


# MASTER'S THESIS

An aerial, black and white photograph of Zagreb, Croatia, showing a dense urban landscape with various building heights and styles. The sky is filled with large, dark, dramatic clouds, with some light breaking through near the horizon.

## MOVING THROUGH TRANSITIONS

*A strategic urban design framework including the spatial conditions for a competitive environment in the metropolitan region of Zagreb*

A street-level, black and white photograph of Zagreb. It shows a mix of architectural styles, including a large, ornate building with a balcony and statues, and a modern building with a grid facade. The street is paved and has some streetlights.

**KRISTIAN VUKADINOVIC**

# COLOPHON

## MOVING THROUGH TRANSITIONS

*A strategic urban design framework including the spatial conditions for a competitive environment in the metropolitan region of Zagreb*

## DELFT UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

faculty of architecture

Msc Architecture, urbanism and building sciences

Msc track Urbanism

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# PREFACE

Economic geography has always been a fascinating field to me. This thesis gave me the opportunity to further explore its vast body of knowledge. This knowledge is of direct importance to the profession of urban planning, simply because it informs strategies and decisions. I believe there is an enormous gap between urban design and urban planning in our education as well as in practice. With this thesis I give an attempt to combine both fields.

I want to thank my mentors for providing me the necessary literature, the support and feedback, as well as guiding me in the process. I want to thank dr. Diego Sepulveda for his precision. Acknowledging the importance of having a strong narrative is due to dr. ir. Luisa Calabrese. Besides my mentors from the Netherlands, I want to thank four persons from Croatia which gave me the opportunity to hold an interview with. Dipl. ing. arh. Srečko Pegan for his knowledge and critique on the current planning issues. Dipl. ing. arh. Nives Mornar for her knowledge on the current planning practice. Dipl. ing. Jesenko Horvat for his knowledge on the current urban design practice and Biserka Rožić-Šutej for her knowledge on strategic planning.

June, 2015, Delft

Kristian Vukadinovic



# ABSTRACT

This thesis proposes a strategic framework in order to improve the spatial competitive position of the metropolitan area of Zagreb. A country that recently joined the European Union and had to adapt its planning system. The country and its regions, however, remain highly uncompetitive within the European Union. A research is conducted to find the spatial conditions for a competitive environment as well as to find the adequate planning tools. The conditions are found from four theories and a spatial analysis is conducted in order to find the spatial potentials and constraints. The metropolitan fringe is found to have many spatial constraints in relation to the defined criteria and can therefore be regarded as spatially uncompetitive. In order to guide the planning process in a more efficient way, a three layered strategic planning framework is proposed.

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### Theory paper



# 1.0 INTRODUCTION



# 1.1 MOTIVATION

**" Sve uvozimo, ništa ne proizvodimo, i onda se u Vladi čude zašto smo u recesiji! "**

“ We import everything, we produce nothing, and then the government questions why we are in a recession! ”

*(Damir Kalafatić, 2015 in hrvatski-fokus.hr)*

## THE NEGATIVE VIEWS AND OPINIONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF CROATIA ON THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF THE COUNTRY

A societal issue covered heavily in the media of Croatia is its economic performance. The inhabitants show their emotions and disapproval of the current situation. One of the main themes is the inability of the country to play a part in the global market. Many inhabitants are holding the opinion that the country is not producing what it is able to produce. In these times of globalisation the country has intensified its imports, but fails to export the required amount for economic growth. This situation asks for an investigation on the wealth of nations, a fundamental element which has inspired many researches to find the core reasons. This

fascinating subject which consists of many elements also contains spatial factors.

This thesis follows this current issue and tries to relate the economic dis-performance of the country with its urban planning practice and resulting spatial structure. It studies the context influenced by its historical development, in order to find cause -effect relationships. It starts with consulting reports on the economic performance in relation to other EU member countries, in order to understand the problem. Then it looks for what role urban design and planning can have in order to improve the situation for its inhabitants.

**" Zar danas moramo i kruh uvoziti? "**

" Do we nowadays also have to import bread? "

*(Zlatko Šimić, 2015 in jutarnji.hr)*



**" Jedino sto proiz-  
vidomo je Vegeta "**

" The only thing we  
produce is Vegeta "

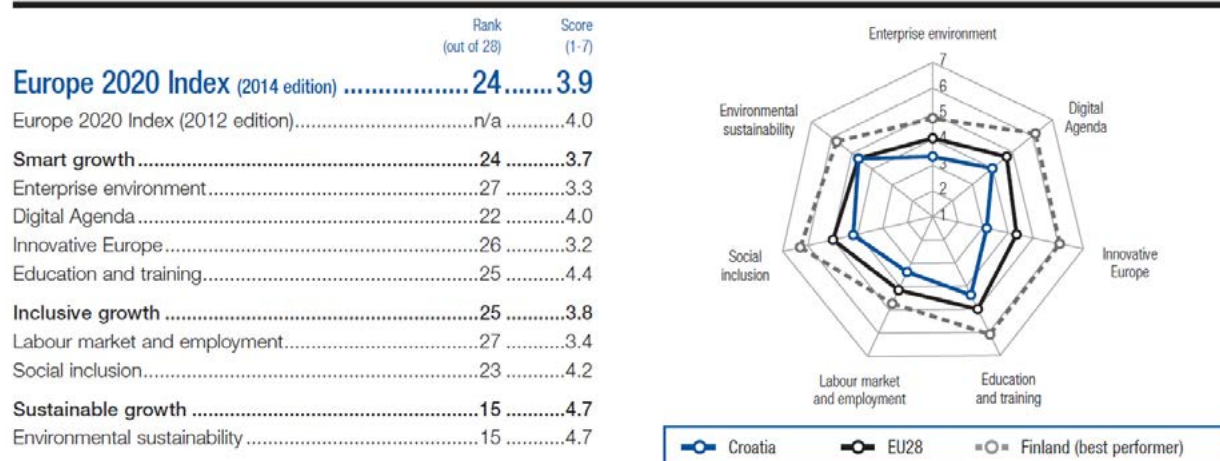
**" Možemo hraniti pola Europe, a uvozi-  
mo jagode iz Perua i jabuke iz Poljske! "**

" We can feed half of Europe, but we import  
strawberries from Peru en apples from Poland. "

*(Vjekoslav Đaić, 2015 in dnevnik.hr)*

# 1.2 PROBLEM FIELD

## Croatia



**Figure 1.1:** The benchmarking of Croatia with the performance indicators from the Europe 2020 strategy (Source : The Europe 2020 Competitiveness Report , © 2014 World Economic Forum)

### THE UNCOMPETITIVENESS OF CROATIA WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION

The negative view of the inhabitants on the economic performance of the country reflects itself in the decline and stagnation of the economy (Figure 1.1). Croatia is one of the few countries in the emerging and developing group within Europe. which has not been able to attract growth in the last decade. Due to pressures caused by the globalisation of the world economy, the country entered the European Union in order to improve its position. As from 2013, the country can call itself the newest member of the European Union (Figure 1.2). The EU emphasises that members states should be in the position to withstand competitive pressures in the single market as a key condition for accession

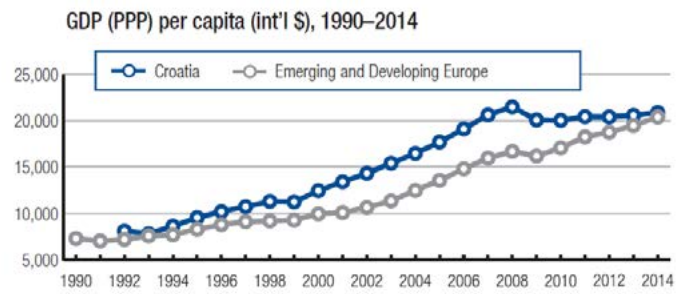
(Malekovic & Frohlich, 2005). Although Croatia met the minimal requirements and was granted accession in 2013, the country performs relatively low in terms of competitiveness and in meeting the criteria of the Europe 2020 strategy (figure 1.3). The economic stagnation and decline of the country can be linked to the uncompetitive position of the country within the EU.

The last two decades there has been an approach based in evolutionary economic geography, which contains the concept of path dependence. This concept implies that the context developed through history will have an impact on future developments (Musterd & Gritsai, 2013). The next section focuses on understanding this context.

# Croatia

## Key indicators, 2014

Population (millions).....	4.2
GDP (US\$ billions).....	57.2
GDP per capita (US\$).....	13,494
GDP (PPP) as share (%) of world total.....	0.08



**Figure 1.2:** The economic stagnation of Croatia in comparison to emerging and developing Europe (Source : The Europe 2020 Competitiveness Report , © 2014 World Economic Forum)



**Figure 1.3:** Croatia within the European Union

# 1.3 PROBLEM CONTEXT

## A COUNTRY GOING THROUGH POLITICAL TRANSITIONS AND A CHANGING POWER OF ACTORS IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The importance of the current context which is a result of past developments in social-economic terms, is visible in the relation between the political environment and its impact on space. Croatia before becoming a nation state has been through many political transitions through its history (Figure 1.4). A compelling notion is the switch between power of actors which have an impact on space (Figure 1.5). During the transition from a socialist to a capitalistic system, the state and its experts lost a great deal of power to economic actors, whose materialistic values led to unplanned random building (Zlatar,

2014). During Yugoslavian times, the power was in the hands of political actors and professional actors as urban planners, architects, etc. During these times many plans were shelved as blueprints of unachievable goals (Cavric & Nedovic-Budic, 2007). The situation changed during and after the transition when economic actors gained enormous power. Figure 5 shows the negative impact on space of both socialist and transition periods. When Croatia started its negotiations with the EU, the Europeanisation of the planning process started, which is advocating a balance in power of all four actors.

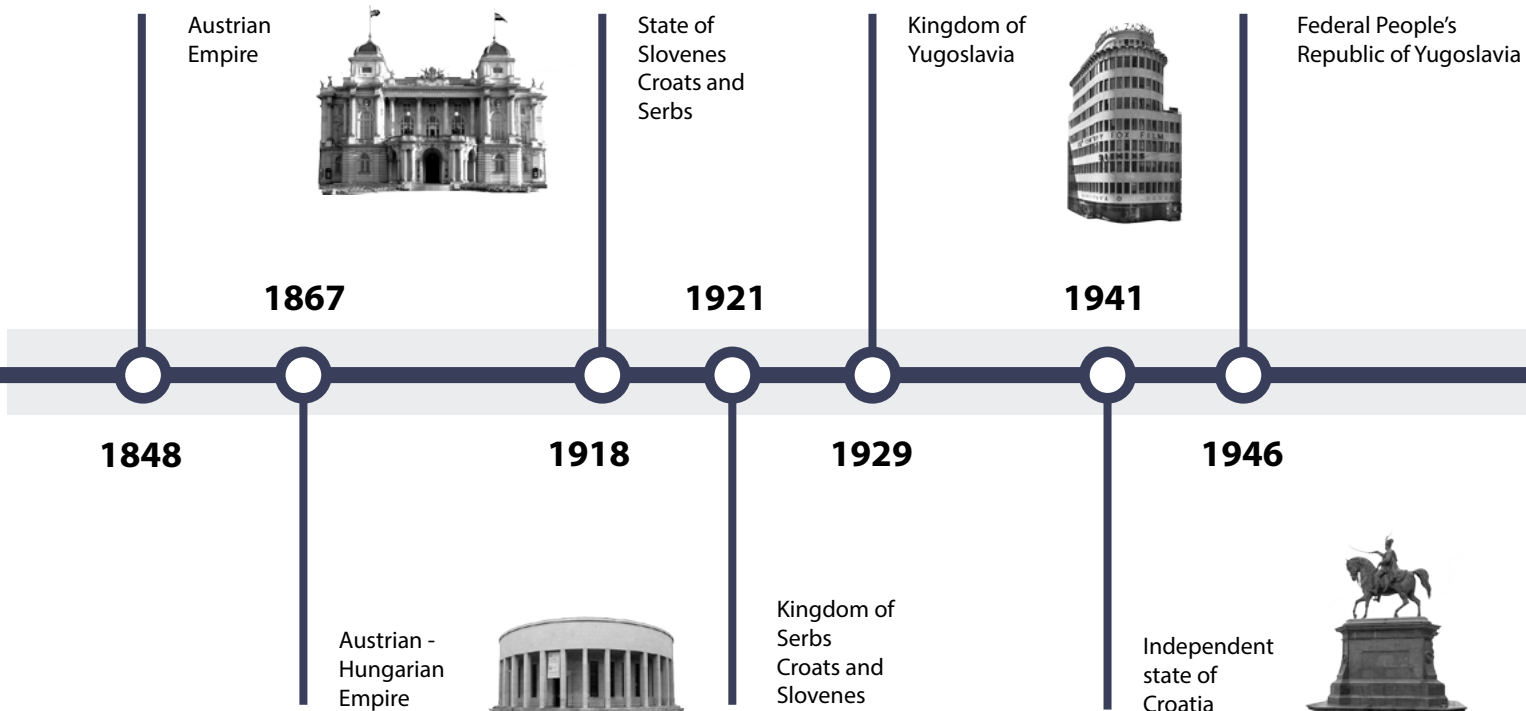
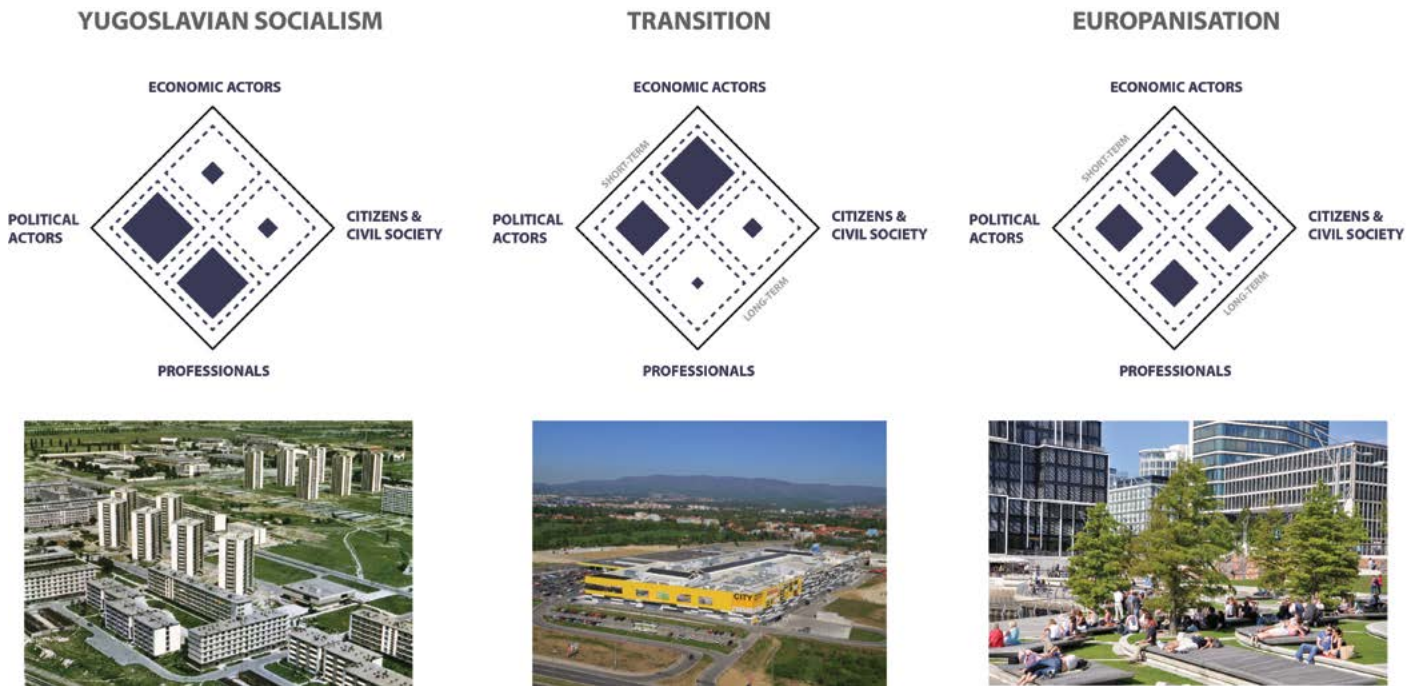
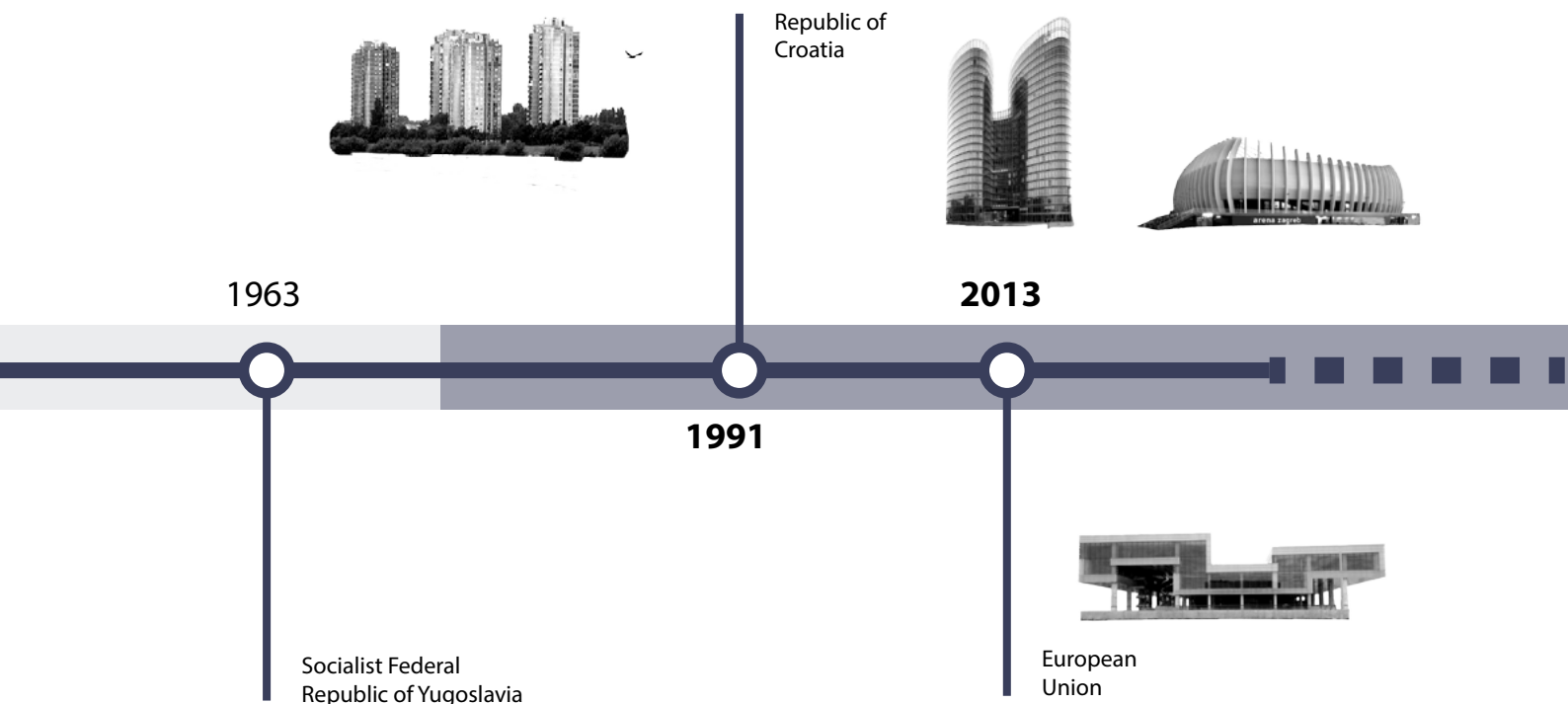


Figure 1.4: The major political transitions the country has been through during its history





**Figure 1.5:** The power of four different actors in space during three socio-political times and the impact on the urban environment (Source: Image based on the article from Zlatar,2014)



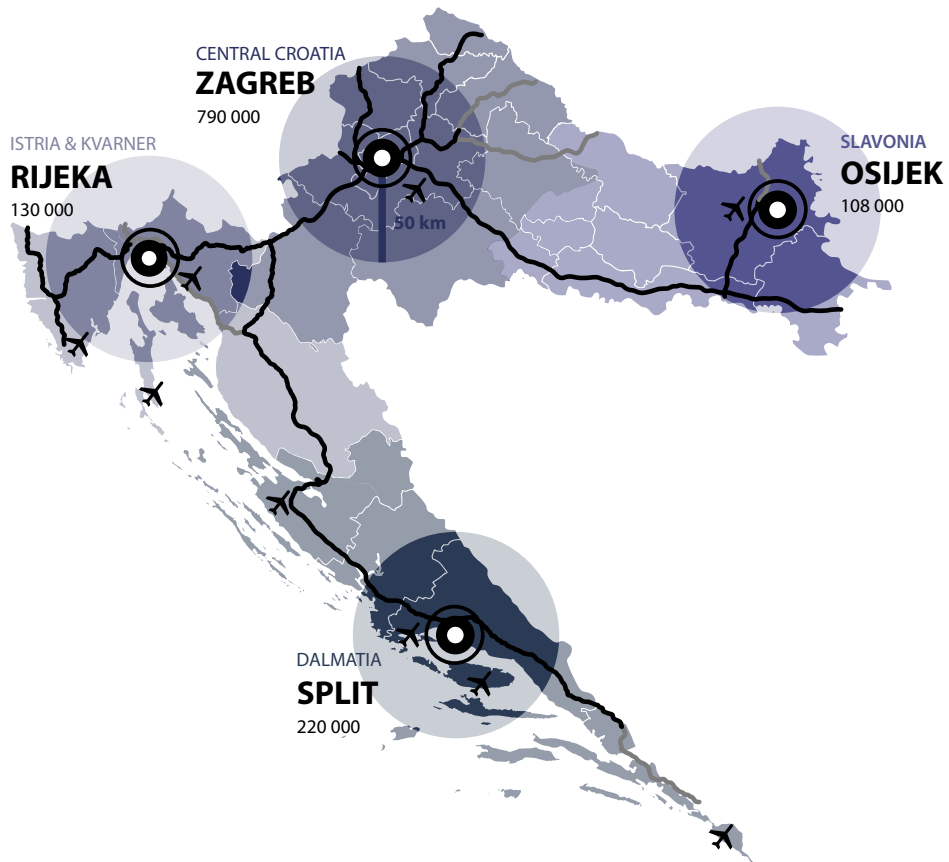
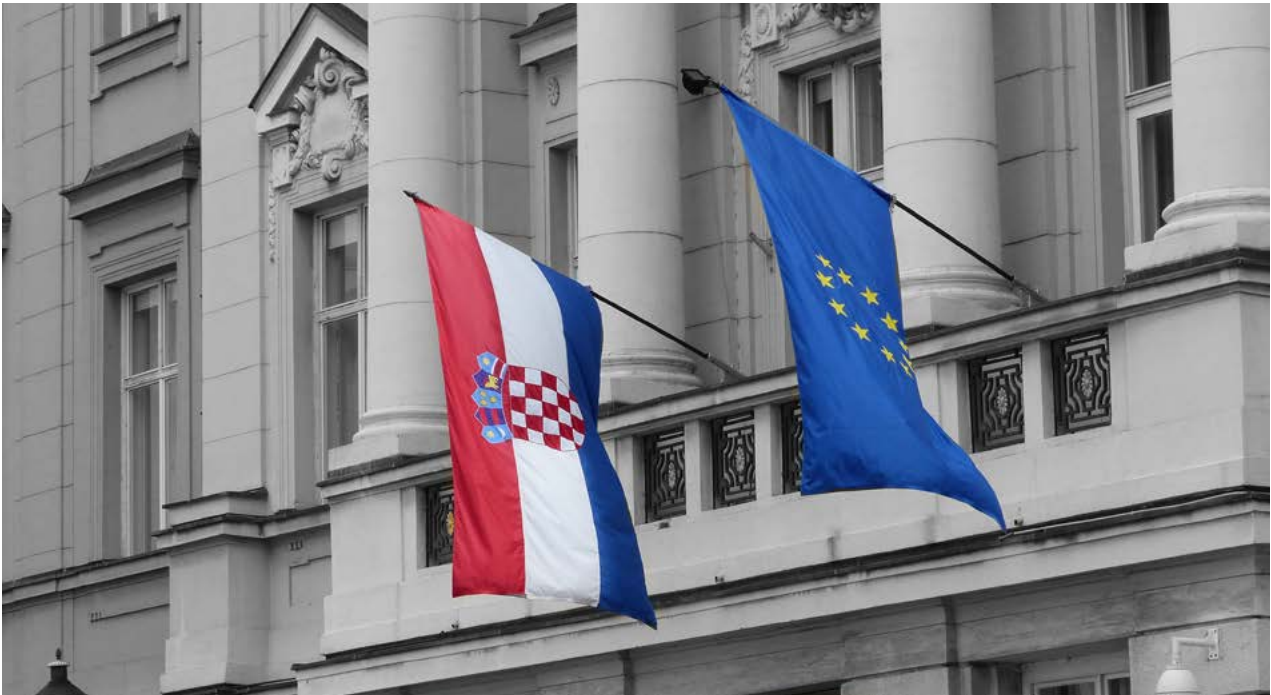
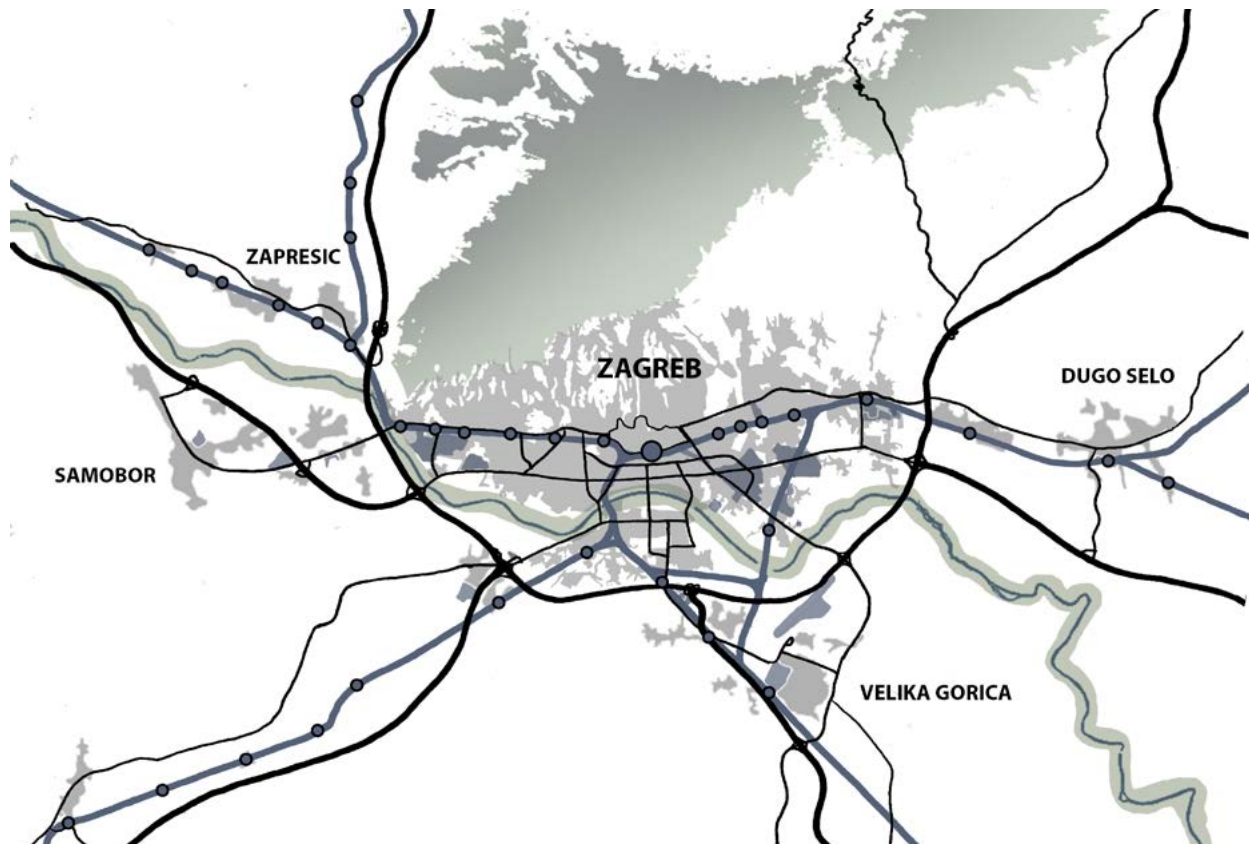


Figure 1.6: The four regions of Croatia with their main cities and city size



**Figure 1.7:** The metropolitan region of Zagreb including four towns which are connected through railway and highway infrastructure

## CROATIA AND THE EU WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ONGOING GLOBALISATION AND REGIONALISATION

The most recent political transition is the admittance to the European Union in 2013, which sets the current context. Many of the Post-Socialist states, which were once located behind the iron curtain, have now be integrated within the European Union, where decentralisation is one of the main reform processes in political-management systems nowadays (Kopric, 2009). It is a result of the demand for more local voice in the decision-making process. It is based on the belief that local levels can make wiser decisions (Tosics, 2005). It goes hand in hand with the process of globalisation asking for effective governance in order to maintain a competitive position. It occurs in a context where the contrasts of the different planning

cultures in Europe are fading (Getimis & Magnier, 2013). This is imposed by EU regulations which are advocating for decentralisation and flexibility in planning, in order to maintain efficient in the current environment of deregulation (Pallagst & Mercier, 2007). The Europeanisation of the planning process has a direct impact for post-socialist cities integrated or awaiting integration within the European Union. Many laws on spatial planning had or have to be altered according to guidelines (Slavuj et al., 2009). These guidelines are imposed in order to increase the economic and social integration of the EU territory, through the enhancement of the competitive positions of its regions, a position which the Croatian regions fail to meet.

# 1.4 STUDY LOCATION



**Figure 1.8:** Part of the medieval ring on the left flowing into the Austrian-Hungarian ring on the right

## THE AGGLOMERATION OF ZAGREB TO STUDY THE RELATION BETWEEN COMPETITIVENESS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The discussed problem field showed that there is a problem with the competitive position of Croatia within the European Union. This shows itself in the relative low performance of its regions in terms of innovativeness. One of those regions is the metropolitan region of Zagreb, which is the study location of this thesis. It studies the relation between competitiveness and the built environment. At the same time it takes the context of political transitions and the current context of globalisation and Europeanisation into account.

The context of political transitions reflect itself in the built environment. Zagreb is a city which has developed layers through its historic development (Figure 1.8 and 1.9). The city more or less follows a concentric model in terms of historic layers. The first ring consists of the first settlements of Zagreb during medieval times. It contains

two previously fortified settlements on the rising slope of the mountain Medvenica. After the incorporation of Croatia into the Austrian -Hungarian empire the city expanded southwards. An extension plan containing a grid of urban blocks with a high focus on public space in terms of parks, squares and cultural facilities was set up. At the same time Europe was industrialising and the authorities laid out an extensive rail road network, which determined its further development. After the political and social unrest in Europe which has led to the First World War and the creation of a state of Southern-Slavs, the early Yugoslavian ring became noticeable. It is determined by modernisation and socialism. The urban fabric developed a car oriented structure with an extensive primary road network. During the crumbling down of the socialist state, the city developed its latest ring, which is recognisable by contrasting developments.



**1. MEDIEVAL**



**2. AUSTRIAN-HUNGARIAN**



**3. EARLY YUGOSLAVIAN**



**4. LATE YUGOSLAVIAN & POST SOCIALISTIC**

**Figure 1.9:** The development of Zagreb following four concentric rings in which four distinctive historical periods can be identified

# 1.5 PROBLEM ANALYSIS

## THE TRANSITION TO CAPITALISM AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

During the transition a main question was how to frame the nature and extent of government intervention in regulating urban development within a market based society (Stanilov, 2007). Many of the laws and policies became invalidated. Governments had the difficult task to formulate and implement new public policies during the transition. This has led to a situation in which spatial planning was neglected or absent. This extreme flexibility in the system made land speculation, illegal construction and environmental degradation possible (Cavric & Nedovic-Budic, 2007). Cities

have experienced a majority of spatial transformations which have led to a worsening of its sustainable future (Tosics, 2004). On the other hand there are also positive transformation signs noticeable. De-industrialisation has caused a remarkable improvement of the environmental situation in the sense of heavy pollution (Jordan, 2010) and the process of revitalisation of central areas (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). However, it can be stated that the negative developments outweigh the positive in terms of sustainability.

## SPATIAL IMPACTS IN POST-SOCIALIST ZAGREB

The mentioned conditions left a mark on the urban structure of the city. Unemployment, poverty and growing social polarisation are the most prominent contemporary features of the socio-spatial structure of post-socialist cities (Prelogovic, 2004). The metropolitan area has been prone to urban sprawl and urbanisation of agricultural land (Cavric & Nedovic-Budic, 2007). Densification of land is happening but without a clear strategy of urban development and oversized buildings are built on relatively small plots without adequate infrastructure (Slavuj et al, 2009). There is an underutilisation of valuable urban spaces, shortage of

housing, illegal residential construction, transportation problems, deficiency in certain urban services and lack of funding for capital projects (Cavric & Nedovic-Budic, 2007). The best municipal land is being allocated to shopping malls, offices and businesses, while residential projects end up in less convenient and attractive locations (Zlataar, 2014). This all has an impact on how the inhabitants are feeling towards their city. Based on a survey, social housing estates in decay and unplanned districts evoke the most negative feelings and discomfort among the inhabitants of Zagreb (Stiperski, 1997). These processes are visualised in figure 1.10.

### INFORMAL HOUSING



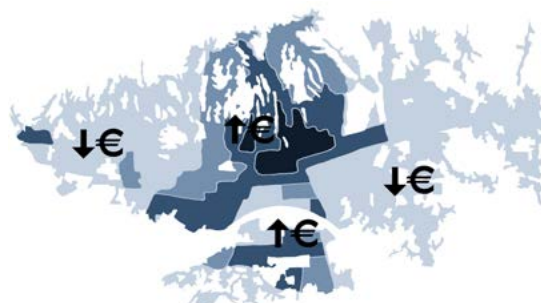
### LOW APPEAL OF THE ENVIRONMENT



### SPRAWL AND LOW DENSITIES



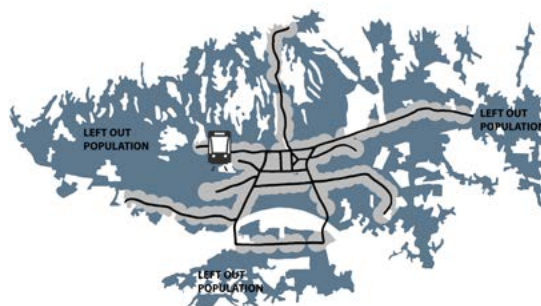
### SOCIAL POLARISATION



### AUTOMOBILISATION



### NEGLECTED PUBLIC TRANSPORT



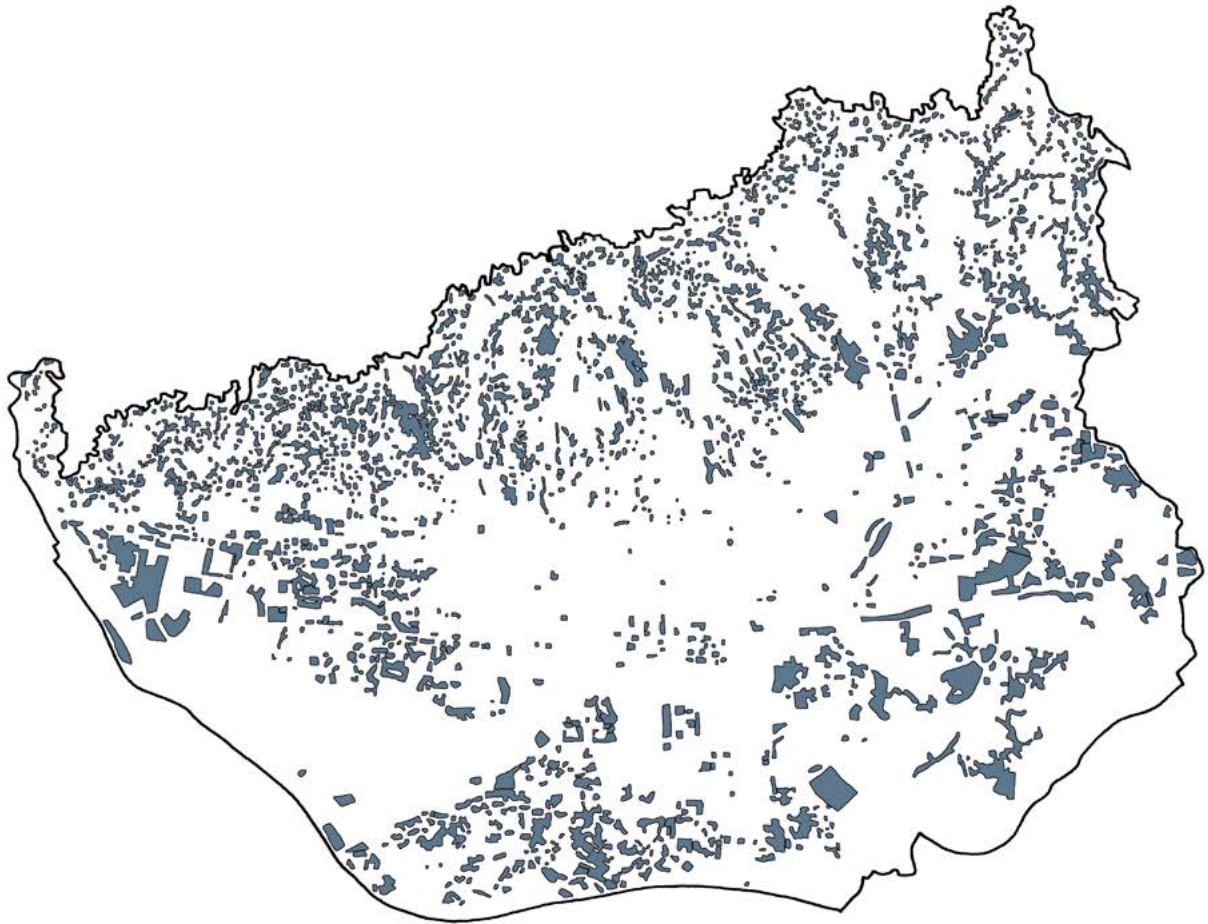
### MALLIFICATION



### DECAY OF SOCIAL HOUSING ESTATES AND BROWNFIELDS



Figure 1.10: The major spatial changes of Post-Socialist Zagreb after and during the transition



**Figure 1.11:** Spatial changes between 1986 and 2011 in terms of new built environments

## UNPLANNED SPRAWL IN THE UNCONSOLIDATED FOURTH METROPOLITAN RING

The processes typical for a Post-Socialist city and for Zagreb, can be fit into a development described as unplanned urban sprawl. The post socialist city having had relative sharp urban boundaries, started suburbanising due to new, and lack of, legislation (Stanilov, 2007). Zagreb experienced an intensified suburbanisation process, after and during the transition. Figure 11 shows the spatial changes between 1986 and 2011. The biggest suburbanisation occurred on the slope of the Medvednica mountain. An enormous amount of new dwellings have been intrapolated onto small plots, without the

nessecary infrastructure (Gotovac & Zlatar, 2015). These unplanned developments occurred in unconsolidated lands. The fourth metropolitan ring experienced the biggest change and shows the highest degree of unconsolidation. The first and second ring experienced changes in the form of land-use changes due to the high level of consolidation. The inner city has underwent a process of commercialisation, in which uses have been changed to fit the needs of a commercial economy. The unconsolidated lands and its unplanned nature can be linked to a weakened spatial governance system, which acted as an enabler.



## THE POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION AND A WEAKENED SPATIAL GOVERNANCE SYSTEM

Many of the new laws were poorly written, inadequately coordinated with other legislative acts and lacking sufficient legal power (Stanilov, 2007). It is clear that these persistent problems can not be healed overnight. Cities still deal with problems of low transparency, lack of information of market potential, lack and unreliability of data, changes of the legislative environment and problems with the land register (Ivanicka, 2007). This has resulted in a lack of clear spatial plans in which the further development is planned (Stanilov, 2007). During the transition long-term planning was replaced by short-term planning

(Tosics, 2005) and resulted in an absence of coherent long-term national and regional policies (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). The urban development and its decision-making process are managed non-transparently (Zlataar, 2014). Croatia's regional policy is based on a sectoral rather than an integrated approach, leading to uncoordinated measurements and actions, which makes synergetic effects impossible (Malekovic & Frohlich, 2005). These problems were caused by the abrupt political transition but were exacerbated by a laissez-faire approach of the authorities.

## THE ECONOMIC PRIORITISATION OF ACTORS

This laissez-faire approach made it possible for a change in the role and power of actors in urban space as discussed before. Investors are known for having an economic priority above other priorities, but they are not the only ones. A research from Stiperski & Kamenov (1996) who surveyed migrants from rural Croatia who migrated to Zagreb and found that they are satisfied in Zagreb with their improved economic condition, although they gave up better

previous conditions in terms of natural environment and social relationships. Getemisis & Magnier (2013) surveyed local councillors in the EU and found out that priority was given to attracting economic activities above fighting against social exclusion and pollution. This context of economic prioritisation of the actors, explain the degradation of environmental and social qualities and makes it difficult to advocate a sustainable development.

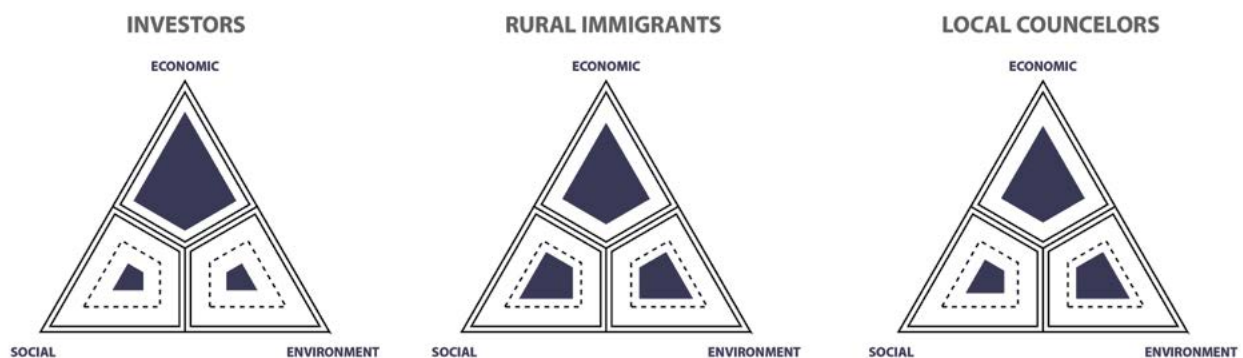


Figure 1.12: The economic bias of three different actors

# 1.6 PROBLEM DEFINITION

## PROBLEM STATEMENT

The context of a Post-Socialist transition and war conflict has led to a weakened spatial governance system which enabled a negative impact on the urban environment containing negative spatial externalities, which prevent the agglomeration of Zagreb in gaining competitive advantages.

## NEGATIVE SPATIAL EXTERNALITIES

The forces and their impact on the built environment are summarised in Figure 1.13. The mentioned forces have an environment containing negative externalities as a result. These externalities do not provide the right conditions for a competitive environment. The more dispersed and less structured a built environment is, the lower its level of

efficiency and competitive value (Camagni Et al., 2002). This thesis will therefore focus on further defining the influence of these externalities and linking them to the proposed conditions for a competitive environment in literature. It will look for the current theories on spatial competitiveness, which can explain this relation.

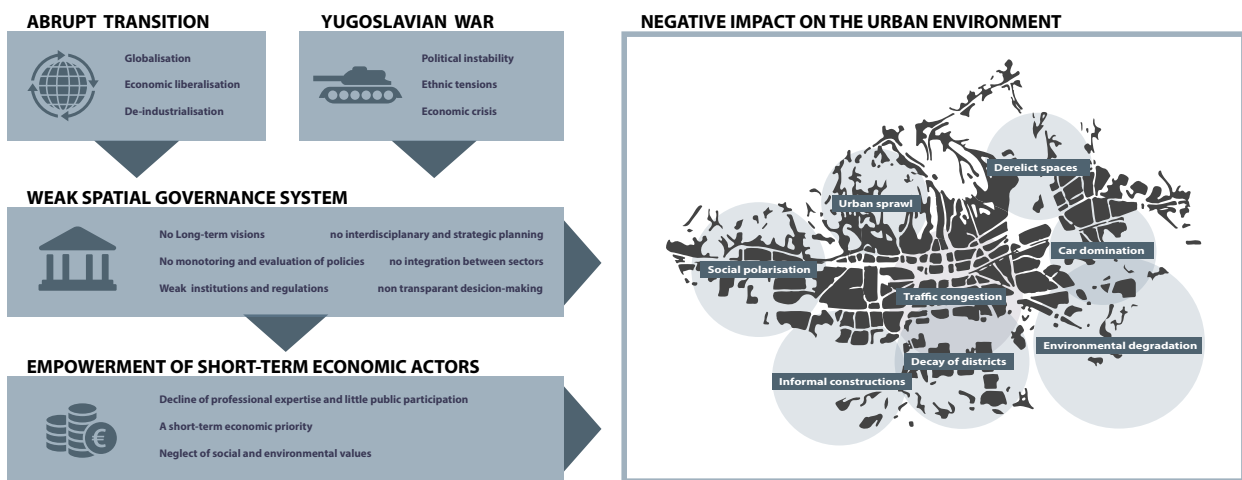
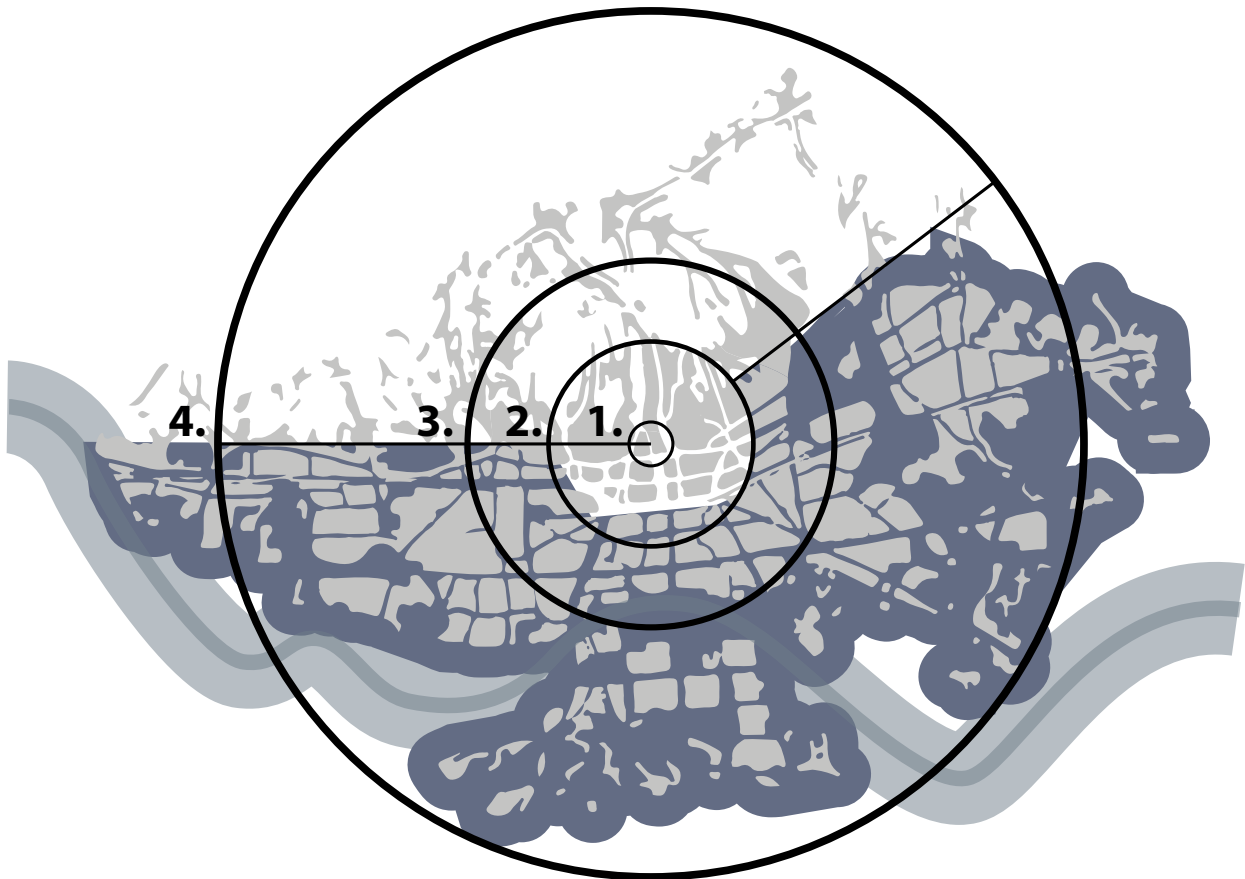


Figure 1.13: The negative



**Figure 1.14:** The power of four different actors in space during three socio-political times and the impact on the urban environment

## PROBLEMATIC THIRD AND FOURTH METROPOLITAN RING

From all the processes discussed, it can be concluded that the third and fourth metropolitan ring of Zagreb contain the most negative externalities. The excessive urban sprawl increases commuting distances, which generate traffic congestion, pollution and diminishes valued open spaces (Brueckner, 2000). The beginning of sprawling of cities can be traced back to the introduction of the automobile. A technology which significantly increased the average mobility of households. This development, however, excludes those inhabitants who cannot afford the luxury of a car. They tend to be stuck in the monotonous fringe of the city with less local opportunities. During

the Post-Socialist transition the amount of investment increased in the urban fringe, which had the potential to provide more local opportunities. The new centralities, however, were realised as enormous car-oriented shopping malls and hypermarkets leaving out the vulnerable population. The attraction of these large enterprises may lead to the edge city (Mega, 2010).

This thesis will further focus on the third and fourth ring, while taking the first and second ring into consideration. The integration of environmental and social aspects, complicated due to the prioritisation of economic values, will be a challenge for this thesis.



# 2.0 RESEARCH



# 2.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

## MAIN QUESTION

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Which spatial planning framework can create the right conditions for a competitive environment so that the third and fourth ring can be integrated into the metropolitan structure of Post-Socialist Zagreb using theories on spatial competitiveness?

## SUB QUESTIONS

---

### *Planning requirements*

What is the current spatial planning paradigm and which requirements and mechanisms are the most adequate to develop the spatial conditions for spatial competitiveness?

What is the current planning practice in Croatia and Zagreb in particular and does it meet the requirements of the current spatial planning paradigm and what changes are required to increase its effectiveness?

### *Spatial conditions*

What are the theories on spatial competitiveness on a regional scale and which conditions can be derived from them?

Which spatial conditions are creating a competitive advantage in the context of Post-Socialist Europe in transition, how is this process visible and what can be learned from the regions which gained a competitive position?

CONTEXT	GOAL	TOOL
Post-socialist city	Increase the competitive position of Zagreb within the European Union through spatial interventions	Integrative strategic planning and visioning
European integration		
Globalisation		
Regionalisation		



## SCOPE

- A study on the 3d and 4th metropoliltan ring of Zagreb and taking the 1th,2nd and 5th ring into considiration
- Searching for Place-based policies, people-based policies are out of scope in this project
- The project aims to take current developments and strategies into account

# 2.2 METHODOLOGY

## METHODS OF INQUIRY

---

- Theory research based on four theories on spatial competitiveness
- Case studies on strategic plans focused on gaining competitiveness
- SWOT analysis approach in the spatial analysis
- Literature review on current Spatial planning paradigm
- Planning documents review and interviews in the practice field
- Research by design for setting up the framework with potential spatial interventions

## TAILOR-MADE APPROACH IN STRATEGIC PLANNING TO FIND THE STRATEGIC SPATIAL ASSETS OF AN ENVIRONMENT

The methodology follows an approach which focuses on the creation of a tailor-made strategic vision based on a collaborative process between stakeholders. In order to answer the main research questions, it is necessary to understand the current theories which can explain the processes behind competitiveness. The theories will produce a set of conditions which will be selected. The conditions will be grouped according to their scale, stakeholder interest and qualities. This matrix can provide an overview of strategic conditions. The conditions will be analysed for applicability by following a SWOT analysis approach

in which the metropolitan structure will be analysed in relation to the conditions. The goal is to show the integrative potentials of the conditions, in order to enhance collaboration between stakeholders and to seek for a mutual agreement on development. The applicability of this approach has to coincide with the current planning practice. Therefore the current spatial planning paradigm will be reviewed, in which the mechanisms for enhancing competitive spatial conditions are advocated and they will be related to the current spatial planning practice.



# METHODOLOGY

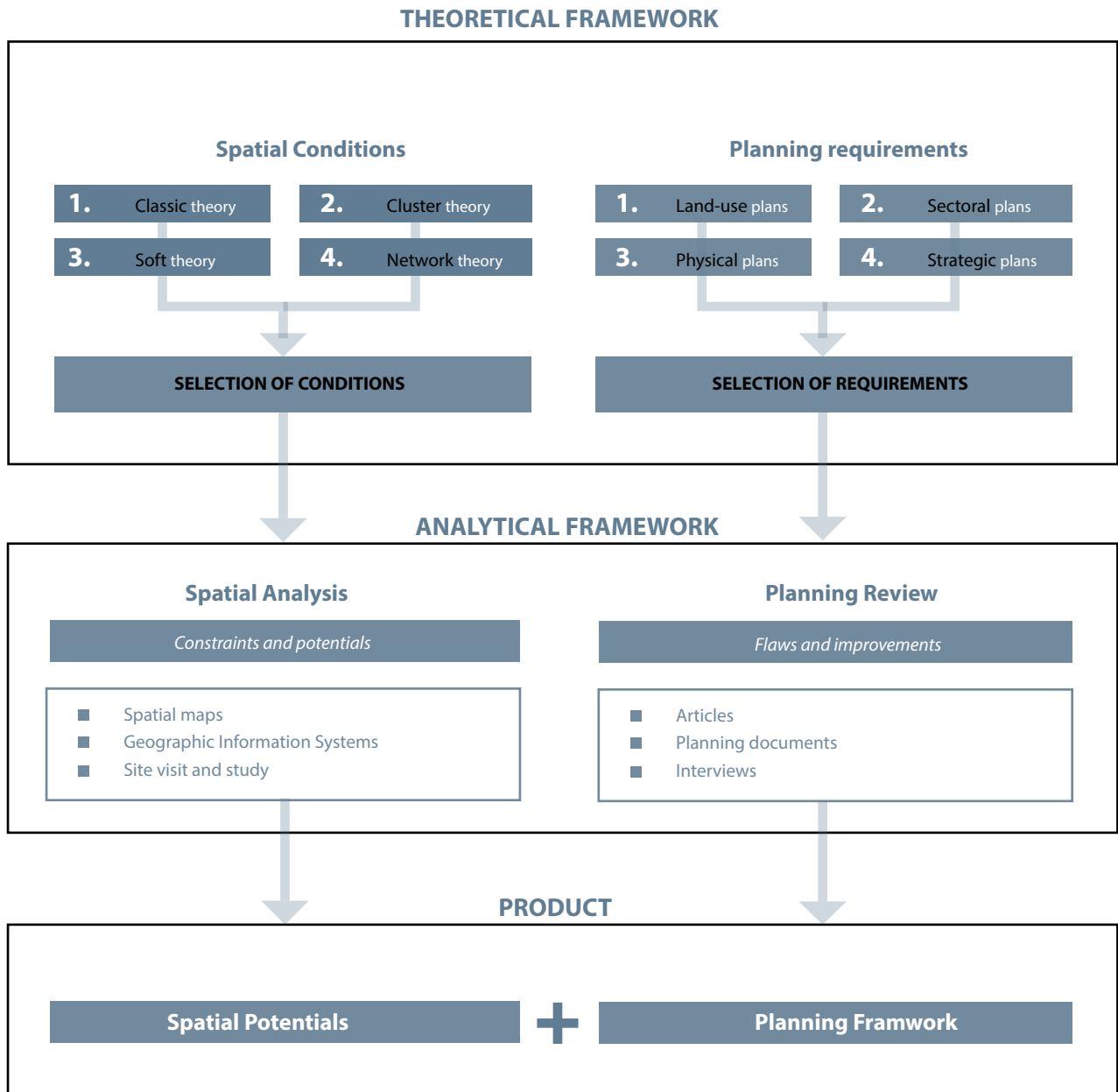
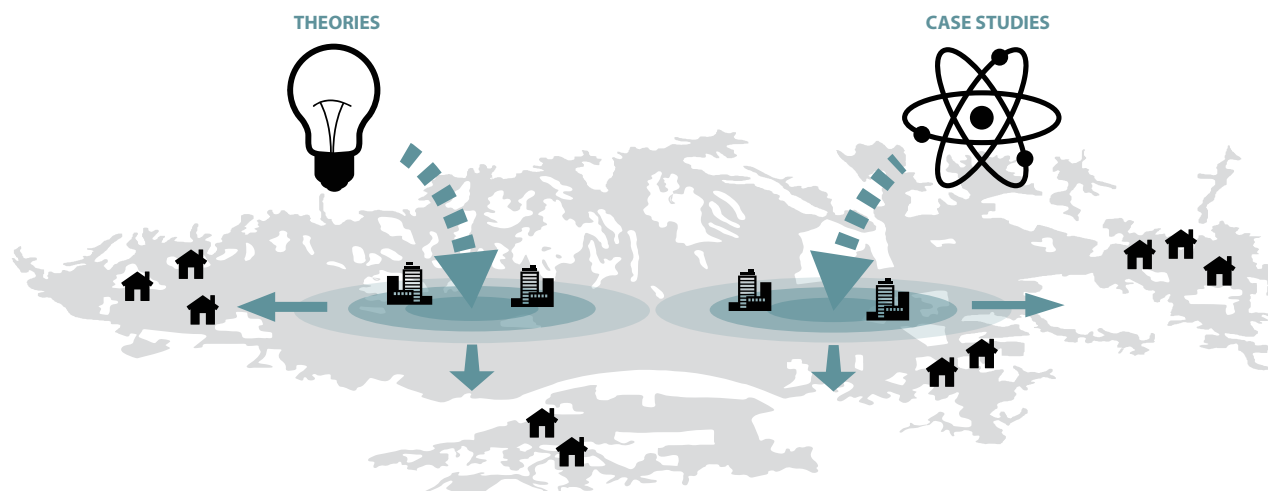


Figure 2.1: The methodology consisting of two parallel parts

## 2.3 RELEVANCE

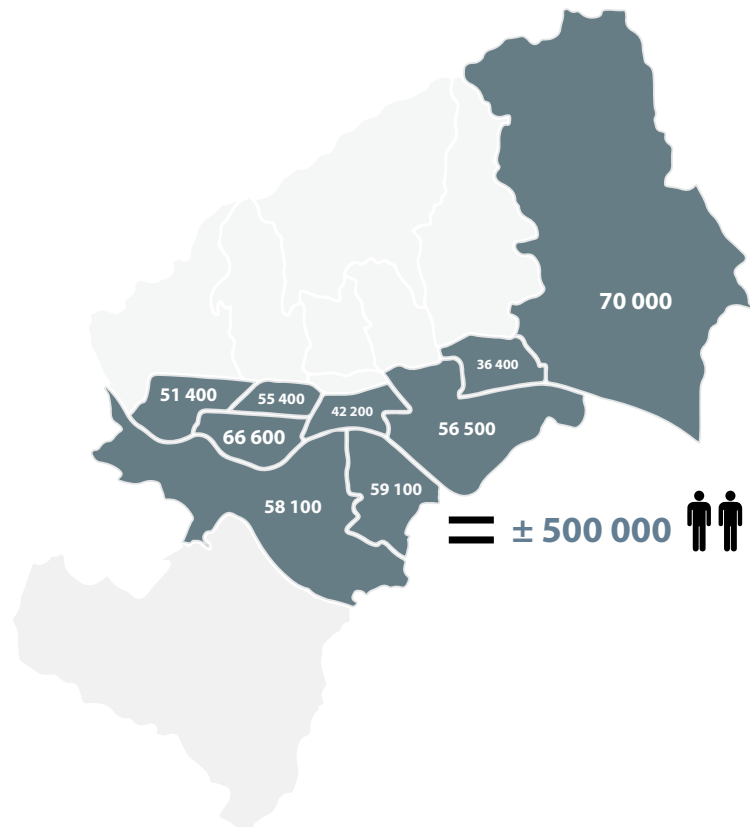


**Figure 2.2:** Applying theories and case studies and translating them into policies which have an impact on the spatial arrangement of a city

### SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE: THE INTEGRATION OF POST-SOCIALIST EUROPE INTO A HIGHLY COMPETITIVE GLOBALISED WORLD

The research of this thesis is part of the complex cities and global cities research group. The main objective of this group is to investigate spatial processes related to globalisation and the increasing complexity of the urban environment. This thesis is analysing the context of a Post-Socialist city in relation to the forces of globalisation and what impact it has on the urban environment. It searches for adequate planning mechanisms which can deal with this complexity and the negative externalities. This is a relevant issue since a majority of the Post-Socialist cities have a tradition in land-use planning (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). This planning mechanism is becoming obsolete in a globalising world in which regions compete and have

to create the right conditions in order to receive competitive advantages. There is an enormous gap in terms of development between Western -and Eastern Europe and regions lack conditions for competitive advantages. Strategic planning with a focus on a collaborative approach in which the conditions are visualised, can enhance a mutual agreement amongst stakeholders. This thesis searches for a framework in which the conditions for a competitive environment can be integrated. It takes the current paradigm of strategic planning into account and looks how it can be applied in the context of a Post-Socialist city, a highly complex environment due to heavily visible spatial impacts on the environment due to globalisation.



**Figure 2.3:** The focus of the project projected on the districts within the county of Zagreb and their amount of inhabitants

## SOCIETAL RELEVANCE : A MARGINALISED SOCIETY ON THE FRINGE OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA

Croatia and its habitants suffer from a decade of economic decline and stagnation, caused by the economic crisis and exacerbated due to an ineffective governance system. This system also fails to prevent the growing social polarisation and environmental degradation of the Zagreb metropolitan region. The country is rated highly uncompetitive when compared to the other 28 EU countries (World Economic Forum, 2014) . This situation expresses itself in a brain drain of the country with young talented people seeking their welfare elsewhere (Tomic & Plese, 2014).

This thesis therefore seeks for a framework in which the different stakeholders can collabarate in finding an agreement on a spatial vision, visualising

the assets of the built environment and the conditions needed for change in order to improve the competitive advantage of the city. The goal is to have a positive impact on stakeholder involvement, political will and investments. Looking for ways to increase public awareness and public participation in the process.

The location of the study includes approximately half a million inhabitants (Figure?) which have experienced a growing social polarisation. The thesis looks for methods in which these local communities can have a voice in the desiscion-making process. Through visualisations it tries to show the local possibilities and proposes improvements in the built environment to gain competitive advantages.

# 2.4 PRODUCT AND GOALS

## PRODUCT

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- A framework for a strategic development vision for the metropolitan region of Zagreb showing the conditions for creating a competitive environment in which private and public actors can co-operate and find a mutual agreement on the valuable assets of the region.
- Identified key strategic locations for intervention to create a competitive environment

### A FRAMEWORK SHOWING SHARED POTENTIALS TO ENHANCE CO-OPERATION AND POLICY STABILITY

Literature and research has proven that commitment to reforms and the attraction of foreign investment are one of the criteria for an economic success in Post-socialist Europe (source). An entrepreneurial marketing style of planning, however, might tend to favour short-term economic interest, the same interest post-socialist. Instead of compromising on the restrictive nature of land-use plans, post-socialist cities need to find the right balance between restrictiveness and the entrepreneurial approach of strategic planning. The restrictive form of land-use planning on the other hand fails to capture the potentials and fails in visualising the assets of an urban environment and therefore needs to

be complemented by strategic planning. The current spatial planning practice lacks an integral approach based on visualisations, in which social, cultural and environmental assets are visualised in order to attract investment for further development in a sustainable way. Visualisations can increase awareness of current social, economic and environmental problems within an integrated comprehensive strategic plan, to have a positive impact on stakeholder involvement, political will and investments in order to tackle the problems of the post-socialist city. Using visioning to come to an agreement of the main development of the main assets of the Metropolitan region of Zagreb and help to reduce policy instability.

## GOALS

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- Showing the potentials of tailor-made strategic plans in Post-Socialist Europe
- A more visual planning in order to attract investments, create awareness of current conditions and to have less chances to deviate from policies and to create policy stability.
- A strategic plan which does not solely focus on the identification of places with economic development potential.
- Using design as a collaborative tool and focusing on the quality of the built environment as an asset

## VISION

---

- **LONG term**
- **FLEXIBLE**
- **THOUGHTS**
- **LARGE scale**

## STRATEGY

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- **MEDIUM term**
- **ADAPTABLE**
- **ACTIONS**
- **MEDIUM scale**

Figure 2.4: The difference between a vision and a strategy



# 3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK



# 3.1 DEFINITION OF SPATIAL COMPETITIVENESS

## DEFINITION BY THE EU COMPETITIVENESS REPORT

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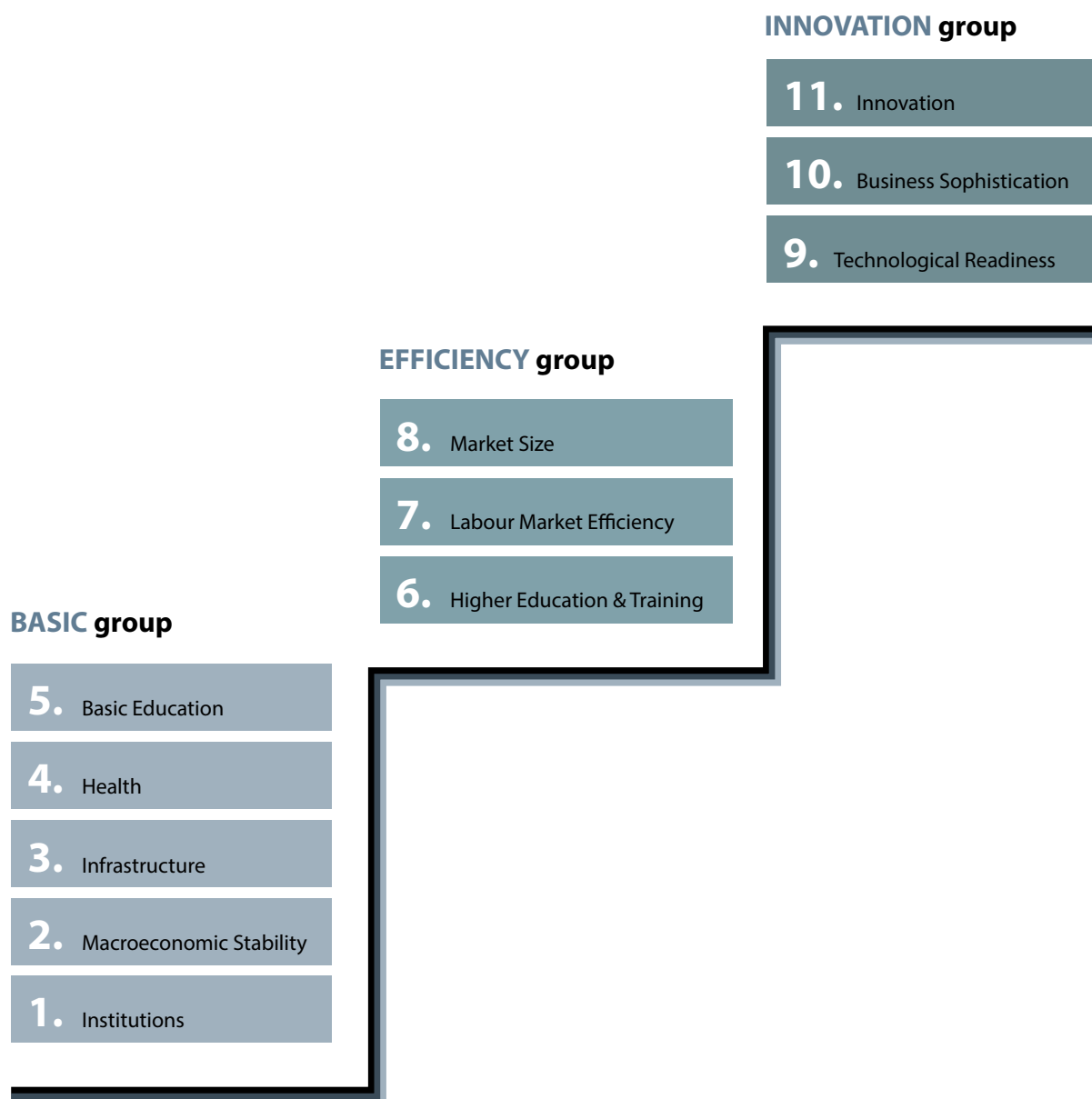
Regional competitiveness can be defined as the ability to offer an attractive and sustainable environment for firms and residents to live and work (Dijkstra et al., 2011).

## NO CONSENSUS ON HOW TO DEFINE SPATIAL COMPETITIVENESS NOR HOW TO MEASURE IT

There is no consensus on what competitiveness exactly is and how it can be measured (Kitson, Et al., 2004). There are a multitude on definitions, of which the definition from the World Economic Forum is used the most. This thesis takes the definition of the EU competitiveness report into account, due to the context of European integration. The report reports a framework which contains a set of indicators. These indicators are used to benchmark the EU region on a NUTS 2 level. The results of the report can be used to prioritise certain elements and to focus on the weaknesses discovered in the report (Annoni & Dijkstra, 2013). There is also no consensus on how to use these benchmark

reports. Benchmarking competitiveness through the use of indicators can be misleading and far from reality and therefore benchmarking should focus on the system rather than on indicators (Malecki, 2007). This thesis therefore searches for theories which can explain the processes behind competitiveness. The EU Competitiveness report does show one clear relation and that is the relation between its three pillars (Figure 3.1). Those regions which are the least developed should focus on strengthening the basic group before focusing on another step higher (Annoni & Dijkstra, 2013). This has implications for the metropolitan region of Zagreb, which can be classified





**Figure 3.1:** Regional Competitiveness Index framework (Adapted image from EU regional competitiveness report, 2013)

# 3.2 THE FOUR THEORIES ON COMPETITIVENESS

CLASSIC



CLUSTER



NETWORK



SOFT



## SPATIAL THEORIES ON COMPETITIVENESS

The spatial transformation in Post-Socialist Europe, after its adaptation of the capitalistic system is evident. The classification of regions in winners and losers is a primary result of this liberalisation of the economy. It resulted in a growing disparity between regions, due to different levels in competitiveness. In order to understand the processes behind the conditions which enable a competitive environment, this thesis gives an overview of the four main theories on spatial competitiveness.

Spatial competitiveness theories can be classified in four different domains: classic theory, cluster theory, network theory and soft conditions theory (Musterd & Kovacs, 2013).

Classic theory is based on the findings from economic geography which can be traced as far back to the principles of Christaller. It tries to explain competitive advantage in terms of efficiencies in the spatial organisation of the built environment. It sees the agglomeration of economies as the primary factor of

a competitive environment, which can be further subdivided into urbanisation economies and localisation economies.

The latter can be related to a relative new theory named cluster theory, based on Porter's (1998) concept of export-oriented clusters in which productivity is the main concept. It goes hand in hand with knowledge-based approaches, due to the acknowledgement that innovativeness became the main driver of economic growth.

Florida (2005) with his notion on the importance of attracting the creative class to cities, has set a start for a new theory. This newest theory of soft conditions recognises the importance of conditions which are related to livability and quality of life.

The last theory puts an emphasis on personal networks. Malecki (2002) describes the importance of networks and their function in gathering knowledge through social interaction. Networks enlarge economic possibilities and this enlargement, combined with an increased flow of knowledge are creating a competitive advantage.



**Figure 3.2:** Physical infrastructure as part of classic theory



**Figure 3.3:** Public space and interaction possibilities as part of soft conditions and network theory



- Physical infrastructure
- Population density
- Diversified economy
- Mixed-uses
- Urbanisation economies
- Market size

## CLASSIC

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Classic theory mainly focusses on the benefits from agglomeration economies. Agglomeration economies create economies of scale, which increases the market size and therefore expands possibilities for firms to sell their products (Hacker Et al., 2013). This economy of scale enlarges with geographic concentration of population, which drives economic growth in metropolitan- and city regions (Hacker Et al., 2013). Density as well as variety in terms of economic diversification improve the condition for economic growth as well (Hacker Et al., 2013). This theory includes policies which invest in transport in order to increase acces to markets (D'Costa Et al., 2013). It propogates integrated physical infrastructure to reduce business transaction costs as a competitive advantage (Choe & Roberts, 2011).



- Industry proximity
- University proximity
- R&D connection
- Research centres
- Specialisation
- Localisation economies

## CLUSTER

---

This theory relates to localisation economies based on industrial specialisation, which can explain why low populated rural regions can show high economic growth as well (Hacker Et al., 2013), in contrast to urbanisation economies. These localisation economies gain competitive advantage through sharing suppliers, customers, research centres, skilled labour, institutions and professionals (Rosenfeld, 2003). It became the main focus of spatial policy makers nowadays, who extensively set up cluster policies in order to maintain or improve competitive advantages (Musters & Kovacs, 2013). While setting up these policies, it is important to identify those clusters which can retain a competitive advantage (Lever, 2002). A diversification of clusters, therefore, can lead to a sustained economy when certain clusters fall out.



- Public space
- Green spaces
- Culture facilities
- Urban amenities
- Sport facilities

## SOFT CONDITIONS

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Soft conditions theory became increasingly popular the last decade and it can be related with research on the quality of life and the liveability of built environments. Quality of life is a key factor of competitiveness and cities are recognizing that they cannot compromise on social and environmental values (Mega, 2010). It is regarded by many as a factor for attracting people and capital. (Mega, 2010). Urban amenities and facilities are supposed to attract the creative class (Florida, 2005). Improving the quality of the built environment by focusing on well-designed urban environments is an assumption held by many but it lacks empirical research (Whitehead, Et al., 2006). The last decade a focus in research has been on making a link with natural spaces, human health and quality of life (Sargolini, 2015).



- Public space for interaction
- Conferences, fairs, exhibitions
- University Campus
- Institutions
- Airports and fast railway

## NETWORKS

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Network theories take the notion that is about who workers know rather than what they know (Schrock, 2014). Much of the current theory focuses on increasing the mobility of workers in order to enlarge work possibilities (Schrock, 2014). Tools for enhancing the accesability for low-wage workers found in this theory include transit-oriented development and positive housing/work balances (Immergluck, 1998). It is also stongly related to population densities, since low densities may reduce social interactions (Brueckner, 2000). The competitive advantage originates in the increase of work possibilities and knowledge flows between inhabitants. These interactions operate on different scales: global, national, regional and local (Malecki, 2002), and set up policies should therefore relate to the intended scale.

# 3.3 CONCLUSION

## CLASSIC THEORY

---

- densities
- diversification of uses
- physical infrastructure & modal split

## CLUSTER THEORY

---

- clustering of knowledge institutions
- clustering of companies

## SOFT CONDITIONS THEORY

---

- green & leisure spaces
- Culture facilities and amenities

## NETWORK THEORY

---

- public space (global & local ) for interactions
- polycentric urban structure

## THE DIFFERENT FOCUS OF THE THEORIES AND THE POTENTIAL OF INTEGRATION

The classic theory has an economic focus and hardly shows elements of environmental sustainability. The cluster theory has an economic focus as well and it is the main theory on which policies are focused nowadays. This economic focus in relation to the context of the Post-Socialist will not be able to mitigate the negative externalities it has experienced through its transition. Soft theory on the other hand has a focus on environmental

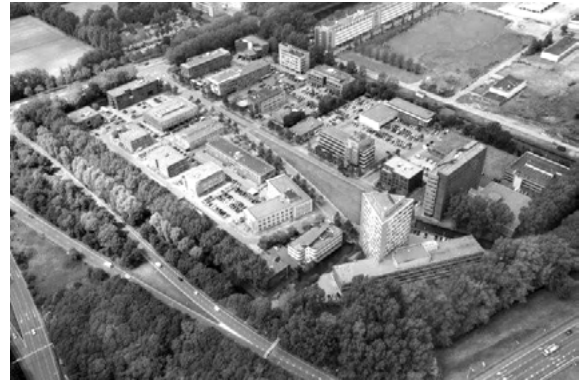
and social sustainability. Network theory has a focus on social and economic sustainability depending on its spatial scale. These conditions will be further analysed on their integrative value, their relation to stakeholder groups and their interaction on different spatial scales, in order to come up with a framework which can be translated into spatial conditions and interventions.



## **CLASSIC** THEORY

**PRODUCTIVE SPACE**

**ECONOMIC FOCUS**



## **CLUSTER** THEORY

**INNOVATIVE SPACE**

**ECONOMIC FOCUS**



## **SOFT** THEORY

**SUSTAINING SPACE**

**SOCIAL &  
ENVIRONMENTAL FOCUS**



## **NETWORK** THEORY

**ENABLING SPACE**

**SOCIAL FOCUS**

**Figure 3.4:** The focus of the four theories and the danger of only focusing on one approach

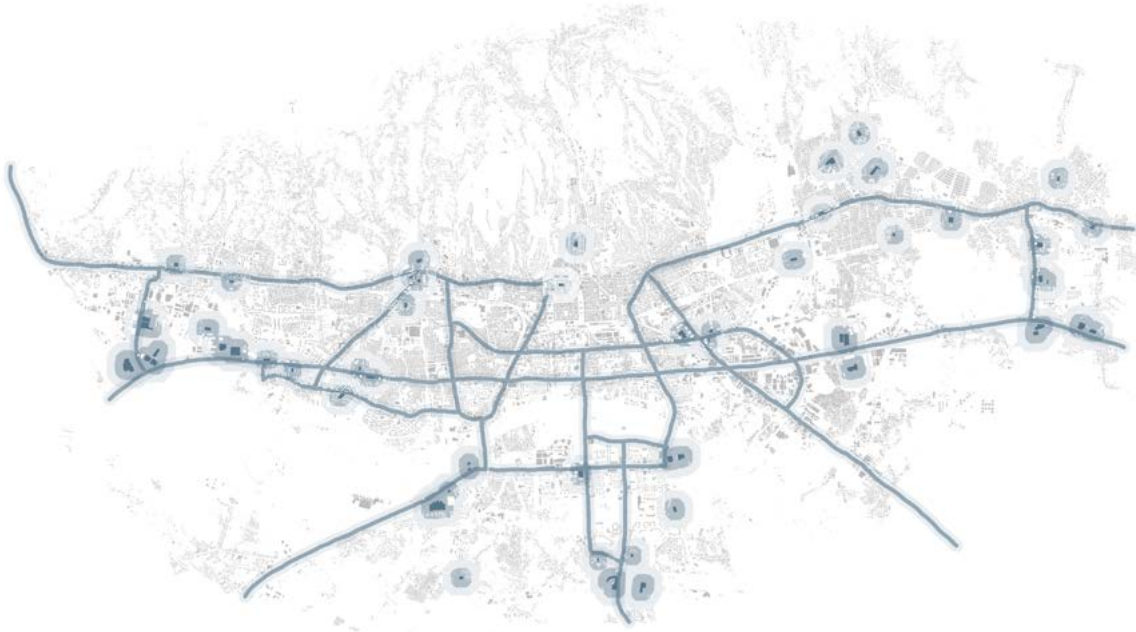




# 4.0 SPATIAL ANALYSIS



# 4.1 CLASSIC CONDITIONS



**Figure 4.1:** Car oriented infrastructure cutting through the urban fabric of Zagreb with an excessive amount of car oriented shopping malls and hypermarkets



**Figure 4.2:** Mixed use zones and corridors

## HARD FACTOR CONSTRAINTS

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- **An overly focused policy on creating car infrastructure and a neglect in other transport modes**
- **Congestion as a result of the car oriented city with an excessive amount of shopping malls and hypermarkets**
- **A heavy pressure on the city centre due to a lack of centralities and mixed environments in the metropolitan fringe.**

## HARD FACTOR POTENTIALS

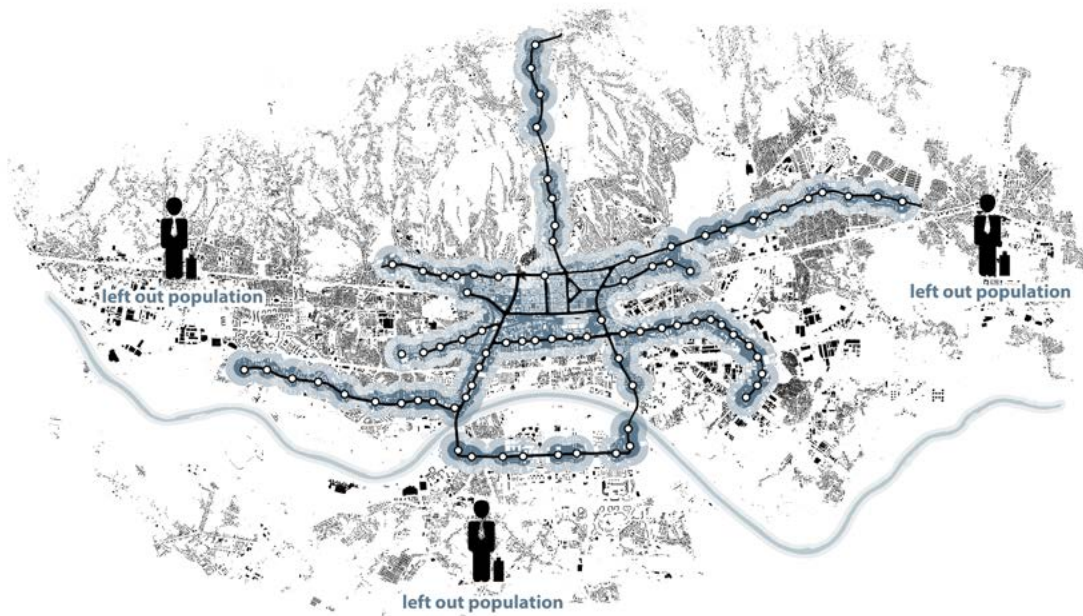
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- **The streets are broad enough to extend the tram network. Problems only occur in the west of the metropolitan area due to narrow street profiles.**
- **Potentials to focus on developments in dense and mixed-use centralities in order to reduce the pressure on the centre and give local work opportunities.**

## CAR ORIENTATED URBAN STRUCTURE AND MONOTONOUS ENVIRONMENTS

When looking at the conditions which create competitive advantages according to classic theory, it becomes obvious that the metropolitan fringe lacks serious classic conditions. The current policies are focused on car infrastructure and due to a lack of other transport modes this focus is leading to congestion (figure 4.1). In Western Europe pedestrians are gaining importance, in Croatia the opposite occurs where cars are given more priority over pedestrians (Sviricic, Gotovac & Zlatar, 2015). This approach together with the development of monotonous sprawling

environments is creating an environment where an urbanisation and agglomeration economy cannot thrive. Mixed-use environments limit themselves to the city centre and some corridors moving away from it (figure 4.2). The car oriented policies and a lack of integrative planning made the rise of monotonous shopping malls and hyper markets possible. These have been constructed with a short-term economic mindset. A mindset which may create economic profits in the short-run, but can have a negative output on societies in the long-run.



**Figure 4.3:** The tram network of Zagreb which fails to reach populations in the outskirts while having a dense network in the city centre



**Figure 4.4:** A train network which has strategic stops but is underused

## HARD FACTOR CONSTRAINTS

---

- **Low tram network coverage in the fringes of the metropolitan area, leaving out potential human capital**
- **Weak connection between the train network and the tram network, no multi-modal transit nodes**
- **The inaccessability of train and tram stations for pedestrians due to barrier affects from car roads**

## HARD FACTOR POTENTIALS

---

- **The streets are broad enough to extend the tram network. Problems only occur in the west of the metropolitan area due to narrow street profiles.**
- **Potentials to combine the extension of the tramnetwork with creating multi modal nodes at major train stops**
- **The ease of giving priority to pedestrians around train stations**

## A NEGLECTED TRAM AND TRAIN NETWORK

One of the main negative externalities in classic theory is traffic congestion. Densification and new CBDs have led to traffic congestion because they are not compatible with the current infrastructure (Sviricic Gotovac & Zlatar, 2015). These CBD's have been planned attached to the centre of Zagreb and thus strengthening the monocentric city. This is creating an enormous traffic flow towards the centre. Traffic which mainly consists of cars. Policies can thus either relieve the pressure on the city centre or create alternative mass transport modes. The

city is in posession of an intensively used tram network. It however does not reach the whole metropolitan area. The city centre is the only district which posseses a dense network (figure 4.3). The train network, however reaches many districts within the city. The problem is that it is under used. Many stations are inaccessible for pedestrians and are surrounded by broad car infrastructure (figure 4.7). The stations are neither connected to the tram network and therefore leaving out an enormous potential in creating a functioning public transport system.



**Figure 4.5:** A domination of car infrastructure and monotonous car oriented developments



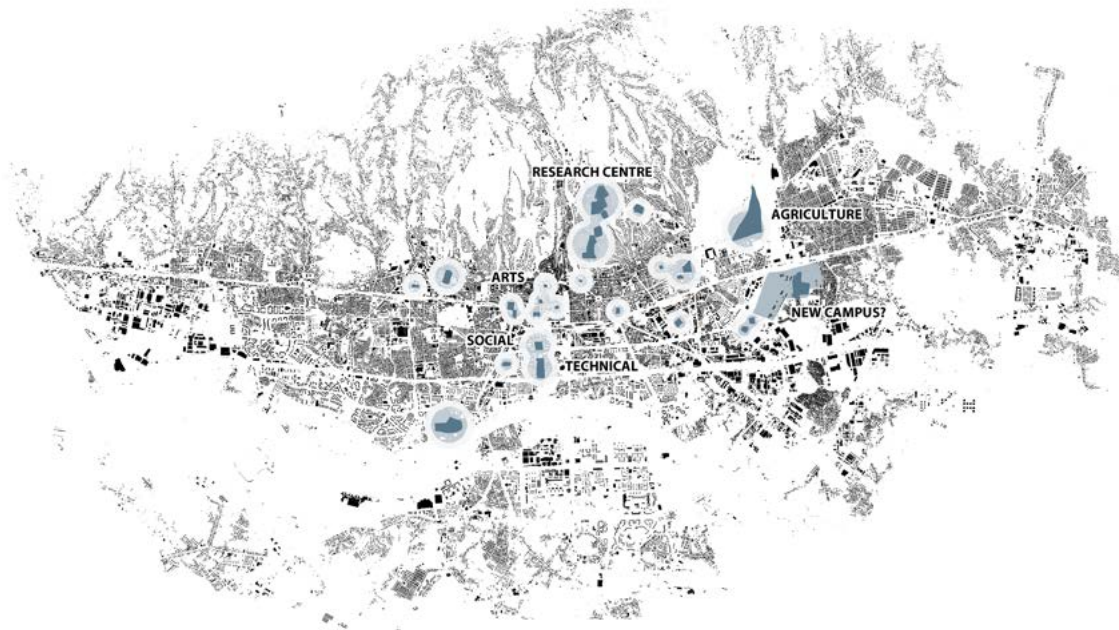
**Figure 4.6:** The loss of human scale due to the car oriented approach



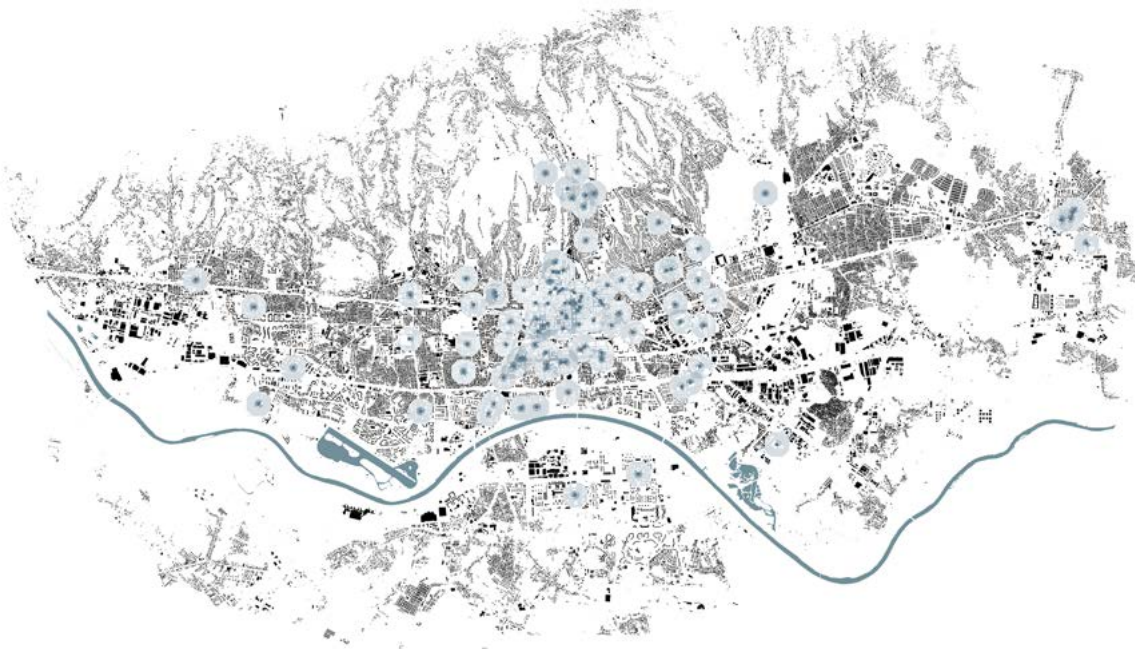
**Figure 4.7:** The weak accesibility of train stations due to barrier affects from car roads where pedestrians do not have priority and have to use unsafe tunnels



## 4.2 CLUSTER CONDITIONS



**Figure 4.8:** Dispersed autonomous faculties which have problems reaching consensus over creating a joint campus



**Figure 4.9:** Knowledge institutions which are dispersed over the first, second and third metropolitan ring



## CLUSTER CONSTRAINTS

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- **Weak clustering of knowledge institutions and lack of cooperation due to spatial remoteness and autonomous faculties**
- **Weak collaboration between research institutions and production districts and therefore limited creativity and innovation**

## CLUSTER POTENTIALS

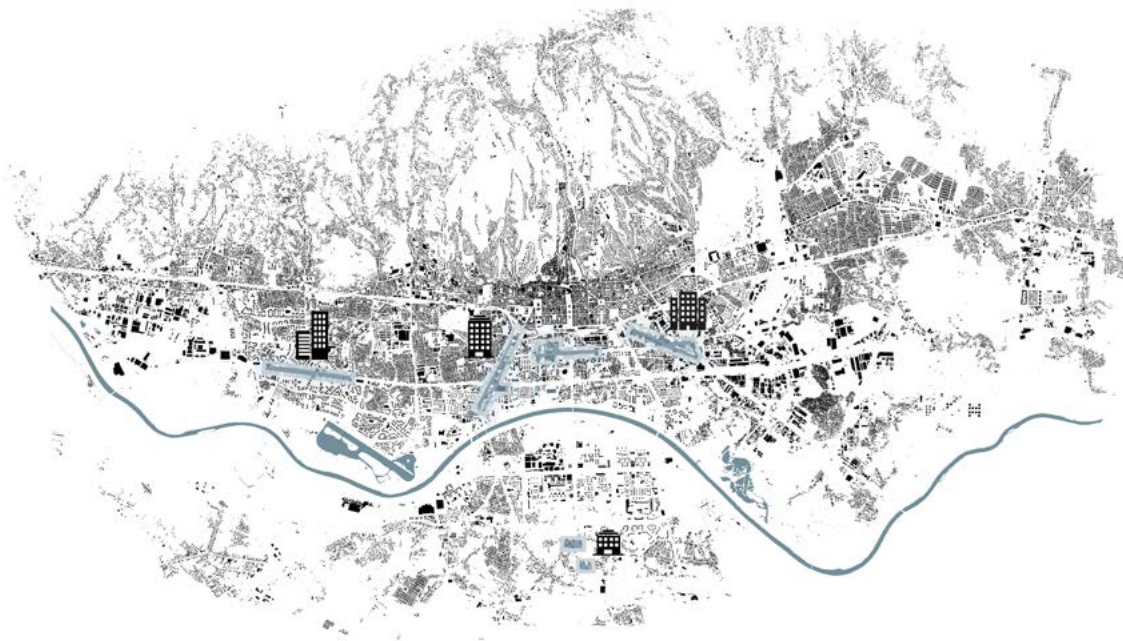
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- **Clustering of knowledge institutions and companies on three different campus developments to increase collaboration and spillover effects**
- **Potentials to combine classic factors as mixed use and dense environments and clustering on the new campus**

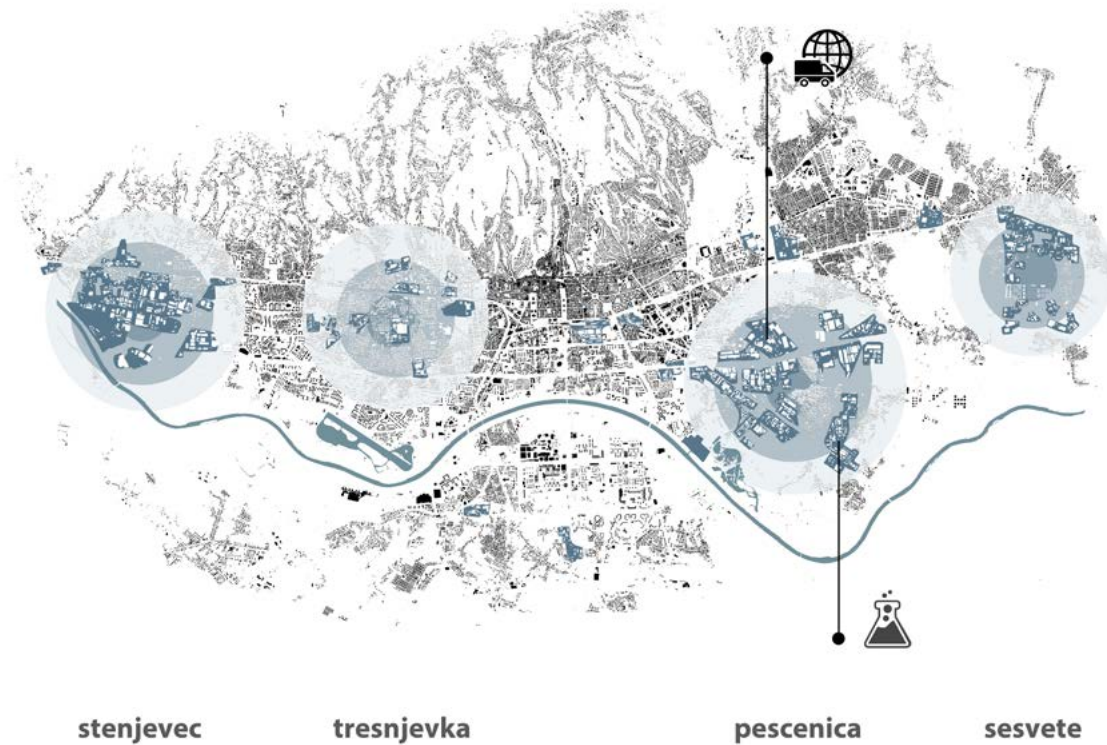
## DISPERSED KNOWLEDGE AND THE LACK OF CONSENSUS

Clusters in Croatia show a weak collaboration and a low level of innovation (Croatian ministry of economy, labour and commerce, 2011). Cluster theory is linked to innovation which creates a competitive advantage for companies. The focus should shift to the creation of an innovation culture, communication and social capital formation in order to create open cooperation networks. When looking at the spatial pattern of faculties it becomes visible that faculties in Zagreb are dispersed (figure 4.8). On top of that, they act as autonomous entities, which is prohibiting the creation of this innovation

culture due to a lack of communication and social capital formation. Many universities in the world have seen the potential to create a campus where facilities can be shared and interaction between students is enhanced. Zagreb however, fails in creating a joint development due to consensus problems. Parties are unwilling to move to the outskirts of the city due to accessibility problems and an unfavourable environment. The current lay-out, on the other hand, is enhancing the autonomous position of faculties and therefore slowing down an innovative environment.



**Figure 4.9:** Office districts (corridors) located in important roads towards the centre



**stenjevec**

**tresnjevka**

**pescenica**

**sesvete**

**Figure 4.10:** Industrial clusters showing the most occurring industries

## CLUSTER CONSTRAINTS

---

- **Unplanned office developments in the fringe of the metropolitan area and lack of supportive infrastructure**
- **A weak collaboration between research institutions and production districts and therefore limited creativity and innovation**

## CLUSTER POTENTIALS

---

- **Strong clustering of office developments and potential to increase its accessibility and strengthen its soft factors**
- **Strong clustering of industries where there is place space for extension and a potential to link knowledge clusters with production clusters**

## KNOWLEDGE BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENT AS AN INTEGRATIVE AND CO-OPERATIVE MODEL

Knowledge institutions in Zagreb are relatively dispersed. Office districts and industries, however, show a relative high level of clustering. Office districts have gained in size, when Croatia entered a capitalistic system (figure 4.9). This formation of new CBDs has generated more traffic and has resulted in congestion (Slavuj et al, 2009). This forms an enormous constraint to the development of office clusters. It is a task to increase the accessibility of core economic engines within the metropolitan area. Industries also show a high level of clustering (figure

4.10). Stenjevec and Pescenica both have clusters in industrial sectors. For example in chemistry, food, textile and electronic machinery. These clusters have a constraint when it comes to innovation. Collaboration between clusters and knowledge institutions is limited and therefore these clusters are disadvantaged in comparison to European countries with a highly developed knowledge economy. There is an enormous potential to create a knowledge and research centre, in which universities and research institutions can collaborate with production centres and industries.



**Figure 4.11:** Informal housing next to an office district



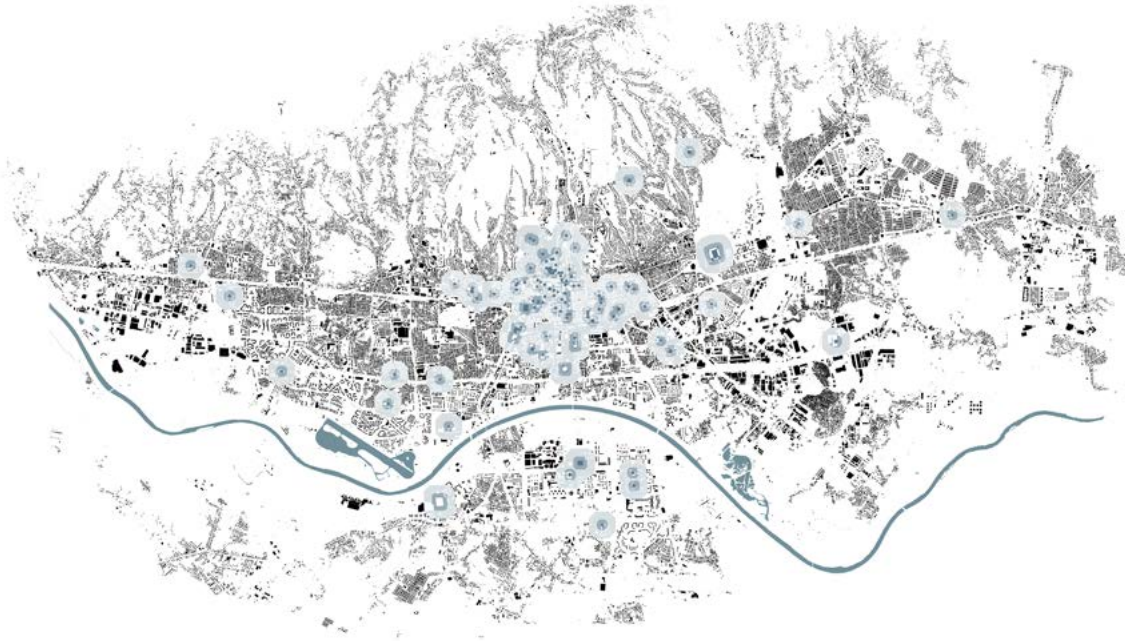
**Figure 4.12:** Heavy car infrastructure which is preventing centralities to appear



**Figure 4.13:** Congestion as a constraint for the development of office clusters



## 4.3 SOFT CONDITIONS



**Figure 4.14:** Cultural amenities as theatres, cinemas etc are heavily concentrated in the centre and the metropolitan fringe lacks cultural amenities



**Figure 4.15:** The amount of unactivated green rest space mostly present in top-down planned social housing estates

## SOFT CONSTRAINTS

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- **High concentration of amenities in the city centre and low densities of cultural amenities in the metropolitan fringe, leaving out local opportunities and creating undesirable environments**
- **High amounts of undefined green rest space**

## SOFT POTENTIALS

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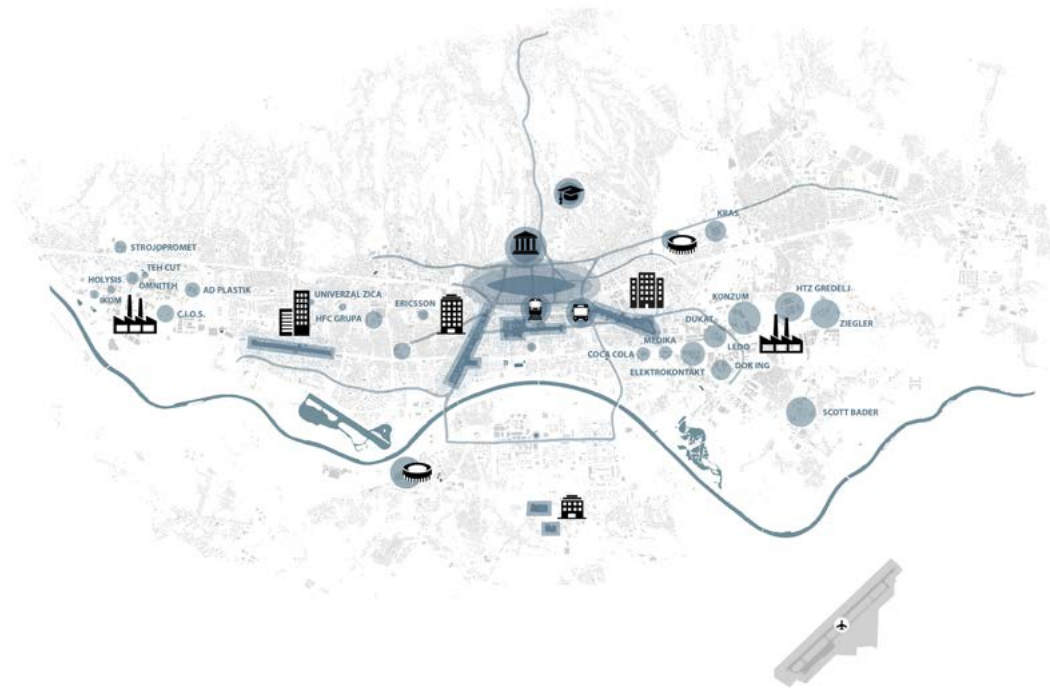
- **Potential to increase the accessibility of existing nodes and create policies to increase mixed-uses in terms of (cultural) amenities**
- **Activating green spaces by finding uses in terms of leisure and sport and by applying a landscape approach**

## KNOWLEDGE BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENT AS AN INTEGRATIVE AND CO-OPERATIVE MODEL

Classic theory and cluster theory both have an economic focus and deal with hard factors. Soft factors are however gaining importance in the field. It is known that there is a link between quality of life and the competitive position of cities (Rogerson, 1999). Soft factors as sociable public space, culture, leisure and green space contribute to people their quality of life. A lot of people in parts of Zagreb, however, live where there are no basic services, no local employment, no green areas, sport or recreation facilities (Sviricic Gotovac & Zlatar, 2015).

It can be stated that those districts in Zagreb with the highest socio-economic status are also the ones which are planned, while the ones with the lowest socio-economic status are predominately unplanned (Prelogovic, 2009). The unplanned sprawling developments lack serious soft factors, while the top-down planned social housing estates lack them as well. The third and fourth metropolitan ring mainly consists of these environments. Therefore, strategic locations where these soft factors have priority have to be agreed upon in order to sustain competitiveness.

# 4.4 NETWORK CONDITIONS



**Figure 4.16:** Global networks concentrated in the centre, office districts and industry clusters



**Figure 4.17:** Local networks in terms of schools. Primary schools show an even distribution while specialised schools and higher education is located in and near the centre



## NETWORK CONSTRAINTS

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- **Low amount of network possibilities in the metropolitan fringe, monotonous environments with little possibilities to meet and interact.**
- **Weak global position of the airport and weak connection with the city. The central train and bus station show a lack of representability.**
- **Weak global position of knowledge institutions**

## NETWORK POTENTIALS

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- **Potential to increase networking possibilities in the metropolitan fringe, by creating more mixed-use environments with places to meet and investing in public transport.**
- **Potentials to create a light-rail connection to the airport, upgrading the central station area and the central bus station**
- **Increasing the global position of knowledge institutions by setting up collaborative environments**

## LOCAL AND GLOBAL NETWORKS IN A MONO-CENTRIC CITY

Network theory as well as soft conditions theory has a social focus and sees competitiveness as a network of social interactions and studies how humans network through space. Competitive cities are also inclusive cities where human capital is activated at its fullest. This is a major constraint in Zagreb, where local populations are excluded. There are transport disadvantaged populations in the city of Zagreb due to the car oriented city structure which leads to social exclusion (Gašparović & Jakovčić, 2014). These populations therefore have less

opportunities in comparison with those who have a high mobility and have more access to life functions. There is a potential to move away from monotonous developments and investing in a public transport system which can create the conditions for a more poly-centric city structure. A structure in which local potentials are enhanced and in which global networks can grow in order to bring high value added activities into the economy. The airport plays a special role in these global networks. Creating a fast connection to the airport and setting up a growth strategy will improve global connections.



**Figure 4.18:** Back side of the central train station



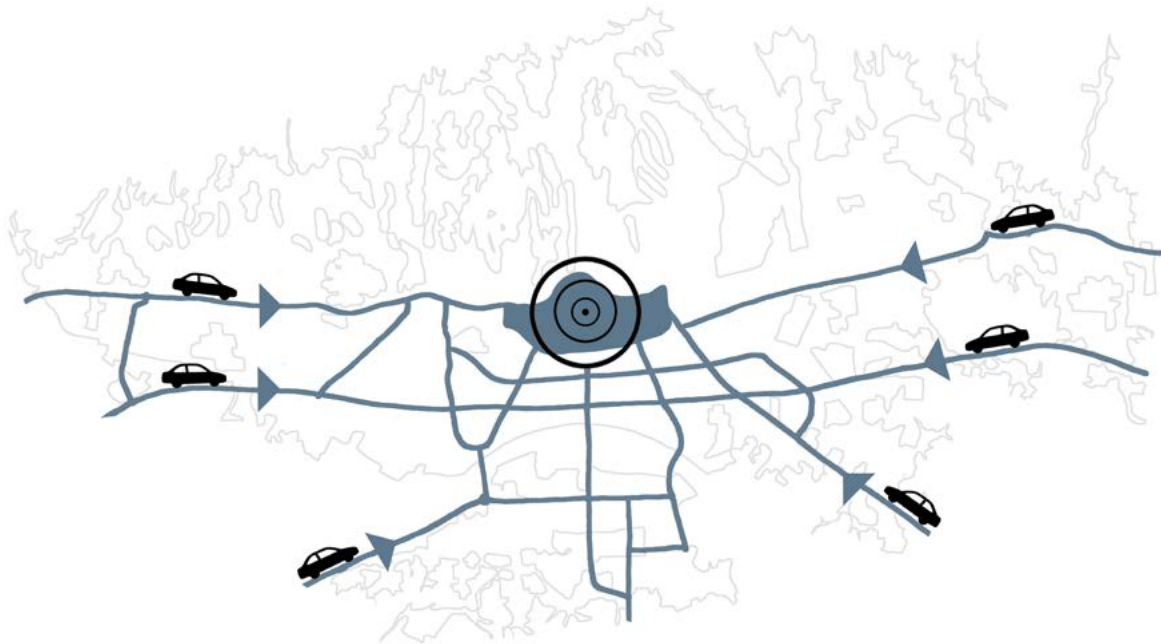
**Figure 4.19:** The river which had more than hundred designs for intervention but suffers from lack of consensus and investment



**Figure 4.20:** Unactivated green rest space



## 4.5 CONCLUSION



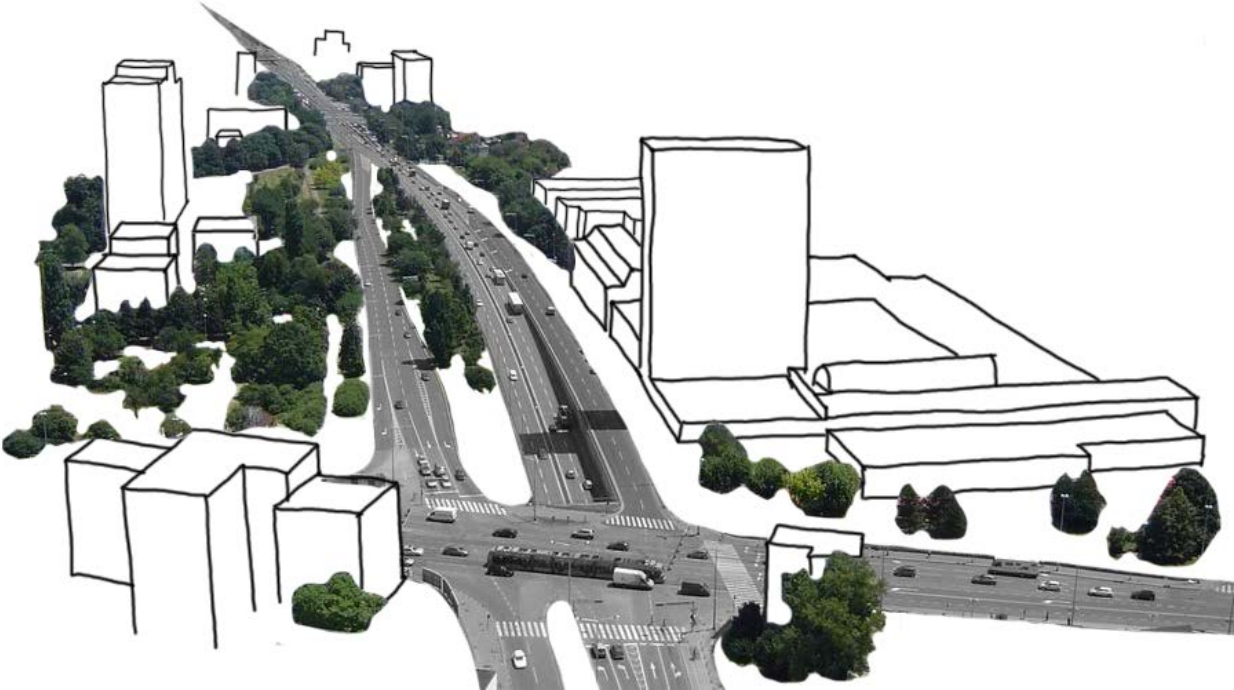
**Figure 4.21:** A car dominated urban structure which enhances a mono-centric city

### A CAR DOMINATED MONOCENTRIC CITY

The analysis of the metropolitan area of Zagreb following the conditions from the four theories on spatial competitiveness, has shown that the city lacks certain conditions from all four theories. One critical constraint is the car dominated monocentric city (figure 4.21). This sets up an urban structure which enhances urban sprawl and monotonous developments. Both are in conflict with classic hard conditions for gaining a competitive advantage. The massive car infrastructure also forms a constraint for soft factors which are linked to sociable public space. The car dominates public space and

enhances the rise of monotonous malls and markets. It creates barriers in which green rest space prevails. The neglect of investment in the public transport network creates disadvantaged populations trapped within monotonous environments in the city which have less opportunities and therefore can be seen as a loss of human capital. Then there are constraints due to the lay out of knowledge networks. There is a serious lack in collaboration between knowledge institutions mutually and industries. The major constraints are summarised in Figure 4.22.

# SPATIAL CONSTRAINTS OF COMPETITIVENESS



## CLASSIC THEORY



CONGESTION



MONOFUNCTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

## CLUSTER THEORY



SEPERATED KNOWLEDGE INSTITUTIONS

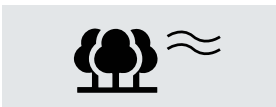


ISOLATED INDUSTRIES

## SOFT THEORY

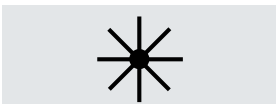


AUTOMOBILE DOMINATED PUBLIC SPACE



GREEN REST SPACE

## NETWORK THEORY



MONOCENTRIC CITY

Figure 4.22: Main constraints found from the four theories



# 5.0 CASE STUDIES



# 5.1 COMPETITIVENESS IN CONTEXT

## WINNERS

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- metropolitan cities and large regional cities
- western border belts
- rural regions with tourism
- rural regions along development corridors

## LOSERS

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- old industrial regions
- rural space

## UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT IN POST-SOCIALIST EUROPE IN RELATION TO SPATIAL AND GOVERNANCE FACTORS

On a regional scale, growing disparities are noticeable as a spatial impact, in the context of Post-Socialist Europe. Ironically, an impact socialist planning was trying to prevent. These regional disparities, have adopted relative extreme forms in Post-socialist Europe, where an enormous reduction in quality of life in rural space is occurring (Jordan, 2010).

Foreign Direct Investments are the most critical external force in the urban restructuring of Post-socialist Europe (Hamilton, 2005) and can be directly related to the growing disparity between regions. Foreign Direct Investments however are not evenly dispersed across space. Central European capitals are favoured for investments (Hamilton, 2005) and geographical location in terms of proximity to EU-15 states is one of the economic advantages which has encouraged investments as well (Ivanicka,

2007). Next to geographical factors as big internal market sizes, foreign investors value political stability (Tosics, 2005).

It can be concluded that foreign investment in Post-socialist Europe roughly depends on: political stability, geopolitical position and the speed of economic restructuring (Tosics, 2005).

These factors explain why South-east Europe falls behind in terms of development. This part of Europe shows a greater lack of policy stability in relation to other central and eastern European countries (world economic forum, 2014). One of the causes of a greater instability and Former Yugoslavian cities having received relatively little attention from investors is due to an armed conflict (Tosics, 2005). These differences in spatial and governance factors have lead to a situation in which winners and losers can be defined (Figure 19).





**Figure 5.1:** The Post-Socialist countries of the European Union showing the winning regions of globalisation (Image based on the article of Jordan, P. (2010))

## 5.2 THREE STUDY LOCATIONS



Figure 5.2: The three case study locations within the European Union



**Figure 5.3:** The amount of inhabitants and size of the three case studies

## THREE EFFECTIVE AGGLOMERATIONS IN TERMS OF ATTRACTING INVESTMENTS

As discussed before, metropolitan cities and large regional cities are one of the winners in economic development due to their ability to attract investments. Zagreb falls in this category, but is laying behind in economic development in comparison to cities in Eastern Europe. Stanilov (2007) has related the commitment of governments to reforms with the economic performance of post-socialist cities. He found out that the Visegrad group and the Baltic states made greater progress in adjusting their institutional structures and therefore showed greater economic growth. One of the causes are related to the fact that FDI investment is larger in those regions where information is more readily available and markets are more transparent, because they reduce risks (Ivaničková & Ivaničková, 2007). The fDI magazine from the Financial

times publishes lists in which the most attractive agglomerations and cities are stated in terms of attracting investments. Amsterdam, Bratislava and Wroclaw are listed multiple times in being successful. These three agglomerations in Europe are chosen to search which projects have been or are in development. These projects are then related to the conditions of the four theories in order to define how the agglomerations are increasing their spatial competitive position. The outcome of the the spatial analysis of the previous chapter and the case studies form the input for policy recommendations for the metropolitan area of Zagreb. The case study also includes what planning approach the three agglomerations adopt and in which way it relates to gaining a competitive position.

## 5.3 AMSTERDAM



**Figure 5.4:** The current projects of the city of Amsterdam showing a high level of integration



**CLASSIC**



**CLASSIC**



**CLUSTER**



**SOFT**

**Figure 5.5:** The current projects in Amsterdam related to the four theories

## COMPREHENSIVE AND SOFT AMSTERDAM

The urban structure of Amsterdam contains an urban atmosphere in terms of a diverse and mixed environment which makes a high level of interaction possible. This environment, however, mainly restricts itself only to the area within the highway ring. The city authorities recognise the potentials in a further enlargement of the urban fabric containing the right conditions for a competitive spatial environment. It developed a strategic vision named: *Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040, economisch sterk en duurzaam*. This vision includes objectives which aim to create the right conditions which are in line with the literature on spatial competitiveness and can be regarded as highly up to date. The city projects four major locations in which it will further focus its developments. It

manages to create a tailor-made plan which is highly visualised and projected onto space. The integrative nature of this strategic plan acknowledges the current paradigm in collaborative planning. Also the policies are in line with current theories. Investments are made in hard conditions as a new metro line and train station upgrades. The city is heavily developing clusters as office districts, scienceparks, knowledge parks and a university campus. It recognises the importance of its airport and is attracting economic activities nearby. Also soft conditions are gaining importance. The river is seen as an enormous potential to develop these conditions. Also many of its post war neighbourhoods are being redeveloped to enhance these soft conditions.

## 5.4 BRATISLAVA



Figure 5.6: The current projects of the city of Bratislava



**CLUSTER**



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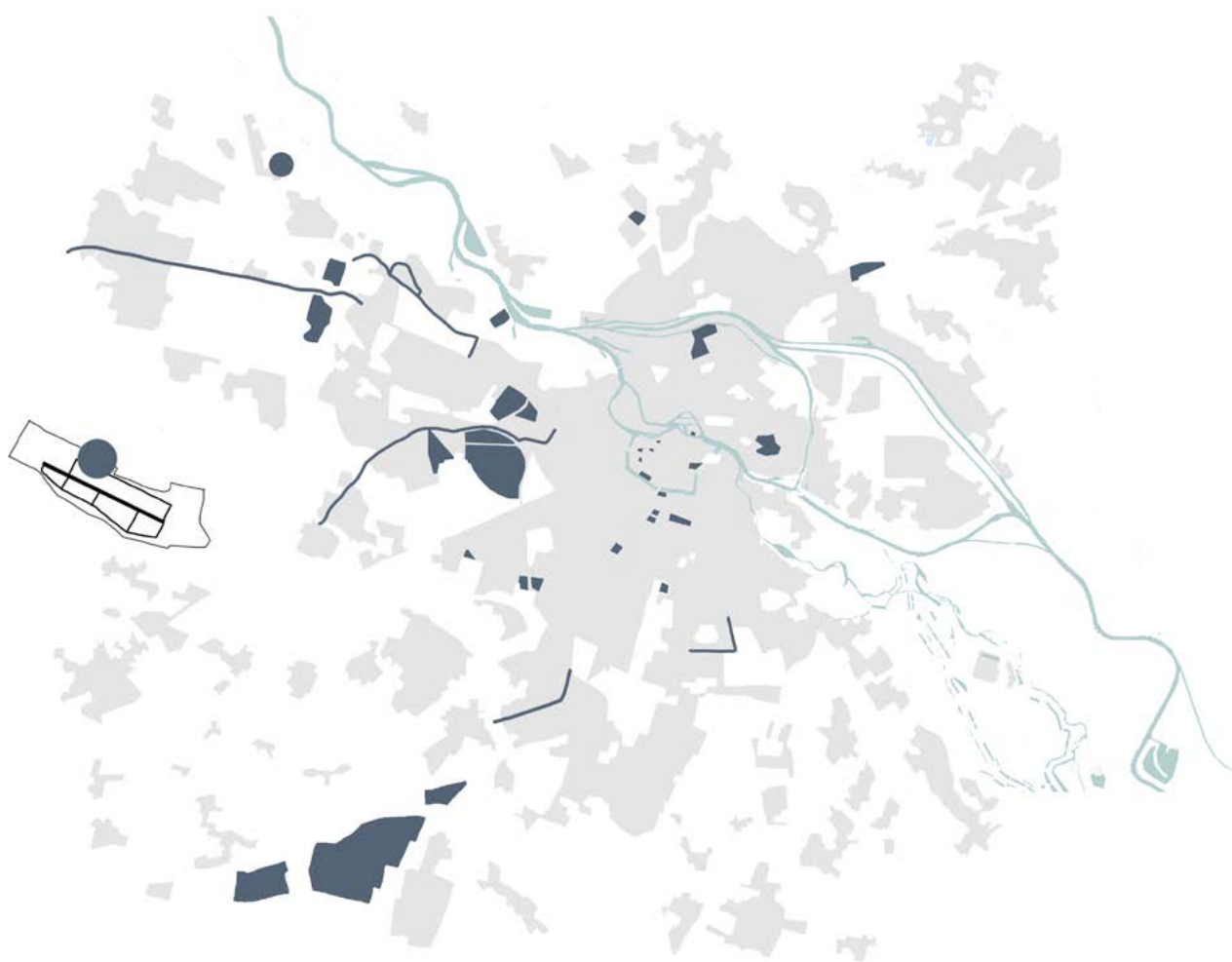
**Figure 5.7:** The current projects in Bratislava related to the four theories

## GEOGRAPHICAL BRATISLAVA

Bratislava has adopted a city marketing approach in order to attract capital (Matlovičová et al., 2009). The city makes full use of its proximity to Vienna. It recognises that City branding is a natural part of regional development and having a positive reputation increases the competitive position and makes development easier (Matlovičová, 2010). Integration into the European Union has led to the formation of strategic planning and to a new document (The Economic and Social Development Plan, PHSR). This document is a supplement to land-use planning and should be coordinated with it (Matlovičová et al., 2009). The projects

show a strategic element when being compared to the four theories. An enormous office district is arising east of the city centre. The city is trying to finance science and knowledge clusters. Investment in the introduction of a new tramline which runs through an existing neighbourhood, which also makes new mixed-use developments possible. This line will be mostly financed through EU funds. The airport is recognised as a strategic asset with developments and economic functions being planned close to it. The city also recognises the potential of the river and introduces soft conditions in the shape of river front developments.

## 5.5 WROCLAW



**Figure 5.8:** The current projects of the city of Wrocław





**CLUSTER**



**CLUSTER**



**CLASSIC**



**SOFT**

**Figure 5.9:** The current projects in Wrocław related to the four theories

## SCIENTIFIC AND COMMERCIAL WROCLAW

Wrocław in comparison to Amsterdam adopts more a pro-active facilitative role in terms of attracting investors and providing the necessary information on parcels which have investment potential. A key player in this process is the Wrocław Agglomeration Development Agency. Which sets the mission to enhance the investment attractiveness in the agglomeration by providing companies with solid and up to date business knowledge by reducing risk in doing business and enhancing self-government activities. The activities are based on city marketing principles. It includes the creation of a website, a short film, investment reports, investment databases and investment apps. These activities have a goal to promote

Wrocław among foreign investors. Another development is a GIS system which has a goal to facilitate access to crucial spatial information for citizens and investors. It provides maps to make the search for specific parcels more effective.

This approach leads to smaller plot investments in comparison to Amsterdam which sets a collaborative framework to pro-actively develop whole districts/nodes. Wrocław therefore mainly shows developments in terms of clusters, public transport investment and commercial culture and leisure. The presence of a large university network, set the right conditions for investing in knowledge related developments.

# 5.6 CONCLUSION



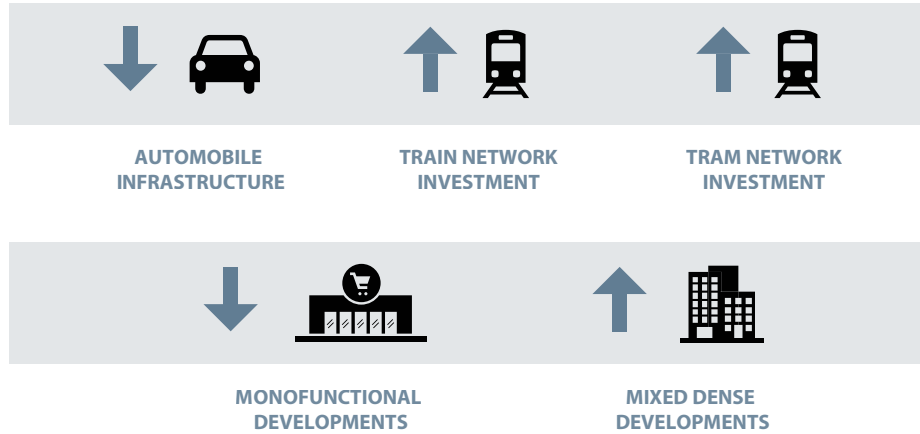
**Figure 5.10:** The focus of policies reflected in the projects of all four metropolitan regions, showing that Zagreb is falling behind

## STRATEGIC VISIONING AND CITY MARKETING

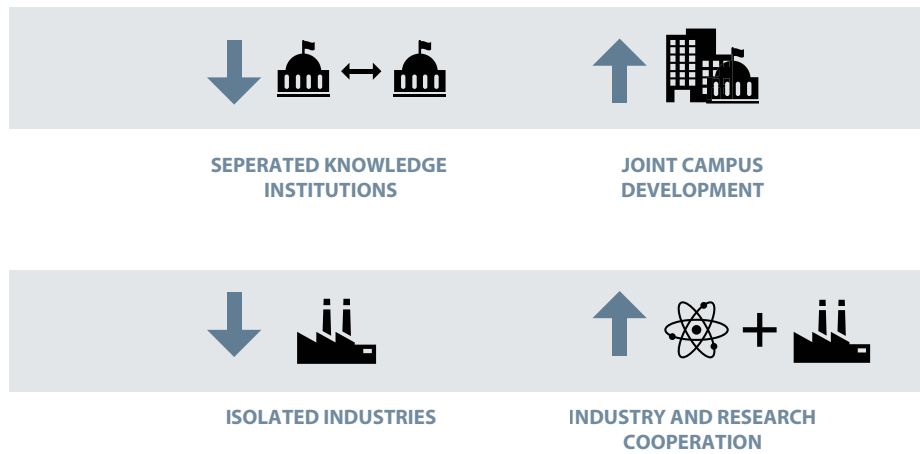
All three agglomerations have a different approach in planning, while all three can be regarded being successful in attracting investments. Amsterdam uses strategic visioning and comprehensive planning in order to create stability and consensus among stakeholders. While Wroclaw and to a lesser extent Bratislava use a marketing approach in order to attract investments which are on a lower scale and hardly include whole district developments. Potential plots are made available for foreign investors who are willing to contribute. Zagreb can learn from both practices, by introducing visioning to seek consensus among

stakeholders and open discussions. It is however realistic to state that Croatia does not have the institutional power to apply a full comprehensive approach and neither has budgets for it. A marketing approach is more realistic and Zagreb can learn from the practices in Wroclaw. It can learn from all regions in terms of setting up projects which set the right conditions for gaining spatial competitive advantages (figure 5.10). When looking at these best practices it becomes visible that Zagreb is laying behind. Disregarding the planning approach, there are critical policies thinkable which can improve spatial conditions (figure 5.11).

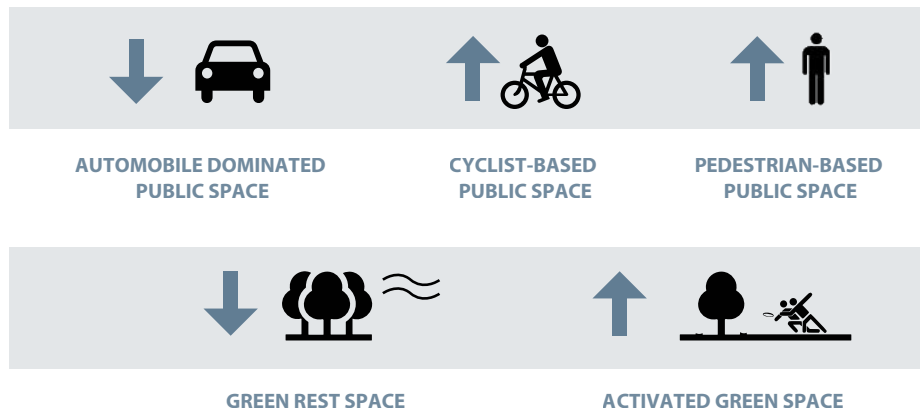
## CLASSIC THEORY



## CLUSTER THEORY



## SOFT THEORY



## NETWORK THEORY

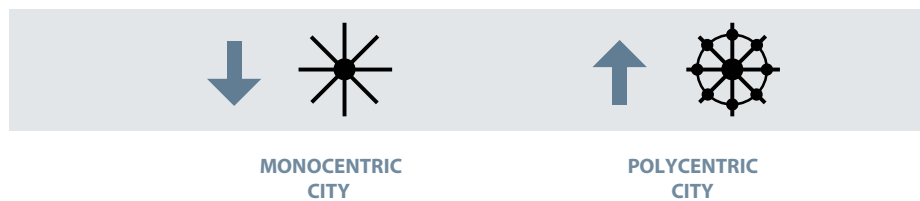


Figure 5.11: Critical policies showing a shift in focus



# 6.0 PLANNING REVIEW



# 6.1 REVIEW



Figure 6.1: Current planning culture in Zagreb

## STATIC DOCUMENTS IN A COMPLEX AND CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

As discussed there is a relation between (foreign) investment and development in Post-socialist Europe. This has led to a need for new methods in planning, which can build consensus, embrace partnerships and negotiation with investors (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005) in which the role of authorities is critical in attracting investments (Stanilov, 2007). There is a need for a more entrepreneurial style of planning in opposition of physical planning (Albrechts, 2010), which is market-oriented and strategic (Van den Berg & Braun, 1999). Urban planning in the form of blueprints based on a fixed future have been superseded by reality (Bosma & Hellings, 1997). There are limited tools for the encouragement of

urban development in master planning and physical planning (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005) and therefore long-term strategic plans are key in having success in a globalised competitive environment (Tosics, 2005). The current thoughts on the necessary elements in strategic planning seem to agree, although some elements are stressed more. Strategic planning comes with the need for additional non-statutory planning documentation such as visions of strategic alternatives, scenarios, design briefs, and guides (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). There is a great stress on flexibility of visions which allows to deal with an uncertain world (Tsenkova, 2007) .



**Figure 6.2:** ZG Forum, information and discussion centre of the strategic planning office

## STRATEGIC PLANNING IN ITS BABY SHOES

The planning culture in Zagreb is based on a physical land-use approach (Figure 6.1). Priority is given to physical land-use planning and non-spatial matters of urban development have not yet been incorporated sufficiently, due to a lack of interdisciplinary planning programs. It is built on a tradition emphasising physical and architectural practice and concerns (Cavric & Nedovic-Budic, 2007) and on a tradition where detailed planning documents are the most important applied planning instrument (Mrak-Taritas, 2008). The general flaw of physical plans is that these documents can lack a coherent system in which all separate plans can create synergetic effects. This is the case in Croatia, where regional policy is based on a sectoral rather than an integrated approach, leading to uncoordinated measurements and actions, which makes these effects impossible (Malekovic & Frohlich, 2005).

There is an unbalanced distribution of participatory power and a lack of professional expertise based on integrated and interdisciplinary approaches in the urban planning process (Cavric & Nedovic-Budic, 2007). This leads to an environment in which politicians and short-term investors have enormous freedoms, while citizens and urban professionals are left out. The unbalanced powers and a lack of cooperation is creating a vague vision of development, incomplete framework for decision making and the lack of citizen participation (Misetić & Ursić, 2010). In order to deal with these flaws, strategic planning is adopted to increase participation in a visioning process of strategic projects. It is gaining importance the last decade due to the incorporation of EU guidelines. There are however many shortcomings in the process, on which the certain authorities have to work on.

## 6.2 INTERVIEWS

**" Regional strategic planning is not coordinated with with physical planning. There are enormous coordination problems. "**

*(Nives Mornar, Spatial planning office Zagreb, 2016)*

**" There is no consensus on the selection of projects. Some propose fountains, while others hold the opinion that it is wiser to invest in projects which attract economic activity"**

*(Biserka Rozic-Sutej, Strategic planning office, 2016)*

### **A LACK OF COOPERATION AND COORDINATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENTAL BODIES**

Besides a literature study, the planning review within the analytical framework also incorporates interviews. Four people have been interviewed from different fields. Two from practice and two from the University of Zagreb. They gave valuable information on the bottle-necks in the urban planning process and the value of a visual approach in strategic planning. One of the bottle necks is that regional plans and municipal plans lack cross-boundry cooperation. An enormous issue are the administrative boundaries. All plans are made on a municipal level of which the city of Zagreb

has a special status. There are no cross boundary plans made. The surrounding villages of Zagreb are excluded in the plans. There is a special case which is the airport, there is a cross cooperation in the case of the Airport which is being extended at the moment. Regional strategic planning is not coordinated with with physical planning. There are enormous coordination problems. Visualisations are underused and is therefore a static document. The physical planning agency is working with maps while they work with charts. There is no coordination with these outcomes.



**" Visualisations are mostly only used when there already is a suitable investor. They are not used to attract them and then it limits itself to local plans. Attractive visualisations and visioning on a metropolitan scale does not exist in Croatia. "**

*(Jesenko Horvat, Urban Design, University of Zagreb Faculty of Architecture, 2016)*

**" There was a conference about Smart Cities, while an enormous percentage of the metropolitan area is not connected to the sewage. Priorities are lost. "**

*(Srečko Pegan, Urban Planning, University of Zagreb Faculty of Architecture, 2016)*

## **VISUALISATIONS IN THE URBAN PLANNING PROCESS AND ATTRACTING INVESTMENTS AND FINDING CONSENSUS**

Zagreb has the GUP (General Urban Plan) for investors and it sets out the possibilities for investments. It defines the land uses and lands suited for development. It sets out the stages of the development process and it includes invoices of populations. The plans are technical drawings with no schematic or conceptual presentations. When being asked if this is an attractive way for investors, the interviewees agreed that they are technical and therefore might be hard to read for people who are not from the field. Visualisations are mostly only used when there already is a suitable investor. They are not used to attract them and then it limits itself to local plans. Attractive visualisations and visioning on a metropolitan scale does not exist in Croatia.

Investors require information and assurance that the administration system is effective. They simply want to know where the potential locations for projects are located. Then the interviewees touched the subject of consensus finding. Projects fail because there is no consensus. The Borongaj campus does not come of the ground because the faculties themselves do not want to move. They would rather stay in the centre of the city. The location is not attractive according to many. Many plans have been made so far, colleges from Harvard and Zurich cooperated as well. Politics prevents the plan from being executed. The same counts for the river, there are problems with finding consensus, finding investors.

# 6.3 CONCLUSION



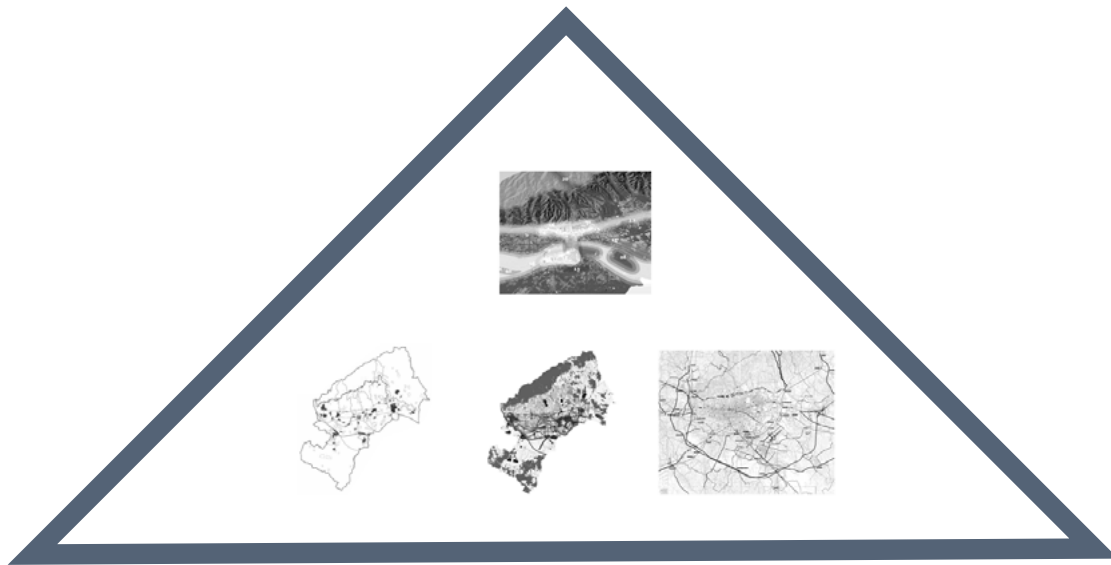
Figure 6.3: The four critical issues in the planning process in Zagreb

## FOUR CRITICAL ISSUES

The planning review based on a literature and documents review and interviews from the field, has given information on the major bottle-necks in the urban planning process. Four critical issues can be identified which have been mentioned the most (figure 6.3). The first is cooperation problems in which actors have unbalanced powers, leaving out urban professionals and citizens. Public-private partnership is neglected due to a short-term economic approach. The second issue is coordination between governmental bodies. This leads to an overlapping authority of numerous

planning and development agencies (Cavric & Nedovic-Budic, 2007). In which vertical and horizontal translation of documents becomes impossible. The third is awareness problems due to a lack of information and data. A lack of policy reviews create uninformed decisions. As last there is a stability problem, caused by troubles finding consenses between actors and finding priorities, which is related to a lack of information in the urban planning process. This creates and unstable environment which investors find an unpleasant environment due to higher risks.

## STRATEGIC VISIONAIRY PLANNING



## PHYSICAL SECTORAL LAND-USE PLANNING

**Figure 6.4:** A strategic visionary framework which acts on top of the current planning practice

### A STRATEGIC VISIONAIRY FRAMEWORK WHICH ACTS ON TOP OF THE CURRENT SPATIAL PLANS

The current planning culture and practice in Zagreb fails to tackle the current flaws in its process. Therefore a review of the current spatial planning paradigm in the context of a competitive globalised economy has resulted in certain requirements which can cope with a complex environment. The paradigm has set a direction towards flexible and open documents. Strategic planning and visioning are part of this paradigm. Strategic planning is designed for action instead of planning as control in current land-use plans or physical plans (Balducci, 2010). It are plans looking for ways to attract foreign investments (Stanilov, 2007) and to facilitate private sector growth (Tsenkova, 2007). It needs to adopt a marketing approach to attract investors and to uncover local neglected

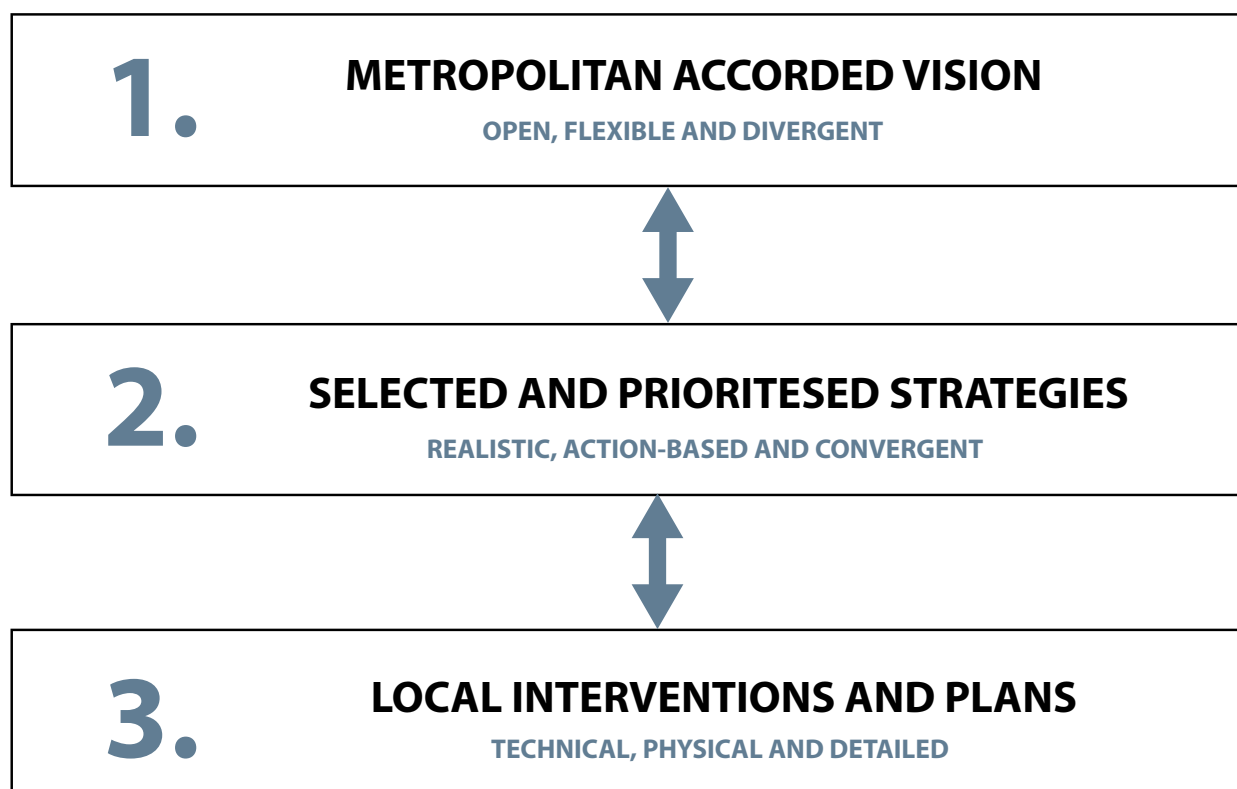
opportunities (Stanilov, 2007 & Tsenkova, 2007). It needs to reveal the right urban conditions in order to attract investments and firms (Gospodini, 2002). A common pitfall is the adaptation of generic goals and underused visualisations. In order to remain or become competitive, urban policies need to be tailored-made (Musterd & Kovács, 2013). This is a major task for the metropolitan region of Zagreb. The creation of a tailor-made vision, which reveals the right urban conditions and enhances collaboration and stability among stakeholders. The next chapter focusses on finding a framework which incorporates the findings from the theoretical and analytical framework to inform decisions on conditions which can enhance the competitive position of Zagreb.



# 7.0 STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK



# 7.1 FRAMEWORK



**Figure 7.1:** A strategic visionary framework which acts on top of the current planning practice

## COMPREHENSIVE STRUCTURAL VISION OF AMSTERDAM

The previous chapter came to the conclusion that there are bottlenecks in the urban planning process. This chapter introduces a visionary strategic framework which can work on top of the existing plans to reduce the critical issues previously explained. Underestimating the importance of creating a vision and strategic potential has a destructive impact on the competitive position of cities (Ivanicka & Ivanicka, 2007). A framework based on three scales is introduced (Figure 7.1). One critical issue is the lack of cooperation and coordination between plans. Setting up a vision on a

metropolitan scale therefore has priority in order to come to an accord between a balanced set of actors. Its process is based on conversion of spatial potentials and therefore remaining flexible in uncertain times. The next step is to set up a decision framework which contains criteria translated from the goals and external constraints. This process will yield prioritised strategies, which are realistic and action-based. The guidelines and objectives from these strategies have a purpose to inform local interventions and plans in order to reduce the fragmentation of the urban structure.

# FRAMEWORK

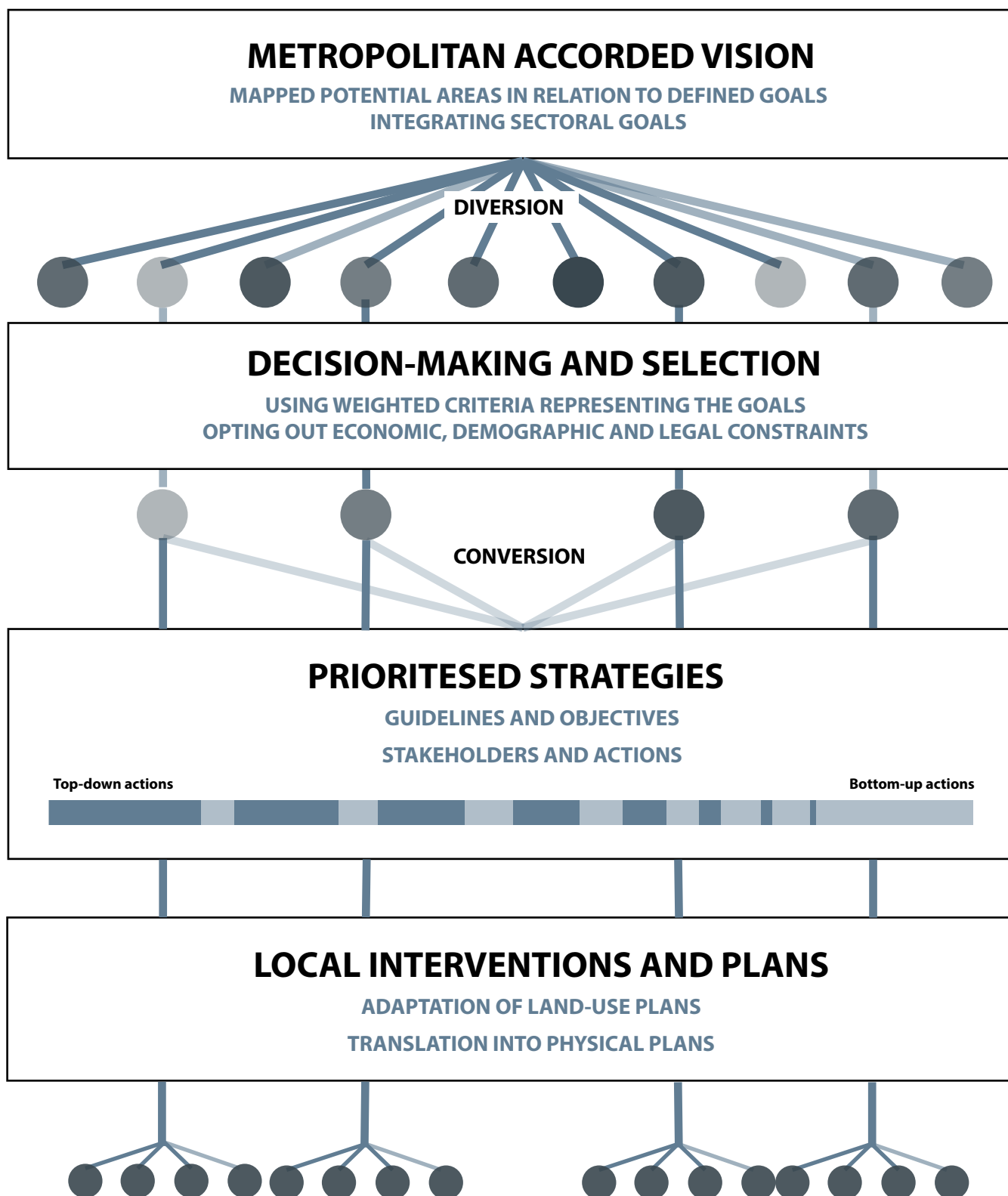


Figure 7.2: The steps of the framework showing the basic elements

## 7.2 SETTING UP A VISION



**Figure 7.3:** Mapping potential areas based on collaborative workshops

### COMPREHENSIVE STRUCTURAL VISION OF AMSTERDAM

The main process of setting up a vision, is finding an accord in the selection of goals and translating those in spatial potentials. The Zagreb metropolitan area has an array of sectoral plans which are not integrated. In order to use strategic planning as a tool to achieve all of the mentioned goals, it puts an enormous pressure on its visual representation. Visioning is always a design-oriented activity (Palermo & Ponzini, 2010) and it involves the creativity of the design to show alternative futures (Albrechts, 2010). A common pitfall is the adaptation of generic goals and underused

visualisations. In order to remain or become competitive, urban policies need to be tailored-made (Musterd & Kovács, 2013). Its goal is to locate investments where they are most profitable for society as a whole (Van den Berg & Braun, 1999). This first step of the framework therefore is based on collaborative workshops between actors, which simply finds potential locations based on the defined goals and mapping them in a visual attractive and readable manner. The thesis follows the goal of increasing the spatial competitive position of the metropolitan area of Zagreb.



## **GOAL**

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**Increasing the spatial competitive position of the Metropolitan Area of Zagreb within the European Union**

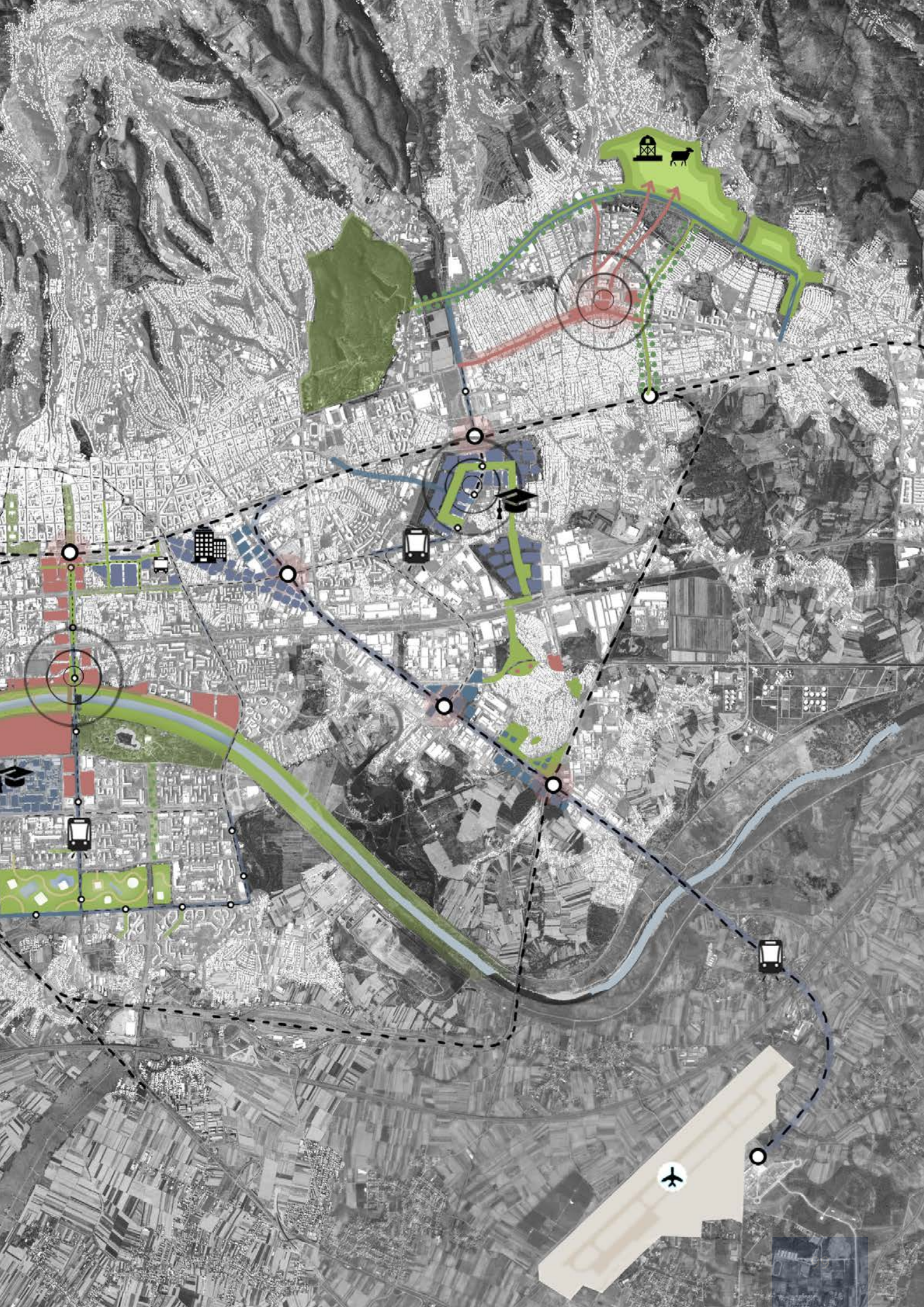
## **SUB GOALS**

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- **Investment in hard conditions in terms of public transport and creating dense mixed-use environments**
- **Strengthening knowledge, business and industry clusters and making their further growth possible**
- **Activating green structures and investing in culture and leisure**
- **Setting the right conditions for the growth a polycentric structure with public space for interaction**



**Figure 7.4:** An example of using design to find potential locations and identify conflicts

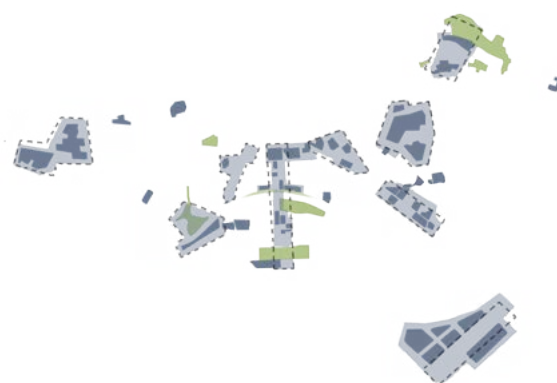


# 7.3 DECISION-MAKING

## PROJECTS



## AREAS & NETWORKS



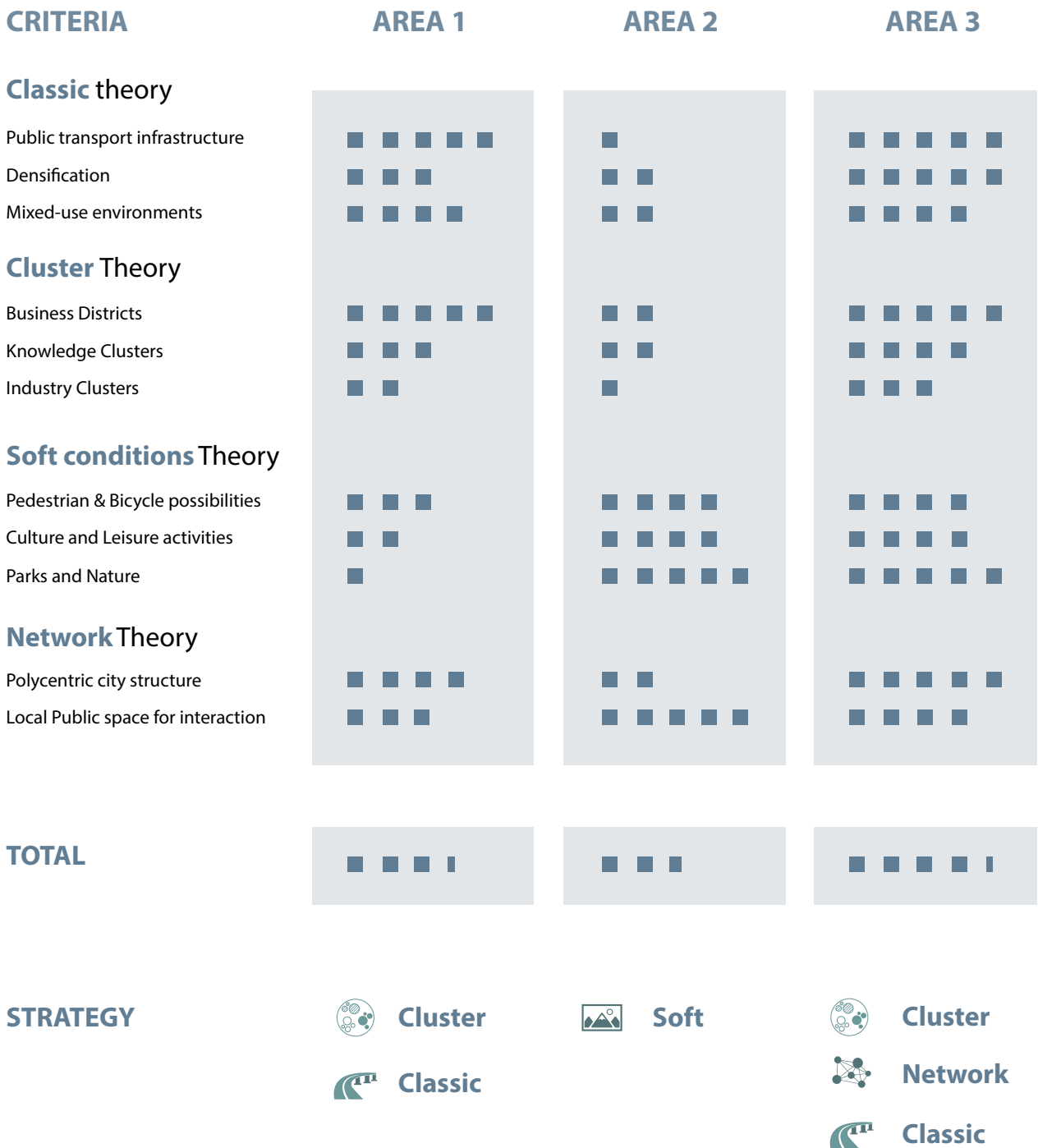
**Figure 7.5:** Moving from separate projects towards the identification of areas to further develop strategies

## COMPREHENSIVE STRUCTURAL VISION OF AMSTERDAM

After having identified and mapped potential locations which can reach the set up goals, a decision-making framework aids in giving priorities to the most potential locations. A vision is comprehensive and open and later selective in terms of selecting critical projects (Mazza, 2010). Planning is in the context of politics, but since planning does not take the final decisions, it is not politics in itself (Albrechts, 2010). This gives strategic planning the goal of improving decision-making. Strategic planning is a political process and uses the term political vision (Mazza, 2010). The role of urban planners in this process is to aid in decision making and inform decision makers. A vision of integrated nature also helps in preventing

inconsistencies in policy-making (Van den Berg & Braun, 1999). The current practice, however, is based on the identification of unsynchronised projects rather than seeing space as a network (Figure 7.5). In order to prevent the current fragmentation and loss of synergies in the metropolitan area, the selection of strategies might better be based on areas and networks rather than on projects. After these have been identified, a framework needs to be developed which contains criteria translated from the main goals and sub goals (Figure 7.6). The result shows that certain areas only show potentials to develop a limited amount of sub goals, while others have potential to develop integrated strategies.

**GOAL:** Increasing the spatial competitive position of the Metropolitan Area of Zagreb within the European Union



**Figure 7.6:** An example showing a decision framework based on the criteria derived from a main goal and resulting in a differentiation of strategies

# 7.4 PRIORITISED STRATEGIC LOCATIONS

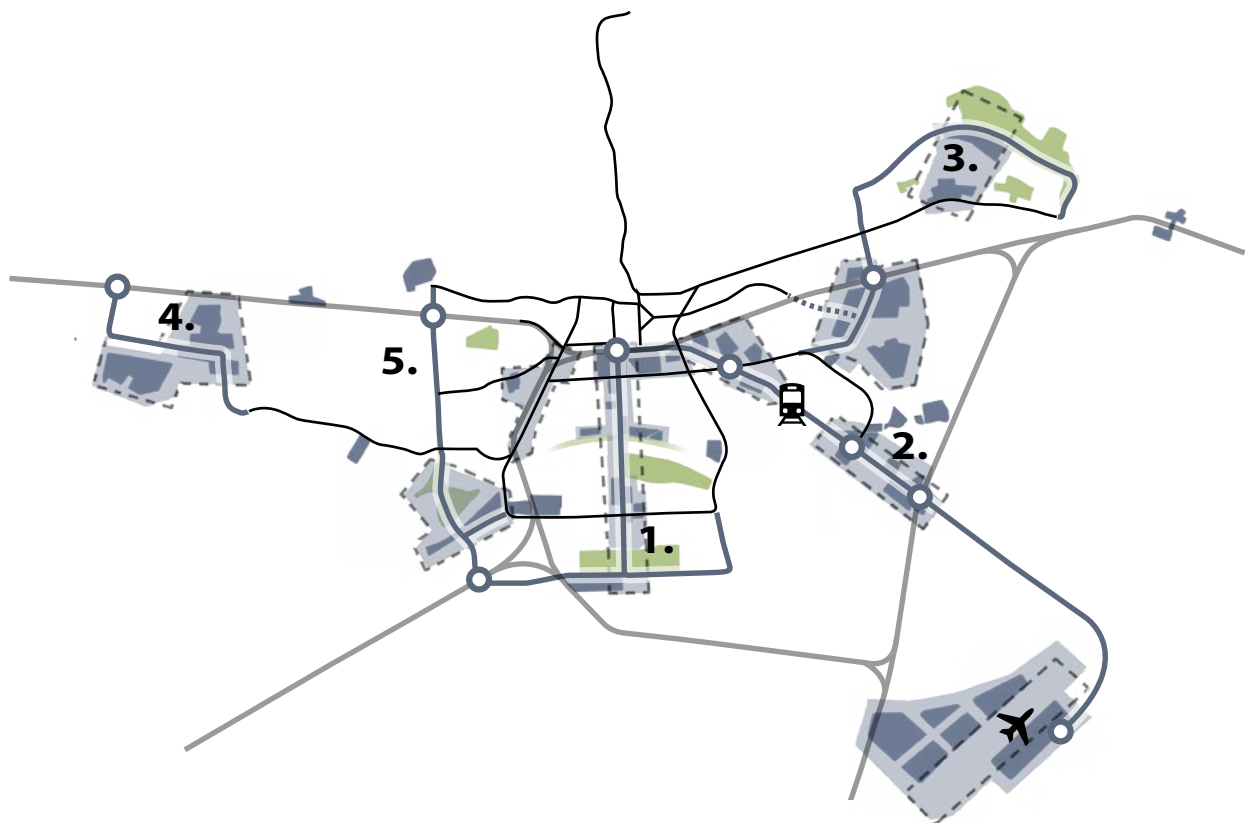
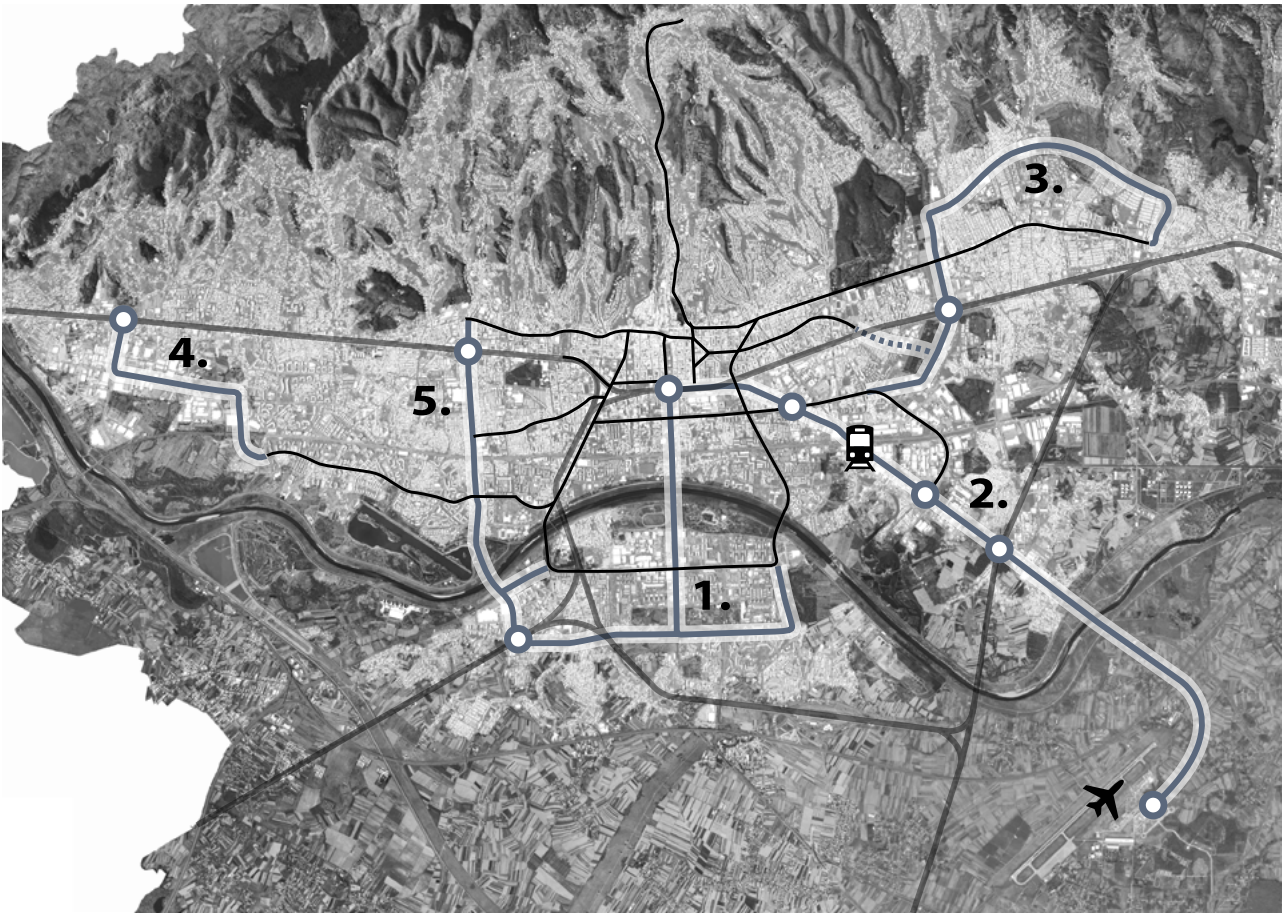


Figure 7.7: Space as a network instead of separate projects

## A PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEM AS AN INTEGRATIVE BACKBONE

The diagnosis from the spatial analysis informs that the metropolitan area is highly fragmented which is exacerbated by a car-oriented approach in planning. The urban structure is not regarded as one entity. The current planning practice does not resolve this issue. This practice in the post-socialist city has been relying on physical land-use planning (Tsenkova, 2007) in which non-spatial matters of urban development have not yet been incorporated sufficiently, due to a lack of interdisciplinary planning

programs. The framework of this thesis therefore incorporates the selection of strategies to pro-actively enhance an integrated network (Figure 7.7). There is one element which can act as an integrative backbone for many potential areas and that is a public transport network. This thesis proposes five strategic public transport lines which can act as a catalyst for an integrative development (Figure 7.8). This proposed public transport also forms the base for development guidelines.



**Figure 7.8:** Five proposed strategic areas based on their integrative value



**Figure 7.9:** Prioritised areas and a new public transport network as a backbone of the strategy







# 7.5 DEVELOPMENT GUIDELINES

## CLASSIC THEORY

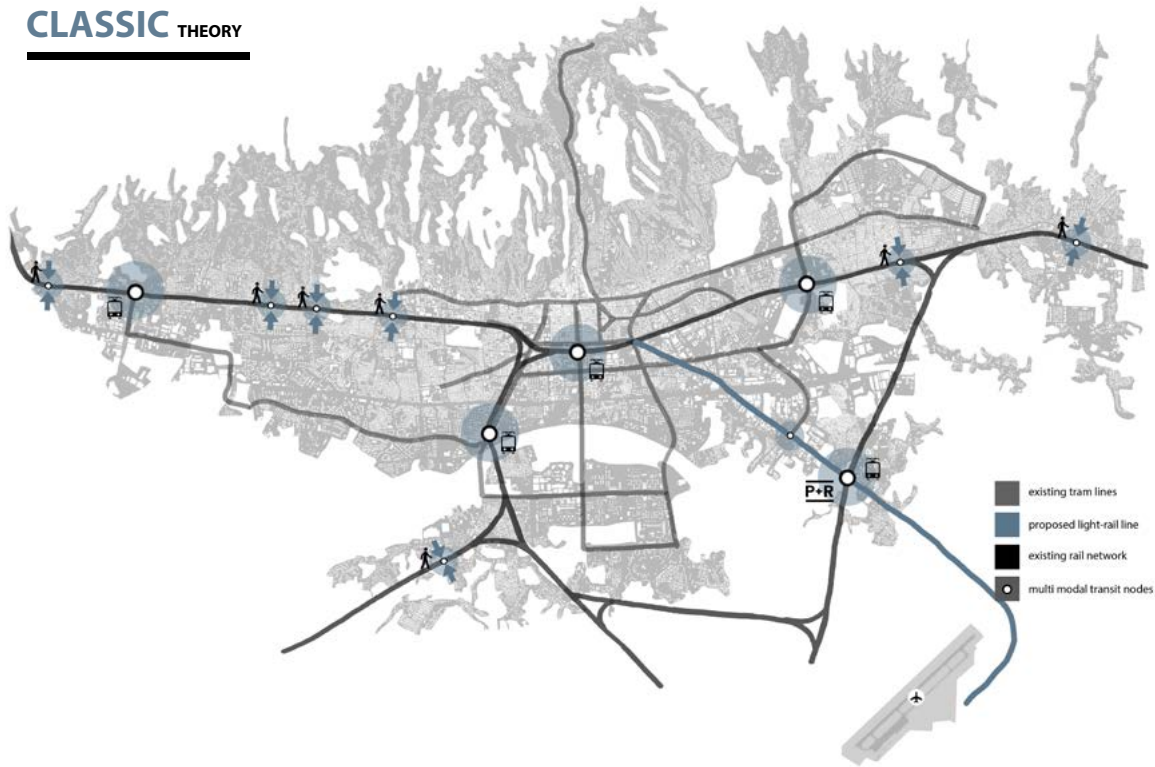


### 1: INVEST IN THE EXTENSION OF THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT NETWORK TO REDUCE CAR DEPENDENCY AND A RESULTING FRAGMENTED URBAN STRUCTURE

After having prioritised strategic locations, strategic development guidelines are set up to synchronise plans and to inform local interventions. The backbone of the guidelines is formed by an extension of the public transport network which is hard infrastructure according to classic theory and increases the catchment area of potential human capital (Guideline 1). It has an integrative nature in order to reduce the fragmented urban structure. The guideline consists of investing in new tramlines and creating a light-rail connection between the airport and the central train

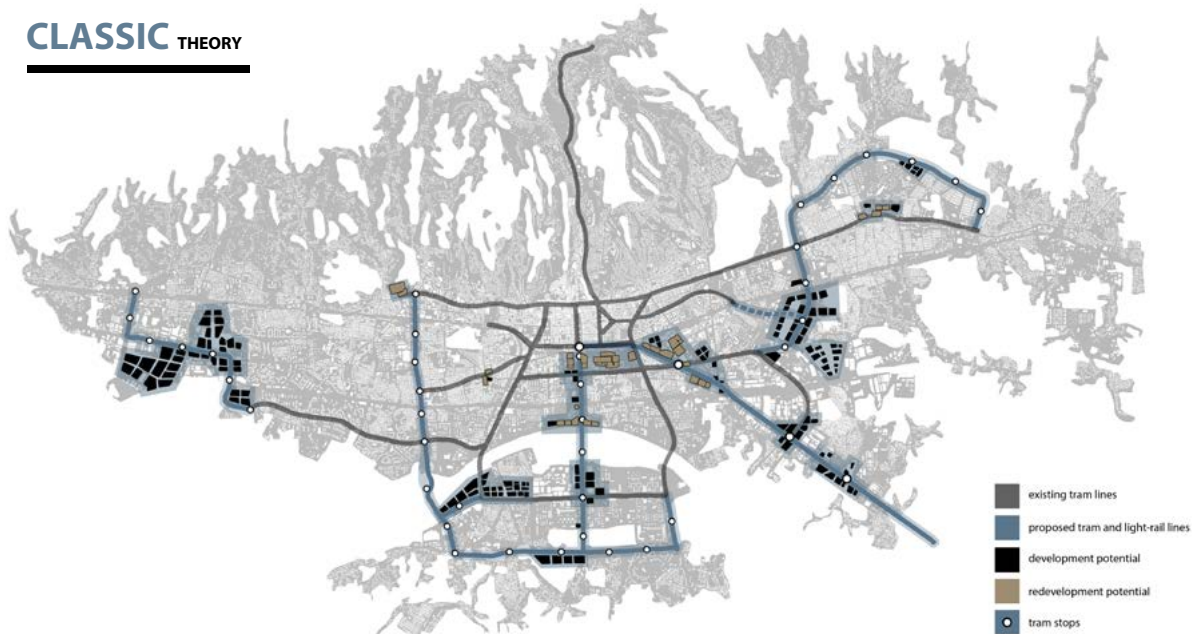
station. Besides investing in new lines, the metropolitan area has an already existing potential train network which is neglected. Many train stops are not accessible for pedestrians and the tram network is hardly connected in terms of multi modal nodes (Guideline 2). Dense urban environments are more productive spaces in comparison to sprawled developments. The third guideline therefore sets prioritised locations to attract investments towards accessible locations. It distinguishes between intensification (development) areas and redevelopment areas (Guideline 3).

## CLASSIC THEORY



**2: INVEST IN THE EXISTING TRAIN NETWORK, MAKING THE STOPS MORE ACCESIBLE AND CREATING MULTI MODAL NODES**

## CLASSIC THEORY



**3: ATTRACT INVESTMENTS AND FOCUS ON DEVELOPMENTS WHICH CAN CREATE DENSE URBANISATION ECONOMIES**

## CLASSIC THEORY

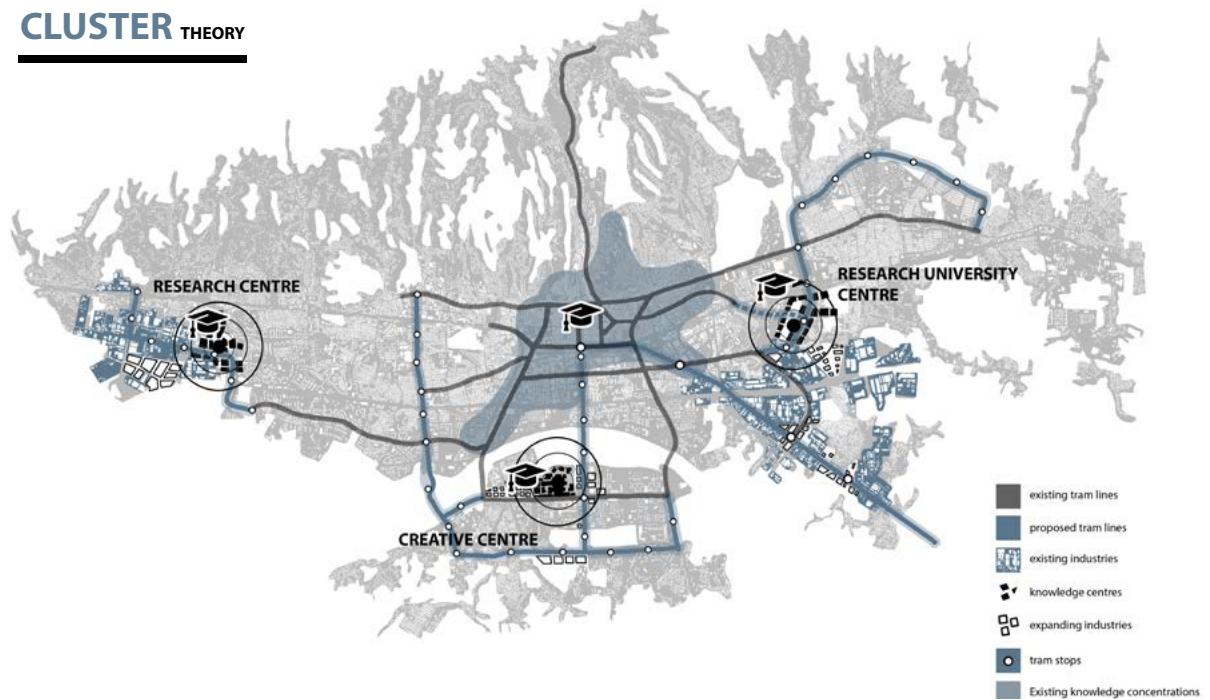


### 4: REDUCE THE PRESSURE ON THE CENTRE AND FOCUS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN STRATEGIC NODES

Mixed-use environments are more productive environments in comparison to monotonous developments. The metropolitan fringe however mainly consists of monotonous car-oriented environments. The fourth guideline identifies locations where mixed-use environments have the most potential to be developed (Guideline 4). A critical element in the uncompetitive position of Croatia is the low performance of its knowledge economy. The innovativeness of its regions is low in comparison to other regions in the European Union. Faculties are sprawled and autonomous and therefore prevent higher levels of cooperation. The fifth guideline sets locations for the development of research centres in which

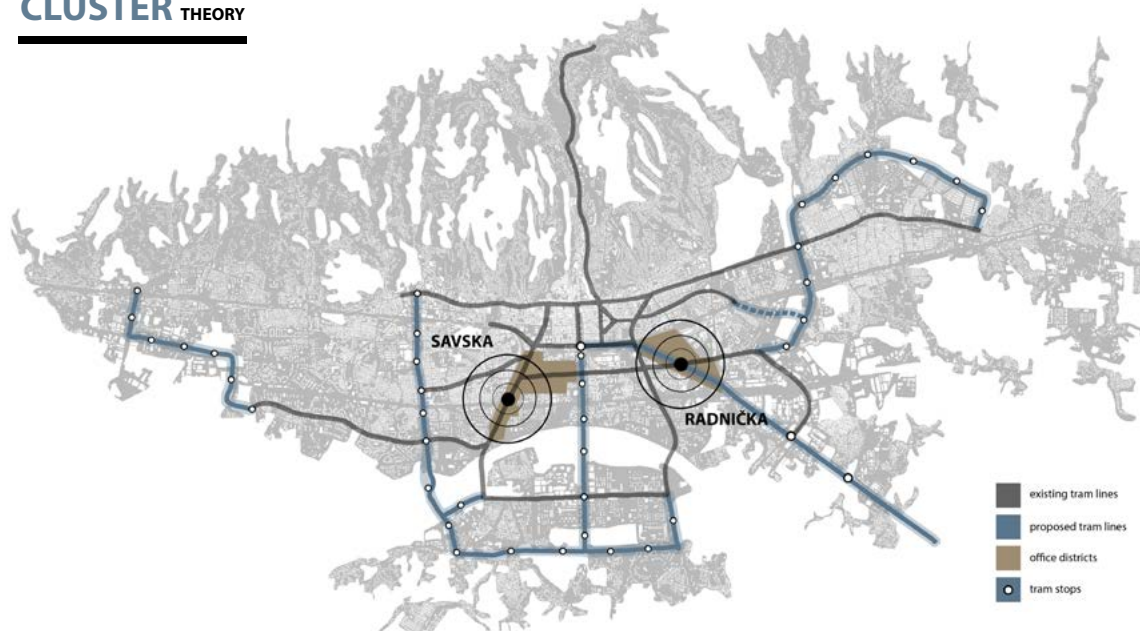
the existing faculties can grow and set up cooperation structures. One prerequisite is the development of an accessible location with urban amenities. These locations are also highly strategic due to their proximity to industries. The research centres are therefore suitable locations for both public and private research and design. They can act as an incubator to attract more companies (Guideline 5). The fifth sets the further development of the business clusters and linking them to the proposed public transport system. The office clusters create an enormous flow of traffic and investing in public transport will reduce congestion and therefore make these spaces spatially more competitive (Guideline 6).

## CLUSTER THEORY

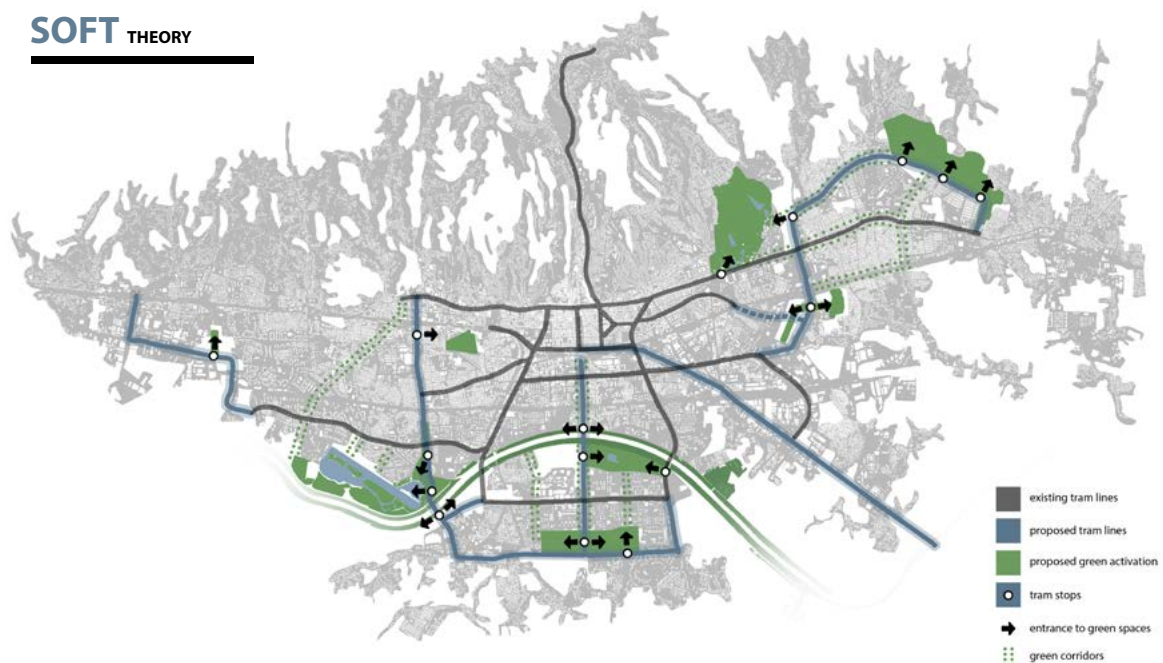


## 5: CREATE SCIENCE HUBS LINKED TO THE PRODUCTION CLUSTERS IN COOPERATION WITH THE UNIVERSITY TO ACT AS AN INCUBATOR

## CLUSTER THEORY



## 6: LINK THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEM TO BUSINESS DISTRICTS TO REDUCE CAR FLOWS AND CONGESTION

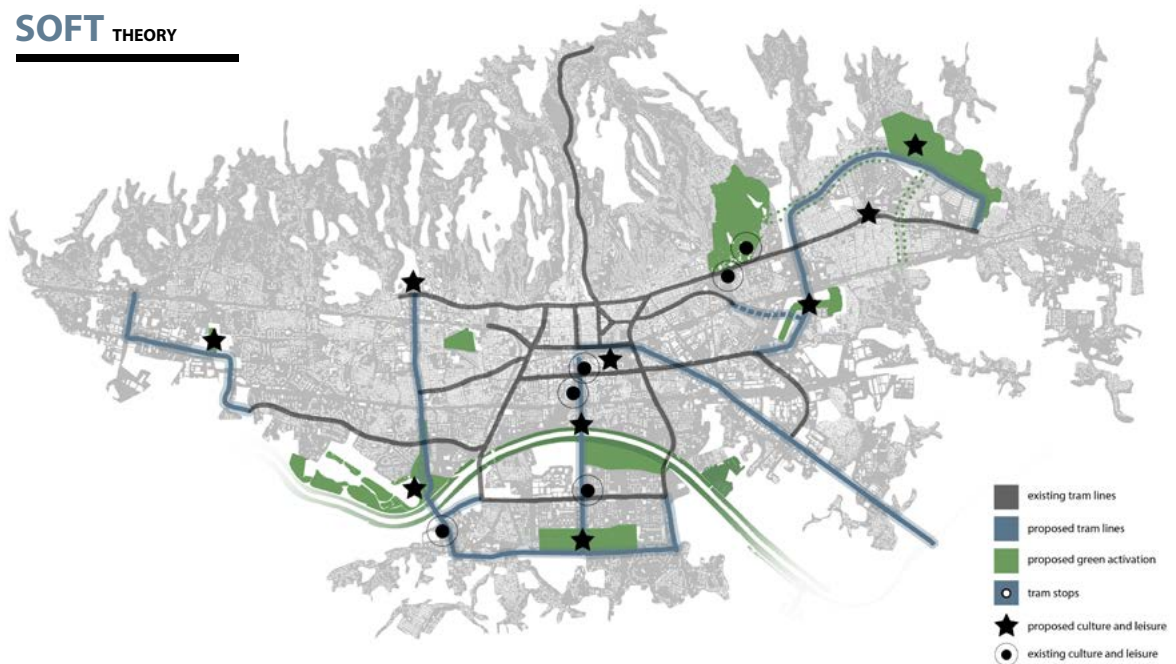


## 7: CONNECT PUBLIC GREEN SPACES TO THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT NETWORK

The seventh guideline connects existing and potential green areas and structures to the public transport system. Maksimir park is an existing situation which is highly accessible and contributes to the quality of life of the inhabitants of Zagreb. There are however more locations which have the potential to be activated and to be made more accessible for the inhabitants and visitors of Zagreb. The guideline links public transport stops to an enhanced entrance to these areas (Guideline 7). Another soft factor is the development and attraction of cultural amenities and

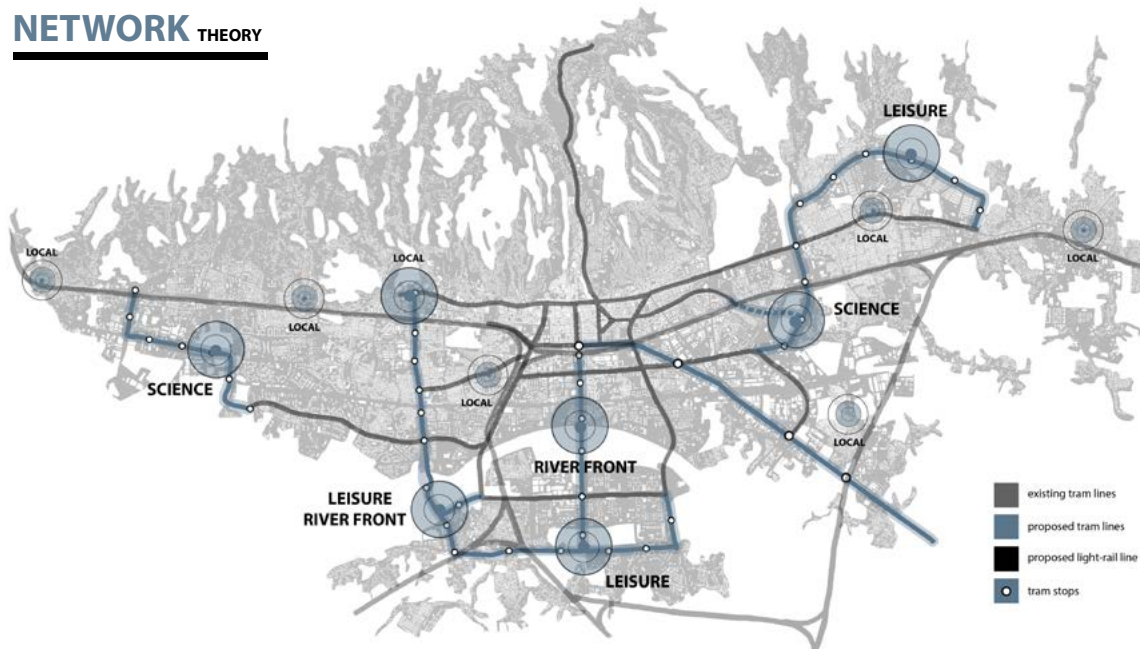
leisure activities. The eighth guideline advocates the importance of developing these amenities and linking them to the public transport system in order to make them accessible for the whole metropolitan area (Guideline 8). The last proposed guideline is identifying a polycentric city structure consisting of corridors and nodes. Many inhabitants are left out in terms of economic opportunities because they live in monotonous inaccessible developments. Proactively concentrating and giving priority to concentrating developments can create a more just polycentric structure (Guideline 9).

## SOFT THEORY



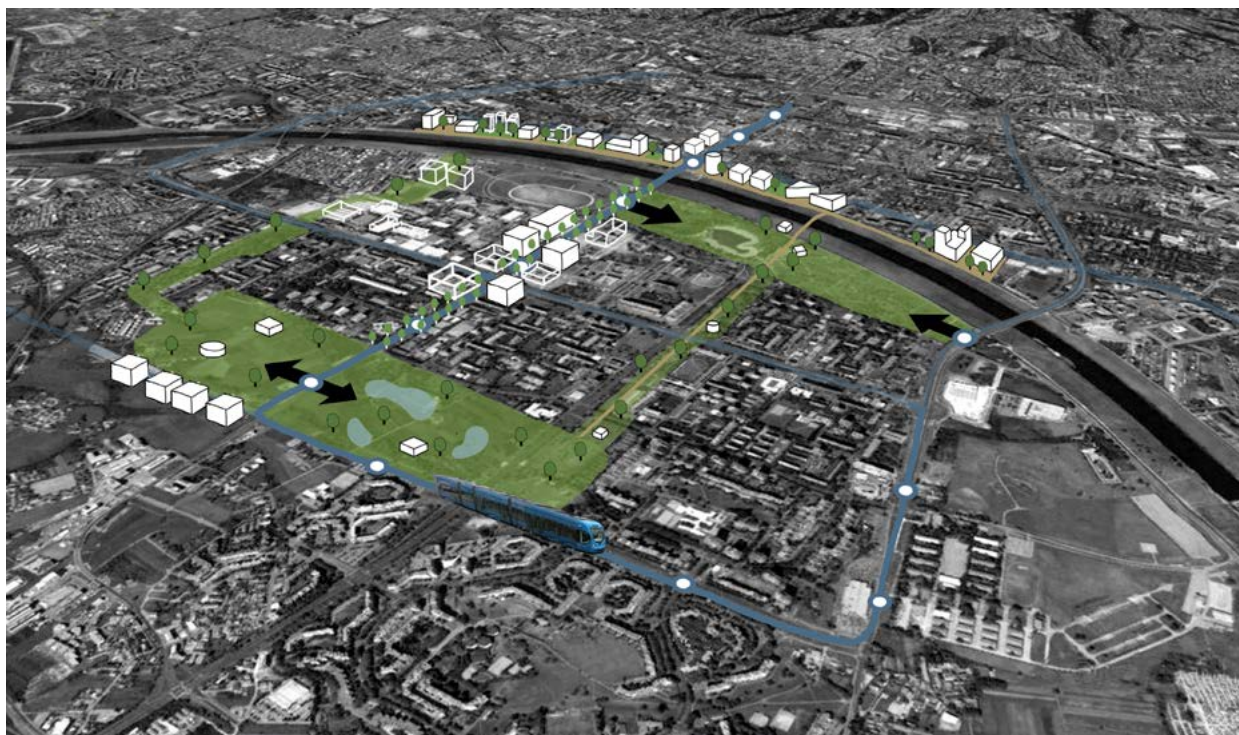
## 8: ATTRACT AND DEVELOP CULTURAL AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE NETWORK

## NETWORK THEORY



## 9: FOCUS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLYCENTRIC CITY STRUCTURE

# 7.6 NOVI ZAGREB STRATEGY



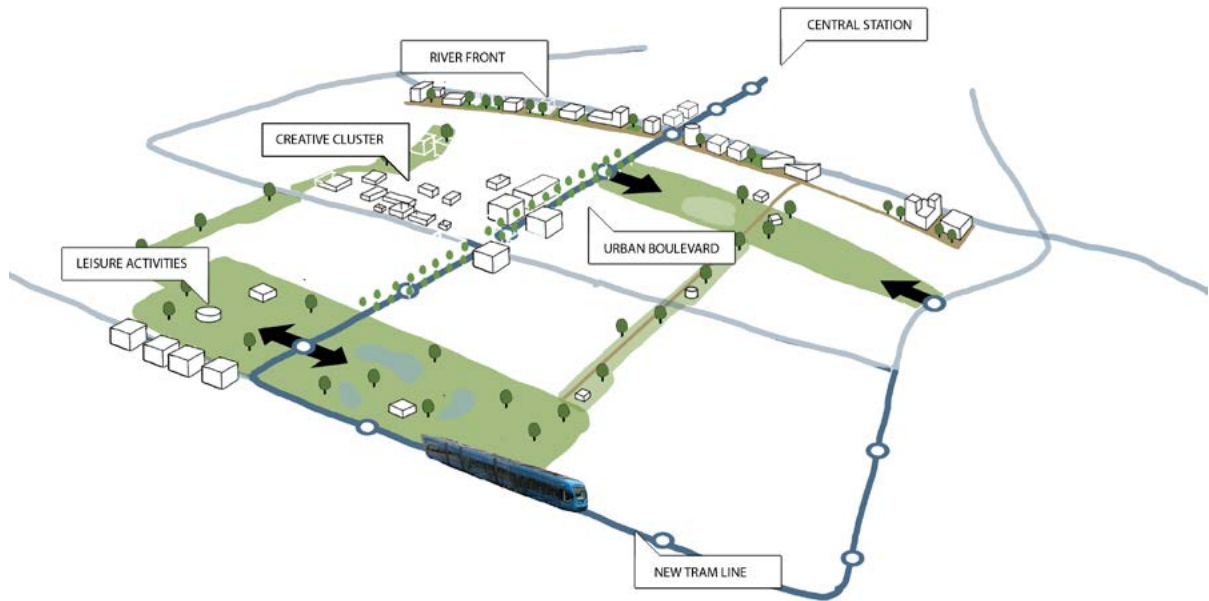
**Figure 7.11:** A strategic development of the Novi Zagreb tram line

## MOVING AWAY FROM A MONOTONOUS HOUSING ESTATE

The strategic development guidelines form the input for the development of the prioritised strategies. One of these is a new tram line from the central train station towards Novi Zagreb. A social housing estate built in the seventies. These monotonous social housing estates are top down planned and thus hard infrastructure is mostly present. There is however an enormous lack in soft infrastructure with little place for networking. Figure 7.11 shows an example of a strategy containing potential developments integrated and linked to the new proposed tram line. These developments vary

between the development of a riverfront around the new tramstop at the river containing mixed use developments and promenades, to a leisure park where investments as sauna parks, water parks can be possible. These developments are by a variety of actors and stakeholders. The purpose of the strategy therefore is to identify these actors and list which actions are carried out by whom. The strategy is of a collaborative nature and design in the form of visualisations contributes to finding an accord. It results in an execution plan listing the responsibilities of the different actors in executing the developments (Figure 7.13).






**Figure 7.12:** The diverse set of developments which have a diverse set of actors

## DEVELOPMENTS


### Riverfront

-  Soft
-  Network

### Tram Line

-  Classic

### Urban Boulevard

-  Classic
-  Network
-  Soft

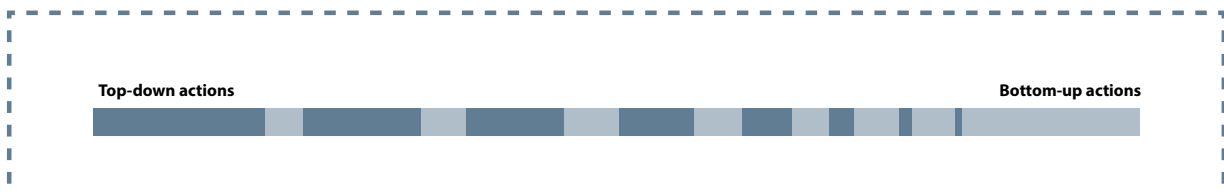
### Creative cluster

-  Cluster

### Leisure park

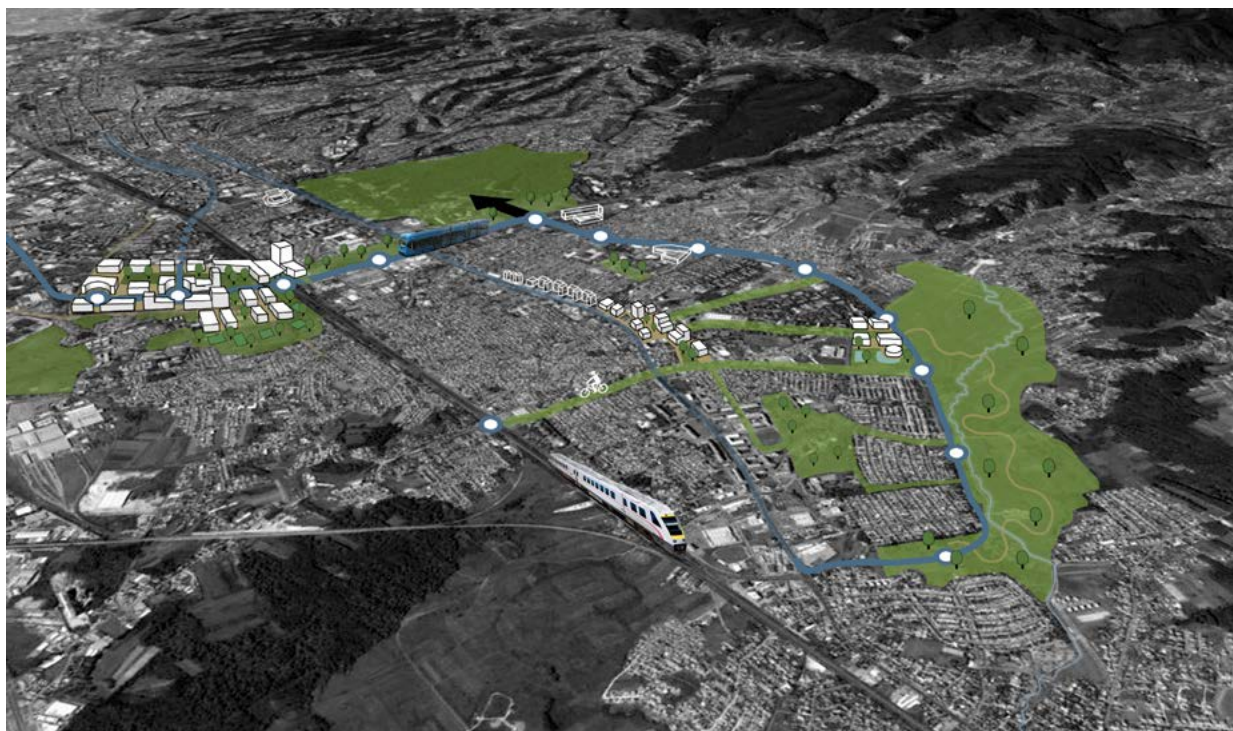
-  Soft

## ACTORS



**Figure 7.13:** The developments and their actions in relation to actors who are responsible

## 7.7 DUBRAVA STRATEGY

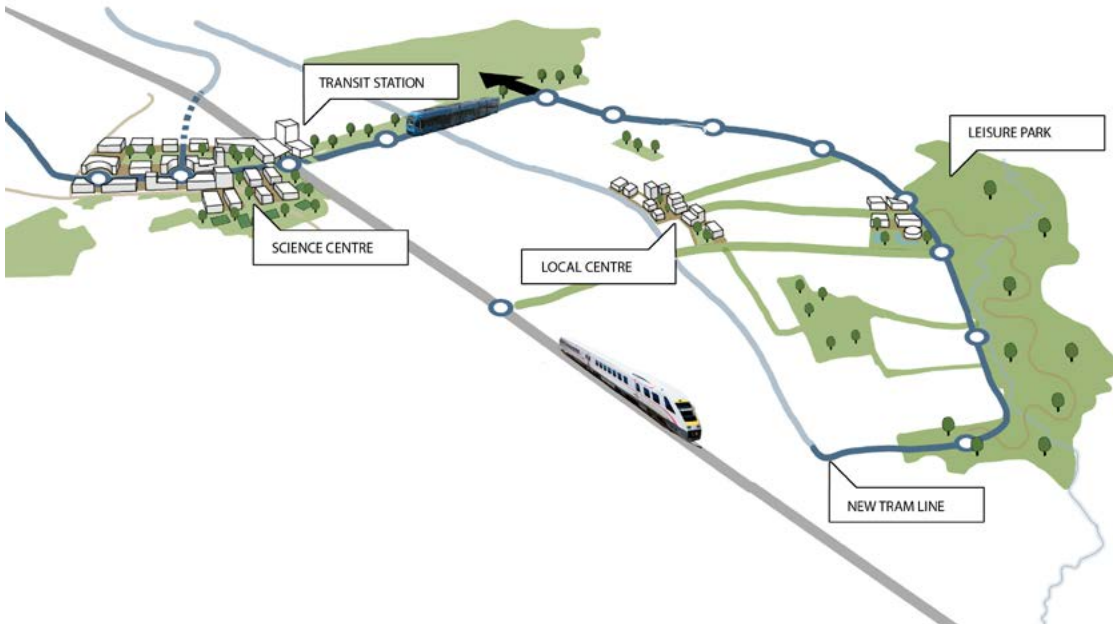


**Figure 7.14:** The proposed Science Centre - Dubrava tramline

### ACTIVATING LOCAL OPPORTUNITIES AND GREEN LEISURE STRUCTURES

Another strategic development is the proposed Science Centre - Dubrava tramline (Figure 7.14). The Dubrava district consists of a large amount of individual housing developments including informal housing. The area has a high amount of unconsolidated land and lacks hard infrastructure as well as soft factors. The local centre has several buildings which are in decay and plots remain empty. Citizens have little job opportunities and this neighbourhood is regarded as highly unpopular. The strategy therefore consists of upgrading the existing centre





and adding soft factors as public squares, green parks etc. The proposed tram line connects the science centre with Dubrava. This centre has the potential to be a mixed use development in order to create nearby job opportunities as well as sport facilities which can be used for students as well for the neighbourhood. The new tramline sets the potential for the activation of green spaces. A new nature park can become highly accessible with leisure activities nearby. A new transit station between train and tram makes an easy transfer possible for people outside the metropolitan area.




**Figure 7.15:** The new Science Centre - Dubrava tramline with the possible developments

## DEVELOPMENTS

### Science centre

-  Cluster
-  Soft
-  Network
-  Classic

### Tram Line

-  Classic

### Local centre

-  Classic
-  Network
-  Soft

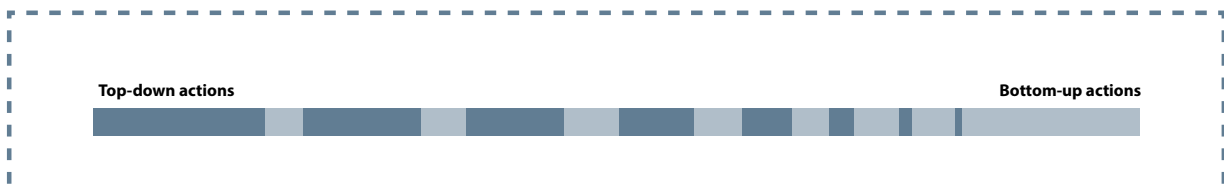
### Transit station

-  Classic

### Leisure park

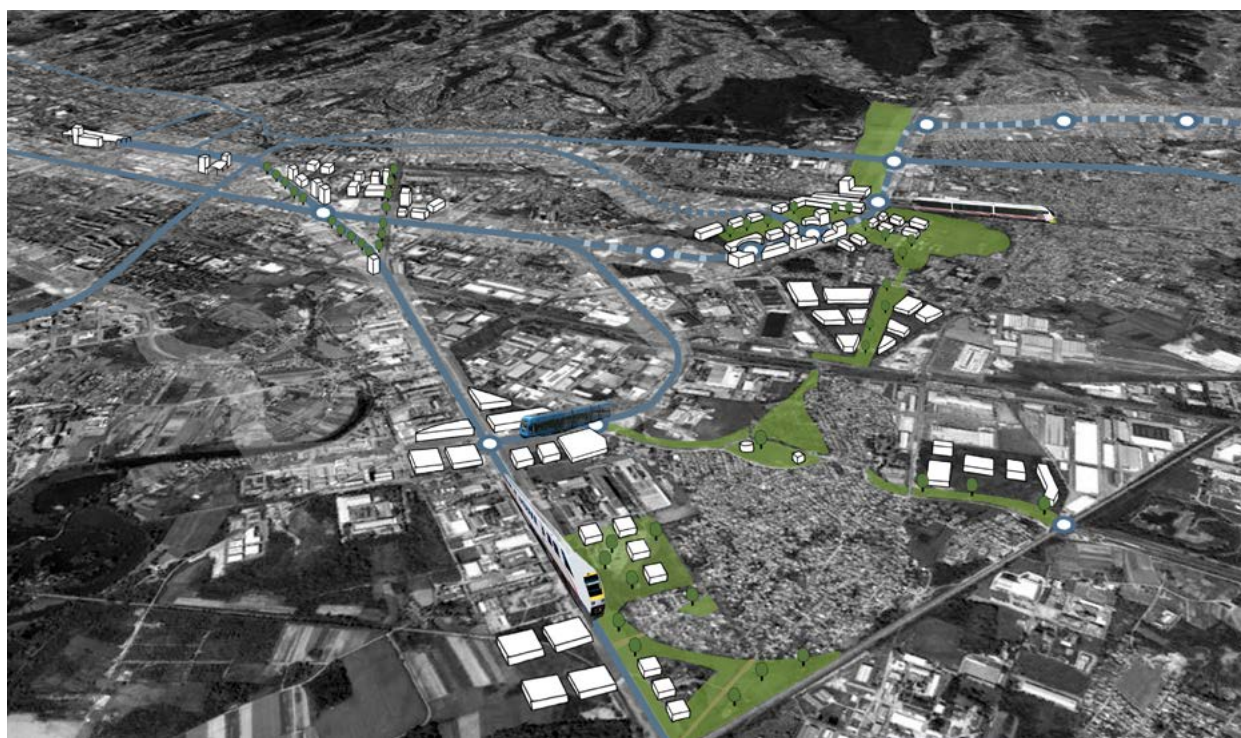
-  Soft

## ACTORS



**Figure 7.16:** The developments and their actions in relation to actors who are responsible

# 7.8 AIRPORT LIGHT-RAIL STRATEGY

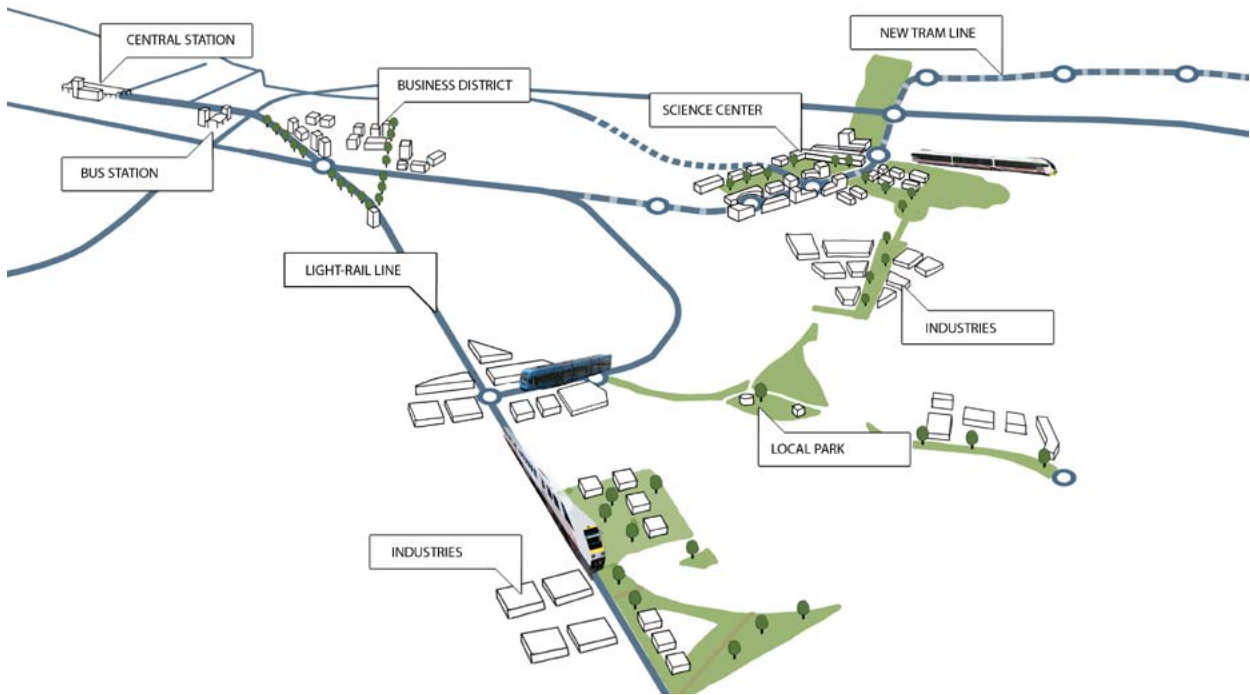


**Figure 7.17:** A proposed light-rail connection between the airport and central train station passing through industries, a business district and close to the university science centre

## CONNECTING GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTS

A third strategic plan is the development of a light-rail connection between the airport and central train station passing through industries, a business district and close to the university science centre (Figure 7.17). This district consist of industries and an informal housing neighbourhood. The new line has the opportunity to connect global areas within Zagreb. The line can have multiple stops where it crosses tramlines and a highly potential connection is the one towards the science centre. This centre can provide possibilities to enhance cooperation

between research faculties and between public-private research cooperations. The proximity to industries and available land to attract more companies is a strategic asset. The investment of public transport and connecting it to the existing business district will increase its competitive position and also reduce traffic congestion. This area of Zagreb has an enormous potential to attract global partners in combination with public parties to set up an action plan for its development.



**Figure 7.18:** A proposed light-rail connection between the airport and central train station

## DEVELOPMENTS

### Business district

-  Cluster
-  Network
-  Classic

### Light-rail

-  Classic

### Industries

-  Cluster

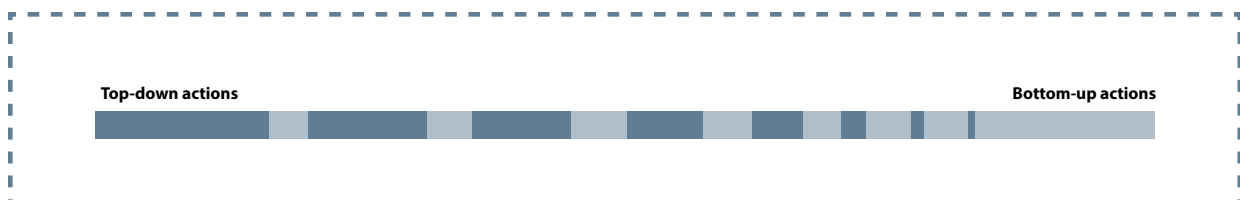
### Local park

-  Soft

### Bus station

-  Classic

## ACTORS



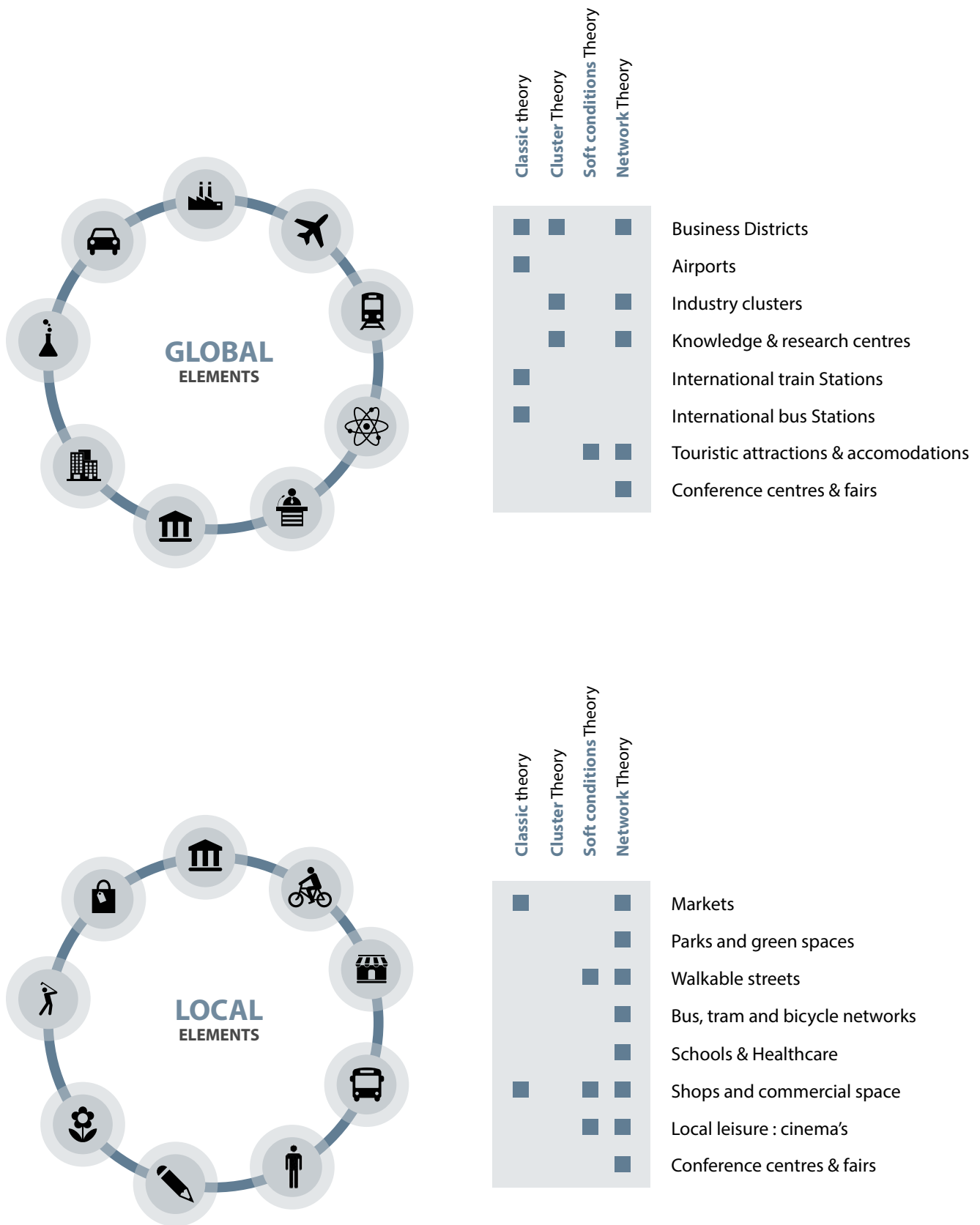
**Figure 7.19:** The developments and their actions in relation to actors who are responsible

# 7.9 LOCAL INTERVENTIONS AND PLANS

## INFORMING LOCAL PHYSICAL PLANS AND ADJUSTING RESTRICTIVE PLANS

The proposed framework ends with the set up of local plans and interventions. The current practice of physical planning is not adhered to due to contradictions in plans, non comprehensive plans and policy instability. Instead of compromising on the restrictive nature of land-use plans, post-socialist cities need to find the right balance between restrictiveness and the entrepreneurial approach of strategic planning. An approach in which land use plans should be altered after the outcome of strategic plans (Mazza, 2010). In many post-socialist cities strategic plans are still a parallel document next to land-use plans. Therefore, strategic plans should

inform physical plans and should allow the amendment of land-use plans if actors come to an agreement for development. The framework works though scales in order to define metropolitan problems and potentials which eventually are translated into local solutions. These local solutions are regarded within one network. This approach aids in reducing the fragmented and unsynchronised metropolitan fringe of Zagreb. The interventions can vary from global elements to local elements (Figure 7.20). These elements need to be in balance in order to be competitive on a global scale as well as providing local opportunities to its citizens.



**Figure 7.20:** Local interventions and their radius of scale in relation to the four theories

# 7.10 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## MAKING A TAILOR MADE PLAN AND MOVING AWAY FROM GENERIC GOALS

This thesis proposed a strategic framework in order to improve the spatial competitive position of the metropolitan area of Zagreb. A country that recently joined the European Union and which had to adapt its planning system. A shortcoming of the Europeanisation of the planning process is the adaptation of generic goals, overlooking the context and specific potentials and weaknesses regions have. This asks for tailored-made strategic plans in which objectives are translated into space. Stating goals in written form will not suffice in finding the true potentials a city can have. Design

will be the competitive advantage cities and regions can have in the form of place-based strategies. The metropolitan area of Zagreb still needs to define this process and the proposed framework has set an outline.

## IMPROVING VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL COORDINATION BETWEEN PLANS

This thesis proposed a framework which consists of three main layers. A vision, strategies and local interventions. It can be concluded that the upper two layers are missing which creates a bottleneck in the process of vertical coordination. Plans and projects are not synchronised due to a lack of cooperation. The current spatial planning paradigm stresses the goal of strategic planning as a tool to increase cooperation and as a communicative tool, rather than an end design. Making an integrated vision where all participants will be active and equal contributors in shaping

a city's future. This asks for a balanced set of actors. A balance which is currently not present due to the domination of short-term economic investors in the Zagreb. Setting up strategies in which actions are related to actors can improve the vertical and horizontal coordination. Due to the current approach of directly selecting urban projects, space is not seen as a network. This approach fails in reducing the fragmented structure in the urban fringe.



## USING VISUALISATIONS AND DESIGN AS A COLLABORATIVE TOOL

South-east European states have relatively failed to attract investments and should invest more in strategic planning and visioning in order to show their full potentials. Strategic plans, however, should not solely focus on the identification of places with economic development potential. The spatial planning practice lacks an integral approach based on visualisations, in which social, cultural and environmental assets are visualised in order to attract investment for further development in a sustainable way. Visualisations can

increase awareness of current social, economic and environmental problems within an integrated comprehensive strategic plan, to have a positive impact on stakeholder involvement, political will and investments in order to tackle the problems of the post-socialist city. Using visioning to come to an agreement of the main development of the main assets of a city and help to reduce policy instability some states suffer from. Strategic planning needs to be regraded as a tool to increase cooperation and as a communicative tool.



# 8.0 REFLECTION



# 8.1 REFLECTION

## MAKING DECISIONS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS WITH LITTLE KNOWLEDGE

Looking back and reflecting on a project is reflecting on the decisions which were taken. In order to make wise decisions you simply need knowledge to inform you. In the beginning stage, a lot of decisions need to be made, while not having enough knowledge. At the closing stage, a lot of knowledge is obtained, but the amount and importance of decisions has declined drastically (Figure 8.1). This paradox was extremely noticeable during the creation of this thesis. Looking back, working could have been more efficient if I had obtained certain knowledge earlier.

One of the guiding paradigms in the beginning of the project was the knowledge city. Gaining more knowledge later on, the amount of critical remarks on this paradigm grew. It soon turned out to be another buzz word like the sustainable city or the smart city. Old wine in a new bottle. This paradigm also includes many non spatial factors and therefore became less useable. The four theories on spatial competitiveness, however, all explain a different view how space can become competitive. It explains rather than giving bullet points of necessary criteria. Having found these theories

earlier, decision making could have been better informed at the beginning of the project. I learned that I grabbed to the solution, i.e. the knowledge city, too fast. I should have explored the theories earlier. The interviews and the site visit were extremely valuable and the knowledge gained from them entered in a late stage. Also this should have been scheduled earlier. It could have helped in setting the narrative and validation of the project earlier.

Another learned aspect is the importance to set up a narrative and a storyboard and use that as a guideline not to get lost in the abundance of work. Otherwise the mind can easily move towards unnecessary directions. Looking back, I should have kept the storyline to the core more often. It also means not including every finding of the research. Some findings are less valuable than others. Obtaining knowledge at a later stage also altered the research questions.

Setting up a thesis from zero to a presentable stage, has improved my academic skills and has learned me that making decisions is crucial in order to come to a project which is enticing to a public .

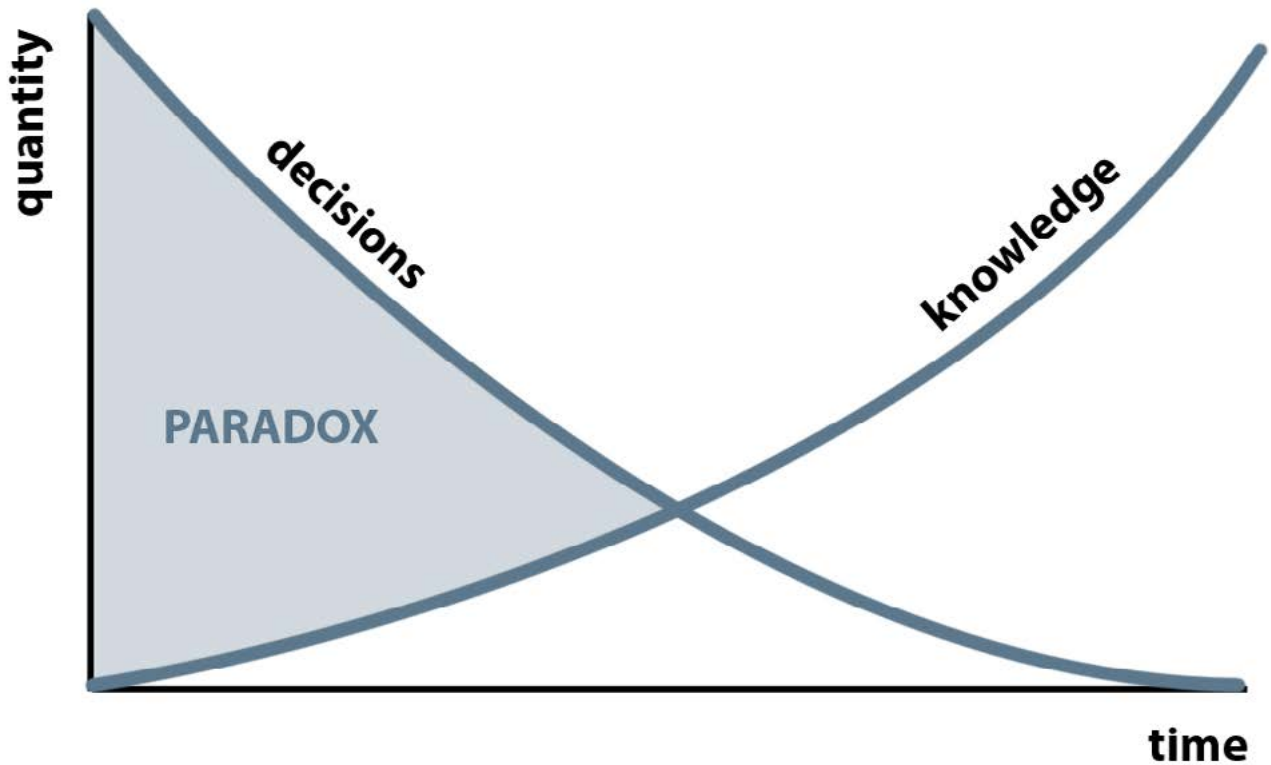


Figure 8.1: The decision and knowledge paradox

## RESEARCH WITHIN THE FIELD OF URBANISM AND THE ABUNDANCE OF THEORIES AND PARADIGMS

The value of research is simply that it creates knowledge. This knowledge can inform designers and give them a better ability to make decisions. It leads to more informed designs, which act less on own beliefs. Therefore, starting the design with a thorough research has improved the rhetoric of the design. It also puts the design in a social context. Studying this context and analysing the needs of the population, can create more liveable environments. In this case I have learned that there are multiple theories and multiple truths. Urbanism derives its knowledge from many non exact sciences. Many theories are certainly biased and therefore this thesis explored four of them in order to give multiple sides of the story. The classic theory paradigm has an overly economic

focus, while the soft factors theory paradigm has a social and environmental focus. Combining the theories and having a critical view on how to apply them at which location has been the core of this thesis. I have learned that researchers view reality from their own field of knowledge. It is therefore important to know that there is not one field which explains a broad term like spatial competitiveness, but many. The goal of creating a tailor-made visionary framework, helped in understanding that not every theory can be applied everywhere. Some locations in the metropolitan area already have the necessary soft factor conditions, while lacking classic conditions. It is of strategic importance to locate those spatial interventions at the locations which are most deprived of them.

# 1.19

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# APPENDIX

*theory paper*



# Strategic or generic urban plans in the post-socialist city

The potentials of tailor-made strategic planning and increased visualisations in post-socialist cities in order to increase their competitiveness within the context of ongoing globalisation

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**Abstract** – The transition from a socialist to a capitalist free market economy has weakened the spatial governance system of Post-socialist cities and made the empowerment of short-term economic actors possible. These unregulated conditions have left a mark on metropolitan structures, with many negative externalities, creating less competitive conditions in relation to other European cities. This article is seeking to find what planning practices should be altered in order to withstand this competitive environment. Finally it tries to answer if the Europeanisation of the planning process and an entrepreneurial approach are the direction for post-socialist cities which experienced many negative impacts during the transition. It finds that the entrepreneurial approach cannot be generally applied and that it needs to be dealt with caution.

**Key words** – post-socialist city, entrepreneurial approach, urban planning, europeanisation, strategic planning, visualisations

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## 1 Introduction

The model of the socialist city is based on a political system with a heavy centralised government. After the fall of the Berlin Wall the destruction of this already unsustainable type of governance began. This has led to an abrupt transition and adaptation of post-socialist Europe towards a market-oriented capitalistic system based on individualism. In a short period of time the whole legal system had to be reorganised (Stanilov, 2007). This abrupt reorganisation has led to many flaws in the governance system, which eventually had an impact on the urban structure of cities within

the newly formed nation-states. Many of these states, which were once located behind the iron curtain have now be integrated within the European Union, where decentralisation is one of the main reform processes in political-management systems nowadays (Koprić, 2009). It is a result of the demand for more local voice in the decision-making process. It is based on the belief that local levels can make wiser decisions (Tosics, 2005). It goes hand in hand with the process of globalisation asking for effective governance in order to maintain a competitive position. The EU emphasises that members states should be in the position to withstand competitive pressures in the single

market as a key condition for accession (Maleković & Fröhlich, 2005). It occurs in a context where the contrasts of the different planning cultures in Europe are fading (Getimis & Magnier, 2013). This is imposed by EU regulations which are advocating for decentralisation and flexibility in planning, in order to maintain efficient in the current environment of deregulation (Pallagst & Mercier, 2007). The Europeanisation of the planning process has a direct impact for post-socialist cities integrated or awaiting integration within the European Union. Many laws on spatial planning had or have to be altered according to guidelines (Slavuj et al., 2009). The post-socialist cities themselves have also a growing interest in strategic planning, part of a search for a more flexible approach to city planning (Tsenkova, 2007).

This article is seeking to find what planning practices should be altered in order to withstand this competitive environment. It starts with the flaws in urban planning in the transition of the post-socialist cities and what impact it has on the urban fabric of cities. Then it gives an overview of the current paradigm in urban and spatial planning. Finally it tries to answer if the Europeanisation of the planning process and an entrepreneurial approach are the direction for post-socialist cities which experienced many negative impacts during the transition.

## **2 The political transition process of post-socialist cities**

During the transition a main question was how to frame the nature and extent of government intervention in regulating urban development within a market based society (Stanilov, 2007). Many of the laws and policies became invalidated. Governments had the difficult task to formulate and implement new public policies during the transition. This has led to a situation in which spatial planning was neglected or absent.

### **2.1 Planning and governance problems**

This neglect led to a situation in which many problems can be identified in the spatial planning of the new states. Many of the new laws were poorly written, inadequately

coordinated with other legislative acts and lacking sufficient legal power (Stanilov, 2007). It is clear that these persistent problems can not be healed over night. Cities still deal with problems of low transparency, lack of information of market potential, lack and unreliability of data, changes of the legislative environment and problems with the land register (Ivanička & Ivanička, 2007).

This has resulted in a lack of clear spatial plans in which the further development is planned (Stanilov, 2007). During the transition long-term planning was replaced by short-term planning (Tosics, 2005) and resulted in an absence of coherent long-term national and regional policies (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). There is no connection with the current process and sustainable economic growth, social diversity and justice. (Cavrić & Nedović-Budić, 2007).

These problems were caused by the abrupt political transition but were exacerbated by a laissez-faire approach of the authorities. This approach was adopted by governments in order to break with the past of heavy state intervention (Stanilov, 2007).

### **2.2 Change of actors**

This laissez-faire approach made it possible for a change in the role and power of actors in urban space (figure 1). During socialist times a field where public and private parties can compete was alien to the totalitarian state (Stanilov, 2007). The power was in the hands of political actors and professional actors as urban planners, architects, etc. During these times many plans were shelved as blueprints of unachievable goals (Cavrić & Nedović-Budić, 2007). The situation changed during and after the transition when economic actors gained enormous power. Private investments by these actors are motivated by profit with little intention in the social and environmental dimension of space (Mišetić & Ursić, 2010). The condition of the environment was also considered as a less important problem than economic restructuring by the vast majority of the population (Jordan, 2010). Governments encouraging new investments at all costs, without taking negative social or environmental impacts into account (Stanilov, 2007).

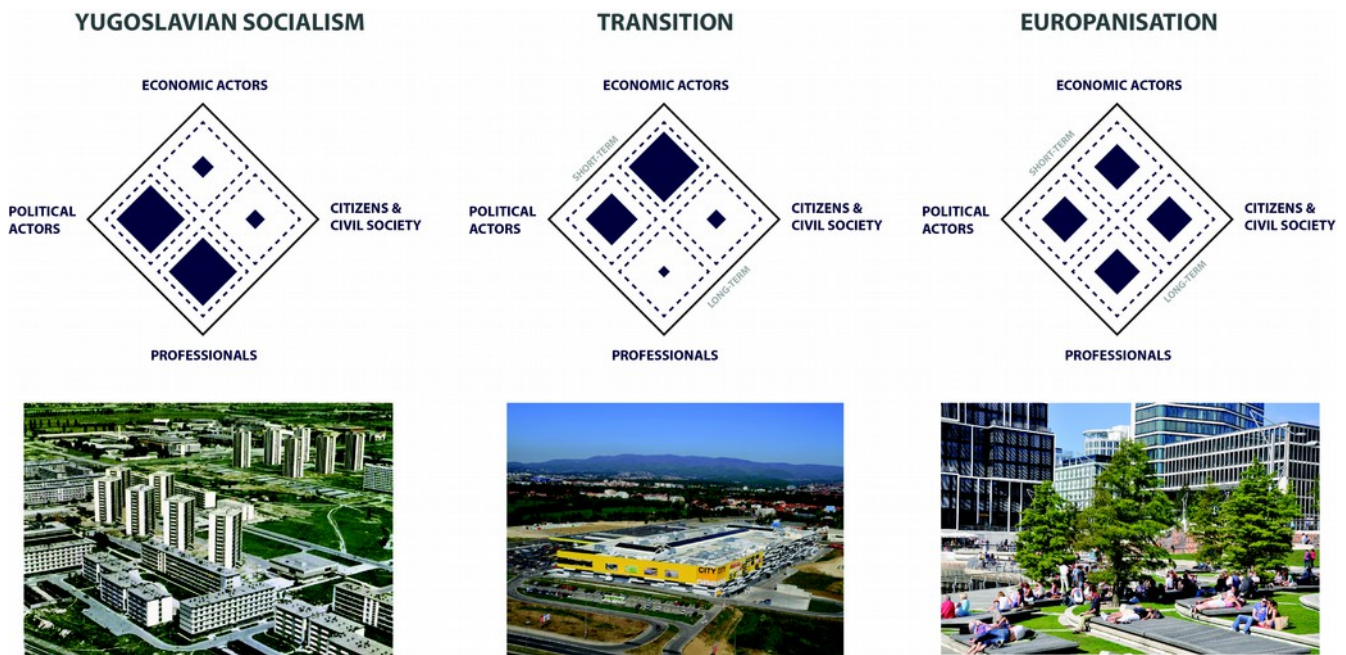


Figure 1: The relation between the political situation and the power of actors in space and the impact on space  
 Source: own image based on the paper of Zlatar, 2014

### 2.3 Transition impacts on space of Post-socialist cities

This extreme flexibility in the system made land speculation, illegal construction and environmental degradation possible (Cavrić & Nedović-Budić, 2007). The post socialist city having had relative sharp urban boundaries, started suburbanising due to new, and lack of, legislation (Stanilov, 2007). Cities have experienced a majority of spatial transformations which have led to a worsening of its sustainable future (Tosics, 2004). Some of these are an overloading existing infrastructure, practices of illegal construction, deteriorating former public housing stock (Stanilov, 2007). Traffic congestion and decline in Public Transport (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). These developments are possible due to a lack of clear spatial strategies and guidelines for urban growth (Stanilov, 2007).

On the other hand there are also positive transformation signs noticeable. De-industrialisation has caused a remarkable improvement of the environmental situation in the sense of heavy pollution (Jordan, 2010) and the process of revitalisation of central areas (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). Without taking the aspect of de-industrialisation into account which already began before the transition, it can be stated that the negative

developments outweigh the positive in terms of sustainability.

### 2.4 Growing regional disparities in relation to stability and investment

On a larger scale, growing regional disparities are noticeable as a spatial impact. Ironically, an impact socialist planning was trying to prevent. This is not only visible in post-socialist Europe, but in Europe as a whole. These regional disparities, however, adopt much extremer forms in Post-socialist Europe, where an enormous reduction in quality of life in rural space is occurring (Jordan, 2010).

Foreign Direct Investments are the most critical external force in the urban restructuring of Post-socialist Europe (Hamilton, 2005) and can be directly related to the growing disparity between regions. The economic success and recovery of post-socialist Europe is roughly based on three factors which are interrelated: commitment to reform, historical path dependency and foreign investment (Stanilov, 2007). The first has little application since reforms which have great impacts are taken at national levels. Foreign Direct Investments however are not evenly dispersed across space. Central European capitals are favoured for investments (Hamilton, 2005) and geographical location in terms of proximity to EU-15 states is one of the economic advantages which has encouraged investments as well (Ivanička & Ivanička, 2007). Next to geographical factors as big

internal market sizes, foreign investors value political stability (Tosics, 2005).

Stanilov (2007) has related the commitment of governments to reforms with the economic performance of post-socialist cities. He found out that the Visegrad group and the Baltic states made greater progress in adjusting their institutional structures and therefore showed greater economic growth. One of the causes are related to the fact that FDI investment is larger in those regions where information is more readily available and markets are more transparent, because they reduce risks (Ivanička & Ivanička, 2007). It can be concluded that foreign investment in Post-socialist Europe roughly depends on: political stability, geopolitical position and the speed of economic restructuring (Tosics, 2005).

These factors explain why South-east Europe falls behind in terms of development. This part of Europe shows a greater lack of policy stability in relation to other central and eastern European countries (world economic forum, 2014). One of the causes of a greater instability and Former Yugoslavian cities having received relatively little attention from investors is due to an armed conflict (Tosics, 2005).

### **3 Strategic planning and visioning and the Europeanisation of the process**

As discussed there is a relation between (foreign) investment and development in Post-socialist Europe. This has led to a need for new methods in planning, which can build consensus, embrace partnerships and negotiation with investors (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005) in which the role of authorities is critical in attracting investments (Stanilov, 2007). There is a need for a more entrepreneurial style of planning in opposition of physical planning (Albrechts, 2010), which is market-oriented and strategic (Van den Berg & Braun, 1999). Urban planning in the form of blueprints based on a fixed future have been superseded by reality (Bosma & Hellinga, 1997). There are limited tools for the encouragement of urban development in master planning and physical planning (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005) and therefore long-term strategic plans are key in having success

in a globalised competitive environment (Tosics, 2005)

The current thoughts on the necessary elements in strategic planning seem to agree, although some elements are stressed more. Strategic planning comes with the need for additional non-statutory planning documentation such as visions of strategic alternatives, scenarios, design briefs, and guides (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). There is a great stress on flexibility of visions which allows to deal with an uncertain world (Tsenkova, 2007) in these times of fast social, economic and institutional adaptations.

#### **3.1 Attracting investments**

The goal and the role of this type of planning is manifold. One of the goals discussed intensively is the goal to attract investment. Strategic planning is designed for action instead of planning as control in current land-use plans or physical plans (Balducci, 2010). It are plans looking for ways to attract foreign investments (Stanilov, 2007) and to facilitate private sector growth (Tsenkova, 2007). It needs to adopt a marketing approach to attract investors and to uncover local neglected opportunities (Stanilov, 2007 & Tsenkova, 2007). It needs to show the right urban conditions in order to attract investments and firms (Gospodini, 2002). Strategic planning maximises success and reduces risks (Mazza, 2010).

#### **3.2 Cooperation and communication tool**

Others stress the goal of strategic planning as a tool to increase cooperation and as a communicative tool (Balducci, 2010). To activate endogenous development through political will and place-based strategies (Pallagst & Mercier, 2007). It fits in a greater need for contemporary planning tools such as, collaborative planning, citizen participation and flexible development concepts (Pallagst & Mercier, 2007). International planning culture increasingly addresses the principles of communicative planning, including improved integration of policies, enlargement in the sets of actors involved in decision-making processes (Getimis & Magnier, 2013). Making an integrated vision where all participants will be active and equal contributors in shaping a city's future ( Cavrić & Nedović-Budić, 2007).

### **3.3 Decision-making tool**

Another notion is that planning is in the context of politics, but since planning does not take the final decisions, it is not politics in itself (Albrechts, 2010). This gives strategic planning the goal of improving decision-making. Strategic planning is a political process and uses the term political vision (Mazza, 2010). Strategic planners act as catalysts who present political opportunities (Albrechts, 2010) and create the right conditions (Stanilov, 2007 & Baldacci, 2010). A vision is therefore comprehensive and open and later selective in terms of selecting critical projects (Mazza, 2010). A vision of integrated nature also helps in preventing inconsistencies in policy-making (Van den Berg & Braun, 1999).

### **3.4 Visualisations**

In order to use strategic planning as a tool to achieve all of the goals above, it puts an enormous pressure on its visual representation. Visioning is always a design-oriented activity (Palermo & Ponzini, 2010), and it involves the creativity of the design to show alternative futures (Albrechts, 2010). Gospodini (2002) sees the role of design in development in which design can make the difference. The quality of urban space became a key factor for attracting investments and involves the creation of a symbolic urban landscape with landmarks, symbols and images which can reinforce the spatial identity (Gospodini, 2002).

### **3.4 Tailored-made plans**

A common pitfall is the adaptation of generic goals and underused visualisations. In order to remain or become competitive, urban policies need to be tailored-made (Musterd & Kovács, 2013). Its goal is to locate investments where they are most profitable for society as a whole (Van den Berg & Braun, 1999). This asks for context-sensitive policies containing knowledge about previous developments (Musterd & Kovács, 2013). Strategic plans must be tailored carefully to the specific situation (Albrechts, 2004).

### **3.5 The Europeanisation of the process**

There is evidence for the shift towards urban entrepreneurialism and away from

managerialism (Harvey, 1989) which has been found in a survey of European mayors in which the main priority was given to attracting economic activities (Magnier et al., 2006) and as well in a survey among local councillors (Getimis & Magnier, 2013).

The current paradigm of spatial planning which is noticeable in practice is thus moving from restrictive land-use planning/masterplanning to a more flexible approach of strategic planning and visioning. This approach is also advocated by the guidelines of the European Union. Guidelines set by the European Spatial Development Prospective [ESDP] are being implemented (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005) which is directly related to the receiving of funding. EU regulations are stressing decentralisation and flexibility in planning (Pallagst & Mercier, 2007). Standardised EU policies and methodologies have been set up to develop and stimulate national and regional policies (Pallagst & Mercier, 2007). The next important question is how do post-socialist cities adapt to this new paradigm of advocated planning and is it the right path?

## **4 Adaptation of the European planning system in post-socialist Europe**

In Western Europe governments tend to control too many development initiatives but forget about the necessity of facilitating and creating opportunities for their citizens (Marais, 2006). On the other hand, the state and local authorities in Post-Socialist Europe have realised that the philosophy of minimal government intervention is leading cities on a path to major urban crises (Stanilov, 2007). Real estate investors realise how the lack of urban planning is diminishing their investments (Stanilov, 2007).

This duality in planning traditions and socio-economic contexts across Europe, asks for an approach which cannot be generalised. The ESDP is however of a generalising nature without trying to establish significant relations with local problems (Palermo & Ponzini, 2010). On top of that, local authorities in Post-Socialist Europe do not share the same amount of experience in applying a strategic and project management approach (Pallagst & Mercier, 2007). The current planning in the post-



socialist city has been relying on physical land-use planning (Tsenkova, 2007) in which non-spatial matters of urban development have not yet been incorporated sufficiently, due to a lack of interdisciplinary planning programs. It is built on a tradition emphasising physical and architectural practice and concerns (Cavrić & Nedović-Budić, 2007). The adopted strategic planning practises imposed by EU guidelines, show limited comprehensiveness and public involvement (Tsenkova, 2007). The limited experience, and the generalising nature of the guidelines have led to an adaptation of generic goals in strategic plans.

However, underestimating the importance of creating a vision and strategic potential had a destructive impact on the competitiveness, as is the case for example of Slovakia (Ivanicka & Ivanicka, 2007). The lack of strategic planning can result in the loss of economic competitiveness (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2005). The current practice of physical planning is not adhered to due to contradictions in plans, non comprehensive plans and policy instability. There is, therefore, a need for a new type of public control over market processes (Tosics, 2005). Instead of compromising on the restrictive nature of land-use plans, post-socialist cities need to find the right balance between restrictiveness and the entrepreneurial approach of strategic planning. An approach in which land use plans should be altered after the outcome of strategic plans (Mazza, 2010). In many post-socialist cities strategic plans are still a parallel document next to land-use plans.

## 5 Conclusions

Literature and research has proven that commitment to reforms and the attraction of foreign investment are one of the criteria for an economic success in Post-socialist Europe. An entrepreneurial marketing style of planning, however, might tend to favour short-term economic interest, the same interest post-socialist Europe has been suffering from. The plea for an entrepreneurial style of planning mostly comes from western and northern Europe which has a tradition in restrictive planning. Post-socialist Europe, however, experienced and is still experiencing an extreme in the matter of entrepreneurial planning where economic actors have great

power. The short-term economic prioritisation is accompanied by an assumed economic bias of local counselors, which puts an enormous pressure on professionals and experts to advocate a sustainable growth. As discussed before this leads to a negative impact on space in terms of sustainability. Instead of compromising on the restrictive nature of land-use plans, post-socialist cities need to find the right balance between restrictiveness and the entrepreneurial approach of strategic planning.

The spatial planning practice lacks an integral approach based on visualisations, in which social, cultural and environmental assets are visualised in order to attract investment for further development in a sustainable way. Visualisations can increase awareness of current social, economic and environmental problems within an integrated comprehensive strategic plan, to have a positive impact on stakeholder involvement, political will and investments in order to tackle the problems of the post-socialist city. Using visioning to come to an agreement of the main development of the main assets of a city and help to reduce policy instability some states suffer from.

Another shortcoming is the Europeanisation of the planning process which can lead to the adaptation of generic goals, overlooking the context and specific potentials and weaknesses regions have. This asks for tailored-made strategic plans in which objectives are translated into space. Stating goals in written form will not suffice in finding the true potentials a city can have. Design will be the competitive advantage cities and regions can have in the form of place-based strategies.

## 6 Recommendations

The restrictive form of land-use planning fails to capture the potentials and fails in visualising the assets of an urban environment and therefore needs to be complemented by strategic planning.

However, an entrepreneurial marketing style of planning has to be dealt with caution due to an economic bias of authorities discussed in section 3.5.

South-east European states have failed to attract investments and should heavily invest in strategic planning and visioning in order to show their full potentials.

Strategic plans, however, should not solely focus on the identification of places with economic development potential.

European planning has introduced, but a common trap is the generation of generic plans. It is recommended to increase visualisations in which cultural and environmental assets are included to attract investments in the depressed parts of Central and Eastern Europe.

Going towards a more visual planning in order to attract investments and create awareness and stability and less chances to deviate from policies and to create policy stability. Enhancing visioning in order to increase awareness of current social, economic and environmental problems

Further research is needed on how social and environmental sustainability can be integrated in the entrepreneurial approach, which seems to be biased towards economic development.

Finding a new type of restrictive planning. A direct relation with strategic planning and land-use planning, instead of having two parallel documents.

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