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Master thesis:

**IDENTIFYING AND CREATING THE IDENTITY OF
BELGRADE**

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Abstract

The present time, popularly known as the “century of city”, demands a detailed definition of a city’s identity and promotion of its brand in order to provide differentiation from other similarly defined places, as well as to defend its own identity from the possible negative effects of branding.

The main topic of this paper is the identity of Belgrade, a city enduring significant difficulties during its history, while still being very persistent and lasting for many years on its geographical position. Thus, the aim of the present study is to evaluate existing practice in Belgrade identity building and promotion, and to propose the grounds for city branding on the basis of the theory and practice of various disciplines such as city identity, city branding and city marketing. The main study questions emerged from- *What are present main components of Belgrade’s identities and what are the possible ones?* and *How can they be applied in the future of Belgrade’s development?* The notion of city identity is described from the point of view of different social sciences, based on quadripartite composition of physical setting, activities, meaning and *genius loci*.

Within the comparison of the presented history of Belgrade and socio-demographic characteristics with the PR and marketing city presentation, master plan of Belgrade and survey, it can be argued that city characteristics are only superficially used in city identity creation and that current city images are not presenting the best possible projection of Belgrade as a city of the future. Throughout interviews with citizens, city representatives and tourists, as well as from research conducted on the *Yahoo! Travel* website, some new perspectives of Belgrade were introduced, while many previously held hypotheses were confirmed.

Finally, the result and proposition for identity direction and branding of the city were done by adjusting some of the identities of Belgrade already existed during its history, encompassing the characteristics and values that can be perceived by the interviewees that took part in a survey on Belgrade (residents of Belgrade, representatives of the city in cultural, tourism and marketing and tourists), as well as, using the tendencies of the theory and practice of city identity building and brand definition.

Key words: city identity, city marketing, city branding, Belgrade

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1 INTRODUCTION

Belgrade, a city with specific history on a strategically interesting geographical position, has frequently changed its external and internal image. Various identities of the city, some similar and some very different have been developed over time, but many of them have been left covered. Therefore, it is a real challenge and responsibility to identify them and to, eventually, suggest possible patterns for development. The overall identity identification would enable a city to renovate itself, first spiritually and later spatially, combining both images of past and present and influencing the future.

1. 1. The Aim of the Thesis

From that base, the aim of the thesis emerges- to acknowledge the values and characteristics of the identity of Belgrade is based on in order to enable its understanding, as well as, its application in promotion, presentation and town branding. That aim can be explained by the following objectives as:

- Proving that Belgrade has energy to move forward despite all the problems in the past decade(s);
- Giving Belgrade the possibility to be recognized as a significant and positively different part of Europe;
- Identifying some of the needs, particular problems and present characteristics of certain aspects of Belgrade's identity during the discussion with citizens and tourists;
- Providing a better understanding of Belgrade from the point of view of its citizens;
- Understanding the perceptions of visitors to Belgrade (or what was above and what was beyond these expectations);
- Providing the basis for the promotion of the city beyond the borders of Serbia.

1. 2. The Main Research Questions

The main questions of the thesis are: *What are present main identities of Belgrade and what are the possible ones?* and *How they can be applied in the future of Belgrade's development?*

The key words used in the text would be explained in details though the thesis, such as city/urban identity, city marketing, city branding and Belgrade. Following the main question, the hypothesis of the paper would be adjusting some of the identities of Belgrade that have already existed during its history, encompassing the characteristics and values that can be perceived by the inhabitants of Belgrade, representatives of the city in cultural, tourism and

marketing and tourists, in addition to using modern tendencies in city identity building, so that there could be a regeneration and renovation of Belgrade's identity. At the same time, as a two-way process, the citizens could identify themselves with that very identity, enabling it to become the part of them.

1. 3. Conceptual Scope, Structure and Methods

Professionals in the fields of urban development, city marketing, city branding, tourism planning and development, as well as those working in the planning and development of culture in cities, have conducted a significant amount of research and are continuing to add to this body of research. Still, one of the largest problems is that research in urban development is not in line with those of city marketing, branding, tourism and cultural planning and development and vice versa; they are simply not referring to one another.

The discipline of urban development has developed the skills and methods based on the professional norms of city planners, art historians and architects. It then evaluates them according to the standards of public interests, keeping in mind collectiveness as a responsibility. On the other hand, city marketing, tourism and cultural planning and development are rooted in the techniques of commercial management, even when such management is undertaken by public organizations.

Therefore, during the interdisciplinary cultural management research, two very different groups of literature were dealt with, while writers from these different fields use very similar terms in different contexts.

This thesis is divided into an introduction, followed by four main parts and conclusions.

First of all, many of the paper's key-terms and concepts have been presented through descriptive and historical methods. Also, varieties of improvement of the city identity are explained in the part of the paper that discusses flagship projects, mega-event hosting ("Capital of culture") and in the concept of creativity *in and of* the city.

Place branding in theory and practical work is presented in next chapter. After explaining such terms as brand, place brand, there is an explanation of what might be the possible steps for becoming the place brand (the descriptive and comparative method). Before naming some of the examples of branded cities, the discussion for and against branding is presented.

The subsequent chapter concentrates on the main key-word of the work, the city of Belgrade. First Belgrade is defined according to socio-cultural characteristics (descriptive method), going back in the history of the city (descriptive-historical method), then an analysis of the

city through previous research and projects with the city's current promotion mostly presented by the Tourist Organization of Belgrade (comparative method). Finally, research done on the identity of Belgrade (the comparative method is employed on quantitative and qualitative dates) is provided. Within the concluding presentation of research, two different surveys are provided. The first body of research, organized in Belgrade, was created and conducted on a sample of citizens of Belgrade, the representatives of organizations and institutions in the domains of culture, arts, tourism and marketing as well as tourists coming from Serbia and abroad. The second body of research takes results from existing data available on *Yahoo! Travel, Belgrade, Yugoslavia - Yahoo! User Ratings & Reviews*¹ and systematizes them for the purpose of this work.

The final section gives a synthesis of the research conducted in previous chapters and provides propositions for Belgrade's identity, using mostly the comparative and interpretative methods.

Finally, the outcomes of the work will be outlined in the conclusions, where once again the main initial hypothesis will be presented, along with the aim and objectives of the thesis in comparison to the outcomes.

¹ Yahoo! Travel, "Belgrade, Yugoslavia - Yahoo! User Ratings & Reviews," Yahoo! Travel, http://travel.yahoo.com/p-reviews-490636-action-read-from-1-prod-travelguide-ratings_and_reviews-i-sortorder-4:_ylt=Ai6sZbfEUHAPaW575HcSUMwKN2oL

2 CITY IDENTITY, IMAGE AND BRANDING

How does one define the identity of a city or of a metropolitan area? And how can these definitions be applied to the city of Belgrade? As those are among the key questions underlying this thesis, it would, therefore, be helpful to briefly reflect on the theories and philosophies regarding identity, and concepts related to the image and brand, generated from the fields of culturology, sociology and economy.

2. 1. City

Great cities do not arise from nothing; they are carefully nurtured, many times over centuries. The great cities of the world and their entrance into their respective golden ages have emerged from their residents believing in the city's greatness and from cultivating the elements that they believe set the city apart.

The 21st century society is in the process of a very important shift "from the nation state to the city" and therefore the "century of the city" can be initiated. According to M. Sasaki, not only are major urban centers known as "global cities" attracting attention in this process, they are standing atop the global urban hierarchy system. People are very much interested in "creative cities" that "cultivate creative arts and culture, foster and innovative economic base".²

Nowadays nearly half of the world's population lives in cities, and by 2030 the prediction is that 2 billion people will live in cities, which would represent two-third of the world's population at this time. At the same time, rapid urbanization and development creates enormous social, cultural, economic, ecological and political challenges for governments, administrations, the private sector and civil societies. Cities also find themselves in the midst of rapid changes due to the advent of the information society, which is becoming one of the main drivers behind urban change. Globalization also drives change as cities and regions are nowadays competing for human resources, investments and image on a global basis. Cities are considered the engines behind economy and major contributors to economic growth. Increasing interdependence between cities and regions through global trading must be noticed as well, while differences among traditionally industrialized countries and emerging East-European and Asian countries will diminish.

For the purpose of this research, this paper will concentrate on the definition of the city proposed by H.Reichert and J. D. Remond, F. Bianchini and D. Bazik.

² Masayuki Sasaki, "The Role of Culture in Urban Regeneration," in *Forum Barcelona 2004*, http://www.barcelona2004.org/esp/banco_del_conocimiento/docs/PO_22_EN_SASAKI.pdf

According to H. Reichert and J. D. Remond, city is defined as a place for: living, learning (education), understanding (culture), leisure (free time), maintaining good health (health care), feeling safe (security), being connected (communication), using services (administration), performing jobs and earning incomes (production), being equipped (consumption), and not being alone (solidarity).³

F. Bianchini defines a city as:

- a) an area defined by clear geographical boundaries, and endowed with certain natural characteristics;
- b) an environment shaped by human intervention, comprising infrastructures, buildings, and a designed layout of streets, squares, public and open spaces;
- c) a community of people, with particular social networks and dynamics (a society);
- d) a system of economic activities and relationships (an economy);
- e) a natural environment, a built form, a society and an economy governed by a set of principles and regulations resulting from the interaction between different political actors (a policy).⁴

In a text by D. Bazik, she describes a city's essence as a dynamic organism that produces many messages and information about space and people and lives them through time.⁵

Following the previous definitions, city development can be also defined as a process of physical development of their citizens, thus the relation between the city and the people living in it should be emphasized.

2. 2. City identity

Patience, time and cooperation among different disciplines are necessary in order to successfully define a city's identity, because of different, not coherent definitions of city identity that can be found in literature.

The first to be mentioned is K. Lynch's⁶ book *The Image of the City*, which can be regarded as classic in a city's appearance. It concerns the mental images cities hold emanating from its citizens and how the elements of physical design contribute to the formation and development of those images. He begins with the concept of the environmental image. According to him,

³ Henry Reichert and Jean Daniel Remond, *Analyse sociale de la ville* (Paris: Masson, 1980).

⁴ Franco Bianchini, "Cultural planning for urban sustainability," in *City and Culture*, ed. Louise Nyström (Karlskrona: Swedish Urban Environment Council, 1999), also available online at <http://users.skynet.be/brusselskunstenerleg/bianchini.pdf>, 1-16.

⁵ Dragana Bazik, "Scenografija gradskog prostora," in *Javna i kulturna politika- socio-kulturološki aspekt*, ed., Milena Dragičević Šešić (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2002), 125- 133.

⁶ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1970).

the image is comprised of three interrelated components: identity, structure and meaning.⁷ He named the identity component as “individuality or oneness”, and structure as the “spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects”. His research was designed to determine the physical qualities that relate to identity and structure in the mental image. He concludes that the important factor in our ability to create a mental image representative of a particular city is the city’s ‘imageability’ (alternately referred to as legibility) – the ease with which parts of a city can be recognized and organized into a coherent pattern. That is, cities that contain elements that support identity (“consistent sameness”) and structure (“discernable patterns”) have high legibility and strong mental image association.

Later on K. Lynch wrote another book on the physical environment, *What Time is This Place*, in which he names memory as the basis of self-identity, and that “group memories are supported by the stable features of the environment, which becomes a ‘spatial emblem of time’ ”. According to K. Lynch, place is an “emblem of past, present and future time”, and that “a desirable image is one that celebrates and enlarges the present while making connections with past and future”.⁸

E. Relph wrote about the term identity from a phenomenological point of view in the book *Place and Placelessness*. In the text, he underlines the interrelationship and dissimilarity among the concepts of identity “of” and identity “with”. He considers that “the identity of something refers to a persistent sameness and unity which allows that thing to be differentiated from others. However, that inherent identity is inseparable from identity with other things”.⁹ He states that the place identity is an important part of the identity of persons or groups, and determinates their experience as an insider, e.g. a resident, or an outsider, e.g. a tourist. Relph identifies the physical setting, activities, and meaning as the three basic elements of the identity of places, and linked them by a fourth, less tangible attribute “that has been variously termed ‘spirit of place’, ‘sense of place’ or ‘genius of place’ (*genius loci*)”.¹⁰ He declares that the relative significance of each of the subcomponents may be of substantial importance in establishing the identity of specific places. The identity is not only the product of previously mentioned components, but the final identity is influenced by the images that individuals and groups have for a place. An example could be a different city identity perceived by its residents living in a ghetto compared to that perceived by employees in the city’s planning department compared to that perceived by a tourist coming to a city. As a

⁷ Lynch, “The Image of the City,” 8.

⁸ Kevin Lynch, *What Time is This Place* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972).

⁹ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), 45.

¹⁰ Relph, 48.

consequence, E. Relph outlines a third class of images beyond those held by the individual or group, and named them *consensus identity images* of place. Those are common points about a place and include a type he marks as *mass identities*. Mass identities are images delegated by ‘opinion-makers’ and spread through the mass media. Relph does not agree with that form of identity, because according to him it is “based not on symbols and significances, and agreed on values, but on glib and contrived stereotypes created arbitrarily and even synthetically”.¹¹ Following the line, R. Amirous wrote about common places (*lieux communs*) that one city might have from the point of view of the culture and arts. Those common places in the memory of one city were divided into four main categories: first related to festivities (festivals, cultural events and expositions), vibrant memories- intangible heritage (ethnology, religious tourism etc.), the one related to tangible heritage (archaeology, architecture, monuments) and those of museum (nice arts, contemporary art, museums, etc.).¹² According to K. Inn, the term city identity can be technically defined as an effort to seek persistent things in the urban mutation and to bring them up as a permanent asset.¹³ G. Dematteis presumes that the city identity supposes different meanings depending on whether we adopt an internal or external viewpoint. There are four possible definitions offered on table 1.¹⁴

	External viewpoint	Internal viewpoint
Objective reference	1 IDENTIFICATION	2 IDENTITY AS SELF-ORGANIZATION
Subjective reference	3 EXTERNAL IDENTITY (MARKETING IMAGE)	4 IDENTITY AS SENSE OF BELONGING

Table 1. Identity meanings (Source G. Dematteis)

Firstly of all, he explains the source of city identity. Even if the identity of the city is seen through its external forms, it refers to urban collectivity which is expressed and is

¹¹ Relph, 58.

¹² Rachid Amirou, *Imaginaire du tourisme culturel* (Paris: Presse Universitaires de France, 2000), 9.

¹³ Kim Inn, “Plan For City Identity Establishment And City Marketing The Case Of Kimpo City,” *Publikacija oddelka za geografijo- Dela21* (2004), 233- 240.

http://www.ff.uni-lj.si/oddelki/geo/publikacije/dela/files/dela_21/024%20kim%20inn.pdf

¹⁴ Guisepe Dematteis, “Urban Identity, City Image and Urban Marketing,” in *Managing and Marketing of Urban Development and Urban Life*, ed. Gerhard O. Braun (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994), 430.

continuously expressing itself through those forms. In this perspective the identity is giving the coherence and continuity to the life of that collectivity, and is helping the city to materialize as a structured and stable set of actors and relations. However, consequently the city identity will be defined as the identity of group within the territory. If we identify the city identity as an identity of the group of people living in one territory, it will mean that they are capable of rather autonomous behavior, and that they are not just parts of a global system.¹⁵ That is accepted by different social sciences (sociology, ethnology, anthropology, urban geography and ecology), but not accepted within economic theory. In economic theory individuals that make up the city are just a “crowd” and nothing more.¹⁶ Today the city identity needs to be sought in the representations of the city as a complex system, without any strict separations, and cannot be applicable either to city as an organic collectivity, or to the city as “crowd”.

G. Dematteis noted the distinction between identification (1) and identity (2, 3, 4). It is easy to make the identification of the city, but it can be very hard to identify the city identity, since many cities today have identity crises or even a lack of identity.

To identify a city, it is enough to identify some exterior attributes, such as size, shape and geographical co-ordinates that are specific for each and every city. But, naming and recognizing the city identity is a far more complex process. To achieve the goal it is necessary to identify the set of attributes that are representing something that is similar to the personality of an individual.¹⁷

The notion of city identity as something that is self-organized is also explained in the works of G. Dematteis, B. Galland J-P. Leresche and A. Dentan. As a city is a very complex system, it can happen most of the time that a full analytical description cannot be given and as a consequence its future development is hard to predict. That denies the certainty and objectivity of conventional planning and predicts that the most realistic and effective approach to the city is the approach to the “non-banal-machine”.¹⁸ What then does a city depend on? It can be said that it depends on its rules of internal transformation/ hidden realities that are an integral part of the identity. City can be understood as interactive network

¹⁵ Dematteis, 431.

¹⁶ Giacomo Becattini, ed., *Modelli locali di sviluppo* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1989).

¹⁷ Roger Brunet and Robert Ferras, “Identité,” in *Les mots de la géographie. Dictionnaire critique*, eds. Roger Brunet, Robert Ferras and Hervé Théry (Monpellier-Paris: Reclus- La Documentation Française, 1992), 244-245.

¹⁸ Notion of “non-banal-machine” was introduced by Van Foerster. He calculated that a non-banal-machine with the 4 inputs and 4 outputs can have 10^{2466} different configurations and makes the behaviour incalculable. Dematteis, 432.

of autonomous systems, with a basis in all the connections that allow this network to act as a system. It is therefore not only the connection of sets, but also the conflicting intersections between different identities within the city.

The city is then perceived as an auto-poetic system, where identity would not be “a particular physical form in a given set of functions, but in what allows the city to continuously produce itself, modifying both its form and its function in time”.¹⁹ Also Dentan, Leresche, and Galland define a city’s identity as a sort of software or cultural algorithm, “cultural matrix that consciously or unconsciously takes part in making the structure of its development”.²⁰ Thus, city identity can be perceived as a combination of the certain great transformations and environmental characteristics behind which there could be found some invariant attributes and some persistent themes.²¹

The sense of belonging to one urban collectivity in a specific historic period is not transferable or reproducible. The image of the city as a very complex system is an image of its territory as a basis of identity, since territorial borders are one of the components distinguishing the system from the others. Simultaneously, the collectivity presents both for external and internal observers, a group of natural, cultural, tangible, intangible resources and conditions that are a legacy of history. In an internal context the urban collectivity can be perceived either as “patrimony” or “milieu”. If it is perceived as a patrimony, internal images are of a symbolic nature and are the foundations of the subjective identity. Looking more to the past than to the future, localistic closure and even internal fragmentation, rather than cohesion, are the limits of that vision. Examples of this can be found in cities such as Venice, Naples, Liverpool, or Marseille.²² On the other hand, the images based on milieu can be valorized through the competitive and cooperative interactions between urban components, or the core of city networks’ internal and external links. The images are linked by a sense of

¹⁹ Dematteis, 433.

²⁰ “...matrice culturelle qui consciemment ou inconsciemment participe à la structuration de son développement.”

Blaise Galland, Jean-Philippe Leresche and Anne Dentan, “Les identités dans la dynamiques urbaine,” in *Les faces cachées de l'urbaine*, eds. Michel Bassard and Jean-Philippe Leresche (Bern: P. Lang, 1994), 33.

²¹ The case study of Geneva where great transformations are the Reformation and the establishment of certain organizations; environmental characteristics are the lake, the quality of life; behind them are invariant attributes- universalism, tolerance, irenicism, attitude to abstraction- and recurring themes- aperture/closure, the *carrefour*, the outsider etc. in Blaise Galland, Jean-Philippe Leresche, Anne Dentan and Michel Bassard, *Identités urbaines. Genève- Lausanne : duo ou duel?* (Genève: François Meyer, "Gordon Zola", 1993).

²² A. Bourdin, “Pourquoi la prospective invente-t-elle des territoires?” *Espaces et Sociétés* 75-76 (1994): 215-236.

belonging with mobilization aimed at change. This kind of basis for images is used in the promotion of Glasgow, Antwerp, Toulouse and others.²³

In the cities of the Balkans the urban collectivity is, still, usually perceived as a patrimony, and in the background as a milieu. Thus, unfortunately, the majority of cities are identifying themselves with images of the symbolic nature. Fortunately, there are always tendencies that are moving forward and are helping the city to grow throughout the competition and cooperation between different urban components.

2. 3. Manifold of City Identity Concepts

Explaining the variety of the city identity types, M. Dragičević-Šešić names 18 of them: capital city, administrative, university city, commercial city, crossroad city, industrial city, post-industrial city, mining city, tourist city, sport resort city, historical city, cultural capital – art city, sacral city, frontier border city, multicultural city, post-multicultural city – divided city, military city, and secret city. Also, she said “this list could be much longer, and according to different resources, more profiling could and should be done when the city wants to start with creation of a new policy and new strategy of integral development, where culture is a sense-giving base to new visions and horizons”.²⁴

The defining of a city identity is a complex task both for its parameters and for the people involved. First it needs to be based on “collective memories of people, cultural heritage (built and intangible) and a vision of future”²⁵. Secondly it includes the direct cooperation between main public actors (the opinion makers, political leaders of different parties), as well as inhabitants. Myths of cities are also very important for its identity, in addition to their uses in branding and creation of city cultural policy.

There are some concepts of city identity building that could be more helpful than the others, such as the concepts that could lead to the improvement of the city identity, as flagship projects, mega event hosting ("Capital of Culture") and concept of creativity *in* and *of* the city.

²³ G. Ave and F. Corisco, eds., *Urban Marketing in Europe. International Conference* (Torino: Torino incontra, 1994).

²⁴ Milena Dragičević-Šešić, “Culture as a resource of city development,” in *The Creative City: Crossing Visions and New Realities in the Region*, ed. by Nada Švob Đokic (Zagreb: Institute for International Relations, 2006), 3.

²⁵ Dragičević-Šešić, “Culture as a resource of city development,” 2.

A- Flagship projects or extravagant buildings as the city identity pillar

Flagship projects could be of crucial importance in creating the identity. According to J. Temelova, the investment in impressive landmarks could be at the same time a tool of making images of one city and tool of promotion.²⁶

Such types of projects employ innovative styles of architecture in the world, the so-called iconic landmark building. It is modern monument, which driven by social and commercial forces and the need for instant fame, has to be an amazing piece of surreal sculpture and to appeal to a diverse audience: merging in one the provocation and feasibility. The best-known example of this type of project is the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. A city in Spain's Basque region, formerly known for its steel mills and shipyards, became, after the construction of the building, home to shiny hotels, fashionable boutiques and the kind of high-class restaurants before found only in other centers of the country, notably Madrid or Barcelona. The project became more than important for tourism as well. Still, those projects can have negative consequences on residents, businessmen and some investors, since the town became exclusively tourist oriented.

The Bilbao effect was followed by further landmark buildings in other cities, such as Graz, Innsbruck, and Porto, in buildings designed by famous architects such as Norman Foster, Peter Eisenman, Enric Miralles, Zaha Hadid, Daniel Libeskind, Renzo Piano, Will Alsop, and Rem Koolhaas.

B- One of the mega event hosted in a city – example of the "European Capital of Culture" event

From ancient times, events organized in cities have defined a city's identity. According to G. Andranovic et al., the motivation of city event organization could be the increase of opportunities for international promotion and augmentation of tourism, but the accent is on the identity component of the event and their mutual integration.²⁷

One of the events/processes that boost the city identity is the Capitals of Culture, originally called the "European City of Culture" (ECOC)²⁸. The event/process was originally conceived

²⁶ Jana Temelova, "Contemporary Buildings in City Promotion: Attributes and Foundation of High-Profile Structures. The case of Prague and Helsinki," *Research and Training Network Urban Europe* 10/2004, http://www.urban-europe.net/working/10_2004_Temelova.pdf

²⁷ Greg Andranovich, Matthew J. Burbank and Charles H. Heying, "Olympic cities: lessons learned from mega-event politics," *Journal of Urban Affairs* volume 23, number. 2 (2001): 113-131.

²⁸ Similar projects have been undertaken in Arab countries and in the United States, where from 1996 the "Arab Cultural Capital", and from 2000 in USA the "American Capital of Culture" have been organized.

as an active new tool to bring the citizens of Europe closer to each other, initiated by the former Greek Minister of Culture Melina Mercuri in 1985. It has been transformed into a year-long city festival of cultural events, focusing on their own cultural heritage and their distinctive cultural identity and vitality. The huge importance of event/process was the fact it was encouraging not only the citizens of the city, but also people from the areas around the city to come together, to celebrate their shared cultural heritage and debate the cultural direction of their continent. According to detailed *Report on European Cities and Capitals of Culture* that idea was transformed differently during the years, and the motivation of the cities to become part of the “Capital of Culture” varied from social-tourist (“to promote cultural tourism”, “to renew the city’s image”, “to make the city better known”, “to use the designation as a tool for regeneration” and “putting the city on the map”), cultural (“to develop the artistic and cultural potential of the city”, “to crown years of municipal strengthening of culture”, or “to improve the city’s cultural infrastructure”) to economic (“as part of a strategy of economic recovery”, “selling the city”).²⁹ The event/process faced many dilemmas during its planning and realization³⁰. The overall conclusion of the *Report* is that the ECOC rarely realised its goals despite unprecedented investment. Still, there are very important consequences of the ECOC such as community development³¹ and international promotion³² that were undertaken in different ways, and fostering of the European dimension of the event/process.

It can be seen that the emphasis is not so much on culture, but more on economic renewal of the city and the region itself, while still maintaining a the creative element to the event. It contributes to regeneration of culture, social inclusion, education and business. The participation of a city in this manifestation provides overwhelming city marketing on the international level, possibilities for city branding, and augmentation of tourist visits and business development. It is the event that helped the revitalization of the cities such as

²⁹ *European Cities and Capitals of Culture. Study Prepared for the European Commission. Part I*, Brussels : Palmer/Rae Associates (August 2004), 43

http://ec.europa.eu/culture/eac/sources_info/studies/pdf_word/cap_part1.pdf

³⁰ To choose between: artistic vision and political interests, traditional and contemporary culture, high-profile events and local initiatives, city centre and suburb/regional locations, “high” art and popular art/culture, established cultural institutions and independent groups and artists, attractiveness to tourists and the local population, international names and local talent, usual activities and new activities and professional and amateur/community projects.

Report on European Cities and Capitals of Culture, 54.

³¹ Resident’s inclusion (all kind of groups: young people, disabled people, unemployed, immigrant communities, Roma culture), infrastructure development.

Report on European Cities and Capitals of Culture, 61, 67-68.

³² Raising the international profile of a city, changing the image of the city (making the place much more attractive, memory and story telling), increasing tourism, in some cases changes in visitor number.

Report on European Cities and Capitals of Culture, 71, 106.

Glasgow, Bergen, Lille and many others. Parallel to that event, the "European Cultural Month", launched in 1990, occurs mainly in Central and Eastern European countries.³³

As always, such an event can bring positive as well as negative consequences to the city, seeing as in some cities, the authorities are capable of neither organizing that type of event nor reaching far bigger audiences than before. In that way they may be sending confused images of the city.

C- Concept of creative city or creative centre³⁴

In order to better define all concepts related to city identity, it is necessary to explain the concept of the term "creative city", used by C. Landry and F. Bianchini in their book *Creative cities*³⁵, and later in the consultancy of C. Landry throughout Europe. The concept of creative center was also used by R. Florida in his book "Creative Class".³⁶ However the notion of creative city or creative center can be explained in different manners, and for the purpose of this research, also, a third term, creative industries, will be added:

1. Creative cities of C. Landry and F. Bianchini;

The idealistic consultant activity of C. Landry is connected to the idea that cities need to treat their problems and develop potential creativity, and to do both in an innovative way, changing well-known paths and responding to the most recent global trends. Also, his aim is to identify, connect, "promote and sustain the creative, cultural resources that are present in every human settlement" and to create "pre-conditions for decision makers at all level to think, plan and act with the imagination and in an integrated way".³⁷ It is a kind of policy process; he advises the creative approaches to planning, economy, social inclusion, culture and local identity. The ideal result is meant to be empowering people (especially decision makers), changing the organization of a city and creating a dynamic and imaginative community.

2. The book of R. Florida and its impact

The idea of R. Florida is connected with cities and regions that attract members of the so-called creative class (highly educated people), which afterwards provide the society with the outcomes close to those of C. Landry. Still, R. Florida is avoiding the issue of attracting the

³³ "Who wants to be a European Capital of Culture?," *Locrum destination review*, <http://www.locrum-destination.com/pdf/LDR9WhoWantsToBeCap.pdf>

³⁴ The division of the concept was introduced after Mirko Petrič and Inga Tomić-Koludrović, "Creative City vs Kulturstadt: Implications of Competing Policy Formulation," in *The Emerging Creative Industries in Southeastern Europe*, ed. Nada Švob Đokić (Zagreb: Institute for International Relations, 2005).

³⁵ Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini, *Creative city* (London: Demos, 1995).

³⁶ Richard Florida, *The Rise of Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

³⁷ Charles Landry, *The Creative City: A toolkit for urban innovators* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd, 2000).

"creative class" in one society, but he insists "3T" (Technology, Talent and Tolerance) are empowering the new urban population of the creative class.

His hypothesis is that there exists a correlation between economic growth of the city and the population structure, with the general characteristics of the place. So, the cities with a larger proportion of people engaged in creative occupations and the capacity to maintain the multidimensionality of creativity³⁸ for economic purposes will make a city prosper in present-day society. In order to measure the multidimensionality of creativity, R. Florida formulated a set of parameters measuring the capability of place to generate economic activity. Creative center, the term he uses as an equivalent for C. Landry's "creative city", though with a larger meaning. Besides places that "have a high concentration of creative class people", it includes also "a high concentration of creative economic outcomes, in the form of innovation and high-tech industry growth".³⁹

3. Definition of creative industries inside the "creative city" definition

That definition of "creative city" is closely connected with the British experts' definition of creative industries. According to them, creative industries are "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property. This includes advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio".⁴⁰ Based on that definition, M. Petrić and I. Tomić-Koludrović proposed that "the creative city in this sense would be a place showing a high concentration of activities connected to the creative industries".⁴¹

Among other functions of creative industries, the social function needs to be emphasized. According to S. Jovičić and H. Mikić the creativity, intellect and imagination are the competition advantages of cities. Thus, creative industries have the capacity to renovate spatially and economically city quarters, as well whole cities and to attract new potential investors. At the same time, creative industries are influencing and sometimes strengthening the identity toward city, emotions and fantasias of residents, by books, movies, city news, and

³⁸ Multidimensionality of creativity includes technological aspect (innovation), economical aspect (entrepreneurship) and cultural and artistic aspect.

³⁹ Richard Florida, *The Rise of Creative Class*

⁴⁰ Department of Culture Media and Sport, "Creative industries," Creative industries Section, http://www.culture.gov.uk/creative_industries/

⁴¹ Mirko Petrić and Inga Tomić-Koludrović, "Creative City vs Kulturstadt: Implications of Competing Policy Formulation," 131.

music.⁴² There are examples of different types of clusters of the creative industries that are significantly changing the city image such as the Silicon Valley in San Francisco, the Milan fashion and design industry, the Hollywood film industry etc.

Among other projects that are joining the city identity and cultural industries, the important one is the UNESCO's project Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity, where the Alliance supports and promotes the cultural diversity development (including music, publishing, cinema, multimedia, crafts, design and the performing arts) in developing countries. By Alliance the cities can connect into the Network, where they can share know-how and perform together on the global market. For the moment there are nine cities appointed to the Creative City Network, and each of them is delegated for one specific field: Aswan and Santa Fe are the UNESCO Cities of Folk Art, Berlin, Buenos Aires and Montreal are the UNESCO Cities of Design, Bologna and Seville are the UNESCO Cities of Music, Edinburgh is the UNESCO City of Literature and Popayan is the UNESCO City of Gastronomy.⁴³

All presented concepts will be in different aspects present in the case study of the city of Belgrade. Some stakeholders of the city have initiated the identification of potentials for city identity in some of the mentioned directions, but it is only the beginning and further research needs to be done.

2. 4. City marketing

The concept of city marketing should not be understood as bounded on the last two decades, as contemporary society tries to present. Indeed, it is a much older phenomenon. However the area that has been best developed lately is that of the relation of the city and today's consumption society. In times of globalization, increasing mobility of people and a media driven society, city marketing has gained a lot of attention as a competing instrument with other cities and regions. Some authors are mentioning the tools used to market the city to its citizens and abroad. In one way it could be said that from this has emerged the importance of city support in the form of branding. Also sport and cultural event promotion, advertising of institutions, city websites, as well as landmark building and projects promotion, architecture and public space project support are derivations of city marketing.

⁴² Svetlana Jovičić and Hristina Mikić, *Kreativne industrije u Srbiji. Preporuke za razvoj kreativnih industrija u Srbiji* (Beograd: British Council, 2006), 28

⁴³ UNESCO, *Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity*, UNESCO, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=24468&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

To start with the economic marketing concept: an organization attempts to provide the products that satisfy customers' need through a coordinated set of activities that at the same time allows the organization to achieve its goal.⁴⁴ P. Kotler introduced the concept of societal marketing where the organizational task is to determine the needs, wants and interests of target markets and to deliver the desired satisfaction more effectively and efficiently than competitors preserving or improving the consumers' and society's well-being.⁴⁵ According to G. Ashworth and H. Voogh, city marketing is a process where urban activities are related to the demand of targeted customers in order to maximize the social and economic functioning of the area in accordance with established goals.⁴⁶

There are different approaches towards city marketing, from one side the term evokes business marketing, enlarging and recalling some of its connotation. It is that difference that can make a real distinction.

If we try to apply the 4P (product place, price and promotion) marketing system to city marketing, some important differences appear. In city marketing, the product is far less tangible than the products usually offered in marketing process. It is a product with a much wider connotation than most other products, grading from heritage to modern artifacts, economic and social organization and environmental artifacts⁴⁷ and usually many more. The product has to be of different values for different target groups and no "urban product" can be detached from its physical environment (the product of a company can be sold on its own), even if its values are changeable. Among many other differences in the section of place, very important one was made by J. Bouinot as "a fundamental difference between a town hall and a company; for the first, communal territory is the prime object of its activity; for a company (...), space only serves to support its own activity".⁴⁸ Also, place is a non-changeable element of city marketing, and even if city promoters do not like where a city lies on a map, they cannot change it.⁴⁹ A city's prices are not easily manipulated, comparing to commercial companies that can directly control the price of their product.

So, the promotional aspect of the marketing mix becomes the only one that can be almost fully used in city marketing, and its activities such as target specification, image, promotional

⁴⁴ Momčilo Milisavljević, *Marketing* (Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu-Ekonomski fakultet, 1999).

⁴⁵ Phillip Kotler, *Marketing Management: analysis, planning, and control* (London: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 29.

⁴⁶ Gregory J. Ashworth and H. Voogh, *Selling the city: marketing approaches in public sector urban planning* (London, New York: Belhaven Press, 1990).

⁴⁷ Johan G. Borchert, "Urban Marketing : A review," in *Managing and Marketing of Urban Development and Urban Life*, ed. Gerhard O. Braun (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994).

⁴⁸ Jean Bouinot, "Urban marketing in France," in *Urban Marketing in Europe - International Conference*, eds. Ave, G. and Corsico, F. (Torino: Incontra, Torino, 1992), 177.

⁴⁹ Borchert, 419

strategy, and response monitoring. In city marketing promotional strategies are dependant on complex and overlapping target groups on whom the city authorities will concentrate their effort.⁵⁰

In previous decades SWOT analyses were the source of knowledge required in the task. In the 21st century, SWOT analyses are simply a starting point in a complex process that studies territorial dynamics and endowments, urban identity and image of internal and external factors, and their consequent urban transformations.⁵¹

Therefore, city marketing is understood as a detailed communication strategy that includes the production of images directed both to external actors and internal components, necessary for the functioning of the city; it can be described as a complex network that reflexively represents itself in order to reproduce. In order to be effective, the images of urban marketing must represent urban identity in following meanings: “a) as an organization or domain of the possible connections between its components, b) as empathy or belonging of these components to the city, c) as the integration of external values in the process of production of the city”. As it is explained, those variables need to interact in the process of the production of the city: “the (b) images are necessary in order to produce (a), which in turn has to produce (c)”.⁵² Still, usually it happens that the variables of marketing strategies do not interact properly, and make pure advertising or elitist conformism⁵³ as the result of their interaction.

Image role in city marketing

Image and image-building are important parts of both external and internal marketing processes; within external marketing positioning is particularly important in terms of its competition, and in internal marketing it takes shape in the identification of residents with the city, both consciously and in the building of civic pride.

According to J. Ashworth and H. Voogd, three kinds of place images are central in place marketing: residential image, entrepreneurial image and tourist image. Also, the links between those images are important as well, and can overlap.⁵⁴

Definition of image can be found in the first five definitions listed in Webster’s Dictionary⁵⁵:

⁵⁰ Peter Sjøholt, “The city of Bergen. Image and Marketing,” in *Managing and Marketing of Urban Development and Urban Life*, ed. Gerhard O. Braun (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994), 454.

⁵¹ Dematteis, 430

⁵² Dematteis, 434.

⁵³ Strategy of elite relegates all other social components to a role of passive adaptation.

⁵⁴ Gregory J. Ashworth and H. Voogh, *Selling the city: marketing approaches in public sector urban planning* (London, New York: Belhaven Press, 1990).

⁵⁵ Webster’s Online Dictionary, “Definition of Image,” Webster’s Online Dictionary, <http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org/definition/image>

Image

- 1. an imitation or representation of a person or thing*
- 2. the visual impression of something produced by reflection from a mirror*
- 3. a person or thing very much like another; copy; counterpart*
- 4. a mental picture of something; conception; idea; impression*
- 5. the concept of a person, product, institution, etc. held by the general public, often one deliberately created or modified by publicity, advertising, propaganda, etc*

Concentrating on the fifth definition of image, an image can be also be constructed of urban places or cities. It is a difficult concept to construct, as cities undoubtedly have many attributes, values and mental associations and unfortunately, images constructed in such a way, usually become the simplified stereotypes of presented urban places, instead of a transformation into a rich communication tool comprised of deep experiences and emotions.

3 PLACE BRAND

In a globalized world, each place must compete with others for its share of the world's wealth, talent, and attention. This is similar to the way a notable company, a famous city, region or country finds it much easier to sell its products and services at a profit, recruit the best people, attract visitors, investment and events, move in the right circles, and play a prominent and useful part in world affairs. Idealistic city branding supposes that a place's reputation needs to be built on the qualities that are positive, attractive, unique, sustainable and relevant to many different people around the world. Also, for that projection of city branding, a place brand strategy determines the most realistic, most competitive and most compelling strategic vision for the city, region, or country, and ensures that this vision is supported, reinforced and enriched by every act of investment and communication between that place and the rest of the world.

As it can be seen, the concept of city identity is close to the concept of place/city branding. The concept of city identity can sometimes be regarded as a subsection of city branding, as a tool for city branding in accomplishment of the city's branding goals, but it is more ethical to use the notion of the city identity in a larger context where branding becomes only one of its parts. That final meaning will be used in this paper.

It might be easier, though still rather complex in its construction, to say that place branding is merely the application of the product branding process to places. A problem arises in that it is still necessary to explain the product branding and the brand itself.

Even the brand itself has many definitions and there is no one official accepted definition. It is easier to say what the brand is not, than to say what the brand is. A brand is more than identifying a name given to a product and more than a synonym for a single memorable slogan. Surely slogans and logos might be instruments of branding, but they are not the brand itself, and the places do not obtain a new identity only because of a slogan or logo.⁵⁶ They are the consequence of and not a cause for branding.

⁵⁶ Mihalis Kavaratzis and Gregory J. Ashworth. "City Branding: An Effective Assertion of Identity or a Transitory Marketing Trick?" *Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, Vol. 96, No. 5 (2005), 511-512, www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2005.00482.x

Thus, brand can be explained, according to C. Simoes and K. Dibb, as a set of physical and socio-psychological attributes and beliefs⁵⁷, and according to G. Hankinson and P. Cowking as “a product or service made distinctive by its positioning relative to the competition and by its personality, which comprises a unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values”⁵⁸.

M. Kavaratzis and G. J. Ashworth differentiate three different sorts of place branding, those conducted by different types of producers for different objectives. The first is identified as geographical nomenclature, the second is product-place co-branding and the third and most interesting for this paper, branding as place management.

Geographical nomenclature provides the name of a geographical location to a product. The most famous example is the sparkling wine ‘Champagne’. It is a copyrighted brand name that legally prevents other places from producing a product with the same name for a similar product. The product should not have any purposeful attempt to link the supposed attributes of the place to the product, and gets nothing from the named place. The place stands here only as the locus of production.

The next two types involve tourism promoters and city stakeholders that are selecting and modifying the product in order to create their own “geographical nomenclature”.

Co-branding of products and places is very common among physical products and achieves the goal of marketing a physical product by associating it with a place that is supposed to have attributes beneficial to the product image. They quote an example of ‘Swiss watches’, where the aim is to transfer “the qualities of reliability, fastidiousness and meticulousness assumed to be associated with the Swiss people or the country Switzerland, to watches for which these are assumed to be desirable attributes.” That can be dangerous as well since potential consumers can associate the product to other presumed characteristics of the Swiss, such as “parsimony, parochialness and creative dullness.”⁵⁹

Third, place branding is defined as a form of place management, where place management depends upon changing perception of the place by specified user groups, it is a creation of distinguished and recognizable place identity and constant and further usage of that identity to other processes, either “financial investment, changes in user behavior or generating political

⁵⁷ Cláudia Simões and Sally Dibb, “Rethinking the Brand Concept: New Brand Orientation,” *Corporate Communications: An International Journal* 6 (2001), 217–224, <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/10.1108/13563280110409854>

⁵⁸ Graham Hankinson and Philippa Cowking, *Branding in Action* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1993), 10.

⁵⁹ Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 512.

capital.”⁶⁰ The third type of place branding is deeper than the creation and promotion of place images, it is an original and nonreplicable value creation.

3. 1. How Place Becomes a Brand?

Applying the product branding process to places, it can easily be assumed that places possess the necessary characteristics of identity, specificity and personality and that all those characteristics can be used to maximize and position value and awareness. There is fortunately still no formula invented, even though many pro-branding oriented experts are trying to present their easy-to-apply scheme as a boilerplate, presenting the proposals of how city becomes the brand and how to diminish the negative obstacles of that process.

Thus, according to *Place brands*, almost all cities need to start with the identification of the purpose and potentials of the future brand, which would help cities align the message that the city may have already been focusing on. At the same time the potentials of a city’s brand can be seen in releasing the talent of the people who live there, motivating investors and enhancing its international reputation. The second important factor in city branding is realistic and contemporary image building, then presenting it in a simple, motivating and memorable way. Furthermore it is important that a sustainable vision of the future is formulated and that the people living in the city are encouraged to develop their talents and skills. It is a story of creativity and innovation, translating the complex place into a new, purposeful, distinctive and effective strategy. Finally, developing an appropriate place brand strategy and implementing it takes time and effort, while being supervised by experts, with the hopes of bringing about tangible and intangible long-term advantages.⁶¹ In other words, city branding is a constant effort so that a city can overcome the status of its commodity- a city, and becomes a brand-the city.

Following that path, D. Aaker names the eight factors that could be main obstacles of branding, which can be applied to city branding as well. Among external factors, included are price pressure, proliferation of competitors, fragmented markets and media and complex branding strategies and brand relationships. The internal factors are the temptation to change identity, bias against innovation, pressure to invest elsewhere and pressures for short-term

⁶⁰ Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 511- 512.

⁶¹ Placebrands, “The Principles of Place Branding,” Placebrands, <http://www.placebrands.net/principles/principles.html>

results. Ironically, many of these obstacles come from internal forces that brand builders could easily control.⁶²

Brand management specialists and development policy are usually engaged in order to create a new discipline with equal emphasis on visionary strategy and hands-on implementation. As a successful place not only presumes the application of disciplines and techniques from commercial branding, but also new leadership and partnership development practices, a creative approach to established methods of international relations, diplomacy, and policy making.

Media plays an important role in the branding process as well. It is a crucial branding instrument for the purpose of city brand initiation, creation, establishment and sustainability. Branding is not just the slogan, logo and their presentation, it is a campaign that acts as a communication tool of the city's characteristics to potential users and consumers. Since the media operates in the building of a system of values and taste orientation, it is usually from various media outlets that potential tourists, visitors and stakeholders become informed about a city, while at the same time it communicates a vital message to the citizens of that city.

3. 2. For / Against Place Branding

Still, sustainability of city branding and its construction/destruction of city identity, quality of value adding process, relation of branded product to branded city and the ethnicity of the place brand are only some issues, mostly coming from the anti-branding oriented authors that have arisen parallel to pro-branding theories.

So, what are benefits of city branding for the city itself, and what does a city lose and gain in that process? An asset of branding can be found in the fact that a branded city gets, among other benefits, fame, popularity, a sense of belonging in its citizens and income in today's consumption oriented world. Though, from the other perspective, the branding of a city focuses on a few characteristics and many other important factors, which may seem less desirable at that moment, are lost, some of them forever. So, when the consumer (in this case residents, tourists, stakeholders etc) comes to a branded city, he or she thinks that there is not a large palette of offerings, but rather they desire only what is offered.

It is also the value adding process that makes polemics. According to B. Heilbrun, the value is not a permanent inherent characteristic, since it can have different values for different

⁶² David A. Aaker, *Building Strong Brands* (New York: Free Pr,1996).

purposes, in different times, for various people and in many conditions.⁶³ So, the question arises, even if we have many experts in a team, how can we be sure that the place receives the best possible added value(s)? It can surely be problematic to brand a city if the brand is composed only of the attributes chosen in one particular moment, the attributes that are believed to be best for the city. Left in the air are the questions of mistakes made in judgement of the characteristics and what happens to lost or ignored characteristics in process of branding. One possibility is that brand remains changeable, but that is relatively impossible. To avoid that problem some pro-branding oriented writers chose the method of 'holistic' branding as a solution.

Questions regarding ethics are also important and for the branding process there are answers from both sides. According to R. Belk, the ethics' problem might be best presented in the case of Las Vegas, the paradigm of consumption society. One sees Las Vegas as the modern Babylon of sin and luxury, others celebrate it as a temple city of the American dream. However, the use of the name "sin city" to describe it has obvious differing perspectives.⁶⁴ As a postmodernist city, Las Vegas is a city where the added value is an escape from reality or hyperrealistic fantasies, future of utopia, playing with myths of our society, dilution even in terms of geographic position, with all sorts of easy divertissements, a magic that never ends, or at least it is planned to be like that. The pro-branding writers would say that everyone gets what he or she wants, but is that only a brand excuse or an adequate answer? Since the Las Vegas brand makes all dreams come true, a person comes into one specific state of mind, becomes a person without dreams, and subsequently has a feeling of being sad and lonely⁶⁵. In Las Vegas can be found all the things that a person wants and he or she loses hope that was before a leitmotif in one's life, making that hopelessness deeper than it is in modern cities.

Similar dilemmas can be found in the branding of urban landscape throughout the world, a trend that has come about in recent decades. According to N. Klein⁶⁶, that particular type of branding overwhelms public and private buildings, public transportation and cabs with

⁶³ Benoa Heilbrun, "U potrazi za skrivenim (DO) (B) (OG)(R) (OM)," in *Apokalipsa i marketing*, ed. Stephen Brown, Jim Bell and David Carson (Beograd: Clio, 2003), 145-146

⁶⁴ Rassel V. Belk, "O auri, iluziji, bekstvu i nadi u apokaliptičnu potrošnju- Apoteoza Las Vegasa," in *Apokalipsa i marketing*, ed. Stephen Brown, Jim Bell and David Carson (Beograd: Clio, 2003), 107-108.

⁶⁵ Rassel V. Belk, 126.

That very idea is successfully developed in book "History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters" by Julian Barnes, where after his death, the narrator was on heaven where he could have everything he wanted. Immediately, he started to go shopping luxuries, made obscene scenes, did hero's deeds and participated in many breathtaking adventures. After, he won in all competitions, seduced of all the women he met, did all the successful deeds, he started to be bored and he realised that he had no more dreams, nothing to hope for.

Julian Barnes, *Istorija sveta u 10 ½ poglavlja* (Beograd: GeoPoetika, 1994).

⁶⁶ Naomi Klein, *No Logo* (Beograd: B92 Samizdat, 2003).

corporate messages from super-national brands such as Levi's, YSL, Coca-Cola, and many others. Still, someone can argue that this type of branding is common, providing significant income for cities, but there is always a danger when whole parts of a city or even a city as an entity becomes branded by corporations. An example of city being influenced by product branding was noted in the renovation of poor quarters, as in Los Angeles⁶⁷, where large corporations are naming those renovated quarters after their brands, neglecting the previous *genius* of the newly branded place. It is only the beginning, and many of them can count on an even more powerful role in the society in coming years. For the 'Celebration' town in Florida, better known as 'Disney town'⁶⁸, that situation is already reality, the place where brand became real life, and thus accomplishes one of the goals of branding products. The illusion is complete since the citizens are living in a controlled environment completely realized without any brand, presenting at the same time a brand controlled museum-city without any brands. It is very negotiable where the future of cities lies and how to prevent a brand from overwhelming a whole city. Among other reasons is that this vision of reality is devastating real urban centers, the 'non-Disney' version of public space, and is at the same time influencing the consciousness of people living in both societies in different ways naturally. In some ways, as N. Klein emphasizes, in these cases even the citizens' rights are affected.⁶⁹ Sometimes, it seems that brands know no limits, and the society needs to react to protect the citizens, to react before cities become alike among themselves and lose their identity.

3. 3. Some Examples of Branded Cities

Along with the descriptions of Las Vegas and Celebration as examples of problematic branding and troubles that city branding can provoke, it is necessary to name cities that are branded differently and with more success. Among others, the examples of Paris, New York, Amsterdam, Salzburg and Bilbao⁷⁰ need to be mentioned.

With its history, architecture and culture of living, Paris has great branding advantages. Also, it is a city that built its brand on the fashion industry, manufacture of luxury articles and tourism. It is an example of a holistic city brand that persistently and continuously promotes its unique personality, culture, people, history, economy, attractions and values. *La Ville des*

⁶⁷ Klein, 67.

⁶⁸ Eventhough Dysney sold the town and the downtown area to Lexin Capital, a private real estate investment firm in 2004.

⁶⁹ Klein, 240.

⁷⁰ Even though Bilbao has some troubles with internal branding.

Lumières (City of Lights) obtained its name as an honor to its intellectual pre-eminence, its appearance and its ‘cosmopolitanism’ –city life as an art form. After been named City of Lights, city authorities increased the number of lights, thus presenting the best qualities of the city at night. Its roughly 155 monuments are lit in the evening, together with 11,000 street lights.⁷¹ Thus, Paris successfully made its brand on the combination of beauty and light, a brand that is supported both internally and externally.

On the other hand, New York City exploits the slogan **I ♥ NY**, initially created for the state branding of State of New York in 1970 as a promotional tool during years of fiscal crisis. According to R. Landa, the slogan is still one of the most recognized and successful campaigns in the history of great emotional branding.⁷² The process of branding the city of New York receives great support from its residents, city authorities and public opinion leaders, especially after September 11th, when a great sense of unity between the city and its residents was created and when many shop windows and accessories were adorned with this slogan. It was the brand of New York that all New Yorkers could agree on.⁷³ Still, it seems that this campaign by NYC was not as dominant as the campaigns of some other US cities (Las Vegas, Tampa, Atlanta, and Kansas City) have been. However, the type of slogan of New York was re-used many times by European cities all around the world (London, Paris, Berlin, San Francisco etc.) and became a logo for all different kind of products. Following that path, the city of Belgrade reused the logo of NYC, transforming it to **I ♥ BG**.

A recently organized campaign for the city of Amsterdam, with the slogan *I amsterdam*, is to some extent a campaign that sprang from the marketing of NYC, but it in its own right it has been very successful. It is a slogan where an added value is directly combined with a motto that has become the brand of the city. The *I amsterdam* manifesto helps to explain the city’s identity, while simultaneously building a sense of pride in its citizens and cementing their identification to the city itself.⁷⁴ The branding of this slogan has been applied throughout the city and can be found on public buses, private buildings, parks, city PR and marketing material, as well as on many unexpected places such as garbage cans, public toilets, coffee mugs, buttons, etc.

⁷¹ Britannica Intermediate Encyclopedia. p.230

⁷² Robin Landa, Advertising by Design: Creating Visual Communications with Graphic Impact. (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2004), 28.

⁷³ Kate Stohr, “I Sell New York,” *The Gotham Gazette. New York City News and Policy* (2003), <http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/issueoftheweek/20030315/200/312>

⁷⁴ I amsterdam ,”*I amsterdam* manifesto”, I amsterdam, <http://www.iamsterdam.nl/>

One of the best examples of branding a city after a single world-famous personality is the city of Salzburg, where the identity and brand of the city is constructed around the personality of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. As Mozart's birthplace, the city uses the fascination surrounding his "intangible heritage" in all aspects of the city itself; from the city's motto *Die Bühne der Welt* (The Stage of the World)⁷⁵, the Salzburg Festival, many types of artistic exhibitions and even extending to product names, such as "Mozart-Kugeln" sweets.

In the transformation of Bilbao one can see also the brand building process. Bilbao was a small Basque city in Spain, little known outside of the country until 1998/99, when the internationally recognized architect Frank Gehry designed and built a museum for the Guggenheim Foundation. With this a 'Bilbao' brand was created and today the city attracts several thousand tourists every year. 80 percent of the tourists coming to the city report that they came explicitly for the Guggenheim, and since the completion of Gehry's stunning edifice more than 6 million visitors have seen it.⁷⁶ At the same time, there is also a negative aspect of the Bilbao effect. As the city's brand and tourist offer is centered on one specific building, and for that matter an art museum, it finds itself attracting a specific group of visitors (art and architecture enthusiasts), thus possibly turning away the potential for other types of visitors and investors. Furthermore, this construction may not represent the true character of the city and its residents throughout its history and in turn may change the natural course of its future.

Still, in the Balkans, the city branding is not systematically employed as a practice for a moment due to mainly unstable political and economic situation, but will probably become important feature very soon. For the moment, one of few cities promoting its brand in the region is the city of Novi Sad and the brand is recently established, but already very famous, music festival EXIT.

As the abovementioned indicates, city branding is not only a complex theoretical process, but it also creates challenges in terms of value orientation and practical realization. These might be the most important components, those being the components that strongly influence the city brand success and its future.

⁷⁵Salzburg. Stage of the world, <http://www2.salzburg.info/>

⁷⁶ Gordon T. Anderson, "The Milwaukee effect," *CNN Money* (2004), http://money.cnn.com/2004/08/04/pf/goodlife/bilbao_effect/index.htm

4 DEFINITION OF BELGRADE

*I cometh and found the noblest burgh from ancient times, the grand town of Belgrade, by sorry fate destroyed and nearly void. Having rebuilt it, I consecrated it to the Holy Mother of God.*⁷⁷

Despot Stefan Lazarević

One of the most important issues in defining a city identity is the definition of the city itself. For the purpose of this thesis, I will start with the definition of Belgrade, the often used interpretation found in scientific literature about Belgrade, which is most of the time historically oriented⁷⁸. Commonly, Belgrade is described as a city situated in South-Eastern Europe, on the Balkan Peninsula, lying at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers. River waters surround it from three sides, which is why since ancient times the city was the guardian of both river passages and river passages were the guardians of the city.

4.1. Belgrade History In-Between the East and the West

Belgrade is a city with a very turbulent history, and is one of the oldest cities in Europe with the history dating back nearly 7000 years. Much space and time could be used to explore the details of Belgrade's history, so, for the purpose of this research only the more significant events that have marked Belgrade's development will be presented.

PREHISTORIC PERIOD. The territory around the Sava and Danube rivers, was settled from the prehistoric-paleolithic period. It is confirmed by the excavations that Belgrade area has been continually inhabited and that the intensity of the settling has been increasing during its history. Human skeletons dating back to early Stone Age have been found in different parts of Belgrade, in the stone-pit near Leštane, in a cave in Čukarica and near the Bajloni market. The remains of the late Stone Age culture have been found in Vinča, Žarkovo and in Upper Town of Kalemegdan, above the Sava and Danube confluence. A huge number of settlements of our time in Belgrade surroundings and in Belgrade itself lies upon the layers of earlier prehistoric settlements and historic settlements. One of most important of the prehistoric settlements near

⁷⁷ Konstantin Filozof, *Žitije despota Stefana Lazarevića* (Beograd: Prosveta - Srpska književna zadruga, 1989).

⁷⁸ Vasa Čubrilović, ed., *Istorija Beograda 1. Stari, srednji i novi vek* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1974).

Vasa Čubrilović, ed., *Istorija Beograda 2. Devetnaesti vek* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1974).

Vasa Čubrilović, ed., *Istorija Beograda 3. Dvadeseti vek* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1974).

Zdravko Antonović, ed., *Istorija Beograda* (Beograd: Balkanološki insitut SANU i Izdavačka kuća Draganić, 1995).

Belgrade is in Vinča, where fragments of one of the first houses on the European territory can be found, and where we can trace some of first primitive urban European settlements.

The Illyrians were present as well in that area in the Bronze Age. The excavation of that time in Karaburma, Rospri Ćuprija, Upper Town of Kalemegdan Fortress, Zemun and Vinča confirm the hypotheses that the Belgrade area has been intensively settled.

ANTIQUITY. The Thracian-Cimmerians and Scythians were crossing this area in approximately 600 B.C. and Celts in the 3rd century B.C. According to scholars, the Celtic tribe, the Scordiscs, founded a city known as Singidunum. It was mentioned for the first time in 279 B.C as a fortified place. The only traces of the Celtic town were necropolises found in Karaburma and Rospri Ćuprija. Celtic cultural influences were mixed later with Roman classical cultural elements.

Belgrade was conquered by the Romans in the beginning of 1st century A.D. and it was under their rule for four hundred years. Fragments have been found in the Square of the Republic and other locations. The settlement was flourishing in 86 A.D., when the IV Legion of Flavious arrived, when the first stone fortress in Upper Town was built. The fragments are visible even today, but in those times the castrum was square-shaped and situated in the area of today's Upper Town of Kalemegdan. Besides Kalemegdan, another important no longer existing fortress was Taurunum, built on the opposite side of the river in today's Zemun. Both Singidunum and Taurunum were important military points in Roman limes.

During its Roman history, Singidunum gained municipal rights in 2nd century during the rule of Emperor Hadrian, and the 3rd century was the center of the Christian diocese. During the time of *municipia* the military importance of the settlement was even higher, especially when Emperor Aurelian left Dacia and Upper Moesia gaining new empire's borders along the right bank of the Danube. Some time later, the Roman Emperor Flavius Jovianus was born in Singidunum.

During that period Singidunum was a quite large settlement with a rectilinear base, with streets crossing at right angles. That urban base is preserved until today, and as a proof we can see the orientations of the Uzun Mirkova Street, Dušanova Street and Kralja Petra I Street and in the Student's Square where fragments of a former Roman forum with thermae were found. In that time a bridge over the Sava was built connecting Singidunum and Taurunum, a bridge that was part of an important Roman road in that very area.

Singidunum was a significant crossroad for the Roman provinces of Moesia, Dacia, Pannonia and Dalmatia. Different roads passing throughout Belgrade, such as the military road - Via

Militaris, going through Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), Singidunum and Viminacium (Kostolac), to Byzantium and the road linking the miner's settlements on Avala, Kosmaj and Rudnik.

After the division of the Roman Empire into the Western and Eastern part in 395, Singidunum became a border town of the Byzantine Empire- Eastern Roman Empire. That position later influenced Singidunum as it became a linking point of various cultural influences and an important communication point.

While the disintegration of the West Roman Empire was followed by an invasion of barbarians, the Eastern part lived through this period quite peacefully. But, as it stood on one of the border-limes settlements, Belgrade was frequently attacked and destroyed. The history of settlement's destruction started. The Huns conquered and completely destroyed it in 441/2, later on the Sarmants and the Eastern Goths captured it. In the meantime, it was part of the Byzantine Empire. In 512, the Roman Emperor Anastasius settled the German tribes Heruli near the Singidunum, in order to help the Byzantine Empire to defend the settlement Gepidaes.

The traces of that period were found in the ruins on the west side of the Lower Roman Town in Kalemegdan. In 535, during the rule of Byzantine Emperor Justinian I, the town was rebuilt and fortified.

SLAVS AND BELGRADE. At the end of the 6th century, Avars, the Mongol tribes came into Belgrade's surroundings, together with the first groups of the Slavs. The tribes conquered the town after two sieges. After that town was destroyed the name Singidunum disappeared and it has never appeared again in the whole history. The fragments of the Slavic culture of that period have been found in Lower Town and Upper Town of Kalemegdan, Zemun, Ritopek and Višnjica.

A permanent settlement of Serbian settlers in Belgrade happened around 630. After that time the town became part of Slav territory. Archaeologists have confirmed that the town remained continuously inhabited, even though there are no records about its residents for more than 250 years.

Next date, very important for Belgrade, is April 16, 878, when the town was founded for the first time under the Slavic name Beograd- meaning the White Town. Was it because the city was made of white stone or because the migrants of conquerors saw Belgrade as a shiny spot on the top of the mountain? The historical fact is that the name was found in a letter of Roman Pope John VIII to Bulgarian Prince Boris-Mihailo.

The following centuries of Belgrade's history were turbulent as well. The Franks' army destroyed the Avars under the command of Charles the Great. In that time, the Taurunum ruins were rebuilt and a new Frank settlement was founded Malevia. After the re-conquering of the Slavs the settlement was named to Zemln (Zemun). Until the 11th century Belgrade has changed masters innumerable times. Bulgaria, Hungary and the Byzantine Empire fought for Belgrade during the 11th and 12th centuries. Belgrade was the passage of the Crusades to the East in 1096, 1147 and 1189 (led by Frederick Barbarossa), and in the first two campaigns the town was destroyed.

BEGRADE AS A SERBIAN FORTRESS. The first time Belgrade was under Serbian rule was from 1284 when Serbian King Dragutin was vassal and son-in-law of the Hungarian King Ladislav IV, who was given rule over Mačva and Belgrade. That period saw an intensive influx of the Serbian population and an increasing influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The court of Prince Dragutin was in Belgrade. After Dragutin's death, his brother Milutin ruled for a short time over Belgrade, but the town was re-conquered and destroyed by the Hungarians.

When the Turks, as a new military force, appeared in Europe, the Hungarian empire gave Belgrade to Despot Stefan Lazarević and allowed its reconstruction. His rule, from 1403 until 1427, was a time of a genuine prosperity of the town. Not only was it the capital of the state, but it also served as an important trade, cultural and religious center since he dedicated the city to the Mother of God. Newly erected buildings were: the Despot's Palace, the Metropolitan Church, a new fortress (citadel), a hospital and a library. It was a city that had about 40-50,000 inhabitants. Despot Stefan Lazarevic left the city description:

*I cometh and found the noblest burgh from ancient times, the grand town of Belgrade, by sorry fate destroyed and nearly void. Having rebuilt it, I consecrated it to the Holy Mother of God.*⁷⁹

BELGRADE AS A TURKISH – AUSTRIAN TOWN. After Despot Stefan Lazarević passed away, his successor Đurađ Branković surrender by force the town to Hungarians. They ruled the town for a hundred years.

Since Belgrade was one of greatest obstacles to the Turkish campaign towards Central Europe, they came in front of the walls of the Belgrade fortress in 1440, after the fall of

⁷⁹ Konstantin Filozof, *Žitije despota Stefana Lazarevića* (Beograd: Prosveta - Srpska književna zadruga, 1989).

Smederevo. That siege was unsuccessful for the Turkish army, but the siege under the command of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, a legendary siege in Belgrade's history, on August 28, 1521 ended with the conquest of Belgrade. The town was destroyed and burnt to the ground. In 1594, the relics of Saint Sava were burned on Vračar.⁸⁰ As the borders of Turkish Empire moved to the north, Belgrade developed into a prosperous oriental city bigger than ever before in its history. For 167 years it was as a rather peaceful city gaining importance in commercial and communication functions. The city became the crossroads of merchants and craftsmen from Dubrovnik, Venice, Greece and Austria, for the Turks, Armenians, Gypsies and Serbs. The zenith of the city's progress in the Turkish period was in the 17th century, when it became the second-largest city in the empire, behind Istanbul, with a population of 100,000.

At the end of the 17th century, the history of Belgrade became turbulent again. The city underwent a period of changing rulers, from Austrians to Turks and vice versa.

The description of Belgrade by a famous Turkish traveler from the 17th century, Evlija Čelebija, is well-known in the history of Belgrade when Belgrade was described then as a town with 35 mosques.

In 1717, Belgrade was conquered again by the Austrians, led by Prince Eugene of Savoy. It is an important event of Belgrade's history because a new fortress, constructed according to the modern military architecture, was built on Kalemegdan, on the site of the completely destroyed Turkish fortress. It was Nicolas Docsat de Morez, the first designer of the European Belgrade, who made a plan for that fortress. At the same time, many other buildings were constructed. The city was completely transformed during Austrian rule from 1717 until 1739. Loosing its Turkish and Oriental characteristics it became real European city.

Then in 1739 the city was re-conquered by the Turks and demolished again. This time the demolishers were both Turks and Austrian. It was a part of the agreement that Austrians would destroy the modern fortress and the town, because they did not want to leave their buildings to the Turks. Again, Belgrade became the border town of the Ottoman Empire and a city with Oriental characteristics.

On the other side of the river lay the city of Zemun, a flourishing Austrian border city, which had a special status within the region of the military border. This status allowed it to develop trade, crafts, shipping and fishing. Many new buildings were erected: forts, churches, state

⁸⁰ In the beginning of 20th century on that spot (or very near) the church of Saint Sava started to be constructed. Its construction is near to be finished.

buildings, the Serbian elementary school, but also the private houses of Karamata, Ičko and Dimitrije Davidović date to that period.

The end of the 18th century was very hard for Belgrade as it was a period of total anarchy, violence and robberies. The Austrians unsuccessfully tried to conquer Belgrade with help from the Serbs, the janissaries were forbidden entrance to the Belgrade Pashalik (district), and after killing Moustapha-pasha in 1801, the janissaries established their own rule over the town and its surrounding, and the pick of the period was the slaughter of the knezes and other famous Serbs. All those events were the cause for organizing the rebellion.

BELGRADE AS A CITY IN SERBIA. A new period in Belgrade's history started in 1804 with the First Serbian Insurrection, led by Karadorđe and organized as a reaction to the previous period. During the First Serbian Insurrection, Belgrade was conquered on January 8, 1806. The city was in ruins, and became the political, economic, trade and cultural center. In that period, the Praviteljstvujušči Sovjet (Serbian government) had its meeting in Belgrade, in 1811 the first ministries were established there and the Great School was established in Belgrade in 1808. From 1813 to 1815, the city was again conquered by the Turks. In 1815, Prince Miloš Obrenović introduced diplomacy and helped the population to move from southern parts to Belgrade. Turks resided in the fortress, and the Serbian population lived in its surrounding. It was the time when buildings such as the Residence of Princess Ljubica, the Cathedral, and the Palace complex in Topčider were built.

But the presence of the Turkish army in the Kalemegdan fortress was a great obstacle to the development of Belgrade. After the event at the Čukur fountain⁸¹, a bombing of Belgrade by the Turks, negotiation started and after 346 years the Turks left Belgrade on April 18, 1867. That was the time when Belgrade became again the capital of Serbia. Belgrade then started to develop culturally and economically. The first urbanistic plan of Belgrade was made by Emilian Joksimović in 1867, and with that plan Knez Mihailova Street took a central position in the city. Beside the old crafts, industry was introduced, traffic was improved by the construction of the Belgrade- Niš railway in 1884, the city received electricity, trams, a steamboat society and important scientific and cultural institutions (the University in 1863, the National Theatre in 1869.). The railway construction and river port building on Sava fostered a return of Belgrade to the rivers, but unfortunately it did not last for a long time, while Oriental area- Dorćol, started to loose its former importance.

⁸¹ Event when the Serbian boy was killed beside the Čukur fountain by a Turkish soldier.

More bloody years in Belgrade were experienced at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1903 a military coup was organized, when Prince Aleksandar Obrenović and his wife Draga Mašin were brutally killed in their palace on Terazije square. Oddly, after that event, Serbia named its first constitutional monarch, from a different dynasty - King Petar I Karađorđević.

During World War I, Belgrade was bombed again, this time for four months. The bombing was followed by the entering of the Austrian army in Belgrade on December 2, 1914. However the army stayed in Belgrade for a very short time, only 13 days. New attacks were organized between October 6 and 7, 1915, led by the field marshal Mackensen. The Austrians ruled the city for 3 years, until the November 1, 1918. One very important feature left from the Austrian period is a very special monument erected by field-marshal Rudolf von Mackensen in a green area of Belgrade, in Košutnjak, a monument erected to the glory of his enemies "brave Serbian fighters".⁸²

One month after the deliberation, on December 1, 1918 Belgrade became the capital of the newly-created Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes led by king Aleksandar I Karađorđević. At that time Zemun became part of same country, something that had happened rarely in the previous history. The expansion of Belgrade started toward Avala, Košutnjak, Čukarica and the Danube, also many buildings were constructed in the old city center.

On March 25, 1941, the country joined the Axis powers, but the consequences were a coup d'etat, and mass protests of the people. A few days later, on April 6 and 7, 1941 Belgrade was terribly bombed by the German air force. The result was terrible: 2,274 people were killed, with numerous wounded, thousands of buildings lightly or heavily damaged and the National Library was completely burned down. Belgrade spent four years under German domination. The next bombing of World War II the one was led by Allied forces in the spring and autumn of 1944, when 1,160 citizens lost their lives and many residential areas and public buildings were demolished, as well as all the bridges on the Sava and Danube. The liberation of Belgrade occurred on October 20, 1944, led by the units of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and the Red Army.

Consequences of the war were present in Belgrade's memory in post-war period, when the city slowly began recovering and started the reconstruction process from the war. That time

⁸² The speech of the Mayor Dragutin Gavrilović to defenders of Belgrade in World War I, can illustrate the spirit of the army of that time: "Soldiers! Heroes! The supreme command has erased our regiment from its records. Our regiment has been sacrificed for the honor of Belgrade and the Fatherland. Therefore, you no longer have to worry for your lives - they do not exist anymore. So, forward to glory! For King and country! Long live the king!"

was marked by news in politics. The monarchy was abolished on November 29, 1945, and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed, with the official start of the Communist rule of Josip Broz Tito: new state, new government, new values, new relations and new habitudes. It was a time of nationalization of property of the pre-war wealthy citizens. Also, many political opponents of the communist party immigrated to Western European countries and the United States and were named *persona non grata* in Yugoslavia. The economic, transport facilities and cultural and educational institutions were renewed and expanded. The reconstruction of destroyed buildings and transportation system, done mostly by young partisans, marked this period, but the most important project of post-war Belgrade was construction out of nothing of a new part of the city, later on well-known as New Belgrade. The New Belgrade construction, in opposition to Old Belgrade rebuilding, was a symbol of a new city and state center with two very important buildings for the government of that time: the Palace of Federation and Central Committee building. In social terms, it was also characterized by a students' protest in 1968. It was also a time when Belgrade became an important international, political, cultural European, sports, and economic center; a place for important international meetings: the First Conference of the Heads and Governments of the Non-aligned Countries in 1961, then the Conference of Security and Cooperation of Europe (CSCE), the UNESCO Conference, annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the 6th UNCTAD, as well as a number of cultural event: FEST, BEMUS, BITEF and FEST started, numerous concerts, sport and other events were organized.

Too many unresolved national, ethnic, political, economic and other problems in the country led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991. It was the period of Slobodan's Milosević government. Also, that time was marked by civil conflicts, huge students' and civil protest in 1991, in 1996/1997 and the most important in October 2000, when a peaceful revolution happened and democratic oriented parties came into power. In 2002, Belgrade was a city where the first Prime Minister after the fall of Slobodan Milosevic, Zoran Đinđić, was murdered. From 1992 until 2002, Belgrade was the capital of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the state consisting of the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro. From 2002 until 2006, Belgrade was the capital of State Union of Serbia and Montenegro; from June 2006 Belgrade became capital of the newly formed Republic of Serbia.

NAMES OF BELGRADE

As previous historical overview indicates, Belgrade has often changed both names and rulers in its turbulent history. Almost each of the conquerors used the opportunity to give the city their respective names, so today we are familiar with Singidunum, Singidum, Singedon, Belgrados Poles, Nandor Fehervar, Nandor Alba, Alba Graeca, Grieschisch Weisenburg, Alba Bulgarica, Dar Ul Dzihad, Prince Eugene Stadt. However, its Slavic name – Belgrade has lasted the longest.

The World Encyclopedia of Cities mentions that it is the city with the greatest number of battles within and in front of its walls– 114, but also the city with a great number of symbolic names: The Hill of Battle and Glory, the Hill for Meditation, the House of Wars, the House of Freedom, the Gateway of the East – the Gate of the West, Gate of the Balkans...⁸³

Changing the name was maybe also the wish of the defeater in order to change the identity of the city and to promote its own patterns of the future development. Somehow, it was a tool of removing the previous history of the city, a tool of purpose forgetfulness. .

4. 2. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Belgrade

Belgrade grew very fast during the last two centuries; in 1834 Belgrade had 7,033 inhabitants, 54,249 in 1890, 82,498 in 1910 and 238,775 in 1931⁸⁴. According to the census of 2002, the official population of the Belgrade region is 1,576,124⁸⁵. Unofficially (taking into account the large number of Serbian refugees and displaced persons from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the province of Kosovo-Metohia), the population probably surpasses 2 million. It is the largest city on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and by population ranks fourth in the Balkans behind Istanbul, Athens and Bucharest. Belgrade has the status of a separate territorial unit in Serbia, with its own autonomous city government. Its territory is divided into 17 municipalities (Čukarica, Voždovac, Vračar, Novi Beograd, Palilula, Rakovica, Savski venac, Stari grad, Zemun, Zvezdara, Barajevo, Grocka, Lazarevac, Obrenovac, Mladenovac, Sopot, Surčin). Each municipality has its own local council. Belgrade spreads over 3.6% of the territory of Serbia, and 21% of the Serbian population (excluding those of the Kosovo-Metohia province) live in the city. It is the main economic center of Serbia: about a third of all employed workers in Serbia work in Belgrade.⁸⁶

⁸³ World Encyclopedia of Cities, "Belgrade," 1994.

⁸⁴ *Stanovništvo Beograda prema popisu 1991*, ed. Goran Penev (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1999), 31-37.

⁸⁵ *Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2004, Year XLVI* (Beograd: Zavod za informatiku i statistiku, 2005), 63.

⁸⁶ Webster's Online Dictionary, "Belgrade," <http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org/definition/Belgrade>

However, some important aspects of Belgrade, developed in the past 15 years, are also important for the story about Belgrade. According to S. Vujović, in recent history, the city became the mirror of the state of those times, where within the urban center were three reality levels: global (government, state, institutional space and institutional urbanism- huge public buildings, ministries, new city infrastructure...), mix reality as an interim between state and private (streets, squares, schools, churches etc.) and private, the habitation level (housing estates, villas, houses etc).⁸⁷ Thus the city needs to be understood as a mediator between the global society as a macro- entity and person as micro-entity. He focuses on the crises that culminated in nineties, with the civil war, international isolation, hyperinflation, pauperisation, and refugees that led to the disintegration of city functions. If a city can be defined as meeting point for the needs and aspirations of individuals and groups that are living in it, and from the other hand the functions that are fulfilling those needs and aspirations, then city is best defined a place for living, education, culture, leisure, health care, security, communication, administration, production, consumption, and solidarity.⁸⁸ S. Vujović claims that the majority of the previously named functions were in the process of disappearing or already disappeared during the 90s in Belgrade, and that can be seen in a decrease in production, despairing consumption, non-effective administration, huge problems in health care, non-security, protests in education and immigration of educational elite, leisure time, communication, culture etc. Among those elements, for the purpose of the work, the most interesting are communication, culture and leisure time; communication characterized by ghettoization, diminished mobility of people and information within the country and abroad, chaos in public transport, state monopole on media etc., culture –without funds, destroyed cultural links with the international scene, negative human resource policy, two poles: re-traditioning, national romanticism, new symbols, new street names, from fascists to liberal intellectual organizations; passive leisure time sharing some of the characteristics with the culture such as turbo folk music, video piracy, dog fights etc. It was an axis of ethnic purity and segregationism presented in turbo-folk culture, media such as Pink and Palma. Another axis was a that of multiethnic coexistence and multiculturalism, presented best in Radio B-92, socially engaged artistic groups such as group “ŠKART”, alternative music, Remont – NGO

⁸⁷ Sreten Vujović, “Urbana svakodnevnica devedesetih godine” in *Javna i kulturna politika- socio-kulturološki aspekti*, ed. Milena Dragičević- Šešić (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2002), 31-74.

⁸⁸ Henry Reichert and Jean Daniel Remond, *Analyse sociale de la ville* (Paris: Masson, 1980).

in visual arts, CENPI/ Center for new Theatre and Dance, Center for Contemporary Art, DAH theatre and others.

Writing about the opposing lifestyles in Belgrade, M. Dragičević-Šešić connects cultural forms and events that overwhelm Belgrade's urban space and the city imagined identities that exist within Belgrade "syncretic toposociography"⁸⁹. Among others she mentions the Ring-Ring festival, whose target group is urban youth elites of alternative cultural expression (antiglobalist) vs. Oscar of popularity - "variete" show for populist middle classes.

Also, she points out the very important characteristic of Belgrade, non-existence in modern history (renewal of the city in 19th century) spatial class stratification of citizens. Because, even in quarters like "Dedinje"⁹⁰, people of great power living together with middle class and poorer citizens, even sometimes within the same building.

4. 3. Belgrade Identity in Previous Research

4.3.1. Selected literature overview

Among all types of books about Belgrade, this research will focus on two different aspects within them- the first are scientific publications (except the historical overviews that are summarized in chapter 4.1.) and the second is high and popular literature (books of poetry, literature, etc). Still the main focal point will be the analysis of selected scientific books.

As for the long period of the city's history under Turkish domination, Belgrade sought for its European identity from the 19th century onwards in all disciplines. So, during the 19th century, V. Jakšić wrote that even by climate comparison, Belgrade is European city. The spring is like in Marseille, summer a bit warmer than in Toscana, and the autumn like in Bordeaux, winters are between winters in Vienna and in Gethingen. And the whole year, the average temperature is similar to those of Venice and Constantinople.⁹¹ Even the border between the East and the West, Christianity and Islam, with the influence of Judaism, the city tries to define itself closer to Europe than it is. For a city that just emerged from Turkish dominance, the European dimension of its identity was very important.

Culturally, the European dimension of Belgrade between two world wars, in the field of culture, was influenced by the "Cvijeta Zuzorić" civil society initiative that brought all kind of exhibitions from all around the Europe to their pavilion and fostered a modern atmosphere

⁸⁹ Milena Dragičević Šešić, "Culture as a resource of city development," in *The Creative City: Crossing Visions and New Realities in the Region*, ed. Nada Švob Đokic (Zagreb: Institute for International Relations, 2006).

⁹⁰ Very posh Belgrade quarter.

⁹¹ Vladimir Jakšić, "Klimatičeska otkošenja zemlje," in *Glasnik društva srpske slovesnosti*, 3. sveska, (Beograd: Društvo srpske slovesnosti, 1851).

among artists in Belgrade. The pavilion stayed for a long time the center of Belgrade progressive culture.⁹²

Speaking about books on Belgrade, the newest, visually very representative book about Belgrade- *Beograd- grad tajni*⁹³ is a melange of texts about Belgrade, some of them with a too nationalistic orientation. They separated the history of Belgrade into 4 main periods: 1. Middle Ages and Renaissance Belgrade, 2. Baroque Belgrade, 3. Realistic Belgrade and 4. Modern and Post- modern Belgrade. Each of these “Belgrades” has its specific characteristics, both tangible and intangible, mirror city and its heroes. Medieval and Renaissance Belgrade is defined through Kalemegdan, grandeur, a mirror city of Constantinople⁹⁴ and with the main heroes King Dragutin, Despot Stefan Lazarević, Konstantin Filozof and Janoš Hunjadi. The second period, according to the book, is marked by Dorćol (in geographical terms), with secretness, it has a mirror in Buda, Trieste and Pest; the most important people were Dositej Obradović, Baron Nikola Doksat de Morez, Rigas Feraios and Deacon Avakum. The third period arrives with prince Mihailo, Nikola Pasić, Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis and Branislav Nušić, mirroring Vienna, with Topčider as the most important part of the town. At the end, the modern and post-modern period is incarnated in Terazije, with the hope as an intangible characteristic, trying to look like Paris and with people such as Isidora Sekulić, Miloš Crnjanski, Stanislav Vinaver and Ivo Andrić. However, in the chronology of the fourth part of book there is not an indication of the period of 90s of the 20th century, a period without which it would be difficult to speak about the present identity of Belgrade.

The following texts to be mentioned are about the specificities of Belgrade’s architecture, city appearance and other details.

⁹² Radina Vučetić Mladenović, *Evropa na Kalemegdanu, ‘Cvijeta Zuzorić’ i kulturni život Beograda 1918-1941* (Beograd : INIS , 2003).

⁹³ Predrag Lj. Ceranić ed., *Monografija Beograd- grad tajni* (Beograd: Publikum, 2004).

⁹⁴ The idea city imitating – but imitating in ancient and medieval time – is originated in ancient history. Ancient and Medieval Constantinople was “new Rome” or “Second Rome”, Moscow was a “Third Rome”. The idea of Moscow being the "Third Rome" was popular since the early Russian Tsars. Within decades after the Fall of Constantinople on May 29, 1453, some were nominating Moscow as the "Third Rome", or new "New Rome". Sentiment was inspired after the marriage of Sophia Paleologue (niece of Constantine XI, the last Eastern Roman Emperor) and Ivan III, Grand Duke of Moscow.

Georgije Ostrogorski, *Istorija Vizantije* (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, Alfa, 1998).

In Christianity known as an idea that many cities are having the Jerusalem for the ideal.

André Antolini and Yves-Henri Bonello, *Les villes du désir* (Paris: Galilée, 1994).

According to V. Korać⁹⁵ the recent history of the current urban nucleus of Belgrade imposes one specific attitude towards Belgrade's development. The Vinča and Roman period of Belgrade did not influence the visage of Belgrade. He presents a doubt that once *cardo* and *decumanus* of Roman city are two very important streets in the city today- Kralja Petra I Street and Vasiina Street. It is possible to reconstruct the middle-aged Serbian fortress of Despot Stefan Lazarević, which also had no influence on today's Belgrade, neither had the Turkish Belgrade, close settlement, not interesting for further history of Belgrade urbanism. It is only in last 150 years that the city developed into the metropolis it is today. He also opens a discussion about the antinomies of Belgrade such as metro vs. BeoTrain's station Vuk, enlargement of Belgrade towards the south and not towards the rivers, the construction of New Belgrade, the relation of burial places in the city, such as the one of Dimitrije Tucović on Slavia and those on Kalemegdan vs. Belgrade's bright side of life, the using important points of Belgrade for the monuments- Victor by Meštrović on Kalemegdan and Gardoš tower- Hungarian Millennium Tower in Zemun vs. their senselessness in contemporary Belgrade. In his book *Iskustva prošlosti* (Experiences from the past) M. Perović explains the genesis of the Belgrade construction, starting from Emilijan's Joksimović's first urbanistic plan of Belgrade, thought different projects for Belgrade's rebuilding by Dimitrije T. Leko (1907), Alban Chambon (1912) and general urban plan proposed by Rudolf Rerco, Erwin Böck and Erwin Ilz, to 1930 and Nikola Dobrović's 1st prize for Belgrade plan definition, and finally to 50s and a new attitude towards architecture: transformation of the city centre into a functional city, and the new city, New Belgrade built according to the principles of Le Corbusier⁹⁶. He defines downtown as a line going from Kalemegdan to Saint Sava church. Also, he emphasizes the erection of New Belgrade, as a brand new city made in-between two historical centers- Old Belgrade and Zemun. Also it is a part of the city that was continually built upon, the spirit of functionalism in architecture and the Athens Charter.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Vojislav Korać, "Urbani lik Beograda," in *Beli grad, kulturna istorija Beograda*, ed. Bole Miloradović (Beograd: Mediart, 1997).

⁹⁶ Le Corbusier strongly influenced construction of New Belgrade by his book "Ville Contemporaine" (1922). Later he presented a new definition of street that is not a street, but machine for a circulation and the apartment as a machine for living made in 1925 ("Plan Voisin") and later in 1935 he published the "Ville Radieuse". According to his writings only a city made for the speed is a successful city. Robert Fishman, "Le Korbizjeove urbanističke ideje," in *Istorija moderne arhitekture*, Knjiga 2/A, ed. Miloš R. Pavlović (Beograd: Draslar Partner, 2005), 318-348.

⁹⁷ Athens Charter published in 1943, and it was a result of the 1933 Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne. The proceedings went unpublished until 1942, when Le Corbusier published them in heavily edited form. Both the conference and the resulting document concentrated on "The Functional City". "Zaključci četvrtog kongresa CIAM-a o funkcionalnom gradu održanog 1933. godine," in *Istorija moderne arhitekture*, Knjiga 3, ed. Miloš R. Pavlović (Beograd : Arhitektonski fakultet, 2005), 183-185.

The deformed urbanization as one of Belgrade's characteristic is mentioned by S. Vujović. The process that started 50 years ago with the so-called rural exodus of people coming from rural areas to cities, the period when 6.5 million people migrated from villages to towns in former Yugoslavia, from 1948 to 1981. It was a time when the ruralization of Belgrade started, since most of the ex-rural inhabitants did not accept urban behavior patterns. Many life styles were created, subcultures as well as nouveaux riches culture, the cultures that seclude citizens from the concept of urbanity. That is of course the consequence of non-continual development of the citizenshipness during the history of city. Those tendencies were continued in Belgrade in the 90s. Also, there is a question of the non-urbanized periphery of Belgrade, partly or completely illegally built. For a long time, neither Belgrade nor Serbia had a general urban plan. There were a lot of propositions but never a final decision, and the illegal construction continued. Also, the urbanization after WW II is questionable. Many of the authors posed the question, if that was a real urbanization or only the sub-urbanization. It was state directed on one hand, but on the other the pillars of Belgrade's urbanization were people from lower society structures who built illegal buildings. The author agrees that this deformed urbanization was a consequence of a deformed modernization.

Therefore, S. D. Selinkić starts his text about Belgrade with the question: "Is Belgrade a city without a square⁹⁸?" According to him, the usual functions of squares were performed by the streets and crossroads in Belgrade. Usually public buildings are identified with the square they are built on, as part of a collective city memory. Unfortunately, the case of Belgrade is different. Did Belgrade ever have squares, squares that are symbols of democracy, with the historically religious, commercial and public center on it? Transformation of the market and cemetery in Studentski trg into a square led to the creation of a park in modern times. There are usually free spaces in front of buildings instead of squares. An additional characteristic is the lack of the squares built in the communist period, as exemplified by New Belgrade. Even the so-called Republic Square, a square without precise territorial limits, was not suitable for all sorts of gathering like protests during nineties, since the *genius loci* was missing. Slavia Square never became a real square, since, despite all megalomaniac plans, it was never finished; Saint Sava free space instead of Saint Sava Square (great distance from other buildings). The places that once stood as a perfect potential squares, such as the ending of the

Auke van der Vud, "CIAM," in *Istorija moderne arhitekture*, Knjiga 3, ed. Miloš R. Pavlović (Beograd : Arhitektonski fakultet, 2005), 148- 178.

⁹⁸ Square in architecture is according to the Italian Illustrated Dictionary a free space surrounded by buildings and as a crossing of numerous streets.

Slobodan Danko Selinkić, "Gde su trgovi?" in *Javna i kulturna politika- socio-kulturološki aspekti*, ed. Milena Dragičević Šešić (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2002), 115-120.

tram station near Kalemegdan, never will become that, since a new hotel project has emerged in past months on that spot. Another potential but non-realized square is the one in front of BITEF theatre, on the Bajloni market.

Monuments are both the signs of the history as well a markers to the time we are living in. Ž. Jovičić⁹⁹ names different spaces important for our collective memory. In that list is the inevitable Kalemegdan as a collectivity of diversified and numerous periods in our history, Barjalki mosque as one of the oldest building in Belgrade, the Museum of Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić and Dositej Obradović as the initial place of Belgrade educational system, Velika škola (Great School), the Šeih Mustafa turbe, etc. Among other topics that the author raises, it is very interesting: the representative city spaces (naming the following: Kalemegdan, Plato in front of the Saint Sava Church, Skadarlija, Gardoš, 25. maj, Ada Ciganlija, Kosančićev venac, Park of International Friendship, Avala and Dedinje), and obstacles for becoming a European metropolis (without the facilities such as metro, modern port, bridges, international bus terminal, modern railway station, etc.)

Inns and kafanas, also, need to be mentioned as a specificity of Belgrade's spirit. According to V. Golubović, inns are part of Belgrade history for centuries. It was in 1522 that Turks in Dorćol opened an inn where coffee was served.¹⁰⁰ It was one of the first inns in European cities, since Sarajevo opened its first inn in 1592, London in 1652, Marseille in 1654, Vienna in 1683 and Leipzig in 1694. However, the first coffee inn, or kafana came with the return of the Turks after the Austrian rule in 1738. V. Golubović mentions 578 old inns, 60 hotels and 44 khans and caravanserais in his book. The kafanas of Belgrade had their own physiognomy, character and guest circle. It was a place where life in a city took place and according to D. Đurić-Zamolo, many political, economic, cultural and social events happened. Political issues were discussed in the Kafana "Velika pivara", where "Svetoandrejska skupština" (National Parliament) undertook the decision for the Karađorđević Dynasty to leave the country and the Obrenović Dynasty to return; kafana "Srpska kruna" with the ratification of the Serbian-Turkish Peace Agreement, in 1862; kafana "Staro zdanje" where members of the Illyrian Movement such as Ljudevit Gaj from Zagreb met throughout 1844; kafana "Žirovni venac" where Gavrilo Princip and his revolutionary friends met to prepare the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, with the consequences leading to the beginning of World War I; in the Hotel Slavia kafana was founded the Yugoslav Communist Party.¹⁰¹ Kafanas were a central

⁹⁹ Živadin Jovičić, *Beograd, stvarnosti i vizije* (Beograd: Biblioteka grada Beograda, 1984).

¹⁰⁰ Vidoje Golubović, *Stare kafane Beograda* (Beograd: CD grupa, 2005).

¹⁰¹ Divna Đurić - Zamolo, *Hoteli i kafane XIX veka u Beogradu* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1988).

place of culture as well. Places where famous and anonymous writers, poets, newspaper and magazine editors, journalists, actors and various artists, painters, sculptors, athletes, and politicians met. Some writers, such as Branislav Nušić and humorist Brana Cvetković wrote important literature in kafanas. Kafanas “Đumrukana”, “Staro zdanje” and “Engleska Kraljica” were the places where the first plays were performed, and those performances in turn provoked construction of the National Theatre in 1869. The first opera performance was organized on March 9, 1867 at the kafana of the hotel “Srpska kruna”. Classical music concerts were performed by Kornelije Stanković and Davorin Jenko in kafanas. Another important cultural event organized in a kafana was “Zlatan krst”, and the first cinematic projection on May 25, 1896. In 1906, the first cinema was opened at the kafana “Hajduk Veljko”.

Important city institutions, association and facilities First bank, Belgrade Stock Exchange, the Post office Head Office, Serbian Writers` Association, Serbian Journalists` Association, the Serbian branch of the International Red Cross and many others were initiated in kafanas. Also, Mihajlo Petrović Alas established the association for entertainment and enjoyment "SEE" of which the members gathered in a kafana near the Bajloni Market.

Other important kafanas originated in the 19th and early 20th century in Belgrade were "?" (Question Mark), the oldest preserved kafana in the city today, and Skadarlija bohemian spots like “Tri šešira”, “Kod dva bela goluba”, “Šešir moj”. In mid-20th century “Madera”, “Šumatovac”, “Grmeč” and “Kod Ive” were among trendier kafanas in the city.

After this explanation it is understandable that the Belgrade's kafanas presented the heart and the soul of Belgrade, since most of them do not exist any more. Thus, it is important for all actors in Belgrade's story, residents, city authorities and tourists to preserve the last existing kafanas of contemporary society.

The spirit of the city and the story about Belgraders is a main topic of the book by Vladimir Velmar-Janković¹⁰², where he names two dualities of Belgrade: Kalemegdan and Avala, the first presented as a temple of life, and the second as a temple of death. He finds the source of both the spirit and its citizens in Kalemegdan, the symbol and the living monument of the city, “temple of the victory, it means temple of the mankind and its ephemerality, man and its creations, man and its glory¹⁰³”. In some way, he speaks about overlapping of different

¹⁰² Vladimir Velmar-Janković, *Pogled s Kalemegdana. Ogled o beogradskom čoveku* (Beograd: Biblioteka grada Beograda, 1991).

¹⁰³ “...hram pobeđe, to će reći hram čoveka i njegove prolaznosti, čoveka i njegovog dela, čoveka i njegove slave.” Vladimir Velmar-Janković, 16

types of citizens, the newcomers and native inhabitants, their attitudes and behaviors and different parts of the city, one central European, the other Turkish oriented; those are characteristics that persisted until nowadays, Belgrade as a city of newcomers and mixed realities. At the same time, the influence comes from both sides: Belgraders resemble the milieu that made them, and, on the other side, the environment is very similar to the man that formed it.

4. 3. 2. Previously organized projects/manifestation exploring Belgrade's identity

Projects exploring Belgrade's identity have been enumerated in previous years. The idea of the project was to seek out the identity of city as the identification of "loci memoriae" of the city in different disciplines: political sciences, architecture, culture and arts, mainly thought installations and performances etc. "Loci memoriae" of Belgrade can be seen, as for every other city, in its quarters, buildings, streets, parks, squares, cafes, but also sounds marked by different kind of events, important for its citizens, a society as a collectivity. For the purpose of this research, the projects of different disciplines were examined, organized by various initiators, with all of them having in common the exploration and definition of Belgrade's identity in their domain.

The identity building through the manifestations- example of BITEF¹⁰⁴, BELEF¹⁰⁵ and the Belgrade Boat Carnival

BITEF and BELEF can be regarded as tools of promoting Belgrade's landscape, but much more important is that they are actors of identity making, both through their content as well as in the city landscape used as their performing spaces.

During the late 70s and 80s, apart from research towards new performing tendencies and forms of the theatre, BITEF started an investigation towards new performing arts spaces, spaces that were never before used for a theatre play, like "Hala Sportova" (Hall of Sports) in New Belgrade, later they used fair halls, an unsanctified Protestant church¹⁰⁶, studios in Film Town, catacombs of Kalemegdan and Tašmajdan, a beer factory in Skadarlija, open spaces, garages, museums, etc. Besides those, all theatres were included, as well as other important

¹⁰⁴ BITEF- Belgrade International Theatre Festival (Beogradski internacionalni teatarski festival)

¹⁰⁵ BELEF- Belgrade Summer Festival (Beogradski letnji festival)

¹⁰⁶ Later building of the evangelistic church became BITEF theatre

cultural institutions such as the Sava Center and Belgrade Youth Cultural Center.¹⁰⁷ Many of those spaces were revitalized in the minds of people, reused after long periods of dormancy. Another important festival for profiling Belgrade's identity and moving it forward in its transitional period is BELEF. According to M. Dragičević-Šešić, nine years ago in the absence of policy of urban regeneration, the artists made an effort to develop connections between them and the city they live in. The important gateway was organizing BELEF programs. "Summer cultural programs - the programs that are equally a production of the most important players in the Serbian non-institutional artistic scene, but also a representation of colorful trends on the world artistic scene, are bringing completely new experiences, artistic adventures and re-discoveries of forgotten or hidden angles and meanings of the city".¹⁰⁸ As a result, BELEF is expressing itself through the new media, billboards, leaflets, façades, outdoor monitors, in new performing' spaces, etc, providing the spectator with the new paths for the city exploring. Apart from that, Belgrade again became a cosmopolitan city, since artists from all over the world are coming from centers and peripheries of cultural events, both making the world's cultural capital complete. Thus, with BELEF, Belgrade becomes a meeting point of multilayered cultures, using the spaces that "have already been impressed in the collective memory, such as the Barutana (Powder Storage), Zindan Gate, the Summer Stage, Knez Mihajlova street and Republic Square, but also the traditional spaces for art productions - the Sava Center, the City Hall, the Belgrade Cultural Center, the Museum of African Art, with new city spaces that have relatively seldom been used for cultural events - from the Ada Ciganlija river island to the corners of New Belgrade".¹⁰⁹

The manifestation of the Belgrade Boat Carnival, recently named as "Sailing boat" (Plovi šajka) was established as a one-day event taking place on the rivers and riverbanks of Belgrade with the aim of promoting one very important feature of Belgrade's identity- the rivers of the city. The program starts with sailing, rowing, waterskiing, and jumping from Branko's Bridge, exhibitions take place in the afternoon and evening, and culminates in the evening with a carnival of decorated vessels sailing by. Because of the last part of the event, the carnival of decorated vessels, in 2006 the city became a member of the FECC (Federation of European Carnival Cities). Still, it is very sad that the event is not organized this year on the Danube riverbanks of Zemun. However, the reasons of initiating the carnival can be found

¹⁰⁷ Raša Dinulović, "Ambijentalne pozornice BITEF-a," in Zbornik radova fakulteta dramskih umetnosti 3. Ed. Milena Dragičević Šešić (Beograd: FDU, 1999).

¹⁰⁸ Milena Dragičević Šešić, "BELEF, Polyphony of Cultures - Challenges for the New Cultural Policy," *Belef* 04, http://www.belef.org/04/index_e.html

¹⁰⁹ Milena Dragičević Šešić, "BELEF, Polyphony of Cultures - Challenges for the New Cultural Policy."

in the fact that Belgrade was founded first of all as a result of its geographic position, since it is a city on the confluence of two important European rivers, and it has today 160km of riverbanks¹¹⁰. Also, around riverbanks exist very important, mostly unused, public city places, so, it became one of the important activities in returning Belgrade back to the rivers and riverbanks by using very important city resources in a new way.

Manifestations/festivals as overcoming or presenting brands of Belgrade

Besides the previously mentioned festivals that are contributing to the formation of the identity of Belgrade, there are plenty of other music, film and design festivals and manifestations that are trying to position themselves as potential identity pillars of the city or in some extent in becoming city brands.

In the field of music, festivals of classic, pop, jazz and new music tendencies made Belgrade famous in past decades. The oldest classic music festival and well-known one is the BEMUS¹¹¹ festival that covers various classical music concerts, performed by famous musicians from abroad and Serbia as well as operas, choirs, presentations of traditional music, and children's workshops. BEMUS can be best described as a festival that tries to please all kind of tastes, with different kinds of music, attracting new but keeping old audiences, inviting both Serbian as well as masters of classical music coming from the entire world.¹¹²

Among classical music festivals, the Guitar Art Festival, a five-day international classical guitar festival organized and the Belgrade Cello Fest, an annual event for cello admirers, where world-famous cellists give master classes besides concerts, are two of the most important.

As one of the oldest pop-festivals in the former Yugoslavia, the Belgrade Spring Festival (Beogradsko proleće) was the best representative in the field of pop music. It has its important pop-star promoting role, since many ex-Yu pop stars started their careers there, including "Bijelo dugme", Jasna Zlokić, "Srebrna krila", Tereza Kesovija, "Plavi orkestar", Dragan Mijalkovski, "Merlin", "Ambasadori", "Pepel in Kri", Andrej Sifrer and in the 90s Madam Piano, Filip Žmaher, Cece Slavković and others. For a long time, from its initiation in 1961 until the turbulent 90s, it was Belgrade's pop-music brand. During and after the 90s, the

¹¹⁰ Arhitektonski fakultet, <http://www.arh.bg.ac.yu/code/navigate.asp?query=boat+carneval&Id=1709>

¹¹¹ Belgrade Music Festival (Beogradske muzičke svečanosti)

¹¹² Marija Babić – Milovanović, "Sinergija muzike," *BEMUS* (21.10.2005)
http://www.bemus.co.yu/sr/press.php?pageNum_vest=10&totalRows_vest=32

festival lost its importance due to its low criteria, to its controversial policy and receiving of funds directly from the SPS political party¹¹³, lead by Slobodan Milošević.

The Belgrade Jazz Festival, a characteristic Belgrade's autumn from 1971 until 1990, was reinitiated in 2005. An important event for a city, presented Belgrade as a potential jazz center of the region, a point where many artists that people these days talk about in admiration met, like "Duke Ellington, Miles Davis with Keith Jarrett, Dave Liebman, Freddie Hubbard, Thelonious Monk, Dave Brubeck, Oscar Peterson, Sonny Rollins, Stan Getz, Charles Mingus, BB King, Ray Charles, Sarah Vaughn, Bill Evans, Muddy Waters, Chick Corea, Buddy Rich, Pat Metheny and many, many more"¹¹⁴. Now, the reinitiated Belgrade Jazz Festival aspires to become once again a center of jazz in the region. But, as many other towns such as Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Skopje have jazz festivals, Belgrade would need to make significant efforts to ensure itself a leading position. However, the importance of the revived Belgrade Jazz Festival can be seen from the inner perspective since the festival itself is a kind of celebration of the plurality, jazz plurality, multiculturalism and tolerance, three features so necessary for a Belgrade of the future.

A recent addition to festivals in the city is Ring Ring, just ten years old, where bands from all over the world play variations on traditional music with a popular twist, with many unpredictable and interesting results. It recently became popular and partially well known by tourists in the city.

Another festival characteristic of Belgrade during the summer is Belgrade's Beer Fest, and can be considered as a modified version of the branded world festivals where music and the stars playing it (mainly well known musicians and bands from Serbia and Montenegro) are not as important as a brand in the name. In this case the brand is beer itself. It is a festival that brings a number of tourists (mainly from Serbia) and citizens of Belgrade to the lower town of Kalemegdan, a venue of the festival. Specifically, it is a festival recommended by *The Independent* newspaper in London as one of the top twenty world events in 2006.¹¹⁵

Not to forget the huge range of film festivals: The authorship film festival, festival of underworld films, short subject matter film festival and probably the most famous Belgrade film festival- FEST, which is undergoing continual development. During the period before the breakup of Yugoslavia, it was one of the most important revival film festivals in the region. It

¹¹³ Miki Jevremović, *Nije trebalo ugasiti 'Beogradsko proleće'*, Balkanmedia, <http://www.balkanmedia.com/magazin/kolumne/27/27.html>

¹¹⁴ Nenad Georgievski, "Belgrade Jazz Festival 2005," *Allaboutjazz* (April 7, 2006), <http://www.allaboutjazz.com/php/article.php?id=21182>

¹¹⁵ "Where in the world will you be?" *The Independent*, December 31 2005, News&Advices section.

brought specific charm to the city, especially in 70s and 80s when many Hollywood and European movie stars walked around the city, enjoying life in Belgrade.

During the last few years, Belgrade has been trying to play catch up to world tendencies of modern design and advertising, hence the establishing of the New Moment BeogrAD festival (festival of advertising) and Belgrade design week. Between other goals, the festivals position Belgrade as a city of ideas, a specific place on the European and world creative map, placing the culture in the center of a profitable creative business.

“Dani Beograda”- “Days of Belgrade”

On December 26, 2002, the Assembly of the City of Belgrade decided to initiate the "Days of Belgrade"- to be held each year from April 16 to 19 - marking the time between the two major events in the history of the city. The dates were chosen because the Slavic name Belgrade was mentioned for the first time on April 16, 878, in a written document – a letter from Pope John VIII to the Bulgarian Khan Boris I, while, on April 19, 1867, the last Ottoman commander Ali Friza Pasha gave to Prince Mihailo the keys of Belgrade on Kalemegdan. After that event, Belgrade became a town officially ruled by a Serbian prince. Choosing those dates and events, the City Government as the initiator of the festival, decided to present the history of Belgrade in different domains: social, artistic, political, etc.

Some projects realized for a first time within the “Days of Belgrade”, such as interactive museology project of “Virtual Tour in 15th Century Belgrade” (Days of Belgrade in 2004), presenting time when Despot Stefan Lazarević was the master the city, “In Spite of Fire” (Days of Belgrade in 2005) in front of the ruins of the National Library in Kosančićev venac burned on April 6, 1941, and the “Labyrinth of Belgrade-Face of Belgrade” (Days of Belgrade in 2006) need to be emphasized.

“In spite of Fire” was dedicated to the memory of burnt National Library and the idea of reading the future from non-written pages of the past. This very emotional project linked the citizens and their nonexistent library together, providing the city with an almost forgotten “locus memoria”.

The “Labyrinth of Belgrade” multilayered project exhibited portraits of citizens in the Republic Square; at the same time raising awareness of the liaison of citizens and the city and presenting an asset of Belgrade- the authentic citizens of the capital city and its atmosphere to the residents themselves, tourists and potential tourists (since it is planned that the exhibition will be held in other European cities).

Others such as presentation of old arts crafts of Belgrade and tournament of knights group Svibor on Kalemegdan became part of every year festival program.

“Under the Bridge”¹¹⁶

The project “Under the Bridge” consisted of a four-day city investigation of not so usually presented and usually presumed as non-representatives stories of Belgrade’s identity (by the criteria of city marketing of consumption society). People from eleven countries tried to express how they feel about the city. The event happened in December 2004, and started with a visit to one of the myths of the post World War II period- Josip Broz Tito mausoleum and museum, to the phantasm of unquestionable data of his life. The visit was a symbolic walk to “The House of Flowers” as a miscellany of a utopian concept and its post-historic consequences. A visit to other similar “monuments” all around the city: the Federal Parliament, The Army Headquarters demolished during the NATO air bombing in 1999, the place where Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić was assassinated, the Embassies of Germany, the United States, Canada, Croatia... might help to find a key for the understanding of the question of who Tito was.

Searching for the answers of Belgrade’s identity, the once glorious ‘product’ from the socialistic times- Beogradanka (Belgrade Palace) has been visited. More important venues for the story of Belgrade were found in the disappearing kafanas, New Belgrade with its “different expanses: the socialist apartment blocks, the Sava Center congress hall, the Intercontinental Hotel, the Genex office building, the constantly expanding illegal Roma settlement, the highway-carrying Gazela bridge, the sand factory, the city promenade by the river, the anchored boats-restaurants or cafés, the Staro Sajmište settlement with its rural-style houses, the artists studios where an NDH transitional concentration camp used to be, the very same place that had, in the 1930s, been the Belgrade Fair, the tramlines bridge, the fishermen ...”¹¹⁷, to the Roma population living under the Gazela bridge and problems of the suburban settlements like Leštane and Kaluđerica. Being guides though the ‘new’, hidden spots of Belgrade the research of identity got new perspectives augmenting its importance.

¹¹⁶Vladan Jeremić and Rene Rädle, eds. *Under the bridge Beograd* (Beograd: Biro for Culture and Communication Belgrade, 2005).

¹¹⁷ Vladan Jeremić and Rene Rädle, 31.

Project Belgrade

In the beginning, the “Project Belgrade” explored Belgrade’s identity mainly through projects of the modern architecture, following the neo-classicist plan of Belgrade’s rebuilding by Alban Chambon from 1912. Later on, they focused on the architectural heritage of Belgrade with the aim of giving ideas and suggestions for development of Belgrade in the form of graduate works of students from different faculties and universities. The questions observed have been related to organization of the City center, revitalization of different objects, residential, traffic and business infrastructure, possibilities for the development of culture, tourism, environmental issues, etc. Graduates from all kinds of faculties worked on topics such as: ‘Belgrade’s squares and parks’, ‘Belgrade- the capital of sport’, ‘Revitalization- old and new’, ‘City and drivers- Belgrade promenade’ etc. Also, as promoters of Belgrade abroad, they will exhibit their projects at the pavilion in the Architectural Biennale in Venice 2006.

Master plan of Belgrade as a long-term development project

In the General Plan of Belgrade 2021¹¹⁸, some of the problems and perspectives of Belgrade were underlined. Speaking about European integrations, it is emphasized that Belgrade diminished in its place on the scale of European cities, compared to 1991, when it was treated as a European metropolis important for whole south-east region. Today, it is “only” the capital of one state- Serbia, while Vienna, Budapest and Thessalonica are regional capitals. However, the role of Belgrade is enormously different than it was during the period of former Yugoslavia. As a consequence, Belgrade needs to redefine the strategies of its identity development and also to reposition itself regarding the capitals of Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe. To achieve that goal, among other activities, it is necessary to have wise cultural policy that will put the natural and cultural assets of Belgrade as the basis of Belgrade development, emphasizing its identity.

It is proposed by the Master Plan that the identity of Belgrade could be built on the city, national and regional level. For the city level, it means revitalization of heritage of pre-socialistic Belgrade and building identity on the suburban city level, by empowering the cooperation between two surroundings: urban and rural. On the national level, the metropolis of Belgrade will form its identity in integration with big and middle sized cities of Serbia with symbolic or historic metropolitan symbols. Regional importance/identity of Belgrade is connected with the need to become an international, south European or Balkan center.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ *Službeni glasnik grada Beograda*, year XLVII, number 27, October 15, 2003.

¹¹⁹ *Službeni glasnik grada Beograda*, 903.

Commenting on the city level strategy proposed by the City Assembly, it would be better to start to connect the pre-socialistic Belgrade with the emergence of New Belgrade (with the emphasis on New Belgrade today) and by emphasizing diversities of the city suburbs.

At the same time, they see Belgrade of the future as (1) the city of our country, (2) a European metropolis, (3) Danube oriented, (4) in collusion with nature, (5) as sustainable city, (6) as city regulated by an urban plan, (7) as a city of complex memories, (8) as a city with a total design look, (9) as an economically vital city, (10) as a city for all the people, (11) as an “online” and accessible city, and (12) as a city of culture.

In the Master Plan of Belgrade, one can find one specific vision of Belgrade, but there is one unavoidable fact, that except some parts like Kalemegdan, Gardoš, Sava port, a new building for the opera, there is almost no milestone for the fostering of culture of Belgrade; especially in New Belgrade, where there culture has been lacking for a long time. It seems that the Master Plan is led by the basic economic capital and entertainment function for tourism purposes, with almost no place for other contents.

4. 3. 3. Belgrade Identity in PR and Marketing materials

The marketing presentation of one city, which is very important for the identity presentation, promotion and conscious building among citizens, is a matrix composed of different items. For the tourists it is necessary that the whole entity (in this particular case the city- Belgrade) must fit into the visitor’s perspective and fulfill an expectation built up on the basis of that perspective. Of course, the cultural surprises are necessary, but also the ‘surprises’ need to fit into the perspective of the tourist.

The text about Belgrade published in the Financial Times, written by Eric Jansson, a journalist reporting from Belgrade for years, introduced once again the identity issue of Belgrade.¹²⁰ He wrote that no other people need an image adviser as much as Serbian people do, because the Tourist Organization of Belgrade is trying to promote the city as town of fun, so many of the reportages from Belgrade are starting and finishing with the description of Belgrade’s parties. Belgrade as a city of parties is often promoted by the tourist regional agencies (for example in Slovenia). It is city where you can come to relax, enjoy, drink and dance, city full of restaurants, bars, clubs, great night life, and after as a city of museums and with a specific geographical position. But, are those all the limits of Belgrade’s presentation?

¹²⁰ Eric Jansson, “Light shines from behind a dark past”, *Financial Times*, Jan 21, 2006, FT Weekent - Travel section.

To start with the poster issued by Tourist Organization of Belgrade in 1988¹²¹, with the inscription “Welcome to Belgrade- the capital of SFRJ and the Republic of Serbia, welcome to one of the oldest cities in Europe, a city that will offer you sincerity fostered for centuries; tenderness; famous hospitality; openness”. It is questionable how it was perceived then, but that sentence is definitely not good enough for today, when besides place tradition it is necessary to present the modern and urban design of a place. Unfortunately, many tourist agencies, also the Tourist Organization of Belgrade¹²², are still using very traditionally oriented slogans.

City symbols

Coat of Arms

Belgrade is a rare example of a city that had lost its coats-of arm and stamp in its turbulent history. Therefore, in 1931, Đorđe Andrejević-Kun sketched a small new one, which became official in 1932. Today, Belgrade has small (basic), medium and large *coat of arms*. The medium and large coats were made by the Serbian Heraldry Society in July, 2003. The elements of the city’s coat of arms are: national colors, rivers, a Roman gallery as a symbol of the antiquity of Belgrade, white walls with a tower and an open gate (walls represent the settlement and the tower represents the city, open gate is the symbol of open communication, also the white city is a direct translation from the name of the city in picture). The coat is of three colors -red, blue, white, with the presentation of the fortress in white, with the blue sky above it and the red ground with the Sava and Danube rivers.

The basic coat is the only one that may be used for commercial purposes, so it is the one for public promotion. The medium coat is used by the city administration, its organizations, and in manifestations of significance for Belgrade. The large coat may be used only by top city officials. The medium coat is the same as the small one, but has a golden wall crown placed above the shield. The crown has five visible merlons, and a diadem with five gems (rubies, sapphires, emeralds). According to the standards of Serbian Heraldry Society, this wall crown with five indents belongs only to the capital city, and diadem with jewels belongs to the historic capitals. The large coat consists of a silver (white) bicephalic (two-headed) eagle, armed gold, with golden legs and tongue. The eagle as a symbol of the Serbian state is

¹²¹ Printed by Gorenje tisk, resource: Lekić Danilo, Beograd grad za sva vremena, Izdavačko preduzeće Nauka, Beograd

¹²² Tourist organisation of Belgrade, www.tob.co.yu

consistent with the coat of Serbia. On the eagle's chest is the coat of Belgrade, which emphasizes the status of capital and above the eagle's heads is the wall crown (see Medium coat section). Underneath the eagle are two oak branches, which represent civic virtues, and over their intersection is placed the first known coat of Belgrade, representing the heraldic history.

Flag

The flag of the city is composed of the same elements as the small coat-of-arms is.

City hymn

Different pieces of music were made for Belgrade, romantic, politically oriented¹²³ etc, but as usual, only one hymn can be accepted. It is a very short extract from the opera “1941” by Mihovil Logar, and it was used during the 70s and 80s switchboard for the News of Belgrade television:

“...Belgrade, Belgrade,
Shining under sun
Our capital city
Our capital city
Forever of us!”¹²⁴

For approving or disapproving of the hymn, it would be necessary to open a public discussion. Whatever that debate results in though, it is necessary that Belgrade finally has a hymn used and promoted in all events connected with the city.

Slogan

Today, the slogans “come to a city where you will feel at home” and “living with charm”, presented by the Tourist Organization of Belgrade are relatively poor in their content. Specifically, it can always be asked why would anyone come to a city where he or she feels at home? Are not the ideas of visiting other places completely the opposite, to acquire new knowledge in a place different from one’s hometown. The other slogan of Belgrade, used during the student and civil protests of the 90s, “Belgrade is the World”, is almost forgotten today. Still, it might be useful and more authentic to reuse that slogan in order to get a new one.

¹²³ Some of the songs about Belgrade are: “Beograde” sang by Đorđe Marjanović, “442 do Beograda” by Momčilo Bajagić Bajaga, “April u Beogradu” by Kornelije Kovač, “Beograde” by Bora Đorđević, “Zmaj od Nocaja” by Momčilo Bajagić Bajaga, “Ruza vetrova” by Momčilo Bajagić Bajaga etc.. There is even an opera “The Siege of Belgrade” performed in London’s Drury Lane Theatre on January 1, 1791 by Stephen Storace on libretto by James Cobb.

¹²⁴ “Beograde, Beograde, Pod suncem sjaš, Glavni grade naš, Glavni grade naš, Večno naš !”

There are some new slogans as well, but the idea of hospitality still dominates. Even if it is the truth that Belgrade's hospitality is something special, too many of the cities of the world claim hospitality as an asset, or those that are not mentioning hospitality are implying it. It is mandatory that Belgrade searches for something additional, apart from hospitality and a great nightlife, and which could be used as an asset of Belgrade to build different promotional strategies according to it.

Mascot

Belgrade has its official tourism mascot-it is a sparrow named Cvrki designed by Creativity Ford Development. In answering the question why the sparrow was chosen, the designers explain:

“Because the sparrow is always what we rarely manage to be: cheerful, modest, friendly, content, asking for little - and giving a lot...Because a big city should have a small bird for a mascot (rather than the other way around). Because we ought to learn from the sparrow (we can see where eagles have brought us!). Because it's incredible how much life can fit in such a small bird. (have you ever seen a sparrow at rest?)...”¹²⁵

It can be said that it is kind of embarrassing that a mascot is chosen for reasons that remind us of a past where the people were taught to be modest and did not try to stand out of the milieu. That might be in the nature of some city, but not in the nature of the city that survived what Belgrade has in its history.

The sparrow tried to be an official mascot of the European Basketball Championship in 2005, but was bitten by the cat. The cat has ‘eaten’ the sparrow. After that, it was chosen for the mascot of the 25th Universiade to be organized in Belgrade in 2009. However, is it questionable if it is appropriate that one event and a city should have a same mascot?

City website and web blogs

There are no doubts that the most important promotional tool and ‘information desk’ of the 21st century has become the Internet.¹²⁶ As a logical consequence, city websites have appeared, and are starting to attract as much audience as possible, giving their users adequate

¹²⁵ “Zato što je vrabac uvek ono što smo mi samo ponekad: srećan, skroman, druželjibiv, zadovoljan, malo traži mnogo daje!... Zato što maskota velikog grada treba da bude mala ptica (bolje tako nego obrnuto!) Zato što je dobro da za promenu učimo od vrabaca (videli smo šta umeju i dokle su nas dovele velike orlušine!) Zato što je neverovatno da u tako malu pticu stane toliko mnogo života (jeste li ikad videli da vrabac miruje!)...” Creativity Development Fund, “Frka Projects,” Creativity Development Fund, <http://www.frka.co.yu/FRKa/Projekti/Cvrki%20the%20Sparrow.hrm>

¹²⁶ For the purposed of this work, the role of the Internet as a promotional tool and main ‘information desk’ is emphasized; other roles are diminished.

information about the cities they promote. According to a competition of city websites, organized by city mayors, judges from Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Italy and the UK evaluated city websites based on five criteria. The criteria were: usefulness to citizens, business and tourists, design features and innovation.

On that list Belgrade's web site ranked 117 out of 130; other neighboring capitals were ranked as follows: Budapest 64, Athens 118, Sofia 123, Sarajevo 124, Ankara 125, Zagreb 127, Ljubljana 128, Bucharest 129 and Skopje 130.¹²⁷

With such bad rankings, a conclusion could be made that the regional authorities need to learn a lot more about city promotion via the Internet, and subsequently improve their promotional tool.

One informal way to achieve PR and marketing goals is through the use of web logs- or blogs, which have risen in popularity in past years and are somehow not widely appreciated in the marketing field. The informal nature of them is an asset, since they appear to be a friendly sincere chat with a web 'friend'. On the web, interesting blogs on Belgrade can be found¹²⁸, and many tourists, particularly younger ones, say that they are a primary source of information about the city. They are also one of the rare places where you can get differing answers to one question and where the communication seems to resemble the "reality show" concept in that the interlocutors are living a real story.

TV advertising

The idea of broadcasting a TV commercial Belgrade in neighboring countries is certainly not a new idea, but it is an idea that has been never realized. But when someone sees the commercial made in order to promote Belgrade, maybe it is even better that the idea never come to fruition. The commercial that was produced by Tourist Organization of Belgrade, 2:09 minutes long¹²⁹, is too dark for a white city would only attract clients from the past century; a commercial that presents some of Belgrade's monuments, people and the traditional nightlife with the text where it tries to persuade a potential visitor that it is a city of open-hearts.

¹²⁷ City Mayors- Running the world's cities, "City Mayors Archive," City Mayors- Running the world's cities, <http://citymayors.com/features/e-cities.html>

¹²⁸ The example of the blogs about Belgrade can be find on www.blog.belgrade.cc.

¹²⁹ The spot can be downloaded for the web site of Tourist organisation of Belgrade, "TV sport about Belgrade," Tourist organisation of Belgrade, www.tob.co.yu

Tourist guides and Belgrade's sightseeing

Certain tourist guides¹³⁰ might have photography of differing quality, but unfortunately the texts resemble each other; the writing about Belgrade's history is in pure facts, like they are attempting a presentation for some kind of seminar, and not for attracting tourists. Except for one tourist guide written by Lj. Ćorović, there was no creativity implied by the authors in the production of short and interesting narratives of Belgrade's past, what could be expected from the turbulent past that Belgrade has. The guide by Lj. Ćorović,¹³¹ proposing 10 dynamic itineraries for visiting Belgrade, could be an interesting example for the future development of Belgrade's guides.

However, there are some books that could be adapted for a guide, books with very interesting narratives. Among them are the articles collected in the book "Beograd pored koga prolazimo", written by M. Laketić.¹³² There she writes vividly about Belgrade's transformation from Oriental to European city through short stories.

The tourist guide from the Tourist Organization of Belgrade offers nine sightseeing tours to potential visitors. In it are described tours of the Old Town of Belgrade, the Belgrade Fortress, the old town of Zemun, the Belgrade Panorama by bus, visit to the Vinča archaeological site, Belgrade Churches and Monasteries, Sightseeing of the Royal Compound, visit to Botanical Gardens and Belgrade by Boat. The sightseeing tours are presenting as an interesting part of Belgrade's history. However, it would be interesting enough to organize also a tour of Dorćol, the Topčider tour with a visit to the Museum of African Arts, the Toma Rosandić Museum and Museum of Petar I Karađorđević, a visit to the villas on Dedinje, etc.

Postcards

What makes postcards important, even in the era of the Internet? Still, many people like to send something printed and there are plenty of them that like to receive them. A postcard is a passing of experiences from the person writing it to the person receiving it. During its trip, a postcard needs to provoke interest of all people involved in its transport, what is not so easy because of competition. People keep postcards in their houses, in their offices and in bars and cafes. Postcards are not only tools of tourist advertising, but simultaneously, they are a tool of culture and arts. Sometimes, even society can be judged by the look of its postcards. It is

¹³⁰ Dragan Bosnić, *Beograd* (Beograd: Intersistem kartografija, 2005).; Marija Despotović, *Beograd* (Beograd: Grades cc, 2005).; Goran Jovanović, ed., *Belgrade tourist guide* (Beograd: Intersistem kartografija, 2000).

¹³¹ Ljubica Ćorović, *Vodič kroz Beograd* (Beograd: Kreativni centar, 2002).

¹³² Miljana Laketić, *Beograd pored koga prolazimo* (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, Alfa, 2003).

rentable publicity that brings extra profit in accomplishment of all its functions. All facts about postcards are well known in many European cities, but it seems that in Belgrade we missed that lecture.

Most of Belgrade's postcards are out-of-date and need to be redesigned urgently.

The only postcards of quality can be found in rare stores, such as the bookstore Beoizlog on Republic Square, in main post-offices and sometimes on Knez Mihailova Street. But still, postcards that are provided by the Tourist Organization of Belgrade are of very bad quality: the picture is not good; the content of it is surpassed, they are written only in Serbian, even the inscriptions are not orthographically correct in some cases and there is no explanation of the presented content.

Recently, the project Postcards was announced by two art historians employed in the Museum of Contemporary Arts in Belgrade. This project can be regarded as a cultural tourism survey. The aim was to find new representations for Belgrade, new postcards that can present a good enough atmosphere of the city. The jury was composed of Borut Vild, designer, Mrđan Bajić, artist and Zoran Erić, art historian, who choose 8 very vivid, smart and sharp postcards, which present the spirit of Belgrade better than any of postcards had done before. It was proof that the spirit of the city can be recognized and that the following aim should be passing those postcards to tourists visiting Belgrade.

From time to time, in city history, specific types of postcards, a specific characteristic of Belgrade has been established- postcards with the motifs of bombed buildings. The first edition of such types of postcards was made in 1914, where the destruction of Terazije- the city's downtown was presented together with other buildings. Another important edition was from 1999, published during and just after the bombing with the motifs of destructions of Belgrade's recognizable buildings and symbols, the Avala tower, **ex-CK building**, RTS building and others. In view of the fact that tourists are paying great attention to a number of buildings destroyed in the bombing of 1999, which they present as one of the reasons for visiting the city¹³³, it is surprising that these postcards cannot be found easily in the city. Maybe the Tourist Organization of Belgrade could reconsider a reprint of this series.

Other promotional material

There are the prints of Belgrade's mascot presented in a heart, with the inscription Belgrade-open-hearted city; on different product such are t-shirts, caps, lighters, mouse pads, and mugs.

¹³³ *Politika*, 13. avgust 2006, 1

But again, those prints need to be redesigned in order to satisfy new tendencies of city advertising. Besides prints of mascots, there can be found the prints of Belgrade's coat-of-arms on mugs, t-shirts, caps; magnets with the Saint Sava Church, key-rings with the coat-of-arms and the statue of Kalemegdan's Victor. The problem is that those things are not easy to buy in Belgrade, and it is much easier to buy them via the Internet, since except the Beoizlog bookstore (where also some of those things cannot be found), Belgrade has, unfortunately, no real souvenir shop.

Publications

Among others, there is the publication about Belgrade called "Welcome to Belgrade. Official Tourist Guide" published and printed by the Tourist Organization of Belgrade four times a year. It is mostly a short overview of the basic data of the city with a calendar of events and with the addresses of important cultural institutions, hotels, restaurants, entertainment places, shopping information and other important city information. It is an important basic kind of tourist guide that can unfortunately be found only in the offices of the Tourist Organisation of Belgrade and which sometimes has timing problems.

Among others, there is the bilingual promotional-informative magazine called "BelGuest-Belgrade's Visitors Magazine", co-published by the Tourist Organization of Belgrade and PONT Publishing Company. According to the web site of BelGuest, the purpose of the magazine is "to present the city, its ambient wholes, culture, characteristic celebrations, tradition, events, restaurants, popular haunts, shops, public figures, both foreign and domestic alike, primarily to visitors but also to Belgraders...".¹³⁴ Without a detailed analysis of the magazines content, it is hard to say if they are accomplishing their goal. However, it is a fact that the texts are interesting and that it provides useful information on a wide range of services and institutions in Belgrade, a city map and quality photos. The magazine is available only to a selected public since is it distributed free of charge to a specific group of Belgrade hotels, rent-a-car agencies, foreign embassies, important government and non-government organizations, the Sava Center, and is available at the domestic and foreign tourist fairs, JAT's offices abroad, as well as some international cultural and sporting manifestations. Even if part of the circulation is sold through subscription and a part goes to bookshops, many tourists never have the opportunity to read the magazine.

¹³⁴ Pont, "BelGuest," Pont, <http://www.emins.org/belguest/>

Among other important and valuable information ‘distributors’ about Belgrade, it is necessary to name the monthly magazine “Yellow cab”, with updated and contemporary presentation of the information and text about Belgrade’s events, targeted to urban, mostly young, population, as well as the Jat Review, magazine where different information about the state and its capital city can be found, important for its potentially wide target readers, since it is distributed in airports, in Jat offices, as well on planes, and the no longer existing magazine BeoRama, which provided information events in the city.

Distribution

The problem is that that promotional material can not easily be found in Belgrade. It can be found in the not so numerous offices of the Tourist Organization of Belgrade (there are 6: at the airport, on Makedonska Street, in the Central Railway Station, on Terazije and in the Sava River Port, which is only open from March to November, and the Zemun Tourist Center) and in bookstore of Beoizlog- the shop of the Belgrade Cultural Centre. There is a souvenir shop on Knez Mihailova street where products of applied art can be found of high quality, but not usual tourist souvenirs like t-shirts, caps, cups, etc. Those are left to be ordered via the Internet.

4. 4. SURVEY ON BELGRADE'S IDENTITY

In this chapter the results of two different surveys are presented. The first one, which was organized in Belgrade, was created and conducted on a sample of citizens of Belgrade, tourists coming from Serbia and from abroad, as well as representatives of organizations and institutions in the domain of culture and arts, tourism and marketing. The other research used the existing data available on *Yahoo! Travel, Belgrade, Yugoslavia - Yahoo! User Ratings & Reviews*¹³⁵, which was systematized for the purpose of this work.

4. 4.1. Survey Planning and Execution

The questions, what Belgrade is and what makes it special and different from other places, and how it is perceived, has been asked very often and in previous years it became one of the key questions in different debates on culture and in artistic works. In order to face those questions and many similar and get answers, the following survey was created, oriented towards people living in Belgrade, key cultural and artistic organizations and institutions, the City Government, as well as for people not residing in Belgrade coming from Serbia or from abroad for business, education, tourism, etc.

The open-question anonymous survey organized for tourists and citizens of Belgrade was done according to quota sampling. That very kind of sampling presumes that the population is first segmented into mutually limited sub-groups, as the stratified sampling is. Subsequently, judgment was used in order to select the subjects or units from each segment based on a particular proportion. That step makes the method one of *non-probability sampling*. Even though it is not recognized as an ideal method¹³⁶, most of the surveys were done according to this manner. Among some advantages of quota sampling are the speed with which information can be collected, the lower cost of it and its overall convenience. Quota sampling has some similarity to stratified sampling, however the selection of respondents within strata is non-random, but is left to the interviewer. In quota sampling each interviewer is given an assignment of interviews based upon quotas that are representative of the whole population.

¹³⁵ Yahoo! Travel, http://travel.yahoo.com/p-reviews-490636-action-read-from-1-prod-travelguide-ratings_and_reviews-i-sortorder-4;_ylt=Ai6sZbfEUHAPaW575HcSUMwKN2oL

¹³⁶ Statisticians criticise it for its theoretical weakness. Market and opinion researchers defend it for its cheapness and convenience.

Miladin Kovačević, "Plan uzorka i način ocenjivanja u anketama javnog mnjenja," in *Radanje javnog mnjenja i političkih stranaka*, ed. M. Pecujlić et al. (Beograd: Institut za političke studije, 1992).

The quota controls should form strata within the population having the opportunity to obtain differing opinions on the subject of the study.¹³⁷

The interviews with representatives of Belgrade in culture, tourism and marketing were part of non-random sampling¹³⁸. The interviewees were personally selected by the author on previously defined clusters (artists, city government representatives, journalists, NGO's, Ministry of Culture representatives, PR & marketing agencies, representatives of different institutions, tourist agencies and university professors).

Interviewees

Representatives of Belgrade in the fields of culture, marketing and tourism

The interviews with the people who represent Belgrade in different cultural/ artistic institutional field were conducted from March 27 until April 7, 2006. The interviews were approached by e-mail (95% of the interviews) or were conducted face-to-face (5%). The response of different groups varied from 0 to 62.5 %.

Interviewed Group	Number of questionnaires sent	Number of questionnaires received	Response rate %
NGO's	8	5	62.5
City Government Representatives	4	2	50
University Professors	4	2	50
PR& Marketing Agencies	24	12	50
Artists	7	2	28.57
Representatives of Different Institutions	5	1	20
Journalists	37	7	18.92
Tourist Agencies	10	1	10
	10	0	0

Table 2. Response for the Internet pool: number of questionnaires sent and received

¹³⁷ Miladin Kovačević, 56.

Slobodan Cvejić, "Plan uzorka," in *Razaranje društva. Jugoslovensko društvo u krizi devedesetih*, ed. Mladen Lazić (Beograd: Filip Višnjić 1994), 259-272.

Klaus A. Mozer, *Metodi anketiranja u istraživanju društvenih pojava* (Beograd: Kultura, 1962).

Rudi Supek, *Ispitivanje javnog mnjenja* (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1968).

¹³⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Sampling Methods- Non-Random Sampling," Australian Bureau of Statistics,

<http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/D3310116.NSF/4a255eef008309e44a255eef00061e57/a9a3a3d8155170954a2567ac002161a6!OpenDocument>

Citizens of Belgrade

Citizens of Belgrade were identified as people living in the territory of Belgrade municipality. The interviews with them were organized from March 27 until April 10, 2006. The survey was planned to be done on a quota sample of 300 people (150 living in down-town or what is in Belgrade best defined by so-called 'krug dvojke'¹³⁹ or central parts of the municipality of Savski venac and Stari grad and 150 people living in one of municipal peripheries of city of Belgrade: Čukarica, Novi Beograd, Palilula, Rakovica, Voždovac, Vračar, Zemun and Zvezdara). The actual response was 250 interviewees or 83.33%.

Age	Until 35						35-60						More than 60					
	Male			Female			Male			Female			Male			Female		
Gender	P ¹⁴⁰	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U
Town/education																		
Centre	4	11	6	6	11	5	5	15	8	10	17	8	3	9	5	7	13	6
Periphery	4	13	7	7	12	6	5	16	9	9	17	8	3	9	5	5	10	5

Table 3. Planned distribution of characteristics (gender, highest educational qualifications and place of living of respondents) in quota sampling

The characteristics in the quota sampling were distributed in the survey according to the census in 2002 organized on the level of Republic of Serbia; data presented for the city of Belgrade in Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2004.¹⁴¹

Visitors of Belgrade

The first tourists passing by the land where the Belgrade stands were ancient Greek heroes, the Argonauts, when in their search for the Golden Fleece, they traveled on Danube. Later on, until the present days, many visitors came to Belgrade, staying for a longer or shorter time. During the 90s, there was a stagnation in the arrival of tourists, but after 2000, simultaneously with revival of diplomatic relations of Yugoslavia with Western European countries and the USA, Belgrade has seen a return of foreign holidaymakers and business people absent since internal wars of the 90s. At the same time, city became a choice for weekend breaks, especially for tourist coming from the region, and more and more foreign languages can be heard while walking the streets of Belgrade. According to Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2004, 449 694 tourists from Serbia and 243 239 foreign tourists visited Belgrade in 2004.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ The territory where tram number 2 is circulated (the border streets Karadordeva, Cara Dušana, Nemanjina, Beogradska), and what represents the centre of the Belgrade in a past 70 years.

¹⁴⁰ Symbols for the educational background of the interviewees: P – primary school, S – secondary /high school and U – university.

¹⁴¹ Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2004, 23, 57-67.

¹⁴² Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2004, 282.

Visitors to Belgrade provoked a two way relation and influence: the city to tourist and tourist to a city. According to B. Groys “the monuments of a city have not been there forever and they are not waiting for the tourists to see them; tourists themselves create monuments. Tourism is what creates monuments – it is through the eyes of tourists that perpetual change is transformed into an image of eternity. The development of tourism means a more rapid creation of monuments.¹⁴³”

For the purpose of this research, two types of visitors were taken into account, coming from either Serbia or abroad. Each of them represented one group of interviewees. Interviews were organized from March 27 until April 20, 2006.

The group of visitors from Serbia was divided into four clusters, the first three clusters of 30 and the last 10 interviewees, with a total 100 interviewees (table 4).

Visit purpose	Job		Education		Tourism		other purposes	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Under 18	-	-	-	-	5	6	1	1
18-35	8	5	14	16	4	5	1	2
35-60	9	8	-	-	3	5	1	2
Over 60	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1

Table 4. Distribution of characteristics after the interviews with Tourist from Serbia

Tourists coming from abroad were part of a second group, which was also divided into four main clusters (table 5), with a total 60 interviewees.

Visit purpose	Job		Education		Tourism		other purposes	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
18-35	3	2	5	7	4	5	1	1
35-60	8	5	-	-	3	2	2	3
Over 60	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	3

Table 5. Distribution of characteristics after the interviews with Tourist from abroad

¹⁴³ Boris Groys, "Unsere Welt auf Reisen," *Die Zeit* 29, July 11, 2002, 35.

Visitors came from 18 countries, mainly from Europe- 83.3% (table 6).

Country	# of interviewees	% in total
Slovenia	10	16.7
Germany	8	13.3
France	7	11.6
Greece	5	8.3
USA	5	8.3
Hungary	4	6.7
Romania	4	6.7
Italy	3	5
Canada	2	3.3
China	2	3.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2	3.3
Macedonia	2	3.3
Albania	1	1.7
Austria	1	1.7
Bulgaria	1	1.7
Croatia	1	1.7
Ghana	1	1.7
United Kingdom	1	1.7
TOTAL	60	100

Table 6. Distribution of countries in the sample

Connected with modification of number and type of Belgrade's tourists in the future, it is necessary to emphasize the role of low-cost European airlines that have been changing the course of the airline and tourist history, influencing the travel choices and making the middle-destination travel by air as easy and cheap as travelling by bus the same distance. The first low-cost airline that came to Serbia was Germanwings (September 2006), flying from Belgrade to Cologne-Bonn. If that tendency continues, the number of tourists will increase, bringing out some new types of tourists as well. The city could become overrun by tourists that enjoy visiting new offered places first. It might be the moment when the expectations and understanding of the city by the tourist would be remarkably changed in respect to the results of this survey.

Dimensions of the questionnaire

As many other cities, Belgrade is marked by its history, famous people that lived there and people that are now living there, atmosphere... In those terms, the specific hypothesis of the survey was that Belgrade's identity is plural, positively and negatively diversified and that its promotion is done without successful and appropriate tools; that many of Belgrade marketing is not recognized either by tourists nor by its citizens. Multiplied identity has a lot in common with Belgrade's long history, but at the same time, it has connections with the recent turbulences within its society, with the life people that have been living there for decades.

Using quota sampling, very similar questions were asked to both citizens and tourists. The questionnaire was divided into 5 sections, and the duration of one interview was 20-30 minutes.

The first section dealt with the social-demographic characteristics of interviewees. The common characteristics were gender, age and education. Every category had its own particular information asked in this section: a) for the citizens, that was the place of living-center or periphery and length of residence in Belgrade; b) for the tourists, their place of residence - in Serbia or abroad, was it their first time in Belgrade, if not which time is it, how often do they come to Belgrade; what is the purpose of their visit- business, education, tourism or something else.

The second section was oriented toward the questions of collective memory of all interviewees. The questions were posed in order to understand the interviewees viewpoint of the city history, which historical event and personalities (heroes or antiheroes) were representative of the distant or recent past (questions: "Who are historic personalities that best represent Belgrade?" and "Which historic events are connected with Belgrade?").

The third group of questions coincided with the fact that much research has proven that there is a significant role of the physical environment in forming identity¹⁴⁴, and was oriented towards the territory itself. Therefore, the spatial dimension of the identity was an integral part of this research. The question related to this section was- "What are the places you demonstrate to your guest?"/"What do you visit first when you are in Belgrade?"

Necessary for the complete impression about the identity, the questions about the future and its relation to the present and past have been asked. It formed the fourth group of questions

¹⁴⁴ Blaise et al., 21.

such as “What first enters your mind when you hear the word Belgrade”, “List a few things Belgrade is best known for” and “What manifestations are/were the most important in Belgrade?” There were again some particular questions with almost the same aim, for citizens- “What would you like to find in 10 years in Belgrade?” and for tourists: relation of imagining the city before coming and their opinion once they are here and “If you come to Belgrade in 10 years what would you like to find in the city?”

The fifth section targeted the presentation of the city by all marketing material visible in and out of the city borders. Also, a search for a new symbol of the city was conducted (“What in your opinion is the visual/artistic symbol that best represents Belgrade in visual communications?”) and their opinion about already existing city marketing tools and the possibility for their improvement.

The questionnaire of the representatives of Belgrade in the fields of culture, arts, tourism and marketing was very similar to those of citizens (sections 2 and 5 were the same, the question of third section was- “Name the representative places of Belgrade”). Still, there were some additional questions to section 4, where they were asked more strategically oriented questions: like “What are the strategic goals of Belgrade?” and “Can anyone decide about the city identity and if yes who is the one that decides in the case of Belgrade?” and listing the best known things of Belgrade was excluded.

4. 4. 2. Results- What are suggested Belgrade identities?

The presentation of results starts from the section oriented towards the questions of understanding **collective memory of the city**, interviewees’ opinion of the city’s history. Generally, collective memory of the city presents a liaison among citizens, and the thing that the city is recognized for by tourists. It is also interesting to see different positions of the interviewees.

According to presented results of the question of the most important historic event based in Belgrade (table 7), it can be seen that the results are mostly from the political history related to the whole of Serbia (such as Autonomy from the Turkish Empire), bombings of Belgrade (bombing from 1941, 1944 and 1999) or political events from recent history (October 5 2000-fall of the socialist regime, student and citizen demonstrations of 1996/1997). The only non-political and non-military event that found its way to the top of the questionnaire of tourists from Serbia is the building of Saint Sava’s Church in Belgrade. Also, a large number of the visitors coming from abroad- 29.4%, did not mention any event related to Belgrade.

<i>Historic event</i>	<i>Citizens of Belgrade(%)</i>
October 5, 2000- fall of the socialist regime	14.4
Autonomy from the Turkish Empire	11.9
Bombing in 1999	11.4
Liberation of Belgrade during the Second World War	8.9
Bombings of Belgrade during the Second World War	7.9
Foundation of Belgrade	6.4
Naming Belgrade as the capital	5.9
Belgrade Defense in 1914	4.9
Period of Yugoslavia	4
The 1990s	3.5
Foundation of the University	1.5
No response	6.4
Others	12.9

<i>Historical event Belgrade is best-known for</i>	<i>Tourist opinion- Serbia(%)</i>
Autonomy from the Turkish Empire	26
Building of Saint Sava's Church	24
Naming of Belgrade as the capital	20
October 5, 2000	8
NATO bombing 1999	6
March 9, 1991	4
Founding of BITEF	4
Other	8

<i>Historical event Belgrade is best-known for</i>	<i>Tourists opinion- out of Serbia (%)</i>
Bombing in 1999	29.4
Revolution in 2000	14.7
Period of Communism	11.8
Wars in Belgrade	8.8
Turks in Belgrade	5.9
No answer	29.4

<i>Historical event Belgrade is best-known for</i>	<i>Public opinion makers (%)</i>
Bombing (1941, 1944, 1999)	14.6
Autonomy from the Turkish Empire	9
October 5, 2000	7.9
Demonstration of citizens and students, 1996/1997	6.7
Full independence from the Turkish Empire in 1867	5.6
Foundation of Kalemegdan	4.6
Liberation of Belgrade during the Second World War	4.6
Capital during despot Stefan Lazarević	4.6
Belgrade as a capital of Kingdom of Yugoslavia	3.4
March 9, 1991	3.4
Opening of the Great School (Velika Škola)	3.4
Belgrade as a capital city	2.2
Building of New Belgrade	2.2
Military coup of May 1903	2.2
Assassination of Zoran Đinđić	2.2
Conferences of Non-aligned Countries	2.2
The Insurrection at the beginning of 19 th century	2.2

The wars of Belgrade	2.2
Other	16.8

Table 7. Importance of historic event best related to Belgrade (%)

The answer to the question of what best represents Belgrade might give a hint who (one or more) could be the “pillar-persons” of Belgrade’s identity. And does Belgrade have pillar-person like Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in Salzburg, Antonio Gaudi in Barcelona? Or someone that is not world famous, but maybe be important enough.

According to the results (table 8), citizens of Belgrade named as the best representatives of Belgrade: two from the recent history: Zoran Đinđić, Branko Pešić (the mayor of Belgrade from 1964 until 1974, it was a time when huge landmark projects were undertaken such as the Gazela bridge, Belgrade Palace- Beograđanka, intersection on the highway “Mostarska petlja” were built during his mandates etc.) and one from late history: Despot Stefan Lazarević.

On the contrary, tourists coming from Serbia made a different choice. The first is Prince Miloš Obrenović, King Petar I Karađorđević and, in third position are Prince Stefan Lazarević, Josip Broz Tito and Prince Mihailo Obrenović.

Responses from foreign tourists connect Belgrade with Josip Broz Tito and Slobodan Milošević mainly. Also, this points to a negative perspective of the Belgrade by the tourists.

Very diversified responses can be found in the representatives of Belgrade that named Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Zoran Đinđić, and Mira Trailović as pillars of the city’s identity. It was the first time that someone from the cultural field was in one of the top three positions, the woman that founded the BITEF festival in Belgrade together with Jovan Ćirilov and others, and ATELJE 212 with Bojan Stupica and Radoš Novaković.

Even though this is the year of Nikola Tesla¹⁴⁵, it is interesting that he did not gain any answers either from residents or from representatives of the city. On the other side, 4.8% of tourists from abroad named Nikola Tesla as a personality representing Belgrade. It is important to emphasize that the campaign promoting 150 years since the birth of the famous scientist started a few weeks after the survey.

<i>Personalities representing Belgrade</i>	<i>Citizens of Belgrade (%)</i>
Zoran Đinđić	14.8
Branko Pešić	14.8
Stefan Lazarević	8.8

¹⁴⁵ It is necessary to name one realized initiative that might be part of Belgrade’s branding, when the airport of Belgrade was named after the world famous scientist. This initiative can be evaluated as positive identification of the city with important apolitical person, what was uncommon in the recent history of the city.

Ivo Andrić	5.9
Prince Mihailo Obrenović	5.9
Josip Broz Tito	3.9
King Petar I Karađorđević	2.9
Ilija Kolarac	2.9
Slobodan Milošević	2.9
Nikola Pašić	2.9
Duško Radović	2.9
Bojan Stupica	2.9
Other	28.5

<i>Personalities representing Belgrade</i>	<i>Tourist opinion- Serbia (%)</i>
Prince Miloš Obrenović	18.6
King Petar I Karađorđević	14
Despot Stefan Lazarević	9.3
Josip Broz Tito	9.3
Price Mihailo Obrenović	9.3
Slobodan Milošević	7
Mira Trailović	4.7
Dusko Radović	4.6
Isidora Sekulić	4.6
Other	18.6

<i>Personalities representing Belgrade</i>	<i>Tourists opinion- out of Serbia (%)</i>
Josip Broz TITO	23.8
Slobodan Milošević	19
Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić	9.5
Nikola Tesla	4.8
Aleksandar I Karađorđević	4.8
Other	38.1

<i>Personalities representing Belgrade</i>	<i>Public opinion makers (%)</i>
Prince Mihailo Obrenović	12.6
Zoran Đinđić	10.5
Mira Traiović	7.6
Duško Radović	6.3
Despot Stefan Lazarević	5.3
Josip Broz Tito	5.3
Ivo Andrić	4.2
Prince Miloš Obrenović	4.2
Architects of Belgrade	2.1
Branislav Nusić	2.1
Branko Pešić	3.2
Emilijan Joksimović	2.1
Dositej Obradović	2.1
Konstantin Filozof	2.1
Miloš Crnjanski	2.1
Zoran Radmilović	2.1
Other	26.3

Table 8. Personalities best representing Belgrade(%)

The overall result of this section is that Belgrade's collective memory is primarily based on the events from the near and recent future that are connected with the war and political history. From one side there are very sad and destructive events such as bombings of Belgrade, mainly in the 20th century, but on the other hand the events that proved that Belgrade can positively resolve a more than tense situation was the October 5, 2000 Revolution- what is better known as the fall of socialist regime. In the same manner, there are political personalities on the top of the scale, but still some people also near to top are from the cultural field: Mira Trailović, Duško Radović (famous Serbian journalist, author of the broadcast and books *Good Morning Belgrade*) and Ivo Andrić (winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1961 for the novel *Bridge on the Drina* "Na Drini ćuprija").

The territory as a physical environment as very important for the city identity was already named and defined. **Spatial identity** was oriented towards tangible heritage, together with its intangibility, which means the natural environment, city borders, rivers, geographical position, islands on the rivers, but also the cultural heritage such as monuments, buildings, and combination of both as are parks. Of course, it is impossible to divide it from the collective memory of the territory, since both of them participate in identity creation, and many parts of Belgrade's space played a very important role in the creation of collective memory.

The results of the representative places of Belgrade show that those very similar characteristics were recognized by both citizens and tourists from Serbia. For citizens these are the Kalemegdan fortress, Prince Mihailo street and Republic Square, Skadarlija street and confluence of the Sava and Danube for citizens. For tourists from Serbia, the Kalemegdan fortress is followed by the National Theatre, museums and Prince Mihailo Street and Republic Square. Tourists from abroad named the Kalemegdan fortress, Skadarlija with kafanas and museums as most representative of special identities.

For the representatives of Belgrade the most important are spatial identities of Kalemegdan fortress, Kongsančićev venac and museums in Belgrade.

For the purpose of easier reading of the results, all the representative places are divided at least into 6 main categories for each cluster of interviewees:

a. *Citizens of Belgrade*

1. Belgrade ambient - Kalemegdan fortress (19¹⁴⁶) + ZOO (1.3), Prince Mihailo Street+ Republic Square (8.2), Saint Sava Church (6), Assembly building of the State Union¹⁴⁷(1.1);
2. Belgrade's natural environment- confluence of the Sava and Danube (6.4), Avala (3.7), Ada (4, 9), Košutnjak (3), Topčider (1.7), Tašmajdan (0.8);
3. Belgrade fun- Skadarlija (7.4), Splavovi (1.7), Kafanas (1.3);
4. Urban parts of Belgrade out of down-town- Zemun Gardoš (3.5) + quay (3.1), New Belgrade- Arena, PC Ušće, division of New Belgrade (2.2);
5. Culture: museums (4.2), theatres (3.2);
6. Others (17.3).

b. *Tourists opinion- Serbia*

1. Belgrade ambient - Kalemegdan fortress (20.3) + ZOO (2.5), Prince Mihailo Street+ Republic Square (4.4), Saint Sava Church (3.8), Tašmajdan with Saint Marco's Church (3.1), Terazije (1.9);
2. Belgrade natural environment- Ada (3.8), Avala (1.9);
3. Belgrade fun- Skadarlija with kafanas (2.5);
4. City landmark buildings: National Theatre (10.8), Fair (1.9), Stadium of Red Star football team- "Marakana"(1.9)
5. Culture: museums (14.6), galleries (2.5), Yugoslav Drama Theatre (1.9), Cinemas (1.9)
6. Others (20.3).

c. *Tourists opinion- out of Serbia*

1. Belgrade ambient- Kalemegdan (24.5), "House of Flowers" (10.2)
2. Belgrade fun- Skadarlija with kafanas (18.4)
3. Culture: Museums (14.3; Museum of Contemporary Arts was named by 10.2 visitors out of 14.3), Belgrade and foreign cultural centres (6.1)
4. Zemun with Danube (8.1)
5. Belgrade specificities: buildings destroyed during bombing 1999 (6.1)

¹⁴⁶ All presented data are in percentages.

¹⁴⁷ Since the survey was conducted during the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, the building known today as the Parliament of Serbia, was Assembly building of State Union of Serbia and Montenegro.

6. Belgrade natural environment- Ada (4.1)

7. Others (8, 2).

d. Public opinion makers

1. Belgrade ambient - Kalemegdan fortress (17.3), Kongsančićev venac (9.6), Prince Mihailo Street+ Republic square (5.4), Topčider complex (3.6), Saint Sava Church (2.9), markets of Belgrade (1.2);

2. Belgrade natural environment- confluence of the Sava and Danube (3.6), Avala (2.4), Ada (2. 4);

3. Belgrade fun- Skadarlija with kafanas (2.4);

4. Urban parts of Belgrade out of down-town: Zemun Gardoš (1.8), New Belgrade (1.8), Sava Center (1.2),

5. City landmark buildings: Federal assembly (3.6), Palaces of Dedinje (2.4), Flowers (1.8), Old and new Palaces (1.8);

6. Culture: National Museum (6.6), Museums of Contemporary Arts (4.8), Yugoslav Drama Theatre (2.4), National Theatre (1.8), Belgrade Cinematheque (1.2), other theatres (1.8);

7. Others (16.2).

According to overall results, the most important spatial characteristic of Belgrade is the Kalemegdan fortress, the most historical and turbulent place in the city. Even if it was not part of the question, many of the interviewees stated the negative impressions of the present state of Kalemegdan.

The questions of **the city's future and its relation to the present and past** were part of the following group of questions, where the present situation of Belgrade in opinion of all clusters, might be seen through the enumeration of the best-known characteristics of Belgrade. That can also be the starting point for future development, and a kind of situation analysis (table 9).

<i>Belgrade is best known for</i>	<i>Citizens of Belgrade (%)</i>
Hospitality of its citizens	15.5
Night life and kafanas	14.6
Cultural heritage and manifestations	7.6
Confluence of the Sava and Danube	5.8

Kalemegdan	5.8
City atmosphere	5.3
City history	4.4
Pretty woman	4.1
S. Milosević	3.5
City position	2.9
Delicious food	2.6
Bombings of Belgrade	2
Capital city	2
Center of the Balkans	2
Demonstrations in the 1990s	2
Dirty city	2
Sporting events	2
Others	15.9

<i>Belgrade is best known for</i>	<i>Tourist opinion- Serbia (%)</i>
Night life and kafanas	23.8
Metropolis	14.3
Heritage, arts and culture	12.7
Confluence of the Sava and Danube	9.5
Kalemegran	8
City Atmosphere	6.3
Hospitality of its citizens	6.3
Different places (Avala, Ada etc.)	4.8
Others	14.3

<i>Belgrade is best known for</i>	<i>Tourists opinion- out of Serbia (%)</i>
Night life and kafanas	20.6
Danube	17.7
Slobodan Milošević and the wars	17.7
Josip Broz TITO	14.7
People of Belgrade	11.7
Kalemegdan	8.8
No answer	8.8

Table 9. Best-known characteristics in Belgrade (%)

The importance of cultural, artistic, sporting or similar manifestation/event in Belgrade could be a part of a different collective memory sections as well the territorial section, since many festivals had their important social roles and are attracting attention to many forgotten places of Belgrade. Finally, they are in this section because they present the link between past, present and future.

From the results (table 10) can be seen that there are a few events that are repeating in all three group of answers. The most important events according to the survey are: FEST, BITEF, BEMUS, BELEF and sporting manifestations. The surprising fact is that BELEF is found to be more important for tourists than for the citizens of Belgrade.

<i>Name of the event</i>	<i>Citizens of Belgrade (%)</i>
FEST	20.4
BITEF	15.6
Sporting manifestations	10.2
Belgrade's Marathon	9.5
BEMUS	8.5
BELEF	5.2
Book Fair	4.6
Concerts	4.4
Beer Fest	2.1
Other manifestations	19.5

<i>Name of event</i>	<i>Tourist opinion- Serbia (%)</i>
FEST	27.5
BITEF	15.6
BELEF	12
Sporting Manifestations	10.1
Fair Exhibitions	8.3
BEMUS	3.7
Concerts	2.7
Belgrade's Marathon	2.7
Ostalo	17.4

<i>Name of event</i>	<i>Tourists opinion- out of Serbia (%)</i>
BITEF	28.6
FEST	21.4
BELEF	14.3
Sporting manifestation (Basketball championship)	14.3
October Salon	3.6
No answer	17.8

<i>Name of event</i>	<i>Public opinion makers (%)</i>
BITEF	24.7
BEMUS	18.6
FEST	17.5
BELEF	7.2
October Salon	6.2
Belgrade's Marathon	5.1
Joy of Europe	4.1
Book Fair	2.1
Derby of two main football teams of Belgrade	2.1
Others	12.4

Table 10 Most important event in Belgrade

The results of the first associations of Belgrade are presented through following dominant tendencies.

Citizens of Belgrade:

1. Relation to some abstract notion (atmosphere, conquest, white city, dirtiness, jungle etc.)- 28.9¹⁴⁸
2. Relation to some typical space in the city (Kalemegdan, Knez Mihailova Street, Danube, Sava etc.)- 27.7
3. Personal relation to Belgrade (my town, my home, my family, my friends)- 23.7
4. Capital city (of the Balkans, of South-eastern Europe, of Serbia)- 9.3
5. City of fun (cafés, night life, “splavovi”)- 7.5
6. No answer- 2.9

First association of Belgrade for tourists from Serbia:

1. Relation to some typical space in the city (rivers, Kalemegdan, Confluence of two rivers, Kolarac, Zemun, Ada etc.)- 28.8
2. Capital (of the Balkans, of South-eastern Europe, of Serbia)- 25.4
3. Circulation problems- 20.3
4. Night life of the city- 11.9
5. Others- 13.6

First association of Belgrade for tourists coming from abroad:

1. City of fun and enjoyment (food included)- 33.3
2. Bombing of Belgrade in 1999- 22.2
3. Ex-Yugoslavia- 22.2
4. The confluence of Sava and Dunav- 22.2
5. Others- 0.1

On the other hand, in the answers given by public opinion makers there are some similar but not exactly same answers:

1. Relation to some typical space in the city (rivers, Kalemegdan, view of Belgrade from the Brankov’s bridge etc.)- 63.9

¹⁴⁸ All presented data are in percentage.

2. Personal relation to Belgrade (center of my culture, home, friends etc.)- 19, 7
3. Relation to some abstract notion (dirtiness, chaos, smog, sad history)- 9.8
4. Atmosphere of the city (people, autumn in Belgrade, kafanas)- 4.9
5. The events of Belgrade (BITEF)- 1.7

The presented question maybe in a complex way showed a differentiated topic, which identity can be and usually is based on.

There are four different visions of Belgrade coming out of the question “What would you like to find in 10 years in Belgrade?”/“If you come to Belgrade in 10 years what would you like to find in a city?”.

The vision of Belgrade in the future by its citizens is: Belgrade as a business and cultural center of the Balkans (or South-East Europe), part of the European Union, urbanized, a modern, clean city, with newly erected buildings such as an opera house, concert hall, tower of Avala; facilities such as a metro, new bridges, connection between the city center and the rivers, a cable-car and the renovations of the Old Fair complex, Kalemegdan and buildings destroyed during the bombing of 1999. People living there have a well-known spirit, are tolerant and culturally educated. Many tourists are visiting the city each day. In that charming city of renovated façades and many parks are living world famous artists and the spirit of older times is preserved in kafanas.

The vision of tourists coming from Serbia: Belgrade would be multicultural, modern, clean city with renovated facades, newly built facilities such as bridges, a modern railway station and a metro. More visitors will be coming from abroad, and there will be happy people living in the city. With a rebuilt Avala tower, a completed opera house and world-famous exhibitions visiting Belgrade’s galleries.

The vision of Belgrade by tourists coming from abroad: a modern city with renovated buildings and places of importance of collective memories clearly marked, with facilities such as a metro and with the streets named in both alphabets, with a concentration of the social life both in the downtown and in the periphery, with an opened National Museum and various art scenes.

The vision of Belgrade by representatives in the field of culture: Modern, urban, clean and livable city, regional centre, closely connected to its rivers and with at least two different downtowns (in Old and New Belgrade), with immense landmark buildings and protected old city traditions such as kafanas. A city with facilities such as a metro, a few new bridges, and a replaced railway station. A city where happy, cosmopolitan people from many nations live,

with the problems of the Roma community living near the Gazela bridge successfully solved both for the Roma and for the city authority, where both tourists and inhabitants can find treated heritage (reconstructed of the Old Fair Complex and Kalemegdan, a revitalized Kosančićev venac, reutilized Dorćol port and War Island still an ecologically protected area of the city), various cultural offers (city museum, open-air museums, aquariums, many parks, street performances and many small theatre companies), a well-arranged city with many murals, renovated façades, cultural industry of quality and illuminated buildings.

The results dealing with the present marketing and promotional material of Belgrade:

Citizens

50.6% - existing city marketing materials are a representative presentation of Belgrade;

32.1% - Belgrade marketing is not well done and is not representative of Belgrade;

17.3% - are without answer.

Comments that are left related to this section are *content* oriented: mascot changing (the sparrow is a poor mascot for the city - some of the interviewees suggested a Tasko Načić¹⁴⁹ puppet as the mascot), creating a “real” city guide, more ethno motifs, making the content adjustable to tourists from abroad; *design* oriented: modernization of the already existed tools, enclosure of colors, diversifying the offer and *distribution* oriented: more information points in the city; more souvenir shops, inclusion of billboards and the media, projection of the city hologram on all kinds of manifestations.

Even though some suggested a small amount of modernization, the coat-of-arms was the only positive marketing tool of the city reported.

City Representatives

Results from city representatives are:

27.6%- existing city marketing materials are a representative presentation of Belgrade;

65.5%- Belgrade marketing is not well done and is not representative of Belgrade;

6.9% - no answer

Comments:

The comment by 27.6% of these respondents is that the present presentation of Belgrade is much better than the present situation is.

¹⁴⁹ A famous Serbian actor.

The impression of 65.5% city representatives is that the city promotion is retro, old-fashioned and chaotic and is contributing to a confused picture to its citizens and to tourists. The informational points in the city are not present and there are no visible free tourist maps and suggestions.

Again, these respondents mention the coat-of-arms of the city as a good representative tool of promotion.

Here also, the suggestions can be divided in *content* oriented directions: creating the hymn, slogan and the flag, making a new choice of the visual identities of the city, a quality Internet presentation, more diversified souvenirs and a total design of only one carefully chosen symbol; *diversity*: naming a city confectionary with the city cake, competitions for the best citizen of Belgrade, new building to be constructed as a city symbol, short stories and fairytale creation about Belgrade's symbols, printing the city's coat-of-arms on many objects; *design* oriented: new postcards design, introducing more colors- white color to be introduced, consulting leading designers, changing of the mascot (the impression of poverty and also sparrows are hard to find in the city) and *distribution* oriented: initiating an institution that will take care of city identity, new distributions places for postcards and other promotional material of the city.

Tourist coming from Serbia:

19 %- existing city marketing materials are a representative presentation of Belgrade;

63 %- Belgrade marketing is not well done and is not a representative presentation of Belgrade;

18 % - no answer

63% of these respondents complained that it is very hard to find souvenirs of the city, and that postcards are too old-fashioned. Many of them did not know what the city mascot was.

Tourists coming from abroad:

77.5%- Belgrade marketing is not well done and is not representative of Belgrade;

22.5%- no answer

Comments of tourist were that the promotion needs to be of much better quality, the present promotion is from the socialist period ("postcards seem to be from 50es"), that it is necessary to concentrate a coherent presence of public spaces and tourist guides.

Also, imagining the city prior to coming and reactions once the foreign tourists arrived in Belgrade differed greatly. Before coming to the city, tourists imagined the city as typical ex-

communist city, inferior to other South-European capitals, behind the time and unsafe with a very visible “tradition” (gypsy and folklore).

What they found in Belgrade was that though the city was marked by conflicts, it was very safe, much more culturally advanced than they expected before and had cultural potentials. Furthermore, everyday-life downtown was quick paced and concentrated.

The fifth section presented here is related to the tools marketing the city’s identity.

The very complex question of the best suited visual symbol of Belgrade, a symbol that would at a glance provide initial, positive information about the city, resulted with different, but mostly coherent answers (table 11).

Here can be discussed if some of the symbols have been overused during last century- like it might be a case of the statue of Ivan Meštović’s statue of Kalemegdan, well-known as Pobednik- the Victor. Most citizens and tourists have chosen precisely this monument as Belgrade’s best presented symbol. It is followed by the Saint Sava Church, Fortress of Kalemegdan and no longer standing Tower of Avala as potential symbols.

On the other hand, public opinion makers named as a symbol of Belgrade: Kalemegdan fortress, confluence of the Sava and Danube and monument of the Victor- Pobednik.

It is interesting that 5.9 % of public opinion makers named as a potential symbol the panorama of Belgrade as seen from New Belgrade.

<i>Symbol of Belgrade</i>	<i>Citizens of Belgrade (%)</i>
Pobednik – Victor at Kalemegdan	24.9
Saint Sava Church	13.2
Fortress of Kalemegdan	11.3
Tower of Avala (not existing after NATO bombing)	9.7
Monument of Prince Mihailo at the Republic square	7.1
Confluence of Sava and Danube	6.1
Beogradanka – Belgrade Palace	4.2
Sparrow	3.5
Others	20

<i>Symbol of Belgrade</i>	<i>Tourist opinion- Serbia (%)</i>
Pobednik- Victor of Kalemegdan	27.1
Kalemegdan	14.1
Saint Sava Church	8.2
Avala Tower (no longer existing after NATO bombing)	5.9
Belgrade Palace	5.9
Anonymous hero monument on Mount Avala	4.7
Monument of Prince Mihailo at the Republic Square	4.7
National Theatre	3.5
Others	25.9

<i>Symbol of Belgrade</i>	<i>Tourist opinion- out of Serbia (%)</i>
Kalemegdan Fortress	27.4
Skadarlija and Kafanas	13.6
Saint Sava Church	13.6
Republic Square	13.6
Cyrillic	9.1
Destroyed buildings	9.1
No answer	13.6

<i>Symbol of Belgrade</i>	<i>Public opinion makers</i>
Kalemegdan Fortress	22, 2
Pobednik-Victor of Kalemegdan	20.6
Confluence of Danube and Sava	13.1
Panorama of Belgrade	5.9
Coat-of-arms of Belgrade	4.8
Anonymous hero monument on Avala mountain	3.6
Tower of Avala (no longer existing after NATO bombing)	3.6
Monument of Prince Mihailo at the Republic Square	2.4
Saint Sava Church	2.4
Others	21.4

Table 11. Symbol of Belgrade (%)

Pillar decision makers of Belgrade's identity

The question "Could anyone make decisions about Belgrade's identity, and if yes who can?" come up with various answers-proposition regarding that very issue.

The poll showed that 95.9% answered YES, and 4.1% NO.

According to the survey, the interviewees are not satisfied with the decision making groups of Belgrade's identity until now. They identified 5 'pillars', groups directly or indirectly involved in decision making of Belgrade's identity:

City government representatives (34.7%),

Citizens of Belgrade (24.5%),

Artists, cultural actors, urban planners, architects (18.4%),

Tourist Organization of Belgrade (8.2%),

Belgrade history (6.1%),

Others (8.1%).

Also, the dominant opinion is that the existing structures of Belgrade identity building are not developed enough and it is necessary to introduce some new actors; actors like functional, competent teams dealing with the identity (within or out of city government) and to provoke organization of citizens' NGOs in order to improve the image of Belgrade.

4. 4. 3. Analysis of *Yahoo! Travel, Belgrade, Yugoslavia - Yahoo! User Ratings & Reviews*

In this section of the survey, another view of Belgrade is presented, based on interviews of foreign tourists posting their comments on the *Yahoo! Travel, Belgrade, Yugoslavia - Yahoo! User Ratings & Reviews*¹⁵⁰. The analyzed data was from January 2005 until March 2006. *Yahoo! Travel* users were asked to write a review about Belgrade, choosing on a scale of 1 to 5 (1- awful, 2- poor, 3- average, 4- good, 5- excellent), for different characteristics of the trip: overall experience, atmosphere, convenience, safety and value. The analysis was made on 55 interviewees out of 88 (citizens of Serbia were excluded). The selected interviewees came from 18 countries, with most coming from the United States (table 12).

Country	Number of people	% in total
USA	19	34.6
Canada	6	10.9
Germany	4	7.3
United Kingdom	4	7.3
Greece	2	3.6
France	2	3.6
Slovenia	2	3.6
Spain	2	3.6
Australia	1	1.8
Austria	1	1.8
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	1.8
Denmark	1	1.8
Finland	1	1.8
Hungary	1	1.8
Italy	1	1.8
Poland	1	1.8
Turkey	1	1.8
Not known (written on vacation abroad)	5	9.0
TOTAL	55	100

Table 12. Distribution of countries in *Yahoo! Travel, Belgrade, Yugoslavia - Yahoo! User Ratings & Reviews*

The results follow. The overall experience in Belgrade was marked as 4.78, out of 5: the atmosphere 4.8, convenience 4.48, safety 4.47 and value 4.73¹⁵¹.

¹⁵⁰Yahoo! Travel, "Belgrade, Yugoslavia - Yahoo! User Ratings & Reviews," Yahoo! Travel, http://travel.yahoo.com/p-reviews-490636-action-read-from-1-prod-travelguide-ratings_and_reviews-i-sortorder-4;_ylt=Ai6sZbfEUHAPaW575HcSUMwKN2oLhttp://travel.yahoo.com/p-reviews-490636-action-read-from-1-prod-travelguide-ratings_and_reviews-i-sortorder-4;_ylt=Ai6sZbfEUHAPaW575HcSUMwKN2oL

Characteristic	% in total
People- good looking and friendly	21
Nightlife	16.7
Food and restaurants	14.1
Low cost destination	4.3
Rivers	3.2
Beautiful sites	2.8
Atmosphere	2.3
Negative impressions (horrible, caotic, aggressive, too expensive accommodation)	2.3
Kalemegran	2
Lot of activities	2
Monuments	2
Others	27.3
TOTAL	100

Table 13. Top characteristics of Belgrade according to *Yahoo! Travel Review*

In order to compare tendencies in tourism of Belgrade and the tendencies in global cultural tourism, the experience of *City Tourism & Culture- the European Experience*¹⁵² was compared to Belgrade's practice. According to ATLAS¹⁵³, the level of education of tourists visiting attractions from countries of the EU is relatively high. Both older and younger people are visiting cultural attractions in the city. Museums were the most popular attractions visited by all visitors. The most important reasons for visiting cultural attractions are learning about history and enjoying the atmosphere. Most important information source were family and friends, followed by the Internet and guidebooks.

If we compare some of the data with the research presented above: many visitors to the *Yahoo! Travel* website mention friends (not including relatives) as a main source of information. Unfortunately, that is the only visible resemblance, since the information on their level of education cannot be found, neither on the Internet nor in the Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2004¹⁵⁴. Most important is that cultural attractions are almost not present in the

¹⁵² LAGroup & Interarts, *City Tourism & Culture - The European Experience* (Madrid: World Tourism Organization, 2005). Also available online at http://www.etc-corporate.org/resources/uploads/ETC_CityTourism&Culture_LR.pdf

¹⁵³ The data, confirmed also by the IPK International, is based in 30000 surveys conducted between 1992- 2001 on over 200 sites of cultural attractions across Europe. LAGroup & Interarts, 7

¹⁵⁴ The Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2004 provides us with vague information about the tourist of Belgrade. The available information is number of arrivals and nights realized in an accommodation establishment (separated for domestic and foreign tourist; total arrivals 692933- 35.1% foreign tourist and 64.9% domestic tourists), and tourist by type of accommodation objects. Data are available for 2004. Statistical Yearbook of Belgrade 2004. Year XLVI. Beograd: Zavod za informatiku i statistiku, 2005.

results (neither museums are present), but enjoyment in the atmosphere is more than dominant.

So, it seems that the best “product” of Belgrade is its atmosphere (and within it people, nightlife, food etc). The results conform with the fact that Belgrade has been promoted (by city authorities as well) as the “city of parties”. Even some of the reporters (mainly foreign) named it “sin city”¹⁵⁵. The trend in the sightseeing tours in Belgrade became visible also during a visit to Belgrade by Slovenian postal workers. Their tour consisted of a visit to the Mausoleum of Josip Broz Tito, popularly called “The House of Flowers”, the mountain Avala nearby Belgrade, a visit to the football stadium of the Red Star team- “Marakana” and “the house of famous Serbian folk singer Svetlana Ražnatović Ceca”¹⁵⁶.

Certainly, both presented attributes cannot be an asset of Belgrade, but they show the urgency of the need for Belgrade to redefine and better promote the city’s identity, and that, many stakeholders need to work together for the accomplishment of that task.

¹⁵⁵ Dejan Kožul, “Breograd - Grad greha,” *Dop magazine- Magazin pop & off culture*, August 16, 2006 Dop columnizam section http://www.dopmagazin.com/file.asp?area=9&pd=20060816_202013&print=print
Milena Zajović, “Mladi Hrvati hrle u prijestolnicu Srbije u potrazi za opuštenom i jeftinom zabavom- U Beograd na vikend-zabavu,” *Večernji list*, January 6, 2006, Svijet Section <http://www.vecernji-list.hr/newsroom/news/international/453911/index.do>

¹⁵⁶ S. Boganović, “Bratstvo i jedinstvo- slovenački poštari u Beogradu,” *Politika*, May 20, 2006, Belgrade edition, 10.

5 THE PROPOSED IDENTITY PILLARS OF BELGRADE IDENTITY

The sky above Belgrade is wide and high, unstable but always beautiful; even during winter serenities with their icy splendor; even during summer storms when the whole of it turns into a single gloomy cloud, which, driven by the mad wind, carries the rain mixed with the dust of the panonian plain; even in spring when it seems that it also blooms, along with the ground; even in autumn when it grows heavy with the autumn stars in swarms. Always beautiful and rich, as a compensation to this strange town for everything that isn't there, and a consolation because of everything that shouldn't be there. But the greatest splendor of that sky above Belgrade, that are the sunsets. In autumn and in summer, they are broad and bright like desert mirages, and in winter they are smothered by murky clouds and dark red hazes. And in every time of year frequently come the days when the flame of that sun setting in the plain, between the rivers beneath Belgrade, gets reflected way up in the high celestial dome, and it breaks there and pours down over the scattered town. Then, for a moment, the reddish tint of the sun paints even the remotest corners of Belgrade and reflects into the windows, even of those houses it otherwise poorly illuminates.

Ivo Andrić¹⁵⁷

After the city won the award as the city of the future of South-East Central Europe¹⁵⁸, the question of city identity became inevitable. From the presented surveys it can be concluded that the image of Belgrade is not developed enough, except the superficiality in presenting Belgrade's identity, mostly towards the "fast city of fun" concept; the concept that could be very profitable in the short run, but negatively marks the city in the future.

Even that is very hard to speak about city identity, mostly because of its complexity. Since there are many different identities of Belgrade, and none is precisely defined, it is necessary to ask what could be the potentials for Belgrade's identity, and what is the reality? Is it that Belgrade is "the ugliest city, on the most beautiful spot"¹⁵⁹ or an "ugly charmer with a face full of scarves"¹⁶⁰? Those popular sentences are reinterpreted many times by all kinds of marketing, brand and city experts, but still without some concrete idea for city identity building, even without concentrating on the idea of identity.

Belgrade as a twin/ triple centered city. The notion of twin cities is not new, but is always very enriching for the society as a whole. Cities like Berlin, Budapest, and Minneapolis are

¹⁵⁷ Ivo Andrić, *The Woman From Sarajevo*, tr. Joseph Hitrec (New York: Knopf, 1965).

¹⁵⁸ "Serbia's economy grew at 8.6% in 2004 and GDP growth is expected to exceed 6% in 2005. Total investment in Serbia in 2005 is estimated to be €1.65bn and significant recent investors include Italy's Banca Intesa, US company Ball Packaging and Germany's Metro Cash & Carry. Metro's facility in Belgrade was the largest greenfield investment in south-east Europe in 2004. In addition, Microsoft has established its first software development centre in south-east Europe in Belgrade."

"European Cities of the Future 2006/07", *fDi magazine* (2006),

http://www.fdimagazine.com/news/fullstory.php/aid/1543/EUROPEAN_CITIES___REGIONS_OF_THE_FUTURE_2006_07.html

¹⁵⁹ According to Miloš Perović *Iskustva prošlosti- Istraživanje alternativnih modela grada, Studija rekonstrukcije centra Novog Beograda i Savskog amfiteatra* (Beograd: Zavod za planiranje razvoja grada Beograda, 1985) it is the sentence of Le Corbusier about Belgrade.

¹⁶⁰ Phillippe Mihailovich, Belgrade design week, oral presentation.

the only examples how a city functioning as a collectivity can remain aware of its positive differences.

Applying that model on the Belgrade metropolis, it can be stated that that model originated from the geographical position of the city. It is stated many times that Belgrade has a magnificent geographical position, at the confluence of two big rivers Danube and Sava, with a great morphological diversity.

Also that division is important both historically and sociologically, Belgrade can be considered as a twin or even triple city- starting from the relation between the Old Town of Zemun that transformed from an independent city to one of Belgrade's municipalities on April 1st, 1934 with the city of Belgrade, and more recently, the relation both with New Belgrade undergoing transforming into the business center of the city. It is at the same time a passing through time, in Old Town Zemun one can live in a city of the late 18th and 19th century, in Belgrade from the 19th century onward, and in New Belgrade only from the second half of the 20th century (except the part of the Old Fair Complex and the Old Airport). It is also the transformation of New Belgrade that is architecturally and socially very important, transformation from an unattractive quarter, with the undeveloped traffic and completely non-active zone to new business (mostly banking), shopping and entertainment center of the city. It is not a specific feature but it is compulsory that both the citizens and visitors understand and feel those differences, differences that can be best defined by its "loci memoriae".

Since many places of memory of Belgrade were defined either by the survey about Belgrade or by the previous literature, it is necessary to name the spots of the other two proposed centers of the city. "Loci Memoriae" of New Belgrade could be best defined through the Old Fair Complex (so-called Staro Sajmište), remains of the Old Airport- the hangar and workers pavilion, the Federation Palace and the former Communist league building, that is today usually named as the highest building in the Balkans¹⁶¹. Named places and their persistent use could provide New Belgrade with the strength to resist a strong tendency of becoming only one of the places of detachment of modern society, and avoid labeling as a place of loneliness. It is very important to identify New Belgrade as a separate cultural element from Belgrade. Unfortunately, even in its future plans of development there is constant tendency of becoming the main place of Belgrade's consumption society, and not at the same time one of the parts of Belgrade culture. It is the obstacle of that very center of the city: to become only profit oriented and play with the provocation of only basic instincts in its citizens.

¹⁶¹ "Lepša i modernija nego ikad," *Danas* (2005), <http://www.danas.co.yu/20050702/dezurnal.html>

“Loci memoriae” of the Old Town of Zemun can be best defined through Gardoš tower, built by Hungarians in 1896 as one of the four border landmarks of their state, celebrating 1000 years of their rule in Pannonia (as the South border, Zemun was marked by one of the towers); its religious tolerance in past centuries with orthodox, Catholic churches and today the no longer existing synagogue, Karamatas’ house, again associated with Austro-Hungarian history, since Tsar Joseph II resided there, kafanas around the Danube quay, city lagoons, but also on its unique geographical feature of a city, the isolated and desolated island so-called the War Island.

Bearing in mind that some other parts of Belgrade have their own identities, such as Banovo brdo, a part of the city that emerged with the characteristics of a small Serbian town, it can be stated that there exists a huge diversity in not so vast a territory. However, the most important strength of that spatial disposition of Belgrade is its variety (especially those of Old and New Belgrade and Zemun), and the absolute need to lead, balance and sometimes even change differences in one harmonic oneness, the oneness of old and new.

Belgrade’s spirit. The only characteristic that is continuously mentioned throughout the survey as a characteristic of Belgrade, that persisted in spite of all territorial differences was the characteristic that was not introduced by any authority, the spirit of Belgrade. The spirit of the city named by interviewees supposed mainly the kafanas, night life and enjoyment in the city. Still, this is only a partial and basic characteristic. For a deeper experience it would be of value to introduce the people of Belgrade, famous or not. Trying to find the urban legend of the city, or what reality is and where the myth starts. Starting with historical legends, in the middle age those were Stefan Lazarević and Nikola Doksat de Morez, both gentlemen, first ruler and the second the ‘founder’ of European Belgrade. Later on there were, Knez Mihailo Obrenović- gentleman ruler from the Balkans, Branislav Nušić- Belgrade comedy writer and Isidora Sekulić, female writer, Mira Trailović, lady of Belgrade’s theatres, and many others. Later on it is necessary to name the phantom of Belgrade, the man that stole the white porch, and circled with it around Slavija square every night for some time, driving the police crazy and entertaining citizens, which became the symbol of some other, pro-Communist times. Every time has its legend, the recent one of Belgrade describing a spirit of the city might be found in the man that did water-skiing during Belgrade’s inundations in spring 2006. Though that episode it is the most appropriate is to agree upon the slogan of “Days of Belgrade 2006”- “People are the city”.

Another part of Belgrade's spirit was best preserved and presented during turbulent times and demonstrations against government of that time (especially the student protest of 1996/97). The lucid and ingenious performances of the demonstrators were the only bright point of the promotion of Belgrade outside the country's borders.

Understanding of the importance of Peace as a potential city identity. A very important issue that could be promoted as an identity of Belgrade, both to citizens and tourists, that may the future brand of Belgrade could be recognition of a city that successfully resolved its own identity problem, a city that has overcome the troubles of the 90s, a city that will emphasize the understanding of the importance of peace, by sharing all the problems of that process with the citizens and tourists, instead of falling back to historical problems.

Peacekeeping diplomacy could provide the city not only a better image outside the borders, but also be a real healing for the society and the city itself. Besides politics, the city can arrange different projects such as conciliation programs between different 'Belgrades' presented in "native" citizens, old refugees and the recent refugees from the wars of the 90s, then different symposiums, round tables...

The traces from the past can be found in different peace agreements signed in the city by Turks, Austrians, the first meeting of the Non-alignment movement in Belgrade, etc.

The potential peace city identity can also be predetermined by two important characteristics of Belgrade, its sub-identities, named as a "dematerialized city" and a multicultural city.

Belgrade- a "dematerialized" city

If one starts with imagining what monuments- buildings Belgrade could have had, if there was no destruction, the wealth of the city would be immense. On the contrary, there are very few marks left, and the reality is that we can count only on imaginary wealth.

Text about searching for the personality of Belgrade by O. Minić¹⁶², started with a very interesting observation that Belgrade's identity is marked by very few marks of the past. Starting from that perspective it can be argued that Belgrade's identity survived certain dematerialization of the city's past and present. Thus, there are only a few remains that have been left in the city after all the turbulent centuries. Among others, there are remains of the Vinča settlement; an antique sarcophagus, fragments of statues, objects from tombs, lagums; only the rebuilt gate in the Upper City dated in the Middle Ages of Serbian state; one mosque

¹⁶² Oliver Minić, "U portrazi za likom Beograda," in *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda II* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1955), 449 – 458.

and two turbes, parts of Kalemegdan form the Turkish period, gates of Charles VI in Kalemegdan and Eugene of Savoy from the Austrian era. Only a very few buildings from the 19th century independent Serbia were left to our age, even from the end of the 19th century there were very few environmental complexes such as Kosančićev venac and Zemun. The hugest remains are from the socialistic period, the new city for a new people, New Belgrade itself.

However, foreclosed of its past in the material sense (except the recent past that can be seen in the ruins left after the bombing of the city in 1999), with the history readable only from the archives, Belgrade could develop its identity on bases of that permanent character of the city – a city of immense past, with almost no remains, the immaterial city. That feature can be connected to Belgrade’s orientation toward memory searching, the city that sometimes lives more in its selected past than in present times.

Since, it is difficult to speak about the “*loci memoriae*”, but many times more about “*memoriae*”, so, the components of Belgrade’s identity could be developed from its intangibility of the rich and long history, and making the invisible points of the city visible by the simulation and illusion- matching an historic period with a Belgrade quarter, providing the named parts with their potential identities, where some place are existing with overlapped identities:

Prehistory	Vinča, Karaburma, Višnjica
Antiquity	Kalemegdan
Middle Ages	Kalemegdan
Turks era	Dorćol
Austrian period	Zemun and Kalemegdan
19 th century Serbian state	Topčider and Kosančićev venac
Modern	Terazije
Post-modern	New Belgrade

Other typical Belgrade characteristics are becoming part of Belgrade’s non-existing tangible heritage, becoming legend. City kafanas, urban and traditional key features of the city and its culture, main meeting places for more than a century and a half, are places where many political, social, economical and cultural events happened, especially important for modern Belgrade and more and more are soon to disappear from the city’s map. One of the last relations between the Oriental and European city still has a small chance to resist destruction by raising awareness among city stakeholders.

Even today, Belgrade, as a melange city, stayed marked out, since all kind of “Belgraders” are living one by the other.

Belgrade, even with deep scars, resisted that challenge to become only singly oriented. In its materiality, in some way lasted a question: were the masters of Belgrade ruling it; or was a Belgrade ruling its so-called masters.

Belgrade as a multicultural society. By its geographical position, Belgrade was predetermined for the multiculturalism that led it thought its history. From the inhabitants of Vinča in prehistory, Celts, Romans from antiquity; Huns, Sarmants, Ostrogots, Gepids, Herula, Avars, Bulgarians, Slovenes, Serbs in the Middle Ages, Turks, Austrians, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, people from Dubrovnik, Vlachs, Tsintsar, during Turkish and Austrian dominance, Armenians, Germans, Czechs, people from various Central European Countries, Turks during the formation of independent Serbian state, to Yugoslavs, Serbs, Jews, and Russians. There was a time after the October Revolution when every fourth citizen of Belgrade was Russian, among them Kalmyc people also. After the Second World War, during the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union, Belgrade became one of the Non-Aligned countries, and the first summit of Non-Aligned Movement heads of state took place in Belgrade in 1961 at the instigation of Yugoslav President Tito.

Other sources of Belgrade’s multiculturalism can be found in the multicultural student community (coming from other Yugoslav republics, from Arab and African Non-Aligned countries and from other European countries such as Greece), festivals such as BITEF, BEMUS and FEST and the funeral of Josip Broz Tito on May 8, 1980. It might look bizarre that a funeral is nominated as one of the multicultural events of the city, but it was indeed, since it was the largest funeral in the 20th century, when 127 countries sent 209 delegations with 38 heads of state¹⁶³. A number of people present at the funeral will have a very important role in later history.

¹⁶³ The list of persons coming to the funeral is more than impressive: Indira Ghandi, Margaret Thatcher, Raymond Barre, Helmut Schmidt, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, Sandro Pertini, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Rudolf Kirchschläger, Adolfo Suárez, Spyros Cyprianu, Kenneth Kauda, Hua Goufeng, Yasser Arafat, king of Jordan Hussein, king of Belgium, Baudouin I, King of the Belgians, Swedish king Carl XVI Gustaf, king of Norway Olaf V, Urho Kekkonen together with Kurt Waldheim, Todor Zhivkov, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Kim Il-sung, Saddam Hussein etc.

There were also delegates from Vatican, USA, Commonwealth Parliament, European Council, European Union Executive Council, UNESCO, United Nation, OECD, Arab League etc.

Sead Saračević, ed., *Bilo je časno živeti s Titom- Kako su jugoslovenski novinari i foto-reporteri zabilježili dramu posljednje Titove bitke sedam najtužnijih dana* (Zagreb : Jugoslavija, 1980).

Also, the town changed its religious orientation often and usually even, many parallel religions had their centers in Belgrade. Thus, during the 17th century, Belgrade was an Islamic oriented town, the Sufi Islam dominated, with many dervishes and 17 tekias around the city. Almost simultaneously, Christianity (Orthodox and Catholic) and Islam were cohabitated. Today, apart from one mosque- Bajrakli mosque, probably the oldest building in Belgrade today, a few catholic churches (among them Saint Anthony church by Jože Plečnik, architecturally very important), a synagogue, several Orthodox churches (among others the Saint Sava church as a potential landmark building of the city), it is necessary to remind of the first Buddhist Temple built in Belgrade by the Kalmyc people. The temple was built in the suburban area, around Pašina česma in the quarter Mali Morki Lug. Unfortunately, after World War II, with the rise of Communism, the Kalmycs left Belgrade and the temple was first ruined, and later completely destroyed.

During the 90s a strong homogenization process began in the city, and from a predominantly multicultural city, Belgrade had become mostly a Serbian City with more visibility of the Roma population (the Roma immigrants from Kosovo had entered in the ruins and abandoned buildings of the center of the city).¹⁶⁴

The comeback of multicultural Belgrade was provided by the artists and public from abroad coming to the festivals such as BELEF, BITEF and BEMUS. Also, other cultural, sport manifestations, as well as concerts brought people from the region to the city. Slowly, Belgrade is becoming part of the region and the world again.

Belgrade's spirit and appearance is also part of city multiculturality. The most suitable description of that city characteristic is Alberto Moravia's sentence from 1968, that to some extent can be applicable to a city of today: "Belgrade is a rare city, there are not many such cities in the world. At one moment, observing the silhouette of the city by the Danube, it occurred to me that I was somewhere near Vienna. In the next instant, I had the impression of being in some other European city, Paris or maybe Brussels. Belgrade is unique, not only because of its ideal site on two rivers, but also because it represents a synthesis of several metropolises."¹⁶⁵

The Belgrade multiculturality could be emphasized with the establishment of one fixed exhibition space of the Museum of City of Belgrade, with the systematically presented,

¹⁶⁴ Milena Dragičević Šešić, "BELEF, Polyphony of Cultures - Challenges for the New Cultural Policy," *Belef 04*, http://www.belef.org/04/index_e.html

¹⁶⁵ Ivica Mladenović, "Modern Serbian architecture," Rastko project, http://www.rastko.org.yu/isk/imladjenovic-modern_architecture.html.

movable permanent exhibition done according to the principle of contemporary museology, which will be connected with the already existing exhibition spaces of nine small museums. “Virtual tour of 15th century Belgrade”, made by students of archeology department of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, should have special place within that new permanent exhibition.

Despite different initiatives, Belgrade is one of the last capital cities that does not have its own museum, but that problem might be solved soon, since the Army of Serbia and city authorities have signed the agreement, and the Army would lend one of their unused military buildings, destroyed in the bombing of 1999 in the city center to the Museum.

Also Belgrade’s multiculturalism should be underlined by other existing traces of a tremendous city history: Vinča, Kalemegdan, the Old Fair Complex, Belgrade’s lagums together with museums, atypical for this region, such as existing Museum of African Arts in Belgrade.

City identity improving image tools

If we try to promote the city outside the borders of the country it is necessary to start with the activities connected with city identity improving image tools¹⁶⁶, the tools that can help the city to recover its positive image. Thus among proposed activities, the following need to be named:

1. Branding the city

As from the examples of Paris, New York, Amsterdam, Salzburg and Bilbao¹⁶⁷ can be seen, cities can be branded more or less successfully. In the case of Belgrade, it would be negative for a city to build the identity like another globalized city, but the sense of its identity building could be based on the issue that was/is troubling the city and a state in last decades, the emerging nationalism and conflicts. So, Belgrade would need to be presented as a city that resolved its problems with identity conflicts and to present a new peace orientation, setting an example for the others.

The branded spots that Belgrade could project would be Kalemegdan, not only place full of memories for almost every civilization and generation of Belgrade, but also a place with an

¹⁶⁶ Erik Braun and Alexander Otgaar, “City Identity and Image,” *EURICUR- Erasmus University Rotterdam*, 1st discussion, http://www.europa.wfg-hagen.de/projekte/CRII_Presentations/Uni%20Rotterdam-City_Identity_and_Image-first_discussion.pdf

¹⁶⁷ See chapter 3.

important role in building an orientation towards peace, to destroyed buildings by bombing of World War II and 1999 that could in some reconstructed monuments with a kind of historical overview in its façades.

2. Events

According to D. Harvey, cities seem “to take much more care to create a positive and high quality image of place, and have sought an architecture and forms of urban design that respond to such a need.”¹⁶⁸ He further emphasized that in a period of urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism, “imaging a city through the organization of spectacular urban spaces became a means to attract capital and people (of the rich sort) in a period (since 1973) of intensified inter-urban competition and urbanity”.¹⁶⁹ Also, to have a positive impact in city image and identity, festivals must become an integral part of the shared values of a community, and the participation of both citizens and visitors must be encouraged, also citizens and urban stakeholders must be actively implicated in developing the idea of the festival.

Thus, the creation of events such as single year manifestations or one time events need to be organized with patience and awareness of the possible results and consequences. The recently organized Eurobasket Competition in Belgrade in 2005 provided the city with a new, different image of fair play. As always when that kind of manifestation is organized, the city has a rare opportunity to present itself. Unfortunately, there are mismatches in that part of organization. No relevant study has been done, but according to the media quotes, there was minimal augmentation of the visits to cultural heritage of Belgrade, and the only value of the city was presented through nightlife.

So, for the next event preparing in Belgrade, “EYOF”- European Youth Olympic Festival in Belgrade in summer 2007 and 25th Universiade in Belgrade in 2009, it would be mandatory to prepare detailed strategies for the presentation of the city both to tourists, and to residents.

On the other hand, the present one year cultural manifestations of Belgrade, such as BELEF, BITEF, BEMUS and FEST, have more or less become significant marks of Belgrade’s identity and city identity itself. Those manifestations, specially BELEF and BITEF, are representatives of how the festival policy could be integrated into the city policy directly influencing the identity of Belgrade. Among other related policies, it is necessary to name

¹⁶⁸ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers inc., 1990), 91-92.

¹⁶⁹ Harvey, 92

policy of opening and communication with the ‘others’ leading to the one of multiculturalism that presents Belgrade as the city of international festivals, policy of spectacularisation of society, sometimes even without boundaries between real life and the spectacle, policy of quality of the event that contribute to the quality of the whole society and policy of memory keeping on certain places.

3. Landmark buildings and projects

Most buildings are erected without the majority of people even noticing them, since most of those buildings are of average construction without any discussion during its construction. Simultaneously, there are constructions that are provoking international attention, mostly by employment of world famous architects or by some specific feature of the new building that would facilitate the raising of awareness of local and international media by occupying the media space and getting marketing for a city.

There are three projects that have the prospect to be named as Belgrade’s landmark buildings: the Saint Sava Church, the rebuilding of Avala tower and potential future highest building in Europe.

For Christians, presenting the largest Orthodox Church currently in use, dedicated to Saint Sava and for all people one of current landmark building project of the city, and potential city symbol has a dominant position in the cityscape. The Saint Sava Church in Belgrade finishes an important line of the city, line passing through Kalemegdan, Republic Square, Terazije, Palace of Belgrade and Slavija square.

The second landmark project to be mentioned is the TV tower built in 1965 and destroyed during NATO bombing in 1999. The proposal is to build the same tower as the destroyed one, since the first one was one of the city’s symbols, important mostly to its citizens. There are many controversies connected to this tower, like can its construction be justified by the “*locus memorie*” tendencies of citizens, since the new erected future tower will be without the practical function that it had when it was first built since it actually held a TV transmitter.

The story of the so-called highest building in Europe started with the news of the Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) and provoked discussions more on the Internet than in other media. The skyscraper mentioned to be built in New Belgrade (possible in Blok 26) is 333 meters high¹⁷⁰ and would finally mark Belgrade as a regional economic centre. This landmark

¹⁷⁰ That would make it 3rd highest building in Europe, after Federation tower and Mercury City tower, both to be constructed in Moscow in 2008. SkyscraperPage.com, “Diagrams. Buildings Under-Construction,” SkyscraperPage.com, <http://www.skyscraperpage.com/diagrams/?2063133>

building could be joined with the proposed Belgrade identity of a peace building city and its economic development as a consequence of that identity. Still, many open questions of Belgrade's future construction remain how the new skyscraper would fit with the city in the future and where would be best suited place for its construction. There are no doubts that the building would become the symbol of the city, and that the income from visitors and companies renting the space will be enormous.

6 CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this paper the best necessary potentials of the city's identity and city's branding creation were searched for in order to apply that knowledge to the case study of Belgrade. So, the purpose of this paper from domain of the cultural management was to discuss present conditions of city identity building and city branding and to propose some ideas for them in the case of Belgrade, a city of mixed, sometimes overlapping and sometimes almost not-linked identities.

Among others, five elements of the city identity- physical settings, activities, meaning, spirit of the place and the projected images about the city by different group of people mentioned, were important during the work. It was suggested that the researcher should have in mind all the time the general picture of the city- its silhouette, its topography, scenography made by nature and corrected by mankind, its history, and the opinion of its residents, stakeholders and tourists in search of the city identity.

Positive and negative examples of the city branding, their assets and obstacles showed both sides of the complex image building story, providing the city with different effects and suggesting that brand building should be very carefully prepared, implemented and promoted.

To better approach the main research questions, *What are present main identities of Belgrade and what are the possible ones?* and *How they can be applied in the future of Belgrade's development?*, different analysis of the identity of Belgrade have been done.

Comparing the presented history of Belgrade and socio-demographic characteristics with the PR and marketing city presentation, Master Plan of Belgrade and the survey, it can be argued that city characteristics are only superficially used in city identity creation and that current city images are not presenting the best possible projection of Belgrade as a city of the. Also, the orientation of the city toward the past and the history, like in case of many other cities form the Balkans region, demands even more careful search toward positive direction of the city in the future. Actually, it means that the idea of a Belgrade of the future perceived mostly as the vision of Belgrade as a consumption oriented society need to be revised.

Throughout the interviews with citizens, city representatives and tourists, as well as from *Yahoo! Travel* research, some new perspectives of Belgrade were introduced and others were confirmed. During the survey, Belgrade was identified as a city where dominant events were from or connected with a tradition of war (Autonomy from the Turkish Empire, various

bombings of Belgrade and the political events from recent history- October 5, 2000- fall of the socialist regime, demonstration of students and citizens in 1996/1997). Personalities best representing city of Belgrade were mostly politicians, (Zoran Đinđić, Branko Pešić, Despot Stefan Lazarević, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Prince Miloš Obrenović, Petar I Karađorđević, Josip Broz Tito and Slobodan Milošević), but also some personalities were from the cultural field (Mira Trailović, Duško Radović and Ivo Andrić). Spatial identity of the city was dominated by Kalemegdan fortress, maybe not the oldest but the most persistent trace of previous periods, and at the same a time symbol of diversity, multiculturality, war and peace. Among other spatial characteristics interviewees recognized Prince Mihailo street and Republic Square, Skadarlija street, National Theatre and confluence of the Sava and Danube, Kongsančićev venac and museums. For the most important events of the city were named FEST, BITEF, BEMUS, BELEF and different sport manifestations. The PR and marketing of the city was not evaluated as good, since almost all of the mentioned tools are not properly, effectively and efficiently applied.

The only objective of the research that cannot be measured completely is providing interviewed citizens with a better understanding of Belgrade by their contemplation on city issues, though during the interviews many citizens expressed their content in being asked questions about their city. Still, many of them stated that they will reflect the fact that they can do something for the city, instead of only waiting for a city to do something for them.

Despite all of Belgrade's potential, the exciting night life is still the best known characteristic of the city according to the tourist. It was verified by the research that all the actors of the study were aware of Belgrade's complex identities and they had a persistent and positive vision of Belgrade's future, a vision that was similar for all interviewees.

Since, the recent history caused a negative perspective of the city outside its borders, the named and proposed identities and potential brand usage of the fourth chapter might help the city to regain its positive image and distinctiveness in the region, and, afterwards, in Europe. The "toleration of difference" could be the key-word of Belgrade's language. Difference in spatial categories, best understood in relation of Belgrade's three centers: Old and New Belgrade and Zemun, with their different perspectives, projections, images and places of memory. The differences in their residents' national and religious background, seen from its foundation on that very territory, from prehistoric residents of Vinča, Celts, Romans, Huns, Sarmants, Ostrogots, Gepids, Herula, Avars, Bulgarians, Slovenes, Turks, Austrians, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, people from Dubrovnik, Vlachs, Tsintsar, Serbs, Germans, Cheques, Yugoslavs, Russians, Kalmucs and at the end the citizens of the Serbian State, with

the many existing religion orientations. A difference exists in the spirit of the people living in it, between different kinds of arts, cultures and orientations, and native residents versus newcomers. Material versus an immaterial city.

However, the persistent characteristic of the city could be the fact that despite all differences it is a city that is longing for a unity of all differences, for a synchrony between them. That could be the leading vision of the city: harmony among necessary existent city differences.

Also, some of the possible paths to Belgrade's identity building and city branding tools that need to be applied in order to further the city development are presented in ending chapter, emphasizing specifically the potential project of the highest building in Europe. Placing the building of such investments and attraction in a turbulent city as Belgrade and making positive impact of so-called Bilbao effect could be a great impulse that will help the establishment of a new and positive image of the city. At the same time, that investment will open the city toward its expansion and growth. On the other hand the importance of festival and event policy development would have special role within the city.

During the presentation of Belgrade's potentials, the city has positively confirmed that city energy for moving forward is still very existent in the case of Belgrade and that energy is ready to be redirected towards new values and assets in order to apply knowledge gained in theory. One of the important obstacles is that the city absolutely needs to avoid locking itself inside, because this huge numbers of identities that are overlapping in the vision of what Belgrade is and could be in the future- centre of the region- crossroad capital city, commercial and university, tourist, sport, multicultural city etc. It can happen when the city is not properly directed, and cannot choose the essence of its identity.

Further perspectives of Belgrade's identity building might be in the hands of city authorities, which will with consultancy of the independent experts create and put in function the adequate city identity tools based on collective memories of the people, both tangible and intangible heritage and the vision of the future of all city stakeholders. Without their and the commitment of all independent actors, as well as citizens themselves, the city identity cannot be built, and neither can city cultural policy be successfully realized. Another real challenge for all city stakeholders in the future will be facilitating the communication of tourists with the built identities of Belgrade, especially when the number of tourists increases.

Finally, I do not want to claim that the survey represents a firm opinion about Belgrade either by Belgraders, by tourists or by representatives from the city, neither that the proposition of

basing the city identity and city brand on named characteristics nor conclusions are the only possible solution for a city in practice. However, it would be of great satisfaction if the paper introduced some new aspects and points of view in the case study of Belgrade.

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11. What is, in your opinion, visual/artistic symbol of Belgrade? *Three answers are possible*

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

12. Do present visual identities of Belgrade (postcards, souvenirs, mascot and city emblem) influence your perceptions of the city? _____

13. Do you feel that any changes to these visual identities would help the overall image of Belgrade? If so, which changes? _____

14. What would you like to find in 10 years in Belgrade?

15. Would you like to say anything additional about Belgrade that is not mentioned in the questionnaire?

Thank you for your cooperation!

12. In your opinion, which historic events are connected with Belgrade?

- a) _____ b) _____ c) _____

13. What manifestations (cultural, artistic, sport or similar) are the most important in Belgrade?

- 1) _____
2) _____
3) _____

4) What is, in your opinion, visual/artistic symbol of Belgrade?

Three answers are possible.

- 1) _____
2) _____
3) _____

16. Do present visual identities of Belgrade (postcards, souvenirs, mascot and city emblem) influence your perceptions of the city? _____

Do you feel that any changes to these visual identities would help the overall image of Belgrade? If so, which changes? _____

17. Before coming to Belgrade, how did you imagine it?

18. What is your opinion about Belgrade, now, when you are here?

19. If you come to Belgrade in 10 years what would you like to find in the city?

20. Do you find the citizens of Belgrade welcoming? How?

21. Would you like to say anything additional about Belgrade that is not mentioned in the questionnaire?

Thank you for your cooperation!
Wishing you a pleasant stay in Belgrade!

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20. Would you like to say anything additional about Belgrade that is not mentioned in the questionnaire?

Thank you for your cooperation!
Wishing you a pleasant stay in Belgrade!

8. What would you like to find in 10 years in Belgrade?

9. What are the strategic goals of Belgrade?

10. Can anyone decide about the city identity and if yes who is the one that decides in the case of Belgrade?

11. Would you like to say anything additional about Belgrade that is not mentioned in the questionnaire?

Thank you for your cooperation!

Write a review of Belgrade, Yugoslavia

Tell us what you think!

Overall Experience:



awful excellent

Atmosphere:



awful excellent

Convenience:



awful excellent

Safety:



awful excellent

Value:

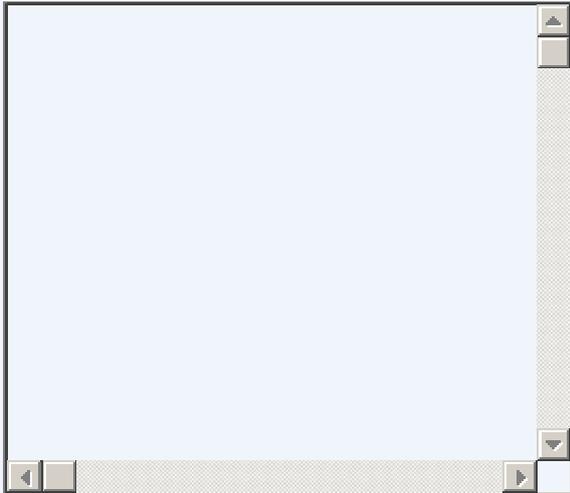


awful excellent

Write a review:

*Give your review a title: (Example: We can't wait to go back!)

*What did you like or dislike about this place and why?



Note: Any review that violates our [guidelines](#) will not be posted.

*** REQUIRED**

Do you think this place is also great for... (optional)

- Beaches
- Scuba/Snorkeling
- Skiing/Snowboarding
- Hiking/Camping
- History/Culture
- Theatre/Music
- Nightlife
- Budget Travel
- Family Vacations

Tell us about you:

Do not display who I am (Your name will appear as 'A Yahoo! User.')

Where are you from? (optional) (Example: San Francisco, CA)

When was your last visit? (optional) Month Year

*** REQUIRED**

SOMMAIRE

L'époque actuelle, populairement connue sous le nom de "siècle de ville", exige une définition détaillée de l'identité d'une ville et la promotion de son image de marque afin de fournir la différenciation d'autres endroits pareillement définis, aussi bien que pour défendre sa propre identité des effets négatifs possibles de porter son image. Afin de définir précisément le phénomène de l'identité d'une ville, il est nécessaire d'expliquer différents concepts semblables au phénomène de l'identité de la ville telle que l'identification de ville, le marketing de la ville et la marque de la ville, aussi bien pour nommer les variations des concepts d'identité (projets de navire amiral ou bâtiments exagérés comme pilier d'identité de ville, des événements très importants accueilli dans une ville - exemple de la "Capitale de la culture" et ville créatrice, centre créatif, industrie créatrice). La notion de l'identité de ville est décrite dans les sciences sociales, basé principalement sur la composition quadripartite de l'arrangement, des activités, de la signification et *genius loci*. Simultanément, la marque d'endroit est définie subordonnée au concept de l'identité de ville, avec l'opposition de deux concepts différents : d'abord - quand la réputation de l'endroit doit être établie sur les qualités qui sont positives, attrayant, unique et approprié à beaucoup de personnes différentes autour du monde puis du concept négatif où la marque de ville provoque un sentiment contradictoire et les associations (principalement négatives) vers la marque projetée de ville. Des villes avec un succès marquées (Paris, New York, Amsterdam, Salzbourg et Bilbao) sont présentées ainsi que les exemples d'image de marques problématiques (Las Vegas, Célébration- la ville de Disney, stigmatiser les quartier de Los Angeles par corporations) et leurs conséquences potentielles pour l'image de marque de ces villes.

Dans ce mémoire, le sujet principal est l'identité de Belgrade, la ville qui a supporté d'importantes difficultés pendant son histoire, tout en maintenant sur sa position géographique. D'après le sujet, le but de l'étude est d'évaluer la pratique existante dans l'élaboration et la promotion de l'identité de Belgrade, et de proposer les sources de l'image de marque de la ville sur la base théorique et pratique. Pour mieux aborder la question de la recherche, *Quelles sont actuellement les identités principales de Belgrade ? Quelles sont celles possibles ? et Comment peuvent-elles être appliquées au futur développement de Belgrade ?*, la présentation de différents aspects de l'identité de Belgrade sont expliqués au travers de trois chapitres. Il est suggéré, pendant le travail, que le chercheur ait constamment à l'esprit l'image globale de la ville - sa silhouette, sa topographie, scénographie façonnée par la nature et corrigé par l'humanité, son histoire, l'opinion des résidents, dépositaires et

touristes- dans la recherche de l'identité de la ville. L'analyse des caractéristiques de Belgrade a été réalisée par le biais de différentes sciences, telles que l'histoire, la sociologie, la culture, l'architecture, les arts, etc. Pour obtenir les résultats sur l'identité de Belgrade, la vue d'ensemble historique complexe est brièvement expliquée, dès périodes préhistoriques avec Vinca et une des premières maisons sur le territoire européen, l'antiquité de Belgrade avec les Romains et beaucoup de tribus barbares passant par le secteur, périodes turbulentes perpétuelles des âges moyens jusqu'au 19ème siècle avec le changement constant des maîtres de la ville (Byzantins, Avars, Slaves, Serbes, Bulgares, Turcs, Autrichiens etc.), jusqu'à la formation de l'état Serbe moderne au 20ème siècle, suivie de la formation du premier royaume de la Yougoslavie et plus tard la République Socialiste Fédérative de Yougoslavie, de la Serbie et du Monténégro, et enfin jusqu'au rétablissement de la République de la Serbie en 2006. D'autre part, l'analyse socio-démographique souligne les transformations de la société des années 90 du 20ème siècle, aux années de la guerre civile, l'isolement international, l'hyper-inflation, la paupérisation, et des réfugiés. Cela a mené à la désintégration des fonctions de la ville, a intensifié la polarisation de la société sur deux axes disparates : un de coexistence multi-ethniques et de multiculturalisme, mieux présenté dans la radio B-92, groupes artistiques socialement engagés tels que le groupe " ŠKART ", musique alternative, Remont - O.N.G. dans des arts visuels, centre de CENPI/ pour le nouveau théâtre et la danse, centre pour l'art contemporain, théâtre de DAH et un autre de la pureté ethnique et le ségrégationnisme présenté dans la culture turbo-folk, les médias tels que Pink TV et TV Palma.

Dans la littérature, Belgrade est présentée comme une frontière entre l'est et l'ouest, (mais depuis deux siècles plus tournée vers l'ouest), avec des spécificités pour l'architecture et de l'aspect de la ville (de la transformation du centre-ville au cours des derniers siècles aux questions architecturales spécifiques telles que la relation de Belgrade et de ses places non existantes), avec l'esprit préservé dans des kafanas (auberges traditionnelles) disparaissants et avec la caractéristique persistante d'une ville mixte avec ses habitants natifs et les nouveaux arrivants. Les publications précédentes sur les caractéristiques de Belgrade sont présentées à travers des projets dédiés à l'étude de l'identité de la ville soulignant l'importance des festivals dans l'histoire de la ville et actuellement (important tous les deux pour leur contenu aussi bien que pour la promotion du paysage de Belgrade) nommant certains des projets artistiques *Under the Bridge (Sous le pont)* et *Project Belgrade (le projet Belgrade)*, ainsi que le projet mené par la municipalité dans le cadre de son plan de ville. En outre, un aspect clé de la ville est l'analyse des relations publiques et de son marketing, importants pour la

présentation de l'identité, la construction de la conscience des habitants et la promotion de Belgrade parmi les dépositaires et les touristes. Excepté l'écusson de la ville tous les autres aspects sont vaguement définis et présentés, tel que la mascotte (est-ce qu'un moineau est approprié pour une ville qui a une telle histoire ?), le slogan de la ville (quelque chose entre « venez dans une ville où vous vous sentirez chez vous » et « une vie charmante »), cartes postales (seulement quelques séries de qualité sur le marché), des spots publicitaires sur la ville (sans âge), des guides touristiques (présentant la ville seulement à travers les faits au lieu de créer un enchantement à travers les histoires). Dans un même temps le rôle d'Internet est encore à explorer, ainsi que les circuits de distributions des matériels de promotion de la ville.

Un autre chapitre est consacré à deux enquêtes. Le premier a été créé et conduit sur un groupe de belgradois, de touristes serbes et étrangers ainsi que sur des représentants d'organisations et institutions dans le domaine de la culture, du tourisme et du marketing ; le second en systématisant les données disponibles sur *Yahoo ! Travel : Belgrade, Yougoslavie - Yahoo ! User Rating & reviews*. Le questionnaire anonyme mis en place pour les touristes et les belgradois a été réparti selon des quotas. Les entretiens avec les représentants de la culture, du tourisme et du marketing de Belgrade étaient non aléatoires ; les personnes interviewées ont été personnellement sélectionnées par l'auteur selon leur statut (artiste, représentant de la municipalité, journaliste, membre d'association, représentant du ministère de la culture, membre d'une agence de relation publique et marketing, représentant de différentes institutions, employé d'agences de tourisme, et professeurs universitaires) ; tous ces entretiens ont été réalisés du 27 Mars au 20 Avril 2006. A travers ces entretiens et les recherches sur *Yahoo ! Travel*, de nouvelles perspectives de Belgrade ont été présentées et d'autres ont été confirmées.

Pendant les recherches, Belgrade a été identifiée comme une ville où les événements sont dû ou lié à la tradition de guerre (Indépendance face à l'Empire Turque, différents bombardements de la ville et les événements politiques de l'histoire récente -5 Octobre 2000 : chute du régime socialiste, manifestation des étudiants et de la population en 1996/1997). Les personnalités représentant le mieux la ville de Belgrade ont été en majorité des politiciens, (Zoran Đinđić, Branko Pešić, Despot Stefan Lazarević, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Prince Miloš Obrenović, Petar I Karađorđević, Josip Broz Tito et Slobodan Milošević), mais quelques personnalité étaient également issu du milieu culturel (Mira Trailović, Duško Radović et Ivo Andrić). L'identité spatiale de la ville est dominée par la forteresse de Kalemegdan, peut-être pas la plus ancienne mais la plus persistante trace des époques passées

et également un symbole de diversité, multi culturalité, guerre et paix. Entre autres caractéristiques spatiales, les interviewés ont identifié la rue piétonne Knez Mihailova et la place de la République, la rue Skadarlija, le théâtre national et la rencontre des deux fleuves (la Sava et la Danube), Kongsančićev venac et les musées. Les principaux événements mentionnés lors des entretiens ont été : FEST, BITEF, BEMUS, BELEF et différentes manifestations sportives. Les relations publiques et le marketing de la ville n'ont pas été évalués comme bons, puisque presque tous les outils mentionnés ne sont pas appliqués correctement, ni efficacement.

Malgré tout le potentiel de Belgrade, la vie nocturne de la cité est toujours la caractéristique la plus reconnue selon les touristes. Cela a été vérifié par les recherches : tous les acteurs de l'étude se sont rendu compte de la complexité de l'identité de la ville et ils ont eu une vision positive du futur de Belgrade, qui fut à peu près la même pour tous les interviewés.

En comparant l'histoire présente de Belgrade et les caractéristiques socio-démographique avec les relations publiques et le marketing de présentation de la ville, le plan cadre de Belgrade et les enquêtes, il peut être défendu que les caractéristiques de la ville sont seulement utilisées superficiellement pour la création de l'identité de la ville. Ces images ne présentent pas les meilleures facettes de la future de la ville de Belgrade, mais montrent plutôt son passé. En fait, l'idée d'un Belgrade de l'avenir fait percevoir surtout (par relation publique et le marketing de la ville, et par les projets d'autorité de ville) la vision de la ville orienté vers la société de consommation.

En conclusion, les résultats et les propositions pour l'identité et l'image de marque de Belgrade, sont réalisés en ajustant des identités de la ville préexistantes dans son histoire, englobant les caractéristiques et les valeurs qui peuvent être perçues par les interviewés (habitants, représentants de la ville au niveau culturel, du tourisme et du marketing et des touristes) qui ont pris part à une étude sur Belgrade. Il en est de même en utilisant la théorie et la pratique dans la construction de l'identité d'une ville et de la définition de l'image de marque. Etant une ville double ou triple, l'esprit de Belgrade, l'importance de la Paix comme une identité potentielle de la cité, présenté le mieux à travers la multiculturalité et la ville « dématérialisée » sont reconnus comme les piliers d'une possible identité de Belgrade.

D'après les piliers identifiés de l'identité de la ville, il est proposé que « la tolérance de la différence » puissent devenir les mots clés du langage de Belgrade. Les différences dans les catégories spatiales, mieux comprises dans la relation des trois centres-villes de Belgrade : Zemun, le Vieux et le Nouveau Belgrade avec leurs différentes perspectives, projections,

images et lieux de mémoire. Les différences entre les habitants représentent leur nationalité et leur religion, au vu de la fondation de la ville à la préhistoire avec les Vinča, Celtes, Romains, Huns, Sarmants, Ostrogots, Gepids, Herula, Avars, Bulgares, Vlachs, Tsintsar, Serbes, Allemand, Tchèques, Yougoslaves, Russes, Kalmycs et finalement les citoyens de l'Etat Serbe, avec de nombreuses orientations religieuses. Une différence existe entre les personnes vivant là, par les différents arts, cultures, et opinions pratiquées, ainsi qu'entre les natifs et les nouveaux arrivants. Ville matérielle versus immatérielle. Cependant, la caractéristique persistante de la ville pourrait être le fait que malgré toutes ces différences, c'est une ville qui est pleine de désirs pour unifier toutes ces différences, et les synchroniser entre elles.

Aussi, les chemins possibles dans la construction de l'identité de Belgrade et de son image de marque, qui ont besoin d'être appliqués pour le développement de la ville sont présentés soulignant en particulier le management d'évènement (plus précisément le management de festivals) avec le projet potentiel de la construction du plus haut bâtiment en Europe. Faire accepter de tels investissements et attractions dans une ville telle que Belgrade en pleine turbulence pourrait être une formidable impulsion qui aidera l'établissement d'une nouvelle et positive image de la ville. Dans un même temps, ces investissements ouvriront la ville aux expansions et la croissance.

D'un autre côté, le rôle des festivals actuels tels que le BITEF, BEMUS, BELEF et le FEST ont besoin de devenir partie intégrante des valeurs partagées par la communauté, en encourageant la participation des citoyens et des visiteurs. Il faut également impliquer simultanément les belgradois et les dépositaires urbains dans le développement d'une idée de festival. Depuis, l'histoire récente a créé une perspective négative de la ville hors des frontières, le nom, les identités proposées, et les images de marque potentielles proposés dans le dernier chapitre pourraient aider la ville à recouvrer une image positive et distinctive dans la région et ensuite en Europe. Pendant la présentation du potentiel de Belgrade, la ville a confirmé positivement que l'énergie de la cité pour avancer vers le futur est toujours très existante dans le cas de Belgrade et cette énergie est prête à être redirigée vers de nouvelles valeurs et avantages pour appliquer les savoirs acquis dans la théorie. L'un des obstacles importants est que la ville doit éviter de se refermer sur elle-même à cause du grand nombre de ses identités. Cela peut arriver lorsque la cité n'est pas dirigée correctement et ne peut choisir l'essence de ses identités.

D'autres perspectives de la construction de l'identité de Belgrade seraient dans les mains des autorités municipales qui seront, grâce à la consultation d'experts indépendants, créées et

posées en fonction de l'identité municipale adéquate basée sur la mémoire collective, du patrimoine tangible et intangible de la ville et la vision du futur par tous les dépositaires de la ville. Sans l'engagement de tous les acteurs indépendants, ainsi que les belgradois eux-mêmes, l'identité de la ville ne peut être construite et les politiques culturelles ne peuvent pas non plus être appliquées avec succès.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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In 2003 she entered the Interdisciplinary postgraduate studies, UNESCO Chair: Cultural Management and Cultural Policy at the University of Arts organised in collaboration with the Université Lyon II from France. As a fellow of the French Cultural Centre in Belgrade, she was an intern in the Conseil régional Nord-Pas de Calais, Department for Culture in Lille.