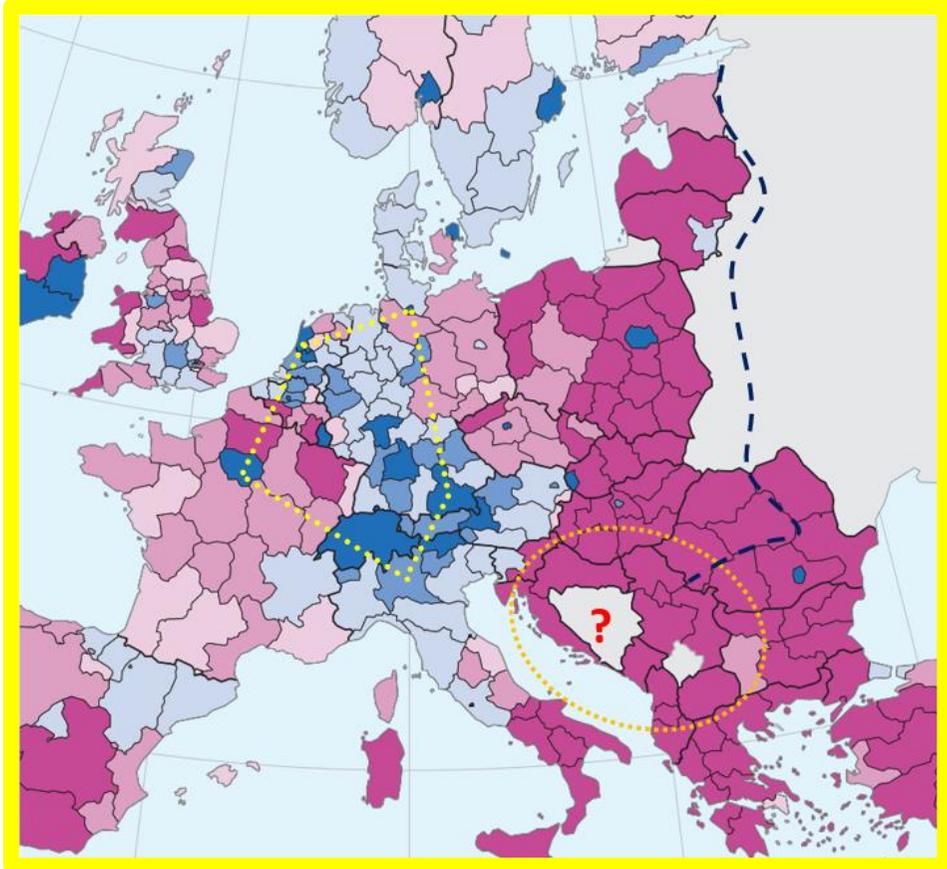


Goran Mutabdzija

# EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CLUBS

Spatial-planning aspects of development



Goran Mutabdzija

**EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CLUBS:  
Spatial-planning Aspect of Development**





For Konstantin



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# PREFACE

While waiting for the booster dose against Covid-19, I walked along the Sava quay and enjoyed the autumn sun rays. At the same time, while admiring the successful urban solutions and contents of the new city block, I tried to respond to the harsh criticism of my host about the meaning and justification of building multi-store buildings in the "central business zone." I tried to bring the answer closer to him through examples of two similar projects on a global scale. Colombo is the capital of Sri Lanka, which is slightly larger than Belgrade, but with incomparably worse infrastructure. When I visited it in 2018, I was surprised that a new part of the city was being built, the value of which is five times higher than the Belgrade Waterfront project. This new part of Colombo was created in the waters before a wide promenade and the beautiful Shangri-La Hotel. In addition, a polder was created around the former port, on which a new business and residential part of the city will be built. Since this example was not convincing for my host, "I threw all the cards on the table." I had previously described to him my wonderful spring vacation in Hurgada, but not a trip to the thirty-million-people Cairo. I skipped the description of the Pyramids and the Sphinx, the National Museum, and the Nile to point out New Cairo, the new capital of Egypt, a city surrounded by a high concrete wall in the middle of the desert and where all state institutions and apartments for all civil servants are built. The value of this investment, which has an exclusively administrative purpose and serves as accommodation for five million inhabitants, is fifty times more expensive than the Belgrade Waterfront project. Finally, for consolation, I quoted David Harvey on the connection between the development cycles of capitalism and the processes of urbanization and the creation of agglomerations.

Due to the complexity of the topic (economic aspect), it is necessary to bring the mentioned teaching contents closer to students who have not previously listened to courses with economic issues. That is why this book was created, in which the emphasis is on spatial-planning contents within this predominantly economic material. The content is designed as an atlas because it represents various short views on overall regional growth and development issues. It primarily relates to geographical and economic aspects of population movement, functional organization of settlements and regions, and dynamic changes in economic structure.

From the goal defined in this way, the task related to continuing the work on the edition *Geophilosophy* arose. It concerns the need for a deeper understanding of various aspects of the intertwining of geography and economy. It is most intensively reflected in political economy and economic geography. The first domain concerns the discipline that emerged with the strengthening of the capitalist mode of production and whose subject of research relates to the social laws of people's material life. To better understand the connection between basic geographical concepts (space, place, natural environment) and the subject of political economy (laws of production and distribution of products between classes), it is necessary to present particular economic orthodoxy, which indicates this intertwining. The second domain refers to economical and geographical development, which is also recognized as regional economic development, and which is based on issues of space and the use of natural resources for human needs. At the same time, some regions are progressing faster in economic terms, which results in unequal economic development, so this research aims to answer why some areas of Europe are more developed than others. This would be only an economic aspect if such a situation would not produce consequences for the population and settlements, i.e., not to affect the intensity and flows of migration and the spatial and functional organization of territories positively / negatively. Because of this, it is a crucial challenge that leads the geographer along a narrow and slippery path between economics, through the interpretation of these contents, and politics, because of various factors. This path was designed by economic logic during the modern history of Europe, as evidenced by the political-geographical map on the cover of the book. Understanding and recognizing further directions on that map implies predicting different dynamics of the capital/income relationship and issues of global inequality, which can be helped by a kind of landmarks arising from the interaction of capitalism and nationalism (nation), strengthened by flexible accumulation.

The author started all previous books in different periods, but he always finished them in the same celebratory atmosphere. Therefore, he expresses his gratitude to all those who helped create this book, the publisher, editor, reviewers, and all colleagues, who contributed to making this book better and justifying the expectations of the scientific community and the target student population.

Author

# INTRODUCTION

The main results of the research on the economic development of Europe, which is presented here, can be divided into three parts. The first is to clarify the evolutionary and successive economic development of Europe, which is the basis for understanding contemporary regional geographical analysis of Europe. This development began with *laissez-faire* in the 19th century, which was then (until the middle of the 20th century) replaced by the growth of a regulated market and economic dirigisme. After the Second World War, two economic systems developed in parallel, the central planning system in the East and the mixed economy in the West. The common denominator of both designs was the idea of the welfare state, which was replaced by neoliberalism in the West during the 1970s, and then by economies from the East, only two decades later. The second set of results focuses on the regional economy, a scientific field of economics that does not study the regional distribution of the economy but includes the dimension of space and location problems in the analysis of market functioning. Therefore, the permeation of geography and economics as the primary subject of research is best expressed through this area. That is the space that geography tries to understand and describe.

In contrast, economics tries to shape and project it. That is why it is essential to understand the essence of the "spatial turn" in the social sciences and describe its repercussions on economic development. Finally, the third set of conclusions refers to the essential aspect of Europe's economic growth, which does not take place spontaneously and in which there is no geographical determinism (geographical position), but the laws described in the economic theory of clubs, as a region with similar economic parameters. To bring these research results as close as possible to the reader, it is necessary to immediately make specific theoretical and methodological explanations, at the core of which is the concept of space.

## *Spatial-temporal displacement*

The emergence of neoliberalism was a kind of crown stone<sup>1</sup> of the capitalist economy, which clearly showed the reasons and essence of transforming the capitalist mode of production from Fordism-Keynesian to the neoliberal economy. Understanding this process should begin with

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<sup>1</sup> The stylistic figure used by the author in the book *Geophilosophy of the premodern*, p. 41-43.

the concept of flexible accumulation, whose theoretical foundations were laid by K. Marx (1860s). The modern framework was defined by D. Harvey (1980s) by describing the essential characteristics of the capitalist mode of production. Due to antagonistic guidelines in them, he believes that crises are inevitable in capitalism, and the tension between growth and technological progress is too strong to keep the circulation of capital within existing borders. That is why he believes that it is necessary to understand the "historic transition" how crises are formed and developed because that indicates the historical dynamics of capitalism. He presents this through modified notions of productive forces and social relations, based on which he expanded the characteristics of capitalist production and gave them modern meaning. He emphasized that the first characteristic of capitalism concerns economic growth, from which he established a direct link between a stable growth rate and a thriving capitalist economic system. Profit and capital accumulation are achieved by expanding production and growing absolute values, regardless of social, political, geopolitical, or environmental consequences. This is the cornerstone of the ideology of capitalism, which means that growth is both inevitable and sound and that a lack of development leads to a crisis. Also, Harvey reinterpreted Marx's thesis that capitalism is based on the class relationship between capital and labor, where control of work is key to capitalist profit. It is the dynamics of class struggle (control of labor and wage market). From this opposition arises capitalist development, which is technologically and organizationally dynamic because of the laws of competition push capitalists into leapfrogging innovations in their pursuit of profit. These changes play a pivotal role in changing the dynamics of class struggle on both sides. That is why capitalism produced periodic crises due to excessive accumulation, and such a situation resulted from the existence of inactive capital and an unemployed labor force.

To clarify these contradictions between labor and capital, it is necessary to explain the fundamental concept of "flexible accumulation," which reflects the state of excessive accumulation and implies the existence of surplus goods, stocks, money capital, and high unemployment. Repair", which describes the general geographical conditions under which the accumulation occurs, and which has components of temporal (capital surplus) and spatial (labor) displacement. The combination of these components delays the problem. Still, it does not solve it. The only complete solution involves the transfer of surplus capital and labor to create new production capacity in new areas, thus absorbing surpluses in the long run. The most common forms

of these transfers are realized through infrastructure construction, which leads to the spread of entirely new regional capitalists' economies. However, according to Harvey, the path to these leads through three painful alternatives, from the devaluation of slaves, some form of state interventionism, or the absorption of excessive accumulation through "temporal and spatial displacement." The third option provides a much more acceptable and more problematic way to control over-accumulation, which is why Chapter 3.3.3 is the cornerstone of Europe's modern economic history.

### *In the labyrinths of economic spaces*

As already mentioned, the second set of achieved results refers to understanding the processes arising from the interpenetration of geography and economy in the domain of regional economy. It is a relatively young economic discipline whose goal is to explain the economic logic when choosing locations in space (economic entities). Therefore, within this economic discipline, the importance of the concept of space in the analysis of market functioning is emphasized, achieved through the inclusion of space in different models, which regulate and interpret market laws in conditions of unequal regional distribution of resources. It was necessary to get acquainted with the concept of space and its different interpretations in geography, the reasons for the "spatial turn" in the social sciences, and its further understanding in economics. This was followed by a broad interpretation of the notion of value and historical-dialectical materialism in classical theories and the issue of regional growth, development, and planning in the domain of neoclassical theories. From this arose the theoretical basis for studying the main methodological approaches in the views of the regional economy, from location and regional growth and development to local development. The final element of this methodological framework is the issue of unequal regional development as treated through regional economic divergence, convergence, structuralist theories, and problems arising from diversely stylized space.

This conceptual framework led to the creation of a methodology for studying the most important theoretical models in the field of regional growth and development, which was based on a critical review of the basics of geographers and spatial planners (B. Piha, 1979; M. Vresk, 1990; A. Marinović-Uzelac, 2001; B. Derić, 2003; D. Tošić, 2012; J. Đorđević and B. Tošić, 2013), and respected authorities in the field of economic geography (P. Krugman, 1991; P. Nijkamp, 2009; R. Capello, 2016) and

economic planning, such as C. Dawkins (2003). In processing these contents, the evolutionary approach was dominant, which enabled a comprehensive and logically connected view of the interaction of geography and economics in studying the same subject, and that is space.

### *The world of imagination and reality*

The research results on regularities in the regional development of Europe are described in the third part of the book, whose title, in addition to the guessed exactifies, contains a hint of subjective assessment in the title (imaginary regions). Therefore, this etymological and semantic basis needs to be clarified. The author recognized the origin of this approach is thematically different and brilliant books, which have this adjective (imaginary) in their title. Chronologically, the first is the work of Benedict Anderson (*Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 1983), an Irish political scientist who defined a nation as an imaginary community. It implies a feeling of togetherness or horizontal friendship between people who often do not know each other or have not met. "Despite their differences, they imagine belonging to the same collective, and the latter, they attribute a common history, characteristics, beliefs, and attitudes - this imagined community is limited and sovereign." For him, the nation is a fictional construction, but that does not mean that its political effect is less accurate because the notion of a nation derives from nationalism, which arose because of capitalism and print media outside Europe (national liberation movements in the US and Brazil). According to him, national affiliation is a central but insufficiently respected factor in the development of the state, which did not adequately recognize either liberalism or Marxism.

The second book is Derek Gregory's<sup>2</sup> *Regional Geographical Synthesis (Geographical imaginations, 1994)*, in which he lists three reasons why he used the term imagination. The first refers to the twofold confrontation with the Anglo-French colonial heritage of Canada, from the fact that there is a cultural dichotomy of the descendants of former colonizers because it binds them, either to the UK or France. In contrast, all these descendants show an ignorant attitude towards the natives. The second dimension is living in an open, multicultural society with existing "racial differences, tensions, prejudices, and discrimination," but also with their "enrichment, liveliness and differences," where many people draw

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<sup>2</sup> British geographer, who in 1989 transferred from the University of Cambridge to the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada.

their roots from other continents, and therefore that society cannot be reduced to Europe's Other. The third reason for him is the issue of gender and sexuality, which after the horrific massacre<sup>3</sup> of female students at the Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal took on a "new and painful seriousness." These three paintings helped Gregory become aware of his "otherness, disturbing and imperfect" ("otherness, disturbing and imperfect"), through which he tried to transpose his essays from Europe to North America. He wants to dedicate himself to other ways through poststructuralist metaphors about geography as "nomadic traces and a multitude of rhizomes," he wants to devote himself to different methods. And to follow the "new lines of flight," which emphasize the "diffuse knowledge of place and space" that shapes how many of us approach their work and life. Therefore, geography grafts on the classic tree of knowledge, systematic, hierarchical, and grounded. "

Finally, the third book is the work of the Bulgarian historian Marija Todorova (*Imagining the Balkans*, 1997), who analyzed all the complexity of the Balkans to the smallest detail by applying Said's concept of Orientalism. At the same time, she did not "justify" the responsibility for the status of the Balkans and its achieved level of economic development by the consequences of the colonial influence of Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, thus favoring the vision of the Balkans as "victims." specifics, but also on the undisguised responsibility of the West for breaking the "ethnic and religious mosaic" (SFRY) and imposing the national concept (statehood of the former republics).

All three previously mentioned books feature the terms capitalism and the state, which the authors use to present certain constructs (nation or region) as imaginary or imaginary. This is also the case because the term "imaginary region" is ambiguous and implies several perspectives, based on which the methodological basis of most of the book is built. These perspectives are well reflected in the geophilosophical notion of assemblage, which for Bonta and Protevi (2004: 54-55), represents an intensive network or rhizome that shows the ability to unite. i.e., to "unite self-ordered forces and heterogeneous materials," whereby such territorial assemblies "transcend the alleged division into nature and culture through the establishment of a connection between semiotics and materials."

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<sup>3</sup> Terrorist anti-feminist act committed in 1989 at the University of Montreal (Canada), in which 14 female students were killed.

One layer of this assembly is the NUTS<sup>4</sup> classification (national, regional, and local level), as a basis for the administrative and functional type of the European space and based on when the development can also be interpreted through the qualitative characteristics of the mentioned regions. At the national level, according to economic development, less developed EU member states are those with GDP per capita below 75% of the EU average, namely: Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Moderately developed Member States have a GDP per capita of between 75% and 90%, and this category includes Portugal, Cyprus, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Highly developed Member States have GDP per capita above 90% of the EU average. This group includes Italy, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Malta. On a comparable basis, countries are divided into regions, with medium-sized ones (NUTS2) distinguishing between "less developed" ones, where GDP per capita (PPS)<sup>5</sup> is below 75% of the EU-27 average and whose development is financed through the Structural Funds. (ERDF and ESF). "Regions in transition" have a GDP > 75% and < 90% of the EU average, while "more developed regions" have a GDP > 90% of the EU-27 average. Specifics are the regions of the capitals, which mainly consist of one NUTS2 region and roughly coincide with the "functional urban area" (FUA) of the capital city. Exceptions are Berlin, Brussels, London, Prague, and Vienna, divided into several NUTS2.

The lowest hierarchical rank is represented by NUTS3 regions, whose classification was developed in cooperation with the EU Directorate-General for Regional Development (DG Regio) and the OECD and consisted of an approximation of all functionally urban areas > 250,000 inhabitants. There are two types of regions, "metropolitan" and "border," the former of which have the most complex structure. According to the EU-OECD definition, there are two metropolitan regions, namely "capital regions" and "other regions." The first refers to the capital of the country, and the second is divided based on the degree of urbanization into "predominantly urban," "medium urban," and "predominantly rural" regions. This classification is based on the OECD classification, and its detailed methodology is included in the Eurostat Regional Yearbook

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<sup>4</sup> The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics, commonly used and the acronym NUTS is the EU geocoding standard, used for statistical purposes and used to divide Europe into administrative regions. More details: [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/nuts\\_nomenclature/introduction](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/nuts_nomenclature/introduction)

<sup>5</sup> Purchasing power standard.

2010<sup>6</sup>. Border regions are NUTS3 regions eligible for cross-border cooperation programs under the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) Regulation. The lowest level of the territorial organization consists of municipalities, which can be classified based on two parameters. The first refers to the degree of urbanization<sup>7</sup>, according to which all municipalities are divided into cities, towns, and rural areas. The term "city" refers to local administrative units in which > 50% of the population lives in an urban center. "Places and suburbs" guide local administrative units, with more than 50% of the people living in urban clusters but <50% living in urban centers. "Rural area" means local administrative units with > 50% of the people in rural networks. The second parameter<sup>8</sup> for classifying municipalities is identifying "cities and commuting zones," based on which cities are classified in the same way as in the previous parameter, except for "travel zones." These are neighboring (in addition to the "city") local administrative units, of which at least 15% of the working population travels to the neighboring city.

Finally, besides the administrative and functional<sup>9</sup> aspects, there is also the identity, which is the most complex because it involves two broad approaches. The first implies certain characteristic natural and cultural qualities of the region, which in the geographical sense can be imagined as homogeneous regions (field, mountain, valley, river...) with specific cultural and historical characteristics. The second concerns mental properties, i.e., refers to identifying people with such a region. This connection between man and the area is realized by nurturing the homeland's cult. It has distinct ethnonational (patriotic) characteristics, with both approaches present, to some extent, among citizens living in the place of birth or growing up or with strong family ties. Others are often combined during a more extended stay in a new environment. Such regions can exist on different spatial scales, from local (e.g., Herzegovina or Krajina, to supranational such as the Serbian world or the French-speaking area). Regional identity has become essential in academic research, political circles, and regional development activities worldwide since the 1980s (see Chapter 8.3), as it also promotes the political ideas on which regionalism has developed. Also, the rise of regional identities is associated with the growing processes of globalization in the domains of

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<sup>6</sup> See: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-statistical-books/-/ks-ha-10-001>

<sup>7</sup> See: [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics\\_explained/index.php/](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/)

<sup>8</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docgener/work/2014\\_01\\_new\\_urban.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/work/2014_01_new_urban.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> See: [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics\\_explained/index.php/European\\_cities](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/European_cities)

culture and economy, which awakens a different awareness of the individual. This is vividly described by Paasi (2003: 475). People become aware of insecurity in the face of growing globalization and therefore "seek refuge and new points of social orientation in the world," which has become increasingly mobile. He recognizes regional specificity in the search for identities in the aftermath of global political and economic upheavals such as "the breakdown of the Cold War division between Western democracies and the Eastern Socialist bloc, the subsequent enlargement and political strengthening of the EU and the entry of most former Eastern European countries into the EU." In many countries around the world, for several practical reasons (administrative, planning, economic or social), the governance system has been redefined, bringing the state apparatus closer to the citizens by lowering that power to the regional level (subsidiarity principle). Europe of the region. "This referred to sub-state and regional cross-border units, from which the notions of regional identity and regional development<sup>10</sup> were further affirmed.

Although regional identity is a trendy idea, it is not easy to define and is used in different social, geographical, and academic contexts. It lies at the core of the poststructuralist definition of geography (Deleuze, 1995: 121), according to which it "is not satisfied with filling the historical form with spatial content, but in addition to physical and social characteristics it also has mental, like landscape." Therefore, there are different approaches in the assessment of regional identities, from whether they are "really existing" (stable) or are social constructs (narratives) and expressions of social power that are developed for specific purposes. The second approach does not question the existence of regional identities but emphasizes their meaning in terms of spatial and temporal processes. Thus, they are observed through specialization (spatial dimension), which implies limited regional units, which refer to culture, nature, or security in discourses. Temporalization of regions (time frame) concerns the construction of narratives about their past, present, and future, which is often seen in the EU as a means of branding certain products (e.g., Greek olives, French cheeses) and more efficient marketing, which can contribute to more successful regional development. There are other examples, unfortunately negative, that we have seen in the Balkans, during the twentieth century, on several occasions. Therefore, it is necessary to respect the offered perspectives and accept new ones about European economic clubs, singled out based on the financial strength and

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<sup>10</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docgener/focus/2012\\_01\\_city.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/focus/2012_01_city.pdf)

innovation of the NUTS2 region. These are highly developed (very high or VH), developed (high or H), middle-developed (middle-developed or M), and underdeveloped regions (very low or VL). They have notions of the historical (underdeveloped) and post-historical (developed) world. It is transposed from the perspective of the former macro-geographical regions of Europe (East, West, North, South, and Center) into statistical units of approximately equal population, whose data on economic development are measurable and thus comparable. In this way, we have approached the primary reasons for internal and external migration, which threaten to turn the European Pentagon (see book cover) into a "black hole" that will suck the human capital of the European periphery. This is also a roadmap for explaining numerous other geographical processes, which characterize the internal cohesion of the European space, based on the processes of diffusion of alternating waves of innovation and creativity and not exclusively ethnonational borders.

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## Annex 1: Overview of GDP p/c by NUTS2 region country

2016	GDP, € per capita	GDP, PPS per capita	GDP €, per capita EU27=100	GDP PPS, per capita EU27=100
Region (NUTS)				
EU27*	30 200	30 200	100	100
EU28	31 000	30 400	103	101
BELGIUM	40 200	35 600	133	118
BULGARIA	8 000	15 400	26	51
CZECHIA	19 500	27 500	65	91
DENMARK	52 000	38 900	172	129
GERMANY	40 300	37 000	134	123
ESTONIA	19 700	24 800	65	82
IRELAND	66 700	57 500	221	191
GREECE	17 200	20 700	57	69
SPAIN	25 700	27 600	85	91
FRANCE	35 000	31 500	116	104
CROATIA	12 600	19 100	42	63
ITALY	29 200	29 100	97	97
CYPRUS	24 300	27 100	81	90
LATVIA	15 100	20 900	50	69
LITHUANIA	16 200	24 400	54	81
LUXEMBOURG (GR.-DUCHY)	98 600	79 300	327	263
HUNGARY	13 700	21 500	45	71
NETHERLANDS	44 900	39 200	149	130
AUSTRIA	43 600	38 700	145	128
POLAND	12 900	21 400	43	71
PORTUGAL	19 800	23 200	66	77
ROMANIA	10 500	19 900	35	66
SLOVENIA	22 100	26 400	73	87
SLOVAKIA	16 500	22 200	55	74
FINLAND	42 500	33 700	141	112
SWEDEN	46 300	36 600	154	121
UNITED KINGDOM	36 500	32 000	121	106

## Annex 2: Clusters in Italy 1996

Products	Place	City	No. of firms
motocikli		Bolonja	2.370
auto elektronika		Varese	100
nakit	<i>Valenza Po</i>	Alesandrija	1.400
	<i>Arezzo</i>	Vicenza	1.100
naočare		Florence	1.300
	<i>Cadore</i>	Belluno	930
tekstil i odeća	<i>Sempione</i>	Varese	3.900
	<i>Prato</i>	Florence	8.481
	<i>Olgiatese</i>	Varese	2.614
	<i>Biella</i>	Piemont	1300
odjeća	<i>Valdagno, Val Vibrata</i>	Pescara, Empoli, Florence, Treviso	1.150
žensko rublje	<i>Castel Goffredo</i>	Mantova	280
svila	<i>Comasco</i>	Como	2.600
trikotaža	<i>Carpi</i>	Modena	2.054
cipele	<i>Fermo, Montegranaro, Porto Santelpidio, San Benedeto del Trono; Santa Croce Sull'Arno</i>	Ancona, Lucca, Sanbenedetto	1.749
	<i>Ascoli</i>	Pisa	3.100
	<i>Riviera del Brenta</i>	Padova	886
sportska obuća	<i>Montebelluna, Asolo</i>	Trevizo	623
koža	<i>Arzignano, Solofri</i>	Vicenza, Napulj	600
keramičke pločice	<i>Sassuolo</i>	Bologna	199
mermer	<i>Apuo-Versiliese</i>	Carrara	1.161
slavine i ventili	<i>Alto Cusio</i>	Novara	300
nameštaj	<i>Brianza Comasca</i>	Milano	6.500
	<i>Cantù</i>	Milano	7.200
	<i>Alto Livenza</i>	Udine	2.000
	<i>Poggibonsi,</i>	Siena	1.294
	<i>Bovolone Cerea</i>	Verona	3.000
kuhinje		Pesaro	1.200
stolice i stolovi		Udine	1.200
mašine za drvo		Rimini	1.345
poljoprivredne mašine		Modena	100
hrana		Parma	215
lonci i ventili	<i>Lumezane</i>	Breša	1.008
mašine za pakovanje		Bolonja	
muzički instrumenti	<i>Castelfidardo</i>	Ankona	400

Source: Jovanović, 2003: 96.

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