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STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NETWORK OF SETTLEMENTS, AND URBANISATION IN THE SPATIAL PLANS OF SERBIA FROM 1996 TO THE PRESENT

Abstract: The Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (SPRS) is a comprehensive planning document that establishes the general trend and concept for the further spatial development of Serbia. Its purpose is to provide a state platform for the spatial organisation of various structures and activities that determine how the territory of the Republic of Serbia is used, in order to ensure socially acceptable, rational/optimal and sustainable land use. From 1996 until today, three spatial plans have been prepared, the central theme of which is urbanisation and the development of a network of settlements, based on the inherited historical context but oriented towards modern planning principles. The paper presents an extract from the draft of the latest SPRS, which is in the adoption phase.

Keywords: spatial plan, urbanisation, settlement network, obstacles, priorities.

Introduction

Urbanisation is a process that in the first decade of the 21st century crossed the threshold of 50% of the world's population living in cities with a trend of further growth, which makes the problem of planning and organising urban space an important topic for development agendas at the global and European levels. Urban settlements in the Republic of Serbia are affected by depopulation and demographic aging, regional disparities, and problems related to urban culture and environmental

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protection, including climate change. Problems recognised at the national level are illegal construction, neglect of technical and social infrastructure, insufficient incentives for the development of brownfield sites, and the need for digitalisation in the management and development of the territory.

The complexity of the urban space requires a special approach to directing development trends and activities in urban areas. The Sustainable Urban Development Strategy (until 2030),¹ adopted in 2020 for the first time in the Republic of Serbia, in accordance with urban spatial planning needs, approaches problems related to urbanisation and uses the potential that urban settlements carry as generators of development activities.

Urban development policy is public policy that is a key instrument for achieving sustainable urban development using an integral approach. Given that urban development in each individual country is the result of activities and decisions in different sectors, the main task of urban development policy is to establish coordination over different sectors and define priorities through harmonising the needs and interests of different actors. According to contemporary definitions, a national urban development policy is a coherent set of decisions guided by the national government through the cooperation of various actors, in order to formulate a common vision and goals, which direct long-term transformative, productive, inclusive and resilient urban development.

Planning is a human activity directed towards shaping the future, but as a process it is certainly influenced by the geographical and historical conditions. Planning forms a strategic framework for harmonising the influence of market factors, individual sector policies and the actions of many social actors, in order to achieve the intended goals in a programmed and directed manner. Bearing in mind that the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (SPRS) is a development planning document according to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and the Law on the Planning System of the Republic of Serbia,² it enables the implementation of its “strategic-developmental and general regulatory function”, which is defined by the relevant Law on Planning and Construction.³ Planning includes identifying the problems, challenges and goals of spatial development in order to reduce regional inequalities by better using territorial capital.

The SPRS is a platform for the organisation, use, protection, arrangement and management of space, based on national goals, conceptions and measures of spatial

¹ Sustainable Urban Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia until 2030 (“Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 47/2019).

² Law on the Planning System of the Republic of Serbia (“Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 30/2018).

³ Law on Planning and Construction (“Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 72/2009, 81/2009 – amended, 64/2010 – CC (Constitutional Court) decision, 24/2011, 121/2012, 42/2013 – CC decision, 50/2013 – CC decision, 98/2013 – CC decision, 132/2014, 145/2014, 83/2018, 31/2019, 37/2019 – other laws, 9/2020 and 52/2021).

development, aligned with the socio-economic, cultural and other development of Serbia, including the means of its implementation. It contains state goals of spatial development, integral planning solutions and an implementation framework, which respect the complexity of the global and internal socio-economic and institutional context and various challenges. General challenges include: depopulation, demographic exodus and increased migration; spontaneous (unplanned and uncontrolled) urbanisation, pronounced territorial concentration, polarisation and spatial fragmentation; regional inequalities in terms of urban and rural development, quality of the environment, level of development of traffic and technical infrastructure; and insufficient or unproductive use of available territorial capital. Also, the SPRS provides a spatial framework on which to base various sectoral policies, plans and programmes, as well as the preparation of regional spatial plans, spatial plans for special purpose areas and spatial plans for local self-government units. At the same time, the SPRS represents a framework for sectoral programming and financing (“project budgeting”), as well as for the introduction of integrated territorial investment tools at all levels.

**Context of continuity:
spatial plans of the Republic of Serbia from 1996 to the present**

The adoption of the first SPRS⁴ in 1996 was preceded by unusually long and discontinuous activities related to its preparation, which lasted almost 30 years, with interruptions. Preparations began in 1967 and lasted until 1976, during which time three phase documents were prepared (elements I-III on the valorisation and assessment of the condition of the space, the economic components of organisation, and the conception of the spatial organisation and arrangement of the territory of the Republic until 2000). The preparation of the first SPRS continued in 1987. The draft SPRS was submitted to the Government of the Republic of Serbia for the first time in 1990, and then again in 1994. The first SPRS was adopted in 1996 for the period until 2010.

At the time this SPRS was adopted, it was the only general strategic planning document related to the integral development of the territory of the Republic of Serbia. In that period, the preparation of sectoral planning documents for the territory had not yet begun, with the exception of the Water Management Basis of the Republic of Serbia, which was developed parallel to the preparation of the SPRS and after its adoption. The main reason for adopting the SPRS by means of a special law was for it to be an umbrella strategic planning document for all general and sectoral plans and strategies.

The first SPRS established an integral approach to the organisation and arrangement of the territory of the Republic, which included all aspects of long-term

⁴ D. Perišić, M. Vujošević, K. Petovar, *Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia*, Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, June 1996 ISBN 978-86-7549-056-2.

territorial development (spatial, economic, and social, as well as the protection of natural resources and the environment). It also introduced the aspect of regional development by applying a territorial and functional approach and functional urban areas. For the first time, a section on the implementation of the planning document was introduced into the spatial planning system. The need to adopt medium-term programmes for its implementation was emphasised, which would take effect 15 years later, after the adoption of the second SPRS.

The first SPRS prioritised achieving greater functional integration of the space in the Republic (more even and coordinated development) and traffic and economic integration of the Republic with neighbouring and other European countries. It can be said that the first SPRS was an innovative planning document, ahead of its time and above the aggravating circumstances in which the Republic of Serbia found itself at the beginning of the 1990s. This plan set a strategic, conceptual and methodological framework and provided a way to present planning solutions and propositions, becoming a model for other spatial and sectoral plans and strategies.

The second SPRS⁵ was adopted in 2010 for the period until 2020. It was still the basic general strategic planning document related to the integral development of the territory of the Republic of Serbia. Unlike the previous SPRS, in this period, based on foreign experience, a large number of sectoral strategies were prepared or adopted. These rarely included the spatial development dimension of the respective sector in relation to parts of the territory and the network of centres and settlements in the Republic of Serbia. That is why only certain strategies had a greater influence on planning solutions and propositions from the second SPRS. It was also a time of intense preparation for accession to the European Union (hereinafter: EU), strengthening of cross-border and transnational cooperation, and the policy of strengthening the planning and management of regional development in the Republic, all of which had a positive impact on the content and propositions of the second SPRS. Basically, the second SPRS rested on the framework set by the first one, with certain adaptations in terms of the content and manner of presentation of planning solutions and propositions, influenced by current foreign experiences and particular national strategies and policies.

The preparation of the third SPRS began in 2019,⁶ and its adoption is expected in 2023. It will cover a period of 15 years (from 2021 to 2035). Unlike the previous two SPRSs, this is a period of change in the spatial planning system that adapts to the strengthening of the role of the market in managing development. After a period of numerous sectoral strategies, the process of consolidation of the public policy system has begun. It is still not clear to what extent the consolidation process will have an impact on the spatial and sectoral coordination of public policies. The first efforts

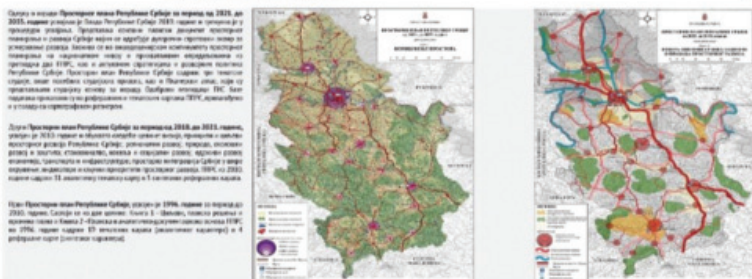
⁵ Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia 88/2010, basic text in force from 1/12/2010, applied from 1/12/2010.

⁶ Decision on the Development of the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia from 2021 to 2035 ("Official Gazette of the RS", no. 48/2019).

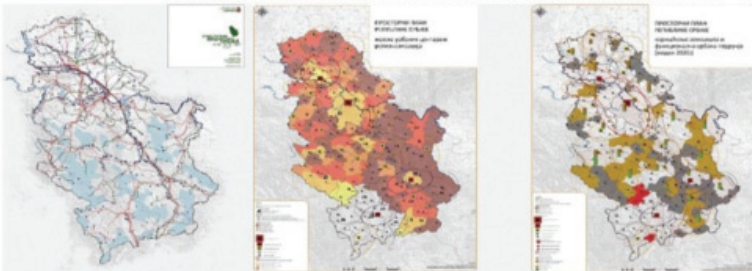
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2021 - 2035 Просторни план Републике Србије од 2021. до 2035. (у процедури доношења) С. Милић, М. Максим, Н. Стефановић (ИАУС); у сарадији са Географским факултетом и Архитектонским факултетом Универзитета у Београду, Саобраћајним институтом ЦИП д.о.о., ИП Законом за урбанизам Војводине и GDI Solutions д.о.о.



2010 - 2021 Просторни план Републике Србије од 2010. до 2021. Б. Стојков (Републичка агенција за просторно планирање), учешће Института: М. Максим, М. Вујошевић, С. Зековић, К. Петовар, М. Николић, Д. Дабић, С. Милић, М. Пузир, М. Ненковић-Резић, О. Целебичић



1996 Просторни план Републике Србије, 1996 Д. Перковић, М. Вујошевић, К. Петовар



Continuity of spatial plans of the Republic of Serbia 1996–2021

point towards harmonising the content of public policies, but also to the manifest lack of the concept of long-term development, which can adversely affect the long-term protection and reservation of space, especially for the purposes of national interest/significance. Intensive preparation for EU accession and the use of available European and international funds, as well as stronger cross-border and transnational cooperation, continue. Basically, the third SPRS is based on the best, verified determinants of the strategic, conceptual and methodological framework and on the method of presenting planning solutions set in the previous SPRS.

All three SPRSs were prepared in periods of great changes at the macro-regional and global level, and the elements of flexibility, uncertainty and risk have become an integral part of the planning process.

Implementation of the new SPRS will achieve continuity in relation to the previous ones in terms of directing the competitive, integrated and coherent spatial development of the Republic, providing the basis for supporting the multifunctional development of urban and rural areas, strengthening the functions and economic development of urban systems, and reducing inter-territorial inequality through the maximum use of territorial and urban capital. However, it can be said that until now the implementation of the first two SPRS has been neglected. The answers offered to this problem are five-year SPRS implementation programmes beginning from 2010 and a solution in the form of the Law on the Planning System, the effects of which are still not possible to see.

Contemporary conditions of urbanisation in Serbia

Urban centres, and urban and rural areas that make up urban systems in Serbia are a heterogeneous set of settlements of different demographic size, economic development and functional capacity, which is a consequence of different developmental predispositions in the geographical and socio-historical context. Serbia, as well as a large part of Southeast Europe, is not as urbanised as the most developed part of the continent. Serbia was affected by intensive urbanisation only in the second half of the 20th century. Until the 1960s, Serbia's economic structure had a predominantly agricultural character, and its population structure was predominantly rural. Although the degree of urbanisation had increased by 2011 to around 60%, the urban population did not increase uniformly in the intercensal periods.

At the beginning of the 21st century, there was a significant continuous expansion of areas with an eroded population potential from the east and southeast of central Serbia, as well as from the north and east of Vojvodina, towards the immediate zones of influence of the largest regional centres in the country. Decades-long trends in the polarisation of natural regeneration, as well as the extent and direction of population migrations, were manifested through changes in the spatial distribution of the population at lower territorial and functional levels. This caused a strong regional

differentiation of population potential between macro-regional units, as well as within them, which resulted in changes in the zonal distribution of the population. The zone of extremely low population concentration is continuously expanding, covering 1/3 of the municipalities on almost 50% of the territory of the Republic, where a little over a million inhabitants live. The zones of extremely high population concentration cover the Danube – Sava belt and the Morava zone, i.e. 10% of the total territory, with 3.1 million inhabitants, i.e. 43% of the population of the Republic of Serbia.

Population migration is an important determinant of the spatial (re)distribution of the population in the Republic of Serbia. Due to the transition of migration phenomena, from intensive migrations from rural to urban settlements in the 1960s, through migrations from smaller to larger urban centres beginning in the 1980s, today only large regional centres and their gravitational zones are centres of immigration and population concentration. This means that the immigration areas in central Serbia and Vojvodina are characterised by a decades-long decrease in spatial coverage, with a more pronounced concentration of the migrant population. Out of 174 local self-government units in Serbia (2018), only one quarter registered a positive migration balance. Of that, only 15 local self-government units, which cover 4% of the territory of Serbia, registered 30% of the total immigrant population in the country. The spatial coverage of this zone is related mainly to the municipalities of the city of Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš, as well as the municipalities of Stara Pazova and Sremski Karlovci. Most of Serbia is characterised by a negative migration balance – as many as 128 local self-government units recorded negative values in 2018. The greatest volume and intensity of emigration was registered in eastern and southeastern Serbia, the traditional emigration zones. In contrast to the predominantly rural undeveloped, peripheral, border, and hilly/mountainous areas of Serbia, which were the earliest affected by the process of intensive emigration, in recent times emigration processes have also been found in areas in the immediate zone of influence of regional centres, main development corridors, and areas suitable for population development.

Small urban centres dominate the spatial, structural and functional organisation of the network of settlements in Serbia. At first glance, it can be said that a characteristic of Serbia's urban network is the favourable distribution of these centres; however, a more detailed analysis of population concentration and function in the centres indicates numerous problems. About 27.3% of the urban population of Serbia (not including the autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija) lives in Belgrade. Its dominance is indicated by the urban primacy index, the value of which is 5 (the ratio of the number of inhabitants of Belgrade to those in Novi Sad). Due to large differences in demographic size and demographic potential, the territorial reach and diversification of functions, and the size of the field of influence, urban centres have very different roles and importance in the territorial integration of Serbia.

The disparity between the population of the leading and other urban centres indicates that Serbia does not have a properly and evenly developed urban system, i.e. that the trends of urbanisation have not been directed towards a more timely and even spatial distribution. The polarising effects of urbanisation, spatially

manifested by demographic, economic and functional concentration, are also expressed at the levels of most districts/areas. The disproportion in the demographic size when comparing Belgrade and other larger urban centres is a consequence of the incoherence and asymmetry of the urban system of Serbia. Changes in urban systems take place very slowly, and in the near future we cannot expect a spontaneous mitigation of these territorial disparities. There is a pronounced lack of evenly distributed urban centres with 100,000 to 200,000 inhabitants, and an absence of centres with 300,000 to 500,000 inhabitants with developed macro-regional functions, which would be the bearers of the internal balanced development of Serbia. The relevant facts and experience of countries that have a similar urban system indicate that no major changes will occur in that field in the coming period.

The spatial disproportion of functions is manifested in an increase in their number in only a few of the most important urban areas of Serbia, and a significant decrease in the functional capacities of most other urban areas and urban centres, as well as in their territorial influence, leading to the population being unable to meet its own needs, and so people move away to other places, i.e. abroad.

However, the causes of the polarisation of the territory of Serbia are not only internal, but are increasingly under the influence of wider regional and international economic flows. The majority of foreign investments are attracted by those centres that are more competitive – with developed functions, excellent infrastructural connections, and with a younger and more educated workforce, etc.

The spatial arrangement of urban centres is largely determined by physical and geographical characteristics. There is a clear connection between the spatial distribution of the population, the average altitude above sea level and the intensity of construction (percentage of land occupied by anthropogenic surfaces). In terms of distribution according to altitude, certain regularities can be observed, whereby urban centres at a lower average altitude usually have more intensive construction. Therefore, the highest intensity of construction is in the settlements in the area of Belgrade, Vojvodina, and Niš, as well as the cities along the West Morava. The exception is Priština, which has a higher intensity of construction, although its position is about 600 meters above sea level. Urban centres located in southeastern Serbia, which is predominantly a mountainous area, have the lowest built-up intensity. There is a pronounced correlation between the spatial distribution of the population and the intensity of built-up areas. Densely populated parts of urban areas have a higher intensity of construction, which supports the assessment that urban settlements, i.e. their central zones and planned units are still relatively compact. Classes of discontinuously built-up land of very low density (19%) have the largest share in the structure of anthropogenic surfaces (19%), as well as incomplete urban areas of medium and low construction density, with an equal share of about 15% (based on the geospatial database *Urbani atlas/Urban Atlas – UA*). This is also confirmed by changes in the land cover (according to CORINA), based on which it is concluded that the total increase in the area of settlements, from 2012 to 2018, amounted to only about 2%, mostly in the vicinity of Belgrade and Novi Sad, and partly in Priština.

In terms of traffic accessibility, which indicates the shortest time distance between settlements and the nearest urban centres, it is confirmed that settlements near centres located on the main development belts have the best accessibility, which primarily refers to the Danube – Sava development belt. At the level of statistical regions, there are significant differences between Belgrade and Vojvodina compared to other regions of Serbia. Thanks to a more developed local road network and a more favourable geographical and traffic location, most settlements in Vojvodina area are within a 45-minute isochrone of a more developed urban centre. Settlements in the area of Šumadija and parts of western and southern Serbia within the scope of the Morava and West Morava development belt also have favourable accessibility. In contrast, Banat, and the hilly and mountainous areas of eastern, southern and southwestern Serbia, have poor traffic accessibility. Due to the insufficient development of traffic infrastructure and physical-geographic characteristics, these areas are located far outside the 45-minute isochrone of the leading centres of work and services.

The functional capacities of urban centres have been significantly reduced, which is reflected in the reduction of space under their direct influence. There are more than 2,700 settlements that are not part of any urban area (no data available for Kosovo and Metohija). It is noticeable that most of the centres of urban areas integrate the settlements that belong to them administratively, while only the areas of Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš and Kragujevac integrate a territory wider than the administrative one. In contrast, some significant urban centres such as Novi Pazar, Kraljevo, Bor and Pirot fail to integrate even settlements belonging to their administrative territory. This fact is further supported by an analysis of the structure of the daily migrations of the economically active population who work in settlements within urban areas. Only Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš are the destinations of a significant number of daily migrants from the territories of other local government units (LGUs), and Kragujevac, Vranje, Požarevac and Valjevo also have a certain subregional influence. Certain urban areas overlap, so that some of them have the characteristics of polycentric and hierarchically structured systems, such as: Belgrade with Novi Sad, Pančevo, Smederevo and Zrenjanin; Novi Sad with Zrenjanin and Sremska Mitrovica; Ruma with Sremska Mitrovica; Pančevo with Vršac; Kragujevac with Jagodina; Niš with Leskovac; and Leskovac with Vranje.

Changes occurring in the planning period

At the level of urban areas, the greatest functional transformations have taken place in the central and peri-urban zones of urban centres. Urban centres specialise in the tertiary sector, while the secondary sector moves to the suburbs in the isochronous daily migrations. The organisation of local traffic, utility infrastructure and housing functions are not adapting quickly enough to these changes. Thus, settlements in peri-urban zones have almost no public facilities.

The primary zones of agglomeration and intensive spatial and functional connections are the valleys or corridors of the most important rivers in Serbia – the central part of the Danube, and the valleys of the Great, West and South Morava rivers. Based on this predisposition and spatial differentiation, a hierarchy of urban centres with zones of influence was established. It is important to mention that the established hierarchical relationships are also the consequence of the importance of the centres in the territorial-administrative system of Serbia. In general, the geospace of Serbia recognises the following structures formed by the interaction of urban areas and the traffic and spatial-functional connections established between them:

1. The urban area of Belgrade is a polycentric urban agglomeration, developed around the hub of the most important corridors of South European, Balkan and regional importance: Pannonian – Danube, then Morava – Vardar, southern – Sava and Šumadija – Ibar. In the spatial and functional sense, this urban area was developed by the agglomeration of settlements on the line Novi Sad – Indija – Stara Pazova – Belgrade – Pančevo – Smederevo, and the secondary urban centres of the city of Belgrade – Obrenovac, Lazarevac and Mladenovac – belong to it. Belgrade's influence is evident throughout the whole area of Serbia, and it also has a certain international influence, especially in the areas of the former Yugoslav republics.

2. The urban area of Novi Sad is also a polycentric urban agglomeration with a zone of influence that covers the territories of the municipalities of Temerin, Žabalj, Sremski Karlovci, Titel, Indija, Vrbas, Bačka Palanka, Bač, Bački Petrovac, Irig and Srbobran. In addition to this, Novi Sad, in proportion to its importance as the capital of AP Vojvodina, has an influence that is felt on its entire territory. In a broader sense, it is part of the polycentric agglomeration of the Danube – Sava development belt, and therefore shares functional competences with Belgrade, gradually forming the Belgrade – Novi Sad metropolitan area.

3. The urban area of Niš is the centre of a large zone of influence, of exceptional traffic importance, which extends to the south and east of Serbia. Nevertheless, the urban area of Niš is surrounded by predominantly rural areas, and it has pronounced dysfunctionality, considering that all local self-government units in the immediate vicinity, as well as most of the settlements in the neighbouring areas, are subject to depopulation.

4. Urban areas of centres along development belts or their hubs, which form primary and secondary development belts (Danube – Sava, Morava – Great Morava, South Morava, West Morava, etc.). The Danube or Danube – Sava development belt was formed by the interactions between two basic macro regions of Serbia: the Pannonian – Danube and the Central Balkans. It connects Sombor, Apatin, Bačka Palanka, Novi Sad, Ruma, Sremska Mitrovica, Šabac, the core of the agglomeration of Belgrade, Pančevo, Smederevo, Požarevac, Veliko Gradište, Golubac, Kladovo and Negotin. Within this belt, of special importance are the centres where traffic roads and traffic corridors cross, integrating other territories with this axis: from Novi Sad traffic corridors diverge radially towards Subotica and towards Zrenjanin, in the far eastern part of Serbia, the belt is joined by the secondary – Timok belt of development

that connects Kladovo, Negotin, Zaječar and Knjaževac with Niš. The Belgrade agglomeration, which is also the most important traffic hub in this part of Europe, has a dominant position in the Danube – Sava development belt. The Morava development belt is made up of the urban areas of Smederevo, Požarevac, Jagodina, Paraćin, Čuprija, Niš, Leskovac and Vranje. In the Great Morava section of the belt, the influence of Kragujevac, as the most developed urban centre of Šumadija, is also felt. This part of the axis is connected to Piroć through the secondary Nišava development belt via Niš. The development influences of the South Morava part of the belt hardly reach the local urban centres of Gornja Toplica, a large part of Jablanica, Vlasina, Krajište and Pčinja. The West Morava development belt is formed by the urban areas of Užice, Čačak, Kraljevo and Kruševac, joining them into a polycentric agglomeration. The primary, West Morava, and secondary, Ibarian, development belts of Serbia meet together in Kraljevo. The infrastructural equipment of the West Morava development belt does not match its spatial and functional importance, because it does not have the necessary traffic propulsivity. This deficiency will be alleviated by the construction of the Preljina – Pojate highway. West Morava urban areas are connected with Belgrade, i.e. with the Danube – Sava development belt, by the Požega – Belgrade and Kraljevo – Kragujevac – Belgrade railways, or the Pojate – Belgrade and Preljina – Belgrade highways. The urban areas integrated spatially and functionally by this development belt play a key role in connecting the southwestern parts of Serbia, which are underdeveloped and, in most cases, demographically depleted. In the network of primary and secondary level development belts, and around them, there remain geospatial units where the development-incentive effect does not reach to a sufficient extent, so they are demographically and economically underdeveloped. They are most pronounced in the eastern and southeastern border area, as well as the southwestern and mountainous parts of the Republic. And they have insufficiently developed centres of local urban concentration.

5. The most important urban areas outside the primary development zones are Kragujevac, Valjevo, Bor, Novi Pazar and others. However, there are certain differences between these urban centres. Kragujevac stands out for its demographic size, functional capacity and large sphere of influence. The other centres are divided into two groups, namely, those that are developing into territorial units which have the possibility of spatial and functional networking with the largest agglomerations (Valjevo), and those that have developed in border areas with poorer traffic connections (Bor, Novi Pazar). Other urban areas that are insufficiently integrated by belts are medium-sized urban centres with an increasingly weak functional capacity, which are located in border areas of Serbia, such as Kikinda, Vršac, Loznica, Priboj, Prijepolje, Nova Varoš and others.

6. In Kosovo and Metohija, the demographic and functional dominance of Priština is noticeable, with the functional development of Kosovska Mitrovica, Prizren, Peć and other urban centres lagging behind.

7. Local urban centres in rural areas are predominantly monofunctional and do not have enough capacity to actively stimulate their surroundings. They have developed

in the border and mountainous parts of Serbia, but also in smaller interior basins in the central part of Serbia. They are insufficiently accessible by traffic, and examples of settlements of this type are Babušnica, Lebane, Bosilegrad, Krupanj, Ljubovija, Tutin, and Brus.

The existing urban landscape and physical structure of most Serbian cities/towns were formed on the largest scale after the Second World War. Most often, they are clearly differentiated from the more or less preserved earlier parts of the urban fabric. The result of the ruling modernist urban planning doctrine from the second half of the 20th century, which in Serbia was built on the urban tradition of caring for the public good and public urban spaces, as founded by Emilijan Josimović, is on the one hand, a relatively high quality of public spaces and facilities, the availability of public services, infrastructural equipment and a large housing fund, so-called collective multi-family housing. On the other hand, the result are poorly preserved old cores of towns and cities, degraded traditional urban matrices and a relatively poor fund of architectural heritage.

In terms of the spatial development and arrangement of individual urban settlements in Serbia, there are a relatively large number of negative phenomena, in particular: illegal construction, irrational expansion of construction areas, poor condition of the infrastructure and traffic sectors, environmental pollution, reduction of the quality of life in attractive locations and in central zones due to the interests of capital, social segregation and poverty, etc.

Development challenges and problems

The most significant problems and development challenges regarding the development and planning of urban settlements are:

1. The decades-long practice of massive illegal ("informal", "lawless", "wild") construction, which is the consequence of certain economic and social problems, and at the same time the cause of a number of others, including environmental ones.
2. The trend of expanding construction areas, in contrast to the desired compactness of urban centres/settlements, is associated with the irrational and inefficient use of construction land and insufficient possibilities for financing its arrangement (preparation and equipment).
3. The densification of already built parts of urban settlements – filling space instead of interpolation. The increase in the construction density is not a reflection of an increase in the number and needs of residents and space users.
4. The state of the existing communal infrastructure – insufficiently developed networks, dilapidation, undercapacity. There are particularly significant problems in the area of water supply, waste water removal and waste management, as well as in larger urban centres in the area of internal city traffic.
5. The tendency to reduce open spaces and green areas – by usurping existing areas for construction purposes and not planning new ones sufficiently, as well as

the low quality of planning and maintenance with regard to existing, undeveloped (green and open) public space.

6. Insufficiently effective urban planning, which often loses sight of the overall quality of the urban space as the main goal and ignores standards, so that instead of having quality planning solutions, the goal of planning becomes the possibility of procedurally implementing planning documents and issuing appropriate permits. Such an approach, along with the overall urban design, low architectural culture and the insufficiently developed, but essential, participation of citizens, reduces the quality of life and the built environment, and causes the loss of identity of urban settlements, as well as the degradation of the urban cultural landscape as a whole.

The potential development of urban areas and centres involves having a high level functional and territorial hierarchy of urban system in Serbia. A hierarchy has been established made up of those urban centres around which the spheres of their influence (urban areas) are formed. The benefit of reducing development disparities between individual parts of the urban system of Serbia can be found in a functionally and hierarchically organised network of settlements, with centres that are carriers and initiators of development at different spatial levels (from national to local). The Belgrade agglomeration is the backbone of the Danube – Sava development belt of Serbia – part of a pan-European development corridor of exceptional traffic importance and development opportunities. The position of the four largest agglomerations in Serbia (Belgrade – Novi Sad, West Morava, Niš and Priština), their demographic capacity, and their connection with traffic corridors provide the fundamental basis for the formation of a solid network of urban areas. A network formed of urban areas and larger centres, with a better economic and demographic capacity, in cooperation with the urban centres of rural and border areas, can improve the functional integration of Serbia's territorial units (especially Banat and secondary development axes in the belt of Timok, Drina, Ibar, etc.). The potential is to have the quality of the infrastructural connectedness and equipment increase when the construction of traffic corridors and accompanying facilities is completed, as well as the already-started process of reindustrialisation. There is significant potential for the spatial development of urban settlements in valuable cultural heritage and cultural diversity, including the heritage of modern architecture and urbanism from the 20th century. Planned parts of urban settlements have a high level of transport and utility infrastructure and good coverage of public service facilities.

Two limitations to the development of urban centres in Serbia are the most significant: depopulation and reduction of the functional capacities of urban centres. Depopulation is not only a problem from the aspect of having a smaller number of inhabitants, it also results in the collapse of the socio-economic structure, reduction of the quality of the workforce, aging of the population, etc. A new component strengthening depopulation in Serbia is the increasingly pronounced emigration of the best quality workforce, which will continue in the future, and this is recognised as one of the biggest national challenges. In a cause-and-effect relationship with depopulation is the reduction in the number and spatial range of the functions of

urban centres, that is, a reduction in the impact of urban centres on their surroundings. Limits to the development of urban areas and centres are the polarising effects of urbanisation, spatially manifested by the demographic and economic/functional concentrations in urban areas and centres. The disproportion in the demographic size and functional capacity of Belgrade and other larger urban centres is a consequence of the incoherence and asymmetry of the urban system. There is a weakened functional capacity in the majority of urban centres. The capacities of urban areas are insufficient to spatially, economically and functionally integrate their surroundings to the required extent, so they become polarised into having a more developed central part, along with other less developed, border areas, which are difficult to access by traffic, as well as hilly/mountainous areas. Human resources and financial capacities are insufficient, especially in smaller urban centres in rural areas. Problems manifested in the spatial development of urban settlements are the usurpation of public spaces, substandard quality of housing and communal equipment, deterioration of the environmental quality, and social segregation. Large areas of peripheral urban and suburban areas are burdened with unplanned or poor-quality physical structure, the consequence of which is the spread of urban settlements.

Starting points for the development of urban systems in Serbia

The development of an urban system in Serbia is based on the following spatial and functional categories:

- an urban centre is a polyfunctional settlement that is the centre of a local self-government unit;
- an urban settlement is also polyfunctional, but has no administrative function, and the population is mostly engaged in non-agricultural activities;
- a rural settlement is mostly monofunctional, and the population is mainly engaged in agricultural activities, but also other activities based on the local resources in the rural area;
- an urban area is a territory of variable coverage and different morphological and physiognomic characteristics, which, like an urban centre, consists of surrounding settlements and rural areas, which are connected to the centre by the daily migration of the workforce and other population movements resulting from functional dependence on the centre. Urban areas are hierarchically organised depending on their demographic size, traffic accessibility and functional capacity. Depending on the number of functionally connected urban centres, urban areas can also be polycentric, and morphologically recognised as metropolitan areas (a complex and dynamic system of urban settlements with a multi-layered hierarchy and a high degree of functional and spatial connectivity), urban agglomerations (morphologically and functionally connected urban centres of significant functional capacity), urban areas with different zones of influence, or as the urban centres of rural areas;

- rural areas are located outside of urban areas, and as a rule they have a low population density made up of independent rural settlements, or they are networked with the local urban centre;

- an urban system consists of urban centres, and urban and rural settlements as integral parts of urban and rural areas;

- functional capacity is a measure of all the functions of an urban centre, the number of users of those functions (permanent population, daily and seasonal migrants, etc.), and the traffic connection between the urban centre and its surroundings.

Urban centres with functionally dependent surroundings are the basic structural unit of the spatial organisation of an urban system. The long-term spatial development of urban centres and settlements will be based on the use of urban capital, as well as the integral development and arrangement of urban and peri-urban areas, rational use of land, improvement of the quality of life of the inhabitants, the environment, the physical structure and architecture, the identity and image of the urban settlement and the urban landscape, and on the preservation of cultural heritage and diversity.

The spatial and functional development of a Serbian urban system should be based on the model of urban areas with different functional and territorial scopes, with the role of being an instrument of more even and rational spatial, demographic, economic and general social development. This would contribute to the formation of a stable economy and improve the quality of life of the inhabitants.

It is necessary to transform urban systems from being a hierarchical model of urban centres to being a model of urban areas with a “general urban context”. According to this model, the urban areas and the centres that build it are qualitatively equal in providing the necessary conditions for a good standard of living for the population, and are complementary in terms of job offers and services, both for the residential population and for daily and other migrants. This means that elements that make up the quality of urban life (basic set of services and quality infrastructure) and safety are felt in almost every settlement of the urban system, regardless of its distance from the centre or its demographic size. The prerequisites are the development of efficient interurban traffic and the decentralisation of functions, public social infrastructure and institutions, which would encourage the daily and general mobility of the population. This especially applies to the urban areas of Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Kragujevac, Priština, and the West Morava agglomeration.

The development of an urban system for Serbia is based on the transformation of essentially different spaces:

- larger and more advanced urban centres, metropolitan areas and agglomerations and their immediate surroundings;

- medium and smaller urban centres in underdeveloped rural areas, hilly/mountainous or border areas with unactivated potential.

The focus of developing an urban system for Serbia is also on reducing and balancing the differences (especially in the domain of public and social infrastructure), so as to continue the development of urban areas with distinct advantages regarding

the “engine” of the total national urban system, with a widening impact on other hierarchically lower urban and rural areas in the surrounding area and the activation of smaller urban centres, whose development will be based on specific and underutilised resources.

The spatial integration and functional connection of urban centres and regional units, necessary for the territorial cohesion, economic stimulation and competitiveness of all parts of the Republic of Serbia, should be intensified and achieved through development belts and traffic corridors, which have already been formed or are expected in the future.

The backbone of the urban system of Serbia consists of larger urban centres and urban areas with a clearly established hierarchy of centres, which are connected by development belts, namely from Belgrade to Novi Sad, via Zrenjanin, Požarevac, Jagodina, Niš, Kruševac, Kraljevo, Čačak, Užice, Valjevo, Šabac, Sremska Mitrovica and others. The main cohesive factors are: the highly urbanised part of the Danube – Sava development belt dominated by the influential spheres of Belgrade and Novi Sad, as well as the urban areas of Niš, Kragujevac and Priština with their spheres of influence. In the southwest, the urban areas of Užice, Čačak, Kraljevo and Kruševac play a dominant role in the West Morava development belt. The dominant role in the north is played by the urban area of Subotica with the surrounding smaller centres in the overlapping zone of the spheres of influence of Novi Sad and Subotica, and in the southeast, it is the urban area of Leskovac, both of which are in the development zone along Corridor 10. In the south, in addition to Priština, other urban centres such as Kosovska Mitrovica, Prizren and Peć stand out. Within the urban system of Serbia, the most intensive connections will be made between urban centres and areas in development zones, especially where this is made possible by spatial and traffic proximity, crossing corridors, natural geographic features, traffic infrastructure and similar. In the immediate surroundings of these urban areas, there are smaller centres of underdeveloped rural areas, the potential of which is oriented towards: highly productive intensive agriculture, development of the processing industry, increased employment through the development of non-agricultural activities in the countryside (tourism, small businesses in the field of processing, services, etc.) and the diversification of agricultural production.

An important part of the urban system will be medium-sized and smaller centres in underdeveloped rural areas and parts of border, hilly-mountainous and poorly accessible areas, which have development potential, sufficient population size, relatively developed human capital and public social infrastructure, as well as urban development continuity, cultural identity and the like. These would be based on secondary development belts and traffic corridors through which they are spatially and functionally integrated, creating connections with other territories and agglomerations in the regional environment. These are primarily Sombor, Kikinda and Vršac, Vranje, Pirot, Zaječar and Bor, Loznica, Prijepolje, Priboj, Novi Pazar and Prokuplje. By networking with small urban centres in rural areas (parts of the Danube

and hilly and mountainous areas of southern, eastern, southeastern and southwestern Serbia), all these centres should encourage the development of the economy, the complementarity of agriculture and tourism, provide access to basic services for the elderly population, attract investments, the seasonal use of facilities for the needs of tourism, etc. At the same time, these centres have significant potential for cross-border connections and joint action/interest integration with areas inside and outside Serbia. European programmes and development funds enable and motivate such forms of cooperation. The following areas, which are insufficiently integrated, are especially promising: Sombor – Apatin – Osijek (Republic of Croatia); Kikinda – Szeged (Hungary) – Timișoara (Republic of Romania); Vranje – Kumanovo – Skopje (Republic of North Macedonia); Ljubovija – Loznica – Zvornik – Bijeljina (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and others. Other urban centres in the primary and secondary development belts would be important, namely: from Šabac to Loznica, Ljubovija and Zvornik (in the Drina development zone); from Niš to Knjaževac, Zaječar, Negotin and Kladovo (in the Timok development belt); from Niš to Pirot (in the Niš development zone); urban centres in the South Morava, Ibar, Pešter and other development belts.

In parts of the network of primary and secondary level development belts, with geospatial units around them, and with border areas and areas with fewer traffic connections, insufficiently activated centres will develop with local urban concentrations.

The urban system of the Republic of Serbia consists of:

1. The metropolitan area formed by the urban areas of Belgrade and Novi Sad, with numerous sub-centres of different ranks. This polycentric area is the most promising developmentally, based on the highest functional capacity and demographic potential, excellent traffic connections and solid infrastructure. Conditionally, it includes centres from Bačka Palanka to Smederevo, and from Pančevo to Lazarevac. The concentration of functions, population, space users and the economy would continue in this area. This metropolitan area would also become the dominant tourist destination in Serbia. The effects of suburbanisation will also be present as a consequence of the deterioration of the quality of life (quality of the environment) in the central, most densely populated parts of the metropolitan area. It is a development opportunity for smaller local centres, especially in the Srem and Banat parts of the metropolitan area.

2. Urban centres in the West Morava valley (Užice, Čačak, Kraljevo and Kruševac) and Kragujevac are in the form of agglomerations – morphologically and spatially/functionally connected urban centres with significant functional capacity, and good traffic connections, but with endangered demographic capacity due to the influence of the metropolitan area. Directly influential areas of agglomerations have more than 500,000 inhabitants. They need better infrastructural equipment, as well as the expansion of the range of services, and the emphasis must be on the economy, which needs a highly educated and high-quality workforce, along with the development of scientific research and technical-technological capacities.

3. Urban areas that have a zone of influence that has more than 100,000 inhabitants are formed around Subotica, Zrenjanin and Leskovac. They must continue

economic growth and development, especially in the domain of high-tech industries, and then with the development of services and institutions of a regional character, in order to stop emigration to the metropolitan area and abroad.

4. Urban areas with a zone of influence that has more than 40,000 inhabitants are: Sombor, Vršac, Kikinda, Valjevo, Šabac, Loznica, Novi Pazar, Jagodina, Bor, Zaječar, Vranje, Pirot, Prizren, Uroševac, Peć, Đakovica, Gnjilane and Kosovska Mitrovica. As a priority, they must improve their functional capacity, especially in the domain of the economy, public services and institutions. They also have a good chance as networking centres for the small centres in the rural areas that surround them. Some of the centres have significant prospects in cross-border cooperation (Sombor, Vršac, Kikinda, Loznica, Pirot, etc.).

5. Urban centres in rural areas – most of which are small urban centres in rural areas. They must adapt to seasonal fluctuations in the number of users of the space, and orientate themselves towards the products and services offered by the resource-rich rural environment, tourist potential and predominantly high-quality living environment. The available EU funds mean that these areas should be considered as leading priorities for the country's spatial development.

It is realistic to expect that by 2035 there will be strengthening of functions, economic development and new integrative roles of certain smaller urban centres, especially those in a metropolitan area or in agglomerations.

The following development zones will be developed on the territory of the Republic of Serbia:

1. Primary development belts – are provided through areas with the greatest population concentration economic activities, as well as along international and national infrastructure corridors. The network of these belts represents an important factor in the territorial cohesion of Serbia. The primary belts of development are:

1.1. The Danube – Sava belt (along parts of corridors 10 and 7) has key development importance for Serbia and for integration with EU countries. It includes urban and industrial centres within the following development zones, connecting cities and municipalities in the surrounding area:

- along the Danube (from Apatin, Sombor, Bačka Palanka and Novi Sad, towards Belgrade and further towards Veliko Gradište, etc.);

- along the Sava (from Šid, Sremska Mitrovica to Belgrade), that is, connecting international ports on the Sava and Danube (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Sremska Mitrovica, Smederevo, Pančevo and others);

1.2. Along parts of Corridor 10:

- Northern belt – from Novi Sad to Subotica and Hungary (Budapest);

- Great Morava belt – from Belgrade to Niš, which from north to south passes from the plains to the more scattered hilly and mountainous areas, easing the pressure on the Belgrade metropolitan area;

- South Morava belt – from Niš to Leskovac, Vranje, North Macedonia and Greece (towards Skopje and Thessaloniki);

– Nišava belt – along a branch of Corridor 10, in the direction from Niš to Pirot, Dimitrovgrad and Bulgaria (Sofia);

1.3. West Morava belt – in the direction along the West Morava, from Užice to Čačak, Kraljevo, Kruševac and Corridor 10, which provides the possibility of spatial integration in the direction of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the west and continuing across the Timok belt in the direction of Bulgaria and Corridor 4 in the east;

1.4. Kolubara belt – in the direction from Belgrade to Obrenovac, Valjevo, Gornji Milanovac and Čačak, which provides the possibility of spatial integration in the direction of the West Morava belt and further across the Golija – Pešter belt to Montenegro in the south;

1.5. Toplica – Kosovo – Metohija belt – in the direction from Niš towards Prokuplje, Kuršumlja, Priština, Prizren and Albania (Durrës);

1.6. Kragujevac belt – in the direction from Batočina/Lapovo to Kragujevac and Čačak/Kraljevo, as an epsilon branch of Corridor 10, from the Great Morava belt to the West Morava belt, which provides a better positioning of Kragujevac, as well as the possibility of spatial integration of primary and secondary development belts (Zlatibor, Ibar and Golija – Pešter to the south, and Šumadija and Kolubara to the north);

2. Secondary development belts – extend through underdeveloped areas with significant natural and created potential. Planning the direction of development will improve their traffic position and accessibility, infra- and suprastructural equipment, demographic and economic development. Secondary zones of development are:

2.1. Bačka belt – in the direction from Corridor 10 to Vrbas and Sombor, with two branches towards Hungary (via Apatin and Bački Breg) in the north and towards Croatia in the west;

2.2. Tisa belt – in the direction from Corridor 10 to Bečej, Mol, Ada, Senta and Kanjiža and continuing to Hungary in the north;

2.3. Banat belt – with three directions, from Pančevo to Zrenjanin and Novi Sad, from Zrenjanin to Kikinda and Romania, and from Pančevo to Vršac and Romania;

2.4. Fruška Gora – Mačva belt – in the direction from Novi Sad to Corridor 10, Ruma and Šabac and continuing towards the Drina area and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska) in the south;

2.5. Drina – Šumadija – Homolj belt – in the direction from Loznica to Valjevo, from Valjevo to Topola and Markovac (Corridor 10), and from Markovac to Bor;

2.6. Šumadija belt – in the direction from Kragujevac to Topola, Arandjelovac, i.e. Corridor 10;

2.7. Drina belt – in the direction from Šabac to Loznica, Ljubovija, Bajina Bašta, i.e. to Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska – Višegrad and Trebinje) and Montenegro;

2.8. Braničevo – Danube belt – in the direction from Corridor 10 to Požarevac, Veliko Gradište, Golubac, Donji Milanovac and Kladovo (Romania);

2.9. Zlatibor belt – with two directions, direction A from Užice towards Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska – Višegrad) and direction B from Užice to Čajetina, Nova Varoš and Prijepolje, i.e., towards Montenegro;

2.10. Golija – Pešter belt – in the direction from Požega to Arilje, Ivanjica and Sjenica, i.e. to Montenegro (Bar) and continuing to Italy (Bar);

2.11. Timok belt – with two directions, direction A from Corridor 10, Paraćin to Zaječar and Bulgaria, and direction B from Corridor 10, Niš to Knjaževac, Zaječar, Negotin (Bulgaria), Prahovo and Kladovo (connection with the Braničevo – Danube belt);

2.12. the Ibar belt – in the direction from Kraljevo to Raška, Novi Pazar and Priština;

2.13. Pešter – Lim belt – on the route from Novi Pazar to Sjenica, Nova Varoš and Priboj (Bosnia and Herzegovina), with a branch from Sjenica to Prijepolje (connection with the B direction of the Zlatibor belt and Montenegro);

2.14. The Kosovo – South Morava belt – in the direction from Priština and Uroševac towards Gnjilane and Bujanovac to Corridor 10;

2.15. Metohija belt – in the direction from Priština towards Klina, Peć and Montenegro, with a branch from Klina to Đakovica and Albania;

3. Tertiary development belts that are more closely determined by regional spatial plans.

Concluding guidelines for planning urban settlements

The planning of urban settlements should enable:

- efficient use, financing and management of construction land as the largest urban resource;

- improvement in the quality of organisation and identity of central urban zones, public spaces, buildings and units of cultural, architectural and urban heritage;

- improvement in the quality, accessibility, capacity and level of services of the transport infrastructure, taking into account rationalisation, but also aspects of the environmental impact, giving preference to alternative, ecological and more efficient modes of transport;

- improvement in the quality of the environment, the health and safety of residents in urban settlements, and achieving a high degree of adaptability of urban areas to climate change through the protection of existing and planning of new green and water areas close to nature.

The strategic decision for the development and arrangement of urban settlements is that the remediation of the unplanned parts of urban and peri-urban areas and the renovation and improvement of the arrangement of planned parts of urban settlements are of equal importance. Rehabilitation is carried out through the development of urban plans with the aim of establishing urban order, adding the missing technical and social infrastructure, etc.

The SPLGU (Spatial Plan for Local Government Units) should clearly state the scope and limit the expansion of the construction areas of urban settlements, rural settlements and complexes, primarily along the most frequent traffic routes. It will also determine the planning basis for strengthening and improving rural-urban links, increasing the accessibility of rural areas by working out the environmental services of rural areas for the development of urban settlements and LGUs, and by providing

traffic services, communal and public social infrastructure and other services and services in rural areas.

In general, in case of urban plans and general regulation plans for urban settlements for which a general urban plan is not prepared, special attention should be paid to reviewing and reducing the scope of the construction area, in order to stop any further irrational expansion and spreading of urban centres and urban settlements.

According to the Sustainable Urban Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia until 2030, the priority areas of intervention in urban settlements could be: industrial/economic and commercial zones and brownfield locations, illegally built and unorganised marginal urban zones (urban sprawl) and degraded rural areas; endangered urban structures, urban matrices and central urban zones; parts of urban settlements with a concentration of social problems related to inclusion and poverty; settlements or parts of settlements with problems related to environmental protection and climate change; and spatial entities with cultural and architectural heritage and important features of cultural and historical development. In accordance with this strategy, LGUs will adopt local strategies of integral urban development for urban centres and urban settlements and urban development projects. For priority areas of intervention defined by local strategies of integral urban development, LGUs will adopt or coordinate valid urban plans.

In the development of urban plans for urban settlements and urban areas, the following topics should be prioritised:

- urban renewal, recycling brownfield sites and construction within the already existing urban matrix, transformation of sites into other city functions, preferably for cultural, educational purposes, as start-up incubators or for commercial purposes, and where possible as residential zones (including loft living), but by preserving elements of the industrial heritage and history of the place; it is also possible to transform such spaces into public green park areas, especially in parts of the urban settlement where they are lacking, while preserving high-quality existing greenery;
- protecting and preserving existing and planning new public spaces and connections in a unique and continuous network, with gradation from the micro to macro level (from urban pockets to main city squares), designing and emphasising the identity of public spaces, with the use and arrangement of neglected spaces, and the promotion of safe and accessible locations;
- protecting and preserving existing and planning new green areas, connecting fragmented areas into a single and continuous space, with the use and arrangement of abandoned spaces (coastal zones, abandoned railway lines, etc.), the promotion of the urban garden movement, and the preservation of unique locations such as city forests;
- adhering to urban-morphological and landscape principles and preserving characteristic urban silhouettes and views, with priority for zones and entities with cultural and architectural heritage and important features of cultural and historical development;

- harmonising the capacities of the traffic and utility infrastructure with the planned densities, intensity of activities and scope of construction;
- upgrading and consistently applying urban planning standards;
- promotion and operationalisation of the institute of urban land consolidation.

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**СТРАТЕГИЧЕСКАЯ РАМКА РАЗВИТИЯ СЕТИ НАСЕЛЁННЫХ ПУНКТОВ
И УРБАНИЗАЦИИ В ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННЫХ ПЛАНАХ СЕРБИИ С 1996 ГОДА
ПО НАСТОЯЩЕЕ ВРЕМЯ**

Резюме

Урбанизация – это процесс, в котором постоянно увеличивается доля населения, проживающего в городах, а города расширяются и растут, что делает проблемы организации и устройства городского пространства важной темой актуальной повестки дня развития. Городские поселения в Республике Сербии страдают от депопуляции и демографического старения, региональных диспаритетов, проблем городской культуры и защиты окружающей среды, включая климатические изменения. На национальном уровне признаны проблемы незаконного строительства, запустения технической и социальной инфраструктуры, недостаточного стимулирования развития браунфилд-территорий, а также необходимость оцифровки в управлении территориальным развитием. Сложность городского пространства требует особого подхода к направлению развивающихся тенденций и деятельности в городских областях. Пространственный план Республики Сербии (ППРС) – это платформа для организации, использования, защиты, устройства и управления пространством, основанная на национальных целях, концепциях и мерах пространственного развития, согласованных с социо-экономическим, культурным и другим развитием Сербии, а также средствами реализации. Он включает государственные цели пространственного развития, комплексные плановые решения и имплементационный каркас, учитывающие сложность глобального и внутреннего социо-экономического и институционального контекста и различные вызовы. Общие вызовы включают: депопуляцию, демографический экзодус и усиление миграции; стихийную (неплановую и неконтролируемую) урбанизацию, выраженную территориальную концентрацию, поляризацию и пространственную фрагментацию; региональные неравенства в развитии городского и сельского хозяйства, качестве окружающей среды, уровне развития транспортной и технической инфраструктуры; недостаточное или неэффективное использование доступного территориального капитала. Кроме того, ППРС предоставляет пространственную основу для различных секторных политик, планов и программ, а также разработки других планов более низкого уровня в иерархии, но более детальных. Стратегия устойчивого городского развития (до 2030 года), принятая впервые в Республике Сербии в 2020 году, в соответствии с потребностями устройства городского пространства, подходит к решению проблем урбанизации и использованию потенциала, который городские поселения представляют как генераторы развития.

Перед принятием первого ППРС в 1996 году произошли необычно длительные и дисконтинуальные активности по его подготовке, которые с перерывами длились почти 30 лет. Подготовка к разработке плана началась в 1967 году и продолжалась до 1976 года. После перерыва, работа по подготовке возобновилась в 1987 году, а проект ППРС был передан Правительству Республики Сербии впервые в 1990 году, а затем в 1994 году. Первый ППРС был принят в 1996 году на период до 2010 года как единственный общий стратегический плановый документ, касающийся интегрального развития территории Республики Сербии.

Первый ППРС придавал большое значение достижению большей функциональной интеграции пространства Республики (более равномерного и согласованного развития частей ее территории) и транспортной и экономической интеграции Республики с соседними и другими европейскими странами. Можно оценить, что первый ППРС был инновационным плановым документом, опережающим свое время и превосходящим тяжелые обстоятельства, в которых находилась Республика Сербия с начала 1990-х годов. Этот план установил стратегический, концептуальный и методологический каркас и способ выражения плановых решений и предложений, ставший образцом для других пространственных и секторальных планов и стратегий.

Второй ППРС был принят в 2010 году на период до 2020 года. Он также оставался основным общим стратегическим плановым документом, касающимся интегрального развития территории Республики Сербии. В отличие от предыдущего ППРС, в этот период, подражая зарубежному опыту, был подготовлен или принят большой объем секторальных стратегий, в которых редко содержался пространственный аспект развития соответствующего сектора по отношению к частям территории и сети центров и населенных пунктов в Республике Сербии. Поэтому только некоторые стратегии оказались более влиятельными на плановые решения и предложения второго ППРС. Это было также время интенсивной подготовки к вступлению в Европейский союз, укрепления пограничного и транснационального сотрудничества и политики укрепления планирования и управления региональным развитием в Республике, что всё оказало позитивное воздействие на содержание и предложения второго ППРС. Основой второго ППРС стали рамки, установленные первым ППРС, с некоторыми адаптациями в содержании и способе выражения плановых решений и предложений, под влиянием актуального зарубежного опыта и отдельных национальных стратегий и политик.

Подготовка третьего ППРС началась в 2019 году, а его принятие ожидается в 2023 году. Он разрабатывается на период 15 лет (с 2021 по 2035 год). В отличие от предыдущих двух ППРС, это время характеризуется изменениями в системе пространственного планирования, которые адаптируются к усилению роли рынка в управлении развитием, при этом отмечается отсутствие государственной концепции долгосрочного развития, что может негативно сказаться на охране и резервировании территории, особенно для целей

национального интереса/значения. В основе третьего ППРС лежат лучшие проверенные элементы стратегического, концептуального и методологического фреймворков, а также формулировки плановых решений, поставленных в предыдущих ППРС. Все три ППРС разрабатывались в период крупных изменений на макрорегиональном и глобальном уровнях, поэтому элементы гибкости, неопределенности и риска стали неотъемлемой частью процесса планирования.

Городские центры, городские и сельские районы, составляющие городские системы в Сербии, представляют собой гетерогенный набор населенных пунктов различного демографического размера, экономического развития и функциональных возможностей, что является следствием различных развивающихся предпосылок в географическом и социально-историческом контексте. Территория Сербии, как и большая часть юго-восточной Европы, не урбанизирована как наиболее развитая часть континента. Сербия подверглась интенсивной урбанизации только во второй половине XX века. До 60-х годов XX века экономическая структура Сербии преимущественно имела сельскохозяйственный характер, а по структуре населения она была преимущественно сельской средой. Хотя уровень урбанизации увеличился к 2011 году до около 60%, городское население в межпереписных периодах не равномерно росло, и важным детерминантом пространственного (пред)распределения населения являются миграции населения. Негативный миграционный сальдо характеризует большую часть Сербии, причем наибольший объем и интенсивность оттока зарегистрирован в восточной и юго-восточной частях Сербии. Исторические и физико-географические условия создали сильную региональную дифференциацию населенных потенциалов, так что зона высокой концентрации населения охватывает Дунавско-Савский и Моравский регионы, составляя 10% от общей территории с 3,1 миллионом жителей, что составляет 43% населения Республики Сербии. Очевидна связь между пространственным распределением населения, средней высотой над уровнем моря и интенсивностью застройки (процент земли, занятой антропогенными площадями).

В пространственно-структурной и функциональной организации сети поселений в Сербии доминируют малые городские центры. На первый взгляд можно сказать, что городскую сеть Сербии характеризует их удобное распределение, однако более подробный анализ концентрации населения и функций поселений указывает на многочисленные проблемы. В Белграде проживает около 27,3% городского населения Сербии (без АП Косово). На его доминирование указывает индекс городской первичности, чье значение равно 5 (отношение числа населения Белграда и Нового Сада). Из-за больших различий в демографическом размере и демографическом потенциале, территориальном охвате и диверсификации функций, а также размерах поля влияния, городские центры имеют очень разные роли и значение в территориальной интеграции Сербии. Изменения в городских системах происходят очень медленно, поэтому в ближайшем будущем не стоит ожидать спонтанного смягчения территориальных диспаритетов.

Несогласованность между населением ведущего и остальных городских центров свидетельствует о том, что Сербия не имеет правильно и равномерно развитой городской системы, т. е. что потоки урбанизации не были своевременно направлены на более равномерное пространственное распределение. Поляризационные эффекты урбанизации, пространственно проявленные демографической и экономико-функциональной концентрацией, выражены также на уровнях большинства районов – областей. Диспропорция в демографическом размере Белграда и других крупных городских центров является следствием несогласованности и асимметричности городской системы Сербии. Пространственная диспропорция функций проявляется увеличением их числа во всего нескольких наиболее значимых городских областях Сербии и значительным уменьшением функциональных возможностей большинства других городских областей и городских центров, а также их территориального влияния, что приводит к тому, что население не в состоянии удовлетворить свои потребности, и оно переезжает в другие места, т. е. за границу. Тем не менее, причины поляризации территории Сербии не только внутренние, но все больше подвержены воздействию широких региональных и международных экономических потоков. Большинство иностранных инвестиций привлекаются именно те центры, которые являются более конкурентоспособными – с развитыми функциями, отлично связанными с инфраструктурой, с молодым и образованным трудовым населением и т.д.

Наташа Даниловић Христић, Небојша Стефановић

СТРАТЕШКИ ОКВИР РАЗВОЈА МРЕЖЕ НАСЕЉА И УРБАНИЗАЦИЈЕ У ПРОСТОРНИМ ПЛАНОВИМА СРБИЈЕ ОД 1996. ДО ДАНАС

Резиме

Урбанизација је процес у коме се непрестано повећава удео становништва које живи у градовима а градови се шире и расту, што чини да проблеми уређења и организације градског простора представљају важну тему развојних агенди. Урбана насеља у Републици Србији погађају депопулација и демографско старење, регионални диспаритети, проблеми урбане културе и заштите животне средине, укључујући и климатске промене. На националном нивоу препозната је проблематика бесправне изградње, запушеност техничке и социјалне инфраструктуре, недовољан подстицај развоју браунфилд локација, као и потреба за дигитализацијом у управљању развојем територије. Комплексност градског простора захтева посебан приступ усмеравању развојних трендова и активности у градским подручјима.

Просторни план Републике Србије (ППРС) је платформа за организацију, коришћење, заштиту, уређење и управљање простором, заснована на националним циљевима, концепцијама и мерама просторног развоја усклађеним са социо-економским, културним и другим развојем Србије, као и имплементационим средствима. Садржи државне циљеве просторног развоја, интегрална планска решења и имплементациони оквир, који уважавају комплексност глобалног и унутрашњег социо-економског и институционалног контекста и различите изазове. Општи изазови укључују: депопулацију, демографски егзодус и јачање миграција; стихијску (непланску и неконтролисану) урбанизацију, изражену територијалну концентрацију, поларизацију и просторну фрагментисаност; регионалне неједнакости у погледу урбаног и руралног развоја, квалитета животне средине, нивоа развијености саобраћајне и техничке инфраструктуре; недовољно или непродуктивно коришћење расположивог територијалног капитала. Такође, ППРС обезбеђује просторни оквир на којем ће се заснивати различите секторске политике, планови и програми, као и припрема других планова нижег ранга у хијерархији али детаљније разраде. Стратегија одрживог урбаног развоја (до 2030. године), усвојена 2020. године први пут у Републици Србији, у складу са потребама уређења градског простора приступа решавању проблема урбанизације и коришћењу потенцијала које урбана насеља носе као генератори развојних активности.

Доношењу првог ППРС 1996. године претходиле су неуобичајено дуге и дисконтинуалне активности на његовој припреми које су са прекидима трајале скоро 30 година. Припрема за израду плана започела је 1967. године и трајала до 1976. године. После паузе наставља се рад на припреми 1987. године, да би Нацрт ППРС био достављен Влади Републике Србије први пут 1990. године, а након тога 1994. године. Први ППРС донет је 1996. године за период до 2010. године, као једини општи стратешки плански документ који се односио на интегрални развој територије Републике Србије.

Првим ППРС у први план се ставља постизање веће функционалне интегритетности простора Републике (равномернијег и усклађенијег развоја делова њене територије) и саобраћајне и економске интеграције Републике са суседним и осталим европским земљама. Може се оценити да је први ППРС био иновативан плански документ испред свог времена и изнад отежавајућих околности у којима се Република Србија налазила од почетка 1990-тих. Овај план је поставио стратешки, концептуални и методолошки оквир и начин исказа планских решења и пропозиција, те је постао узор за друге просторне и секторске планове и стратегије.

Други ППРС донет је 2010. године за период до 2020. године. И даље је био основни општи стратешки плански документ који се односи на интегрални развој територије Републике Србије. За разлику од претходног ППРС, у овом периоду се, по узору на инострана искуства, припрема или је донет велики број секторских стратегија у којима је ретко садржана просторна димензија развоја

одговарајућег сектора у односу на делове територије и мрежу центара и насеља у Републици Србији. Зато су само поједине стратегије имале већег утицаја на планска решења и пропозиције другог ППРС. То је и време интензивне припреме за приступање Европској унији (у даљем тексту: ЕУ), јачања прекограничне и транснационалне сарадње, и политике јачања планирања и управљања регионалним развојем у Републици, што је све имало позитивног одраза на садржај и пропозиције другог ППРС. У основи, други ППРС се наслања на оквире постављене првим ППРС, са извесним адаптацијама у погледу садржаја и начина исказа планских решења и пропозиција које су биле под утицајем актуелних иностраних искустава и појединих националних стратегија и политика.

Припрема трећег ППРС започела је 2019. године, а усвајање се очекује 2023. године. Доноси се за период од 15 година (од 2021. до 2035. године). За разлику од претходна два ППРС, ово је период промена у систему просторног планирања који се прилагођава јачању улоге тржишта у управљању развојем, при чему је испољен недостатак државне концепције дугорочног развоја што се може неповољно одразити на заштиту и резервисање простора, посебно за намене од националног интереса/значаја. У основи, трећи ППРС се наслања на најбоље, проверене одреднице стратешког, концептуалног и методолошког оквира и на начин исказа планских решења која су постављена у претходним ППРС. Сва три ППРС су припремана у периоду великих промена на макро-регионалном и глобалном нивоу, те су елементи флексибилности, неизвесности и ризика постали саставни део процеса планирања.

Урбани центри, урбана и рурална подручја која чине урбане системе у Србији су хетероген скуп насеља различите демографске величине, привредне развијености и функцијског капацитета, што је последица различитих развојних предиспозиција у географском и друштвено-историјском контексту. Простор Србије, као и великог дела југоисточне Европе, није урбанизован као најразвијенији део континента. Србија је захваћена интензивном урбанизацијом тек у другој половини двадесетог века. Све до шездесетих година Србија је по привредној структури имала доминантно пољопривредни карактер, а по структури насељености била је преовлађујуће рурална средина. Иако се степен урбанизације повећао до 2011. године на око 60%, градско становништво у међупописним периодима није се равномерно увећавало, а важну детерминанту просторног (пре)размештаја становништва представљају миграције становништва. Негативан миграциони салдо карактерише највећи део Србије, док је највећи обим и интензитет исељавања регистрован је у источној и југоисточној Србији. Историјски и физичко-географски услови створили су снажну регионалну диференцијацију популационих потенцијала, тако да зона изразито високе концентрације становништва захвата дунавско-савски и моравски појас, односно 10% укупне територије, са 3,1 милион становника, односно 43% становништва Републике Србије. Јасна је повезаност између просторног распореда становништва, просечне надморске висине и интензитета изграђености (проценат заузетости земљишта антропогеним површинама).

У просторно-структурној и функцијској организацији мреже насеља у Србији доминирају мали урбани центри. На први поглед се може рећи да урбану мрежу Србије карактерише њихов повољан размештај, међутим, подробнија анализа о концентрацији становништва и функција у њима указује на бројне проблеме. У Београду живи око 27,3% урбаног становништва Србије (без АП КиМ). На његову доминантност указује индекс урбане примарности чија је вредност 5 (однос броја становника Београда и Новог Сада). Услед великих разлика у демографској величини и демографском потенцијалу, територијалном дometу и диверсификованости функција, као и величини поља утицаја, урбани центри имају веома различите улоге и значај у територијалној интеграцији Србије. Промене у урбаним системима се одвијају веома споро, те се у скорој будућности не може очекивати спонтано ублажавање територијалних диспаритета.

Несклад између становништва водећег и осталих урбаних центара говори да Србија нема правилно и равномерно развијен урбани систем, тј. да токови урбанизације нису правовремено усмеравањем ка равномернијој просторној дистрибуцији. Поларизацијски ефекти урбанизације, просторно манифестовани демографском и економско-функцијском концентрацијом изражени су и на нивоима већине округа – области. Диспропорција у демографској величини Београда и осталих већих урбаних центара је последица некохерентности и асиметричности урбаног система Србије. Просторна диспропорција функција испољава се повећањем њиховог броја у свега неколико најзначајнијих урбаних подручја Србије и значајним смањењем функцијских капацитета већине других урбаних подручја и урбаних центара, као и њиховог територијалног утицаја што доводи до тога да становништво није у могућности да задовољи своје потребе, па се одсељава у друга места, односно у иностранство. Ипак, узроци поларизације територије Србије нису само интерни, већ су све више под утицајем ширих регионалних и међународних економских токова. Већину страних инвестиција привлаче управо они центри коју су и конкурентнији – са развијеним функцијама, инфраструктурно одлично повезани, са млађом и образованом радном снагом и др.