NEW SPACES OF CONSUMPTION IN POST-SOCIALIST CITY – EXAMPLE OF THE CITY OF ZAGREB, CROATIA

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ABSTRACT

The paper discusses the commercial redevelopment of old industrial zones in the inner city area of post-socialist city. One of the characteristics of spatial distribution of activities in Croatian cities during the socialist period was positioning industrial plants in different locations in cities, including the city centre. Restructuring of the industrial sector resulted in closure of a large number of industrial plants in different locations in Croatian cities and those sites became ruins subjected to deterioration. Due to the lack of a more definitive legislature, old industrial plants are being devastated and new "iron-and-glass" shopping centres are being built. The purpose of this paper is to suggest measures for the regeneration of old industrial zones and the measures of their successful transformation into new multi-functional business zones.

Key words: Croatia, industrial plants, post-socialist city, revitalization, shopping centres, Zagreb

1. INTRODUCTION

In the early 1990s, as well as the other Central and Eastern European countries, Croatia has started a process of political and economic transition. Retail and industry are just two activities in which the process of transition is the most obvious. Croatian retail in this period is marked by the process of development of new retail outlet forms such as shopping centres and hypermarkets. These new retail and consumption spaces, unknown in Croatia until the mid 1990s are now opening in every part of the city. Since 1999, 43 shopping centres and hypermarkets have been built in the City of Zagreb, which has resulted in vast changes in the city landscape. In the same time, privatization and restructuring have led to changes in the structure of industry. A large number of industrial plants have been closed down or relocated thus leaving vast areas of unused space in the city centre. Those sites represent possible locations for the new spaces of consumption. But in the same time those relics of past times represent a built heritage, which is an important part of cultural inheritance of every town. As stated by Tweed and Sutherland, the preservation of heritage contributes to community and cultural identity (Tweed, Sutherland, 2007). Having that in mind, City authorities should find a way to preserve legacy of past times by giving those sites new functions, concurrently preserving original landscape.

2. GOALS AND METHODOLOGY

The paper discusses the commercial redevelopment of old industrial zones in the inner city which implies both physical renovation and economic revitalization. This paper has two main goals. The first one is to present the process of development of new forms of retail spaces in post-socialist Zagreb and to explain changes in city landscapes caused by this process. The second one is to investigate possibilities of preserving and revitalizing old industrial sites and their transformation into the new multi-function consumption zones comprising both retail and cultural activities. The purpose of this

paper is to suggest measures of regeneration of old industrial zones in the city centre of Zagreb and the measures of their successful transformation into new multi-function business zone.

The paper is divided in chapters as follows: Introduction; Goals and methodology; New consumption spaces in post-socialist Zagreb, Potentials for regeneration of old industrial sits in the city centre, and Conclusion. Chapter Opening of new consumption spaces in post-socialist Zagreb is divided into two sub-chapters: Development of the new consumption spaces in Zagreb, and Emergence of potential locations for new consumption spaces in central Zagreb.

Different methods were used in conducting this research. Besides for using secondary sources, field mapping was done. Secondary sources were gathered from Croatian Bureau of Statistics and Croatian Chamber of Commerce. Also two separated field mapping was conducted. Since statistical documentation from Croatian Bureau of Statistic and Croatian Chamber of Commerce were incomplete, first field mapping was conducted with the aim to gather field information about number and location of new retail centres. Second field mapping was conducted in the city centre of Zagreb. Locations of old industrial sites were mapped and photographed. This photo documentation was later used for comparison preservation condition of original industrial sites. Information about future plans and new developments were obtained from the General master plan, newspapers, journals and officials working in planning institutes, shopping centres etc.

Research was performed in the wider central parts of the city in the tetragonal area bordered by Ilica Street (to public transportation terminus Črnomerac) to the west, Vlaska Street (to Kvaternik Square) to the east and Vukovar Avenue to the south. This area was a core of 19th century and early 20th century Zagreb where all economic and social activities and the majority of inhabitants were concentrated. With the process of suburbanization, industrial activities have been moved to the suburbs and satellite towns thus leaving emptied locations of valuable land in the city centre.

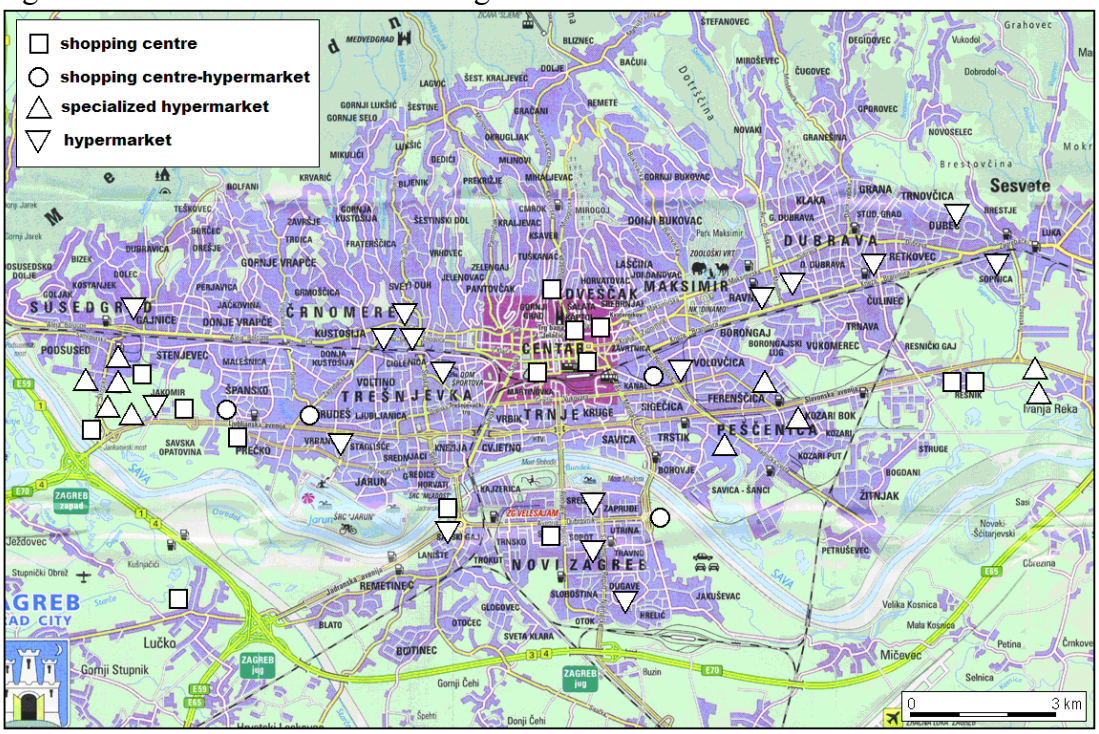
3. NEW SPACES OF CONSUMPTION IN POST-SOCIALIST ZAGREB

3.1. DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CONSUMPTION SPACES IN ZAGREB

Two of the most visible processes that marked the process of economic transition of retail in Croatian retail are the development of new retail outlet forms and suburbanization of retail. Retail centres, unknown in Croatian retail system until 1990s, encompass shopping centres, hypermarkets and specialized hypermarkets. A shopping centre is a group of architecturally unified commercial establishments built on site that is planned, developed and managed as an operating unit with onsite parking space dependent on parking availability in the surrounding area and available alternative means of access to the centre. Hypermarket can be defined as a self-service retail outlet of minimum floor-space of 2000 square meters offering both short-term and long-term products. Basic function of a hypermarket is supply - so they do not offer other retail premises. New generation of hypermarkets that was opened over the past three years in Croatia, offer professional and consumer services and food services. Specialized hypermarkets are large self-service retail outlets with minimum floors-pace of 2000 square meters offering specialized products such as homeware, hardware, industrial and automotive supplies (Jakovcic, 2008.). The first shopping centre in Croatia was

Importanne centre opened near the main railway station in Zagreb in 1994. The first suburban shopping centre in Croatia was opened in Zagreb in 1999. In June 2008 there were 22 shopping centres in Croatia, 12 of them located in Zagreb. In general, in Zagreb and other Croatian cities retail centres are being opened at three types of locations. The first one is green-field locations in the suburbs where large hypermarkets and suburban shopping centres are built. The second one is intersections of major urban arteries near large residential estates. The third one is infill locations in the city centre. Another potential location for retail centres, and the most interesting one, is old industrial areas where new retail nods are being built. Those former industrial areas are located in both city centre, where new shopping centres have been built on the sites of former industrial plants, and in suburbs where old industrial parks are being transformed into new multi-function business zones. Figure 1 shows locations of retail centres in Zagreb. As expected, as a result of the process of suburbanization of retail, the majority of new retail centres have been built in green-field locations. Suburbanization of retail in Zagreb started in late 1990s. The process is caused by various factors - the most important as follows: (1) Changes in residential location; (2) Changes in consumer attitudes and expectations; (3) Changing level of purchasing power; (4) Growth in female employment; (5) Increased mobility; (6) Structural changes, expansion of multiple retailers; (7) New technology (Pacione, 2003). For post-socialist cities very important factors are also unsettled legal relations in the central parts of the city and lack of spatial planning (Kulke, 1997). Unsettled legal relations are in most cases caused by the process of denationalization. Figure 1 also shows that shopping centres in Zagreb have been located at two types of locations with the exception of Avenue Mall located at the intersection of two major urban arteries. Five out of twelve shopping centres in Zagreb have been located in the city centre and six in the suburban zone along major exit roads. Location of centres located in the city centre will be discussed in further detail in the paper.

Fig.1. Location of retail centres in Zagreb



Source: Mapping

As stated above, the first shopping centre opened in Zagreb was Importanne centre located near the main railway station in the city centre. It encompasses a surface of 35 000 square meters at two levels - both underground. On the top of the centre there is a park with a fountain. *Centar Kaptol* and *Branimir centar* are examples of shopping centres built on former industrial sites. In both cases industrial plants were demolished and new buildings were built. The last two shopping centres located in the city centre (*Importanne Galleria* and *Rotonda centre*) are examples of gallery shopping centres build at infill locations. In Zagreb there is no trend of dispersing of mass amusement outside the city centre. Entertainment and cultural facilities are still concentrated mainly in the city centre. The only shopping centre with the entertainment facilities located outside the city centre is Avenue Mall located in the second zone at the intersection of two major urban arteries. Unlike western shopping centres, Croatian centres are still mainly "shopping paradises" with a large number of catering facilities like coffee bars and snack bars while there is a lack in offer of higher quality restaurants. Entertainment is mostly based on large movieplex cinema halls. Also, there is an obvious lack of cultural activities such as exhibitions, concerts, presentations etc.

3.2. EMERGENCE OF POTENTIAL LOCATIONS FOR THE NEW CONSUMPTION SPACES IN CENTRAL ZAGREB

First industry in Zagreb was based on the long tradition of manufacture production of textile, brewery, tobacco etc. In 1855, the first Croatian factory for production of files was built, followed by a factory for tobacco products and matches opened in 1857. Both factories were located in the city centre in the radius of 500 meters from the main square. The first industrial plants were built along the railway line, in the second half of 19th century, in what was then a peripheral part of the town. In the period between 1862 and 1918 there were more than 70 industrial plants in the area that is today considered to be the inner city. But, one has to understand that industrial plants built in Zagreb at that time were mostly small private vocational factories that resembled more to the manufacture than to the modern industrial production. In most cases, residential buildings were built on site of those plants, at a later date. However, there were a few exceptions and some of those companies remained operational (mostly under different names) till 1990s. After World War I, the number of industrial plants in Zagreb had risen sharply. Industry was still located in the inner city area but the spreading process had already started. Industrial plants were being built in western and eastern suburbs of the city and along the main railway line. The period after 1945 was marked by the strong industrialization. Several major processes characterize that period, namely, nationalization of private industrial production and concentration of industry. In 1947, the first planned industrial zone was built in the eastern suburb of the city. Another zone, but an unplanned one, was developed in the western suburbs in the following years as well. While the process of suburbanization of retail started in 1990s, the industry relocation process started much earlier. A certain number of industrial plants was still located in the inner city, but in general the process of relocation of industry to suburbs and satellite towns in the Zagreb region has already started in 1960s and 1970s and is still present.

In 1990s, with the process of transition, industry went through the process of restructuring resulting in production shutdown as a result of privatization, decrease of

production, relocation of production to other locations outside the city centre or to other Croatian cities.

Tab.1. Industrial plants in the inner city area

Company	Address	Type of industry	Current utilization
Astra	Nova ves 11	Footwear	Retail
Janko Gredelj	Koturaška	Processing (railway wagon)	In function
Paromlin	Paromlinska	Food (mill)	Closed / empty
Tvornica računskih strojeva (Factory of computing devices)	Hebrangova	Processing (electronics)	Residential
Nada Dimić	Erdodyjeva	Textile	Retail (under construction
Tvornica ulja	Branimirova	Food	Closed / empty
Josip Kraš	Branimirova	Food (candid)	Retail
Badel	Vlaška 67	Food (liquors)	Closed / empty
Neva	Vlaška	Pharmaceutical	
Pluto	Lj.Posavskog 48	Processing	Transportation infrastructure
Croatia	Koturaška	Processing	Entrepreneurial
Udarnik	Koturaška	Processing	Entrepreneurial
Drvoplastika	Koturaška	Processing	Entrepreneurial
Izolit	Koturaška	Processing	Entrepreneurial
TTM	Koturaška	Processing	Entrepreneurial
TKZ	Cankareva 19	Textile	Residential (under construction)
Tvornica duhana Zagreb	Klajićeva	Tobacco	Closed / empty
Zagrebačka pivovara	Ilica 222	Food (brewery)	In function
Franck	Vodovodna 6a	Food	In function
Grafokarton	Koturaška	Processing	-
Kamensko	Reljkovićeva	Textile	In function
Ciglana	Črnomerec	Brickyard	Closed / empty / retail
Pliva	Ulica baruna Filipovića	Pharmaceutical	In function

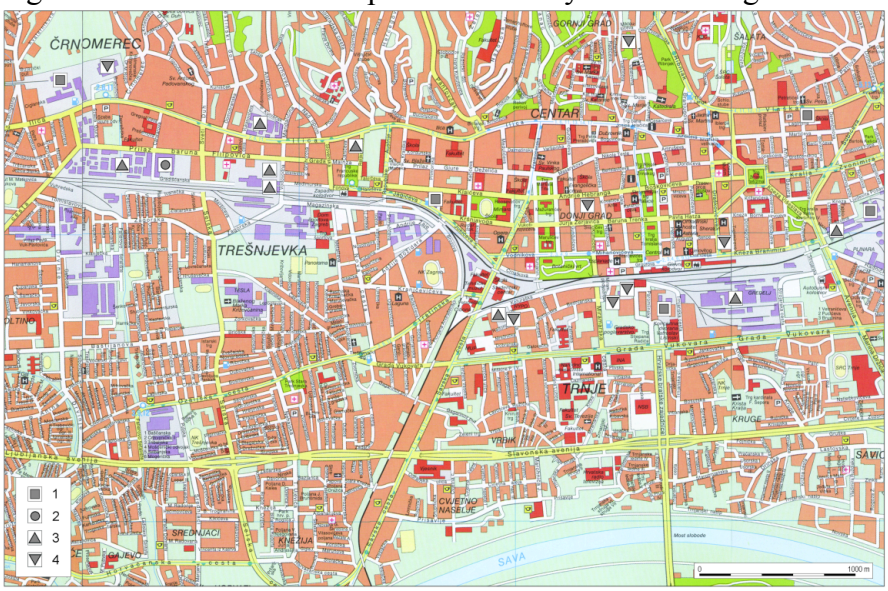
[1] Year when the first industrial plant was located on the site
Source: Mapping

A large number of industrial plants has been in operation in the city centre area since the first plant was opened in 1855. It was impossible to include all of them into this survey. Also, as mentioned above, on the site of a large number of plants there are new residential buildings so those sites became irrelevant for this survey. Factories included in this survey are those that have still been working (mostly under different name and ownership) at the end of 1980s or that had been relocated before that time, leaving their location vacant. In total, there are 23 industrial sites in the wider central area included in this survey. Table 1 shows basic information about those industrial plants including address, type of the industry and present utilization of the site. Year of the opening of the plant was intentionally omitted since it does not necessarily represent a year of the opening of certain plant; but rather the year since industry has been located on that particular site. It has been decided for this criterion since a large number of industries have changed their names and ownership several times in the last hundred years and for some plants was impossible to determine the year of the opening. As for the type of the industry, processing and food industry predominated in this area, followed by textile industry and pharmaceutical industry.

Location of industrial plants is shown in figure 2. At the majority of sites, first industrial plants date back to the second half of 19th century or the first half of 20th century in the time of the first industrialization of Zagreb. Following that, the majority of plants was located in suburban industrial areas of the city (known as "dirty neighbourhoods"). But with the vast population and spatial growth in the 20th century this location became parts of urban body located in the wider central areas of the city. In spatial distribution we can distinguish three zones of concentration. The first zone of dense concentration was zone along main railway line inhabited by indigent population employed in local processing industry. This zone was dominated by two large industrial plants: Factory for production of railway wagons (*Janko Gredelj*) and Old mill (*Paromlin*). The second and third zones were located in western and eastern suburbs of the 20th century city. In fact, industrial plants in these two zones were dispersed along major roads so we can only tentatively talk about industrial zones.

Information about current utilization is given as well. Present users of plants are divided into six main categories: (1) retail (shopping centre), (2) residential, (3) entrepreneurial, (4) professional service, (5) empty location and (6) plant in function. After the transition period only 5 out of 23 industrial plants are still in function, although Pliva has mostly relocated its production to the suburban areas in the Zagreb region and to its plants in Poland and Slovakia. On two sites, new shopping centre were built. In the zone located along railway line, the process of transition led to restructuring of former companies and opened new space for smaller entrepreneurial initiatives and professional services. Only one site has so far been restructured into residential and a new residential block has been built on one location. Four locations are still abandoned and empty and represent a valuable free space for new consumption activities and services. Another classification according to current status of the location is presented in figure 2. Figure 2 shows location of industrial sites in the inner city of Zagreb. Industrial plants have been classified in four categories: (1) plants still in operation; (2) sites on which new premises were built; (3) closed sites with plans for regeneration or under construction; (4) closed and abandoned sites.

Fig.2. Location of industrial plants in the city centre of Zagreb



Source: Mapping

4. POTENTIALS FOR REGENERATION OF OLD INDUSTRIAL SITES IN CENTRAL PARTS OF ZAGREB

Spatial distribution of activities in Zagreb during the socialist period was characterized by placing industrial plants in different locations in the city including the city centre. The process of transition brought changes in the industrial sector as well. Restructuring of the industrial sector over the past thirty years and the process of transition over the past fifteen to twenty years resulted in closure of a large number of industrial plants in different locations in Zagreb. Those sites represent industrial heritage. Tweed and Sutherland (2007) distinguish two types of heritage. The first one is heritage by designation. In this type, honoric labels are applied to sites, buildings etc. The second one is heritage by appropriation which emerges through public behaviour and acquires its status through use. Industrial heritage refers to relicts of industrial culture such as plants, machines, chimneys, mills, storehouses, transport infrastructure, dwellings for workers etc. which have remained in different locations in the city after industrial production ceased (Slavuj, 2007). Due to their historical, architectural, scientific, social and cultural values those sites should be preserved and sometimes even protected. Unfortunately in Zagreb as well as in the other Croatian cities, the majority of those sites located in city centres have been demolished while locations in suburbs are decaying. In Zagreb, only the site of old mill (Paromlin) has been designated as heritage by designation or as protected monument of culture.

But those empty industrial plants also represent a valuable free space. In the last twenty years urban space became a commodity, and available space in the city centre became a high-price commodity (Kotus, 2006). Land prices in the city centre have risen substantially over the past 20 years and revitalization of industrial heritage seems like the only logical step for utilization of this valuable space. Old industrial plants are often seen as unattractive, but with proper regeneration this can be changed. By adding new commercial and service functions industrial heritage often becomes an economic resource which contributes to the appealing image of the city and attracts tourists. Commercialization of historical core is unavoidable, but in the same time it is not necessarily a negative process since it enables a revitalization of inner city neighbourhood and restoration of old buildings. Slavuj (2007) distinguishes three types of conversion of former industrial plants: (1) cultural conversion conducted by opening of cultural facilities such as museums, galleries, concert halls etc.; (2) commercial conversion done by opening of retail facilities, shopping centres, restaurants, coffee shops etc.; (3) residential conversion. The first two processes contribute to the attraction and vivacity of an entire neighbourhood.

The question that remains is how to revitalize old inner city areas? In general, revitalization refers to a wide range of transformations and encompasses improvement of physical condition of the local urban fabric, the change in functional use or the change in the social status of its inhabitants (Temelová, 2007). In this paper it refers to changes in physical conditions and functional use. Sutton and Fahmi (2002) distinguish three types of town rebuilding. Restoration, a process of restoring monuments and buildings. Usually it is only the important buildings of historic value that are restored. Renovation, a process whereby a modern building and architecture is replacing a traditional one. Rehabilitation, a process of rehabilitating society and economy but does not aim to recreate the past. Usually it focuses on a whole quarter. Since industrial plants in inner areas of Zagreb are not listed as heritage by designation, with the

exception of old mill (*Paromlin*), it is not likely that the process of restoration will take place In the same time we can ask ourselves whether renovation is a good pattern? Despite the fact that those industrial plants are not heritage by designation they are an important part of city's economic history and an architectural legacy of the past times. A combination of all those three processes emerges as a possible solution. By restoring facades, the architectural heritage would be preserved while the process of renovation and rehabilitation by opening of new cultural, retail, catering and recreational facilities would contribute to both attractiveness of the neighbourhood for tourism and to the quality of life for residents. This process is also known as rousification[1].

Throughout Central Europe there are different examples of transformation of old industrial plants or vacant spaces in the city centre. For instance in Ruhr area in Germany "Path of industrial heritage" has been developed, which covers several old industrial plants and mines in the area, the most important being Zollverin mine designated as a monument of cultural heritage by UNESCO in 2001 (Slavuj, 2007). In order to promote industrial heritage, the European route of industrial heritage has been established as a part of Interreg II C project. The route today encompasses 60 industrial sites classified in 10 theme-routes (http://en.erih.net, 27.06.2008). Another example of regeneration is a project of Museumsquartier in Vienna. The complex comprises variety of cultural facilities such as exhibition hall, museum of Austrian contemporary arts, museum of Austrian modernism, theatre museum, dance centre and restaurants, bars and coffee shops (Frantz, 2005). Although it is not a project of regeneration of industrial plant, it is an interesting example of how a project can initiate regeneration and revitalization of an entire neighbourhood. Such a project can be designated as a flagship projects. According to Temelová (2007), a flagship project is a high-profile project that is seen as a driving force that should lead the process of regeneration and revitalization of a neighbourhood. Such projects attract capital investments and contribute to the attractiveness of a neighbourhood.

Despite its large potentials, industrial heritage in Croatia is still unutilized. Plans for renovation and revitalization appear in media occasionally, but for the time being there is no comprehensive approach to the utilization of old industrial sites. The first plans for revitalization and utilization of industrial plants were made by Pro torpedo association in Rijeka in 2004. In order to promote long industrial tradition of Rijeka, the association organized "Open days of industrial heritage in Rijeka" with the aim to enable both tourists and residents to visit old industrial plants as their production made Rijeka one of the most important industrial towns in 19th century Habsburg monarchy.

In Zagreb, projects of revitalization are still in their beginnings. According to Temelová, post-socialist cities are still burdened by a number of weaknesses such as fiscal and organizational problems, lack of partnership and cooperation between public and city authorities, lack of public-private partnership in important projects, etc. (Temelová, 2007). Those problems are present in Zagreb as well. Zagreb misses a financial injection which would enable revitalization of its historical core. For instance, in the period between 1996 and 2000 Vienna received 37 million euros from different EU funds for revitalization of the historical city centre (Hatz, 2008). In order to gain access to EU funds Zagreb should define urban revitalization target areas and potential programmes. Another big issue is an unclear vision of further development of the city.

[1] Process known as rousefication is named after James Rouse, architect of Quincy Market centre in Boston who first kept outer facade and brought new outlets and services into renovated buildings.

City office for the conservation of cultural ad natural heritage enlisted two industrial sites (Tobacco factory and Old mill) as protected industrial landscape. However, it seems that city authorities are only partly aware of the potentials offered by former industrial sites. City's Master Plan emphasises an importance of urban regeneration and consolidation, restoration of historical and natural heritage and preservation of sites that contributes to the historical identity of the city. Position of old industrial sites is not clearly defined in the Master Plan and it is not clear whether local authorities consider those sites to be a historical heritage. Master Plan defines that old industrial sites located in suburbs and suburban zones can be turned into complexes with mixed retail, recreational, entertainment or residential functions. However, the Master Plan is not very clear about industrial sites located in the city centre. Out of 23 industrial sites located in the wider city centre only five are mentioned in the Master Plan while revitalization plans are given only for two. The former site of "*Badel*" factory should, according to the Master Plan, after restoration be converted into mixed business, retail and cultural complex while old brickyard (*"Ciglana*") is planned to be rehabilitated into a mixed residential and business zone. Other three projects which are defined as city projects are old mill ("*Paromlin*"), railway workshops "*Janko Gredelj*" and location of former textile factory "*TKZ*". Despite the fact that in the Master Plan, only suburb and suburban industrial zones are planned to be converted into consumption space, two shopping centres have so far been built on sites of former industrial plants in the city centre. *Centar Kaptol* is built on the site of the former footwear industry "*Astra*" and *Branimir centar* at the site of the relocated candy factory "*Josip Kraš*". However, in both cases one can talk about infill shopping centres.

A model of public – private partnership used as a method of financing a regeneration and revitalization processes in many Western European cities is still at its beginning in Zagreb. City authority is aware of its financial weakness and is trying to attract commercial and service sector as well as private entrepreneurs into the inner city locations in order for them to finance the regeneration of old buildings. Unfortunately, those projects often lack cooperation with spatial planners and conservators with the only intention of gaining valuable land in the city centre. The latest controversial example is a case of former cinema "*Zagreb*" located in a pedestrian zone in the very heart of the city which should have been rebuilt into a new residential block with public garage under it. Due to strong civil protests, the project was abandoned. Another example of devastation of industrial heritage is the destruction of textile industry "*TKZ*". In the area of approximately 4.5 ha new residential areas are in construction. The new residential block will include 23-floor skyscraper, buildings for 625 apartments and an underground garage. Construction of residential block is an example of joint private – public investment.

However, there are some indications that at least a part of industrial heritage of the city could be preserved and capitalized. At the moment there are several, yet unofficial, projects of the regeneration of the old industrial plants. The first two projects are partly in line with the above mention Ruhr project. Management of the oldest brewery in function in Croatia ("*Zagrebačka pivovara*") is currently developing a project of opening a museum inside the brewery. Such museums are common throughout Europe (i.e. Guinness brewery and storehouse in Dublin, Ireland, Hennessy and Martell distilleries in Cognac, France). Second is a project of opening a railway museum in the factory of railway wagons ("*Janko Gredelj*"). The third project raised "a lot of noise" since it involved a closure of what was in public seen as a prosperous

company and relocation of its production and employees to Kanfanar, small town in Istria approximately 150 kilometres from Zagreb. Tobacco factory ("*Tvornica duhana Zagreb / TDZ*") was closed in 2007 and several dozen workers were offered to relocate to a larger factory in Istria. After several weeks of strike the factory was closed leaving a large industrial plant in the inner city vacant after 125 years of work. For the time being despite being enlisted as a cultural heritage there is no mention of the plant in the City's Master Plan. At the moment, the City is negotiating the buying of the building from the Government and the Ministry of Culture. The project of revitalization includes restoration of its original facade and regeneration of its interior. The entire block will be converted and will combine business and cultural offerings. Southern part of the complex is planned for business functions, while the northern part of the block will house the History museum. TDZ has potential to grow into a flagship project which would be a driving force for regeneration of the somewhat decaying neighbourhood.

Unlike in the many Western European cities industrial heritage in Zagreb is still not recognized as potential tourist supply. For the time being only Upper town is seen as a location attractive for tourism. After the proper regeneration one could developed a theme-route similar to those present in other European cities and described above. Cooperation with Tourist board and agencies would contribute to the rise of the city image which is for the time being seen as transit point on the way to the seaside.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper discusses the commercial redevelopment of old industrial zones in the inner city of Zagreb. In 1990s Croatia started a process of transition. Retail and industry were just two activities in which the process of transition is most obvious. In consumption, and in particularly in retail, one of the most visible processes that marked the process of economic transition is development of new forms of retail outlets. With the process of transition, industry went through the process of restructuring resulting in closure of production as a result of privatization, decrease of production, relocation of production to other location outside the city centre or to other Croatian cities. Final result of the process of transition is closure of large number of industrial plants in different locations in Zagreb. Those sites represent industrial heritage. But in the same time they also represent a valuable free space. Free spaces of abandoned industrial sites represent a potential for opening of new spaces of consumption. In Zagreb there are at the moment 23 industrial sites in the wider city centre. On two sites new shopping centres have been built. Four locations are still abandoned and empty and represent a potential for location of new consumption activities and services. The question is how to revitalize inner city area? Old abandoned industrial sites are not, with one exception listed as heritage by designation. Still they represent an important part of city's economic history and an architectural legacy of the past times.

Author proposes several necessary steps in order to protect industrial heritage but in the same time prevent the location from deteriorating and by so leading to degradation of entire neighbourhood. The first step is autopsy of all industrial plants in the wider city area which would enable an insight into condition of plant and location. The second step is analysis of potentials of the neighbourhood. This step includes demographical and socio-economical analysis of the neighbourhood, evaluation of the physiognomy of the neighbourhood, number and spatial distribution of parks, other available spaces etc. in the area, analysis of the condition of facades of the building, detection of potential tourist supply. The third step is evaluation of potentials for the

further development. This step includes evaluation of potential programmes of development including general city Master plan. The fourth step is definition of urban revitalization target areas and designation of flagship projects. This phase also includes analysis of effects of a flagship project to the revitalization of the neighbourhood. The last fifth phase is an operationalization phase that includes integral promotion, marketing and communication with local community. Due to the most common lack of state funding public – private partnership emerges as possible solution. Therefore approval of local community is necessary in order to avoid situations like above mentioned example of former cinema "*Zagreb*". Throughout the entire process coordination with several institutions like Conservation department of the Ministry of culture, Ministry of environment and Tourist board is necessary. Only by coordination an optimal effects of revitalization can be achieved and in the same time legacy of past times preserved.

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