

Vera Backović¹
University of Belgrade, Serbia
Faculty of Philosophy

Original scientific paper
doi: 10.5937/snds25011B

HOW DOES RADICAL URBAN TRANSFORMATION CHANGE THE URBAN SYMBOLS OF BELGRADE?

Abstract: A city's identity is based on a heterogeneous set of elements, among which material symbolism is very important since it is the basis of the visual representation and the city's silhouette. Nas's typology of symbolism was modified for the analysis of medium-sized cities in Serbia and then applied to examine the urban identity of Belgrade.

In the last fifteen years, several housing projects have been started in Belgrade, and the Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP) stands out because it radically transformed the existing urban structure by gentrifying a large centrally located area in the city. The paper's main aim is to analyze the perception of urban change and its impact on the city's identities based on three empirical studies conducted from 2018 to 2024 by the Institute for Sociological Research. Findings based on the first qualitative research (2018/19) show that Belgrade is positively evaluated as not a standardized tourist location. During that period, BWP was in the first phase of construction. In the second online survey (2021), members of the academic community in Belgrade criticize the commercialization of the city space and the direction of its development. The third online survey (2024) includes the student population, which was assumed to have a more positive attitude towards contemporary urban changes. However, this hypothesis was not confirmed. Namely, social science and humanities students don't recognize and don't accept BWP as a symbol of the city.

Keywords: urban change, gentrification, symbols of the city, Belgrade

Kako radikalna urbana transformacija menja urbane simbole Beograda?

Apstrakt: Identitet grada zasniva se na heterogenom skupu elemenata, među kojima materijalni simbolizam zauzima važno mesto, pošto je on osnova vizuelnog prikaza i siluete grada. Nasova tipologija simbolizma je modifikovana za analizu

1 vera.backovic@f.bg.ac.rs, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4850-9247>

gradova srednje veličine u Srbiji, a zatim primenjena za ispitivanje urbanog identiteta Beograda.

U Beogradu se u poslednjih petnaest godina započeto je više stambenih projekata od kojih se izdvaja projekat Beograd na vodi / Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP) jer je radikalno transformisao postojeću urbanu strukturu džentrifikujući veliko područje u centralnom delu grada. U radu se analizira percepcija urbanih promena i njihov uticaj na identitet grada Beograda na osnovu tri empirijska istraživanja koja je sproveo Institut za sociološka istraživanja u periodu od 2018. do 2024. godine. Nalaz prvog kvalitativnog istraživanja (2018/19) pokazuje da se pozitivno vrednuje da Beograd nije standardizovana turistička lokacija. U tom periodu BWP je u prvoj fazi izgradnje. U drugom online istraživanju (2021), pripadnici akademске zajednice u Beogradu kritikuju komercijalizaciju gradskog prostora i pravac njegovog razvoja. Treće online istraživanje (2024) obuhvata studentsku populaciju, za koju se pretpostavilo da ima pozitivniji stav prema savremenim urbanim promenama. Međutim, navedena pretpostavka nije potvrđena, naime studenti društveno-humanističkih nauka ne prepoznaju i ne prihvataju BWP kao simbol grada.

Ključne reči: urbana promena, džentrifikacija, simboli grada, Beograd

Introduction

Material symbolism, although only one element of a city's identity, is a crucial aspect in its formation, as it represents its physical foundation. Urban architecture in general, various cultural and historical monuments and buildings are particularly important because they form the basis of the visual appearance and silhouette of the city. As a city develops over time, its morphology changes, so the city's identity is not fixed but is subject to change, especially in cases of significant alterations to the urban structure. As the processes of privatisation and commercialisation have intensified in recent years, their consequences in urban space have become more evident in Belgrade. This paper aims to analyse how urban changes affect the identities of Belgrade based on three surveys.

The analysis is based on data from three empirical exploratory surveys conducted from 2018 to 2024 by the Institute for Sociological Research. The first survey "Territorialization of transnational discourses and practices in Belgrade" was conducted with various experts, including foreign experts who lived and worked in Belgrade at the time of the research, as well as local experts whose work is related to foreign companies. The interviews were conducted in the last months of 2018 and the first months of 2019. The sample consisted of 42 respondents, including 21 local residents and 21 foreign citizens.

In the second online research, “Everyday life in a globalizing city – discourses and practices of employees at universities in Belgrade”, the sample was 230 respondents employed at the University of Belgrade and the University of Arts. It was conducted in April and May 2021. A third online survey, “Identity of Belgrade”, was carried out in November 2024. It included 173 respondents – students of social and humanities at the University of Belgrade.

Theoretical Framework – Urban Symbolism

The theoretical framework was developed for analysing medium-sized cities in Serbia (Spasić & Backović, 2017) and subsequently applied to the study of Belgrade’s urban identity (Spasić & Backović, 2020; Backović, 2024). It is based on the typology of urban symbolism by Nas et al. (Nas, Jaffe & Samuels, 2006; Nas, De Groot & Schut, 2011), which was modified in accordance with the local urban context (Spasić & Backović, 2017; Spasić & Backović, 2020).

According to Nas et al., the category of material symbolism is not homogeneous but consists of several elements. It encompasses the material urban configuration, as well as specific objects and their relationship to the natural environment². Among others, it comprised urban architecture (main streets, city centres, architecture in general or individual neighbourhoods) and monuments and buildings. Among the latter, one can distinguish religious objects (such as mosques and churches), historical structures (for example, fortresses, old towns and archaeological sites) and cultural buildings (theatres, museums). Other types of urban symbolism are discursive (stories about the city), personal/iconic (famous people – historical figures, writers, painters, actors), behavioral (patterns of collective behavior), emotional, gastronomic and sign symbolism.³

As a city is a place of festivals, carnivals, fairs, exhibitions and demonstrations, in some cases, it is known precisely for these patterns of collective behavior, the so-called behavioral symbolism, which then have an important place in the identity of these cities. This is the primary meaning of this symbolism, while the secondary one, also grounded in the elements of city identity in Serbia, focuses on characteristic activities in a particular city (Spasić & Backović, 2017).

2 The relationship between the natural and built environment can refer to integration with nature or the inclusion of nature/green spaces in the city itself (Spasić & Backović, 2017).

3 In the analysis of the identity of cities in Serbia, the importance of food and drink, as well as the coat of arms, was noted; therefore, two new categories were included in the typology of symbolism: gastronomic and sign symbolism.

Contextual Framework

At the beginning of the second phase of the post-socialist transformation (2000) – unblocked post-socialist transformation (Lazić, 2011), the processes of privatization and commercialization that are reshaping the city space are intensifying. The actions of the market and the rent gap (Smith) led to frequent changes in ownership and the functions of buildings in central city locations (Sykora, 1993; Stanilov, 2007). The question of the identity of the city and its symbols is opened up in public when recognizable buildings are closed.

The emergence of new urban actors (investors and private construction companies), the withdrawal of the state and the reduction of its regulatory role, accompanied by a weak institutional framework, created opportunities for the dominance of investor urbanism, which threatens public space and the public interest/good (Vujović & Petrović, 2007; Petrovar, 2006; Petrović, 2009).

The effect of the rent⁴ and functional gap theory⁵ is manifested in the frequent changes in the purpose of buildings and owners, first in central locations, and then spreading to other parts of the city. Changes in space in Belgrade due to privatization and commodification have caused public controversy, and the most famous examples are the following: in 2000, the first bookstore to close was the *Jugoslovenska knjiga*, when the trend of opening shops instead of bookstores began. Soon, one of the most famous kafana in the city, *Pod lipom*, was closed and *Pizza Hut* opened in its place, in 2003 (Belić & Bukvić, 2013). In the following years, many restaurants / kafane were on the verge of closing. Also, *Cafe Ruski car* changed owners and was first part of the *Vapiano* restaurant chain (2012, see B. R., 2012), then *Monument*.

In the last fifteen years, several housing projects have been started in Belgrade, and the *Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP)* stands out because it radically transformed the existing urban structure by gentrifying a large area in a central city (Backović, 2019).⁶ The national level of government played a decisive role in launching the project and implementing modifications to the institutional framework to enable its implementation

4 A rent gap exists between the current value of property or land and its potential value, thus attracting profit-driven investors (Smith, 1987).

5 Sykora mentions the following ways in which the existing state of urban space use is transformed: the reuse of empty and abandoned buildings; replacing less efficient industrial or commercial activities with more efficient ones; and the conversion of apartments into office space or luxury apartments; and construction of new buildings on previously unused land (Sykora, 1993, p. 290).

6 The K-district near the Belgrade Fortress, on the site of the former *Beko* factory, also stands out.

(Zeković et al., 2018, Grubbauer & Čamprag, 2019).⁷ The project has direct consequences for the city's transport infrastructure, its size is disproportionate, and the ongoing removal of the Sava Bridge for the Belgrade Waterfront (2024/2025) will further burden the existing, already overloaded infrastructure. An expansion in the direction of the Belgrade Fair, Kamenička Street and on the other side of the river (2025) has also been announced, which is expected to have a further impact on the city centre and the city as a whole.

To bring shopping activities back to the city centre⁸, the Rajičeva Shopping Centre was opened next to the Belgrade City Library (2017) at the end of Knez Mihailova Street. The shopping centre building overshadowed the library building, especially the roof structure. Another library is facing the consequences of this kind of urban development, the construction of a three-story underground garage on Skerličeva Street posing a threat to the National Library of Serbia (2024/2025).

Recently, the influence of neoliberalism has become more radical and obvious in urban space. Thus, the Hotel Jugoslavija⁹ (2024) was demolished to make way for a luxury residential complex with a view of the Danube.

The BWP expansion plan is heading towards the Belgrade Fair¹⁰, where Hall 1 has a protected status (for now, it has been planned that the facility will remain in its existing form, but with a changed purpose). A particularly controversial case is the General Staff Building (2024–). In 2005, the building was protected and given the status of a cultural property. It is a building of undeniable historical, cultural, architectural and symbolic importance.¹¹ The illegal removal of the status enabled its sale, intending to convert it into a luxury hotel.

7 Among others: Agreement on Cooperation between the governments of Serbia and the UAE (March 2013); Modifications of the Planning and Construction Act from 2009 (December 2014); 'Lex specialis' enacted in urgent procedure (April 2015) (Grubbauer & Čamprag, 2019, pp. 655-656).

8 Previous shopping centres are located outside the centre, primarily in New Belgrade (3).

9 The construction of the Hotel marked the beginning of New Belgrade's development, making it a symbol of that period (Bogunović, 2005).

10 At the time of construction, it represented the pinnacle of the domestic construction industry. The dome of Hall 1, with a span of 106 meters, was constructed using a semi-prefabricated system and remained unique in the world for a long time (Bogunović, 2005, p. 69).

11 A masterpiece of modern architecture in the capital (Bogunović, 2005, p. 220), the only preserved work of Nikola Dobrović in Belgrade, a symbol of modernism, dedicated to the Battle of Sutjeska in the Second World War, was damaged during NATO bombing in 1999. The example of the General Staff, according to Popadić, illustrates how the memory connotation of a building changes from "an architectural monument, through a through a site of devastation, to a polygon for political juggling

Material Symbolism as the Basis of the City's Identity

When it comes to material symbolism, it is most often mentioned that Belgrade is recognizable by its location on rivers, i.e. the Sava, the Danube, or both, as well as their confluence, then the historical complex Kalemegdan and the Pobednik monument. The two “images of the city/panorama” that the respondents give are the view of Kalemegdan, Pobednik and the Cathedral from New Belgrade, and the view from Kalemegdan to New Belgrade. When it comes to specific objects, the following are mentioned: the Temple of St. Sava, Knez Mihajlova Street, Republic Square and the monument of Knez Mihajlo, the Cathedral Church, the Gardoš Tower in Zemun and, less often, Topčider, Košutnjak (parks in the city).

Despite many symbols from the category of material symbolism, the primary finding of the first research is that Belgrade's identity is rooted in behavioral symbolism (Spasić and Backović, 2020; Backović, 2024). Belgrade is known as a lively city with warm and friendly residents, numerous cafes, bars and restaurants/kafane – a city with a soul and a special atmosphere. The following quotes describe it:

This is a living city and it is made up of people who really try to keep it alive. Whenever you want to go somewhere in Belgrade, be it Tuesday or Saturday, you can find something that will be good for you. I think it's hard for someone to be bored in Belgrade, while it's very easy to be bored in Vienna, where you can't even buy cigarettes anywhere at eight o'clock in the evening, you can't see people on the street, especially on weekdays. (RD3)

I like the outdoor life, cafes, the way people are socializing in cafes and streets. Both me and my wife we actually like the atmosphere in Belgrade, the way people are, we feel that we are welcomed. (RF5)

There is this aspect of people like to go out and interact with people. The fact that you have concept “bašta” when it comes to cafes and bars, it is really cool, you don't have that in many other places... they (people) are willing to interact, they are not isolated, they are at the open, they are socializing. (RF12)

The atmosphere of the city is also associated with disorganization, contradiction and a certain level of inconsistency. This is manifested in the lack of maintenance of the housing stock (building facades) and the poor functioning of the traffic system (crowded public transport, traffic jams, parking problems, and insufficient bicycle lanes). The overall traffic infrastructure is not adequately developed, and streets and sidewalks are neglected.

with public resources», indicating the importance of constant care for memory contents (Popadić, 2018).

Breaking rules that are not common in other European cities and relate to the administration and regulation of opening hours of shops and cafes (some shops are open 24 hours a day and some bars and restaurants are open beyond their assigned hours). Of particular note is the lack of a smoking ban and that smoking is allowed indoors.

But there's a lot of very stupid administration, there's a lot of papers you wrestle with all the time... But I like is that you can always find a way, I've never found anything that I can't... you know... there's always a way, it takes a while sometimes to find out how to do it, or somebody can tell you. (RF18)

During the city's development, the existing urban configuration and heritage were not always taken into account, resulting in unusual combinations rather than harmonious urban areas. This influenced the formation of material symbolism. When it comes to this type of symbolism, visual, historical, and stylistic diversity is recognized. This diversity can also be described as a mixture or confusion. It fits into a pattern of contradiction and chaos, so it is in line with behavioral symbolism. The mixed influences of different historical civilizations are also due to Belgrade's border position in terms of geography and political and cultural history.

First time I came to Serbia the thing that shocking me the most when we were walking around the city is, like, the combination of the architectures, like this really old falling apart stuff with this futuristic, modern stuff. (RF11)

When you come and see... and actually everything work in a weird way. I haven't been in so many cities in this area but if you goes north lie in Hungary or Austria everything is more beautiful, nice houses and everything is in order and if you go south that's Turkey or Greece or that way. It seems me even more celtic in the middle of that. So mix those two sides. You can even seen ... If you go to Zemun it's bit of Austria or Hungary. If you are in Kalemegdan and look behind you that is Turkey. (RF6)

The disregard for urban standards has led to a specific urban structure. This has been especially evident in the last decade. The processes of neoliberal transformation of the city are underway, but the consequences in the urban space are not yet so radical. The Belgrade Waterfront Project (BWP) is in the first construction phase. In July 2018, the first building was completed, and residents were announced to move in.

The first survey (2018/2019) highlighted that the city centre is not just for tourists. The city space has not been standardized and touristified to the point where it has completely displaced the local population and amenities. As tourists and foreigners have the opportunity to experience the city and meet its residents, they can participate in the daily life

of the local population, allowing them to feel the unique atmosphere of Belgrade. This distinctiveness is manifested in the experience of the city as a place where one lives.

The thing specific about Belgrade is its personality... it's not corporatized in the way that many other cities have. You don't have so many kind of uniform chain shops or uniformity... There are many cities you can go to where you get just the same experience, from one city to the next, and there's no difference. But I think that Belgrade something that's different, that is unique. (RF13)

On the other hand, the authorities' efforts are focused on attracting tourists, especially during the New Year holidays (Tanjug, Blic, 2018). To this end, investments are being made in decorating the city, which has raised questions about the justification of the costs, especially the Christmas tree that was placed in the city center. At the time the research was conducted, the topic was current.¹²

But the Christmas decoration is something that is captivating the mind of all expats – why do you have so many Christmas decorations for so long? (RF17)

Christmas lights all time (ironic laugh). RF19

Regarding the direction of the city's development, although it is not in particular focus, some respondents criticize it:

They try to present all those Waterfront area as a brand, and Beton hala, walking by the river, but is so problematic. Rivers are brand but they are take it in the wrong way. (RF20)

Although it is a different context, the respondent emphasised the following when describing housing conditions:

I like the fact that the rivers are present, although I was bit surprised that the construction is not really ... adequate. I tried to rent a flat by the river, with a river view, it was not possible. I mean, whatever is available is very limited and it was already rented out or it is owned by people who are living there. The only thing that is left is this new project, this Waterfront thing, which I find pity that is down there. (RF10)

In the second survey, the same symbols of the city were identified as in the first (Table 1). Since it was an online survey, the answers are more specific, while in the interviews, respondents had the opportunity to explain their views in more detail.

¹² The previous year, news appeared in the media that the local authorities were ready to pay more than 80,000 euros for the New Year's tree. After the media announcement, the contract was not implemented (see Danas Online, 2017).

Table 1. What makes Belgrade recognizable?

	%
Kalmegdan	27.4
Lively city, atmosphere, bars, restaurants, nightlife	19.8
Rivers and confluence	17.0
Open people and hospitality	11.8
Negative features	10.8
A blend of traditional and modern	2.4
Pobednik	2.4

What is significantly different from the first is that, in addition to bad traffic and criticism of nightlife, negative characteristics also include the accelerated commercialization of urban space. The results of the second study showed that the contemporary development of Belgrade is dominated by the commercialization of space, which leads to the loss of local specificities. Much more explicitly than in the previous study, the academic community has clearly recognized this trend (Backović, 2024). They point out that in this process the city's characteristics that distinguished Belgrade from other cities are being lost. The touristification of Skadarlija, the destruction of Savamala, the riverbanks, have led to the previous "Belgrade no longer existing" (IS177) and that it has turned "into a shapeless mass that can be seen everywhere in the world". (IS163)

The image that is the symbol of Belgrade and its position – the confluence and Kalemegdan are "obscured and corrupted by Belgrade Waterfront project" (IS96). The confluence and Kalemegdan have been identified in all studies as undoubted symbols of the city. According to the findings, the commercialization of urban space has led to the loss of local identity.

The third survey included students from the social sciences and humanities (the sample size was 173). It was carried out in November 2024, prior to the start of student protests and blockades. The results would probably have been more critical if it had been conducted a little later.¹³

The student perspective is somewhat different compared to the previous one, and some differences are observed – as expected, negative characteristics are mentioned to a lesser extent (Table 2).

13 The students in the blockade organized a Protest for the General Staff on March 24 (they submitted an initiative to the Constitutional Court to assess the constitutionality of the decision that revoked the status of cultural property). In addition, they organized several discussions on the importance and protection of cultural heritage, especially with regard to the General Staff.

Table 2. What makes Belgrade recognizable?

	%
History, cultural – historical monuments	24.9
Nightlife, bars, restaurants	17.9
Kalemegdan	15.0
Capital city	11.0
Open people and hospitality	4.6
It's crowded; Negative features	4.0
Belgrade Waterfront Project	1.2

In previous surveys, this wasn't the case, for the first time, students recognised, to a small extent, the Belgrade Waterfront and West 65 as a symbol of the city (Table 2 and 3).

Table 3. What is the symbol of Belgrade?

	%
Kalemegdan	28.9
Pobednik	22.0
Temple of Saint Sava	11.0
The coat of arms and flag	5.2
Avala, Tower, Monument of the Unknown Hero	4.0
Rivers, Sava, Dunav, confluence	4.0
Belgrade Waterfront project, West 65	1.7

First, open-ended questions were asked about the recognizability of Belgrade and its symbols (previous tables). Then, photos were offered, and respondents were asked whether they considered them symbols of Belgrade. Most respondents answered affirmatively for all of the offered symbols except in three cases – cafes, New Belgrade and Belgrade Waterfront (Table 4).

Table 4. Is the symbol of Belgrade in the picture?

	Yes	No	I don't know
Confluence and Kalemegdan	98.8	0.6	0.6
Cafes	22.0	68.8	9.2
Republic square	91.9	5.2	2.9
Skadarlija	73.4	18.5	8.1
Pobednik	94.8	1.7	3.5
Temple of Saint Sava	96.5	2.9	0.6
New Belgrade	36.4	55.5	8.1
Avala tower	78.0	17.3	4.6
Nightlife	46.8	39.3	13.9
Belgrade Waterfront	39.3	54.3	6.4
Cathedral Church of St. Michael the Archangel	54.9	28.3	16.8
Gardoš	55.5	27.2	17.3
Kafana	48.0	41.6	10.4
Ada	66.5	20.8	12.7

The hypothesis was that the younger population would be more open to accepting the city's new symbols and would be more inclined towards BW because of the different content it offers. This hypothesis was not confirmed because in the first case, when they had to choose a city symbol independently, BW was rarely mentioned, and even when identifying the symbol in the picture, the majority answered negatively. Regarding the image of the cafe, it is possible that the selected image does not accurately represent the atmosphere of the full cafes in the city.

Conclusion

Based on the data collected in three surveys, it can be concluded that changes in the city over time have influenced the identity of Belgrade. There have been key changes in the urban structure over the last 15 years. Findings from the first qualitative survey (2018/19) indicate that Belgrade is positively evaluated as a non-touristic city. During that period, BWP was in the first phase of construction. In a second online survey (2021), members of the academic community in Belgrade more explicitly criticize the commercialization of urban space and the direction of its development, in which BV plays a central role. The third online survey (2024) includes the student population, which was assumed to have a more positive attitude towards contemporary urban changes. However, the stated hypothesis was not confirmed. Namely, students of social sciences and humanities don't recognize and don't accept BWP as a symbol of the city.

In summary, the characteristics of contemporary urban development are as follows: closing of iconic cultural sites and city places – changes in the use and ownership of buildings; reduction of green areas – privatization of public and green areas for new apartment blocks or for expanding parking spaces and threatening cultural and historical heritage and cultural institutions – new housing projects, shopping centres, garages, hotels... The identity of Belgrade is based on behavioral symbolism, the basis of which is material symbolism. Its changes, the disruption of the existing urban structure, affect the atmosphere, the soul of the city, thus changing the identity of Belgrade, directly creating new symbols that are not accepted and tearing up the urban structure that is the weft of behavioral symbolism.

*This research was financially supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia as part of the financing of scientific research work at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy (contract number 451-03-137/2025-03/ 200163).

Reference List

- Backović, V. (2019). The Specificity of Gentrification in the Postsocialist City: The Case of the Belgrade Waterfront Project. In J. Petrović & V. Backović (Eds.), *Experiencing Postsocialist Capitalism: Urban Changes and Challenges in Serbia* (pp. 23–43). University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy. https://reff.f.bg.ac.rs/bitstream/handle/123456789/3818/bitstream_8976.pdf?sequence=1
- Backović, V. (2024). The identity of Belgrade: recognizability and symbols. In J. S. Petrović, G. V. Stojić, I. V. Trotsuk & V. S. Cvetković (Eds.), *Regional development, identities and democratic integration* (pp. 279–291). University of Niš, Faculty of Philosophy; Serbian Sociological Association. https://reff.f.bg.ac.rs/bitstream/handle/123456789/6822/bitstream_18858.pdf?sequence=1
- Bogunović, S. G. (2005). Architectural encyclopedia of Belgrade of the 19th and 20th centuries. Architecture (Volume I) [*Arhitektonska enciklopedija Beograda XIX i XX veka. Arhitektura (I tom)*]. Beogradska knjiga.
- Grubbauer, M. & Čamprag, N. (2019). Urban megaprojects, nation-state politics and regulatory capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe: The Belgrade Waterfront project. *Urban Studies*, 56 (4), 649–671. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098018757663>
- Lazić, M. (2011). Waiting for Capitalism [*Čekajući kapitalizam*]. Filip Fišnjić.
- Petovar K. (2006). Round table: “Settlements network in a networked society: Social changes and changes in regional space in some transitional countries” [Okrugli stol: “Mreža naselja u umreženom društvu: društvene i prostorne promjene u nekim tranzicijskim zemljama”]. *Sociologija sela*, 171 (1). <https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/138046>
- Petrović, M. (2009). Transformation of cities: towards the depoliticization of the urban issue [*Transformacija gradova: ka depolitizaciji urbanog pitanja*]. Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta.
- Popadić, M. (2018). Generalštab by Nikola Dobrović as a memorial topos in the 21st century [Generalštab Nikole Dobrovića kao memorijski topos u 21. veku]. *Kultura*, 159, 204–221. DOI: 10.5937/kultura1859204P
- Smith, N. (1987). Gentrification and the Rent Gap. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77(3), 462–465. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.1987.tb00171.x>
- Spasić, I. & Backović, V. (2017). *Cities in Search of Identity* [*Gradovi u potrazi za identitetom*]. Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta. https://isi.f.bg.ac.rs/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Ivana-Spasic_Vera-Backovic_Gradovi-u-potrazi-za-identitetom.pdf
- Spasić, I. & Backović, V. (2020). Urban identity of Belgrade: Perfect chaos, imperfect balance. *Sociology*, 62 (4), 569–589. <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC2004569S>

- Stanilov, K. (ed.) (2007). *The Post-Socialist City. Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*. Springer
- Sykora, L. (1993). City in Transition: The Role of Rent Gaps in Prague's Revitalization, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 87 (4), 281–293. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.1993.tb01770.x>
- Nas, P. J. M., Jaffe, R., & Samuels, A. (2006). Urban Symbolic Ecology and the Hypercity: State of the Art and Challenges for the Future. In P. J. M. Nas & A. Samuels (Eds.), *Hypercity: The Symbolic Side of Symbolism* (pp. 1–19). Kegan Paul.
- Nas, P., de Groot, M., & Schut, M. (2011). Introduction: Variety of symbols. In P. J. M. Nas (ed.), *Cities Full of Symbols: A Theory of Urban Space and Culture* (pp. 7–26). Leiden University Press.
- Vujović, S. & Petrović, M. (2007). Belgrade's post-socialist urban evolution: Reflections by the actors in the development process. In K. Stanilov (ed.), *The Post-Socialist City. Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism* (pp. 361–383). Springer.
- Zeković, S., Maričić, T. & Vujošević, M. (2018). Megaprojects as an Instrument of Urban Planning and Development: Example of Belgrade Waterfront. In S. Hostetter, S. Najih Besson, & J.-C. Bolay (Eds.), *Technologies for development: From innovation to social impact* (pp. 153–164). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91068-0_13

Online Sources

- Belić, N. & Bukvić, D. (2013, September 1). The disappearance of the “Bermuda Triangle” tavern [Nestanak kafana „Bermudskog trougla”]. *Politika*. <https://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/268758/nestanak-kafana-bermudskog-trougla>
- B. R. (2012, August 16). “Vapiano” instead of “Russian Emperor” opens the door for guests [„Vapiano“ umesto „Ruskog cara“ otvara vrata gostima]. *Danas*. <https://www.danas.rs/vesti/beograd/vapiano-umesto-ruskog-cara-otvara-vrata-gostima/>
- Danas Online. (2017, December 21). The Belgrade Christmas tree is more expensive than the Rockefeller Christmas tree – 83,000 euros [Beogradska jelka skuplja od Rokfelerove – 83.000 evra]. *Danas*. <https://www.danas.rs/vesti/drustvo/beogradska-jelka-skuplja-od-rokfelerove-83-000-evra>
- Tanjug, Blic. (2018, November 15). The New Year's lights were lit, last winter it shone for 122 days [Upaljena novogodišnja rasveta, prošle zime je sijala 122 dana]. *Blic*. <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/beograd/upaljena-novogodisnja-rasveta-prosle-zime-je-sijala-122-dana-5ck6f6r>