

# 21. Strategic planning as an instrument of spatial development of Belgrade

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The strategic planning of the Belgrade metropolitan area, after almost twenty years of break, started with the democratic changes in 2000. The mentioned break corresponds temporally with the period of decline and fall of former Yugoslavia. One cannot understand the planning actions in the 21st century, which were taken in the period of transition, without the description of the period of degradation. Therefore, the work is structured into three parts: the first part refers to the period from the end of 1988 to 2000 and describes the period of deregulation, decline, devastation, the lack of the strategic vision of the development of Belgrade. The second part which describes the recovery is divided in two parts—the frame which influenced the strategic decisions in regard of the spatial development of Belgrade and, as the special part, the plans which resulted from the influences.

## 21.1. Belgrade, the decline

### 21.1.1. Description of the City

Between 1945 and 1990 Belgrade witnessed the largest demographic growth in its history. This growth was predominantly mechanical (migrations) and to a substantial extent spontaneous, but the super-concentration of the population did not correspond to the economic growth, notably the industrial growth. During this whole period, but especially in the latest phase, unemployment, access to adequate housing possibilities, infrastructure and the public transport were the most vital problems in the daily life of citizens of Belgrade. Those problems were more manifested in Belgrade than in other capitals of the former Yugoslav republics - Ljubljana and Zagreb. Correspondingly, between 1977 and 1984, the GDP and the salaries in Belgrade were lower i.e. below the Yugoslav and Serbian average, and lower than in Zagreb and Ljubljana.

The 1990s in Belgrade are marked by a deep crisis in all aspects of urban development and governance. This was the time of the rapid and extremely conflict burden disintegration of former Yugoslavia accompanied by war activities, destruction, atrocities, and ethnic cleansings. Contrary to the prevailing processes of transition, development and strengthening of the civil society and ensuing integration taking place in most of the former socialist countries, in Western Balkans the awakening of most aggressive nationalistic feelings was dominant. Belgrade, as the capital of former Yugoslavia with the population of some 22.000.000, the centre of federal institutions and a city of some importance in this part of Europe became the capital of a 'leftover' Yugoslavia with less than half of the former population and a president resistant to common sense.

During this period the city had witnessed an enormous influx of refugees paralleled only by an equally enormous emigration of young professionals and students, which utterly changed the previous demographic structure, not substantially in quantitative but definitely in qualitative terms. Thus, for the first time after decades of explosive growth, stagnation and a slight population decrease in Belgrade's urban region was registered, which apart from the negative migration was also owing to the negative natural growth, particularly in the inner city municipalities.

Due to the failed structural changes, no investments and especially no economic exchange with the international community (sanctions), hence no FDI, a grave economic situation of the country and especially of Belgrade became evident. In 1993 one third of employees were on the so called "imposed vacation", which actually equals unemployment. The inflation approached the inconceivable one billion percent, the state striped the citizens of their bank savings and the national reserves were emptied. The national currency – dinar – became useless and the German mark became the relevant transaction means. The country's population, but particularly the citizens of Belgrade were forced to rely on informal sources of subsistence, notably those of the grey/black economy. Disregard for law, contempt for institutions and chaos reined the city. The informal activities embedded themselves physically and mentally within the city's public space, redefining the formal appearance and the former urban culture of Belgrade.

As in most other former socialist countries, the housing stock underwent the conversion of the property status. This was performed by offering the tenants to buy the public apartments for quite lower prices than the real values. However, the vague criteria applied in this respect enabled many dubious speculations and instituted 'clientelism' on the housing market. Also, the insolvent owners were forced to sell their property and buy smaller apartments on less expensive locations. The result was a spatial segregation, where the new rich upstarts invaded the city centre and some elite residential quarters and the impoverished 'middle class' was compelled to leave towards the periphery. The buyback of the housing stock played a very important role in the course of the last decade since, as was the case with the parallel economy, it allowed the population of Belgrade to survive, by renting, selling or exchanging the flats they had obtained. Although these affairs were natural and legitimate, it is necessary to stress that this process took place beyond the legal framework. The absence of an effective juridical system and an efficient fiscal policy brought some advantages to former tenants. If they had been obliged to pay the taxes, they would have been obliged to increase the rents and thus loose quite a few tenants not having the means to adapt to new prices; or then, they would have had to accept lesser prices risking their own existence. It is hard to believe that the decision makers of that era did not realize this opportunity; therefore it is more likely that they decided to turn blind eyes, as in the case of the informal economy, and thus preserve the minimum social order.

By mid 1990s, 90 % of the population lived beneath the poverty threshold, the middle class dissolved, whereas a very small group of 'new rich', representatives of the ruling party or those controlled by them flourished.

The described difficulties provoked a collective identity crisis and eroded the confidence in institutions. The irregular salaries, problematic working conditions and the overall societal crisis completely de-motivated both the administrators and the public services users.

The emerging private sector was still unsteady and very limited in capacity and as such no valid replacement for the fading public sector.

As a consequence of the overall detrimental development coupled with the attrition of the value system, it is no wonder that the basic societal tiers began to collapse leaving behind an utterly disoriented society and a capital city with hardly any traces of the former character and urban culture. The civil society was hibernated for years to come.

The economic crisis did not necessarily induce a construction decrease. What has changed is the correlation between the private and the public initiatives as well as the proportion of the collective in comparison to individual housing. The principal contractors in 1990s were the "new rich", war profiteers and some system supporting enterprises. They mostly invested in the construction of individual housing and small scale buildings or adaptation and extension of the already existing buildings. However, a not neglecting part of "normal" citizens, especially in peripheral urban parts, was also engaged in illegal building activities.

The absence of the legislative effectiveness continued to encourage the illegal construction. In the period 1975-1997, the Town Planning Institute of the City of Belgrade did several studies on this phenomenon. Below, some of the conclusions are summarized:

*Table 61: The illegal construction in Belgrade for the period 1975-1997.*

	Houses	Weekend houses	Other constructions	Total
1975	17.903	1.062	12.192	30.527
1988	31.433	3.353	38.169	72.955
1995	33.594	3.351	39.754	76.669
1997	37.425	3.357	43.290	84.072

*Sources: Dr. Zoran ZEGARAC: Illegal construction in Belgrade and the prospects for urban development planning, Cities, Vol. 16, No. 5, Elsevier Science Ltd, Great Britain, 1990.*

The studies for the years 1995 and 1997 remain incomplete, so the figures in the Table 61 represent only 50-70 % of the real state of the art. However, it is well known that they correspond with a dynamic period of the illegal construction. Some even speculate that due to such dynamics during the 1990s number of legally and illegally constructed buildings by 1997 was equal (Petrovic, 2004: 177). It is estimated that until Planning and Building Act has been voted in 2003 the number of illegally constructed houses exceeded 40.000 (Vujovic and Petrovic, 2007).

The increase of the illegal construction on Belgrade's periphery is characterized by the usurpation of arable soil, devastation of the natural environment, construction on the land of public interests (transportation axes and infrastructure corridors), the absence of water supply and sewage system, building on geologically unstable terrains or those liable to flooding, the absence of services and public facilities, etc. . . Moreover, the 1990s are marked by illegal construction in the city's core, too. This refers particularly to two types of installations: the permanent installations and the temporary installations.

The constructions of the permanent installations encompass the construction or adaptation of the family houses and the vertical expansion of the buildings. Even though most of these constructions are located in the zones of Land Use Plans, and most of the contractors had construction permits, the absence of supervision and potential sanctions allowed the builders to modify the original projects in the course of the works (the projects for which the permit was obtained).

The temporary installations were the street counters and the “kiosks”, which with the progression of the informal economy, began to “pop up” everywhere in the city. After a certain time, the number of these temporary buildings widely surpassed a tolerable limit, occupying the public spaces, such as the sidewalks (often narrow), squares, and passages. Due to this phenomenon, the town planning of the 1990s in Belgrade is very often labelled as “the kiosks urbanism” (“kiosk urbanization”). The “kiosks” are by definition assembly installations, in plastic, white iron, etc. In the legislative system they are considered as temporary, but in reality they proved to be long-term. The most exemplary case was that of the “kiosks” constructions in the municipality of Zemun, made of solid materials, so that they served also as dwellings.

### 21.1.2. Actors and stakeholders

The principal actor that governs the City of Belgrade is the City Government of Belgrade with its services: Water management service, Management of communal services (waste disposal service, underground infrastructure and the construction services), Public transport enterprise, Central heating service and Road network service. Every municipality (10 inner city + 7 peripheral urban municipalities) is responsible for local affairs, notably administrative matters (construction permits, property transfers, etc.). The number of the elected representatives depends on the number of inhabitants of the municipality, and the City Assembly of Belgrade consists of 110 elected representatives. The budget of the City Government of Belgrade is approved by the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia, other sources comprise the loads for the urban services and, from 1996 the municipal tax of 3 % applied analogous to the VAT.

Although several elections were organized since 1991, thanks to the control exercised through the police, the army, the media and the controlled market, the constituted coalition of the Serbian Socialist Party led by Milosevic and the Yugoslav United Left Party succeeded to stay in power until the presidential and local elections on 24 September 2000. However, the Municipality of Belgrade witnessed the political change after the municipal elections in December 1996 respectively after the recognition of the electoral results in March 1997, when the opposition was endowed with governing the city. But this did not necessarily mean that the situation in Belgrade improved.

When the opposition seized the power in the City Government, Belgrade became a new political “battle field” of the ruling party at the Republican tier and the opposition at the local. Needless to say, the victims were once again the citizens of Belgrade. The first difficulty met by the new team was the disappearance of the documents concerning the City budget and its management in the preceding period. Next, the approved budget in the Serbian Parliament was utterly insufficient and in contrast to the pre-election promises to cancel the municipal tax, which, given the economical circumstances of that era, was an additional burden for the citizens of Belgrade. Consequently, the opposition was

obliged to keep it. Moreover, the ruling regime began to obstruct the functioning of the urban services, especially the Public Transportation Enterprise, for which the responsibility was finally relegated to the Republic tier during the summer 2000. At the same time, the major public enterprises (directed and controlled by the regime) refused to pay the loads for urban services, reducing thus the City's already limited means.

On the other hand, never before was the opposition in power and consequently had no experience in governing the city. Furthermore, the opposition had to put political interests on top of the agenda and thus prior to the interests of Belgrade's citizens. Political disputes and discord among the opposition parties resulted in a City Government once again ruled by one party.

The government and political crisis at the city level, contributed to the malfunctions of all the urban services, leaving the inhabitants on their own. In order to handle the urban chaos, the city-dwellers had to take charge of a number of activities ordinarily performed by the City's services. One of the most striking examples in that context is the one of the central heating. During several winters, the central heating was far from satisfying the minimal needs. Not having been able to provide the central heating, the City was not even cooperative in supplying other sources of heating. The inhabitants were obliged to provide for the firewood and to rely on the parallel market for fuel and gasoline.

Although those individual initiatives were not largely visible, or of common usefulness, in due time they elicited the idea of the link between the private and the public interest. The idea of a parallel public transport system in private hands and with affordable prices was soon realized to the benefits of the citizens. Since 1991 the number of public buses was reduced to roughly 65 %, because of the deficient maintenance of the vehicles (lack of spare parts) or lack of the financial means for the purchase of the new vehicles. The private network was constituted with second-hand vehicles bought in West European countries. Soon after that they were integrated in the existing network of lines, and engaged on the more frequented ones. Spontaneous at first, this initiative is organized by a specific union today and negotiates directly with the City.

### **21.1.3. Financial management – allocation of resources**

Owing to the lack of documentations, the question of the City's financial means management remained mostly unsolved. The expenditures of Belgrade's municipalities basically refer to the administration costs, but a not negligible part was being allocated to the political and associative activities. According to the submitted figures, the investments in the economical domain were completely insufficient. On the other hand, responsibilities and tasks of City of Belgrade were a lot more complex than those of the municipalities; the City was primarily investing in the communal services, then in economic activities, education, information, the social security etc. The logic of the City's budget allocation raised some important questions:

In a rather extraordinary situation, why was that much investment allocated to economical activities (30 % of the City's budget) if the principal function of the City was to assure the functioning of the public services, the social security, and guard other public domain interests?

What criteria had the City applied investing in certain economic activities and what public interests were advocated?

Why were the means allocated to the information sector higher than those allocated to the social security, etc.?

Beside the financial means, the functioning of the city equally necessitates political means: the City generally acquired the attitude of "laissez faire" in respect to the spontaneous changes in the city. Thus, there were very few radical efforts to "liberate" the sidewalks and others public space from the counters and "kiosks", especially since the latter provided services to the inhabitants, but also contributing to the City's budget as a new income source (the taxes for the space occupied).

## 21.2. Belgrade, the recovery (the frame)

### 21.2.1. Global pressures and Intra-urban competition and territorial restructuring

Beside the macro-spatial consequences of the globalisation and the increasing urban competition, urban development in the last two decades is ever more concentrated upon the governance approaches in which cities are treated as entrepreneurial units. This presupposes adequate urban-marketing strategies, targeted at very different aspects of urban life, but all aimed at the improvement of the location advantages. Successful city marketing is closely linked to the location planning, efficient transport management, conversion of brown fields, protection and management of open areas, urban core and suburbia revitalisation, etc. All these activities require the restructuring of the municipal competence, new modalities of inter-municipal cooperation and the transformation of the local and regional governance, encompassing novel organisational forms and policies on both tiers.

All the same, the intra-urban competition is a manifest, perhaps also desirable consequence of global and local pressures and is directly reflected in the heterogeneous development of urban life styles, which follow certain territorial patterns. In all the metropolises of Southeast Europe, a substantial upgrading of the city's core attractiveness might be observed, together with policies targeted at the improvement of the city's image as a commercial and cultural centre. Thus, the concentration of the tertiary, consumer and command potentials<sup>86</sup> in the city core zones is one of the evident trends in cities in transition. Bearing this in mind, some, no matter how desirable propositions in the Spatial Plan of Serbia (1996), dealing with the balancing of the polarisation impacts of the Belgrade's agglomeration, become obsolete.

But, there are also other trends with a direct impact on the territorial restructuring. They involve the shift in behavioural patterns, especially in terms of the consumer society creation, where the urban identity is built upon the consumption of globally available goods, services, but also ubiquitous urban spaces. Public spaces, even whole suburbs are rearranged and marketed according to the consumption patterns of particular target groups. In Belgrade, this is evident through the construction of numerous hypermarkets,

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<sup>86</sup> Skraetke, S. 1991. Cities in Transformation: the case of West Germany, in Benko, Dunford: Industrial Change and Regional Development, London.

in which consumption is not perceived as a necessity, but as an event. Thus the global trend in creating “consumer compounds” is rapidly infiltrating and changing the spatial and cultural models of Belgrade’s suburbia. In addition, a drastic increase of globally influenced catering services, as a particular form of global culture consumption is omnipresent. Consequently, particular suburban city parts become self-contained, indicating to some initial stages of the “edge cities”, which in their functional diversity, combined with facilities city core cannot offer, compete strongly with city centres. Such inevitable processes directly influence the de-territorialisation of the local identity, the creation of omnipresent urban spaces and a specific territorial/functional restructuring.

In Belgrade, the silhouettes of some “edge cities” are already perceivable and cause a particular spatial/functional redistribution. At which pace will this trend develop in future is difficult to prognosticate, but it is certain that the structural changes in production (global sourcing) and consumption patterns (consumer society) will have wide ranging impacts upon the Belgrade’s settlement structure. On one hand, independent “edge cities” (New Belgrade, Banovo Brdo, Zemun) will compete with the core city, whereas on the other hand, further functional concentration will take place in the municipalities of high centrality. Hence, the competition is pervading not only the inter-urban, but very explicitly also the intra-urban level. Best illustrative example of this is the recent development of New Belgrade. Since 2001, its municipality with some 250.000 inhabitants has managed to attract most of the international companies presently operating in Serbia. According to the already adopted spatial development plans, it will witness the construction of more than a billion of square meters of business premises. This has triggered a positive trend in the employment and the GDP per capita. Consequently, the number of working places in the last three years has risen from 53.000 to 63.000 and the average gross income is the highest in Belgrade and the second highest in Serbia. New Belgrade gains on profile as the country’s banking centre with head branches of the “Raifeisen bank”, “Societe Generale”, “HVB”, “Folksbank”, “Eurobank”, etc. Also the head field offices of “Mercedes”, Volkswagen”, “Peugeot”, “Fiat”, “Skoda”, “DHL”, “Siemens” or “LUKOIL” are situated there. The most dynamic axes and areas of development are: Omladinskih brigada St., III Boulevard, Belgrade Arena, AVNOJ Blvd., Milentije Popovic St., Mihailo Pupin Boulevard

The private sector is booming in the last few years pushing aside the former socially owned enterprises. Presently, 99 % of the enterprises are in private or mixed ownership<sup>87</sup>.

A constraining circumstance in the rational, planned direction of these processes within the Belgrade’s region is the still unsolved land property relations inherited from the previous social system and additionally complicated in the 1990s by an enormous illegal construction. This is particularly affecting the city’s core, whereas New Belgrade, as probably the most competitive business location in Belgrade presently profits from such state of the art. Additionally, a good infrastructure and excellent parking facilities and the immediate proximity to the city’s centre open the prospects for its promotion as a relevant business centre in Southeast Europe. Thus, the largest business park in this part of Europe is being built by Israeli investors, comprising of some 150.000 square meters business area to complement the already reconstructed business centre “Usce” built by the Consortium “European Construction”<sup>88</sup>. Beside the announced new investments in further business locations, in New Belgrade the construction of the opera house and the

<sup>87</sup> <http://www.novibeograd.org.yu>

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.*

“aqua-land” is planned, together with capital transport infrastructure investments, such as the new bridge reducing the traffic load on existing bridges. Furthermore, the light rail public transport and the inner semi ring road planned to be realised within the next five years will additionally contribute to the better access to New Belgrade from other parts of the city.

However, the changing spatial patterns must not yield only to bare market mechanisms in a democratically still insufficiently developed and articulated environment. Therefore, a clearly defined market based land policy, as the key regulatory mechanism in managing the Belgrade’s metropolitan area must yet be developed, so as to actively direct the spatial redistribution of economic activities, especially in the domain of industry and other low accumulating activities. In this context, in Belgrade there is already a nuanced offer and demand of business locations, also directly reflected in the height of the rent. For all these reasons, it makes sense to reconsider the variety of spontaneous processes, so as to appropriately anticipate and direct potential negative spatial consequences.

### 21.2.2. Aspects of new urban governance

The first decade of the new millennium has been marked by the stabilization and the pacification of the Western Balkans; as a result a certain progress in terms of development and governance efforts is evident in Belgrade. This reorientation is manifest in the focus upon some long neglected themes, such as the integration into European processes, metropolitan networking, respectively inter-urban relations, urban competition and global pressures with their impact upon Belgrade’s intra-urban development.

As far as the integration processes of the metropolitan networking in this part of Europe, the identity problem has been raised as a decisive factor to build upon, if the economic, social, cultural and finally spatial cohesion is to be achieved in the long run. An articulated identity is not merely the result of the internal dynamics and history (which in the case of Southeast Europe, and especially former Yugoslavia was negating the common heritage and favouring the disintegrative national rhetoric), but depends upon complex relationships with the ‘outer’ world. The very idea to achieve a better integration of this space is grounded in the need to spur the effectiveness in synchronizing and realizing common development goals. The main prerequisite for that, however, is to build democratic, civil societies deeply rooted in stable states based on the law. One of the major objectives of the political and economic actors, especially in view of metropolitan networking, as one of the first steps in establishing an improved macro-regional cooperation and finally cohesion, is the mobilization of all resources and the identification of sociable forms for the accomplishment of such an important endeavour. The focus should be put upon such spatial structures which might contribute to the creation of a functional, diversified and much more effective urban network within which, through synergy effects each particular city would enhance its competitive position. The attractiveness of the whole macro-region would also be upgraded if efforts are concentrated upon seeking those investment niches which are not already exploited by the metropolitan regions of Middle and Middle-East Europe.



In Belgrade, the interrelation of citizens with city's institutions and the access to urban facilities is still not of a very high quality. What is needed is a more efficient transport infrastructure at the intra-urban, but even more so at the inter-urban level, so as to realize a more dynamic and effective cooperation. This also includes joint and coordinated investments in large infrastructure projects, a joint inter-regional offer of communal services, waste management and other projects of mutual interests. All these activities require the restructuring of the municipal competence, new modalities of inter-municipal cooperation and the transformation of the local and regional governance, encompassing novel organizational forms and policies on both tiers (local and regional).

In Serbia, there are obviously certain problems and constraints linked to the concept of regional (metropolitan) and local (urban) development planning, especially concerning the application of some recent planning and governance trends based upon the latest theoretical research. To sum up, the concept of regional policies and measures has not been formulated yet. This implies that incentives are carried out in an ad hoc, reactive and non-coordinated manner. Such deficiencies are amendable only by introducing new legal acts and national policies which would enforce the overall system of governance and harmonize the work of ministries and other planning institutions at all governmental tiers. According to Lazarevic-Bajec (2004), although the new Planning and Building Act (2003) anticipates the elaboration of such a document, there is yet no valid and updated long-term development strategy at the national level to steer the economic and overall societal development and offer a relevant framework for the regional and local policies. Therefore, a system of general strategic policies at the level of the Republic is needed, together with sector policies to mark bench the planning at the regional/local tier.

Regrettably, there are only a few concrete initiatives, and they are hardly ever the expression of the political will, which aim at creating a relevant framework for the preparation of the strategic regional/local plans. Regional policy, if there is one at all, consists of ad hoc measures expected to solve only urgent problems.

Another problem refers to the institutional responsibilities which are not defined precisely thus hampering the inter-ministerial coordination. Admittedly, the needed funds for this purpose are limited, or inaccessible. Moreover, most of the planning institutions adhere to a traditional, rigid planning model, which is deterministic, inflexible, with fixed land use parameters and regulations. This calls for a decisive shift in the methodology which would enable the planning to respond quickly to changes occurring in all societal domains but foremost in the economic sphere. However, the local communities lack the capacities, either financial or professional to change the approach to planning and introduce more innovative and novel models in view of participative, strategic and action plan oriented planning. Thus, the planning system, as practiced presently, is predominantly planners' centred, implying that it is the planner who identifies the problems and seeks for planning alternatives rooted exclusively in the 'scientific rationality'. There is little, or no room for different interests and ideas and consequently hardly any room for various stakeholders and shareholders to participate in the planning process and the ensuing implementation phase.

### 21.2.3. Policy initiative suggestions

A prosperous development cannot be grounded upon sector plans anymore, or as is the case in Serbia, exclusively upon unreal and thus illusory spatial plans with solutions lacking the economic-financial, social, and even sometimes spatial assessment. To ensure a more prosperous development especially in respect to metropolitan development and governance some policy recommendations are suggested.

General policies aiming at:

- building/reforming institutions;
- reinforcing the civil society;
- systematic harmonization of the legal system as to European requirements;
- constitution of the regional governance tier.

Specific policies aiming at urban (metropolitan) development, planning and better urban governance:

- formulation of the 'Capital City Act';
- building of the normative-institutional framework;
- application of the integrative planning method, with a strong inter-sector, i.e. inter-ministerial coordination;
- synchronization and coordination in the elaboration of spatial, economic and social strategies and plans;
- elaboration of action plans to support (urban) development strategies;
- definition of clear criteria and indicators to measure the achievements of spatial, economic and social plans;
- development of implementation tools;
- decentralization in terms of the governance and economic power;
- introduction and operation of the up-dated system of techniques and mechanisms which enable a more efficient and reliable development governance;
- intensifying the relationship of the government, profession and the public (interests, investors, etc.) and the introduction of a more effective and timely public participation, which would prevent the ideological bias of plans;
- development of the education/training system not only for professionals but also for governmental officials and citizens.

## 21.3. Belgrade, the recovery (plans)

In this part we will present chronologically the basic methods, concepts, goals and guidelines for spatial development of Belgrade contained in three strategic documents adopted (General Plan of Belgrade 2021 and Regional Spatial Plan of Administrative Area of Belgrade) or given in a form of draft (City of Belgrade Development Strategy) after 2003. Before we start it is needful to inform that the last General plan of Belgrade was

adopted in 1985 and Spatial Plan of Belgrade in 1981, therefore, besides some amendments of these documents due to changed context of its spatial development in 1990s Belgrade was lacking a strategic document for at least a decade.

### 21.3.1. General plan of Belgrade to 2021

After the democratic changes in Serbia 2000, the preparations for the new General Plan of Belgrade to 2021 began. The bases for the elaboration of the plan were: The Spatial Plan of Belgrade from 1981 with the supplement from 1999 and the General Plan from 1985. Moreover, The Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia from 1996 offered the significant directives for its elaboration. As the preparation of the plan began and the Draft was determined, the expert discussion and public inspection were finished by 27 March 2003, while the new law became valid on 13 May 2003, so the General Plan was continued, coordinated and based both according to the previous law and the existing one.

It was prepared by the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade and adopted by the Assembly of the City of Belgrade in September 2003. It included the area of 727 km<sup>2</sup> and the population of 1.320.000.

The basic characteristics of the method according to which the General Plan was made are the following: the transparency of the procedure and the inclusion of large number of different and concerned subjects, the professional work, conducted in four cycles where a great attention was paid on the synthesis of the results - town-planning solutions, considerably relied on modern computer tools in solving the different tasks during the work, the team work with the emphasized role of the combined team. The method of work for evolving the General Plan consists of the following working lines: the work on the basic block of the professional activities, which gave, as the main steps, the Hypothesis, Conception, First Draft and Draft; the estimation of the inter-report given by the expert council of GP, politicians, experts and citizens; the co-operation with the citizens and municipalities, secretariats, institutes and the public enterprises of the City of Belgrade.

The Plan first contained the problems and perspectives of Belgrade referring to its European dimension, society, population, economy, building land, environment, urban tissue with the review and estimation of the preceding plans concerning its territory. The proposals of the general town-planning goals resulted from the review of the present situation and the estimation of the future development of Belgrade as: the city of our country, the European metropolis, the Danube-orientated, Belgrade in collaboration with nature, the city of the sustainable development, the town-planning regulated city, the city of combined memories, circular in shape, vital economically, the city for all people, linked and accessible and the city of culture.

The main theme spheres, the General Plan dealt with, consist of the corresponding sub-wholes, worked out by the Plan. Those are: Nature morphology - hydrology, geology, seismology, climate, pedology; Society - population, social phenomena and processes, economy, law; City building land - areas, cadastre, property status, status of utilization, market, land policy; City tissue - residence, centres, commercial contents, public services, economic zones, public spaces; City green and landscape - elements of nature, green areas of the city; Transport - public, individual, railroad, air, river, pedestrian, bicycle, lines of communications, streets; Infrastructure - energetic, telecommunication, water, communal.

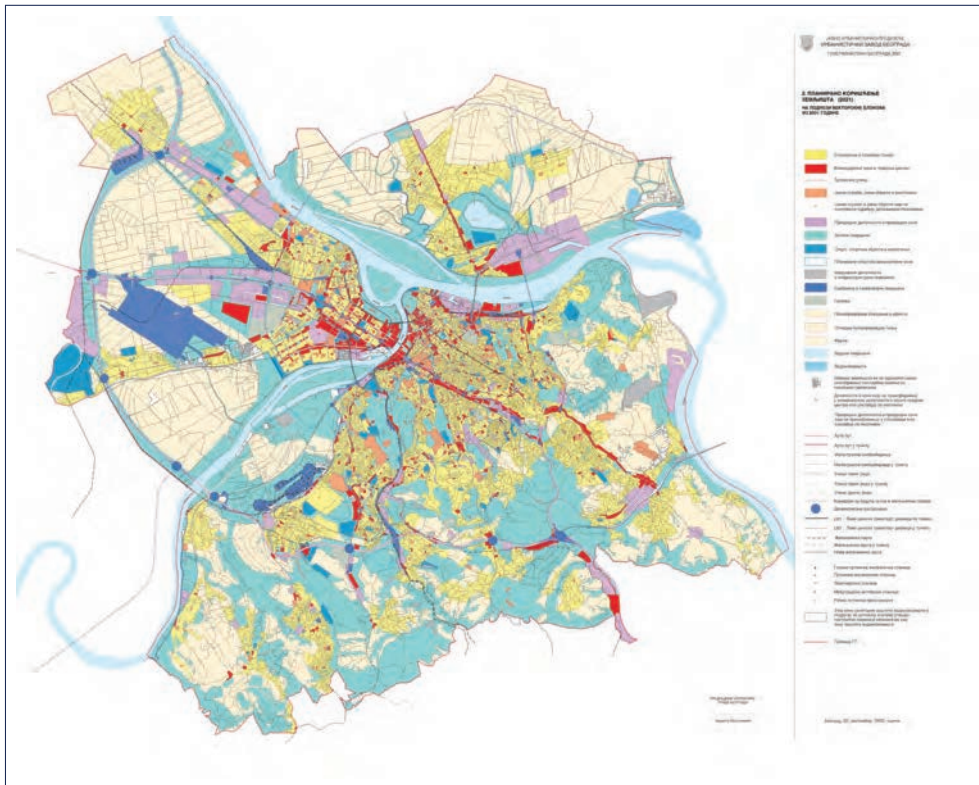
Large projects and defining the prior developmental wholes are the parts of the plan, as well as the nature protection, environmental issues, cultural inheritance, sustainable development, the rational use of the resources etc. The General Plan gives the suggestions of the development of Belgrade for two periods. It is the combination of the vision of the future to 2021 and the significant actions which can be operative up to 2006.

The basic idea, built into the concept of the organization and space regulation of the GP, is the inner transformation of the urban tissue with the corresponding outer construction for those sectors estimated to have the clear need for the new locations. The sectors are the following: economy as the promoter of the development, the system of the public greenery as the specific recreational resource and ecological infrastructure, as well as new housing construction as an answer to new needs of residents. The second idea is the development of Belgrade over the large projects, respecting the need of small investors to build in practically every point of the urban tissue. The large developing projects are defined for two temporal horizons - for the first phase which can be defined conditionally as the period up to 2006 and for the further development to 2021. The third idea is that each extensive construction must be supported by the corresponding communal and traffic infrastructure, by which not only that the environment is protected, but it is provided that it becomes the part of the entire Belgrade system. The economic, housing, recreational, tertiary and other extensive construction is not possible without the parallel construction of the necessary communal infrastructure and the corresponding lines of communications. The fourth idea of the long-term conception is to ensure the strong connecting of the built tissue with the natural ground whereon the city originated through the realization of the GP. The idea was carried out in several different segments and sectors. The following parts are the most important for its realization: system of public greenery, strict evasion of building on unfavourable ground, zoning of possible economic activities, strong orientation towards rivers, particularly the Danube, instructions for using the local water resources, organized introducing of autonomous resources of bioclimatic energy, solar energy, wind, geothermal potentials, with the necessary economy measures at the households in the zones of the low population density. The fifth idea is the planned keeping of transport corridors for the future as well as land, suitable for different purposes. The areas purposed for the urban activities are larger than it is needed in order to enable the city development even after this planned period. By the defining of these areas in the GP, the possibility has been made that the city activates not only the planned but other forms of the land protection (buying the land, expropriation, etc). It is planned that the above mentioned developing tasks should be achieved in the conditions imposed by the transition of the society. The new social framework, market and democratic relationships, establish new claims to the GP. The three most important are: flexibility instead of rigidity, dynamism instead of static quality, as well as the plan supporting the processes instead of the plan supporting the "picture". Having in mind previously mentioned, the important idea is that the GP should be opened for every investment, especially those important ones that move the economic development and contribute to better living standards. In this sense, the GP has a high level of the flexibility that enables the investment requests to be carried out in the way to satisfy the private needs, but at the same time not to endanger the common and public interest of the city as a whole.

The conception of the GP to 2021 represents the natural continuity with the plan from 1985. The continuity is realized into the several following basic elements: accepting the existing city construction and real estimations of the physical possibilities of further interventions; the continuity in planning the traffic and infrastructure in accordance with the existing and planned purposes of the land; the integration of different contents, if they do not threaten each other, instead of separation; the planning of the protection and development of the remaining natural green massifs deeply engraved upon the city core, and cherishing the inner city greenery. Comparing with the plan from 1985, the changes are the following: the increase of the planned built area of the city; the changes in social and economic circumstances of the future development; the planning of several major developing projects; the planning of areas for the individual construction, especially in the continually built city tissue as the expected dominant form of solving the housing needs in the future; the more intensive regulation of the suburban areas at the city edge for the more uniform total development; the more rational planning of interventions in traffic and infrastructure; the emphasizing of three branches of the natural corridor the Danube and the Sava with the Veliko ratno ostrvo as the main motif of the spatial organization.

The plan itself is structured in such a way that it gives the following information about: the area of the General plan, the building areas and the city building land, the public and other building land. Moreover, there are directives concerning the basic purpose of the comprised area, the protection of the area, the traffic and infrastructure, the spatial zones and urban wholes, the expense and sources of financing the planned construction and reconstruction, the regulation of areas of the vital interest for the defence and protection from the natural disasters and other disasters in danger in peace and war, as the directives for the first phase in the General plan realization and the rules for building and reconstruction. The graphic supplements to the plan were done in scale at 1:20000 (18 in total) with the ones that make the documentation (14 in total). The Documentation of the Plan consists of different analyses, studies and investigations, special files and lists, opinions, agreements among the authorities, organizations and companies, data about the performed public inspection, expert discussion and co-operation during the drawing up the plan.

Figure 79: Planned land use (2021) in General plan of Belgrade.



Source: [http://www.beograd.rs/documents/plan2021/02\\_plan\\_namene.jpg](http://www.beograd.rs/documents/plan2021/02_plan_namene.jpg).

### 21.3.2. Regional Spatial Plan of the Administrative Area of Belgrade

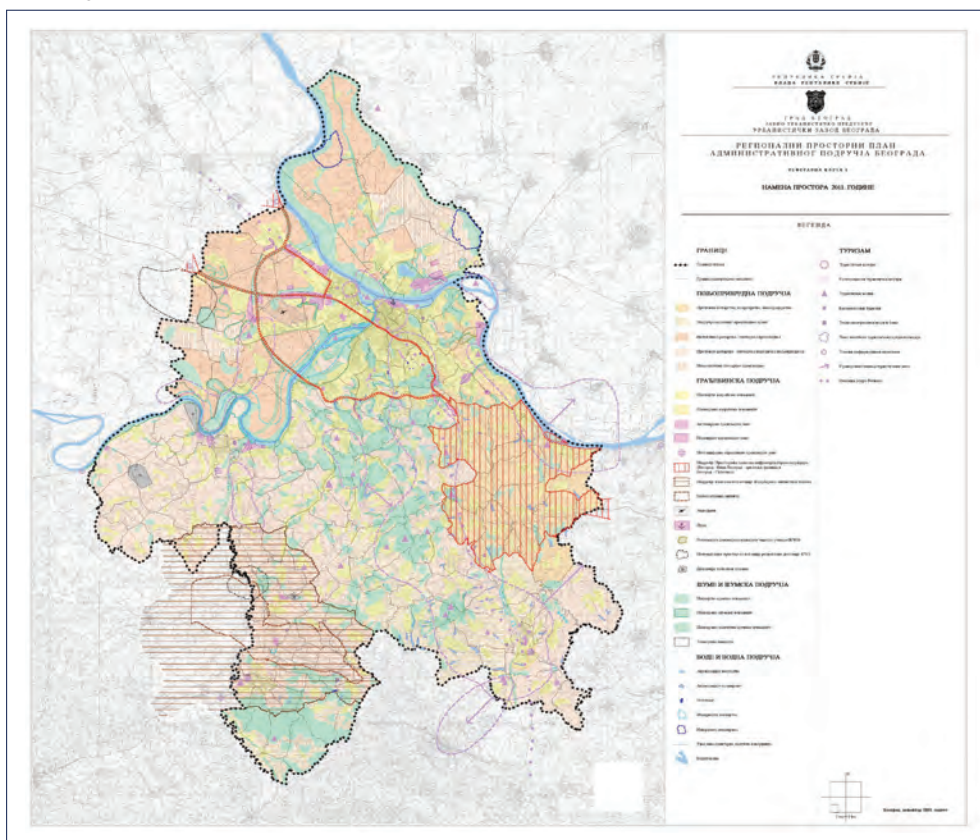
One year after the Decision on the Elaboration of the General Plan was made in 2002, The Decision on the Elaboration of the Regional Spatial Plan of the Administrative Area of Belgrade was also made, adopted by the Assembly of the City of Belgrade two years later. Its elaboration was given to the same institution as the General plan – Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade.

The intention of the analysts is to represent the Regional Spatial Plan of the Administrative Area of Belgrade (RSPAAB) as one of the basic instruments in the implementation of the idea of the sustainable development based on the principles of the adopted declarations and charters that oblige the Republic and the City to obey and apply them in planning and realization of the planned solutions. The planned procedure is organized through four basic dimensions: natural, social, economic and institutional. The first three make the model of the integral planning in the interdependence, while the fourth one represents the institutional-organizational framework for the implementation and control of the realization of the Plan in the post-planned period. The planned propositions and solutions are defined on three levels, according to the temporal horizons, the level of obligation and the possibilities of using the adequate European funds for their realiza-



tion on the level: 2006; 2011; and after 2011. Furthermore, their realization represents the obligation of the certain institutions defined in the chapter Measures and Instruments for the Implementation of the RSPAAB. The Plan refers to the administrative area of Belgrade, consisting of 17 urban municipalities (total area of 3.224 km<sup>2</sup> and the population of 1.572.000 by the 2002 census) and its adoption creates the obligation of coordinating the future making of the plans.

Figure 80: The purpose of an area in 2011 from the Regional Spatial Plan of the Administrative Area of Belgrade.



Source: <http://www.beograd.rs/documents/regplan/namena.jpg>.

The Regional Spatial Plan of the Administrative Area of Belgrade includes: the Strategy of the protection, spatial organization and development of the administrative area of Belgrade; the Ground plan containing expertises, supplements of the representatives of the municipalities of the metropolitan Belgrade, conditions and opinions of the authorized institutions, documentation and graphic supplements (R 1:100.000 and 1:200.000) and the Draft plan. Many experts from Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, scientific institutions, public companies participated in the elaboration, as well as the representatives of the municipalities of the administrative area and those municipalities the territories of which are extending out of its borders.

The plan is structured through the following chapters: Scope, aims and basic conception of the Plan; Nature as the basis of the spatial development; Social aspect of the spatial development; Ecological-economic capacities of the area; Prevention, regulation and utilization of area and Usage and realization of the planned conception and solutions (to 2006) - measures and instruments.

Taking into consideration that the regional spatial plan is being about, three territorial levels are defined and articulated in the planned procedure: the first one which includes the territories of the municipalities of the administrative area or the City of Belgrade; the second one which includes the additional 7 municipalities in the direct surrounding which are in the intensive functional connections with the first level and together they make the metropolitan of Belgrade; and the third one - the larger number of the municipalities in the wider surrounding which, together with the City of Belgrade (according to the researches of the Spatial Plan of Serbia 1996), make the functional macro-region of Belgrade. The competence of the plan, however, refers to the first level only, while it represents the strategic directives for the second and third level for the future collaboration on the themes and problems of the spatial development.

The basic aim of the protection, spatial distribution and development of the city of Belgrade, defined on the basis of the set of the main restrictions, on one side, and the set of the possibilities and values, on the other side, has been the organized activation of the regional spatial potentials of the City of Belgrade, based on the principles of the sustainable development, by which it will be more attractive and the conditions will be provided for achieving the standards of the European metropolis. The mentioned aim served as the basis for defining the strategic tasks: redefining and positioning of the Belgrade metropolitan in relation to the European surroundings and defining its place and role in the European context; establishing the effective and sustainable transportation infrastructure and the appropriate integration into the transportation network (TENs and TINA); de-concentrated concentration - restructuring and improving the economic structures for the increased economic competitiveness of the metropolitan; higher cohesion of space through the development and improvement of the infrastructure networks within the City of Belgrade, i.e. the increase of the degree of the accessibility of infrastructure for all inhabitants of the villages and urban settlements; defining the new land and housing policy in accordance with the objectives of the economic and social development; keeping and improving the natural and cultural values and characteristics and strengthening the identity of the City of Belgrade; protection, restoration and improvement of the natural environment, degraded and endangered by human activities; profiling the Belgrade metropolitan through the specialization of the economic activities, especially servicing ones. The basic aim and the mentioned strategic tasks are considered to be achieved if the following is done: the defining and organized interest organization of the Belgrade metropolitan, as the unique functional whole without fixed borders, whereat the regional relations and mutual influences are controlled statistically and according to the plan for diminishing the differences among some parts; linking the settlement nets of the City of Belgrade by the system of connections (village-community of villages, community of villages-urban centre, urban centre-Belgrade) and its affirmation, defining the development of the technical infrastructure that will also emphasize the linking of Belgrade, considering the needs of the decentralization and privatization of the functions, not the networks and projects; articulation of the economic developing



complex on new structural foundations taking into consideration free market and defined ecological and environmental limitations; affirming and cherishing the natural and cultural heritage in the real economic context of both extreme and local significance, the urban reconstruction on the economic-social-physical foundations, as well as the reconstruction of the villages in accordance with the financial possibilities; improvement of governing the City as a unique urban-rural surrounding, together with the redefinition of the levers of governing on the principles of de-concentrated concentration, democracy and autonomy with the emphasized appreciation of the public goods, on one side and free market on the other side.

The spatial conception of the City of Belgrade has been based in the Plan on: geographical and traffic position, geo- and bio-diversity, demographic potential, rural and urban settlement nets, power, industrial, food and tourist potentials, technical, social and sports infrastructure, net of cultural institutions, information capacities and connections of trans-border or trans-regional character. The organization and realization of the aforesaid spatial conception is envisaged by the Plan, on the relations city-city, city-village and village-village, as the urban system with the aim to induce its trans-regional and inter-regional dimensions. In the context of the trans-regional dimension, the significance of the organized correlation and cooperation of the City of Belgrade has been emphasized with the inner and outer surrounding on the basis of the spatial elements that connect them, but which also have their dynamics. Therefore, there are three levels of networking: the level of the metropolitan, the functional macro-region and the level of the European net of the cities. The operative tasks, the City of Belgrade is taking on, emphasize mainly the Danube orientation of Belgrade.<sup>89</sup> The inter-regional dimension of the spatial development results from the model of the spatial organization and development of the settlement net and centres from the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (1996), according to which on the territory of central Serbia, with all characteristics of polycentrism, the framework includes: the centre of the governmental and international significance - Belgrade, the macro-regional centres of Novi Sad and Kragujevac and many regional and sub-regional centres, whereof some are on the area of the Belgrade metropolitan (Pancevo and Smederevo; Ruma, Stara Pazova, Smederevska Palanka, Lazarevac, Mladenovac and Obrenovac). Belgrade, with its urban municipalities and emphasized suburban surroundings, is considered to remain the main bearer of the overall developmental flows, wherein the spontaneous use of building, agricultural and other land, i.e. the illegal construction of the residential, economic and other projects, will be prevented and redirected. The much clearer profiling of the minimum of the developing and servicing functions of the urban centres of the administrative area should lessen the internal daily migrations, speed up the development of the urban functions both in the centres and periphery and increase the significance of the rural centres in the developmental conception of the City of Belgrade.

Understanding the strategy of the regional development of the City of Belgrade meant undertaking the corresponding actions oriented aimlessly, including the following mu-

<sup>89</sup> It signifies the following: the co-operation with the Danube cities that make the framework of the Danube belt (Danube Belt City Hansa) by establishing the so-called Danube links; the prevention of the spatial degradation along the Danube; the promotion of the reconstruction and development of small urban wholes with the help of Centre for reconstruction of cities on the Danube (Urban Reconstructing Experience Pool); diminishing the significance of the administrative borders on the Danube, especially the one between the City of Belgrade and the AP Vojvodina, which will be supported by the formation of common multimodal knot (Belgrade-Pancevo-Smederevo) and the construction of bridge near Vinca; the integration in the European project of cultural paths in Podunavlje.

tually-connected developing levers: organizational-institutional, demographic, economic, socio-cultural and ecological. Moreover, the question of the regional development refers to its territorial differentiation on some specific developmental segments which are connected functionally, but the development and forms of which are not unique: the central business zone, the wider segment of the urban belt, the suburban area and the segment of the transitive and trans-active character. Establishing the Agency or Council for Regional Development is anticipated by the Plan for the needs of coordinating the actions concerning the regional development.

### **21.3.3. City of Belgrade Development Strategy**

City of Belgrade Development Strategy, a document presented in a form of draft in May 2008 was elaborated by The Centre for Public Administration and Local Government PALGO, City management bodies and other non-governmental and public entities as well as international organizations and consultants. It was developed in coordination with the relevant strategies and strategic plans of the Republic and Belgrade, especially with Regional Spatial Plan of the Administrative Area of Belgrade and the General Plan of Belgrade, the relevant solutions of which have been incorporated in this document as an inherited obligation, especially in terms of infrastructure and transport. The Strategy is concerning the same territory as Regional spatial plan of 3.224 km<sup>2</sup> and population of 1.597.000 according to the 2005 data.

Its basic goal is to raise the City of Belgrade on the level of big European cities, as a capital in which the citizens will live prosperously, safely, and in a healthy environment, to develop a modern system of City governance with an emphasis on a new manner of financing, participation of citizens in projecting and achieving proposing directions and strategic priorities by 2012.

Synthesizing topics: a) economic development, b) social development, c) infrastructure, d) communication and transport, e) environmental protection, f) physical structure and identity and g) the City governance, have been grouped within the theme frameworks of environmental, physical, economic, social and development of the City governance with the consideration of their mutual impacts. Each of the mentioned topics were structured through their assessment, basic strategic goal and corresponding objectives and tasks, guidelines and instructions for the City for achieving it, as well as the concept and key principles. The method of partial synthesis instead of fully integrated method was applied, so that its implementation would impose a stronger sector obligation of the institutions, bodies and organisation of the City in achieving strategic priorities.

The document itself is structured in three parts: Assessment of the state of development of the City of Belgrade; Vision, goals and concept of future development of the City of Belgrade; and Strategic priorities - implementation measures and instruments 2008-2012. The text of the Strategy includes two comprehensive documents given as the document base: Report on the state of the City of Belgrade (2006) and SWOT analysis in an integrated form (2007).

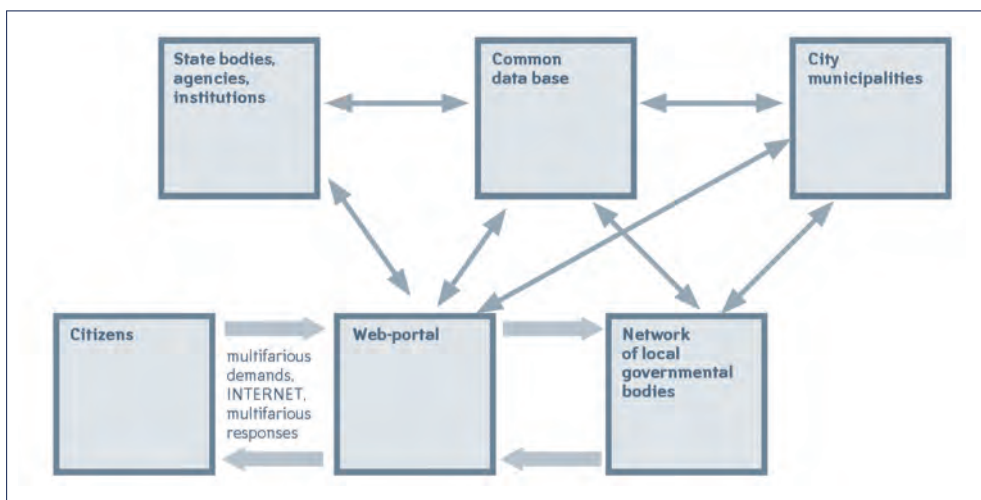
The Assessment of the State of Development of the City of Belgrade is covering the issues such as: demographic, social and economical changes, the state of environment, transport, technical infrastructure and land-use. This part is emphasizing the need for or-

ganized management of the City of Belgrade using instruments, such as the information system, the budget, tax system, land, utility, housing and other policies and instruments including the modernization and consistency at a greater level than present, administrative organization of what is called the metropolitan area of Belgrade, the issue of spatial and urban planning, as well as the relationship between the citizen and municipal (city) administration. Considering achievement of the goal - rising the significance and rank of the City of Belgrade among the capitals of Europe, aforementioned is seen as its main obstacle. On the other hand: human, geographical and natural potentials; crossing of the two out of ten European Corridors (VII and X with the leg extension X1); developed network of facilities of social and technical infrastructure with a high level of functioning; significant potentials of construction land and business space for the development of secondary, and especially tertiary activities; quality logistics of the quaternary sector; financial capacities and a network of institutions in many areas; spirit of the City based on spiritual, cultural, and intellectual potentials and network of urban centres, as its significant advantages and predispositions.

Dealing with the development issues, visible disproportions and incoherence in the development between the city and suburban municipalities and optimal use of valuable resources, values and potentials included in the territorial whole of the City are denoted as the major tasks of the Development Strategy of Belgrade.

The second part: Vision, Goals and Concept of Future Development of the City of Belgrade is defining the general goal – vision of sustainable development of the City of Belgrade as a high ranking metropolitan and capital of Central, East and South-East Europe, in line with parameters of sustainable economy and advanced technology, greater territorial cohesion of the City, greater level of accessibility, established polycentrism and decentralisation, and developed urban identity. Correspondingly, key principles of the City of Belgrade development are strengthening its sustainability, identity, competitiveness, cohesion, as well as promotion of the new mode of governing the City.

Figure 81: City of Belgrade e-governance chart.



Source: City of Belgrade Development Strategy.

Guidelines for achieving the goal were given to the City of Belgrade administration and all stakeholders involved in its development, such as to: redefine the deep historic foundations of Belgrade; use the exceptional geo-strategy for establishing links with other cities and regions in Europe, establish natural functional relations with neighbours and other regions within Serbia and in Europe; accelerate development of sustainable economy, with support to highly accumulative branches of economy, especially service sector; promote social development with special attention paid to education and jobs for young people, as well as elderly and vulnerable groups, promotion of public services, especially the system of culture and its institutions, sports and entertainment; protect, develop and promote natural and cultural heritage as the base of identity, appeal and economic development both of the City and Republic of Serbia; resolve key issues in all forms of transport, some of which have special importance and develop an integrated system of transport and telecommunications; resolve key issues of the most significant elements of utility systems, with an equal treatment of all parts of the City of Belgrade; develop awareness, a system of indicators, and significantly improve the environment, simultaneously paying attention to all its elements; promote the identity and physical structure of settlements with an emphasis on renewal, compactness, identity, mixed land use, greeneries, and especially the banks of Sava and Danube, central areas of the settlements and complexes of capital importance; promote understanding, development and construction of public areas and public assets, embracing the idea that the City as a whole is an asset important for all those living and working in it; enable new territorial organisation and polycentricism and essential decentralisation, with elements of regionalisation; achieve participation and horizontal coordination of all stakeholders and citizens in terms of major development projects; develop a new system of governance which will enable development of the City as a whole and its integral parts, with a special emphasis on a modern system of financing, budgeting and programming, as well as participation in the decision-making system; provide for further development of the emergency response system in case of natural disasters, as well as a system of personal and business protection of citizens and legal entities; support introduction and development of e-governance which will provide for greater transparency, efficiency and monitoring of development indicators and connections among the systems.

Aforementioned is concretized through the chapters relating: sustainable natural and living environment and improved identity of the City of Belgrade, economic development – made by local governments on the sustainable activities and communications, social development – promotion of physical and mental health of the population, institutional development – towards decentralisation, polycentricism and integrations.

In its final part: Strategic priorities 2008–2012, the Strategy is defined as neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but realistic and the uncertain legislative framework (territorial organisation, restitution, denationalisation, undefined incomplete legal solutions regulating local government) is identified as the main threat for the development of the City. Also, high horizontal and vertical capacity of the Strategy is predicted by saying that it will be the base for definition of sector strategies, revision or creation of new strategic plans and as a framework for defining strategic ideas or decisions territory of the City of Belgrade. In cooperation with the Republic, solutions from this Strategy will be the base for vertical coordination in composition of Republic strategies. The same is applied in case of horizontal coordination, activities of all stakeholders on the territory of the City of Belgrade, who will take the Strategy for the purpose of orientation and programming.

For making first steps in line with the set goals and objectives, strategic priorities, i.e. projects were determined, which may be implemented, launched or prepared for implementation in the period 2008-2012. Their identification was carried out through discussion with the current bodies and organisations of the City Council and citizen polls. After their identification, projects and priorities were grouped accordingly into 7 groups: natural and environmental protection; economic development; development of transport and transport infrastructure; development of technical infrastructure; social development; development of the City's identity; and institutional development and were given the completion deadline, sources of finances and responsible institution for their implementation.

As for the implementation of The Strategy as a whole is concerned, foundation of the new body - City of Belgrade Development Agency is proposed. This institution should be engaged in monitoring its implementation, controlling all significant development parameters, as well as cumulating knowledge and ideas which could possibly adapt the Strategy for future changes including preparation of annual reports on achievement of strategic priorities, which the Mayor will file once a year to the City Assembly. Thus, the Strategy will be subjected to permanent revisions, and every next City government will have the possibility to amend it, complement it, and revise it in line with the changed circumstances.

## 21.4. Concluding remarks

The strategic spatial planning in Belgrade and Serbia was revived at the moment of the country's weathering the crisis and the blockade. Due to the lack of continuity, the conceptual vision of plans was burdened with problems originated in the period of deregulation, i.e. in the last decade of the 20 century. The problems were, among others, in the large number of immigrants from inner Serbia and war regions of former Yugoslavia, extensive illegal construction, neglected infrastructure, the collapse of the vital city services and insufficiently integrated territory (centre and periphery relationship). On the other side, the planned solutions had to be based on the new economic and social concept: the ruin of the socialist country and planned concept of the country of prosperity, the introduction of market concept of economy based on the bared neo-liberalism, the demands that result from the introductory procedure to European Union, not to mention the repairing the consequences of the war operations in 1999. In spite of the mentioned changes and the changed institutional arrangements, the key strategic developing plans kept the elements of the continuity of the planned policies of the City development from the socialist period – the appreciation of the existent city construction, the continuity in planning the traffic and infrastructure, the city landscaping, etc. The new elements that have to be solved in the future refer to: unsolved land and building property relations, unfinished process of restitution and the ambition that Belgrade takes more significant place in the net of cities of Southeast and Middle Europe. The unsolved relationship between Belgrade and inner Serbia is for the future plans: the strategic documents on the country level continually stress the need for demetropolisation, bearing in mind the size and concentration of the functions and population in Belgrade in relation to the relatively unequipped and demographically endangered parts of Serbia.

The changed conditions and the fact that the great number of banks and insurance companies and other foreign companies started to ask from the city authorities the locations for necessary business, warehousing, production and other facilities, above the intensive housing construction, imposed the need for the urgent finding of the locations for the abovementioned purposes with solved property relations. The locations were found at the edged zones of the city, mostly on agricultural land or one of the central urban municipalities-New Belgrade, which had enough space for new construction due to the Le Corbusier way of building.

The overall result is that suburban parts became increasingly self-contained in functional terms and as such strongly compete with the city core. To continue this process, it will be necessary to make a shift in the planning and governance practice at both tiers, the local/communal and the regional/metropolitan.

However, the world economic crisis, which has been in full swing in the second part of 2008, and will not stop in the following period, emerges as a new important factor of the Belgrade strategic planning. There is a genuine fear that the majority of planned goals will be unrealized or their realization will be postponed for the more distant future. It especially refers to the decisions optimistically linked to the process of acceptance of Serbia into the European Union, where there is not enough enthusiasm for receiving the new members due to already mentioned crisis. Moreover, there is a real estimation that the key strategic plans will ask for the new revision in the near future for at least two reasons: the lack of foreign investment inflow in the period of the crisis and the internal financial collapse which has already caused the restriction of the developing budget of the City.