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*Master thesis:*

**Architecture in the field of cultural policies**

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## **Abstract**

Most of the current cultural policy research focuses on traditionally viewed art practices such as visual arts, music, literature and dance. Dual nature of the architecture, which is both highly cultural but also highly economic, makes its presence in cultural policy discourse less obvious, which is the reason why architecture is not so frequently interrogated in this context.

Yet, effects of the architecture i.e. built environment on culture and vice-versa have always been very strong, which is in this paper highlighted through the concept of cultural responsiveness of architecture, suggested by Rapoport (1987). This is why this paper deals with the importance of architecture as a field within cultural policy domain by investigating the hypothesis that neglecting of architecture as such inhibits not only the development of architecture itself but more importantly the development of cultural offer, access, participation and cultural enrichment in general.

Approaching from the perspective of architectural practice in Serbian environment, this paper seeks to address lack of in-depth research upon the topic of position of architecture in the cultural policy discourse. Overall, it seeks to contribute to the interdisciplinary discussion of cultural policy in wider terms. By trying to understand how architectural culture is regulated and administered, this paper primarily strives to understand the complicated relationships of nominal and explicit policies in Serbia, but also to address negative effects of them and thus seek for the solutions through comparative analysis with examples of good practice in EU context.

Since Serbia doesn't have any official cultural policy document it was not an easy task to discover its nominal policy goals, since they are only implicitly declared through various instruments and actions that were undertaken. It was recognised that architecture is present in nominal and explicit Serbian unofficial cultural policy through three architecture related fields: preservation of cultural/architectural heritage, construction of cultural infrastructure and usage of architecture as an active component of cultural life.

In order to evaluate this position and determine its range, two cultural policy implementation methods/instruments were analysed – one is decision-making mechanism (represented through lobbying for the allocation of funds in the National Investment Plan and through lobbying for public competitions for design projects of cultural infrastructure), and the other one is financing policy in culture.

Further qualitative and quantitative analysis of relevant data have shown that when it comes to treating architecture as an integral part of the cultural field in Serbia, nominally there is no comprehensive understanding of the potentials that can be achieved through it. Rather, on the part of Serbian government, big misuse or underuse of those potentials was discovered. This leads to bad condition and misuse of cultural/architectural heritage, bad condition or even nonexistence of basic cultural infrastructure and negligibly small influence of architecture related cultural projects on overall cultural participation.

With the analysis of the position of architecture in EU context it was discovered that comprehension of architecture as a discipline within a cultural discourse prevails, so the most successful instruments for the implementation of architectural/cultural policy goals in various EU countries were examined.

In the conclusion of the paper SWOT analysis of the Serbian cross-cutting architectural-cultural context was conducted in order to establish background for the policy recommendations. On the basis of this analysis some of architectural and cultural policy instruments examined in previous chapter of the paper were proposed for application on Serbian environment. They were proposed primarily as initiators for development and deeper integration of architecture in the field of unofficial culture policy and only later, further development of policy document itself.

**Key words** – architecture, culture, cultural policy, architectural policy, Serbia, EU

## Résumé

La plupart des recherches actuelles sur la politique culturelle se concentrent sur des pratiques artistiques traditionnelles telles que les arts visuels, la musique, la littérature et la danse. La double nature de l'architecture, très culturelle et très économique, voit sa présence dans le discours de politique culturelle moins évidente, et c'est la raison pour laquelle l'architecture n'est pas si souvent interrogée dans ce contexte.

Ce mémoire s'approche du point de vue de la pratique architecturale dans l'environnement serbe et cherche à combler ce manque de recherches approfondies sur le sujet de la position de l'architecture dans le discours de politique culturelle. Ainsi, ce mémoire vise à contribuer à la discussion interdisciplinaire de la politique culturelle en termes plus larges. Le but est de comprendre comment la culture architecturale est réglementée et administrée en Serbie mais aussi dans un contexte européen. Ce mémoire vise à découvrir les relations complexes des politiques nominatives et explicites en Serbie, mettre l'accent sur les effets négatifs de celui-ci et rechercher les solutions à travers une analyse comparative avec des exemples de bonnes pratiques.

Comme les effets de l'architecture (l'environnement bâti) sur la culture et vice-versa ne peuvent pas être négligés, ce mémoire est fondé sur le postulat que l'architecture est un domaine important de la production culturelle et sur la prémisse que l'architecture est négligée dans le discours public serbe. En explorant cette prémisse, ce mémoire étudiera l'hypothèse suivante : la négligence de l'architecture dans le cadre du domaine de la politique culturelle empêche non seulement le développement de l'architecture elle-même, mais aussi, le développement de l'offre culturelle, l'accès, la participation et l'enrichissement culturel en général.

Selon l'hypothèse et les objectifs du mémoire, les questions de recherche sont les suivantes:

1. Comment le gouvernement serbe perçoit-il l'architecture et comment attribue-telle les significations à l'architecture par rapport à la culture?
2. Quelles sont les méthodes et les instruments de la politique culturelle serbe qui permettent ou entravent la contribution de l'architecture au sein de la sphère culturelle?

3. Comment l'architecture est-elle perçue et par quelles méthodes politiques est-elle traitée à l'échelle européenne?
4. Quelles sont les voies de développement possibles de l'architecture au sein du champ culturel en Serbie et par quels instruments politiques peuvent-elles être soutenues?

Dans le premier chapitre de ce mémoire, le concept principal et les termes pertinents pour la recherche ont été examinés et l'accent a été mis sur la notion de réactivité culturelle de l'architecture, suggérée par Rapoport (1987). Ce concept suggère que l'architecture peut être perçue comme une culture spécifique (l'architecture pourrait avoir certaines qualités qui peuvent différer dans les différentes cultures, parce qu'elles se rapporte à certaines parties de la culture, en particulier à sa base), adéquate à la culture (parce que l'architecture reflète certaines idéologies et visions qui sont déjà incorporés dans la culture) et comme une composante active (utilisé comme un élément de la culture, plutôt que comme une réserve de la culture passive). À travers ce concept, la forte relation entre la culture et l'architecture a été soulignée, et cette relation a été établie comme un arrière-plan solide pour la poursuite des recherches.

Dans le deuxième chapitre, la position de l'architecture dans la politique culturelle serbe non officielle a été examinée. Ceci ne fut pas une tâche facile car la Serbie n'a pas de document officiel de politique culturelle et ses objectifs nominaux sont seulement implicitement déclarés à travers diverses actions et instruments qui sont entrepris. Il a été reconnu que l'architecture est présente dans la politique culturelle non officielle serbe nominale et explicite à travers trois domaines liés à l'architecture: la préservation du patrimoine culturel et architectural, la construction de l'infrastructure culturelle et l'utilisation de l'architecture comme un élément actif de la vie culturelle. Sur la base de ces trois domaines, ce chapitre a été divisé en trois parties.

Afin d'examiner et d'évaluer plus profondément la position de l'architecture dans la politique culturelle non officielle serbe et afin de déterminer sa portée, dans ce chapitre deux méthodes de mise en œuvre de politique culturelle ont été analysées: l'un est le mécanisme de prise de décision (représenté par le lobbying pour l'attribution des fonds dans le Plan National d'Investissement et par le lobbying pour les concours publics pour les projets de conception de l'infrastructure culturelle), et l'autre étant le financement de la culture.

Des analyses ont montré que, quand il s'agit de traiter l'architecture comme une partie intégrante du champ culturel Serbe, nominalement, il n'y a pas de compréhension globale des possibilités qui peuvent être atteintes à travers elle. Au contraire, un grand nombre d'abus ou d'utilisations insuffisantes a été découvert de la part du gouvernement serbe.

Dans la première partie de ce chapitre, la préservation du patrimoine culturel et architectural en Serbie a été évaluée par l'analyse qualitative de l'étude de cas du projet architectural pour la préservation du site préhistorique Lepenski vir. Il a été constaté que les professionnels sont impliqués dans le processus de préservation, seulement jusqu'à un certain point, tandis que le processus de prise de décision sur l'exécution réelle de conservation est fortement politisé. Ceci est une conséquence du fait que le patrimoine architectural est un moyen commode pour l'appropriation de l'identité culturelle, le renforcement du nationalisme et la revendication du territoire. Aussi, le manque de coopération intersectorielle entre le Ministère de la Culture et de l'Information et d'autres ministères (Ministère de l'Economie et du Développement Régional) a été découvert. Cela a pour conséquence que certains sites patrimoniaux importants attendent encore d'être correctement protégés, présentés et donc inclus dans la vie culturelle.

Dans la deuxième partie de ce chapitre, la construction et/ou la reconstruction de l'infrastructure culturelle a été évaluée par l'analyse qualitative du projet architectural pour le Musée d'Art Contemporain de Belgrade ainsi que par une analyse qualitative et quantitative des concours d'architecture pour la construction et/ou la reconstruction de l'infrastructure culturelle menée depuis dix ans à Belgrade. Il a été constaté que la mise en œuvre des objectifs de la politique culturelle de ce domaine (la réalisation des projets d'infrastructure culturelle) n'est pas une priorité pour le gouvernement serbe. Au contraire, les efforts initiaux pour cette réalisation ne sont que des actes démonstratifs et leur force "spectaculaire" est utilisée seulement pour la promotion de l'élite politique. Ceci signifie, que le potentiel de l'infrastructure culturelle comme la marchandisation culturelle reste inutilisée et le contexte culturel serbe reste encore sans infrastructure de base nécessaire pour la participation culturelle élémentaire.

Dans la troisième partie de ce chapitre, l'utilisation de l'architecture comme un élément actif de la vie culturelle a été évaluée par, l'analyse quantitative et qualitative de l'architecture liée aux projets culturels financés et réalisés dans les trois dernières années en Serbie. Il a été

constaté que, le soutien vers la création et la mise en œuvre de l'architecture liée aux projets culturels (les projets pour la promotion de la culture architecturale, pour l'éducation d'un public plus large par le design architectural, les débats architecturaux et l'enrichissement culturel en général) est très limité, et presque négligeable en comparaison avec d'autres catégories de la production de l'art visuel. En conséquence, la quantité des efforts de création et de proposition pour ce type de projets de financement, diminue d'année en année.

Dans le troisième chapitre de ce mémoire, l'analyse de la position de l'architecture dans le contexte de l'UE a été menée. Dans ce chapitre, j'ai analysé les documents officiels de la politique architecturale de l'UE (Résolution sur la Qualité Architecturale dans l'Environnement Urbain et Rural de 2001 et Conclusions sur l'Architecture du Conseil: la Contribution de la Culture au Développement Durable de 2008). Ainsi j'ai mené une recherche sur la distribution sectorielle de la responsabilité de l'architecture et les politiques architecturales dans le contexte de l'UE et j'ai analysé les différents types de documents de politique architecturale qui existent déjà dans chaque pays de l'UE (les documents législatifs, les documents de politiques globales et les documents de politiques sectorielles).

À travers cette analyse, il a été découvert que la compréhension de l'architecture en tant que discipline dans le discours culturel à l'échelle européenne prévaut. C'est pourquoi certains instruments organisationnels, économiques, juridiques et à valeur-conceptive pour la mise en œuvre des objectifs de la politique architecturale-culturels communs dans les différents pays de l'UE, ont été examinés. L'analyse de ces instruments a servi comme point de départ pour la recommandation de la politique dans le contexte serbe, dans le chapitre suivant.

Dans le quatrième chapitre, c'est-à-dire dans la conclusion de ce mémoire, l'analyse SWOT du contexte transversal alliant les domaines de l'architecture et la culture en Serbie a été menée afin d'établir l'arrière-plan pour les recommandations de la politique. À travers cette analyse, il a été constaté que, quand il s'agit de la présence de l'architecture dans le domaine de la politique culturelle serbe non officielle, quatre conclusions peuvent être tirées:

- (1) La plus grande force réside dans la scène culturelle indépendante, le secteur civil et les efforts des associations professionnelles et des particuliers;

- (2) La plus grande faiblesse réside dans l'absence d'objectifs stratégiques du gouvernement dans le domaine de la culture et les processus de prise de décisions politisés;
- (3) La plus grande opportunité réside dans la coopération interculturelle, transnationale et l'état transversale à travers différents programmes et projets existants;
- (4) La plus grande menace réside dans le manque chronique de financement pour soutenir la culture, mais aussi dans cette double-nature de l'architecture (culturel et économique) dont la prédominance logique de son potentiel économique est évidente dans un tel contexte.

Sur la base de cette analyse, quelques instruments de politique architecturale et culturelle examinés dans le chapitre précédent de ce mémoire, ont été proposés pour l'application à l'environnement serbe. Ils ont été suggérés principalement comme des initiateurs pour le développement et une plus grande intégration de l'architecture dans le domaine de la politique culturelle non officielle et plus tard, pour la poursuite du développement de documents de politiques elle-même.

Finalement, il a été souligné que dans le contexte serbe, où le domaine culturel dépend des volontés politiques courantes, l'importance d'établir les critères d'évaluation est cruciale pour la discussion politique sur toutes les questions culturelles, et pas seulement l'architecture. C'est pourquoi ce mémoire tente principalement d'initier ce processus d'évaluation et j'espère stimuler davantage les discussions et critiques à l'égard de l'architecture au sein des politiques culturelles.

## **Introduction**

Interest for research upon topic of architecture in the field of cultural policies came mainly from my aspiration to understand and explain dual nature of the architecture which is both highly cultural but also highly economic. I want to put an emphasis on the importance of cultural component of it especially in today's socio-political context in which evaluation of cultural values is extremely complex but the importance of culture is more and more understood as backbone for the future development.

This paper approaches from the perspective of architectural practice in Serbian environment, seeking to address lack of in-depth research upon the topic of position of architecture in the cultural policy discourse, but also to contribute to the interdisciplinary discussion of cultural policy in wider terms. By trying to understand how architectural culture is regulated and administered, this paper strives to unpack the complicated relationships of nominal and explicit policies.

Since Serbia is a post-socialist country in transition, it is even more complicated to define and understand these processes in it. Still, I believe that in such extreme context criticality upon the topic is going to be much higher. Since cultural policy in Serbia has never officially existed, but the effects of the built environment on culture and vice-versa were always very strong, I can use this position to identify critical issues for this topic and to gain valuable lessons from the failures which are also, in such context, much more catastrophic.

By using this extreme situation as a case study for my research I can efficiently understand the principles in the field, and then, by comparing it with the European context, I can reflect on (at least some of the) many other story lines present in the discourse of the relationship of architecture and cultural policies. In that way, I can introduce development paths that could be applied as possible policy recommendations for the future.

Overall, the goal of this paper is to contribute to the larger critical discussion and application of these issues (recommendations for the future policy designs), but most importantly, to contribute to the evaluation of the current state in the field on the basis of which I will, as a future professional, be able to continue to operate.

## Methodology of research

As previously said, the main aim of this paper is to investigate, analyse and evaluate the current position of the architecture in cultural domain of Serbia i.e. domain of its cultural policy. This paper is based on the postulate that architecture is an important field of cultural production and starts with the premise that in Serbian public discourse architecture is neglected as such. By investigating this premise I will try to deal with the hypothesis that neglecting of architecture as the field within cultural policy domain inhibits not only the development of architecture itself but also the development of cultural offer, access, participation and cultural enrichment in general.

Even though the main aim of this paper is to evaluate and identify current position of architecture in the field of cultural policy in Serbia, I will also evaluate its position in European context in order to broaden the scope of the paper, and thus perceive possible development paths for Serbian environment. On the basis of the European experiences I will be able to give general policy recommendations in the conclusion of this paper, which will open questions for further research about the possibilities of application of concrete measurements in our context.

In accordance to my aims, research questions of this paper are:

- 1) *How does Serbian government perceive architecture (nominally) and ascribe meanings to it in relation to culture?*
- 2) *Which are the cultural policy methods and instruments in Serbian context which are enabling or inhibiting architecture to contribute to the overall cultural field?*
- 3) *How is architecture perceived and by which policy methods is it treated in broader European context?*
- 4) *What are the possible development paths of the architectural field in relation with cultural field in Serbia and which policy instruments can support them?*

In order to cope with the wide range of this topic I will primarily use discourse analysis method – firstly, I will use scientific discourse analysis for wider understanding of the relation between architecture and culture and afterwards I will use policy discourse analysis for closer understanding of the phenomena relevant for the evaluation of current position of architecture in the field of cultural policy in Serbia and later on in other European countries.

Therefore, research design for this paper will primarily consist of case study analysis of relevant cultural policy methods and instruments which will be indicators of the position of architecture in the field of cultural policy in Serbia, since there is no official policy that can indicate that. I will deal with my hypothesis by emphasising negative effects that (dis)use of those methods and instruments have on our environment. For the purposes of this paper I will analyse two cultural policy implementation methods – one is decision-making mechanism represented through allocation of funds in the National Investment Plan and through announcements for public competitions for design projects of cultural infrastructure (since they are not obligatory in Serbia), and the other one is financing policy in culture.

Later on, I will introduce cross-state comparative analysis of the position of architecture in European context in order to determine how architecture is perceived and by which policy methods and instruments is it treated in other environments. This comparative analysis will provide me with insight in general trends in the broader, European context on the basis of which I will be able to give further policy recommendations for Serbia.

For the collection of data relevant for execution of this research, I will use following methods:

- Content analysis of scientific books, articles, journals and peer-reviewed scientific articles on the topic of relationship between architecture and culture;
- Content analysis of legislative data about cultural policies in Serbia and EU countries – mostly data available on COMPENDIUM<sup>1</sup> and other specified websites, as well as data provided by the Survey on Architectural Policies in Europe provided by the European Forum for Architectural Policies (Ferreira Bento, 2012);

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/countries.php>

- Qualitative case study analysis of the decision making process for realisation of relevant architectural projects. For the evaluation of preservation of cultural/architectural heritage case study analysis of Lepenski vir is chosen; for the evaluation of construction of cultural infrastructure case study analysis of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade is chosen;
- Quantitative and qualitative analysis of architectural competitions for construction and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure conducted in the last 10 years in Belgrade;
- Quantitative and qualitative analysis of financed architecture related cultural projects conducted in the last 3 years in Serbia;
- SWOT analysis of the Serbian cross-cutting architectural-cultural context. Main purpose for using SWOT analysis is to establish background for the policy recommendations.

By applying this research design I will strive to understand the complicated relationships of nominal and explicit cultural policies concerning architectural culture in Serbia, and on the basis of evaluated present state (in Serbia but also in European context) I will give general recommendation for future policy development.

## **CHAPTER I: EXPLANATION OF THE MAIN CONCEPTS AND TERMS**

In order to establish and explain causal relation between culture and architecture, and then see how this relation is realised through cultural policy, firstly those terms (architecture, culture and cultural policy) need to be defined.

### **1.1 Culture**

Definition of culture is maybe the most important for this paper, since it is placed in the cultural policy discourse, and the way we understand cultural policy depends on how we define culture (Lewis & Miller, 2003). When we speak about culture, we have to emphasise that there are many different definitions of it – some of them are complementary but others exclude each other. Rapoport (1987) has sublimed many different definitions of culture into three general views of what it is: one defines culture as a way of life typical of a group, the second as a system of symbols, meanings, and cognitive schemata transmitted through symbolic codes, the third as a set of adaptive strategies for survival related to ecology, and resources.

For purposes of this paper it is also important to emphasise that culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as “products of action”, on the other, as “conditional elements of future action” (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952: 181; cited by Adler 1997: 14). In that sense culture may be said to be about a group of people who have a set of values and beliefs which embody ideals, and are transmitted to members of the group through enculturation. These lead to a worldview, the characteristic way of looking at the world and, in the case of design, of shaping the world. The world is shaped by applying rules which lead to systematic and consistent choices whether in creating a life-style, a building style, a landscape, or a settlement (Rapoport, 1987).

We also have to take into account that while culture is a very broad concept, the built environment is a small subset of it and architecture an even smaller one. They are not equals. Moreover, “environmental design is embedded in culture rather than being a separate and equal element” (Rapoport, 1987: 12).

## 1.2 Architecture

Architecture or “environmental design”, term that Rapport (1987) uses as a more comprehensive definition of what architectural acts should be (since one cannot consider buildings in isolation) is concept that he defines as “culturally responsive”. With this concept we can define an architecture that takes into account “how the environment responds to and fits culture” (Rapoport, 1987: 10), that is to say the need to a production of space with a specific respect to culture: consistent to the values, knowledge, meanings and needs of users (defined as inhabitants). In that sense the design of the environment is the organisation of four things: space, time, meaning and communication. That means that design needs to be seen as any purposeful change of the above four components and their physical expression.

Yet we have to take into the account that almost anything humans do to alter the face of the earth and anything they build can be considered as a design – not just what professionals do. Especially preliterate and vernacular architecture or architecture in more traditional and small environments can be considered as particularly illuminating regarding cultural responsiveness. In such cases the congruence of culture and built form is much simpler and easier to achieve. This issue gets complicated with the pluralism and the presence of multiple groups and subcultures which is the usual condition in most of the big cities of today.

This is why today there is a big potential followed by tendencies of, especially local cultural policies to reemphasise culturally responsive dimension of architecture (in terms of cultural specificity) and use it as a resource for cultural distinction and promotion of local values. In that way architecture or environmental design can be used as a cultural resource which can, with its local cultural specificity, attract capital and lead future cultural and economic development.

### *1.2.1 Concept of architecture as culturally responsive*

We have seen that one way of looking at the architecture (environmental design) as culturally responsive is to think of a design as being culture-specific, i.e. that built forms might have certain qualities which might differ for different cultures, as they relate to certain parts of the culture, particularly its core (Rapoport, 1987). Here we can raise questions such as which parts of the architecture/built environment need to be open-ended (this will be culturally variable), who specifically needs to do the manipulating, when in the process it needs to be done etc. In terms of cultural and other public policies this raises questions of the importance of the profession, on one side, and the importance of the user's participation, on the other side in creation of the built environment.

Another way of looking at the problem of cultural responsiveness is to think of architecture/built environments as being congruent with culture. That means that architecture can reflect certain ideologies and worldviews that are already embedded in culture. Still, one needs to know what "congruence" is and how one evaluates it which is not an easy task (Rapoport, 1987: 12). The question of evaluation becomes really important in establishing criteria for cultural policies which should by some means distinguish which part of the built environment and/or culture is valuable and important for preservation, why and to whom. In these terms, responsiveness can be reformulated as a supportive environment. This issue also raises questions of what should be built in terms of production of new cultural infrastructure that supports culture.

Finally, culturally responsive architecture/built environment can also be understood as one which can be manipulated in another sense – as an active component of culture, used as "an element of culture rather than as a passive container of culture" (Rapoport, 1987: 13). This issue raises questions such as in which other way architecture can be used, not only as symbolic structure of national values and identities, but also as a place in which wider public can ascribe many meanings, including a role in understanding the making of buildings and public spaces (Lappin, 2012). In terms of cultural policies, architecture as an active component of culture implies usage of the architecture for the production of new and up to date knowledge capital.

### 1.3 Cultural policy

It is also very important for this paper to explain what is considered under the term of cultural policy in order to emphasise what architecture (as being culturally responsive) in this causal relationship can refer to. There are three main statements which are present in almost all definitions and which can explain the true nature of both official and unofficial, nominal and explicit cultural policies – all of them are always about:

- conscious regulation of authorities
- concerning activities in the cultural field
- with the purpose of achieving cultural development (yet this last segment is sometimes too much politically coloured, subjectively interpreted and therefore often misused).

When we speak about cultural policy as conscious regulation of interests in the domain of culture we need to emphasise that this statement refers to deciding upon all issues related to cultural development of one global society (Dragičević Šešić & Stojković, 2004). That means that cultural policy is not anymore considered as a process that concerns only one state or nation separately, rather it is seen as a mean for comprehensive and global development.

On the other side, cultural policy refers to the planned and organised activities of this broader society and thus aims at (1) protecting the already existing cultural heritage, (2) inciting and stimulating cultural creativity and (3) developing the cultural life of smaller and larger social groups. That means that cultural policy does not only strive to direct culture, but primarily to direct people as conscious doers, who have their own personal needs and interests, selected values and accepted norms (Mitrović, 1988).

At the end we can conclude the purpose of cultural policy is cultural life through cultural activities as well as cultural development of the global society<sup>2</sup>. In the next chapters we will see how architecture fits in both of those purposes and why is it important to be (officially) perceived as an integral part of them.

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<sup>2</sup> The term cultural life implies current situation, and term cultural development implies process of moving towards projected future. In that sense, the purpose of cultural policy is expressed through a mission which refers to cultural life and current situation, and through vision which in a certain period of time projects cultural development. This occurs because cultural policy stems from the cultural basis of one society, but in the same time it is directed towards constant change and improvement, which is the basic characteristic of development (Đukić, 2012).

### *1.3.1 Cultural policy in Serbia*

Cultural policy model in Serbia can be described as a classical state model (Vukanović, 2011) since the final say in the implementation of cultural policy is in hands of the Ministry of Culture and Information and other state bodies. Yet, there is no official cultural policy which advocates certain direction of cultural development. This can be the best represented through the fact that the last Law on Culture from 2009 foresaw the creation of the Strategy for the Cultural Development of the Republic of Serbia, and to this day this document was not created.

That means that there is a huge lack of not only anticipation of the future direction of the cultural development, but also observation and evaluation of the current state of culture (in all fields of cultural production, not only architecture). This is why this paper primarily strives to deal with this condition of cultural policy nonexistence through evaluation of current state of architecture in the field of culture/cultural policies with the possible anticipation for future development.

In Serbia, architecture as a discipline is regulated by the Law on Planning and Construction conducted by the Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure. Since the Law on Culture doesn't regulate field of architecture, we can say that officially architecture is not in the domain of responsibility of the Ministry of Culture and Information.

Yet there are republic, provincial and cities Institutes for Protection of Cultural Monuments which deal with the preservation of architectural heritage and republic, provincial and cities Archives which deal with archiving of architectural projects. They are all under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Information. Also architecture does occasionally appear as a concern of the (unofficial) cultural policy domain in some other way than previously mentioned institutional ones because, even in such radical context such as Serbia is, its importance for culture cannot be neglected.

Since there is no official cultural policy document in Serbia and therefore there is no strategic plan as a policy instrument, there are only two cultural policy implementation methods left for the analysis in order to distinguish implicit position of architecture in it – one is decision-making mechanism (represented through lobbying for the allocation of funds in the National Investment Plan or through lobbying for public competitions for design projects of cultural infrastructure), and the other one is financing policy in culture.

I have to emphasise that even on the first glance both of those instruments seem to be attempts of the arm's length cultural policy model (especially in Belgrade), since there are professional commissions and juries in charge for their realisation, Ministry of Culture and Information appoints those commissions and juries and therefore it has a final say. That means that those professional bodies are not independent, rather they are in the factual position of the (professional) sub-commission of the Ministry (Vukanović, 2011).

## **CHAPTER II: RELATION OF ARCHITECTURE AND (UNOFFICIAL) CULTURAL POLICIES IN SERBIA**

### **2.1 Issue of the preservation of architectural cultural heritage in the field of cultural policies**

I am starting my research upon current position of architecture in the field of (unofficial) Serbian cultural policy with the topic of preservation of architectural cultural heritage for two reasons – one is because the most obvious relationship of architecture and culture is achieved through concepts of material value that architecture possess as being a bearer of layers of history and thus cultural identity, and the other reason is because legally and administratively this is the most regulated area of the presence of architecture in the domain of cultural policy in Serbia.

In this chapter of the paper I will first explain relation between architecture and culture through the concept of cultural identity, emphasising its power in the orientation of cultural policy direction. This is why in this section of the paper, by setting the theoretical framework and analysing short history overview of the development of this topic, I will investigate to what extent socio-political processes have influenced architectural production and practice and thus production of cultural identity through history. This will help me to comprehensively understand the current state of perception of cultural identity in Serbian context and position it in a wider, global context.

In the end, I will try to investigate the hypothesis that in Serbia protection and preservation of architectural cultural heritage is not comprehensively understood as a method within cultural policy discourse. Rather, it is used as heavily politicised instrument for recreation of cultural identity with the aim of national identification and strengthening or as an instrument for political promotion emphasising only economic benefits that this heritage can bring.

For this purpose I will use case study analysis of the reconstruction of prehistorical archaeological (architectural) site Lepenski vir and construction of the protective roof and new visitor's centre for it. By analysing decision making process for the realisation of this project I will try to distinguish implicit policy orientation in this field. Also, by using qualitative method of thematic content analysis of web press clipping following this project, I

will try to recognise media orientation and thus public/political orientation towards comprehension of cultural identity that is assigned to this specific architectural cultural heritage.

### *2.1.1 Architecture as bearer/creator of cultural identity*

If we take a look at the theoretical framework that explains the link between architecture and cultural identity from within the discourse of architectural practice, we can argue that this relationship is “situated in an attempt to identify the extent to which social values and practices can be negotiated through architectural space: its concept, materialization and representation” (Vasiljević Tomić, Nikezić & Ćirić, 2013: 114). From within the discourse of sociology, we can discuss socio-political and cultural context that creates those values and investigate architecture as a product of that context.

In other words, certain political, social and/or cultural identities can be assigned to architecture on the basis of the same referent framework which provides and performs conditions for its realisation. That means that certain ideology may be applied and structured within the architectural design process, resulting in equivalence between architectural and ideological elements, representing the process of translating certain value system into particular architectural terms (Vasiljević Tomić et al., 2013). In this term, relationship between culture and architecture can be said to be embodied in cultural responsiveness of the architecture and, as Rapport (1987) explains, that means that architecture can reflect certain ideologies and worldviews that are already embedded in culture.

If we agree that architectural monuments can be understood as “timeless representations of tradition and culture and carriers of historical message about the connection between human beings and the built environment” (Adebayo, Iweka, Ogunbodede & Igwe, 2013: 169), their preservation has the role to make it possible for the present and future generations to experience and appreciate the splendor of past works (Chidobem, 2005). Yet, for the purpose of the policy discussion it is important to emphasise that “architecture and urban landscape is the emblematic embodiment of memory but also power, and that historical preservation is as political as the process of deciding what and where to build new” (Boyer, 1994: 321).

Throughout history, this understanding of the negotiation of cultural identity through architecture has been changing with the change of not only social, political and cultural context, but maybe most importantly with the change of global economic conditions.

From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century ongoing capitalist modernisation, urbanisation, industrialisation and European integration processes of that period conditioned importance of the relation between society and architecture, anticipating modernistic conceptions of architecture as a means of social transformation, or applied for social purposes. Negotiation of social and cultural values through architectural space was therefore acclaimed in the modern movement as concept of universality on the basis of the existence of plurality of groups and subcultures, and cities i.e. urban and architectural spaces were conceived as spaces of social functions.

Postmodernism which followed as a reaction, tended to disengage space from its dependence on functions and to see it as autonomous formal system (Harvey, 1990). New economic processes of flexible accumulation together with the development of the representation and identity market (as image became commodity in mass-production) caused shifts of capital towards the image production system. This “image production industry” (Harvey, 1990: 290) or increased production of signs and images created culturally important positions and influences on the architectural discipline which started striving towards aesthetic appearances, signification and superficiality. Questions of representation were raised in external matters, and flexibility and changeability in internal program operations. Architectural work gained the status of artistic and cultural object with the ability to communicate.

Present political and social context is influenced by the global capital reconfiguration and capitalistic restructuring. Shift in ideological conceptions of the relationship between national and international and world economic and political relations heavily influence national cultural discourse. In Serbia, this discourse is locally specified with post-socialist transformation. “Blocked transition” (Vujović, 2005), represented as crisis of ideology (not economy) resulted in ideological and identity strategies which also created the shift in architectural discourse. Mediation between differing historical periods and search for the architectural references in local heritage and culture became really important in the quest for reconsideration of cultural identity. This especially becomes evident in terms of preservation of architectural cultural heritage, since state system crisis and cultural transformations

influenced reconsidering the relationship between cultural identity and architectural traditions.

### *2.1.2 Question of preservation of architectural cultural heritage in Serbia*

When it comes to the issue of protection and preservation of architectural heritage with regard to cultural policy orientation, question of valorisation for protection is tightly related to current cultural identity orientation. Yet, identity as a concept can be very problematic, since it is heavily contextual, difficult to measure, differs from place to place and it changes overtime (Adebayo et al., 2013).

In Serbian context, question of cultural identity or i.e. how do we want to represent ourselves as a county and/or nation reflects directly on the protection and preservation of architectural heritage. Main problem here is that, since today Serbia is a country in transition and therefore it searches for its identity and place in the European democratic setting, policy orientation always seems to be more committed to preserving the achievements of other advanced countries, nations and/or civilizations to which we want to belong to, rather than our own.

Nevertheless, short overview of the development of regulation for protection of architectural cultural heritage shows that Serbia has had quite a long history in this field. First act on the protection of the ruins and castles in Serbia as “monuments of antiquity” was brought on the 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1844<sup>3</sup>, while division of cultural assets which is still in use today was brought by the Law on the Protection of Cultural Assets in 1977<sup>4</sup>. Today, architecture is recognised as immovable cultural asset<sup>5</sup> in the Law on Cultural Assets from 1994, and its protection and preservation is regulated by it. Also, in 1947 Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was formed (professional public state institution) an ever since it has acted as an

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<sup>3</sup> Retrieved from [http://www.heritage.gov.rs/latinica/istorijat\\_zastite\\_u\\_Srbiji.php](http://www.heritage.gov.rs/latinica/istorijat_zastite_u_Srbiji.php)

<sup>4</sup> Retrieved from [http://www.heritage.gov.rs/latinica/istorija\\_zavoda.php](http://www.heritage.gov.rs/latinica/istorija_zavoda.php)

<sup>5</sup> By the Law on Cultural Assets, immovable cultural assets are: cultural monuments, spatial cultural and historical sites, archaeological sites and places of significance (Ministarstvo kulture i informisanja, 2013).

Retrieved from <http://www.kultura.gov.rs/docs/dokumenti/propisi-iz-oblasti-kulture/zakon-o-kulturnim-dobrima.pdf>

arm's length body with the main task of valorisation and thus leading direction of conservation and revitalization of all cultural assets in the Republic of Serbia.

Yet, even though this institution acts independently and therefore uses strictly professional criteria for valorisation of cultural heritage, when it comes to realisation of this protection, current political situation (which influences the perception of overall cultural values) highly affects direction of this realisation<sup>6</sup>. In organisational sense, this dependency is best seen through the fact that even though director of the Institute proposes programmes (based on the synthesis of individual programs, reports and projects of organisational units and associates), in order for them to be realised, they have to be verified by the Steering Committee which is appointed by the Ministry of Culture. That means that the final say about the issue of preservation (and thus issue of cultural identity represented through it) is not always in the hands of the professionals, rather it can be completely politicised and driven by the current affiliation of the Government.

On the other hand, since most of the projects of preservation of architectural cultural heritage are financed from the fund of the National Investment Plan (and thus placed in the hands of the Ministry of Economy and Regional Development) their realisation doesn't always strive towards comprehensive, strategic goal which includes synergy between cultural and economic development.

By looking at the current Serbian socio-political context we can observe two major prejudices which are constantly updated and thus reinforced (by education but also by unambiguous media support) in the public discourse of contemporary Serbia. Those two prejudices are largely dictating the direction in which perception of identity and therefore protection of cultural heritage which promotes this identity is going today. First prejudice is assumption that the "culture is separated from politics" (Gavrilović, 2011: 94) and the another one is that

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<sup>6</sup> In year 2000 for the purposes of the research *Cultural policy in Serbia* an interview was conducted with the director of the Department for the Preservation and Documentation of the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Marko Omčikus. In this interview among others, he stated that: "When it comes to professional things, especially bringing out the priorities, subordination from the above does not exist, and in that sense we can say that we (Institute) participate in the policy creation. However, practice has shown that it highly depends on the minister of culture and the area to which he/she has a higher affinity, which sometimes has drastic affects." (Đukić Dojčinović, 2002: 24).

nation and culture are the same thing and that their history is something “objective” and thus unchangeable (Gavrilović, 2011: 104).

Especially on the Serbian territory, we can see enormous interference of current politics into the question of evaluation and thus preservation of national identity. We can almost call this interference as spontaneous identity strategy since it was, for a long period of time, systematically applied on the whole territory of Serbia. For example, primacy that protection of Roman cultural heritage had for decades over a prehistorical heritage, shows that the government had seen interest in representation of “us”, as descendants of that heritage and thus the whole Roman empire, which somehow placed “us” as an equal part of contemporary Europe.

The same appropriation of architectural cultural heritage for the purposes of enforcement of national ideology and identity (i.e. equalisation of culture and nation) we can see in quite recent political and media debate about the preservation of orthodox monasteries and churches in Kosovo. In this case question of who is in charge of preservation was raised – the country on whose territory the heritage is situated, or the country of origin, if that can even be determined. Appropriation of those cultural assets was used as a political tool for claiming the right on territory since question of identity is strongly linked to territoriality. Identity as a process can only be created by referring to the historical background and the cultural aspects of a locale.

If we analyse public media image build around the issue of the preservation of orthodox monasteries and churches in Kosovo we can see that adjectives attributed to this heritage were strictly promoting its sacral value which is enforcing nationalism and enhancing identity appropriation – they were described as *orthodox saint places*, *Serbian sanctities* etc. By observing this public image we could conclude that these monuments have only sacral value, and in that case, since Serbia is secular country, it wouldn't be obliged to protect and preserve them, as they would represent identity only of the orthodox part of the population. Of course, those monuments have also other added values<sup>7</sup> which are established by the profession, and that is the actual reason why they should be preserved. Yet, this was never stated in the media, since the priority was establishment of control and domination through assigned identity values.

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<sup>7</sup> This added value is also the reason why they have entered in the official cultural canon of Serbia as being part of the curriculum of history and arts courses and being obligatory for visiting on student excursions etc.

### *2.1.3 Case study of Lepensky vir*

Only recently, interest for prehistorical cultural heritage was actualised as a part of new attitude that “cultural heritage, independently of its identity purpose, is a resource that can be very important for development of touristic offer” (Gavrilović, 2011: 101). Example for that would be reconstruction of the site and building of new protective roof and visitors’ centre building on the locality of Lepenski vir. Although we can argue that actualisation of this kind of archeological (architectural) sites can be ascribed to strictly touristic and thus economic purposes, with the analysis of media articles that covered this issue we will see that subsequently identity layers were to some extent attributed to the meaning of this act.

Lepenski vir is an important Mesolithic archaeological site located on the bank of the river Danube in Serbia. It is one of the oldest urban settlements discovered on the Serbian territory consisting out of seven successive settlements with the remains of 136 residential and sacral buildings dating from 6500 BC to 5500 BC. It was discovered during the 1960’s and since 1972 it was protected only by a temporary roof.

Even though architect of the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Siniša Temerinski has, together with his college architect Marija Jovin, dealt with the issue of Lepenski vir for over a decade, only in 2008 question for construction of new protective envelope and visitors’ centre for the site was raised. Despite of the fact that Lepenski vir institutionally belongs to the National Museum in Belgrade (so we can say that indirectly it is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Information) and despite of the fact that Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was in a way initiator of this project, its realisation was completely shifted from the public cultural discourse.

In the following two years (2010 and 2011) realisation of this project was initiated with the application for the funds of the National Investment Plan. This application was conducted by the Tourist Organisation of the Municipality of Majdanpek together with the Department of Tourism of the Ministry of Economy and Regional Development. Financial resources were approved and transmitted directly to the Municipality of Majdanpek, and not to the National Museum itself, despite of the fact that it was officially in charge of the site. This act shows prioritization in development of the touristic and economical aspects of this heritage with the absence of the comprehensive understanding of the role and importance of the cultural aspect in this development.

This lack of the comprehensive development strategy is best shown in the strategic activities which are defined by the Serbian Government in the *Danube Strategy*<sup>8</sup>, macro-regional project of the European Union. In this document Lepenski vir is mentioned as part of the *Marina Development Project*<sup>9</sup> while in the *Project for the Creation of Spatial Plan for the National Park Đerdap*, Lepenski vir is not mentioned. This shows that Government doesn't see any potential in cultural values of this archaeological site, which is probably the reason why the request for the admission of Lepenski vir on the UNESCO World Heritage List is still not submitted. This prevents the possibility of using diverse funding from the EU Structural Funds, which overall prevents faster touristic and economic development anticipated by the Government. Yet, it seems like they are completely unaware of it.

On the other side, if we examine web press clipping that followed construction of this project during the years 2010 and 2011, we will see that although economical aspect of this act was the most emphasised, adjectives attributed to this archaeological site clearly show intention of attribution of European cultural identity to Serbian context. This is particularly important in the context of European integration process in which Serbia is since 2008. By the thematic content analysis of the media articles that covered this topic<sup>10</sup> we can see that Lepenski vir was described as *most important archaeological discovery of the second half of the twentieth century in the Old Continent, cradle of European civilization, one of the most important archaeological sites in this part of Europe, jewel of our heritage* and river Danube, on which's bank Lepenski vir is situated, was described as a *beating blood vein of Europe*.

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<sup>8</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.dunavskastrategija.rs/sr/>

<sup>9</sup> Together with the protective envelope over the archaeological site, visitors' centre, parking, pedestrian and car tracks and ethno-village, design project for the reconstruction of this archaeological site planned to obtain also research centre, marina for cruise ships, yachts and boats, a beach with swimming pool, restaurant and park.

<sup>10</sup> For the purposes of this paper I have analysed articles retrieved from online newspaper *Blic* (<http://www.blic.rs/>) from 01.01.2010 until 31.12.2011.

All in all we can conclude that even though in this specific example, professionals were included in the preservation process of this archaeological/architectural heritage (architects took much care of the authenticity and emphasis of the main qualities of this site through the design project), they were largely excluded from the decision-making process and thus excluded from the drive for cultural identity. If question of valorisation and evaluation for the preservation of cultural heritage is not entirely in the hands of professionals, establishment of control and domination through assigned identity values to cultural heritage will always lead preservation act. Overall, this manipulation harms heritage itself, since in this way something valuable can stay or unprotected or inadequately protected.

Also, lack of intersectoral cooperation which I explained on this example (in this case between Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Economy and Regional Development) is a common thing that can be applied in general when it comes to execution of (unofficial) cultural policy goals in Serbia. This leads to lack of comprehensive understanding on how to reach strategic goals with jointly efforts. Overall, that reflects on poor or no success in reaching the desirable social and/or economic development by using cultural aspects of one country.

Today, in a global world context convergence is taking place and regional identities are vanishing in the face of homogeneous economic forces and a global culture which promotes simplification and universality. This is why the heterogeneity, which characterises geo-sociological environments all over the world, is once again suggesting that cultural differentiation must be acknowledged. That doesn't mean enforcement of nationalisations nor alienation from the global culture, rather comprehensive understanding of the potentials of individual cultures in a global context. And that is exactly what Serbian Government has to understand in order to use our cultural heritage for the overall development in the best possible way.

## 2.2 Issue of the architecture as cultural infrastructure in the field of cultural policies

### 2.2.1 Explanation of the term cultural infrastructure

In order to establish relationship between cultural policy and architecture as cultural infrastructure, firstly we need to define precisely what cultural infrastructure is. By the definition, “cultural infrastructure consists out of cultural institutions, institutions of high education and public spaces of a city” (Nikolić, 2013: 7). For the purposes of this paper, I will constrain this definition only to physical dimension of it i.e. to physical buildings and spaces that provide performance, display or making of cultural artefacts. In the context of contemporary moment coloured with theories about knowledge society and global intelligent cities, those artefacts (or architectural spaces themselves) have a potential to transfer knowledge and/or generate new one.

Another term that describes architecture as cultural infrastructure used by Sarah Lappin (2012) is *art-based buildings*. In her paper about comparative cultural policies on the Island of Ireland she restricts this term to buildings that provide a location for the practice, display and/or performance of theatre, visual arts, music, dance and workspaces for both professionals and amateurs. She points out that art-based buildings are aimed at:

- reproducing cultural dependency,
- instituting cultural hegemony,
- producing some kind of top-down codified artistic and architectural similarity and
- increasing cultural choice, if not necessarily access, amongst multiple publics.

Although I will accept this term for the purposes of this paper, we can argue about the completeness of it, since it narrows down the full potential of architecture as cultural infrastructure to only artistic related one. Still, in the Serbian context, relation of art-based buildings to cultural policy can comprehensively explain nominal cultural policy state, since even in this narrow category there aren't many case studies to be examined. Also, I have to emphasise that I will consider only those buildings and spaces that have been funded through public sources of funding, since this can be a precise indicator of a Government's nominal cultural policy choice (when there is no official one).

### *2.2.2 Potentials of cultural infrastructure in today's cities*

The potential of a quality cultural infrastructure in today's cities is multiple. Overall, we can say that cultural infrastructure reaches a new, so far unimaginable proportions and potential, and its impact on city reaches a new dimension – the “dimension of the generator of identity, structure and cohesion in post-metropolis” (Nikolić, 2013: 8). In such context, in which globalisation takes over individual city identities, public goods get more and more privatised and public interest slips out of the scope of cultural policies or urban development strategies, which are now almost completely left to the economic conditions of global market. In that sense planning of cultural infrastructure (or as Nikolić calls it “cultural urbanism”) has a potential and task to conquest and return public space to its cultural and educational function. That means that “cultural urbanism can be understood as a form of social engineering or a construction of a supportive physical framework for development of knowledge society” (Nikolić, 2013: 175-176).

If competitiveness in today's global society can be measured in the level of participation in global transfer of knowledge, resources and power, culture can be considered not only as basis of that kind of society but also as a purpose for it to be reached. That means that, as Nikolić (2011) explains in her PhD thesis, creation, mobilisation, exchange and dissemination of culture and knowledge should take priority in development policies of the city and therefore priority in its physical structure.

Also, impact of the cultural infrastructure on the initiation and spread of culture and cultural information, especially as a form of presentation and representation of architecture, urbanism and landscape and transfer of knowledge about them, mustn't be neglected in the context of today's knowledge society and global intelligent city. This will be examined in the next section of this paper, concerning new usage of the architectural design as an active component of culture.

In our environment, in which the constant lack of funding and politicisation of almost all important decisions disables any systematic assessment of the potential of architecture as a cultural infrastructure, amount of inadequate proposals and failed initiatives and procedures for construction and reconstruction of cultural infrastructure is increasing from year to year, while strategic linkages and long-term goals among all these efforts are missing.

In the following section of this paper I will use case study analysis of the construction of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade since this is the only completely newly constructed art-based building in the last fifty years on the territory of Belgrade. Its construction started in 1961, which overall means that it was a product of a completely different socio-political context. Yet, this building is the only realised example in our environment completed as a result of a successful mutual collaboration between present politics and profession and as such, it can be well used as juxtaposition for the purpose of the analysis of the present state of architecture in the field of cultural policy of Serbia. Since Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade today struggles with the reconstruction of this very same building, by following the complete story line from its construction until today, we can also follow change in nominal cultural policy state in this field.

At the end, I will complete this present state policy discussion with the timeline analysis of the announced competitions for construction and reconstruction of cultural infrastructure in Belgrade in the last ten years. I will try to investigate relationship (in terms of decision making) between those competitions and actual realisation of construction and reconstruction of art-based buildings and try to distinguish unofficial attitude of Government towards this issue.

### *2.2.3 Case study analysis of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade*

In order to understand present state and condition of the building of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade I will firstly, through a short history review, examine all those important events that influenced its construction in the first place.

First architectural competition for the building of Modern Gallery (this was the first official title for this institution) on the left bank of the river Sava was conducted in 1948. Programme for this architectural competition was based on the urban conceptions for the development of New Belgrade done by architect Nikola Dobrović by which New Belgrade was anticipated to be new capital of Yugoslavia and thus polygon for new state representation. Building of Modern Gallery was supposed to contribute to this representative role of New Belgrade. We can say that this competition indicated the character of the cultural policy state of that time, which has nominally, without any identifiable institutional framework, supported modern art. In that sense, this competition can be understood only as a form of presentation of the

national strategy in the field of culture of that time, rather than a genuine aspiration for the realisation of such kind of building (Popadić, 2009).<sup>11</sup>

In 1950's construction of the Modern Gallery building wasn't a priority, since there were many other monumental buildings that waited to be constructed (such as House of Trade Unions (1947-1955), Military Geographic Institute and Printing House (1950-1953) and the complex of the Belgrade Fair (1954-1958)). Yet in 1951 Miodrag Protić – painter, art theoretician and critic who at that time worked in the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the Republic of Serbia – was appointed to be main representative of the new strategy for construction of the building of Modern Gallery (Protić, 2000). Time will show that he was, as an individual, the most important figure for this building. His role of the mediator between professional and political attitude contributed enormously to the successful realisation of the project.

In 1954, when public authorities announced intention to construct another floor on the building of National Museum (former Mortgage Bank) and place Modern Gallery in it, Miodrag Protić has promptly reacted by recognising importance of public opinion in dealing with sensitive social issues. He used cultural elite to promote need of creation of separate building for Modern Gallery – under the auspices of Council for Education and Culture (Department for Culture) he conducted a survey about the need for the establishment of Modern Gallery. Of course, all respondents supported the idea.

This act pushed the Council for Education and Culture to appoint Committee for Modern Gallery, shortly after, in year 1955. This Committee had a task (among others) to propose an existing suitable building for the placement of the Modern Gallery. Finally, it had successfully rejected to propose such building, justifying its attitude with high cost of maintenance and renovation of old buildings that will definitely exceed the price of a new one (Protić, 2000).

Even though the efforts of the Committee to get location for the new building in the centre of the city at the end weren't realised, in 1959, upon the decision of the Executive Council of

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<sup>11</sup> This is the cultural policy state that we can recognise today as well, with much more announcements that actual realisations of cultural infrastructure, so in the next segment of this chapter we will see that we came back to the position in which we were more than fifty years ago.

Serbia, new location for the building was appointed in New Belgrade on the left bank of the confluence of rivers Sava and Danube, across from the building of the Central Committee. This location can be identified in the General Urban Plan from 1958 and later in the Regulation plan for New Belgrade from 1962. In those plans area defined by the confluence of rivers Sava and Danube and route from Branko's bridge to the Central Committee building has been turned into a museum area with Modern Gallery building, but also with buildings for Ethnographic Museum and Museum of the Revolution, accompanying reserves and building for the party school (Blagojević, 2007). Since out of all of those buildings only Modern Gallery (today Museum of Contemporary Art) was built, we can see that this urbanistic anticipation of big construction of cultural infrastructure had again only representative role, and not true understanding of its potential in terms of implementation.

Location for the building of the Museum was once more changed on the request of Miodrag Protić (who became director of the officially established institution of Modern Gallery in 1958) and it was moved closer to the confluence of Sava and Danube rivers and moved from the traffic and Central Committee building. In that way Modern Gallery building gained more exclusive spatial domain and this alienation allowed full freedom in architectural design approach<sup>12</sup> (Blagojević, 2004).

In 1959 Council for Culture of the Republic of Serbia appointed the Board for the development of the programme of construction of Modern Gallery<sup>13</sup>, which announced the competition for the conceptual design of the building. In terms of cultural policy instrumentalisation, this arm's length approach allowed complete fulfilment of the Museum potential, especially in the domain of building quality. In 1960 competition was completed, and the first prize was won by architects Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović. In 1961 construction of the building started and it was finished in 1965.

New Modern Gallery was considered as a fully materialised paradigm of the national strategy in the field of cultural policy at that time (Popadić, 2009) since its aesthetic intervention had a fully social connotation of representativeness of the social system. Construction of this museum together with the anticipating relocation of the centre of "high culture" in New

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<sup>12</sup> Yet in practice this alienation has proved to be an obstacle for the easy access to the audience.

<sup>13</sup> This Board consisted out of architects and artists together with Miodrag Protić.

Belgrade, anticipated its future metropolitan development (Blagojević, 2004). It is clear that within the social system of Yugoslavia in 1960's, such a building could be created only with the support of the political structure, so it was necessarily an element of the state and political system of representation. However, without lobbying by professional public (both artistic and architectural) this building would not be able to reach such a high quality in terms of conceptual and architectural range<sup>14</sup>. Therefore we can say that, in the field of typology and aesthetic solutions, building of Modern Gallery goes beyond this state instrumentalisation (Kulić, 2002).

However, there is another fact which clearly reflects the politicised status of this institution and that is terminological change of the title of the institution that took place after the construction of the building. In 1965 the Council of Modern Gallery has, with the approval of the City Council for Culture, adopted new name for the institution: Museum of Contemporary Art (Popadić, 2009). While this institution certainly corresponded more to the museum of modern art, rather than to a museum of contemporary art, this terminology change indicates the fact that, at that time in the former Yugoslavia, modernity was still not completely ideologically accepted.

Today, bad treatment that this building (and institution in general) is facing, completely reflects current cultural policy orientation towards investment in cultural infrastructure. Its physical decay began after the bombing in 1999, when building of the Museum of Contemporary Art suffered severe physical damages. Also, technical museum installations – which at the time of construction corresponded to the highest standards – became outdated and/or completely out of order. This is why in the period from 2002 until 2006 study about required technical, architectural and constructional interventions for this building was made. Financial resources for the reconstruction and renovation were provided from fund of the National Investment Plan and in 2007 construction work began.

Due to the financial crisis and thus lack of funds, reconstruction and renovation of the Museum was stopped in 2009. Without political will and decision to proceed with this work, reconstruction and renovation still remains unfinished. This status quo is probably, on the one

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<sup>14</sup> Aesthetic and conceptual character of this building is recognised and placed on the same level with the most significant achievements of the pre-war Belgrade modern movement. Its importance was officially institutionalised in 1987 when it was proclaimed for the immovable cultural asset.

side, result of the unawareness by the Government of the strategic importance of such institution for development of many other fields (not only cultural) such as educational, economic, touristic etc. On the other side, since the whole procedure of restarting and finishing reconstruction and renovation work would probably take more than four years (so more than one political mandate) it cannot be used for the purpose of political promotion in the foreseeable future. This is why public authorities currently don't see interest in dealing with this issue.

On the other side, efforts of the professional public, artist and cultural stakeholders to advocate importance of this issue is increasing from year to year, yet without any visible results so far. This advocating process started with the public debate called "Is it neglecting of the culture uncultured?"<sup>15</sup> in 2011, in which Branislava Anđelković-Dimitrijević, at that time director of the Museum of Contemporary Art, has made a public appeal to the professionals to lobby for the continuation of the reconstruction and renovation work. She has emphasised necessity of the physical platform (i.e. cultural infrastructure) from which it could be operated in the field of culture and referred to the impossibility of the closed cultural institutions to make influence on the educational field, which is their obligations as much preservation of the cultural assets that are kept in their facilities. Advocating process culminated at the end of the year 2013 when Belgrade artists Vesna and Nikola Božović gave football fans to show banners on a football game with messages: "Why Serbia doesn't have museums?" and "Open National Museum and Museum of Contemporary Art".

Consequently, survey of the public opinion, which was conducted by the marketing research agency Faktor plus in July 2013 and then in December 2013, showed an increase in the visibility of this unresolved issue of Museum of Contemporary Art in public<sup>16</sup>. Beside artists

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<sup>15</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.politickiforum.org/?vrsta=tribina&naredba=prikaz&tekst=52#1180>

<sup>16</sup> In this study, about 11 percent of the respondents in July thought that the Museum of Contemporary Art is operating normally, 26 percent thought it was closed, 22 percent thought that it is in the process of the reconstruction and 41 percent did not know what was going on with the Museum. In December of the same year, the situation was slightly better: only 7 percent thought that Museum is working normally, 29 percent thought that the Museum is under reconstruction, and 34 percent did not know anything. Also, more respondents in December said that they saw media articles about the current situation of the Museum of Contemporary Art.

Retrieved from <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1161615>.

efforts, this probably indicates also a more efficient approach of the new management of the Museum, which is trying to be more present in the public with communication of their problems. Time will show if those bottom-up efforts, which were responsible for the construction of the Museum in the first place, will be able to achieve desirable goal in current and thus changed socio-political circumstances.

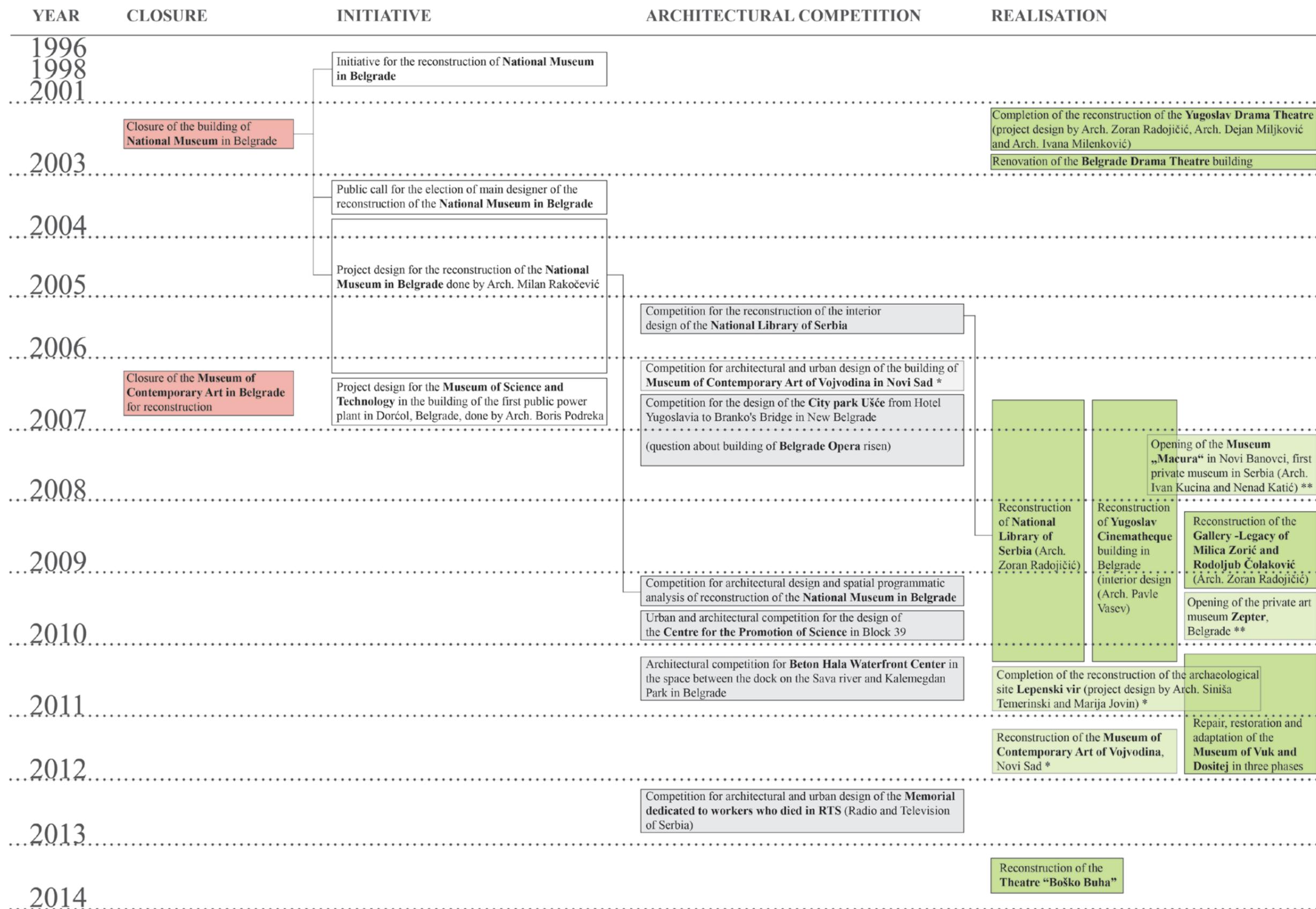
#### *2.2.4 Case study analysis of the public architectural competitions for building and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure in Belgrade in the last ten years*

In this section of the paper I will try to further investigate hypothesis that currently creation of new cultural infrastructure is not a priority of the unofficial Serbian cultural policy. Moreover, new architectural competitions for the construction and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure are still announced regularly in Serbia, but almost without any real intention for the future realisation. This is why for the purpose of further analysis of the position of architecture as cultural infrastructure in the field of cultural policies in Serbia I will analyse public architectural competitions for construction and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure in Belgrade conducted in the last ten years. I will investigate the relationship between launching of initiatives for those competitions, conduction of competitions and finally their realisation (if there were any).

Here I must emphasise importance of the architectural competitions as mediators between profession and present cultural policy. On one side they provide multiple ideas and solutions and therefore secure quality of the final (winner) solution. On the other side results of competitions, not just the winning ones, increase the understanding of the problematised issue in general. This is why I don't want to diminish importance of the architectural competitions even when their outcomes don't get physically realised. Yet in our environment, especially when it comes to realisation of conceptual designs of art-based buildings gained on architectural competitions, we can see big misuse in practical application of this importance.

For the purpose of this analysis of the public architectural competitions for construction and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure in Belgrade in the last ten years I have created a timeframe diagram of the relationship between different phases of those competitions (see Table 1 on page 38).

Table 1- Timeframe relational diagram of the construction and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure in Belgrade in the past ten years



\* Important projects outside of Belgrade

\*\* Private initiatives

This diagram schematically illustrates this relationship and thus tends to more clearly explain connection between different phases of the creation of cultural infrastructure in Belgrade. By combining vertical axis which indicates the presence of announced competitions by years with horizontal axis that indicates phase of the competition process (closure of building, initiation, conduction and realisation of the competition) several conclusions can be made.

Firstly, on this diagram we can see that not even one design project obtained on some of the public architectural competitions went through all of the phases of the competition process. Actually, the only project realised by the winning competition solution is project for the reconstruction of National Library of Serbia, and all the other realised projects weren't obtained on public competitions. Yet there were six different competitions for construction and reconstruction of cultural infrastructure in Belgrade that were conducted in the past ten years (and only one of them was actually realised). This definitively reflects a certain attitude of the Government towards importance of the architectural competitions, since they are so often announced, but this attitude is not directed towards real construction of cultural infrastructure.

If we get deeper into the analysis of the announced competition briefs for those competitions we'll see that their spectacularity almost shows understanding of culture as cultural commodification to attract creative class and cultural tourists à la Richard Florida or as a mean for economic development through "Bilbao effect". This is especially evident in the cases of competitions for the Centre for Promotion of Science and Beton Hala Waterfront Centre. Since all of those competitions should represent some kind of arm's length system of decision making, they all have professional juries in charge for the selection of winners. In those two mentioned cases competition organisers<sup>17</sup> appointed international juries and thus gained spectacular projects designed by international "starchitects"<sup>18</sup> as winners.

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<sup>17</sup> In the case of the Centre for Promotion of Science organiser of the architectural competition was Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia, in cooperation with the UIA-International Union of Architects, Association of Architects of Serbia and Belgrade Association of Architects. In the case of Beton Hala Waterfront Centre organiser of the architectural competition was City of Belgrade.

<sup>18</sup> In the case of the Centre for Promotion of Science winning design was done by the Austrian architect Wolfgang Tschapeller. In the case of Beton Hala Waterfront Centre winning design was done by the Japanese architect Sou Fujimoto.

This can be read as deliberate understanding of the power that art-based buildings designed by famous architects can have as triggers of the future touristic and thus economic development. Yet, since there wasn't even slightest interest of the Government for their realisation, we can conclude that pompous architectural competitions for construction of cultural infrastructure had nothing to do with their true purpose (and that is to obtain the best solution, and later realise it) rather they were used as means for self-promotion of the political elite who is in power.

Also on the following diagram we can see that from all realisations in the past ten years, only one meant construction of completely new building and that was Museum "Macura" which is a private initiative and investment, while all the other realisations were reconstructions of existing cultural spaces. If we analyse only this last column of this diagram, we could conclude that cultural policy of Serbia nominally supports investment in existing cultural infrastructure, without any significant consideration of constructing the new one. Yet, we already saw on the case of the Museum of Modern Art, but also on the case of the National Museum which was closed in 2003 and still not reconstructed, that even investment in existing cultural infrastructure is not always a priority.

This is why in this section of the paper I will use another method for making conclusions about nominal policy state and that is analysis of the systems of financing of construction and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure. In that sense this diagram (Table 1) can be split into two periods – first period is from year 2001 until year 2006, and the other period is from year 2006 until today.

In the first period we can see two major theater reconstructions in Belgrade conducted in year 2003. This can be explained with the fact that in 2001 previously established system of Funds for funding of culture was abolished and state budget system of financing of culture was re-introduced. In that context local governments received significant autonomy in managing cultural system on their territory. This is why we can say that in this period infrastructural development was a specific goal of Belgrade's cultural policy (Dragičević Šešić, Mikić, & Jovičić, 2007) but not necessarily state policy.

The second period begins with year 2006 when, in the spirit of encouraging public works and expansive investment policy of the state, National Investment Plan becomes an additional source of funding for culture. This explains increased investments in reconstruction of cultural infrastructure from year 2007 until year 2012. In the Table 2 below which presents

resources of funding for planned and/or realised cultural infrastructure projects in the last ten years in Belgrade we can see absolute dominance of financing by National Investment Plan over the financing through state budget assigned for the Ministry of Culture, City of Belgrade and private investments (see Table 2 below).

*Table 2- Resources of funding for planned and/or realised cultural infrastructure projects in the last ten years in Belgrade*

National Investment Plan, Ministry of Economy and Regional Development	Ministry of Culture	City of Belgrade	Institution itself
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Museum in Belgrade</li> <li>• Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade</li> <li>• Museum of Science and Technology</li> <li>• Belgrade Opera</li> <li>• Centre for the Promotion of Science (Programme of the investment in scientific infrastructure financed by the European Investment Bank)</li> <li>• Yugoslav Cinematheque (through European Investment Bank credit)</li> <li>• Museum Lepenski Vir * (through Municipality of Majdanpek and Ministry of Tourism)</li> <li>• National Library of Serbia (through European Investment Bank credit)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina* – competition for new building (Provincial Secretariat for Culture and Public Information)</li> <li>• Gallery-Legacy of Milica Zorić and Rodoljuba Čolakovića</li> <li>• Museum of Vuk and Dositej (financed by the budget of the Republic of Serbia, thanks to savings from the Ministry of Culture and cultural institutions, and savings in public procurement)</li> <li>• National Library of Serbia</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Belgrade Opera</li> <li>• Memorial dedicated to workers who died in RTS</li> <li>• Yugoslav Drama Theatre (City Council-The Secretariat of Culture)</li> <li>• Belgrade Drama Theatre</li> <li>• Gallery-Legacy of Milica Zorić and Rodoljuba Čolakovića</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina* – competition for new building</li> <li>• Museum “Macura” **</li> <li>• Museum Zepter**</li> </ul> <div style="background-color: #e0e0e0; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"><b>Donator investment</b></div> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reconstruction of the Theatre “Boško Buha” (through Novak Đoković Foundation) – ongoing</li> </ul>

Realised projects

Non realised projects

\* Important projects outside of Belgrade

\*\* Private initiatives

Yet, especially in this first column of this table, we can see dominance of the unrealised projects (marked in red colour) over the realised project (marked in green colour). This can be explained by the fact that budget of the National Investment Plan is very frequently revised and this introduces a large uncertainty regarding the completion of the projects (Mikić, 2011). So we can conclude that although National Investment Plan was intended for the financing of infrastructural projects in culture, we cannot say that its introduction had a significant impact on strengthening cultural infrastructure.

All in all at the end of this section of the paper we could conclude that support of the Serbian Government towards investment in cultural infrastructure exists as a nominal cultural policy goal. That can be clearly identified in relatively big number of announced architectural competitions in the last ten years but also in the efforts made in reforming the system of financing of cultural infrastructure in order to make it separate from other cultural expenses.

Yet when it comes to implementation of that unofficial cultural policy goal, we can see that those initial efforts are just demonstrative acts, which are of course much cheaper and easier to be conducted, but they have almost the same marketing effect for political elite in power as much as their real implementation would have. At the end that means that potential of cultural infrastructure as cultural commodification (which can be sporadically read as goal of the Government) stays unused, not to mention that Belgrade and Serbia remains without basic cultural infrastructure necessary for elementary cultural participation.

This means that “access for” all or the new “labouresque” desire for cultural projects to act as centers for social change is definitely not a Serbian cultural policy goal, rather this can only be read in private initiatives (Museum “Macura” is the best example for that). This state calls for an indisputable need in our environment for policy to work together with not only existing socio-historic and cultural circumstances but also with more theoretical understanding of culture. In other words that means urgent need for professionals to be much more involved in the creation of policy and its goals but also, even more importantly, to be involved in decision making processes that concern implementation of relevant policy goals.

### **2.3 Issue if the new usage of architectural design as an active component of culture**

Even if we can all agree on the statement that architecture establishes the preconditions for our purely phenomenological experience of the space and the forms that surround us, today, with the development and dominance of the virtual world over the physical one (in which virtual visually-based reception of culture through internet-based communication takes primacy), built environment and physical experience increasingly lose their importance in reception and perception of culture.

In this context, architecture (as built environment, but also as architectural design and knowledge in wider terms) has a potential but also responsibility to re-actualise itself as a mean for cultural perception and production of new meanings. This purpose can be argued as a driving force behind knowledge society. In this section of the paper I will refer to all of those actions, programmes and projects that are used for initiation and spread of culture and cultural information, especially as a form of presentation and representation of architecture, urbanism and landscape and transfer of knowledge about them.

In many European countries authorities have recognised this potential of architecture, so funding of research and promotion of national architectures through architecture policies has become part of the imperative need of governments to attract capital and ongoing investment in post-industrial contexts (Lappin, 2012). Yet here I would like to emphasise that usage of the architectural design as an active component of culture refers to all of those actions, programmes and projects that don't necessarily have built product as a result (and therefore direct financial benefit), but rather production of new knowledge capital and cultural participation, creation of new competences in societies and, in accordance to all that, reinforcement of development, competitiveness and benefits in wider terms.

In this section of my paper I will try to recognise and map those efforts and initiatives conducted in Serbian environment. For that purposes I will analyse *Competition for financing and co-financing of projects in the field of contemporary art and culture in the Republic of Serbia* which is conducted every year by the Ministry of Culture and Information of Serbia in order to allocate state funds to different cultural and artistic fields. I picked smaller data sample for analysis (only last three years) since participation of the architecture related projects in culture is quite a new phenomenon, especially in the context of Serbia.

### 2.3.1 Case study analysis of the Competition for financing and co-financing of projects in the field of contemporary art and culture in the Republic of Serbia

Analysis of the allocation of funds for culture in Serbia can be perceived as almost completely relevant indicator of the policy orientation in this field because “when there is no official strategic plan, main strategic decisions can be perceived primarily through funding policy” (Dragičević Šešić, Mikić, & Jovičić, 2007: 285). Financing of culture can also be seen as one of the most important aspects of cultural policy (especially in our environment), since the “allocation of financial resources provides plenty of possibilities for different influences on the direction, shape and tempo of cultural development” (Dragičević Šešić, Mikić, & Jovičić, 2007: 288).

On one hand with this analysis we can recognise awareness and willingness of public authorities to support architecture related projects in culture and therefore use their potentials, but also on the other hand we can recognise efforts and initiatives of public, private and civil institutions and individuals to contribute with their project proposals in this field.

At the beginning of the analysis, I have to emphasise that by this *Competition* architecture was never recognised as a separate field of contemporary artistic and cultural production, rather it was (only lately) categorised as a medium within the field of visual arts and multimedia. In the competition brief from year 2009 architecture was not stated as an eligible discipline for application in neither one of the listed sixteen categories. Only in the last four years architecture was placed as a field within the category of visual arts and multimedia.

Also, by the definition of this *Competition* which was in 2009 stated in the *Guide through the procedure of the competition in the field of visual arts, multimedia and art colony*<sup>19</sup>, projects that could be funded by the Ministry of Culture excluded those related to the reconstruction or construction of the new buildings for cultural purposes i.e. buildings of cultural infrastructure described in previous section of this paper. If that remained the case, this analysis would be ideal case study that could be used as paradigm which one on one reflects on the state of the new ways of usage of the architectural design as an active component of culture.

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<sup>19</sup> Tadić, D. (E.d.). (2009). *Vodič kroz proceduru konkursa za vizuelne umetnosti i multimedije, i likovne kolonije*. Beograd: Udruženje građana „Anonymous said.”.

Yet in the competition brief from year 2013 that refers to funding of projects in year 2014 financing of reconstruction of cultural infrastructure (together with purchasing of technical equipment) was again allowed by the definition of this *Competition*. This need to broaden the scope of this competition, even though it was primarily conceived with the aim to support only programmes and projects, can be understood as a consequence of the poor state of cultural infrastructure and the desire of stakeholders to obtain finance for it in any possible way.

All of that makes presence of architecture as an eligible field for application in this *Competition* quite unclear. Without direct support to projects and programmes that support inclusivity (participation) and education through architectural design there were only few participants each year encouraged to propose such kind of projects. In strategic terms, this is way too insufficient to start any kind of deliberate consideration of its usage for wider cultural development (in terms of creation of new knowledge capital explained earlier). That means that the biggest potential when it comes to new usage of the architectural design as an active component of culture remained unused throughout all of those three years that I have investigated. In the following text, by using detailed examination of the results of the *Competitions* in the previous three years, I will investigate if this hypothesis will turn out to be true.

### **Year 2012**

In the year 2012 out of 236 approved projects for financing in the category of visual arts, multimedia and architecture only 11 were architecture related (see Table 3 below) which is 4,7% out of all funded projects in this category. With the total amount of 2.300.000 RSD those projects participated with the share of 4,65% of the total yearly budget for this whole category (which is in total 49.410.000 RSD).

*Table 3- Architecture related projects approved for financing by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia on the Competition for the financing or co-financing of projects in culture, as well as projects in artistic, professional and scientific research in culture for year 2012 in the category of visual arts, multimedia and architecture*

<b>Applicant</b>	<b>Project name</b>	<b>Funding approved</b>
Poligon, Belgrade	Platform: Architecture	100.000 RSD
Strada, Novi Sad	We build tomorrow- speech of the space	100.000 RSD
Milica Milojević, Vladan Đokić, CELAL, Belgrade	Public spaces in neighbourhoods	100.000 RSD
Citizens' Association KURS, Belgrade	Old spaces-new places	200.000 RSD
Citizens' Association Communication Point - DOTCOM, Belgrade	Sound Map of Dorćol	100.000 RSD
Group IDE, Belgrade	Represent, painting subways	250.000 RSD
Center for the Promotion of Activism, Belgrade	My city is beautiful	250.000 RSD
Association of Belgrade Architects, Belgrade	BINA 2012 (Belgrade International Week of Architecture)	500.000 RSD
ULUPUDS, Belgrade	Architectural Award Ranko Radović 2012	100.000 RSD
Cultural Center Belgrade, Belgrade	Exhibition Arhitekst Ratomir Bogojević	250.000 RSD
Arhitekst d.o.o., Požarevac	Belgrade Days of Architectural Magazine Oris 3	350.000 RSD

-  Individuals, Citizens' Groups and Associations
-  NGOs
-  Professional Associations and Public Institutions
-  Business Firms

If we compare this chart with the legend shown below it, we can see that there were six out of eleven projects which were initiated by the individuals or citizens' groups and associations, one initiated by NGO, three initiated by public institutions and one initiated by the business firm. Predominance of individual (private) initiatives compared to public ones can in this case

be understood as a logical state, since this *Competition* does primarily serve to open up space for the recognition of those individuals or groups that aren't already established.

Yet since public institutions have right to apply for this *Competition* with their yearly programme (and not with individual programmes and projects) this on one hand prevents fair competition between public and civil and/or private sectors in the culture and on the other hand does not stimulate public institutions to deal with certain types of programmes and projects (in this case architectural ones). Overall this doesn't only reduce number of supported architecture related cultural projects and programmes, but also reduces quality of the existing ones, since there is no true competitiveness in the field.

Also, in Table 3 we can see that there are no partnerships in the projects between public and civil sectors. Without this but also without intersectoral connections (which were already shown in previous chapters) and lobbying towards Ministry of Culture, state of the new usage of architecture (but also architecture in general) in the field of cultural policy will strategically tends to remain on this, unused, position.

On the other side, if we take a look at the division of allocation of funds in the category of visual art, multimedia and architecture, we can notice that in this year (but also in the following ones) division was not based on those three fields stated in the name of the category. Rather, it was made by the place of the realisation of the projects or participants in and users of the project – there were seven fields: domestic projects, international projects, multimedia, art colonies, amateur creative work, children and young people and programmes for Kosovo and Metohija. This is really important when it comes to evaluation of allocation of financial resources, because at the first glance it seems that funds are evenly allocated in all of the fields in this category, but in reality when we go deeper into the research, we see that architecture is the most neglected field (participating with less than 5% of projects in the category).

### **Year 2013**

In the year 2013 out of 118 approved projects for financing in the category of visual arts, multimedia and architecture only 4 were architecture related (see Table 4 below) which is 3,4% out of all funded projects in this category. With the total amount of 500.000 RSD those projects participated with the share of 2,33% of the total yearly budget for this category (which is in total 21.445.000 RSD).

Table 4- Architecture related projects approved for financing by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia on the Competition for the financing or co-financing of projects in culture, as well as projects in artistic, professional and scientific research in culture for year 2013 in the category of visual arts, multimedia and architecture

Applicant	Project name	Funding approved
Citizens' Association Communication Point Point - DOTCOM, Belgrade	Sound Map of Savamala	100.000,00 RSD
SULUJ, Milica Žarković, Belgrade	My city	100.000,00 RSD
Association of Belgrade Architects, Belgrade	BINA 2013 (Belgrade International Week of Architecture)	200.000,00 RSD
ULUPUDS, Belgrade	International Architectural Award Ranko Radović 2013	100.000,00 RSD

 Individuals, Citizens' Groups and Associations

 Professional Associations and Public Institutions

If we compare this year's *Competition* results with the ones from previous year we can see decreasing trend in number of architecture related projects which were funded by it, but also decreasing trend in amount of financial resources allocated to this field (not only in share in the category but also in total amount). We can also see lack of participation of NGOs and business sector, which are in cultural field always bearers of change, especially in the context of Serbia which is still in transition.

This decreasing trend in the share of architecture related projects in the category of visual arts, multimedia and architecture can partially be explained in the overall decrease and cuts in funding of culture this particular year. However, considering that this decreasing trend continued in the following year (and that budget for culture has increased) this whole phenomenon can only be described as categorical lack of understanding by the public authorities of the importance of the position of architecture in cultural policy which is followed with the decline of interest of professional public to act upon it and try to contribute with the individual efforts.

Yet in this year architecture related project appears also in the category of scientific research and educational activities in the fields of art and culture<sup>20</sup>, which was not the case in year 2012. Out of 31 projects in the year 2013, there was one which was architecture related (see Table 5 below). This is 3,23% out of all financed projects in this category and 2,76% out of total yearly budget for this category. Yet this is way too insufficient to represent any indication of deliberate understanding of the importance of funding research in the field of architecture (in terms of culture).

*Table 5- Architecture related projects approved for financing by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia on the Competition for the financing or co-financing of projects in culture, as well as projects in artistic, professional and scientific research in culture for year 2013 in the category of scientific research and educational activities in the fields of art and culture*

<b>Applicant</b>	<b>Project name</b>	<b>Funding approved</b>
Citizens' Association "authentic vojvodina", Subotica	"Subotica – the city of secession", The research work about rural architecture in the municipality of Subotica	50,000.00 RSD

<sup>20</sup> While in 2009 title of the Competition showed supportiveness only towards presentation i.e. diffusion of cultural works, in the next 3 years (2010, 2011 and 2012) we can see implicit favourisation and reinforcement of cultural research. Cultural research was always present as a category eligible for application in this Competition, but only in these three years it was introduced in the title of Competition, which indirectly stimulated application of that kind of projects.

Title in year 2010 was: Competition for the co-financing of programs/projects that with its quality contribute to the development and presentation of art and culture for year 2010 (**Konkurs za sufinansiranje programa/projekata koji svojim kvalitetom doprinose razvoju i prezentaciji umetnosti i kulture za 2010. godinu**) – Retrieved from <http://www.icr.rs/2009/11/10/konkurs-za-sufinansiranje-programaprojekata/>

Title in years 2011, 2012 and 2013 was: Competition for the financing or co-financing of projects in culture, as well as projects in artistic, professional and scientific research in culture for year 2011/2012/2013 (**Konkurs radi prikupljanja predloga za finansiranje ili sufinansiranje projekata u kulturi, kao i projekata umetničkih, odnosno stručnih i naučnih istraživanja u kulturi za 2011/2012/2013. godinu**) – Retrieved from <http://www.icr.rs/2010/11/22/finansiranje-ili-sufinansiranje-projekata-u-kulturi/>; <http://www.flauta.org.rs/vest.php?cmbJezik=2&ID=348>; <http://www.kultura.gov.rs/cyr/konkursi/konkurs-radi-prikupljanja-predloga-za-finansiranje-ili-sufinansiranje-projekata-u-kulturi-kao-i-projekata-umetnickih-odnosno-strucnih-i-naucnih-istrazivanja-u-kulturi-za-2013--godinu>

## Year 2014

In the current year out of 232 approved projects for financing in the category of visual arts, multimedia and architecture only 5 are architecture related (see Table 6 below) which is 2,15% out of all funded projects in this category. With the total amount of 1.320.000 RSD those projects participate with the share of 1,93% of the total yearly budget for this category (which is in total 68.510.000 RSD).

*Table 6- Architecture related projects approved for financing by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia on the Competition for the financing or co-financing of projects in culture, as well as projects in artistic, professional and scientific research in culture for year 2014 in the category of visual arts, multimedia and architecture*

Applicant	Project name	Funding approved
Citizens' Association Communication Point - DOTCOM, Belgrade	Architecture for neighbours, research and exhibition practices in public spaces	250.000,00 RSD
Citizens' Association Communication Point - DOTCOM, Belgrade	Sound Map of Belgrade, multimedia project	300.000,00 RSD
Center for Architecture, Belgrade	Women in architecture, research, publications, exhibitions, digital presentation	200.000,00 RSD
Association of Belgrade Architects, Belgrade	BINA 2014 (Belgrade International Week of Architecture)	450.000,00 RSD
ULUPUDS, Belgrade	International Architectural Award/Exhibition/Lectures Ranko Radović 2014	120.000,00 RSD

-  Individuals, Citizens' Groups and Associations
-  NGOs
-  Professional Associations and Public Institutions

In the category of scientific research and educational activities in culture out of 31 projects only one is architecture related (see Table 7 below). This is 3,23% out of all financed projects in this category and 0,89% out of total yearly budget for this category.

*Table 7- Architecture related projects approved for financing by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia on the Competition for the financing or co-financing of projects in culture, as well as projects in artistic, professional and scientific research in culture for year 2014 in the category of scientific research and educational activities in the fields of art and culture*

<b>Applicant</b>	<b>Project name</b>	<b>Funding approved</b>
Citizens' Association Room for Arts, Subotica	From another angle: architecture, whether this could be danced?	45,000.00 RSD

Since the total share of the budget for architecture related projects in this Competition is decreasing from year to year, through the financing policy we can conclude that nominal cultural policy of Serbia doesn't see importance in treating architecture as an active component of cultural life. As it was assumed at the beginning of this section of the paper, this case study analysis shows that when it comes to architecture (as well any other field of cultural production) cultural policy of Serbia covers only classically defined area of culture which are recognised primarily as the fields of creation, heritage protection and presentation/diffusion (Dragičević Šešić, Mikić, & Jovičić, 2007). Important fields of contemporary cultural policy, such as inclusion (participation and audience development) or production of new knowledge capital and competences through arts (and in this case architecture), are missing.

Yet another interesting fact that deeper analysis of this case study shows is that although Government doesn't systematically support production of architecture related programmes and projects, there are several stable programmes which apply regularly for the financing through this *Competition* – these are *BINA (Belgrade International Architecture Week)*, *Architectural Award Ranko Radović* and *Sound Map* projects (*Sound Map of Dorćol*, *Sound Map of Savamala* and *Sound Map of Belgrade*).

Deeper analysis of the architectural-cultural festival *BINA (Belgrade International Architecture Week)* shows that although state financing for it is quite unstable through the years, this festival manages not only to endure and stay stable, but also to develop through years and increase number and quality of programmes (see Table 8 on page 52). Increase in number of partners for this festival helps the overall development of programmes, while stable amount of donated contributions through sponsorship enables its duration (since there is no stable state support). The best indicator of the quality improvement of this festival is increase in number of proactive programmes and actions through years, such as workshops

and city walks, which are much more engaging for wider audience and thus they more effectively transmit knowledge about architectural culture, architectural design and urban development to wider publics.

Table 8- BINA (Belgrade International Week of Architecture) in numbers<sup>21</sup>

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014 <sup>22</sup>
Patrons	5	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
Partners		15	10	18	30	28	36	25	42
Donors	/	/	/	/	1	/	1	/	1
Sponsors	5	12	13	15	13	8	10	14	9
Media Partners	/	3	7	6	11	10	12	12	10
Exhibitions	4	9	8	15	16	17	7	11	13
Lectures	7	9	7	13	17	14	9	6	13
Debates	/	1	2	2	3	6	5	3	4
Presentations	/	6	3	/	9	3	4	7	4
Promotions	/	/	3	/	1	1	/	/	2
Movie Projections	2	/	/	/	/	17	/	1	1
Conferences	/	/	/	1	/	/	/	1	1
Workshops	2	5	2	1	6	2	7	7	15
Walks	3	7	5	5	4	1	10	8	12
Actions	/	3	/	/	3	4	2	/	2
No. of Programmes Total	18	40	30	37	59	65	44	44	67

*BINA* festival, as being founded and organised by the Association of Belgrade Architects and Cultural Centre Belgrade, is the best paradigm of the contribution that professional associations and public cultural institutions can bring to the issue of usage of architecture as an active component of culture. If we want public authorities to understand and then strategically support the investment in this type of production of cultural capital, it is essential that professionals invest more energy and that themselves lobby for it.

<sup>21</sup> This chart is made out of data retrieved from the website <http://www.bina.rs/2014/>

<sup>22</sup> Due to the effects of catastrophic floods that hit Serbia and the whole region in May 2014, the Government of Serbia has declared three days of mourning, so some of the planned programmes on *BINA* weren't fully realised in this period.

On one hand, it is also necessary to evaluate the investments in the field of culture (as it is done here) in order to understand the current position as well as the trends in relation to which it is necessary to make deflection. On the other hand, it is necessary to explore the positive trends and make comparisons with other countries (which will be discussed in the next chapter of this paper) in order to get a clear insight and create a goal to which this lobbying could strive for.

## **CHAPTER III: RELATION OF ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURAL POLICIES IN EUROPE/EUROPEAN UNION**

### **3.1 Architecture in the field of cultural policies of Europe – short history overview**

Architecture as a subject of official cultural policies in Europe is relatively new phenomena. In most of the European countries architecture was not officially considered as part of culture until late of the 20th century. If we follow the development path of understanding of the conception of culture which was officially propagated by UNESCO since its establishment, we can see that actually shift in dominant paradigm of cultural conception was followed with the increase of the employment of architecture policies that were in tight relation with cultural policies.

Since the establishment in 1945, until the seventies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, UNESCO has advocated universalistic concept of culture, at the same time emphasising the “right to culture”. During this period, UNESCO has actually advocated the unification of cultures around the world according to the model of European/Western culture and its worldview (Gavrilović, 2011). In 1971 Claude Levi-Strauss attacked the universalistic approach to culture, advocating the concept of the right to autonomy of each culture (Gavrilović, 2011). Today, unification has a sinister name of “globalisation” and it is seen as a threat to diversity, which is no longer seen as an obstacle to development, but rather as a precious heritage that must be protected (Stoczkowski, 2008).

In such environment, in which perception of architecture as a mean of cultural distinction was welcomed, architecture policies became increasingly employed, especially in European context. With the growing trend to use creative diversity and individuality of countries to its full potential, creative industries were adopted as a means to encourage economic growth and inward investment (Lappin, 2012). Following this trend in 1998 UK government has produced Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Document placing architecture into the creative industries sector. This was a time when some of the British architects have achieved international reputations and architecture had a potential to become a mean for qualitative cultural distinction.

Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Document defined creative industries as “activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (Cunningham, 2002: 1). In this context architecture was mapped (together with arts, crafts and antiques) as one of the analogue sectors of creative industries so it was considered as utilitarian, physical product with a market value but which has, as any other art form, more to it than just a tangible value.

In that sense, the focus on architecture as more than a product was also part of what Edensor called “the utility of cultural forms” (2002: 16) (author emphasis). Architecture as culture could fill the role of what Edensor sees as a “practical application of particular forms” (2002: 16). Integration of architecture and architectural issues into cultural policies through creative industries concept can be read as an effort on the part of governments to see architecture as more than just symbolic structure of national values and identities, but also as a place in which wider publics can ascribe many meanings, including a role in understanding the making of buildings and public spaces (Lappin, 2012).

In today’s EU context, there is a growing trend of creation of architectural policies which are in tight relation with overall government cultural policies. On one side most of the European policies on architecture can be seen as part of an international desire of cities, regions and nations to act more competitively in global markets, so the governments are actually attempting to strengthen national uniqueness through architectural culture. In the past 10-15 years architecture has become a valuable medium for that strengthening and cultural distinction since it has become more easily consumed as part of popular and visually-based culture through internet-based communication and particularly through mass tourism of architectural sites (Lappin, 2012).

Yet in these architectural policies importance of cultural responsiveness of architecture is not only recognised as a potential for attraction of capital, ongoing investments or development of touristic offer, but also as a mean for cultural and educational enrichment, improvement of quality of architecture and, overall, quality of life in general. This is why funding research and promotion of national architectures but also encouragement of cultural participation through architectural field is highly appreciated in them.

In the Serbian context question of dealing with architecture through the lenses of culture is severely different and much more complex. As we have seen in most of the cases it is deeply

coloured with current political aspirations, without any anticipation of what this could mean or serve for the future generations. Since Serbia is a country in transition, the new value system is not sufficiently articulated, and thus the urban identity is not positioned as crucial criterion in evaluating city attractiveness, competitiveness and economic successfulness (Stojkov, 2013). The architectural values (in terms of cultural responsiveness) are not articulated and positioned in a proper way as a cultural and at the same time economic resource, and therefore they are usually being victims of governance weakness and developers' appetites.

This is why in the next section of this paper I will investigate in which way architecture is articulated through the lenses of culture in EU context, in order to find good examples and thus understand what are the possible development paths for the inclusion of architecture in cultural frames of one state.

### **3.2 Development of the official EU architecture policy documents – chronological overview**

#### **1985**

The first official document on architectural policy at a European level was the EU *Directive on the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications in architecture*, approved in 1985. Inspired by the first article of the 1977 French Law on Architecture, the EU Directive stated that architecture, the quality of buildings, the way in which they blend in with their surroundings, respect for the natural and urban environment and the collective and individual cultural heritage are matters of public concern (Council Directive 85/384/EEC; cited by Ferreira Bento, 2012: 5-6).

We can see that early on in EU official documents paying close attention to importance of cultural responsiveness of architecture began to emerge. While this document was more directed towards effective exercise of the profession, next ones will much deeper emphasise the cultural dimension of the architecture.

#### **2001**

In November 2000, under the French EU Presidency, the Ministers of Culture adopted the proposal of a *Resolution on Architectural Quality in Urban and Rural Environments*. The

Resolution was formally adopted by the Council of the European Union on 12<sup>th</sup> February 2001 (2001/C 73/04). The Resolution recognised the importance of architecture to improve the quality of the day-to-day environment in the life of European citizens and it broadened the European architectural agenda to include the importance of the cultural dimension of architecture. This was the first comprehensive policy document on architecture with a global approach at the European level (Ferreira Bento, 2012).

With the regard to importance of the cultural dimension of the architecture, this Resolution (among other things) states that:

- architecture is a fundamental feature of the history, culture and fabric of life of each of our countries; it represents an essential means of artistic expression in the daily life of citizens and it constitutes the heritage of tomorrow;
- the cultural dimension and the quality of the physical treatment of space should be taken into account in Community regional and cohesion policies;
- architecture is an intellectual, cultural, artistic and professional activity. Architectural service therefore is professional service which is both cultural and economic;
- good quality architecture, by improving the living context and the relationship between citizens, and their environment, whether rural or urban, can contribute effectively towards social cohesion and job creation, the promotion of cultural tourism and regional economic development; and finally
- member states should intensify their efforts to improve the knowledge and promotion of architectural and urban design, and to make contracting authorities and the general public more aware of and better trained in appreciation of architectural, urban and landscape culture.

## **2007**

In May 2007, the European ministers responsible for Urban Development approved the *Leipzig Charter of Sustainable European Cities*. Within the scope of an integrated urban development policy it mentions that the quality of public spaces, urban man-made landscapes and architecture play an important role in the living conditions of urban populations.

## **2008**

In February 2008, the European Parliament approved a resolution on the follow-up of the Territorial Agenda and the *Leipzig Charter of Sustainable European Cities*, which calls on Member States to pay greater attention to the creation of a culture of a high quality built

environment giving particular attention to the quality of the public space, notably in terms of architectural design quality, as a means of improving the well-being of European Union citizens.

In December 2008, under the French EU Presidency, the European Council of the EU adopted a second resolution on architecture entitled *Council Conclusions on Architecture: Culture's Contribution to Sustainable Development* (2008/C 319/05), which calls on the Member States to make allowance for architecture and its specific features, in particular its cultural aspects, in all relevant policies, especially in research, economic and social cohesion, sustainable development and education policies (Ferreira Bento, 2012).

This resolution particularly emphasised architecture as a bearer of a cultural component of sustainable development and by close analysis we can see that it covers all the aspects of the architecture (as culturally responsive concept) mentioned in the first chapter of this paper. This can particularly be seen in following statements:

- architecture, as a discipline involving cultural creation and innovation, including a technological component, provides a remarkable illustration of what culture can contribute to sustainable development, in view of its impact on the cultural dimension of towns and cities, as well as on the economy, social cohesion and the environment;
- architecture is also an example of the cross-cutting nature of culture, being affected by a number of public policies and not just cultural policies;
- sustainable urban development means paying particular attention to architectural quality and diversity as aspects of cultural diversity, to heritage conservation and enhancement and to the individual identity of natural or urban landscapes;
- architecture can play an integrating and innovative role in implementing sustainable urban development, in particular by contributing, by its diversity, quality and creativity, to the urban population's cultural enrichment and quality of life and to the economic, commercial and tourism-related vibrancy of towns and cities;
- initiatives by many European towns and cities, in particular as European cultural capitals, should use culture and especially architecture as a major means of regeneration;
- the emergence of creative towns and cities, whose sustainable urban development is based on new competitive factors, including urban infrastructure quality and interaction between culture and industry should be exploited; and finally
- education in architecture and heritage should be promoted, and in the living environment, in particular through artistic and cultural education.

Since neither *Council Resolution* from 2001 nor *Conclusions on Architecture* from 2008 are mandatory for the EU Member States, they only serve as recommendation documents, yet most of the architectural policies in EU countries (if they exist as such) are indeed adopted in accordance to these documents and values propagated through them. In order to analyse to what extent are architectural policies in EU countries related to the cultural field, in the next section of this paper I will investigate which government sectors in EU countries are responsible for architecture and architecture policies, what types of documents are adopted for their propagation and finally, what (cultural) policy instruments are supporting their implementation.

### **3.3 Sectorial distribution – ministries responsible for architecture and architecture policies in EU**

In order to examine position of architecture in EU states as well as connection of their architectural policies with the cultural field in general, I have created a chart which shows which EU country has already developed architectural policy as well as which government sector/ministry of an EU country is in charge of that policy or, in the case when policy doesn't exist, in charge of architectural field in general (see Table 9 on page 60<sup>23</sup>).

As we can see on this chart, in EU countries responsibility for architecture is usually under the scope of cultural/arts departments or urban development/town planning departments. Looking at the location of the specific departments inside the different administrative structures the majority of the departments are within the scope of the Ministries of Culture/Arts. In the administrations where architecture is a shared responsibility between two or more departments, in most cases the policy responsibility is divided between the Ministry of Culture/Arts and the Ministry of the Environment/Urban Development. In Luxembourg for example, the responsibility is divided between three Ministries: Culture/Arts, Environment/Urban Development and Interior.

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<sup>23</sup> Table 9 is created through integration of similar table taken from the Survey on Architectural Policies in Europe (Ferreira Bento, 2012: 23) with my further research on the position of architecture in responsible ministry for it (in EU context).



This fact clearly shows that in EU context comprehension of architecture as a discipline within a cultural discourse prevails. This is why when it comes to creation of separate architectural policy documents in majority of them cultural responsibility of architecture is strongly emphasised. In the Table 9 shown above we can see that out of 28 EU member states (some of them are split by the Survey on Architectural Policies in administrative structures) more than half of them have adopted an official document outlining government policy on architecture, while in the other half 12 countries/administrations are planning to develop a document and only 3 countries are not planning to develop one.

In non EU countries and potential EU countries situation is severely different. As we can see in the Table 9 out of 8 countries only Iceland has architectural policy document and Turkey plans to create one. The problem here is that EU candidate countries are being expected to adopt several legislation packages as a condition of being accepted as EU Member States, but the *Council Resolution and Conclusions on Architecture* (explained in the previous section of this chapter) are not among them since they are not even mandatory for the EU member states. That means that the governments of EU candidate countries, which also includes Serbia since 2012, are not obliged to implement the Council recommendations and thus they don't have any pressure from the outside to work on their architectural policies or implementation of architectural potentials into cultural policies.

On the other side, those 17 countries/administrative structures that have adopted an official architectural policy document (plus Norway which is not an EU member state) can be classified in 3 groups according to adopted type of policy document:

- (a) Countries that adopted legislation document: France and Sweden,
- (b) Countries/administrative structures that adopted comprehensive policy document: Belgium/Flanders, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, UK/Scotland, UK/Northern Ireland, Iceland, Norway and
- (c) Countries/administrative structures that adopted sectoral policy document: Cyprus, UK/England and UK/Wales.

Although all of the three types of the official architectural policy documents mentioned above have their own specific characteristics, they all have in common that they propose implementation of various instruments i.e. initiatives and actions that will support them and eventually put them into practice. For the purpose of this paper it is important to investigate what are the proposed and implemented instruments that support architectural policies in the

domain of culture. Those instruments are the best indicators of the level of the comprehension of architecture as a discipline that is in tight relation with culture, but also indicators of the level of the contribution of architectural field to the overall cultural development and enrichment.

### **3.4 Types of architectural policies and cultural policy instruments that support them**

In the context of EU architectural policies I have identified several different policy instruments that serve for the procurement of architectural and at the same time of cultural policy goals. Some of them, which I find either most applicable to Serbian environment or which can be compared with it, will be examined in this section of the paper. On the basis of this examination I will be able to give policy recommendation for the Serbian environment in the conclusion chapter of this paper.

(a) If we firstly examine legislation document as a type of architectural policy document, the best European example for that would be *French Law on Architecture* from 1977. It established a new intervention framework, mode of exercise and organisation of the profession, but also proclaimed architecture as an expression of culture and a matter of public interest<sup>24</sup>. The 1977 Law also established the non-profit advisory body – *Councils of Architecture, Urban Planning and the Environment (Conseils d'Architecture, d'Urbanisme et Environment)*, the government architectural agency – *Inter-Ministry Mission for Quality in Public Construction* but also in 1980 one cultural institution – *French Institute of Architecture*, responsible for the dissemination of architectural knowledge to the wider public. This institution pursued five (architecture and culture related) goals: improving knowledge of architecture, promoting interaction between the players in the field of construction, promoting architectural debate and criticism, protecting and enhancing the documentary patrimony and integrating architecture in the French cultural environment. In 2004, *French Institute of Architecture* was merged with two other entities creating a new enlarged architectural and cultural centre, the *Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine*.

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<sup>24</sup> First article of the French Law on Architecture no. 77-2 of 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1977 states: “Architecture is an expression of culture. Architectural design, the quality of buildings, their harmonious insertion into the surroundings, the respect for heritage and the natural and urban landscape are of public interest.”

Architectural culture organisations and institutions such as institutes, centers, foundations, museums, archives, associations or similar bodies are organisational cultural policy instruments which are extremely important since they are most directly engaged with the promotion and awareness of architectural culture among non-professional public/audience. With the development of a wide range of activities such as exhibitions, publications, conferences, debates, research projects, educational initiatives, etc. they can create an open spaces for debate about the future of the built environment, and thus involve different actors in this process.

(b) At the European level the most common type of official document on architecture is the comprehensive policy. The comprehensive policy document can be described as an “official statement with a global approach on architecture where the government defines the main goals and objectives to safeguard and promote cultural and architectural quality in building, urban design and culture heritage, for subsequent implementation by the public authorities” (Ferreira Bento, 2012: 33). In the case of comprehensive policies the development is usually initiated with the creation of an inter-ministerial working group which defines the main goals, contents and extent of the policy and only afterwards the policy is approved by parliament or at the ministerial level and finally published as an official document.

The first comprehensive architectural policy and in the same time one of the best examples for that kind of document was developed by the Netherlands in 1991, entitled *Space for Architecture*. Covering 1991-1996, the policy was the result of a joint venture of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment and the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs. The document embodied a number of measures to promote good architecture and focused on the role of the government as a contracting party in improving the architectural climate. Among the other measurements in the following years this architectural policy document also led to the establishment of several cultural institutions and funds: the *Netherlands Architecture Institute*, the *Berlage Institute*, the *Netherlands Architecture Fund*, the *Foundation Architectuur Lokaal* and the *Europaan*. Since then, every 5 years, the Dutch Parliament approves a new version of the policy.

The latest Dutch policy document entitled *Building on the strength of design* is published in the form of an action agenda for architecture and the spatial design for the period from 2013 until 2016. Important financial support instrument that was established by this document is

*The Creative Industries Fund NL*<sup>25</sup> which began operating on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2013. It serves as a grant provider for stimulation of the quality of architecture, design and e-culture from a cultural perspective and increase of their social and economic added value. By organising activities, competitions and open calls for projects The *Fund* actively makes connections between culture, society and the economy.

It is important to emphasise that this *Fund* doesn't operate only within the frameworks of the mentioned architectural policy but also within an overall Dutch cultural policy which is outlined in the policy memorandum *Meer dan Kwaliteit (More than Quality)*, June 2011). In this memorandum government has recognised the importance of design disciplines which today include multiple domains and since the government funds for them were fragmented they proposed bringing together different design sectors under the auspices of creative industry. This financial instrument is not only a clear representative of the cultural and architectural policy orientation of the Netherlands, but it is also one of the most effective ways for implementation of this orientation in practice. This can be the best represented through the fact that number of application for architecture related cultural projects, even under the auspices of the joint fund for various design disciplines (since architectural field had its separate fund until then), is still rapidly growing<sup>26</sup>.

Another architectural and cultural policy instrument that can serve as a precondition for overall awareness about importance of architecture and the built environment is introduction of architectural educational programmes in the educational curriculums of preschools, primary and secondary schools which can be accompanied with similar extra-curricular afterschool programmes in cultural institutions. The main objective of such programmes is to stimulate the taste of younger, future generations about their built environment so they can become active and participant citizens in the city decision-making process. Some EU member states have introduced architecture in the educational curriculums of primary and secondary

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<sup>25</sup> From 1993 until 2013 cultural projects in the field of architecture were financed through *Stimulating Fund for Architecture*. In 2013 this Fund was replaced with more comprehensive one called *The Creative Industries Fund NL*. Retrieved from: <http://www.stimuleringsfonds.nl/en/>

<sup>26</sup> For example in year 2012 there were 60 applications for granting of architecture related cultural projects out of which 44 were granted, and in 2013 (when *The Creative Industries Fund NL* was appointed) there were 240 applications for granting of architecture related cultural projects out of which 66 were granted. Retrieved from: <http://www.stimuleringsfonds.nl/en/>

schools which has resulted in a remarkable amount of new architectural resources and educational material.

A good example for this is Denmark which since 2007 has comprehensive architectural policy called *A Nation of Architecture – Denmark – Settings for Life and Growth*<sup>27</sup>. In accordance to this policy, in 2011 Danish inter-ministerial agency called *Network for Children and Culture* has advocated for a group of specialists from the fields of architecture, design, teaching and museums to formulate strategy, goals and vision for the implementation of the architecture and design fields in overall educational curricula. This strategy defined different goals for each level of education<sup>28</sup> and all that with the vision of creating knowledgeable and creative citizens in the future, with creative and innovative approach to their surroundings. On the basis of this strategy many programmes were successfully introduced in educational and cultural institutions in Denmark (Dael, 2011).

Consequently, new comprehensive Danish architectural policy called *Putting People First* (launched in February 2014 by the Danish Ministry of Culture) also recognises potential of children's and young people's cultural formation through architectural education. This is why this policy document itself proposes different initiatives to enforce this potential. One of such initiatives is creation of training packages on architecture and design for children conducted

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<sup>27</sup> This architectural policy has been compiled collaboratively by the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs, the Ministry of Social Welfare, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Transport and Energy, the Danish University and Property Agency, the Defense Construction and Establishment Service and the Palaces and Properties Agency. Danish Architecture Centre is by this policy appointed to acts as the government's primary player within the field of architecture and to play a vital role in many of the architecture policy's focus areas. Retrieved from <http://www.dac.dk/en/dac-cities/architectural-policy/architectural-policy-2007/>

<sup>28</sup> For children in day-care centres the goal was to introduce them to architecture and design in a simple and creative form: by building houses, drawing, painting and gaining a feel for space, structure, scale and colour. For primary schools the goal was for all children and young people to receive lessons in and gain an awareness of all the elements of architecture and design. This is procured either as an independent subject or as an integral part of the practical, art and/or science subjects. For high schools and colleges the goal was for students to gain proficiency in and gain greater insight into architecture and design, so that they will be able, later, to make decisions regarding possible further education within these two areas. In the extra-curricular area the goal was to establish programmes offering activities for the whole family and stimulating a shared interest in and insight into architecture and design through exhibitions, events, talks and creative building projects (Dael, 2011).

by the Danish Architecture Centre in collaboration with the Architects Association and funded by the Ministry of Culture. Project for creation of those training packages is created in order to ensure that teachers have access to materials and inspiration for teaching about architecture in elementary school in a way that partly conveys the social and aesthetic significance of architecture and architecture's creative processes and partly relates to other learning objectives for schools (Ministry of Culture, 2014).

(c) A good example of sectoral policy oriented country is England which has huge amount of official policies and guidelines on architecture in different sectors of the state. One of those policy documents is publication called *Better Public Buildings: A proud legacy for the future* adopted in 2000. Aimed at enforcement of high quality of public buildings, it managed to actually enforce and raise quality of cultural infrastructure. As an instrument for the implementation of policy goals, this document introduced an annual state prize called *Prime Minister's Better Public Building Award*<sup>29</sup> for new buildings commissioned by or on behalf of central or local government or by a grant aided organisation. With the analysis of the winners of this prize in previous years, we can see that it actually served for the promotion and enhancement of quality projects for cultural infrastructure since most of the awarded projects (9 out of 13) were from this domain<sup>30</sup>.

In this section of the paper it is also very important to emphasise the role of the professional architects' organisations and NGO's that are more and more promoting and pressing the governments to adopt an official architectural policy document. This growing trend in EU can be confirmed with the fact that since 2007 professional architects' organisations of 9 countries have developed architectural policy proposals: Czech Republic, Croatia, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Sweden and Turkey.

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<sup>29</sup> Retrieved from: <http://www.betterpublicbuilding.org.uk/award-winners.html>

<sup>30</sup> Prime Minister's Better Public Building Award winners in previous years respectively were: 2001: Tate Modern, London; 2002: City Learning Centre, Bristol; 2003: Bournemouth Library; 2004: A650 Bingley Relief Road, Yorkshire; 2005: Jubilee Library, Brighton; 2006: City of London Academy; 2007: Dalby Forest Visitor Centre, North Yorkshire; 2008: Royal Alexandra Children's Hospital Brighton; 2009: Joseph Chamberlain Sixth Form College, Birmingham; 2011: Velodrome, Olympic Park, London; 2010: New Stobhill Hospital for NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde; 2012: University College Hospital Macmillan Cancer Centre, London; 2013: Manchester Metropolitan University Business School & Student Hub. Underlined are public cultural infrastructure projects.

A recent example is the architectural policy proposed by the professional Croatian working group<sup>31</sup>, entitled *Architectural policies of the Republic of Croatia 2013-2020, Apolitika, National guidelines for excellence of building and building culture*<sup>32</sup>, which was finally adopted by the Croatian Government in 2012. How comprehensive this policy is we can see in the statement concerning its implementation – architectural policy should be conducted by all participants in spatial development: the legislator, public administration bodies at all levels, the academic community, scientific institutions, professional organisations and associations, architects and engineers, cultural institutions, organisations and associations, citizens’ organisations, individuals and the media (Working Group for the development of the „Architectural policies“ document, 2012: 9). This statement and the entire policy document clearly places architecture not only in professional and economical fields, but also in cultural and educational ones.

Especially in the context of EU candidate countries, which Serbia is from 2012, this lobbying by the professional organisations, NGO’s and national experts can have crucial role. The problem with EU integration process is that cultural, educational and science fields don’t have to integrate with the EU regulations, rather they only have to be self-regulated. That means that EU integration processes will not necessarily push the governments to regulate fields of culture and architecture, and even less to acknowledge comprehensive cultural role of architecture. This is why creation of policy documents and implementation of such concepts in them in EU candidate countries (and Serbia among them) in the future will be almost impossible without professional lobbying.

In this section of the paper I have presented only some of the existing examples of policies and instruments that serve for promotion and implementation of cross-cutting architectural-cultural policy goals. I find those examples most successful and most applicable for Serbian environment. Having in mind that architecture in Serbia is regulated by the Law on Planning

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<sup>31</sup> The initiative for the development and adoption of the document on Architectural policies was launched by the Department of Architects of the Croatian Chamber of Architects and Civil Engineers in Construction and the Association of Croatian Architects at the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of Croatian Architects in 2004, and was continued at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of Croatian Architects in 2007. Within the context of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of Croatian Architects “Apolitika 2013” held in 2010, guidelines for the development of a Croatian architectural policy were promoted, and work on defining and developing the document began.

<sup>32</sup> Retrieved from: [http://www.mgipu.hr/doc/Apolitika/Apolitika\\_2013-2020\\_EN.pdf](http://www.mgipu.hr/doc/Apolitika/Apolitika_2013-2020_EN.pdf)

and Construction, but this law cannot be treated as a policy document since it only regulates framework of architectural practice without any strategic plans and directions for future development, several recommendations can be made through examination of EU examples. Application of some of those instruments in our environment could serve as initiators for development and deeper integration of architecture in the field of culture and later on development of policy itself. These possibilities will be examined in the next chapter of this paper.

## **CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION – RECOMMENDATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEEPER INTEGRATION OF ARCHITECTURE IN THE FIELD OF SERBIAN (UNOFFICIAL) CULTURAL POLICY**

Since Serbia doesn't have any official cultural policy document it was not an easy task to discover its policy goals, since they are only implicitly declared through various actions and instruments that were undertaken. When it comes to position of architecture in the field of Serbian unofficial cultural policy, we have seen that it is implicitly present and expressed through three architecture related fields: preservation of cultural/architectural heritage, construction of cultural infrastructure and usage of architecture as an active component of cultural life.

Yet by getting deeper into the research of those three phenomena i.e. instruments that were undertaken in order to actually implement implicit policy goals, it was discovered that, as assumed, nominally there is no comprehensive understanding of the potentials that can be reached by treating architecture as integral part of the cultural field. Rather, we have only seen or big misuse (on the part of the Government) or underuse of those potentials.

When it comes to preservation of cultural/architectural heritage we have seen that professionals are involved in this process only up to a certain point, while decision making process about actual execution of preservation is heavily politicised. This is a consequence of the fact that architectural heritage is a convenient mean for appropriation of cultural identity, strengthening of nationalism and claiming of the territory and since Serbia is a country in transition, all of those processes are occurring in it. This is why question of what should be preserved and for what purpose still predominantly stays out of the scope of the profession.

Also we have seen that intersectoral cooperation between Ministry of Culture and Information and other ministries (such as Ministry of Economy and Regional Development) almost doesn't exist. Without understanding and knowledge on both sides on how to reach strategic goals with jointly efforts, touristic, economic and cultural potentials of cultural heritage stayed underdeveloped. Also, some important heritage sites still wait to be properly protected, presented and thus included in cultural life.

When it comes to construction and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure we have seen that this exists as a nominal cultural policy goal in Serbia and that can be confirmed with relatively big number of announced architectural competitions for construction of cultural infrastructure in the last ten years but also with efforts made to reform the system of financing of cultural infrastructure in order to make it separate from other cultural expanses.

Yet when it comes to actual implementation of that implicit cultural policy goal i.e. realisation of the projects for construction and/or reconstruction of cultural infrastructure, we have seen that those initial efforts are just demonstrative acts and that their “spectacular” power is only used for promotion of the political elite in power. Finally that means that potential of cultural infrastructure as cultural commodification stays unused and Serbian cultural context still stays without basic infrastructure necessary for elementary cultural participation.

Finally, when it comes to the new usage of architecture as an active component of cultural life i.e. support towards creation and implementation of architecture related cultural projects (projects for promotion of architectural culture, education of wider public through architectural design, architectural debates and cultural enrichment in general) we have seen that this support is very limited, almost negligible in comparison with other categories of visual art production. As a consequence, the amount of efforts for creating and proposing this kind of projects for funding is also decreasing from year to year.

In order to make final conclusion and give policy recommendations for the development and deeper integration of architecture in the field of cultural policy in Serbia, I have summed up my findings in a SWOT analysis (see Table 10 on page 71).

*Table 10- SWOT analysis of the presence of architecture in the field of (unofficial) Serbian cultural policy*

Strengths	Weakness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Existence of numerous architectural heritage sites that can be used for promotion of architectural culture and/or as touristic offer</li> <li>• Big existing cultural infrastructure which is in a bad condition but can be reconstructed, recycled and thus reused</li> <li>• Existence of continuous architecture related cultural festival called BINA (Belgrade International Week of Architecture) which is gaining in importance through years, based on its duration and stability</li> <li>• Existence of other independent cultural events for promotion of architectural culture such as Belgrade Design Week or Mixer Festival. Yet they are not completely dedicated to wider public, especially Design Week which is aimed at professionals only</li> <li>• Existence of annual awards that promote and encourage quality architectural production (Ranko Radović Award, Award of the Saloon of Architecture, Annual Award of the City of Belgrade etc.)</li> <li>• Existence of new types of cultural institutions and alternative cultural spaces (cultural infrastructure) which act as platforms for independent cultural initiatives (and architecture related initiatives among them) such as Design Incubator Nova Iskra in Belgrade. Yet sustainability and survival of such institutions is highly depending on the help of foreign funds and donors</li> <li>• Professional potential – numerous highly qualified</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Absence of official cultural policy</li> <li>• Absence of official architecture policy (which can be related to cultural policy)</li> <li>• Lack of strategic document that covers anticipation of cultural development and/or development of architectural field as part of culture</li> <li>• Lack of research about architecture in the field of cultural policy in Serbia and thus impossibility of creating cultural policy based on facts, evaluation, analysis and adequate statistical basis (evidence based cultural policy)</li> <li>• Politicisation of almost all important decisions concerning relation of architecture and culture</li> <li>• Poor realisation of arm’s length principle when it comes to decision making – professional commission are not independent, rather they are in the factual position of the sub-commission of the Ministry of Culture, so they are not always composed out of professionals</li> <li>• Bad condition of cultural infrastructure; many important national institutions are closed for that reason</li> <li>• Absence of public cultural institutions (such as Museum of Architecture) which can deal solely with promotion of architectural culture</li> <li>• Lack of intersectoral cooperation between architecture and culture (architecture-business-culture, architecture-tourism-culture, architecture-education-culture) i.e. lack of intersectoral</li> </ul>

<p>architects, visual artists and cultural professionals contributing with small independent cultural initiatives. Good example for that is website SuperProstor (portal for architecture and culture of space in Serbia and the region of Southeast Europe)</p>	<p>cooperation between different ministries (for example between Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Economy and Regional Development)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of partnerships in the architecture related cultural projects between public and private sectors</li> <li>• Lack of financial incentives for development of architecture as part of creative industries concept</li> </ul>
<p>Opportunities</p>	<p>Threats</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Possibility of using European Structural Funds for dealing with architectural heritage (if it is registered on the UNESCO World Heritage List)</li> <li>• Lack of important national cultural infrastructure (such as Belgrade Opera House) which could, if built, cause Bilbao effect and/or put focus on contemporary architectural production in Serbia</li> <li>• Existence of Creative Europe Desk for Serbia (recently created) and possibility of using Creative Europe Funds for various projects in the domain of architecture</li> <li>• Possibility of creating cross-cultural cooperating projects with EU countries since in that context architecture is understood as an important and emerging field of cultural production</li> <li>• As part of Belgrade's application for the title of European Capital of Culture in year 2020, promotion of architecture can be used as a major mean for promotion of culture in general, but also as a mean for city regeneration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic crisis</li> <li>• Lack of funds for construction of all public infrastructure and not only cultural one</li> <li>• Lack of funds for all cultural projects and not only architecture related ones</li> <li>• Overall atmosphere of competition rather than collaboration between different cultural sectors and cultural and other sectors</li> <li>• Architecture is mostly perceived as an economic category in Serbian environment and in that context its economic value and potential is more appreciated than cultural ones</li> <li>• Potential of architecture for identity appropriation and therefore its usage (regardless of its actual cultural value) for claiming of territory, strengthening of nationalism etc.</li> </ul>

Through this analysis we can see that, when it comes to presence of architecture in the field of (unofficial) Serbian cultural policy, four conclusions can be made:

- (1) The biggest strength lies in the independent cultural scene, civil sector and efforts of professional associations and individuals;
- (2) The biggest weakness lies in overall absence of the governmental strategic goals in the field of culture and politicised decision making processes;
- (3) The biggest potential lies in cross-cultural, cross-national and cross-state cooperation through various existing programmes and projects;
- (4) The biggest threat lies in chronic lack of funding for supporting of the culture but also in dual nature of architecture (which is both highly cultural but also highly economic) and thus logical favourisation of its economic potential in such context.

On the basis of this analysis we can conclude that for the Serbian context the best approach for development of architecture as the field within cultural policy domain (and thus development of cultural offer, participation and cultural enrichment in general through it) is a bottom-up approach, led by the existing strength of independent cultural scene, civil sector and efforts of professional associations and individuals.

Roll of the profession in this case shouldn't be directed only towards creation of versatile programmes for promotion of potentials of architecture (as a culturally responsive concept) but also towards lobbying for professionalisation of important decision making processes and thus true fulfillment of arm's length principle. In this case arm's length principle can be the best achieved through intersectoral connecting i.e. creation of professionally consisted inter-ministerial group, agency or committee that can advocate for comprehensive fulfillment of both economic and cultural potentials of architecture. Only when important decisions come into the hands of professionals and not political elite in power, we can talk about deliberate creation of a policy document which will comprehensively understand, use and later implement long-term strategic planning.

Also, in order to fully use potentials of architecture as a culturally responsive concept it is important for it to be deeper implement into the scope of the Ministry of Culture and Information. In accordance to the current situation, I propose implementation of another organisational cultural policy instrument and that is creation of architecture related public

cultural institution that will be founded and funded by the state (such as Museum of Architecture, Center for Architecture etc.). This institution would on one side promote architectural culture and enhance audience participation in architectural-cultural issues, but on the other side enhance participation of our country in various existing cross-cultural, cross-national and cross-state architectural-cultural cooperation projects. As an eligible entity for participation in various networking programmes, this institution would be able to promote wider architectural knowledge and awareness, contribute to the development of the field through joint international efforts and experiences, but also open many doors for individual professionals to participate in this development.

I believe that proposed organisational instruments have the power to clearly define and position architecture not only within the government domain but also within the domain of reaching different audiences. Once they are established, further implementation of other policy instruments that can consolidate this position and give significance to it can be considered – these are instruments such as introduction of architecture related educational programmes, projects and actions into school curricula and/or various cultural institutions, financial stimulations for development of architecture as a field within creative industries concept etc.

When those preconditions for creation of architectural and cultural policies in Serbia are established, the main tasks will be determination of the strategic goals and priorities. Yet in Serbian context, in which cultural field is still very much depending on current political aspirations, maybe even more important will be establishment of mechanisms and criteria for evaluation of the implemented policy and evaluation of the policy instruments from the perspective of the overall achieved results. This is why with this paper I have tried to initiate this evaluation process through determining current position of architecture in the overall field of cultural policies and I hope that it will further stimulate applied and critical discussions upon those issues.

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## **Short biography**

Dragana Ćiprijanović was born in 1989 in Belgrade, Serbia. She studied architecture at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade where she obtained both bachelor's and master's degree diplomas. She has graduated in the class of the Professor Dejan Miljković on the topic "Architecture as a mean for documenting the project of an art colony. Spectacle building as a mean of revitalization of abandoned spaces". She has graduated as the best graduating student of the school years 2010/2011 (end of bachelor's studies) and 2012/2013 (end of master's studies) and was awarded with Arch. Ivanka Terzin Foundation Award for the best student in the field of architecture. She participated in numerous group exhibitions and took place in many architectural design competitions as member of an independent architectural group me.tri.ka. She was awarded with special mention on 47<sup>th</sup> Architectural Competition for Authors (Novosti Award) in 2013 and special mention on Architectural and Urban Planning Competition for Designing a Collective Housing Complex in Lazarevac Municipality in 2012. Her working experience includes collaboration with Belgrade based studio for spatial and graphic design Petokraka. She is a co-founder of the Association for Chinese-Serbian Educational Exchange and is currently a student of the UNESCO MA studies in Cultural Policy and Management at the University of Arts in Belgrade.