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**Urban Chaos as a Consequences of post-socialist Montenegrin Urban
Policy – The case study of Budva**

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List of acronyms

DPS – Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro

DUP - Detailed Urban Plan

EU – European Union

FDI - Foreign Direct Investments

MSDT - Ministry of Sustainable Development and Tourism [which is in charge of urban development in Montenegro]

RIUPD - Republic Institute for Urban Planning and Design [in Montenegro]

SPSPCA - Spatial Plan of Special Purpose for the Coastal Area [in Montenegro]

UNESCO – United Nation Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Abstract

Urban development and planning in post-socialist countries, which have transitioned from centrally-planned to a market economy, have not received substantial attention in the academic literature. Centrally-planned systems influenced policy aspects, including urban development and transition of Eastern European countries such as former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union countries. This dissertation is focused on the Montenegrin urban development process in the post-socialist era to the analysis of this phenomenon. This was done by examining the case of the Montenegrin coastal city of Budva, which is renowned as the most impacted city of the new post-socialist urban policies. The methodology of this work is based on the use of discourse analysis of media articles, TV debates, investigative journalist broadcasts, legislation, spatial plans and expert interviews. The expert interviews were conducted with specialists who have decades of working experience in the field of urban development and planning in Montenegro. The main themes that emerged as the determinants of urban development and planning in Montenegro are 1) privatisation and restitution, 2) corruption, 3) illegal construction and acts, and 4) degradation of experts and citizens' role in the urban planning process. The analysis found that urban development and planning in Montenegro, especially in the context of Budva, is a complex topic to investigate, themes that emerged are interconnected, highly politicized and urban policies shaped by the high officials who have utilized them the most by creating the personal benefits. Moreover, the findings showed that planning was not guided by plans or expertise but rather left to the will of investors and decision makers.

1. Introduction

In the urban studies literature, urban development and planning is mostly discussed through the lens of Western countries, often excluding the other regions such as those with socialist experiences. This is because the majority of scholars see modernisation as a common experience in urbanisation process (Le Normand, 2014; Hirt, 2013; Musli, 1989). Moreover, discussion about cities is mostly shaped by globalisation, its implications and cities' capabilities to adapt to new international economic influence which includes the Western principle of an open-market economy (Dicken, 2004; Glesson and Low, 2000; Fainstein, 1996). However, the effects of modernisation and globalisation are just one part on which the urbanisation should be studied. Additionally, urban development and planning practice vary based on historical background, specific geopolitical and economic position of countries and its cities. Thus, urban experience needs to be studied through the regional perspective in order to have a better understanding of different urban planning and development practices. More variations can be discovered in this field if research is narrowed to the particular experiences of regions and countries (Le Normand, 2014).

As a result of external forces and internal issues, socialist countries started transitioning from their state-controlled systems to one guided by Western principles such as open-market economies, political pluralism and decentralization. This included urban planning practices as well, however, in the literature, this topic is under-addressed. Moreover, when discussed, post-socialist countries are mostly investigated by referring to Eastern and Central European countries such as Hungary, Russia and the Czech Republic, instead of providing the more specific context-based on its geopolitical characteristics (Tosic, 2013; Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005; Levy 2009; Hirt, 2013; Balchin, Issac and Chen, 2009). These studies do not include sub-regions such as Yugoslavia, predecessor country to Montenegro, which had a self-management socialist system, unique among the socialist states. Thus, I consider that the Eastern or Central European term does not adequately differentiates it from other socialist countries. For the purpose of this dissertation the term South-East Europe is used to indicate ex-Yugoslavian countries (excluding Slovenia),

although this sub-region also includes Albania, Romania and Bulgaria that had a more traditional socialist system.

This dissertation will refer to the post-socialist urban development experience of South-East Europe region through the case of Montenegro and more precisely to its coastal city of Budva. Because this area is not systematically investigated, the general conclusions drawn on urban experience in post-socialist countries could not be applied to this case. Thus, the aim of this study is to explore the urban development and planning context in the post-socialist era in Montenegro. Moreover, I want to focus on actors, mostly on decision-makers, investors, experts and citizens. In Montenegro, urban development and planning was promoted as a concept that will bring a growth to cities and its citizens. From the urban theory perspective, growth machine could be identified as the main concept that influenced Montenegrin post-socialist urban practice and thus, for this dissertation, it will be investigated through the concept of growth machine coalition (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Additionally, this dissertation will investigate the implications of this concept in the city of Budva. This city is considered as the most affected and rapidly shaped by it in the last decades. The research question of this dissertation is: what determinates urban development and planning practices in post-socialist Montenegro?

The study's aim will be archived through critical literature review of existing studies, which will be followed by discourse analysis as the main research method. Analysis will include newspaper articles, TV debates, NGO's reports, investigative journalistic broadcasts, spatial plans and legislation documents. The focus of this dissertation is on entire post-socialist period in Montenegro, although the collected data are mostly from 2017 and 2018, but not restrictedly. This is because in 2017 the last urban legislation change was made which increased discussion about the urban development and planning in Montenegro. Moreover, as majority of data was collected online there was not consistent data from the beginning of 90's when post-socialist period started. Thus, in order to cover more broadly post-socialist period, the expert interviews were held with experts who have long-term experience with Montenegrin urban practices.

This study will show how urban development in the post-socialist period of Montenegro was characterised by privatisation and the fact that authorities sold a majority of land, even if it was under a restitution principle based on the return or compensation of the socialist “nationalisation”. Moreover, the findings show that the privatisation process and other urban related policies were a base for corruption. By creating cooperation with private investors, high officials started to abuse the urban development system and enjoy its benefits. This was possible as the system was weak to prevent these events and even when there were enough evidence, institutions were not capable to proceed. Additionally, the lack of systematic control and institutional weakness was abused by private investors, including citizens, and illegal construction became a common practice. With the latest urban legislation change, instead of penalties for illegal builders, they got a chance to legalise their facilities. Finally, I will show how in the urban planning process, experts and citizens are marginalized, especially if they go against the urban development plans proposed by the central government officials and their partners.

This dissertation is divided in chapters and it starts with the literature review and the identified literature gaps in the context of post-socialist urban development in Montenegro. This is done by reflecting on seven relevant topics which are chronological narrowed until reflection on the context of this research study 1) Urban development and planning in socialist countries; 2) Political reform and economic reform in post-socialist countries; 3) Urban development and planning in post-socialist countries and cities; 4) Urban growth machine concept as a principle of post-socialist urban development; 5) Urban development and planning in South-East Europe; 6) Political and economic transition in Montenegro and 7) Urban development in the context of Budva. The next chapter is the methodological approach and data collection process of this dissertation. This is followed by the findings of this research. Finally, the last chapter contains the conclusion and discussion of how this dissertation as well as the study limitations and opportunities for further research.

2. Literature Review

This chapter will set out the theoretical framework for this research by reflecting on the body of work on urban development and planning in post-socialist countries, influences of their transition, as well as context for the case study explored in this dissertation. In doing so, the chapter discusses a wide range of literature – mostly composed of academic books and articles - and exposes the gaps which the research questions of this dissertation had set. The literature review begins by briefly exploring urban development and planning in socialist countries, as a background for any further discussion on post-socialism and urban development. This is followed by a discussion of political reform and economic reform in post-socialist countries, which created a new viewpoint on urban policies. It then critically discusses urban development and planning in the post-socialist countries and cities. Next, the concept of urban growth machine is analytically investigated as a principle of post-socialist urban development. A section is then dedicated to urban development and planning in South-East Europe, a region in which the case study in this dissertation is situated in. Consequently, discussion is narrowed down to the political and economic transition in Montenegro and finally urban development in the context of Budva.

2.1. Urban development and planning in socialist countries

Urban planning and development in post-socialist Montenegro has been an unexplored topic due to various limitations such as a lack of analysis of urban development context in socialist countries. Moreover, there is a discussion on whether the concept of a “socialist city” did exist at all, and whether we can speak of “post-socialist” cities and their development. Hirt (2013) summarizes a discussion among the ecological and historical schools of urban geographers, where she states that the ecological school denied the existence of a “socialist city”. They consider that the urban development in the 20th century was led by “modernization and industrialization” principles which are noted both in socialist and capitalist cities, while former were in development delay (p.529). According to Musil (1981), the question is not whether socialist cities did exist,

but rather to what extent urbanisation process in socialist countries relates to industrialization and what kind of influence it had on modernization. In contrast, the historical school claims that socialist cities did exist, arguing that political economy influenced spatial planning and differentiated socialist and capitalist cities. Thus, it seems that the ecological school ignored the fact that socialist cities were dominated by socialist political and economic ideology which “nationalized the majority of urban land, real estate and means of production, and (...) the structure of cities was one of the means through which the almighty socialist state tried to create an ostensibly classless society” (Musil, 1981:529). Nevertheless, empirical results showed important differences in urbanisation process between previous socialist countries and “historically” capitalist ones (Musil, 1981; Hirt, 2013). Keeping in mind the empirical findings post-socialist cities should be studied as such. Additionally, urbanisation process differs in each country based on its political, economic and social circumstances and thus, it is expected that post-socialist cities would exist.

The political and economic philosophy of socialist countries created development pattern in which everything should have been organised from above, including urban planning (Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005). Musil (1981:6) refers to this pattern as a “managed urbanisation” which means that general urban strategies need to follow national goals and instruments, but it also must form principles which will improve them. Some of the main spatial characteristics of socialist cities can be summarised as following: high density, near-monopoly on urban land, mass-housing estates, a high proportion of industrialized land and visual monotony among others (Hirt, 2013). Yet, socialist countries do not form a homogenous entity of management as socialist doctrine developed differently in each socialist country. Therefore, it is important to underline that these characteristics above are generally applicable to European socialist countries and exclude urban experience from other continents. Nevertheless, given that the focus of this dissertation is on Montenegro, these characteristics could be questioned in the case of its predecessor country -Yugoslavia, as political economy was different. Compared to other socialist countries in Europe, Yugoslavia had a self-management system. Self-management is a form of organisation

“based on the assumption that neither the state, as in Soviet-type societies, nor private owners, as in capitalist societies” should be in charge of organization affairs, but instead it is based on self-directed workforce (Broekmeyer, 1977:134). In terms of urban planning it allocated industrial and agricultural bases all around the country and prevented concentration of population (Musil, 1981). Consequently, high density was not as characteristic as discussed by Hirt (2013), and more decentralized planning model was adapted. Yugoslavia was the least urbanized socialist country, while Montenegro along with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Metohija, were the lowest urbanized areas (Cavric and Nedovic-Budic, 2007; Musil, 1981). Nevertheless, Cavric and Nedovic-Budic (2007) argue that although officially self-management system required the participation of the public in the planning process, the political and planning of ideas of the technocrats still prevailed.

2.2. Political reform and economic reform in post-socialist countries

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was symbolically seen as a turnover for most socialist countries. In economic terms, this meant a transition from centrally planned to open market economy, while in the political term, the one-party system was replaced with political pluralism (Howell, 1994). Howell (1994) underlines that reform in Eastern European socialist countries had mixed characteristics and, according to him, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic had a successful transition. Similarly, Darmanovic (2007:83) mentions the same countries and adds Slovenia, Bulgaria and the Baltic area to his list of countries that had a successful transition. The author calls them “privileged” cases as in a couple of years they managed to consolidate with western principles. Inversely, different articles refer that even in these countries some issues in terms of urban policies emerged (see Totic, 2013; Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005; Levy 2009). Nevertheless, Darmanovic (2007) argue that the majority of socialist countries passed through a long and painful transition, including Romania, Russia, Slovakia, and some of ex-Yugoslavia countries such as Montenegro, Serbia and Croatia. However, it is debatable whether all these countries experienced a successful transition at all.

The literature suggests that the weaknesses of the socialist system became notable already in 1980s when Eastern European socialist countries, due to the economic crisis, started to make economic “experiments” in order to adapt to western capitalism by allowing direct foreign investments and introducing some “market-like” elements (Howell, 1994; Zloch-Christy, 1994:8; Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005). However, it is not discussed if these foreign investments were related to urban development. It is mentioned that urban planning in socialist countries, including Yugoslavia, began to collapse in the same period, although the literature does not elaborate on how it collapsed nor on the reasons why (Gleeson and Low, 2000; Vujosevic, 2004). Gleeson and Low find that, in terms of Soviet-style communism planning system, this collapse brought a hope that new planning would be more democratic, but instead it was led by “well-known ideological trilogy of competition, deregulation, and privatisation” (2000:270). Moreover, they argue that “new and shaky post-Communist governments were often seduced by the simplistic, free-market reform programmes advocated by some western economists and the many right-wing ‘think tanks’ that had been set up with vast funds by big business all over the world to promote neo-liberalism” (Self 1993 cited in Gleeson and Low, 2000:270). Yet, they do not elaborate if this is applicable to non-Soviet-style socialist countries, such as Yugoslavia.

2.3. Urban development and planning in post-socialist countries and cities

As any other policy issue, urban development and planning in post-socialist countries transitioned from a centrally planned system to a new decentralized one led by open market economy principles. Nevertheless, transitional changes in the literature are mostly partially presented through the examples of ex-Soviet countries, mostly Russia and Central and Eastern European countries such as Hungary and the Czech Republic. For example, Balchin, Issac and Chen (2009) elaborate on the economic perspective of urban development in transitional countries by mostly focusing on ex-Soviet Union countries. However, they created a useful division among developed countries, transitional and developing countries by referring to their capability to adapt to geo-economic processes and its outcomes. This means that the globalization process changes the organization

of economic activities, while its dimensions and effects vary, based on specific countries and locations. These authors claim that compared to the previous socialist period, urbanisation in post-socialist countries increased, although the level of urbanisation remain lower than in the European Union (EU). They do not elaborate why urbanisation did not increase to the EU average, but according to their data it is noted that the entire population growth was negative, which is the consequence of the emigration wave at the end of socialist period. Additionally, they indicate that in East Central Europe “there was only a weak positive correlation between the level of urbanisation and GNP per capita” (Balchin, et al., 2009:15). Once again, they do not elaborate on why this happened apart from offering the vague explanation that this could be the reflection of diverse interactions among these countries.

On the other hand, Tosic (2013) focuses mostly on the transitional period and its outcomes in housing policy in Hungary (in particular Budapest) which was provided and controlled by the state instead of through the market according to supply and demand. However, in this regard, the difference is noted by Hirt (2013), who discuss that while housing supply was mostly sufficient in socialist countries, the situation was slightly different in Yugoslavia which faced some housing shortages. Nevertheless, Tosic recognizes two different periods, “the transitory, unregulated free market system; and the recent attempts at regulated capitalism” (2013:77). According to him during the transition process housing privatisation went from previous control to another extreme side of free market domination. Moreover, this privatisation was “more ‘efficient’ than the heavily criticized privatisation efforts of Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s” (Tosic, 2013:82). Thus, housing and urban development was led by an opportunity-planning system with investors as the main actors. This system created negative social and environmental externalities and inefficiencies in economic and infrastructural development. Nevertheless, his focus is limited on housing and Hungary and it does not include other privatisation’s aspects that influenced urban development.

Similarly, Levy (2009) identifies some of the issues that privatisation brought to post-socialist countries. During the socialist period governments “nationalised” private land and

properties and through privatisation, they were supposed to return to their previous owners. Levy (2009) reports that the lack of clear records complicated the process. Moreover, he argues that the privatisation of land and properties created opportunities for corruption, which made a small number of people billionaires. This phenomenon is widely defined as “winners and losers of transition”, wherein the majority of cases winners were politicians from previous or the new governments and their relatives (Howell, 1994). Likewise, in the case of Hungary, Kulcsar and Domokos (2005:552) argue that “those who could best utilize the transformation were the post-socialist elite”. Nevertheless, this unequivocally created a new social class, which gained the economic power and increased their possibility to exert their influence on political elites in order to interfere in urban development as a mean of increasing their capital.

Additionally, external factors had a huge role in the post-socialist development. According to Intriligator (2004), a force that made an influence on post-socialist countries was an international agreement on the free open market as the leading ideology in a globalized world. In a broader sense, the consequences of globalization and neo-liberalism were reflected differently in planning regulation. Glesson and Low (2000:272) argue that this phenomenon brought a new geography of planning characterized by a “de-regulation” and “re-regulatory” shift. Moreover, Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) became an instrument for obtaining national and local economic growth and increased competitiveness (Dicken, 2004). Consequently, the need for an economic recovery led to FDI's domination in some post-socialist countries, which also liberalized planning regulation (Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005; Walter and Sen, 2009; Totic, 2013). Nevertheless, the perception of FDI benefits is shaped by the authorities' and in practice could lead in a different direction through personal benefits of particular groups in a host country (Walter and Sen, 2009). While it was clear that FDI had some disadvantages, in post-socialist countries it were widely promoted as something that would bring economic benefits such as tax income and a higher employment rate.

2.4. Urban growth machine concept as a principle of post-socialist urban development

The urban growth machine concept was developed by the American sociologist Molotch in the late 1970s (see 1976; it was further developed by Logan and Molotch, 1987). It was used to claim that cities are developed by its elites who are seeking a way to increase their benefits by proclaiming that growth will bring benefits to all. These elites, it was argued, do not care if growth will raise any other issues, while at the same time they try to “eliminate any alternative vision” and critique to their goal (Logan and Molotch, 1987:292). To reach this goal, elites do not operate alone; they form a coalition that will support their idea of growth and development decisions. The main actors in this growth coalition are business people who interact with public officials, politicians, media and utilities who promote their interest (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Central to this concept is an attempt to increase the value of land use and its benefits as “each landowner (or person who otherwise has some interest in the prospective use of a given piece of land) has in mind a certain future for that parcel which is linked somehow with his or her own well-being” (Molotch, 1976: 309). Thus, those elites need to have power and support in order to maximise their land and retail capital.

In urban theory this concept was widely discussed in terms of its empirical implications which could confirm it. Similarly, as any empirical findings for urban development, testing showed that the growth machine concept does not operate in the same way in each place which means that it is difficult to generalise (Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005; Cox, 2017). Indeed, this kind of discussion and testing should always consider the context in which the theory was developed, as in the case of the growth machine, the concept was developed in the US and its empirical findings were related to US cities (Logan and Molotch, 1987; Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005). Moreover, Harding and Blokland (2014) criticize the concept as it ignores external factors which could influence certain elite’s behaviour. This can be supported by Kirkpatrick and Smith (2011) who argue that financial crisis had shaped the growth agenda, although it successfully showed resiliency. Yet, their focus was not just on economic growth as a base for the growth machine, but rather on the physical

infrastructural preconditions for growth. The result of their case study showed that cities which had adopted both growth machine and infrastructural imperative led to their “fiscal crisis and urban decline” (Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011:478).

However, international competitiveness and the necessity for post-socialist countries to grow fast to “catch-up” with the developed West, again provoke testing of the growth machine concept (Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005). The post-socialist economic growth created a huge expectation in the private sector which was supposed to lead to expected growth (Tsenkova, 2006). Thus, it is unsurprising that the growth machine concept stirred up a debate on post-socialist cities’ development. Kulcsar and Domokos (2005) elaborated on this topic with regard to Hungary and their findings show that some traditional growth machine actors do not have the same leading role in promoting and enjoying the benefits of growth. Moreover, they concluded that in post-socialist case growth activities “are likely to be driven by political rather than strictly economic interest” (Kulcsar and Domokos, 2000:551).

Nevertheless, although this work gives a good insight into how growth machine coalition functions in post-socialist countries, it is crucial to be aware of the differences among socialist countries. A literature review conducted by Musil (1981) illustrates that urban planning and development is influenced by the circumstances and context in which they are applicable. Similarly, post-socialist countries passed through different experiences in the transition period, which was largely related to land and real estate privatisation (Tsenkova, 2006; Hirt, 2013; Kulcsar and Domokos, 2005). Thus, although it is notable that the principles of growth follow post-socialist planning regulations, its effects need to be explored in-depth in each post-socialist country. Nevertheless, urban growth machine theory raises important questions such as what kind of urban development cities adapt, who has an imperative in deciding on urban development and planning, and what kind of consequences this imperative role has on cities.

2.5. Urban development and planning in South-East Europe

The post-socialist urban development and planning change in South-East Europe is relatively underexplored. Hirt (2013) has made a comparison between post-socialist and western cities by discussing several post-socialist cities. In terms of South-East cities, we can learn that due to housing shortages during the post-socialist period, over the transitional period the number of informal settlements increased in cities such as Tirana, Belgrade, Bar, Skopje, and Pristina. This is echoed by Totic (2013:82) who claims that “the quickest and deepest changes were in the Southeastern European countries”. However, they do not discuss the amount of these informal settlements nor the implications that they created. Moreover, Hirt (2013:535) discusses that post-socialist cities were expanded by new commercial building forms and it had a “mall-boom”, which were not common in the socialist period.

A deeper analysis of the South-East Europe urban development and planning was conducted through the exploration of the case of Belgrade, the capital of Serbia (former Yugoslavia) by Vujosevic and Nedovic-Budic (2006). Their work provides an insight into urban planning status claiming that local planning functions are lost, as a consequence of private interest and non-transparent priorities. Further, they elaborate on planning legislation in Serbia and more closely in Belgrade. Although this work is important to understand planning circumstances at the beginning of the transition process in former Yugoslavia, the further discussion could not be applicable in the case of Montenegro, as Montenegro had a separate planning system and policy.

2.6. Political and economic transition in Montenegro

The examination of the Montenegrin political and economic transition will help to understand the circumstances that influenced the urban development, and that particularly had a major influence in this process. Montenegro was one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia), whose political and economic development was based on the socialist ideology and included centrally-oriented market economy and one-party system. The system change has its roots already in the 1980s, as

some market reforms were advocated. However, the late 1980s became the true turning point for the future of Yugoslavia and Montenegro (Djuric, 2013; Darmanovic, 2007).

In this period, Montenegro experienced the so-called “Anti-bureaucratic Revolution” (Djuric, 2013). The “revolution” brought a modification in the ruling League of Communists of Montenegro party, which was in power since 1945. Original party members were replaced by ‘younger’ colleagues and the party changed its name into Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS). This topic was mostly elaborated by Darmanovic (2007), who at that time participated in this change and who is today Minister in the Montenegrin government led by DPS. Thus, although he is an academic, his objectivity in this topic is questionable. Nevertheless, Darmanovic refers to this period as “the first transition wave” where the “clash of the communist elites” happened which did not come from the anti-systematic riot, but rather from the “system’s environment” (2007:84-85). In the 1990s, the multi-party system was introduced and according to Pavicievic (2007), this officially ended the Montenegrin one-party system. However, while in the majority of ex-socialist countries the communist parties were replaced on first elections, in Montenegro, its successor DPS won and after 28 years it is still in power with its coalition partners. This clearly shows that the political change from the old system had an incremental approach instead of “revolutionary” as it was claimed and promised.

According to Darmanovic, “the second transition wave” was in 1997 when the new clash of DPS elites occurred (2007:91). This brought a division of the ruling party and was supposed to lead to competitive and fair elections. His argument is supported by the fact that DPS in that period made an agreement with the opposition (which was the practice in other successful transitional countries) and it guaranteed “free and fair elections”. Since then the Montenegrin transition was accepted as a democratic one both nationally and abroad. Yet, data published in 2016 by the Economist Intelligence Unit’s Democracy Index for Montenegro clearly indicates that this is not the case. Montenegro is marked as “hybrid regime” and the document points out that irregular elections are one of the key issues along for this evaluation, together with “corruption [which] tends to be widespread and the rule

of law is weak” (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2017: 54). Moreover, the “fight” for free and fair elections did not stop (Jankovic and Tomic, 2016).

Nevertheless, the post-socialist period brought other systematic changes including the change in Yugoslavian sovereignty and territorial integrity. At the beginning of the 1990s, four out of six countries decided to continue their transition as independent countries, while Serbia and Montenegro continued their federation. This period was turbulent for the entire region and in the case of Yugoslavia resulted in UN sanctions, which influenced the entire economy and created hyperinflation. Urban development in this period was also influenced, but it has not been given a great deal of attention in the academic literature. On the other hand, media reports show urban transition as the beginning of illegal building practices, which were ignored and in the long-term had a negative influence on the entire urban planning system (Nikolic, 2001). Additionally, non-planned urban development damage in the cities landscapes is noted (Bickert, Göler, and Lehmeier, 2011, Spatial Plan of Montenegro, 2007). This practice is often referred to as “urban devastation”, and some cities such as Budva became famous for its devastating development (Petkovic, 2014).

The “last phase” of the Yugoslavian division occurred in 2006 when Montenegro’s “independents movement” led by DPS party won the referendum. At the same time, urban development in Montenegro was promoted as means of bringing growth to cities and its citizens, which went in line with the rhetoric’s that separation with Serbia will lead to Montenegrin development. Indeed, in this period the major real estate boom in Montenegro was noted, especially in Budva, alongside a huge demand of foreign investors in land privatisation (Balsic, 2013; Maric, Boskovic and Vukicevic, 2014). Yet, from today’s perspective the majority of these investments, made in cooperation with national and local ruling elite, are considered as having led to urban devastation and some of them had corruption court epilogues (Radevic, 2015). In legal terms, until 2009, land and properties privatisation were in prevue of local City Councils. Since 2009, privatisation was possible only with the permission of the Ministry of Finance and Government of Montenegro, while from 2017 the new law took entire urban planning from local

authorities (Maric, *et al*, 2014). While the consequences of this latest legal solution are still to be seen, this may lead to concentration of urban planning power in a hand of a small number of people, mostly in a hand of the governmental political elite.

2.7. Urban development in the context of Budva

Located in the southern part of Montenegro on Adriatic shores, Budva is a city with typical Mediterranean characteristics settled approximately 2 500 years ago. As one of the oldest settlements in the Adriatic shores Budva was owned by different civilizations including the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the Venetian Republic and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, in 1918 Budva joined the newly formed Kingdom of Yugoslavia and subsequently the future Federal State of Montenegro. The beginning of the 20th century changed the Budva's urban development which until then was mostly situated in the medieval Old Town (City Council of Budva, 2014). In 1938 the first hotel "Avala" was built and from this period onward Budva's urban development was oriented towards tourism. Budva has geographical predisposition for tourism as it has a large shore of sandy beaches and natural resources (Bickert, *et al*, 2011). Transformation of Yugoslavia into a socialist system continued with sustainable urban planning and development of Budva which became a well-organized tourist town.

Yet, in 1979 the city was largely destroyed in an earthquake which showed major flaws in the previous planning system and required smarter planning based on the seismological hazard (UNESCO, 1984). Urban scholars and practitioners from across Yugoslavia were invited by UNESCO and to develop new plans, which supposed to be role model plans for all countries with such seismological hazard (UNESCO, 1984). Yet, the end of the 20th century brought political and economic changes which made it easy to abandon the adapted forms and non-planned development of Budva prevailed. Illegal building practices, foreign direct investment explosion in real estate, corruption of public officials and organized crime brought undesirable consequences regarding the city landscape and "Budvanisation" became a negative term synonymous with chaotic urban development (Radevic, 2015, Maric, *et al.*, 2014; Bickert *et al*, 2011). It could be argued

that Budva was the city that was mostly shaped by the new post-socialist urban policies. Nevertheless, while literature gave an idea of the post-socialist implications raised in Montenegro, it does not offer systematic, in-depth reflection about what and on which way urban development and planning was determined.

In terms of local government organization, Budva is a city with a monocentric principle of organization. The City Council is the decision-making body which decides upon budget, local taxes, strategic plans and spatial planning, while the Municipality is represented by the Mayor (Municipality of Budva Statute, 2010). Apart from one 4 years term, the Municipality was led by the Democratic Party of Socialists and their coalition partners since 1991 (the year of the political change and the first multi-party elections) until 2016. This certainly gives an insight on the position of local authorities regarding urban planning, but the issue of other stakeholders and their role remains unaddressed. Who are these stakeholders and what is their role?

In 2016, DPS lost its power and the new local government in Budva adopted a Decision on construction moratorium so it could revise urban planning and uncontrolled real estate construction (Misic, 2017). In response, the national Government introduced the new Law on Spatial Planning and took control of spatial planning from its municipalities (Cadjenovic, 2017). Thus, it is questionable if local authorities will be able to intervene in spatial planning towards the city, how much and in general how this will affect the city and its citizens.

2.8. Summary

This chapter outlined various literature references which aim to explore the process of post-socialist urban development and planning in Montenegro alongside its outcomes, actors and their role. It offered a critical assessment of the relevant literature identifying issues that led to the emergence of the “post-socialist” concept and its implications in different circumstances. Moreover, it engaged with the concept of urban growth machine which offers a possible explanation of urban development in post-socialist countries, including Montenegro. This was followed by discussion of the implications of

Montenegrin political and economic transition. Finally, this chapter provided an overview of urban development in the context of Budva. In the remaining of the dissertation, I discuss the methodology that I employed and my research findings.

3. Methodology

This chapter will outline the methods of data collection and approach to data analysis. Given that the aim of the study is to explore what determinate urban development and planning in post-socialist in Montenegro, the qualitative case study approach including a range of data collection techniques was adopted.

3.1. Research method

To address the research questions in this dissertation, the case study approach was utilised as it allows a more detailed and contextualized analysis of a particular issue (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The initial plan was to explore three case studies: the cities of Budva, Kotor and Podgorica, but due to a very rich material collected as part of fieldwork, and having consulted this with my supervisor, I decided to continue with an in-depth examination of just one case study (i.e. Budva). However, keeping in mind that one of the main drawbacks of case study is researcher's bias (Bhattacharjee, 2012; Marczyk, *et al.* 2005), all collected data regarding urban development in Montenegro have been analysed.

The main research method in this dissertation is discourse analysis of different types of documents: press, TV and radio programmes, pieces of legislation and spatial plans. This is supplemented by three semi-structured expert interviews with people who were involved in the monitoring of the urban development process in Montenegro over the last two-three decades. Additionally, observation approach was used during fieldwork which further supported data collection process. The choice of these methods was made based on the triangulation principle of using different data for the same research method tradition, here a qualitative case study (Casey and Murphy, 2009). Triangulation means that two or more different data collection techniques are employed which then allows a more comprehensive analysis and ensures greater confidence in findings (Heale and Forbes, 2013). Moreover, triangulation can reduce the bias which could emerge in using a single-research method (Casey and Murphy, 2009).

3.2. Data for discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a method which explores social phenomena through the lens of language employed by major social institutions and actors (Taylor, 2013). Following the Hall's principle (see Talbot 2007) that media contexts could articulate real relations and conditions of language narrative, discourse analysis represent the best method to analysis urban development in Montenegro. This is possible as media context is created in particular social and institutional framework, it is based on professional norms and shared knowledge which makes examination of this circumstances possible. The aim of the approach adopted in this dissertation was "to isolate units of text [or video] which are distributionally equivalent through not necessary similar in meaning" and analysis its combination (Coulthard, 2014:4).

Data for discourse analysis includes legislation of urban planning and related issues, spatial plans, news articles, broadcasts such as TV debates, local daily news and investigative journalist programme data (see Appendix I). These units were collected manually by using different approaches for each type of data. They were downloaded from reputable news/press/broadcaster websites. To access them in the first-place online engine searches of terms such as "Budva", "urban development", "urban planning" were conducted. The advantage of using technique was its accessibility (Johnstone, 2018). However, keeping in mind that online written media news context could be fluid and easy to change, the broadcasts were used as recorded audio and video material tends to be more consistent (Johnstone, 2018). Yet, this does not mean that all relevant broadcasts were available online.

Broadcast data selection was made based on contextual relevance. Firstly, from 15 March to 15 June, I watched local daily news on Radio and Television Budva and took notes related to topics to urban development, urban planning, issues of the city and its citizens. This period was selected as it was followed by implementation of the new urban planning legislation and could provide the insight of its implications. Secondly, I downloaded and analysed TV programmes related to elaboration of social issues in Montenegro especially "Reflektor" and "Nacisto". The period used for this type of data mostly focused on those

from 2017 and 2018. In 2017 the latest legislation change for urban planning was made, thus the consequences of the previous system, the aims of the legislation change, and its implications were widely discussed and were giving the best examination of post-socialist period. Thirdly, I collected printed media articles during my fieldwork in Montenegro. These go back as far as 1999.

In terms of legislation, all legislation documents from 90's were available online on "Official Gazette of Montenegro" website. This data collection included all urban planning legislation from 90's until 2017, when the last legislation change was made. Spatial plans were available on official site of the Ministry of Sustainable Development and Tourism, which is in charge of urban development, and Municipality of Budva. Spatial data collection focused on both plans in force and those prepared as drafts for public consultation process.

3.3. Expert interviews

The expert semi-structured interviews were selected to explore the issue of post-socialist urban development in Montenegro in an efficient way and to ensure variety and richness of data (Marczyk et al, 2005). This technique permitted examination of expert's experience, knowledge and opinions and moreover, covering the discourse analysis limitation, due the fact that majority of discourse analysis data were collected online. Thus, expert interviews were a base of providing the insight of entire post-socialist urban development concept. The expert interviews were an additional resource, especially in terms of getting more information related to issues which were not captured by online news articles.

Questions were formulated in a relatively open way, which allowed experts to explore various aspects of urban development and focus on what they believed was most important (see Appendix II). This ensured undistorted and open communication with experts and rich dataset (Holstein & Gubrium 1995). Moreover, the interviews were held on way which ensured the comfort of experts which is a base for quality answers (Patton, 1990). However, it was noted that one of respondents slightly changed the tone of critique and became less open when the recording started. Nevertheless, the interviews were planned

and standardized in advance, held in consistent manner which ensured that all participants had the same questions (Marczyk et al, 2005).

I originally intended to recruit up to 5 experts, who were identified as key figures in public, academic and media debates on the Montenegrin urban policy. The initial plan was to contact these experts via email; however, due to lack of contact details online, I made a contact with a local journalist who provided me with official phone numbers. Thus, I first made phone calls to inform experts about the purpose of my study and ask whether they would be, in principle, interested in taking part. All of them expressed interest and we continued communication via email, at which point Participation Information Sheet (PIS) was attached (in one case PIS was delivered at the time of interview due to IT problems) (see Appendix III).

The interviews were held during the fieldwork in Montenegro between 21st and 25th May 2018. In total 3 interviews were conducted with those experts who in the last 20 and more years have monitored and engaged with different perspectives of the urban development process in Montenegro (see Table 2.1). The entire process of arranging interviews lasted for around 3 weeks, although all of them were held in 4 days of fieldwork. Interviews were conducted in my native Serbo-Croatian language, which is spoken in Montenegro, audio recorded and transcribed in full which allowed me to proceed with the cross-cutting analysis. The analysis of these interviews was subsequently integrated with the main research method – discourse analysis, and parts are translated for main dissertation body.

| Expert | Expertise | Years of experience | Place of interview | Duration |
|-------------------|---|---------------------|--------------------|----------|
| Slobodan Mitrovic | Architect from Budva | 30+ | Budva | 1:48:45 |
| Biljana Gligoric | Architect from Kotor, representative of NGO deals with urban issues | 20+ | Kotor | 1:18:16 |
| Bozidar Pavicevic | Retired university professor | 40+ | Danilovgrad | 1:21:38 |

Table 2.1: Summary of interviewees

3.4. Ethical consideration

Ethics approval from the University of Glasgow College of Social Science Ethics committee was secured prior to fieldwork in Montenegro. The research procedure was led by privacy protection of respondents, voluntary participation and informed consent (Bryman, 2016). The principle of privacy protection ensured that respondents had an option to choose in Consent form if they want to be referred to by a pseudonym or their real names (see appendix IV). Although the usual procedure often requires anonymity, this option was made available as the research involved experts who have a public appearance (Munhall, 1988). All participants gave permission for being referred to by their actual names (in one case this extended to an organization which an expert represented). However, the privacy protection ensures that private data from respondents (e.g. contact details) will not be shared with any third parties. Secondly, voluntary principle was ensured by allowing participants to choose if they wished to participate in the interview. Participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time. Finally, the principle of informed consent was ensured as at the beginning of interviews information regarding the research was provided in PIS. The information that was provided included the purpose of study, why they have been chosen, what participation involves, duration of interviews, confidentiality implications, who is conducting the study and why (see Appendix III).

3.5. Summary

This chapter gave an overview of the methods of data collection and approach to data analysis. The ethical consideration was also presented including a discussion of research limitations and how I tried to overcome them by using triangulation. In the next chapter results of the data analysis will be presented.

4. Data results and analysis

The analysis showed that urban development in Montenegro, particularly in Budva, in the post-socialist period has been shaped by different issues and had many implications for the city and its citizens. Moreover, it showed that examination of urban development is an extremely complex issue to investigate. The reason for this can be explained in the fact that a large number of urban and cross-cutting legislation has changed since the start of the “post-socialist” period 28 years ago. Moreover, there are gaps in pieces of legislation which has allowed actors of urban development to abuse the system of planning and development. Additionally, the data showed that urban planning experts and citizens are often ignored when high officials, in cooperation with investors, want to implement development projects. The main themes that have emerged are: 1) privatisation and restitution, 2) corruption, 3) illegal construction and acts, and 4) degradation of experts and citizens’ role in the urban planning process. They are discussed throughout the chapter.

Theme 1: Privatisation and restitution

The first theme that emerged from the collected data was privatisation process and restitution. The literature review indicated that these issues are the consequences of the socialist system and “nationalisation” policy and indicated that it was a common experience in most post-socialist countries (Levy, 2009). The analysis of collected data suggests that in case of Montenegro these issues are directly related to urban development, especially on costal part of the country and mostly in Budva. I have found that privatisation of properties and land turned to be the major economic activities that local and national politicians used in terms of mobilizing a feeling of development. Instead of bringing benefits to municipalities, during the major privatisation period budget debt drastically increased and brought chaotic urban planning. Moreover, privatisation was reserved for selected investors, often connected with public officials and politicians, mostly with those from ruling party itself. However, these were not the only issues related to privatisation of land, but also the fact that authorities were selling the land which was under restitution processes. Restitution is a process of returning private ownership of previously state seized properties to their lawful owners. During the socialist period the state “nationalised” land

so it can be used for public good. However, not all the land was utilised as per specified purpose. As a part of transition process the state declared that taken and non-utilised land will be returned to owners, while in cases where the land is utilised owners will get financial compensation. Thus, instead of simply returning non-utilised land if owners eventually resolve their cases, compensation will be paid by tax payers. Nevertheless, 14 years after the Law on the Restitution of Confiscated Property Rights and Compensation (Restitution law) was adopted the previous owners still did not enjoy their property rights nor did they receive compensation.

1.1. Privatisation of land

Privatisation is a transformation process of state-owned companies, land and other properties by selling it to private investors. Based on data findings the biggest land privatisation was recorded between 2006 and 2008. While it is not entirely clear why this period was a turning point for increased privatisation and investor's interest, two political moments are noted. The first one is the fact that in 2006 Montenegro became an independent country which made it easier to privatize some properties and land. Namely, properties and land which were in possession of Serbian and Montenegrin military with division officially became Montenegrin ownership and privatisation process could go more smoothly as approval of every executive level was no longer needed. Yet, while this could explain some cases, it is also noted that Serbian and Montenegrin military already started selling a larger amount of their land and properties in 2005, as a part of military reform process. However, the entire procedure required approval of Montenegrin Government. The second political moment was the change of the local government in Budva. Specifically, after 4 years of being led by coalition of different political parties (which were opposition on national level), DPS¹ again gained the power in Budva.

During 2006-2008 period demand for real estate and land, mostly from Russian investors, drastically increased prices and its trade became a huge business in the city. As a result, for local authorities it was not hard to find investors, although there were no visible benefits;

¹ Democratic Party of Socialists, the successor party of League of Communists of Montenegro party

moreover, the Budva's debt drastically increased and at the beginning of 2017 it was 66,7 million euros (Ministry of Finance, 2017). This issue is not related just to budget debt, but it was followed by abuse of planning procedure legislation. The legislation required that detailed plans as the plans of lowest level should be adapted according to high level plans, and not vice versa as it often had happened in practice. Interviewed expert Pavicevic (20-May-2018) referred to this topic: "It was happening that Podgorica and Budva directly cracked general plans and adopted detailed plans, after which they would revised general plans and they would think that by that they changed the plans of higher rank".

Privatisation theme was well documented in investigative journal story "Mechanism – the Promised Land" ("Mechanism") and it covered different examples of how privatisation of land functioned in practice.

"In the time when the land was able to reach the highest price, local authorities sold huge parcels on bids, which were mostly organized for selected individuals. Then urban plans were changed according to the wishes of the businessmen, and not in line with the municipality interest to fill the municipality's budgets" ("Mechanism", 2015).

The similar findings and conclusions are made by non-governmental organization MANS, the leading organization in fighting corruption and organized crime in Montenegro. However, they referred to these actions "normally permit enormous construction" which meant that "the value of the land is multiplied, and the new owner derives the exclusive benefit from such a model, while on the other hand the budget is damaged in millions of euros" (MANS cited in Milic, TV Vijesti, 2012).

1.2. Privatisation of the Republic Institute for Urban Planning and Design

Privatisation that shaped urban development in Montenegro did not occur just in terms of land privatisation but also through the privatisation of the Republic Institute for Urban Planning and Design (RIUPD). RIUPD was a state-owned enterprise which was involved in all urban development projects in Montenegro, especially after the earthquake in 1979. Examination of the media articles did not shade light on when, how and why privatisation of RIUPD happened, neither on what kind of role RIUPD has these days, so this issue was reserved for expert interviews. All experts agreed that RIUPD was one of the respected

companies, not just in ex-Yugoslavia but also among international community as together with UNESCO they established the principle of urban planning corresponding to seismological hazard. Nevertheless, experts indicated that RIUPD was privatized during the 90's as any other state-owned enterprise in order to ensure market competitiveness. While the planning process became a part of public bidding procedure, RIUPD in some aspects kept its position on the market. This happened due the fact that it had good references from the previous period, but also because the new owner was a brother of the former prime-minister Milo Djukanovic (now the president of Montenegro). Moreover, as quotes will show, the interviewed experts made strong statements in that regard.

“But with RIUPD the symbolism is that at that time the prime minister's brother bought it, which shows that they know very well what spatial planning is. They understand this connection and that is how completely corroborated this connection of corruption and the importance of planning. Because they simply put a hint of everything that matters to them to do the job” (Gligoric, expert interview, 23-May-2018)

“What speaks of the necessity of such cunning and unintentional intentions, if you are quoting me quoting as I said, is that even today they call it “Republic”, and they do not have anything with the Republic. It is the most ordinary company that does businesses based on what it gets, and it still carries in its name “Republic”. Actually, it holds and blackens some of those investors and of course all because his owner is the brother of the prime minister - Aco Djukanovic” (Mitrovic, expert interview, 22-May-2018).

It is important to mention that the media analysis did not show any special connexion of RIUPD in creation of previous urban plans in Budva, although it does not mean that it was not involved in planning. However, some of the latest changes of urban planning system in Montenegro projected development of Spatial Plan of Special Purpose for the Coastal Area (SPSPCA), which includes Budva. This plan is under development by consortium which RIUPD is part of. In terms of Budva plan's aim is to create a new development opportunity in areas which were traditionally preserved from building as natural reserve or green public spaces. This mobilised a reaction from citizens, as it will be discussed at a later stage (see Theme 4). Additionally, this plan is controversial for “Solana”, important European wildlife sanctuary, as the plan will possibly open a construction opportunity

instead of preserving the area. Moreover, bank of Aco Djukanovic has mortgage on the land which is currently owned by bankrupted firm. It means that in legal terms the bank, or better say Aco Djukanovic will become the owner of the land. Thus, the spatial plan is done by the owner of the land and it could be considered as a conflict of interest, especially knowing that consortium was selected during the mandate of Milo Djukanovic (owner's brother and prime minister at the time).

1.3. Restitution process

Restitution process emerged in terms of urban development mostly as a part of privatisation process when local and national authorities were selling land, instead of trying to solve the ownership rights. During the fieldwork in Montenegro in May 2018, I got into possession of media sources which showed that this problem dates back to 2001, and probably even earlier. The source showed that although it was clear who the lawful owner of the land is supposed to be, the owners could not enjoy their property rights.

“In accordance with the Law on Construction Land, the Municipality of Budva was obliged to return it to the owner. Complaints, petitions, requests, lawsuits, dozens of them that [lawful owner] Antonioli sent were without success” (Nikolic, Monitor, 29-July-2001).

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that restitution process might not have been well-regulated before 2004 when Restitution law was adopted. Yet, the recent local media broadcasts showed that on almost monthly level the restitution process emerged as a problem for the citizens and the city. Thus, in the period of 15 March to 15 June 2018 local broadcast reported the following stories: 1) Ombudsman report indicated that the citizens of Budva mostly complain about the non-solved restitution cases; 2) although the previous owners got court's confirmation about their ownership they could not use their land as it is part of wider parcel and it is used by those who have bigger part of this parcel, while at the same time they pay taxes; and 3) displacement of famous international festival to another location because of unresolved property relations. The restitution process was so ineffective that, for example, planetary known singers such as Rolling Stones and Madonna held concerts on private unrestituted land in a way that the city collected profits from someone else's property without any reimbursement. The platou at which the concerts and

festivals were held was no more than a plain field and was in no way under use that would prevent it to be restored to its rightful owners. In contrast, according to the Ministry of Finance until 2017 Commissions for restitutions solved “7.763 [out of 10.847] cases i.e. 71,57 percent” (Anon, 7-April-2018). However, they do not mention, nor it was possible to find publicly available data on how many cases were solved in each municipality, what kind of cases are not resolved and why. At the same time, expert Mitrovic (22-May-2018) spoke of this issue in terms of “attractive sites not being returned” and that owners “had very pedantic cadastral data, since Austro-Hungarian in 1838 completely captured the space under its supremacy”.

Theme 2: Corruption

The second theme that emerged from the analysis was corruption and suspicion of corrupted activities. This topic is interconnected with already discussed issues of privatisation of land and unsolved restitution process. However, because of its complexity and need for clarity it will be discussed as a separate topic. One of the most discussed cases throughout all datasets was related to development of the “Zavala” complex and the mall called TQ Plaza. These cases had court epilogues and currently two of Budva’s previous mayors are in prison as it was confirmed that they abused their position to make personal benefits and were involved in an organized crime group. The analysis showed that back in 2011 these cases were reported couple of times by opposition leaders, but only after investigative journal broadcast “Mechanism” prosecutor actions towards the main officials were made. The broadcast showed how privatisation of land was one of the main mechanisms for corruption, although not the only one. The final judgment was based on a statement of the second main official from DPS ruling party Svetozar Marovic, who admitted that he organized a crime group. However, although they damaged the municipality’s budget for tens of millions, they got small sentence of imprisonment (between 1-2 years) and for example, Marovic still did not serve the sentence of imprisonment as he moved to Serbia and, according to his lawyer, due to depression he is incapable to serve it. Nevertheless, apart from him and two imprisoned mayors, other members of the crime group were his family members who were in charge of different public official positions (see Figure 4.1). The media reports on this topic were particularly

long, as a large number of actors and cases were prosecuted, but the selected quote will shortly provide an insight.

“Svetozar Marovic's name also connects with the “Zavala” affair. Nearly 45,000 square meters of Zavala, land between Budva and Becici, in 2007 bought Zavala Invest, a joint company of Russian tycoon Sergei Polonsky “Miraka” and “Moninvest” firm co-owner by Svetozar Marovic. After the outbreak of the affair with the unauthorized construction on Zavala, Marovic immediately sold his part of firm, while his brother Dragan Marovic, the second man of Budva municipality, was arrested with Mayor Rajko Kuljaac” (Krcic, Radio Slobodna Evropa, 18-December-2015).

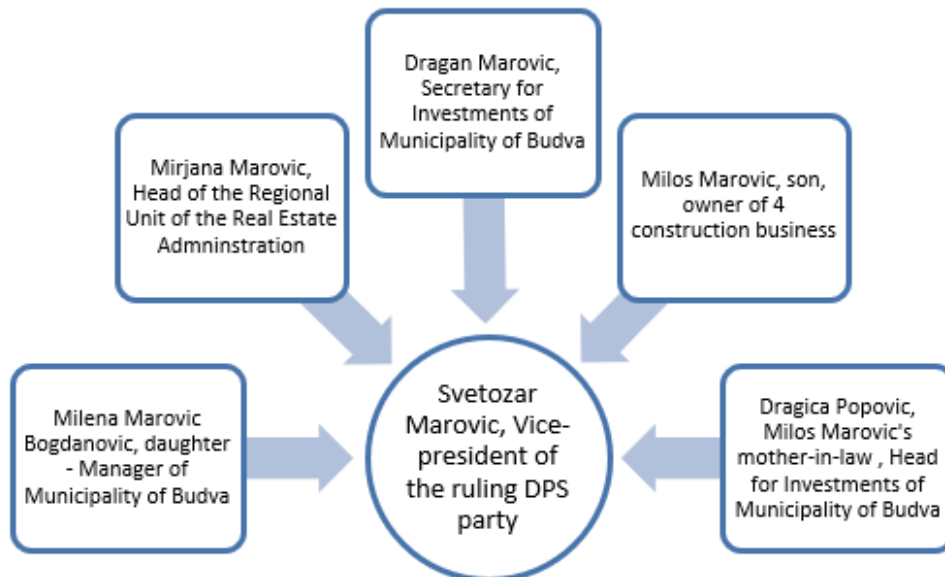


Figure 4.1. Connection between Vice-president of ruling DPS party and urban development activities. His closes relatives preformed different public official positions related to investment, real estate, while he and his son were involved in construction business. Created by author based on data findings.



Figure 4.2: Zavala complex. It was built on green peninsula and in front of a beach which was famous for its green olive grove. The grove was completely destroyed during the construction, although protection of olive groves was part of Spatial Plan of Montenegro in 2008 ([Twillert-Wennekes, 2015](#)).

2.1. “Avala” case

Despite the above, many controversial cases are left without court rulings, even when different parties provide evidence of possible corruption. One of the major cases that emerged in the analysis was the privatisation of the hotel “Avala” in 2004. This case still holds attention in the media. This case shows how urban development connected investors and high officials, but also how those who were against it were treated. Nevertheless, in the recent period, the “Avala” case was reported a couple of times as a prosecutor started an investigation due to concerns that the hotel was bought as a part of money laundering operations.

Avala is a hotel which has the best position in the city, next to the Old Town, considered as a city centre, and with a beach just in front of it. Moreover, its position guarantees good profit during the season time and, as the quote will show, it was questionable for experts why it should be sold at all and especially why so cheap. “Hotel complex Avala was sold for 3.2 million euros” which was remarkably cheap “one square meter of Avala was sold

for 82 euros” while at the time other property could be bought for no less than a few hundred euros per meter squared. (Plamenac cited in Siljak, Novosti, 25-November-2003) The hotel was sold for half of the market price to a company called "Beppler & Jacobson", although there were parties ready to pay its real market price. The case ended up in court where the judge Ana (at that time Kolarevic) Djukanovic, the sister of at that time Prime-Minister Milo Djukanovic made a judgment to sell the hotel for non-market price. Involvement of the high official’s family in the privatisation process brought concerns in its regularity. Additionally, it seems that in this case Supreme Court did not ask for expert evidence on the value of the hotel’s price, while there were estimations about the real market price. Moreover, the Court did not check the investor’s background.

“The Privatisation Council justified they decision based on Supreme Court judgment (...) on April 30, 2003. A month after (...) [previous owner] Budvanska rivijara made a new estimation by which the hotel complex is worth around 7 million euros. It is especially interesting to note that the judge Ana Kolarević left the Supreme Court shortly after the verdict and became a lawyer, among others the legal representative of "Beppler & Jacobson" (MANS, case study made for purpose of the EU project, 2012).

The “Avala” case was reported in different media articles not just in terms of suspicious privatisation process, but also about its illegal reconstruction process which started without having, neither the required reconstruction documents, nor approval from Vlado Plamenac, architect who projected the hotel in 1984.

“The reconstruction of the hotel Avala began in 2005, and the building permit was issued only after five years in 2010. Although they had only a permit for internal reconstruction, [investor] Beppler triple enlarged the hotel’s capacity, without any approval. In May 2006, the Republic Construction Inspection sealed the construction site of Avala and banned the execution of works (...) Similar effects were also given by inspection in January 2007, which ordered the demolition of overrun high floors and criminal complaint.” (Nikolic, Monitor, 22-Januar-2016).

This article also reported that the Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments (RIPD) forbade the reconstruction, as in 1994 the hotel was proclaimed a protected monument due to its architectural significance. During the interview, Slobodan Mitrovic referred to his professional experience with urban development in Budva and it turned out that he was the director RIPD when permission for Avala’s reconstruction was discussed. He did not want to give support to something which is not in line with expert position and acting against the will of investor was unofficial reason for losing his job.

“I was director for cultural protection in Cetinje when Milo Djukanovic replaced me as I did not want to give permission for the [reconstruction] of old Avala, made after the earthquake. Six professors said that Avala should not be higher than Old Town Walls and then Milo’s sister brought it and asked to increase the level of Avala and its accommodation capacities” (Mitrovic, expert interview, 22-May-2018).

Officially he was replaced by the Government as he did not fulfil the tasks that the Government set for RIPD, which according to his successor were not realistic to implement due to time limitation (Vušurović, Portal Vijesti, nd.)



Figure 4.3: Construction of hotel “Avala” in 1984. “Avala” was made as a complex with couple of buildings which allowed a good permeability. The author of “Avala” was awarded with the highest state award “13 July”. (Plamenac, 1984)



Figure 4.4: Reconstructed Avala. The number of hotel’s buildings increased (see the left side), the number of floors and change its visual identity. The main part is now larger than Old Town Walls (see the right side). (Asmec Consultants, n.d)

Yet, while Avala is just a single case, controversy does not end there. The architect of “old” Avala, Vlado Plamenac legally accused the investors of violation his copyrights and asked for compensation. The litigation lasted for 20 years and the latest media article related to the issue explains that based on expert evidence court confirmed that there were different violations during the reconstruction process, including the fact that based on copyright law the investor needed to include architect in the reconstruction. However, this confirmation did not mean that the architect will get compensation or that it will demolish the added parts to the hotel. Moreover, during this process discretization of the architect was tried as the Court “two times sent him to psychiatric expertise, which later turned out to be completely unnecessary”. According to this source, it was announced that the litigation will continue and if “domestic courts fail to prove the proclaimed traditional care for the protection of intellectual property” Plamenac will proceed to Strasbourg (Nikolic, Monitor, 22-January-2016).

As I was preparing for expert interviews, I had a conversation with a local media journalist who provided me expert contacts and informed me that Vlado Plamenac was sick and deaf which meant that he probably would not be able to give an interview. The same information was confirmed by the expert Mitrovic. Thus, it is questionable at which stage the litigation is or whether this case will be solved at all. However, privatisation and everything that followed “Avala” still has media attention, especially through statements of new local government and DPS opponents.

2.2. Public procurement as a base for corruption that determine urban planning

The data showed that privatisation process was not the only mechanism to abuse the system, perform corruption or money laundering. It turned that legislation was made in a way which allowed the abuse and offered an opportunity for corruption in terms of spatial and urban planning. In this regard, the two mechanisms of public procurement were used. The first is related to competition for conceptual solution process for creation of different spatial plans. The public procurement legislation dealt with technical procedure which prescribed that the cheapest offer will win on competition and it seems that in this process the quality of plans was not important. This issue was mentioned by an interviewed expert Biljana Gligoric who stated:

"The huge problem is the fact that in the public procurement system we had the planning, so for example, the firms that offer the lowest bid will [be selected and] later [will] charge the objects drawing and that was the public secret. They are billed through the objects drawing, in the sense - corruption of course. So, they [firms] knew how to make a profit later, which was really a catastrophic practice, and it was a public secret. And the municipalities did not even interfere at all. They did not interfere with the same injustices both ministries and municipalities" (Gligoric, expert interview, 23-May-2018).

Similarly, the current mayor of Budva, Dragan Krapovic in the recent TV debate indicated that "Detailed Urban Plan (DUP) "Budva Centre" is done for 5-10 thousand euros and it is a plan that can potentially bring half a billion to the investor. If you put those two figures in a relationship everything will be clear" (Krapovic in TV debate Reflektor, 20-February-2018:45min). This arises a question why firms would accept demanding planning jobs if they do not have benefits.

This practice was used as an excuse for the latest changes in urban law by making centralized planning system. This centralization was highly criticized as the national government now has discretionary right to select planners and consequently it is assumed that those planners will be from firms closely connected with high officials. In that regard the Minister of Sustainable Development and Tourism (MSDT) the Ministry in charge of urban development, Pavle Radunlovic said:

"One of the key bottlenecks [of planning process] was even your recourse. Now we will choose a planner without a competition, therefore, the planners are chosen by the Government at the proposal of the Ministry, and we will see the way in which it will be chosen. If you think that it is good to continue with tenders, so that the bid for the development of the plan "Budva Center" gets someone for 1 euro, while we do not have any mechanism to legally prevent this. As you know according to the Law on Public Procurement, the one who apply, fulfils the conditions and offers the lowest price wins on bidding" (Radulovic in TV debate Nacisto, 5-October-2017:35min).

Without deeper investigation of the public procurement legislation and its chronological changes, it is noted that one of the first Public procurement legislations dates to 2006. Moreover, in 2011 the Ministry of Finance defined public procurement and spatial planning as particularly risky category for corruption (Muk, et al., 2012). Thus, the question that arises from this legislation practice is why the government tolerated this practice for years if it was familiar with its consequences. However, the non-governmental organizations, local authorities and other experts who were against the new law were arguing that the

reason for change is not the fact that they want to solve the possible corruption but rather political moment in which DPS started losing on local elections. Additionally, one of the experts pointed out another aspect of the issue:

“The position of the minister was that the municipalities are corrupted. Instead of arresting those people who are corrupted, they said that the municipalities are corrupted and since now we [the national government] will do planning” (Gligoric, expert interview, 23- May-2018).

The second mechanism for possible abuse of public procurement for urban development projects was noted in the fact that although the cheapest option would be selected in a tender, with time the contractor could increase the price of its services. This practice creates additional suspicions on the regularity of the competition process. The firms which would like to compete based on the real expenses could be easily excluded as obviously some firms could offer lower price. In some cases, this lower option could be based on agreement between officials and firms’ representatives. The assumption is made as there are cases where contractor had agreement with tender commission, as there were cases where contractor obviously received more than it was indicated at the beginning of development process. Legally, this was possible as annex on contracts was used. The two quotes below reflect this through the case of construction of a promenade in Petrovac, the part of Budva’s municipality. Moreover, the promenade is 800 meters square long which additionally increased the public interest in the topic.

“This year [2017] the promenade in Petrovac again welcomed tourists unfinished. The works [on promenade] that started in 2009 are not yet finished, despite the fact that instead of the planned 2.4 million, so far the money spent on the promenade increased three times and it cost - 8 million euros. In the meantime, the Special Prosecutor's Office becomes interested in one of the most expensive unfinished projects on the coast”. (Nikolic, Vijesti Portal, 7-July-2017)

Moreover, the promenade was not the only investment which “finished with much higher price than it was planned at the beginning of the construction. For example, Bulevar in Budva, a couple of years ago began with two million and eventually cost taxpayers 10 million euros” (Vukićević, Radio Slobodna Evropa, 2-September-2010). However, it is important to mention that according to the latest media articles these cases were not prosecuted until today.

Theme 3: Illegal construction and acts

Illegal construction is the third issue that shaped urban planning in Budva in the post-socialist period. The literature review showed that illegal construction was tolerated in Yugoslavia due housing shortage (Hirt, 2013). However, there were no data regarding the amount of illegal construction at that time. Media articles in which possession I came during the fieldwork indicate that illegal construction in Budva increased after the earthquake in 1979 and as the quotes shows, at the beginning of 90's those facilities were legalised. "The consequences of this [illegal construction] negligence will show up during development of general and detailed urban plans in 1985 and 1986. At that time 300 illegal objects in Budva and Becici will be legalized" (Vujovic, Monitor, 12-November-1999).

Nevertheless, without proper sanctions, illegal construction over the years drastically increased. This illegal practice was tolerated for decades and as the case of "Avala" reconstruction showed even when institutions and inspection authorities reacted, the investor was able to continue with construction. It is interesting that the report from the Directorate for Inspection Affairs in 2013 showed that Budva had less controlled inspections than in any other coastal city, while in that period construction activity in Budva was the most dominant in the country (see Appendix V).

Nevertheless, although during the entire post-socialist period the illegal construction was discussed, it became a core topic because of the latest change in urban legislation. The legislation proclaimed that all illegal constructions need to be legalised. This means that for a certain amount of money all owners of illegal facilities can legalise their objects and they would not have any sanctions (although based on the Criminal law illegal construction is a criminal act²). Moreover, after the legalisation, all facilities will be included in new urban plans. This shows that pervious plans were not respected. Using this "planning method" it means that planning principles are abounded, and urban development is left to the will of private investors and individuals.

² The investigation of prosecuted corruption case "Zavala" started as illegal construction is noted and some high officials were imprisoned for this act.

The data suggest that legalisation process was part of DPS election campaign for several years and it was considered as a “green light” for illegal construction as it would be legalized eventually without penalty for breaking the law. However, due to fact that half of local municipalities in Montenegro had a local election in 2018, legalisation process was highly politicised from both ruling and opposition parties as both wanted to seek support from owners of illegal facilities. It resulted that the legalisation will be cheaper than for those who were legal builders.

Legalisation process showed that the state does not have any exact data of how many illegal constructions are built at all. There is some estimation that it could be 100.000 facilities as according to Minister Radulovic “the Cadastre has registered 40.000 illegally built objects, while according to unofficial information, this number is auctioned at 100.000” (L.DJ., Portal Analitika, 10-April-2017).

On the other hand, experts expressed disapproval of this legalisation practice. For example, Mitrovic, (May-22-2018), as the quote will show, did not agree with the fact that the government did not put effort in recording this illegality “we have a government that is not capable of establishing records [of illegal construction], or maybe it does not want”. On the other hand, Pavicevic (25-May-2018) connected this topic by referring to entire post-socialist urban legislation change “slowly we got a situation of even stronger strikes on the system. First, they merged the law on planning and construction and now margining of the law on planning and construction with the law on legalisation”.

The principle of legislation is that owners of illegal facilities should request legalisation. Until the deadline of legalisation on 16 July 2018 the total amount of applications received by Ministry in charge of urban development was 49.917, from which 3.214 in Budva.

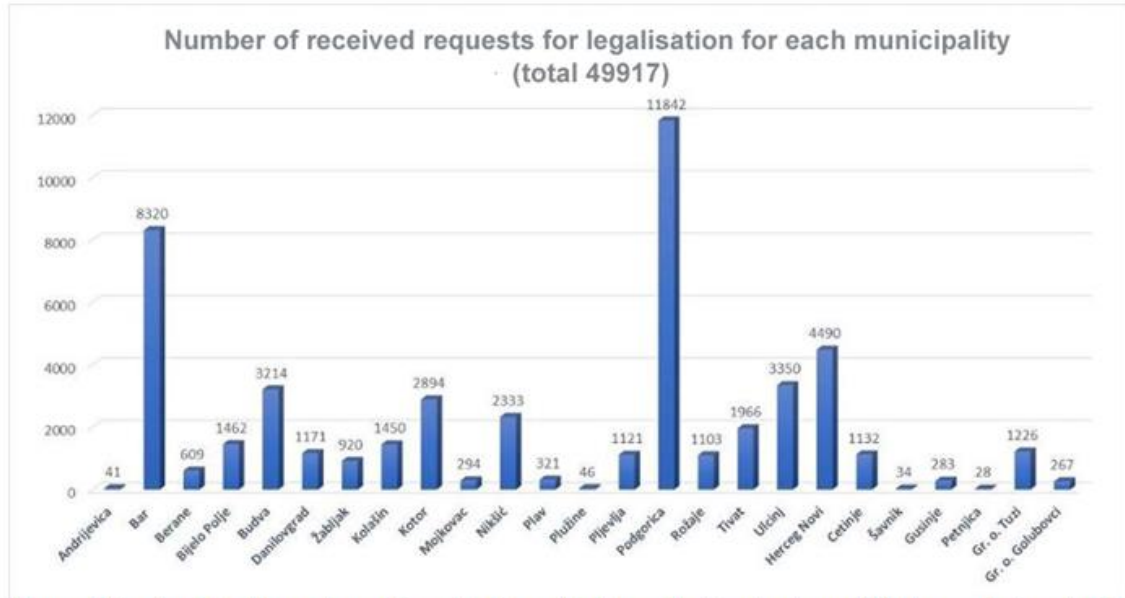


Figure 4.5: Graphic illustration of received applications for legalisations. (Ministry of Sustainable Development and Tourism, 2018)

Even though Budva is not with the highest number of illegal facilities, it is still questionable what the exact number of illegal facilities is. Moreover, it is important to mention that those illegal facilities were not just house settlements, but also facilities built for apartment sale or hotels. Thus, as the quote will show, authorities were allowing economic activities based on illegal construction “If 100 hotels do not apply for legalisation of their facilities, they will be deprived from their temporary work permit [license for performing activities], and half of them are in Budva” (Polis broadcast, 23-May-2013).

The illegal construction already has and will continue to have negative consequences on urban planning and its development. However, most concern was in parts of the country which are under special protection. The Government response to this concern was defended by the fact that they cannot protect the environment and that illegal construction is something that started a while ago. This is well illustrated by the case of National Park Durmitor, which was hardly influenced by illegal construction. “The Government's plan to change the boundaries of the National Park Durmitor in the new Law on National Parks, [was] to exclude the area devastated by “wild” construction” (Babovic, Vijesti Portal, 20-March-2014).

Theme 4: Degradation of experts and citizen' role in urban planning process

The fourth theme that emerged during the analysis showed a negative trend towards the planning principles, profession and the citizens will. This issue culminated during the latest legislation change which centralized the planning system, excluded the urban planning profession license and local planning services. Moreover, the data showed that different parties, including 1) representatives of all municipality authorities (both those municipalities where national opposition is in power and those of the ruling party), 2) Union of employers, 3) Engineering Chamber, 4) experts, etc. were against of proposed legislation solution. Nevertheless, the law was adopted in shorten procedure in Parliament with support of ruling party and their coalition partners. According to the dataset and expert interviews this was made in order to satisfy investor's wishes and their partners which, as cases of "Zavala" and "Avala" showed, are often connected with high officials. This provoked additional frustration among urban planning experts, as different quotes from interviews will show.

"They simply abolished the planning system (...) which is not a known [good] practice. It is extremely centralized and reduced to one man - a state architect - who will sign everything (...) this law will start closing small firms, we already have here that "MonteC" at the beginning of closing, so a small planner companies will disappear (...) Secondly, municipal planning services will disappear, they practically have no purpose" (Gligoric, expert interview, 23-May-2018).

"The planning system was ruined (...) it is subordinated to abolition of [business] barriers and the entrepreneurial spirit, and this interpretation was given and considered as the appropriate factor" (Pavicevic, expert interview, 25-May-2018).

"I have written over 90 small studies, (...) these are the bipartite expert analyses of the suggestion, it is not at all a criticism, but a good-natured expert analysis, through analysis of path in which the city is going to lightly destroy its cultural substance, but the government does not react at all. It is easier for them to declare us [experts and] even the people as a negative structure, in the ranks of traitors." (Mitrovic, expert interview, May-22-2018).

The data showed that the role of experts and citizens in urban planning was marginalized even earlier. Thus, the similar experiences have been noted among the citizens. The data showed that even when people reacted on spatial plans or any other issues concerning urban development; they were ignored by the government which never provided the reasonable

explanation apart from basic statements that their decisions are based on “development”. Thus, in terms of Budva, two major reactions emerged.

The first one is DUP for “Budva Center” and “Petrovac Center” which allowed building of skyscrapers. The citizens were against these plans and “citizens of Budva and Petrovac signed petitions and invested enormous energy in 2013, so that the City Council abolishes them”, but they were adopted anyway (Anon, RTV Budva, 26-June-2017). The ruling (DPS) party majority in the City Council adopted the plans in 2013, even if some of their coalition members were against. The quote below will additionally illustrate this reaction.

“The current plan foresees that between “Avala” to “Zavala”, along the coast itself, the construction of more than 20 skyscrapers, against which the locals are fighting. (...) The petition of the revolted residents of Gospostina and the Old Town was signed by 16 councillors, several party chiefs, even the ruling SDP.” (Lajovic, Vijesti Portal, 13-May-2013)

The second citizens reaction is related to the latest spatial plan SPSPCA, which included Budva’s Sveti Nikola island and opened an opportunity for hotel’s construction on the only island which was a natural reserve until 2010. This island was as well privatised at some point, although there is no clear track in the dataset how and when it happened. Nevertheless, the current owner of the island is Thaksin Shinawatra, the former prime-minister of Thailand who was exiled from Thailand for abusing power and corruption. Under unknown circumstances he became a citizen of Montenegro and given accusations in his home country, it raised a concern that his investments could be related to money laundering. The collected data showed that citizens had extremely negative opinion and were supported by the mayor himself. Citizens started a petition against this plan and 4.681 people signed it. Yet, this plan was adopted by the Government and sent to the Parliament for confirmation. The petition was presented by the opposition leader; nevertheless, the Parliament majority adopted the plan.

“The municipality is aware that in this case their hands are bound, because everything is centralised and decisions are made in Podgorica (...) [citizens commenting] what we do now is to write to international inconsistencies, the Barcelona Convention, the European Union... For the EU, it is inconceivable that the citizen will not ask about his future.” (Mistic, Vijesti, 4-August-2018)

4.1. Summary

The themes that emerged during this dissertation showed that the post-socialist urban development in Montenegro is a long-standing and extremely complex process. It is complex not just in terms of spatial issues, but also in terms of the influence that high officials and their relatives have on planning. As a result, it is very hard to control development of Montenegrin cities and respect urban planning standards, expert advice and citizens. Additionally, urban development is well connected with corruption on the highest levels which has been made possible through both using and abusing legislation. The analysis of the cases of “Zavala” complex, hotel “Avala” and the abuse of public procurements is representative of this. The analysis also shows that there is incapability of inspection and other state institutions in resolving them. Moreover, similarly to other post-socialist countries, urban planning and development in Montenegro are directly shaped by the privatisation process and the faulty restitution process, which in practice still has different implications. Urban planning is also highly influenced by the practice of illegal construction which has been tolerated and approved by the latest change of urban legislation without any substantial consequence. Lastly, the theme which was discussed was related to degradation of experts and citizens’ role in the urban planning process in favour of investors will and governmental decisions.

5. Conclusion and discussion

Urban development and planning differ in each country based on their political and economic background and therefore generalisation should be approached carefully (Musli, 1981, Le Normand, 2014). While it is possible to draw common characteristics for some regions, only in-depth analysis can explain the circumstances that determinate particular urban development and planning. Globalization and the trend of adapting to Western principles such as the open economy market and competitiveness have become a lens through which countries and cities are mostly examined (Dicken, 2014; Glesson and Low 2000). Thus, investigation of urban development in other regions such as the case of post-socialist countries, especially those in South-Eastern Europe is reduced. As a result, this dissertation addressed the topic of post-socialist urban development and planning in Montenegro, focusing on the city of Budva, as one of the countries in South-Eastern Europe that was understudied in the literature.

The literature review on post-socialist framework showed the lack of systematic discussion of the Montenegrin urban development and planning context in this period. Nevertheless, authors reported different issues that determinate urban development and planning in other post-socialist countries such as in Hungary and ex-Soviet countries. For example, Totic (2013) and Levy (2009) reported that privatisation of housing and properties shaped post-socialist period. Similarly, the findings of this dissertation showed that privatisation was one of the main aspects which influenced the urban development and planning in the post-socialist period in Montenegro. Yet, in contrast with their work, this dissertation made a profound contribution to the examination of how privatisation of land influences urban development. For the case study of Budva, local and national authorities, led by politicians from the DPS ruling party, sold land to selected investors. Also, spatial plans were changed according to their wishes, although it was not in accordance with urban legislation. These investors were closely connected with high officials or they were personal beneficiaries.

Through privatisation, the consequences of the socialist nationalisation of private land and properties were supposed to be resolved through a restitution process, but according to Levy (2009) this was limited due to lack of clear records. In contrast, the findings showed

that in the case of Budva, records were much clearer. Nevertheless, findings indicated that although legislation predicted restitution, the process was neglected in favour of selling the land to investors before resolving restitution cases. As a result, most lawful owners cannot not enjoy their property rights and restitution is not resolved to this day. Additionally, the findings introduced another privatisation subject, related to the privatisation of state-owned enterprises for urban planning which was not discussed before. This state-owned enterprise was sold to a brother of (at the time) prime minister whose government chooses who will be a contractor of planning. Thus, it could be argued that while during the socialist period planning was monopolised by the state enterprises, in the post-socialist period in Montenegro the “new monopolization” took its place as high officials and their relatives decide upon planning. Moreover, findings exposed corruption as an issue that followed the privatisation process and urban development. High officials and their relatives’ influenced urban development and planning in cooperation with investors, whose capital and aims are questionable, as the case of “Avala” and “Zavala” showed. Additionally, as the use of public procurement showed, urban development and planning now appear to be more transparent, while its followed by many abuses, This finding confirmed that transition “winners” are connected with politicians from previous or the new government and their relatives (Howell, 1994).

This research helped in addressing the research gap related to illegal construction in Yugoslavia which was noted by Hirt (2013), but without elaborating on the amount of illegal construction nor how this issue was treated in spatial plans. This research confirmed this statement but based on data, the amount of illegal construction was not so high comparing to the current situation. Moreover, based on data there was “one wave” of legalisation in 90’s when around 300 facilities in Budva were legalised, 10 times less than officially reported in July 2018 (3.214 requests for legalisations). This legalisation means that authorities plan to ignore the fact that a crime was committed, and the law broken. Additionally, what is more important for urban development and planning is the fact that these facilities will be incorporated in new spatial plans, which shows that during this post-socialist period all existing spatial planes are ignored as non-existing documents while a part of the “plan” can become anything regardless of the legality of its construction.

Lastly, findings related to the degradation of experts and citizens' role in the urban planning process showed that to some extent the "growth machine coalition principle" was adopted. In Montenegrin post-socialist period, the growth is mostly led by high officials and their relatives, who are connected with investors or are personally investors. Moreover, the noted ignorance of good urban planning practice and the exclusion of experts and citizens confirms the growth machine coalition tendency to eliminate critique in order to reach their urban development goals and eventually elites gain intended benefits goal (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Additionally, the findings showed that expert and citizens' opinions are less relevant than those from the central government, their role in decision-making is left behind which creates a large dissatisfaction and frustration among the population. As the consequences, they see international institutions and bodies supremacy that could help them (see Chapter 4, 2.1 and Theme 4).

In sum, the research question of this study addressed by analysing determinants of the urban and development planning process in Montenegro. By analysing the dataset, the findings showed that the urban development and planning in post-socialist context of Montenegro is complex, highly politicised and susceptible to various kinds of abuse. Moreover, while for the purpose of this dissertation the topics were segregated, they are interconnected. Thus, it is hard to investigate the influence of privatisation on urban development without elaborating on the restitution process or corruption. Similarly, as in these topics illegal practice, abuse of the system, plans and urban development practice is noted with illegal construction. In all of these acts high officials, their relatives and close investors had a major role, despite of experts and citizens' opposition.

This dissertation has several limitations that could be addressed with further research. First, urban development and planning in context of Montenegrin post-socialist era is examined through lens of one city as a case study. While I tried to point other cases, which were largely discussed in media, urban development and planning examination in Montenegrin context could be made more comprehensive by including other cities. This could be done by elaborating in-depth the topics which emerged from this dataset or making examination of other cities as case studies which could check if the same urban experience is recorded

in post-socialist period. In this dissertation, I tried to cover the entire post-socialist period by conducting the interviews which supposed to cover the lack of media articles from the beginning of transitional process. Due to a time limit, I could not visit the National archive of Montenegro where more media articles can be found to support the findings. Thus, for the further research extensive fieldwork and visit to the National archive of Montenegro could be relevant. Due to a time limitations, this study collected 3 experts' interviews and it did not include the perspective of urban planners from local authorities. Thus, for future research, a larger number of interviews could be conducted. Additionally, further research could also rely on primary data of community and residents' perspective.

5.1. Summary

The conclusion chapter engages literature gaps which are addressed by research findings on urban development and planning in post-socialist period in Montenegro, focusing on Budva. In doing so, I used existing literature to show how the findings of this dissertation are similar or different to what other researchers have established. Moreover, it shows the originality of research and proposes further research.

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Appendixes

Appendix I: Data for discourse analysis

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| Broadcasts | Link: | Duration |
|--|---|--------------|
| “Mechanism-Promised Land” I part ³ | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hGOnqWmCBw8 | 49:52 minute |
| Mehanizam II dio | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y7eY31raiFI | 47:23 |
| Mehanizam III dio | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F0oogFvbCno | 41:48 |
| Mehanizam IV dio (na internet objavnjeno 2 Aprila 2015) | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8gb6MKNWo4M | 41:30 |
| Debata TV Vijesti 04 10 2016 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YazgagIImfA | 1:56:20 |
| REFLEKTOR TV VIJESTI 20 02 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-bzvsLCNP3I&t=3001s | 1:33:13 |
| NACISTO Maja Velimirovic Petrovic, Pavle Radulovic, Slobodan Mitrovic 05 10 2017 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=30q7xv8JJBo&t=2165s | 1:33:45 |
| Urbanistički haos u Crnoj Gori | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T7ukC4jN9iA | 3:43 |
| NACISTO Đorđije Pinjatić TV VIJESTI 28 06 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tL-IE7Ffh9M | 1:26:36 |

³ Available with English subtitle. The other parts are on Serbo-Croatian.

| | | |
|---|---|--------------------------|
| OSTRVO SVETI NIKOLA - TV VIJESTI 04.08.2018. | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aSeJI1RRc0o | 3:17 |
| Polis, local news followed on daily base (excluding majority of weekends as they were not uploaded online) in period between 15 March and 15 June | Available on Youtube channel "Radio Televizija Budva" https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCJ_ZSGtyRqOZIWwApix2pmg | between 28 and 31 minute |
| Legislation and Plans | | |
| Spatial Plan of Montenegro (from 2008) Until 2020 ⁴ | http://www.mek.gov.me/en/news/39212/155503.html | 220 pages |
| Zakon o planiranju i uređenju prostora (Objavljen u "Sl. listu RCG", br. 16/95, 22/95, 10/00) | http://www.podaci.net/_gCGO/zakoni/Zakon_o_planiranju_i_uredjenju_prostora/o0xz3l.html | 24 pages |
| Zakon o planiranju i izgradnji prostora (Službeni list Republike Crne Gore, broj 28/2005") | http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag={59134FF3-ACD3-4A75-A322-968968D7B794} | 18 pages |
| Zakon o planiranju i izgradnji prostora "Službeni list Crne Gore, broj 64/2017" od 6.10.2017. god. | http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag=%7BE7FF3D0F-9D19-4E21-B7B0-E6F95731248F%7D | 92 pages |
| Zakon o povracaj imovini i obestecenju | http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag=%7B883F8A5D-2861-45DB-A618-6FAC12149FE4%7D | |
| Zakon o eksproprijaciji | http://www.oie-res.me/uploads/archive/Zakon%20o%20eksproprijaciji.pdf | 12 pages |

⁴ Available on English

Appendix II: Expert Interview Questions

I will conduct expert interviews with stakeholders who monitored Montenegrin urban development. The purpose of the interview is to explore the post-socialist Montenegrin urban policies and their outcomes.

A. Opening the interview:

- Brief summary of the research purpose (underline that I am mostly interested in urban development of Budva, Kotor and Podgorica) and signing Consent form
- recalling the interviewee's right not to answer a question or to stop the interview
- requesting to start recording the interview (switching the recorder on)

B. Interview themes to be covered:

- For the beginning could you please tell me more about your professional background and involvement in urban development and urban policy in Montenegro?
- Can you please describe urban development in Montenegrin cities since 1979 until the end of socialist period, especially in Budva, Podgorica, Kotor? What are your impressions about this urban development period?
- Can you please reflect on your impression on urban changes in Montenegrin cities since the end of post-socialist era, especially in Budva, Podgorica, Kotor?
- Serbia and Montenegro separated in 2006. How this effected urban development in Montenegro?
- What kind of role Republic Institute for Urban Planning and Design (RIUPD) had in all of these periods?

- In urban development terms what are the difference between pervious socialist system and the current one?

- Are you aware of challenges that Montenegrin cities face in the post-socialist era and if what kind of challenges do you consider are the biggest one?
- Are you aware of challenges in terms of infrastructure, culture, environment and economy concerning Budva, Podgorica and Kotor and if what do you think about them?
- What about residents of these cities – what kind of challenges they face in these cities?
- What do you think how this will reflect in future?

- Can you please reflect on stakeholders and their role in urban development process in post-socialist period?
- Are you aware of any difference in the role that state institutions and local authorities played in recent urban development?
- What about other actors – experts, planners, investors and residents and how do you evaluate their involvement in post-socialist urban development process?

- How would you evaluate the current urban situation experience in Budva, Podgorica and Kotor? Could be considered as urban devastation?
- Do you have any additional comments on urban development process in Montenegro that you would like to rise?
- Participant willingness to put the researcher in touch with other experts who could contribute to the study.

C. Closing the interview:

- asking if the interviewee would like to add/raise anything
- thanks (switching the recorder off)

Appendix III: Participant Information Sheet – Expert Interview

You are being invited to take part in a dissertation research study “Urban Devastation as a Consequence of post-socialist Montenegrin Urban Policy – The case study of Budva“, as an expert who monitored Montenegrin urban policy development. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for your attention.

What is this study about?

The study explores urban development and its outcomes after the socialist period in Montenegro. This will be done by examining the major case of the Montenegrin coastal city of Budva. The case will be supported by similar examples in other Montenegrin cities mostly from Podgorica, which is the economic centre of the country and Kotor, a UNESCO heritage site. The study also investigates who are the major stakeholders that have shaped urban development in Montenegro and what role they play. Urban development in post-socialist countries has not been sufficiently investigated; moreover, it does not include any ex-Yugoslav countries or cities.

The aim of the study is to investigate the Montenegrin urban development process in the post-socialist era and to shed more light onto this phenomenon. The literature and document analysis shows that there is a gap in knowledge about urban development in the post-socialist context, in particular ex-Yugoslav countries. It is for this reason that you are contacted and invited to talk about the Montenegrin urban development. Acknowledging that you have been monitoring some phases of Montenegrin urban development and have made a valuable contribution to this field, it is considered that your contribution will help in filling this striking gap.

Why have I been chosen?

You are contacted as an expert who showed a high commitment to discussions of the Montenegrin urban development and its policies. I would like to speak to you about urban policy development in Montenegro after the socialist period and challenges that it created

to Montenegrin cities, with the emphasis on Budva, as a case study, and Podgorica and Kotor.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You will be able to discuss any questions you may have ahead of the interview. At that point you will be asked to sign a form to confirm your consent to take part in the study; you will also be asked for permission to have the interview digitally recorded. You can refuse to answer any questions during the interview, and you are free to withdraw from the study at any point. You will also have an option to choose how you wish to be referred in the study: either by a pseudonym or real name.

What does participating in this study involve?

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to suggest you will be asked to suggest a date late May 2018 for face-to-face interview. If face-to-face interview over that period would be difficult to arrange, phone/Skype/Viber interview or email interview would be an option. The interview will cover topics such as chronological change in urban policy in Montenegro, main stakeholders and their role in urban development process, the impact of post-socialist land privatisation, the outcomes of urban development process on the cities and its citizens. You are welcome to raise any other topic which is important from your point of view. The interview will be arranged at a convenient location and will take between 20mins and 40mins depending on your availability.

How will confidentiality be protected?

Your interview will be transcribed and can be sent to you for approval. It is entirely up to you whether you and/or the organisation you represent are named in the outputs arising from the study. If you wish for you and/or your organisation not to be named, pseudonyms will be used. In that case information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will be referred to by a pseudonym and any information particular to you will be anonymised so that you cannot be recognised. All data collected will be used for research purposes only and nobody apart from the researcher and her supervisor will have access to them. The audio file with the interview and the transcript will be destroyed upon completion of the study (August 2018).

Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.

What happens with the results?

Findings from this study will be used for a master dissertation. Interviews may be quoted in part: the transcript can be sent to you for approval to make sure your views are fairly represented and that confidentiality is adequately protected. A summary of the main findings can be provided to you.

Who is doing the research?

The dissertation research is conducted by Ksenija Martinovic, MSs Public and Urban Policy student at the University of Glasgow. The dissertation is supervised by Dr Anna Gawlewicz, Research Fellow at the School of Social and Political Sciences at University of Glasgow.

Contact for further information:

MSs student at School of Social and Political Sciences

E-mail: _____

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research project, you can contact Ethics Officer

Appendix IV: Consent form



College of Social
Sciences

Title of Project: Urban Devastation as a Consequences of post-socialist Montenegrin
Urban Policy – The case study of Budva

Name of Researcher: :

Consent Form – Expert Interview

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement/Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I consent to the interview to be digitally recorded.
4. I acknowledge that a copy of the interview transcript can be sent to me for verification.
5. I agree for the material to be used for dissertation, both in print and electronic version.
6. I understand that the material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.

Please tick as appropriate:

7. In dissertation, I wish for my organisation to be referred to by:

Real name

Pseudonym

8. In dissertation, I wish to be referred to by:

Real name

Pseudonym

9. I agree to take part in the above study:

YES

NO

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

If you have any questions about this research, please contact Ksenija Martivnovic via email
2244427m@student.gla.ac.uk

Appendix V: Report on the work of the inspection of the area protection for the period from 01.01. until 31.11.2013. years.⁵

| | Inspections upon report | Duty-bound inspections | Total number of inspections | Measures taken | | | | Proceedings cessation | | | | Complaint | | Enforced decisions | Acted at the inspector's order | The number of decisions for which the costs of the demolition have been charged |
|--------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|----------|-----------|----|--------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| | | | | Number of official reports | Number of calls | Number of prescribed demolitions | Number of criminal charges | Building permit | Jurisdiction | Forwarded to another authority | Rejected | Accepted | | | | |
| Ulcinj | 199 | 824 | 1023 | 731 | 185 | 123 | 44 | 97 | 7 | 20 | 4 | 4 | 21 | 81 | 0 | |
| Bar | 46 | 68 | 114 | 91 | 14 | 2 | 0 | 20 | 6 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | |
| Budva | 58 | 72 | 130 | 132 | 18 | 7 | 0 | 41 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 16 | 0 | |
| Tivat | 66 | 59 | 125 | 128 | 14 | 14 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | |
| Kotor | 173 | 233 | 406 | 340 | 64 | 35 | 2 | 42 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 28 | 30 | 0 | |
| Herceg Novi | 275 | 245 | 520 | 312 | 184 | 32 | 24 | 26 | 16 | 42 | 12 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | |
| Podgorica | 7 | 7 | 14 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Danilovgrad | 11 | 4 | 15 | 15 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Nikšić | 20 | 3 | 23 | 20 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Cetinje | 0 | 12 | 12 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Kolašin | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Mojkovac | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Bijelo Polje | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Berane | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pjervlja | 26 | 66 | 92 | 68 | 34 | 7 | 0 | 24 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Žabljak | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Andrijevica | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pluzine | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Plav | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rožaje | 9 | 14 | 23 | 21 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Savnik | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ZBIR | 891 | 1608 | 2499 | 1871 | 527 | 223 | 71 | 268 | 47 | 109 | 19 | 12 | 60 | 139 | 0 | |

⁵ Adapted and translated by author (Maric, et. al, 2014)