

*Original scientific paper*

UDC: 911.375.227(497.11)  
DOI: 10.2298/IJGI1103063T

## NEIGHBORHOOD PERCEPTION AS AN INDICATOR OF GENTRIFICATION IN CENTRAL ZONE OF BELGRADE

*Jovana Todorić<sup>1</sup>\*, Ivan Ratkaj\**

\* Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade

Received 21 September 2011; reviewed 2 October 2011; accepted 25 October 2011

**Abstract:** Gentrification represents a complex revitalization process of the inner city core, which includes a physical improvement or dilatation of housing stock, changes in ownership structure, housing prices incensement and the displacement of poorer working class, which replaces the new middle class with higher incomes. Using data collected in survey research, this paper aims to identify the specific dimensions of gentrification in the central zone of Belgrade. The focus of the research is the improvement of living and housing conditions in the urban core. This condition improvement is the result of investments in the residential space and supporting infrastructure, but it is also largely associated with economic status of immigrant inhabitants – "gentrifiers", their preferences to the urban lifestyle, as well as to their attitude to residential environment. This paper deals with the subjective dimension of gentrification, e.g. with the actors of that process themselves. The core of this subjective dimension is the perception of the residential area (neighborhood) as a unique component of residential (location) choice of different social groups.

**Key words:** gentrification, central zone, housing, neighborhood perception

### Introduction

Gentrification, in voluminous scientific literature, is generally observed as a transformation of inner city neighborhoods into new prestigious areas of housing and consumption, inhabited by a new class of highly skilled and highly paid residents who are mostly employed in the services industry and live in small nonfamily households. This process unavoidably results in the displacement of the neighborhood's previous residents (Hamnett, 1991; Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008; Ley, 1996; Nedučin, Carić, & Kubet, 2009; Smith, 1996). Displacement of marginalized and low-income groups is the most often cited negative effect of gentrification (Lever, 1993; Smith, 1996). In this process, only a small number of inhabitants in the total population of the city can occupy the inner city area, but they can have a disproportionately large impact on the physical and functional transformation of area. The specific needs and desires, along with the

---

<sup>1</sup> [jovanatodoric@gmail.com](mailto:jovanatodoric@gmail.com)

different lifestyles of the "new" service class carrying the gentrification process, are labeled with hedonistic individualism and negation or postponement of marriage and parenthood, which initiates the need for intensive use of urban resources (cultural, recreational, entertainment, consumable). Unlike the traditional middle class, the new class is characterized by high consumption habits as well as by high spatial mobility due to non-standard working careers (Petrović, 2009). These people value accessibility, universality and functionality of everyday services and activities (Buzar & Grabkovska, 2006).

There is a lack of research treating the motives that influence migrations toward the central city area (urban core), as well as the socioeconomic characteristics of those migrants in Serbian geographic (and other scientific) literature. This paper examines whether and to what extent, the central zone of Belgrade, expresses signs of gentrification. This zone, although depopulation, is attractive to certain types of households and population groups, as evidenced by data on immigrants and residential construction within it. The article analyzes indicators of household economic status, residential satisfaction and preferences of residents who inhabit the central zone of Belgrade (zone of gentrification) as well as the outside area. A specially designed survey, conducted in Belgrade, provided results that include subjective factors of location decisions and completed the picture portrayed only by traditional quantitative interpretation of statistical data in the research on gentrification.

### **Multidimensionality of gentrification**

The term "gentrification" was first used by Glass (1964), one of the pioneers of urban sociology in Europe, who tried to point out the changes in the inner city of London, which was inhabited by the working class. By gentrification, she understood the process by which the local lower class residents relocated away from the inner city under the influence of urban strategies and housing purchases by the wealthier population groups, which led to the consequential rehabilitation of physical and economic aspects of particular area (Glass, 1964). Today, this approach is known as "classic gentrification" (Lees et al, 2008; Nedučin et al, 2009). In subsequent considerations, because of its negative connotations, social consequences were often avoided, and only the economic gains were emphasized. During the 1980s, many researches pointed out the complexity of the gentrification process and unacceptability of unilateral consideration of its results and consequences (Hamnett, 1984; Smith, 1986).

The debate on the genesis of the gentrification process can be roughly divided into two perspectives (approaches): production / capital / supply, on the one side

(the economic perspective), and consumption / culture / demand (the social or lifestyle perspective), on the other side. Over time, these two perspectives have become more integrated, but some authors still consider the dichotomy of supply and demand as the meaningful one (Redfern, 2003). In addition, aspects of gender and feminization of the labor market are increasingly involved into scientific discussions, and can be considered as a third approach, but also as a part of the demand aspect (Hjorthol & Bjørnskau, 2005).

*Production perspective – supply dimension*

Neil Smith (1979; 1982; 1987; 1996) was the main representative of the economically oriented approach in the theory of gentrification process. He accepts the importance of demand, but claims that the need for profitable investments is the more important driving force of gentrification, when compared to the consumer preferences. Changes in the industry structure and the deindustrialization of central city areas lowered the land rent and provided the basis for profitable investments. His starting point is the relationship between land value and property value. Smith (1979) argues that the value difference (“rent gap”) will occur when used, capitalized land rent of particular place becomes less than its potential rent, as result of declining value of property or area. According to him, gentrification could occur only if the current value of the land or property is low enough to ensure profit. “Rent gap” creates a market for reinvestment into, until then, underestimated housing function in central city areas, while redevelopment, rehabilitation and gentrification of these areas become profitable investing targets.

*Consumption and lifestyle – demand dimension*

For expensive new apartments in traditionally working-class neighborhoods, a group of better financially positioned potential buyers has to exist. Offer certainly needs demand (Hjorthol & Bjørnskau, 2005). According to the opinion presented by David Ley (1981; 1986; 1994; 1996), gentrification cannot be explained without the knowledge of consumer (resident) preferences. He correlates gentrification with the individual consumer preferences, as well as with cultural and social processes that exist in urban areas. Although Ley emphasizes “customer perspective”, he points out that the roots of gentrification lie in the industrial structure change from a traditional manufacturing one to a service-based one. Consequently, the professional structure of the population changed: instead of manual workers, highly skilled "white collar" citizens employed in the service sector now form the majority. Additionally, Ley (1980) emphasizes the purchasing power, cultural orientation, life style and working

models of these new urban dwellers, who do not commute from the suburban villages, but live in the city center (Hamnett, 2003). Featherstone and Lash (1999) consider increasing interest in culture and aesthetics as an important aspect, which makes the historic areas populated by poorer working class as attractive ones for people who seek a nonconformist and nonstandard housing, attracted by historical identity of the area (Hjorthol & Bjørnskau, 2005).

Although highlighted in the numerous articles about gentrification, the concept of urban lifestyle has remained unexplored. In a book written by Veblen (*The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1976), it is argued that the specific pattern of consumption was one of the ways to demonstrate the power. Bourdieu (1986), who considers the competition between social classes to take place in the sphere of lifestyle and consumption, distinguishes between different forms of capital: *economic* (material –property, money), *cultural* (socialization and education of individual in the broadest sense), *social* (membership in social networks, friendship, reputation), and *symbolic* (defined by cultural, moral, aesthetic values and preferences, associated with different types of consumption and lifestyles).

Harvey (1994) defines symbolic capital as a luxury good of great importance for the consumer because it makes him/her special, since transformed financial capital (money) produces a real effect if, and only if, in covert manner (through a field of consumption, culture, taste), it contributes to the reproduction of social status. Lifestyle, therefore, can be understood as a set of actions based on the cultural and symbolic capital of the individual, which is enabled through access to economic capital (Jager, 1986; Bridge, 2001). The choice of residential area and resettlement into the central city zone is associated with different dimensions of capital. Education is an indicator of cultural and social capital, incomes represent economic capital, while perception of the area and qualitative assessment of housing space, although associated with these types of capital in many ways, largely rely on the symbolic value of a residential zone (area). This symbolic capital of a housing area is expressed through a specific reputation and image of the neighborhood, which residents emphasize in their experience of the neighborhood.

#### *Criticism of the economic and social approach to gentrification*

The main problem with the production hypothesis is ignoring the question: why housing is chosen as an investment project, and not, for example, offices, bars or shopping malls? The idea of "rent gap" assumes a potential high land value in central parts of cities. It is easy to imagine that this is true, but at times when those central areas have characteristics of the slums, it is hard to believe that the

investor will gamble with construction of apartments without the existence of potential customers. Several empirical studies have concluded that the “rent gap” is not a sufficient condition for gentrification, and that it is necessary to include other factors, such as political (the government's participation and interest in urban renewal) (Badcock, 1989), social, cultural and others (Beauregard, 1986; Clark, 1988).

Changes in the sphere of demand must also include a change in the economy's structure, employment, income, and transformation of an industrial to a postindustrial city (Hamnett, 2003). Previous deterioration of urban cores is explained by a lower effective demand of lower income working class, who rented apartments in central city areas, and by parallel suburbanization in large industrial cities. Growth of middle class, financial and service sectors, as well as readiness of institutions to occupy the location in the city center, enabled gentrification (Hamnett, 2003). Beauregard (1986) argues that the explanation of gentrification begins with the presence of “gentrificants”, who change residential place because they can afford it, and who define themselves as different from the rest of the middle class, expressing belonging to their new neighborhoods and confirming, by this, the presence of specific identity of neighborhood within the city centre (Redfern, 2003).

One of the main problems associated with the perspective of lifestyle or demand is the lack of explanation of the reasons causing changes in residential preferences. The development of new service activities, as outlined by Hamnett (1991, 2003), and their presence in the central business district still does not explain why working people suddenly want to live there (Hjorthol & Bjørnskau, 2005). In accordance to this discussion, Neil Smith commented: “... the conundrum of gentrification does not turn on explaining where middle class demand comes from. Rather, it turns on explaining the essential geographical question of why central and inner areas of cities, which for decades was not able to meet the demands of the middle class, now seems to do very nicely” (Smith, 1987: 163-4).

### **Residential preferences and residential satisfaction**

Residential preferences are the key decision making element in population resettlement within the city (Preston, 1982) and they serve as level indicators of the real or potential socio-spatial differentiation within the urban area (Gentile, 2005). If the residential preferences are the key element for understanding the residential choices, then the residential satisfaction is in the base of decision to move. Household decisions to choose a specific

neighborhood can be made as result of socioeconomic, cultural, administrative or purely psychological factors (Akinyemi & Sanni, 2009). Berry and Rees (1969) believe that the position of households in social space affects apartment location choice. The general tendency of the lower class to live near the central business district, while the wealthy remain in the outer zone of the city, and the general tendency for people to stand out based on income, is well documented. Lee (1975) believes that the residential destinations within the city are often chosen before the decision of relocation is made at all. Most studies that deal with residential preferences indicated a high correlation between factors such as household income, employment and occupation, educational level of members who lead or financially support the household, and the market value of residential area (neighborhoods) (Akinyemi & Sanni, 2009).

Residential mobility in the former socialist countries was mainly influenced by administrative and socio-political moves of the state, so peoples individual choices, consequently, were absent. Housing in Serbia has been resolved by assigning apartments to the employees to use the flats, whose companies had special funds for that purpose. Since the early 1990s, with privatization of apartments, residential preferences have had the time to develop and express themselves on the market, and this research attempts to shed light on the attractiveness of certain residential areas (neighborhoods) in Belgrade.

### **Residential structures and residential relocation in Belgrade**

Based on estimates of population growth in Belgrade in the period 2002-2009, a slow population decline can be seen in central city municipalities (Stari Grad, Savski Venac and Vračar), as well as in Novi Beograd, while the other urban and suburban municipalities show stagnation or population growth. The data on housing construction in Belgrade also indicate the dynamic changes within the socio-spatial urban system. Among the central city municipalities, Stari Grad is characterized by the lowest rate of housing construction (1.1 in 2009), while this parameter is much higher in Savski Venac (4.8), and Vračar (8.2). Municipalities of Novi Beograd, Voždovac and Zvezdara are featured by the housing construction rate, which is above average for the city.

This paper follows four hypotheses. First, investment in construction and reconstruction of residential and business space in the central city area (potential gentrification zone) leads to its physical expansion, thereby improving quality and increasing market value. Second, households and population groups that settle in the central zone of Belgrade, feature higher average incomes compared to other isolated groups. With immigration of "gentrificants", the neighborhood

social structure is being changed, and their material - financial base provides more possibilities for choice (of residential area or lifestyle), having, in that way, a symbolic value. Third, the changes in neighborhood cultural identity are associated with their physical, social and economic changes. Gentrified neighborhoods are losing previous authenticity while immigrant “new” urban residents are entering metropolitan spirit and new consumer habits. Fourth, the perception of neighborhood and qualitative evaluation of residential environments are different in the case of “gentrificants”, autochthon population of the central zone and population of the outer zone, while the neighborhoods in the central city area are more attractive and appealing to all isolated groups.

The research focus is the residents’ perception and attitude about improving the living and housing conditions in their residential area (neighborhood). This improvement is not only a result of investment in housing stock, but also a result of perceived changes in the residential environment, which synthesizes qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the gentrification. A key task of this research is to compare the central zone immigrants (“gentrificants”), autochthon population of the central zone, and the outer zone population in terms of economic characteristics (household income), satisfaction with housing situation, attitudes about the improvement or deterioration of living conditions, harassment of certain elements of the residential environment and ideal residential location choice in Belgrade.

The empirical analysis in this paper is based on the survey research covering the territory of the Master Plan of Belgrade (MP), which was conducted during February and March 2011. The questionnaire was spread in its virtual form, via the Internet (e-mail), causing the respondent sample to be dominated by a younger, more educated population that is more prone to electronic forms of communication. Among other information, the questionnaire contains socio-demographic data, as well as data on neighborhood perceptions and housing. The sample includes 514 respondents in total, whose answers, in order to process data adequately, were divided into useable responses (fully and partially useable) and unusable responses, which were excluded from further analysis (comprising 56 respondents – 10.9% of the total). In the group of usable responses (458 or 89.1% of the total), there were 243 partially usable (47.3% of total), and 215 fully usable (41.8%) ones. Further analysis is based on fully and partially usable responses.

In this article, the study of neighborhood perception and gentrification is applied to the area of the city, which is defined by the *Master Plan of Belgrade until 2021* (UZB, 2002). For the purpose of this study, two areas are defined: 1)

central zone (3.206 ha), defined by in the MP, and 2) outer zone (74.396 ha), which spatially covers middle, external and edging zones of the MP. The boundaries of the MP, as well as of spatial zones and urban units, coincide with the borders of statistical circles (the smallest spatial statistical units), enabling an accurate analysis of spatial data. The territory of the MP is divided into 434 statistical circles, while one of them includes only the uninhabited island (Veliko ratno ostrvo), causing its exclusion from further analysis (Figure 1).

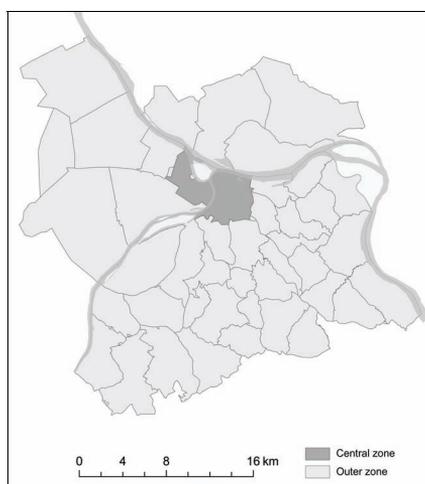


Figure 1. Map of research area covered by the Master Plan of Belgrade

Of the total number of usable responses, 179 (39.1%) were given by residents of the central city zone (39.1%), and 279 (60.9%) by residents of the outer zone. Along with this division, responders are further classified in the following subcategories: 1. autochthon population of central zone (86 responses, 18.8% of total usable responses); 2. migrants of central zone – people who settled there since 1991 (gentrificants – 93 responses; 20.3%); 3. autochthon population of outer zone (98 responses; 21.4%); and 4. migrants of central zone, who settled there since 1991 (181 responses; 39.5%).

#### *Socio-economic characteristics of respondents*

Data on *average monthly household income* (Figure 2) indicate differences among the residents of central and outer zones of the city. Higher percentage share of households with lower incomes (less than 750 €), was recorded among the respondents of outer zone, while the monthly income higher than 1.000 € was the most present among the residents of central zone, clearly indicating their

initial financial advantage. The difference between the responders groups is particularly evident in the range of earnings from 1.500 to 1.999 €, where migrants of central zone significantly dominate over other groups. These data are in direct positive correlation with employment status, indicating differences in the material basis of residents that lead to the differences in consuming habits and a lifestyle.

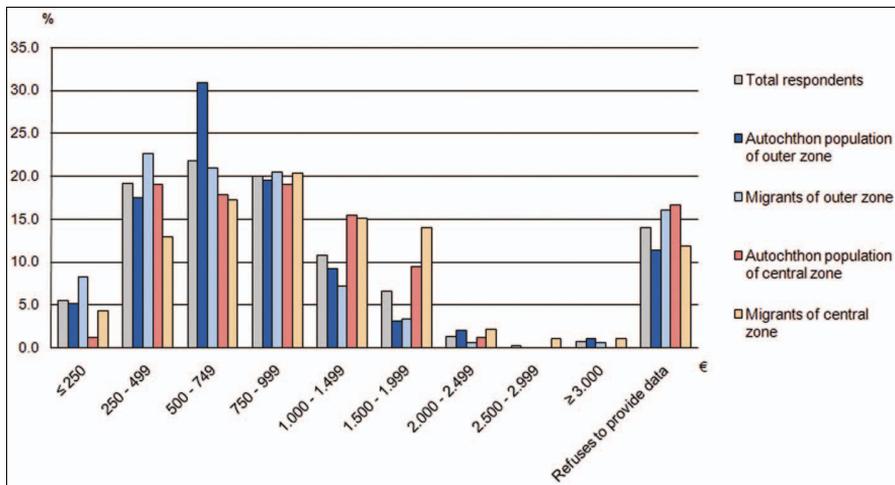


Figure 2. Average monthly household incomes

### *Housing preferences of residents and qualitative assessment of housing space in Belgrade*

To the question “*Did the overall conditions in your area (residential block, part of the city) improve, change to worse (deteriorated) or remain unchanged over the last 5 to 10 years?*” (Table 1), the autochthon population of outer zone gave the most positive answers, meaning that 60.4% of them considered that the conditions had improved. Autochthon populations of both zones reported their positive or negative attitudes about living conditions, as opposed to the immigrant population (migrants), who, in higher percentage, believe that conditions had not changed or do not know the answer to the question, which is probably due to the lack of knowledge about residential areas they settled relatively recently. Autochthon population of central zone, with the highest percentage comparing to other studied groups (24.7%), noted that the overall living conditions in their area has deteriorated over the past 5 to 10 years, while migrants of central zone share this attitude in 11.8% of responses.

Table 1. Improvement / deterioration of living conditions in neighborhoods over last 5 to 10 years (%)

Respondents groups	Improved	Deteriorated	Remained unchanged	Does not know the answer
Autochthon population of outer zone	60.4	16.7	21.9	1.0
Migrants of outer zone	39.0	8.5	39.0	13.6
Autochthon population of central zone	38.3	24.7	34.6	2.5
Migrants of central zone	40.9	11.8	41.9	5.4

When asked *how upset they are because of some elements of the residential environment*, respondents of the four defined groups gave similar answers, related to the presence of stray dogs, unpleasant smells and traffic gas emissions, and noise from neighbors.

*The dirt on the streets* bothers the autochthon population of both zones more than migrants, though the difference is not significant. Regarding *dog faeces* on the streets, sidewalks and playgrounds, residents of the central zone experience constant or often disturbance – 66.3% responses of the autochthon population, and 70.6% responses of migrants express this problem. Autochthon population and migrants of outer zone reported this issue as a problem in 52.7% and 54% of responses, consequently. We assume that residents of the central zone are more critically oriented and very rigid when this problem is present in “their” streets, paths and parks (it is not likely that dog faeces are less present in outer zone).

Regarding *noise caused by people passing by*, residents of the central zone are also very sensitive: the autochthon population is disturbed by this type of noise constantly or frequently in 22% of their answers, while migrants point this in 17.6% of responses. Experience of this problem is far less present among residents of the outer zone (only in 9.6% of responses). The respondents of the central zone (autochthon population and migrants) responded similarly about the disturbance caused with *noise produced by traffic* (32.2%), as opposed to the residents of the outer zone who considered it in 22.3% of responses. *Noise produced by bars, restaurants and clubs*, disturb migrants of central zone (11% of responses), and the autochthon population in central zone (8.6%), while residents of the outer zone are less exposed to this harassment (4.1%).

Residents of the central zone are slightly more dissatisfied compared to residents of the outer zone regarding the *behavior of the neighbors* (23.7% vs. 21%). Migrants of the central zone have expressed bigger dissatisfaction, or distress,

due to *vandalism* in relation to other groups. *Graffiti on the walls* bother the autochthon population and migrants in the central zone significantly more (39.5% and 35.2%), than residents of the outer zone (23.5% and 29.2%).

The answer to the question about disturbance caused by *the bad image of the area (housing block)* proved to be an important indicator of the residents' attitudes about their own areas. The answer showed that this element is the least present among autochthon inhabitants of the central zone, who responded that this disturbs them constantly or frequently in only 5% of cases. This group is followed by migrants of the central zone, constantly or frequently dissatisfied with the reputation of their neighboring area in 12.2% of responses. In this studied social group, whose attitudes are the focus of this research, 68.9% of respondents said that they have never been disturbed by the image of the area (neighborhood), which is consistent with assumption that the central zone of Belgrade has its own identity and unique urban spirit, which mostly satisfy the residents in question.

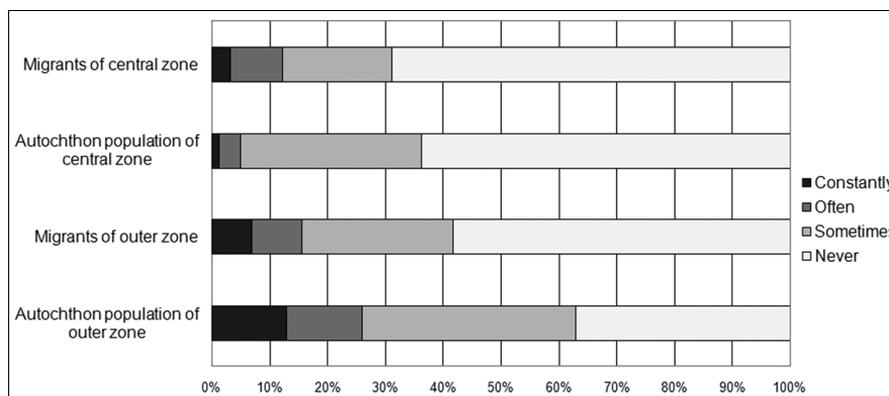


Figure 3. Disturbance by the bad image of area (residential block)

When asked *what they considered to improve the overall housing and living conditions* in their residential areas, respondents from the central zone mainly cited the following measures: facade fixing, better parking organization (e.g., construction of underground garages), construction of new bridges and dislocation of major international highway by finishing the construction of the bypass / outer ring road (which is expected to enable the shift of heavy truck traffic from the city center), forbidding further construction and upgrading of buildings, more rigid time limit of objects in catering industry (particularly those in residential buildings), removal of stray dogs, strict control / better work of the communal police (charging dog owners who do not clean for their pets, as well

as charging other reckless behavior of citizens – throwing trash on streets and other places), and raising overall housing and living culture of inhabitants of the city.

Thus, a tenant of Neimar (area in the central city zone) (32 years old) lists the elements that would improve living conditions in her neighborhood: "... Forbid demolition of old houses with gardens and forbid the construction of buildings on the entire plot, without leaving any space for a sidewalk, park, trees... The buildings are too close, people watch each other's apartments, there is not enough natural light in the apartments...".

A forty year-old resident of Vračar (an area and municipality in the central city zone) expressed an even tougher stance: "the prohibition of any residential construction for the next 30 years, prevention of aggressive introduction of parking zones wherever it is possible, starting to charge the taxes on keeping dogs in the apartments, the increment of apartments renting values to a level that was current in 2008, motivating communal police to carry out its work, the prohibition of work on cafes located in residential buildings ...".

A twenty eight year-old inhabitant who lives near the main railway station said: "... set up as a priority the completion of the bypass road around Belgrade, immediate repair of building facades, coast regulation (removal of old boats and floats that have reviled the coasts look for years)...".

Residents of the outer city zone partly cited the same measures to improve housing and living conditions in their residential area: solving the parking problems, removal of stray dogs, the better neighborly relations, arrangement of parks, greenery, street cleaning and the like. However, among responses in this group, the following proposals were also numerous: the construction of sewage system, better communal equipment of an area (setting up containers, garbage collection), the construction of sports center, introduction of cultural and entertainment facilities (theaters, cinemas, museums).

A respondent from Košutnjak (29 years old) stated: "... paving of the street part that residents have bypassed (avoided, kept away from) for many years, and which concentrates on the sand and dirt, and the end of work on his neighbor's house, which is only one in the street that is unfinished for over 15 years (a neighbor does not mind that there is still no facade)...".

A resident of Voždovac (29 years old) emphasized the need for street lighting, providing playgrounds as a safety places and construction of kindergartens,

while a sixty-year resident from the village of Beli Potok wrote: "It is necessary to complete the sewage system whose construction started. Also, we need better communal services and utilities: water supply system, electric power supply, public lighting, cable television ...".

The question *"What part of Belgrade would you like to select as the future location of your residence, in case you do not have any financial, material, family or other constraints (ideal location)?"* provided answers about the attractiveness of the central and outer zones of the city, and the most desirable residential locations within the city (Table 2).

Table 2. The ideal residential location in Belgrade by the respondents chose (%)

Respondents groups	Central zone (same neighborhood for the central zone residents)	Outer zone (same neighborhood for the outer zone residents)
Autochthon population of outer zone	35.7	11.4
Migrants of outer zone	35.4	21.8
Autochthon population of central zone	55.2	14.9
Migrants of central zone	46.2	16.7

Among the migrants of central zone, the site (location) where they now reside (their neighborhood), for them is still the most desirable. They would select without, any limitation, the same abode again in 46.2% of responses. Ideal locations (neighborhoods) that were the most frequent in their responses were: Vračar, Neimar, Dorćol, Profesorska kolonija, Crveni krst, Senjak, Dedinje, Dunavski kej, Kosančićev venac, Novi Beograd, Zemun. In this studied group only 16.7% of respondents suggested parts of the city that are located in the outer zone of Belgrade: Braće Jerković, Mirijevo, Cerak – vinogradi, Lion, Zvezdara around the sports center Olimp, but also the location described as "wider center - quiet street," "some nice village," house at Zvezdara, a village close to Belgrade and the like.

The autochthon population of central zone in 55.2% of the responses chose the same location where they live now, and in 14.9% of the responses, an ideal location would be in the outer zone of the city. These data also indicate of attachment (connection) and familiarity of autochthon population of central zone with the neighborhood at which they have inhabited for more than 20 years, or since birth. Besides the aforementioned attractive locations in the central zone, this group also emphasized Košutnjak, Banovo brdo, Rušanj, Miljakovac, the Avala surrounding, Čukarica, located in the outer zone of Belgrade.

The population of the outer zone, in a lower percentage than the central zone

population, would have opted for the same residential area where have already lived: 21.8% of the immigrant population of the outer zone would choose its neighborhood as the ideal, while this percentage is much smaller in case of autochthon population: 11.4%. Location within the central zone of Belgrade (Vračar, Dorćol, centar) would chose 35.4% of migrants of outer zone, or 35.7% of the autochthon population of the same area. Among the inhabitants of the outer zone the most popular regions outside the central zone are: Zvezdara, Lion, Košutnjak, Dedinje, Senjak, Zemun, Novi Beograd, Banovo brdo, area of Golf naselje and so on.

### **Conclusion**

Belgrade's urban area contains a significant number of qualitative and quantitative socio-spatial changes that are associated with the influx of population in the central city zone. The survey confirmed that the migrants of the central zone ("gentificants"), when compared to other studied groups, are characterized by higher average monthly household incomes, especially in the range of 1 500 to 1 999 €. The differences in the material certainty and status of its inhabitants are associated with higher consumption and housing preferences directed towards the central city area, where these well-settled residents of Belgrade immigrate.

The qualitative subjective dimension of gentrification is represented by the attitudes of respondents about improving or deteriorating living conditions in their neighborhood, by the harassment frequency of certain elements of the residential environment, the opinions of the measures that aim to improve living conditions in their area, as well as preferences for the ideal residential location in Belgrade.

A large percentage of respondents of the central zone, despite being bothered by air pollution, various kinds of noise, lack of parking space, construction density, upgrading of buildings and other structures and aesthetic deterioration of residential area (neighborhood), in the case of potential moving, would re-elect, as an ideal for living, the same neighborhood where currently live. The autochthon inhabitants of the central zone, in that sense, most of all studied groups, are "attached" to the neighborhood in which they reside. In as many as 55.2% of the answers, they would, if they had not any financial, family and similar limitations, re-elected to their neighborhood. In the highest percentage among the separate groups, they believe that living conditions in their area are worse, and then express their views on precisely defined measures of improvement. Their suggestions for the most part related to the preservation of

authenticity and uniqueness of the urban environment and urban culture of its inhabitants. The residents settled in the central zone, in relation to the autochthon people, have more positive and neutral evaluations on improving housing and living conditions in the neighborhood. Its residential area, as an ideal for living, this group would be re-elected in a large percentage as well. Respondents who live in the outer city zone emphasized the need for infrastructure, especially communal equipment of the neighborhood, but also the need to introduce cultural and entertainment facilities. This result suggests the existence of residential attractiveness of the central city zone, whose residents want to preserve its cultural and urban identity.

#### **Acknowledgements**

The article is part of the project No. 176017, funded by Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.

#### **References**

- Badcock, B. (2001). Thirty Years On: Gentrification and Class Changeover in Adelaide's Inner Suburbs, 1966–96. *Urban Studies*, 38(9), 1559–1572.
- Beauregard, R.A. (1986). The Chaos and Complexity of Gentrification. In N. Smith and P. Williams (Eds.) *The Gentrification of the City*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Berry, B.J.L. & Rees, P.H. (1969). The factorial ecology of Calcutta. *American Journal of Sociology*, 74, 445–491.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J.G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, (pp. 241–258). New York, NY: Greenwood.
- Bondi, L. (1999). Gender, Class, and Gentrification: Enriching the Debate. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 17, 261–82.
- Bridge, G. (2001). Bourdieu, Rational Action and the Time Space Strategy of Gentrification, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26, 205–216.
- Butler, T., & Robson, G. (2001). Social Capital, Gentrification and Neighborhood Change in London: A Comparison of Three South London Neighborhoods, *Urban Studies*, 38(12), 2145–2162.
- Buzar, S., & Grabkowska, M. (2006). The Social Reproduction of Flexibility in the Housing Environment: Stories from Inner-city Gdańsk. *Current Issues of Sustainable Development – Priorities and Trends*, 8, 157–175.
- Clark, E. (1988). The Rent Gap and Transformation of the Built Environment: Case Studies in Malmö 1860–1985, *Geografiska Annaler*, 70B, 241–54.
- Gentile, M. (2005). Urban Residential Preferences and Satisfaction in the Former Soviet Union: Results from a Survey in Ust'-Kamenogorsk, Kazakhstan, *Urban Geography*, 26(4), 296–327.

- Glass, R. (1964). Introduction: Aspects of Change. In Centre for Urban Studies (Ed.), *London: Aspects of Change* (pp. 18-19). MacKibbon and Kee, London
- Hamnett, C. (1984). Gentrification and Residential Location Theory: A Review and Assessment. In Herbert, D. and Johnson, R.J. (Eds.), *Geography and the Urban Environment: Progress in Research and Application*, (pp. 283-319). New York, NY: Wiley and Sons
- Hamnett, C. (1991). 'The Blind Man and the Elephant: the Explanation of Gentrification', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 16(2), 173–189.
- Hamnett, C. (2003). Gentrification and the Middle-class Remaking of Inner London, 1961 -2001, *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2401–2426.
- Harvey, D. (1994). Flexible Accumulation through Urbanization: Reflections on 'Post-modernism' in the American City. In Amin, A. (Eds.), *Post-fordism – A Reader* (pp. 361-386). Oxford: Blackwell
- Hjorthol, R., J. & Bjørnskau, T. (2005). Gentrification in Norway: Capital, Culture or Convenience? *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 12(4), 353 – 371.
- Jager, M. (1986). Class Definition and the Aesthetics of Gentrification: Victoriana in Melbourne. In N. Smith and R. Williams (Eds.), *Gentrification of the City* (pp.78–91). London: Allen & Unwin.
- Jagun, A., Brown, D., Milburn, N., & Gary, L., (1990). Residential satisfaction and socioeconomic and housing characteristics of Black adults. *Journal of Black Studies*, 21, 40–51.
- Lees, L. (2003). Super-gentrification: The Case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City. *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2487–2509.
- Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. (2008). *Gentrification*. London: Routledge.
- Lever, W. F. (1993). Reurbanisation. The Policy Implications. *Urban Studies*, 30, 267-284.
- Ley, D. (1980). Liberal Ideology and the Postindustrial City. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70, 238–58.
- Ley, D. (1986). Alternative Explanations for Inner City, Gentrification: a Canadian Assessment, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 76(4), 521–35.
- Ley, D. (1994). Gentrification and the Politics of the New Middle Class. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12, 53–74.
- Ley, D. (1996). *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nedučin, D., Carić, O., & Kubet, V. (2009). Influences of gentrification on identity shift of an urban fragment - a case study. *Spatium International Review*, 21, 66-75.

## Neighborhood perception as an indicator of gentrification in central zone of Belgrade

- Petrović, M. (2009). Transformacija gradova: ka depolitizaciji urbanog pitanja, Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu.
- Preston, V. (1982). A multidimensional scaling analysis of individual differences in residential area evaluation. *Geografiska Annaler*, 64B, 17–26.
- Redfern, P. A. (2003). What Makes Gentrification “Gentrification”? *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2351–2366.
- Sanni, L., & Akinyemi, F. O. (2009). Determinants of Households’ Residential Districts’ Preferences within Metropolitan City of Ibadan, Nigeria. *J Hum Ecol*, 25(2), 137-141.
- Smith, N. (1986). Gentrification, the Frontier, and the Restructuring of Urban Space. In Smith, N. and Williams, P. (Eds.) *Gentrification of the City*, (pp. 15-34). London; Allen and Unwin
- Smith, N. (1979). Towards a Theory of Gentrification. A Back to the City Movement by the Capital not the People. *Journal of American Planners Association*, 45, 538–48.
- Smith, N. (1982). Gentrification and Uneven Development. *Economic Geography*, 58, 139–55.
- Smith, N. (1987). Of yuppies and housing: gentrification, social restructuring and the urban dream. *Environment and Planning D*, 5, 151–172.
- Smith, N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Veblen, T. (1976 [1899]). *Den arbeidsfrie klassen. En økonomisk studie av institusjoners utvikling. [The Theory of the Leisure Class]*. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag.
- Walks, R.A., & Maaranen, R. (2008). Gentrification, social mix, and social polarization: testing the linkages in large Canadian Cities. *Urban Geography*, 2008, 29(4), 293–326.
- Zukin, S. (1987). Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13, 129–147.
- Institute of Urbanism Belgrade (2002). Master Plan of Belgrade 2021. Belgrade: Institute of Urbanism
- Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2010). Municipalities in Serbia 2010. Belgrade: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia.