

Out-institutional participation of inhabitants in planning process for reconstruction of inner city area of Novi Sad

1. Introduction

Planning laws in Serbia, which establish participation of stakeholders in planning processes, reduce participation to formal fulfillment of norms without necessary positioning participation as constructive and important segment of planning. Planning law in Serbia doesn't consider participation as valuable source of information about space and directions for its development, but as formal element that has to be satisfied by bureaucracy norms. Participation is not essential part of planning process, and appears only at the end when plan is already engineered. As a result of lack of participation urban plans doesn't represent needs of wide circle of space user, they provoke dissatisfaction and distrust in city institutions and their implementation is only partial and segmented.

Participation of citizens of one part of Novi Sad, Almaski kraj, in planning process is subject of this work analyzes. Case study is particular example of participation because discontent with proposed plan of reconstructions and with possible ways of influencing planning process resulted in development of out-institutional ways of expressing inhabitants' opinions. Almaski kraj is strategically important part of Novi Sad, one of the oldest areas of the city with still visible historical development in its form. It is valuable ambient quarter with buildings of cultural and historical importance, space with strong identity. Strategic importance of this area brings in different stakeholders with opposite desires for space. To create adequate plan of reconstruction it is necessary to successfully coordinate interests of investors, inhabitants and users of space and implement consensus solutions in a design. Coordination and consensus were not a part of planning process done by city urban institution. Residents and their needs were neglected in decision making processes.

Exclusion from planning process resulted in turning inhabitants to out-institutional ways of expressing their attitude about reconstruction of Almaski kraj as they considered that legally available methods of participations won't ensure transferring their messages to institutions. Public pressure through media and by lobbied eminent people became their main tool for putting pressure on city institutions and presenting different plan for reconstruction of Almaski kraj, plan less shortsighted than institutional and more strategic and sustainable, plan that protects inherited identity, values of space and quality of life.

Out-institutional ways of pressuring city institutions to change reconstruction plan for Almaski kraj in Novi Sad used by inhabitants are analyzed in this work. To which extent unusual ways of participation led to the desired results, and were they strategically important or simply segmented successes that fulfill personal interests, is examined in this paper.

2. Basic information about Almaski kraj

2.1. Location of Almaski kraj in the city

Almaski kraj represents one of the oldest parts of city Novi Sad. It's located in proximity of city core, north from the existing pedestrian area and commercial and business center. Distance from main city square is five minutes walking. Almaski kraj has valuable position in city also from perspective of proximity to bus and railway station, and position near to the river Danube and boat pier.

Despite its important position in the city, it is not adequately and notably connected with the rest of the Novi Sad. Extraordinary position of Almaski kraj, its importance for city history and valuable ambient and buildings is not used to its full potentials. This strategically important part of Novi Sad requires investments in improvement and reconstruction and special attention and sensitivity in planning processes.

2.2. Historical development of Almaski kraj

Historical development of Novi Sad can be continually followed from 1680, when Austrian-Hungary army decided to build new fortress on the north bank of river Danube. Establishment of new bastion is considered as the inception of Novi Sad. At the same time, on the legal distance by Austrian-Hungarian army rules, settlement of traders and craftsmen was formed. This settlement, completely formed by the 1748, is still visible in city urban form and represents its oldest part. Next to this primer settlement was established Almaski kraj. Formation of this old part of Novi Sad has begun in 1718. By the 30-ties of the 18th century it gained its present name (Petrovic and Milosavad, 1987).

Almaski kraj, as well as the other parts of Novi Sad, has suffered large destruction in 1848, when Austria-Hungarian army tried to crush the plot (Petrovic and Milosavad, 1987). On the places of destroyed buildings new were built. Urban matrix and street schema has staid intact. Present look of Almaski kraj has been formed at the beginning of 19th century. Although, in the meanwhile period, some objects have been replaced with newer, the profiles were kept and the ambience of place remained the same as when it has been first established.

In the period between two world wars, couple of new housings has been built in Almaski kraj. Built objects of modern architecture by its character and proportions successfully incorporated in the old core. After the Second World War the large changes of Almaski kraj has begun. New buildings of social housing have been constricted. Their height and dimensions disrupted character and ambience of this part of the city. Tendency to change the image and character of Almaski kraj has been continued till today, and even intensified in the last two decades. Change is primarily evident in height dominances of space, building of vast number of new housing and in disrespect to historical and cultural heritage, in loses of Almaski kraj identity.

2.3. Characteristics of Almaski kraj

Almaski kraj still has the spirit of old times reflected primarily in street net still the same as it was 300 years before.

Almaski kraj is specific morphological entity of Novi Sad, different from the other parts of the city. Area is characterized by irregular street structure which differentiates it from the other parts of Novi Sad formed on orthogonal street matrix. Irregular street system is result of natural condition of terrain where to avoid marsh areas was necessary to fallow physically higher and drier land. Streets often make one or more bends, and almost all have characteristic widenings on the curves and on cross-sections. Widened parts of street create small squares architecturally defined in the past, which give character to whole area. Almaski kraj is primarily housing area with privet row houses. Most houses were built at the beginning of 19th century and take entire front part of parcel and have arched road passages. Beside this type of houses, also are present, older, more rural types from the 18th century. They are detached houses, oriented to the street by its narrower side with characteristic brick fences (Opštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1995).

Almaski kraj represents important and valuable part of Novi Sad from the point of built heritage and protection of tradition, regarding to its interesting urban details, ambience and spirit of old Novi Sad steel kept till present days. In this area 167 buildings of importance to national culture was marked. The most important is the Almaska church from 1797.

3. Development of reconstruction plan for Almaski kraj

Strategically important area for Novi Sad, Almaski kraj, has been the object of different urban plans of reconstruction from the beginning of 90-ties of 20th century. In all plans made in that period the base of reconstruction was intensive rebuilding of area. Reconstruction plans proposed construction of new objects for multiple tenants on the place of old family houses, complete change of area image from ambience of 19th century to new postmodern block. The interventions were short-term beneficial, taking into account only capital gain and not quality of space and living. Improvement of infrastructure was not planed to follow vast new building interventions in the space.

In April 2005, the last proposition for reconstruction of Almaski kraj has been carried out. This plan, and demolition and new construction it proposed, provoked a set of contradictory reactions from different stakeholders. The strongest reactions came from inhabitants of Almaski kraj. These reactions and reasons for their appearance are object of analyze in this paper. Taken measures by citizens to contest the plan and their influences on institutions who stand behind the plan are examined.

3.1. Determining participants in planning process

Existing plan for reconstruction of Almaski kraj in Novi Sad, which has been in effect for seven years, did not gave expected results and was implemented only in small isolated and scattered segments. Inadequacy of old plan together with declared interests of developers for investment in new building in Almaski kraj induced city urban institution to make a new reconstruction plan.

Present planning practice determines few groups of participants: government, stakeholders, experts and information holders. In the planning process for reconstruction of Almaski kraj, government was represented by the city urban institution. City urban department held a position of rebuilding of Almaski kraj, with intend to increase percent of development, and erection of new street scheme.

Stakeholders which present examined planning process are groups of investors and developers and local community-neighborhood. Investors and developers are interested in construction of new housings, with high rise and percent of occupying of parcel, according to their capital gain. On the opposite side local community is divided in two groups by interest and opinion about reconstruction. One part of inhabitants shares same attitude as investors-supports new development and erection of new buildings. The other part of inhabitants strongly oppose to this scenario and stand for idea of keeping existing way of leaving in Almaski kraj and dominance of privet family houses. Most of the citizens who supported family housing were old-time inhabitants who leaved in this area for generations. Opposite side is held by inhabitants who are leaving in poor conditions.

Experts who were consulted in the planning process were city institute for heritage protection and ecological organization of Novi Sad. Both gave their expert opinion about necessary actions in Almaski kraj. Ecological organization suggested extension of green and park areas. City institute for heritage protection recommended protection of Almaska church with surrounding ambience and demanded archeological research before any new construction.

3.2. Proposed reconstruction plan for Almaski kraj

From disassembled picture of interested parties in planning process conflict situation is easily seen. Proposed plan for reconstruction of Almaski kraj tried to give a solution to confronted demands for space. According to plan, area was determined as mixed housing with private housing and apartment blocks, with regime of permanent reconstruction. The aim was increasing of present of land occupation by buildings from 38% to 55%. 90% of existing buildings has been planned for demolition and erection of new buildings on their places. New buildings should have from four to six stories. By proposition a new traffic artery was planned for construction. A new traffic artery should pass through compact block of family houses, block which in city planimetry existed for 300 years and still had a part of historical ambience kept.

Increase in height building and number of stories and accent on new development points to the dominant influence of investor and their demands on decisions making in plan for reconstruction of Almaski kraj. By this plan, needs of one part of inhabitants were respected and become a part of reconstruction schema.

System of green areas and protection of historical values wasn't incorporated in this plan. Evidently demands of ecological organization were not considered seriously and have not influenced decisions. As well, other group of inhabitants, with their interests for protection of inherited quality and way of life, was ignored. Requests for protection of existing family houses and creation of green areas since they don't bring direct and immediate capital benefits were omitted from the plan. In the same time, earlier demand of city institute for heritage protection for conservation of 197 building (from 1995) fell down to one building that must be conserved and protected for next generations (Opštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1995).

4. Participation of citizens in planning process

Although, before the approaching to planning of reconstruction of Almaski kraj, stakeholders were determined, their participation in planning process by the principles of communicative planning was not incorporated. Republic of Serbia, by its laws of planning and constructions, still favors institutional planning system based on the expert and institutional opinions. Planning based on personal opinions of experts, and without true participations of citizens and transparency of process gives in transitional economies open space for different illegal moves. Bureaucracy and rigid system of participation disables citizens to influence plans that affect their living space. In transition, dominant element of planners decisions is capital gain of potential (or already known) investors. Quality of life and environment, as well as sustainability of solution is far less considered.

4.1. Law regulation of citizens participation in planning process in Serbia

Planning law of Republic of Serbia obligates on inhabitants participation in planning process. Recommendation of OECD, and widely excepted practice, is involvement of citizens in decision making process from the first phase to the last. For active participation of citizens in planning process OECD suggests number of tools: from consensus conferences, citizens' juries, evaluation by stakeholders to participatory vision and development scenario, citizens' forum and dialogue processes (OECD, 2001). Unlike the OECD recommendations planning law of Serbia predicts citizens' participation only in the last stage of plan making. In the beginning of planning, experts employed in city institutions make decisions about best use of

land and area potentials based on their experiences and knowledge and personal sensibility for needs of space users. Personal attitude and political influences shape the plan. Fully completed proposition of plan is finally presented to public-to citizens, users and inhabitants, and exhibited in city urban institution and local community offices for period of 15 to 30 days. In this period only citizens directly affected by plan, inhabitants of city area that is a subject of plan, can put their objections on plan formally in written form. Written objections are later examined by the author of plan and his opinions about them are given. Personal opinion of planner is again most important. The last stage of planning process is public discussion to which only citizens that have made written remarks can obtain and participate in. The final decision is made by the expert team outside the city planning institution and plan is either accepted or sent back to adjustments. By public discussion participation of citizens is finished.

Participation of citizens in planning law of Serbia is brought down to formal writing of objections. Actual dialog between institutions and citizens does not exist, and by that a chance for accomplishment of consensus. Consensus enables fulfillment of wishes and needs of inhabitants and other stakeholders for whom the plans are made. Because citizens are included in planning process at the end, when the plan is already finished, the practice is that only objections which can not be reject and don't require essential changes of plan are accepted and incorporated in plan. Opinion and needs of inhabitants is part of plan in amount equivalent to sensibility, expertise and incorruption of planner.

4.2. Realized participation of citizens in planning process for reconstruction of Almaski kraj

Plan for reconstruction of Almaski kraj of Novi Sad has passed through procedure presumed by the law of Serbia. After the engineering of plan proposal, drawings were exhibited in the city urban institution and local municipality office, for one month. In this period official person has been accepting written objections. Principle of public presentation was the only tool of citizens' participation in planning process and their possibility to participate only in the last stage of plan making. In the first fazes of planning citizens have not been included, by which city institutions lost a chance to gain valuable information. Information gathered from citizens is as important as numerical data and expert opinions. By law and bureaucracy obstacles inhabitants were completely excluded from planning process. Arrived objections were examined in accordance to need for minimal change of completed plan and not confrontation with expressed interests of capital. "...appeal board must take central government policy into account in making decisions. As such policy stresses economic growth, the balance of power lies very much with development rather than local interests," (Paula, Declan and Mark, 2006, page 8.)

5. Out-institutional ways of struggle for participation in planning process for reconstruction of Almaski kraj

As a result of inadequate participation of citizens in plan making, during and after the public viewing of plan, inhabitants of Almaski kraj have decided to express their opinion in different manner. Aware of bureaucracy limits and influences on appeal board, they knew that stepping out from law and institutional ways of participation is essential for successful presentation of their opinion about reconstruction of Almaski. Inhabitants considered that atypical ways of actions were needed if they want to break through bureaucracy wall of institutions and equalize their interests with interest of large capital.

Although, the practice of late participation and so called participation in planning process was present for long period of time, inhabitants of Almaski kraj were the first in the city who

decided to clearly raise their voice against unsatisfactory plan and look for different ways to influence plan making. Reason that Almaski kraj was the first case of out-institutional struggle for participation lay in the fact that is one of the oldest parts of Novi Sad with evident identity, connection between citizens and space and specific way of life. Those spaces with which citizens identify themselves, in which they live for a long time are those who will call out in their interest for participation in planning process.

Inhabitants of Almaski kraj have started their out-institutional pressure on city institution on the simplest way, through local gatherings. With time ways of pressure and struggle were becoming more complex and stronger and network of support wider.

5.1. Local gatherings and meetings

Immediately after public presentation of reconstruction plan for Almaski kraj inhabitants, directly affected by the plan, spontaneously started to gather. Plan of reconstruction was to negatively affect a great number of inhabitants. Plan predicted demolition of important number of houses for need of new traffic artery erection. The new street was needed to allow adequate functioning of higher density housing suggested by the plan. Plan was based on the concept of replacement of family houses by apartment blocks. By this replacement, even bigger number of inhabitants was to be affected and which houses value would decrease.

Affected groups of citizens revolted and unsatisfied by the plan, spontaneously gathered in the local office in need to exchange their opinions and problems. Local gatherings turned to regular meetings on which common problems and aims were crystallized. On meetings detailed plan of further actions for influencing city urban institution was created.

On local gatherings delegations for direct contacts with city institutions were determined. Direct discussions between local delegations and employees of city institutions and planners happened occasionally. Conversation with planners was already atypical measure and institutionally and legally not predicted. Dialog primarily depended on personal influences of members of local delegation (their position in city society) and good will of institutional employees.

5.2. LOBBYING

On local meetings common idea for the reconstruction of Almaski kraj is crystallized. Inhabitants stand by the idea that short-term money gain that city would have through presented reconstruction plan is not worth of long-term loss of historical values, tradition and identity of Almaski kraj and Novi Sad. Aware that their ideas, more strategic than presented by institutional plan, will not reach institutions and will not be passed on right way without support of important and well known people and experts inhabitants took a second step-started lobbying.

Success in out-institutional struggle for influencing planning process was made easier by ready-made network of expertise within local community. Local team of experts influenced verbalization and concretization of local ideas and aims and helped in creation of different idea for reconstruction of Almaski kraj in a way that local interests have not been placed in the front of the solution but incorporated with strategic interests of city and opinions of other citizens of Novi Sad. Together with experts from local team a concept of media presentations and confrontation with city urban institution was formed. Concept was based on the emphasize of strategic importance of Almaski kraj for touristic offer of Novi Sad, its identity and history, need for protection of valuable architectural objects with surrounding area,

quality of leaving space and sustainable development in accordance with international conventions.

Experts that were not present in local community have been lobbied from the outside. Local experts and their professional connections had important influence on lobbying of first outside professionals. Later on quality of local community reconstruction idea and accumulated professional dissatisfaction with plans of city urban institution resulted in widening of expert net. Outermost result in expert lobbying was crossing of city architect to the inhabitants' side, opposite to the institutional.

Urban planning is in big segment influenced by politic. Local government adopts urban plans. Plan for reconstruction of Almaski kraj should have been presented to local government and for this reason inhabitants' success in influencing city institutions depended on political support as well. Lobbying of politicians and important figures in city life was unavoidable part of out-institutional struggle. Opposition politicians were lobbied, who by supporting the stand of citizens and by public appearance with them influenced local government. Beside politicians eminent city cultural workers and businessmen were lobbied. Their support was through dedication of cultural events to Almaski kraj struggle for different reconstruction plan and direct economical help for realization of out-institutional ways of participation.

Lobbying was not always successful. Biggest failure was inability to win over city institute for heritage protection who would be very important ally in struggle for heritage protection of Almaski kraj. City institute for heritage protection stayed loyal to city urban institution no matter that by its reconstruction plan for Almaski kraj existence of important built heritage was denied and modest suggestions of heritage protections were not.

5.3. Media presence

Third step in out-institutional struggle of inhabitants for presenting their opinion about Almaski kraj reconstruction was media presentations. Aware of importance of media for presentations of idea and interests and influences of media on politic and society, this part of out-institutional struggle was most important. Presentation in media begun soon after the public presentation of reconstruction plan and continued through the whole struggle.

Media presence of inhabitants of Almaski kraj covered all media, from newspaper to television and internet. First step in media presence was calling journalist from local newspapers to participate in local gatherings. Involvement of local politicians on local gatherings was magnet for journalists. First articles in newspapers in short reported about local meetings and published short interviews with local representatives and eminent people of city who supported ideas of Almaski kraj' inhabitants. First newspaper articles, provoked interests of local TV stations. Expert team of local community with qualitative arguments and ideas of inhabitants of Almaski kraj brought wider media attention and interest. Inhabitants of Almaski kraj became regular guests on many local TV stations. Intensity of media appearance and theme processing draw attention of state TV station, which created few programs about this unusual ways of citizens' participation in planning process for their neighborhood. The last step in media presence was designing of web page dedicated to protection of inherited values and quality of life of Almaski kraj and Novi Sad in whole.

Television, newspapers and radio behave as parts of one system in which newspapers report about event, television event covers in detail and inform broad public, and radio allows by talk shows citizens direct participation in public discussions. True value doesn't have the event that is talking about but debate about it, who participate in it and how (Castell, 1997).

Only after inhabitants of Almaski kraj presence in media, confrontations of institutions and stakeholders are organized. Confronted parties presented their visions for Almaski kraj reconstructions and their arguments publicly, in front of the audience. Media debate was the closest participation of citizens to ideal talking situation (Habermas, 1983) and to consensus planning. Unfortunately dialog stopped when cameras turned off and wasn't translated to real life and didn't become a part of planning process. It presented only public defense of institution and not real desire for better participation of inhabitants.

5.4. Local organizing

Bureaucracy obstacles for plan adoption influence brought about forth step of out-institutional struggle. Plan for reconstruction of Almaski kraj in Novi Sad was to be accepted or declined by the city parliament. The only way to ensure that the voice of inhabitants of Almaski kraj is going to be presented in parliament was to establish legal organization. Uncertainty of inhabitants that other out-institutional measures are going to bring wanted results made them to organize as group of citizens, register, make their statute and elect their president. They became part of political scene of the city.

5.5. Creation of network

Local organizing of inhabitants of Almaski kraj formed prerequisite for connecting with other citizens organizations; no matter do they deal with problems of local communities or city or represent specific groups. Local organization of Almaski kraj established connections with organizations from other parts of Novi Sad who struggled for protection of their living space, against its degradation and for its improvement. Three local communities formed a network that started to publicly appear together presenting similar problems and needs, and in the first place expressing common dissatisfaction with work of city urban institution. Group presentations and appearance had stronger influence than separate. Through formed network of citizens' organizations recruiting of wide citizens of Novi Sad for support to idea of improvement of inherited identity and qualities of Almaski kraj was possible.

6. Influences of out-institutional pressure on institutions and reconstruction plan of Almaski kraj

Inhabitants of Almaski kraj got into development of out-institutional ways of participation considering that if they stick only to institutional and by law determined ways of participation their voice, ideas and needs will not be heard by institutions or will be ignored. Beside out-institutional ways of putting pressure on city planning institution inhabitants used participation insured by the law and submitted the biggest amount of written objections city urban institution has received. Institutional participation supported by out-institutional pressure had some effects and positive results in changing of reconstruction plan for Almaski kraj.

6.1. Reactions of institutions on inhabitants' out-institutional struggle

Different types of out-institutional struggle had diverse effects on planning process. In the table below, review of institutional reactions on out-institutional ways of pressure is presented:

Out-institutional ways of pressure	Reactions of city urban institution
Lokal gathering	Ignored
Direct dialog with planning institutions	Ignored
Lobbing of expert team	Ignored
Lobbing of politicians and eminent people	Defending
Media presence	Defending
Media dialog	Defending
Lokal organizing	Ignored
Network creation	Taking into consideration

Local meetings of inhabitants went unnoticed by city urban institution. Local community dissatisfaction with presented plan was completely ignored by city institution. Direct dialog between representatives of inhabitants of Almaski kraj and employees of city planning institutions went without any reaction from institutions. Although direct contact has been established, discussion and verbal presentations of suggestions and objections from inhabitants was not considered for revision of reconstruction plan. Word of inhabitants was passed by the institution. Even the second step, lobbying of expert team and creation of strategy for Almaski kraj reconstruction went unnoticed by institutions.

At the point when lobbying entered into the area of politic and by that draw media attention city urban institution reacted. Unfortunately, reactions were not in the way of including citizens' ideas into the plan and creating a true participation and communicative planning, but in the way of denial, returning accusations and counterattacks. Media presentation kept similar reactions from institutions, now as well transferred to public arena. Even direct public confrontation of institutions and stakeholders on television beside accusations from both sides stayed without true response and incorporations of inhabitants aims for Almaski kraj in reconstruction plan.

Local organizing and transferring of local gathering into political sphere, since it was not media covered, stayed without any reactions from institutions.

First true response of city urban institution was visible when broaden network of citizens organizations was created and entered together into media arena. Inter-support of citizens' organizations to necessity of changing system of planning in city resulted in taking into consideration by city urban institution their opinions.

In conclusion the more media covered and by broaden citizens supported actions were the better influence they had on institutions. Media pressure from different groups of citizens gave satisfactory results. Events that were not media covered, no matter of their real possibility to influence planning process, didn't gave any results. Media attention brought interest of viewers and citizens-potential voters and consequently interest of city politicians which put pressure on city planning institutions to change attitude and be more flexible and open.

6.2. Result of out-institutional struggle for change of reconstruction plan of Almaski kraj

Results of out-institutional struggles of inhabitants of Almaski kraj, no matter to the development of different ways of putting pressures on institutions, were not satisfactory. Battle was won, but the war for protection of quality of life and inherited values of Almaski kraj wasn't.

Result of out-institutional struggle for change of reconstruction plan of Almaski kraj was its decline from expert comity and suggestion to plan be returned to the first faze of planning process. Second big success of out-institutional measures of participation was prohibition of any further development in Almaski kraj till new reconstruction plan is made, by that preconditions for protection of present state of area was established. The most important victory of out-institutional participation was change of traffic plans in master plan of Novi Sad and abandoning the idea of traffic artery through old housing block in Almaski kraj.

By out-institutional ways of pressuring institutions small battles were won, but the most important one, changing of planning system and more active participation of stakeholders from the first faze of planning wasn't. Out-institutional ways of participation are going to be continued.

6.3. Chain reaction of out-institutional participation in the city

Partial success of out-institutional struggles of inhabitants of Almaski kraj in planning process resulted in chain reaction through Novi Sad. Increasing number of local communities gained strength to express their interests, wishes and needs for living space, their dissatisfaction with existing urban plans. Their voice and ideas is heard more on media and through other events such as street performances and manifestations.

Chain reaction had as a result small improvement in city urban institution ways of planning. It approached to polling of inhabitants of Almaski kraj in aim to determine their visions for reconstruction and their needs. New approach is implemented for the first time in the area where chain reaction started. Unfortunately participation ends on polling, and is still more formal, so that increasing protest of citizen is brought down, than real.

7. Shortcomings of local organizing and out-institutional participation

As all ways of local organizing as well out-institutional ways of struggle for participation in planning process have their shortcomings.

7.1. Confronted groups inside the local community

On the first place of shortcomings is the fact that inhabitants of Almaski kraj were not united and that two confronted groups existed inside the local community. One group supported family housing and protection of inherited values, identities and qualities of life and other redevelopment of Almaski kraj and construction of apartment blocks of high densities, attraction of investors.

Confrontation of two opposite groups of inhabitants in Almaski kraj, had negative effect on out-institutional struggle. Institutions found support in one of the groups (usually those who wanted high density apartment blocks) and presented itself as representative of neglected citizens and their needs.

7.2. Nonrepresentation of all citizens' interests

Local organization of Almaski kraj didn't represent interests of all inhabitants. A sort of elitism can be detected. Organization of local inhabitants represented interests of only one group-group struggling for protection of family houses and inherited ambience of Almaski kraj. This

group of inhabitants was better educated, more influential and on important social positions in the city. Second group of inhabitants had less personal connections and possibilities to lobby important people and influence institutions, and stayed without true representatives, pushed aside even by out-institutional ways of participation.

7.3. Not persistence in struggle

Last shortcoming of out-institutional struggle of inhabitants of Almaski kraj is not persistence in pressure on institutions. After first partial successes pressure, media presence and struggle become quiet. The fact that behind organization are citizens with their work and personal obligations influenced coming down of out-institutional participation. Achieved results and elimination of danger from their own houses resulted in loss of motivation for strong fighting for inhabitants' participation in planning.

8. Conclusion

Out-institutional ways of participation developed by the inhabitants of Almaski kraj resulted in partial and segmented victories. For the present time the undesirable reconstruction plan was taken out of the scene, and inherited values and way of life of Almaski kraj protected. Calming down of citizens' pressure on institutions to consider completely different approach to reconstruction of Almaski kraj, can bring to losing of war at the end. Preparation of new reconstruction plan for Almaski kraj doesn't present essential changes in approach to planning in city urban institution, it turns more forward to communication planning and adequate and vibrant participation of stakeholders in planning process.

As long as the law system allows planning institutions to formally satisfy participations of stakeholders true changes in planning processes will not happen and more real plans that can be implemented easily are going to be out of reach. Key point of planning is not making of plan but its implementation. Adequate implementation increases if the consensus of main actors in plan was the base of planning process.

Participation of stakeholders in planning process depends on the democracy of society. In the case of Serbia to achieve turn from institutional to communication planning change of institutions is necessary. Higher transparency of decision making processes would lower possibilities for illegal actions and help equalize all stakeholders and their wishes for the city space. Although initiative from institutions for change is not even emerging encouraging is the awareness of citizens that change is necessary, and that the power is in their hands.

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