

## REFRAMING PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LARGE URBAN PROJECTS IN SERBIA: THE CASE OF BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT

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**Ksenija Lalović, Uroš Radosavljević, Zoran Đukanović**

University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture, Serbia

**Abstract.** *Entrepreneurial urban governments around the world use large-scale projects for promoting cities as a place for enhanced quality of life and attracting investment from an international level. However, large urban projects frequently challenge democratic planning and public interest, and break up conventional city planning models. We argue that the changed city government's entrepreneurial role calls for reframing the public interest, taking into consideration both global private interests and sustainable impacts and benefits for varieties of local public interests. The paper presents the case of Belgrade Waterfront Project. Results show an efficient entrepreneurial direction of the Serbian national government, contrary to the worldwide experiences where urban governments take the lead. Still, it is questionable whether the outcomes will be just and fair, especially when it comes to 'winners' and 'losers'. We place equity at the top of agenda for public officials and planners in the implementation of large-scale projects. Therefore, we believe there are varieties of public interests on various spatial levels, defined by politicians, explored by planning experts', and accepted by the citizens for obtaining broader social support.*

**Key words:** *public interest, large-scale projects, entrepreneurial governance*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to describe and analyze the initiated case of *Belgrade Waterfront Project* as a first contemporary large strategic urban project in Serbia. The case itself was chosen since the notion of the public or national interest is too often heard by the politicians for a project that, as it seems, will satisfy private interest and commercial land-uses on the potentially valuable location in Belgrade's city centre. There are other aspects too for our choice, like the size and the scale of the project; agreements and decisions made behind closed doors for the public; fast production, modifications of national legislation and urban plans adjusted for a particular project; costs, obligations

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**Corresponding author:** Ksenija Lalović, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture, Serbia,  
E-mail: ksenija.lalovic@gmail.com

and responsibilities of public and private actors which are announced to participate in the project and not known as well; and last, but not least, the outcomes of a project, in terms of risks and benefits for each actor and for the community as a whole.

This leads us to ask questions in conclusions, whether the outcomes will be just and fair, especially when it comes to 'winners' and 'losers'. We argue that the entrepreneurial role change of city governments call for reframing the public interest, taking into consideration both global private interests and sustainable impacts and benefits for varieties of local public interests. In doing so, we place equity at the top of agenda for public officials and planners in the creation and implementation of large urban projects and propose at the end recommendations and the approach which should serve varieties of public interests defined by politicians, explored by planning experts', and accepted by the citizens in obtaining a broader social support.

In our in-depth research of the case we use policy documents and spatial strategies, relevant legislation and newspaper articles as primary sources. We analyze politicians' announcements in media and newspaper articles from the period 2013–2015, since relevant issues about the case are still not known to the general public or to the professional associations.

## 2. CONTEMPORARY LARGE URBAN PROJECTS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF ENTREPRENEURIAL GOVERNANCE

Number of authors argues that large urban projects improve the competitive position of cities in the global positioning [1, p. 200, 2, 3, p. 546, 4]. Large urban projects affect the changed entrepreneurial ways of governing cities in which urban governments create *good business climate* in order to attract private sector [2, p. 11]. Governing regimes provide investment in public infrastructure, subsidies, exemption from local taxes and promotional marketing to the private sector and focus on the production and consumption of urban space with the tourism and spectacle facilities, cultural and art functions, sports stadiums, shopping malls, and commercial buildings [4, p. 2].

Large urban projects test conventional patterns of urban governance and planning. In some cases, these projects neglect conventional planning instruments, bypass elected legislative, regulatory and institutional bodies, create new agencies related to the project with special powers and responsibilities for decision making, and even influence change of national and regional legislation, thus reflecting processes related to the changes of the power-balance in the governance of urban development on various levels [3, p. 543]. Additionally, strategic plans and large urban projects trigger each other, frequently can be adopted simultaneously and in harmony, but often more energy is put onto indicative strategic vision and plans, rather than on the operational characteristics of large projects [5, p. 3].

Due to their size, nature, and extent of intervention, large urban projects usually significantly transform the city physically and have an effect on urban development, creating a different image of the city, which Harvey [2, pp. 15-16] defines as phenomenal, vigorous and seemingly successful picture of urban regeneration of central urban districts. However, these projects often produce the landscape of large office buildings that do not encourage urbanity, despite the claims of authorities [6, p. 783]. In economic terms, the role of large projects in urban transformation is sometimes overstated, since they represent a relatively small percentage of the overall city development spatially and do not exceed more than ten percent of the total number of jobs at regional level [5, p. 4].

We stand on the assumption that the role of projects is important as they represent a new image of the city, occupy central position in the city and can significantly achieve substantial benefits in spatial, economic and social terms for all stakeholders.

National and city governments have a twofold role in the relation with the large urban projects in the context of neoliberalism. The state enables legal, political and economic framework for the implementation of strategic projects, while entrepreneurial city governments achieve greater integration with the private sector in attracting investments and new sources of employment [2, p. 7]. This greater focus towards entrepreneurial urban strategies as the effect leads to changes in the budget priorities of city governments, which are shifted from the traditional distribution of resources and social goals in their entire administrative territory, towards investments in the physical environment of large projects and restructuring of the labor market [2], [3, p. 542]. The consequence of such entrepreneurial governance is that more public funds are allocated for local subsidies and incentives for the private sector, while the benefits are reduced in the social sector for the poorer classes of society [2, p. 12].

In comparison with previous periods, contemporary large projects differ in introduction of new models of financing, with greater cooperation between the public and private sector in the form of public-private partnerships [7, p. 760]. Large strategic projects are risky both for the public and private actors, although oriented towards profitability [6, p. 783], since they depend on the uncertainty of the property markets. However, despite the impression that the projects are commercially driven and covered by private investments, public sector is still one of the leading actors in the process. The risks are taken by the public sector, occasionally shared with the private sector, but given the speculative and uncertain nature of the real estate markets, usually there are financial deficits in city budgets [3, p. 552].

Large projects, apart from producing spatial fragments within the urban fabric, contribute to a great extent towards trends of wider urban social and economic problems located in the immediate environment, as well as the entire territory of the city, thus creating dual and socially polarized cities [2, pp. 15-16]. On the other hand, in the comparative analysis of projects in London, New York and Amsterdam, Fainstein [6, p. 783] suggests that contemporary large projects may use public-private partnerships as an instrument for the provision of certain benefits for the general welfare and serve the public interest. Certain elements in this context may be providing certain jobs for low incomes and disadvantaged groups, provision of cultural events and affordable housing.

In the new millennium, large urban projects differ from the previous period, at least in the developed world, since they minimize displacement of the local population as they are located on the abandoned industrial and port areas [7, p. 760]. However, the question remains whether large urban projects as typical examples of neo-liberal forms of urban entrepreneurial governance actually contribute to greater social exclusion and polarization, or promote social integration and integrated urban development [3, p. 543].

### 3. THE CASE OF BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT

#### 3.1. Launching of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project*

Large-scale *Belgrade Waterfront Project* is planned on a city center location at the riverside in Belgrade at the base of the Sava amphitheater and part of New Belgrade (Fig. 1). The *Master Plan of Belgrade 2021* (hereinafter *MP of Belgrade 2021*) treats the location of

the Sava amphitheater as one of the most important urban complexes in the central area of the old Belgrade as a new center of town at the Sava river and recognizes large projects as an instrument of the implementation of the plan [8, p. 1003]. For these reasons, taking advantage of the strategic potential of this area in the context of European integration and the new image and the modern spirit of Belgrade in the competition with other European and world cities represent an imperative. It is also an obligation for all actors who make decisions about the future development and the appearance and character of the area.



**Fig. 1** Location of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project* (source: Bing, 2015)

In April 2012 several Serbian media announced as breaking news that the candidate of the Serbian Progressive Party (hereinafter SNS) for the mayor of Belgrade presented the *Belgrade Waterfront Project*. The neglected riverside will be rebuilt and transformed into “a combination of business complexes, luxury hotels, housing blocks, cultural and art facilities and facilities for sports and recreation, with large green areas” [9]. Announcements of the SNS candidate for the mayor of Belgrade at that time (current Prime Minister of the Serbian government) indicated the potential interest of investors interested in participating in the project “but there cannot be any talk about it because everyone will have to go through the tender procedure (...) and at least 200,000 people will be included in the construction and operation stages in this project. That would largely solve the problem of unemployment in the city, and would make a great tourist attraction from Belgrade, not only for the Balkans, but

also for the entire South East Europe. This would triple revenues from tourism” [9]. Thus, potentials for Serbian and Belgrade's economy and the fight against unemployment and social and economic problems were announced in the spring of 2012.

According to those first announcements, SNS candidate for the mayor of Belgrade at that time had pointed out “that, according to the project, the city would benefit on taxes on building land with 451 million Euros and that (...) the project is profitable and does not require borrowing of Belgrade. (...) We want to offer our resources, which are attractive location, land and construction of communal infrastructure, and for that reason we are looking for money from investors. Investors invest money, we don't borrow from anyone, we employ people, and at the same time we earn money and meet the needs of our city” [9]. Analyses of the spatial development, problems and approaches to the urban development and large projects have significantly changed with the formation of the new Government of the Republic of Serbia on the Serbian political scene in 2013. Those announcements of key Serbian politicians' show that the approach towards the regeneration of the central city quarters at the national and city level of Belgrade were seen primarily as a problem of lack of private sector investments.

Finally, large urban *Belgrade Waterfront Project* at the Sava amphitheater location was launched through announcements in several Serbian media<sup>1</sup> in the form of the first version of the so called *Master Plan Belgrade Waterfront* in the second half of 2013. Although named Master Plan, it was actually not formal document adopted by any level of government in Serbia, authors of the Plan are not known and it was presented in media by several 3D renderings.

The so called *Master Plan Belgrade Waterfront* was presented at the opening of the real estate exhibition in Cannes in March 2014, where it had a world premiere at the stand of *Eagle Hills* from Abu Dhabi, which will build the project in Belgrade as announced in media. The project was presented by the President of Belgrade Temporary Council, who stated that the project was 'hit' on the most important international exhibition of real estate [10]. Scale-model of *Belgrade Waterfront Project* is also exposed to the general public in Belgrade Cooperative building from the end of June 2014.

### **3.2. The institutional framework and changes of national legislation, planning documents and urban regulations for *Belgrade Waterfront Project***

The broader legal framework that enabled the initiation of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project* was Agreement of Cooperation signed between the Government of the Republic of Serbia and the Government of the United Arab Emirates in February 2013 and ratified by the National Assembly in March 2013. In this way it was possible to bypass the *Law on Public-private partnerships and concessions*, if the partnership is based on international agreements for the joint implementation or use of the project [11, pp. Article 3, paragraph 2]. The Government has also established a *Limited Liability Company Belgrade Waterfront* (hereinafter *Belgrade Waterfront Ltd.*), which is the main contractor for the *Belgrade Waterfront Project* and the regeneration on the Sava riverbanks. The institutional framework was established and identification of the participants for the implementation of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project* were recognized in the Draft *Spatial Plan Belgrade Waterfront*, namely the *Belgrade Waterfront Ltd.*, City of Belgrade through the authority of the City

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<sup>1</sup> Novosti, Mondo.rs (2013) PROJECT: Belgrade Waterfront, the dream which will become a reality?! (in Serbian), 2 August. Kurir.rs, [Online], Available: <http://www.kurir.rs/projekat-beograd-na-vodi-san-koji-ce-postati-realnost-clanak-921175> [Retrieved 4 July 2014].

Administration, Public Enterprise Serbian Railways AD, and public enterprises founded by the Republic of Serbia or the City of Belgrade.

The solution to legally start the project directly from the level at the Government of the Republic of Serbia was found in the proclamation of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project* in May 2014 as the project of the national importance for the state and Belgrade and an area with significant tourism potential.

On the Belgrade level of governance, several urban regulations and planning documents were also changed and adjusted for the possible realization of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project*. First one was the abolition of the *Study of high-rise buildings*, the decision taken by the Temporary authority of the City of Belgrade in April 2014 [12, p. 22]. The high-rise buildings were proposed in the so called *Master Plan Belgrade Waterfront*, and abolished Study determined the possibilities of construction of high-rise buildings in the territory of Belgrade – the location of Sava amphitheater was not one of them. The second was related to proposed and adopted amendments of the *MP of Belgrade 2021* from September 2014 [13], which were carried out without substantial participation of professional and general public, except for the formal conducted public insight. A number of remarks to the amendments submitted by individual citizens and professional associations, particularly the Association of Serbian Architects and the Association of Belgrade Architects [14], were generally not accepted. Remarks partially accepted were about the urban design competitions, public use plot subdivisions and additional criteria for high-rise buildings locations with protecting views and cultural and historical heritage. Substantial changes of the *MP of Belgrade 2021*, not present in the Plan anymore, were related to the former obligation of an international competition for the regeneration of the Sava amphitheater with the aim of a unified approach for the new center on both river banks of the Sava River; the visual and contextual relationship between strips of public spaces on the Belgrade proper and New Belgrade sides, regardless of different possibilities and future independent phases of implementation.

### 3.3. Draft<sup>2</sup> Spatial plan Belgrade Waterfront

All this preparatory institutional, organizational and promotional activities of the Government of the Republic of Serbia and the City of Belgrade served to initiate preparation of the *Spatial Plan of Special-purpose Planning Act for the Regeneration of Part of Belgrade's Riverfront – Part of Riverfront of Sava River for the Belgrade Waterfront Project* (hereinafter: *Spatial plan Belgrade Waterfront*) [15]. The legal framework for the *Spatial Plan Belgrade Waterfront* was the decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia from June 2014 [16], and the Institute of Urbanism Belgrade was selected as a consulting agency to conduct the plan via the Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (hereinafter: RASP). One of the priorities for the implementation of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project*, incorporated in the *Spatial Plan Belgrade Waterfront* [15], refers to the land clearance and the relocation of the existing bus and railway stations as well removal of rail-tracks and plants.

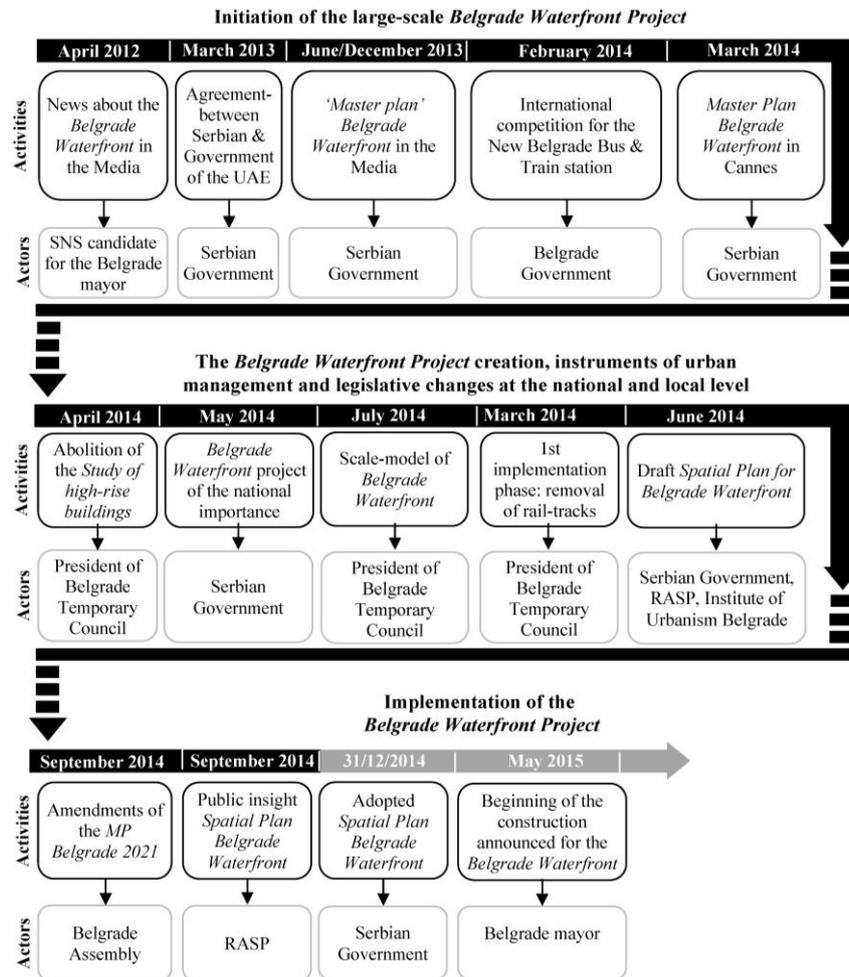
Basic predominant land uses in the Draft *Spatial Plan Belgrade Waterfront* are housing and commercial activities - 45%. The total area covered by the plan is approximately 177ha, land area on the right bank of the Sava river is about 116 ha, the land area on the left bank of the Sava river is about 27 ha, and the waters of the river basin about 34 ha. Interestingly, the

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<sup>2</sup> By the time of conducting this research, the *Spatial Plan of Special-purpose Planning Act for the Regeneration of Part of Belgrade's Riverfront – Part of Riverfront of Sava River for the Belgrade Waterfront Project* was adopted by the Serbian Government.

implementation of large urban *Belgrade Waterfront Project* has started even before the decision was made to conduct the *Spatial Plan Belgrade Waterfront* and before the plan was adopted on 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2014. Nevertheless, works on the first phase of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project* began on March 8, 2014 with the relocation of rail tracks from the Railway Station area near the Gazela Bridge, with plans that this phase should be completed in the next three years with the construction of the *Tower of Belgrade*<sup>3</sup>.

Timeline of the main activities and actors involved in the process of initiating the *Belgrade Waterfront Project*, instruments of urban management and legislative changes at the national and the local level are shown in fig. 2.



**Fig. 2** Timeline of the main activities and actors involved in the process of initiating the large *Belgrade Waterfront Project*, instruments of urban management and legislative changes at the national and the local level

<sup>3</sup> [10]

#### 4. DISCUSSION

The new Government of the Republic of Serbia from 2013 recognized the potential which a strategic location in the Sava amphitheater offers for Belgrade and Serbian economy for attracting capital investment from the private sector and announced major construction activities for the domestic economy. Lack of public sector resources for financing large urban regeneration projects contributed to seeking partners: the Government of the United Arab Emirates and private international company *Eagle Hills*. In doing so, Serbian national government is trying to activate a strategic location in the center of Belgrade, by creating a supply of office space and exclusive housing, although the demand for commercial and residential space in Belgrade in the last few years have been steadily declining. We have to raise a question here: for which new residents and business companies is large *Belgrade Waterfront Project* planned in such a scope? The essential risks associated with large-scale projects, which are also present in Serbian case, refer to the fact that the success of the project depends on the uncertainties and trends of the real estate market and the broader global financial movements. The formation of the *Belgrade Waterfront Ltd.* organization, established by the Government of the Republic of Serbia and responsible for the *Belgrade Waterfront project* has two different effects. One is that it might be a powerful mechanism for the implementation of the project with special powers and responsibilities for decision making, particularly the power of controlling the development and land ownership and that it opened the possibility for the cooperation with the private sector in a fast and efficient way. The other one is that *Belgrade Waterfront Ltd.* is placed on a higher level of decision making, while the City of Belgrade was assigned a facilitating role in providing planning documents and building permits. Additionally, the local municipalities of Savski venac and New Belgrade, on whose territory the Project is planned, were completely left out of the institutional framework. The role and relatively small importance of City of Belgrade is confirmed by the president of City Assembly of Belgrade “(...) decisions could not be taken at the session of the City Assembly, because it is not a city’s project but a project of national importance (...) and the City Assembly has only a part of the jurisdiction concerning urbanism.” [17]. In such a context, creating a single agency with a specific purpose exceeds the limits of existing procedures and planning instruments and changes legislative framework thus adapting to the individual project.

Serbian national government took over the role of local government in entrepreneurial urban governance in finding new ways and instruments for the creation of favorable environment for the local economic development and for increasing employment. The case shows that authority of the public sector in Serbia still plays a dominant role in the planning and governance in the hierarchical centralized top-down form. Therefore, we cannot talk about the elements of modern urban governance at the local level, since the local government of municipalities and the City of Belgrade, at least in the initial phase have only facilitating role for the realization of the so declared national interests and private interests of large international capital. From the initial phase of launching large-scale *Belgrade Waterfront Project*, entire process is characterized by low public transparency of negotiations between the partners in this project, essentially the Government of the Republic of Serbia and the Government of the United Arab Emirates, and formally *Belgrade Waterfront Ltd.* and the company *Eagle Hills*. A series of subsidies are announced for the private sector in the form of donating land to a foreign investor and the exemption of

local taxes and fees. Political support from the national and the Belgrade level for strategic urban *Belgrade Waterfront Project* was formally made available through the same political option at both levels, while substantially the support is related with the hierarchical centralized way in top-down governing from the central government to the local authorities. The decision making process in such a centralized and hierarchical context flows quite efficiently, but it is not sustainable for the whole city and the community in the long run, especially due to the non-transparent way of decision making which excludes both experts and the general public with varieties of interests.

In particular, the question that arises is to consider the possibility of defining and implementing varieties of public interests for all citizens in *Belgrade Waterfront Project*. What is unusual about this case is that the public interest was declared in the form of the construction of commercial and residential buildings, which is essentially aimed at satisfying the private interests of elitist groups, primarily the international financial capital of the private sector. Public interest and expropriation in Serbia can be realized only for public purposes, such as traffic and infrastructure areas, parks, public services in the competence of the public sector, and so on. Nevertheless, by the time of conducting this research, things have changed with the adoption of the *new Law on Determining the Public Interest and Special Expropriation Procedures and Issuing the Building Permit for the Project "Belgrade Waterfront"*, in which it is clearly stated: "The public interest is established for the expropriation of real estate for the purpose of the land to be allocated for the construction of commercial and residential complex "Belgrade Waterfront", with associated infrastructure, in accordance with the Spatial Plan of Special-purpose Planning Act for the Regeneration of Part of Belgrade's Riverfront – Part of Riverfront of Sava River for the Belgrade Waterfront Project" [18, p. Article 2]. Entrepreneurial initiatives and actions of the public sector in Serbia at the national and at the Belgrade level occurs in such a way that politicians and bureaucrats do not take neutral attitude in cooperation with the private sector, but, on the contrary, indulge and give assent to business interests, for the sake of realization of public interest in an indirect way. Realization of the public interest, at least according to the politicians' announcements may be expected indirectly through taxes from the sale of apartments, taxes on salaries for office buildings and commercial centers after *Belgrade Waterfront Project* implementation. The Government of the Republic of Serbia made a decision to declare Sava amphitheater as an area with significant tourism potential and *Belgrade Waterfront* as a project of the national importance, within the center of Belgrade. Instead of conducting a detailed regulatory urban plan, with the regulation of space and public and private interest, decision was made to produce the *Spatial plan Belgrade Waterfront*, placing decision-making on the national level. The future implementation of the project is based on the use of legal, formal instruments of development, substantially modified like the *MP of Belgrade 2021* and new one as a *Spatial plan Belgrade Waterfront* for the sake of the realization of one single project. This approach shows that the conventional planning instruments of statutory plans are formally obeyed in Serbia, but that authorities are skillfully finding ways in order to change national and local urban legislation.

Participation of all stakeholders in the planning of the *Belgrade Waterfront Project* was carried out so far without substantial participation of professional and general public, except formally conducted public insight during the presentation of amendments of the *MP Belgrade of 2021* and the *Spatial plan Belgrade Waterfront*. Marketing campaign of the public sector for the project related mainly to promotional activities, presentation of

several variants of the project and scale-model in the Belgrade Cooperative building, and at real estate fairs. In this way, the priorities of what should be a public interest in the *Belgrade Waterfront Project* were more oriented towards the business elite of international big business, and less towards democratic and the participatory ways of decision making of local communities and citizens of Belgrade. On the other hand, regardless of formal citizen participation, we believe that if instruments for planning of large urban projects are focusing on fair and equitable outcomes it can lead to broad social support and support from municipalities and various organizations from the local level. Providing broader social support is possible through forums and public discussions, project presentations and via the web, etc. [19, p. 82]. On the other hand, based on our research, we conclude that, regardless of the attitudes of collaborative practitioners, it is not necessary to include the general public in a participatory process at the city level, but focus strategies and instruments to fair and equitable outcomes in the planning and management of large-scale urban projects, as well as obtaining a broader social support.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Besides similarities with other cases of planning and implementation of large projects, Serbian case shows a strong entrepreneurial direction of the public sector from the national level, instead of the city level as is often the case. The approach chosen by the Government of the Republic of Serbia for initiating and implementing strategic urban *Belgrade Waterfront Project* is a combination of entrepreneurial approaches of urban local governments and the national state incentives in liberal capitalism. It remains unknown who will own the land in Sava amphitheater, since it is not yet clear how this valuable resource in the central city location will be used due to unknown negotiations and agreements between major stakeholders. In contrast to the neo-liberal urban administrations in developed countries, in which organizational measures, negotiations, agreements and contracts between actors are used for large-scale urban projects, and in which legislative measures and institutional rules are the framework in which they act, Serbian case shows a mixture of both approaches. In such political and institutional context, the newly formed organization *Belgrade Waterfront Ltd.* as the main contractor for the project and the Government of the Republic of Serbia potentially provides subsidies to the private sector in two ways. One is indirectly through land clearance and population resettlement, relocation of the railway and bus station and promotional marketing for the project. The other one is directly through announced land donation to a foreign investor and exemption from local fees and taxes, and with public investments in planned communal and transport infrastructure. Changes of the *MP of Belgrade 2021*, fast planning process of conducting *Spatial plan Belgrade Waterfront* with a formal public insight, enabled the entire decision-making process to be efficient and most importantly, effective and attractive for the private sector – at least from the perspective of the public sector in Serbia from the national and significantly less from the city level given its facilitating role, and presumably under the criteria of the private sector company *Eagle Hills*. In this sense, the quality of solutions of large-scale urban projects directly depends on the socio-economic and political context and the existing value system, and hence varieties of interest that each actor individually or collectively defines. That is why we argue that the entrepreneurial role change of city governments call for reframing the

public interest, taking into consideration both global private interests and sustainable impacts and benefits for varieties of local public interests. How much the process itself will be effective in terms of wider socio-economic benefits, such as job creation, revenues to the city budget, new social and affordable housing, as well as costs of the project, and commitments for the citizens of Belgrade and Serbia we leave to the judgment of time. Such analyses are not mentioned in the *Spatial plan Belgrade Waterfront*, but we have got such announcements on several occasions by politicians and executives, by the City manager and the City architect. One thing is certain: if it comes to the implementation of large-scale *Belgrade Waterfront Project*, the brand and the image of Belgrade at the global level will change. As well as this part of Savamala (Fig. 3).



**Fig. 3** The old part of Belgrade – Savamala, between the Branko's Bridge and the old Sava Bridge, part of the large-scale *Belgrade Waterfront Project* (Photo by authors)

Based on the *Belgrade Waterfront* case research, we conclude that reframing public interest can vary and be seen in several aspects. Social and cultural context in which large-scale projects are implemented is of importance for understanding power-relations among actors and formulation of their interests. Spatial scale is of significant importance: whether the public interest is carried out for the sake of national interests, or whether it meets the interests of the city level, part of the city, local communities, etc. The spatial level and the importance of certain territory directly determines for which stakeholders and actors large-scale projects planned and implemented in fact the public interest.

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## **DRUGAČIJE SAGLEDAVANJE JAVNOG INTERESA U REALIZACIJI VELIKIH URBANIH PROJEKATA U SRBIJI: SLUČAJ PROJEKTA BEOGRAD NA VODI**

*Preduzetne urbane uprave širom sveta koriste velike projekte u promociji grada za bolji kvalitet života i privlačenje investicija sa međunarodnog nivoa. Ipak, veliki urbani projekti često testiraju demokratsko planiranje i javni interes, i raskidaju konvencionalne modele planiranja gradova. Smatramo da promenjena preduzetna uloga gradskih vlasti zahteva drugačije sagledavanje javnog interesa, uzimajući u obzir istovremeno globalne privatne interese i održive uticaje i koristi za razne lokalne javne interese. Rad prikazuje slučaj projekta Beograd na vodi. Rezultati pokazuju efikasan preduzetni pravac srpske nacionalne vlade, različit od svetskih iskustava u kojima urbane uprave imaju vođstvo. Pitanje je da li će ishodi biti pravični i fer, posebno kada su u pitanju 'pobednici' i 'gubitnici'. Postavljamo pravičnost na vrh agende za javne službenike i planere u realizaciji velikih urbanih projekata. Verujemo u postojanje varijeteta javnih interesa na različitim prostornim nivoima, definisanim od strane političara, ispitanim od strane stručnjaka u planiranju i prihvaćenim od strane građana za dobijanje šire društvene podrške.*

*Ključne reči: javni interes, projekti velikih razmera, preduzeto upravljanje*