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Informal growth of housing in Belgrade under the impact of transition to global economy¹

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Increase in importance of cities in globalization has resulted in economic, demographic and spatial growth of cities. In the developing countries it induced informal growth of cities. Belgrade, as the capital of Serbia, developing country, has not escaped this process. Transition from socialist to open liberal economy, economic and planning conditions, together with the rise of migration from other parts of Serbia to Belgrade, induced very high growth of informal housing areas in the surrounding of Belgrade. Today informal settlements in Belgrade make 43% of total housing area. This paper will explore two case studies of informal housing in Belgrade. It will present the condition which caused and lead to the informal growth, the ways how it grew through two decades. The main aim of the paper is to present the specificity of these informal housing and to give general recommendation for improvement of informal urban areas and possible approach to taming its further growth.

Keywords: Informal settlements, Transition, Belgrade

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Introduction

Increase in importance of cities in globalization has resulted in economic, demographic and spatial growth of cities. The growth of economic importance of cities, especially in the context of investment inflow, has induced further migration intensification of citizens to the major cities, and consequently the spatial growth (Sassen 2001). Here the duality of globalization becomes visible - on the one side the development of high-rise business dwellings and on the other, informal settlements, especially in the developing countries. Belgrade, as the capital of Serbia, developing country in the Eastern-Europe, has not escaped process of informal growth. Informal growth and housing in Belgrade is specific and different from other cities of developing world, since Serbia is a post-socialist country and has experienced recent civil war and refugees migration from other countries in region. The economic and planning conditions, together with the rise of migration from other parts of Serbia to Belgrade, induced very high growth of informal housing areas in the surrounding of Belgrade. Today informal settlements in Belgrade make 43% of total housing area. They occupy large previously rural areas. Scale and character of informal growth put Belgrade peri urban growth somewhere in between the third-world sprawl and post-socialist housing transformation process (Tosics 2005).

This paper will explore two case studies of informal housing areas in the Belgrade in Serbia. It will present the condition which caused and lead to the informal growth, the ways how it grew through two decades. The main aim of the paper is to present the specificity of these informal housing and to give general recommendations for improvement of informal urban areas and possible approach to taming its further growth.

The growth of Belgrade till 1990s

Brief introduction to Belgrade historic development

Belgrade is the capital city of Serbia, located in the south-east of Europe, in the North-Western part of the Balkan Peninsula. It is a vibrant metropolis of 1,6 million residents in metropolitan area, situated on the river banks of the Danube and Sava. Belgrade is “the largest city in Serbia and throughout the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It is the third largest city on the Danube (after Vienna and Budapest) and the fourth largest city in Southeast Europe (after Istanbul, Athens and Bucharest)” (Hirt 2009: 293).

First archaeological remains suggest that the first inhabitation of today’s Belgrade territory goes back to the 5000 BC. Belgrade received its present name in the sixth century. In the 15th century Belgrade was designated as capital of Serbian Empire. Through history, with the occupation of Serbia by Ottomans and Austrian empire it lost its capital status, but stayed one of the largest and most important cities of the region. From the begging of 19th century Belgrade reclaimed its status as the capital of Serbia (Norris 2008). During 20th century Belgrade changed its capital status, from centre of small nation-state, to centre of multi-national federation Yugoslavia, to capital of nation-state once again (Hirt 2009).

Urban growth of Belgrade in the socialist period

After the Second World War Belgrade grew rapidly as the capital of the Yugoslavia, socialist country. Population nearly doubled in the late 1940s, reaching over 600 000 inhabitants. The growth was a result of natural increase, but much more of immigration from rural areas as a consequence of industrialization. Urbanization process induced very high growth of Belgrade, and by the 1970s it doubled its population again, reaching more than 1,2 million inhabitants (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2002). During the process of rapid urbanization city did not have adequate infrastructure and housing to



accommodate all the new industrial workers. The solid transportation system allowed them to settle in the surrounding areas of urban centres. 'As a consequence increases in population were most significant in the surrounding areas of urban centres' (Tosics 2005: 50), and a growth of city area. At the 1950s Belgrade territory was 2090 sq km. Intensive growth of Belgrade resulted in its sprawl and by 1970s it reached today area of 3222 sq km (Gligorijevic et al. 2007). The development of socialist cities was centrally controlled and planned through long term, deterministic plans. The state owned most urban land, was almost the only developer of urban buildings, and was responsible for the construction and providing of housing (Tsenkova and Nedovic-Budic 2006). Although the ideal was to insure housing for all citizens, this ideal was never achieved in socialist cities. In the metropolitan area Belgrade, in the 1980s two-thirds of housing was publicly owned (Petrovic 2001). Those who did not manage to ensure governmentally provided flat in collective housing were left to find the solution outside the plans. The first informal settlements started to develop during the socialist period, but the amount was small.

Informal growth of Belgrade in the period of transition

Informal settlements and housing

Process of high urbanization and expansion of cities often induces illegal construction and creation of informal settlements. In most cities of the developing world, informal settlements are not only a fundamental part of urban structure, but also a principal impetus of urban expansion (Cruz 2001). Informal settlements in this paper will be seen as those settlements 'that have developed through unauthorised occupation of land' (Huchzemeyer and Karaam 2006: 3). The informal settlements are constructions carried out 'without previously acquired building permits and authorized blueprints, on a site that is not foreseen for construction and building purposes in existing plans of all levels' (Zegarac 1999: 365), without paying regard to dominant law and order.

Informal settlements are irregular in their physical settings and illegal in the appropriation of land and/or building rights (Mahmud and Duyar-Kienas 2001). 'Informal settlements provide shelter for a large and growing percentage of the urban population of cities in the developing world' (Abbott 2002: 317). The lack of formal institutional solutions for housing of new migrants to the city causes the private informal creation of houses by the migrants themselves in order to solve their existential problems. The character of such spontaneous settlements is different in each country.

Transition from socialist to global economy

The period of globalization for the post-socialist countries was marked by two parallel processes: the process of incorporation into the global flows, and the process of re-establishment of the market economy (Rykiel 1998). For the most post-socialist cities it is not difficult to determine the point when the transition started. It was the collapse of socialism in 1989-1990 (Tosics 2005). At the same time they moved from the closed, state-managed socialist economy to more open systems based on market principles, from socialist towards the capitalist society. The transition from socialist to global economy for Serbia was much different. The transition was slowed due to armed conflict in the 1990s in the surrounding areas of Serbia and international isolation. The legacy of late 1980s Yugoslavia, with decentralized political structure and quasi-capitalist reforms, with the beginning of 1990s and election of nationalist elites was erased. The transition was stopped. The 1990s for Serbia were marked by very difficult economic situation: hyperinflation and GDP fall of over 60% in four years. The situation was followed by the loss of the municipal powers and trust in government (Gordy 2004).



For Serbia the transition process started with one decade delay comparing to the other socialist countries. In 2000 Serbia elected its first democratic government, and the process of global integration and economic changes started. Serbia opened its market and re-integrated to the international organisations and markets. The general control over the development has been eliminated. Economic situation stabilised, and through foreign investment its economic situation started to improve, but it still has not reached the level before of 1980s (Zekovic 2009). In this paper the term transition in Serbia will be used to mark the whole period from 1990s till 2012, no matter the fact that the real transition started at year 2000, with the aim to mark the first changes in socialist cities.

Socio-political framework of informal growth of Belgrade in the period of transition

The transition brought about fundamental changes in the sphere of housing ownership and planning regulation of urban land. The transition brought back the private ownership of housing and land use, instead of the public government. One of the basic characteristics of the socialist city-model was the non-existing private urban land and real estate market. 'The most common theme in housing reform in the transition economies has been the privatisation of state housing, normally sold to existing tenants at below-market prices' (Stephens 2003: 1021). By the 1994 95-98% of public housing in Belgrade was privatized (Petrovic 2001). With the privatisation of housing the real estate market was re-established (Tosics 2005), and economic elements started to influence housing development. On the other hand, the process of urban construction land privatization started only recently, in 2009.

The introduction of real estate market in the 1990s, with the characteristics of those of capital cities, marked by extreme economical crises and high poverty of most of its inhabitants, had the negative effect on the city development. Public sector stopped investment in housing production and maintenance and the number of dwellings built per year dramatically declined (Vujovic and Petrovic 2007). Private investors have entered the process of housing production, but the crises of local planning institutions and state power pushed them to the illegal sphere. On the other hand, market prices of the housing in the city were too big for most citizens and new migrants to the city, economically exhausted by sanctions, inflation and unemployment. As a result, for many citizens and migrants of Belgrade the only chance for acquiring accommodation was private building of modest huts on the periphery of Belgrade (Zegarac 1999). The share of individually built dwelling in Belgrade grew from 35% in 1990 to 75% in 2000 (Hirt and Petrovic 2011). The further demographic growth of Belgrade during the period of transition, from 1,4 to 1,6 million of inhabitants (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2002), have induced sharp increase in housing demand, which, without adequate supply resulted in the informal sprawl of Belgrade. There was a great deal of illegal construction on agricultural land on the fringes of the city, as well as in the areas inside city borders on the urban construction land designated for public use. Although the overall metropolitan area of the city has remained mostly the same, the percentage of non-built land (agricultural land, green and protected areas) have drastically decreased. The problem was severely aggravated by the influx of refugees from the other parts of the former Yugoslavia, when approximately 100.000 of them have settled in Belgrade (Hirt 2009). The informal and illegal construction became dominant form of housing development in Belgrade city, ignoring the urban plans and legal frame. Informal and unplanned growth became the reality and dominant model of Belgrade housing development. After 2000, democratic changes and international integration dramatically changed the development in Belgrade. The inflow of foreign capital and the rise of GDP resulted in the expanding of construction work in Belgrade. In the period from 2000 to 2005 the amount of construction increased seven times. The collective housing



dominates the construction sites of Belgrade, together with offices. The amount of single-family housing building decreased, but it still mostly stays in informal and illegal sphere.

Spatial analysis of informal settlements in Belgrade

Informal settlements and housing in Belgrade in the period of transition

Informal settlements and growth of the city has always been present in the history of Belgrade. But from the beginning of 1990s, informal growth of Belgrade has reached very high level. It became the dominant way of city growth and development. Informal growth started to mark the development of Belgrade, especially its periphery. Regardless, the importance of the informal growth, the detailed study of the areas affected by informal settlements, determining the number of dwellings and inhabitants that live in these settlements, was never conducted. As a result, exact data about informal growth does not exist. Only, general approximations about the area and the number of informal housing were given through several studies. The estimates about the amount of illegal construction in Belgrade vary. For example Janic (1998) estimates that in Belgrade there are about 150.000 illegal housing unities. According to another approximation Belgrade had around 76700 illegal buildings in 1995, while by 1997 number increased up to 84000 illegal object. But this is not the real number. Officials estimate that the number is up to 30-50% higher in reality than estimates (Zegarac 1999). Only 20% of the buildings in the peripheral areas were actually planned or regulated by some urban plan (Djukic and Stupar 2009). Third estimate is based on the applications for the legalization. By this estimate the Belgrade has about 147000 illegal buildings (Petovar 2005). But this is not the final number and it in reality few times higher, since not all owners of the informal housing applied for the legalization.

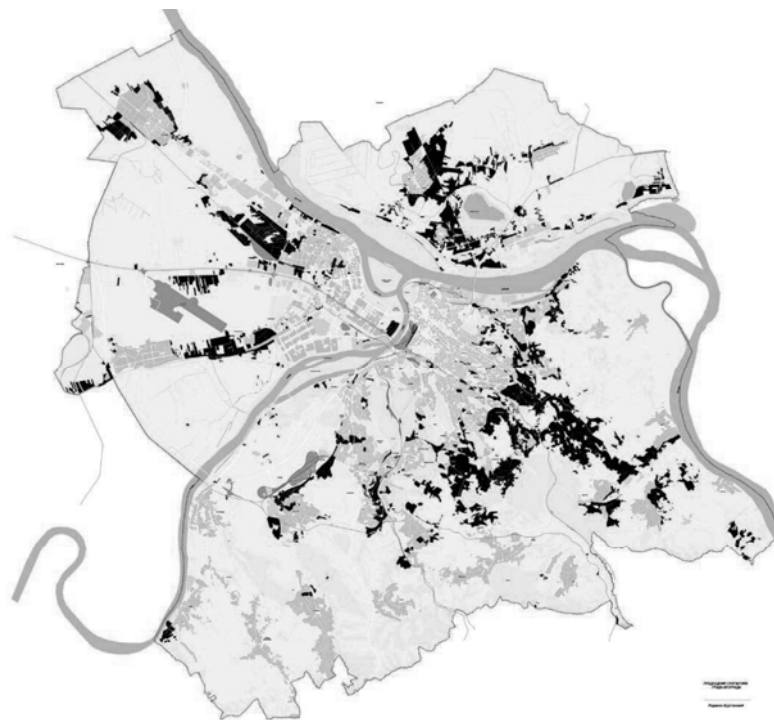


Figure 1. Distribution of informal settlements in Belgrade, according to Belgrade Master Plan 2021. (Dark areas present informal settlements)

The informal settlements develop on the periphery of the city, changing the overall perception of the Belgrade, and becoming large semi-urban semi-rural city periphery. The city informally grew around the main roads that connect city with the surrounding area, and with time merged with the rural surrounding. The informal settlements developed on the previous agricultural land, through unauthorized subdivision of agricultural land and conversion to building land. Belgrade Master Plan (2009) designated 12 653 ha for housing in total, while informal housing by 2005 occupied 5430 ha. This way, the amount of informal housing growth of Belgrade reached unbelievable 43%. Almost half of all residential land was informal (Ferencak 2006), making a Belgrade unique city of post-socialist country, in the amount of land occupied by informal settlements resembling to the third-world cities.

Spatial analysis of case studies of informal settlements in Belgrade

For the spatial analyzes of informal settlements in Belgrade two most specific and largest informal housing settlements have been chosen, Kaludjerica and Jelezovac. The former has been chosen since it is by far the largest and the oldest informal settlement, while the latter, although also large, has been chosen because it is the newest, still unfinished illegal area in Belgrade. Their development has started in different time and political periods and with different social background, nevertheless their spatial organization and urban pattern is very similar. These were additional, also important criteria for taking the two settlements as case studies.

Informal settlement Kaludjerica in Belgrade

Huge illegal settlement Kaludjerica is the largest and the oldest illegal settlement in Belgrade region. It is positioned by the north east Belgrade continually built area and is part of Grocka local municipality. It is claimed to be the largest illegal settlement in Europe. Kaludjerica is bordered by two main traffic corridors – highway E-75 and Belgrade – Smederevo regional road, though it has partly expanded by the other side of regional road too. Estimated size is around 1200ha, with average density of 150-200 inhabitants/ha. According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, officially there are around 32 000 inhabitants, while the unofficial estimation says there are more than 100 000 inhabitants.



Figure 2. View over the Kaludjerica informal settlement.

Kaludjerica became known as informal housing settlement during the 70s, though till the beginning of 90s it was much smaller, approximately one third of the present size.

Its origins are related to the social and housing problems of socialistic Belgrade. Namely, immigrants from other parts of Serbia, in search for jobs came to Kaludjerica to settle since they couldn't solve their housing problems through official ways of getting accommodation in high rise collective residential areas. From a small village, Kaludjerica has grown to a big informal settlement in short period.

City has faced a big dilemma of whether to demolish such a big residential area or to try to direct its development into regulatory framework. Since demolishing would have been very unpopular and would have caused a great social problems and new pressure to the city and state government, Kaludjerica was left to itself – to rise and grow by its own logic. Over a long period of almost four decades a single comprehensive regulatory plan has not been made. Meanwhile, Kaludjerica experienced great expansion and tripled its spatial and demographic size without any regulatory plan or direction.

Kaludjerica is situated in a hilly part by the north east Belgrade city outskirts. The terrain is relatively convenient for building and there is still a decent share of green areas. The concentration of buildings is the highest along the regional road Belgrade – Smederevo, while further to the south the density is much lower. Dominant land use is for residential areas – approximately 90% of total surface, but there is significant share of non-residential land use, such as retail, services and other commercial activities, mostly concentrated along the main traffic corridors. Traffic network is irregular and insufficient. Except the electrical network the infrastructure mostly does not exist. Some parts of the settlements are provided with water supply. Streets are narrow, without drainage and often are lined with large slope, so driving is difficult during winter period. There are almost no sidewalks for pedestrians. Since all kinds of transport overlap in a narrow corridor, safety is low. In the future, street regulation could be very difficult since it would cause massive demolishing of houses facing such streets in order to provide safe width of streets and sufficient place for infrastructure equipment. One of the main problems about Kaludjerica land use structure is lack of public spaces and services, such as schools, health and children day care facilities, which are a direct effect of illegal building process and absence of regulatory plans. Although the Institute of Urbanism Belgrade has started the formulation of planning strategies and regulatory solutions for this part of Belgrade area in 2010, it is not yet brought to public.



Figure 3. Areal photo Kaludjerica informal settlement (Source: Republic geodetic authority of Serbia).

Urban structure of Kaludjerica is irregular and spontaneous. There is no firm urban matrix with defined size of blocks or parcels. Parcels are often irregular and of insufficient size, not enabling good orientation and position of a house towards neighboring houses. Therefore, privacy is often threatened since the space between houses is very narrow. Architectural design shows the spontaneous nature of building – houses are simply designed and in most cases without any particular characteristic of style. Decorations are rare and often inappropriately applied. The interior organization also lacks good architectural design but housing units are functional in its simplest meaning. Unfortunately, there are no reflections to the traditional Serbian housing. Concluding, it is easy to say that instead of being respective residential area, with high quality of life, great green areas and good urban pattern with minimum of planning intervention, Kaludjerica is mostly perceived as impersonal and disharmonized residential area, being neither quite urban, nor rural settlement.

Informal settlement Jelezovac in Belgrade

Jelezovac-Suncani Breg settlement is located in the southern part of Belgrade, in Rakovica municipality, with total size of 220ha and estimated density of 100inhabitants/ha. The settlement is located near Railway station Jajinci, Rakovica monastery, legal residential area Miljakovac and monastery forest, and is connected to the other parts of Belgrade by regional road to Avala mountain and Belgrade southern ring road. It is hilly area with outstanding position and very good natural conditions. According to the Institute of Urbanism Belgrade research (2011), there are 2160 inhabitants.

Suncani Breg-Jelezovac settlement is a new residential area, constructed since 2000, still under construction. Until 2011 there was no regulatory plan for this area. Although the housing was built illegally, the owners took initiative to start a regulatory plan for this area in 2005 Since the procedure of plan making took 6 years, most inhabitants have applied for the legalization. The draft version of regulatory plan for Suncani Breg and Jelezovac has been made in 2010 by Institute of Urbanism Belgrade, after building of most dwellings was finished, but the plan and the planners have not taken the real situation into consideration. During the long procedure of adopting the plan, the citizen have put significant pressure to the local municipality and city government bodies, managing to change the planning solutions, specially referring to the traffic network and infrastructure.



Figure 4. View over the Jelezovac informal settlement.

Suncani Breg-Jelezovac has been built on agricultural land, it is almost entirely residential and is completely without infrastructure equipment, with the exception of electricity.

Surface	Existing land use:	Proposed land use:
Residential areas	23%	35,4%
Agricultural areas	71,5%	0%
Green areas	5,4%	16,4%
Public areas and services	0%	47,5%
Commercial areas	0,1%	0,7%
TOTAL-SURFACE 220ha	100%	100%

Table 1. Existing and proposed land use, defined by Regulatory Plan of Suncani Breg-Jelezovac (2011).

In present situation is clearly evident the lack of public services and areas, as well as the lack of traffic and infrastructure corridors. By implementing the regulatory plan, this situation should significantly change for the better, especially in providing public services (such as public schools, health and children day care facilities etc.) and forming sustainable traffic and infrastructure network. Now chaotic and unfinished urban matrix should also be improved by forming urban blocks aimed for residential and other uses. The typology of existing housing units is very simple – there are simply formed houses of good quality, without decorations or characteristic of architectural style, of average size around 150m², with ground and first floor only. Form of plots is mainly regular with significant presence of greenery (approximately over 50% surface). The street network is irregular and not adapted to the terrain characteristics, very narrow, without sidewalks. On the other hand, housing units are mostly good positioned with proper distance between each other.



Figure 4. Areal photo of part of Jelezovac informal settlement (Source Republic geodetic authority of Serbia).

The above analysis shows that even though Suncani Breg-Jelezovac settlement was built illegally, since the entire area is still not completely used for illegal building there are still chances for its upgrading and transformation to high quality resort in Belgrade suburb area. The collaboration of local inhabitants and professional planning institution and good timing have given a good result, making it possible to shape the settlement toward regulatory framework and according to the strategic vision of Belgrade development, as it was defined in Belgrade Master Plan 2021 (2009).

Characteristic of informal settlements of Belgrade

After the spatial analysis of case studies the general conclusions about general characteristic can be made. Form and structure of Belgrade informal settlements show that they have developed spontaneously, from bottom up, without urban plans and regulations, through daily struggle of its citizens for the living space in the country capital and regional metropolis.

Urban pattern of these settlements is irregular, without real urban matrix as a result of division of previously agricultural parcels in smaller units for housing development. The streets are narrow, usually wide just to provide one car passing at the time, and winding as they follow the borders of previous agricultural parcels. The infrastructural equipment of streets is poor. Infrastructural equipment of informal settlements ranges from very poor to basic, depending of the area in the city. According to findings in 1995, around 10% of housing units in the informal settlements do not have electricity, 35% are not connected to the public water system, and 80% do not have connection on sewage system (Djukic and Stupar 2009). The rainwater drainage of streets is not built so the rains present problem for stability of streets and housing, especially when having in mind that most of the settlements are built on potential landslides.

Service provision is low in the informal settlements. The public services are not adequate for the number of inhabitants, since the whole settlement was not planned and there were no planned public services. As the result the inhabitants are for the basic needs oriented to the nearest public services in neighbouring parts of the city. This, together with the inadequate traffic infrastructure worsens traffic jams.

The character of houses in informal settlements of Belgrade is especially interesting. Although the urban pattern of Belgrade informal settlements is somehow similar to the sprawls of other cities in developing world, the character of buildings is completely different. Buildings are not temporary improvised structures. They are permanent houses built of solid material, made to serve several generations. No matter they are built from concrete and brick, they are in most cases built without any plan and design, and built by the citizens themselves or not adequately trained workforce. This puts under the question the stability of these objects, especially in the case of natural disaster. The height of buildings varies from 1 to 3 stories and their size from 50 to more than 300 sq meters. Poorer informal settlement inhabitants build small houses of total surface sufficient only for basic need for the family. Richer citizens build big exclusive villas. The middle class, so to speak, starts building bigger houses, which in many cases remain unfinished due to the lack of finances. As a result many houses in the informal settlements stay unfinished.

The informal settlements of Belgrade show dual character of transition. They are the areas where the illegal construction is done by urban poor, urban migrants and refugees with the aim to provide essential living space. At the same time the developed houses in many cases are not basic huts, with minimum needed square meters of living space, but rather big houses with more than 150 sq m. Built in informal settlements without adequate urban plans they do not have access to basic infrastructure, but often have exclusivity of modern villas. At the same time informal settlement in Belgrade are the places for migrants



and urban poor to find accommodation in city, but as well places where urban rich build their dreamed houses without restrains of urban plans and legislations. The duality of globalization is easily visible at most of the informal settlements of the Belgrade.

Recommendations for improvement of informal settlements in Belgrade

'Most governments would agree that informal settlements are an indication of failure of the public sector, the legislative framework and the economic conditions' (Huchzermeyer and al. 2006: 20). The failure to provide adequate plans at adequate time, to follow the need of Belgrade inhabitants and Belgrade growth has resulted in high informal growth of Belgrade. '[S]cale of informal settlements in country is an indicator of the performance of a number of sectors of government and of the economy' (Huchzermeyer and al. 2006: 20). Taming the city growth of Belgrade requires different approach, more comprehensive. Instead of simply dealing with the symptoms it needs to deal with the causes. Recommendations and suggestions for improvement of informal urban areas in Belgrade reflect the idea of comprehensive approach to the solution, the approach which is realistic according to habitants and economic conditions of city:

- Adopting the set of special laws and regulations referring the urban planning aspect of these settlements and including urban upgrading principles and indicators. They would enable the infrastructure and traffic equipment of the most of the illegal buildings and settlements with minimum of investment. The regulations would also refer to the lower standards and 'softer' criteria than the ones defined for the rest of the city territory.
- Intensifying the production of urban land use plans for these parts of the territory, which will be the legal basis for the construction of necessary transportation, utility and social infrastructure. The appropriate timing for making plans as well as fast implementation is crucial for the process of 'taming' the illegal – 'wild' settlements. Planning action should quickly respond to the building initiatives, no matter if they are legal or illegal (World Bank Institute 2012).
- Definition of special fiscal instruments exclusively for these city areas, so that the citizens can do their commitments according to their realistic economic possibilities (e.g. lower payments for the use of urban construction land and infrastructure).
- Intensifying the displacement of areas with low sanitation conditions and which cannot be upgraded. (Some of them are even a threat for health conditions and social safety). It is also necessary to provide areas for displacement in urban land use plans, as well as the areas where these citizens could organize some of the economic activities that will enable them economic survival and social integration.
- In the context of climate changes, it is necessary to plan public facilities which would provide the shelter for the most threatened groups of people, such as refugees.
- Having in mind that settlements lack the social infrastructure, especially education facilities, it is necessary to enable the introduction of additional lines of public transportation or school buses that would allow children a relatively quick and safe access to schools. In this regard it is necessary that regulatory plans provide for adequate street widths for the movement of school buses. As for the day care facilities for children, is necessary to foster building of affordable private units, since there is no chance to provide public construction land in already dense built informal areas.

- Planning the sports and recreation facilities and areas, as well as other public places, meeting the social and other needs of youth and children. The implementation should involve facilities in private sector, as well as public private partnership in this field.
- Finally, the most important recommendation refers to the set of future actions for planners and city government: a/defining the city border in order to prevent further re-use of agricultural land out of the city territory; b/fast planning action (regulatory plans) with the aim to provide planned areas for further residential needs of the city within the city border; c/preservation and acquisition such planned areas for traffic and infrastructure equipment, using the model of public and private partnership.

Conclusion

In the context of sustainable urban planning it is important to emphasize mutual dependence between land use and growth of the city on one hand, and ecological, social and economic development on the other. In the case of Belgrade its correlation is even more obvious since the spatial consequences of imbalanced 3E are more than visible. Wise governance instead of governing as a way of implementing institutional sustainability will result in balanced land use planning and inner city growth, replacing the practice of spreading and widening the city territory.

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