Waves of planning: a framework for studying the evolution of planning systems and empirical insights from Serbia and Montenegro

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With increasing internationalization of urban planning throughout the twentieth century and in the past several decades in particular, planning ideas and practices have been exported from a few, and imported in many countries. However, this 'trade' happens without clear expectations about the ensuing dynamics between the internal context and external influences. This paper attempts to enhance understanding of how planning systems evolve and which factors affect them. The conceptual frameworks and typologies used to characterize planning systems and their determinants are reviewed. Building on previous work, an integrated framework is proposed that captures the process, factors and outcomes of urban planning systems. The history of planning in Serbia and Montenegro is used to illustrate how a planning system evolves under changing circumstances and influences and to demonstrate the complexity of such process. The case study is not intended to provide a detailed historical account of the country's planning trajectory, but to highlight the applicability of elements of the framework in a real setting. In particular, the focus is on conditions of imposition versus voluntary adoption of planning ideas as a way of examining the interaction between the local context and imported models, as well as the implications of such interaction. The article concludes with several pointers about the necessary research on the nature of planning exports and imports and their effects on the resultant urban systems, processes, environments and quality of life.

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Introduction

As with many other social phenomena, urban planning represents inventions that develop and change over time. These inventions transpire as ideas, concepts, practices and methods, and are manifest in urban planning processes, documents (plans), resultant built environments and activities and experiences within them. Taken together, the evolving planning practices and approaches constitute a planning doctrine or a model [1]. A doctrine formalized and translated into laws and institutions constitutes a planning system [2].

Planning inventions tend to diffuse from people, organizations and places of origin towards other users – locally, nationally or transnationally. The international diffusion of planning ideas and concepts and their corresponding practices and methods has been evident for over a century [3]. Sutcliffe [4] traced its roots to the late nineteenth century, coinciding with the revival of the Peace Movement and the 1899 Hague conference and with growth of Esperanto. Throughout the twentieth century, however, the level of international diffusion was not matched by the efforts to understand and explain it. Substantial international planning activities, particularly after the Second World War, have produced numerous studies describing and analysing specific planning issues and solutions, e.g. in housing, infrastructure supply, or environmental areas. But only a few studies deal explicitly with diffusion of planning ideas and concepts [5], even though the transfer of planning practices and methods is an inherent component of many international planning projects. Moreover, as pointed out correctly by Nasr and Volait, the majority of existing sources tend to take the perspective of the 'centre' or the 'originator' and neglect the local handling of the transfers [6]. Also, they rarely consider the suitability of imported approaches to the local context [7].

With transnational approaches gaining momentum in Europe [8] and world-wide [9], it is of the utmost importance to enhance knowledge about the process of diffusion of planning ideas, concepts, practices and methods, the process characteristics and its implications on the evolution of planning systems. This paper is a contribution toward that end. To illustrate the process and the relevant concepts, the focus is on a society that has undergone numerous transformations over time and remains in transition. This choice is based on the understanding that most unique and innovative policies and processes take shape under difficult circumstances [10] and at times of change [11]. Similarly, acknowledging the value of transitional and hybrid situations and attempting to identify characteristic examples for his typology of diffusion, Ward [12] found that most variety and subtleties are displayed in countries that are 'neither the major Western world powers nor their colonies'.

The two former Yugoslavian republics of Serbia and Montenegro seem to satisfy the above criteria for a suitable case study. Serbia and Montenegro are amongst several post-communist European countries that have, through history and over the past two decades in particular, experienced significant changes in political and socio-economic regime and, consequently, in planning and urban development practices [13]. Those countries currently operate under a mix of planning ideas and practices – inherited from both their communist and pre-communist past, and being developed and applied in the present. As planners in those transitional societies (including Serbia and Montenegro) adopt, modify and re-invent

practices and ideas from their own past and from the other countries, near and afar, they are in effect moulding and creating a new planning system [14].

This paper reviews existing typologies and frameworks of planning diffusion and explores their applicability to the evolution of planning systems, with Serbia and Montenegro taken as an illustrative case. The main objective of the research is to better conceptualize the evolutionary nature of planning systems under different contexts and determinants. Those determinant factors include both local and external influences on formation of planning systems and often involve transferring planning ideas, concepts, practices and methods. The insights gained in this and related analyses contribute toward more effective adjustment of planning systems to specific political and socio-economic contexts and more sensible adaptation of planning imports to local circumstances. This paper also provides an additional frame of reference for cross-cultural studies of urban planning and urban form [15] and stimulates contemporary discussions on urban planning practice in post-communist countries.

Theoretical bases for studying planning diffusion and evolution

Despite the scarcity of research on evolution and diffusion of planning systems, efforts of a few individuals provide a solid foundation to build upon. System typologies and relevant conceptual frameworks are essential for further understanding of the evolution of planning systems under complex internal and external circumstances and determinants. Following is a brief overview of those fundamental areas and their contributions to accurate characterization of the processes and implications of adoption, modification, re-invention and implementation of planning models in diverse societal settings.

TYPOLOGIES

Existing typologies invariably focus on the 'Western' planning systems, which have, for better or worse, served as models of planning practice around the world. However, the 'Western' models in themselves offer a variety that is not easy to categorize [16]. In his analysis of the ways in which those 'Western' planning models get transferred to the non-Western countries, Ward [17] recognized the limitation of including typologies of European and North American planning systems only. To compensate for this lack of inclusiveness, he developed a typology based on the concepts of 'borrowing' and 'imposition', each further refined into subtypes. The role of 'importing' and 'exporting' countries provides the key for his differentiation between the two concepts, borrowing obviously allowing for a greater role from the importing country and imposition allowing for a greater role from the exporting country. With three subtypes in each, the author's differentiation includes: synthetic borrowing (characteristic for major countries of Western Europe and the USA), selective borrowing (characteristic for smaller countries of Western Europe), undiluted borrowing (characteristic for dominions of British Empire, Japan and some European countries), negotiated imposition (characteristic for aid-dependent countries, e.g. in Africa), contested imposition (characteristic for 'enlightened' colonial planning) and authoritarian imposition (characteristic for newly subjugated territories).

In this typology too, the 'ideal' types are rare, as is the extreme category of authoritarian imposition. Continued indirect imposition, however, tends to occur with projects funded through major international organizations, such as the United Nations and the World Bank, even though, over time, there has been more sensitivity at the technical level. Ward's matrix contains elements of both the process and the outcomes of planning diffusion, the former manifested through typical mechanisms, and the latter indicated as the level of diffusion and potential for distinctiveness. Still, the question about substantive outcomes, in terms of form and condition of urban environment and life and characteristics of planning institutions and processes resulting from various types of diffusion, remains difficult to derive from the typologies mentioned above. The conceptual frameworks presented below partially address the question of diffusion process and outcomes.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

Process-based frameworks. The diffusion of planning ideas, models and practices is unique and idiosyncratic, but relates well to the generic conceptualization of innovation diffusion as proposed by Rogers [18]. He defined diffusion as 'the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system' (p. 5). The diffusion of innovation meta-theory provides a detailed elaboration of the innovation and the innovation decision processes (Fig. 1). In this process, **matching** between the innovation and the receiving system is the most relevant for characterizing the diffusion and evolution of planning ideas, concepts and practices. Another important concept is one of **re-invention**, which is defined as 'the degree to which an innovation is changed or modified by a user in the process of its adoption and implementation' (p. 17). This concept is reinforced by Sutcliffe [19] who considered re-invention to be more important than the actual transfer of planning innovations or models. The questions about if, when and how the matching and re-invention occur, and about their nature and principles, promise to shed light on the suitability of planning models adopted in specific contexts and their implications for planning and urban development.

Rogers differentiated between three types of innovation decisions: (a) optional innovation decisions; (b) collective innovation decisions; and (c) authority innovation decisions – the last one being the fastest to introduce, but often circumvented during implementation [20]. The outcomes of such decisions or, in Rogers' terminology the **consequences** of innovation, are presented as three dichotomies: desirable versus undesirable; direct versus indirect; and anticipated versus unanticipated. This concept and classification of diffusion consequences do carry an evaluative component that is missing from Ward's [21] proposition of outcome measures (i.e. the level of diffusion and potential for distinctiveness).

The process approach is also embedded in Faludi's [22] presentation of stages in doctrinal development. Those stages are: (1) pre-doctrinal situations characterized by an uncertain conceptualization of planning, conflict over the meaning of planning and institutions, and a high potential for change; (2) doctrinal stage – stable but still inherently dynamic; and (3) doctrinal revolutions when maturity is achieved by revolutions (Kuhn) or evolutions (Laudanian).

Beyond the identification of the stages, there is still a question of when and how the transition between them occurs over time. For example, Faludi's [23] pre-doctrinal stage
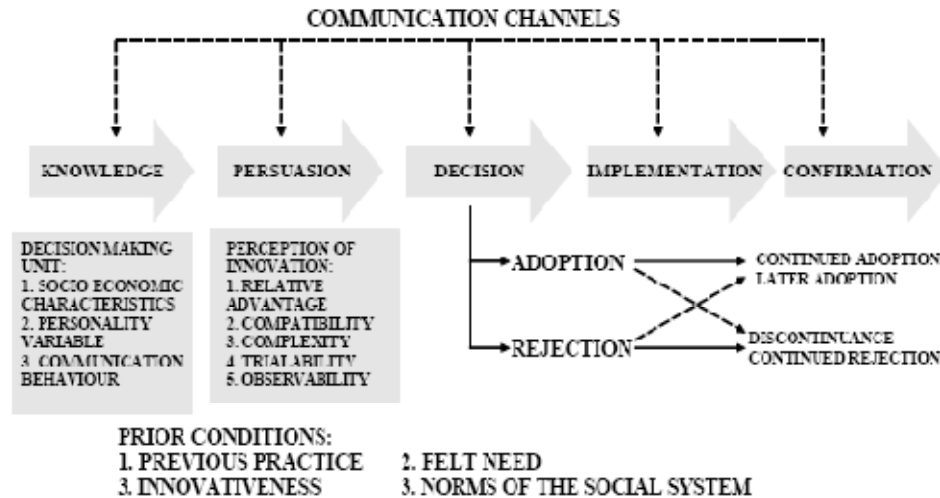
Figure 1.   Innovation decision process (source: after E. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations, op. cit.* [18]).

may be considered transitional. Thomas [24] proposed a concept he termed the **moment of discontinuity** to designate a period where the structure and functions of a country (or a city) do not correspond to the external environment with which they have to interact. The transition period encompasses this moment and is fundamentally a political process. Wu affirmed this essentially political–economic nature of the transition of the 'urban process' and questioned if such processes can be distinguished from the transition in general. He argued that cities are the means of accumulation, in the material, functional and symbolic sense and that the bottom line of transition is the 'internal shift of the logic of production' [25].

The theory of transition is rooted in the democratization theory [26]. Among other components, this theory advances the outcomes of transition as being significantly influenced by the past (or pre-transition) and being 'path-dependent' [27]. The path-dependency is primarily evident through the nature of the previous political regimes and through the continuity of social relations, cultural practices and built environment [28]. Marcuse and von Kempen exposed a controversy about how distinctive or new 'spatial order' results from the transitional periods and processes [29]. At a more fundamental level, Taylor questioned the paradigmatic nature of the changes in the post Second World War town planning practice from physical to participatory and post-modern planning [30].

Factor-based frameworks
Various factors are suggested as the causes and determinants of diffusion and evolution of planning. The perspectives applied in the historical analyses of planning range from individual personalities (e.g. 'great men and big ideas') to systemic factors (e.g. Western imperialism) [31] and cultural and contextual circumstances [32]. Sutcliffe's approach, for instance, is to

draw on individuals or 'movements' led by individuals as facilitators of the international exchange [33]. The facilitation often involves deliberate persuasion in favour of specific international perspectives. In his recent study, Ward traced the appearance of international (global or cosmopolitan) planners as one of the manifestations of the internationalism of modern planning since the late nineteenth century [34]. Rogers referred to those individuals who carry a substantial role in influencing innovation decisions as opinion leaders and change agents [35].

Nasr and Volait promoted the local context and interactions in transfer and implementation of planning models as the leading factors [36]. Contributors to their edited volume all focused on 'ordinary people and obscure individuals' who are not as visible as the well-known experts but are nevertheless important agents of local adoption, adaptation or rejection of external planning ideas and practices. Often, however, these individuals are recognized and active professionals locally and part of a broader professional environment or milieu. In his case study of Canada, Ward found the role of the professional milieu being the most forceful determinant of the extent and fashion in which planning ideas are transferred. Specifically, this factor is considered 'crucial to the distinction between borrowing and imposition' [37].

Local politics are also relevant. For example, Saunier found that the interest in international experiences and models is, to a large extent, dependent on the regional framing of the urban question and issues [38]. He suggested that international networking can be subordinate and in service to local political leadership. Similarly, the local political constituency (e.g. an interest or economic group) may also be influential in transferring of planning ideas [39].

Newman and Thornley's general framework turned attention to the systemic factors [40]. They claimed that internal and external economic and political forces create common trends from which national and urban governments deviate to develop their own approaches. The degree of centralization of power is the key indicator of the interaction between the local and the national level of government. Booth added to the governmental structure the role of law as a significant factor in formation of planning systems and practice [41]. Counterbalancing this role of government and law in planning and urban development are the market forces. The interplay between them is well recognized as underlying the nature of planning systems [42].

Another group of factors that may also be considered systemic are cultural. Booth added them as important determinants of planning systems and practice [43]. He suggested that even the general term 'urban planning' receives a variety of cultural meanings. Culture imposes special requirements of planning [44], but also creates impediments to undiluted diffusion of planning models. Ward offered an interesting observation about the variations in the outcomes of borrowing due to either misunderstanding of the original intent or more 'pure' implementation of imported ideas than in the country of origin [45]. This translation of original models through local contexts, interpretations, cultures and institutions makes planning diffusion a highly complex concept and a variable rather than uniform process [46].

Finally, there is a place for the innovative ideas and practices themselves and the perceived need for them to affect the diffusion process. Rogers pointed to the characteristics of the innovation such as relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability and observability, as

impacting the adoption decisions (Fig. 1) [47]. Sutcliffe also emphasized the importance of objective or perceived need for a practice or a solution to be invented [48].

Efforts to put together the variety of diffusion factors mentioned above in a comprehensive framework are rare. Ward's work is among those [49]. He suggested six criteria for characterizing the nature of planning diffusion: (1) indigenous role (ranging from very high to none); (2) external role (ranging from very low to total); (3) typical mechanisms (ranging from indigenous movements, external contacts and deference to innovative planning traditions, to increasing dependence on external planning traditions, up to a total dependence); (4) level of diffusion (ranging from theory and practice to practice only); (5) key actors (ranging from indigenous to mixed and fully external); and (6) potential for distinctiveness (ranging from very high to none).

PROPOSED INTEGRATED FRAMEWORK

The review presented here contains a variety of typologies, frameworks and factors potentially useful for better understanding of the evolution of planning systems. The next challenge is to try to sort them out and identify the most significant concepts and relationships that carry explanatory power. Ward suggested that a research framework for studying international diffusion of planning should identify the following concerns: (a) the mechanisms of diffusion (e.g. key personalities, reformist or professional milieu, intergovernmental actions); (b) the extent of change and differences in planning ideas and practices that are transferred to specific national settings; and (c) the fundamental causes of diffusion (e.g. larger economic, political or cultural contexts of international or internal conditions or chance actions) [50].

The framework presented in Figure 2 is an attempt to capture visually the relevant processes and factors, their relationships and their contributions to the evolution of planning systems. The evolution is presented as a series of cycles or 'waves', each resulting from internal and external influences that can substantially change the ways in which local planning systems operate. The overall system displays various levels of maturity and corresponds to the settlements designed and developed during particular periods. While the intermediate or 'within the wave' maturity in terms of Faludi's [51] doctrinal stage (or stability) is possible, a normative concept of maturity is proposed. It is suggested that over time a planning system moves toward an ideal state which is morally just and equitable, operationally efficient and substantively capable of producing high quality environments, in terms of spatial design and organization, use of natural resources, social improvement and engagement and standard of living. The framework includes the measures of outcomes such as planning laws and institutions, characteristics of the planning process and the specifics of urban environment and quality of life as promoted by particular aspects of an established (invented, adopted, adapted or transformed) and matured planning system.

Empirical insights from the evolution of the planning system in Serbia and Montenegro are presented in the following section to illustrate how dynamic and complex this process might be (although not to offer a detailed historical account of the country's planning trajectory). The evolution is recorded as influenced by a particular societal context and a variety of internal and external factors and actors, with transitions from one planning system to another being as interesting as the stable system states.

ensuing from the civil wars in the 1990s. Catena Mundi, Hellenic and Greek Peninsula, European Ottoman Empire, European Turkey and Yugoslavia were among the names used.

Serbia and Montenegro were two republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) (former Yugoslavia) and, at the time of writing, were still united as the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, located at the central section of the Balkan Peninsula (Fig. 3). There are two autonomous provinces within the territory of Serbia – Vojvodina and Kosovo. Former Yugoslavia emerged from half a century of the communist legacy into a period of great political and social turbulence. As during the post Second World War, the former Yugoslavia's political regime and economic principles never fully overlapped with those of the other communist countries in Europe. Its shift toward a market-orientated democratic society in the 1990s also had a unique flavour. Four of the six republics that formerly constituted Yugoslavia had seceded by 1997 (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia). A 2006 referendum in Montenegro also initiated the process of its own secession, though this has not been implemented at the time of writing.

Drawing on historically intertwined influences from the 'West' (primarily Western Europe), 'East' (Eastern Europe and Asia Minor) and from its local sources, the planning history of Serbia and Montenegro is rich, diverse and dynamic with many transitions. Starting from the formation of the Serbian Empire in the twelfth century; through the period of

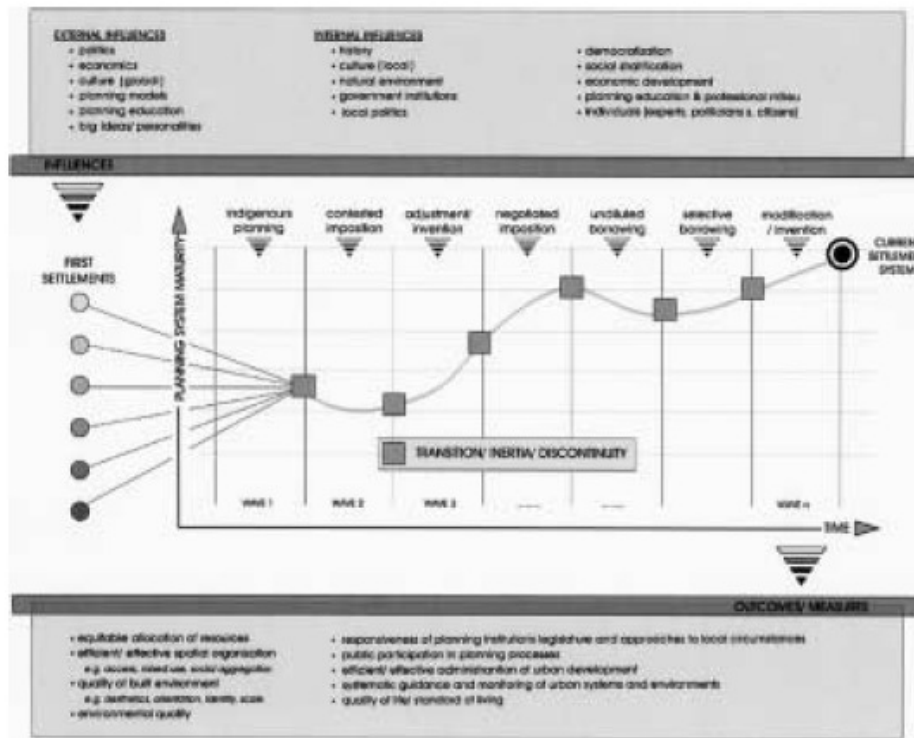Figure 3. Location of Serbia and Montenegro in the context of the Balkan Peninsula.

Figure 2.   Conceptual framework – evolution of planning: process and determinants.

Case study

The case of Serbia and Montenegro is chosen to illustrate the concepts related to the evolution of planning systems and diffusion of planning ideas and practices. The unique historical, political and economic circumstances coupled with the geographical, cultural and religious mosaic have through centuries influenced the planning practice and appearance of settlements in the Balkan Peninsula. Through time, many people inhabited and traversed this region. From the fourth century AD, the north-western, central and south-eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula have been populated by South Slavs, a subgroup of the Slavic people. The South Slavs interacted and clashed with other neighbouring groups, including Hungarians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Greeks, Romans, Italians and Austrians. At the same time, there were religious and, more recently, economic and political tensions and rivalry among the South Slavic tribes and people, such as among Serbs, Croats, Slovenians and Macedonians. As a consequence of historical events and population migration, this region changed names more than any other geographical area in Europe [52], including the most recent re-naming

Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rule; followed by planning under political and social independence from the late eighteenth century until the First World War, through planning under royal Yugoslavia between the First and Second World Wars; continuing with centralized planning under the communist regime; and finally experiencing a still turbulent time of post-communist planning.

A brief account of the planning history of Serbia and Montenegro is presented below. To illustrate the evolution of its planning system and to isolate the internal and external factors and sources that influenced it, five periods have been distinguished: early and medieval planning history; planning under independence from the late eighteenth century to the First World War; planning between the First World War and Second World War; communist planning in the second half of the twentieth century; and planning after the fall of communism from 1989. Some of the accounts of the periods before the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia geographically apply to the territories that surround Serbia and Montenegro and have had a common, similar, or significant urban history to warrant their mentioning.

EARLY AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The establishment of permanent human settlements on the Balkan Peninsula goes back to the Neolithic period [53]. The settlements from this period had mostly irregular forms, consisting of shelters, dugouts, or huts that were enclosed within defensive palisades. Cities started to emerge between the ninth and twelfth centuries when the first medieval states of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were formed. The population of primarily pagan beliefs and customs started to adopt the Christian religion. Numerous monasteries and churches from that period were built under the direct influence of Western (Italian Peninsula) and Eastern (Byzantine Empire) masters (Fig. 4). Simultaneously, the original indigenous architecture, construction technologies and planning regulations were developed. For example, as early as 1349, a comprehensive collection of locally devised legal regulations was introduced as the Code of Emperor Dušan. This collection of regulations dealt with buildings, spatial organization and life in cities.

Cvijić described five types of urban and eight types of rural settlements in the Balkan Peninsula [54]. Serbs, for example, had distinct terms for different elements within rural settlements that go back to the twelfth century [55]. A dispersed settlement was called a hamlet or *zaselak*. The whole village was a court (courtyard) or *dvorište*, meaning a yard as well as the whole village. Similar expressions could be found in Croatia, with *dvor* (court) meaning a plot or a yard. The territory that belonged to a village (hinterland or countryside) was called a village area, district or *sinor*.

After the Turks arrived in the Balkan Peninsula at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries to stay for almost 500 years, the organization and appearance of most towns in the eastern and central parts of the Balkan Peninsula (today's Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia, Kosovo in particular) were transformed substantially through the influence of Islamic planning and building traditions. The settlements (called *kasaba* if small; *varoš* if large) had a distinct structure including: central section (*čaršija*) for public functions like baths (*amam*), schools (*metresa*), coffee houses and entertainment places (*kafana*), worshiping buildings (*džamija*), crafts and trading posts

Figure 4. Monastery Sopoćani – an example of Serbian Orthodox church architecture. (Source: http://www.kosovo.com/mones.html, Photo Strugar, accessed August 29, 2005.)

(*bazar*), and travel inns (*han*); and a residential section (*mahala*) separated into two parts – upper for Muslim residents and lower for the Christian population. Residences were built around yards (*avlija*) surrounded by high walls used to protect the privacy of the extended family. At the same time, the influence of Renaissance planning and baroque was very strong in the coastal northern and western parts of the Balkan Peninsula, in Slovenia, Croatia and Vojvodina, which were under the rule of the Venetian Republic, Hungary and, later (from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries), the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

These influences are obvious and visible in many contemporary settlements of these regions. For example, many settlements in Vojvodina [56], a province in northern Serbia ruled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, still have a regular gridiron morphology that originates from the time of Empress Maria Theresa (Fig. 5). The reason for such a layout was the

Figure 5. Austro-Hungarian regulation of settlements in Vojvodina: (a) organizaton of a block in Kačarevo, formerly Francfeld (source: Dj. Simonovic, *Uredjenje seoskih teritorija i naselja*. Beograd: Gradjevinska knjiga, 1980, p. 89.); (b) topographic map of the Kačarevo region (source: Pregledno geografska karta, *List Beograd 200.000 TK 200*. Beograd: Vojnogeografski Institut VGI, 1985); (c) topographic map of Eastern Banat (source: Topografska karta 1:200.000, *List 4621*. Temišvar: Vojnogeografski Institut VGI, 1976).

settlements' location in the centre of an agricultural production district and the flat terrain. This layout promoted the preservation of agricultural land and its soil capacity and allowed for reasonable distances between dwellings and work areas. At the same time, this concept enabled simple administrative control, commercial and other operations relying on a network of excellent roads that connected the system of settlements.

The urban regulations imposed by the Austro-Hungarian administrators were strict. All plots were of the same size, with a street frontage of 40 m. Uniform standards were also used for building shapes and sizes. Under the influence of the monarch government and architectural styles such as baroque, classicism, romanticism, eclecticism and secession, which came mostly from Budapest, Vienna and Prague, many newly constructed buildings were built as multi-part structures (as opposed to previously built single-part structures) equipped with the necessary facilities and numerous ornaments. Generous public spaces and important civic and community buildings were built in major urban settlements.

Throughout this period, the state of Montenegro and the independent city-republic of Dubrovnik were the only ones to stay unconquered and avoid the externally imposed planning and settlement models. The example of the independent city-republic Dubrovnik (1272–1668) is particularly interesting. Its 1272 'Liber Statuorum Civitatis Raggusii' was the first historically verified code on building, town planning and the human environment in this region [57]. This Statute consisted of eight volumes, with the fifth volume addressing building, planning and urban management issues. It was amended in 1296, 1335, 1358 and 1460 to deal with expansion of city limits, reconstruction, sewerage and health. After a disastrous earthquake in 1668, the Statute was amended with regulations on city reconstruction and

rebuilding. It stipulated that buildings not reconstructed in time would become the property of the city. The Statute also promoted a greater idea of city integrity by making regulations on street width, size of city blocks and bulk and height of buildings applicable to the whole city. In the foreword to the book 'Urban Development of Dubrovnik' [58], architect Josip Sajsel said that

> Dubrovnik was not the city that was built according to the specific model or pattern; there is no imitation of something big to create something smaller. It is an authentic city and its values are beyond those that we designate as attributes of style...Architectural standpoints changed, but the concept of urban entity was beyond that.

LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY INDEPENDENCE TO FIRST WORLD WAR

By the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, national movements started to gain momentum in the Balkans and the struggle for independence from the Ottomans, Italians and Austro-Hungarians was underway. This was the period of the first serious initiatives towards the creation of a formal system of planning. A variety and mixture of ethnicities, histories and cultures of the South Slavic people inhabiting this region resulted in development of several different schemes of urbanization and planning [59]. Specific types of urban structures and settlement networks were created at the time, with very little possibility of a common model of urbanization and a uniform approach to its control and guidance. The local inhabitants and their political and civic leaders embraced and understood town planning in different ways. Depending on their perceptions, planning became either a tool or an obstacle. For instance, planning was used to impose order in the agricultural plains of Vojvodina and Slavonia, while Kosovo and other mountainous areas succumbed to an unplanned urbanization [60].

The newly liberated regions already sustained distinctive influences from Central Europe in the west and north and from Asia Minor in the south-east. These influences were deeply rooted in the mix of Byzantine, Roman and Ottoman cultures. At the same time, the Balkan cities were affected strongly by Western European ideas originating in France, Germany and Great Britain. This impact was particularly notable in the major centres, including Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Dubrovnik.

In Serbia, for example, the influences from the West were obvious. Cvijić found that the towns in northern Serbia began to have straight-line streets and spacious squares after some of their notable residents came back from studying abroad [61]. These educated individuals tried to change their towns to look European. Countering this emphasis of the role of individuals, Maksimović suggested that the young state administration had the leading role in town planning [62]. This was despite the non-cooperative ethnic character, which was more inclined toward the individual than toward collective actions in space. The absolutist government of Prince Milan Obrenović took advantage of this inclination toward single-handed action and used town planning as a way to consolidate political power. Politically, therefore, the preference was given to the German concept of town planning and urban structure as more conducive to the control function of the state and to direct supervision of the land development process. Historical evidence suggests that Prince Miloš Obrenović personally went to the field with his engineers to oversee surveying and mapping of local development sites.
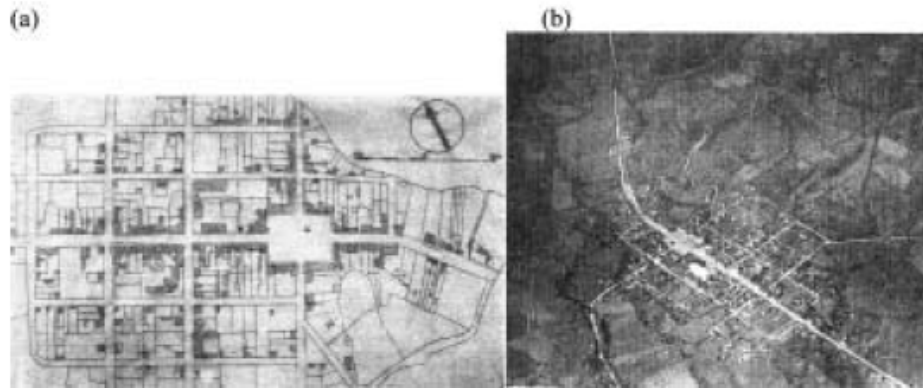
Figure 6.   Nineteenth century town planning of Bajina Bašta: (a) planned composition from 1861 as captured by a geodetic plan from 1932; (b) aerial photography. (Source: B. Maksimović, *Urbanizam u Srbiji – Osnovna ispitivanja i dokumentacija*. Belgrade, 1938.)

It is probably the joint effect of both factors – individuals educated abroad and the centralized political will – that shaped the nature of planning and urban settlements in nineteenth century Serbia. According to Stojkov, town planning as an organized activity in Serbia began in 1833, after the Ottoman Empire left this region and major urban centres were liberated [63]. He affirmed that the state took an active part in town planning. Local experiences were combined with foreign ones in looking for optimal solutions regarding urban functionality, economy and aesthetics. The orthogonal model of Renaissance planning by Francesco de Georgia was applied in most of the newly planned towns, such as Kraljevo, Raška, Bajina Bašta and Ivanjica. Urban morphology was dominated by the Latin or Greek Cross, around which the blocks were formed and an orthogonal grid of streets established (Fig. 6). Implementation of this model involved numerous local and foreign architects and engineers (Jevrem Obrenović 1828, Laza Zuban 1832, Stefan Stefanović 1831, Emilian Josimović and Jan Nevola 1835, Franc Janke 1837, T. Riner and D. Mihalek 1883). By 1910, sixty-one settlements in Serbia acquired the rank of town, and sixteen more settlements were on the waiting list. All settlements were required to have town plans.

The first significant urban regulations were passed in the mid-nineteenth century, including the Law on Establishing the Regulation Line for Construction of Private Buildings (1864); the Law on Construction of Public Buildings (1865); and the Law on Expropriation of Private and Real Estate Property for Public Use (1866). Stojkov considered the last one as the most important law of that period, as it determined the public role and character of urban planning in Serbia during the remainder of the nineteenth century [64]. This and other instruments were similar to regulatory mechanisms used in Austria, Bavaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary and other Central European countries located on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. For example, Construction Order III for the territory of the city of Zemun specified town planning and construction requirements [65] and aimed to: (a) regulate land use change, (b) establish zoning, (c) service land, (d) develop land, (e) provide technical infrastructure and social services, (f) prescribe design, technical and

construction norms, (g) institute legal procedures for issuing building and planning permits and (h) implement and control the application of legal acts and the power of law [66].

The broader impact of the nineteenth century regulations and laws remains difficult to measure. The efforts toward comprehensive town planning were somewhat corrupted by privately driven initiatives and land speculations by powerful and rich individuals. Božić observed that '[e]veryone with influential friend in city administration or with individual direct interest as land owner or land developer, was able to move regulatory line of the street 2–3 m backward or forward, making manoeuvring space for private development initiative' [67]. Others, such as Leko, called for a legal framework that would ensure modern planning of traditional, transitional and newly formed settlements [68].

During the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and the First World War (1914–18) most of the material heritage from the previous periods was destroyed. In 1918, after the First World War was over, the first common state of South Slavs – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) – was formed.

PLANNING BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS

The process of town development and urbanization after the First World War coincided with an increased migration from rural to urban areas. The enlarged urban settlements experienced social stratification and establishment of the first high class of economically affluent citizens. With strong rural ties, accumulated personal capital and the opportunity to study and travel abroad, this new class developed a system of values and political culture often in opposition to the absolutistic government.

After enduring the wars, the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia was making a fresh start with new ideas on town planning originating from France, Great Britain and North America. Its capital, Belgrade, was the centrepiece of such influences (Fig. 7). Besides the existing street regulation and control of plot and block sizes and distances between buildings, the new planning practice was acquiring an interdisciplinary flavour by adding socio-economic, political, aesthetic and environmental considerations. The experiences of the City Beautiful movement in the USA, the Garden City movement in Great Britain and the Beaux-Arts in Paris were receiving the attention of local experts. For example, architect Mihailo Radovanović led a group of professionals advocating the ideas of the French Beaux-Arts and subscribing to the organic and gradual character of city growth [69]. He said that 'the settlement is an organism that lives in space and time, and its fundamental characteristic is natural evolution that connects present settlement with the original one and explains the present shape and form'.

The possibilities of connecting modern qualities with historical heritage and distinctive landmarks were the leading premises of Radovanović's approach. They were featured in his planning concept for the town of Niš (1937) and the master plan for the town of Požarevac (1950). Radovanović's articulation of the master plan for the town of Niš was influenced heavily by the French school of city planning and beautification. While the controversy regarding his fundamental principles and the town's natural setting and historical context deemed this master plan impossible to implement [70], Radovanović's ideas continued to be tempting and influential through the forthcoming decades. His thoughts bridged the geometrically clean architectural and planning classical model of Beaux-Arts and the post-modern trends that were popular among the professionals in former Yugoslavia during the early and middle 1980s.

Figure 7. Belgrade: a European capital of the early twentieth century (photo courtesy of Nedović-Budić, 1995).

Reflecting these innovations and influences, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1931 passed the Building Act, which referred to the Regulatory Plan as the main instrument of urban development. The Act was considered progressive [71] and very important for the further development of Yugoslav planning legislation [72]. It regulated zoning, densities, building heights and bulk, buffer zones, land use and building zones, public landmarks and infrastructure corridors. However, it did not define strictly the format of planning documents and the process of plan preparation. It placed planning under the exclusive competence of engineering and technical professions and to some extent restricted the interdisciplinary broadening of the planning field that had only started to gain momentum.

Immediately before the Second World War, the principal influences were coming from Le Corbusier's functionalism, as well as the geometry of the German Bauhaus movement. The

latter found the support of a local architect, Branko Maksimović, who thought highly of German engineering of principal towns and their contribution to the 'close to ideal' urban image of Belgrade from 1718–39 [73]. He hoped for a repeated positive influence on Yugoslavian towns and cities. Unfortunately, the Second World War broke out in 1939. While the Germans occupied parts of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia, their impact on cities was mostly in the form of destruction. Most of the planning and building activities ceased. For their planning needs, the Germans hired their own experts and local professionals available among the collaborators. Again, heavy damage of buildings and physical infrastructure and enormous human casualties were the consequences of the Second World War.

COMMUNISM – POST SECOND WORLD WAR TO 1989

At the end of the Second World War radical changes in the political and social system took place. The constitutional monarchy renounced power to the new communist regime and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRY) was created (later renamed to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – SFRY). The market economy of liberal capitalism and civic initiative was replaced with a centralized planned economy and a social system based on the domination of collective interests. Private land ownership was confined to rural areas only, with plots not to exceed 10 ha. The land in urban areas became state (later renamed 'societal') property through the process of nationalization and expropriation. Reconstruction and building of the country was launched at an accelerated pace. It was based on five-year development plans [74].

During the first decade of the post-war period bourgeois architecture and urbanism were criticized relentlessly and unconditionally. The basic principles of egalitarianism and planned urbanization were realized through decentralization of industry to underdeveloped regions and efficient distribution of large enterprises in a few major urban centres. At the city level, the guiding planning principles were promoted through (a) standardization, (b) proper city size, (c) the vital role of the city centre and (d) the neighbourhood unit (local community) concept [75]. The functional city ideas promoted by Le Corbusier and the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) since its founding in 1928 were embraced and implemented throughout the whole territory of Yugoslavia in the post Second World War period. Interestingly, CIAM 10 was actually held in Dubrovnik in 1956, at a time when its membership was being fractured by a re-thinking of its identity and future direction [76].

In contrast to this rhetoric, however, while the five-year plans, investment plans and town plans outlined a framework for harmonized development of settlements as manifestations of the new social organization [77], planners continued to apply the articles from the 1931 Building Act. In 1949 the Master Urban Planning Regulation was passed. The Regulation stated that the master planning objectives were to support socio-economic development plans and to comply with socialist institutional framework, but it lacked a physical planning (i.e. land use and zoning) component [78]. Despite the inevitable linkage with the Eastern European/Soviet political ideology, this Regulation was drafted following extensive consultation of the German, English, Swedish, Dutch, American and French planning legislation. Consequently, regardless of the attempt to base it on communist theoretical concepts, the legal frameworks ensuing after the Second World War were based mostly on the Western models combined with widely spread Yugoslav model of self-management. However, the

Figure 8. Housing estate blocks: a legacy of socialist planning in Belgrade (photo courtesy of Nedović-Budić, 1995).

planning principles influenced by the West clearly succumbed to the socialist (in fact modernist) approach to the mass provision of affordable housing and, in post Second World War Yugoslavia as in other communist countries, the housing estates departed sharply from the traditional urban structures and designs (Fig. 8).

A more overt criticism of planning in support of the communist political regime came primarily from architects–planners of middle and younger generations (e.g. Borislav Stojkov, Vladimir Macura, Miloš Bobić, Braca Ferenčak and Marin Krešić) in the 1970s and 1980s. The more relaxed version of communism, the political decentralization in the 1970s and a semi-market-based economic system (i.e. self-management) provided for a material affluence and a social and political milieu that stimulated the local professionals to advance the theory, methods and practice of urban and regional planning. Following are the achievements made within the time frame of several decades:

(a) national, republic, provincial, and local agencies, bureaux and institutes were established [79];
(b) professional associations were founded [80];
(c) experts were educated locally and abroad, mostly in Western Europe and North America;
(d) publications and professional conferences and symposia became regular;
(e) integrated interdisciplinary character of planning profession emerged [81];
(f) planning became a socially accepted practice [82].

A landmark event for the Yugoslav planning of this period was the Sixth Conference of the Association of Urbanists of Yugoslavia held in Arandjelovac in 1957. A number of professionals from Serbia (e.g. Nikola Dobrović, Branislav Kojić, Branislav Piha, Borko

Novaković and Dimitrije Perišić); Croatia (e.g. B. Petrović, V. Antolić, Stanko Žuljić and Franjo Gasparović); Slovenia (e.g. Braca Mušič, Milan Tepina and E. Ravnikar); Bosnia and Herzegovina (i.e. Ivan Taubman, Branko Krstić); Macedonia (e.g. Borislav Kolev); and Montenegro (e.g. Djordjije Minjević and Radovan Bakić) advocated that a new discipline should be introduced, contributing significantly to both the theoretical and practical domain of urban planning [83]. All of them agreed that physical planning should become an integral part of the socio-economic planning system, thus paving the way to integrated and comprehensive planning [84].

The period from the 1960s to the late 1980s could be characterized as the golden era of spatial (physical) and town planning in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia – SFRY [85]. That period was characterized by an intensive campaign in preparation of numerous plans covering diverse spatial and administrative units (republics, provinces, counties, settlements, self-contained and self-managed neighbourhoods, small communities and individual sites). The professional milieu was fashioned through interdisciplinary planning teams mostly consisting of architects, economists, geographers, transport planners, sociologists, lawyers and engineers. Their activity was clearing a path for the newly recognized profession, which focused on opportunities for changing the socio-economic environment and dealing with sensitive issues of location, re-location and re-distribution of natural, social and financial resources. Operating in an environment of increased public participation and sometimes affected by local politics, the planning fraternity of that time was generally a coherent force armed with multidisciplinary and cosmopolitan ideas.

During this period there were considerable changes in the legislative and institutional aspects of planning. First, in the 1960s new planning acts were passed in each of the six Yugoslav republics. Adoption of the new Federal Constitution in 1974 was immediately followed by another set of Town and Regional Planning Acts in all republics. These Acts treated the planning subject matter and practice very thoroughly from the conceptual and technical perspectives and, in most republics, were accompanied by guides and manuals [86]. All the relevant components of socio-economic, environmental and physical development were considered. The Acts established a hierarchy of planning documents for all territorial units, starting from the republic and regional to the urban block level. The range of plans included regional plans (for republics, metropolitan and rural areas and provinces), county (*opštinski*) plan, special area plan, action area plan, general urban plan (master plan), detailed urban plan, urban design, rural plan and land-use plan. From the methodological point of view, these Acts and planning levels provided a solid interdisciplinary foundation for the planning of settlements in the country.

Along with changing societal needs and circumstances and with advancements in planning theory and methods, those Acts were revised or amended during the 1980s. Planning became a socially accepted practice and, in addition to being the subject of experts' argumentation, planning documents were gaining a wide interest from citizens and their associations who took an active role in the decision-making process. Public participation was well codified in urban planning legislation and performed on a regular basis as a required part of the planning process. The terms 'planning' and 'planner' in general and 'urban and regional planner' or 'physical planner' in particular, were introduced as part of everyday vocabulary and became understandable to the general public [87].

The major innovation of this period was 'integrated" or 'integral' planning, introduced as the 'Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering' and passed by the State Parliament in 1971. Prior to its adoption, the policy was discussed by 154 town and city councils and in more than 30 regional workshops in parliaments of all republics and provinces [88]. The intent of such an approach was to bring together all important sectors, issues and concerns. Such integration required holistic and interdisciplinary thinking. Issues and sectors were looked at in relationship to each other (rather than in isolation) in order to enable the best use of resources and achieve development goals. A number of macro-projects followed the acceptance of the framework policy, such as: (a) Spatial Ordering of Yugoslavia (1971), (b) Planning Atlas for the Spatial Ordering of Yugoslav Territory (1973), and (c) Coordinated Programme for Environmental and Spatial Planning Research (1983). These documents and projects opened the door for more accessible spatial and environmental information and for public scrutiny and participatory involvement of numerous stakeholders in the regional and local planning arena. B. Krstić, Dj. Minjević, M. Tepina and S. Borovnica were the major protagonists of these innovations from the state government's Advisory Board for the Environment and Spatial Planning that was established in 1974. They were the forerunners in promoting the idea of end-users' scrutiny of 'planning blue print products' before they are adopted and approved by public and official bodies. In this context, it is interesting to note that the principle of 'cross-acceptance' was practised in former Yugoslavia for more than a decade (i.e. in the 1970s and 1980s), before it was contemplated and applied in Western countries [89].

Finally, the decades of professional experience and growth brought about ideas on formal planning education. The complexity of urban and regional development and management, environmental awareness, social needs, political plurality and increased economic problems all provided a stimulus for this idea. Originating in the 1960s from experienced professionals in the fields of geography, architecture-based urbanism, transportation engineering and economics, and subjected to many debates and analyses, the idea was realized in 1977 with the opening of the Department of Physical Planning at the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Sciences and Mathematics [90]. It was the first planning school in former Yugoslavia, and remains the only one in the territory of western Balkans.

POST-COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS FROM 1989

From 1989, similar to other countries in Eastern and Central Europe, former Yugoslavia went through a political transformation from a communist single-party regime to a pluralist market-orientated society. Although Yugoslavia was politically and economically already more liberal in comparison with other communist countries in Europe, the new circumstances were still a substantial departure from the immediate past. In addition to the political transformation, the disintegration of former Yugoslavia into several sovereign states during the nationalist movements and civil wars in the 1990s posed a major challenge to ongoing attempts to move toward a European-style civil society.

Contrary to the experience of other post-communist countries in Europe, which managed to make some progressive steps in their struggle toward market-based economies and democratic political regimes, for Serbia and Montenegro the 1990s were a period of major decline. By the mid-1990s, the estimated unemployment rate was 23.1% and the annual

gross national product (GNP) was $US1200 per capita [91]. A report by the State Ministry of Development, Science and Environment, stated that if realistic growth rates were applied the GNP from 1990 could be achieved only in 2011 [92]. Before the 1990s, as part of former Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro had together been considered as one of the most eligible candidates for joining membership of the European Union in the early twenty-first century. Yet, today, it is only at the very beginning of transforming its economy and institutions and well behind other post-communist countries that have been restructuring their systems throughout the 1990s. This has been a key factor in Montenegro's 2006 decision to secede. Perišić and Bojović warned about the state of crisis that Serbia and Montenegro were in and suggested that they would be in 'transition' for a long haul [93]. According to Janić, systemic solutions were needed and should be sought through: (1) defining the new urban planning legislation; (2) institutional restructuring; (3) working out the forms of development control that would stimulate investments and co-ordination of real estate transactions; (4) strengthening the impact of urban planning on infrastructure provision; and (5) more efficient development of the social support system and activities [94]. Therefore, implementation of the physical plans, applications of the development control code and institutional aspects of planning were to be transformed.

The changing economic and political reality, however, has marginalized and inflated the role and position of planners. Since the early 1990s, planners and other related professionals tried to maintain the quality and reputation their professions earned during the preceding period. However, politics took precedence over the attempts of planning practitioners to continue to guide urban development processes as they too were transitioning to meet new needs and circumstances. For example, the major efforts that planners put in preparing the Regional Physical Plan of the Republic of Serbia in 1996 were negated by the political manoeuvring that surrounded the adoption and presentation of the plan [95] (Fig. 9).

This plan was prepared by the Institute of Architecture and Urbanism of the Republic of Serbia [96] on behalf of the Ministry of Construction. The document contained background information about the Republic of Serbia including the Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo; analyses of issues affecting its development; and proposals on future development for a period of 20 years. Unfortunately, this document was a typical product of a 'top-down' planning approach where the regional issues were not addressed in a systematic way and no special provision was given to co-operation with neighbouring countries regarding border areas. Cavrić 2005 [97] also criticized the plan for its superficial application of principles of sustainable development.

This subjecting of planning to politics was also reflected in the way planning practice followed the changes in local governance. Just as the substantially decentralized system of former Yugoslavia was opposed to the experience of most other communist countries in the 1980s, Serbian and Montenegrin planning in the 1990s countered the general trend, as it had to adapt to the re-centralized political regime of Slobodan Milosević [98]. Another major problem was the illegal construction that reached its new peak in the mid-1990s, particularly in Belgrade [99]. Attention to this problem was raised at the level of the City Assembly, which was working with city-wide planning agencies to find and implement viable and politically feasible solutions. However, for a variety of reasons, including slow bureaucratic procedures and sporadic enforcement, the illegal developments only flourished during this period.
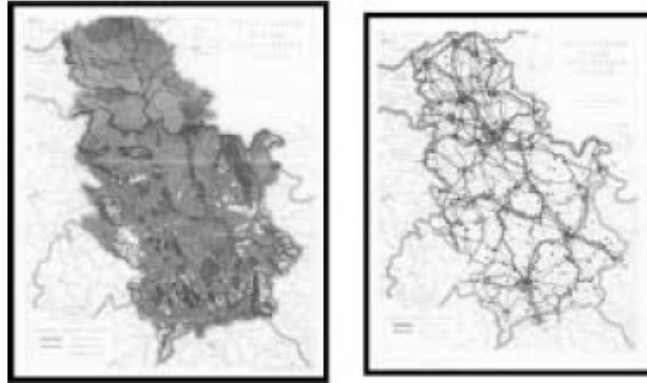
Figure 9.   Examples of maps from the 1996 Plan of the Republic of Serbia.

Fortunately, planning practice in the 1990s had strong post-Second World War founda-
tions to build upon. There was a well-developed professional community and institutional
network that was equipped to carry a variety of planning activities. The experience with a
market-orientated system eased the transition to a land development process that became
almost exclusively driven by private investment. The new planning legislation enacted in
1995, however, did not prescribe a substantially different approach and process. The inte-
grated planning approach that was developed and practiced for several decades before the
1990s continued to be applied while social planning was neglected.

The political change that took place at the end of 2000 replaced the autocratic political
regime with a new freely elected popular government, marking another turning point. Under
the new societal system, the planning profession and practice continued to evolve to match
the new circumstances and respond to public needs. The new leadership promised to
promote changes in many aspects of society, including social policy. Planners, as executors
of progressive and socially justified activities, were called upon to be intellectually, socially
and politically prepared to follow and promote this process [100]. It was expected that plan-
ning practice and institutions might finally experience their renaissance. Planning profes-
sionals and academics continued to be well informed about the trends in planning practice
in the West, the global planning arena and their applicability to the situation in Serbia [101].
For example, the idea of sustainable development has been taken up as a viable framework
for discussing urban and rural development [102]. In addition, there has also been a keen
awareness of the importance of the European context [103].

The imperatives of European willingness to support positive changes in the Western
Balkan region, in general, are worked out in numerous programmes, policies and strategies –
some already implemented and some only in preparation [104]. A first step for Serbian and
Montenegrin planners is to identify the stakeholders and institutions that are able to imple-
ment recommendations from those numerous European initiatives together with their inter-
national counterparts. There is also a need to develop new spatial strategies in compliance
with European standards.

Interestingly, despite this pronounced draw on contemporary international experiences, the new Planning and Construction Law adopted in 2003, used the 1931 law as its main source [105]. Although the 1931 law was influenced substantially by regulations in Western European countries, like its twenty-first century successor, it had a rather narrow engineering focus that streamlined the administrative processes but limited the scope of urban planning. In the atmosphere of yet another re-decentralization of political and administrative power to the local level, the Law's emphasis on engineering aspects of urban development and privatization of properties within municipal boundaries created confusion and angst among both the professional planning community and the local implementers of the new rules and regulations.

While the new political regime and the decentralized society are regarded as an environment supportive of further improvements in planning approaches and processes, the challenges are many. The main emerging obstacles that have accompanied an increased local autonomy are the absence of overall co-ordination, the lacking local capacity and the intensified competition between neighbouring communities. Djordjević reminds us of the three possible roles of the state – a) as a developer and investor in capital projects, b) as a strategic planner, or c) as only a 'guarantor,' which may be the most suitable present state's role in Serbia and Montenegro [106]. There is also an implicit call for more flexibility in the planning system and more opportunities for mutual balancing and adaptation between the national and sub-national levels. Finally, Cavrić alerted the planning community to consider the applicable transnational approaches and ideas, which 'could lead to a new planning paradigm based on global thinking and an interconnected world, flavoured with locally sustainable planning solutions' [107]. Numerous professionals who originate from Belgrade's planning school and practice abroad represent the potential link in this further diffusion and exchange of planning practice and ideas.

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to review the existing typologies and frameworks of diffusion and evolution of planning systems and to gain further insights into relevant factors based on the case study of Serbia and Montenegro. Rather than to provide a detailed account of the urban planning history of Serbia and Montenegro, the case was taken up for its dynamic planning trajectory and societal setting in order to illustrate the complexities involved in the evolution of planning systems and international transfer of planning ideas, concepts, practices and methods.

Building on past research and established typologies, a comprehensive framework is proposed for studying the evolution of planning systems (Fig. 2). The framework suggests that planning systems evolve over time by going through cycles or waves that are characterized by their own dynamics of innovation, imposition, borrowing and adjustment, and changed through transitional processes. The evolution is affected by internal and external context and results in a certain quality, style and system of settlements and planning, which are envisioned to mature over time.

The unique geographical, socio-economic and political circumstances on the Balkan Peninsula led to a specific trajectory of historical development of indigenous approaches to urban planning and to adoption and adaptation of planning ideas imported from a variety

of countries, urban movements and individuals (Table 1). The external influences from Europe and the Middle East were sometimes self-inflicted and spontaneous; sometimes imposed in combination with diplomatic efforts, religious and cultural ideas, demagogy, or political pressure; and sometimes invited and taken by voluntary action. While traditional settlements were more responsive to local circumstances, culturally grounded, environmentally sensitive and uniquely fit for the given socio-economic context, the imposed models and solutions provided for innovation and modernization efforts that were in step with the regional (e.g. European) trends. In borrowing, however, some of the local context was often overlooked in the excitement with the imported ideas and practices.

The sources of imports to Serbia and Montenegro include the Turks, Austro-Hungarians, Italians, French, Germans and Soviets, the last ones primarily after the Second World War. By applying Ward's typology, it is found that during the periods of independence, local planning systems evolved through synthetic innovation and selective borrowing primarily from the West. International education and exposure to external ideas either through personal contacts or through literature was the main diffusion mechanism. During the rules of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires and the communist regime, imposition was the dominant mode of import. At the same time, the indigenous role and contributions in both theory and practice of planning were substantial throughout history. The resulting systems were distinctive from the ones developed under the circumstances of direct imposition or borrowing. While many factors are at work in each of the historical periods described, certain periods should be emphasized: the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian imposition during the medieval period; the local administrative commitment to planning during the nineteenth century; worldly influences transferred through vision and persuasiveness of distinguished local professionals between the First and Second World Wars; the innovation in integrated and participatory planning brought about the forceful interdisciplinary professional milieu during the socialist era, albeit one conducive to decentralized approaches and indigenous creativity; and the interplay between the local politics and broader systemic factors at work in the past decade and a half. Nowadays, a new system in creation draws from the country's pre-communist and communist past, global movements, European programmes and strategies and local innovations and syntheses.

The general question of how does a planning system move toward a mature state and how does one know if and when it is achieved still remains unanswered. The conceptual apparatus to help understand the process of diffusion and evolution of planning toward locally grounded contemporary systems, which take the best of international practices and adapt them to local circumstances and needs, is still under development. The case analysis of Serbia and Montenegro points to several key findings. First, in agreement with Thomas [108] it is found that the relationship between past, present and future is essential to understanding the evolution process and products of various events and influences. While, for example, democratization is often considered as the main variable in understanding recent transition of planning in Central and Eastern Europe, it is only revealing in conjunction with the pre transition situation or so called 'path dependency'. Secondly, the dynamics of the process of evolution resembles more closely transiting through various stages (or waves) than a continuous development on a unidirectional trajectory. Over time, a country may experience various types of imposition, borrowing and indigenous developments (inventions and innovations), one at a time or as a mixture of any two or all with a possible repeat of

Table 1. Evolution of the planning system in Serbia and Montenegro

Period	System characteristics	Major influences	Diffusion type
Early and Medieval	Local planning with early codification and regulation of building styles and urban design. Variety of urban models	Dominant political ruling or religious powers (Serbian/Montenegrian kingship; Christianity/Byzantine Empire; Islam/Ottoman Empire, Catholicism/Vatican, Austro-Hungarian Empire)	Synthetic innovation. Selective borrowing (west, east and north). Authoritarian imposition (Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empire)
Late eighteenth century to WWI	Organized planning system. Town plans required. Major regulatory activity	Individuals educated abroad. Foreign experts. State	Selective or undiluted borrowing (west and north)
WWI to WWII	Continued establishment of the planning profession and legislation	Ideas/movements from abroad. Local experts (some educated abroad)	Selective or undiluted borrowing (west)
Post WWII to 1989	Integrated/comprehensive planning introduced. Departure from a Soviet centralized model of planning to a decentralized participatory system	Initially state, then politically decentralized system. Introduction of semi-market economy and self-management. Professional milieu	Authoritarian imposition (Soviet Union). Selective borrowing (west). Synthetic innovation (integrated, participatory planning)
Post-communism (1989–present)	Reduction in planning activities and reputation – mostly in service to the political regime and private interests. Physical planning emphasis	Civil war/instability/lack of investments. Local politics/re-centralization and decentralization of government. Economic decline and isolation	Internal adjustments; some return to pre-WWII planning and architectural (engineering) code. Selective borrowing (west – sustainability concept)

certain exchange situations. Thirdly, in addition to insights about the process, the analysis identified several factors or determinants of the system evolution, including: internal political process and regime; ongoing international relations; economic forces; level of centralization of government; professional culture; and source of educational expertise. This exposition may also suggest the founding of local educational programmes as a possible indicator of the overall maturity of planning.

The observations and findings presented here are certainly influenced by the scale at which the research is conducted, both in terms of time and space. Hohn, for instance, offers the post Second World War history of planning in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) as an example of the fact that, despite a simplified outside view, it was 'not by any means a monolithic block characterized by the continuity of one view of urban development and one constellation of actors' [109]. Contrary to the superficial view, the forty-year period was, indeed, quite dynamic and consisted of many shifts in the nature of planning and its influences. Also alerting us against simplifications, Freestone described the Australian experience in adoption of ideas from Great Britain as both converging and diverging [110]. Ward confirmed those statements about the variability and complexity of the process of evolution and diffusion of planning [111]. In the presented case of Serbia and Montenegro, more shifts and finer differentiation of planning systems would be possible if it was considered under higher temporal and spatial resolution.

In terms of the overall development of the research framework, Faludi's and Ward's works provide an important and useful base [112]. The case examined here, however, points to additional complexities that are not necessarily captured in their frameworks. For example, the three phases of Faludi's framework may all be repeated in several waves of planning [113]. His concept of maturation may apply to one idea or concept, to an adopted model at one point in time, or to one or more institutionalized systems. Maturation is an important concept and it is found that even with various levels of maturation achieved during individual waves, there is an overall maturity that a system or series of systems approach over time. Other concepts that may be added to this proposed framework are Thomas' 'moment of discontinuity'; Rogers' process of matching of models to local circumstances; and the inertia or delayed reaction that occurs at transitional times, as evidenced in the case of Serbia and Montenegro [114].

Finally, it is clear that more research is needed. The presented material is only a small contribution toward a greater understanding of the diffusion and evolution of planning. Future research efforts should:

(a) test, compare and evaluate the frameworks against the empirical findings;
(b) develop indicators of matching/fitting or discord between planning imports, exports and innovations and the local context; and
(c) examine the transformation/adaptation/adjustment/re-invention of ideas, concepts, practices and methods implemented in diverse local circumstances.

Notes and references

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planning by means of conceptualizing an area's shape, development challenges, and ways of handling them' (p. 333).

2. P. Healey and R. Williams, European urban planning systems: Diversity and convergence. *Urban Studies* 30 (1993) 701–20. Healey and Williams differentiate planning systems by 'variations in national legal and constitutional structures and administrative and professional cultures' (p. 701) and include plan-making, urban development and regulatory functions.

3. J. Nasr and M. Volait, Introduction: Transporting Planning, in J. Nasr and M. Volait (eds) *Urbanism: Imported or Exported*. Chichester, England: Wiley-Academy, 2003, pp. xi–xxxviii; P. Saunier, Changing the city: urban international information and the Lyon municipality, 1900–1940. *Planning Perspectives* 14 (1999) 19–48; and S. V. Ward, Re-examining the International Diffusion of Planning, in R. Freestone (ed.) *Urban Planning in a Changing World*. London: E&FN Spon, 2000, pp. 40–60.

4. A. Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981. Sutcliffe points to Charles Mulford Robinson as the one who coined the expression 'international town planning movement' to reflect this transfer and exchange of planning ideas (p. 229).

5. S. V. Ward, The international diffusion of planning: A review and a Canadian case study. *International Planning Studies* 4 (1999) 53–77.

6. J. Nasr and M. Volait, *op. cit.* [3].

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Chakravorty, Liberalism, neoliberalism, and capability generation: Toward a normative basis for planning in developing nations. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 19 (1999) 77–85.

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16. M. J. Thomas, Thinking about planning in the transitional countries of Central and Eastern Europe. *International Planning Studies* 3 (1998) 321–33. Based on the legal binding of the planning documents, Thomas distinguished coarsely between Continental and British models. See also J. Berry and S. McGreal (eds), *European cities, planning systems and property markets*. London: E & FN Spon, 1995; P. Healey and R. Williams, *op. cit.* [2]; and P. Newman and A. Thornley, *Urban planning in Europe*. London: Routledge, 1996. Newman and Thornley identified five legal families of European planning: British, Scandinavian, Napoleonic, Germanic and East European systems. The last one is now under transition from a communist system of centralized planning to a yet undefined set of new systems. Along with other authors, Booth discussed several European planning systems rather than one homogenous system. He found that there are more hybrids and variations than prototypical cases and clearly identifiable types. Booth offered two general categories of development control practices: (1) discretionary, which entails maximum flexibility (exemplified by the UK); and (2) regulatory, which provides legal certainty in the development processes and outcomes (exemplified by France, Germany, The Netherlands and, to some extent, the USA). P. Booth, *Controlling development: Certainty and discretion in Europe, the U.S. and Hong Kong*. London: UCL Press, 1996.

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18. E. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*. New York: Free Press, 4th edn, 1995. According to Rogers, diffusion of innovation as communication concerns the spread of new and old ideas alike. The newness is, therefore, determined through the recipients' experience, because '[i]nnovation is an idea, practice, or object that is *perceived as new* by an individual or other unit of adoption' (p. 11). Communication channels are the means by which the messages and information are communicated. The social system is a set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem-solving toward accomplishing a common goal. A system may consist of individuals, formal groups, organizations and/or subsystems.

19. A. Sutcliffe, *op. cit.* [4].

20. E. Rogers, *op. cit.* [18].

21. S. V. Ward, *op. cit.* [3].

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31. S. V. Ward, *op. cit.* [3].
32. J. Nasr and M. Volait, *op. cit.* [3].
33. Sutcliffe identified four classes of planners: the fully cosmopolitan planner; the intermediary; the home based planner with a willingness to look abroad; and the xenophobe. See A. Sutcliffe, *op. cit.* [4].
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35. Rogers suggested that the change agents' role is to: develop a need for change; establish an information-exchange relationship; diagnose a problem; create an intent in the client to change; translate an intent to action; stabilize adoption and prevent discontinuance; and achieve a terminal relationship. See E. Rogers, *op. cit.* [18].
36. According to Nasr and Volait, the diffusion and exchange of planning models is usually part of overall modernization or of state or nation-building efforts. Behind these general processes, the authors saw the urban environment and its identity shaped by a multitude of local interests and actors – public, quasi-public and private. They described this process as negotiation among 'powerful subjects' and as rich and often constructive interaction between foreign experts and local professionals. See J. Nasr and M. Volait, *op. cit.* [3].
37. S. V. Ward, *op. cit.* [5], p. 53.
38. P. Saunier, *op. cit.* [3].
39. S. Schrader, *op. cit.* [7].
40. P. Newman and A. Thornley, *op. cit.* [16]. Emphasizing both the importance of action by local authorities and the role of central government, Newman and Thornley's case studies revealed that the

> [n]ational planning systems are differentiated along legal and administrative dimensions and national political and institutional structures create significant differences in approach to urban planning. At the urban level, specific local economic and political circumstances and the relative power of various interest groups also affect the urban planning outcome' (p. 245).

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