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## Strateški gradski projekti kao alat u strategijskom planiranju: pregled pojmova i modela

### Strategic city projects as a strategic planning tool: an overview of terms and models

Novi razvojni procesi u gradovima rezultiraju i potrebom za novim oblicima urbanog upravljanja. Tradicionalno (sektorsko) prostorno planiranje usmjereno na lokaciju, intenzitet, oblik i uravnoteženi razvoj, kojem nedostaje aspekt aktivnog poticanja i sinergije s drugim politikama, prepušta svoje mjesto strateškom prostornom planiranju. Strateško prostorno planiranje je proces velikog broja dionika koji kroz dugoročnu viziju, aktivnosti i sredstva za provedbu utemeljuju oblik i okvir transformacije strateški ključnih područja i usredotočuje se na odluke, aktivnosti, praćenje i vrednovanje rezultata.

Strateški gradski projekti pri tome se nameću kao logičan alat koji nudi mogućnost integracije ekonomskih, društvenih i okolišnih dimenzija urbanističkog planiranja, programiranja i izgradnje te koji sveobuhvatnim usmjerenim aktivnostima obnove ili novom gradnjom nastoji utjecati na prostornu, funkcionalnu, socijalnu i morfološku strukturu grada. Cilj je ovog rada upozoriti na nepostojanje jedinstvene definicije pojma strateškoga gradskog projekta, uputiti na funkcionalne sličnosti i razlike u postojećim pojmovima: *flagship* projekt, megaprojekt, strateški projekt i strateški gradski (razvojni) projekt velikog mjerila kao najčešće korištene pojmove te prikazati njihove različite modele realizacije – modele urbane obnove/regeneracije i modela nove gradnje/regulacije.

**Ključne riječi:** strateški gradski projekti, strategijsko planiranje, urbanističko planiranje

New urban development processes generate a need for new forms of urban management. Traditional (sectoral) spatial planning, oriented toward location, intensity, form, and balanced development and lacking an aspect of active encouragement and synergy with other policies, is losing ground to strategic spatial planning. Strategic spatial planning is a process involving a large number of stakeholders which establishes a format and framework for transformation of strategically key areas, based on a long-term vision, activities, and means for implementation; and focuses on decisions, activities, monitoring, and evaluation of results.

Strategic city projects are a logical tool to enable integration of economic, social, and environmental aspects of urban planning, programming and construction, which strive to leave their mark on the spatial, functional, social, morphological, physical, and organisational structure of the city via comprehensive targeted activities of renewal or new construction. This paper aims to highlight the lack of a single definition of strategic city projects and to pinpoint functional similarities and differences among the existing terms, referring to them most frequently as flagship projects, megaprojects, strategic city projects, and large-scale strategic city (development) projects and to point to different models of their implementation—e.g. urban renewal/regeneration model and new construction/regulation model.

**Key words:** strategic city projects, strategic planning, urban planning

## Uvod

Gospodarske i socijalne promjene na makrorazini i mikrorazini, poput propadanja tradicionalne industrije i procesa deindustrijalizacije s kojim se paralelno javlja i proces tercijarizacije društva koji se odražava u porastu broja radnih mjesta vezanih uz promet, financije i usluge te neuspješne pretvorbe i privatizacije kao jednog od temeljnih procesa u zemljama tranzicije, imaju svoj prostorni odraz u promjeni prostorne i funkcionalne strukture grada. Ovakav utjecaj imali su i svjetska recesija i globalizacijski procesi koji su po karakterističnom obrascu doveli do degenerativnih promjena u gotovo svim postindustrijskim gradovima zapadne civilizacije. Demografske, socijalne, tehnološke, ekonomske, kulturne, političke i okolišne promjene globalne su „okidačke sile” odnosno faktori (*global trigger factors*, Pacione, 2009) tih procesa, pri čemu se dominantnom silom općenito smatra ekonomija. Ti okidači u podlozi su kako same suvremene promjene grada tako i najvažnijih rezultata i posljedica tih procesa za grad. Intenzitet i način na koji globalne okidačke sile na lokalnoj razini ulaze u interakciju s lokalnim uvjetima i odražavaju se na grad specifični su za svaku pojedinu lokalnu situaciju i uvjetovani karakterom lokalnih pandana tih istih globalnih okidačkih sila. Razvoj postindustrijskog grada i postindustrijskog društva prostorna je i socijalna manifestacija tih promjena. Gubitkom nekadašnjih funkcija u gradovima se otvaraju brojni „slobodni prostori” kao izazov za budući razvoj (Jakovčić i dr., 2013; Franz i dr., 2015). U pokušaju pronalaska odgovora na razvojne izazove brojni autori raspravljaju o promjenama suvremenoga urbanog razvoja i planiranja (npr. Albrechts, 1991; Salet, 2008) od urbanog poduzetništva preko neoliberalnog do globalizacijskog urbanizma (Moulaert i dr., 2001; Swyngedouw i dr., 2002) tražeći nove oblike urbanog upravljanja (Simpson i Chapman, 1999; Temelová, 2007; Sager, 2011; Madureira i Baeten, 2016). Tradicionalno sektorsko prostorno planiranje usmjereno na lokaciju, intenzitet, oblik i uravnoteženi razvoj prepušta mjesto strateškom prostornom planiranju koje nudi koherentniju i koordiniraniju prostornu logiku te integraciju ekonomskih, društvenih i okolišnih dimenzija urbanističkog planiranja, programiranja i izgradnje (Salet i Faludi, 2000; Albrechts, 2006; 2010).

## Introduction

Economic and social changes at the macro and micro levels reflect on space by changing spatial and functional structure of a city. Examples of this would be processes such as degradation of tertiary industry and deindustrialisation with simultaneous tertialisation of society reflected in an increase in a number of jobs in the transport, financial, and services sectors, and unsuccessful business transformation and privatisation, in countries in transition. The global recession and globalisation have had the same effect, causing degenerative changes in almost all post-industrial cities of western civilisation. Demographic, social, technological, economic, cultural, and environmental changes are global trigger factors (Pacione, 2009) of these processes, with economy generally being considered as a dominant force. These triggers underlie contemporary changes in the city, as well as the most significant results and consequences of these processes for the city. The intensity and the way in which these global triggers interact on the local level with local conditions and reflect on the city are specific for each individual local situation and are conditioned by the character of local (smaller-scale) triggers. Development of a post-industrial city and post-industrial society is both a spatial manifestation and a social manifestation of these changes. As a result of the loss of their previous functions, numerous “free spaces” open in cities as a challenge for future development (Jakovčić et al. 2013; Franz et al., 2015). In search of responses to the development challenge, numerous authors have discussed changes in contemporary urban development and planning (e.g. Albrechts, 1991; Salet, 2008), ranging from urban entrepreneurship, to neoliberal and glocation urbanism (Moulaert et al., 2001; Swyngedouw et al., 2002), in pursuit of new forms of urban management (Simpson and Chapman, 1999; Temelová, 2007; Sager, 2011; Madureira and Baeten, 2016). Traditional sectoral spatial planning focusing on location, intensity, form, and balanced development is losing ground to strategic spatial planning offering more coherent and coordinated spatial logic and integration of economic, social, and environmental dimensions of urban planning, programming, and construction (Salet and Faludi, 2000; Albrechts, 2006; 2010).

Suočeno s razvojnim problemima gradova planiranje se mijenja iz svoga reguliranog birokratskog pristupa prema stratezijskom pristupu poticanom implementacijom i razvojem, a jedno od predlaganih rješenja su strateški gradski projekti (Smyth, 2005). Strateški gradski projekti kontroliraju stanje u prostoru, podižu kvalitetu i imidž dijelova grada, generatori su razvoja te katalizatori investicija i gospodarskog rasta usmjereni k stvaranju postindustrijskoga, potrošačkog i gentrificiranog prostora (Carrière i Demazière, 2002; Grodach, 2008; Doucet i dr., 2011). Kao pozitivni rezultati realizacije strateških gradskih projekata navode se pozitivna demografska i gospodarska kretanja, unapređenje urbanog okoliša i kvalitete života, jačanje imidža i konkurentnosti grada, stvaranje grada otpornog na vanjske utjecaje i turbulencije suvremenoga ekonomskog razvoja (Sanchez-Moral i dr., 2015).

Kao loše strane realizacije strateških gradskih projekata ističu se financiranje privatnih investicija javnim novcem, demonstracija urbanističke moći elite, manje demokratski procesi participacije, odnosno sudjelovanja javnosti, socijalna isključenost i polarizacija, rastuća privatizacija javnih površina i gentifikacija (Van den Broeck, 2011). Navedeni negativni aspekti posebice dolaze do izražaja u tranzicijskim društvima u kojima je nakon 1990-ih godina došlo do promjene političkog i ekonomskog sustava te u kojima se procesi demokratizacije i privatizacije odvijaju paralelno s ranije navedenim promjenama u planiranju razvoja gradova.

Polazeći od hipoteze da strateški gradski projekt nije jasno definiran u znanstvenoj i stručnoj literaturi, cilj je rada definirati strateške gradske projekte kao potencijalni alat u planiranju razvoja grada te utvrditi kriterije za njihov odabir. U prvom dijelu rada dat će se pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja strateških gradskih projekata. U drugom dijelu dat će se pregled razvoja pojma *strateški gradski projekt* te razvoja modela u inozemnoj znanstvenoj i stručnoj literaturi. U trećem dijelu rada izradit će se funkcionalna analiza strateških gradskih projekata.

Faced with city development problems, planning changes its approach from a regulated bureaucratic approach to a strategic approach fostered by implementation and development, and one of the proposed solutions is a strategic city project (Smyth, 2005). Strategic city projects control the state of the space, increase the quality and image of parts of the city, generate development, and play a catalytic role for investments and economic growth focused on creation of post-industrial, consumption-oriented, and gentrified spaces (Carrière and Demazière, 2002; Grodach, 2008; Doucet et al., 2011). Positive outcomes of the implementation of strategic city projects include positive demographic and economic trends, improvement in urban environments and quality of life, strengthening of the image and competitive capacity of the city, and creation of a new city resilient to outside impacts and turbulence caused by contemporary economic development (Sánchez-Moral et al., 2015).

The downsides of the implementation of strategic city projects are funding of private projects via public money, demonstrations of power of governmental élites in urban development, less democratic public participation processes, social exclusion and polarisation, and growing privatisation of public services and gentrification (Van den Broeck, 2011). These negative aspects are particularly pronounced in societies in transition that changed their political and economic system after the 1990s, where the processes of democratisation and privatisation ran in parallel with the changes in city development planning.

Taking the hypothesis that a strategic city project is not clearly defined in scientific and technical literature as a starting point, this paper aims to define strategic city projects as a potential tool for urban development planning and to determine criteria for their selection. The first part of the paper gives an overview of previous research into strategic city projects. The second part reviews the evolution of strategic city project as a term and the evolution of this model in international scientific and technical literature. The third part of the paper is a functional analysis of strategic city projects.

## Pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja

Strateški gradski projekti tema su brojnih inozemnih znanstvenih i stručnih radova. Postojeće radove možemo razvrstati prema tri kriterija: tematski kriterij, kronološki kriteriji i geografski kriterij. Radove izdvojene na temelju tematskog kriterija možemo podijeliti u tri skupine.

Prvu skupinu čine radovi koji se bave teorijskim pristupima i konceptima pri čemu se koriste različiti stručni nazivi ili pak analiziraju različite modele. Nazivi koji se najčešće pojavljuju su strateški gradski projekti (Albrechts, 2006), *flagship* projekti (Bianchini i dr., 1992; De Frantz, 2005; Temelová, 2007), megaprojekti (Fainstein, 2008), gradski razvojni projekti velikog mjerila (eng. Large scale urban (re) development project) (Majoor, 2011) te prestižni projekti (Loftman i Nevin, 1995). Najčešće analizirani modeli regeneracije primjenom strateškoga gradskog projekta kao alata su baltimorski model (Smyth, 2005), barcelonski model (Monclús, 2003), model bilbao-efekta (Grodach, 2010), potezi novih urbaniteta (Majoor, 2009) te potezi novih centraliteta (Carrière i Demazière, 2002). Drugu skupinu čine radovi koji se bave utjecajem strateških gradskih projekata na društvene procese. Ti radovi diskutiraju promjene suvremenoga urbanog razvoja te promjene u pristupu planiranju nastale kao posljedica korištenja strateškoga gradskog projekta. Jedan od radova koji se bavi implementacijom strateških gradskih projekata u strateško planiranje te pokušava dati odgovor na pitanje kako „premostiti jaz” između prostornog planiranja i strateških projekata jest rad L. Albrechtsa (2006). Albrechts pokušava dati odgovore na pitanja može li strateški projekt biti alat za ostvarivanje učinkovitijega strateškog planiranja. Raco (2000), Swyngedouw i dr. (2002), Harvey (2007) i Sager (2011) u svojim radovima strateške gradske projekte promatraju kao izraz neoliberalnog urbanizma, ali i obrnuto smatrajući da će upravo strateški gradski projekti kao alat planiranja, programiranja i upravljanja prostorom dovesti do jačanja neoliberalnog urbanizma, globalizacijskog urbanizma (Pacione, 2009) i „gentrifikacijskog urbanizma” (Doucet i dr. 2011; Smith i von Krogh Strand, 2011). Treću skupinu radova, izdvojenih na temelju tematskog kriterija, čine radovi koji se bave pojedinačnim strateškim gradskim projektima te

## An overview of previous research

Strategic city projects have been a topic of numerous international scientific and technical papers. The available papers could be sorted out using three criteria—thematic, chronological and geographical. The papers singled out on the basis of thematic criterion could be divided into three subgroups.

The first subgroup comprises papers covering theoretical approaches and concepts using various technical terms or analysing different models. The most commonly used terms are strategic city projects (Albrechts, 2006), flagship projects (Bianchini et al., 1992; De Frantz, 2005; Temelová, 2007), megaprojects (Fainstein, 2008), large-scale urban (re)development projects (Majoor, 2011), and prestige projects (Loftman and Nevin, 1995). The most frequently analysed regeneration models using strategic city projects as a tool are the “Baltimore model” (Smyth, 2005), the “Barcelona model” (Monclús, 2003), the “Bilbao-effect model” (Grodach, 2010), new urbanity areas (Majoor, 2009), and new centrality areas (Carrière and Demazière, 2002). The second subgroup comprises papers on the impact of strategic city projects on social processes. These works discuss changes in contemporary urban development and approaches to planning as a consequence of strategic city project implementation. One of the papers addressing the introduction of strategic city projects into strategic planning that endeavours to answer how to “bridge a gap” between spatial planning and strategic projects is the work of Albrechts (2006). Albrechts attempts to answer whether a strategic project could become a tool for achieving more efficient strategic planning. In their papers, Raco (2000), Swyngedouw et al. (2002), Harvey (2007), and Sager (2011) scrutinise strategic city projects as potential expressions of neoliberal urbanism, i.e. that strategic city projects as a tool for planning, programming, and management of space will result in the strengthening of neoliberal urbanism, globalisation urbanism (Pacione, 2009), and “gentrification urbanism” (Doucet et al. 2011; Smith and von Krogh Strand, 2011). The third subgroup of papers, singled out on the basis of the thematic criterion, includes works focusing on individual strategic city projects and their impact on spaces.

njihovim utjecajem na prostor. Pri tome možemo izdvojiti radove Carrière i Demazière, 2002; Monclús, 2003; De Frantz, 2005; Enichlmair i Borsdorf, 2006; Salet, 2008; Lei i Spaans, 2009; Ozcevik i dr., 2009; Grodach, 2010; Doucet i dr., 2011; Smith i von Krogh Strand, 2011; Sánchez-Moral i dr., 2015; Listerborn, 2017.

Drugi je kriterij koji možemo primijeniti prilikom izdvajanja radova kronološki. Radovi nastali u različitim razdobljima različito pristupaju istraživanju pojma strateškoga gradskog projekta u teorijskim i metodološkim okvirima. Prema kronološkom kriteriju radove možemo podijeliti u tri skupine. Prvu skupinu čine radovi nastali 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća. U tom razdoblju autori raspravljaju o platformi za moguće nove oblike urbane politike i upravljanja razvojem, teorijskim okvirima, nove, promijenjene i kreativne uloge planera i uvođenju strateškoga gradskog projekta kao alata za poticanje gospodarskog razvoja te kao sredstva za osiguravanje učinkovite prostorne regeneracije propadajućih gradskih površina (Albrechts, 1991; Loftman i Nevin, 1995; Voase, 1997). U tom razdoblju Bianchini i dr. (1992) daju i jednu od prvih definicija strateškoga gradskog projekta. Drugu skupinu čine radovi nastali od 2001. do 2010. godine. Radovi toga razdoblja bave se novim urbanim politikama orijentiranim prema privlačenju velikih multinacionalnih kompanija i privatnih poduzetnika, vrednuju stupanj (ne)uključenosti strateškoga gradskog projekta u urbano okruženje, analiziraju pojavu različitih urbanih pokreta te propituju povećanje društvene nejednakosti (Enichlmair i Borsdorf, 2006; Fainstein, 2008). Treću skupinu čine radovi nastali nakon 2011. godine. Ti radovi analiziraju (pozitivan) doprinos strateških gradskih projekata na konkurentnost i poboljšanje slike grada. Nadalje, analiziraju sudjelovanje lokalne zajednice u planiranju, propituju zadovoljstvo lokalnog i okolnog stanovništva te predlažu mjere za unapređenje procesa participacije (Doucet i dr., 2011; Sánchez-Moral i dr., 2015; Hlaváček i dr., 2016).

Posljednju, treću skupinu radova čine radovi izdvojeni na temelju geografskog kriterija. S obzirom na teorijski okvir i pristup te specifičnosti urbanog razvoja razlikuju se radovi koji proučavaju strateš-

Here, the papers by Carrière and Demazière, 2002; Monclús, 2003; De Frantz, 2005; Enichlmair and Borsdorf, 2006; Salet, 2008; Lei and Spaans, 2009; Ozcevik et al., 2009; Grodach, 2010; Doucet et al., 2011; Smith and von Krogh Strand, 2011; Sánchez-Moral et al., 2015; Listerborn, 2017 should be singled out.

The second criterion applied to single out the papers is chronological. Papers prepared in different periods have different approaches to research into the term strategic city project within their theoretical and methodological frameworks. Using the chronological criterion, the papers are divided in three subgroups. The first subgroup includes papers written in the 1990s. During this period, the authors discussed a platform for possible new forms of urban policy and development management, theoretical frameworks, new, changed and creative roles of planners and introducing strategic city projects as tools for fostering economic growth, and as an instrument ensuring efficient spatial regeneration of decaying urban areas (Albrechts, 1991; Loftman and Nevin, 1995; Voase, 1997). During this period, Bianchini et al. (1992) formulated one of the first definitions of the strategic city project. The second subgroup comprises papers published between 2001 and 2010. The papers from this period discuss new urban policies focusing on attracting large multinational companies and private entrepreneurs, validate the degree of integration (or lack of integration) of a given strategic city project in the urban environment, analyse emerging urban movements, and query increases in social inequality (Enichlmair and Borsdorf, 2006; Fainstein, 2008). The third subgroup comprises papers published after 2011. These papers analyse the (positive) contribution of strategic city projects to competitive capacities and improvement in city image. They also analyse the participation of local communities in the planning processes, examine satisfaction of local and neighbouring population and propose measures for the improvement of participation (Doucet et al., 2011; Sánchez -Moral et al., 2015, Hlaváček et al., 2016).

The last, third, group of papers are those singled out using geographical criterion. The group of papers studying strategic city projects in North America (Smyth, 2005; Grodach, 2008), Great Britain (Loftman and Nevin, 1995), Northern, Western,

ke gradske projekte u Sjevernoj Americi (Smyth, 2005; Grodach, 2008), Velikoj Britaniji (Loftman i Nevin, 1995), Sjevernoj, Zapadnoj i Srednjoj Europi (De Frantz, 2005; Fainstein 2008; Doucet i dr., 2011), Južnoj Europi (Carrière i Demazière, 2002; Monclús, 2003) i u postsocijalističkim državama (Temelová, 2007; Hlaváček i dr., 2016).

Istovremeno je hrvatska znanstvena bibliografija na temu strateških gradskih projekata izrazito oskudna te je u pravilu vezana uz uvođenje pojma strateškoga gradskog projekta u prostorno-plansku dokumentaciju, analize pojedinih većih investicija i intervencija u urbani prostor odnosno propitivanje uloge aktera društvenih promjena u prostoru. Među njima se izdvaja rad T. Jukića i dr. (2010) koji daje usporedbe vizije razvoja gradova i planerskih postupaka odabranih europskih gradova, odnosno prikazuje način definiranja, provedbe i kontrole gradskih projekata u generalnim urbanističkim planovima grada Zagreba (Jukić i Smode Cvitanović, 2011) te rad I. Mlinara (2009) koji analizira utjecaj moguće realizacije 9 stambenih naselja u Zagrebu.

### **Evolucija pojma i definicije strateškoga gradskog projekta**

Različiti autori, prostorne strategije i urbanistički planovi različito koncipiraju i definiraju pojam strateškoga gradskog projekta, no svima je zajedničko da strateške gradske projekte percipiraju kao jedan od osnovnih alata kojima gradovi jačaju svoj sliku o sebi i unapređuju svoju konkurentnost poboljšavanjem slike grada i privlačenjem razvojnih investicija, turista i potencijalnih stanovnika, a orijentirani su prema postindustrijskom i potrošačkom društvu te procesu gentrifikacije. U hrvatskom jeziku i stručnoj literaturi uobičajili su se nazivi gradski projekt / kapitalni projekt / strateški projekt. U engleskom jeziku najčešće se koriste nazivi *urban development project / city project / city controlled project / target area / flagship project*. U njemačkom se jeziku najčešće rabe nazivi *Projekte der Stadtentwicklung / Zielgebiet*, a u francuskoj stručnoj literaturi najčešće nailazimo na *projets phares / projets emblématiques / grand projets / grand travaux / zone d'aménagement concertée* – ZAC. Iz svega toga proizlazi potreba za analizom

and Central Europe (De Frantz, 2005; Fainstein 2008; Doucet et al., 2011), Southern Europe (Carrière and Demazière, 2002; Monclús, 2003), and post-socialist states (Temelová, 2007, Hlaváček et al., 2016) are differentiated with regard to their theoretical framework and approach, and specific characteristics of urban development.

The Croatian scientific bibliography on strategic city projects is meagre and, as a rule, related to the introduction of the term strategic city project into spatial planning documentation, analyses of individual major investments, and interventions in urban space in order to examine the role of the actors in social changes in space. The paper by Jukić et al. (2010) that compares vision of city development and planning procedures for particular European cities, and shows the way of defining, implementation and control of city projects in the City of Zagreb Master Plans (Jukić and Smode Cvitanović, 2011), and the work of I. Mlinar (2009) that analyses the possible effects of construction of nine housing projects in Zagreb, should be singled out.

### **Evolution of the strategic city project term and definition**

Different authors, spatial strategies, and urban development plans use different concepts and definitions of strategic city project, but what they have in common is the perception of strategic city projects as one of the basic tools the cities can use to strengthen their image and enhance their competitive capacities. Thereby attracting development investments, tourists, and potential inhabitants while being oriented towards a post-industrial and consumption-based society and gentrification processes. The terms commonly used in Croatian technical literature are *gradski projekt, kapitalni projekt / strateški projekt*. The terms most commonly used in English are urban development project, city project, city controlled project, target area, and flagship project. The terms most commonly used in German are *Projekte der Stadtentwicklung* and *Zielgebiet*. The terms most often encountered in French technical literature are *Projets Phares, Projets Emblématiques, Grand Projets, Grand Travaux*, and *Zone d'Aménagement Concertée* (ZAC). Therefore, it is necessary to make an analysis of the existing definitions

postojećih definicija i pojmova te sintezom definicije primjenjive hrvatskom planerskom i stručnom okviru. Analizom učestalosti naziva u dostupnoj literaturi te strateškim dokumentima izdvojena su četiri ključna termina: *flagship* projekt, strateški gradski projekt velikog mjerila, megaprojekt i strateški gradski projekt.

## Flagship projekti

U kontekstu strateškog planiranja *flagship*<sup>1</sup> bi označavao „najvažniji, vodeći, glavni, posebno važan, značajan”. Uz *flagship* se često navode i pojmovi građevine s potpisom (engl. *Signature buildings*), turističke ikone (engl. *Destination icons*), kulturni *flagship* projekti i slično (Smith i von Krogh Strand, 2011). Jednu od najranijih definicija *flagship* projekta dao je rad Bianchinija i dr. (1992) definiravši takve projekte kao „značajne, prestižne i visokovrijedne zemljišne i vlasničke investicije koje imaju utjecajnu i katalizatorsku ulogu u urbanoj regeneraciji”. Pri tome je važno da je takav *flagship* projekt samodostatan, da je određena točka budućih investicija te marketinški alat za šire područje grada (Smyth, 2005; Smith i von Krogh Strand, 2011). Svrha je ovakvih projekata doprinos društvenom i ekonomskom razvoju dijela gradskog područja, a često i čitavog grada. Pri tome je njihova uloga u urbanoj regeneraciji u interakciji s ekonomskim i društvenim promjenama kao i lokalnim političkim prilikama (Voase, 1997). *Flagship* projekt često je okidač fizionomske preobrazbe dijela grada te je kao takav pokretačka snaga revitalizacije susjedstva ili dijela grada, pri čemu uspješnost revitalizacije, osim o razvojnom potencijalu lokacije, ovisi i o potpori lokalne vlasti, ali i o participaciji svih aktera u razvojnom procesu (Temelová, 2007). Smith i von Krogh Strand (2011) definiraju *flagship* projekte kao visokovrijedne građevine koje imaju svrhu uputiti na važnost određene organizacije i društva i/ili građevinu koja je simbol grada te predstavlja okidač ili stimulans za budući razvoj. Kao posebnu pod-

and terms in an attempt to arrive at a synthesised definition applicable to the Croatian planning and professional framework. The frequency analysis for term use in the available references and strategic documents resulted in the singling out of four key terms: *flagship* projects; large-scale strategic city (development) projects; megaproject; and strategic city project.

## Flagship projects

In strategic planning, the *flagship*<sup>1</sup> would designate something of very important, leading, major, or significant. Aside from the term *flagship*, frequently used terms are signature buildings, destination icons, cultural *flagship* projects, etc. (Smith and von Krogh Strand, 2011). One of the earliest definitions of a *flagship* project is given by Bianchini et al. (1992), who defines such projects as ‘significant, high-profile and prestigious land and property developments which play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration’. It is important that such a *flagship* project is self-sufficient, a destination for future investment, and a marketing tool for the greater city area (Smyth, 2005; Smith and von Krogh Strand, 2011). The purpose of *flagship* projects is to contribute to the social and economic development of the greater city area and, often, the entire city. Their role in urban regeneration is in interaction with the economic and social change and local political conditions (Voase, 1997). A *flagship* project is often a trigger of physiognomic transformation of a part of the city and a driving force for revitalisation of a neighbourhood or a part of the city, and the success of revitalisation depends not only on the development potential of the location but also on the support of the local authorities and participation of all the actors in the development process (Temelová, 2007). Smith and von Krogh Strand (2011) define *flagship* projects as ‘high-profile building that showcases an organization’s mission and/or a building that acts as a figurehead or stimulus for related developments’. A special subtype of *flagship* projects emphasised by Smith and von Krogh Strand

<sup>1</sup> Rječnik engleskog jezika pojam *flagship* doslovno prevodi kao „admiralski brod”, „zapovjedni brod”, „najbolji brod u floti”, „perjanica”. Prema Cambridge Dictionary *flagship* je najbolji ili najvažniji proizvod, ideja, zgrada koju tvrtka ili institucija posjeduje ili proizvodi, dok rječnik Merriam – Webster *flagship* definira kao najbolji, najveći ili najvažniji proizvod u seriji, mreži ili lancu.

<sup>1</sup> The English-Croatian dictionary translates *flagship* as the ship in a fleet which carries the commanding admiral/commander, the finest ship in a fleet, the forerunner. According to the Cambridge Dictionary *flagship* is the best or most important product, idea, building, etc. that an organization owns or produces, while the Merriam – Webster Dictionary defines *flagship* as the finest, largest, or most important one of a group of things (such as products, stores, etc.)

vrstu Smith i von Krogh Strand (2011) ističu kulturne *flagship* projekte koji imaju kulturnu funkciju ili pridonose ostvarivanju i jačanju kulturne politike grada. Prema Doucetu i dr. (2011) *flagship* projekti su oni projekti koji imaju katalizatorsku ulogu, stvarajući trgovačke, stambene, zabavne i turističke prostore na mjestima zapuštenih, neuređenih i nedovoljno korištenih gradskih prostora, povezanih s razvojnim strategijama i novim vizijama grada. Istodobno stručna javnost, investitori i političari u tim projektima vide univerzalni alat za probleme deindustrijalizacije i ekonomske stagnacije. Prema Doucet i dr. (2011) *flagship* projekt mora generirati nova radna mjesta i investicije te pridonijeti unapređenju kvalitete života. Gospodarski aspekt tih projekta ističu i Raco i Henderson (2009) ističući važnost privlačenja udjela globalnih investicija i poboljšanja društvene kohezije u gradovima. *Flagship* projekte možemo promatrati i kao nove složene oblike urbanog upravljanja u obnovi i razvoju gradskih područja u cilju povećanja konkurentnosti, pri čemu je nužna participacija svih aktera u procesu planiranja. Rezultat mora biti inovacija, jačanje kulturnih funkcija te unapređenje urbanog okoliša (Sánchez-Moral i dr., 2015). *Flagship* projekti koji doprinose prostornom konceptu revitalizacije života u gradu imaju važnu ulogu u procesu transformacije postindustrijskih u kreativne gradove i gradove znanja (Listerborn, 2017). Slično ističu i Smith i von Krogh Strand (2011) postavljajući pitanje je li projekt izgradnje opere u Oslu alat regeneracije ili turistička ikona.

U sklopu *flagship* projekata možemo izdvojiti dvije podvrste: prestižne *flagship* projekte i lokalno značajne *flagship* projekte (*flagship* projekte lokalnog značaja). Dvije podvrste razlikuju se po prostornom obuhvatu, namjeni te opsegu utjecaja na gradski prostor. Prestižni *flagship* projekt je pionirski ili inovativni, visokovrijedni, samostalni razvojni projekt koji nije nužno profitabilan, a često i financijski rizičan, ali ima mogućnost privlačenja investicija u širem gradskom prostoru te stvaranja i promoviranja novih gradskih funkcija, pri čemu djeluje kao žarište koncentracije i izvorište promjena pridonoseći povećanju vrijednosti zemljišta i razvojnih aktivnosti u susjednim područjima (Loftman i Nevin, 1992; 1995). Prestižni *flagship*

(2011) are cultural flagship projects dedicated to culture and contributing to the implementation and strengthening of the city's cultural policy. According to Doucet et al. (2011), 'flagship projects are intended to play a catalytic role in urban regeneration often by creating high profile and high end retail, residential, entertainment and tourist spaces in what were once derelict or underutilised urban space, often tied into development strategies and a new urban vision. They are seen by planners, developers and politicians as a panacea for the problems of deindustrialisation and economic stagnation'. According to Doucet et al. (2011), a flagship project has to generate new jobs and investment and contribute to the improvement in quality of life. Economic aspects of flagship projects are also highlighted by Raco and Henderson (2009) who point to the "importance of capturing a greater share of global investment and enhancing levels of social cohesion in cities". Flagship projects may also be perceived as new and complex forms of urban management in regeneration and development of urban areas towards increases in competitive capacities, where participation of all actors in the planning process is mandatory. The outcome must be a "new economy based on innovation and culture and improvement in urban environment" (Sánchez-Moral et al., 2015). Flagship projects "contributing to the spatial conceptualization for renewal of urban life have an important role in the process of turning the post-industrial cities into the knowledge-based, creative cities" (Listerborn, 2017). Similarly, Smith and von Krogh Strand (2011) ask whether the "construction of the Oslo Opera House flagship project is a regeneration tool or destination icon".

Two types of flagship projects are distinguished, i.e. prestige flagships and local flagships (flagship projects of local significance). The two types differ by their scale, purpose, and the scope of their impact on the urban space. A prestige flagship project is a pioneering or innovative, high profile, self-contained development which need not necessarily be profitable and high financial risks are frequently associated with it, but has the ability to attract inward investment, create and promote new urban images, and act as the hub of a radiating renaissance—facilitating increases in property values and development activities to adjacent areas (Loftman and



projekti poput kongresnih centara, trgovačkih centara, velikih sportskih ili poslovnih kompleksa često se koriste kao mehanizmi za početak revitalizacije grada (Harvey, 2007). Prestižni *flagship* projekti primarno su usmjereni ka „korištenju i stvaranju rasta“ te poticanju daljnjih investicija te promjeni percepcije pojedinih dijelova grada (Smyth, 2005).

*Flagship* projekti lokalnog značaja su projekti manjeg mjerila pokrenuti radi poticanja i olakšavanja rasta unutar gradskog područja ili radi promjene lokalne percepcije određenih gradskih područja (Smyth, 2005).

### Strateški gradski (razvojni) projekti velikog mjerila

Uz *flagship* projekte drugi podjednako korišteni naziv za strateške gradske projekte su strateški gradski (razvojni) projekti velikog mjerila. Strateški gradski (razvojni) projekti velikog mjerila su oblici upravljanja urbanim intervencijama usmjereni prema regeneraciji gradskih područja gradnjom ikoničnih objekata, najčešće muzeja i umjetničkih centara projektiranih od svjetski priznatih arhitekata koji svojim katalizatorskim djelovanjem potiču daljnji gospodarski, kulturni i društveni razvoj (Grodach, 2008). Sličnu definiciju daju i Swyngedouw i dr. (2002) ističući katalizatorski utjecaj projekta na lokalnu ekonomiju suočenu s kompetencijom na nacionalnoj i globalnoj razini. Kao i kod *flagship* projekata i kod strateških gradskih (razvojni) projekata velikog mjerila nužno je sudjelovanje svih aktera u planiranju (Majoor, 2011). Ipak kako ističu Swyngedouw i dr. (2002) najvažnija je koordinacija gradske vlasti i privatnog kapitala pri čemu se često „zaobilazi“ planerska procedura i regulativa kako bi se realizirale intervencije od velike važnosti. Usprkos nazivu *strateški gradski (razvojni) projekti velikog mjerila* vrlo često radi se o nizu projekata maloga prostornog obuhvata sa zasebnim ciljevima, ali obuhvaćenima jednim krovnim projektom, jedinstvenim strateškim upravljanjem te je dio šire prostorne strategije (Carrière i Demazière, 2002). Zbog navedenih značajka strateški gradski (razvojni) projekti velikog mjerila su poluge i instrumenti urbane obnove i regeneracije (Monclús, 2003).

Nevin, 1992; 1995). Prestige project developments, such as convention centres, shopping malls, major office complexes, and leisure and sporting facilities have become common features of city revitalisation schemes (Harvey, 2007). As such, prestige flagship projects are primarily concerned with ‘the harnessing and creation of growth’ and stimulating future investment and change the image of particular urban areas (Smyth, 2005).

Local flagship projects are smaller scale projects of local significance undertaken to stimulate and facilitate inner city growth or to change the image of particular urban areas (Smyth, 2005).

### Large-scale strategic city (development) projects

Aside from “flagship project”, another equally frequently-used term for strategic city projects is “large-scale strategic city (development) project”. The large-scale strategic city (development) projects represent a form of urban regeneration management by construction of iconic buildings, most frequently museums and art centres, designed by world-renown architects, while catalysing economic, cultural and social development (Grodach, 2008). A similar definition is given by Swyngedouw et al. (2002) who underscore the catalysing effect of large-scale urban development projects as part of an effort to reinforce the competitive position of their local economies in a context of national and global competitive conditions. Large-scale strategic urban development projects, like flagship projects, demand the participation of all the planning actors (Majoor, 2011). However, as emphasised by Swyngedouw et al. (2002), the coordination of local authorities and private capital is most important, and planning procedures and regulations are not respected or are applied in a very “formalist” way—in order to facilitate major developments. Although they are termed large-scale urban (development) projects, they are often a series of small-scale projects with specific goals placed under a single “umbrella” project under integrated strategic management as a part of greater spatial strategy (Carrière and Demazière, 2002). For the aforementioned characteristics, large-scale strategic city (development) projects are levers and strategic instruments of urban renewal and regeneration (Monclús, 2003).

## Megaprojekti

Megaprojekt je naziv za dugoročan visokovrijedan koncept ili projekt razvoja lokacije i okolnih područja koji zahtijeva novu izgradnju i/ili znatnu obnovu koju vodi jedan ili više investitora i uvijek uključuje transformaciju namjene površina (Fainstein, 2008). Zadaća je megaprojekta izgraditi novu infrastrukturu s ciljem privlačenja investicija, no zbog visine potrebnih ulaganja sudjelovanje aktera često je ograničeno na privatne investitore (Banerji, 2011).

## Strateški gradski projekti

Strateški<sup>2</sup> gradski projekti su projekti koji predstavljaju odmak od tradicionalnoga regulativnog i birokratskog pristupa prostornom planiranju prema strateškom konceptu prostornog razvoja te su svojevrsan novi razvojni pristup i inovativni instrument u upravljanju, a sve u cilju povezivanja društveno-gospodarskih promjena u gradovima koje značajno utječu na urbani prostor (Albrechts, 2006). Cilj je projekata transformacija prostorne, ekonomske i sociokulturne strukture većeg područja tijekom duljeg vremena. To su prostorni projekti koordinirani od javnih aktera ili u uskoj povezanosti s privatnim sektorom ili kao javno-privatno partnerstvo. Strateški projekti imaju za cilj povezati viziju i ciljeve različitih aktera te integraciju lokalnog stanovništva i korisnika prostora. Strateški gradski projekti bave se ključnim problemima određenih gradskih područja. U sklopu strateških gradskih projekata s obzirom na ciljano područje, ciljanu skupinu korisnika i područje grada razlikuju se tri skupine projekata. Prva su skupina strateški gradski projekti kreativne klase koji su usmjereni na poticanje investicija kojima se unapređuje kvaliteta urbanog okoliša (Florida, 2002; Glaeser i Saiz, 2003). Drugu skupinu čine poduzetnički strateški gradski projekti najčešće usmjereni na središta gradova s ciljem privlačenja budućih investicija i povećanja konkurentnosti grada, često uz primje-

2 „Strateški” je pridjev etimološki izveden iz imenice „strategija” (koji se odnosi na strategiju). Strategija pri tome ima više definicija od kojih je nama najzanimljivija ekonomska koja podrazumijeva „utvrđivanje dugoročnih ciljeva poduzeća, države i sl. i načina njihova ostvarivanja” (Hrvatski jezični portal, 2018).

## Megaprojects

Megaproject is a term that essentially involves a costly scheme for development of a contiguous area, requiring new construction and/or substantial rehabilitation, its implementation may take a number of years and may be the responsibility of a single or multiple developers. Megaprojects always include a transformation of land use (Fainstein, 2008). Megaprojects entail the construction of new infrastructure and attracting investments, but due to the high costs of investment the participation of actors is often limited to private investors (Banerji, 2011).

## Strategic city projects

Strategic<sup>2</sup> city projects are projects intended to break away from the traditional regulatory and bureaucratic approach to spatial planning and move towards strategic planning of spatial development, thus representing a somewhat new development approach and innovative land-use management instrument intended to correlate social and economic changes that have a significant impact on urban spaces (Albrechts, 2006). The project goal is transformation of the spatial, economic, and socio-cultural structure of a greater area for a longer period of time. These are spatial projects coordinated by public actors or carried out in close interaction with the private sector or as public-private partnership. A goal of strategic projects is to merge the visions and goals of different actors and involve the local population and space users. Strategic city projects address key issues of particular city areas. Three groups of projects are distinguished among strategic city projects with regard to the target area, target group of users and the city area. The first group includes strategic city projects of the creative class intended to encourage investments that improve quality of urban environment (Florida, 2002; Glaeser and Saiz, 2003). The second group encompasses entrepreneurial strategic city projects focusing most often on the inner city in order to attract future investment and enhance the competitive capacity of the

2 According to the Croatian Language portal, the term “strategic” as an adjective derived from the term “strategy”. Strategy has several definitions, most interesting for us being the economic one which refers to the “determination of long-term goals and methods for their achieving by companies, state and the like” (Croatian Language portal, 2018).

nu informacijske tehnologije poput širokopojasne bežične internetske infrastrukture i multimedijskih sadržaja integriranih u javne prostore. Treću skupinu čine progresivni strateški gradski projekti koji se uglavnom odnose na unaprjeđenje kulturnih funkcija gradova (Grodach, 2008).

## Rasprava

Već i jednostavna sadržajna analiza ranije navedenih definicija *flagship* projekata, strateških gradskih (razvojnih) projekata velikog mjerila, megaprojekata i strateških gradskih projekata pokazuju izrazitu heterogenost. Indikativno je da čak i unutar istog naziva postoje određene razlike u definiranju pojmova. Takav primjer nalazimo u definiciji pojma *flagship* te njegova podtipa prestižni *flagship* projekt. Usporedbom dviju definicija jasno je uočljivo da se u slučaju *flagship* projekta radi o projektu kojemu je nužan atribut samodostatnosti kako u financijskom tako i u organizacijskom pogledu. S druge strane, u slučaju prestižnog *flagship* projekta autori ističu kako postoji financijski rizik te je često neprofitabilan, no postoji dalekosežan pozitivan učinak na razvoj prostora. Nadalje u definiranju megaprojekata jasno je naznačena relativno mala participativna uloga aktera koji su u pravilu ograničeni na investitore projekata, dok ostali, a posebice strateški gradski projekti i *flagship* projekti pretpostavljaju suradnju svih aktera.

Strateški gradski projekt novi je impuls razvoju grada odnosno intervenciji u gradskom prostoru. Istovremeno je to i povoljni utjecaj na lokalnu sredinu te poticanje daljnega integriranog razvoja različitog mjerila. U kontekstu novih oblika planiranja i upravljanja urbanim intervencijama usmjerenih prema procesima kontinuirane transformacije grada analizom gore navedenih teorijskih pristupa i koncepata pojma te definicije strateških gradskih projekata kao osnovna obilježja strateškoga gradskog projekta mogu se izdvojiti (tab. 1):

- složenost ili kompleksnost pri čemu transformacija područja zahtijeva sinergiju različitih aktivnosti te sudjelovanje većeg broja aktera tijekom duljeg razdoblja
- urbanitet koji podrazumijeva skup prostorno i vremenski koncentriranih javnih aktivnosti čija

city, often using information technologies, such as broadband wireless internet infrastructure and multimedia contents integrated into the public spaces. The third group comprises progressive strategic city projects which generally focus on enhancement of cultural functions of cities (Grodach, 2008).

## Discussion

Even a simple content analysis of the given definitions of flagship projects, large-scale strategic city (development) projects, megaprojects, and strategic city projects indicates a high level of heterogeneity. It is clear that there are differences in the definition of the same term(s). An example is the definition of the term flagship project and its subtype prestige flagship project. Comparison of these two definitions clearly shows that the flagship project is a financially and organisationally self-sufficient project. On the other hand, the authors underline that a prestige flagship project is frequently not profitable and high financial risks are associated with it, but it has a far reaching positive effect on development of an area. Further, the megaproject definitions clearly indicate a comparatively small participative role of actors which are, as a rule, limited to the project developers while others, the strategic city projects and flagship projects in particular, implicitly include collaboration of all actors.

Strategic city project gives a new impulse to the development of the city and/or intervention in urban space. It has also a favourable influence on the local community and encourages future integrated development of different scales. Within a context of new forms of planning and management of urban developments which focus on the processes of permanent transformation of the city, the analysis of the above described theoretical approaches and concepts of the term and definition of strategic city project, the basic characteristics of the strategic city project are (Tab. 1):

- complexity, as transformation of an area demands the synergy of different activities and the participation of a larger number of actors for a longer period of time;
- urbanity, implying a set of spatially and temporarily concentrated public activities aimed at

je svrha izgradnja određenog dijela grada bez zadanih ograničenja

- prestiž koji se temelji na činjenici da u suvremenom globaliziranom svijetu slika projekta postaje moćan instrument privlačnosti, utjecaja i razvoja gradskih područja
- ikoničnost koja se manifestira u estetici i simboličkoj važnosti projekta za širi prostor
- veličina mjerila koja se može odnositi na cilj projekta, površinu, opseg programa ili potrebne resurse za realizaciju projekta
- funkcionalnost koja podrazumijeva namjenu projekta s obzirom na društveno-ekonomsku i funkcionalnu organizaciju prostora
- sustavnost koja podrazumijeva koordinaciju projekata malog mjerila koji strateškim i jedinstvenim vođenjem i upravljanjem dobivaju funkciju projekata velikog mjerila te su dio širih prostornih strategija razvoja i transformacije grada
- generator razvoja podrazumijeva da je projekt inicijator i pokretač razvoja okolnog područja i investicija
- katalizator razvoja podrazumijeva da projekt pospješuje i ubrzava razvoj okolnog područja i investicija.

Sadržajna analiza definicija promatranih pojmova upućuje na širinu definicija ovisno o razdoblju nastanka, geografskoj odrednici te konceptu. Sadržajna analiza također upućuje na važnost pojedinih obilježja pri čemu je razvidno da su dva ključna obilježja strateških gradskih projekata urbanitet i integriranost. Urbanitet kao obilježje koje podrazumijeva urbane značajke projekata zastupljen je u svim proučavanim definicijama. Integriranost kao obilježje koje podrazumijeva cjelovitost pristupa, planiranja i realizacije te sveukupnost utjecaja na razvoj i transformaciju prostora prisutan je u 19 od 25 (76 %) proučavanih definicija. Nakon urbaniteta i integriranosti najčešća su obilježja strateških gradskih projekata, megaprojekata, strateških gradskih (razvojnih) projekata te *flagship* projekata prestiž, kompleksnost, opseg (mjerilo) te katalizatorski utjecaj intervencija na razvoj.

construction of a specific part of a city with no set limitations;

- prestige, based on the fact that the contemporary globalised world makes the image of a project a mighty instrument of attraction, influence and development of urban areas;
- iconic quality, manifested in an aesthetic and symbolic meaning of the project for the greater area;
- scale, which might refer to the project goal, surface area, programme scope or resources required for the project implementation;
- functionality, which implies the project purpose regarding socio-economic and functional organisation of the space;
- systematic quality, which implicitly includes the coordination of small-scale projects which, by their strategic and integrated management and leadership, gain the function of a large-scale project and are therefore a part of more extensive spatial development strategies and city transformations;
- generator of development, meaning that the project is an initiator and driver of development in the surrounding area and investments;
- catalyst of development, meaning that the project enhances and accelerates economic growth in the surrounding area and investments.

The contents analysis of the definitions of terms under consideration shows that the scope of the definition depends on the period of its creation, geographic location and concept. The content analysis also indicates the importance of individual characteristics, with two key characteristics of strategic city projects being urbanity and integrity. Urbanity as a characteristic which implies that urban characteristics of the project are present in all studied definitions. The project integrity as a characteristic which refers to the integrity of the approach, planning, and implementation; and the overall effect on the development and transformation of space is quoted in 19 of 25 (76%) studied definitions. Urbanity and integrity, as the most frequent characteristics of strategic city projects, megaprojects, large-scale strategic city (development) projects, and flagship projects are followed by prestige, complexity, scale and catalytic effect of the projects on the development.

Tab. 1. Sadržajna analiza i usporedba pojmova i definicija strateških gradskih projekata prema odabranim relevantnim autorima  
Tab. 1 Analysis of contents and comparison of terms and definitions of strategic city projects by relevant selected author

| POJAM / TERM  |                                  | AUTOR / AUTHOR                 | KARAKTERISTIKE / CHARACTERISTICS |                |                         |                   |                          |                              |                         |                       |                       |                        |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
|   |                                  |                                | KOMPLEKSNI / COMPLEX             | URBANI / URBAN | PRESTIŽNI / PRESTIGIOUS | IKONIČNI / ICONIC | INTEGRIRANI / INTEGRATED | VELIKO MJERILO / LARGE SCALE | STRUKTURNI / STRUCTURED | SUSTAVNI / SYSTEMATIC | GENERATOR / GENERATOR | KATALIZATOR / CATALYST |
| FLAGSHIP PROJEKT / FLAGSHIP PROJECT   |                                  | Bianchini i dr., 1992          | •                                | •              | •                       |                   |                          | •                            |                         |                       |                       | •                      |
|   |                                  | Smyth, 2005                    |                                  | •              | •                       |                   | •                        | •                            | •                       | •                     | •                     | •                      |
|   |                                  | Voase, 1997                    | •                                | •              |                         |                   | •                        |                              |                         |                       |                       |                        |
|   |                                  | De Frantz, 2005                | •                                | •              |                         |                   | •                        |                              |                         |                       |                       | •                      |
|   |                                  | Temelová, 2007                 | •                                | •              | •                       | •                 | •                        | •                            | •                       | •                     | •                     |                        |
|   |                                  | Doucet i dr., 2011             | •                                | •              | •                       | •                 | •                        | •                            | •                       |                       | •                     | •                      |
|   |                                  | Raco i Henderson, 2009         | •                                | •              | •                       |                   | •                        |                              |                         |                       |                       |                        |
|   |                                  | Smith i Krogh Strand von, 2011 |                                  | •              | •                       | •                 | •                        | •                            | •                       |                       |                       |                        |
|   |                                  | Sánchez-Moral i dr., 2015      | •                                | •              | •                       | •                 | •                        | •                            | •                       |                       | •                     |                        |
|   |                                  | Listerborn, 2017               |                                  | •              |                         |                   | •                        |                              | •                       |                       |                       |                        |
| FLAGSHIP PROJEKT / FLAGSHIP PROJECT   | prestizni / prestigious          | Loftman i Nevine, 1995         |                                  | •              | •                       |                   | •                        | •                            |                         | •                     | •                     |                        |
|   |                                  | Harvey, 2007                   |                                  | •              |                         |                   |                          |                              | •                       |                       | •                     |                        |
|   | lokalni / local                  | Smyth, 2005                    |                                  |                | •                       |                   | •                        | •                            |                         | •                     | •                     |                        |
|   |                                  | Smyth, 2005                    |                                  | •              |                         |                   | •                        |                              |                         | •                     |                       |                        |
| STRATEŠKI GRADSKI PROJEKT VELIKOG MJERILA / LARGE-SCALE STRATEGIC URBAN (DEVELOPMENT) PROJECT |                                  | Swyngedouw i dr., 2002         | •                                | •              | •                       |                   | •                        |                              |                         |                       |                       |                        |
|   |                                  | Grodach, 2008                  | •                                | •              | •                       | •                 | •                        | •                            |                         | •                     | •                     |                        |
|   |                                  | Majoor, 2011                   | •                                | •              | •                       |                   | •                        | •                            |                         |                       |                       |                        |
|   |                                  | Carrière i Demazière, 2002     | •                                | •              | •                       | •                 |                          |                              | •                       | •                     | •                     |                        |
|   |                                  | Monclús, 2003                  | •                                | •              | •                       |                   | •                        | •                            | •                       |                       |                       |                        |
| MEGAPROJEKT / MEGAPROJECT   |                                  | Fainstein, 2008                | •                                | •              |                         |                   | •                        | •                            |                         |                       |                       |                        |
|   |                                  | Banerji, 2011                  |                                  | •              | •                       |                   | •                        | •                            |                         | •                     |                       |                        |
| STRATEŠKI GRADSKI PROJEKT / STRATEGIC CITY PROJECT  |                                  | Albrechts, 2006                | •                                | •              |                         |                   | •                        |                              |                         |                       |                       |                        |
| STRATEŠKI GRADSKI PROJEKT / STRATEGIC CITY PROJECT  | kreativne klase / creative class | Florida, 2002                  |                                  | •              |                         |                   |                          |                              |                         |                       | •                     |                        |
|   | poduzetnički / entrepreneurship  | Glaeser i Saiz, 2003           |                                  | •              |                         |                   |                          | •                            |                         |                       | •                     |                        |
|   | progresivni / progressive        | Grodach, 2008                  |                                  | •              |                         |                   |                          | •                            |                         |                       | •                     |                        |

Izvor: izradili autori  
Source: prepared by authors

**Strateški gradski projekti kao alat u stratezijskom planiranju: pregled pojmova i modela**

Strategic city projects as a strategic planning tool: an overview of terms and models

Ako se detaljnije analizira, mogu se uočiti zanimljive razlike između pojedinih definicija koje se ogledaju u pojavnosti pojedinih obilježja ovisno o tome radi li se o vrsti strateškoga gradskog projekta. Tako se uz urbanitet i integritet, koji se javljaju u većini definicija, u definicijama *flagship* projekata u većine autora javljaju još i obilježja kao što su prestiž te obilježja generatora i katalizatora razvoja. U definicijama strateških gradskih projekata velikog mjerila pojavljuju se i obilježja složenosti odnosno kompleksnosti te obilježje prestiža.

### **Evolucija modela strateških gradskih projekata**

Prve definicije *flagship* projekata kao vrste strateških gradskih projekata javljaju se početkom 1990-ih, no razvoj modela možemo pratiti i znatno ranije kao posljedicu promjene globalnih „okidačkih sila” odnosno faktora (*global trigger factors*, Pacione, 2009) u gradovima 1970-ih godina. Zbog promjene globalnih okidača dolazi do promjena u urbanom razvoju. Pritom strateški gradski projekti često imaju ključnu ulogu u formiranju „fragmenata” grada, posebice u dijelovima grada zahvaćenima gentrifikacijom.

Promjene u urbanom razvoju istovremeno nužno dovode i do promjena u urbanom planiranju. Razdoblje do kraja 1960-ih godina u urbanom planiranju obilježila je faza fizičkog/prostornog razvoja koja se ogleda u planiranju novih kvalitetnijih stambenih naselja, prometnom povezivanju, planiranoj decentralizaciji stanovništva te industrijskom restrukturiranju. Početci toga razdoblja sežu u 1949. godinu i donošenje Zakona o stanogradnji (*Housing Act*) u SAD-u kojim je propisan proces urbane obnove (*urban renewal*) kojim se pokušao riješiti problem neadekvatne stanogradnje i kvalitete stanovanja. Sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća planeri se okreću prema planiranju socijalnih funkcija i smanjivanju socioekonomskih razlika među pojedinim skupinama stanovništva. Planerske akcije usmjerene su prvenstveno prema razvoju projekata u okviru lokalnih zajednica te povećanju kvalitete života depriviranih zajednica i skupina stanovništva. Osamdesete godine 20. stoljeća donijele su nov zaoakret prema deregulaciji i smanjenju utjecaja lokalnih aktera te početak regeneracije i ulaganja privatnih aktera te privatizaciju pojedinih usluga. Devedesete

Looking more closely, it is interesting to notice the difference between individual definitions with regard to incidence of particular characteristics depending on the type of strategic city project. Thus, in addition to urbanity and integrity, which are encountered in most definitions of flagship projects, most authors also refer to characteristics such as prestige and characteristics of the development generator and catalyst. The definitions of large-scale strategic city (development) projects also incorporate the characteristics of complexity and prestige.

### **Evolution of the strategic city project model**

The first definitions of flagship project as a type of strategic city project were published in the early 1990s, but the development of this model reaches back to a significantly earlier period as a consequence of changing global trigger factors (Pacione, 2009) in the cities in the 1970s. Changes in global triggers cause changes in urban development, and strategic city projects often play a key role in the formation of city “fragments”, particularly in city zones affected by gentrification.

The changes in urban development necessarily coincide with changes in urban planning. Until late 1960s, urban planning was characterised by a physical planning/spatial development phase resulting in the planning of new high-quality housing developments, traffic connections, planned decentralisation of population, and industrial restructuring. This period started in 1949, when the *Housing Act* was promulgated in the USA, stipulating the implementation of the urban renewal process in order to resolve inadequate housing construction and quality. In the 1970s, planners focused on the planning of social functions and narrowing of the socio-economic gap between individual groups of population. Planning activities are primarily focused on the development of projects in local communities and improvement of quality of life in deprived communities and groups of population. The 1980s brought a new twist regarding the deregulation and weakening of influence of local actors, and the beginning of regeneration and investment of private actors, and the privatisation of individual services. The 1990s were marked by the “competitive phase” of planning. As emphasised by

su označile ulazak u „kompetitivnu fazu” planiranja. Kako ističe Turok (1992), 1980-e i pristup regeneracije potaknute izgradnjom i obnovom nije urodio očekivanom urbanom regeneracijom jer je ekonomski utjecaj pojedinačnih regeneracija vrlo ograničena prostornog i ekonomskog djelovanja. Zbog toga se urbani planeri okreću holističkom pristupu planiranju pokušavajući pronaći optimalne katalizatore za urbani razvoj koji uključuje sudjelovanje svih aktera. Takav katalizator postaju strateški gradski projekti. Krajem 1990-ih i početkom 2000. započinje i „treći val” koji uz prije navedeni holistički cjeloviti pristup planiranju grada naglasak stavlja na socijalne posljedice ekonomske politike te pokušava pridonijeti jačanju uloge lokalnih zajednica u regeneraciji.

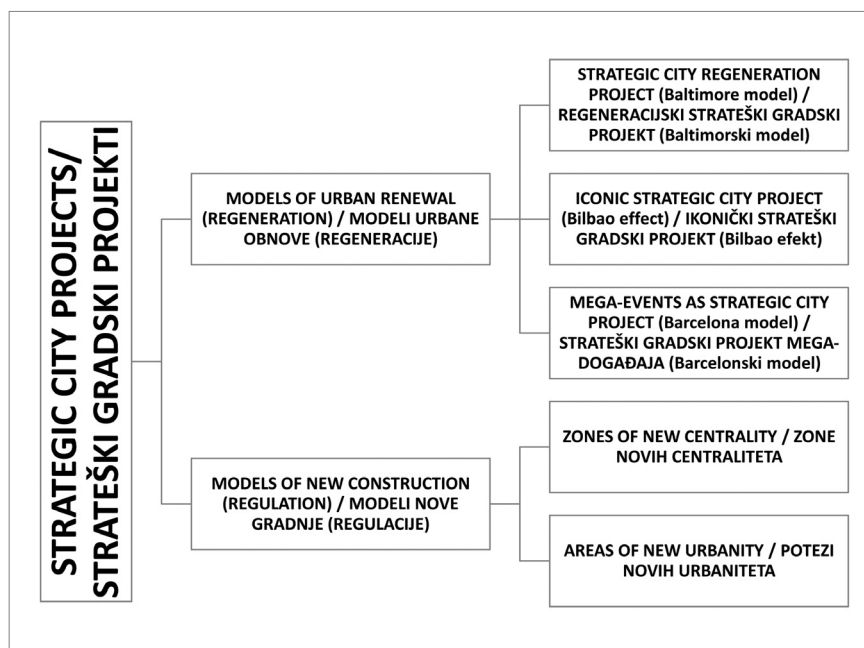
Imajući u vidu planerski okvir upravljanja gradovima posljednjih 30-ak godina, strateški gradski projekti optimalan su alat takva planiranja koji omogućuje relativno brz odgovor na suvremene izazove urbanog razvoja uz istovremeno sudjelovanje svih aktera.

Analizirajući dostupnu stručnu i znanstvenu literaturu vezanu uz različite modele realizacije strateških gradskih projekata, koje analiziraju autori u teorijskim pristupima i konceptima, možemo razlikovati dvije skupine modela: modele urbane obnove ili regeneracije i modele nove gradnje ili regulacije (sl. 1).

Turok (1992), the 1980s and the regeneration approach encouraged by the construction and renewal did not result in the expected urban regeneration, as the economic influence of an individual regeneration had a very limited spatial and economic effect. Thus, in search of optimum catalysts for urban development that imply participation of all actors, urban planners turned to a holistic approach to planning. Strategic city projects became that catalyst. In late 1990s and early 2000s the “third wave” started which, in addition to the aforementioned holistic integrated approach to city planning, emphasised the social consequences of economic policy and attempted to contribute to strengthening the role of local communities in regeneration.

Having in mind the planning aspect of city management, strategic city projects have been an optimum tool of such planning during the last thirty years, offering a comparatively fast response to contemporary challenges of urban development and concurrent participation of all the actors.

The analyses of available professional and scientific publications on different models of implementation of the city projects made by authors in their theoretical approaches and concepts differentiate between two groups of models: models of urban renewal or regeneration and models of new construction or regulation. (Fig. 1).



Sl. 1. Sistematizacija modela strateških gradskih projekata odabranih autora  
Fig. 1 Breakdown of strategic city project models by selected authors

Izvor / Source: prema / according to Chaslin, 1985; Carrière i Demazière, 2002; Evans; 2003; Monclús, 2003; Smyth, 2005; Harvey, 2007; Majoor, 2009; Grodach, 2010, prilagodili autori / Adapted by authors

## Model urbane obnove ili regeneracije

Ekonomska kriza 1970-ih i 1980-ih godina dovela je do recesije i napuštanja brojnih industrijskih objekata te u konačnici do propadanja velikih industrijskih zona u gradovima, pa čak i čitavih industrijskih gradova. Deindustrijalizacija i tercijarizacija 1990-ih nastavile su trend stagnacije industrijskih područja u gradovima. U tim okolnostima gradska uprava prisiljena je tražiti nova rješenja za društveno i ekonomski devastirana gradska područja gledajući u njima istovremeno priliku za regeneraciju grada. Unutar modela urbane regeneracije realiziraju se regeneracijski strateški projekti, ikonični strateški projekti te strateški gradski projekti megadogađaja.

*Regeneracijski strateški projekti* realiziraju se u gradovima na napuštenim, zapuštenim ili nedovoljno korištenim industrijskim zonama te na lokacijama visoke ekonomske i simboličke vrijednosti. Prve regeneracijske strateške projekte nalazimo u gradovima Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, a najpoznatiji je primjer Baltimore 1970-ih godina (Harvey, 2007), gdje je provedena regeneracija luke uz pomoć javno-privatnog partnerstva (sl. 2). Taj model regeneracijskih strateških projekata naziva se još i baltimorski model (Smyth, 2005). Sličan model primijenili su u kasnijim desetljećima i brojni britanski gradovi (London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow) te francuski gradovi poput Pariza (Chaslin, 1985). Regeneracijski strateški projekti podrazumijevaju projekte novih žarišta razvoja unutar postojeće urbane strukture, a koji uključuju izgradnju važnih građevina, novih zelenih površina i saniranje zapuštenih gradskih zona.

*Ikonični strateški gradski projekti* sintagma su za regeneraciju gradskih područja izgradnjom novih ikoničnih građevina koje postaju alat za brendiranje gradova i stvaranje identitetskog sustava gradova (Evans, 2003). Podrazumijevaju izgradnju građevina ili skupina građevina koje dobivaju katalizatorsku ulogu i postaju simboli urbane regeneracije.

Paradigmom takva modela danas se smatra izgradnja muzeja u Bilbaou koji je svojom katalizatorskom ulogom utjecao na razvoj okolnog prostora (poslovnih i stambenih zgrada, sveučilišne infrastrukture, parkovnih i javnih prostora) te se model često naziva i Bilbao-model ili model Guggenheim-efekta (Grodach, 2010) (sl. 3).

## Models of urban regeneration

The economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s caused recession and the abandonment of numerous industrial facilities and, ultimately, the collapse of vast industrial zones in the cities, and even entire industrial cities. Deindustrialisation and tertiarisation in the 1990s were the continuation of the trend of stagnation of city industrial sites. In such circumstances, city authorities were forced to look for new solutions for socially and economically devastated urban areas recognising, at the same time, the chance for regeneration of the city. Strategic regeneration projects, iconic strategic projects and mega-events as strategic city projects are implemented within the model of urban regeneration.

*Strategic regeneration projects* are implemented in cities in abandoned, neglected, or underutilised industrial sites and in locations with high economic and symbolic value. The first strategic regeneration projects were undertaken in American cities, the most famous being the example of Baltimore in 1970s (Harvey, 2007) where redevelopment of the inner harbour was carried out through a partnership of the public and private sectors (Fig. 2). This model of strategic regeneration projects is also known as “Baltimore model” (Smyth, 2005). Similar models have later been used by numerous British (London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow) and French (Paris) cities (Chaslin, 1985). Strategic regeneration projects are projects implemented in new focal points of development within the existing urban structure that involve the construction of significant buildings, new green areas, and remediation of neglected urban zones.

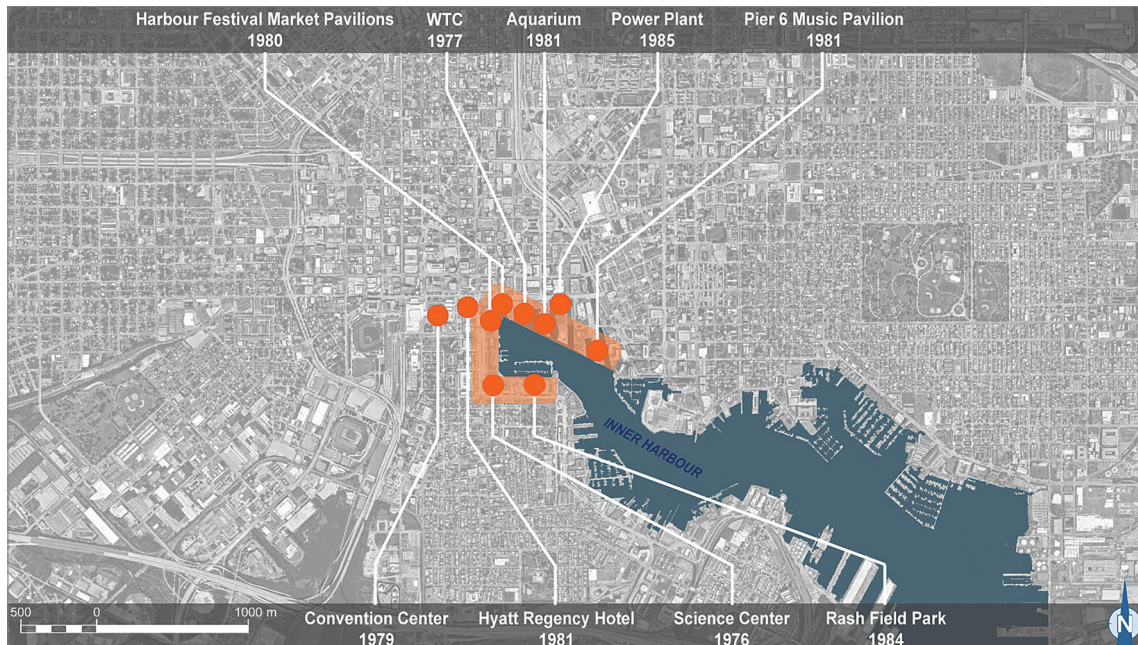
*Iconic strategic city projects* are initiated for regeneration of urban areas through construction of new iconic buildings, so they become a tool for the branding of cities and creating a city’s identity system (Evans, 2003). This assumes the construction of buildings or groups of buildings which take a catalytic role and become symbols of urban regeneration.

Today, the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao is considered paradigmatic in this sense because of its catalytic role which affected the development of the neighbouring spaces (commercial and residential buildings, university infrastructure, park and public spaces). This is often referred to as the “Bilbao model” or “Guggenheim effect” model (Grodach, 2010) (Fig. 3).



**Strateški gradski  
projekti kao alat  
u stratejskom  
planiranju: pregled  
pojmova i modela**

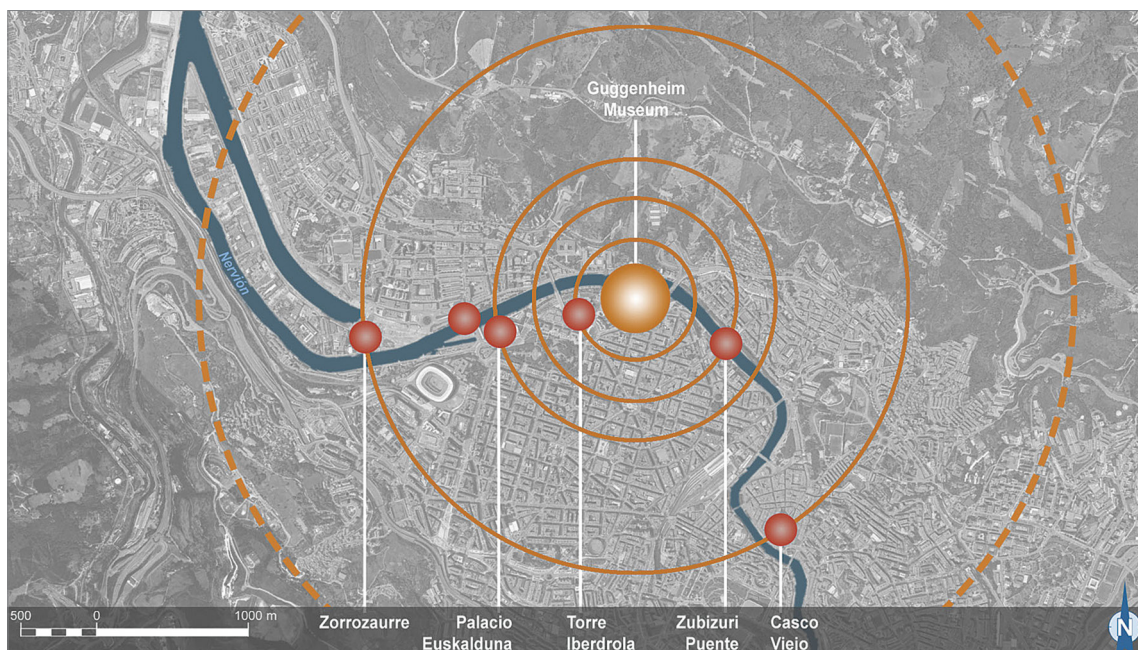
Strategic city  
projects as a  
strategic planning  
tool: an overview of  
terms and models



Sl. 2. Baltimorski model urbane obnove ili regeneracije  
Sl. 2 "Baltimore model" of urban renewal or regeneration

Izvor: izradili autori

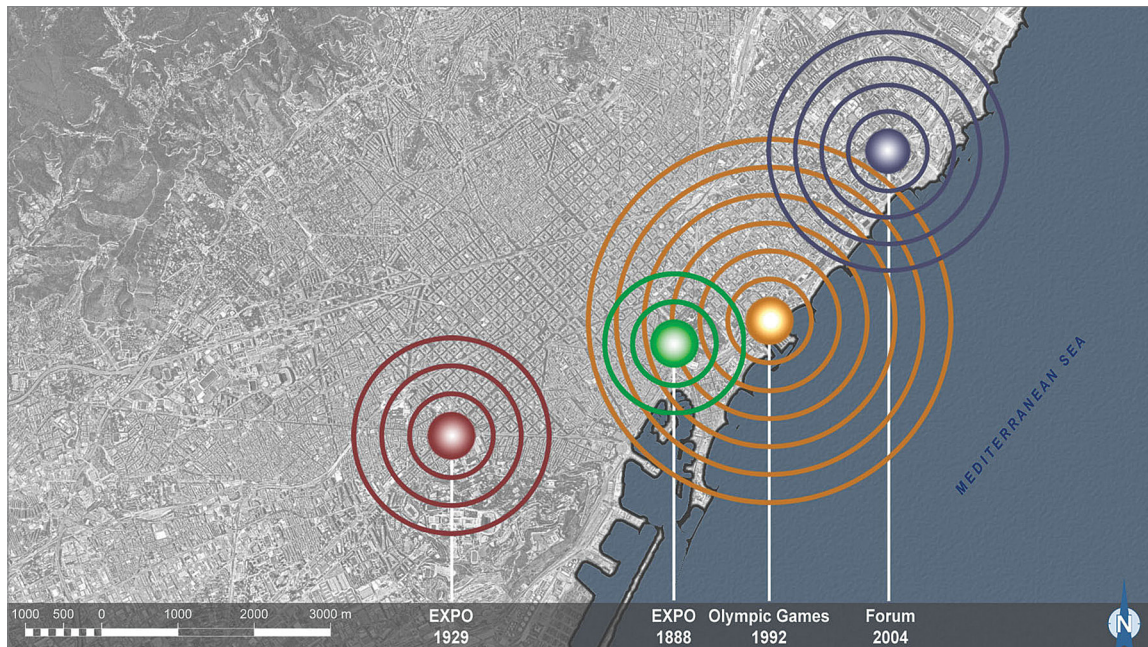
Source: Prepared by authors



Sl. 3. Bilbao-model urbane obnove ili regeneracije  
Fig.3 "Bilbao model" model of urban renewal or regeneration

Izvor: izradili autori

Source: Prepared by authors



Sl. 4. Barcelonski model urbane obnove ili regeneracije  
Fig. 4 "Barcelona model" of urban renewal or regeneration

Izvor: izradili autori

Source: Prepared by authors

*Strateški gradski projekti megadogađaja* podrazumijevaju provođenje projekata kao posljedicu ili pripremu za određeni megadogađaj poput Olimpijskih igara, svjetskih prvenstava, EXPO-a ili Europske prijestolnice kulture. Ti megadogađaji postaju instrumenti urbane obnove i regeneracije (Monclús, 2003) te katalizatori urbanog restrukturiranja. Model se često naziva barcelonski model s obzirom na to da je Barcelona najveće preobrazbe doživjela povodom četiriju megadogađaja: Svjetske izložbe 1888., Svjetske izložbe 1929., Olimpijskih igara 1992. te Svjetskoga kulturnog foruma 2004. godine (sl. 4).

#### Model nove gradnje ili regulacije

Modeli nove gradnje ili regulacije podrazumijevaju realizaciju strateških gradskih projekata na kvalitetno prometno povezanim i infrastrukturno opremljenim neizgrađenim rubnim zanemarivanim prostorima grada koji u novim uvjetima konsolidacije gradskih prostora dobivaju posebnu odnosno novu vrijednost. Pri tome razlikujemo zone novih centraliteta i poteze novih urbaniteta (Majoor, 2009).

*Mega-events as strategic city projects* imply implementation of projects which are a consequence of, or are preparation for, a specific mega-event, such as the Olympic Games, world championships, Expos or European Capital of Culture. Such mega-events become instruments of urban renewal and regeneration (Monclús, 2003) and catalysts of urban restructuring. This model is often referred to as "the Barcelona model" as the city underwent major transformations with regard to four mega-events—Expo 1888, Expo 1929, the 1992 Olympic Games, and the Forum of Cultures 2004 event (Fig. 4).

#### Models of new construction or regulation

Models of new construction or regulation entail implementation of strategic city projects in undeveloped, fringe, or neglected city spaces with quality traffic connection and available infrastructure, which gain a special new value under new conditions resulting from consolidation of city spaces. Here, new centrality zones and new urbanity areas are distinguished. (Majoor, 2009).

## Pozicioniranje strateških gradskih projekata u strateškim i prostorno-planskim dokumentima u Republici Hrvatskoj

U strateškim i prostorno-planskim dokumentima Republike Hrvatske i Grada Zagreba strateški gradski projekti koncipirani su i definirani na različite načine. S osnovnom idejom i usmjerenjem razvoja grada o pojmu „strateških gradskih projekata” počinje se raspravljati devedesetih godina, a od 2000. on se i pojavljuje u strateškim i prostorno-planskim dokumentima u Republici Hrvatskoj.

Inovativna koncepcija Nove urbane strategije Zagreba – Zagreb 2000+ (*Gradski zavod za planiranje razvoja Grada i zaštitu okoliša*, 2000), oslobođena stega redukcije koju je zahtijevao zakonom strukturirani generalni urbanistički plan kao sektorski urbanistički dokument, predlagala je reprodukciju grada serijom elaboracija gradskih projekata u partnerstvu temeljnih aktera gospodarenja prostorom: Grada – javnog sektora, privatnih vlasnika zemljišta i zainteresiranih investitora, uz prisutnost urbane javnosti. Na temeljnim polazištima Nove urbane strategije Zagreba izrađen je Prijedlog Generalnog urbanističkog plana Zagreba objavljen u tzv „Plavoj knjizi” (*Gradski zavod za planiranje razvoja Grada i zaštitu okoliša*, 2000), kojim se predlažu gradski projekti kao veći projekti planirani za pojedina područja radi urbane konsolidacije grada i projekti vezani uz projekte gradske infrastrukture, posebno infrastrukture održivog kretanja čiji je rezultat promjena mjerila i vrijednosti postojećeg grada, gdje grad investiranjem u javne programe (ulica, trg, park, javni promet, javna građevina) poboljšava i čini vrjednijim gradski okoliš. Usvojenim Generalnim urbanističkim planom Zagreba (*Gradski zavod za planiranje razvoja Grada i zaštitu okoliša*, 2003), uništavanjem predloženog dokumenta iz 2000, izostaju nova institucionalna i proceduralna rješenja koja su zahtijevala partnerstvo temeljnih aktera gospodarenja prostorom. Tim se Generalnim urbanističkim planom omogućuje izrada gradskih projekata za složene aktivnosti u uređenju prostora što su od osobitog interesa za grad, gdje je Grad partner u realizaciji, bilo da je vlasnik zemljišta ili je već uložio ili će

## Positioning of strategic city projects in strategic and spatial planning documents in the Republic of Croatia

The strategic city projects in the strategic and spatial planning documents for the City of Zagreb and the Republic of Croatia are conceived and defined in different ways. Discussions regarding the term “strategic city project”, i.e. its basic idea and city development management, started in the 1990s. It also began appearing in the strategic and spatial planning documents for the Republic of Croatia starting in 2000.

The innovative Concept of New Urban Strategy for Zagreb—Zagreb 2000+ (City Office for City Development Planning and Environmental Protection, 2000), relaxed from the disciplinary reduction imposed by the Master Plan that was structured by the law as a sectoral urban planning document, proposed a reproduction of the city through elaboration of a series of city projects in partnership with the fundamental actors in space management, in this case the City: the public sector; private land owners; and interested investors, in the presence of urban public. The Draft Master Plan for Zagreb was prepared on the basis of the New Urban Strategy for Zagreb and published in the so-called “Blue Book” (City Office for City Development Planning and Environmental Protection, 2000). The document proposes city projects as larger projects planned for particular areas aiming at urban consolidation of the city and related to urban infrastructure projects, particularly sustainable mobility infrastructure to result in change of criteria and values of the existing city, where the city improves the urban environment and makes it more valuable by investing in public programmes (streets, squares, parks, public transport, public buildings). Due to the rejection of the proposed document from 2000, the adopted Zagreb Master Plan (City Office for City Development Planning and Environmental Protection, 2003) lacks new institutional and procedural solutions which demand the partnership of the primary actors in space management. The 2003 Master Plan enables development of city projects for complex activities in physical planning, which are of particular interest for the city, with the city as the partner in implementation, i.e. as the land

J. Veselić Bruvo  
M. Jakovčić

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Strategic city projects as a strategic planning tool: an overview of terms and models

tek ulagati kako bi stvorio novu gradsku kvalitetu. Daljnjim izmjenama i dopunama Generalnog urbanističkog plana (*Gradski zavod za planiranje razvoja Grada i zaštitu okoliša*, 2007), povećava se broj stratezijskih prioriteta Zagreba, prostora i tema – gradskih projekata – na kojima Zagreb želi uključiti kapital svih zainteresiranih kako bi se sanirala višedesetljetna podinvestiranost u njegove temeljne razvojne prioritete i sustave. K tomu, uz pojedinačne definirane gradske projekte mogućnost da to postanu imaju i sve površine veće od 1 hektar u vlasništvu države ili Grada Zagreba, kao i sve lokacije za gradnju građevina viših od 9 etaža. Ovakvom brojnošću i raznovrsnošću kriterija strateški gradski projekti gube svoju ekskluzivnu poziciju u Generalnom urbanističkom planu argumentiranu novim impulsom razvoju grada, širokim utjecajnim područjem i mogućnošću generiranja šire urbane preobrazbe od prostornih okvira njih samih.

Generalni urbanistički plan temeljni je instrument i osnovni moderator upravljanja prostornim razvojem grada i izazovima prostornog raspologanja gradskim područjem, osobito javnim prostorima, koji je ipak samo jedan sektorski urbanistički dokument bez sveukupnog sustava prostornog uređenja. Kao temeljni planski dokumenti politike regionalnog razvoja razvojne strategije grada, županije ili aglomeracije, za razliku od generalnoga urbanističkog plana, utvrđuju strateške ciljeve i prioritete usmjerene jačanju razvojnog potencijala i smanjenju regionalnih razlika te uključuju primarno gospodarski, ekološki, klimatski i društveni aspekt razvoja, no nedostatak prostorne sastavnice u dokumentima razvojne strategije problematizira odnos prostornog i regionalnog razvoja koji bi trebali biti integrirani u jedinstven sustav.

Tako su gradskom odnosno županijskom razvojnom strategijom – Razvojnom strategijom Grada Zagreba – ZagrebPlan 2020+ (*Gradski ured za stratezijsko planiranje i razvoj Grada*, 2013) strateški gradski projekti definirani kao projekti uređenja prostora koji osobito doprinose razvoju Zagreba kao grada konkurentnog gospodarstva, znanja i sveučilišnog grada, održivog gospodarenja prirodnim resursima i vrijednostima, kvalitetnih prostora funkcija i javnih servisa, kvalitetnog

owner, investor, or investment partner. Later amendments to the Master Plan (City Office for City Development Planning and Environmental Protection, 2007) increased the number of strategic priorities, spaces and topics, i.e. urban projects, by which Zagreb should attract investments from stakeholders in order to make up for decades of underinvestment into basic development priorities and systems. Further, in addition to specifically defined city projects, there is a possibility that this status will be given to all areas larger than one hectare owned by the state or the City of Zagreb, and all the sites earmarked for construction of nine or more story buildings. Such quantity and variety of criteria caused the strategic city projects to lose their exclusivity in the Master Plan. The argument used was ensuring a new impulse to the development of the city, a greater area of influence, and potential generation of a more extensive urban transformation outside the area's spatial framework.

The Master Plan is the basic instrument and a primary moderator used for management of urban spatial development and challenges of disposing with the city area—public spaces in particular. It is, however, only a sectoral urban development planning document lacking a comprehensive physical planning system. Being that this is the baseline planning document on regional development policy, the development strategies for the city/county/agglomeration, unlike the Master Plan, establish strategic goals and priorities focusing on strengthening development potential and shrinking of regional differences. Development strategies primarily include economic, environmental, climate, and social aspects of development. However, the lack of a spatial component in development strategy documents makes the relation between spatial and regional development being integrated in an integral system an issue.

The city/county development strategy—The City of Zagreb Development Strategy—ZagrebPlan 2020+ (City Office for Strategic Planning and Development of the City, 2013) defines strategic city projects as physical planning projects contributing considerably to the development of Zagreb as a city of competitive economy, knowledge, sustainable management of natural resources and values, quality

života, učinkovitog upravljanja te kao takvi provedbom zahvata imaju za cilj učinkovito kontrolirati urbano uređenje, podizati vrijednost grada te time pribavljenu dobit reinvestirati u nove gradske vrijednosti. Razvojnou strategijou širega utjecajnog aglomeracijskog područja Grada Zagreba – Strategijou razvoja Urbane aglomeracije Zagreb za razdoblje do 2020. (*Gradski ured za stratezijsko planiranje i razvoj Grada*, 2018) definirani su strateški projekti koji imaju značajan doprinos uravnoteženou, održivou i inovativnou razvoju zagrebačkog utjecajnog područja i svojim utjecajem nadilaze lokalne razmjere te snažno pozitivno utječu na društvo, kvalitetu života, okoliš i gospodarstvo.

Po uzoru na Grad Zagreb, koji je nacionalno i regionalno središte države, tako i gradovi Rijeka i Split u svoje prostorno-planske dokumente uvrstavaju strateške gradske projekte. Generalni urbanistički plan Rijeke iz 2007. uodi gradske projekte kao područja posebna interesa na kojima se očekuje bitan konceptijski pomak u prostornoj strukturi i urbanističkoj matrici grada te stoga svojim prostornim, sadržajnim i lokacijskim potencijalom i novim modelom distinkcije javnog i privatnog postaju zamašnjaci urbanog razvoja, prepoznatljiv gradski *landmark* te generiraju urbanu transformaciju ukupnog makroprostora s namjerou da svojom kvalitetou i očekivanou namjenou transformirani sadržaj i program preraste lokalne okvire. Generalni urbanistički plan Splita iz 2006. utvrđuje gradske projekte kao fleksibilne urbane zahvate većeg mjerila kompleksne sanacije, obnove i reurbanizacije na posebno vrijednim područjima grada i/ili namjene od posebna interesa za grad odnosno značajna doprinosa slici i doživljaju grada. Prostorno-planski i strateški dokumenti Osijek ne izdvajaju strateške gradske projekte.

Na osnovi dostupnih definicija te analizou njihovih obilježja, teorijskih pristupa i koncepata u Hrvatskoj možemo predložiti definiciju prema kojoj su strateški gradski projekti složeni dugoročni urbanistički (katkad prestižni i/ili ikonični) projekti koji unutar jedinstvenoga referentnog okvira integriraju ekonomsku, društvenu i okolišnu dimenziju urbanističkog planiranja i izgradnje.

spaces, functions and public services, quality life, and efficient management. Implementation of such projects aims at efficient control of urban development, enhancement of the city value, and consequently investment of the gained profit into new city features. The development strategy for the greater influential agglomeration area of the City of Zagreb—the Urban Agglomeration of Zagreb Development Strategy for the Period by 2020 (City Office for Strategic Planning and Development of the City, 2018) defines strategic projects contributing significantly to balanced, sustainable, and innovative development of the Zagreb area, which reach beyond local proportions and have a strong positive effect on society, quality of life, environment, and economy.

Taking the City of Zagreb, the national and regional centre, as their role model, the cities of Rijeka and Split have also introduced strategic city projects into their spatial planning documents. The Rijeka Master Plan from 2007 introduced city projects as areas of special interest expected to cause a substantial conceptual shift in the spatial structure and urban matrix of the city. Therefore, their potential with regard to the spatial aspects, contents and location and a new model of distinction between public and private, makes them drivers of urban development, recognisable city landmarks, and generators of urban transformation of the entire micro space. The intention is that the transformed contents and program exceed the local framework by their quality and expected purpose. The Split Master Plan from 2006 established city projects as flexible urban undertakings of larger scale focused on complex remediation, reconstruction, and reurbanisation of particularly valuable city locations and/or goals of special interest for the city and/or of significant contribution to the city image and experience. The spatial planning documents for the City of Osijek do not identify strategic city projects.

Based on the available definitions and the analysis of their characteristics, theoretical approaches and concepts (encountered in Croatia), we would propose that the following definition be used: according to which strategic city projects are complex long-term urban development projects (sometimes prestige and/or iconic), which incorporate economic, social, and environmental aspects of urban

Strateški gradski projekti usmjerenim aktivnostima obnove ili novom gradnjom nastoje utjecati na prostornu i funkcionalnu strukturu grada obnovom zapuštenih, nedovoljno korištenih i devastiranih područja ili razvojem poteza novih centraliteta ili urbaniteta generirati razvoj, stvarati novu vrijednost te povećavati kvalitetu života lokalnog stanovništva i standard javnog prostora.

## Zaključak

Strateško prostorno planiranje posljednjih desetljeća preuzima primat pred tradicionalnim (sektorskim) prostornim planiranjem usmjerenim na lokaciju kojem nedostaje aspekt aktivnog poticanja i sinergije s drugim politikama. Strateški gradski projekti pri tome se nameću kao logičan alat koji nudi cjelovit ili holistički pristup rješavanju suvremenih izazova u urbanim sredinama. No usprkos svojoj širokoj primjeni potvrđena je hipoteza da strateški gradski projekti do danas nisu jasno definirani u znanstvenoj i stručnoj javnosti. Pregled dostupne literature uputio je na postojanje četiriju najčešće navođenih termina: *flagship* projekti, strateški gradski (razvojni) projekti velikog mjerila, megaprojekti i strateški gradski projekti. Iako među njima postoje određene razlike koje se ponajprije temelje na veličini ili obuhvatu i utjecaju ili značaju samog projekta te participativnosti pojedinih aktera u planiranju, programiranju i izgradnji, ipak možemo zaključiti kako se radi o pojmovima koji označavaju istu pojavu. S tim u vezi možemo dati i jedinstvenu definiciju strateškoga gradskog projekta kao složena dugoročnoga urbanističkog projekta koji unutar jedinstvenoga referentnog okvira integrira ekonomsku, društvenu i okolišnu dimenziju urbanističkog planiranja i izgradnje te koji usmjerenim aktivnostima obnove ili novom gradnjom nastoji utjecati na prostornu, funkcionalnu, socijalnu i morfološku strukturu grada.

Zaključeno je također da iako se prva definicija *flagship* projekta kao vrste strateških gradskih projekata javlja tek 1990-ih godina, evoluciju modela strateških gradskih projekata možemo pratiti već od sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Danas prevladavaju modeli urbane obnove ili regeneracije, dok su modeli nove gradnje ili regulacije znatno rjeđe prisutni.

planning and development within an integral reference framework. Strategic city projects generate new value and increase quality of life for the local population and standards of public space by targeted renewal or new construction to affect the spatial and functional structure of the city by a renewal of degraded/underutilised/devastated areas and/or development of new centrality and urbanity areas.

## Conclusion

In recent decades, strategic spatial planning has taken primacy over traditional (sectoral) location-oriented spatial planning, which lacks an aspect of active encouragement and synergy with other policies. Strategic city projects present themselves as a logical tool offering an integrated and holistic approach to resolving contemporary problems in urban areas. Regardless of their extensive application, the hypothesis is confirmed that strategic city projects have still not been clearly defined by the technical and scientific communities. A review of available literature shows that the four most commonly-used terms are: flagship project; large-scale strategic city (development) project; megaproject; and strategic city project. Although there are specific differences between these terms, based primarily on the scale of spatial coverage or importance of the project and the participatory role of individual actors in planning, programming and construction, it can be concluded that these all terms actually refer to the same phenomenon. Thus, a single definition of a strategic city project could be that it is a complex long-term urban planning project which incorporates economic, social, and environmental aspects of urban planning and development within an integral reference framework, and strives to affect spatial, functional, social and morphological structure of a city by targeted renewal or new construction.

It has also been concluded that, although the first definition of a flagship project as a type of strategic city project was not published before the 1990s, the model strategic city project development evolution can be followed back to the 1970s. Today, models of urban renewal or regeneration are dominant, while the models of new construction or regulation are less frequently applied.

U konačnici možemo ustanoviti da strateški gradski projekti nude učinkovit alat za planiranje i rješavanje suvremenih izazova grada nastalih kao posljedica promjene čimbenika razvoja, ali isto tako da ne postoje jedinstvena definicija i pristup njihovoj realizaciji, stoga se nameće potreba za daljnjim istraživanjima.

It can be concluded that strategic city projects offer an effective tool for planning and addressing contemporary challenges facing the city resulting from changes in development factors, and that there is no single definition and approach to the implementation of such projects. Thus, future research is needed.

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**Strateški gradski  
projekti kao alat  
u stratejskom  
planiranju: pregled  
pojmova i modela**

Strategic city  
projects as a  
strategic planning  
tool: an overview of  
terms and models

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