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Mass Housing Neighbourhoods and Urban Commons: Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework for New Belgrade Blocks

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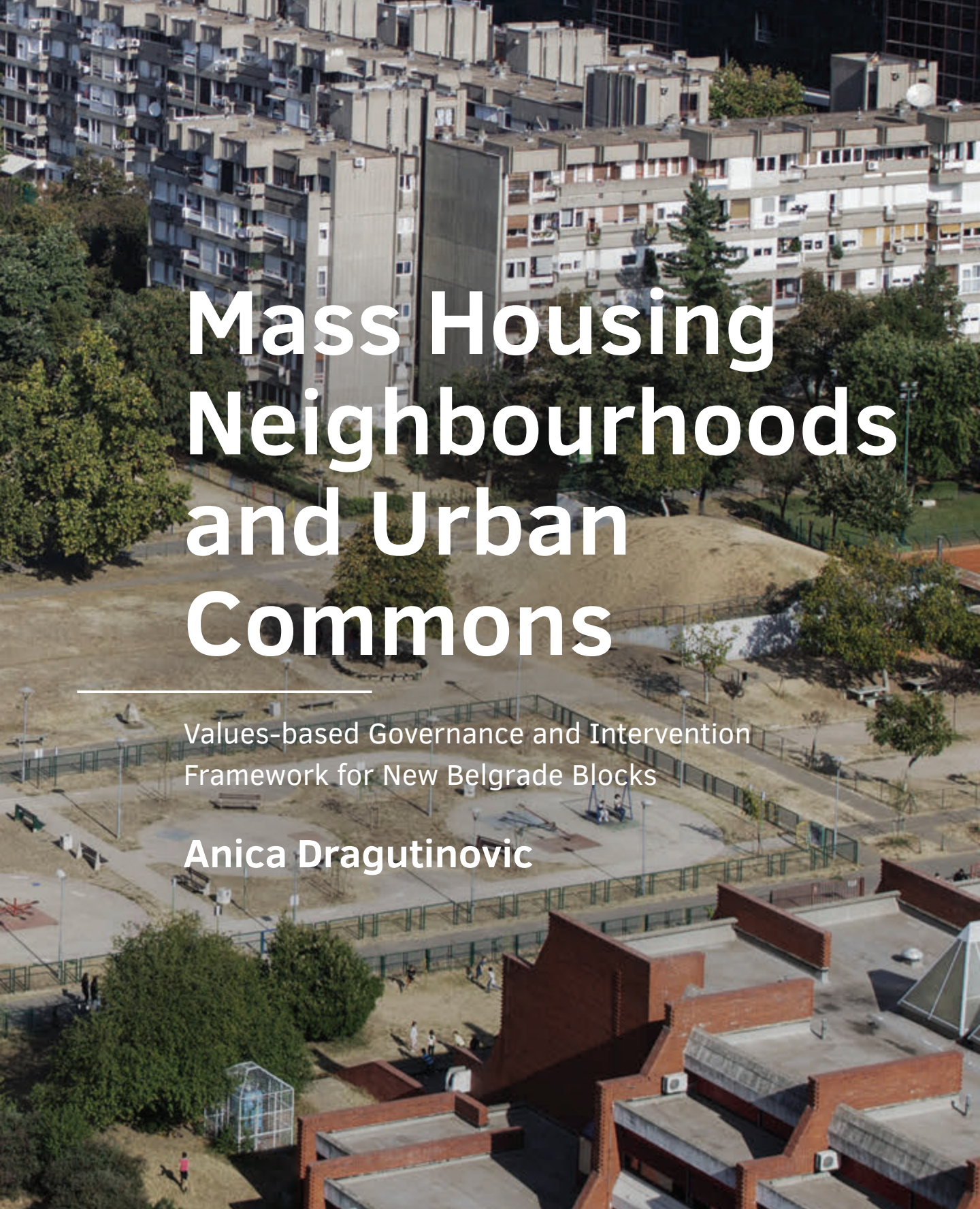
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Mass Housing Neighbourhoods and Urban Commons

Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework for New Belgrade Blocks

Dissertation

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chair of the Board for Doctorates
to be defended publicly on
Thursday 5 October 2023 at 10:00 o'clock

by

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Glossary

Term	Description*
Co-assessment	a collaborative process of collecting data and rating the condition or performance to inform future design and decisions; involves citizens and various stakeholders in the assessment process; inclusive and participatory approach to assessment;
Common Space	common and shared resource; *primary tangible commons* in cities and neighbourhoods; a key resource for *commoning* in the city; crucial for the question of urban citizenship and offering a framework for bottom-up governance as a form of direct democracy in cities; "The street is a public space that has historically often been transformed by social action into the common of revolutionary movement, as well as into a site of bloody suppression. (…) The struggle to appropriate the public spaces and public goods in the city for a common purpose is ongoing." (Harvey, 2012, 72-73)
Commoning	"act of sharing and managing resources – cultural and natural – with minimal reliance on the market or state, and where each stakeholder has an equal interest. User-managed governance of the environments we inhibit – from land ownership, to buildings, to domestic spaces – enables residents to be key agents in how resources are distributed, valued, and maintained." (Bhatia, 2019, 95); a form of "differentiated publicness" that challenges existing socio-spatial frameworks (Sohn et al., 2015; Vass et al., 2022) and gives an alternative to the private-public dichotomy (Hess, 2008); it should exist not in opposition to, but be supported by the state (Huron, 2018; Vass et al., 2022);
Deterioration of Housing (Neighbourhoods)	a process of functional or physical deterioration of housing (neighbourhoods), connected to poor maintenance, management and disrepair; different from urban decay and neighbourhood decline (usually related to social housing), as social decline, segregation, shrinkage, severe physical decay and decline in economic value of housing are not present;
Devaluation of Housing (Neighbourhoods)	a process of lowering the *values** of housing (neighbourhoods) caused by deterioration (poor maintenance, management and disrepair); *not only related to economic and monetary value, but to a more holistic notion of values (incl. social, functional, aesthetical and physical, ecological, and other values);
Framework	a basic structure of a system, object or concept acting as a guide; a system of rules and guiding principles acting as a management tool;
Governance	a process of decision-making and enforcing within an organisation or society; a process of governing or overseeing the control and direction of something (e.g., a territorial unit or an organisational structure); a process of interaction among the actors involved in a collective issue, deciding upon it and regulating it;
Intervention	an action of becoming intentionally involved in a socio-spatial issue in order to improve it or maintain it;
Intervention Framework	a basic structure of a system of guiding principles for improving or maintaining a socio-spatial issue involving various actors;

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Term	Description*
Mass Housing	collective housing complexes, composed of a group of often repetitive, large-scale, dense residential buildings; mainly developed in the interwar period and in the post-war reconstruction period between 1945 and 1980 through state-led or state-sponsored programmes;
Mass Housing Neighbourhoods	a type of mass housing, designed as *neighbourhoods* - socio-spatial units, functioning as territorial and organisational entity; including complementary facilities (e.g., kindergartens, schools, local community centres, etc.);
Neighbourhood	a socio-spatial unit of urban or rural environment; dwelling district complemented with other facilities; constitutes a sense of belonging and place attachment for its inhabitants; the concept of "neighbourhood unit" was developed by Clarence Perry (1929) and continues to be utilised as a means of organising new residential communities;
Neighbourhood Decline	a process by which a neighbourhood downgrades; Prak and Priemus (1984 and 1986) identify three processes of neighbourhood decline (focusing on post-WWII social housing): technical decline, social decline and financial decline (spirals of decline); some of the effects are increased crime, decreased attractiveness, disrepair and physical deterioration, declining economic (monetary) value of estates;
New Belgrade Blocks	an example of mass housing neighbourhoods; socio-spatial units of New Belgrade; functioning as territorial and organisational entities; conceptualised as an association of citizens inhabiting the blocks; designed as modernist, open-blocks, usually composed of 5-10 large-scale residential buildings of diverse typology, extensive common green areas with playgrounds and sport fields, and complementary facilities (e.g., kindergartens, schools, local community centres, etc.); e.g., dimensions of Central Zone Blocks are 600 x 400m, each having approximately 8,000 inhabitants;
Research Strategies and Research Tactics	"a strategy refers to the overall research plan or structure of the research study. In contrast, the tactics refer to a more detailed deployment of specific techniques, such as data collection devices, response formats, archival treatment, analytical procedures" (Groat and Wang, 2013, 10)
Social Housing	the most common mass housing model, developed as rental housing for socially disadvantaged, vulnerable or low-income groups, usually through state-led or state-sponsored programmes;
Socially-owned Housing	a model of ownership of mass housing practiced in the Socialist Yugoslavia; New Belgrade Blocks were developed by the state, city authorities and socially-owned enterprises; ownership of mass housing in Yugoslavia (and New Belgrade) was based on a *cooperative ownership model* – related to the enterprises owned and managed by the workers; a decisive factor differentiating mass housing in Yugoslavia from the *social (rental) housing* – it was not limited to vulnerable social groups; the continuous wide social mix prevents social decline of those neighbourhoods (a common issue of *social housing*);
Urban Commons	public spaces, urban land and infrastructure accessible to and able to be utilised by urban communities to produce and support a range of goods and services; related to sharing, collaboration, civic engagement, inclusion, equity, and social justice (Foster and Iaione, 2020); urban commons consist of three key aspects: 1) the common and shared resource, 2) the *commoning* institutions and rules that regulate care, management, and use of the resource, and 3) the community of commoners (Dellenbaugh et al., 2015; De Angelis, 2017; Petrescu et al., 2020; Kip and Oevermann, 2022); Feinberg et al. (2021) define several common resources as part of the neighbourhood commons category: homeless habitat, housing, community gardens, parks and greenery, security, sidewalks, streets and silence/noise;

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Term	Description*
Urban Decay	a process by which previously functioning urban areas fall into disrepair and decline; associated with declining estates – physical and social decline of neighbourhoods (often connected to racial and ethno-cultural segregation), mainly addressed in Western cities (North America and Western Europe); it has no single cause, but a magnitude of social, economic and spatial parameters causes it;
Values-based Approach	an approach which is emphasizing and prioritising the importance of *values** in any future actions, with respect to the available evidences; *incl. social, functional, aesthetical and physical, ecological, and other values;
Values-based Governance	a process of decision-making and enforcing within an organisation or society, overseeing the control and direction of something (e.g., a territorial unit or an organisational structure), that is emphasising and prioritising the importance of *values** and respecting the available evidences of it; * incl. social, functional, aesthetical and physical, ecological, and other values;

** interpretation by the author based on disciplinary literature in the field of architecture and urbanism as used in the research*

Summary

The post-war mass housing neighbourhoods are one of the most widespread typologies of the modern architecture and urbanism, and represent one of the most significant legacies of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, their deterioration and devaluation are major challenges, both in the field of heritage conservation and management and in urban planning and design. The mass housing neighbourhoods encapsulate a greater complexity of issues compared to single, iconic buildings, which have been more extensively addressed in the heritage sector. The reasons for their deterioration are different and interlinked with the socio-cultural discourse, as well as the spatial characteristics of these neighbourhoods, or how they were planned, built, lived and governed. This doctoral research addresses the challenges of those neighbourhoods, focusing on the New Belgrade Blocks, which are part of this larger cultural phenomenon, yet strongly tied into a very specific contextual framework.

New Belgrade is one of the largest modernist post-war mass housing areas in Europe. As the legacy of both modernism and socialism, it represents a symbol of collectiveness and participatory planning and governance, though with contradictions in practice. Following the gradual transformation of the urban landscape of modernity in parallel with different socio-spatial factors—such as transformed ownership and governance relations, suppressed importance of community, as well as the modernist planning, or rather performance of the plans, and later urban practices—this research investigates the correlation between deterioration and previously mentioned factors. It identifies common spaces of the blocks as the most neglected components of the blocks that are at the same time crucial to their quality, vitality and preservation of values. Moreover, the specific Yugoslav housing policy and collective self-management from the post-war period, although neglected over the time, represent a valuable intangible heritage that can contribute to the contemporary discussions on commons, linking historical forms of decentralized governance and contemporary discourses on urban commons.

After understanding and clarifying the specific socio-spatial setting, the research explores and assesses the common spaces of the blocks through a multi-level socio-spatial analysis including different participatory methods for exploration, assessment and eventually co-design of the strategies for their improvement. The common spaces are crucial for the actual implementation or manifestation of the heritage

management shift from the expert-led and authoritarian procedures towards more inclusive practices. They enable spatialisation of the right to the city, allowing for bottom-up initiatives, reactive actions and proactive practices. The common spaces have a potential to facilitate bottom-up governance and direct democracy in the city, enabling 'defence' of the common interest in urban development. Collating findings from the theoretical and contextual frameworks and empirical studies, this research develops a values-based intervention framework for reuse and governance of the common spaces in the New Belgrade Blocks, aimed at improving devalued, conserving and reinforcing the sustained, and adding new values. Although based on context-specific argumentation, selections and decisions, the developed framework is possibly adaptable to another set of issues. Its methodology, and the principles it enhances, such as self-organisation, participation, multi-scale networks, stakeholders' engagement, collaboration, etc., contribute to the democratisation of the urban heritage governance processes.

The doctoral research has established a specific methodology for studying contemporary issues of urban heritage, in particular related to mass housing neighbourhoods. This research has been conducted by (1) combining critical and correlational analysis in exploring deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces; (2) socio-spatial analysis including empirical, place-based and participatory methods in assessing their current condition; and (3) "design-polemical theory" (abstract thought, speculation) in developing an intervention framework and a set of guidelines for values-based governance and reuse of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks. Throughout the three main parts, the doctoral research develops various findings and perspectives, and provides different levels of knowledge on approaches for integrated conservation, urban planning and governance of urban heritage, and in particular mass housing neighbourhoods. It shows co-dependence of those fields and offers an integrative and cross-disciplinary approach.

The results represent a valuable contribution to architecture, urban planning and especially heritage studies, in particular for governance and heritage management of complex sites, as mass housing neighbourhoods are. Besides the scientific and academic impact, the research achieves a societal and cultural impact through an engaging research approach conducted with society. It emphasizes the importance of engagement of local communities, but also the importance of cross-sectoral and inter-institutional communication and collaboration in urban planning, including the civil sector.

Samenvatting

De grootschalige naoorlogse woonwijken representeren één van de meest wijdverspreide typologieën van de moderne architectuur en stedenbouw en vertegenwoordigen één van de belangrijkste erfenissen van de twintigste eeuw. Niettemin zijn hun verval en achteruitgang grote uitdagingen, zowel op het gebied van behoud en beheer van erfgoed als op het gebied van stedenbouw en ontwerp. Deze grootschalige woonwijken kennen een grotere complexiteit van problemen in vergelijking met individuele, iconische gebouwen, die reeds uitgebreider zijn bekeken in de erfgoedsector. De redenen voor hun achteruitgang zijn verschillend en verbonden met het sociaal-culturele discours en de ruimtelijke kenmerken van deze buurten, of hoe ze werden gepland, gebouwd en geleefd. Dit promotie-onderzoek richt zich op de New Belgrade Blocks, die deel uitmaken van dit grotere culturele fenomeen, maar ook sterk verbonden zijn met een zeer specifiek contextueel kader.

Nieuw-Belgrado is één van de grootste modernistische naoorlogse grootschalige woningbouwgebieden in Europa. Als de erfenis van zowel het modernisme als het socialisme, is Nieuw-Begrado een symbool van collectiviteit en participatieve planning en bestuur, hoewel met tegenstrijdigheden in de praktijk. Na de geleidelijke transformatie van het stedelijke landschap van de moderniteit parallel aan verschillende sociaal-ruimtelijke factoren - zoals getransformeerde eigendoms- en bestuursrelaties, onderdrukt belang van de gemeenschap, de modernistische planning (of beter gezegd de uitvoering van de plannen) en latere stedelijke praktijken - bestudeert dit onderzoek het verband tussen verslechtering en de eerder genoemde factoren. Het identificeert gemeenschappelijke ruimte van de blokken als de meest verwaarloosde onderdelen, die tegelijkertijd cruciaal zijn voor hun kwaliteit, vitaliteit en behoud van waarden. Bovendien vormen het specifieke Joegoslavische huisvestingsbeleid en collectief zelfbeheer uit de naoorlogse periode, hoewel in de loop van de tijd verwaarloosd, waardevol immaterieel erfgoed. Dit kan bijdragen aan de hedendaagse discussies over gemeenschapsgerichte benaderingen en praktijken en biedt bescherming tegen overexploitatie van gemeenschappelijk bezit.

Na het verduidelijken en begrijpen van de specifieke sociaal-ruimtelijke setting, verkent en beoordeelt het onderzoek de gemeenschappelijke ruimte van de blokken door middel van een gelaagde sociaal-ruimtelijke analyse inclusief verschillende participatieve methoden voor verkenning, beoordeling en uiteindelijk co-design van de strategieën voor hun verbetering. De gemeenschappelijke ruimte is cruciaal

voor de daadwerkelijke implementatie of manifestatie van de verschuiving van erfgoedbeheer van de door experts geleide en autoritaire procedures naar meer inclusieve praktijken. Ze maken ruimtelijkisering van het recht op de stad mogelijk, waardoor bottom-up initiatieven, reactieve acties en proactieve praktijken mogelijk zijn. De gemeenschappelijke ruimte heeft het potentieel om bottom-up bestuur en directe democratie in de stad te vergemakkelijken, waardoor 'verdediging' van het gemeenschappelijk belang bij stedelijke ontwikkeling mogelijk wordt. Door bevindingen uit de theoretische en contextuele kaders en uit empirische studies te verzamelen, ontwikkelt dit onderzoek een op waarden gebaseerd interventiekader voor hergebruik en bestuur van de gemeenschappelijke ruimte in de New Belgrade Blocks, gericht op het verbeteren van gedevalueerd, behouden en versterken van het duurzame, en het toevoegen van nieuwe waarden. Hoewel gebaseerd op contextspecifieke argumentatie, selecties en beslissingen, is het ontwikkelde kader mogelijk aanpasbaar aan een andere reeks problemen. De methodologie en de principes die het versterkt, zoals zelforganisatie, participatie, multischaalnetwerken, betrokkenheid van belanghebbenden, samenwerking, enz., Dragen bij aan de democratisering van de processen voor het beheer van stedelijk erfgoed.

Het promotie-onderzoek heeft een specifieke methodologie ontwikkeld voor het bestuderen van hedendaagse kwesties van stedelijk erfgoed, in het bijzonder met betrekking tot grootschalige woonwijken. Dit onderzoek is uitgevoerd door (1) het combineren van een kritische en correlationele analyse bij het verkennen van de achteruitgang van de New Belgrade Blocks en hun gemeenschappelijke ruimtes; (2) sociaal-ruimtelijke analyse, met inbegrip van empirische, plaatsgebonden en participatieve methoden bij de beoordeling van hun huidige toestand; en (3) ontwerp-polemische theorie bij het ontwikkelen van een interventiekader en een reeks richtlijnen voor op waarden gebaseerd bestuur en hergebruik van de gemeenschappelijke ruimte van de New Belgrade Blocks. In de drie hoofdonderdelen ontwikkelt het promotie-onderzoek verschillende bevindingen en perspectieven en biedt het verschillende kennisniveaus over benaderingen voor geïntegreerd behoud, stadsplanning en bestuur van stedelijk erfgoed, en in het bijzonder grootschalige woonwijken. Het toont co-afhankelijkheid van die velden en biedt een integratieve en multidisciplinaire aanpak.

De resultaten vormen een waardevolle bijdrage aan architectuur, stedenbouw en vooral erfgoedstudies, in het bijzonder voor het bestuur en erfgoedbeheer van complexe gebieden, zoals grootschalige woonwijken dat zijn. Naast de wetenschappelijke en academische impact, bereikt het onderzoek een maatschappelijke en culturele impact door een boeiende onderzoeksaanpak waarin de samenleving is betrokken. Het benadrukt het belang van betrokkenheid van lokale gemeenschappen, maar ook het belang van sectoroverschrijdende en interinstitutionele communicatie en samenwerking bij stadsplanning, inclusief de civiele sector.

1 Introduction

The neglect of significance, deterioration and consequent devaluation of the post-war mass housing neighbourhoods is a global phenomenon, representing a major challenge, both in the field of heritage conservation and management and in urban planning and design. The reasons for this are different, and interlinked with the socio-cultural discourse, as well as the spatial characteristics of these neighbourhoods.

This doctoral research seeks to understand the phenomenon of urban decay and deterioration of mass housing neighbourhoods, focusing on the case of New Belgrade, as one of the largest modernist post-war mass housing areas in Europe. The case is particularly important for the discourse on mass housing and 'ordinary' heritage management, as it encapsulates concepts, policies and practices developed in Yugoslavia, which are relevant to the contemporary, internationally increasingly present, discussions on community-driven approaches for urban planning and governance and participation in heritage studies. The research aims to present this legacy and reveal causalities and relations of spatial and socio-political aspects, policies, but also planning and design principles. Furthermore, it aims to empirically study and evaluate the blocks in the contemporary context, with the society (involving citizens), and within the current legal and organisational conditions, contributing to a better understanding of the attributes and values of the blocks, but also highlighting the contemporary issues and needs. Eventually, the main aim is to develop a strategy for mitigating the deterioration of the New Belgrade Blocks and design a framework for enhancement of the blocks, addressing the current and future societal and users' needs, and yet preserving their identity and values.

The doctoral thesis seeks to contribute to the current knowledge on integrated conservation, urban planning and governance of post-war mass housing neighbourhoods—and their co-dependence, offering an integrative and cross-disciplinary approach including various methods for research on the legacy, assessment of the current condition and developing collaborative, inclusive and integrative urban heritage governance models and instruments.

1.1 Research Background

Over the last twenty years, the concept of heritage and conservation practices has gradually expanded, catalysed by the efforts of a number of international and local interest groups and professional organisations to identify, protect and develop approaches for care of the 20th century heritage. (MacDonald et al., 2018; Siandou, 2019)

In 2001 the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) and DOCOMOMO (International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement, founded in 1990) started a *Programme on Modern Heritage* – "a joint programme for the identification, documentation and promotion of the built heritage of the modern era, because properties and sites under this category were considered to be under threat", as stated in the World Heritage Paper No. 5 (2003). According to Henket (UNESCO, 2017), this publication was a milestone and since then many activities have been undertaken to promote awareness of Modern Heritage. (Burke, 2021)

At the time the *Programme on Modern Heritage* was initiated (2001), the 'representativity' issue of Modern Heritage was framed as one of the main concerns. As of May 2003, out of a total of 730 properties and sites on the World Heritage List, only 12 were Modern Heritage (Van Oers and Haraguchi, 2003, 8). A decade later (2011), an Experts Meeting on an assessment framework for the 20th century cultural heritage was hosted by the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI). A report of the meeting addressed the same issue of representativity: "significant works of the era are underrepresented on heritage registers from local inventories to the World Heritage List", despite the international *interest* in the identification, conservation and promotion of 20th century heritage places is growing. (Macdonald and Ostergren, 2011) Using the outcome of the expert meeting (2011) and further research, the GCI developed and published in 2021 a historic thematic framework as a tool for assessing 20th century heritage places, and with an aim to "assist the World Heritage Committee in its consideration of nomination to the World Heritage List". (MacDonald et al., 2018; Marsden and Spearritt, 2021)

Besides the persisting representativity issue—Modern Heritage being "absent or underrepresented in most heritage survey, from local inventories to the World Heritage nominations"—the historic thematic framework (Marsden and Spearritt, 2021) identified that a lack of public awareness and appreciation is placing many modern heritage sites and places at risk, and "the demolition of important sites continues". (Marsden and Spearritt, 2021, 5)

As argued by MacDonald et al. (2018, 62), "despite the concerted efforts by dedicated professionals and communities and the successful conservation of *many key buildings* of modern area, many challenges remain", such as "questions of obsolescence and adaptation". [highlighted by the researcher]

According to Henket (UNESCO, 2017), one of the primary challenges currently is a shift of focus from "iconic relics" towards "generic" and "ordinary" heritage. As noted by Henket (UNESCO, 2017), the focus in care for modernity was primarily on the *icons* of the Modern Movement. Only in the second decade of the 21st century, "the vast 20th century generic building stock" began to receive attention.

> *The attention of modernity in general, and thus the Modern Movement architects in particular, was directed towards the ordinary – to the generic – rather than to the canonical. It is in the historiography of modern architecture that many buildings paradoxically were elevated to canonical status.* **(Henket, in UNESCO, 2017)**

In particular post-war mass housing neighbourhoods, one of the most widespread typologies of the modern architecture and urbanism, belong to this 'ordinary' heritage narrative. Their especially vulnerable situation can be attributed to a variety of factors; a general lack of public awareness and appreciation being one of the most important aspects. As Macdonald and Ostergren (2011) argue, "it can be difficult to overcome the perception that recent buildings and sites don't qualify as heritage". While waiting for the *age thresholds* (typically ranging from thirty to fifty years from construction), many of those neighbourhoods fall into disrepair or the wrecking ball. Their deterioration is a major challenge, both in the field of heritage conservation and management and in urban planning and design, as mass housing neighbourhoods encapsulate a greater complexity of issues compared to single, iconic buildings, which have been more extensively addressed in the heritage sector. The neglect of their significance, deterioration and consequent devaluation urge in-depth studies, re-assessment and development of appropriate reuse and management strategies.

As noted by Wassenberg (2012), most of the studies on decay of mass housing focus on the problems of these estates usually in an acontextual manner or with a tendency to produce uniform, generalised theories or recommendations. Although they often do define exogenous factors, they do not focus on specific examples, and therefore lack contextual specificities that are needed in order to properly understand the causalities. A remark in line with this is made by Skifter Andersen (2018/2003), stating that more profound analyses of the connection between the development of these neighbourhoods and the other socio-spatial processes in the city are often missing in the existing studies. This tends to result in simplification of rather complex realities, generalisation and stereotypes in the studies on mass housing and problems associated with it.

The cross-geographical differences (and similarities) are being explored more e.g. within the pan-European studies and projects (e.g., Restructuring Large Housing Estates in European Cities: Good practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities (RESTATE), 2002–2005; or more recent COST Action European Middle-Class Mass Housing (MCMH), 2019–2023), revealing distinctions in ideas and the construction of mass housing in Europe, and showing that mass housing is not necessarily social housing. Moreover, Glendinning (2008, 6) notes "conflicting" modes of reception of mass housing in different parts of the world. According to Glendinning (2008), in Western Europe and North America, a "violent rejection by 'public opinion' of mass housing as a whole" and "the consequent drastic surgical attacks by demolition or postmodern re-styling" has today left "the often still substantial built legacy stranded in a fog of incomprehension". In the former USSR or China "a more consistent and all-embracing program of mass housing" allowed "a different, far less violently polarized outcome". In the former Yugoslav countries, a continuous wide social mix within the mass housing neighbourhoods denotes a different reputation. (Glendinning, 2021)

The specificity of the Yugoslav context related to mass housing, but also modernity in general, in-between the East-West polarization, has been increasingly recognised and positioned as such in the discourse.

Kulic et al. (2012) argue that describing a region as in-between is a cliché, nevertheless:

> *in-betweenness of socialist Yugoslavia was exceptional: the country condensed so many overlapping geopolitical and cultural in-between conditions that they became one of its defining features. Socialist Yugoslavia can hardly be described without mentioning at least some of the shifting refence points between which it was suspended: the superpowers of the Cold War, rival ideological systems, multiple ethnic identities of its own populations, varied versions of modernity and tradition, past and future.* (Kulic et al., 2012, 16)

This resulted in architecture(s) of Socialist Yugoslavia being "mediatory" – mediating between a wide variety of contradictory demands and influences, with its own multiple ideologies and geopolitical constellations.

Kulic et al. (2012, 17) indicate the problem of pre-conceived notions and portraited image of "socialist modernism", within a recent wave of photographic monographs, presenting modernist buildings of Eastern Europe "as if they were relics of some long-lost civilization: sad, dilapidated, concrete mastodons, anonymous in their spectacular oddity, defying interpretation and lacking and meaning relevant for the

present moment". Moreover, they add: "Alleging a certain formal or visual essence of 'socialist modernism' makes just as much sense as trying to identify inherent aesthetic features of a 'capitalist modernism', a label that no one but the most hardened socialist realist critic would take seriously, because it too broadly equates cultural and political categories."

The architectural legacy produced within the cultural space of the former Yugoslavia, is very specific, and reflects polycentric and complex nature of the state.

If Yugoslavia as a whole was ever architecturally represented—for example, through Vjenceslav Richter's pavilions—its defining features were the project of socialist self-management and its independent foreign policy, rather than any overarching identity based on a common cultural essence. (Kulic, 2012, 76)

Nevertheless, a unique project because of its federal importance and intention to be a symbol of Yugoslav unity, was the construction of the new federal capital – New Belgrade (Serbian: Novi Beograd). It was planned on Belgrade's "extra-territory"—the marshy land on the left bank of the Sava River. (Blagojevic, 2004)

New Belgrade was conceived as a "tabula rasa" city with a nation-building agenda, similar to Chandigarh (India) and Brasilia (Brazil). It was imagined in the first post-war years as an administrative, cultural, and economic centre of the newly founded state, "the capital city of 'people's democracy', later, socialism". (Blagojevic, 2007, as cited in Dragutinovic et al., 2018, 188). Yet, its planning and construction were discontinuous, reflecting socio-political changes of the country (and Europe) during the second half of the 20th century. (see Section 2.3 and Figure 2.4) Due to decentralization, New Belgrade lost its role as the administrative center of Yugoslavia. Moreover, the housing shortage came to the forefront, similar to many other European countries. Collective housing for masses or mass housing was in focus of architectural practice of the country in 1960s and 1970s. Despite losing its administrative role, New Belgrade remained architectural *capital* of the country, becoming the main construction site for testing new dwelling concepts and housing policies of Yugoslavia.



FIG. 1.1 Map of New Belgrade. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from Bing Maps (https://www.bing.com/maps), January 2023.

TOC

1.2 Research Problem Definition

New Belgrade Blocks, nowadays one of the largest modernist post-war mass housing areas in Europe, are particularly important for the discourse on mass housing and 'ordinary' heritage management. (Figure 1.1) The blocks contain and reflect concepts, policies and practices developed in Yugoslavia, that were taking "an activist notion of design as a tool of social progress that mediates between collectivism and individual freedom" and "establishing a massive infrastructure of daily life that is still in use throughout the region". (Kulic et al., 2012, 167) This resulted in a specific planning and design of the blocks as integrated neighbourhoods: acting as socio-spatial organisational units, based on an idea of *housing community* or *dwelling community*. The *housing community* was conceptualized as an association of citizens inhabiting a housing block, and acted as territorial units for the organization and implementation of the self-management concept (Blagojevic, 2007; Milojevic, 2009). The role of the modernist design, reflected in the open block setting and accordingly recognising open common space as crucial spatial components of the design, was decisive for functioning of the blocks as integrated, self-managing neighbourhoods. As Petricic (1975) stated, the buildings are inseparable from the surrounding landscape of the blocks, and thus the structure and design of the vegetation and the outdoor spaces in-between the buildings are equally important for the whole composition.

Both the spatial setting and collective practices of New Belgrade Blocks, including Yugoslav self-management, are in line and particularly relevant to the contemporary, internationally increasingly present discussions on participatory and community-driven approaches for urban planning and governance. Since recently those are present within the heritage discussions as well. The fascination of the researcher with Yugoslav self-management and urban policies as well as the unique spatial qualities of the New Belgrade Blocks—shared with other academics and professionals (e.g., Henri Lefebvre, see Stanek, 2011)—additionally motivated the research. The spatial qualities of the blocks and urban policies have been under-studied, in particular within an international framework, and yet are of great significance for the heritage and mass housing discourse. It is particularly relevant to reveal the main ideas behind them, but also performance of the plans beyond the 'once upon a time' nostalgia, the contradictions in practice, failed or abandoned concepts, and to highlight valuable aspects which are important to be revitalized for the future.

Besides the historical-theoretical scientific gap about the legacy, there are actual spatial issues related to deterioration of the New Belgrade Blocks—in particular of the common spaces within them—and the aspects of heritage management and urban governance in the city, that need to be addressed urgently. The gradual transformation of the public-private relations and spaces over the time, urban practices eliminating common (collective or semi-public, but also public) spaces, individualisation and suppressed importance of community, are some of the aspects with a possible impact on the deterioration of the blocks and their common spaces, that need to be considered and further explored. This requires a profound analysis of the connection between the development of the blocks and other socio-spatial processes in a city, e.g., governance regime changes, ownership change, etc., which are actually crucial for understanding the mass housing deterioration, as well as addressing it.

The focus on the blocks as *lived space* in assessment of their current condition requires a dynamic relationship between the subject matter and research methods. This thesis interlinks these two, developing an assessment methodology beyond the conventional (or traditional) heritage assessment approach. Focusing on (a) the architectural legacy in terms of primarily historic and aesthetical values of the built structures and (b) only from experts' perspective, is recognised as not sufficient, especially for this type of heritage. (Spoormans and Pereira Roders, 2021) There is a need for an expanded assessment framework, including empirical and place-based studies that involve citizens in the assessment process, and thus application of novel cross-disciplinary assessment methods that would enable this. Both methods and knowledge about integrated conservation, urban planning and governance of mass housing neighbourhoods—and their co-dependence—are scarce. Specific social, political, economic and cultural parameters of New Belgrade (or any other case) require context-dependent, in-depth assessment of the socio-spatial setting of the blocks, conducted with the society.

Consequently, there is a lack of mechanisms and appropriate strategies for mitigating the deteriorated condition and managing the New Belgrade Blocks, which is urgent to address. The current urban practices, interventions and intentions are in most cases insensitive to the designed and generated values of these neighbourhoods. There are no proposals for value- and evidence-based improvements of the neighbourhoods as a whole (acknowledging designed and generated values) or interventions in line with sustainable development goals and other aspects defined in international agendas and charters (e.g., addressing biodiversity, ecology, well-being and circularity, etc.). But most important: there are no models for participatory, integrative and effective maintenance and management of the neighbourhoods—both on the level of urban heritage management and urban planning and development.

1.3 Research Questions and Aims

In order to address the problems identified, the thesis (1) revisits the legacy of New Belgrade Blocks, focusing on connections between the development of the blocks and other socio-spatial processes affecting deterioration and devaluation of the common spaces, (2) assesses the common spaces of the blocks as *lived space*, and (3) develops a framework for enhancement of the blocks and their common spaces.

The common spaces of the New Belgrade Blocks are recognised as the most neglected, underused, and dilapidated components of those neighbourhoods. At the same time those are crucial to their quality and vitality and the very idea of blocks as integrated, self-managing neighbourhoods. The importance of those spaces in-between the buildings as a major determinant of the quality and reputation of the mass housing neighbourhoods is recognised in a broader mass housing discourse as well (see e.g., Priemus, 1986; Sendi, 2006). This thesis recognises their essential role in humanisation of the blocks and quality of life in the blocks, allowing for (re) emergence of collective practices leading to inclusive and integrative rehabilitation of the neighbourhoods.

The main research question is:
How to mitigate deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces and adapt them to current and future societal and users' needs, while preserving their values?

In order to profile a strategy for managing and improving the blocks, understanding socio-spatial processes related to the blocks and assessing the current condition of the blocks is necessary. Therefore, the research aim is threefold: (A1) understand, (A2) assess, (A3) enhance; each addressing 2 sub-questions, as follows. (Figure 1.2)

A.1 Understanding and clarifying the correlation between the socio-spatial setting of New Belgrade Blocks (planned, built and lived) and the contemporary phenomenon of deterioration of the blocks and their common spaces;

- RQ 1.1: **How did the changes of socio-political context and housing policies influence deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks?**
- RQ 1.2: **How did the urban planning and development of New Belgrade Blocks over time contribute to the contemporary problems in the urban environment?**

The first question focuses on exploration of the social aspects, while the second focuses on the spatial aspects, which could have possibly had an impact on the current condition and deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces.

A.2 Assessment of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces through an empirical study and socio-spatial analysis;

- RQ 2.1: **How to assess the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks, in order to identify their attributes and values, current problems and potentials?**
- RQ 2.2: **What are the current physical, functional, legal, organisational and social features of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks and why are those problematic or significant?**

The first question focuses on methods for assessment, while the second question focuses on the subject matter itself, for example what is the current ownership status of New Belgrade Blocks and its parts? Which spaces are owned by whom? And who is responsible for which spaces?

A.3 Developing a framework for enhancement of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks based on the socio-spatial setting and its assessment;

- RQ 3.1: **How to regenerate and reuse the common spaces and collective practices in New Belgrade Blocks in order to adapt them to current and future societal and users' needs and yet preserve their values?**
- RQ 3.2: **What are the mechanisms for practical implementation of the developed framework for enhancement of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks?**

The first question focuses on the development of a framework for enhancement of the common spaces, also acknowledging the legacy of the collective practices in the blocks. The second question focuses on the guidance for the implementation of the framework.

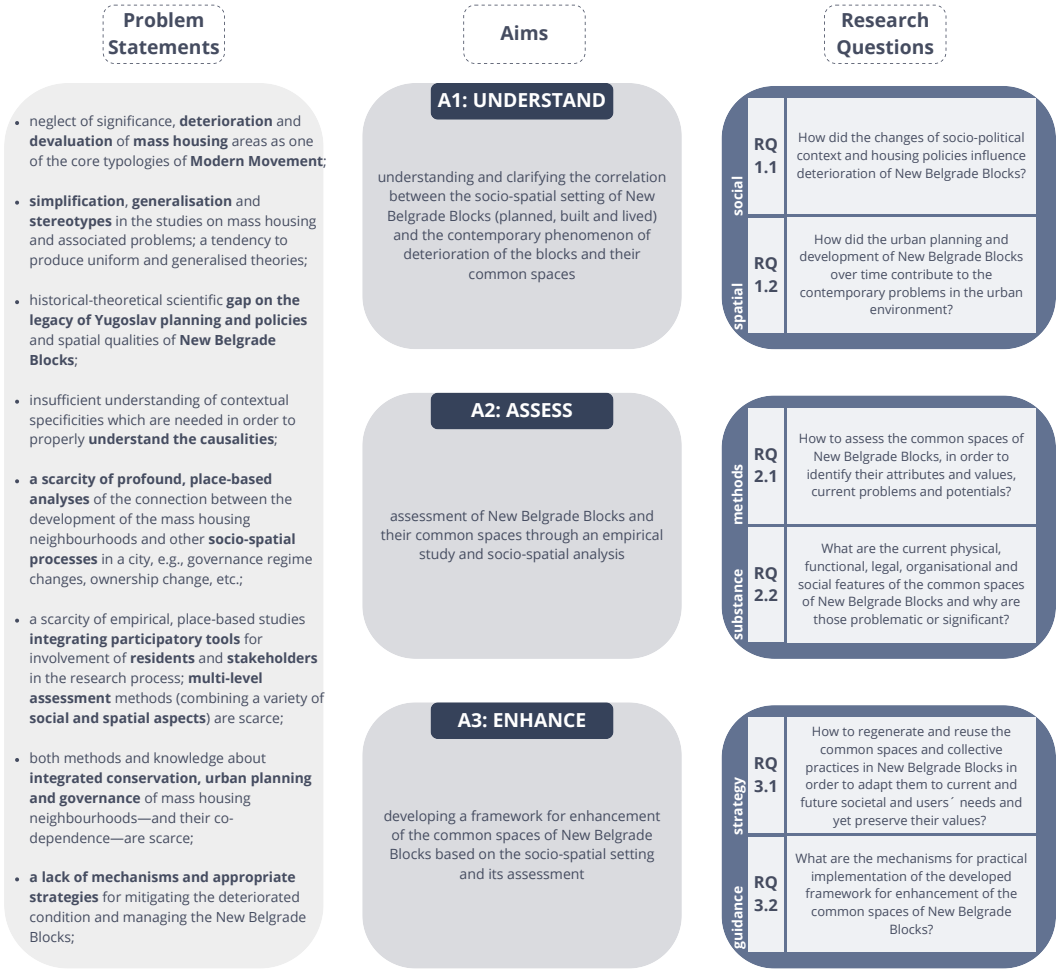


FIG. 1.2 Research problem statements, aims, and questions. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, January 2023.

1.4 Research Methodology

The research questions and aims formulated in Section 1.2, determining the three main parts: (1) understanding, (2) assessing and (3) enhancing, require a research methodology which combines various research strategies, and thus various tactics for collection, analysis and display of data. (see Figure 1.3)

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The first part of the research applies correlational and case study research strategies, with elements of other research strategies such as qualitative and historical research (Groat and Wang, 2013). Those are combined in order to critically examine the complex socio-spatial setting of New Belgrade Blocks, on the level of planned, built and lived space. This part studies the phenomenon of deterioration of the blocks and their common spaces, bringing it into correlation with other social (addressing RQ 1.1) and spatial (addressing RQ 1.2) factors, e.g., governance regime changes, ownership change, modernist planning, contemporary urban practices, etc. The study applies tactics for collection of data such as literature search, including automated and manual search, which is particularly important for the primary sources in Serbian language, archival material, etc. Data analysis tactics include historical reading of architecture and socio-cultural discourse, critical and correlational analysis, interpretation and clarification. Through logical argumentation and theory building the data is presented. The outcome is: defined socio-spatial aspects of devaluation and profiled common spaces as crucial for further analysis within the second part.

Nevertheless, the research process is not linear—meaning, e.g., before the data processing of the first part is completed, the data collection of the second part has already started. (see Figure 1.3) Thus, preliminary results of the critical analysis of the socio-spatial setting are an important input for the preparation of the semi-structured interviews with the residents of the blocks within the second part—conducted in parallel with the data processing of the first part. Accordingly, the collected data from the second part have an impact on the data processing of the first part as well, e.g., the statements of the residents have an impact on (or co-validate) preliminary results of the correlational analysis and profiling common spaces as crucial for further analysis.

The second part of the research applies a very diverse set of research tactics, primarily from qualitative research and case study research strategies. (Groat and Wang, 2013)

The research design of the second part is determined by a place-based empirical study, focusing on two New Belgrade Blocks, Block 23 and Block 70a, selected as representatives of two different, socio-spatially distinctive, parts of New Belgrade – the Central Zone (Block 23) and the Sava River Zone (Block 70a). Block 23 is one of the corner blocks of the Central Zone, realized in the period between 1973 and 1976. It was built for the Yugoslav People´s Army having own apartment standards manuals, and it is often being cited for its outstanding architectural quality and as one of the finest examples of Brutalism in Belgrade. Block 70a is one of the Sava River blocks, realized in the period between 1981 and 1986, in the period of changing socio-economic circumstances - towards neoliberal reforms. The two blocks are of comparable size, have a high level of greenery and both incorporate the specific two-track residential building typology.

The empirical study is engaging participatory tools for involvement of residents of the two blocks in the assessment process, and an education-exploration model involving students, as key components of the research design. The research approach expands the assessment process, including perspectives of the local community and students. Another level of this co-assessment methodology is combining those aspects with a spatial analysis—identification and classification of the common spaces, typo-morphological analysis and spatial mapping of publicness—and critical review of the current situation in urban governance and heritage management of the blocks. The research approach, determined by a dynamic relationship between the research methodology and the subject matter, profiles a multi-level assessment model, beyond the conventional historic- and aesthetical-values-focused analysis. It offers an approach for a more integrated, in-depth assessment of the socio-spatial setting, the current condition of the blocks, conducted with the society. (addressing RQ 2.1)

Besides the methodological, the additional contribution is related to the studied subject matter (New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces), developing understanding of the place-based problematic and complex relations between the society and their living environment, and physical, functional, legal, organisational and social features of the common spaces defining their significance (addressing RQ 2.2). Data collection tactics are: semi-structured interviews with the residents (exploratory talks), conducted within the first workshop and field study[1], literature search (targeting contemporary issues), observation and photo-documentation, conducted within the second workshop and field study[2].

1 The study was conducted during the Erasmus+ Mobility of the researcher at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture in October-November 2018. It was co-mentored and supported by Prof. Dr. Ana Nikezic, Prof. Dr. Jelena Zivkovic and Marija Cvetkovic, PhD student and Teaching Assistant, and conducted within the course "Eco-urban design" on the Master studies at the Faculty of Architecture.

2 The student workshop "Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade" was organised and mentored by the researcher and realised during Erasmus+ Mobility of the researcher at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture in November-December 2018. It was co-mentored and supported by the academic staff from the host institution: Prof. Dr. Ana Nikezic, Prof. Dr. Jelena Zivkovic, Prof. Dr. Jelena Ristic Trajkovic, and teaching and research staff: Aleksandra Milovanovic, Marija Cvetkovic, Nikola Popovic, Marko Bulajic, Teodora Spasic and Stefan Slavic. In the workshop participated 55 students of Bachelor, Integrated and Master studies at the Faculty of Architecture. http://www.arh.bg.ac.rs/2018/12/13/odrzana-radionica-unforeseen-impulses-of-modernism-the-case-of-new-belgrade-19-29-11-2018/?pismo=lat

Data analysis tactics are: narrative and thematic content analysis, spatial analysis (typo-morphological analysis and spatial mapping of publicness)—partly conducted within the third workshop[3]—interpretation and clarification, comparative analysis. Through a complex textual and visual display, the data is presented and the relations argued. (see Figure 1.3)

The third part of the research is directed towards "design-polemical theory" development (abstract thought and speculation). (Groat and Wang, 2013) The study applies tactics of data collection, such as literature search (targeting integrative conservation, urban planning and governance) and stakeholder workshop[4], acting as a tool for co-validation of the previous findings and co-ideation of new solutions towards an intervention and governance framework for the blocks. Data analysis tactics include narrative analysis, thematic content analysis, correlational analysis, interpretation, clarification and visual interpretation. Through a complex textual and visual display, the data is presented and the findings argued, defining a strategy for reuse of the common spaces and collective practices (addressing RQ 3.1) and implementation guidelines (addressing RQ 3.2). (see Figure 1.3)

Besides the critical and explanatory theory, analysis of the object and subject of the research, the most important contribution of the first part is their correlation, contributing to a better understanding and resulting in a set of socio-spatial factors influencing deterioration and devaluation, illustrated in the devaluation matrix in Chapter 2. The outcome of this part is valuable both for the studies on New Belgrade Blocks, but also as a contribution to the current knowledge on the post-war large-scale or mass housing neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the important results of the second part contribute to the development and testing of analytical and participatory tools, education and research design, but also explanatory theory and report from the assessment (co-assessment or co-diagnosis) process presented in Chapter 3.

3 The student workshop “Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-Designing the Urban Commons” was organised and mentored by the researcher and realised during Erasmus+ Mobility of the researcher at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture in September 2020. It was co-mentored and supported by the academic staff from the host institution: Prof. Dr. Ana Nikezic and research assistants Aleksandra Milovanovic and Tamara Popovic. In the workshop participated 13 students of Bachelor, Integrated and Master studies at the Faculty of Architecture. http://www.arh.bg.ac.rs/2020/10/14/odrzana-radionica-reuse-of-common-spaces-of-new-belgrade-blocks-co-designing-the-urban-commons/?pismo=lat

4 The stakeholder workshop “On the Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks” was organised and coordinated by the researcher and realised during a Short-Term Scientific Mission (STSM) at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture in May 2021. The STSM was supported by the COST Action Middle Class Mass Housing (MCMH). The organisation of the workshop was supported by the academic staff from the host institution: Prof. Dr. Ana Nikezic, supervisor and Aleksandra Milovanovic, event coordinator.

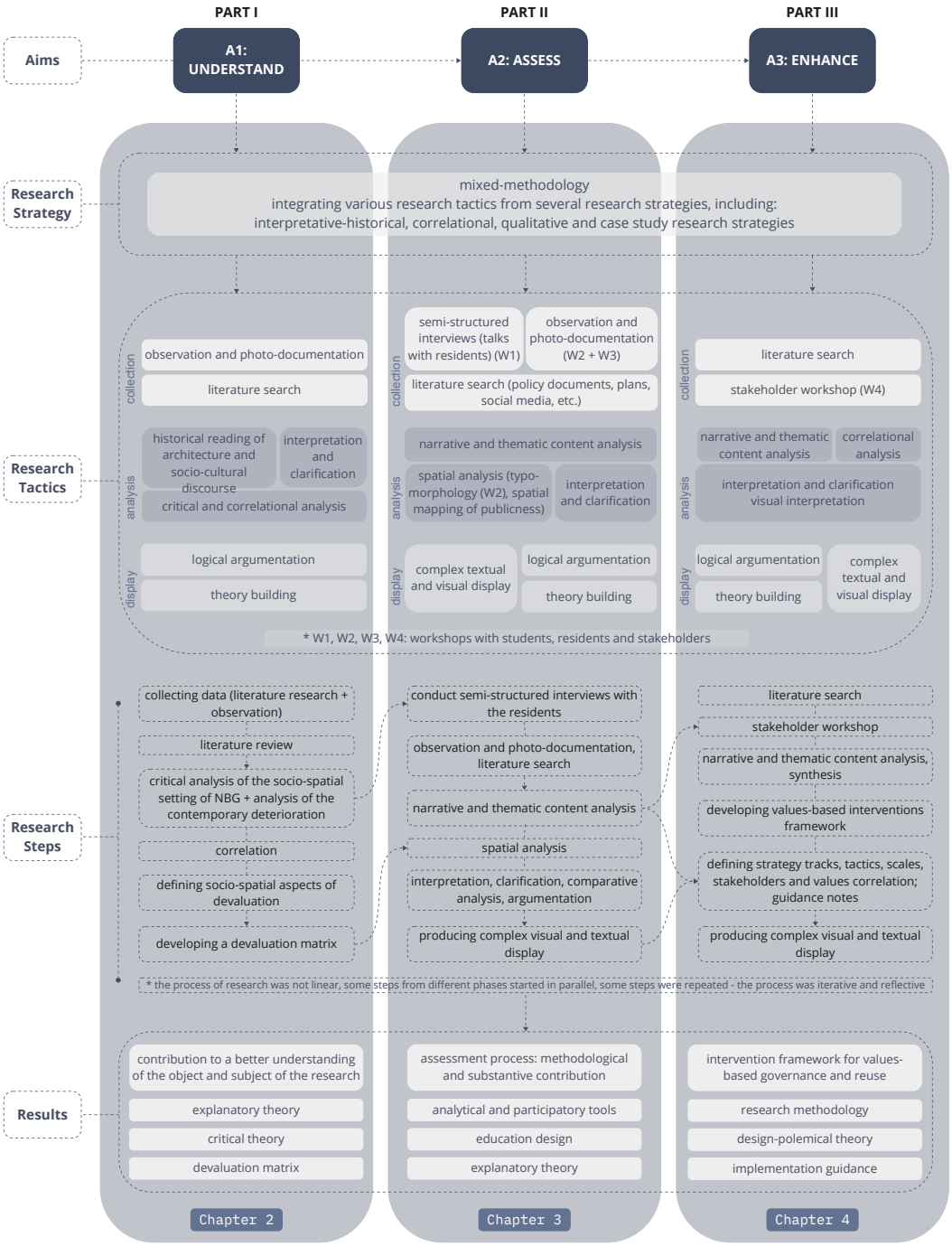


FIG. 1.3 Research methodology. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, January 2023.

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The particularly important contribution in the third part of the study presented in Chapter 4 is the development of a values-based governance and intervention framework for New Belgrade Blocks, including main strategy tracks, instruments and tactics within those, scales for intervention, stakeholders' roles, values correlation and finally guidance notes for implementation of the proposed measures.

The results represent an important contribution to architecture, urban planning and especially heritage studies, in particular for governance and heritage management of complex sites, as mass housing neighbourhoods are. Although focusing on New Belgrade Blocks, the research methodology is possibly transferable to other mass housing neighbourhoods, in particular applying the three main steps: (1) understanding, (2) assessing and (3) enhancing. Depending on findings from the first step, the research tactics to be applied in the second and the third step would possibly need adjustment. Therefore, a comparable research process, encompassing and reflective, is necessary in order to profile an intervention framework appropriate for the studied case.

1.5 Thesis Outline

This doctoral thesis consists of three parts, each presented in a separate chapter. These three parts are: (1) Deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks (Chapter 2); (2) Co-assessment of New Belgrade Blocks and their Common Spaces: Blocks 23 and 70a (Chapter 3); and (3) Development of Values-based Intervention and Governance Framework for New Belgrade Blocks (Chapter 4). (see Figure 1.4)

Chapter 2 includes a literature review, presenting theoretical and contextual frameworks on the subject and object of the research (Section 2.2); a critical study of the New Belgrade Blocks from the period of planning and construction of the blocks until nowadays, exploring dichotomies in planning and constructing the blocks, self-management, ownership change and recent urban practices (Section 2.3); and research on the contemporary phenomenon of the deterioration of the blocks, exploring correlations with the (a) socio-cultural context and changes, policies, etc. and (b) modernist planning, post-modern critique and contemporary urban practices (Section 2.4); and reflections on self-management and urban commons today (Section 2.5).

Chapter 3 includes results from the exploratory talks with the residents, presenting both the methodology and results – collected statements, narrative analysis, thematic content analysis (Section 3.2); spatial analysis of the common spaces of the Blocks 23 and 70a, including identification and classification of the common spaces, typo-morphological analysis and spatial mapping of the aspects of publicness (Section 3.3); and research on the current situation in urban governance and heritage management of the two blocks (Section 3.4).

Chapter 4 presents theoretical framework on the aspects important for development of values-based strategies and tactics for governance of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks, related to the urban commons, collective governance and values framework (Section 4.2); results from the talks with stakeholders and experts on collaborative governance of New Belgrade Blocks, acting as a consultation infrastructure (Section 4.3); and presenting values-based interventions and governance framework, including strategy tracks, instruments and tactics, scales, stakeholders and values correlation, as well as guidance notes on practical and legislative implementation of the developed values-based intervention framework for reuse and governance of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks (Section 4.4).

Chapter 5 presents discussion and conclusions, revisiting the research questions (Section 5.1); reflecting on the research impact (Section 5.2); and presenting an outlook (Section 5.3).

Although the doctoral thesis was structured to follow the three main aims and subsequently builds argumentation, it allows to be read in various ways. One reading path may focus on the methodological contribution of the research. Besides the contributes related to the subject matter, specific for New Belgrade Blocks, the doctoral thesis provides an important methodological contribution for exploring mass housing neighbourhoods, including education-design. The explanations of research methodology are concentrated within each part of the thesis and thus can be found for example in 3.2.1, 3.3.1 and 4.3.1. This introduction provides an insight into the overall content, methodology and structure, and provides a basis for navigating through the thesis, also illustrated in the visual outline (see Figure 1.4).

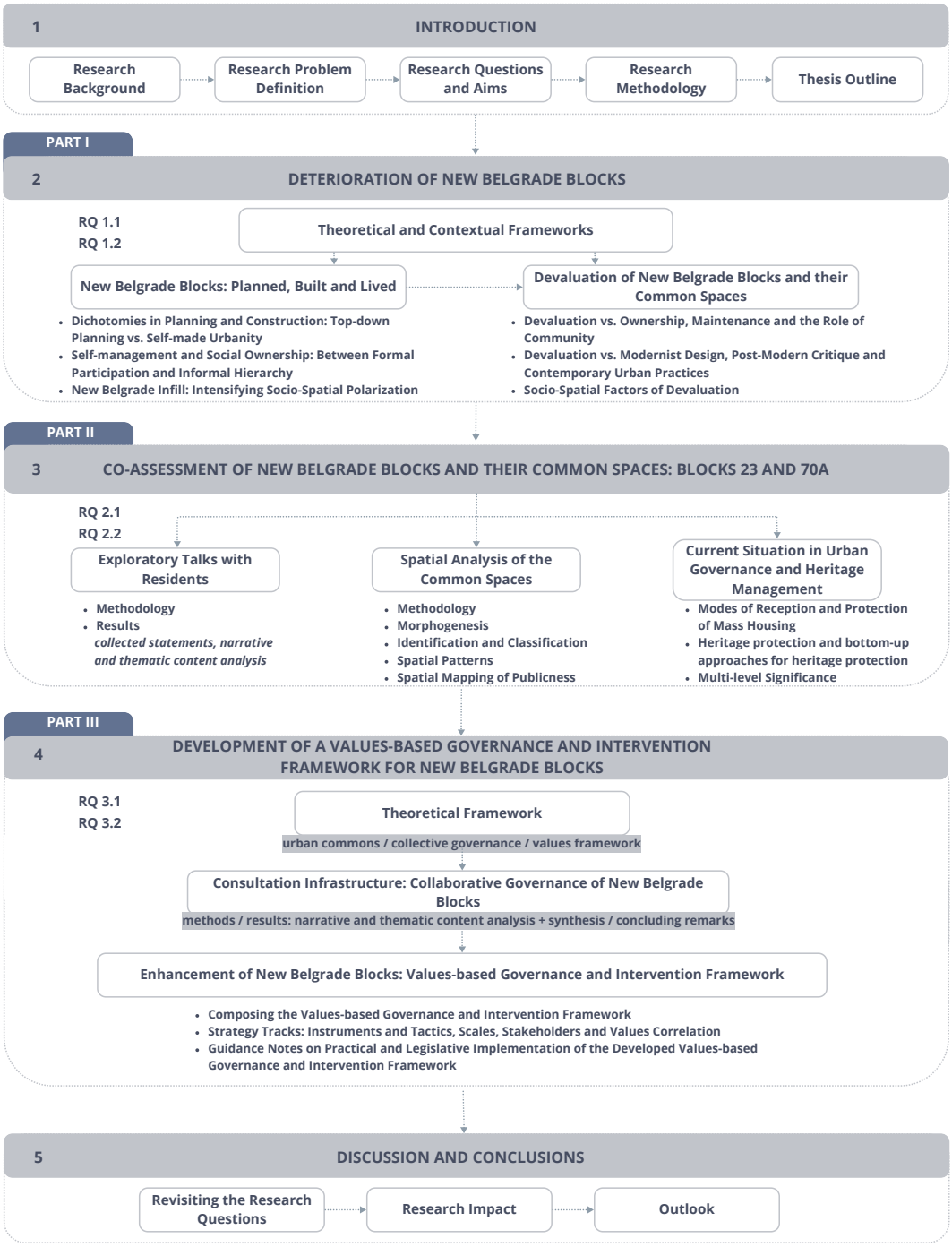


FIG. 1.4 Thesis outline. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, January 2023.

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2 Deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks

Preliminary results of the research presented in this chapter have been published as:
– Dragutinovic, A., Pottgiesser, U., & Quist, W. (2022). Self-Management of Housing and Urban Commons: New Belgrade and Reflections on Commons Today. *Urban Planning, 7*(1). https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v7i1.4746

Urban decay and deterioration of post-war mass housing is a global phenomenon. The reasons for housing deterioration are different, and so interlinked with the socio-cultural discourse, as well as the spatial characteristics of these neighbourhoods, or how they were planned, built and lived. This research focuses on the New Belgrade Blocks, which are part of this larger cultural phenomenon. Within this chapter the urban decay and deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks is investigated.

The chapter includes a literature review, presenting theoretical and contextual frameworks on the subject and object of the research (Section 2.2).
Section 2.3 focuses on the New Belgrade housing blocks as the object of the research. It critically examines its complex socio-spatial setting, on the level of planned, built and lived space, exploring dichotomies in planning and constructing the blocks, self-management, ownership change and recent urban practices. Section 2.4 studies the phenomenon of urban decay and deterioration of the blocks, bringing it into correlation with the (a) socio-cultural context and changes, policies, and (b) modernist planning, post-modern critique and contemporary urban practices; and reflections on the urban commons, finally answering the research sub-questions RQ 1.1 and RQ 1.2.

Besides the critical theory, analysis of the phenomenon and the object of the research, the most important contribution of the chapter is their correlation, resulting in a set of socio-spatial factors influencing deterioration and devaluation of the blocks, illustrated in a devaluation matrix. The developed matrix, as one of the outputs of this chapter, will be applied in the next chapter – assessment of New Belgrade housing blocks. The outcome of this chapter is valuable both for the studies on New Belgrade, but also as a contribution to the current knowledge on similar examples of post-war large-scale or mass housing.

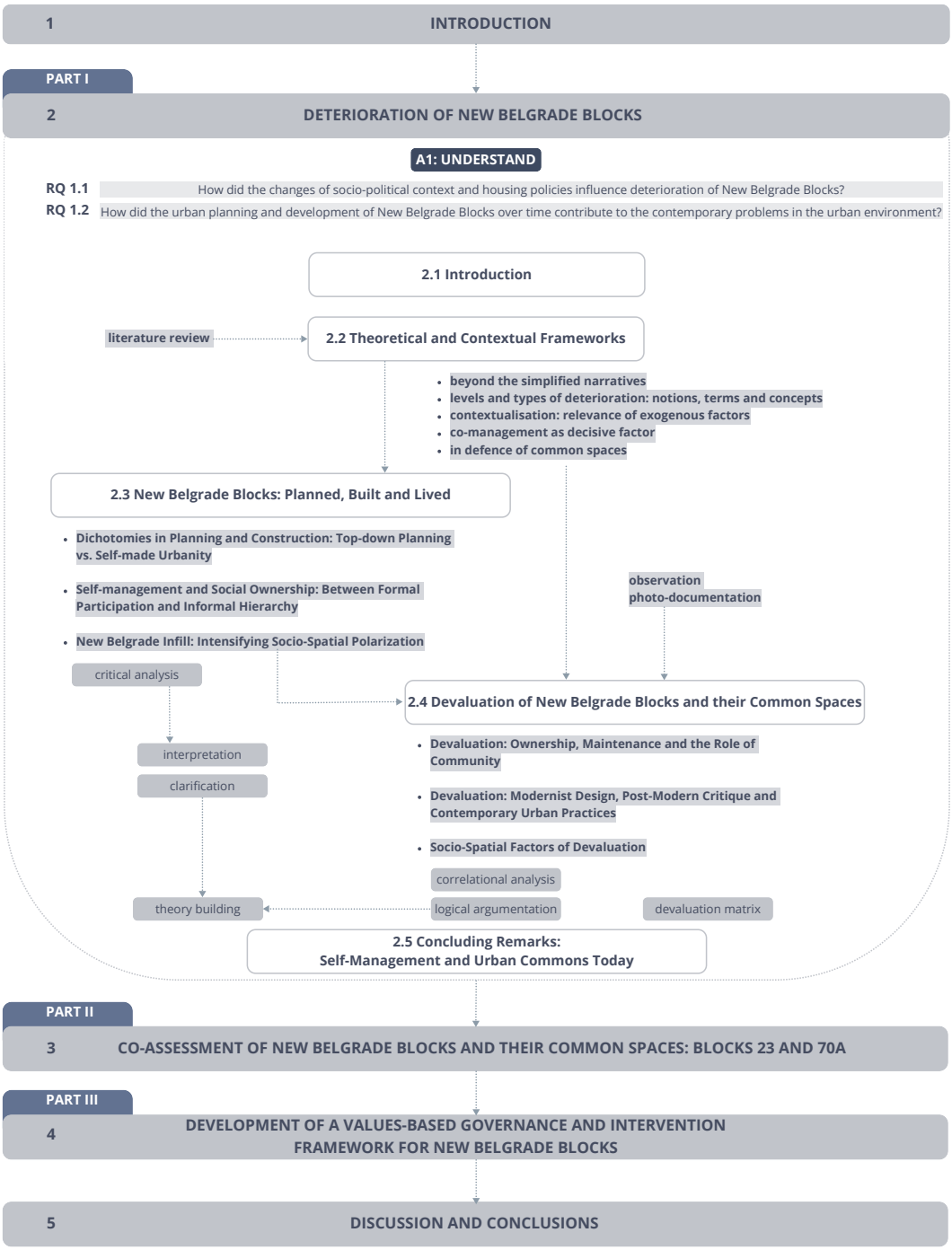


FIG. 2.1 Thesis outline: Chapter 2. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, January 2023.

2.1 Introduction

The post-war (World War II) mass housing areas are a core typology and one of the most widespread manifestations of the modern architecture and urbanism. Although their heritage value is constantly being rethought, they indisputably represent one of the most significant architectural legacies of the twentieth century.

This typology condenses a great variety of concepts, or sub-types, that were profiled during the twentieth century in different contexts due to different social, political, economic and cultural parameters. (see Glendinning, 2021 for a global overview) The cross-geographical differences profiled distinctive ideas, and thus mass housing was mainly, yet not necessarily built as *social housing*. Besides the public, rental housing for socially disadvantaged, vulnerable or low-income groups, denoted as *social housing*, mass housing was not necessarily limited to those groups (especially in former socialist countries in Europe), and also denoted as *collective, socially-owned housing*, etc. Mass housing was planned and built following different ideologies, had different policies and ownership models, different residents' demography, and yet somewhat similar planning principles and architectural language. Additionally, what is shared by all the sub-types is the contemporary phenomenon of urban decay and deterioration. The reasons for housing deterioration are different, and the levels and types of decay or deterioration differ significantly and are usually differentiated by ownership and governance models (*public, social, rental, non-profit, socialist, collective*, etc.), and how those transformed over time.

The studied case of New Belgrade mass housing is a part of this larger legacy, yet strongly tied into a very specific contextual framework. New Belgrade is one of the largest modernist post-war mass housing areas. As the legacy of both modernism and socialism, it represents a symbol of collectiveness and participatory planning, yet with contradictions in practice.

This chapter analyses the underlying narratives, focusing on the housing policies, or the types of governance, and urbanisation, or the modernist design and construction processes. Furthermore, their conformance and performance are discussed. The chapter investigates on the very specific concepts of Yugoslav self-management and social ownership, and contradictions of these concepts in practice. It analyses how the concepts of social justice, equality and fairness that were part of the "planned" came in reality, and what were the spatial implications. Dichotomies in planning, constructing and living New Belgrade are presented, between the top-down planning and self-made urbanity, formal participation and informal hierarchy, leading to the

elimination of the open common spaces and contestation of the values and principles of inclusive planning and use of the urban space.

Following the gradual transformation of the urban landscape of modernity in parallel with different socio-spatial factors, such as transformed ownership and maintenance relations, suppressed importance of community, as well as the modernist planning, the research investigates the correlation between deterioration and previously mentioned factors. The study is positioned in a specific contextual framework, but also interrelated with broader socio-cultural discourse and theoretical framework. Therefore, the following section critically examines and interlinks both frameworks in a form of a complementary literature review.



FIG. 2.2 New Belgrade: a) planned, b) built and c) lived. © Illustration Anica Dragutinovic, November 2018, image credits: a) Group of Authors, Novi Beograd 1961, The Direction for the construction of Novi Beograd, Belgrade, 1961. b) Journal "Izgradnja", 1978. c) Photography OginoKnauss, www.calvetjournal.com/features/ show/6695/suspended-city-roaming-streets-of-novi-beograd.

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2.2 Theoretical and Contextual Frameworks

This section presents a complementary literature review on the object of research, New Belgrade Blocks and its complex socio-spatial setting, or *contextual framework*, and the contemporary phenomenon of its deterioration and urban decay as part of the broader *theoretical framework*.

The literature review is a combination of a systematic literature search on the contemporary studies of the topic, as an automated search in digital databases, and a manual search on architecture and urban design theories and other sources in analogue format. The manual research process was especially important for the research on the object – search for the primary sources and the literature published in the native language (Serbian), including archival material, journals, original drawings, etc. The process of literature search was iterative and reflective.

This section gives insight into the existing knowledge on the topic and presents an overview of the most relevant studies on the object and subject of research. Not many sources are studying the correlation between the two. Therefore, the complementary literature review offers insight and possible interlinks between the two frameworks, and serves as a basis for the correlational study that will be conducted in the next sections.

2.2.1 Mass Housing Deterioration: Beyond the Simplified Narratives

In the introduction of a prominent study on large housing estates in Europe (van Kempen et al., 2005), the authors refer to Philip Johnson's quote on large housing estates, pointing at the celebration of such an urban innovation from the time of construction, in parallel with a quote on violent disturbances from 1986, presenting these very estates as "problem areas no longer liked by their residents" (van Kempen et al., 2005, 1). The authors are implying a correlation between violent behaviour and the spatial characteristics of large housing estates, which is a narrative very often present in the studies on these neighbourhoods. These studies are usually claiming two types of causality: the ones claiming spatial characteristics of these neighbourhoods, or how they were designed (e.g., their morphology and separation of functions), are influencing behaviour of their residents and safety and consequently urban decay (e.g., Coleman, 1985); and the ones claiming social characteristics of these neighbourhoods, or social status of their residents

and segregation, is influencing behaviour and consequently urban decay (e.g., Gans, 1991; Bradbury ,1982). Some studies are arguing a two-way relation based on Soja's socio-spatial dialectic (Soja, 1980). Skifter Andersen (2018/2003) claims that deprived neighbourhoods are a result of social inequality and segregation, but further argues that they create new segregation and inequality in cities. As he writes:

> *The deprived areas act as magnetic poles that attract poverty and social problems and repel people and economic resources in a way that influences other parts of the city. They are the visible signs that cities are subject to special socio-spatial forces that create social and physical inequality, unstable conditions and sometimes destruction.* (Skifter Andersen, 2018/2003, 4)

However, a more profound analyses of the connection between the development of these neighbourhoods and the other socio-spatial processes in the city are often missing in existing studies, as Skifter Andersen (2018/2003) notes himself. Consequently, simplification, generalisation and stereotypes are very much present when it comes to mass housing and problems associated with it.

The famous case of Pruitt–Igoe, the public housing complex in St. Louis, USA, is one example of simplification of rather complex realities leading to misinterpretation. For a long time, it was a symbol of failure of the modernist planning and design. As Bristol (1991) underlines, the association of its demolition with the failure of modernist planning is the core of the Pruitt–Igoe myth. A documentary film "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth" (2011) reveals a set of socio-political and economic parameters that contributed to its demolition (Freidrichs, 2011), which goes far beyond the narratives of *the death of modernism,* announced by Charles Jencks in 1972, when the first Pruitt-Igoe buildings were imploded. (Jencks, 1978; Prudon, 2021) The additional layer in the film's storyline is related to the social status of the residents and is imploding the myths of its influence on the demolition, recognizing larger forces behind and presenting the ways residents fought back "refusing to be passive victims of these larger forces aligned against them" (Freidrichs, 2011). This is a very important point, as it goes beyond the largely present studies on the social status of the residents and its influence on these neighbourhoods, and thus urban decay. The presence of socio-spatial forces generating decay is unquestionable, yet the specificity of the context, and the complex processes that are happening in the city in parallel, must not be overlooked. Furthermore, the *texture of life* in a neighbourhood is important to be explored in order to avoid depersonalized narratives.

Even the studies which are in line with the post-modern critique of the modernist spatial configuration, note that the maintenance and use of the neighbourhood was "behind the curve" (Major, 2021, 65). Namely, occupancy rates declined, and the

loss of the rental income ended regular maintenance. “Many former residents cite property maintenance of common areas as a factor in the decline of Pruitt-Igoe.” (Major, 2021, 65)

As Skifter Andersen (2018/2003) argues, there is a fundamental difference between housing market conditions in the USA and European countries that have reduced the risks of severe urban decay in European cities, due to the better welfare systems and public involvement. Nevertheless, some problems of decay are seen in old rental housing and large housing estates built in 1960s and 1970s. The maintenance of the buildings and especially of the common areas is an issue evident in many large housing estates in Europe. Yet, “there is no simple explanation for the causes of urban decay found in Europe”, but it “may become more active in Europe if a more market-oriented housing policy is adopted” (Skifter Andersen, 2018/2003, 63), which is already the case in most European cities. Therefore, a direct knowledge transfer of the American experience and theories to the European cities and production of simplified narratives is misleading. Instead, it is necessary to clarify differences in the levels and types of decay and deterioration, notions and terminology used to describe it (Section 2.2.2), and define the relevant ones for the European, and in particular New Belgrade, specific conditions and specific mass housing sub-types (Section 2.2.3), defining decisive parameters and aspects for it (Section 2.2.4 and Section 2.2.5), to be studied in-depth for the specific case study.

2.2.2 Levels and Types of Deterioration: Notions, Terms and Concepts

Urban decay, deterioration and degradation are usual attributes of mass housing areas in general. Yet, the levels and types of their decay or deterioration differ significantly, and therefore different terminology and concepts have been used to describe the current condition of the mass housing. Skifter Andersen (2018/2003) focuses on the *deprived neighbourhoods*, Metzger (2000) investigates *planned abandonment* and the *neighbourhood life-cycle theory*, Ross and Mirowsky *neighbourhood disorder* (1999), Prak and Priemus *neighbourhood decline* (1984). Van Beckhoven et al. (2005 and 2009) provide an overview of the theories of neighbourhood change and neighbourhood decline relevant for the large housing estates in Europe (e.g., Prak and Priemus, 1986; Power, 1997; Skifter Andersen, 2003), referring also to the American situation (e.g., Grigsby et al., 1987; Temkin and Rohe, 1996) showing that Prak and Priemus model from 1986, the so-called *spirals of decline*, is the most comprehensive one (Table 1 in Van Beckhoven et al., 2005, 21).

Prak and Priemus (1984 and 1986) identify three processes of decline that are, as they argue, usually interrelated: technical decline, social decline and financial decline. The focus on social decay or decline is very much present in literature, as explained earlier. These studies explore socio-spatial phenomena such as segregation, yet do not investigate spatial characteristics or the physical condition itself (physical or functional decay), but only use it as an additional indicator of the social decay. On the other hand, the physical condition is usually explored in a technocratic approach, usually excluding social parameters. The focus on financial decay is not very much present in the literature. Some studies that focus on *obsolescence* in housing are addressing the financial aspect. Furthermore, these studies recognize the relativity of the concept and its interdependence with the context (see e.g., Nutt et al., 1976; Kintrea, 2007; Thomsen and van der Flier, 2011; Abramson, 2016).

Nutt et al. (1976) distinguish between physical and behavioural factors of obsolescence. Thomsen and van der Flier (2011) develop a conceptual model for understanding obsolescence partly based on Nutt et al. Although it focuses on the building scale, their conclusions can be partly applied on the neighbourhoods as well. Besides physical and behavioural factors (Nutt et al., 1976), Thomsen and van der Flier (2011) define *endogenous* and *exogenous* factors of obsolescence, recognizing the impact of the nearby constructions, government regulations, rising standards, competitive options, etc. They define obsolescence as a process of "the growing divergence between the declining performance of buildings and the rising expectations of users and proprietors" (Thomsen and van der Flier, 2011, 360). A similar remark is made by Abramson (2016, 3), that obsolescence "came about as a result of changing technology, economics, and land use, in which the new would inevitably outperform and devalue the old". The loss of value or utility over time can come about through physical deterioration, but, as Kintrea (2007) argues, essential to the concept is that newer and better alternatives are available and expected by consumers. "Therefore, obsolescence is socially constructed, and arises out of what is acceptable for contemporary living." (Kintrea, 2007, 322)

The utility value is one of the most important aspects in the obsolescence discourse, but also highly investigated by modernists, in particular within the Belgrade School of Architecture (see Dragutinovic, 2019). In an article from 1976, Mihajlo Canak proposed a value coefficient: Cv=QxR/NxP (Cv: value coefficient; Q: quality; R: resources; N: needs; P: price). For each parameter, a set of criteria and aspects are defined, and also a transforming technic that is equalizing value scales of different parameters. The notion of dwelling value is questioned as well, and if it can be perceived only as a commodity. The evaluation system is based on the opposite premise, underlining the complexity of the relation between a man and its dwelling,

and defining value as a combination of functionality (quality) and economical factor (price), while meeting the residents' needs with as little resources as possible. (Canak, 1976; Dragutinovic, 2019) Accordingly, it can be argued that devaluation emerges when the functionality (quality) of housing, a dwelling, or space in general, decreases (and the other parameters remain), or if the residents' needs are no longer met (and the other parameters remain), or there are changes in price or resources, or more complex variations when more parameters change in parallel, which is often the case, as they are correlated. Nevertheless, modernists perceived value as universal, however devaluation is affected by exogenous factors as well (Thomsen and van der Flier, 2011). Moreover, in line with residents' needs, a change in aspiration and residents' expectations contributes to depreciation (Kintrea, 2007), which is another important notion within the devaluation framework. Under-utilization and lack of care contributes to devaluation and urban decay as well. There are many other aspects, e.g., those related to housing policies and regulations, defining new standards and therefore creating the notion of obsolescence, but also defining rules aiming for improvement of the neighbourhood quality. (Kintrea, 2007)

However, within those studies, not many have researched the interrelation between the ownership situation, or more specifically, processes of privatisation and commodification of housing, which happened particularly abrupt in the former socialist countries, including Yugoslavia and New Belgrade housing. Is the problem how that privatisation process was managed or that it happened at all? How did it contribute to the disrepair of the housing and urban decay? The change of housing policies and governance regimes, the withdrawal of public sector and expansion of owner occupation (micro-ownership within the huge collective structures), and other governance issues, undoubtedly influenced the management, maintenance and thus the physical condition of those neighbourhoods, which needs to be further studied.

Depending on the presence and scope of the previously defined parameters possibly influencing deterioration of mass housing areas (e.g., housing policies, ownership status, change of aspiration, lack of care, etc.), different levels and types of deterioration are produced (e.g., social decline, severe or moderate physical decay, functional deterioration or under-utilization, etc.). Those parameters that are possibly influencing deterioration differ in relation to different types of mass housing (defined as *public, social, rental, non-profit, collective, socialist, socially owned, communal, multi-family,* etc.), usually differentiated by the typology and morphology, but especially ownership and governance models.

However, as noted by Wassenberg (2012), most of the studies on decay of the mass housing focus on the problems of these estates usually acontextual or with a tendency to produce uniform, generalised theories or recommendations. Although

they usually do define exogenous factors, they do not focus on specific examples, and therefore lack contextual specificities that are needed in order to properly understand the causalities, which is explored in the following section (Section 2.2.3).

2.2.3 Contextualisation: Relevance of Exogenous Factors

> *In the 1960s and 1970s, all over Europe housing estates emerged that were very similar with respect to construction methods and urban design. At the same time, housing estates across Europe did not all follow the same trajectory after their completion. This divergence occurred because the main reasons for their deterioration and social degradation are exogenous factors, not internal factors.* (Bolt, 2018, 57)

The most prominent studies on mass housing and neighbourhood decline are focusing thematically on public rental housing or social housing – the mass housing sub-types that are largely present in the United States and Northern and Western Europe, while the studies focusing on other parts of the world, including Eastern Europe are significantly less visible internationally. The problems associated with the social housing cannot be directly associated with the mass housing types in Eastern Europe, and in this case New Belgrade, due to the different social, political, economic and cultural parameters. New Belgrade housing blocks were built under different ideology, policies and planning principles behind, being today mainly owner-occupied, with a higher social mix and social status comparing to the mass housing in Western or Northern Europe.

Although the question of context was suppressed in modernist planning of new neighbourhoods in terms of being its “prosthetic extension” (Wigley, 1991), modernist principles were adapted to the specific social, political and economic conditions of a region, country, or city. (Komez-Daglioglu, 2016). The magnitude of mass housing problems depends mostly on these conditions and is interlinked with contextual specificities.

Those cross-geographical differences and similarities are being more explored, and the mass housing of Eastern Europe is getting more attention, e.g., within the pan-European studies and projects (e.g., Restructuring Large Housing Estates in European Cities: Good practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities (RESTATE, n.d.), 2002-2005; or more recent COST Action European Middle-Class Mass Housing (MCMH, n.d.), 2019-2023) and publications (e.g., van Kempen et al., 2005; Scanlon and Whitehead, 2008; Caramellino and Zanfi,

2015; Hess et al., 2018a). The former Yugoslav countries, which are not part of the European Union, have rarely been included in those studies. The case of New Belgrade, that is a phenomenon for itself, is emerging in the international literature (e.g., within a comprehensive study and a global overview of mass housing by Glendinning, 2021), and nationally within many studies on modernism in socialist Yugoslavia and studies specifically focusing on New Belgrade. However, those studies are focusing mainly on architectural historiography, identity and memory, or construction and technology (e.g., improving thermal performance of the buildings), while the contemporary socio-spatial issues of those neighbourhoods are being investigated rarely and fragmentally.

While emphasizing a clear geographical distinction in ideas and the construction of large housing estates across Europe, Wassenberg (2018), highlights the specific distinction in how those estates are being experienced or perceived. As he states, in Eastern European countries, "living on a large housing estate is experienced as a 'normal' form of housing", however, sale of dwellings "to the then-inhabitants during the 1990s, without any maintenance experiences nor structures" does not help with the increasingly problematic condition in those estates (Wassenberg, 2018, 47).

As explained within the obsolescence discussion, aspirations and attractiveness of those neighbourhoods are relative, depending on what they are compared to. When the large housing estates, or mass housing, were constructed, they were considered attractive,

...not only because they provided a home for the many people waiting for one, but also because the estates were clearly different from the pre-war urban areas. The open housing blocks, the extent of green space, the separation of traffic from other functions, and dwelling of good quality seemed to mark a stark contrast with the situation before the war. (van Kempen et al., 2005, vii)

Similarly, New Belgrade, built on the left bank of the Sava river, opposite old Belgrade, was considered progressive and modern at that time, by the citizens and in popular culture, as noted by Dusan Radovic in his cult show from that time "Belgrade, good morning":

Sava has split Belgrade into left and right.
The left is, as its own name says – new, modern, progressive.
The right is – right, old and conservative.
In the right Belgrade is the railway station,
in the left is the airport.
In the left are new students – in the right old faculties.

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In the right Belgrade are sokaci (cobbled streets) and small streets, in the left –blocks and boulevards. (Radovic, translated by Popovic[5])

The status those neighbourhoods have nowadays, however, significantly differs. As Tosics (2005) argues "in most of the eastern housing estates all strata of society can be found among the residents, in strong contrast to the western estates, which became highly segregated". (Tosics, 2005)

As Hess et al. (2018b, 7) note, "The more prominent the share of large housing estates in an urban housing stock, the more appreciated housing estates are by the population, as is the case in many Eastern European cities." A similar remark is made by Tosics (2005) in making Prague – Paris comparison: "the Prague estate was much less problematic, despite the fact that the Paris estate was built according to much higher standards." (…) "the Prague estate is around the middle of the local hierarchy, as opposed to the Paris estate, which is close to the bottom. This position might be one of the most important factors determining the social composition of residents, leading to higher segregation in estates closer to the bottom of the local housing hierarchy."

Those arguments reveal that the magnitude of mass housing problems depend mostly on the relative position in the local housing markets, but also context in general. It shows the relativity of the mass housing obsolescence and highlights the importance of the exogenous factors for urban decay.

Studying housing privatisation in Serbia, Mojovic (2006) recognizes the emergence of the phenomenon of *poor owners,* which has a direct impact on the maintenance issues. The studies on post-socialist transformation (e.g., Mojovic, 2006; Petrovic, 2001; Petovar and Vujosevic, 2008; Zekovic, et al., 2016) explore the massive privatisation of the socially owned housing—in 1991, 87% of New Belgrade apartments were socially owned, and in 1993, 95% of socially owned housing was privatized in Belgrade (Petrovic, 2001)—and its impact on the housing issues that followed. Nevertheless, the corelation between the ownership change and withdrawal of the state, with the deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks needs to be further explored. Furthermore, the questions of maintenance and management of the housing blocks, need a more prominent position in research on the deterioration of New Belgrade mass housing.

5 The quote was translated by Iggy Popovic, published in: http://www.recentering-periphery.org/beograde-dobro-jutro/, accessed: 29.01.2021.

2.2.4 Co-management as Decisive Factor

After *the death of modernism* was announced, architects and urban planners stared the discussion on improvement of the post-war housing estates. A series of congresses and debates were held in 1984 and 1985 in Europe: "Post-war public housing in trouble" conference in Delft in 1984, "Improvement of post-war housing estates", World Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Planning in Budapest in 1985, and in the same year the international competition for the New Belgrade urban structure improvement entitled „The Future of New Belgrade". The problems of New Belgrade urban tissue identified by Perovic (1985) and formulated into a call for its improvement were focusing on the spatial characteristics of New Belgrade and the problems of modernist planning and design. The rather formalist approach of Perovic was similar to the one of Coleman (1985), which seeks explanation of operating problems entirely in design factors. Priemus (1986) describes the approach as one-sided and inadequately substantiated. Moreover, he describes the *management* factor as explanatory and decisive one, the factor rarely mentioned in the literature as a cause of operating problems of the post-war housing estates. Furthermore, he stresses the importance of involvement of residents in housing management.

Operating problems of post-war housing estates have here and there stimulated the discussion in possibilities of improving the living climate by changes in ownership and management (Liedholm et al., 1985). Though is given above all to means of strengthening the involvement of the residents in the dwellings and its surroundings: increasing the say of tenants in housing management, or even the sale of dwellings to occupants, whereby cooperative housing ownership may also be envisaged. (Priemus, 1986, 171)

Priemus (1986) refers to the concept of co-management, claiming the residents should be not only housing consumers but also "co-managers of a dwelling" (Priemus, 1986, 175). Yet, as he notes, the tie between residents and housing management is often non-existent. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Priemus focuses on the West European non-profit rented sector, whereas co-management strategies were already very much present in Yugoslavia, but in this case as part of the *socially-owned housing* (see Section 2.3 and Section 2.4). How housing was produced and owned had a major impact and should be understood as a factor complementary to the management or governance factors.

While co-management ideas were being promoted in the Netherlands (Priemus, 1986), they were starting to be suppressed in Yugoslavia due to a paradigm shift in ideology, both political and architectural, which will be explored in

Section 2.3 and Section 2.4. Referring to Lefebvre's reflections on *autogestion* and fascination with the Yugoslav self-management, Smith (2016, 230) argues: "For him [Lefebvre] the kind of *autogestion* advocated by Proudhon or the actual self-management forms that emerged in Tito's Yugoslavia had either failed economically or been assimilated by capitalism."

As Hirt (2008, 787) argues, the East European post-socialist changes fit well into the framework of a global "modern-to-postmodern urban change." Outlining the process of transforming socialist into capitalist cities, Hirt (2008) connects post-socialist urbanism with postmodern urbanism, highlighting several factors behind this urban transition, including privatization (commercialization and change of ownership model) and reversal of roles between the public and the private sector (directly influencing governance models).

Although neglected within the post-modernist discourse and post-socialist context, these ownership and governance strategies are re-emerging nowadays in different studies on participation, community engagement, and integrated, just, and inclusive planning and urban development, especially in relation to housing questions. Furthermore, the questions of commons, common interest, and processes of *commoning* are integral to these studies. Therefore, Yugoslav concepts of self-management and social ownership of housing, and their implementation, or contradictions in practice, need to be further investigated, emphasizing their instrumentality and potentiality as tools for citizen empowerment.

2.2.5 In Defence of Common Spaces

As Priemus (1986) underlines, one of the key parameters of a neighbourhood quality, as perceived by the residents, is the size and nature of semi-public spaces in and around the residential blocks. And yet, those spaces have been the most neglected components of the mass housing neighbourhoods, in particular in New Belgrade Blocks since the ideology shift and privatisation process. The problem of the privatization process in the case of New Belgrade is addressed by Mojovic:

> *The privatization comprised purchase of apartments only and common spaces in fact remained public property with the common right of use. It means that there is no condominium type of ownership and that ambiguity creates conditions for constant decay of all multi-apartment buildings.* (Mojovic, 2006, 6)

Mojovic correlates the ownership situation with responsibility for the space, which is in line with Newman's (1972) defensible space theory that focused on the question of semi-public spaces, especially on the aspects of community, territoriality, and collective and individual responsibility for the common spaces. Newman stresses that inhabitants should become key agents in ensuring safety in a neighbourhood, yet the physical layout of a neighbourhood would need to be restructured for that. He argues that the more people who share a territory, the less each individual feels a right to it. He, therefore, suggests segmenting undifferentiated spaces in a neighbourhood into private, semi-private, semi-public and public spaces.

Similarly, Robinson (2004, 163-172) introduces a *territorial gradient* concept, defined as "a structure of physical domains that is hypothesized to underlie control of residential environments by inhabitants, and the development of a self-regulating community structure." Exploring domesticity, community and spatial implications, Robinson argues that the concept of 'public' is "an abstraction that simply designates what is not private. It thereby lacks sufficient power to engender social cohesion". (Robinson, 2004, 163-164)

More recent scholarship on Newman, in particular Knoblauch (2018) and Cupers (2020), argues that the concept of *territoriality* is key to understanding the shift in housing policy. As Knoblauch explains:

> *According to Newman and his collaborator, psychologist George Rand, territoriality especially was sorely missing in modern housing projects. Large undifferentiated grounds had created community but now discouraged the necessary "decision to act", because "proprietary rights" to the area had not been honored.* (Knoblauch, 2018, 4)

The critical point of Newman's territoriality conception is that it contests the notions of inclusive, democratic use of open space, as the open spaces should remain *open.* This is also a point on which Jacobs' and Newman's views differ. According to Jacobs (1961), a special value of the open space is its dynamic characterized by the social interaction of strangers in which, as noted by Crestani and Pontes (2018, 49), "individuals share a common experience of the world." The idea of both residents and strangers having a right to *appropriate the public space* is reflected in Lefebvre's *right to the city,* as the right of a *citizen-citadin* to participate actively in the control of the territory and in its management (Lefebvre et al., 1986, and Renaudie et al., 2009, as cited in Blagojevic, 2014, 302).

In line with this, Harvey (2012), refers to Hardin's "tragedy of the commons" tale (Hardin, 1968), arguing that Hardin's metaphors are misleading and act as justification for privatization. Instead, Harvey (2012), highlights the importance of *social action* and *appropriation of the public space,* which makes it common:

> *There is an important distinction here between public spaces and public goods, on the one hand and the commons on the other. Public spaces and public goods in the city have always been a matter of state power and public administration, and such spaces and goods do not necessarily a commons make. (…) While these public spaces and public goods contribute mightily to the qualities of the commons, it takes political action on the part of citizens and the people to appropriate them or to make them so. (…) The street is a public space that has historically often been transformed by social action into the common of revolutionary movement, as well as into a site of bloody suppression. (…) The struggle to appropriate the public spaces and public goods in the city for a common purpose is ongoing.* (Harvey, 2012, 72-73)

Tijerino (1998, 324), referring to Elias' (1939/1994) civility, proposes a semantic transition from defensible space to *civil space:* "Physical incivilities such as abandoned properties manifest a decaying and unsafe neighborhood, while built environment elements such as well-kept front yards construct the perception that a public space is cared for, hence, it is protected." Based on this, we can argue that underused spaces evolve into decayed and unsafe spaces, and spaces that are used and cared for, protected, well-maintained, and safe.

This doctoral thesis will argue and show that the issue of *territoriality* of the mass housing areas, the behavioural patterns of inhabitants—in particular in relation to the undifferentiated common spaces within the New Belgrade Blocks—is not related exclusively to proprietary rights, but also the right to *appropriate* and use the common space. Although the use and governance rights derive from what a proprietary scheme allows, the proprietary rights are not sufficient to trigger responsibility over space. Accordingly, both ownership and governance models that would allow and encourage collective use, management, and control of the common spaces, need to be (re)considered.

2.3 New Belgrade Blocks: Planned, Built and Lived

New Belgrade (Serbia, or, at the time of construction, Yugoslavia), one of the largest modernist post-war mass housing areas, mainly built in the 1960s and 1970s, is today Belgrade's biggest municipality, covering an area of around 4,000 ha with around 250,000 inhabitants (see Figure 2.3).



FIG. 2.3 Map of Belgrade and New Belgrade. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from Bing Maps (https://www.bing.com/ maps), accessed on 23 January 2018.

Since the beginning, its urban development strategies were strongly related to the socio-political context. This context was constantly changing during the 20th century (see Figure 2.4), leading to discontinuity in planning and constructing the modern city, as well as in its further urban development strategies and policies (Dragutinovic et al., 2018).

The underlying narratives have been studied, focusing on participation and governance in planning, building, and living in New Belgrade. The initial concepts, and how the "planned" was realized have been studied, revealing dichotomies

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between (a) top-down planning and self-made urbanity (Section 2.3.1) and (b) formal participation and informal hierarchy (Section 2.3.2). Special attention was paid to the specific concepts of Yugoslav self-management and social ownership, discussing their emergence and the contradictions in these concepts in practice. The chapter shows how the concepts of social justice, equality and fairness that were part of the "planned" came in reality, and what were the spatial implications. Moreover, it presents the recent urban practices and increasing socio-spatial polarization in New Belgrade (Section 2.3.3).

The timeline of key historical events and Yugoslav policies related to the development of these concepts is presented in Figure 2.4.

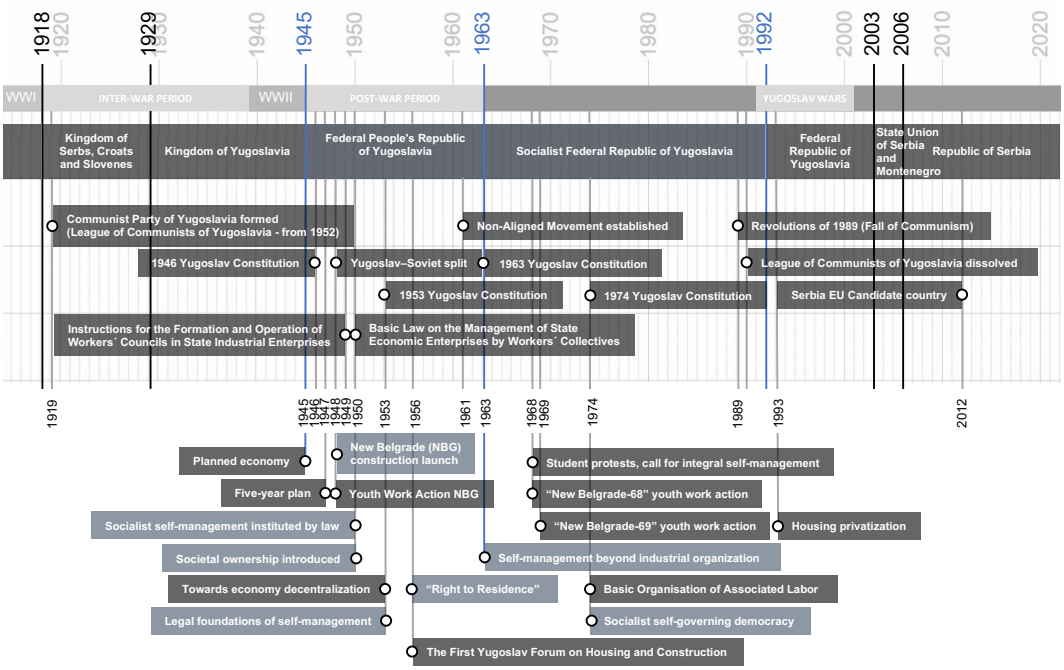


FIG. 2.4 Timeline of the emergence of key ownership and management concepts in relation to important historical events and policies. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February 2022.

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2.3.1 Dichotomies in Planning and Construction: Top-down Planning vs. Self-made Urbanity

In the first post-war years, from 1945 to 1948, as plans were made for rebuilding the devastated country, the issue of Belgrade's "extra-territory"—the marshy land on the left bank of the Sava River—resurfaced. (Figure 2.5)

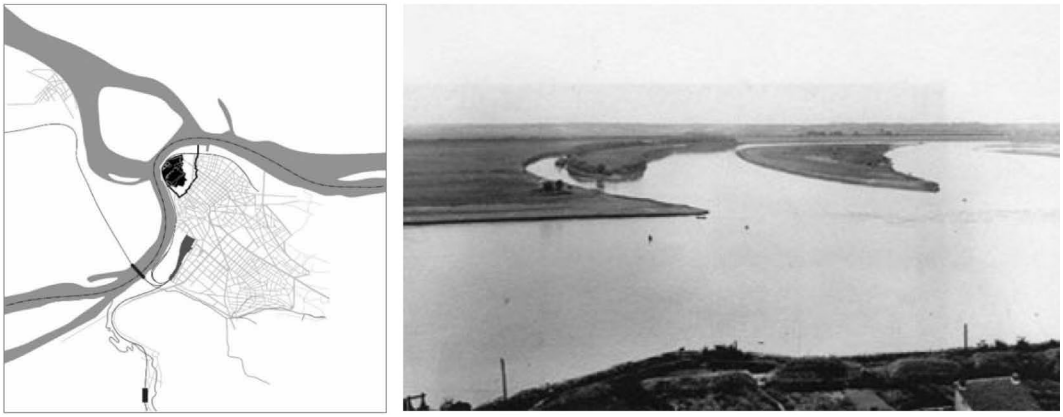


FIG. 2.5 The marshy terrain before the construction of New Belgrade: 1) Map/diagram of Belgrade in 1918 (design by Slobodan Radosavljevic); published in: Milinkovic et al. (2019); 2) Photography, source: Istorija Novog Beograda (http://back.novibeograd.rs/o-novom-beogradu/cinjenice/istorija-novog-beograda).

As Blagojevic argues, the area, "completely liberated of history, or absolutely clear space, where has never been formed any urban structure" was a perfect site for "establishing a supra-historical reality and construction of the capital city of 'people's democracy', later, socialism". (Blagojevic, 2007, as cited in Dragutinovic et al., 2018, 188)

Similar to Chandigarh (India) and Brasilia (Brazil), in this post-war period New Belgrade was conceived as a city to symbolize a new beginning, a "tabula rasa" city with a nation-building agenda. It was conceived as an administrative, cultural, and economic centre of the newly founded Socialist Yugoslavia (Dragutinovic et al., 2018). The planning and construction of a new city were initiated by the communist regime and its leader Marshall Josip Broz Tito. At that time the country was poorly equipped for construction; it lacked specialized workers and experience. Therefore, the top-down planning came in parallel with the hand-made urbanization: The first construction workers were Yugoslav youth brigades (see Figure 2.6).

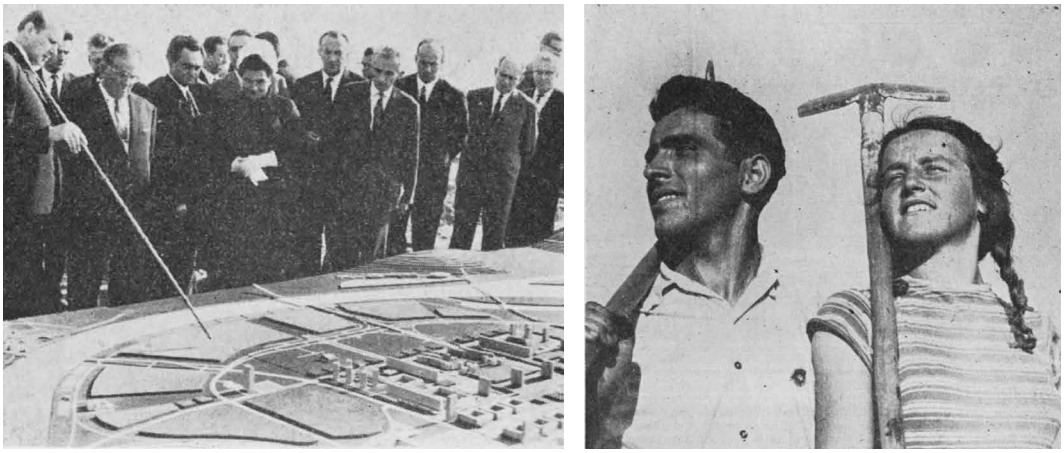


FIG. 2.6 Planning New Belgrade (left) and constructing New Belgrade: The first construction workers in 1948 – Yugoslav youth (right), published in: Stefanovic (1969, 47-48).

As Stefanovic (1969) notes, from 1948 to 1951, this volunteer workforce laboured on covering the marshy terrain and building infrastructure for the new, emerging city. The most important construction sites were the highway through New Belgrade, the railway line, riverbanks and quay landscaping, parks, as well as Hotel Yugoslavia and many other major buildings. “The striking thing to the foreign visitors is that a great number of people do actually take part in this reconstruction work gladly and with great pride in its results,” as underlined in The World Today (P. A., 1948, 334).

A few years after work began, significant political and ideological changes (the split with the Soviet Union in 1948) disrupted the Yugoslav economy and with it the construction of New Belgrade. During the next 15 years, the plans for New Belgrade went through several iterations (see Figure 2.7).

Due to decentralization, New Belgrade lost its role as the administrative center of Yugoslavia. Moreover, the housing shortage came to the forefront, and New Belgrade was largely constructed in 1960s and 1970s as a city of housing. The new (and at that moment already obsolete) plan for the Central Zone of New Belgrade was based on the CIAM concept of *the Functional City* (Figure 2.8).

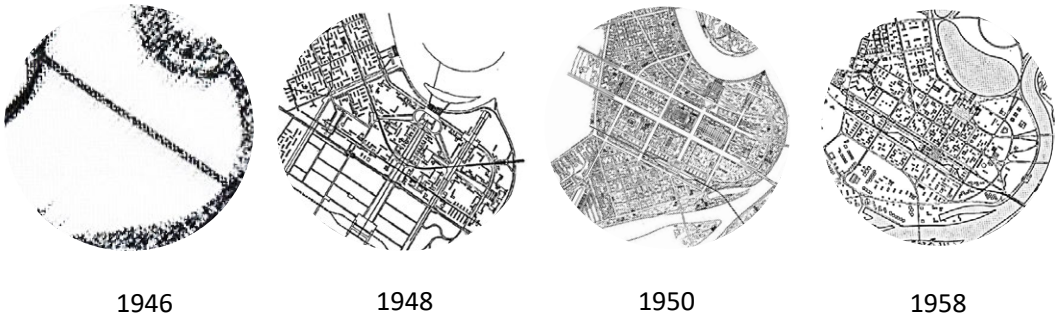


FIG. 2.7 New Belgrade plans from 1946-1958. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from: Maric et al. (2010, 47-56).

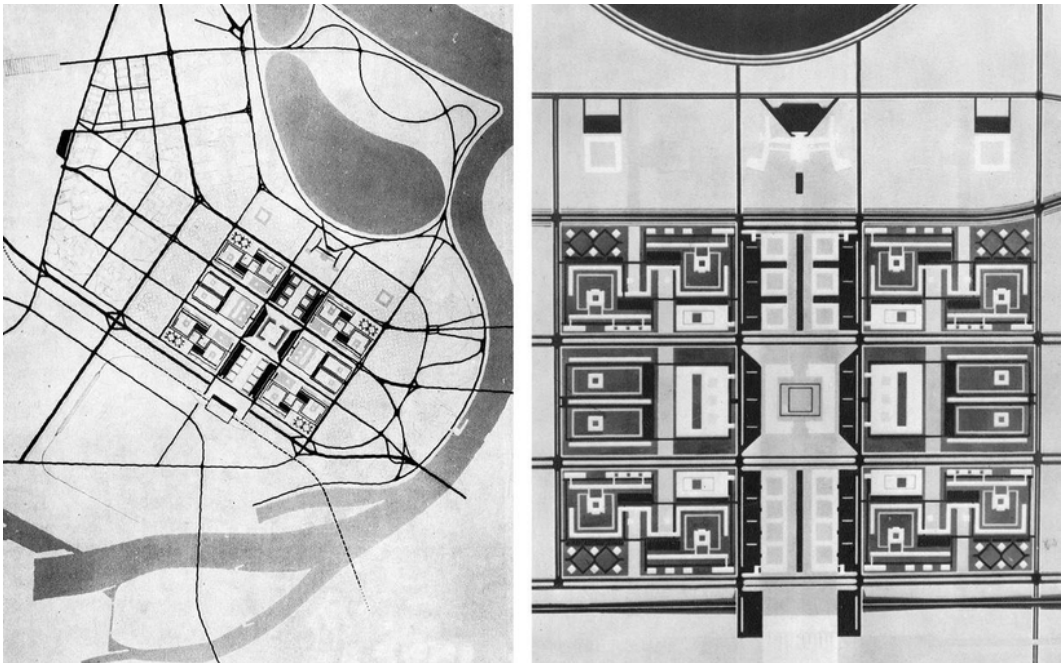


FIG. 2.8 The plan for New Belgrade central zone by the working group of the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade: L. Lenarcic, M. Glavicki, M. Mitic, D. Milenkovic, U. Martinovic, 1960, published in: Blagojevic (2007, 182-184).

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The monumental center with three squares was planned as a longitudinal extension of the Federal Executive Council building. As Blagojevic (2007) argues, the square planned as a constantly controlled public space is devoid of any possibility to be profiled as a free political space, and without a possibility to evolve into a livable urban space. Nevertheless, the central monumental public space was never realized. The inversion of the plan in reality, as already announced, introduced the residence "as a decisive factor" (Blagojevic, 2004).

Urban and architectural practice during this period was diverse, and, as Hirt (2009, 296) argues, the design of New Belgrade Blocks was of "superior architectural quality" with an "imaginative design language." The modernist housing landscape was composed of blocks as the main urban units, comprising large-scale residential buildings of diverse typology (see Figure 2.9), extensive common green areas with playgrounds and sports fields, and complementary facilities, such as kindergartens, schools, local community centres, etc. (Petricic, 1975). In terms of size, for example, Central Zone blocks were 600 × 400 m, each housing approximately 10,000 inhabitants. Blocks 1 and 2, the so-called experimental residential neighbourhoods, were the first local communities realized as a whole in the period between 1960 and 1963 (Stojanovic, 1975). Construction of the Central Zone blocks followed—e.g., Block 23 was realized in the period between 1973 and 1976 with approximately 2,100 flats and 7,560 residents (Stjepanovic & Jovanovic, 1976).

In this period of intensive construction of New Belgrade, the 1960s and 1970s, the approach and technology changed. The construction of the New Belgrade Blocks was directly related to innovations in prefabrication, and it was, therefore, more supported by experts and industry. Accordingly, the role of youth workers in further urbanization of New Belgrade changed as well, or rather the model of their participation was different.

The main office for the construction of New Belgrade required a significant number of unskilled workers, so the youth brigade idea was still relevant. However, it was now implemented in a form of paid work under contract with the investor. New Belgrade-68 was the first remunerated work action and functioned as a business. This was a major change and resulted in an increased interest among young people. (Figure 2.10) More than 20,000 people applied for the 5,000 places in that first work campaign. Nevertheless, the income was rather symbolic, so, in fact, the collective spirit and socialization were still the main drivers of the Yugoslav youth brigades (Stefanovic, 1969). (Figure 2.11)

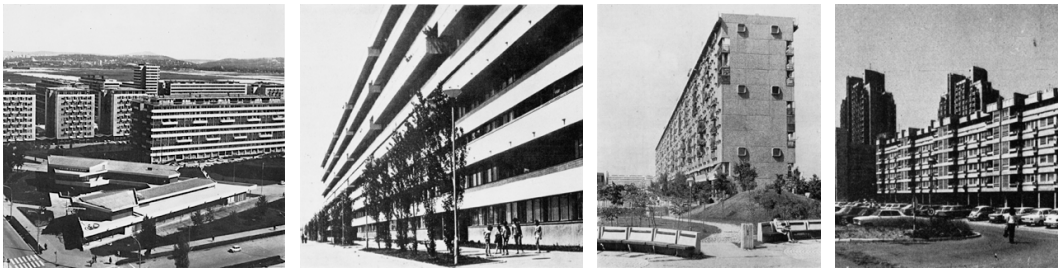


FIG. 2.9 New Belgrade Blocks (from left to right): (a) Residential buildings and local community centre in Block 1 (1963), (b) residential building in Block 21 (1965), (c) residential building in Block 28 (1974), and (d) residential buildings in Block 23 (1974). Source: Stojanovic and Martinovic (1978, 150 (c), 209 (a), 230 (b, d)).



FIG. 2.10 Constructing New Belgrade (1968), published in: Stefanovic (1969, 57).

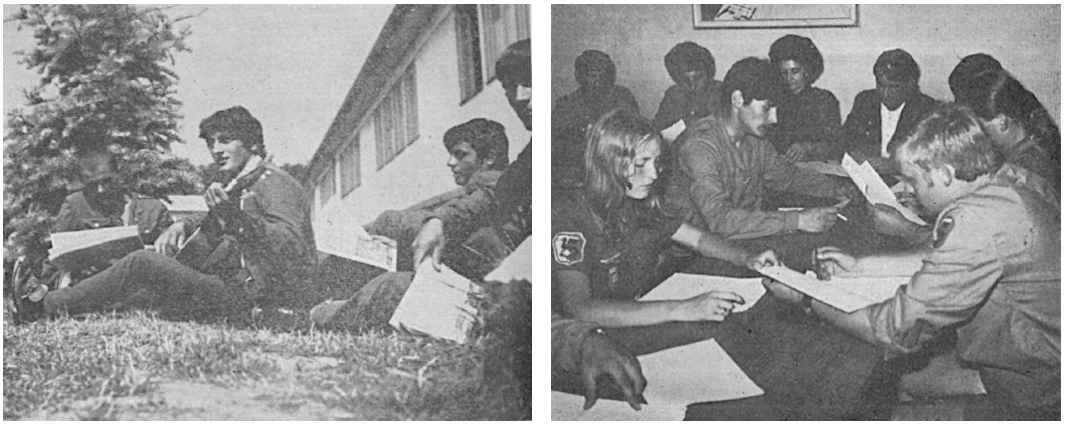


FIG. 2.11 Working action "New Belgrade-69": a) socialization, b) self-management: planning the work actions, 1969. Published in: Stefanovic (1969, 64).

The work actions were a perfect platform for testing the governance principles of the socialist society and acted as a school of self-management. (Figure 2.11)

Self-management within the working action was well organized. All the issues were discussed among all the brigadiers together, on the brigade's conferences. The settlement council was the highest body of the self-management system, which was deciding about the most important questions. (Stefanovic, 1969)

Accordingly, New Belgrade was a polygon for implementation of those concepts.

2.3.2 Self-management and Social Ownership: Between Formal Participation and Informal Hierarchy

New Belgrade was the main site for testing new dwelling concepts and the housing policies behind them. As Blagojevic (2007) explains, the housing policy during New Belgrade construction was completely subordinated to the conditions of social ownership under socialism. New Belgrade was the biggest construction site in Yugoslavia, providing socially-owned flats for tens of thousands of inhabitants. Minimum dwelling for the low-income and vulnerable groups (known as public or social housing) was further developed and translated into *minimum for maximum*, minimum for equality (and is known as socially-owned housing; Dragutinovic et al., 2019).

It is important to stress that *socially-owned housing* in Yugoslavia differed from what is known as *social housing.* The term denotes a form of ownership (not privately owned but owned by society) and is not related to the demographic profile of the residents. Socially-owned housing addressed a much wider social circle than social housing. The main aim was to enable better conditions of living for *everyone*. In the conclusion of the First Yugoslav Forum on Housing and Construction, in 1956, the "right to residence" was defined as a basic legal institution providing to working men one of the most important means of life (Blagojevic, 2007, 134; see Figure 2.12).

The main organizational unit in housing construction was a *housing community or dwelling community* (Milojevic, 2009). It was conceptualized as an association of citizens inhabiting a housing block (Blagojevic, 2007). The housing communities were identified with the so-called local communities and acted as territorial units for the organization and implementation of the self-management concept. Nevertheless, the housing communities were usually communities of co-workers as well, which often blurred the line between the governance setting within the neighbourhoods and enterprises.



FIG. 2.12 Ilija Arnautovic's linear building in Block 28, New Belgrade, 1974. Source: Stare slike Novog Beograda (2013; © Photograph by Olivera Sumanac, 1975).

New Belgrade's housing was financed by a social housing fund, which was decentralized in the 1950s: It was devolved to the state and city authorities and *socially-owned enterprises,* which became the formal investors. Thus, the social ownership of housing in Yugoslavia was based on a *cooperative ownership model*—related to the enterprises owned and managed by the workers. As the socially-owned enterprises were organized according to the workers' self-management system, after the construction of a building or a neighbourhood, the enterprise (workers themselves) was responsible for the distribution of flats to the workers according to the ideal of social justice (Petrovic, 2001). As Jakovljevic (2016, 11) argues, "from its inception in the early 1950s, self-management was the main mechanism of Yugoslavia's transition from a 'totalitarian' to a 'liberal' society." Yet there were a lot of inconsistencies in practice, which became increasingly pronounced as time went by. As Krstic (2018, 18) explains, "managerial staff members found it easier to get flats than workers, for those with higher education it was easier to get flats than for those with lower education." The concepts of equality, fairness, and social justice in the self-managed process of construction and distribution of flats were destabilized due to the informal hierarchy. Furthermore, differences in power among

different enterprises were present as well. This affected the housing standards. For example, the Yugoslav People's Army had its own apartment standards manual, as well as being usually entitled to the most prominent locations. Moreover, the concept of self-management was not coherent, but rather an experiment that changed over time. Yet, as Jakovljevic (2016, 14) states, "not a single alteration to this ongoing experiment was initiated from 'below,' by organized workers." In 1968, French students and workers demanded *autogestion* as a viable alternative to capitalism; in Yugoslavia, students called for the consistent implementation of self-management in the form of an *integral self-management,* in which "a collective effort is facilitated through solidarity and inspiration instead of through hierarchy and command" (Jakovljevic, 2016, 13). Lefebvre's fascination with self-management, as direct democracy in the city, overcoming both the state and the market, was restored in his proposal for the improvement of the urban structure of New Belgrade (see Section 2.4.2), albeit as a utopian understanding of self-management (Stanek, 2011).

By the 1980s, the housing issues had increased and, as Krstic (2018, 19) points out:

Became one of the main sources of discontent in Yugoslav society, first of all among the young, whose working career unfolded in an economy which was already undermined to a large degree by the neoliberal reforms, which no longer promised 'flats for everyone'.

2.3.3 New Belgrade Infill: Intensifying Socio-Spatial Polarization

The contradictions inherent to the socialist policies and institutions, as well as the values of social justice, equality, and common good, contributed to the destabilization of these very principles. As Petovar and Vujosevic (2008) argue, the concept of common interest as the basis for planning was undermined, and increased conflict between the individual (partial) interest and common interest became the main issue in urban planning and practice. Furthermore, a radical transformation of ownership followed: "Substitution of state ownership for the former social ownership replaces the right to a residence by that of occupancy right and, following privatization, by private property right" (Blagojevic, 2014, 304).

The privatization of housing was restricted to the sale of socially-owned flats to sitting tenants and the political elite at extremely low prices (approx. 30% of the market price, later with an additional discount of 30%, and it was further destabilized in the years of inflation; Petrovic, 2001). As Petrovic (2001, 215) points

out, this created “new subventions out of the budget and reproduced privileges in housing.” By the end of 1993, 95% of socially-owned housing in Belgrade had been privatized. New Belgrade housing was practically shared among the people, and it served as a “shock absorber” during the post-socialist transition (Petrovic, 2001). The privatization of the flats was followed by the transformation of the open spaces. As Blagojevic (2014) notes, the open common spaces were subdivided, privatized, and programmed for functions that had been lacking during the socialist period (business, retail, banking, gambling, and religion; see Figure 2.13).



FIG. 2.13 Block 28, New Belgrade: “Old and new spaces”. Source: OginoKnauss (n.d.), http://www.recentering-periphery.org/new-belgrade-public-city-2/

As Tsenkova and Nedovic-Budovic (2006, 12) argue: “Privatisation of housing might have been the wrong answer to the housing problems of transitional economies. It makes housing more expensive, less secure, more segregated and less socially equitable.”

The set of socio-political and economic factors, previously discussed, contested both the modernist landscape and the socialist policies. The importance of community—and the values and concepts related to it—has been suppressed, and instead, the usurpation of public spaces intended for the community, their privatization and commercialization have continued up to the present day. As Blagojevic (2014) points out, the questions about opportunities for the collective and cooperative appropriation of space remain largely unresolved. The new urban practices did change the role of urban planning "turning its back on participatory, integrated planning". (Waley, 2011, 222) The elimination of the common spaces and lack of citizen participation are intensifying socio-spatial polarization and contesting one of the main roles of planning, which is to safeguard against overexploitation of common goods.

2.4 Devaluation of New Belgrade Blocks and their Common Spaces

The section considers the physical decay and devaluation of New Belgrade Blocks in relationship to (a) changed ownership, maintenance relations, and suppressed importance of the community (Section 2.4.1); (b) modernist planning, or rather performance of the plans, and further post-modern and contemporary urban practices eliminating common spaces (Section 2.4.2). This correlational study reveals a set of socio-spatial factors influencing decay and devaluation of the blocks, illustrated in the devaluation matrix (Section 2.4.3).

2.4.1 Devaluation: Ownership, Maintenance and the Role of Community

The Yugoslav system of workers' self-management and social self-government was crucial to the planning process. As such, the funding model for New Belgrade's construction (see Section 2.3.2) consequently governed the ownership situation, policies, and management of the housing.

Social ownership of New Belgrade Blocks was “based on the ideological premise of the right to a residence as a universal right for the common public good” (Blagojevic, 2014, 302). The social ownership status blurred the line between public and private spaces within the blocks. The flats were indeed the most private zones, but even the flats were not privately owned. The fine gradient towards the public was further supported by common spaces within the blocks, for example local community centres and urban common spaces. The collective ownership, and therefore the design of the blocks as a whole (from private to public spaces, or individual to collective spaces), was supposed to enable communal and participatory use of the facilities (Dragutinovic & Pottgiesser, 2021).

Stanek (2011), while drawing attention to Lefebvre’s fascination with self-management, points out that it was a utopian understanding of self-management rather than a historical reality, thereby highlighting the contradictions in the Yugoslav system, including “the ambiguous status of social ownership, which led to a conflict between holders of ownership rights and holders of management rights, and the dichotomy between formal participative decision-making processes and the informal hierarchical domination of the Communist Party” (Stanek, 2011, 243).

However, the change in ownership status that followed, the privatization in the 1990s, did not resolve the conflict between ownership and management rights (and responsibilities), but only deepened them. After the privatization, each flat within the huge residential buildings became privately owned and usually owner-occupied, with a diverse social structure. The privatization meant a transfer of responsibility for the huge structures to the residents. However, the ownership change was not followed by clear regulations about management and maintenance, leading to disrepair and urban decay. Moreover, the economic problems that emerged as a result of the socio-political changes the country was facing created affordability issues and precluded any investment in maintenance. Even the spatial resources that were available were not being used. The residents took care of their private space, their own apartments, but the common spaces and elements suddenly became nobody’s. Besides the lack of regulations and thus of any clearly defined formal responsibilities, willingness decreased as well. The stifled sense of community and interest in the common activities and spaces made these spaces obsolete (see Figure 2.14).



FIG. 2.14 Common spaces, Block 23, New Belgrade. Photography taken by Zorana Jovic for the student workshop "Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-designing the Urban Commons", Belgrade, September 2020.

Underutilization and problems with maintenance of the common spaces in the blocks were the main arguments put forward by the city authorities to justify the sale of urban development land and the promotion of intensive construction in New Belgrade (Milojevic et al., 2019). Usurpation of the urban common spaces of the blocks, intended for the community, is neglecting the importance of *citizen-citadin* participation in co-creation of the urban reality.

2.4.2 Devaluation: Modernist Design, Post-Modern Critique and Contemporary Urban Practices

Discontinuity in the planning and construction of New Belgrade reflected changes in the socio-political context, but also activities of CIAM and shifting perspectives on modernist planning. New Belgrade was planned and mainly built according to the principles of the Athens Charter (Blagojevic, 2007), despite these principles having already been questioned during the CIAM congresses of 1951 and 1953 (Perovic, 1985).

As Perovic (1985, 221) points out, the insistence on "functionalism" and "ultimate" form led to "the 'solution' of reserving disproportionally large areas for future individual activities which lie unused for decades, resulting in a monotonous, vague area, which looks more like a sketch on the ground than space where people live" (see Figure 2.15, center). This critique, which dates from 1985, is part of the post-modernist discourse and already post-socialist thinking. The issues of the New Belgrade urban fabric identified by Perovic are traced overtime here in order to understand how they contributed to the contemporary problems of the blocks.

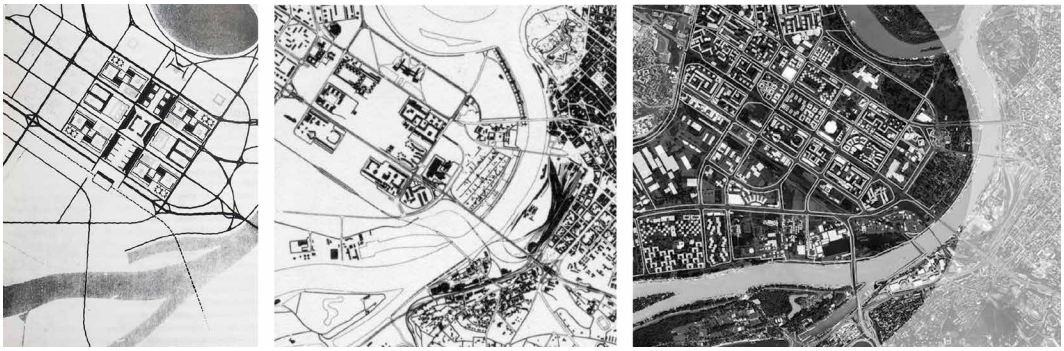


FIG. 2.15 New Belgrade's urban fabric: The 1960 plan for New Belgrade's central zone by the Urban Planning Institute's working group (L. Lenarcic, M. Glavicki, M. Mitic, D. Milenkovic, and U. Martinovic; left); New Belgrade's urban fabric in 1985 (center); and New Belgrade's urban fabric in 2018 (right). Sources: Blagojevic (2007, 182; left); Perovic (1985, 227; center); Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from Bing Maps (right).

The unfinished modernist project (1985) found itself in the midst of a paradigm shift that entailed abandoning the original ideology, both politically and architecturally. The disrupted modernization opened up a critical framework and reflections on the past. Studying *lessons of the past,* Perovic (1985) compared New Belgrade urban fabric with a number of historical cores and important public squares around the world (Figure 2.16). As this study shows, "the exaggerated open areas and size of buildings" signified the loss of human dimensions (Perovic, 1985, 211). Referring to Jacobs (1961), he pointed out the importance of urban compactness for the liveability of the neighbourhood. The lack of human dimensions is a very important aspect and contributing factor to the devaluation of New Belgrade. This has been addressed many times in critical theory and (re)design proposals; however, it has not been addressed in urban practice and later development of New Belgrade. Perovic (1985, 221) also claimed that a huge vague area is "unattractive for other functions", such as banks, department stores, and design offices. Although there was indeed a lack of other functions besides residential and mainly public services at that time,

Perovic's correlation is questionable. It could be argued that the mono-functionality was not due to a lack of attractiveness but was a product of the post-war planning and socio-political discourse: The *other* functions were simply not foreseen until then, as market-oriented urbanism was yet to appear in the next period.

What is also evident from Perovic's comparative figures—although not explicitly discussed in his study—is the undoubted low-density issue of New Belgrade's urban fabric. (Figure 2.16) Nevertheless, densification was one of the main characteristics of his proposal for the reconstruction of New Belgrade's central zone (Figure 2.17). In his proposal Perovic (1985) identified the focal points and pedestrian routes as the main elements. The conception was probably influenced by emerging theory on urban phenomenology and Lynch's (1960) elements of a city. However, their approaches significantly differ: Lynch's approach is participatory and human-centred, while Perovic's is rather formalist.

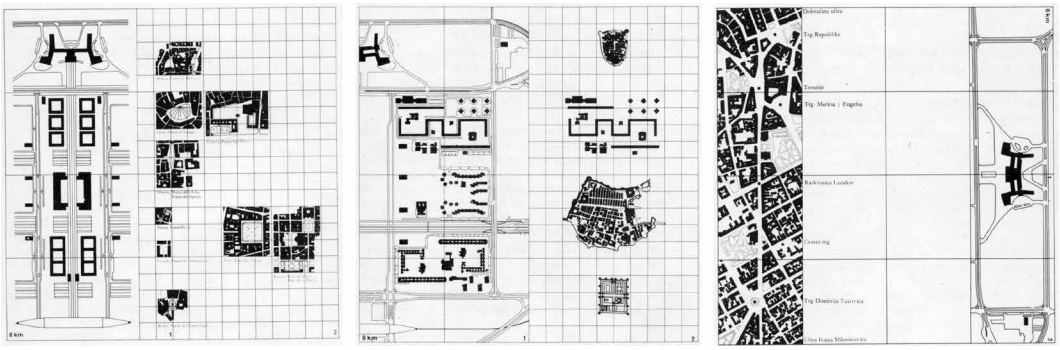


FIG. 2.16 M. Perovic, Comparative view of the Center of New Belgrade and: a number of important squares in the world (left); the historical cores of Corcula, Dubrovnik and Diocletian's Palace (center); part of the historical core of Belgrade given on the same scale (right). Source: Perovic (1985, 222–223).

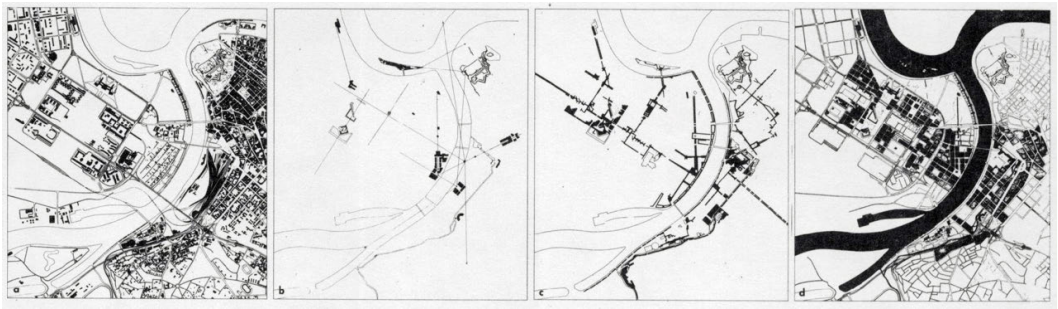


FIG. 2.17 M. Perovic, A proposal for the restructuring and reconstruction of the central part of New Belgrade and the Sava Amphitheatre: a) existing state, b) focal points, c) pedestrian trajectories, d) proposal layout. Source: Perovic (1985, 227).

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Nevertheless, a year later, the question of human dimensions was addressed in another proposal for the reconstruction of New Belgrade. This proposal, which was also a critique of the functionalist city, addressed similar spatial issues to those raised by Perovic, but in direct correlation with the social issues. It was the entry of Pierre Guilbaud, Henri Lefebvre, and Serge Renaudie in the International Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement entitled “The Future of New Belgrade”. (Figure 2.18)



FIG. 2.18 P. Guilbaud, H. Lefebvre, and S. Renaudie, entry in the International Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement, 1986. General master plan, traffic plan, and four exemplary situations of the urban design. Courtesy of Serge Renaudie. Published in: Stanek (2011, 238).

The team’s interdisciplinary approach presented the idea of the „right to the city” as the right to appropriate the urban space. The main principles of the design were diversity (not only of the spatial elements but also of social relations), overlap of multiple urban experiences, and respect for specificities and identity. As Stanek (2011) notes, a very important aspect of their proposal entitled reinforcing existing centralities in each neighbourhood rather than creating a new city centre for New Belgrade.

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The political connotations of the project—a call for the right to the city and urban citizenship and a return to self-management—was not in line with the apolitical tone of the competition, which was based on the premise that "only the modern urban structure of New Belgrade needed improvement, and not the society" (Blagojevic, 2009, as cited in Stanek, 2011, 240).

Nevertheless, both the urban structure and society have changed since then, although not in line with Lefebvre's thoughts. Post-modernist discourse continued to influence new constructions for some time, and recent urban practices have transformed it further (see Figure 2.19).

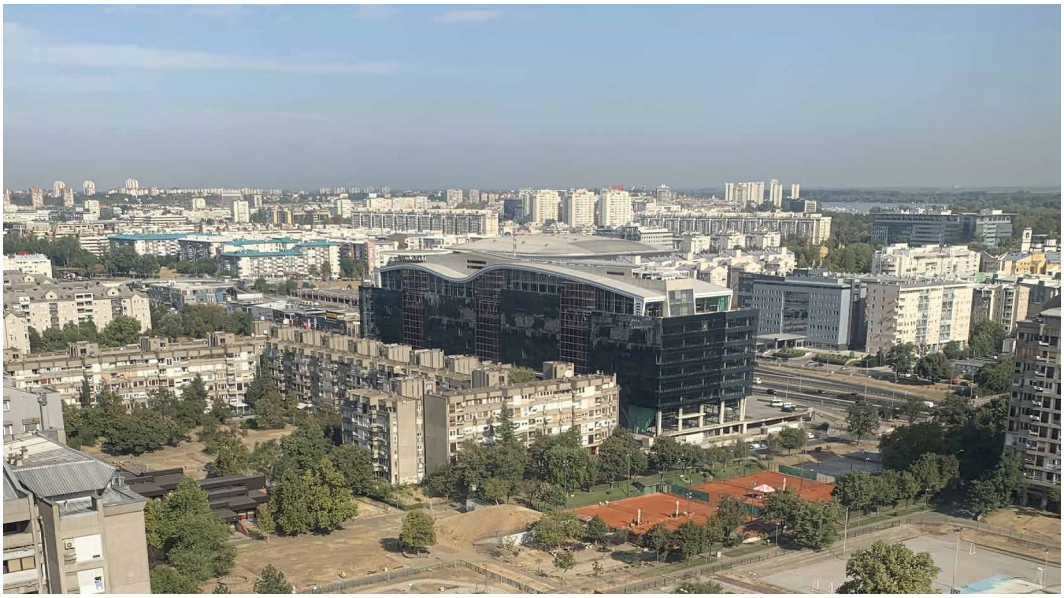


FIG. 2.19 New Belgrade: transformation of the urban landscape of modernity. Photography taken by Zorana Jovic for the student workshop "Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-designing the Urban Commons", Belgrade, September 2020.

The urban landscape of modernity began its metamorphosis into a business centre at the beginning of 21st century. The process was driven by international capital with companies investing in the construction of large retail, leisure, and business facilities (Waley, 2011). However, the main problem is that none of the investments was related to the improvements of the modernist blocks, nor did they address social relations. Instead, these practices are only intensifying socio-spatial polarization, usurping the common spaces, and devaluing the existing blocks.

2.4.3 Socio-Spatial Factors of Devaluation

The previous sections reveal a set of socio-spatial factors influencing deterioration and devaluation of the blocks, summarised and illustrated in the devaluation matrix (see Figure 2.20).

The first part of the study (Section 2.4.1) identified:

- contradictions in socialist policies and dichotomies in planning and constructing the blocks, as well as
- changed ownership and governance models, as part of the socio-political changes (privatisation, market-oriented urbanism, and neglect of the self-management),
- economic and affordability issue and thus no investments in repairs ("poor owners" phenomenon),
- a lack of regulations and measures (responsibility issue), but also
- suppressed sense of community (willingness issue).

Disrepair and lack of maintenance contributes to the physical decay, in particular of the common spaces, resulting in obsolescence and devaluation.

In parallel with this, as previously explained (Section 2.4.2):

- under-utilization and
- lack of care, in particular for the common spaces, in combination with
- market-oriented urbanism,

lead to

- privatisation of the common space and
- infill, while the blocks remained excluded.

Those changes in socio-spatial practices accelerates depreciation and devaluation, and socio-spatial polarization in the city.

The polarization of the urban landscape into public and private is strongly affecting the condition of New Belgrade Blocks, and therefore is recognized as one of the core issues. In order to overcome it, revitalization of the concepts of common spaces and collective management of housing and urban spaces is seen as crucial for the blocks. Potentials of obsolete common spaces for reuse, as well as potentials of collective actions and community-driven approaches for co-creation of the change, will be further explored.

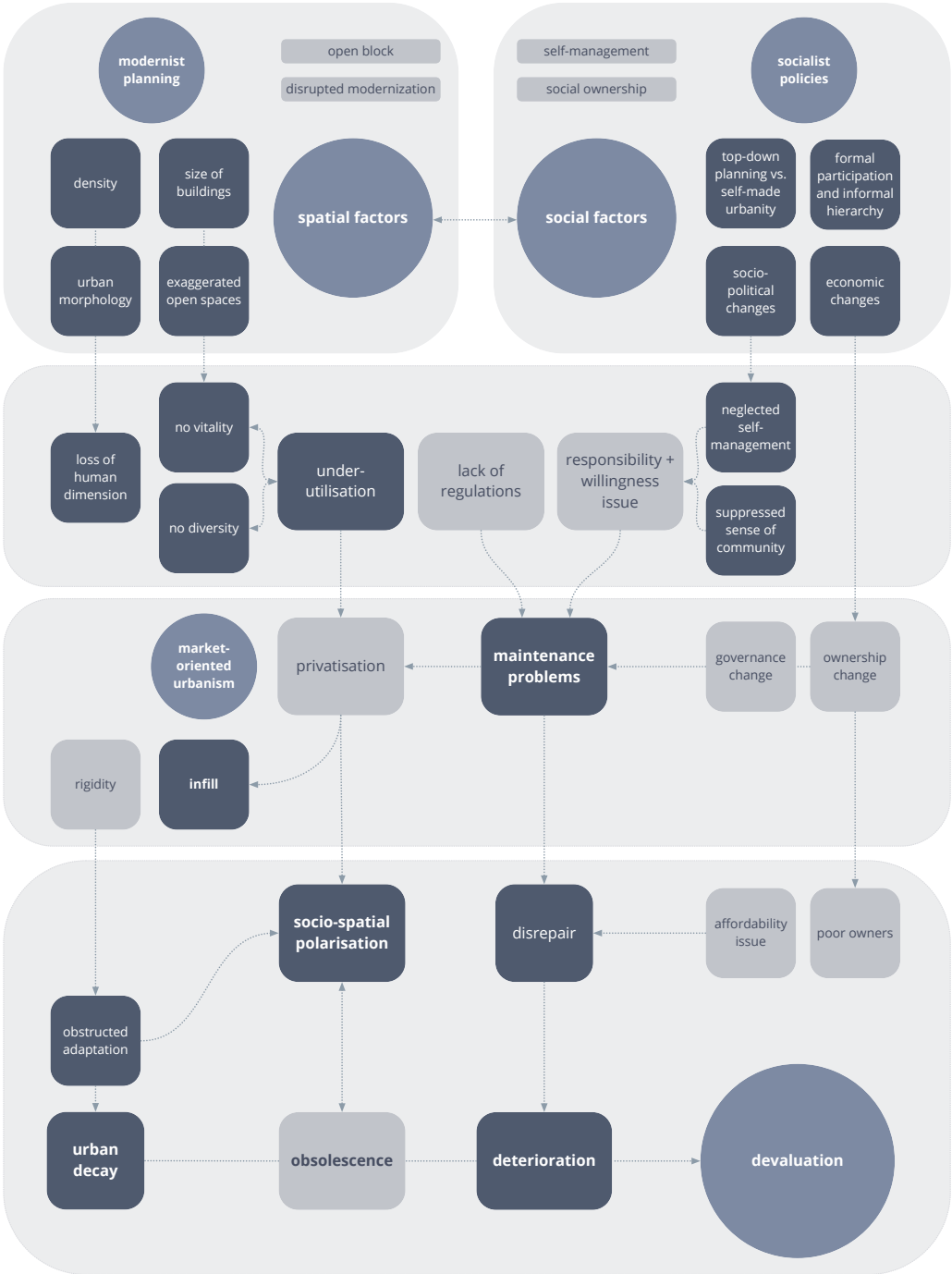


FIG. 2.20 Devaluation matrix: correlation of socio-spatial factors. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic.

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2.5 Concluding Remarks: Self-Management and Urban Commons Today

This chapter re-theorizes the aspects of mass housing neighbourhood change and decline, territoriality, and collective and individual responsibility in relation to the common spaces. The study is interrelated with a broader socio-cultural discourse but positioned in a specific contextual framework. Focusing on the case of New Belgrade, it examines the ownership and governance models specific to this case study: the self-management and social ownership of housing, which constitute an important legacy of Yugoslav planning and policies from the post-war (World War II) period. The chapter analyses the narratives behind it, highlighting the possibilities of housing production, ownership, and management beyond both the state and the market. However, it also shows how the "planned" turned out in reality and discusses its spatial implications.

The urban common spaces that are the most neglected, underused, and dilapidated components of post-war mass housing areas—in particular the New Belgrade Blocks—are at the same time crucial to the quality and vitality of these neighbourhoods. Re-evaluation and re-affirmation of the common spaces as a resource and spatial manifestation of *the right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1967; Lefebvre 1996) is urgent, in order to address the intensifying socio-spatial polarization and inequalities in the city and deterioration of these mass housing neighbourhoods. (Dragutinovic et al., 2023)

The common spaces with specific ownership status—distinguished from public space, as noted by Harvey (2012) and Stavrides (2018)—need to be preserved as such, as they provide spatial porosity and transgress the "conventional notion of private and public space, reflecting the broad array of social configurations and living constellations in which we live today" (Gruber, 2018a, 140). As such, they can act as spatial platforms that allow interaction, active participation, and, therefore, (re)articulation of the processes of *commoning* and collective management of the neighbourhoods. Moreover, the common spaces have the potential for (re) articulation of the dialogue between various sectors, unlocking the potential of institutions and individuals and engaging citizens in interactive and inclusive decision-making and co-creation of the urban reality, which will be further explored in this doctoral thesis. An alternative to the privatization of common areas, that would act in the interests of the local community by remaining accessible to and used by the community, is needed.

Therefore, both ownership and governance models that would allow and encourage collective use, management, and control of the common spaces need to be (re) considered and (re)conceptualized in order to address underutilization and the problem of maintenance and management of the blocks and their common spaces. As this chapter argues, the problem of territoriality of common spaces and behavioural patterns is not exclusively related to proprietary rights, but also to the right to *appropriate* **a**nd use common space. Moreover, not only the *right* to use but also the collective and individual *responsibility* for the common spaces of residential neighbourhoods, and the neighbourhood as a whole, needs to be considered.

The study reveals a set of socio-spatial factors that should be foreseen when addressing the problem of the urban decay and devaluation of New Belgrade Blocks. The questions of (a) the vitality, multi-functionality, and human dimensions of the blocks—in terms of spatial attributes—and the questions of (b) urban citizenship, self-management, and appropriation of the urban space—in terms of social factors—need to be considered. Moreover, reinforcing the existing centralities in each neighbourhood rather than creating a new city centre, a specific design strategy suggested by Lefebvre's team, should also be considered. To support this strategy, the existing infrastructure of common spaces, both indoor, such as community centres, and outdoor, such as open common areas, needs to be reaffirmed and positioned as crucial to the revitalization of the New Belgrade Blocks.

The unfinished character of those spaces allows for *option spaces*. Nevertheless, they need to be programmed, or multi-coded, in order not to be underused or misused (anymore). Social relations are "integral to the production of space that will ultimately make commons sustainable and resilient" (Gruber, 2018b, 169). As Stavrides (2018) argues, the commons are shaped by people who believe themselves to be equally responsible, both in maintaining and repeatedly questioning them. Furthermore, common spaces question the notion of community as well, focusing on the user, not only as a resident, but also as a *citadin*. As Stavrides (2018, 18) notes, common spaces should "spill beyond the boundaries of any existing community; outsiders, foreigners, and newcomers should be invited into them, constantly." According to Stavrides (2018), the common spaces are crucial for the question of urban citizenship and offer a framework for bottom-up governance as a form of direct democracy in cities.

The case of New Belgrade and the governance and ownership models related to it contribute to a better understanding of contemporary discussions about the *commons*, linking historical forms of decentralized governance—such as Yugoslav self-management in local communities—and contemporary discourses on urban commons. Both concepts are addressing the questions of common interest, social commitment, and community engagement, and bringing them into the urban discourse and urban development. The study emphasizes the instrumentality of such governance models as tools for citizen empowerment and community engagement towards effective collaborative urban governance—a model applicable to other mass housing projects and beyond.

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3 Co-assessment of New Belgrade Blocks and their Common Spaces

Blocks 23 and 70a

Preliminary results of the research presented in this chapter have been published as:
– Dragutinovic, A., Quist, W., & Pottgiesser, U. (2023). Spatiality of the urban commons: Typo-morphology of the open common spaces in New Belgrade mass housing blocks. *Frontiers of Architectural Research, 12*(3), 444-457. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foar.2022.11.004
– Dragutinovic, A., Spoormans, L., & Pottgiesser, U. (2021). Exploratory Talks as a Tool for Co-Diagnosis: Comparative Analysis of Residential Neighbourhoods in New Belgrade & Almere Haven. In A. Vaz Milheiro, I. Lima Rodrigues, B. Serrazina, L. Matos Silva, & DINAMIA'CET-Iscte (Eds.), *Optimistic Suburbia 2 - International Conference Proceedings* (pp. 131–138). Lisbon.
– Dragutinovic, A., & Nikezic, A. (2020). Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade Blocks. In U. Pottgiesser, F. Jaschke, & M. Melenhorst (Eds.), *100 YEARS BAUHAUS: What interest do we take in Modern Movement today?* (pp. 32–45). Lemgo: Technische Hochschule Ostwestfalen-Lippe. https://doi.org/10.25644/J4D2-6227

The neglect of significance, deterioration and consequent devaluation of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces requires their re-assessment in the contemporary context, with society, and within the current legal and organisational conditions. This chapter presents a multi-level assessment of two New Belgrade Blocks, an empirical and place-based study, determining their attributes and values, but also highlighting contemporary issues and needs.

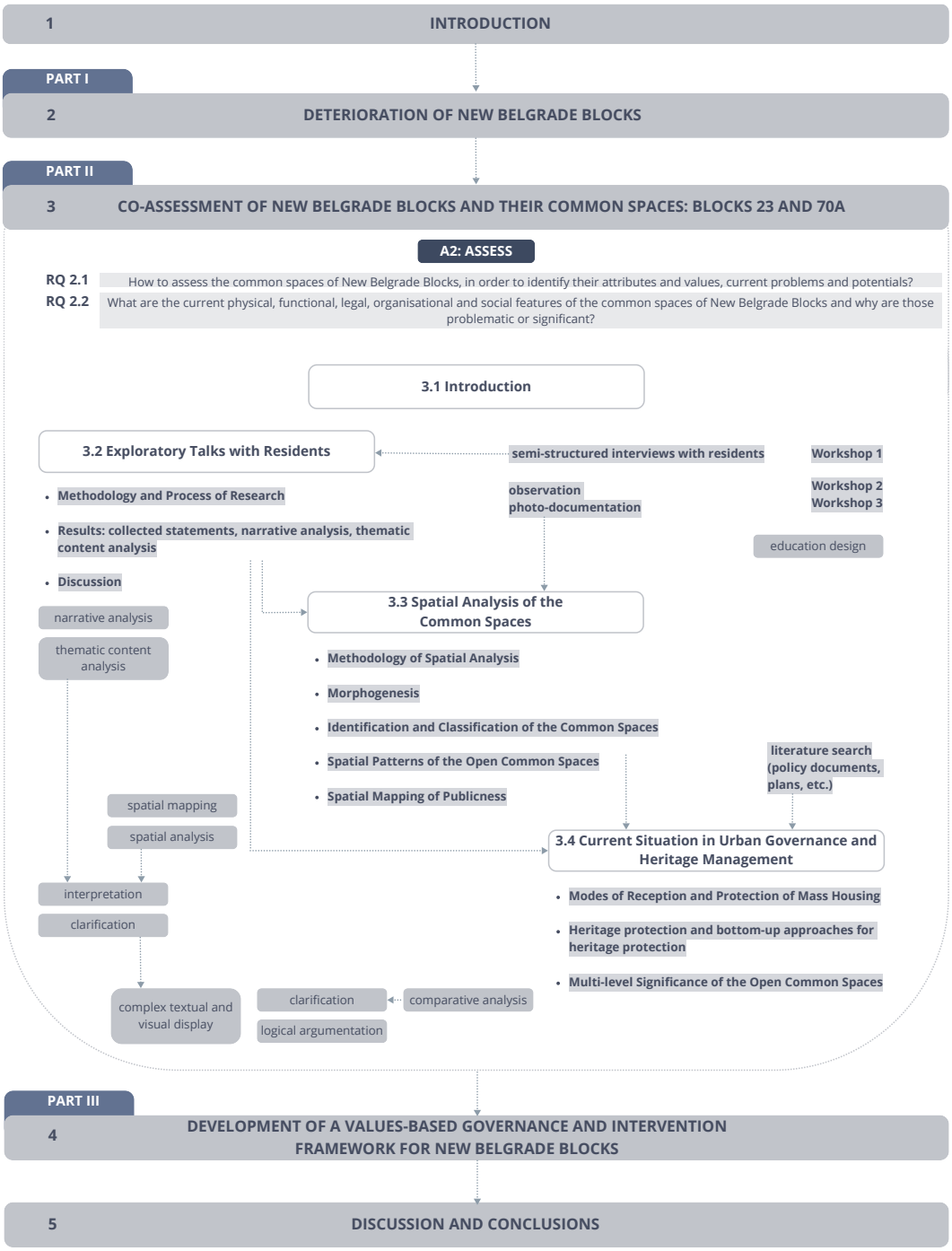


FIG. 3.1 Thesis outline: Chapter 3. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, January 2023.

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The chapter includes results from exploratory talks with residents, presenting both the methodology and results – collected statements, narrative analysis, thematic content analysis (Section 3.2); spatial analysis of the common spaces of the blocks 23 and 70a, including identification and classification of the common spaces, typo-morphological analysis and spatial mapping of the aspects of publicness (Section 3.3); and research on the current situation in urban governance and heritage management of the two blocks (Section 3.4).

The chapter presents a specific assessment approach beyond the conventional historic- and aesthetical-values-focused analysis – an approach for a more integrated condition assessment, conducted with society, finally answering the research sub-question RQ 2.1. Besides the methodological, the additional contribution is substantive, clarifying the place-based problematic and complex relations between the society and their living environment, and physical, functional, legal, organisational and social features of the common spaces defining their significance, finally answering the research sub-question RQ 2.2. The study unfolds the potential of the common spaces, collective practices and engagement of the community in improving the blocks, while preserving their values.

3.1 Introduction

The essential narratives and values of heritage places are rarely, if ever, singular. This multiplicity can only be recognized through more participatory heritage management processes that give voice to a range of stakeholders, including those beyond the realm of heritage experts (from other disciplines as well as nonexperts). (Avrami et al.,2019)

There is a paradigm shift in heritage studies, aiming for integrative approaches, cross-disciplinary and participatory methods. This is especially relevant for typologies such as mass housing neighbourhoods, because those encapsulate a greater complexity of issues compared to single, iconic buildings, which have been commonly addressed in the heritage sector. Accordingly, the conventional (or traditional) heritage assessment approach, focusing on (1) the architectural legacy in terms of primarily historic and aesthetical values of the built structures and (2) only from experts' perspective, is not sufficient, especially for this type of heritage. (Spoormans and Pereira Roders, 2021) There is a need for an expanded assessment

framework, involving citizens, especially local communities, in the assessment process, and thus application of novel cross-disciplinary assessment methods that would enable this.

Co-assessment or co-diagnosis processes and methods (those involving citizens and various stakeholders) have been present for some time in the integrated urban planning discourse. Attention shifted in the heritage studies as well. As noted by van Knippenberg et al. (2022, 29), "heritage management shifted from expert-led authoritarian procedures towards more inclusive and participative community-led practices". Already in 2005, the Faro Convention acknowledged every person's "right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice" and an "individual and collective responsibility towards cultural heritage", adding that "everyone's opinion, interests and aspirations counts" (Council of Europe, 2005, 10). Van Knippenberg et al. (2022) correlate participatory approach in heritage discourse with the participatory approach in the spatial planning and urban discourse, and discuss a need for 'co-evolutionary planning approach' and 'co-evolutionary heritage approach' which combine dynamism and multiplicity, adaptiveness and proactiveness, material and immaterial heritage assets.

An additional aspect in the changing heritage discourse, especially relevant for the reassessment of mass housing neighbourhoods, is a shift from 'object-oriented heritage approach' to 'historical cultural landscape' or 'historic urban landscape' (HUL) in which "buildings, green spaces and water, urban structures and the landscape are inter-dependent" (Meurs, 2016, 18). UN's Historic Urban Landscape Approach understands HUL as:

> *...the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of "historic centre" or "ensemble" to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting. The wider context includes notably the site's topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructure above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity.* (UNESCO, 2011, 3)

The UN's Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) Approach especially addresses people-centred approach and sees cultural landscapes as a repository of social history and community values (UNESCO, 2011, as cited in van Knippenberg et al., 2022).

This chapter presents an approach for involvement of citizens in the neighbourhood assessment process, collecting their statements and revealing 'everyday qualities', but also problems and potentials of the blocks, promoting inclusiveness and community participation (Section 3.2). The exploratory talks with the residents of two New Belgrade Blocks – Block 23 and Block 70a (see Figure 3.2), are complemented with a spatial analysis, including typological and morphological assessment of the common spaces of the two blocks, but also spatial mapping of the level of *publicness,* which is one of the crucial parameters for the issues of common spaces of the blocks (Section 3.3).

In their study on the *publicness* of public spaces, Dovey and Pafka (2020) define several overlapping categories of publicness, based on the ownership and accessibility criteria: *open-public spaces* (sidewalks, plazas but also internal spaces such as libraries), *open-private spaces* (privately owned and controlled space that is open for public assess, such as shops, restaurants, shopping malls, etc.), *invitation space* (privately owned, public access by invitation, such as housing, private workspaces, but also gated communities and private parks), *inaccessible or restricted pubic space* (publicly owned with restricted access, such as government compounds or state facilities, schools, etc.), *ticketed space* (public access restricted to those willing and able to pay a price of admission, such as parking and public transport) and *quasi-public space* (shopping malls, gated communities, private parks). The study concludes, or rather opens-up, the question of the 'slippery commons'. As they note: "While it has long been argued that clear boundaries between public and private space are characteristic of good city form (e.g., Jacobs, 1961), for Lynch (1981) it is not about the clarity of public/private boundaries but clarity of rights." (Dovey and Pafka, 2020, 247) Lynch's (1981) typology of rights includes rights of presence, action, appropriation, modification and disposition. Furthermore, Dovey and Pafka (2020, 247) suggest that: "Well-accepted urban design principles such as 'active edges' and 'eyes on the street' suggest the value of interpenetrations between public and private space, and the public/private interface has been the subject of sustained mapping (Gehl and Gemzoe, 1996; Dovey and Wood ,2015)." They conclude that: "Any reduction of public-private relations to a clear separation can damage the deeper qualities of urbanity. ( ) Particular interest should focus on the overlap between 'invitation space' and 'quasi-public space' – the 'common interest developments' of gated communities and private parks that operate as if they were public." Moreover, a better understanding of the urban commons as "the rights produced by everyday collective use of shared space regardless of legal ownership (Ostrom, 1990; Blomley, 2008)" is required. (Dovey and Pafka, 2020, 248)

This typology of rights denotes not only the right to use the shared or common space, but accordingly the right to participate in decision-making process related to those *spaces of common interest*. The Section 3.4 explores the current situation in heritage management and urban planning and governance of the two blocks. Through a comparative analysis of the two approaches identified in the two blocks—formal and informal heritage protection—the study shows different perspectives and implications of the top-down and bottom-up urban heritage management. Moreover, the study confirmed that the common spaces are critical for actual implementation or manifestation of the heritage management shift "towards more inclusive and participative community-led practices" (van Knippenberg et al., 2022).

3.2 Exploratory Talks with Residents

This section introduces a participatory tool for exploration and assessment of residential neighbourhoods – *exploratory talks*, that was practically applied as a part of the multi-level co-assessment of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces. The study was exploring the values, problems and opportunities of those neighbourhoods through the eyes of their residents. As the experts of their living environment, the residents explain the neighbourhoods' strengths and weaknesses.

The topics and open questions for the exploratory talks were formulated based on the factors and correlations identified and explained in Chapter 2, aiming to empirically study residents' perception on these issues, as a co-validation of those correlations, but also further investigation of possible causalities and reasons for deterioration, especially of the common spaces. As the narrative analysis and thematic content analysis of the collected statements show, additional issues have been identified, and the previous ones refined. The aspects discussed are, among others, housing deterioration (technical, functional, social), sense of community, place attachment, management and maintenance, ownership and appropriation, quality of the common spaces and green areas, satisfaction and comfort.

The study aims and outcomes are twofold: (1) to draft a methodological guidance for co-assessment of residential neighbourhoods, as shown in the methodology and research process section (section 3.2.1) and (2) to collect data specifically relevant for the study on New Belgrade common spaces (section 3.2.2). The exploratory talks with the residents were conducted in two neighbourhoods, two New Belgrade Blocks – Block 23 and Block 70a (see Figure 3.2), in October 2018.

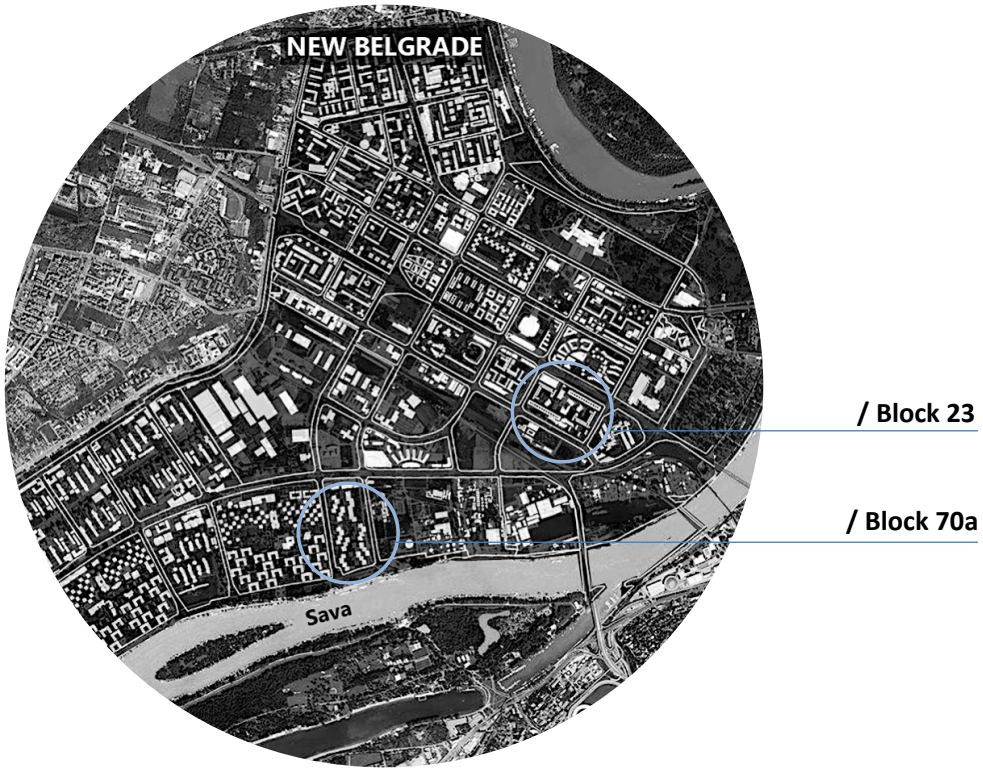


FIG. 3.2 Map of New Belgrade: Blocks 23 and 70a. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from Bing Maps (https://www.bing.com/ maps), accessed on 23 January 2018.

3.2.1 Methodology and Process of Research

The research applied an exploration-education model, including a place-based research approach, as a key component of the research methodology. It focused on the place itself and not on the plan and design the place was derived from. The space was understood as *lived,* as a place with living histories and a place of people and for the people. (Dragutinovic & Nikezic, 2020). In order to study place as such, exploratory talks with residents were selected as the research tactic. The place-based study was applied as both a research tool and a teaching tool, testing methods of exploration, education, problem-solving and co-assessment of the lived environment. The boundaries between classroom, studied place and community become more obscure, and therefore, more integrated (Sobel, 2004; Nikezic and Markovic, 2015).

At the conceptual level, the exploration-education model is based on a student workshop with an extended agenda, during which both the researcher and students learn through an interactive process. The students develop understanding of the place-based problematic and relations, user behaviour and lifestyles, as well as practical skills and know-how, research and analytical skills. The central approach of the workshop is based on *dialogical*, *teamwork* and *social narrative* (Silverstein and Jocobson, 1978) methodologies in order to understand complex relations between society and environment.

The described methodology was conceptualised by the researcher and practically applied in a multi-stage research process (see Figure 3.3). It was conducted partly independently by the researcher (stages 1, 6 and 7), and partly together with Master students at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture[6] (stages 2, 3, 4 and 5).

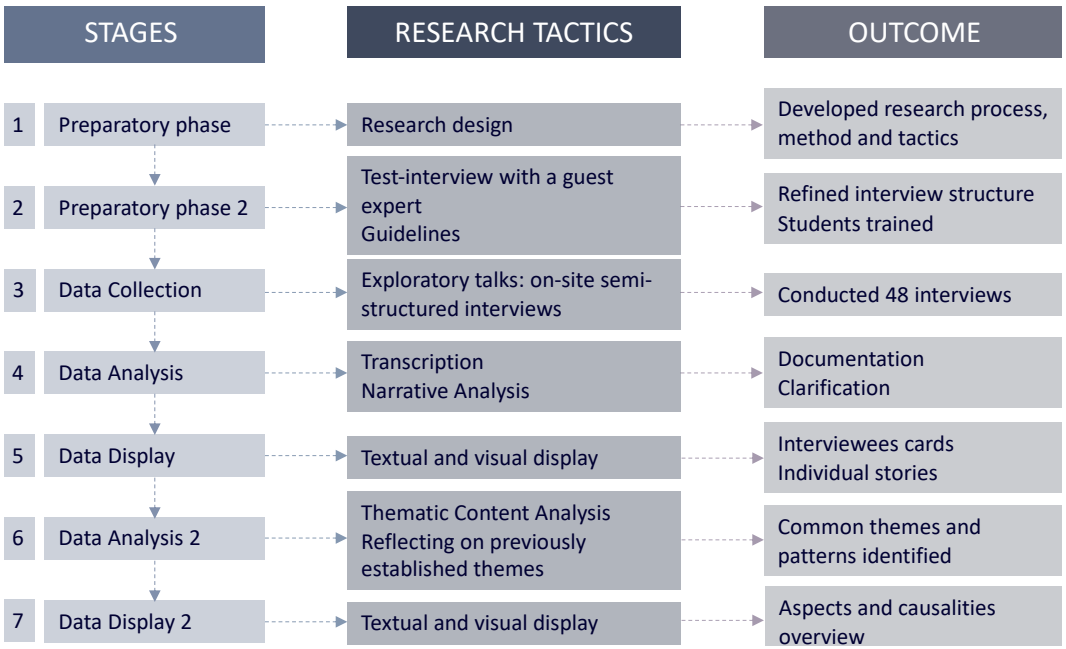


FIG. 3.3 Research process, tactics and outcomes of the exploratory talks. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic.

6 The study was conducted during the Erasmus+ Mobility of the researcher at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture in October-November 2018. It was co-mentored and supported by Prof. Dr. Ana Nikezic, Prof. Dr. Jelena Zivkovic and Marija Cvetkovic, PhD student and Teaching Assistant, and conducted within the course "Eco-urban design" on the Master studies at the Faculty of Architecture.

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1 The first stage was dedicated to the research design, developing the research process, method and defining research tactics. The initial structure for the exploratory talks with the residents of the two blocks was conceptualised by the researcher at this stage as well.

2 The form and structure of the exploratory talks were further developed within stage 2, as a preparatory phase, now both for the researcher and the students. At this stage, which was the first step of the workshop, a test-interview with a guest expert was organised (illustrated in Figure 3.4). As an interview simulation in the class, it acted as a practical learning tool for students on how to conduct the exploratory talks, how to communicate with the interviewees and guide the talks, but also introduced them to the topic and substance. Furthermore, the researcher provided guidance for the students, both on (a) the topic, specific research aims and methods, and (b) practical guidance on identifying and recruiting interviewees, the selection process and ethical issues related to it.

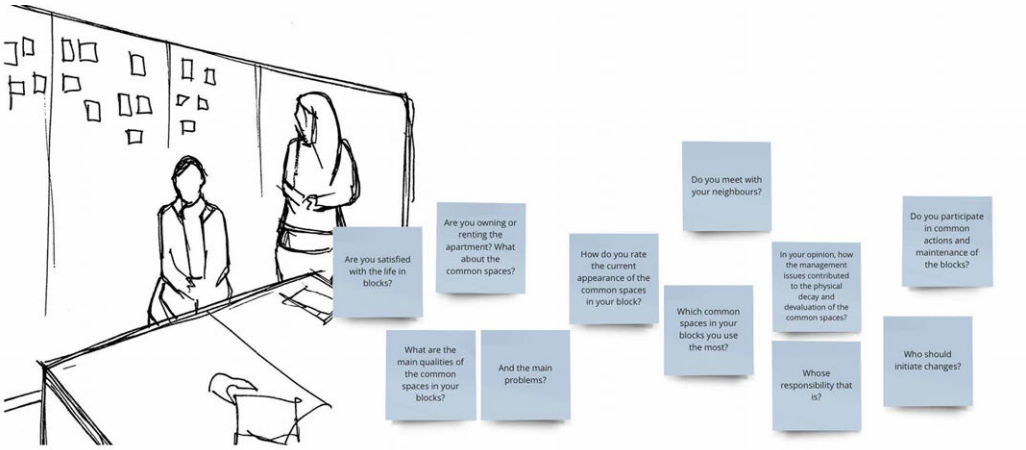


FIG. 3.4 Interview simulation and questions co-ideation. Illustrated by: Zlata Stanojevic and Tijana Lovric, November 2018, adapted by Anica Dragutinovic, July 2021.

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3 The third stage was dedicated to conducting on-site talks with residents in a form of semi-structured interviews. The students, organised in groups of 2 or 3 persons, started with preparatory talks on-site and selection of the interviewees, followed by the interviews in the two New Belgrade Blocks (in total 48 interviews). The process of conducting the interviews in one of the blocks was illustrated by the students in the Figure 3.5. The data collection medium was audio-recording, taking notes and memory. Each interviewee signed the interview consent form, confirming voluntarily participation, agreeing on collection, analysis and further use of the data gathered through the interview.

4 After the on-site interviews, the organization and analysis of the collected material followed. All the audio-recorded interviews were transcribed, and narrative analysis was applied for each interview. As a result, all the collected material was well-documented and organised. Each interview was analysed separately forming 48 individual narratives.

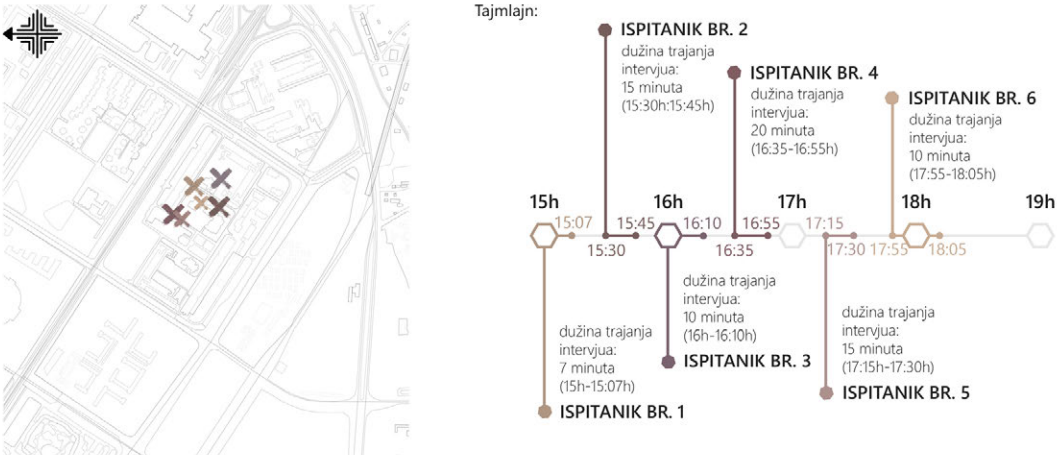


FIG. 3.5 The process of conducting the interviews for the Block 23 by one interviewer-group. Illustrated by: Aleksandra Djalovic, Ana Ristic and Sara Stankovic, November 2018.

5 As a follow up of the previous stage, partly in parallel data display tactics followed: visualization and representation of the collected and analysed material. As a result of this stage, interviewees' cards as well as individual stories were represented through textual and graphic diagrams and illustrations (see Section 3.2.2). Different visualization techniques for qualitative data, or representation of information collected during interviews, were applied. This stage, as well as the previous one, had a high level of exchange between the researcher and the students.

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6 The sixth stage was conducted independently by the researcher as a review of the collected, analysed and displayed data from the previous stages. Furthermore, thematic content analysis was applied as a research and analysis tactic. This aimed at finding common themes and patterns in the data set, complementary to the previously defined themes (the ones defined in Chapter 2). Therefore, the data analysis was conducted through inductive-deductive process. The method of semi-structured interviews allowed for both (a) empirical study on the residents' perception of previously identified factors and correlations, but also (b) investigation on further possible causalities and reasons for decay.

7 The final stage started within stage 6 and is finalized with the writing of this section. The textual and graphic diagrams and illustrations produced within this stage will be part of Section 3.2.2.

The described methodology and research process show how the place-based exploration-education model was conducted. This step-by-step model can act as a guidance for implementing the same or similar participatory research tactics for empirical studies on residential neighbourhoods. Furthermore, it contributes to the development of curricular or extra-curricular place-based education models, that explore complex relations between society and environment. As such, the research model is applicable to other cases, different typologies and scales, and different thematic frameworks. Overlayed with thematic and place-based specificities, the research model produces always unique results. Its experimental character enables iteratively refining of the model, and constant upgrade.

3.2.2 Results: Collected Statements, Narrative Analysis and Thematic Content Analysis

Besides the methodology presented in the previous section, being itself a specific result of this empirical study, this section is dedicated to the place-based—or the case study related—results and display of the collected and analysed data.

The structure of the conducted exploratory talks was based on the devaluation matrix (Figure 2.20) and defined socio-spatial devaluation factors, relevant for New Belgrade Blocks, and especially their common spaces. The structure was further refined through an interview simulation and discussion in the class. The adapted structure acted as a guidance for the students to navigate the talks with residents. The residents were asked about their perception of: (1) the quality of the housing blocks and common spaces, satisfaction and comfort; but also (2)

the deterioration levels and devaluation of these spaces; and (3) the possible reasons for it, discussing: (3A) willingness, sense of community, notion of home, place attachment; (3B) responsibility, management and maintenance relations, ownership and appropriation; (3C) external factors, market-oriented development of surrounding, the role of other stakeholders, lack of regulations; (3D) socio-economic aspects, affordability issues, privatisation; and finally discussing (4) potentials for transformation, participation, needs and suggestions. (Figure 3.6)

The exploratory talks, as semi-structured interviews, were conducted in the two New Belgrade Blocks, Block 23 and Block 70a (illustrated by the students in Figure 3.7).

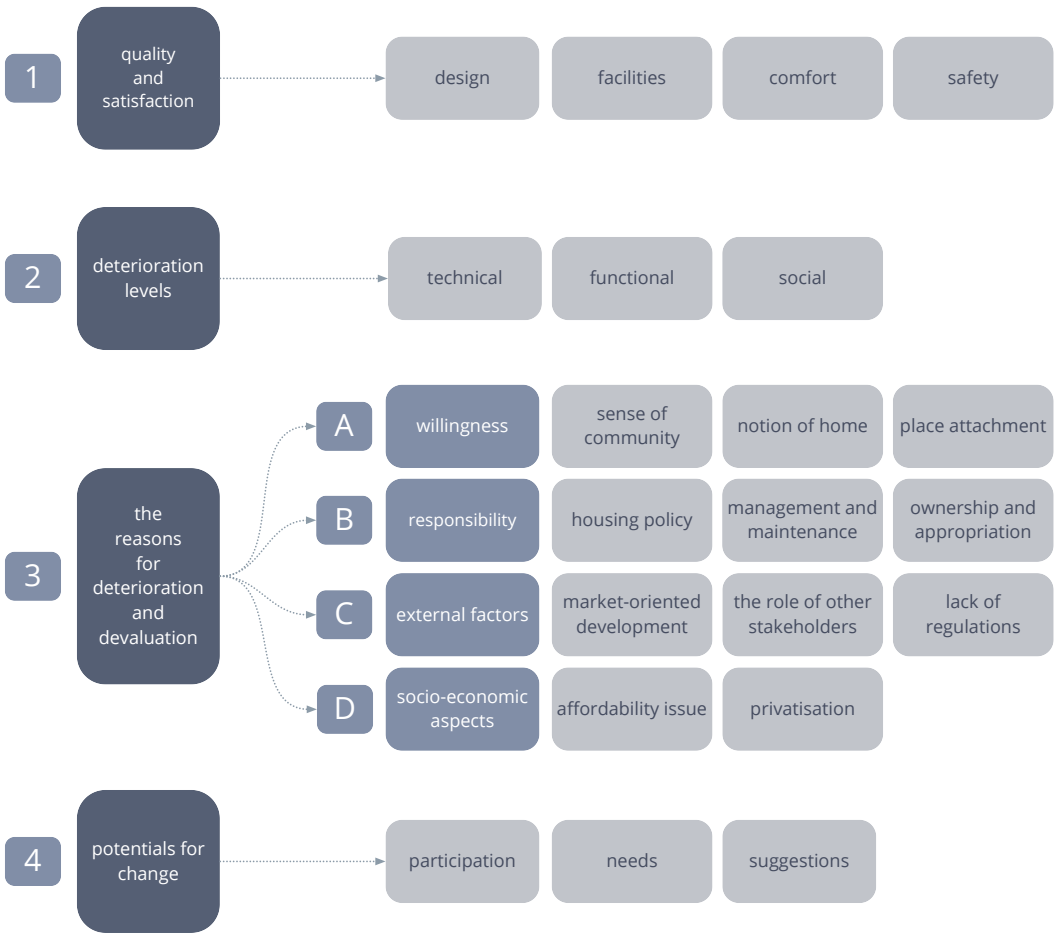
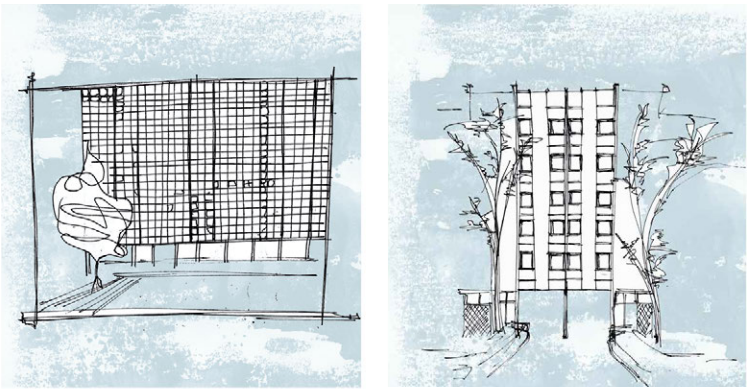


FIG. 3.6 The structure of exploratory talks. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic.

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Block 23 Block 70a

FIG. 3.7 Site visit: Block 23 and Block 70a. Illustrated by: Zlata Stanojevic and Tijana Lovric, November 2018, adapted by Anica Dragutinovic, July 2021.

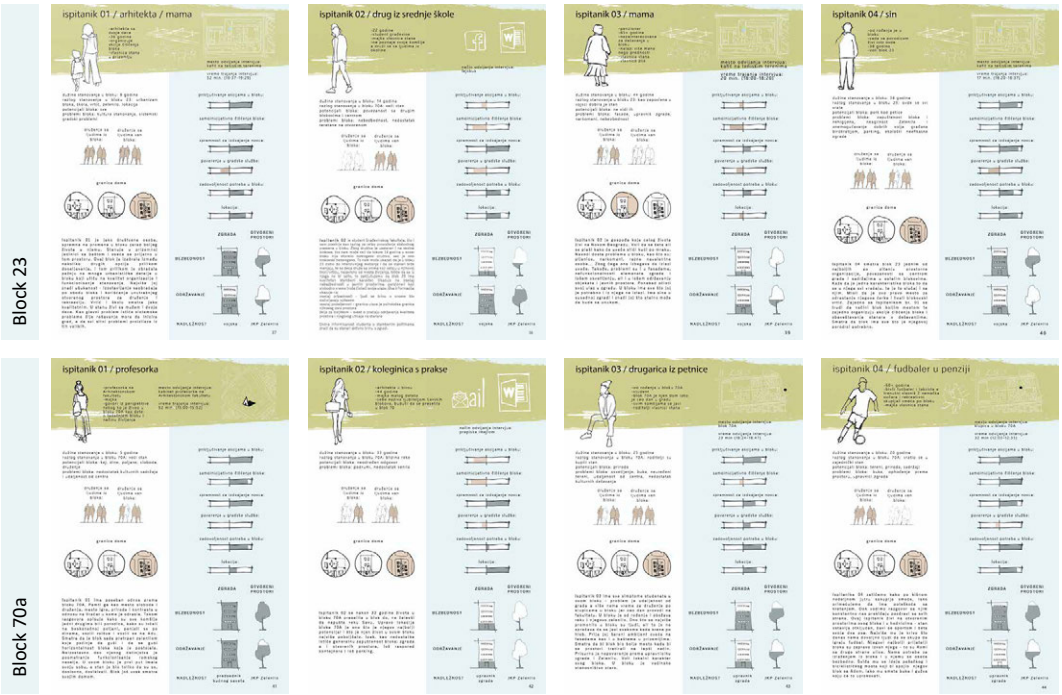


FIG. 3.8 Interviewees' cards: residents of Block 23 and Block 70a, as prepared by one interviewer-group. Illustrated by: Zlata Stanojevic and Tijana Lovric, November 2018.

In total 48 residents' interviews were conducted, 24 per block. Each of the 48 individual stories was transcribed and analysed (narrative analysis), informing interviewees' cards. As there were 6 student groups working on the task, each group realised (in average) 8 interviews (4 per block), and therefore conducted 8 narrative analysis (Figure 3.8).

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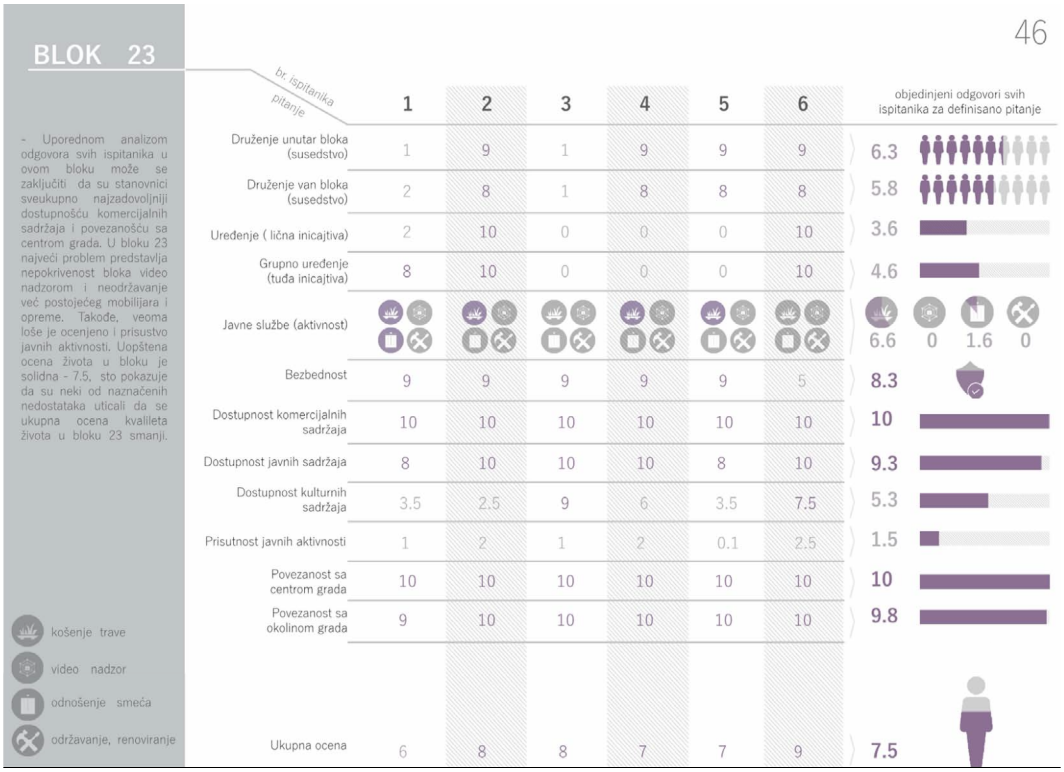


FIG. 3.9 Synthesis analysis of Block 23 by one interviewer-group. Illustrated by: Aleksandra Djalovic, Ana Ristic and Sara Stankovic, November 2018.

The interviews were analysed both individually and as a whole, quantitively coded, comparing answers of all the interviewees for each question, for both blocks separately (Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10) and then compared (Figure 3.11). The narrative analysis highlighted important aspects of individual stories, which will be included in the thematic content analysis as part of specific themes, for a better overview.

As indicated in the synthesis analysis for the Block 23, conducted by one interviewer-group (summarised and illustrated in the Figure 3.9), the residents rate facilities in the block and accessibility very high. The feeling of safety and sense of community is rated very high as well. The main issues, as recognized and perceived by the residents, are maintenance issues and decrease in taking care for the common spaces, as well as the lack of common activities in the block. In case of the Block 70a (summarised and illustrated in the Figure 3.10), feeling of safety and accessibility is rated very high, but the facilities and common activities are rated very low.

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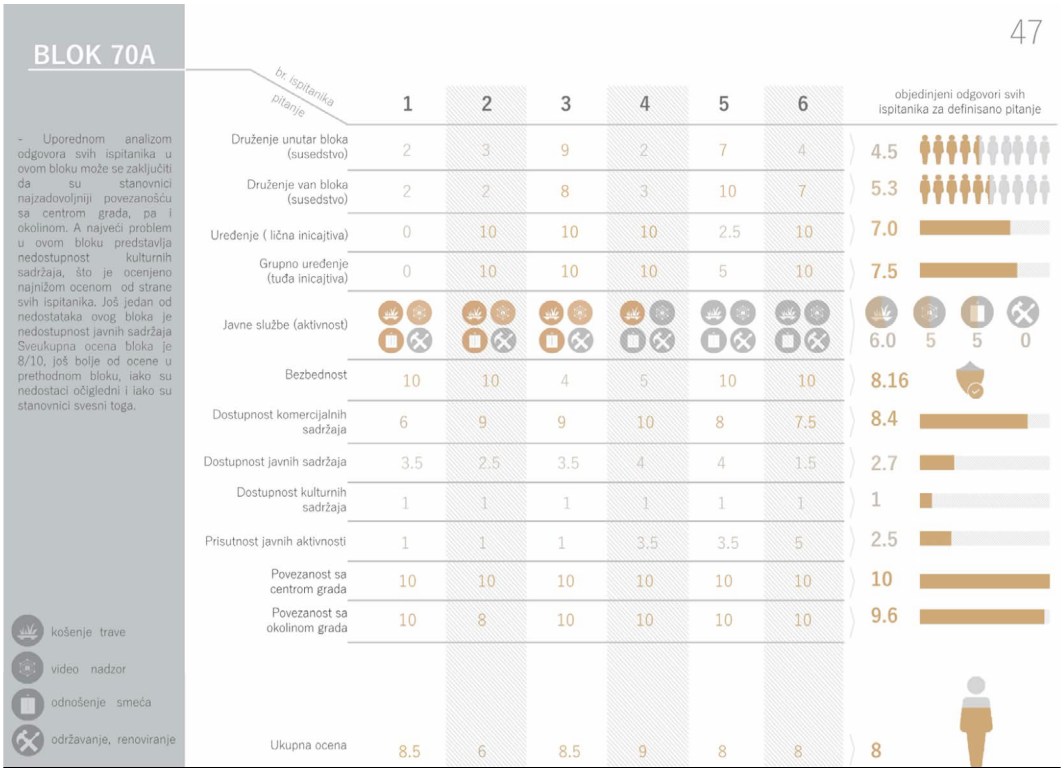


FIG. 3.10 Synthesis analysis of Block 70a by one interviewer-group. Illustrated by: Aleksandra Djalovic, Ana Ristic and Sara Stankovic, November 2018.

A significant difference between the two blocks can be noted in the taking care category, which is rated higher in case of the Block 70a. Furthermore, the interviewees of the Block 70a were more interested to talk about possibilities for future transformations and giving suggestions, which, we could argue, are indicators for feeling of belonging, willingness and responsibility for the common spaces in their blocks. (Figure 3.11).

The thematic content analysis, conducted by the researcher, reflected again on the collected material. It reviewed the individual stories searching for common patterns in the statements, and identified several themes: social cohesion and sense of community, local community centres, facilities, feeling of ownership and ownership status, taking care, open common spaces, aesthetics and living histories. Within each theme, the statements of the residents from the two New Belgrade Blocks were represented.

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FIG. 3.11 Comparative analysis of Block 23 and Block 70a by one interviewer-group: interviewees' interest in talking about a certain topic. Illustrated by: Aleksandra Djalovic, Ana Ristic and Sara Stankovic, November 2018.

The comparative overview of the residents' statements, collected during the empirical part of the research, per each theme will follow. Each theme, or parameter of the comparative analysis, is separately studied, and summarized in the final graphic (Figure 3.12).

Social cohesion

Residents from both blocks value social cohesion with their neighbours very high. Children are often a natural connection, as a resident explains: "Kids are all the time outside, and then you meet people. You are simply directed towards the centre of the block, onto that one park, that shop, school, and that's where you meet your neighbours all the time. […] New Belgrade, which could be perceived as grey and distant, with large blocks, connects people." (resident, Block 23). Social connections can provide a feeling of safety, which was noted in most of the residents' testimonies. But also, the presence of neighbours in the common areas provides a feeling of safety: "There is always someone outside." (resident, Block 23). The residents rate the sense of community very high: "Our block is like a small town and the sense of community is very much present." (resident, Block 23). One of the residents corelates it with the social structure of early inhabitants: "The early inhabitants were mainly coming from rural areas and small towns having a different perception of a home, of a local community and different habits." (resident, Block 23). The resident recognizes

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domesticity as important component of daily life in the blocks. Although there is a difference between the two blocks in terms of early inhabitants and their social status, the residents of both blocks note a change in the residents' social structure or status. Over the time, for some residents, although owning their apartments, became unaffordable to stay in the block because of the operation costs: "Almost half of the people sold their flats, because they could not afford to pay additional costs here." (resident, Block 23). As one resident of Block 70a notes "there was a shift from working class to higher middle class" (resident, Block 70a). Nevertheless, in spite of the social changes, domesticity remained one of the key components in defining not only dwellings, but also blocks as a whole, common areas and social relations within them. A resident of Block 70a claims: "Nowadays, this is a family block. […] Family life is one of the main reasons for choosing this block by new inhabitants." (resident, Block 70a). Also, "the welcoming atmosphere and the sense of belonging is something very rare, and our block has that" (resident, Block 70a).

Local community centres

The importance of community, not only in terms of social cohesion and sense of belonging, but also as a formal self-governance model, is recognized by the residents. They underline local community centres and local community associations (Serbian: *mesne zajednice - MZ)* as an important legacy of Yugoslav planning and policies: "It was a very good governance model, because the local community association was an in-between level - between the citizens and the municipality. Nowadays it is very difficult." (resident, Block 23). Their disappearance has an impact on the residents: "The community centres had a huge importance, but they are systematically destroyed by taking the rights and budget step by step. They still exist, but only fictitious. That is a big issue." (resident, Block 23). Nevertheless, the residents also note the possibilities of alternative solutions: "It would be possible to form a citizens association, which would be similar to the local community associations." (resident, Block 23).

Facilities

Close proximity of shops and other facilities is important for the daily lives of residents. In Block 23 residents appreciate the high number of amenities: "Well, you have everything you need here in the block, kindergarten, schools, shops, bakeries, pharmacies, health facilities and a dentist." (resident, Block 23). Some of the facilities were there since the beginning, especially the public ones: "For me, the most important was that I could watch my kid going to the kindergarten and school from my window." (resident, Block 23), and some emerged as part of the market-oriented development of the area since the 1990s. One resident compares how it was

before and nowadays in terms of commercial facilities: “The block was completely free of the commercial side of life. We had only one shop in the whole block. […] As kids, we were free. That perspective is nowadays completely incomprehensible. […] For example, that was the only time my mom did some sports. Open spaces were important for daily life. I can’t imagine how is it nowadays with the shopping malls. […] The river quay was the ’centre-of-gravity’ in our block. Nowadays, the Chinese market and Delta City shopping mall changed that.” (resident, Block 70a). Screening the interviews, the difference between the two blocks in terms of facilities as well as the resident’s perception of facilities’ importance is recognised. While in Block 23—which is one of the New Belgrade Central Zone blocks—residents appreciate the high level of amenities, in Block 70a, one of the Sava River blocks, the residents appreciate the strong relationship with nature: “Close proximity of the quay is the most important value for me.” (resident, Block 70a).

Feeling of ownership and ownership status

The residents mention the lack of responsibility for the neighbourhoods as a problem. The feeling of ownership of collective property is declining. Especially in the high-rise blocks in New Belgrade the distinction between individual and collective ownership is problematic, expressed by a resident: “The residents are mainly the owners as well. A few are renting the flats. [ ] But then a big issue of not knowing what’s yours and what’s collective emerged.” (resident, Block 23). The privatisation processes and further socio-spatial changes influenced both formal ownership status, as well as the feeling of ownership and responsibility for the collective spaces. The residents feel responsible for their private property, while the feeling of ownership of collective property is usually not present. As noted by a resident: “People simply could not understand that the building is a common space, and that it should be collectively managed and maintained. They understand that they should maintain their flat, but not the building. That is the reason for today’s physical condition of the buildings.” (resident, Block 23). However, as further residents’ statements reveal, the feeling of ownership of a collective property is present when directly used and appropriated by the residents. As one resident notes: “The people living on the ground floor are taking care of *their* gardens.” (resident, Block 70a) Therefore, it can be argued that the feeling of ownership is also linked to the right to use and appropriate the common space.

Taking care

Both blocks still have first or early inhabitants, who observe a decline in taking care and collective spirit. Although the problem of maintenance of the common spaces is highlighted by all interviewees, not all of them have the same perception about whose responsibility that is and how the management and maintenance relations

are and should be. As expressed by one resident: “The municipality used to take care of the common spaces more, but now the parks are unmaintained.” (resident, Block 23). They usually refer to previous management and maintenance models as more successful: “The previous facility manager was a colonel in army, and he used to do that voluntary, and nowadays people are paid for that and they do nothing.” (resident, Block 23). Some argue that they simply do not have time to maintain the common spaces: “No one of us [residents] has time or initiative to maintain the common spaces. The city authorities are responsible for that.” (resident, Block 70a). The others highlight affordability issue: “Let’s be realistic, there are too many seniors with low-income.” (resident, Block 23). However, another resident argues that “the main problem is that you are never sure to whom you are giving the money. The managers are switching and do not care a lot for their job. If we knew that the money would be properly invested, I think that majority would gladly contribute.” (resident, Block 70a). Nevertheless, this resident confirms the previous claim about affordability: “Yet, I’m not sure about the amount, as there are a lot of seniors here.” (resident, Block 70a). They also point that “the money is one of the main issues, but we can still at least not throw away garbage, and it will be already better” (resident, Block 70a). In line with that comment, one resident claims: “The block is unmaintained, not because of the public services, it is the residents’ fault!” (resident, Block 23). The need and power of awareness and collective actions is recognised in many of the collected statements. The residents in general share interest in participating in taking care of the common spaces, both indoor and outdoor. However, they express that “the good organisation is the most import and the most needed.” (resident, Block 70a) Also, one resident points out that “the people are not well informed and aware of their rights and responsibilities, especially when it comes to the common spaces” (resident, Block 23). The resident argues that: “The regulations are not clear about that. [ ] At the end, these spaces are nobody’s. That is why we need clear regulations, better organisation and awareness about responsibilities and rights.” (resident, Block 23)

Open common spaces

The residents recognize open common spaces of the blocks as very important for the community, especially for children, and a resident underlines the value of it as a car-free common area: “The open common spaces, green areas and playgrounds, are very important for us. […] The idea of having the traffic around the block and the block itself as a car-free and cosy common area, reserved for schools, kindergartens, playgrounds and parks, was a very good concept. However, the problem is that the fire roads are misused, and thus the safety of kids is endangered.” (resident, Block 23). A similar remark about mobility and parking issue within the blocks is made by a resident of Block 70a: “Parks are not clearly marked within common areas, and cars entering

and parking on green areas, or even building entrances, is not uncommon." (resident, Block 70a). The importance of child-friendly open common spaces is underlined in almost all interviews. In childhood memories of an interviewee, the lawns were "endless landscape of freedom" (resident, Block 70a). As perceived by the resident, the lawns, green areas in-between the buildings, although under-defined, as such "allow for creative and safe play" (resident, Block 70a). Apart from the extensive green areas, now with mature greenery, the smaller scale common spaces are appreciated as well. As one resident explains: "Most of my time spent outside, I spend around the kids' playgrounds in the block." (resident, Block 70a). The playgrounds and green areas are key values in spatial terms, enabling social contact and feeling of freedom.

Aesthetic

The brutalist architecture of New Belgrade starts to be appreciated. Several residents express positive opinions, like: "To be honest, I find the contrast grey concrete-greenery very appealing. […] It is just that the people should be better informed about architectural values of this block." (resident, Block 23). However, not all the residents recognize the blocks as aesthetically valuable. As one resident said: "The block is not very appealing, concrete is everywhere… but the apartments are very functional." (resident, Block 23). Some residents make a connection between the aesthetic and appearance of the blocks with the maintenance issue. As one resident claims: "The block is very obsolete, it is not well maintained." (resident, Block 23). Nevertheless, the relationship with nature is found important, but also appealing for the residents. While in Block 23 some find the contrast grey concrete-greenery appealing, in Block 70a the residents appreciate the relationship with the surrounding landscape – the river and green areas, but also flowers on balconies: "The greatest advantage of our block is close proximity of the river. Also, the green areas we have… and the flowers on the balconies make our facades look pretty." (resident, Block 70a)

Living histories

Although both neighbourhoods are relatively young, childhood memories as living histories play an important role in the legacy of the neighbourhoods. The early inhabitants have a strong place attachment. As one resident said: "I grew up here, and it's not possible not to love the block. I know everyone here." (resident, Block 70a). The beforementioned childhood memories of the lawns and feeling of freedom in the blocks is expressed by a resident: "It was great for me to grow up here, as the level of freedom in New Belgrade was very high." (resident, Block 70a). Another resident, being proud of his neighbourhood, said: "This used to be the best local community in Belgrade – *Milentija Popovica."* (resident, Block 23). These strong feelings of belonging, of both first inhabitants, children and newcomers, should not be neglected.

Synthesis

The thematic content analysis of the interviews with the residents of the two neighbourhoods highlights similarities and shared opinions, but also aspects evaluated differently in the two neighbourhoods (Figure 3.12).

Social cohesion and sense of community is valued very high in both neighbourhoods. Domesticity has been one of the key components in profiling the blocks, their common areas and social relations within them, especially in case of Block 70a. Accordingly, open common spaces, green areas and playgrounds are valued very high, in particular as car-free common areas for the community. Due to the changed policies, privatisation and change of formal ownership, the residents note a decline in feeling of ownership and responsibility for collective property. Accordingly, they note a decline in taking care for these spaces and collective spirit, especially in Block 23, where the distinction between individual and collective ownership is problematic. Although the problem of maintenance of the common spaces is highlighted by all interviewees, not all of them have the same perception about whose responsibility that is and how the management and maintenance relations are and should be. They usually refer to previous management and maintenance models as more successful, highlight the affordability issue, but also express the need and power of awareness and collective actions. The local community centres and local community associations are recognized as an important legacy of Yugoslav planning and policies, but the residents also note the potentials of citizens associations nowadays. One year after these talks with residents, a very active citizens association will be founded in blocks 70 and 70a – *Common Action*, proving the expressed interest in proactive participation and taking care of the common spaces and their neighbourhood in general. This will be further studied in the Section 3.4. When it comes to the facilities as well as the resident's perception of facilities' importance, the two blocks are different. While in Block 23—which is one of the New Belgrade Central Zone blocks—residents appreciate the high level of amenities, in Block 70a, one of the Sava River blocks, the residents appreciate the strong relationship with nature – the quay, extensive green areas, lawns, mature greenery, but also other smaller scale spaces within the common area. They are the key values in spatial terms, having a rich potential for human well-being but also having environmental importance on the city scale. As important places to facilitate communication and collectivity, it is important for these spaces to be safe and accessible. Over time these spaces deteriorated and need to be improved, in particular in terms of better organisation and awareness about responsibilities and rights. The sense of community and place attachment that are highly valued and important for the residents in social terms, could be the main drivers of change.

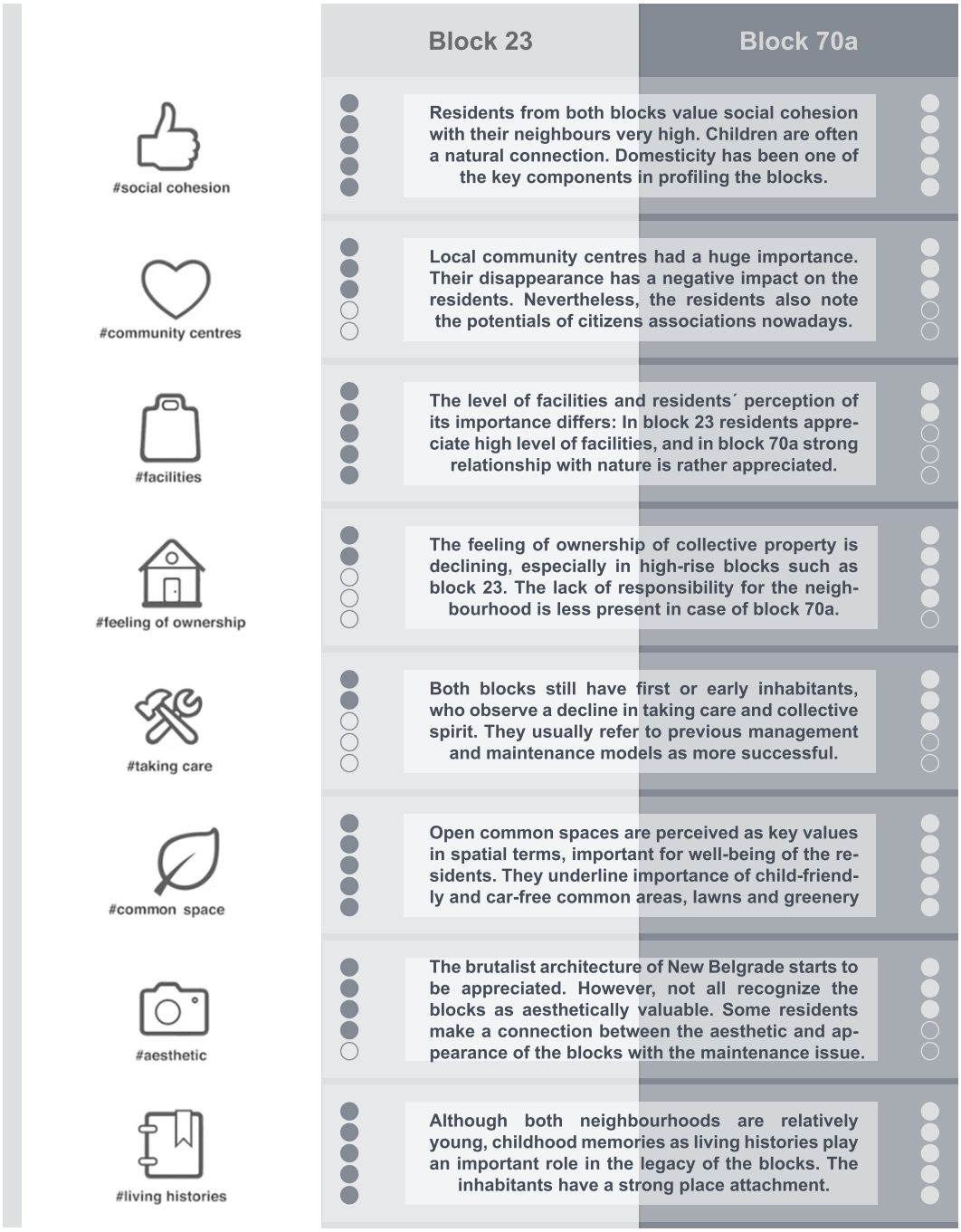


FIG. 3.12 Synthesis diagram: thematic content analysis of the talks (co-assessment) in the Block 23 and Block 70a. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, August 2021.

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3.2.3 Discussion

The study outcomes are twofold: (1) methodological guidance for co-assessment of residential neighbourhoods, as shown in the methodology and research process (Section 3.2.1) and (2) case study specific results and conclusions (Section 3.2.2).

The empirical study and its research methodology contribute to development of place-based exploration and education models, both curricular and extra-curricular, presenting a step-by-step research process and implemented research tactics. It can act as a guidance for implementing the same or similar participatory research tools for empirical studies on other residential neighbourhoods, but also different typologies and scales, and even different thematic frameworks. When overlayed with thematic and place-based specificities, the research model produces always unique results. Its experimental character enables iteratively refining of the model, and constant upgrade.

The *exploratory talks* that were applied as a participatory tool for exploration and assessment of the two residential neighbourhoods and their common spaces in New Belgrade, Block 23 and Block 70a, revealed: (1) possible causalities and reasons for deterioration of the blocks, such as changed policies, privatisation and change of formal ownership which is affecting the feeling of ownership and responsibility for the collective property, and thus decline in taking care for these spaces and collective spirit, (2) the importance of the common spaces, both indoor (e.g., local community centres) and outdoor (car-free common areas, greenery, the quay, small scale common spaces, playgrounds, etc.), as well as the sense of community and social cohesion as drivers of change. The identified values, problems and opportunities of the two neighbourhoods as perceived by the residents represent important input for profiling an intervention framework.

The study empirically validated the importance of factors and correlations previously identified in the theoretical study (Chapter 2). As indicated in the devaluation matrix (see Figure 2.20), the social factors of devaluation such as *lack of regulations, responsibility and willingness issues* as well as *affordability issue* are affecting *maintenance problems* and *disrepair,* especially of the common spaces. These factors were identified as some of the core problems by the residents as well. The spatial factors such as *morphology of the blocks, size of the buildings and open spaces* and *density,* as indicated in the devaluation matrix, were addressed differently by the residents. The residents appreciate the spatial characteristics of the blocks, being important for their well-being and the quality of life. *The loss of human dimensions,* as identified in devaluation matrix, was not identified in the interviews with the residents. Their perception of the open common areas, the lawns as “endless

landscape of freedom" and extensive green areas is rather positive. Moreover, potential densification is perceived negatively, as the green areas and relationship with nature is valued very high, especially in case of Block 70a. Nevertheless, the question of vitality of the blocks is recognized as an issue in the interviews with the residents as well. They recognize decline in collective activities and under-utilisation of some of the collective spaces. The residents' perception on the spatial issues, as the collected statements show, is rather related to utilisation and appropriation than configuration. Therefore, it can be concluded that the common factors, identified in both studies, are vitality, (multi)functionality, (self)management and appropriation of the common spaces.

3.3 Spatial Analysis of the Common Spaces

This section presents a spatial analysis of the two New Belgrade Blocks, Block 23 and Block 70a, focusing on their common spaces (Figure 3.13). The analysis is conducted in four steps: (1) morphogenesis of the blocks and their common spaces (Section 3.3.2); (2) identification, typological decoding and classification of the common spaces (Section 3.3.3); (3) analysis of the spatial patterns and integration of the identified spaces within the blocks (Section 3.3.4). This step involves a set of parameters, partly previously identified within the devaluation matrix (Figure 2.20) and scientific literature (Chapter 2), but also further discussed within the exploratory talks (Section 3.2), such as *morphology of the blocks, size and scale of the buildings and open spaces* and *density,* but also further parameters as explained in Section 3.3.4. The study further includes (4) spatial mapping of the *publicness,* in particular *land ownership, governance, accessibility and use* (Section 3.3.5).



FIG. 3.13 Block 23 (top), Block 70a (bottom), New Belgrade. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from Bing Maps (https://www.bing.com/ maps), accessed on 15 December 2017.

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3.3.1 Methodology of Spatial Analysis

The common spaces, *spaces between the buildings*, are the most neglected, underused and deteriorated components of the blocks, and at the same time crucial to the quality, vitality and integrated governance of those neighbourhoods. They represent the key resource for collective practices and thus the *primary tangible commons* in cities and neighbourhoods. The topic of urban commons is increasingly present in scientific literature, urban and architectural discourse. Nevertheless, approaches exploring the *spatiality* of urban commons are scarce. This Section contributes to a better understanding of the spatial aspects and potentials of already existing commons in the residential neighbourhoods, focusing on the case of New Belgrade Blocks 23 and 70a (see Figure 3.14), offering approaches for exploring the spatiality of urban commons.



FIG. 3.14 Position of Block 23 within the Central Zone of New Belgrade and Block 70a within the Sava River Zone. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, April 2022.

According to Djokic (2009), the typo-morphological analysis is important, firstly, for establishing precise space codes as a combination of principle of individualization and principle of classification of urban elements, and secondly, for defining their physical and spatial structure. These are the characteristics of the buildings with the open spaces corresponding to them, inclusion of land as a constituent element in the typology of form and all observed in "morphogenetic way" meaning the time during which the city has formed, developed and changed.

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The second part of the study—identification and classification of the common spaces within the two New Belgrade Blocks—had two phases and it integrated two complementary methods: (1) photo-walk and (2) typological decoding. The first phase, a photo-walk, was organised within a student workshop "Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade" at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture[7]. It was combining on-site observation, identification and photo-documentation as an explorative reading of the architecture of urban commons (see Dragutinovic and Nikezic, 2020). The thesis that *the dialogue between the public and private, reflected through the common, is the basic element which defines quality of the urban spaces of New Belgrade Blocks,* was a basis for setting the thematic framework of the workshop. The students were searching for these patterns through architectural photography, intuitively identifying and mapping these "in-between" spaces and elements of architecture.

The process of explorative reading of architecture and urban space through photography as the research tool was drawing urban narratives of the two blocks. Moreover, architectural photography was an efficient tool for illustrative documentation of the urban environment – the two blocks. The collected set of photographs from Blocks 23 and 70a provide insights into the perceived and understood image of the two blocks, and in particular their common spaces and elements. In context of architectural teaching and learning, the photo-walk was expanding students' capacities for observing, reading and understanding architecture and the built and unbuilt environment.

The additional, both methodological and substantive, contribution of this study was keywording and thematic clustering, leading to *typological decoding* of the urban space – within the thematic framework of the workshop. The typological decoding is important for understanding and further assessment of the specific spatial attributes of the urban common spaces and elements. As Bentlin and Stollmann (2021) state: "Through the decomposition and decoding of space, specific composition contexts can be described, examined, and evaluated by adding and removing layers."

7 The student workshop "Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade" was organised and mentored by the researcher and realised during Erasmus+ Mobility of the researcher at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture in November-December 2018. It was co-mentored and supported by the academic staff from the host institution: Prof. Dr. Ana Nikezic, Prof. Dr. Jelena Zivkovic, Prof. Dr. Jelena Ristic Trajkovic, and teaching and research staff: Aleksandra Milovanovic, Marija Cvetkovic, Nikola Popovic, Marko Bulajic, Teodora Spasic and Stefan Slavic. In the workshop participated 55 students of Bachelor, Integrated and Master studies at the Faculty of Architecture. http://www.arh.bg.ac.rs/2018/12/13/odrzana-radionica-unforeseen-impulses-of-modernism-the-case-of-new-belgrade-19-29-11-2018/?pismo=lat

The place-based approach (Nikezic and Markovic, 2015; Dragutinovic and Nikezic, 2020) applied in identification and typological decoding of the common spaces (see Section 3.3.3) is complemented with typo-morphological analysis, exploring spatial configuration of the two blocks, and in particular the spatial patterns of their common spaces in relationship to the surrounding built and unbuilt landscape (see Section 3.3.4).

3.3.2 Morphogenesis

Being part of the Central Zone of New Belgrade, Block 23 is following its orthogonal grid and occupying the rectangular area of 600 x 400 m (see Figure 3.15). Perovic (1985, 119-175) recognised an "almost literal translation" of the structural elements of Le Corbusier's Radiant City and Lucio Costa's plan for Brasilia into the Central Zone of New Belgrade: axial composition, positioning of landmark objects and communication junction in top and bottom of the composition, central activities along the main axis, and positioning of the housing blocks on the sides—as noted by Kusic (2014, 213).

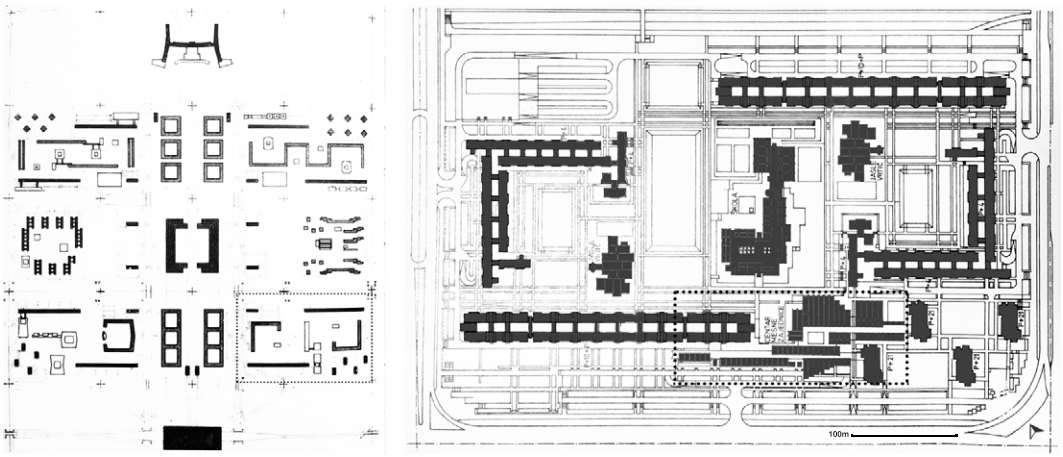


FIG. 3.15 Situation plan for the Central Zone of New Belgrade, 1967 (left). Illustration reproduced from Blagojevic (2007, 194), position of Block 23 marked by Anica Dragutinovic, April 2022; and Situation plan of the Block 23, B. Jankovic, B. Karadzic and A. Stjepanovic, 1967-1979 (right). Illustration reproduced from Stjepanovic and Jovanovic (1976, 9), volumes highlighted, scale and north arrow added and the local community centre marked by Anica Dragutinovic, April 2022.

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Following the principles of the Athens Charter (1933), the Central Zone blocks and, in particular, Block 23—one of the side housing blocks—was built as an open block. The architectural competition for its design was announced in 1968, and it was constructed in 1973-76 according to the plans of the three architects: Aleksandar Stjepanovic, Bozidar Jankovic and Branislav Karadzic. Writing about the construction of the block, the authors claim that urban and architectural parameters were comprehensively analysed and included in the final design (Jankovic and Karadzic, 1972, 134-147). The block is composed of 8 residential buildings: 4 high-rise (G+21), 2 long linear (G+10, 280m) and 2 meander buildings (G+4); several low-rise public buildings: a school, kindergartens, a community centre; and playgrounds, green open spaces and pedestrian paths in the inner, central part of the block (see Figure 3.15). The high-rise buildings are positioned in the corner of Block 23 (same as in case of the other 3 corner blocks of the Central Zone: Blocks 21, 28 and 30) as "an architectural landmark of the whole Central Zone", as Blagojevic (2007, 185) explains.

According to Kusic (2014, 104) the composition of Block 23 is different form the late modernist principles. As he explains, the inner part of the block is treated as a unified surface with 3 free-standing objects (a school and two kindergartens) positioned within it, which resulted in a "disjointed structure". A counter-point of this part of the block is the local community centre, positioned between the linear and high-rise buildings, and built in 1978 (Kusic, 2014, 104). The local community centre was conceived as two linear tracts emerging around the pedestrian path. According to Aleksic (1980), it was "organically integrated in the residential block and its vital flows". It was positioned in the densest zone of the block (see Figure 3.15 (right) – bottom right part of the block) – "the zone of high frequencies and flows". (Aleksic, 1980, 28-32) The layout of the local community centre itself was further developed, nevertheless, maintaining the main principles and, most important, its *cumulative role* (see Figure 3.16).

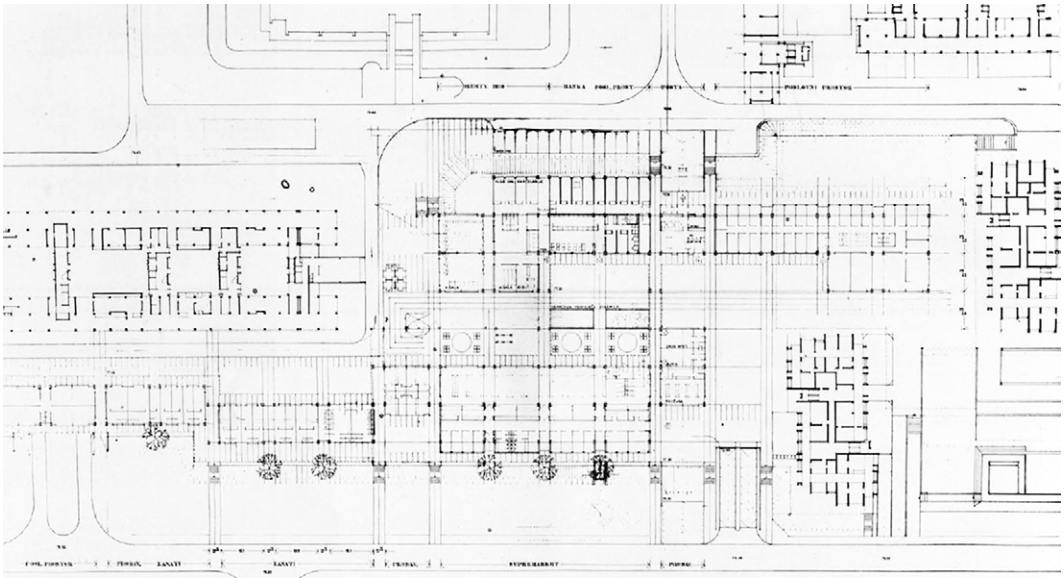


FIG. 3.16 Layout of the local community centre in Block 23, B. Jankovic, B. Karadzic and A. Stjepanovic, 1978. Illustration reproduced from Aleksic (1980).

As Aleksic (1980, 28-32) explains, the local community centre follows the flow in-between the four high-rises and merges with the porch of the linear building. In addition to this main longitudinal flow, there are several transverse flows—integrating it with the other parts and program of the block. Martinovic (2020, 106-107) argues that the local community centre in Block 23 was the first attempt to re-interpret the traditional city street in New Belgrade Central Zone. It was not planned as an enclosed building but as a porous, generic structure with many open spaces. The integration of the local community centre in the composition of the block – its position and inter-relation with the other elements of the composition – generated different spatial relations in this part of the block and contributed to the socio-spatial *humanisation* of the block.

Humanisation of the blocks was an important parameter in the design of the Block 70a as well, yet addressed in a different way. Block 70a belongs to the Sava River Zone, whose design encourages the idea of socialization in the open common spaces and in particular highlights the strong relationship with nature (Rakonjac et al., 2022). The Sava River blocks (70a, 70, 44 and 45) stretch along the left bank of the Sava River in the south-western part of New Belgrade (see Figure 3.14). The first competition for a residential neighbourhood in the Sava River Zone, the left bank of the river, was the competition for conceptual design of blocks 45 and 70 announced

in 1965. The first prize winners were Ivan Tepes and Velimir Grdelja, and their idea served as a basis for development of the *Detailed urban plan* for this part of New Belgrade, prepared by the Town planning institute of Belgrade in 1966 (Petrovic Balubdzic, 2018, 99). The main urban concept was based on the orientation of the blocks towards the river and integration of high level of greenery – in case of Block 45 71% of the block's area was planned and developed as green areas (Simic, 2022). The blocks 45 and 70 were built in the period 1969-1975. Block 70a was not part of the initial conceptual design for the Sava River Zone. Nevertheless, 5 years later (in 1980) a plan for this block was developed as well, following a similar urban concept (see Figure 3.17).

The plan for Block 70a envisioned 21 residential buildings (G+7), grouped into 6 clusters: A, A1 and A2 (4 residential buildings per cluster), and B, B1 and C (3 residential buildings per cluster) – all in the southern part of the block (the half towards the river) (see Figure 3.17 right). Within that part of the block, in its central zone in between the residential clusters, a local community centre and a kindergarten were planned. In the northern part of the block, no residential buildings were planned, but area for sport facilities, garage, a school and a high-school centre (Djordjevic, 1980).

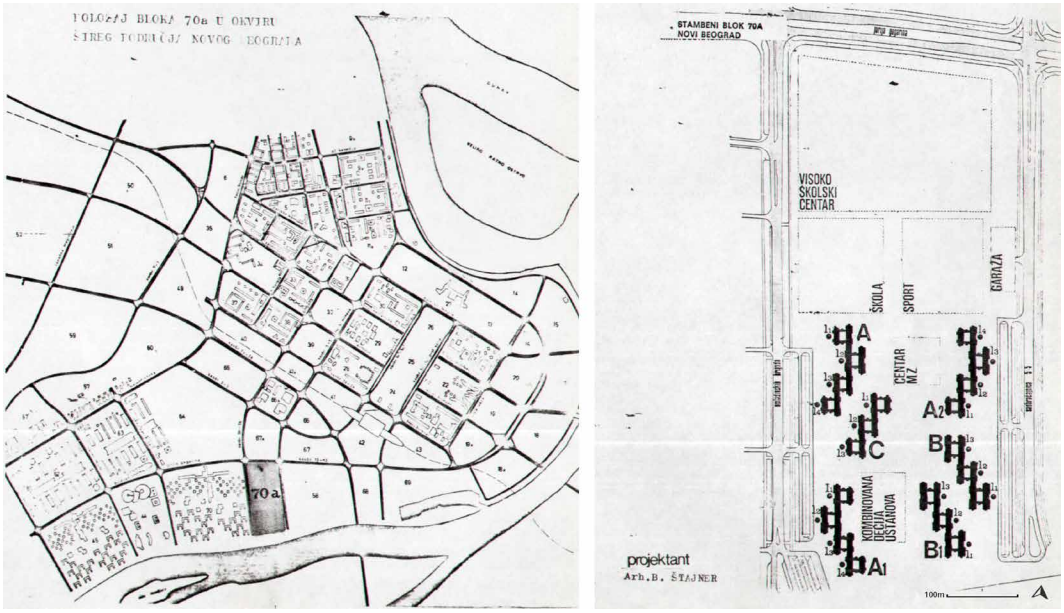


FIG. 3.17 Position of Block 70a within New Belgrade (left) and situation plan of Block 70a, B. Stajner (right), 1980. Illustration reproduced from Djordjevic (1980), scale and north arrow added by Anica Dragutinovic, April 2022.

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The construction of Block 70a started in 1981 and lasted until 1986. During this period, the plan for the northern part of the block was re-designed, and the same type of residential buildings were introduced in this part of the block as well (with some variations in the clusters organisation) – in total 36 residential buildings (G+7) were built (see Figure 3.18). The education and sport facilities have never been realised. Nevertheless, a high level of greenery sustained—64% of the block's area was realised as green areas (Simic, 2022). The total area of the block is around 350m x 800m, which is almost 3 times smaller than the neighbouring blocks 45 and 70—and similar to the Central Zone Blocks, in particular the Block 23.

Within the post-socialist transition, the construction shifted back to the Central Zone, and its densification followed, proving, as Perovic (2008) claims, that these changes were "inevitable". However, Kusic (2014, 218) questions whether Perovic's critique of the modernist city (1985) was at the same time "undermining the ideology of socialist self-management", and how "natural" the processes of the post-socialist city actually are. Comparing Perovic's proposal for reconstruction of New Belgrade from 1985 and the contemporary condition of New Belgrade reveals significant similarities and yet some differences between the two (see Figure 3.19).

Kusic (2014, 218) argues that the *Lessons of the past* (Perovic, 1985) appears as "a manifesto of the post-socialist urbanisation" and his study for reconstruction of New Belgrade as "inauguration of potential of New Belgrade" for "a polygon for circulation of the capital" (Kusic, 2014, 246), while Blagojevic (2004) describes these urbanisation practices as follows:

> ***What is seen on site of New Belgrade, is persistent, street by street, block by block advancement of new development. On the one side, the open non-private space of community, that notoriously not-cared for common space of the housing blocks is rapidly being consumed by the commercial drive of the private capital expanding its boundaries into the green areas in public/social property.*** **(Blagojevic, 2004)**

In case of Block 23 itself, however, there were no major transformations of the modernist composition and morphology. Both Perovic's proposal for reconstruction and the real urban practices were focusing rather on the unbuilt blocks (e.g., Blocks 24, 25, 26) and larger parts of the blocks (e.g., part of Block 22). Nevertheless, there are some new objects emerging within the other blocks as well. In case of Block 23, there is a new office building in the north-west corner of the block – under construction since 2009 (see Figure 3.20). Although the office building was not part of the "initially built" structure in 1970s, it was part of the "planned" (see Figure 3.15). This transformation was rather a completion of the modernist project – yet, within the changed socio-political context and architectural language.

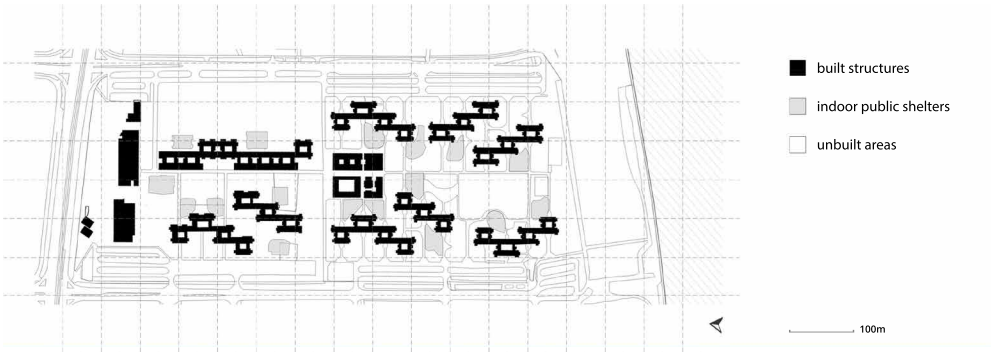


FIG. 3.18 Block 70a: built-unbuilt structure. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, May 2022.



FIG. 3.19 Comparative overview of the New Belgrade development, 1980-2013 (left) and the proposal for reconstruction of the Central Zone of New Belgrade by Perovic and Stojanovic, 1981-1984 (right). Illustration reproduced from: Kusic (2014, 365), originally published in: Milakovic (2013, 185) (left) and Perovic (1985, 165) (right).

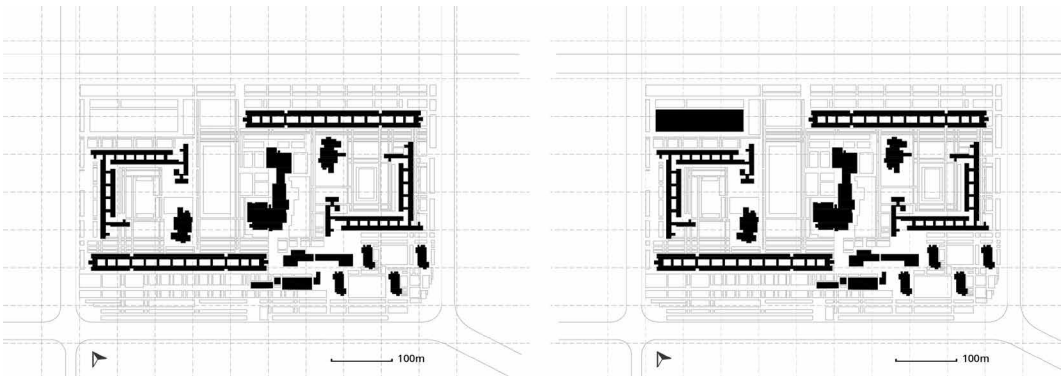


FIG. 3.20 Comparative overview of the built-unbuilt structure in the Block 23: initially built (left) and nowadays (right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, April 2022.

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3.3.3 Identification and Classification of the Common Spaces

Within the first-step identification and classification (photo-walk), multiple socio-spatial phenomena, as the basic urban common spaces and elements of the blocks, were identified and photo-documented. The identified types, based on the data (photographs) collected within the photo-walk (see Figure 3.21 for a selection of photographs), were atriums, paths, facades, greenery (lawns, parks, trees, small-scale gardens), playgrounds and social spots with urban furniture (see Figure 3.22 for a preliminary classification based on the identification during the photo-walk). All the types were present in both blocks.

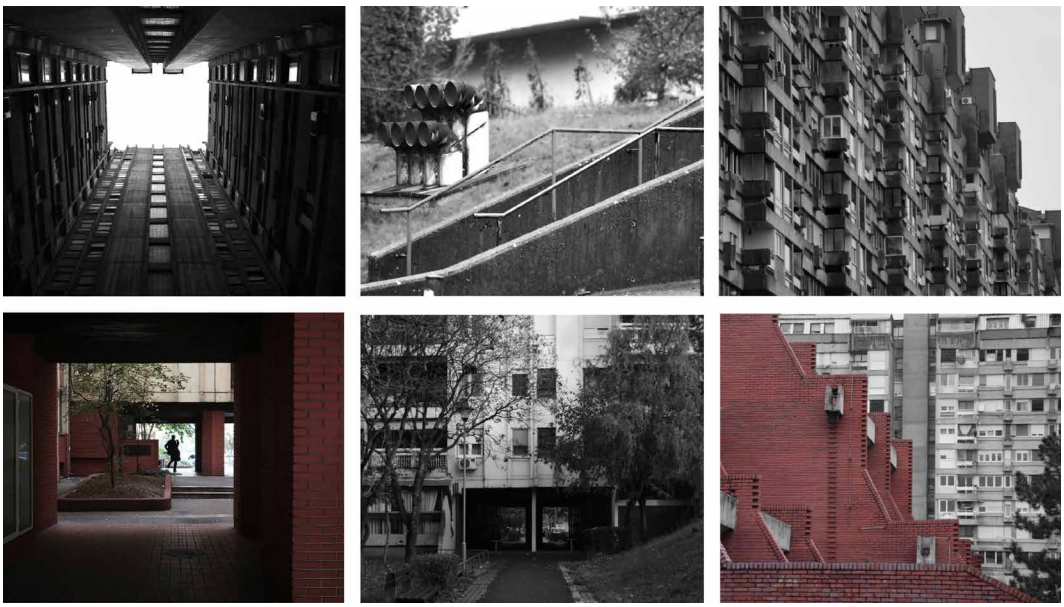


FIG. 3.21 Photo-walk New Belgrade, Blocks 23 and 70a, Selection of photographs. Photography taken by Research teams C1: A. Maksimovic, N. Djuric, K. Dimitrijevic, M. Bozovic; E1: M. Mladenovic, A. Dodic, A. Djalovic; E3: A. Ristic, S. Stankovic, T. Koneska, K. Ognjenovic, for the student workshop "Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade", December 2018.

The identified types can be classified in the three basic forms of urban structures: *point, line* and *area* (Curdes, 1997; Humpert, 1997), occupying parts of the inner-block landscape of commons. The (micro-)points of the landscape are social spots with urban furniture, playgrounds and greenery as trees and gardens; the lines are horizontal pedestrian paths, and vertical voids – atriums; the areas are vertical edges of the open common landscape – facades and horizontal areas of greenery – lawns and parks.



FIG. 3.22 The first-step identification and classification of the common spaces and elements in Blocks 23 and 70a (photo-walk). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December 2021; Photography taken by Research teams C1: A. Maksimovic, N. Djuric, K. Dimitrijevic, M. Bozovic (Block 23); E1: M. Mladenovic, A. Dodic, A. Djalovic (Block 70a); E3: A. Ristic, S. Stankovic, T. Koneska, K. Ognjenovic (Block 70a), for the student workshop "Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade", December 2018.

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According to the criterium of openness, all the types identified within the photo-walk were outdoor, open common spaces. Nevertheless, there are some indoor common spaces as well, which were excluded from the previous study (not identified by the students during the photo-walk). These spaces can be found within the residential buildings, such as entrances, corridors, stairs, elevators, roofs, collective rooms; but also, as separate buildings within the blocks, such as local community centre (Serbian: *centar mesne zajednice – CMZ)* in Block 23, and public shelters (Serbian: *objekat javnog skloništa*) in Block 70a. There are also schools, kindergartens and shops within the blocks, however they do not classify under the category of common spaces – as they are either completely private or public (state-owned) with restricted access.

Based on the previous, the common spaces in the two blocks (see Figure 3.23) can be classified into the four groups:

1. indoor common spaces - shared spaces within the residential buildings (stairs, entrances, corridors, galleries, attic spaces, basement, collective room, etc.), common elements of the building construction (eaves, facades, roof, chimneys, ventilation ducts, skylights, construction and areas for elevators and other special constructions) and common installations,
2. outdoor (open) common spaces and elements within the parcels of the residential buildings (facades, atriums, squares, paths, sidewalks),
3. outdoor (open) common spaces and elements within the blocks and in-between the residential buildings and their parcels (green areas, playgrounds, paths, different types of greenery, urban furniture, etc.),
4. specific types – separate objects (local community centre in Block 23, and public shelters in Block 70a).

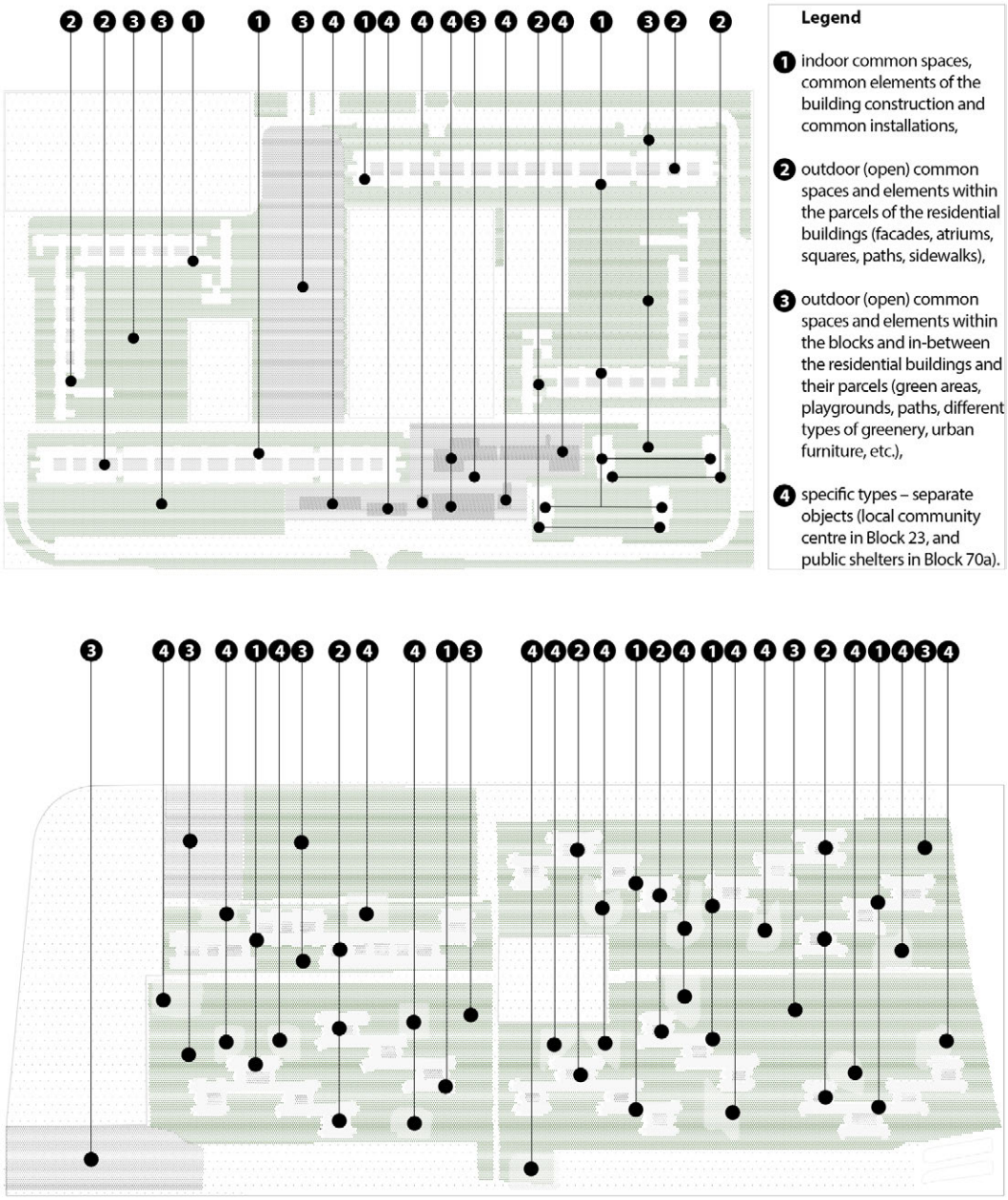


FIG. 3.23 Mapping the types of the common spaces, Block 23 (top) and Block 70a (bottom). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, June 2022.

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Figure 3.23 (top) shows the distribution of the identified types of the common spaces in the Block 23. The unmarked areas of the block (the top left and the 3 central parcels) are kindergartens, school and office spaces, which, as previously explained, are not part of the study. When it comes to the residential buildings, only the shared spaces and elements (e.g., facades, atriums, etc.) are involved. The in-between open common spaces (number 3 on the illustration) are mostly defined as green areas (based on the Plan of General Regulation of the system of green areas in Belgrade from 2019), with the exception of the big central area and the area surrounding the local community centre (marked grey on the illustration). The situation with the in-between open common spaces is similar in the Block 70a (see Figure 3.23 - bottom). They are mostly defined as green areas as well. The specific type of the common spaces in the Block 70a are the public shelters (number 4 on the illustration). They are dispersed all over the block, as partly underground structures yet a part of the green infrastructure, perceived as artificial hills within the block. The residential buildings are two-tracts structures with atriums and relatively high level of porosity in the parterre, in case of both Block 23 and Block 70a. As such, they integrate different kinds of micro-ambiences and common elements, blurring the transition from private towards public. Further analysis of the spatial configuration and integration of the identified outdoor (open) common spaces will follow in Section 3.3.4.

3.3.4 Spatial Patterns of the Open Common Spaces

The urban tissue of the Blocks 23 and 70a, the form and size of the built structure, but also the unbuilt spaces, as well as the street network and the inner-block mobility patterns, have not changed so far. Therefore, the outdoor common spaces and elements within the blocks and in-between the residential buildings and their parcels remain as initially planned and built.

Perovic's proposal for reconstruction of New Belgrade (1985) is in line with a broader critique of the modernist city and the open block configuration, present until today. It is promoting traditional block values and compact urban form, thus addressing the need for an enhanced network structure of the local urban street pattern:

Main routes have to go through neighbourhoods instead of around neighbourhoods. This assures that visitors travel through the neighbourhood and thus become potential customers to the neighbourhood's micro-economic market of local businesses. Further, visitors add to the natural surveillance mechanism of

the neighbourhood due to their presence. The variety of different types of people in the streets throughout the day creates a safer neighbourhood, but social safety is often sacrificed in favour of traffic safety. If main routes are planned and implemented to go around a neighbourhood, the effect will most likely be segregated and mono-functional neighbourhoods. (van Nes and Yamu, 2021, 215)

However, the intensity of social activities in the common spaces within the blocks is higher due to reduced traffic (almost car-free inner-block areas) and spatial capacities, facilitated by the spatial configuration of the blocks (see Figure 3.24 for the case of New Belgrade Block 23).

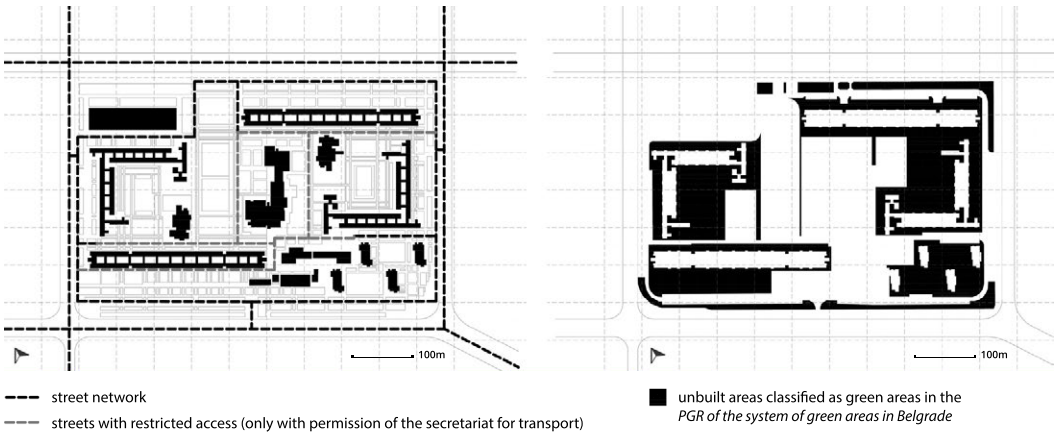


FIG. 3.24 Block 23: street network (left) and green areas as identified in the Plan of General Regulation of the system of green areas in Belgrade, 2019 (right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, April 2022.

The strong relationship between spatial configuration, accessibility and social interactions was recognised by Ferguson (2007) and the advantage of open block configuration for pedestrians and sustainable mobilities paradigm by Banister (2008):

In addition to cul-de-sacs, pedestrian circulation was not confined to the roads, but people could walk via direct routes through the courtyards and between buildings. This kind of pedestrian movement exhibits the thinking of Le Corbusier and Perry for whom the superblock form provided freedom for people on foot. (...) Planning for pedestrians and restricting are mobility are important principles within the 'sustainable mobilities paradigm'. (Banister, 2008, as cited in Tuvikene, 2019, 326)

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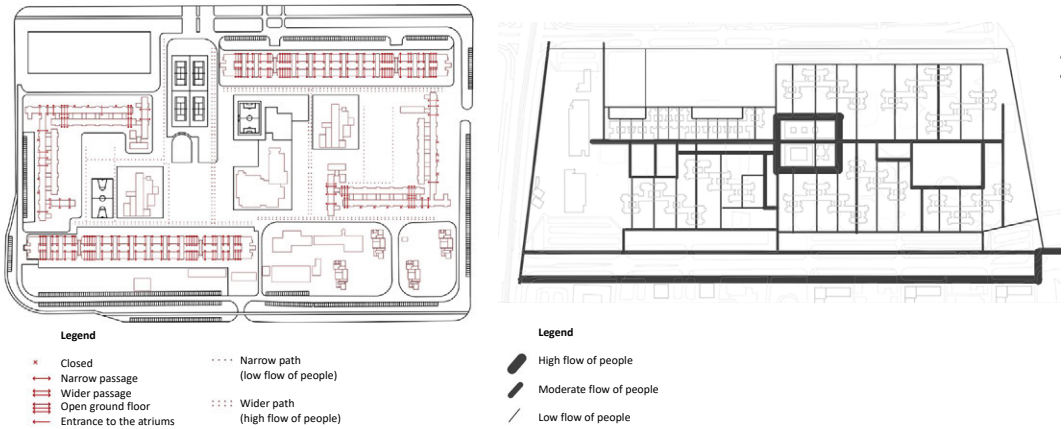


FIG. 3.25 Mapping the pedestrian circulation patterns: Block 23 (left) and Block 70a (right). Illustration © Research team 1b: A. Pantic, I. Despotovic, K. Vucic, Z. Jovic (left), and Research team 2a: D. Petrovic, R. Petrovic, B. Cirovic (right), prepared for the student workshop "Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-Designing the Urban Commons", September 2020.

The two-tract residential buildings with atriums have a relatively high level of porosity in the parterre, in case of both Block 23 and Block 70a. As such, they enable higher accessability to the inner-block areas and higher pedestrian circulation through the courtyards and between buildings (see Figure 3.25).

Moreover, the residents` perception of the open common spaces in the two blocks is rather positive (see Section 3.2) – they emphasise the *importance of the green areas* and the *relationship with nature* in these neighbourhoods as *crucial for the quality of life* in these blocks.

In the digital repository of the state geodetic authority of the Republic of Serbia (Republicki geodetski zavod, 2008-2022), the outdoor (open) common spaces of the blocks which are not part of the parcels with buildings are defined as "urban green areas" for Block 70a and as "the land surrounding the buildings" for Block 23. However, the Plan of General Regulation of the system of green areas in Belgrade (2019) provides a more detailed overview of these spaces. Under the category of "green areas in open housing blocks" the parcels within Block 70a (see Figure 3.26) and most of the mega-parcel within Block 23 (excluding road infrastructure and the central area of the block within the parcel) are mapped (see Figure 3.24).

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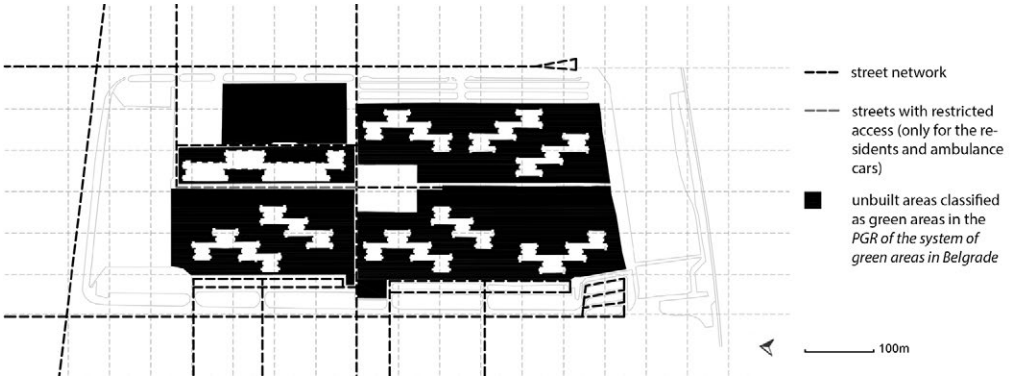


FIG. 3.26 Block 70a: street network and green areas as identified in the Plan of General Regulation of the system of green areas in Belgrade, 2019. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, May 2022.

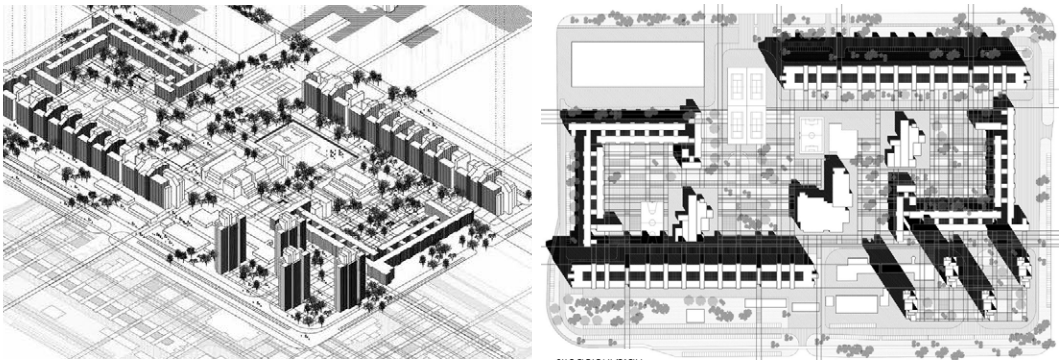


FIG. 3.27 Common landscape in the Block 23, axonometric view (left) and block layout – imaginary grid and the in-between spaces. Illustration © Research team C1: A. Maksimovic, N. Djuric, K. Dimitrijevic, M. Bozovic, prepared for the student workshop "Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade", December 2018.

Although defined as simple green areas, they are more complex, integrating playgrounds, sports fields, pedestrian paths, different types of greenery, urban furniture, etc. Within the student workshop in December 2018 (see Section 3.3.1), the students were analysing this landscape of outdoor common spaces in Block 23 – both on the micro level and landscape as a whole, creating an imaginary grid from the in-between spaces of buildings and existing micro points in the landscape (see Figure 3.27).

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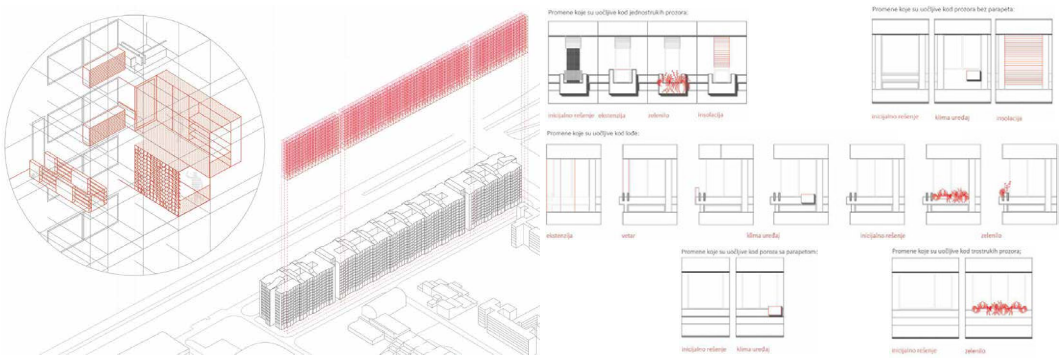


FIG. 3.28 Facade of the linear building in the Block 23, users' interventions / new needs analysis: axonometric view (left) and facade elements (right). Illustration © Research team C2: Z. Stanojevic, A. Stojanovic, N. Lalic, O. Miskovic, prepared for the student workshop "Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade", December 2018.

As Petricic (1975) states, the buildings are inseparable from the surrounding landscape of the blocks, and thus the structure and design of the vegetation and the outdoor spaces in-between the buildings are equally important for the whole composition.

In case of Blocks 23 and 70a, the outdoor common spaces and elements within the parcels of the residential buildings (immediate vicinity of the residential buildings) are mainly related to (1) the facades of the residential buildings and (2) the atriums and sidewalks within the parcels.

Within the previously mentioned student workshop, the students were analysing existing facades of the residential buildings in the blocks, aiming to map and classify the existing users' interventions, and therefore identify the users' aspirations which should be considered within a possible re-design solution (see Figure 3.28). The users' interventions are mainly related to replacement of windows, glazing of balconies, adding air-conditioners and similar small-scale interventions. Besides this, the facades are mostly in the original condition. Nevertheless, renovation, refurbishment or re-design of the facades is urgent due to weathering and degradation of materials, low energy efficiency but also aesthetics and users' needs.

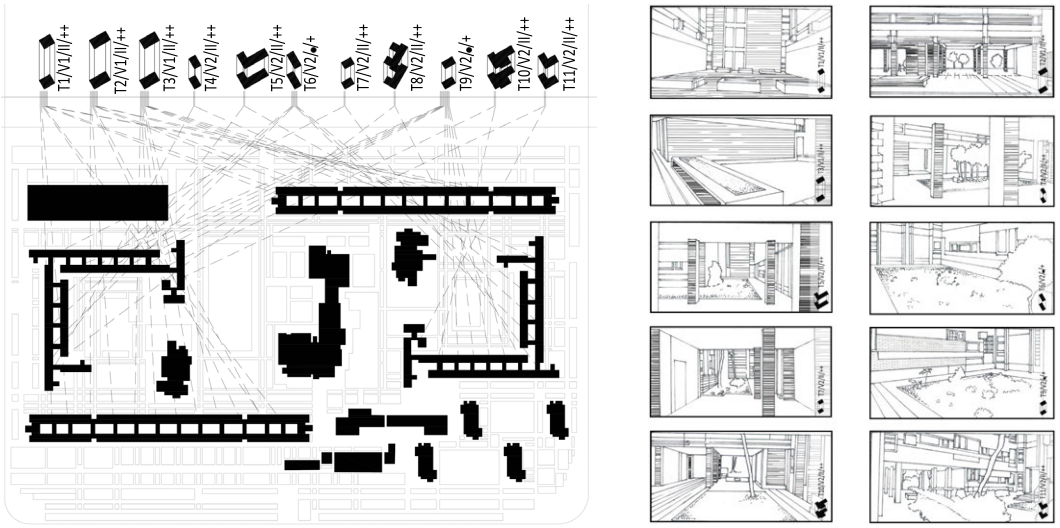


FIG. 3.29 Identification of the atrium typology in the Block 23 and visual interpretation of the atrium ambiences. Illustration © Research team C3: T. Ciric, M. Ristic, J. Ristic, J. Korolja, prepared for the student workshop "Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade", December 2018.

The atrium is a typical spatial element that emerged between the two-tract residential buildings, a residential building-type very common for the New Belgrade Blocks. It is an important element for the quality of dwellings, as it enables better *light, air and sun* and increases the utility value of the dwellings. However, Alfirevic and Simonovic Alfirevic (2014) argue that the atriums in Block 23 are too narrow (approx. 7,5m distance between the two tracts in case of the linear buildings G+10) and do not provide optimal daylight in the rooms oriented towards the atriums. Nevertheless, as they show (Alfirevic and Simonovic Alfirevic, 2014) the functional conception of the units partly compensates for this issue, orienting kitchens and dining rooms towards the atriums. According to the typo-morphological analysis of the atriums in Block 23, conducted within the student workshop in December 2018, the atriums within the block differ in size and shape. The students identified 11 sub-types (see Figure 3.29). The atriums were observed not only as volumes but as open common spaces in the parterre and the *public interior,* and explored through drawings, documenting and visually interpreting ambiences and character of these spaces.

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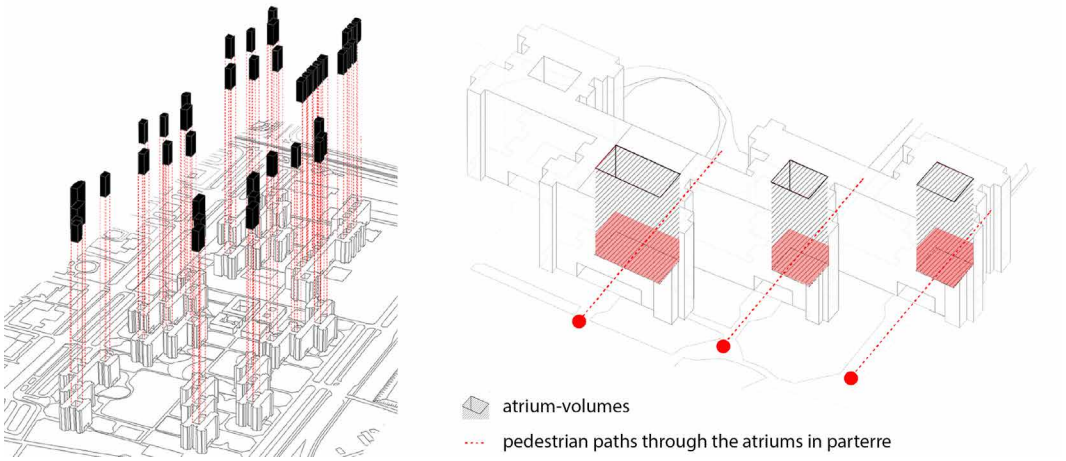


FIG. 3.30 Identification of the atrium typology in Block 70a. Illustration © Research team 2a: D. Petrovic, R. Petrovic, B. Cirovic, prepared for the student workshop "Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-Designing the Urban Commons", September 2020.

The typo-morphological analysis of the atriums in Block 70a, conducted within the follow-up student workshop in September 2020[8], reveals less differentiation between the atriums. All the atriums have the same form and the same level of porosity in the parterre. They differ in size – all have same height (approx. 25m), but the area in the parterre, and thus the volume, is different. The students concluded that the porosity of the atriums is a significant feature, important for inner-block flows and mobility (pedestrian paths), inter-connectivity of the open spaces and quality of the built and unbuilt structures in general. (see Figure 3.30)

There are no physical barriers between the two types of outdoor common spaces within the blocks (the ones within the parcels of the residential buildings, e.g., atriums and sidewalks, and the ones in-between the residential buildings' parcels, here defined as the "green areas"). Both have no restricted access or use – and in both cases, the most frequent users are the residents of the blocks. The criterium of everyday use, which is in case of these two blocks mainly by the local community—due to the

8 The student workshop "Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-Designing the Urban Commons" was organised and mentored by the researcher and realised during Erasmus+ Mobility of the researcher at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture in September 2020. It was co-mentored and supported by the academic staff from the host institution: Prof. Dr. Ana Nikezic and research assistants Aleksandra Milovanovic and Tamara Popovic. In the workshop participated 13 students of Bachelor, Integrated and Master studies at the Faculty of Architecture. http://www.arh.bg.ac.rs/2020/10/14/odrzana-radionica-reuse-of-common-spaces-of-new-belgrade-blocks-co-designing-the-urban-commons/?pismo=lat

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neighbourhood setting and inner-block space—is one of the key parameters differing them from the conventional public spaces, such as parks and streets. Thus, the question of governance and models of use of these spaces is currently critical.

The in-between, common spaces, contribute to higher integration of different segments and parts of the blocks. They have an essential role in *humanisation* of the blocks and quality of life for the inhabitants within the blocks as *integrated* neighbourhoods.

3.3.5 Spatial Mapping of Publicness: Accessibility, Ownership, Governance and Rights to Use

The in-betweenness of the common spaces as semi-public or semi-private spaces requires defining differing attributes of the identified types according to the criteria of *ownership* and *accessibility,* but also *governance* and *use,* in order to denote their level of *publicness.* (Dovey and Pafka, 2020)

After the completely private spaces such as apartments (level 0), the lowest level of publicness (level 1) is associated with the shared spaces within the residential buildings. Those spaces, as indoor common spaces, are collectively owned by the apartment owners. In the Law on Housing and Maintenance of Residential Buildings (2016 and 2020) of the Republic of Serbia, those spaces are defined as "common parts of the residential buildings which do not represent separate and independent part of the building" and as "service-spaces of the independent parts and the building as a whole, such as: stairs, entrances, corridors, galleries, attic spaces, basement, bicycle-room, laundry, etc.", but also common elements of construction (e.g. "finishing of the wall according to the external space or according to the common part of the building, eaves, facades, roof, chimneys, ventilation ducts, skylights, construction and areas for elevators and other special constructions") and common installations. The governance and use of those spaces (and elements) are accordingly classified as shared by the holders of the ownership and use rights, and accessibility is restricted (permission required). Therefore, those spaces have the lowest level of publicness (after the completely private spaces such as apartments). Nevertheless, the common elements oriented towards the external space, such as facades, roofs, skylights – as well as walls of atriums, although have the same status in terms of ownership and governance, differ from the other spaces and elements in terms of use and accessibility. They belong to the category of outdoor common spaces and elements as well and do not have a restricted access (except in the case of the roofs). Moreover, they influence the quality of the surrounding.



FIG. 3.31 Land parcellation, Block 23. Illustration source: Digital repository of the state geodetic authority, katastar.rgz.gov.rs, accessed on 09 February 2022.



FIG. 3.32 Land parcellation, Block 70a. Illustration source: Digital repository of the state geodetic authority, katastar.rgz.gov.rs, accessed on 09 February 2022.

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Thus, those spaces are not exclusively used by the holders of the ownership and use rights and have different level of publicness – level 2. The next are the outdoor common spaces within the parcel of the residential building (the land under the residential buildings and the closest surrounding area). In case of Block 23, those parcels are: 2834, 2835, 2837, 2838 (high-rise buildings), 2846 and 2869 (meander buildings) and 2852, 2853, 2862 (linear buildings) (see Figure 3.31). In case of Block 70a, these parcels are: 5258/2, 5258/3, 5258/4, 5258/9, 5264, 5265, 5277, 5278, 5280, 5281 (see Figure 3.32).

This land is owned by the Republic of Serbia (state-ownership model) and the owners of separate parts of the residential buildings (e.g., apartments) have *the right to use* these spaces (the land), as defined in the list of "the right holders of the parcel" in the digital repository of the state geodetic authority (katastar.rgz.gov.rs). The data are analysed for the Blocks 23 and 70a and the land under the residential buildings and the closest surround area. In the Law on Housing and Maintenance of Residential Buildings (2016 and 2020) of the Republic of Serbia, in this category belong all the outdoor spaces within the parcel (e.g., squares, sidewalks, playgrounds and other spaces) and the owners of separate parts of the residential buildings are *responsible for maintenance* of those spaces. In case of the Blocks 23 and 70a, those spaces are very modest and limited to the closest area of the residential buildings, e.g., atriums (horizontal surfaces and void), paths and sidewalks within the parcel. Those spaces have level 3 of publicness: they are owned by the state, with the formal right to use provided to the owners of separate parts of the residential buildings, however without restricted access and (informal) use of these spaces by the others – as there are no gates or fences. The formal *right to use* is in this case practically rather *responsibility to maintain*. Nevertheless, the owners of separate parts of the residential buildings (or residents renting the apartments) are the ones *mostly* using those spaces anyhow.

The level 4 of publicness is reserved for the outdoor common spaces of the blocks which are not part of the parcels of the residential buildings (in case of Block 23 one parcel 2833/1 and in case of Block 70a several smaller parcels). In terms of ownership, those spaces (land) are owned by the Republic of Serbia (state-ownership model in case Block 23, and state-ownership or public-ownership model in case of Block 70a, as defined in the digital repository of the state geodetic authority (katastar.rgz.gov.rs)). There are no formal *rights to use* for the parcel 2833/1 provided to the owners of the separate parts of the residential buildings in case of Block 23. In case of Block 70a, the situation is more complex, as the common area is parcelled more (see Figure 3.32). Parcel 5259/1 (one half of the block closer to the river – right side in the Figure 3.32) is owned by the state (public-ownership model) with no further formal rights to use (comparable to the mega-

parcel in Block 23). However, the other half (left side in the Figure 3.32) is parcelled in several parts with state-ownership model and with formal *rights to use* entitled to "JINPROS A.D." Nevertheless, the owners of the separate parts of the residential buildings within this block do not have the formal right to use – same as in case of the other common spaces in this block and Block 23. Therefore, the governance of those spaces remains with the owner – or the institutions within that framework (state, city or municipality authorities and institutions). Those spaces are the most public areas of the blocks – with state or public-ownership model, governed by the state/city/municipality and with no restricted access and use.

When it comes to the ownership and use of the local community centre in Block 23, it is disintegrated into 8 separate parcels with building parts (functional parts of the centre) on it – each having different ownership and use patterns (parcels 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2845/1, 2845/2, 2847, 2850). (see Figure 3.33)



FIG. 3.33 Land parcellation, Block 23 - CMZ. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from digital repository of the state geodetic authority, katastar.rgz.gov.rs, accessed on 09 February 2022.

The land under the buildings is in the state-ownership or in the ownership of the city of Belgrade (public ownership model). Some of the buildings are privatised: 2847 – office spaces, 2842 – retail, 2843 – restaurant; some are owned by the city of Belgrade (public ownership model): 2845/1 and 2845/2 – crafts, 2840 and 2841 – crafts and retail (with entitled the right to use to the municipality of New Belgrade);

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and the building on the parcel 2850 has mix ownership: one half (reserved for “office spaces for social fonds and post”) is owned by the city of Belgrade (public ownership model) with entitled right to use to the municipality of New Belgrade, one smaller part is privatized (a bank) and the rest is parking garage (some places in private, some in state ownership). The common area between all the buildings (parcel 2863) is in the state ownership, and the owners of the separate parts of the buildings have the right to use the space (katastar.rgz.gov.rs).

The data collected from the digital repository of the state geodetic authority and previously analysed, are further visually interpreted and spatialised as the publicness maps, mapping: (1) accessibility, (2) ownership, (3) governance, and (4) rights to use, for the both blocks (see Figures 3.34 for Block 23 and Figures 3.35 for Block 70a).

The ownership status and the property rights of the urban land in Serbia, have been criticized in scientific literature in the past decade. Nedovic-Budic et al. (2012) defines the (at that time current) status of urban land in Serbia as “undefined”. He argues that the urban land has been “kept in undefined status as ’socially owned land’ since the beginning of the 1990s, thus preventing its (at least partial) privatization and the concomitant development of an urban land market”. Zekovic, et al. (2015) point out the challenges of land policy related to the conversion of the urban land use rights into land ownership by the Law on Planning and Construction (LPC). As they explain:

The stipulation of the LPC of 2009 may have even worsened the situation by introducing the stipulations that provide conversion of leaseholds on urban (construction) land into property right – without applying actual market prices to the urban land (which was kept by the privatized companies). In Serbia, there is a lack of transparency and stability on the real estate market and urban land market, as well as a lack of established approaches, criteria and methods for the evaluation of properties in accordance with reliable market and planning data on property values. These types of evaluation are important for urban and territorial planning, limiting urban sprawl, urban land taxation and land-financed tools, especially for privatization of former state-owned land or conversion of urban land-use rights to urban land ownership. (Zekovic, et al., 2015)

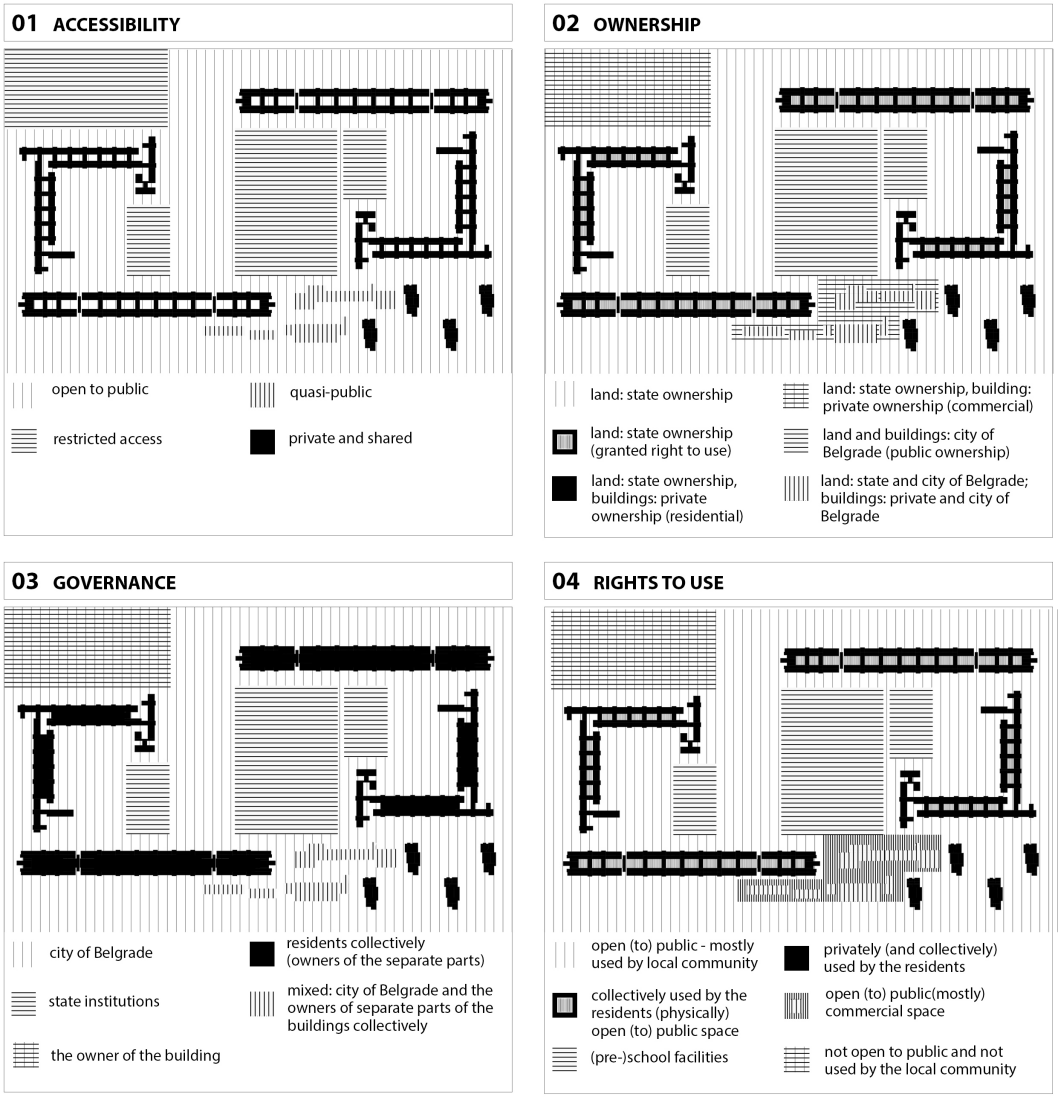


FIG. 3.34 Mapping: (1) accessibility, (2) ownership, (3) governance and (4) rights to use, Block 23. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February 2022.

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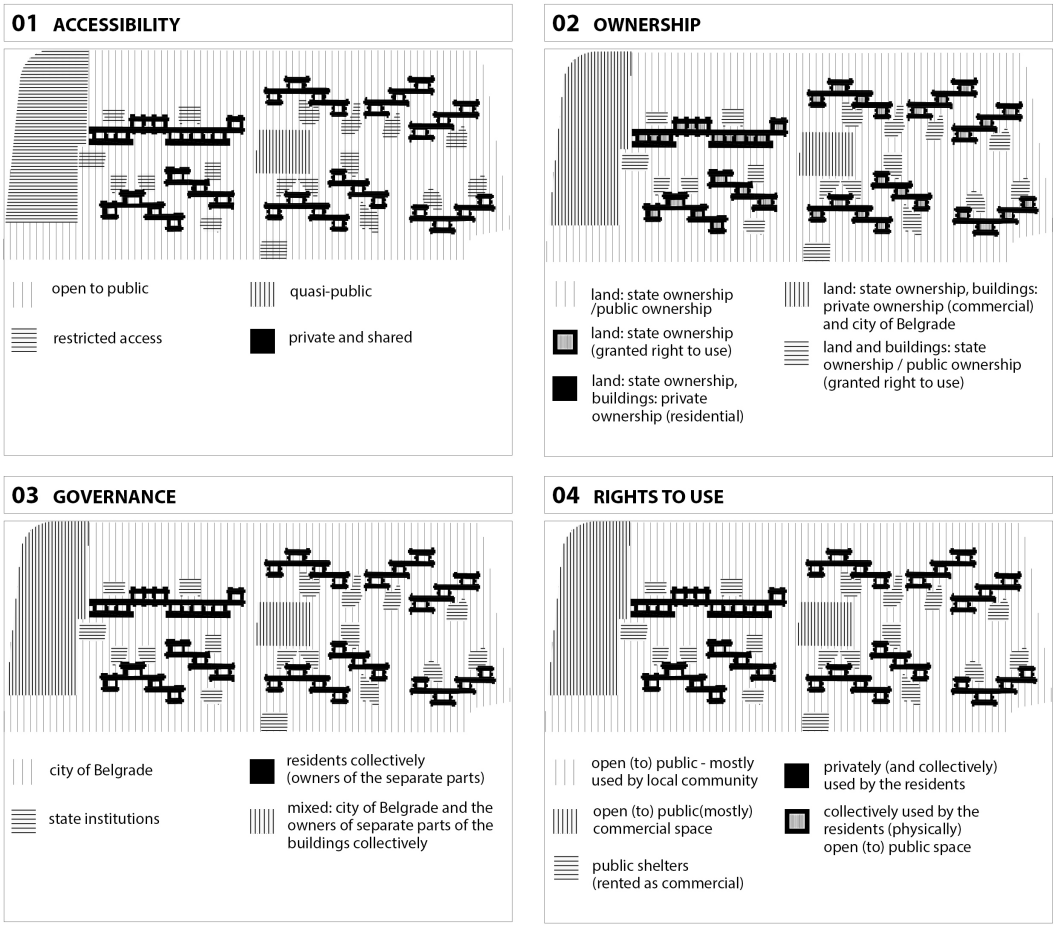


FIG. 3.35 Mapping: (1) accessibility, (2) ownership, (3) governance and (4) rights to use, Block 70a. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February 2022.

However, Horvat (2017) argues that institutions of social ownership and investments in public ownership are "undermined by a variety of non-transparent and usurping manoeuvres of privatisation, tolerated for the sake of the transition to a market economy", deepening social inequalities and eroding living standards. He states that the neoliberal expansionist agenda has used both "rule of law" and "right to development" to "justify their profit-seeking orientation, in opposition to sustainability, fair access, and community-led control or democratic rules". (Horvat, 2017, 7-8)

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High demand for undeveloped urban (construction) land in Belgrade within the "real-estate bubble growth" in Belgrade (Zekovic, et al., 2015), market-oriented urban planning, but also promotion of privatization of the state-owned or publicly owned urban land additionally endanger the open, unbuilt, common spaces within New Belgrade Blocks – and eventually the quality of life in those blocks.

Horvat (2017) suggests "a bottom-up push against the race to the bottom" – a demand for social control of resources, transformed governance structures and social relations, providing alternative to privatization and "going beyond the public and private binary". "This prevents us into falling into the ideological trap that commons go against private property, since there are more and more cases where private property can be instrumental in protecting some of the cultural or natural commons – with fair access, social control, and sustainable use as a basic criteria." He reminds of the collective work and collective action created in 1970s Yugoslavia as "worth revisiting and upgrading in a bid to create a new institutional architecture". (Horvat, 2017, 9)

In this regard, the current ownership status of the urban land, in case of the New Belgrade Blocks, still allows for (re)emergence of those processes. It is crucial to preserve accessibility and ensure the rights to use the common spaces.

3.3.6 Discussion

This section investigated the spatiality of the urban commons, based on the argument that the common spaces within the residential neighbourhoods represent the key resource for collective practices and thus the *primary tangible commons* in cities and in these neighbourhoods in particular.

Based on an extensive, iterative and multi-level examination of the existing common spaces in New Belgrade mass housing blocks, the section has shown the design principles for development of these common spaces – towards spatiality of the urban commons. The study is complemented with the assessment of the socio-economic aspects – land ownership, governance, accessibility and use, defining publicness of the identified common spaces.

As the study has shown, the physical form of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks is very diverse, sometimes clear and distinguishable from the surrounding, but usually without a clear sense of enclosure. Nevertheless, as Carmona (2019, 49) argues, a strong sense of enclosure is "not a prerequisite for a successful public

space as increasingly very successful more informal local spaces have been created". The study on New Belgrade showed that the common spaces take on different shape and structure, have different levels of permeability and range of uses.

The current spatial setting of New Belgrade mass housing blocks and the scarcity of physical barriers between different segments and spaces of the blocks are crucial to preserving the openness and accessibility, and thus ensure the rights to use the common spaces. As Stavrides (2015) claims, the porosity of their boundaries "permits acts of sharing to expand the circles of commoning". Moreover, they "explicitly symbolise the potentiality of sharing by establishing intermediary areas of crossing". (Stavrides, 2015) Different from the conventional public spaces due to the specific spatial setting and composition of the modernist blocks, the common spaces have a potential for spatialisation of the right to the city, bottom-up governance and direct democracy in cities. High inner-block integration allows for collective experience and reinforces social cohesion and the sense of community.

However, the common spaces struggle with land use and management policy. A lack of formal recognition, rigid public institutions and their failing management strategies (under-management and under-maintenance) result in neglected and deteriorated spaces. Spatial representation and physical condition of these spaces affect the aspiration and motivation to use the spaces, but also diminish and obscure their architectural quality. The position and notion of these spaces as semi-public or in-between spaces require a *new institutional architecture* related to management and use of these spaces. Besides improving the physical structure of the spaces, encouraging community self-organisation and integration of diverse social programmes is needed.

This study of the physical structure and features of the existing common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks provides a clearer picture of the spatial patterns of the common spaces in the selected city. Besides the case study-related results and conclusions, the section offers an analytical framework, which integrates different methods, in particular: observation, photo-documentation, typological decoding, spatial analysis – morphogenesis, spatial patterns and integration of the common spaces. Therefore, the contribution of the study is two-fold: (1) it can contribute to the socio-spatial revitalization strategy development, as it is the first step towards understanding the existing spatial infrastructure for (re)emerging urban commons in New Belgrade; (2) although it is focusing on a specific case study, it provides a methodological and analytical framework which could be applicable to the other examples of post-war modernist residential neighbourhoods or comparable cases, but also for spatial analysis of the urban common spaces, spaces of *commoning* in a broader sense.

3.4 Current Situation in Urban Governance and Heritage Management

This section presents a study on the current situation in urban governance and heritage management of the two New Belgrade Blocks. Through a comparative analysis of the two approaches identified in the two blocks—formal and informal heritage protection—the study shows different perspectives and implications of the top-down and bottom-up urban heritage management (Section 3.4.2 and Section 3.4.3). Moreover, it recognises the importance of the common spaces for preservation of the values of the blocks and further promotion of the people-centred approach within the heritage protection and management (Section 3.4.4).

3.4.1 Modes of Reception and Protection of Mass Housing

Petzet and Heilmeyer (2012) argue that the value of "ordinary" cases, such as mass housing neighbourhoods, is usually not recognized and the general recognition is low. However, as Glendinning (2008) notes, the modes of reception of mass housing are "conflicting". According to Glendinning (2008), in Western Europe and North America, a "violent rejection by 'public opinion' of mass housing as a whole" and "the consequent drastic surgical attacks by demolition or postmodern re-styling" has today left "the often still substantial built legacy stranded in a fog of incomprehension". In the former USSR or China "a more consistent and all-embracing program of mass housing" allowed "a different, far less violently polarized outcome". In the former Yugoslav countries, a continuous wide social mix within the mass housing neighbourhoods denotes a different reputation. Accordingly, the qualities of New Belgrade Blocks are being increasingly recognised, especially amongst the residents, who claim their rights to engage and decide on their living environment and heritage assets, as the Section 3.4.2 on reactive and proactive practices by the local community will show.

This approach for defence of the material and immaterial heritage assets by the local community, is in line with emerging heritage agendas and approaches internationally, as well as the UN's Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) Approach, which sees cultural landscapes as a repository of social history and community values (UNESCO, 2011, as cited in van Knippenberg et al., 2022).

Mass housing neighbourhoods, as an example of HUL, embody multiple levels of material and immaterial values and are an inseparable part of the local collective memory and urban identity. They symbolised “modernity, sophistication and the promise of a new inclusive and democratic society”. (Marques Pereira, 2017) These core values of the Modern Movement—which was defined as a project of “democratisation through space” (Marques Pereira, 2017)—reflected in mass housing neighbourhoods represent both legacy and leverage in addressing the growing socio-spatial polarization in cities nowadays. Milovanovic et al. (2022) recognize the capacity of mass housing neighbourhoods to generate an interactive framework for the exchange and production of social capital on a daily level towards inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities and human settlements, as phrased in the Sustainable Development Goal 11 (SDG 11) (UN General Assembly, 2015).

New Belgrade mass housing blocks, as a representative example of the post-war modernist mass housing neighbourhoods, are further examined with an aim to represent their heritage protection status and the position of the common spaces within it.

3.4.2 Heritage Protection of Block 23

The Central Zone of New Belgrade, including Block 23, received the status of “spatial cultural-historical ensemble”, at the proposal of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade and by the decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia in January 2021. (Republic of Serbia, 2021a) The “spatial cultural-historical ensemble” has two parts: Part A (blocks 21, 22 and 23) and Part B (blocks 28, 29 and 30) and the borders follow the regulatory lines of the surrounding streets. (see Figure 3.36)

Since the central three blocks 24, 25 and 26 “were not realised according to the first detailed urban plans”, they are defined as a “protected surrounding of the spatial cultural-historical ensemble”. (Republic of Serbia, 2021a) Based on the Law on Cultural Goods of the Republic of Serbia (Republic of Serbia, 2011; 2021b), the protected surrounding is “protected as the cultural good”.

The residential buildings in the blocks within the Parts A and B were valued by the authorities according to the following categories:

1. “buildings of a special value”, built according to the first detailed urban plans;
2. “buildings of value”, built during 1990s and afterwards, but “fitting in the original scheme of the blocks and participate in the ambient value”;
3. “buildings without values”.

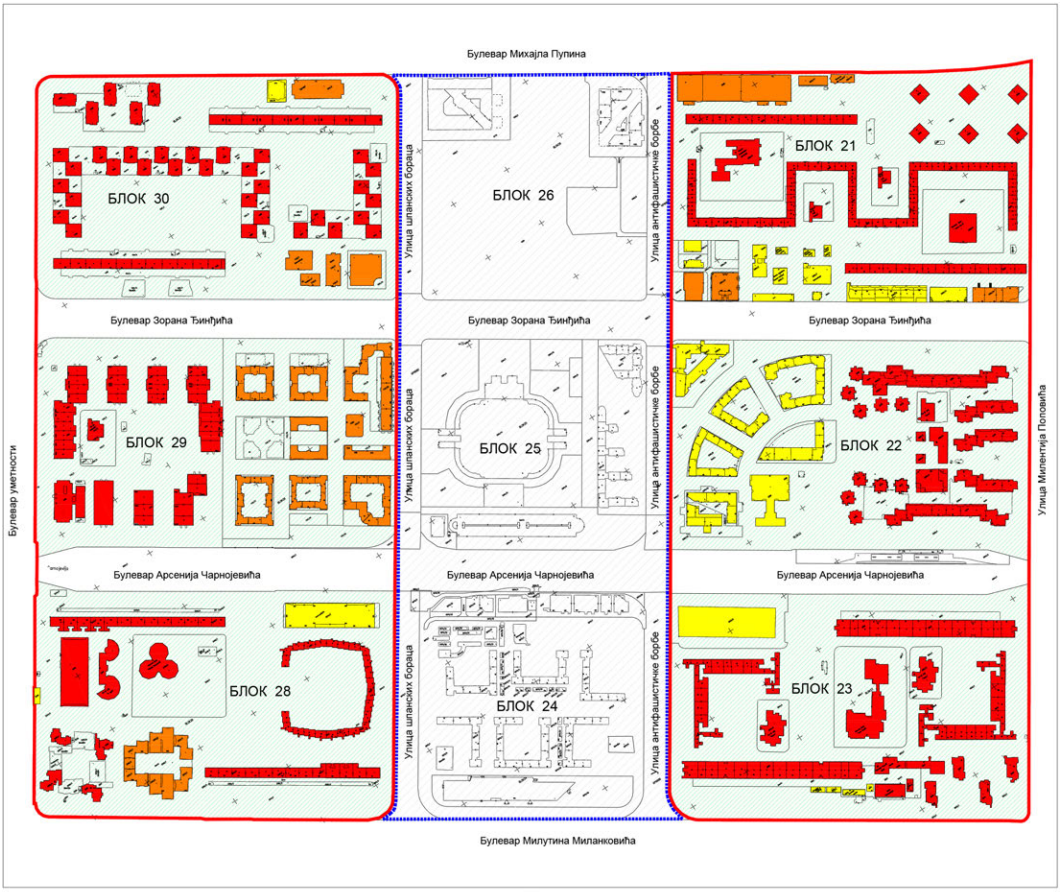


FIG. 3.36 Valorisation of the buildings and spaces of the spatial cultural-historical ensemble, Central Zone of New Belgrade. Illustration © Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade (2021), the legend translated by Anica Dragutinovic, June 2022.

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General heritage protection "measures" were established within the same decision as "protection, maintenance and use of the buildings and spaces and in accordance with the methods of contemporary conservatory practice, as defined by the heritage authority" (Republic of Serbia, 2021a). The conservatory methods (restoration, revitalisation, reconstruction, rehabilitation, conservation and presentation)—as defined in the decision—are to be applied in order to "protect, preserve and maintain the valued physical structure and its authenticity". Furthermore, the decision states that:

> *…preservation of the urban matrix, blocks, streets, spatial disposition of the objects, spatial organisation and arrangement of the public spaces, as part of the contemporary urban space of architecture-urban values, which represent the core of the spatial cultural-historic ensemble.* (Republic of Serbia, 2021a)

Therefore, the decision recognizes the core value of the open public spaces. Furthermore, the decision states: "Within the spatial cultural-historic ensemble, it is not allowed to build new objects by occupying the existing unbuilt or green areas. A possible new construction is allowed only in case of replacement of the existing buildings without values." It is allowed to "improve aesthetic and functional values of the open spaces – revitalise parterre arrangement of the space in accordance with the use and function of the site". Allowed interventions are "greening, paving and equipping with urban furniture, which can be only for the purpose of improving life and work conditions, or preserving ambience values of the protected spatial cultural-historic ensemble". (Republic of Serbia, 2021a)

The notion of the urban landscape is partly present: "Preservation of the landscape values of the spatial cultural-historic ensemble and perception of it as a part of the urban landscape and image of the city." However, not as comprehensively as defined in the UN's Historic Urban Landscape Approach. The decision reflects on the natural values, built environment, infrastructure, perception and identity, however, it does not reflect on the land use patterns (explicitly), social and cultural practices and economic processes. Nevertheless, it does include an important statement: "Fencing is forbidden (with an exception of greening) – open unbuilt spaces must remain in the model of public use." (Republic of Serbia, 2021a) This measure contributes and directly addresses the importance of maintaining openness and accessibility, and thus ensure the right to use the open common spaces.

The Law on Cultural Goods of the Republic of Serbia (Republic of Serbia, 2011; 2021b) defines rights and responsibilities of the users and managers of the cultural goods, and accordingly of the spatial cultural-historic ensemble as one of the categories of the cultural goods. Moreover, the Law establishes a

correlation between the urban heritage management and the spatial and urban planning, stating that “The measures for preservation, maintenance and use of the cultural goods…are to be implemented in the spatial and urban plans.” (Republic of Serbia, 2011; 2021b)

In the meantime, only a year after the decision about the heritage protection, in Block 23 construction works started – “rehabilitation of the inner-block area in Block 23” by the public communal institution “Greenery Belgrade”, which is responsible for the maintenance of the inner-block area. The rehabilitation works include: rehabilitation of playgrounds, construction of an outdoor gym, bike and walking paths, recreation and leisure spaces. As soon as the rehabilitation works started (see Figure 3.37), some of the residents expressed their dissatisfaction with the works publicly, in (social) media. Although, they do agree that the reconstruction is needed, they highlight some problematic aspects of the rehabilitation works, in particular: (1) demolition of the urban furniture made of concrete and a “rocket” with special intangible values and significance for the overall ambience values of the ensemble; (2) replacement of the football and basketball fields—which almost symbolize the quality of public life of the youth in the block and are meaningful for many inhabitants due to the national pride of having top basketball players—for the playgrounds; (3) repainting of street-art; (4) planning a fenced park for dogs; and the most important (5) a lack of communication with the residents and experts about their opinion and needs. (Novi dan TV N1, 2022)

Several days after this report, public announcements on the website of the public communal institution “Greenery Belgrade” and the city of Belgrade were posted, claiming that the rehabilitation project (see Figure 3.38) was prepared based on requests of the residents and analysis of the architect, which discussed the proposal with the residents on site during the planning process, and in agreement and with approval of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade. They also claim that new urban furniture made of concrete would be installed and the lawn of 3.194 square meters renewed. The geomorphology of the terrain would not be altered, and the uphill would be preserved. They claim that the demolition of the concrete elements is required because of safety, and replacement of basketball and football fields because of noise. The planned competition of the rehabilitation was set for the end of June 2022. (JKP Zelenilo-Beograd, 2022; Grad Beograd, 2022) The only project documentation publicly available are two visualisations (see Figure 3.38).



FIG. 3.37 Rehabilitation works in the inner-block area of the Block 23, February 2022. Video © Novi dan TV N1, video sequences taken by Anica Dragutinovic, June 2022.



FIG. 3.38 Rehabilitation project for the inner-block area of the Block 23 by the public communal institution "Greenery Belgrade". Illustration © JKP Zelenilo-Beograd, February 2022.

In the unpublished reports about the assessment of the Central Zone blocks prepared in the heritage protection process, Jovanovic (2018) defines three levels of interventions in the open spaces: reconstruction, revitalisation and rehabilitation (from minimum to maximum). Inner-block open spaces in-between the residential buildings are valued the highest of all open spaces and recommendations are: revitalisation and modernisation including "valorisation of the original horticultural solution" and detailed study on "possibilities of its improvement", as well as including "new urban furniture and lighting". (Jovanovic, 2018) It would be possible to integrate new functions within the open (green) spaces, such as urban gardening, communal gardens or test-gardens for the kids from the local schools and kindergartens. The report highlights the special value of the open (green) inner-block areas in context of the climate change and temperature regulation in the urban context, as well as the CO2 footprint of the ensemble. (Jovanovic, 2018) Not only an improvement, but also continuous maintenance of the green areas in the block is required. However, as Jovanovic (2018) writes, decrease in maintenance and sanitation or these spaces is evident, due to a significant decrease of the workers of the public communal institution "City Sanitation" responsible for the blocks. For example, in case of the neighbouring block 22 there is a decrease from 75 in 2014 to 22 in 2018 (Block 22 facebook page, as cited in Jovanovic, 2018)

Especially high level of deterioration is evident in case of the local community centre and the surrounding paving, paths and stairs in the Block 23 (see Figure 3.39). The local community centre has the same level of heritage protection, as the residential buildings, schools and kindergartens in the block – "buildings of a special value" (see Figure 3.36). Both the assessment reports (Jovanovic, 2018) and the residents (Novi dan TV N1, 2022) recognise an urgent need to repair and revitalise the local community centre and its open common spaces. It is crucial to rethink the original ideas, values and significance of the centre, which should have an impact on the revitalisation process, both in terms of physical structure and the program of the centre.



FIG. 3.39 Local community centre in Block 23, New Belgrade. Photography taken by Ivona Despotovic, Tamara Popovic, Zorana Jovic for the student workshop "Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-designing the Urban Commons", Belgrade, September 2020.

The local community centre was conceptualised as a novel type of urban space that was to facilitate collective values and common interest, but also domestic services. It was designed and built in 1970s (see Section 3.3.2) as a multifunctional centre with facilities and programmes complementary to the housing block: socio-cultural, commercial (grocery stores), daily services (post office, bank, crafts, etc.), spaces for socio-political activities and office spaces for the local community. As Aleksic (1980) argues, "local community centres are emerging as coordinators of living in the blocks—in physical and social sense; they are a basis for solidarity and sense of belonging to the community". (Dragutinovic et al., 2022)

The construction of a local community centre was crucial for actual realisation of the idea of neighbourhood in the block. As the block initially lacked facilities and programmes other than residential, the construction of local community centre was a "necessary intervention" (Radosavljevic, 1980). The local community centre significantly increased quality of life of the residents, liveability and socialisation in the neighbourhood. As a modern interpretation of the traditional city street (Martinovic, 2020), or "modern bazar" (Aleksic, 1980), it introduced consumerist dynamics dispersed within the inner space of the block. In addition to their utilitarian role, the local community centres were imagined as very important in socio-political sense. The construction of the centres was supposed to initiate interaction of neighbours and enable a socialist self-managing community. (Dragutinovic et al., 2022)

As Radosavljevic (1980) explains, the main functional parts of the typical local community centre were defined: (Object A) Offices and administrative spaces, post and bank; (Object B) Space for socio-political organisations, culture and other activities of the residents (youth clubs, elderly clubs, etc.); (Objects C1 and C2) Space for supermarkets and restaurants; (Object D) Space for crafts, services and retail (see Table 3.1). (Dragutinovic et al., 2022)

TABLE 3.1 Local community centre in Block 23: area of each functional part. Table © Anica Dragutinovic, according to the original table published in Radosavljevic (1980).

Local Community (MZ): "Milentije Popovic"						
Location of Local Community Centre (CMZ): Block 23 Office/Architect: "Osnova", A. Stepanovic Constructor: GRO "Ratko Mitrovic"						
Functional Part	**Object A (m^2)**	**Object B (m^2)**	**Object C1 (m^2)**	**Object C2 (m^2)**	**Object D (m^2)**	**Sum (m^2)**
Size	1.671,16 m^2	509,97 m^2	966,21 m^2	179,33 m^2	794,58 m^2	4.121,25 m^2

However, there were many deficiencies in realisation of the main ideas. One of the main dilemmas, or rather critiques of the local community centres in Belgrade, expressed already in 1978 by Dimitrije Mladenovic was if it was eventually "a centre of consumption or a social space" (Mladenovic, 1978). A similar remark is made by Siupsinskas and Lankots (2019), writing about Lithuanian and Estonian mikrorayon centres. They argue that "the theoretical model of multistage domestic services, as well the ideological and communal mission of the centres, was quickly reworked into a type of space that embraced consumption and individual behaviour within the framework of collectivism" (Siupsinskas and Lankots, 2019). Martinovic (2020) argues that one of the reasons for the contested socio-political role of the local community centres was spatial scarcity reserved for the socio-political and cultural

activities. In case of the centre in the Block 23, Object B (dedicated to socio-political and cultural activities) occupied 509,97 square meters—around 12% of the total area of the centre (see Table 3.1). (Dragutinovic et al., 2022)

Although consumption—which further increased with commercialisation of the local community centre within post-socialist transformation—became the dominant program of the centre, the centre remains a vital space in the blocks, space of socialisation and exchange of the local community. Open (outdoor) common space (the common area between the buildings – the parcel 2863), although physically deteriorated and under-maintained, is nowadays overtaking the social role of the local community centre, absorbing informal program and exchange, and allowing for participatory practices (Figure 3.39). (Dragutinovic et al., 2022)

As already stressed, repair and revitalisation of the local community centre and its open common spaces is critical. The local community centre has the highest level of heritage protection, as "buildings of a special value". Nevertheless, this formal protection status considers the physical structure of the centre, which is not the primary significance aspect. The structure was even planned as a generic and with a growth potential. The primary significance of the local community centre is in its intangible values, such as facilitating collectivity, in particular socio-cultural and socio-political program of the centre, which was and is neglected and supressed. The key question and task for the revitalisation strategy is to reconsider the original values, re-program the centre and re-introduce space for socio-political organisations, culture and other activities of the residents (program of the Object B in the original design) – and further rethink relationship between consumption and socialisation. The local community centre is the focal point of the block and has the highest potential to act as an organisational hub for urban commons within the block.

3.4.3 Bottom-up Approaches for Heritage Protection in Block 70a

New Belgrade Central Zone is the only spatial cultural-historic ensemble under heritage protection within the territory of New Belgrade municipality (next to it, only single buildings and places are being protected). (see Figure 3.40) The Sava River Zone, and in particular Blocks 45, 70 and 70a (bottom left of the Figure 3.40) are not under heritage protection or under consideration.

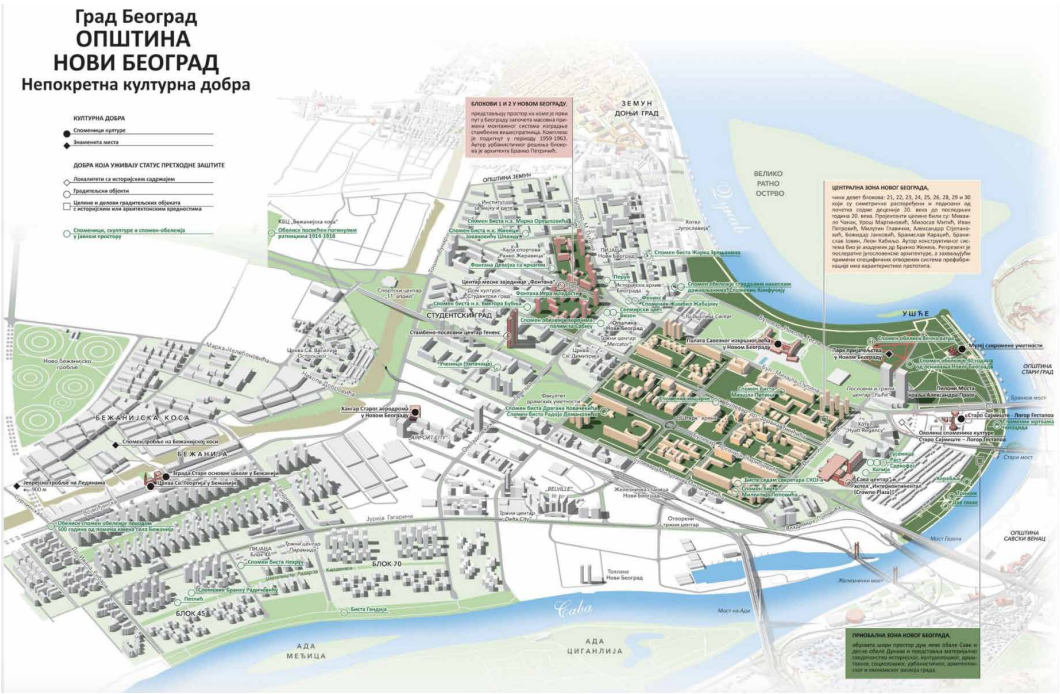


FIG. 3.40 Interactive map of the cultural goods on the territory of New Belgrade municipality. Illustration © Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade (2019), June 2022.

Nevertheless, these blocks have a specific set of values reflected through two main, inter-related, aspects: (1) strong relationship with nature, (2) social cohesion, sense of community and proactive participation of the residents. As previously explained, design of the Sava River Zone encourages the idea of socialization in the open common spaces and in particular highlights the strong relationship with nature (Rakonjac et al., 2022). The main urban concept was based on the orientation of the blocks towards the river and integration of high level of greenery – in case of the block 70a 64% of the block's area are green areas (Simic, 2022). The residents' perception of these extensive green areas is rather positive (as the results of the exploratory talks had shown) and the lawns are described as "endless landscape of freedom". The residents value these spaces very high as they are car-free common areas for recreation and leisure activities of the local community (see Section 3.2). A potential for densification, which would endanger the green common areas and relationship with the river, is perceived negatively. This perspective is supported by the image of the recent developments in the closest surrounding in New Belgrade. As Simic (2022) explains, a linear tendency of decline of the bio valuable green areas can be recognised in the urban development in New Belgrade Blocks urban patterns from 1970s until nowadays: from 71% in Block 45 from 1972 until 8% in "West 65) from 2022 (see Figure 3.41).

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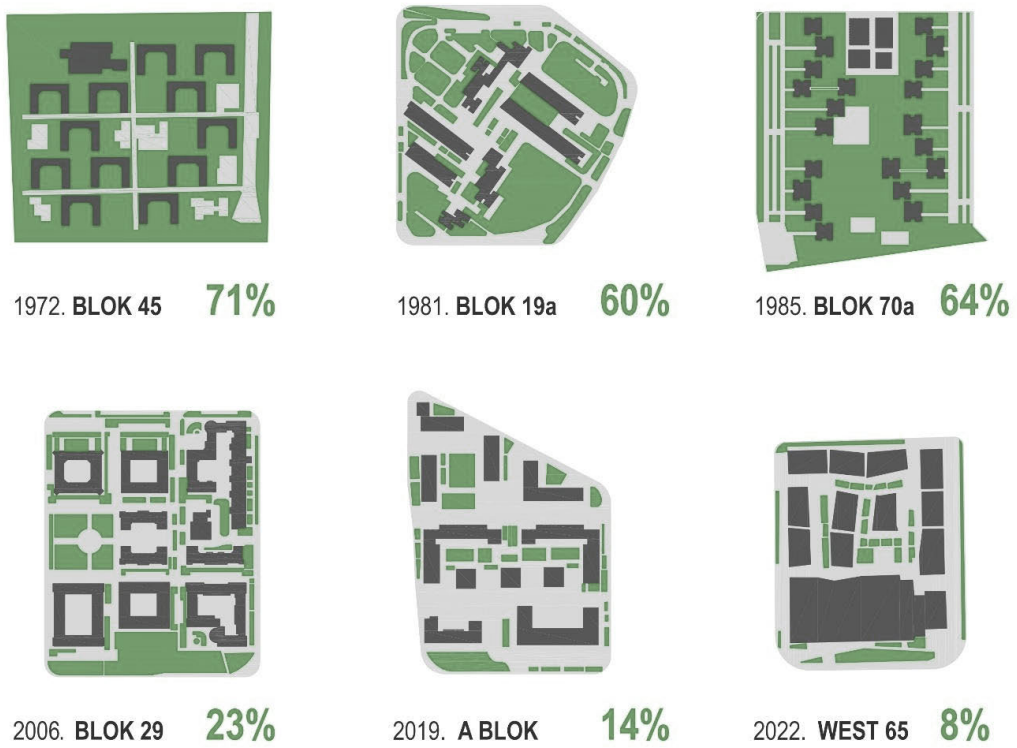


FIG. 3.41 Chronology of realised plans of typical New Belgrade Blocks and percentage of "bio valuable" green areas. Illustration © Simic (2022), reproduced from: https://klima101.rs/investitorski-urbanizam-zelenilo-novi-beograd/

Simic (2022) raises a critical question: "Would the trend continue and would we reach 0% of the bio valuable green areas in the residential blocks in New Belgrade?". As he argues, the tendency of Belgrade "investors urbanism" is not suitable for the incoming climate-change-related conditions in the city, and the green areas are highly valuable for adaptation to the consequences of the climate change – heat waves and extreme rains. Simic (2022) calls for an urgent action for spatial planning and policy and regulatory framework to introduce a "green regulatory framework". He refers to the regulations of the city of Berlin from 1994, which introduce ecosystem zones and the important factor of biotope, as a parameter directly linked to the construction index and the occupancy rate, legally protecting ecological development of the city. Similar practices are present in many other European cities. (Simic, 2022)

In the meantime, new spatial plans and practices in Belgrade continue to jeopardise the existing green areas, including the green areas of the "old" New Belgrade Blocks.

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Since the Sava River Zone blocks are not protected as a spatial cultural-historic ensemble, not only that their built structures are under treat, but also, and even more, the green areas are endangered. In case of the Central Zone Blocks, new construction on the green areas is strictly forbidden, which is not the case in the Sava River Zone Blocks. Instead, new urban plans foresee new construction in the block. Amendment of the plan of general regulation (PGR) for the city of Belgrade (part I-XIX) from 2021 (updated version after an early public insight and further policy documents and reviews), developed by the Town planning Institute of the city of Belgrade and based on the decision of the city of Belgrade from 2019, introduces changes in the land use in the city of Belgrade, including the Sava River Zone in New Belgrade. In case of the Block 70a, the plan introduces conversion of a green area in-between the residential buildings (part of the block towards the river) into a new parcel reserved for construction of a kindergarten (see Figure 3.42). A public insight (second-step public participation model in Serbian planning framework) was scheduled for the period from 20.12.2021 until 21.01.2021.



FIG. 3.42 Block 70a within the amendment of the PGR for the city of Belgrade (part I-XIX), versions from 2021 and 2022 (before – left, and after the public insight - right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, reproduced from: Town Planning Institute of the city of Belgrade, Amendment of the Plan of General Regulation (PGR) for the city of Belgrade (part I-XIX) (2021 and 2022), June 2022.

The proposal was not well received among the residents, in particular residents of the blocks 70 and 70a. The residents of the two blocks have already had experience in bottom-up reactive practices related to the spatial and urban planning and development of their neighbourhood. Already in 2017, they grouped around an initiative *Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a* in order to stop a plan for construction of a bridge and parking in their blocks. In only a couple of days the initiative collected 7.500 signatures. Although this was a trigger, the initiative sustained and emerged into a very proactive citizens' association addressing the important issues in the neighbourhoods such as: maintenance, sanitation, greenery, improvement of living conditions in the block, etc. The citizens' association organised and managed planting hundreds of trees in the blocks, cleaning the blocks, different events for the local community, etc. They have developed good communication models, and dissemination of activities and news is very efficient.

As soon as the amendment of the plan of general regulation for the city of Belgrade (part I-XIX) was publicly available and the public insight announced, the association reacted and organised an event for the local community: “What do you know about the new plan of general regulation and how it alters our blocks?”. It evolved into a “common action for defence of the blocks 70 and 70a from the planned *urbicide*”. (Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 15.01.2022) The residents were collecting signatures against the plan, which “opens new possibilities for further robbery of the green areas” and a petition for preservation of the green areas. (Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 30.01.2022) Together with the residents of the other Sava River blocks, they submitted a joint remark with around 4.500 signatories and around 500 individual remarks. (Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 20.01.2022) As a result, the Sava River Zone was excluded from the amendment of the plan of general regulation (see Figure 3.43).

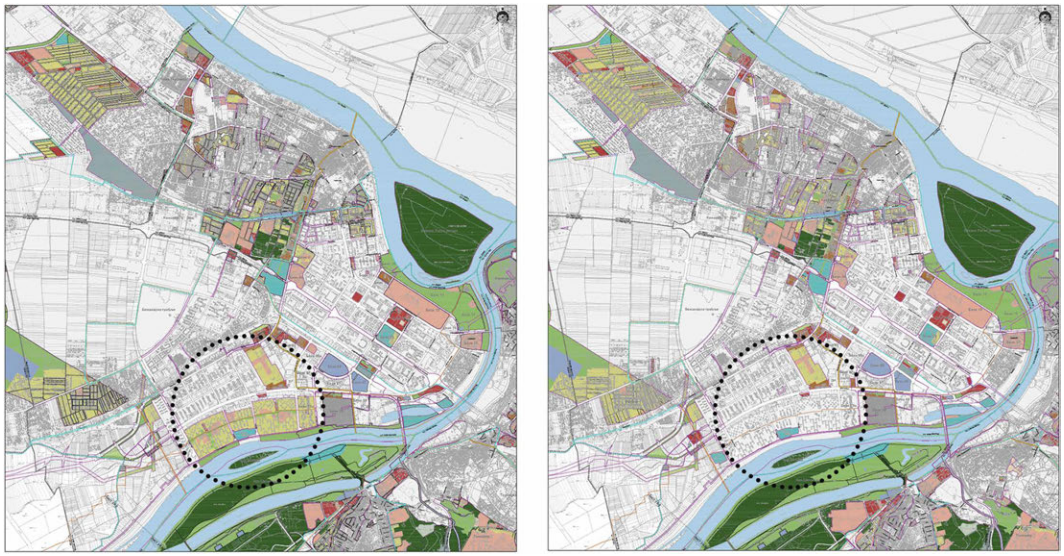


FIG. 3.43 Amendment of the PGR for the city of Belgrade (part I-XIX), versions from 2021 and 2022 (before – left, and after the public insight - right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, reproduced from: Town Planning Institute of the city of Belgrade, Amendment of the Plan of General Regulation (PGR) for the city of Belgrade (part I-XIX) (2021 and 2022), Sava River Zone marked by Anica Dragutinovic, June 2022.

Based on the report about the public insight prepared by the Planning Committee of the City of Belgrade (2022, 4), in total 1.034 remarks were handed in (991 private and natural persons and 43 public institutions). Therefore, almost a half came from the residents of the Sava River Zone.

The residents' remarks (e.g., remarks 41, 75-77, 113-115, 116-118, 123, 150-205, 219-231, 232-235, 236-247, 260-261, etc.) were accepted, and in the response of the city of Belgrade to all the remarks it was stated that further detailed planning of the area including "all aspects of the spatial planning – needs for the objects of social infrastructure, mobility, arrangement of green areas in context of the urban protection of the blocks" is to be conducted. Also, "representatives of the residents of the blocks [block 45, 44, 70 and 70a] will submit initiatives and analyses to the main urbanist" and the Town Planning Institute of the city of Belgrade will "prepare land use and concept for the area integrating the requests of the residents". "Organised participation of the residents and clearly formulated conclusions will follow, which is to be implemented in the draft of the plan of general regulation by the Town Planning Institute of the city of Belgrade". (Planning Committee of the City of Belgrade, 2022, 21)

The response and decision of the city of Belgrade was very well received among the residents. As it was announced on the *Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a* citizens' association page on social media:

> ***Victory! We managed to, for the first time in history, have the residents of one Belgrade area plan a detailed regulation of their neighbourhood. (…) We won the first round, but a serious fight for detailed planning of our blocks is to follow, which we should prepare for. In the next period, we will analyse together the needs of the residents, through talks with neighbours, ideation, proposals for current problems and improvement of our living environment.*** **(Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 02.02.2022)**

The bottom-up "defence" and preservation strategy though community-based actions proved to be effective in case of these residential neighbourhoods. The citizens' association continues not only with the reactive practices but also proactive and pro-environmental behaviour in the blocks. (see Figure 3.44) In April 2022, for the "74th birthday" of New Belgrade, the *Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a* citizens' association, together with the citizens' associations *Za Nas Kej and Savski Nasip*, organised street art festival and painting of the urban furniture made of concrete in the Sava River quay, to express (1) discontent with the level of maintenance of the quay by the public institutions and (2) the importance of ecology and greenery in urban context. (Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 13.04.2022) Moreover, they claim that they are "willing and organised to 're-appropriate' the space intended for them" (Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 16.04.2022) The association argues that "truly democratic society requires re-initiation of the *local communities*" (Serbian: *mesne zajednice - MZ*) – as governing bodies. The legacy of Yugoslav self-management and local communities in urban governance is recognised by the association.



FIG. 3.44 Activities of the "Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a" citizens' association. Photography © "Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a".

Although, formally, MZ "Sava Quay" exists, it is not operational. As the citizens' association claims: "for almost two years, we have been unsuccessfully trying to find out who the president and members of the council of our local community are in order to solve the accumulated communal problems through the institution of local self-government". The issue "made us to self-organise", as they claim. (Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 19.06.2022) The first step towards revitalisation of this organisational model taken by the residents, and in particular the citizens' association *Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a,* is a local community meeting symbolically organised in the open common area in front of the MZ "Sava Quay" office in June 2022. (see Figure 3.45) The association invited the public communal institution "Greenery Belgrade" (previously mentioned in case of Block 23 as responsible for the maintenance of the inner-block area) to join the community meeting. (Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 26.06.2022) The public communal institution representatives, although could not attend the meeting, invited the association representatives to a meeting in the institution. The focus was on the reconstruction of the promenade in Block 70, and the meeting was "productive", as reported by the association.

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FIG. 3.45 Activities of the "Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a" citizens' association – meeting in the open common spaces in June 2022 and photo of the MZ "Sava Quay" office (bottom left corner). Photography © "Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a".

Besides the initiatives for increased communication and collaboration with the public institutions and the city of Belgrade, the citizens' association also initiated establishment of a network of facility managers from the blocks 70 and 70a *Our Community of facility managers and residents of the blocks* in order to organise exchange of information and legal, communal and practical experiences and coordinate activities. (Zajednicka Akcija 70 i 70A, 14.06.2022)

The open common spaces proved to have the key role in facilitating the bottom-up protection of the blocks through citizens' engagement, allowing for participatory practices, exchange and direct democracy in the blocks.

3.4.4 Multi-level Significance of the Open Common Spaces

This study revealed multi-level significance of the open common spaces of the two blocks:

1 Open common spaces are crucial for preservation of the *historic urban landscape* (HUL) of New Belgrade, preservation of the urban morphology and layout of the blocks, which was recognised as one of the main spatial values in the formal assessment and heritage protection of the Central Zone blocks (e.g., Block 23) – but applies to the other modernist open-blocks without a formal heritage protection (e.g., Block 70a) as well,

2 Open common spaces are recognised by the residents as one of the most important components of their blocks for the quality of everyday life in their neighbourhoods: a) social – important for socialisation, community interaction and collectivisation, b) use – important as recreation and leisure spaces, c) environment – important for environmental and bio-physical quality of their neighbourhoods,

3 Open common spaces are recognised by the experts as highly valuable for adaptation to the consequences of the climate change in the city – heat waves and extreme rains, e.g., as recognised by Simic (2022),

4 Open common spaces enable spatialisation of the right to the city, they allow for bottom-up initiatives, reactive actions and proactive practices, they can facilitate bottom-up governance and direct democracy in the city, they enable "defence" of the common interest in urban development,

5 Open common spaces contribute to the specific atmosphere/ambiance values of the *historic urban landscape* (HUL) of the New Belgrade Blocks, the program they absorb contributes to vitality of the blocks.

Any future bottom-up or top-down actions towards revitalisation, rehabilitation or reconstruction of the blocks, need to carefully reconsider significance and specificity of the open common spaces.

It presents multi-level significance of the common spaces: (1) they are crucial for preservation of the *historic urban landscape* (HUL) of New Belgrade, preservation of the urban morphology and layout of the blocks, which was recognised as one of the main spatial values, as well as ambience values of the blocks, (2) they have social and environmental significance, and (3) they have a key role in facilitating bottom-up initiatives, reactive and proactive practices, towards inclusive and integrative urban heritage management.

3.4.5 Discussion

Comparative analysis of the heritage protection of the two blocks—the formal heritage protection (as in case of Block 23) and informal heritage protection (as in case of Block 70a)—confirmed the importance of the people-centred approach of the UN's Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) previously explained (see Section 3.4.1). The bottom-up "defence" and preservation strategy though community-based actions proved to be effective in case of these residential neighbourhoods. Moreover, the study confirmed that the common spaces are critical for actual implementation or manifestation of the heritage management shift from the "expert-led authoritarian procedures towards more inclusive and participative community-led practices" (van Knippenberg et al., 2022).

The current formal heritage protection (as in case of Block 23) involves elements of the urban landscape approach, in terms of landscape values of the "spatial cultural-historic ensemble", its natural and built environment, perception and identity. (Republic of Seriba, 2021a) Nevertheless, social, cultural and economic processes are under-represented. Despite some measures which directly address the importance of maintaining openness and accessibility (e.g., "no fencing" measure), and thus ensure the right to use the open common spaces within the protected spatial cultural-historic ensemble, there are no guidelines on collaborative, participative and inclusive heritage management. Spatial and urban planning and development is decisive for urban heritage management – and in case of Belgrade reflects the same scarcity in collaborative models for good urban planning and governance.

The level of physical decay in these neighbourhoods, and in particular of the common spaces, urges some form of upgrade. However, the current urban practices, interventions and intentions are in most cases insensitive to the designed and generated values of these neighbourhoods, both small-scale (as in case of demolition of the urban furniture made of concrete in Block 23) and large-scale (as in case of intentions to build on the green areas in Block 70a). Moreover, there are no proposals for value- and evidence-based improvements of the neighbourhoods as a whole (acknowledging designed and generated values) or interventions in line with sustainable development goals and other aspects defined in international agendas and charters (e.g., addressing biodiversity, ecology, well-being and circularity, etc.). But the most important, there are no models for participatory, integrative and effective maintenance and management of the neighbourhoods – both on the level of urban heritage management and urban planning and development.

The bottom-up processes and citizen engagement in urban governance and management of urban heritage at the neighbourhood scale (as in case of Block 70a), reveal capacity for self-governance and self-management of the neighbourhoods.

Those processes reflect the legacy of Yugoslav self-management and represent its contemporary interpretation. The citizens' associations contribute to democratisation of the urban (heritage) governance processes. Nevertheless, their role in the formal regulatory framework related to management, maintenance and use of the neighbourhoods needs to be re-considered. In particular, collaborative, inclusive and integrative urban (heritage) governance models and instruments are needed, and will be further explored in Chapter 4.

3.5 Discussion

The research presented in this chapter develops a specific multi-level assessment methodology, including: (1) exploratory talks with the residents (Section 3.2); (2) spatial analysis of the common spaces: morphogenesis of the two blocks and their common spaces; identification, typological decoding and classification of the common spaces; typo-morphological analysis; and spatial mapping of the publicness – land ownership, accessibility, governance and rights to use (Section 3.3); and study on the current situation in urban governance and heritage management of the two blocks (Section 3.4). The integrated approach for re-assessment of the common spaces in the two blocks—in the contemporary context, the current legal and organisational conditions, and with the society—determines their current physical, functional, legal, organisational and social features and specifies their significance, answering both the research sub-question RQ 2.1 on methodology and the research sub-question RQ 2.2 on substantive, place-based findings.

The study showed the importance of an expanded assessment, beyond a conventional historic- and aesthetical-values-focused analysis and beyond an expert-led analysis. The application of diverse assessment methods enabled consideration of different socio-spatial aspects, and thus inclusion of cross-disciplinary findings (e.g., related to urban morphology and design, use and facilities, accessibility, ownership status, maintenance and care, governance, heritage status, adaptation works, place attachment, social relationships, etc.).

Moreover, the multi-level assessment enabled correlation and validation of the findings. For instance, at the time of the exploratory talks (Section 3.2), in November 2018, the residents claimed decline in collective activities and under-utilisation of some of the collective spaces, noting that better organisation and awareness about responsibilities and rights is needed. One year after these talks with the residents, a very active citizens' association was founded in the blocks 70 and 70a – *Common Action – blocks 70 and 70a*, proving the expressed interest in proactive participation and taking care of the common spaces and their neighbourhood in general – but also, proving that the deterioration is rather related to utilisation and appropriation than spatial configuration of the blocks.

Additionally, as explained in Section 3.2, the *social cohesion* and *sense of community* were valued very high by the residents. *Domesticity* has been one of the key components in profiling the blocks, their common areas and social relations within them. Those social aspects proved to be the main drivers of change in case of Block 70a (Section 3.4.3). Accordingly, the common spaces proved its role in facilitating communication, collective practices and engagement of the community. Their potentials for further community-based actions in improving the blocks, while preserving the values, need to be considered.

Nevertheless, the study recognises a need for a better communication and collaboration between the local community and other stakeholders – for an integrated and values-based approach in urban governance and heritage management of the blocks and their common spaces. Therefore, an in-depth study about the (conflicting) opinions and views of the stakeholders and possible mechanisms for cross-sectoral communication and collaboration will be further explored (Chapter 4). Besides the *urban commons* and *values frameworks*, *collaborative governance—integrated, cross-sectoral communication and collaboration and multi-disciplinary approach*—is an important parameter to be considered in further research.

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4 Development of a Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework for New Belgrade Blocks

Preliminary results of the research presented in this chapter have been published as:
– Dragutinovic, A., & Pottgiesser, U. (2021). Regenerative Design and Co-commitment as Decisive Factors in Mass Housing Revitalisation. In M. Benko (Ed.), *Doconf 2021: Facing post-socialist urban heritage - Proceedings* (pp. 116–125). Budapest: BME Department of Urban Planning and Design. https://doi.org/10.25644/srfb-k706
– Dragutinovic, A., & Pottgiesser, U. (2021). Reuse of Common Spaces as a Tactic for Mass Housing Revitalization. In A. Tostoes, & Y. Yamana (Eds.), *The 16th International docomomo Conference Tokyo Japan 2020+1, Inheritable Resilience: Sharing Values of Global Modernities* (Vol. Book 1, pp. 340–345). docomomo International & docomomo Japan, Tokyo, Japan. https://doi.org/10.25644/tjfa-t698

This chapter develops a framework for enhancement of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces—a values-based governance and intervention framework—focusing on the Blocks 23 and 70a. It defines pre-conditions and mechanisms for better governance of *those spaces of common interest,* combining values-based and commons-based approaches.

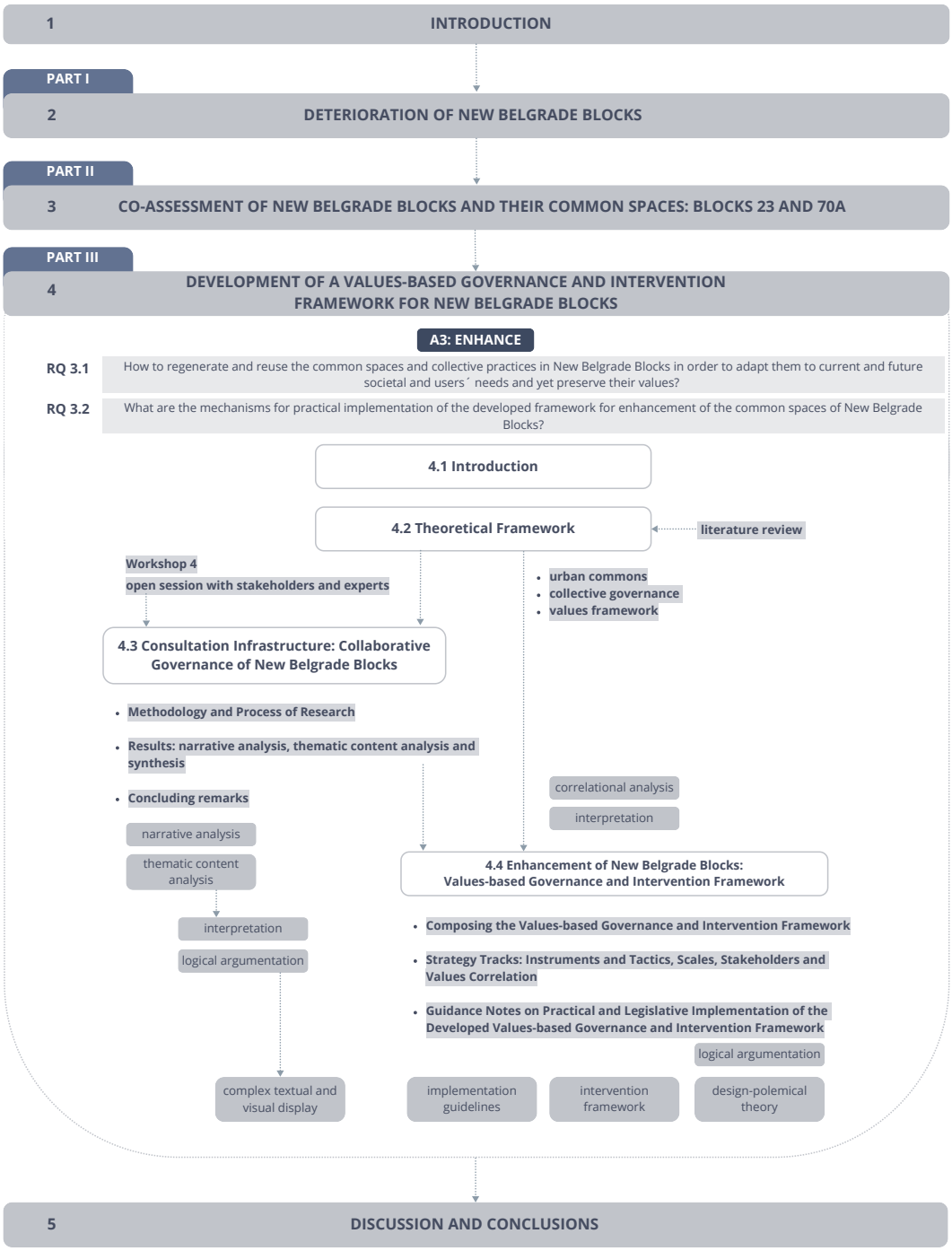


FIG. 4.1 Thesis outline: Chapter 4. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, January 2023.

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The chapter includes insights into the current discussions on urban commons, collaborative governance and value frameworks, with an aim to provide a holistic and cross-disciplinary approach as a basis for further recommendations (Section 4.2). It further includes results from a stakeholder workshop, exploring possibilities and implementation potentials of those concepts in relation to the existing national and international policies and planning frameworks, as well as specific ownership situation and maintenance regulations of the case study (Section 4.3). Section 4.4 presents development of the values-based governance and intervention framework (answering RQ 3.1), and guidelines for its implementation, differentiating between the long-term, mid-term and short-term actions, and indicating roles and involvement of the stakeholders (answering RQ 3.2).

The framework for reuse and governance of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks is offering a model for instrumentalization and practical implementation of the core principles and values of *good, integrated and just* planning, design and governance of the urban heritage, in particular mass housing neighbourhoods – towards their integrated rehabilitation. Re-affirmation of the legacy of self-management, collective practices and citizens' engagement at the neighbourhood scale contributes to democratisation of the urban (heritage) governance processes.

4.1 Introduction

The dialectic between preservation of urban heritage and the urban development and governance is at the core of urban heritage regeneration. The UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011) addresses the need for better integration of the two, which was also recognized at the more recent World Urban Forum (2020): "the common ground between often divergent approaches must be identified and tools developed to strengthen synergies between the two".

The UNESCO Recommendation specifically addresses the "governance and management concerns involving a variety of stakeholders" (UNESCO, 2011, 2). Building upon this, the Faro Convention Action Plan Handbook underlines the necessity of cooperation between "all involved stakeholders, highlighting the essential role of inhabitants". (Council of Europe, 2018)

The importance of participatory, integrated planning has been present for some time in the urban discourse, becoming especially important when addressing the existing urban heritage. In line with this, the importance of new strategies for managing urban resources and interest in the urban commons have (re)surfaced (Calzati, et al., 2022). Additionally—with the increasingly important discussions on climate change and climate-related actions—the implementation of nature-based solutions in urban areas is another important topic. Not only theoretical studies and concepts, but also urban practices, are recognizing the importance of those topics. However, the convergence of these approaches and their further evolution into novel solutions is key for co-creating healthy and liveable environments.

The need for upgraded concepts has been recognized in the New Leipzig Charter (The New Leipzig Charter, 2020). As stated in the New Leipzig Charter (2020), the integrated and sustainable urban development has been in the focus of multiple European and global agendas since the early 2000s (including Leipzig Charter from 2007), and these agendas are still relevant today. Nevertheless, many global challenges that have direct impact on cities, such as loss of biodiversity, resource scarcity, demographic change, pandemics and rapidly changing economies are urging for upgraded concepts. Regenerative design emerges as a paradigm that catalyses a shift towards regenerative development dedicated to *value-adding* (Gibbons et al., 2018). It operates between social and biophysical components, fostering principles of self-organisation, resilience, biodiversity, biophilia, adaptive capacity, multi-scale networks and stakeholder engagement towards co-creation (Gibbons et al., 2018). Consequently, regenerative design accelerates the emergence of the socio-economic component in form of productive communities and circularity.

Those strategies operationalize and build upon the main principles of important charters and agreements (2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development – especially SDG 11, 2015; The New Urban Agenda, 2016; Paris Agreement, 2016; European Commission's Green Deal, 2020; The New Leipzig Charter, 2020). Not only ecological and biophysical components but also the social components of regenerative design, such as self-organisation, multi-scale networks, stakeholder engagement and co-creation, are envisioned in these charters and agreements. The New Leipzig Charter (2020) promotes place-based, multi-level and multi-stakeholder approach and points out that a good urban governance, both governmental and non-governmental, is required in order to lead the transformation towards just, green and productive societies (The New Leipzig Charter, 2020). The New Urban Agenda (2016) in particular addresses the question of collective commitment to enhance integrated and sustainable development. Co-commitment as a multi-stakeholder commitment to co-creation and urban governance—not only as a reactive participation, but as a proactive and responsible approach—is critical for effective planning, implementation

and monitoring of changes in urban environment. Co-commitment is a multi-level and continuous engagement to unlock the potential of institutions and individuals and build effective urban governance structures (The New Urban Agenda Illustrated, 2020).

Within a volume "Law and the New Urban Agenda" (Davidson and Tewari, 2020), the contributing authors reflect on those "soft law instruments", in particular the New Urban Agenda, and discuss the legal-institutional structures of urban governance for their implementation. Pires (2020) argues that "governance is means to break the imbalance of political power". Similarly, Francisco Velasco and Carmen Navarro (2020) emphasize the importance of citizen participation in a government's decision-making powers. Additionally, De Nictolis and Iaione (2020) discuss possibilities of co-governance for achieving the common goals of the New Urban Agenda (2016; 2020) and the Urban Agenda for the European Union (2016), presenting Turin's Co-City project (Italy), as a "collective action for urban commons".

Co-governance is foreseen as a complementary tactic that ensures integrated and just socio-spatial development. Furthermore, it emphasises the pursuit of the common good that has been strongly addressed in the New Leipzig Charter (2020) – titled "The transformative power of cities for the common good". The questions of common good, common interest and, ultimately, common spaces in cities are especially important for participatory (re)design processes in mass housing neighbourhoods. The urban commons and collaborative urban governance are recognised as key socio-spatial conceptions that can enable enhancement of the neighbourhoods *for the common good*. Possibilities and implementation potentials of those concepts need to be further explored in relation to the existing national and international policies and planning frameworks, as well as context-related specific ownership situation and maintenance regulations (Section 4.3), in order to profile a strategy for their implementation (Section 4.4).

4.2 Theoretical Framework

The insight into the current discussions on urban heritage governance (Section 4.1) identified three main lines relevant for the research on strategies for enhancement of New Belgrade Blocks, which will be further explored in this section. The first line is related to the discussion on urban commons, and presented in Section 4.2.1, explaining three key aspects of the urban commons: common space, *commoning* and community of commoners, and how those aspects correlate with the New Belgrade Blocks. The second line is related to the discussion on collaborative governance, recognising the need for diversification of the institutional landscape (Section 4.2.2). The third line is related to the values framework, that is questioning fundamentals with the aim to offer a holistic and cross-disciplinary approach as a basis for any further recommendations (Section 4.2.3).

4.2.1 Urban Commons: Common Space, Commoning and Community of Commoners

Understanding the commons leads to awareness of the need for participation and collective action in order to protect and sustain our valuable shared resources. (Hess, 2008, 40)

The discussions on urban commons, common interest, and processes of *commoning* are increasingly present in the urban discourse and in different studies on integrated, just, and inclusive urban planning and urban development, especially in relation to housing questions. Elinor Ostrom, economist and Nobel Prize winner, had a major contribution to development of the (urban) commons' narrative. Ostrom (1990) addressed the issue from the economics perspective, and showed how the natural resources (e.g., forests) are highly effectively managed by "commons-like organisations", that, as Bingham-Hall (2016) notes, "allow a self-managed community of users equal access, without private ownership or state control". (Bingham-Hall, 2016) Harvey (2012) offers a comprehensive understanding of the nature of commons and common spaces in particular, correlating it with *the right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1967; Lefebvre 1996) discussion. As he argues, the recent revival of emphasis upon the supposed loss of urban commonalities reflects the seemingly profound impacts of the recent wave of privatizations and control of urban life in general (Harvey, 2012, 66). The right to the city paradigm has been brought into the New Urban Agenda (2016; 2020) and Habitat III Policy Paper 1: "the right to the city considers cities themselves as commons" (UN-Habitat III, 2017a, 24).

Urban commons consist of three key aspects: 1) the common and shared resource, 2) the *commoning* institutions and rules that regulate care, management, and use of the resource, and 3) the community of commoners (Dellenbaugh et al., 2015; De Angelis, 2017; Petrescu et al., 2020; Kip and Oevermann, 2022). Hess (2008) classifies the commons (common resources) across different sectors: cultural, knowledge, market, global, traditional, infrastructure, neighbourhood, medical and health commons. Referring to Hess's classification, Feinberg et al. (2021) define several common resources as part of the neighbourhood commons category: homeless habitat, housing, community gardens, parks and greenery, security, sidewalks, streets and silence/noise. Most commons (also defined as "new commons") from Hess's typology have been present in the urban commons discourse, and diverse fields address them from different perspectives. The spatial dimension of the urban commons has been most elaborately examined by architect and activist Stavros Stavrides (2014; 2015), exploring common spaces as threshold spaces and institutions of expanding *commoning*. Nevertheless, detailed studies on the spatiality of the common resources within the urban residential neighbourhoods, and in particular mass housing, are scarce – as previously underlined in the Section 3.3. Thus, the Section 3.3 contributed to a better understanding of the spatial aspects and potentials of already existing commons in residential neighbourhoods, offering approaches for exploring the spatiality of urban commons.

The spatiality has constitutive and performative role in the *commoning* practices. As Feinberg et al. (2021) argue, space is a key resource for *commoning* in the city. Accordingly, common spaces are *primary tangible commons* in cities and neighbourhoods, which is especially relevant in case of modernist post-war mass housing neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods were planned in a different socio-political context, when the sense of community had an important role, and so the notion of common space was truly significant.

The case of New Belgrade is particularly relevant for the issue, as it is one of the largest modernist post-war mass housing areas, planned and built as socially-owned, transgressing the conventional narratives of private and public. Yugoslav legacy of housing communities, self-management and social ownership of housing (see Chapter 2) correlates with the second and the third key aspects of the urban commons as defined by Kip and Oevermann (2022): the *commoning* institutions and rules that regulate care, management, and use of the resource, and the community of commoners. Accordingly, common and shared spaces within New Belgrade housing blocks (see Section 3.3) correlate with the first key aspect of the urban commons: the common and shared resource.

According to Vass et al. (2022), key to the urban commons discourse is the Lefebvrian conceptualization of "the urban" as not a predominantly territorial condition, but a multi-scalar and mediated form of social organization characterized by a series of contradictions between openness and enclosure (Kip, 2015, 44). New forms of doing and using (of urban space), as well as new aesthetics and forms of civic engagement are emerging, contributing to the *commoning* practices and processes development.

> *Commoning is the act of sharing and managing resources – cultural and natural – with minimal reliance on the market or state, and where each stakeholder has an equal interest. User-managed governance of the environments we inhibit – from land ownership, to buildings, to domestic spaces – enables residents to be key agents in how resources are distributed, valued, and maintained.* (Bhatia, 2019, 95)

Bhatia (2019) here highlights the participatory nature of the *commoning*, but also underlines that the reliance on the market or state should be minimal. In line with this, the *commoning* practices are seen as a form of "differentiated publicness" that challenges existing socio-spatial frameworks (Sohn et al., 2015; Vass et al., 2022) and gives an alternative to the private-public dichotomy (Hess, 2008). Nevertheless, according to Huron (2018) and Vass et al. (2022), it should exist not in opposition to, but be supported by the state.

4.2.2 Collaborative Governance: Diversifying the Institutional Landscape

As indicated in the Habitat III Policy Paper 1, privatisation of public space "undermines its social, political, and economic value as a core asset in cities". (UN-Habitat III, 2017a, 29) According to De Moor (Green European Journal, 2016) the increasing privatisation and commercialisation of public space, but also public institutions and public goods provisions is the driver for commons re-emergence. However, as De Moor argues: "Just like privatisation, the public system is not perfect. Nor are the commons an 'ultimate' solution to the deficiencies of market and state." Nevertheless, "we need to open our minds to other forms of governance regimes which might be more suitable than what the market or the state can deliver." Therefore, De Moor (2016) argues that "a diversity of governance regimes, including commons model", is needed, "but without completely dismantling the state or excommunicating the market".

Erik Olin Wright (2010) defines three transformation strategies: 1) “interstitial strategies” – existing alternative institutions such as cooperatives or community-based organisations (autonomous grassroots action), 2) “symbiotic strategies” – forms of cooperation between different social forces and representatives of the political system (interventions into state institutions), and 3) “ruptural strategies” – revolutionary confrontation. While the third strategy is rare in those debates, the “interstitial” and “symbiotic” are “regularly juxtaposed”, as noted by Pinto (2022). Schmelzer et al. (2022) suggest a balance between policy-oriented top-down proposals and “bottom-up, small-scale alternatives and self-organised projects that function without or even against the state”. (Schmelzer et al., 2022, cited in Pinto, 2022) Therefore, they maintain a possibility for, or even suggest, small-scale ruptures – such as appropriation of public space or (temporary) displacement of local authorities (Chertkovskaya, 2020). Herbert et al. (2021) argue that reconsideration of rupture is needed as the ecological breakdown escalates and intensifies temporal pressure for transformation.

Clarke (Horvat, 2016) raises an important issue of power and decision-making, arguing however that the idea of “seizing power” (concentrated in one place) is “almost funny”, and suggests a rather evolutionary approach (distribution instead of concentration). The important thing about the commons is the idea of reconfiguration of power distribution. Therefore, it remains essential to claim decision rights and “move towards participatory and more inclusive governance regimes” (Dolenec in Horvat, 2016)

Collective practices and solutions in cities may take much effort, thus a system with a more diverse institutional landscape is needed, a system “where the choice to set up a cooperative or a commons initiative is a conscious choice among various options. A choice that is supported by governments, and not simply ’allowed’ because budget-wise, these days it is a smart solution for governments in the midst of austerity.” (De Moor in Green European Journal, 2016) Invention of new decision-making models and structures with stronger involvement of commons initiatives and forms of public-commons partnerships is needed.

Foster and Iaione (2016) propose a “quintuple helix” model for urban collaborative governance which includes: (1) businesses or similar entrepreneurial forces; (2) knowledge institutions such as universities; (3) government; (4) official civic organizations (NGOs); and (5) citizen-commoners themselves.

Similar to the “quintuple helix” model, Bauwens et al. (2022) explore polycentric governance, combining public, social-civic, and economic institutions and organizations, as well as non-profit, not-for profit, and even for-profit models (networks of freelancers, small and big companies, or entities from the ethical,

impact, cooperative and solidarity economy). In this model, the city is defined as "partner city", acting as a meta-regulator of the system. The study introduces "public-commons cooperation protocols", originating in the city of Bologna. The Bologna Regulation for the Care and Regeneration of the Urban Commons is based on a specific model emulated in more than 250 other Italian cities and mobilizing around one million citizens to take care of their urban commons. Many of these cities initiate a "Commons City Lab", an institution "where citizen-commoners can seek validation and legitimation for their project. This is then formalized through a 'Commons Accord', a mutual agreement between the citizen group and the city, which specifies mutual duties of support." (Bauwens et al., 2022)

Therefore, when it comes to the spatialisation of the commons and inclusive governance models, Bauwens (Horvat, 2016) notes that the city level is where the commons are most embedded at the moment, referring to experiences of Barcelona, Seoul, Frome and Grenoble, next to the "Co-Bologna" experiment in Italy (and other Italian cities). Those, as he explains, "represent a poly-centric governance model where policy-making is actually done at the grassroots level. It empowers citizens' groups to make policy proposals. (...) Policy-making is opened up to citizen collectives, while the city becomes an enabling mechanism to realise these projects. Cities cooperate in new ways through a new translocal urban level that didn't exist before." (Bauwens in Horvat, 2016)

The civil sector is in the focus of the discussions on new governance regimes. The notions of "civic-centric state", "facilitating state", "enabling state" and "empowering state" are emerging. The need for democratisation of the public sector and negotiation between institutions and informal self-organisations is understood as a "conquest of a new value regime and the social forces that represent it". (Bauwens in Horvat, 2016) According to Tommaso Fattori, an Italian commons activist, the transformation of the public institutions can be achieved by introducing elements of self-governance and self-management of resources and services of common interest by the users – in various stages of orientation, planning, programming, management, supply and monitoring. The *commonification* of public services as a form of radical transformation of public bodies is closely linked with "experimenting new forms of participatory and deliberative democracy". It introduces "new moments of direct democracy for the management of shared resources alongside moments and forms of traditional representative democracy". (Fattori, 2013) Building upon this, Bauwens et al. (2022) introduce the concept of "contributive democracy", meaning that "the citizens that already contribute to vital tasks in active ways, must have their voice heard in active ways", and this can be done, for example "by including such engaged and contributive citizens, into the transition councils that determine policy in the context of ecological transformation". According to Bauwens et al. (2022), urban commons are "neither pure representative democracies, nor participatory

democracies, as these modes are not sufficient to carry forward the transformational dynamics of polycentric governance and multi-actor commoning." The "contributive democracy" as the third model (next to the "direct democracy" and "representative democracy") is analogue to the "associational democracy", formulated by Wright (2010) as the third model. According to Wright (2010), in associational democracy various kinds of collective organizations are directly engaged in various aspects of political decision making and governance. Wright (2010) recognizes the participatory budget in the city of Porto Alegre in Brazil as a move towards direct democratic institutions. One of the characteristics of institutional innovations like the participatory budget is that they are deeply connected to formal institutions of state governance and involve significant transformation of those institutions (Wright, 2010). Bauwens et al. (2022) recognize the food transition council in Ghent "Ghent en Garde" and communitarian management framework in Barcelona "Patrimoni Ciutada" as best examples of "contributive democracy" in cities.

"Patrimoni Ciutada" is based on a logic that *public assets* (municipal property) can become *communal* (citizen patrimony) through new forms of shared management and interaction. (Ajuntament de Barcelona, n.d.) The programme enables citizens and neighbours to use and manage land (mostly vacant) and buildings (mostly dis-used). Since 2011 Barcelona created new urban institutions "to support the development of commons-oriented economy": "BarCola29" – a knowledge coalition of experts with a focus on the commons, "Procomuns" – new communication platform, "Decidim.barcelona" – in-depth forms of citizen participation. Moreover, the city created an open-source Municipal Action Plan related to the local commons-based collaborative economy, supporting it with an investment plan – "Impetus Plan30". Using the urban commons and the logic of "contributive democracy", Barcelona has generated significant innovations and achievements. A similar framework was voted on in Lisbon in order to promote neighbourhood preservation and improvement, which benefits 77 Priority Intervention Neighbourhoods and Zones. These and other notable examples are collated in the European policy brief prepared by Generative European Commons Living Lab in 2020. (Bauwens et al., 2022)

The case of Barcelona as well as Naples is investigated by Bianchi (2022) in the study on *commonification* of the *public* under "new municipalism", exploring the "commons-state institutions" (based on the approach of Laval and Dardot, 2015). The paradigm of the commons had the decisive role in the transformation of local state institutions in the cases of Naples and Barcelona, denoted as "new municipalist contexts". Bianchi (2022) argues that the "commons-state institutions" are "negotiated institutional configurations that emerge from the synthesis of the situated and experimental interpretation of the paradigm of the common shared

by (different segments of) state and civil society actors". These hybrid institutions (*commonified* form) are based on cooperation, qualitative evaluation, societal outputs and a participatory-based geometry of power with transparent decision-making. The municipal government is seen as a strategic "entry point" for developing emancipatory politics (Russell, 2019; Bianchi, 2022). Thus, while Bauwens et al. (2022) focus on the city scale, Bianchi (2022) focuses on the municipal scale. In both cases, "facilitative common-good institutions", in a 'partner state' (partner city or partner municipality) configuration, provide capacity for citizens' participation in the creation of common values (Bauwens et al., 2022).

4.2.3 Value Frameworks: Heritage, Architecture and Urban Planning Discourses

The ongoing "emancipatory struggle" against the continuous enclosure and commodification of our tangible and intangible assets is a struggle for a "new value regime", as formulated by Bauwens et al. (2022), or "new value practice" of *commoning*, as formulated by Moebus (2022). The focus of those discussions is primarily economic, social and political one, however the range of values that urban commons could address (and are addressing) is much broader.

Different value frameworks have been present in different architecture-related disciplines, depending on a discipline's aims, goals and methods, but also providing different definitions of "value". Moreover, those frameworks evolve over time, as presented in an overview of published value typologies by Fredheim and Khalaf (2016). Another aspect that makes the formulation of a universally applicable value typology impossible, is a set of contextual specificities. Therefore, a critical review of established value typologies across disciplines and their adaptation to fit the thematic and contextual framework of this research is necessary.

In architectural research and practice (design-oriented), the focus is mainly on characteristics and attributes of buildings and built environment (conventionally related to Vitruvian *firmitas*, *utilitas* and *venustas*) rarely linking them with values and meanings in a broader and holistic sense. The approach is in many cases technocratic, focusing mainly on the tangible attributes and aesthetical-technological values, excluding (or quasi-addressing) socio-political, ecological

and other values. In the field of architectural programming[9], Hershberger (1999) explored the relationship between values and architecture. In that sense, values are understood as beliefs, philosophies and ideologies that are reasons for design. As Hershberger (1999) argues, there is no definite set of values applicable to all architectural issues, but only value areas applicable to specific projects and cases. Therefore, only specific and context-based values can act as a framework for generating architectural program. According to Hershberger (1999), there are eight important value areas: human, environmental, cultural, technological, temporal, economic, aesthetic and safety. Within each value area several indicators are defined (see Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1 Values in Architectural Programming, according to Hershberger (1999).

Values	Indicators
HUMAN	functional, social, physical, physiological, psychological
ENVIRONMENTAL	site, climate, context, resources, waste
CULTURAL	historical, institutional, political, legal
TECHNOLOGICAL	materials, systems, processes
TEMPORAL	growth, change, permanence
ECONOMIC	finance, construction, operations, maintenance, energy
AESTHETIC	form, space, color, meaning
SAFETY	structural, fire, chemical, personal, criminal

Similar to architectural programming and design, value frameworks in the urban planning discourse are focusing on typo-morphology, use and qualities of urban space, but also increasingly on social relations and core values (beliefs and ideologies) of a society (or challenges it is facing). Growing inequality, socio-spatial fragmentation and lack of access to public goods are threats to the sustainability of our cities, as recognised by Rocco (2021). Accordingly, equality (or equity), justice (social, spatial, economic or other) and accessibility can be understood as indicators of *good* in the urban planning discourse.

Djordjevic (2020) conducted a systematic literature review, exploring values-based decision-making in urban planning, making a direct link with theories about *good* and the question of ethics in planning (Djordjevic, 2020, 69). Friedmann's (2000)

9 "Architectural Programming is the first stage of the architectural design process in which the relevant values of the client, user, architect, and society are identified; important project goals are articulated; facts about the project are uncovered; and facility needs are made explicit." (Hershberger, 1999)

concept of *a good city* is defined by four pillars: adequate housing, accessible health care, reasonable jobs and availability of social services. Amin (2006) sees solidarity as the main value of cities. Talen and Ellis (2002) focus on *a good form of a city*, having excellence, quality and beauty of the built environment as the main set of values. The main aspects of the values-based decision-making in planning, extracted from Djordjevic's (2020) systematic literature review and critical reading of the texts, are related to: power, public interest, justice, dialogue, politics and morphological dimension.

In the *Manifesto for the Just City*, upholding the principles and guidelines contained in the New Urban Agenda (2016), Rocco et al. (2021) profile justice, fairness, inclusiveness, sustainability, liveability, greenness, diversity, affordability and resilience as the core aspects. Rizk (2021) identifies the following values: integration, equality, access, community, spontaneity, safety and hope. Anderson et al. (2021) identifying five points of action: (1) affordable and fair housing options, (2) actively supported local entrepreneurship, (3) equity, (4) inclusive, diverse and solidary city, (5) more active role to the communities in management and preservation of public spaces. Goh Jian Hao et al. (2021) argue that cities should move away from economic growth and focus on "community-centric development", committing to just and fair inclusion of all. They also discuss the question of interest, the issue of institutional sectionalism and horizontal relational powers. Solidarity, accessibility, participatory decision-making, public trust, as well as environmental and climate issues are highlighted in this study. Sloane et al. (2021) additionally address safety, health and biodiversity. There are studies, e.g., the one of Beauregard (2012) that are critically reflecting presence and absence of the spatial dimension in planning (similar to the previously mentioned Talen and Ellis, 2002). Soja (2010) investigates spatiality of the justice, arguing that "justice has a geography", and being one of the first proponents of the idea of spatial justice. (Rocco et al., 2021) The already introduced and discussed *right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1967; Lefebvre 1996) is increasingly present in critical studies of values-based urban planning. The paradigm has been brought into the New Urban Agenda (2016; 2020) and Habitat III Policy Paper 1, and defined as: "the right of all inhabitants, present and future, to occupy, use and produce just, inclusive and sustainable cities, defined as a common good essential to the quality of life." (UN-Habitat III, 2017a, 26) Robertson et al. (2021) argue: "The Right to the City is more than just improving neighbourhoods, housing, and public space, it is the effective assertion of democratic values in urban space." An overview of the main values and aspects extracted from the previous studies is presented in the Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2 An overview of value typologies identified in the urban planning discourse.

Values	Indicators
SOCIAL	inclusiveness, diversity, community, hope, health, safety
ECONOMIC	equality/equity, solidarity, affordability, fairness
POLITICAL	justice, power, public interest, dialogue, public trust, ethics
ENVIRONMENTAL	climate, greenness, resilience, biodiversity
SPATIAL	excellence, quality, beauty, morphology (good form)
FUNCTIONAL	accessibility, liveability, use, facilities

Values-based approaches to heritage conservation, formalised in Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia, 1979/2013), have gained importance over the last several decades (Avrami et al., 2019a). Nevertheless, "values-based heritage management is still inconsistently applied, and its processes and outcomes are still largely under-studied in many places" (Avrami et al., 2019a).

Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, 466) define a values-based approach as "one that seeks to identify, sustain and enhance significance, where significance is understood as the overall value of heritage, or the sum of its constituent 'heritage values'". ICOMOS Australia Burra Charter (1979/2013) defines cultural significance as aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Pereira Roders (2007) defines eight value areas (defined as primary values): social, economic, political, historic, aesthetical, scientific, age and ecological. Within each value area, several secondary values and a list of references are defined. (see Table 4.3)

TABLE 4.3 The cultural values, according to Pereira Roders (2007); Tarrafa Silva and Pereira Roders (2012), and based on ICOMOS Australia (1999); Manson (2002); English Heritage (2008).

Values	References
SOCIAL (spiritual, emotional, allegorical)	beliefs, myths, religions, legends, stories; memory, experiences, cultural identity, motivation, pride, place attachment, communal value; object/ places representative of some hierarchy/status;
ECONOMIC (use, non-use, entertainment, allegorical)	function, utility; expired function with value on the past; role in tourism industry; oriented to publicizing financially property;
POLITICAL (educational, management, entertainment, symbolic)	educational role, political targets; part of strategies/policies; part of strategies for cultural awareness; emblematic, power, authority;
HISTORIC (educational, historic-artistic, historic-conceptual, symbolic, archaeological)	knowledge about past; part of a few or unique testimonial of historic stylistic or artistic movements, or of concepts (architectural, urban planning, etc.) that are part of history; related to important events in past or ancient civilizations;

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TABLE 4.3 The cultural values, according to Pereira Roders (2007); Tarrafa Silva and Pereira Roders (2012), and based on ICOMOS Australia (1999); Manson (2002); English Heritage (2008).

Values	References
AESTHETICAL (artistic, notable, conceptual, evidential)	original product of creativity / imagination; product of a creator; integral materialization of conceptual intentions; authentic example of a decade, part of the History of art or architecture;
SCIENTIFIC (workmanship, technological, conceptual)	original result of human labour, craftmanship; skilfulness on techniques and materials, outstanding quality of work; integral materialization of conceptual intentions;
AGE (workmanship, maturity, existential)	craftmanship value oriented towards the production period; memory, lives of past generations; marks of the time passage (patine) on the forms, components and materials;
ECOLOGICAL (spiritual, essential, existential)	harmony between the building and its environment (natural and artificial); identification of ecological ideologies on its design and construction; manufacture resources that can be reused;

The values framework of Pereira Roders (Pereira Roders, 2007; Tarrafa Silva and Pereira Roders, 2012) is a comprehensive overview of "cultural values", focusing on specification of each value area, explanation of their notions and meanings. As previously mentioned, value frameworks continuously evolve within the discipline with the aim of "capturing the complexity of holistic interpretations of heritage" (cf. ICOM, 2002; ICONOMOS, 2007, §3.4, 3.5; as cited in Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016, 469). ICOMOS New Zealand (2010) introduces functional, architectural and landscape values, bringing the spatial dimension into the framework, which was scarce. UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011), although not providing a new typology of values, introduces the concepts and relations that are defining disciplinary needs, such as consideration of broader urban context, including "the site's topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructure above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity." (UNESCO, 2011, 3) Moreover, it urges involvement of variety of stakeholders, as well as better integration of the urban heritage conservation with the "larger goals of overall sustainable development". (UNESCO, 2011, 2)

The value frameworks in the heritage conservation field focus on the qualities *embedded* in an asset, understood as the *reasons for conservation*, with the main aim to maintain and enhance those (existing – historic and contemporary) values. Nevertheless, as recognised in the detailed analysis of different value

frameworks within the heritage conservation by Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, 470), urban environment is continuously changing and value typologies must reflect and respond to this. The factor of change increases complexity of the (un)built environment and urban heritage (and assets of different scales within it), and thus urges a value framework that is, besides the *reasons for conservation*, integrating values as *reasons for design* and *reasons for planning*. It urges a value framework that is including a set of *potential* added values and features that can be planned and designed, a value framework that would be in line with the emerging fields of integrated conservation, integrated urban planning and integrated design. This will be further explored and presented in Section 4.4 for the specific case of New Belgrade Blocks – considering thematic, contextual and asset-related specificities (New Belgrade and common spaces related) as important parameters in selection and profiling the value typologies.

4.3 Consultation Infrastructure: Collaborative Governance of New Belgrade Blocks

With a reference to the contemporary urban practices, policies and theoretical framework previously explored (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2), and focusing on New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces, this section investigates possibilities of collaborative urban governance in mass housing revitalization. The study involves residents, non-governmental organisations, public authorities, city institutions and academia in the research process. It discusses challenges in urban planning and governance, as well as implementation potentials of participatory and integrated models, community-based practices and processes in relation to the existing national and international policies and planning frameworks, as well as the context-related specific ownership situation and maintenance regulations.

4.3.1 Methodology and Process of Research

The study on possibilities of collaborative urban governance in revitalization of New Belgrade Blocks was conducted through a stakeholder workshop[10] format as a multi-level and multi-stakeholder communication tool, involving 10 participants from different stakeholder and expert groups (see Table 4.4).

The workshop focused on the potentials of institutions and individuals for co-creating effective urban governance structures, promoting cooperation among different levels of governmental and non-governmental structures across sectors. It advocated a people-centred approach, developing a consultancy mechanism and framework for mutual learning (UNESCO, 2011; New Urban Agenda, 2016).

Prior to the workshop, the process of research included several preparatory steps: (1) participants' recruitment, (2) preparation of the thematic framework and structure of the workshop, (3) a set of individual short meetings/talks with each participant, (4) refining the structure, topics and sub-questions for the joint discussion; (5) moderated joint discussion – the experts-talk as an open session (Figure 4.2). The data collection conducted within this process was followed by the data analysis and representation of results applying the narrative and thematic content analysis methods (Nowell et al., 2017).



FIG. 4.2 Process of research prior to the workshop: preparatory steps. Stakeholder workshop "On the Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks". Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, May 2021.

Similar to the "quintuple helix" model for urban collaborative governance (Foster and Iaione, 2016) and "polycentric governance" model (Bauwens et al., 2022), the identification and recruitment of the workshop participants included representatives

10 The stakeholder workshop "On the Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks" was organised and coordinated by the researcher and realised during a Short-Term Scientific Mission (STSM) at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture in May 2021. The STSM was supported by the COST Action Middle Class Mass Housing (MCMH). The organisation of the workshop was supported by the academic staff from the host institution: Prof. Dr. Ana Nikezic, supervisor and Aleksandra Milovanovic, event coordinator.

TOC

of different "expert"-groups (multi-role possible): heritage experts, policy makers, environmental experts, public institutions representatives, knowledge institutions representatives (academia), urban planners, designers, activists, citizens associations and residents themselves as the experts of their living environment. In total, there were 10 workshop participants.

TABLE 4.4 Participants list. Stakeholder workshop "On the Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks", Belgrade, May 2021.

Workshop Participant	Role, expert-field, affiliation
Participant 1	urban planner (Town Planning Institute of the city of Belgrade)
Participant 2	resident and facility manager (Block 23) / architect
Participant 3	associate professor (UB – FA) - expert for open public and common spaces
Participant 4	associate professor (UB – FA) - expert for co-creation
Participant 5	PhD Candidate / teaching assistant (UB – FA) - place making / NBG resident
Participant 6	architect conservator (Heritage Institute of the city of Belgrade)
Participant 7	assistant professor (UB – FA) / national expert for policy making (former associate in the Ministry of Construction, Republic of Serbia)
Participant 8	head of the sector for strategic planning, project management and climate change (Secretariat for Environmental Protection, City of Belgrade)
Participant 9	resident (Block 70a) / NGO - Citizens Association ZA (*Common Action - blocks 70 and 70a*)
Participant 10	moderator, PhD Candidate / research associate (TU Delft / TH OWL)

During the individual preparatory talks, the participants were introduced to the research topic and aims and had the opportunity to ask questions, which was an important part of the participants' recruitment process. In addition to that, the individual talks sometimes evolved into discussions, providing relevant information, and therefore representing a very important step in the research process as well.

In the preparatory talks it became clear that each participant had specific understanding of the issues related to the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks, as well as different kinds of spatial and urban heritage knowledge (expert, sectoral, community, lay, and tacit knowledge). (Pfeffer et al., 2013; Petrescu et al., 2022) While expert and sectoral knowledge are prevalent in urban planning and heritage, tacit knowledge (grounded within practice), lay and community knowledge (context-embedded, community-based) often remain fragmented and disregarded in the planning processes (de Sousa Santos, 2004; Petrescu et al., 2022). Nevertheless, those types of knowledge, context-embedded and community-based, represent specific types of *expertise*, which is crucial for integrated planning. Therefore, the

study engaged a research methodology that explored plurality of spatial knowledge and enabled multi-stakeholders process of exchange, co-producing shared knowledge, including both common and divergent, or conflicting, views. (Petrescu et al., 2022)

The stakeholder workshop, was moderated and semi-structured around five main "discussion stimuli" formulated as topics, quotes, photos or open questions (see Figure 4.3), addressing:

- **Theme 1**
  Housing policy and urban practices in relation to New Belgrade Blocks revitalisation;
- **Theme 2**
  The role of the common spaces and local community in the revitalisation of New Belgrade Blocks;
- **Theme 3**
  The revitalisation process and the role of different stakeholders;
- **Theme 4**
  The importance and role of participatory methods in urban planning and realisation;
- **Theme 5**
  Comparative analysis (synthesis) of rights, responsibilities and roles of residents and other stakeholders;

The participants were asked about their perception, opinions and views regarding the same topics. Through a group interaction a clarification of opinions was achieved. The session was audio-recorded and documentation supported by an event coordinator and a supervisor from the host institution. The participants were informed about the structure of the talk during the individual talks and agreed upon confidentiality beforehand.

The open session with all participants was very active, interactive and productive. It enabled exchange of opinions and open discussion about the open questions from different perspectives – of residents, non-governmental organisations, public authorities, city institutions and academia.

After the workshop, a data analysis process followed, including (1) transcript preparation (full recordings), translation from Serbian to English language and review; (2) narrative analysis – highlighting important aspects and critical points, statements and views; and (3) thematic content analysis – identifying connections in the data set to the previously defined themes and establishing new relations; (4) synthesis. (Figure 4.4)

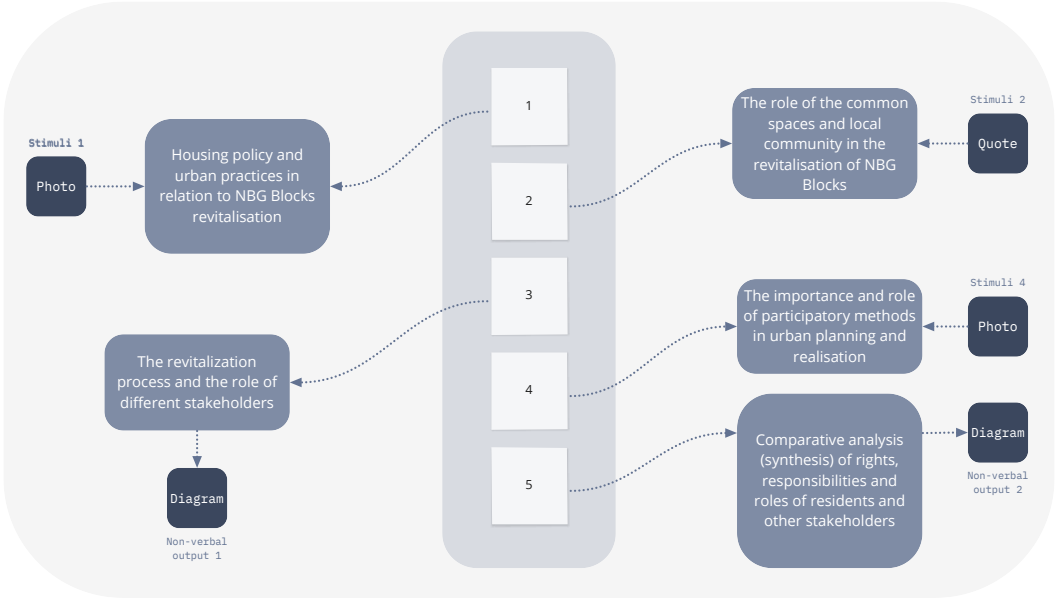


FIG. 4.3 Structure of the talk. Stakeholder workshop "On the Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks". Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, May 2021.



FIG. 4.4 Process of data analysis. Stakeholder workshop "On the Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks". Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, June 2021.

4.3.2 Results: Narrative analysis, Thematic Content Analysis and Synthesis

The preliminary review of the prepared full transcript of the stakeholder workshop revealed a significant number of statements and views, as well as interactions between the participants, that needed to be processed within the narrative analysis and the thematic content analysis. Contextual information, such as details about the participants and their field of expertise (Table 4.4), had an important role in acknowledging preconceived notions in the data set.

The narrative analysis of the data set, highlighting and colour-coding critical points, statements and views, provided an overview of the variety of opinions of the participants. The results of this level of analysis are structured around participants, presenting those individual narratives with key statements, which was done for each participant. (see Appendix)

The statements of each participant, although dispersed throughout the transcript, once grouped together, represent relatively coherent individual narratives of each participant. This can be explained by specific opinions and views of each participant on the general topic, but also specific scope of expertise. Nevertheless, interactions, responses and contra-argumentation of the others, were not incorporated into the individual narratives. Therefore, a thematic content analysis is engaged as another method, analysing the same data set, but now from another perspective, searching for common patterns and diverging opinions.

The thematic content analysis followed the previously defined five themes (see Section 4.3.1) and was focusing on identifying and highlighting common and diverging views of the participants within those themes, but also linking across and beyond them.

Theme 1
Housing policy and urban practices in relation to New Belgrade Blocks revitalisation

Within Theme 1, the participants identified several issues related to governance of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks. One of the core issues recognised by most participants is the current parcellation of the blocks and the ownership model, where only the land under the buildings belongs to the residents, and the inner-block area is a huge single parcel in the state ownership, without further sub-structure which would determine legal framework for governance of different functional parts. Nevertheless, as underlined by most participants, the abolition of the specific ownership model (societal ownership), cannot be replaced in a simple way. Participant 1 argues that, according to the Law on Housing and Building Maintenance, in order to have the residents formally take care of the open common spaces within the blocks, the big parcel would need to change the ownership status. Other participants, for example Participant 7, disagree and argue that this can be regulated through use agreements. Moreover, Participant 3 pointed that even in those in-between conditions, where we are not clear about the jurisdictions, there are mechanisms of support and they should be reinforced and diversified until we have a complete transformation and clearance. Most participants agree

that communication and collaboration between the sectors, in particular public and civil sectors, but also within the sectors, is needed. However, they identified only policies regulating collaboration between the public institutions, for example identifying that collaboration of heritage and planning authorities is regulated by the Cultural Heritage Law. Participant 6 notes that the same law defines rights and responsibilities of the owners of cultural goods related to maintenance, but also a possibility for taking over the 'guardianship' over a cultural good by a municipality or the state in case of complex issues. From the perspective of the city green infrastructure, Participant 8 identifies the Law on Environmental Protection and the Law on Communal Agencies as key for public green areas, and the Law on Housing and Maintenance of Buildings for other green areas. In case of the public green areas, which is relevant for the case of New Belgrade, the laws recognise those areas as *a communal agency*, nevertheless, does not define further guidelines and thus local municipalities organise governance and maintenance in different ways. Participant 7 argues that a law needs to specify responsibilities of different public institution and clarify the governance mechanisms, as it is not possible that the civil sector, non-governmental, completely takes over as it doesn't have capacities or finances to solve the issues on its own. Participant 1 frames, and Participant 4 agrees, that an urban plan is needed, which would decompose the extensive open area and specify governance mechanisms and roles. Participant 2 addresses the issue of implementation of laws, policies and rules, arguing that very often those are not carried out due to the lack of communication.

Theme 2
The role of the common spaces and local community in the revitalisation of New Belgrade Blocks

Addressing theme 2, Participant 3 recognised that the approaches for solving issues differ in the two blocks, Block 23 and Block 70a, as their specificities differ, and the scope of what's perceived as common, when it comes to the green and open space, is completely different. Most of the participants recognise an exceptional value of the open and green spaces. Some argue that the standard in terms of the amount of greenery is very high, such as Participants 1 and 3, while Participant 9 disagrees and points that other program, for example parking areas, is classified under the greenery, so what is indicated as green area is way more than what is real – and when divided by the number of residents, it is not impressive at all. Participant 9 underlines that the stakeholders need to work on preservation of greenery. Participant 1 explains that many needs of the residents, such as parking and recreation in the green open areas, are realized within the open common, or public, areas. The participants identify those common areas as the

primary interest of the local community and primary meant for them, yet accessible to anyone and financed by the city. As recognised by Participant 1, there are no mechanisms for integration and involvement of those citizens and communities, so that they can have rights and responsibilities towards the open space in their blocks. Participant 6 argues that the blocks are “too much to handle” for any local community or any form of their association and a collaboration with public institutions is needed. In line with this, Participant 3 notes that the proactive role of the residents requires a lot of time and commitment.

Theme 3
The revitalisation process and the role of different stakeholders

The models of collaboration of the stakeholders depend on the rights and responsibilities, scales of use and domains of control, interest and power of different stakeholders. Discussing theme 3, most participants recognise emergence of the civil sector as a crucial thing, which may lead to a solution. Citizen associations are important for taking care of the common interest, as the public sector altered. Nevertheless, Participant 7 argues that the citizens associations cannot substitute institutions which have to do their job, while Participant 4 states that the state should delegate part of its jurisdiction to the citizens. Participant 8 recognises responsibility of the Secretariat for communal-housing works, respectively the executor ’Belgrade Greenery’, as the responsible for the public green areas. Participants 6 and 8 see the non-governmental sector and professional associations as very important factors in initiating things and supporting local citizens associations. Moreover, Participant 8 points to the role of public institutions, arguing that collaboration with the city, with the Secretariat for communal-housing works and the Secretariat for environmental protection, and public-communal enterprises, is the best solution in case of New Belgrade. Participant 1 argues that besides the specification of the governance roles, an urban plan which would decompose the parcel is needed. The local community as a governing unit once present in the context of New Belgrade was recognised as a good mechanism which disappeared, being nowadays the one thing that is missing in the governance setting. Participant 8 proposes re-establishment of a local community as a pilot project, which could show that it would be good to return that legacy. That is actually in the domain of interest of the local citizens association in the blocks 70 and 70a, as they aim to formalise control and coordination within their blocks.

Theme 4
The importance and role of participatory methods in urban planning and realisation

It is recognised by most participants, several times throughout the discussion, that there is a lack of mechanisms for integration and participation of citizens and communities. It is noted that their participation needs to be institutionally supported. Furthermore, Participant 3 notes that the collaboration between the many involved stakeholders is very low in practice, while Participant 6 points to a very good collaboration of the heritage institute with the "colleagues from urban planning and colleagues researching Modern architecture", which stays on the level of the (conventional) expert and sectoral knowledge. The participants agree that residents need to be consulted about their needs, related to the spaces of common interest. They identify early public insight and public insight as the only currently existing participatory tools, and agree that the methods need to diversify. Participant 9 especially emphasises this issue, proposing development of parallel mechanisms, where citizens associations would have more power than to submit an objection to an urban plan in a public insight process. Participant 9 expresses an interest of the associations to be involved in the planning process from the beginning, to mitigate confrontation, and be "on the same side" with the institutions. Participant 4 argues that collaboration of stakeholders should be legally defined.

Theme 5
Comparative analysis (synthesis) of rights, responsibilities and roles of residents and other stakeholders

Theme 5 was processed and presented as a diagram (Figure 4.5) summarising the results of the thematic content analysis. The synthesis of the previous themes profiled several phases in collaborative urban planning and governance of the common spaces in the blocks (e.g., identification of problems, initiatives, implementation mechanisms, etc.), providing an overview of the tools mentioned by the participants, both existing and potential ones (e.g., survey, preliminary studies, elaborations of technical protection measurements, preparation of plans, public insights, plans approval, implementation in phases, testing, experimenting and piloting, citizens initiatives). The pilot projects as a tool for addressing complex issues on a sample are mentioned several times throughout the discussion. Furthermore, a need for a civil-public partnership is highlighted. As concluded by the Participant 8, a strategic, long-term, thinking is needed, which is related to education, networking and collaboration of organisations; and in parallel to this, small-scale solutions initiated locally are needed and could be used as an argument and a basis for the strategic solutions.

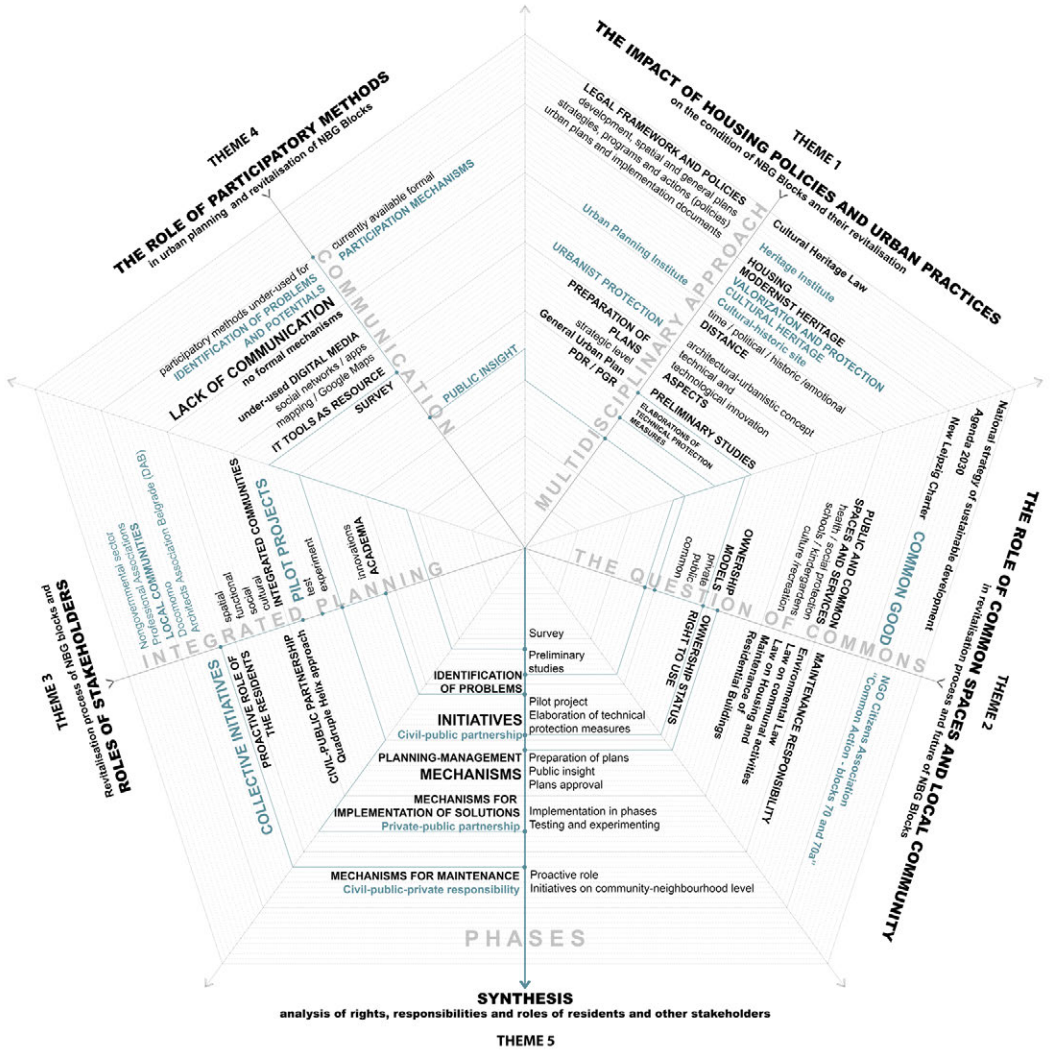


FIG. 4.5 Diagram summarising the results of the thematic content analysis. Stakeholder workshop "On the Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks". Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, June 2021.

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4.3.3 Concluding Remarks

The stakeholder workshop was thought as a co-validation tool, discussing the previously identified challenges in urban planning and governance of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces. Moreover, it addressed the previously identified needs and potential methods and mechanisms for intervention. Each participant had a specific type of spatial knowledge and *expertise*. Based on those findings (see Appendix), several concluding remarks related to validation of currently present issues as well as recommendations can be drawn:

1 A *good* urban governance, including both governmental and non-governmental sector, is required in order to ensure *integrated and just development*. Re-affirmation of the 'common good' as theoretical basis and values-based approach in urban planning and governance of the city is necessary.

2 A multidisciplinary approach, inter-sectoral and inter-institutional communication and collaboration in planning and governance is needed. Participation of all stakeholders, beyond the *conventional expert* and sectoral knowledge, in particular civil sector, should be formally established in the policies and practiced.

3 Community-based organisations and citizens associations (autonomous grassroots action) are emerging, such as *Common Action – Blocks 70 and 70a*, as an alternative, self-organised entity. Nevertheless, citizens associations, autonomous grassroots actions and civil sector in general need to be empowered, supported and integrated in the urban planning and governance. Tools and mechanisms for achieving this are urgent.

4 There is a lack of and a need for "symbiotic strategies" – forms of cooperation between different social forces and representatives of the political system (interventions into the public institutions setting). There is a need for a civil-public partnership. Possible re-establishment of the local community as a governing unit, operating between the citizens and the municipality, should be considered.

5 The strategies should balance between and include both strategic and long-term thinking (e.g., education, networking and collaboration of organisations) and, in parallel to this, small-scale projects and actions, initiated and applied locally. Pilot projects are a possible tool for testing solutions for complex issues on a sample.

6 Collective definition and agreement on the rights and responsibilities, scales of use and domains of control of the common spaces in the blocks, as well as better balance of interest and power of stakeholders is needed. Territorial and spatial

determinants should be part of those agreements, including physical domains or their functional layers, maintaining openness and accessibility and allowing for self-regulating community structures, ensuring socio-spatial justice.

7 Professional, non-governmental associations and academia need stronger integration in the urban planning and governance processes, including rights in decision-making.

The results of the stakeholder workshop provide a consultation infrastructure and a basis for preparing the values-based governance and intervention framework, which would include guidance and tool-box for achieving the previously listed.

4.4 Enhancement of New Belgrade Blocks: Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework

This section collates the findings from the theoretical framework, contextual framework and empirical studies, from this and previous chapters, forming guidelines for values-based interventions in and governance of the common spaces in New Belgrade Blocks, with a focus on the Blocks 23 and 70a. It explores pre-conditions and mechanisms for better governance of *the spaces of common interest*, combining values-based and commons-based approaches.

Section 4.4.1 presents the developed interventions and governance framework and provides an insight into the development process, an overview of its components and relations. Section 4.4.2 provides a detailed insight into the five strategy tracks: (1) Enhancement of community networks; (2) Diversification of institutional landscape; (3) Solidarity- and commons-based economy; (4) Reactivation and domestication of open common spaces; (5) Preservation and enhancement of green infrastructure. The aim of the strategy tracks is three-fold: (1) improving devalued; (2) conserving and reinforcing the sustained; (3) adding values. Thus, each strategy track incorporates a set of potential instruments and tactics (a toolbox) for achieving those, based on larger goals profiled in international agendas and charter, and adjusted to the local set of issues. The Section 4.4.3 provides guidelines for implementation of the developed framework, differentiating between the long-term and short-term actions, and indicating roles and involvement of the stakeholders within each strategy track.

The framework for reuse and governance of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks is offering a model for instrumentalization and potential practical implementation of the core principles and values of *good, integrated and just* planning, design and governance of the urban heritage, in particular mass housing neighbourhoods – towards their integrated rehabilitation. Although based on context-specific argumentation, selections and decisions, the framework is possibly adaptable to another set of issues. Furthermore, its methodology and principles it enhances, such as self-organisation, participation, multi-scale networks, stakeholders' engagement, collaboration, etc., contribute to the democratisation of the urban (heritage) governance processes.

4.4.1 Composing the Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework

The governance and intervention framework incorporates diverse findings and outcomes from the previous research phases presented in this and previous chapters. Those act as a basis for development of the structure and content of the framework.

The study defines the following basic components of the framework, important for the process of crafting the values-based strategies:

- defining primary values (value-areas);
- defining indicators within each value-area;
- condition assessment of the two blocks, focusing on the common spaces;
- defining socio-spatial devaluation aspects (when previous low);
- formulating significance statements related to the common spaces;

- argumentation: identification of the potentials and societal needs;
- formulation of the strategy tracks;
- identification of instruments and tactics (toolbox) within each strategy track;

- identification of the primary scales for intervention (spatial levels);
- identification of the stakeholder-groups;
- analysis of the interest-power balance for each stakeholder-group within each strategy track (scales of use and domains of control).

Building upon the identified and reviewed value frameworks within the architectural programming and design, urban planning and heritage conservation discourses (see Section 4.2.3), a value framework of 9 primary values (primary value-areas) and a set of indicators for each of them is defined – considering two factors in selecting and profiling the value areas and indicators. Firstly, the value framework aims at juxtaposing notions of values as *reasons for conservation*, values as *reasons for design* and *reasons for planning,* thus, including a set of *potential* added values and features that can be planned and designed. Moreover, the thematic, contextual and asset-related specificities (New Belgrade and common spaces related) have been considered as important parameters in profiling the value typologies.

The value framework (see Figure 4.6) includes the following primary values:

1. social (individual and collective);
2. economic;
3. political;
4. historic;
5. aesthetical & physical (artistic, conceptual and evidential);
6. scientific;
7. age (maturity and existential);
8. ecological;
9. functional.

Furthermore, each value area includes several indicators:

1. social cohesion, collectivity, well-being, safety, place attachment, diversity;
2. financial, equality & equity, solidarity, productivity, circularity;
3. public (mutual) trust, social justice, common interest, inclusion, ethics, interest-power;
4. legacy of a period (conceptual, artistic, stylistic, exemplar of a movement, procedural), semantics / meaning, educational role;
5. urban landscape image, morphology, materials & colours, composition, atmosphere;
6. technology, processes, climate, typology, standards;
7. memory, identity, resilience, taking care;
8. natural elements, land occupancy rate, climate, biodiversity;
9. use (utility), land use patterns, facilities & equipment, accessibility, liveability.

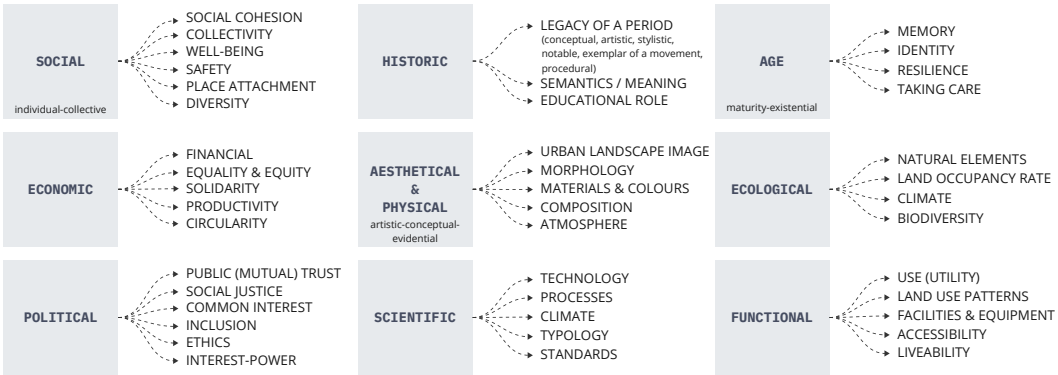


FIG. 4.6 Value framework: an overview of the primary values and set of indicators. © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022, based on the previously identified value frameworks. Sources: Lefebvre, 1967; ICOMOS Australia, 1979; ICOMOS Australia, 1997; Hershberger, 1999; Friedmann, 2000; Talen and Ellis, 2002; Amin, 2006; Pereira Roders, 2007; ICOMOS New Zealand, 2010; Soja, 2010; UNESCO, 2011; Beauregard, 2012; Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016; New Urban Agenda, 2016; UN-Habitat III, 2017a; Penna, 2018; Djordjevic, 2020; Anderson et al., 2021; Goh Jian Hao et al., 2021; Rizik, 2021; Robertson et al., 2021; Rocco et al., 2021; Sloane et al., 2021.

The condition assessment of the two New Belgrade Blocks, focusing on their common spaces, is rating at what level particular parameters from the value framework sustained / are present (see Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8) – rating scale 1 to 5 (low to high). The assessment represents a condensed overview based on the extensive research presented in the chapters 2 and 3, in particular socio-spatial deterioration analysis (Chapter 2) and co-assessment findings (Chapter 3). The condition assessment is followed by definitions of socio-spatial devaluation aspects as well as significance statements, based on conclusions from Section 3.4 on current condition and heritage protection status of the two blocks. An overview of the socio-spatial devaluation aspects per block and defined significance statements per value area are incorporated into the main values-based governance and intervention framework (see Figure 4.9), and a descriptive summary for each value-area follows.

— **Social value-area:** The open common spaces are key to socialization, community interaction and collectivity, as well as well-being of the residents. The open common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks were designed in a way that they have an important role in both territorial and social cohesion of the dwelling community. This role sustained and social cohesion is rated very high in both blocks. The blocks emerged "in the period of domination of collective values and structures in Belgrade" (Petrovic and Milojevic, 2014). Collectivity and place attachment are rated very high currently in Block 70a, while those are in decline in Block 23. Moreover, safety and well-being could be improved and social diversity is still low in Block 23; and for Block 70a, safety could be improved and social diversity is still low.

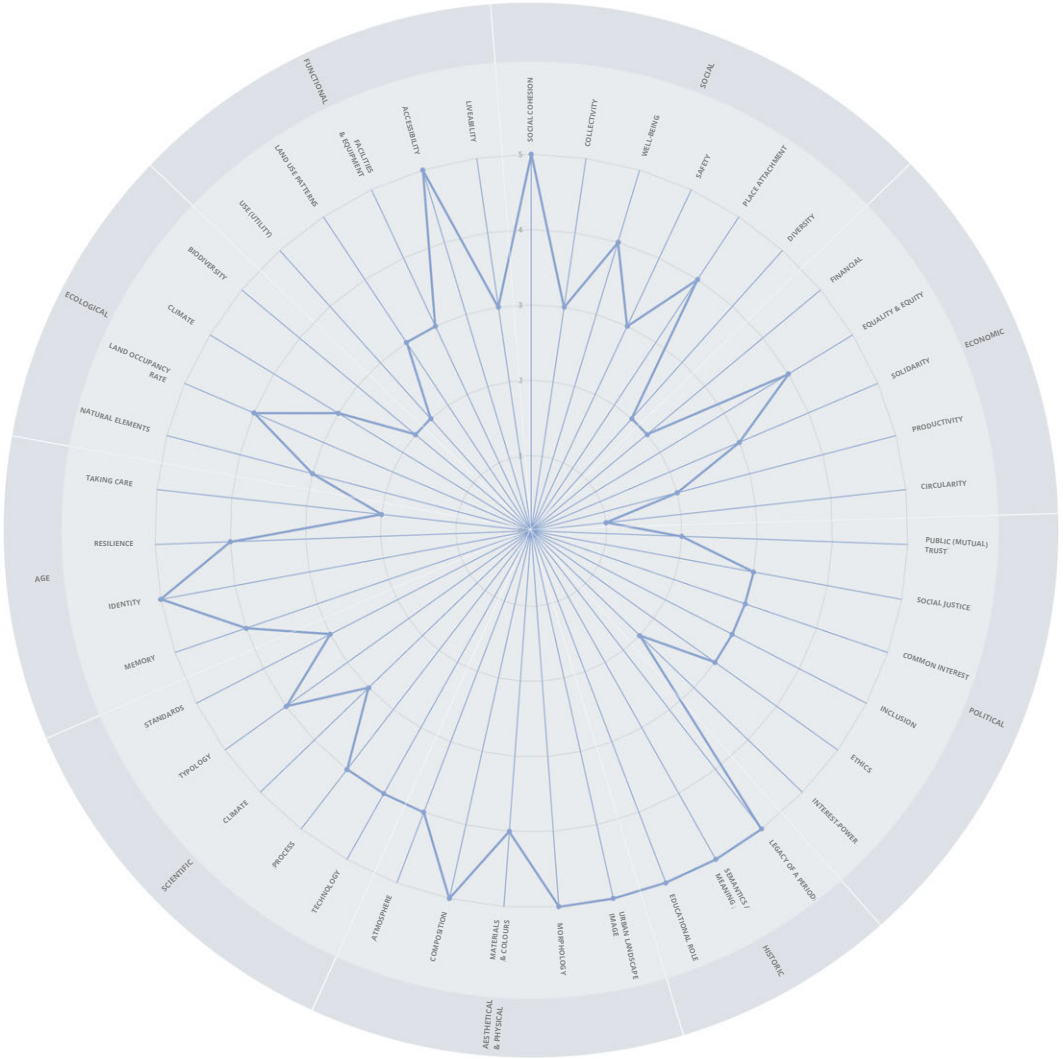


FIG. 4.7 Values and indicators: condition assessment, Block 23. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

— **Economic value-area:** The open common spaces can have a key role in economic shift towards solidarity-based economy and development on the neighbourhood level, promoting fair access and community-led control, and reinforcing socio-spatial equality or equity. Nevertheless, in the current neo-liberal context, equality and equity aspect is endangered. In Block 23, solidarity is in decline, and productivity, circularity and financial (current market) aspects are very low; in Block 70a, solidarity, productivity and circularity could be improved, and financial aspects are very low.

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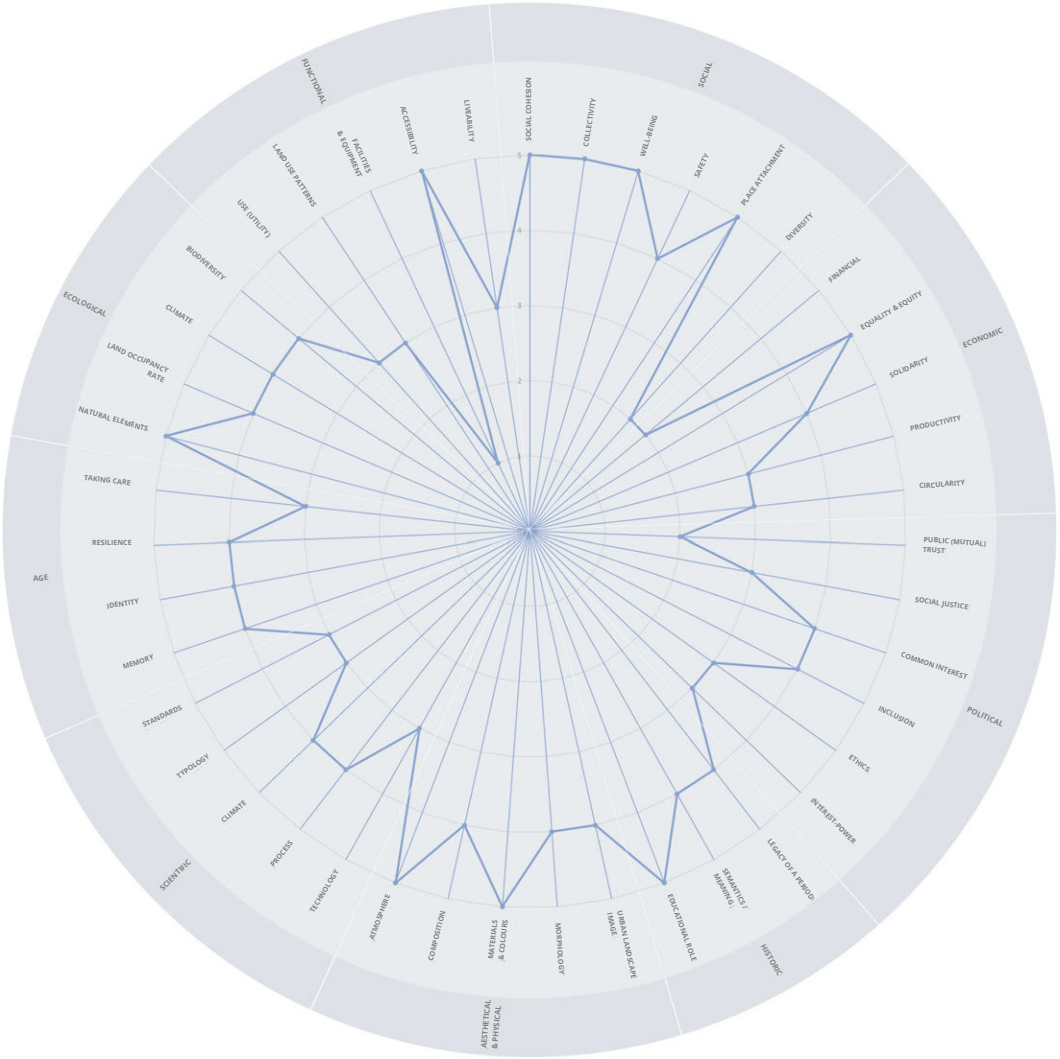


FIG. 4.8 Values and indicators: condition assessment, Block 70a. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

— **Political value-area:** The open common spaces enable spatialisation of the right to the city, allow for bottom-up initiatives, reactive actions and proactive practices, and enable "defence" of the common interest in urban development. They can facilitate bottom-up governance and direct democracy in the city. Nevertheless, the current socio-economic-political setting, endangers these parameters. In particular social justice, common interest, inclusion and ethics are endangered / in decline, while interest-power balance and public trust are in decline / very low. The condition is

slightly better in Block 70a, when it comes to the common interest, inclusion and interest-power balance, as the community is more active and proactive.

— **Historic value-area:** The open common spaces are crucial for preservation of the historic urban landscape (HUL) of New Belgrade. They represent an important legacy of a period: conceptually, artistically, legacy of the Modern Movement and legacy of the socialist planning; have important educational role and meaning. In case of Block 70a, the conceptual aspects are endangered, due to new urban plans and intentions to build on the green areas.

— **Aesthetical & Physical value-area:** The open common spaces are crucial for preservation of the urban morphology and layout of the blocks and contribute to the specific ambient values. Materials and colours, as well as atmosphere/ambience are endangered / in decline in Block 23, due to decay of elements. In case of Block 70a, urban landscape image, morphology and composition are endangered / in decline, due to new urban plans and intentions to build on the green areas.

— **Scientific value-area:** The open common spaces and green areas within them are recognised by the experts as highly valuable for adaptation to the consequences of the climate change in the city. The current condition marks moderate decline in scientific values in the blocks, in particular aspects related to climate and standards. The potentials are under-used and endangered. In case of Block 70a, the typological diversity and technology parameters are slightly lower.

— **Age value-area:** The open common spaces are crucial for preservation of the identity of the blocks. The current condition, deterioration of concrete elements primary in Block 23, and new urban development plans primary in Block 70a, endanger memory, resilience and identity. In both blocks taking care is low, yet it is improving in case of Block 70a.

— **Ecological value-area:** The open common spaces are crucial for environmental and bio-physical quality of the neighbourhoods. They contain a significant proportion of green areas and natural elements, in particular in Block 70a. However, land occupancy rate is endangered, especially in Block 70a, and consequently climate-related aspects and biodiversity as well. In case of Block 23, there is a decline in natural elements and climate-related aspects and biodiversity is low.

— **Functional value-area:** The open common spaces are important for the quality of everyday life (recreation and leisure spaces – in accessible and inclusive way) and the program they can absorb contributes to vitality. Nevertheless, the current condition of Block 23 marks under-utilisation of the common spaces, and no functional diversity in Block 70a. Land use patterns, liveability and facilities &

equipment are moderate in case of Block 23. In case of Block 70a, land use patterns, liveability and use (utility) are moderate, and facilities & equipment are very low. Accessibility, one of the most important aspects of the functional value-area, but also indirectly linked to the other value-areas, is rated very high in the both blocks. This aspect should be carefully considered in future intervention and governance strategies, as it is interdependent with the other aspects of publicness: ownership, governance and rights to use (see Section 3.3.5). The strategies should not endanger this or any other value indicator. As previously stated, they should improve devalued, conserve and reinforce the sustained, or add values.

The contemporary studies on the values-based approach recognise a need for development of models for practical application and integration of a value framework in the broader framework for management of the existing urban heritage, urban planning and design, which is at the moment scarce. (see e.g., Avrami et al., 2019b)

With an aim to contribute to this issue, besides expanding the notions of values, a model for instrumentalization of a value framework is developed in form of a values-based governance and intervention strategy. The condition assessment, definitions of socio-spatial devaluation aspects in the two Blocks as well as significance statements are followed by argumentation, stating potentials and societal needs, current and future, and thus *potential added values*, as identified in the broader theoretical framework, international agendas and charters, and current discussions and practices.

The argumentation is sub-structured within three main categories:

1. social-institutional – community of commoners;
2. economic-political-institutional – processes of *commoning*;
3. biophysical-aesthetical-functional – common spaces as common resources.

The social-institutional argumentation category is related to the community of commoners. It includes needs for people-centred approach (UNESCO, 2011) and shift from “expert-led authoritarian procedures” towards “more inclusive and participative community-led practices” (van Knippenberg et al., 2022). Furthermore, bottom-up “defence” and preservation strategies (as in case of the “Common Action – Blocks 70 and 70a”) need to be further empowered. Therefore, enhanced networks and new types of institutions are needed. There is a need for collaborative, participative and inclusive heritage management, as well as collaborative models for good urban planning and effective governance structures. Accordingly, democratisation of the urban (heritage) governance process is necessary. Citizens’ groups and associations should be able to make policy proposals – policy making open to citizen collectives. Diversification of the institutional landscape is needed.

The economic-political-institutional argumentation category is related to the process of *commoning* (act of sharing and managing resources). Commons-like organisations, self-crafted institutions for collective action, or self-managed community of users, with minimal reliance on the market or state, should be nevertheless supported by the state. The right to the city remains crucial aspect and decommodification of urban commonalities is needed. A law on the commons, which would contain rules that regulate care, management and use of the common resources is needed. It is important to recognize that change of ownership is not crucial but improved and more inclusive governance regimes, including use and care agreements and granted decision rights to all stakeholders.

The biophysical-aesthetical-functional argumentation category is related to the common spaces as common resources. Preservation, revitalisation and regeneration of the natural and built elements of the landscape of commons within the HUL of New Belgrade Blocks is crucial for preservation of the values of the blocks. It is necessary to maintain accessibility of the open common spaces, yet determine domains of control/use of the common spaces, following "fair access, social control and sustainable use" (Horvat, 2017). Re-programming, re-activating and re-using the open common spaces (increasing functional diversity – diversity of uses) and improvement of urban furniture and equipment is needed. Biodiversity and ecology are important aspects to be considered when profiling future strategies. Taking care rules: maintenance, cleaning, repair and adaptation works are crucial for preservation of the natural and built elements of the landscape of commons within the blocks.

Based on the previous components of the framework, related to the devalued, sustained and potential values, the study defines five strategy tracks:

1. Enhancement of community networks;
2. Diversification of institutional landscape;
3. Solidarity- and commons-based economy;
4. Reactivation and domestication of open common spaces;
5. Preservation and enhancement of green infrastructure.

The strategy tracks operate between social, political, economic, functional, biophysical components, simultaneously addressing the diverse value types. The first strategy track, enhancement of community networks, is related to enhancement of internal, informal or bottom-up practices of the residents or citizens, also defined as autonomous grassroots actions. The second strategy track, diversification of institutional landscape, is complementary to the first. It is related to the symbiotic, formal or top-down processes, also defined as institutional interventions, or interventions on (within) the institutional level. The third strategy track, solidarity- and commons-based economy, is related to development of alternative models for improving economic value-area and its indicators. The fourth strategy track, reactivation and domestication of open common spaces, is related to reuse, increasing functional diversity – diversity of uses, but also defining domains of control and scales of use of the common resources, maintaining accessibility. The fifth strategy track, preservation and enhancement of green infrastructure, is related to the natural elements and green areas of the common spaces.

Each strategy track incorporates a set of potential instruments and tactics (a toolbox), which is a provisional selection and intended as an evolutionary mechanism (see Figure 4.9). Furthermore, each strategy track denotes primary scales for intervention (spatial levels): state level, city level, district level, block level, building level and ambience level; and overview of the stakeholder-groups, analysing the interest-power balance for each stakeholder-group within each strategy track (scales of use and domains of control). These components and correlations are presented and elaborated in the next Section focusing on the strategy tracks (Section 4.4.2).

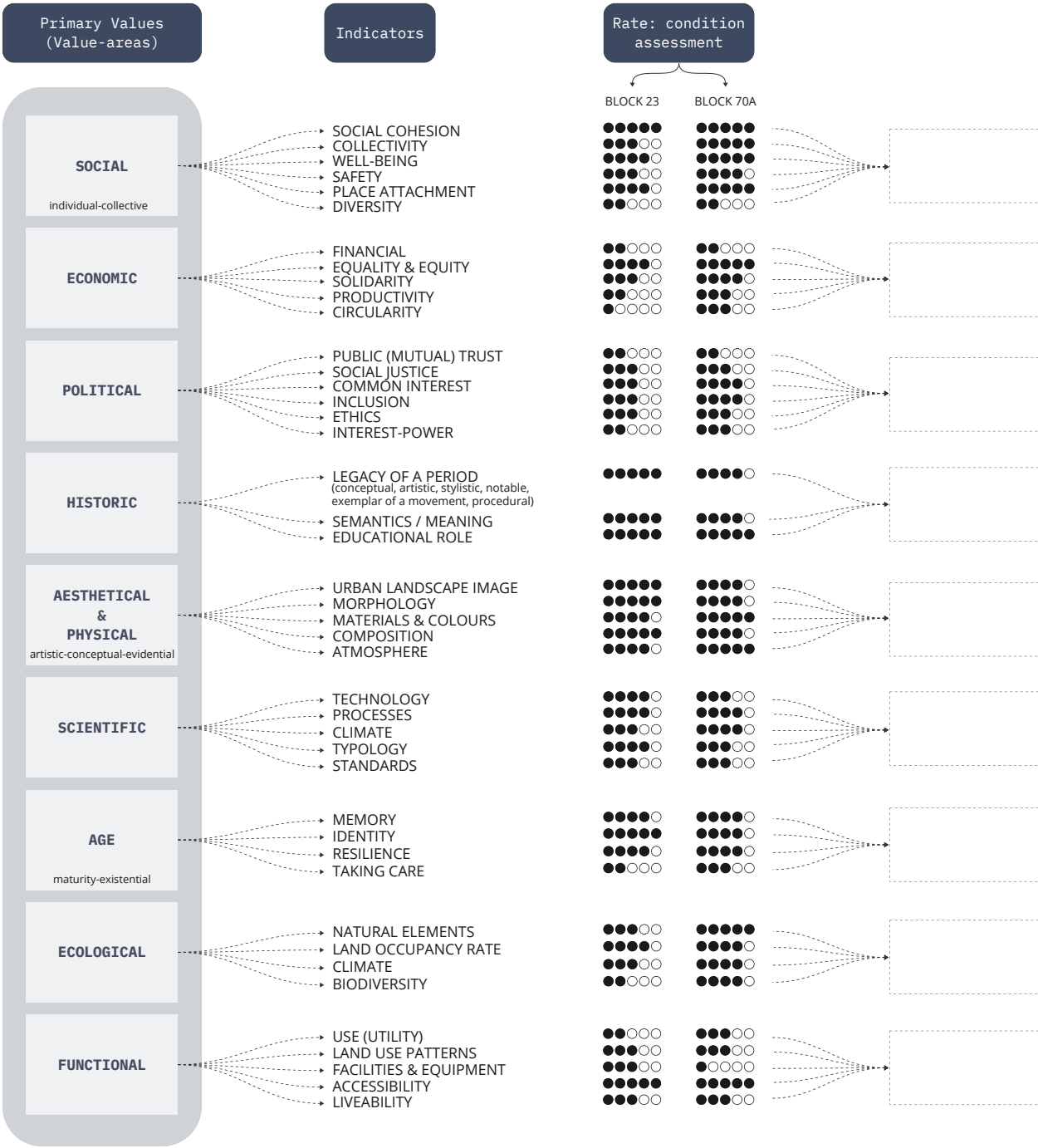


FIG. 4.9 Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.



FIG. 4.9 Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

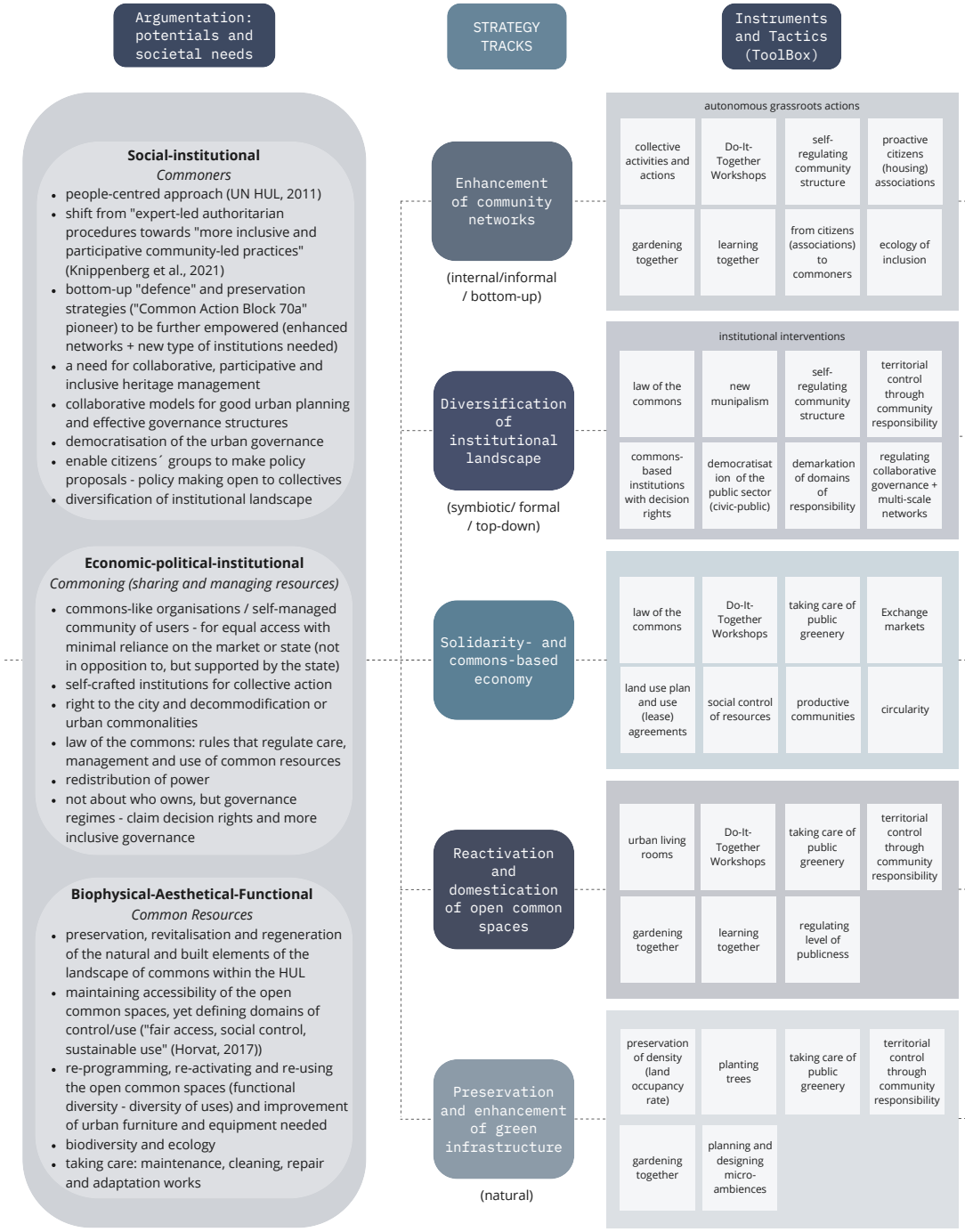


FIG. 4.9 Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

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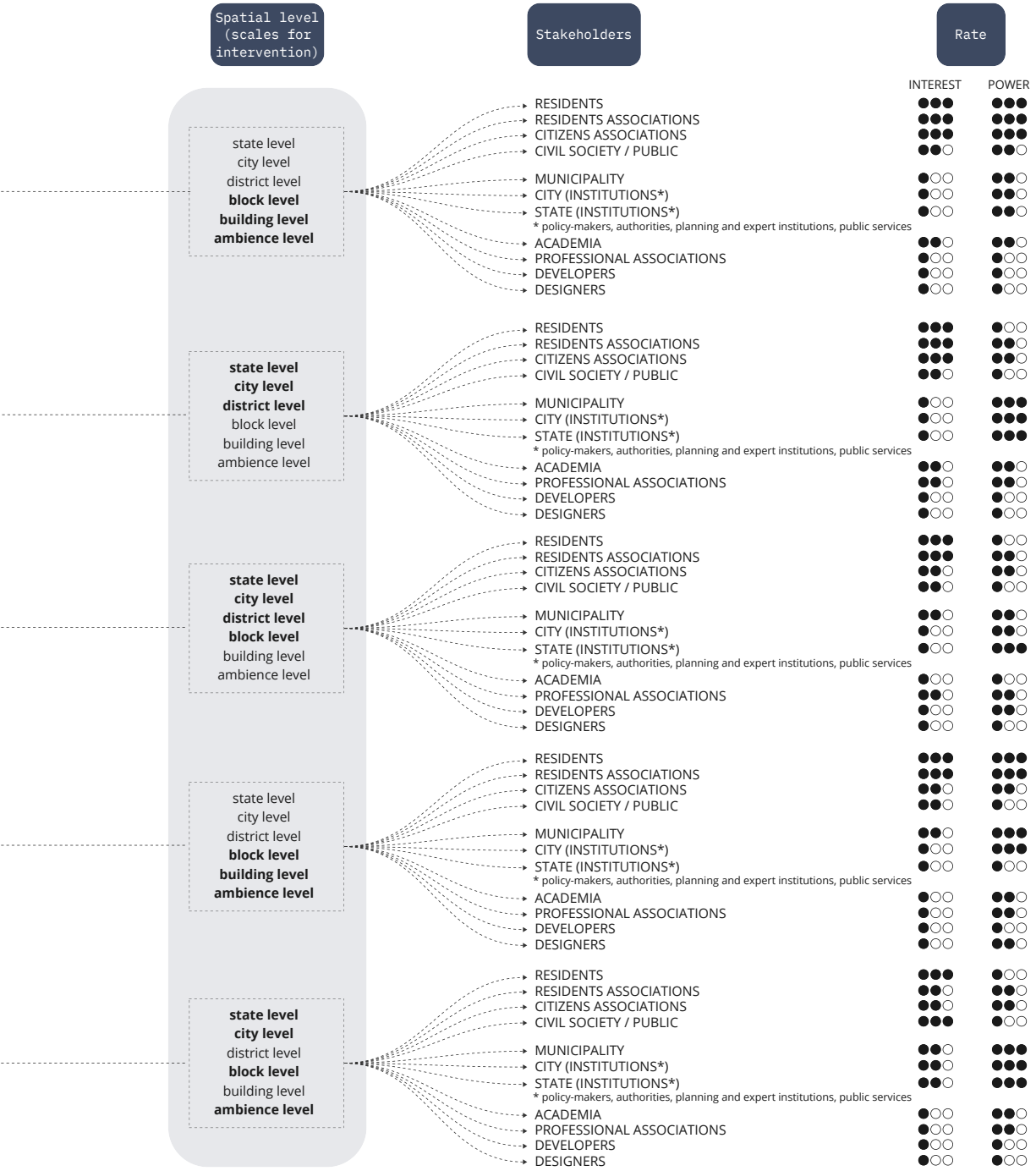


FIG. 4.9 Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

4.4.2 Strategy Tracks: Instruments and Tactics, Scales, Stakeholders and Values Correlation

The values-based governance and intervention framework (Figure 4.9) profiled five strategy tracks, including possible instruments and tactics, primary scales for intervention (spatial levels), stakeholder-groups and assessment of their interest-power balance, as well as impact on the values and value indicators. Each strategy track, including the previously listed components, correlations and conclusions, will be presented and further explored in this Section.

Strategy track 1
Enhancement of community networks

The first strategy track, enhancement of community networks, is related to enhancement of internal, informal or bottom-up practices of the residents or citizens, also defined as autonomous grassroots actions. It incorporates a set of potential instruments and tactics (a toolbox), derived from a selection of the previously formulated argumentation, a set of needs and potentials identified in the broader theoretical framework, international agendas and charters, and current discussions and practices. The selection of arguments includes: the people-centred approach (UNESCO, 2011), a shift from "expert-led authoritarian procedures" towards "more inclusive and participative community-led practices" (van Knippenberg, et al., 2022), further empowerment of bottom-up "defence" and preservation strategies ("Common Action – Blocks 70 and 70a" pioneer), self-managed community of users, redistribution of power, taking care: maintenance, cleaning, repair and adaptation works. Based on this, possible instruments and tactics (a toolbox) within this track are: collective activities and actions, Do-It-Together (DIT) workshops, learning together, self-regulating community structure principle, a shift from citizens (associations) to commoners, proactive citizens (housing) associations, ecology of inclusion, etc. This is a provisional selection of the instruments and tactics and it is intended as an evolutionary mechanism. (see Figure 4.10)

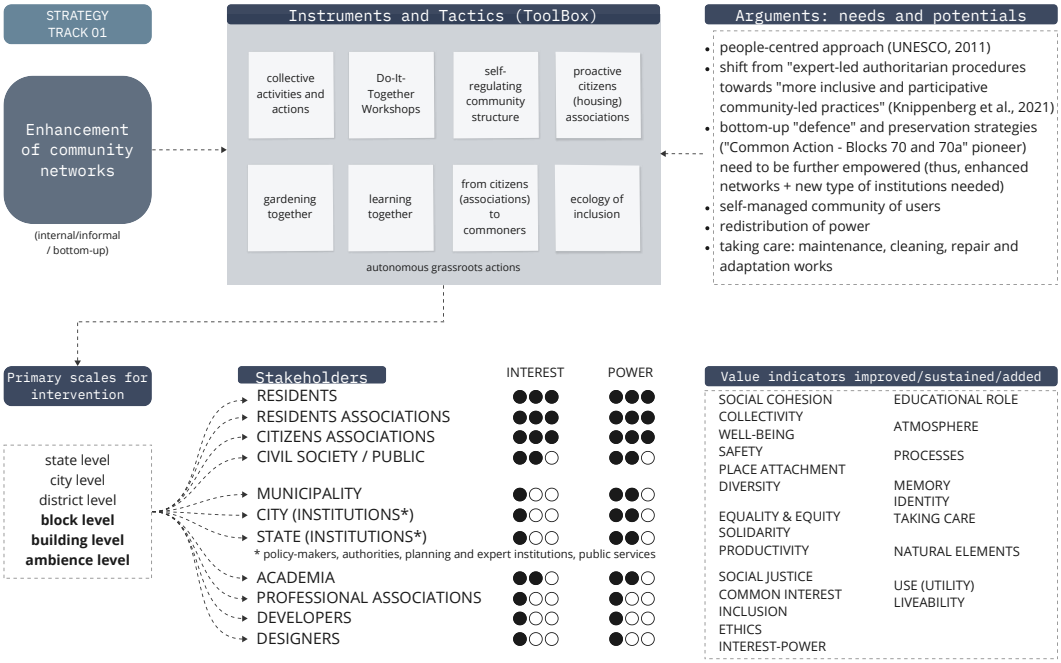


FIG. 4.10 Strategy track 1: Enhancement of community networks. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

At the core of the Strategy track 1 is enhancement of community networks – increasing the initial likelihood of self-organization and enhancing the capabilities of individuals to continue self-organized efforts over time. (Ostrom, 1990, 29) Robinson (2004, 166) introduces a principle of a self-regulating community:

Starting with small, self-identified, self-expressive and self-policing associations of people within a very limited area, and linking these to each other in successively larger groups, we would create a structure that would result in what could be called a self-regulating community.

The self-regulating community structure, similar to the self-defined clusters of a neighbourhood, identified by the Participant 4 in the stakeholder workshop (see Section 4.3.2), is nowadays present only to a certain extent in the New Belgrade Blocks. It is mainly in a form of dwelling communities, on a level of a residential building, which is regulated in the national policies (e.g., the Law on Housing and Building Maintenance, 2020). Those, as Petrovic and Milojevic (2014) argue, "are more or less successful self-organised". However, the form is not appropriate, or at least not sufficient, for the New Belgrade open-blocks, where the residential buildings within the blocks have a higher level of inter-dependency and shared

spaces of common interest. Associations of more dwelling communities (residential buildings), further linking of (and within) the dwelling communities and networking, is scarce. Citizens association "Common Action – Blocks 70 and 70a", involving members of different dwelling communities within the blocks, represents a rare and important contributor to this process, expanding the existing forms. Establishing a similar association in Block 23, as well as other New Belgrade Blocks, is necessary. Furthermore, enhancing their collaboration and linking is needed as the next step. Introducing collective activities and actions in the common spaces of the blocks (already existing common resources), which have a capacity to establish further networks or small-scale associations of people, is recognised as an important tactic for enhancement of community networks – increasing the initial likelihood of self-organization. Those could include Do-It-Together (DIT) Workshops, learning together, gardening together or other associated engagement and actions related to the space of their common interest.

The common is not only the earth we share but also the language we create, the social practices we establish, the modes of sociality that define our relationships. **(Hardt & Negri, 2009, 139)**

Acts of sharing, co-creating and co-establishing are a basis for a behavioural shift – from citizens to commoners, and therefore towards more engaged and proactive community. These practices of *commoning* have emancipatory potential (Stavrides, 2016, 7) and are a way of fostering and sustaining relationships (Moebus, 2022, 245), thus enhancing the capabilities for continuous self-organisation over time.

Primary scales for interventions, spatial levels, are block, building and ambience levels. The civil sector, residents / citizens (associations) have the highest interest and the highest power in this strategy track. Therefore, the interest-power is relatively balanced in this case. Yet, the question of *motives* for collective behaviour and actions remains. As pointed by Participant 2 in the stakeholder workshop (see Appendix), the proactive role and initiatives require a lot of *time* and *commitment,* which is very limited on a daily basis. Nevertheless, shared benefits, not necessarily financial, but related to "maintaining life", as framed by Moebus (2022, 244), including food, clothing, raising children, cleaning, friendships, education, culture, well-being, etc., can contribute to this issue. Rising awareness, informing about possibilities and showing best practices is important for increasing the likelihood of self-organization and enhancing the community networks.

Implementation of this strategy track aims at having a positive impact on various value indicators, improving the current condition in the blocks. Most could be addressed to a certain extent, nevertheless the following value indicators would be

primarily improved / sustained / added: (1) social cohesion, collectivity, well-being, safety, place attachment, diversity, (2) equality & equity, solidarity, productivity, (3) social justice, common interest, inclusion, ethics, interest-power, (4) educational role, (5) atmosphere, (6) processes, (7) memory, identity, taking care, (8) natural elements, (9) use (utility), liveability. (see Figure 4.11)

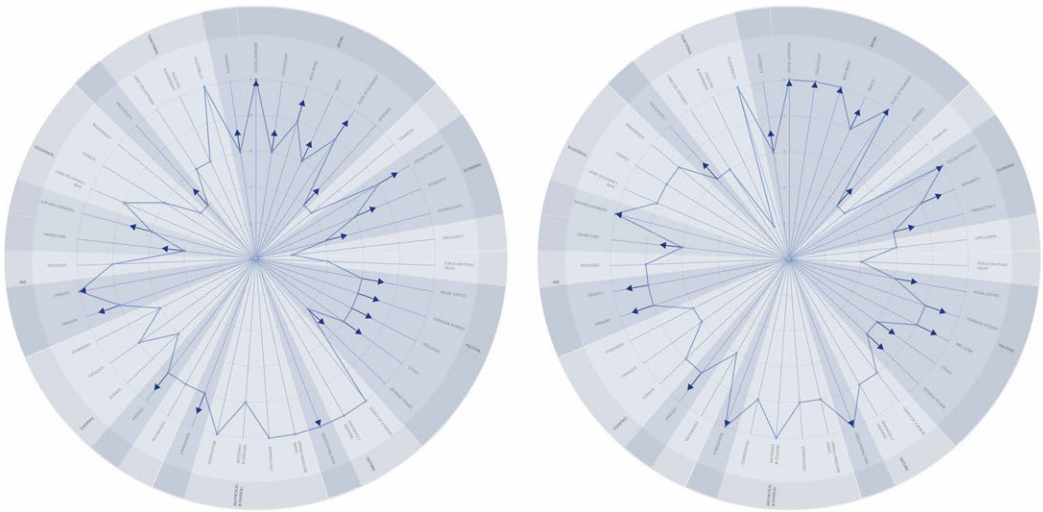


FIG. 4.11 Values and indicators: estimated impact of the strategy track 1, Block 23 (left) and Block 70a (right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February, 2023.

Strategy track 2
Diversification of institutional landscape

The second strategy track, diversification of institutional landscape, is complementary to the first. It is related to the symbiotic, formal or top-down processes, also defined as institutional interventions, or interventions on (within) the institutional level. This strategy track incorporates a set of potential instruments and tactics (a toolbox), derived from a selection of the previously formulated argumentation, a set of needs and potentials identified in the broader theoretical framework, international agendas and charters, and current discussions and practices. The selection of arguments includes: collaborative models for good urban planning, effective and inclusive governance structures, democratisation of the urban heritage governance process – collaborative, participative and inclusive, policy making open to citizens collectives, diversification of institutional landscape,

decommodification of urban commonalities, law of the commons: rules that regulate care, management and use of the common resources, redistribution of power and decision rights, not about ownership but governance regimes, defining domains of control and scales of use.

Based on this, possible instruments and tactics (a toolbox) within this strategy track are: law of the commons, establishing commons-based institutions with decision rights, new municipalism principle, democratisation of the public sector (civil-public), self-regulating community structure principle, demarcation of domains of responsibility, territorial control through community responsibility, regulating collaborative governance and multi-scale networks, etc. This is a provisional selection of the instruments and tactics and it is intended as an evolutionary mechanism. (see Figure 4.12)

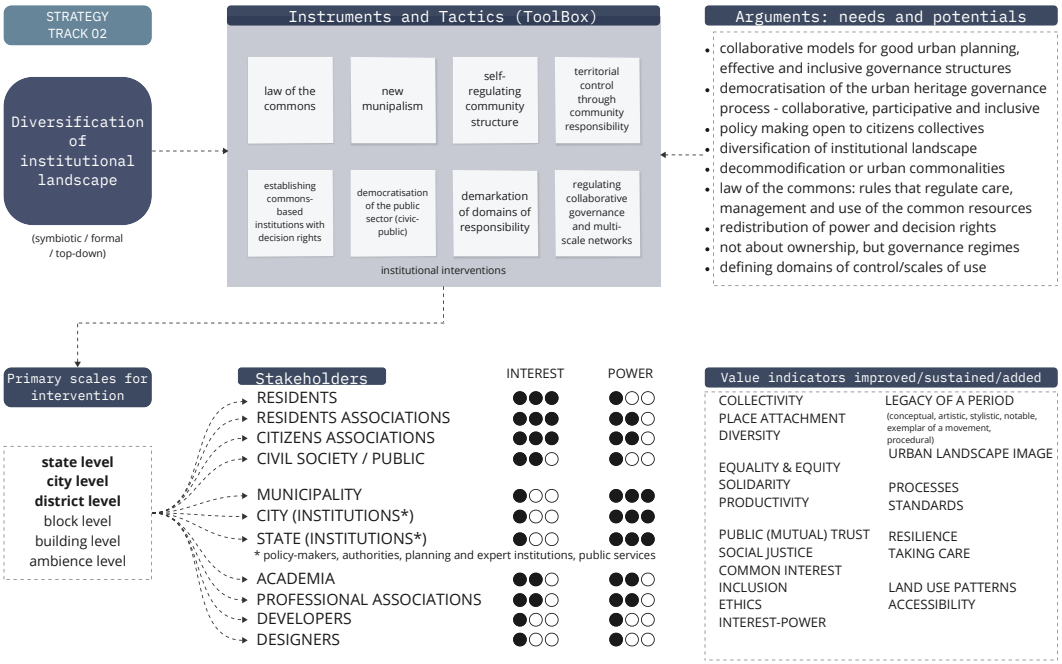


FIG. 4.12 Strategy track 2: Diversification of institutional landscape. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

At the core of the strategy track 2 is diversification of the institutional landscape, which would expand currently dominant models of urban governance reflected through the market-state duopoly and mark a shift towards the “civic-centric state”. Allowing for and supporting self-regulating community structures in the

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neighbourhoods (see strategy track 1) by the state and public institutions on the city and municipal levels is necessary as the first step in this process. Moreover, their formalisation and establishment of the commons-based institutions with decision rights on the issues of common interest, recognised and supported by the state, is needed. The support can be achieved through subsidies or allocation of public and state-owned resources to community-based organisations for a non-exclusive jurisdiction or right to use – for example, rooms of the former local community in the Block 70a. Additionally, a symbiotic approach denotes transformed public institutions and new forms of public-civic partnerships in a form of "negotiated institutional configuration", as formulated by Bianchi (2022). As previously explained in the Section 4.2.2, these "commons-state institutions", hybrid institutions of *commonified* form, are based on a participatory-based geometry of power with transparent decision making, as in the case of "Patrimoni Ciutada" in Barcelona. *Commonification* of the *public* means democratisation – citizens or residents regaining capability and power to make decisions, as well as reaffirmation of self-management of the spaces and services of common interest. Introducing law on the commons is an important legislative tool for formalisation of a set of *working rules*, regulating domains of responsibility and control, as well as scales and terms of use. In addition to this, a mutual agreement between a citizen group or association and public institutions, on municipal or city level, needs to specify and formalize those rules for a specific case, as in case of the "Commons Accord" and "public-commons cooperation protocols", originating in the city of Bologna (Bauwens et al., 2022).

Primary scales for interventions, spatial levels, are district, city and state levels. Civil sector, residents / citizens (associations) have the highest interest and the public sector has the highest power in this strategy track. Creation of the commons-state institutions and other forms of public-civic partnership, can contribute to a better balance of the interest-power. Furthermore, the role of academia and professional associations is important in this strategy track, providing consultation infrastructure and support. (see Figure 4.12)

Implementation of this strategy track would have a positive impact on various value indicators, improving current condition in the blocks. Most could be addressed to a certain extent, nevertheless the following value indicators would be primarily improved / sustained / added: (1) collectivity, place attachment, diversity, (2) equality & equity, solidarity, productivity, (3) public (mutual) trust, social justice, common interest, inclusion, ethics, interest-power, (4) legacy of a period, (5) urban landscape image, (6) processes, standards, (7) resilience, taking care, (8) -, (9) land use patterns, accessibility. (see Figure 4.13)

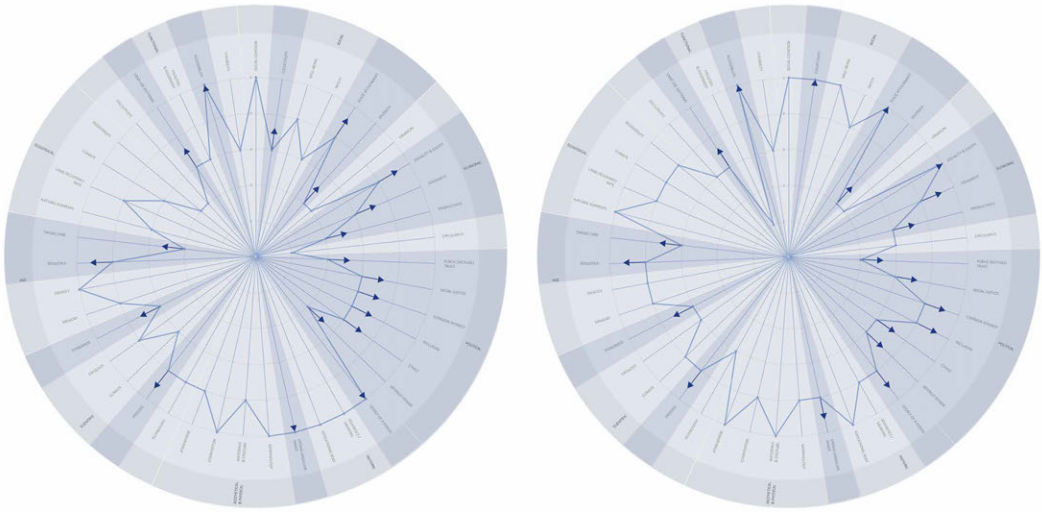


FIG. 4.13 Values and indicators: estimated impact of the strategy track 2, Block 23 (left) and Block 70a (right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February, 2023.

Strategy track 3
Solidarity- and commons-based economy

The third strategy track, solidarity- and commons-based economy, is related to development of alternative models for improving economic value-area and its indicators. This strategy track incorporates a set of potential instruments and tactics (a toolbox), derived from a selection of the previously formulated argumentation, a set of needs and potentials identified in the broader theoretical framework, international agendas and charters, and current discussions and practices. The selection of arguments includes: commons-like organisation / self-managed community of users – for equal access with minimal reliance on the market or state (not in opposition to, but supported by the state), self-crafted institutions for collective actions, decommodification of urban commonalities, law of the commons: rules that regulate care, management and use of the common resources, redistribution of power and decision rights, maintaining accessibility, yet defining domains of control/use of the common resources ("fair access, social control, sustainable use" (Horvat, 2017)). Based on this, possible instruments and tactics (a toolbox) within this strategy track are: law of the commons, land use plan and use (lease) agreements, Do-It-Together (DIT) workshops, social control of resources, taking care of public greenery, productive communities, exchange markets, circularity, etc. This is a provisional selection of the instruments and tactics and it is intended as an evolutionary mechanism. (see Figure 4.14)

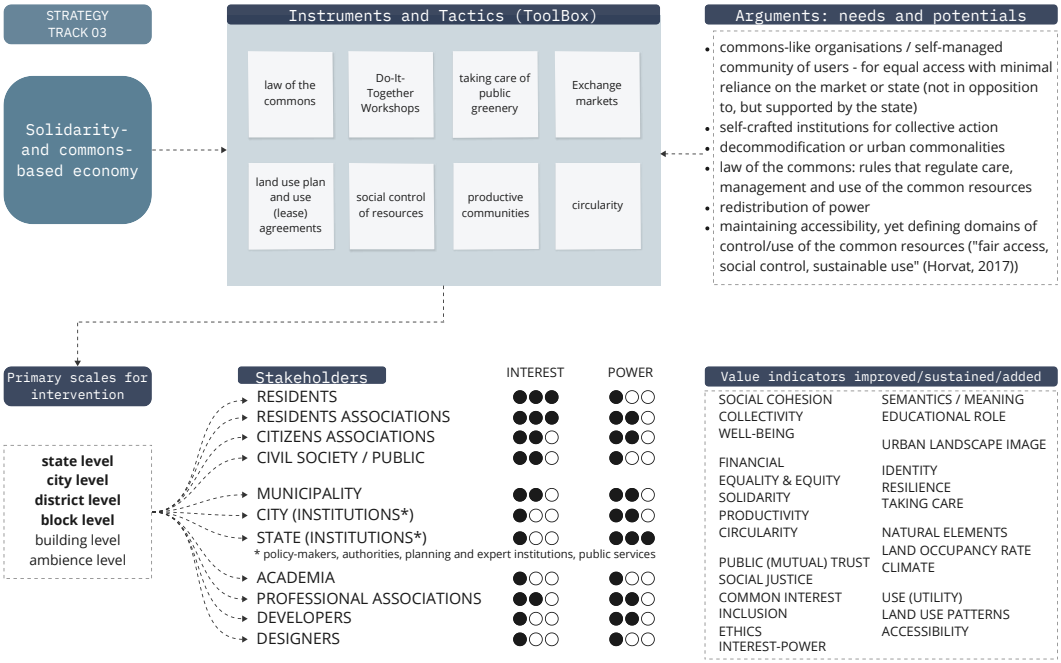


FIG. 4.14 Strategy track 3: Solidarity- and commons-based economy. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

As eco-feminist scholars Maria Mies and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen argue:

> *...in our view, we cannot simply say 'no commons without community.' We must also say 'no commons without economy,' in the sense of oikonomia, i.e. the reproduction of human beings within the social and natural household. Hence, reinventing the commons is linked to the reinvention of the communal and a commons-based economy.* (2001, sect. 15, as cited in Moebus, 2022, 244)

Horvat (2017) argues that institutions of social ownership and investments in public ownership are "undermined by a variety of non-transparent and usurping manoeuvres of privatisation, tolerated for the sake of the transition to a market economy", deepening social inequalities and eroding living standards. Horvat (2017) states that the neoliberal expansionist agenda has used both "rule of law" and "right to development" to "justify their profit-seeking orientation, in opposition to sustainability, fair access, and community-led control or democratic rules".

Following Gibson-Graham's iceberg of diverse economy (2013), Moebus (2022, 255) illustrates already existing diversity of economic practices, important for overcoming the market-state binary. Besides the wage labor, commodity markets and capitalist

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enterprise in the upper part, the Gibson-Graham's iceberg includes also: grow your own, compost, gifts, informal loans, community gardens, parenting, DIY, farmer's markets, housework, housing cooperatives, elder care, intentional communities, non-profit, sliding scale pricing, fundraising, lending & borrowing, breastfeeding, community currency, collective ownership, fair trade, hunting & gathering, open-source, family, libraries, etc. (see Moebus, 2022, 255) Making visible and giving value to the already existing variety of economic practices, often taken for granted but vital for society, is recognised by Moebus (2022) as crucial. New protocols about the access to daily necessities, such as food or clothing, or services, such as child or elder care, can be organised within a solidarity- and commons-based economy model. Instead of focusing on materiality of the good, the focus should be shifted to the social interaction necessary to sustain and reproduce that good. (Savini and Bossuyt, 2022) Interpersonal caretaking process, solidarity and Do-It-Together, as part of the "new value-regime" of cohabitation, can contribute to a better autonomy of the community regulated through a contribution-distribution rules. Additionally, creation of shared facilities within the common spaces, such as community gardens and agriculture, provides an alternative to commodity markets, nurturing previously listed economic practices. Therefore, common spaces of the blocks should be recognised as an important resource of diverse economic activities of the community and creation of the common goods, which would reduce social inequalities and improve living standards and daily life of the residents. It is essential and urgent to recognise this in order to prevent "enclosure of the commons" (Dellenbaugh-Losse et al., 2020, 15), their commodification and loss of accessibility. New institutional structures, such as commons-state institutions can facilitate operations and set collaboration agreements and control mechanisms for fair access and fair use. As in case of "Patrimoni Ciutada" in Barcelona, a digital catalogue of the shared facilities and models of use can be created for a better insight into the existing facilities and practices.

Primary scales for interventions, spatial levels, are block, district, city and state levels. Civil sector, residents / citizens (associations) have the highest interest and the public sector, in particular on the state level, has the highest power in this strategy track. Nevertheless, associated engagement of residents / citizens increases their power. Proposed commons-state institutions and other forms of public-civic partnership can contribute to a better balance of the interest-power. (see Figure 4.14)

Implementation of this strategy track would have a positive impact on various value indicators, improving current condition in the blocks. Most could be addressed to a certain extent, nevertheless the following value indicators would be primarily improved / sustained / added: (1) social cohesion, collectivity, well-being, (2)

financial, equality & equity, solidarity, productivity, circularity, (3) public (mutual) trust, social justice, common interest, inclusion, ethics, interest-power, (4) semantics / meaning, educational role, (5) urban landscape image, (6) -, (7) identity, resilience, taking care, (8) natural elements, land occupancy rate, climate, (9) use (utility), land use patterns, accessibility. (see Figure 4.15)

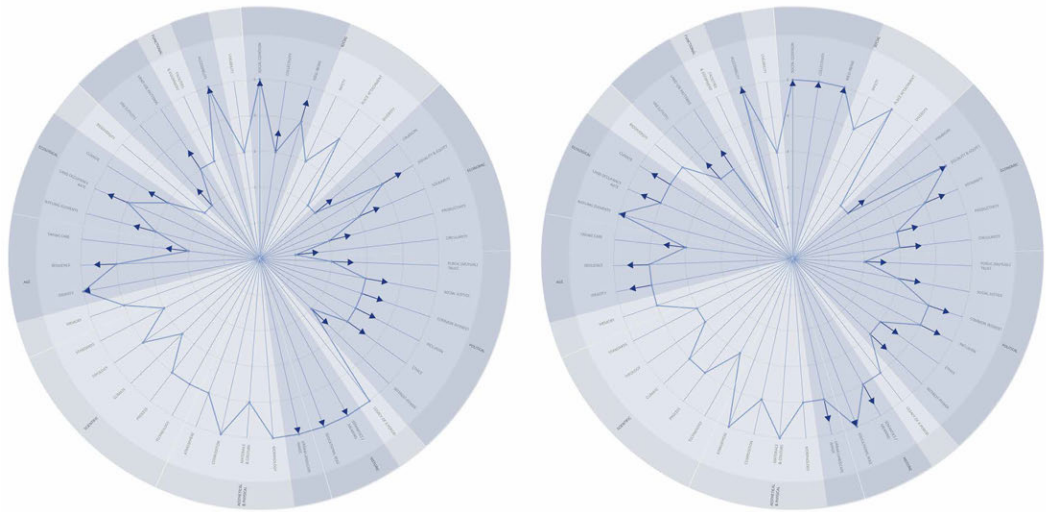


FIG. 4.15 Values and indicators: estimated impact of the strategy track 3, Block 23 (left) and Block 70a (right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February, 2023.

Strategy track 4
Reactivation and domestication of open common spaces

The fourth strategy track, reactivation and domestication of open common spaces, is related to reuse, increasing functional diversity – diversity of uses, but also defining domains of control and scales of use of the common resources, maintaining accessibility. It incorporates a set of potential instruments and tactics (a toolbox), derived from a selection of the previously formulated argumentation, a set of needs and potentials identified in the broader theoretical framework, international agendas and charters, and current discussions and practices. The selection of arguments includes: the people-centred approach (UNESCO, 2011), right to the city and decommodification of urban commonalities, preservation, revitalisation and regeneration of the natural and built elements, re-programming, re-activating and re-using the open common spaces (functional diversity - diversity of uses) and

improvement of urban furniture and equipment, biodiversity and ecology, taking care: maintenance, cleaning, repair and adaptation works. Based on this, possible instruments and tactics (a toolbox) within this strategy track are: urban living rooms, gardening together, Do-It-Together (DIT) workshops, learning together, taking care of public greenery, regulating level of publicness, territorial control through community responsibility, etc. This is a provisional selection of the instruments and tactics and it is intended as an evolutionary mechanism. (see Figure 4.16)

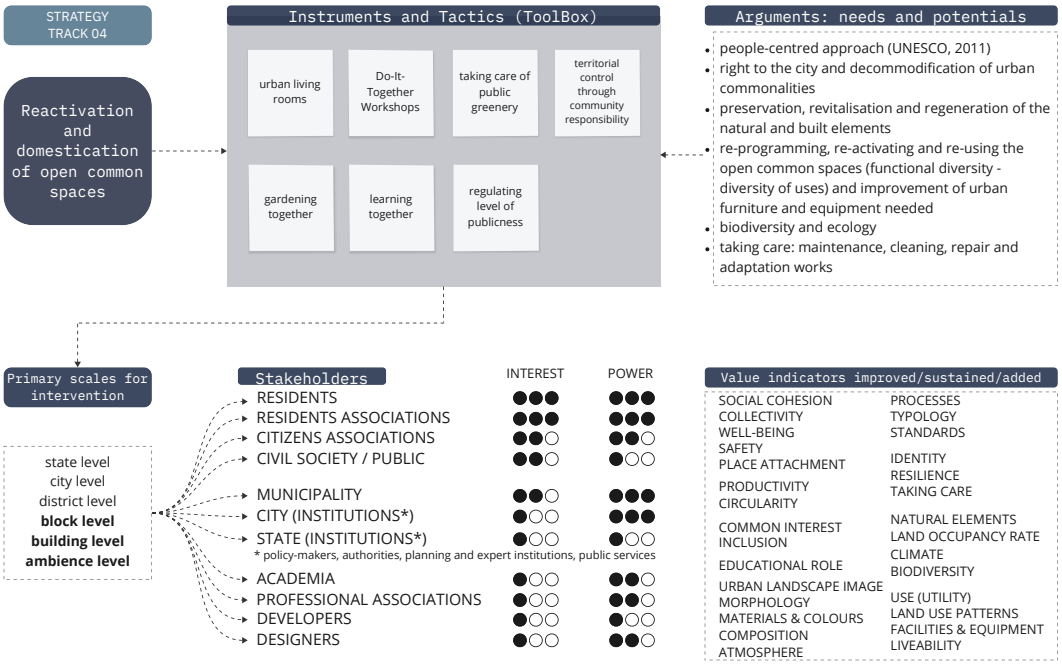


FIG. 4.16 Strategy track 4: Reactivation and domestication of open common spaces. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

At the core of this strategy is reactivating and reusing the open common spaces of the blocks, in order to preserve, revitalise or regenerate its natural and built elements. Furthermore, it introduces the concept of *domestication*, defined as appropriation and taking care of a piece of common space by formal or informal groups of residents in their direct proximity, for example taking care of public greenery, making a community garden, urban living rooms or a playground for the kids. (Harteveld & Asadollahi Asl Zarkhah, 2021) Therefore, domestication enables reactivation and reuse. It induces demarcation of the scales of use and domains of control, yet maintaining accessibility. Harteveld and Asadollahi Asl Zarkhah (2021) present domesticated public spaces in Rotterdam, such as Buurt Tuinderij “Hof van Heer”, initiated by local garden designers

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and supported by a municipal stimulus programme to increase community's self-management of green in 2020: "gardening together, working together, harvesting together, sharing together, learning together". Moebus (2022) presents Common(s) Lab in Berlin-Neukölln as a series of Do-It-Together (DIT) workshops, furniture building workshops, a seasonal gift or exchange market, reading groups, outdoor festivals, etc. These practices are emerging in the Sava river blocks, including Block 70a. The citizens association "Common Action – Blocks 70 and 70a", as introduced by the Participant 9 in the stakeholder workshop (see Section 4.3.2), organized actions of planting 600 trees in the two blocks, cleaning and waste recycling, as well as various social activities. These actions need further support, for example a stimulus programme or consultations, from the public institutions and professional associations for better planning, programming, distribution and coordination of activities and uses. As Robinson (2004, 172) explains, characteristics of space, geometry, dimensions, lighting, etc., determine its potential for different use. Thus, collaboration with designer, planners, professional associations, public institutions is important. Accordingly, this community-based re-programming of the open common spaces needs to become an integrated part of the formal planning process becoming evidence- and values-based practice. In this way, it would specify domains of control and scales of use, which are a subject of change – "sometimes temporary, sometimes stable, but always open and always evolving" (Moebus, 2022, 253) – in a participatory and integrated way, instead of top-down parcellation of the common area or change of ownership and "enclosure of the commons" (Dellenbaugh-Losse et al., 2020, 15). The approach is in line with forbidding fencing in the Central Zone Blocks of New Belgrade, including Block 23, by the decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia in January 2021 (Republic of Serbia, 2021; see Section 3.4.2): "Fencing is forbidden (with an exception of greening) – open unbuilt spaces must remain in the model of public use." This measure contributes and directly addresses the importance of maintaining openness and accessibility, and thus ensure the right to use the open common spaces. Similar measure should be established for the Sava river blocks, including Block 70a, as well. As explained in the strategy track 2, the role of possible commons-state institutions would support this community-based process and the law on commons, other agreements, protocols and terms of occupancy would regulate the *working rules*. Also, as previously mentioned within the strategy track 3, a digital catalogue of the shared facilities and models of use can be created for a better insight into the existing facilities and practices, as well as possible ones – coordinated by the commons-state institutions. Although the strategy track is primarily focusing on the open common spaces, local community centres (both indoor and outdoor spaces) may have an important role in facilitating this process, acting as hubs for collective, creative, educational, organisational and other activities. Therefore, revitalisation of the existing local community centres, which would reconsider its original values and program should be considered. (see Section 3.4.2)

Primary scales for interventions, spatial levels, are block, building and ambience levels. Residents and residents' associations have the highest interest and the highest power in this strategy track. Nevertheless, the public sector, in particular on the city and municipality level, is an important factor as well, as it is responsible for the formal planning process, is able to provide stimulus programme and consultation, and formalise protocols. Proposed commons-state institutions and other forms of public-civic partnership can support the regulatory process and coordination of the shared facilities and practices. The role of designers, planners, academia and professional associations is important for planning, programming and design. (see Figure 4.16)

Implementation of this strategy track would have a positive impact on various value indicators, improving current condition in the blocks. Most value indicators could be addressed to a certain extent, nevertheless the following value indicators would be primarily improved / sustained / added: (1) social cohesion, collectivity, well-being, safety, place attachment (2) equality & equity, productivity, circularity, (3) common interest, inclusion, (4) educational role, (5) urban landscape image, morphology, materials & colours, composition, atmosphere, (6) processes, typology, standards, (7) identity, resilience, taking care, (8) natural elements, land occupancy rate, climate, biodiversity (9) use (utility), land use patterns, facilities & equipment, accessibility. (see Figure 4.17)

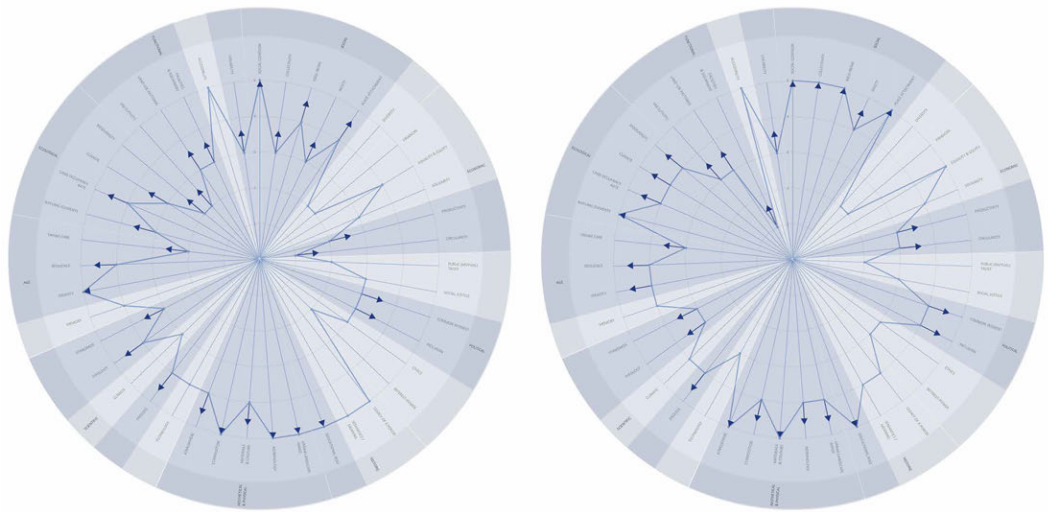


FIG. 4.17 Values and indicators: estimated impact of the strategy track 4, Block 23 (left) and Block 70a (right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February, 2023.

Strategy track 5
Preservation and enhancement of green infrastructure

The fifth strategy track, preservation and enhancement of green infrastructure, is related to the natural elements and green areas of the common spaces. It incorporates a set of potential instruments and tactics (a toolbox), derived from a selection of the previously formulated argumentation, a set of needs and potentials identified in the broader theoretical framework, international agendas and charters, and current discussions and practices.

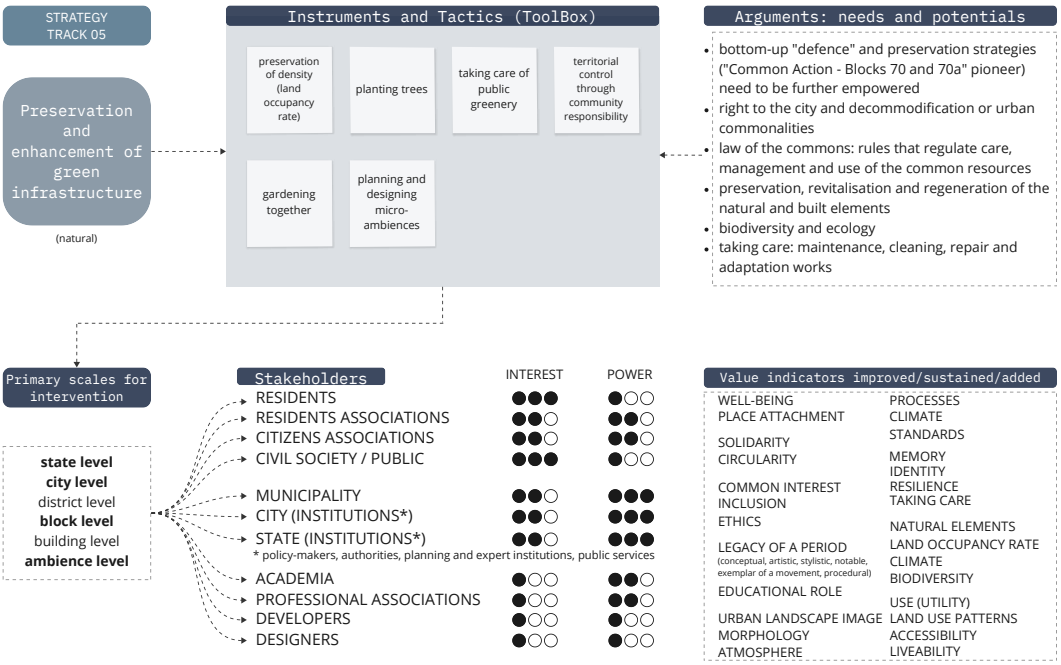


FIG. 4.18 Strategy track 5: Preservation and enhancement of green infrastructure. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, December, 2022.

Based on this, possible instruments and tactics (a toolbox) within this strategy track are: preservation of density (land occupancy rate), gardening together, planting trees, taking care of public greenery, territorial control through community responsibility, etc. This is a provisional selection of the instruments and tactics and it is intended as an evolutionary mechanism. (see Figure 4.18)

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At the core of this strategy track is preservation and enhancement of environmental, ecological and bio-physical qualities of the neighbourhoods, reflected in their morphology, density and accordingly the existing infrastructure of green and natural elements. This is especially important in context of the climate change and temperature regulation in the urban context (Jovanovic, 2018; Simic, 2022). In order to achieve this, it is critical to preserve the current land occupancy rate. In case of the Block 23 this is regulated through heritage protection by decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia in January 2021 (Republic of Serbia, 2021), not allowing construction of "new objects by occupying the existing unbuilt or green areas. A possible new construction is allowed only in case of replacement of the existing buildings without values." It is, though, allowed to "improve aesthetic and functional values of the open spaces – revitalise parterre arrangement of the space in accordance with the use and function of the site". Allowed interventions are "greening, paving and equipping with urban furniture, which can be only for the purpose of improving life and work conditions, or preserving ambience values of the protected spatial cultural-historic ensemble". (Republic of Serbia, 2021; see Section 3.4.2) Similar measures should be established for the Sava river zone, including Block 70a, which are not under heritage protection yet. As suggested by Simic (2022) a "green regulatory framework" needs to be established urgently, introducing ecosystem zones and factor of biotope, as a parameter directly linked to the construction index and land occupancy rate. Furthermore, a measure related to "valorisation of the original horticultural solution" in case of interventions in the blocks, as recommended in the unpublished report about the assessment of the Central Zone Blocks prepared in the heritage protection process by Jovanovic (2018), should be established. Integration of new functions within the green areas, such as gardening, should be introduced. Also, improvement of biodiversity is necessary. Green areas of the blocks are at the moment maintained by the public-communal institution "Greenery Belgrade", which is very modest. Domestication of the open common spaces, including green areas, within the framework of allowed interventions, would improve care of the greenery – community's self-management of green, as in case of Rotterdam (see strategy track 4), or as presented in the action of the citizens association "Common Action – Blocks 70 and 70a" of planting 600 trees and taking care of them. These practices need further support, for example a stimulus programme, consultations or other support, from the public institutions, professional associations or other entities, for better planning, programming, and maintaining the greenery.

Primary scales for interventions, spatial levels, are block, city and state levels. Civil sector has the highest interest and the public sector has the highest power in this strategy track. Nevertheless, associated engagement of residents / citizens increases their power. Yet, better collaboration and partnership between public and civil sector

is necessary. Academia and professional associations may have a role, providing consultation infrastructure and support. (see Figure 4.18)

Implementation of this strategy track would have a positive impact on various value indicators, improving current condition in the blocks. Most could be addressed to a certain extent, nevertheless the following value indicators would be primarily improved / sustained / added: (1) well-being, place attachment, (2) solidarity, circularity, (3) common interest, inclusion, ethics, (4) legacy of a period, educational role, (5) urban landscape image, morphology, atmosphere, (6) process, climate, standards, (7) memory, identity, resilience, taking care, (8) natural elements, land occupancy rate, climate, biodiversity (9) use (utility), land use patterns, accessibility, liveability. (see Figure 4.19)

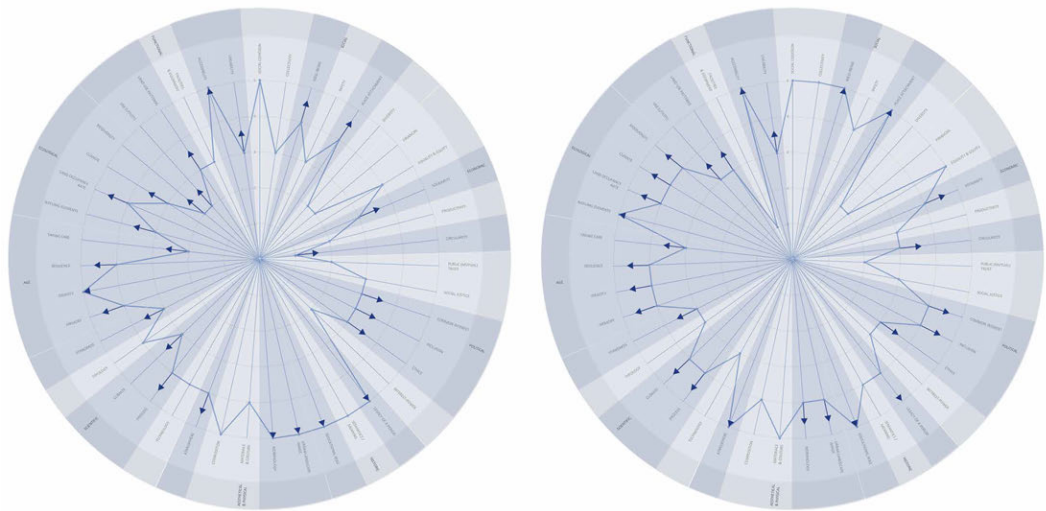


FIG. 4.19 Values and indicators: estimated impact of the strategy track 5, Block 23 (left) and Block 70a (right). Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February, 2023.

In particular, preservation of the urban landscape image, morphology, natural elements and land occupancy rate is the main positive impact of the strategy track 5. Furthermore, improving biodiversity, natural elements, land use patterns and liveability, as well as achieving diversity through re-programming the open common spaces and green areas, planning outdoor activities and uses, instead of privatization and commodification of the open common spaces, densification of built structures in the blocks and enclosure of the commons, is the main intended contribution of the strategy track 5, but also other strategy tracks.

In addition to this, the five strategy tracks simultaneously enhance social cohesion, collectivity and place attachment, promote a shift from “expert-led authoritarian procedures” towards “more inclusive and participative community-led practices” (van Knippenberg, et al., 2022), democratisation and participatory-based geometry of power and decision making – citizens or residents regaining capability and power to make decisions, improving inclusion, ethics, and interest-power balance. The strategy 3 is introducing the already existing variety of economic practices, improving solidarity, equality & equity, social justice and living standards. New institutional structures, such as commons-state institutions, can ensure fair access and fair use, improve taking care, processes, public (mutual) trust and common interest. *Domestication*, and activities such as gardening or DIT workshops, have a positive impact, including emancipatory role (Moebus, 2022) – learning about ecology, new aesthetics and life-style, acts of caring, logic of exchange, learning and sharing tools, upcycling, climate, space and collectivity.

4.4.3 Guidance Notes on Practical and Legislative Implementation of the Developed Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework

The five strategy tracks of the values-based intervention framework for reuse and governance of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks are aimed at improving devalued, conserving and reinforcing the sustained and/or adding values. With an aim to enhance a potential practical implementation of the developed values-based intervention framework and its strategy tracks, this section provides guidance notes on practical and legislative implementation of the developed framework, in relation to the specific theme, context and studied cases. It identifies enabling factors and marks critical points for action, differentiating between the short-term actions, mid-term planning or long-term strategic proposals.

Furthermore, previously evaluated interest-power balance of each stakeholder group within each strategy tracks is indicating possible roles and involvement of the stakeholder groups. Each stakeholder group contains at least one and often more actors, e.g., in civil sector different individuals, associations and groups of the *self-regulated community structure;* in public sector different municipal and city authorities, agencies, institutions, ministries, etc.; and consultancy sector different professional associations, academia, designers, planers, other non-governmental and non-profit associations, or some for-profit models (e.g., networks of freelancers, entities from the ethical, impact, commons-based and solidarity-based economy and similar). Their possible roles and involvement are specified for each point.

The means of implementation of the developed framework include review of existing and development of new urban policies, legislation and regulations on state or city level, institutional and procedural changes, finance and urban governance regulation. Moreover, those include different "soft measures" (as defined in the New Urban Agenda Illustrated, 2020) related to education and culture, and community-based activities and actions (UN-Habitat III, 2017a; UN-Habitat III, 2017b; Just Space, 2016; Davidson and Tewari, 2020; Iaione and De Nictolis, 2020). (Figure 4.20)

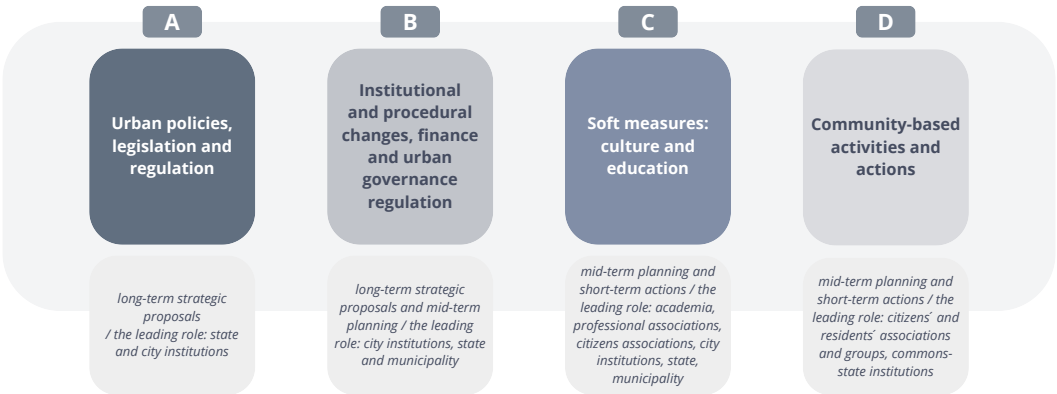


FIG. 4.20 Means of implementation. Illustration © Anica Dragutinovic, February, 2023.

A Urban policies, legislation and regulation

Review the existing national policies (related to housing, land and heritage policies, e.g., Law on Housing and Building Maintenance, Cultural Heritage Law, Law on environmental protection, Law on communal agencies, etc.) and other planning documents, strategies (e.g., Strategy of sustainable urban development of Republic of Serbia) and different action plans, as well as urban regulation and planning documents on the level of the city institutions (e.g. General Urban Plan for the city of Belgrade), integrating the objectives set in the strategy tracks, and when needed, develop new ones, e.g., Law of the Commons.

long-term strategic proposals / the leading role: state and city institutions

A1: Enhance and formalise involvement of residents and citizens in the planning and governance of their neighbourhoods by intervening into the public institutions setting and urban planning and governance procedures on a policy level.

A2: Develop and formalise cooperation mechanisms between representatives of the civil society and public sector. Establish civil-public partnership mechanisms. Possible re-affirmation of the local community as a governing unit, operating between the citizens and the municipality, or invention of a similar mechanism.

A3: Set-up a formal multi-sectoral and multi-level communication and cooperation by developing a governance coordination system, operating across different sectors (horizontal relationships) and between different levels within the sectors (vertical relationships).

A4: Introduce innovative urban laws and policies for co-governance. Develop assessment mechanisms for evaluation of policies and mechanisms, existing internationally, e.g., innovative urban laws for co-governance in Italy and Spain, incorporating "lessons learned" in the national legislation and regulation.

A5: Introduce legislative principles enabling, promoting and supporting community-led reuse, reactivation and domestication of the open common spaces, by individuals, groups or associations of citizens or residents. Integrate the community-based re-programming of the open common spaces into the formal planning process making it evidence- and values-based practice. The policies and planning documents need to ensure maintenance of their accessibility, thus the right to use the open common spaces, and forbid "enclosure of the commons".

A6: Introduce the Law of the Commons as an important legislative tool for formalisation of a set of *working rules*, regulating domains of responsibility and control, as well as scales and terms of use. Legally recognise and integrate rules produced by commoners as a civil-public regulatory co-production.

A7: Enhance the land administration system and land-sharing mechanisms in the policies. Design regulations and promote community land trust. Enable assignment and territorial control through community responsibility. Develop policies for risk reduction.

A8: Design regulations enabling land use according to the community needs. Integration and promotion of communal urban gardening, food growing and similar in the land use planning.

A9: Policies and planning documents need to safeguard the existing natural elements and promote planting trees, as an essential instrument for protection and enhancement of the green infrastructure in the city. Enforce standards related to ecology, biodiversity, climate change, temperature regulation and other environmental parameters. It is critical to preserve the current land occupancy rate in the blocks, which can be regulated through heritage protection, as in case of the Block 23 and other Central Zone blocks in New Belgrade, but also through other regulations. Establish a "green regulatory framework", introducing ecosystem zones and factor of biotope, as a parameter directly linked to the construction index and land occupancy rate.

A10: Urban policies and planning documents need to focus on preserving and improving social, functional and other values of the blocks and their open common spaces, also of the formally (yet) unprotected blocks. Formal and legally binding values assessment of the unprotected blocks in New Belgrade is urgent, and needs to be addressed jointly by the heritage institute, town planning institute and other institutions. The value assessment needs to incorporate a comprehensive value framework adjusted to contextual and asset-related specificities (see the value framework and condition assessment of the two New Belgrade Blocks in the section 4.4.1, which can be applied to other New Belgrade Blocks as well).

B Institutional and procedural changes, finance and urban governance regulation

Enhance public institutions transformation towards more democratic, inclusive and participatory approach in urban governance, develop new forms of public-civic partnerships or new institutional configurations, such as commons-state institutions, and develop financing framework for implementation of the objectives set in the strategy tracks. Designing procedures, subsidies and pilot projects can assist in mainstreaming the set objectives.

long-term strategic proposals and mid-term planning / the leading role: city institutions, state and municipality

B1: Develop capacity and competency within the public institutions, improving the human resources, operations and procedures, to support community-based organisations, citizens and residents' associations, and move towards participatory and transparent decision making in urban governance. Align institutional mechanisms and budgets with the community needs.

B2: Recognise, empower and support community-based organisations and associations, enabling decision rights on the issues of common interest and governance of the spaces of common interest (e.g., the green infrastructure of the city). The support can be achieved through subsidies, stimulus programmes or allocation of public and state-owned resources to community-based organisations for a non-exclusive jurisdiction or right to use – for example, a right to use rooms of the former local communities, or a right to use and manage the land in the state ownership for common activities such as urban gardening, food growing, tree planting, etc.

B3: Develop and establish commons-state institutions with decision rights, as mediatory units, coordinating identification and allocation of the resources to community-based organisations, operation and documentation of activities and uses, as well as set-up collaboration agreements between citizens' associations and public institutions or other entities formalizing rules and regulating domains of responsibility and control mechanisms for specific cases.

B4: Enhance collaboration and set-up cooperation protocols between the existing public-communal institutions, such as "Greenery Belgrade", and the citizens' or residents' associations, for better planning and coordination of actions in the common spaces.

B5: Develop consultancy mechanisms, including public institutions, civil sector, professional associations, academia or other entities, for better planning, programming, and maintaining the common spaces in the blocks.

B6: Develop new financing instruments and diverse support programs for community-based pilot projects with positive impact on broader value typologies, including social, environmental and other values. Introduce subsidies, tax abatement or incentives for citizens' or residents' associations or groups who contribute to the issues of common interest. Develop municipal stimulus programme to increase community's self-management of green.

B7: Recognize and support community-based producers, street vendors and other informal economic practices as defined in the strategy track 3. Support development of protocols about the access to daily necessities, such as food or clothing, or services, such as child or elder care, within a solidarity- and commons-based economy models. Regulate contribution-distribution rules within the community-based activities and promote *prosumers* approach.

B8: Create a digital catalogue of the shared facilities and models of use for a better insight into the existing facilities and practices within the common spaces of the blocks – coordinated by the commons-state institutions.

B9: Develop special programs dedicated to re-programming and revitalisation of the existing local community centres (both indoor and outdoor spaces), which would act as hubs for collective, creative, educational, organisational and other activities in the blocks – reconsidering its original values and program.

B10: Develop monitoring, reporting and evaluation mechanisms, e.g., mid-term reviews of implementation, review of the action plans by representatives of the public and civil sector, as well as integration of the Values Impact Assessment tool, including various indicators, as developed within 4.4.2 (see Figures 4.11, 4.13, 4.15, 4.17 and 4.19 for the specific case of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks 23 and 70a as foreseen to be achieved after implementation of the specific strategy tracks), ensuring integration of the values framework and implementation of the set objectives.

C Soft measures: culture and education

Enhance education and culture, as fundamental elements of values-based urban planning and governance, including formal and informal education and exchange models, workshops, cultural resources, creative industries such as art, photography, film, (digital) publishing, and other media - having an important role in enhancing know-how and skills of different stakeholder groups, raising awareness, mainstreaming the set objectives, etc. The means of implementation contain long-term strategic aims and impact, yet those can be targeted in mid-term planning and programmes and addressed even as short-term actions.

mid-term planning and short-term actions / the leading role: academia, professional associations, citizens associations, city institutions, state, municipality

C1: Develop formal and informal education formats, such as curriculums for different formal education levels, special trainings, workshops, thematic lectures, etc., and programs related to the main objectives or issues, to generate and share knowledge, skills and know-how enhancing capacity and competencies of different stakeholders, targeted in those programs.

C2: Introduce specific trainings and other education formats for the public institutions' staff improving their capacity and competencies to support community-based organisations, citizens and residents' associations, and move towards participatory and transparent decision making in urban governance. Introduce specific education programs for the public institutions, planners and policy makers, focusing on the objectives of the strategy tracks, e.g., the importance and means of preservation and enhancement of environmental, ecological and bio-physical qualities of the neighbourhoods.

C3: Introduce specific trainings, thematic workshops and other education formats for the citizens' and residents' associations and civil sector, for example focusing on urban gardening, food production or other themes from the strategy tracks, enhancing their competences and know-how related to the set objectives, mechanisms for proactive participation, as well as understanding of different values of the neighbourhoods.

C4: Consider a short-term paid work placement to support the local citizens' and residents' associations and groups to further develop community-based action plans, combining values-based and commons-based approaches.

C5: Strengthen knowledge exchange between different sectors (horizontal relationships) and between different levels within the sectors (vertical relationships). Recognise crucial role of academia and professional associations in knowledge production and exchange.

C6: Enable and foster collaboration of representatives of the public and civil sector, and possible commons-state institutions, with international associations and agencies, enhancing knowledge about good urban practices, innovative urban laws and policies for co-governance, emerging internationally, e.g., innovative urban laws for co-governance in Italy and Spain.

C7: Establish information hubs, e.g., within the local community centres in the blocks, to enable consultation infrastructure for the local communities, exchange and networking with other association, organisations and individuals, related to e.g., how to integrate new functions within the green areas, such as gardening, improve biodiversity, on energy-efficiency investments and funding options, support and subsidize, etc., but also to provide information related to access to daily necessities of the locals, activities and events.

C8: Develop community-based projects to identify, promote and safeguard common cultural resources of the local communities, both tangible and intangible, including valuable spatial assets and common property, local history, memory and culture, as shared heritage improving social cohesion, collectivity, place attachment and other indicators.

C9: Develop mechanisms for using art, photography, film, (digital) publishing, and other media as tools for raising awareness and mainstreaming ideas and objectives, but also in enhancing know-how, skills and knowledge of different stakeholder groups.

C10: Develop community-based projects focusing on cultural resources and creative industries as instruments to protect common cultural and heritage assets, as well as enhance cultural diversity and inclusion in the blocks.

D Community-based activities and actions

Develop capacity and competences of the local communities as a critical mean of implementation, establish procedures, action plans and pilot projects aimed at addressing the objectives set in the strategy tracks.

mid-term planning and short-term actions / the leading role: citizens' and residents' associations and groups, commons-state institutions

D1: Enhance capacities of the existing associations and groups, e.g., *Common Action – Blocks 70 and 70a*, establish similar associations in other blocks, enhance their collaboration and linking of (and within) the communities, improve community networks – increasing the initial likelihood of self-organization and enhancing the capabilities of individuals and groups to continue self-organized efforts over time.

D2: Prepare and undertake collective activities and actions in the common spaces of the blocks, which are important for enhancement of community networks, but also reactivation and domestication of the common spaces. Those could include Do-It-Together (DIT) Workshops, learning together, gardening together or other associated engagement and actions related to the space of their common interest.

D3: Develop and undertake community-based pilot projects and "living labs" aimed at addressing the objectives set in the strategy tracks. Develop, experiment, test and evaluate ideas, scenarios, solutions in real context, e.g., taking care of public greenery, or developing innovative collaboration mechanisms involving other stakeholders.

D4: Develop action plans and mechanisms for reactivation, reuse and domestication of the common spaces, including green areas – preserving and enhancing environmental, ecological and bio-physical qualities of the neighbourhoods, as well as other values of the open common spaces. Introduce activities, such as urban gardening and food growing, urban living rooms, exchange markets, and promote concepts of productive communities, circularity, care and self-management of the spaces and services of common interest.

D5: Set-up a declaration of *working rules* produced by citizens, residents or commoners, as autonomous, internal practice, legally recognised as a bottom-up rule-writing. Develop contractual agreements regulating the terms of use and governance of the common spaces.

D6: Contribute to the digital catalogue of the shared facilities and models of use for a better insight into the existing facilities and practices within the common spaces of the blocks.

D7: Organise social events and interaction opportunities in the blocks. Promote acts of sharing and co-creating, and a behavioural shift – from citizens to commoners, and therefore towards more engaged and proactive community.

D8: Establish procedures for preparing and conducting residents' and citizens' associations meetings on a regular basis. Define scope and intervals depending on the role within the clusters of neighbourhoods. Improve communication models, e.g., using IT and digital tools.

D9: Develop annual activities plan, budget, specification of planned maintenance, repair or improvement actions, use agreements within the residents' and citizens' associations, coordinated on the local community level, potentially by commons-state institutions.

D10: Develop protocols about the access to daily necessities, such as food or clothing, or services, such as child or elder care, within a solidarity- and commons-based economy models. Establish internal contribution-distribution rules within the community-based activities and promote *prosumers* approach.

4.5 Discussion

The developed framework for enhancement of New Belgrade Blocks combines values-based and commons-based approaches and defines five strategy tracks for better urban governance following the core principles and values of good, integrated and just planning. The strategy tracks operate between social, political, economic, functional and biophysical components, simultaneously addressing diverse value indicators.

The first strategy track enhances internal, informal or bottom-up practices of the residents or citizens, also defined as autonomous grassroots actions. It predominantly improves indicators from the social and political value areas. The second strategy track focuses on the *symbiotic* processes, and proposes interventions on (within) the institutional level. It predominantly improves indicators from the political value area. The third strategy track proposes solidarity- and commons-based economy as alternative models for improving (primarily) economic value-area and its indicators. The fourth strategy track focuses on reactivation and domestication of the open common spaces, their reuse and increase of functional diversity – diversity of uses, but also domains of control and scales of use of the common resources, maintaining accessibility as an important value indicator. It predominantly improves indicators from the aesthetical & physical, ecological, functional and social value areas. The fifth strategy track focuses on preservation and enhancement of the green infrastructure of the blocks. It predominantly improves indicators from the age and ecological value areas.

The five strategy tracks could be applied simultaneously as their tactics and instruments are complementary and, in some cases, shared. Nevertheless, it is possible to implement them independently in order to target particular value indicators, or in case of limited capacities, resources or means. The guidance notes for implementation of the developed framework and the five strategy tracks define the enabling factors or implementation means within the four main fields for action: A. Urban policies, legislation and regulation; B. Institutional and procedural changes, finance and urban governance regulation; C. Soft measures: culture and education; D. Community-based activities and actions; differing between long-term strategic proposals, mid-term planning and short-term actions. Each field contains ten recommendations and defines stakeholder groups that have a leading role in implementation of those recommendations. For instance, the action field B defines ten points for action that would enhance the public institutions and enable more democratic, inclusive and participatory approach in urban governance, but also

develop new institutional configurations such as commons-state institutions, new financing frameworks, procedures, etc. The public institutions on different levels (state, city, municipality) have a key role in implementing those recommendations (B1-B10) and mainstreaming the objectives set within the framework.

Besides the findings and conclusions that are focusing on the specific thematic, contextual and asset-related issues, the research presented in this chapter offers a model for establishing correlations among the variables important for the process of crafting the values-based strategies: (1) primary value areas, (2) indicators within each value area, (3) condition assessment for a specific asset, (4) defining socio-spatial devaluation aspects, (5) formulating significance statements, (6) argumentation - *potential added values*, identified in the broader theoretical framework, international agendas and charters, and current discussions and practices, (7) formulation of strategy tracks, (8) instruments and tactics within each track, (9) identification of the primary scales for intervention (spatial levels), (10) identification of the stakeholder-groups and (11) analysis of the interest-power balance for each stakeholder-group within each strategy track. The findings within those variables (components of the developed framework) are case study related and thus relevant for the specific case of New Belgrade. Nevertheless, the abstracted structure of the framework and correlations among the previously listed components represent an important methodological contribution, possibly reusable for other case studies.

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5 Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis has established a specific methodology for studying contemporary issues of urban heritage, in particular related to mass housing neighbourhoods. This research has been conducted by combining critical and correlational analysis in exploring deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces (Chapter 2); socio-spatial analysis including empirical, place-based and participatory methods in assessing their current condition (Chapter 3); and design-polemical theory in developing an intervention framework and a set of guidelines for values-based governance and reuse of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks (Chapter 4). Throughout the three main parts, the thesis presented various findings and perspectives, and provided different levels of knowledge, which will be reflected upon in this chapter. This chapter presents the conclusions by answering the research questions (Section 5.1), reflecting on the research impact (Section 5.2) and presenting an outlook (Section 5.3).

5.1 Revisiting the Research Questions

5.1.1 Part I
Understanding and Clarifying

— **RQ 1.1: How did the changes of socio-political context and housing policies influence deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks?**

This question was aimed to identify the influential parameters of deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces, focusing on exploration of the social aspects, socio-political context and housing policies. It was expected to be essential to understand the socio-spatial processes related to this urban heritage, and how those evolved over time.

The critical and correlational study identified social ownership of housing and self-management as an important legacy of Yugoslav planning and policies from the post-war period. *Socially-owned housing* denotes a specific form of ownership and it is not related to the demographic profile of the residents. It addressed a much wider social circle than *social housing* – the main aim was to enable better conditions of living for *everyone*. This factor is decisive for the current reception of those neighbourhoods. Namely, New Belgrade Blocks maintain a continuous wide social mix, preventing social decline of the neighbourhoods.

Nevertheless, the study revealed contradictions in socialist policies and dichotomies between (a) top-down planning and self-made urbanity, and (b) formal participation and informal hierarchy. Furthermore, the changed ownership and governance models, as part of the socio-political changes (e.g., privatisation, market-oriented urbanism, and neglect of the self-management) influenced the deterioration of the blocks, and in particular care for shared, common spaces. The change in ownership status, the privatization of housing in the 1990s, did not resolve the conflict between ownership and management rights (and responsibilities), but only deepened them. “Privatisation of housing might have been the wrong answer to the housing problems of transitional economies.” (Tsenkova and Nedovic-Budovic, 2016, 12) Additional factors identified are: economic and affordability issues and no investments in repairs (“poor owners” phenomenon), a lack of regulations and measures (responsibility issue) combined with a suppressed sense of community (willingness issue). Disrepair and lack of maintenance are the core issues that contribute to the physical decay of the common spaces, resulting in obsolescence and devaluation of this urban heritage.

— **RQ 1.2: How did the urban planning and development of New Belgrade Blocks over time contribute to the contemporary problems in the urban environment?**

This question was aimed to identify the influential parameters of deterioration of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces, focusing on the spatial aspects, thus the modernist planning, post-modern critique and contemporary urban practices.

The main findings indicate that discontinuity in planning and construction of New Belgrade reflected changes in the socio-political context, but also activities of CIAM and shifting perspectives on modernist planning. As the study on the correlation between the urban planning and practices and deterioration of the blocks (Section 2.4.2) pointed out, the unfinished modernist project (1985) found itself in the midst of a paradigm shift that entailed abandoning the original ideology, both politically and architecturally. The disrupted modernization opened up a critical framework, as part of the post-modernist discourse and already post-socialist thinking. The main points of the critique were the functionalist planning, the size and scale of the buildings and open areas of the blocks, "loss of human dimensions"—compared to the traditional urban patterns of historical cities—justifying proposals for densification. The "vague areas of the *functionalist* city" were described as "unattractive for other functions", such as banks, department stores, and design offices. (Perovic, 1985) Nevertheless, as the later urban development of New Belgrade shows, the initial mono-functionality of the blocks was not due to a lack of attractiveness but was a product of the post-war planning and socio-political discourse: The *other* functions were simply not foreseen until then, as market-oriented urbanism was yet to appear in the next period. However, the urban practices that followed and continued until nowadays—the gradual transformation of the urban landscape of modernity, privatization, commercialisation and infill practices—accelerated depreciation and devaluation of the modernist heritage, intensifying socio-spatial polarization in the city.

This transformation process is positioning the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks as the most neglected, underused, and dilapidated components of these neighbourhoods. And yet, as the theoretical study indicated, those are crucial to the quality and vitality of the blocks and the very idea of blocks as integrated, self-managing neighbourhoods. The legacy of self-management and social ownership, complemented with the legacy of the common spaces, is recognised as significant for contemporary discussions on urban commons, the question of urban citizenship and bottom-up governance as a form of direct democracy in the city. Both ownership and governance models that would allow and encourage collective use, management, and control of the common spaces need to be (re)considered and (re)conceptualized in order to address underutilization and the problem of maintenance and management of the blocks and their common spaces, leading to integrative rehabilitation of the New Belgrade Blocks.

5.1.2 Part II
Exploration and Assessment

— **RQ 2.1: How to assess the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks, in order to identify their attributes and values, current problems and potentials?**

The focus on the blocks as *lived space* in assessment of their current condition required a dynamic relationship between the subject matter and research methods. Therefore, the thesis interlinked these two, developing a specific assessment approach, beyond the conventional (or traditional) heritage assessment.

The developed multi-level assessment approach is determined by a place-based, empirical study, involving citizens in the assessment process and applying cross-disciplinary assessment methods. The exploratory talks with the residents of two New Belgrade Blocks (Section 3.2) acted as a participatory tool for involvement of the residents in the assessment process and inclusion of their perspectives. The spatial analysis of the common spaces (Section 3.3) included: morphogenesis of the two blocks and their common spaces; identification, typological decoding and classification of the common spaces; typo-morphological analysis; and spatial mapping of the publicness – land ownership, accessibility, governance and rights to use. It revealed additional physical, functional, legal, organisational and social features of the common spaces of the blocks. Finally, the study on the current situation in urban governance and heritage management of the two blocks (Section 3.4), both revealed scarcity of models for participatory, integrative and effective maintenance and management of the neighbourhoods, and confirmed the importance of the people-centred approach in heritage management.

The outcomes indicate that the application of diverse assessment methods enabled consideration of different socio-spatial aspects, and thus inclusion of cross-disciplinary findings (e.g., related to urban morphology and design, use and facilities, accessibility, ownership status, maintenance and care, governance, heritage status, adaptation works, place attachment, social relationships, etc.) and their co-validation. The assessment approach highlighted co-dependence of the fields of integrated conservation, urban planning and governance of mass housing neighbourhoods.

The study showed that context-dependent, in-depth assessment, conducted with society, is key to an integrated assessment approach. Moreover, it suggests that specific social, political, economic and cultural parameters of a case study need to be considered within it.

— RQ 2.2: **What are the current physical, functional, legal, organisational and social features of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks and why are those problematic or significant?**

The integrated approach for assessment of the common spaces in the two New Belgrade Blocks—in the contemporary context, the current legal and organisational conditions, and with the society—determined their current physical, functional, legal, organisational and social features, and specified their significance, answering this research question.

The findings revealed the place-based problematic and complex relations between the community and their living environment. The exploratory talks with the residents validated the importance of the devaluation factors and correlations identified within the theoretical study. In particular, *lack of regulations, responsibility and willingness issues,* as well as *affordability issue* are recognised by the residents as key to the *maintenance problems* and *disrepair,* especially of the common spaces. However, *morphology of the blocks, size of the buildings and open spaces* and *density*, identified as problematic in the theoretical study, were assessed differently by the residents. The open common areas and green areas are highly appreciated by the residents and possible densification was perceived rather negatively—as identified in the talks—and opposed to strongly—as identified in the study on the current situation in urban governance and heritage management of the two blocks. The residents recognized decline in collective activities and under-utilisation of some of the collective spaces. Their perception of the spatial issues, as the collected statements show, is rather related to utilisation and appropriation than to configuration. Therefore, the talks with residents confirmed the factors of vitality, (multi)functionality, (self)management and appropriation of the common spaces to be crucial for addressing deterioration and devaluation of New Belgrade Blocks.

The local community centres and local community associations are recognized as an important legacy of Yugoslav planning and policies, but the residents also note the potentials of citizens associations nowadays. One year after these talks with residents, a very active citizens association will be founded in blocks 70 and 70a – *Common Action – Blocks 70 and 70a*, proving the expressed interest in proactive participation and taking care of the common spaces and their neighbourhood in general—as identified in the study on the current situation in urban governance and heritage management of the two blocks.

The spatial analysis indicated that the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks take on different shape and structure, have different levels of permeability and different ranges of use. Their physical form is very diverse, sometimes clear and distinguishable from the surroundings, but usually without a clear *sense of*

enclosure. The current spatial setting of New Belgrade Blocks and the scarcity of physical barriers between the different segments and spaces of the blocks are recognised as crucial to the openness and accessibility, enabling the rights to use the common spaces. The porosity of their boundaries "permits acts of sharing to expand the circles of commoning". (Stavrides, 2015) High inner-block integration allows for collective experience and reinforces social cohesion and the sense of community. Furthermore, the findings show that the common spaces struggle with the current land use and management policy. A lack of formal recognition, rigid public institutions and their failing management strategies (under-management and under-maintenance) result in neglected and deteriorated spaces. Spatial representation and physical condition of these spaces affect the aspiration and motivation to use the spaces, but also diminish and obscure their architectural quality. The position and notion of these spaces as semi-public or in-between spaces require a *new institutional architecture* related to management and use of these spaces. Besides improving the physical condition of the spaces, encouraging community self-organisation and integration of diverse social programmes is needed.

The study specified multi-level significance of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks. Those spaces are crucial for preservation of the *historic urban landscape* (HUL) of New Belgrade, preservation of the urban morphology and layout of the blocks, as well as ambience values of the blocks. The common spaces also have social and environmental significance, they enable spatialisation of the *right to the city* and have a key role in facilitating bottom-up initiatives, interaction, reactive and proactive collective practices, towards inclusive and integrative urban heritage governance, defending the *common interest*.

Furthermore, the findings confirm the effectiveness of the bottom-up "defence" and preservation strategy through community-based actions (as in case of Block 70a), and suggest a capacity of citizens' associations to contribute to democratisation of the urban (heritage) governance processes. Moreover, the study confirmed that the common spaces are critical for actual implementation or manifestation of the heritage management shift from the "expert-led authoritarian procedures towards more inclusive and participative community-led practices" (van Knippenberg et al., 2022).

The findings indicate that the current urban practices, interventions and intentions are mostly insensitive to the designed and generated values of the blocks. Value- and evidence-based improvements of the neighbourhoods as a whole, or interventions in line with sustainable development goals and other aspects defined in international agendas and charters, are scarce – and necessary. Furthermore, it is necessary to improve the position of citizens in the formal regulatory framework and introduce collaborative instruments for management, maintenance and use of the neighbourhoods.

5.1.3 Part III
Intervention Framework

— **RQ 3.1: How to regenerate and reuse the common spaces and collective practices in New Belgrade Blocks in order to adapt them to current and future societal and users' needs and yet preserve their values?**

This research question is answered through development of a values-based governance and intervention framework for enhancement of New Belgrade Blocks and their common spaces. The framework emphasized the role of collective practices, and evolved from the findings of the previous two parts (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3).

Adapting the blocks to current and future societal and users' needs while preserving their values required a values-based approach. Therefore, the study set a value framework—identifying the primary value areas and determining indicators within each value area—that is juxtaposing notions of values as *reasons for conservation* (*embedded values*), values as *reasons for design* and *reasons for planning,* thus, including a set of potential *added values* and features that can be planned and designed. (Figure 4.6)

Moreover, the study determined the core variables important for the process of crafting values-based strategy tracks, and thus the basic components of the framework. Besides the (1) primary value areas and (2) indicators within each value area, the framework includes: (3) condition assessment for a specific asset, (4) defining socio-spatial devaluation aspects, (5) formulating significance statements. Those components reflect on the *embedded values*, but also determine current devaluation aspects. Furthermore, the framework integrates (6) argumentation (potential *added values*), identified in the broader theoretical framework, international agendas and charters, and current discussions and practices, reflecting on current and future societal needs. Previous components enable (7) formulation of strategy tracks, each including (8) instruments and tactics, (9) identification of the primary scales for intervention (spatial levels), (10) identification of the stakeholder-groups and (11) analysis of the interest-power balance for each stakeholder-group within each strategy track.

The framework profiled five strategy tracks that are based on the principles of collaborative governance, urban commons and values-based approach. These strategy tracks are:

1. Enhancement of community networks;
2. Diversification of institutional landscape;
3. Solidarity- and commons-based economy;
4. Reactivation and domestication of open common spaces;
5. Preservation and enhancement of green infrastructure.

They aim to simultaneously enhance social cohesion, collectivity and place attachment; promoting community-led practices, democratization and participatory-based geometry of power and decision making; improving solidarity, equality & equity and social justice; enhancing quality of the lived environment and natural elements; improving processes of taking care, public (mutual) trust and common interest; and having an emancipatory role.

— **RQ 3.2: What are the mechanisms for practical implementation of the developed framework for enhancement of the common spaces of New Belgrade Blocks?**

The answer to this research question is embedded within the developed guidance notes on practical implementation of the developed framework. The findings indicate four main fields for action, including: A. Urban policies, legislation and regulation; B. Institutional and procedural changes, finance and urban governance regulation; C. Soft measures: culture and education; D. Community-based activities and actions; differing between long-term strategic proposals, mid-term planning and short-term actions. Each field contains ten recommendations and defines stakeholder groups that have a leading role in implementation of those recommendations.

5.2 Research Impact

The thesis developed and presented diverse findings on the specific subject matter, thematic, contextual and asset-related specificities. The main findings and answers to the six research questions are presented in the previous section. This section reflects on those findings and the research impact—particularly addressing the important methodological contribution of the thesis—and presents the limitations of the research.

5.2.1 Scientific Contribution

Besides the generated knowledge on the specific subject matter (summarised in Section 5.1), which represents the primary scientific contribution, the thesis has established a specific research methodology—a methodology for studying contemporary issues of urban heritage, with a potential of having broader scientific

impact (see Section 1.4 and Figure 1.3). The methodology is defined by the three main steps of the process: (1) understanding, (2) assessing and (3) enhancing. The first step combined critical theory and correlational analysis in exploring current urban issues, deterioration and devaluation of urban heritage in relation to the other socio-spatial processes in a city, e.g., governance regime changes, ownership change, etc. It shed light on the role of the modernist design, reflected in the open block setting and recognising open common spaces as crucial spatial components of the design, being decisive for functioning of the blocks as integrated, self-managing neighbourhoods. The strong focus on the open common spaces, *spaces between the buildings*, was, thus, profiled within this step. The second step profiled a multi-level assessment model, including empirical, place-based and participatory methods in assessing the current condition, combined with a spatial analysis and critical review of the current urban heritage practices. The third step included design-polemical theory building in developing an intervention framework and a set of guidelines for values-based governance of urban heritage (based on the previous two steps). Following these steps in the research process was important, as it enabled revealing decisive parameters and aspects of deterioration specific to the case study and assessing the specific asset (common spaces) in-depth and from different perspectives, in order to finally profile the guidelines for enhancement which are responding to the specific socio-spatial setting.

The developed methodology represents a valuable scientific contribution to the current knowledge on approaches for integrated conservation, urban planning and governance of urban heritage, and in particular mass housing neighbourhoods. It shows co-dependence of those fields and offers an integrative and cross-disciplinary approach, including various methods for research on the legacy, assessment of the current condition and developing collaborative, inclusive and integrative urban heritage governance models and instruments.

As such, it is responding to the shifting relationship between the heritage management and urban planning and architectural design in academic discussions, and to the recognised need for integrative approaches, especially when it comes to typologies such as mass housing neighbourhoods. It contributes to the current discussions on and the implementation of Conservation Management Plans (CMP), which is a special tool developed and practiced to structure the complexity of the process of heritage conservation in an efficient way. Although CMPs have been commonly developed for 'outstanding' and 'iconic' buildings and (rarely) sites, they have a potential to be applied on a neighbourhood scale as well, which has been marginalised so far. The thesis is offering an approach for enhancement and governance of mass housing as 'ordinary heritage', urban heritage on a neighbourhood scale, emphasising the importance of citizens' engagement. Its

principles correspond to the basic principles of a good CMP, as formulated by Macdonald (2023): being values-based, interdisciplinary, action oriented, led by significance, policy simple and fully engaged with stakeholders.

5.2.2 Contribution to Academic Education

An important and very effective component of the research methodology is related to the exploration-education model developed and applied within it. The empirical and place-based study, in particular the exploratory talks and parts of the spatial analysis (e.g., photo-documentation, typological decoding, search for spatial patters), was conducted within different curricular and extra-curricular activities involving architecture and urban planning students of different study levels. The activities were realised in a multi-stage research process designed within this research and conducted during multiple visits of the researcher as guest research and teaching staff at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture. The workshops had different objectives and applied different methods, each representing an important research tactic, whose methodology could possibly be reused in other studies. The approach was based on a strong link between teaching and research and it was mutually beneficial for the actors involved. It enabled advanced understanding of the subject and object of research, understanding of potentials and limits of the participatory assessment and refinement of the methods. Besides the generated knowledge on the subject and methods, the product of this process is an exploration-education model that is advancing academic and analytical thinking.

The exploration-education model was applied as both a research and a teaching tool, testing methods of exploration, education, problem-solving and co-assessment of the lived environment through a place-based approach. The boundaries between classroom, studied place and community became more obscure, and therefore, more integrated (Sobel, 2004; Nikezic and Markovic, 2015). It was realised through a series of student workshops with an extended agenda, during which both the researcher and students learned through an interactive process. The students developed understanding of the place-based problematic and relations, user behaviour and lifestyles, as well as practical skills and know-how, research and analytical skills. The central approach of the workshops was based on *dialogical, teamwork* and *social narrative* (Silverstein and Jocobson, 1978) methodologies in order to understand complex relations between society and environment.

The activities directly involved around 100 students, and had an additional indirect impact on the other students and the institution itself, which was proven by reuse of the approach in later educational activities organised at the Faculty of

Architecture in Belgrade (e.g., student workshop “Among Scales – Programming the Landscape Ecology: Towards the New Modernity of Belgrade” (see Nikezic and Milovanovic, 2019) and student workshop “ISO-SCAPES: Research Mass Housing through Drawing” (see Dragutinovic et al., 2023). It has further potential to influence other scholars and researchers, as the results (both in terms of the methodology and the outcomes) were published. (see Dragutinovic and Nikezic, 2020; Milovanovic et al., 2020)

5.2.3 Societal Contribution

Besides the scientific and academic impact, the research achieved a societal and cultural impact through an engaging research approach conducted with society. In addition to the three workshops primarily involving students and local communities, a stakeholder workshop was organised in May 2021 in Belgrade, including additional stakeholder-groups and having a directive role in developing the intervention framework. The research activities directly contributed to raising awareness among the individual and institutional actors involved in the research, on the importance of engagement of the local community, but also cross-sectoral and inter-institutional communication and collaboration, including the civil sector. The societal impact is achieved through this direct involvement of the stakeholders in the research process, by organising a cross-sectoral and inter-institutional communication and exchange, with a potential to impact planning and policy framework.

Furthermore, the developed intervention framework incorporates the same principles (as promoted during the research process) of people-based approach, citizens engagement and collaborative urban governance, aiming for another level of societal and cultural impact, as well as impact on the policy. The underlying narrative of the processes of *commoning*, disseminated within those activities and incorporated in the developed intervention framework, sheds light on possible economic models for community-based regeneration, collective production and the concept of prosumers. Additionally, raising awareness on the importance of the green infrastructure and pro-environmental behaviour, individual and collective, as well as incorporating those within the developed intervention framework, aims for an environmental impact.

5.2.4 Limitations of the Research

The research has some limitations that need to be addressed in order to put the findings in the right perspective and to address the potential for further development.

The first limitation is related to the nature of the case study research strategy—the study was focusing on a specific case, whose socio-spatial setting is unique. Although being part of a larger cultural phenomenon of post-war modernist mass housing neighbourhoods and having similar features and current challenges, the case of New Belgrade Blocks is strongly tied into a very specific contextual framework. The findings are not directly applicable to other cases of mass housing in Europe and beyond, or within the cultural space of the former Yugoslavia, as this socio-spatial legacy is very diverse. Nevertheless, partial transferability of the findings, and in particular related to the research methodology and the developed framework, is possible. Aspects to be considered are addressed in Section 5.3.

The second limitation of the research is related to the workshops, in particular the limited number of involved residents in the exploratory talks, as well as the number of stakeholders in the stakeholder workshop. Additionally, although the stakeholder workshop involved diverse stakeholder-groups beyond academia, it was organised and implemented within the academic environment. The findings could have been different, if the stakeholder workshop had been organised with a different group of people or within a different environment (e.g., in an institution of the city or the municipality).

The third limitation is related to the nature of the design-polemical theory and abductive reasoning applied in Chapter 4. The framework can only be tested and verified by other means which are beyond the scope of this thesis. The efficiency of the developed intervention framework and the strategy tracks for the case of New Belgrade Blocks can only be tested by actually implementing it within the policies and other defined action means. An additional limitation concerning applicability of the findings, in particular of the developed framework, is related to the complexity of the studied issue and encompassing approach in addressing it, resulting in output which is not comprehensible to all stakeholder groups it jointly addresses. This point will be discussed in Section 5.3 as well.

5.3 Outlook

This section discusses two aspects: (1) applicability of the developed values-based governance and intervention framework, reflecting on the guidance notes and its implementation for the specific case of New Belgrade Blocks; and (2) transferability of the methods and findings to other contexts, heritage typologies or assets.

The guidance notes on implementation of the developed values-based governance and intervention framework define practical and legislative steps seen as necessary for the operationalisation of the strategy tracks. Those notes define the leading roles among the stakeholders within each of the four main fields of action, or means of implementation (Figure 4.20), and concrete actions to be taken by each stakeholder-group (e.g., public institutions, residents, etc.). The effectiveness of the governance model is based on the framework and implementation guidelines being simultaneously developed as a joint action plan for all stakeholders. However, further customisation of the output format may be necessary for actual application, depending on the stakeholder-group a particular set of actions would be directed to. According to Allan (2021), instead of reduction of complexity (maintaining credibility of the outcome, supported by historic and analytical studies), customisation of the output is suggested. The developed implementation guidelines presented in Section 4.4.3 already represent an output with a certain level of abstraction, or rather concretisation of the outcome, listing steps for action. Nevertheless, the guidelines may be complemented with short leaflets for each stakeholder-group (custom-made), covering the essentials, but cross-referencing the main document. Further output formats may be explored and prepared as needed during the implementation process (e.g., including social media to share information among the residents).

Although developed for the specific case of New Belgrade Blocks, both the research methodology—including the diverse methods—and the specific findings and conclusions—in particular the developed framework—are possibly transferable and adjustable to comparable cases, having similar social, political, economic and cultural background. Nevertheless, they are possibly adaptable to other contexts, heritage typologies or assets, to a certain extent, depending on the field setting of the object, which would require further investigation. The transferability of the applied research methods (e.g., semi-structured interview with the residents, typo-morphological analysis, or stakeholder workshop) as separate research tools is high. The research process of those separate parts (explained for each part within the thesis) could be reused in other studies related to housing or other urban heritage

issues. In addition to that, the developed framework (its structure) could act as a template in future studies on housing or urban heritage, as it determined the core variables important for the process of crafting values-based strategy tracks and established relations between the basic components of the framework. Critical reflection is necessary though, possibly resulting in additional components or altered relations, depending on specificities of the case study.

According to Ostrom (1990, 24), abstraction of observed complexity of a field setting for the purpose of finer analysis of the logical relationships among variables in a closed system is at the core of a policy science. Nevertheless, the institutional arrangements can change the pattern of outcomes achieved and "a set of rules used in one physical environment may have vastly different consequences if used in a different physical environment". (Ostrom, 1990, 25) Therefore, the transferability of the developed framework in terms of the content (e.g., the profiled five strategy tracks and accordingly defined guidance notes) would not be efficient, as it is specifically developed for the case of New Belgrade Blocks and is based on its specific socio-spatial setting. The transferability of the content in parts (e.g., considering one strategy track) may be possible, depending on the socio-spatial setting of another case study, which requires in-depth study. The transferability decreases with the increase of the number of differentiating aspects in the socio-spatial setting of the other case study, resulting in different devaluation aspects and accordingly different intervention needs. Depending on findings from the first step, the research tactics to be applied in the second and the third step would need adjustment. Therefore, following the three defined steps of the research process: (1) understanding, (2) assessing and (3) enhancing, is a pre-condition for development of an appropriate intervention framework and action plan for a specific case study.

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Appendix

Stakeholder Workshop: Narrative Analysis

Participant 1, an urban planner and a representative of the Town Planning Institute of the city of Belgrade, addressed the question of urban planning and policies and their impact on the condition of New Belgrade Blocks and potential transformation, focusing on the governance, ownership and use of the common spaces.

We are defining our interest, set of values, standards and goals we want to achieve within the policies and laws. For New Belgrade Blocks, we need to decide, strategically, whether we are preserving, decomposing or doing something else. That is something that we, we as citizens and us working on that on another level, need to agree upon – on a level of a strategic plan, for example on a level of the 'General plan'. The current General plan for Belgrade, in effect, determined preservation of the New Belgrade Blocks in the current condition and it somehow forbids construction in those blocks, that would affect the standards once achieved in the blocks, established in earlier General plan from 1972. (...) Nowadays, the aims of plans are different. (...) The other types of details are presented in other urban plans, 'Plans of Detailed Regulation' or 'Plans of General Regulation'. (...) If we are not changing ownership status or models of use, urban plans are not an instrument that can contribute. (...) The blocks were made as whole units, and the questions of ownership and parcellation of land were not considered in the planning, but the focus was rather on enabling a certain number of flats for the citizens and enabling facilities. (...) The current status of an extensive common area within a block is public ownership, governed by the city and in public use. (...) That one extensive parcel includes inner-block traffic, parking, playgrounds, green areas. Firstly, a plan needs to decompose that parcel and to clarify what should be governed by the Secretariat for traffic, what by the Belgrade Greenery, and so on. (...) Not having this determined, for example inner-block traffic, the Secretariat for traffic doesn't have a legal right to maintain it. (...) There is a need for a new plan for the blocks that would adjust them to the new legal context and new governance context. (...) Nevertheless, there is another issue specific for New Belgrade open blocks. The owners of the flats and buildings own only the parcels under the buildings, while all other needs, for example, for parking and green open areas, are realized within the

open common, or public, areas, accessible to anyone and financed by the city. That is a constant dilemma. For the residents of the blocks, it is theirs 'the most', it is their living environment and primarily meant for their community. But we still don't have mechanisms developed for integration of those citizens and communities, so that they can have rights and responsibilities towards the open space in their blocks. (...) For Sava River blocks there is a decision to make a plan for 20 years already. But it never came to the point of a public insight. The Association of Architects of Belgrade, that could see the plan before it was ready for the public, reacted. So, the commission made a decision that new construction is not allowed. The plan can only solve the issues and improve living conditions of the residents. (...) Still, an urban plan or a project is needed to achieve that. (...) According to the Law on Housing and Building Maintenance, in ordered to have the residents formally taking care of the open common space within the blocks, the big parcels would need to change the ownership status. (...) The crucial thing is emergence of the civil sector, still increasing in our context. And I believe that will bring us to a solution. We need to have citizens associations. That is not public sector, those are not state institutions, that is a new form which was not needed in socialism, because the state had that role. Nowadays we need citizens and their associations to take care of their common interest. If they wait for someone else to address their interests, it will come to a manipulation. (...) The citizens need to initiate and the public institutions such as Belgrade Greenery can take action. (Participant 1)

Participant 2, an architect, a resident and manager of that residential building in Block 23, emphasized the situation 'on site', the role of residents and the issue of communication with the public institutions.

This is all a theory. The situation on site is completely different. The citizens, the users of that space, are not informed. There are some rules, but not applied and carried out. (...) I blame institutions and the parcellation as it is at the moment. And the change of ownership from collective into private only of the buildings. It cannot be possible that we are not owners of a single cm2 of greenery. (...) According to that, our parcel is only the one under the residential building. (...) When I realised the parcellation and jurisdiction, or lack of it, I realised the core of the issue. Whatever is requested from the municipality or the city, the answer is 'we have no jurisdiction'. The parcellation also affects the issue of parking and residents being left without the parking spots which were designed for them in the blocks. That is unacceptable. (...) The maintenance of the blocks is really a big issue. (...) We've been told that citizens association, which is in a way a substitution for the local community, is a mechanism for communication with the institutions. (...) There is a vacuum between the heritage protection and technical characteristics of the buildings. The concrete facades cannot be reconstructed easily. The citizens don't know what can and

what cannot be done. (...) The block is a huge organism which needs to function on multiple levels, and the mix of private, public and collective maintenance is very complex. Many institutions are involved, which don't collaborate between each other. Maybe they do in theory, but I don't see that on site. (...) Those public institutions don't ask residents what are their needs and which program should be planned. (...) Before the early public insight, a dialogue with the residents about their needs is needed. (...) And the proactive role of the residents requires a lot of time and commitment. For example, the social structure in our block is predominately middle-class, highly educated, employed people, which don't have time for those initiatives. (Participant 2)

Participant 3, an associate professor and expert for open public and common spaces, also a resident of New Belgrade since 1975 (firstly Block 70, one of the Sava River blocks, currently Block 2), recognised the exceptional value of the open and green spaces of New Belgrade Blocks, but also underlined the maintenance issues, and emphasized a need for reinforcement and diversification of institutional support.

Specificities of the Sava River blocks are different from the Block 23. The scope of what's perceived as common, when we talk about green and open space, is completely different. And accordingly, the approaches for solving the issues differ. (...) What we inherited as an exceptional value, in all New Belgrade Blocks, is the amount of open and green spaces, which is a value but also a problem from the maintenance perspective. (...) The citizens associations are not integrated at all. We don't have mechanisms for achieving that. It is very important to be institutionally supported. Which brings us back to the question of the right to the city and how present it is in our society. (...) In the socialist period we used to clean once per week. That was normal, but it was 'top-down'. (...) Mechanism of rewards can be introduced by the city, as in case of 'the most beautiful yard'. Even something that is in public ownership but perceived as common territory can be appropriated by the residents. So, even in those in-between conditions, where we are not clear about the jurisdictions, there are mechanisms of support and they should be reinforced and diversified until we have a complete transformation and clearance, systemic solutions. (Participant 3)

Participant 4, an associate professor and expert for co-creation, also a resident of New Belgrade for a long time (firstly Block 45, one of the Sava River blocks, currently Block 32), supported the engagement of the citizens associations, highlighted a need for better organisation but also better clarification of the rights and responsibilities recognising a synergy of control and use of space, identified the need for strategic innovation and civil-public partnership and proposed pilot projects as a tool for approaching complex issues.

We used to clean around our building, take care of gardens, although we also had a public-communal institution that took care of it. What happened in the meantime is a parcellation defining only land under buildings as our, and the rest is state-owned, so we don't have a clue what is happening. (...) Earlier, we used to know, playgrounds, courts, that is ours. And there were shared courts for the whole block. We had clusters of neighbourhoods, which was very important and got lost after the socialist period. And you are probably on the right track that the huge parcel should have a structure, so that we know who is taking care of what. I am very proud that the Sava river blocks are one of the most organized local communities in the city, which are taking care of that space very actively. But we need to have both responsibilities and rights, written down somewhere. We don't need to be owners, but we want to take care of that space. Which brings us back to the regulatory framework. But what is the role of laws? (...) Let's share responsibilities so that not everything needs to go through laws and punishments, but to be clear who are subjects of this defined space, and to have legally defined that they have to collaborate and work in a transparent way. (...) There are many issues, and we think that if we approach institutions, they will have all the answers. They don't know either, there are laws, should be changed New solutions are a matter of agreement, societal agreement. (...) We demonstrate and criticize too much lately. I am not saying we should keep silent about the problems, but to try to initiate a dialogue in order to come to a solution. (...) When we talk about solutions, about governance mechanisms, we need to include citizens associations and initiatives. There is no better inspection but the residents that take care of their neighbourhood. (...) I agree that institutions should be there, functioning, but I also think that the state needs to delegate part of its jurisdiction to the citizens. In a sense to let the citizens take care and control the space. There is a synergy of control and use of a space, especially relevant for these blocks. (...) We should propose pilot projects as a tool for complex issues. To take a piece, a territory sample, and to try on small-scale, not on a systemic level. To try, test, experiment. (...) It needs to be a civil-public partnership. Public sector, and a mandatory academia. As in the 'quintuple helix' model. Why academia? Because it is paid to follow new trends, new solutions worldwide, and it should bring a basis for innovation. Because, we have to innovate, since what we have doesn't function. We need innovative solutions. That can be defined through strategic documents. (Participant 4)

Participant 5, a teaching assistant and a PhD Candidate focusing on the place making, and also a resident of New Belgrade (Block 37), emphasized the lack of mechanisms for management and even daily problem-solving in the blocks.

Some years ago, when we had to repair the roof, we didn't know the mechanism, who is responsible and who should finance the repair. (...) We need to preserve the blocks, to prevent construction on the open spaces. (...) There is a disbalance in

reality of the blocks, as a product of abolition of one ownership model, which cannot now be replaced by anything in a simple way. (Participant 5)

Participant 6, an architect conservator from the Heritage Institute of the city of Belgrade, emphasized the specific valorisation approach in case of New Belgrade Blocks and multidisciplinary, inter-institutional collaboration.

Valorisation of New Belgrade has a different experience, compared to the valorisation of heritage sites of earlier periods, early 20th or 19th century. We had a very good collaboration with colleagues from urban planning and colleagues researching Modern architecture. (...) The collaboration is regulated, first of all, by the Cultural Heritage Law, which requires, for preparation of plans, also preparation of 'Elaborations of technical protection measurements' both for the buildings and spatial cultural-historic sites. (...) The non-governmental sector and professional associations are very important factor in initiating things. Docomomo, for example, has a strong infrastructure and is a good initiator. In that sense, I am sure that they could support your citizens association, for example initiate the status of a cultural good for those blocks. (...) For example, Block 23 is protected, and according to the Cultural Heritage Law, you as residents have rights but also responsibilities. Owners of a cultural good are required to maintain the cultural good. Now we are coming to the issue of the size of buildings in New Belgrade and other specific issues, which is too much to handle for any local community or any form of their association. The system needs to solve that on another level. And there is a model for that. (...) There is one stipulation of the Cultural Heritage Law from 1994, that a local municipality or the state, whoever is the owner—and this can be applied on a public space if it is protected as a cultural good—can take over the 'guardianship' over a cultural good, which is the best model. (Participant 6)

Participant 7, an assistant professor and a national expert for policy making, a former associate in the Ministry of Construction, Republic of Serbia, reflected on the national and international policies relevant for the topic and emphasized that governance mechanisms need to be clear and that a specification of institutional responsibilities and actions is needed.

The National strategy for sustainable urban development of Republic of Serbia, adopted in 2019 with a support of GIZ project in Serbia, is based on international policies and agendas such as Leipzig Charter, UN Agenda and Sustainable Development Goals. (...) When we talk about the common good, treated in the New Leipzig Charter, I think it is well formulated as 'common' good, as it is not a public interest, or public good. (...) In neo-liberal context, it was mainly 'public' good that has been promoted as a theoretical framework, and we, as a post-socialist

context, are directed more towards public interest as a theoretical basis. Thus, this formulation 'common good' is a smart one. (...) What is being promoted with the New Leipzig Charter reminds me on what we had in the stipulations of our urban plans and General Urban Plan for Belgrade from 1972. (...) Housing that we are talking about used to be defined legally not only as public interest, but also public use. With the change of laws on expropriation in 1990s, it was abolished and what is left in the scope of public interest is social housing, as a separate category, and everything else is left to the market. (...) Only in 2006-7, we altered the Constitution and abolished societal ownership as an ownership model. That model is not recognised in the West, they don't have it as an ownership category. (...) We have now an overlay of different models of ownership, ownership of the land, of buildings, of apartments. (...) In the national policies for urban development, for the first time in Serbia, we have defined priority areas for intervention in urban context. One of six priority areas for intervention are zones protected as cultural good, but also all from the domain of built heritage after the Second WW. (...) Initiatives emerge when there is a problem. You don't know what to do, institutions don't function. And what is happening to us for more than 15 years is that the state takes off responsibilities. We have pure neo-liberal concept in the act. But citizens association cannot substitute institutions which have to do their work. (...) The law needs to specify which institution is doing what. It is not possible that the civil sector completely takes over. Governance mechanisms need to be clear. The non-governmental sector can indicate problems but it doesn't have capacities or finances to solve them on its own. (Participant 7)

Participant 8, head of the Sector for strategic planning, project management and climate change in the Secretariat for Environmental Protection of the city of Belgrade, elaborated on the status of green spaces in the national policies and their maintenance in the contemporary institutional and legal framework, and proposed both short-term actions and long-term strategic planning and better inter-sectoral collaboration.

If we talk about green areas, the Law on environmental protection includes only 'public green areas', and care for them recognizes as a communal agency, which leads to the Law on communal agencies. These two laws are dealing with the public green areas and are bringing things to the local level without further guidelines, thus local municipalities organize that in different ways, based on a city decision. The city decision of the city of Belgrade is, unfortunately I must say, not good enough and so we have problems when it comes to the public green areas. On the other hand, besides the public green areas, we have 'other green areas', which can be found in the Law on housing and maintenance of buildings. So, that is another mechanism. New Belgrade Blocks have public green areas which are maintained according to the decision of the city of Belgrade, and are under jurisdiction of the Secretariat for communal-housing works, respectively the executor is 'Belgrade Greenery'. (...)

We have an example from 2016, when 24 locations in the city of Belgrade were involved. It was about public green areas and collaboration with citizens, as the ones that can recognize the best the needs in their environment, which is their key role. They started initiatives on different locations and directed towards the Belgrade Greenery, which prepared 24 projects for those locations, realized and built those in collaboration with the residents, or in line with their suggestions. (...) After the construction, the locations were handed over for governance to the Secretariat for communal-housing works, which is responsible for that public enterprise and budgets funds for maintenance. So, those locations continued to be in the system of regular maintenance of the Belgrade Greenery, only changing maintenance category from VI to IV or III. So, in case of New Belgrade Blocks, I think the best solution is that the citizens communicate with the city, with the Secretariat for communal-housing works and the Secretariat for environmental protection, in order to collaborate with public-communal enterprises that will recognize the needs of the residents, do the technical documentation, do the construction works and hand over to Belgrade Greenery for maintenance. (...) Besides the local citizens associations, there are professional associations dealing with specific problems, for example the 'Ministry of space' or CEUS. Those professional associations have enough capacity to help smaller associations, to lead them through the process and help in the procedure. In that way they can communicate with the city government. (...) The first step in initiatives is checking the ownership, information about the location, respectively use, and then next steps. (...) Somewhere is missing the local community which used to be a governing unit. I think it was a place where citizens could step up with an initiative, and it had good link with municipality. We had a mechanism, which disappeared, and it is not good that it disappeared. Basically, it is the one thing that is missing now. Maybe you can approach municipality with an idea to re-establish a local community as a pilot project and show that it is good to return that legacy. (...) In conclusion, we have to work in parallel, to think strategically and in long-terms. That is related to education, networking, collaboration of non-governmental organizations on the local level with the non-governmental organizations that have more capacity, which are professional associations, in order to achieve better communication with institutions. In parallel with the strategic direction, small-scale solutions as best practice cases, initiated locally and showing how something can be done, can accordingly be used as an argument and basis for those strategic solutions. (Participant 8)

Participant 9, a resident of the Block 70a and a member of the local citizens association *Common Action*, highlighted the role, current and potential, of the citizens associations, emphasizing the disappearance of local community as a formal governing unit, recognising the need for better integration and communication in the planning and governing process.

We planted 600 trees in our two blocks, mapped them on google maps and track watering. (...) We planted those partly from donations, private institutional, from many sources, and one part came from waste recycling. So, we first organised setting the containers for recycling, small bins on entrances, organised pick-up and selling, and buying trees, all connected. ( ) We have meeting, working groups, many projects. ( ) We can offer to the Belgrade Greenery a collaborative design of reconstruction of the Lazaro Kardenas promenade. Why? Because we can do the survey, we know where people enter, where do they park on the promenade, where the barriers are needed. ( ) We have many puzzlements, starting with public traffic roads, ownership dilemmas. ( ) We are unable to identify who is responsible for maintenance of this and that within our block. ( ) We want to preserve urbanism of our block and only improve it. ( ) We aim to network, get support from the institutions and professionals. ( ) The claims that we have a lot of greenery in our blocks are not correct. According to the urban plan, all parking areas are classified under the greenery. So, what is indicated as green area is way more than what is real. And when divided by the number of residents, it is not impressive at all. We need to work on preservation of greenery, because we know how much greenery is there. It is a big area, but that is because we live vertically. ( ) We have good collaboration with the 'City Sanitation' and 'Belgrade Greenery'. ( ) And, it is true, we gathered a critical mass. ( ) What we want is to be above the housing councils and building managers, to connect those companies of the managers with the representatives of the residents and that we have impact on the zones beyond their 'fences'. We think that is the only way, that we control and coordinate all those building managers. For that we need to have a territory that we control, and respectively have jurisdiction and legal frame, that we are asked. In order to achieve that, we need to communicate with the institutions. ( ) For example, we cannot get the right to use the rooms of the former local community. The municipality directs us towards public tender for office spaces. ( ) If we have a consensus, that we are all citizens and that we have common institutions, why don't we overcome the legal procedures that limit us, and create some parallel mechanisms, where a voice of an association such as our has more importance than an objection to an urban plan in a public insight process. ( ) We want to be involved in the planning process from the beginning. We don't want to give contra-arguments to your proposals or to make ours. Before this phase of confrontation, let's see together what is needed. ( ) When the plan is there for a public insight, we are already on opposite sides, and there is no need for that. Let's work together from the beginning, on the same side. (Participant 9)

Curriculum Vitae

Anica Dragutinovic, M.Arch., is a PhD Candidate at TU Delft, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, Heritage & Architecture (the Netherlands). She is a Research Associate at the Institute for Design Strategies (IDS), a Teaching Associate and Coordinator of the Master Program MIAD/MID at TH OWL (Germany) since 2016. She is a MC member of the COST Action "Middle-Class Mass Housing" (MCMH), is involved in the "Reuse of Modernist Buildings" (RMB) project and was a member of Henry van de Velde research group at the University of Antwerp (Belgium). She is currently involved in the "Shared Heritage Africa" (SHA) project, coordinated by Docomomo Germany and "Forgotten Masterpieces" (FOMA) project, coordinated by Architectuul. Anica obtained Master of Architecture in 2016 at the University of Belgrade - Faculty of Architecture (Serbia), and Bachelor of Architecture in 2014 at the same faculty. She (co-)authored and co-edited multiple scientific publications focusing on the topics of urban planning and governance, heritage management and modern architecture.

Education and Training

01/09/2019 – Present

PhD Candidate

Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, Heritage & Architecture, Delft, the Netherlands

20/09/2014 – 06/07/2016

Master of Architecture (M.Arch.)

University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade, Serbia
RIBA Validated / Part II (average grade 9.95/10.00)

20/09/2011 – 12/09/2014

Bachelor of Architecture (B.Arch.)

University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade, Serbia
RIBA Validated / Part I (average grade 9.86/10.00)

Professional Experience

01/11/2021 – Present

Research Project Management

Docomomo Deutschland e.V., Berlin, Germany

International project management, research supervision and heritage communication development for the projects: “Shared Heritage Africa” (SHA), funded by the German Federal Office for Foreign Affairs (Bundesamt für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten – BfAA) and “Forgotten Masterpieces” (FOMA), funded by the EU Program CREA-CULT-2021-COOP from the European Education and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA)

01/10/2018 – Present

Guest Researcher and Lecturer

University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade, Serbia

Organising and contributing to diverse curricular and extra-curricular activities: Design studios “Reprogramming Heritage: The New Culture of Mass Housing” 2022/23, and “Eco-urban design” 2018/2019, student workshops “Unforeseen Impulses of Modernism: The Case of New Belgrade” in 2018, “Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-Designing the Urban Commons” in 2020, guest critic sessions, seminars, etc.

21/11/2016 – Present

Research Associate

Technische Hochschule Ostwestfalen-Lippe, FB1, Institute for Design Strategies (IDS), Detmold, Germany

“Reuse of Modernist Buildings” (RMB) Project Member, MC Member of the COST Action “Middle-Class Mass Housing” (MCMH), DAAD East-West Dialogue Project Coordinator “Rehabilitation of Mass Housing as Contribution to Social Equality”

21/11/2016 – Present

Teaching Associate and Master Program Coordinator

Technische Hochschule Ostwestfalen-Lippe, FB1, Master Program MIAD/MID: Master of Integrated Architectural Design and Master of Integrated Design, Detmold, Germany

Coordinating and supporting teaching for the courses in the field of architecture and the built environment, and architectural research methods within the Master Program MIAD/MID

01/03/2017 – 01/07/2019

Researcher

University of Antwerp – Faculty of Design Sciences, Antwerp, Belgium
Research group Henry van de Velde

20/09/2014 – 20/07/2016

Student Teaching Assistant

University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade, Serbia

Supporting teaching for the Bachelor courses at the Department of Architecture and Department of Architectural Technology: Design studio – Space and Shape, Design studio 01A – Housing, Architectural Construction 2 and 3, Masonry Construction Project – synthesis, Design Studio 2 and Design Studio 4 – synthesis

01/08/2015 – 30/09/2015

Research Intern

Technische Hochschule Ostwestfalen-Lippe, FB1, ResearchLab, Detmold, Germany

01/05/2015 – 31/05/2015

Architect Intern

Tengbom, Stockholm, Sweden

Housing studio: Nacka housing project (design phase),
Landscape studio: Parklet in Stockholm (design phase),
Mikser exhibition

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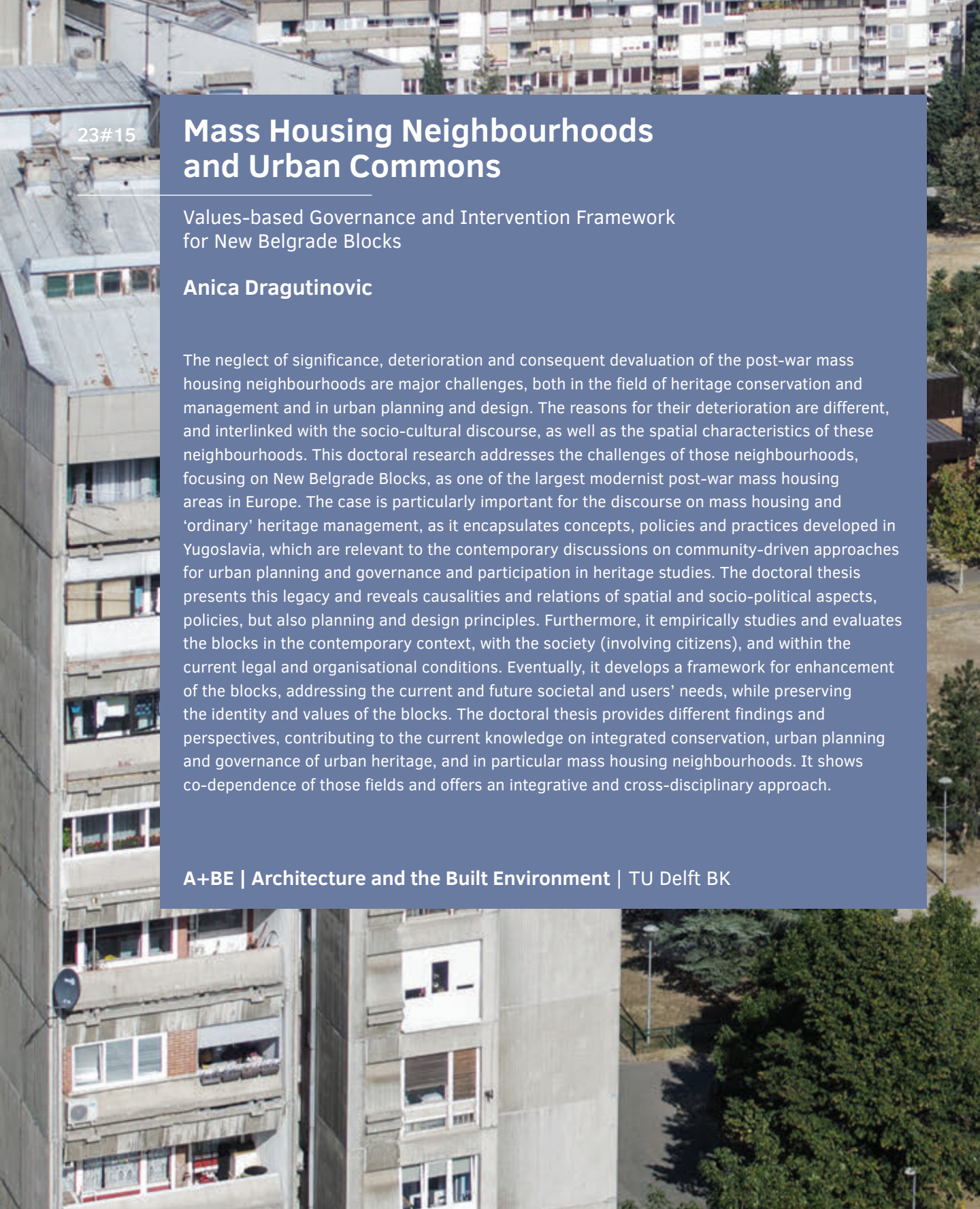
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23#15

Mass Housing Neighbourhoods and Urban Commons

Values-based Governance and Intervention Framework for New Belgrade Blocks

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The neglect of significance, deterioration and consequent devaluation of the post-war mass housing neighbourhoods are major challenges, both in the field of heritage conservation and management and in urban planning and design. The reasons for their deterioration are different, and interlinked with the socio-cultural discourse, as well as the spatial characteristics of these neighbourhoods. This doctoral research addresses the challenges of those neighbourhoods, focusing on New Belgrade Blocks, as one of the largest modernist post-war mass housing areas in Europe. The case is particularly important for the discourse on mass housing and 'ordinary' heritage management, as it encapsulates concepts, policies and practices developed in Yugoslavia, which are relevant to the contemporary discussions on community-driven approaches for urban planning and governance and participation in heritage studies. The doctoral thesis presents this legacy and reveals causalities and relations of spatial and socio-political aspects, policies, but also planning and design principles. Furthermore, it empirically studies and evaluates the blocks in the contemporary context, with the society (involving citizens), and within the current legal and organisational conditions. Eventually, it develops a framework for enhancement of the blocks, addressing the current and future societal and users' needs, while preserving the identity and values of the blocks. The doctoral thesis provides different findings and perspectives, contributing to the current knowledge on integrated conservation, urban planning and governance of urban heritage, and in particular mass housing neighbourhoods. It shows co-dependence of those fields and offers an integrative and cross-disciplinary approach.

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