PETRO VARAD IN

DOSSIER

DOSSIER:
PETROVARADIN

Managing Historic Urban Landscapes

CASE
PETROVARADIN
Managing Historic Urban
Landscapes

Editors
Goran Tomka
Višnja Kisić
Loes Veldpaus

Language editor
Jonathan Eaton

Design
Avgust Studio

Publishers
Faculty of sport and tourism, Novi Sad, Serbia
Europa Nostra, Belgrade, Serbia
Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad, Serbia

Publishing year
2019

ISBN
978-86-85871-40-5

Partners

The project was implemented in partnership with Edinburgh World Heritage, Europa Nostra and Global Observatory on Historic Urban Landscapes, within the framework of the Novi Sad 2021 European Capital of Culture and European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018. This partnership brings together organisations, institutions and universities with extensive knowledge and expertise related to preservation, management and valorisation of historic towns across Europe and beyond.

Funders

The project is financially supported by the Headley Trust, Foundation Novi Sad 2021, and Ministry of Culture and Information of Serbia.

Forewords

Dossier Petrovaradin Within the Global HUL Debates

Ana Pereira Roders

Delft University of Technology

Since the adoption of the UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL) in 2011, the HUL approach has become not just written guidelines on how better to integrate heritage management and urban planning, but a community of practice exploring in various contexts such common ambition. This is also reflected by the wide variety of case studies published this year in a book edited by myself and Francesco Bandarin on the HUL approach in action. Eight years after the recommendations were adopted by the UNESCO member states, many local authorities have taken them up as a much-valued approach, as well as a platform for collaboration and mutual learning for a whole community of professionals. This community of practice has been joining professionals from all over the world, in local and national governments, as well as NGOs involved in urban and heritage governance. Peer-to-peer learning is considered very valuable, as our colleagues from Edinburgh, Novi Sad, and elsewhere also highlight in this publication. The experimentation on what it means to apply the HUL approach in various contexts across the world and the subsequent sharing of these experiences have been a driving force for the articulation and improvement of such an approach.

Dossier Petrovaradin is the perfect example of what happens when bright and diverse minds from all over the world gather together to reform the management of one complex heritage property. A wealth of experiences and crossovers, shared by people from so many different backgrounds, knowledge, localities, and experiences brings new insights, shared learning, and also a lot of fun! Participants got to learn about the cultural and political contexts of a new location, while bringing their own experiences to the table, creating a space for debate among architects, planners, archaeologists, designers, writers, community managers, museum curators, and so many other disciplines. This is exactly what the HUL approach aims to promote, in order to develop a transparent, holistic, integrated, and multidisciplinary approach to heritage management – not looking at a heritage site in isolation, but as part of the wider city and all its debates.

As Dossier Petrovaradin shows, the HUL approach defines heritage management as the thoughtful and sustainable management of change. Heritage is seen as a resource that can be used as a driver for building sustainable urban areas. The implementation of this way of thinking is not of course done overnight and might not please everyone. It needs long-term dedication to transparency, inclusivity, and collaboration between sectors and disciplines. The research, the work during the Summer Academy, and the input by various practitioners over the past years that come together in this publication are a real reflection of the complexity and value of such reform.

In supporting this project, the City of Novi Sad has joined the community of other cities across the globe, which are dedicated to sustainable development and respectful of heritage and the environment. Hopefully, the dialogue between the City of Novi Sad and the community of practice implementing the HUL approach will continue and keep facilitating the needed reforms in heritage management for Petrovaradin Fortress, and beyond, into other areas of the city.

Case Petrovaradin and the European Year of Cultural Heritage

The European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018 (EYCH) has been an outstanding occasion to share knowledge, experiences, and passion for heritage across Europe and beyond. It was a year that placed heritage at the centre of many social, political, educational, and cultural processes. The "Case Petrovaradin" project is yet another outcome of that great year. Its aim was to strengthen the capacity of cultural heritage actors and stimulate peer-learning and exchanges of good practices at a global level. But it achieved even more on the local level. It gathered a great number of cultural heritage experts, researchers, promoters, and many organisations and partners and invited them to rethink one important heritage site.

While promoting an integrated, holistic, and transversal approach to cultural heritage, "Case Petrovaradin" brought together participants from over 25 nationalities and many more professional backgrounds, disciplines, insights, and experiences. They have all joined their expertise, and such an intellectual force is precisely what Petrovaradin Fortress deserves. As a multilayered, multifaceted and multicultural historic marvel, it is a site where history meets contemporary arts and military tradition meets civic activism – a site that has so much to offer to its residents, the "Novisaders", and to the rising number of visitors. As such, the Fortress reflects the true spirit of Europe's heritage: diverse, open, and inspiring.

However, Petrovaradin Fortress is also experiencing destruction, exclusion, weak maintenance and inadequate governance. This is precisely why the "Case Petrovaradin" project was so necessary and why it is a great pleasure to read this Dossier and a great pride to recommend it to a large audience across Europe and beyond. It is packed with competent analyses and findings, and, equally important, with clever and creative suggestions, ideas, and solutions to the problems faced.

Many of these proposals for a more sustainable future for Petrovaradin Fortress are aligned with two very important documents produced during the EYCH: the Barcelona Declaration "Better Places to Live, Better Places to Visit" and the Berlin Call to Action "Cultural Heritage for the Future of Europe". The underlying idea of them all is that the proper governance of a heritage site must involve an understanding of and engagement with its wider social, economic, environmental, and educational contexts. We hope that this paradigm shift will soon be embraced by decision-makers, politicians, experts, and civil society actors across Europe and beyond.

We believe that this Dossier, with all that it brings, will be read and consulted by local, regional, national, and European policymakers alike. They all can, while adopting a responsible and open governance model, transform Petrovaradin Fortress into a source of pride and joy both for locals and for visitors. We also believe that this publication will introduce the Fortress to wider international professional circles and inspire them to further explore it. Finally, we hope that this publication will inspire many similar endeavours – where people from many backgrounds join forces to ensure the proper safeguarding of historic urban landscapes and to make them both vibrant and liveable.

Sneška Quaedvlieg - Mihailović

Secretary General
Europa Nostra

Irina Subotić

Vice-president
Europa Nostra

Case Petrovaradin Within Novi Sad - the European Capital of Culture 2021

Nemanja Milenković

CEO

Foundation Novi Sad 2021 - European Capital of Culture

Novi Sad won the European Capital of Culture title with the vision that the title year of 2021 is 'The beginning of new. Now'. As the Foundation in charge of delivering that vision, across the city we are encouraging and supporting people, processes, places and programmes which aim to activate and inspire positive change in the city and improve daily lives of the people of Novi Sad.

In this journey, our cultural heritage plays a very important role. People of Novi Sad are well known for the pride they have of their city. However, being proud is not enough. We need dedication, effort, good management, education and collaboration in order to safeguard our cultural heritage and be able to enjoy it with the future generations. This is why we have been keen to support the Case Petrovaradin project which brought innovative and bold solutions for dealing with old and persistent problems, while at the same time promoting collaboration and cultural heritage of our city.

Moreover, this publication is all the more important because it gathered people from all walks of life and corners of the world who put their knowledge and experience into service of creating legacy process, i.e. the management model for the entire landscape of the Petrovaradin Fortress. Having gone through many months of setting up our organization as a first public foundation in culture in Serbia with flexible and dynamic organisational functioning, we know how hard and important it is to bring innovation in public administration and management in our region. This is why we are pleased to see in this book and elsewhere that such legal framework is increasingly perceived by many stakeholders across culture and art as a viable solution for both supporting contemporary creativity and safeguarding heritage. We hope to see such model of public foundations functioning not only in Novi Sad in the case of Petrovaradin, but also across Serbia and our region for numerous other places and areas of creativity and arts.

Recent transformations of the Lower town of the Petrovaradin Fortress are indeed a good case to learn from and replicate. In accordance with our 4P model (people, processes, places, programmes), we see that more and more people and organisations are gathering, new processes are being designed, houses and buildings in the Baroque town are being restored, and new, authentic artistic and cultural programmes are happening more and more often. As Foundation 2021 we are proud to see and encourage those important changes.

The grandeur and size of the Petrovaradin Fortress justify 88 years spent to build the 'Gibraltar on the Danube'. At the same time, nothing can justify us and the fact that in 239 years, since it has been finished, we did very little to preserve it. However, in the case of our Fortress we are guided by hope that 'a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step'. We believe that Dossier Petrovaradin is one of many first steps we are making together.

Acknowledgments

Dossier Petrovaradin is a collective work of more than forty authors, but even more people and organisations have contributed to its creation, and we would like to express our deepest thanks. We are most grateful to all of you who have contributed to this Dossier with your texts, research, and inspiring ideas. Your names are already in the table of contents, and it would take a whole other page to list them again, so we won't do that. But we would love to say that it is amazing to read text by text, knowing that most of you did not know each other just a year ago. The fact that you took the time and effort to write together, while being in different parts of the globe, makes this publication unique. We truly hope that numerous friendships, connections, and sparks triggered during this project will continue to shine and shape many historic landscapes around us for the better.

As much of this book grew from the group work during the Summer Academy, we owe a very special thanks to all those who, together with us, contributed to insights and facilitation. To our colleagues Ivana Volić, Katarina Maksimov, and Krzystof Jan Chukra for amazing mentoring and group facilitation; to Ana Pereira Roders, Adam Wilkinson, and Jonca Erkan who shared their knowledge and experience with managing historic urban landscapes; as well as to urban planner Darko Polić and to historians Atila Hornok, Siniša Jokić and Lazar Jovanov for their perspectives on Petrovaradin Fortress.

This Dossier would not be nearly as high quality without the crucial work of Jonathan Eaton, as language editor of the Dossier. Working and researching in the heritage sector for years, Jon has improved every single text with invaluable comments and suggestions, and become connected to Petrovaradin Fortress despite being in the US.

We would like to thank Europa Nostra Serbia and the Faculty of Sports and Tourism TIMS for the trust and institutional support on which we could always count. We owe our biggest gratitude to our colleague Tijana Zebić, who has been the most dedicated, responsible, and humorous project administrator we could have imagined. To Mirjana Jemović Mačužić for being such a devoted part of the team during both the Summer Academy and the Policy Seminar. And to Vesna Kulović, for all the help offered during the Summer Academy.

A special thanks is reserved for Edinburgh World Heritage and its director Adam Wilkinson, who have been part of Case Petrovaradin project since its early conception and have been a vital support throughout this whole adventure. It was in a cafe in Subotica, in summer 2017, after a workshop for community stakeholders on the management of the Subotica Synagogue that we first discussed the need to build knowledge and capacities for managing historic urban landscapes and not just single monument. And we worked together to make that happen.

We found inspiration and fertile ground in what colleagues from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad have been doing in Petrovaradin Fortress, many times against all odds, and decided that there is no better case than this in Serbia. We are especially thankful to Slobodanka Babić, Katarina Maksimov, and Siniša Jokić for openness and faith in this process of joint learning, sharing, and creating together. As they are primarily the ones who will continue safeguarding Petrovaradin Fortress on a daily basis, we hope that they will find inspiration, useful ideas, and support for their work in this Dossier.

The project and this Dossier would be only locally relevant if it wasn't for the support of numerous international partners. Besides Edinburgh World Heritage, we want to thank the Global Observatory on Historic Urban Landscapes for involving numerous HULigans from across the globe in the project, and Ana Perreira Roders for sharing knowledge and insights on how historic cities are being cared for in diverse places. To Europa Nostra for communicating the project within its wide network and making sure that heritage professionals from across Europe get to know about the opportunities it creates. To ENCATC for being the link to the cultural management and policy community internationally.

Our work in Petrovaradin would not have been nearly as enjoyable without the unique individuals and places that made sure we felt more than welcome. Natali Beljanski and other colleagues from PROSTOR opened the doors of Beogradska 11, their inspiring new cultural centre, even before it was fully furnished, so that we could work and debate there for a week. Media House 021, our local media partner, made sure that citizens of Novi Sad and beyond stayed tuned with news, activities, and key outcomes of the project. Ladies from the hostel VaradInn acted like sisters or aunts to all Summer Academy participants, while the restaurant Mačak and its chef cooked as if we were a big family. Leon Šurbanović and numerous volunteers from 3DWorld made our visit to the Fortress' underground tunnels unforgettable, while local journalist Bojana Karavidić followed and wrote about all the debates and insights. We are truly thankful, and we hope you will be proud with the outcomes of our work.

We owe special thanks to the project donors, who made it possible for all of us to work, gather, connect, and learn at Petrovaradin Fortress. To the Headley Trust, for being the most patient and trustworthy donor and generously contributing not only to this project, but to numerous other efforts in building capacities, skills, and knowledge in the heritage sector in Southeast Europe. To the Foundation Novi Sad 2021 European Capital of Culture, for supporting the project both financially and in numerous other ways. To the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, for supporting us in sharing the HUL approach and the experiences from Petrovaradin with urban planners, administrators, and heritage experts from other cities in Serbia.

Editors
May 2019

Contents

Forewords 4

Acknowledgments 7

Table of contents 8

10 **Folder #0: Introductions**

Introduction: Petrovaradin Fortress Meets HUL 12
Višnja Kisić and Goran Tomka

The Historic Urban Landscape Approach Applied 16
Loes Veldpaus

20 **Folder #1: Experiences**

1.1. The Historic Urban Landscape Approach In Edinburgh 22
Interview with Adam Wilkinson and Krzystof Jan Chukra

1.2. The Struggle for Heritage Protection in Novi Sad 26
Interview with Slobodanka Babić and Katarina Maksimov

30 **Folder #2: Findings**

2.1. Analysis of the purposes, uses and users of the Petrovaradin Fortress 32
Miljena vučkovič, Katarina Dajč

2.2. Heritage Interpretation in the Public Discourse: The Case of Petrovaradin Fortress 48
Ana Pajvančić-Cizelj, Dušan Ristić, Dušan Marinković

2.3. Analysis of the Tourist Valorisation of Petrovaradin Fortress 58
Lana Gunjić, Ivana Samardžić

2.4. Management Structure, Interests and Visions of Petrovaradin Fortress Stakeholders 70
Katarina Živanović, Daliborka Nikolić

80 **Folder #3: Interventions**

3.1. Connecting and Creating New Socio cultural Spaces for all Users at the Petrovaradin Fortress 82
Alba Zamarbide, Nicolas Zorzin

3.2. Petrovaradin Fortress: From Place to Space 88
Merve Çalışkan, Goran Erfani, Maja Kamenar

3.3. Gradić: The heart of Petrovaradin 94
Dessislava Kovacheva, Andreja Mugoša, Aida Murtić

3.4. Bringing Art and Culture into Life: Interpreting Heritage of Petrovaradin 100
Evinç Doğan, Oona Simolin

3.5. Urban Regene-ration Through Arts: Petrovaradin's Creative Spaces 104
Elise Kleitz, Gordana Gajić, Ana Catarina Fontes

3.6. Privatization of a Common? A Focus on Exit Festival 108
Nicolas Zorzin

3.7. Lost **112**
Pieter-Jan Debuyst, Donika Georgieva, Luca Baraldi

3.8. Silenced Others and Tensions in Representing Plural History of the Petrovaradin Fortress **116**
Mahrukh Munir, Ekta Chauhan, Aster Speckens

3.9. Archaeological Heritage's Prospective Uses and Practices in Petrovaradin Fortress **118**
Nicolas Zorzin, Alba Zamarbide

3.10. Applying the Business Improvement District Model to the Management of Petrovaradin Fortress **124**
Anna Dontcova, Sara Zanini

3.11. Participatory Model in the Management of Petrovaradin Fortress **128**
Ivana Cvetković, Sofia Koukoura, Alula Tesfay Asfha, Pim-on Kaewdang

3.12. United Petrovaradin: Managing the Fortress **134**
Ksenija Krsmanović, Simon Parkin, Kara Roopsingh

138 **Folder #4: Recommendations**

Key Findings and Recommendations **140**
Višnja Kisić and Goran Tomka

Intro ductions

Introduction: Petrovaradin Fortress Meets HUL

Višnja Kisić
Europa Nostra Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia

Goran Tomka
Faculty of sport and tourism, Educons University, Novi Sad, Serbia

After Petrovaradin Fortress was demilitarised in 1951, artists, explorers, planners, and enthusiasts started wondering about. It must have been a fabulous moment. Following centuries of military and penitentiary use, one could finally dream about its civil use. Should it be a huge open-air museum, or an outdoor art academy? Maybe a park? How about a theme park with a zoo and a large aquarium? Ideas were spouting, but in the end, a rather modest set of interventions took place. During the Fifties and the Sixties, the Upper Fortress was turned into an open-air public space dotted with dozens of art studios, an art academy, a restaurant, and a hotel.

However, after the first wave of enthusiasm, policymakers and planners lost their interest and the Fortress went back to its quiet life. In 1961 a local newspaper wrote that "the city carelessly turns its head away" from the Fortress. More than 20 years later, in 1987, another headline about the fortress reads: "Fortress is exposed to the ravages of time". The 2000s brought a new enthusiasm, much inspired by the use of the Fortress for a large-scale international music festival: EXIT. Everyone expected that thousands of foreign tourists would mean that there was a serious interest in the Fortress, as well as a new rationale for the much-needed investments. At that time, the city envisaged a cable car, a new tunnel under the Fortress, a new hotel, a conference hall, and the UNESCO World Heritage nomination. Again, years passed, and the required systemic care never happened. Instead, many users of the fortress – ranging from artists, over residents, to restaurant owners – in a way privatised public spaces which they were using through various covert arrangements. In 2015, a new crack at the Fortress was spotted and journalists looking for a story leapt at the opportunity: "Petrovaradin Fortress is Falling Apart!" read the title of a story on the big national news portal Blic.

Today in 2019 one can clearly experience a new wave of interest. As an upcoming European Capital of Culture, the city of Novi Sad and the national government have invested an unprecedented amount of money for the restoration of the Lower Fortress; the mayor has formed a special council on the Fortress; the municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments initiated the drafting of a management plan; and a new wave of tourists, this time from China, roams the Fortress once again. Will this wave last? Will it bring sustained change?

Looking at the history of the Fortress, one would not be mistaken to conclude that the Fortress attracts a somewhat contradictory range of grandiose ambitions and visions, together with a serious lack of proper maintenance and slow but steady privatisation of its spaces. Hence, no one would be surprised to see this wave fading into a new set of secret arrangements that will protect the status quo for another decade or two. Ultimately, such an outcome would only serve to confirm an age-old local myth that the Fortress is simply too big for the city to manage it properly.

No matter what the future brings, this is a very good moment to be present at the site and look for meanings and developments. Petrovaradin Fortress is a testing ground for so many issues. It is a place of social struggles, where elite, private users are occupying public space and limiting public use. It is a place where historical narratives are discovered, intertwined and silenced. It is a political microcosm in which various concepts of governing with all its weaknesses and strengths. It is an urbanistic challenge of how to organize multiple uses and users and their interactions. Finally, it is a place of cultural encounter, where visitors from far and near arrive with their expectations and meet the curious eyes of casual locals. Project Case Petrovaradin and this book are attempts to be present, observe, and intervene at this extraordinary geographically, culturally, socially, and politically important site.

The Petrovaradin Fortress

Petrovaradin Fortress is positioned on a high solid rock overlooking the city of Novi Sad and the Danube River which curves around it. Humans have inhabited this space since Neolithic times and have built fortified structures in six different historic periods. Most of these traces are invisible today, and Petrovaradin Fortress is a synonym for the visible fortified structures and urban architecture which are the result of 18th-century military and civic planning efforts undertaken within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. However, Petrovaradin Fortress is much more than the visible fortified structures and nice baroque architecture in the Lower Town. It is a multi-layered field of more- or less-desired historical traces, a residential and social housing area, a recreational and cultural playground, a place to do business, a military space, a place of commute and transit, and a home to thousands of plants and animals.

The Fortress is characterised by multiculturality and is moulded by a mix of religious, civic, artistic, governmental, military and business actors and their social relations. Diverse desires, interests, and dreams shape the Fortress, many of which are in conflict with the strict regimes of protection and conservation of built heritage and their reliance on institutional and professional authority. This complex network of actors and the lives they create are often challenging and evading efforts to safeguard Petrovaradin Fortress as primarily a cultural heritage site.

Even after a very brief encounter with the Fortress, it becomes all too clear that this unique place lacks responsible management, continuous maintenance, structured investment in restoration, efficient use of recreational areas, open and accessible cultural and artistic contents, and well managed and promoted tourism services. It is remarkable that despite all of these managerial and developmental deficiencies, the Fortress is still central to the everyday life of the city. It is a popular recreational area, a prominent promenade and sunset-watching streak, a most photographed location in the city, a trendy dining and night-life spot, an indispensable tourist destination, a preferred festival ground, and most of all, the most beloved and prided historic site for Novisaders. So, imagine how much benefit there would be for the city if some of the burning issues were properly addressed.

Case Petrovaradin: the project

During the Case Petrovaradin project, we took this outstanding, long-neglected historic urban landscape as an inspiring example of the intersection of complex issues of heritage protection and socioeconomic development; as a learning ground for numerous professionals; and as a platform for discussing the future of historic urban landscapes across the world. Locally, Case Petrovaradin was a call to better understand the complexity of Petrovaradin Fortress, rethink its current management and use, and reimagine its future development.

As such, the Case Petrovaradin project revolved around a dialogue between the Historic Urban Landscape approach (HUL) and the current state of affairs of Petrovaradin Fortress as a heritage site. Looking at such a place through the lens of HUL was a way to reflect on its oft-forgotten aspects and wider possibilities, and a way to invite a much larger and diverse group of people into the discussions on the future of this place. HUL was referenced throughout the project as a way to integrate heritage into wider social, economic, and political developments, as well as to integrate contemporary needs into heritage management planning.

The project started with the 'Investigations' part, in which four research projects were commissioned that aimed to improve the understanding of four areas of relation between the historic site of Petrovaradin Fortress and the humans that shape it today. The first research project dealt with regimes, practices, and perceptions of the spatial uses of the historic urban landscape in order to answer the question, "how do humans use the spaces of Petrovaradin Fortress today?" The second research project dealt with regimes, practices, and perceptions of the interpretation of the historic urban landscape, asking, "Which stories about the Fortress do diverse actors narrate and why?" The third research project revealed regimes, practices, and perceptions of tourism, while the fourth dealt with how diverse actors participate in making decisions and taking actions related to the management of the Fortress.

Research activities were followed by the 'Explorations' part of the project – an International Summer Academy on the Management of Historic Urban Landscapes, which involved local heritage professionals, urban planners, researchers, and cultural actors, totalling more than 50 practitioners and researchers from 26 countries, five continents and diverse disciplines. From August 6-13, 2018, the participants all shared the space of Petrovaradin Fortress, explored it, worked together, shared knowledge and experiences, and imagined possible scenarios for the future of this area, which were developed into the texts in Folder 3 of this Dossier. These activities were followed by Public Hearings – public events that also included the media – through which the local public gained insights into the topics dealt with during the project. The final learning event, the Policy Meeting, was held in December 2018, involving urban planners, policy-makers, and conservators from diverse municipalities in Serbia, introducing the historic urban landscape approach and discussing its potential application in cities across Serbia.

Dossier Petrovaradin

Dossier Petrovaradin reflects the logic of the project and brings together key concepts, new research, ideas for interventions, and recommendations created throughout the project. In tracing the ideas, discussions, and knowledge gained throughout Case Petrovaradin, the Dossier traces the principles of sharing, cooperation and interdisciplinarity that have been embedded in each activity of the project. Over forty authors, many of whom did not know each other before coming to Petrovaradin, created a mosaic of approaches, findings, ideas, and imaginings which all attempt to portray as fairly as possible the astonishing complexity of Petrovaradin Fortress. Their contributions are presented in four Folders, beginning with conceptual discussions, followed by field research, then ideas and interventions, and ending with policy recommendations.

Folder #0: Introductions paves way for understanding the encounter between Petrovaradin Fortress as a specific historic urban landscape and HUL as an approach to heritage management. In this text we point out to specific ways in which this encounter has taken place through Case Petrovaradin project, while Loes Veldpaus highlights the ways in which HUL broadens the understanding, agency and approaches related to historic environments, setting the conceptual ground for understanding the following folders.

Folder #1: Experiences brings insights on what it actually means to be safeguarding and managing a historic urban landscape, in Edinburgh, UK and in Novi Sad, Serbia. The section features two interviews with four heritage professionals from these two cities. In the first interview, Adam Wilkinson and Krzysztof Jan Chukra reflect on how they, through the work of Edinburgh World Heritage Trust, understand, apply, and amend HUL to suit the needs of their everyday struggles and which lessons they have learned in their years of balancing different and often opposing forces within the city. Their discourse is very much centred on heritage management, while HUL appears as an almost natural approach for the UK context and practices of EWH. Going back to Serbia, in an interview with a duo from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad, Slobodanka Babić and Katarina Maksimov unveil behind-the-scenes stories and experiences of their work as architect-conservators devoted to the protection of Petrovaradin Fortress. Their discourse, unlike that from Edinburgh, is focused on heritage protection, coloured by numerous frustrations of working in a post-socialist environment, where attempts towards a more holistic approach to heritage management go against the grain of current policies and normalised heritage practices. Their accounts highlight the difficulties of "managing change" in historic urban landscapes, in a

context where continuity, stability and control are desired, but lacking.

Folder #2: Findings focuses on four field studies implemented during the project, each of which reflected official regimes, informal practices, and the perceptions of diverse actors in relation to spaces, meanings, stories, tourism, and management of Petrovaradin Fortress today. Architects Katarina Dajč and Miljena Vučković from the local non-governmental organization (NGO) Scenatoria shed light on the uses and users of spaces. Their research highlights a striking discrepancy between the official regimes of spatial uses and actual practices of appropriating, privatising and neglecting the spaces by diverse actors. Sociologists Ana Pajvančić-Cizelj, Dušan Ristić, and Dušan Marinković unpack the dominant and subaltern interpretations of the multifaceted heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress, pointing out to how inertia of official heritage interpretation regime cements the Fortress into the Austro-Hungarian military historic discourse, silencing the richness of social, historical, artistic, archaeological and other narratives. Tourismologist Lana Gunjić and archaeologist Ivana Samardžić take us through the current state of tourism development within the Fortress, characterised by a mosaic of individual initiatives, unfulfilled dreams and unused potentials, as well alliances and oppositions among tourism actors. Archaeologist and heritage expert Katarina Živanović and art historian Daliborka Nikolić help us understand both the formal management structures and informal management practices that shape the Fortress and provide insights into the interests and visions of diverse stakeholders. In their article, it becomes visible that instead of a community of stakeholders, we can talk about the networks of actors which live parallel realities, without willingness to meet, discuss and cooperate. Key dividing line is not between the governmental and the non-governmental actors, but runs along issues of education, class, taste and economic interests.

Folder #3: Interventions brings together ideas for interventions at the Fortress that were sketched out during the Summer Academy in Petrovaradin. Over the course of one week, participants worked on formulating proposals for improving the management, interpretation, and usage of the wider area of Petrovaradin Fortress and town. With further research, their ideas were later developed into the following contributions.

The first three interventions in this Folder connect spatial planning with the socio-cultural character of Petrovaradin Fortress, discussing how the uses of spaces could develop while safeguarding the unique spatial attributes, ambience, and environment of the Fortress. First, urban planner and architect Alba Zamarbide and archaeologist Nicolas Zorzin look at the spatial and socio-cultural relations between Petrovaradin Fortress and the City of Novi Sad, highlighting the specific characters of different areas of the Fortress and the City: recreational/green, touristic, artistic, and residential/communal. They spatially locate these four dominant ways of using the Fortress along four interlinking spatial axes and discuss their development possibilities for Petrovaradin Fortress. Second, urban planner Goran Erfani and architect-conservators Maja Kamenar and Merve Çalışkan envisage how some of the unused spaces of Petrovaradin Fortress could become community places for leisure, conversation, and encounter. Third, architect-conservators Aida Murtić, Dessislava Kovacheva, and Andreja Mugoša focus on the future of the charming Lower Town (Gradić) and imagine how this unique area and its quality of urban public spaces could be nurtured while responding to growing commercial, civic, and tourism interests.

When the Fortress was demilitarised, many spaces were turned into art ateliers, and since the early 2000s, several music festivals have been taking place in the Fortress. The next three contributions focus on the fortress as artistic space and festival ground, discussing potentials, disadvantages, and responsibilities connected to such use. Tourismologist Evinç Doğan and heritage and events expert Oona Simolin also dwell on the idea of an artistic fortress, focusing on how performing arts and events can transform the neglected parts of the Fortress into inspiring places for visitors and locals alike. Urban heritage expert Elise Kleitz, art historian Gordana Gajić, and architect Ana Catarina Fontes discuss the uniqueness and potentials of the artistic spaces and art studios in Petrovaradin Fortress, suggesting what it would take to make Petrovaradin a vibrant artistic space again. Finally, there is a brief contribution by Nicolas Zorzin, who critically evaluates the largest event taking place at the Fortress – the summer music festival EXIT. He counterposes the concepts of 'heritage stewardship' and 'heritage resource management' and posits that the festival is an example of using the Fortress as a resource, which is transferred as such every year to a private company (the festival organizer). At the same time, he is calling for a different type of care for the place and proposes possible solutions in which the festival could give back more to the site.

The next three contributions deal with how we make sense of vast fortified spaces, hidden historic layers, and silenced social groups. Unlike the suggestions to bring more content and activities to the Fortress, architects Pieter-Jan Debuyst and Donika Georgieva and culturologist and religious heritage scholar Luca Baraldi felt amazed by Petrovaradin's immense and vacant fortified spaces. They explore the notion of being lost through both the feeling of being lost in the Fortress and the ways that many spaces in the Fortress are lost from the imagination of citizens and tourists. In their interventions, they imagine how one could emphasise these qualities and subtly interpret the vastness and mysteries of those spaces. Not only are the spaces of the Fortress lost in the imagination of today's visitors, but numerous historical layers and actors are lost in the dominant masculine military narrative of the Fortress. Heritage and memory scholar Mahrukh Munir, historian and public policy analyst Ekta Chauhan, and architect-conservator Aster Speckens highlight the "silenced others" of the Fortress – women, children, workers, Ottomans – and the importance of making their presence visible. Speaking of lost times, Zorzin and Zamarbide explore how archaeological research and findings could be presented and interpreted through various methods. However, they are not advocating the usual archaeological tourism that turns lost heritage into profit. Rather, they promote the idea of a community-based archaeology project in which citizens could take various roles (even including the excavation itself), which would afford them new ways of learning, spending time with others, and understanding the city.

The final set of three contributions deals with potential management models for Petrovaradin Fortress. First, heritage management scholar Anna Dontcova and tourism and heritage professional Sara Zanini discuss how the model of Business Improvement District could work,

reflecting its strengths and weaknesses. Architect-conservator Ivana Cvetković, sociologist Sofia Koukoura, urban planner and world heritage scholar Alula Tesfay Asfha and tourismologist Pim-on Kaewdang focus on a participatory management model for Petrovaradin Fortress, highlighting the importance of consulting and involving numerous stakeholders when managing historic urban landscapes. Urban planner Ksenija Krsmanović, environmental historian Simon Parkin, and heritage expert Kara Roopsingh propose and discuss a third possibility for the management of sites like Petrovaradin Fortress, the model of a heritage trust which is focused on collaboration and cross-sectorial cooperation. Inspired by heritage trusts in the UK and Trinidad and Tobago, they look at ways such an institution can become self-sufficient in the long term.

Folder #4: Recommendations is a summary of key research findings and recommendations gathered from the field research, ideas for interventions, and discussions held during the project. These recommendations are primarily aimed at local decision-makers and actors and will serve to guide and influence future decisions on the future of Petrovaradin Fortress. At the same time, even if rooted in the needs and context of a particular location, these recommendations can serve as inspiration for all those trying to envisage more democratic, inclusive and sustainable way of managing historic urban landscapes elsewhere.

What are our hopes with this book?

We see the Dossier as a meaningful and needed contribution to several ongoing debates and processes. Firstly, it contributes to understanding the burning issues related to the Petrovaradin Fortress and paves directions for its future management, including concrete methods and steps forward in urban planning, heritage protection, tourism development and interpretation. As such, it informs and can guide future decisions and actions related to Petrovaradin Fortress, serving as a basis for national and local decision makers, public institutions, citizens, activists and businesses.

Apart from dealing with Petrovaradin Fortress as a particular site, Dossier Petrovaradin is an example of engagement with HUL in a way that is grounded, dedicated and critical. We hope that this conversation with HUL in a specific location can inspire city officials, institutions, civil society actors, and professionals and scholars of diverse disciplines to contextualise and experiment with HUL in their context, in other cities in Serbia, Southeast Europe, and across the globe.

The Dossier is a place where local findings and insights meet the curious, critical, and imaginative eyes of professionals from all over the world. All have brought their own norms, assumptions, and expectations and made an effort to understand a different perspective. This is why for all those interested in specific issues of heritage conservation, management, valorisation, and interpretation this book offers plenty of inspiring vignettes for thinking and intervening in heritage, being both sensitive to the local context and open to international experiences, perspectives, and knowledge.

Finally, as a publication in English about Petrovaradin Fortress, the Dossier fills the void of literature that goes beyond historical or touristic writings about this site. As such, we are hopeful that this publication can introduce Petrovaradin Fortress to a wider international community of professionals and scholars interested in heritage-related issues, and trigger future research into the rich history and contemporary issues of this site.

The Historic Urban Landscape Approach Applied

Loes Veldpaus
Newcastle University, Newcaste, United Kingdom

One could argue that *taking care of old buildings* is an informal definition for conservation. In heritage studies this has been critiqued, not so much for the act of 'taking care' in itself, but for its focus on "*'old', grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts*" (Smith, 2006, p. 11) and, through this Authorised Heritage Discourse, its mobilisation of a very specific, reductive version of the past. These critiques have redefined how heritage gets defined. It is now more commonly seen as a process and a future making practice, rather than (just) a material asset. It is seen as performative, as a way of (re)enacting and mobilising some past(s) in the present (Hart, 2011; Meskell, 2015). By that definition, heritage is recognised for its instrumental rather than its material or aesthetic qualities. This is a way of thinking starts to be operationalised in UNESCO's Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape.

HUL on what heritage is, and why something is heritage

There is a significant legacy of normative supranational policies and guidelines trying to define what heritage is and how take care of it. The Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation (HUL) explicitly mentions that it builds on this legacy of heritage concepts and principles as used in a specific set of supranational documents:

> *This Recommendation builds upon the four previous UNESCO recommendations concerning heritage preservation, and recognizes the importance and the validity of their concepts and principles in the history and practice of conservation. In addition, modern conservation conventions and charters address the many dimensions of cultural and natural heritage, and constitute the foundations of this Recommendation. (UNESCO, 2011, p. 2)*

Whilst it builds on existing definitions, I would argue that it also moves on from them, by not reproducing them.

A central sentence in the Recommendation is the definition of a historic urban landscape: "*The historic urban landscape is the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of 'historic centre' or 'ensemble' to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting*" (UNESCO, 2011, p. 3). As such, this landscape can exist of (a selection of) socio-cultural and socio-spatial arrangements, tangible and intangible, movable and immovable, natural and cultural resources such as products, patterns, practices, perceptions and processes, as well as their relations and the values they constitute. This definition pushes the idea of heritage in international "standard setting" documents in two important ways. First of all, it recognises (partly as a response to the critiques mentioned above) that heritage, and caring for heritage can be, and should be, about much more than preserving a small collection of grand buildings. This process of widening both the definition of heritage, and the multiple ways to take care of it, was already present in various preceding documents, importantly, for example, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003). HUL mainly builds on this process. This brings me to the second issue, the namely way it redefines the concept of heritage. It focuses on *attributes* (tangible or intangible) and *values*, rather than categories of heritage (such as monument, ensemble, or tradition). I define attributes as the 'what', the object of conservation practices, and values as the 'why', the reasons for conserving. This is a much more open and potentially inclusive way of defining heritage, as previous definitions of heritage would qualify both, and also focus only on certain categories of attributes (e.g. building, material) or values (e.g. historic, aesthetic).

Defining it this way also helps clarifying the line of arguing, as quite often, the what and the why are mixed up, for example in the countless references to 'intangible values'. This confusion of terms can lead to unclear choices in how to approach conservation, and a bias towards static conservation practices. For example, intangible attributes of vernacular architecture usually include their typology and use of local materials. Both can be considered intangible attributes because they refer to practices (what) that help the architecture to adapt (why) to, e.g., the climate or a way of life. This then means that both the material and the typology would probably have to change if either the climate or the way of life changes. So, one could argue for conservation through adaptation, or conservation of the practices of vernacular building. However, in these cases, the physical material of a building, building structure and layout are often the focus of conservation. Therefore, such cases are about conserving tangible attributes for their aesthetic and historic value.

Without judging which one is better, this way of thinking about conservation decisions in terms of 'what' it is that needs taken care of, and 'why' it needs to be cared for can help finding the most suitable process of conservation. This then also makes clear, that this is a process that depends on 'who' decides, who has a voice. What gets selected, and why depends on who does the selecting, and thus very different

conservation practices can be deemed suitable for a seemingly similar situation or vice versa.

In short the approach the HUL recommendation promotes is based on the premise that heritage is a process, a process of people (who) assigning value (why) to something (what), and as such it starts to incorporate the definition of heritage as the cultural reproduction of the past in the present.

HUL on who to involve in heritage making and management

In focussing on objects, preceding supranational policies often set rather strict limits on what could become heritage (only buildings, groups of buildings, and sites) and why (because they were old, important for national identity, or seen as beautiful or imposing). In addition, such policy documents would provide normative guidance on how that heritage should be dealt with. Instead of defining more normative and standard approaches to dealing with heritage, HUL focuses on setting a standard for the process of conservation, and through that, in theory, providing more freedom to define the what, why, and thus also the how of conservation in many different, less restrictive, and thus potentially more suitable ways. HUL offers the opportunity for heritage and heritage management to become more open, more varied, and more inclusive. So HUL is an active attempt to move away from the restrictions of categories, at least in its language. However, as conservation is a cultural practice, the shift in language does not mean there is a (direct) shift in practice. In addition, it also means that multiple potentially conflicting interpretations, narratives, practices, and ideas of place, and of heritage as a concept in itself, will have to co-exist and be managed. However, emphasising that everything can become heritage, or that everyone can be part of the process that defines what heritage means and how to deal with it, does not by itself make the process more inclusive. Actions need to follow. HUL suggest process steps and policy tools for heritage management to support such action and "the shift from an emphasis on architectural monuments primarily towards a broader recognition of the importance of the social, cultural and economic processes in the conservation of urban values" (UNESCO, 2011, p. 2). HUL suggests "a comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes [...] rooted in a balanced and sustainable relationship between the needs of present and future generations and the legacy from the past" (UNESCO, 2011, p. 3).

To develop a way to establish such a *comprehensive and integrated approach*, HUL is proposing the following steps (UNESCO, n.d.) which can be used to think about local conservation processes. Next to comprehensive surveys and mapping of the city's natural, cultural and human resources (step 1) and assessing the vulnerability of these attributes to socio-economic stresses and impacts of climate change (step 3), HUL explicitly recommends the use of participatory planning and stakeholder consultations on identifying attributes and values (step 2), along with the integration of conservation into a wider framework of urban development (step 4). HUL suggests the careful consideration of which conservation and development actions to prioritise (step 5), as well as the establishment of project-based partnerships and local management frameworks, stimulating coordination between all projects and partnerships (step 6). The recommendations provide a strong push to widen the scope and thinking around heritage and to integrate conservation into frameworks of socio-economic development. HUL then also suggests four different types of policy tools to do so: civic engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, regulatory systems, and financial tools. To use these tools for heritage can mean developing new tools, but most likely it means integrating and refocusing some of the existing frameworks and tools already used in urban and socio-economic development. Regulatory systems, i.e. legislative and regulatory measures, are widely used to manage heritage, and the HUL suggests thinking about how to include traditional and customary systems, as well. Knowledge and planning tools in place to improve quality of life and urban space can be used to manage and plan for heritage too, and social and environmental impact assessments could be used to also integrate heritage into a framework of sustainable development. Civic engagement tools are considered crucial for participation and consensus building. Not only can they can help facilitate intercultural dialogue by learning from communities about their histories, traditions, values, needs and aspirations. They can also help in mediating and negotiating conflicting interests. Financial tools, then, are suggested for capacity building and making financially viable and sustainable plans, which work with local communities and traditions. Making the steps and tools explicit also emphasises the shift from category-driven to process-driven guidelines, as the steps and tools support a process of identification and conservation (as introduced above), rather focussing on defining categories of heritage attributes (e.g. buildings, sites) or values (e.g. aesthetic, historic) which have a 'standard' approach in terms of their conservation.

These tools and steps also reveal the focus of HUL on integrating heritage management into urban development, as well as into wider socio-economic, cultural, environmental, and sustainability policies. As the definition of heritage as a process implies constant expansion and shifting, integration with other policies becomes both more necessary and more complex. Can we really maintain preservation (or demolition) practices without considering the long-term impact that they may have on the climate, or on the wellbeing of residents? Can we afford to exclude significant groups in society from their history and heritage? This is absolutely a challenge, and not just to heritage managers. As heritage becomes integrated in both different levels of governance and different policy realms, the skillset of a heritage manager also has to change – from having expert knowledge on, for example, architectural history or building restoration techniques, to the ability to negotiate and mediate limits of acceptable change, match new uses with old buildings, creatively bring together and take part in partnerships and new and complex governance structures, and become fund raisers and strategic planners for projects to be developed. HUL is trying to provide a platform for these changes in roles and responsibilities. There are, however, widely different contexts in which heritage managers operate, and the circumstances can rapidly change, so HUL also repeatedly states the importance of understanding and being sensitive to the local practices and context, listening to the local community, and being appreciative and supportive of grassroots initiatives.

What HUL does, and what we can do with HUL

Not excluding any types of heritage, perspectives on heritage, or approaches to heritage beforehand, provides an opportunity not to exclude people, disciplines, ideas, and perspectives – thus potentially making the entire heritage process more holistic and inclusive. HUL is open: everyone and everything could be part of the process. By defining potential tools and steps to follow, HUL also makes the process of heritage management potentially more accessible, especially to what would traditionally be considered to be non-expert stakeholders. By very instrumentally proposing steps in a process, HUL can help to synchronise moments where different forms of knowledge and input come together, as well as increase transparency and understanding of the decision-making process, and support the integration of heritage with other processes. Within this process the stakeholders (who), explicitly including multiple voices, such as e.g. residents and local communities, should be included in decision-making about the landscape of attributes and values, and its management. The landscape approach is intended to expose overlapping, matching, as well as conflicting, values, needs, and ethics (among groups, individuals, levels of power, etc.). Revealing and managing those differences is not an easy process, and it remains a matter of give and take, of selection, concession, mitigation, and conflict resolution. Heritage is always a stakeholder-led process; attributes and values do not select themselves. Somewhat contradictory, HUL then recommends aiming for consensus on attributes and values among all stakeholders, which to me not only seems impossible, but also not helpful, as this too easily leads to negating the multiplicity and multivocality of heritage processes and practices.

HUL is not just providing a platform and a related community of practitioners testing ideas about a wider interpretation of what heritage is, why it could be of value, and how it could be managed. It also explicitly recommends working in ways that are inclusive and comprehensive and focus on the whole rather than the parts. It explicitly focuses on using heritage to help meet present (and future) needs. Heritage is presented as something that can do 'good' things, for many wider societal processes:

> *Urban heritage, including its tangible and intangible components, constitutes a key resource in enhancing the liveability of urban areas, and fosters economic development and social cohesion in a changing global environment. As the future of humanity hinges on the effective planning and management of resources, conservation has become a strategy to achieve a balance between urban growth and quality of life on a sustainable basis. (UNESCO, 2011, p. 2)*

Heritage management is then the thoughtful and sustainable management of change, rather than the prevention of change. Heritage fosters development; it can be used as a driver and resource for building sustainable urban areas. This has implications for the work done in heritage and heritage management. If we accept that heritage 'does' things, is *for* something, then we have to be aware of the power and thus the responsibility that comes with dealing with it. Which past does it celebrate, which past does it forget, and why? This puts a lot of responsibility on heritage officers, and heritage managers. It is a responsibility, however, that is a key issue in heritage management. How is heritage presented, narrated, interpreted, and thus reinterpreted? Do the presented narratives conveniently forget parts of history? Do they ignore certain memories? Do conservation actions actively pave over traumas as if they didn't exist? Can we still allow heritage to simply reproduce societal ideas and structures, and thus frictions and inequalities, without reflection? So, for example, when Amsterdam, and with Amsterdam many other cities, lists its canal zone as World Heritage, is it acceptable to talk about the marvels of the 'maritime trade' without even mentioning the references (that are physically present) in the urban landscape to the horrors of the slave trade? (see, for example, Mapping Slavery NL, n.d.). When heritage is instrumentalised to gentrify an area and effectively push out residents, why is that acceptable? These are questions we all need to consider.

In its attempt to stimulate governments to develop partnerships (preferably with local communities) for the transparent and participatory development of local strategies, HUL is quite ambitious. An attempt like this can easily be criticised, and it can probably never fully succeed. However, from my experience in Amsterdam (Veldpaus and Bokhove, 2019), and from the interview with the Edinburgh World Heritage Trust (see Chapter 1.1.). I would say practitioners see HUL as an opportunity. For the practitioners I worked with, HUL formalises and thus legitimises a shift in thinking they feel is necessary, and as such the recommendation opens up new perspectives on urban heritage management. It is not a perfect and clean solution to a problem, but it pushes for different ways of thinking, for new perspectives, and for openness in processes of heritage management – for thinking about heritage beyond its traditional definitions, uses, and ideas. This opening up of new discussions and interpretations is essential for the sector.

References

Hart, S. (2011). Heritage, Neighborhoods and Cosmopolitan Sensibilities: Poly-Communal Archaeology in Deerfield, Massachusetts. *Present Pasts, 3*, 26-34. https://doi.org/10.5334/ pp.42

Mapping Slavery NL. (n.d.). Retrieved on May 25, 2019 from https://mappingslavery.nl/en

Meskell, L. (2015). Introduction: Globalizing heritage. In L. Meskell (Ed.), *Global heritage: A reader* (1-21). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Pendlebury, J. (2009). *Conservation in the age of consensus.* New York: Routledge.

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. New York: Taylor and Francis.

UNESCO. (2003). *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.*

UNESCO. (2011). *Proposals concerning the desirability of a standard-setting instrument on historic urban landscapes* 36 C/23.

UNESCO (n.d.) dedicated Historic Urban Landscape page Retrieved on May 25, 2019 frhttps://whc.unesco.org/en/HUL

Veldpaus, L. &Bokhove, H. (2019). Integrating Policy: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach in Amsterdam, in: Pereira Roders, A., Bandarin, F. (Eds.), *Reshaping Urban Conservation: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach in*

Action, Creativity, Heritage and the City. Springer Singapore.

Veldpaus, L. & Pereira Roders, A.. (2014). Learning from a legacy: Venice to Valletta. *Change over Time, 4*(2), 244-263.

Folder #1:

Experiences

Chapter 1.1.

The Historic Urban Landscape Approach In Edinburgh

Interview by:
Loes Veldpaus

Interview with:
Adam Wilkinson and Krzysztof Chuchra

Adam and Krzysztof both work for the Edinburgh World Heritage Trust (EWHT). This independent charity aims to ensure the city's World Heritage status benefits everyone. They do this in various ways, for example by restoring historic buildings, as well as public places, instigating public debate and engagement processes, and sharing knowledge through education and training. Over the past decade they have been using the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach as a tool, a 'life raft' as they describe it below, to inform, guide, and discuss the work they do. In this interview we asked them about how they see and do heritage management in their day-to-day practice, as well as to take a step back and reflect on the longer-term changes and implications of their work. We talked about how they engage with HUL and why they find it helpful as a recommendation, and as a platform for a network of practitioners and cities all dealing with similar issues of balancing development and conservation, and asked for some recommendations based on their experiences.

What does heritage management mean to you?

A: Managing values. For me, it starts as a philosophical approach looking at architectural and historical values, framed by the protection system within the city. But those aren't the only ways of looking at the historic environment. Architectural and historical values are based around a museum approach of preserving an object in perpetuity rather than considering how it's useful to the every day. People value their buildings in completely different ways. We all look at the environment in terms of what it means to us personally, our memories, and the way we use it. So in essence, we're trying to manage those more personal values as much as the architectural and historical values.

In practice, this means working with a broad range of communities, residents, people working here, politicians, tourists, and others. All are stakeholders in the city centre and have a valid interest. We take the built environment as the skeleton of the city; this however, is really nothing without its people and their memories! They are the muscles the tissues, we build onto that. The shared memories, the layers of memories, are the glue that brings all of this together. It also forms the base of community identity, national identity and the shared value of world heritage.

I draw a direct line from this very local and individual memory through to world heritage principles, because I believe projects need to take into account the community's needs, whilst meeting the requirements under the World Heritage Convention, and HUL. It is both a very simple line and a very complex picture!

K: For me heritage management is more about managing change and conflict in the historic city and explaining why changes have to be made. HUL is a framework or maybe toolkit that can help doing this, and managing the conflict between those who want to basically push development and those who want to protect historic identity. This is also challenging because you often have to explain it to yourself. If you are a bit cynical like me that can be very difficult.

A: We are in a way the translator between 'normal' people and the system and the demands of the system. It is easy to spend our time talking in expert language and talking at people rather than listening to them, to their real concerns. We feel we need to bring those ideas and concerns into our programmes rather than working strictly within the system that we're given. Otherwise you end up in heritage management with a focus on fabric, on material. Worshipping the temple itself rather than worshipping at the temple, if you get the analogy. For us, it should be about the story that temple tells rather than necessarily the precise place in which a stone has been put by a craftsman who bodged it in there 200 years ago or 300 years ago. So it comes back to that museological approach. "Here's an object we must conserve in perpetuity" rather than "Here's an object that is part of everyday life and still has a use".

How about the governance of the different value systems? Do the local and national regulatory systems provide you with the right tools?

A: It's really hard sometimes. In the UK, as in many countries, we have to use the local and existing systems for World Heritage protection. This is why we have developed a separate set of tools as an organisation. So regulatory tools are with the local authority, the local government, and as a third-party organisation, we, as the EWH, focus on financial and engagement tools, and sharing knowledge. We cannot be a surrogate planning authority; that creates conflict. We have a very focused role in planning and very focused discussions with our colleagues in both national and local authorities to ensure that we are, by and large, aligned, or at least we understand each other's positions. It is important that we have a clearly defined role and a clear process which is governed by a protocol as well.

Has your heritage management approach, your way of thinking, your role, changed from around the turn of the century?

A: I think in an Edinburgh context, yes, absolutely. From a focus on architectural brilliance, we are now much more on the value side, to acknowledging all the other layers, which in terms of practical day-to-day management have significant weight to them. So, I think it's changed pretty dramatically.

K: That's also because there was less public money for monument protection. People started to question the need for public spending on conservation, especially on properties which are privately owned, but not maintained. And, as there is a need for development, it is questioned why we 'compromise' development opportunities because of conservation given that the former financially supports monument protection. The EWHT also took a hard cut, and we had to defend our principles, our values.

A: A lot of that is down to politics. Currently, the local politicians are supportive of heritage and the World Heritage status. That's in part down to the work we've done. We do a lot of advocacy work to help understand the importance of the World Heritage status for the city. Now, there is a broad acknowledgement across the political spectrum that this is an asset and not an obstacle, whereas previously it was seen as an obstacle.

K: We have to be very careful about this though. We should not fall into a trap where you start to use heritage in an ambivalent or wrong way, I mean when heritage becomes politically too instrumental.

A: I think for us that line is when heritage becomes the reason to not do things. We try and make heritage the reason to do things, "Look, we can make some great changes to this place because it's a World Heritage site and it will be positive for everybody involved," as opposed to the narrative which goes, "You can't change the colour of your front door because it's a World Heritage site." As soon as that happens, we've lost. The aim is quality. We had an interesting discussion after a councillor in a planning committee said, "We'd like to turn this down, but it's not bad enough to turn down." That was the point we felt change was needed. Now the planning committee's view is, "Good enough is not good enough for Edinburgh." That's really positive. Whether it's playing out in all their decisions, I'm not 100% sure, but at least they're coming from a good starting point.

K: This represents a shift in the Scottish planning system (starting around 2010) towards more pre-consultation for major development, effectively by making various parties directly and indirectly involved in development management talk to each other. This is forcing the key stakeholders to communicate better with the community and consult them early on. Therefore the planning system asks for a more pro-active attitude of various stakeholders, as the government becomes a facilitator of processes. As a result, new patterns of communication are being developed in the city, as there is a higher public awareness that planning decisions can actually be influenced. The process now may seem less direct and efficient, but in reality it is more open and gives more time to predict problems and prevent costly revisions.

A: And more pre-consultation is undoubtedly a good thing. It means that developers walk into a development site with their eyes wide open to what the concerns are. If they choose to ignore it, then they can't be upset when it goes wrong. And it works. In the two instances where there was major conflict over a specific project within the World Heritage site, at the very early stages developers have been given a very clear idea of what might or might not work and what might cause conflict through a community consultation process. They chose to ignore that advice...

How does HUL help you in these processes?

A: A fundamental challenge in heritage management is that we are working with a set of values that has been frozen at a point in time and judged by a group of people who had a certain way of thinking at that point. Yet as we know, the way people value places varies and changes. Generally, I would say, it doesn't devalue elements that are really valuable, but it adds weight to other elements as it advances and as our understanding of things advances. Heritage is often designed around the idea of a monument in a field, not around a dynamic and moving environment. HUL acknowledges the need for a dynamic approach. It deals with realities and accepts that things change, things go wrong, people are involved, there's clashes, there are values, and there are politicians and all this sort of stuff.

But if you said Historic Urban Landscape to 99% of the planners in Edinburgh, they'd look at you with a blank face. They wouldn't know what it was. So, it's something which we've smuggled in through looking to get proper integration of management systems and an acknowledgement that in the actions we do in Edinburgh, we are listening and acting off the community. So, there is, if you like, the theory side of it, and then there's the reality of it which is where the Historic Urban Landscape principles come in and use the landscape approach in order to shape projects, build confidence between stakeholders, and create sustainable outcomes.

K: I think it's a good thing because it's based on what works! If it works in one place, it can perhaps work in another too, and we can learn from each other's mistakes too.

A: HUL almost feels like a life raft in some respects.

The document itself also gives a range of really useful tools. There is no need to adopt all those tools, and you may already have the system of protection in place. Some of the steps have already been taken. It helps to fill in some of the gaps. It also shows you how what you already do is actually validated within the whole approach, which is based on what others have said works for them as well.

So, for you it is an international benchmark, an understanding of good practice?

A: Yes, it's a standard which people can aspire to, but also there's that toolkit element to it as well and saying, "Yes, we've got the financial instruments. We've been doing that for a long time, great. Okay, what else can we do? Can we work on engagement? How can we strengthen that? What best practice can we learn from?"

A: HUL keeps pushing us back to the values approach. It is a way of strengthening and giving a name to and helping to clarify some of our strategies around what we do.

K: I think seeing what others are doing is one of the biggest values of HUL, a learning platform. That's what it should be about, how people working on different sites of historic

value could learn from each other under these principles. The other thing is the idea of integration and collaboration. For example, Edinburgh has a design panel led by the municipality. The panel involves academics, people who teach architecture, practitioners, and they assess development proposals. I would say it's a good example of how things can work.

A: That's a good point. It takes on a wide variety of different views. So, it takes in the views of police, as well as for example landscape experts, architecture experts, and mobility experts. They feed at an early stage into new design proposals and ask questions of the development teams to help them in their thinking about the schemes.

What would be a very concrete example of what you learnt from another city?

A: Ballarat [Australia; see http://www.hulballarat.org.au]. So, city vision in Edinburgh; when it came to time to think about the city vision, fortunately we managed to have Susan Fayad from Ballarat over. So, we sat her down at dinner for two hours next to the chief executive of the city, and she told him how it is basically. So, a very clear bit of learning there transferred high level straight across. That played out in how the city here approached its city vision exercise, at least in terms of its questioning, so the way it questioned the residents, the questions it asked. So, a very, very simple bit of learning there. I think we haven't succeeded yet in creating the links between the university and city planning, which have been done so effectively in other places, such as Cuenca in Ecuador or Venice, for example.

What are the innovations you are currently pushing for?

K: When I started working for EWH, very quickly I learned that most historic cities deal with the same problems, so why not resolve them together? So, we use our international programme to learn from each other, and build capacity of the organisation as well as our local and international partners. This includes for example implementing management approaches such as Agile project management methodology or actively engaging with new technologies such as 3D modelling [e.g. in the APPROACH project, see https://ewh.org.uk/project/approach]. We have also managed to secure grants from the EU and British Council for some of this work. This allows us to develop a programme of capacity building to empower the community, give them skills to manage and protect their historic city. But in a broader sense too, we want to target as many groups as possible, by working on things ranging from high level decision making to daily maintenance of a building. We try to gather people who know a lot about this, who have expertise in the city, who have been working with us and share this knowledge. That, I think, in a way, tunes in to where the whole system is heading to, the decentralisation of responsibility for the city. More and more it is being moved towards the community. We basically try to capitalise on and strengthen our position.

A: Yes, and for this, Krzysztof did a very central exercise of looking at where our expertise is, where the city's needs are, and then where we need to focus based on those two factors. Another innovation is around tourism. The tourism strategy was always led by the tourism industry; we are now trying to influence it more pro-actively. It may sound ridiculous that sustainable tourism is an innovation in Edinburgh, but it is, because at the moment tourism isn't at all based around the needs of the community or the heritage. We're trying to work in a constructive positive manner, although sometimes that's really difficult.

What are your biggest wins of the past few years?

K: We're still here! And as an organisation we are more independent. That's very important because it gives us a bit more authority, and we can have actually an independent opinion in the city.

A: Yes, you are right, as public funding has declined for us, the relationship with government has matured. They can't tell us what to do anymore. They have to ask us to do things. That's been a hugely positive outcome, it really has. But it's allowed us to build respect through positive action.

In terms of our work, I think the two big ones for me are the sustainability programme and the international programme. When I joined ten years ago, we were very much focused on: we repair buildings, and we do a little bit of education. Now we do buildings, we do education, we look at how sustainability feeds up into that, and we look at capacity building and resilience through international support.

Are there other bottlenecks?

A: None of this work is easy. It's high skilled work in difficult circumstances of salaries that are nowhere near the private sector's or even the public sector. Often our work involves communities who are upset, under-informed politicians, and pressured developers. It requires great diplomacy, skills and approaches. It requires a lot of internal negotiation to get the right answers and the right solutions.

K: Another issue is the perception of the sector. It's not flexible. It's dogmatic. We are still sometimes seen as people in tweed jackets waiting for retirement.

A: In contrast to South East Europe, where to me it looks like is that everybody involved in heritage there is in their 20s and 30s! There is a much younger vibe; it is a different audience that's energised around the historic environment.

Will your organisation still exist in say, twenty years? … and, if you would cease to exist, who would miss you?

A: If we do a good job we won't need to exist! But it is a really good question. Organisations too often fulfil their mission yet carry on existing. But I'm sure that we'll exist in some form or other, hopefully nothing like our existing one.

K: I think we will be less focused on built fabric and more focused on values and capacity building. Enabling legitimised change and helping managing change.

A: I think the residents would miss us most, I think they trust us. And the head of planning, as we're a useful tool for him. Also, quite a lot of the policy officers would miss us as we back them up, support them and help them do good things within the council.

K: I think it's the same for Heritage Environment Scotland. I mean we are basically one of the arms in the city. We implement the national agenda here.

One final question, what would be your main recommendations for other cities?

A: Take the long-term view. This isn't a quick game. You can't go in there, pump four million Euros in and hope everything is going to be fine in three years' time. It's not. It's going to take a long-term effort.

K: You have to be willing to make the (public) investment. There must be a financial commitment, too, because otherwise you spent time chasing money rather than doing work and improving the situation.

A: Keep working in the community, don't forget the community ...

K: Yes, and other stakeholders, working with universities, for example, can be really helpful. You have to identify the relevant stakeholders in each project, because if you leave someone behind, that may work against you in the longer term.

A: And finally, have a clear set of objectives as an organisation. You can't achieve everything. Be focussed!

The Struggle for Heritage Protection in Novi Sad

Chapter 1.2.

Interview by:
Višnja Kisić and Goran Tomka

Interview with:
Slobodanka Babić and Katarina Maksimov

Slobodanka and Katarina both work for the City Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad. This public institution, with small but secure public funding, is entitled to safeguard the built heritage of Novi Sad. They research, document, assess and evaluate the city's built heritage, officially list the sites, define guidelines for protection and restoration works, and supervise or do conservation works themselves. These two architect-conservators have acted as the "Petrovaradin Fortress Safeguard Unit" within their Institute, a work that has oftentimes been against the grain of political agendas and private interests. Slobodanka has been the only conservator in charge of Petrovaradin Fortress since the late Nineties, until Katarina joined her in 2006. Without knowing about HUL approach, their thinking and engagement with Petrovaradin Fortress has been very much in line with interdisciplinary and integrative approaches to heritage management. Over the last few years, the two of them have started numerous activities which fall outside of traditional heritage protection policies and practices in Serbia. They formed the interdisciplinary team for the Heritage Management Plan of Petrovaradin Fortress. They cooperated with numerous civic initiatives, looked at other cities for inspiration, and organized meetings to exchange experiences. We talked about their work on this under-researched and undervalued site, which has led them to be recognized among the key actors for the future of Petrovaradin Fortress.

Petrovaradin Fortress is the place from which Novi Sad grew as a city, but ever since the demilitarisation of the Fortress in the Fifties, there have been claims that the Fortress is neglected and that the city has had a sort of a "stepmother approach" to it. You have started working in the Institute for Heritage Protection of Novi Sad during the Nineties. Back then, what was the approach to the Fortress by heritage professionals? What did you do in the position of a conservator entitled to care about the Fortress?

Slobodanka Babić (SB): When I came to the Institute, I had to start from scratch, almost from zero. I am not sure, but I feel that the Fortress has always been understood as something foreign, something that is not our own, national, Serbian. There was always hostility towards it. Historians often mention that historical moment when the city of Novi Sad was bombarded from the Fortress during the 1848 rebellion. Also, that the Fortress for a good part of its history was a horrific prison. But then I wonder, is it possible that in the 21st century, someone still adheres to those stories... Still, I have the feeling that that is the case. Because, everything that is related to the Fortress is always so difficult.

First and foremost, there was no single decent text about the Fortress. There were only some traces; all the documentation drawings came from students. And just by looking at descriptions, you could easily tell that everyone ran away from dealing with the Fortress – historians and art historians more than anyone else. Apart from that, I was the only one [employee of the Institute] who was assigned to the Fortress. When I would go to Belgrade, I would stare at five architects assigned to Belgrade Fortress along with the whole Archaeological Institute, which has always researched there. And here, before Katarina came, I was alone. And that was not even my only concern. I was also working on the historic city centre.

So, to begin with, I had to grasp the entirety of the Fortress. I had to have good boots and to walk the Fortress with the people who knew it well. For example, I would call Ladislav [local explorer and enthusiast] and spend four or five afternoons in the underground. I was the first person from any Institute [for protection of cultural monuments] who actually went to the undergrounds. Because, see, the Fortress is 105 hectares large, full of trenches and underground tunnels. If I would take someone there now, he would need quite some time to find his way and come back. You first have to master the Fortress physically; only then can you start dealing with the maps and documents.

End then the real mess begins. When I started, the Fortress was the only protected heritage site in the city which lacked a serious background text and its boundaries were not defined. The Provincial Institute [for the protection of cultural monuments] adopts the valorisation of 'great importance' in 1991, and that document is half a page long. [The Provincial Institute (PI) was in charge of the Fortress until it was transferred to the municipality and its local Institute, and the PI made a value assessment of the Fortress, categorizing it as a monument of great importance (the middle of the three levels according to Serbian law). In other cases, these value assessments are often rich and voluminous documents.]

None of our historians made an effort to go to the Austrian War Archive and do the research on the Fortress. No one dared to write a single decent article about it, something

scientific, with a bibliography and serious references. And the terminology – that's tragic! We didn't even have a map with the names of bastions, not to mention the military fortification terminology.

Archaeology hasn't been done for decades. One of leading archaeologists of the time wrote that famous sentence in which he stated that the Fortress comes from the 18th century and that there is no need to research there. So, it's as if everything before the 18th century and Baroque simply disappeared. Today, we know that there are traces from the Middle Palaeolithic age – 120,000 - 95,000 BC – and that the first fortification is 4,000 BC. No one treated the Fortress as such; they smashed it as they wanted. We had to wait for the 2000s for things to change, but before that so much is lost.

The bibliography on Petrovaradin Fortress is still very modest – mostly some tourist brochures and light texts. Even today, when I see the bibliography of Belgrade Fortress – it's a five-page list – I am jealous! I am ashamed to quote Schmidt from 1931 as my source. This is probably the reason why the ambience of the Fortress hasn't played any role in official documents. They have only valorised individual buildings. In the Suburbium [Lower Town of the Fortress, also called Gradić], the conclusion was that no single-storey building has any value. As a consequence, for many professionals there was nothing strange when people started planning additional floors on the houses there during the Nineties... For me that was absurd! Building is a part of the bigger whole, and I have always tried to understand the Fortress as a whole.

A good part of the Fortress is being used by residents, artists, private businesses, the military and the church. What were the attitudes to the Fortress by those who lived there and used its spaces? And what was the relationship between them and the Institute?

SB: The Nineties were the golden years for them. They could all do whatever they wanted: illegal ateliers, illegal construction sites everywhere... When I started my work, I still remember that most of the houses I just couldn't enter. Only with the police could I go into buildings and see what is happening – that is how they were treating heritage protection. They expect that they should receive everything they need and give nothing.

I would come on behalf of an Institute whom everyone sees solely as an obstacle – because we would ban construction works. No one respected the measures that we would issue and then when the construction unfolds, that would be a nightmare! We ban the works, the director signs it, the next day someone calls from the Town Hall and says that the works should continue. That was the pattern – no one respected any law. For example, we had a huge fight to ban the use of cement... Bottom line was that everyone expected from us not to protect the Fortress.

In all that mess, Institute assumed a role of inspection and police. We shouldn't have taken that role, but we had to. To this day I keep the phone number of the local police commander, so when there is a call that someone is looting some part of the Fortress, everyone expects us to go there and stop it – and that we should do it without any money.

Katarina Maksimov (KM): Yes, always the same story: the telephone rings, the brick has fallen, the neighbour has destroyed something, we run to see, they keep calling as if we have a solution to all this, as if we are the inspection. Or they call you: the neighbour is redoing the roof without a permit. I take the camera, go there, climb the roof... And then we begin always the same thing. "Did you ask for the permit for this work?" "No, no, we are just mending it a bit, here and there, just a bit..." In that sense, not much has changed. Now with the new investment by the city for the systemic restoration works in Suburbium, the expectation has risen five-fold! Now we do projects; we run the investment; we supervise.

You talk about the struggles to keep the built heritage of the Fortress protected, against numerous small private interests and usurpations. But at the same time, Petrovaradin Fortress is quite unique for the level of organised civil activity at the site, which also takes the role of caring about the Fortress. How do you see the role and influence of CSOs there?

SB: Yes, I think that level of organised activity is great. But at the same time, they all depend on us because there is a lack of public data. For example, the heritage walks that they [Scenatoria] do are excellent, so we as an Institute shouldn't be dealing with that. Even more people should do similar things about the Fortress. It is just that civil society has no continuity. They deal with a topic for a year, and then they are gone. Suburbium [another CSO] was there for years, and they did a lot of things, but other locals didn't really support it. Now we have the Festival of Street Musicians there. What is their role there? Is it just them and their offices? Is it just some temporary projects or is it also for the local community and how will the community react? It remains to be seen.

Finally, there is Likovni krug. They are all artists from the Fortress, but there are doing it not because of the Fortress but because of their own individual interests. For example, in the 60s those first artists there, like the amazing [famous Yugoslav sculptor] Soldatović, they really lived the Fortress; they had initiatives; they were connected. Those extraordinary sculptures across the Fortress, by the best sculptors that the country, that was all their own initiative. Today, artists who are using the spaces there, they don't have that kind of attitude. There is no devotion and continuity, and that is what they are all lacking.

In the early 2000s, with political and economic transformations, the end of wars and opening of borders, there was a new wave of optimism in Serbia in general. Did this affect your work? Has much changed in the 2000s?

SB: Between 2000 and 2005, there was a clear intention to move things in a better direction. Pomoriški [the president of the city council] wanted to see the Fortress on the World Heritage List, so he brought Paolo Cesare here, and the guy was in disbelief about how little data we have! The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts helped us get the documentation from Viennese archives, and since 2005, we started receiving old military maps from the Austrian War Archive. And now, someone should devote 2 or 3 whole years to studying all that.

But even then, many ideas were against conservation. I remember the proposal for the hotel on the Upper Fortress, it was designed so as to destroy a good part of it, and that was all done by Professor Antić, a big name of Serbian architecture at that time. They even made a master plan – two military barracks to be destroyed, a conference hall

built right into the rock, a bus station all the way up at the Fortress, can you imagine? And that was 2006 – not such a long time ago. The only reason that they didn't do it is because they couldn't find money for that. Then they wanted to dig a tunnel beneath, to build new road. But this has led to new archaeological excavations and findings along the proposed tunnel, which have changed the narrative about the Fortress – that it is not from the 18th century, but from the Stone Age.

KM: Yes, this was the first time we had excavation at the Fortress! They confirmed assumptions about the many layers and rich life of the Fortress throughout many millennia. But it is a pity that all the findings have not been well presented in any museum or some exhibition that would be entirely devoted to the Fortress.

SB: From then on, whatever is done in the area of the Fortress has to be followed by excavations. And the price was astonishing! One dinar for archaeology, two for construction. Which is why numerous investments have been given up there. We are the party breakers for all investments. People do not have consideration for the slowness of the research. Our archaeologists work over hours, day and night, but investors still come and ask – what are they doing there for weeks with their brushes! The main problem is that the city and the state do not have money for systematic research. Instead, they start research at the moment when there is an investor who is always in hurry.

At the international level, heritage protection is rapidly changing as a profession. There's much more emphasis on citizen participation and public advocacy through which protection and development get negotiated. How do you see these new expectations?

SB: If you want to deal with citizens, as well, and take on the additional workload, you really have to have more employees. Such expectations require an overhaul of our conservation practices and institutions. Our Institute has 28 employees [covering the city of Novi Sad], and only 6-8 deal with conservation and only a few with research. I think that the whole system is dysfunctional, and we can't keep up with the expectations. We should reformulate the role and job we are doing.

KM: For example, I have been very surprised that citizens were not really positive towards us when we started. I expected joy and happiness, and at the end they treated us like enemies. But when I thought about it later, I realized that we did nothing to prepare them for what was going to come. We were given assignments, and we spent a winter doing all the projects, and then, all of a sudden, we came to set up scaffolding. During our Summer Academy, Adam [Wilkinson] asked me how long did the negotiations last about the reconstruction of facades in Suburbium. I told him, there were no negotiations, we just came to do it. Then he shows me on his computer a photo of a building dating from the Interwar period and tells me: "it took 2 years of negotiations before we came with the scaffolds". And we came over night, put the scaffolding, and told them to be patient.

But do you see this as an advantage or a drawback?

KM: Well two years is a lot! But a year of preparation and communication with citizens would be OK. To be honest, I get stressed when I call construction workers to repair something in my house, and just imagine someone else just coming and starting the construction work! That is a crazy situation. However, I somehow expected that we and citizens would be partners in that.

What are your biggest wins of the past few years? Did that bring some important change in comparison to the past decades?

SB: First of all, since 2007, the number of people dealing with the Fortress has doubled – from one to two – plus there are other colleagues who jump in. Now, with the big restoration works in the Lower Town, we finally control the works at the site. We define methodology, so the conservation process is much better. That is probably the biggest advancement. Also, I think we have become more recognized and respected. I am also proud that the documentation has been improved a lot, we created a Fortress ID with all 1438 parcels. Now we still have to work on accessibility of this documentation.

KM: Yes, I think that the fact that we have the artistic topography and report on the state of conservation is very important because you can now finally find some information. That is a big step. Apart from that, this whole project in Suburbium (Lower Town or Gradić) is quite an improvement. It is very demanding, but after 12 years in service, I feel that for the first time I actually do what I was educated and prepared for. At the same time, this project has reunited our architectural department. We were in the situation to establish new standards, the methodology, ways of dealing with restoration works, and that feeling of a bigger team working together on something is very nice. Even if it's temporary.

SB: On the other hand, the expectations are much higher now, and we are really exhausted. Citizens in Suburbium, where we do a lot of conservation, now have astonishing aspirations and desires, without any real change in their consciousness of the whole situation and the importance of heritage. The city and the state are investing public money in your private property without any request, and you can't even clear up your attic, but we have to do it for you... I find that truly astounding!

Much of what you are highlighting relates to research and conservation. But, at the same time, you are the only institute for protection of cultural monuments in Serbia that initiated the creation of a management plan independently of nomination for UNESCO WHL – for Petrovaradin Fortress. And you have started it with a multidisciplinary team, with great care for numerous issues of life in the Fortress – citizens' attitudes, economic interests, tourism traffic. Why was that important and what was it done for?

SB: The management plan was important because it meant assuming the responsibility for the Fortress. We thought about all the topics which would be important to tackle when it comes to the Fortress. We are amateurs in this; we are conservators. And our law [on the protection of cultural monuments] does not recognize management plans, so it is all based on the good will of someone to respect and implement it. Still, we thought that would be a good thing to do, and we can do it. If we don't do it, who will? When everyone is asking the Institute for everything, then the Institute has to start this. Because anyway, we have the most information and contacts; we know the situation best.

KM: Yes, we are the information hub in a way. All the people we have hired to work on the management plan – the sociologists, tourism experts, economists, transport planners, urban planners, ecologists – we had to provide all the data for them. That is a great achievement; now there is much more transdisciplinary interest in the Fortress.

SB: In Serbia, we are expected to apply a narrow conservation approach, but our work has expanded towards an epic dimension. There is no aspect of life that is not entangled in the wider area of the Fortress. For example, there are protected species – swallows, badgers, dozens of bat species – a whole ecology that is completely fascinating and protected. But we are facing the issue of expertise. We are too small of a country to have experts for many aspects of our work. I can't be a transportation and traffic expert – I just know I want to move the traffic out of the Lower Town, but an expert in traffic has to tell me what this would take. The economic dimension is always an issue as well...

Were there any other cities or approaches that served as inspiration for you along the way? And what has been your reflection on the Historic Urban Landscape approach?

SB: Well, I have read numerous management plans for other urban historic sites that could guide us through our process. Back then we even dreamed of starting a nomination for the World Heritage List, of something like a Habsburg Limes, connecting the fortresses on the Danube. The first one I actually read was for Edinburgh. I read even their first management plan. That and the management plan for Suomenlinna Fortress in Helsinki were sort of guiding documents for us. And then you think how you could connect all those unconnected dots, all that is dispersed – because we in the Institute, because of our position, see and notice all the aspects.

KM: I have to admit that while we were doing the management planning, I was not aware of HUL – not even the basic principles. However, in hindsight, we have spontaneously set things in accordance with the HUL. We are now lagging behind our schedule for completing the management plan due to other work, but we have introduced such an approach here and that is important. This whole process for me meant that I have to change my perspective, which was that my profession is the crucial one and that others are enemies. Now I think that we should work together and constantly seek consensus and understanding.

You already pointed out numerous challenges. Any other important ones to add?

SB: Well, everyone – from the mayor to the last citizen – they would all tell you that the Fortress is the best, the most valuable, the most amazing. But it is amazing as long as it doesn't prevent me from earning something, constructing something, having some kind of benefit. You see, the economic factor here is always very selfish; it is never about the common interest. No one is thinking about the public interest. You would destroy a tiny piece of a park if it brings someone private profit.

It's the same with the Fortress, so the politics is our biggest issue here. We misunderstood democracy. Here, democracy means that I rule for 4 years; I don't think about the value and worth that will remain after my rule ends. Here, democracy is discontinuity. And we are all hostages of such a way of running political life. I will give you votes if you give me something in return.

And that is where our cultural monuments get ruined. Even in the places with higher citizen awareness, you have a problem. In Dubrovnik, for example, for an additional square meter, an additional apartment, our love of cultural heritage withers away. We value something by the price of the square meter [of a building]. I am afraid that I might be too conservative, but I really don't see that most new buildings provide any real new value. Because such constructions really don't bring any value to the city, to its urban tissue.

To end with, what would be your message to colleagues starting their work in the heritage field in other cities?

SB: I think being a conservator is a wonderful thing. But one has to be very open. One can't only go with the "I am the architect" approach in one's head. To do this job, one has to respect other professions – archaeology, law, economics. And there is a big lack of respect between professions. But to have this breadth of perception, you have to have your own diversity of interests. Not to mention the skills to communicate well with citizens and policy-makers!

KM: Yes, we are the renaissance persons! You have to be three persons at the same time. It is hard to find it these days. It's really up to an individual. But the good thing is that a lot can be improved and changed through cooperation.

Folder #2:

Findings

Chapter 2.1.

Analysis of the purposes, uses and users of the Petrovaradin Fortress

Miljena Vučković
Scenatoria Association, Novi Sad, Serbia

Katarina Dajč
Scenatoria Association, Novi Sad, Serbia

Introduction

Petrovaradin Fortress is one of the most complex, largest and best-preserved baroque artillery bastion forts in this region. It was built on the northern slopes of Fruška gora, where the foothills meet the Danube River – a critical strategic position for regional defence and an area that has been controlled by various actors for millennia. It was built in the period 1692-1780 on the foundations of previous fortifications, to defend the Habsburg Monarchy's southern border (which was also the border of Holy Roman Empire). The complex consists of various military buildings typical for 18th-century artillery fortifications, preserved to a great extent. The entire fortress once included the destroyed Bridgehead – a bridge fort on the Novi Sad bank of the river – and the Island Fort located on the present-day Officers' Beach.

The existing complex consists of four spatial-urban units with their purposes clearly defined by geographical and morphological features:

1. The Upper Fortress was the core of defence. These enclosed buildings served for production and storage of food and weaponry, and accommodation of officers and soldiers.

2. The Hornwerk is a two-horned bastion with established outer forts and counter mining system (a system of underground tunnels that would enable defenders to reach beneath attackers' miners and blow them up). Apart from the great plateau, there were barracks and guard houses, artillery sheds and horse stables.

3. The Wasserstadt – a system of ravelins, detached triangular fortifications, filled with water and mud – served as defence from the river side, and together with the Inner Town constituted the Lower Fort with four entrance gates.

4. The Lower Town or Suburbium was an urban settlement inside the city walls, serving as the military, command, administration and civilian centre, with punitive, transit, trade, craftsmanship and service functions. Civilians worked and lived together with the fortress commander, officers, soldiers and prisoners, as well as clerks of the military and civil administration.

The arrival of educated members of the officer and clerk corps, and particularly Jesuits and Franciscans, stimulated the educational, scientific and cultural life of the community. The foundation of the military hospital and the first pharmacy contributed to the improvement of municipal hygiene and sanitation. Civic and sacral buildings were raised solely in the Lower Fortress, within predefined areas determined by military authorities or the fortress commander. The wider area that was formerly under the jurisdiction of the Fortress includes today's buffer zone: parts of the Petrovaradin island, Majur, Trandžament and Ribnjak.

Suburbs provided everything for the functioning of the Fortress - food, drinks, trade and services, while Petrovaradin developed from 1691 to 1849 as a free military community with a volunteer shooting company, until the abolishment of the feudal order in the Austrian monarchy. Majur was formed first and developed as estates for officers, later purchased by citizens. A report plan from 1780/1781 locates a military hospital there. There was also a brick plant in today's New Majur and houses towards Trandžament. Near Ribnjak there was a large military brewery.

The People's Spring (1848) led to significant changes in Europe, including the cultural and political independence of nations. New circumstances and connections with surrounding villages like Novi Sad – a centre of trade – enabled the general prosperity of Petrovaradin, raised the collective consciousness and helped to form a strong society consisting of administrative workers, pharmacists, winemakers, fishermen, farmers, hospitality workers, cafe owners, teachers, religious servants and their families. Cultural, artistic and educational institutions and associations were formed. The construction of a railroad bridge over Danube and tunnel under the Fortress in 1883, connected Petrovaradin to Budapest and Zemun.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Vojvodina became part of the newly-formed Yugoslavia, and the area lost its border status and with it a number of its features and advantages. Novi Sad continued developing as the centre of the Danube region with strong agrarian and trade characteristics, and later as an industrial town. Petrovaradin lost its defensive function and continued developing alongside, and later as part of, Novi Sad. Modernization of traffic followed social reforms, initiating the first significant reconstructions of Petrovaradin Fortress (see appendices 1-3).

Today, Petrovaradin Fortress is a heritage site of great importance. It presents an extraordinary example of 18th century fortification architecture, largely preserved. The value of this unique environment surpasses the historical

significance of individual objects and numerous historical layers and narratives add to the authenticity of the site. The historical urban area of Petrovaradin Fortress contains significant spatial and economic potentials and these could harness a wider social, economic and political development.

About this research

The main aim of our research was to determine the purposes and patterns of current uses of space, the intended past and future uses, and particularly, the needs of residents and other users within the historic urban landscape (HUL) of Petrovaradin Fortress and its buffer zone.

We analysed the purposes, users and uses of the Fortress throughout history until today, in order to understand its development through time. Field research was conducted, in order to create maps of actual uses. In order to determine specialists' and experts' points of view, as well as the official attitude of the authorities, current official planning documentation was analysed. Finally, we conducted surveys in order to comprehend the perceptions, needs and attitudes of Fortress users. Additional information, details and graphic representations of the research are presented through the appendices to this article.

Historical overview of purposes, urban plans and monument protection documents

The first urban plan was adopted in 1921, regulating new traffic routes in accordance with the town's industrial development trends. Consequently, changes in the physical structure of the Fortress occurred. Previously, it was never significantly altered; only rare replacements of dilapidated houses and the reconstruction and repurposing of St. Francis Church and Monastery into a military hospital complex were recorded. Now both demographics and way of life were changing, along with the purposes and management of individual buildings: for example, between the World Wars, the commander's house became an air force command and the long barracks became an air force academy.

During the construction of the first traffic and pedestrian bridge over the Danube, a section of the bastion, the Water (Novi Sad) Gate and the whole Bridgehead on the left bank of the Danube were demolished – events that marked the first phase of demilitarization.

The first ideas of reconstruction and change of purpose of Petrovaradin Fortress were recorded in the 1937 Regulation Urban Plan of Novi Sad. Fortunately, that plan was never realized completely, since it proposed demolition of the Lower Fortress in order to make space for modern public buildings. The idea was to form a second city centre on that side of the Danube, to enable residents to live a more modern urban life. Complete reconstruction was proposed in answer to the infrastructural problems and unhealthy conditions, below modern living standards, which are emblematic for the Fortress even today. During the reconstruction of Kamenički Road before WW2, a section of St. Carl's Bastion and Kamenička Gate were demolished. This was considered an unjustified act at the time because a road meandering around the Fortress would be a better solution.

The Fortress was proclaimed a cultural monument in 1948. Protection meant that any unauthorized reconstructions, digging, demolition or any kind of change in the environment of the Fortress was forbidden without permission of the Belgrade Institute for the Protection of Monuments. The following year, for the purposes of scientific research of protected cultural monuments, a new department was established within the Museum of Vojvodina. Their biggest dispute with city institutions was about the ongoing demolition of the Fortress as a source of building material. A majority of residents were unaware of the protected heritage status, a problem which remains unsolved up to today. In order to prevent further damage, a commission was formed to implement field research determining the current state of the Upper and Lower fortresses. The committee noted damages – from small to large – along with new military structures, built from recycled material gained through demolition of the Fortress. Their conclusions were that both demolition and construction must stop immediately. Everything requiring and capable of recovery needed to be rebuilt. Their recommendation was to produce and proclaim an official decision to all parties involved. A technical program was drafted with the main points determined: the Fortress should be mostly used as a public park, with large open-air spaces allocated for amusement and recreation, while usage of existing vacant buildings should be planned in accordance with long term needs and developments, especially those used by military. A commission and board were formed for the protection and revitalization of the Fortress. They recommended that the Fortress should be opened for civilian use immediately, with introduction of a public park, promenades, botanical/ zoological garden, amusement park, youth centre with sport areas, open theatre stage and hotel. The coordination board was formed to implement the listed ideas and to beautify, revitalize and restore the Fortress as a historical monument and special place for citizens' comfort and amusement. The Fortress was opened to the public on the former Republic Day, following its demilitarization, with most of the area assigned to civilian/town authorities to manage and use.

The Fifties

Petrovaradin and Novi Sad became a single administrative unit, so most buildings changed their function. Modernization and industrialization altered society's needs and ways of life, and due to a general lack of residential units after the war, space in Suburbium was divided into smaller units – former civilian and military administration buildings, together with the houses of high-ranking officers, were repurposed and allocated according to a system of residential rights. Urbanization processes after the war reflected changes in social and economic relationships and the character of economic development. Insufficient finances affected the quality of urbanization process. The urban population grew as a consequence of general industrialization and deagrarization trends. Growth created a set of problems like insufficient infrastructure, asynchronous development and environmental pollution.

The General Urban Plan of 1951 did not deal with the Fortress area apart from determining its purpose – a leisure and recreation park, with the note that this transition should be the result of a thorough study in order to preserve

its historical character. Traffic was also mentioned, a with Historical overview of purposes, urban plans and monument protection documents temporary solution considered – a railway route passing through the historical core of Suburbium. Since the very beginnings of modernization, traffic remained an evergrowing and never-resolved issue. As the railroad bridge was destroyed in WW2, the route was relocated onto a bridge through the exact centre of Inner Town - Štrosmajerova Street, which required the demolition of certain buildings and sections of fortifications. The planned re/construction of a bridge on the piers of the old railway bridge (never realized) was meant to be accompanied by the enlargement of the tunnel through the Fortress and the construction of a road on the former train route. Unfortunately, this idea has been adopted in every successive urban plan, including the present one.

Simultaneously, after WW2 the new government made an effort to reconstruct everything demolished during the war and created legislation regarding heritage protection. A public institution was established with the task of monitoring the Fortress. To implement the aforementioned change of purpose, a Yugoslavian open call for management of the Petrovaradin Fortress was published in 1953. However, it did not yield the expected results. The demilitarization of the Upper Fortress and Hornwerk led to changes in the Fortress's physical form. Many buildings were demolished and reconstructed in repurposing complex to the new requirements. Stairs and other sections were reconstructed according to contemporary landscaping standards. Interventions were performed under supervision of the first Fortress manager Andrej Sečujski, unfortunately often conducted swiftly and without previous field documentation.

A consequence of this is the problem of non-existent technical documentation today. Once a large area was opened, vacant buildings were allocated to then-developing higher education. The Fortress temporarily hosted three faculties and student dormitories. It is interesting that for a while, an amusement park and even a zoo existed in the Hornwerk. In the Lower Fortress, on the ramp pathway, former workers' barracks were assigned to the newly-founded Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. Water Town is still used exclusively for military purposes.

Renowned artists of the period received former military buildings in the Upper Fortress, reconstructed as ateliers. A section of the Long Barracks was turned into a hotel, and the Simple Barracks until recently hosted the Historical Archives of Novi Sad. The arsenal of the Upper Fortress became a museum. Certain spaces were used for hospitality – a restaurant, nightclubs, etc. According to the plan, the Upper Fortress was allocated for education and culture, arts, amusement and entertainment, recreation and tourism, and the meetings of high officials.

Though this purpose remains partially to this day, the physical structures and general infrastructure are in poor condition. The Fortress is inadequately and insufficiently used, its purpose and content lack the necessary diversity and attraction, the number of visitors is low compared to its potential, and maintenance is expensive, with income next to none. The general condition of the physical structures indicates that they are endangered by age, lack of maintenance, humidity, settlement of soil, inappropriate use, incorrect electrical wiring and overgrown greenery. This description of the general situation has been repeated over the years in every plan.

The Sixties

A decade later, a new General Urban Plan (GUP) of 1961 introduced a new social and economic approach and intense urbanization features, with new industrial zones and further traffic modernization proposals. Construction of Žeželj Bridge in the 1960s relocated the railroad from Suburbium and the façades of the neighbourhood were painted and decorated. The course of Danube was redirected and the Quay was formed – including a promenade next to the river and the new Officers' Beach.

An industrial zone was created in Petrovaradin, while Ribnjak was occupied by (summer) houses, despite the urban plan's intentention for it to be a central town park. The plan proposed that any of the erected buildings unfit for the fundamental purposes of social recreation, tourism and hospitality must be demolished. This plan has gone unenforced through the decades, with ever more houses being erected and inhabited.

The Seventies

Industrialization and traffic modernization shaped the development of Petrovaradin – reaching its peak in the 1970s. A new Management program for Petrovaradin Fortress was adopted in 1972, Lovoturs Agency founded, the Academy of Art and Astronomical Society were formed, and multiple reconstructions performed. The planned purpose for the Fortress remained culture and leisure, with Suburbium as one of town's hospitality centres. However, a closer integration of Novi Sad and Petrovaradin was not achieved. The adopted management plan declared the active protection of the natural environment and built heritage and introduced different protection regimes across the entire site. Regrettably, built heritage continued to be endangered, mostly due to lack of compatibility between historical, social and cultural criteria and the technical and economic means.

The GUP from 1974 envisioned a botanical garden and amusement park, two specialized galleries, an open-air theatre, a cinema and a park in the Hornwerk. The same GUP listed guidelines for the development of urban heritage: the preservation, renewal and reconstruction of buildings and their environs, architectural details, street matrix and roof heights, well-planned greenery, pedestrian areas, monuments, an appropriate system of visual information, colour designs and night-time lighting. Every intervention must be in harmony with the whole, while the entire site is evaluated on the principles of the social and cultural demands of continuity of urban values, due to the dangers of more efficient solutions in conditions of decreased economic possibilities.

Several traffic solutions were proposed. One of the proposals involved the construction of a pedestrian bridge at the location of Varadinski Bridge with access to public transport and the redirection of other traffic through an expanded railway tunnel. The other included a pedestrian bridge constructed on the piers of the old railroad bridge together with the construction of an elevator to the Upper Fortress. The repeated conclusion was that active traffic has no place within the Fortress. Parking lots at entry points were planned, along with an alternative distribution of traffic throughout the complex. The issue of the demilitarization of the entire complex was raised. Even

though the Fortress was listed as the first zone of urban protection, this declared protection alone could not prevent the deterioration caused by inappropriate use. The main condition for the sustainable existence and development of any building is active and responsible usage.

The Eighties

Successful industry and economy made Petrovaradin a self-sustainable and prosperous municipality with means to invest in further development. Expectedly, this resulted in further changes to the population, including a constant decline in the number of wine makers, craftsmen and merchants, which led to changes in the urban environment and a loss of genius loci. A detailed Urban Plan for Petrovaradin Fortress was prepared by the end of 1980s, and exhaustive all-encompassing documentation was prepared on the basis of detailed research. A summary of the existing situation underlined increasing neglect and a halt in development. Specifically, buildings slated for initial reconstruction works degraded further because of insufficient investments and unsystematic reconstructions. The plan included the relocation of Suburbium residents and complete revitalization of the area, however, that remained only an awkward idea.

The Nineties

In 1991, the Fortress was declared an immovable cultural monument – a spatial, cultural, historical heritage site of great importance. A Revitalization Program was adopted by the mid-nineties (1996). It relied on a long-term development perspective based on the Detailed Urban Plan of 1991, which states that Petrovaradin Fortress should become a cultural and tourist centre of the highest status.

This purpose can be interpreted as a reiteration of the previously established principles for the site. The plan further determines that the Fortress must be active on multiple levels – to provide cultural content and host cultural events, to be well connected (accessible) and to offer sufficient accommodation facilities, as well as enough space for sports and recreation. As the Fortress holds the status of a cultural monument and is protected by law, it was stated that future development must be based on the active use of all existing capacities, with appropriate renewal or revitalization, and that any new construction or any other change must be reduced to a minimum and regulated according to the laws of protection.

There was shift in property ownership, from largely public to mainly private residential units, while business was still mostly public. A basic division was made according to civilian or military use. The Upper Fortress was far more spatially regulated than Hornwerk and the neglected Suburbium – the completely unregulated civilian area of the Lower Fortress.

This Revitalization Program recognized and noted the serious damage and unsatisfactory condition of the Fortress underground, predominantly used by artists, but also the City Greenery and some other individuals. These spaces were adapted according to the needs and inclinations of the users without any professional supervision. The fine idea to use spaces for art studios turned into a problem by the fact that the structure was usurped, degraded and permanently damaged by uncontrolled and inadequate interventions. Another problem is the privatization of exterior space and the construction of (temporary) structures to form "yards." After research and rehabilitation, the planned purpose for the underground areas was culture, craftsmanship, tourism, leisure and sports.

In the Upper Fortress, apart from the maintenance and advancement of present capacities, new cultural and tourist content was planned in the form of theatres, open air stages, public restrooms and water fountains, and appropriate crafts and trade. The Revitalization Program recommended that, during the summer, the Upper Fortress, together with the promenade and lookout towards town should be used for theatre and concert events. Those programs were partially realized throughout the years, with a positive reception by citizens and visitors alike. The relocation of the Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad and City Greenery from the Simple Barracks was planned, followed by reconstruction works and infrastructure maintenance. Similar purposes were planned for the Hornwerk: education, culture, hospitality, retail, public spaces, service industry, and an open-air stage.

The plan for Suburbium was to empty the ground floors and repurpose the zone for business, trade, craftsmanship, culture, art and hospitality. Demilitarization was once again proposed, even though existing capacities were not exhausted. Suburbium and the Lower Fortress repeatedly suffered illegal use and degradation of buildings and contents. New purposes, contents and events proposed by the program were unfortunately short-lived or one-time, while attempts at development and renewal failed due to insufficient use. Several nightclubs around the Fortress were counted as a program for youth. The general neglect of "Water Town" (Wasserstadt) has had a surprisingly positive effect. The area has remained unaffected by illegal construction and as such presents the greatest potential out of the entire complex.

The Buffer Zone became fertile ground for illegal construction and replacement of original houses with inappropriate construction, including residential buildings in Ribnjak. Business developed along the main traffic routes: Preradovićeva and Reljkovićeva streets. Formerly successful companies and production plants closed or deteriorated. Traffic reappeared as the main problem for the successful functioning of the Fortress, and again traffic relocation was proposed, with the construction of a bridge, tunnel expansion, an elevator or a cable car suggested as alternatives, as well. Another issue was the condition of greenery and landscaping.

Petrovaradin Fortress stayed underdeveloped as a tourist destination, with inadequate use of resources and possibilities. In the 1999 bombing, bridges were destroyed. Petrovaradin and Novi Sad were again divided, with only barges and boats operating between them. Varadinski Bridge was rebuilt relatively quickly, while the new railway bridge still has not been constructed, even 18 years later.

The New Millennium

At the beginning of the new millennium the Fortress was "a decrepit patient of one hundred and one diseases" (Jovanović, 2003) which needed rehabilitation, revitalization and care, as architect Slobodan Jovanović noted. His thoughts were that the Fortress never lacked plans, visions and program ideas; implementation was problematic – everyone failed in realization.

Since 2001 the EXIT Festival has been happening in the Fortress. Unfortunately, this fantastic idea and exceptional cultural event has turned into, over the years, a "festival occupation" of the monument, ignoring and excluding

regular users. Another activity, Museum Night attracts audiences to Petrovaradin Fortress temporarily, the same as other occasional public performances. During this time, a number of civil associations that promote the Fortress are founded. In 2016 the Street Musicians' Festival moved to Suburbium, promoting the atmosphere, potential and possibilities of this peculiar urban area. The following year, various cultural organizations joined the now-renamed festival Gradić Fest to gain even more visibility and bring more visitors to Suburbium. Upcoming editions will show the intended direction of development and the durability of these tendencies.

The period of the 2000s brought a certain renewal of buildings in Suburbium, albeit individual and sporadic. A few hostels and hospitality facilities opened in Suburbium. Attempts to create new purposes are usually short lived due to bad traffic conditions and deteriorating infrastructure. Plenty of art studios within the Fortress are closed to visitors; they are the subjects of illegal "trade" and misuse.

The conclusion is familiar – without systematic, continual and constant effort there is no chance for the success and implementation of positive changes. The Army is moving out from certain (dilapidated) buildings, listing them for sale. In 2015, a writing of the new Management plan has begun.

Present

The current circumstances and growth tendencies of Novi Sad in a wider context are between shifting from the standstill with changes for the better and loss of identity, resulting in a lack of strategic management and potentially wrong decisions regarding the future of the monument (with long term, sometimes even irreparable consequences), which present risks for preservation of this unique site.

Cultural heritage requires more complex maintenance and preservation, supported by an appropriate officially allocated budget, but it also requires consciousness, awareness and responsibility on behalf of the users. All that can be raised by education and cooperation, by encouraging affiliation with the community and the urban area.

Apparent problems are, among others, lack of information accompanied by bad infrastructure and utility services. Lack of urban furnishings and landscaping represent disinterest and negligence for this cultural property, its users and visitors. Façade reconstruction in Suburbium has already initiated changes, such as rising property values which has ignited gentrification and speculative processes, showing how positive efforts could have negative consequences.

Apart from "visible" problems, there is also the significant problem of "invisible" spaces that are extensively devastated, neglected and abandoned, exposed to usurpation and illegal use by individuals and self-organized groups, contrary to procedures and the law. Sculptures that formed an inseparable part of arranged open spaces are now disappearing. Sports and recreation are not sufficiently developed and represented.

Official tourist offerings and hospitality are at a basic level, resulting in low expectations by visitors and a reproduction of minimum standards which further inhibit demand and interest. Locations on site are not being used for theatre, cinema, music or other arts, which could provide a direct and logical connection to the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad and great potential for the complex as a whole. Nonetheless, the most recognizable problems are a lack of continual cultural offerings and the absence of vital and transparent institutions. A ban on private vehicles and the promotion of public transportation, along with the organization of accessible tourist, pedestrian, and cycling traffic routes (and infrastructure) offer themselves as reasonable solutions, even necessary conditions, and the next (first!?) step towards the renewal and conservation of the site's architectural stock and the initiator of a subsequent (positive) shift in purpose.

Analysis of planning documentation

In this part we are offering an analysis of various planning documents with the aim of determining the legal status, laws and regulations, their implementation and management of cultural heritage, as well as their impacts and consequences. Almost every documents state that it is crucial to carefully treat and use cultural heritage in a sustainable way, yet little is actually done. The population is unaware of the value of cultural heritage and institutions have limited implementation mechanisms, which widens the gap between the conditions of the Fortress on "paper" and in real life. Plans differ in defining and setting the boundaries of the protected area and in the level of legal protection and implementation.

All of the documents state the importance, value and potential of Petrovaradin Fortress, with slight variations in focus and formulation. The Fortress is simultaneously being (at least declaratively) protected as a cultural monument, built heritage, part of the natural landscape, part of a protected water supply area, etc. This dispersion of values means also the dispersion of responsibilities.

Another common trait of all the documents that we analysed is that they all contain observations, conclusions and recommendations, but lack concrete tools for implementing and monitoring the recommendations and regulations. Goals were not implemented but copied over again. Compared to the actual conditions, the plans become ever more abstract and too often absurd (like turning the very dense settlement of Ribnjak into a park while incorporating hundreds of existing houses).

Another interesting fact is the distancing from previous plans that have been surpassed – as if a plan is some independent body that is produced and implemented by itself. The irreversible consequences of hasty decisions or inaction are not even mentioned for the sake of evaluation and future improvement. The lack of legal consequences for illegal or harmful construction and the lack of institutional power to influence the built environment in real time make institutions self-absorbed and the documents outdated before they are even published. They are describing an (ideal) desired, not real, condition.

The most astonishing result of this analysis is that the two main public institutions that are supposed to collaborate for the common good – The Institute for Urbanism and The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments - are actually not coordinated and are sometimes even conflicting in their interests and recommendations. Consequently, urban planners are not recognizing the buffer zone of Petrovaradin Fortress nor the regulations and recommendations from the Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. The current General Urban Plan of

the city of Novi Sad (GUP 2021) from 2006 recognizes the problems that plague the Fortress and forms some recommendations for planning new infrastructure and content. Unfortunately, these recommendations are hard to implement in further plan development, or they are not under the jurisdiction of the city. Experts also give recommendations on how to define the operational aims and tools for implementation, but what remains unclear is who should enforce this and when. An important question remains: what will happen with Wasserstadt if and when the military leaves the premises, and whose regulations will be more relevant and important? Whose recommendations will be favoured and accepted? Residents are also concerned with this change, as well as with many other issues, as survey results show (see below).

The Law on the Spatial Plan for RS 2010 - 2020 (Zakon o prostornom planu Republike Srbije od 2010 do 2020. godine) references threatened cultural values, poor affirmation of cultural heritage as a resource, the variable status and treatment of heritage, illegal buildings, heavy transport near cultural heritage, ownership disputes, and other issues, ending with the idea that the "long term vision of development of Serbia also implies the preservation and protection of cultural heritage" and emphasizes that Petrovaradin Fortress is a restoration priority (ZPPRS, 2010). "The direct surroundings of Petrovaradin Fortress are determined to be a supervised area (restricted), a special zone that defines some of the components of protection, although not protection in its entirety." (ZPPRS, 2010). The Spatial Plan for RS gives directions and recommended tools for implementation. Based on it, other spatial plans were made, but not one for the City of Novi Sad. On the city level, the Fortress is perceived as a "spatial, cultural and historical landmark" (brochures, un/official web pages, etc).

The Decision on the Creation of a Regional Spatial Plan of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (Odluka o donošenju Regionalnog prostornog plana Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine) defines and interprets heritage as "wider areas ... and ... cultural landscapes" (Odluka o donošenju RPP APV, 2011). It shows the discordance between plans and regulations on the national and regional levels, resulting in different, sometimes opposing regulations and requirements from the responsible institutions. Just as on the national level, the general conditions are stated as bad, "insufficient and irregular care without a plan..." (Odluka o donošenju RPP APV, 2011). The vision for the spatial development of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the cultural heritage domain vaguely defines regulating principles, putting heritage protection at the end of list. The Regional Spatial Plan of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina defines the Fortress as part of the valuable homogenous Danube - Fruška Gora region. An attractive climate for investments and tourism are considered the most important for the plans on both levels.

The Spatial Plan for the Special-Purpose Area - The International Waterway E80 – Danube, primarily focusing on the Danube River as a waterway and the huge touristic potential of the area, concludes that "there is no plan to follow in the treatment and presentation of heritage, which is a problem," and "after research and conservation, (heritage sites) are abandoned and forgotten" (Prostorni plan područja posebne namene međunarodnog plovnog puta E80 - Dunav (Panevropski koridor VII), 2010). This plan sees natural and cultural heritage as connected and integral. In line with the national-level plan, it prioritizes the prevention of future illegal construction and the recovery of existing buildings (though building laws don't assume removal). Again, the touristic and economic potentials are the main motivation.

The Decision on the Creation of the Spatial Plan for Special Purpose Area - Fruška Gora Mountain (Odluka o donošenju Prostornog plana područja posebne namene Fruške gore do 2022. godine)includes the whole municipality of Petrovaradin. It states that "Petrovaradin is a place where individual monuments cannot be singled out, because as a whole, it represents heritage that should be protected" (Odluka o donošenju Prostornog plana područja posebne namene Fruške gore do 2022. godine [Odluka o donošenju PP PPN FG do 2022. g], 2004). The decision further states that "the Fortress, Suburbium, churches and monasteries, public, residential and military objects inherited from the past are a homogenous whole, unique in Vojvodina, and beyond." (Odluka o donošenju PP PPN FG do 2022. g, 2004).

The Spatial Plan for the Special-Purpose Area - Special Nature Reserve "Kovilj-Petrovaradin Marshland" ("Prostorni plan područja posebne namene Specijalni rezervat prirode "Koviljsko-petrovaradinski rit" [PP PSN SRP "Koviljsko-petrovaradinski rit"]) sees "the Fortress as space with accumulated touristic attractiveness" (PP PSN SRP "Koviljsko-petrovaradinski rit", 2012).

The Spatial Plan of the City of Novi Sad (Prostorni plan Grada Novog Sada [PP GNS]) recognizes the Fortress with Suburbium as a space for work and the development of cultural institutions by "favouring cultural contents as the main purpose of the objects" (Prostorni plan Grada Novog Sada [PP GNS], 2012). Further, "Suburbium is very attractive, and with (re)arrangement of this area, the Petrovaradin coastal area would become an important touristic zone." (PP GNS, 2012).

The Plan of the Detailed Regulation of Petrovaradin Fortress in Novi Sad determines the rules for building within the coverage defined by the GUP - Fortress with Suburbium and park surfaces around. The plan lists the Fortress a "the city's most beautiful park area." (Plan detaljne regulacije Petrovaradinske tvrđave u Novom Sadu [PDR PT NS], 2010). The building of new structures is planned restrictively and primarily within the Upper Fortress – as the reconstruction of buildings removed after WW2 – and within Suburbium, on free plots, so as to supplement the characteristic border type blocks. The plan defines the regulations for the reconstruction other parts of the original complex, as well. This construction is in line with measures written by the responsible preservation institution. The plan covers water supply and sewage solutions, especially in Suburbium, where these are in "particularly bad condition" (PDR PT NS, 2010). The plumbing would go through a tunnel.

The traffic infrastructure keeps the existing network of streets and plans, along with the building of a new bridge on the existing columns of the former Franz Josef Bridge. The new bridge would continue through the existing tunnel, which would be broadened. A new means of transportation would be introduced in the form of a rail line over the Varadin Bridge – through Preradovićeva and Belgrade streets. The plan also introduces new locations for car parking around the Upper Fortress and Suburbium. The Plan of the Detailed Regulation of the Bridge on the Route of the Former Franc Josef Bridge in Novi Sad explains that the construction of the bridge acts as a condition for the

removal of automotive traffic from Suburbium, which is, again, conditioned for revitalisation. The design and construction of the bridge is directly determined by the winning idea in a competition 2008. The most important limitations were the "incorporation of the existing columns of the former bridge and the protection of the spatial and visual domination of the Fortress" (from the competition in 2008). Various Studies for the Production of a New General Urban Plan of the City of Novi Sad until 2030) specifies that the pedestrianization of Suburbium depends on the building of the new bridge and that cycling lanes were not planned but are now proposed. Further, it argues that the Fortress is a special kind of green area of Novi Sad, due to its valuable heritage and cultural content.

The General Urban Plan of the City of Novi Sad until 2021 (Generalni plan Novog Sada do 2021. godine [GUP NS 2021]) mentions the Fortress with Suburbium as a "preferential urban zone ... an area of strategic importance for the city's development ..." (GUP NS 2021, 2006) ; "great potential" is a formulation that all plans share, as well as "(best possible) protection" of institutions and nature. Several documents suggest "the favouring of cultural contents as the main purpose of the structures within the Fortress and Suburbium" (GUP NS 2000, 1974; GUP NS 2005, 1985; GUP NS 2001, 1991). GUP NS 2021 states: "the Fortress with Suburbium will develop according to special programs, and space will be arranged within the protection regime" (GUP NS 2021, 2006).

Perceptions, needs and attitudes of Fortress users

In order to determine the perceptions, needs and attitudes of users of Petrovaradin Fortress with its buffer zone, we implemented two surveys – one in the Fortress and the other, slightly adjusted to zone specificities, in the buffer zone. The surveys were conducted via internet and by direct interviews. A total of 200 survey sheets were distributed in the Fortress (Upper Fortress and Lower town) and 100 in the buffer zone. We received 52 responds from the Lower Town, 7 from the Upper Fortress and 21 from the buffer zone. Most eager to participate and even promote the survey were residents of Suburbium, while the least willing were users of spaces within the Upper Fortress: artists using studios and business owners/managers. Although 17 respondents of the buffer zone expressed very strong feelings of connection with the Fortress complex, only 5 of them knew that this part belongs to the protected area, while 16 of the respondents were not aware of that fact.

Upper Fortress users and residents

Four out of seven respondents are the employees in public / cultural institutions located at the Upper Fortress. The remaining are two resident artists and one visiting photographer. All agree that the spaces are worn out and need infrastructural improvement. They point out poor physical conditions, i.e. a lack of toilets in the Planetarium, inadequate spatial conditions for the Museum and similar. Desired changes within the next five years include proper reconstruction of buildings, removal of the Exit festival from the Fortress, better general safety, a cable car connecting the city and the Fortress, pedestrianisation of Suburbium, the formation of a public enterprise responsible for the Fortress, better usage of space, diverse cultural offers and an open gallery for all artists working in the Fortress. As for ongoing improvements, respondents agree that repainting façades in Suburbium is needed, but they are afraid that beautifying is not enough and will be short-lived without proper reconstruction and revitalisation of the entire area. Four of them consider the cultural offer to be good, one thinks it is average, and two consider it poor. Significant differences in answers between Fortress and Suburbium respondents related to traffic, concerning both pollution and noise. While in Suburbium traffic is an important issue and a source of dissatisfaction, the Fortress is buffered from the negative influences of traffic.

These respondents generally perceive taxes and rent expenses as high. Six out of seven consider that there are enough but not too many visitors and tourists. Four respondents note to the troubles with plumbing and sewage, three with roofs and façades. Also, four consider noise from festivals and events to be too high, and three think noise and pollution from traffic is high. At the same time, three respondents consider public transport not frequent enough and that there are not enough places to park bicycles, while six consider car parking insufficient. Four consider sport and leisure infrastructure insufficient. Nobody is satisfied with the general state and look of Petrovaradin Quay and Officers' Beach, and the safety of Suburbium and other parts.

Only one respondent is satisfied with zones for pedestrians. Again, one is happy with greenery in all areas of Fortress, while two respondents are satisfied with the general condition of structures. Nobody thinks cycling is safe and adequate in Petrovaradin; two persons think the opposite for automotive traffic; four of them are in favour of banning traffic within the Fortress complex, while two of them wish for the removal of traffic only from the Upper Fortress. Five persons think parking for residents and visitors should be separated. The same number is dissatisfied with urban furnishings, and five are for the reconstruction of the whole Fortress. Six respondents hope for developed open spaces and open-air events, as well as cultural institutions, while everybody thinks that artistic studios should be open to the public.

Although everybody wants more touristic infrastructure, more than half wouldn't accept more cafes and restaurants. Five think there should be more spaces and happenings for young people, but only two support more spaces for nightlife. Five think there should be more content for the elderly, and four that tranquillity should return to Suburbium. Four agree that the army should leave the premises. Two are satisfied with the availability of shops and services. Regarding the rise in tourist accommodation: two institutions that strive to attract more visitors support the idea; the same number oppose it.

As for the protected area management, only one feels involved in decision-making processes, two think that management is transparent and every opinion valued, while four consider that they could actively contribute to responsible future development. The impression is that there should be more publications about the Fortress and an alternative space for the Exit festival.

Lower Town inhabitants

Compared to the seven answers coming from the Fortress zone, the 52 answers from Suburbium is a more representative sample, especially since people from every street responded. Half of respondents are residents and half

are there for business – owners of spaces and businesses, workers, cultural workers and artists, tourism and hospitality workers, army and healthcare employees, visitors of sports and religious facilities.

Gender-wise, there were 29 female and 23 male survey participants. In terms of age, respondents come across all age groups. Considering education and occupation, a complex image emerges, with many different professions practised and all levels of education – the majority of respondents completed either a high school or a university degree. More than half of those interviewed have lived or used spaces within the complex for more than 10 years, and 12 have been there since birth. These numbers (together with additional comments) crosscompared with answers and attitudes regarding leaving Suburbium show a strong sense of belonging, ownership and community. The reasons for buying/renting space within the Fortress complex can be divided into two major groups: one deliberately deciding to come/stay in Suburbium due to its "proximity to the city (Novi Sad) centre, the Danube and the Fortress at the same time" and because of the beauty and uniqueness of the space (that inspires artwork), while the other group is there as a result of circumstances (job location, inherited space, being born there, etc.).

Despite crumbling infrastructure, dampness, noise, even toilets that are outside residential units, the majority of respondents do not ever think about leaving Suburbium. A few indicated that they would leave due to the low living standards, or for a newer/bigger unit if there was the opportunity, but are now having second thoughts, since they hope for higher property values and a better profit in the near future. Some of them recognize their neighbours as the main obstacle for improvement and upgrading, and fear gentrification as the only possible force to force them out. As for changes in particular spaces that participants use, the majority agree upon improving infrastructure – particularly in terms of moisture and roofing (which are being repaired currently through the repair of façades). A number of residents doubt that full improvement will happen soon, due to the perception that many residents are disrespectful and negligent towards their neighbours and the wider environment (corridors, courtyards, etc.). Business users also have doubts about change because they consider the Fortress to be remote from those who make decisions and allocate funding.

Respondents' desired changes over the next 5 years include various infrastructure improvements. Almost half of the respondents are emphasizing the need to finally solve the traffic issue and turn Suburbium into a pedestrian zone, with a plenitude of urban greenery, better street lights and other basic urban furnishings. It is interesting that approximately one third of those interviewed expect program and content development pretty much in line with the Novi Sad GUP and based on other pedestrian zone models. Arts and crafts are also at the top of the list of expectations, followed by the relocation of festivals, which are perceived as a threat by 7 of the respondents. An overall impression is that everybody almost secretly and shyly wishes for a rise in property values and perceives that as a chance for becoming a luxurious neighbourhood. The reconstruction of façades polarizes opinions, ranging from great satisfaction and gratefulness for any improvement, praising the quality of work, to utter disappointment that such works are being done before the traffic problem is solved and without infrastructure improvements or work on interior spaces, calling everything Potemkin villages. Everybody strongly doubts the lasting effects and fear that soon the buildings will go back to their previous state.

As main problems, 46 of the respondents highlight noise and pollution from traffic (but only 24 highlight the same issues with festivals and events), lack of parking for cars (39 respondents) and bicycles (44 respondents), and sports and leisure infrastructure (38 respondents). On the contrary, 3 respondents indicated problems with neighbours, while the legalization and inability to improve space, as well as high expenses for rent and taxes are not seen as priorities, with only 8 respondents perceiving them as problems, while others do not. The number of tourists is perceived as non-invasive by 39 respondents, while 30 respondents consider the offers for them and residents to be insufficient. In all, 35 respondents would like to see better and more diverse cultural and touristic offers. Depending on exact location, 27 of the answers highlight infrastructure issues, such as façades, roofs and dampness, while another group of respondents does not recognize this as a problem.

The level of satisfaction with everything is very low, dropping to minimal in regard to urban furnishings and pedestrian space. Everything is ranked significantly bad, with more than half of respondents dissatisfied with everything. The only slight exception the Officers' Beach for which 3 respondents claimed a positive level of satisfaction.

Thus, only dissatisfaction can be presented: 41 for the level of safety and cycling infrastructure; 33 for pedestrian infrastructure; 48 regarding urban furnishings; and 47 for services and the supply of everyday goods. Cleanliness across the Fortress complex is ranked poorly, with 32 respondents being dissatisfied, and the state of the built environment is considered poor by 43 respondents. Car traffic is perceived as inadequate by 31, and the same number considers the condition of greenery to be poor.

A majority of respondents in Suburbium (35) welcomes more cultural events, including festivals, and 44 are for open-air events. Practically everybody supports a higher overall capacity for tourism, and 28 support more accommodation, which differs from other groups. When it comes to restaurants / cafes opinions are divided by thirds – accurately showing the conflicting standpoints of the interviewed citizens and users. However, 49 respondents agree on abolishing car traffic and separating parking lots for residents and visitors. All respondents support further reconstruction of the Fortress. In total, 49 respondents support the idea of more and diverse public spaces, along with more cultural institutions and non-commercial programs, and more space for children (46 for seniors). In all, 45 agree that the army should leave the complex, and 42 want the ateliers open for the public, which was one of the conditions for usage; 43 respondents value tranquillity.

Five respondents consider the Fortress complex management to be transparent, as opposed to 44 that do not. Six consider themselves to be involved in decision-making processes, while 46 feel left out. In total, 19 think that they could contribute to the development of the complex, but 26 doubt that. And finally, 23 answered that different and marginalized voices are not heard and counted, while 19 think the opposite.

Buffer zone inhabitants

Within the buffer zone, 15 respondents are residents, while 6 run businesses. Students are not renting apartments in this zone, partially because of the lack of available residential space. As in the Fortress and Suburbium

samples, residents and users of the buffer zone emphasize that they like their space and the area due to its proximity to "everything" – the city and nature, the Danube and Fruška Gora. Only 2 respondents would change their space – to get a bigger one; the other 19 answered that they would not. As for change within or around their space, 3 respondents highlighted infrastructural improvements. The next 5 years would ideally bring improvement in infrastructure, general safety, regular maintenance, traffic removal, the expansion of pedestrian zones, more and better public space, open green areas and sports facilities, cultural institutions and offers. Again, as in the Fortress and Suburbium samples, one respondent proposes a cable car. Current protection and transparent management are repeated in several answers to various questions. Strong sense of connection with Fortress is present, and 15 of respondents visit it every day / very frequent. There is not even one person that doesn't go at least once per year.

Respondents regard façade repainting efforts as needed but consider them to be slow and insufficient without the renovation and restoration of the entire structure. The concern that everything will be the same again very soon is backed up by the example of the Belgrade Gate. Regarding the shortcomings of the examined area, the answers include noise, parking and heavy transport, communal hygiene and equipment, and infrastructure and supply. Advantages are the closeness and beauty of nature, combined with the closeness of city services. When compared to other parts of Novi Sad, bad public transport connections, heavy transport in residential areas, poor maintenance, and lack of strategic public investments are recurring issues.

Problems underlined include high expenses for tax, the lack of sports and recreational facilities, the lack of cultural offers, and limited car parking. Half of respondents consider traffic noise and pollution too high, answering similar to Suburbium respondents. Other problems depend on the exact spaces and are not influenced by the proximity of the Fortress or buffer zone. Satisfaction with greenery changes with the location of respondents, something which also occurs in relation to the variety of shops and services, impressions about traffic – pedestrian, bicycle and automotive. For all of these, responses typically depend on participation in the activity and its location.

Strong dissatisfaction is expressed with the cleanliness of the area, same as with state of Officers' Beach and Quay. Fifteen respondents are very unhappy with the condition of the Fortress. Five consider the urban furnishings satisfying, while 15 think the opposite. Nuances appear in terms of satisfaction with the safety of the Fortress and the safety of the buffer zone, with more than half of respondents showing dissatisfaction with both and only 6 being satisfied with both.

The answers portray strong support (18 agree, with not one against) for more cultural events, institutions and contents, open-air events, non-commercial spaces, spaces and contents for the elderly, reconstruction of the whole Fortress and the opening of the artistic studios to the public. Everybody thinks more touristic infrastructure (sign posts, info centre, etc.) is necessary, a figure which drops to 18 when it comes to tourist accommodation capacity and more spaces and facilities for children; 16 favour banning traffic in the Fortress; 14 are for the military leaving the area. Half of all respondents think positively about the return of tranquillity and silence in Suburbium, while the responses shift towards indifference regarding cafes and restaurants and opposition to nightclubs.

Respondents see the greater autonomy of Petrovaradin municipality as a precondition for smarter investments in the Fortress and greater involvement in decision processes. Few recognise the illegally built structures as an obstacle for returning the Fortress as close as it can be to its original condition. There is a single idea to start charging for entrance to the Fortress, as well as charging for parking. Another idea is to offer free transport from Novi Sad / Suburbium to the Fortress to intensify touristic development.

Conclusions

An overview of urban plans and monument protection documents throughout history until today showed that not much has changed regarding the intentions and purposes since the 1950s. An analysis of the current condition, along with urban and revitalization plans, shows the same purposes applied, similar ideas and solutions recommended, while the situation worsens through time. A commonality for all plans is that very few ideas were actually realized. The current façade reconstructions are a precedent set by the civic administration of Petrovaradin Fortress. Their importance lies in raising awareness and turning the spotlight on the Fortress – as preconditions for future changes.

Field research ascertained the mixed purposes in the HUL: residential, business, service, military, cultural, institutional, artistic, educational, recreational, religious, healthcare, touristic and festival; municipal purposes – public enterprises, the city centre, and hospitality sites, along with their users, coexist alone, communicating within their community, with the Fortress only as a circumstantial backdrop for their existence/activities. The problems of Petrovaradin Fortress include traffic, inadequate infrastructure, the general poor condition of buildings and spaces, the lack of a specially allocated budget for systematic restoration, the lack of content and services, inadequate tourist offers, festival "occupation", the presence of the military, the devastation of unused spaces, and the current and potential misuse of spaces during the process of complete demilitarization. The visible deficiency of services, public spaces, content, information and adequate infrastructure, as well as problems caused by traffic, are perceived and accepted as given.

Users of this specific area are there intentionally or circumstantially, using space freely, some responsibly and with great pleasure, understanding the benefits and problems in being part of the HUL; a few even express visions for the future and propose solutions, but nobody expresses responsibility for the current state of affairs. It is common for most people to express a distancing statement, such as "they should...", often without any idea who "they" are. Though everyone could use the space, only conservators should preserve it, which is impossible for many reasons, including the fact that institutions are acting without mutual communication. Both plans and users agree on the importance of the Fortress and the need for thorough revitalization. Inadequate renovation – without permissions, without sufficient education, etc. – is also a threat.

The survey conducted shows different, sometimes contrasting views of residents and users, as expected, since their needs and the roles they perform differ. A sense of

ownership and commitment are expressed in high percentages, but irresponsible, selfish, even malicious intentions are also present in terms of the spaces that are allocated/used. Only one artist from the Fortress zone participated in the survey, confirming that plenty of others, together with various "illegal" studio renters, wish to maintain the status quo, since they benefit from the dispersed responsibilities.

Participants are generally enthusiastic about further development and changes, while simultaneously concerned with the durability of current façade works. Residents are kept in anticipation of somebody else's decision about their stay or relocation, unsure of their rights. The result is minimal or no investment in the property they use; a restrictive financial situation contributes to the inaction.

One half of survey respondents fear gentrification – profit-driven, uncontrolled and invasive interventions in the built environment that might devalue and endanger the whole area. Some emphasize safety as the first condition for any improvement. Recurring proposals include the improvement of the Danube beach and Quay, the formation of an official communal enterprise responsible for the maintenance and improvement of Petrovaradin Fortress – open, transparent, made of experts, not politicians, and concerned with users' needs and opinions. There were a few slightly extreme ideas, like enclosing Suburbium and charge tickets for entrance. We find it surprising and slightly disappointing how easily and without proper rebellion the residents/users accept and endure the poor (living) conditions and poor state of the buildings. Everything is attributed to the old building stock and the uniqueness of this urban area, which justifies all – including the complete neglect of public/city services, like the non-existent urban furnishings, lack of vision and strategy, and decades of bad official maintenance and support that other parts of Novi Sad commonly receive.

The Fortress has touristic potential, as a possible attraction; the City of Novi Sad and most residents see it as a symbol – a representation and an idea – yet without proper knowledge of its history, not concerned with visions for the future. It is used as a festival stage, promenade, and lately also as a billboard. The Fortress is perceived as a default and unchangeable entity, a completely separate and remote part of town. Novi Sad citizens rarely visit it per se – usually with foreign guests. The most common visits are to the restaurants, sometimes the museum, while the residents of Suburbium and the buffer zone perceive it as personal property – their private backyard. The respect and affinity that local residents express differs slightly from the attitude of other citizens of Novi Sad: Suburbians take pride living in a part of town that is a common good and a symbol – not just any urban quarter.

Protection of its features depends on responsible and intelligent use of its potential. A crucial task for residents, professionals and decision makers is to recognize and prevent potential dangers, manifested in the form of gentrification, consumer tourism and changes in population and user structure, in order to bring it closer to its verified values and create circumstances for development and the improvement of living conditions in an 18th-century historical town.

To conclude, we think that it is not enough to create conditions for change; it is crucial that experts – backed by science and administration – responsibly manage these changes. Achieving adequate use and strategic development of the area is only possible by respecting everyone's rights and conducting participatory planning, based on the clearly defined needs of the local population and the users of the space.

References

Babić, S., Maksimov, K., Dobrić, K., Srbulović, Đ., Tatić, A. Jovanović, M., ... Korać, I. (2012). Studija Gornja i donja Petrovaradinska tvrđava sa podgrađem. Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Grada Novog Sada.

Jovanović, S. (2003). Kruna nad gradom, časopis DaNS. Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Društvo arhitekata Novog Sada.

Maksimović, B. (1937). Novi Sad danas i sutra. Novi Sad, Kraljevina Jugoslavija: štamparija Jovanović i Bogdanov.

Popržan, B., Đilas, G., Mamula, N. i Pisarev, Đ. (2005). Mapa sveta Petrovaradinske tvrđave. Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Likovni krug.

Radovanović, S. S. (2006). Petrovaradinski komunitet 1702-1849. Petrovaradin, R. Srbija: Futura publikacije, Suburbium.

Stančić, D. (2014). Umetnička topografija Novog Sada. Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Matica srpska, odelenje za likovne umetnosti.

Šams, F. (2013). Istorija Srema i Petrovaradina = Topographische Beschreibung von Peterwardein und seinen Umgebungen: ein Beytrag zur Landeskunde Syrmiens. Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Muzej grada Novog sada.

Šmit, R. R. (1939). Petrovaradinska tvrđava. Novi Sad, Kraljevina Jugoslavija: Kulturno-privredni pregled Dunavske banovine, sveske br. 5 i 6.

Vuković, Z. i Novaković, I. (2005). Petrovaradin juče, danas, sutra. Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Savez studenata Univerziteta: Ogled, omladinska grupa za liderstvo, edukaciju i demokratiju.

PLANNING DOCUMENTS

1. Analiza Petrovaradinske tvrđave. (2004). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: JP "Urbanizam" Zavod za urbanizam Novi Sad

2. Detaljni urbanistički plan "Petrovaradinska tvrđava", Plan detaljne regulacije Petrovaradinske tvrđave u Novom Sadu. Novi Sad, R. Srbija: JP Urbanizam, Zavod za urbanizam Novi Sad, 2008.

3. Elaborat o revitalizaciji podgrađa Petrovaradinske tvrđave. (2011). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Grada Novog Sada.

4. Generalni plan Novog Sada do 2021. godine (prečišćen tekst) (2006). Novi Sad: R. Srbija: JP "Urbanizam" Zavod za urbanizam Novi Sad

5. Generalni urbanistički plan Novog Sada. (1962). Novi Sad, FNR Jugoslavija: Urbanističku zavod Novi Sad.

6. Generalni urbanistički plan Novog Sada do 2000. godine - predlog. (1974). Novi Sad, SFR Jugoslavija: Skupština grada Novog Sada.

7. Generalni urbanistički plan Novog Sada do 2005. godine - nacrt. (1984). Novi Sad, SFR Jugoslavija: Skupština grada Novog Sada.

8. Generalni urbanistički plan Novog Sada do 2005. godine - predlog. (1985). Novi Sad, SFR Jugoslavija: Skupština grada Novog Sada.

9. Odluka o donošenju Prostornog plana područja posebne namene Fruške gore do 2022. godine (2004). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Skupština Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine

10. Odluka o donošenju Regionalnog prostornog plana Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine (2011). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Skupština Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine

11. Odluka o utvrđivanju mera zaštite prostorno kulturno-istorijske celine od velikog značaja Gornje i Donje Petrovaradinske tvrđave s Podgrađem i utvrđivanju zaštićene okoline prostorno kulturno-istorijske celine sa merama zaštite (2014). Beograd, R. Srbija: Vlada Republike Srbije.

12. Petrovaradinska tvrđava, objekti Gornjeg i Srednjeg platoa - Dokumentaciona osnova DUP-a Petrovaradinske tvrđave. (1988). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: RO Urbanizam, Zavod za urbanizam.

13. Petrovaradinska tvrđava, objekti podgrađa - Dokumentaciona osnova DUP-a Petrovaradinske tvrđave. (1988). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: RO Urbanizam, Zavod za urbanizam.

14. Petrovaradinska tvrđava - Program revitalizacije 1. (1996). Novi Sad, SR Jugoslavija: JP "Urbanizam" Zavod za urbanizam Novi Sad

15. Petrovaradinska tvrđava - Program revitalizacije 2. (1996). Novi Sad, SR Jugoslavija: JP "Urbanizam" Zavod za urbanizam Novi Sad

16. Plan detaljne regulacije groblja na Trandžamentu u Petrovaradinu (2007). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Skupština Grada Novog Sada.

17. Plan detaljne regulacije Mišeluka sa Ribnjakom (2014) Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Skupština Grada Novog Sada.

18. Plan detaljne regulacije mosta na trasi bivšeg Mosta Franca Jozefa u Novom Sadu (2010) Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Skupština Grada Novog Sada.

19. Plan detaljne regulacije Petrovaradinske tvrđave u Novom Sadu (2010). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Skupština Grada Novog Sada.

20. Plan detaljne regulacije Starog Majura u Petrovaradinu (2009). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Skupština Grada Novog Sada.

21. Predlog generalnog urbanističkog plana grada Novog Sada. (1973). Novi Sad, SFR Jugoslavija: Urbanističku zavod Novi Sad.

22. Program revitalizacije Petrovaradinske tvrđave. (1996). Novi Sad, SR Jugoslavija: JP "Urbanizam" Zavod za urbanizam Novi Sad

23. Program uređenja Petrovaradinske tvrđave. (1972). Novi Sad, SFR Jugoslavija: Urbanističku zavod Novi Sad.

24. Prostorni plan Republike Srbije od 2010 do 2020. godine (2010). Beograd, R. Srbija: Republička agencija za prostorno planiranje.

25. Prostorni plan Grada Novog Sada (2012). Novi Sad: R. Srbija: JP "Urbanizam" Zavod za urbanizam Novi Sad

26. Prostorni plan područja posebne namene međunarodnog plovnog puta E80 - Dunav (Panevropski koridor VII) (2010). Beograd, R. Srbija: Republička agencija za prostorno planiranje.

27. Prostorni plan područja posebne namene Specijalni rezervat prirode "Koviljsko-petrovaradinski rit" (2012). Novi Sad, R. Srbija: Skupština Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine

28. Studije za izradu novog Generalnog urbanističkog plana Novog Sada do 2030. godine. (2010) Novi Sad: R. Srbija: JP "Urbanizam" Zavod za urbanizam Novi Sad

29. Tehnički izveštaj uz Generalni plan Novog Sada. (1950). Beograd, FNR Jugoslavija: Urbanistički zavod NR Srbije, Beograd.

30. Zakon o prostornom planu Republike Srbije od 2010 do 2020. godine (2010). Beograd, R. Srbija: Republička agencija za prostorno planiranje.

31. Arhiv Vojvodine F. (1998). Izvršno veće Vojvodine 1946-1985 (1946-1991), АЈ 452, бр. 249 і бр. 258 (PZZSK, E-5/A, inventarni broj 98/14 i 98/31-32)

WEB SOURCES

1.Popis u Srbiji 2011 (2011). Preuzeto sa http://popis2011.stat.rs/?page_id=1166

2.Registri (Agencije za privredne registre) (nepoznat datum objavljivanja) Preuzeto sa http://www.apr.gov.rs/eng/Registers.asp

3.Važeći planovi. (konstantan upload). Preuzeto sa http://www.nsurbanizam.rs/

4.Upoređivanje planova, crteža, mapa sa GIS snimkom. (2011). Preuzeto sa http://www.mapanovisad.rs/mapserver2015/nsmaps/

List of appendices

Appendix 1: 1780. Fortress plan

Appendix 2: 1901. Petrovaradin Fortress plan

Appendix 3: 1901. Petrovaradin Fortress underground plan

Appendix 4: The map of the purposes of buildings of the Fortress

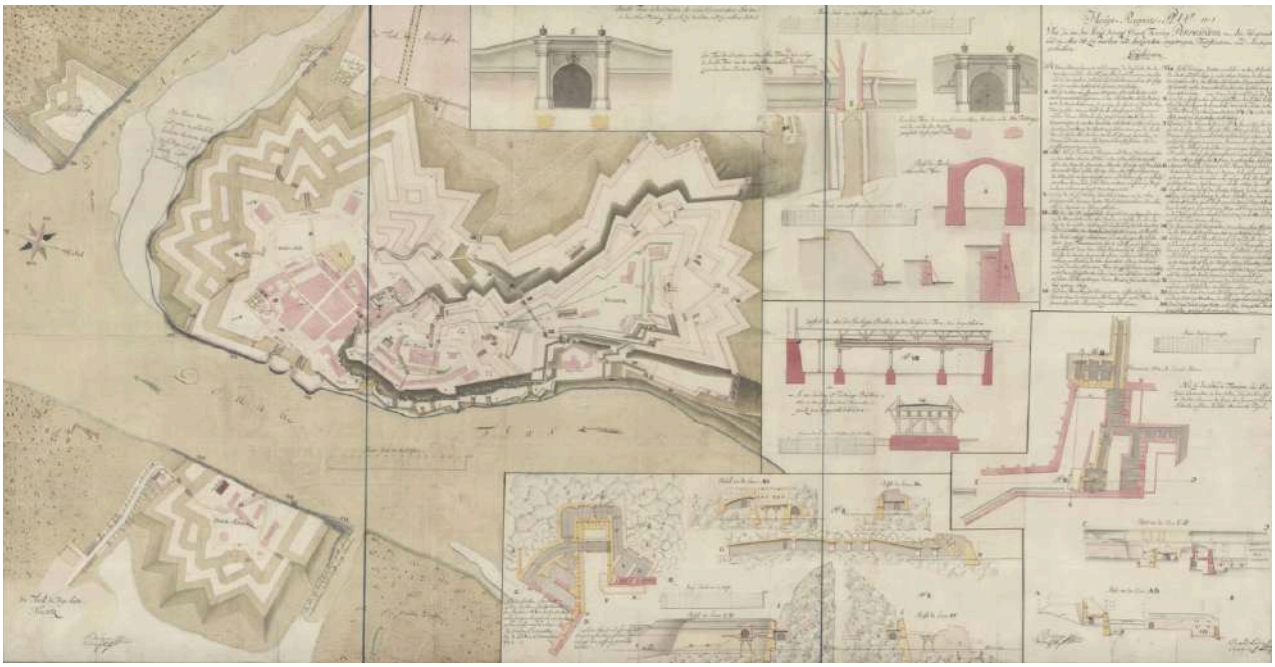
Appendix 5: The map of the purposes of buildings of the buffer zone - Majur

Appendix 6: The map of the purposes of buildings of the buffer zone - Ribnjak & Tranžament

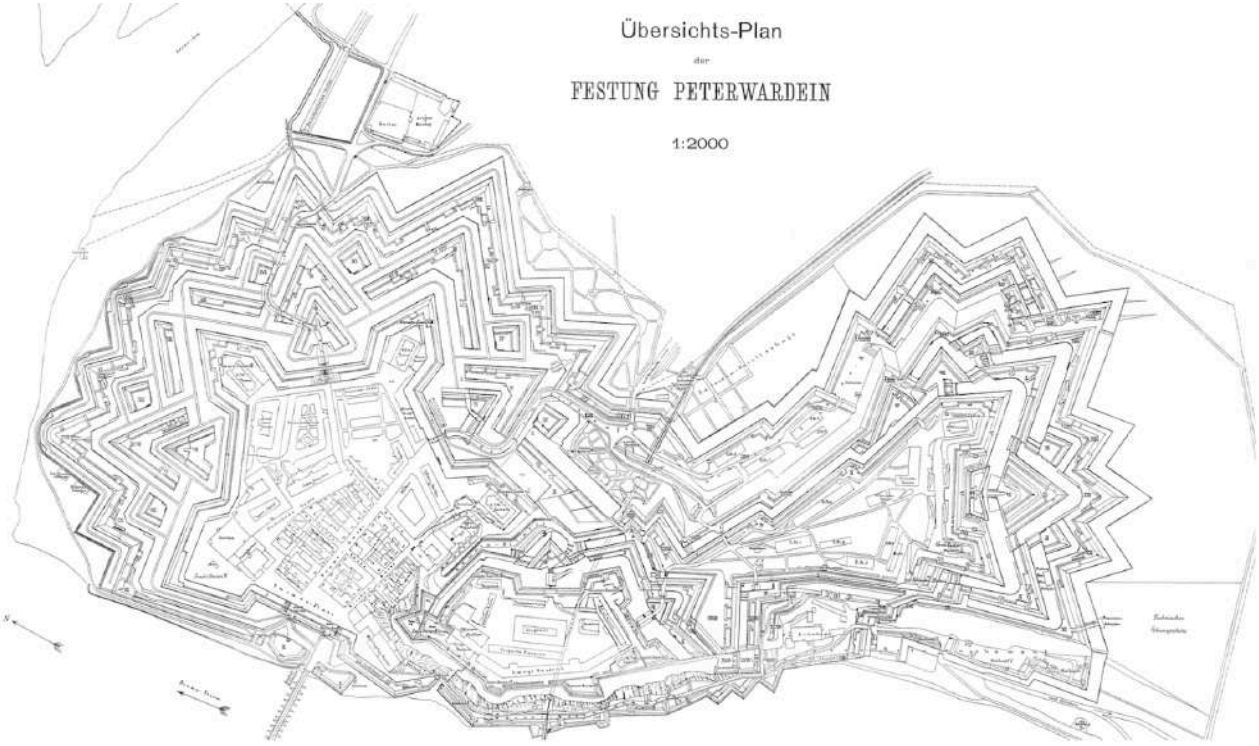
Appendix 7: The map of the purposes of the Fortress underground

Appendix 8: The map of different zones of the use of space

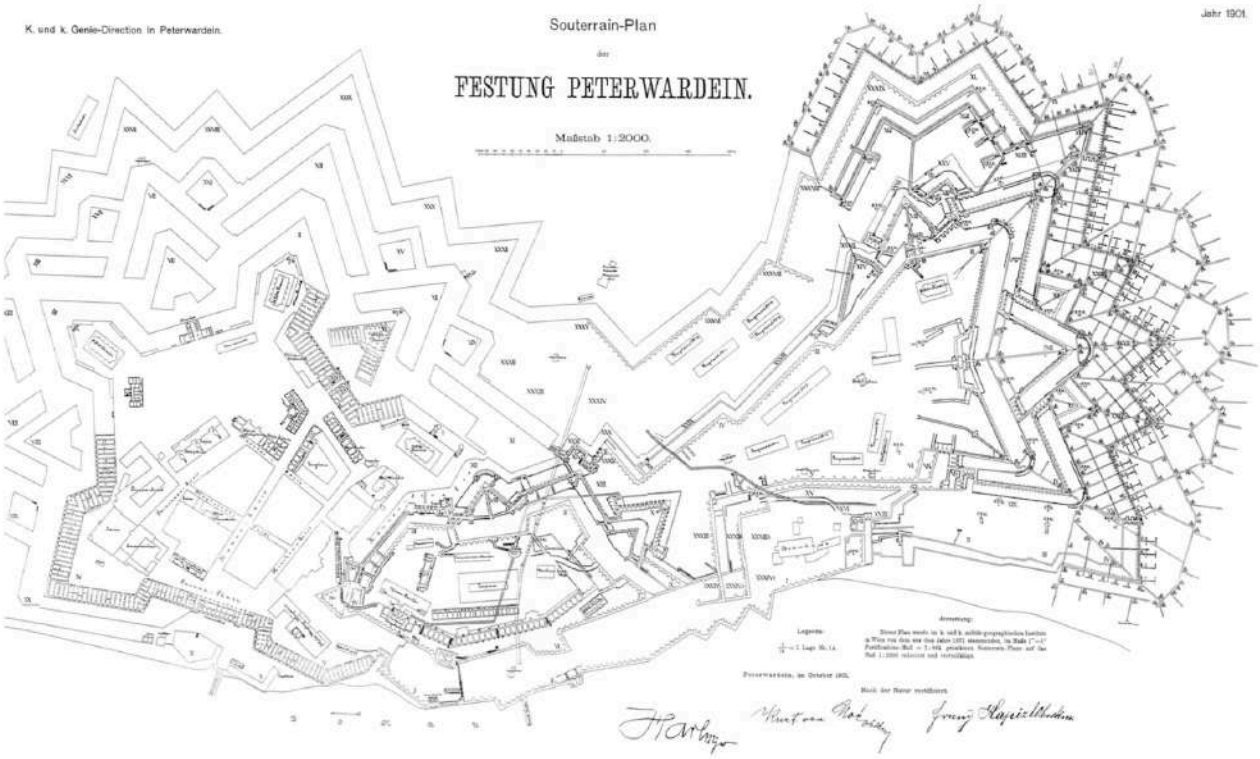
Appendix 1.



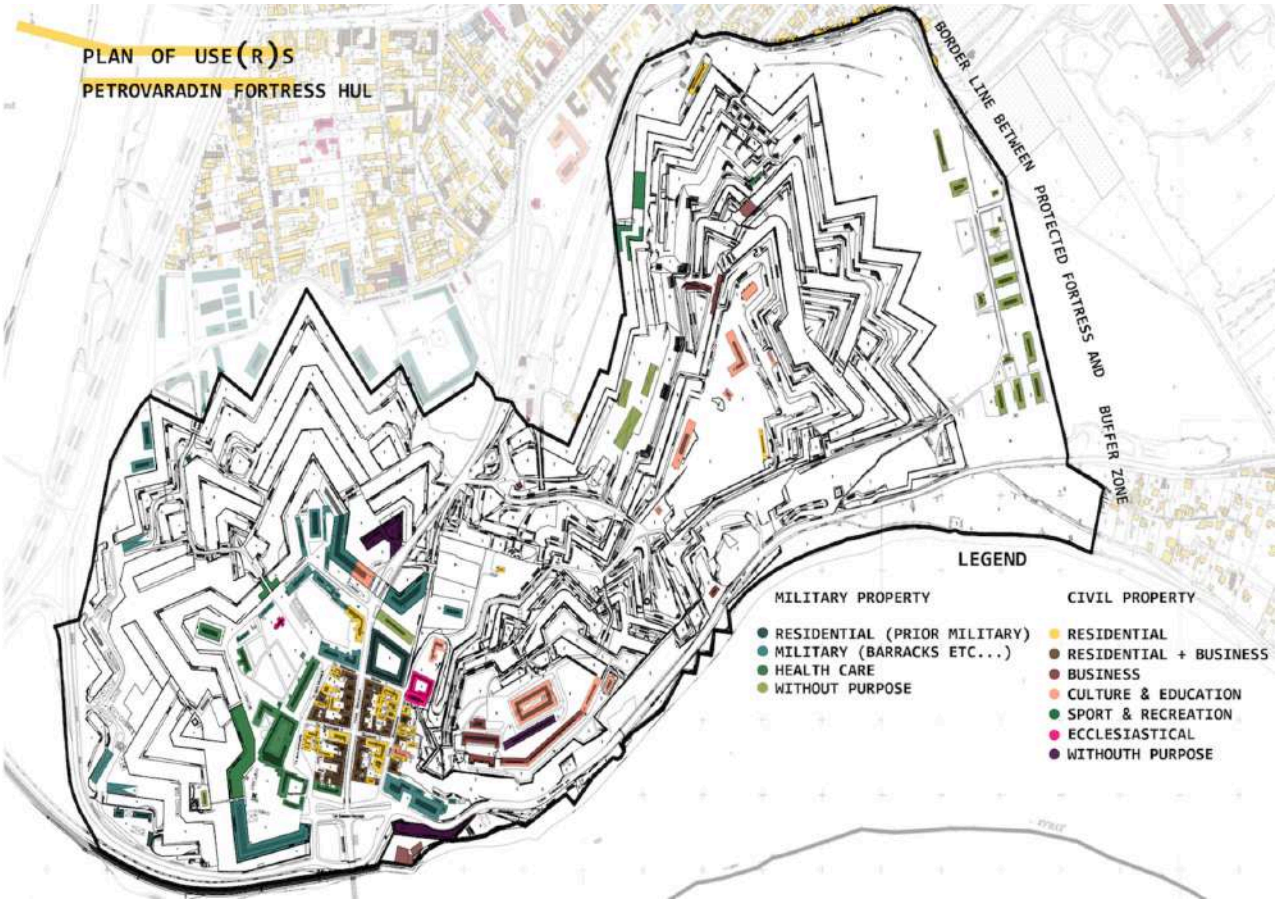
Appendix 2.



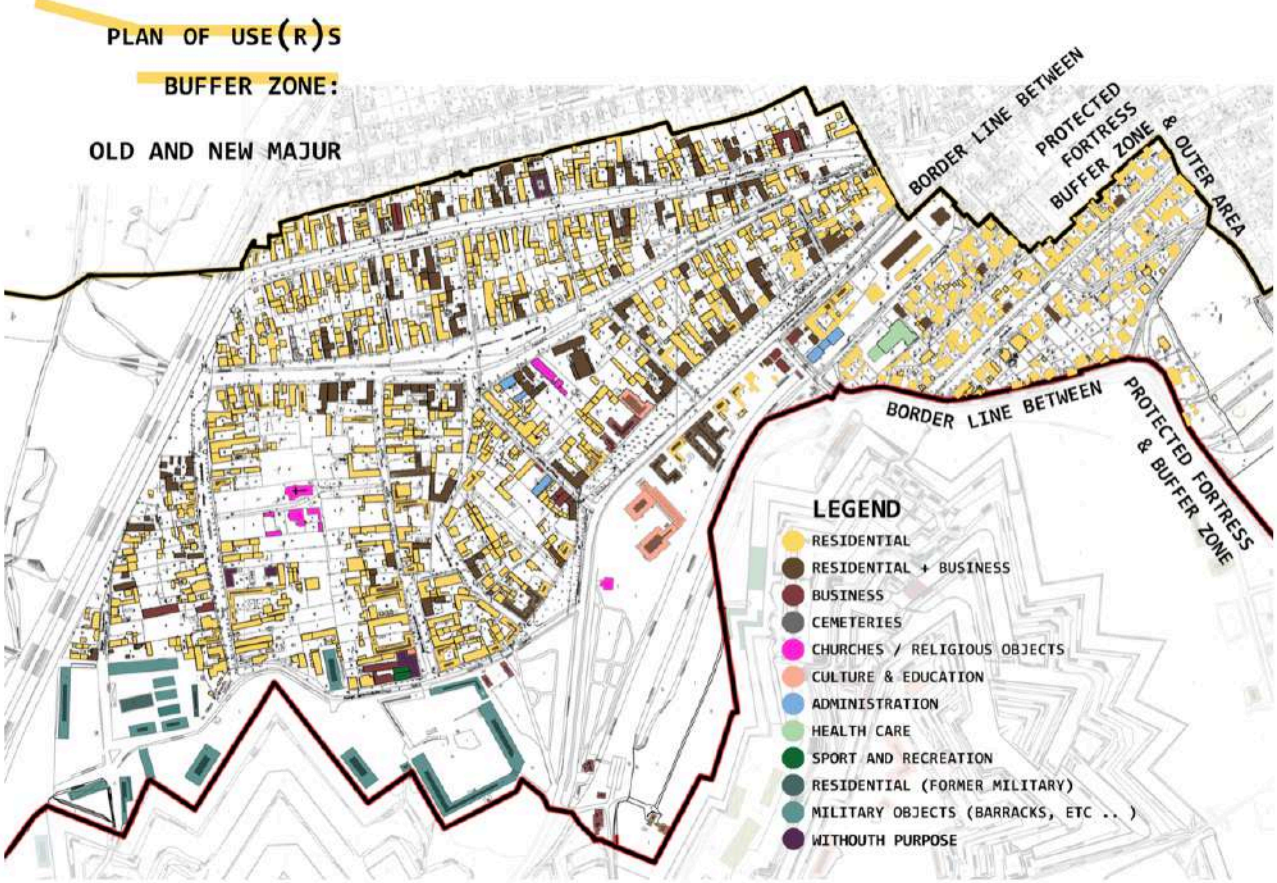
Appendix 3.



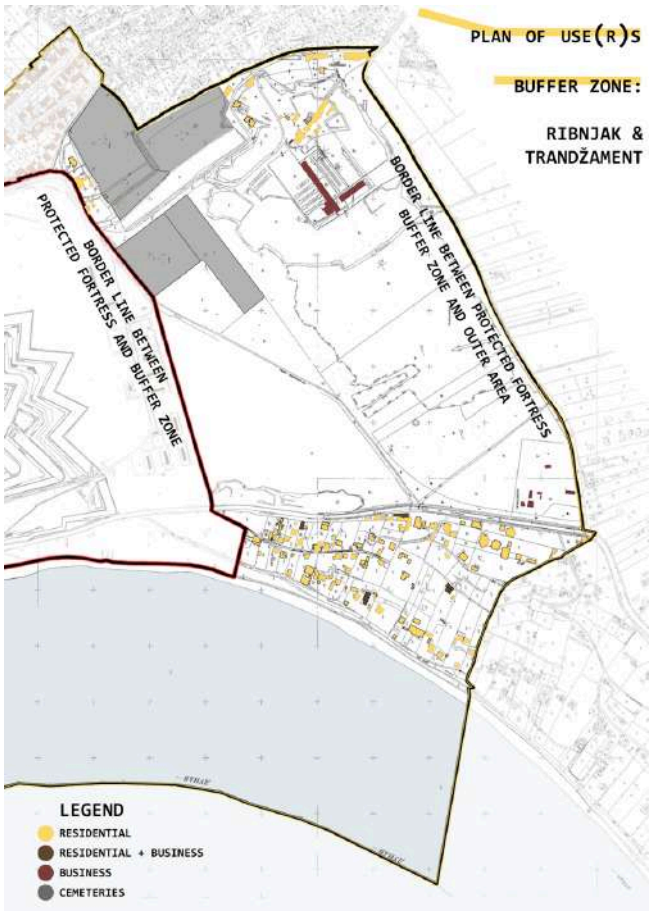
Appendix 4.



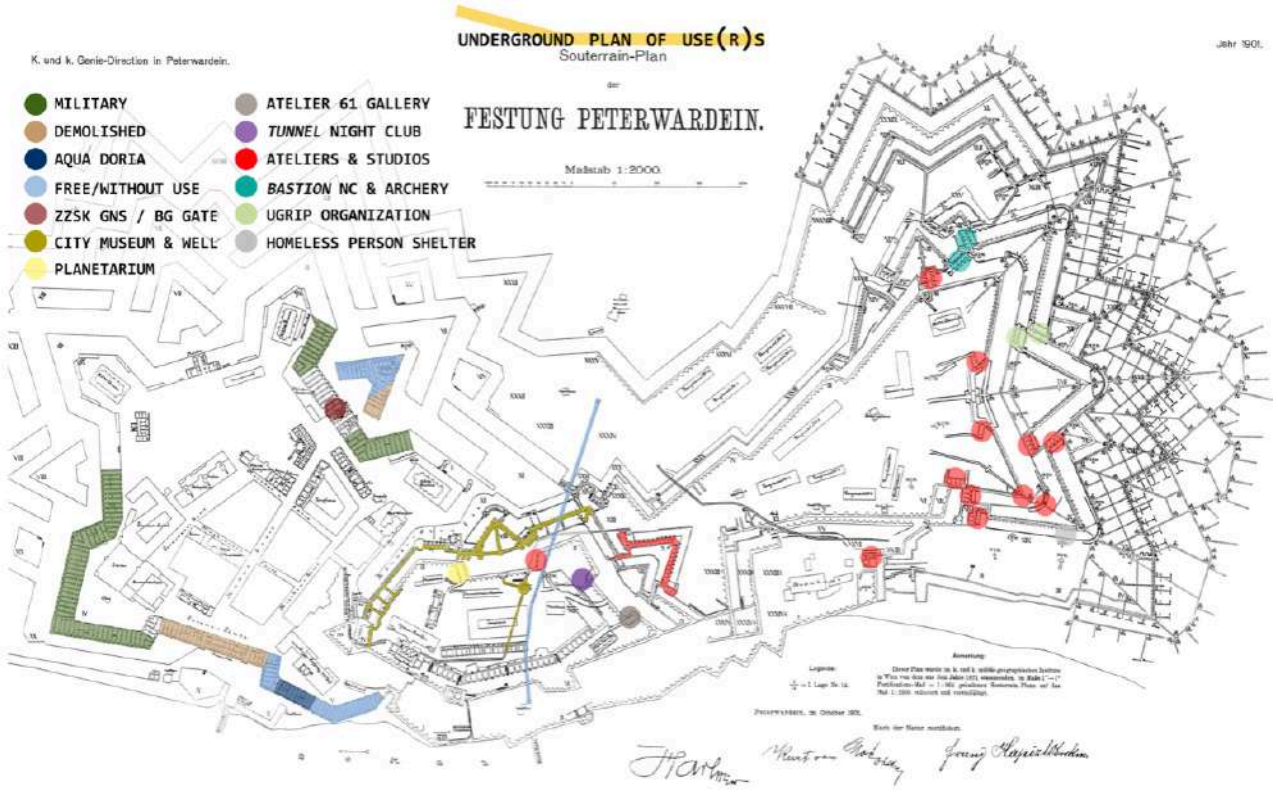
Appendix 5.



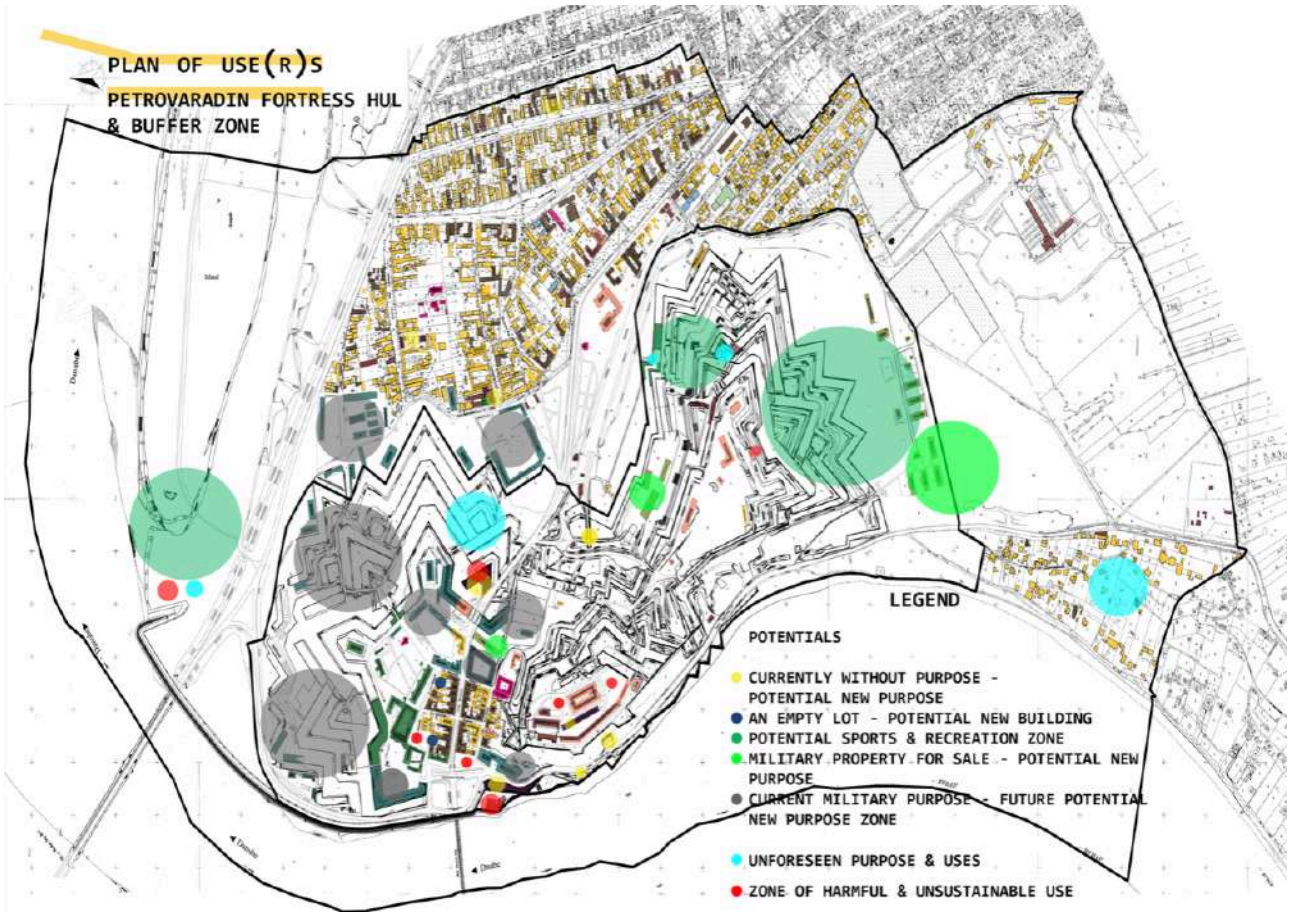
Appendix 6.



Appendix 7.



Appendix 8.


PLAN OF USE(R)S
PETROVARADIN FORTRESS HUL
& BUFFER ZONE
LEGEND
POTENTIALS
CURRENTLY WITHOUT PURPOSE - POTENTIAL NEW PURPOSE
AN EMPTY LOT - POTENTIAL NEW BUILDING
POTENTIAL SPORTS & RECREATION ZONE
MILITARY PROPERTY FOR SALE - POTENTIAL NEW PURPOSE
CURRENT MILITARY PURPOSE - FUTURE POTENTIAL NEW PURPOSE ZONE
UNFORESEEN PURPOSE & USES
ZONE OF HARMFUL & UNSUSTAINABLE USE

Chapter 2.2.

Heritage Interpretation in the Public Discourse: The Case of Petrovaradin Fortress

Ana Pajvančić – Cizelj
Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Serbia

Dušan Marinković
Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Serbia

Dušan Ristić
Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Serbia

"The fortress that has welcomed seven or eight crowned heads during the Middle Ages cannot be taken just like that ... This is what we do not know, what we did not want to know or what we know but want to forget."

Introduction

The practice of heritage preservation and revitalization is often faced with the problem of identifying and mapping different interpretations of the heritage that exist in the local community and the wider social environment. Existing mechanisms for participation of citizens, individuals, groups and organizations in the interpretation, preservation and revitalization of heritage obviously do not meet the needs of increasingly complex, heterogeneous and dynamic social reality. Therefore, the scope (horizon) of publicly recognized interpretations of heritage is usually narrowed, impoverished or even "alienated" from the social reality in which it exists. It can be especially hard to find the marginal narratives, as potential interpretations, because they are "invisible" and distant from the mainstream social and cultural flows. In addition, various narratives and interpretations of heritage often do not intersect, leading to a series of latent misunderstandings and "interpretative conflicts". The role of experts in such circumstances is no longer to deliver the expertise, but also to identify, gather, confront and mediate a wider spectrum of different visions and interpretations of heritage.

The sociological approach situates these issues in a wider social context. Heritage interpretation is not seen as an isolated problem – rather it is linked to the social actors and the social structures that make them more or less visible, effective and influential. Therefore, we understand heritage as a dynamic social process and not as a static material artefact (Pajvančić - Cizelj and Maksimov, 2016). In addition, heritage interpretation is seen as a highly political process, malleable to the needs of power and often subject to contestation (McDowell, 2008). Heritage interpretation, as central to understanding the wider characteristics of heritage itself, can be defined as the constellation of communicative techniques that attempt to convey the public values, significance, and meanings of a heritage site, object, or tradition (Silberman, 2013).

From the sociological point of view, we find particularly relevant Silberman's (2013) concept about heritage interpretation as public discourse. Relying on Habermas' theory of communicative action, this author offers a paradigm of interpretation as a shared – and ongoing – public activity, in which many voices are heard. "Public interpretation can be an activity where all these distinct modes of cognition are encouraged to be openly expressed and reveal themselves to each other, each enriching all the others with unexpected understandings and insights about the significance and value of heritage" (Silberman, 2013: 7). The principle behind the inclusion or exclusion of certain interpretations from the public sphere can be seen as the selective use of the past to legitimate ideologies in the present (McDowell, 2008; Marinković and Ristić, 2013; 2016). This line of analysis opens several important issues: a) the different ability of individuals and social groups to participate in heritage interpretation as public discourse; b) the strategies that different actors of interpretation use in order to make themselves visible and productive within this public discourse; and c) the structure of the discursive space around the heritage sites, as well as its roles and functions within the wider social context.

Research methodology

The main goal of this research is to map and describe different interpretations and narratives about the heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress as well as to recognize the social actors that articulate them. The purpose of the research is to offer sociological explanations of the Fortress' diverse heritage interpretations, leading to more inclusive strategies of heritage interpretation, preservation, and management. Following this purpose, the research tasks are as follows: recognition of interpretive strategies on the ground; mapping narratives within each interpretation; analysis and comparison of different narratives and interpretations in terms of their visibility and representation within public discourse; recognition of the potentials of different narratives and interpretations.

We make an analytical distinction between heritage interpretation and the narrative about heritage. Interpretations of Petrovaradin Fortress are seen as formed and articulated strategies – such as the museum exhibition or tourist guides – while narratives about the Fortress include stories about the Fortress, more or less systematized, that can have a function of interpretation – from personal stories and "private histories" of the local population to the specific visions of experts and activists. We accepted the definition of a narrative as the type of discourse or story that has a symbolized account of action and links a series of events (Sarbin, 1986). In order to recognize that something is a narrative, we adopted the following criteria: a) that it has a beginning, a middle and an end; b) that it is oriented towards the past; c) that it is linear; d) that it has a plot; e) that it makes sense for the one who is talking (Denzin, 1989). Taking into account these criteria, we have found different narratives about Petrovaradin Fortress. They are generated by different actors and differ in their content as well. Narratives are thus more personal and subjective – deeply connected with the everyday experience of social actors. They provide resources and insights on how the Fortress can be interpreted. For the purpose of this paper, we accept the assumption that narratives and interpretations are not different and mutually exclusive terms, and approach to them within the continuum.

Our general assumption is that in practice we can find a wide range of different narratives and interpretations about the Fortress and its heritage – not all of them being equally visible, represented or intersected in the public discourse. Starting from the assumption about the conflicting nature of urban reality (Basan, 2011), these different interpretations and narratives are described through the prism of power relations. Therefore, the specific aim of the research is to identify marginal, neglected and alternative narratives and their carriers, as well as to map – if there are any – interpretive strategies. Finally, our intention was to recognize the potentials of emerging narratives and interpretations as well as the strategies, within the discursive space of Petrovaradin Fortress – conceived as a significant part of the public discourse.

The analytical framework of the research is situational analysis, as a contemporary theoretical and methodological framework in qualitative social research. Situational analysis allows researchers to connect discourse analysis – or the analysis of interpretations and narratives in our case – with the analysis of social actors and practices. According to Adele Clarke (2005), this methodological framework is adapted to the study of complex situations. It implies the use of several research techniques – also applied in this research – such as case study, interview and document analysis. Situational analysis helped us to make the research design and, in part, to interpret the results.

In this research, Petrovaradin Fortress (Upper Fortress and Lower Town) is the case, or in terms of situational analysis – a situation. Interviews, content (document) analysis and participant observation (of interpretation sites) were the basic research techniques.

For the interviews, we used purposive sampling. We interviewed individuals as representatives of groups and organizations that we assumed to have specific – dominant, insufficiently represented, or alternative narratives and interpretations about the Fortress. We selected further informants by using the snowball method. The research sample consisted of eighteen interviews. Informants were the residents of the Fortress' Lower Town, representatives of government organizations and institutions, and members of civil society organizations (CSO) engaged in heritage protection – including CSOs of national minorities and experts in the field of heritage protection, architecture and urbanism, history, archaeology, art and tourism. For the purpose of this research, we classified our informants as: 1) experts and 2) citizens and activists, with the idea about two main types of heritage interpretation: objective, scientific interpretation and interpretation based on collective identity.

The sample for the document and content analysis was based on accessibility – randomly chosen texts about the Fortress that are accessible to the average tourist or citizen of Novi Sad (when visiting the Tourist Organization's offices, Internet presentations and bookstores). This material is classified as follows:

1. Printed content: tourist information – brochures, booklets, maps, books and guides.
2. Digital content: Internet presentations – website of the Tourist Organization of the city of Novi Sad, official website of city of Novi Sad, Facebook pages, informal internet presentations and texts about the Fortress and the Lower Town, Google search pages, Wikipedia, Festivals (*Exit, Tamburica Fest, Street Musicians' Festival / Gradić Fest*), online media and newspapers materials.

The sample for the analysis of the interpretation sites included:

1. Museum exhibitions (Permanent exhibition – the City Museum of Novi Sad; Exhibition "Reconstruction of the Lower Town of Petrovaradin Fortress" – Military Hospital);
2. Walking tours (organized by *Scenatoria* and the tourist organization *Explore Novi Sad*);
3. Signalization – traffic and tourist signs.

Although the sample of this research was extensive, it was not representative. As this research was – to the best of our knowledge – the first attempt to map the discursive space of narratives and interpretations of Petrovaradin Fortress, we designed it as an exploratory research project. Our aim was to map and identify different aspects in the field, without a completely defined hypothetical framework – to be tested on the representative sample.

Interpretation of results

The exploratory character of this research did not leave much room for generalization. We could not be quite sure that all of our informants – although carefully chosen – are representing the majority of people (within or outside the professional circles of experts, citizens and inhabitants of the Lower Town or CSOs). To keep that in mind, we start our interpretation with the so-called *situational map* – in which we present the diversity of elements in our research *situation*. Our situation is Petrovaradin Fortress with its Lower Town. The function of this map (Figure 2.2.1.) is to illustrate the complexity of this kind of situation and subject – Petrovaradin Fortress is the key unit of analysis, but it can be approached from different perspectives and with different purposes. This kind of map, and situational analysis in general, allows us to "draw together studies of discourse and agency, action and structure, image, text and context, history and the present moment – to analyse complex situations of inquiry broadly conceived" (Clarke, 2005: xxii). As we can see, a lot of different actors and actants are involved in the situation. There are many elements of the situation beyond our focus, but hopefully, this graphic representation can aid in the process of understanding the problem of historical and heritage interpretations and narratives that are within the scope of our research.

Interpretations as objective documentation of heritage sites: The role of experts

Most of our informants were experts from the fields of heritage protection, architecture and urbanism, art history, history and archaeology. All of them are currently working or had been employed earlier in public institutions with direct jurisdiction over the Fortress. Thus we assumed that they are to be recognized among the key actors of interpretations in the form of accurate and objective documentation of heritage sites.

All interviewed experts claim that the Fortress is insufficiently valued – there is the huge gap between the potential and the actual use. They see the problem in the shortcomings of its interpretation:

> *We have not valued it the right way. Only when people understand that the Fortress is everything that we see from the quay, when we stand near the Monument of the Victims of the Raid, the entire space and not just the Clock Tower ... then it will be adequately evaluated. (conservator)*

> *And that place where everyone goes – the Clock Tower, is just the tip of the iceberg ... And we, including myself, we do not know what to do with that. There's just nothing to pull you there...(historian)*

> *This entrance into the Lower Town is not very attractive. We do not want to cross over, because we do not know where to cross, and if we cross it, that staircase is narrow, dirty, full of dust, horror. The direction that leads to Strossmayer Street is a bit better, so we go there ... but again it is not good... you have to go around. There is a huge barrier - not just a mental one when we must go over the bridge, but also the one when we come, and don't know where to go further. There is nothing to embrace us there. (urbanist)*

> *We were complaining when NATO was bombing us, when the bridge was demolished – we do not have access, we cannot cross ... exactly. Now we got the bridge, we got a wide and beautiful pedestrian space ... but we are still not going there. (archaeologist)*

The results of the previous research (Pajvančić - Cizelj, 2016), conducted on a representative sample of the general population in Novi Sad, confirm these claims. Although all respondents have visited the Fortress at least once in their lives, there is a significant percentage of those who have not visited the Fortress for several years (16%). The same research has shown that most of the Fortress' space is not used, and those spaces which are in use usually have just casual visitors, not regular ones. In the perceptions of citizens, the fortress is mostly reduced to the central plateau and the Clock Tower (see more in: Pajvančić - Cizelj, 2016). Since the use of the Fortress is closely related to its presentation and interpretation in public, it can be assumed that the cause of the insufficient use is related to the lack of an interpretative framework that would offer new meanings or functions for the wider space on which the Fortress is located. In other words, how the Fortress is used and to what extent largely depends on who interprets it, in what way, and which part of it is selected as the focus of interpretation.

All the interviewed actors, both the experts and citizens, have a "broad picture" and knowledge about the Fortress. They clearly recognize the importance of some parts of the Fortress and its surroundings that are still not widely visible and interpreted in public – thus staying "invisible" and underused.

> *The fortress is much bigger than we can imagine. The size of the Fortress should be imagined like this: there were about two thousand horses within it. Two thousand! You must place them, feed them, take care of them somewhere. How many people had to take care of them? Where the RTV is being built now, there was a field for them to run all away to Kamenica. We still don't have the access to this moat behind a military hospital. It's a huge space. And then the "Officers' Beach", where the Zezelj Bridge passes, it actually cuts off the "winter port". There was a so called "winter port" for the navy, where the ships were placed during the winter. (Citizen from the Lower Town)*

> *There is one important thing about the Fortress. That is tragedy. Tragedy because what was imagined was not realized. We were announcing an open competition for the conceptual solution for Mišeluk. That was supposed to be the nicest part of Novi Sad. But everything went wrong. And there is no Fortress without the Mišeluk, nor Mišeluk without the Fortress. That's going to go together, they go together. (former mayor of Novi Sad)*

Our respondents also pointed out that public attention precedes both use and interpretation. Only after an object enters into the focus of the public (for one reason or another), the path for the generation of new interpretations and the mobilization of existing ones is opened.

One of the respondents, the former mayor of the city of Novi Sad (from the 1970's) confirmed that the Fortress, back then, was not perceived as an object worthy of attention.

> *There was not much discussion about the Fortress back then, nor did we know much about it. We weren't aware of its function and importance for Novi Sad. It is perhaps good that this function is now recognized. Or*

INDIVIDUAL HUMAN ELEMENTS/ACTORS
Participants in our research: Experts (architects, art historians, urbanists, conservators, archaeologists, museologists, historians), citizens/inhabitants of the Lower Town, entrepreneurs (café, hostel, restaurant, school, shops), artists, politicians, representatives of institutions and organizations

COLLECTIVE HUMAN ELEMENTS/ACTORS
Institutions (Museum of the City of Novi Sad, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City Novi Sad), non-governmental organizations (Ugrip, Suburbium, Scenatoria), cultural, artistic, citizens' associations and initiatives

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS / INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE ACTORS
Scientific, religious, mythical, literary, artistic, audio-visual sources (documents, books, brochures, websites, photographs, video, documentaries, etc.)

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ELEMENTS
Managing historical urban landscapes, cultural politics, economy, management of the Fortress, tourist and other facilities, cafés, restaurants, museums, etc., geopolitical and historical heritage, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ottoman Empire, Europe/Central Europe, etc.

MAJOR ISSUES / DEBATES (USUALLY CONTESTED)
History, heritage, culture, politics, economy, management, access to the Fortress (public vs. private),
traffic

NONHUMAN ELEMENTS/ACTANTS
The Fortress and its parts, the surroundings, Lower Town (main buildings, houses, streets), documents, books, publications, websites, tourist brochures, traffic and tourist signs

SOCIOCULTURAL AND SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS
Symbolisms of historical monuments, architecture, fortifications, "Gibraltar on the Danube", identity formation and politics, cultural, national, sub-urban, etc.

SPATIAL ELEMENTS
The Fortress and its parts (Clock Tower, Wasserstadt, Hornwerk, tunnels, etc.), predecessor fortresses (Medieval Hungarian, Cusum), limes, etc., walking paths, tourist routes, Lower Town, Petrovaradin, Novi Sad

RELATED DISCOURSES/NARRATIVES
Historical, religious, professional, identity, heritage and protection, urbanism and architecture, arts and crafts, tourist, archaeological, activist, mythological, literary, festivals and music, military, fans, etc.

TEMPORAL ELEMENTS (KEY EVENTS)
18th October, 1692-1728 and 1754-1780 – building of the Fortress, 1716 and the decisive battle between the Austrian and Turkish armies, Paleolithic Age, Ancient Rome, Middle Ages, 1991 (Petrovaradin Fortress as the Spatial Cultural-Historical Units of Great Importance)

FIGURE 2.2.1. ORDERED SITUATIONAL MAP – PETROVARADIN FORTRESS

> *not good, I do not know. I did not participate much in the activities related to the Fortress. I cannot say I did not want it, but it was an object of secondary importance to us. (former mayor of Novi Sad)*

> *For the past year or two, we feel changes. The fortress is gaining public focus. It seems to me that every news related to the Fortress finds its way quickly to the wider public. You can notice that through the social networks, for example. The Fortress came out of anonymity for the first time, when Exit came here. The eyes of the public are always good for the cultural monument. (conservator)*

Something can become an object of interpretation only after perceived as valuable and meaningful. And what is the value and the meaning of the Fortress? How do experts understand this value? Since we have historian, urbanist, archaeologist, museologist, politician, etc. in our sample, we treat their responses and narratives as objective and scientific – in regard to the subject of our research, but not as an absolutely true or more valuable than non-experts' approach and narratives. Their ideas could be defined as the objective, scientific content of interpretations.

> *The Fortress interests me – from the period when the Austrians came and when they were about to finish it. Now, from all the events in history, from prehistory to the present day, I was most attracted to the battle of Petrovaradin. There is no bigger and more significant event in history – of Petrovaradin, but also the wider region* [...] *This war in 1716 was the first war that Austria led alone - without an ally, and it was an offensive war. Savoy simply wanted to round off the territory, to complete the conquest of Hungary and to set the border* [...] *That eventually happened - the border, after the conquering of Belgrade, ends on the Sava and the Danube. The Ottoman Empire, however, was struck so hard that will not recover anymore ... And that was it. You have nothing to look for in Central Europe. About this Austro-Turkish war you can read everywhere... in the books of Walter and Byron ... Vivaldi dedicated the composition to the victories of the Christian army ... (historian)*

> *What is very interesting to me and important for us, architects, is that it is one of the largest artillery fortresses with this counter-mining system in hectares. So, the logic of the designer is fantastic. Both underground and above the ground. In any case, the Fortress is very well preserved. This is very rare in our region. (urban planner)*

> *It is part of historical memory. With the building of the Fortress, this European spirit, the Central European spirit came. The Turkish heritage suddenly fell under the pressure of modern ideas, the Enlightenment Spirit of the 18th century. But we should break the idea that Vojvodina was an empty space, that for only 300 years something was happening here ... this was a space that has been continuously inhabited from the Paleolithic. It is very important. (conservator)*

According to one of our informants, the public discourse is dominated by the historical interpretations based on the "visible history" of the Fortress and its "story" in the context of the Battle of Petrovaradin, Eugene of Savoy and the liberation from the Ottomans (beginning of the 18th century). Although we have not conducted a systematic research, it seems that most of the printed and digital documents have an interpretive framework that starts from the Austro-Ottoman wars. But, there are different interpretations as well. One of them points to the importance of the archaeological excavations on the Fortress, in the beginning of the 2000s:

> *In these excavations, it turned out that this classic frame of the historical representation of the Fortress was too narrow and many new stories appeared. At this point, the main interpretative focus moved from Eugene of Savoy and the Austrian fortress ... and we went into the deep past - to the Paleolithic era. (curator)*

> *There are three cities in Europe that have the same story as Petrovaradin. But Petrovaradin has one technical advantage. That time between Neanderthals and Homo sapiens, roughly between 105 or 110 000 years to 90-95 000 years ago. Now, in this region, it is quite difficult to catch it... It was a planetary problem [...] It is located in the caves here and there...and only in one place in the Czech Republic is the Paleolithic to be found in the "open air". And here, the Paleolithic is not only in the "open air"... we have here like four or five meters of cultural layers from the Paleolithic era. That is not found anywhere else. (archaeologist)*

> *Archaeologists explained to me that they found some arrows. If you have 3-4 of those at one archaeological site – then it is significant finding. And here we have more than three hundred... Do you understand? (curator)*

During the archaeological excavations in the early 2000s, numerous and previously invisible layers of Petrovaradin Fortress' heritage were discovered. Among other things, "the Hungarian Middle Ages" appeared for the first time.

> *Until 1526, there was a Hungarian fortress here – the fortress of the medieval Hungarian state. Here, below, on this rock. You don't have one single fort here – from prehistory, from the Paleolithic era you have a series of fortresses and fortified places. For example, we always wrote the history about this Hungarian fortress as if the Austrian architecture at the very beginning of the construction of this fortification simply "cleared the terrain". As if they removed the Hungarian fortress and there was nothing left. There was no material evidence at all that the Hungarian fortress was here – where Matija Korvin, all the Hungarian kings, Karlo Robert – stayed for several years. It was a great place for kings. There was the struggle for the crown in Hungary and the Petrovaradin rock was perfect place to be. Like a shelter. From here they could see far and it is quite protected ... not to mention the wine of Srem, which was produced here by the Cistercians. It was a God-given place for a king. Matija Korvin came here, made peace with Venice in the fight against the Turks. These are some things that we knew about, but we did not have any evidence. Now, for the first time in 2003, we got evidence, history is visible. What is written now can be seen. (curator)*

Experts, as actors of objective interpretations are aware of the different "layers" of the Petrovaradin Fortress' heritage and the different approaches and interpretations, but it seems that *their* interpretation strategies and approaches depend upon their education, field of expertise and the type of audience they address:

> *This is the 6th Fortress in a row. The first Fortress was in the prehistory, 3000 years before Christ, the second was a Celtic Fortress, then the third Roman, then goes the Hungarian Fortress, then the Ottoman Fortress, and finally the one that we have today - Austrian, 6th in a row. Usually the story goes from the 18th century and the Austrian Fortress. But depending on the guest, I can start from prehistory or, within some business cooperation, from the modern circumstances, and ask: what kind of fortress you have, how can we cooperate? To children I only present the basic data (which are 18-19 century, artillery, Ottomans), but I insist they should be proud to have a Fortress. In my presentation I use capital terms: DEFENSE, ATTACKS, ARTILLERY, FIGHT, it's easier to remember. I emphasize to Turkish guests that it is a part of our common cultural and historical heritage. I present the battle, but I say that these were Ottoman soldiers, while the Turks were only one tribe in the Ottoman Empire. Then there is no problem when it comes to defeat, death ... It creates love for heritage. If guests are representatives of the Hungarian military, then I will put emphasis on medieval Hungary, because it is good for people to hear that their ancestors had communication, presence, with the Petrovaradin Fortress once. If students of architecture come, I am talking about the baroque. I do not make up anything, only depending on the visitors I am highlighting. (historian/curator)*

The interpretations of the experts, however, are not automatically transferred nor equally represented in the public. The interpretation quoted above, for example, is now mainly available for elite visitors, such as the foreign delegations. Although our informants did not explicitly talk about their interpretation strategies, it seems that they operate within the boundaries of the profession and are related to the work they perform in their institutions.

> *I always say de facto narrative, scientific research, how we got to the data. (curator)*

This means that their interpretations can be found in professional literature, planning documents, museum settings, brochures and the like. On the other hand, as one of our informants points out, the public often doesn't know much about the scientific interpretations:

> *Historians certainly know something, some other scientists know, but the wider public sees only the Fortress that exists today, as a tourist and leisure facility. (historian)*

Although tourist organizations could be important mediators between the professional (scientific) interpretations and the public, our informants note that they don't actually perform this function.

> *In tourism everything is reduced to information boards, signalling ... not to the content. I'm sad when I go to the Fortress and listen the tour guides ... there are guides that are not licensed, I don't know who brought them, they speak such things that I am ashamed to listen. (conservator)*

> *Previously, we had guides who were educated by the curators. When a new guide came, then the curator had a year with him to teach him to work ... That doesn't exist now. (curator)*

One of our informants suggested how to bring the rich heritage of the Petrovaradin Fortress closer to the public.

> *Beginning from the ground floor, that is, the Lower Town, which could be a place for artists and for tourist content, to set up some info-tables, some panels ... models ... what the Fortress looked like in the 12th century, how it looked like in the Roman era ... it is possible to make some mini-models – how people lived here, what they ate, how they cooked, went fishing – Petrovaradin fishermen were famous. And as you go closer to the Fortress, there has to be more and more content. Beyond Suleiman, there were other emperors and kings at this fortress... we do not know anything about that ... people from the Museum know, historians know, but there are no signs ... How were people, for example, dressed at that time? The museum doesn't offer much. Why doesn't a uniformed soldier from the Austro-Hungarian times walk on the Fortress? The story through centuries – that is the only way the Fortress can speak. (historian)*

Thus, there is an important issue of wider communication of scientific expertise and its inclusion into the public sphere. "Pulling out" the scientific content about the Petrovaradin Fortress that exists in various institutions into the digital and physical space is certainly an important part of this process. Our informants point out that there is a lack of discussion about questions of interpretation, which is occurring neither among experts, nor between experts and the wider public.

> *Communication between actors has not changed much. Everyone has just his own story. I'm a little disappointed. Especially NGOs, there is a backlash. Someone comes up with new ideas, and then stops. They do the same job but each one for themselves. It would be much better if they work together. There is a mutual animosity, both between the NGOs dealing with the Fortress and the tourist organization of Novi Sad, which is observing all this from a distance. (conservator)*

At the moment, there is no official mediator of these processes. Informally, this role is played by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, although this is not within their jurisdiction.

> *In the absence of responsibility for the Fortress, everyone is heading for us. From students to communal services. It's actually some kind of informal communication and they all think it's our job. It all comes down to personal contacts. (conservator)*

However, some experts encountered various barriers while trying to bring their findings to the public. Some good studies about the Fortress are no longer available at all:

> *He (the author of the study) was so angry at the whole world that he moved to Canada and left everything. He had the only valid study of the Petrovaradin Fortress, I think that it is a Petrovaradin Fortress in the events of 1848. We cannot find it in our library, I think he took the last one with him. (curator)*

In the opinion of our informants, the new narrative about the Fortress that appeared after archaeological excavations in 2003 is not adequately represented in public because of the various barriers that often have political cause:

> *So we have a new narration about Petrovaradin ... and, what do we show? At this moment - nothing. These are great discoveries, and Petrovaradin itself is a great discovery. (curator)*
> *... and there lies the Paleolithic. It just lies there. And I beg the government officials to leave it open ... that people can enter the Paleolithic ... And they just buried it, covered it with concrete. (archaeologist)*

The exhibition that was set up in 2004 in the City Museum, that presented the most important findings of this archaeological excavation, was quite quickly removed and is no longer accessible to the public.

> *The museum is a place of visible history. You cannot see history face-to-face, but in the museum. You can go to the archive, but ... who goes into the archive? (curator)*

In the words of one of our informants, there is absolutely no understanding that these projects and programs should be presented to the public.

> *Here, the politics had a decisive influence, but not some high politics with high goals, but a small, everyday policy. There is nothing easier than "killing" the Fortress. Absolutely nothing is easier than that. A colleague is doing great things here, but her results will definitely not be published for ten to fifteen years. Simply, she will not be given the opportunity. After that, it's no longer attractive.... So, it cannot, it just cannot be done. (archaeologist)*

Without the ambition to explain the causes or reasons for the existence of "silenced" narratives and interpretations about the Fortress, it seems that certain narratives and interpretations are not represented or visible in public. The assumption is that the lack of their presence or visibility in public is due to the fact that they are not politically acceptable, or they do not correspond to the general "political circumstances". Therefore, we cannot speak about "conflicts of interpretations" but rather about boundaries in public discourse and the "silenced" narratives.

The experts communicate their interpretations through exhibitions, public talks and so on. In this research we included two exhibitions about the Fortress. The first was entitled the "Reconstruction of the Lower Town of Petrovaradin Fortress" and was held in June 2018. The exhibition was organized by the experts from the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad. Generally, it included the presentation of the recent history of the Fortress and the Lower Town (construction period, 17th and 18th centuries) and it was addressed to domestic visitors. Besides short historical explanations, general information about the plan of reconstruction of the Lower Town has been presented. It was a temporary exhibition. Experts from the Institute are not satisfied with the number of visitors (about five hundred of them). They see this as a result of having an inadequate location for the exhibition. It was initially located in the building of the Military Hospital in the Lower Town, a space that is generally not easily accessible for the wider public. Then, it was moved to the hall of the Provincial Government building, which is closed to the public.

The second, permanent exhibition of the City Museum of Novi Sad, contains historical interpretations and artefacts from both recent and distant history. Information and artefacts about military history are dominant and archaeological material is represented just in a small part. It is addressed to domestic and international visitors and tourists since the text on the panels is in both Serbian and

English languages. As we have already pointed out, the process of selection of the parts of history of Petrovaradin Fortress that need to be included in the permanent exhibition and presented to the public seems to be highly contentious. Regarding the accessibility of the exhibition, it is noteworthy that the museum is closed when most people visit the Fortress – during the Exit festival. In one instance, the building of the museum was covered during the festival with a Coca Cola banner. Similar things are happening during the other festivals – e.g. Baby Exit.

Interpretations as expressions of collective identity: Role of citizens and CSOs

As previously noted, in this research we make an analytical distinction between the two types of interpretations – one coming from the experts (scientific, objective) and the other coming from citizens and CSOs (expressions of collective identity). In practice, however, they are intertwined. Representatives of CSOs also have narratives that are scientifically founded. We can see that from the following citation:

> *I don't like these mysterious stories about the Fortress, because I consider many of them are not true. If we say that they are legends, then all right... if they are legends, then they can be interpreted as legends. I didn't want to follow that path and to learn about them more... (representative of a CSO)*

Within the experts' interpretations, we can also find the narratives about collective identities:

> *The Fortress is part of our identity. The identity of Novi Sad. A city that owes its origin to the Fortress. Would Novi Sad have originated here if the Fortress – that was built in its huge form – did not demand someone to take care of it? No. The view of the Fortress is an eternal reminder of this temporary vertical that was formed on the Petrovaradin rock. (conservator)*
>
> *The Fortress is the symbol of the values of Novi Sad. Above all, the musical values. (former mayor of Novi Sad)*

Daily life of the Lower Town is nowadays torn between the historical heritage and demands for modernization and gentrification. Our informants, who were actually "insiders" – people who live in that place and who think about it not as tourists but as residents – told us about their personal experience, but also about the dynamics of social life and the everyday in past times. That is why their insights and interpretations point to the specific dimensions of heritage – compared to the rest of our informants. They show very good historical knowledge about the Fortress and numerous details from its everyday history – because many stories from the past are passed from generation to generation only orally. However, we were aware of the methodological unverifiability of these interpretations and narratives. As sociologists, we were also aware that narrations – no matter if they are verifiable or unverifiable – make a historical **reality** for the people that nurture them. That is why the "offer" of the narratives is not just coming from museums or archives, but from the local people as well. They can also renew the historical scenery of the everyday life. One of our informants – a representative of a CSO – told us about the history and the everyday life of the Lower Town.

> *The Lower Town is the story about life in the eighteenth century, when it was a settlement for the elite and military officers who defended the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Here we have the layers of life. Besides the army, we had here butchers, goldsmiths, markets, breweries... This is cultural and historical, architectural heritage without competition in Europe. Petrovaradin Fortress is the main feature of Novi Sad. It was built from the Petrovaradin trench... do people from Novi Sad know that? I don't think so. (activist)*

> *The Lower Town, in the eighteen century and till the end of the century, got its form, when the first buildings for the senior officers were built [...] – at the time it was an elite settlement. And it had the first pharmacy, the first school and exams for the senior officers at the time. [...] The Lower Town and the Fortress are not important only for Novi Sad, but for the whole country, maybe even for this part of Europe – it is the point where you must come to see that elitism, from the time period when it was created. (inhabitant of the Lower Town)*

> *Petrovaradin is urban. While in Tavankut or Golubinci people learnt to play tamburica, people in Petrovaradin learnt to play the organ. (representative of CSO)*

One of our informants also told us that before the Second World War and especially at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century it was not possible for everyone to come and live in the Lower Town:

> *Social and spatial scenography at the time reflected the civic culture and social and economic culture of the high classes and the best craftsmen from the whole (former) empire. [...] in its "golden era" – the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century – the Fortress and the Lower town had thirty two cafés and restaurants. (inhabitant of the Lower town)*

Hence the importance of the history and everyday life of the Fortress and the Lower Town is in an identity-building process:

> *For us, it is important to tell the story about the people that lived there... ethnology. That story could be told by people whose ancestors lived there. (representative of the minority / CSO)*

We have also learned from an inhabitant of the Lower Town about the lack of adequate interpretation of the symbols of the Fortress:

> *The Clock Tower is today the symbol of Novi Sad, a symbol of Vojvodina. That is suppressed. The Clock Tower was built to have a certain function – to measure time and to show it to the citizens. To be visually seen and to be heard. That was in the middle of the eighteenth century. At that time, the personal watch was an imaginary thing. In Novi Sad, then, there were no clocks in the towers. For the Clock Tower, it was important because there was no pollution. Air pollution particularly. So, the visibility and the sound resonance were much higher back then. We don't know how the authentic bells sounded like. But the Clock tower could be heard every fifteen minutes and on whole hours. At the time, if someone wanted to follow the sound, he or she didn't have to see it. People heard how many times the Clock Tower rang. (inhabitant of the Lower Town)*

As in the case of the objective interpretations of the experts, interpretations based on the collective identity and everyday life do not enter the public discourse easily and in the same way. It seems that there are numerous barriers that are caused by different reasons – lack of money, lack of support of the public institutions in the case of some CSOs,

social exclusion and social invisibility of the actors, but also the active suppression of unwanted narratives. The exclusion of certain narratives and interpretations can also be caused by the problematic aspects of collective identity (especially in the cases of ethnicity and religion).

Given the fact that the area surrounding the Fortress was always multi-ethnic, it is not unusual that we have found various and often opposing narrations about its heritage – among the social actors from different ethnic groups. Such interpretations are associated with particular historical periods in the development of the Fortress and its surroundings. The period of socialism (during socialist Yugoslavia) is specific in this respect because it represents a "breach" where those ethnic differences were subordinated to the common Yugoslav or Vojvodinian identity. Some actors favour this period and see it as "the Golden Age of the Fortress". It can be illustrated with the following statement:

> *The fortress was then the centre of the world. We (tambourine musicians) greeted with our songs the statesmen from all over the world, politicians, actors, painters, bohemians ... We played the music of Vojvodina, the Roma and Hungarian romance, we enjoyed the sounds of the classics.* [...] *We should again get together on the Fortress that was based on various, rich sources – we should hear the sounds of Vojvodina, Serbia and Croatia, Dalmatia... Klape, for instance... This number and amount of songs – something can be created...* (*former Mayor of Novi Sad*)

On the other hand, some actors see this period as a barrier for ethnic and especially religious diversity. One of our respondents spoke of the many religious rituals of the ethnic communities that took place in the Lower Town and that do not exist anymore – and have not been restored to this day. During and after the wars in the 1990s, when Yugoslavia was violently disintegrated, the growing Serbian nationalism and "rediscovered" Orthodox Christianity has contributed to the suppression of the customs of the ethnic and religious minority communities that traditionally inhabited Petrovaradin – especially in relation to the ongoing conflicts with Croatia. All these "layers" of interpretation are still present, but to various degrees.

> *Everything that is connected with Petrovaradin Fortress is connected with my nation, the Croatian minority, but also, even more with Catholic heritage in this city. So, when our guests come or when I have the opportunity to speak to someone, I show them the church of Saint Juraj, which is in my opinion important not just as a building but as a memory of the community that lived there – Jesuits, monks that came from Osijek. They cared for the spirituality of the soldiers in Petrovaradin, because at the moment when they came, there were no churches at all, after a century and a half period of Ottoman governance here. So they were here the pioneers of civilization. And the building, the architecture, it was like that because they founded here, in Srem, in Petrovaradin, but also in the whole of Srem the first Catholic school, the first gymnasium.* (*representative of national minority / CSO*)

The same informant thinks that some narratives aiming to represent the heritage of the Croatian / Catholic minority are not based on adequate interpretations. That points to the latent conflict of interpretations with different functions – economic, cultural, religious, etc.

> *Our Catholic church is double... we are a minority in a double sense – both Croatian and Catholic. I don't like to emphasize that "Croatian" but would like to mention it. This community is wounded. It is very wounded, also neglected for a long time. I am afraid that some initiatives that came from the city, that they were bad attempts. When we speak about this kind of initiatives – to open this heritage – it is important that the heritage is interpreted properly. It is not good if people who don't have enough information come in front of the church or enter the church and say whatever – what is often the case. The church should be approached in a much subtler way also within this (European) Capital of Culture... it is not just to exploit the church – the way some people from the City and Province that are not religious see it – to use it as a resource, in a commercial way. The mission of the church is not to spread tourism but Christ's teaching and kingdom. And that should be properly interpreted and presented, because the community is wounded. And there is a lot of mistrust towards the political institutions in the city.* (*representative of national minority / CSO*)

The birthplace house of Ban Josip Jelačić in the Lower Town could be another example, since it generates opposing interpretations – confronted in accordance with the ethnic dimensions. The house has been in poor condition for years, reflecting the local authorities' neglect of Croatian heritage. On the other hand, this house was until recently also "forgotten" in Croatia, as it turns out that just a minority of Croats know where one of their greatest heroes was born.

There are a few CSOs that deal with the Fortress directly or indirectly, and some of their representatives spoke about their role in attracting public attention:

> *We are trying to draw the attention of people to the problems and needs of the cultural monuments and the objects within the complex of Petrovaradin Fortress... which are protected just on the paper, but in practice completely devastated and invisible. On the other side, we organize events such as walks, we print the material and directly inform citizens about the heritage. (activist)*

> *We organized events in some alternative spaces of the Fortress, completely unknown, that influenced other organizations to recognize the potential of those same places. For us, it is an important thing. (activist)*

We have participated in two walking tours – organized by *Scenatoria* and by *Explore Novi Sad*. The general conclusion is that those are well-visited tours (with about 10-15 people in each). The first one was more informal and interesting, although shorter. Emphasis is put on details – specific places and houses in the Lower Town. The other is more focused on the Fortress and its history. The language of the tours is Serbian since all the visitors were from Novi Sad and Serbia. Interpretations are dominantly historical and adapted for short presentation. Some of the popular interpretations and mythical stories are told as well.

Representatives of CSOs told us that the key event for overcoming the mental and physical barriers between Novi Sad and Petrovaradin was when the *Festival of Street Performers* (*Festival uličnih svirača*) moved to the Lower Town. In addition, CSOs have the important function of mediation between experts and the public. They are aware that many objective interpretations are not adequately presented to the public, and they organize different projects and actions with that purpose. According to their statements, we can see that they cooperate well with the experts from the institutions or individuals that are truly devoted to the Fortress. Their strategies for drawing the

attention of the public are also developed through their personal connections, social networks and media communications.

Although they undoubtedly have the capacity for the production of their own interpretation and for the mediation of experts' interpretations to the public, representatives of CSOs say that they should not be the main actors in that process:

> *There are CSOs that deal with heritage, that work in the Lower Town and approach the Fortress systematically... But our capacities are not developed enough to be able to produce or make public designations or publications accessible to all citizens. That is the job of people from the public institutions in the city, people who do the touristic promotion. (representative of a CSO)*

Finally, we found that narratives about the Petrovaradin fortress in the printed and digital sample do not differ in a great sense from the narratives identified in the interviews sample. The scientific literature is significant, but not easily accessible to the wider public (some of it is not accessible to the experts, either). In our search of the sources about the Petrovaradin Fortress in the Library of Matica Srpska, for example, we identified 13 guides, 1 collection, 10 artworks, 30 postcards, 20 books, 28 catalogues, 3 folders, 1 toy, 29 graphics and 29 articles available.

The digital content seems to be "bigger", more "vibrant" and more significant – especially in terms of the emergence of new narratives and representation of the social geography – comparing to the printed material within the physical space. There are many internet sites of institutions and individuals dedicated to the interpretation of the Fortress.

For example, contents related to the Petrovaradin Fortress on *Facebook* are produced by more than twenty actors. Not all of them, however, produce a specific narrative about the Fortress. Some of them, for instance restaurants and festivals, use the Fortress only as the silent/passive background for their commercial activities. Others produce narratives either explicitly or implicitly within the commercial content. There are CSOs that practically took over the role of official interpreters of the heritage of Fortress. Although we didn't speak with their representatives, interpretations offered by UGRIP undoubtedly "dominate" in the digital public space – with the number of posts, but also in the sense of their physical presence in the Fortress (with different programs, guided tours, etc.).

Conclusions

In this paper, we approached heritage interpretation as: a) dynamic social process (Pajvačić - Cizelj and Maksimov, 2016); b) highly political process, malleable to the needs of power and often subject to contestation (McDowell, 2008); and c) public discourse (Silberman, 2013). Within the wide range of identified narratives about the heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress, we actually found just one complete (systematic) interpretation that is dominating the public discourse – historical. All other stories, although various and rich, are only partially presented in public or are completely hidden and silent. The public discourse seems to be dominated by the historical interpretations based on the "visible history" of the Fortress in the context of the Battle of Petrovaradin, Eugene of Savoy and the fight against the Ottomans (beginning of the 18th century). In the perceptions of citizens, the Fortress is mostly reduced to the central plateau and the Clock Tower (see more in: Pajvančić - Cizelj, 2016). Those are typified and stereotypical presentations of the Fortress, also accessible through social media. All of our respondents agree that this kind of interpretative framework, coupled with a narrow public perception of the Fortress, is insufficient. All the interviewed actors, including experts, citizens, and representatives of CSOs, have a much wider perception about what the Fortress is. They clearly recognize the importance of some parts of the Fortress and its surroundings – still not adequately represented in public and thus invisible and unused.

All the identified narratives can be classified as: a) narratives with objective, scientific content; and b) narratives about the collective identity. The first are produced by experts from the institutions dealing with the Fortress – conservators, urban planners, curators, historians and so on. Narrations of experts are closely related to the area of their expertise and point to the historical, archaeological, architectural and cultural elements of the heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress.

A major "interpretative turn" happened after the archaeological excavations in 2003 when numerous historical layers of Petrovaradin Fortress were discovered (cultural layers of the Paleolithic, of the Roman empire, the Hungarian Middle ages, and so on). All interviewed experts are fully aware of the importance of this discovery. However, they agree that it has still not entered the public discourse and has not been adequately recognized. That is why we found that the process of the recognition of important narratives in public discourse is quite a complex question. It is not that experts do not have a good interpretative strategy, but it is rather the question of how and why some of their narrations are suppressed and silenced or if they (and how) participate in the silencing processes. Obstacles and barriers seem to be connected with questions of ethnicity and religion (opposing interpretations by the Serbian majority vs. interpretations of national and other minorities – Croatian, Hungarian, Vojvodinian, etc.) but also with the political situation and short term aims of political parties and the lack of strategic plans. Furthermore, it is also a question of *sustainability* and the problem of short term economic vs. long term socio-cultural strategies. Many existing narratives of experts are thus "invisible" in public, limited to the institutions where they work and only partially available to the other experts through the professional literature. The experts are also communicating their narratives through exhibitions, but we found that the process of organizing exhibitions and making them available to the public can also be highly contentious. That is why the important question is the question of the possibility of communicating expert knowledge to the wider public within an unsupportive or even obstructive institutional (political) context.

We have also identified that the representatives of CSOs and citizens are mainly producing narratives based on collective identity. Their narratives are mostly related to the Lower Town and its heritage – inseparable from everyday life throughout history. For many of our interlocutors, Lower Town is regarded as a once elite place that is currently deteriorated, ruined and with an uncertain future. The fact that Lower Town used to be the elite military settlement, with a wide array of crafts and a rich social and cultural life – a truly urban place – is a source of pride. The residents of Lower Town are the main carriers of the rich and lively stories about everyday life in this settlement through

history. That is also the finding of the previous research done in the Lower Town (Pajvančić - Cizelj, 2016). Narratives of the inhabitants of the Lower Town could be a rich source for new interpretations. Those can connect heritage interpretation with the everyday life of the Fortress and the Lower Town throughout history – and possibly bring it closer to other citizens of Novi Sad and the public at large. However, their narratives are also not publicly recognized. Some of the actors are in marginal positions and speak their stories only in narrow circles of acquaintances. Narratives of the national minorities and religious groups are silenced, and their carriers feel isolated, marginalized and suppressed. These narratives are also rich and significant but absent from the public discourse and mainly represented in tourist guides (especially for the tourist groups from Croatia). Some CSOs from the Lower Town manage to draw public attention to the Fortress and function as the mediators between expert interpretations and the public. Their narratives are informed both by objective facts and local stories based on collective identity. It seems that these narratives quite recently entered the public discourse, especially through organized walking tours and on-line promotion. The carriers of those narratives, however, are lacking systematic (financial and logistic) support for the sustainability of their activities.

The analysis of social media and the Internet showed that the digital space seems to be "vibrant" and significant in terms of emerging new narratives. Thanks to the possibility of new media, people are there enabled to become active in the process of public interpretation. But still, we speak of the unregulated, semi-public digital space of interpretations. The CSO UGRIP, which produces unofficial narratives often based on legends and myths and attracts a significant audience, could be the main example of these dynamics.

Finally, while the public discourse is still dominated by the narrow interpretative framework about the Fortress, there are a lot of different narratives that are either partially presented to the public or completely absent from it. It seems that there exists a huge and unregulated semi-public sphere, where different and sometimes conflicting narratives –uncoordinated and insufficiently connected, appear as a "patchwork" in the social media networks. This kind of situation is obviously generated as the consequence of a lack of institutional regulation, long-term planning, or strategy, as well as sporadic and insufficient involvement of local government in the maintenance and protection of the Fortress.

Furthermore, the lack of public interest, funding and care for the Fortress is perhaps more obvious in the area of interpretations, since they are still not recognized as an important resource in the processes of heritage protection, promotion and revitalization. The challenge is to find a way to use different and even conflicting interpretations in an inclusive manner. Part of this process is also the support for the social actors that generate these narratives and interpretations – including experts, CSOs and citizens. Thus, the most important question that comes out in our research is how to establish a dialogue between different narratives and actors, enabling them to enter the public discourse. More importantly – *where* could such a dialogue take place?

References

Basan, M. (2001). Za obnovu urbane sociologije: jedanaest teza. *Sociologija* 43 (4): 345-352.

Clarke. A. (2005). *Situational Analysis: A Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn*. London: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N.K. (1989). *Interpretive Interactionism*. London: Sage Publications.

Marinković, D. & Ristić, D. (2013). *Nacrt za sociologiju ideologije.* Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing.

Marinković, D. & Ristić, D. (2016). The Genealogy of Deritualising the Effects of Ideology in the Public Sphere. *Javnost – The Public,* 23(3): 221-236.

McDowell, S. (2008). Heritage, memory and identity. In: *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Edited by Graham, Brian and Howard, Peter. Ashgate, pp. 37-54.

Pajvančić – Cizelj, A (2016). *Društveni akteri u zaštiti graditeljskog nasleđa: Sociološka studija za potrebe izrade menadžment plana Petrovaradinske tvrđave.* Novi Sad: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

Pajvančić – Cizelj, A, Maksimov, K (2016). Sociološki aspekti proučavanja i revitalizacije graditeljskog nasleđa. *Sociologija i prostor*, 54, 206(3): 247-263.

Ristić, D, Pajvančić – Cizel, A, Marinković D (2014). Mapiranje društvene geografije interneta. Značenja, materijalnost, moć. U: *Internet i društvo*. Niš i Beograd: SSD, Univerzitet u Nišu – Filozofski fakultet: 23-41.

Sarbin, T.R. (1986). *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct*. New York: Praeger.

Silberman, N. (2012). Heritage interpretation and human rights: documenting diversity, expressing identity, or establishing universal principles? *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 18(3): 245-256.

Silberman, N. (2013). Heritage Interpretation as Public Discourse: Towards a New Paradigm. In: Albert, M.T., Bernecker, R. and Rudolff, B. (Eds.). *Understanding Heritage: Perspectives in Heritage Studies* (pp. 21-34). De Gruyter.

Chapter 2.3.

Analysis of the Tourist Valorisation of Petrovaradin Fortress

Lana Gunjić
Independent researcher, Belgrade, Serbia

Ivana Samardžić
Independent researcher, Pančevo, Serbia

Introduction

The City of Novi Sad is the second most popular destination, after Belgrade, for foreign tourists coming to Serbia. In 2017, Novi Sad received a total of 181.140 visitors, of which 111.474 were foreigners (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, see more in Appendix 1). Novi Sad is also a popular field-trip destination for local tourists due to its nearness to Belgrade and easy accessibility by public transportation. Petrovaradin Fortress represents one of the major attractions of Novi Sad and a common destination for many tourists. However, lack of knowledge about the current offer and demand for tourist facilities significantly complicates the processes of planning, arranging and further developing this area, limiting its potential and its tourist valorisation. Hence, the aim of this research is to consolidate existing information and collected desk and field research data that would help define the present tourist offer, resources and trends in order to examine the current situation and to determine deficiencies in tourism infrastructure for the overall tourism development of this heritage landmark of the city of Novi Sad.

The methodological approach consisted of mapping the existing stakeholders operating in the tourism field (tourist agencies, catering facilities, accommodation, associations, cultural institutions open for visitors, civil sector, etc.) and their classification according to provision of services (Appendix 3). The desk research provided the necessary overview of the existing conditions, services and offers that are currently at the disposal of tourists. What follows is a presentation of field research, identification of tourist offers, tourist trends, and analysis of the current state of the tourist offer. For the purposes of this research, semi-structured interviews (Appendix 2) were conducted during the period 9-30 July 2018 in Novi Sad. The survey sample was chosen using a purposive, non-probability sampling method, based on previously-conducted mapping of actors in the tourism field. In total, 14 interviews were conducted face to face, except two of them that were answered in written form, due to an inability to meet in person. Answers were tape recorded, with the permission of the respondents, using an audio recorder and were later transcribed. The group of interviewees consists of: three representatives of tourist agencies (Magelan, Panacomp and Putokaz 021), one representative of the non-governmental organization "Suburbium", the president of "Likovni Krug" Association, two caterers (owners of the restaurants "8 Tamburaša" and "Naša Tvrđava"), two owners of accommodation facilities (hostel Varadin Inn and Fortress Apartments), two tourist guides, the director of the Tourist Organization of Novi Sad, a representative of the City Museum of Novi Sad, and an organizer of the event "Baby EXIT" (director of the company Inter Art).

With the analysis of the answers given through the interviews, it was possible to identify key problems, ideas and concerns and to assess the overall tourist valorisation at the Petrovaradin Fortress from the viewpoint of service providers in tourism. In addition, this research involved the examination of tourist attitudes toward the fortress through content analysis of Trip Advisor reviews on Petrovaradin Fortress (on Wednesday, 11 July 2018, a review of the website showed 892 reviews/comments on Petrovaradin Fortress, of which 101 in the English language were examined over the previous year, ending with the 5th of June 2017).

Who visits Novi Sad?

Existing research enables us to place Novi Sad in the wider tourism context. The secondary data regarding tourist satisfaction of Petrovaradin Fortress comes from field research conducted by the Tourist Organization of Novi Sad (TONS) and ProPozitiv Agency on a total sample of 4802 tourists (2400 locals, and 2402 foreign tourists) with the aim of understanding visitors' behaviour, attitudes and overall satisfaction of the tourist offer services and landmarks in the city (Pro Pozitiv, 2017/2018). The research showed that foreign tourists are coming mostly from ex-Yugoslav countries (more than 30%), predominantly from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. These neighbouring countries are followed by Slovenia, China, Germany, Turkey and Russia. The position of China among top visited countries can be explained by the abolition of visas for Chinese visitors, as well as a marketing orientation towards China on the national level directed at incoming tourist agencies (Tourist Organization of Serbia), which had a considerable impact in the form of the rise of tourists from China. Foreigners do not stay long in Novi Sad, usually for a couple of days; the average length of stay is 2.56-2.66 days. They are more open to using private accommodation services and in general they expressed high level of satisfaction with provided conditions of available accommodation facilities that they have previously booked

online. However, the main attraction that brings tourists to Novi Sad is Petrovaradin Fortress as the main cultural heritage landmark, which is proven by the fact that 88% of tourists had the opportunity to visit Petrovaradin Fortress while they were in Novi Sad. The research indicates that 83.6% of participants are satisfied with the Fortress. Other motives for visiting Novi Sad include its natural landmark the Danube River, and events such as EXIT festival, or other miscellaneous events.

The Petrovaradin Fortress hosts festivals such as EXIT Festival, Gradić Fest, Tamburica Fest and Baby EXIT, which are organized during summer months and influence tourism development. EXIT attracts visitors of younger generations, such as people younger than 35 years old (Pajvančević-Cizelj, 2016) where the festival is their main reason for travelling to Serbia and to Novi Sad. The average number of visitors for EXIT festival is approximately 40,000 people per day (EXIT Festival duration is 4 days), but this number increases each year with festival goers coming from Serbia and abroad (Bljeljac, Lović 2011). Baby EXIT is a family festival, intended for parents and children and attracts a total of 40,000 visitors during two festival days. Tamburica Fest is a city festival for lovers of tamburica music that in 2018 attracted 55,000 people in total for four days, while according to festival organizers, 35,000 visitors attended the program organized at the Petrovaradin Fortress. Gradić Fest is the only festival that aims to revive the Lower Town and in the year 2018 brought total of 35,000 visitors during three festival days (ulicnisviraci.com).

Aside from these festivals, Petrovaradin Fortress attracts visitors every day, but there is no regulated monitoring system as the entrance to the landmark is free of charge. Consequently, there is no official statistic for the number of daily visitors to the Fortress. The only registered data available is about the visitors to the City Museum, based on tickets sold (figure 2.3.1.), showing that the Museum is mostly visited by tourists from ex-Yugoslav countries, Hungary, Germany, Austria, Russia, China and USA. However, this number cannot be considered equal to the number of visitors to the Fortress, presuming that the Fortress is much more visited than the Museum.

Year	# of visitors	Year	# of visitors
2006	40,987	2012	46,589
2007	46,638	2013	48,681
2008	60,207	2014	59,500
2009	42,228	2015	60,110
2010	70,113	2016	38,640
2011	70,297	2017	30,454

Figure 2.3.1: Number of visitors of the City Museum of Novi Sad. Source: City Museum of Novi Sad

Keeping in mind that Petrovaradin Fortress is the most popular landmark for tourism development in Novi Sad, it is important to explore tourist demand, as well as to see how visitors perceive Petrovaradin Fortress—what their current attitudes are towards the tourist offer.

"Impressive to look at, but I feel there could be so much more there"

In order to gain a better insight into the tourist experiences of Petrovaradin Fortress, TripAdvisor was used as the most preferred website for qualitative content analysis based on its online reputation and large scale of reviews. The researchers followed a content analysis approach in collecting secondary data from Tripadvisor.com and examining consumer reviews of Petrovaradin Fortress. The basic principle applied in the content analysis method involved direct extraction of coding categories from the visitors' comments and building on these codes for the subsequent analysis and interpretation of the final results (Hsieh, H.-F., & Shannon, S. 2005). The content analysis provided three main categories: attractions, facilities and services, and identity (figure 2.3.2.).

Attractions	Facilities and services	Impression
Scenery (74)	Accessibility (15)	Must see (22)
Gastronomy (59)	Service (11)	Historic place (18)
Walking (16)	Hotel (6)	Recommend (13)
Underground (19)	Location (4)	Relaxing (10)
Exit (17)		Interesting (10)
Clock tower (14)		Negative (10)
Museum (11)		Impressive (9)
Artist ateliers (7)		Romantic (6)

Figure 2.3.2: Categories of terms associated with Petrovaradin Fortress

Note: The numbers (351) in the brackets represent the number of times a term belonging to that category was mentioned by the participants in examined 101 comments in the English language

In general, people have a positive attitude about the Fortress, as has been shown by travellers' ratings on a five-point scale (excellent, very good, average, poor and terrible) based on their experiences (Figure 2.3.3. More than two thirds rate the experience as excellent, with an overall grade of 4.5.

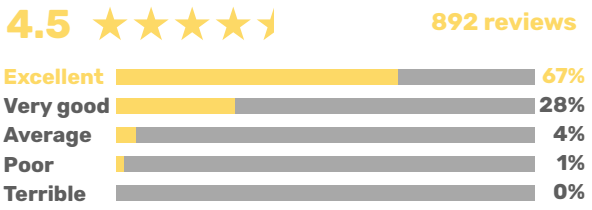


Figure 2.3.3: Traveller rating posted by Petrovaradin Fortress visitors. Source: TripAdvisor.com, 11 July 2018.

Furthermore, the overview of the overall comments (figure 2.3.4.) indicates four different aspects of reviewers to the Petrovaradin fortress. Most of the travellers (589 out of 892) rated the Fortress 'excellent', and no one gave a rating of 'terrible', which indicates how most visitors had positive experiences at the Fortress. As data on traveller type was also indicated (728 out of 892), including the categories of families, couples, solo, business and friends, it can be seen that the Fortress is the most popular destination for friends (293) and couples (252), relatively popular with families (125), and not so visited by solo and business visitors. In terms of the times of year at which the visitors came to the Fortress, it is evident that the Fortress is less visited in winter than at other parts of the year, with peak visitors seen during the summer months (June-August).

Traveler rating	Traveler type	Time of year
excellent (n=589)	friends (n=293)	Mar-May (n=212)
very good (n=254)	couples (n=252)	Jun-Aug (n=271)
average (n=44)	families (n=125)	Sep-Nov (n=241)
poor (n=5)	business (n=50)	Dec-Feb (n=168)
terrible (n=0)	solo (n=8)	

Figure 2.3.4: Overview of the overall comments posted by Petrovaradin Fortress visitors and their characteristics based on the website analysis. Source: TripAdvisor.com, 11 July 2018.

Based on the results of the content analysis of the reviews of Petrovaradin Fortress, the terms most frequently associated with the Fortress were placed in various categories, which were further organized into three larger groups – attractions, facilities and services, and impressions (figure 2.3.2.). The first group "attractions" indicate that visitors are mostly fascinated with the scenery, particularly with the "great, prefect, nice, amazing, beautiful, magnificent, lovely view", as well as the possibility to take nice photos of the panorama (over the Danube and the city) and to view the sunset/sunrise. After the beautiful view, gastronomy takes an important part in tourists' reviews, where the most mentioned were nice restaurants and cafes on the Fortress, with good food, delicious desserts, also often associated with a beautiful view: "great spots to have a few drinks" or "good coffee with a view". In addition, visitors perceive it as a nice place for walking, with "Lot's of walking spaces around to explore". The most popular attractions are the underground guided tour, the clock tower, EXIT Festival, the museum and the artistic ateliers. Comments on those attractions are mostly positive, including the recommendation to visit the underground tunnels, and a remark that the "Nice, small Museum is closed on Monday". The artistic ateliers (galleries) are not visited very much, but when they are, the experiences are positive: "Each of this [sic] artists has their own stories, so make sure not only to browse their art works but to also talk with them, get to learn the experiences behind their work." EXIT Festival has been associated with the great location of Petrovaradin Fortress as a 'place of happening'.

When it comes to group "facilities and services", staff and services were also positively marked, except for one comment about "arrogant staff". Guides are mainly mentioned and praised in the context of the underground tunnels tours. In terms of accessibility, visitors pointed out the Fortress' approachability by car, and that there is free parking, as well as necessity of climbing and stairs in order to go to the top of the Fortress:

> *"Very steep climb"*
> *"You have to walk millions of steps to get to the top of the fortress"*
> *"To get to the top of the fortress you have to climb 200 steps or take taxi up"*
> *"It's better to go by car but even if you go on foot it worth every step!"*
> *"The challenge with this site is the stairs to access the main level of the fortress, but well worth the view from the top of the city and Danube River"*

Petrovaradin Fortress is definitely perceived as a "must see in Novi Sad", "main attraction, dominant point, highlight of visit, highly recommended and not to be missed".

History-related terms are also present, whereby the Fortress was described as a "place so full of history" "fantastic interesting historical place". The Fortress is also perceived as romantic, relaxing (chill, quiet), interesting and impressive (stunning, massive, breathtaking).

There were also some negative perceptions associated with the Fortress related to the lack of offer: "The views are stunning, but, unfortunately, that's all our tour did - look out at the views"; "In all honesty, it was very impressive to look at, but I feel there could be so much more there."

> "This place is so full of history. Still, it really doesn't offer much more than a small history museum, a nice restaurant, plenty of space to walk around and a stunning views on Danube River and city of Novi Sad."

Likewise, negative comments regarding infrastructure, condition and maintenance:

> *"Can be improved more by infrastructure and some of the walkways seems to be old and not subject to maintenance."*
> *"I was shocked how much trash is in it."*
> *"No information in English provided, very badly maintained."*
> *"It is sad that it is not maintained better and that is in poor condition. Too much parking on the fortress. There are no activities or guide"*
> *"It was hard to find the entrance steps due to a lack of signage and once there, we could not find any information about the history of the fortress."*

"We have to do something, there must be some content"

The insights of tourists gathered from TripAdvisor's reviews correspond with the attitudes of interviewed tourism actors, as well as with current state of the offer, analysed through the field research. Thus, the categories such as scenery, gastronomy (restaurants) and walking, which are the most represented in the content analysis, indicate the absence of

tourist offer and additional content. Not just visitors think "...there could be so much more there." For tourism actors the restaurants and the beautiful panorama are insufficient, although they leave a good impression on visitors, saying that those are the most attractive and popular content.

The field research also confirmed the observations of the visitors and stakeholders that restaurants and cafes represent an usual tourist stop, and the main terrace above the Danube, with its panoramic view of Novi Sad, was the ideal spot to place the main three restaurants. Even in the gastronomical offer, the only distinction besides the menu type is the restaurant "8 Tamburaša" as it hosts musical performances and keeps the legacy of tamburica orchestras still performing at the Fortress. However, not one restaurant has its promotion based on its authenticity. This confirms that even the existing offer is not used to its full potential on the market, and this is one of the possibilities where the tourist offer could be improved.

"There is no other content than food and drink. Missing of concept, and management of expectations."

Besides the gourmet offer, stakeholders state that there is an evident lack of activities, programs (cultural and sports), tourism products designed for different audiences, and storytelling. In addition, there is much unrealized potential (both tangible and intangible) at this historical site. Some of the existing problems are that the churches are closed for visitors, and for them to be opened tourist guides need to inform the priest in advance and let him know about the booked tour. There is no official offer that includes a visit to the art ateliers due to a lack of time to visit them or unknown working hours of the ateliers. Some believe that the Museum is outdated, the exhibition content should be improved, and the working hours should be adapted, while the underground tour, which is generally very popular among tourists, could benefit from better preservation of the underground spaces and more creative storytelling – so as to produce an unforgettable experience for the visitor. In addition, it is perceived that the heritage landmarks in the Lower Town are fairly unused, unknown or unavailable. In particular, Gradić Fest is an excellent example of what can be done with the stories and spaces preserved, but it is necessary for more interested parties to participate in the revival process within this part of the Fortress.

Through open discussion, stakeholders were encouraged to express their visions and were asked about the possible future development of the given area. From their perspective, the Lower Town should have more venues, cultural offer, cafes and restaurants, galleries, hotels/hostels, boutiques and shops, to be more adapted for tourists. The proposals for additional content include music concerts (jazz, classical music) and theatre shows, summer film projections, bringing back some of the old kafanas and the brewery that previously existed in the Lower Town, or storytelling about these places, artisans and crafts. Also, some stakeholders shared their nostalgia toward certain events, remembering some positive actions and initiatives in the past (such as classical music concerts in the church courtyard or theatre performances during the event "Plays in the Sun") as examples of good practice that invited people to visit the Fortress, when it had a function in the everyday life of the community.

The role of the military in the rehabilitation of Petrovaradin Fortress should also not be overlooked. Other stakeholders believe that the military should be involved, due to the fact they own a lot of spaces and facilities, and other parts of the Fortress should be activated for visits. Overall, it is necessary to include the local community and the residents of the Lower Town in tourism planning, taking into account their wishes and attitudes, as well as involving them in the tourist offer.

The general observation during the research is that the tourist offer at Petrovaradin Fortress mainly focuses on sightseeing/walking tours for individual or group tourists offered by tour providers (see Appendix 3). The tours follow a historical narrative about the Fortress and visitors have the opportunity to learn about the major visited attractions, such as the Clock Tower, the City Museum or the Underground Tunnels during the one to three-hour long walking tour. Sometimes tourist agencies can incorporate visits to the museum, church, or restaurant into a walking tour, depending on the individual needs or tour package. The agencies operate so as to incorporate Petrovaradin Fortress into larger tours, or to combine the Fortress together with the city's other landmarks located in the centre. Nevertheless, there is a lack of thematic and specialized tours on offer (except for the tour "Novi Sad Scavenger Hunt" in cooperation Panacomp Wonderland Travel with EPIC adventures, with a full day outdoor adventure activities). The explorative and adventurous offer at the Fortress includes the visit to the underground military galleries, but these galleries are under the jurisdiction of the City Museum of Novi Sad, so the visits have to be organized in agreement with the Museum. Moreover, in order to be able to visit the underground galleries, a minimum of 10 entries must be paid (depending on the category of visitors) which certainly makes it difficult for individual visitors.

"Lower town is authentic and should be carefully restored. Renovation without content does not mean anything, and without the involvement of the local population."

Research by the TONS shows that the majority of incoming tourists organize and plan their visit to the city individually, as they are not keen on using the services provided by local tourist organizations. In addition, the data showed that 82.4% of questioned tourists have not been informed about Novi Sad by official tourist information desks, 77.6% did not use or take available printed material (maps, brochures, pamphlets), while 92.3% did not used guiding services offered by professionals for their sightseeing. Today, in the digital and informational era, tourists are enabled to be more independent, relying on digital technologies easily available through different applications that provide the needed information about a city. Currently, in Novi Sad, for individual tourists, there is a mobile application called "Novi Sad Talking" (Serbian/English) that provides digital guides across the city and the Upper and Lower Town landmarks in Petrovaradin with pinned locations and images with more information about the observed landmark. An application developed in a newer format is "Novi Sad Stories" – an alternative tour guide for visitors with audio stories provided by key actors, such as the story about the Clock Tower told by the clock smith, or the story

about the Fortress told by the director of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments. This application follows the "made by locals" model which certainly is more interesting to tourists as they receive information first-hand. Unfortunately, the application is only available in the Serbian language.

The aforementioned issues and the lack of content are the results of a high number of interested parties and commercial users of the Fortress without systematised roles and responsibilities in the creation and provision of the tourist offer. Thus, there is general confusion who is actually in charge of answering to the needs and demands of different tourism segments, as well as creating innovative tourism products and services.

May I speak to the manager?

Considering the views which stakeholders shared with us during the interviews it is noticeable that, from their perspective, the monument holds predominantly historical value, while at the same time containing the symbolic, ambient and aesthetic values that come from the Fortress overlooking the Danube River and the city of Novi Sad. Stakeholders are aware of the Fortress' importance, rarity and authenticity as a part of the city's cultural identity, as well as its economic potential for serving the community in the creation of new offers in the form of hotels, restaurants, and shops that would attract tourists from abroad. Analysing the comments by stakeholders, the values of the Fortress are mostly perceived holistically, as a combination of historical value, geographic position, architecture, and stories from the past and from today. At the same time, many of stakeholders also argued that these values to be put in the service of tourism development, and thus provide a way for them to be promoted.

> "Without the Fortress, tourism would be endangered in Novi Sad, as it is the main tourist offer of the city."

Nonetheless, dissatisfaction over how the values of the Fortress are currently being managed and maintained is present among the stakeholders. Some even believe that the way the Fortress is managed appears as if the aim is to reject the tourists and not to attract them. The governance of the activities carried out at the Fortress is questionable, since there is a general uncertainty about whose responsibility it is to innovate and create new tourist products that would influence tourism development at the site. Nevertheless, the subject that is stressed the most is the requirement of better coordination, strategy and closer collaboration, so as to achieve improvement and progress in tourism. The existing cooperation between stakeholders is conditioned by mutual dependence, that is, interaction between the ones who encounter each other in carrying out their activities. Tourist agencies are the strongest collaborators with other stakeholders, especially with the private sector (transport, accommodation, tour operators, caterers, other agencies and international partners), institutions (TONS, the Museum). Caterers and accommodation owners have strong collaboration amongst each other, which is reflected in service complementarity (for example, Naša Tvrđava works closely together with Fortress Apartments and Varadin Inn Hostel in case of food services and overbooking of bed units). Cooperation and dialogue or a support system is lacking between TONS and the art ateliers, between TONS and the tourist agencies (besides Panacomp), while the most unconsidered group of stakeholders are the representatives of the civil sector that have the weakest collaboration with others. Mutually, stakeholders agree that they are collectively missing the open dialogue, collaboration and support that is needed from the city government, as well as more collaboration with the Institute for Protection of Monuments in Novi Sad.

The ateliers are seen as a potential for further tourism development, but this is also questionable due to their unregulated relationship with the city. There is a general agreement among the artists that the ateliers should be open to the public, however openness towards visitors is a matter of the individual attitude of each artist. It is believed that it is necessary to establish better organisation among artists interested in being included in the tourist offer, but to respect the artists' wishes, as they are not there only for tourists, and visits can disturb their creative work.

Besides the tangible landmarks at the Fortress, higher interest among tourists is brought by EXIT Festival in July, which attracts large number of tourists, especially the youth. As such, the festival represents a very valuable asset for all parties involved in tourism, from the hospitality industry, organisations, and tourist agencies to institutions and local government. Nevertheless, EXIT Festival raises much debates among stakeholders, being a long-running festival that has been organized for 18 years at Petrovaradin Fortress. Despite the fact that the festival is one of the most popular motives for thousands young people coming to Novi Sad in July, EXIT causes conflicting opinions among stakeholders, who point out both positive and negative effects. A common opinion of the interviewees is that the biggest advantage of EXIT Festival is actually its very attractive and unique location. Caterers and accommodation owners receive most of the benefits during this event, however, stressing that the Lower Town is unused and not connected to the main event – describing the area as a "bypassing point". It is agreed that after the festival, the Fortress is left in poor condition, neglected, and full of garbage, which raises the question among stakeholders, "In what way does EXIT take care of the Fortress in return?"

Where is the toilet?

An overall dissatisfaction with the poor conditions and improper maintenance of the Fortress is evident among the interviewed stakeholders, where resolving the major infrastructural problems should be the main concern for future tourism development. The major problems are in relation to the lack of a sewage system, with no public toilets in the Fortress and its surroundings (except in restaurants). On the other hand, the problem of accessibility as an evident obstacle for tourism development has been identified – including the lack of official parking, traffic jams during wintertime, and the impossibility for busses to drive up the fortress. Due to the steep climb and the stairs, most elderly visitors, people with disabilities or families with babies cannot come up to the Upper Town, and a taxi drive is the only alternative to reach the top. Transport is important to the Fortress vendors (hotels, restaurants, catering services, suppliers, etc.), however, most of the interviewees think that a pedestrian zone should be created

in the area of the Fortress , traffic should be banned, and fees should be charged for parking and entrance to the Fortress, with the proceeds going towards the maintenance of the Fortress. It has been noted that a lot of facilities are owned by the military, and the military does not have enough finances to invest and maintain.

Remarks also referred to the lack of information for tourists, the absence of tourist signage, the fact that gates and attractions of the Fortress are not marked, and the lack of info centres where tourists can inquire or take maps and brochures. Neither is there an info panel at Vladike Nikolaja Square, which is often a starting point for sightseeing. On top of that, the existing brochures are dull, and there is a lack of advertising, souvenir stands and other utilities such as drinking water fountains, an exchange office, ATMs, trash cans, or a small store of mixed goods (where visitors can buy refreshments, snacks, cigarettes, etc.).

"The main problem that I would like to be solved is the transport of passengers in a safe and environmentally friendly manner."

Moreover, the research of TONS indicates that 1.2% of tourists link their dissatisfaction with Novi Sad to the poor maintenance of the Fortress (garbage, insufficient toilets).

Conclusions

The overall research findings based on field research, mapping, content analysis and interview results showed that there is an evident lack of content, offer and basic facilities for visitors at Petrovaradin Fortress and its surroundings. There is no innovation and originality in tourist products intended for different target groups and users. In addition, there is a lack of cultural programs or sports activities that would stimulate visitors to come to the Fortress. One of the issues is that there is no proper tourist signage, and the information about Petrovaradin Fortress is limited due to the lack of an official visitor centre, where a visitor could receive necessary information, find a guide or buy a souvenir. Moreover, the infrastructure of Petrovaradin Fortress is perceived as insufficient due to the lack of communal services (public toilets, trash bins, sewage system, and ATM machines) and overall poor maintenance of the Fortress by the various communal services of the City of Novi Sad (e.g. for cleaning and collecting garbage). Another concern is the accessibility of the Fortress, given that it is impossible for some tourists to climb up the stairs, the issue of insufficient parking spots for cars and unapproachable roads for buses and bigger vehicles. Although the content analysis of visitors' reviews showed their general satisfaction to the landmark itself, when it is pointed out, their dissatisfactory side refers to lack of offer, infrastructure condition and maintenance, which also corresponds to the need for further investments into the Fortress.

Unfortunately, many of these identified problems are consequences of the unresolved relations and unclear management structure responsible for the preservation and management of the Fortress. The tasks, responsibilities and jurisdictions of each stakeholder are not clearly delineated, their activities are not as coordinated as they should be in order to provide sustainable tourist offers/products and a fuller presentation of the site to visitors, so that the Fortress's great possibilities in terms of its dimensions and spaces, could be fully used.

References

Aljahdali, M. (2016). *Exploring TripAdvisor Online Reviews: The Case of George Eastman Museum*. Thesis. Rochester Institute of Technology.

Besermenji, S,. Pivac, T., and Wallrabenstein, K. (2009). Significance of the Authentic Ambience of the Petrovaradin Fortress on the Attractiveness of EXIT Festival. *Geographica Pannonica* 13 (2), 66-74.

Besermenji, S,. Pivac, T., and Wallrabenstein, K. (2010). Attitudes of Experts from Novi Sad on the Use of the Authentic Setting of the Petrovaradin Fortress as the Venue for the EXIT Festival. *Geographica Pannonica* 14 (3), 92-97.

Bljeljac, Ž. and Lović, S. (2011). Demographic analysis of foreign visitors to the EXIT festival, Novi Sad. *Journal of the Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić"* 61(2), 97-108, Belgrade: SASA

Hsieh, H.-F., and Shannon, S. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277–1288.

Miguéns, J, Baggio, R. and Costa, C. (2008). Social media and Tourism Destinations: TripAdvisor Case Study. *Proceedings of the IASK International Conference on 'Advances in Tourism Research'*, At Aveiro, Portugal, Volume: 194-199

Mikić, H. (2014). *Biznis plan za rehabilitaciju nepokretnih kulturnih dobara: priručnik za izradu i implementaciju.* Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

Pajvančić-Cizel, A. (2016). *Društveni akteri u zaštiti kulturnog nasleđa: Sociološka studija za potrebe izrade Menadžment plana Petrovaradinske tvrđave.* Novi Sad: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

Pro Pozitiv (in press) Stavovi i ponašanje domaćih i stranih turista u Novom Sadu (2017/ 2018). Novi Sad: TONS

(ulicnisviraci.com). Retrieved December 9, 2018, from Ulicni sviraci: https://www.ulicnisviraci.com/zavrsen-gradic-fest-podgradje-pokazalo-pun-potencijal/

(n.d.). Retrieved July 11, 2018, from TripAdvisor: https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g1983703-d550534-Reviews-Petrovaradin_Fortress-Petrovaradin_Novi_Sad_Vojvodina.html

Turisticka organizacija grada Novog Sada. (n.d.). Retrieved July 15, 2018, from www.novisad.travel

Appendix 1. Tourist flows for the City of Novi Sad

Number of visits and overnights - 2016

Number of tourists				Overnight		
Month	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total	Domestic	Foreign
January	8,182	3,577	4,605	18,691	6,765	11,926
February	9,112	3,788	5,324	19,597	7,410	12,187
March	11,057	4,179	6,878	26,487	7,692	18,795
April	15,621	7,834	7,787	28,438	11,910	16,528
May	20,580	9,374	11,206	36,077	13,835	22,242
June	14,195	4,715	9,480	31,927	8,104	23,823
July	18,902	5,140	13,762	50,526	12,838	37,688
August	13,440	3,751	9,689	26,181	7,889	18,292
September	16,028	4,981	11,047	31,246	8,915	22,331
October	19,022	9,832	9,190	34,147	15,864	18,283
November	14,299	5,173	9,126	31,978	9,163	22,815
December	14,051	5,464	8,587	25,283	8,571	16,712
TOTAL	174,489	67,808	106,681	360,578	118,956	241,622

Number of visits and overnights - 2017

Number of tourists				Overnight		
Month	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total	Domestic	Foreign
January	8,057	3,430	4,627	15,072	5,535	9,537
February	8,333	3,942	4,391	15,017	6,315	8,702
March	11,931	4,608	7,323	21,539	7,286	14,253
April	18,471	9,349	9,122	30,439	13,431	17,008
May	23,624	10,987	12,637	43,361	16,306	27,055
June	16,805	5,127	11,678	31,957	8,609	23,348
July	20,152	5,067	15,085	46,758	11,356	35,402
August	17,580	4,653	12,927	35,130	8,578	26,552
September	19,416	6,863	12,553	34,052	10,557	23,495
October	21,150	9,414	11,736	39,194	15,283	23,911
November	15,621	6,226	9,395	30,213	10,847	19,366
December	13,914	5,345	8,569	24,837	8,728	16,109
TOTAL	195,054	75,011	120,043	367,569	122,831	244,738

Number of visits and overnights - 2018

Number of tourists				Overnight		
Month	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total	Domestic	Foreign
January	8,867	3,393	5,474	18,480	5,967	12,513
February	9,938	4,018	5,920	22,400	7,979	14,421
March	13,553	5,156	8,397	29,664	10,185	19,479
April	19,157	9,173	9,984	36,525	17,964	18,561
May	25,293	10,034	15,259	53,085	18,468	34,617
June	18,818	5,062	13,756	43,283	13,257	30,026
July	22,751	5,200	17,551	52,910	13,387	39,523
August	18,024	4,207	13,817	42,024	11,518	30,506
September	20,285	6,636	13,649	38,478	13,734	24,744
October	22,693	9,761	12,932	42,742	14,456	23,979
November	19,499	7,488	12,011	43,308	15,830	27,478
December	15,443	5,709	9,734	29,803	10,577	19,226
TOTAL	214,321	75,837	138,484	452,702	153,322	295,073

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

Appendix 2. Interviews questions

1.In your opinion, what is the highest value of Petrovaradin for the development of tourism?

2.What services are you offering to visitors coming to the Fortress?

3.What services or products are the most attractive and popular among visitors?

4.How do you influence the visitor's interest, what means of communication do you use?

5.Are you satisfied with the existing tourist infrastructure? What do you think are the main disadvantages and what would you innovate in the existing tourist offer?

6.What are your main challenges in delivering a particular service / product?

7.Who do you most often cooperate with in doing your business and how does cooperation work? Do you work with some organizations at the local, national, international level? Specify with which type of organisation, and whether it is a civil sector or a private body.

8.How would you describe a tourist who is the user of your products / services?

Appendix 3. Mapped stakeholders

TOURS					
Name of stakeholder	**Content / Offer / Service**	**Duration**	**Price**	**Communication / Promotion**	**Reservation**
Tourist Organization of Novi Sad (TONS)	Walking tour: Petrovaradin Fortress (max 25 people / Serbian language)	1 hour 10'	free	TONS website, Facebook, print material and maps	online, phone
TA Panakomp	1. Novi Sad Scavenger Hunt (max. 12 people)	full day	45 € per person	EPIC Adventures website, Panacomp website, print material and maps	online, phone
TA Magelan	1. Walking tour: City centre (Fortress included) + drinks (8-10 people) 2. Walking tour: Upper and Lower Town + military galleries (max. 25 people)	3-4 hours	6 - 30 € per person 6 € per person	website, Facebook, print material and maps, http://serbianadventures.com http://www.visitserbia.org	online, phone
TA Putokaz 21	Walking tour: What secrets is Petrovaradin Fortress hiding?	1 hour		website, Facebook, TONS website, print material and maps	online, phone
TA Putešestvije	Walking tour: City centre + Petrovaradin Fortress walking tours	3 hours	1 - 3 people - 60 € per group 4 - 50 (70 € per group)	website	online, phone
City Museum of Novi Sad	Military gallery underground tour	45 minutes	0.80 - 2.50 € per person	website, print material and maps	online, phone
Association of Tourist Guides	Walking tour: Petrovaradin fortress with a visit to Lower town" (max 20 people)	1 hour 10'	4.20 € per person	TONS website, print material and maps	online, phone
UGRIP	Adventure walking tour: Underground of the Petrovaradin Fortress	2-3 hours	50 € per group (up to 10 people)	Facebook, YouTube, print material and maps	online, phone

ACCOMMODATION					
Hotel Leopold I	Rooms and suites, bar, restaurant, gym, spa and wellness	Min. 1 night	67 - 460 € per night	Website, Booking; TripAdvisor, Trivago, Facebook, Foursquare, TONS website	online, phone
Hostel Varad Inn	Rooms	Min. 1 night	10 - 30 € per night	Website, Booking.com, Hostel world, TripAdvisor, Facebook, Trivago, Foursquare, TONS website	online, phone
Guesthouse "Naša tvrđava"	Rooms + food	Min. 1 night	25 € per night	Booking, TripAdvisor, Trivago, Facebook	online, phone
Apartments "Fortress"	Rooms	Min. 1 night	25 - 40 € (group size)	Website, Booking, Facebook	online, phone

EDUCATION					
City Museum of Novi Sad	Big War Well and Atrium; Civil Life in Novi Sad from 18-20th century; Souvenirs	around 30 minutes	0.80 - 4.20 € per person	Website, print material and maps, TripAdvisor, Facebook, TO website	no reservations needed (only big groups)
Astronomical Association of Novi Sad	Educational programs in astronomy Telescope sky observations Movie screenings	-	free	Website, Facebook	no reservations needed

GASTRONOMY					
Restaurant "8 tamburaša"	National cuisine / live *tamburica* orchestras, local wine, panoramic view	-	2 - 18 € per dish	Website, Facebook, foursquare, TripAdvisor	phone
Restaurant "SAT"	Fish cuisine, local wine, panoramic view	-	2 - 18 € per dish	Website, Facebook, foursquare, TripAdvisor	phone
Restaurant "Terrace"	Mediterranean cuisine, panoramic view	-	2 - 40 € per dish	Website, Facebook, foursquare, TripAdvisor	phone
Restaurant Hotel Leopold I	International cuisine, panoramic view	-		Website, Facebook, foursquare, TripAdvisor	phone
Restaurant Balkan Express 021	Serbian cuisine	-	2 - 16 € per dish	Website, Facebook, foursquare, TripAdvisor	phone

Restaurant Aqua Doria	Fish cuisine, traditional, local wine, private parking, outdoor sitting by Danube	-	2 - 18 € per dish	Facebook	online, phone
Restaurant "Naša tvrđava"	Traditional Serbian		2 - 15 €	Facebook	phone
Pizzeria Mačak	Italian	-	1 - 8 €	Facebook	phone
Multi tarte pastry shop	Sweet and sour pastry, wedding/ birthday cakes	-	1 - 45 €	Website, Facebook, Instagram	online, phone
Caffe "Dublin"	Hot & cold drinks	-	1 - 3 €	Facebook, Foursquare	phone

CLUBS					
Café / Club Đava	Hot & cold drinks	-	1 - 3 €	Facebook, Instagram	online, phone
Club Tunnel	Drinks / music event	-	1 - 3 €	Facebook	online, phone
Club Museum	Drinks / music event	-	1 - 3 €	Facebook	online, phone

MANIFESTATIONS					
EXIT Festival	Music performances, open camp, workshops, movie screenings, interactive promo stands	4 days	25 - 100 €	website, all social media, Viber, YouTube, print material	online
Baby EXIT	School plays, concerts, workshops, children animation, educational programs for families & children, promo stands	2 days	Free	website, Facebook, YouTube, print material	no reservations needed
Tamburica Fest	International Tamburica orchestra performances and competition and following concerts	4 days	€25	Website, Facebook, print material	no reservations needed
Gradić Fest / Street Musician Festival	Music performances, movie screenings, theater plays, exhibitions.	3 days	free	website, Facebook, print material YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, Flickr	no reservations needed

OTHER OFFERS					
Civil society organization Suburbium	Conferences, round table, presentations, exhibitions, performances	-	free	website, Facebook, Korzo portal, print material	
Association of Fine Art artists **“Likovni krug”**	86 ateliers are open every day. Public accessibility is based on the individual atelier user. The most active is Atelier 61; Postcards & custom-made souvenirs	-	free	Facebook	*if tourist agencies want to visit an atelier they should notify the artist
Civil society organization Scenatoria	Cultural and artistic content that points to the value of the architectural heritage	-	free	website, Facebook, YouTube, Flickr, Instagram	

Chapter 2.4.

Management Structure, Interests and Visions of Petrovaradin Fortress Stakeholders

Katarina Živanović
Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Serbia

Daliborka Nikolić
Independent researcher, Belgrade, Serbia

To achieve sustainable development of Petrovaradin Fortress, it is essential to recognize the importance of engaging the wide base of local and national stakeholders to inform, support, develop and implement an integrated management plan. This is why this paper aims to: identify the major stakeholders in the area of Petrovaradin Fortress; to showcase the current segmented and uncoordinated management structure; and to present different perceptions, visions and convictions of stakeholders towards the current state and possible developments of the area. Based on that, this paper aims to propose recommendations for possible future management structures. Research findings will be presented first by looking at policy developments, then overviewing main stakeholders, including their views, interests and visions, ending with possible management models based on the current layout of stakeholders and their interests in the field.

Research Methodology

This analysis begins with the identification of Petrovaradin Fortress' current management structure. By using stakeholder analysis methodology, stakeholders were defined based on their interests and influence. This analysis is based on the key legal documents of various governing bodies, institutions and organizations, mainly their founding acts and statutes, and their practice. Moreover, previous research was used, together with web presentations of key institutions and social media press releases. The first part enabled not only the mapping of stakeholders, but also their grouping based on their importance following the assessment of their relation between interest and influence.

Once stakeholders were mapped and grouped, a number of interviews were conducted with key stakeholders, making it possible to analyse their views, opinions and visions for the future use and management of the Fortress. Based on their answers, the current management structure was outlined, shedding light on its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Data generated through questionnaires and interviews contributed to the analysis of the potential for involvement of different key stakeholders in future management structure.

A total number of 41 chosen stakeholders were contacted, but the interview or questionnaire was conducted with only 19 stakeholders, predominantly the city institutions, civil society organizations, and residents of the Fortress suburban area. These city institutions are either the current key stakeholders, or their vision is to act in such manner in the future (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad, Urbanism and Tourist Organisation of Novi Sad – TONS). Almost all of the aforementioned stakeholders cooperate with each other. Those who were seen by many stakeholders as generally uncooperative also did not engage in this research – not explicitly refusing to take part in the research, but attesting they would send the results in written form which they never did.

The last segment of the analysis represents the mapping of possible organizational models based on applicable legislation and regulations and insights into different aspects of the existing management system, as well as the possibilities for its development in order to achieve optimal, transparent and participatory management.

Brief overview of policy developments

There is no formally appointed managing body of Petrovaradin Fortress, i.e., a governing body that has been appointed as per law or regulation. However, the authority of the City of Novi Sad has been the Fortress' managing body, though this is somewhat unclear and not recognized by the stakeholders.

In the period from 1991 to 1993, the manager of Petrovaradin Fortress was a public company founded by the City of Novi Sad. However, the management was not efficient, due to the fact that this company did not employ adequate key experts who were positioned in other city organizations. Hence, the company was terminated. Thereafter, the authorities did not come up with another solution to manage the Fortress; instead, in accordance to an unwritten rule, all segments of the city administration, such as the Mayor, City Council, public companies, and public utility companies, unanimously agreed to a transient

solution that implied taking over the management of certain segments of the Fortress. In practice, this extremely complicated arrangement with complex and non-transparent procedures is dysfunctional (e.g. the leaseholders of the Fortress space, such as restaurant owners, art studios, etc., acquire lease agreements without transparent procedures, and these are terminated on rare occasions; rents are extremely low and lease agreements do not stipulate money to be allocated for the protection of the fortress). Only a small number of competent authorities are engaged in the Fortress management, mainly those responsible for its protection and maintenance (see figure 2.4.1.).

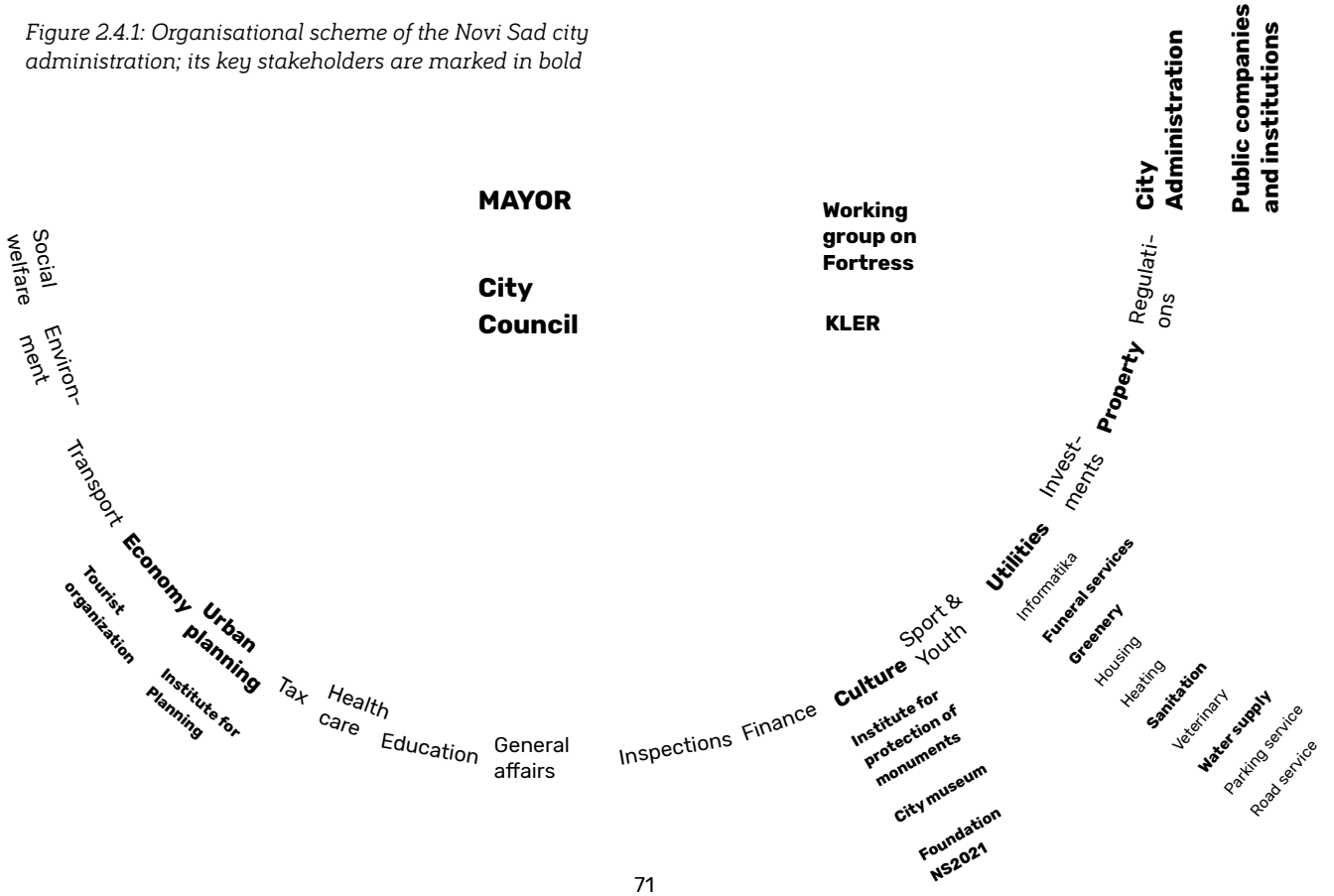
Due to the uncoordinated, segmented management structure, many stakeholders bypass regulations and procedures, reaching out directly to the highest representatives of the City Administration to attain obligatory consent and agreements. This is further supported by the fact that the Law on Cultural Property, which was passed in 1994, stipulates tasks in the field of legal and technical protection of cultural heritage, but does not foresee management, and therefore anticipates neither management organization nor a model.

On the other hand, the Law on Tourism (2011) defines the tourist area manager. Lately, several cultural properties in Serbia have been listed together as a tourist area, and, consequently, they were assigned a manager. The advantage of this model is its efficiency, primarily in the field of maintenance, sustainable development, development of tourist facilities and management of finances, but its key disadvantage is the reduction of cultural property to a tourist attraction, i.e., envisioning future development of an asset only through its tourism development.

Moreover, in practice, management of cultural heritage through designation as a tourist area has also showed its shortcomings. New companies or bodies formed to manage the sites do not have adequate skills, expertise and competences to assume the complex role of managing finance, conservation, tourist development and public education in a sustainable and developmental manner. Employment takes place through party mechanisms and makes it easy to prioritize party and private investment interests at the expense of public ones.

In recent years, various stakeholders recognized the need to work on the management of the Fortress. First of all, in 2015, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad initiated the creation of a Management Plan. This initiative was financed by, at the time, the proactive Provincial Government, but this document was never published because it needed further analysis. Later on, a Working Group was formed by the City in order to find the best solution for the Fortress' management structure. The group consisted of representatives coming from local and provincial authorities (including the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments) with the aim of advising on possible future solutions. Members of the working group met several times since its establishment, but without any visible results. Officially, the group still exists even though its members met only two or three times. In late 2017, Europa Nostra Serbia and the local Faculty of Sport and Tourism TIMS in partnership with the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments initiated the project Case Petrovaradin. Later that same year the City Administration for Economy commissioned a feasibility study related to the exploration of the proposal to declare Petrovaradin a tourist area, which also includes the Fortress management. However, these initiatives are not adequately interconnected and hence, neither are they part of a larger coherent strategic effort.

Figure 2.4.1: Organisational scheme of the Novi Sad city administration; its key stakeholders are marked in bold



In parallel, additional interest in Petrovaradin Fortress was initiated by the nomination of Novi Sad for the European Capital of Culture 2021, even though the revitalization projects of the Fortress were not listed in the Novi Sad Bid Book for this title. The European Capital of Culture title led to increased interest in the heritage of Novi Sad, and establishment of the Foundation Novi Sad 2021. We can assume that the title Novi Sad 2021 also influenced the unexpected interest in the Fortress' heritage by the authorities on the state level. In 2016, at the initiative of the President of the Republic of Serbia, funds were allocated for the rehabilitation of the buildings' facades situated in the suburban area of the Fortress.

Mapping Key Stakeholders

Considering the great significance of the spatial cultural-historical unit of Petrovaradin Fortress with its surrounding areas, its complexity and magnitude, several thousand residents and its various utilization and potential, it is not surprising that its many stakeholders create an intertwined network around the Fortress. These stakeholders operate on different levels—local, provincial and national, public, private and civil—and in various sectors, such as, culture, tourism, trade, etc., performing either individually or together with informal or formal groups and associations.

In order to understand the complexity of this network, the authors have mapped out the Fortress' stakeholders, defining their importance based on a matrix of their interest and influence (figure 2.4.2.). Influence has been assessed on the basis of stakeholders' ability to participate in decision-making processes, while interest is based on their participation, initiatives and implemented activities in order to protect and present the fortress and achieve its sustainable use.

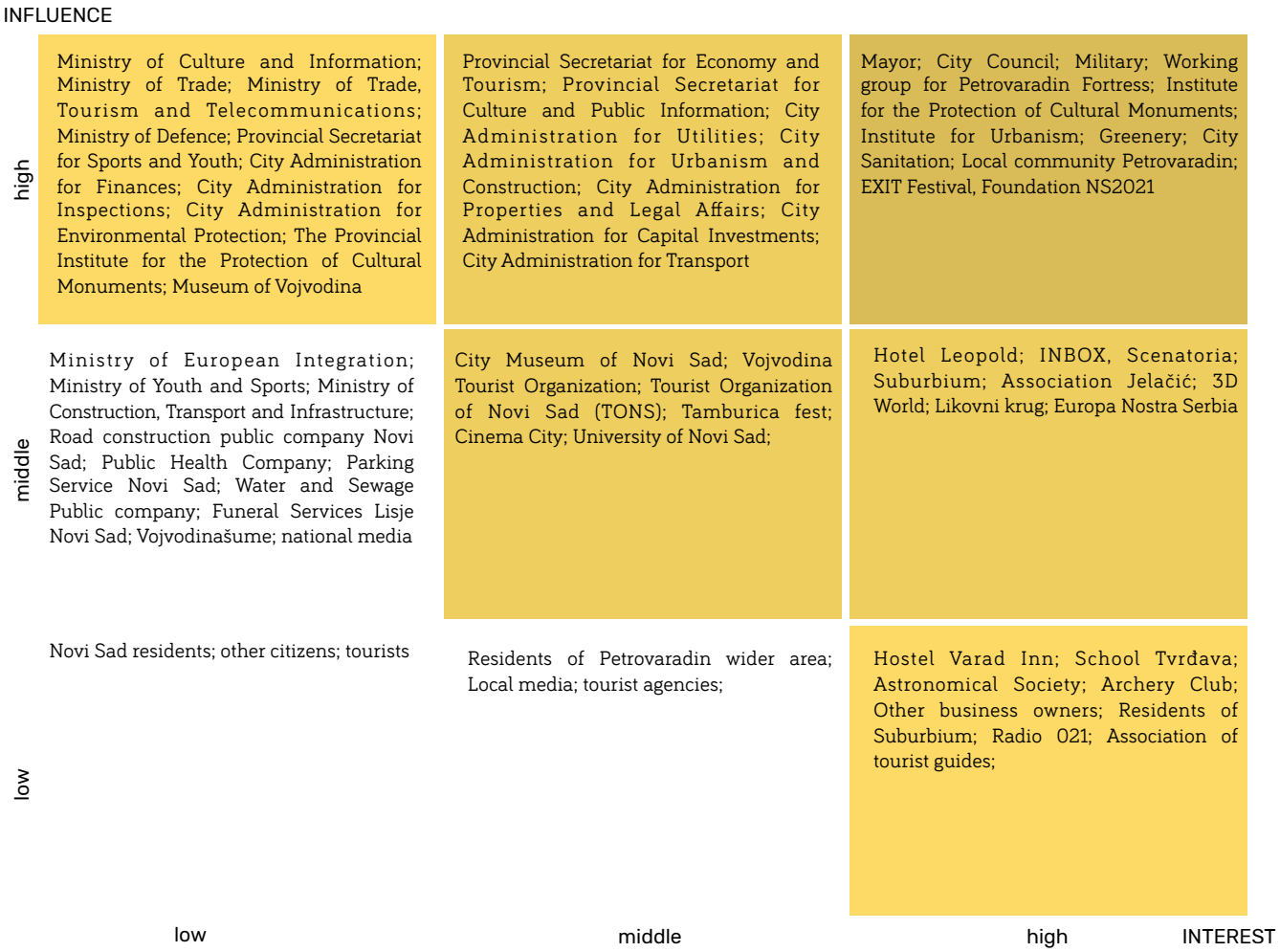
After the stakeholder mapping was carried out, the authors conducted additional research of the stakeholders that proved to assert importance, which are marked in yellow in the illustration. The additional research included an analysis of these stakeholders' activities and attitudes. Based on this, the key stakeholders were defined. Below we will briefly specify and describe the roles of these key stakeholders.

The city of Novi Sad is the most important stakeholder. Its administration manages the Fortress, plans and implements various activities related to the Fortress' protection, presentation and use, and finances a large number of civil society organizations' activities. Within the City of Novi Sad, the following key bodies and organizations were identified.

City Administration for Culture: Responsible for adopting and implementing the cultural strategy, adoption of annual plans of institutions of culture and supervising their implementation.

Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments—Novi Sad is the local branch of the established system of

Figure 2.4.2: Identified and categorized stakeholders based on their sphere of influence and interest



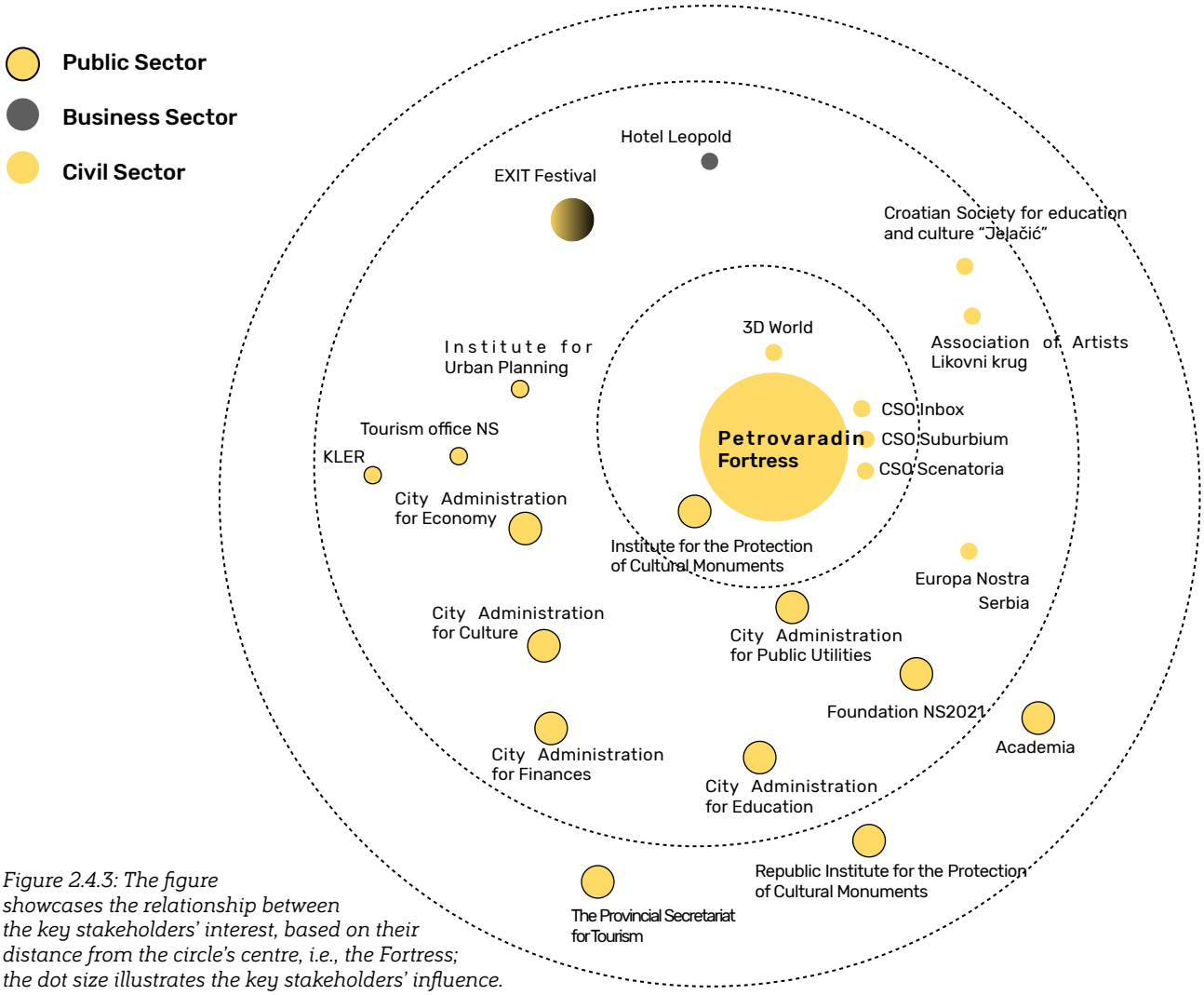


Figure 2.4.3: The figure showcases the relationship between the key stakeholders' interest, based on their distance from the circle's centre, i.e., the Fortress; the dot size illustrates the key stakeholders' influence.

protection of immovable cultural heritage based on the Law on Cultural Property. The Institute performs all activities in the field of protection: valorisation of buildings and premises, development of conservation and restoration plans for rehabilitation projects, monitoring implementation of technical protection measures, and participating in urban planning. This Institute is the only institution which employs experts for Petrovaradin Fortress. In addition to its core activities, the Institute initiated the development of the Management Plan proposal, which clearly demonstrates its readiness to deal not only with technical protection, but also to apply the principles of participation and integrity to its work. Since 2016, the Institute has been actively involved in the rehabilitation of the Lower Fortress area (street facades and roofs); in 2018 the Institute started systematic archaeological excavations in the aforementioned area. In recent years, the Institute has been active in educational projects specifically tailored to different target groups with the aim of promoting the values of this spatial cultural-historical unit;

The Novi Sad Museum: Currently, it does not demonstrate greater interest in management, but the Museum keeps all movable cultural assets associated with the Fortress; in addition, the museum is located in the Fortress; throughout the year, it maintains one segment of the underground fortress space, which is turned into a tourist product;

Foundation 2021: Established with the aim of coordinating the preparation and implementation of the Novi Sad European Capital of Culture 2021 projects. Foundation 2021 is not directly connected with Petrovaradin Fortress. However, since cultural heritage is an integral part of the European Capital of Culture concept, the Foundation aims to raise the city's cultural capacities and to initiate and support the legislative procedures in the domain of culture, primarily through the sensitization of decision-makers. The Foundation also acts as a mediator, which is proving to be extremely useful and necessary for the further development of the Fortress. The Foundation is a partner organization in the Case Petrovaradin project.

City Administration for Economy: Ensuring the development of tourism, development and promotion of hospitality, crafts and commerce, it also supervises TONS, and regulates residence fees while monitoring its revenue. In June 2018, the Novi Sad City Administration for Economy announced a call for tender for the development of "The management model with the feasibility study to list the Petrovaradin Fortress a tourist area". Other key stakeholders, such as the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Novi Sad and Public Company Urbanism, which are responsible for the preparation of adequate planning documents, were informed only through local media.

TONS – The Tourist Organization of Novi Sad is engaged in the development and promotion of the tourist offers of Novi Sad. With regard to Petrovaradin Fortress, TONS promotes the fortress as the most important tourist attraction through the following media outlets: printed material (a map published in four languages), video clips, promotional campaigns on social media, engaging journalists and bloggers, organizing fairs and road show events, and tourist tours. TONS also researches attitudes of foreign and domestic tourists, and designs and installs tourist signage. If Petrovaradin Fortress becomes a tourist area, TONS will be interested in accepting greater responsibilities in relation to its management.

City Administration for Utilities and Housing Services: Adoption of the annual plans of all public utility companies and supervising their implementation; so far, but not throughout the year, it has successfully coordinated the work of public companies and public utility companies during major events.

Public Utility Company Lisje: Performs tasks related to the maintenance of the Fortress. It bases its work on the specifications listed in the contract drafted by the City Administration for Utilities and Housing Services, as per orders issued by the City Administration for Urban Planning and Construction. The work includes maintenance of the wooden bridges, ramparts and trails. The Fortress is in no way a priority of this public company.

Public Company Urbanism: Engaged in the preparation of planning documents. The most recent valid document that has been drafted and adopted by the city is the Detailed Regulation Plan, which was a result of the joint effort of Urbanism and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Novi Sad. The Institute's conservation experts are satisfied with the plan, apart from the regulation of traffic in the Fortress suburban area; its main street is still used as a main road. Upon adoption of a document that specifies the boundaries of a protected entity (pending in the Ministry of Culture for several years) or upon proclamation of the Petrovaradin Fortress for tourist space, this company is ready to revisit the option of closing the traffic on the main street in the suburban area.

City Administration for Finance: Balancing public revenue and public expenditure for the City budget. Although in the previous period it did not have great influence or interest in the Fortress, now, due to the possibility of finding alternative and innovative solutions for integral, multi-annual funding of the Fortress, it was recognized as a key stakeholder.

City Administration for Education: Ensuring proper running of preschool facilities, primary and secondary schools, financing professional growth and development of employees, and ensuring students' transport. Like the previous administration, until now, it had no great significance for the management of the Fortress, but the potential of strategic planning of school activities was recognized in order to increase knowledge about the Fortress's heritage, as well as to sensitize teachers and children on using this heritage in a variety of ways.

Local Economic Development Office, KLER: So far, the office has not been directly involved in the projects related to the Fortress, but its staff is well trained in fundraising, especially European and US funds.

EXIT Festival: Established in 2000, voted the Best Major Festival at the European Festival Awards in 2013 and 2017. In 2018 it received a Best Location & Looks award by Dutch Festileaks with the comment "[one] will hardly find a more beautiful festival location than the medieval Petrovaradin Fortress". Nevertheless, a majority of stakeholders emphasize its failure to take proper care of this area and report that the event shows negligence toward the Fortress. Many respondents believe that this festival behaves irresponsibly toward the Fortress, usurping the public space and public resources – before, during and after the EXIT festival, public utility companies, such as, greenery, sanitation, and water supply, maintain the fortress using public funds. EXIT is organized in many ways – as an EXIT business company, EXIT Foundation and FORT Foundation.

3D World (known as UGRIP): A non-governmental organization established with aim to achieve goals related to the cultural and spiritual heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress. 3D World was established in 2002 and formally registered in 2010. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of its members, but it is certainly in hundreds. The organization is hierarchically organized with an almost military structure, and it is divided into four groups: Warriors, Souls, Allies and Weapons. So far, this organization has conducted hundreds of activities and implemented many projects, but it is most active in researching, cleaning and disposing waste in the Fortress underground, as well as promoting the Fortress on the Internet. Its activities have great media coverage. 3D World demonstrates extraordinary power to mobilize young members of the community. However, its work is rather controversial, since the abovementioned activities are usually illegal, implemented without the necessary permits. In 2015, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Novi Sad sent them a letter before an action and an order to stop the illegal activities at the Fortress.

Suburbium: A non-governmental organization based in Petrovaradin and established in 2002. It consists of architects, historians, writers, art historians and sociologists who are gathered with the aim of raising awareness of Petrovaradin Fortress' suburbs as a devastated heritage; in the 18th century, this area was an elite part of the city, while today it is only a dormitory for its 1000 residents and the city's main traffic road. In order to achieve its goals, Suburbium organized many open space public debates, exhibitions, and concerts, at the same time publishing numerous publications, among which stands out "The Forgotten City – Petrovaradin Fortress Suburbs" (Zaboravljeni grad – Podgrađe Petrovaradinske tvrđave), published in five languages.

INBOX: An artistic association whose biggest project is the Festival of Street Musicians; in 2016, INBOX moved from Novi Sad to the Petrovaradin Fortress suburbs with the aim of promoting its heritage and rehabilitating this area. In addition to organizing a three-day festival, INBOX is also engaged in networking of various organisations and individuals focused on the revitalization of this area, such as advocating that this part of the city becomes a pedestrian zone. Hence, INBOX was essential in organizing an international conference on the problem of traffic in this area. Since 2018, INBOX has been running a cultural centre located in the suburbs while being devoted to the development of this area as an artistic quarter.

Scenatoria: A non-governmental organization also based in Petrovaradin, whose goal is to create conditions and space for the work of young artists and experts, affirmation of ambient theatre, applied visual and contemporary art, as well as highlighting the importance of protecting and revitalizing architectural heritage and the environment. The

most recognizable activity of Scenatoria is the organization of alternative hiking tours for the residents of Petrovaradin and Novi Sad, with the aim of promoting the invisible and forgotten heritage of the Fortress; these tours attracted approximately 500 participants. Scenatoria is also active in organizing art performances, stained-glass workshops, and educational programs for children of school age, as well as publishing the print edition of the publication Paper Fortress (Tvrđava od papira), which emerged as a result of collecting the memories and testimonies of the residents of Petrovaradin.

Association of Fine Art Artists "Likovni krug": Association of artists from the Fortress. Some of them have been using ateliers in the Upper Fortress since 1952 when the fortress was demilitarized and imagined as an artistic space in which citizens could be exposed to the work of acclaimed contemporary artists. There are currently 100 artists working in 80 ateliers covering over 5,000 square meters, many of which are members of the Association. Leaders of this association point out that, in the last 60 years, 400 artists have been creating in these ateliers, which resulted in creation of approximately 80,000 artworks. They also call themselves "the largest art colony in Europe". In the very beginning, these ateliers were seen also as a potential tourist attraction and were open to visitors. However, in recent decades, due to non-transparent procedures, these spaces are now rarely open to visitors and often change their use, while being illegally rented to third parties.

Europa Nostra Serbia (ENS): A non-profit and non-governmental organization established in Belgrade, Serbia in 2007, dedicated to raising awareness of cultural heritage as a basic right of every citizen and promotion of professional, transparent, participative and contemporary approach to protection, interpretation, management and use of cultural heritage. ENS is a Country Representative of the biggest pan-European heritage network. One of the focuses of its work is to support the exchange of experiences, ideas, knowledge and good practices on a local, regional and European level, as well as lobbying for policies based on an integrative and professional attitude towards heritage. Since 2011, ENS has been active in participating in the various projects related to the Petrovaradin Fortress. ENS is the Case Petrovaradin project leader, dedicated to raising awareness of the Fortress' future in a transparent, professional, and participatory way, and in accordance with contemporary trends.

Croatian Cultural Education Society Jelačić Petrovaradin: Focused on the authentic intangible cultural heritage of Croats created and developed in the immediate vicinity of the Fortress, this organization is based in the birth house of the Croatian ban and Austrian count Josip Jelačić (1801-1859); it was built in 1745, and it represents one of the most beautiful private properties in the compounds of the Fortress's Suburbium. The society plans to turn this house into a cultural centre and museum, and the cultural and social hub of the entire Croatian community of Vojvodina.

Hotel Leopold I: The hotel is situated at the top of the Fortress, with exclusive looks over the city, offering 59 guestrooms and suites and hosting approximately 7,000 overnight stays per year. It remains one of the most expensive and elite hotels of the city and hence the only one benefiting from this prime location.

University of Novi Sad: So far, the university has only been indirectly involved in Petrovaradin, mainly, through its research projects in the field of sociology, tourism, technology of materials, etc. However, the Academy of Fine Arts, which is located on the upper plateau of the Fortress, has been more directly involved with the Fortress affairs. But, like several previous stakeholders, the University is listed among the key stakeholders because of its potential for future scientific and artistic projects, both domestically and internationally, since activities such as these can expand knowledge and stimulate the exchange of experiences and good practices.

The Provincial Secretariat for Economy and Tourism: Within the Provincial Secretariat for Economy and Tourism operates the Department for Tourism and Regional Economic Cooperation, which primarily deals with the preparation and implementation of development plans and programs of tourism and determines the issues in the field of tourism of significance to the Province. It also determines and enacts the tourism development strategy and proposes and declares the tourist area in the territory of AP Vojvodina. It subsidizes small and medium-sized enterprises and tourist organizations, organizes trade fairs, etc. In recent years, the Provincial Secretariat for Economy and Tourism has been very active in finding management solutions for the Fortress; hence, it joined a Working Group with the aim of reaching the most optimal solution.+

Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Cultural Heritage Belgrade: Despite the fact that Petrovaradin Fortress is a cultural monument of great importance and that as such it is not subject to the authority of the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (which is responsible only for cultural monuments of exceptional significance), Petrovaradin was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List Frontiers of the Roman Empire in 2015. The Republic Institute is in charge of preparing the documentation for the tentative list, as well as the coordination of the preparation of the future nomination dossier.

Stakeholders' Views Regarding the Management of the Fortress

Increased awareness of the importance of an adequate management structure for the Fortress together with an extremely large number of stakeholders is the strength of the future management model. At the same time, this can be regarded as the biggest weakness, for there is no coordination between the stakeholders, and their cooperation is underdeveloped.

The majority of relevant stakeholders do not consider themselves to be part of the management structure for several reasons, namely because they consider management to be protection and maintenance, and therefore, only the competent institutions and authorities should participate in "high level" decision making and management. To illustrate these claims, below are the most important statements of the key stakeholders in relation to the Fortress management structure.

Residents of Petrovaradin Fortress Suburbium show strong social and personal identification with their heritage – they take pride in it, share a common history, concerns and responsibility for the protection and preservation of the Fortress, which indicates strong feelings of ownership. This represents the greatest strength and an excellent foundation for future management. On the other hand, the opinion and

perception of the residents of other areas of Petrovaradin, as well as the citizens who live on the other side of the Danube (which is in fact the majority of the city's population), differs greatly in comparison to the suburban area residents (see more on residents' views in the chapter 2.1. by Dajč and Vučković).

The Member of the City Council in charge of culture states that the Fortress management is based on a decision adopted by the Assembly of Novi Sad, which envisions all regulations and procedures; hence, this system is independent of individuals, i.e., the fundamental role of the City and its companies, services and bodies is regulated by law. However, the vast majority of stakeholders agrees that there is no adequate management structure for the Fortress.

The representatives of the City Administration of Culture state that the most common problems they face during their work relate to the challenges, and not the problems, and that they continuously work on solving them, and not looking for justification. In this way, they express a positive attitude and an optimistic approach, but the authors' impression is that this attitude is quite declarative, since all other stakeholders see the current management as the biggest problem.

For example, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad states that the biggest problems are related to the inability to acquire support for construction and communal inspection (often, their answer to the problems is that do not have the authority to address the ongoing issues). Moreover, there is almost no coordination between various public companies and utility companies that maintain the Fortress. In the absence of a transparent system of governance, citizens usually perceive the Institute as a key institution; hence, the Institute often operates as the Fortress SOS Centre (regarding all possible issues that completely exceed its competencies and knowledge).

The Foundation Novi Sad 2021 notes the issue of inadequate governance and highlights the hybrid bureaucracy as the major problem, which has led the administrative process to the point of absurdity; the Foundation also notes the lack of connection between various city services, as well as a lack of self-sufficiency amongst institutions without an awareness of the common good.

Similarly, the INBOX organization stresses the key problems as: the absence of a strategy and a clear vision of the future of the Fortress and its suburbs; the division of authority over the Fortress among city administrations; and the absence of a body entrusted exclusively with the Fortress management.

One of the stakeholders who lives in the suburbs states: It is difficult to talk about the forms and ways of the Fortress management, unless there is a critical mass of reasoning that can influence the authority to make this cultural and historical monument with which everyone is proud to be its priority and to receive adequate support. It is of vital importance to establish an independent administration that will employ professionals and competent people; they will be able to perceive the problem from all angles; we also need political will to enable independent management and authority in decision making process. (It is necessary) to organize vertically-planned, professional, and independent management of the Fortress so that we can address causes of devastation; only afterwards, we can discuss its revitalization, and of course, taking into account all the values of the Fortress as a cultural good.

The representative of the Foundation Novi Sad 2021 thinks in a similar direction and states that the Fortress requires integrated expert management with the transparent management of the Fortress and its surrounding areas. He believes that this would clarify purpose of this space. Representatives of EXIT Festival agree. They state that the main problem is the lack of a main governing body, [...] hence, all the responsible institutions that take care of the Fortress are not well connected.

When it comes to cooperation, the situation in the field is best illustrated by a statement from the representative of the Urban Planning Institute who says that different stakeholders are not familiar enough with each other, they are not aware of others' activities, hence, everyone comes to the same frustrating point thinking that nothing is happening. In the future, cooperation should be based on dialogue and understanding of other stakeholders' positions; at the moment, unfortunately, there is no such cooperation.

EXIT festival representatives even blame this lack of cooperation for their own ability to contribute more. We believe that our own contributions [to the preservation of the Fortress] could be larger if we would be involved more directly into some long-term planning of the Fortress' development. This statement is somewhat emblematic of the whole situation. Everyone is evading their responsibilities because others are evading their responsibilities, and this game of evasion goes on in a vicious circle in which the overall sense of ownership and responsibility is eroded along with the devastation of the Fortress.

Despite the fact that currently there is no satisfactory cooperation among the various stakeholders, this research has shown that three organizations significantly stand out with regard to this issue—primarily the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Novi Sad, which, as emphasized, operates as an informal SOS centre for citizens and organizations addressing all types of problems, giving explanations of procedures, reports and requests. This institution also successfully coordinates interagency cooperation.

Second, INBOX has positioned itself as a hub that successfully develops intersectional and transdisciplinary cooperation and connects various stakeholders, including bodies and institutions of the City of Novi Sad, artists, NGOs, organizations, etc. At the moment, cooperation is mainly focused on organization of the Street Music Festival, but their leadership potential can certainly be used for other activities.

The Organization 3D World and its sub-organization UGRIP, although very controversial, should not be neglected. Their outstanding capability in organizing volunteer work and mobilizing young people to take an active role in the promotion and preservation of Petrovaradin Fortress could become an important engine of development.

Most of the key stakeholders who live and/or work in Petrovaradin indicate that current management hasn't been able to tackle the challenges of technical protection and maintenance, and point out problems regarding the physical state of the Fortress, such as damp and rodents, traffic jams, lack of basic infrastructure, e.g., public toilets, parking space, signalling, etc. The lack of infrastructure,

and especially an info centre at the Fortress, is one of the problems noticed by the Tourism Office of Novi Sad.

One of the key weaknesses of this management system recognized by the stakeholders is the inertness of the local population, as well as their lack of information. The stakeholders who live in the suburbs say that there is no adequate media support, and that media, even when reporting on events, do not emphasize problems.

Institutions also stress as a weakness the insufficient number of employees, while the Institute emphasizes the pressures of investors, as well as the fact that the proposal for the boundaries of a cultural property has been pending in the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia since 2015 and that they still did not receive the necessary consent.

Finally, we can conclude the analysis of views regarding weaknesses of the management system with the remark of the representative of the Faculty of Sports and Tourism TIMS who states that in the absence of clear responsibility on one hand, and the commitment of those who are responsible on the other hand, various stakeholders who are feeding on this dissatisfaction are getting stronger, who are even less democratic, or more authoritarian, autocratic and more exclusive than the current authorities. That is the right-wing classical intervention who wants to address the issue in an aggressive and autocratic manner.

In their answers, the key stakeholders focused mainly on strengths and weaknesses, while the opportunities and threats of the management system were only sporadically mentioned. As with strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats interact with one another, that is, the greatest possibility is at the same time possibly the biggest threat. There are two key opportunities/threats specified in their answers: European Capital of Culture and nominations for the UNESCO World Heritage List.

All stakeholders believe that the European Capital of Culture Novi Sad 2021 is a great opportunity for Petrovaradin Fortress. Although this cultural property is not a top priority, it slowly starts to appear as a significant site in the plans for 2021. The title of European Capital of Culture (ECoC) managed to bring the potential of the Fortress into focus, as well as the vulnerability of its suburban area, and indirectly contributed to providing the first serious funds for the rehabilitation of its facades and roofs. Apart from the possibility to explore one of the largest European designations as a motive for the conservation of the Fortress, a great opportunity has been recognized for the use of ECoC in order to develop the habit of residents of other parts of Novi Sad to intensively use this area, which has not been the case so far.

The ECoC is also a threat considering that it is limited to the title year of 2021 and that there are no plans for how these initiatives and projects will develop in future, or how further funding will be provided. One of the less favourable scenarios would be that after 2021 this space will be left to itself or, even less favourably, to be fully commercialized in order to achieve so-called sustainability.

The second recognized possibility is the nomination of Petrovaradin Fortress for the UNESCO World Heritage List. Many stakeholders rightly recognize this as a great opportunity, especially as UNESCO requires a developed management plan as part of the nomination dossier, which according to their guidelines should be participatory and transparent. What is worrying is the fact that many key stakeholders are not familiar with the fact that since 2015 the Petrovaradin Fortress has already been on the tentative list. That is, it is part of a future, not individual but group, nomination entitled for the Fortress of the UNESCO "Frontiers of the Roman Empire (WHS FRE) on Danube". Preparation for this nomination was done by the Republic Institute which did not include local stakeholders in this process.

The threat lies in the fact that the Republic Institute and not the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad is responsible for the management of cultural properties on the UNESCO list, as well as for the management of cultural property of exceptional importance (in the case of a change in categorization of this cultural property); so in theory the competence of an extremely active and motivated local institution could be replaced by the Republic Institute, which has neither the capacity nor motivation to deal with another cultural property, especially one that is so complex. In practice, the legal jurisdictions were, in some cases, returned to the local or provincial level, so it is not impossible to foresee such an agreement in the event of Petrovaradin's new categorization or registration on the World Heritage List – the Fortress may be still managed by the City Institute, but that would require additional energy, time and readiness to lobby with various government bodies and institutions.

Stakeholders' Visions for the development of the Fortress

In response to the question "how do you see the Fortress in ten years", stakeholders expressed different projections, ranging from the basic realization of specific goals to an almost utopian vision.

In defining their vision, the majority of stakeholders stayed in their domain, or sphere of action. The TIMS representative recognizes this as a problem; the TIMS sees Petrovaradin as a space for diverse activities where everyone establishes a kind of perceived ownership of the fortress. The art studios would open to the public with thoughtful limited usage in regards to time and programs. The most harmful activities would be relocated to other, lower parts of the fortress. Underground galleries would be explored, secured and opened to visitors. The suburbs and the upper town would better communicate. In one word, the Fortress would become a truly public space.

The most comprehensive statement about the vision was given by the representative of ENS Serbia. The statement reads: I imagine Petrovaradin as a protected historical unit, but also a space for recreation, contemporary creativity, manifestations and free time destination for the citizens of Novi Sad; it should be an inevitable destination on the map for excursions from Belgrade, Karlovci, etc. I would love to see the suburb not losing its charm with its residents being proud because they live there and who possibly managed to turn one part of their apartments into tourism capacities. I imagine that the art studios are awarded for a 3-year term through a public open competition, and that they are a place of contemporary creativity but also surely fellow artists. I imagine Wasserstadt turned into a festival spot and that EXIT and other big festivals are held there, alongside a camp area for tourists. I imagine that the Fortress was interpreted through different stories and layers of heritage, and that some of the local inhabitants are engaged in guiding tours telling stories about the Fortress. I also

imagine that besides the City Museum there is an interpretative centre or exhibition space at the Upper Fortress, where people can learn more about the Fortress, but also a space where exhibitions and additional programs can be organized. I imagine that there is a management body which consists of representatives of all relevant institutions and organizations, but also an umbrella body such as Forum, which sits several times a year, discussing the development of the Fortress.

Similar 10-year visions of the Fortress are also shared by representatives of the local NGOs and the residents of the Lower Fortress. In their statements, apart from the adequate protection of the Fortress and relocation of events outside the Upper Town, they all share the same desire to close the traffic on the main street, and to improve the use of the Fortress as a recreation and sports centre, as well as increase the number of cultural activities. Their visions are consistent that Petrovaradin should be a natural extension of the Novi Sad downtown centre.

The vision of local activists, as well as the suburb residents, is best illustrated by the statement of the representatives of Scenatoria. Their 10-year vision for Petrovaradin consists of the following: Clean space. Info centre and information on heritage arranged all over the fortress. Creating sustainable space that contributes to the community, without violation of the quality of life of residents and users of space. Successive replacement of inadequate greenery with non-invasive cultures, more promenades; achieved security in all parts of the fortress. Close the main street to traffic. We would like to see more sports clubs and facilities, open art studios, old crafts shops, service shops, a grocery store, a kindergarten, children's and youth's facilities, clubs, arranged souvenir shops and facilities for tourists; public toilets as well; and more fountains accompanied by attractive educational boards which explain the Fortress well system; festivals and events that respect and promote the Fortress; educational and cultural institutions, library, museum of photography, open air stage, a small theatre and cinema, revitalized Gunpowder Magazine Josif, sustainable usage of empty spaces; organized, safe and accessible underground military galleries; reduced risk of gentrification.

The Institute for the Protection of Monuments' vision is focused on closing the main street to traffic, creating a visitor centre in the Upper Fortress, and drafting clear and defined criteria for the use of the cultural property.

In its vision statement, 3D World emphasizes that it should not be short term, but a long-term endeavour, an evergreen vision. In their ten-year projection, they foresee the fortress divided in zones, with each having some creative purpose:

1. Hexagon - gastronomic offer,
2. Pentagon (Suburbium, Gradić) - an open-air museum with autochthonous pubs, workshops and old crafts shops,
3. Wasserstadt (Water City) - festival organization, as well water boat activities enabled by the controlled flooding of the trenches,
4. Inzel šanac (island fortress, space behind the Officer's Beach) amphitheatre for theatre and concerts,
5. Bruk trench (Mostobran) - re-build the fortress that was heavily damaged in 1926
6. Hornverk - Art and museum zone.

Prospects For Future Organization Models

For the Fortress to thrive in the future, it is of vital importance to find a model that allows management of its all valuable aspects, and not just its architectural heritage and building land. Based on the current legislation, bringing together all stakeholders can be carried out in four different ways:

Network - It can be achieved either by signing a contract, or a legally non-binding Memorandum of Cooperation which allows two or more stakeholders to partner with a common objective to achieve pre-determined goals. In this way, it is possible to organize the Network, Centre, or Group without the establishment of a new legal entity.

Association (such as, Association, Union, Centre, Cluster) – An association would be a voluntary and non-governmental, non-profit organization consisting of a group of natural persons or legal entities who freely enter into an agreement with the aim of achieving and promoting a specific common or general goal and interests. The association's highest authority is an assembly consisting of all its members; in this way, the management rights of one member is limited with (equal) rights of other members. Founders would be key stakeholders, or a group of stakeholders associated with a specific goal.

Foundation – A foundation is non-profit non-governmental organization established by one or more natural persons or legal entities. (The main difference between the foundation and the association is the fact that at least three entities are needed for the establishment of an association, while only one entity can establish a foundation). The city of Novi Sad could be the founder. Alternatively, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments could be the main founder. In a possible scenario, the foundation could have a governing or advisory board involving all key stakeholders. In such a way, the foundation would be a stable and responsible subject (due to having only one founder), while also being participatory and inclusive through some of its decision-making bodies.

Business entity (the city of Novi Sad could be the founder) such as a public company or a limited liability company, with possible combinations of different types of association.

Conclusions

A finding that stands out from the rest is that there is no proper management of Petrovaradin Fortress. Moreover, management is considered nothing more than technical preservation and maintenance. Consequently, there is a lack of management of other aspects such as research, education, interpretation, tourism, communication, funds, community mobilization, and a complete lack of participatory approach toward site management. Many of the stakeholders who have the mandate to participate in the Fortress management fail to do so. In addition, there is no coordination among the stakeholders who currently manage the Fortress.

Interestingly, none of the current stakeholders who manage certain segments of the Fortress recognize themselves as being part of the management process. In addition, they never use the term manager to describe their workload. On the other hand, the lack of solid management structure can

to some extent explain the high level of CSO activity that steps into the organizational void and caters to the needs of locals and tourists. Unlike elsewhere in Serbia, an extraordinary number of NGOs and CSOs with a focus on cultural heritage operate in Petrovaradin.

In addition to civil society organizations, there are a large number of stakeholders from the public sector, whereas the number of private sector stakeholders is significantly lower. Numerous stakeholders constitute a great potential for development of the management system; in the future, this model could be based on participatory principles, but the problem is that cooperation between these stakeholders has not been developed yet. The strength of the management system lies also in the fact that although there is no adequate management, the problems and faults of the current system have been recognized and the first steps toward its improvement, i.e. complete reorganization, have already been made.

A distinctive element of the Petrovaradin management system lies in the fact that all its strengths are at the same time its weaknesses. The same applies to its opportunities and threats. In this way, the increased interest in defining the new management structure is its strength, but at the same time its weakness, since numerous expert groups and bodies that are not coordinated have worked on the solution of this problem, and whose work led to different conclusions. The same applies to the potential of the ECoC 2021, or the nomination for the UNESCO World Heritage List. The ECoC, as one of the most important European designations, is a great opportunity for the development of the Petrovaradin cultural property, but at the same time, it is a threat if authorities do not ensure the continuation of the projects after 2021. Likewise, the nomination for the UNESCO list implies a detailed management plan that requires participatory and transparent management, however, all work related to the UNESCO nomination has been carried out by the Belgrade-based Republic Institute, which so far did not actively include local stakeholders.

When it comes to the visions, they are mostly inconsistent, especially in regard to the issue of closing the main street to traffic, finding an alternative location for the EXIT festival, and prioritizing the tourist area over the development of a public space intended for various cultural, artistic and recreational activities that will primarily be used by the local population, and then tourists. The disadvantages of this research are particularly visible in the domain of vision, and in its attempts to define different scenarios for future development; hence, further small-scale research is suggested, in order to provide complementary findings.

Domestic legislation and examples of successful practices recognize various potential aspects of the Fortress' future management organization, such as an informal network, an association, a centre, a union, a cluster, a foundation, a public company, or a limited liability company. The choice of the future organizational model should be based not only on experts' reports but also on consultations with all key stakeholders and based on a widely accepted development scenario. In this way, a major step will be made toward the development of the future operational, professional, participatory and transparent management of Petrovaradin Fortress.

Folder #3:

Interventions

Chapter 3.1.

Connecting and Creating New Socio-cultural Spaces for all Users at the Petrovaradin Fortress

Alba Zamarbide Urdaniz
Waseda Institute for Urban and Regional Studies, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

Nicolas Zorzin
Institute of Archaeology, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan

Introduction: A review of the strategies and projects attempted by local stakeholders

The Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach presents urban heritage as a palimpsest of evolving physical and intangible layers, static and changing values, which integrate an intricate reality (Bandarin & van Oers, 2014). The case of Petrovaradin Fortress is without doubt one of complexity, riches and an accumulation of diverse cultural and historical layers, making it an ideal case for experimental adaptation and application of the 4 types of tools recommended by "The HUL Guidebook" (UNESCO, 2016) for the holistic management of the site. If we contrast these tools with the current management system of Petrovaradin Fortress, we can identify:

1. Knowledge and planning tools

So far, the protection of the area is based on traditional planning tools and a thorough definition of "core" and "buffer" areas according to recommendations in the World Heritage Operational Guidelines (2015). The same guidelines insist on the importance of the broader setting (2012) and connections beyond boundaries for living heritage (2015). However, actual "buffer" zones cannot protect the socio-cultural value of the area, nor reach beyond it (e.g. landscape and views of the citadel, territory and natural systems or cultural attachments). Thus, we should recognize multiple management layers of different natures and scales (Turner, 2009), able to face changing hard and soft pressures (Zamarbide, 2018) (e.g. monumental protection zones, planning control zones, strategic economic development zones, tourist zones, community zones, etc.). For example, in this case, even though zoning plays an important regulatory role in heritage protection, the creation of a new bridge to the southwest of the Fortress will certainly alter the views of the Upper Fortress and the influx of people and traffic, which might change the perception of the fortress, once impregnable. At the same time, the diversion of traffic through an outer belt surrounding Wasserstadt and pedestrianization of Gradić will possibly create quality spaces for community and outdoor life (Figure 3.1.1).

However, as a consequence, Gradić will become a potential area for touristic development and business, which may just as well involve undesired gentrification and destruction of the local community by touristic pressures. Thus, these actions need to be monitored and integrated into a holistic multidisciplinary strategy.

2. Community engagement tools

Communities must be part of the management strategy but, at this stage, in Petrovaradin, they are still far from being involved in heritage protection models.

First, we should ask ourselves what the cultural implications of the fortress and surrounding areas are, and what "communities" are linked to them. The heritage areas do not only host living communities in Gradić, but also artistic communities working in the Fortress, local businesses, and civil society organizations (CSOs). If we also considered the links that area has with the rest of the city, all the residents of Novi Sad would also be a part of the living memory of the Fortress and witnesses of its past, present and future.

Alternative ways exist to engage these diverse audiences, from workshops to educational programs, tackling very different issues, such as the local living conditions, city memory, or new uses of heritage. These activities must aim to give heritage a stable role in the everyday lives of users and inhabitants, returning to them the feeling of entitlement and belonging to the Fortress areas, which is essential to placemaking and the protection of intangible heritage values.

3. Regulatory systems

As much as heritage values need to be respected, shared and integrated in sustainable development, they also have to be defended from changing pressures and threats. These can be of very diverse natures (e.g. physical degradation, economic interests, flows of people), which can be addressed by restrictive tools (e.g. control zones, heritage protection laws) and/or more creative legal measures (e.g. special permissions and legal exemptions that promote a certain desired activity).

Here, conservation and rehabilitation rules for historical properties are well-known widespread tools. Nevertheless, among many others, we could also suggest for example, mechanisms to grant use or property rights (e.g. use of

ateliers), regulations on the number and type of businesses inside the Fortress (e.g. limiting the number of touristic apartments and services, giving priority to local needs), control of tourist flows, traffic regulations (e.g. pedestrianization and speed limits) and so on.

4. Financial tools

Apart from public funding for monumental heritage maintenance, the connection of the Fortress with services, business and other cultural strategies that might bring benefits to the area (e.g. festivals held on the Fortress grounds) needs to be taken into consideration when designing a management plan. The Exit festival, for instance, is one of the most visible and profitable uses of the Fortress, and though bringing international attention to the area, it does not contribute to its protection and hinders other types of development. Similarly, the Upper Fortress areas are merely tourist-driven (e.g. luxury hotel, museum and some cafes), but the touristic offer and the available cultural experiences are still limited.

Besides this, financial tools could also be used to face some of the gaps in the regulatory system. Easy examples are state aid, tax exemptions or levying fines. While aiding certain activities, or reducing the taxes applied to them, these tools can contribute to protecting heritage values (e.g. financial aid to owners that decide to refurbish and re-use historical buildings, or tax reductions applied to local entrepreneurs who decide to develop culture-based initiatives in the area), while fines can assure the title to tenements in the historic preservation areas (e.g. fines for empty buildings and apartments). Such measures could help maintain the historical areas alive, protecting heritage values while allowing positive development.

Assimilating these ideas would possibly require thinking beyond traditional heritage management models and aiming at the creation of new creative tools based on the local context. Here, this paper presents a holistic strategy for the case of Petrovaradin Fortress and its neighbouring historical areas, trying to adapt on-site protection tools and actions to developing international ideas. With this, our intention is to underline the need for integrated development in the area, based on the various local characteristics, making use of the existing cultural, architectural, artistic, and natural attractions, and facilitating the continuity of local lifestyles.

Potentials and management startegies according to the character of different areas

In the case of Petrovaradin Fortress, local stakeholders face the management of a large historical complex, composed of not only military structures on an iconic geographical position, but also inhabited areas, archaeological remains, green areas and neighbouring parts of an active city. In order to take a first step towards management, it could be easy to identify the whole area as “military heritage”. However, this would deny alternative existing realities inside the complex, and hinder future sustainable development. Traditionally, the management of military heritage consisted of the interpretation and musealization of the military structures (e.g. war museums) with a main focus on the historical, architectural and evocative values of the fortress, as can be seen for example in the iconic city of Carcassonne in France. These strategies, which neither pay sufficient attention to the needs of the heritage dwellers nor to intangible aspects of local life, cannot avoid the gradual replacement of traditional environments by tourist-oriented services. This is, for example, the case of the medieval citadel of Dubrovnik, where the quality of life has been altered due to the mass influx of tourism and the uncontrolled proliferation of related businesses (Morris, 2017). Thus, recent approaches advocate for the adaptation of military heritage to modern needs (Capelletti et al., 2008), even housing (Fiorino, 2015), and the introduction of new uses, which can help diversify and attract different types of activities and audiences (as could, in this case, the introduction of music festivals on the Fortress grounds). These actions are not necessarily negative, if properly managed, but there is as well a high risk of neglecting local needs in favour of external economic benefit when the social narrative is out of focus. This means heritage at the service of locals, and not the other way round.

Based on these ideas, the challenge in Petrovaradin is to respect the different existing characters that can be identified inside the official heritage protection zone and to integrate new desired uses according to the necessities and potentials of each of these areas and of the whole city. In such a manner, the re-use could be one way to reconcile with the city of Novi Sad and transform the Fortress into a socio-cultural hub, not only a touristic one, avoiding the isolation and socio-economic stagnation of the Fortress area.

In this first attempt to define a holistic approach for site management beyond monumental and physical protection, four potential development strategies are defined according to the different identities observed in the area.

Gradić (Figure 3.1.2, in blue): Residential and local services

Gradić holds a unique character as the “home” of the Fortress, where historical residential buildings remain. Besides this, recent excavations have unearthed important archaeological remains that reveal new information about the life of the communities in the area.

The Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad has conducted renovation works on facades and roofs, while the City Infrastructure Office has improved the physical quality of the area (facades, pedestrianization, car park, etc.). Nevertheless, following this character, management strategies for the area should aim at facilitating the life of the local community, respecting local property and management rights, and strengthening common memory and identities through the creation of community spaces and services. It is also important to control the proliferation of touristic services in Gradić and to give priority to the necessities and attachments of the existent neighbours.

Contrary to what might appear as a limit on economic development linked to tourism, keeping the community character of Gradić might help diversify the cultural offer and attract quality tourism connected to local traditions and narratives.

Wasserstadt (Figure 3.1.2, in green): Sports and leisure

After the planned military decommissioning of the area in following years, the area will provide the city with buildings, open spaces, nature, and a strategic location next to Gradić, but at the same time not far from big traffic arteries. These conditions give Wasserstadt the potential of becoming an urban park, promoting sports, leisure, and nature preservation through the re-use of military facilities and open spaces. It could become a green space dedicated to

walks, biking, and relaxing in nature, with minimal maintenance, as has been realised in Lille, in northern France, within a massive Vauban fortress (even though the fortress is partially occupied by NATO today).

The beauty in ruins could, with minimal effort, become a newly accessible public space, which is not available nowadays, benefitting primarily Gradić inhabitants, but also those in the close suburbs and Novi Sad citizens at large. Thus, making use of a historical asset to serve local and city needs would connect the nostalgic feeling of Wasserstadt with the new attachments created by using it as part of the daily lives of all Novi Saders.

Upper Fortress (Figure 3.1.2, in yellow): Touristic services
The Upper Fortress is already an important touristic asset, with some infrastructure available and the potential for improvement. The complex of upper defensive structures compose the main iconic monument and can attract tourists. At the same time, it is desirable to keep control over the touristic offer and connect it to existing activities in the neighbouring areas (e.g. artistic ateliers) instead of having homogenous and dull services.Limiting and regulating private sector investments to this area could also channel quality tourism and give more attention to this area, instead of allowing uncontrolled sprawl of lower quality touristic services in a broader area.

Hornwerk (Figure 3.1.2, in pink): Artistic and cultural activities
The Hornwerk, besides its defensive character, presents a high concentration of still-utilized artistic ateliers and a distinctive contemporary cultural character due to the presence of the Arts Academy. Thus, it brings a new narrative to the area. Here, the strategy could focus on the artistic production and cultural offer, supporting and enhancing the existing activity, letting the artistic communities be part of the local management together with public bodies and public investors.

Giving relevance to heritage within local society through connections with the city

UNESCO Operational Guidelines for heritage management state that heritage management has to go beyond boundaries and be part of an integrated approach (UNESCO, 2012), considering the broad setting and territorial connections (UNESCO, 2015). In this case, this would mean that the management of Petrovaradin Fortress should go beyond the official “site” and “buffer” zones officially drawn, considering its position in the whole city of Novi Sad and the surrounding territory as recommended by the HUL approach.

Having said this, we should now take into account the physical and socio-cultural links of Petrovaradin Fortress with its setting, in order to achieve a holistic protection of the area. The previous section presented 4 different areas, which, in order to be identified and understood, have been represented as coloured areas, limited by an apparent boundary. Nevertheless, this article wants to underline that a cultural heritage management strategy should always take into consideration the links between target areas and with the rest of the city, both physically, through circulation axes, and culturally, by allocating common services and representing common identities. Thus, the four areas should aim to create soft links between them, the city of Novi Sad and the surrounding suburbia. It would be equally important to integrate protection of the Fortress into the broader planning and administrative tools, in order to avoid problems of isolation, limited protection, or aggressive infrastructures.

In this section, four axes connected to the 4 character areas have been identified as follows.

Sport/nature axis (Figure 3.1.3, in green)
This axis connects Wasserstadt through the riverside of Gradić. surrounding the lower part of the Fortress walls and through the future bridge with Sunčani kej Boulevard on the other side of the Danube River. A daily flow of people exists already along the Danube riverbanks, especially during the summer season along the boulevard, connecting different sports facilities (and occasionally the beach). However, there are no dedicated big green areas nearby. Enhancing the connection of the existing facilities with the future Wasserstadt park through the new bridge and adapting the riverside way on the Fortress side for pedestrians, bikes, etc. would complete the communication and service needs of Novi Sad and also benefit the protection of the historical area, connecting it to all types of users and resting areas.

Community axis (Figure 3.1.3, in blue)
The main character of Gradić resides in its existing communities and the local historical and modern narratives linked to them. The area has thus the potential for developing community routes and key spots, facilitating the movement of locals in the area and linking them with the surrounding facilities, park and neighbourhoods. This would help maintain and facilitate the continuation of local lifestyles and empowerment of local groups.

Touristic axis (Figure 3.1.3, in yellow)
A third axis could focus on the connection of the touristic services of the Upper Fortress with other cultural facilities in other areas, such as archaeology and memory hubs or the artistic ateliers. With this, we can promote a more interesting touristic offer and at the same time, provide local business with more consumers without invading the living space, while avoiding gentrification.

Arts axis (Figure 3.1.3, in pink)
Finally, the arts axis could connect the ateliers with the Fortress, providing them with spaces for exhibitions and direct sale of the art pieces. The touristic and arts axes mix, as the ateliers could host visits, and the Fortress area can also host art shops and galleries. Besides this, links with the University, through the southern road are essential to boosting connections between students and the ateliers and the Academy.

Linked to these two areas is an adequate new access road for heavy traffic to both the touristic and arts areas (e.g. touristic buses, public transport from the university), which can be seen to the south. This would not compromise the scenic views and impregnability of the Fortress from the river. Additionally, this would allow for the prioritization of pedestrian ways and light transportation along the river, providing higher quality of life along the riverbanks and making them the centre of local public life.

Figure 3.1.1.
Actual project areas

Figure 3.1.2.
Four character areas:
Green: Wasserstadt area, sports and leisure.
Blue: Gradić area, residential and local services.
Yellow: Upper Fortress area, touristic services.
Pink: Hornwerk, artistic and cultural activities.

Figure 3.1.3.
Strategic sociocultural axes:
Green: Sport/nature axis.
Blue: Community axis.
Yellow: Touristic axis.
Pink: Arts axis.

A project built over time: Work phases

In the context of this proposal, it is equally important to define a timeframe for the proposed strategy. We are addressing the management of a complex reality that requires sufficient sensibility and time to be completed. The following section proposes a progressive evolutionary scenario with particular goals and outputs at each stage. The following outlines three different phases over the course of 20 years.

Phase 1: 2-5 years (Figure 3.1.4.)
This stage corresponds with the first attempts to define the different character areas. The strategy should aim to construct and draw attention to different narratives. In order to do so, the development of iconic buildings and facilities, which we have called "anchors", would help connect different target audiences with the character areas. In each of the areas, these anchors should represent the spirit of each management strategy. For example, for the Gradić area, a Local Archaeological Interpretation Centre (LAIC) could work as a multi-purpose facility in this phase. Hosting community activities would also help raise the voice of locals and share common memories and narratives. Thus, archaeology would be presented to the public, linked to the area and the community, making the resources a part of the inhabitant community and letting them use the space as part of their own daily meetings and activities.

For Wasserstadt, the project should start by cleaning the area and creating small facilities (e.g. bike rental), which could be managed by Gradić locals. Some of these anchors could occupy empty military buildings, which could acquire a social role (Cappelletti et al., 2008). On the other hand, the Upper Fortress needs an effective interpretation centre of the defensive systems and local history to become more attractive and comprehensive to visitors. The arts area, as well, should aim to re-activate the artistic production of the ateliers to be able to get more public attention.

Phase 2: up to 10 years (Figure 3.1.5.)
This phase focuses on the consolidation, expansion, development of usage links and assessment with local inhabitants of the effects of Phase 1. If the "anchors" have been consolidated and bear a stable role, new investments should then focus on either establishing new anchors, creating urban connections, or expanding the cultural activities linked to them. For example, for the Gradić area, the LAIC could now be dedicated to local history and memory, while a second building could be adapted as a community house. In Wasserstadt, the park could develop sport facilities. The relation between the Upper Fortress and the arts area could be enhanced by preparing spaces to directly sell artwork inside the precinct of the Fortress and hosting visits and activities for visitors in the ateliers. Besides this, in order to underline the cultural character of the arts area, one of the main objectives should be to strengthen the connections with the University and other cultural groups in the area. Finally, during this phase, the project for the new access and car park for these 2 areas could be undertaken.

Phase 3: up to 20 years (Figure 3.1.6.)
During the final stage, the spontaneous development of services around the anchors is expected and bigger investments in local infrastructure could happen. Besides this, soft connections between areas would appear through gradual interaction and the continuing use of anchors. For the Gradić area, an influx of local people and other residents of Novi Sad could be expected, bringing new local businesses. And the other way round, the gradual creation of new business and services might as well attract new residents and visitors, enlivening the area. In Wasserstadt, the consolidation of the park could bring about the reuse of military spaces as activity and leisure space (e.g. the bastion, ravelins). A new connection could appear at the intersection of the speedway, the suburb and Wasserstadt. Finally, urban connections between the Wasserstadt park and the physical limit of the suburb should aim to link both areas and allow the appearance of services, shops, etc. In the Upper Fortress and arts areas, linked activities and mutual uses could bring commercial development and the opening of art galleries and related shops into these areas.

Concluding remarks

With this proposal, our intention is to underline the need for integrated development for the area, based on the diverse local peculiarities, making use of the existing cultural, architectural, artistic, and natural attractions and facilitating the continuity of local lifestyles. International ideas match heritage protection with development, utilizing heritage as a source of wellness and benefit. A change in mindset is needed to understand that identifying the bigger picture, the diverse dimensions and broader implications on Petrovaradin Fortress, and avoiding the immediate exploitation of the monument as a touristic asset, does not mean the stagnation of local development, but a boost for future investments in balance with local quality of life. The development of such a strategy will take time, human effort and coordination, and a thorough search for unique dynamic management tools., but it should also help channel history and character into successful sustainable development.

References

Bandarin, F. & van Oers, R. (2014). The historic urban landscape: Managing heritage in an urban century. New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cappelletti, V., Turri, F. & Zamperini, E. (2008). Il recupero delle caserme: tutela del patrimonio e risorsa per la collettività. Territorio, 46, 72-84.

Fiorino, D.R. (2015). Historical military heritage and social housing: A sustainable opportunity. Conference Proceedings. Housing: A critical perspective, Liverpool, UK, 8-9 April.

Morris, H. (2017, August 11). Tourists and cruise ships could be turned away under new plans to protect Dubrovnik. The Telegraph.

Turner, M. (2009). Introduction, On Buffs and Buffers. In UNESCO (Ed.), World Heritage and Buffer Zones: International Expert Meeting on World Heritage and Buffer Zones, Davos, Switzerland 11-14 March 2008, World Heritage Paper Series, No. 25, WHC (pp. 15-18).

UNESCO. (2012 & 2015). Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. WHC.

UNESCO. (2016). The HUL Guidebook: Managing heritage in dynamic and constantly changing environments. Bad Ischl, Austria: WHC.

Zamarbide A. (2018). Re-defining the role of "buffers" in the management of the historical territory. The discrepancies between definitions and practical interpretations of "buffer" zones in Eastern and Western Cultural World Heritage sites. Doctoral Thesis. Graduate School of Creative Science and Engineering, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 3.1.4.
Project phase 1: character anchors and cultural links

Figure 3.1.5.
Project phase 2: consolidation, expansion and development of usage links

Figure 3.1.6.
Project phase 3: spontaneous development of services around anchors and soft connections between areas

Petrovaradin Fortress: From Space to Place

Chapter 3.2.

Merve Çalışkan
Directorate of Historic Environment and Cultural Assets, Metropolitan Municipality of İzmir, Turkey

Goran Erfani
School of Architecture, Planning & Landscape, Newcastle University, UK

Maja Kamenar
Croatian Restoration Institute, restoration-conservation department, Zagreb, Croatia

Spaces and their usage within Petrovaradin Fortress

Within Petrovaradin Fortress, there are many public open spaces such as roads, trenches, tunnels, and leftover spaces that have been used differently by different users. During our research, we identified these various kinds of spaces, which were used by different users, such as local residents and tourists, and we aimed to articulate how these spaces can be transformed into places that are more inclusive, safer, securer, and fascinating for a wide range of users. This emerged from field observations and discussions with various stakeholders, including local authorities, experts, and professionals, conducted during the summer academy (see Intro for more info). If we think about 'space' as something that allows free movement, then 'place' becomes a pause, for instance, when a person stops in a public space, and starts a conversation or reacts to someone else; 'place' is constructed (see Figures 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). In this article, we discuss some examples of these spaces within Petrovaradin Fortress and envisage how they can be transformed into more resilient, attractive, and liveable places.

Transformation of space to place

A key approach to the construction of place is the transformation of space to place, in which place is a specific instant inside the already created space. As Tuan writes, "...if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place" (1979, p. 6). For example, when a person in a public space stops moving and starts chatting or reacts to someone else, place is constructed. This approach highlights the difference between 'space' and 'place': an "abstract and distanced" perception of milieu is 'space' whilst an "embodied and close" experience of an environment is 'place' (Dovey, 1993; Hung & Stables, 2011, p. 199). After experiencing a space, we will attach to it a meaningful name and construct a place, e.g. my room/home/city. To argue the difference between space and place, Cresswell (2004, pp. 8-10) convincingly used the example of the sea as the different places linked with certain names and threats from the viewpoint of local canoers, whilst others only observe an empty space. This approach is often linked with the idea of place as "a construct of experience" (Tuan, 1975, p. 165) and the significance of "experiential perspective" in defining place meaning. In this article, we use this approach and apply the distinction between space and place in the analysis of Petrovaradin Fortress.

Heritage and landscape values and attributes can be reused to transform space into a venue and place of experience, which can be different in time and space, as the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach argues (Rodwell, 2010; UNESCO, 2011). And, archaeological values can be used to experience and bring urban archaeology to life. Heritage, indeed, is used as a catalyst for transformation in urban redevelopments to mobilise the past in the present for today's needs as well as tomorrow's (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). Heritage values are often used for economic functions e.g. increasing number of tourists (Nagy, 2012). Transforming space into place applies to do so with a more holistic and people-centred approach. This chapter discusses some examples of already existing spaces within Petrovaradin Fortress and envisages how they can be transformed into more resilient, attractive, and meaningful places. We argue how the cultural and natural values embedded in the history, archaeology, and landscape of the fortress can be reused as a catalyst in the transformation of spaces into places. Reviewing other examples across the world (Radoine & Aomorali, 2019) reveals a significant shift from a static and materialistic approach to the preservation of cultural heritage sites to one that embraces the natural, cultural and human surroundings, a shift which requires an integrated approach as advocated by the HUL approach. Through this paper, we demonstrate the importance of rethinking Petrovaradin as a whole, not only as a group of historic buildings, but as a historical living settlement in relation to the wider natural and built heritages.

Methods

To generate tangible and unique insights into understanding the outcome(s) of the transformation of space to place within Petrovaradin, the authors of this study used a visual representation of selected cases as a method of investigation. During the field observation, we identified a range of physical spaces within Petrovaradin with heritage, landscape and archaeological values. After discussion and consensus between three authors, we selected spaces that are representative of these values. The authors reflected on their empirical experience and findings to compare and interpret the images and notes made during daily visits.

Later, we clustered the selected cases under two main themes: history and landscape (the Fortress used as a venue and place of experience not only as a material setting); and history and archaeology (the Fortress as urban archaeology).

Figure 3.2.1. Left: Spaces within Petrovaradin allow free movement. Right: Locals pause and pose on the bridge; then a place for representing love is constructed.

Figure 3.2.2. Left: Spaces on the highest point of the fortress. Right: Tourists stop here and pose to capture photographs.

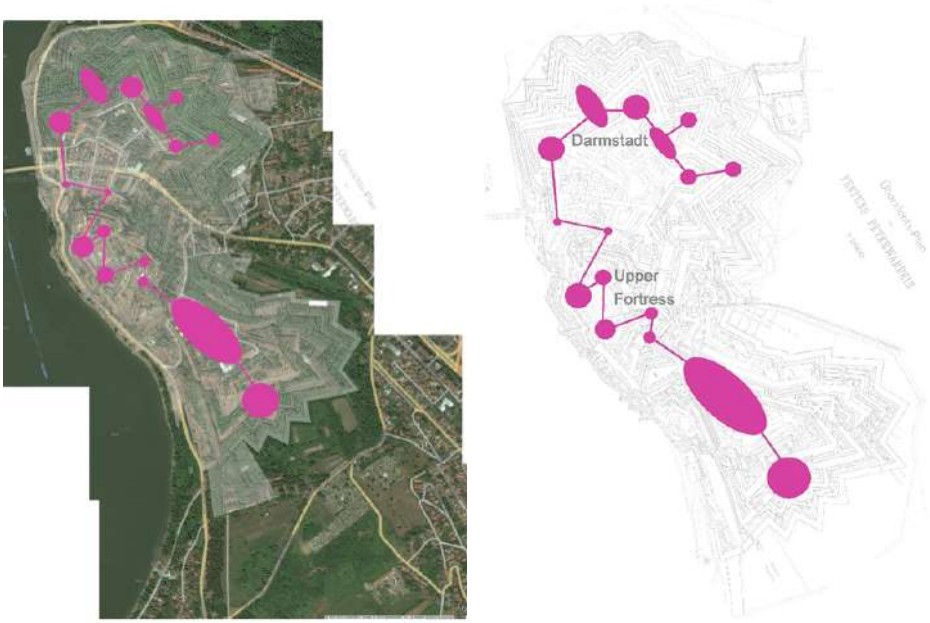


Figure 3.2.3. The proposed distribution of activities and events in the whole Fortress area.

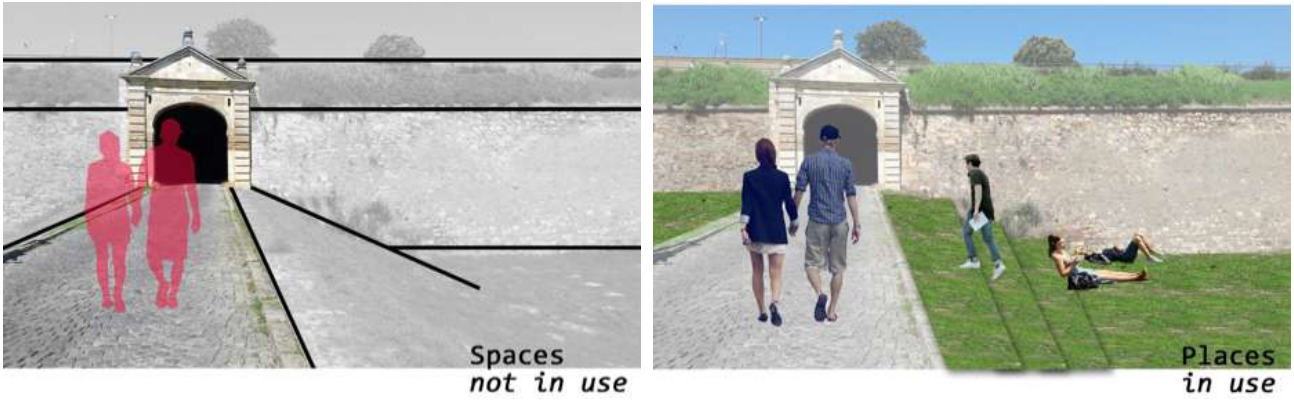


Figure 3.2.4. Places in use: Transforming the spaces into places for citizens' daily life.

We looked at the certain features of each case for this classification such as the historical and current function of each case. To imagine how and what these physical spaces should become, the authors recorded and used images and field notes (e.g. jotted notes, direct observations, simple sketches, maps) from these spaces. The images were manipulated and edited, mainly by graphic tools including Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator, for the purpose of visual representation of our idea and thoughts. The digital manipulation and editing of the images served to demonstrate the novel form of transformation space to place in the cases.

Cases

4.1 - History and Landscape

Petrovaradin Fortress is a historic structure which shows particular landscape characteristics that have been shaped by its functional requirements, including a rich variety of spaces such as trenches, ramparts and bastions. However, as the Fortress lost its original military function, particular spaces, such as trenches, have been left as empty green spaces. This is especially true of the Darmstadt part, which, still being used by the military, has become a protected area isolated from public access.

Our scenario has been formulated on these green open spaces, not only in the Upper Fortress but also in Darmstadt. We are considering "Petrovaradin Fortress" as a whole, in a way that seeks to change the dominant perception that the Upper Fortress is the whole Fortress. This scenario reveals the "missing parts" of the Fortress – that is, Darmstadt – including the potential for transforming open green spaces into "event places" that are welcoming to the public. Knowing that there are several festivals taking place in the Upper Fortress, it is possible to distribute these events over the whole Fortress area while improving its physical condition through preventive conservation (Fig. 3.2.3).

In this context, the stakeholders of Petrovaradin should increase public awareness on the Fortress's cultural significance by informing them about its "hidden" open spaces – that is Darmstadt- which can be re-used by their active involvement in the process of the Fortress's conservation and management as well. In order to achieve the goal of reusing the missing parts of the Fortress actively, a comprehensive socio-spatial analysis of the use of public space in the Fortress would be needed in order to evaluate the needs of users and diversify the activities happening in these spaces. A valuable and stimulating approach would involve welcoming the public and their own ways of socializing; this would increase the liveliness of the public spaces and provide social cohesion among the citizens who are involved in the management process of the Fortress. With this way, the Fortress would become an inclusive and lively place safeguarded and well-kept by the public.

These "open green spaces," which are only used during events and festivals, could be interpreted and applied in a way to be reused by citizens of Novi Sad in their daily life. In this sense, the Fortress's topography could be altered through landscape design while conserving the authenticity and integrity of Fortress. For example, by placing removable, light, and modular systems (like green mesh but not limited to), the trenches, which are empty and seemingly 'left over' spaces, could be transformed into places where citizens could spend time, socialise, and enjoy their leisure time (See Figure 3.2.4.)

The focus of this research and these proposals is to make spaces and voids into places of use, entertainment and education, without any irreversible implementation, or further damage to Petrovaradin Fortress. These places should also be open to alterations and constant change. The biggest challenge (as well as strength) here is the size of the space itself, and the layers that the Fortress itself presents. In lots of European and worldwide examples, it is possible to revitalize and revive a space, giving it a new role without changing its character.

In the case of Petrovaradin Fortress, transformation can take place anywhere. It can refer to the fortress as a whole complex as well as smaller parts: trenches, ramparts and tunnels. Ramparts and trenches are made very wide and deep for defensive purposes, defining subspaces in the whole space. These features, which make them legible and visible, can be viewed as a potential for future transformation. We can consider assigning different functions to different levels, above and below ground as seen in Figure 3.2.5—lights inside the tunnel are leading the way into underground secrets, while different accents on different parts above ground separate and at the same time connect parts in a whole. What is also important to state is that the Fortress is not only the Upper Fortress, or the left wing or right wing. The Fortress is a living mechanism that has to be given a way to continue to move. However, it still has to be recognizable, and it still has to be the Fortress. Figures 3.2.5, 6 and 7 show how a completely non-invasive method, for example the use of lights, can present the core identity of the place, but also make it recognizable in a new media, presenting it in a completely new and accented way. In combination with showing what is there (and what we would recognize as a fortress, a castle, or a garden), this approach also transforms the existing site with a completely new story, event, or anything we imagine to be there, keeping the base form and original aspects of the place.

The main proposal here would be the use of lights (see Figures 3.2.5, 6 and 7) by putting various artists in cooperation with art historians, architects, and conservation experts. Why? The answer lies in the fact that it is important to connect history and the past with the needs of today – and to make this connection in such a way that it can be completely removed without leaving any trace on the site itself. The idea is to keep all parts of the Fortress intact and at the same time changed when necessary. This approach also targets different groups of people, in an attempt to be inclusive. Tourists will always come up to the Fortress, but what they will see is our responsibility (responsibility of the community, cultural heritage experts and institutional stakeholders). In addition, welcoming more people from Novi Sad into the Fortress reinforces a sense of locality, as well as social diversity. By offering an ever-changing story at the Fortress, along with the possibility for visitors to choose which path and which story they would like to see, plain spaces will become places.

Through light, it is possible to present works of art made by local artists, everyday life in the Fortress, or simply tell a story of its past and its future. So, what if there were the possibility, depending on the part of the Fortress (whether it is a trench, a rampart, or a tunnel) (see Figures 3.2.7, 8, and 9), for visitors to choose a starting point and then to choose which story to follow? And not only on screens but on the walls, on projections in space.Since it is possible to see how positions were held from bunkers and tunnels below the ground, it would be interesting to organise the reconstructions of historical events that took place while visitors can

Figure 3.2.5. Nabana no Sato, a botanical garden located on the island of Nagashima, Japan. Left: https://pxhere.com/en/photos?q=nabana+no+sato; Right: Photo by panoramiokobax, CC BY 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=54386196

Figure 3.2.6. Use of lights on the castle in Rijeka.

Figure 3.2.7. Right: Light tunnel in Tehran, Iran.

Figure 3.2.8. Former paper factory Hartera in Rijeka.

Figure 3.2.9. Use of space in Grič Tunnel, Zagreb.

Figure 3.2.10. Storytelling in Grič Tunnel, Zagreb.

participate in some of them. For example, the visitors who are placed in a building complex, can observe others who are in their position of defensive lines. Experiencing communication and information flow between the layers of defence, transfer of supplies; it would all be adventurous and exciting. It is also possible to follow the lead of lights to find out more about historical facts, for those visitors who are more interested in experiential learning and observation learning. Despite the pros and cons, tourism and related activities can provide an opportunity for informal knowledge sharing and engagement between locals and visitors. When local community visits Petrovaradin Fortress and experiences the place as tourists in different lights, that creates an opportunity to attract more visitors in numbers including foreigners—enabling visitors to experience and narrate different stories from the eyes of locals, not only from a perspective that relies on historical materials.

The whole process of exploration and visiting can also be experienced as a part of playing a game-base story or fun activity while offering appropriate socialisation and family interaction with some learning outcomes. After getting some general information and being informed about different storylines, each visitor can choose, what they are interested in and follow the route (maybe on the principle of Alice in Wonderland, or those childhood books where the reader has a chance to choose what is going to happen next, though of course it all leads to the same ending, see Figure 10). Also, opportunities for a longer visit can be provided not only by the hotel on the premises, but also as a part of the story experience and camping during some of the battles or important periods of Fortress itself.

4.2 - History and Urban Archaeology

Another key theme emerged from this study is referred to Petrovaradin as urban archaeology. There are several types of interventions that deal with the conservation and presentation of cities' historical strata, and their integration with urban life has been a matter of concern recently. In this respect, transferring the knowledge gained from the tangible and intangible assets which are affected by the development and transformation of historic cities should be considered by the local authorities, and these "partial layers" belonging to cities' different periods are expected to become the components of the current urban life. Open air exhibitions, museums, and the creation of the spaces of virtual reality are some of the presentation types that have been realized in historical cities worldwide. Considering the issues mentioned above, Petrovaradin Fortress could be defined as a "historical resource" to be discovered, understood, and interpreted.

As a historic landscape, Petrovaradin Fortress includes man-made topography that has accumulated throughout time from ancient periods till our times. Today, cultural assets dated back to the Middle Palaeolithic period (City Museum of Novi Sad, 2013) in harmony with the landscape present a challenge for conservation, presentation, interpretation, and management. Knowing that, the subsoil archaeological assets have been researched recently – as in the case of Lisinskog Street, revealing the traces of the historical periods of Petrovaradin–the representation of the ancient layers of Petrovaradin could be triggering for creating and stimulating places.

Presentation of the archaeological layers with the knowledge gained from the archaeological excavation works has the potential to enrich urban spaces such as streets and

Figure 3.2.11. Places in use: Urban archaeology as a tool for transforming spaces into places on Lisinskog Street.

squares, transforming them into lively places for the public. For example, along Lisinskog Street which shows a part of the ancient settlement of Petrovaradin, the archaeological findings could be reburied after being documented and conserved; they could then be represented by visual markers above their original location. These could be info panels, illustrated through in-situ representations such as paint or reflective materials on the street pavement. Thus, the public would stop at this "new" place to be informed, and Lisinskog Street would become a "hot spot" for cultural and touristic visits (see Figure 3.2.11.) The same means of representation could be implemented at other excavation spots, as well, and these empty but informative places would be linked to each other by these visual representation tools.

Challenges and recommendations

One of the key challenges to transforming space to place within Petrovaradin is the scale of transformation. What is the optimal scale, if any, for the transformation of a 112-hectare historic fortress with 13 gates and 16 km of underground passages spread over four levels, and how should this transformation be approached? A problem which may arise from the large-scale transformation of space to place is the threat of losing the Fortress's valued characteristics as a whole, described before. Therefore, we recommend considering the human scale in this transformation, as can been seen in the examples used in this study. We also acknowledge the importance of participation of key stakeholders (actors) in the process of decision-making about how and what the Fortress's physical spaces should be transformed into, a management-related topic that was further addressed by other articles presented in the summer academy about Petrovaradin.

The social aspect of this transformation proves to be very important. As our cases illustrate, the transformation changes tunnels and roads from transit spaces into destination places, where people (both local and visitors) meet each other, sit and eat together—a place for socialising. As the example of Grič Tunnel demonstrates, we can encourage people to stay longer in tunnels and then explore more about the historic environment while they have fun. Tunnels, indeed, are not treated and perceived only as a space to transit or visit but as a place to meet others, explore together, and then connect with our past through collective experiential learning using the idea of 'gamification' and 'story telling'. Statistics from the transformation of New Road, Brighton, England (see Figure 3.2.12) show a significant increase in the pedestrian flow (62%) and stationary activities (600%) after the transformation works in 2006 (Gehl & Svarre, 2013). This example supports our argument for the social impact of the transformation of spaces within the fortress when we consider and re-use them not only as spatial access—but rather as destinations to enjoy socialising in a historic environment. This indicates a need for having a range of different professions including social scientists, artists, historians, archaeologists, landscape and urban designers involved in the process of transformation. It is also crucial for urban planners and architects to move from reliance on their own knowledge and a view of themselves as experts to a greater reliance on interdisciplinary skills and reconsidering themselves as facilitators and collaborators.

Figure 3.2.12. New Road, Brighton, England. Left: Space as transit access (before the transformation). Right: Place as a destination for socialising (after the transformation). (Gehl & Svarre, 2013, p. 12)

As the HUL approach recommends understanding the wider context of historic urban areas and (re)using them in a way that promotes the natural, cultural, and human resources beyond the boundaries of historic areas (UNESCO 2011), our idea for the transformation of space to place in Petrovaradin should be considered for early integration within the planning processes for the redevelopment of Petrovaradin's urban areas. This requires the mapping of natural, cultural, and socio-spatial resources within and outside the Fortress, including in the urban areas of Novi Sad. Such an integrated approach requires a local management plan that highlights the participation of all local and national stakeholders involved in the conversation of Petrovaradin. This can be implemented through the establishment of a stakeholder forum as a decision and policy-making board under the umbrella of the cooperation between participating local universities, institutions, and the government. The stakeholder forum provides the space for an open and continuous dialogue among all actors, in order to support transparency and the early involvement of HUL stakeholder groups and affected people in the redevelopment processes.

References

Bandarin, F. & Van Oers, R. (2012). *The historic urban landscape: Managing heritage in an urban century*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing.

City Museum of Novi Sad. (2013). Department of Archaeology. Retrieved from http://www.museumns.rs/en/node/12

Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: A short introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dovey, K. (1993). Putting geometry in its place: Toward a phenomenology of the design process. In Seamon, D. (ed.). *Dwelling, seeing, and designing: Toward a phenomenological ecology* (pp. 247-269). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Gehl, J. & Svarre, B. (2013). *How to study public life*. Island Press: London.

Hung, R. & Stables, A. (2011). Lost in Space? Located in place: Geo-phenomenological exploration and school. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 43(2), 193-203.

Nagy, K. (2012). Heritage tourism, thematic routes and possibilities for innovation. *Club of Economics in Miskolc*. TMP, 8(1), 46-53.

Radoine, H. & Aomorali, S. (2019). Rabat, Morocco: Sustaining the historic urban landscape of Rabat: Strategies and implementation. In Pereira Roders, A. & Bandarin, F. (Eds.) *Reshaping urban conservation: The historic urban landscape approach in action* (pp. 423-433). Singapore: Springer, Singapore.

Rodwell, D. (2010). Historic urban landscape: Concept and management. *World Heritage papers, Managing historic cities,* 27, 99-106. Paris: UNESCO.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1975). Place: An experiential perspective. *Geographical review*, 65(2), 151-165.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1979). *Space and place: The perspective of experience.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

UNESCO (2011). *Recommendation on the historic urban landscape.* Retrieved from https://whc.unesco.org/en/hul/

Gradić: The heart of Petrovaradin

Chapter 3.3.

Dessislava Kovacheva
University of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy / Atelier 3 Architects, Sofia, Bulgaria

Andreja Mugoša
Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Podgorica, Montenegro

Aida Murtić
Heidelberg Centre for Transcultural Studies, Heidelberg, Germany

Gradić: a gate to the fortress and a downtown of Petrovaradin

Gradić, the Lower town of Petrovaradin, is the heart of the unique settlement located within the Petrovaradin fortress which is considered as one of the most complex, biggest and best-preserved artillery bastions in this part of Europe. Located by the Danube river, it has an outstanding landscape and a good connection to the city of Novi Sad. Picturesque ensembles create a distinctive image of the city that is easily sealed in memory (figure 3.3.1). Historical housing typologies shape the urban layout framing inner courtyards with a lot of greenery – little oases within the urban structure. Surrounded by the outstanding accomplishment of fortification architecture from the 18th century, Gradić serves both as a gate to the upper fortress and as downtown of Petrovaradin.

Streets and squares of historic towns and cities, and the spaces surrounding historic landmarks, are often older than the buildings themselves. In order to protect a single object (a fortress), one must acknowledge specific qualities and relationships in the built and natural territory surrounding it. While landmark buildings might provide a focal point in the view, the quality of the space around them is of equal importance to the context of the building and its setting. Furthermore, such landscapes are the result of the layering and intertwining of cultural and natural, tangible and intangible values over time. Beyond the notion of a single monument or a historic center, they include the broader urban context and its geographical setting.

During the preparations of the city of Novi Sad for the European Capital of Culture 2021 and European Youth Capital 2019, the Petrovaradin Fortress and Gradić as its heart are attracting more and more attention. The restoration works of the Lower town are bringing civil, tourist and commercial interests in this place. The increased interest could lead this place to flourish but it could also lead to its gentrification and privatization. That is why it is extremely important an overall strategy of regeneration and a management plan to be created.

Gradić is unique and valuable not only because of the captivating setting – the fortress itself – but also because of the communities who inhabit it. We believe that this place belongs to all the people of Petrovaradin and that their needs and expectations should be carefully examined and taken into consideration. We see untapped potential in Gradić for creating residential quarters with diverse public life, which could serve both the local population and the visitors. Our contribution here is a way to support the local communities in their right to Gradić (figure 3.3.2).

Strategy of regeneration

The goal of the regeneration plan proposed here is to identify the core values of Gradić – social, environmental and cultural, – to recognize challenges and threats, and to set out policies to preserve and enhance the historic urban landscape. The question arises as to how management and participation strategies can meet needs and expectations of different stakeholders. Changes and reforms need to be based on validated examples and practices. Transformation strategies should be discussed with the local community and tested before being finally implemented. Following issues should be taken into account: supporting the local community by creating a community center, improving the traffic conditions, activating the inner courtyards, ensuring various uses and quality public spaces.

1. Supporting the locals: creating a community center

Making of a common strategy for the regeneration of Gradić should involve diverse stakeholders, and empower them to identify key values in their urban area. They should altogether develop visions that reflect their diversity, set goals, and agree on actions to safeguard their heritage and promote sustainable development. These tools should be combined with regulatory systems that reflect local conditions and may include legislative and regulatory measures aimed at the conservation and management of the tangible and intangible attributes of the urban heritage, including their social, environmental and cultural values. To engage the civic society there should be a series of events, discussions, gatherings that take place in the very heart of Petrovaradin fortress and bring together all the stakeholders. This process would be facilitating intercultural dialogue by learning from communities about their histories, traditions, values, needs, and aspirations, and by facilitating mediation and negotiation between groups with conflicting interests.

To ensure this kind of participation of the local communities into this process, a common space, a community center should be created in Gradić. A community center is usually a public venue where community members go for a variety of reasons like socializing, participating in recreational or educational activities, gaining information, and seeking counseling or support services.

Figure 3.3.1. (left)
Picturesque houses in Gradić.
Photo: Dessislava Kovacheva

Figure 3.3.2. (top)
Štrosmajerova Street.
Photo: Andreja Mugoša

Figure 3.3.3. (bottom)
Gradić: Proposal for traffic organization and public spaces.

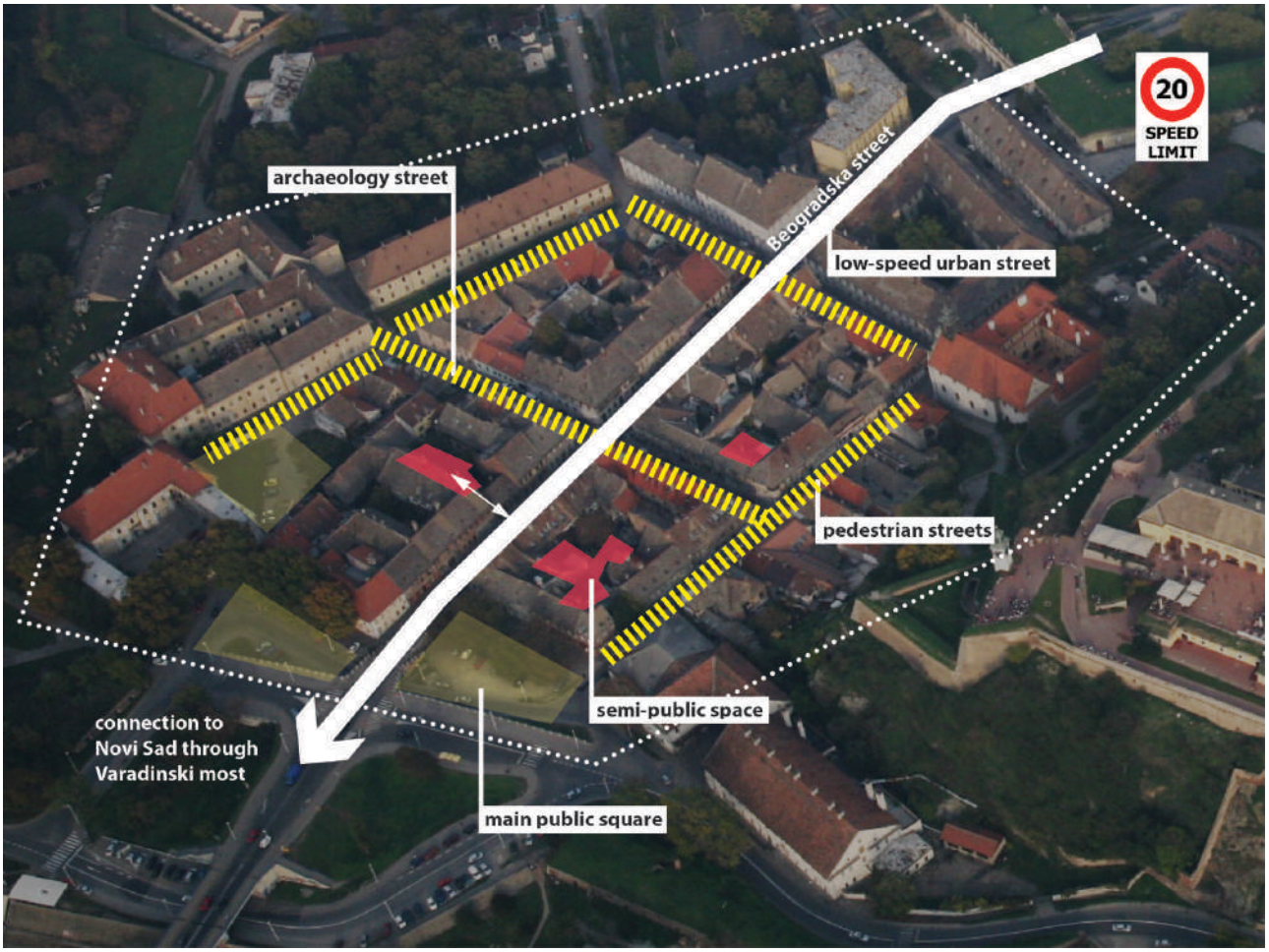


Figure 3.3.4. (top-left)
Downtown s-Hertogenbosch, Netherlands.
Photo: Ben Bender

Figure 3.3.5. (top-right)
Strøget, Copenhagen.
Photo: Olga Itenberg

Figure 3.3.6. (upper left)
Inner yard of a house in Gradić.
Photo: Dessislava Kovacheva

Figure 3.3.7. (lower left)
Inner yard of a house in Gradić.
Photo: Andreja Mugoša

Figure 3.3.8. (bottom left)
Inner yard of a house in Gradić.
Photo: Dessislava Kovacheva

Figure 3.3.9. (bottom right)
Pedestrian street in Novi Sad privatized by the private sector.
Photo: Andreja Mugoša

It could host a variety of programs and is usually open to everyone in the community. The community center could be run by the government, by local non-profit organizations, or by faith-based groups. There are many spaces suitable for adopting these functions. A potential space is "PROSTOR" at 11 Beogradska street which is already hosting various public events – conferences, workshops, exhibitions, lectures, acoustic gigs, projections etc. Such community center could be run by the government or by local non-profit organizations. Also, an administrative body could be located within the neighborhood to organize this process and to unite the local community. This body could be responsible for the implementation of this common strategy of regeneration as well as reviewing and updating its goals over time.

2. Improvement of traffic conditions

While acknowledging the importance of the integration of the area into to network of the local transportation system, we are aware of the danger which road traffic in Beogradska Street and Štrosmajerova Street poses for the viability of Gradić. With a gradual transformation of the traffic zone into a pedestrian zone, Gradić can provide high quality of life within the historical center. It takes time to see the effect of this kind of strategy because everyone has to adapt to new limitations and guidelines (figure 3.3.3).

A conscious and interactive intervention is needed starting from the act of closing Beogradska street to heavy trucks and transforming it into a low-speed urban street. Additionally, by closing it temporarily (in the afternoons or during weekends) and channeling cars outside the core of Gradić, it would be possible to test the model of pedestrianizing the area so that the future decisions would be based on experiences of citizens and monitoring of urban change. Traffic adaptations would open opportunities for creating a series of spaces, walking lines and vistas for pedestrians and would provide an important ingredient of urbanity to Gradić.

There are many examples of good practices in managing traffic in historic streets and squares across Europe that provide lessons for those tasked with implementing projects to reduce the domination of traffic in historical cities and maintain a sense of local distinctiveness. Example of this is s-Hertogenbosch – the capital city of the province North Brabant in the Netherlands. The city has a lot of historical buildings and monuments with diversity in architectural styles which is clearly identified on the outside of the buildings. In the early 1990s, a strategy was adopted to remove through traffic from the historic center and return the streets to pedestrians and other users. As a result, when the removal strategy has been implemented, it has provided opportunities for investment in the regeneration of the historic streets (figure 3.3.4).

Another example is when Copenhagen's City Council decided in 1962 to pedestrianize the area from the westerly Town Hall Square to Kongens Nytorv (The King's New Square) in the eastern part of the town called "Strøget" which also includes a maze of small streets and historical squares that altogether are fanning out from "Strøget" and the mediaeval part of Copenhagen having a total length of almost 3,2 km and being the oldest and longest pedestrian street system in the world. The auto-free zone in Copenhagen is a great tourist attraction that offers plenty of restaurants, sidewalk cafes, fast food, specialty shops, art galleries, gift stores, department stores, street entertainment, theatre, museums and much more (figure 3.3.5).

3. Activating Gradić's hidden gems: inner courtyards

We see huge potential in the morphology of Gradić – the charming human-scale streets and the hidden courtyards create a very interesting system of spaces (see figures 3.3.6, 7, and 8). By encouraging owners and inhabitants to open the inner courtyards of their houses for social encounters and community events, it would be possible to activate the hidden potential of these places that are today almost invisible and undetectable in the landscape of Gradić. Inner courtyards can be easily used as an extension of small businesses (restaurants, bars and coffee shops) and elegantly replace the present-day practices of invading part of the public streets with tables and chairs (figure 3.3.9). We propose exploring and further developing an interplay between public and semi-public spaces (figure 3.3.10). The streets in Gradić should be kept public and various seating and standing points should be created for the people to socialize and rest.

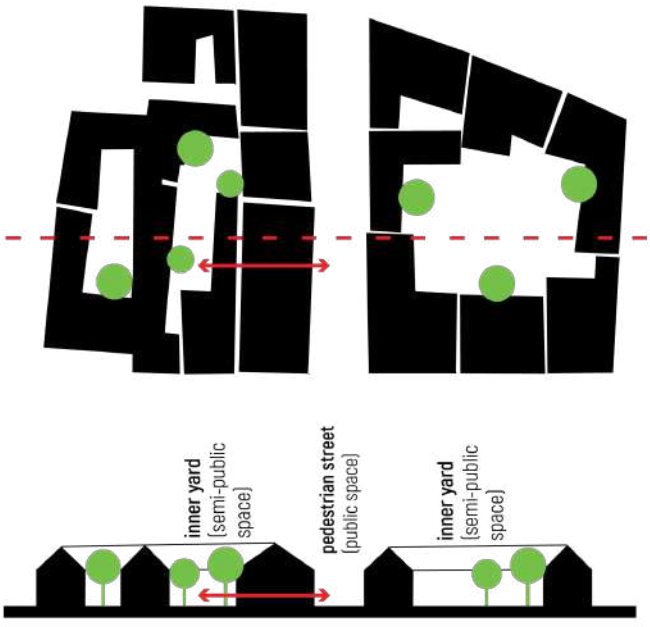
4. Creating diverse public life: ensuring the various uses and quality spaces

The liveliness of Gradić could be accomplished by providing various service needed for the everyday life of its inhabitants like grocery stores, bakeries, coffee shops, fruits and vegetables markets, pharmacies, kiosks etc. In order to provide the needed amount of services guidelines for the necessary uses should be created. That should include percentages of the uses that also ensure the presence of residential houses. Furthermore, new working places should be created in this area so that it is active throughout the whole day.

5. Developing "Neighborhood Guidelines"

Neighborhood guidelines are a specific type of tools adapted to the local context of Gradić and integrated into general policy planning and practices that should help inhabitants to maintain and improve specific features of Gradić.

Figure 3.3.10.
Morphology of the urban structure.



As suggested in the UNESCO Recommendation for the historic urban landscapes (UNESCO, 2011, 4) these tools might include:

- Knowledge and planning tools should help protect the authenticity of the urban layout and architectural attributes of Gradić, and would include documentation and mapping of public and semi-public spaces (inner courtyards), visual and walking axes and specific urban artifacts.
- Regulatory systems for conservation and management of the tangible and intangible attributes may include legislative and regulatory measures aimed at the design and maintenance of semi-public spaces, facades, and commercial shop windows.
- Tools for supporting income-generating development should be aimed at building capacities to use existing build structures in an effective way and plan diversity of functions and types of small or family business.

Regeneration for whom?

That some of the most beautiful towns have also characteristic of exclusion zone with "houses nobody lives in" and "shops nobody needs" warns us the curator Kateřina Šedá in the pavilion of the Czech Republic and Slovakia exhibited at Venice Biennale 2018 (UNES-CO, 2018). We can pause and take a look at Český Krumlov, a town of 13,000 inhabitants which until a few years ago was quite unknown for the broader audience, but after was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site it became a very popular tourist destination. Český Krumlov reminds us that the town did become a prime destination for tourists but at the cost of eradicating everyday normality which in the artistic project of Kateřina Šedá needed to be again re-staged for the very same tourists. Hence, jobs were offered to people asking them to perform normal activities, such as pushing a baby carriage through the center, taking out the trash or watering flowers in the windows (figures 3.3.11. and 3.3.12).

In the same way, once when saved from the risks of abandonment, places with histories in Gradić might be transformed into products of cultural consumption, while lives of people might be altered by the changes in the physical environment. Impacts of ongoing facadism as one of the first steps of the redevelopment of Gradić – with its controversy between a historical facade and the internal form of a building should be further monitored and analyzed. Our strategy here departs from the idea of favoring the aesthetic qualities of the historic streetscapes and calls for non-museal treatment of the urban fabric of Gradić. Focusing on the interplay between streets, housing blocks, and inner courtyards, we propose protecting the urban layout and bringing a selection of new functions and activities into the newly activated urban matrix.

Providing a range of opportunities for participation of various stakeholders in decision making processes and ensuring that effects of different stages of the management plan are properly evaluated, promises that a balance could be reached between market forces (and possible gentrification) and creative endeavors to preserve the values of everyday life in Gradić.

In our scenario of urban regeneration, we do not envision Gradić as a separate reality, simplified and sanitized, inhabited by temporary visitors and their local animators

Figure 3.3.11.
UNES-CO research-action project, exhibited at the Pavilion of Czech Republic and Slovakia at Venice Biennale 2018.
Source: Kateřina Šedá, UNES-CO.

Figure 3.3.12.
UNES-CO research-action intervention: inscribing regular ordinary things on the "List of Endangered Activity".
Source: Kateřina Šedá, UNES-CO.

but as a neighborhood integrated into vibrant urban life of Petrovaradin and Novi Sad. We are convinced that Gradić by virtue of its morphology, activities, ingenuity of its inhabitants and heritage specialist will manage to preserve the local urban image and at the same time inject a regenerative power into the body of its historic fabric.

References

Gehl Architects (2009). *Public Spaces in Copenhagen: A Guide to the Public Spaces in Copenhagen*. Retrieved from http://www.akershus.no/file/c112a084c81172d57c8dba94e41113cc/091217_Cph_Guide%20(2).pdf

UNESCO (2011) *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape.* Retrieved from https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf

UNES-CO (2018). A Project by Kateřina Šedá: A word from the Director-General. Retrieved from http://www.unes-co.cz/en/about-us/a-word-from-the-director-general/

Chapter 3.4.

Bringing Art and Culture into Life: Interpreting Heritage of Petrovaradin

Evinç Doğan
Tourism Faculty, Akdeniz University, Turkey

Oona Simolin
University of Helsinki, Finland

Introduction

Petrovaradin Fortress had a significant role for military defence throughout its history. Although the military zone still covers a large area in the Lower Town, today the Fortress is one of the main attractions in Novi Sad, as well as a festival place intriguing locals and visitors alike. Bearing this history in mind, we propose a motto for Petrovaradin: 'The Fortress was designed to keep everyone out. Now we are inviting you all in!'

In this paper, we give a brief overview of the theoretical background and present three cases where military fortresses have found new uses as cultural sites. The aim of the paper is to find alternative scenarios for re-designing the uses of Petrovaradin Fortress and thus, achieve wider participation, encourage citizen engagement and provide access for diverse visitor groups.

The role of participatory art and creative tourism for citizen engagement

Citizen engagement has been a key dimension of cultural policy parallel to the shift from education to participation (Sørensen, 2014). This shift can be described as moving from a message-driven approach towards a more participative and community-based model (CoE, 2005).

UNESCO defines creative tourism as a "travel directed toward an engaged and authentic experience, with participative learning in the arts, heritage, or special character of a place which provides a connection with those who reside in this place and create this living culture" (UNESCO, 2006). Consequently, different forms of culture can be regarded as tools for community development, visitor engagement and an incentive for intercultural dialogue. Creative tourism is recognized as a form of cultural tourism, while it is not only about "viewing, seeing and contemplating (e.g. visiting museums, art galleries, concerts, ballet performances and the like)", but also "experiencing, participating and learning" (Domšić, 2013: 733). The creativity becomes the essence of the experience through active participation (Richards and Raymond 2000, p. 18). In this respect, Smith (2006) argues that creative tourism is similar to experiential tourism, while creativity stimulates interpretation and contributes to the "sense of place and awareness of a destination heritage" (Uzzell, 1998: 11).

In order to reify the importance of participatory processes for safeguarding heritage sites, we bring forward several cases of heritage sites and present different approaches for using art as a way of engaging citizens. While learning from those cases, we examine performative art and festivals in Petrovaradin more closely and offer our recommendations towards creating a more inclusive and sustainable heritage sites.

Benchmarking

Suomenlinna Fortress, Helsinki, Finland

Suomenlinna is a sea fortress that shares a great deal with Petrovaradin as they are both inhabited heritage sites with a military history. The fortification was originally built by the Swedish government in the mid-18th century on several islands located in front of Helsinki (The Governing Body of Suomenlinna, n.d.) After Finland gained independence in 1917, the fortress was vacated by the Finnish Defence Forces. Suomenlinna moved under civil administration in 1972 when the Suomenlinna Coastal Artillery Regiment left the islands (The Governing Body of Suomenlinna, n.d.) Since then, inhabitants of Helsinki Metropolitan Area have used the area as a recreational space, and it also bears significance as national heritage. In 1991, Suomenlinna was inscribed to the UNESCO World Heritage list. Today, the fortress is one of the most visited sites in Finland and due to the overall growth in the inbound tourism of Helsinki, the yearly visitor numbers have hit one million in recent years (The Governing Body of Suomenlinna, n.d.).

Many art organizations such as residencies, a recording studio, galleries, an art school and six museums are based in the fortress. Additionally, many events and festivities are arranged in the fortress; the cultural offering includes summer theatre, weekly art walks, open studio afternoons,

and a jazz festival. The artistic uses were introduced already in the 1970s when the first atelier started its work and the governing organization mapped the tourist potential of the site (Latvala-Harvilahti, 2018, p. 7).

In addition to individual artists, Suomenlinna is a home for several artistic communities. Among others, Helsinki International Artist Programme offers residencies to international artists and hosts exhibitions and events (HIAP, n.d.). Together with the organization Perpetuum Mobile, they run a Safe Haven residence programme, an initiative for artists whose freedom of self-expression is threatened in their origin countries. The initiative is supported by the City of Helsinki. This use reflects the flexible possibilities of heritage interpretation. A site that is often interpreted mainly as a military bastion and whose history is told through conflicts can simultaneously be used to promote human rights and artistic freedom.

Interestingly, art is also prevalent in the interpretation of historic conflicts in Finnish society. In 1918, a civil war took place in Finland, and at the end of the conflict, the winning party set up a prison camp in Suomenlinna. In 2018, as a part of the remembrance of the civil war, several art exhibitions, performances, and seminars were arranged to remember the victims and to discuss the impact war had on Finnish society. The variety of events—together with the fact that the Governing Body of Suomenlinna provided public space for these events—demonstrate how polyphony was encouraged in the interpretation of history.

Bearing that in mind, the challenge in anniversary exhibitions and memorial occasions is the same as in all ephemeral artworks; they do not necessarily lead to change in the interpretation that is offered to the general public outside these events. The official interpretation of the site and its meaning often highlights the military history and architectural features that constitute the site's outstanding universal value, the justification for UNESCO inscription. Other interpretations, like the one highlighting the artistic communities or the interpretation raising the violent history of the civil war, are presented under special occasions. However, the true challenge lies in encouraging and supporting polyphony systematically in all heritage interpretation.

Citadel Fortress, Germany

Located at the cross-section of the rivers Havel and Spree in Berlin, Germany, the Citadel Fortress was built in the latter half of the 16th century to protect the citizens of Berlin. From 1945 onwards, the area has been used as a non-military site and, starting from the 1980s, cultural uses have been especially prevalent. Today, the Citadel is branded as 'the Island of History' and labelled as "one of Berlin's foremost cultural and tourist 'magnets'" (Zitadelle, n.d.).

The fortress hosts 40 artist workshops, accommodating painters, sculptors, photographers and other creative professionals (Zitadelle, n.d.). The fortress is part of the 'AT FORT network', a regional initiative that seeks to empower European fortifications through knowledge sharing. In their self-analysis report, the site managers tell about challenges they are facing that include the cooperation between actors operating in the fortress (AT FORT, n.d.).

The concerts held in the fortress can attract up to 10,000 visitors (AT FORT, n.d.). This probably poses a challenge to the built environment and its restoration. Other actors in the field of performing arts include a puppet theatre and an Open-Air Festival. Furthermore, there are several minor festivals, concerts, and fairs organized throughout the year.

Bodrum Castle, Turkey

Bodrum Castle, which is currently on the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage, hosts the Museum of Underwater Archaeology. The museum is a striking example of how the protection of underwater cultural heritage contributes to the development of a city (UNESCO, 2013). Considering that the tourism on the coast depends highly on the sea, sun and sand rather than cultural attractions, the museum has achieved significant success in attracting people to the site.

The presentation of the cultural significance of Bodrum Castle is not limited to its historical layers and tangible assets but also includes several contemporary cultural events, which manifest the values of the site. The International Bodrum Dance Festival is renowned as one of Europe's biggest dance events, and it is promoted by the International Dance Council (CID), an umbrella organization within UNESCO (Bodrum Dance Club Association, 2014). The festival encourages volunteers all over Europe to take part in the organization and preparation of the event through the European Voluntary Service (EVS) project, as well as performing on live stage (International Bodrum Dance Festivals, n.d.). Moreover, with the organisation of the 'Turkish-Greek Friendship and Culture Meeting', the festival presents the common cultural values of two neighbouring countries through dance, music, food and drinks.

Current artistic uses of Petrovaradin Fortress

Petrovaradin Fortress is located strategically where the Danube River and Fruška Gora Mountain meet. This grants the Fortress a variety of significances from its historical and functional uses as a fortified town to the recreational and tourist uses of today. Today, Petrovaradin is used for a variety of activities in the fields of education, culture, tourism and recreation (Geographical Spatial Organization, 2001 cited in Garača, Jovanović and Pejović, 2011, p. 65-66).

Many visitors regard Petrovaradin mainly as a site for arts and festivals due to the internationally renowned EXIT music festival. The event that started as an activist student movement has changed into one of the biggest music festivals in Europe and, simultaneously, evolved into a tool for city branding. Since 2010, the Exit Foundation has worked towards social involvement and regional connection through creative industries (EXIT Fondacija, 2019). According to locals and heritage conservationists, there is no objection to EXIT, but many have recommended moving the festival area from the Upper Town to the suburbs due to the logistical risks that come from overcrowding, i.e. exceeding the carrying capacity of the space. On the other hand, the surroundings of the festival are specifically the features that make the festival unique.

A solution which would enable the festival to have both—to take place in this unique location while preserving the valuable surroundings—would be to move the festival to the lower town suburb. This part of the city, better known as Gradić (Little town), is lesser known and not as vulnerable as the heavily fortified and much visited Upper Town. The Lower Town already hosts one festival, Gradić Fest, which is

the name taken by the Street Musicians' Festival since it relocated to Gradić after being held for 15 years in the centre of Novi Sad. By moving to its new location in the Lower Town, the festival got closer to implementing its goals of "uplifting the streets and city public spaces that represent a valuable architectural heritage, and also decentralizing the city's cultural offer and making a special cultural contribution to the local community" (Street Musicians Festival, 2019).

Besides the Street Musicians' Festival, many other initiatives have also been founded to interpret and encourage citizen participation in the field of heritage. SUBURBIUM, taking its name literally from the Lower Town, was founded in 2002 by historians, art historians, architects, conservators, journalists, photographers and other professionals, and it is a member of SEE Heritage Network and Europa Nostra Serbia (Suburbium, n.d.). Suburbium plays a key role in promoting cultural heritage in terms of citizens' values and life, on the need to use it in accordance with sustainable development, on local practices and education of citizens about the value of heritage, and on museum practices in heritage digitization (Street Musicians' Festival, 2018). UGRIP – Urbana gerila ratnici iz podzemlja (Urban Guerilla Warriors from the Underground) is a group of enthusiasts, who offer an underground tour for the visitors to experience the spirit of the past hidden in the foundations of the Petrovaradin Fortress (Street Musicians' Festival, 2017). SCENATORIA (n.d.) is a civic association that works for promoting the importance of preservation and the reanimation of cultural heritage sites and their environment. Members of Scenatoria came together to improve the availability of the performing arts and the condition of (built) cultural heritage in Serbia through plays, performances and other (performing) activities at locations that are neglected and uncared-for, though these sites represent part of the material heritage of the country (Association Kulturanova, 2015). In 2014, they organized a site-specific fire performance at the tunnel of Petrovaradin Fortress, performed by Vulkåi. The fire dance in the dark was a unique event as an alternative interpretive way of using space for art. It attracted people to meet in an unusual place and to perceive its different qualities through dance and music from shifting spatial perspectives.

Conclusions and recommendations

We presented several cases of fortified cities where festivals and art events are organised to make the interpretation more polyphonic and to open the sites for different user groups. The materials suggest that diverse artistic and cultural uses and branding are quite common in historic fortresses, but actual creative tourism products, which give visitors an opportunity to learn new skills and experience the local culture by doing rather than watching, are still rare.

Based on the materials and our own experiences, establishing stable and continuous stakeholder cooperation for long-term development seems to be one of the challenges shared by many European fortresses. The artist community should be organized and work in strategic partnerships in order to create a commonly shared agenda and even mobilize public resources through making their voices heard. Through cooperation, new products could be planned for the creative tourism market. This could include wine tasting and workshops for traditional handcrafts or photography. To create successful products, the capacity to plan, market and deliver tourism products should be built up within the growing artist community. Nevertheless, it is crucial to include the artist community in the planning of all activities, so that they do not think that they are being used as a means of 'art-washing'. Art-washing is a recently-coined concept that describes the process where art is used to brand places as creative and innovative, which might, in turn, cause gentrification.

We suggest that Petrovaradin should create a community arts development plan together with the city's active arts, heritage, and cultural organisations in order to articulate the impact of their work and to nurture their skills, knowledge, and networks. Furthermore, working with youth communities could help to ensure continuity and make the cultural products more diverse. Including the voices of young citizens in the official interpretation would also encourage intergenerational dialogue. All this requires development in the cultural infrastructure. The City's Strategic Infrastructure Plan could include an outreach program, targeting key locations in order to support the development of new communities by encouraging creative engagement.

In conclusion, a starting point for the cultural development of Petrovaradin could be developing cohesion and engagement by encouraging locals to voice their visions and even to use their skills for creating new offers. Creative, artistic, and cultural activities should be accessible to the different social groups to ensure the diversity of interpretations and products that are offered to visitors. Sustainable long-term economic impact can be achieved through creating career development opportunities for artists and integrating art into the urban culture.

References

Association Kulturanova. (2015). SCENATORIA. Retrieved from http://www.kulturanova.org/index.php/en/

AT FORT. (n.d.). *Self Analysis Report: Spandau Citadel.* Retrieved from http://www.atfort.eu/files/1416493706.pdf

Bodrum Dance Club Association. (2014). Bodrum – TURKEY. Retrieved from http://www.zavod-voluntariat.si/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Bodrum-info-call.pdf

CoE – Council of Europe. (2005). *Framework convention on the value of cultural heritage for society*. Faro: Council of Europe.

Domšić, L. (2013). Cultural Heritage and Identity in the Contemporary Tourism Development, DIEM 2013: *Dubrovnik International Economic Meeting, Scientific Conference on Innovative Approaches to the Contemporary Economic Problems.* University of Dubrovnik, Croatia, 27th - 29 th September 2013, 729-738.

EXIT Fondacija. (2019). *20 years of EXIT activism*. Retrieved from https://www.exitfondacija.org/20-godina-exit-aktizivma/

Garača, V., Jovanović, G., and Pejović, L. (2011). Petrovaradin Fortress (Novi Sad, Serbia): Tourism Spatial Planning and Design of The Upper Town for the Function of Cultural Tourism. *TURIZAM*, 15 (2), 65-76.

HIAP. (n.d.). Helsinki International Artist Programme. Retrieved from https://www.hiap.fi/?type=event

International Bodrum Dance Festivals. (n.d.). About us. Retrieved from http://www.ibldf.org/hakkimizda/?lang=en

Latvala-Harvilahti, P. (2018). 'Mistä se on tullut se ajatus, että tää on taiteilijoiden saari ja mihin se sit aina välillä unohtuu?' Taidealan toimijat elävän perinnön ja paikallisuuden edustajina Suomenlinnassa. *Historiatieteellinen aikakauskirja Lähde*, 5, 5-24.

Richards, G. and Raymond, C. (2000). Creative tourism. *ATLAS*, 23, 16-20.

Scenatoria. (n.d.). About us. Retrieved from https://scenatoria.wixsite.com/scenatoria/about-us

Smith, L. W. (2006). Experiential Tourism around the World and at Home: Definitions and Standards. International *Journal of Services and Standards*, 2 (1), 1–14.

Sørensen, A. S. (2014). Danish cultural policies and communication 1961–2014. *Proceeding of the ICCPR – the 8th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research*. Hildesheim, Germany, 9–12 September 2014.

Street Musicians Festival. (2017). UGRIP adventure in the underground of the Petrovaradin Fortress. Retrieved from https://www.ulicnisviraci.com/en/ugrip-adventure-underground-petrovaradin-fortress/

Street Musicians Festival. (2018). Rich Program by Gradić Fest's Partner Organizations: Culture as a Means for Revitalization with the Help of Friends. Retrieved from http://www.ulicnisviraci.com/en/rich-program-by-gradic-fests-partner-organizations-culture-as-a-means-for-revitalization-with-the-help-of-friends/

Street Musicians Festival. (2019). About Street Musicians Festival. Retrieved from http://www.ulicnisviraci.com/en/about-street-musicians-festival/

Suburbium. (n.d.). Heritage means identity. Retrieved from http://www.suburbium.org/index.html

The Governing Body of Suomenlinna. (2019). Suomenlinnan kulttuuritarjontaa hyödynnettiin viime vuonna ahkerasti kaikkina vuodenaikoina. Retrieved from https://www.suomenlinna.fi/suomenlinnan-kulttuuritarjontaa-hyodynnettiin-viime-vuonna-ahkerasti-kaikkina-vuodenaikoina/

The Governing Body of Suomenlinna. (n.d.). Fortress and History. Retrieved from https://www.suomenlinna.fi/en/fortress/

UNESCO. (2006). Towards Sustainable Strategies for Creative Tourism. Discussion Report of the Planning. Meeting for 2008 International Conference on Creative Tourism, Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A., October 25-27, 2006.

UNESCO. (2013). The Benefit of the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Growth, Tourism and Urban Development. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/UCH_development_study_2013.pdf

Uzzell, D.L. (1998) 'Interpreting Our Heritage: A Theoretical Interpretation' in D.L. Uzzell and R. Ballantyne (Eds.) *Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation: Problems and Prospects.* London: The Stationery Office, 11-25.

Zitadelle. (n.d.). Citadel. Retrieved from http://www.zitadelle-berlin.de/en/citadel/

Chapter 3.5.

Urban Regeneration Through Arts: Petrovaradin's Creative Spaces

Gordana Gajić
Spomen-zbirka Pavla Beljanskog, Novi Sad, Serbia

Ana Catarina Fontes
Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, NOVA University Lisbon, Portugal

Elise Kleitz
Brandenburg University of Technology, Cottbus, Germany

Introduction

The regeneration of Petrovaradin Fortress aspires to reintroduce art and contemporary creation into public space – to make it accessible to all, without prejudice or elitism. As this was the purpose when the Fortress was demilitarized in the 1950s, following an open call issued by the government, talented artists have moved into several abandoned spaces. Many buildings have been converted into artistic ateliers, and the Fortress has become a place of inspiration, where art meets the landscape.

Establishing a dialogue between contemporary art creation and the city is also a goal for the year 2021, as Novi Sad will be the European Capital of Culture. This initiative, combining culture, tourism and heritage, can transform the second largest city of Serbia into an urban destination – a city of art that is recognized and visible beyond the borders of its country. Indeed, it is essential to understand the arts as an economic lever enabling the revitalization of a territory. Attractiveness is an essential factor of growth and generates economic activities. Through original and permanent cultural initiatives, Novi Sad has the potential to become visible for the greatest number of people. The goal is to achieve a return on investment by combining "active production of culture and the arts as a living activity, alongside the conservation of the past" (Hall, 1999, p. 4).

However, today, the artistic network of the fortress – inherited from the socialist time – no longer reflects the original ambitions. Many spaces are abandoned or privatized, and their primary use is dedicated neither to art nor culture. Thus, it is essential to revitalize the creative spirit, in order to participate in the construction of a landmark in the city, making it possible to create a territorial identity and a sense of belonging among the inhabitants. Cultural processes increase the attractiveness of the place and enhance the collective perception of the city.

The artists behind the poetic character of the Fortress are symbols of Serbian culture – such as the sculptor Jovan Soldatović and the painter Mića Mihajlović. Their international reputation is intensely linked with the Fortress's history and is a bond to be honoured and perpetuated. Thus, the regeneration of the site must revive the artists' memories and promote fine and applied arts, such as tapestry, sculpture, painting, and ceramics. The presence of the Academy of Arts within the Fortress does perfectly correspond to this perspective, as these artistic expressions, as well as classical music, are being taught.

By promoting contemporary creations in accordance with the spaces available, the quiet identity and the inspiring atmosphere of the Fortress can be revived. Art and culture does not dialogue with a military landscape (facing the Danube), in the same way as with an industrial site. This is why Petrovaradin's artistic identity differs from the cultural regeneration project in the Chinese quarter of Novi Sad. Furthermore, arts and culture, as well as education, have been connected to the fortress for decades, through the ateliers and artists, the festivals, and the Academy of Arts.

The aim of this proposal is to preserve and enhance the existing poetic spirit, which is strongly connected with crafts and handmade processes – in order to maintain a contrast with the idea of attracting creative industries and high-tech concepts in the industrial area.

Nevertheless, it is important to connect the artistic spaces with each other. Within the territory of the Fortress, it is essential to establish walking paths in order to naturally guide the visitor through open-air exhibitions and spatial interventions. The artists would be invited to create art installations related to the specificities of the place and the history of the landscape. For example, a piece of art might highlight a panoramic view of the city. Furthermore, Novi Sad has the potential to further develop the artistic spirit of the fortress and to multiply several initiatives – in order to showcase the natural and urban environment, such as the riverbanks of the Danube.

Such an ambition requires coherence, time, and continuity – through which Novi Sad might extend its artistic identity throughout the city. A relevant reference is the city of Nantes in France, which every year "reveals itself through a cultural itinerary where art meets landscape and the architecturally old and new come together" (Le Voyage à Nantes, 2018). Before each summer season, the inhabitants look forward to discovering the next artworks inhabiting their daily urban places, as a line drawn on the ground guides citizens and tourists through an artistic walk, enabling them to explore the various installations produced by several artists in the public spaces.

Regulatory Systems and Planning Tools

In the 1950s, following the government's open call, the selected artists had access to the art studios, along with social benefits. They did not have a contract or rent and had access to social security. However, in exchange, they had to participate in the organization of exhibitions to showcase their artworks to the general public. Thus, the government supported artists in order to ensure that everyone had access to culture.

Today, the fortress has inherited these methods and practices. The artists selected during the socialist time are still the official residents, and some of them continue to use their studio for artistic creations. However, this is not the case for the majority of the ateliers. Some spaces are abandoned or closed; others are used only for personal or commercial purposes.

In order to respect the "traditional and customary systems" (UNESCO, 2011), there is the need to map the art studios and to identify how and by whom they are currently being used. The primary goal is to ensure that they again become places for expressing the creative potential of the artistic community. The artists currently using the studios deserve to pursue their work. Nevertheless, abandoned spaces and studios which are not currently used as ateliers, should be recovered according to their original functions and contemporary artistic needs.

Furthermore, we recommend to "include legislative and regulatory measures aimed at the conservation and management of the tangible and intangible attributes of the urban heritage" (UNESCO, 2011). This involves setting up fixed-term contracts aimed at welcoming new artists. The latter can invest in the art studios, as long as it is for developing art projects. They may also participate in the exhibition of their works.

Re-use of the Artistic Spaces

There are more than a hundred art studios within the territory of the Fortress; all have different locations and should take advantage of that. However, there are two distinct zones with different atmospheres: the Upper Fortress, embracing the tourism economy and already at an advanced level of preservation, and the Hornwerk, a quiet area with a less defined use of space, where the Academy of Arts has been located since the 1970s and where EXIT Festival has its main stage once a year.

Within the Upper Fortress, the ateliers located in the long barracks have a commercial character and should continue to benefit from tourism. The vacant art studios located in the simple barracks have to reopen and become temporary residencies for new artists; some spaces should be opened to the public and host art workshop for children, adults, and seniors. In this manner, a dynamism can be created, maintaining the artistic and touristic function of the place.

Figure 3.5.1. Artist studios across the fortress

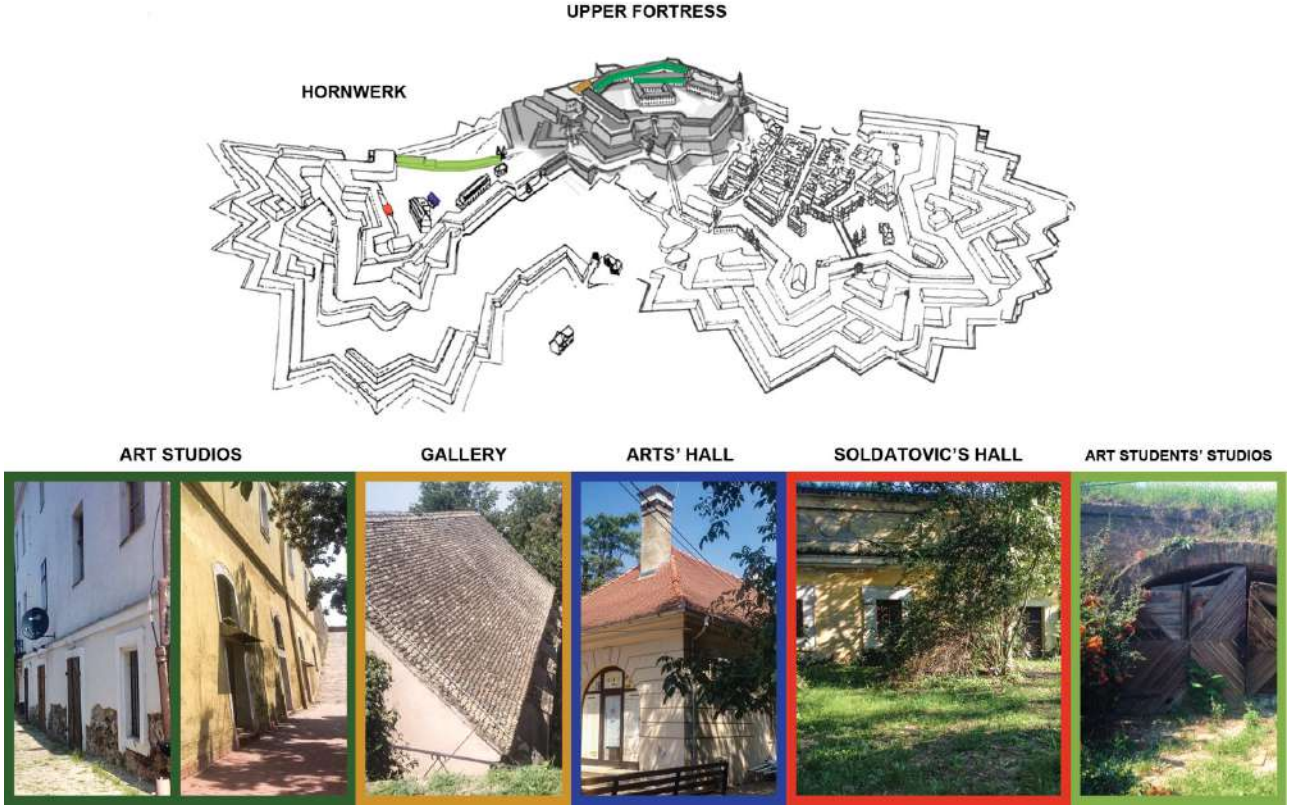


Figure 3.5.2. Organisation of studios network

The vacant building – the old Powder Magazine – should be turned into a gallery for exhibitions. It is important to tell the story of the creative function of the old military spaces by creating a permanent exhibition dedicated to the first artists, who became symbols of Serbian heritage, but also collecting memories and encouraging discussion about the past and its relationship with future initiatives. Art historian Professor Subotić (I. Subotić, personal communication, October 28, 2018) says:

> *"There are so many interesting stories about the Fortress itself, its past and personalities involved, and on the other side, about art studios as well. It might be interesting to have a collection of statements shown in a permanent 'museum' hall with artefacts, photos, books, documents, on walls and screens, with regular conferences and discussions with interesting people – like a living history about this important genius loci."*

In the same way, certain spaces can be dedicated to the exhibition of the artworks of the current and future artists settled in the ateliers. Within the Hornwerk, where the Academy of Arts is located, vacant spaces can be dedicated to educational purposes. The former military canteen can be reused as the exhibition hall for students, where they can show their work to the community, organize workshops, and promote art fairs. The dispersed art studios can become residencies for local and international students. In addition, the studio formerly used by the artist Soldatović does have remarkable architectural values and has to be rehabilitated. The building should become a place dedicated to the memory of the artist – where his sculptures can be exhibited.

Within the walls of the Fortress, it is important to maintain a mix between permanent and temporary residencies – some only dedicated to the artists' work and others are open to the public. In addition, the many tunnels can become a source of inspiration for various in situ installations.

Organizational Tools

In order to revive the initial function of the art studios, it is advisable to create new open calls – and to host local and international artists in the vacant spaces. Thus, the latter become artistic residencies and allow the development of the Fortress's network on an international level. However, there is the need to establish a website for the recruitment of artists and presentation of different artistic events and programs, in order to reach a broader audience.

The importance of opening new calls is central to taking this project to the next level. Heritage should be more than a memory; in Petrovaradin Fortress we can still experience the legacy of these artists through the sculptures placed in specific places, and through the artists that remain.

Only by opening new calls and bringing new artists to the Fortress is it possible to ensure that new generations will still experience this atmosphere and profit from both the opportunity to participate in this privileged network and/or appreciate the artworks and come in contact with art in the closest way – meeting the person who conceived it and the place where it was shaped.

As for the vacant spaces, scholarships for local and international art students can be created, so that they can develop projects using these spaces for their projects. In this way, the cooperation between private and public organizations becomes necessary. The foundation of the EXIT Festival may strengthen the connection with the artists by financially supporting their projects.

Furthermore, it is essential to revive the network and the cooperation between the university and various artists by working with all the different actors. The professors, students, and artists in residence have the opportunity to set up workshops around various artistic and poetic themes in order to create artistic installations in dialogue with the landscape of the Fortress. Thus, the Academy students will have the opportunity to revive the romantic identity of the Fortress by organizing classical music concerts.

However, it is fundamental to assure that the general public has access to these creations. In that respect, it is advisable to organize open days – so that the community has the opportunity to visit the art studios and learn about the artistic process through the voice of the artists. The latter may offer non-commercial programs for educational purposes.

Final remarks

In this proposal the art studios are addressed as key to mediating the cultural heritage and the arts culture of Petrovaradin Fortress. The process of reviving the art studios and bringing new projects will bring changes to how these spaces in the Fortress are seen and used currently; many are abandoned and facing degradation, while some are still used and promoting their initial values. Positive change will require considerable investment and time. However the suggestion are, first of all, to take advantage of the values and potential that exist; secondly, to engage the existing network of artists and the Academy in the process; and finally, divide the necessary interventions into phases and understand which ones are proprietary and which ones are in a better position to be developed first.

The role of the artists' network could have great impact in the contemporary community and for future generations – in terms of the promotion of fine and applied arts, inspired by the first artists in the Fortress and the landscape itself, and looking to the future of this network with new artists and new publics, locals, and tourists. This network should participate in the new calls as partner and jury and should have permanent representatives to facilitate the communication with public authorities and other partners, such as the Academy and EXIT Festival. The Arts Academy should play an important role in connecting with the community, promoting scholarships to allocate students to the studios

on a temporary and meritocratic basis, and using the fortress as a 'stage' for the town, with exhibitions, concerts, and activities in line with an open attitude towards Novi Sad.

References

Hall, S. (1999). Whose Heritage? Un-settling 'The Heritage': Re-imagining the post-nation. In Littler, J. & Naidoo, R. (Eds.), *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'.* London: Routledge.

Le Voyage à Nantes. (2018). *An artistic and poetic trail in the city*. Retrieved on March 4, 2019 from: https://www.levoyageanantes.fr/en/le-voyage-a-nantes/

UNESCO. (2011). *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape.* Paris: UNESCO.

Chapter 3.6.

Privatization of a Common? A Focus on Exit Festival

Nicolas Zorzin
Institute of Archaeology, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan

"The intractability of contemporary heritage problems is related to the inaccessibility of the forces causing those problems. This inaccessibility is a product of 'the increasing privatization of political power in the economy, rendering the dynamics of appropriation and domination beyond the realm of public policy or democratic processes' (Rogers, 1998, p. 175)."
(Hutchings 2018, p. 82)

'Stewardship of Heritage' or 'Heritage Resource Management'?

In the private law of ancient Rome, which gave great importance to private ownership, a 'juridical class of things' was nonetheless conceived as Res extra commercium, i.e. things that could not be owned nor be the subject of commercial transactions (Baslar, 1998, p. 40; Bonnici, 2008, p. 15). As such, Roman citizens had duties towards certain things simply because they belonged to the commons and/or the divinities, and thus they were "not subject to appropriation by sovereignty" (cf. Res Communis – omnium) (Fellmeth & Horwitz, 2009). In Europe, and through the centuries, this roman legal background along with Christianity, certainly influenced people's perception of ruins around them, from fear, respect to contempt (Hamilakis, 2007, p.84), and influenced the definition of the past as a common or as a private property. With the emergence of the European nation-states and especially since the 17th century, the definition of new normalised identities echoed with the remains of some pasts (or selective commons), which would be chosen with increasingly nationalistic motives.

Since then, and in reaction against these nationalistic tendencies in using the past, the concept of commons was extended to all mankind through a new term created in the 1970s: Res Communis Humanitatis. This Res created by lawyers, aimed both for world peace and for avoiding destructions, by assigning all "mankind as the owner of natural [and cultural] resources and as a legal personality" (Baslar, 1998, pp. 42-43). The World Heritage list under the UNESCO patronage is a good illustration of this universalist attempt of protection of mankind's cultural heritage, even though, according to Meskell (2018) it failed in fighting nationalism and Eurocentrism. As such, depending on the historical context and location, attitudes concerning cultural heritage in Europe tended towards 'communalisation' (e.g. the transformation of the Royal Palace of Le Louvre in Paris into a public museum in 1791) or 'individualization' (e.g. constitution of the 'cabinet of curiosities' from the 16th to the 18th century).

Here, I will refer first to the 'communalisation' example and then to the 'individualization', so that they are in chronological order, which also signifies the recent and gradual shift during the second half of the 20th century. In the last 75 years, two general tendencies can be identified everywhere in Europe: 1) after World War 2, both regulations and structures treating cultural heritage as a commons would develop quickly or consolidate at a national level (museums, state cultural management structures), and international level (conventions, treaties, supranational structures); 2) in contrast, during the 1980s, an opposed ideological movement primarily developed in the UK (notably by the economist Friedrich Hayek, implemented by Margaret Thatcher) would claim that there are no such things as 'society' or 'commons'. This new dominant ideology, namely 'neoliberalism', would attempt to circumscribe human interactions within commercial transactions. It was claimed then that all aspects of life should be 'freed' from state regulations and placed under the self-regulatory competitive market economy, presented as beneficial for all. As a result, what could previously have been considered inalienable 'commons', namely air, water, sky, space, underwater, defined as such in Roman Law, had to be privatised. In modernity, this extends also to housing, education, health, transport and, eventually, cultural heritage.

In the new triumphant post-1989 capitalist world, it was expected for cultural heritage to become an exploitable resource – commodified, politically 'neutral', 'market-economy compatible', symbolically inconsequential, and consumable (i.e. Disneyfied). As such, cultural heritage slowly switched from a common 'stewardship', implying an embedded value and a responsibility carried by citizens "concerned by conservation and sustainability" (Hutchings, 2018, p. 71), to 'resource management', focusing essentially on [profit making], "efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control, all leading to irrational outcomes … and 'inexorable growth' (Ritzer, 1996)." (Hutchings, 2018, p. 72)

Since the 1980s, actors in various professions directly concerned with cultural heritage (architects, historians, conservators, museum curators, archaeologists, city cultural councils, and more recently, 'cultural heritage managers') had to make choices while facing the neoliberal dogmatic push. As stated by Hutchings (2018), most actors of the

sector took a self-preserving (comprehensible) approach through a "pragmatic acceptance" or a "sustained optimism" (pp. 79-80). The latter seems to be the dominant reaction and rests simply on believing that economic growth and technical progress can solve all the threats of our time. 'Sustainable development' is probably the most iconic term illustrating the paradox of having faith in an oxymoronic compatibility between perpetual growth (on yet limited lands and resources) and ecological/cultural sustainability (Daly, 1993).

These transformations and tendencies within the field of cultural heritage are central to any attempt to understand the context in which a cultural heritage asset is used, protected, valued, and displayed, because 'market-economy' interests and views are now expected to be dominant and to frame most decisions around us. As a first step, and before getting even closer to the formulation of a heritage management plan for a given case, it is thus essential to identify the corporate powers involved in a local economy, and their influences on decision-makers. Before exploring the Novi Sad case any further, we should ask ourselves the following question: even though Serbia stands de facto at the margins of the mainstream European neoliberal normalisation process, is the cultural heritage of Novi Sad actually 'stewarded' by its citizens or in fact 'managed' by higher political-economic interests?

Petrovaradin Fortress Case

Following a deconstructivist approach to the political-economic actors, special attention needs to be given to the Exit Festival, which has vastly contributed to the international visibility and touristic attractiveness of Petrovaradin Fortress, Novi Sad, and to Serbia at large. Since 2000, the socio-economic importance of Exit is largely uncontested, but I will also attempt to assess its outcomes for Petrovaradin's heritage itself and for the local community.

In 2000, Exit Festival was created in Novi Sad by a group of enthusiastic students, fighting for "progress and freedom" in Serbia and in the Balkans (Exit, 2019 – Exit Values). In 2001, they transferred the festival to the fortress of Petrovaradin. This festival, mostly dedicated to electronic music, has since been recognized as one of the most important in Europe (e.g. it was the winner of the European Festival Awards 2017 held in the Netherlands). It is also renowned as one tied to its social responsibilities: "The festival's well-known identity [...] developed through creating numerous socially responsible campaigns, as well as an active support to charity, ecologic and cultural movements and organizations" (Exit, 2018 – Exit Values). This fame came with major outcomes, notably in contributing to reuniting young people in the Balkans after decades of wars and bloodshed. Furthermore, Exit also helped place Novi Sad on the map of Europe. Since then, the city has become an important summer destination for European youth, as well as for 120,000 tourists from all around the globe (see Chapter 2.3. by Samardžić & Gunjić).

However, all festivals have periods of success, growth, failure, and eventual collapse (MacNeill, 2017). Signs of potential changes for Exit are already showing, with the creation of alternative Exit-franchised festivals spreading around the Balkans (e.g. the Sea Dance Festival in Montenegro). As a result, Exit should not be considered as a unique and lasting driving force for the economic and socio-cultural development of Novi Sad. It has been a prodigious actor in Serbian post-war cultural life, but cultural heritage should be thought of in both durable and sustainable terms, not only in terms of the lifespan of a music festival. Indeed, Exit Festival will stop at one point, but the cultural heritage its organisers employed will remain. If we intend to preserve it properly, the existing relation between the festival's interests and aims and the preservation of Petrovaradin's heritage should be mediated. Otherwise, in the current state of affairs, the relation between the two actors (i.e. the festival and the fortress) will only lead to successive deteriorations, at best (Figure 3.6.1), and irremediable damage to the fort and its surroundings, at worst.

According to what is observable in the field, the current configuration of Exit Festival seems to follow a certain economic logic used in financial markets (Lee & Woodard 2012, pp. 121-136), consisting of momentarily privatizing a public space for profit (Exit even has an Official Tourist Service of its own) and socializing the costs, which are mostly and forcibly covered by citizens of Novi Sad, and Serbia at large, such as for example, the maintenance and the preservation of the Fortress. Apart from the restoration of one observatory building within the Fortress (Figure 3.6.2), which was in fact funded by Gazprom, the absence of investments by Exit in the last 18 years is weighing heavily on the Fortress' important heritage elements, as well as on the local population, who experience only very limited and short-term positive outcomes.

Even though socio-economic data about the local population are not available today, it is not difficult to observe that the inhabitants of the Lower Petrovaradin Fortress and the immediate neighbourhood are not the wealthiest in town (in contrast, for example, with the Southern Danube bank facing Novi Sad). If it was not for an emergency public investment triggered by the fact that Novi Sad will be the European Capital of Culture in 2021, the façades and roofs of the lower town would be still crumbling. Consequently, not only is there a lack of financial support coming from the main user of the Fortress (Exit organisers and investors), but there is also a highly problematic assumption that attracting tourism is necessarily good for locals per se.

In many European towns, citizens are increasingly expressing their discontent over the issues brought by mass tourism, such as gentrification of historical areas, real estate speculation, and the mechanical 'displacement' of the more vulnerable populations (elders, poor families, migrants, etc.) from these premises. This new peer-to-peer (P2P) tourist model (i.e. part of a P2P economy, as a decentralized and digitized economic model whereby two individuals connect to buy or sell goods and services with each other directly), the so-called "collaborative economies", has been found unsustainable by many (Garcia-Ayllon, 2018; Richard, 2018, p. 1789), provoking issues such as 'polarization' (increasing separation between guest and host, the so-called 'tourist bubble'), and 'dependency' (i.e. regions becoming dependent on tourism incomes) (Marson, 2011, p. 7).

The current socio-economic mechanisms, which seem to be perceived to work by Serbian government entities, local authorities, and the Exit Festival, are well known and mainly based on the 'trickle-down theory' (Aghion & Bolton, 1997, pp. 151-172; Sowell, 2012), at the core of the neoliberal ideology. The trickle-down theory leads to the belief that deregulating the use of the Fortress, almost without

Fig. 3.6.1. Some deterioration post-Exit Festival
Upper-left: Structural damage to a gate to facilitate passage of an electrical cable. Upper-right: Uncollected garbage. Lower-left: Structural damage from digging holes in the Fortress, resulting in water ingress and potential collapse. Lower-right: General view of the structural stress created by the festival's equipment.

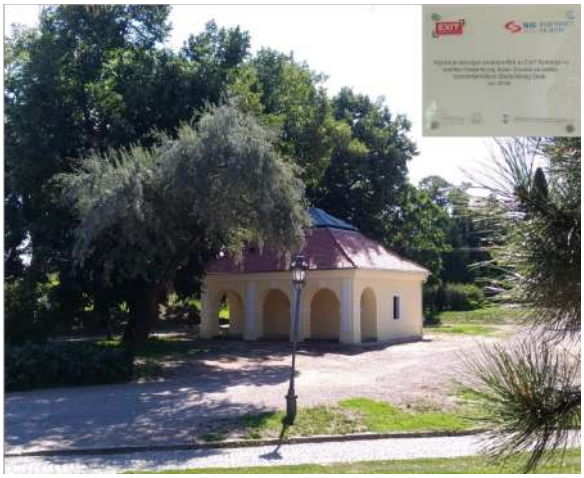


Fig. 3.6.2. Observatory recently renovated: Claimed sponsors of the renovations, August 2018.

Photos by: Nicolas Zorzin

constraints, will result in a financial windfall that will spread into every corner of the local economy and into the pockets of all citizens. In fact, it looks like very few local actors are benefiting from the festival, and the reality is that every year cultural heritage is increasingly at risk. Some demonstrated that this theory of laissez-faire capitalism is deceptive (Devetak, George & Weber, 2018, p. 76; Henry, 2012), and wealth does not trickle down; it just goes in selective pockets, or it goes off-shore. As a result, it might be time for local population, local authorities, as much as us (i.e. academics, and professionals in cultural heritage), to ask the major players, i.e. Exit stakeholders, to truly play their social part and start giving back to the exceptional heritage site they use – providing, at least the means to survive and to truly achieve a form of prosperity for the local population.

Possible alternatives for more responsible investment and private presence

The first way to achieve these goals of preservation and prosperity would be to ask the Exit stakeholders to participate financially in the maintenance and improvement of Petrovaradin Fortress, for example by contributing up to 10% to 15% of their admission fees. These funds could be transferred directly to the cultural and architectural offices of Novi Sad in charge of both the maintenance and management of the Fortress and/or to a local association fund organised by the citizens of Petrovaradin. It should be noted here that Exit could largely compensate this financial loss by slightly increasing the price of the ticket without necessarily affecting attendance. Quite the opposite in fact. If Exit makes this financial participation public, the festival's attendees might be pleased to know they indirectly

participate in the preservation of the cultural heritage they enjoy while partying every year.

The capacity of Exit Festival is around 40,000 people per night, and the ticket price for 2019 starts at 60€, rising to 100€ for 4 days (Exit Festival mag 2018). This means that, at full-capacity, the creation of a Cultural Heritage Exit Fund for the preservation of Petrovaradin could generate from 300,000€/year (10% contribution) to 450,000€/year (15% contribution), based on 40,000 tickets at an average price of 75€ per ticket. This process would be an urgent prerequisite to ensure both the continuity of the festival and the lasting integrity of the Fortress.

Without this type of financial redistributive mechanism – similar to the 'polluter-payer mechanism' in place in many European countries – this major cultural heritage landmark might start to decay to the point that increasing issues will make the festival no longer viable. This situation would be utterly negative for the heritage itself and for the local populations, while being a lucrative activity for the organisers of the Exit Festival until the very end.

In the alternative scenario, where a financial arrangement could be established with the Exit Festival stakeholders, some of the heritage management plans proposed in other chapters of this book with the representatives of various local authorities (culture, architecture, urban planning, etc.) would be conceivable and probably sustainable on the long-term.

Secondly, a truly socially involved Exit Festival should take local citizens' interests into closer consideration, and not necessarily only from a financial perspective. As such, a program to integrate local citizens' projects could be a major advancement for all. For example, Exit could invest in the renovation of pavilions aiming to support their specific activities during the festival, but they should do so under the supervision of local citizens and city cultural services, according to their specific needs throughout the rest of the year. That would be a way to give locals free access to new facilities, which could be both socially and economically relevant and integrative, not to mention that buildings which are in constant use would be preserved better through time.

As for now, the stewardship of Petrovaradin Fortress belongs to Novi Sad's cultural services and by extension to the citizens of the city, but this stewardship implies only a responsibility of preservation sustained through local and national taxation with little or no counterparts. In contrast, the management of the site is temporally transferred every year to an external private entity (Exit Festival management), which makes a financial profit without any obligations towards the built heritage and its inhabitants and without financial compensation to the city of Novi Sad and its cultural services. This is a detrimental arrangement, and it is now urgent to share the benefits of Exit's popularity through the conception of a collaborative plan with local citizens and local authorities, which will be sustainable for the future of the Fortress and its community.

References

Aghion P., & Bolton, P. (1997). A Theory of Trickle-Down Growth and Development. *The Review of Economics Studies*, 64(2), 151-172.

Baslar, K. (1998). *The Concept of the Common Heritage of Mankind in International Law*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Daly, H. E., (1993). Sustainable growth: An impossibility theorem. In H. E. Daly & K. N. Townsend (Eds.), *Valuing the Earth: Economics, Ecology, Ethics,* (pp. 267-273) Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Devetak, R., George, J., & Weber, M. (2018). Marxism and Critical Theory: Neo-Gramscianism and the 'organic crisis' of neoliberalism. In R. Devetak, J. George, & S. Percy (Eds.), *An Introduction to International Relations*, (pp. 65-80). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Exit (2019). Exit Values. EXIT Team, web page retrieved from: https://www.exitfest.org/en/exit-values/

Fellmeth, A.X., & Horwitz, M. (2009). *Guide to Latin International Law*. London: Oxford University Press.

Garcia-Ayllon, S. (2018). Urban transformations as an indicator of unsustainability in the P2P mass tourism phenomenon: The Airbnb case in Spain through three case studies. *Sustainability*, 10(8), 2933.

Hamilakis, Y. (2007). *The Nation and Its Ruins – Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Henry, J. S. (2012). *The price of offshore revisited: New estimates for "missing" global private wealth, income, inequality, and lost taxes*. Tax Justice Network.

Hutchings, R. M. (2018). Meeting the shadow: Resource management and the McDonaldization of heritage stewardship. In J. C. Wells & B. L. Stiefel (Eds.), *Human-Centered Built Environment Heritage Preservation: Theory and Evidence-Based Practice* (pp. 67-87). New York: Routledge.

Lee S., & Woodward, R. (2012). From financing social insurance to insuring financial markets: The socialisation of risk and the privatisation of profit in an age of irresponsibility. In J. Connelly & J. Hayward (Eds.), *The Withering of the Welfare State* (pp. 121-136). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

MacNeill, K. (2017, August 9). Why have so many music festivals gone wrong this year? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2017/aug/09/music-festivals-gone-wrong-fyre-hope-and-glory-y-not

Marson, D. (2011). From mass tourism to niche tourism. In P. Robinson, S. Hietmann, & P. U. C. Dieke (Eds.), *Research Themes for Tourism* (pp. 1-15). Oxfordshire, UK: CAB International.

Meskell, L. (2018). *A Future in Ruins: UNESCO, World Heritage, and the Dream of Peace*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Richard, B. (2018). Sustainable tourism in sensitive environments: A wolf in sheep's clothing? *Sustainability*, 10(8), 1789.

Ritzer, G. (1996). The McDonalization thesis: Is expansion inevitable? *International Sociology*, 11(3), 291-308.

Rogers, R. (1998). *Solving history: The challenge of environmental activism*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Sowell, T. (2012). *"Trickle-Down" Theory and "Tax Cuts for the Rich"*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.

Lost

Chapter 3.7.

Pieter-Jan Debuyst
Engineer-architect, heritage consultant

Donika Georgieva
University of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy, Sofia, Bulgaria / Atelier 3 Architects

Luca Baraldi
Fondazione Itinera, Modena, Italy

While most interpretations of heritage sites aim to communicate significant ideas about a place to visitors through a structured approach, this paper presents innovative ways to provoke a visitor's curiosity in discovering the vast Petrovaradin Fortress. In order to interpret the complex spatial reality of Petrovaradin Fortress, two discrete and interwoven stories are presented coming from the experiences and perceptions of the authors.

Two stories present:

The lost fortress...

and the feeling of being lost in the fortress.

Beyond the perception of Petrovaradin

A mighty silhouette on the horizon, a structure on the top of the rocks ready to defend, a remarkable clock tower, the Danube River, and the breath-taking views of the Danube waters and Novi Sad. Petrovaradin Fortress is currently perceived in one distinctive manner. A short mental mapping exercise with people in the area – on the streets, in shops and bars, in and around the fortress – revealed just that. Through drawings of the perception of the fortress, Petrovaradin was consistently described in only one form: a fortress on a rock. It has been so for decades, since travellers began sharing their perceptions in engravings, later in postcards and today in photos shared globally on the internet. Its visual imagery has become standardized. Petrovaradin gradually fit into a perfect postcard image.

Is this Petrovaradin Fortress? Legend has it that Petrovaradin Fortress was built on the back of a giant fish, a creature that lives at the very top of the water –one half beneath the surface and the other above. Currently, the general perception of the fortress is limited to the upper part of the fish above the water, namely the cornerstone of the fortress, built on top of the rocks. What is easiest to see also becomes the most visited. A dive into the waters of this tale uncovers another Petrovaradin: vast fortifications that are spread out into the hinterland, even including a small neighbourhood. Underground, kilometres of tunnels are hidden under the terraced slopes. On the opposite side of the Danube, there is historical and archaeological evidence of fortifications, now no longer visible. Talking in relative numbers, the current perceived space of the fortress is estimated to be no more than one sixth of what is existing above ground and roughly one thirtieth of the total structure that includes the underground network.

A large part of the fortress is thus currently forgotten, maybe even lost. In what way should it be uncovered?

Instinctive sensations

Any reading of a place starts from a direct personal experience. In order to fully understand the complexity of the site, we discovered it without any guides or references. We were passing through gates, venturing down a dark tunnel dug in the rock, walking up and down along the mighty walls, encountering dead ends and unexpected uses of the fortress... Despite a GPS connection and a map, navigation through the intricate system of barriers of the fortress was difficult. A constant feeling of disorientation reigned.

This awareness was strengthened after exploring the vast underground network. At no point was it possible to understand our position within the extensive fortification system of trenches, tunnels and galleries which form altogether a dark underground labyrinth spread out over different levels. The orientation signs – mere painted arrows coded by numbers – were incomprehensible to the layman.

Feeling lost both above and under the ground is part of the very nature of the ingenious fortification system of the fortress. Is it possible to present such a feeling of confusion as an authentic experience for visitors of Petrovaradin Fortress? Should the urban wanderlust be actively promoted or should future interpretation be limited to tickle one's imagination and lust for discovery?

Terrain vague

The leftover spaces in Petrovaradin Fortress, relieved of their initial military function, are in limbo. The vast space encompassed in the fortress is currently used but not managed, inspiring for some, unexplored by many. A current management vacuum on the site level, allows for anything to happen – from romantic escapades, over artistic squatting to near-military re-enactments.

Such urban margins are inherently ambiguous in use and offer a necessary space for the subversive in the urban fabric of Novi Sad. De Sola-Morales (1995, 122) coined this urban fringe condition as the terrain vague and called for a treatment similar to the "contradictory complicity" it embodies, "in order not to shatter the elements that maintain its continuity in time and space". However, sooner or later, limits are imposed on unused (lost) space to render them recognizable, usable, and manageable. Such an act could destroy the qualities of the un-activated public space where freedom exists in its indeterminacy.

When elusive or marginal uses of space are confronted with the strict regulations of heritage conservation, tensions could arise. Can the future management plan of Petrovaradin Fortress tolerate and value this particular quality and go beyond the hegemonic heritage discourse? Actually leaving spaces unplanned could become the ultimate planning act.

Cognitive accessibility

With a large part yet to be discovered by visitors, Petrovaradin embodies a great potential for tourism development. Since Petrovaradin Fortress is inherently inaccessible, should we suddenly render it welcoming? Paradoxically, discovering and providing heritage interpretation for this vast terrain in a traditional, narrative way could potentially neglect the particular qualities described above. Such fragile assets will be lost through the classical touristification and over-interpretation.

In an era in which the concept of accessibility gradually rises beyond mere physical access for people with a disability (Georgieva, 2018), Petrovaradin Fortress challenges the rethinking of cognitive accessibility. The latter refers to people's abilities to understand, gain knowledge, appreciate, use their intuition, give way to their emotions (Georgieva, 2016). Therefore, cognitive accessibility cannot be confined within the frames of conventional transmission of information. It rather amalgamates the five senses, which are rediscovered as instruments for capturing and storing information. A conceivable approach would be the introduction of a sensory design: spatial interpretation elements that dialogue with human senses. The core idea is to foster the sensorial relationships between people of today and the vast landscape and complex fortification system of Petrovaradin. It is based on the pre-existing but rethought quality of the feeling of being lost in the fortress.

We propose the integration of unexpected interpretation 'moments' inspired by the qualities we discovered in Petrovaradin Fortress. Through spatial provocations, we aim to challenge people's imagination to think the unthinkable, to visualise the invisible, and to discover qualities that until that moment were not present in their minds (D'Angelo, 2018). Through sensory design, we aim to show another perspective of the privilege of discovery and rediscovery while maintaining the status quo of the *terrain vague*.

What if...

figure 3.7.1: lighting up the layers

... a look under the armour of the fortress is possible. The tunnel structure underneath the fortress is rendered visible on the rocks facing the Danube through advanced projection technologies: multimedia projections, 3D mapping. The story of Petrovaradin and its multiple layers, both in time and space, are made visible during a spectacle at night. The perspective from the banks of Novi Sad is changed. What is normally hidden for the eye, can now be understood.

figure 3.7.2: visualise the past

... a participatory event reintroduces a physical mark of the fortress on the side of Novi Sad. A wide line marks the outline of the ancient fortress on which people can draw and imagine their own fortress. This performance allows people to reimagine a structure that no longer exists. It is also a display of the city's creativity and its connection with a distant memory.

What if...

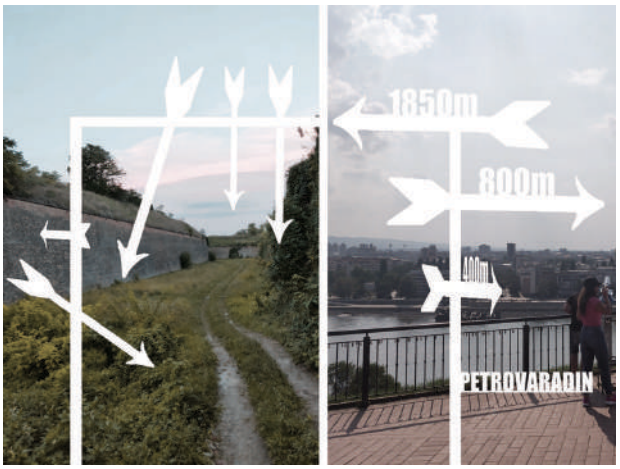
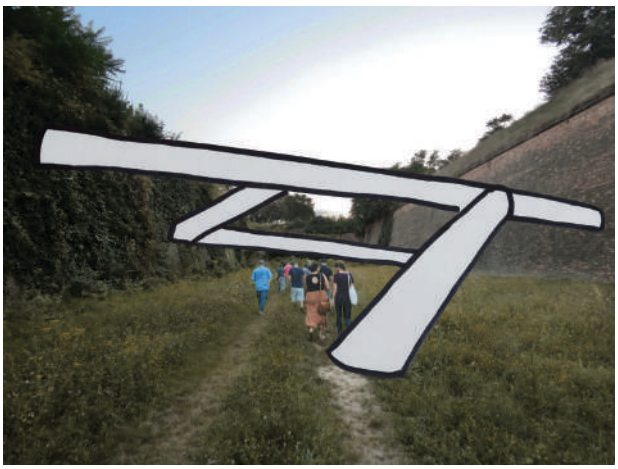


figure 3.7.3: surrealist wayfinding

... the vastness of the fortress remains puzzling. Through surrealist wayfinding, visitors are challenged to discover and 'get lost' in Petrovaradin Fortress. An element that usually serves to guide is now used to disorient and to trigger the imagination to go off the beaten track. The arrows include unexpected messages about the dimensions of the fortress, the multiple layers embodied in the complex and directs visitors to (im)possible but unexpected tracks.

What if...



... one encounters the massive complexity of the underground structure when wandering in Petrovaradin fortress. By filling the voids of the tunnels, a 1:1 model is copied from some meters belowground. This inversed monument is placed as an installation within the moats in between the bastions. Spatial confusion is intended through the paradoxical game of perceiving aboveground the voids of the underground defence system. How the structure is used is up to the passer-by. The terrain vague continues to exist.

figure 3.7.4: filling the voids

... a sound installation recovers a historical soundscape. Through the enigma of stories and sounds from past and present, the Belgrade gate gives voice to the course of time as part of the lost memory. Through an unexpected soundscape, the pedestrians are challenged to experience these histories. The public space of the gate is rethought as a storykeeper and a storyteller.

figure 3.7.5: historical soundscape

These spatial interpretation elements can trigger visitors' curiosity while also helping them understand Petrovaradin and its manifold qualities. However, a danger lies in losing the terrain vague as an urban quality through too many interventions and planning. A delicate balance aims to render the lost fortress accessible without ruining the freedom of exploration but also without losing its heritage in the first place through inadequate conservation or management. We therefore believe the following:

We must succeed in changing the spatial perception of the fortress, without revealing it.
We must describe clues, not signs.
We must spark curiosity, not only transfer information.
We must be able to rediscover its vastness, without losing its invaluable terrain vague.
We must preserve the possibility of getting lost as an element that's unique in Petrovaradin's space, in which experience becomes a form of interpretation.
We must conserve the multitude of perceived fortresses that exist in the imagination of visitors and current users of Petrovaradin fortress.

References

D'Angelo, D. (2018). Sensitive research issues. Area nO 159 anno XXIX, 20-25.

Georgieva, D. (2016). Rethinking Accessibility to Cultural Heritage: Sensing Archaeology. *Modern Conservation*, 4, 91-105.

Georgieva, D. (2018). IT'S NOT BINARY or Economic Accessibility to Cultural Heritage. *Annual of the University of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy*, Sofia, 51(1), 67-82.

Solà-Morales, I. (1995). Terrain Vague. In C. Davidson (Ed.), *Anyplace* (118-123). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chapter 3.8.

Silenced Others and Tensions in Representing Plural History of the Petrovaradin Fortress

Ekta Chauhan
Swarajya Magazine, New Delhi, India

Mahrukh Munir
Amsterdam School of Heritage and Memories Studies, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Aster Speckens
Speckens Architecture, Eindhoven, The Netherlands

Petrovaradin Fortress bears vast and multi-layered historic significance. For millennia, the rock upon which it stands has been a home for numerous early settlers. From the Roman times, it gained its importance as a military place and such a role remained until the mid-twentieth century. As such, the fortress is not merely a physical space but reflects social constructions of power, loaded with symbolic and iconic meaning. Thus, the fortress can be seen as a living organism, which is open to multiple interpretations and significations. But ironically, when we visit the place and look at the attempts to conserve its material heritage, it becomes very evident that the efforts to conserve the fortress have highlighted only some aspects of its history. This article aspires to discuss the phenomenon of "silenced others" in the area of Petrovaradin Fortress.

If we look at some of the dominant representations of the area's history – the on-site museum, tourist brochures and guided tours – we clearly see a dominant narrative which revolves around markers of the military, the Habsburg Empire (with Christianity included), and masculinity. The area is represented as a part of the glorious history of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, dominated by the attempt to defend Christianity from the Ottoman invasion over the Danube River and incorporating notions of bravery, strength, advanced military technology and domination. All other aspects of its rich history are in various ways side-lined. So, who is missing?

A very important part of Petrovaradin Fortress's history is linked to the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman forces took control of Petrovaradin Fortress for 160 years until it was conquered by the Austrian army in 1687. However, the Ottoman domination in the Balkans between the 14th and 19th centuries is typically represented as the "Dark Ages" in the local imaginary. The Ottomans introduced Islam to the region which led to religious conflicts and thus had an overwhelming impact on the existing culture and ethnic setting. Due to cultural and religious differences with Western Europe, the influence of important movements such as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment were dampened in the Balkans. Therefore, a common perception of the Ottoman legacy is that the Ottoman occupation hindered the region from developing and reaching the level of their Western European counterparts (Sollie, 2012). It is through these lenses that the history of Petrovaradin should be interpreted.

As an example, the City Museum located in the Fortress does display several artefacts and remains from the Ottoman period, but the narrative offered is limited and skewed. Ottoman rule is presented as a uniform period of conflict, underdevelopment and religious tensions. A huge portrait of Sultan Mehmet is displayed without showing its historical relevance to Petrovaradin Fortress. The hostility towards the Ottomans is also visible in the language of the displayed texts. The selection of words and sentence structure indicates the attempts to avoid highlighting any link between Petrovaradin Fortress and the Turkish Ottoman Empire. As a result, this part of history, which is perceived as dissonant heritage in the Serbian context, is not at all noticeable for visitors. It gives rise to the notion of a prejudiced representation of history, as well. Alternative interpretation could convey a message of transhistorical importance of the location and tell the story of the great Petrovaradin rock as an important geographic, military, cultural and political landmark that stood there inhabited and fougth for during many millenia.

Another, even more visible and equally important and telling representation is related to women and their lives. In fact, while a number of artefacts related to women such as jewellery, pottery sets, photographs etc. are displayed in the museum, there is very limited description of the actual lives of women or their contribution towards shaping the fortress. One telling articulation of women's role is found in a local tale about the great love of a local soldier (a lieutenant in some versions) who fell in love with the daughter of the

clock tower architect/builder. (The tower is a distinctive sign of Petrovaradin landscape which is visible from afar.) In the tale, nothing is actually said of her; instead the story revolves around the conflict of these two men (lover and father), one asking for her love, the other defending her, while her role is characteristically passive and relative to the two of them. In other instances, women are completely erased. A striking example is the unrepresented existence of a brothel and the presence of women who lived there to keep the soldiers amused by working as prostitutes. However, these dark, less heroic accounts of military presence are erased from official history by silencing the voices of these women.

There are others who are similarly silenced. The Fortress was built, inhabited and served by thousands of war prisoners, underpaid workers, as well as official prisoners (as it served as a prison several times in its history). As these inhabitants widely fall out of the heroic, glorious narrative, their stories are never told. Even Tito, the world famous leader of socialist Yugoslavia served his detention there, but that narrative is very much overshadowed by other more inspiring accounts of his life. Finally, who were those civilians who produced food, garments and other necessities for the Fortress? Where did their children play, what kind of songs did they sing? We mostly don't know, without longer, more extensive research which could provide accounts of their existence.

The question of how these stories are silenced is very much linked to the traditional heritage conservation approaches, which worked on conserving only the material heritage and ignored the other important aspects linked to this place. In the field of built heritage conservation, expert knowledge is usually associated with material objects, whereby experts have had the power to define what to preserve. Therefore, what is preserved reflects the 'discourse of power' and the authority of heritage professionals, later forming the dominant narrative while silencing other important aspects of history. The narrative developed through the strategies adopted by the heritage conservation authorities of Petrovaradin Fortress, as well as the history displayed at the on-site museum, show how the intentional and unintentional efforts and ignorance of heritage professionals have resulted in partial narratives. To represent fuller and more complete narrative and mend this broken yet partial historical lineage, there is an utmost need to document the silenced others and develop strategies to integrate their role into heritage conservation priorities.

The outcomes of these shortcomings in the historical narrative are very important, because for the locals the Fortress plays an important role in shaping their memories and consequently their identity. As Lowenthal (1985) notes; "Memory of self is crucial for our sense of identity: knowing that we were confirms that we are." (p. 324). According to Halbwachs memory is collective rather than an individual psychological phenomenon. This has broadly three implications. First, memory is a social phenomenon; one cannot recall anything without a social framework. Second, since memory is triggered by the social context the remembering always takes place in the present and must be perceived as a current phenomenon. Third, since memories take place in the present the meaning given to them is moulded and constructed by the present circumstances (Halbwachs, 1992). Heritage monuments like the Fortress can play a dominant role in shaping people's and communities' memories of the past. These memories then shape our present actions as well as the future. Hence, diverse, appropriate and authentic interpretation can serve as a means of enhancing cross-cultural understanding and improving the quality of the visitor experience (Stanojlović et al, 2010).

The narrative of the fortress can be enriched using a range of modern multimedia tools. Monuments and museums are no longer restricted in that way and have emerged as attractive tourism options. Most visitors seek a wholesome experience to which they can keep coming back. These can range from simple panels of printed text to guided trails and three-dimensional virtual experiences (Puczkó, 2006).

References

Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Puczkó, L. (2006). Interpretation in cultural tourism. In Smith, M. K., & Robinson, M. (Eds.), *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Participation and (re)presentation* (pp. 227-244). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Sollie, S. T. (2012). *Remembrance of the Ottoman Heritage in Serbia: A Field Study at the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade.* Belgrade: The Department of Peace and Conflict Studies.

Stanojlović, A., Ivkov-Džigurski, A., and Dragin, A. (2010). The Lack of Interpretation at Fortresses along the Danube in Serbia. *Geographica Timisiensis*, 19(2), 185-196.

Chapter 3.9.

Archaeological Heritage's Prospective Uses and Practices in Petrovaradin Fortress

Nicolas Zorzin
Institute of Archaeology, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan

Alba Zamarbide Urdaniz
Waseda Institute for Urban and Regional Studies, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

Introduction

Archaeology, despite numerous misconceptions and stereotypes about what it does or looks for, benefits from a positive aura shared among various publics. It does so notably because of the existence of a rich and engaging popular culture picturing archaeologists in whimsical actions (Holtorf, 2007; Moshenska, 2017, p. 153). Yet, the reality of the now prevailing salvage archaeology (also called 'rescue', 'contract' or 'commercial' archaeology, to be distinguished from research fieldwork) is that the profession is still considered to be a nuisance by most private, corporate and governmental developers who would rather prefer limiting it or avoiding it, primarily because of the time it requires, and, marginally, because of its cost (Aparicio, 2016; Gould & Burtenshaw, 2014, p. 4; Hamilakis & Duke, 2007). Despite this paradoxical popularity and difficulty, which are occurring simultaneously (Gould & Pyburn, 2017), archaeology can sometimes be associated successfully with some types of development processes, especially when local communities can be engaged.

Today, this process is often labelled as: 'public archaeology' (Almansa Sánchez, 2013; Baram, 2015; Faulkner, 2000; Merriman, 2004; Moshenska, 2010, p. 7; 2017; Pyburn, 2008; Waterton & Watson, 2011), "community-based archaeology" (Atalay, 2007, p. 249-270; 2012; Liddle, 1985; Marshall 2002; Moser et al., 2002, p. 220-248), "heritage as social action" (Harrison, 2010, p. 240-276), or even "archaeology as political action" (McGuire, 2008). Experiencing directly the materiality of the artefacts and ruins certainly stimulates the curiosity and the interest towards the past of the community, but beyond that, archaeology also possesses the ability to create a space where identities, collective memories and distant pasts can be experienced, performed, and negotiated (Smith, 2006, p. 47-48).

An archaeological site can become a place where new memories are created. Doing so, it reinforces the legitimacy of communities in claiming back the rights to actively shape and manage their living areas, and by extension, to re-appropriate their local cultural heritage in a meaningful way (for them). Today, numerous approaches exist to display archaeological ruins and artefacts, to explain the archaeological process, to interpret the remains of the past, and to use them for educational purposes, for experiences and performances, or for local, regional, and national socio-economic improvements.

In this chapter, we intend to explore three approaches which could be used to make archaeology especially salient for Petrovaradin community: first, archaeology, with the help of other disciplines (architecture, history, ecology, biology, urban landscape, etc.), should be able to display the complexity and richness of the past of a place like Petrovaradin Fortress area, and make its 'silent narratives' audible; second, it should play an important role in the regeneration of a disfranchised neighbourhood such as the Petrovaradin Lower Town (Gradić); and, third, it should re-empower its local inhabitants doing archaeology 'with, by, and for' them and give back control to the materiality of the(ir) past(s) (Atalay, 2012).

What archaeology really does: Bringing back an authentic, glorious, and profitable past?

When we talk about archaeology, we should immediately highlight the fact that, despite its materiality – the tangible and visible existence of artefacts and structures – archaeological heritage is essentially the product of a cultural process, and not an obvious 'thing' which was always admired and protected by all, through the ages. Instead, archaeological heritage and its meaning are sculpted by certain dominant ideologies and discourses, which have recently been termed "Authorised Heritage Discourses" (AHD). Notably, the AHD are framing "heritage audiences as passive receptors of the authorized meaning of heritage, [and] creating significant barriers for active public negotiation about the meaning and nature of heritage, and the social, and cultural roles that it may play" (Smith, 2006, p. 44). Furthermore, as suggested by Harvey, defining what is heritage "is a process concerned with the legitimization of the power of national and other

cultural/social identities" (2001, p. 327, in Smith, 2006, p. 45). It is then to be expected that certain types of archaeological remains will be selected, used and displayed to support a dominant narrative, itself supporting specific agendas. The archaeological remains, sites and museums we see and enjoy often result from more or less conscious choices based on the normative identity, education, memories, and economic interests of a dominant group. Such choices often favour an idealized and selective version of the past, excluding the engagement of minorities (ethnic, religious, or class-based, for example), neglecting the expression of potentially dissonant voices, and denying the existence of difficult and non-consensual heritages (Macdonald, 2008; Kisić, 2016).

In opposition to this AHD, we would like to relocate the archaeological heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress into a different framework, where we think archaeology should operate as "heritage as experience" (Smith, 2006, p. 45-48). As such, an experience is not a static 'thing', and the focus on specific archaeological heritage should change according to which memories are activated by a local community in collaboration with archaeologists. That process could be achieved in opposition to the current dominant neoliberal discourse, which gives the framework to the current AHD, and which justifies the preservation of archaeological heritage uniquely based on profit optimization (through, for example, touristic attractiveness and the consumption incentives that come with it). By this logic, the authorized archaeology that is displayed and used will be the one with the highest economical potential. As such, it will be the most impressive one, with a simple and limited narrative, circumscribed in time and space, instead of the hidden ones, less impressive, carrying centuries of cacophonous and captivating (pre-)histories.

Current situation of archaeological displays in Novi Sad: The City Museum, its specific AHD, and the first step towards a resolution of current issues

Today, the only archaeological/antiquarian collection visible in Novi Sad is located in the City Museum, on top of the Fortress of Petrovaradin. Surprisingly enough, most of the artefacts on display are not related to the history or the prehistory of Petrovaradin where the museum stands, but more to the city of Novi Sad itself (i.e. to the other side of the Danube River), and essentially dedicated to "Novi Sad from the 18th to 20th century" during the Habsburg rule: 1699-1918 (City Museum of Novi Sad, 2013a), and through both World Wars.

It is noticeable that the City Museum does not put much focus on the archaeology of the Fortress area. In the wake of new archaeological excavations in Gradić conducted since the early 2000s, and considering the underrepresentation of the findings at this point, it is now urgent to look at the ways to make all the archaeological layers of human occupations visible – starting around the Upper Palaeolithic period, approx. 60,000-40,000 BP, i.e. with the Neanderthals (City Museum of Novi Sad, 2013b), until today.

The area of Novi Sad includes signs of occupation by Celts, Romans, Byzantines, and Slavic populations, followed by Hungarian, Austrian, and Ottoman presence. At the end of the 19th century, the populations occupying the area were mostly Serbs, Germans, Croats, Hungarians, Slovaks, Roma, Romanians, Jews, (Kicošev, 2004, p. 33-37), and even Armenians (Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, 2015). All these groups left marks more or less visible in the landscape of Novi Sad and Petrovaradin (e.g. buildings, religious architecture, wood structures, camps, artefacts, etc.), traces which could all be discernible if the local authorities and local communities made the choice to display the full range of historical events of the area instead of a simplified/simplistic, monolithic, and selective version of it. The idea here would be to rehabilitate the "silent narratives" from recent or distant pasts.

Now, dealing with the archaeological layers of Petrovaradin in collaboration with the local community will also provide alternative ways of understanding the historical layers, the otherness and cultural influences in Petrovaradin, and thus change the dominant view of an Austro-Hungarian military place. It should be noted here that we had the chance to follow a guided tour of the Fortress during the summer of 2018 (as a research group). At this occasion, our tour-guide strongly emphasised the military characteristics of the hill and its historical implications since the 18th century. Through this AHD (not necessarily intentionally), the previous periods were thus mostly ignored or removed from the official local and national narrative.

An attempt at solving this major issue of "silent narratives" could start by relocating the different collections in different places with a new spatial organization:

a. the present archaeological collections, archives, and movable heritage related to the Upper Fortress of Petrovaradin could be exclusively displayed in the current Museum, or even in additional locations within the Fortress walls. However, the current configuration of the space of the Museum, divided between the Museum and an ostentatious 'Museum (Dancing) Club', creates a dubious 'mélange des genres'. Yet, instead of using part of the Museum for questionable profit making activities, it might be judicious to use the entire available space to create a much more extensive and culturally valuable exhibition on the Fortress, including, for example, a possible association with the visits to the underground tunnels and with all others actors involved in the preservation and use of the Fortress, most notably Exit Festival which should be an obvious financial sponsor for such a Museum. All this could favour the creation of a more readable and unified space dedicated to the Upper Fortress itself (a Fortress Interpretation Centre – See Figure 3.9.3, down-right corner), which could give to both locals and tourists a better experience and understanding of the area.

b. the collection related to the city of Novi Sad could be simply relocated within its historical centre;

c. and finally, the existing collection of prehistoric and historic archaeological material coming from Petrovaradin and its neighbouring villages and the future collections constituted by the current and coming excavations conducted in Gradić could create an assemblage of material testifying to the long human occupation of the area from early prehistory until today, which should be used to the advantage of local communities (See the two next sections).

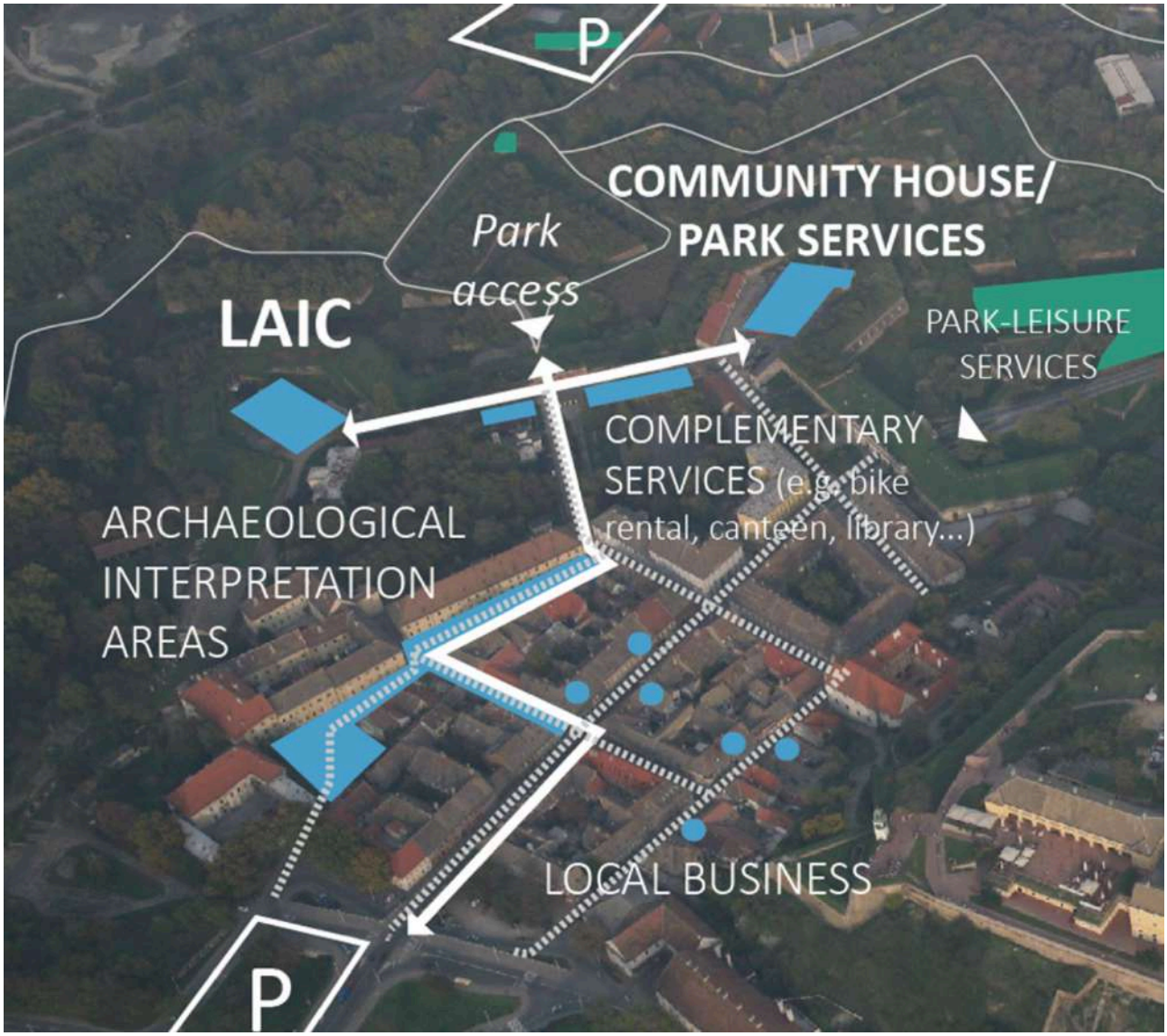


Figure 3.9.3. Gradić-Wasserstadt Suburb with archaeological sites, "LAIC" and "Community House" in blue.

Recent archaeological excavations in the Lower Town: Issues and prospects on how could archaeology be experienced

The possible uses of archaeology in situ and the regeneration process of a disenfranchised area

In this section, a special focus is given to the development of the Gradić-Wasserstadt-Suburb area located in the Lower Fortress of Petrovaradin. The idea of focusing on the Fortress's archaeological heritage originated from the recent salvage archaeology process implemented in the Gradić area by the city of Novi-Sad's Department of Archaeology, conducted in parallel with both the renovations of the façades and the replacement of the aging sewer system of Gradić. The salvage archaeological process carries an enormous potential for local development and possibility of linking different areas of Petrovaradin through more inclusive narratives (through the millennia and through space).

As it was suggested by the team of Serbian archaeologists we met during fieldwork in August 2018, displaying archaeology in situ is a very attractive strategy to accomplish that task. However, it must be thought through carefully. This type of approach has been selected in numerous subway systems around the world (Athens and Thessaloniki in Greece, for example), university campuses, offices, indoor parking facilities, etc. It consists of sealing the archaeological remains behind a window, which allows them to be seen through a glass floor or glass wall. This type of structure is relatively successful within existing buildings, but often disastrous if built outdoors. Without perfect insulation, water ingress will result in fogging of the glass surface and in the growth of mould in a few days, making the archaeological remains invisible and the display incomprehensible and rather repulsive. As a result, even though it is a valuable idea to display extensively the multiple layers of Petrovaradin history, this option would be difficult to implement in the streets around the axis between Gradić and Wasserstadt.

Instead, various other strategies could be proposed:

1. A symbolic outline (made of painted cobblestones or metal plates, for example) could be used on the current street level. It would represent the various structures existing below, with the right orientation and scale, using coloured codification to differentiate them from each other (see 'Archaeological Interpretation Area' in Fig. 3.9.3.). This type of display facilitates greatly the reading of space in its four dimensions, including the different layers of time. Some example can be seen in the streets of Montreal, Canada, where the remains of French fortification walls have been identified on the surface with coloured lines (Old Montréal 2003).
2. Modelling and copying the archaeological remains in an 'interpretation centre' (see next section).
3. Displacing the archaeological structures in their entirety and rebuilding them: In Gradić, this could only be done partially because the excavations in the streets reveal only linear and narrow windows onto the past, and no entire buildings yet. If an entire building cannot be uncovered, this would be a problematic option, and this should be avoided notably because it would fragment the archaeological remains and compromise their preservation. However, any wooden architectural elements exposed during excavations, should be removed for preservation and could be used in a museum display. At the same time, displacement of archaeological remains is never the best solution because it simply decontextualizes the heritage, blurring considerably its meaning.

Giving back to local communities and to visitors the multifaceted history of Petrovaradin is not an easy task, but it is something that can be accomplished as soon as a combination of initiatives of archaeologists, architects, urban planners, and local citizens can be coordinated and funded properly.

Giving back control to the communities? An hypothetical 'community-based archaeology' project with the creation of a Local Archaeological Interpretation Centre (LAIC)

The recent excavations conducted in Petrovaradin started uncovering new archaeological materials, producing a large amount of scientific data, and most importantly, revealing unique and extremely rare structures and artefacts. For example, during our stay in Petrovaradin in August 2018, the archaeologists working in Lisinskog Street revealed a possible Ottoman-era structure.

From our understanding of the current situation, the archaeological excavation process is not necessarily accessible to the public, nor understood by local populations or tourists. This is notably due to the fact that salvage archaeology has to be conducted very quickly without much time to dedicate to public displays or public archaeological events. In the current configuration, archaeology is following the tempo of the rehabilitation of the Gradić district, concentrating its activities on the areas affected by all type of renovations (particularly the sewage works), but, as far as we know, there is no official plan yet to integrate archaeological ruins into a larger urban heritage plan nor to display the findings.

Here, a first step towards the implementation of a community-based archaeology project would be to integrate the local community into the archaeological process. Doing so, local groups could get involved not only in the excavation itself, but also in all aspects of an archaeological investigation – from the initial historical and architectural archive studies, the formulation of questions and hypotheses concerning the remains expected to be found (and the unexpected ones), and the implementation of scheduled archaeological strategies for the district, up to the propositions of preservations plans and the establishment of a place to showcase the discoveries. Before passing through all these steps, the first action should be for archaeologists to hold a public meeting with members of the local community, in order to present to them what archaeology does, and to ask them what they would like to learn from it and what they want to express about the past they know.

The involvement of local groups could mean the following for each of these activities:

1. Local people could participate both actively into the administration and legal aspects of an archaeological project, but also into the practice of archaeology itself. The 'paper-work', fund-rising, and the lobbying with local, regional and state authorities (or even at the European level) can be pivotal to the success of a local

community-based project. With determination, organisation, time and patience, a lot can be accomplished in that matter; and time is unfortunately a luxury that archaeologists do not have in salvage archaeology. If time can be gained through funds' acquisition, that would also facilitate the integration of volunteers into the digging, the analyses, and even, to some extent, into the interpretations and publications. It would also guarantee some autonomy for the research and for the production of outcomes for local people, not anymore dependant from private or public sponsors who could pressurise them.

2. To monitor this process, the ideal person would be a local archaeologist who, not only knows the specificities of the area and the different periods of human occupations, but somehow who is connected to the community itself, or at least with a good social connection or the will to establish it locally. As such, he/she can become the bridge between past(s) and present, helping to articulate narratives about the past which can be understood and resonate into the present life of Petrovaradin fortress' communities. Yet, the candidate for such a role would have to demonstrate the complete absence of potential conflicts of interests or local collusion.

3. Local populations can take the lead of such process from the early stages of an archaeological project (if the conditions developed in point 1 are met): they can define the problematic, i.e. the question or questions that the archaeological research can attempt to answer. As for example, a group can be interested in a relatively recent part of the history of Petrovaradin during the second World War, or some characteristics of the life of the lower town during the Austro-Hungarian period or during the Ottoman period. The role of an archaeologist is to guide them into building up such a project, notably by helping to clarify what archaeology can accomplish and what it cannot do, and to explain the scientific standards of an archaeological excavation. Yet, we need to be aware that a risk exists if a group aims to emphasize on some aspects of the past, as for example, detrimental to another community. In this case, the archaeologist should then play the role of an ethical mediator, simply by listening all views but by excluding from the process the ones incompatible with fundamental work ethics.

4. Furthermore, as long as nobody is sufficiently trained locally into the theory and techniques of archaeology (requiring a minimum of 3 to 4 years' academic studies in Serbia, and up to 5 to 6 years to get a M.Sc. / professional level), local population has to rely on the expertise of an archaeologist for each steps of the process. However, that should not stop them to participate into all of these steps. It is a more demanding process to be inclusive, but a rewarding one when achieved at a community scale instead of at an individual level.

Following this logic of acknowledging the important role of local communities, another type of improvement could be achieved through the establishment of an archaeological interpretation and community centre, making the archaeological remains an important part of the active life of the community. As a result, we would suggest that a Local Archaeological Interpretation Centre (LAIC) dedicated to Petrovaradin's Lower Fortress should be opened in the transitional area between the urban zone of Gradić and the green buffer zone of Wasserstadt (Fig. 3.9.3.).

Such an area would include historical military buildings for displaying artefacts and archaeological models, an open-air space within the urban/green transition zone for practicing, notably, public archaeology for kids and families, along with other outdoor activities. The priority target audience of such activities should be the citizens of Petrovaradin and Novi Sad. Activities would be held on an annual schedule, with an increase of personnel and activities in summer (including English-speaking guides for international tourists). This open-air space would be strategically located at the crossroads of what Zamarbide and Zorzin (see Chapter 3.1.) defined as the Sports/Nature Axis and the Community Axis, giving a new dynamic to what is presently a dead-end area. Furthermore, a LAIC offers not only access to archaeology, but also offers an opportunity to understand the local landscape through time, using knowledge coming from Geology, Ecology, History, Ethnography, Anthropology, Folklore and local Art.

Finally, in a scenario where two symmetrical buildings would be available (see Fig. 3.9.3.), we could foresee a separation of the themes on display and the corresponding activities. If building 1 (called "LAIC" in Figure 3.9.3.) is occupied by more scientific subjects (such as Geology, Ecology, and Archaeology), building 2 (called "Community House" in Fig. 3.9.3.) could be used for displays covering more cultural and contemporary subjects that are highly embedded within the lives of current inhabitants. Here, it is their history that could be displayed, the story they want to know and to show to the public. It can also be a place of collective and festive activities, and a place for local memories.

Conclusive remarks

Archaeology is definitely a popular science that can provide not only knowledge about the past but that can bring the tools to act positively in the present, and especially with disfranchised or socio-economically marginalised communities.

In the case of Petrovaradin, the archaeological potential has proven to be vast and the opportunities of development boundless, but, as we saw, depending on the direction this development could take, the results in using archaeology can vary significantly. Our perceptive on this case is that a 'community-based' archaeology project should be the most suitable for the Petrovaradin Lower-Town and the most relevant strategy for its communities. Through communication and learning about shared pasts and about the past of others, public archaeology should bring social cohesion and mutual respect, and potentially it should bring some material and financial means to achieve the objectives defined by the communities themselves. Furthermore, such a project could also give an opportunity to display the entire range of the historical complexity of the cross-road region of Vojvodina, and doing so, to help in giving a more accurate and rich portrait of local inhabitants through the ages, to Serbians visitors and also to the tourists coming from all around the world. Finally, as stated in this chapter, the archaeological process should come along with a restructuration of the museums organisation/location, and with an urgent close inclusion of archaeology within the urban planning development of the Lower Town (Gradić), as well as a general inclusion and systematization of archaeology everywhere else in the fortress area.

References

Almansa Sánchez, J. (Ed.). (2013). *Arqueología publica en España.* Madrid: AHIA Colección Arqueológica Publica, JAS Arqueología.

Aparicio, P. A. (2016). *Archaeology and neoliberalism.* Madrid: JAS Arqueologia.

Atalay, S. L. (2007). Global application of Indigenous archaeology: Community based participatory research in Turkey. *Archaeologies*, 3(3), 249-270.

Atalay, S. L. (2012). *Community-based archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and local communities.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Baram, U. (2015). Experiments in public archaeology as civic engagement: My five years with the New College Public Archaeology Lab in Sarasota, Florida. Public *Archaeology*, 14(1), 66-74.

City Museum of Novi Sad. (2013a). City Museum of Novi Sad. Retrieved December 10, 2018 from http://www.museumns.rs/en/node/36

City Museum of Novi Sad. (2013b). Department of Archaeology. Retrieved December 10, 2018 from http://www.museumns.rs/en/node/12

Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade. (2015). Armenian Church in Novi Sad – Erased Heritage. Retrieved March 1, 2019 from: http://www.galerijeimuzeji.com/en/izlozba/45/armenian-church-in-novi-sad-erased-heritage

Faulkner, N. (2000). *Archaeology from below*. Public Archaeology, 1(1), 21–33.

Gould, P. G. & Burtenshaw, P. (2014). Archaeology and economic development. *Public Archaeology*, 13(1-3), 3-9.

Gould, P. G. & Pyburn, K. A. (Eds.). (2017). *Collision or collaboration: Archaeology encounters economic development.* Switzerland: Springer International.

Hamilakis, Y. & Duke, P. (Eds.). (2007). *Archaeology and capitalism: From ethics to politics.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Harrison, R. (2010). Heritage as social action. In S. West (Ed.), *Understanding heritage in practice* (pp. 240-276). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Holtorf, C. (2007). *Archaeology is a brand: The meaning of archaeology in contemporary popular culture.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Kicošev, S. (2004). Changes in the number and territorial distribution of religious groups in Vojvodina during the 20th century according to the results of censuses. *Geographica Pannonica,* 8, 33-37.

Kisić, V. (2016). *Governing heritage dissonance: Promises and realities of selected cultural policies.* Amsterdam: European Cultural Foundation.

Liddle, P. (1985). Community archaeology: A fieldworker's handbook of organisation and techniques. (Publication 61). Leicester: Leicestershire Museums.

Macdonald, S. (2008). *Difficult heritage: Negotiating the Nazi past in Nuremberg and Beyond*. New York: Routledge.

Marshall, Y. (2002). What is community archaeology? World Archaeology, 34(2), 211-219.

McGuire, R. H. (2008). *Archaeology as political action.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Merriman, N. (2004). *Public archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Moshenska, G. (2010). *What is Public Archaeology?* Present Pasts, 1(1), 7.

Moshenska, G. (2017). Archaeologists in popular culture. In G. Moshenska (Ed.), *Key concepts in public archaeology* (pp. 151-165). London: UCL Press.

Moser, S., Glazier, D., Phillips, J. E., Nasser el Nemr, L., Mousa, M. S., Aiesh, R. N., ... Seymour, M. (2002). Transforming archaeology through practice: Strategies for collaborative archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt. *World Archaeology,* 34(2), 220-248.

Old Montréal. (2003). Discovery tour of Old Montréal's archaeological sites: What do these marks mean? Retrieved October 30, 2018 from http://www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/fortif/eng/marqa.htm

Pyburn, A. K. (2008). Public archaeology, Indiana Jones, and honesty. *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress,* 4(2), 201-204.

Smith, L. (2006). Uses of Heritage. New York: Routledge.

Waterton, E. & Watson, S. (Eds.). (2011). *Heritage and community engagement: Collaboration or contestation?* New York: Routledge.

Chapter 3.10.

Applying the Business Improvement District Model to the Management of Petrovaradin Fortress

Dontcova Anna
Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg

Zanini Sara
Cultural Heritage Consultant

Introduction

Petrovaradin Fortress in Novi Sad, Serbia, is an excellent example of 18th-century baroque architecture and one of the largest and best-preserved fortification complexes in Europe. Situated on the bank of Danube River, the Fortress dominates the landscape of Novi Sad. However, the Fortress is not just a significant historical structure and a tourist attraction but a living area for the local community. The residents of the area show strong personal identification with their heritage (see Chapter 2.1.). Given the significance of cultural and social layers and the associated tangible and intangible values related to the Fortress, it represents a Historic Urban Landscape.

Like many urban areas and historic urban landscapes, the Fortress faces numerous challenges. One of the most discussed issues includes the extensive traffic flow all throughout the living area and the noise, pollution, and disturbance for inhabitants associated with it. Other major concerns include the unclear ownership status of artists and artists' families which are living in ateliers in the Upper Fortress, as well as the inappropriate use of the Fortress by the well-known EXIT festival and numerous night clubs. Many of these problems were caused by political instability and a total change of political system in Serbia in the 1990s, which continues to influence the Fortress management today.

Currently, the Novi Sad city authority is responsible for the management and conservation of the Fortress, with the main focus on maintenance and protection. According to Živanović & Nikolić (see Chapter 2.4.), the current management structure is inadequate. The management procedures are non-transparent, and there is not enough communication between the stakeholders. Moreover, most of the most relevant stakeholders do not even consider themselves to be part of Fortress management system. Many of the current problems are caused by the lack of a sense of ownership and responsibility among the main stakeholders, as well as the lack of clear guidelines to follow.

There is a clear need for a new management model for the Fortress area, with the focus on enhancing the sense of ownership among the stakeholders.

At the moment the private sector has a great impact on the Fortress and cannot be ignored in its management. One of the largest players is the EXIT festival, an annual music festival that sees around 200,000 visits to its four-day programme (Exit Festival, 2018). Another important stakeholder is 3D World, an organization that offers underground tours in the Fortress tunnels. There is also a hotel, a few restaurants and souvenirs shops in the Upper Fortress and several accommodations, restaurants, and small businesses in the Lower Fortress. In order to ensure a better management of the Fortress, a public-private cooperation is required. We argue that the strong presence of the private sector in management, when properly regulated, can be an advantage for the preservation of the Fortress rather than an obstacle. The management of the Fortress should not only focus on maintenance and conservation of the site, but it should also support local businesses and initiatives and thus foster local-led social and economic development. Such a local, business-driven approach to urban heritage management is an innovative strategy to ensure urban regeneration and sustainable local development.

Business Improvement District Model in Urban Management

The Business Improvement District model

The local business-driven approach has been recently applied in many urban heritage sites around the world using the Business Improvement District (BID) model as an instrument. BID is a legally recognized partnership of property and business owners of a particular area, with the aim of improving their environment and services and thus to enhance their profits (Welsh Government 2013). The businesses agree to pay an additional tax that funds the improvements, as well as the BID coordination company. Since it's the local businesses who decide about local actions the BID model provides a strong response to local needs and priorities. The BID model was first introduced as

a stakeholder-led urban governance structure in the 1970s and then spread in the USA, South Africa, UK, Germany, and other countries.

The BID model is a management tool for fostering local economic development, creating attractive public spaces in the city. It tries to bring more visitors, investors and sales to a designated area. BIDs are not usually used to replace existing public sector services but to complement them. However, if there is a neglect of public spaces by the city administration, such as lack of maintenance, security issues, or limited accessibility, BIDs can compensate for these deficiencies with dedicated and targeted actions. In fact, the BID model is based on idea of self-help using mechanisms of self-taxation. The purpose of the BID is to enable further development of existing businesses, as well as to create a favourable business environment, attract new enterprises, and thus benefit different actors in the business sector along with customers and local residents (Radosavljević, Đorđević, & Živković, 2015).

Applying the BID model to urban heritage areas

The BID model can be used in districts with a high historic fabric, and it could contribute to heritage protection, both in its tangible and intangible aspects. Sometimes a BID could be used to tackle the mismanagement of local administrations by using private rather than public funds (De Magalhães, 2014). In analysing the BID model from different perspectives, a high importance in these regards is given to international examples of successful BIDs related to historic urban landscapes, which could contribute to the discussion and analysis of the Case Petrovaradin.

In the city of Bath, UK, the BID model was been introduced in 2005. Since then, the Bath BID has been focused on three operational areas, including the management of the city centre, the promotion of the city, and saving businesses money, especially with programmes dedicated to waste schemes (Bath BID Company Ltd, 2015). The introduction of a BID contributed to the development of a liveable city environment in both residential and tourism-related aspects. The BID in Bath had a "multiplier effect" in that it also influenced city businesses located outside the BID area that were interested in having the same services and benefits as BID businesses (Bath BID Company Ltd, 2015).

In other parts of the UK, researchers have examined the role of heritage in place-branding and the beneficial aspects this could have for BIDs in historic centres (Johnson, Marshall, Evans, & Pirie, 2016). From this research, it emerged how historic places and heritage-related contexts increase the popularity and value of local businesses, especially those with a creative component. Moreover, the dual benefit between BID presence and heritage valorisation became even more fruitful when connected to heritage events. Such connections offered the possibility for the whole districts to get to know more about local heritage and its potential. The learning goes beyond the materiality of historic building and ensembles, and it focuses also on intangible heritage in all its forms, such as cultural events, folklore, gastronomy, craftsmanship, etc. In fact, "BIDs were typically drawn towards history as a primary frame of heritage reference," and the direct connection between history and the local reality of places is an added value for the BID and the promotion of local heritage (Johnson et al., 2016, p. 30).

A successful example of a BID in a heritage site in the Balkans is the city of Berat in Albania. The historic centre of Berat is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and here the BID had been implemented in 2013 and promoted by the Albanian-American Development Foundation, along with introducing new infrastructure such as a new visitor centre completed in 2014. In the case of Berat, the BID zone managed to create a community feeling among locals and homogenize the context and diversify the offer for all kinds of visitors. One example of a BID activity is the Multicultural Festival of Berat, an event where music, visual arts, and performances promote Berat's historical and cultural values as one of the most important UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Albania. In Berat, the BID zone project stands upon three pillars: infrastructure enhancement, entrepreneurship and business development (with the creation of a business association) and cultural and eco-tourism improvement (Albanian-American Development Foundation, 2016).

Moreover, the Albanian cities of Shkodra and Korça have started using a BID model, which so far has resulted in a positive outcome. Especially in Korça, after the renovation of a boulevard and the main buildings in the area, the BID area now coincides with a bigger pedestrian zone for the city, solving many of the traffic problems. This zone has become a gathering point for citizens and tourists, and it currently hosts three museums, municipal offices, and more than 75 businesses. Furthermore, many activities take place in the BID area of Korça: from musical performances to the famous carnival to the renowned Light Fest of Korça (Albanian-American Development Foundation, 2016). Despite possible shortcomings (discussed later) this could constitute a clear example for how to integrate the activities and events already taking place in Petrovaradin Fortress to local benefit by enhancing the potential both for the BID area and for the activities themselves.

Applying the Bid Model to Petrovaradin Fortress

Business Improvement Districts in the Serbian context

In Serbia BIDs were introduced in 2002 with regional development programs primarily funded by USAID. BID was introduced as a tool to improve the businesses environment and its variety in Serbian city centres and to encourage local participation and local decision-making to revitalize city centres in the area. However, Serbian legislation does not currently regulate many aspects of the BIDs, such as formation, duration, monitoring and evaluation, or responsibilities, and therefore much still has to be done in order to introduce a well-functioning BID model into the Serbian context (Radosavljević, Đorđević, & Živković, 2015.) A good example within the Serbian BID panorama is the Zrenjanin commercial zone and the pedestrian zone in the city centre. The implementation of a BID model there resulted in the renovation of the facades of the buildings – previously in a poor state of repair – and a revitalization of the pedestrian area, with the consequent development of new activities both for locals and for visitors.

The benefits of the BID model for the management of Petrovaradin Fortress

The BID model could offer several advantages for the management of Petrovaradin Fortress. In general, a BID could be an important tool for the promotion of Petrovaradin Fortress, the improvement of the quality of life within the residential area, and the creation of a strong

partnership between the private and public sectors. Specifically, the benefits of introducing the BID model are:

1. *Sustainable Funding.* One of the most important advantages in developing and implementing a BID model is the creation of a secure funding source that could allow the creation of supplemental programs, services, and activities in the area, embracing the marketing and public safety fields, among others. By having funding sources that are mostly self-managed by owners, BIDs allow more flexible choices, which could adapt better to the ever-changing needs of the businesses of the area and its community. In a perfect scenario, funding is predictable and sustainable, and there is a high chance of receiving additional funding from the local municipality, as well as international donors such as the European Union.

2. *Direct involvement of local businesses in decision-making.* Since in the BID model businesses set priorities for local investment in the place where they operate, the BID approach is proactive, flexible, and accountable (Welsh Government 2013). Moreover, BIDs are efficient because of fast decision-making and an increased sense of ownership among stakeholders (Radosavljević, Đorđević, & Živković 2015). The BID model could empower local businesses and involve them more directly in management and conservation. In the case of Petrovaradin Fortress, this could greatly contribute to a democratisation of choices related to the development of the area. Nowadays small businesses there do not feel very involved and represented, and they may not be informed enough at many levels. The BID could fill this information gap through its activities, events, and meetings. As a result, more efficient and effective urban governance is achieved.

3. *Higher turnover and visits.* BIDs contribute to the local economy by supporting local supply chains and building local confidence in economic development and place making (Welsh Government 2013). The BID area attracts tourists and locals from other parts of the city. The BID model is in part relying on the "logic of competitiveness among cities" (Radosavljević, Đorđević, & Živković, 2015, p. 13); in the case of Petrovaradin, the creation of a BID would have double the beneficial aspects – both in relation to the city of Novi Sad and in relation to the extended Vojvodina area.

4. *Area management and improvement.* As highlighted in the international examples above, BIDs could contribute towards better management of the historic centre and, in our case, of Petrovaradin Fortress. With new pedestrian signage, public space management, and transport initiatives, among others, BIDs have the potential to create a common contact point through different sectors to solve area management issues. By enhancing the integrity of services and events offered in the city, the BID model could contribute to a positive reputation for the area, which will be considered safer, cleaner, and with direct access to key services to valorise heritage and keep it accessible.

Risks associated with implementing the BID model in urban heritage management

On the other side, a BID model could also present some disadvantages, both in general and in the specific case of Petrovaradin Fortress. A BID model could reveal an uneven relationship between the private and public sector, and between the bond that local heritage has with the economic development of the site. Specifically, the disadvantages of introducing the BID model are:

1. Inappropriate use of public spaces. BIDs give a lot of power to the private sector, and with a lack of regulations this may lead to inappropriate use of public spaces. Radosavljević, Đorđević, & Živković (2015) give an example of a shopping mall in the Serbian city of Vranje, where the BID approach was implemented. There a garden area in the middle of the mall was privatized, then changed its use into a night club, and after that into a game room (with slot machines). Petrovaradin has the EXIT festival, as well as numerous night clubs among its stakeholders, and thus there is the risk that a BID might cover some businesses' interests and not others.

2. Exclusion of some social groups from decision-making. Since a BID is an association of local businesses, the interests of the residents with no businesses may be not represented. Moreover, with the BID model the risk of increasing inequality could be accentuated in the sense that some areas of the city will be improved and not others (Radosavljević, Đorđević, & Živković, 2015).

3. Gentrification. BID is responsible for raising property value in the area, which could be a benefit for some but a disadvantage for others.

4. Distorted perception of local heritage. Another potential risk is related to the heritage values and authenticity of the historic centre and of the events and activities organized in the BID area. There is the possibility for problems related to a history-based narrative and a 'heritage dominance' in the BID area, which could attempt to brand the place with a non-contemporary image and influence the perception of visitors of the place and the BID area. In other words, the image of the site might be equated with the wrong "historical image" to the visitors and it risks to become a "frozen in time" not authentic interpretation of the heritage site, that does not correspond to the current needs in heritage management with reference to the current usages.

Recommendations on general directions for a BID Coordination Body in Petrovaradin Fortress

After a detailed analysis of the Petrovaradin context on site during the Summer Academy, the first need in developing a local business-driven approach to heritage management is the definition of clear principles, mission, and vision for the management of the site. Having defined the direction of the management, the benefits of the model can be highlighted and some of the abovementioned risks can be prevented. Please, note that the following vision, mission and principles are only meant to guide the reader and inspire future developments in the management of Petrovaradin Fortress, in a foreseen potential agreement with relevant stakeholders. The following part is the result of the group workshop held during the Summer Academy 2018 in Novi Sad.

VISION

Petrovaradin Fortress management is well recognized for excellence in telling an authentic story of the Fortress through outstanding conservation and tourism experiences while contributing to its local social-economic development.

MISSION
To protect, revitalize and promote Petrovaradin Fortress while fostering economic regeneration by using local resources efficiently and integrating them into the wider context of Novi Sad city.

PRINCIPLES
The principles that would characterize the management of Petrovaradin Fortress embrace different aspects related to the role of its stakeholders and the preservation of both cultural heritage and the values connected to the site.

In more detail, the following principles have been taken into considerations when creating a BID:

1. Taking care of cultural heritage: Protection of tangible and intangible heritage must be the main task for the future management. In Petrovaradin a special focus needs to be put on the maintenance of the built heritage in a poor state of conservation and on the use of spaces of the Fortress.

2. Diversity of actors involved: Using a participatory approach to empower residents and local business owners and involve them in the management of the Fortress without prioritising some businesses over other.

3. Cooperation and partnerships: Prioritizing networking between non-governmental, private and public sectors, boosting cooperation and the development of synergies with different local partners, towards a shared way of collaborating for the benefit of the site.

4. Transparency and openness: Being open to public consultation of working documents and methods, in order to build trust among the stakeholders.

5. Diversity of tourism and cultural offers: Creating authentic products for tourists and locals, which could extend the current offer and target different groups. This could benefit the visitors of the Fortress, as well as the local businesses that will provide diverse products.

6. Knowledge-driven management: Being open to innovations and improvements through participation in research and educational projects.

Conclusions

This paper presented the possibility to apply the Business Improvement District model to the case of Petrovaradin Fortress in Novi Sad, Serbia. After an analysis of several international examples of BIDs applied to heritage contexts and historic centres, advantages and disadvantages have been presented for the case study of Petrovaradin Fortress.

The BID model in Petrovaradin could contribute to the management of the site, potentially solving issues threatening it. Specifically, the BID model could promote the site and attract further investments in the area; it could boost economic growth, also improving inhabitants' quality of life and raising their awareness of the role the Fortress has in their community, but also in a wider social and cultural context. With a body responsible for the BID model in Petrovaradin, there will be a clear attribution of responsibilities and ownership regulations, which could hopefully solve many of the current issues the area is facing.

On the other side, the creation of a BID area in Petrovaradin may open up the area to the risk of unregulated privatisation of the public good, as well to the risk of a possible gentrification of the area. To avoid the negative consequences of the BID model, the responsible body and the public authorities would need to set clear legislation for BID procedures and responsibilities and to regulate who can be a member of the BID association and with which legal rights. Moreover, the appropriate activities and events beneficial for both commercial and civic use have to be defined. Each implementation phase for BID in the Serbian context needs to be scheduled with allocated and secure funding over time and with a set of priorities for interventions.

Introducing the BID model in Petrovaradin while addressing the risks associated with it could have a positive outcome on its management and conservation and contribute to the social-economic development of the area.

References

Albanian-American Development Foundation. (2016). *Business Improvement Districts*. Retrieved on October 6, 2018 from: http://aadf.org/project/business-improvement-districts/

De Magalhães, C. (2014). Business Improvement Districts in England and the (private?) governance of urban spaces. Environment and Planning. *Government and Policy*, 32(5), 916-933.

Ellen, I., Schwartz, A. E., & Voicu, I. (2007). The Impact of Business Improvement Districts on Property Values: Evidence from New York City. *Brookings Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*, 1-39.

Exit Festival. (2018). On its 18th edition Exit celebrated the Best Major European Festival title with 200000 visitors! Retrieved on October 6, 2018 from: https://www.exitfest.org/en/news/its-18th-edition-exit-celebrated-best-major-european-festival-title-200000-visitors

Historic England. (2017). Using Heritage in place branding. Retrieved on October 6, 2018 from: https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/using-heritage-in-place-branding/heritage-place-branding/

Johnson, M., Marshall, M., Evans, G., & Pirie, V. (2016). *Place branding and Heritage for Historic England. Report.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: TBR's Economic Research Team, Pomegranate Seeds and Middlesex University.

Radosavljević, U., Đorđević, A., & Živković, J. (2015). Business Improvement Districts as a management instrument for city center's regeneration in Serbia. *Architecture and Civil Engineering*, 13(1), 11 - 22.

The Bath BID Company Ltd. (2015). The Bath Business Improvement District renewal proposal. Retrieved on October 6, 2018 from: https://democracy.bathnes.gov.uk/documents/s36910/E2775%20App1%20The%20Bath%20Business%20Improvement%20District%20proposal.pdf

Welsh Government. (2013). The Business Improvement Districts Handbook. Retrieved on October 6, 2018 from: http://www.conwy.gov.uk/en/Business/Business-Rates/Assets-NNDR/documents/Colwyn-BID/The-Business-Improvement-Districts-Handbook.pdf

Chapter 3.11.

Participatory Model in the Management of Petrovaradin Fortress

Ivana Cvetković
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation Niš, Serbia

Sofia Koukoura
Independent researcher, Greece

Alula Tesfay Asfha
The University of Tsukuba, Tsukuba, Japan

Pim-on Kaewdang
Rajamangala University of Technology Thanyaburi, Thailand

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to propose an appropriate management model for Petrovaradin Fortress. During the Summer Academy, we attended lectures about the values of the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach, the current state, usage, and management of Petrovaradin Fortress, and we understood that its main problem is the lack of communication among the involved stakeholders that leads to an incoherent management of this historic site. Therefore, our goal is to propose a governance model that will trigger the participation of all stakeholders.

The research team developed the vision and the goals to achieve and define the research question to answer through this paper. In particular, our vision is to include and involve all stakeholders and the local community in the management of the Fortress in an effective and transparent way. In order to achieve this, we need to bridge the gap among the stakeholders, and most importantly we need to ensure their understanding of the heritage values by raising awareness of the urgent issues of Petrovaradin. Hence, our main concern is how to involve the local community in heritage-related issues.

Theoretical framework

This article explores framing a participatory model of governance that is based on the idea of community engagement during the process of redeveloping the heritage site of Petrovaradin. In particular, the proposed model is based on the theory of governance and the multi-stakeholders approach. Both theories promote inclusion in decision-making procedures by reducing the power of the state and by actively involving the interested actors of the site.

To begin with, the approach of the planning system and decision-making procedures, that were followed in the previous century, especially during the era of modernism, were technocratic processes and relying upon the knowledge of experts such as architects, urban planners, and administrative officers. So, the system followed a top-down planning approach, whose main goal was to create social order and growth by organizing, controlling and regulating space (Fabian & Samson, 2016), without including the society and the users of the place.

This top-down approach has been questioned by the governance theory, as it examines power not as 'social control' but more as 'social production'. The governance theory re-evaluates the notion of hierarchy from having a vertical form to a more horizontal one, as it opens up decision-making procedures to greater participation by decentralizing power (Taylor, 2007). See Figure 3.11.1. Furthermore, it is affiliated with "the normative concepts of community, social capital, and civil society as integrating forces built on network and trust" (Taylor, 2007, p. 300).

Figure 3.11.1: Centralized vs. Decentralized

Source: https://www.softwareadvice.com/resources/it-org-structure-centralize-vs-decentralize/

In detail, this discourse proposes the creation of a network among the actors involved by setting up equal relationships and partnerships among the citizens, local authorities, and other entities of public service (Raco & Flint, 2001). In

particular, this kind of governance is based on the cooperation among different stakeholders, mutual arrangements and win-win engagements between these stakeholders and local communities. Therefore, whenever stakeholders enter into the network of governance, they first identify themselves into the network and act according to the guidelines that have been imposed. It is commonly accepted until now, that according to its nature the business sector is focused on profit-making, civil society on social cohesion and mutual content sharing, and the public sphere on formal and informal institutional framing (Raco & Flint, 2001).

A participatory governance model considers the active involvement of civil society in decision-making process as paramount for achieving an effective and equitable designation and management of heritage (Cortes-Vazquez, 2017). Especially in the societies where trust in public and government institutions does not exist, a participatory governance model can be used as a process of democratization, awareness-raising and trust-building among all stakeholders.

As a result, the knowledge and expertise of the local community are utilized and their resources, both intangible and tangible, are valued. So, this kind of governance triggers the development of social capital and community cohesion. At the same time, it has the capacity to improve service delivery by providing a greater voice of community on the planning and meeting the locals' needs (Koukoura, 2016). Involving the community in participatory processes is very difficult due to the different interests of the actors – especially when these processes are initiated by local authorities, as they often exclude ideas that deviate from the predominant policy system (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). Solutions proposed by civil society are hard to integrate and align with the existing objectives, plans and structures of the administrations and institutions involved. However, durable and resilient relations can be built when community and bottom-up initiatives are merged with governmental policies in a manner based on equality (Boonstra, 2015).

Benefits from the participatory governance model for historic sites

UNESCO's approach to managing historic urban landscapes is holistic and its goal is to combine urban heritage conservation with social and economic development. Protection of natural and cultural heritage can be achieved including the area conservation and heritage management into local development processes and long-term plans, such as architecture and infrastructure development plans. So, it focus to the analysis of the built environment, the cultural heritage (tangible and intangible), socio-economic and natural environment by taking concern the local community's values. Due to the fact that this approach forms local policy, governance and management, it involves a variety of stakeholders, including local, national, regional, public and private actors in the urban development process. Therefore, participatory processes are essential in HUL methodology (UNESCO, 2011).

Participatory governance is about strengthening the relationship between cultural heritage institutions and professionals and everyone interested or engaged in cultural heritage (civil society, the public, owners, businesses, etc.). It demands knowledge about cultural heritage and more specifically how relevant cultural heritage is for society, and what are the relations between people and cultural heritage. To understand all of this, it is necessary to build a network of different actors, including institutions, civil society, experts, and other stakeholders.

The Project Smarter Together in Lyon is dealing with sustainable development that relies on people, striving towards inclusive society that develops partnership and fosters dialogue among all parties - being 'smarter together'. Its goals are: to provide the capability for innovation and to support the creative force of local stakeholders who ought to be involved in urban challenges; to learn and support new practices; and to propose and implement ideas for sustainable lifestyle by adopting the "working together" model (Lyon, NA). This project has co-devised a creative approach to reinvent city spaces and practices in a short span of time, to gather users, experts, local authorities, and creative people and propose a disruptive approach, which focuses more on the creative and strategic process than on the results.

The advantages of a participatory governance model are related to its holistic approach, bringing together different actors, building partner capacity and trust. In the cultural heritage field, the advantages are: engaging the public alongside professionals; managing cultural, historical and natural resources to create a greater sense of collective ownership in the community; and facilitating the long-term sustainability of the cultural organisations involved. A participatory approach requires adjustments to the governance structure and a change in the organizational culture of the institutions involved.

For several reasons, the Cuenca, in Ecuador represents a challenging case of implementing the Historic Urban Landscape approach. The challenges of this case were focused on: the topology and the location of the city, the extreme urban development, gentrification, real estate investment, lack of conservation policies for the historic city centre, tourism, mobility and traffic, and proliferation of poor contemporary architecture. Due to the complexity of the problems that needed to be tackled, the focus of applying the HUL approach has been on building an interdisciplinary research team, including experts from the fields of environment, economy, anthropology, archaeology, geology, architecture, and sociology. The analysis of this case had several stages and the extracted information needed time to be digested. Especially the information that derived from the local participation, as it facilitated the identification of tangible and intangible heritage that is not part of the protection system of the city. Moreover, through the community engagement in this case crucial representative landmarks and viewpoints have been recognized by a large group of citizens. The result from the implementation of the HUL approach in this case study, is that the working team defined the intervention criteria and the landscape quality objectives that lean on the Action Proposal of a Visionary Strategic Plan. This is the developmental plan for the city centre and the surrounding areas of Cuenca. (Pérez et al, 2017).

From all the case studies that we presented, it is understood that a participatory model is a long process that needs patience to be fruitful. It requires trust and respect among the different actors, so that different opinions will be heard. Another breakthrough point of the HUL approach regarding

the management of the historic sites, is that it needs to be interdisciplinary, so that all perspectives of nature and the cultural heritage will be included in the strategic plan.

Why do we need a participatory model in Petrovaradin?

Petrovaradin Fortress was first protected in 1948 and categorized as an immovable cultural heritage of great importance in 1991. However, the precise boundaries of the immovable cultural heritage were not defined, which prevents the site's complete and adequate protection (Pajvančić-Cizelj & Maksimov, 2016). The management of Petrovaradin Fortress, since the demilitarisation of the Fortress in 1951, was always under the responsibility of the local authorities. Back in 1951, the revitalisation process started, when the government and local authorities provided some funds, based on the proposal of the cultural heritage protection institute. The complexity of this area requires an integrated approach, long-term planning and management structure. To deal with all issues related to the management of the Fortress, the City of Novi Sad established the public company "Petrovaradin Fortress" that lasted only from 1992 until 1993 (Babić & Maksimov, 2016). After this, different smaller-scale management models were dealing with the Fortress, but none of these management models succeeded in lasting.

The research that has been conducted in 2018, as part of the Project: Case Petrovaradin: Managing Historic Urban Landscapes, shows us that:

Almost all stakeholders failed to present a clear and coherent vision for Petrovaradin Fortress

In order to improve the protection of the Fortress, the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments—Novi Sad aimed to revalorise the area. So, they produced the Conservation Study of Petrovaradin Fortress, which defined the precise boundaries of the protected area and the buffer zone. According to this document, the protected area of Petrovaradin Fortress occupies 105 ha, and together with the buffer zone it covers more than 350 ha.

There is a huge problem with the existing and still-valid 'Detailed Regulation Plan' of this area. The plan does not include the boundaries of the protected area that were imposed by the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments—Novi Sad. Further, the Institute started with the preparation of the management plan of Petrovaradin Fortress, and they conducted several research projects (historical, social, uses, stakeholders, etc.) related to this area. Members of the Institute argue that they have a long-term vision, unlike others whose visions are short-term and Fleeting. They advocate for a participatory management system and a greater involvement of volunteers. So, as we understand from the above-mentioned case studies, communication between the different institutes and stakeholders is needed.

Different interests between different stakeholders

There is a clear difference in influence and interests between the for-profit and non-profit sectors. The non-profit sector is far more willing to team up with other stakeholders, and in doing so, they envision transparent planning models. However, regardless of whether they come from a for-profit or non-profit sector, the users of the space (particularly the leaseholders, such as restaurant owners, art studios, EXIT, etc.) almost always act as if they are the owners, by fully usurping it (Chapter 2.4. by Živanović & Nikolić). Whereas they use the space, they do not respect its heritage values, nor maintain the site as it was. In parallel, this secretiveness regarding the use of space does not boost the free access to it, and as a result it does not promote diversity (in matters of stakeholders) and notably impedes touristic development.

As we can see from the above, the problems related to the management of Petrovaradin Fortress are layered and related to different fields of expertise. The problems are deepened by insufficient communication, incoherent vision and ignorance of the needs of others. In addition, the tendency to arrange agreements surreptitiously regarding the uses of the space operates as an obstruction to the regular function of the Fortress. It is necessary to establish transparent communication about cultural heritage and its management (in this case, that of Petrovaradin Fortress). In addition, the core of the participatory governance model directly refers to community and stakeholder involvement, trust building, communication, and listening to each other.

Further, cherishing cultural heritage promote equity and has an impact on social and economic development. As a matter of fact, culture has been considered in the context of international legislation as main tool in order to achieve these goals, and the public access to culture is thus defined as a primary step to move in this direction (Chiapparini, 2012).

Methodology of the participatory model

Having understood the problems of the management of Petrovaradin, now we will present how we could involve the diverse actors in the proposed model, by using the undermentioned tools and the procedure for creating the model. We need to mention that the proposed tools are presented according to the steps of implementation.

Different kind of mapping and analysing: condition mapping, layers of tangible and intangible heritage mapping, social (stakeholder) mapping, transport, parks, ownership, etc. An analysis of the current situation of the place is needed via quantitative and qualitative research.

Stakeholder mapping and categorization according to their sphere of influence and interest has already started through the research conducted in 2018 within the project Case Petrovaradin: Managing Historic Urban Landscapes. According to the available results of the research, a huge number of stakeholders (41 stakeholders) are involved in the management of Petrovaradin Fortress, but actually only a small number of them (11 stakeholders) is really interested in the subject (Chapter 2.4.).

1. Community planning

Asset-based community development (ABCD) seeks to uncover and highlight the strengths that already exist within communities. Instead of focusing on a community's needs, deficiencies, and problems, the ABCD approach helps it become stronger and more self-reliant by discovering, mapping, and mobilizing local assets (Sapu, 2009). These assets include: the skills of citizens, the dedication of citizens' associations (temples, clubs, and neighbourhood associations), and the resources of formal

institutions (businesses, schools, libraries, hospitals, parks, and social service agencies) (Sapu, 2009).

2. Additional tools for involvement:

- Interviews and focus groups are highly beneficial for gathering detailed information about people's values, beliefs, anxieties, and opinions, and how a 'group' or perhaps a community feels about a particular issue.
- Questionnaires and statistical data are common techniques used for conducting a 'survey' while statistical data are used for understanding community issues.
- Public events such as exhibitions or monthly informal meetings are a good idea for co-creation and brainstorming. Hence, by inviting the actors, they get to know each other and explore the historic site from a different perspective. The purpose of this step is to bring together all of the actors, but in a more informal way, so that they can feel togetherness and get out of their comfort zone. We have to keep in mind that the use of simple and understandable language is important, as a broader audience will be present (Davis et al., 2013).
- There are several tools that can be used for public involvement, and volunteering is probably the most common and straightforward example of public or community involvement in cultural heritage life. Volunteering is very important in raising awareness about the importance of heritage, and therefore many institutions organize series of programmes to train, motivate, and retain volunteers. Programmes of that kind contribute to their personal and professional development in a mutually profitable exchange. Volunteers can play an important role as a "bridge" between heritage organisations and the rest of the community.

3. Urban Living Lab

Urban Living Lab (see Figure 2) is an approach that involves actors in a process of co-creation a wide variety of experimental projects of a participatory nature. The urban living lab consists of eight steps: 1. Initiation; 2. Plan development; 3. Co-creative design; 4. Implementation; 5. Evaluation; 6. Refinement; 7. Dissemination and 8. Replication (Steen & Van Bueren, 2017b).

Urban Living Lab (ULL) aims to actively embed their work into broader networks of urban actors. ULL seeks to explicitly highlight and promote the ways in which the lab is able to serve the agendas of existing and new partners in the city. In this way, the new partner coalitions that emerge in the ULL complement rather than compete with existing networks of urban change agents. Additionally, in ULL, new partner coalitions within the city are fostered and arranged, in order to demonstrate that the lab work across sectors and actor groups. The promotion of the lab activities and their embeddedness in urban governance discourses are intended to build fertile ground for the uptake of experiments and practices from the lab (von Wirth et al., 2018).

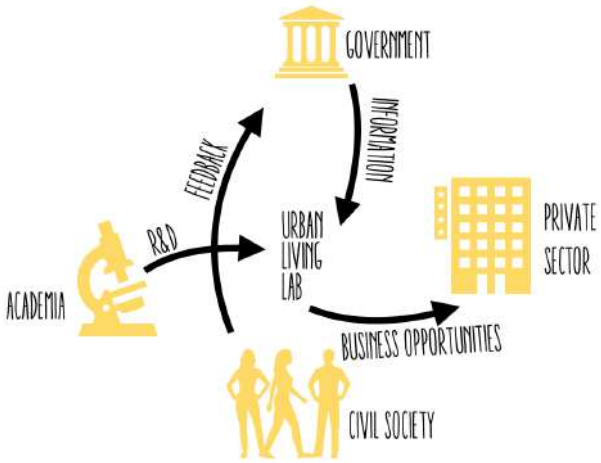


Figure 3.11.2. Diagram of Urban Living Lab (Source: Muente - Kunigami, 2013)

A good example of Urban Living Lab is the case of Circular Buiksloterham - De Ceuvel, a former shipyard in the district of Amsterdam North, which was closed in 2000. The initiative from the municipality involved young architects developing a "Cleantech Playground", and in 2014 De Ceuvel became a clean-tech playground – a site to test and implement sustainable technologies aimed at achieving an area with 100% self-sufficiency – with its central café functioning as a hub for the community and the sustainable activity of De Ceuvel.

4. Digital participatory platform

Interactions between governments and citizens can be achieved by the potential contribution of new social media, digital platforms and other ICTs (Information and Communication Technologies) (Falco & Kleinhans, 2018). Digital participatory platforms aim to bring together public and private actors (for example, Commonplace, coUrbanize, and TransformCity). Digital participatory platforms (DPPs) have a large potential for facilitating two-way interactions between government and citizens, in order to foster interaction, mutual collaboration, and co-production of ideas and solutions. DPPs should be perceived as instruments to enable public sector institutions and citizens to make better use of each other's assets and resources, for the sake of improved efficiency but not for the sake of technology itself (Falco & Kleinhans, 2018).

5. Implementation strategy

The Petrovaradin Fortress implementation process starts with an agreement of mutual cooperation and the creation of a digital participatory platform. The agreement should precisely define the short-term activities of every signatory, including their obligations, responsibilities and precise steps for the efficient implementation of planned activities. An open digital participatory platform for stakeholder collaboration will be created that would operate as a tool for users to have access to information, in order to express their opinion. The next step is the trial period implementation of a pilot project to test and develop the participatory management model, in which all interested partners actively participate. Participatory tools should be incorporated into the project to encourage community and stakeholder engagement. Evaluation of the pilot project's implementation is a very significant step, as the results will drive the development of a detailed and appropriate

management system. The long-term goal is to create a working network of collaboration; to implement and share values defined together; to emphasize the local community; and for society to become more collaborative, creative and transdisciplinary.

Conclusions

After presenting step by step the process of the proposed participatory management model of Petrovaradin Fortress, it is understood that the establishment of this model will greatly impact the network that composes the community of Petrovaradin. The main benefit of this approach is that it boosts transparency and inclusivity among the different stakeholders, especially the local community, considering that most of the inhabitants of Petrovaradin feel excluded from the decision-making process (Chapter 2.1.). Moreover, as this approach includes the voice of the local people and as a result improves the quality of the management model, the decisions are more suited to the needs of the people inhabiting the area, and that contributes to a better quality of life. Overall a participatory management model helps the process of democratization by raising awareness and building trust among all stakeholders.

In the long term, participation should be viewed as a dialogue in which fair and competent processes are emphasized. Increasing trust and reducing distrust in parallel are the antecedents for initiating and sustaining a more effective dialogue (Tsang et al., 2009) and eventually developing cooperation and a working consensus among diverse participants through public participation. This kind of model is a process of mutual learning. Inhabitants will have access to information and gain knowledge about the heritage, their surroundings, future plans, and actions. And, public entities will be able to recognize and use the knowledge of people (different narratives, legends, urban legends), local businesses, and civil society organizations by enabling them to contribute to the development of the Fortress. On the other hand, due to the nature of this participatory planning approach, it slows down the decision-making process. Actually, it is a slow and painful procedure. In addition, it is especially difficult to educate a public that is not used to this approach and convince them to participate. It should also be noted that there is the possibility for power relations among stakeholders to be directly reflected in this process, in which the strongest voice will still dominate the decisions.

For the proposed model to function, the administration of Novi Sad and all the stakeholders concerned with the management of Petrovaradin Fortress need to work together to contextualize the participatory model in such a way that it fits the local institutional arrangements and relationships within themselves.

References

Babić, S. & Maksimov, K. (2016). Tvrđava Petrovaradin za XXI vek, uloga konzervatora u kreiranju scenarija razvoja. *Proceedings of the Third International Conference: Preservation and Improvement of Historic Towns*. Sremski Karlovci, Serbia.

Boonstra, B. (2015). *Planning strategies in an age of active citizenship: A post-structuralist agenda for self-organization in spatial planning.* Groningen, Netherlands: PhD Series InPlanning.

Boonstra, B. & Boelens, L. (2011). Self-organization in urban development: Towards a new perspective on spatial planning. *Urban Research & Practice,* 4(2), 99-122.

Chiapparini, A. (2012). *Communication and cultural heritage: Communication as effective tool for heritage conservation and enhancement.* PhD Dissertation. Milan: Politecnico di Milano. Retrieved from doctoral program in Design and Technologies Exploitation for the Cultural Heritage XXIV cycle: https://www.politesi.polimi.it/bitstream/10589/56724/3/2012_03_PhD_Chiapparini.pdf

Cortes-Vazquez, J. A., Jiménez-Esquinas, G. & Sanchez, C. (2017). Heritage and participatory governance: An analysis of political strategies and social fractures in Spain. Anthropology Today, 33(1), 15-18.

Davis D., Meyer J., Singh A., & Wright H. (2013). *Participation tools for better community planning.* Sacramento: The California Endowment.

Fabian L. & Samson K., (2016). Claiming participation: A comparative analysis of DIY urbanism in Denmark. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 9(2), 166-184.

Falco, E. & Kleinhans, R. (2018). Digital participatory platforms for co-production in urban development: A systematic review. *International Journal of E-Planning Research*, 7, 1-27.

Koukoura, S. (2016). *The birth and evolution of 'Do-It-Yourself urbanism' in Greece, case study Athens.* Master thesis. Utrecht, Netherlands: Utrecht University.

Lyon (NA). Let's invent a co-smart city together! Lyon, La Metropole. Available at: http://www.economie.grandlyon.com/fileadmin/user_upload/fichiers/site_eco/20161118_gl_lyon_smart_city_metropole_intelligente_plaquette_en.pdf

McCormick, K. & Hartmann, C. (Eds.). (2017). *The Emerging Landscape of Urban Living Labs: Characteristics, Practices and Examples.* Lund, Sweden: Lund University.

Muente - Kunigami A. (2013). Building Smarter Cities, Presentation in ICT Day at The World Bank Sustainable Development Week. Accessible from: https://www.slideshare.net/amuente/presentationamk

Pajvančić-Cizelj, A. & Maksimov, K. (2016). Sociološki aspekti proučavanja i revitalizacije graditeljskog nasleđa. *Sociologija i prostor: časopis za istraživanje prostornog i sociokulturnog razvoja*, 54(3), 247-263.

Pérez, J. R., Astudillo, S., Siguencia, M. E., Forero, J. & Auquilla, S. (2017). *The application of the recommendation on historic urban landscape (HUL) in Cuenca - Ecuador: A new approach to cultural and natural heritage.* Cuenca, Ecuador: Universidad de Cuenca.

Raco, M. & Flint, J. (2001). Communities, places and institutional relations: Assessing the role of area-based community representation in local governance. *Political Geography,* 20, 585–612.

Sapu S. (2009). Community Participation in Heritage Conservation. *Conserving Heritage In East Asian Cities: Planning For Continuity and Change.* The Getty Conservation Institute.

Steen, K. & Van Bueren, E. (2017a). The defining characteristics of urban living labs. *Technology Innovation Management Review*, 7(7), 21-33.

Steen, K. & Van Bueren, E. (2017b). *Urban Living Labs: A living lab way of working.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Metropolitan Solutions.

Taylor, M. (2007). Community participation in the real world: Opportunities and pitfalls in new governance spaces. *Urban Studies,* 44(2), 297–317

Tsang, S., Burnett, M., Hills, P. & Welford, R. (2009). Trust, public participation and environmental governance in Hong Kong. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 19, 99-114.

von Wirth, T., Fuenfschilling, L., Frantzeskaki, N. & Coenen, L. (2019). Impacts of urban living labs on sustainability transitions: Mechanisms and strategies for systemic change through experimentation. *European Planning Studies,* 27(2), 229-257.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2011). *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, including a glossary of definitions.* Retrieved from: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=48857&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Chapter 3.12.

United Petrovaradin: Managing the Fortress

Ksenija Krsmanović
Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid, Spain

Simon Parkin
Newcastle City Council, Newcastle, United Kingdom

Kara Roopsingh
The National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago, Trinidad and Tobago

Introduction

Petrovaradin Fortress is an integral part of the City of Novi Sad, connected to the creation and expansion of the settlements on both sides of the Danube River. Therefore, from its beginnings in 16th and 17th century (Tomka, et al., 2013), Petrovaradin Fortress became a part of the cultural identity of Novi Sad and today represents its symbol.

This paper seeks to build upon the results of previously-conducted research into the management of Petrovaradin Fortress as a historic urban landscape of international significance and seeks to propose a new management model. It is therefore important to understand the current management situation at the Fortress by identifying major stakeholders, understanding their interrelationships and considering their relative influence and motivations in relation to the Fortress as a valuable cultural heritage site.

From this foundation, different approaches to the reorganization of management structures can be explored, with a focus on objectives that respond to the tenets of sustainable development. Based on previously-conducted research, this paper is focused on filling the current management vacuum and overcoming the current lack of transparency in decision-making processes by learning from successful examples implemented elsewhere and giving a proposal for the possible future management model.

The methodology employed here takes a comparative approach, considering different coordination bodies and organizational structures used to manage historical urban landscapes in the differing contexts of the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago. The aim is to learn from good experiences and discuss possibilities for implementing similar solutions suitable for the local and national context of Petrovaradin Fortress. From this, a potential organisational structure is proposed and recommendations offered in relation to its objectives and future development.

Local context and challenges for management

According to the results of the previously-conducted research, around forty different groups can be identified as having a noteworthy interest in Petrovaradin Fortress, although the primary stakeholders are the city's institutions and civil society organizations. The Fortress suffers as a result of competing interests and a lack of transparency functionality in management practices. There is no formally appointed manager of Petrovaradin Fortress, no stakeholder considers themselves as the main one responsible, and all feel the lack of information and vision. This has led the Fortress into an overall management vacuum. So far, management has consisted of the technical preservation and maintenance of the Fortress, but there has undoubtedly been an absence of research, education, interpretation, tourism, communication, and, most significantly, participation.

Hence, having in mind the great importance of finding a new solution for the management of Petrovaradin Fortress, this work briefly presents existing models for coordination bodies in order to propose a possible future scenario for a sustainable and well-organized Petrovaradin Fortress. Accordingly, the main objectives of the proposed model are to promote transparency and participation, to develop and implement a comprehensive management plan for the Fortress, to advocate for its repair and maintenance, and to develop attractive, high quality, user-friendly public spaces. Furthermore, the goal is to foster a sense of community by identifying, utilizing and obtaining a community space; to create partnerships and diverse income streams, in order to encourage locals and tourists to come to Petrovaradin. With this model, the aim is to act as the coordinator of a local community structure, and finally to ensure representation, participation, and capacity building.

Trusts in the United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has a long history of civic engagement, with societies formed by people motivated by ideas of civic pride being founded from the 1840s. These societies were based on a principle of public involvement in the preservation and improvement of local areas undergoing rapid demographic, infrastructural and

commercial changes (Hewitt, 2014), and their legacy is seen in the vast number of similarly-motivated organisations that exist today. The experiences gained over this long history are therefore considered to be of interest to situations, such as at Petrovaradin, where there is an aspiration to fill a management vacuum with a new organisation driven by the needs of local people and environments.

Over time, trusts in the United Kingdom have become extremely wide-ranging in their objectives, organisational structures, strategies, personnel and ambitions. Whether classified as civic trusts, heritage trusts, development trusts or building preservation trusts, key aspects to all trusts are their charitable, not-for-profit status and independence. This permits access to a variety of funding sources and allows both collaborative work with local authorities and a platform from which to comment, advise, advocate, object and lobby. Trusts are also able to attract interest and support from the private sector.

In a heritage-specific context, trusts are used as vehicles to save, restore, preserve, manage and promote anything from a single historic building of interest to a local community to national collections of historic estates, artefacts and records. As we shall see in the context of Trinidad and Tobago, the trust model can even be used as a means of taking on statutory powers in the form of listing properties of national significance.

It is well-established that heritage can be mobilised as a way to secure wider urban improvement (CHCfE Consortium, 2015), and projects such as the regeneration of Newcastle upon Tyne's Grainger Town, which was delivered through a public-private partnership, are testament to this (Cullen and Lovie, 2003). The principle of securing a better future for a distinct urban area based on its rich heritage value is clearly pertinent to the situation at Petrovaradin: an internationally-acclaimed heritage asset and tourist destination, as well as a home to local people and businesses. The interests, challenges and opportunities to be found at the Fortress and its hinterland are extremely broad, meaning that any new trust should aspire to have an overarching role in its conservation, management and future development. As such, the civic trust model, which is typically based upon an organisational remit that puts conservation and heritage at the forefront of the agenda, alongside a desire to influence future development and ongoing management for the benefit of local populations, is deemed most worthy of further consideration here.

York Civic Trust (YCT) is just one of many useful case studies with which to provoke ideas about the future management of Petrovaradin. YCT was founded in 1946 as a means to protect the much-celebrated and deeply historic walled city of York, in the north of England, from the "spirit of renewal" that prevailed in the years following the Second World War. Having emerged following the recommendation of a York City Council wartime sub-committee, collaboration with the local authority was central to its activities from inception.

YCT has been a registered charity since 1984, with some sixteen objectives laid out in its Memorandum and Articles of Association (York Civic Trust, 2004), and its aim is stated as being "to promote heritage and shape tomorrow". This aim is sought to be achieved "through a variety of activities, such as helping schoolchildren to appreciate their city; practical, on-the-ground conservation; and [their] vital work with the City Council, seeking to influence and encourage its activities" (York Civic Trust, 2017).

YCT's sixteen trustees offer a variety of experience and expertise and collectively bear ultimate responsibility for the governance of the organisation, while a limited number of paid staff led by a Chief Executive ensure the day-to-day running of activities. Underpinning this core group, however, is an 'army' of volunteers upon which the vitality of the organisation relies.

YCT operates in close collaboration with and, in some areas – such as repair and maintenance of monuments, public realm improvement or the administration of a commemorative plaques scheme celebrating local heritage – as a proxy for the local authority. This is particularly valuable at times when public finances are limited, as being an independent organisation with charitable status and multiple streams of income through property interests, tourism and the ability to bid for funding offers some protection from the vagaries of the wider economic environment. As with other equivalent organisations in the United Kingdom, YCT's annual accounts are published on the organisation's website and incorporated into its annual report. Transparency is further achieved through a quarterly forum, at which the Trust updates key stakeholders – such as local councillors, heritage professionals and the local universities – on its work and achievements.

While this example offers a useful starting point from which to consider organisational structures, aims and objectives, it should be thought of in conjunction with numerous other organisations with both more specific and wider interests. Doing so should provoke ideas about the short and longer term possibilities for the management of Petrovaradin.

National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago

Promoting preservation in a world of increasing urbanisation is important for preserving the identity of a city and creating a sense of belonging and sense of place. A national trust is one such organisation that aims to empower local communities to participate in the preservation of their local historic places. While the Caribbean heritage trusts are much newer to heritage preservation and management relative to the UK, there are many nations that have these types of organisations to assist with preservation. These are linked to the development of the tourism industry in many of the Caribbean countries. The model of a national trust is built on community engagement and sustainability (INTO, 2017). The National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago (NTTT) attempts to accomplish this through its membership campaigns, outreach and education programmes and enforcing policy. The NTTT is one of many trusts globally that promote the protection of tangible heritage. For Trinidad and Tobago, the NTTT is the only statutory voice for preservation of tangible heritage in the country. With weak legislation and top-heavy legislative procedures, the most successful route for preservation for the twin island republic has been through public support and pressure. The NTTT accomplishes this task by engaging the public through membership (joining as a member of the Trust for a small fee), as well as offering them a place at the management of the Trust. The NTTT is governed by an Act of Parliament, the National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago Act, Chap. 40:53, passed in 1991, but while most acts have an agency or authority to carry out their mandate, the Trust operates as a unique form of management for the country. While most state-appointed boards in the country have between six to eight appointed

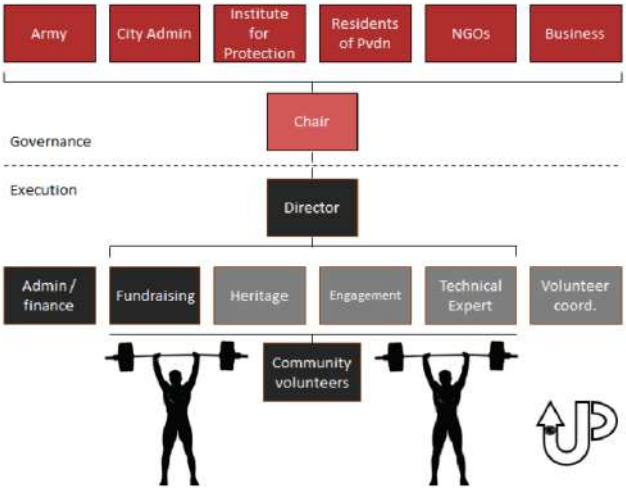


Figure 3.12.1. Proposed organisational structure, with key stakeholders represented at the board level; an initially small body of paid staff (Director and Administration), upon whom the execution of management objectives is incumbent. The mobilisation of local community volunteers is regarded as essential to supporting the organisation and helping it to achieve its goals.

Figure 3.12.2. Possible short-, medium- and long-term goals for UP, ultimately seeking to ensure the preservation, enhancement, promotion and vitality of the Fortress, creating a place for that works for residents, businesses, tourists and other key stakeholders alike.

members, the Trust has a different composition of board members. The NTTT is governed by an 11-member council. The government appoints six members to the council and the other five members are nominated and then elected at an annual general meeting; from and by the membership. This allows for a partnership between the government-appointed members and the elected members, who now have a role to play in ensuring that the preservation of tangible heritage is not left solely up to government officials. This opens up dialogue with civil society and stakeholders and creates a space where the public can engage with officials to meet their various agendas or just to hold them accountable. The partnership creates a collective vision which is validated by the public and private stakeholders on the board, further garnering public support for Trust activities.

As a partial state enterprise, the NTTT also receives a small subvention from the government for annual recurring expenditures, but it is one of the few state organisations allowed to raise funds and charge fees to meet operational costs. This gives the NTTT some independence and flexibility from politically motivated objectives which may not necessarily be aligned with stakeholder interests. The NTTT has also improved and grown significantly in recent years with advice from the International National Trusts Organisation (INTO). INTO is an international network of national trusts and similar non-governmental organisations, globally diverse but united in a shared commitment to work through cooperation, coordination and comradeship (INTO, 2017). Trusts around the world can benefit from knowledge-sharing and cooperation between the members of INTO. The complexity of the stakeholders and governance of Petrovaradin Fortress means that the management may benefit from this type of representative body built on the collaboration of existing stakeholder and organization representatives. Drawing upon this case study and that of the UK above, we believe that the solution to the management vacuum lies in a compilation of these structures for Petrovaradin Fortress.

Proposed management model

Taking inspiration from the motivations, organisational structures and achievements of trusts such as those discussed above, together with understandings of the unique circumstances found at Petrovaradin, a model for a new trust – here referred as 'United Petrovaradin', or 'UP' – is proposed. This trust is based on the vision of an independent, self-sustaining organisation that works in partnership with the local community and key stakeholders to protect and promote the heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress.

It is suggested that start-up funding for UP should be provided through public funds, acknowledging that the interests of the local authority intersect with all other stakeholders, while avoiding the possibility that seeking financial assistance from any other stakeholders could result in disproportionate levels of influence. Central to the vision for UP is that it should be independent and financially self-sustaining, meaning that revenue generation must be a priority.

Taking the precedents of organisational structures known elsewhere, a basic model for UP is proposed in Figure 3.12.1. The complexities of competing interests at Petrovaradin are highlighted elsewhere in this dossier. Noting this, it is proposed that the board of a new management organisation is comprised of representatives from six primary interest groups - the army, the city administration, the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments, local residents, relevant NGOs and businesses. Reporting to this board would be an executive officer, responsible for the delivery of the organisation's objectives and supported initially by a skeleton staff and/or volunteers motivated to establish a new identity for the fortress while fostering a sense of ownership in the community.

Organisational objectives are required in order to define the day-to-day functions of UP. In the short term, it is important that UP becomes established as a hub for the local

community, based on the heritage of the Fortress. This could be developed through activities such as recording and sharing stories obtained through engagement events, offering learning opportunities or the provision of a regular forum through which to discuss the challenges and opportunities facing the area. Alongside this, the development, review and approval of a management plan for the Fortress is essential. Implementation of management objectives can then be targeted into the medium and longer term, with a variety of associated benefits stemming from this core mission (see Figure 3.12.2.).

As noted above, revenue generation is fundamental to the vitality, success, impact and growth of UP. In the short-term, the trust could seek to build a programme of one-off and repeat events and attractions based around the promotion of the Fortress. In Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, the Ouseburn Trust – a heritage trust based in a post-industrial area on the eastern fringe of the city centre – generates income and promotes local heritage through volunteer-led guided tours of a disused nineteenth century tunnel that was built to transport coal to the River Tyne for export. In Trinidad and Tobago, the National Trust also hosts tours, lectures and workshops for locals and tourists to improve education about their various sites, as well as raise funds for the operation of the Trust. The potential of Petrovaradin as a source of income is well-established and the basic principle of harnessing this potential is analogous with the examples cited above. In the longer term, property interests could present a source of income, as well as a vehicle with which to conserve and enhance the historic environment of the Fortress. Taking another example from the north east of England, the Tyne and Wear Building Preservation Trust operates a rolling programme whereby severely at-risk historic properties, typically with a significant conservation deficit, are acquired on preferential terms, before being restored and offered for lease or re-sale. Such a model could be incorporated into an augmented structure that is redefined as the reach and ambition of UP extends over time.

While this is an ideal scenario, UP relies on the support of stakeholders and public buy-in, as we saw with the NTTT. The NTTT relies heavily on its membership to attend its activities, contribute to income and support advocacy. However, before this is done in the case of Petrovaradin, extensive outreach and education would need to occur through either town meetings, general meetings, social media or other creative ways of getting the community involved. This organisation is vulnerable without the support of the community and stakeholders.

On the other hand, a state institution or foundation fully supported by the government would create stability of revenue and can allow for growth in institutional capacity as the funding would be available to hire the necessary officers to do the work delineated in the objectives. However, as outlined above, this is only beneficial in the short term as the interest of the stakeholders and users of the site run the risk of being overpowered by the influence of the funder.

UP is grounded on a commitment to the core values of transparency, engagement, heritage, environment, economic development and providing a community anchor point. Its objectives are to promote transparency and participation, develop a comprehensive management plan, advocate for the repair and maintenance of the Fortress and develop attractive, high quality and user-friendly public spaces for both locals and tourists. This can be done through a partnership with the business community in Novi Sad to create diverse income streams with UP as the coordinator of a local community structure that ensures representation, participation, and capacity building, and decreases the burden on city administration.

Conclusion

The vision for UP is to become an independent self-sustaining organisation working in partnership with the local community to protect and promote the heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress. Ultimately, this model has the potential to drive socio-economic growth for Petrovaradin. The Fortress is an important resource and is integral to the cultural identity of Novi Sad. The management of the Fortress can be integrated into wider goals of urban development which support public and private partnerships that preserve and enhance the experience of the site. The fortress can be managed sustainably while protecting the current assets and interests. The proposed United Petrovaradin model can fill the management vacuum within the Fortress by working proactively to realise a collective vision, validated and supported by key public and private stakeholders.

References

CHCfE Consortium. (2015). *Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe.* Retrieved from: http://blogs.encatc.org/culturalheritagecountsforeurope/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CHCfE_FULL-REPORT_v2.pdf

Cullen, F. and Lovie, D. (2003). *Newcastle's Grainger Town: An Urban Renaissance*. English Heritage. Retrieved from: https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/newcastles-grainger-town/newcastles-grainger-town/

Hewitt, L. E. (2014). *A Brief History of the Civic Society Movement*. Canterbury, UK: Civic Voice.

International National Trusts Organisation (INTO). (2017). *From start-up to sustainability: An INTO handbook for heritage trusts*. London.

The National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago (1991) The National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago Act, Chap 40:53 http://rgd.legalaffairs.gov.tt/laws2/alphabetical_list/lawspdfs/40.53.pdf

York Civic Trust. (2004). *Memorandum and Articles of Association*. Retrieved from: http://yorkcivictrust.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Memorandum_and_Articles_of_Association-1.pdf

York Civic Trust. (2017). *Annual Report and Heritage Review*. Retrieved from: http://yorkcivictrust.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/YCT-Annual-Report-2017.compressed_file.pdf

Folder #4:

Recommendations

Key findings and recommendations

Višnja Kisić
Europa Nostra Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia

Goran Tomka
Faculty of sport and tourism, Educons University, Novi Sad, Serbia

Introduction

This final chapter is a summary of research findings and recommendations generated within the project Case Petrovaradin: Managing Historic Urban Landscapes, conducted by Europa Nostra Serbia, the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad, and the Faculty of Sports and Tourism of Novi Sad, in partnership with Edinburgh World Heritage Trust, Europa Nostra, and the Global Observatory on the Historic Urban Landscape. Case Petrovaradin focused on the outstanding, long-neglected historic urban landscape (HUL) of Petrovaradin Fortress as an inspiring case where complex issues of heritage protection and socioeconomic development meet; as a learning ground for numerous professionals; and as a platform for discussing the future of historic urban landscapes across the world. Through a range of research, educational and advocacy activities, the project aimed to better understand the complexity of Petrovaradin Fortress, rethink its current management and use, and reimagine its future development.

The first part of this chapter summarises key findings and results of four field studies commissioned through an open call for the purposes of Case Petrovaradin project. These four studies focused on the regimes, practices, and perceptions of spatial uses, management, interpretation and tourism valorisation of Petrovaradin Fortress. The eleven findings highlighted in this chapter cross-cut and interconnect these four studies, bringing together key issues in the management and use of Petrovaradin Fortress as perceived by numerous respondents and analysed by researchers.

The second part of this chapter focuses on recommendations for the future integrative governance of Petrovaradin Fortress. It brings together the ideas, interventions, and recommendations that are results of ongoing debates and work done during and after the International Summer Academy in Petrovaradin, which brought together 50 experts from diverse disciplines, 26 countries, and 5 continents in sketching out solutions and ideas for the future safeguarding, management, and use of the Fortress. Recommendations are organised in three parts, which together pave way for the future integrative governance of the Fortress in its various aspects.

The first part focuses on governance principles, underlining ideas, methods and ways of understanding this historic urban landscape as a common, shared, plural and transgenerational asset, that should be managed in a way that is democratic, inclusive, sustainable and participative. The second part focuses on strategic directions of governance, highlighting most important strategic areas of actions in governing the Fortress, in terms of policy and urban planning, conservation measures, inclusive interpretation, participation of stakeholders, spatial uses and transport, tourism infrastructure and marketing and international cooperation, among others. As such, these strategic areas act as a basis for developing a more detailed management and action plan for the Fortress. In each strategic area of action, we make reference to other chapters within Dossier Petrovaradin where the reader can find more detailed ideas, recommendations and suggestions for particular strategic actions. Finally, the third part sketches out a specific governance model seen as the most desirable and feasible one according to numerous discussions held during the project.

These recommendations are primarily aimed at the local city officials and public institutions who should make first structured steps in improving the current governance of Petrovaradin Fortress. In the absence of such official steps, many recommendations can inspire new alliances and joint actions among interested stakeholders to change the current status quo of neglect and partial interests that currently characterise this historic urban landscape.

Key findings

Spatial complexity, as well as the high diversity of users and uses of space, make Petrovaradin Fortress different from other fortresses in Serbia and the region

Petrovaradin Fortress is an extremely large, well-positioned, and diverse space, which is, at the same time, the most important heritage site of Novi Sad and the wider area, a place for recreation and sports, a spatial resource for entertainment and catering business activities, a tourist attraction, a military location, and the place of residence for thousands of citizens (see Vučković and Dajč in Chapter 2.1.). As such, the Fortress attracts and hosts residents, artists, conservators, historians, activists, tourists, film crews, festival and catering entrepreneurs, military personnel, homeless persons, marginalised groups, underground researchers, and criminal groups. It is exactly the spatial complexity and diversity of users and uses that make Petrovaradin Fortress different from other fortified structures in Serbia and the wider region. This is why Petrovaradin Fortress must be understood as a complex urban and socio-cultural historic landscape.

The Fortress is much larger and more layered than what we usually imagine

Contrary to its complexity and diversity, residents of Novi Sad, tourists, and users experience the Fortress quite narrowly – perceiving only the part of the Upper Fortress with the Clock Tower, the museum, and the hotel as the entirety of the Fortress, while disregarding acres of green areas, bastions, underground tunnels, the Lower Town, Wasserstadt and Old Majur. At the same time, despite numerous historical and cultural layers which testify to the human habitation of that space from Prehistory until today and despite numerous local stories and memories, the most visible and dominant narrative about the Fortress is the one that portrays it as 18th-century military fortified architecture (see Pajvančić-Cizelj et al. in Chapter 2.2.). This narrative, present in guided tours, publications, and public institutions, directly marginalises numerous layers of the Fortress' history and identity and limits the educational and tourist interpretation of the site for diverse groups of visitors. On top of that, the research on current management practices points to a narrow perception of what it means to be managing the Fortress, which the main actors predominantly understand as heritage protection and maintenance, thus disregarding the educational, touristic, communal, interpretative, financial, and communications aspects of heritage management (see Živanović and Nikolić in Chapter 2.4.).

Many public bodies are responsible for some aspects of the Fortress, but no one for the Fortress as a whole

As an analysis of current management practices shows (Chapter 2.4.), the existing management structure of the Fortress is dispersed in such a way that even though diverse local authorities, public companies, and public institutions of the City of Novi Sad have some level of jurisdiction for the area of Petrovaradin Fortress, none of them has explicit and clear statutory responsibilities which specify concretely how they should work together for the Fortress. For example, the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad valorises, maintains, and protects built heritage; Municipal Greenery maintains the green areas; Municipal Communal Company takes care of the garbage, etc. The management vacuum in which everyone is responsible for something, but no one is responsible for the Fortress as a whole, creates the opportunity and incentive for institutions and public companies to continuously transfer responsibilities from one to another for all the issues that they do not see as their explicit mandate. These public actors do not meet, do not communicate regularly, and do not coordinate their annual plans, activities, and budgets related to the Fortress.

Despite the absence of a legal entity which is explicitly entitled to manage Petrovaradin Fortress, most users, residents, and businesses recognise the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad as the responsible manager of the area and "call the Institute for each and every problem and question related to the Fortress" (Chapter 2.4.). Recognising this position, as well as the need to resolve the management vacuum for the Fortress, the Institute began the process of producing a management plan in 2015, commissioning a series of studies in the fields of tourism, transport, economy, sociology, urban planning, and environmental protection.

The Fortress is endangered by numerous usurpations and illegal uses of spaces

The complex and dispersed management structure leads to highly complex procedures and non-transparent decisions related to rent, functions, and use of space. During the last twenty years, therefore, the Fortress has been shaped by those who profit from it and by those who have either been the closest to power structures and capital or bold enough to "privatise" public spaces despite the official rules. Numerous, long-ago-allocated art studios in the Fortress no longer serve their original artistic purpose; nor do they have any obligations towards the City. Many of them have been turned into private housing, Airbnb rentals, or night clubs that privatise parts of the public roads during the night. Festivals that take place at the Fortress cause damage to the Fortress' structure, as well as leaving garbage and unorderly spaces – all without any compensation to the city budget or any investment in maintaining or repairing the Fortress. A survey shows that 80% of local residents think the Fortress is managed non-transparently, and they feel totally excluded from decision-making processes (see Chapter 2.1.).

Numerous actors are ready to cooperate, except for those who benefit from the current status quo

Research on management practices points to cooperation among the majority of non-profit actors (civil society organizations [CSOs], the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments, the Institute for Urbanism, the military), as well as their readiness to find a suitable management model for the Fortress. At the same time, the research identifies a closed mindset and unreadiness for cooperation among actors who are doing business related to the Upper Fortress or receive economic benefits from their status and therefore profit from the current managerial vacuum (e.g. CSO Likovni krug, EXIT Festival, Night Club Museum, hotels, and restaurants) (see Chapter 2.4.). Interestingly, the research on tourism points to cooperative practices among hoteliers and restaurants in the Lower Town, while the level of trust in the public Tourism Organisation of Novi Sad is low among private tourist actors (see Gunjić and Samardžić in Chapter 2.3.).

Petrovaradin Fortress is the heritage site with the highest number of civil society organisations in Serbia dedicated to its research, protection, interpretation, and promotion

The managerial vacuum and a high awareness of the value of Petrovaradin Fortress among certain groups has resulted in the highest number of civil society organisations at a heritage site in Serbia, which were founded specifically to deal with some segment of research, protection, interpretation, and/or promotion of the Fortress (Chapter 2.4.). Suburbium has been dealing with valorisation, research and promotion since the early 2000s; their publications and maps were adopted by the Tourism Organisation of Novi Sad for tourism purposes. Scenatoria researches architecture, history, and the physical spaces of the Fortress, and revives abandoned spaces through artistic performances. 3D World is focused on research, tourism valorisation, and the cleaning of the underground tunnels, and it voluntarily administers all accounts related to the Fortress on TripAdvisor and social networks. Likovni krug coordinates the interests of a group of artists who are using the art ateliers at the Fortress. The CSO Inbox moved its Festival of Street Musicians to the Lower Town and in 2018 opened an independent cultural centre there called Prostor. Most of the CSOs involved with the Fortress are not just amateurs and Fortress lovers, but professionals in diverse fields, having specific knowledge, expertise, and legitimacy in areas of their work, as well as a significant network of contacts, partners, and audiences.

4 out of 5 residents would never leave the Lower Town, but would contribute to its safeguarding

The survey done with residents of Lower Town (Chapter 2.1.) indicates a high awareness of the values of the spaces in which they live and shows a high degree of belonging to that space. Despite dilapidated infrastructure, trouble with moisture, sewage, traffic, and noise, 80% of respondents would never leave Gradić, while 30% think they could contribute more to the future safeguarding of the Fortress.

Heritage protection boundaries have not been legally established while urban planning frameworks are incompatible with the historic importance of the site

Due to a lack of coordination among heritage protection and urban planning frameworks, there are serious incompatibilities between the ways in which these two systems understand and approach the Fortress. Furthermore, even though the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad has mapped, valorised, and defined the boundaries of the core and buffer zones of Petrovaradin Fortress as a cultural monument, this study has been locked in the Ministry of Culture and Information since 2014, with no final approval from the Government – meaning that no clear boundaries for the heritage site of Petrovaradin Fortress have been legally defined. On the other hand, urban planning documents of Novi Sad and Petrovaradin Fortress do not foresee strict enough measures for the protection of the historic site and the environment of Petrovaradin Fortress (see Chapter 2.1.).

Despite its importance, the Fortress is not adequately maintained, and its development is not planned and monitored

All actors highlight the neglect and endangered physical condition of numerous areas of the Fortress, stressing the need for continuous maintenance of the architectural structures, public areas, and vegetation, as well as systematic conservation and restoration of the Fortress (see Chapter 2.1.). There is awareness among survey respondents that better managed usage of space in the Fortress could generate income from souvenirs, catering, and rental for permanent users, as well as temporary festivals and events. Simultaneously, these benefits would have to come with the imperative for both owners and users to invest in the maintenance of the heritage site. Some survey respondents see the restoration of facades and roofs in the Lower Town as a good move, while others criticize it as investing in vain because the facades will continue deteriorating as long as the questions of traffic and dampness remain unaddressed. Furthermore, the greatest problem for safeguarding the authenticity and integrity of the Fortress is the illegal construction and alternation of spaces, along with investment pressures that push for changes to the regulations and protection zones. Areas of Ribnjak and Old Majur are symbols of these types of almost systemic illegal construction.

There is a serious lack of authentic, sustainable, and attractive content for local and foreign visitors to the Fortress

Both the research on tourism valorisation of the Fortress, as well as research on its uses and users, indicate that businesses, CSOs, and residents share the opinion that there is a lack of satisfying, diverse content and tourism products targeted to specific groups of local and foreign visitors. As an analysis of the TripAdvisor profile of the Fortress shows, a visit is for many visitors interpreted as a rather poor experience. Visitors can walk, enjoy a nice panoramic view of Novi Sad, take a short historic guided tour or museum visit, and have a drink or meal in one of the restaurants with a nice view (Chapter 2.3.). One cannot find more information in a visitor centre, learn from and enjoyed an interpreted trail, join a workshop or a themed guided tour or have a recreational experience. Tourism actors point to poor signage and a lack of information for tourists, while 90% of actors hope for improved public spaces for recreation, more cultural and artistic open-air events, and the opening of art ateliers to the public. Even though surveyed residents wish for better tourist infrastructure, a majority of the them emphasize that a larger number of cafes and restaurants would be unacceptable (see Chapter 2.1.). Even when not asked explicitly, a majority of the respondents use the opportunity to express dissatisfaction with the way the Fortress is being used by the EXIT Festival, characterising it as unsustainable. They point out that the Festival has overgrown the capacities of the Upper Fortress and that it directly endangers the heritage that it pretends to promote. On top of this, the EXIT Festival closes the Fortress for non-festival visitors during a few weeks of the high tourist and holiday season in July (see Chapter 2.1.).

Residents and experts are united in their opinion that banning traffic in Lower Town and finding adequate solutions for parking of bicycles, buses, and cars in the Fortress is urgently needed

Professional opinion and residents' opinions are united when it comes to the urgent regulation of traffic in the Lower Town and its transformation into a pedestrian zone (see chapters 2.1. and 2.3.). Interviewees also state the urgency of making parking areas for bicycles in the Fortress itself and parking lots for buses and cars at the foot of the Fortress, as well as developing measures to discourage the use of cars and buses as a means of transportation to the Upper Fortress (through high prices and limited parking).

Recommendations

PART I: GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

Dedication to heritage-led and heritage-sensitive development

Future governing practices and structures would aim to develop the area of Petrovaradin Fortress in a way that opens it to diverse users and uses, which work together to safeguard and present all its historical layers, as well as associated meanings and values. This opening of the Fortress would include: a) contemporary, dynamic, and educational heritage interpretation, which is inviting and comprehensible to both locals and tourists; b) authentic and sustainable tourism products and services based on rich and well-maintained archaeological, ethnographic, spatial, military, and artistic history of the Fortress; c) infrastructure that would ensure accessibility and adequate use of space; d) participation in international tourism; e) a continuous system of investment in the conservation, restoration, and maintenance of the heritage site in all its archaeological, architectural, spatial, and environmental layers. This would be the way to better integrate conservation and heritage management into wider public policy frameworks, particularly those related to socio-economic development and urban planning frameworks.

Encompassing the complexities of historic spaces and perspectives

Both the popular imagination and the perceptions of institutions responsible for managing the Fortress often focus narrowly on the Upper Fortress, thus erasing its numerous other spatial, historical, and socio-cultural components. New governance practices would have to include ethnically, culturally, and socially diverse heritage, the rich biodiversity of the Fortress and its surroundings, as well as the diverse types of spaces and their residential, recreational, educational, communal, cultural, touristic, and commercial functions.

Ensuring access to public spaces

The starting assumption of a future governance structure should be that the heritage site of Petrovaradin Fortress is a common, public space dedicated to the culture, recreation, education, and creativity of the citizens of Novi Sad, their guests, and visitors. As a public space, the Fortress requires physical accessibility (removal of the physical barriers that disable people, universal design, traffic connections, etc.), economic accessibility (free or subsidised entrance, streets, public seating and walkways free from commercial usage, affordable activities and services), and social accessibility (spaces, activities, events and interpretive contents which are inclusive and co-created). Having in mind these principles, a future governing body, in cooperation with diverse stakeholders, would encourage the creation of diverse content and offers for locals and tourists.

Coordination, interdisciplinarity, and intersectoral cooperation

Bearing in mind the complexity of spaces, functions, and relations that the Fortress represents, the competences and responsibilities of a managing body would have to include numerous disciplines and expertise. Besides heritage and conservation expertise, the adequate management of Petrovaradin Fortress would require cooperation with the urban planning, tourism, recreation, ecology, finance, diplomacy, media and communication, and transportation sectors.

Clearly defined responsibilities and transparency

A coherent management model with clear jurisdictions should be created so as to avoid the current evasion of responsibilities. A single non-profit public organisation responsible for managing the Fortress would coordinate diverse stakeholders and involve them in its work. This governance model would require transparency in decision making, planning, reporting, revenue and expenditure, as well as other key aspects of work (see more in Part III: Structures of Governance).

Building participation and trust among civic and business stakeholders

Networks of official institutions, civic and business users, and other interested parties have their own parallel and often contradicting practices, while many actors currently feel excluded from discussions on the future of the Fortress. A future governance structure should be participatory, so as to allow open access to diverse stakeholders and to draw on the expertise, knowledge, and experience of those stakeholders in managing the Fortress. Providing a range of opportunities for stakeholders to participate in decision-making processes would contribute toward building trust among all actors and help to establish a balance between market forces and creative endeavours in order to preserve the quality of life of residents of Petrovaradin Fortress and citizens of Novi Sad.

Continuity, authority, and autonomy

A future governance structure should grow from the trust related to the expertise and integrity of its employees and draw on existing good practices. The unhampered safeguarding and development of Petrovaradin Fortress requires long-term planning and management practices based on professionalism and stakeholder participation, independent from electoral processes. The proposed model is “arm’s length” and assumes a certain distance from executive power. The governing body would have to have competent employees who can make decisions proactively and self-confidently. Simultaneously, autonomy involves the legal and professional ability to fundraise and generate income from diverse sources, in order to fund regular maintenance and restoration, as well as to develop infrastructure and content.

PART II: STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS OF GOVERNANCE

Strengthening the status of Petrovaradin Fortress within heritage protection and urban planning frameworks

Compatibility must be achieved between heritage protection and urban planning frameworks. This would require the City of Novi Sad to influence the national government to adopt the study of valorisation and boundaries of the Fortress as proposed by the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad. Furthermore, future changes to the urban planning documents of Novi Sad and Petrovaradin would need to incorporate measures and requirements for the protection, maintenance, and uses of spaces within Petrovaradin Fortress, as well as more adequate means of communication and transport between the Fortress and other areas of the city. In all these matters, the opinion of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad should be respected by the Institute for Urbanism and other actors.

Creating a comprehensive conservation, care, and maintenance action plan

An action plan for conservation, care, and maintenance is needed to ensure that decisions related to the development and usage of areas of Petrovaradin Fortress are based on care for existing historic structures, the natural environment, spatial attributes, social dynamics, and ambience. The conservation and maintenance plan must be based on comprehensive surveys of the historic urban landscape that assess the current condition of natural, cultural, and human resources, including their vulnerability to diverse socio-economic stresses and the impacts of climate change. Those surveys, conducted with the participation of all relevant stakeholders, would serve as the basis for decisions on priority actions for conservation and development.

Balancing spatial and socio-cultural functions for diverse groups of locals and tourists

The planning of uses and interventions in different areas of the Fortress should be informed by the current strong characteristics and socio-cultural functions of these areas and work to develop them and connect them to the wider city of Novi Sad, while safeguarding the spatial fabric of the Fortress. A possible approach to zoning the area has been proposed by Zamarbide and Zorzin (see Chapter 3.1.). They recognise four key functions and specific uses of areas: recreational/nature, communal/residential, artistic/cultural, and tourism/commercial. None of these functions should threaten the other three, and they should be thought of as complementing each other. Looking at the current and potential spatial and functional features and groups of users, the Upper Fortress could be dominantly thought of and developed as a touristic area (even though it is always the area for locals as well), Lower Town as residential and community area (even though a certain number of tourist services and accommodation should be introduced), Hornwerk and the bastions as artistic and cultural areas (with ateliers, Art Academy, open air concerts, which are at the same time interesting for tourists and locals alike), and Wasserstadt, the Danube riverbank, and Trandžament as sport-recreational and natural area (aimed both at locals and tourists, and with the potential to organise cultural events there in the form of festivals and open-air cinema and theatre).

Managing change in the Lower Town while safeguarding and highlighting its existing ambience and socio-cultural functions

As the restoration of Gradić (Lower Town) continues and interests and appetites for investing in property there increase, gentrification, heritagization and the transformation of all of Gradić into tourism-only spaces and services present a significant threat to the social dynamics, atmosphere, authenticity, and liveability of the Gradić. A higher number of tourist accommodations, boutiques, shops, cultural venues and related services for locals and visitors are needed, but these new functions should be mixed with residential and community purposes through clear guidelines and percentages of use (see suggestions by Murtić, Kovacheva and Mugoša in Chapter 3.3.). Residents' and users' proposals for additional content include music concerts (jazz, classical music), theatre shows, summer film projections, a revival of the old kafanas (cafes) and the brewery that existed in Gradić before, storytelling events, artisanal and craft workshops and shops. Overall, the liveability and attractiveness of this historic neighbourhood should be achieved through the safeguarding of the urban layout while introducing diverse contemporary content, uses and activities for both visitors and residents, avoiding museumification of the whole area.

The banning of traffic is another opportunity for improving Gradić, which would positively impact the conservation and maintenance efforts and make the area more accessible and walkable for citizens, visitors and residents. Yet at the same time it represents a big threat, as newly restored public spaces and streets can easily become occupied through a dense network of street cafes and restaurants. The solution suitable for the ambience and uniqueness of Gradić would be to reactivate the neighbourhood's "hidden gems", its inner courtyards, as commercial spaces, while creating walkable public streets and squares, with accessible infrastructure, greenery, and seating (see Chapter 3.3.).

Similarly, certain selected areas of the Fortress could be transformed into places for community meetings, relaxation, and contemplation of the Fortress, through subtle spatial, artistic, or sculptural interventions (see suggestions by Erfani, Kamenar and Çalışkan in Chapter 3.2.). All major changes should be undertaken with the active involvement of the local community and stakeholders.

Regulating traffic, signage, and infrastructure to make the Fortress walkable and accessible, while safeguarding its historic qualities and ambience

Traffic congestion and inadequate access to the Fortress require the introduction of new stricter and more sustainable measures. Priorities in this area include the redirection of traffic in the Lower Town to alternative routes and its transformation into a pedestrian zone; the creation of parking areas for bicycles in several areas of the Fortress; the creation of parking lots for tourist buses and cars at the foot of the Fortress on the side of Old Majur and a train or shuttle bus to take visitors from the parking lot to the Upper Fortress; the introduction of measures to discourage the use of cars and buses as a mode of transportation to the Upper Fortress (see chapters 2.1., 2.3. and 3.3.). Proper tourist signage should be introduced, as well as diverse access points leading towards the Fortress, including the marking of major attractions and sites. Furthermore, basic

communal services should be introduced, such as public toilets, trash bins, a sewage system, a small store with mixed goods and refreshments and ATM machines – to make the Fortress more amenable to longer stays (see Chapter 2.3.). A longer term measure would foresee the creation of a planned pedestrian bridge and elevator which would connect Novi Sad Quay and the Fortress.

Reviving the artistic identity of the Fortress

The artistic network of the fortress dating from the Fifties is what makes the demilitarisation and use of the Fortress unique and highly symbolic. This aspect has not only become a particular contemporary heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress but bears great potential for encouraging the artistic scene of Novi Sad and the region, introducing attractive content for locals and tourists, and supporting the local economy. For this potential to be further developed, the currently usurped network of over 80 art ateliers should be returned to its artistic use and connections between the art academy, the artistic scene of Novi Sad, and art galleries re-established (see suggestions by Kleitz, Gajić and Fontes in Chapter 3.5.). To realize this, a new open call for users of the ateliers should be introduced, with clear, transparent, and inclusive guidelines on who can apply, based on which criteria and with which responsibilities. More central ateliers in the Upper Fortress, could be reserved for commercial galleries and public art spaces, filled with exhibitions and workshops where citizens and visitors could interact with contemporary art and purchase local arts and crafts. Furthermore, a few ateliers should be reserved for international artist-in-residence programs.

Music and performing arts festivals are important features of the Fortress, bringing benefits in terms of bringing tourists and promoting the Fortress. However, some of the biggest festivals, like EXIT and Tamburica Fest have outgrown the carrying capacity of the Upper Fortress. The future managing body of the Fortress, together with the City, should introduce clear rules for temporary use, specifying areas suitable for specific purposes and activities, as well as related costs and responsibilities by the organisers (see suggestions by Zorzin in Chapter 3.6. as well as Doğan and Simolin, Chapter 3.4.). Part of the longer-term solution for bigger festivals is seen in the area of Wasserstadt, which holds great potential as a public park and recreation area, as well as a city festival ground, open theatre, and open cinema area (see suggestions by Zamarbide and Zorzin in Chapter 3.1.).

Introducing inclusive interpretation of historical layers and actors for educational, public memory, and tourism purposes

The rich layers of historical, social and cultural narratives related to the Fortress should be interpreted and made visible in an inclusive manner. The main objective of interpretation is to increase awareness of the importance and meanings of a heritage site. Such interpretation would allow the local community and tourists to discover, explore, observe, analyse, understand, feel, and experience Petrovaradin Fortress and its surroundings. This would mean moving beyond the current dominant 18th-century Austro-Hungarian military and architectural narratives to include: interpretation of the environment and landscape with all its biodiversity; the narration of human presence and settlement since Palaeolithic times; narratives about each of the six fortified structures that existed in different periods in that area; narratives about the interrelated political and power structures, social life and dynamics, diverse religious and ethnic structures and communities that inhabited the area, along with local customs and legends (see Chapter 2.2. by Pajvančić-Cizelj, Ristić and Marinković, and Chapter 3.8. by Munir, Chauhan and Speckens 2019). Moreover, this would mean recognising, supporting, and involving diverse local stakeholders, residents, CSOs, amateurs, and academics in research, documentation, interpretation, and communication of these multiple meanings of local heritage. Having in mind the complexity of layers, spaces, narratives, and actors, a holistic Heritage Interpretation Plan should be developed with the participation of all relevant stakeholders.

Apart from signage, guided tours, in situ interpretation, and customised new media interpretations, numerous actors pointed to the need for a visitor interpretation and information centre, where visitors could learn about the Fortress, book a guided tour, get maps, or attend workshops (see suggestions by Gunjić and Samardžić, Chapter 2.3.). As charging tickets for entrance to the Fortress would not be a desired measure, this interpretation centre could generate income from tickets, souvenirs, tours, and workshops for tourists. At the same time, it could serve as a heritage education centre for locals, including children and youth. The empty building of the former City Archive of Novi Sad in the Upper Fortress would be a suitable space for such a centre. The Museum of the City of Novi Sad is an important stakeholder for interpretation, perfectly positioned on the Upper Fortress and with relevant in-house knowledge to interpret the heritage of the Fortress and the wider city. Its permanent exhibition, however, should be reworked so as to offer a holistic and engaging story on the history of Novi Sad, starting with the history and development of Petrovaradin Fortress, and its opening hours should be adapted to meet the needs of local visitors and tourists (afternoons, weekends, and museum evenings for the youth).

Commissioning new transdisciplinary research about the Fortress and establishing new research and academic partnerships around the heritage of the Fortress

Many researchers point out that the current amount of knowledge about the Fortress and the history of that location is relatively little compared to all the layers of human and other species' existence at the site. This is why a responsible governance of the area would have to include additional research and explorations of the site. New systematic and wide-ranging archaeological research must be commissioned. Other biological, ecological, and geological research is also needed. Moreover, old Ottoman and Habsburg archives (in Istanbul and Vienna) hold a treasure trove of documents and data unknown to either the local public or decision-makers. Funded research stipends would enable prospective researchers to become new experts on the history of the Fortress and expand the network of researchers dealing with the Fortress internationally. For research and explorations to be undertaken, there should be partnerships and fundraising efforts that include local, national, and international universities, research institutes, and foundations.

Awakening curiosity and discovery of the "hidden" and "lost" Fortress by subtly interpreting invisible spaces and archaeological heritage

Among the unique and charming features of the Fortress are its terrains vagues – numerous empty green spaces and

fortifications at the outskirts of the most populated and used areas, which should be carefully maintained for their special urban and natural qualities. Introducing too many interventions and uses would risk losing these qualities. However, certain spatial interpretation elements could be introduced to trigger visitors' curiosity while helping them understand the vastness of the Fortress and its rich layers of history and nature (see suggestions by Debuyst, Georgieva and Baraldi, 2019). These spaces should remain as green, non-commercial areas, with walking trails and benches for relaxation.

Another hidden aspect of the Fortress is its rich archaeological heritage, which has been under-researched and under-interpreted. However, new archaeological findings of layers from the Middle Ages and Ottoman times in the Lower Town and parts of Wasserstadt could be subtly interpreted through symbolic lining, QR codes, and remodelling and in situ display, while longer term developments could involve the establishment of an Archaeological Interpretation Centre in one of the abandoned spaces in the Lower Town (see suggestions by Zamarbide and Zorzin, Chapter 3.1.).

Placing the Fortress in wider international context and re-establishing its links with places across Europe

As a place that has been inhabited and defended for Millenia, the Fortress shares geographical, architectural, aesthetic and symbolic traits with many important places across Europe. Its Roman layers have been part of the network of fortifications that formed the Northern borders of the Roman Empire; it is one of the many fortifications across the continent built in accordance with the designs of Vauban; it belongs to the group of Danubian fortresses and settlements; it was one of many Austro-Hungarian defence spots. All these attributes nominate it for various networks, groupings, labels and joint selections such as the recent transnational nomination for UNESCO World Heritage List - the Frontiers of the Roman Empire. Such international linkage could bring visibility, resources and other opportunities.

Strengthening citizens' awareness, knowledge, and engagement in safeguarding the Fortress

Continuous community and stakeholder education and engagement are essential elements for making Petrovaradin a liveable and vibrant area, while safeguarding the historic landscape and fostering sustainable economic and tourism development. Residents and civic, governmental, and commercial stakeholders should be involved in heritage mapping, interpretation, research, and protection, as well as consultations and decision making on the future interventions and developments on the site. Participatory mapping, surveys, asset-based community development, public events, restoration workshops, volunteer clubs, digital platforms, and community urban planning tools are diverse formats of engagement, cooperation, and co-creation to be explored (see suggestions by Cvetković, Koukoura, Tesfay Asfha and Kaewdang, Chapter 3.11.). Continuous education, awareness raising, and skills development activities, seminars, and workshops for locals on heritage, tourism, and urban planning would trigger closer relationships and positive attitudes towards heritage. Furthermore, a community centre as a meeting space for the local community and stakeholders should be founded to bring all actors together on a regular basis (for more see Chapters 2.1., 2.3. and 3.3.). This can be done in pre-existing spaces, such as Prostor in Lower Town, and should rely on pre-existing civic, amateur, and activist groups such as Scenatoria, Inbox, 3D World, Suburbium, or Ban Jelačić Cultural Centre.

Developing joint branding, communication, and marketing, based on innovative tourism products and services

Petrovaradin Fortress needs a brand, which would encompass both destination branding and branding of local products and services. The brand development process should define consistent marketing messages, as well as a uniform visual identity for the site, including logos, an entire book of graphic standards and a joint webpage for the Fortress. Such development of the brand would complement heritage interpretation, add value to restaurants and shops, and be used in creating unique tourism products and experiences. The Tourist Organisation of Novi Sad (TONS) would be the key actor implementing these developments, and it would be important that TONS is more active in promoting the Fortress. In addition, tourist packages should be developed in a way that markets Petrovaradin Fortress not just as a quick attraction, but as a destination from which one can explore the City of Novi Sad, Sremski Karlovci, and Fruška Gora. Finally, the short seasonality of the Fortress should be extended to secure a steadier stream of visitors by creating content and offers during the autumn, winter and early spring.

Coordinating the market presence and actions of commercial actors, as well as their investments in safeguarding the historic environment of the Fortress

Currently, there are many permanent businesses and temporary commercial actors operating in the Fortress whose activities are not mutually coordinated and cooperative, thus reducing their chances of mutually benefitting from each other and from the historic setting in which they are placed. Coordinated actions by business actors and their joint presence and promotion on the tourism market would further develop existing businesses by bringing more visitors, investors, and sales to the area. Simultaneously, commercial actors whose businesses profit from the historic environment of the Fortress should have both the incentive and the responsibility to invest in the maintenance, infrastructure, security, and accessibility of the Fortress. One of the formal ways to achieve this is by establishing a Friends of the Fortress Business Club linked to the legal entity managing the Fortress, in which local businesses pay an annual membership fee which is invested in conservation and maintenance of the Fortress. Another option is a Tourism Cluster, which connects diverse companies, agencies, hotels, and festivals to produce joint commercial and public benefits through geographical proximity, interdependence, and cooperation. A third option is a Business Improvement District – a legally recognized partnership of property and business owners in a particular area with the shared goal of improving their environment and services and consequently increasing their profits (see suggestions by Dontcova and Zanini, in Chapter 3.10.).

PART III: STRUCTURES OF GOVERNANCE

Bearing in mind the complexity of the historic urban landscape of Petrovaradin Fortress in terms of historic layers and narratives, socio-cultural and spatial functions, as well as diversity of users and actors which shape it, the management of the Fortress must be based on the coordination of diverse stakeholders and functions, stimulating participation, cooperation and partnerships.

Competent, non-profit legal entity as a governing body

All research findings point to the favourable position of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Novi Sad as the institution that is perceived by users, residents, and authorities as the most qualified and legitimate manager of Petrovaradin Fortress. The Institute has knowledge and authority in the field of heritage protection and management, in which the director and employees show both an interest and readiness to take on larger responsibilities for managing the Fortress. However, the current jurisdiction and responsibilities of the Institute are limited, related mainly to heritage protection, which is also why the Institute lacks the human resources and other competencies needed to take on broader management functions. The best model for a governing body, that is rooted in the authority and knowledge of the Institute, while enabling larger flexibility in terms of employment and fundraising, would be the form of a foundation, to be established by the Institute. This Foundation would function at an arms-length of the Institute.

Inclusive and participatory governance structure

The management structure for the Fortress should include representatives of all key stakeholders, including, but not limited to:

- City of Novi Sad, as the official owner of the public spaces of the Fortress;
- City communal companies (greenery, waste management, transportation, etc.);
- Cultural and educational public institutions who are permanent users of spaces in the Fortress;
- Tourist Organisation of Novi Sad;
- Tourism agencies and businesses;
- CSOs active in the area of the Fortress;
- Residents;
- Users of artistic ateliers and venues;
- Caterers and service-related businesses operating in the Fortress;
- Larger temporary users such as festivals;
- Environmental protection actors;
- Sports and recreation actors.

Their participation would be organised in the form of a Governing Board or Coordinating Board, which would support the coordination of various management functions, align diverse visions for the future of the Fortress, and employ a wide range insights and expertise. Besides this governing body, there would be an Expert Advisory Board, composed of prominent local and international experts in the fields of cultural heritage, cultural tourism, urban planning, etc., who do not have a personal interest as users of Petrovaradin Fortress. This advisory body would guarantee the legitimacy of the work of the foundation in the eyes of the broader public and funders.

Employees and functions of a potential foundation

Employees would have expertise in:

- Heritage protection and management
- Heritage interpretation
- Marketing and communication
- Tourism destination management
- Project management and fundraising
- Stakeholder and community relations
- Administration and finance

Sources of funding

Several sources of funding would be needed to secure the high-quality maintenance and accessibility of the site, as well as the autonomy of the governing body. Potential revenues could come from:

- Space rental to permanent or semi-permanent users (restaurants, cafes, ateliers, commercial spaces, clubs, public spaces, parking) and temporary users (festivals, events, concerts, conferences);
- Tourist products, such as an entrance fee to an interpretation centre, souvenirs, guided tours, etc;
- Public funding from the municipal budget for maintenance of public spaces through a special budget line for Petrovaradin Fortress;
- International grants and funds for cultural tourism, heritage protection and management, education, cross-border cooperation, etc.

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Библиотеке Матице српске, Нови Сад

930.85(497.113 Petrovaradin)
711.41.01(497.113 Petrovaradin)

DOSSIER: Petrovaradin : managing historic urban landscapes / [editors Goran Tomka, Višnja Kisić, Loes Veldpaus]. - Novi Sad : Faculty of sport and tourism : Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad ; Belgrade : Serbia Europa Nostra, 2019

Način pristupa (URL): www.tims.edu.rs. - Naslov s nasl. ekrana. - Elektronski izvor u PDF formatu obima 150 str. - Bibliografija uz svako poglavlje.

(978-86-85871-40-5)

a) Петроварадин -- Културна баштина -- Очување b) Петроварадин -- Урбано планирање

COBISS.SR-ID 330411271