

URBAN MOBILITY AND HOUSING SHORTAGES: THE CASE OF SLOVENIA

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Abstract Slovenia has experienced significant immigration flows within the last few decades. The high rate of urban growth which we experienced in the 60s has nevertheless decreased, which led to the development of a polycentric urban network during the 70s. Smaller urban centres have grown, together with a strong trend towards suburbanization. Absolute housing shortages were overcome in the late 80s, but structural shortages persist. The controversial effects of private (as opposed to social) housing policies enabled the application of a specific housing practice, mostly oriented to the construction of one-family houses in the countryside and in suburbs. The consequences of social development and urban planning on both traditional and modern mobility and housing policy are discussed in the retrospective analyses of the specific urbanization patterns in Slovenia.

urbanization, polycentric development, immigration, housing shortage

Introduction - A Short Historical Overview of Migration Flows in Slovenia

Changes in migration flows between and after the two world wars have been significant in Slovenia. Before 1950 Slovenia was a typical emigration country, where many people were headed towards the USA, Australia and other countries. A few small urban centres were populated by landlords, local administrators and intellectuals, and the first rudiments of the national bourgeoisie. A dispersed agrarian population in a relatively poor country produced emigrants rather than industrial workers for the few urban centres. The high rates of emigration for political reasons after 1945 significantly reorganized the population within the country, especially along the coast on the border with Italy (Koper, Piran, Gorica, see Figure 3) and near the Austrian border (Maribor). Great expropriation and nationalization of housing and building stock fostered such a redistribution.

Only after the 1960s was the migration trend reversed - immigration flows were greater than emigration (Figure 2). The first of these immigrants were mostly unskilled single young men. According to the latest census in 1991, the educational structure of the Slovenian population improved during the previous ten years (from an average of 8.6 years of school up to 9.6 in 1991); furthermore, the education of immigrants in the same period was even higher than the average for the Slovenian population (Jakoš, 1992).

The emphasis in the first period after the Second World War was an industrial development and urban growth, which had quite different effects in each of the republics of the former Yugoslavia (Dekleva, V.B., 1992). In Slovenia, deagrarianization reduced the proportion of farmers from 49.0% in 1948 to only 7.6% in 1991, enabling the rapid acceleration of urbanization (Statistical Yearbook RS, 1993: 57). The differences between the levels of development among the republics of the former Yugoslavia have remained unresolved, provoking increasing social and political problems (Dekleva, V.B., 1992).

Slovenia became for the next three decades an immigrant country, mostly for people from former Yugoslav republics (Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia), as illustrated in Figures 1 and 3. These immigrants (270,000 in 1991 or 13.8% of the population according to Kuhar, 1993), together with internal migrations, promoted the growth of different types of settlements, as shown below (Table 1 and see Figure 2):

Table 1 DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT OF SETTLEMENTS IN SLOVENIA 1971 - 1981 - 1986

Type	Year	Density inh./km ²	% of population	Average annual growth rate	
				1971/81	1981/86
Town centres	1971	1.094.4	36.3		
	1981	1.370.2	38.5	2.3	1.3
	1986	1.458.2	39.0		
Urban peripheries	1971	390.8	8.3		
	1981	563.9	10.4	3.2	2.6
	1986	609.0	11.2		
Suburbs (peri-urban areas)	1971	203.7	25.9		
	1981	238.7	27.0	1.2	1.8
	1986	260.9	30.3		
Other (rural areas)	1971	35.0	29.5		
	1981	28.7	24.1	-2.0	-3.2
	1986	24.5	19.5		
Totals	1986	98.0	100.0	1.1	1.0

Source: selected data from Ravbar, Klemenčič, 1993: 12.

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According to estimates from the 1991 census, 14% of the population was non-Slovenian (this may have dropped in 1991/2 to 10%). Although lower in absolute terms, Slovenian emigration remained constant (each year approximately 0.01% of the population left the country), but more selective (the so-called "brain-drain"), oriented mainly toward European countries (esp. Germany) up to the 1980s. In addition, there were many Slovenes working as temporary workers outside the country (Kuhar, 1993):

1971 - 48.086 1981 - 41.826 1991 - 40.327

Between 1982 and 1990, 76,000 immigrants arrived in Slovenia; of those, 43,000 have moved out of the country, while 33,000 have settled in Slovenia. The average number of immigrants for that period was 3,700 annually, which represents 37% of the population growth per year in Slovenia (Jakoš, 1992). Since not all emigration is registered (because of non-permanent jobs and status), statistics do not reveal the extent of this flow. It remains greatly underestimated, as shown in research results (Jakoš, 1992; Ravbar, Klemenčič, 1993) and statistical evidence.¹

Consequences of Migrations for Urbanization in Slovenia

Within Slovenia, industrialization and urbanization provoked the rapid growth of the few (8-12) regional urban and industrial centres (Ljubljana, Maribor, Gorica, Koper, Velenje etc.) on account of the deagrarianization of the hinterland up to the late 1970s.

Table 2 PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN SLOVENIA from 1961 to 1991

1961 - 36%	1981 - 48.9%
1971 - 44.6%	1991 - 50.2%

Sources: Statistical Yearbook, 1993; Ravbar, Klemenčič, 1993.

Consequently, the already modest levels of housing provision turned into severe housing shortages in these urban areas. Slovenia at present, as one of the most developed republics of the former Yugoslavia, still has some of the controversial features of socialist development, those of modern and traditional patterns. This has had an impact on the creation of the specific forms of re-urbanization, started in the 1980s.

Such forms, where compound traditional and "modern" migration flows persist, along with the structural housing shortages, have created a very peculiar "modern" suburbanization process in

Slovenia during the last decade. The result is stagnating urban growth, so that fully one half of the population was still living in the countryside in 1991.

Suburbanization has been defined as a process whereby distinctive migration flows are directed to small settlements or villages outside urban centres and beyond their peripheral areas. Such locations attract inhabitants from the cities as well as those moving in from less developed regions. One third of the Slovenian population presently lives in such suburban settlements (Ravbar, 1992: 127).

Table 3 THE EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE OF INHABITANTS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF SETTLEMENT (in %)

YEAR	1984			1991		
	URBAN	COUNTRYSIDE	ALL	URBAN	COUNTRYSIDE	ALL
EDUCATION						
less than 8 yrs.	30.8	69.2	18.9	34.2	65.8	2.7
elementary school	35.3	64.7	27.4	37.7	62.3	34.3
technical school	50.4	49.6	27.4	44.6	55.4	27.6
secondary school	55.8	44.2	17.6	61.5	38.5	23.4
university	73	27	8.8	68.5	31.5	11.9
all	45.55	54.5	100	48.8	51.2	100
ECONOMIC SECTOR						
of employment:						
primary sector	31.1	68.9	5	20.3	79.7	7.8
secondary sector	45.9	54.1	53.3	47.9	52.1	47.5
commercial services	56.6	43.4	28.1	56.6	43.4	30.3
public services	66	34	13.6	75.4	24.6	14.4

Source: Quality of Life Research: Dekleva, V.B., 1991, national sample of population, Institute of Social Sciences.

The intensity of daily mobility (commuting) among the urban centres and the growth of living/housing environments is used as the first criterion in determining the suburbanization process. To illustrate: in 1991, there were 599,000 commuters (1/3 of the population, Kuhar, 1993). The criterion is the changing structure of jobs and employment sectors in each location, urban and suburban (Ravbar, 1992). Generally, there is a slow increase in the service and public sectors in suburban areas, while the rate of employment and structural change increases in urban centres.

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Table 4 RATIO OF NUMBER OF WORKING PLACES TO POPULATION (1988)

	CITY	PERIPHERY	URBAN region	SUBURBAN settl.	total
number of working places for each 100 inhabitants	62.5	23.1	52.6	32.3	43.2
% of working places in tertiary and service sectors	35.5	7.0	33.2	26
% of all working places	77.6	17.6	95.1	4.9	100

Source: selected from Ravbar, 1992: 211²

Because of increasing economic problems, previously overrating housing construction began to decrease in the early 80s, with a significant drop after 1986. During the same period, maintenance and reconstruction of housing is slowed, each year maintaining the same number of renewed units (approximately 4,000). Both have been falling even faster in the 90s.

Table 5 FINISHED NEW HOUSING UNITS for each 1000 inhabitants during the years 1970 to 1989

Apartments							
1970	- 5.4	1976	- 7.9	1982	- 6	1988	- 4.9
1971	- 5.9	1977	- 8.2	1983	- 6.	1989	- 4.3
1972	- 5.8	1978	- 7.5	1984	- 5.8	1990	- 3.9
1973	- 5.9	1979	- 7.3	1985	- 5.7	1991	- 3.0
1974	- 7.7	1980	- 7.2	1986	- 6.5	1992	- 3.3
1975	- 8.8	1981	- 7.6	1987	- 5.1		

Source: Statistical Research no.556/1992, p.12, Ljubljana (the last two figures are not definitive!).

The private building sector might recover again in 1993, but presently it deals mainly with private business and not yet with housing.³ The rate of construction is slow (especially in cities), since out of each four units started, only one is finished within two years.

The structural housing shortages due to social production and a narrow rental sector in cities have led to an abundance of do-it-yourself construction in suburban areas and we are faced with expanding urbanization within limited land resources. To illustrate the production of housing in the private sector compared to the public sector, the following chart shows the trends in each over the last three decades (Dekleva, V.B., 1993).

Both sectors reduced the absolute housing shortage in Slovenia in the late 80s (1987/1988), but exacerbated ecological and transport problems. Urban land-use is "poorly exploited," while the countryside lacks infrastructure.

Suburbanization in Slovenia promotes the individual construction of one-family housing within the existing, modest infrastructure of these small settlements. It provokes ecological and ethnological changes and extensive building/infrastructure construction within the very limited land resources in Slovenia. And it certainly promotes traffic problems due to the daily mobility of workers and students. Suburbanization is thus a controversial process, which solves some social and housing problems but at the same time creates others, as we shall discuss later.

Suburbanization and the urban growth of very small settlements are present mainly in the developed (post-industrial) countries of Europe, rather than in industrialized or developing societies. Such a process in Europe is connected with structural economic changes and qualitative social development, like collective welfare policy and modernization of infrastructure. It is promoted by middle and high social groups, who are able to afford it on account of the new organization of production and services. The availability and accessibility of technological innovations (infrastructure and communication) foster this process.

In Slovenia, traditional and modern forms of mobility along with housing shortages have produced high rates of suburbanization (Figure 4). The suburban alternative is promoted by the values and preferences of the population to live "in a family house near the city", where a certain life style encounters the cost of daily mobility (Public Opinion Research 1978/1991; Ravbar, 1992). The socialist monopoly of housing construction firms caused housing production in cities to be low (with the exception of the early 70s), expensive and lacking in quality. Do-it-yourself construction has been the only alternative for investment as well as for an adequate and cheaper solution to the housing problem of moving families.

Structural Housing Shortages

In Slovenia, suburbanization is the outcome of resolving the absolute and structural housing shortages during the last two decades. Among the reasons for changing domicile, housing is the most common (Table 6).

Very different social groups are involved in suburbanization, from those quite well off to those who could be considered socially and financially deprived. Illegal construction also occurred, although some such neighbourhoods were subsequently legalized (Dekleva, V.B., 1992; Ravbar, 1992).

Table 6 REASONS FOR MOVING during 1982 - 1986 (%)

type of migration	first employment	change of job	marriage	change of housing	moved with family	other reasons	100%
Total Slovenia	3.0	11.6	8.5	32.4	22.1	22.3	
inter Communal	1.34	7.5	9.5	37.3	23.0	21.3	
from SFRJ republ.	7.50	22.3	6.1	20.0	19.5	24.5	
elsewhere	0.12	3.9	2.4	22.6	29.3	41.5	

During 1987 and 1991, housing change was the reason for 36.6% of moves; in 1988 it accounted for 41.2% (Statistical Research no.562, 1992).

There have been specific reasons for the increase in suburbanization. First, small settlements have offered lower prices for land, since farmers could not expect adequate compensation from the state in cases of expropriation. The protection of highest-quality land from construction produced shortages of available land resources for urban planning at the peripheries of cities (after the extensive industrial construction in the 70s!). At the same time industrial housing construction had priority in urban centres and their peripheries (Dekleva, J., 1993; Ravbar, 1992; Dekleva, V.B., 1991b, 1992).

Smaller settlements outside urban areas have thus hardly been regulated or planned at all, leaning more scope for "free market" private initiatives. Living in a relatively isolated green area, with a garden and some essential services, still offers a style of life that the average Slovenian family favours the most.

The early 70s were a golden age for new housing construction. Absolute housing shortages in Slovenia were greatly reduced by the end of the 80s, since there were slightly more units than households (1.02 - Statistical Yearbook, 1993; Census 1991; Dekleva, V.B., 1992).

Absolute shortages relate the number of housing units to the number of households in Slovenia. Structural housing shortages might persist due to regional disparities between the location of the housing and the direction of social mobility. And there are shortages of types of housing, connected with the housing status. For example, already in 1981 there were approximately 18,000 uninhabited housing units.

In 1991 that number had increased to 26,374 units (calculations from Statistical report no.562 and Stat.Inf.188, 1992; SNP, Dekleva, J., 1993). Statistically, there was a surplus of 47,000 housing units in 1991 (Census), but 30,715 of them were secondary homes; additionally, some housing has been used for business purposes. Thus, housing exists which is inaccessible or unavailable to families in need. Considering the present lack of housing supply, one could argue that both absolute and structural shortages are growing.

Generally, Slovenia is short of larger housing units in cities and there has been a persistent gap in rental sectors (Blejec, 1984; Dekleva, V.B., 1991b). The shortage within rental sector was increased by limited (state) housing production in the last decade, and by privatization. Moreover, there are shortages of accessible, cheaper housing, due to the ever limited resources of young families and deprived social groups.

Consequently, in spite the statistically balanced ratio of housing units to the number of households, access to the private or social rental sector in urban regions has been neither adequate nor sufficient, according to the needs of families. Private rental sector has been expensive and social rental sector has long waiting lists and usually a family is given too small flat. Both rental sectors have insufficient offer of housing. Furthermore, the lower mobility in social rental sectors compared to the "private housing" sectors increased the structural shortages even when the production of housing was relatively high (1969 - 1980, Figure 5).

At present, structural housing shortages are increasing even faster, exacerbated by the present economic crisis (lower investments in housing), increasing poverty (cost of housing compared to income), the privatization of the social rental sector and the lowest level of new housing construction since 1960.

Table 7 INCREASING STRUCTURAL HOUSING IMBALANCES⁴

% of population living in:	1981	1991
1. adequate housing	-54%	12.6%
2. too small unit	-27%	32.9%
3. too large (above standards)	-19%	54%

Sources: Blejec, 1984 (Census). Selected and compiled from Kraigher, Mandič, SNP, 1991.

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Additionally, the lack of available land and urban planning (Dekleva, J., 1993) foster the inability of municipalities to take initiatives for new housing construction, organization (social and rental sector) and renovation. One source of optimism amid the present chaos are the possibilities offered by the new legislation (promoting non-profit housing), for starting afresh on a "tabula rasa" by overcoming the socialist controversy after the transitional period in 1993.

The structural housing shortages are due to the ever higher intensity of social needs and mobility, in relation to changes in the structure of housing stock. More simply, housing demands are oriented towards quick changes, while housing supply lags behind. When such imbalances increase and accumulate, the entropy of housing resources reduces access to adequate housing. In Slovenia, it is ever harder to sell or rent housing in small countryside settlements in declining agrarian regions, while there are structural shortages in urban regions.

Types of Migrations in Slovenia

There have been two types of migration flows in Slovenia, traditional and modern. Each of them has produced its own alternatives in housing policy orientation.

For the sake of clarification, it should be said that available data on migrations in Slovenia do not cover every aspect of the usual analysis of migration flows. Our statistics record only applicants for permanent residence and their provenance. In the last 25 years, 924,693 inhabitants (almost 1/2 of the population in 1991) have changed their residence or have applied for resident status (Kuhar, 1993). The Census includes some further data, but both sources are deficient. They do not include those who live and work in Slovenia, even for many years, but maintain permanent residence outside the country. Moreover, the mobility of individuals changing their temporary residence, e.g. for education and part time jobs, is not recorded.

It is generally believed that mobility in Slovenia is low, even though 50% to 80% of the inhabitants of individual settlements have moved in from elsewhere (Ravbar, 1992). This possibly concerns mainly one in a life move, coinciding with first employment and (or) permanent housing status. Most of this mobility in Slovenia during the 50s and 60s used to be connected with deagrarianization - which later on provided migration from the former Yugoslav republics.

Most data on mobility in this regard thus relate to traditional mobility, which includes permanent residence and employment in the period of deagrarianization within or outside the country. Therefore, the traditional mobility fosters the flows from rural to urban regions.

This is greater in Yugoslavia, while in Slovenia it has stabilized during the last decade, resulting in a relatively low rate of urbanization growth (Figure 2, Tables 1 and 3). Only 7.6% of the population are farmers, but 29.6% of households keep up farming as a second occupation in addition to

employment in industry, which accounts for 24% of the whole population (Statistical Yearbook, 1993; Dekleva, V.B., 1992).

Other forms of (modern) mobility have been developing on account of specific obstacles to urban growth, including suburbanization, intensive daily commuting and the "urbanization" of rural areas and small countryside settlements (Figure 4). These phenomena are defined as modern forms of mobility, due to the different locations of the working and living environments or simple preference of life style. They are connected to increasing employment in the service and public sectors, rather than in secondary activities.

Furthermore, both forms of mobility increase the dynamic of changes in the building environment. They create demands for intensive infrastructural development. Along with the ever increasing complexity of economic and social relations within the connected settlements in each area, such processes require more and better communication in order to enable such (metropolitan) regions to function.

The lack of modernized, reorganized systems of coordination might create obstacles to qualitative and structural changes, consequently provoking social/political conflicts and economic recession. Many previous family and local investments would not be activated, and their entrepreneurial potential would instead be lost. During the present process of transition, Slovenia is confronted with such a situation (Dekleva, V.B., 1992).

Effects of Development and Mobility on Housing Provision

Production of housing and other urban facilities in the country, where such metropolitan regions have been in formation (Dekleva, J., 1993; Ravbar, 1992), are thus resulting in the phenomenon of a "smoothly" dispersed, unusually complex urban network in Slovenia. Almost 60% of Slovenian households (or 2/3 of the entire population) are living in one-family houses of differing quality (barely renovated farms or newly-built suburban and countryside units).

Half of the entire population is settled in 68 regional and community urban centres. The other half is dispersed over more than 5900 small settlements and villages throughout the countryside (Dekleva, V.B., 1991; Jakoš, 1992).

Private housing ownership has currently regained as much as 88% of the entire housing stock. Social rental housing never reached more than 33% (in 1991) of the housing stock in Slovenia and is presently being reduced by the conversion of status (privatization by the tenants "Right to Buy"). Although various different forms of housing "privatization" have existed in Slovenia during the last few decades, enabling the private sector to grow, most of the financing has involved the public (social) sector (Figure 5).

The greater the socialist inefficiency in housing, the larger the tacit tolerance has been of the pragmatic solutions which the private sector and local population have devised in their distress.

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Public finance housing funds have been individually redistributed through loans to firms, by commercial credits from banks or by various subsidies to cooperatives, firms, individual do-it-yourself constructions and buyers of apartments. Most of these privatization forms have been directed towards new construction, while mobility within the existing stock has faced normative obstacles and financial constraints (taxes).

Overestimation of housing demand has been the effect, while renovation and mobility have been delayed. Most the public, industrially built housing has been built in urban centres, but part of it has been sold to private owners on a "free market" basis. In addition, housing nationalized in the 50s is in the process of restitution into private hands.

Here we must consider the consequences for the housing policies which have been applied to resolve the shortages of adequate or available housing. The main problem of younger Slovenian families is overcrowded housing and unsettled housing status (living with parents or in the non-registered private rental sector). Access to adequate housing (defined by standards or preferences) has been the greatest reason for stagnating rates of urban growth and for the prevalence of suburbanization during the last decade.

First, a lack of units in rental sector in cities has increased prices, while normative obstacles have decreased social mobility. Private initiatives have been oriented mainly towards self-provision of housing, for own use rather than for renting (there exists a short-term private rental sector, barely registered). Inefficient social production of housing has left families with little if any alternative. The building of a family house in a suburban area has been the most rational, inexpensive and satisfactory solution.

While the elderly population today faces financial constraints and increasing housing costs, very limited interventions have been applied to increase mobility within the existing stock (Dekleva, V.B., 1988, 1992). Previously strong tenant rights and high taxes on sales in combination with low rents for public housing restricted mobility. Now that restraints have been loosened, it is almost impossible for elderly households to find adequate (smaller) housing in the same environment.

A retrospective analysis of the significant periods, where certain types of housing production prevailed over others in connection with different forms of social mobility, might reveal the complexity of the present situation in Slovenia.

1. The period between the end of the Second World War and the late 60s was characterised by what could be called a "redistribution of poverty". This included housing as well as other kinds of property such as land, businesses and means of production. Modest new investments in housing by firms and cooperatives only filled the greatest gaps in scarce available housing stock for growing industries. Increasing population growth and the number of households made the situation worse for the ambitious development plans of the socialist state. Shortages increased at the end of the 70s, when major immigration flows began to surge into Slovenia from eastern and southern Yugoslavia, due to deficiencies in economic development.

Political measures to decrease housing shortages were stimulated, influenced by different factors.

The first socialist economic reform (in fact a crisis) in 1964 revealed some basic deficiencies of previous central planning. At first, unable to provide full employment for workers and lacking new capital for investments, increased overall migration within Yugoslavia and emigration to European countries. Slovenia became increasingly an immigrant republic.

Second, housing shortages were ever greater, while investments were needed in production and infrastructure (roads, railways, communications). Waves of immigrants into a few urban centres increased social costs, overburdening the local budgets. Insufficient urban infrastructure made life miserable for inhabitants; at the same time, not all members of families previously fully engaged in farming could find adequate employment in cities (Bolčič, 1977). This was especially true for women, since services for child care and other family needs were insufficient.

Third, deagrarianization has not been replaced by efficient social production of food by cooperatives; thus redistribution of capital due to unequal exchange and differences in prices of food related to industrial products has failed to accumulate needed resources. Shortages softened (politically) "the socialist agrarian revolution", leading to the toleration of numerous, but small-scale private farming concerns alongside social production.

Yugoslavia opened its borders, introducing tourism as an alternative to industrial economic growth (and bringing in hard currency!). This decision also enabled the unemployment problem to be "exported" by allowing emigration. Selective inclusion within world markets began, accentuating and increasing both internal and external migration flows. Nevertheless, the heroic times of rapid industrial and urban growth were over.

2. The second period, in the 70s, therefore redefined the strategies of industrial development, with different effects within each republic of the former Yugoslavia (Dekleva, V.B., 1992). This stage and increasing differentiation among national political mainstreams account for the later discords of the 90s. The strong need for change (redirection towards a more market-oriented economy, rather than social redistribution) was more marked in Slovenia and Croatia than elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia (Bolčič, 1977; Dekleva, V.B., 1992).

Industrial and other production investments were allocated to areas where people were already housed - small countryside settlements. Only a few industrial sectors occupied larger areas, accumulating higher concentrations of immigrants. So-called "socialist cities" (Velenje, Nova Gorica) were built, where employment, social services and urban facilities were provided as "packages," regardless of the production results. Political and economic management functions after decentralization of the central government in 1974 inside the local centres increased the number of such urban units, developing significant social standards for the inhabitants of rather small settlements (Dekleva, V.B., 1992).

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Regional structural imbalances have been the result, having arisen in smaller towns of the polycentric urban network (Dekleva, V.B., 1992). These towns have had the highest levels of immigration flows during the last two decades and the greatest share of public housing.

When political and administrative decentralization began, the process at first provoked a "national technocratic revolution" in Croatia and Slovenia; the orthodox establishment had politically suppressed reform during the early 70s, prolonging its powerful social position. After removing the initiators of the reform from the political scene, the communist party paradoxically promoted the idea itself under the guise of legislative reform in 1974 (a new Constitution). The result was relative independence of the republics, including urban planning, housing and immigration policies. Consequently, restrictions on migration arose, leading to more selective and controlled immigration flows in Slovenia.

The territory of Slovenia was at that time divided into 68 municipalities, which in time gained substantial power to control their own resources. In municipal centres strong administration, self-management and economic groups promoted urban development, changing the social structure by selective immigration, investing in infrastructure, and raising social standards (Dekleva V.B., 1986/91, Table 3). Most internal migrations in the mid-70s were towards the small municipal centres, while larger regional centres grew only moderately. Urban development of this kind is described by the polycentric model (Figure 3).

The social structure of immigration changed significantly in the late 70s. Immigrants had a higher level of education (even higher than the Slovenian average), since previous immigrants had been predominantly unskilled young workers. The new immigrants more frequently had families and had a greater tendency to integrate.

The last decade has therefore been marked by an overall decline in economic development, demonstrating the need for structural and political change. Increasing unemployment (14.8% in 1994) has slowed migrations and increased political turmoil. Slovenia has nevertheless offered better prospects to immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics. Further stagnation in the late 80s, economic decline and the declaration of independence reversed the migrations trend in 1991. Due to the war and the removal of the federal army, more than 9500 people left the country in '91. The present turmoil has put an end to the "internal" mobility from the former Yugoslavian republics. Nevertheless, the refugees opened new migration phenomena.

Some Social Consequences of Urban Decentralization and Prospects

Criticism of socialism usually neglects some positive aspects to urban development in Slovenia since the 70s. The measure to disperse production facilitated lower costs of urban growth and somewhat improved control of public expenditure: it enabled wages to be kept down because of the lower cost of living in the countryside. The resourcefulness of families and traditional accu-

mulated resources made cheaper and slightly less dramatic changes in industrial development in Slovenia possible.

At the same time, family farming remained a secondary activity of countryside population, most often in combination with employment in industry. This development from the late 60s through to the 80s opened up advantages and possibilities for better-quality growth in both urban centres and countryside settlements. During the early 80s, differences in social standards between urban and countryside settlements decreased, but the process of "de-litization" has been curtailed by the market reorientation in the 90s (Dekleva, V.B., 1991, 1992).

In cities, absolute housing shortages have been reduced by intensive industrial construction of high-rise apartment buildings. The period from 1969 to the 80s was a golden age in terms of the rate of growth of new housing. The construction industry, previously engaged in infrastructure, used the same technology for housing, while communities provided the land. New taxes (to finance housing expenditure) were introduced to reduce the housing shortages and infrastructural deficiencies.

The power of state institutions had been at its peak at the moment of the allocation of these resources to the "workers", companies and to the tenants. The legislation protected this allocation so strongly (like tenantry e.g.) that further redistribution was difficult if not impossible. A later process of "decentralization" of political power and self-management decreased the state's relative power over certain local resources, reducing the impact of state planning.

However, the controversy over tenants' rights, which were stronger because of the limited functions of private ownership, increased the inefficiency of the public housing system. Social injustice, entropy of resources and imbalances in urban development resulted. Mobility within the existing housing stock remained negligible and the private housing market was blocked, suppressing housing enterprise. In fact, these socialist inventions prevented realization of the profits from investment in goods like housing, buildings, land and enterprises, by assigning only the "use value" to those who had (sometimes privileged) access to it. Such limitations were used in order to prevent market performance and property "speculations".

Paradoxically, after the first redistribution of goods, the state almost lost control over these resources, which created investment stagnation, a lack of maintenance and low mobility in the public housing stock. The inability to increase housing rents, for example, was due to the political and social power of "tenants", who benefited.

At present, these controversial features still represent an obstacle to the "new owners" and state in controlling and planning the building environment. The "privatization or conversion" of housing during the transitional period (1991-1993) thus means a second "redistribution of wealth" in relation to the nationalization of the 50s as a redistribution of poverty. Or better, second

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privatization is housing tenure conversion by simply changing their tenant status into homeownership in exchange for a modest compensation: from social tenants in the rental sector to private ownership for the occupiers of the housing unit (The Right to Buy). In the case of land and company property, it started with the "privatization" law of the last Yugoslav prime minister Marković in 1989. The first instances had taken place in Slovenia as early as 1978 with no at all cost for company to convert "social property" into private.

For housing, it started only in 1991 with the change in housing legislation; the government made provisions for the "purchase" by tenants of social housing for a more than modest price (c.f. Dekleva, V.B., "Housing policy in the post-socialist State" from ENHR Oslo Conference and CIB Proceedings no.158 from the Lisbon Conference). The market price of these housing units would be five to ten times greater. In spite of this, only quality housing stock, mainly in urban areas, has been "sold", while 35% of social housing units remain in "collective" ownership, e.g. municipalities, firms and other associations. Negligible shares of housing stock have been sold in regions in economic decline (Stanovnik, 1992).

The rental housing sector is thus decreasing (from 33% to 12%), while private (individual) ownership has increased from 66% to almost 88%. It is expected that most of the rental sector will be organized on a non-profit basis. Nevertheless, we are facing new structural housing shortages: growing social problems will increase demand in the social rental sector, which is presently almost non-existent. In 1991, some of the social housing stock defined as a solidarity fund (3.5%), was mostly converted into a private as well.

The consequences and results of these conversions, together with the denationalization process are causing and managing some social conflicts of the transitional period in Slovenia at present (Dekleva, V.B., 1991; Bajt, 1992; Stanovnik, 1992; Mandič, 1992).

Because of the economic recession and the lack of available land, the private rental sector is not developing either. There is very little interest among municipalities in expanding social rental housing, in spite of the growing number of applications. Rather, the city council in Ljubljana, for example, decided to build luxury housing for necessary personnel and trained specialists and rented it for non-profit rents (which yet do not cover the cost of maintenance). While Ljubljana doubled its population between 1945 and 1991, urbanized land increased by a factor of seven. This was due to inadequate planning and provision of housing. In the future, the market economy may increase property values and intensify housing construction in cities by virtue of the available infrastructure.

Social conflicts, the upheaval functions of the state, and a lack of control over resources will all make the transitional period difficult and longer than expected. If nothing else, we have exchanged the previous "socialist" problems for some of those confronting western Europe. And that is the direction in which we are heading, whether or not this is a reason for optimism.

NOTES

1. In order to fill in this gap in evidence, Quality of Life research promoted the mobility issue: mobility is to be analyzed by the Life History Events method (Institute for Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana).
2. There are different definitions of urban regions, urban-countryside or rural settlements within the research analyses used in this paper. Numbers and proportions in the figures therefore do not always correspond.
3. Economists estimate that during the last four years production has decreased to the level of the 70s and the standard of living even further, while housing production has fallen to the level of the 60s ("Ekonomska gibanja", 1992/3, Ljubljana).
4. Although there are some methodological problems in this comparison, it nevertheless reveals the persistence of imbalances despite increasing housing construction.

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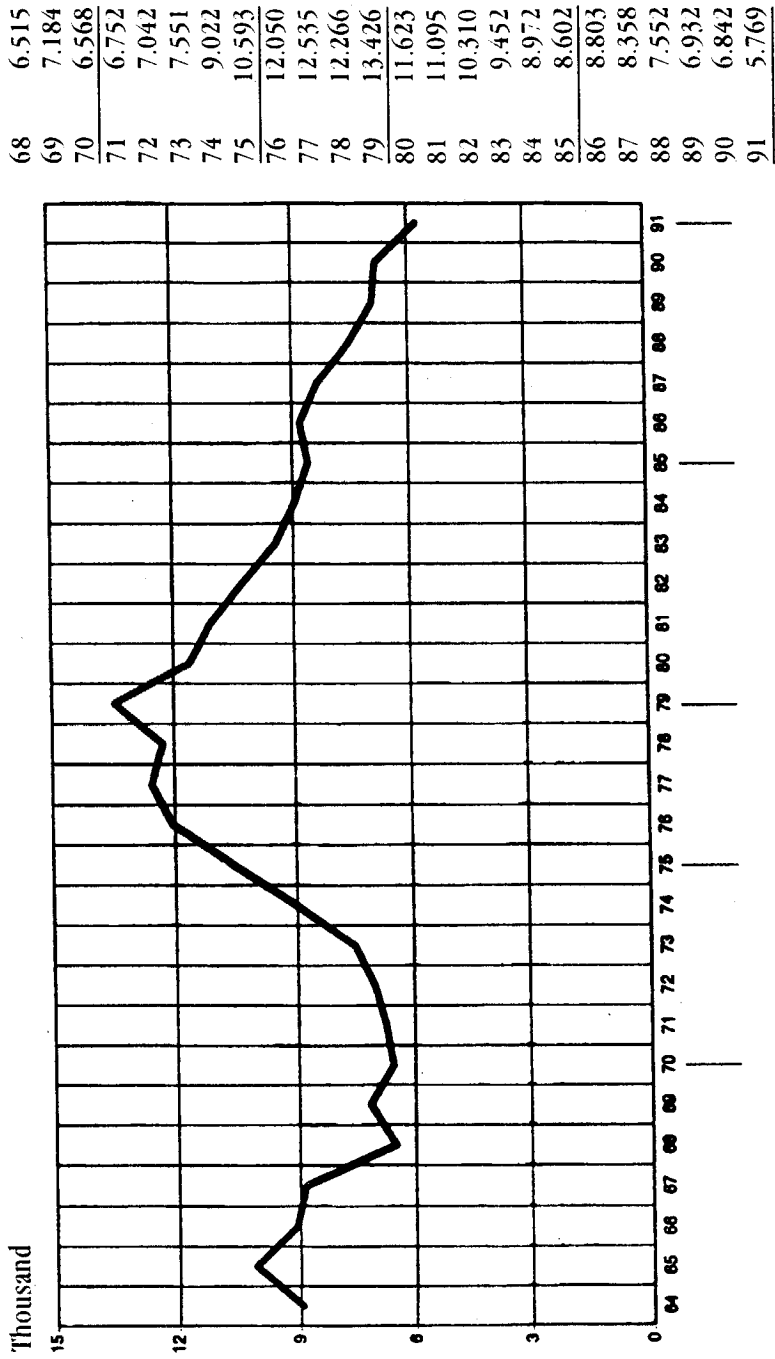
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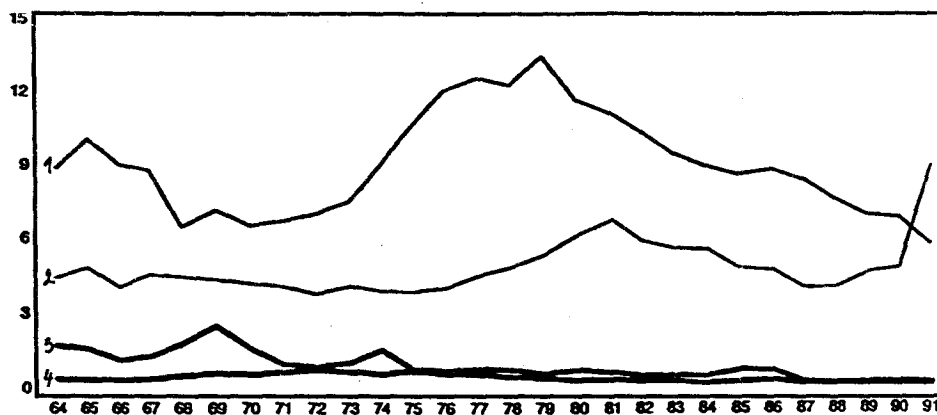
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FIGURE I Immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics



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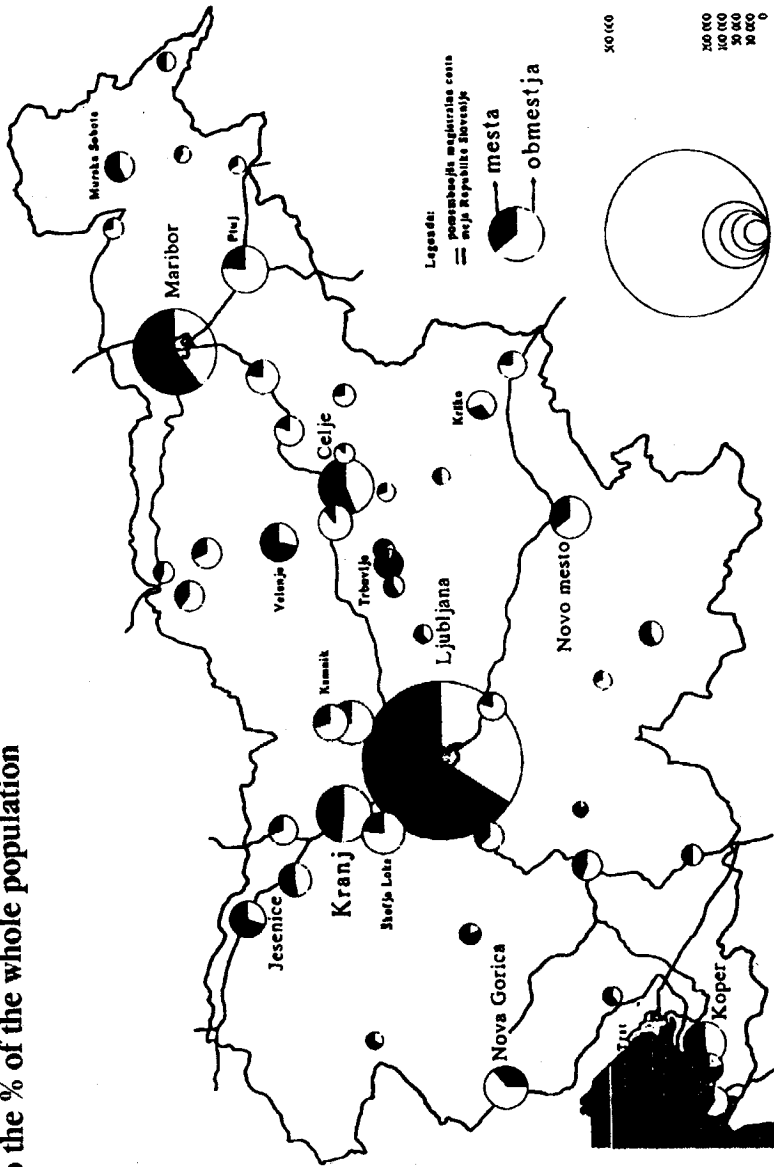
FIGURE 2 Migrations in Slovenia between 1964 and 1991



- 1 - immigrations from former Yugoslav republics
- 2 - emigrations to Yugoslavia
- 3 - emigrations to foreign countries
- 4 - immigrations from foreign countries

source: Statistical yearbook, 1993

FIGURE 3 Number of inhabitants in urban regions of Slovenia, 1986, according to the % of the whole population



Institut za geografijo Univerze, 1991
 Zasnova: M. Ravbar
 Izdelava: M. Ravbar

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FIGURE 4 An example of structural social changes of the population in urbanised region

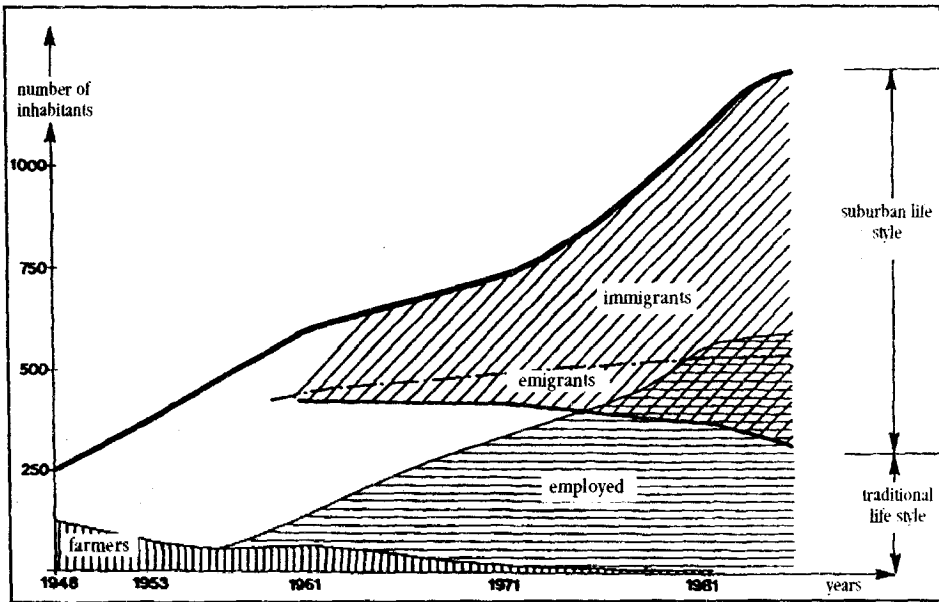


FIGURE 5A Estimated housing production flows

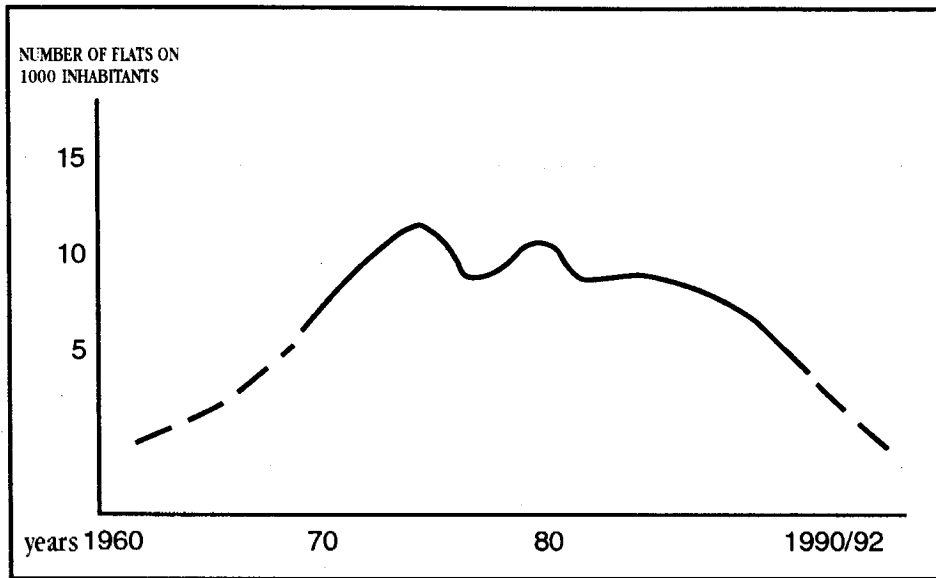
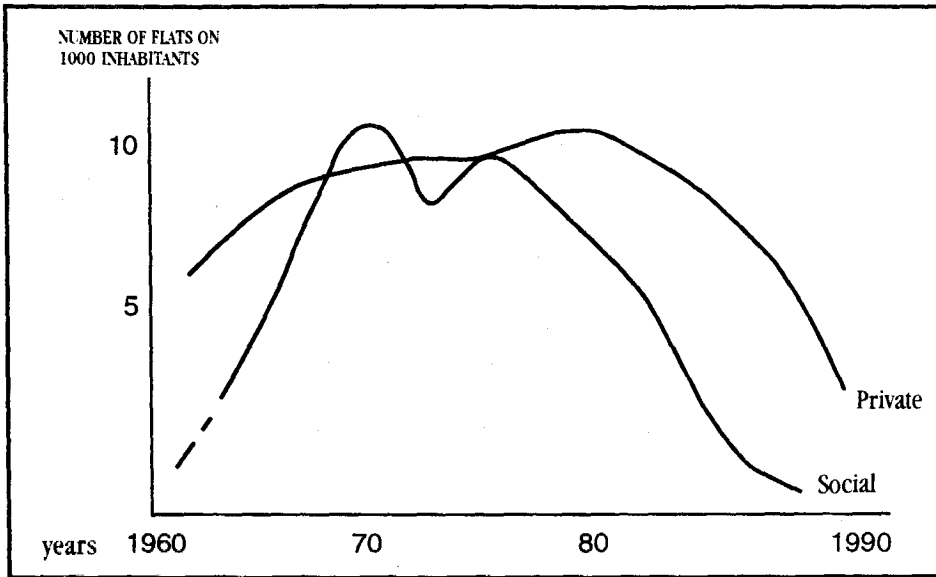


FIGURE 5B Private and social production of housing



Sources: Statistics, Research data, (with the risk of overimplification - Dekleva V.B.)