

SOCIO-URBAN DEVELOPMENTS IN KOSOVO: STUDY CASE PRISTINA

Besim GOLLOPENI¹

UDC: 316.334.56:316.42(497.115)

SUMMARY

At the beginning of the XXI century, the life started to be very dynamic in Kosovo with emphasis on large urban centers. Ruined houses started to be reconstructed, new houses were built, and small and medium enterprises were established, as well as new institutions. Thus, the emigration of rural population simultaneously occurred from small urban centers and other urban centers, focused in Pristina. The growth of urban population in Pristina has happened for many reasons, which are mentioned the most important ones such as: Establishment of the entire central administration, public/private universities and health institutions, as well as international headquarters, the concentration of economic business, which created the best opportunities for education, employment, health, better infrastructure in general and better condition for life in Pristina than in other places. Given such a whole urban population in Pristina, many institutions were unprepared - without urban conditions to cope with the influx of population. As a result of the immigration of people in Pristina, and the lack of development and implementation of new policies and strategies for urban areas, happened a really urban chaos, where in some neighborhoods of Pristina has lack of adequate infrastructure and thus cannot have the development of a comfortable life for society.

Having such a situation, through using adequate methods and theory, this study aims to research demographic and urban growth in Pristina and causes that have pushed to immigrate in Pristina.

Key words: population, migration, unplanned development.

INTRODUCTION

Many researchers and experts have been focused on urbanism studies including: sociologists, urban ecologists, urban planners, architects, geographers and professionals from other fields. Such interest to study urbanization is due to the fact that the process of urbanization is affected by a

¹ **Dr.sc. Besim GOLLOPENI**, besim.gollopeni@gmail.com, University for Business and Technology, Department of PS, www.ubt-uni.net, Tel. +377 (0) 44 37 49 89, Address: 10 000 Pristina, Kosovo.

number of social, economic, ecological, political, and other factors, which has implications in everyday urban life and beyond. Urbanization is a very complex process which include population size, expansion of the city, culture of urban life, socio - economic structures of the general urban population, the city functions (administrative, education zone etc.), technical - technological advancements and others indicators.

One of the theorists of urbanization, Harvey points out that urbanization is an aspect of the environment created and caused by the spread of industrial capitalism. In traditional societies, city had significant differences from the village. In the modern world, industry reduces the division between city and countryside. The agriculture is mechanized and run simply on the basis of the price and profit principle. As work in the industry so this process reduces the differences of lifestyle among the people living in town and village. The same as Harvey, Castells points out that the spatial form of a society is closely linked to the overall mechanism of its development (Giddens, 2002, pg. 537).

The growth of urban population in developed countries rapidly increased after the industrial classic revolution in Western Europe in the second half of the XVIII and XIX century, as a result of the process of industrialization and deagrarization, while after World War II, concentration of population in cities and the expansion of urban settlements included all countries of the world, particularly developing countries ("Third World") (Islami, 2008, pg. 385).

In 1950, the number of people living in urban areas was 750 million. In the year 2000, that figure is estimated to have been 2.86 billion, 47 percent of humanity. The fifty percent mark will be crossed in 2007, when for the first time more people will be living in urban centers as compared to rural areas. By 2030, nearly 5 billion people will live in cities, 61 percent of the world's population (United Nations, 2004). Humanity's future is definitely urban, and the trend of urbanization irreversible.

Urban population growth is expected to be particularly rapid in the urban areas of less developed regions, averaging 2.3 per cent per year during 2000-2030. The worrying aspect of this growth is that it brings in its wake the 'urbanization of poverty.' About one third of the world's urban population – nearly one billion people – lives in slums. Asia has about 60% of the world's slum dwellers, Africa 20%, and Latin America about 14% (UN-HABITAT, 2003). Local and national governments have limited capacity to cope with the ever-increasing demand for housing, infrastructure and services, and the issues of governance too are left unaddressed (Shipra Narang and Lars Reutersward, 2006).

Urbanization and development of urban life in Kosovo with all his pace and dimensions is new, even though some cities have relatively long history and

tradition. Until World War II, about 10 % of the total population of Kosovo was urbanized. Thereafter, the life had an intense dynamic in all its dimensions and urban population had continuously increased. The number of cities increased from 5 cities (1948) to 30 cities by the end of the 80-s, and among them had even mixed cities – towns, neither town nor village.

The impact of urbanization is not completely negative. Cities often perform the role of motors, driving national economies. They are dynamic spaces, and provide important economic, social and cultural opportunities for urban populations as well as the hinter-land. If properly managed, urbanization can actually help reduce poverty by increasing productivity and providing communities access to services, infrastructure, lively-hoods and security (Shipra Narang and Lars Reutersward, 2006). Lack of urban management has made in Kosovo and particularly in Pristina not have a positive effect in reducing unemployment and poverty.

On the other hand, a particular phenomenon that has accompanied the development of most municipalities is the lack of design of general urban planning of last century in most cases about 1,400 rural settlements were left out of spatial planning process. However, the expansion of settlements generally had the character of concentration throughout the last century. This situation changed after 1999, because both urban and rural settlements began to take the shape of dispersed settlements, especially along the roads and agricultural land. This deteriorated situation continues, because despite of the rapid growth of urban population, Kosovo municipalities (most) were without municipal and urban development plans. Until '90s, has existed only urban plan (city plan) and in some cases regional plan. After 2000, Kosovo started with a new system of spatial planning, where, has two level of planning (local and national level). At local level has three plans (detail plan, urban plan and municipal development plan). Although some of the Kosovo municipalities have drafted urban planet, unfortunately, they are not applied. Reasons for not implementing the plans are numerous and varied but, the main reasons were political interference and corruption. In this case, Pristina has urban development plan but it has not a municipal development plan (until July 2013), which cover all territory of Pristina. The challenge for Pristina is the lack of implementation of the urban development plan as well as other ones associated (plans) with it. Problems like this, has lidding to urban and sub urban chaos of Pristina territory. After the last War in Kosovo ('99), migration from villages of Pristina and from other less urbanized (developed) urban centers and periphery of Kosovo moved to Pristina, thus creating a real density of population, increasing of requirements for housing, increasing of rent for flats and so on. Lack of enforcement of existing urban plans, lack of detailed urban development plan for the new neighborhoods

and the lack of municipal development plan has caused expansion of the city in an uncontrolled manner.

Having such a situation, the paper aims to reflect urban demographic trends, physical expansion and urban challenges in order to have a clearer picture of trends of urbanization in Pristina and challenges facing the city today.

THE DATA, METHODS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Basic data used in this study are those from censuses, orthophotos and topographic maps by years and various studies and reports. Through analysis with GIS on the orthophotos and the maps, it has become possible to measure urban - physical growth of Pristina. Analytical historical, statistical and comparative methods have taken place which deserve in this study.

The study aims to recognition demographics and spatial increase of Pristina and the developments that have challenged it in different time periods, with emphasis after 1999. The study builds upon three research questions: a) does the growing urban population in Pristina after '99? b) Does growing horizontal (physical - urban expansion) city of Pristina and in which time period? And, c) What kind of challenges had the city of Pristina during transitive period?.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF URBANIZATION

Urbanization and urban life in Kosovo is relatively new, even though some Kosovo towns have inherited old urban tradition and culture. The education level of socio-demographic structures was low until the late '80s of the last century, economic activities in the city did not differ significantly from those in rural areas, the exception does the trade, and developed agrarian life in most Kosovo cities, which makes, the life in the city to have a very small difference from life in the countryside. Kosovo was much undeveloped until the second half of the last century (XX). Later penetration of capitalist economic elements, lack of economic development in its territory, the country's colonial position, concentration in the agrarian sector, etc., have led to a specific urbanization. Such a situation began to change in the second half of the last century (XX), including late industrialization, economic development, advancement in education and health system, as well as other social - economic and political advancements. During that time, with the expansion of the municipal system began demographic trends in large cities (Prizren, Peja, Gjilan, Ferizaj, Mitrovica, Gjakova), especially in the capital of Kosovo, Pristina. After the establishment of the first public university in

Pristina (1970) and other important institutions, it began to become more attractive to people from rural areas and small urban centers throughout Kosovo, but also from East Kosovo and other regions inhabited by Albanians.

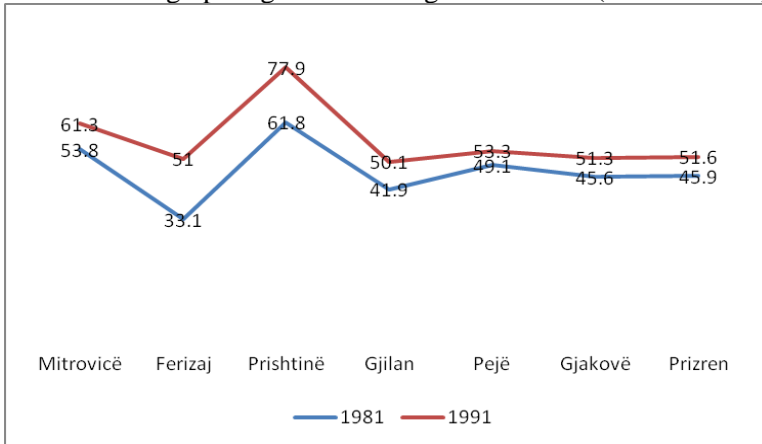
The development of urbanization in Kosovo dates from '70s onwards, where besides the large urban centers began to extend to smaller urban centers which were previously rural areas with a central position, but later became municipal centers. Significant developments in the demographic growth of cities occurred until the end of '80s - up to 1990 and 1991 where a stagnation of development was caused due to a bad political situation in the country. All public institutions with few exceptions were closed, and the Albanian workers had been violently fired from their jobs. Educational and health institutions had also been closed. During these years the public life had stagnated. Another phenomenon that happened in most cities in Kosovo and especially in Pristina was the process of colonization of the territory by the ethnic Serbian, Montenegrin, Bosnian, etc., with the aim and political background (increasing numbers of non-Albanian community). But even this process of colonization by Serbian chauvinist policies did not work. Despite the great migration of the Albanian population throughout the 90s and before, and unfavorable situation (survival) were strong indicators such as the connection with the family and homeland, as well as high fertility and solidarity between Albanians have made stronger as a community until the liberation ('99) and the country's independence (2008).

The urban population in Kosovo constituted 15.5 % in 1953, 32.4 % in 1981 and about 36 % in 1991 (estimate) in the overall population. The number of urban population was about 71.000 in 1948, it increased to approximately 730.000 inhabitants in 1991. In the period 1953-1981 the urban population increased to 388.300 inhabitants or 306.9%, while in the period 1953-1991 around 600.000 inhabitants, or about 480% (Islami, 2008, pg. 386). It is estimated that currently between 45-50 % of Kosovo's population lives in the city.

The rate of urbanization in seven regional centers according to the census of 1981 and estimate which is done in 1991² has no significant differences, except of Pristina, which leaves behind the other urban centers. Hence, it is worth mention that during the period of 10 years, all regional centers of Kosovo have marked an urban demographic increase about 10% - 20%. See the chart;

² For political reasons, the Albanian population did not participate in the census (1991) organized by the Serbian political backdrop circles and as such is only an estimate.

Fig. 1: Urban demographic growth at 7 regional centers (1981 to 1991).



Source: For the year's 1981 official census of population, 1991 (estimate), SAK, (Islami, 2008).

The life started to be very dynamic in the post war Kosovo. Ruined houses started to be reconstructed, new houses were built, and administrative, educational, cultural institutions, as well as new businesses were established. During this period, life began to take its right meaning but also accompanied by many challenges. Transitional period (after '99), in which the country is going through in general, especially the capital of Kosovo, Pristina, is accompanied by many challenges in the field of urbanization. Migration from rural areas - remote rural, small urban centers, but also from large urban centers - regional centers and other areas inhabited by Albanians especially from East Kosovo have led to an increase in population and expansion of the city and urban suburbs, associated by major irregularities in the field of urbanization. Usurpation of public - private property, unplanned construction, traffic jam, lack of parking's, lack of public spaces, clash of rural - urban cultures, became part of life in the capital - Pristina.

Currently, according to the results of the census, households and dwellings in Kosovo (April 2011), Pristina has about 200.000 residents and this number could be many times larger if we add the number of non-resident persons and daily migrations and if registered all of citizens. From the census conducted in 2011, it became clear that a large number of citizens who live in Pristina, they did not change their permanent residence address. Actually, there are many citizens who live in Pristina however, their address of residence are in their place of origin. And, as a result of this, Pristina has a small number of population living in it. Based on different population estimates indicate that Pristina could have over 300,000 inhabitants. If we add daily and weekly migration also, the number of population can be higher. Considering a poor

urban aspect of Pristina with the lack of infrastructure, traffic jam, degraded urban environment, lack of housing and high cost of living, became the most discussed issues and problems faced during recent years by the citizens visiting Pristina and especially Pristina citizens.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND URBAN GROWTH

Demographic growth of cities throughout Kosovo had been during all second half of the last century. As we mentioned above, there was a demographic increase mainly in 7 largest regional centers including Prizren, Peja, Mitrovica, Gjilan, Gjakova, Ferizaj, and especially Pristina. Demographic growth of urban centers was caused by both natural components and mechanical components such as migration of population.

Pristina Municipality has 43 settlements, organized in 16 counties (local communities). In those settlements living 40.528 households while only in rural area living 6.420 households (ASK, 2015, pg. 185). In some villages, especially those belonging to Malsia e Gollakut (Gallap), is noticed a great movement of the population (especially young people) towards urban areas (Pristina). Thus, some villages that have been populated, have lost a considerable number of residents, such as Nishec, Radashec, Kukaj, Hajkobilla, Gllogovica etc. (K.K. Pristina, 2008, pg. 25). Migrations of population from rural areas and others part of Kosovo caused the constant demographic growth of Pristina. See table;

Table 1: Movement of Pristina population in the period 1948-1999

Year	Number of population	Year	Grow in % in period
1948	19.631	1948 - '53	22.7
1953	24.081	1953 - '61	61.5
1961	38.893	1961 - '71	78.7
1971	69.514	1971 - '81	55.5
1981	108.083	1981 - '91	43.9
1991	155.499	1991 - '99	25.4
1999	195.000	1948 - '99	893.3
2011	198.897	1999 - '11	2.0
2013	207.477	2011 - '13	4.3

Source: For the years 1948-1981 official census of population 1991-1999 (until the end of March) estimate (Islami, 2008, pg. 398). For year 2011, refer to census of population (2011) and 2013 estimate by ASK. Analyzed by the author.

Demographic data show that the largest urban growth in Pristina has occurred between '60s – '70s, where urban growth reached up to 80%, then to continue with a gradual decrease to '90s. Whereas, from '50s to '90s, urban demographic growth had reached 900%.

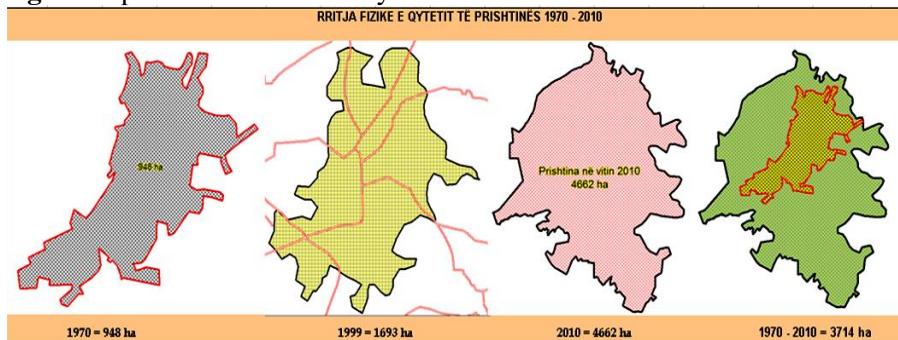
The residential and other non - residential area (commercial buildings, roads, kindergartens, etc.) had a constant increase both in urban and rural areas.

Since '99, Pristina has marked a rapid increase of both inter urban and suburban areas, which led to a confusion on distinction of the cadastral boundary of its urban space. Pristina city has already joined with Fushë Kosova town almost even with that of Lipjan, Graçanica and Obiliq.

The expansion of business activities along the national road from Pristina to Peja and cheaper price of living (lower prices of land and housing/flat) has led the developments to focus on this part of the urban area. On the other hand, alongside the national road Pristina – Skopje are also concentrated commercial buildings, creating thus closer connection between Pristina and Lipjan. Given such a large urban growth and constructions expanded along the roads (Pristina - Ferizaj), makes us believe that, for nearly one decade Pristina will be connected to Ferizaj.

Pristina City and its suburbs, for just one decade (the last decade) was expanded (built) about 200%, including entire neighborhoods with individual and collective housing, commercial buildings, etc. Urban and suburban developments with such a rapid growth were almost totally unplanned where all rude developments caused a "rural area" of certain neighborhoods which have multidimensional and long term consequences. See the map;

Fig. 2: Expansion of Pristina city from 1970 to 2010.



Sources: Topographic maps ('70, '99), NIMA (National Imagery and Mapping Agency) and Orthophoto 2010, KCA (Kosovo Cadastral Agency), converted in picture by author.

Based on the analysis done with GIS (Geographical Information Systems) through using orthophoto and topographic maps to 1970 – 2010 about growing urban space, the urban spaces was built in 1970 about 948 hectares, in 1999 was about 1693 hectares (expanded), in 2010 marked a record increase (expansion of the city) around 4662 hectares. Expressed in percentage from 1970 to 1999 marked an increase of 78.59%, while, from 1999 to 2010 the city was expanded of 175.37%. On the basis of this analysis

for 30 years (1970-1999) Pristina has not been expanded in physical-urban aspect as it is increased only in the last decade (1999-2010).

Currently, in Pristina the quality of housing construction is (mostly) of high standards, but one thing which makes life hard in such modern apartments is unplanned construction. Today, in the center and suburbs of Pristina as well, the life has become very hard, due to the rude construction with the lack of natural lighting, lack of physical infrastructure (roads, car - parking, sidewalks, etc.) and social one (kindergartens, schools, health centers).

Another increasing phenomenon in Pristina and beyond is, known as “Urban Disintegration” from the majority world – urban area, is the creation of separate inter-sub urban districts independently urbanized, constructed and administered by individual private companies. This form of new districts creates social groupings – deep social urban differences as well as territorial disintegration, though such concepts are unacceptable to developed countries.

In such neighborhoods can live only people with very high income! But the concern is that the establishment of such suburbs is like “prisons” surrounded by high walls and separated from the majority urban – world. The clash of different cultures within the community that lives in such neighborhood, and other urban culture surrounding neighborhood, causes individual and collective dissatisfaction, stress, and social division. It is another concern the fact that such districts are constructed in the most qualities agricultural land. See fig.

Fig. 3: Constructions of neighborhoods in Pristina.



Source: Photo by internet.

After 1999, the needs for residential and commercial buildings increased substantially. Lack of urban plans, the unwillingness of decision-makers and policy-makers to design and implement plans and urban standards, and corruption are some of the causes that have led to Kosovo expand settlements completely unplanned manner. One of the cities that suffer the most because of the large influx of people is Pristina. In Pristina new neighborhoods were built spontaneity way without implement urban criteria, urban constructions,

and constructions occurred in public and private property by disabling a normal life for citizens. Since 2013, look like a small progress where the local government of Pristina, have made a positive trend in the context of detention of illegal constructions. The current government has emerged at the forefront of illegal builders, although there are numerous strains of the latter, however, so far the situation of illegal construction is under government control and it gives a wisp of hope for the citizens of Pristina.

CAUSES OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND SPATAL GROWTH

During '60s - 70s of the last century and especially in the first decade of the XXI century, major changes of demographic concentrations and spatial expansion took place in urban and suburban areas. Migrations were at a slower pace, but after 1999 onward, considering the latest stage of migrations, and the most important one, which caused the rapid growth of cities and especially of Pristina.

At this time, migrations from village - city, from small towns to bigger towns and from other Albanian territories were a routine of time, and everyone had the chance to use it. But the target of young people (students) was particularly Pristina. Pristina became a generator of population concentration and social-economic development as well as hopeful for the population, because the opportunity to have a better life (education, job, etc.), was greater than elsewhere (Gollopeni, 2012, pg. 6). The urban growth reasons are divided into two groups: demographic and spatial (urban) growth reasons.

Causes of demographic – urban growth

There are a variety of pushes and pull factors; individual and social that have made the Pristina have such a demographic and urban growth, such as:

- ***Pristina as a University center*** - until '99, Pristina was the only university center in Kosovo. Large number of young people came to study not only from Kosovo but, also from Macedonia, Montenegro and East Kosovo (Albanian nationality). After graduation, a number of youth lived in Pristina, where they began a new life, thus gradually turning from an immigrant into a citizen of Pristina;

- ***Establishment of central administration and other institutions*** (economic, business, cultural, international residencies, etc.), created new jobs very much needed by the society;

- ***Destruction of houses and businesses*** - during the war ('99) especially in rural settlements caused the migration of population from rural to urban areas. After the war, a large part of the rural society began investment in larger urban centers in the country, especially in Pristina, hoping to have a greater, faster and more safe market;

- **Concentration of economic investment in greater in capital city** – with numbers than in all other centers, led especially youth population towards Pristina;

- **Better quality infrastructure of Pristina than elsewhere** - Infrastructure in general was incomparably better in Pristina than in other urban centers, and particularly in rural areas;

- **Public and private property usurpation** - a part of the population in the absence of their houses (which were destroyed during the war by Serbian police and army) led them to come in the city and usurp flats, business premises and public / private property (temporarily) thus using the lack of legal institutions. Hence, benefiting materially from such actions, and thus slowly becoming permanent residents of Pristina;

- **Better living conditions** – better opportunities for education, health, employment, cultural activities and attitude were better public services;

- **Lack of development of urban development plans and the implementation of existing ones (by decision makers and policymakers)** - enabled physical growth - urban uncontrollably. This situation is very much also contributed clan connections, nepotism and corruption.

- **Lack of strategy and residential policies in the country** - not knowing housing requirements to the appropriate extent and defining urban construction standards, urban growth expanded in an unplanned manner, taking the whole area of agricultural land and causing inadequate access to infrastructure, and - Increasing number of unplanned businesses along the roads;

These are the main and the most important reasons that have led to such demographic growth and expansion of Pristina city, but never end up with that, there are other especially individual reasons which require certain analysis and studies.

CONCLUSIONS

The urban population had increase trend until the early '90s in all cities of Kosovo in particularly was increase in Pristina. Thereafter, growth of urban population stagnated by mechanical components due to political reasons. During this period, public institutions including universities, schools, factories, etc. have been closed and the majority of Albanians have been fired of their jobs. The emigration of Albanians intensely occurred during '90s, when many families migrated in order to provide their own living (Europe and wider).

Until the second half of the last century, only regional centers such as Pristina, Prizren, Gjilan, Gjakova, Mitrovica, Ferizaj, and Peja were urbanized, but through later expansion of the municipal system, more central position settlements received city status. Thus, until the late '80s, the number of towns increased to around 30 ones including mixed towns (neither town nor village). The overall urban population of Kosovo was about 10% in the

'50s, but it marked an increase until the end of the XX century of about 35% urban population.

Pristina was the city that had mostly immigration of population marking an urban increase. The highest number of urban population has been in the period 1960 - 1970; to continue with slower increase until 1990. Thus, according to 1991 (estimate), Pristina had about 75% of urban population and in 2011, 81% urban population (KAS, 2011).

Large population immigration or “Demographic boom” known as demographic concept took place in Pristina in 1999 and onwards, for reasons mentioned above. At this time, public institutions were not prepared to design adequate plans and urbanism strategies as well as good management of urban spaces. In terms of institutional gap and other reasons, people built houses, business premises and other facilities without respecting the construction standards, thus bringing Pristina to an urban collapse. In just a decade urban territory expanded rapidly with about 200%. Even though most of the buildings were built of a hard (solid) material, the problem is that they have (mostly) been constructed without permission urban (plans), but they were imposed and unplanned.

Tend to migrate has the new generation, well qualified and with sustainable economic status. The trend of rural-urban migration, causes depopulation of rural areas and overcrowded urban areas.

Among the main reasons of the fast demographic - urban growth is certainly immigration, because the main country's institutions were located in Pristina, such as public and private universities, public administration, major business centers, international headquarters and other, all these elements created favorable conditions and new jobs, and certainly better life conditions, which enabled Pristina to be very attractive place of working and living.

Challenges faced by citizens and urban areas of Pristina are numerous including illegal constructions which day by day makes urban life harder, traffic jam, lack of green spaces, lack of parking's, noise, environmental pollution from vehicles, lack of adequate infrastructure and so on.

If the institutions of the country does not establish rural development policy in the near future, many rural areas can even depopulation, the number of pupils in primary education decreases, which prevents a qualitative development of education in rural areas and therefore, in the absence of pupils many schools can be closed. Also come into consideration demographic changes, especially those under age where the older generation (65 years old) increases.

Finally, to stop the urban chaos, Kosovo institutions needs to have rural development strategy and Pristina needs to have a special status (law) and a special budget, start the implementation of urban and municipal development plan, design and implement regulatory plans for specific neighborhoods;

announce international competition on the design and planning (neighborhoods, streets, squares, parking etc.), establish an Urban Planning Institute which among others will deal with monitoring of implementation of such plans etc., otherwise everything will be too late.

REFERENCES

1. ASK, (2015). Vjetari statistikor 2015, ASK, Prishtinë.
2. Giddens, A. (2002). Sociology, Tirana: SOROS.
3. Gollopeni, B. (2008). Spatial Planning Process, Year I. no. 1, Magazine Environment, Pristina: MESP, fq.17.
4. Gollopeni, B. (2012). Urbanization and urban planning challenges in Kosovo, European Magazine, no. 6. Pristina: SOROS, pg. 6-8.
5. Gollopeni, B. (2013). Shortcomings of spatial/urban planning in Suhareka, Readings in Population, Environment and Spatial Planning, Edited by: K.D. Sharma, H.S. Mangat and K. Surijit Singh, ISPER, Panchkula / INDI, pg. 355-364.
6. Islami, H., (2008). Demographic Studies, 100 years of demographic development of Kosovo, Pristina: ASAK.
7. Mulla, Gj. (2000). Urban sociology, Pristina: University of Pristina.
8. Municipal Assemble of Pristina, (2008). Medium-term development strategy of Pristina, 2008 -2011, Pristina: MAP.
9. Shipra Narang and Lars Reutersward. Improved governance and sustainable urban development Strategic planning holds the key, European Journal of Spatial Development, 2006. <http://www.nordregio.se/EJSD/>
10. United Nations (2004). World Urbanization Prospects: The 2003 Revision. New York.
11. Urbanization and Socio-Urban Developments in Pristina in Post-Conflict period, Proceedings of the 2nd Annual International Conference on Business, Technology and Innovation, Edited by: E. Hajrizi, UBT, Dures – Albania, 1 & 2 November 2013.
12. KAS, Census Atlas of Kosovo 2011, KAS, 2013.