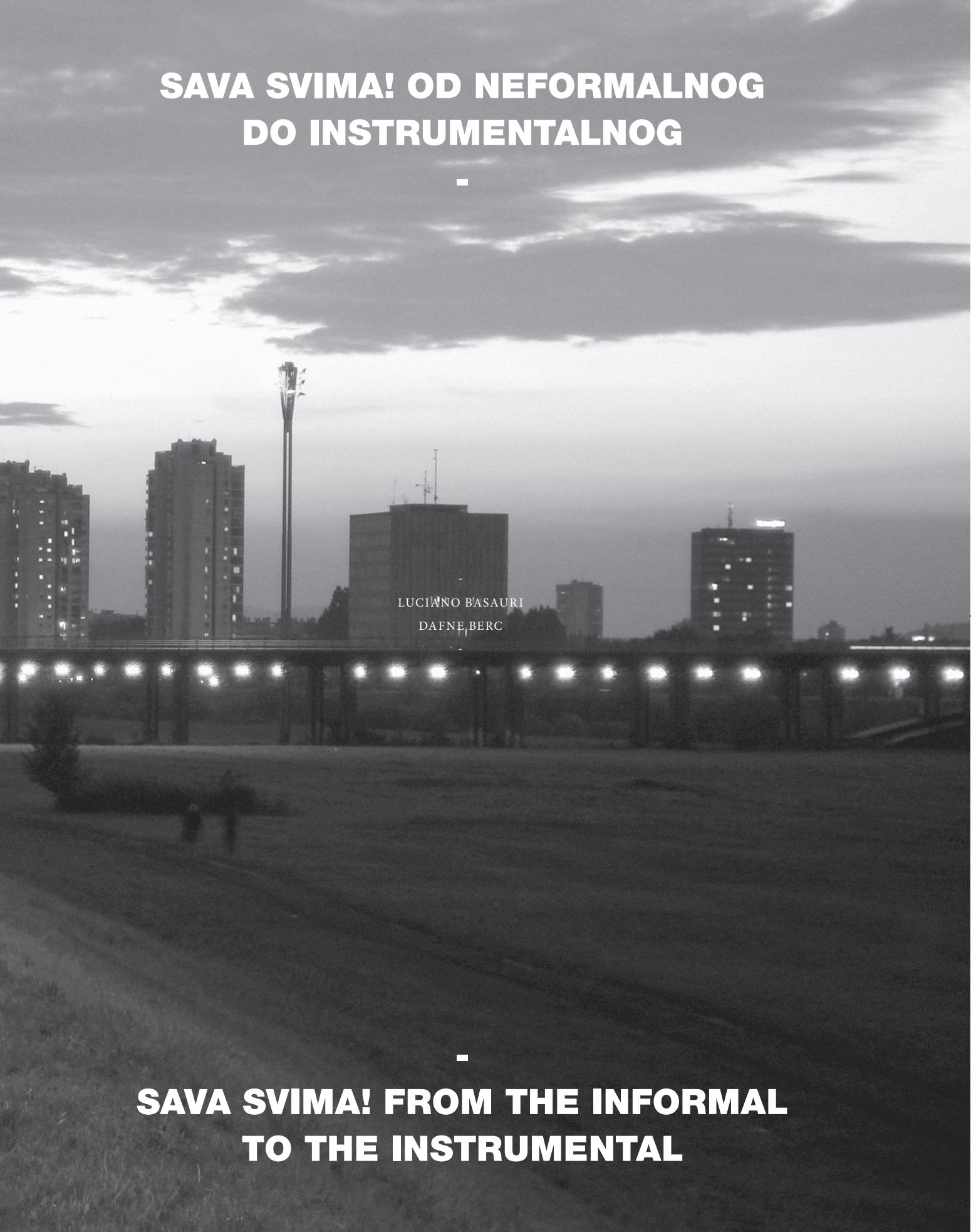


# **SAVA SVIMA! OD NEFORMALNOG DO INSTRUMENTALNOG**



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**SAVA SVIMA! FROM THE INFORMAL  
TO THE INSTRUMENTAL**

Gradove je nemoguće razumjeti bez njihovih fizičkih i prirodnih komponenti. U slučaju Zagreba, rijeka Sava, osim što je jedna od komponenata koje ga najviše određuju, predstavlja paradigmatski aspekt gradske koncepcije. Ona je velikodusan izvor relacija koje mogu pomoći boljem razumijevanju Zagreba – njegove tradicije, prošlih i sadašnjih planerskih politika. Međutim, mnogi Savu smatraju nedovršenim dijelom zagrebačkog urbanog krajolika, kontinuiranim procesom postanka koji zahtijeva jasan stav gradskih vlasti. Rijeka Sava je resurs i, kao takva, vizija uloge njezine obale u gradskim okvirima predstavlja težak zadatak. Pitanje je: kako postaviti proces kontroliranog planiranja koji bi uključio i same građane koje se Grad nuda zastupati?

### Dvije struje mišljenja

Savu se uvek sagledavalo s dva opća gledišta, obojedno argumentirana: kao potencijal za konsolidirano povezivanje centra Zagreba s Novim Zagrebom hiperurbanizacijom obale rijeke te korištenjem riječne obale kao multifunkcionalnog gradskog *leisure escapea*, specifičnog urbanog krajolika namijenjenog prvenstveno rekreativu i relaksaciju građana. London, Pariz ili New York, i mnogi drugi amblematski gradovi, nastali su na obalama rijeka. Ti su gradovi razvili onaj klasični smisao superurbanih riječnih obala – učinak konstantnog procesa integracije rijeke i urbanog tkiva, koji je tako dobro ukorijenjen u našoj kolektivnoj slici. Gotovo je nemoguće razdvojiti identitet Temze, Seine ili rijeke



SAVA SVIMA! – INSTALACIJA  
PRIVREMENOG ARHIVA,  
URBANFESTIVAL 2009,  
FOTOGRAFIJA ANALOG

SAVA SVIMA! – THE ARCHIVE  
INSTALLATION, URBANFESTIVAL  
2009, PHOTO BY ANALOG

Cities cannot be understood without their physical and natural constituents. In case of Zagreb, it is the Sava River that, apart from being one of the most determining ones, happens to be a paradigmatic aspect of the city's conception. It provides a generous source of relational conditions that can help understand Zagreb better – its tradition, past and current planning policies. However, Sava is considered by many as an unfinished part of Zagreb's urbanscape, a continuous process of becoming that demands a clear standpoint on behalf of the city's authorities. Sava is a resource and as such, the vision of the embankment's role poses a difficult challenge in metropolitan terms. The question is: how should one set up a process of controlled planning that would include the very citizens that the City hopes to represent?

### Two Lines of Thought

Sava has always been understood from two general points of view, both of them well argued: the potential to consolidate the division between central Zagreb and New Zagreb through a hyper-urbanized riverbank and the riverbank as a multifunctional metropolitan *leisure escape*.

London, Paris, New York, and many other emblematic cities have originated on riversides. These cities have developed that classic sense of 'super-urban' riverbanks that are so well rooted in our collective imagery – the effect of a constant process of integration between a river and the urban fabric. It is almost impossible to separate the identity of the Thames, Seine, and Hudson River from their respective cities. Unlike these cities, Zagreb was not founded on the riverside. Not even close to it. The usual symbiotic

Hudson od njima pripadajućih gradova. Za razliku od tih gradova, Zagreb nije izrastao na obali rijeke. Čak niti blizu nje. Uobičajeni simbiotski odnos raznih gradskih ekonomija i rijeke nikad nije uspostavljen. U stvari, tek je tijekom vremena rijeka počela utjecati na razvoj grada. I to ne nužno pozitivno, s obzirom da se rast grada počeo protezati postrance, stješnjen brdima na sjeveru i rijekom na jugu. Grad je zapravo izbjegavao širenje prema riječnom području, jer je ono bilo močvarno, divlje, sa svim vrstama razgranatih sustava vodenih tokova. Tek je nakon kanaliziranja rijeke, uz odlučnost da se izgradi Novi Zagreb, grad počeo planirati kako da je iskoristi. Otada su riječne obale predmetom beskonačnih diskusija, strateških planova, urbanističkih natječaja i urbanih eksperimenata s ciljem njihove konsolidacije.

S druge strane, grad ne začinju samo planeri, već ga stvaraju i njegovi korisnici. Zadnje je definirano kontinuiranim dijalogom aktivnosti koje grad nudi i onih koje korisnici spontano

izvode. Planeri često provode političke i gospodarske programe koje pokreću različite silnice poput pritiska tržišta ili operacija nekretninama, socijalne skrbi, kreiranja gradskog *branda* itd. Ma koliko izvanredni ili upitni bili performativni standardi tih silnica, glavnina ishoda ostaje ista – proizvodnja reprezentativnih okruženja i perpetuacija društvenih normi. Jasno je da je potreba za pravilima, protokolima i uvjetima potrebnim za napredak društva dobro potkrijepljena, no ipak još s vremena na vrijeme osjećamo potrebu za bijegom od normi i za uključivanjem u druge vrste oslobođujućih aktivnosti.<sup>1</sup> Grad u svom urbanom repertoaru ima područja posvećena prakticiranju aktivnosti na otvorenom, gdje se *gotovo* sve može dogoditi – a to su parkovi. Bilo koje drugo mjesto na kojem se to može dogoditi uglavnom je posljedica nemanjernih okolnosti, *gotovo* nalik *terrain vagueu*.<sup>2</sup> Je li moguće pronaći i druge vrste urbanih uvjeta u kojima se aktivnosti različite prirode isprepliću? Je li moguće naći

**NAPOMENA:** ISJEĆIĆI IZ OBRADENIH TRANSKRIPATA ZVUČNIH ZAPISA SA „SAVSKIH ČAJANKI“, ODRŽANIH TIJEKOM URBANFESTIVALA 2009. U BIVŠOJ TVORNICI JEDINSTVO U ZAGREBU, A DIO SU PROJEKTA SAVA SVIMA! U ORGANIZACIJU ANALOGA I URBANFESTIVALA. VIDI: [HTTP://WWW.URBANFESTIVAL.HR/ANALOG-HR.HTML](http://www.urbanfestival.hr/analog-hr.html).

**NOTE:** CLIPS FROM THE PROCESSED TRANSCRIPTS OF AUDIO RECORDINGS FROM “SAVA TEA GATHERINGS,” WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING URBANFESTIVAL 2009 AT THE FACTORY JEDINSTVO (UNITY) IN ZAGREB, AND ARE PARTS OF THE PROJECT SAVA SVIMA! (SAVA TO ALL) ORGANIZED JOINTLY BY THE ANALOG AND URBANFESTIVAL. VISIT: [HTTP://WWW.URBANFESTIVAL.HR/ANALOG-HR.HTML](http://www.urbanfestival.hr/analog-hr.html).

„DISKUSIJE OKO GUP-A NISU DOSAD RIJEŠILE DVA OSNOVNA PITANJA: PITKU VODU GRADA ZAGREBA I ODLAGALIŠTE SMEĆA NA JAKUŠEVCU. AKO OVAJ GRAD PIJE VODU IZ SAVSKOG ALUVIJA, ONDA SE TO TREBA POSTAVITI KAO VRLO VITALNO PITANJE URBANE BIOLOGIJE. AKO OVAJ GRAD U SVIM NATJEĆIMA PREDVIĐA JAKUŠEVAC KAO EKOPARK, ONDA SE PITAM KUDA TREBA VOZITI MILION KILA SMEĆA DNEVNO I ŠTO S TIM SMEĆEM.“ – KREŠIMIR IVANIŠ, ARHITEKT.

„DISCUSSIONS ABOUT GUP (MASTER PLAN) HAVE NOT YET SOLVED TWO FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS: DRINKING WATER OF THE CITY AND JAKUŠEVAC GARBAGE DEPOT. IF THIS CITY DRINKS WATER FROM SAVA ALLUVIUM, THEN IT SHOULD BE SET AS A VERY VITAL QUESTION OF URBAN BIOLOGY. IF THIS CITY IN ALL PLANS PREDICTS JAKUŠEVAC AS AN ECO PARK, THEN I WONDER WHERE TO DRIVE A MILLION KG OF GARBAGE A DAY AND WHAT TO DO WITH IT.“ – KREŠIMIR IVANIŠ, ARCHITECT.

„SUDJELOVALI SMO NA RASPRAVAMA O GUP-U. U TOM GUP-U NEMA ZAPRAVO NIŠTA – NACRTANO JE NEZNAM KOLIKO MOSTOVA PREKO SAVE, ALI KAKO ĆE TO ZAVRŠITI, S TAKVIM KONCEPCIJAMA, S INUNDACIJAMA, TO NIKOME NIJE JASNO. NA PRIMJER, UPRAVO OVO PODRUČJE GDJE SE SAD NALAZIMO REZERVIRANO JE ZA POSEBNE ARHITEKTONSKE NATJEĆAJE I ZA IZGRADNJU ZGRADA ZA POTEBO ADMINISTRACIJE I VLADE. JAVNI INTERES UOPĆE SE NE POŠTUJE. PRIVATNI INVESTITOR DOĐE, KUPI, IZGRADI I TOČKA, GOTOV. PREMA TOM SE MODELU ONDA GRADI NAŠ GUP KOJI SE ZAPRAVO SASTOJI OD NIZA PRIVATNIH INTERESA. DANAS NAM URBANISTIČKA VLAST TVRDI DA STVAR POČINJE OD TOGA DA ŠTAKORNJAKE TREBA UREDITI. ZA ŠTAKORE IMAMO DERATIZACIJU, A NE URBANIZAM.“ – VLADIMIR POLCHERT, STANOVNIK SUSJEDSTVA I SUOSNIVAČ UDRUGE STUP.

„WE PARTICIPATED IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE GUP. IN THAT GUP THERE IS ACTUALLY NO CONTENT – THERE IS A DRAWING OF MANY BRIDGES ACROSS SAVA, BUT HOW IT WILL END UP WITH SUCH CONCEPTS, WITH THE INUNDATION, IT IS NOT CLEAR TO ANYONE. FOR EXAMPLE, THIS AREA WHERE WE ARE RIGHT NOW IS RESERVED FOR SPECIAL ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITIONS AND FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF BUILDINGS FOR ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT. THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS NOT RESPECTED AT ALL. PRIVATE INVESTORS COME, BUY, BUILD AND THAT’S IT. OUR GUP IS THEN BUILT ACCORDING TO THIS MODEL, WHICH ACTUALLY CONSISTS OF A SERIES OF PRIVATE INTERESTS. TODAY THE URBAN PLANNING AUTHORITIES AND POLITICIANS TELL US THAT THINGS START WITH THE ARRANGEMENT OF RAT HOLES. FOR RATS WE HAVE EXTERMINATORS, NOT URBANISM.“ – VLADIMIR POLCHERT, DWELLER OF THE AREA AND CO-FOUNDER OF NGO STUP.

relation between the various economies of the city and the river was never established. In fact, it was only with time that the river started to have an impact on the development of the city. And not necessarily a positive one, for the growth of the city started to stretch sideways, crushed by the hills to the north and the river to the south. The city actually avoided to spread towards the river area as it was swampy, wild, and with all kinds of ramified systems of water flows. It wasn't until the river was canalized together with the determination to develop New Zagreb that the city started planning how to take advantage of it. Since then, the riverbank has been a subject of endless discussions, strategic plans, urban competitions, and urban experimentation with the purpose of consolidating it.

On the other hand, the city is not only conceived by planners, but made by its users. The latter is defined by a continuous dialogue between the activities offered by the city and the ones spontaneously performed by the users. Planners often make

effective political and economic agendas set in motion by various forces such as market pressure and real estate operations, social welfare, city branding, etc. However remarkable or questionable are the performing standards of these forces, most of the outcome remains the same – the production of representative environments and the perpetuation of social norms. Clearly the need for rules, protocols and conditions required for a society to prosper is well substantiated, yet one still finds the necessity to escape the norm now and then and engage in another sort of liberating activities.<sup>1</sup> The city does have areas in its urban repertory that are devoted to the practice of outdoor activities, where *almost* anything can happen – they are called parks. Any other place in which one can see it happening is generally an unintended consequence, almost resembling a *terrain vague*.<sup>2</sup>

Is it possible to find other kind of urban conditions where activities of diverse nature intertwine? Is it possible to find a merge between a *terrain vague* and a park? Is it even possible that such condition

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spoj *terrain vaguea* i parka? Je li uopće moguće da takvo stanje profilira identitet jednog urbanog područja? Je li moguće promišljati takav identitet i još uvijek istovremeno predviđati prihvatljivo uređenje dodatnih prostora, građevina ili izgrađenog tkiva?

Do određene mjere, rijeka Sava utjelovljuje sve te potencijalne uvjete. Moglo bi se čak reći da se neki od njih zapravo dogadaju. Međutim, to ne bi trebalo biti iznenadenje, jer rijeka je presjek nedovršenog grada, ekstenzivna linearna praznina koja povezuje različite komadiće urbaniteta s različitim karakterom i funkcijom. Djeluje gotovo poput sučelja za višestruke identitete.

### Savski arhiv

Poglavlje o Savskom arhivu rezultat je kustoskog rada i rasprava u sklopu SAVA SVIMA!, UrbanFestival 2009,<sup>3</sup> gdje je rijeka Sava analizirana trojako, kao laboratorij urbanističkog

„CIJELI GUP PUN JE NELOGIČNOSTI I NEDOREČENOSTI. PREMA GUP-U DRASTIČNO BI SE SMANJIO BROJ ZELENIH POVRŠINA U TRNU. PRED NEKIH DESET GODINA SAMI smo izradili elaborat prijedloga. HTJELI smo objediti više institucija koje su aktivne u kvartu pod isti krov: jedno veliko sportsko društvo u kojem bi bio veslački i kajakaški klub te društvo staro trnje, s programima za osnovnu školu. Cijeli potez prema nasipu mogao bi postati neka vrsta rekreativskog parka s društvenim centrom.“ – SREĆKO ŠUK, TAJNIK VESLAČKOG SAVEZA ZAGREBA I VESLAČKI TRENER, STANOVNIK SUSJEDSTVA I ČLAN UDRUGE STUP.

„THE WHOLE GUP IS ILLOGICAL AND INCOMPLETE. ACCORDING TO THE GUP, TRNJE WOULD SUFFER A DRASIC DECREASE OF GREEN AREAS. AROUND TEN YEARS AGO, WE DID OUR OWN DOCUMENTED PROPOSAL. WE WANTED TO GROUP A COUPLE OF INSTITUTIONS THAT ARE ACTIVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND PUT THEM UNDER THE SAME ROOF. WE ENVISIONED A BIG SPORT ASSOCIATION WITH THE ROWING AND CANOE CLUB AND TRNJE ASSOCIATION, WITH PROGRAMS FOR THE LOCAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL. THE ENTIRE STRIP TOWARDS THE DYKE COULD BECOME A KIND OF RECREATIONAL PARK WITH COMMUNITY CENTER.“ – SREĆKO ŠUK, SECRETARY OF THE ZAGREB ROWING FEDERATION AND ROWING COACH, DWELLER OF THE AREA AND MEMBER OF NGO STUP.

could profile the identity of an urban area? Is it possible to think of such an identity and still foresee a fair development of additional premises, facilities, or built fabric at the same time?

To a certain extent, Sava embodies all these potential conditions. One could even say that some of them are actually happening. However, this should not come as a surprise, for the river is a cross section of an unfinished city, an extensive linear void that connects different patches of urbanity with different characters and functions. It operates almost as an interface for multiple identities.

### Sava Archive

The section about Sava Archive is the aftermath of the curatorial work and discussions held for SAVA SVIMA!, UrbanFestival 2009,<sup>3</sup> where Sava was analyzed threefold – as a laboratory of urban planning, as a leisurescape, and as a collective patrimony. The project/installation consisted of a temporary archive on

planiranja, *leisurescape* i kao kolektivna baština.

Projektom/installacijom stvoren je privremeni arhiv u prostorijama UrbanFestivala, koji je sadržavao izbor najrelevantnije historijske dokumentacije o aktivnostima, diskusijama i koncepcijama vezanim uz Savu i njenu obalu. Postav arhiva nudio je zainteresiranim posjetiteljima mogućnost da iz sakupljenog materijala (uz pomoć fotokopirnog stroja i arhivskog osoblja) sastave svojevrsni „autorski katalog“ o povijesti Save. Posjetiocu su bili pozvani dopuniti arhiv i vlastitom dokumentacijom.

Osim arhiva, održane su četiri popodnevne „čajanke“ otvorene za javnost, na kojima je publika dobila priliku

„KOJOM METODOM PRONAĆI AGENS MOVENS KOJI ĆE U TOM PODRUČJU U BUDUĆNOSTI GENERIRATI SMISLENI RITAM I ODRŽIVI KONCEPT I DOVESTI KOMBINACIJU PLANIRANOG I SPONTANOG RAZVOJA? JER NE MOŽE SE SVE NI PLANIRATI, A NI PREPUSTITI SPONTANOSTI, POGOTOVU NE U OVIM SRVASTIMA PRITISAKA KOJIMA SMO ZADNJI DVADESETAK GODINA IZLOŽENI. POSTOJI IDEJA REKREACIJE, ONA JE NAJSTARIJA I PРОISTEKLA JE IZ PRVOG PRESKOКА PREKO SAVE, UZ ČITAV NIZ DRUGAČIJIH PROJEKATA. AKO SE IDE NA REKREACIJU ONDA TO TREBA RADITI SVESTRANO – NE SAMO SADRŽAJE KLASIČNE REKREACIJE, TO TREBA NA NEKI NAČIN PROŠIRITI NA REKUPERACIJU, NA KULTURALNU REKREACIJU, DA BI NASTALO ZAISTA PRIVLAČNA PODRUČJE KOJE BI ZAŽIVJELO, U KOJE NE BI BILO PROBLEM INVESTIRATI. SPOMENUT JE PRIJEDLOG VLADINIH PALAČA; MISLIM DA BI TAKVO RJEŠENJE UMRTVILO OVU ZONU I ONEMOGUČILO DA SE ONA RAZVIJUE U JEDNO VITALNO PODRUČJE ZA GRAĐANE. POSTOJI JOŠ MOGUĆNOST GRADNJE SVEUČILIŠNOG CENTRA – TU SE ONDA POJAVA LJUJU FAKULTETI, CENTAR ZA CIJELOŽIVOTNO OBRAZOVANJE, STUDENTSKI DOMOVI, REKREACIJA, HOBI, ZABAVA, KONCERTI, PREDAVANJA, PROSTORI CIVILNIH UDРUGA, TRGOVINE I ČAK NEKAKAV HOTEL. NE BI BIO PROBLEM DA SE I DRŽAVNA SREDSTVA I PRIVATNI KAPITAL UKLJUČE U TAKVU STVAR.“ – IGOR TOŠ, ARHITEKT I SOCIOLOG.

„WHICH IS THE METHOD TO FIND AGENS MOVENS TO GENERATE THE LOGICAL RHYTHM AND SUSTAINABLE CONCEPT FOR THE AREA IN THE FUTURE AND BRING A COMBINATION OF SPONTANEOUS AND PLANNED DEVELOPMENT? BECAUSE NOT EVERYTHING COULD BE PLANNED AND NEITHER BE LEFT TO SPONTANEITY, ESPECIALLY UNDER THIS KIND OF PRESSURE TO WHICH WE ARE EXPOSED FOR THE LAST TWENTY YEARS. THERE IS THE IDEA OF RECREATION, IT IS THE OLDEST AND IT WAS BORN OUT OF THE FIRST JUMP ACROSS SAVA ALONG WITH A SERIES OF DIFFERENT PROJECTS. IF WE CHOOSE FOR RECREATION, THEN IT SHOULD BE MULTIFACETED – NOT ONLY CLASSICAL RECREATIONAL PROGRAMS, BUT ALSO A RECUPERATION, A CULTURAL RECREATION IN ORDER TO CREATE A TRULY ATTRACTIVE AREA WHICH COULD BE LIVELY AND WORTH INVESTING. THE PROPOSAL FOR THE GOVERNMENT PALACE WAS MENTIONED; I THINK THAT SUCH A PROJECT WOULD KILL THIS ZONE AND KEEP IT FROM TURNING INTO A VIBRANT AREA FOR CITIZENS. THERE IS ALSO A POSSIBILITY OF BUILDING A UNIVERSITY CENTER – IN WHICH WE WOULD HAVE FACULTIES, EDUCATIONAL CENTER ADDRESSING ALL DEMOGRAPHICS, STUDENT HOUSING, RECREATION, HOBBIES, ENTERTAINMENT, CONCERTS, LECTURES, NGO PREMISES, SHOPS AND EVEN SOME KIND OF HOTEL FACILITIES. IT WOULD NOT BE A BIG PROBLEM TO INVOLVE PUBLIC FUNDS AND PRIVATE CAPITAL IN SUCH VENTURE.“ – IGOR TOŠ, ARCHITECT AND SOCIOLOGIST.

the premises of UrbanFestival, containing the most relevant documented material about the activities, discussions, and conceptions related to Sava and the riverbank. The setup offered the opportunity for the visitors to compile their personal archives; a kind of “cost-free-xerox-it-yourself booklet” of the history of Sava. In addition to the archive, four afternoon “tea gatherings” open to the public were held, where the audience got the chance to discuss, together with knowledgeable guests, the river area in relation to several topics in need of attention. The sessions were recorded and transcribed, thus contributing to the actualization of the archive.

zajedno sa stručnim gostima raspravljati o gorućim pitanjima vezanima uz Savu i njeno korištenje. Sastanci su snimani i transkribirani, doprinoseći tako aktualizaciji arhiva.

### Arhivska problematika

U svjetlu nesavjesnog urbanog upravljanja, politika zamrzavanja gradskog/ekološkog resursa kao što je rijeka Sava mogla bi se smatrati ispravnom strategijom. Ali, s takvom strategijom uvijek postoji opasnost od razvojnog pritiska. Politika zamrzavanja može donijeti štetne posljedice kada je suočena s nedostatkom institucionalne snage i/ili dobro pripremljenih strategija. Kako izbjegići ponavljanje povijesti primjera nereguliranog Trnja?<sup>4</sup> Ne događa li se to već? Ili, naprotiv, može li se izbjegići gubitak bitnog kulturnog naslijeđa, kao što su kupališta koja su se gradila i demontirala i bila (previše) privremenog karaktera za stjecanje zaštićenog statusa?

Iako se može činiti iznenadujućim, nije teško portretirati

trenutnu situaciju Save. S jedne strane recentni projekti i planovi direktna su posljedica trenutnog regulatornog plana (GUP-a) te kao takvi međusobno nepovezani, jer predstavljaju točke strateškog razvoja izvan tradicije integralnog planiranja, stoga vrlo vjerojatno mogu prouzrokovati neartikulirane urbane učinke. Jasan primjer gradotvornog razmišljanja odnosi se na jedno od izlaganja na raspravama Arhiva, u kojem je predloženo da bi se trenutno nastojanje grada za izgradnjom sveučilišnog kampusa na Borongaju trebalo zapravo dogoditi na Savi. Radi se o programu koji u smislu društvene živosti, identiteta, performansi i veličine zaslužuje daleko bolje okruženje od onog koje je gradska vlast izabrala.<sup>5</sup> Da ne spominjemo kako svaki gradski prijedlog, iako može imati revitalizirajući učinak, nije pogodan za Savu. Proces koji je pokrenut GUP-om ne samo što još jednom odgada nedovršenu raspravu o tome što bi Sava mogla biti, već i signalizira potencijalni gubitak concepcije rijeke kao kolektivnog gradskog subjekta. Niz urbanih prijedloga

„SAVSKI PROSTOR NE BI TREBALO GLEDATI KAO REZERVU KOJU MALO PO MALO NAGRIZAMO, VEĆ KAO NEŠTO ŠTO ZAGREBU TREBA I ŠTO TREBA OSTATI PRAZNO U SVOJ SVOJOJ VELIČINI. NARAVNO, TREBA PRONAĆI DOVOLJAN RAZLOG ZA TU OPCIJU, UZ PRONALAŽENJE SMISLA I SADRŽAJA ZA TAJ PROSTOR. U TOM SMISLU, MOGUĆE JE APOSTROFIRATI EKOLOGIJU KAO DOVOLJAN RAZLOG DA ČUVAMO TAJ PROSTOR, DAKLE NE ULAZIMO U NJEGA GRADNJOM. VJEROJATNO BI SE NIZOM EKOLOŠKIH INTERVENCIJA, UKLJUČUJUĆI VRAĆANJE MOČVARA KOJE PRIRODnim PUTEM PROČIŠĆAVAJU VODU, MOGAO STVORITI EKOLOŠKI PARK.“ – HRVOJE HRABAK, ARHITEKT.

„THE SPACE OF SAVA SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS A RESERVE TO BE USED BIT BY BIT, BUT RATHER AS SOMETHING THAT ZAGREB NEEDS AND THAT SHOULD STAY EMPTY PRESERVING ITS FULL MAGNITUDE. OF COURSE, ONE SHOULD FIND THE RIGHT REASON FOR THIS OPTION, AS WELL AS FINDING MEANING AND PROGRAM FOR THIS SPACE. IN THAT SENSE, IT IS POSSIBLE TO PUT AN ACCENT ON ECOLOGY AS A FAIR ARGUMENT TO KEEP THIS SPACE FREE FROM BUILDING. PROBABLY, BY A SERIES OF ECOLOGICAL INTERVENTIONS, INCLUDING THE RETURN OF WETLANDS THAT NATURALLY CLEANSE THE WATER, AN ECOLOGICAL PARK COULD BE CREATED.“ – HRVOJE HRABAK, ARCHITECT.

### Archival Issues

In the light of negligent urban management, a policy of freezing an urban/environmental resource such as the Sava River might be considered a fair strategy. But with such strategy, there is always the danger of developmental pressure. A freezing policy may have detrimental consequences when faced with the lack of institutional strength and/or well prepared strategies. How can one avoid history repeating the example of an unregulated Trnje?<sup>4</sup> Is it not happening already? Or on the contrary, how can one avoid the loss of an important cultural legacy, like the bathing pools that were built and disassembled and were too light and soft to enter a protected status?

It might come as a surprise, but it is not difficult to portray the current situation of Sava. On the one hand, the recent projects and plans are a direct consequence of the current Master Plan (GUP), and as such not related to each other, for they constitute points of strategic development outside the tradition of integral planning, therefore subject to have probable disarticulated urban

MOST SLOBODE ISPREĐ GRADSKE PANORAME, FOTOGRAFIJA ANALOG  
CENTRAL CITY BRIDGE AGAINST THE CITYSCAPE, PHOTO BY LUCIANO BASAURI AND DAFNE BER

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effects. A clear example of metropolitan thinking refers to one of the exposés held during the Archive discussions, in which it was proposed that the current endeavor of the city to build a university campus on Borongaj should actually happen at Sava, a program that in terms of social liveliness, identity, performance, and magnitude deserves a far better environment than the one chosen by the city authorities.<sup>5</sup> The process that GUP has set in motion not only postpones once again the unfinished discussion of what is to become of the river, but signals the potential of losing the conception of Sava as a collective metropolitan entity. As mentioned in the Archive discussions, the array of urban proposals awarded through the latest competitions and thus planned to be executed is eating up valuable land (regardless of the size of the developments). In other words, while some might celebrate that parts of the riverbanks will finally develop, others, including ourselves, see danger in such process, for it is consuming a territory that has to be properly assessed and carefully conceived.

nagrađenih na zadnjim natječajima i stoga planiranih za provedbu, kao što je i spomenuto u raspravama Arhiva, troši vrijedno zemljiste (bez obzira na veličinu zahvata). Drugim riječima, dok bi neki mogli slaviti što će se dijelovi riječnih obala konačno razviti, ostali, uključujući i nas, vide opasnost u takvom procesu, jer je riječ o teritoriju koji mora biti ispravno procijenjen i pažljivo osmišljen.

Identitet Save ima dva jasna lica – sjevernu i južnu obalu. Sjeverna je konsolidirana, bolje uslužena i korištena, dok je južna nešto divljija i pustinja. Jezero Jarun, stambeni neboderi s igrašćima i sportskim sadržajima u Veslačkoj ulici, prisutnost kluba Močvara te Centra za nezavisnu kulturu, odnosno šetnica sa skulpturama pomažu stvaranju urbanije sredine na središnjoj sjevernoj obali rijeke. S druge strane

središnja je južna obala, s hipodromom, jezerom Bundek, naseljem Kajzerica, pa čak i sa sajmištem na Jakuševcu, zadržala jedan raspršeniji pastoralni ugodaj. Unatoč dualnosti između planiranja i improvizacije, obje obale ne samo što se nadopunjaju, već nude jedinstveni set aktivnosti za ostatak grada. Jedan od uvjeta koji omogućuju suživot tih razlika i mogućnosti homogenizirajući je učinak nasipa, koji su svoj konačni oblik stekli ranih 70-ih, i od tad postali jedan od ključnih identiteta Save. U tom smislu, nasipi su puno više od infrastrukturnog rješenja za hitne slučajeve. Postali su prepoznatljiva i moćna značajka izgleda rijeke. Iznad svega (a i zbog 300 m široke naplavne ravni koja se prostire između) oni su postali fizička krajobrazna formacija, koja štiti područje rijeke od neposredne prisutnosti novih građevina



SAVA SVIMA! OD  
NEFORMALNOG  
DO INSTRUMEN-  
TALNOG

SAVA SVIMA! FROM  
THE INFORMAL  
TO THE INSTRU-  
MENTAL

Sava has an identity constituted by two clear faces – the northern and the southern bank. While the northern one is more consolidated, served, and used, the southern one is somewhat wilder and desolated. Examples like Lake Jarun, the residential skyscrapers together with the playgrounds and sport facilities of Veslačka street, or the presence of Club Močvara and Center for Independent Culture, or the promenade with sculptures, help create a more urban environment on the north central bank of the River. On the other hand, the south central bank with the Hippodrome, Lake Bundek, Kajzerica neighborhood, or even the flea market on Jakuševac, has acquired a more dissipated pastoral environment. Despite of the duality between planning and improvisation, the two banks not only complement each

other, but offer a unique set of activities for the rest of the city. One of the conditions that make possible the coexistence of such differences and possibilities is the homogenizing effect of the dykes – another core identity of Sava that started to develop when they acquired their final shape in the early 70s. In this sense, the dykes are much more than infrastructural solutions for emergencies. They have become a distinctive and overwhelming feature of the appearance of the river. Most of all (and due to a 300 m wide floodplain caught between the dykes) they have become the physical landscape formation protecting the river area from the immediate presence of new developments and the unintended consequences of improvised interventions inside the floodplain.<sup>6</sup> Regardless of all the bridges planned to be built in the nearby

i nenamjernih posljedica improviziranih intervencija unutar inundacije.<sup>6</sup>

Bez obzira na sve mostove planirane za izgradnju u bliskoj budućnosti, rijeka će uvijek ostati granica. No, jednom kad se granica shvati kao stanje, ona gubi sve negativne konotacije i počinju se pojavljivati njeni potencijali. „Ono što je za srednjovjekovni Zagreb bila izgradnja Gradeca ili za 19. stoljetni grad oblikovanje Zelene potkove, to bi za Zagreb 21. stoljeća mogla i trebala biti Sava“.<sup>7</sup> Sava je *treći prostor*<sup>8</sup> Zagreba kakvog poznajemo. Sve odluke o njenom budućem profilu i razvoju ne bi trebale biti samo pažljivo promišljene, već bi na neki način trebale uključiti i opće stanje građanskog mnijenja. Gradske bi vlasti trebale razraditi nužne odredbe,

artikulirati potrebnu viziju i razviti potrebnu volju za vođenje procesa građanske participacije. To bi dovelo do najmanje dvije paralelne linije gradskog upravljanja i performansi – konsolidacije identiteta rijeke kao slobodnog gradskog *leisure escapea* te, istovremeno, omogućivanja nadgradnji potrebnih za unapredavanje njenog sadašnjeg korištenja. Takav bi pothvat zahtijevao jasno razumijevanje odnosa veličine teritorija potrebnog za aktivnosti različitih naravi na otvorenom (baziranih na krajobraznim manevrima) i veličine teritorija potrebnog za prostore koji mogu nuditi različite usluge. Potonje bi moglo ući u kategoriju meke urbanizacije, koja bi koristila privremenu infrastrukturu za *café*, restorane, barove, koncerte, izložbe, širenje kulture općenito itd., kao

„TRNJE I VRBIK SU PRENAPUĆENI KVARTOVI S NEDOSTATKOM ZELENIH POVRŠINA I UŽASNOM REGULACIJOM PROMETA. U PRIJEDLOGU, KOJI SMO RAZRADILI S INŽINJEROM ŠILIĆEM, NASIP MOŽE BITI UKLONJEN USLJED KANALIZIRANJA I PRODUBLJIVANJA RIJEKE (PROMJENE PRESJEGA RIJEČNOG KORITA, UZ OČUVANJE VOLUMENA VODE S POTREBNOM REZERVOM ZA SPREČAVANJE OPASNOSTI OD POPLAVA). OVA OPERACIJA OMOGUĆILA BI ISKORIŠTAVANJE SREDIŠNJE SJEVERNE INUNDACIJE ZA IZGRADNJU NOVIH ZGRADA GRADSKE I DRŽAVNE UPRAVE I, PRIJE SVEGA, NOVE STAMBENE ČETVRTI. CILJ NAM JE POBOLIŠATI ŽIVOTNE UVJETE PODRUČJA I OVAJ JE PROJEKT DOBRA I IZVEDIVA INICIJATIVA U TOM POGLEDU – POGOTOVO JER BI ZEMLJIŠTE BILO JEFTINO.“ – ŽELJKO BENKOVIĆ, UDRUGA TRNJE, STANOVNIK SUSJEDSTVA I POLITIČAR.

„TRNJE AND VRBIK ARE OVERPOPULATED NEIGHBORHOODS WITH INSUFFICIENT GREEN AREAS AND TERRIBLE TRAFFIC CONDITIONS. IN THE PROPOSAL, WHICH WE HAVE ELABORATED WITH ENGINEER ŠILIĆ, THE DYKE CAN BE REMOVED BY CANALIZING AND DEEPENING OF THE RIVER (CHANGING THE SECTION OF THE RIVERBED, WHILE PRESERVING THE VOLUME OF WATER WITH THE NECESSARY RESERVES TO PREVENT THE RISK OF FLOODING). THIS OPERATION WOULD ENABLE THE EXPLOITATION OF THE NORTHERN CENTRAL FLOOD PLANE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE CITY AND STATE GOVERNMENT AND, MOST OF ALL, NEW HOUSING QUARTERS. OUR AIM IS TO IMPROVE THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE AREA AND THIS PROJECT IS A GOOD AND FEASIBLE INITIATIVE IN THAT REGARD – ESPECIALLY BECAUSE THE LAND WOULD BE CHEAP.“ – ŽELJKO BENKOVIĆ, NGO TRNJE, DWELLER OF THE AREA AND POLITICIAN.

„PRIJEDLOG KANALIZACIJE RIJEČNOG KORITA I IZGRADNJE NA OBALI SAVE, KOJA BI NAVODNO BILA DOBRO UREĐENA I SADRŽAVALA SVE ELEMENTE ODGOVARAJUĆIH ŽIVOTNIH UVJETA, KONTRADIKTORAN JE IZ RAZNIH RAZLOGA. ZA POČETAK, KORIŠTENJE SCENA IZ DOKUMENTARNOG FILMA *PREZRENA RIJEKA*, KOJE PRIKAZUJU ZELENI RAZVEDENI KRAJOLIK SAVE IZVAN ZAGREBA, ZA ILUSTRACIJU OVAKVOG PRIJEDLOGA U STVARI JE MANIPULACIJA, JER RIJEKA U GRADU ZASIGURNO NE MOŽE IMATI ISTOVJETNE KVALITETE. OSIM TOGA, SAVA SVIMA! ZAPRAVIO JE U SUPROTNOSTI S IDEjom GRADNJE GRADA NA SAVI. GRAD NA SAVI PODRAZUMIJEVA KORIŠTENJE OBALE RIJEKE ZA PRIVATNE POTREBE STANOVNIKA, A MOŽDA I INSTITUCIONALNIH ZGRADA, ŠTO JE U SUPROTNOSTI S JAVnim KORIŠTENjem. ČAK I UZ SVE PROBLEME I UPITNE ŽIVOTNE UVJETE OKOLNIH NASELJA, PROSTOROM SAVE NUŽNO JE RASPOLAGATI KAO GRADSKIM RESURSAM, A NE SPECIFIČNIM RJEŠENJEM ZA TRNJE.“ – DAFNE BERK, ARHITEKTICA.

LUCIANO BASAURI

DAFNE BERK

„THE PROPOSAL FOR CANALIZING THE RIVERBED AND BUILDING ON SAVA EMBANKMENT, WHICH WOULD SUPPOSEDLY BE WELL ARRANGED AND HAVE ALL THE ELEMENTS FOR PROPER LIVING CONDITIONS, IS CONTRADICTORY FOR MANY REASONS. FOR A START, THE USE OF SCENES FROM THE DOCUMENTARY *THE SCORNED RIVER*, THAT FEATURE A GREEN UNDULATED LANDSCAPE OF SAVA OUTSIDE OF ZAGREB, TO ILLUSTRATE THIS PROPOSAL IS IN FACT A MANIPULATION, SINCE THE RIVER IN THE CITY CERTAINLY DOESN'T HAVE EQUIVALENT QUALITIES. FURTHER MORE, SAVA SVIMA! IS IN FACT CONTRADICTORY TO THE IDEA OF BUILDING THE CITY ON SAVA. THE CITY ON SAVA UNDERSTANDS THE USE OF THE RIVER BANK FOR PRIVATE DWELLERS, AND MAYBE INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS, WHICH IS CONTRARY TO ITS PUBLIC USE. EVEN WITH ALL THE PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONABLE LIVING CONDITION OF THE SURROUNDING NEIGHBORHOODS, THE SPACE OF SAVA IS TO BE TAKEN AS A CITY RESOURCE AND NOT AS A SPECIFIC SOLUTION FOR TRNJE.“ – DAFNE BERK, ARCHITECT.

future, the river will always remain a border. But once the border is understood as a condition, it loses all negative connotations and its potentials start to appear. “What Uptown Gradec meant for the medieval Zagreb and the Green Horseshoe for Zagreb of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Sava could and should mean for Zagreb of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.”<sup>7</sup> Sava is a *third space*<sup>8</sup> of the Zagreb we know. All decisions about its future profile or development should not only be carefully thought, but should somehow include the general citizenship’s state of opinion. The urban authorities should work out the necessary provisions, articulate the necessary vision, and develop the necessary will to gear a process of civil participation. This would lead to at least two parallel lines of urban management and performance – the consolidation of the river’s

identity as a free metropolitan *leisure escape*, while at the same time facilitating the necessary upgrades to improve its current use.

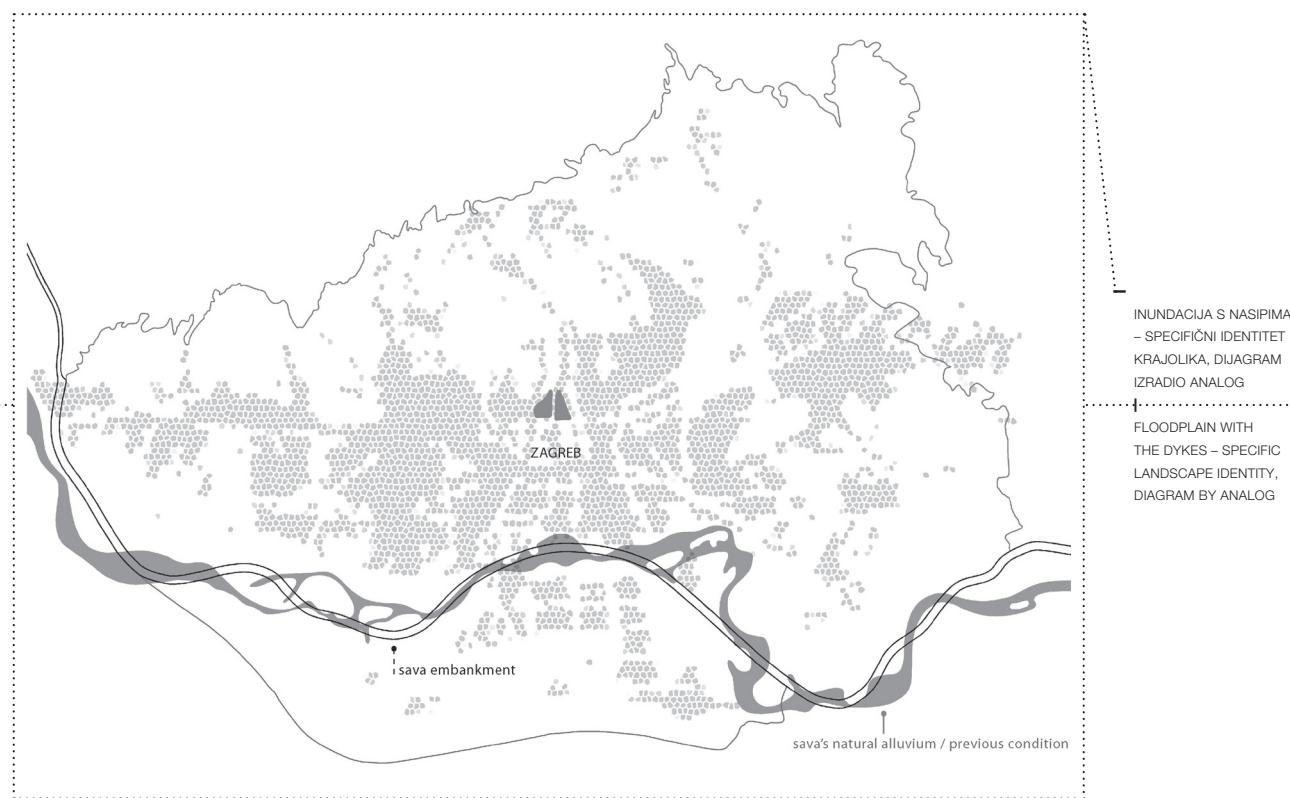
Such enterprise would need a clear understanding of what would be the amount of territory necessary for outdoor activities of diverse nature (based on landscape maneuvers) and the amount of territory required for spaces that can offer diverse services. The latter might fall into the category of soft urbanization, which would use transitory infrastructure for cafés, restaurants, bars, concerts, exhibitions, dissemination of culture in general, etc, as well as different modes of navigable means to enjoy the waters. The challenge here is how to place and deploy the two types of scapes,<sup>9</sup> allowing them to intertwine without diminishing each

i različite vrste navigacijskih sredstava za uživanje na vodi. Izazov je ovdje kako smjestiti i razviti dvije vrste *scapae*,<sup>9</sup> dopuštajući im da se isprepliću bez međusobnog potiranja, a uz međusobno nadopunjavanje.

### Od taktičkog do strateškog

Vjerojatno bi ispravno polazište bilo priznavanje potrebe za barem dvjema frontama urbanog planiranja (i urbane participacije) – taktičkih operacija i planerskih strategija. Inicijative promovirane od građanskih organizacija često djeluju na taktičkoj razini. One su korisne pri stvaranju svijesti o potencijalnim opasnostima, predviđanju mogućnosti pa čak i postavljanju trendova korištenja koji većinu vremena

pridonose općoj dobroti mesta.<sup>10</sup> U slučaju Save, klub Močvara i kasnije Centar za nezavisnu kulturu započeli su pothvat koji se pokazao zdravim kulturnim doprinosom za okolicu i grad. Upravo bi u ovoj tradiciji taktičke operacije za Savu trebale obuhvatiti sve nezavisne civilne organizacije koje imaju jasne inicijative u portfelju<sup>11</sup> te bi se, uz odgovarajuće profesionalno vrednovanje, pred gradske vlasti trebalo iznijeti prijedlog za njihovo priznavanje. Na strateškoj je razini važan aspekt poboljšanja fizičke pristupačnosti rijeci, kako bi se postigao lakši kontakt njene obale i urbanog tkiva – uvijek čuvajući i poštujući performativne i estetske vrijednosti nasipa. Konačno, potrebno je unaprijediti nedostatke GUP-a za ovo područje, što bi zahtijevalo osnaživanje



other, but complementing one another.

### From the Tactical to the Strategic

Perhaps, a fair starting point would be to recognize the need of having at least two frontlines of urban planning (and therefore urban participation) – tactical operations and planning strategies. The initiatives promoted by civil organizations are often working on a tactical level. They are valuable in creating awareness about potential dangers, foreseeing opportunities and even setting up trends of use that most of the times contribute to the general well-being of a place.<sup>10</sup> In the case of Sava, Club Močvara and later Center for Independent Culture started a venture that has proven to be a sound cultural asset for the surrounding area and the

city. It is in this tradition that tactical operations for Sava should encompass all the independent civil organizations that have clear initiatives in portfolio,<sup>11</sup> together with the respective professional validation, and put forward a petition before the city's authorities for their acknowledgement. On the strategic level, an important aspect is the improvement of the physical accessibility towards the river in order to achieve a smoother contact between its banks and the urban fabric – always keeping and respecting the performance and aesthetic value of the dykes. Finally, it would be to upgrade GUP's shortcomings for the area, which would require the empowerment of the legal constraints of the current freezing policy, at least for the time being until a better planning program is conceived.

pravnih ograničenja trenutne politike zamrzavanja, barem u međuvremenu, dok se ne osmisli bolji planerski program. Međutim, u naprednom stanju pristrane birokracije, niti se civilno priznanje može osloniti samo na formalne peticije, niti na pravni aparat planiranja mogu utjecati isključivo dobronamerni, razumni i kompetentni diskursi.

Ako urbano razmišljanje ima dvije prepoznatljive fronte, posljedični zadatak bio bi stvoriti povratne veze među njima. Svakako, ovo predstavlja veliki izazov: kako učiniti strateško/pravno područje propusnjim za taktičku razinu, odnosno kako taktičko/participativno područje učiniti instrumentalnijim u dostizanju strateške razine.

Participacija građana i građanskih organizacija igra temeljnu ulogu pri nadgledanju vlasti, posebice kada je upravljanje

loše. Na primjer, jedan od rijetkih projekata densifikacije<sup>12</sup> koji se događa u jednom od obodnih blokova Cvjetnog trga u središtu Zagreba pokazao je kapacitet građanstva (izažen u aktivističkim organizacijama) za odgađanje gradnje koja služi privatnom interesu s namjenama sumnjeve kvalitete za područje. I ovdje se radi o pothvatu koji je trebao uzeti u obzir kolektivno urbano naslijede povezano s nekoliko aspekata koji se odnose na lokaciju i program. Na pritisak na vlasti, kojim se zahtijevalo objašnjenje odobrenja projekta, nije propisno odgovoreno. I dok je Grad gubio argumente, civilno društvo jačalo je do te mjere da se razvoj projekta, odnosno njegova najštetnijeg dijela, umalo blokirao. Kad bi to bio ishod, otvorila bi se vrata razmišljanju gdje, koliko i koje vrste projekata bi se moglo ili trebalo razvijati u Zagrebu – ulaganjima koja bi

„IDEJA AVENIJE SKULPTURA POSTOJI VEĆ DUGO VREMENA, A KAO POTENCIJALNE LOKACIJE SU SE KROZ GODINE SPOMINJALI MAKSIMIR, JARUN, SLJEME... NA KRAJU SE SJEVERNA SREDIŠNJA OBALA SAVE POKAZALA NAJBOLJOM ZA NJEZIN SMJEŠTAJ ZBOG MOGUĆNOSTI VIZUALNOG DIJALOGA SKULPTURA I KRAJOLIKA. TAKAV DIJALOG NAJBLIŽI JE KONCEPTU OTVORENOG MUZEJA. U JEDNOM DANU TU AVENIJU POGLEDA IZMEĐU 500 I 1000 LJUDI, ŠTO NE MOŽE OKUPITI NITI JEDNA NAŠA GALERIJAILI MUZEJ. ZBOG NEDOSTATKA RAZUMIJEVANJA I FINANCIRANJA OD STRANE GRADA ZAGREBA I MINISTARSTVA KULTURE, TEK JE SADA, NAKON DVADESET GODINA, DOVRŠEN PRVI DIO PROJEKTA ZAKLJUČNO S DESETOM SKULPTUROM. IMA JOŠ DOSTA SKULPTURA KOJE ČEKAJU POSTAVLJANJE NA LOKACIJU.“ – RATKO PETRIĆ, KIPAR I OSNIVAČ ALEJE SKULPTURA NA SAVSKOM NASIPU.

“THE IDEA OF THE ALLEY OF SCULPTURES WAS CONCEIVED A WHILE AGO, CHANGING POTENTIAL LOCATIONS THAT INCLUDED MAKSIMIR, JARUN, SLJEME... IN THE END, THE NORTHERN CENTRAL BANK OF SAVA, TURNED OUT BEST FOR ITS PLACEMENT DUE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF VISUAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PIECES AND THE LANDSCAPE. SUCH DIALOGUE IS THE CLOSEST TO THE OPEN MUSEUM CONCEPT. IN ONE DAY, 500 TO 1000 PEOPLE WOULD PASS THROUGH THE ALLEY, WHICH NO CROATIAN GALLERY OR MUSEUM CAN MATCH. DUE TO LIMITED FINANCES AND LACK OF UNDERSTANDING FROM THE CITY OF ZAGREB AND MINISTRY OF CULTURE, JUST NOW, AFTER TWENTY YEARS, THE FIRST PART OF THE PROJECT WAS FINISHED ENDING WITH THE TENTH SCULPTURE. THERE ARE STILL PLENTY OF PIECES WAITING TO BE PLACED ON SITE.” – RATKO PETRIĆ, SCULPTOR AND FOUNDER OF THE ALLEY OF SCULPTURES ON THE SAVA BANK.

„JEDINI BRODOVI KOJI SE MOGU DANAS VIDJETI NA SAVI SU ONI KOJI PRENOSE ŠLJUNAK I NAFTU. JEDAN OD UZROKA JE I NEDOSTATAK SMJERA GRADNJE RIJEČNIH BRODOVA NA FAKULTETU STROJARSTVA I BRODOGRADNJE. U NAŠIM PROJEKTIMA BAVILI SMO SE POPULARIZACIJOM RIJEČNE PLOVIDBE. DIZAJNIRALI SMO KATAMARAN POSEBNO ZA NAVIGACIJU NAŠIM RIJEKAMA, KOJI JE LAKŠI OD UOBICAJENIH PLOVILA, TAKO DA GA SE MOŽE I NOSITI U SLUČAJU NUŽDE. TESTIRAN JE NA PLOVIDBI OD OBOROVA DO BUNJE NA SVE ZAMISLIVE PREPREKE. JOŠ JEDAN PROJEKT, ZA RIJEKU SPAČVU, SASTOJAO SE OD IZRADA NEKOLIKO TRADICIONALNIH BRODOVA UZ OBRAZOVANJE LJUDI KOJI BI IH ODRŽAVALI. GLAVNI CILJ OVDJE JE BIO SAČUVANJE TRADICIJE GRADNJE U SINERGIJI S RIJEČnim TURIZMOM. OVA INICIJATIVA MOGLA BI POSTATI MODEL ZA RIJEČNI TAKSI NA SAVI.“ – GORDAN KAPANEC, KLASTER BRODOGRADNJE.

LUCIANO BASAURI

DAFNE BERG

“THE ONLY BOATS THAT CAN BE SEEN ON SAVA TODAY ARE THE ONES CARRYING GRAVEL AND OIL. ONE OF THE CAUSES IS THE LACK OF EDUCATIONAL COVERAGE AT THE RESPECTIVE FACULTIES. IN OUR PROJECTS WE DEALT WITH POPULARIZATION OF RIVER CRUISE. WE DESIGNED CATAMARAN SPECIALLY TO NAVIGATE OUR RIVERS, WHICH IS LIGHTER THAN THE USUAL VESSELS, SO IT COULD BE EVEN CARRIED IN CASE OF EMERGENCY. IT WAS TESTED ON A TRIP FROM OBOROVO TO BUNJA TO ALL IMAGINABLE OBSTACLES. ANOTHER PROJECT, FOR RIVER SPAČVA, CONSISTED IN THE PRODUCTION OF SEVERAL TRADITIONAL VESSELS AND THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE WHO WOULD MAINTAIN THEM. THE MAIN OBJECTIVE HERE WAS THE PRESERVATION OF TRADITIONAL CONSTRUCTION IN SYNERGY WITH RIVER TOURISM. THIS INITIATIVE COULD BECOME A MODEL FOR NAVIGABLE TAXIS ON SAVA.” – GORDAN KAPANEC, BOATBUILDING CLUSTER.

But, in an advanced state of biased bureaucracy, civil recognition cannot rely on formal petitions alone, nor can the legal planning apparatus be affected solely by well-intentioned, competent and reasonable discourses.

If urban thinking has two recognizable frontlines, the consequential task would be to create feedback loops between them. Altogether, it posed a grand challenge: how to make the strategic/legal realm more permeable for the tactical level, and therefore the tactical/participative realm more instrumental in reaching the strategic level.

The participation of citizens and civil organizations plays a fundamental role in monitoring the authorities, especially when the governance is poor. For example, one of the few

densification projects<sup>12</sup> happening in a bordering block of Cvjetni Trg of downtown Zagreb has showcased the capacity of the citizenship (voiced through activist organizations) in postponing a development that serves a private agenda with dubious quality purposes for the area. Again, a venture that should have considered a collective urban patrimony tied up with several aspects related to the location and program. The pressure put on the authorities, demanding the explanation behind their validation of the project, has not been properly answered. And as the City was running thin of arguments, the civil society was growing stronger, to the point that the project development, or the most harmful part, was almost blocked. If that were the outcome, then a door might open for thinking where, how many, and what kind

ujedno bila obazrivija prema stavu građana.

Pojava *urbanog aktivizma* nije nov fenomen, ali je ipak jedna od rijetkih prilika u kojima se materijalizira osnaživanje građana. Lako građani nisu sami po sebi aktivisti, zalaganje za prostornu zastupljenost putem kolektivnih manifestacija donosi osjećaj urbane pravde – svakako oslobođajući učinak, čak i kad ne poluči faktične promjene.

Ipak, ostaje pitanje: u kojoj mjeri i točno kako uključiti građane u proces planiranja?

Zapravo je teško okupiti kritičnu masu zainteresiranih građana da prisustvuje događajima na kojima se razgovara o kolektivnim problemima. Oni koji sudjeluju su već ionako dio manje ili više organizirane skupine, odnosno stručnjaci koji se bave nekim određenim pitanjem/predmetom.

Građanska participacija često je atomizirana u osobne ili grupne reakcije na problem koji ih direktno pogađa. Tendencija je da se radi o specifičnim problemima, koji se nikada ne dodiruju opće problematike koja obuhvaća ukupno građanstvo. Ovo simptomatsko ponašanje postavlja dva pitanja: kako stvoriti svijest o gradskom problemu kao kolektivnoj stvari, a ne samo brizi nekolicine, te kako razbiti dinamiku uzroka i posljedice i približiti se anticipativnoj sferi, iskazujući dobro informirana mišljenja i želje prije nego postane prekasno. Drugim riječima, kako stvoriti građanski angažman koji će moći procijeniti neke od potencijalnih kontradikcija na razini planiranja, prije nego se njihove stvarne posljedice dogode?

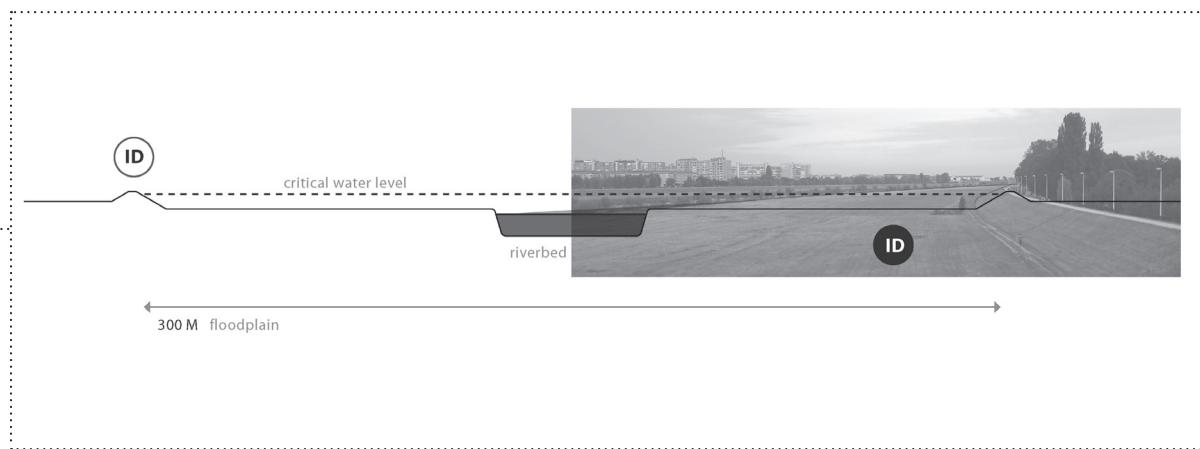
U tom su smislu ključne informacije o namjerama i/ili krivim

ODNOS ZAGREBA I SAVE – DVA ODVOJENA ENTITETA  
U PROŠLOSTI I PRAZNINA KANALIZIRANE RIJEKE U GRADU DANAS,  
DIJAGRAM IZRADIO ANALOG

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RELATIONSHIP OF ZAGREB AND SAVA – TWO SEPARATE ENTITIES  
IN THE PAST AND THE VOID OF THE CANALIZED RIVER IN THE CITY TODAY,  
DIAGRAM BY ANALOG

of projects could or should be developed in Zagreb – ventures that should also consider the state of opinion of the citizens. The emergence of *urban activism* is not a new phenomenon, yet it is one of the seldom moments in which the empowerment of citizens get materialized. Although citizens are not activists *per se*, advocating spatial representation through collective manifestations brings a sense of urban justice – anyhow a liberating effect, even if it fails to produce factual changes. Nevertheless, the question stays: to which extent and exactly how to make the citizens participate in the planning process? It is in fact difficult to gather the critical mass of interested citizens to attend events with the aim to discuss collective problems. The ones that participate are either already part of more or

less organized groups dealing with the particular issue or professionals engaged with the subject.

Citizen's participation is often atomized into personal or group reactions to a problem that affects them directly. These tend to be specific problems, never tackling a general problematic that addresses the totality of the citizenship. This symptomatic behavior poses two challenges: how to create the awareness that an urban problem is a collective one and not just a matter of a few, and how to break the dynamics of *cause and effect* and move towards an *anticipatory* realm, expressing well-informed opinions and wishes before it is too late. In other words, how to create a civil engagement able to assess some of the potential contradictions at a planning level before their actual

svrhama promoviranim urbanim planiranjem, koje bi trebale postati dostupne građanima, što je pak moguće organizirati u različitim formatima. Građani trebaju biti barem u minimalnoj mjeri informirani ukoliko imaju ambicije postati aktivnom silom u raspravi o budućnosti svoje okoline. Samo određeni stupanj kompetentne, artikulirane i konsensualne akcije može pokušati prodrijeti u (pravnu) sferu planiranja i poboljšati je. S jedne strane, inicijative poput Savskog arhiva vrlo su bitni pokretači za kulturu da bi služila kao sučelje između javnosti, stanovnika okolice te različitih organizacija i stručnih cehova koji se bave predmetom događaja. Kultura se ovdje koristi kao platforma za izlaganje relevantnih pitanja i građanskih aktera u našim trenutnim (rudimentarnim) uvjetima građanske participacije, u kojima je politička tijela još uvijek smatrali dodanom vrijednošću, a ne potencijalnim učinkovitim urbanim agentom.<sup>13</sup> S druge strane, te inicijative služe prikupljanju

„POTENCIJALI TURIZMA NA SAVI NISU ISPRAVNO OCIJENjeni. SAVAIMA DUGU POVIJEST SKELARENJA OD KAD SE SKELAMA PRENOSIO GRAĐEVINSKI MATERIJAL IZ SLOVENIJE DO ZAGREBA. SKELE IMAJU VRLO VELIKE MOGUĆNOSTI KAO PLOVNO SREDSTVO ZA DOKOLICU.“ – ŽELJKO KELEMEN, PODUZETNIK U TURIZMU.

“THE POTENTIALS OF TOURISM ON SAVA ARE NOT PROPERLY ASSESSED. SAVA HAS A LONG HISTORY OF FLOATING PLATFORMS WHICH CARRIED THE BUILDING MATERIAL FROM SLOVENIA TO ZAGREB. FLOATING PLATFORM HAS GREAT POSSIBILITIES TO BE INTRODUCED AS NAVIGABLE MEANS OF LEISURE.” – ŽELJKO KELEMEN, ENTREPRENEUR IN TOURISM.

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consequences happen.

In that sense, the information about the intentions and/or ill purposes promoted in urban planning are crucial and should become available to the citizens as often as possible and through various formats. Citizens need to be informed to a minimum extent if they have the ambition to be an active force in discussing the future of their environment. Only a certain degree of competent, articulated, and consensual action can try to penetrate and improve the (legal) planning realm.

On the one hand, initiatives like Sava Archive are very important vehicles for culture to serve as an interface between the general public, dwellers of the vicinity, and the different organizations and professional guilds dealing with the subject of the event. Culture is here used as a platform to expose relevant issues and civil actors in our current (rudimentary) conditions of civil participation, where the political bodies still consider culture as an added value

podataka i informiraju na drugačiji način od uobičajene ankete ili upitnika, gdje su sva pitanja precizno definirana i anonimna. Pitanja koja su potaknuta u okviru projekta Savski arhiv bila su zasigurno manje jednodimenzionalna, svakako izazvana i inspirirana gradom Arhiva, ambijentom instalacije i društvenom interakcijom.

Iako su iz Savskog arhiva izvedeni značajni zaključci, doprinos procesu prodiranja u službenu sferu planiranja radi njihove primjene zahtijeva dodatno vrijeme i upornost. U tom smislu, od najveće je važnosti što češće ponavljati slične vrste diskurzivnih formata. / PRIJEVOD S ENGLESKOG: DAFNE BER

<sup>1</sup> Na primjer, provesti vrijeme u prirodi, a opet ne morati odlučivati ili planirati hoćemo li se baviti sportom, okupiti se s prijateljima i spremiti piknik ili roštilj, lutati hodajući, prepustiti se refleksijama, obavljati intimni ili kolektivni ritual koji može ili ne mora biti dio neformalne ili formalne organizacije, izmjeniti si stanje svijesti, pa čak i odati se transgresiji.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Françoise Chevrierov doprinos pojmu *Terrain Vague* odnosi se na rubna područja, upražnjena područja u tranziciji i prijelazne zone te međuprostorje izostavljene iz procesa urbanizacije grada. Posljedično ih se ne smatra niti dijelom urbanog tkiva, ni dijelom ruralnih zona. Ipak, ti prostori predstavljaju kvalitete koje obogaćuju urbane rituale, jer mogu ugostiti različite intimne aktivnosti koje se rijetko mogu odviti u formalnim urbanim sredinama.

<sup>3</sup> SAVA SVIMA! bio je zajednički projekt organizacije Analog i UrbanFestivala u kojem su sudjelovali: Luciano Basauri, Dafne Berc, Ana Kutleša, Ivana Radenović i Sonja Soldo. Vidi: <http://www.urbanfestival.hr/analog-hr.html>.

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and not as a potential effective urban agent.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, these initiatives serve to gather data and inform in a different way than the usual survey or questioner where all the questions are precisely defined and anonymous. The questions which appeared at Sava Archive were certainly less one-dimensional, since they were provoked and inspired by the Archive material, the ambience of the installation and social interaction.

Although substantial conclusions were derived from Sava Archive, one has to acknowledge that the contribution to the process of penetrating the official planning realm for their implementation takes additional time and persistence. In this regard, it is of utmost importance to repeat as much as possible these types of discursive formats. / ENGLISH TRANSLATION: LUCIANO BASAURI

<sup>1</sup> For example, to spend time outdoors and yet not have to decide or plan whether to practice sports, gather with friends and have a picnic or a barbecue, walk in wander, reflect, practice a personal or collective ritual that might or not be part of an informal or formal organization, procure an altered state of consciousness or even become transgressive, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Françoise Chevrier's contribution to the notion of *Terrain Vague* refers to peripheral areas, transitory vacant areas and transitional zones and in between spaces left aside from the urbanizing process of the city. Consequentially they are considered neither part of the urban fabric nor part of rural zones. But they do present qualities that enrich urban rituals, for they can host a variety of intimate activities that are rarely facilitated by formal urban environments.

<sup>4</sup> Svi regulatorni planovi Zagreba do 20. stoljeća pretpostavljali su reformu željeznice i njeno preseljenje južno od Save. Međutim, širenje prema rijeci počelo se dogadati zbog mogućnosti iskorišćavanja aluvijalnog šljunka kao građevinskog materijala, pogodnosti za korištenje podzemnih voda za bune i niske cijene zemljišta izloženog potencijalnim poplavama. Budući da su regulatorni planovi ignorirali hitnu potrebu širenja grada prema jugu bez prethodnog izmještanja željeznice, adekvatno planiranje i građevinski propisi nisu razvijeni, dok se rast svejedno dogodio na improvizirani način. Rezultat su neregulirani teritoriji Trnja i Trešnjevke.

<sup>5</sup> Iako velika prazna parcela, Borongaj nije lako dostupan, uz ponešto neinspirativnu atmosferu za ugošćivanje studentske zajednice.

<sup>6</sup> Nitko se, opravданo, ne bi usudio riskirati ulaganje u improvizirane građevine ili intervencije na zemljištu podložnom poplavama.

<sup>7</sup> Saša Šimpraga, „Grad na rijeci i rijeka u gradu“, *Zarez*, 266 (2009.), 12, 13, 267 (2009.), 16, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Iako se doslovno radi o trećem prostoru, između centra grada i Novog Zagreba, donekle aludiramo i na pojam Edwarda W. Sojina *Thirdspace*, kojim pokušava uhvatiti konstantno promjenjiv milje ideja, dogadaja, pojavnosti i značenja koji djeluje izvan dijalektike ili/ili, u slučaju Save dijalektike izgradenog prostora ili praznine.

<sup>9</sup> Eng. *scape* u ovom kontekstu najbliži je pojmu „artificialnog okoliša“.

<sup>10</sup> Projekt High Line (New York 2006.–2011.), koji promovira High Line Org, a projektiraju Field Operations i Scofidio Diller + Renfro, dobra je ilustracija realizirane urbane intervencije potekle iz taktičke inicijative koja se pretvorila u stratešku. Proces je započeo 1999., kad su susjedi izrazili želju da se sačuva napuštena uzdignuta željezница u Chelseau, Meatpacking District (bivšem industrijskom području pretvorenom u vitalnu kulturnu scenu). Inicijativa je ubrzo postala organizacijom koja je zagovarala čuvanje takve infrastrukture kao urbane baštine pod pretpostavkom njene kulturne vrijednosti i potencijala preuređenja u dugačak uzdignuti *urbanscape* (s neodoljivim vidikovcima) koji može prihvati niz nepredvidljivih društvenih interakcija koje nedostaju u širem području. Nakon uspješnih pregovora koji su uključivali složeni proces pravnih postupaka, koncesije, partnerstva te opsežna urbana istraživanja, gradske su vlasti po-

kreneule pažljivo pripremljen natječaj koji je kulminirao velikim urbanim poboljšanjem. Vidi: <http://www.thehighline.org>.

<sup>11</sup> Organizacije koje ili koriste obale ili imaju prijedloge za poboljšavanje njihova korištenja: a) Udruga Stup osnovana u starom Trnju, usredotočena na zaštitu i jačanje susjedstva; b) Udruga Kontraakcija aktivna u Novom Zagrebu, koja se primarno bavi suvremenom ulogom kulturne baštine; c) Klaster brodogradnje, skupina brodograditelja, proizvođača pomorske industrije, opreme i dobavljača materijala, koja pruža učinkovita inovativna rješenja; d) Konjički klub Appaloosa, jedan od direktnih korisnika nasipa i obala Save, koji obavlja nekoliko djelatnosti uključujući humanitarne; e) Kajak kanu klub Zagreb smješten u bivšem veslačkom klubu pokraj Savskog mosta (kulturnom naslijeđu), čiji članovi treniraju na rijeci i uključuju sve životne dobi.

<sup>12</sup> U smislu značenja engleskog pojma *densification* – povećanje gustoće nečega.

<sup>13</sup> Kultura je oduvijek bila dio same srži urbanog razvoja, ne samo u društvenim normama, spomenicima ili arhitekturi, koja reprezentira institucije, životne uvjete i sl., već i u urbanosti kao uznapredovali stadij civiliziranosti, gdje tolerancija i obzirnost definiraju glavne kvalitete urbanog življena.

<sup>3</sup> SAVA SVIMA! was a joint project of organisation Analog and UrbanFestival with the following collaborators: Luciano Basauri, Dafne Berc, Ana Kutleša, Ivana Radenović and Sonja Soldo. See: <http://www.urbanfestival.hr/analog-hr.html>.

<sup>4</sup> All the regulation plans of Zagreb before 20th century were operating under the supposition that the railway should be reformed and displaced further south of Sava. Nevertheless, the expansion towards the river started to happen due to the possibility of exploiting the alluvial gravel as building material, the suitability to use the groundwater for wells and the low price of a land exposed to potential flooding. Since the regulation plans were ignoring the pressing need of extending the city towards the south without prior displacement of the railway, the adequate planning and building regulations were not developed and growth happened just the same, in an improvised manner. The results were the non regulated territories of Trnje and Trešnjevka.

<sup>5</sup> Although a big empty plot of land, Borongaj is not easily accessible and it has a somewhat uninspiring atmosphere to host a student community. Not to mention that almost any city proposal can have a revitalizing effect, but not every city proposal is suitable to Sava.

<sup>6</sup> The obvious; nobody in their right judgment would dare risking investments in improvised buildings or intervention on a land that is meant to hold floods.

<sup>7</sup> Saša Šimpraga, „Grad na rijeci i rijeka u gradu“, in: *Zarez*, 266 (2009), pp. 12, 13; 267 (2009), pp. 16, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Although it is literally thought as third space, between downtown and New Zagreb, we are to some extent referring to Edward W. Soja term *Thirdspace*, that is trying to catch the constantly variable milieu of ideas, events, appearances and meanings, which operates outside of the dialectic either/or, in the case of Sava – the dialectic of the built spaces or gaps.

<sup>9</sup> In this context english term *scape* is closest to the notion of the term „artificial environment“.

<sup>10</sup> The project High Line, NY 2006-2011, promoted by High Line Org and designed by Field Operations and Diller Scofidio + Renfro is a

good illustration of a realized urban intervention that originated from a tactical initiative that turned strategic. The process started in 1999, when the neighbors expressed their wish to keep the abandoned elevated railway in Chelsea, Meatpacking District (former industrial area turned vibrant cultural scene). The ininitiative soon became an organization which advocated for keeping such infrastructure as urban patrimony under the premise of its cultural value and the potential to redevelop into a long elevated *urbanscape* (with overwhelming vantage points) able to facilitate an array of unpredictable social interactions missing in the broader area. After successful negotiations that included a complex process of legal procedures, concessions, partnerships and extensive urban research, the city authorities launched a carefully assessed competition that culminated with a grand urban improvement. Visit: <http://www.thehighline.org>.

<sup>11</sup> Organizations that either use the banks and/or have proposals to enhance it are: a) NGO Stup founded in old Trnje, focuses on the protection and empowerment of the neighborhood; b) NGO Kontraacjija active in New Zagreb, primarily deals with the contemporary role of cultural heritage; c) Boatbuilding Cluster, an alliance constituted by boat builders, marine industry manufacturers, equipment and material suppliers and related service providers, provides effective innovative solutions; d) Appaloosa Horse Riding Club, one of the direct users of the dykes and banks of Sava, engages in several activities including humanitarian ones; e) Zagreb Canoe Kayak Club, located in a former rowing club near Sava Bridge (considered a cultural heritage). Club members train on the river and include all ages.

<sup>12</sup> In the meaning of the English term *densification* – increasing density of something.

<sup>13</sup> Not to mention that culture has always been at the core of urban development, not only through social norms, its monuments or the architecture that represent its institutions, living conditions, etc, but through *urbanity*; the advanced stage of civility where tolerance and gentleness define the main quality of urban living.