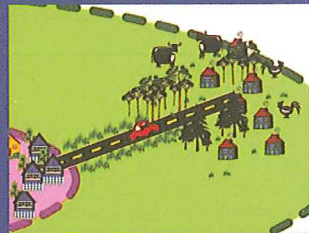
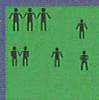


Nenad Spasić
Jasna Petrić
Marko Filipović

SMALL AND MEDIUM TOWNS OF CENTRAL SERBIA

Standpoints and
Assumptions on
Development
Perspectives



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by Nenad Spasić, Jasna Petrić & Marko Filipović

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Preface

The role of lower-order urban centres in national and regional development constitutes an important subject of debate. In the field of contemporary urban research, small and medium-sized towns are gaining importance because they build a very important link between big cities and rural areas.

Obviously, “small” and “medium” generally refers to the size in terms of population of the towns. However, these are highly subjective qualifications, whose concrete meaning depends on the considered national urban system. As the official statistics in Serbia does not recognise categorisation of urban settlements on small, medium or big, for the purposes of analyses presented in this Monograph we have adopted the conditional categorisation of urban settlements in Central Serbia, which corresponds to categorisation applied in some previous research on small and medium-sized towns of the post-World War II Serbia. Attention was paid to development of these settlements in Central Serbia in the two periods: 1948-1981 and 1981-2002, since they are marked by different socio-economic aspects of urbanisation.

A body of work in this Monograph treats demographic and economic changes which featured Serbian urban settlements of different categories especially in the period 1948-1981 (primary urbanisation process) when rural-to-urban migrations were mostly expressed, and when small towns in particular were the first “dam” for rural emigrants flows. Although it may seem at first glance that the urban settlements’ distribution in the settlement network of Central Serbia has been satisfactory, the discord between the number of inhabitants in Belgrade as the capital city and other urban settlements points to the issue of sharp division between the centre and the periphery. Small and medium-sized towns of Central Serbia marked a noticeable population growth in the period of the primary urbanisation, but most of all they had the fastest rate of GNP growth and very high employment rates. However, starting with the economic downturn of the country in the 1990s, when a significant concentration of political and economic power happened in Belgrade, many of these settlements have gone through stagnation. It has to be stressed that as in other countries, a number of smaller and particularly medium-sized towns of Central Serbia have strong roots in the secondary sector which has particularly suffered because of present global and national economy conditions.

In such context the question is why do we take an interest in small and medium-sized towns now or why at all?

Firstly, the renewed interest in these urban settlements in Serbia as in other European countries is that, despite being neglected in the past, they are perceived to play quite different roles along the continuum from centre to periphery. With this in view, it is important to clarify the diversity of roles that small and medium sized towns have in relation to their surroundings. Many of them may seem insignificant at a European or even at a national level, whereas at regional and local level they may be of reasonably large importance, like centres in more remote, rural, mountain and peripheral areas. The role might differ regarding the geographical context of a town (being linked with a big city, or part of a functional cluster of small and medium-sized towns, or the only urban settlement in a region); the economic performance; the function and size of the town; or other aspects, e.g. accessibility or specialisation in certain sector of activity. The knowledge of the role of small and medium-sized towns needs to be explored to a much larger degree in order to formulate adequate policy recommendations – both at EU and national level, which on one hand can support existing positive development and on the other hand can assist small and medium-sized towns in decline in diverting present negative development trends.

Small and medium-sized towns of Central Serbia have a potential to become sustainable, but only if urban networks are developed between these smaller urbanities and also among them and bigger cities. In other words, a key factor for the future existence and development of these towns is cooperation and new and more efficient types of governance and urban policy.

This work aims to offer an incentive for further research on small and medium-sized towns in our country by provision of fundamental theses requiring more thorough investigation in particular contexts.

The publication is based on the research project financed by the Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia (TP 6500A “Sustainable spatial development of towns in Serbia” in the period 2005-2007) and the involvement in the European regional projects within the INTERREG IIIb CADSES 2000-2006 Programme (ESTIA-SPOSE: European Space – Territorial Indicators and Actions for a Spatial Planning Observatory Platform in South-Eastern Europe, and PLANET CENSE – Planners Networks for Central and South-Eastern Europe).

1. Introduction

Within general trend among most nations to “urbanise”, there are large differences in the scale, speed and spatial distribution of urban change and development of urban centres. In the European Union which in general terms is highly urbanised, a third of the population lives in metropolitan areas and a third in small and medium-sized towns outside agglomerations. The rest of the population lives in rural areas – often rather densely populated.

In comparison to the European average (80%), Serbian level of urbanisation is relatively low (56% in 2002), which is the result of late industrialisation and some political decisions in former Yugoslavia. As in other countries of real-socialism, the state was also the main subject of urbanisation in former Yugoslavia. Urban settlements, especially the federal and republic centres had been the focus for all investments which were directed to industry as well as for development of infrastructure and public services. Likewise in other Central and East European countries, the network of urban centres here reflected the situation in which the territory was sharply divided between the centre and the periphery. This is a consequence of the political idea that people, assets and territory could be efficiently controlled by methods and techniques of strict centralisation. With the break-up of Yugoslavia, its urban system had been divided into six more or less incoherent urban systems (Serbian¹, Slovenian, Croatian, Bosnia and Herzegovinian, Macedonian and Montenegrin). Compared to its neighbouring countries, Serbia is less urbanised than Bulgaria, Hungary and Montenegro, more urbanised than Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at the same level of urbanisation as Croatia and Romania.

Significant spatial and demographic changes have been among the key characteristics of the Republic of Serbia in the second half of the 20th century, mainly caused by the dynamic *primary urbanisation* process, i.e. intensive rural-to-urban migration flows. This resulted in formation of *demographic expansion areas* (formed around urban hubs with strong overall growth in demographic and economic terms) leaving on the other side the *areas of constant depopulation*. Former have a relatively small territorial cover, with high level of people and activity concentration, whereas latter represent the emigration areas, dominantly rural in character, territorially large, relatively unpopulated, and

¹ Serbian urban system is not homogeneous as it encompasses territories of Central Serbia and Vojvodina. Kosovo and Metohija has been placed under UN administration since 1999.

located in remote and mountain regions. What is a particularity of this process is that it keeps intensity even in the period of the so-called *demographic transition* (characterised by decrease in natural growth as well as significant aging of population) that has featured Serbia in the late 20th and beginning of the 21st century. These negative effects which were caused by demographic transition had begun to reflect on the primary urbanisation of Serbia only when the traditional demographic “reservoirs” (dominantly rural areas) showed first signs of “exhaustion”. Basically, as starting from the 1990s, it has been only the urban population of Serbia which had a positive natural population growth. However, at the end of the 20th century even the big cities of Central Serbia (including Belgrade) started losing population by natural growth hence small and medium-sized towns only had a natural reproduction of their population, which means that these towns hold the remaining potential of Serbian demographic self-revitalisation (Stojanović, Vojković, 2005).

Although, traditionally, the debate on rural-urban interactions has been dominated by interest in the ways in which the very large cities influence the development of national space, it is small and medium sized towns (the lower-order centres in the urban rank size hierarchy) that are often seen as playing a crucial role in rural-urban interactions given the usually strong association and complementary relationship they form with their hinterland. With this in view, the most effective and rational spatial strategy for promoting rural regeneration is to develop a well-articulated, integrated and balanced urban hierarchy (Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2003). This network of small, medium-size and larger urban centres is perceived to allow clusters of services, facilities and infrastructure that cannot be economically located in small villages and hamlets to serve a widely dispersed population from an accessible central place. Small and medium-sized towns are perceived to play a positive role in such network by offering more service supply points with a variety of services, agricultural inputs and consumer goods to the rural areas (Tacoli, 1998), though a distinctive character and quality of small towns in many areas is under pressure from: population change, economic restructuring, and insensitive development. Some or all of these factors may change the historic, economic, social, and environmental role of small and medium-sized towns.

Despite their presumed function of building a very important link between metropolises and rural areas, small and medium-sized towns are not always defined as particular entities of the national urban systems. It seems that there is somehow a clear distinction between the large agglomeration on the one hand, and small and medium-sized towns on the other, but precise, quantitative criteria are not always explicitly referred to. The same can be

inferred for Central Serbia for which it has been offered unofficial (conditional) categorisation of urban settlements according to their size (small towns: urban settlements with population up to 20,000; medium-sized towns: urban settlements with 20,000 - 100,000 inhabitants; big cities: urban settlements with 100,000 – 1,000,000 inhabitants; and very big cities: population over 1,000,000). Their roles in regional organisation of the country and local development vary as does their population size. However, the concept of decentralised urbanisation, regionally balanced and dynamic polycentric urban system, which was proposed by the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia, has not come to life.

Belgrade, which is home to 20.5% of urban population in Central Serbia and the only city of over 1,000,000 inhabitants, has always been a magnet to immigrants from rural as well as from smaller urban settlements. Above all other urban settlements in the past, the small towns had been the first in line of “damming” the rural exodus, i.e. they absorbed a significant flow of village migrants. However, more recent trends do not support greater demographic growth of small or medium-sized towns through migration influence since already exhausted demographic rural reservoirs are rather pulled by the bigger cities. When the economic development is in concern, many small and medium-sized towns have had strong roots in the secondary sector and have an industrialised past, which in the 1970s and 1980s exhibited the fastest rate of the GNP growth as well as very high employment rates for some small and medium-sized towns of Serbia (Spasić, 1984; Malobabić, 1997). However, this trend changed, especially with the last decade of the previous century, when the political and economic power highly concentrated in Belgrade, incorporating to a stagnation of other Serbian urban settlements. With this in view, the key pointer to unbalanced regional development of Serbia is the urban agglomeration of Belgrade with all its development characteristics, thus requiring the advancement of macro-regional and other development centres which would mitigate the acute issues of imbalance, i.e. extremely uneven regional development, weak territorial cohesion; underused, insufficiently or wrongly used territorial capital; and the issue of competitiveness (Derić, Perišić, 1996, Stojkov, 2007).

Homogeneous regional development is considered as an important development goal within the European context where polycentric urban development is the aim of European regional policy makers. Therefore, the attention needs to be redirected to declining rural areas and more prudent consideration of small and medium-sized towns’ role. With building networks of small and medium-sized towns, target is to reduce the polarisation between

premium cities and the periphery thus reinforcing sustainable regional development. Small and medium-sized towns have the opportunity to reevaluate rural areas and present “the golden middle” in urban and regional planning, combining the advantages of cities and rural areas. For this to happen, communities must be willing to accept inter-communal and regional cooperation.

Yet, much depends on how economies of small and medium-sized towns are developed and on the ways by which the linkages between them and larger or smaller communities are organised. If they would serve to facilitate draining of rural areas of their resources, which would then be invested in metropolitan centres, small and medium-sized towns would then represent a parasitic urban form. However, the conventional wisdom of policy-makers and regional planners is that small and medium-sized towns play an essential role as regional service centres in rural hinterland development through direct production linkages and “spread” and “trickling down” effects. If the severe problems caused by excessive urban agglomeration have been the motivation for promoting the development of small and medium-sized towns, the argument of close relationship between urban and rural development, and more specific, the catalyst role which small and medium-sized towns may have for development of rural and peripheral areas with specific geographic challenges and needs (e.g. mountain areas), has been far more influential. Benefits associated with the emphasis on lower-order settlements in the urban hierarchy include: countrywide spatial integration, provision of improved services to rural residents, diffusion and spread of modernisation and innovation from bigger cities, decentralisation of employment opportunities, etc.

Potentials and challenges of small and medium-sized towns in Central Serbia are comprised in their economic and demographic function, as well as in institutional aspects. Latter (the governance aspect) has to be seen as a particular potential of small and medium-sized towns allowing them to be closer to the citizen and more flexible to react to the citizens needs.

The distribution of urban population (and of industrial and service employment) within the urban system from the largest to the smallest urban centre is obviously influenced by distribution of power, resources and capacities within the local government structure. Thus policies intended to support small and medium-sized towns, need to ensure that these towns are not being undermined by the ‘non-spatial’ priorities of higher levels of government.

2. Definition and Categorisation of Urban Settlements

2.1 *Urban Settlement Definition*

One of the principal issues encountered while analysing urban settlements and urban population in general, relates to **town definition**, i.e. the way to distinguish urban areas from the rural ones. Each country has its own definition of a “town” based on geographical, historical and administrative considerations. In any case, towns are too vast and diverse an object for a single definition or notion to be adequate.

Despite various defining criteria applied, it can be said that the town has always been distinguished according to a country’s “nature and history of its urban population, as well as its political and administrative structures for land-use control” (ESPON 1.4.1 Programme, 2005:17). The statistical approach to the urban phenomenon is based on representations of what constitutes a town and on measurements of the urban object (Le Gléau et al., 1997).

In certain countries, a town is identified by its legal status. The town therefore coincides with its administrative boundaries. In other countries, an urban state corresponds to the particular way of living. Also, there are countries which define towns according to the economic function, considering as urban all human establishments that do not fulfil mainly agricultural production functions. Following that many notions of what constitutes a town, there is a problem of defining **town boundaries**, which have often become increasingly vague in space and time. The development of faster and faster transport systems and higher standards of living have allowed urban settlements to take an ever increasing dimension of size, meaning that town dwellers no longer have to live within a well-defined, built-up perimeter. Urban activities and urban dwellers have spread into areas that used to be distinctly rural. Statistically speaking, such new forms of urbanisation are increasingly difficult to cover.

The standards for defining urban settlements however can be grouped according to three main approaches, which are applied in European countries individually or in combination as they are complementary:

- “Administrative approach”, which defines urban areas based on the legal or administrative status of municipalities. This approach corresponds to the city as instrument used by the state to structure, organise and control a country. In some countries, a municipality is considered urban when it reaches a certain threshold of population, and it is thus considering the administrative boundaries of the municipality as the formal delimitation

of the town, notwithstanding the actual structure of the settlements. Municipalities can become a town by decision of the government when the town has a certain administrative status, such as regional capital for instance (e.g. in Poland, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Ireland). In some countries, the administrative approach follows the concept of old "historical towns" – towns which were in the Middle Ages delimited by a physical boundary, the ring-wall. However, in the United Kingdom, the use of historical towns as a basis for the definition of modern towns needs to be put into question since presently most of its historical towns either grew into large built-up areas, extending beyond the historical boundaries or they shrunk their influence and can no more be considered as a place of central importance.

- "Morphological approach" defines urban areas based on the extent and/or continuity of the built-up area (the distance between the buildings must be below a given threshold); the number of inhabitants (which is above certain number); and on proportion of the municipal area covered by urban settlements. This approach corresponds to the city or town as a physical or architectural object and is applied in urban settlements' definition in Austria, Greece, Belgium, Nordic countries, France, some parts of the United Kingdom, etc.).
- "Functional approach", defines urban area based on interactions between a core area (identified according to morphological criteria) and the surrounding territories. The functional approach is based on the exchanges between different parts of the urban region, and could be roughly described as the delimitation of the zone of influence of the central core according to its total population size; the size of working population and density of jobs in the central core; the daily commuting flows to the cores; the proportion of employment in specific sectors, etc. However, the daily commuting flows are the central parameter in this respect, as they reflect the existence of a common labour market. This approach corresponds to the city as an economic and social entity and is applied for urban settlement definition in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, United Kingdom, etc.

The scientific and official records from a selection of European countries highlight the fact that urban areas as they are defined in different countries are incomparable entities. It is therefore necessary to redefine the urban objects in a common European approach by using quantitative and qualitative criteria and focus on the notion of "small-" and "medium-sized" in order to identify urban objects according to these qualifications within the general urban system.

2.2 Conditional Urban Settlement Categorisation

Although urban settlement categorisation is not the main issue to be considered here, the problem which it may bring cannot be neglected, especially if there is to be achieved a convention of what is considered by SMALL and MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS. It was until the 1981 that the Official Statistical Bureau of Yugoslavia (and Serbia as its part) was grouping all settlements in one of the three categories: urban, rural, and mixed-type settlements.

As it was mentioned before, there are many criteria which could be applied (in theory or in practice) for distinguishing urban from non-urban settlements, e.g. statistical, official or legal, functional, sociological, economic, historical, quantitative-according to the population or settlement size, etc. Each of these criteria individually offers one-sided (biased) explanation hence it is a combination of several criteria which is best placed to be applied.

In Serbia, it is the administrative-legal criterion which has a long tradition in distinguishing urban from non-urban settlements and, according to this criterion which was used in the 1948, 1981, 1991 and 2002 Censuses, a settlement is considered as urban when it is legally recognised as such. A second criterion which was applied for settlement distinction in our country was the combined quantitative-statistical categorisation proposed by the Academic Miloš Macura, PhD. This criterion, which was applied in the 1953, 1961, and 1971 Censuses, was based on percentage of non-agricultural population combined with the number of total population in a settlement. According to this criterion in Central Serbia in 1971, there were 96 urban settlements (or 116 if suburban settlements were included as well), 28 mixed-type settlements and 9 rural settlements with the function of a municipal centre. The total number of settlements in Central Serbia in 1971 was 4,190 which had reduced over time (3,623 settlements in 2002), but the number of urban settlements has always increased.

Urban settlement's categorisation is most commonly connected to a total number of residents in the settlement, but some differences can be found between the countries in this respect as well as between standpoints of certain authors. It can be said that urban population size is highly subjective qualification, whose concrete meaning depends on the large towns and cities present in the considered urban system. The need to consider city sizes relative to the urban context is illustrated by Pumain (1999) who suggests constructing cartographic representations where the circles representing the size of cities and towns do not correspond to absolute population figures, but to the

population in relation to the largest city in the urban system. Through this method it would be possible to represent differences in the structure of different urban systems.

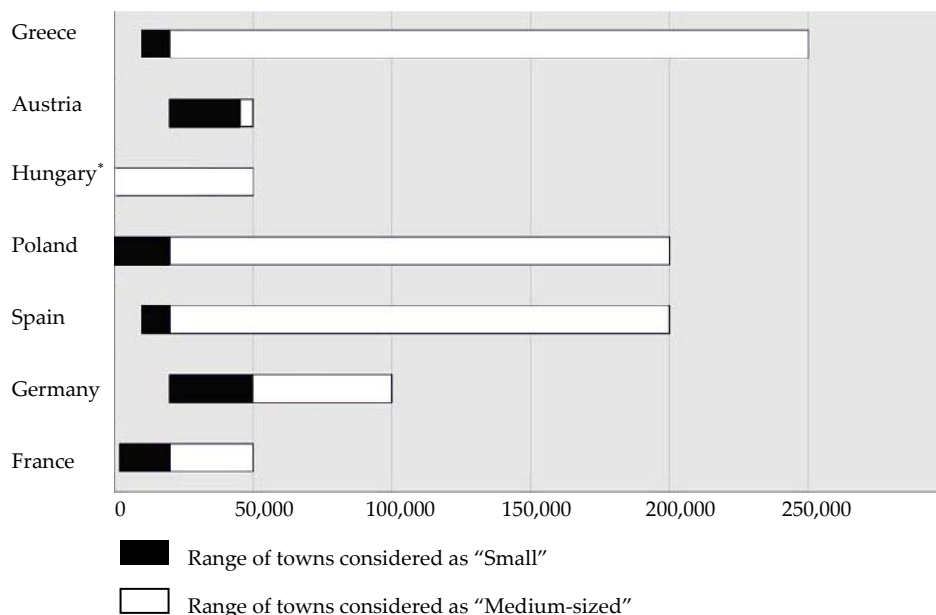
Here, as an illustration of a more conservative approach it is given the urban categorisation applied in Russia, Germany and France in the 1970s (Table 1).

Table 1: Urban settlement categorisation in Russia, Germany and France

Urban category	Russia	Germany	France
Small towns	up to 50,000	5,000-20,000	up to 20,000
Medium-sized towns	50,000-100,000	20,000-100,000	20,000-200,000
Big cities	100,000-250,000	over 100,000	over 200,000
Big cities- metropolis	over 250,000		Paris

The use of a size threshold for town categorisation is presently applied in many European countries, where 3 thresholds are commonly used: the upper limit for a town to be called medium-sized, the bottom limit for a town to be called small, and finally the limit that distinguishes small towns from medium-sized ones.

Graph 1: Quantitative definition of small and medium-sized towns



*For Hungary, only the upper limit for medium-sized towns was given.

Source: ESPON 2005 Programme ESPON 1.4.1. „Small and Medium-sized Towns (SMESTO)“

In the case of Serbia as for the former Yugoslavia, there has been no official categorisation of urban settlements although many authors have been considering this issue. For example, Dolfe Vogelnik suggested the following categorisation of towns² according to the number of residents:³

Varošice (very small towns)	2,000 – 5,000 residents
Varoši (smaller towns)	5,000 – 10,000 residents
Small towns	10,000 – 20,000 residents
Medium-sized towns	20,000 – 50,000 residents
Bigger towns	50,000 – 100,000 residents
Very big cities	over 100,000 residents

The Academic Branislav Kojić, probably offered one of the most inclusive categorisation of the urban settlements in Central Serbia, which was based on functional criteria, i.e. the role and function which a town had in the network of settlements. At the same time he offered the definition of certain urban categories which was more precise (rural featured smallest towns; very small towns; small towns; towns; big cities) as well as the prediction on their future development. The number of inhabitants does not explicitly determine to which category a town (settlement) belongs to, however, it presumes for each category a range in population number that corresponds to it. Each settlement's rank or category in the network of settlements is determined by the main functions it performs, and that can be generally described in the following way:

Rural featured settlement:	Centre of the village commune (exceptionally, the municipal centre)
Smaller town:	Municipal centre
Small town:	Sub-regional centre; regional centre
Town:	Regional (macro-regional) centre, the centre on the level of Republic

The subject of this work is primarily related to towns and settlements of urban character in Central Serbia, which, according to statistical-quantitative criterion, have less than 20,000 inhabitants (small towns) and to the medium-sized towns which according to the same criterion have between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. The research treats small towns – municipal centres as well

² Although a term "town" has different meaning from a term "city" since this is not a subject of the work here, these two terms may be used interchangeably.

³ Dolfe Vogelnik: "Urbanizacija kao odraz privrednog razvoja FNRJ", Ekonomska biblioteka, 1961.

as other (mixed-type and rural) settlements which have the role of municipal centres, but it also addresses the medium-sized towns as traditional regional and sub-regional centres, comparing them all to Belgrade agglomeration (Belgrade Metropolitan Region) and other big cities of Central Serbia (Niš and Kragujevac). For the research purposes, the following conditional categorisation of urban settlements in Central Serbia has been adopted (Table 2).

Table 2: Conditional categorisation of urban settlements in Central Serbia

1. Small towns	up to 20,000 inhabitants
2. Medium-sized towns	20,000 – 100,000 inhabitants
3. Big cities (Niš and Kragujevac)	100,000 – 1,000,000 inhabitants
4. Very big cities (Belgrade)	over 1,000,000 inhabitants

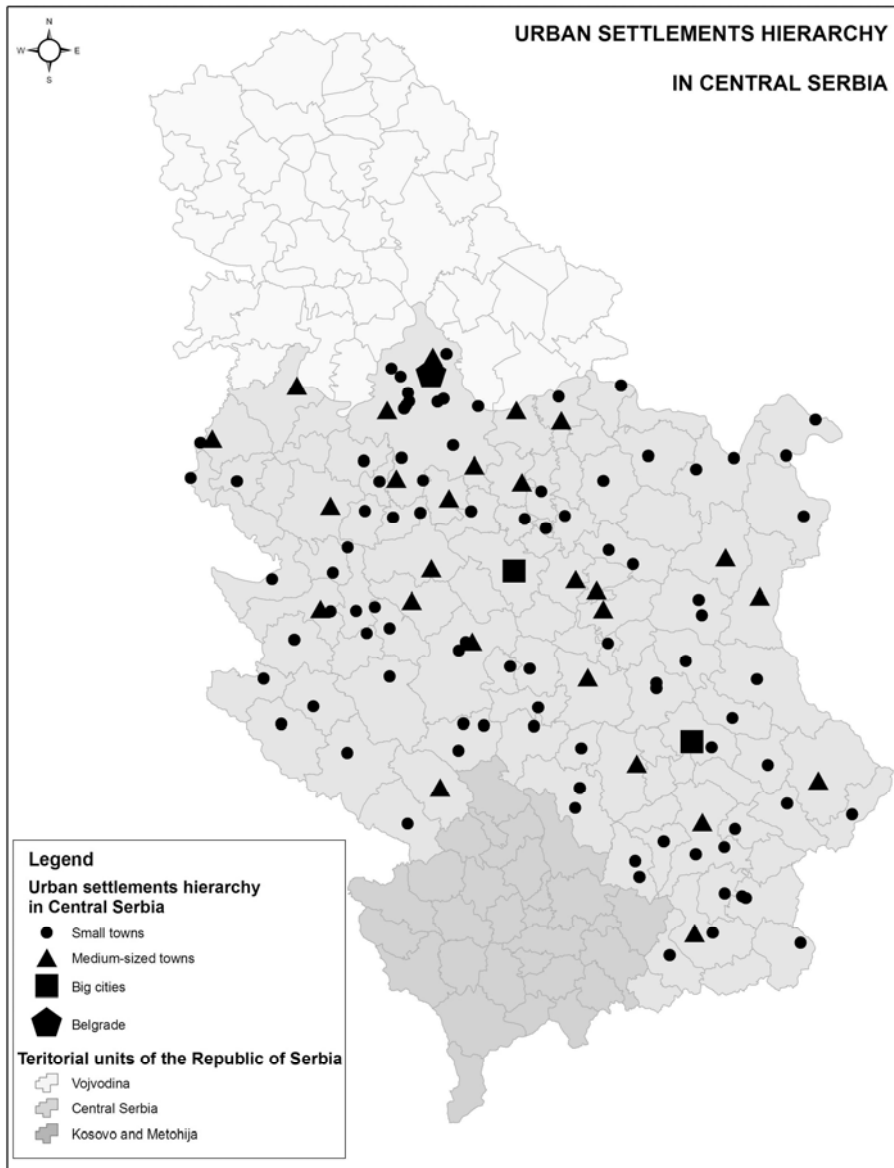
It has to be stressed that this is just a conditional urban categorisation (not official) which has a purpose of convention for this research.

According to this convention on urban settlement categorisation in Central Serbia, in 2002 there were 89 small towns where 53 had the role of a municipal centre; medium-sized towns were the second largest group of urban settlements (there were 25 in the year 2002, or 21 if the medium-sized towns belonging to Belgrade Metropolitan Region⁴ were not included); big cities were represented by Niš and Kragujevac; whereas only Belgrade belongs to the category of very big cities. In reference to all this, it can be inferred that 117 settlements of Central Serbia have the urban status according to the 2002 Census.⁵ Out of all urban settlements in Central Serbia, the overwhelming majority belongs to the small towns' category (76.1%), which is followed by the medium-sized towns (21.4%).

⁴ Borča, Lazaravac, Mladenovac, and Obrenovac are urban settlements with more than 20,000 residents thus representing the medium-sized towns, but they are also a part of Belgrade Metropolitan Region.

⁵ If Belgrade Metropolitan Region's urban settlements have not been included there would be 100 urban settlements.

Map 1: Urban settlements hierarchy in Central Serbia in 2002



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In the functional urban hierarchy, small towns typically represent municipal centres or supplementary municipal centres, and just rarely they have the function of sub-regional centres. Medium-sized towns are regional or sub-regional centres, whereas big cities (Niš and Kragujevac) have macro-regional functions. It should be added that in 2002 there were 23 municipal centres in Central Serbia which belonged to the category of other (non-urban) settlements. Their position in the settlement system is substantiated as they represent potential “small towns” in the future prospects.

The structure of urban settlements in Central Serbia has been changing in the period after the Second World War. The changes have been the consequence of demographic growth in some settlements joined by local government’s decision to declare certain settlements as urban.

As it is not simple to tell apart (small) town from non-urban settlement, the definition of medium-sized town is not straightforward either. The definition of medium-sized town can be based on functional analysis, demographic criteria, or a medium-sized town’s role within the territorial organisation, yet none of these criteria is sufficient enough standing alone. Therefore it can be said that medium-sized towns represent a heterogenic ensemble, which cannot be a subject to unique classification.

When trying to define medium-sized towns, one could use as a starting premise the regional organisations which exist in these towns or the dominant activities of their residents, as well as the functions which this town category offers or the competencies it has been given. It is however clear that the above mentioned criteria are too heterogeneous to be able to support the classification at the national level.

On the other hand, the definition which would solely be based on the “size” criterion would draw to many difficulties:

- The problem of clarification between lines which border big cities, medium-sized or small towns;
- A justified emphasis on specificity of each growing town’s environmental issues which differ from one case to another;
- Omission of the “explicative” value of a town, which has little to do with a size criterion, latter being just one of general explicative factors that as a premise could be taken in consideration. However, the other explicative factors, e.g. locality, historical context, relations, etc., also have an important role to play, especially for distinguishing a town from the neighbouring urban settlements.

Typically, small and medium-sized towns are the urban settlements which have certain influence on the surrounding villages; they reflect a specific identity, history and tradition, and they have encountered periods of growth and stagnation in the thus far socio-economic development.

Annex:

The list of urban settlements and other settlements which are the municipal centres in Central Serbia in 2002⁶

1. Very big cities	population over 1,000,000 (Belgrade)
2. Other big cities	population 100,000 - 1,000,000 (Niš, Kragujevac)
3. Medium-sized towns	population 20,000 - 100,000 (Arandelovac, Bor, Borča*, Ćuprija, Čačak, Gornji Milanovac, Jagodina, Kraljevo, Kruševac, Lazarevac*, Leskovac, Mladenovac*, Novi Pazar, Obrenovac*, Paraćin, Pirot, Požarevac, Prokuplje, Smederevo, Smederevska Palanka, Šabac, Užice, Valjevo, Vranje, Zaječar)
4. Small towns (less than 20,000 inhabitants):	
- Population 15,000 - 20,000 (Aleksinac, Knjaževac, Loznica, Negotin, Priboj, Prijepolje, Trstenik, Velika Plana, Vlasotince)	
- Population 10,000 – 15,000 (Bujanovac, Ivanjica, Kuršumlija, Lebane, Majdanpek, Nova Varoš, Požega, Sjenica, Surčin*, Surdulica)	
- Population 5,000 – 10,000 (Aleksandrovac, Arilje, Bajina Bašta, Banja Koviljača*, Bela Palanka, Blace, Ćićevac, Dimitrovgrad, Dobanovci*, Grocka*, Kladovo, Kostolac*, Lapovo, Petrovac, Raška, Sevojno*, Sokobanja, Svilajnac, Svrljig, Topola, Tutin, Ub, Umka*, Veliko Gradište, Vladičin Han, Vranjska Banja*, Vrnjačka Banja)	
- Population less than 5,000 (Aleksinački Rudnik*, Babušnica, Baljevac*, Belanovica*, Beli Potok*, Belo Polje*, Bogovina*, Boljevac, Bosilegrad, Brus, Brza Palanka*, Despotovac, Divčibare*, Donji Milanovac*, Grdelica*, Guča*, Jošanička Banja*, Kosjerić, Krupanj, Kučevo, Kuršumlijska Banja*, Lajkovac, Lučani, Ljig, Mali Zvornik, Mataruška Banja*, Medveđa, Mionica, Niška Banja*, Ostružnica*, Ovča*, Pečani*, Pinosava*, Rača, Resavica*, Ribnica*, Rucka*, Rudovci*, Sijarinska Banja*, Sopot*, Veliki Crljeni*, Vučje*, Zlatibor*)	
5. Other (non-urban) settlements which are the municipal centres	(Batočina, Bogatić, Bojnik, Crna Trava, Čajetina, Doljevac, Gadžin Han, Golubac, Knić, Koceljeva, Ljubovija, Malo Crniće, Merošina, Osečina, Preševo, Ražanj, Rekovac, Trgovište, Varvarin, Vladimirci, Žabari, Žagubica, Žitorađa)

* Urban settlements which are not the municipal centres.

⁶ Urban and other settlements have been grouped according to the conditional classification which has been set as a convention for this research.

3. Development Characteristics of Small and Medium-sized Towns in Central Serbia

Small towns, which are distinguished according to the statistical – quantitative criterion, represent a rather heterogeneous ensemble in terms of development, socio-economic, demographic, functional, and spatial-physical characteristics. This stands for towns, which because of their size, functional development and position, represent potential sub-regional centres, as well as for those which already reached medium size (Lazarevac, Obrenovac, Mladenovac, Arandjelovac, Smederevska Palanka), but it also stands for municipal centres whose influence can be felt only within the proper municipal territory and for smaller urban settlements whose functions have been developed only at the level of a village commune centre. Small town urban category also encompasses some mono-functionally developed settlements, e.g. spas (Sokobanja, Vrnjačka Banja, Banja Koviljača, Vranjska Banja); tourist, industrial and mining settlements (Zlatibor, Divčibare, Majdanpek, Resavica, Kosotlac, Sevojno) and so forth. Therefore, it is quite difficult to set a general definition for this category of towns. The statistical criterion used for differentiation of urban from non-urban settlements as well as the numerical-quantitative criterion for distinguishing certain categories of towns are simplifying the case to a great deal and they easily distinguish the “small” from “big” towns. As a starting premise for settlements which belong to the small town category, the following common characteristics can be listed: firstly, these settlements have less than 20,000 inhabitants according to the latest Census (2002) as well as the urban settlement character following the statistical criterion; furthermore, these settlements have a function – role of a municipal centre or a supplementary municipal centre; they are in the immediate contact with the rural surroundings and they already represent or they would represent in the future the most proximate centre (hub, pole) of urbanisation (“revitalisation”) for the rural area.

3.1 The Role and Significance of Small and Medium-sized Towns within Central Serbia's Urban Structure

From the total of 3,623 settlements at the territory of Central Serbia in 2002 there were 117 towns (cities) and settlements of an urban character (3.23%). This percentage has grown in years as, for example, in 1961 there were just 72 urban settlements in Central Serbia (1.74% from the total number of settlements) and in 1971 there were 116 urban settlements (2.78%). Within urban settlement structure, most numerous are the small towns (Table 3).

Table 3: Number of towns within different urban categories and their percentage in the total number of urban settlements in Central Serbia

Urban settlement category	1948		1953	
	Number	%	Number	%
Belgrade	1	4.76	1	1.96
Other big cities	0	0.00	0	0.00
Medium-sized towns	3	14.29	5	9.80
Small towns	17	80.95	45	88.24
Total – urban settlements	21	100.00	51	100.00
Urban settlement category	1961		1971	
	Number	%	Number	%
Belgrade	1	1.39	1	0.86
Other big cities	0	0.00	1	0.86
Medium-sized towns	12	16.67	18	15.52
Small towns	59	81.94	96	82.76
Total – urban settlements	72	100.00	116	100.00
Urban settlement category	1981		1991	
	Number	%	Number	%
Belgrade	1	0.88	1	0.86
Other big cities	2	1.77	2	1.72
Medium-sized towns	21	18.58	26	22.41
Small towns	89	78.76	87	75.00
Total – urban settlements	113	100.00	116	100.00
Urban settlement category	2002			
	Number	%		
Belgrade	1	0.85		
Other big cities	2	1.71		
Medium-sized towns	25	21.37		
Small towns	89	76.07		
Total – urban settlements	117	100.00		

Source: Spasić, N. (1984); Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

The number of towns in Central Serbia had grown in the period 1948-1971 from 21 to 116 in total. In 1981 that number decreased to 113, whereas in the consequent period, the number of towns in Central Serbia grew just slightly (117 according to the latest Census).

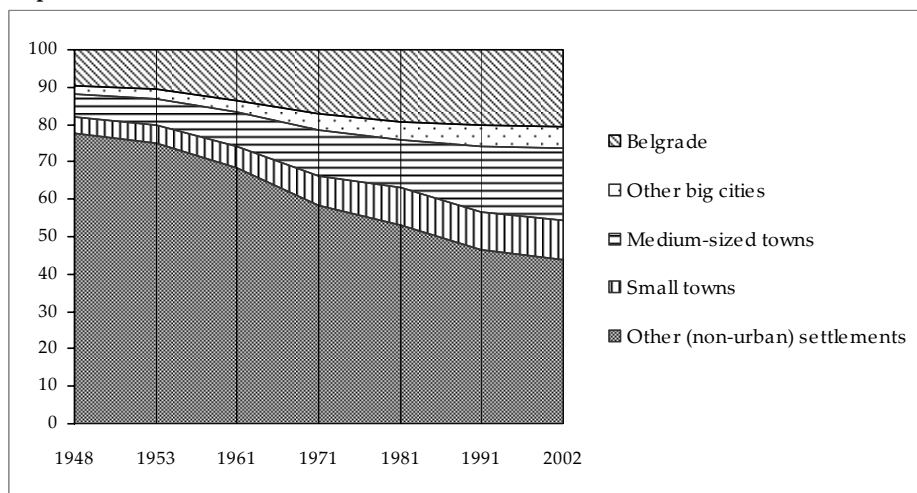
Table 4: Number of residents according to different settlement types and their percentage in total population of Central Serbia

Year	1948		1953	
	Population	%	Population	%
Belgrade	397,711	9.6	477,982	10.7
Niš and Kragujevac	88,656	2.1	107,358	2.4
Medium-sized towns	263,077	6.3	324,563	7.3
Small towns	179,150	4.3	214,142	4.8
Other (non-urban) settlements	3,225,644	77.6	3,339,636	74.8
Central Serbia -total	4,154,238	100.0	4,463,681	100.0
Year	1961		1971	
	Population	%	Population	%
Belgrade	657,362	13.6	899,094	17.1
Niš and Kragujevac	144,597	3.0	220,639	4.2
Medium-sized towns	455,236	9.4	663,884	12.6
Small towns	276,293	5.7	402,955	7.7
Other (non-urban) settlements	3,289,792	68.2	3,063,783	58.4
Central Serbia -total	4,823,276	100.0	5,250,355	100.0
Year	1981		1991	
	Population	%	Population	%
Belgrade	1,087,915	19.1	1,168,454	20.1
Niš and Kragujevac	290,393	5.1	322,696	5.6
Medium-sized towns	900,703	12.7	1,027,242	17.7
Small towns	513,350	10.1	590,928	10.2
Other (non-urban) settlements	2,902,103	53.0	2,699,586	46.5
Central Serbia -total	5,694,464	100.0	5,808,906	100.0
Year	2002			
	Population	%		
Belgrade	1,119,642	20.5		
Niš and Kragujevac	320,097	5.9		
Medium-sized towns	1,044,202	19.1		
Small towns	590,869	10.8		

Year	2002	
Other (non-urban) settlements	2,719,536	43.8
Central Serbia -total	5,794,346	100.0

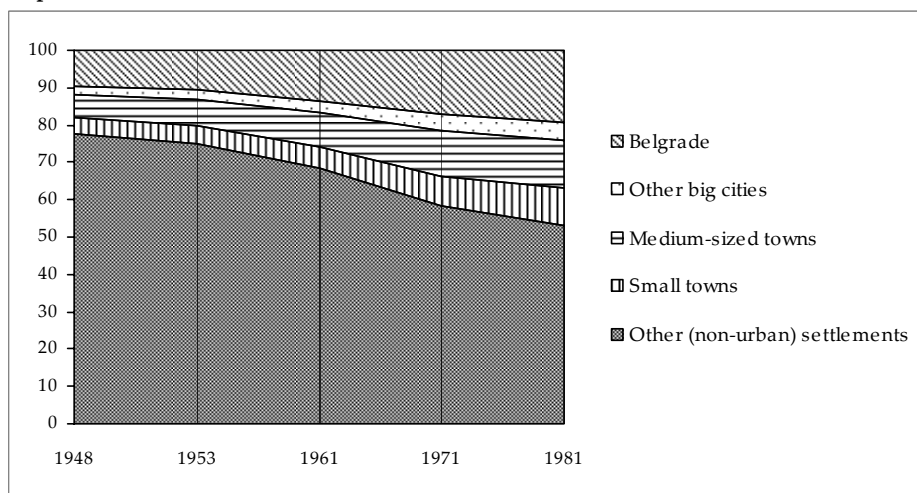
Source: Spasić, N. (1984); Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

Graph 1: Change of the population intake by different types of settlements in Central Serbia in the period 1948 - 2002 (in %)



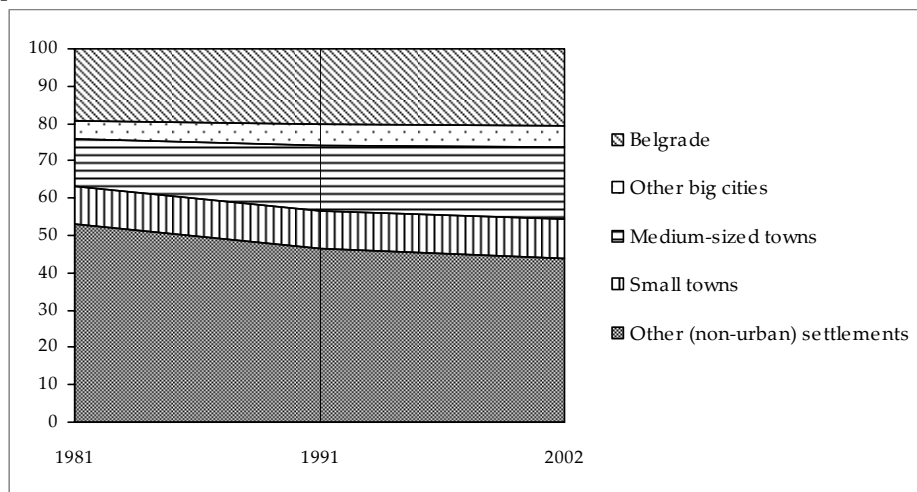
Source: Spasić, N., 1984; Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Population Census 2002, Book 9

Graph 2: Change of the population intake by different types of settlements in Central Serbia in the period 1948-1981 (in %)



Source: Spasić, N., 1984; Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Population Census 2002, Book 9

Graph 3: Change of the population intake by different types of settlements in Central Serbia in period 1981 - 2002 (in%)



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Population Census 2002, Book 9

The percentage of urban in total population of Central Serbia is still relatively low, whereas the percentage of small and medium-sized town residents demonstrates noticeable trend of growth in the total urban population (Table 5).

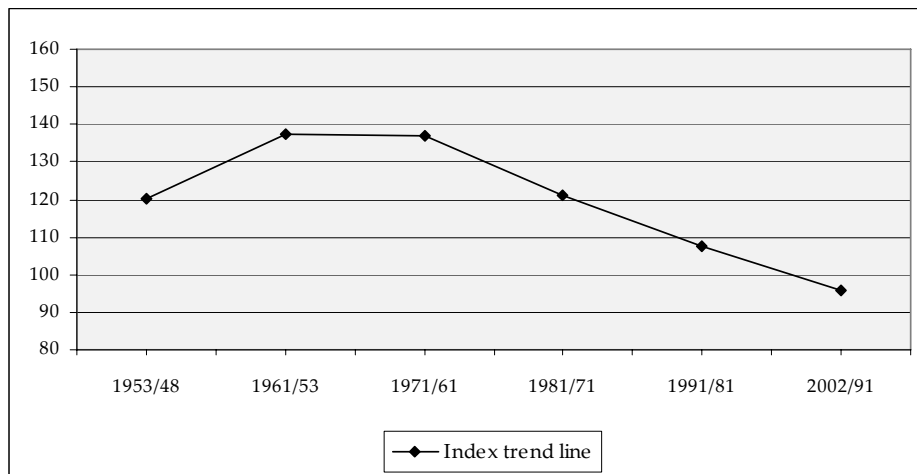
Table 5: Number of residents, the percentage of population from different settlement categories in the total population and population growth index in different categories of settlements in Central Serbia

Settlement category	Population in 1948	%	
Belgrade	397,711	9.6	
Other big cities	88,656	2.1	
Medium-sized towns	263,077	6.3	
Small towns	179,150	4.3	
Other (non-urban) settlements	3,225,644	77.6	
Urban settlement category	Population in 1953	%	Index 53/48
Belgrade	477,982	10.7	120.2
Other big cities	107,358	2.4	121.1
Medium-sized towns	324,563	7.3	123.4
Small towns	214,142	4.8	119.5
Other (non-urban) settlements	3,339,636	74.8	103.5

Settlement category	Population in 1961	%	Index 61/48
Belgrade	657,362	13.6	165.3
Other big cities	144,597	3.0	163.1
Medium-sized towns	455,236	9.4	173.0
Small towns	276,293	5.7	154.2
Other (non-urban) settlements	3,289,792	68.2	102.0
Settlement category	Population in 1971	%	Index 71/48
Belgrade	899,094	17.1	226.1
Other big cities	220,639	4.2	248.9
Medium-sized towns	663,884	12.6	252.4
Small towns	402,955	7.7	224.9
Other (non-urban) settlements	3,063,783	58.4	95.0
Settlement category	Population in 1981	%	Index 81/48
Belgrade	1,087,915	19.1	273.5
Other big cities	290,393	5.1	327.6
Medium-sized towns	900,703	12.7	342.4
Small towns	513,350	10.1	286.5
Other (non-urban) settlements	2,902,103	53.0	90.0
Settlement category	Population in 1991	%	Index 91/48
Belgrade	1,168,454	20.1	293.8
Other big cities	322,696	5.6	364.0
Medium-sized towns	1,027,242	17.7	390.5
Small towns	590,928	10.2	329.9
Other (non-urban) settlements	2,699,586	46.5	83.7
Settlement category	Population in 2002	%	Index 2002/48
Belgrade	1,119,642	20.5	281.5
Other big cities	320,097	5.9	361.1
Medium-sized towns	1,044,202	19.1	396.9
Small towns	590,869	10.8	329.8
Other (non-urban) settlements	2,719,536	43.8	84.3

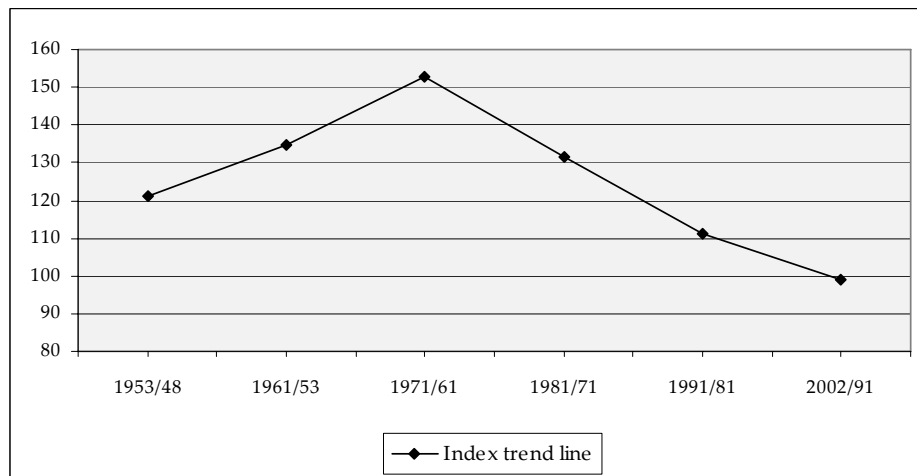
Source: Spasić, N. (1984); Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

Graph 4: Index of population growth – Belgrade



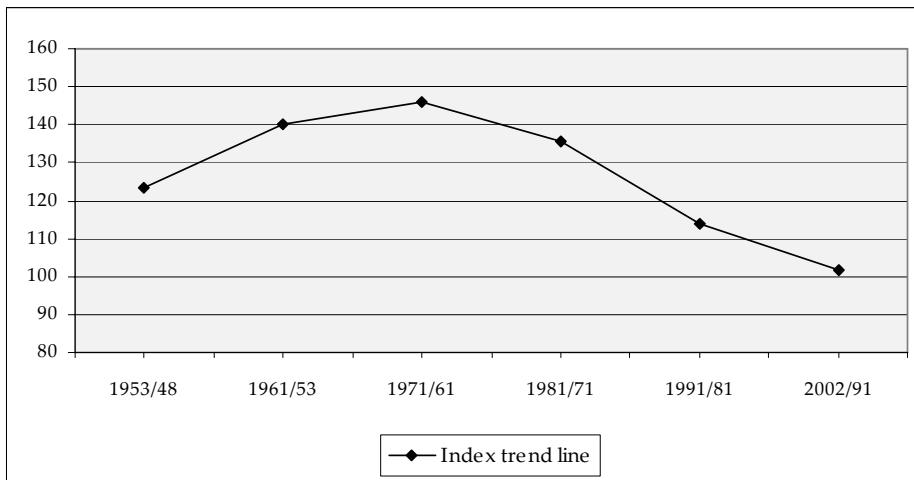
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Population Census 2002, Book 9

Graph 5: Index of population growth - Big cities



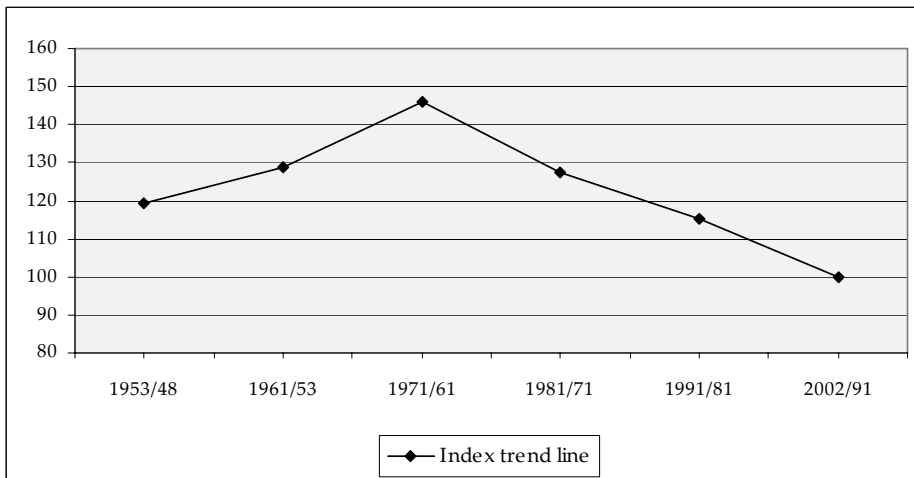
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Population Census 2002, Book 9

Graph 6: Index population growth – Medium-sized towns



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Population Census 2002, Book 9

Graph 7: Index of population growth - Small towns



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Population Census 2002, Book 9

In the 1948-2002 period, Belgrade population intake in the total population of Central Serbia grew from 9.6% to 20.5%; the population of Niš and Kragujevac also increased their intake from 2.1% to 5.6%; the population of medium-sized towns showed the similar trend of growth from 6.3% to 17.7%, as well as small towns with growth from 4.3% to 10.8%. At the same time, the intake of other (non-urban) settlements decreased from 77.6% to 43.8%. In relative terms, the highest increase of population intake in Central Serbia was experienced by medium-sized towns and Belgrade.

Table 6: Population intake of certain settlement categories in the total population of Central Serbia (in %)

Settlement category	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Belgrade	9.6	10.7	13.6	17.1	19.1	20.1	20.5
Other big cities	2.1	2.4	3.0	4.2	5.1	5.6	5.9
Medium-sized towns	6.3	7.3	9.4	12.6	12.7	17.7	19.1
Small towns	4.3	4.8	5.7	7.7	10.1	10.2	10.8
Other (non-urban) settlements	77.6	74.8	68.2	58.4	53.0	46.5	43.8

Source: Spasić, N. (1984); Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

The largest increase of population growth index in the period 1948-2002 was recorded by medium-sized towns (396.9), followed by big cities (Niš and Kragujevac) (361.1), and small towns (329.8). Belgrade population growth index was 281.5 in the same period.

Table 7: Population numbers and population growth index

Urban settlement category	Population number						
	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Belgrade	397,711	477,982	657,362	899,094	1,087,915	1,168,454	1,119,642
Other big cities	88,656	107,358	144,597	220,639	290,393	322,696	320,097
Medium-sized towns	263,077	324,563	455,236	663,884	900,703	1,027,242	1,044,202
Small towns	179,150	214,142	276,293	402,955	513,350	590,928	590,869
Urban settlement category	Population growth index						
	1953/48	1961/53	1971/61	1981/71	1991/81	2002/91	2002/48
Belgrade	120.2	137.5	136.8	121.0	107.4	95.8	281.5
Other big cities	121.1	134.7	152.6	131.6	111.1	99.2	361.1
Medium-sized towns	123.4	140.3	145.8	135.7	114.0	101.7	396.9
Small towns	119.5	129.0	145.8	127.4	115.1	100.0	329.8

Source: Spasić, N. (1984); Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

Table 8: Natural population growth rate in different categories of urban settlements in Central Serbia in the period 1981-2005

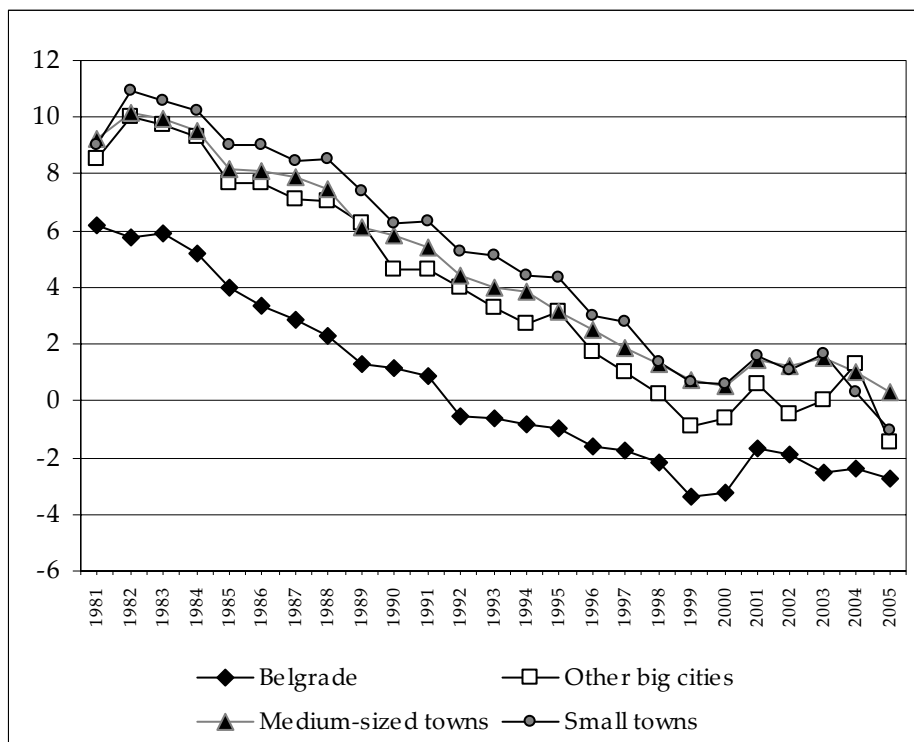
Year	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Belgrade	6.18	5.78	5.92	5.21	4.00
Other big cities	8.56	10.04	9.71	9.30	7.65
Medium-sized towns	9.22	10.15	9.91	9.50	8.19
Small towns	9.00	10.97	10.57	10.25	9.04
Year	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Belgrade	3.37	2.87	2.30	1.27	1.18
Other big cities	7.65	7.12	7.04	6.25	4.65
Medium-sized towns	8.13	7.92	7.47	6.15	5.84
Small towns	9.02	8.49	8.53	7.37	6.24
Year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Belgrade	0.91	-0.51	-0.62	-0.80	-0.99
Other big cities	4.65	4.02	3.25	2.70	3.18
Medium-sized towns	5.40	4.41	3.98	3.88	3.14
Small towns	6.34	5.25	5.11	4.42	4.31
Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Belgrade	-1.61	-1.77	-2.18	-3.37	-3.27
Other big cities	1.70	1.03	0.26	-0.89	-0.61
Medium-sized towns	2.49	1.88	1.27	0.73	0.49
Small towns	2.99	2.76	1.34	0.69	0.56
Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Belgrade	-1.65	-1.88	-2.54	-2.41	-2.77
Other big cities	0.59	-0.47	0.00	1.32	-1.44
Medium-sized towns	1.41	1.26	1.54	1.01	0.34
Small towns	1.59	1.06	1.66	0.32	-1.01

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Database, 2007

Demographic development of Serbia in the last 20 to 25 years has been stagnating. The demographic image is however partly improved by the immigration factor, i.e. by population which in largest part came from the former Republics of Yugoslavia. The natural population growth rate was constantly decreasing in medium-sized and small towns of Central Serbia starting from 1982/83, when its values were 10‰ and 11‰ respectively. In the year 2000, these values were 0.5‰ and 0.6‰ respectively. Rural settlements have had even worse condition of the natural population growth as their inhabitants were dominantly old-aged. According to the more recent data from 2005, the natural population growth rate in medium-sized towns was merely 0.3‰ and -1.0‰ in small towns. Although similar trends of demographic development can be noticed in the neighbouring countries as well, this indicator in small and medium-sized towns in Central Serbia gives a reason for concern. A total population decrease in Central Serbia in 2002 in comparison to the previous Census year (1991) was -14,560, which also gives a foundation for concern. The continual process of younger educated population leaving the

country to settle abroad could have great many negative outcomes, not just in demographic terms but also from the development perspective for the whole country.

Graph 8: Change of the natural population growth rates by different types of urban settlements of Central Serbia in the period 1981-2005



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Database, 2007

Small towns (as observed at the municipality level) recorded the highest national income growth rate in relative terms, joined by noticeable employment rate (in the period 1971-1979), which would point to fast economic growth and changes in the socio-economic structure of population.

National income structure according to industry, agriculture and “other”- mainly tertiary activities, demonstrates relatively high percentages of the total income deriving from industry and agriculture in small towns in comparison to other urban settlements. Also, it is noticeable the tendency of industrial growth and agriculture decrease in small towns, whereas with other urban settlement categories, the percentages of sectors of activities’ incorporation to the national income remained almost unchanged in the period 1971-1979. Small towns also increased the “other” sources of the national income intake. All

these movements in the structure of small towns' national income bring to conclusion that secondary sector of activity had a very fast growth paralleled with dynamic industrialisation process and initiation of a progressive tertiary sector growth which is a reliable marker for the level of urban development.

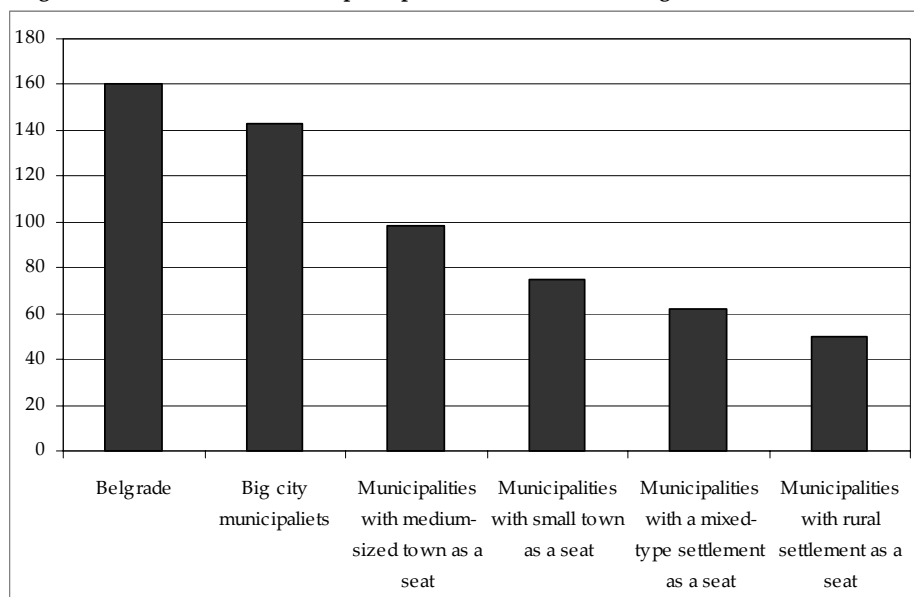
Table 9: Total national income in millions of dinars in the period 1961-1979

	1961	1971	1979	Index 79/61	Index 79/71
Belgrade	9033	10867.8	55412	613.4	509.9
Niš/ Kragujevac	1023	1196.8	6637	648.7	554.9
Regional centres	430	512.48	2684	624.1	524.2
Small towns	131	174.16	1056	606.9	806.1

Table 9a: National income and number of employees index 79/71

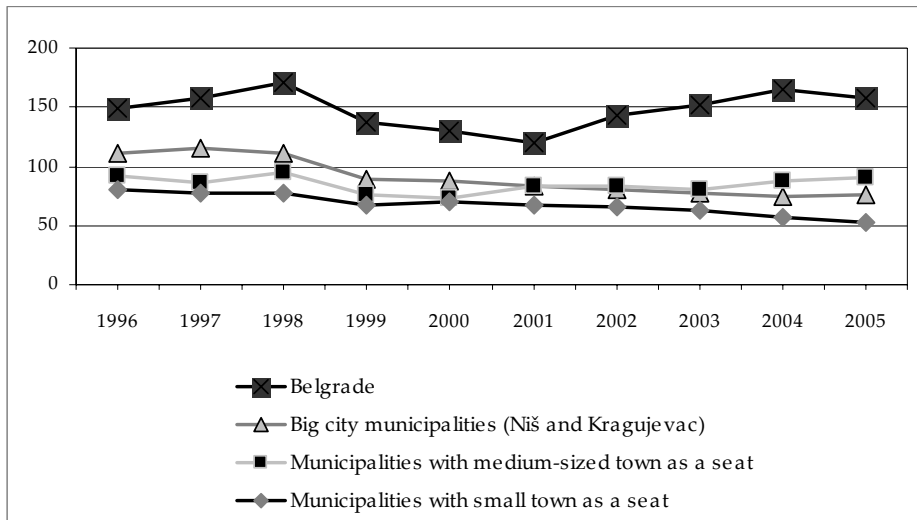
Towns/ municipalities	National income Index 79/71	Number of employees Index 79/71
Belgrade	509.9	150.8
Niš/ Kragujevac	554.9	129.3
Regional centres	524.2	165.2
Small towns (sample)	606.9	309.8

Graph 9: Per capita national income in municipalities with seats of different settlement categories in 1979 (Central Serbia's per capita national income average = 100)



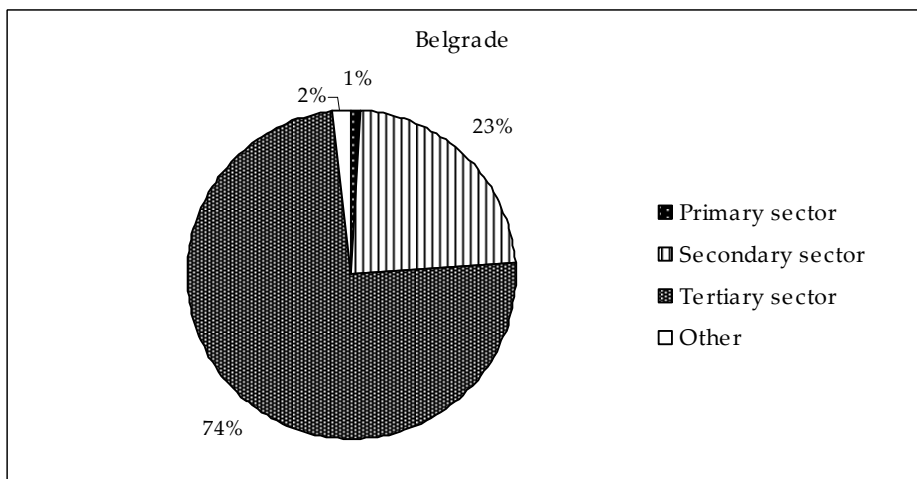
Source: Spasić, N., 1984

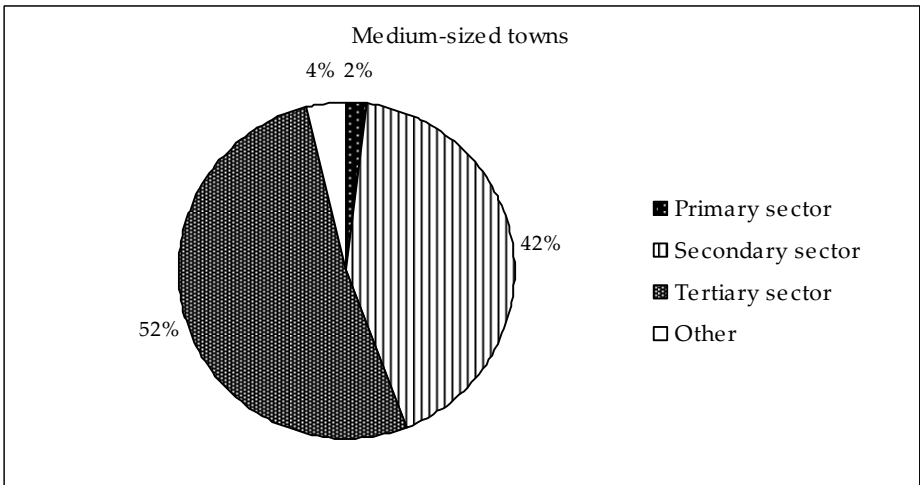
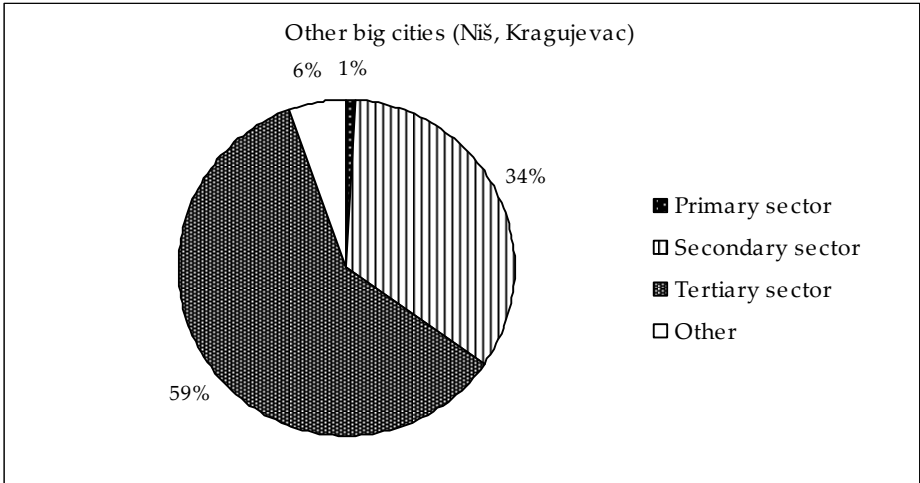
Graph 10: Change of per capita national income in municipalities with urban seats of different categories in the period 1996-2005
 (Republic of Serbia's per capita national income average = 100)

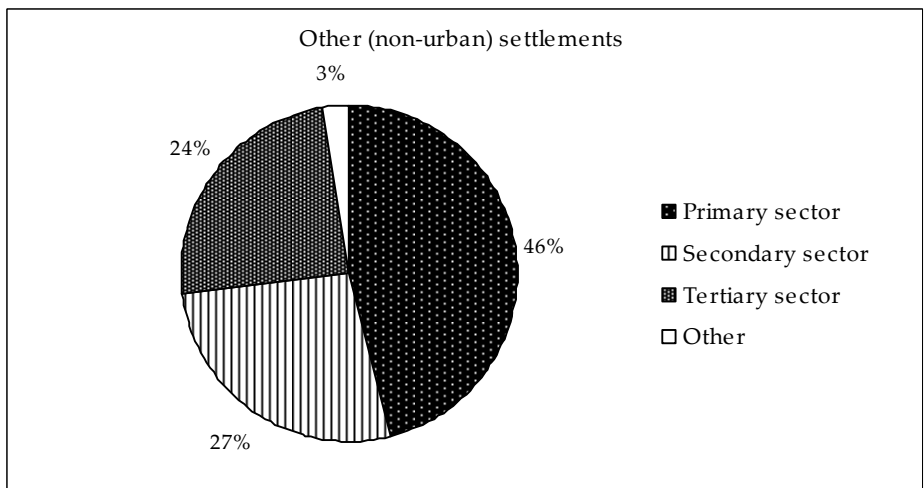
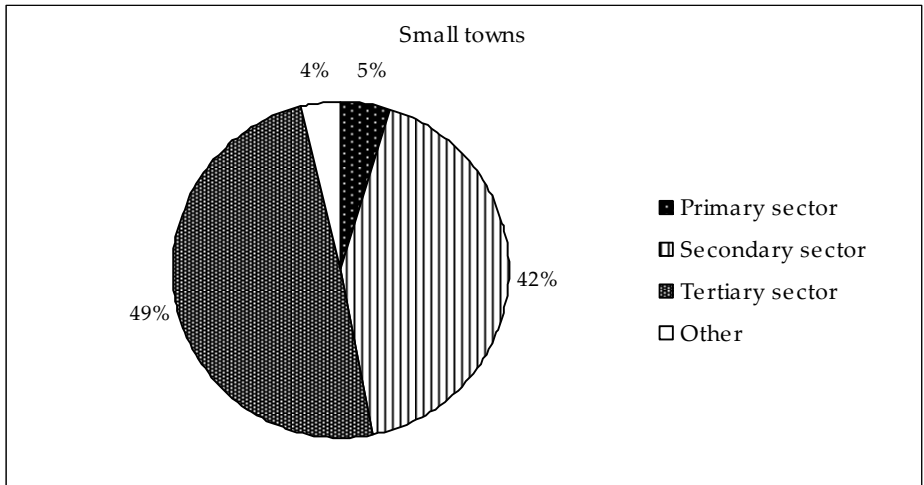


Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Municipalities in Serbia 2004-2006

Graph 11: Employment structure in different settlement categories of Central Serbia according to the sector of activity in 1991

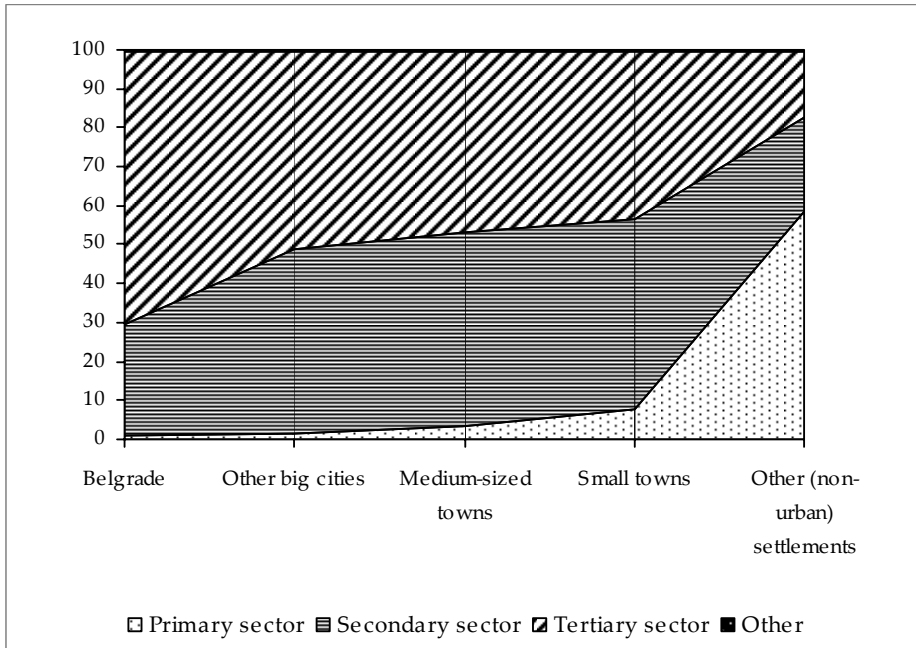






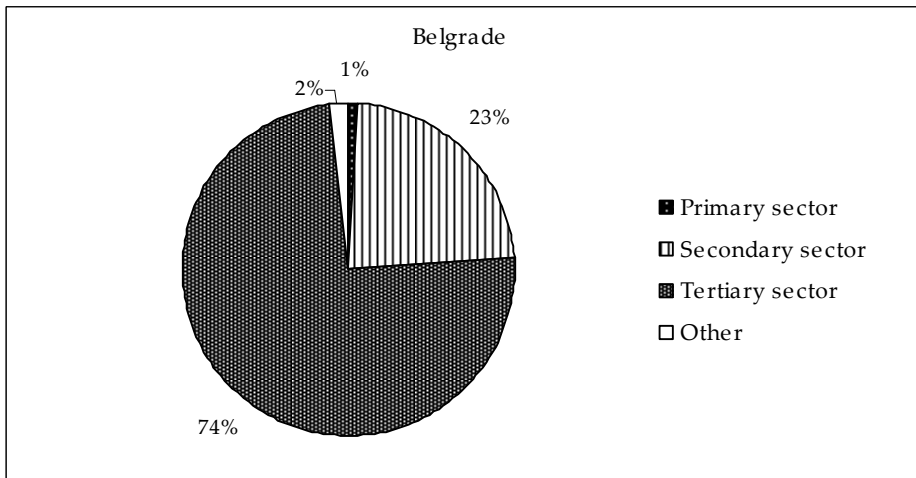
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

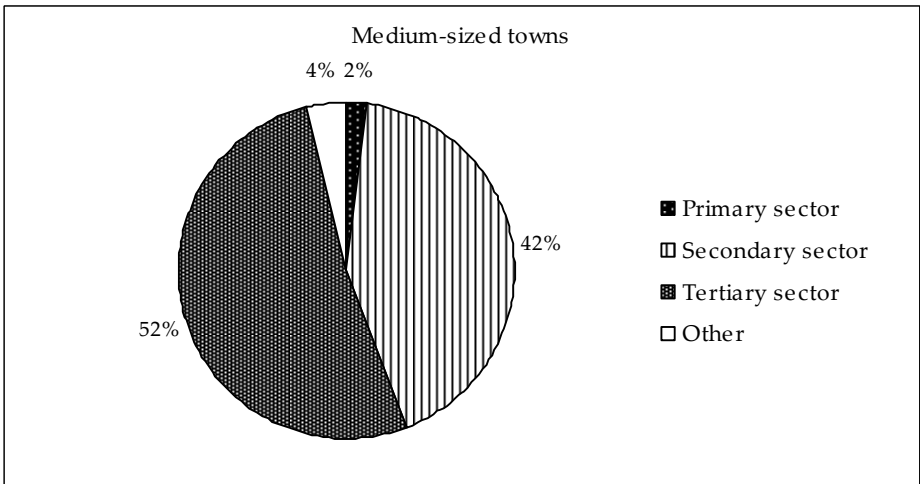
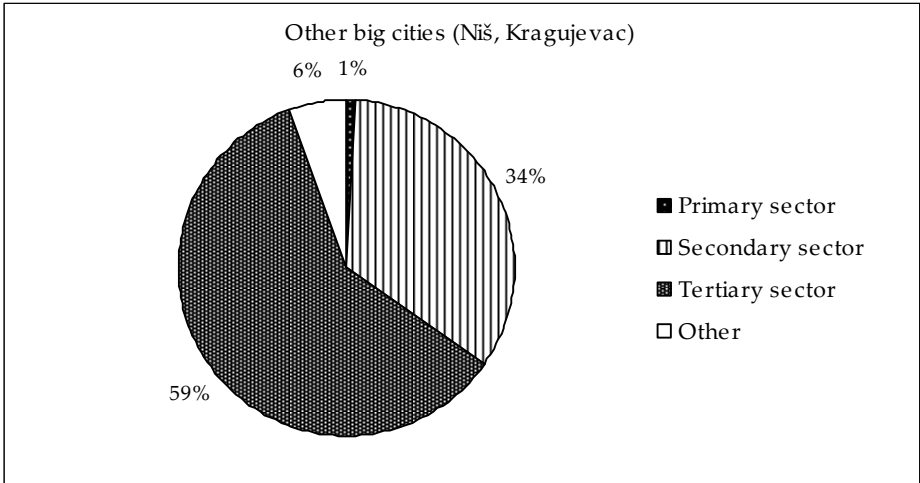
Graph 11: Employment structure in different settlement categories of Central Serbia according to the sector of activity in 1991 (in %)

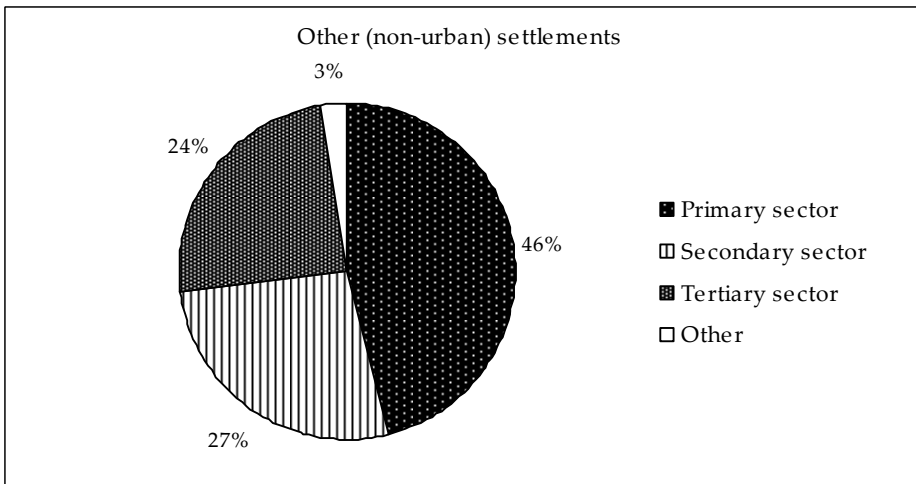
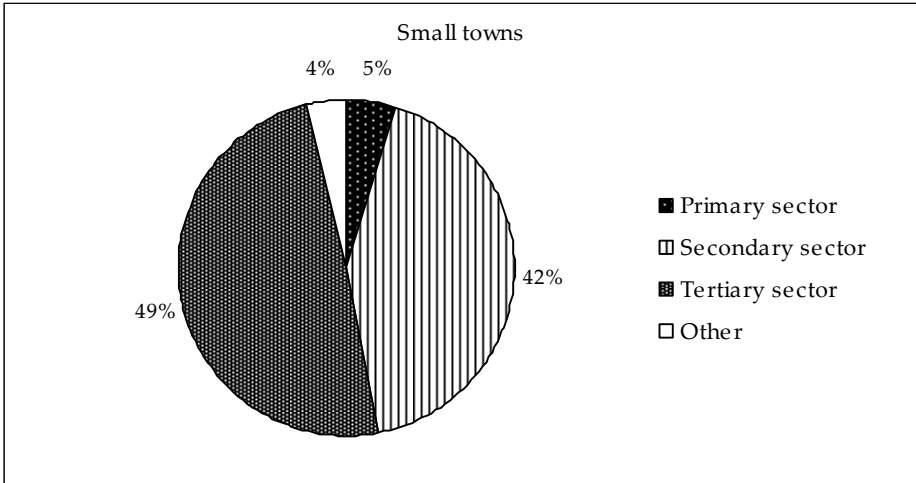


Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 1991

Graph 12: Employment structure in different settlement categories of Central Serbia according to the sector of activity in 2002

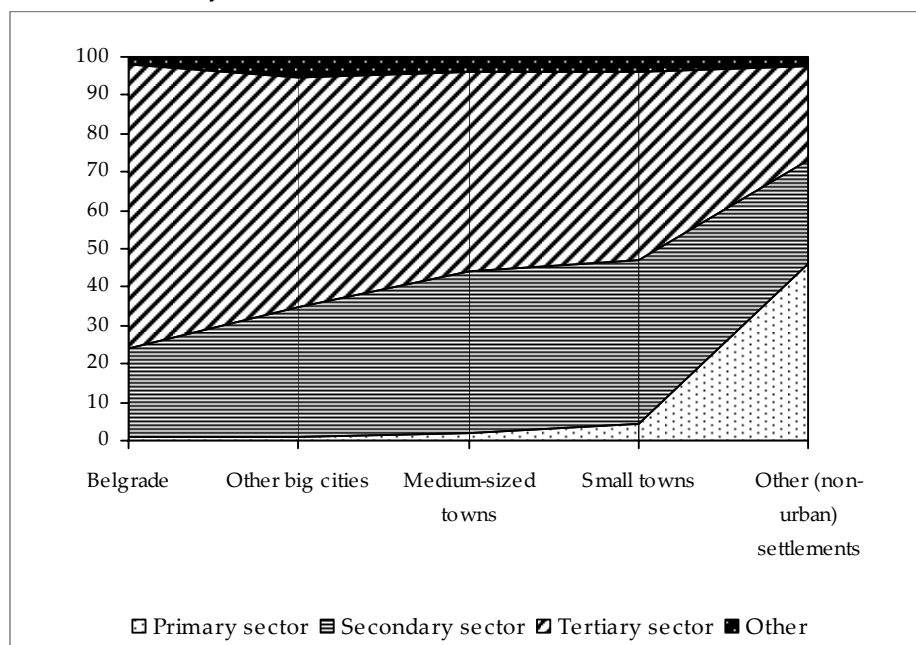






Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Graph 12a: Employment structure in different settlement categories of Central Serbia according to the sector of activity in 2002 (in %)



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Table 10: Concentration level per 1km² (Central Serbia's index = 100.0)

Area	Income	Employment			Population	Basic sources
		Total	Industrial activity	Other activity		
Belgrade	652.0	669.0	604.0	1190.0	447.0	608.0
8 regions (sum)	67.2	65.8	73.0	34.1	80.0	70.6

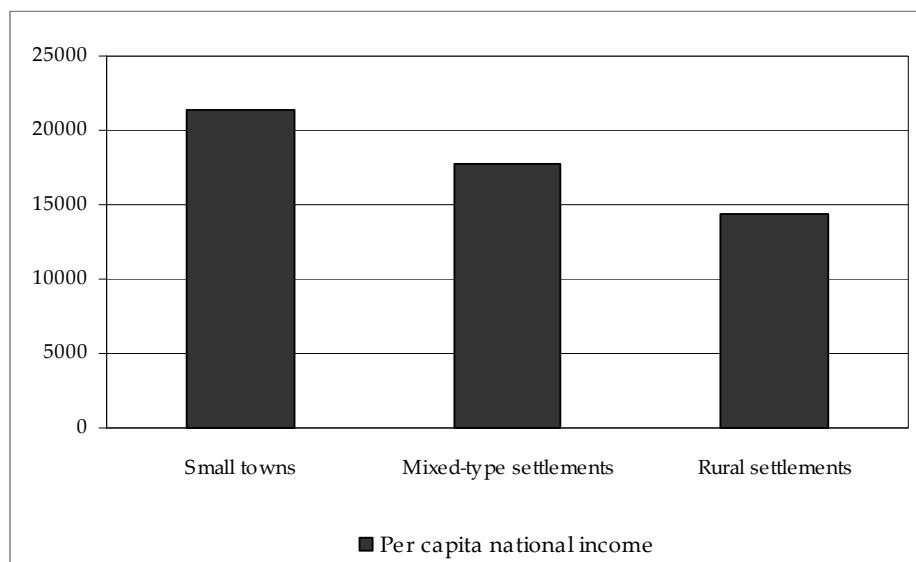
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Municipalities in SR Serbia in 1983 and 1984

As it can be observed from the table above, in the 1980s the level of population concentration was six times higher in Belgrade than in other regions of Central Serbia. Concentration of income from employment in industrial activity was 10 times higher in Belgrade in comparison to other regions of Central Serbia whereas the concentration of income from employment in other activity was even 30 times higher in Belgrade.

A relatively high concentration of activity, followed by income and employment growth has been achieved in Belgrade. Belgrade agglomeration attracts more than 20% of the total population of Central Serbia; 38.5% of

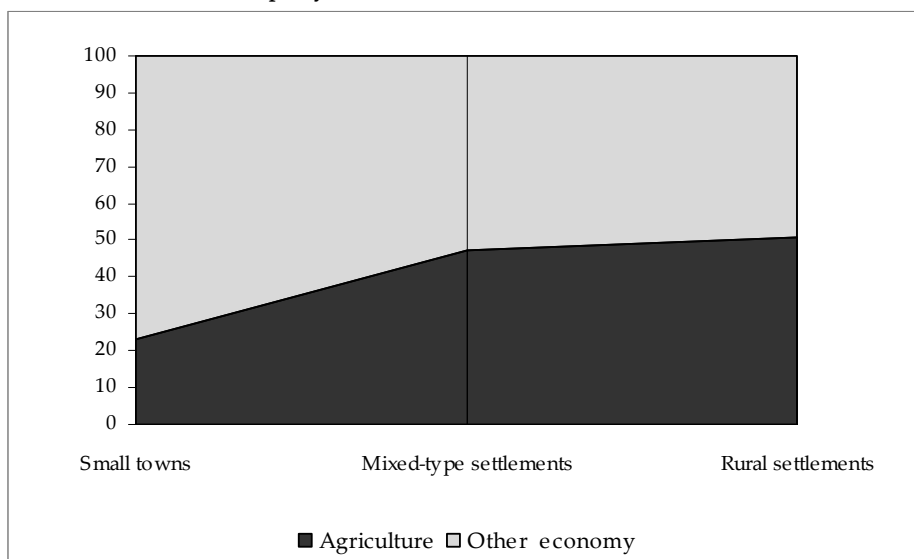
employed in the public sector, which incorporate to 37.5% of the total income. The big city advantages, which brought to such intensive concentration of activity, were founded on positive external effects among all other factors that are featuring Belgrade, e.g. developed infrastructure, large market, qualified work force, science and IT development, etc. The investments, which in a long run have been directed to Belgrade, brought to stagnation for the rest of Serbian territory. Such lagging back in development has been especially noticeable in the last years. Therefore, regarding general development conditions and territorial organisation of the Republic, the achieved concentration could not be considered as favourable. There have been many negative aspects introduced as a consequence of the population and economy growth in Belgrade, e.g. traffic congestion, other infrastructure and illegal building development, etc., which all brought to increase in social costs of urbanisation.

Graph 13: Per capita national income in municipalities with small town, mixed type or rural settlement as a seat in Central Serbia in 1979 (in dinars)



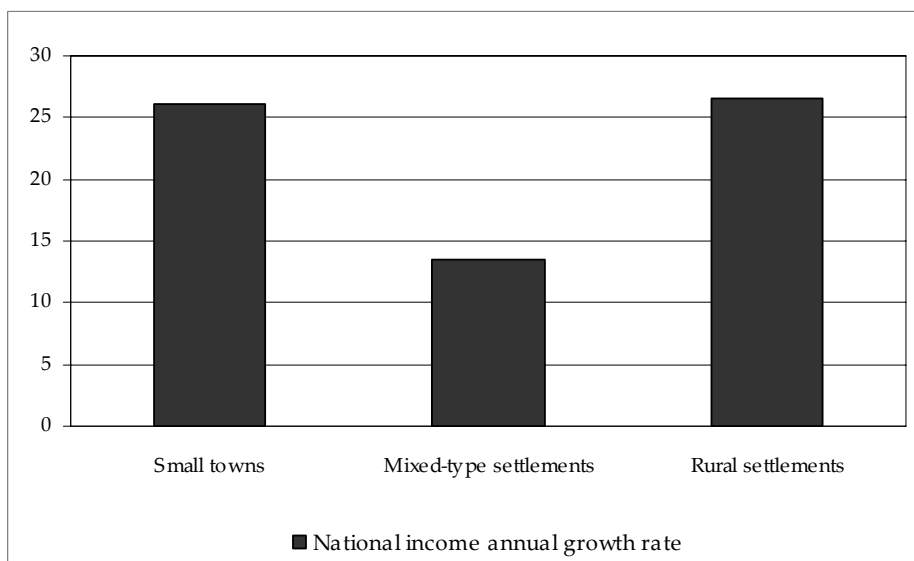
Source: Spasić, N., 1984

Graph 14: Per capita national income structure in municipalities with small town, mixed-type or rural settlement as a municipality seat in Central Serbia in 1979 (in %)



Source: Spasić, N., 1984

Graph 15: Annual rate of per capita national income in municipalities with small town, mixed-type and rural settlement as a municipality seat in Central Serbia in the 1971-1979 period (in %)



Source: Spasić, N., 1984

Table 10a: Change of per capita national income index in municipalities with different urban category as a seat in the period 1996-2005 (Republic of Serbia's index = 100.0)

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Municipalities with small town as a seat	79.9	77.7	77.0	67.3	70.5
Municipalities with medium-sized town as a seat	92.6	86.0	95.1	76.5	73.1
Big city municipalities	110.8	115.4	110.6	88.5	87.3
City of Belgrade	149.4	157.1	170.2	136.6	130.6
Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Municipalities with small town as a seat	67.6	65.1	62.8	56.4	52.5
Municipalities with medium-sized town as a seat	82.8	83.0	80.1	87.6	91.1
Big city municipalities	83.7	80.0	77.6	74.4	75.6
City of Belgrade	119.4	142.5	152.0	164.3	157.2

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Municipalities in Serbia 2004-2006

Although Belgrade's per capita national income marked slight decrease in the period 1998-2001 as well as in the period 2004-2005, its per capita national income index has always been much higher than the Republic of Serbia's average. Big city municipalities (Niš and Kragujevac) joined by municipalities with small town as a seat have a constant decrease of per capita national income in the whole period of observation, whereas municipalities with medium-sized town as a seat, despite having the per capita national income below Serbian average, mark an important increase of this indicator after the stagnation period which lasted until the year 2000.

Table 11: Number and percentage of employees according to the sectors of activity in 1991

Settlement category	Primary sector		Secondary sector		Tertiary sector		Other, unknown	
	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%
Belgrade	5,137	1.10	132,681	28.50	324,582	69.72	3,166	0.68
Other big cities	1,575	1.23	60,432	47.36	65,188	51.08	417	0.33
Medium towns	13,006	3.24	201,064	50.05	184,964	46.04	2,682	0.67
Small towns	18,005	7.91	110,726	48.62	97,391	42.77	1,599	0.70
Other settlements	736,549	58.52	302,963	24.07	213,361	16.95	5,770	0.46

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): 1991 Census

Table 12: Number and percentage of employees according to the sectors of activity in 2002

Settlement category	Primary sector		Secondary sector		Tertiary sector		Other, unknown	
	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%
Belgrade	3,474	0.88	90,898	23.00	292,705	74.08	8,052	2.04
Other big cities	847	0.77	37,422	33.93	65,851	59.71	6,157	5.58
Medium towns	7,077	1.93	154,522	42.20	190,723	52.09	13,850	3.78
Small towns	9,267	4.65	84,098	42.17	98,169	49.22	7,904	3.96
Other settlements	401,440	46.10	234,820	26.96	212,486	24.40	22,113	2.54

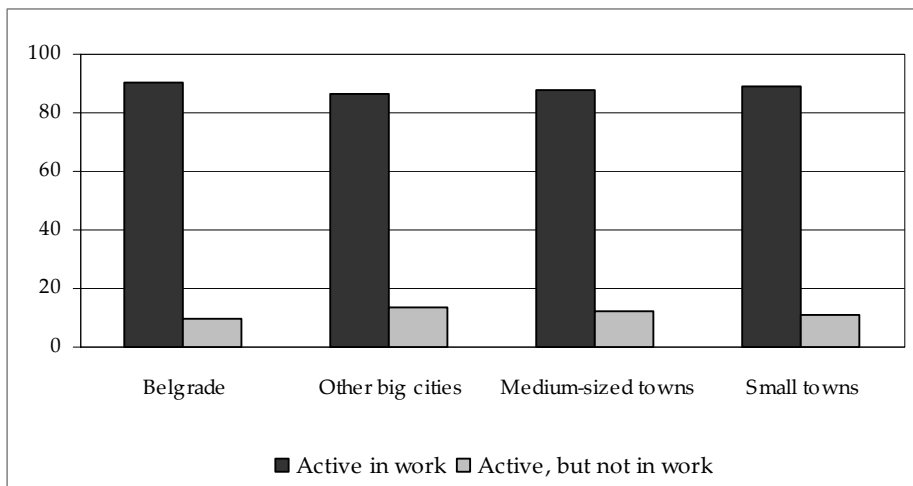
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): 2002 Census

Table 13: Active population in 1991

Urban settlement category	Active population			% in total active	
	Total	Performing the activity	Not performing the activity	Performing the activity	Not performing the activity
Belgrade	516,446	465,566	50,880	90.1	9.9
Other big cities	147,442	127,612	19,830	86.6	13.4
Medium towns	456,350	401,716	54,634	88.0	12.0
Small towns	256,557	227,721	28,836	88.8	11.2

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): 1991 Census

Graph 13: Active population in different categories of urban settlements in C.Serbia in 1991 (%)



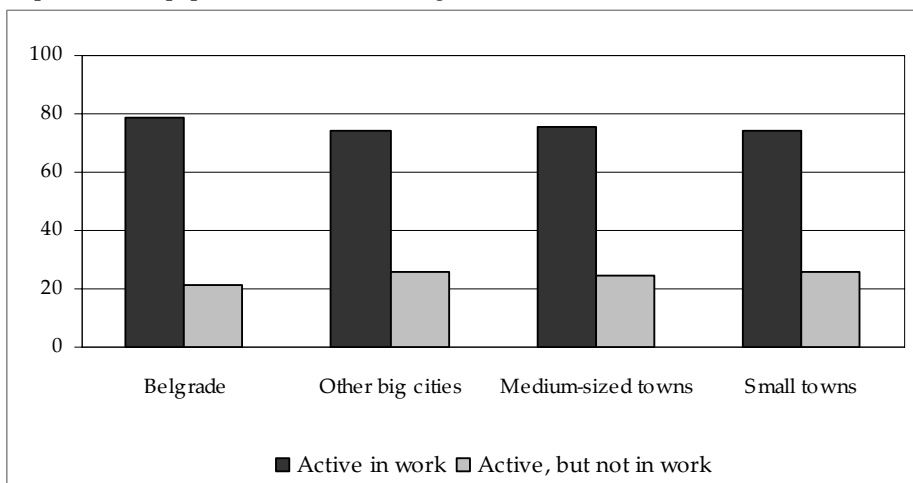
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 1991

Table 14: Active population in 2002

Urban settlement category	Active population			% in total active	
	Total	Performing the activity	Not performing the activity	Performing the activity	Not performing the activity
Belgrade	500,978	395,129	105,849	78.9	21.1
Other big cities	148,861	110,277	38,584	74.1	25.9
Medium towns	485,061	366,172	118,889	75.5	24.5
Small towns	268,673	199,438	69,235	74.2	25.8

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): 2002 Census

Graph 14: Active population in different categories of urban settlements in C.Serbia in 2002 (%)



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Urban population of Central Serbia was significantly increased in the period 1948-1971 (see: Table 5) which was mainly due to medium-sized towns whose urban population intake was most apparently grown. In the same period of time, the total number of inhabitants has grown for all urban settlement categories in Central Serbia: 2.25 times in small towns; 2.52 times in medium-sized towns; 2.49 times in big cities Niš and Kragujevac; and 2.26 times in Belgrade. A comparative analysis of population and households in settlements which had (at least) the role of a municipal centre had shown that small towns had the highest growth rate in the period 1948-1971, which continued up to the 1980s, pointing to the conclusion that small towns used to be the first “dam” for migrations between country and town. In the period 1981-2002, the primacy in population growth rates was overtaken by Belgrade and medium-sized towns.

One should certainly bare in mind that Belgrade had the highest overall population increase in comparison to other town categories in the period after the Second World War (Belgrade population increase in the period 1948-1981 was 690,204 inhabitants; medium-sized towns: 637,626 inhabitants; small towns: 334,200 inhabitants; other big cities - Niš and Kragujevac: 201,737 inhabitants).

Yet, it is interesting to notice that in the follow-up period: 1981-2002, Belgrade increased for “merely” 31,727 inhabitants, whereas medium-sized towns grew for 143,499 inhabitants and small towns grew for 77,519 inhabitants. Other big cities had grown in this period for just 29,704 new inhabitants. This shows that Belgrade as all big cities of Central Serbia had a major population stagnation in the period 1981-2002 which also reflected to small and medium-sized towns but to a less degree.

Table 15: Migration characteristics in 1961 and 1971

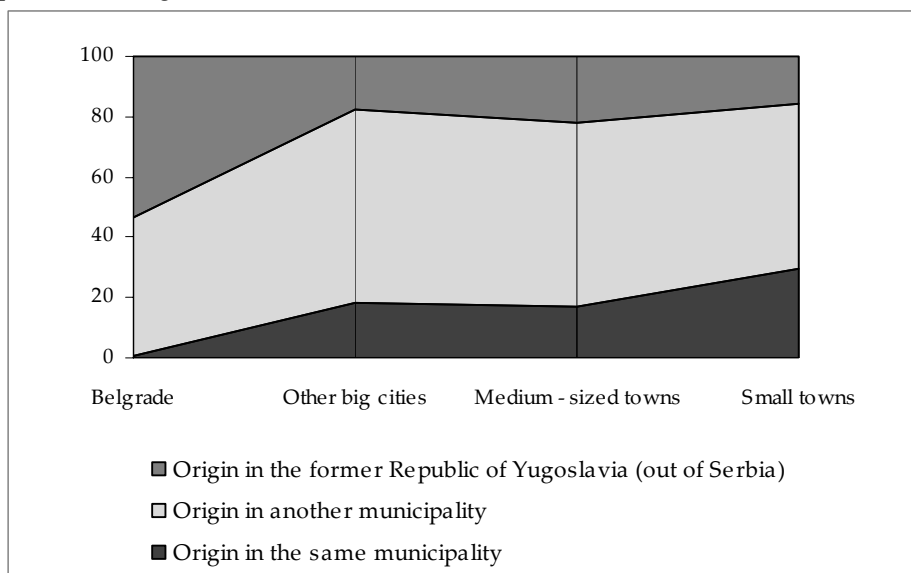
Indicator	Census year	Belgrade		Niš and Kragujevac	
		1961	1971	1961	1971
1. Population		585,234	766,104	67,021	99,351
2. Household number		214,641	268,096	21,619	32,257
3. Didn't change the place of residence since birth		170,408	245,791	21,968	33,284
4. Migrated from	a) the same municipality	1,585	2,913	8,160	13,026
	b) another municipality in Serbia	188,188	317,684	28,531	45,006
	c) another Republic	216,417	163,607	7,878	7,283
	d) rural settlement	195,134	202,867	26,970	37,550
	e) mixed-type settlement	30,429	38,976	2,093	4,009
	f) urban settlement	180,206	252,166	15,450	23,687

Table 15a: Migration characteristics in 1961 and 1971

Indicator	Census year	Medium-sized towns		Small towns	
		1961	1971	1961	1971
1. Population		23825	33,659	26,232	39,463
2. Household number		7,558	10,599	8,240	12,383
3. Didn't change the place of residence since birth		8,363	7,043	9,369	13,225
4. Migrated from	a) the same municipality	2,627	5,877	4,903	12,776
	b) another municipality in Serbia	9,313	13,263	8,967	13,502
	c) another Republic	3,374	2,192	2,622	2,201
4a. Migrated from	d) rural settlement	9,426	13,169	10,810	16,182
	e) mixed-type settlement	1,200	1,623	1,148	3,742
	f) urban settlement	4,664	6,517	4,723	6,833

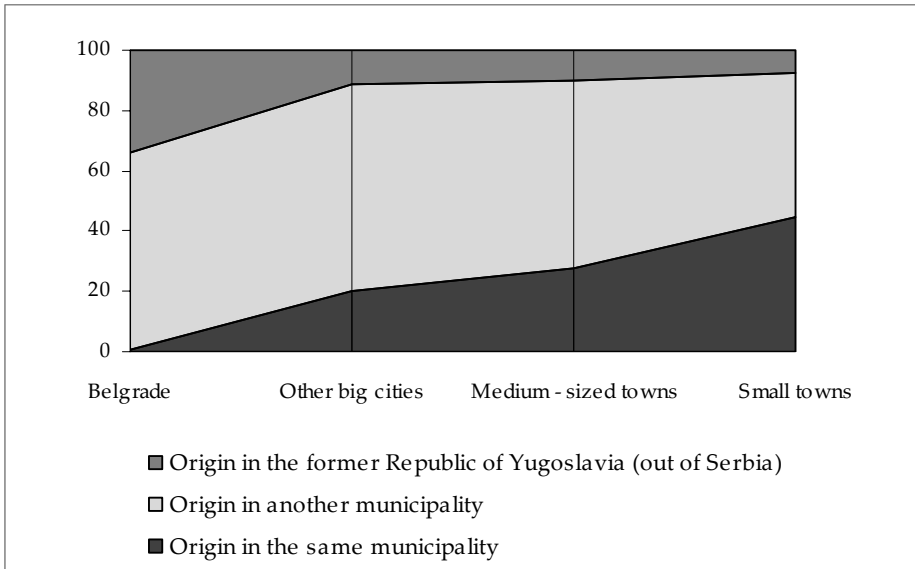
Source: Spasić, N. (1984)

Graph 15: Percentage of immigrants to urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the place of their origin in 1961



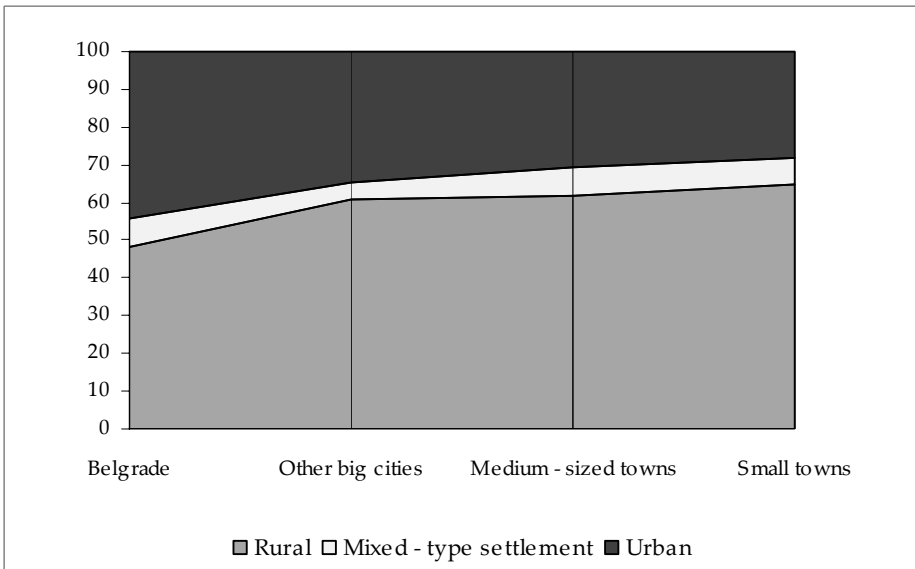
Source: Spasić, N., 1984

Graph 16: Percentage of immigrants to urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the place of their origin in 1971



Source: Spasić, N., 1984

Graph 17: Percentage of immigrants to urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the settlement type of their origin in 1961



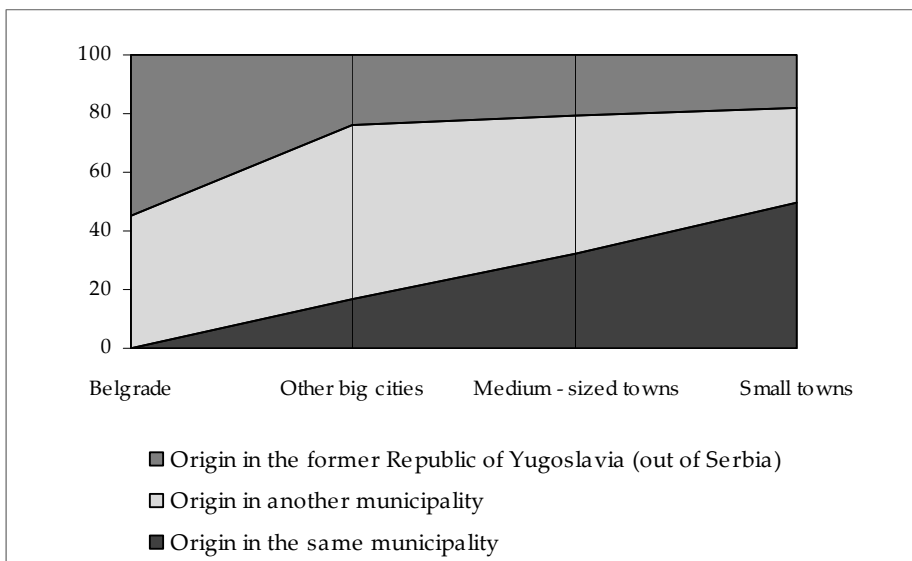
Source: Spasić, N., 1984

Graph 18: Percentage of immigrants to urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the settlement type of their origin in 1971



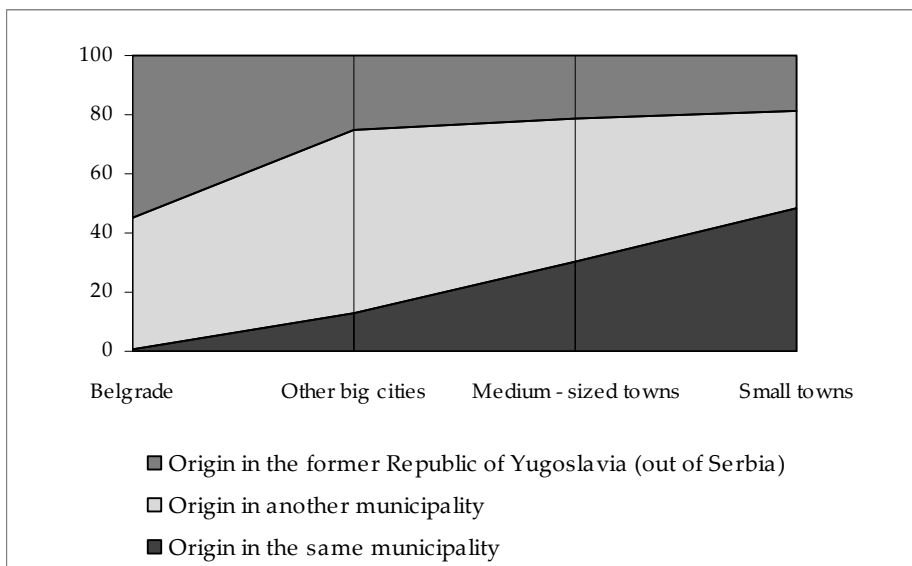
Source: Spasić, N., 1984

Graph 19: Percentage of immigrants to urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the place of their origin in 1991



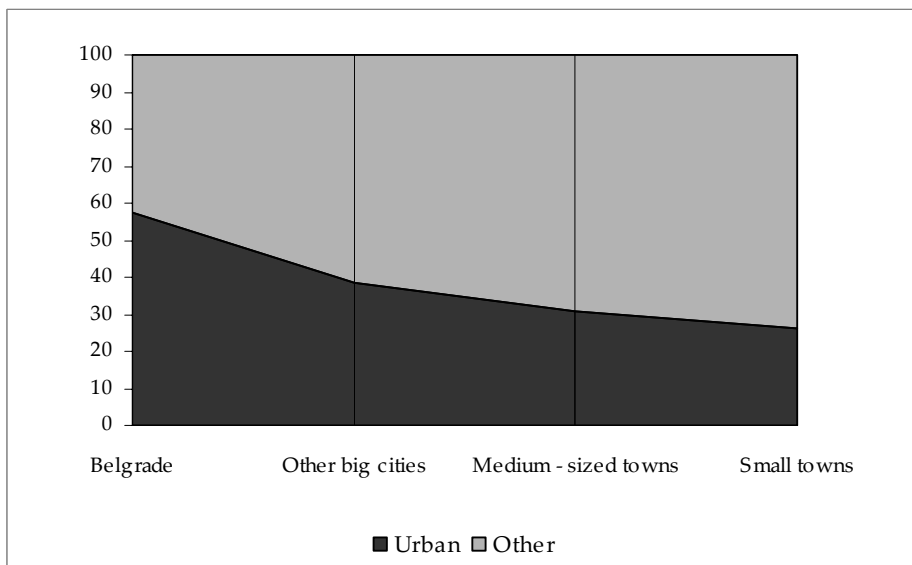
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 1991

Graph 20: Percentage of immigrants to urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the place of their origin in 2002



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Graph 21: Percentage of immigrants to urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the settlement type of their origin in 1991



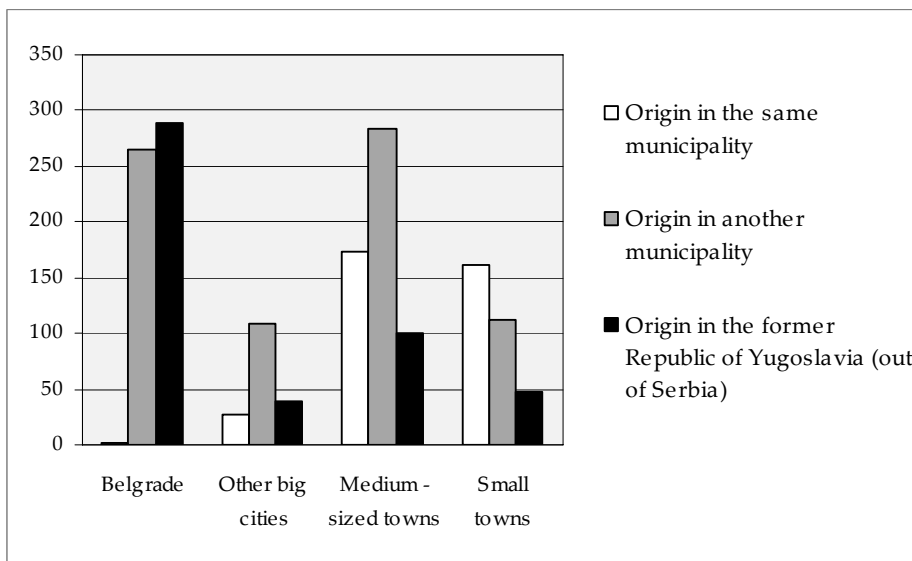
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 1991

Graph 22: Percentage of immigrants to urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the settlement type of their origin in 2002



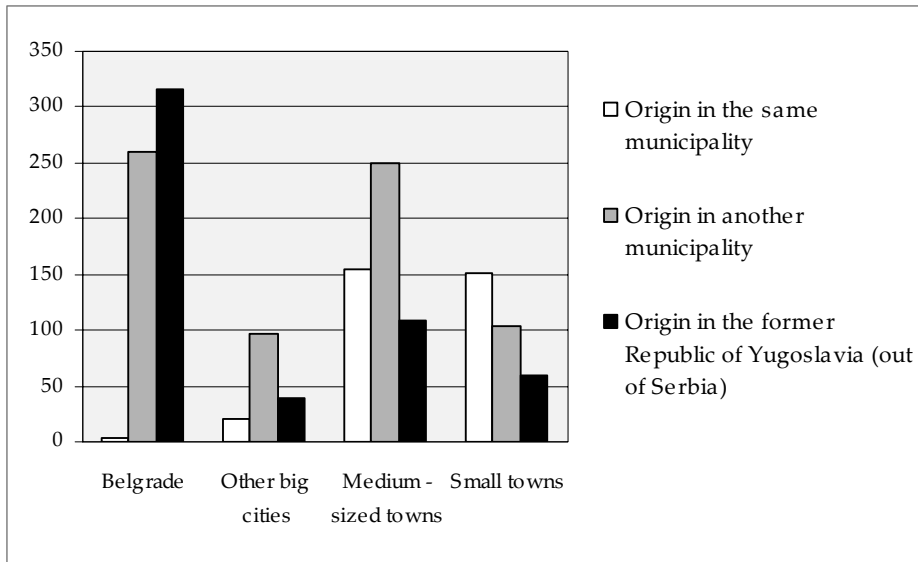
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Graph 23: Number of immigrants to different categories of urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the place of their origin in 1991 (in 000)



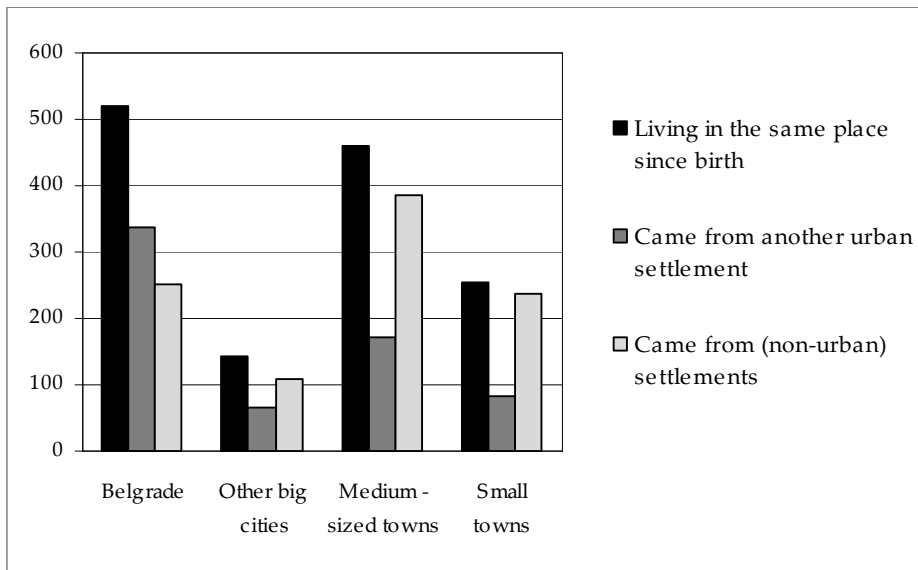
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 1991

Graph 24: Number of immigrants to different categories of urban settlements in Central Serbia according to the place of their origin in 2002 (in 000)



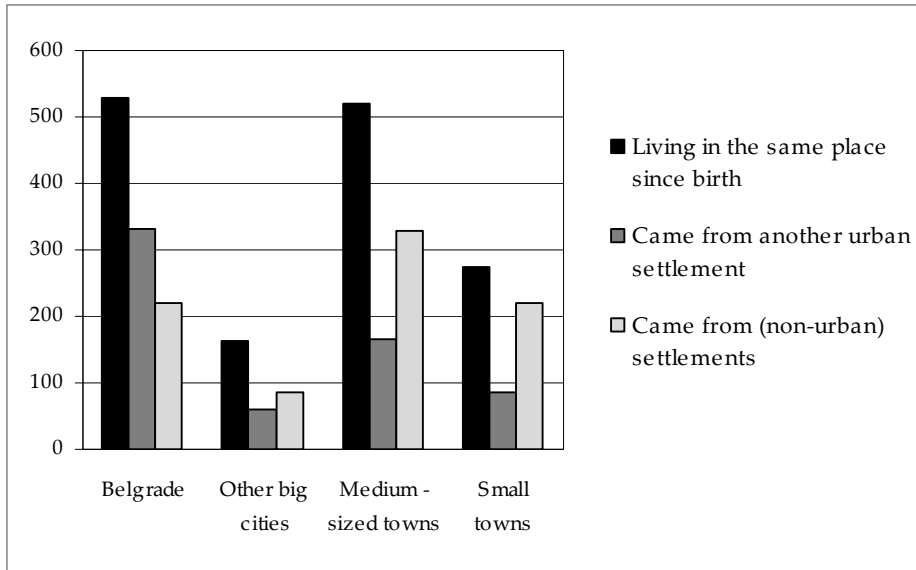
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Graph 25: Total number of migrants in different categories of urban settlements of Central Serbia in 1991 (in 000)



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 1991

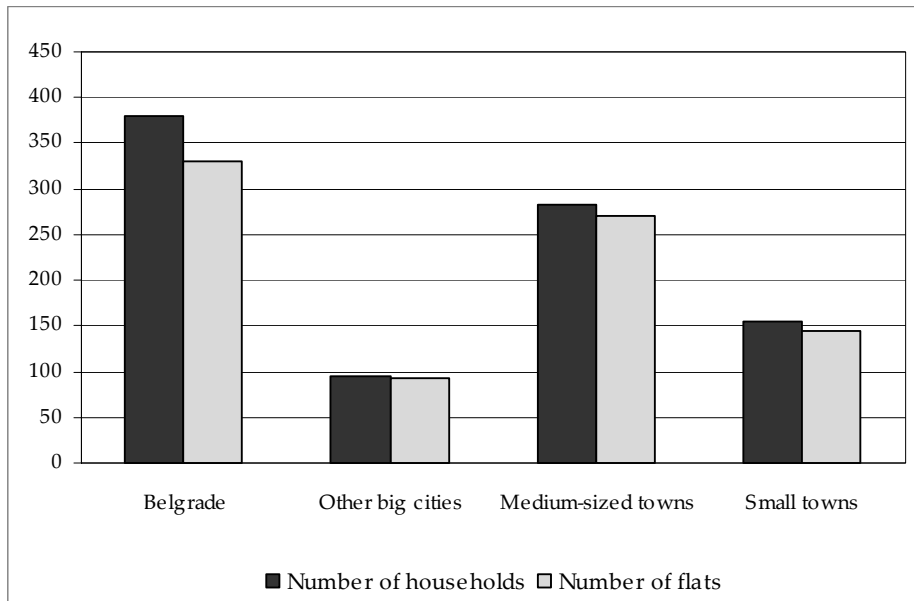
Graph 26: Total number of migrants in different categories of urban settlements of Central Serbia in 2002 (in 000)



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

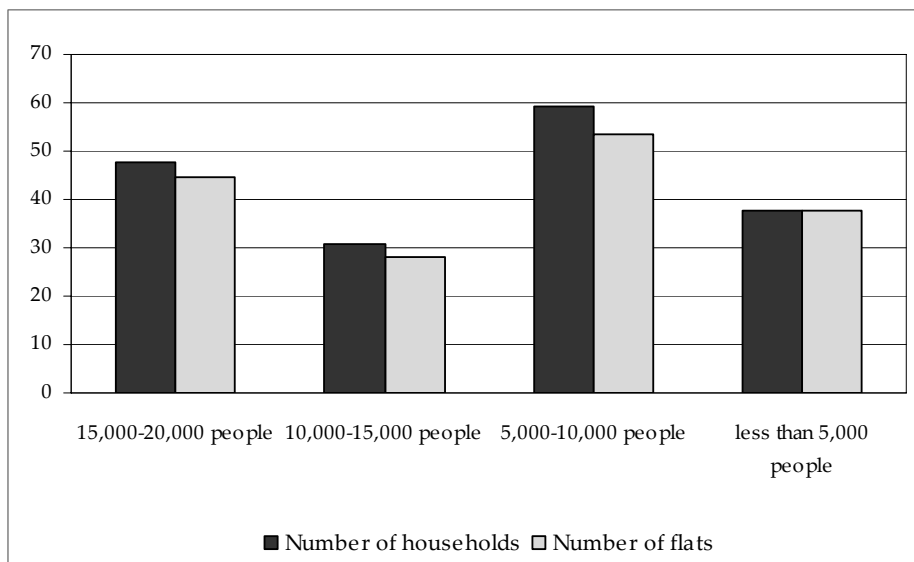
The role of small towns to be the “first in line” for damming the rural-urban migrations is also supported by statistical data on their immigrant’s origin. The ratio between immigrants from villages and other urban settlements is 2.02 for medium-sized towns and 2.37 for small towns.

Graph 27: Total number of households and flats in different categories of urban settlements in Central Serbia in 1981 (in 000)



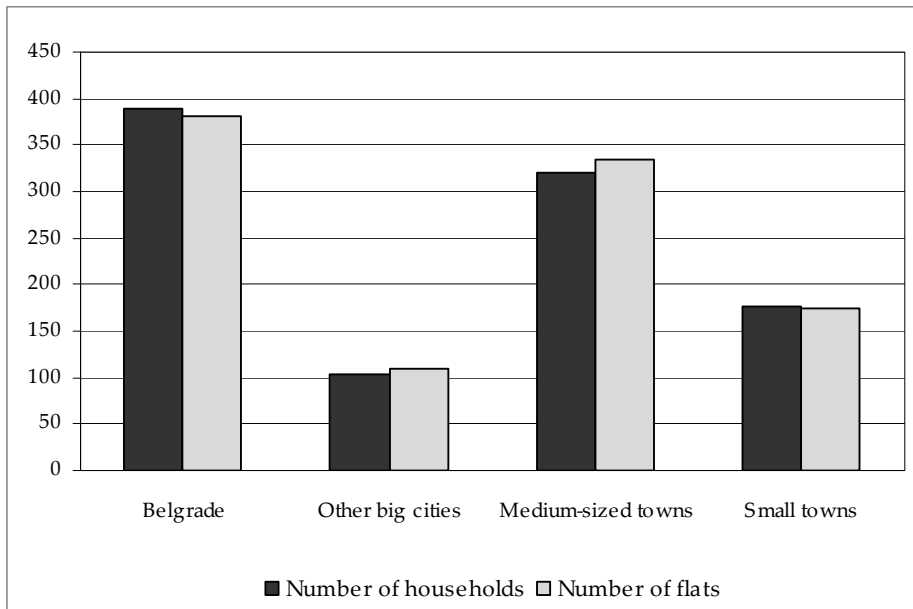
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Graph 27a: Ratio between number of households and number of flats in small towns of different size categories in 1981 (in 000)



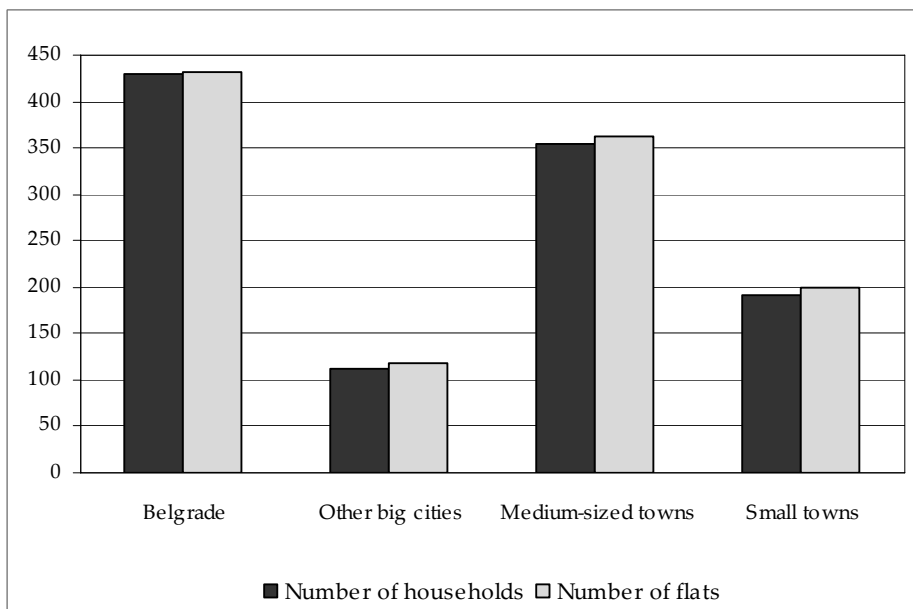
Source: Spasić, N., 1984; Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistic (RZS): Population Census 2002

Graph 28: Total number of households and flats in different categories of urban settlements in Central Serbia in 1991 (in 000)



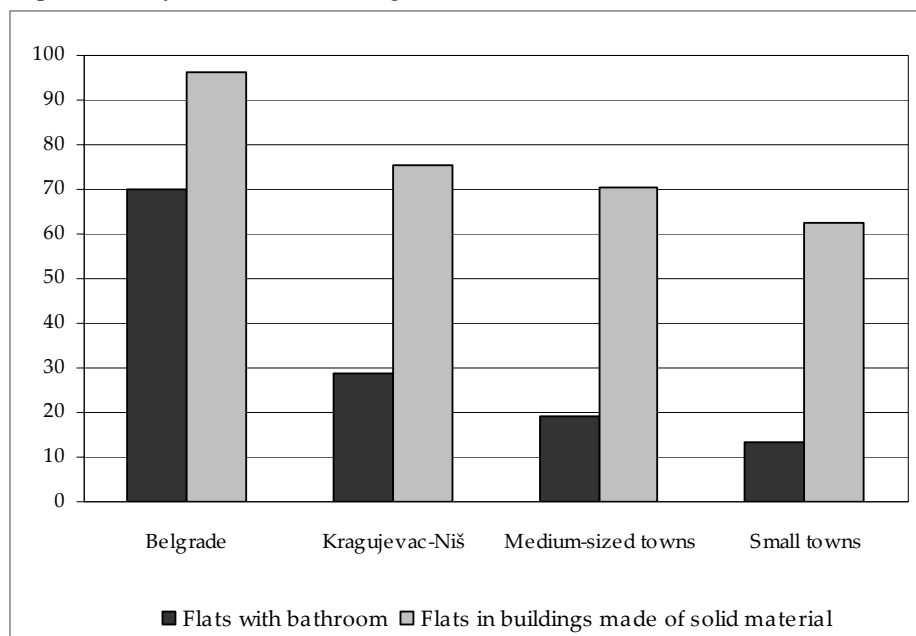
Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Graph 29: Total number of households and flats in different categories of urban settlements in Central Serbia in 2002 (in 000)



Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Census 2002

Graph 30: Quality of flats in certain categories of urban settlements in 1971 (in %)



Source: Spasić, N., 1984

Notwithstanding the previous account on small and medium-sized towns having a stable growth of both population and per capita national income in the past, their level of development is still significantly lagging behind the bigger cities; which is the most apparent when the attained per capita income is taken in account. It is a known fact that bigger cities achieve higher productivity than smaller towns, and this has been caused by a number of factors, e.g. better qualification structure of the employed, highly accumulative economy branches, etc. In reference to this, the small towns are somehow “doomed” at a lower level of development in comparison to bigger cities, which brings to less income for the former, lower level of urbanisation, etc. The results of a questionnaire survey⁷ which was conducted in France at the end of 1960s shows many similarities in this respect (Table 16).

Table 16: Income per household in France in 1969 (according to the French monetary system)

	Population less than 20,000	Population between 20,000 and 100,000	Population over 100,000	Paris
Annual average income per household	17,875	18,900	18,920	24,630

⁷ Questionnaire survey INSEE 1969, Urbanisme 136.

A relatively low income standard in smaller towns is largely compensated by the lower costs of living, or the lower costs for functioning of an urban system, which again can be illustrated by the results of a French study⁸.

Table 16a: Annual public supply costs per resident in towns – France

Population	Index
20,000-50,000	89
50,000-100,000	122
100,000-200,000	134
over 200,000	135

Supply costs per resident are 2 to 3 times higher in Paris than in French province (small towns). There is a constant correction between the level of urbanisation and public investment use.

The communal supply average annual costs per resident rapidly increase when the population growth reaches 100,000-200,000 residents⁹. On the other hand, it is considered that the industry (sectors of activity) which mostly expand show sensitivity to decentralisation. The major economy systems, which are competitive at the international market, have dominantly been located in zones of great concentration. This presumes great obstacles in front of small and medium-sized towns for counting on such production systems.

Table 17: Percentage of occupation per sectors of activity in 1950 and 1970¹⁰

	Primary sector		Secondary sector		Tertiary sector	
	1950	1970	1950	1970	1950	1970
France	27.6	15.7	37.0	41.5	35.5	43.8
Belgium	12.6	6.1	49.0	43.4	38.4	50.5
West Germany	22.1	10.2	44.7	47.9	33.2	41.9
Italy	43.9	21.9	29.5	40.8	26.6	37.3
Holland	15.4	8.6	39.6	41.9	45.0	49.5
United Kingdom	-	3.0	-	45.9	-	51.0
Former Yugoslavia ¹¹		10.08 ¹²		45.00		44.92

⁸ Study CERU Paris, Urbanisme 136.

⁹ Study DAFU/GER, Paris 1972, Urbanisme 136.

¹⁰ European Community: "Regional development in the Community", UK data source: OECD 1970

¹¹ Source: Spasić, N.,1984

Only with slight exemptions, the production systems' distribution in Serbia would comply with this rule. Almost all great production systems are located in big cities and some medium-sized towns; with few exceptions that are related to mining activity (e.g. Kostolac, Majdanpek). Most commonly, small towns are left to develop low accumulating industry that employs limited number of people (food and textile industry, leather and footwear industry, clothing confection, etc.); then fabrication of unrefined materials, or initial transformation of the raw materials; seldom it includes fine transformation of semi-products or the final transformation and manufacturing of products; and development of enterprises or production plants of small and medium size. With this in view, small towns have an insufficient versatility of employment, i.e. specialisation of work places – especially when the mono-functional towns are in concern. The smaller a town, the more pronounced becomes its functional specialisation. For small towns in which the largest number of employees is occupied in primary and secondary sectors of activity, employee's mobility has typically been insufficient. It is interesting to note that small and medium-sized towns of Central Serbia, as well as Niš and Kragujevac, have had almost an equal percentage of households involved in primary and secondary sectors of activity, but as the town population grows, the share of agricultural activity decreases in favour of industry and mining. This leads to a conclusion that tertiary activities have been (un)developed to the same level in small, medium-sized towns and big cities, where Belgrade significantly diverges from this rule of the tertiary sector development.

The analysis of changes in the socio-economic structure of households indicates the biggest growth in tertiary and secondary activities, with small towns having the largest index of growth. Interestingly, medium-sized towns and big cities apart from Belgrade, have marked a moderate growth of agricultural households, whereas the small towns, mixed-type and rural settlements – municipal centres, have marked a stagnation. The latter, despite of declining trend, still have a large percentage of agricultural households (small towns: 8-16%, mixed-type settlements: 35%; rural settlements – municipal centres: around 66%). In general, the percentage of rural population and the percentage of employed in the primary activities in Serbia are still rather high in comparison to the Western countries, and this can be observed from Table 18.

¹² Given data refer just to the public sector of activity. If private sector was taken in account, the intake of occupied in primary sector would have risen to over 30%.

Table 18: The number of employed/ average values/ for public sector activities in 1961, 1971, and 1979

Urban category	1961					1971		
	Total in 000 dinars	Industry		Agriculture		Total in 000 dinars	Industry	
		Number	%	Number	%		Number	%
Belgrade	265,147	78,457	29.6	1,499	0.6	363,245	94,934	26.1
Niš - Kragujevac	32,566	16,815	51.6	690	2.1	49,610	26,356	53.1
Regional centres	11,389	5,319	46.7	363	3.2	15,883	8,109	51.0
Small towns (sample)	5,411	2,036	37.6	299	5.5	5,366	2,574	48.0
Urban category	1971		1979					
	Agriculture		Total in 000 dinars	Industry		Agriculture Number		
	Number	%		Number	%			
Belgrade	9,527	2.6	547,908	137,044	25.0	9,396		
Niš - Kragujevac	1,224	2.47	64,136	30,183	47.1	610		
Regional centres	967	6.1	26,236	11,736	44.7	832		
Small towns (sample)	430	8.0	7,975	3,902	48.9	259		

The share of employed in industry for the period 1961-1971-1979 (Table 18) had different trend of change according to different urban categories: in Belgrade (29.6%; 26.1%; 25.0%), in Niš and Kragujevac (51.6%; 53.1%; 47.1%), in medium-sized towns – regional centres (46.7%; 51.0%; 44,7%), and in small towns’ sample: Knjaževac, Lazarevac, Priboj, Sokobanja, Veliko Gradište (37.6%; 48,0%; 48,9%). Apparently, in the 1961-1979 period, small towns still showed a growth trend of employed in industry, while this trend changed for medium-sized towns in the 1970s.

According to the developed countries’ experience, it is expected for industry to reduce its intake of employed even in small towns after reaching the figure of 50%. Industrialisation goes hand in hand with urbanisation especially in the first phases of urbanisation when the intake of employed in industry significantly increases, however in the later urbanisation phases, tertiary activities overtake the prime position from industry (e.g. in Belgrade).

Economic collapse in the 1990s which affected the level of production activities in Serbia did not substantially reverse the trends in sectors. It is not likely to expect that small towns would reach more developed urbanisation phases in the recent future (but this, again, is conditioned by the functions which these towns would take in an urban hierarchy of the country) therefore employment in the secondary sector of activities in small towns would assume a considerable intake.

4. Small and Medium-sized Towns and Rural Development in Central Serbia

The most important aspect when considering the topic of “small towns and development of rural areas” is the interrelationship between small and medium-sized towns and their immediate rural surroundings. However, for having a more complete overview on the small town’s position in the settlement structure of Serbia, it is necessary to comment on comparable indicators for municipalities whose centre is a small town and for municipalities that don’t have an urban centre.

There are several indicators which can be followed in the period 1961-1981 in order to make some conclusions on the characteristics of municipalities and their centres which were of non-urban type in relation to municipalities whose centre was a small town.

In the period after the Second World War, mixed-type and rural settlements (municipal centres) of Central Serbia record smaller population growth when compared to urban settlements – moreover, in the period 1971-1981, the population growth of the former had been negative. Such situation brings us to conclusion that these settlements had not been as attractive for a majority of migrants that moved from villages to towns. Also, it can be presumed that the functional ties between these municipal centres and other parts of the municipality had been relatively weak hence the influence of urban regional and sub-regional centres was more pronounced. It can be recalled that these municipalities belonged to the category of insufficiently developed areas with distinctive depopulation. In that respect it is somehow surprising the fact that for a relatively low number of migrants who came to the municipal centre, the structure was mainly consisted of 40% of immigrants from the neighbouring municipalities, although almost all of them came from villages.

The per capita national income was 20-50% higher in small towns than in the mixed-type or rural settlements – municipal centres, which happened despite a large increase of the national income rate in these municipalities in the period 1971-1979. The agriculture share within the national income structure was much bigger in municipalities whose centre was of non-urban type than in municipalities with small town as a seat. It can’t be refuted that rural and mixed-type settlements even when they had been the municipal centres, could not take the role of a development pole for the rural surroundings of the proper municipal territory because of secondary and tertiary sector’s insufficient development.

Since small towns are not a homogeneous group of settlements, it is difficult to make universal conclusions that would refer to all urban settlements with less than 20,000 inhabitants, which are classified as “small towns” for the purposes of this study. There are certainly many variations between urban settlements which according to their development characteristics are close to medium-sized towns and urban settlements which are not the municipal centres yet; then there are differences between towns with mono-functional economy (mining settlements, spas) and towns which exhibit a tendency of a balanced economic development, etc. The influence of certain towns on their rural hinterland should be regarded in the context of heterogeneity. Towns which are qualified by higher level of economic and social development, or by more developed urban functions have greater influence on its immediate surroundings and vice versa. Belgrade has surely had the most intensive influence for its metropolitan region, in which the urbanisation process and its implications have been largely expressed and which induced the formation of a considerable number of urban settlements - small towns (around 20) whose functions have been characterised by the dominant city. However, this region is not a typical representative for Serbia, i.e. the functions of small towns which are located in region marked by intensive influences of a big city are specific in many ways. As a rule, the urban type settlements which do not function as municipal centres do occur in the zone of influence of a larger city or within the administrative area in which the function of a centre is taken by a larger city as a more powerful hub. The role of such urban settlements for development of the rural hinterland is not disputed, nevertheless it can't be observed separately from the higher rank centre's functions.

Small towns with function of a municipal centre, which are not in the area of larger towns' intensive influences, perform a much complex role and, at the same time, they contain a potential for affirmation as centres (poles) for the rural hinterland development. They often are the centres of municipalities which hold a status of underdeveloped area qualified by poor traffic connections, limited natural resources, etc.

An extensive questionnaire based on a sample - five small towns in Central Serbia (Knjaževac, Lazarevac¹³, Priboj, Sokobanja, Veliko Gradište) which was conducted in mid 1970's could serve as a starting point for analysing the relationship between small towns and their rural hinterland. As the

¹³ Until the end of 1980s Lazarevac belonged to the category of small towns (less than 20,000 inhabitants), but as its population grew beyond that size, Lazarevac is placed nowadays in the medium-sized town category according to the conditional classification.

questionnaire results were incomplete, it was possible to retrieve just a limited number of indicators from this survey. Towns which were the subject to this survey had a very fast population growth in the 1970s which coincided in time with the population stagnation for the rest of their municipalities' territories, especially in terms of demographic draining of the rural area, that was mainly expressed in the hilly and mountain areas of municipalities to which they belonged. The concentration of work places in secondary, and especially in tertiary activities, happened in towns – centres of municipalities.

The majority of employed who lived outside town nevertheless kept on working in it. Such situation was an outcome of the aspiration to launch the former smaller commercial points (*varošica*; *palanka*) as urban settlements having that all the investments were almost as a rule directed to the municipal centres. Public service facilities and amenities were also to the largest part concentrated in towns, joined by development of flats providing more comfort, better connection facilities, developed communal services, and so on. Secondary (supplementary) municipal centres either did not exist or were not sufficiently sustained (supplied to perform the function of a secondary municipal centre). Towns have had much better living conditions than rural parts of their municipalities; however, the quality of living had been worse in small towns than in medium-sized ones or in big cities, therefore a part of population that migrated from villages would avoid small towns completely by moving directly to bigger cities, and this behaviour brought to steady decline of population numbers in municipalities with small town as a hub.

In the period until the beginning of 1980s, the migration of population from rural areas to towns and from smaller to bigger towns and cities had been intensified.

In the last decade or so, rural to urban migrations have been stagnating in comparison to the 1970s or '80s period. There are at least two good reasons for this. The first one, especially in the period after the 1990s, was a radical reduction in economic activity joined by increase of unemployment in urban settlements, which severely limited the possibility of new urban immigrants to find a job. The second reason was that, in a long period, there has been a considerable decrease in population, or demographic draining from rural areas, meaning that the number of potential migrants to towns has been substantially reduced. As an additional fact which influences urban development there should be recognised the inclination of rural population to move to suburban settlements or the edge parts of urban settlements rather than to the central urban districts.

The rural areas which are remote from urban settlements, i.e. the villages which are situated in municipalities without any urban settlement, have been in a specific position conditioned by the mountain terrain at which they have been mostly located.

A number of municipal centres which had a status of the rural settlement until 1981 were in the 1990s declared as urban settlements according to decisions of the local municipal communities. Rural centre proclamation for an urban settlement did not by itself produce an upgrade of its functional capacity nor did it broaden its influence on the rural hinterland, however, because of such policy, the number of small towns forming the urban structure of Serbia had increased. On the other hand, some more developed small towns moved to the category of medium-sized towns according to the conditional urban categorisation which sets the upper size limit of small towns to 20,000 people.

Rural-urban migrations will surely continue in the future, however they could be channelled by the planning policies that would give the small towns an important role to play.

The planning policies which can reduce the pace of rural to urban migrations, i.e. those which can stimulate the development of rural regions could be grouped in two categories:

- 1) Improvement of the Quality of Life in small towns (urban services, communal facilities and amenities, cultural activities, etc.) which would reduce the pressure at big cities deriving from the rural population; and
- 2) Stimulation of the rural settlements and rural areas' development and organisation in order to retain the present population in them, which involves:
 - New work places to be opened in the so-called centres of the village communes;
 - Inducement to development of supplementary centres and their provision with the public service facilities, e.g. schools, child-care facilities, health stations, libraries, cinemas, commercial and other servicing facilities;
 - Local road network development and improvement of local communication;
 - Communal servicing of rural settlements (water supply, sewerage, road infrastructure);
 - Improvement of agriculture and animal husbandry; especially by stimulation of these activities in the mountain regions by tax and credit incentives, etc.

The small town's role as a municipal administrative, economic, cultural and educational centre in advance of development and organisation of the rural areas can be primarily evaluated through setting up of an appropriate strategy and policy of development on the municipal level and provision of instruments for implementing such policy. The key planning act which could serve as basis for setting up such policy and which could provide its implementation would be the Spatial plan of a Municipality.

5. Policies for Small and Medium-sized Towns Development in European and other Countries

Government policies for small and medium-sized towns often have a multiplicity of economic, social and political objectives set out individually or as a part of the wider national strategy. The small and medium-sized towns' prospects (their growth, stagnation or decline), moreover the relations with their rural surroundings, are often strongly influenced by macro-economic strategies, pricing policies or sector priorities that make no explicit reference to spatial dimensions. For example, in many cases, policy makers are deeply unaware of the impact of macro-economic policies on migration and urban development (Becker and Morrison, 1996). Thus, policies intended to support more successful "local economic development" outside the larger cities, including those to support small and medium-sized towns, need to ensure that they are not being undermined by the structure of government and the "non-spatial" policies and priorities of higher levels of government (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1986).

There is a relatively large body of work which treats the nature and the shortcomings of the various policies that, since the early 1960s, have been implemented to promote the role of small and medium-sized towns in rural and regional development. According to Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2003:50) these policies can be divided into five broad categories:

- 1) Policies for the development of small and medium-sized towns in more "backward" and generally more rural regions;
- 2) Policies for small and medium-sized towns specifically aimed at supporting rural and agricultural development;
- 3) Policies to develop small and medium-sized towns in more urbanised and generally more industrialised regions, to reduce concentrations of population and investment in the larger cities;
- 4) Policies to slow down rural to urban migrations, or to address the major cause of such migration, e.g. the concentration of resources in larger urban centres; and
- 5) Policies to strengthen local or regional governments, including improvements of the public service provision there.

The conventional wisdom of policy-makers and regional planners is that small towns play an essential role as regional service centres in rural hinterland

through provision of “urban functions in rural development” (Hinderlink and Titus, 2002, Belsky and Karaska, 1990, Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1978). The explanation of the standing of small and medium-sized towns, i.e. the lower-ordered centres in the urban rank-size hierarchy, leads back to an old theory with an economic background, called “theory of central places” by Christaller. Centrality is a very important attribute for the attractiveness of small and medium-sized towns. Two different perspectives of centrality can be identified. As already mentioned, centrality can be seen from a *functional perspective*, which means that a centre fulfils functions for its surrounding hinterland. Secondly, centrality can also be viewed from a *spatial-geographic perspective*, which means that the physical location of a centre brings to reduction of distances for consumers to fulfil their needs.

The policies to strengthen the role of small and medium-sized towns known as “growth centre” or “growth pole” policies have had arguable results in the past. In the 1960s, in line with then prevailing development paradigm, spatial strategies were designed to achieve economic growth by stimulating industrial development in designated centres (growth poles) through public investment. In the context of rural economic development the “growth pole” strategy is found in various attempts to foster alternatives to agricultural or resource-based employment, usually through small-scale industrial development.

Policies with aim to support rural and agricultural development through small and medium-sized towns have been based on the assumption that the location of services in a variety of “central places” would benefit farming. Although the location of more service points supplying a variety of services, agricultural inputs and consumer goods to the rural areas is seen as playing a crucial role in rural development, the growth centres usually provided much less stimulus to their surroundings than expected: this was due to the inadequate recognition of factors specific to each centre and to the imprecise diagnosis of existing circumstances in the centres and their regions, resulting from the top-down, “blanket” implementation of policies formulated at the central level. Low levels of demand from rural residents (often caused by social inequality and low incomes rather than by difficult access to supply) acted as major obstacle to the “growth pole” policies as well as the fact that in many cases local firms based in small and medium-sized towns did not benefit from policies aiming to support industrial development in such centres.

By the 1970s, the failure of “growth centre” policies and a major shift in the development paradigm resulted in the view that urbanisation through small and medium-sized towns development was primarily parasitic leading to rural economic failure by allowing the draining of rural areas of their resources and

the neglect of agriculture (Schatzberg, 1979). However, the authors who articulated the pessimistic view stating that “small towns contribute to rural impoverishment”, also underlined that “when there is a relatively egalitarian class structure and free access to land, and where the stimulus to urban growth results primarily by the people and for themselves... small scale urbanisation may be beneficial locally” (Southall, 1988:5).

In response to contestable results of the “growth centre” policies the Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP) were then seen as “appropriate” strategy to address the issue. However, IRDP focused on agricultural change with little, if any, attention to the role of urban centres in the rural economy (Tacoli, 1998). The “urban functions” in IRDPs which aimed to create a hierarchy of urban places, have not necessarily had the hoped-for impact. The disappointing results of this sectoral strategy, together with major changes in macro-economic policies and in the global socio-economic context, brought about another shift in planning concerns and emerging views on the role of small and medium-sized towns in a globalising context.

In the late 1970s the special development potential and the specific flair of small and medium-sized towns were rediscovered by planners. The increasing sensibility for such towns was reinforced by growing protest movements due to increasing dissatisfaction of citizens. Namely, because of dramatic changes in the national context of many nations (and in the global economic climate) with the implementation of economic reform and adjustment since the 1980s, small and medium-sized town policies have undergone major transformations towards qualitative growth and the renewal of historic centres and conceptual shifts with rural-urban linkages becoming the focus of renewed interest among policy makers and researchers (see: Evans, 1990; Gaile, 1992; UNDP/UNCHS, 1995). From this viewpoint, small and medium-sized towns should have a key role in connecting their rural hinterland with both domestic and international markets and in providing non-farm employment opportunities, therefore broadening the local economy’s base (Evans, 1990).

Furthermore, as a counter-magnet strategy to address problems of big agglomerations, there was an incentive for policies aiming to develop small and medium-sized towns in more urbanised and generally more industrialised regions, to reduce concentrations of population and investment in the larger cities. With these policies implemented, small and medium-sized towns tend to develop along transport corridors, occasionally producing the effect described as “polarisation reversal”, as population growth in smaller towns may exceed that in a nearby larger town or metropolitan area. One important element of such policies has been the offer to large companies of incentives to relocate.

These policies were also supported by environmental problems of big cities, e.g. to counteract traffic congestion, water and air pollution, and other “urban problems” by decentralising urban economic activities to surrounding smaller urban centres. However, the typical obstacles for their implementation occurred as: the absence of a metropolitan or regional authority, which hampered any coordination in planning of small and medium-sized towns; the proximity of the targeted small and medium-sized towns to big agglomeration, which inhibited independent economic development of the former, making them the satellite towns instead; and inconsistency in the implementation of the strategy which has allowed the metropolitan area to grow physically and to encroach on the targeted small and medium-sized towns at the periphery. Synergy and collaboration between empowered local government and national level of decision-making are perhaps even more important in the implementation of such policies, as private interests can be a powerful obstacle for spatial redistribution of economic activities, especially in highly dynamic urban areas.

Policies with aim to slow down migration flows to larger urban centres by retaining (or attracting) migrants in small and medium-sized towns have often been developed according to traditional notion of “push and pull” factors as the main explicatory elements of rural-to-urban migrations. In the neo-classical perspective, decisions to move are made at the individual level in response to hardships in source areas (the “push” factors) and to perceived advantages in destination areas (the “pull” factors) (see: Tošković, 2000:164). The reasons behind the choice of destination are primarily, but not entirely, economic: they include the issues of migrants’ social acceptability and, to some extent, of access to affordable accommodation. Although the migration flows inevitably reflect the changing spatial distribution of economic opportunities, with migrants attracted to the more dynamic areas, an attention to poverty and vulnerability suggests that it is essential to look at other, non-economic factors. This is especially important as rural migrants who move within a region and to local urban centres are, in many cases, the most disadvantaged ones, and are those who lack the resources to move to more distant destinations. Providing them with appropriate training to allow them to find a better job opportunity, and removing constraints on the production of adequate housing (that responds to multiple needs), including possibilities of self-developed housing, are among the key elements of poverty reduction strategy for migrants and other population in small and medium-sized towns, which give them the advantage to retain the population.

In order to examine the contemporary role of small and medium-sized towns, it is clear that the policy for their development must not consider them in isolation from their locality. The significance of relationship between small and medium-sized towns with their wider territory depends on the context in which these towns develop. Moreover, the differences in the level of functions that are attributed to an urban centre are highly dependent on the territorial localisation itself. According to ESPON 1.4.1 Programme (2005:36), there are three main possible territorial contexts for the small and medium-sized towns:

- The first type of context displays small and medium-sized towns that are located at the fringe of a large agglomeration, i.e. a major city and its functional area. This is the typical situation for the peri-urban small and medium-sized towns whose functional areas overlap with those of the large agglomeration. These urban centres have a lesser range and extent of functions that their size would have suggested and their development relates to the policies to reduce concentration of population and investment in the larger cities.
- The second context is a functional network of small and medium-sized towns, in which case the functional areas are seldom overlapping and are covering a great share of the territory. The fundamental aspect within this category is the high level of interaction between small and medium-sized towns of comparable size. Policies which are aimed to slow down the migration flows to bigger towns or to address the major cause of such migration, as well as the policies for small and medium-sized towns aimed to support rural and agricultural development refer to this type of context.
- Finally, the third type of context for small and medium-sized towns is when they occur in more isolated and rural areas. Smaller urban centres which serve relatively large rural catchments do have a higher level of service provision in excess in comparison to what their size could indicate (DELG, 2000). In this context, but also when they are part of the network configuration, small and medium-sized towns act as development poles for rural areas, thus they mostly relate to policies for the development of small and medium-sized towns in more backward and generally more rural regions.

An increased priority given to the decentralisation of resources and responsibilities and to strengthening of local public institutions is among the key reasons for renewed interest in the role which small and medium-sized towns play in regional development. Furthermore, centralised policies may not

be efficient since they cannot take into account the peculiarities and specifics of small and medium-sized towns in different contexts. This is also based on the recognition that the failure of previous “growth pole” policies was largely due to over-generalisation of urban centres’ development potential, whereas small and medium-sized towns programmes now tend to give more attention to the needs and potential of individual sites.

Although policies for small and medium-sized towns that had an element of strengthening the local and regional governments were designed in the 1960s and 1970s, back then they mainly produced a deconcentration of public employees instead of real decentralisation. In some centres, regardless of their population size or economic base, the misuse of decentralisation policies brought them an urban status simply because the local governments and some public services were located in these centres. This also contributed to the growth of the urban population and the related demand for goods and services. Hence deconcentration implied little local control over resources and decision-making power.

What is needed instead is real decentralisation of decision-making, with investment at the local level which will allow the articulation of local needs and priorities and which will stimulate both rural and urban development. For this to happen there needs to be more clearly defined the relationship between local and central governments.

6. Concluding Remarks

6.1 Small and Medium-sized Towns Development Issues in the EU Countries as a Prospective Knowledge for Serbia

The European Union is in general terms highly urbanised. It has been argued that small and medium-sized towns are home to 1/3 of Europe's population, whereas big urban agglomerations accommodate on their own approximately the same number of people as small and medium-sized towns do jointly. Urban settlements are moving up the policy agenda in the EU countries. There is a general trend to devolve responsibilities from national governments to regional and local levels, with an increasing appreciation of the importance of towns to regional and national economies. Countries like the United Kingdom, France, The Netherlands, Denmark, and Belgium have been developing explicit national policies for cities and towns (Parkinson et al., 2006). There is also increasing evidence that the EU is adopting a more territorial focus and in many cases such territories can be defined by small and medium-sized towns and their hinterlands (Courtney and Errington, 2003).

All relevant documents which refer to the European space, including the latest Territorial Agenda of the European Union (2007) build upon the three main aims:

- Development of a balanced and polycentric urban system and a new urban-rural partnership;
- Securing parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge;
- Sustainable development, prudent management and protection of nature and cultural heritage.

Within Europe's urban structure, it can be said that big cities (especially high-profile world cities) get most of the attention and maintain their global importance. The reason for this is, firstly, a considerable evidence of a positive correlation between an urban settlement's size and economic performance, higher productivity and higher per capita incomes. Then, the largest cities perform multiple roles, nationally and internationally, as centres of government, advanced services, medicine, law, arts, higher education, culture and the consumption of both luxury and mass-produced goods (Hall, 2003).

In contrast, small and medium-sized towns may be perceived to play a relatively peripheral role. Siegel and Waxmann (2001) point to six challenges to small and medium-sized towns: 1) out-of-date infrastructure; 2) dependence on traditional industry; 3) obsolete human capital base; 4) declining regional

competitiveness; 5) weakened civic infrastructure and capacity; and 6) limited access to resources.

However, though generally being neglected in policy, the very many small and medium-sized towns are important to both regional and national economies. Small and medium-sized towns which function as regional centres should cooperate as parts of a polycentric pattern to ensure their added value for other settlements in rural and peripheral areas as well as for areas with specific geographic challenges and needs (e.g. mountain regions). To facilitate this process, infrastructure networks within and between regions need to be extended and updated on a continuous basis.

If we comprise strengths and weaknesses of small and medium-sized towns within spatial and settlement development in the EU, these towns are on the one hand seen as more sustainable because of their structure which is perceived as more compact, however when they are located at the fringe of a large agglomeration, they may contribute to continuing urban sprawl due to population increase and growing land consumption. Within their local context, when being a part of a functional network of small and medium-sized towns, or when they occur in more isolated and rural areas, these towns are often of critical importance in offering economies of scale and scope to their rural hinterlands (SAC et al., 2005), as well as being “a rich repository of our collective heritage and local history” (Danson, 2007:7). Yet, many of these communities have to confront the challenges of socio-demographic nature (e.g. declining and ageing population), whilst suffering from decline in local and regional economies, centralisation and closure of local services, environmental degradation and prolonged and inappropriate under-investment.

As much as the concept of centrality is important, specialisation is another instrument against economic downturn, which may represent an opportunity for small and medium-sized towns. Therefore, these towns need to address the issue of specialisation of the structures, services, etc., as well as they need to achieve a concrete cooperation, i.e. small and medium-sized towns should be encouraged to cooperate with other authorities, even in other countries, in order to strengthen their identity and specialisation as a way of becoming more attractive for people and investment. Furthermore, other facets of economic development in and around small and medium-sized towns include dissemination of skill and knowledge.

It is quite evident that there is a lot of concern in the EU about the development in the urban regions, where a predominant aim is to conserve a polycentric urban structure. As Europe still has a balanced urban system compared to

other regions in the world, the concept of polycentrism has a high significance in European regional policy. In order to maintain (support) a system of decentralised urban concentration, modern urban networks have to be spawned. Within these networks, small and medium-sized towns play a major role in preventing urban sprawl and in slowing down the suburbanisation process of Europe's big cities and metropolises.

6.2 Function and Implication of Small and Medium-sized Towns Development in Central Serbia

Small towns represent the most numerous group of urban settlements (89) in Central Serbia. Having that, the role and function of small towns for the spatial development of Serbia are very important. Small towns are most commonly the administrative, economic and cultural centres of their municipalities. Rarely, they play the role of a secondary (supplementary) municipal centre, and that is the case with municipalities where the primary centre is represented by a bigger city. The most important implication and function of small towns should be linked to sustainable development and prevention from further demographic draining of the rural areas. Together with larger rural centres (centres of the village communes), small towns represent (or they should become) the local poles of development for rural hinterland.

Medium-sized towns represent the second largest group of urban settlements (22) in Central Serbia. By their demographic and economic potential, medium-sized towns are more influential than the small town category. They represent the traditional regional or sub-regional centres of their functional area. In the past, they used to have the function of a rural administrative centre. Medium-sized towns play nowadays the role of seats for administrative republic governance at the county level. Besides, medium-sized towns have the function of an administrative, economic and cultural centre of the municipality in which they are located. With the expected reform of administrative-governance system of the Republic organisation, the medium-sized towns should gain more competences. That would make a contribution to achievement of the role which medium-sized towns should play as (sub)regional centres in functional areas of the Republic according to the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (1996). Medium-sized towns also implicate an important function in encouragement of development and prevention from depopulation of the rural areas.

In reference to large emigration of population from the rural areas in the past, and regarding the unfavourable age structure of the remaining rural population (exhaustion of the traditional rural reservoirs), it can be expected further slowing down of the migration flows from rural to urban settlements. The rural resident's

influx to small and medium-sized towns could be negatively influenced because of the slow activation of new work places and because of relatively high unemployment rates in these urban centres. It is also realistic to expect that a part of rural migrations will be directly oriented towards bigger cities, hence they would completely avoid small and medium-sized towns. Such assumptions lead us to conclusion that in the future we could not expect greater demographic development of small and medium-sized towns, at least not based upon the migration factor.

The economic perspectives rely on many parameters - external and the internal factors, thus, in this respect, there could be significant differences between the towns. Most important is the professional human potential as a resource which exists in certain urban settlements. In that respect, the general situation has not been very bright, especially in the smaller urban settlements, and that is mainly because of brain-drain of the most educated people towards bigger cities or further abroad. Best positioned are those towns in which the large and successful production systems are located as they engage adequate professional staff (e.g. in Lazarevac, Vršac, Obrenovac, etc.). Such situation affects the total professional potential of a town. However, in case of economic collapse of a great production system – stakeholder of the economic development, in the very same urban settlements where such system is located, the implications are severe and cannot be neutralised in a short period of time (e.g. in Bor, Majdanpek, Priboj).

Economic recession, which had affected the country in the 1990s as well as the process of “transition” which lasts until present, brought to fading (collapse) of the economic activity in many small and medium-sized towns, inducing the large unemployment and general pauperisation. These towns rather slowly and with many difficulties manage to recover and renew their economic and other activities.

In such context it is necessary to provide the incentives to development of a large number of small and medium-sized towns, especially in the underdeveloped parts of the Republic which, above all, involves the mountain and border regions. According to the policy directives which are given in regional European documents, it is necessary to implement an adequate program of regionalisation of the Republic, i.e. to set up the mechanisms of governance at the regional level. Providing this, beside the level of republic or the local level, the regional level would also be empowered for applying the sustainable development programs.

Following the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia and other development documents at the national level, it is essential to implement certain policies with aim to achieve:

- The more balanced regional development, i.e. more equitable distribution of population, economic activities, and infrastructure systems at the territory of the Republic;
- A planned direction of investments with an adequate tax incentive policy towards underdeveloped regions of the Republic, which contain a large number of small and medium-sized towns;
- Assistance with preparation of planning and development documents for underdeveloped regions;
- Quicker servicing by infrastructure and communal facilities in small and medium-sized towns;
- Incentives to small and medium-size enterprise development;
- Development and sustaining of the public services at the regional and local level, etc.

From their behalf, the local communities should also provide for certain requirements (conditions) that shape their future development in terms of:

- Delivering the long-term and medium-term strategies and programs of development;
- Preparation of the adequate urban documents with organised databases for the priority regions and lucrative locations;
- Rationalisation of the spatial and communal resources' use and prevention from illegal development;
- Environmental quality appraisal;
- Efficiency and responsibility in functioning of the local bodies and organisations;
- Cooperation with larger and more developed urban centres;
- Assembling and making use of qualified professionals who left the country, etc.

6.3 Small and Medium-sized Town Planning in Central Serbia

The most relevant planning documents which address the local level are the Spatial Plan of Municipality (Prostorni plan opštine) and the Master Plan of a town/city (Generalni (urbanistički) plan grada). Presently, there is no reliable evidence on the planning documentation's state and condition in different Serbian municipalities. It can only be estimated that all municipal centres have the Master Plans delivered (although most of these plans have not been updated), and that a smaller number of municipalities have the Spatial Plans as

well. Just as an illustration from the past and for the purpose of comparison we can refer to data from the year 1980:

Belgrade: Spatial plan of the Belgrade region was in the last phase of preparation;¹⁴ deliverance of the municipality plans wasn't here envisaged; other big cities - Niš and Kragujevac did not have the municipality plans; medium-sized towns: spatial plans were prepared for 16.6% of municipalities; small towns: spatial plans were prepared for 15.5% of municipalities. All big cities and medium-sized towns had the Master Plan done, which also refers to 70% of all small towns. Detailed (Local) Urban Plans had been mostly produced – 11.3% per medium-sized town in average, and 1.38% per small town in average.

In most cases, the medium-sized towns have their own urban planning organisations (as independent public companies or as a part of the office for construction) which individually or with help from an urban planning office of a bigger city prepare the planning documentation to serve the local community's needs. On the other hand, small towns most commonly do not have an urban planning office which would have the capacity to prepare adequate planning documentation, therefore their plans have been commissioned to chartered organisations from bigger cities.

Majority of these plans is ordered as any other merchandise and they are prepared with either symbolic or better assistance from the municipal bodies and offices. There are very few examples of a long-term association between the municipality and certain professional (or scientific) organisation that would aim to achieve stable cooperation in the sphere of planning and spatial organisation for the municipal territory.

The applied methods of work, the content, and quality of plans which have been prepared for the small towns so far have been quite uneven and they have depended on the following conditions: a period when the plan was made, organisation or a team which worked on the plan, and (probably) on the available financial resources. Municipal administration bodies which are in charge of urban planning issues are to take care for implementation of urban plans. The local urban planning office in a small town, which typically has one or just a few employees, usually functions as a part of the municipal body which is in charge of administrative-legal or communal affairs. However, in most cases, the procedure of location diagnosis and establishment of urban

¹⁴ Data are obtained from the records of the Republic's Office for urbanism, housing and communal activities (Republički sekretarijat za urbanizam i stambene i komunalne delatnosti), 1980.

conditions for development are left to improvisation because of the lack of available professional staff; insufficiency or inadequateness of the urban planning documentation; the practice of ordering plans “aside”; and because of neglecting long-term contacts with qualified professionals who have prepared the plan.

Urban planning for the purposes of development and territorial organisation of small urban settlements cannot be observed independently or separately from the general planning system in our country. Similarly we cannot discuss “the particular urban planning” for small towns, but we can address the small town distinctiveness and issues in the sphere of planning or spatial organisation, which are not typical for larger urban settlements, and which require certain adjustments of the institutional framework, of methods and content of work in this sphere. Besides, the upgrading of urban planning for small town’s needs should be observed as a part of improvements for the whole planning system, which involve:

- Integration and synchronisation of different planning modes, which in this case means coordination between urban plans and development plans, especially for the stage or medium-term plans;
- Qualitative improvements in professional preparation of urban plans through research and interdisciplinary work approach;
- “Vertical and horizontal integration” of the planning process, i.e. conceptual harmonisation with the wider, neighbouring or smaller area’s plans (in that respect, it is especially important to improve the communal level of planning, which is planning at the municipal level);
- Introduction of the so-called stage plans as the practical demonstration for a continual planning process, and so on.

In future as in presence, small towns or the municipalities to which they belong, are not likely to have their own professional and financial potentials to form the self-reliant competent urban planning organisation which would serve their needs, and this means they will continue to seek the professional assistance from somewhere else in order to prepare urban or spatial plans for their territories. The thus far experience indicates that in these circumstances it has been essential to make long-term professional arrangements between municipalities on the one side, and the appropriate professional (or scientific) organisation which comes from the wider territory, on the other. This alliance is necessary because it provides the continuity of a planning process, especially the continuity in preparation, deliverance and implementation of urban plans,

or the provision of qualified professional assistance to the municipal bodies while implementing the urban plans or issuing the conditions for development.

Master plan of a town should typically encompass the first row of suburban settlements. That is important because of mechanical population increase by dominantly agrarian inhabitants who maintain their previous habits and way of living even after they moved to a town. What attracts them most is the suburban area where the semi-urban housing system is permitted. Suburban area retains a part of population which comes to town thus relieving a pressure which rural immigrants would have made to the inner parts of a town.

Small and medium-sized towns are in the immediate contact with their rural surroundings, which opens a possibility for them to exhibit the greatest influence on development and organisation of a rural area, providing they are to be more assertive in the future as specific “miniature” poles for “revitalisation” and urbanisation of a rural area, thus providing the most efficient way to gradually reduce the pressure on smaller and larger cities deriving from rural inhabitants.

The method and work content in planning for the purposes of development and organisation of towns and their zones of influence, should ultimately respond to the particularity of each and everyone of them; to their role in the settlement system; to the possibilities of economic and social development of the local community to which they belong; to their size and development of town functions; to their position in relation to the larger urban centres, and so forth having in mind the key methodological principles of planning, normative regulation and possibility of control for the planning quality. In the planning professional field, it is of special concern to identify adequate solutions and planning instruments for achievement of the long and medium-term development policies for activities such as agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, protection of natural and man-made (ambience) values, tourism, holiday and recreation development, as well as for the development of mountain, underdeveloped or border regions.

6.4 Conclusion and Recommendations

Small and medium-sized towns will be able to fulfil their role of retaining the rural-urban migrations only if adequate and synchronised concern should be paid to improvements of the Quality of life factor in spatial and urban development plans. Apart from improvements of the general and individual standard of living, the Quality of life should particularly imply: provision of employment opportunities both in towns and in rural centres, better traffic

connections and communal servicing of settlements, better health and social facilities, quality of retail, improvements of the environmental quality, etc.

Presently, the small and medium-sized towns do not provide “urban comfort” or attractiveness that bigger cities already have. However, the small and medium-sized towns can count on other comparative advantages which they have in contrast to big cities (contact with the natural and rural environment, surroundings which has not been degraded, lower costs of living, etc.), which in combination with gradual planned improvements of the urban services and urban standards could make smaller towns more attractive for residence.

The contribution of spatial and urban planning or the contribution of planning and territorial arrangement as comprehensive activities to the more varied development, urbanisation and distinctiveness of small urban settlements, can have a great importance especially if it is analysed in the context of long-term policy that is implemented for inducing the development of small urban and rural settlements.

In the future period, medium-sized towns should be promoted to a higher degree as regional or sub-regional centres. It is very important that the Republic of Serbia delivers and implements a comprehensive program for demetropolisation and regionalisation in the recent future, where this program should follow the concept of functional organisation of the territory as proposed by the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia and the directives from European regional projects. Hereby, the Republic of Serbia would transfer a part of its competencies to the big cities – macro-regional centres, and medium-sized towns – regional or sub-regional centres. With a coherent development of regional functions in medium-sized towns, the positive implications would also be felt in small towns and rural areas in reference to their future sustainable development.

Current policies for regional development (and for small and medium-sized towns) must also take into account the emerging pattern of global economic and urban system. As agriculture remains an essential part of rural economies and of the livelihoods of residents both in rural settlements and in small and medium-sized towns, there is a risk that the process of globalisation may lead to the justification of a new concentration of activities in the large cities, increasing the already significant regional differences in living conditions and productivity. Policies to support regional development and small and medium-sized towns by linking peripheral regions to global networks are thus as important as ever, but may also be more difficult to realise.

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¹⁵ Thematic Conference Proceedings is in print in December 2007, whereas the International Scientific Conference which is the occasion for publication will be held in January 2008.

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Appendix

Tables

Table1: Population in urban settlements of Central Serbia

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Belgrade	397711	477982	657362	899094	1087915	1168454	1119642
Other big cities	88656	107358	144597	220639	290393	322696	320097
Kragujevac	39324	48702	63347	92985	129017	147305	146373
Niš	49332	58656	81250	127654	161376	175391	173724
Medium-sized towns	263077	324563	455236	663884	900703	1027242	1044202
Arandelovac	4278	6368	9837	15545	21379	23750	24309
Bor	11103	14533	18816	29418	35591	40668	39387
Borča	3532	3384	4330	9487	18549	26895	35150
Valjevo	15830	21165	28461	39786	50114	59016	61035
Vranje	11252	13465	17999	28613	44094	51818	55052
Gornji Milanovac	2697	3402	4492	10972	17791	22432	23982
Zaječar	11861	14489	18690	27599	36958	39491	40700
Jagodina	9297	12270	19872	27658	35488	37560	35589
Kraljevo	11200	15152	20490	27839	52485	57926	57411
Kruševac	13862	16638	21957	29509	53071	58808	57347
Lazarevac	3129	3511	5620	7795	13354	22459	23551
Leskovac	20913	24553	34396	45478	56110	62053	63185
Mladenovac	4833	6231	10943	15858	21016	23299	22114
Novi Pazar	11992	14104	20706	28950	41099	51749	54604
Obrenovac	4677	5478	6991	13141	16821	22180	23620
Paraćin	10110	11175	15648	21511	24407	25567	25292
Pirot	11868	13175	18415	29298	36293	40267	40678
Požarevac	15474	18529	24269	32828	39735	43885	41736
Prokuplje	8739	10050	13679	20104	25602	28303	27673
Smederevo	14206	18328	27182	40192	55396	63884	62805
Smederevska Palanka	7413	9427	13014	18687	23635	25146	25300
Čuprija	9609	11967	14053	17564	20547	21367	20585
Užice	10151	13255	20060	34555	46733	53607	54717
Čačak	18808	24020	34964	49422	62258	70475	73217
Šabac	16243	19894	30352	42075	52177	54637	55163
Small towns	179150	214142	276293	402955	513350	590928	590869
Aleksandrovac	1027	1153	1320	3067	5177	6354	6476
Aleksinac	5797	6788	8828	12007	15734	17030	17171
Aleksinački Rudnik	1074	2151	2461	1961	1927	1645	1467
Arilje	785	1006	1328	3164	4982	6074	6744
Babušnica	603	749	972	1668	2906	4270	4575
Bajina Bašta	1222	1638	1394	3961	6284	8555	9543
Baljevac	1111	1341	1568	1502	1707	1614	1636
Banja Koviljača	2260	2960	4023	5199	5478	5516	6340
Bela Palanka	2823	3168	4300	5772	7502	8347	8626

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Belanovica	422	416	344	373	336	260	266
Beli Potok	1726	2082	2825	3242	3150	3069	3417
Belo Polje	148	201	238	324	480	568	545
Blace	1824	2181	2564	3373	4409	5228	5465
Bogovina	1753	2001	2444	2086	1810	1611	1348
Boljevac	1082	1259	1400	2288	3289	3926	3784
Bosilegrad	1233	1320	1355	1662	2029	2440	2702
Brus	769	1223	940	2434	3406	4558	4653
Brza Palanka	1739	1683	1801	1668	1699	1557	1076
Bujanovac	3177	3681	4603	7524	11789	17050	12011
Čičevac	4410	4598	4952	5143	5520	5398	5094
Despotovac	1513	1282	1671	2308	3268	4170	4363
Dimitrovgrad	2944	2891	3665	5488	7055	7276	6968
Divčibare	39	43	58	64	172	130	235
Dobanovci	3840	3519	5005	6717	7592	7966	8128
Donji Milanovac	2274	2629	2669	2595	2996	3338	3132
Grdelica	840	1007	1488	1893	2204	2431	2383
Grocka	2927	3200	3726	4956	6394	7642	8338
Guča	601	754	932	1378	1852	2026	2022
Ivanjica	1532	1829	2082	5507	8765	11093	12350
Jošanička Banje	1175	1342	1332	1391	1366	1296	1154
Kladovo	2128	2336	2683	6957	8325	9626	9142
Knjaževac	4862	5906	7448	11249	16665	19705	19351
Kosjerić	558	698	630	1860	2988	3794	4116
Kostolac	2946	4332	4981	6678	9274	10365	9313
Krupanj	853	1085	1389	2479	3779	4795	4912
Kučevo	3176	3751	3956	4441	5051	4846	4506
Kuršumlija	2382	2649	3391	7185	10550	12525	13639
Kuršumlijska Banja	415	485	457	333	198	185	151
Lajkovac	1500	1683	2677	3044	3188	3428	3443
Lapovo	7169	7569	8112	8307	8837	8655	7422
Lebane	1975	2103	2617	5889	7966	9528	10004
Loznica	3226	5031	10411	13871	17790	18845	19863
Lučani	455	1256	1505	2653	3310	4130	4309
Ljig	964	1194	1416	1954	2632	2754	2979
Majdanpek	1919	2244	3746	8065	9489	11760	10071
Mali Zvornik	768	2783	1888	2560	3786	4321	4736
Mataruška Banja	470	704	915	1329	2132	2262	2732
Medveđa	1732	1810	2188	2621	2488	3057	2810
Mionica	568	656	860	1227	1438	1679	1723
Negotin	6143	6982	8635	11166	15311	17355	17758
Niška Banja	910	1168	1991	3131	3854	4179	4437
Nova Varoš	1781	2179	3200	5718	8565	10424	10335
Ostružnica	2304	2663	3840	4016	4060	3787	3929
Ovča	1950	1767	2926	3381	2530	2444	2567
Pećani	336	356	450	477	467	632	493
Petrovac	4327	4673	5261	6231	7383	7728	7851

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Pinosava	1713	1915	2306	2689	2837	2700	2839
Požega	2249	2710	4094	8503	10410	12552	13206
Priboj	1549	1902	5490	13034	18295	22137	19564
Prijepolje	2828	3536	5303	10904	14543	15634	15031
Rača	1017	1315	1351	1751	2305	2729	2744
Raška	1513	1832	2278	3935	5639	6437	6619
Resavica	453	829	2224	2936	2716	2693	2365
Ribnica	1754	2180	4079	8424	2345	2712	2779
Rucka	340	320	290	257	278	317	310
Rudovci	1112	1537	2276	1909	1883	1804	1787
Sevojno	1847	3143	3873	3853	4655	6501	7445
Sijarinska Banja	104	106	255	307	582	530	568
Sjenica	3805	4478	5124	8552	11136	14445	13161
Sokobanja	3370	3984	4227	5554	7204	8439	8407
Sopot	576	552	970	1272	1581	1720	1752
Surčin	3487	3599	6160	10654	12575	12264	14292
Surdulica	2971	4032	4769	6493	9538	11357	10914
Svilajnac	5046	5049	5895	7762	9340	9622	9395
Svrljig	1296	1646	2012	3486	5728	7421	7705
Topola	965	1467	1761	2876	3482	4592	5422
Trstenik	3273	5312	7226	9957	13239	18441	17180
Tutin	600	870	1536	3458	6233	8840	9111
Ub	1770	2176	2592	3650	4819	5797	6018
Umka	2058	2368	3731	5393	5618	5005	5292
Velika Plana	7347	8343	9922	12657	16175	17197	16210
Veliki Crljeni	2296	2687	4227	3861	4252	4668	4580
Veliko Gradište	2783	3264	3391	4075	4977	5973	5658
Vladičin Han	1262	1782	2395	3809	6207	7835	8338
Vlasotince	4917	5225	5932	8787	12166	14552	16212
Vranjska Banja	2108	2362	2735	4088	5004	5779	5882
Vrnjačka Banja	2355	3158	4971	6520	9699	9812	9877
Vučje	1784	1943	2680	3178	3318	3492	3258
Zlatibor	115	362	357	834	1237	1684	2344

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

Table 2: Index of population change in urban settlements of Central Serbia

	1953/48	1961/53	1971/61	1981/71	1991/81	2002/91	2002/48
Belgrade	120,2	137,5	136,8	121,0	107,4	95,8	281,5
Other big cities	121,1	134,7	152,6	131,6	111,1	99,2	361,1
Kragujevac	123,8	130,1	146,8	138,8	114,2	99,4	372,2
Niš	118,9	138,5	157,1	126,4	108,7	99,0	352,2
Medium-sized towns	123,4	140,3	145,8	135,7	114,0	101,7	396,9
Arandelovac	148,9	154,5	158,0	137,5	111,1	102,4	568,2
Bor	130,9	129,5	156,3	121,0	114,3	96,9	354,7
Borča	95,8	128,0	219,1	195,5	145,0	130,7	995,2
Valjevo	133,7	134,5	139,8	126,0	117,8	103,4	385,6
Vranje	119,7	133,7	159,0	154,1	117,5	106,2	489,3
Gornji Milanovac	126,1	132,0	244,3	162,1	126,1	106,9	889,2
Zaječar	122,2	129,0	147,7	133,9	106,9	103,1	343,1
Jagodina	132,0	162,0	139,2	128,3	105,8	94,8	382,8
Kraljevo	135,3	135,2	135,9	188,5	110,4	99,1	512,6
Kruševac	120,0	132,0	134,4	179,8	110,8	97,5	413,7
Lazarevac	112,2	160,1	138,7	171,3	168,2	104,9	752,7
Leskovac	117,4	140,1	132,2	123,4	110,6	101,8	302,1
Mladenovac	128,9	175,6	144,9	132,5	110,9	94,9	457,6
Novi Pazar	117,6	146,8	139,8	142,0	125,9	105,5	455,3
Obrenovac	117,1	127,6	188,0	128,0	131,9	106,5	505,0
Paraćin	110,5	140,0	137,5	113,5	104,8	98,9	250,2
Pirot	111,0	139,8	159,1	123,9	110,9	101,0	342,8
Požarevac	119,7	131,0	135,3	121,0	110,4	95,1	269,7
Prokuplje	115,0	136,1	147,0	127,3	110,5	97,8	316,7
Smederevo	129,0	148,3	147,9	137,8	115,3	98,3	442,1
Smederevska Palanka	127,2	138,1	143,6	126,5	106,4	100,6	341,3
Čuprija	124,5	117,4	125,0	117,0	104,0	96,3	214,2
Užice	130,6	151,3	172,3	135,2	114,7	102,1	539,0
Čačak	127,7	145,6	141,4	126,0	113,2	103,9	389,3
Šabac	122,5	152,6	138,6	124,0	104,7	101,0	339,6
Small towns	119,5	129,0	145,8	127,4	115,1	100,0	329,8
Aleksandrovac	112,3	114,5	232,3	168,8	122,7	101,9	630,6
Aleksinac	117,1	130,1	136,0	131,0	108,2	100,8	296,2
Aleksinački Rudnik	200,3	114,4	79,7	98,3	85,4	89,2	136,6
Arilje	128,2	132,0	238,3	157,5	121,9	111,0	859,1
Babušnica	124,2	129,8	171,6	174,2	146,9	107,1	758,7
Bajina Bašta	134,0	85,1	284,1	158,6	136,1	111,5	780,9
Baljevac	120,7	116,9	95,8	113,6	94,5	101,4	147,3
Banja Koviljača	131,0	135,9	129,2	105,4	100,7	114,9	280,5
Bela Palanka	112,2	135,7	134,2	130,0	111,3	103,3	305,6
Belanovica	98,6	82,7	108,4	90,1	77,4	102,3	63,0
Beli Potok	120,6	135,7	114,8	97,2	97,4	111,3	198,0

	1953/48	1961/53	1971/61	1981/71	1991/81	2002/91	2002/48
Belo Polje	135,8	118,4	136,1	148,1	118,3	96,0	368,2
Blace	119,6	117,6	131,6	130,7	118,6	104,5	299,6
Bogovina	114,1	122,1	85,4	86,8	89,0	83,7	76,9
Boljevac	116,4	111,2	163,4	143,8	119,4	96,4	349,7
Bosilegrad	107,1	102,7	122,7	122,1	120,3	110,7	219,1
Brus	159,0	76,9	258,9	139,9	133,8	102,1	605,1
Brza Palanka	96,8	107,0	92,6	101,9	91,6	69,1	61,9
Bujanovac	115,9	125,0	163,5	156,7	144,6	70,4	378,1
Ćićevac	104,3	107,7	103,9	107,3	97,8	94,4	115,5
Despotovac	84,7	130,3	138,1	141,6	127,6	104,6	288,4
Dimitrovgrad	98,2	126,8	149,7	128,6	103,1	95,8	236,7
Divčibare	110,3	134,9	110,3	268,8	75,6	180,8	602,6
Dobanovci	91,6	142,2	134,2	113,0	104,9	102,0	211,7
Donji Milanovac	115,6	101,5	97,2	115,5	111,4	93,8	137,7
Grdelica	119,9	147,8	127,2	116,4	110,3	98,0	283,7
Grocka	109,3	116,4	133,0	129,0	119,5	109,1	284,9
Guča	125,5	123,6	147,9	134,4	109,4	99,8	336,4
Ivanjica	119,4	113,8	264,5	159,2	126,6	111,3	806,1
Jošanička Banje	114,2	99,3	104,4	98,2	94,9	89,0	98,2
Kladovo	109,8	114,9	259,3	119,7	115,6	95,0	429,6
Knjaževac	121,5	126,1	151,0	148,1	118,2	98,2	398,0
Kosjerić	125,1	90,3	295,2	160,6	127,0	108,5	737,6
Kostolac	147,0	115,0	134,1	138,9	111,8	89,9	316,1
Krupanj	127,2	128,0	178,5	152,4	126,9	102,4	575,8
Kučevo	118,1	105,5	112,3	113,7	95,9	93,0	141,9
Kuršumlija	111,2	128,0	211,9	146,8	118,7	108,9	572,6
Kuršumlijska Banja	116,9	94,2	72,9	59,5	93,4	81,6	36,4
Lajkovac	112,2	159,1	113,7	104,7	107,5	100,4	229,5
Lapovo	105,6	107,2	102,4	106,4	97,9	85,8	103,5
Lebane	106,5	124,4	225,0	135,3	119,6	105,0	506,5
Loznica	156,0	206,9	133,2	128,3	105,9	105,4	615,7
Lučani	276,0	119,8	176,3	124,8	124,8	104,3	947,0
Ljig	123,9	118,6	138,0	134,7	104,6	108,2	309,0
Majdanpek	116,9	166,9	215,3	117,7	123,9	85,6	524,8
Mali Zvornik	362,4	67,8	135,6	147,9	114,1	109,6	616,7
Mataruška Banja	149,8	130,0	145,2	160,4	106,1	120,8	581,3
Medveđa	104,5	120,9	119,8	94,9	122,9	91,9	162,2
Mionica	115,5	131,1	142,7	117,2	116,8	102,6	303,3
Negotin	113,7	123,7	129,3	137,1	113,3	102,3	289,1
Niška Banja	128,4	170,5	157,3	123,1	108,4	106,2	488,0
Nova Varoš	122,3	146,9	178,7	149,8	121,7	99,1	580,3
Ostružnica	115,6	144,2	104,6	101,1	93,3	103,7	170,5
Ovča	90,6	165,6	115,6	74,8	96,6	105,0	131,6
Pečani	106,0	126,4	106,0	97,9	135,3	78,0	146,7
Petrovac	108,0	112,6	118,4	118,5	104,7	101,6	181,4
Pinosava	111,8	120,4	116,6	105,5	95,2	105,1	165,7
Požega	120,5	151,1	207,7	122,4	120,6	105,2	587,2

	1953/48	1961/53	1971/61	1981/71	1991/81	2002/91	2002/48
Priboj	122,8	288,6	237,4	140,4	121,0	88,4	1263,0
Prijepolje	125,0	150,0	205,6	133,4	107,5	96,1	531,5
Rača	129,3	102,7	129,6	131,6	118,4	100,5	269,8
Raška	121,1	124,3	172,7	143,3	114,2	102,8	437,5
Resavica	183,0	268,3	132,0	92,5	99,2	87,8	522,1
Ribnica	124,3	187,1	206,5	27,8	115,6	102,5	158,4
Rucka	94,1	90,6	88,6	108,2	114,0	97,8	91,2
Rudovci	138,2	148,1	83,9	98,6	95,8	99,1	160,7
Sevojno	170,2	123,2	99,5	120,8	139,6	114,5	403,1
Sijarinska Banja	101,9	240,6	120,4	189,6	91,1	107,2	546,2
Sjenica	117,7	114,4	166,9	130,2	129,7	91,1	345,9
Sokobanja	118,2	106,1	131,4	129,7	117,1	99,6	249,5
Sopot	95,8	175,7	131,1	124,3	108,8	101,9	304,2
Surčin	103,2	171,2	173,0	118,0	97,5	116,5	409,9
Surdulica	135,7	118,3	136,2	146,9	119,1	96,1	367,4
Svilajnac	100,1	116,8	131,7	120,3	103,0	97,6	186,2
Svrljig	127,0	122,2	173,3	164,3	129,5	103,8	594,5
Topola	152,0	120,0	163,3	121,1	131,9	118,1	561,9
Trstenik	162,3	136,0	137,8	133,0	139,3	93,2	524,9
Tutin	145,0	176,6	225,1	180,2	141,8	103,1	1518,5
Ub	122,9	119,1	140,8	132,0	120,3	103,8	340,0
Umka	115,1	157,6	144,5	104,2	89,1	105,7	257,1
Velika Plana	113,6	118,9	127,6	127,8	106,3	94,3	220,6
Veliki Crljeni	117,0	157,3	91,3	110,1	109,8	98,1	199,5
Veliko Gradište	117,3	103,9	120,2	122,1	120,0	94,7	203,3
Vladičin Han	141,2	134,4	159,0	163,0	126,2	106,4	660,7
Vlasotince	106,3	113,5	148,1	138,5	119,6	111,4	329,7
Vranjska Banja	112,0	115,8	149,5	122,4	115,5	101,8	279,0
Vrnjačka Banja	134,1	157,4	131,2	148,8	101,2	100,7	419,4
Vučje	108,9	137,9	118,6	104,4	105,2	93,3	182,6
Zlatibor	314,8	98,6	233,6	148,3	136,1	139,2	2038,3

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

Table 3: Household numbers in urban settlements of Central Serbia

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Belgrade	146615	166749	236684	315047	378800	390065	429207
Other big cities	29993	33773	46124	70939	94443	102617	112326
Kragujevac	17195	18206	24951	39835	52731	56951	61576
Niš	12798	15567	21173	31104	41712	45666	50750
Medium-sized towns	84716	100403	141681	207025	282341	320493	353981
Arandelovac	1486	2172	3193	5122	7002	7732	8534
Bor	5225	5902	6956	10277	11361	13392	14199
Borča	742	902	1200	2729	5808	8152	11805
Valjevo	5612	6834	9544	13057	16838	19493	21717
Vranje	2934	3510	5098	8269	12256	14516	17468
Gornji Milanovac	956	1143	1617	3804	5896	7103	7883
Zaječar	4261	4913	6118	9119	11955	12666	13942
Jagodina	2975	4051	6236	8948	11676	12768	13237
Kraljevo	4260	4946	6611	9160	16993	18585	19664
Kruševac	4745	5299	6904	9784	17123	18823	19650
Lazarevac	843	919	1700	2386	4185	6760	7795
Leskovac	5688	6662	9484	13048	16527	18497	20877
Mladenovac	1729	2085	3590	5086	6554	7266	7638
Novi Pazar	2988	3269	4855	6822	9831	12006	13993
Obrenovac	1446	1700	2210	4151	5374	6838	7884
Paraćin	3515	3540	4859	6730	7885	8158	8764
Pirot	3182	3517	5530	8460	10914	12419	13866
Požarevac	4905	5853	7580	10448	12800	14412	15306
Prokuplje	2593	2707	3869	5936	7551	8448	8810
Smederevo	4712	5996	8673	12365	17319	19681	21404
Smederevska Palanka	2749	3033	4288	6026	7724	8265	8844
Čuprija	2934	3511	4328	5421	6665	6830	7084
Užice	3537	4516	6814	10933	14698	16930	17967
Čačak	5371	6961	10917	15500	20083	22723	25566
Šabac	5328	6462	9507	13444	17323	18030	20084
Small towns	49518	60917	82278	122271	154571	176041	192231
Aleksandrovac	331	362	411	1027	1605	1857	2208
Aleksinac	1868	2093	2751	3754	5103	5327	5864
Aleksinački Rudnik	651	863	1107	647	580	520	579
Arilje	266	327	470	1109	1680	1921	2170
Babušnica	195	204	293	537	896	1325	1479
Bajina Bašta	438	505	457	1284	1993	2642	2170
Baljevac	393	336	378	410	509	502	540
Banja Koviljača	600	824	1090	1594	1700	1816	2010
Bela Palanka	752	840	1210	1709	2352	2719	3046
Belanovica	117	118	134	164	137	101	107
Beli Potok	406	513	911	956	942	862	1128

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Belo Polje	44	63	75	105	152	178	190
Blace	383	494	692	1056	1334	1552	1712
Bogovina	490	554	699	578	515	483	427
Boljevac	375	423	482	759	1072	1258	1339
Bosilegrad	327	379	472	555	640	804	899
Brus	208	269	289	805	1089	1341	1499
Brza Palanka	396	395	448	464	486	432	502
Bujanovac	735	820	1084	1672	2461	3276	2872
Čičevac	1002	1121	1269	1427	1597	1559	1632
Despotovac	403	349	506	744	1060	1324	1702
Dimitrovgrad	910	864	1259	1719	2214	2384	2462
Divčibare	10	11	16	27	107	52	102
Dobanovci	808	843	1285	1858	2177	2203	2372
Donji Milanovac	578	734	785	831	970	1106	1215
Grdelica	238	282	428	540	632	701	757
Grocka	739	846	1051	1642	1991	2376	757
Guča	221	259	332	467	584	635	669
Ivanjica	483	576	677	1796	2770	3270	3798
Jošanička Banje	177	202	233	296	342	359	387
Kladovo	634	698	807	2296	2622	3067	3257
Knjaževac	1667	1901	2353	3650	5179	5854	6347
Kosjerić	235	218	228	646	972	1195	1395
Kostolac	1165	1423	1573	1886	2789	3178	3239
Krupanj	277	336	408	748	1132	1412	1593
Kučevo	859	1078	1165	1389	1550	1543	1770
Kuršumlija	736	711	968	2050	3099	3639	4349
Kuršumlijska Banja	81	99	111	97	72	70	55
Lajkovac	457	484	799	942	1065	1114	1190
Lapovo	1665	1772	1991	2166	2387	2364	2433
Lebane	523	492	738	1734	2263	2685	3064
Loznica	996	1512	3341	4412	5615	5958	6751
Lučani	47	613	572	820	1026	1287	1479
Ljig	396	425	497	731	920	938	1033
Majdanpek	490	651	1116	3127	3046	3917	3686
Mali Zvornik	142	1415	491	704	1108	1337	1637
Mataruška Banja	138	212	304	416	717	760	976
Medveđa	331	340	499	686	706	875	947
Mionica	165	209	287	403	496	582	592
Negotin	2074	2291	2874	3767	5075	5630	6566
Niška Banja	248	325	594	912	1225	1337	1512
Nova Varoš	458	553	1004	1807	2612	3061	3137
Ostružnica	488	676	1138	1167	1132	1010	1242
Ovča	420	426	784	1000	718	665	791
Pečani	64	79	117	129	141	173	163
Petrovac	1305	1411	1657	2086	2482	2555	2910
Pinosava	369	425	594	721	745	734	917
Požega	798	880	1365	3020	3259	3882	4217

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Priboj	388	516	1853	3645	5037	6297	6612
Prijepolje	726	895	1410	2951	4007	4279	4588
Rača	326	436	475	602	765	897	990
Raška	450	591	710	1242	1756	1953	2096
Resavica	143	243	801	1002	838	873	873
Ribnica	391	526	1154	2395	640	786	850
Rucka	71	71	73	75	77	85	92
Rudovci	234	432	658	564	567	540	567
Sevojno	366	1370	1063	1077	1345	1915	2495
Sijarinska Banja	29	27	82	88	145	141	179
Sjenica	793	883	1076	2052	2659	3532	4041
Sokobanja	1003	1147	1322	1809	2451	2844	2953
Sopot	207	183	318	443	527	579	604
Surčin	819	938	1780	3020	3645	3366	4372
Surdulica	777	1103	1312	1846	2659	3110	3369
Svilajnac	1559	1578	1927	2529	3006	3093	3293
Svrljig	383	437	596	1161	1739	2256	2466
Topola	327	474	603	958	1170	1481	1830
Trstenik	879	1576	2274	3110	4247	5719	6242
Tutin	138	218	367	735	1330	1860	2210
Ub	563	657	904	1234	1633	1898	2043
Umka	680	695	1126	1600	1764	1533	1813
Velika Plana	1822	2131	2774	3647	4708	5127	5168
Veliki Crljeni	532	753	1255	1072	1289	1485	1584
Veliko Gradište	945	1035	1100	1351	1656	1966	2023
Vladičin Han	350	485	778	1121	1826	2289	2684
Vlasotince	1186	1291	1635	2376	3324	4046	4925
Vranjska Banja	450	532	677	1094	1209	1471	1775
Vrnjačka Banja	807	1017	1677	2302	3412	3436	3771
Vučje	347	401	667	841	881	937	1063
Zlatibor	55	152	162	285	416	540	818

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

Table 4: Number of flats and index of change for urban settlements in Central Serbia

	Number of flats			Index			
	1981	1991	2002	1981/71	1991/81	2002/1991	2002/71
Belgrade	329338	380176	430897	125,6	115,4	113,3	164,3
Other big cities	91889	108890	118581	146,4	119,1	108,7	189,3
Kragujevac	52685	60761	67294	146,4	115,3	110,8	187
Niš	39204	48129	51287	146,4	122,8	106,6	191,5
Medium-sized towns	270437	333608	363418	149,4	123,3589	108,93564	211,2
Arandelovac	6800	8246	9204	149,3	121,3	111,6	202
Bor	10929	13305	14135	117,4	121,7	106,2	151,9
Borča	4978	7995	11230	241,5	160,6	140,5	544,9
Valjevo	16090	19811	21727	137,5	123,1	109,7	185,7
Vranje	11942	15764	18329	172,7	132	116,3	265,1
Gornji Milanovac	5255	7315	8114	169	139,2	110,9	260,9
Zaječar	11766	13656	14859	140,9	116,1	108,8	178
Jagodina	11067	13203	13695	133,6	119,3	103,7	165,4
Kraljevo	15789	18784	20136	192,1	119	108,8	248,6
Kruševac	16970	19663	20345	193,1	115,9	103,5	231,5
Lazarevac	3996	7085	7894	179,3	177,3	111,4	354,1
Leskovac	16565	19446	21135	138,5	117,4	108,7	176,8
Mladenovac	6212	7404	7688	132	119,2	103,8	163,4
Novi Pazar	8274	11878	13683	156,6	143,6	115,2	259
Obrenovac	5159	6843	7763	136,3	132,6	113,4	205,1
Paraćin	7554	8674	9417	119,4	114,8	108,6	148,9
Pirot	10560	13053	13778	139,6	123,6	105,6	182,1
Požarevac	12546	15614	16552	125,8	124,5	106	166
Prokuplje	8070	9480	9767	151	117,5	103	182,8
Smederevo	15896	20577	22578	146,4	129,4	109,7	207,9
Smederevska Palanka	7803	8810	9683	119,9	101,3	92	111,8
Čuprija	6755	7549	7972	131,3	111,8	105,6	154,9
Užice	13834	17285	18242	144,1	124,9	105,5	190
Čačak	19151	23564	25324	136,8	123	107,5	180,9
Šabac	16476	18604	20168	132	112,9	108,4	161,6
Small towns	144898	173793	200524	135,8	119,9	115,4	189,4
Aleksandrovac	1477	1974	2301	152,1	133,6	116,6	237
Aleksinac	4974	5688	6408	139,2	114,4	115,7	179,3
Aleksinački Rudnik	552	562	604	100,4	101,8	107,5	109,8
Arilje	1398	2081	2323	147,5	148,9	111,6	245
Babušnica	1017	1545	1573	197,1	151,9	101,8	304,8
Bajina Bašta	1398	2081	2323	147,5	148,9	111,6	245
Baljevac	544	554	577	135	101,8	104,2	143,2
Banja Koviljača	1645	1872	2390	118,9	113,8	127,7	172,7
Bela Palanka	2695	3089	3402	167,1	114,6	110,1	210,9

	Number of flats			Index			
	1981	1991	2002	1981/71	1991/81	2002/1991	2002/71
Belanovica	148	103	109	100,7	69,6	105,8	74,1
Beli Potok	899	885	1087	105,8	98,4	122,8	127,9
Belo Polje	178	183	186	111,3	102,8	101,6	116,3
Blace	1385	1746	1849	139,6	126,1	105,9	186,4
Bogovina	628	564	526	112,2	89,8	93,3	93,9
Boljevac	1143	1413	1535	161,9	123,6	108,6	217,4
Bosilegrad	700	872	1030	132,8	124,6	118,1	195,4
Brus	1075	1424	1570	160,7	132,5	110,3	234,7
Brza Palanka	572	601	696	124,3	105,1	115,8	151,3
Bujanovac	2330	2602	2995	144,2	111,7	115,1	185,3
Ćićevac	1731	1771	1819	124,4	102,3	102,7	130,8
Despotovac	1042	1510	1870	151,2	144,9	123,8	271,4
Dimitrovgrad	2349	2481	2628	148,9	105,6	105,9	166,5
Divčibare	68	37	107	272	54,4	289,2	428
Dobanovci	1917	2230	2352	114,8	116,3	105,5	140,8
Donji Milanovac	1008	1247	1238	124,1	123,7	99,3	152,5
Grdelica	638	717	781	120,4	112,4	108,9	147,4
Grocka	628	717	781	120,4	112,4	108,9	147,4
Guča	597	678	706	158,4	113,6	104,1	187,3
Ivanjica	2327	3272	3764	173,4	140,6	115	280,5
Jošanička Banje	377	391	418	128,7	103,7	106,9	142,7
Kladovo	2689	3357	3797	132,4	124,8	113,1	187
Knjaževac	5153	6346	6877	158,3	123,2	108,4	211,3
Kosjerić	907	1263	1486	168,3	139,3	117,7	275,7
Kostolac	2583	3258	3217	141,5	126,1	98,7	176,3
Krupanj	1070	1520	1693	156,9	142,1	111,4	248,2
Kučevo	1617	1726	2107	123,3	106,7	122,1	160,7
Kuršumlija	3151	3957	4913	165,8	125,6	124,2	258,6
Kuršumlijska Banja	94	76	87	110,6	80,9	114,5	102,4
Lajkovac	1061	1235	1326	118,8	116,4	107,4	148,5
Lapovo	2593	2670	2810	123,2	103	105,2	133,6
Lebane	2241	2869	3317	137,2	128	115,6	203,1
Loznica	5284	5939	6745	135,3	112,4	113,6	172,7
Lučani	925	1243	1452	121,2	134,4	116,8	190,3
Ljig	969	1008	1120	145,7	104	111,1	168,4
Majdanpek	183	177	183	98	134,7	109,8	144,9
Mali Zvornik	1068	1362	1651	163,3	127,5	121,2	252,4
Mataruška Banja	694	793	956	171,8	114,3	120,6	232,6
Medveđa	800	961	1085	119,2	120,1	112,9	161,7
Mionica	471	600	614	129,4	127,4	102,3	168,7
Negotin	4721	6044	7499	138,6	128	124,1	220,1
Niška Banja	1301	1600	1698	151,5	123	106,1	197,7
Nova Varoš	2052	2948	3151	142,9	143,7	106,9	219,4
Ostružnica	1062	1034	1253	92,1	97,4	121,2	108,7
Ovča	573	657	792	67,4	114,7	120,5	93,2

	Number of flats			Index			
	1981	1991	2002	1981/71	1991/81	2002/1991	2002/71
Pećani	133	190	168	104,7	142,9	88,4	132,3
Petrovac	2480	2665	3276	127,6	107,5	122,9	168,5
Pinosava	699	770	993	105,1	110,2	129	149,3
Požega	3066	4024	4299	122	131,2	106,8	171
Priboj	4429	6021	6164	138,9	135,9	102,4	193,3
Prijepolje	3182	4226	4523	138,3	132,8	107	196,6
Rača	731	986	988	128	134,9	100,2	173
Raška	1615	2064	2237	147,5	127,8	108,4	204,3
Resavica	817	858	912	84,9	105	106,3	94,8
Ribnica	643	832	881	29,6	129,4	105,9	40,6
Rucka	73	95	95	97,3	130,1	100	126,7
Rudovci	644	642	593	118,2	99,7	92,4	108,8
Sevojno	1427	1939	2328	136,9	135,9	120,1	223,4
Sijarinska Banja	129	227	320	150	176	141	372,1
Sjenica	2446	3517	3853	152	143,8	109,6	239,5
Sokobanja	2389	3150	3406	140,1	131,9	108,1	199,8
Sopot	525	614	708	136,7	117	115,3	184,4
Surčin	2734	3289	4203	106	120,3	127,8	162,9
Surdulica	2710	3321	3844	159,6	122,5	115,7	226,4
Svilajnac	3087	3452	4249	130,8	111,8	123,1	180
Svrljig	1810	2704	2592	196,1	149,4	95,9	280,8
Topola	1110	1608	1983	124,9	144,9	123,3	223,1
Trstenik	4007	561	6011	135,3	140	107,1	203
Tutin	1180	1898	2181	178	160,8	114,9	329
Ub	1631	1991	2274	150,9	122,1	114,2	210,4
Umka	1633	1531	1872	111,7	93,8	122,3	128
Velika Plana	4809	5552	5766	136,8	115,5	103,9	164
Veliki Crljeni	1343	1558	1551	129,5	116	99,6	149,6
Veliko Gradište	1635	2160	2352	130,2	132,1	108,9	187,3
Vladičin Han	1890	2681	3153	182,8	141,9	117,6	304,9
Vlasotince	3341	4165	4894	149,8	124,7	117,5	219,4
Vranjska Banja	1251	1524	1655	131,3	121,8	108,6	173,7
Vrnjačka Banja	3231	3877	4551	149,7	120	117,4	210,9
Vučje	979	1003	1037	123,9	102,5	103,4	131,3
Zlatibor	387	565	835	154,2	146	147,8	332,7

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Population Censuses 1948-2002

Table 5: Migration characteristics of people in urban settlements of Central Serbia in 2002

Settlement	Total	Living in the same place since birth	Migrated from	
			urban settlement	other settlement
Belgrade	1119642	529371	332205	220711
Other big cities	320097	163371	59246	86207
Kragujevac	146373	88594	34863	42353
Niš	173724	74777	24383	43854
Medium-sized towns	1042993	520783	166208	327273
Arandelovac	24309	10706	4405	8369
Bor	39387	19650	6437	11984
Borča	35150	8700	18091	7820
Valjevo	61035	31153	7281	20540
Vranje	55052	30993	5191	17265
Gornji Milanovac	23982	10486	3389	9381
Zaječar	40700	18672	6084	13474
Jagodina	35589	17245	5268	12182
Kraljevo	57411	25859	14105	15728
Kruševac	57347	29165	8768	17760
Lazarevac	23551	8979	6092	7975
Leskovac	63185	37636	7068	16868
Mladenovac	22114	9751	3918	7869
Novi Pazar	54604	36015	3804	13670
Obrenovac	23620	9482	6265	7173
Paraćin	25292	12479	3581	8672
Pirot	40678	22199	3234	14360
Požarevac	41736	21090	6818	12651
Prokuplje	27673	15244	2955	8650
Smederevo	62805	31354	10923	18587
Smederevska Palanka	25300	11979	4106	8467
Ćuprija	20585	10081	3349	6651
Užice	54717	29225	7262	17111
Čačak	73217	35289	11301	24549
Šabac	55163	27351	6513	19517
Small towns	590869	274193	85241	218713
Aleksandrovac	6476	2643	595	3159
Aleksinac	17171	7634	2816	6279
Aleksinački Rudnik	1467	507	386	545
Arilje	6744	3156	748	2738
Babušnica	4575	1348	250	2934
Bajina Bašta	9543	4141	1203	4010
Baljevac	1636	674	422	520
Banja Koviljača	6340	2535	1655	1902
Bela Palanka	8626	3908	796	3755

Settlement	Total	Living in the same place since birth	Migrated from	
			urban settlement	other settlement
Belanovica	266	80	36	147
Beli Potok	3417	1512	1092	715
Belo Polje	545	150	137	232
Blace	5465	2598	434	2291
Bogovina	1348	806	105	429
Boljevac	3784	1377	698	1635
Bosilegrad	2702	1242	108	1277
Brus	4653	1988	417	2169
Brza Palanka	1076	677	132	244
Bujanovac	12011	7342	1007	3476
Ćičevac	5094	3226	495	1320
Despotovac	4363	1627	660	2005
Dimitrovgrad	6968	3146	449	3192
Divčibare	235	51	86	59
Dobanovci	8128	3903	1811	2303
Donji Milanovac	3132	1738	510	760
Grdelica	2383	917	229	1197
Grocka	8338	3774	2311	2132
Guča	2022	780	226	976
Ivanjica	12350	6099	827	5240
Jošanička Banja	1154	732	104	304
Kladovo	9142	4120	1433	3246
Knjaževac	19351	7559	2103	9336
Kosjerić	4116	1781	402	1865
Kostolac	9313	4250	2136	2701
Krupanj	4912	2039	426	2329
Kučevo	4506	2505	540	1374
Kuršumlija	13639	6784	962	5593
Kuršumlijska Banja	151	53	27	66
Lajkovac	3443	1411	494	1440
Lapovo	7422	5017	699	1615
Lebane	10004	4801	652	4316
Loznica	19863	8843	3321	7054
Lučani	4309	1738	690	1804
Ljig	2979	1194	456	1204
Majdanpek	10071	4937	1839	3068
Mali Zvornik	4736	1514	1635	1447
Mataruška Banja	2732	833	962	878
Medveđa	2810	1430	260	1071
Mionica	1723	706	255	701
Negotin	17758	7764	2910	6422
Niška Banja	4437	1817	1042	1480
Nova Varoš	10335	5614	773	3830

Settlement	Total	Living in the same place since birth	Migrated from	
			urban settlement	other settlement
Ostružnica	3929	2076	1016	762
Ovča	2567	1106	785	648
Pečani	493	232	171	88
Petrovac	7851	3595	1069	2935
Pinosava	2839	1642	663	515
Požega	13206	5883	2022	4995
Priboj	19564	10751	2284	6228
Prijepolje	15031	8552	1004	5327
Rača	2744	950	398	1336
Raška	6619	3036	988	2487
Resavica	2365	938	364	1037
Ribnica	2779	1139	598	983
Rucka	310	81	153	43
Rudovci	1787	871	298	591
Sevojno	7445	2993	2281	2057
Sijarinska Banja	568	229	65	267
Sjenica	13161	8288	658	4060
Sokobanja	8407	3619	1249	3285
Sopot	1752	630	406	671
Szrkin	14292	5588	4503	3844
Surdulica	10914	5439	1119	4109
Svilajnac	9395	3855	1485	3791
Svrljig	7705	3048	496	4080
Topola	5422	2135	877	2264
Trstenik	17180	6026	2602	8303
Tutin	9111	4837	629	3428
Ub	6018	2563	751	2446
Umka	5292	1955	2010	1217
Velika Plana	16210	8656	2050	5230
Veliki Crljeni	4580	2233	829	1457
Veliko Gradište	5658	2380	918	2129
Vladičin Han	8338	3239	721	4187
Vlasotince	16212	8093	1022	6887
Vranjska Banja	5882	3479	744	1573
Vrnjačka Banja	9877	4387	2432	2660
Vučje	3258	1881	269	1043
Zlatibor	2344	767	550	965

Source: Republic of Serbia Bureau of Statistics (RZS): Database, 2007