRANTAL (2014): *Destiny of Urban Brownfields: Spatial Patterns and Perceived Consequences of Post-Socialistic Deindustrialization*. *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences* 41: 109-128.
- KYAW, N. (2009): Računajte na nas. Pank i novi talas/novi val u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji. In: Đ. TOMIĆ AND P. ATANACKOVIĆ (Eds.): *Društvo u pokretu: novi društveni pokreti u Jugoslaviji od 1968. do danas*: 81-102; Novi Sad (Cenzura).
- LAMBOOY, J. G. (2006): Innovative competitiveness cities as complex adaptive systems: An evolutionary economics approach. In: A. KUKLIŃSKI, C. LUSIŃSKI, K. PAWŁOWSKI (Eds.): *Warsaw Conference: Towards a new creative and innovative Europe*: 357-365; Nowy Sącz–Warszawa (Wyższa Szkoła Biznesu – National-Louis University).
- LANDESMANN, M. A. AND I. P. SZEKELY (Eds.) (1995): *Industrial restructuring and trade reorientation in Eastern Europe*. Cambridge, UK (Cambridge University Press).
- LANDRY, C. (2006): *The art of city making*. London and Sterling (Earthscan).
- LANDRY, C. (2008): *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. Second Edition. London (Comedia).
- LANDRY, C. (2012): *The Origins and Futures of Creative City*. London (Comedia).
- LANE, D. (2007): Post-State Socialism: A Diversity of Capitalisms? In: D. LANE AND M. MYANT (Eds.): *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries*: 13-39; Houndsmills, Basingstoke (Palgrave Macmillan).

- LANG R. AND K. DANIELSEN (2005): Editor's review roundtable: Cities and the creative class. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71(2): 203-220.
- LANGE, B. (2011): Professionalization in space: Social-spatial strategies of culturpreneurs in Berlin. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 23(3-4): 259-279.
- LANGE, B. (2018): The Paradox Between Individual Professionalization and Dependence on Social Context and Professional Scenes: Drafting Your Career in the Sectors of Creative Industries. In: E. INNERHOFER, H. PECHLANER AND E. BORIN (Eds.): *Entrepreneurship in Culture and Creative industries*: 85-97; Cham (Springer).
- LANGE, B.; KALANDIDES, A.; STÖBER, B. AND H. A. MIEG (2008): Berlin's Creative Industries: Governing Creativity? *Industry and Innovation* 15(5): 531-548.
- LANGE, B. AND A. VON STREIT (2013): Governance of creative industries. *Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsgeographie* 3: 17-33.
- LAWTON, P.; MURPHY, E. AND D. REDMOND (2013): Residential preferences of the 'creative class'? *Cities* 31: 47-56.
- LAZIĆ, M. (2011): Postsocijalistička transformacija i restratifikacija u Srbiji. *Politička misao* 48(3): 123-144.
- LE NORMAND, B. (2014): *Designing Tito's capital: urban planning, modernism, and socialism in Belgrade*. Pittsburgh (University of Pittsburgh Press).
- LEE, C.; MILLER, W. F.; HANCOCK, M. G. AND H. S. ROWEN (Eds.) (2000): *The Silicon Valley Edge: A Habitat for Innovation and Entrepreneurship*. Stanford (Stanford University Press).
- LEE, S. Y.; FLORIDA, R. AND Z. ACS (2004): Creativity and Entrepreneurship: A Regional Analysis of New Firm Formation. *Regional Studies* 38(8): 879-891.
- LEES, L.; SHIN, H. B. AND E. LOPEZ-MORALES (2016): *Planetary Gentrification*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, USA (Polity Press).
- LENGYEL, B. AND B. SAGVARI (2011): Creative Occupations and Regional Development in Hungary: Mobility of Talent in a One-centred Transition Economy. *European Planning Studies* 19(12): 2073-2093.
- LEPAK, D. P.; SMITH, K. G. AND M. S. TAYLOR (2007): Value Creation and Value Capture: A Multilevel Perspective. *Academy of Management Review* 32(1): 180-194.
- LEVER, W. F. (1991): Deindustrialisation and the Reality of the Post-industrial City. *Urban Studies* 28(6): 983-999.

-
- LEY, D. (2003): Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification. *Urban Studies* 40(12): 2527-2544.
- LIEBOWITZ, S. J. AND S. E. MARGOLIS (1995): Path Dependence, Lock-In, and History. *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 11(1): 205-226.
- LING, C. AND A. DALE (2011): Nature, place and the creative class: Three Canadian case studies. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 99(3-4): 239-247.
- LIPMAN, P. (2011): *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City*. New York and London (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group).
- LIPTON, D.; SACHS, J.; FISCHER, S. AND J. KORNAI (1990): Creating a Market Economy in Eastern Europe: The Case of Poland. *Brooking Papers on Economic Activity* 1: 75-147.
- LLOYD, R. (2002): Neo-bohemia: Art and neighbourhood redevelopment in Chicago. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24(5): 517-532.
- LOGAN, J. R. AND H. L. MOLOTCH (2007): *Urban fortunes: The political economy of place*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London (University of California Press).
- LONG, J. (2009): Sustaining creativity in the creative archetype: The case of Austin, Texas. *Cities* 26(4): 210-219.
- LOVATT, A. AND J. O'CONNOR (1995): Cities and the Night-time Economy. *Planning Practice & Research* 10(2): 127-134.
- LUCAS, R. (1988): On the Mechanics of Economic Development. *Journal of Monetary Economics* 22: 3-42.
- MAHONEY, J. (2000): Path Dependence in Historical Sociology. *Theory and Society* 29(4): 507-548.
- MAKSIN-MIČIĆ, M. (2003): Some problems of integrating the landscape planning into the spatial and environmental planning in Serbia. *Spatium* 9: 28-33.
- MANIĆ, S. (2016): Grad-muzej: Karađorđeva ulica u Beogradu kao system dokumenata. *Teme – Časopis za društvene nauke* 40(3): 933-949.
- MANIĆ, Ž. AND V. BACKOVIĆ (2010): Arhitektura Moderne u funkciji promocije Beograda. *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 30: 47-51.
- MARIČIĆ, T. AND J. PETRIĆ (2009): Istorija i perspektive susedstava u Novom Beogradu. In: Z. ERIĆ (Ed.): *Diferencirana susedstva Novog Beograda*: 42-52; Beograd (Muzej savremene umetnosti).
- MARKUSEN, A. (2010): Challenge, Change, and Space in Vernacular Cultural Practice. In: T. EDENSOR, D. LESLIE, S. MILLINGTON AND N. RANTISI (Eds.):

- Spaces of Vernacular Creativity. *Rethinking the Cultural Economy*: 185-199; Abingdon and New York (Routledge).
- MARSHAL, R. (Ed.) (2014): *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*. Abingdon and New York (Routledge).
- MATIĆ, V. (2014): The Knight of Serbia - Georg I. Weifert (1850-1937). *Bankarstvo* 43(4): 170-185.
- MARCUSE, P. (1996): Privatization and its Discontents: Property Rights in Land and Housing in the Transition in Eastern Europe. In: G. ANDRUSZ, M. HARLOE AND I. SZELENYI (Eds.): *Cities after Socialism. Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies*: 119-191; Oxford et al. (Blackwell).
- MARCUSE, P. AND R. VAN KEMPEN (2000): *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order*. Malden, USA; Oxford, UK and Carlton, AU (Blackwell Publishing).
- MARKUSEN, A. (2004): Targeting occupations in regional and community economic development. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70: 253–268.
- MARKUSEN, A. (2006): Urban development and the politics of a creative class: evidence from a study of artists. *Environment and Planning A* 38(10): 1921 – 1940.
- MARKUSEN, A. (2007): A Consumption Base Theory of Development: An Application to the Rural Cultural Economy. *Agricultural and Resource Economics Review* 36(1): 9-23.
- MARKUSEN, A., WASSALL, G. H., DENATALE, D. AND R. COHEN (2008): Defining the Creative Economy: Industry and Occupational Approaches. *Economic Development Quarterly* 22: 24-45.
- MARTIN, R. AND P. SUNLEY (2006): Path dependence and regional economic evolution. *Journal of Economic Geography* 6(4): 395–437.
- MARTINEZ-FERNANDEZ, C.; AUDIRAC, I.; FOL, S. AND E. CUNNINGHAM-SABOT (2012): Shrinking Cities: Urban Challenges of Globalization. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36(2): 213-225.
- MATSUOKA, R. H. AND R. KAPLAN (2008): People needs in the urban landscape: Analysis of Landscape and Urban Planning contributions. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 84(1): 7-19.
- MATHEWS, V. (2010): Aestheticizing Space: Art, Gentrification and the City. *Geography Compass* 4/6: 660-675.

-
- MCCANN, E. AND K. WARD (Eds.) (2011): *Mobile Urbanism. Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age*. Minneapolis (University of Minnesota Press).
- MCCARTHY, R. AND S. PITTAWAY (2014): *An Historical Exploration of Creativity Research*. In: N. FITZALLEN, R. REABURN AND S. FAN (Eds.): *The Future of Educational Research. Perspectives from Beginning Researchers*: 111-120; Rotterdam, Boston, Taipei (Sense Publishers).
- MCGRANAHAN, D. AND T. WOJAN (2007): *Recasting the Creative Class to Examine Growth Processes in Rural and Urban Counties*. *Regional Studies* 41(2): 197–216.
- MCLEAN, L. D. (2005): *Organizational Culture's Influence on Creativity and Innovation: A Review of the Literature and Implications for Human Resource Development*. *Advances in Developing Human Resources* 7(2): 226-246.
- MCNEILL, D. (2017): *Global cities and urban theory*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore (Sage Publications).
- MCRobbie, A. (1999): *In the culture society: Art, fashion and popular music*. London and New York (Routledge).
- MECANOV, D. (2009): *Arhitektonski konkursi na Novom Beogradu od 1947. do 1970. godine*. *Nasleđe* 10: 113-140.
- MEDIĆ, I. (2016): *The Soundscape of Change: The Reculturalization of Savamala*. *Musicological Annual* 52(2): 39-53.
- MERiAGE, L. P. (1978): *The First Serbian Uprising (1804-1813) and the Nineteenth-Century Origins of the Eastern Question*. *Slavic Review* 37(3): 421-439.
- MEUSBURGER, P.; FUNKE, J. AND E. WUNDER (Eds.) (2009a): *Milieus of Creativity. An Interdisciplinary Approach to Spatiality of Creativity*. Heidelberg (Springer).
- MEUSBURGER, P.; FUNKE, J. AND E. WUNDER (2009b): *Introduction: The Spatiality of Creativity*. In MEUSBURGER, P.; FUNKE, J. AND E. WUNDER (Eds.): *Milieus of Creativity. An Interdisciplinary Approach to Spatiality of Creativity*: 1-10; Heidelberg (Springer).
- MIEGE, B. (1987): *The logics at work in the new cultural industries*. *Media, Culture and Society* 9: 273-289.
- MIKIĆ, H. (2014): *Creative industries Serbia*. Belgrade (Foundation Creative Economy Group).

- MIKIĆ, H. (2016): Economic Assumptions and Possible Developmental Effects of the National Economy's Creative Sector. [Doctoral Thesis at the University of Belgrade, the Faculty of Economics].
- MILAŠINOVIĆ MARIĆ, D. (2002): Vodič kroz modern arhitekturu Beograda. Beograd (Društvo arhitekata Beograda).
- MILAŠINOVIĆ MARIĆ, D. (2011): Razvojni tokovi u srpskoj arhitekturi od 1945. do 1961. godine. *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 33: 3-15.
- MILLER, W. L.; GRODELAND, A. B. AND T. Y. KOSHECHKINA (2001): A Culture of Corruption: Coping with Government in Post-Communist Europe. Budapest and New York (Central European University Press).
- MILOVANOVIĆ, M. (2016): Urbanističko planiranje gradskih obala u Beogradu kroz istraživanje mitologije kao pokretača kreativne ekonomije. [Doctoral Thesis at the University Union "Nikola Tesla", the Faculty of Sustainable Development].
- MILUTINOVIĆ, S. (2005): Kineski transnacionalni preduzetnici u Budimpešti i Beogradu: u potrazi za tržištima tranzicionih ekonomija. *Sociologija* 47(2): 143-160.
- MINIHAN, J. (1977): The Nationalization of Culture: The development of state subsidies to the arts in Great Britain. New York (New York University Press).
- MIŠIĆ, B. (2013): Hangar starog aerodroma - svedočanstvo prvog vazdušnog pristaništa u Beogradu. *Nasleđe* 14: 95-114.
- MITCHELL, D. (2003): The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. New York and London (The Guilford Press).
- MITHEN, S. (2005): Creativity in Human Evolution and Prehistory. London and New York (Routledge).
- MOMMAS, H. (2004): Cultural Clusters and the Post-Industrial City: Towards the Remapping of Urban Cultural Policy. *Urban Studies* 41(3): 507-532.
- MOMMAS, H. (2009): Spaces of Culture and Economy: Mapping the Cultural-Creative Cluster Landscape. In: L. KONG & J. O'CONNOR (Eds.): Creative Economies, Creative Cities. Asian-European Perspective: 45-59; Dordrecht (Springer).
- MONTGOMERY, J. R. (1994): Planning for the night-time economy of cities. *Regenerating Cities* 7: 32-39.
- MONTGOMERY, J. (2003): Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters. *Planning Practice & Research* 18(4): 293-306.

-
- MONTGOMERY, J. (2005): Beware 'the Creative Class'. *Creativity and Wealth Creation Revisited*. *Local Economy* 20(4): 337-343.
- MORAN, S. (2010): The Roles of Creativity in Society. In: J. C. KAUFMANN AND R. J. STERNBERG (Eds.): *The Cambridge Handbook of Creativity*: 74-92; New York (Cambridge University Press).
- MORRIS, J. AND A. POLESE (Eds.) (2014): *The informal Post-Socialist Economy: Embedded practices and livelihoods*. London and New York (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group).
- MORRIS-KAY, G. M. (2010): The evolution of human artistic creativity. *Journal of Anatomy* 216: 158-176.
- MOWERY, D. C. AND R. R. NELSON (Eds.) (1999): *Sources of Industrial Leadership. Studies of Seven Industries*. Cambridge, UK (Cambridge University Press).
- MURPHY, E. AND D. REDMOND (2009): The role of 'hard' and 'soft' factors for accommodating creative knowledge: insights from Dublin's 'creative class'. *Irish Geography* 42(1): 69-84.
- MURZYN-KUPISZ, M. (2012): Cultural Quarters as a Means of Enhancing the Creative Capacity of Polish Cities? Some Evidence from Cracow. *Quaestiones Geographicae* 31(4): 63-76.
- MUSTERD, S. (2004): Amsterdam as a Creative Cultural Knowledge City: Some Conditions. *Built Environment* 30(3): 225-234.
- MUSTERD, S.; BONTJE, M.; CHAPAIN, C.; KOVÁCS, Z. AND A. MURIE (2007): *Accommodating Creative Knowledge. A literature Review from a European Perspective*. Amsterdam (Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies).
- MUSTERD, S. AND O. GRITSAI (2009): *Creative and Knowledge Cities Development Paths and Policies from a European Perspective*. *Built Environment* 35(2): 173-188.
- NEDELJKOVIĆ, S. (2008): Individual Migrations of Montenegrins to Serbian Cities in the Post-Second World War Period. *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology* 3(3): 171-188.
- NEDIĆ, S. (2012): Palata Beogradske zadruga. *Nasleđe* 13: 49-57.
- NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ, Z. AND S. TSENKOVA WITH P. MARCUSE (2006): The urban mosaic of post-socialist Europe. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy*: 3-20; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).

- NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ, Z.; ĐORĐEVIĆ, D. AND T. DABOVIĆ (2011): The Mornings after... Serbian Spatial Planning Legislation in Context. *European Planning Studies* 19(3): 429-455.
- NEDUČIN, D. (2014): Postsocijalistički grad – promena društvene i prostorne strukture Novog Sada u periodu tranzicije. [Doctoral Thesis at the University of Novi Sad, the Faculty of Technical Sciences].
- NESTOROVIĆ, B. (2014): *Arhitektura Srbije u XIX veku*. Beograd (Art Press).
- NEWMAN, P. AND A. THORNLEY (2011): *Planning World Cities: Globalization and Urban Politics*. Houndsmills, Basingstoke (Palgrave Macmillan).
- NORRIS, D. A. (2008): *Belgrade: A Cultural and Literary History*. Oxford (Signal Books, Cities of the Imagination Series).
- NOVAKOVIĆ, S. (Ed.) (1894): *Srbija u godini 1834: Pisma grofa Boa le Konta de Rinji ministru inostranih dela u Parizu o tadašnjem stanju u Srbiji, Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije XXIV*. Beograd (Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije).
- NOVY, J. AND C. COLOMB (2013): Struggling for the Right to the (Creative) City in Berlin and Hamburg: New Urban Social Movements, New ‘Spaces of Hope’? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37(5): 1816-1838.
- NYSETH, T. (2012): Fluid Planning: A Meaningless Concept or a Rational Response to Uncertainty in Urban Planning? In: J. BURIAN (Ed.): *Advances in Spatial Planning*: 27-46; Rijeka (InTech).
- O’CONNOR, J. (2004) ‘A Special Kind of City Knowledge’: Innovative Clusters, Tacit Knowledge and the ‘Creative City’. *Media International Australia* 112(1): 131-149.
- O’CONNOR, J. (2007): *The cultural and creative industries: a review of the literature*. London (Creative Partnerships, Arts Council England).
- O’CONNOR, J. AND K. SHAW (2014): What next for the creative city? *City, Culture and Society* 5(3): 165-170.
- O’CONNOR, J. AND D. WYNNE (Eds.) (1996): *From the Margins to the Centre: Cultural Production and Consumption in the Post-industrial city*. Aldershot (Ashgate Publishers).
- O’DONOGHUE, D. P. (Ed.) (2016): *Urban Transformations: Centres, Peripheries and Systems*. London and New York (Routledge).
- O’LOUGHLIN, J. AND J. FRIEDRICHS (Eds.) (1996): *Social polarization in post-industrial metropolises*. Berlin and New York (Walter de Gruyter).

-
- OAKLEY, K. (2004): Not so cool Britannia: The role of the creative industries in economic development. *International journal of cultural studies* 7(1): 67-77.
- OAKLEY, K. (2006): Include Us Out—Economic Development and Social Policy in the Creative Industries. *Cultural Trends* 15(4): 255-273.
- PAALZOW, A.; KILIS, R.; DOMBROVSKY, V.; PAUNA, D. AND A. SAUKA (2007): Riga: From a Hanseatic City to a Modern Metropolis: Pathways to Creative and Knowledge-Based Regions. Amsterdam (University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies (AMIDSt)).
- PACIONE, M. (2005): *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective*. Second Edition. London and New York (Routledge).
- PAGE, S. E. (2006): Path Dependence. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1: 87-115.
- PALLAGST, K.; WIECHMANN, T. AND C. MARTINEZ-FERNANDEZ (Eds.) (2014): *Schrinking Cities. International Perspectives and Policy Implications*. New York (Routledge).
- PANG, L. (2015): Art and cultural industries. Autonomy and community. In: K. OAKLEY AND J. O'CONNOR (Eds.): *The Routledge Companion to the Cultural Industries*: 45-55; London and New York (Routledge).
- PANTELIĆ, B. (1997): Nationalism and Architecture: The Creation of a National Style in Serbian Architecture and Its Political Implications. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56(1): 16-41.
- PARLIĆ-BOŽOVIĆ, J. (2011): *Obrazovanje Srba u vreme turske vlasti*. Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini 41: 555-568.
- PAVLOVIĆ, D. S. (1999): Uticaji istoka i zapada na srpsku građansku arhitekturu devetnaestog veka. *Nasleđe* 2: 161-169.
- PAVLOVIĆ, M. (2013): Knez Milos & His 'Little Sava Girl'. *Kamenzind* 3: 33-36.
- PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI, V. (2005): Mali pijac na Savi krajem XIX i početkom XX veka. *Nasleđe* 6: 107-118.
- PEACOCK, L. (2013): Remembering Luka Celovic. *Kamenzind* 1: 21-25.
- PEACOCK, J. (2015): *Brooklyn Fictions. The Contemporary Urban Community in a Global Age*. London and New York (Bloomsbury).
- PEACOCK, L.; DJORDJEVIC-PETROVIC, A.; BECK, J.; BOUCSEIN, B.; HUMPERT, A. AND T. SEIDEL (2013): Editorial. *Kamenzind* 1: 1-3.

- PECK, J. (2005): Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24: 740-770.
- PECK, J. (2009): The cult of urban creativity. In: R. KEIL AND R. MAHON (Eds.): *Leviathan undone: the political economy of scale*: 159-176; Vancouver (University of British Columbia Press).
- PECK, J. (2011): Creative moments: working culture, through municipal socialism and neoliberal urbanism. In: E. MCCANN AND K. WARD (Eds.): *Mobile Urbanism. Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age*. 41-70; Minneapolis (University of Minnesota Press).
- PELLEGRIN-BOUCHER, E.; LE ROY, F. AND C. GURĂU (2013): Coopetitive strategies in the ICT sector: typology and stability. *Technology Analysis & Strategic Management* 25(1): 71-89.
- PEROVIĆ, J. (2007): The Tito-Stalin Split: A Reassessment in Light of New Evidence. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9(2): 32-63.
- PETERS, M. A.; MARGINSON, S. AND P. MURPHY (2009): *Creativity and the global knowledge economy*. New York (Peter Lang Publishing).
- PETKOVIĆ, M. AND J. LUKIĆ (2014): New organizational forms supported by the information and communication technology: The case of Serbian ICT industry. *Facta Universitatis. Economics and Organization* 11(2): 101-115.
- PETROVIĆ, D. (2001a): *Industrija i urbani razvoj Beograda*. *Industrija* 21(1-4): 87-94.
- PETROVIĆ, M. (2001b): Post-socialist housing policy transformation in Yugoslavia and Belgrade. *International Journal of Housing Policy* 1(2): 211-231.
- PETROVIĆ, M. (2005): *Cities after socialism as a research issue*. Discussion papers (South East Europe series), DP34. London: Centre for the Study of Global Governance, London School of economics and political science.
- PETROVIĆ, J. (2008): Zgrada zadužbine Luke Čelovića - Karađorđeva 65, Zagrebačka 1-9 i Gavrila Principa 16. *Nasleđe* 9: 227-238.
- PETROVIĆ, M. (2011): Promene bračnosti i porodičnih modela u postsocijalističkim zemljama: Zakasnela i nepotpuna ili specifična druga demografska tranzicija? *Stanovništvo* 1: 53-78.
- PETROVIĆ, M. AND V. BACKOVIĆ (2009): Istraživanje susedstava u Novom Beogradu. In: ERIĆ Z. (Ed.): *Diferencirana susedstva Novog Beograda*: 63-86; Beograd (Muzej savremene umetnosti).

-
- PHELPS, N. A. AND T. OZAWA (2003): Contrasts in agglomeration: Proto-industrial, industrial and post-industrial forms compared. *Progress in Human Geography* 27(5): 583-604.
- PIERRE, J. (1999): Models of Urban Governance: The Institutional Dimension of Urban Politics. *Urban Affairs Review* 34(3): 372-396.
- PIERSON, P. (2000): Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics. *The American Political Science Review* 94(2): 251-267.
- PIIRTO, J. (1998): Understanding those who create (2nd ed.). Scottsdale, US (Great Potential Press).
- POLANYI, K. (1944): The great transformation. The political and economic origins of our time. Boston (Beacon Press).
- POLOVINA, G. (2012): Arhitektura klasicizma u Srbiji XIX i XX veka. [Doctoral Thesis at the University of Belgrade, the Faculty of Geography].
- POPADIĆ, M. (2009): Arhitektura Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Beogradu. *Nasleđe* 10: 159-178.
- POPOVIĆ, M. (1997): Stari Beograd - segment Savske varoši - lociran u zoni planske razrade projekta - Beograd na Savi. *Nasleđe* 1: 33-37
- PONZINI, D. AND U. ROSSI (2010): Becoming a Creative City: The Entrepreneurial Mayor, Network Politics and the Promise of an Urban Renaissance. *Urban Studies* 47(5): 1037-1057.
- PORTER, M. (1998): Clusters and the new economics of competition. *Harvard Business Review* 76: 77-91.
- PORTER, M. (2000): Location, Competition, and Economic Development: Local Clusters in a Global Economy. *Economic Development Quarterly* 14(1): 15-34.
- PORTER, L. AND A. BARBER (2007): Planning the Cultural Quarter in Birmingham's Eastside. *European Planning Studies* 15(10): 1327-1348.
- POTTS, J. (2007): Art and innovation: An evolutionary view of the creative industries. *UNESCO Observatory* 1(1): 1-18.
- POTTS, J. (2011) *Creative Industries and Economic Evolution*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA (Edward Elgar).
- POTTS, J. AND S. CUNNINGHAM (2008): Four Models of the Creative Industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* Volume 12(1): 163-180.

- POTTS, J.; CUNNINGHAM, S.; HARTLEY, J. AND P. ORMEROD (2008): Social network markets: a new definition of the creative industries. *Journal of Cultural Economics* 32(3): 167-185.
- PRATT, A. (2005): Cultural industries and public policy. An oxymoron? *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11: 29-44.
- PRATT, A. C. (2008): Creative cities: the cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 90(2): 107–117.
- PRATT, A. C. (2009): Policy Transfer and the Field of the Cultural and Creative Industries: What Can Be Learned from Europe? In: L. KONG AND J. O'CONNOR (Eds.): *Creative Economies, Creative Cities. Asian-European Perspective*: 9-24; Dordrecht (Springer).
- PRATT, A. C. (2010): Creative cities: Tensions within and between social, cultural and economic development: A critical reading of the UK experience. *City, culture and Society* 1(1): 13-20.
- PRATT, A. C. AND T. A. HUTTON. 2013. Reconceptualising the relationship between the creative economy and the city: Learning from the financial crisis. *Cities* 33: 86-95.
- PRATT, A. C. AND P. JEFFCUTT (Eds.) (2010): *Creativity, Innovation and the Cultural Economy*. London and New York (Routledge).
- PROSEN, M. (2007): O socrealizmu u arhitekturi i njegovoj pojavi u Srbiji. *Nasleđe* 8: 95-117.
- PUCAR M.; NENKOVIĆ-RIZNIĆ M., AND N. KAŽIĆ (2009): Estetske i energetske posledice primene klima uređaja u zgradama. *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 24-25: 96-111.
- PURCELL, M. (2002): Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal* 58(2-3): 99-108.
- QUINN, R. B. M. (1998): *Public policy and the arts: a comparative study of Great Britain and Ireland*. Aldershot (Ashgate Publishing).
- RADOŠEVIĆ, LJ. (2009): Njujorški graffiti u socijalističkom getu. In: Z. ERIĆ (Ed.): *Diferencirana susedstva Novog Beograda*: 150-161; Beograd (Muzej savremene umetnosti).
- RADOVIĆ, D. (2005): Belgrade: De(con)structing urbanity. In: E. CHARLESWORTH (Ed.): *City Edge: Case Studies in Contemporary Urbanism*: 140-152; Oxford (Architectural Press, Elsevier).
- RAE, D. (2007): Creative industries in the UK: cultural diffusion or discontinuity. In: C. HENRY (Ed.): *Entrepreneurship in the Creative Industries*. An

- International Perspective: 55-71; Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA (Edward Elgar).
- RANCI, C. (2011): Competitiveness and Social Cohesion in Western European Cities. *Urban Studies* 48(13): 2789-2804.
- RATKAJ, I. (2002): Saobraćajno-geografski položaj Srbije. *Zbornik radova Geografskog fakulteta* 50: 33-46.
- RATKAJ, I. (2009): Prostorno-funkcionalna organizacija Beograda. Belgrade (Univerzitet u Beogradu – Geografski fakultet).
- RICHARDS, G. AND J. WILSON (2006): Developing creativity in tourist experiences: a solution to the serial reproduction of culture? *Tourism Management* 27(6), 1209-1223.
- RIKALOVIĆ, G. (Ed.) (2012): *Kreativna Srbija: Novi pravac razvoja*. Beograd (Anonymous said).
- RISTANOVIĆ, A. (2017): Skulptura u cinku na području Beograda. *Nasleđe* 18: 119-125.
- RISTIVOJEVIĆ, M. (2011): Korelacija muzike i mesta na primeru beogradskog “novog talasa” u rokenrol muzici. *Etnoantropološki problem* 6(4): 931-947.
- RISTIVOJEVIĆ, M. (2013): Novi talas u percepciji novih generacija. *Etnoantropološki problem* 8(4): 1013-1024.
- ROBERTS, M. (2006): From ‘creative city’ to ‘no-go areas’ – The expansion of the night-time economy in British town and city centres. *Cities* 23(5): 331-338.
- ROBERTS, E. AND L. TOWNSEND (2016): The contribution of the creative economy to the resilience of rural communities: Exploring cultural and digital capital. *Sociologia Ruralis* 56(2): 197-219.
- ROBERTSON, R. (1995): Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity. In: M. FEATHERSTONE, S. LASH AND R. ROBERTSON (Eds.): *Global Modernities*: 25-44; London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi (SAGE Publications).
- RODRIK, D. (2016): Premature deindustrialization. *Journal of Economic Growth* 21(1): 1-33.
- ROIDER, K. A. (1972): The Perils of Eighteenth Century Peacemaking: Austria and the Treaty of Belgrade, 1739. *Central European History* 5(3): 195-207.

- RÖMER, S. (2009): Bulevar iluzija: Pouke Novog Beograda. In: Z. ERIC (Ed.): Diferencirana susedstva Novog Beograda: 99-108; Beograd (Muzej savremene umetnosti).
- ROODHOUSE, J. (2010): Cultural quarters: Principles and practice. Chicago (The University of Chicago Press Books).
- ROTAR BLAGOJEVIĆ, M. (1997): Basic Typology of the Public Buildings Presented on the Examples Built in Belgrade in Period Between 1830-1900. *Facta Universitatis. Architecture and Civil Engineering* 1(4): 509-524.
- ROTAR BLAGOJEVIĆ, M. (2006): Stambena arhitektura Beograda u 19. i početkom 20. veka. Belgrade (Orion Art).
- ROTAR BLAGOJEVIĆ, M. (2013): Jan Nevole: Prvi moderni arhitekta u Beogradu. In: N. SAMARDŽIĆ (Ed.) *Stranci u Beogradu, Deo III, Novi kulturni obrasci*: 129-148; Beograd (HeraEdu).
- ROTAR BLAGOJEVIĆ, M. (2014): The Impact of the Restitution on the Preservation of Cultural and Architectural Heritage and the Urban Development of Modern Belgrade. *Limes Plus* 11(2): 45-56.
- ROTAR-BLAGOJEVIĆ, M. (2017): Prikaz knjige: Nikola Nestorović/Marina Pavlović. *Arhitektura i urbanizam* 45: 84-87.
- ROZENTALE, I. AND M. LAVANGA (2014): The “universal” characteristics of creative industries revisited: The case of Riga. *City, Culture and Society* 5(2): 55-64.
- RUDOWICZ, E. (2003): Creativity and Culture: A two way interaction. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 47: 273-290.
- RUNCO, M. A. (1988): Creativity research: Originality, utility, and integration. *Creativity Research Journal* 1(1): 1-7.
- RUNCO, M. A. (1993): Operant Theories of Insight, Originality, and Creativity. *American Behavioral Scientist* 37(1): 54-67.
- RUNCO, M. A. AND R. E. CHARLES (1993): Judgments of originality and appropriateness as predictors of creativity. *Personality and Individual Differences* 15(5): 537-546.
- RUNCO, M. A. AND G. J. JAEGER (2012): The Standard Definition of Creativity. *Creativity Research Journal* 24(1): 92-96.
- SAILER-FLIEGE, U. (1999): Characteristics of Post-socialist Urban Transformation in East Central Europe. *GeoJournal* 49(1): 7–16.
- SASSEN, S. (2001): *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton (Princeton University Press).

- SAVIĆ, M. (2000): Novi Beograd – Stvaranje identiteta mesta. *Izgradnja* 54: 353-357.
- SAVIĆ, LJ. (2009): Srpska industrijalizacija za dvadeset prvi vek. *Industrija* 37(1): 1-17.
- SAWYER, R. K. (2012): *Explaining Creativity: The Science of Human Innovation*. New York (Oxford University Press).
- SCHUCK, A. M. AND D. P. ROSENBAUM (2006): Promoting Safe and Healthy Neighborhoods: What Research Tells Us about Intervention. In: K. FULBRIGHT-ANDERSON AND P. AUSPOS (Eds.): *Community Change: Theories, Practice, and Evidence*: 61-140; Washington D. C. (Aspen Institute).
- SCOTT, A. J. (2004): Cultural-products industries and urban economic development. Prospects for growth and market contestation in global context. *Urban Affairs Review* 39(4): 461-490.
- SCOTT, A. J. (2006): Creative Cities: Conceptual Issues and Policy Questions. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 28(1): 1-17.
- SCOTT, A. J. (2010): Cultural economy and the creative field of the city. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 92(2): 115-130.
- SCOTT, A. J. (2014): Beyond the Creative City: Cognitive–Cultural Capitalism and the New Urbanism. *Regional Studies* 48(4): 565-578.
- SEKULIĆ, D.; PREDIĆ, D. AND D. EREŠ (2009): Pitamo arhitekte koji se pitaju: pitajte one koji se pitaju o Novom Beogradu. In: Z. ERIC (Ed.): *Diferencirana susedstva Novog Beograda*: 126-134; Beograd (Muzej savremene umetnosti).
- SELINIĆ, S. (2005): Urbanizacija socijalističkog Beograda: Istorijski pogled na neke aspekte urbanizacije Beograda. *Tokovi istorije* 3-4: 182-204.
- SELINIĆ, S. (2007): Počeci socijalističkog Novog Beograda. Prva faza izgradnje Novog Beograda 1947-1950. *Tokovi istorije* 4: 75-69.
- SEMENČENKO, D. (2005): Formiranje nacionalnog kulturnog konteksta Srbije u 19. veku i njegove implikacije na razvoj inovacione kulture. In: V. MATEJIĆ (Ed.): *Zbornik radova XII naučnog skupa "Tehnologija, kultura i razvoj"*: 17-29; Beograd (Udruženje "Tehnologija i društvo", Institut "Mihajlo Pupin", Centar za istraživanje razvoja nauke i tehnologije).
- SHORTHOSE, J. (2004): The engineered and the vernacular in cultural quarter development. *Capital & Class* 84: 159-178.

- SIMMEL, G. (2002): *The Metropolis and Mental Life. The Sociology of Georg Simmel (1903)*. In: G. BRIDGE AND S. WATSON (Eds.): *The Blackwell City Reader*: 11-19; Oxford and Malden (Wiley-Blackwell).
- SIMMEL, G. (2006): *Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben*. Frankfurt am Main (Suhrkamp Verlag). First published in: *Die Großstadt. Vorträge und Aufsätze zur Stadtausstellung*. Jahrbuch der Gehe-Stiftung zu Dresden, TH. PETERMANN (Ed.) 1903: 158-206; Dresden.
- SLACH, O. AND T. BORUTA (2012): *What Can Cultural and Creative Industries Do for Urban Development? Three Stories from the Postsocialist Industrial City of Ostrava*. *Quaestiones Geographicae* 31(4): 99-112.
- SLACH, O.; KOUTSKY, J.; NOVOTNY, J. AND J. ZENKA (2013): *Creative industries in the Czech Republic: A spatial perspective*. *E+M Ekonomie a Management* 16(4): 14-23.
- SLAVKOVIĆ, LJ. (2013): *Belgrade on Troubled Political Waters*. *Kamenzind* 4: 6-15.
- SLEUTJES, B. (2016): *Housing and amenities as attracting factors for cities and their regions. A literature review*. In: S. MUSTERD, M. BONTJE, AND J. ROUWENDAL (Eds.): *Skills and Cities. Implications of location preferences of highly educated workers for spatial development of metropolitan areas*: 16-33; London and New York (Routledge).
- SMIT, A. J. (2011): *The Influence of District Visual Quality on Location Decisions of Creative Entrepreneurs*. *Journal Of The American Planning Association* 77(2): 167-184.
- SMITH, N. (1979): *Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People*. *Journal of American Planning Association* 45(4): 538-548.
- SMITH, N. (1996): *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London (Routledge).
- SMITH, N. (2002): *New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy*. In: N. BRENNER AND N. THEODORE (Eds.): *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*: 80-103; Malden, USA; Oxford, UK and Carlton, AU (Blackwell Publishing).
- SMITH, N. AND P. WILLIAMS (1986): *Alternatives to orthodoxy: invitation to a debate*. In: N. SMITH AND P. WILLIAMS (Eds.) *Gentrification of the City*: 1-14; Boston (Allen & Unwin).
- SOPIĆ, S. AND M. GAVRILOVIĆ (2013): *Face-lifting Facades*. *Kamenzind* 1: 9-13.

-
- STANILOV, K. (Ed.) (2007): *The Post-socialist City. Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism.* Dordrecht (Springer).
- STARK, D. (1992): Path Dependence and Privatization Strategies in East Central Europe. *East European Politics and Societies* 6: 17-51.
- STARK, D. AND L. BRUSZT (1998): *Postsocialist pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe.* Cambridge and New York (Cambridge University Press).
- STEFAN, C. G. (1982): The Emergence of the Soviet-Yugoslav Break: A Personal View from the Belgrade Embassy. *Diplomatic History* 6(4): 387-404.
- STEFANOVIĆ, M. (2018): Creative Entrepreneurship in No Man's Land: Challenges and Prospects for a Metropolitan Area and Smaller Communities. *Perspectives from the Never-Ending Transition.* In: E. INNERHOFER, H. PECHLANER, AND E. BORIN (Eds.): *Entrepreneurship in Culture and Creative Industries. Perspectives from Companies and Regions:* 311-325; Cham: Springer.
- STEFANOVIĆ VILOVSKI, T. (1911): *Metamorfoza Beograda.* Belgrade.
- STEINNES, D. (1977): Causality and intra-urban location. *Journal of Urban Economics* 4(1): 69-79.
- STERN, M. J. AND S. C. SEIFERT (2008): From Creative Economy to Creative Society. *Culture and Community Revitalization: A Collaboration* 6: 1-16.
- STERNBERG, R. J. AND G. KRAUS (2014): *Handbook of Research on Entrepreneurship and Creativity.* Chentelham, UK and Northampton, USA (Edward Elgar Publishing).
- STERNBERG, R. J. AND T. I. LUBART (1999): The Concept of Creativity: Prospects and Paradigms. In: R. J. STERNBERG (Ed.): *Handbook of Creativity:* 3-15; Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- STEVANOVIĆ, S. AND J. MILENKOVIĆ (2017): Youth tourism as a contributor to the development of Belgrade as a tourism destination. *Hotel and Tourism Management* 5(2): 74-84.
- STORPER, M. AND A. J. SCOTT (2009): Rethinking human capital, creativity and urban growth. *Journal of Economic Geography* 9: 147–167.
- STORPER, M. AND A.J. VENABLES (2004): Buzz: face-to-face contact and the urban economy. *Journal of Economic Geography* 4: 351–370.

- STRAMBACH, S. AND H. HALKIER (2013): Reconceptualising Change. Path Dependency, Path Plasticity and Knowledge Combination. *Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsgeographie* 57(1-2): 1-14.
- STRYJAKIEWICZ, T. (2010): Location factors of the creative and knowledge-intensive industries in European metropolitan regions. *Geographical Journal* 62(1): 3-19.
- STRYJAKIEWICZ, T.; BURDACK, J. AND T. EGEDY (2010): Institutional change and new development paths: Budapest, Leipzig, Poznań, Riga and Sofia. In: S. MUSTERD AND A. MURIE (Eds.): *Making competitive cities*: 93-112; Oxford (Wiley-Blackwell).
- STRYJAKIEWICZ, T.; MĘCZYŃSKI, M. AND K. STACHOWIAK (2014): Role of Creative Industries in the Post-Socialist Urban Transformation. *Quaestiones Geographicae* 33(2): 19-35.
- STYHRE, A. AND M. ERIKSSON (2007): Bring in the Arts and Get the Creativity for Free: A Study of the Artists in Residence Project. *Creativity and Innovation Management* 17(1): 47-57.
- SWYNGEDOUW, E. (1992): The Mammon Quest. 'Glocalization', interspatial competition and the monetary order: the construction of new scales. In: M. DUNFORD AND G. KAFKALAS (Eds.): *Cities and regions in the new Europe: the global-local interplay and spatial development strategies*: 39-67; London (Belhaven Press).
- SWYNGEDOUW, E. (2004): Globalisation or 'glocalisation'? Networks, territories and rescaling. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 17(1): 25-48.
- SÝKORA, L. (1994): Local Urban Restructuring as a Mirror of Globalisation Processes. Prague in the 1990s. *Urban Studies* 31(7): 1149-1166.
- SÝKORA, L. (2005): Gentrification in post-communist cities. In: R. ATKINSON I G. BRIDGE (Eds.): *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*: 90-105; London (Routledge).
- SÝKORA, L. AND S. BOUZAROVSKI (2012): Multiple Transformations: Conceptualizing the Post-communist Urban Transition. *Urban Studies* 49(1): 43-60.
- SZELENYI, I. (1996): Cities under socialism – And after. In: G. D. ANDRUSZ, M. HARLOE AND I. SZELÉNYI (Eds.): *Cities after Socialism. Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-socialist Societies*: 286-317. Oxford et al. (Blackwell).
- TANTALO, C. AND R. L. PRIEM (2016): Value creation through stakeholder synergy. *Strategic Management Journal* 37(2): 314-329.

- TASAN-KOK, T. (2006): Institutional and spatial change. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy*: 51-70; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).
- TAYLOR, C. (2006): Beyond advocacy: Developing an evidence base for regional creative industry strategies. *Cultural Trends* 15(1): 3-18.
- TEDDLIE, C. AND A. TASHAKKORI (2009): *Foundation of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore (Sage Publications).
- TERKESSIDIS, M. (2009): Prostor između blokova. Šta se može naučiti od lokalnih načina pravljenja gradova. In: Z. ERIĆ (Ed.): *Diferencirana susedstva Novog Beograda*: 87-98; Beograd (Muzej savremene umetnosti).
- THORSBY, D. (2003): Determining the Value of Cultural Goods: How Much (or How Little) Does Contingent Valuation Tell Us? *Journal of Cultural Economics* 27: 275–285.
- THORSBY, D. (2008a): The concentric circles model of the cultural industries. *Cultural Trends* 17(3): 147-164.
- THORSBY, D. (2008b): From Cultural to Creative Industries: The Specific Characteristics of the Creative Industries. Paper presented at Troisième Journées d’Economie de la Culture: Nouvelles Frontières de l’Economie de la Culture, conference held at Musée du quai Branly, Paris, 2–3 October 2008.
- TOMANOVIĆ, S. AND S. IGNJATOVIĆ (2006): The Transition of Young People in a Transitional Society: The Case of Serbia. *Journal of Youth Studies* 9(3): 269-285.
- TOPA, G. AND Y. ZENOU (2015): Neighborhood and Network Effects. In: G. DURANTON, J. V. HENDERSON AND W. STRANGE (Eds.): *Handbook of Regional and Urban Economics*: 561-624; Amsterdam and Oxford (Elsevier).
- TOSICS, I. (2005): City development in Central and Eastern Europe since 1990: The impact of internal forces. In: H. HAMILTON, K. DIMITROVSKA ANDREWS AND N. PICHLER-MILANOVIC (Eds.): *Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization*: 44-78; New York, Tokyo and Paris (United Nations University Press).
- TOSICS, I. (2006): Spatial restructuring in post-socialist Budapest. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-*

- socialist Europe. *Space, Institutions and Policy*: 131-150; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).
- TOWSE, R. (2010): *Creativity, Copyright and the Creative Industries Paradigm*. *Kyklos* 63(3): 461-478.
- TRGOVČEVIĆ, LJ. (2003): *Planirana elita: O studentima iz Srbije na evropskim univerzitetima u 19. veku*. Beograd (Istorijski institut).
- TRIP, J. J. (2007): *Assesing quality of Place: A comparative analysis of Amsterdam and Rotterdam*. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 29(5): 501-517.
- TSENKOVA, S. (2006): *Beyond transitions: Understanding urban change in post-socialist cities*. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe*. *Space, Institutions and Policy*: 21-50; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).
- TSENKOVA, S. AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.) (2006): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe*. *Space, Institutions and Policy*. Heidelberg: Physica-Verlag.
- TSENKOVA, S. WITH Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (2006): *The post-socialist urban world*. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe*. *Space, Institutions and Policy*: 349-366; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).
- ULLMANN, O. (2006): *Letter from Belgrade. Serbian potential*. *The International Economy* 20(3): 8-9.
- UNKOVIĆ, M. AND N. KORDIĆ (2011): *Potential for attracting FDI in Serbia*. *Singidunum Scientific Review* 8(1): 163-177.
- URBAN, K. K. (1995): *Different Models in Describing, Exploring, Explaining and Nurturing Creativity in Society*. *European Journal For High Ability* 6(2): 143-159.
- VAN DIJK, J. (2006): *The Network Society. Social Aspects of New Media*. Second Edition. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi (Sage Publications).
- VAN OORT, F.; WETERINGS, A. AND H. VERLINDE (2003): *Residential amenities of knowledge workers and the location of ICT-Firms in the Netherlands*. *Journal of Economic and Social Geography* 94(4): 516-523.
- VANIŠTA LAZAREVIĆ, E.; KORUŽNJAK, B. AND M. DEVETAKOVIĆ (2015): *Culture design-led regeneration as a tool used to regenerate deprived areas. Belgrade—The Savamala quarter; reflections on an unplanned cultural zone*. *Energy and Buildings* 115: 3-10.
- VELIKONJA, M. (2009): *Lost in Transition: Nostalgia for Socialism in Post-socialist Countries*. *East European Politics and Societies* 23(4): 535-551.

- VERNON, R. (1979): The product cycle hypothesis in a new international environment. *Oxford bulletin of economics and statistics* 41(4): 255-267.
- VERNON, R. AND L. T. WELLS (1966): International trade and international investment in the product life cycle. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 81(2): 190-207.
- VOGEL, P. (2015): *Generation Jobless? Turning the Youth Unemployment Crisis into Opportunity*. Houndsmills, Basingstoke (Palgrave Macmillan).
- VOJKOVIĆ, G.; MILETIĆ, R. AND D. MILJANOVIĆ (2010): Savremeni demografsko-ekonomski procesi u prostoru beogradske aglomeracije. *Glasnik Srpskog geografskog društva* 90(1): 215-235.
- VUČETIĆ, R. (2012a): *Koka-Kola socijalizam*. Belgrade (Službeni glasnik).
- VUČETIĆ, R. (2012b): Trubom kroz gvozdenu zavesu – Prodor džeza u socijalističku Jugoslaviju. *Muzikologija* 12(13): 53-77.
- VUJOŠEVIĆ, M. AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (2006): Planning and Societal Context. The Case of Belgrad, Serbia. In: S. TSENKOVA AND Z. NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ (Eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-socialist Europe. Space, Institutions and Policy*: 275–294; Heidelberg (Physica-Verlag).
- VUJOVIĆ, S. (2014): Socioprostorni identitet Beograda u kontekstu urbanog i regionalnog razvoja Srbije. *Sociologija* 56(2): 145-166.
- VUJOVIĆ, S., AND M. PETROVIĆ (2007): Belgrade's post-socialist urban evolution: Reflections by the actors in the development process. In: STANILOV K. (Ed.): *The Post-socialist City. Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*: 361-383; Dordrecht: Springer.
- VUKOTIĆ LAZAR, M. M. AND N. M. DANILOVIĆ HRISTIĆ (2015): The growth and development of Belgrade in the period from 1815 to 1910. *Collection of papers of the Faculty of Philosophy* 45(3): 51-80.
- VUKOTIĆ, L. AND J. ĐOKIĆ. 2006. Complex history as a source of planning problems: Old Belgrade fairground. *Spatium* 13-14: 34-40.
- VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA, Z. (2011): Socijalni stanovi Beograda u prvoj polovini 20. veka. *Nasleđe* 12: 65-89.
- VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA, Z. (2012): Rentijerski stanovi za siromašne Beograđane 1919-1941. *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 8: 77-86.
- VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA, Z. (2015a): Bara Venecija i Savamala: Železnica i grad. *Nasleđe* 16: 9-26.

- VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA, Z. (2015b): San o gradu. Međunarodni konkurs za urbanističko uređenje Beograda 1921-1922. Belgrade (Orion art).
- VUKSANOVIĆ MACURA, Z. AND V. MACURA (2007): Stanovanje i naselja Roma u jugoistočnoj Evropi: Prikaz stanja i napretka u Srbiji. Beograd (Društvo za unapređivanje romskih naselja, Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije).
- WILKINSON, J. (1997): A new paradigm for economic analysis? *Economy and Society* 26: 305-339.
- WINKLER, A. (2015): Räumliche Differenzierung und locale Entwicklung. Divergente Transformationspfade am Beispiel serbischer Kommunen. Bamberg (University of Bamberg Press).
- WOJAN, T. R.; LAMBERT, D. M. AND D. A. MCGRANAHAN (2007): Emoting with their feet: Bohemian attraction to creative milieu. *Journal of Economic Geography* 7(6): 711-736.
- YIGITCANLAR, T. (2009): Planning for knowledge-based urban development: global perspectives. *Journal of Knowledge Management* 13(5): 228-242.
- YIGITCANLAR, T. AND K. VELIBEYOGLU (2008): Knowledge-Based Urban Development: The Local Economic Development Path of Brisbane, Australia. *Local Economy: The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit* 23(3): 195-207.
- ZAKOŠEK, N. (1997): Pravna država i demokracija u postsocijalizmu. *Politička misao* 34(4): 78-85.
- ZEGARAC, Z. (1999): Illegal construction in Belgrade and the prospects for urban development planning. *Cities* 16(5): 365-370.
- ZEKOVIĆ, S., SPASIĆ, N, AND T. MARIČIĆ (2007): Development of new economic poles in metropolitan areas: Belgrade example. *Spatium International Review* 15-16: 21-27.
- ZUKIN, S. (1987): Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core. *Annual Review of Sociology* 13: 129-147.
- ZUKIN, S. (1990): Socio-Spatial Prototypes of a New Organization of Consumption: The Role of Real Cultural Capital. *Sociology* 24(1): 31-56.
- ZUKIN, S. (1998): Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption. *Urban Studies* 35(5-6): 825-839.
- ZUKIN, S. AND L. BRASLOW (2011): The life cycle of New York's creative districts: Reflections on the unanticipated consequences of unplanned cultural zones. *City, Culture and Society* 2: 131-140.

Publications and Reports

- BAKHSHI, H.; FREY, C. B. AND M. OSBORNE (2015): Creativity vs. Robots. The Creative Economy and the Future of Employment. London (Nesta).
- BRAUN, E. AND M. LAVANGA (2007): An international comparative quick scan of national policies for creative industries. Rotterdam (Euricur: for the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science of the Netherlands).
- BUNDESINSTITUT FÜR BAU-, STADT- UND RAUMFORSCHUNG (BBSR) (2010): BBSR-Berichte KOMPAKT. Metropolräume in Europa. Kurzfassung einer neuen Studie des BBSR. 4/2010. Bonn (BBSR).
- CITY OF BELGRADE – SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION – SECTOR FOR STATISTICS (2013): Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2012. Belgrade (City of Belgrade – Secretariat for Administration – Sector for Statistics).
- CITY OF BELGRADE – SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION – SECTOR FOR STATISTICS (2014): Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2013. Belgrade (City of Belgrade – Secretariat for Administration – Sector for Statistics).
- CITY OF BELGRADE – SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION – SECTOR FOR STATISTICS (2015): Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2014. Belgrade (City of Belgrade – Secretariat for Administration – Sector for Statistics).
- CITY OF BELGRADE – SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION – SECTOR FOR STATISTICS (2016): Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2015. Belgrade (City of Belgrade – Secretariat for Administration – Sector for Statistics).
- CITY OF BELGRADE – SECRETARIAT FOR ADMINISTRATION – SECTOR FOR STATISTICS (2017): Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2016. Belgrade (City of Belgrade – Secretariat for Administration – Sector for Statistics).
- DEPARTMENT FOR CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT (DCMS) (1998): Creative Industries, Mapping Document. London (DCMS).
- DEPARTMENT FOR CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT (DCMS) (2001): Creative Industries, Mapping Document. London (DCMS).
- DERVOJEDA, K.; NAGTEGAAL, F.; LENGTON, M. AND P. DATTA (2013): Creative industries. Analysis of industry-specific framework conditions relevant for the development of world-class clusters. Extension of the European Cluster Observatory, Promoting better policies to develop world-class clusters in Europe. European Union, September 2013.
- ENERGOPROJEKT (2011): Energoprojekt – 60 godina uspeha. Monografija povodom 60 godina od osnivanja kompanije. Belgrade (Energoprojekt).

- HARRIS, C.; COLLINS, M. AND D. CHEEK (2013): America's Creative Economy. A Study of Recent Conceptions, Definitions, and Approaches to Measurement Across the USA. A Report from the Creative Economy Coalition (CEC), a Working Group of the National Creativity Network. Oklahoma City (National Creativity Network in collaboration with Creative Alliance Milwaukee).
- HIGGS, P.; CUNNINGHAM, S. AND H. BAKHSHI (2008): Beyond the creative industries: Mapping the creative economy in the United Kingdom. London (NESTA).
- KEA, EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (2006): The Economy of Culture in Europe, study prepared for the European Commission (Directorate-General for Education and Culture). Brussels (KEA, European Affairs).
- LANVIN, B. AND P. EVANS (Eds.) (2018): The Global Talent Competitiveness Index: Diversity for Competitiveness. Fontainebleau, France (INSEAD).
- LUKIĆ, V. (2015): Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova 2011. u Republici Srbiji. Dve decenije izbeglištva u Srbiji. Beograd (Republički zavod za statistiku).
- MARKUSEN, A. AND A. GADWA (2010): Creative Placemaking: Executive Summary. A White Paper for The Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative of the National Endowment for the Arts in partnership with the United States Conference of Mayors and American Architectural Foundation. Washington D.C. (Markusen Economic Research Services and Metris Arts Consulting).
- MARTIN-BRELOT, H.; THOUZELLIER, C.; PEYROUX, E. AND D. ECKERT (2010): Economic policies and strategies in Toulouse. How to enhance the city's competitiveness. ACRE report WP10.11. Amsterdam (AISSR).
- MATIJEVIĆ, M. AND M. ŠOLAJA (2015): ICT in Serbia: At a Glance. Novi Sad (Vojvodina ICT Cluster).
- MITROVIĆ, Đ. (2017): Na putu ka blagostanju 4.0 – Digitalizacija u Srbiji. Belgrade (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung).
- MÜLLER-WIEFERIG, M. AND E. HERZEN (Eds.) (2013a): Urban Incubator: Belgrade - a Goethe-Institut Project of Excellence 2013. Belgrade (Goethe Institute).
- MÜLLER-WIEFERIG, M. AND E. HERZEN (Eds.) (2013b): Vol. 2 - Résumé: Findings and Perspectives Goethe - Institut Belgrad. Belgrade (Goethe Institute).
- NEŠIĆ, S. (2008): Radni dokument - Konkurentnost privrede Srbije. Beograd (Srpski ekonomski forum).

- ROWTHORN, R. AND R. RAMASWAMY (1997): Deindustrialisation: Causes and Implications. Staff Studies for the World Economic Outlook: 61-77; Washington D. C. (International Monetary Fund).
- SERBIA INVESTMENT AND EXPORT PROMOTION AGENCY (2015): Serbia Smart Solution. ICT Sector. Belgrade (Serbia Investment and Export Promotion Agency).
- STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA (2013a): Educational Attainment, Literacy and Computer Literacy. Data by municipalities and cities. 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia. Belgrade (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia).
- STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA (2013b): 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia. Migrations – Data by municipalities and cities. Belgrade (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia).
- STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA (2014): Comparative Overview of the Number of Population in 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2011. Belgrade (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia).
- UNCTAD (2008): Creative Economy Report 2008. The Challenge of Assessing the Creative Economy: towards Informed Policy-making. New York (UNCTAD).
- URBAN PLANNING INSTITUTE OF BELGRADE (2003): Generalni plan Beograda 2021. Belgrade (Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade).
- URBAN PLANNING INSTITUTE OF BELGRADE (2016): Generalni urbanistički plan Beograda – GUP Beograda 2021. Belgrade (Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade).

Media and Internet sources

- AGENCIJA ZA PRIVREDNE REGISTRE (APR) (2018): The Bussines Entities Search. Retrieved from: <http://pretraga2.apr.gov.rs/ObjedinjenePretrage/Search/Search>, 15.05.2018.
- B92 (2015a): Vesić: Gužve na linijama 23 i 95. Retrieved from: http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2015&mm=03&dd=19&nav_id=970452, 22.09.2016.
- B92 (2015b): Rekordna posećenost Mikser Festivala. Retrieved from: http://www.b92.net/kultura/vesti.php?nav_category=1087&yyyy=2015&mm=06&dd=09&nav_id=1002380, 20.05.2015.

- B92 (2018a): ICT sector is Serbia's "most promising industry". Retrieved from: https://www.b92.net/eng/news/business.php?yyyy=2018&mm=03&dd=07&nav_id=103649, 21.06.2018.
- B92 (2018b): Šarčević gubi strpljenje, BG dobija novi fakultet? Retrieved from: https://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2018&mm=03&dd=09&nav_category=12&nav_id=1367639, 16.07.2018.
- BELGRADE WATERFRONT (2016): Belgrade Waterfront, Home, Gallery, Masterplan. Retrieved from: <https://www.belgradewaterfront.com/en/belgrade-waterfront-gallery/masterplan/>, 19.06.2016.
- BLIC (2015): Gradski prevoz dnevno koristi 2.500.000 putnika: Najveće gužve na liniji 95. Retrieved from: <http://www.blic.rs/vesti/beograd/gradski-prevoz-dnevno-koristi-2500000-putnika-najvece-guzve-na-liniji-95/0837t88>, 22.09.2016.
- BUSINESS INSIDER (2015): The 12 coolest neighbourhoods in Europe. Retrieved from: <http://uk.businessinsider.com/the-coolest-neighborhoods-in-europe-2015-6?op=1>, 20.05.2015.
- COY, P. (2000): The creative economy. BusinessWeek, August 28 special double issue on The 21st Century Corporation: 76-82.
- DANAS (2016): Dosije Savamala. Special edition, Sunday, June 26th, 2016.
- FONET (2017): Brnabić sa Foruma: Ekonomija, stabilnost, EU prioriteti Vlade Srbije. Retrieved from: <https://www.danas.rs/politika/brnabic-sa-foruma-ekonomija-stabilnost-eu-prioriteti-vlade-srbije-2/>, 29.06.2018.
- FORD, S. AND A. DAVIES (1998): Art capital. Art Monthly 213: 1-4.
- GLOBALIZATION AND WORLD CITIES RESEARCH NETWORK (GaWC) (2018): The World According to GaWC. Retrieved from: <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/gawcworlds.html>, 09.04.2018.
- GOETHE INSTITUTE (2014): Urban Incubator Belgrade – Savamala. A City Quarter Reinvents Itself. Retrieved from: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/cs/bel/prj/uic/srindex.htm>, 20.05.2015.
- GRAD (2015): O Gradu, Evropski Centar za Kulturu i Debatu GRAD. Retrieved from: <http://www.gradbeograd.eu/info.php>, 20.05.2015.
- GRADSKO SAOBRAĆAJNO PREDUZEĆE “BEOGRAD” (2018): Trase linija JGP-a. Retrieved from: http://www.gsp.rs/dokumenti/mapa_linija/trase_linija_20151125.pdf, 21.02.2018.
- GUARDIAN (2015a): Belgrade Waterfront: an unlikely place for Gulf petrodollars to settle. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/>

dec/10/belgrade-waterfront-gulf-petrodollars-exclusive-waterside-development, 15.08.2016.

GUARDIAN (2015b): Belgrade's Savamala district: Serbia's new creative hub. Retrieved from: <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2015/feb/07/belgrade-savamala-serbia-city-break>, 20.05.2015.

GUARDIAN (2016): 10 of the best industrial-chic spaces worldwide. Retrieved from: <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2016/mar/07/top-10-industrial-chic-restaurants-exhibition-spaces-architecture>, 08.03.2016.

GUTTMAN, A. (2015): Instant Success For A Silicon Valley nStyle Startup... In Belgrade. Retrieved from: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/amyguttman/2015/02/10/instant-success-for-a-silicon-valley-style-startup-in-belgrade/#>, 18.12.2017.

ISIĆ, M. (2003): Pismenost u Srbiji u 19. veku. Obrazovanje kod Srba: 63-80. Beograd (The Institute of History). Retrieved from: <https://istorijskacitanka.wordpress.com/2012/08/25/писменост-у-србији-19-века/>, 15.03.2017.

KAMPS, U. (2018): Gabler Wirtschaftslexikon – Wachstumsrate. Retrieved from: <https://wirtschaftslexikon.gabler.de/definition/wachstumsrate-48609/version-271860>, 13.07.2018.

KEMPENAERS J. (2008): Spomenik, The Monuments of Former Yugoslavia. Retrieved from: <http://www.jankempenaers.info/texts/03/>, 31.01.2017.

KOTKIN, J. (2005): Uncool cities. Prospect magazine, October 22, 2005. Retrieved from: <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/uncoolcities>, 08.02.2017.

LALIĆ, I. (2017): Ivan Lalić za Nedeljnik: Mikser nikada nije bio miljenik vlasti. Retrieved from: <http://www.nedeljnik.rs/nedeljnik/portalnews/ivan-lalic-za-nedeljnik-mikser-nikada-nije-bio-miljenik-vlasti/>, 30.5.2018.

MAD MARX (2016): Istraživanja o kreativnoj i kolaborativnoj ekonomiji. Retrieved from: <http://istrazivanja.vikki.madmarx.biz/>, 19.07.2016.

MIKSER (2014): Mikser House – Otvoren Mikser House. Retrieved from: <http://blog.mikser.rs/tagged/house>, 20.05.2015.

MIKSER (2017): Doviđenja, Savamala! Retrieved from: <http://house.mikser.rs/dovidenja-savamala/>, 12.03.2018.

MIKSER (2018): Mikser House Sarajevo. Retrieved from: <http://house.mikser.rs/mhsarajevo-campaign/>, 15.06.2018.

- MIKSER FACEBOOK PAGE (2017): Naša vrata su uvijek širom otvorena!!! Retrieved from: <https://www.facebook.com/mikser.belgrade/photos/a.266133856797530/1496559093754994/?type=3&theater>, 08.03.2018.
- MILUTINOVIĆ, B. (2017): Prvi veliki intervju osnivača Nordeusa: U čemu je tajna najveće srpske IT kompanije. Original Magazin, piše Miljana Nešković, 20. Mart 2017. Retrieved from: <http://www.nedeljnik.rs/nedeljnik/portalnews/prvi-veliki-intervju-osnivaca-nordeusa-u-cemu-je-tajna-najvece-srpske-it-kompanije/>, 19.03.2018.
- MÜLLER, A.-L. (2008): Creative Cities as places for knowledge-intensive economies: The cases of Dublin and Gothenburg. Conference paper, Leipzig. Retrieved from: <https://elib.suub.uni-bremen.de/peid=P00105371>, 30.03.2018.
- N1INFO (2016): OEBS o slučaju Savamala: Rušenje planirano na visokom nivou. N1info, 27.09.2016. Retrieved from: <http://rs.n1info.com/a196937/Vesti/Vesti/OEBS-o-slucaju-Savamala-Rusenje-planirano-na-visokom-nivou.html>, 28.09.2016.
- N1INFO (2017): Mikser house: Nismo mogli dalje. Retrieved from: <http://ba.n1info.com/a234825/Vijesti/Vijesti/Mikser-House-Nismo-mogli-dalje.html>, 07.06.2018.
- NATIONAL BANK OF SERBIA (NBS) (2018): Average exchange rates of the dinar against the world's leading currencies. Retrieved from: https://www.nbs.rs/internet/english/scripts/kl_prosecni.html, 17.07.2018.
- NE DA(VI)MO BEOGRAD FACEBOOK PAGE (2016a): Protest June 25, 2016. Retrieved from: <https://www.facebook.com/nedavimobeograd/photos/a.353722664805245/635713573272818/?type=3&theater>, 01.08.2016.
- NE DA(VI)MO BEOGRAD FACEBOOK PAGE (2016b): Protest July 13, 2016. Retrieved from: <https://www.facebook.com/nedavimobeograd/photos/a.353722664805245/643802829130559/?type=3&theatre>, 01.08.2016.
- NIKOLA TESLA AIRPORT (2015): Traffic Figures. Retrieved from <http://www.beg.aero/en/strana/17651/2014-traffic-figures>, 06.10.2015.
- NIKOLA TESLA AIRPORT (2017): Traffic Figures. Retrieved from <http://www.beg.aero/en/strana/11161/statistika>, 25.12.2017.
- NOVA ISKRA (2018): Otvoren konkurs za tim koji će voditi novu lokaciju Nova Iskra prostora u Zemunu. Retrieved from: <http://novaiskra.com/otvoren-konkurs-za-tim-koji-ce-voditi-novu-lokaciju-nova-iskra-workspace-u-zemunu/>, 01.07.2018.

- NOVOSTI (2013): Propast pet kapitalnih investicija: Mogli smo biti deo razvijenog sveta! Retrieved from: <http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/ekonomija/aktuelno.239.html:470329-Propast-pet-kapitalnih-investicija-Mogli-smo-biti-deo-modenog-sveta>, 27.04.2016.
- PETROVIĆ, P. (2017): National Museum – Collection of Serbian 18th and 19th century paintings. Retrieved from: <http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/en/collections/collections-of-the-national-museum/new-age-and-modern-period/collection-of-serbian-18th-and-19th-century-painting/>, 15.03.2017.
- POLITIKA (2016a): Mir se vraća u Cetinjsku. Retrieved from: <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/363233/Mir-se-vraca-u-Cetinjsku>, 12.09.2016.
- POLITIKA (2016b): Majstori softvera – najbolje iz Srbije. Retrieved from: <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/358452/Tema-nedelje/Majstori-softvera-najbolje-iz-Srbije>, 27.09.2016.
- PRIVREDNI IMENIK (2016): Privredni imenik Srbije. Informacione tehnologije. Beograd. Retrieved from: <http://privredni-imenik.com/pretraga.php?rec=&kategorija=13&delatnost=0&mesto=700000>, 20.1.2016.
- PRZYBILLA, S. (2017): Silicon Serbia. Süddeutsche Zeitung, Wednesday, October 11, 2017, Nr. 234.
- RADIO TELEVIZIJA VOJVODINE (RTV) (2014): Uklanjanjem šina počela realizacija Beograda na vodi. RTV, 08.03.2014. Retrieved from: http://rtv.rs/sr_ci/ekonomija/uklanjanjem-sina-pocela-realizacija-beograda-na-vodi_468028.html, 27.04.2016.
- SATARIANO, A. (2017): In Belgrade, Yes Belgrade, an Unlikely Path to a Tech Hit. Retrieved from: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-08-14/in-belgrade-yes-belgrade-an-unlikely-path-to-a-tech-hit>, 21.06.2018.
- SOVILJ, M. (2018): Da li je ulaganje u strane IT kompanije interes država. Retrieved from: <http://rs.n1info.com/a374078/Sci-Tech/Da-li-je-ulaganje-u-strane-IT-kompanije-interes-drzave.html>, 29.06.2018.
- TOMIĆ, D. (2017): Novi klinici su drčniji, odvažniji i nemaju barijere. Zato će uspeti. Retrieved from: <http://www.nedeljnik.rs/magazin/portalnews/novi-klinici-su-drcniji-odvazniji-i-nemaju-barijere-zato-ce-uspeti/>, 08.06.2018.
- UBOVIĆ, D. (2015): KC Grad iznad Beograda na vodi. <https://www.vice.com/rs/article/9ayv8v/nakon-sest-godina-borbe-kc-grad-i-dalje-drzi-glavu-iznad-vode-beograda-na-vodi>, 30.5.2018.

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) (2006): Understanding Creative Industries. Retrieved from: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/30297/11942616973cultural_stat_EN.pdf/cultural_stat_EN.pdf, 25.10.2014

VREME (2011): 15 godina od studentskih protesta. 22.11.2011. Retrieved from: <http://vreme.rs/cms/view.php?id=1020865>, 20.03.2018.

Other sources

BULAJIĆ, V. (2010): Quote from documentary movie Cinema Communisto (1:35:46 – 1:36:12).

BROZ, J. (1966): Govori i članci, 18, Zagreb.

ILIĆ, LJ. (1948): Uz izgradnju Novog Beograda. Arhitektura 8–10 (2) (March–May).

JARMUSCH, J. (2004): Things I've Learned: Jim Jarmusch. MovieMaker Magazine #53 - Winter, January 22, 2004. Retrieved from: <http://www.moviemaker.com/archives/moviemaking/directing/jim-jarmusch-5-golden-rules-of-moviemaking/>, 20.10.2016.

BAMBERGER GEOGRAPHISCHE SCHRIFTEN

(ISSN 0344-6557)

Herausgegeben von H. Becker, K. Garleff und W. Krings

- Band 1: HANS BECKER u. HORST KOPP [Hrsg.]
Resultate aktueller Jemen-Forschung - eine Zwischenbilanz. 1978. XII + 150 S.,
zahlr. Abb. u. (z.T. farbige) Photos.
Ladenpreis € 13,55
- Band 2: JOACHIM BURDACK
Entwicklungstendenzen der Raumstruktur in Metropolitan Areas der USA. 1985.
XII + 166 S., mit 45 Abb. und 54 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 17,28
- Band 3: JÖRG JANZEN
Die Nomaden Dhofars/Sultanat Oman. Traditionelle Lebensformen im Wandel.
1980. XXII + 314 S., 71 Abb., 35 Photos, 15 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 26,18
- Band 4: HANS BECKER [Hrsg.]
Kulturgeographische Prozeßforschung in Kanada - eine Bestandsaufnahme junger
Feldforschung. 1982. X + 329 S., reich illustriert.
Ladenpreis € 13,75
- Band 5: HELGA LIEBRICHT
Das Frostklima Islands seit dem Beginn der Instrumentenbeobachtung. 1983. XII
+ 110 S., 22 Tab., 47 Abb. im Text und als Beilage.
Ladenpreis € 15,65
- Band 6: RÜDIGER BEYER
Der ländliche Raum und seine Bewohner. Abgrenzung und Gliederung des
ländlichen Raumes, durchgeführt am Beispiel einer bevölkerungsgeographischen
Untersuchung des Umlandes von Bamberg und Bayreuth. 1986. XVIII + 182 S.,
21 Abb. und 37 Tab. im Text sowie 12 Karten als Beilage.
Ladenpreis € 20,96
- Band 7: K. GARLEFF; E.M.A. DE VAZQUEZ & H. WAHLE
Geomorphologische Karte 1: 100 000 'La Junta - Agua Nueva,
Mendoza/Argentinien'. Möglichkeiten und Ergebnisse geomorphologischer
Kartierungen und ihre einfarbige Darstellung. (Zweisprachige Ausgabe:
Deutsch/Spanisch). 1989. VII + 100 S., 9 Abb. im Text, 3 Karten als Beilage.
Ladenpreis € 19,22
- Band 8: FRANK SCHÄBITZ
Untersuchungen zum aktuellen Pollenniederschlag und zur holozänen Klima- und
Vegetationsentwicklung in den Anden Nord-Neuquéns, Argentinien. 1989. XII +
132 S., 40 Abb. im Text u. als Beilage, 2 Farbtafeln, 27 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 21,32
- Band 9: MANFRED GABRIEL
Boomstädte: ein prozessualer Stadttyp, erörtert an den Beispielen Fairbanks,
Whitehorse und Yellowknife. 1991. XIV + 208 S., mit 60 Abb. u. 29 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 18,41
- Band 10: HANS BECKER [Hrsg.]
Jüngere Fortschritte der regionalgeographischen Kenntnis über Albanien. Beiträge
des Herbert-Louis-Gedächtnissymposiums. 1991. VII + 184 S., 57 Abb. u. 36 Tab.
im Text u. einer Farbkarte Albanien (Beilage).
Ladenpreis € 13,50

BAMBERGER GEOGRAPHISCHE SCHRIFTEN

(ISSN 0344-6557)

Herausgegeben von H. Becker, K. Garleff und W. Krings

- Band 11: KARSTEN GARLEFF u. HELMUT STINGL [Hrsg.]
Südamerika: Geomorphologie und Paläoökologie im jüngeren Quartär. 1991. VIII + 394 S., mit 110 Abb. im Text u. 5 Beilagen.
Ladenpreis € 22,24
- Band 12: JOACHIM BURDACK
Kleinstädte in den USA. Jüngere Entwicklungen, dargestellt am Beispiel der Upper Great Lakes Area. 1993. XII + 194 S., mit 70 Abb. und 14 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 15,29
- Band 13: THOMAS HÖFNER
Fluvialer Sedimenttransfer in der periglazialen Höhenstufe der Zentralalpen, südliche Hohe Tauern, Osttirol. Bestandsaufnahme und Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der mittel- bis jungholozänen Dynamik. 1993. XI + 125 S., mit 94 Abb. und 13 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 15,24
- Band 14: HARALD STANDL
Der Industrieraum Istanbul. Genese der Standortstrukturen und aktuelle Standortprobleme des verarbeitenden Gewerbes in der türkischen Wirtschaftsmetropole. 1994. XVI + 177 S., mit 37 Tab., 12 Abb. und 15 Kartenbeilagen.
Ladenpreis € 18,02
- Band 15: KARSTEN GARLEFF u. HELMUT STINGL [Hrsg.]
Landschaftsentwicklung, Paläoökologie und Klimageschichte der Ariden Diagonale Südamerikas im Jungquartär. 1998. VIII + 401 S., mit 129 Abb. und 19 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 23,20
- Band 16: CHRISTIAN KECK
Zeitschnitte durch die Stadtentwicklung von Halberstadt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Fallstudie zur städtebaulichen Kontinuität einer traditionsreichen Mittelstadt des nordöstlichen Vorharzgebietes. 1997. X + 98 S., mit 12 Skizzen und 7 Kartenbeilagen.
Ladenpreis € 18,46
- Band 17: FRANK SCHÄBITZ
Paläoökologische Untersuchungen an geschlossenen Hohlformen in den Trockengebieten Patagoniens. 1999. XVI + 239 S., mit 51 Tab., 85 Abb. und 12 Kartenbeilagen.
Ladenpreis € 27,97
- Band 18: DANIEL GÖLER
Postsozialistische Segregationstendenzen: Sozial- und bevölkerungsgeographische Aspekte von Wanderungen in Mittelstädten der Neuen Länder. Untersucht an den Beispielen Halberstadt und Nordhausen. 1999. XIV + 155 S., mit 5 Tab., 19 Abb. und 41 Karten.
Ladenpreis € 13,91

BAMBERGER GEOGRAPHISCHE SCHRIFTEN

(ISSN 0344-6557)

Herausgegeben von H. Becker, A. Dix, K. Garleff, D. Göler und G. Schellmann

- Band 19: FRANK SCHÄBITZ u. HELGA LIEBRICHT [Hrsg.]
Beiträge zur quartären Landschaftsentwicklung Südamerikas. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Professor Dr. Karsten Garleff. 1999. XXXII + 255 S., mit 19 Tab., 75 Abb. und 22 Photos.
Ladenpreis € 24,54 (vergriffen)
- Band 20: GERHARD SCHELLMANN [Hrsg.]
Von der Nordseeküste bis Neuseeland. Beiträge zur 19. Jahrestagung des Arbeitskreises „Geographie der Meere und Küsten“ vom 24. – 27. Mai 2001 in Bamberg. 2001. VIII + 299 S., mit 19 Tab., 136 Abb. und 15 Photos.
Ladenpreis € 21,88
- Band 21: CHRISTIAN FIEDLER
Telematik im ländlichen Raum Bayerns. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen zur Minderung von Standortnachteilen. 2002. XIV + 170 S., mit 29 Abb. und 18. Tab.
Ladenpreis € 17,60
- Band 22: GERHARD SCHELLMANN [Hrsg.]
Bamberger physisch-geographische Studien 2002 – 2007, Teil I: Holozäne Meeresspiegelschwankungen – ESR-Datierungen aragonitischer Muschelschalen – Paläotsunamis. 2007. VIII + 199 S., mit 26 Tab., 56 Abb. und 10 Photos.
Ladenpreis € 22,50
- Band 23: CHRISTOPH BAUMANN
Die albanische „Transformationsregion“ Gjirokastra. Strukturwandel im 20. Jahrhundert, räumliche Trends und Handlungsmuster im ruralen Raum. 2008. XVI + 306 S., mit 45 Abb., 10 Tab., 60 Fotos und 24 Karten.
Ladenpreis € 25,40
- Band 24: GERHARD SCHELLMANN [Hrsg.]
Bamberger physisch-geographische Studien 2002-2008, Teil II: Studien zur quartären Talgeschichte von Donau und Lech. 2010. VIII + 241 S., mit 22 Tab., 78 Abb. und 8 Photos.
Ladenpreis € 43,75
- Band 25: JASMIN KÜSPERT
Kunsteinrichtungen im ländlichen Raum. Geographische Aspekte künstlerischer Einrichtungen abseits ihrer kernstädtischen Traditionsstandorte. 2011. XIV + 316 S., mit 51 Abb. und 7 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 29,90

BAMBERGER GEOGRAPHISCHE SCHRIFTEN

(ISSN 0344-6557)

Herausgegeben von A. Dix, D. Göler, M. Redepenning und G. Schellmann

Band 26: HOLGER LEHMEIER

Warum immer Tourismus? Isomorphe Strategien in der Regionalentwicklung. 2015. XVI + 310 S., mit 16 Tab., 25 Abb. ISBN 978-3-86309-306-8
Ladenpreis € 21,50

Band 27: MATTHIAS BICKERT

Welterbestädte Südosteuropas im Spannungsfeld von Cultural Governance und lokaler Zivilgesellschaft. Untersucht am Beispiel Gjirokastra (Albanien). 2015. XX + 363 S., mit 19 Tab., 84 Abb. und 5 Karten. ISBN 978-3-86309-300-6
Ladenpreis € 21,00

Band 28: ANDREAS WINKLER

Räumliche Differenzierung und lokale Entwicklung. Divergente Transformationspfade am Beispiel serbischer Kommunen. 2015. XV + 337 S., mit 36 Tab., 48 Abb. ISBN 978-3-86309-318-1
Ladenpreis € 23,50

Band 29: GIORGI DOINJASHVILI

Die Wirksamkeit der EU-Entwicklungspolitik in Georgien und Armenien. Vergleichende Fallstudie. 2018. XV + 281 S., mit 8 Tab., 29 Abb., 5 Diagramme und 6 Karten. ISBN 978-3-86309-621-2
Ladenpreis € 26,00

Band 30: NIKOLA JOCIĆ

Creative Economy in a Postsocialist Transitional Context: Spatial Distribution of Creative Activities and their Interrelation with Urban Milieus in City Quarters of Belgrade. 2019. XVII + 236 S., mit 11 Tab., 65 Abb. ISBN 978-3-86309-633-5
Ladenpreis € 23,50

Verlag: University of Bamberg Press · Bamberg · Bezug durch den Buchhandel und direkt

BAMBERGER GEOGRAPHISCHE SCHRIFTEN

SONDERFOLGE

(ISSN 0175-3894)

Herausgegeben von H. Becker, K. Garleff und W. Krings

Nr. 1: GÜNTER TIGGESBÄUMKER

Die Altkartenbestände der Staatlichen Bibliothek Ansbach - handgezeichnete und gedruckte Karten und Pläne des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts. 1983. VIII + 164 S., mit 35 z.T. farbigen Abb.

Ladenpreis € 15,03

Nr. 2: HANS BECKER u. JOACHIM BURDACK

Amerikaner in Bamberg. Eine ethnische Minorität zwischen Segregation und Integration. 1987. XVI + 190 S., mit 12 Karten und 19 Abb.

Ladenpreis € 19,74

Nr. 3: Vergangene jüdische Lebenswelten im Bamberger Raum: ländliche Armutsinseln - städtisches Villenviertel. Mit Beiträgen von KARL-HEINZ-MISTELE und VOLKMAR EIDLOTH. 1988. VIII + 154 S., mit 12 Kartenbeilagen und 65 Abb.

Ladenpreis € 14,57

Nr. 4: JÜRGEN KRIPPNER

Folgen des Verlustes von verordneter Zentralität in kleinen Versorgungsorten des ländlichen Raumes. Eine Bilanz der Kreisgebietsreform in Bayern an Beispielen aus Franken. 1993. XVI + 149 S., mit 10 Abb. und 39 Tab.

Ladenpreis € 15,29

Nr. 5: KARSTEN GARLEFF u. PETER KRISL

Beiträge zur fränkischen Reliefgeschichte. Auswertung kurzlebiger Großaufschlüsse im Rahmen von DFG-Projekten. 1997. XVI + 256 S., mit 80 Abb. und Kartenbeilagen.

Ladenpreis € 34,41

Nr. 6: HANS BECKER [Hrsg.]

Beiträge zur Landeskunde Oberfrankens. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Bezirkstagspräsidenten Edgar Sitzmann. 2000. XXVI + 263 S., mit 42 Abb. und 15 Tab.

Ladenpreis € 21,47

Nr. 7: HANS BECKER u. INGOLF ERICSSON [Hrsg.]

Mittelalterliche Wüstungen im Steigerwald. Bericht über ein Symposium des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg am 3. Februar 2001. 2004. VII + 140 S., mit 36 Abb. und 5 Tab.

Ladenpreis € 15,10

Nr. 8: TANJA ROPPELT

Innerstädtische Viertelbindungen in Mittelstädten. Das Beispiel Bamberg. 2002. XIV + 211 S., mit 32 Karten, 26 Abb. und 28 Tab.

Ladenpreis € 20,00

Selbstverlag des Instituts für Geographie an der Universität Bamberg · Bamberg
Bezug durch den Buchhandel

**BAMBERGER GEOGRAPHISCHE SCHRIFTEN
SONDERFOLGE**

(ISSN 0175-3894)

Herausgegeben von A. Dix, D. Göler, M. Redepenning und G. Schellmann

- Nr. 9: PATRICK SCHIELEIN
Jungquartäre Flussgeschichte des Lechs unterhalb von Augsburg und der angrenzenden Donau. 2012. XI + 134 S., mit 44 Abb. und 9 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 21,00
- Nr. 10: BENJAMIN GESSLEIN
Zur Stratigraphie und Altersstellung der jungquartären Lechterrassen zwischen Hohenfurch und Kissing unter Verwendung hochauflösender Airborne-LiDAR-Daten. 2012. IX + 149 S., mit 69 Abb. und 8 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 27,50
- Nr. 11: JOCHEN HOFMANN
Obstlandschaften 1500 - 1800. Historische Geographie des Konsums, Anbaus und Handels von Obst in der Frühen Neuzeit. 2014. 569 S., mit 20 Abb. und 69 Tab.
Ladenpreis € 29,50
- Nr. 12: GERHARD SCHELLMANN [Hrsg.]
Bamberger physisch-geographische Studien 2008 - 2015, Teil III: Geomorphologisch-quartärgeologische Kartierungen im bayerischen Lech-, Wertach- und Schmuttertal. 2016. VII + 356 S., mit 76 Abb., 28 Tab., 32 Fotos, 14 Karten, 9 Beilagen-Abb. und 6 Beilagen-Tab.
Ladenpreis €36,00
- Nr. 13: GERHARD SCHELLMANN [Hrsg.]
Bamberger physisch-geographische Studien 2012 - 2014, Teil IV: Geomorphologisch-quartärgeologische Kartierungen im bayerischen Donautal zwischen Sontheim und Dillingen. 2017. V + 237 S., mit 73 Abb., 14 Tab., 27 Fotos, 3 Karten, 13 Beilagen-Abb. und 6 Beilagen-Tab.
Ladenpreis €34,00
- Nr. 14: GERHARD SCHELLMANN [Hrsg.]
Bamberger physisch-geographische Studien 2008 - 2017, Teil V: Geomorphologisch-quartärgeologische Kartierungen im bayerischen Isar- und Donautal sowie dem Großen und Kleinen Labertal. 2018. V + 252 S., mit 85 Abb., 11 Tab., 32 Fotos, 5 Karten, 23 Beilagen-Abb. und 5 Beilagen-Tab.
Ladenpreis €36,50
-

Verlag: University of Bamberg Press · Bamberg · Bezug durch den Buchhandel und direkt



Creative economy is a broad concept which became popular among scholars and policy makers around the world since the 1990s as a response to contemporary economic and social trajectories. Post-industrial circumstances which have befallen traditional industrial urban regions supported the rise of the creative economy.

This dissertation pays attention to the spatial configuration and distribution of creative economy, its socio-economic significance and urban manifestations, as well as the interrelation between creative economy and urban environment. Historical and socio-economic changes in former Yugoslavia in the last decades imply that the development path of creative activities in the Serbian urban environment differs from the rest of Europe. This research should contribute to the discussion about the influence of creativity, of cultural and creative industries, as well as creative economy on urban developments and urban geographies.

The research focuses on the development of creative economy in Belgrade because of its socio-geographic and cultural centrality within the region of South-Eastern Europe. In addition, a delayed post-socialist transition with social, political, and economic manifestations has led to a unique urban development in Belgrade.



ISBN: 978-3-86309-634-2



9 783863 096342

www.uni-bamberg.de/ubp/