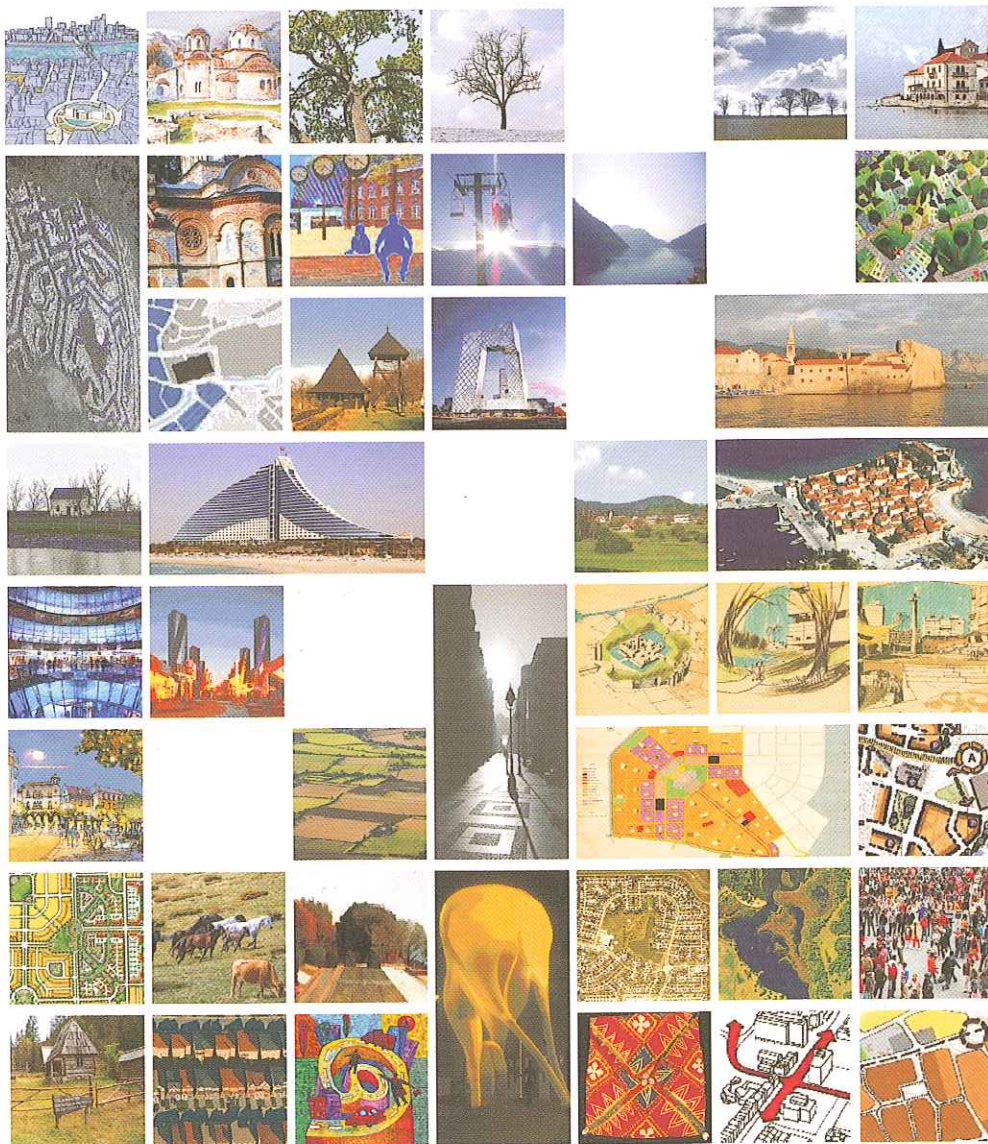


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SCOPE AND AIMS

The review is concerned with a multi-disciplinary approach to regional and urban planning and architecture, as well as with different aspects of land use, including housing, environment, etc. It attempts to contribute to better theoretical understanding of a new spatial development processes and to improve the practice in the field.

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CONTENTS

Introductory note to this issue of
SPATIUM by the Editorial Board

George Petrakos

Associate Professor of Spatial
Economics, University of Thessaly
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Institute of Urban
Environment and Human
Resources (UEHR),
Panteion University Athens

Information

**1 THE SPATIAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT IN
SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE**

**14 THE NEW PLANNING PARADIGM IN
THE LATEST YUGOSLAV STATE ALLIANCE OF
SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO**

**26 SLOVENIAN SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEM
- KEY CHANGES OF PAST DECADE -**

**31 CITY URBAN DESIGN IN A FREE MARKET
ECONOMY - THE CASE OF LJUBLJANA,
SLOVENIA**

37 URBAN TASK FORCE

**41 OBSERVATORY OF SPATIAL PLANNING AND
ENVIRONMENT IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE
- EXECUTIVE SUMMARY -**

CONFERENCE
"PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION"

**INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THIS ISSUE OF SPATIUM
BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD**

The overwhelming part of this issue of SPATIUM covers the contributions of the foreign participants to the Conference PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION, organised by the Institute of Architecture and Urban&Spatial Planning of Serbia, held in Belgrade, on 20/21 June 2002. Also, the integral version of the Executive Summary of Final Report of the Project OBSERVATORY OF SPATIAL PLANNING AND ENVIRONMENT IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE is published here, in order to veritably reflect the key role of the Institute of Urban Environment and Human Resources (UEHR), Panteion University of Athens, in initiating, organising, developing and performing this Project.

THE SPATIAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE*

Assoc.Prof. George Petrakos, Prof. Dimitris Economou

This paper analyses for the first time the spatial structure of South-eastern Europe in an effort to assess regional imbalances, border conditions, urban hierarchies and detect the adjustments of the region to the forces of integration and transition. The analysis is based on a unique data base compiled from national sources and is carried on with the use of statistical, diagrammatic and cartographic methods. The analysis shows that South-eastern Europe is characterized by increasing regional disparities, an increasingly superior performance of the metropolitan regions, serious discontinuities at the borders which have, in most cases, generated over-time border regions with below average performance and finally an urban system with serious deficiencies in medium sized cities. These findings suggest that regional policy should become a permanent ingredient of indigenous and international development initiatives, which need to pay a greater attention to the needs of border regions, encouraging and promoting programs and policies of cross-border cooperation.

Key words: regional inequality, urban system, transition, South-eastern Europe

INTRODUCTION

A growing literature is now concerned with the regional aspects of the transition process and the type and evolution of regional disparities in Central and Eastern Europe. A recent paper (Petrakos 2001a) and several previous studies¹

* This research was undertaken with support from: (a) the European Union Phare ACE Program and (b) the Hellenic Ministry of Planning, Environment and Public Works.

¹ A number of early reports have paid attention to the spatial aspects of the transition process. Petrakos (1996a) has attempted a theoretical inquiry concerning the interaction of the various processes of transition and space. At the same time, a number of empirical papers appeared. Evidence from Estonia shows that core-periphery differences have increased, with Talin and Western coastal regions benefiting the most from the new orientation of the country (Raagmaa 1996). Evidence from East Germany already indicates that development is highly selective and depends on the behaviour of foreign capital. Berlin emerges as a development pole with strong links with the West German and the international economy but weak local linkages and low spread effects (Haussermann 1993). Similar trends have been detected in The Slovak Republic, where Bratislava, with 9% of the national population, generates 30% of the country's GDP (Balaz 1996). In Hungary, disparities increased during the early years of transition (Fazekas

argue that the process of transition in Central and Eastern Europe is associated with increasing regional disparities. His analysis of Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria has revealed many similarities but also significant differences among these countries. The latter are related to national characteristics (such as institutional factors), to economic factors (such as the level of development), to the success of restructuring and catching up, to size and to geographic co-ordinates. Although the process of spatial adjustment to the forces of transition

1996), although regional unemployment patterns have remained stable (Fazekas 2000). FDI and domestic capital prefer metropolitan and western regions (Lorentzen 1996, 1999), turning an already unbalanced pre-1989 situation of the regions into a serious core-periphery and east-west disparity (Nemes-Nagy 2000). Additional evidence comes from Poland (Gorzela 2000), indicating that different regions adjust in a different way to the new economic environment. Another study (Ingham et.al. 1996) shows that the regional pattern of unemployment is relatively stable in the 1990-1994 period, indicating that initial best performing regions are also final best performing regions and initial losers are final losers also. This basic picture is also supported by reports for Albania (Petrakos 1996b), Bulgaria (Minassian and Totev 1996, Petrakos 1996b) and Romania (Ramboll 1996, Constantin 1997).

is very complex, the available evidence seems to reveal some general patterns. It shows that in countries sharing common borders with the EU and being at a short distance from the European core, spatial adjustments have been favouring metropolitan and western regions. In addition, countries with a better record in terms of transforming their economy, and with a larger size, tend to experience increasing disparities less often and less intensively than countries with a less successful record and a smaller size. However, disparities have increased at various rates and degrees in all transition countries to levels that are higher than those in most of the EU countries.

In other parallel literature concerned with the prospects of countries or macro-regions in the new European economic environment and their adjustment to the market and policy driven forces of transition, a number of papers have focussed on the less advanced and most problematic European Region: the Balkans². In this literature it is argued that one of the factors that has affected the performance of the

² See for example: Petrakos and Totev (2000), Petrakos (2000a), Petrakos and Totev (2001).

Region¹ is related to its 'unfavourable geography'. Besides the lack of adjacency or proximity of all Balkan countries to the European development centre, the region is characterised by a relatively high degree of fragmentation, as it is comprised of many relatively small countries, which, generally speaking have poor economic interaction (Petrakos 2000a, Petrakos 2001b, 2001c).

This paper intends to analyse the spatial aspects of the development process in South-eastern Europe on the basis of statistical, diagrammatic and cartographic analysis. There are a number of reasons that make such an analysis useful. First, we would like to have more concrete evidence about the regional evolutions in a European macro-region that has been characterised by relatively low levels of development and relatively poor performance under transition. For a number of countries this might well be the first time that any sort of regional analysis becomes available in the international literature. Second, we would like to have a better understanding of the type of disparities that have been characterising the region and especially the condition of the border regions. Earlier work (Petrakos 1996b, 1997) based on the experience of Albania, Bulgaria and Greece has indicated that South-eastern Europe is a highly fragmented economic space with national development axes that do not meet with each other, and border regions that are characterized by low levels of development. Finally, we will attempt to have a first look into the structure of the Balkan system of urban centres in an effort to identify poles or axes of development on a macro-geographical level and examine the possibilities for balanced growth at the national level. Therefore, our analysis intends to contribute to the understanding of the economic conditions in South-eastern Europe and of the prospects for development and cooperation by adding the spatial dimension.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: In section 2 we examine the evolution of regional inequalities in an effort to see in which countries the process of transition has increased inequalities. In section 3 we examine the pattern of regional inequalities and especially the performance of border regions

compared to the national average. In section 4 we examine the urban structure of the region and finally, in section 5 we draw our conclusions and present some policy recommendations.

REGIONAL INEQUALITIES IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

In order to evaluate the level and evolution of regional inequalities in South-eastern Europe in the 1990s we used an extensive regional database compiled from various national sources by the University of Thessaly South and East European Development Center (SEED)². The analysis is based on the following indicators of spatial inequality:

- The coefficient of variation (CV)– or σ -convergence coefficient ($\sigma/\bar{x}$) – defined as the population weighted standard deviation of regional GDP per capita divided by its mean value
- The ratio of maximum to minimum regional GDP per capita (max/min)
- The β -convergence coefficient estimated from an econometric model in the tradition of Barro and Sala-i-Martin (1991) and
- The β -density coefficient estimated from the regression of regional GDP per capita on regional population density.

The coefficient of variation (CV) is a dimension-less index that allows cross-country, cross-variable and over time comparisons of the level of regional disparities. The value of the coefficient is basically determined by the value of standard deviation of a variable and, as a result, it is affected by all observations. In principle, the greater its value, the greater is the level of regional disparities. The max/min ratio is also a dimension-less index of disparities, but its value is affected only by the two extreme observations of the variable under consideration. In principle again, the greater its value, the greater is the spread of the observations and the greater the level of disparities.

The β -convergence coefficient is estimated from the regression:

$$y_t/y_0 = \alpha + \beta y_0 + e \quad (1)$$

where y_0 is regional GDP per capita at the beginning of a time period and y_t is the same variable at the end of a time period. Obviously, the y_t/y_0 ratio indicates the growth of regional GDP per capita in the (0, t) period. As a result, a positive relation ($\beta > 0$) of this dependent variable with the initial value y_0 would imply that regions with a higher initial value of y would tend to have a higher growth performance. On the other hand, a negative relation ($\beta < 0$) of the dependent variable with the initial value would indicate that the best performing regions tend to be those with the lower initial values. This indicates that positive values of the estimated coefficient β are associated with tendencies of regional divergence, while negative values with tendencies of regional convergence.

Finally, the β -density coefficient is the slope coefficient of the regression of GDP per capita on regional population density. A positive value of this coefficient for GDP per capita indicates that regions with a higher population density enjoy a higher level of GDP per capita. This coefficient is a measure of inequality based on agglomeration economies.

Table 1 presents for each country the weighted coefficient of variation (CV) or σ -convergence coefficient, the max/min ratio, the β -convergence and the β -density coefficients for years with available information in the early and late 1990s. The inter-temporal character of the information allows for a first assessment of the impact of transition on spatial disparities and on the prospects for a balanced type of restructuring and growth in the Region. A first observation is that all countries (except Albania) have experienced an increase in their CV and that, at the end of the period, all have CV values that are higher than that of Greece. Some countries like Romania and Bulgaria have experienced a relatively high increase in their CV, while others, like FRY have been characterised by high values of CV throughout the period. Also, all countries (with the exception of FYROM) have increasing max/min ratios, which in the late 1990s are higher or significantly higher than that of Greece. FRY is an exceptional case of inequality measured by max/min ratio, as the most advanced regions of the country have GDP per capita values that are more than 20 times higher than those of the less advanced regions³. A second observation

¹ In the rest of the paper the term 'Region' (with upper case R) will refer to Southeastern Europe as a European Region, while the term 'region' (with lower case r) will refer to national subdivisions, usually NUTS III level regions.

² This database includes regional information for Albania, Bulgaria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, FRY, FYROM and Romania. It also includes digital maps at the NUTS III level and accurate information about the location and size of cities of over 10 thousand people.

³ This extraordinary type of inequalities highlights one of the contributing factors to the Kosovo crisis.

Table 1. Indicators of regional inequality in South-eastern Europe

Countries	Year	Weighted Coefficient of Variation (CV)	Max/Min ratio	b-convergence Coefficient	b-density
Albania	1990	0.317	2.87	8.899	13.980
	1998	0.294	4.11	(2.950)	(2.058)
Bulgaria	1999	0.428	2.80		
FYROM	1991	0.439	6.36	1.130	2.188
	1995	0.658	3.91	(3.933)	(1.769)
Greece	1990	0.201	2.80	1.736	1115.994
	1997	0.237	2.75	(8.999)	(1.832)
Romania	1994	0.164	1.80	0.103	1.219
	1998	0.408	3.17	(11.447)	(5.868)
N. Yugoslavia	1991	0.507	7.97	0.494	-1.706
	1998	0.573	23.13	(6.867)	(-0.819)

Source: Own estimates from SEED regional database

is that the β -convergence coefficient is positive and statistically significant in all countries for the period under examination. This finding, which indicates that GDP per capita growth is higher in the most advanced regions, provides evidence that serious divergence trends are in motion in all countries in the Region. Finally, we observe in the last column that the β -density coefficient is positive and statistically significant in all countries except FRY. This is an indication that more densely populated regions enjoy some sort of agglomeration economies, which allow for a more efficient organization of activities. It

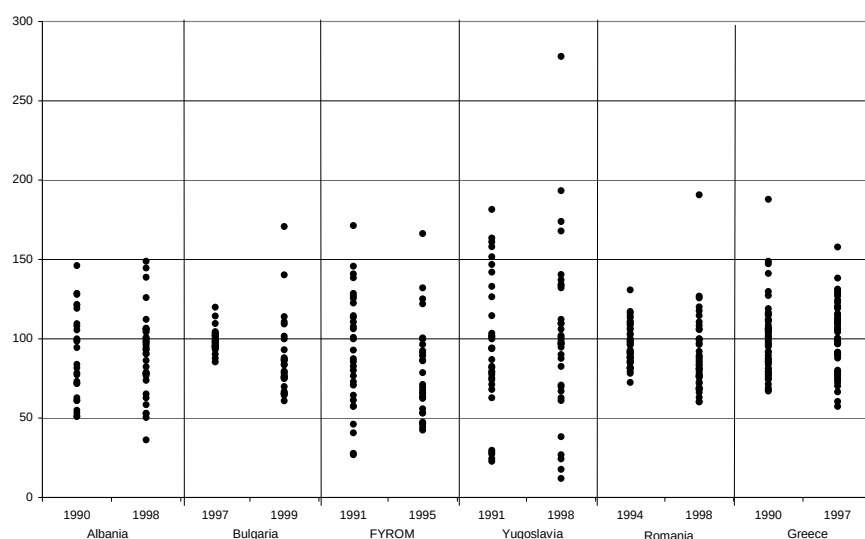
also implies that increasing inequalities in former socialist countries are – at least partly – an inevitable by-product of marketization and restructuring of the economy and, as a result, a condition that may have to be tolerated to some extent if they intend to achieve a higher level of efficiency. The exception of FRY is explained by the fact that some of the most densely populated regions of the country, in Kosovo, are characterized by the lowest figures of GDP per capita. When the Kosovo regions are excluded from the regression, the β -density coefficient becomes positive and statistically significant, indicating that in the

rest of the economy agglomeration economies are in operation.

Figure 1 provides comparative information about the spread of regional GDP per capita around the national average for the early and late 1990s. The increase in disparities is visually evident in all countries with the possible exception of FYROM and Greece. Some countries (especially Bulgaria, FRY and Romania) tend to develop a metropolitan or core-periphery pattern of development, while some others (Albania, FYROM and Greece) have a more evenly spread distribution. FRY stands out as an exceptional case of serious inequality in Europe, with an unacceptable distance dividing the capital region of Belgrade from the poorest regions in Kosovo. This distance has occurred not only because of the relative improvement of Belgrade, but also because of the relative deterioration of the condition in most regions in Kosovo.

The dominant and improving position of the metropolitan regions is also verified by the data in Table 2, which provides relative GDP per capita figures for the capital cities of all countries in the early and late 1990s. We observe that in the period under examination capital regions have experienced a relative improvement of their position in all countries¹. The region of Tirana had in 1998 (1990) a GDP per capita figure that was 39 (28) percent higher than the national average. The region of Sofia-city had in 1999 a figure that was 71 percent higher than the national average. The region of Skopje had in 1995 (1991) a figure that was 46 (66) percent higher than the national average. The region of Attica had in 1997 (1991) a figure that was 30 (15) percent higher than the national average. The region of Bucharest had in 1998 (1994) a figure that was 91 (31) percent higher than the national average. The region of Belgrade had in 1998 (1991) a figure that was 74 (52) percent higher than the national average. The regions of Bucharest (Romania) and Belgrade (FRY) have the highest difference from their respective national averages, while the regions of Tirana (Albania) and Attica (Greece) the lowest. Although the picture is not uniform, the analysis reveals a central point: One of the factors contributing to greater inequality in the 1990s is the strengthening of the position of

Figure 1: Regional variation in GDP per capita in Balkan countries (national average=100)



¹ Keep in mind that data concerns capital regions, not capital cities. GDP per capita figures for cities should reveal even higher differences from the national average.

Table 2. - GDP per capita (national average = 100) in metropolitan / capital regions in South-eastern Europe

Capital region	Country	Year	GDP per capita
Tirana	Albania	1990	128
		1998	139
Sofia – city	Bulgaria	1999	171
Skopje	FYROM	1991	146
		1995	166
Attica	Greece	1990	115
		1997	130
Bucharest	Romania	1994	131
		1998	191
Belgrade	N. Yugoslavia	1991	152
		1998	174

Source: Own estimates from SEED regional database

metropolitan regions, a process that seems to be equally affecting the West and the East (Lever 1993, Coffey and Bailly 1996).

As a result, earlier assessments that the process of transition in the East is associated with increasing inequality at the regional level (Petrakos 2001a) seem to receive significant empirical support from our findings. To one degree or another, all countries provide clear signs that the reforms and the transition policies initiated in the early 1990s have a clear impact on their spatial balances. This is true also for Greece, an EU country experiencing greater competition in the integrated post-EMU markets with varying rates of success at the regional level¹. How serious are these inequalities by international standards? One way to answer this question is to compare the CV and the max/min ratios of the countries in South-eastern Europe with the respective figures of the EU countries, which are provided in Table 3 in an ascending order. We observe in Table 3 that the Scandinavian and Mediterranean countries of the EU (Sweden, Spain, Greece, Finland) have, in general, a lower level of regional inequality than the western or central countries (Belgium, Austria, Germany, France). We also observe that most Southeast European transition countries have levels of inequality that are comparable to or higher than those of Austria, Germany or France. Of course, CV indicators are not directly comparable, as countries differ in size and some of them do not have NUTS III data available. The point, however, remains that regional inequalities in South-eastern Europe

seem to be relatively high by EU standards. This may be an issue of concern in the immediate future. Given that some EU countries experience high levels of inequality despite the existence of long-established and well-funded regional policies, the odds for transition countries with non-existent, poorly designed and under-funded regional policies (Gorzela 2000) do not seem to be very good.

Table 3. - Indicators of regional inequality in EU countries (1997)

Countries	Weighted Coefficient of Variation (CV)	Max/Min ratio
Sweden	0.119	1.44
Netherlands	0.216	2.32
Portugal *	0.232	1.82
Spain	0.232	2.44
Greece	0.237	2.75
Finland	0.268	1.97
Italy *	0.271	2.23
Ireland	0.287	2.00
Denmark	0.298	2.43
UK *	0.310	3.11
Belgium	0.334	2.92
Austria	0.402	2.71
Germany	0.492	7.43
France	0.525	4.39

Source: Own estimates on the basis of Eurostat Regional database.

* CV estimated on the basis of NUTS II data

GEOGRAPHICAL PATTERNS OF REGIONAL INEQUALITY

In this part of the analysis we examine some critical aspects of the economic geography of Southeastern Europe with the use of a series of Maps. Map 1 presents population density at the NUTS III level for all countries with available regional data². We observe that serious variations exist at the Balkan and the national levels, as some regions have higher concentration of population and activities than others. In general, each country has a metropolitan region with the highest density, which, in several cases is the most visible part of a broader area with a higher than average concentration of population and activities³. We also observe that in several cases, the border zones are among the regions with the lowest densities. This is most visible in the case of Greece, where 40 years of isolation in the post-war period have led to significant population erosion along the entire border zone. Similar low population densities can be observed in the Albanian borders with Greece⁴, the Bulgarian borders with Greece and FRY, the borders of FYROM with Bulgaria and the borders of FRY with Bulgaria. Finally, one could argue that at the macro level the map does not reveal any 'continuum' of high population density across borders. The existing concentration of population and activities gives the impression that national development axes do not meet or cross anywhere, verifying the assertion that the

² Bosnia is a special case, as before 1990, when it was a region of former Yugoslavia, it did not have any further regional divisions. After Dayton, Bosnia is divided into two spatial – ethnic entities for which there is no available information. Croatia was divided into regions in 1994.

³ In that respect, these areas could be characterized as national 'development axes'. For example, Attica is the most visible part of a South-North development axis in Greece, which concentrates more than 70% of the national population. In Albania, the region of Tirana is the central part of a development area in the Western coastal part of the country, while in Bulgaria a (less visible) development axis connects the region of Sofia with Varna in the Black Sea. In FRY one could vaguely speak about a North-South development axis connecting Novi-Sad with Belgrade and Voivodina, while in Romania it is difficult to identify a development axis on the basis of the concentration of population.

⁴ This Albanian region is characterized by the significant presence of a Greek minority, which, after 1989 has shown a higher than average tendency to migrate to Greece on a temporary, but also on a permanent basis. Therefore, it is possible that the lower population densities in the Albanian borders with Greece have been affected by post-1989 migration flows.

¹ Petrakos and Saratsis (2000) have shown that the process of economic integration has affected performance at the regional level in Greece.

Balkan region is one of the most fragmented spaces at the European level (Petrakos 2001c).

In Map 2 we present the most recent information about population change at the regional level for countries with available data. At the macro level, as we move from the South to the North and from the East to the West, we observe that we meet regions with negative or highly negative population change. In general, the Southern and South-western part of the region is characterized by positive population change, while the Northern and Eastern part is characterized by negative population change. In addition, the process of population change is characterized by a national pattern. The vast majority of regions in Greece and Albania¹ experience some sort of population growth, FRY and FYROM have a mixed pattern², while in Romania most regions experience a population decline in the 1990s. In Bulgaria all but the capital region have experienced a negative population change record in the same period.

In Map 3 we present the regional variations of GDP per capita around the national average for all Balkan countries with available information. Before we look into the regional patterns we should note that, at the national level, the Balkan countries are characterized by very different levels of development. Greece stands out as the most advanced country of the region with a GNP per capita equal to 12,110 USD in 1999, while Albania (930), Bulgaria (1,410), Croatia (4,530), FYROM (1,660), FRY (1,429), and Romania (1,470) are well below this level³. Therefore, two regions from different countries with the same position in the Map do not necessarily have the same or similar levels of development. The only common characteristic they have is the same position with respect to their national average. Map 3 provides more accurate information about regional variations at the national level and the formation of development poles or axes. To some extent, it verifies the findings of Map 1 (based on population density) with some interesting differences. Starting from Greece, we observe that Athens and Attica stand out as the most

advanced parts of a South-North development axis covering most of the eastern part of the country. In Albania, the variations in regional GDP per capita reveal a North-South development axis in the Western coastal part of the country very similar to the one found on the basis of Map 1. In the case of FYROM, Map 3 presents a differentiated spatial pattern of development compared to Map 1. GDP per capita figures reveal a clearer North-South axis of development connecting Skopje with the Greek borders. In the case of Bulgaria, the development pattern maintains more or less a horizontal West-East axis connecting Sofia with the coastal cities of Varna and Burgas in the Black Sea. FRY clearly maintains a North-South divide and the greatest regional variation among all Balkan countries⁴, as the regions around Belgrade and the Northern regions have a GDP per capita that is several times higher than that of Kosovo. In the case of FRY, population density and GDP per capita statistics produce a different picture, as higher population densities in the regions of Kosovo are not associated with a better than average growth potential. Finally, Romania is another case where statistics on the concentration of population and the level of development follow different spatial patterns. While population tends to have higher density in the Southern, Eastern and (some) Central regions, the variations in GDP per capita produce a different pattern. Besides Bucharest and the port region of Costanza, the relatively most advanced regions are found mainly in the Central and Western part of the country bordering on Serbia (Voivodina⁵) and Hungary.

One general observation that can be made on the basis of the Map is that there are serious flaws in continuity as the borders function as real barriers to economic activities and do not allow development axes to easily expand beyond borderlines. Of course there are cases where cross-border development axes seem to be (or could be) under formation. This can be claimed for the coastal cities and regions of Bulgaria (Burgas, Varna) and Romania (Costanza), which have a potential to form a Black Sea development axis⁶. This may also be

claimed (under certain political conditions) for the cities of Skopje and Thessalonica, which may be the natural extension of the South-North development axis. Other possible axes could be the ones connecting Belgrade with Sofia through Novi-Sad, or Belgrade with Budapest in the North⁷.

A second general observation is that national border regions are in several cases characterized by lower than average levels of development. This is certainly the case for a part of the border zone of Greece (especially its western part), the Western borders of Albania with FYROM and FRY, the Eastern borders of FYROM with Albania and the Western borders of FYROM with Bulgaria, the Eastern borders of Bulgaria with FYROM, and the Southern borders of Romania with Bulgaria. This is also partially the case with the Southern borders of FRY with Albania and FYROM and the Northern borders of Bulgaria with Romania and the Southern borders of Bulgaria with Greece.

The conditions prevailing in border zones with respect to their development levels are further discussed with the help of Map 4 and Table 4. In Map 4 we group the border regions of each country in border zones and estimate the relative GDP per capita of each zone with respect to national average. Each border zone includes all regions bordering on each neighbouring country. Table 4 provides the GDP per capita figures for each zone in the early 1990s and the late 1990s. As a result, the Table allows us to estimate the evolution of the relative position of each border zone in the post-1989 period.

The data in the Table reveals some interesting facts: First, the majority of border zones in South-eastern Europe are characterized by GDP per capita figures that are lower or significantly lower than the respective national averages. Second, the 1990s are characterized by a variety of adjustments to the new conditions,

passing through the coastal cities of Bulgaria and Romania.

⁷ It is difficult to assert the probability that these (or other) cross-border development axes will become reality. Their future depends very much on the will of the countries to promote regional cooperation and regional integration, removing or reducing barriers to cross-border interaction. It also depends on the provision of transportation infrastructure, which is absolutely necessary for any activity. For example, if the 'Adriatic' highway connecting Dubrovnik in Croatia with Patras in Western Greece ever materializes, it will provide a great stimulus for cooperation and development in the entire Western Balkan region.

¹ Despite serious emigration to Greece and Italy, Albania maintains positive population growth records due to high fertility rates.

² In both countries the Southern regions, or those with a serious presence of Albanian population, have a positive record. In some regions positive population change is also related to immigration from Bosnia.

³ Although figures in PPP tend to favor transition countries, the differences in GNP per capita levels remain significant.

⁴ Without underestimating all other factors, this North-South divide in GDP per capita levels is undoubtedly one of the contributors to the recent Kosovo crisis.

⁵ Voivodina is in the Northern part of FRY, where a significant Hungarian minority exists.

⁶ This will be greatly facilitated by a Trans-European highway connecting Alexandropolis (a coastal city in North-eastern Greece) with St. Petersburg in Russia,

as some border zones improved their relative standing at the national level, while some others lose further ground. The border zones that lose ground and have, in the late 1990s, GDP per capita below the national average are: (a) the border zone of Albania with FRY, the border zone of FYROM with Bulgaria, the border zone of Romania with Bulgaria, and the border zones of FRY with Albania and Croatia. In most cases they are border zones of countries engaged directly or indirectly in Regional conflicts (Albania – FRY, FRY – Croatia), or countries with problematic international relations for a long period of time (Bulgaria – Romania, FYROM – Bulgaria). On the other hand, the most interesting case of improving relative standing concerns the border regions along the northern Greek borders. In the Greek – Albanian frontier, the Albanian border zone has improved its relative standing to levels of GDP per capita that are higher than the national average¹, while the Greek border zone has maintained the same relative standing. In the Greek – Bulgarian frontier, the Greek side has considerably improved its relative standing to levels that are close to average GDP per capita, while for the Bulgarian side there is no reliable data². In the Greek – FYROM frontier, both border zones of Greece and FYROM have improved their relative standing to levels of GDP per capita that are above the national average. Other cases of relative improvement have been observed in the border zone of FRY with Romania (where a Hungarian minority is present), in the border regions of FRY with Bosnia (due to proximity with the Serbian part of the Federation) and in the border zone of Albania with FYROM (due to the nearby presence of an Albanian minority in FYROM). Map 4 presents the findings discussed above in an illustrative way.

Summarizing the evidence of Maps 1-4, we could argue that there are a number of interesting points to keep in mind. First,

¹ We note that a significant Greek minority is present in the Albanian border regions. Because of that, the Greek Ministry of Finance has been subsidizing Greek investment activities located on the Albanian side of the borders. This may be one of the factors explaining the improvement in the relative standing of the border zone.

² Regional data for Bulgaria is provided on a preliminary basis by the National Institute of Statistics and does not have an official status. Moreover, the period 1997-99 was too short to make any inferences about the evolution of the border zones. As a result, we decided not to report the 1997 data for the border zones.

Table 4. GDP per capita in border regions in South-eastern Europe (national average = 100)

Border regions of: (column)	Bordering to: (row)								
	Year	Albania	Bulgaria	FYROM	Greece	Romania	FRY	Croatia	Bosnia
Albania	1990	-	-	58	102	-	84	-	-
	1998	-	-	81	111	-	78	-	-
Bulgaria	1999	-	-	80	75	87	78	-	-
FYROM	1991	60	85	-	96	-	56	-	-
	1995	61	65	-	108	-	56	-	-
Greece	1990	74	87	102	-	-	-	-	-
	1997	73	97	108	-	-	-	-	-
Romania	1994	-	91	-	-	-	100	-	-
	1998	-	86	-	-	-	97	-	-
FRY	1991	47	92	36	-	131	-	162	88
	1998	42	91	38	-	157	-	94	98

Source: Own estimates from SEED regional database

serious regional differences in development levels are found to exist within each country, with the most pronounced case of inequality being recorded in FRY. In this, but also in other cases, regional problems are associated with the presence of a minority. This implies that one effective way to deal with pressing matters of regional inequality is to address minority problems first. Second, and partly as a result of the above, regional problems tend to be more acute in border regions, either because of the presence of minorities, or because of unfavourable geography and pre-existing conditions in international relations.

Third, interaction along an East-West frontier such as the Greek northern borderline tends to generate beneficial results for both sides of the borders, a finding which is in line with the evidence from the border zones of Central with Western Europe (Names-Nagy 2000, Petrakos 2000, Petrakos 2001). Good economic relations at the national level, or the presence of reliable cross-border transportation infrastructure and the nearby presence of large urban areas tend to improve the relative standing and importance of border zones. The fact that the Greek – FYROM borders have improved their standing may be a combined effect of dramatically improved international relations and relatively good transportation infrastructure linking Thessalonica with Skopje.

The presence of a minority on either side of the border does not seem to impede progress in relative standing. On the contrary, it may act as a stimulus to further interaction, benefiting mostly the less advanced side of the border³. This is the case in the border zones of Albania with Greece, Albania with FYROM, FRY with Bosnia, FRY with Romania and Romania with FRY. An interesting conclusion of this analysis is that good international relations and intensive cross-border cooperation in trade and investment may prove to be an effective way to deal with rising spatial inequalities in the Region. Overall, the findings seem to provide some evidence that closer cooperation between neighbouring countries and open borders can also help to remedy some of the regional problems on either side of the borders. This is a case where the right type of international policies may also have positive effects in directions and fields not initially intended or expected.

³ Under the condition that minorities have not become a reason for armed conflict, as in the case of Kosovo.

THE URBAN SYSTEM IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

The evolution and structure of the urban systems in South-eastern Europe is virtually unknown in the international literature. With the exception of some research on Greece (Petrakos et al 1999), the information about the national urban systems in the other countries has been restricted to national documents. In addition to that, the urban structure of the region as a whole has never been examined before. Reports on the European system of urban places (Cheshire 1995) have ignored South-eastern Europe due to lack of relevant data. Therefore, a number of interesting questions concerning the structure of the urban hierarchy at the national and macro-geographical levels have not received any sort of answer yet. In this part of the paper we will examine some of these issues on the basis of available data for the urban system of the Balkan countries. An additional motive for undertaking a multi-national urban system analysis is the understanding that a macro-geographical view proves often to be the most effective approach to dealing with the many aspects of backwardness in the economic space of South-eastern Europe (Petrakos 2001b).

It is now a common place in the literature that the new economic environment tends to favour further spatial concentration of activities in metropolitan areas. Despite earlier expectations of a more balanced system of urban places at the international and European level (Parr 1985), the late 1980s and the 1990s have proved to be a decade of increasing urban concentration and strengthening of the relative position of the metropolitan centres at the world and the European levels (Cohrane and Vining 1988, CEC 1992, CEC 1993, Rosenblat and Purnain 1993, Cheshire 1995, EC 1999).

We base the analysis on Figure 2, Tables 5-8 and Map 5. In Figure 2 we present, in a logarithmic form, the national rank-size distributions of all the countries in South-eastern Europe for the latest year with available information. The logarithmic form makes the figure more visible and comparison easier. First, it is clear that all countries exhibit, to some degree, a core-periphery pattern. After the first city, the rank-size curve drops significantly and abruptly until it meets the second city, which is usually much smaller in size. Therefore, a first observation is that in most national systems of urban areas there is an obvious lack of medium sized cities. Although the removal of the first city reveals a much more normal distribution, this however, usually includes small and very small cities.

As Table 5 shows, capital cities are in several cases three, four, five or even eight times larger than the second ranking city. The country with the highest ratio and the highest degree of urban asymmetry on this basis is FRY, followed by Romania and FYROM. Note that in some countries such as Albania, FYROM or FRY, the second largest city is, in fact, a small city of less than one or two hundred thousand people.

Table 5. Urban primacy index in South-eastern Europe

Countries	Population ratio of the top to the second in the hierarchy city		
	1981	1991	1998
Albania	2,66 ¹	2,90 ²	
Bosnia	2,59	2,90	
Bulgaria	3,01	3,01	3,28
Croatia	3,84	3,73	
FRY	7,77	8,94	8,63 ³
FYROM	5,23	5,33	5,76
Greece	4,28	4,10	
Romania	6,12	5,84	5,79

1 1979 data

2 1989 data

3 1997 data

Table 6 presents information about the national population share of the metropolitan region for countries and periods with available statistics. Note that the data refers to regional statistics and includes not just the city but also the wider area around it. The evolution of this index of metropolitan concentration reveals a number of interesting facts. First, there is a general tendency of the index to increase over time, although this tendency is more obvious in smaller countries. To some extent, this tendency is in line with the relative increases in GDP per capita (Table 3), although the relative growth of GDP is greater than the relative growth of population¹. Second, of all the countries in the region, only Greece (and to some extent FYROM) is characterized by a relatively high degree of metropolitan concentration. All other countries have a

¹ Why do rapid increases in GDP per capita in metropolitan areas not lead to faster relative population growth? One explanation is related to the scarcity of available urban housing and the skyrocketing prices of metropolitan land. Another explanation is related to the greater opportunities provided in capital cities for legal emigration (contacts, visas, etc.).

metropolitan population, which is in the range of 10-20 percent of the national population. This proportion cannot be characterized as high by international standards. As a result, the high ratios of first-to-second ranking cities of Table 5 are not related to a very large or dominant metropolis, but to the lack of cities in the range of 500 thousand people. Indeed, as Table 7 shows, with the exception of Athens, which has a population of over 3 million and Bucharest, which has a population of a little over 2 million, all other capital cities are relatively small by European standards^{2,3}.

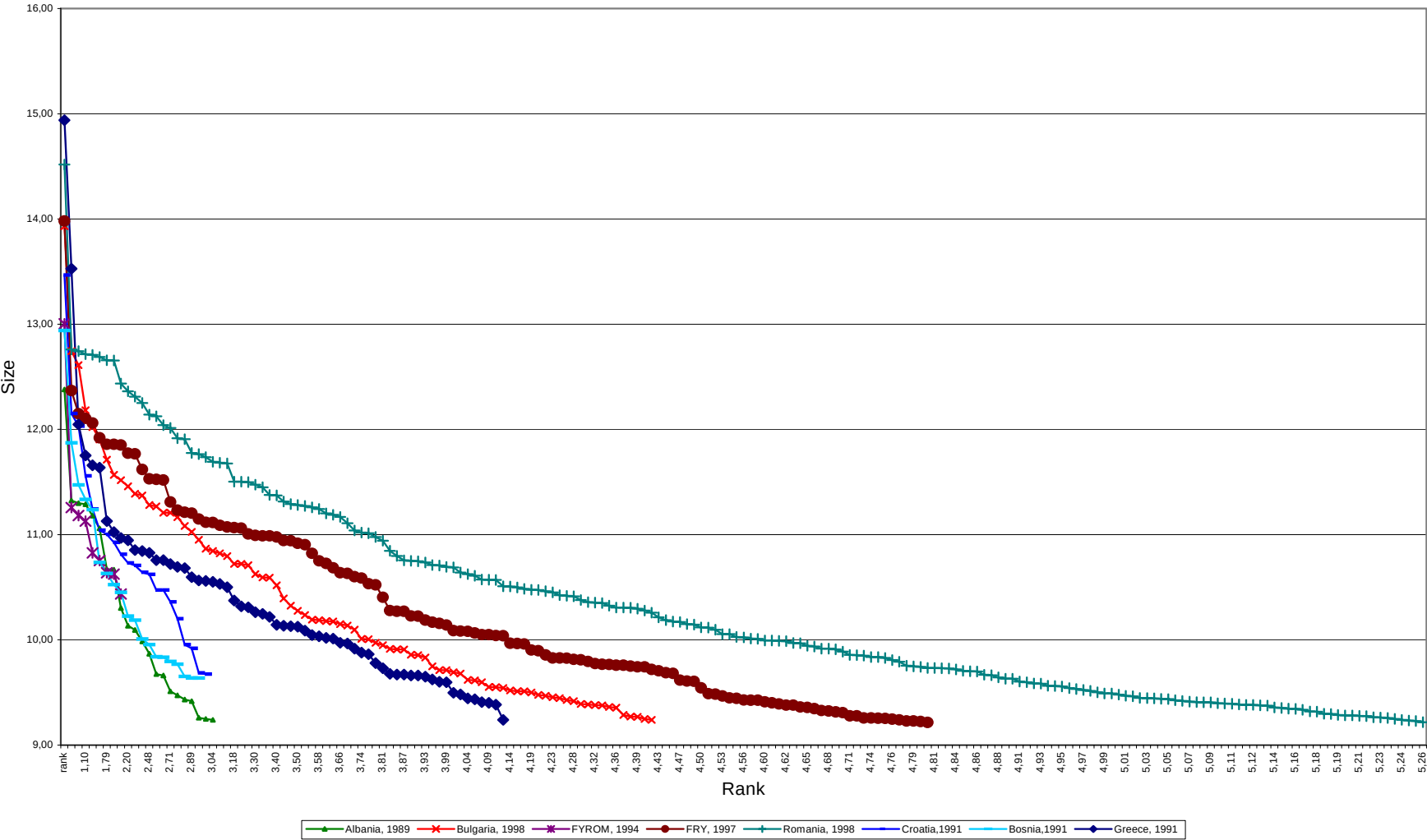
As a result, none of the countries in the region (with the exception of Greece) has developed a large metropolitan area and none (again with the exception of Greece) has developed a large in size second ranking city⁴. Why is there such a lack of medium sized or large cities in Transition countries in South-eastern Europe? In our view, there are three reasons. The first is related to the close and inward looking character of the pre-1989 economic system, which did not allow the development of significant economic relations on the basis of existing or created comparative advantages. This lack of specialization in international markets did not allow for the realization of agglomeration economies beyond the level required by domestic demand, and as a result, did not allow for the development of significant urban concentrations. The second reason is related to the fact that planning as a system had, in general, a greater preference for a balanced distribution of activities compared to markets. Practically, this was achieved through the distribution of investment in the 5-year plans and the control of population flows through public employment and housing. Although labour markets are less regulated now in most transition countries, it is the structure of land and housing markets in

² This does not mean that the size of Athens and its dominant relation to the rest of the urban centers is a desirable outcome, or one justified by economic forces.

³ Table 7 shows also something else. All countries in the region have some sort of flaw in continuity in their urban system, as all of them lack cities in at least one size group.

⁴ It seems that Greece has developed a different urban pattern than the other countries in the Region, as it is characterized by a large metropolis (over 3 million), a relatively large second ranking city (around a million) and below that many small (less than 2 hundred thousand) cities. On the other hand, all other countries are characterized by a less dominant metropolis but also a less visible second ranking city.

Figure 2 National rank-size distributions of the urban centres in South-eastern Europe in logarithmic form, latest data in the 1990s.



metropolitan areas that generate shortages and high prices, discouraging internal migration. The third reason is related to the fact that with the collapse of Yugoslavia there are now many more countries in the Region than before. Former Yugoslavia, which had an economy that was relatively open to the West, had several medium sized cities (Skopje, Sarajevo, Zagreb, Ljubljana) that became the capitals of the new independent states in the 1990s.

Returning to Figure 2, we observe that the rank-size distributions have a hierarchical structure, not only within countries, but also between countries. In general a country with a larger national population is expected to have a rank-size distribution that is over and to the right of the distribution of a country with smaller national population. In that respect, the rank-size curve of Romania is above the curve of FRY, which is above the curve of Bulgaria, which is above the curve of FYROM. This in turn means that for a given rank in the hierarchy, i.e. the 5th place, we should expect larger countries to also have larger cities. Which means that the 5th city in size in Romania is expected to be larger than the 5th city in size in FRY, which is expected to be larger than the 5th city in size in Bulgaria, etc. This rule is useful as it allows us to have a better understanding of the relation between the size of the city and the size of the national market in an urban system. Larger markets do not generate only more cities. They also generate larger cities as the level of specialization is higher, the variety of products and activities is larger and the propensity for activities to benefit from agglomeration economies (and therefore cluster) greater. The Greek cities, however, do not follow this rule. Although the national population of Greece is greater than those of FRY and Bulgaria, the Greek cities (except the 1st and the 2nd) have sizes that are smaller than the cities of FRY or Bulgaria with the same rank. This is the outcome of the concentration of more than 60% of the urban population of Greece in Athens and Thessalonica, which unavoidably generates a restriction in the size of the other cities. In addition, it is an indication that beyond some levels of concentration, the evaluation of costs and benefits also has to take into consideration the implications of the atrophy of the peripheral cities.

Finally, in Map 5 we present the distribution of cities of over 100 thousand people in a background of population density at the regional level. As expected, larger cities and metropolitan

Table 6. - Metropolitan concentration in South-eastern Europe

Capital region	Country	Year	Share of national population
Tirana	Albania	1990	11.5
		1998	15.1
Sarajevo	Bosnia	1981	7.8
		1991	9.5
Sofia	Bulgaria	1980	12.9
		1991	14.0
		1997	14.6
		1999	14.8
Croatia	Zagreb	1991	18.1
Skopje	FYROM	1991	27.7
		1995	27.1
Attica	Greece	1990	34.7
		2000	*38.0
Bucharest	Romania	1980	9.4
		1991	10.3
		1994	10.3
		1998	10.2
Belgrade	N. Yugoslavia	1981	15.8
		1991	15.4
		1997	16.3

Source: Own estimates from SEED regional database

* Estimate on the basis of the Atticon Metron study.

Table 7. - Size distribution of cities over 50 thousand people

Country	Number of cities in size group (in millions)						
	> 3	3 > 2	2 > 1	1 > 0,5	0,5 > 0,2	0,2 > 0,1	0,1 > 0,05
Albania					1		5
Bulgaria			1		2	6	14
Bosnia					1	1	3
Croatia				1		3	4
FRY			1			7	19
FYROM					1		4
Greece	1			1		4	7
Romania		1			11	12	23
Total	1	1	2	2	16	33	69

Source: Own estimates from SEED database.

areas are located in regions with high or very high population density, while regions with low density lack relatively large cities. This close coupling of urban and regional figures indicates that issues related to the size and structure of cities and factors favouring or inhibiting the realization of agglomeration economies often lie behind regional variations in performance.

Another interesting observation is that, in most cases, border regions lack cities with population over 100 thousand. For example, in the Greek border regions with Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM there are no cities of this size or larger. This is also the case with the border regions of Albania with Greece, FYROM and FRY, the borders of FYROM with Greece, Albania and Bulgaria, the borders of Bulgaria with Greece and FYROM, etc. The only significant exception to this rule seems to be the Romanian border regions, which in several cases are densely populated and have cities with populations equal to or higher than 100 thousand people.

Finally, it is worth noting that as we move from the South to the North on the Balkan scale, on the one hand we find regions with higher population density, and on the other hand, the possibility of finding cities with a population of more than 100 thousand increases. Indeed, Greece appears to be a country with a disproportionately small number of cities of over 100 thousand people (6), as most of the urban population is concentrated in Athens and Thessalonica. Bulgaria and FRY, despite having smaller national populations, are in a relatively better position, having, respectively, 7 and 8 cities with population of over 100 thousand. Romania on the other hand, is the country that concentrates the largest number of cities with populations of over 100 thousand people.

As Table 8 shows, the situation is similar even for smaller cities, such as the cities with population of over 50 thousand. Comparing the national share of population with the national share of cities of over 50 thousand people, we observe that the Southern part of the Region (Greece, Albania, FYROM) has a proportion of cities that is either equal to or smaller than the proportion of population. On the other hand, the Northern and Eastern part (Romania, Bulgaria, FRY) has a share that is proportionately higher. Greece is the country with the most serious lack of cities with populations of over 50 thousand.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the previous sections has revealed a number of important features of the spatial structure of South-eastern Europe which can be summarised as follows: (a) Increasing regional disparities, (b) increasingly superior performance of the metropolitan regions, (c) serious discontinuities at the borders which have, in most cases, generated over-time border regions with below average performance and (d) an urban system with serious deficiencies in medium sized cities.

These findings have a number of policy implications. First of all, high levels of regional disparities imply that development initiatives in the region (national plans, Stability Pact, SAP, etc) are required to have a strong regional dimension. Therefore, regional policies have to be an increasingly important part of development and transition policies.

Second, it is important to realise that the status of border regions, which have been lagging behind, has been imposed on them by

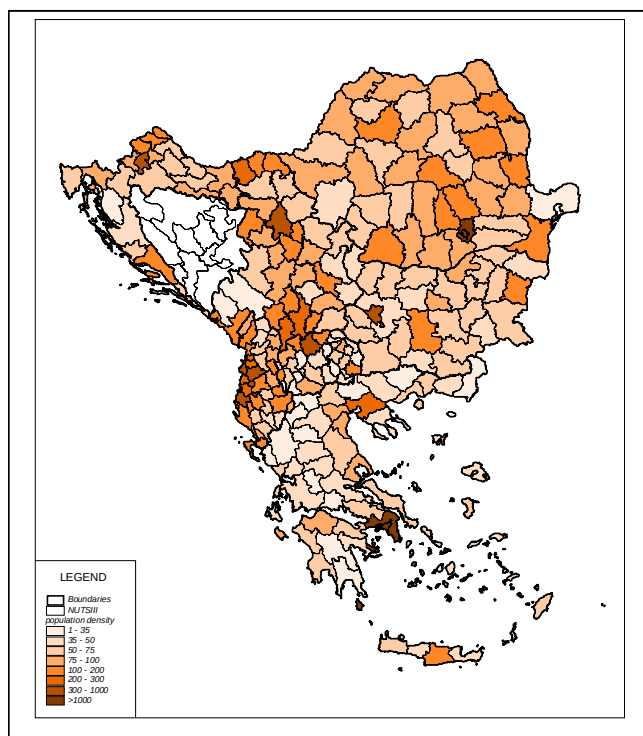
unfavourable geographical, economic political and international conditions. As a result, policies aiming to deal with the problems of underdevelopment first have to address its causes at the domestic and international levels. The border regions in South-eastern Europe have experienced some interesting transformations in the 1990s. Some regions, especially along the East-West frontier have improved their relative standing, benefiting from higher levels of interaction, while some others have lost further ground in relative terms. Good international relations and intensive cross-border interaction in trade and investment, as well as EU funded policies of cross-border cooperation (Kotios 2001) may prove to be equally effective ways to deal with rising spatial disparities in the Region. While the macroscopic view is important in order to realise the extent of the problem and its causes, a development policy for border regions needs to take a microscopic approach and deal with the specific problems and difficulties faced at the local level. In that respect, surveys and studies about these problems must be understood as important background information that is necessary for the design and implementation of policies of development for border regions.

We conclude this analysis with a feeling that our findings are only the first steps towards a better understanding of the spatial regularities and changes of a unique – in many ways – European Region. Further research is required to unveil the social, political, economic and international parameters that are conditioning its spatial structures and prospects. For example, a future researcher may want to ask why the most open, prosperous and 'westernised' country in the pre-1989 period (the territory of former Yugoslavia) comprises of (nowadays) States that are, in most cases, politically unstable and have the least prospects to join the EU. Or, he might want to ask why – in contrast to the situation in the EU – the most developed part of the Region is in the South, why the East and the West have exactly the opposite meaning than at the European level and why the largest and most dynamic Regional metropolis is not in the North, but in the South. Seeking answers to these questions may prove to be a useful task not only for the students of spatial characteristics of the Region, but also to those concerned with its – again unique in Europe – diverging performance during the first decade of transition from plan to market.

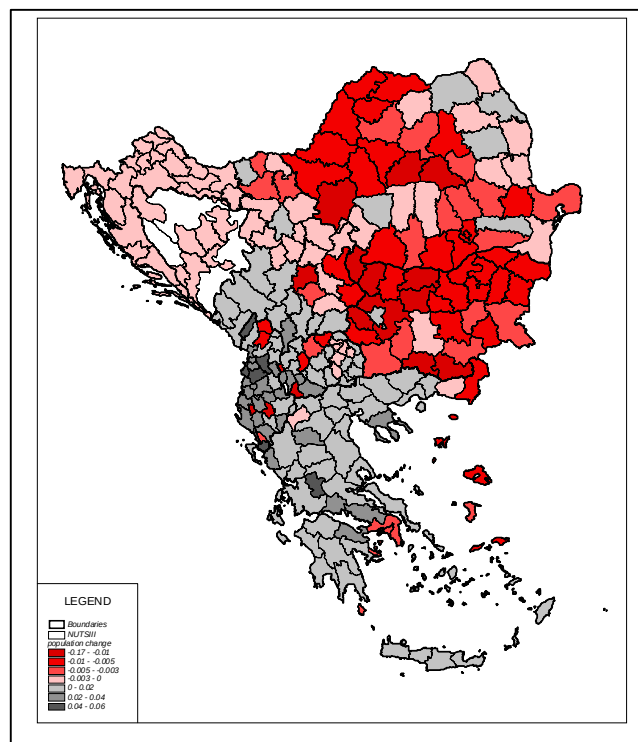
Table 8. - National shares of cities over 50 thousand people

Country	Population		Cities over 50 thousands	
	In thousands	National share	Number	National share
Albania	3.945	5,92	6	4,51
Bulgaria	8.190	12,30	23	17,29
Bosnia	3.482	5,23	5	3,75
Croatia	4.784	7,18	8	6,01
FRY	10.592	15,91	27	20,30
FYROM	2.063	3,09	5	3,75
Greece	11.000	16,52	12	9,02
Romania	22.499	33,80	47	35,33
Total	66.553	100,00	133	100,00

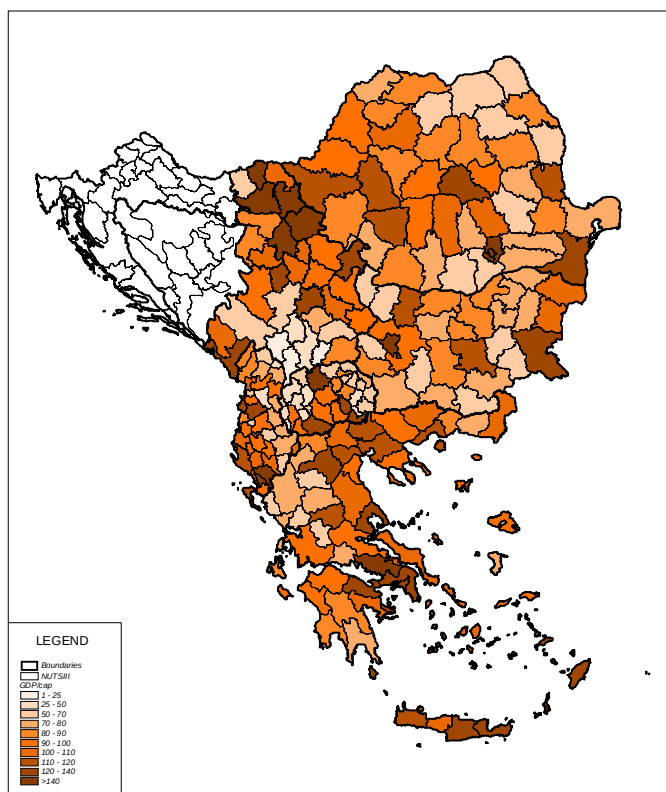
Source: Own estimates from SEED database.



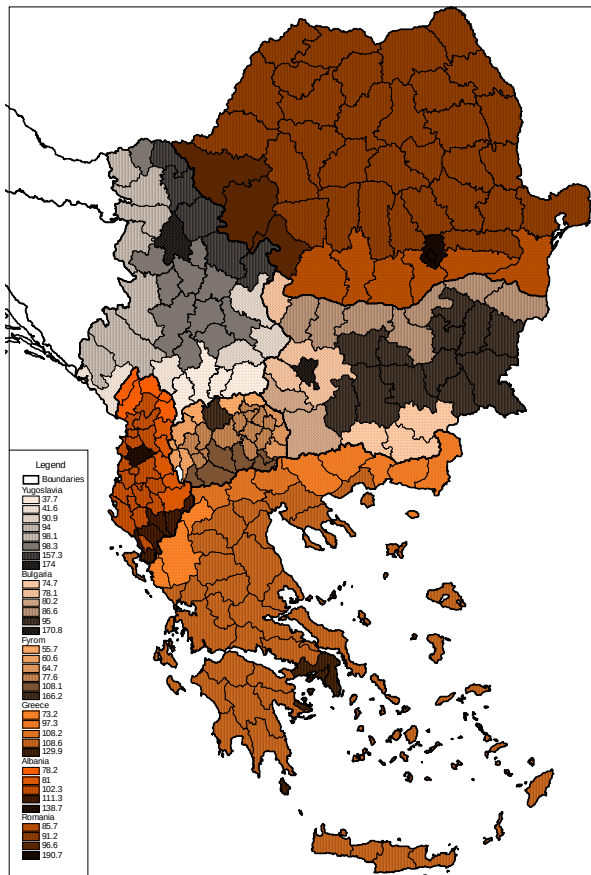
Map 1. Regional Population Density at the NUTS III level in the late 1990s.



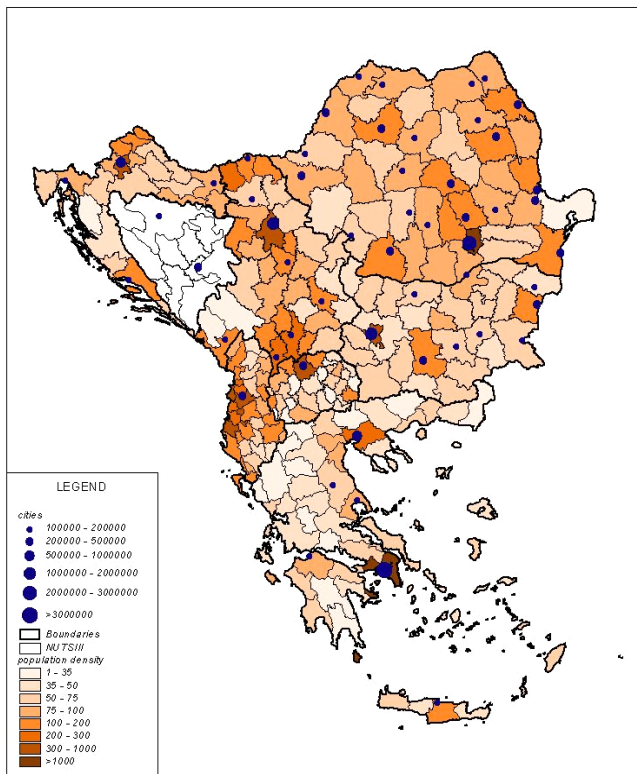
Map 2 Regional Population change at the NUTS III level in the 1990s.



Map 3. Regional GDP per capita (National Average = 100) in the late 1990s.



Map 4. GDP per capita in Border Zones (National Average = 100), National Classification.



Map 5. Cities with Population over 100,000 inhabitants and population density.

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THE NEW PLANNING PARADIGM IN THE LATEST YUGOSLAV STATE ALLIANCE OF SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

Branko. I. Cavrić, Ph.D.

In the waves of transition and recent changes to political system and planning regulatory mechanisms in most eastern and central European countries, the Yugoslav planning fabric is discovering new avenues and trying to develop new endeavours within the framework of economic, political and professional independence.

The main idea of this paper is to challenge the history and evolution of Yugoslav planning system, legislature, administration and education; planning techniques and the planning implementation. All these and other constitutive and important elements of a viable and flexible planning system need to be considerably improved, since the arrival of a new political authorities and powers.

The discussion should also enhance our knowledge about trans-national approaches and different planning ideas, concepts and practices applicable in the current Yugoslav planning environment. This could lead to a new planning paradigm based on global thinking and an interconnected world, flavoured with locally sustainable planning solutions that could bring the Yugoslav planning machinery on the board of the new century. At the same time, this approach would reflect how the Yugoslav planning community could improve its "own values" whilst looking forward to creating a modern and efficient planning mechanism.

INTRODUCTION TO DIFFICULT TASK

The process of transition on the territory of present and former Yugoslavia is not surprising novelty. Since the ancient times this region was spot where many people and cultures met and clashed. Known in literature as the Balkan Peninsula, it changed name several times, more than any other geographical area in Europe (Cvijic, 1918). From the anthropo-geographical and ethnographic viewpoint, north-western, central and south-eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula were traditionally populated with South Slavs, starting all from the IV century A.D. This part of the large group of Slavic nations (e.g. Russians, Polish, Czechs, Slovaks, etc.) interacted and clashed with other neighbouring ethnicities (Hungarians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Greeks, Romans, Italians, Austrians, etc). At the same time, there were tensions and rivalry amongst tribes and people that formed the group of South Slavs such as

Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Bosnians, Montenegrins and Macedonians often based on religious and later on economic divisions.

Regulatory planning and city building at this "junction of nations" have reach and multi layered history. This heritage can be traced very far back to the "Code of Emperor Dusan" in 1349, and to Dubrovnik's "Liber Statutorum Civitatis Ragusii" from 1296 (Krstic, 1982). Unfortunately, and sometime without any logical reason, the fine line that had for centuries linked urban dwellers from this part of the world, has now become even thinner. Positivism of different epochs was frequently affected by wars and political crises in which the destructive power of human beings was changing the physical, population, ethnic and religious image of many south Slavic cities and towns. Although more difficult by the day, in some, it is still possible to recognize the remains of exceptional architectural, urban

design and planning work. The different indigenous and imported styles can be followed ranging from those of Roman times (classical planning), the Eastern Byzantine (medieval planning) and Ottoman Empire (Islamic planning), the Italian Peninsula and Venetian Republic (renaissance and baroque planning), and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (neo-renaissance, baroque and neo-gothic planning) leading up to the development of new architectural, urban design and planning forms as summarized in models such as: "City Beautiful", "Garden City", "Beaux Art" and the "Bauhaus", modernism and post modernism, neo-rationalism, neo-empiricism, etc. described in works of numerous domestic authors (Radovanovic, 1933; Dobrovic, 1946; Maksimovic, 1962; Marinovic-Uzelac, 1989; Stojkov, 1992)

However, all these artefacts are still not adequately elaborated in modern planning

literature in general, and south-eastern European in particular. This is largely due to poor knowledge and the insufficient interest of foreign planners in this part of the world (this at least being one's first impression). Furthermore, the absence of Yugoslav planners (except a few cases Budic-Nedovic, Cavric, Bogunovic, Vujosevic, Milinkovic-Pichler, etc.) on the international publishing scene, before and after the civil war that swept across the country in the last decade of the 20th century, also contributed to the feeling of a non-affirmative "Balkan urban theatre". Due to the lack of systematic foreign research in combination with local scientific counterparts, conclusions pertaining to the development and planning of settlements in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Monte Negro and Macedonia, are brought mostly on "ad hoc" basis, with a distinctively marked political connotation, and even sometime disqualification.

Describing this region as one in transition, or as a region of countries belonging to the former eastern block is an over-simplification. There appears to be an overlap between external and domestic knowledge of the characteristics of past, current and perspective urban development in different political and historical circumstances. Meanwhile, this simplification, which does not provide a basis for a serious professional and academic discussion, widely opens the doors for research opportunities into the theory and practice of the previous generations of planners who worked in different social, administrative and political environments (Vrieser 1978, Perisic 1985, Piha 1986, Bakic 1988). Watson (1998; 1999) and Maier (1994) agree that circumstances in transitional societies offer a laboratory setting for tracking and evaluation the forms and concepts of planning over time.

There is a fact that urban history and planning systems in the countries of former Yugoslavia did not come to be or end at the time of "socialist and communist regimes". Yugoslavia is among many countries that have over the past several decades undergone significant changes in their planning and urban development practices (Nedovic-Budic, 2001). However, this fact is not strong enough in itself to defy the general approach taken when researching urban topics, based primarily on values built by Anglo-Saxon planning scholars.

Its transient nature, a current unbalanced political and economical scales, as well as the 50-year long period behind the "iron curtain"

(which was not always the case in practice when compared with other East European countries especially in Tito's era), represent the main constraints for members of the former Yugoslav community (with the exception of Slovenia), when joining the club of "countries of western democracy, globalisation and sustainable development". Clearly, just like any other new membership, this one also implies an adequate price. At this point in time, the entrance ticket price is Draconian and it is very uncertain whether there are available funds for it to be paid, especially after objectively looking at the consequences and enormity of the economic and human catastrophe that struck the area in the past ten years.

It is notable that two contrasting processes might occur within the formation of a new planning system and awareness today. The forces of the previous administrative and political apparatus continue to obstruct the transitional changes as powerfully as they can. Meanwhile, the newly formed administrative machinery continues to lack the human and financial resources essential for it to realise fast and efficient changes. The mental and socio-psychological displays of most of the participants in the changes are such that they require different tuning in order to move from what was declared to the sphere of real and pragmatic. In view of this, the statement made by Perisic and Bojovic (1997) that "the country is not in a process of transition but rather in a state of deep crisis", is still valid.

The promised international aid has failed to materialise since the country is one of high risk areas for investment into new economic programmes. The functioning of a legal and economic system, the substitution and replacement of out-dated technologies, revitalisation and redevelopment of areas devastated by war, the degradation of ecological values, the endangerment of spectacular natural beauties, the uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources, the establishment of smooth communication and other networks, the gaining membership in international organizations, and the establishment of an atmosphere of trust and dialogue within the framework of the international community (primarily neighbours) are also some of the burning issues that have to be dealt with and resolved at the beginning of the 21st century.

The ability to develop new avenues in the planning branch will depend on the entire societal resolution of these dilemmas and

problems, but it will also be the responsibility of the planners themselves to raise the level of awareness and activity in accordance with recognisable international standards. This century is the century of new challenges for everyone, and planning is then well on the way to becoming one of the leading forces in the country devastated by dark evils. There is belief that the willingness and capacity of local planners must be strengthened by mutual enhancement with foreign counterparts, firstly from the neighbouring countries. In turn, it will show that such arrangement is progressive in widening local capacities building, developing moral, and stabilising communities of different, but co-operative contributors.

It is the contention of this analysis to support and promote such endorsements and ideas, which can shoulder a myriad of diversified urbanites. This approach acknowledges the current mosaic of ideological foundations, which is still in transformation process. What the further investigations will highlight is the set of critical recommendations for faster recovery of local planning apparatus. In this regard the attitudes towards Yugoslav planning renaissance and establishment of new paradigm will reflect expected political and societal will. There would be also a symbolic element as well, which will highlight the usage of physical space in forthcoming negotiations and bargaining among different parties in critical conditions of expected power imbalances.

Furthermore, present examples of major contemporary projects and ideas will be examined and summarised around the common constructs which appear in this paper and might be used as the basis for establishing the guidelines in supporting new planning legitimacy along the line of appropriate harmonisation and co-ordination which is essential among numerous actors and key players in sophisticated planning game, as well as in the process of required public monitoring. These developments can help to establish participatory behaviour and moral in place making, facilitating a new grounding in the once "strange and no man's land".

In view of this, requests for political pluralism, democratisation, deregulation, privatisation and the development of market institutions and mechanisms, which have been presented as the objectives of this conference, require partnerships within which home agendas could be integrated into the dominant foreign trends.

THE NEW SYSTEM IS PROBABLY BORN

The events that took place in October 2000 marked the end of the ten year period of social and economic agony and injustice in which so many human and material values were vanished. The country has now entered a new phase of very uncertain development. The widely perceived phenomenon of "liberalisation and democratisation" has knocked on the country's door and has led many commentators to raise the question as to "what now?" Those who carried out the peaceful revolutionary changes are now being asked to make things happen. However, judging by how things stand now, they seem to be struggling with the delicate task of leading the remainder of the former country. Due to the limited managing, technical and administrative cadres, the neglected physical and social infrastructure, and the insufficient control of financial flows, there is a big gap between desired, declared and achieved developments.

This fictional vision that everything would go well once the old regime was replaced, has had a boomerang effect. Not even the numerous "head blows" suffered since, have managed to awaken most of the participants in the extended crisis. The basic problems such as sense of extreme national importance, stubbornness, the belief that some are beyond reproach, feelings of false pride and the tendency to look down on the values of others nations still prevail among the masses. In an attempt to maintain the basic conditions for survival, the devastated intelligentsia still in the country is often caught up in verbal accusations and non-productive clashes of opinion. There is also a tendency to avoid usage of the models already tested in other east European countries as they are considered to come from the centres of the new world order and their allies. On a daily basis people face the dilemma whether to align themselves with the European family and the leading countries of the world, or live a miserable existence in the miniature remainder of what is now known as New Yugoslavia, lead by the newly formed elite. There is no doubt that someone has to pay the price of defeat for the benefit of future generations. However, the sacrifice and price seem to be too high and nobody is still not showing a courage and readiness for it.

The current political environment also affects the existing planning system or its model. Caught in the vortex of uncontrolled changes, the planning system itself is aiming at a rebirth and reincarnation, looking for new ideas,

concepts, practices and methods. The international town planning movement of Charles Mulford Robinson as stated by Suttcliffe (1981, p.229) might be still an utopian goal for the majority of existing governmental, parastatal and private planning agencies. Despite the common problem of major social inequalities, the current Yugoslav planning system operates under a mix of planning ideas – the old ones inherited from the communist and/or pre-communist past, and the new ones developed and applied in the present. The planners are trying to adopt, modify, and re-invent practices and approaches from their own past and from other countries, both near and afar, thereby moulding and creating a new planning system (Budic and Cavric, 2001, Sykora, 1999.). The inherited segments of five legal families of European planning, i.e. the British, Scandinavian, Napoleonic, Germanic and East European systems (Newman and Thornley, 1996; Healey and R. Williams, 1993; M. J. Thomas, 1998.) are still very influential in this Region. However, some other models are slowly but surely infiltrating the Yugoslav planning scene following the socio-economic and political collapse, evident after the NATO campaign. According to Ward (2000), these latest exports described as "borrowing" and "imposition", might be transitional opportunities for countries such as new Yugoslavia.

With transitional approaches gaining momentum in Europe (Pallagst, 2001) and worldwide, it is of outmost importance to enhance our knowledge about the characteristics of diffusion of planning systems (Budic, Cavric, 2001, p.3). Hohn (2001, p.2) for example, offers the post World War II history of planning in German democratic Republic (GDR) as an example of the fact that despite a simplified outside view, it was "not by any means a monolithic block characterised by the continuity of one view of urban development and one constellation of actors." Bearing in mind the current situation in the country and the ability of the Yugoslav planning fraternity and society as a whole, it would be wise to react quickly and efficiently without wasting time on empty discussions about designing and modelling entirely new and fashionable system. Needless to say, a number of options should be considered paying special attention to the last two. This translation of original models through local contexts, interpretations, cultures, and institutions makes planning diffusion highly dynamic and highly variable rather than uniform process (Ward, *ibid*).

The suggestion is to perhaps select the "imposed" model in the initial phase in order to minimize the rigidity of the existing political and economical disparities. Once the current situation changes, in some 10-15 years according to the most optimistic predictions, the diversification of the system should aim at international diffusion, assuming that most of the current limitations will be a thing of the past. The framework presented in Figure 1 is an attempt to visually capture the relevant processes and factors, their relationships, and their contributions to the evolution of planning systems. It also includes the outcomes that are missing from other frameworks: resultant legal and institutional framework, characteristics of the planning process, and specifics of urban environment and quality of life as promoted by particular aspects of established adopted, evolved, transformed, matured planning system. (Budic, Cavric, 2001, p.33).

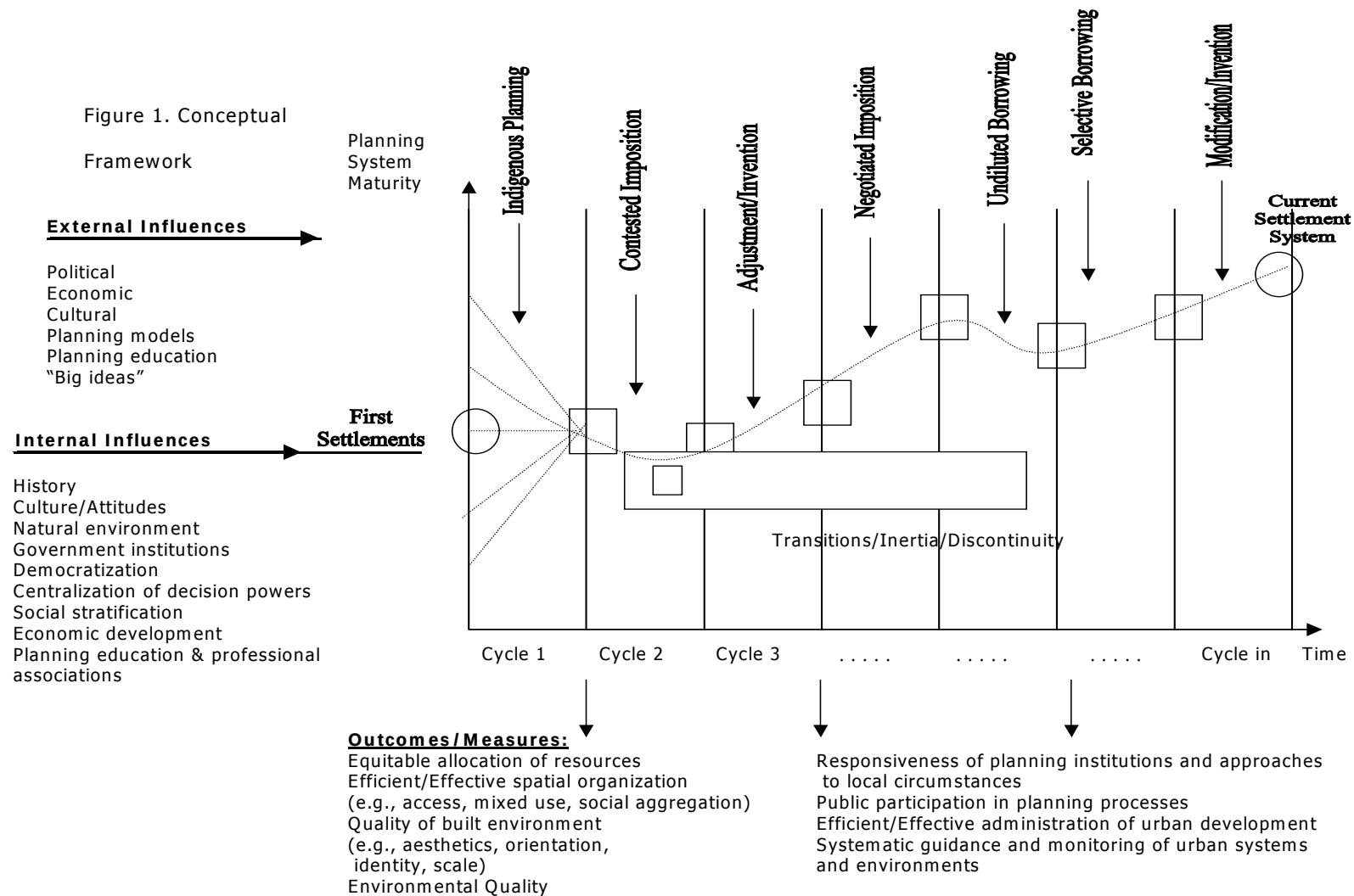
This decision, although very difficult and painful (some might even call "imposition" as non-patriotic), identifies the 5-year review as an opportunity for the further implementation of good and sustainable practices. It would be an important milestone and would call for new and creative contributions for supporting the progress achieved in transitions towards sustainability and effective urban and environmental management. Focusing initially on two major models (imposed and borrowed), the initiative is motivated by the conviction that knowledge-driven strategies and new generations of planners should take their revisited role in advocating the interests of the public and all other stakeholders, in both, the local and international arena.

Finally, this section is only a small step toward a greater understanding of the diffusion and evolution of planning. Future research is needed to:

- Test, compare, and evaluate the frameworks against the empirical findings.
- Develop indicators of matching/fitting or discontinuity between the planning imports/exports or innovations and the local context; and

Examine the transformation/adaptation/adjustment/re-invention of ideas, concepts, practices, and methods implemented to meet diverse local circumstances. (Budic, Cavric, 2001, p. 33).

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework



LEGISLATION OR LEGITIMACY AND WHAT ELSE?

The hyper-production of laws and legal acts that are often largely disregarded or not abided represents a rarity and a real limitation to the development of Yugoslav society and the planning system at all levels (state, republic, region, county, city/town). As for the types of plans that should deal with different spatial levels in a coordinated manner, there is a lot of confusion both in terms of terminology and meaning. In actual practice the rules and regulations deal with land issues, natural resources, urban and regional planning, environmental protection and development issues in a number of different ways. There is a lot of discord and a tendency towards looking at land and its components in a sectoral and somewhat specialized and limited form from the point of view of protecting the partial interests of agriculture, water resources, mining, energy, transport and other big land users.

According to Bojovic (1989), everyone is still trying to solve their own problems concerning space, largely disregarding others or paying only as much attention as is essential. Because of the difference in the economic status of private and sectorally organized interest, and the territorial and temporal difference in the impact they have on the land cover and use, those in charge of the spatial organization and utilisation are constantly in temporal and spatial collision (Bojovic, *ibid*, p.3).

The current social problems and those of the planning profession within frequently changeable legal conditions are well documented by Perisic and Bojovic (1997, p. 9-10) who say that "we can help society only to the extent society, i.e. its political factor on its behalf, understands the problems and wishes to solve them". They further claim that we are very far away from a political consensus on the goals and strategies concerning the development of national territories and towns and cities, because everyone believes their interest is the most important and most legitimate. Consequently, the ruling elite does not consider the physical planning and urban manifestations of public interest as societal favourites.

A whole series of Urban and Regional Planning Acts were issued in the last 60 years, after the first and second world wars, as well as the latest Yugoslav civil war. These acts considered planning matters in practice very thoroughly from the conceptual and technical perspectives, and established a hierarchy of

planning documents for all territorial units ranging from the level of the republic to the level of urban blocks (Krstic 1982, Marinovic-Uzelac 1989). Unfortunately, even though they were issued within the regular system of spatial/territorial management unites these acts had no executive powers in terms of coordinating different interests, influences and activities in an urban or rural area. The need to regard the preparation and implementation of plans as two interrelated components of an integrated professional and legal process of development rather than as two separate activities has not been emphasized in the Yugoslav political and socio-economic practice.

Urban and regional planners who are directly involved in the preparation of plans have hardly ever had the opportunity to influence the way they are implemented, and consequently also could not influence the implementation of laws. The majority of planning professionals are still marginalized in the social decision making system regarding spatial and urban development. This is largely due to the poor position of the planning lobby within the political and economic decision-making hierarchy, and the general lack of awareness of the importance of physical planning in modern society. Only too often when illegal spatial development should have been professionally sanctioned, planners were prevented from taking part in professional and public scrutiny. More often they were used as the extended arm of the authorities in situation where was necessary to protect the private and political interests of powerful individuals in numerous land speculations and corruption affairs.

The current Planning and Organisation of Territory and Settlements Act (1996) verifies the involvement of planners only in the preparation and implementation of regional, district and action-area plans. The category of urban development and comprehensive master plans (which was in existence for almost 50 years), has practically been replaced by so-called urban design projects, which are the exclusive responsibility of architects and civil engineers. Bojovic and Perisic (1997) argue that in practice, today's urban planning is almost totally missing as are the corresponding urban analyses and reports. Technical documentation (most often infrastructure general plans and design projects) is considered an adequate substitute for urban plans, and it enables the granting of building and planning permits by state and local authorities.

The use of planners only at the strategic level

and not at the local level of planning and decision-making is unique in the world. Their participation in the control of illegal building development work, destruction, sale and transformation of agricultural land into building sites, and their attempts to protect the endangered environment have become very unpopular. The powerful local elite and members of the former and current ruling government are interested only in having absolute control. They do not want to see physical planners pointing out to them the consequences of unsustainable development and the need for social justice and equity. Priority has been given to the approach that promotes political/private interests only, which are often synonymous with those surrounding corrupted leaders and criminal groups. (Cavric, 2000).

The needs of the majority and of future generations have been marginalized and the attempts of certain planners to point out the adverse effects of unplanned development sometimes remind us of Don Quixote's struggle with windmills. Unfortunately in their daily battle to survive, some professional planners have found themselves inside the "Trojan horse" serving in the interests of the current policy, going against the basic rules and principles of the planning fraternity.

Having briefly reviewed the evolution and current legal framework of physical planning in the new Yugoslavia, it will be necessary to draw up some recommendations pertaining to the need for changes and to consider the implications of this for the future of planners in changing political and socio-economic circumstances. The most important step is to make sure that all the available legal instruments are in conformance with international laws in common areas, and in the planning field in particular. Gradually, the legal system bound by such requirements would have to be extended, starting from the state to the local level of operation. Firstly, it would need to consider the implementation of general and immediately after specific individual sectors, areas and projects, establishing the legal need and the legitimacy for integrated and interdisciplinary supervised spatial development.

The other stream of future activities around the legal framework, would generally need to be staffed by professionals capable of implementing the legal rules and controlling their implementation through the process of permanent monitoring and review using modern tools and techniques. A background in both the planning and legal profession might help find a solution

as to how to bridge the wild river and establish a balancing environment for different stakeholders involved in spatially oriented matters.

The activities included in this "legal rejuvenation and renaissance" need to be more practical and realistic, than narrative which is a typical behaviour practiced even by highest ranking official in today's Yugoslav government. This in turn will have an implication for the physical planning legislature and all those responsible in the Ministry of Planning and in other Ministries dealing with spatial and inter-related environmental issues. Eventually there would also be a demand and need for simplification of legal procedures to allow and invite more foreign financial, technological and other interests and aids, which could help ensure a better prospect and bring about a new climate of international recognition.

These activities require the expertise of domestic and international experts from many disciplines rounding physical planning profession. All these experts would have particular roles to play carrying out numerous consultancies in the development of the new legal core and of individual slices of the revitalised legislature. There would be a need for series of workshops at the international, national, regional and local levels to facilitate the dissemination of legal review findings and contribute to awareness raising capacity building in all administrative and technical groups expected to improve new general and planning legal rules.

COMING OUT FROM THE ADMINISTRATIVE CAVE

It is a frequent observation that administration profile of society is one of the important elements for efficient organisation of public services. The central issue pertaining to the current administration machinery in Yugoslavia refers to its major service and proper maintenance. Before the political changes took place, administration wizards tailored things to meet their own needs and served the community in a very poor manner. For most users it was real Odyssey to get things done without having to go through the usual hassles which required extra funds, extra time and the ability to deal with psychologically stressful situations most often caused by arrogant, unpleasant and sometimes corrupt administrative officers at all levels. The magic question "do you have somebody who can do this for me at minimal cost" was very common for a long time during previous regimes. Hopefully this situation will change soon because of

the process of democratisation regardless of how difficult administrative barriers can be.

In this respect the planning administration also need to return back to the public and citizenry. So we need to re-think and re-assess its role and objectives in the changing circumstances of the new societal practice. Physical planning is a multidisciplinary field, directly involving different individuals and institutions. In this regard the institutions may be at the local level, the regional/province/district level, or at the republics and central government, as well as in private organisation and parastatal bodies. In the past there was a big gap between planning administration at the republic and local level. Meanwhile, the same time planning administration at the level of federal state government was rather symbolic.

In the next five years, planning organisation structures should be constantly reviewed in order for them to be as efficient as possible within the framework of changes in planning system in general, as has been discussed above. Decisions on physical planning issues should be brought as close as possible to the people and the affected communities, and the organisational and administrative set up must be streamlined. Yet such activities appear merely to mediate against what seems to be an underlying force to "grow into" a more democratic and pluralistic society based on revised values and the continuous struggle for daily meaning and relevance. By analysing the recently changed relationships between Serbia and Montenegro – encompassing some common and individual functions and responsibilities, this paper spells out the need for nesting a similar approach and an atmosphere of productive dialog in the foreseeable future within the planning administrative apparatus.

The next five years would definitely be seen as a crossroads with numerous expected changes in the politics, economy, social composition and institutional framework. Most cities and other forms of territorial and administrative organisation would need to establish efficient planning services and units whose primarily role would be to serve the people and allow financially and environmentally sound and sustainable development projects. So "new inequalities" among cities and places would start to shrink and the territorial distribution and diffusion of positive effects would reach majority of people.

There is by now a considerable number of newly schooled planning professionals from

the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, at the Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade. These young professionals, in conjunction with other academics and in an interdisciplinary atmosphere and manner, are expected to raise the flag of our profession and have a positive impact on the restructuring of all our communities along the line of social, environmental and economical sustainability. Some of them will be hard working victims, and other managing beneficiaries, or hard line survivors, in this new reality of the Balkan melting pot. The development of our own "professional image" as administrators, technical bureaucrats, facilitators, urban governors and managers, environmental revolutionaries will be necessary for effective self-sustainable destiny in this global world.

In the context of this discussion it can be said that two progressions and ideas should highlight challenges and pose conclusions for the future planning administrative setting. Firstly, capitalism as an envisaged production frame for the new Yugoslavia requires administrators able to understand controlled and taxable rules of profit making and private initiatives. However, for this first long jump into capitalism all existing criminal records and heritages of the "business oligarchy" from the previous regime and its inheritors should be dealt accordingly. Capital will definitely influence creation of new kinds of relationships both internally and externally, and consequently the new types of administrators expected to take over would have a sound knowledge of capitalistic processes and products.

In addition, the need for ecologically and socially aware, as well as technically skilled administrative players is another important prerequisite for successful transition. The shift from a typical "complicated and semi-skilled administrator prototype" that has been the delicatessen of Yugoslav communist cuisine for years, should aim towards professionals capable of understanding the "practice of place". In such situation, the horizon line of their engagement and productivity wouldn't be measured by paper work only. That is, the administrative horizon might then become a value constructed out from a number of implemented physical plans, policies, strategies, development and investment projects, which do not impose negative social, economic and environmental impacts. In such situation the critical role a modern administrator plays would become visible and appreciated by the public and numerous

stakeholders at different territorial and organizational levels.

EDUCATING NEW PLANNING LEADERS

Derived from architecture and city design, physical planning gradually extended its focus of interest to areas outside city limits, thereby including rural areas, wider regional territories, river valleys, wildlife and protected zones, and sometimes even the cross-border territories of two or more countries. It began as a discipline that focused on the design and beautification of cities, but its scope of work now includes finding solutions to numerous economic, social and environmental issues. In most developed countries nowadays, the planning agenda is focuses significantly on management, monitoring and decision making related to the functioning of complex spatial and environmental systems. Meanwhile, in developing countries urban planning still largely focuses on problems that were typical in developed countries at the beginning of and in the 20th century. This primarily refers to urban and population growth control, sustainable natural resource utilisation, environmental protection, services and employment provision, and poverty reduction (Cavric, 2000).

Bearing in mind the nature and content of planning as a subject, the logical question that arises is who are planners and what kind of education should they have. This question can be answered in two ways. The first and simpler answer is that anyone who is involved in planning can be regarded as a planner. However, this does not mean that all of them are professionally trained to do the work. The second answer would make it necessary to analyse the term "professional physical planner". It refers to an individual with a professional degree in urban and regional planning, involved in planning for the government, parastatal and private agencies or engaged in research work or pursuing an academic career.

Politicians, planners and the general public are not homogenous group. They do not have the same attitudes and interests. This adds the problems in decision making. Planners are often expected to play several roles. They are members of the civil service carrying out instructions given by politicians and working closely with administrators. Planners are themselves administrators advising and assisting politicians or developers and investors if they are working in private agencies. It is important that the planners realize that they will represent different interests in society and be aware of

these difficulties. The planner's ability to facilitate cooperation and conduct consultation is crucial. (Manda, 1997).

It is very important that other people – including politicians, administrators, and the general public – are also involved, and the main role of the professional planner is to act as a co-ordinator, collecting and analysing information and proposals for action provided by the others, rather than actually making all the decision himself (see Fig. 2). Moreover, it should also be recognized that planning can, in fact, take place without any professional planners, although their presence can enhance the planning process in many ways (Conyers & Hills, 1990, p. 14).

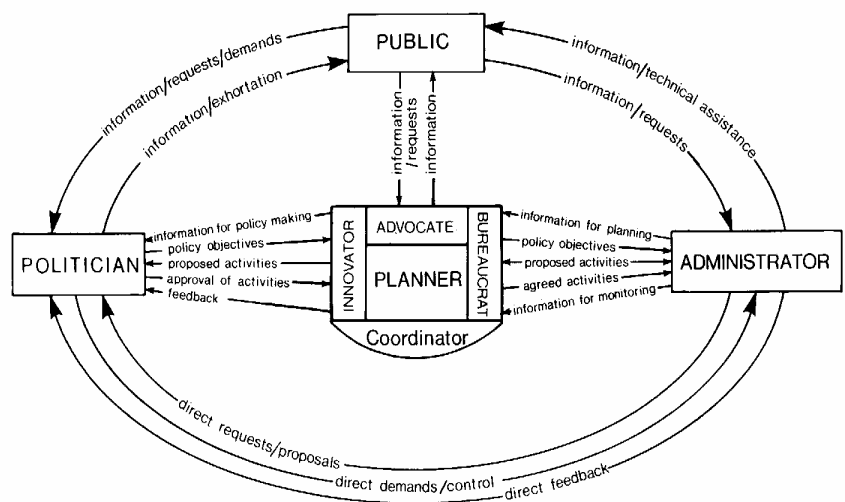
The development of a professional planner largely depends on his/her university education and affiliations to planning institutes and associations. Nowadays there is a developed network of planning schools with accredited undergraduate, postgraduate and specialist studies and programmes all over the world. In addition to this, there are planning organizations such as the Royal Town Planning Institute, the American Planning Association, the Royal Australian Institute of Town Planners, the Canadian Institute of Planners, the South African Institute of Urban and Regional Planners and many others, whose basic aim is to protect, support and promote the interests and position of the planning profession both at

the national and international level. According to Suttcliffe (1981, p. 173) there are four classes of planners: the fully cosmopolitan planner (Ward, 2001); the intermediary; the home-based planner with a willingness to look abroad; and the xenophobe.

Before the establishment of the first Yugoslav planning school in 1977, physical planners entering a professional practice have been recruited from different backgrounds (architecture, economy, engineering, geography, sociology, etc.) Today the situation is quite different as physical planners now get a formal undergraduate and post-graduate education in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Belgrade. In the last 25 years a considerable number of professional planners have been awarded BSc degrees, postgraduate diplomas, masters degrees and PhD degrees. Most of them found employment in Serbia and Montenegro, or in former Yugoslav republics that are now new independent states, namely in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. Also, while some have continued their careers overseas.

The first 1977/78 syllabus was based on the territorial integrity of what was at the time the territory of Yugoslavia. It dealt mostly with the local planning agenda, and its greatest advantage was its multidisciplinary approach. The first lecturers in the newly founded school were eminent experts in architecture and urban

Figure 2. - Interrelationships of politicians, planners, administrators, and the public (Conyers & Hills, 1990, p. 246)



design, geography, economy, sociology, engineering and the environmental science. The fundamental issues and questions that were raised in this first educational programme referred to spontaneous urbanisation, environmental impacts, regional development, and the disparities between central settlements. Unfortunately, the issues of European integration, public participation, gender, etc. were neglected then just as in the most recent 1995/96 syllabus.

The numerous political, economic and territorial changes that have taken place within the former and the latest Yugoslav union, logically demand changes in the educational planning concepts and objectives. Formal planning is a relatively young profession and conditionally said "science", not only in Yugoslavia but in the developed world as well. Its future development, and especially the development of the educational foundation are not going to be problem free, without any obstacles or challenges. This issue must be dealt with on time and at the right place, giving valid arguments, both in terms of theory and the methodology implemented in actual planning practice (Deric, Milic and Babacic 1997).

Planning Academia and its programmes, as an independent part of society, might influence and give directions for new planning awareness. In view of this, our research is aimed at recommending improvements in the planning of educational programmes. These improvements might lead new generations of Yugoslav planners to influence changes and direct society towards globalisation. Furthermore, the new educational programme could help Yugoslav planners to make fruitful collaborations and compete internationally, and this could open the doors of the international employment arena.

Considering the current constraints limiting better performance and a stronger societal contribution, the following areas might be targeted as good starting points for any expected improvements and the revitalisation of the existing agenda of the Belgrade School of Planning:

- International recognition;
- Changes in the academic program;
- International cooperation and accreditation of the program;
- The establishment of a National Institute of Town and Regional Planners'
- Scientific research work and publications; and
- Improved public, community and university service debate

The suggestions clearly show that emphasis would be placed on international co-operation

and initiatives, since they are seen as a possible way of joining the global family of planning schools and the only way out of the current isolation. In order to join the global family of planners, it is essential to first be part of the European branch of the family (e.g. Association of European Schools of Planning – AESOP).

APPLICATION OF MODERN PLANNING TECHNIQUES – WITH GIS IN MIND!

Most of the earlier generations of formally educated planners found jobs in architectural, urban planning and engineering companies, in governmental and parastatal agencies and in research institutes and academia. All these institutions lacked planning expertise and needed to take a different approach to the world that surrounds us. The new professionals were aware of the opportunity they were given and worked hard to justify their positions. They introduced a completely new approach to the solution of complex urban and regional development and management problems. What more, they exchanged information and experience with other professions that were part of interdisciplinary teams, thus enriching their methodologies. Public and professional debates, and information about experience abroad contributed to the social acceptance of the profession.

Although this new and vanguard profession has proved itself, it is still very difficult for planners to influence and help realise any faster changes in the present crisis. Nevertheless, the profession should try to help itself independently and prepare for the future that will inevitably come about. In this respect, the improvement of planning methods and techniques, international cooperation and the development of elite professionals must become a priority. It is especially important to educate a planning elite, as it is obvious that the "whole socialist project failed worldwide because of the systematic destruction of functional elites, while the planning functional elite will be respected and favoured in the future." (D. Perisic, *ibid.*)

In view of this, there is a clear suggestion for all young and prospective planning professionals to make sense of themselves through continuous education and rigorous technical training along the line of modern planning methods and techniques. Today, there are many technological opportunities for basic background improvements. For example, it is notable that spatial data processing by means of GIS (Geographic Information System), remote sensing and image processing, virtual

reality and 3-D modelling, what if? analysis, spatial expert and decision systems, etc. might open wider avenues for young and highly motivated "planning yuppies". Bringing up a cadre of planners versed in applying various geo-spatial technologies and tools is the most effective way to secure their use in planning and decision making process (Budic, 2000).

Using GIS might be an excellent starting point due to its attractive, comprehensive and cross-disciplinary nature which can invite planning-related decision-making through a complex, often politically charged process. Ultimately, GIS applied in the field of urban and regional planning can advance the following general and specific planning goals:

- better quality of urban environments; (liveable, safe, and aesthetically pleasing)
- environmentally and socially sustainable communities;
- effective spatial organisation of urban activities (work, residence, commerce, and recreation);
- "smart growth" of urban areas;
- efficient communication between various urban functions;
- revitalization of deteriorated areas;
- variety of housing options;
- employment opportunities and economic development; and
- democratisation of the planning and policy making process (Budic, *ibid.*)

The all above goals are in the same time "burning issues" of Yugoslav society and contain a vitally important message about GIS as a problem solving technology. The efficient use of GIS might ensure the best possible results in situation when competition for resources (natural, human, financial) is intense. In such circumstances, GIS is the most desirable way to provide decision-makers with appropriate advice. A rational planning advocacy shouldered with GIS objectiveness can provide a firm foundation for the planning profession and its activity in the country burdened with so many constraints. GIS should be viewed as a possible framework for tackling problems through a logical sequence of activities and in a comprehensive manner, but not operating in isolation from other techniques and methods.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to acquire official GIS hardware and software these days. Due to sanctions and financial limitations, pirating and the illegal use of different GIS packages (ArcView, ERDAS Imagine, GeoMe-

dia, MapInfo) is very common practice even in government planning offices. The latest arrangement with Microsoft and other IT companies might resolve this problem. Similarly to Bill Gates' efforts to express good will and eventually again open the door of Yugoslav market to Microsoft's range of products, there is no reason not to establish adequate co-operation with GIS vendors who operated within Serbia and Montenegro before the civil war (e.g. GISDATA Belgrade). An excellent example is the Environmental System Research Institute (ESRI), Redlands, California, a GIS leader known for helping former communist and countries in transition all over the world. There is no doubt that ESRI technical and managing experts would be willing to consider the revival of the Yugoslav GIS market if interested parties invited them to do so.

In conclusion, it is clear that the way forward to better GIS diffusion and implementation is not going to be easy. It is very important to highlight the possibility of potential problem situations that might arise. Namely, local IT forces might try to preserve their position by offering domestic GIS/CAD clones as a substitution for the world-wide recognised and standardised GIS solutions. Hopefully, such efforts will remain isolated and without any support from those in a position to make decisions about the current and future GIS needs in the country.

IMPLEMENTATION IS PART OF PLANNING AFTERMATH

The question of proper implementation of planning proposals and policies is one of the fundamental agendas in professional planning practice and theory today. The failure to implement the proposal and policies given in any single standalone planning document or "blue print" is widely to be one of the major weaknesses of physical planning in former and present day Yugoslavia, as well. There a number of reasons why plans sometimes get no further than the paper phase, often collecting dust on a shelf in an administrator's office. Some of the problems can be avoided or remedied by planners; but others are beyond their influence and control. There is still a common belief that the role of a planner ends with the approval of the plan. The absence of planners in the plan implementation phase was a common practice in Yugoslavia in the past and there do not seem to have been any major changes.

In addition, there is a big discrepancy between the number of plans and resources available for their implementation. Even for realistic plans in

terms of capacity and resources there are numerous obstacles in the form of powerful political figures and their allies who are unwilling to accept and follow planning guidance. The general tendency to improvise and the absolute control by those who do so is a 'much better alternative', especially at the local community level where we still have feudal and tribal authorities superseding state and republic influence. In such situation professional planners could be even "sacrificed" as a holly animals in the mystical processes of local political rituals and slaughtering.

However, it should be noted that the design, construction, utilisation and maintenance of physical infrastructure and buildings or the provision of any other technical, environmental and social services related to the physical plan are the responsibilities not only of the functional, technical and administrative personnel (architects, engineers, surveyors, economists, builders, real estate managers, developers, investors, etc.), but also of physical planners. The coordination of participation and communication after reporting and plan approval is vital for successful planning and plan implementation, including all vertical and horizontal axes between different parties included.

The role of the planner is thus concerned with mobilising, organizing and managing the resources needed to undertake the actions embodied in plans, by stimulating dialogues of cooperation and interdisciplinary relationships, applying mixture of "bottom up" and "top-down" approaches, until the entire political and economical system is stable enough to receive more local community inputs. It is practically necessary to involve planners from the stage of drawing layouts and writing reports, until the completion of the infrastructure and superstructure on the ground, and even further during its maintenance and utilisation process. In this regard politicians and government authorities are expected to allow planners to be more involved in the following tasks:

- Implementation management systems;
- Development of specific plan implementation techniques and tools;
- Guiding architectural, urban and engineering design;
- Supporting legally framed tendering and contracting procedures;
- Organising monitoring and control based on integrated GIS technologies and regular data collection and processing; and
- Pursuing thorough plan evaluation and

necessary annual and/or 3-5 year reviews.

The main advantage of this approach will become evident in reality very soon if all parties concerned apply the language of understanding, mutual appreciations and respect. If this is not the case the destiny of plans and planning can be unpredictable. We see a high potential of cooperation if democratisation process continues and if community sensitisation and awareness are raised and coupled with international encouragements and investment synergies. We look forward for greater collaboration with the all networks of leaders and recognised professionals; and we remain at disposal to explore critical paths and positive partnerships that could result in satisfying citizen's interests and needs.

Conyers and Hills (1996) argue that whatever efforts made to improve plan implementation by any of the means suggested here, it will never be possible to remove all obstacles to the implementation process because some of factors are beyond the control of either the planner or others involved in the preparation and implementation of plans. Thus, to give just a few examples, plan implementation is frequently hampered by unexpected weather or other natural disasters, international economic problems resulting, for example, in shortages of foreign exchange required to purchase essential equipment, sudden political changes and personality problems among the various individuals involved. Nevertheless, such problems should not prevent the planner from seeking to improve - even if not to perfect - the implementation process (Conyers, and Hills, *ibid*).

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

From a developing and transitional country's perspective and in the face of complexities described in this paper, it is important to trace the way forward and to identify entry points and milestones for the whole governmental and planning machinery. The following short paragraphs relating to the previous sections aim to give a summary of challenges, issues and dilemmas highlighted by author. Effort to link all of them in strong chain of recommended steps might influence a critical mass needed for decision - making in which planning fraternity can find itself in better position than it was before and it is still far a way from the position of fellow colleagues abroad.

Planning System

One of the biggest upcoming issues is how the

physical planning system will fit into the entire political and socio-economic system that is currently undergoing a major face-lift. The strategy of establishing different partnerships and collaborative ties under the umbrella of the new system should be one of the major goals. The implementation of internationally recognised planning models would be a positive step forward for efficient physical planning system building. This paper encourage a more holistic approach to this issue suggesting acceptance of "imposed models" in the initial stage of the development of the new planning system. At the same time this will help maintain community awareness in terms of theoretical and practical planning approaches previously rotted around different international and domestic planning models. It will also be a very useful exercise in gap fillings until a stable system structure is in place. Thus, the major challenges now are how to bring together experienced and young planners back into a particular planning system forum and use their expertise and knowledge to create permanent system structures and establish various protocols for system activity.

Planning Legislature

It is also important to demonstrate how new willingness in the every day changing political and economical scene can save resources at the local, regional, and national levels. Yugoslavia cannot be recognised fully unless standardised and internationally recognised legal choices start to dominate public domain. It appears that there has been insufficient encouragement so far for developing the new legal platforms in order to avoid mistakes caused by legislative confusion and miss matching amongst numerous law acts dealing with land, planning, environmental and development issues. It is also visible that in the forest of legal documents one faces difficulties finding a single tree of justice. One of the crucial question is how to simplify and at the same time come up with more comprehensive planning law, which could satisfy not only planners, but other professional lobbies dealing with spatial resources including planning, utilisation and management of complex underground, ground, and above-ground land surface spheres. Through legally bound decision-making planners must advice politicians, managers, developers and investors to look at the totality of spatial dimensions and at the effects of illegal actions, which are usually damaging to spatial contents. When new planning laws are being prepared, it would be

necessary to review the links with other spatially oriented legal documents in order to avoid points of non-conformance, overlaps and non-consistency.

Planning Administration

The efficiency of a political and planning system largely depends on the efficiency and flexibility of its administration. In Yugoslavia, this is definitely not the case. The administrative system has suffered devastating blows through the years and especially so in the last ten years of misery. Administrative institutions are expected to be the building blocks of the Yugoslav transition to sustainable pathways to development. Consequently, a serious effort should be made to start with new capacity building and revisions at all levels of the administrative machinery. An entry point for solutions must be sought within capitalist models with strong social components which are still necessary here to help bridge the transitional canyon.

It would be beneficial to implement the criteria for the "user/citizen centred" approach immediately, primarily so to satisfy the ordinary people and public, working together with leaders. Once such a solution has been applied, the issues that arise from daily administrative practices and procedures and the implementation of different strategies and policies, can be handled with a brighter prospectus. For example, any administrative outcomes and decisions relating to physical planning matters should contain provisions to bring in and involve technically skilled planners and interested communities together. Other individual and usually "corrupt practices" must be punishable accordingly. It is important to emphasize the need for physical planning offices (units), at all levels of the new government (state, republic, provincial, regional, county and settlement levels).

Planning Academia

The current planning school should be used as a platform for extended professional and public dialogue and the synthesis of policy-making and academic realms. By co-ordinating and gluing the activities of different stakeholders and securing the scientific approval of new initiatives, the school could have an extended role. Namely, both students and practising planners could work together in problem solving situations. It is important for a school to develop the ability to anticipate events, which in turn could help communities, political

leaders and managers to prepare for challenges brought about by technological innovations used in practice on a daily basis. However, the institutional and organisational design of the school needs to be more diversified and flexible than is the case now. Being the first and still the only indigenous physical planning school in former and present day Yugoslavia is an advantage which has not been utilised enough to influence the opening of wider avenues towards co-operating with numerous domestic and foreign partners. A revision and modernization of the current programmes, and the establishment of research and technical ties with other academies, the activation of publishing, consultancy, conference, advisory, and distance-learning as well as short summer/winter courses, and different part-time training activities would be an essential adjustment strategy for this fabric of planning knowledge. When the University of Belgrade and various ministries negotiate new agreements, the above propositions should draw the attention of all those responsible for the school and its future.

Planning Techniques

In piloting the efficient application of various promising planning techniques, tools and technologies that exist today, it is important to first offer them to young and prospective professionals from our planning society. The need and demand for – GIS and similar spatially oriented technologies require serious consideration, because GIS is about to establish a new paradigm in the planning profession. It is important that we understand this fact as soon as possible, although we have already had almost 15 to do so. Successful experiments in this context should be forgotten. We do not need only experiments and demo presentations. What we do need is a real operating GIS world which will include data, HW, SW and most importantly an adequate human and organisational GIS framework. GIS as a promising planning technique will only continue to progress with improved human and management understanding and support.

In turn GIS will help avoid the duplication of efforts and will enable more effective information processing, communication and streamline decision-making by the personnel in charge. GIS should function as a virtual organization, helping decision-making and information flows based on spatially and multi-disciplinary embodied data sets. Recognising this as a National GIS Strategy should be the purpose and goal that will facilitate faster

development and political changes based on spatially accurate information.

Planning Implementation

It is the mission of the planning profession to support the implementation of planning proposals, policies and strategies. There is no doubt that planners must be recognised as key players once physical plans have been prepared for different communities and spatial levels. This involvement should focus on the numerous activities elaborated in this paper. The practice of avoiding planners and their influence once development projects were ready to be implemented was a major weakness and one of the biggest obstacles to progress in sustainable development.

Our platform of favouring the integration of planners in the implementation stage will help others to better understand the complex issues and potential impacts of the development planning and design proposals given in technical documentation. In this regard, the implementation portfolio will have a more realistic prospect for success. The attainment of this objective will ensure an infrastructure which will be able to provide environmentally sound and sustainable turn-key solutions that will satisfy professional and public rigour. As we look to the foreseeable future, this action could change the entire professional planning arena. The actors who played small roles might become stars in premiere development and environmental movies.

CONCLUSION

Despite sometime very critical language, the main intention of this article was to give a positive flavour to the current societal changes in the latest Yugoslav union of Serbia and Montenegro, from the physical planner's point of view. All the suggestions and recommendations given in this analysis are not exclusive. They only represent the personal point of view of a planner with (considerably long practical, research, management, administrative and GIS experience in the country and abroad. Similar to other professional contributions in debates on the country's destiny and prospect, the aim of the views expressed in the paper was to activate hidden and oppressed intellectual potential within the visionary profession of physical planners. In this regard, the attempt was to sensitise and galvanise the energy of professional planners working in different agencies.

To paraphrase the words of David Eversley (1973), planners cannot abdicate under politi-

cal and other pressures. They have to find a way to by-pass problems through mutual dialogues with politicians, administrators and the public. They cannot leave the future of cities and wider territories to the legions of community action, self-help and resistance groups, to anarchy and the threat of civil war. Nor, lastly, can they withdraw in favour of the total chaos which existed when privilege and wealth were the only determinants shaping cities, as these forces operated after the collapse and disintegration of former Yugoslavia. Planners themselves are the creation of a new order of society which had its modest beginning a hundred and eighty years ago. The question is not whether they should turn their backs on this process, but how they may best, and most speedily, guide it towards an admittedly very distant goal of equality, peace and well being (Eversley, *ibid*, p.222).

In other words, the potential and honesty of our physical planners and other professional cadres should erupt at all levels, burning and destroying fortifications of the administrative ruin of the latest "lord of the rings" who tailored our destinies in the last decade of the 20th century. With this vision in mind, planners will play an important role in moving towards sustainable development for all, not only for privileged members of society. The lost middle class of techno-bureaucrats, which is always the engine of societal successes and/or failures, should be re-born with the aim of meeting society's needs in an environmentally, economically and politically sound way. This is not something impossible. It is reality and has been achieved in numerous countries worldwide. They have become the front-runners in the global race. Examples of former communist countries with a high human development index (HDI 0.800 and above in 1999), like Slovenia (0.874), the Czech Republic (0.844) Slovakia (0.831), Estonia (0.812), Lithuania and Croatia (0.803), can serve as a leading guidance for the intensification of our redevelopment efforts (UNDP, 2001).

The current obsession that changes will come overnight cannot be realistically justified. High realism will have high costs and any miracle expected by naïve followers of the former regime and those trying to disrupt the current one after years of decline, is not possible. Patience and hard work are the answers to those living in leisure and spreading defeatism. The facts given in the State Report on the Environment (1996) one year before the NATO bombardment speak for themselves and we

need to recognise them, like it or not. These facts clearly spell out that if realistic growth rates were applied, the GNP from 1990 could be achieved only in 2011. While the per capita GNP in countries that are members of the OECD increased from US\$ 11,000 in 1980 to US\$ 14,000 in 1994, Yugoslavia had, applying the same methodology a per capita GNP of US\$ 2,600 in 1980, and only US\$ 1,400 in 1994. This represented a reduction of the GNP by 71% and 64% respectively, compared to Greece and Portugal (Radulovic, Bulatovic, Radicevic, Keckarevic, and Kronic-Lazic, 1996). Although Yugoslavia was considered as one of the most serious candidates for European Union membership before the civil war, it is still at the very beginning of transforming the economy, compared to other countries in transition that have been restructuring the economy for the last ten and more years.

In a similar manner, the Government's Habitat Report from 1995 (Brkovic-Bajic, 1996), used rough estimates of the unemployment rate of 23,1% and an annual GNP of 1,200 US\$ per inhabitant. According to unconfirmed statistical values of the Human Development Index (HDI), unofficial reporters rank Yugoslavia as belonging to the group of countries with a medium and low HDI. The data from the Central European Annual Business Report (1997), places Yugoslavia in the 16th place, within the group of 27 countries in transition, with a GNP of US\$ 1,510 per inhabitant (Janic, 1997). Compared to the former Yugoslav republics, the FRY was ranked as third, following Slovenia (US\$ 9,352) and Croatia (US\$ 3,492), and better ranked than the Former Yugoslav Republics of Macedonia (US\$ 700) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (US\$ 524).

As far as the system of planning is concerned, there is no more social planning which used to be the dominant form of planning. If we consider urban and regional planning, it is expected that the legal shortcomings and deficiencies that neglected its importance when compared with sectoral planning (e.g. agriculture, infrastructure systems, water affairs planning) will be removed. It is also believed that physical plan implementation and the establishment of a more diversified planning administration will experience their renaissance.

The assumption is that the shift from solely economic and physical planning relations, and introduction of environmental impact assessments, feasibility studies, as well as GIS, social cost and benefits analysis, will initiate qualitative changes of the existing

planning system. With further urbanisation and settlement growth, it is natural to expect that planning will trigger an improvement in the living standards and quality of human life. Unfortunately, realistically speaking, the economic and social recession that affected Yugoslavia in the last decade will definitely require a long- term process of painful hilling and recovery.

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SLOVENIAN SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEM

– KEY CHANGES OF PAST DECADE

Valentina Lavrenčič, Janja Kreitmayer

Spatial planning has a long tradition in Slovenia. It was always a part of the integrated planning process, first institutionalized in 1968. The planning system was quite unique, combining economic, social, and spatial aspects in one, a so called long-term and medium-term social plan. At the national level its spatial part consisted of the national spatial plan, the defining concept for settlement management and growth, public service delivery, use of space and landscape transformation, protection of the environment, and guidelines for conflict management. Today, this form of planning is substituted by the national strategies and programs of each sector.

The new legal system set in Slovenia upon gaining independence in 1991 also required a different attitude toward space, as well as the design of a responsible and effective spatial planning system. The new spatial planning system had to adapt the administrative solutions and approaches to a parliamentary democracy, market economy, private property, the establishment of the local government, and incorporation in the European integration process. Reforming the standards and organizational aspects of spatial planning is establishing new rules, especially in relation to the system of spatial planning documents and their contents, the recognition and introduction of market instruments in the area of spatial planning, new roles in spatial planning for local communities, and respecting private property as one of the basic constitutional categories. The new normative arrangement is set to enable greater flexibility of spatial documents and greater public participation in adopting decisions about the use of space, establishing the foundations of a spatial planning information system, and newly regulating the activities of spatial planning.

The new spatial planning system in Slovenia is still in the process of being developed. Slovenia is redesigning the whole system of planning, which includes economic development, budgetary and spatial planning, and adjusting it to the accession procedure to the European Union.

Significant efforts to improve spatial planning legislation with an emphasis on land policy and preparation of the new spatial development concept of Slovenia are being made. These efforts are setting up an overall strategy for spatial development and implementing the principles of European guidelines for sustainable spatial development. The *Spatial Planning Act*¹ has just been drafted and is currently in process to be adopted by the parliament. It is determining the responsibilities and procedures in spatial planning, and among others, also defining the types and contents of spatial documents. The new act introduces novelties with an emphasis on the flexibility of planning, the strengthening of public participation, and simplifying procedures. The decisions about spatial development and guidelines for spatial planning, however, will be determined according to the latest proposal of the Act², in three spatial documents: Spatial Management Policy, Spatial Development Concept, and the Report on Spatial Development.

In December 2001 the Slovene government adopted two documents: the Assessment of Spatial Development in Slovenia and the Spatial Management Policy of the Republic of

Slovenia³.

The *Assessment of Spatial Development in Slovenia* (Assessment of Spatial Development) is a temporary document for the period before the adoption of the new Spatial Planning Act, and will later be substituted by the Report on Spatial Development. It was needed to serve as a basis for all other spatial development or spatial management documents and the starting point for:

- the formulation of the basic spatial development objectives and guidelines,
- the enforcement of an effective spatial management system, and,
- the preparation of uniform methodology with criteria and indicators for the continuous monitoring of spatial development, which will be the basis for preparing periodic Spatial Development and Management Reports.

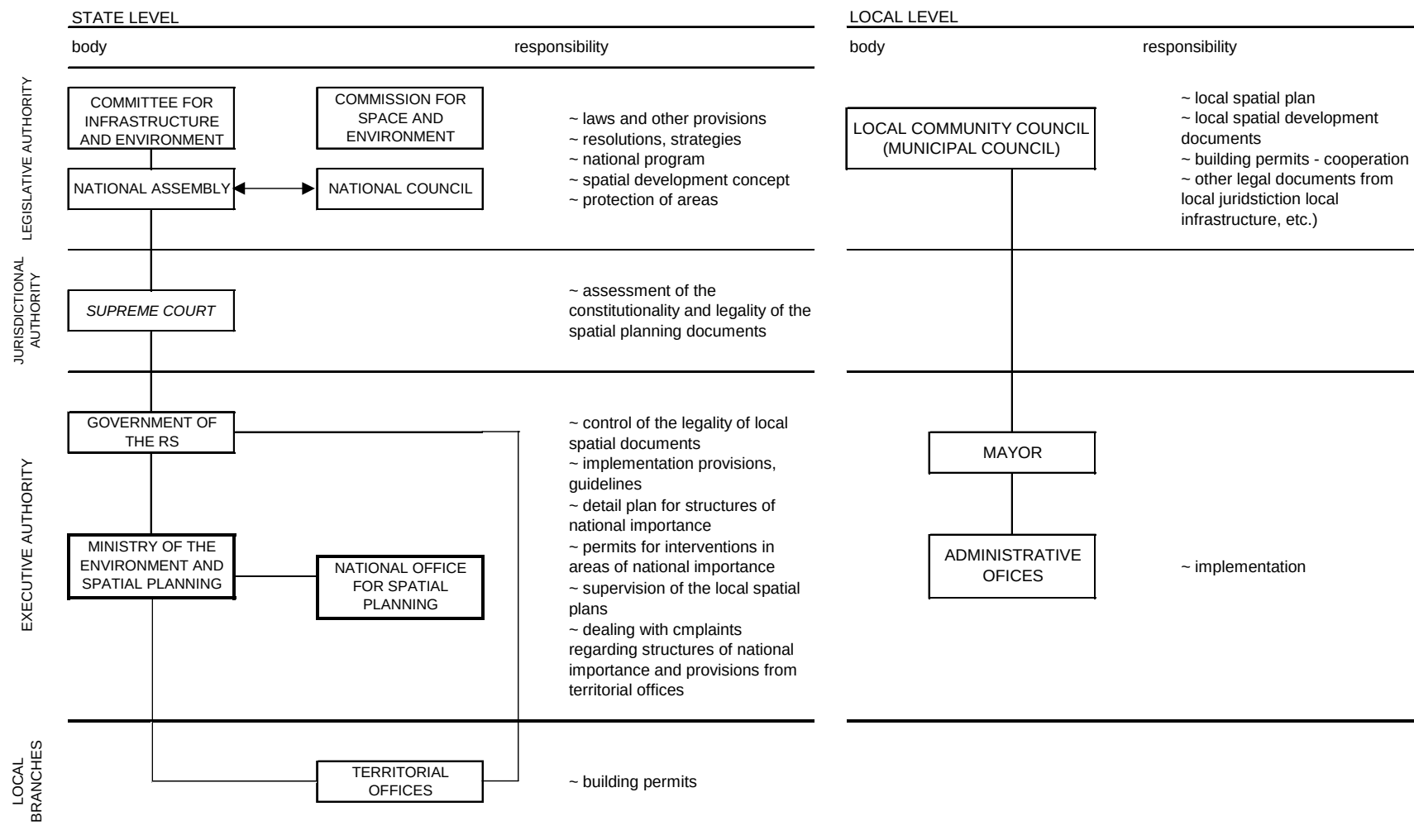
¹ Bulletin of the National Assembly of Republic of Slovenia, December 31, 2001, NO. 102.

² Working paper for the second proceeding in the National Assembly – proposal: March 29, 2001

³ The Government of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the Spatial Management Policy of the Republic of Slovenia at its 55th regular session on December 20th 2001, Bulletin of the National Assembly of Republic of Slovenia, January 2002, no. 8.

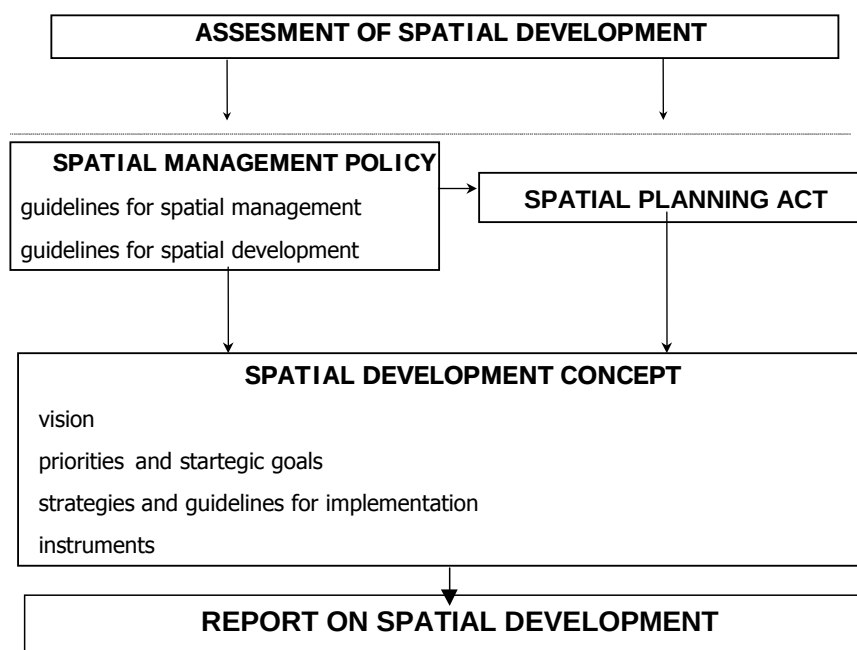
National Spatial Planning in Regard to European Spatial Development May 2002

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: ROLE-DIVISION AND RESPONSIBILITIES



Source: Ministry for the Environment and Spatial Planning

Scheme of national spatial development documents



The Assessment of Spatial Development in Slovenia highlights the principal characteristics of Slovenian space and its most urgent problems pertaining to spatial development and the current spatial planning system. It briefly presents and deals with all of the main activities affecting spatial management.

On the basis of the Assessment of Spatial Development we designed the *Spatial Management Policy of the Republic of Slovenia* (Policy). The Policy is the first spatial document that represents the attainment of the long expected consensus on the fundamental spatial management objectives, as well as, on the methods and instruments for their achievement at the national, regional, and local levels. At the same time it also offers a framework for a co-ordinated and interconnected implementation of all activities and actors in the spatial planning process at all levels of decision-making. Together with the Slovenian Economic Development Strategy and the Slovenian Regional Development Strategy, it is the basic policy document for guiding national development. It has been formulated for a number of years with the co-operation of many experts in this field and on the basis of professional discussions and inter-ministerial co-ordination among all the bodies that influence spatial management.

The Spatial Management Policy is a framework for:

- co-ordination of sectoral spatial development policies,
- reform of spatial management system, and at the same time it is also the basis for preparing the *Spatial Development Concept of Slovenia*.

The Policy points out the trends in Slovenian spatial development, which have a fundamental influence on spatial planning and development, and need to be tackled as soon as possible. It further states the basic principles and objectives to be taken into consideration in the management of Slovenian space and draws up guidelines how to attain them.

Spatial management objectives, as stated in the Policy:

- to enforce our comparative advantages in European integration processes, and to protect our national identity,
- to promote a balanced development of all regions,
- to reintroduce and define polycentric urban network development, and promote it by effective transport and other infrastructure, enabling good transport links and access to knowledge,
- to promote the modernisation of agriculture and the preservation of cultural

landscapes when restructuring rural areas,

- to promote the economically viable use of space,
- to ensure conservation and the active management of the environment, as well as natural and cultural values, and
- to improve the institutional system for spatial management.

An issue of particular emphasis in the Spatial Management Policy is the request for integrated treatment of settlement, infrastructure, and landscape. Emphasis is placed on those guidelines which refer to the polycentric development of cities and other settlements.

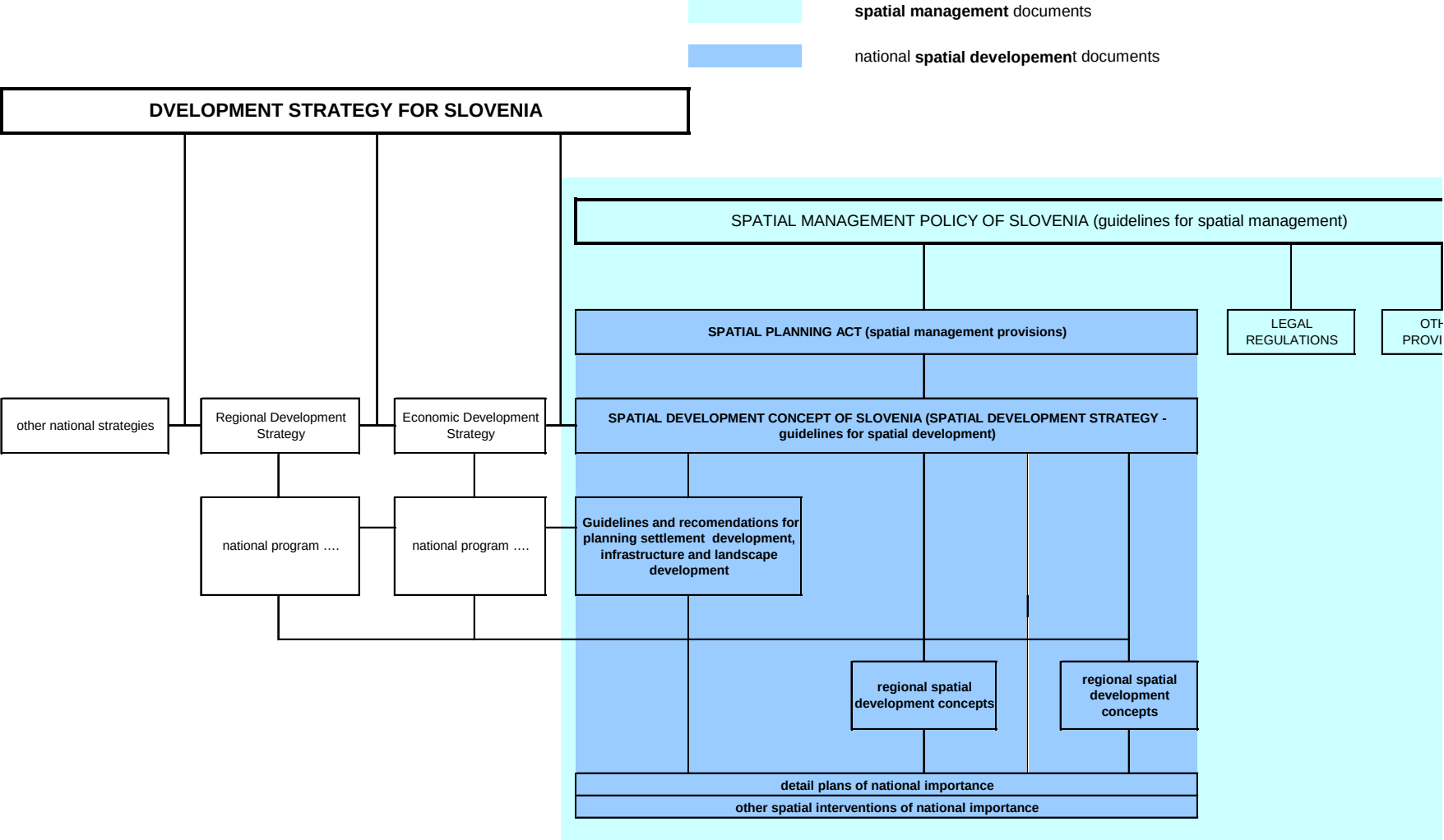
The Policy is setting also the system of implementation measures and policy proposals to be taken into consideration in further spatial development documents and other policies. These are in the areas of:

- Legislative and institutional systems (High-quality legislation and its consistent enforcement)
- Financial and economic measures (Providing adequate financial resources and other economic measures)
- Development of the profession and information system (Education of technical personnel and an improved information system)
- Spatial management promotion (Providing access to information)
- Public participation (Public involvement throughout the planning process)

In order to ensure active controlling and targeting of spatial development, it is necessary to develop an effective system of measures, interconnected at inter-ministerial and all other levels to ensure the spatial policy's adoption and implementation. Particular attention is therefore devoted to financial and economic measures aimed at promoting the positive, and the hindering of negative processes in the space, education, and information system, the promotion of spatial management activities, as well as the participation of all those that are affected by or interested in spatial management. However, a prerequisite for controlling ever new challenges and tasks in spatial development is the reform of the spatial management system, which will be enabled by new spatial planning legislation.

Spatial documents at the national level with regard to other strategic documents

SPATIAL PLANNING ACT - proposal/04.04.2002



The approach in designing the spatial development concept draft proposal/ 04.04.2002 – work in progress

VISION				
PRIORITIES	POLICENTRIC URBAN NETWORK - BALANCED SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT	CITIES - FOCUS OF SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT	RURAL AREAS - DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL	NATURAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE - WEALTH OF SLOVENIA
STRATEGIC GOALS	1. Well connected network of cities and other settlements 2. Support for competitive advantages of regions, integration in European space 3. Access - transportation network, condition for efficiently connected Slovenian space 4. Partnership between urban and rural areas 5. Strengthening of economically depressed and other problem areas	6. Spatial integration of urban region 7. Cities - attractive living and working environment 8. Accelerated development and allocation of urban services 9. Renovation of degraded areas and preservation of city centers and cultural focal points 10. Active urban management	11. Preservation of the vitality of rural areas in the context of new European conditions 12. Preservation and strengthening of identity of rural areas 13. Tourism as development potential of rural areas	14. To ensure natural and cultural heritage for future generations 15. Rational use of natural resources
STRATEGIES				
INSTRUMENTS				

NEW APPROACH TO SPATIAL PLANNING IN SLOVENIA

Slovenia is implementing new approaches to spatial planning also at the national level through the preparation of *Spatial Development Concept of Slovenia*. Along with the National Environmental Protection Program and the Economic Development Strategy this is one of the main strategic documents oriented toward sustainable development. The emphases are primarily on *subsidiarity*, *flexibility* and *integration* in the wider European space as the general parameters for guiding spatial development. Planning is seen as a continuous process where it is crucial to have a good set of

criteria to guide the spatial development, rather than pre-set solutions that might be unable to manage the continuously changing interests.

Through the preparation of the spatial development concept Slovenia has also undertaken the implementation of the recommendations from European spatial development documents,¹ which are enforced in the preparation of all laws and national programs in the area of sustainable development.

Within the context of the spatial development strategy, we stress the priorities of: achieving a balanced urban structure and urban network; the effective management of urban growth; the balancing of the housing market; and improving the land and real estate policy.

The Spatial Development Concept sets three basic values which are taken in regard through every decision: These are social welfare, social stability, and freedom. It also sets three general goals:

- quality of living and working environment,

- rational use of land, and
- preservation of the identity of spatial structures.

The concept is based on long term vision which sets the priorities for spatial development. Each priority has strategic goals, strategies, and guidelines how to achieve these goals and instruments for the implementation.

In order to improve the identified conditions in Slovenian spatial development, we find it necessary to always ensure interdependent economic, social, and spatial planning, as well as provide for effective monitoring, and ensure the enforcement of legislation. A system of criteria and indicators has to be established to enable the implementation of defined objectives to be monitored, supervised and controlled, and provide the possibility of prompt and effective action in the case of deviations from the desired directions of development, or enable adaptation to constantly changing conditions.

¹ European Spatial Development Perspectives, *Guiding Principles for Sustainable Spatial Development of the European Continent* (CEMAT), and others. Slovenia is implementing the recommendations from those documents also through the participation in Interreg III. programs and CEMAT activities.

CITY URBAN DESIGN IN A FREE MARKET ECONOMY - THE CASE OF LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA

Kaliopa Dimitrovska Andrews, Ph.D.

A recent rapid political and economic changes in many eastern European countries demand corresponding changes in the town planning system, and especially in the development control and urban management process. For instance, at a present many historic city and town cores still remain relatively intact in their original form, but have become the target for development pressure. How should this pressure be channelled to achieve enhancement of the urban qualities of those areas (especially barracks and old factory sites), without jeopardising their competitiveness for attracting business and employment.

This paper discusses the outcomes of research carried out at the Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia from 1995 to 1998, on the development of appropriate methods for the appraisal and promotion of design quality in relation to economic viability in city development projects especially for an urban renewal.

The elements for the assessment of urban design quality derive from the basic principles of good urban design such as identity, permeability, legibility, visual appropriateness, robustness, visual and symbolic richness, amongst others. The simplified computerised model for assessing financial viability is based on building costs and market value of the investment, and shows the profitability of the development. It can be a useful tool in both assessing design viability, and for determining extra profit or 'planning gain' in the planning process negotiations such 'surplus' can be used for satisfying local needs (e.g. additional programmes, design of public spaces).

This method for appraisal and promotion of design quality in relation to economic viability has been examined through an assessment of the competition projects for the renewal of the Rog factory area in the city centre of Ljubljana. This case study has revealed the need for a clear strategy for future city development, with marketing guidance and policies for positive planning to achieve better vitality and viability for the city as a whole. Subsequently, the research examined successful initiatives for the promotion of urban design on a national and local level of the planning process, identifying the most important issues affecting city design in the market economy, such as partnership arrangements, joint ventures and city-entrepreneurs.

The paper briefly discusses:

- salient features of the current planning system in Slovenia and the on-going changes relating to the new approaches to town planning;*
- the proposed method for appraisal and promotion of design quality and economic viability of urban environment;*
- the results of the examination of this method applied to a case study - the renewal of an industrial site in the city centre of Ljubljana*

BACKGROUND TO THE PLANNING SYSTEM IN SLOVENIA

The current town planning system in Slovenia is plan-oriented with an extensive hierarchy of planning documents covering the long-term and medium term (Dolgoročni prostorski plan in Srednjeročni družbeni plan) spatial plans down to local, urban design plans (Zazidalni načrt, Ureditveni načrt, Prostorski ureditveni pogoji). Any potential development site must be covered by at least 3-4 adopted planning documents, such as Long Term Spatial Plan of the Municipality, Master Plan for the City, Local Plan for the area and Planning Permission Detailed Docu-

mentation). These plans should be harmonised, before a planning permission can be obtained. (Table 1)

Whilst Long-term and Medium - term spatial plans focus on land use policies and distribution of services and activities, local plans translate these policies into prescribed physical form typologies.

The characteristics of the Slovene planning system are therefore similar to those of other plan-oriented systems used in many European countries (see Table 2): it is aim oriented, with 'like to achieve' ideal development schemes

determined in advance and pre-planned; with prescribed land uses, design standards and regulations. There is no place for discretion, but the system is easy to administer, inflexible but legally safe (if the developer follows the prescribed development layout, he will automatically gain a planning permission). Such plan oriented systems are also time consuming (e.g. the adoption of minor changes to the local plan can take 1-2 years!) and therefore increasingly unresponsive to development needs related to rapid market changes.

Table 1. – The planning system of Slovenia

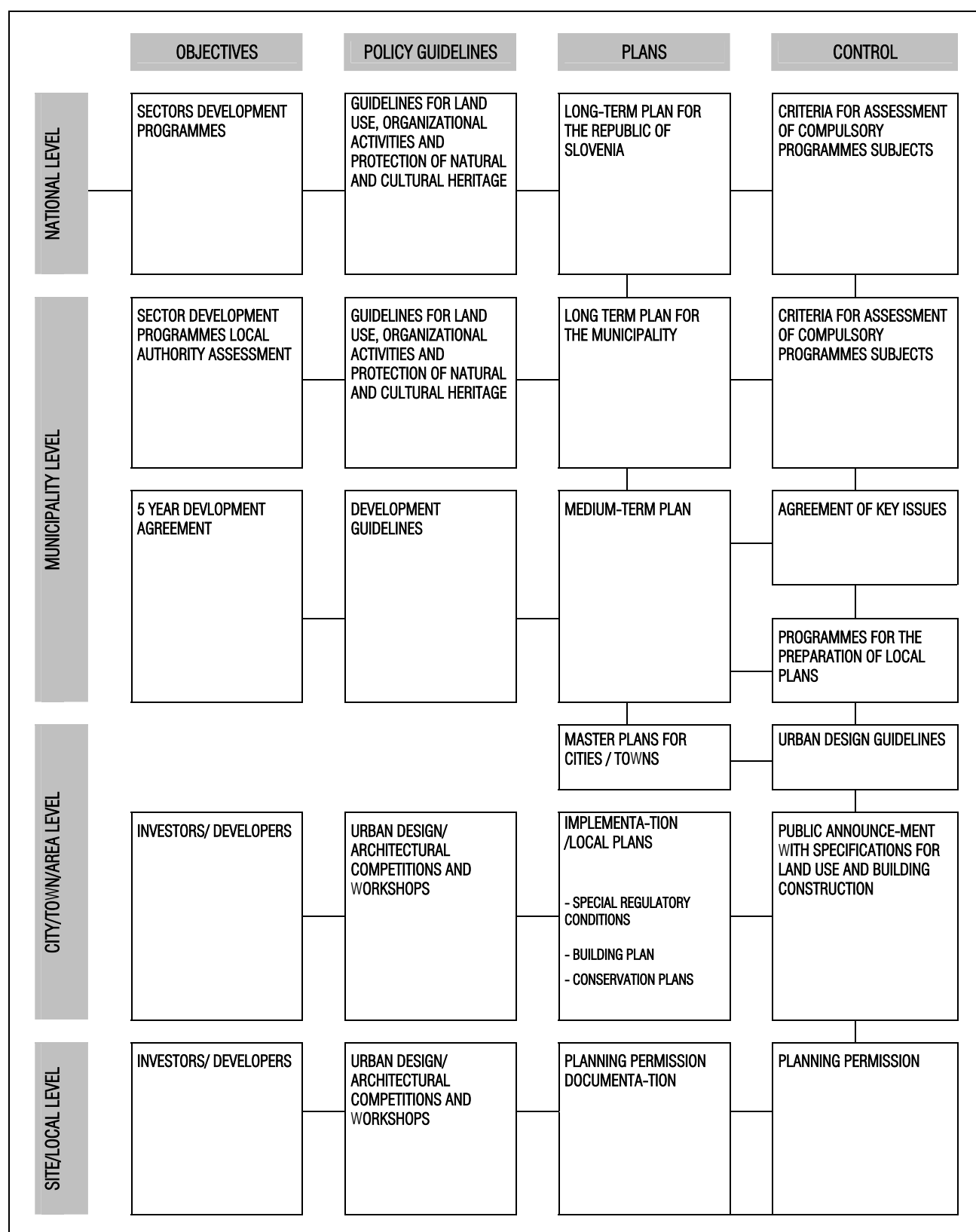


Table 2. - Planning Systems

Plan-oriented system Proactive	Project-oriented system Reactive
aim oriented, like to achieve ideal, in advance determined development scheme	responsive to dynamics of development processes
prescribed land use, design standards and regulation	adaptable to market needs, consider plan and other documentation
no/limited discretion, easily to administrate	administrative discretion,
rigged, legally safe	flexible, legally unsafe, demands previous negotiation

Slovenia, like so many other former Eastern European Countries is inter - linked into the international global markets. In order to both control and attract new development different planning mechanisms are needed.

In addition, rapid political and economic changes also demand corresponding changes in the town planning system, and especially in the development control process. Changes in the system need to be predominantly geared to increasing the flexibility of local plans, and to allow more administrative discretion in the development control process and urban design at a local level. What is also needed is more local involvement in the decision making processes to facilitate both the civil democratic right to participate and to enable private stakeholders to make decisions about their own development rights. This is especially important for development within predominantly built up areas and brown-field sites in order to support sustainable development (e.g. 60% of future development should be directed to within the existing urbanised areas).

In order to develop such a flexible framework urban design and town planning practices from Europe and the USA which are more project oriented, have been reviewed. The key findings from this review have identified the following:

(i) there is a need for additional non-statutory planning documentation such as design briefs and guides to help both architects, developers and local planning control officers to reach better design standards in development proposals ;

(ii) in negotiations with local planning officers regarding any planning proposal, account should be taken of economic viability both of the scheme, and in relation to satisfying relevant local needs ('planning gain'),

(iii) it is important to involve the public in the early stages of preparing statutory development plans through use of 'community planning' approaches such as 'Action Planning', 'Planning for Real' and 'Gaming' techniques.

A new method for the appraisal and promotion of design quality in relation to economic viability in developing existing urban environments

Given the fact that the Slovene Planning System is very much established and difficult to change radically in the immediate future the biggest scope for intervention lies in the spheres of urban design practice. Such a practice can provide fast and effective response to current development trends.

In order to establish an Urban Design methodology for Slovenia and other countries in transition , the research examined planning and marketing processes in several European cities (e.g. Barcelona, Berlin, Birmingham, Paris) assessing a critical comparison of their development strategies in terms of the quality of the urban environment. Based upon these examples, we also carried out critical analysis of successful initiatives for the promotion of urban design quality in Britain (e.g. Quality in Town and Country, HMSO, 1994; Vital and Viable Town Centres, HMSO, 1994) and town planning practices in the USA (e.g. San Francisco, Portland, Seaside and Boston). A framework has been proposed which defines the elements for assessing urban design qualities and suggests a computerised assessment model for financial viability.

The elements for the assessment of urban design quality derive from the basic principles of good urban design and can be grouped into three main categories (see Table 3):

1. Context and general compatibility

(site, land-use, setting/urban tissues characteristics and scale)

2. Arrangement and External Effects

(quality of the public realm regarding layout, physical quality impact, landscaping and scenic amenity)

3. Architecture and Detailed Design

(the most sensitive area of urban design: building types, style, facade/elevational details and materials).

The method proposes sequential forms of analysis for the determination of these elements using qualitative urban design criteria such as: identity, permeability, legibility, visual appropriateness, robustness, visual and symbolic richness, amongst others.

In addition to articulating effectively urban design and architectural matters to different actors concerned it is also important to assess financial viability of particular development proposals. These financial matters are very critical in newly privatised economies where many different stakeholders might be claiming the same development rights.

The simplified computerised model for assessing financial viability was developed (see Table 4). It is based on building costs and the market value of the investment, and shows the profitability of the development. Such a model can be a useful tool in both assessing design viability, and for determining extra profit or 'planning gain' in the planning negotiation process. Such 'surplus' can be used for satisfying both individual and other local needs e.g. additional programmes, design of public spaces and other benefits.

Table 3. - Criteria for Assessing Urban Design Qualities

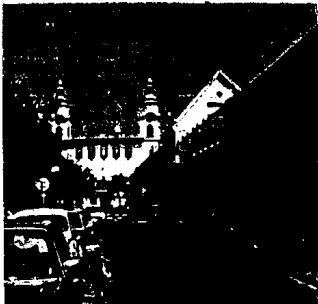
	CONTEXT AND GENERAL COMPATIBILITY	
	commandments/principles	elements/aspects to be considered
	fit, vitality (Lynch); appropriate activity (Jacobs); harmony and context, in scale with context (HRH The Prince of Wales); responsive environment, variety, human scale (Bentley et al); uses respect of history, encouragement of mixed use, scale of enclosure (Tibbalds); retention of the best, more than one use (Holyoak); responsive forms, mixed use (UD Group); dialogue with context and history (Buchanan); massing and setting, harmony and decency, visible evidence of the past (Youngson)	site characteristics topography, landscape and townscape, ecological features land use characteristics mixed uses, compatible setting urban morphology, street line, setback scale height, bulk, massing
	ARRANGEMENT AND EXTERNAL EFFECTS	
	commandments/principles	elements/aspects to be considered
	sense, access, legibility (Lynch); the street permeability, robust space, activity richness, safety (Jacobs); permeability, legibility, visual appropriateness robustness and adaptability of the public space (Bentley et al); encourage pedestrian permeability, legibility (Tibbalds); hierarchy (HRH The Prince of Wales); visual accessibility reflect uses (Holyoak); public access, security, (UD Group); public space and movement system, place making, public realm outdoor room (Buchanan); art of ensemble, serial vision, here and there, place, enclosure (Cullen).	layout external space - public and private access and parking, service physical quality impact daylight, noise protection, visual privacy, micro climate landscaping hard and soft, trees scenic amenity street scene, public space scene
	ARCHITECTURAL ISSUES	
	commandments/principles	elements/aspects to be considered
	robustness/adaptability and flexibility of buildings, visual and symbolic richness (Bentley et al); visual delight (Tibbalds); materials and decoration, signs and light (HRH The Prince of Wales); "Visible" construction, integral ornament (Holyoak); stimulating, protection, comfort (UD Group); respect architectural conventions, articulate meanings, connect inside and out, natural-rich materials, decoration (Buchanan).	style historic reference, spirit, meaning, symbolism materials types, colours, textures, contrast, transparency, weathering facade/elevation details solid and void, fenestration, decoration, proportion

Table 4. - Project feasibility

Purpose	Type	CONSTRUCTION			COSTS		INCOME				
		Gross Area Total		Net Area Total	Construction cost/sq.m	Total construction costs	Prices Selling /sq.m	Rent /sq.m	Rent/annu	No. of years	Total value
Sale	Hotel	10,680	100%	10,680	1,950	20,826,000	3,400				36,312,000
	Offices	9,386	100%	9,386	1,950	18,302,700	2,800				26,280,800
	Shops/services	3,196	100%	3,196	1,950	6,232,200	2,800				8,948,800
	Housing	372	100%	372	1,730	643,560	2,300				855,600
	Sport/recreation	3,225	100%	3,225	1,950	6,288,750	2,800				9,030,000
	Culture	4,468	100%	4,468	1,950	8,712,600	2,800				12,510,400
	Catering		100%	0	1,950	0	2,800				0
	Casino		100%	0	1,950	0	2,800				0
	Warehousing		100%	0	1,180	0	1,500				0
	Parking/garages	9,890	100%	9,890	1,180	11,670,200	1,500				14,835,000
Letting/rent	Hotel	0	80%	0	0	0			435,600	15	6,534,000
	Offices	0	80%	0	0	0			0	0	0
	Retail	0	100%	0	0	0			0	0	0
	Parking garages	0	100%	0	0	0			0	0	0
Non commercial	Park	1,500	100%	1,500	100	150,000					
	Market	3,900	100%	3,900	150	585,000					
	Station		100%	0	0	0					
	Loggia		100%	0	0	0					
	Other		100%	0	0	0					
	Total construction				73,411,010		436,600				115,306,600
Other expenditure/ Site costs	Land	15,730			600	10,000,000					
	Other Professional fees	6,00%				0 4,404,661					
	Total					87,815,671					

Efficiency of investment

Individual discount rate	8,00%
Net current value	8,438,359
Internal rate of return/ profit	12,74%

The case study of Bicycle Factory Rog - the renewal of an industrial site in the city centre of Ljubljana

The new urban design method for appraisal and promotion of design quality in relation to economic viability has been tested through the application to five competition projects for the renewal of the Rog factory area in the city centre of Ljubljana.

The Rog factory occupies an attractive site, between the river and the main city axis, that links most important public open spaces along the Ljubljanica river. This area has always had great significance as an important spine linking medieval and 19 c morphologies. In medieval times it was a little village concentrated around

the local church of St Peter's (Šempeter) which grew into a craftsmen suburb becoming a major gateway into the city. As a result the area has undergone many transformation processes including the introduction of the first industrial building at the turn of the century (Bicycle Rog Factory) and some high-rise buildings erected in the post-war development period. From Trubarjeva Street, there is a long view towards St Peter's church (Šempetar) one of the main city landmarks.

Equally spectacular are the views towards the old City Castle and the many historic buildings of the area. The development site is comprised of a number of buildings. In addition to the Bicycle Factory, there are a number of other mixed use buildings including also some

ancillary structures. From the cultural heritage point of view only two building are worth preserving: the factory building and the 'Vila' located in the western part of the site. Due to the restitution of property rights there are several rightful owners of the buildings and the site. The application of the new method of analysis has proven very useful in assessing the aesthetic aspects of any intervention as well as its financial viability.

The analysis of design quality was applied to each of the five proposals on three levels: the city context, the site context and the architecture using the framework developed in Table 3. Subsequently, each project was assessed for its economic viability, together with the phasing of building processes

(Schemes + Evaluation). The methods and criteria for the assessment of the projects were supplemented, by market analysis and a topic workshop with the residents of this area. As a result, additional urban design guidelines (set out in a design brief) have now been proposed for the redevelopment of the Rog factory area.

Design guidelines are currently being applied to the protection of two buildings as part of the cultural heritage. These guidelines also regulate layouts for building lines, the building zone, building volumes/heights, pedestrian and car access.

CONCLUSIONS

The examination of the proposed method for appraisal and promotion of design quality in relation to economic viability in the case study of Rog, Ljubljana has revealed the need for a clear strategy for future city development, with marketing guidance and policies for positive planning to achieve better vitality and viability for the city as a whole. Subsequently, the research examined successful initiatives for the promotion of urban design at the national and local levels of the planning process, identifying the most important issues affecting city design under the market economy, such as partnership arrangements, joint ventures and city-entrepreneurs.

The results of this research are intended to be used in the following areas: in marketing the city (identification and promotion of potential development areas), in the planning process

(establishing a methodological framework for harmonising the varied interests of the different actors), in the development control process (refining the decision-making processes for the appraisal of planning applications) and in the assessment of competition projects. Such methods can also assist in the mediation processes where several actors may compete for different development rights.

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URBAN TASK FORCE

Ljiljana Grubović, MSc

The Urban Task Force Report has brought to our attention, that English towns and cities today require a new renaissance. The comprehensive planning has retarded urban living (Urban Renaissance, Sharing the Vision 01.99, 1999). Forty percent of inner-urban housing stock is subsidized 'social' housing. A review of the demographic and development trends have lead to the UK Government's new urban policy that prioritizes the regeneration of towns and cities by building on recycled urban land and protecting the countryside. As result, Urban Task Force (UTF) was founded the with the following aims:

To identify causes of urban decline in England;

To recommend practical solutions how to bring people back into cities;

To establish a new vision for urban regeneration based on the principles of design excellence, social well being and environmental responsibility within a viable economic and legislative framework (Urban Task Force, 1999:1).

This paper represents the analysis of the economic and political effects of the program and its viability.

INTRODUCTION

The Urban Task Force Report has brought to our attention, that English towns and cities today require a new renaissance. Planning in the 1950s and 1960s placed too much emphasis on the physical provision of facilities and infrastructure and too little on community growth and reinvigoration. The comprehensive planning has retarded urban living (Urban Renaissance, Sharing the Vision 01.99, 1999). Already some parts of even our most prosperous cities are experiencing serious problems. Derelict areas in the cities are becoming a sewer on national resources and places of a hard social division and economic uneasiness. Forty percent of inner-urban housing stock is subsidized 'social' housing. Around 1.3 million residential and commercial buildings are currently empty (Urban Task Force, 1999: 4). People are moving out from the cities in the suburbs and in the rural areas. Progression of this trend is putting an unbearable strain on the countryside, environment and on the quality of the life.

A review of the demographic and development trends have lead to the UK Government's new urban policy that prioritizes the regeneration of towns and cities by building on recycled urban land and protecting the countryside. Urban Task Force therefore proposes a new vision for the cities based upon a mix of economic,

residential and cultural activity, which will dissolve the anti-urban sentiment, which many of British residents feel.

Today 90 percent of population live in the urban settlements, 91 per cent of economic output and 89 per cent of jobs are in the urban areas and the 60 per cent of total UK public expenditure are spent on cities as well. There are also projections that between 1996 and 2021 additional 3.8 million households will be needed. Eighty percent of this demand will be for single person households, divorced or elderly people. Car traffic is predicted to grow by a third in the next 20 years. Britain is booming and there is a need to act immediately in order to prevent undesirable effects of the economic and demographic boom on the cities.

Under these circumstances the Department of Environment, Transport and Regions, headed by Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, asked for a program which would help to solve forthcoming problems. As result, Urban Task Force (UTF) was founded the with the following aims:

- To identify causes of urban decline in England;
- To recommend practical solutions how to bring people back into cities;
- To establish a new vision for urban

regeneration based on the principles of design excellence, social well being and environmental responsibility within a viable economic and legislative framework (Urban Task Force, 1999:1).

PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS:

Well-designed buildings, streets and neighborhoods are essential for successful social, economic and environmental regeneration. New urban development, on brown fields or green field land must be designed to much higher architectural standards if they are to attract people back into towns and cities. These new developments should promote diversity and encourage a mix of activities, services, and tenants with different incomes within neighborhood. Land must be used efficiently, local traditions respected and negative environmental impacts kept to a minimum.

In order to achieve these aims, the UTF suggests that the government should prepare a national urban design framework, defining the core principles of urban design and setting out non-perspective guidelines showing how good design can support local plans and regeneration strategies. Additionally, UTF proposes that regeneration projects should be the subject of design competition. Local Architecture Centers need to be created in the

cities, to encourage stronger public involvement in design issues throughout sponsoring community projects, exhibitions and seminars (UTF, 1999: 6).

Since the program is made to promote Urban sustainability, UTF advises following of the principles of the Compact urban development¹, where the main accent is on improving of public transport and reducing car traffic. The increasing environmental and health damage, as well as the increasing congestion caused by growth in car traffic have to be stopped. This can only take place by adopting policies that discriminate in favor of walking, cycling and public transport. Thus the UTF proposes introduction of Home Zones where pedestrians have priority over cars which will move at the speed limited at 20 mph. This can be achieved by using tested street design and traffic-calming measures.

Furthermore, they suggest the placement of Local Transport Plans on a statutory footing, with targets for reducing car journeys, and increasing year on year the proportion of trips made on foot, bicycle and public transport. The Government should commit a minimum of 65 percent of transport public expenditure to walking, cycling and public transport over the next ten years. Moreover, they suggest extension of a well-regulated franchise system for bus services to all English towns and cities if services have not improved substantially within five years. A final suggestion is to set a maximum standard of one car parking space per dwelling for all new urban residential development (UTF, 1999: 7).

The poor environmental management and insecurity are the key reasons why so many people moved away from cities. In order to reverse this trend there should be assignment of a strategic role to local authorities in ensuring management of the whole urban environment. Stronger legislation would give them powers to ensure that, irrespective of ownership, land, buildings and public space were properly maintained. Another measure should be the placement of Town Improvement Zones where the cost of extra management and maintenance is shared between public and private sector. Another measure should be the strengthening of the local powers to support their local authorities in the managing of the urban environment, combined with the sanctions against individuals or organizations

that infringe regulations related to planning conditions, noise pollution, littering and other forms of anti-social behavior (UTF, 1999: 8).

Since the majority of the brownfield sites are inner-urban ex-industrial districts with large amounts of derelict, vacant and under-used land and buildings and estates they suffer from concentrated social deprivation. There is a need for the creation of designated Urban Priority Areas that will enable local authorities and their partners in regeneration, including local people, to apply for special packages of powers and incentives to assist neighborhood renewal. UTF recommends the strengthening of the New Commitment to Regeneration between central and local government and finally the enabling of Urban regeneration companies to co-ordinate or deliver area regeneration projects (UTF, 1999: 9). For the implementation of the suggested measures, there is a need for participation of skilled people. There is an urgent need for expertise in urban design, planning and property development.

According to the UTF, planning system should be also modified and the land use planning system should be introduced. Local development plans should be simplified with an emphasis on strategy to create a more flexible basis for planning. Planning policies for neighborhood regeneration need to be more flexible and to accelerate the release of land, which is no longer needed for employment purposes, for housing development. Development plans must become less detailed and more strategic in their outlook. They should be integrated with local transport, housing and economic strategies. Those simpler plans, supported with master plans and design guidance will enable faster decision making. Replacement of the negotiation of 'planning gain' for smaller urban development schemes with a standardized system of impact fees is also recommended (UTF, 1999: 12).

Another recommendation of the UTF is concerned with managing of the land supply. New development should be based on the recycled, previously developed land since this represents the most sustainable option. This might be achieved if local authorities start working together across borough boundaries in producing urban capacity studies to determinate how much additional development each area can absorb.

Local authorities can remove allocations of greenfield land for housing from development plans and they can introduce a statutory duty

for public bodies and utilities with significant urban landholdings to release redundant land and buildings for regeneration. Very important step in promoting of development on the brownfield land is removing the obligation for authorities to prove a specific and economically viable scheme when making Compulsory Purchase Orders (UTF, 1999: 13).

In order to achieve all proposed goals it is very important to define the ways of financing the renaissance. UTF believes that public money in urban regeneration should be used to attract money from the private sector. The establishment of national public-private investment funds can do this. Introduction of a package of tax measures is also necessary for providing incentives for developers, investors, small landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants to contribute to the regeneration of urban sites and building that would not otherwise be developed (UTF, 1999: 17).

HOW APPLICABLE IS THE UTF?

First of all, it needs to be mentioned that this program does not identify the reasons and causes of the decline in the urban areas. Poor quality environments, bad schools, low-grade housing, job losses are accounted as the push factors from the cities, but actually they are the consequence. From the other side, rural areas have strong pull factors, such as cheap housing, better environment and better schools. It is very difficult to solve the problem if the cause is not precisely defined. Since it has been proven that people follow the jobs, and that the process of city decline has started when decentralization of the employment started in the 1970s, UTF failed to connect the process of the urban regeneration with the indispensable creation of the new jobs. Creation of the new jobs has to be in same time with provision of schools for example, if the mistakes made in Docklands want to be overcome.

Another issue, which is not tackled by UTF, is social segregation. Actually, according to the UTF, social segregation will be solved with the mixed use of land. That is the only solution proposed by the UTF. Programs concerned with social exclusion have not been reconciled with urban task program, and this program might even make the process of gentrification easier. Mismatch between young and old people has also been made because it is too expensive for older to live in such new redeveloped areas. The Church of England criticized UTF from this point of view.

¹ See Houghton, G. and Hunter, C. (1994)

"Upgrading an area has social consequences as established residents find themselves squeezed out with property prices accelerating, and local amenities and services adapt themselves to higher income groups, as the current home price boom in London is proving. Those responsible for taking its recommendations further, and for conceiving the Urban White Paper must look beyond the well designed facades of the riverside to the people. They make up the diverse communities in their shadow and the marginalized estates beyond them, if they are to develop a vision for an urban renaissance that offers the possibility of inclusion, participation, identity and soul in our towns and cities" concluded the bishops (Abrams, 2000).

Urban regeneration requires continuous public consultation and review. They should result in a local agenda, which is special to the particulars of each place. Each town and city will have different characteristics and particular challenges. Anyway, local agendas should have an aspiration to create inclusive communities with included the young, the single, the elderly and all ethnic groups in process of plan creation. Local architectural centers do not seem as the solution to this problem.

UTF promotes sustainable urban development, but the question is what is the most sustainable way? Is it the Compact City approach or development on the brownfield sites?

Development on the brownfield land raises many questions and not only about sustainable nature. Are the brownfield sites in the council areas, what amount of brownfield sites is available and what is the cost? UTF prioritizes the regeneration of towns and cities by building on recycled urban land and protecting of the countryside. But much of this brownfield land is owned by the recently privatized utilities. In London alone Railtrack, British Gas and Deutsche Bank are huge landowners and they own the land that is at the moment classified in their books as derelict and because of that it is often undervalued. If it were to be re-valued as development land it would increase the book value of the companies and thus the profits of these companies. It will also increase the costs of redevelopment of such areas to local authorities. The government should ensure that these re-defined brownfield sites are correctly valued and taxed. In this way there would be more incentive for the landholders to bring them into productive use.



source: www.millenniumdome.com

There is also the debate about the percentage green to brownfield land needed. The capacity of urban areas to accommodate more residential units depends upon the densities to build and what types of housing will be produced. As it was mentioned earlier, projections for new development are based 60 per cent on brownfield sites. According to Peter Hall it is not possible, because statistics shows that only 47 percent of brownfield and 11 percent of greenfield land is available for development in south east England, which is



source: www.nerv.org.uk/photos

equal to 58 but not 60 percent. "Prescott will be lucky if he gets 50 per cent on brownfield sites" (Hall, 2000). If one of the creators of the UTF is skeptical about its implementation and success, how should public feel?

Additional fact which is contradictory to 'successful return to the cities' is that 73 per cent of people in rural areas are satisfied with their life there (Breheny, 2000). How they could be attracted to move to the cities? Would people come to live in the city centers if they know that they can not have garage or parking space on the streets and they want to keep the car they own? Who would actually want to live

in these new BS?

Another, very sensitive question is concerned with development in greenbelt, since John Prescott allowed an extension of new towns in protected areas. Prescott said that the key to preventing excessive building on greenfield sites is the development of a new 'linear city' along the Thames from Greenwich east to Dunford and the Medway. He is also keen to expand Ashford, in Kent, into a big new town to serve the Channel tunnel alongside the further expansion of Milton Keynes. In the longer term, building might be allowed along the M11 corridor, around Stansted in Essex. In spite of the fact that the majority of the new development is promised to be on greenfield sites, there are already signs of dissatisfaction of the local residents, especially in Ashford, who believe that their countryside will be ruined forever (Black and Ungood-Thomas, 2000). How sustainable is really the Urban Renaissance?

Another problem is concerned with the power relations between authorities. Local councils within their existing powers have the authority and capacity to deliver urban renaissance. However, some serious obstacles exist. First obstacle can be seen in balance of power between central and local authorities. UTF argues that existing local plans make development too slow. Though they want to encourage longer-term strategic plan making, local frameworks must be regularly reviewed. So often there is a lot of activity in the planning department, and a short-term political strategy to produce a five or ten year 'local plan'. Then it is all frozen until the next one. By the time development programs have reached statutory ratification, they are often out of date.

According to the UTF creators, this infers a new plan making system. These design guidelines would offer consistent urban policies and provide the framework into which each authority can place their own long-term plan. However at the moment the relationship between an up to date PPG and out of date Local Plans is not clear. Therefore, PPG's must be given priority over local plans and there should be change of emphasis from land use to spatial masterplan. The question is does this change lead to top-down system of planning?

Next problem might appear between local authorities and local people. What will happen if they (local people) wish urban renaissance but not in their backyards, or famous NIMBY syndrome? Problem between planners and



source: <http://www.fosterandpartners.com>

architects also could emerge, since the role of planners is not precisely defined, but very confusing. Architects have the leading role in the urban regeneration. Does this program represent a return to physical planning?

The next question is about costs and financing of the program. It is not defined how are those programs going to be financed. Public money has to be put in some brownfield sites in order to attract private investments. But according to Wendy Shillam, public funds are hindered by restrictive attitudes. Both the Housing Corporation and regeneration funders in regional government offices put too much attention on simple numerical achievement, while paying only little attention on quality, flexibility or sustainability. 'Innovation is not encouraged in fact it is discouraged' (Shillam, 1999).

Thus that is a situation where neither private, nor social innovators can borrow development finance and the market moves very slowly. This is the major obstacle to either private or public sector to respond adequately to opportunities. Since funding for different schemes is difficult to get, the government must provide incentives and support to broaden development finance opportunities. The lack of easy finance stifles innovative development as much as it can stifle any new business (Shillam, 1999).

CONCLUSION

New urban frameworks are the necessity. Cities are declining and people will not invest or return

to live in run-down areas unless there is good education, access to a range of cultural and leisure facilities, shopping, good transport links, and economic development. However, physical regeneration, which is offered by UTF is not enough. It must be supported by social and economic regeneration. Beside of the good solutions, like mixed land use and creation of the pedestrian zones, UTF might create more problems, if it does not include social and economic dimension – like social exclusion and gentrification in British cities.

Parallel with Urban Renaissance, Rural Renaissance should also be stimulated. Improvements in public transport and improved access to the towns will be as useful for rural dwellers, as it will be for their urban dwellers. By tackling the urban issues the Government can also strengthen rural areas.

The question is what could be applicable from this concept of renaissance to Serbia, since Serbia is far away from the UK's level of economic development and from building projects of the Millennium Dome scale.

However, due to the lack of an urban development strategy in Serbia, some of the concepts from UTF can and should be used in further developing a national urban strategy framework. It is very important that instead of the top down approach, which has underlied Yugoslav planning over the last fifty years, a new bottom up approach, base on real economic and social situation, is adopted.

Planners have to accept that they are responsible for the creation of new visions and goals, but goals that will be fulfilled instead of remaining 'dead letter' like for example Serbia's 1995 Spatial Plan. Planning should stop being a device for central allocation of economic resources in the hands of the ruling regime as it has been for decades, and new theories, approaches and methodologies should be introduced.

With the new development framework, Belgrade does have a chance to become the most competitive city in the region. This chance is especially enhanced by the fact that Belgrade will be the host city for the European Championship in basketball in 2004. Besides the sport games, many other games, ranging from the attraction of FDI, to city advertisement, and the attraction of global tourism, will have to be played by local authorities and planners.

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INFORMATION

CONFERENCE

"PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION"

I GENERAL

Organisation, Support and Sponsorship

The Conference is organised by the Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. It will take form of a round table, paralleled by plenary and sessions on specific issues.

The Conference will take place within national programmes of members of the International Society of City and Regional Planners (ISoCaRP).

It is sponsored by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Development and the Ministry of Urban Planning and Building (Serbia), as well as by a number of republican public organisations and other agencies.

The Conference will be held in Serbian. Simultaneous translation in English will also be provided for the interested participants.

Participants

Experts and other professionals from research institutes, university faculties, urban planning agencies/bureaus and public authorities, from Yugoslavia and other countries, are expected to take part at the Conference.

Place and Time

The Conference will be held in Belgrade on 20/21 June 2002.

Publications of the Conference

The keynote speeches and a systematic monograph on the main theme will be published and distributed in advance.

II THEMES, ISSUES AND TOPICS OF THE CONFERENCE

General Issues of Planning and Implementation

- Impact of the key political and socioeconomic factors of the transition period on the changes in the system and practice of planning (political pluralisation/democratisation, deregulation, privatisation, development of market institutions and mechanisms, etc.).
- New legitimacy of planning, its renewal and implications for the implementation of development planning decisions.
- Relation between spatial/urban planning, socioeconomic planning and environmental policy: harmonisation of different approaches and the problem of integration and synthesis.
- Recent European trends in sustainable development planning, spatial planning and environmental policy.
- Adjustments in the development planning and environmental policy legislation in accord with the European standards and practices.
- The impact of institutional adjustments on the theory and practice in spatial planning and utilisation of natural resources.
- Legal and other aspects of concessions on the exploitation of natural resources.

Implementation of the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (SPRS)

- Evaluation of the past implementation of the SPRS: analysis of the past development, diagnosis of the present situation and assessment of future development options.
- Key existing problems versus long term propositions of the SPRS: relation between long term strategies and mid and short terms policies.
- Legal, institutional and organisational aspects of the implementation of the SPRS.
- The SPRS vis-a-vis other development documents at the federal (Yugoslavia) and republican (Serbia) level.
- A mid term programme for the implementation of the SPRS: approach, evaluation criteria, goals/objectives, implementation policy and implementation support.

- Implementation of the SPRS at regional and local levels via spatial, urban and other development plans, programmes and projects.
- Research support to the implementation of the SPRS.
- Information support to the implementation of the SPRS: spatio-environmental information systems, data bases and systems of indicators.
- Implementation of the SPRS and a search for foreign strategic partners.
- To rework/modify the existing SPRS - or to work out a new spatial development planning document?
- Programmes and projects of transitional reforms and the implementation of the SPRS - European institutional dimension.

Implementation of Planning Decisions of Specific Sector/Area Development Strategies, Programmes and Projects

- The issues of harmonisation and coordination in the preparation of development planning, programming and investment decisions.
- Specific aspects of the propositions on the utilisation of natural resources in the planning documents (viz., agricultural and forest land, water resources, mineral resources, etc.).
- The role of large investment projects in planning and implementation.
- Sustainable development planning and environmental policy and control.
- Spatial planning aspects of the rational use of energy.

Annex: More Recent Approaches and Practices in Development Planning

- Pan-European and European-regional projects in the field of sustainable spatial development planning and policy (ESDP, CADSES, ESTIA/OSPE, etc.).
- Spatial planning for specific regional areas in Serbia (Kolubara District, Metropolitan area of Belgrade, Danube-Sava belt, etc.).
- Spatial planning for spatial sectoral areas (mining, tourism, water supply and management, natural and cultural heritage parks, etc.).
- Spatial planning in the corridors of technical infrastructure (Corridor X, high-speed rail routes, energy infrastructure, telecommunications links and networks, etc.).

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