Series: Architecture and Civil Engineering Vol. 14, No 1, 2016, pp. 75 - 89

DOI: 10.2298/FUACE1601075V

INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL MODELS ON THE SHAPING OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT FORMS: SOME EXAMPLES FROM SERBIA'S PAST AND PRESENT

UDC 711.4-122(497.11)

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Abstract. This paper considers the influence of different cultural models on the shaping of built environment forms in Serbian cities during certain periods in history which are characterized by specific political and social circumstances. In addition to the theoretical framing of current approaches to cultural models and multicultural reality in a broader sense, the research focuses on the: 1) review of historical, political and social background of the phenomenon of cultural models and multicultural realities in Serbia, 2) influence of different cultural models on the shaping of built environment forms in Serbia's cities and settlements through chosen examples from the past and present.

Key words: cultural model, multicultural, influence, built environment forms, Serbia

1. Introduction

Cultural models and multiculturalism are phenomena which significantly shaped the reality of human societies. Their political and social role and impact has changed over the time, as well as their influence on the shaping of urban forms, urban patterns and built environment. Unlike the first-mentioned impacts, the latter is rarely discussed, mostly due the lack of clearly established opinions which determined the methodological and theoretical framework of the phenomena of cultural models as well as multiculturalism. Namely, the different meaning of these most frequently used terms in contemporary theoretical approaches implies the different meaning of cultural models and multiculturalism, which, among others, caused methodological difficulties in establishing a framework for investigation of their influence on the built environment.

Received January 26, 2016 / Accepted March 16, 2016

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Namely, in the *normative* manner, the term multiculturalism is used as a way of political dealing with cultural diversity in a society. In the Western political philosophy and theory, the normative manner of multiculturalism is primarily related to the *concept of multiculturalism* which has been promoted over the last few decades as a political ideal, (Spencer, 1994; Majnhof and Triandafilidu, 2006; Parekh, 2002), a policy of recognition of civil rights, cultural identities and cultural diversity (Taylor,1992), and a political action implemented through various models of multicultural policies and the mechanisms of social regulation of development.

On the other hand, in a *sociological* and *philosophical* manner, the term multiculturalism is used to denote the cultural pluralism of contemporary societies - defined from this point of view multiculturalism is related to the diversity of national and ethnic groups, but also to other non-ethnic groups and communities that foster separate cultural identities (Deveaux, 2007). This research relies exactly on this approach to the phenomenon of multiculturalism, where cultural models are seen as a part and reflection of cultural pluralism.

Despite the fact that many scholars from Serbia and other SEE countries deal with different issues of cultural models, it seems that there is a lack of clearly established opinions which determined the methodological and theoretical framework, while the studies related to physical manifestations of different cultural models and their influences on the shaping of urban fabric and built environment forms are quite rare. This research is an attempt to fill this gap through the study of Serbia's experience from the past and present.

Beside the conceptualization of phenomenon of cultural models, multicultural reality and multiculturalism in Serbia within a wider theoretical frame, the paper is organized around the key research aim – to analyze the relationship and influence of different cultural models on the shaping of built environment forms and urban patterns in Serbia's settlements. The examples from the past and present are chosen to reflect the different cultural models and their aspects, as well as their impact on the origin, evolution and characteristics of spatial and urban forms during certain periods in Serbia's history which are characterized by specific political and social circumstances.

2. CULTURAL MODELS IN SERBIA – SETTING AND FRAMING THE CONTEXT

For a theoretical interpretation of different cultural models as well as multiculturalism in Serbian context, and understanding the relations and consequences of their influence over the characteristics of build environment forms, it is necessary to explain the historical, political and social background of different cultural models and multiculturalism in SEE countries, especially in those which appeared on the scene after the dissolution of former Yugoslavia.

2.1. Setting the context

The presence of different cultural models and multiculturalism (both in its sociological and normative manner) in the area of SEE and the Balkans is nothing new. Various models of multiculturalism can be identified throughout the centuries. Sokolović (2010:42) considers that "even an person with a superficial level of knowledge of the Balkans knows that, based on its experience and achievements in the field of the coexistence of various cultures, religions, peoples and even entire civilizations, it has enriched the multicultural history of mankind", while Cvijić (1922) states that Serbia in a beginning of the 20th century was a multi-ethnic,

multi-confessional and a multicultural state due to its specific geographic position, historical legacy, political circumstances, demographic development and constant population migrations. After WW II, the socialist system was introduced to the countries in the Balkans. As Lošonc (2003:195) states, former Yugoslavia, including Serbia as one of its six republics, was "the one to most widely open the door to multiculturalism as an ideological project as a supranational goal of history", being one of the most diverse countries in the world.

In the last decade of the 20th century, radical political and economic changes took place, which greatly influenced all segments of social and cultural life. After the collapse of socialism, there was a revival of the ethnocentric perception of reality, within its multiculturalism was interpreted as a remnant of the former system. The heritage of the past, the geopolitical interests of the internal and external actors, and the confrontation between the creation of 'pure' ethno-national states, on the one hand, and ethnic heterogeneity of the former republics, on the other, led to the Yugoslav tragedy (Raduški, 2011). The disintegration of former Yugoslavia led to the creation of new ethno-national states which became independent states after the dissolution and "in the foundation of their nationality ... set only their own nation, thereby behaving as if they had never had a multicultural past" (Stanković-Pejnović, 2010:465). The civil war, voluntary and forced ethnocentric migrations followed by over a million refugees and displaced persons, caused large changes in the ethnic, demographic, economic and cultural spheres. Among other, they led to territorial homogeneity and decreases in the extent of the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the population in the newly-formed states. This shift from the 'age of ideology' to the 'age of national cultures and cultural models' has shaken the belief that the age of nationalism had gone for good and that the era of multinational and multicultural societies had arrived (Tamir, 1993). As a result, academic and political debates have questioned the perception of and attitude towards multiculturalism, where the key current questions is how will the newlycreated national states of the multicultural Balkans respond to the challenges which the process of globalization places before them, including multiculturalism as a historical legacy and political policy, the modern ideas of what a nation is and the internationalization of the minority issue, and at the same time maintain the strenuously formed ideology of the creation of a national state founded on nationalism and a 'new' cultural identity? In an attempt to answer this question, Stanković-Pejnović (2010) considers that the previous statements imply that nowadays, the multiculturalism in SEE countries and Serbia must be viewed in the light of internal legal and political dynamics and ways of adapting to European structures as well as a willingness to find a balance between the memories of history and institutional necessities, exacted by the future.

2.2. Framing the context

In the past few decades various segments of the cultural models and multicultural reality in Serbia are considered, such us the relationship between culture and religion (Djurić-Milanović, 2010), urban multiculturalism and the identity of the citizens (Milošević, 2002), the characteristics and relationship between cultures of urban and rural communities (Petković, 2007), the cultural identity of the diasporas (Kostić, 2011), groups with specific cultural norms, etc. However, it seems that research focus of interest related to cultural models and multicultural reality in modern day Serbia is primarily *ethnicity* and *ethnic diversity*, which is quite understandable bearing in mind the historical and recent political background.

Impact of different cultural models and multicultural reality on the shaping of built environment in Serbia is rarely discussed. If it is considered, it is usually indirectly, within the: 1) political and sociological approaches and policies which deal with the *spatial distribution of national minorities*, that is, *the degree of their spatial homogeneity or dispersion* at the national and regional level; 2) studies related to urban history, from the aspect of the *multicultural urban and architectural legacy* of the cities in Serbia (Macura, 1984; Maksimović, 1962, Vasilevska, 2011); or 3) sociological theoretical approaches which dealing with cultural form, norms and patterns of behavior of individuals and groups, were multiculturalism and space are analyzed as the *elements of the content of cultural models* (Klaic, 2011; Lipi et al., 2010).

However, in spite of many debates and studies, there are opinions that the influence of the phenomenon of cultural models and multiculturalism in Serbia is still underestimated, both in theoretical and political terms, and has not yet adequately been analyzed. Bašić (2006:115) considers that "in our social sciences, there are no methodological and theoretically founded opinions on the phenomenon of multiculturalism and the place of ethnicity in its structure, not to mention the problems related to the changes in identity among minority groups". It seems that the theoretical confusion is not the result of only the recent political background, but that it is multi-layered and can be analyzed in respect to other reference points (Kymlicka, 2002). One of them is certainly the term multiculturalism itself, which was directly imported from the Anglo-American social and political anthropology where it is primarily related to the relationship between the native people - dominant culture and immigrants- the *others*, where *others* represent individuals and groups from extremely different cultural models. The term multiculturalism does not include, or rarely does, the internal relations within the group of native inhabitants, certainly between their various cultural models. It is precisely one of the most important characteristic of multicultural reality in Serbia, where national minorities are deep historically rooted and usually have more powerful mother countries in their immediate environment (which, as a rule, cannot be found in western approaches). Second, the modern liberal theories of multiculturalism often ignored the fact that multiculturalism is not a product of the western world and the fact that the present state of affairs is the result of a historical continuum - multiculturalism in Serbia is deeply historically rooted and comprises different types of experience and forms of knowledge than those from the West. The various cultural models in Serbia, caused and shaped under different historical, political and sociological circumstances, have an important role in multicultural reality through the centuries, while, at the same time, the attribute ethnic does not have to always be the prerogative of certain cultural models, both in past and present.

3. METHODOLOGY

In addition to the literature review, the analytical framework of the paper draws on approaches that use the analysis and synthesis as an analytical construct to interpret the research issues. For the investigation and explaining the influence of different cultural models on the shaping of built environment and urban structures, this research relies on analysis of chosen examples. They are chosen to reflect the various aspects and spatial-physical products of influence of different cultural models and multicultural realities which have been shaped by specific political and social circumstances of the certain periods. The

connection between the cultural models as well as socio-political aspects of multicultural realities and characteristics of build environment have been studied on the following examples: 1) the influence of cultural models of imperialist forces, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, on the significant differences in urban patterns and build environment characteristics of village settlements in the parts of present-day Serbia which were under their rule in the 18th and 19th century; 2) the influence of political power and national cultural identity during the period of liberation and acquisition of independence in the 19th century, when the creating a national cultural identity was supported and followed by the emergence of new cities (or reconstruction of existing), whose urban patterns and built environment forms were based on completely new principles of organization in comparison with inherited; 3) the influence of the hybrid cultures of socialism in the second half of the 20th century, with the focus on large housing estates as a typical urban and physical manifestation of the collective culture and identity; and 4) the influence of globalization and strengthening of the consumer culture in the period of post-socialism and radical political and economical changes from the 1990s, with the focus on significant increase in commercial functions which was followed by new forms of built environment and urban patterns.

4. INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL MODELS ON THE SHAPING OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT FORMS

It seems that differentiations of built environment characteristic in Serbia are shaped by different cultural models, rather than the ethno-cultural specificity. Namely, even though the ethnic space of the Serbs in modern Serbia is considerable spatially predominantly homogeneous in the central regions, while the high territorial concentrations of national minorities are in the northern region - Vojvodina, and peripheral/border areas of Serbia (Census, 2012), today there are no significant differences in the characteristics of urban patterns and built environment forms which can be related to ethnic or ethnicity. So, the same elements of the built environment and material cultural content can be found in several, or even all national and/or ethno-cultural groups in the same area. For example, inside the so-called 'Serbian' culture, defined by language and religion, there are a number of cultural models which objectively differ based on other content - in addition to social organization, patterns of behavior and perception or type of economy, there are also elements of material culture such as different urban patterns, different types of housing and architectural language (Gavrilović, 2000). Simultaneously, inside the wide cultural zones there is a prominent similarity between the cultural models which are defined as separate on the basis of belonging to national or ethnic groups. Thus, for instance, the same patterns of village organization, same traditional types of houses and physical-functional organization of plots can be recognized among the Serbs, Hungarians and Slovaks in the region of Vojvodina, or Serbs and Vlachs, and Serbs and Bulgarians in the border areas of the region of South and Eastern Serbia.

One of the obviously physical impacts of the multicultural reality, which is also recognized in western societies as a key issue, is spatial segregation/ghettoization of ethnic groups at the city level. In Serbian context, numerous informal settlements/ghettos in which members of the Roma minority live are an implicit physical manifestation of their social marginalization. However, in the last few decades of socialist period and in the whole post-socialist period, marked by deep political and economic crisis, the spatial segregation in Serbia's cities is caused in a greater extent by *socio-economic inequality* of certain *socio-economic groups*

or subcultures than by ethnicity (Vujović, 1990). Numerous 'wild', unplanned and illegally built housing areas in the suburbs of most cities are an implicit physical manifestation of the social and economic segregation of certain subcultures, mostly people of a low socio-economic status. More recently, spatial segregation can be recognized in the case of refugees and displaced persons of Serbian nationality from all over former Yugoslavia, following the exodus of the 1990s. Some studies indicate an extremely high level of spatial ghettoization of these groups in the cities in Vojvodina, not only in relation to the 'natives'/settlers but also between them, which, among others, can be explained by the differences in cultural models (Gavrilović, 2006).

In this research, the implicit influence of various cultural models on the shaping of urban fabric and built environment forms is discussed in more detail through analysis of chosen examples, which reflect different aspects and role of cultural models under different historical, political and social circumstances in past and present.

4.1. Influence of different cultural models of imperialist forces in the 18th and 19th century on shaping of spatial organization of villages

In the past, the territory of modern-day Serbia was on the outskirts of two imperialist forces - the Habsburg Monarchy, which has ruled the territory of today Vojvodina in the 18th and 19th century; and the Ottoman Empire, which has ruled the territory south of the Sava and the Danube rivers, from the 15th to the 19th century (Figure 1).

While the Habsburg Monarchy found its place in the courses of European economic and cultural development long before its dissolution, the military-feudal regime of Ottoman Empire did not show any kind of affinity towards the legacy of the western civilization (Mihailović, 1990). The differences in the level of economic development as well as cultural models of these two imperial forces were projected on the territory of Serbia. Namely, even though both imperialist forces declaratory applied a model of cultural autonomy, in practice people were expected to acculturate and adopt a sense of belonging to the empire(s). Forced assimilation took place, in Vojvodina in the 19th century and in central Serbia a long time ago. In addition to complex political and historical circumstances, this turbulent period was marked by both the systematic colonization of Vojvodina and the settling of population from other parts of the country. This was a result of the different periods of dominance of two imperialist forces, the decrease and weakening of the resistance of the local population, as well as the frequent (spontaneous or planned) migrations of the Serbs from the areas under Ottoman rule.

Among others, the clash between two different cultures got its clear spatial manifestation and differentiation precisely in the modes of origin as well as in the characteristics of urban patterns and built environment forms of villages.

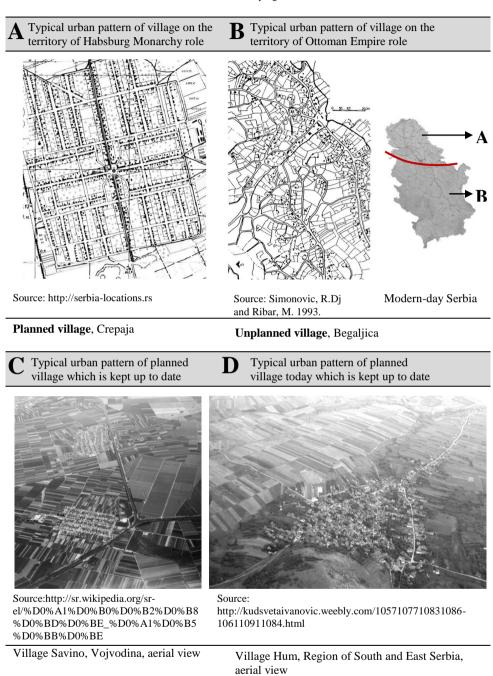


Fig. 1 Influence of different cultural models of Habsburg Monarchy and Ottoman Empire in 18th and 19th century on shaping of spatial organization of villages

In addition to the construction of irrigation canals and the formation of large agricultural estates, one of the direct spatial manifestations of the Habsburg Monarchy policy in the process of colonization of Vojvodina, was the *emergence and construction of new planned villages*. Formed exclusively on the basis of imperial decrees, with clearly defined rules and principles of construction, the new villages in Vojvodina were planned based. In period of 19th century about 350 planned villages were built (Figure 1 A, C). With the similar patterns and elements of the built environment as in other areas under the rule of Habsburg Monarchy, these villages became both a product and a representative of the material content of a specific cultural model related to Habsburg Monarchy.

Quite opposite, in the area of Serbia under Ottoman rule, villages were formed *spontaneously*, without any kind of planned intervention through long time period (Simonović and Ribar, 1993; Vasilevska, 2015). Consequently, the differences in the urban patterns and built environment are very clear: 1) *Planned villages* are characterized by a grid plan, with proper form of blocks, squares and plots (Figure 1 A), while 2) *Unplanned villages* are characterized by spontaneous composition, an irregular street network, an irregular form of blocks and plots (Figure 1 B). It is important to note that the cited differences and characteristics of built environment have been preserved to date (Figure 1 C, D).

The later transformations of the villages, caused by social, economic and demographic developmental changes and processes during the previous century, just followed the inherited logic and principles of the organization of built environment from the past.

4.2. Influence of political power and creation of the national cultural identity in the 19th century on urban patterns in the new and inherited cities

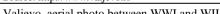
After a succession of historical and political events, bloody rebellions against the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Ottoman wars, Serbia renewed its national status in the 19th century, primarily in the form of a vassal dukedom, having achieved full independence in 1878. With this newly-acquired independence, questions regarding the formation of *national* and cultural identity were pushed to the foreground (Kolaković, 2014). The urban activities were one of the key ways to express them. Essentially, Serbian urbanism in the 19th century had a pronounced *ideological*, political and cultural character – the formation of a national cultural identity became a political imperative which found its physical expression in the construction of a new cities and/or reconstruction of existing (Maksimović, 1962; Macura, 1984; Vasilevska, 2015). The cities were established as the centers of government authority, economic and cultural life, through the rejection of the inherited urban patterns from the time of the Ottoman Empire and formation and implementation of completely new urban pattern and built environment forms.

Construction of new planned cities and/or new planed parts is linked to the third and fourth decade of the 19th century (Figure 2A), while complete or partial reconstruction of existing cities is linked to the second half of the 19th century (Figure 2 B), and it gained special significance after the Berlin Congress in 1878 (Figure 2 C). Both of those periods and activities were based on the same principles and motives: 1) Removal and/or abandonment of the inherited urban matrix of towns and hamlets whose characteristics, such us an unplanned, oriental structure, improper and uncomfortable grids of curved, narrow and blind alleys, were a physical expression of centuries of turmoil for the Serbian nation; and 2) Replace them with new urban pattern and built environment forms that will be a *spatial expression* and confirmation of a national cultural identity and modernization of the state (Figure 2, A-E).

New planned settlement R Partially reconstruction Completely reconstruction Source: http://www.urbel.com Source: Maksimovic, B., 1962 Source: Maksimovic, B., 1962 Poreč, 1831 Old part of Belgrade Kuršumlija, 1885 within the fortress, 1867

New planed parts of inherited settlements





Valjevo, aerial photo between WWI and WII

The differences in pattern and built environment between old part of the city from Ottoman Empire rule on the left shore and new planed part on the right shore of Kolubara river. 4th decade of 19th century



Source: http://www.loznica.rs

Loznica, aerial photo from 1937

The differences in pattern and built environment between old part on the west and new planed part on the east. 4th decade of 19th century

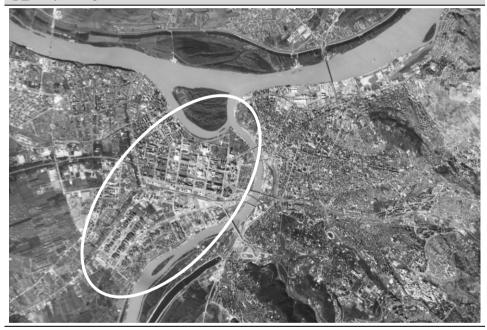
Fig. 2 Influence of political power and creation of national cultural identity on new urban patterns in Serbia's cities in 19th century

As the basic principles of the urban composition, based on the influence of western European urban and cultural values and trends, the following were defined: a) the consistent use of a grid plan, with properly forms of squares and urban blocks; b) rationalism and functionalism; and c) the application of the principle of aesthetics, especially in the design of city squares (Maksimović, 1962).

4.3. Influence of creating of collective cultural identity in the period of socialism on the origin and urban patterns of large housing estates

After WW II, the socialist system was introduced to the countries in the Balkans, promoted the top-down modernization. As the political ideology and the ruling system of social relationships in former Yugoslavia, socialism insisted on equality and solidarity, which led to the incorporation of these values into the social and spatial reality. The rejection of the past and the creation of a new social reality, based on the guiding principle and fundamental values of the common interest, social equality and *collective cultural identity*, get, among others, their obvious physical expressions in the form of large housing estates with socially-owned flats. Serbia shaped the built environment of numerous large housing estates through *urbanism and the architecture of equality*, shaped at the same time both a new society and *collective cultural identity* as a national project.

A City of Belgrade



 $Source: http://geoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/80000/80652/ISS034-E-061717_lrg.jpg$

New Belgrade is the largest large housing estate in former Yugoslavia and Serbia. It was built between 1948 and the first half of 1970s. Difference between the urban matrix of New Belgrade, which is characterized by oversized blocks, compared to the inherited urban matrix on the right shore of the Sava river is also noticeable today.

B Large housing estates Blocks 63 and 64 in New Belgrade



Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Bezanijski_Blokovi.jpg

C Large housing estate Boulevard Nemanjića in the City of Niš



Source: http://www.gradnis.net/slike/albums/slikenaseg-grada/let-iznad-nisa/bulevarnemanjica.jpg

Fig. 3 Influence of collective culture during the socialist period on urban patterns and forms of build environment on large housing estates

The average Yugoslav share of socially-owned flats in 1991 was 22%, whereas in the political and administrative centers the share was close to 40% (1991 Census). Initial urban and architectural design of large housing estates were based on a mixture of rigid socialist urban planning and a CIAM – inspired design, which basically meant a break with the inherited urban patterns and forms of material culture from the past. The physical and functional characteristics of large housing estates are based on the following (Perović, 2008): 1) large-scale urban blocks; 2) architectural and functional uniformity shaped by repetition of group of buildings that have same architectural and structural features; and 3) a wide range of generously dimensioned public open space, however, poorly equipped in the initial stage of the construction (Figure 3 A, B). Hence, the liberal nature and peculiarities of the Yugoslav self-management socialist system resulted in a better urban and architectural design, as well as in a better quality of living in large housing estates in comparison with other SEE countries (Hirt, 2012).

From the aspect of *intercultural relations*, it can be said that the impact of *globalization* is indisputable, since the large housing estates in socialist Serbia were visible confirmation of the ideas of the modernist movement that identical settlements and typologically clearly identifiable urban and architectural units can be built on all continents, irrespective of the tradition, culture, or the climate conditions.

4.4. Influence of globalization and strengthening of the consumer culture in post-socialist period on the increase in commercial functions

The fall of socialism and radical political changes in Serbia in the 1990s established a new social, economic and cultural reality which shaped new urban reality, reality of post-socialist city (Golubchikov et al., 2013). The decline of socialism meant the decline of an entire system of values, which opened up and deepened the crisis of the collective identity. The cities in Serbia experienced a significant transformation in their urban and functional structure during the past twenty five years, shaped by similar post-socialist

processes of urban changes that have occurred in other SEE cities. In addition to the other, one of the key processes is *significant increase in commercial functions*. Viewed as new market and social initiative rather the remnants of older mentality (Burawoy and Verdery, 1999), significant increase in commercial functions can be interpreted as a manifestation of the *globalization* and economic transition, and strengthening private entrepreneurship and *consumer culture* (Stanilov, 2007). As a physical manifestation of these processes, the specific post-socialist forms of built environment occurred. They can be recognized at the different city levels. At the neighborhoods level it is retail stores, as an expression of the post-socialist phenomenon known as "garage capitalism" (Hirt, 2006; Vasilevska et al., 2015), which means individual transformation and adaptation of garages, basements and other space located on the ground floor of existing buildings into retail stores or other services (Figure 4 A). This new form of built environment significantly shaped the urban transformation of inherited residential areas.







Fig. 4 Influence of globalization and strengthening of the consumer culture in post-socialist period on shaping new forms of built environment - "garage capitalism" (A) and shopping malls (B,C)

More obviously physical impact of increase in commercial functions are huge supermarkets and extensive shopping malls (Figure 4 B, C), which are the forms of built environment that have not occurred during socialist period. With their extensive physical structure, architecture and accompanying content (parking spaces), shopping malls transformed the urban structure and altered the urban landscape of Serbia's cities to the greatest extent.

5. CONCLUSION

With regard to the *historical*, *political* and social background of the phenomenon of cultural models in Serbia, we can conclude that the present state of affairs is the result of a historical continuum, during which different cultural models and multicultural realities can be recognized, as well as recent political background. Multiculturalism in Serbia is deeply historically rooted and comprises different types of experience, influence of cultural models and forms of knowledge than those from the West. Although the focus of interest of social and political sciences in Serbia is also primarily ethnicity and ethnic diversity, the starting point is significantly different in comparison to the West, because phenomenon of multiculturalism and different cultural models are deeply historically rooted. The various cultural models in Serbia, caused and shaped under different historical, political and sociological circumstances, have an important role in multicultural realities both in the past and present.

As analysis reveals, and in line with our second research aim – *investigate the influence of different cultural models and multiculturalism from its historical, sociological and political point of view on the shaping of built environment forms and urban patterns*, we can conclude that physical impact of various aspects of cultural models and multicultural realities, more or less implicit, undoubtedly exists. Caused by historical movements and radical social and political changes such as, for example, presence of imperialist forces in the past, introduction of socialist system in the second half of 20^{th} century, or the fall of socialism and radical political changes in Serbia in the 1990s, it seems that different cultural models, including process of globalization, caused physical impact to a greater extent than the ethno-cultural specificity.

This research indicated that cultural models had a greater or lesser influence in the process of the urban transformation of cities and settlements in Serbia in different phases of the development of Serbian society, but always led to the new forms of the built environment and/or urban patterns. The deciding factor in the period of imperialism in the 18th and 19th century was primarily the clash between two different political forces and cultures models, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, which led to clear differentiation in the types of genesis, urban patterns and built environment characteristics of the villages on the territories of modern-day Serbia which were under their rule. When the Serbian state was created in the 19th century, the political imperative for the creating of the national cultural identity influenced the construction of planned cities and the reconstruction of existing, based on quite new urban principles. The shaping of urban forms and architectural characteristics of large housing estates in the period of socialism represents the merger between, on the one hand, an ideology guided by collective cultural identity, and on the other hand, the international movement of modernism as the initial expression of the overall globalism. Something quite similar is taking place in the post-socialist period, but the motives and forms of urban changes are of a different kind. So, for example, the current

process of globalization and strengthening of consumer culture is manifested, among others, through the increase of commercial functions. This led to the occurrence of completely new forms of built environment such us shopping malls, which transform the urban fabric of larger Serbian cities to a great extent.

Finally, the influence of the cultural model and phenomenon of multiculturalism on the shaping of built environment is still underestimated, both in theoretical and in political terms, and has not yet adequately been analyzed. The further research related to this issue would be of importance for understanding this complex causal relationship.

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UTICAJ KULTURNIH MODELA NA OBLIKOVANJE FORMI FIZIČKOG OKRUŽENJA: ODABRANI PRIMERI IZ PROŠLOSTI I SADAŠNJOSTI SRBIJE

Ovaj rad razmatra uticaj različitih kulturnih modela na oblikovanje izgrađenog okruženja u gradovima Srbije kroz pojedine razvojne periode koje karakterišu specifične političke i društvene okolnosti. Pored razmatranja aktuelnih teoretskih prisupa fenomenima kulturnih modela i multikulturalnosti, istraživanje se u ovom radu fokusira na: 1) pregled istorijskog, političkog i društvenog miljea fenomena kulturnih modela i multikulturalnog okruženja u Srbiji, i 2) analizu uticaja različitih kulturnih modela na oblikovanje izgrađenog okruženja kroz odabrane primere iz prošlosti i sadašnjosti Srbije.

Ključne reči: kulturni model. multikulturanost, uticaj, forme fizičkog okruženja, Srbija