

IMPACT OF MARKET LOGIC OF POST-SOCIALISM ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF NOVI SAD

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Summary: *Urban transformation of cities under the influence of economic and social changes after the collapse of socialist ideology is an important planning issues that has been initiated in post-socialist countries over recent years. The topic of the paper broadly covers urban planning of Novi Sad, from socialist ideology to market logic of post-socialism. Focus of the research is put on urban development of the city in various social circumstances, which, on one the hand, have different approach towards planning and realization, and, on the other, they represent two socio-political contexts which are causally connected. The research deals with urban planning practice in Novi Sad during post-socialist period, together with social, economic and political perspective of the processes which influenced both development and realization of plans in Novi Sad. The paper analyzes models which used to link social systems, decision making mechanisms, methodology and role of urban planning, as well as their contribution to (un)successful urban development. The main subject of the research is the analysis of the urban planning models in various periods of the social system on the example of urban block within Rotkvarija settlement in Novi Sad. The aim of the paper is to reassess the role of urban planning in directing urban development within altered socio-economic circumstances.*

Key words: *urban planning, post-socialism, market, social changes*

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout their historical development, the cities of the region have had a lot in common, at the time of socialism in the second half of the 20th century, to post-socialist urban development, when capital cities, including Novi Sad, as the administrative center of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, experienced the most significant changes in economic and demographic terms. Urban development of a city under the influence of economic and social changes after the collapse of the socialist ideology is very important issue, which has been initiated in the post-socialist countries over the last decade, and that is why the research of this topic is important for understanding the discipline of urban planning and for socio-economic development, especially for countries in transition. The paper analyzes the model of urban planning in different social systems. Socio-economic circumstances in the period of socialism and post-socialist transition are dominantly observed. Social and economic changes in Serbia, primarily the introduction of private

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property and market as the basis of the economic system, then democratic polity, as well as the transformation of the socialist society into the capitalist, have significantly influenced the process of transformation of Novi Sad in the post-socialist period, that is, in the period of transition. The main subject of the research is the urban planning of one part of Rotkvariја settlement in Novi Sad, an urban unit with a number of peculiarities, both in relation to the elements of the current state, as well as to the obvious needs of the ones who live in this part of the city, but also in relation to the real possibilities for realization at a certain economic moment and in certain social context. The paper is structured in the following way: after the introductory explanation, an explanation of the notion of urban planning in different social circumstances is given, with emphasis on urban planning in Novi Sad, along with an analysis of the social and economic changes that followed during the period of post-socialism which are significant for planning. The central part of the research is a case study based on the example of urban block within Rotkvariја settlement in Novi Sad.

2. URBAN PLANNING OF NOVI SAD IN THE PERIOD OF SOCIALISM

The end of the World War II and the setting of the so-called "Iron Curtain" divided Europe into the East and West. Yugoslavia belonged to the area of "Eastern Europe and the ruling structure in Yugoslavia initiated a self-management model of the "method of governance in socialism". The idea of self-management was born with the aim to strengthen the workers' initiative, workers' participation, organize more rational production, and introduce a more stringent financial discipline without the need for state interventions. In the period of socialism, the cities were the catalysts of modernization and progress, and a central planning system was applied (industrialization and urbanization based on state ownership of production means and assets and central planning of resources allocation). Heavy industry was favoured, and the light industry, the manufacture of consumer goods and services were not appreciated enough. Among general characteristics of socialist ideology we could single out nationalization of land, cheap public goods and services due to state subsidies, state monopoly on foreign trade and aspiration toward the society of equals (equal living conditions for all) (Milutinović, 2015). Most of the construction land, real estate properties and production means and assets belonged to the state and its branches in the form of various public agencies, from municipalities to workers' collectives. For Serbia, which was then a part of Yugoslavia, the period of socialism is the period of the fastest urbanization in its history.

The objective of the socialist regime was to build a prosperous, equitable and classless society. A key part of this process is the establishment of a centrally planned "guided/directed" economy that has adapted many characteristics of the urbanization process from the period of capitalism. The elements used in this process include the fact that all significant means of production, except in agriculture in some countries, were nationalized or collectivized, economic decision making was hierarchical, determined through a specific administration, and not through the market, prices were determined through administrative procedures, and did not reflect the costs and pressures of demand or supply. (Musil, 2005, 32)

Tsenkova, (21, 2015) considered that planning in socialism was not identical in all the countries².

A large scale of planning activities in all areas was possible in the period of socialism because the ruling parties had almost full political control over their population, and because most of the municipal construction land, real estate properties and means of production were state-owned. "The planning system was highly centralized and very bureaucratic. Locally, city and municipal planning were subordinated to national economic planning. The main function of local planners was to act as translators of high-level economic goals into the physical appearance of cities." (Hirt, 189, 2015).

In urban development management and the impact on the spatial structure, the urban planning institutes played an important role in the cities of the former Yugoslavia, as well as in Novi Sad. After the adoption of the Law on State Enterprises (1946), the establishment of the former republic urban planning institutes as state enterprises of 'republic significance' began. The urban planning institutes became public institutions ('public service') that perform urban planning activities as activities of public interest based on the Regulation/Decree on Institutions with Independent Financing (1953). In the period after 1960, the republic and provincial urban planning laws were adopted, and spatial planning became a social activity and experienced remarkable development.

For more than three decades Novi Sad was developing in conditions of accelerated urbanization. The mode and regime of space utilisation reflected the social conditions of that time, the ruling ideology of the development of cities and their spatial organization, and were adapted to the technology of construction that had social and professional support. "All this made it possible after the war for Novi Sad to grow into one of the best regulated, recognizable cities in the area extending beyond Vojvodina and Serbia from a semi-ruined, poorly equipped city with around 40,000 inhabitants. Today, there are over 200,000 inhabitants in the city that is university, cultural, business, and tourist centre" (Milosavljević, 1995, 1)

"All until 1950, the traffic system of the city developed spontaneously according to current needs and only after that certain researches and directions were carried out by setting up the system and planning the future. The Master Plan of 1950 defined the relocation of the railway station from Liman to its current location, the construction of the road and railroad bridge, the construction of the DTD Canal and the port, while the primary network of urban roads was defined within the network of roads." (Pajović, ed, 1995, 93).

According to Slavka Zeković, the practice of urban planning was combined with the socialist ideology of equality, "and it was based on the key principles: public ownership of urban construction land (with the treatment of land as non-economic asset of marginal market value, which is not in free circulation on the market); use of land according to technical norms/standards (coefficients, indices, densities, parameters), and principles of balance of housing, industry, employment opportunities, principles of equality in terms of social and communal infrastructure for all users of space (normatively based social and communal infrastructure); rigid and strict control of urban parameters; planned projections and programming of all contents; public financing of infrastructure; unlimited power of

² Tsenkova quotes the conclusions referring to the following bibliography: R. Buckley and F. Mini, From Commissars to Mayors: Cities in the Transition Economies, Washington, D.C., 2000; S. Hirt and K. Stanilov, Twenty Years of Transition: The Evolution of Urban planning in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, 1989—2009, Nairobi 2009.

the state as a major investor and entrepreneur, and exclusive planner and controller of all investment decisions and priorities in the field of the use of construction land in all sectors" (Zeković, 2002: 14). Resolving the housing problem in a satisfactory way is one of the most important goals in the then social system.

In Novi Sad, the period of socialism marked the period when a new scale of values was created and new mentalities, affinities and habits were formed. In that period, the spatial development of Novi Sad was guided by urban plans that were adopted at even temporal intervals. The amendments were passed to overcome the changes brought about by rapid social and economic development. Each plan was characterized by the degree of development of the social and political system at the time when the plan was adopted, and in the realization of the plan, while a significant role in the plan implementation was played by the institutional frameworks of that system that were in place in the period of implementation of the plan.

The Urban Planning Institute in Novi Sad affected significantly the urban development of the city by implementing the Master Plans it developed, and laid the foundations of the city regulation by deploying its own strengths. The urban development of Novi Sad was regulated and guided by master plans, of which the first was developed and adopted in 1950. Furthermore, every 10 to 12 years new master plans of the city were passed – in 1963, 1974, and in 1984. In addition, concerning that period we can add the year of 1995, bearing in mind that Serbia was lagging behind with the transition changes. All that was supposed to be implemented was based on detailed planning documentation that was prepared and produced in the Urban Planning Institute itself. In line with the development of industrialization and the deagrarization process, the intensive housing construction was in progress, mainly in the social sector. Residential settlements were built up to the then social standard and the achieved degree of construction technology. Specialized and city centres with dominant forms of buildings were formed that reflected the ideological community's commitments.

In the development of the Master Plan of 1985 it was established that a detailed plan is not the most favourable type based on which a master plan could be directly elaborated in details and that a plan that would be a stage between those two was missing. This led to the need to develop a regulatory plan for wider spatial units, which would verify the programme solutions of the Master Plan, delineate the surfaces of different contents and users, and establish the basic rules for the construction and space regulation.

The most commonly applied method of urban plans elaborating was based on the planning/forecasting of the needs, possibilities and manner of their fulfilling depending on the achieved level of development. The development of the city was based on a certain system of values, which stemmed from the ideology of the society and fundamentals of the social system. Determining the value of planning and space regulation depended on the manner and degree of fulfilment of the needs within certain spatial and physical frameworks. Human needs are classified into sociological, economical, anthropological, architectural and urban, but they are considered in a uniform way in the methodology of urban plans elaboration, namely reduced to general needs, needs of individuals and the needs of certain groups, and within this division to primary and secondary, delayed and exigent, existential and developmental, etc.

3. URBAN PLANNING OF NOVI SAD IN THE POST-SOCIALISM PERIOD

The way in which the cities developed under the influence of the changes that have occurred during the post-socialist period significantly differed between the cities of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe. Transition of the market, democracy and decentralization of power are seen as drivers of urban changes, striving for common goals in economic and social changes. The speed and way of city development depended on whether it was the capital of the state, the capital of the province, smaller cities within the state, etc. Specific circumstances, such as armed conflicts and war destruction during the 1990s, had significant impact on spatial and functional development of cities that were within or near the war-affected areas. Also, the commitment or resistance to reforms, whether national or local, differs the way and trends in urban development of the post-socialist city. Transformation processes in all the cities were aimed at democratization of the society, liberal market-based economy, changing the institutional system, eliminating state control over land and housing, privatization and restitution and decentralizing decision-making, moving from central to municipal level.

At the very beginning of economic and social changes that followed in the post-socialist period, that is, after state reforms, constitutional changes and the adoption of the Law on Enterprises (1990), urban development institutes were transformed into public enterprises dealing with urban planning activities as the activities of public interest. The problem that post-socialist cities got faced with was the fact that post-socialist societies were constantly in the process of transition, that is, they were constantly changing and developing. It is indisputable that there is an unequal and unregulated development of cities, a lack of a vision of urban development, and this is reflected in the following problem of post-socialist cities. "Namely, the cities are no longer being built as a whole, but rather conceptualized as consisting of individual "units", namely facilities or micro environments. The entire aspect of town planning and their implementation – master plan - has entirely ceased to exist ... In this sense, a modern transitional city is a growing number of individual objects, ambiences, situations or locations (Čoldarović, 2012, 30)."

In the period of socialism, Novi Sad was formed and developed on the basis of planned controlled initiatives that were carefully studied, planned, prepared and implemented, and they followed the economic and social processes that were taking place. In Serbia, as in other republics of the former Yugoslavia, there was a non-market economic system in place and the constraints imposed by such a system: there was no market allocation of resources, namely at the time of socialism there was no market for construction land, at least not recognized and official. The transition that began in our country in the early 1990s implied the development of market economy, private sector and democracy. Changes in the social and economic system result in changes in urban planning, transformation of urban areas and instruments and implementation of the planned solutions. Social and economic changes, primarily the introduction of private property and market as the basis of the economic system, introduction of democratic political order, and transformation of the socialist society into capitalist, significantly affected the process of urban reconstruction and transformation of the city of Novi Sad in the post-socialist period. "The market becomes an important mechanism for allocation of resources and distribution of wealth" (Begović, 1995, 2). The plan was considered the right solution, and was also sanctioned by the law as the main regulator of construction land.

Private property, market mechanisms and entrepreneurial economy, the concepts that are inextricably linked with the definition of capitalism, have become important factors in the process of urban planning of Novi Sad in the period of post-socialism and the defining of its market logic. The basic normative framework of urban management is planning, namely the preparation of spatial-planning documents. Depending on the level of the plan, they define either the general parameters of the spatial status and development, (which is usually the characteristic of the spatial plan and master plan), or specific guidelines and parameters regulating construction in a narrow urban or rural area (regulatory plans, detailed regulation plans or urban projects). Regardless of terminology used in the relevant period, there is a certain hierarchical relationship among the plans, which results with the fact that a higher order plan is the basis from which a lower order plan is derived.

An urban development plan determines the manner of space utilisation, modes and forms of construction, harmonization of all infrastructural systems and projecting their development. Private investment building capital began determining the dynamics of urban development, and that is why the development directed by real estate properties, which was quite often referred to with the syntagm "neoliberal urbanism", was mentioned more and more frequently. The need for drafting new plans and changes in the field of planning was also due to the fact that construction began to go beyond the planned solutions, namely because of the construction outside legal frameworks. This was particularly reflected in the peripheral zones of the city (Adice, Veterinička rampa, Veternik, Mali Beograd, Veliki Rit, etc.) and partial reconstructions in the city centre (parts of the Almaš neighbourhood, Podbara, Grbavica, Detelinare etc.). Changed economic circumstances have led to the need to re-examine actual development processes in relation to valid planning solutions. Prof. Borisav Stojkov, PhD, believes that neoliberal capitalism is already affecting all social functions that are of public significance, and urbanism is one of them. "What does neoliberal urbanism recognize? First of all, according to the principle of the so-called deregulation, that is, by pressing to reduce or even eliminate all urban planning considerations, rules, regulations and norms that can hinder or slow down the realization of the idea, i.e. the acquiring of profit by a private investor" (Stojkov, 2015).

4. PLANNING OF AN URBAN BLOCK IN NOVI SAD FROM SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY TO THE MARKET LOGIC OF POST-SOCIALISM

The urban block under consideration is located between the Kraljevića Marka Street, Berislava Berića, Kisačka and Bulevar Kralja Petra I and covers an area of around 6.30 ha. Kraljevića Marka Street is one of the oldest streets in Novi Sad, and it was built to a great extent by the old, ethnologically valuable buildings that were under protection. On five land plots (no. 24, 26a, 26, 28 and 30) there were protected old houses, mostly covered with reeds, in the ambience of rich street greenery with wide lawns and old tree lines. The Master Plan of Novi Sad, adopted in 1974, marked the subject complex "Rotkvarija" (urban block - urban unit in the part "Rotkvarija") as a sports centre. For the needs of the review of the Master Plan of Novi Sad, which was carried out from 1980 to 1984, several

studies and analyzes³ were developed for certain city structures that contribute to a clearer definition and understanding of the significance of certain urban units. A detailed plan for the sports park "Rotkvarija" in Novi Sad ("Official Journal of the City of Novi Sad" no. 1/86) (Figure 1.) was elaborated" in order to accomplish general humanization of living conditions, provide necessary free, park and sport surfaces, increase the quality of housing and improve the existing architectural and ambiental units "(Detailed Plan - Sports Park "Rotkvarija" in Novi Sad, 1986, 1). The concept of planning solution was elaborated in accordance with the Master Plan of Novi Sad, and it implied the creating of a sports park as a specific horticultural unit, with the keeping of the existing family housing along Kraljevića Marka Street, which is one of the characteristics of the architectural heritage, and the formation of a series of multi-family residential facilities along Kisačka Street, as a specific, "transitional/interim" type of housing. The sports park had a separate bathing complex on the south side and a park part with sports grounds. The residential area along Kraljevića Marka Street was considered an area of undoubted quality within the heritage of rural character (as an ethnological value) and as such it was protected by city planning protection, that is, it was protected and retained in its entirety. The significance of Kisačka Street, which is one of the main entry and exit directions of the city towards the north and at the same time one of the oldest formed traffic routes towards the centre, influenced the development of a proposal to replace all residential buildings (except for building no. 47, which is being protected) with multi-family residential buildings, with GrF + 3 + mansard - attic + 4 floors layout.

The Master Plan of Novi Sad until 2005 marked the subject complex as a park surface. Changes and amendments to the detailed plan (Figure 2.) determined the sports park as the basic purpose, and given the fact that there is a certain number of residential and commercial buildings in the block, some of which are under protection, the Plan made distinction between two purposes: sports-recreational and residential-business/commercial. The parameters that measure the rationality of space use have been changed through modifications of a detailed plan. The development rate on the part of the space that was used for family housing until then was significantly increased, and the construction of new residential and business premises was planned at the corner of Kraljevića Marka Street and Bulevar Kralja Petra I (change of purpose of the planned car park), at the corner of Kisačka Street and Bulevar Kralja Petra I (change of construction zone) and in Kraljevića Marka Street, at the corner of Kraljevića Marka and Berislava Berića Street and at the corner of Kraljevića Marka and Zmaj Ognjena Vuka Street (change of purpose of family housing). Within sports-recreational purposes, the changes referred to the arrangement and organization of sports grounds and the method of horticultural regulation.

According to the Master Plan of the City of Novi Sad until 2021 - refined text ("Official Journal of the City of Novi Sad" no. 39/2006) this construction area is intended for park surface and multi-family residential. In accordance with it, the Detailed regulation plan for the park area and multi-family residential "Rotkvarija" in Novi Sad (Figure 3.) was elaborated in 2008. The area was divided into spatial units: park area, existing and planned multi-family residential, common block area, ethno centre (house with reed roofs with protected environment and a temple). The planned space regulation solution was made

³ Scarce recreational park surfaces were considered in the Analysis of Greenery of Novi Sad, "Urbis", 1982

with detailed observing of the Decision on determining the houses with reed roofs in Kraljevića Marka Street in Novi Sad for a spatial cultural and historical unit⁴. The area intended for a park, with the surface of 1.41 ha is relatively limited, which is why there is not a lot of content planned. The entire area is intended for passive recreation, while active recreation should be provided only to children. New multi-family residential, with GrF + 4 (5) of floor layout is planned for the northern regulation of Bulevar Kralja Petra I and Zmaj Ognjena Vuka Street no. 24, floor GrF + 2 + Attic. With the change of purpose of the sports park, the biggest change is in the planning of the ethno centre, within which the buildings are intended for museum exhibitions and commercial contents and planning of the temple in the north zone of the park area.



Figure 1. Plan from 1986.



Figure 2. Plan from 2000.

A detailed regulation plan of the space for multi-family residential and park surfaces "Rotkvariija" in Novi Sad (Figure 4.), which is in preparation, has left out of the plan boundaries a spatial unit that changed the purpose of the ethno-centre into a multi-family residential, with the obligatory preparation of a planning design based on the Master Plan of a new city centre with the surroundings in Novi Sad ("Official Journal of the City of Novi Sad" no. 39/11, 14/14, 8/16, 82/16 and 50/17). The change came after the Serbian government rescinded the protection of the houses with reed roofs in Kraljevića Marka Street. Apart from changing the purpose of the ethno-centre, a significant change is in the way of realization and arrangement of the park area, which opens towards Kisačka Street based on a new planning solution, with the possibility of planning an underground public garage in a part of the park. Taking into account all the space transformations that have occurred in the period from socialism to the market logic of post-socialism, analyzing and discovering the potentials of areas that have not been fulfilled, this plan is trying to reconcile the needs of the City, its citizens, as well as the interests of potential investors.

⁴ Decisions on determining the houses with reed roofs in Kraljevića Marka Street in Novi Sad for spatial cultural and historical unit – number 633-609/98-25 dated February 20th, 1998 (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia no. 8/98)



Figure 3. Plan from 2008.



Figure 4. Plan from 2019.

Name of the plan	Planned land use		
	multi-family residential	one-family residential or ethno center	sports park or park area
Detailed plan for the sports park "Rotkvarija" in Novi Sad	8.800 m ²	5.221 m ²	29.900 m ² (+3.800 m ² parking lot)
Changes and amendments to the detailed plan for the sports park "Rotkvarija" in Novi Sad	13.052 m ²	3.890 m ²	31.045 m ²
Detailed regulation plan for the park area and multi-family residential "Rotkvarija" in Novi Sad	14.900 m ²	14.000 m ²	14.410 m ²
Detailed regulation plan of the space for multi-family residential and park surfaces "Rotkvarija" in Novi Sad	13.281,16m ² (+16.246 m ² out of the plan boundaries)	out of the plan boundaries	14.422 m ²

Figure 5. Balance the area of planned land use

5. CONCLUSION

Due to differences in the development of the cities of Eastern Europe, the research of urban planning in Novi Sad in the period of socialism is important for understanding of urban transformation over the last twenty years. In Novi Sad, the period of socialism is characterized by a dynamic development in which the process of urbanization is intensified by a strong economic development strategy with an emphasis on industrialization. The urban planning policy and the direction of spatial regulation of Novi Sad were affected by the resolving of the traffic needs of the city and defining of urban standards that will be applied. In line with the development of industrialization and

deagrarization process, housing construction has also been intensive, predominantly in the social sector. Residential settlements were formed that were adapted to a social standard and the achieved degree of construction technology valid at that time. Land use were planned that reflected the ideological commitments of the community, such as a sports center or park in a case study. Urban transformation of Novi Sad is under a direct influence of strong social and economic changes that have occurred during the post-socialist period. The paper attempts to evaluate the interpolation of global and regional forces and internal local and national forces and their impact on the shaping and transformation of the City of Novi Sad, with a case study on the example of the urban block of the part of Rotkvarija, during political, social and economic transition. The introduction of market economy initiated private entrepreneurship in the field of residential units development, which led to the construction of buildings for the market and significant urban transformation of traditional residential areas in Novi Sad.

The accelerated social and economic changes that take place in our society "contribute" to the constant reconsidering of the planned solutions. It is indisputable that the commenced reconstruction has led to raising of the level of attractiveness as well as the economic cost-effectiveness of the space for implementation of future projects. New planning methodologies are needed in order to create urban units that would contribute to the formation of new identity of urban structures and improve the urban development of Novi Sad.

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UTICAJ TRŽIŠNE LOGIKE POSTSOCIJALIZMA NA RAZVOJ NOVOG SADA

Rezime: *Urbana transformacija gradova pod uticajem ekonomskih i društvenih promena nakon sloma socijalističke ideologije jedno je od značajnih planerskih pitanja koje je poslednjih godina pokrenuto u postsocijalističkim zemljama. Tema rada se u širem smislu kreće u okvirima teme koja se bavi urbanističkim planiranjem Novog Sada od socijalističke ideologije do tržišne logike postsocijalizma. Težište istraživanja je na programsko-prostornom razvoju grada u različitim društvenim okolnostima, koji sa jedne strane imaju različit pristup planiranju i realizaciji, a sa druge predstavljaju dva društveno-politička konteksta koja su uzročno-posledično povezana. Istraživanje se bavi urbanističkom praksom u Novom Sadu u postsocijalističkom razdoblju, sa društvenom, ekonomskom i političkom perspektivom procesa koji su uticali na planiranje i realizaciju planova u Novom Sadu. U radu se analiziraju modeli koji su povezivali društvene sisteme, mehanizmi odlučivanja, metodologija i uloga urbanističkog planiranja i njihov doprinos (ne)uspešnom urbanom razvoju. Osnovni predmet istraživanja je analiza modela urbanističkog planiranja u različitim periodima društvenog sistema na primeru urbanog bloka u okviru dela Rotkvarije u Novom Sadu. Rad ima za cilj da preispita ulogu urbanističkog planiranja u usmeravanju urbanog razvoja u izmenjenim društveno-ekonomskim okolnostima.*

Ključne reči: *urbanističko planiranje, postsocijalizam, tržište, društvene promene*