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Kako daleč vidimo?

Vprašanje, ki ga lahko razumemo na dva načina, ima dve dimenziji – prostorsko in časovno. Ali je pomembnejša pot ali cilj, načrtovanje ali izvedba? Idealno ni enega brez drugega. Dobro je, če zadovoljstvo najdemo tako v delu kot v rezultatih in zasluženem počitku. Končanim projektom pa sledijo vedno novi projekti in izzivi.

Po več kot osmih letih uspešnega in predanega dela je funkcijo glavnega urednika revije *Urbani izziv* sklenil Boštjan Kerbler. Uredniško delo bo nadaljeval pri strokovni izdaji revije. V imenu uredniškega odbora se mu lepo zahvaljujem za dosedanje delo! Lahko rečemo, da je to sprememba v najboljšem trenutku in ob vseh doseženih zastavljenih ciljih: revija je mednarodno priznana, vključena je v številne tuje in domače bibliografske baze, dosega veliko citiranost, ima odprt dostop, ohranja in širi svoj krog bralcev. Upam, da bomo uspešno zgodbo s skupnimi močmi tudi nadaljevali. Za vsako številko revije stojijo avtorji, recenzenti, uredniki, prevajalci in lektorji, oblikovalci, tiskarji in nenazadnje vodstvo Urbanističnega inštituta Republike Slovenije, ki prispevajo svoj čas, svoje znanje in svoj trud, da revija obstaja in se razvija. Hvala vsem in toplo vabljeni k sodelovanju tudi v prihodnje!

Prva letošnja številka prinaša šest člankov, katerih avtorji predstavljajo raziskave in prostorsko-načrtovalske izzive iz vse Evrope, od Norveške, Švedske, Nemčije, Madžarske, Poljske, Bosne in Hercegovine do Slovenije. Zato je raznolika tudi vsebina: oblikovanje mestnega prostora in identitete v povojnem Sarajevu, razvoj novih in najbolj znanih trajnostnih sosesk v Evropi, razvoj podjetništva v predmestnih območjih, vprašanje lastništva stanovanj, načrtovanje novih sosesk, ki bodo imele identiteto, in razvoj zdravstvenih storitev za starejše, prilagojenih povpraševanju.

Upam, dragi bralci, da bo branje prijetno in poučno, ne glede na to, ali boste članke brali v elektronski ali tiskani obliki, v pisarni, na klopi v parku ali v viseči mreži ob morju. Vsem želim prijetno poletje in srečno, kamorkoli vas zanese pot skozi prostor in čas!

Damjana Gantar,
glavna urednica

How far ahead can we see?

This question can be interpreted in two different ways and has two dimensions: space and time. What is more important: the path or the goal? The planning or the implementation? Ideally, one cannot exist without the other. It is good to find satisfaction in our work as well as our results and well-deserved rest, bearing in mind that completed projects are always followed by constantly new projects and challenges.

After more than eight years of successful and dedicated work, Boštjan Kerbler has wrapped up his term as the editor-in-chief of *Urbani izziv*. He will, however, continue to edit the journal's special issues. On behalf of the editorial board, I would like to thank him for all of the work he has accomplished. One could say this change comes at the best possible moment, when the journal has achieved all of the goals it set: it is internationally recognised, is included in many international and Slovenian bibliographic databases, is frequently cited, has open access, and is maintaining and expanding its circle of readers. I look forward to continuing this success story through our joint efforts. The authors, reviewers, editors, translators, copyeditors, layout specialists, and printers – and ultimately the Urban Planning Institute's management – stand behind every issue of the journal, contributing their time, expertise, and efforts to help the journal exist and develop. I would like to thank all of you, and I look forward to working with you in the future.

The first issue this year features six articles, in which the authors present their studies and spatial-planning challenges from all across Europe (i.e., Norway, Sweden, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slovenia). Accordingly, the topics discussed are also highly diverse: shaping urban spaces and identity in post-war Sarajevo, the development of new and leading sustainable neighbourhoods in Europe, the development of entrepreneurship in suburban areas, homeownership, planning new neighbourhoods with identities and the development of senior healthcare services adapted to demand.

Dear readers, I wish you a pleasant and informative reading regardless of whether you are reading the articles in electronic or print form, at your office, on a bench in the park, or in a hammock on the beach. I wish everyone a great summer and success wherever your path through space and time may lead you.

Damjana Gantar
Editor-in-chief

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Tri prvine konstrukcije prostorske identitete v soseskah Mađir v Banjaluki (Bosna in Hercegovina) in Ilsvika v Trondheimu (Norveška)

Sodobni svet je priča hitri urbanizaciji, povečevanju števila mestnega prebivalstva, stalni rasti mest in gradnji novih sosesk. Slednjim pogosto primanjkuje prvin lastne identitete z vidika kraja in ljudi, ki tam živijo, zato jih je treba ustvariti skupaj s fizično in naravno strukturo kraja ter kulturno identiteto ljudi. Konstrukcija prostorske identitete je v članku z metodo kvalitativne analize obravnavana na podlagi primera dveh »novih« mestnih sosesk: soseske Mađir v bosanski Banjaluki in soseske Ilsvika v norveškem Trondheimu. Avtorja ju primerjata na podlagi modela trikotnika, ki vključuje tri prvine konstrukcije identitete kot tri točke analize: a) prostorski kontekst, b) sodelovanje pri načrtovanju in gradnji ter

c) dogajanje v kraju. Med obema kulturnima kontekstoma in načinoma konstrukcije prostorske identitete so podobnosti in razlike. Raziskava je pokazala vsesplošen pomen obravnavanega pojava, pri čemer proces lahko izboljšamo z uporabo pozitivnih izkušenj drugih, ki jih prilagodimo posameznemu okolju. Zaradi pomembnosti in medsebojne povezave treh prvin, vključenih v konstrukcijo prostorske identitete, bi jih bilo treba uskladiti na vseh stopnjah razvoja.

Ključne besede: prvine konstrukcije, prostorska identiteta, nove soseske, Mađir (Bosna in Hercegovina), Ilsvika (Norveška)

1 Uvod

Povečevanje števila prebivalcev v mestih po svetu povzroča nenehno rast mest in gradnjo novih sosesk. Pogosto pa mestna gradnja ne izraža ustreznega odnosa do prvotnega okolja in njegovih posebnosti, pri čemer nova urbana oblika ne pripomore k identiteti kraja. Zato bi bilo treba hkrati s konstrukcijo fizične in naravne strukture ter kulturne identitete kraja razmisliti tudi o konstrukciji identitete kot sestavnega dela nastajanja kraja.

Åshild Lappegard Hauge (2009) navaja, da lahko prostorsko identiteto razumemo kot eno mnogih manifestacij, ki jo sestavlja veliko prvin. V tem primeru navajamo samo tri prvine konstrukcije identitete, analizirane kot tri točke modela trikotnika. Uporabljen je pristop k odnosu med ljudmi in krajem, ki ga je razvil David Seamon (2012) in ga lahko opišemo kot skupek treh različnih razsežnosti kraja (triado): 1. geografske celote, 2. ljudi, ki v kraju živijo, in 3. duha kraja (slika 1a). Model smo prilagodili potrebam obravnavane raziskave in ga preoblikovali v skupek treh prvin konstrukcije identitete: a) prostorskega konteksta, b) sodelovanja pri načrtovanju in gradnji ter c) dogajanja v kraju (slika 1b).

Kot navaja Seamon (2012), je identiteta sestavna razsežnost trojnega razumevanja izkušnje kraja in nastajanja kraja. Številni avtorji so ponudili podobne definicije identitete, vedno pa kot prvino konstrukcije kraja. Kevin Lynch (1974) jo opredeljuje v smislu enakosti z nečim drugim, toda v pomenu individualnosti oziroma enosti, Stuart Hall (2000) pa navaja, da se oblikuje v odnosu do nekoga drugega. Ena ključnih značilnosti osebne identitete in identitete kraja je torej povezava med njima. Edward W. Soja (1998: 8) trdi, da »se vse bolj zavedamo, da smo in smo vedno bili prostorska bitja po naravi oziroma aktivni udeleženci družbene konstrukcije prostorskega, ki nas obdaja« in bi morali zato o identiteti teoretizirati kot o družbenoprostorskem pojavu. William V. J. Neil (2004: 11) navaja, da »je konstrukcija identitete vedno povezana z izgradnjo prostora«, Manuel de Solà-Morales i Rubió (2003) prav tako razmišlja o mestnem življenju kot o družbenem konstrukt, Henri Lefebvre (2013) pa ugotavlja, da je mestni prostor vzajemno povezan z družbenimi odnosi.

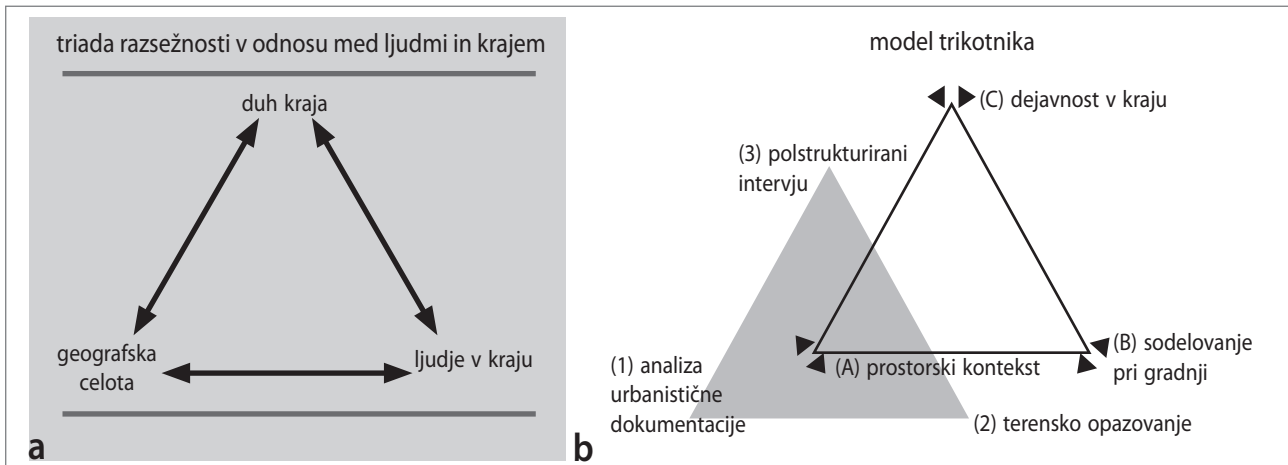
Tako kot mesto ali človek se tudi identiteta vedno razvija in ni nikoli dokončana (Neil, 2004) ali končana (Hall, 2000), zlasti če upoštevamo svobodo izražanja posameznih identitet, ki enakovredno sodelujejo pri konstrukciji enotnosti kraja (Seamon, 2012). Na podlagi velike svobode osebnih identitet enotnost identitete naroda ali kulturnega prostora v sodobnem svetu vse bolj velja za nekoliko zastarelo in tako v diskurz vstopa pojem hibridnosti (Hall, 2000). Hans Ibelings (2010) navaja, da se nič in nihče popolnoma ne ujema z eno samo identiteto,

Isidora Karan (2014) pa dodaja, da lahko hibridno identiteto skupaj z različnimi kulturnimi vplivi razumemo tudi kot zbirko hibridnih osebnih identitet, ki so v vsakem prostoru. Zgolj obstoj številnih osebnih identitet (tj. sam obstoj te hibridnosti) pa ne zadostuje za konstrukcijo prostorskih identitet, saj je njihov družbenoprostorski odnos s krajem sporen. Z gradnjo novih sosesk denimo ljudje iz različnih družbenih slojev in z različnimi identitetami postanejo sosedje, toda nenadoma ne vedo, kako naj se vedejo in sporazumevajo v skupnem javnem prostoru (Murphy, 2011).

V družbenoprostorskem kontekstu lahko identiteto kraja dojemamo kot niz pomenov, ki jih ljudje povezujejo z določenim krajem in njegovimi osebnimi identitetami ter tudi s konstrukcijo družbenih identitet. Avtorji, ki so razpravljali o teh odnosih (Norberg-Schulz, 1979; Watson in Bentley, 2007; Dovey, 2010; Karan, 2014), menijo, da gre pri konstrukciji prostorske identitete za zapleten odnos med naravnimi, morfološkimi, družbenoekonomskimi, kulturnimi in drugimi dejavniki. Prvine, kot so fizično okolje, mestne dejavnosti in pomeni, omogočajo orientacijo v prostoru oziroma kraju in identifikacijo z njim. Natančneje, Aksel Tjora idr. (2012) trdijo, da na ravni soseske stanovanjski objekti, javni prostori in skupnost skoraj vedno vplivajo na družabno življenje ljudi in na njihov občutek pripadnosti soseski. Prebivanje v določeni vrsti soseske lahko razumemo kot izraz identitete, čeprav se ljudje pogosto ne morejo identificirati s krajem, v katerem živijo.

Zato je pri gradnji soseske in konstrukciji njene identitete zelo pomembna komunikacija, čeprav jo je pogosto težko doseči. Kot navajajo Visar Hoxha idr. (2014), socialno konstrukcijo prostora dojemamo kot zapleteno preobrazbo prostora – z družbenimi izmenjavami in vsakodnevno uporabo materialnega okolja – v prostore in dejanja s čisto določenim pomenom. Podobno Seamon (2012) opozarja na dejanja, procese in situacije, s katerimi lahko kraj izboljšamo in preoblikujemo na podlagi preudarnega razumevanja tega, kako kraji delujejo ter kaj prispeva k njihovim prednostim in slabostim.

Čeprav je vprašanje identitete težko opredeliti, saj ni nikoli jasno, nedvoumno ali celovito (Hall, 2000; Castells, 2009; Ibelings, 2010), ni dvoma, da med kulturnim kontekstom, družbenimi dejavnostmi in prostorsko identiteto obstajajo določene povezave. Konstrukcija identitete je proces, ki se niti ne začne niti ne konča s fizično konstrukcijo soseske. Zato bi bilo pomembno čim prej doseči komunikacijo med vsemi, ki sodelujejo pri vzpostavitvi življenja v soseski in njene identitete (že na samem začetku), in jo ohraniti na vseh stopnjah razvoja, načrtovanja in gradnje. V članku skušata avtorja razumeti različne načine konstrukcije identitete z vidika odnosa do soseske in soudeležbe skupnosti v celotnem razvojnem procesu.



Slika 1: Ilustracija uporabljenih analiz: (a) Seamonova triada razsežnosti v odnosu med ljudmi in krajem (vir: Seamon, 2012), (b) model trikotnika (ilustracija: Igor Kuvač)

Konstrukcija identitete je v članku proučena na podlagi dveh primerov »novih« sosesk: Mađir v Banjaluki v Bosni in Hercegovini ter Ilsvika v Trondheimu na Norveškem. Avtorja sta navdih za ta nenavaden izbor dveh »malih narodov«^[1] dobila v dveh delih Isidore Sekulić: v potopisu z naslovom *Pisma iz Norveške* (1914) in eseju *Problem malog naroda* (1932). Čeprav Hall (2000) trdi, da narodi nimajo samo ene kulturne identitete, lahko najdemo določene splošne primere edinstvene »nacionalne« identitete. V razpravi avtorja primerjata prostorsko identiteto dveh narodov (Norveške ter Bosne in Hercegovine) ob upoštevanju njune različne kulture, na katero so vplivale geografska lokacija, zgodovina, miselnost in velikost države. Ne glede na to, kako zelo značilnosti »naroda« določajo osebno identiteto, je ta odvisna predvsem od tega, kaj človek v resnici je, kaj ima in kako je videti. Sekulićeva (1932) navaja, da lahko to ideologijo v celoti prenesemo tudi na narode.^[2] Avtorja proučujeta to kompleksno vprašanje na podlagi modela trikotnika, pri čemer opravita tri vrste kvalitativne analize: analizo urbanistične dokumentacije, terensko opazovanje in kvalitativno analizo polstrukturiranih intervjujev. Analizirata dva različna primera novih sosesk kot nasprotnih polov, ki sta drug od drugega oddaljena več kot 2.500 km. Izsledki raziskave kažejo na vsesplošen pomen obravnavanega pojava, pri čemer bi proces lahko izboljšali z upoštevanjem pozitivnih izkušenj drugih, ki bi jih ustrezno prilagodili posameznemu okolju.

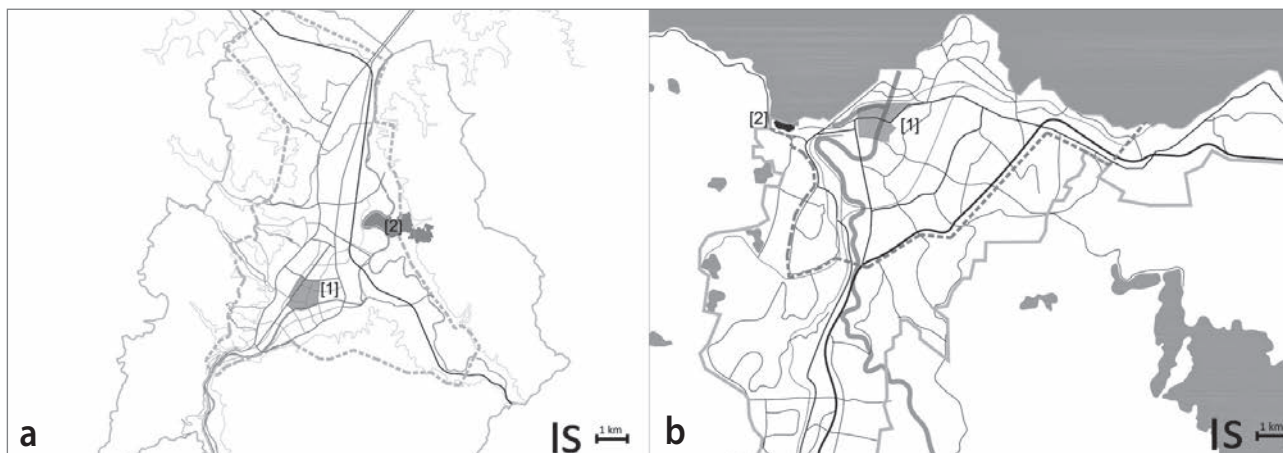
2 Raziskovalna metoda

2.1 Dva primera

1. Mađir je stanovanjska soseska na severovzhodnem obrobju Banjaluke (slika 2a), ki je s 150.997 prebivalci (Statistični urad Republike srbske, 2014) in površino 1.232 km² drugo največje mesto v Bosni in Hercegovini. Soseska je nastala nenačrtno kot del neformalnega mestnega tkiva, zlasti zaradi potrebe po nujni

zagotovitvi strehe nad glavo. V mestu se kažejo posledice trpljenja in opustošenja med vojno (1992–1995) ter poznejšega preseljevanja,^[3] tranzicije in drugih negativnih pojavov, ki so imeli katastrofalni učinek na vso državo (Ministrstvo za finance in zakladništvo Bosne in Hercegovine in Urad rezidentnega koordinatorja ZN v Bosni in Hercegovini, *Ministry of finance and treasury of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Office of the UN resident coordinator in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 2013). Čeprav se prebivalci vsak dan borijo za golo preživetje, so pozitivni. Imajo toplo, odprto slovansko dušo, njihovo miselnost pa prežemajo slovanski značaj, duhovnost in iracionalnost, ki so se oblikovali v več stoletjih (Cvijić, 1966). Nanje in na njihov način razmišljanja so vplivali različni osvajalci in vladavine največjih evropskih cesarstev, štiri veroizpovedi in stičišče številnih kulturnih vplivov, ki so pripomogli k izjemno raznoliki identiteti.

2. Ilsvika je stanovanjska soseska na zahodnem obrobju Trondheima (slika 2b), mesta v ustju reke Nidelve ob južni obali Trondheimskega fjorda. S 178.021 prebivalci (Internet 1) je tretje največje norveško mesto. Soseska je nastala kot del formalnega mestnega tkiva na podlagi potreb trga ter ob upoštevanju standardov, zakonov in predpisov. V širšem pogledu jo določa gospodarski napredek ene najbogatejših in najrazvitejših držav na svetu, za katero sta značilni gospodarska stabilnost in velika socialna varnost (OECD, 4). Poleg tega so za državo značilni tudi visoka stopnja demokracije, človekovih pravic in svoboščin, visok standard bivanja v sožitju z naravo in velik pomen zasebnega prostora. To se kaže tudi v identiteti mestnega prostora. Njena izoliranost in lega na skrajnem evropskem severu ter neprijazno podnebje z mrzlimi zimami in malo sonca so prispevali k nastanku posebne mentalitete (Hamsun, 1927; Sejranović, 2010). V nedostopni, redko poseljeni deželi, bogati z naravnimi lepotami, življenje »malega naroda« zaznamujejo skromnost in potrpežljivost, pa tudi osamljenost, depresivnost in mraz (Sekulić, 1914).



Slika 2: Lokacija sosesk v mestu: (a) Mađir in (b) Ilsvika (ilustracija: Igor Kuvač)

2.2 Model trikotnika

Avtorja sta uporabila kvalitativno metodo za proučevanje konstrukcije prostorske identitete, odvisne od različnih težko izmerljivih dejavnikov (Mason, 2006). Kot navaja Manuel Castells (2009), ta proces vedno poteka v kontekstu, ki ga določajo različna razmerja moči, in vključuje različne elemente zgodovine, geografije, veroizpovedi, spolne usmerjenosti itd. Na podlagi trikotnega modela, oblikovanega na podlagi kvalitativne metode (Kvale in Brinkmann, 2009), sta avtorja v raziskavo vključila tri vrste analiz: analizo urbanistične dokumentacije, terensko opazovanje in kvalitativno analizo polstrukturiranih intervjujev. Glavni poudarek je na intervjujih – metodi, ki lahko ponazori identiteto kot okvir, s katerim lahko pojasnimo trenutne vedenjske vzorce v prostoru in odzive anketirancev na načine oblikovanja novih sosesk. Model trikotnika vključuje tri prvine konstrukcije prostorske identitete: a) prostorski kontekst, b) sodelovanje pri načrtovanju in gradnji ter c) dogajanje v kraju (slika 1). Proučevano je 20-letno obdobje (1995–2015), ki zajema čas po koncu vojne v Bosni in Hercegovini ter obdobje intenzivnega razvoja obeh analiziranih sosesk.

Avtorja sta z manjšo skupino anketirancev opravila polstrukturiran intervju, pri čemer sta uporabila namenensko metodo vzorčenja, ki omogoča najlažji dostop do anketirancev in njihovih opisov vsakdanjega življenja. Na podlagi eksplorativnega potenciala osebnih in subjektivnih pogledov v intervjujih, ki omogočajo kvalitativne opise, lahko raziskovalci poglobijo razumevanje obravnavanega vprašanja in pridobijo nove vpoglede. Kvalitativni narativni intervjuji zato niso namenjeni testiranju hipotez, ampak izražajo zdravo pamet in interpretacijo izpraševalca. Pri tem lahko različni izpraševalci najdejo različni pomen, odvisno od njihovih subjektivnih vtisov, zato njihovi izsledki niso posplošljivi.

Avtorja sta med 22. in 30. decembrom 2014 opravila sedem poglobljenih intervjujev s prebivalci soseske Mađir v Banjaluki. Med anketiranci so bili štirje moški in tri ženske različne starosti in socialnega položaja, vključevali pa so stare in nove prebivalce soseske ter predstavnike nevladnih organizacij in lokalne skupnosti. Poglobljene intervjuje s prebivalci soseske Ilsvika v Trondheimu sta avtorja opravila med 9. in 16. marcem 2015. Pogovarjala sta se s petimi naključno izbranimi moškimi različne starosti, poklica in socialnega položaja.

Intervjuje sta opravila na podlagi raziskovalnega protokola, ki omogoča nadaljnja vprašanja in kritično zdravorazumsko razumevanje (Kvale in Brinkmann, 2009). Uporabila sta tri sklope vprašanj, okrog katerih se je razvil pogovor, ki je trajal približno 45 minut. Raziskovalno orodje je vključevalo izpeljane konstrukte, ki povezujejo tri prvine omenjene konstrukcije prostorske identitete in se nanašajo na: a) urbano strukturo ter odnos do starega dela soseske in mesta; b) zanimanje za načrtovalski proces in vplive na oblikovalske rešitve ter c) uporabo odprtih javnih prostorov, kakovost življenja in navezanost na kraj.

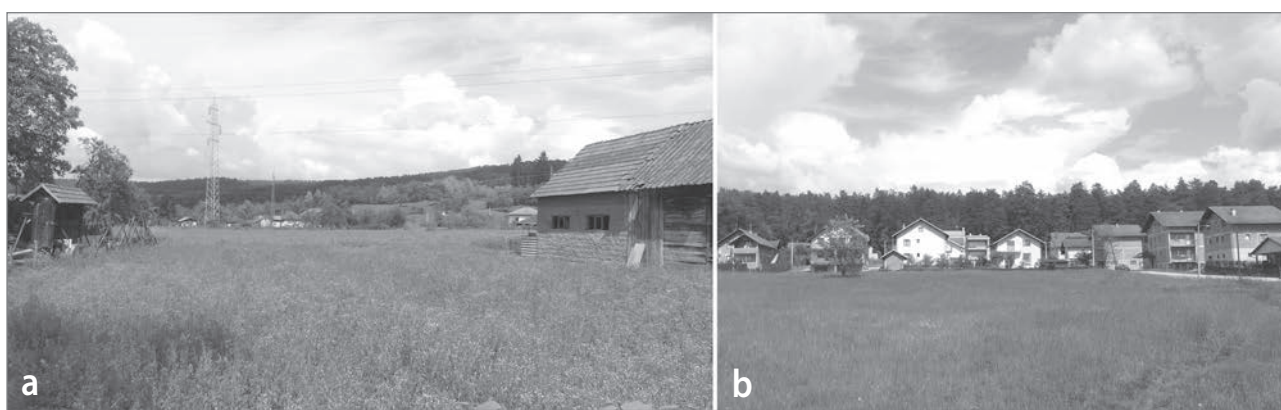
Avtorja sta za analizo pridobljenih kvalitativnih podatkov uporabila mešano metodo, pri kateri sta posamezne prvine analize združila v enotno opisno oceno. Izsledke analize urbanistične dokumentacije in terenskih opazovanj sta primerjala z odgovori anketirancev. To jima je pomagalo razumeti proces gradnje novih sosesk in konstrukcije njihovih identitet. Na podlagi modela trikotnika sta odgovore razvrstila v tri kategorije (preglednica 1).

3. Prvine identitete

Ob upoštevanju uporabljenega modela trikotnika so v tem poglavju predstavljeni izsledki omenjenih treh pristopov, pri

Preglednica 1: Razvrščanje odgovorov

Kategorija odgovorov		Odgovori
prostorski kontekst	O1	fizična in naravna struktura
		odnos do starega dela soseske
		odnos do mesta
sodelovanje v procesih	O2	zanimanje za lokalno politiko in načrtovalske procese
		oblikovanje soseske
		načrtovanje stanovanj
družbene dejavnosti	O3	uporaba odprtih javnih prostorov
		kakovost življenja
		navezanost na kraj

**Slika 3:** Stari (a) in novi (b) del soseske Mađir (foto: Igor Kuvač)

čemer so posebej navedeni tudi ključni komentarji, pridobljeni v intervjujih, ki so obogatili ugotovitve analize urbanistične in arhitekturne dokumentacije ter terenskih opazovanj, pomagali pa so tudi pri oblikovanju napovedi. Pri kvalitativni analizi sta avtorja proučevala podobnosti in razlike med vsemi tremi omejenimi prvini v procesu konstrukcije obeh izbranih sosesk.

3.1 Prostorski kontekst

Soseska Mađir je na desnem bregu reke Vrbas, 4 km od mestnega središča, med dvema zavarovanima naravnima območjema: Mađirskim poljem na zahodu in gozdom Trapisti na severovzhodu. Soseska upošteva konfiguracijo terena in smer širjenja nekdanjih kmetijskih parcel, določenih na podlagi podedovane lastniške strukture, dostopnih poti in rabe prostora. Gruče redko pozidanih enodružinskih hiš, ki sestavljajo stari del soseske, so razporejene v vse smeri in obrnjene proti ozkim vijugastim ulicam. Tradicionalna ljudska arhitektura je skromna, toda izredno kakovostna z vidika dimenzij, funkcije, gradnje in oblik (10 × 8 m, pritličje + nadstropje, dvokapna streha; slika 3a).

Novi del soseske je bil zgrajen na podlagi majhnih zasebnih naložb beguncev in notranje razseljenih ljudi, ki so bili glavni nosilci neformalnih novih gradenj. Nova urbana mreža se je vrnila med obstoječe parcele, upošteva konfiguracijo polj in

razširja ulično mrežo v smeri plastnic. Parcele v novem delu soseske so bile določene na podlagi modela tradicionalne stanovanjske gradnje, ki omogoča gradnjo enodružinske hiše in gospodarskega poslopja ter običajno tudi vrt. Urbana struktura tega dela soseske je razdrobljena ter se izmenjuje z naravno krajino in redkimi kmečkimi objekti. Razprostira se ob glavnih cestah: razpršeno po kmetijskih in gozdnih površinah okrog mestnih območij. Edina oblika stanovanjske gradnje in osnovna enota soseske so še vedno hiše, ki so jih lastniki zgradili sami in so namenjene trem generacijam iste družine (10 × 8 m, pritličje + nadstropje + podstrešje, dvokapna streha). Mnoge hiše so zaradi finančnih razlogov nedokončane. To je ključna značilnost tamkajšnje gradnje. Čeprav niso estetsko privlačne, ljudje v njih še naprej živijo na tradicionalen način (slika 3b) in ohranjajo poseben odnos do okolja. To prispeva k oblikovanju identitete. Soseska nima osnovne infrastrukture, prometnih povezav in javnih objektov.

Soseska Ilsvika je na zahodnem obrobju Trondheima (slika 2b). Velja za mirno, saj jo obdajajo gozd, hribi in morje. Njen večji del je slikovita stara ribiška vas Ilsvikora približno 2 km iz mestnega središča, kjer prevladujejo majhne enodružinske hiše (8 × 4,8 m, največ dve nadstropji), tradicionalno zgrajene iz lesa, s poševno dvokapno streho, razporejene v ulične bloke (slika 4a). Vaški javni prostor je omejen na dva majhna trga na križišču glavnih cest.



Slika 4: Stari (a) in novi (b) del soseske Ilsvika (foto: Igor Kuvač)

Novi del soseske tvori močno urbano strukturo na obali fjorda, za katero je značilna visoka stopnja urbanosti. Temelji na obstoječi strukturi »vasi«, upošteva obstoječo urbano mrežo, naravne danosti ter prevladujoče smeri objektov in obstoječih odprtih javnih prostorov. Kljub temu ustvarjeno razmerje še vedno ni dovolj ustrezno, da bi omogočilo integracijo starega in novega dela soseske. Urbana mreža se je oblikovala ob glavni cesti v smeri vzhod–zahod, vzporedno z obalo, ter dvema obodnima potema oziroma cestama: pešpotjo na severu in servisno cesto na jugu. Na severu jo omejuje obala fjorda z rekreacijskimi površinami in objekti, na jugu pa cesta 715 s krožiščem kot glavnim dostopom. Novi del se razteza od vzhoda proti zahodu, v njem pa prevladujejo večstanovanjske stavbe. Nekaj je tudi poslovnih stavb in drugih objektov (izobraževalnih, športnih ipd.). Povprečne dimenzije stavb so od približno 12×36 m do 14×54 m, poleg pritličja lahko vključujejo še dve do pet nadstropij. To pomeni, da je gostota prebivalcev na tem območju zelo velika (slika 4b). Kljub visoki stopnji urbanizacije so stanovalci poleg bližine mestnega središča in dobrih prometnih povezav kot glavno značilnost soseske podarili tudi bližino naravnega okolja.

Pri analizi prostorskega konteksta sta avtorja upoštevala razmerje med starim in novim delom sosesk kot pomembno prvino identitete ter kulturni kontekst, povezan s krajem.

3.1.1 Staro in novo

Razmerje med starim in novim izraža povezave s tradicijo ter stališča glede njenega ohranjanja in zaščite. Novi del soseske Mađir je vrinjen med obstoječe razpršene objekte, pri čemer z vrivanjem v obstoječo mrežo in njenim ponavljanjem tvori homogeno celoto (slika 3). Vas pa s tem še ne postane mesto. Kulturna vrzel med mestom in vasjo se tako povečuje kljub zmanjšani fizični oddaljenosti ter na novo nastali prevladujoči kulturni plasti. Po mnenju prebivalcev je njihova soseska nekje vmes med predmestno in podeželsko sosesko.

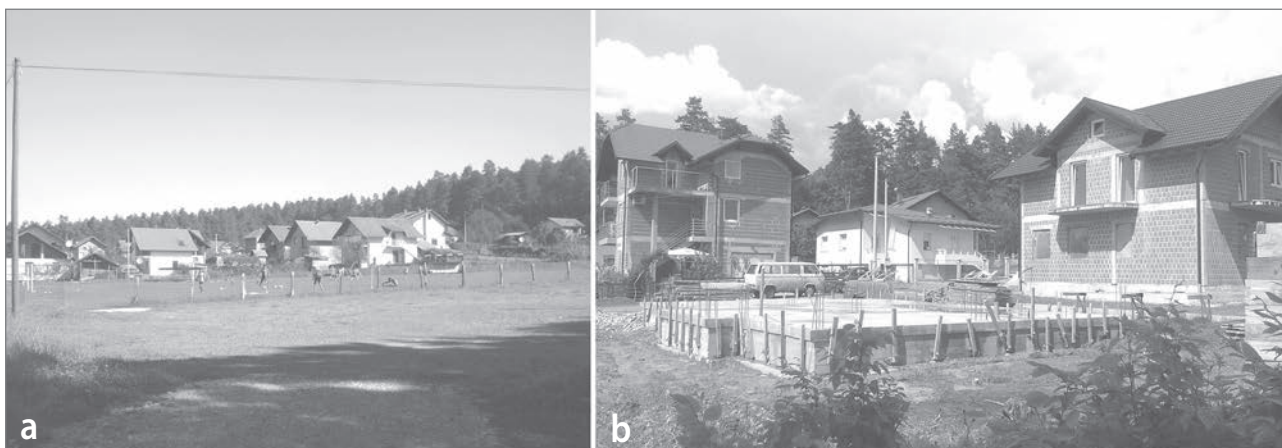
V primeru soseske Ilsvika je nekdanja vas postala del soseske, v kateri novi del obdaja starega (slika 4). Kot navajajo prebivalci, novi del počasi nadomešča starega v okviru splošnega in sprejemljivega razvojnega procesa, ki je del širšega konteksta. Posebna struktura vasi pomaga ohranjati odnos do tradicije in podedovane vrednote tudi v sodobnem okolju. Novi del soseske uporablja vse dobre prvine obstoječe identitete, ki pomeni določen kraj, na podlagi česar ustvarja svoje prednosti. Z rastjo mesta postaja vas vse bližje mestu in bolj prevozna, vendar po mnenju prebivalcev s tem izgublja del svoje identitete. Čeprav še vedno ohranja svojo staro podobo, v ospredje vse bolj prihaja nova fizična podoba mesta. V konfliktu med novim in starim kvantiteta novega zmagaja nad kakovostjo starega.

V nadaljevanju je pomen razmerja med novim in starim delom sosesk osvetljen z vidika družbenih dejavnosti in navezanosti prebivalcev na kraj.

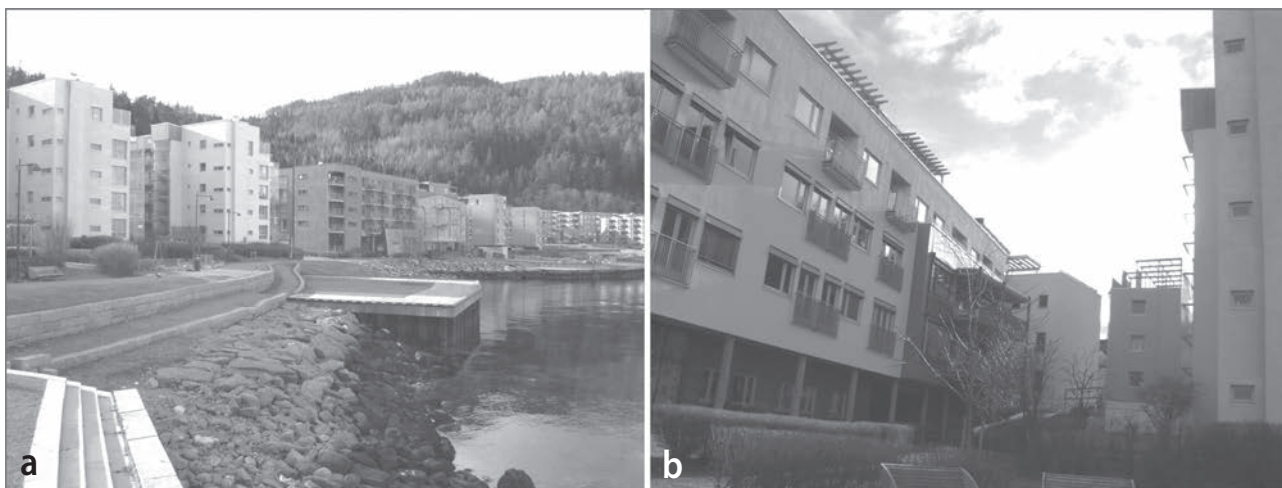
3.1.2 Navezanost na kraj

Bosanski prebivalci soseske Mađir imajo aktivno družabno življenje. Med seboj se intenzivno sporazumevajo, zato njihova skupnost deluje živahno, čeprav v soseski ne živi veliko ljudi. Poleg tega se stalno širi, v njej pa potekajo vsakodnevne dejavnosti, odvisne le od finančnih in vremenskih razmer. Ker se proces gradnje nikoli popolnoma ne konča in imajo številni prebivalci svoj vrt, »je vedno kaj za početi« (Meili idr., 2012). Pri delu uporabljajo orodje, ki povzroča hrup, vmes pa se pogovarjajo še s sosedi, družinskimi člani in mimoidočimi, zato se soseska zdi živahnejša, kot je v resnici. Stalna dejavnost in komunikacija gotovo prispevata k močnejši navezanosti na kraj. Pravzaprav se je izkazalo, da neformalnost gradnje kot dolgoročnega projekta pozitivno vpliva na konstrukcijo identitete (slika 5).

Obrobna lega na skrajnem severu Evrope, neprijazno podnebje z mrzlimi zimami, veliko snega, pomanjkanje sonca ter obdobje



Slika 5: (a) športne dejavnosti in (b) gradnja hiš v soseski Mađir (foto: Igor Kuvač)



Slika 6: Prazni odprti javni prostori v soseki Ilsvika (foto: Igor Kuvač)

ja polarnega dneva in noči so vplivali na oblikovanje posebne norveške miselnosti. Christian Norberg-Schulz (1979) navaja, da mora imeti vsak Norvežan rad mraz, gozd, meglo itd., Bekim Sejranović (2010) pa opisuje trpljenje in mrak v zasneženih norveških gorah, ki povzročata nordijsko melanholijo, značilno za Norvežane. Ker se sodobnemu »severnjaku« ni treba več vsak dan boriti za preživetje in mu ni treba zgraditi hiše, se raje posveča izgradnji svojega duha, individualnosti in raznolikosti s kopičenjem notranje energije (Sejranović, 2010). Neil (2004) poudarja, da neurejena notranjost nekaterim prinese notranji mir in nova odkritja ter jim omogoča notranjo spravo z identiteto, za katero pa ni nujno, da se kaže tudi navzven.

Na podlagi tega se je razvil poseben, zaprt življenjski slog, ko ljudje nimajo potrebe po interakciji v prostoru. S tem se sklada tudi formalna gradnja v soseski, pri kateri zagotavljanje strehe nad glavo ni problem, ampak le ena v nizu nalog, ki jo posameznik običajno reši tako, da kupi že zgrajeno stanovanje. Bivalno okolje v soseski Ilsvika je tako omejeno na stanovanje, kjer lahko stanovalci »spremenijo samo kaj malega pri notranji opremini in nič več«. Odnos ljudi do gradnje je v primerjavi s

sosesko Mađir čisto drugačen, saj ni del njihovega življenjskega sloga ali identitete, ki se oblikuje drugače. To velja tudi za navezanost na kraj. V tem okviru sta konstrukcija in krepitev identitete zmanjšani na minimum. Analiza navzočnosti prebivalcev na javnem prostoru ob izbranih delih dneva je potrdila, da ni očitnih vsakodnevnih dejavnosti kljub veliki gostoti in velikemu številu prebivalcev (slika 6).

3.2 Sistem (ne)načrtovanja

Glavni cilj novih gradenj v soseski Mađir je bil čim prej zagotoviti streho nad glavo, saj je bil to glavni problem na ducate razseljenih družin, ki so se tja priselile. Na ta proces niti država niti mesto nista bila pripravljena, zato tudi nista zagotovila načrtov za gradnjo novih stanovanj. Redka in zastarela načrtovalska dokumentacija ni ustrezala potrebam za novo širitev soseske, zato je bila edina možna rešitev neformalna gradnja. Skotte idr. (2015) pa opozarjajo, da so bile oblasti seznanjene z razmerami in so z neposredovanjem pravnih pomagal prišlo. Meili idr. (2012) so ta pojav imenovali »stabilnost neformalnega«. Novi prebivalci niso mogli čakati na sistemski odziv, zato nenačrtna samogradnja poteka brez posrednikov

in deluje po nekakšnem sistemu od spodaj navzgor. Glede na pomanjkanje finančnih virov kot ene ključnih značilnosti tamkajšnje gradnje prebivalci pravijo, da »niso mogli plačati dragih tehničnih dokumentov in gradbenih dovoljenj«. Kljub temu jih je večina vsaj sprožila postopek za izdajo gradbenega dovoljenja ali poznejšo legalizacijo gradnje,^[4] saj so se bali napak pri gradnji in so želeli graditi v skladu z zakoni.

Anketiranci so navedli, da »bi bilo treba problem rešiti čim prej, s čim manj komplikacijami in minimalnimi stroški«. Sekulićeva (1932) je zapisala, da »nismo nikoli imeli dovolj časa, da bi v miru razvili svojo kulturo«. To pomeni, da je že pred skoraj stoletjem to razumela kot stalni del jugoslovanske identitete. V teh okoliščinah se neformalni samograditelji osredotoča samo nase in svoje življenje. Ne čuti potrebe po komunikaciji z ustanovami in jim ne zaupa (Transparency international Bosna in Hercegovina, 2014), zato nima nikakršnega odnosa z javnim prostorom in ne kaže nikakršnega zanimanja za prihodnost. Ta miselnost je postala med ljudmi zelo izrazita, saj na prvo mesto postavljajo večni problem bivališča, ne da bi pri tem razmišljali o lastnih prihodnjih življenjskih potrebah (Aranya in Ulset, 2015).

Samogradnja se začne z izbiro lokacije in nakupom parcele, pri čemer je posameznik pred dejstvom, da malo ve o gradbenih pogojih na izbrani lokaciji in gradnji. Prebivalci poročajo, da so »potrebne informacije o mikroklimi, življenjskem slogu, gradnji, običajih, tradiciji itd.« dobili od domačinov. Med procesom, ki lahko traja nekaj mesecev do več let, neformalni samograditelj ustvari odnos s sosedi, ki mu posojajo orodje, material in elektriko, ponujajo prigrizke, pomagajo pri ročnem delu, se pogovarjajo z delavci in izmenjujejo izkušnje. Skotte (2004) to pojasnjuje kot strategijo, pri kateri stanovanje oziroma hiša kot vozlišče sproži konstitucijo družbe. Z gradnjo hiše ljudje gradijo tudi sebe v odnosu do soseske in tako izražajo duh kraja (Norberg-Schulz, 1979).

V soseski Ilsvika pa se zanimanje za gradnjo izraža v obliki zasebnih naložb in tržne gradnje. Glavni cilj je dobiček, zato proces poteka tako, da se opravi vrsta analiz, katerih namen je poiskati stroškovno najučinkovitejšo rešitev. Projekti temeljijo na racionalnih poslovnih odločitvah v skladu z zakonodajo in predpisi (internet 2) ter ob upoštevanju zgolj lastnih interesov. Anketiranec, ki je delal v nekem gradbenem podjetju, je povedal, da »je zaradi izredno visokih stroškov načrtovanja in visoke cene zemljišč ter nerazvitosti trga dobičkonosnost projekta narekovala obliko, visoko gostoto in razmerje s starimi objekti«.

Pri tem je bilo za zadovoljevanje skupnih javnih potreb soseske le minimalno poskrbljeno. Čeprav je bil proces in še vedno je namenjen državljanom (internet 3), jih pravzaprav ne zanima

in v njem redko sodelujejo. Javni interes je bil le delno zaščiten, zato so prebivalci stare ribiške vasi ustanovili nevladno organizacijo in se prli maksimalističnim zahtevam investitorjev (internet 4). Tako je mala ribiška vas zaradi minimalnega izpolnjevanja veljavnih zakonodajnih zahtev sicer ohranila svojo avtonomnost zaščitenega kompleksa, vendar nič več kot to. Na splošno ni bilo skupnega interesa za integracijo starega in novega dela soseske. Do nje niti ni prišlo, zato je bila izgubljena tudi priložnost za boljše prostorske in socialne rešitve. Vas ostaja izolirana in obdana z gosto pozidanimi novimi zgradbami, čeprav bi bila zaradi svojih pozitivnih urbanističnih lastnosti in socialne kohezije lahko zgled novim gradnjam.

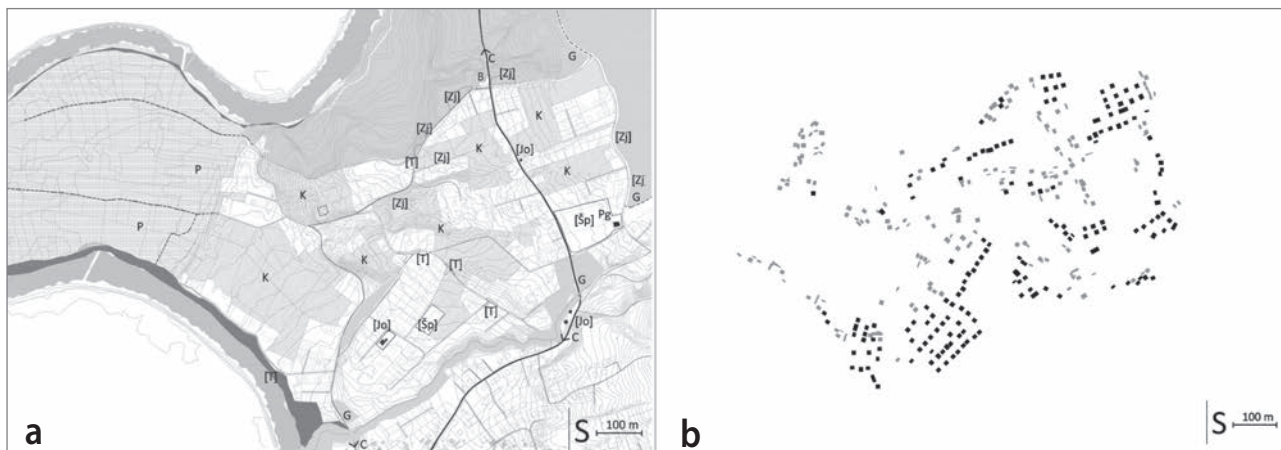
Na Norveškem vlada veliko zaupanje v sposobnosti oblasti, agencij in ustanov, ki naj bi poiskale najboljše rešitve v korist državljanov in poskrbele za to, da ne bi prihajalo do napak. Država in njene ustanove upravljajo vire na čim boljši način, strokovnjaki pa se ukvarjajo z vsemi segmenti razvoja družbe, vključno z načrtovanjem, oblikovanjem in gradnjo. Ker prostorski akti temeljijo na najvišjih standardih, »ljudje pričakujejo, da so prostorski rezultati in kakovost življenja na teh prostorih zadovoljivi«. Kljub temu Nataša Bratina Jurkovič (2014) opozarja, da »načrtovalci pogosto zanemarjajo izkušnje in vrednote uporabnikov, zato prostor ne ustreza njihovim potrebam in zahtevam«.

Na žalost končna podoba soseske in družbena interakcija kaže, da rezultati niso najboljši. Eden od anketirancev je izjavil, da »v odločevalskih procesih ni prisotne veliko prave demokracije« kljub visoki stopnji človekovih pravic in svoboščin v državi. Sistem od zgoraj navzdol kaže številne slabosti. Kljub upoštevanju vseh naštetih parametrov je sociološka analiza pokazala, da ljudje niso zadovoljni in da jim nekaj manjka (Tjora idr., 2012). Po mnenju prebivalcev soseska ne zadovoljuje osebnih potreb, zahtev ali preferenc, saj je bila oblikovana na podlagi splošnih, enotnih in generičnih pravil. »Na načrtovane rešitve nismo imeli nikakršnega vpliva. Ker je bila soseska zgrajena po načelu najdonosnejše rešitve, se posamezniki preprosto vključijo v že dokončani projekt in kupujejo stanovanja na ključ, pri čemer nimajo možnosti, da bi ga kakorkoli spremenili.«

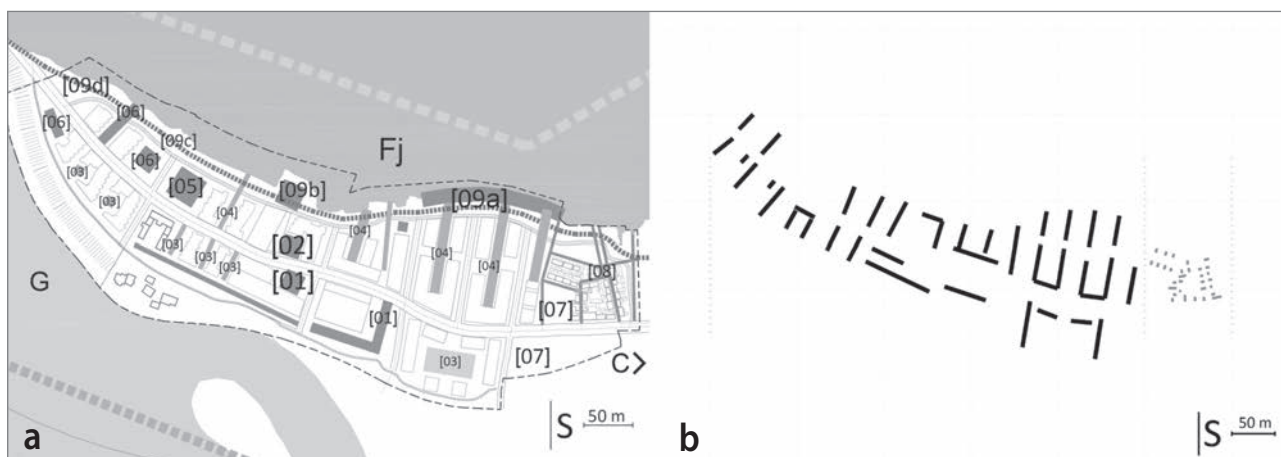
Do dodatne konstrukcije identitete naj bi prišlo po vselitvi in sobivanju z drugimi, vendar se to vedno ne zgodi. Čeprav imajo prebivalci možnost za »sobivanje« na javnih prostorih in niso zadovoljni z družbeno interakcijo in integracijo v soseski, še vedno ostajajo zaprti »med štirimi zidovi«. V nadaljevanju je predstavljen tretji del analize: dogajanje v kraju.

3.3 Dogajanje v kraju

Avtorja sta dogajanje v kraju kot tretjo sestavino konstrukcije identitete analizirala na podlagi življenjskih vzorcev in vzorcev uporabe javnih prostorov (Jurkovič Bratina, 2014). Največja



Slika 7: (a) javni prostori v soseski Mađir: G – gozd, P – polje, K – kmetijska zemljišča, C – smer mestnega središča, Zj – zasedeni prostori, ki se uporabljajo kot javni prostori, Jo – javni objekti in ureditve, Šp – športni objekti, T – improvizirani trgi; (b) stara in nova urbana mreža soseske Mađir (ilustracija: Igor Kuvač).



Slika 8: (a) odprti prostori v soseski Ilsvika: G – gozd, Fj – fjord, C – smer mestnega središča, 01–09 – vrste javnih prostorov; (b) stara in nova urbana mreža soseske Ilsvika (ilustracija: Igor Kuvač).

razlika med obema načinoma konstrukcije identitete se je pokazala v odnosu med ljudmi in prostorom ter v doseženi družbeni interakciji.

Mestne dejavnosti na odprtih javnih prostorih v soseski Mađir skoraj ne obstajajo, saj javni prostor tam sploh ni bil zgrajen. »Javni prostor« je tako omejen na ulico ter pas med ulico in ograjenimi zasebnimi dvorišči. Prebivalci so se tega začeli zavedati »potem, ko so rešili svoje glavne probleme, ampak takrat je bilo že prepozno«. Hkrati pa je soseska zaradi svoje mejne lege med mestom in podeželjem v bližini okoliških hribov, gozdov, polj, rečnih bregov in kmetijskih zemljišč, ki veljajo za neke vrste provizorični javni prostor. Čeprav so nekateri od naštetih prostorov v zasebni lasti, jih prebivalci neformalno uporabljajo kot javne prostore. To se dogaja spontano, v želji po raziskovanju, spoznavanju in »prisvojitvi« prostora, a tudi iz potrebe po interakciji. Ker niso označeni ali opremljeni z ustrežno infrastrukturo, je interakcija omejena na naključna srečanja in pogovor, ki se lahko iz tega razvije (slika 7a).

Prebivalci so hiše in sosesko zgradili sami, zato mislijo, da imajo pravico zasesti tudi nekatere druge prostore oziroma si prisvojiti prostore, ki nimajo javne funkcije. Po svoje je bil proces »prisvajanja« in s tem oblikovanja neke vrste »javnega« prostora naravna posledica konstrukcije soseske, čeprav ni bil nikoli dokončan. Prisvajanje ima številne pomanjkljivosti, zlasti z vidika začasnosti in vprašljive zakonitosti tovrstnih dejanj. Pogosto pa so se pojavili tudi dejanski lastniki teh zasebnih zemljišč, ki so jim dokončno določili namen. Tako stanovalci ostajajo brez pomembnih prostorov, ki omogočajo edino obliko skupnega javnega življenja v soseski, zato so prisiljeni v iskanje alternativ ali pa se siti iskanja preprosto vdajo.

Odnos do soseske je popolnoma drugačen v soseski Ilsvika. Poleg številnih značilnih javnih prostorov so v soseski tudi prazni odprti javni prostori za različne dejavnosti ter odprti prostori med stanovanjskimi zgradbami (dvorišča, potke, pomoli na plaži itd.; slika 8a). Poleg tega imajo tudi sistem naravnih javnih prostorov, ki zelo vpliva na kakovost in slog življenja v

soseski (Bratina Jurkovič, 2014). Kljub opisani raznolikosti se odprti prostori premalo uporabljajo. To vodi v pomanjkanje družabnih dejavnosti in občutek praznine. Noben od anketirancev ne uporablja odprtih javnih prostorov v lastni soseski in tudi sami opažajo, da so določeni javni prostori, kot je osrednji trg ob glavni cesti, »vedno prazni, sivi in zaprašeni«. Čeprav ima soseska možnosti za prijetno bivanje, anketirani menijo, da je »nekaj šlo narobe«.

Zaradi odličnih prometnih povezav lahko prebivalci prosti čas preživljajo kjerkoli, zato se običajno ne zadržujejo v soseski. Če pa že ostanejo, se največkrat zadržujejo v svojih stanovanjih. Tako so namesto javnih prostorov pomemben del njihovega življenjskega prostora polzasebni prostori (terase stanovanj), ki nastajajo v povezavi z zasebnimi. Oblikujejo se okrog dnevnega prostora stanovanj, ki imajo velike steklene površine in so obrnjena proti poljavnim zelenim območjem med stavbami oziroma proti sosedom (slika 6b). Zato v kraju ni opaziti nobenega dogajanja, pa tudi urbanih dejavnosti, ki bi prispevale k oblikovanju občutka pripadnosti soseski.

4 Sklep

Rezultati temeljijo na kvalitativni analizi, pri kateri sta avtorja uporabila model trikotnika, sestavljen iz treh prvin konstrukcije identitete sosesk: a) prostorskega konteksta, b) sodelovanja pri načrtovanju in gradnji soseske ter c) dogajanja v kraju. Avtorja sta omenjene prvine proučila na podlagi kvalitativnega pristopa: a) z analizo urbanistične dokumentacije, b) terenskim opazovanjem in c) kvalitativno analizo polstrukturiranih intervjujev. Ugotovljene podobnosti in razlike so zato povezane z omenjenimi tremi točkami analize ob upoštevanju, da imajo različne prvine različen vpliv na identiteto. Končni sklepi se nanašajo na fizično strukturo (urbane vzorce konstrukcije), javno sodelovanje (nenačrtovano sodelovanje) in navezanost na kraj (relativizacijo identitete).

4.1 Urbani vzorci konstrukcije

V obeh primerih konstrukcija prostorske identitete večinoma poteka na podlagi urbanih vzorcev obstoječe identitete kraja. Obstoječi urbani vzorec se zgolj ponavlja (tj. premika iz enega kraja v drugega z določeno obliko preobrazbe). V soseski Mađir se uporablja metoda dobesednega ponavljanja, v soseski Ilsvika pa metoda ustvarjalne zamenjave.

Novi urbani vzorec v soseski Mađir upošteva obstoječo podeželsko strukturo soseske, tako da ponavlja lokalni kontekst in se prilagaja obstoječemu urbanemu okviru. Samograditelj intuitivno spoštuje lastnosti tradicionalne gradnje in to pozitivno vpliva na prostorsko identiteto. Ne zaveda pa se obsega

preobrazbe, to pa vodi v nerodno urbano strukturo ter degradacijo okolja in tradicionalnega modela. Urbana evolucija se ne priznava, »urbanizacija« pomeni »ruralizacijo« soseske in mesta. Pozitivno je, da staro in novo dosega določeno stopnjo koherence (slike 2, 5 in 7) in delno pozitivno vpliva na kontinuiteto urbane identitete.

Novi urbani vzorec v soseski Ilsvika temelji na ustvarjalni zamenjavi obstoječega urbanega modela, pri čemer ohranja del obstoječih podeželskih prvin, kljub temu pa dosega urbanizacijo. Obstoječi model je zamenjan do neprepoznavnosti, pri čemer je novi del veliko večji od starega ter ga povsem obdaja in nadvladuje. Čeprav je stari del deloma zaščiten, ostaja izoliran (brez prave integracije) in v primerjavi z novim deluje bolj kot nekakšen spomenik (slike 3, 6 in 8). Tako nova fizična struktura zmanjšuje pomen stare kot simbola identitete, ki izginja zaradi neoliberalnega kapitalističnega modela gradnje in razvoja.

Pomanjkanje raznolikosti se na splošno občuti v obeh novih delih sosesk. Prevladuje nova urbana struktura brez dodatnih vrednot, zato novi del deluje monoton. To kaže, da noben od uporabljenih načinov gradnje (formalni in neformalni) ni izboljšal kakovosti kraja. V obeh primerih stari del ohranja značilno prostorsko identiteto, ki je hkrati minimizirana. Da bi novi del soseske lahko upošteval obstoječe dobre lastnosti kraja, bi morala biti stari in novi del soseske bolj povezana in doseči določeno stopnjo integracije ob upoštevanju ustreznega obsega preobrazbe. Izkazalo se je, da gre pri konstrukciji prostorske identitete za veliko več kot le navidezno zaščito (Ilsvika) ali ponavljanje obstoječega urbanega vzorca (Mađir), pri čemer bi bila ena od zadovoljivih rešitev uporaba ustvarjalnega pristopa, ki bi združeval oba omenjena načina. Analiza je pokazala, da lahko ustrezna integracija oziroma vključitev obstoječih vrednot v nove dele soseske prispevata k močnejši navezanosti na kraj, hkrati pa varuje in izboljša urbano identiteto.

4.2 (Ne)načrtovano sodelovanje

Lappegard Hauge (2009) navaja, da lahko ljudi z vidika razumevanja bivališča kot dejavnika, ki izraža identiteto, razdelimo v tri skupine: 1. tiste, ki o tem ne razmišljajo dosti; 2. tiste, ki o tem nekoliko razmišljajo, in 3. tiste, ki se o tem pogovarjajo spontano in jih to vprašanje skrbi. Na žalost nobena od teh skupin ni pripravljena ukrepati, analiza pa je poleg tega pokazala, da ljudje ne kažejo zanimanja za tekoče procese v soseskah in to vsekakor ne prispeva k oblikovanju identitete kraja. Prebivalci obeh mest upoštevajo načelo »to me ne zanima, dokler se ne zgodi na mojem dvorišču« in tako ne sodelujejo pri urejanju prostora. V soseski Mađir so »vzeli stvari v svoje roke« in delovali zunaj načrtovalskega sistema, vendar tudi to ni dalo dobrih rezultatov. Sami so zgradili domove, niso pa zgradili tudi

javnih prostorov, zato jih zdaj nimajo. Prevzemanje pobude za njihovo kasnejšo gradnjo in ohranjanje energije skupnosti, ki je vladala med gradnjo zasebnih hiš, ne kaže zadovoljivih rezultatov. V soseski Ilsvika pa so, čeprav so imeli možnost ukrepati, ta proces prepustili pristojnim ustanovam, ker naj bi to prineslo najboljše rezultate. Ker prebivalci niso sodelovali pri gradnji, niso razvili navezanosti na kraj in ne čutijo potrebe po oblikovanju družabnega življenja v soseski.

(Ne)načrtovani sistem gradnje in drugi dejavniki jasno vplivajo na (ne)učinkovitost konstrukcije identitete sosesk. Dvajset let po začetku gradnje lahko v soseski Mađir vidimo napol dokončane hiše, to je pa tudi vse. Veliko število nerešenih prostorskih problemov povzroča vse večje nezadovoljstvo, družbena interakcija pa se zmanjšuje, saj gradnja lastne hiše in nič drugega še ne zagotavlja kakovosti življenja. Gradnja v soseski Ilsvika pa je bila dokončana in življenje tam normalno poteka, toda brez navezanosti na kraj. Avtorja ugotavljata, da je pri gradnji soseske Mađir šlo le za »osebni« interes ljudskega graditelja, čigar cilj je bil zadovoljevanje osnovnih potreb, v soseski Ilsvika pa za »zasebni« interes velikega investitorja, čigar glavni cilj je bil ustvarjanje dobička. Slabosti obeh pristopov kažejo, da ustvarjanje življenjskega prostora ne bi smelo biti predmet interesa samo »enega majhnega ljudskega graditelja« ali »enega velikega investitorja«. Kot splošna pravica vseh državljanov mora biti mestni prostor predmet širše družbene razprave, v kateri v vseh fazah gradnje sodeluje veliko udeležencev (strokovnjakov, prebivalcev in odgovornih ustanov). Kot ugotavlja Bratina Jurkovič (2014), je mogoče interes prebivalcev in javnosti za mestni prostor usmeriti v ustvarjalno sodelovanje pri urejanju prostora in snovanju novih dejavnosti.

4.3 Relativizacija identitete

V skladu z uporabljenimi triado se prostorska identiteta ne konstruira v interakciji treh prvin, ki oblikujejo kraj. Analiza je pokazala, da širša družbena interakcija med gradnjo ni bila zadostna in tako konstrukcija identitete ni bila dokončana. »Svoboden človek« v soseski Mađir ne zaupa ustanovam in ne čuti potrebe, da bi jim zaupal. Prebivalci menijo, da hiše, ki so jih sami zgradili, izražajo njihovo novo (samo)ustvarjeno identiteto, žal pa ta ni bila v celoti ustvarjena in se ne izraža na ravni soseske kot celote. V soseski Ilsvika pa je osebna svoboda veliko pomembnejša od skupnosti. Prebivalci kažejo realen odnos do identitete, a je nimajo za nekaj pomembnega. Nimajo občutka, da jim manjka, ker ni vprašljiva, in jo obravnavajo kot že obstoječo sestavino. V obeh soseskah se prebivalci ne zavedajo dovolj, da je konstrukcija identitete pomemben del prostora. Obstoječe oblike mestnega prostora ne omogočajo ustreznega odnosa do skupnosti in tudi ne spodbujajo dejavnosti v kraju. Vzajemni vplivi družbene in prostorske identitete so postavljeni na stranski tir. To preprečuje pravo kohezijo

med njima. Čeprav bi morala biti prostorska identiteta ena od prednostnih nalog pri gradnjah novih sosesk, je v primerjavi z drugimi vidiki mestnega okolja zrelativizirana in zatrta. V določeni obliki vedno obstaja, vendar sta njen vpliv in osnovni pomen nejasna. Konstrukcija identitete, ki izpolnjuje standarde velike kakovosti življenja v soseski, mora vključevati sodelovanje v vsaki fazi načrtovanja, gradnje in uporabe prostora. Konstrukcija ustrezne prostorske identitete je mogoča samo s pravo integracijo različnih potreb po urbanih dejavnostih. Ob upoštevanju zgodovinskih in osnovnih odnosov med ljudmi in krajem bi morale nove urbane oblike izražati ustrezen odnos do pomena prostorske identitete, na katero nedvomno vplivajo – naj jo zanikajo, spreminjajo ali izboljšujejo.

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Opombe

[1] Isidora Sekulić je ustvarjala v obdobju, ko je več južnoslovanskih narodov živelo v skupni državi (Kraljevina Jugoslavija). Zaradi kulturne podobnosti avtorja v članku ne delata razlik med narodi nekdanje Jugoslavije.

[2] Izraz »narod« se nanaša na posebno miselnost ljudi določene regije, ne le enega naroda.

[3] Približno 100.000 ljudi je bilo ubitih, 300.000 je bilo ranjenih, 450.000 stanovanjskih enot je bilo porušenih ali poškodovanih, razseljenih je bilo dva milijona ljudi (UNHCR, 2004).

[4] Zakon o prostorskem načrtovanju in gradnji (srb. *Zakon o prostornom uređenju i građenju, 2013*); Odločba o legalizaciji nezakonito začelih ali zgrajenih stavb ali delov stavb na ozemlju Banjaluke (srb. *Odluka o legalizaciji bespravno počelih ili izgrađenih objekata ili dijelova objekata na teritoriji grada Banjaluka, 2011*).

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Okoljska estetika Sarajeva: mesto, ki ga oblikujejo spomini

V članku avtorici obravnavata estetsko posebnost zdajšnjega Sarajeva in pokažeta, kako čas ustvarja družbeni odziv na vizualno kakovost prostora. Ob upoštevanju preobrazbe mestne krajine z vidika preoblikovanja identitete povojnega Sarajeva proučujeta senzorični stik ljudi z mestnim okoljem v povezavi s travmatičnimi dogodki in spreminjajočo se realnostjo, ki jo vsiljuje globalizacija. Njuna hipoteza je, da okoljsko estetiko povojnih mest določa travmatični spomin na fizično in socialno uničenje. Raziskava daje vpogled v različne teoretične razprave o spremembah vizualnega jezika in estetske kakovosti mestnega prostora v povojnem Sarajevu ter predstavi pojem

urbanega spomina in njegovo vlogo pri oblikovanju estetske izkušnje v povojnih mestih. Končne ugotovitve kažejo, da lahko arhitekturni ostanki ali razvaline v mestnem tkivu namesto nestabilnih enot postanejo gonilo kontinuitete. Avtorici na koncu sprejmeta nedokončanost v prostoru kot pozitivno vrednoto in odstira nov pogled na igrivo eksperimentiranje, ki lahko izboljša estetsko izkušnjo toge in monotone mestne podobe.

Ključne besede: estetska izkušnja, urbani spomin, vizualni jezik mesta, vrednost razvalin, vrednotena percepcija

1 Uvod

V zadnjih desetletjih so številne države doživele precejšnjo prostorsko preobrazbo, ki je za sabo pustila anomalije, globoko vtisnjene v današnjih mestnih vzorcih. Poleg pogosto omenjenih urbanih sprememb so teoretiki poročali tudi o razvoju pametnih mest (npr. Castells in Castells, 2010; Söderström idr., 2014; Wiig, 2015; Russo idr., 2016). To je sprožilo živahno razpravo o tem, kako urbani trendi, globalni mediji in omrežne družbe vplivajo na identiteto mest (npr. Morley in Robins, 1995; Parker, 2001; Hill, 2010; Kramer in Short, 2011; Lopes de Souza, 2015). Identiteta mest je neizogibno ujeta med možnostmi ustvarjanja prostora za rast mesta in dejstvom, da globalizacija prinaša številne spremembe, med katerimi imajo nekatere večji kulturni vpliv kot druge.

Omenjene razprave o identiteti mest postanejo bolj zapletene, ko so postavljene v kontekst povojnih mest. Poleg tega je površno in pogosto preveč poenostavljeno razumevanje politike identitet, etničnih konfliktov in ponovne uveljavitve drugih kultur v na novo oblikovani strukturi mest, kot to razlaga Carl Grodach (2002), še vedno preveč stereotipno ali potrošniško. Današnje okrepljeno zavedanje identitete tako odpira mnogo vprašanj o mestni avtentičnosti, ki navsezadnje zahtevajo ustrezen odgovor na krizo identitete v povojnih mestih (npr. Schwenkel, 2013; Kmezić idr., 2015; Pendlebury idr., 2015; Udelsmann Rodrigues in Frias, 2016). Pogosto s proučevanjem posledic burnih gospodarskih, političnih in družbenih razmer še vedno ne moremo zadovoljivo pojasniti pojma urbanega spomina v estetski izkušnji prizadetih krajev.

Glavno mesto Bosne in Hercegovine je lep primer tega, kako lahko globalizacija pod določenim družbenim, gospodarskim in političnim režimom korenito vpliva na nekdanj močno kulturno okolje. Sarajevo je znano kot evropsko mesto z bogato (turško, avstro-ogrsko in jugoslovansko) arhitekturno dediščino, kjer se stikata vzhod in zahod. Ima pomemben upravni, politični, kulturni in gospodarski položaj, po zadnji vojni med letoma 1992 in 1995 pa je doživelo precejšnje spremembe. Mestna krajina je bila izpostavljena globoko zakoreninjenim razhajanjem, ki so temeljila na nasprotujočih si nacionalizmih in prerekanju o legitimnosti obstoja države (Bollens, 2001), zato je utrpela precejšnjo trajno škodo.

Sarajevo ni edino glavno mesto na zahodnem Balkanu, ki ga je prizadelo nasilno opustošenje. V številnih mestih je namreč po vojnah med letoma 1991 in 1995 v nekdanji Jugoslaviji prišlo do občutnih sprememb, ki so pustile trajne sledove na zahodnem Balkanu in ga spremenile v poligon za preizkušanje različnih pristopov na področju obvladovanja kriz. Poleg tega je treba za boljše razumevanje posledic opisanega upoštevati

posebnosti Bosne in Hercegovine ter Sarajeva v mreži zahodnobalkanskih povojnih mest.

Jasminka Udovički in James Ridgeway (2000) navajata, da je bila usoda Bosne posledica njene lokacije v samem geopolitičnem in kulturnem središču nekdanje Jugoslavije. Med šestimi jugoslovanskimi republikami je bila Bosna in Hercegovina narodnostno najbolj raznolika (v njej so živeli Bošnjaki, Hrvati in Srbi). Kot poudarja Edin Hajdarpašić (2015: 3), »je Bosna postala globalni simbol nacionalističnega konflikta in etnične delitve v 20. in 21. stoletju«. V primerjavi z drugimi zahodnobalkanskimi mesti je bilo Sarajevo med vojno dolgo oblegano – 1.359 dni (od 2. maja 1992 do 26. februarja 1996), če smo natančni. Šlo je za najdaljše obleganje katere od svetovnih prestolnic v sodobni vojaški zgodovini. Od podpisa Daytonskega mirovnega sporazuma leta 1995 meja med dvema političnima entitetama deli mesto na dva skoraj popolnoma monoetnična dela: mesto Sarajevo v Federaciji Bosne in Hercegovine ter Vzhodno Sarajevo, ki spada pod Republiko srbsko. Po eni strani so velikanske spremembe na ozemlju Bosne in Hercegovine pripomogle h koncu vojne, po drugi pa ustvarile podlago za nadaljnje hromenje naroda, ki ga je prizadela vojna.

Vse to so razlogi za proučevanje okoljske estetike Sarajeva kot zgledega primera povojnega mesta. Identiteta sodobnega Sarajeva in vračanje k etničnemu konfliktu se sprva morda zdita nekoliko zastarela raziskovalna tema. Avtorici zato s tem člankom ne želita odpirati starih ran ali obravnavati teme »novih vojn« v povojni družbi, ampak želita poudariti, da zavedanje družbenih, psiholoških in identitetnih potreb različnih etničnih skupin (Bollens, 2001) v mestu prispeva k njegovi reintegraciji in trdoživosti. V članku obravnavata estetsko posebnost današnjega Sarajeva in pokažeta, kako čas ustvarja družbeni odziv na vizualno kakovost prostora. Njuna hipoteza je, da okoljsko estetiko povojnih mest določa travmatični spomin na fizično in družbeno uničenje. Glavna raziskovalna vprašanja so: ali sta se vizualni jezik in estetska kakovost mestnega prostora v povojnem Sarajevu spremenila, kakšna je nova vizualna identiteta multikulturne in multireligiozne povojne družbe v Sarajevu, kakšna je vloga urbanega spomina in nasilnih konfliktov pri oblikovanju estetske izkušnje, kako se razlikujejo pogledi na urbano percepcijo in estetske vrednote arhitekturnih ostankov oziroma razvalin.

V prvem poglavju avtorici obravnavata posebnosti povojnih urbanih sprememb v Bosni in Hercegovini ter Sarajevu. Na tej podlagi proučujeta Sarajevo v kontekstu zahodnobalkanskih povojnih mest. V drugem poglavju predstavita konceptualni okvir raziskave, pri čemer se osredotočita na prostorske odnose, ki so se pojavili v Sarajevu, s poudarkom na trenutnih načrtovalskih mehanizmih. Za boljše razumevanje rekonstrukcije in prenove mesta po njegovem opustošenju posvetita pozornost

raznolikosti procesov v okviru državnega aparata. Pri tem v tretjem poglavju predstavita teoretično ozadje estetike mestnega okolja ter proučita različne poglede na urbano percepcijo in estetske vrednote arhitekturnih ostankov oziroma razvalin. V četrtem poglavju obravnavata pojem urbanega spomina in njegovo vlogo pri oblikovanju estetske izkušnje v povojnih mestih. V petem poglavju potegneta vzporednico med opravljeno raziskavo in krizo identitete mest na zahodnem Balkanu, v zadnjem poglavju pa strneta svoje ugotovitve in predstavita predloge za nadaljnje raziskave.

Za glavno ugotovitev proučevanja identitete sodobnega Sarajeva in odkrivanja alternativne estetike se je izkazalo dejstvo, da lahko arhitekturni ostanki ali razvaline v mestnem tkivu namesto nestabilnih enot postanejo gonilo kontinuitete. Na koncu avtorici sprejmeta nedokončanost v okolju kot pozitivno vrednoto in odstreta nov pogled na igrivo eksperimentiranje, ki lahko izboljša estetsko izkušnjo toge in monotone mestne podobe.

2 Kriza identitete Sarajeva – zadnji klic na pomoč

Arhitektura v današnjem Sarajevu kljubuje času in povzroča nezadovoljstvo. To ruši nekdanj edinstveno vizualno identiteto dobro znane arhitekturne tradicije. Opustošenje med zadnjo vojno je ustvarilo časovni in razvojni vakuum, zaradi katerega trenutna družbena in arhitekturna prizadevanja ter trendi ne morejo ustvariti simbioze s prejšnjim urbanim okoljem. Ena najpogostejših razprav v prehodnem obdobju Sarajeva se je zato vrtela okrog povojnega razvoja, ki vključuje mnoga pomembna socialna, politična in ekonomska vprašanja (npr. Karahasan in Drakulić, 1994; Morley in Robins, 1995; Bollens, 2001; Perry, 2003; Donia, 2006; Sorabji, 2006; Bougarel idr., 2007; Markowitz, 2007; Pilav, 2012; Gül in Dee, 2015).

V mnogih pogledih je bil povojni razvoj Sarajeva posledica različnih mednarodnih, lokalnih in političnih vplivov, na podlagi česar je nastala zapletena mreža birokratske hierarhije. Danes sta velik problem zapletena birokratska hierarhija in stagnacija pravnega okvira, ki ne more podpreti utemeljenih strateških odločitev za nadaljnji razvoj mesta. Tako trenutno prevladuje mestno okolje, ki onemogoča človeško interakcijo s prostorom.

Kontraproduktivna mestna zemljiška politika je žarišče prostorskih napak. To dodatno negativno vpliva na mestni razvoj. Delno je to posledica načrtovalskega sistema, ki pri odzivu na pritiske na trgu ni dovolj prožen, zato je nemogoče razumeti, nadzirati in napovedati razvoj mesta. Sedanji načrtovalski sistem še naprej podpira velike, še nikoli prej videne prostorske spremembe, zato njegova uporaba brez dobre institucionalne



Slika 1: Sodobna arhitektura Sarajeva (foto: Erna Husukić)

infrastrukture ne omogoča oblikovanja stabilnega načrtovalskega pristopa, ki bi veljal za vso državo (Husukić, 2015).

Posledična prostorska konfiguracija mesta kaže pomanjkanje splošne organizacije in načrtovanja ter ne upošteva lokalne kulture. Urbana preobrazba povojnega Sarajeva pomeni velikanske izzive z vidika estetske realnosti mesta. Dragocena, toda močno razdrobljena mestna krajina je estetsko zelo občutljiva za posege, ki jih vsiljujejo globalni arhitekturni trendi ter izražajo popolno brezbriznost do estetike in ogrožajo vizualno identiteto mesta.

Novi nenačrtani vzorci gradnje kazijo urbano podobo Sarajeva in negativno vplivajo na njegovo identiteto. Vdor novih brezobličnih prostorov uničuje prvine čustvene varnosti, pri čemer nedosledne prostorske oblike ustvarjajo nejasen prostor. Silhueta Sarajeva 21. stoletja (slika 1) je skupek gosto posejanih visokih stavb, ki so povsem spremenile kulturno krajino.

Opisani prostorski pristopi povzročajo nepretrgan razpad urbane oblike. Nenadzorovana gradnja, obrabljenost mestnega prostora in nejasnost vmesnih območij ustvarjajo praznino na miselnih zemljevidih. Pozitivna estetska izkušnja je vprašljiva, saj je za sedanjo percepcijo mestne podobe značilna popolna brezbriznost do različnih zgodovinskih plasti mesta.

Dosedanje razprave o identiteti Sarajeva kažejo, da je posledica tovrstne neustrezne gradnje monotono okolje, kjer skoraj ne moremo več zaznati skupnih značilnosti in je izginil nekdanji občutek enotnosti. Izguba enotnosti in občutka vizualne urejenosti lahko povzroči izgubo bistva estetske izkušnje in celo zdrave pameti (Dewey, 1995). V tem pogledu Erik

Erikson (1993) navaja, da je občutek enotnosti za posameznika ter tudi člana skupine pomemben dejavnik psihološke rasti in zdravja.

Poleg prej omenjenih negativnih prizadevanj globaliziranega sveta, da bi mestu vsilili lažen blišč, o čemer razpravljata tudi Monica Montserra Degen in Gillian Rose (2012), je treba poudariti, da je sodobno okolje veliko več kot samo stiliziran mestni prostor, ki ga navsezadnje doživljamo z različnimi čutili. Tovrstne težnje poudarjajo pomen senzoričnih lastnosti prostora in potrjujejo, da lahko poenostavljanje današnje mestne podobe privede do oblikovanja prostorov, ki ne vzbujajo nikakršnih zaznavnih dražljajev (Nohl, 2001).

Zaradi pričakovanih posledic trenutnih prostorskih posegov v Sarajevu, ki se izražajo tudi v neestetskem mestnem okolju, mestu grozi slabša vizualna podoba. Poleg tega krajina zaradi neestetskosti izgublja povednost in poetičnost (Nohl, 2001). Kljub temu vlada splošno prepričanje, da iskanje stabilne identitete neizogibno vključuje nelinearne in kompleksne probleme (npr. Geyer in Rihani, 2010, ter Innes in Booher, 2010), saj nanj vplivajo različne spreminjajoče se razmere v sodobnem svetu.

V nasprotju z estetizirano arhitekturo bi se lahko iskanje edinstvenih estetskih lastnosti in primerne urbanega okolja v Sarajevu dejansko spremenilo v iskanje prostorov, ki niso podrejene moči sodobnega sveta. V tem pogledu so lahko arhitekturni ostanki oziroma razvaline katalizator mestne podobe, saj lahko izražajo pozitivne estetske prvine mesta. Čeprav te razvaline nimajo skladnega vzorca, značilnega za »lepe« krajine v tradicionalnem smislu, lahko njihove estetske vrednote uvidimo v njihovi skrivnostni naravi. Kot navaja Werner Nohl (1995, navedeno v Nohl, 2001), »se današnja estetska privlačnost pogosto skriva v dinamiki in produktivnosti narave ter njeni sposobnosti samournavanja«.

Hkrati so lahko v monotoni in sporadični verigi prostorskih odnosov razvaline dobra podlaga za izboljšanje estetske podobe mesta. Ob domnevi, da so te le začasne, je lahko porušeno okolje v zaznavanju lep prehod med številnimi estetskimi vrednotami starih predelov Sarajeva ter vsiljenimi estetskimi vrednotami sodobnih oblik in ureditev v mestni krajini.

3 Estetska vrednost arhitekturnih ostankov oziroma razvalin

Na podlagi različnega razumevanja estetike so nastale tudi različne razlage mestnega okolja. Za nekatere kakovost prostora določata lepota ter določena logika formalnih in vizualnih prvin v okolju. Kognitivni dejavniki temeljijo na »berljivosti«

prostora, pri čemer so identiteta, zaznavnost in miselni zemljevidi dejavniki, ki vplivajo na estetske vrednote. V razpravi o temeljnih pojmih nove estetike Gernot Bohme (1993: 125) navaja, da »estetika predstavlja pravo družbeno moč. Obstajajo estetske potrebe, estetska ponudba in estetska manipulacija. Estetiki umetnine lahko zdaj enakovredno dodamo estetiko vsakdanjega življenja, estetiko proizvodov in politično estetiko. Naloga splošne estetike je, da naredi to široko paletu estetske realnosti transparentno in izrazljivo.«

Poleg tega je treba razumeti, da arhitekturno ozračje deluje kot čutna in estetska predstava grajenega okolja. Ob dojemanju okolja kot prenesene semiotične predstave družbe je treba sprejeti dinamičnost v razvoju mesta, pri čemer je materialna grajena kultura »del stalnega (pre)oblikovanja sveta« (Jacobs in Merriman, 2011: 217).

Pred obravnavo estetskih vrednot arhitekturnih ostankov ali razvalin je treba poznati različne vidike urbane percepcije. Avtorici se v raziskavi opirata na tri glavne vrste urbane percepcije: operativno, odzivno in sklepalno (Appleyard, 1973). Operativno percepcijo usmerjajo namerna dejanja in jo določajo posamezni funkcionalni vidiki okolja, odzivna percepcija pa je odvisna od fizičnega okolja ter vodi do bolj pasivnih odnosov med opazovalcem in okoljem. Sklepalna percepcija je verjetnostna po naravi, posameznik pa z njo običajno oblikuje prepoznaven sistem kod, ki temelji na njegovih izkušnjah.

Če urbano percepcijo razvalin umestimo v kontekst povojnega Sarajeva in razvaline opazujemo kot predmete, ki so zaradi nasilne porušitve izgubili svojo primarno funkcijo, ugotovimo, da njihova privlačnost temelji na neredu in »grdosti« ter predvsem na čustvenem odzivu opazovalca. V tem smislu se sklepalna percepcija uveljavlja kot racionalno merilo v analizah skupne percepcije arhitekturnih ostankov. Tovrstno vrednotenje estetske kakovosti je Arnold Berleant (2002) v razpravi *Notes for cultural aesthetics* (Zapiski o kulturni estetiki) opredelil kot »vrednoteno percepcijo« oziroma posledico obdelave zaznanih vizualnih informacij s sistemom prej pridobljenega znanja in izkušenj, na podlagi česar posameznik na koncu oblikuje mnenje o estetski kakovosti.

Če razvaline postavimo v širši kontekst ne glede na vzrok njihovega nastanka, imajo običajno negativno konotacijo. Tovrstno razmišljanje o njih pogosto povzroči nasprotujoč odnos, pri čemer se razvaline »v sodobnem diskurzu in praksah obravnavajo kot dvoumen in kontroverzen pojav« (Olsen in Þóra Pétursdóttir, 2014: 4). Hkrati so razvaline kot estetska in pojmovna kategorija zelo nejasne (Hell in Schönle, 2010). Njihovo ranljivost povečuje njihov slab sloves, čeprav so po mnenju Hanne Katharine Göbel (2015) aktivno vključene v izgradnjo in razgradnjo socialnosti »znotraj« in »zunaj«.

Različne estetske vrednosti lahko izpeljemo tudi iz pogledov, ki sta jih v zvezi z razvalinami predstavila Albert Speer in Walter Benjamin. Za Speera so razvaline uveljavljen kanal za prenos estetskega učinka oziroma sredstvo za dodajanje ali kopičenje »starostne vrednosti«, ne v iskanju zgodovinske resnice, ampak mitološke zgodovine, ki jo podpira in potrjuje slikovita estetika razvalin (Stead, 2003). Po Speerovi razlagi je torej porušitev popolnoma estetska in pomeni kopičenje, ne krčenje mita. Hkrati pa Benjamin navaja, da lahko razvaline razumemo kot sredstvo za razkrivanje resnic, pokopanih pod plastmi lažne romantične estetike (Stead, 2003). Po mnenju Adorna, Benjamina in drugih raziskovalcev je najbolj prepoznavna estetska vrednost ostalin, vrednost drobca oziroma fragmenta. Gre za njihovo nedokončanost oziroma naravo »polstavbe in polnarave«, ki temelji na njihovi naključni ali nenačrtovani pojavitvi in nakazuje razdrobljeno naravo zemljišča. Spoštovanje s tem povezanega naravnega procesa ali procesa, ki ga je povzročil človek, vodi do prepoznavanja domiselne lepote v tej razdrobljenosti. Kljub vsemu se vizualni vtis, ki ga pustijo razvaline, razlikuje glede na posamezni kontekst.

Razprava v tem članku se ne osredotoča le na običajne teme, povezane z estetiko, kot je vizualni jezik, ampak upošteva tudi delo Theodorja Adorna z naslovom *Aesthetic theory* (Estetska teorija, 1970) ter odnose med umetnostjo in družbo. Po mnenju Paula Zuckerja (1961) so razvaline hibridi iz dvoumnim čustvenim vplivom, ki z estetskega vidika ne spada niti v sfero umetnosti niti v sfero narave.

V Sarajevu se mestne razvaline ne vrednotijo samo na podlagi njihove estetske vrednosti, ampak predvsem kot artefakti travmatične preteklosti. Pri ocenjevanju estetskega pomena razvalin sta avtorici iskali prepoznavne povezave med urbano izkušnjo ter osebnimi in prenesenimi spomini, o katerih je razpravljala že Cornelia Sorabji (2006). Izsledki njene raziskave urbanega spomina (Sorabji, 2006: 2) kažejo, »da je vsakdo, ki doživi vojno, trajno in psihološko iznakažen ter da se lahko ta iznakaženost na naslednje generacije preprosto prenaša tako, da posameznik svojim otrokom nenehno pripoveduje zgodbe o trpljenju«.

Skozi pripovedi ali tihe krajine razvalin prebivalci doživljajo novo prostorsko razsežnost, pri čemer se zanašajo na svoje čute. Samoraslo rastlinje ljudem omogoča, da s čutili, odzivi in impulzi stopijo v interakcijo z okoljem. Poleg tega bi lahko razvaline uporabili za oblikovanje skladne in privlačne mestne podobe. Čeprav območja razvalin niso strateško namenjena temu, da poudarijo čustvene vidike estetske izkušnje, je treba percepcijo razvalin v določenih okoliščinah videti kot kognitivni proces.

Kljub nespornemu vplivu travmatičnih dogodkov bi lahko ta članek prispeval k drugačnemu pogledu na Bosno, ki je pogosto ožigosana kot »močno razdeljena država, ki je že več generacij prepojena s pripovedmi o junaštvu in prepojena s kvaziverskim etosom maščevanja in kazni« (Simic, 2000: 115).

4 Urbani spomin, ki oblikuje estetsko izkušnjo

»Pri urbanem spominu gre lahko za antropomorfizem (mesto ima spomin), pogosteje pa nakazuje mesto kot fizično krajino ter zbirko predmetov in praks, ki omogočajo spominjanje preteklosti in posebej preteklost skozi sledove zaporedne gradnje in obnove mesta.« (Crinson, 2005: xii)

Današnje mestno okolje Sarajeva je razdrobljen kolaž kulturnih in estetskih izkušenj. Vse večja raba zemljišč (slika 2) spreminja oziroma ruši urbani vzorec mesta in obrača novogradnjo v popolnoma nasprotno smer. Nekdanji nenapisani zakoni Sarajeva (Grabrijan idr., 1957), ki so poudarjali kulturno dediščino, etična načela in avtohtone ideje, so bili nevarno spremenjeni in so postali manj pomembni.

Z vidika koherence mestnega okolja ter močnih socialnih, političnih in gospodarskih konotacij se v Sarajevu težko prepoznavajo jasne estetske prvine. Vsaka faza mestnega razvoja se dojema in doživlja predvsem simbolično, ne na podlagi dejanskih estetskih lastnosti. Očitno je strogo ločevanje med tem, kar se dojema kot »lepo okolje« (zlasti staro mestno jedro iz turških in avstro-ogrskih časov), »gospodarsko cvetoče okolje« (mestna območja, kjer poteka intenzivna sanacija, večinoma s tujo finančno pomočjo; Gül in Dee, 2015) in »grdo okolje« (zanemarjeni predeli ali propadajoče stavbe).

V Sarajevu razvaline zbuja asociacijo na vojno uničevanje (slika 3), ne na naravno propadanje. Obsežno uničevanje »pusti brazgotine v človeški podzavesti, ki so vir naših najtrajnejših in najglobljih spominov« (Crinson, 2005: 5). Načrtni izbris ene etnične skupine je povzročil družbeno odtujenost, prostorsko razdrobljenost in splošno zmedo. V Sarajevu je opazno, da »možno poznavanje travmatične zgodovine postane funkcija prihodnjega priznanja« (Crinson, 2005: 15). Z določitvijo vzroka rušenja ali dejanja, ki ga je sprožilo, se oblikuje močna odločenost, da se okolje polepša.

V 21. stoletju je mestna krajina polna ostankov (slika 4), ki jih ustvarja kolektivna travma, zato razvaline veljajo za sprožilca bolečih spominov. Prebivalce razvaline spominjajo na travmatične dogodke; dojemajo jih kot prvine, ki sprožajo spomine na tragedijo in izgubo. Na negativne prostorske razmere vsekakor vpliva prevladujoč boleč kolektivni spomin.



Slika 2: Večplastna mestna krajina Sarajeva (foto: Julian Nitzsche)



Slika 3: Sarajevo ob koncu vojne (foto: Stacey Wyzkowski)

Zato je razumljivo, da močne negativne zgodovinske konotacije, povezane z razvalinami, zelo vplivajo na percepcijo Sarajevčanov in njihove vizualne izkušnje ter jih celo določajo. Pri sarajevskih razvalinah lahko negativna lastnost prevlada nad pozitivnimi in postane odločilni dejavnik pri določanju estetskih vrednot. Kot že omenjeno: ko se negativna percepcija enkrat oblikuje, obstaja velika nevarnost, da se bo prenašala iz ene generacije v drugo.

V tem okviru Valery Perry (2003: 16) razpravlja o tem, kako vojna vpliva na posameznikovo percepcijo in pogled na svet, pri čemer poudarja, da »se na novo oblikovana mnenja nato prenašajo z odraslih na otroke, in sicer neformalno doma ali pa formalno v šolah«. To vsekakor velja za Sarajevo ter Bosno

in Hercegovino, kjer večstoletna zgodovina ključno določa sedanjo urbano percepcijo. Sorabji (2006: 1) navaja, da »osebno relevantne podobe in ideje mlajših generacij, ki niso doživele vojne, so pa živele v tesnem stiku s starejšimi, ki so vojno izkusili, tudi pomagajo (nekoliko manj neposredno) oblikovati odnose do družbenega in političnega okolja«.

Travmatični spomin na fizično in družbeno uničenje je povsod opazna povojna sled, ki Sarajevu omogoča, da se poda na pot na novo utemeljenih prostorskih odnosov. Povedano drugače, razvaline (oziroma njihovo vrednotenje na podlagi zaznavanja) so prepoznane kot disfunkcionalne prvine v urbanem spominu Sarajeva, ki zbujejo pozitivno estetsko izkušnjo. Za razumevanje trenutnih slabosti urbanega razvoja in načrtovalskega sistema v Sarajevu je treba upoštevati kompleksne povezave med vidno podobo arhitekturne dediščine, razvalinami in različnimi psihološkimi odnosi (Zucker, 1961). Na podlagi opredelitve glavnih problemov, povezanih z današnjo urbano percepcijo sarajevske mestne krajine, se kaže nujnost in potreba po raziskovanju novih alternativ, ki bi jih lahko omogočilo večplastno mestno okolje.

V tem pogledu v članku avtorici podpirata pozitivna prizadevanja, predstavljena v članku Cornelia Sorabji (2006) z naslovom *Managing memories in post-war Sarajevo: Individuals, bad memories, and new wars* (Upravljanje spominov v povojnem Sarajevu: posamezniki, slabi spomini in nove vojne), v katerem avtorica negativne posledice travmatičnih dogodkov postavi na



Slika 4: Razvaline v Sarajevu (foto: Erna Husukić)

stran in preusmeri pozornost s spominov in politične dinamike, ki vplivajo na posameznike, na pomen »posameznikovega zavedanja spomina in njegove želje, da ta spomin nadzira ter s tem koristi sebi in drugim« (Sorabji, 2006: 3). Skladno s tem avtorici v članku trdita, da lahko posameznikovo zavedanje spomina vključuje tudi razmišljanje o uspešni prihodnosti v smislu sprejemanja novih možnosti v sedanjih razdrobljenih sistemih. To, kar je na koncu najpomembnejše, je sposobnost negovanja lastnega zavedanja in s tem tudi večja zmožnost priznavanja raznolikosti.

Izsledki tega poglavja kažejo, da v primeru Sarajeva vrednote estetske kakovosti temelji na vizualni izkušnji fizične forme in travmatičnih dogodkih. V iskanju alternativne estetike so razvaline nepogrešljiv del mestne krajine in mestnega ambieneta, pa tudi pomemben dejavnik oblikovanja splošne lokalne kulture in družbe. V paradoksalno poenostavljenem okolju sodobnih arhitekturnih dodatkov lahko estetsko izkušnjo razvalin razumemo kot vznemirljivo možnost novega vizualnega izražanja oziroma katalizatorja pozitivnega razvoja. Prej omenjeni vizualni primanjkljaj, navzoč v vseh ciklih prostorskega razvoja v Sarajevu, bi lahko omilili z vključitvijo razvalin v oblikovanje nove identitete. V iskanju prostorskega dostojanstva in čustvene občutljivosti nastajajoče estetike vizualne lastnosti razvalin presegajo estetske vrednote okolja, usmerjenega v dobiček. Zato pa je treba razumeti skrivnostno naravo razvalin, se podati v neznanost in pustiti za sabo travmatične spomine.

5 Razprava

Na podlagi proučitve povojnega razvoja na zahodnem Balkanu je jasno, da je vsaka država pot nadaljevala v svojem ritmu. Opravljenih je bilo veliko raziskav v zvezi s povojnimi razmerami in načrti za prihodnost v Srbiji, Sloveniji, Bosni in Hercegovini, Makedoniji ter Črni Gori in na Hrvaškem ter Kosovu (npr. Benderly in Kraft, 1996; Thomas, 1998; Sell, 2003; Schuman, 2004; Thomas idr., 2006 ter Clark, 2008). Širše razprave o tem, kako sta razpad Jugoslavije in razbitje njenega ozemlja na manjše, med seboj sovražne države (tj. balkanizacija) vplivala na identitete mest in še zlasti prestolnic (Ljubljana, Zagreb, Beograd, Sarajevo, Skopje, Podgorica in Priština), pa kljub temu ni bilo.

Lahko bi trdili, da je vojna kljub negativnim posledicam ustvarila tudi priložnost za obnovo mest in iskanje nove identitete. Mestna krajina nacionalnih prestolnic na zahodnem Balkanu, ki vključuje zgradbe različnih starosti, je polna sodobnih arhitekturnih stvaritev, ki jih lahko obravnavamo le kot anti-kulturne enklave. To je posledica tega, da pri povojni obnovi mest na tem območju po uničevalni vojni v letih 1991–1995 ni šlo za nič drugega kot nujen odziv na nastale razmere. Česar niti ni težko razumeti. Sanacijo je bilo namreč treba izvesti hitro, pri čemer je bilo treba čim prej odstraniti ruševine ter zagotoviti osnovno infrastrukturo in stanovanja. Na podlagi različnih primerov povojnih mest na zahodnem Balkanu lahko ugotovimo, da je zaradi pomanjkanja dobro premišljenih posegov ostalo le malo oziroma nič možnosti za namerno in načrtno preoblikovanje mestnega okolja.

Hkrati so v primerjavi z drugimi mesti povojna mesta bolj podvržena vplivu tujih vlagateljev in političnih oblasti. Kljub temu pa mesta pod okriljem oblasti niso rezultat sistematičnega urbanističnega načrtovanja, ki temelji na uveljavljenem mestnem kontekstu, ampak postanejo »žrtve« tržnih sil. Pogosto je zgolj in samo finančno sodelovanje pri oblikovanju identitete povojnega mesta privedlo v estetsko sterilnost.

V primeru nekdanje Jugoslavije korenine nove identitete povojnih mest segajo še v čas pred zadnjo vojno. Pri tem se avtorici sklicujeta na argumente Maroja Mrduljaša in Vladimirja Kulića (2012) glede arhitekturne in urbanistične prakse v nekdanji Jugoslaviji, predstavljene v okviru projekta *Unfinished modernisations: Between utopia and pragmatism* (Nedokončane modernizacije: med utopijo in pragmatizmom), in trdita, da lahko v sedanji fiziognomiji okolja odkrijemo delno izražene in nedokončane modernizacije (Mrduljaš idr., 2012). Na tej podlagi lahko sklepamo, da je nova vizualna identiteta mest na zahodnem Balkanu rezultat nedokončanosti kot posledice nedokončanih modernizacij in balkanizacije.

Rolf Sternberg (1991) navaja, da sta kultura in zgodovina najpomembnejša dejavnika, ki vplivata na to, kako je estetika vključena v nastajajoče mestno tkivo. V osnovi je pri opiranju na raznoliko zgodovino in kulturo nacionalnih prestolnic prišlo do korenitega premika k arhitekturnemu in urbanističnemu pogledu, kot ga razlaga in obravnava Srdjan Jovanović Weiss (2013). V ostrem nasprotju z drugimi zahodnobalkanskimi povojnimi mesti »je z obnovami, ki so jih financirale EU in ZDA, Sarajevo postalo v večji meri pozabljeno mesto, ki trpi zaradi obsežnega bega možganov in se zdaj pogreza v apatijo« (Jovanović Weiss, 2013: 103). Takšna percepcija Sarajeva je bila verjetno neizbežna, saj je mesto postalo žrtev svoje nesrečne usode, pri čemer lahko njegovo fizično razdeljenost razumemo kot ostanek, dediščino in navsezadnje simbol očitno nepremostljivih etničnih razlik v nekdanji Jugoslaviji.

V Sarajevu potekajo dejavnosti, ki vztrajno zanikajo identiteto mesta. Kljub številnim poskusom povojne stabilizacije mestnega razvoja ni bila sprejeta ustrezna zakonodaja, zato številne pomanjkljivosti sedanjega načrtovalskega mehanizma le še bolj krepijo manipuliranje s prostorsko rabo. Hkrati na poglede lokalnih oblasti na razvoj mesta vpliva politična in finančna moč, pri čemer se sprejemajo nepričakovane spremembe urbanističnih načrtov. Tako so zastareli načrti, prostorske manipulacije, sporni odločevalski procesi, nejasna lastniška struktura, širjenje nezakonito zgrajenih stavb in pomanjkanje sistematičnega načrtovanja v sarajevski mestni krajini povzročili nastanek številnih prostorskih krpank.

Jasno je, da je sistem vrednot v Sarajevu večplasten in posledica poskusa kulturne evolucije. Kriza identitete mesta torej ni

posledica manjkajoče narodne identitete v Bosni, saj je v primerjavi z drugimi balkanskimi državami Bosna dolgo veljala za značilen primer prepletanja različnih kultur (Todorova, 1997). Kriza identitete Sarajeva je prej posledica nezmožnosti lokalne kulture, da se razvija in prilagaja spremembam družbenega in političnega reda, ki jo še krepi boj za oblast med različnimi povojnimi elitami, vpletenimi v načrtovanje in razvoj mesta. Povojna lokalna identiteta Sarajeva se na novo opredeljuje na podlagi mednarodnih predstav o mestu in njegovi zgodovini ter ekonomskih razlogov. Kot navaja Grodach (2002), identiteta verjetno nikoli ni hermetično skonstruirana, ampak se razvije iz mešanice globalnih in lokalnih vplivov. Po njegovem mnenju mešanica kultur v Bosni izvira iz dolge zgodovine sobivanja treh etničnih skupin.

Kljub prizadevanjem za odpravo travmatičnih urbanih spominov s sanacijo in prenovo mesta ter spravo še vedno obstaja mnogo vprašanj in problemov, ki zavirajo prihodnji razvoj tega območja, kot so »dolgotrajna trenja, ki jih povzročajo etno-politična in/ali teritorialna vprašanja; različno dojete ‚resnice‘ glede preteklih vojn med regionalnimi akterji in bedaste reforme, ki se izvajajo v političnih okoljih, v katerih deloma še vedno delujejo kriminalne mreže, ki predstavljajo velik problem v procesu preobrazbe konfliktov« (Felberbauer in Landesverteidigungsakademie, 2010: 5). Dve desetletji po koncu vojne se še vedno veliko govori o samoobnovi in o tem, kakšna naj bi bila mesta.

Ne glede na to, ali gre za Ljubljano, Zagreb, Beograd, Sarajevo, Skopje, Podgorico ali Prištino, bi morale mestne oblasti in oblikovalci politik poleg prostorskih odnosov razumeti tudi kompleksne socialno-psihološke in identitetne potrebe različnih etničnih skupin na mestnem območju (Bollens, 2001). Dokler se mestne oblasti ne bodo začele zavedati posledic površnih odločitev in mestnega razvoja, usmerjenega v dobiček, bo v mestnih krajinah prevladovalo protidružbeno okolje. Brez državnega načrtovalskega programa in skrbi za dolgoročno blaginjo družbe bo že tako krhko okolje povojnih mest postalo še šibkejše.

6 Sklep

»Zato plujemo. Da bodo naši otroci lahko zrasli in bodo ponosni na to, kdo so. Svoje duše zdravimo tako, da se ponovno povežemo s predniki. Med potovanjem ustvarjamo nove zgodbe v izročilu starih zgodb in dobesedno iz stare kulture ustvarjamo novo.« (Nainoa Thompson, navedeno v: Davis, 2009: 35)

V članku, ki se osredotoča na analizo okoljske estetike povojnega Sarajeva, avtorici proučujeta občutljivost večetničnega

naroda, ki temelji na fizičnih mejah, določenih po podpisu Daytonskega mirovnega sporazuma leta 1995. Uporabljeni pristop je ustrezen za proučevanje Sarajeva in raziskovalcem odpira dobre priložnosti za poglobitev pogledov na različne vidike povojnega razvoja.

Sarajevo še nikoli ni tako zelo iskalo svoje identitete kot prav zdaj, ko skuša preseči zgodovino podjarmljenosti in se prilagoditi hitro spreminjajočim se okoliščinam. Ker se mesto razvija pod nenehnim pritiskom, mora biti odprto za različne poglede. V članku tako avtorici potrđita potrebo po bolj odzivnem in tekočem razvoju, ki bo podprl prostorsko in družbeno preobrazbo. Vprašanje vizualnega odziva in krize identitete Sarajeva je treba trenutno opazovati z vidika razpada in ponovne gradnje mesta znotraj njegovih meja.

V številnih pogledih estetska realnost Sarajeva več pove o političnem, gospodarskem in družbenem režimu kot o estetskih vrednotah samega prostora. Ostaline iz preteklosti temeljijo na posebnih zakonih, pri čemer se namišljena celota izraža s trdoživostjo preteklosti. Avtorici zato trđita, da bodo zaradi preobrazbe prostora, do katere je prišlo v zadnjih dveh desetletjih, urbane izkušnje neizogibno povzročile nastanek alternativne estetike.

Raziskava torej potrjuje začetno hipotezo, da okoljsko estetiko povojnih mest določa travmatični spomin na fizično in družbeno uničenje. Hkrati pa pokaže, da na estetiko vplivajo tudi deformacije travmatičnega spomina, nastale v zadnjih dvajsetih letih, kar pomeni zelo malo možnosti za pozitivno rešitev problema.

V tem okviru so razvaline – »opomniki« opustošenja – stavbe, ki lahko spodbudijo pozitivne spremembe. Treba je poudariti, da nimajo državnega, političnega ali družbenega pomena, kljub temu pa so pozornost vzbujajoči in strašljivi artefakti. Tako dejansko ne spodbujajo izključenosti urbanega spomina iz estetske izkušnje, vendar v članku avtorici kljub temu podpirata oblikovanje smiselne sistema vrednot, s katerim bi lahko presegli negativne prostorske konotacije in razvaline kot enakovredne akterje vključili v oblikovanje skupne podobe Sarajeva. S podpiranjem estetskih vrednot razvalin bi se lahko začeli spreminjati pogledi povojne družbe. Avtorici predlagata, da se razvaline ustrezno vključijo v mestno tkivo, s čimer bi se lahko postopoma pozdravile kolektivne rane.

Poleg tega avtorici trđita, da lahko na razvaline gledamo kot na nenačrtne spomenike, ki imajo določeno vrednost kot drobci, hkrati pa so tudi dobra podlaga za nov razvoj. Kot je bilo že omenjeno, ne zahtevata ohranitve vizualne podobe razvalin, ampak preprosto priznavata njihov obstoj in močno privlačnost kot drobcev v prostoru. Posebna narava vizualnega jezika

se lahko poleg tega uporabi tudi kot podlaga za širjenje novih prostorskih vrednot.

Avtorici sta opozorili, da bi pri iskanju izginule identitete Sarajeva dejansko lahko šlo za iskanje senzoričnih izkušenj, ki so po mnenju Johna Brinckerhoffa Jacksona (1980) najzanesljivejši viri samospoznavanja. Za razumevanje posledičnega prostorskega reda bi bilo zato treba dati prednost premisleku o lastnostih mestne krajine in obravnavanju razvalin kot mejnikov, ki lahko obogatijo estetsko domišljijo in »iz stare kulture ustvarijo novo«.

Čeprav obravnavana tema zagotavlja dragocen vpogled v dinamične odnose med glavnimi akterji, vključenimi v razvoj povojnega Sarajeva, bi bile za boljše razumevanje posledic spreminjene urbane estetike potrebne nadaljnje raziskave. V tem pogledu so izsledki, predstavljeni v tem članku, lahko podlaga za dodatne študije o povezavi med okoljsko estetiko povojnih mest in kakovostjo življenja.

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Primož MEDVED

Vodilne evropske trajnostne soseske: ključna načela in procesi

V zadnjih letih je vse več lokalnih projektov trajnostne urbane preobrazbe pogosto definiranih kot trajnostne soseske. Te so opisane kot »poskusi na področju urbanega trajnostnega razvoja«, ki bi lahko dali konkretne odgovore na mnoge izzive, s katerimi se srečujejo današnja mesta oziroma družba. Namen tega članka je raziskati načrtovalski proces in razvoj dveh vodilnih primerov trajnostnih sosesk, pri katerih sta bili uporabljeni različni strategiji začetne implementacije: pristop »od zgoraj navzdol« v soseski Western Harbour (Malmö) in participatorni pristop »od spodaj navzgor« v soseski Vauban (Freiburg).

Cilj članka je proučiti, kako je začetni implementacijski pristop pri trajnostni urbani prenovi vplival na urbanistično načrtovanje, socialno vzdržnost in lokalno upravljanje sosesk. Raziskava se osredotoča tudi na to, kako sta soseski vplivali oziroma prenesli »trajnostne urbane rešitve« v druge urbane kontekste.

Ključne besede: trajnostne soseske, trajnostni urbani razvoj, principi novega urbanizma, procesi urbanega eksperimentiranja, ekolaboratoriji, Vauban, Western Harbour

1 Uvod in ozadje raziskave

V zadnjem desetletju postajajo vse pogostejše različne skupnostne trajnostne pobude manjšega obsega – običajno majhna mesta, vasi in soseske (Forrest in Wiek, 2014). Lokalni projekti trajnostne urbane preobrazbe v mestih so pogosto definirani kot trajnostne soseske. Te so lahko celovita rešitve, ki omogoča trajnostno urbano ravnatežje na lokalni ravni (Rudlin in Falk, 2009). David Harvey (1990) opredeljuje trajnostno sosesko kot samostojno urbano območje v mestu, ki ohranja simbolno bogastvo tradicionalne urbane oblike ter hkrati temelji na dialogu in raznolikosti. Oblikovanje trajnostnih sosesk in razvoj lokalnih urbanih skupnosti zahtevata določitev jasnih okoljskih, socialnih in ekonomskih ciljev, ki so idealno v konstantnem ravnatežju (Churchill in Baetz, 1999). Harriet Bulkeley idr. (2015) trdijo, da je nabor posegov, ki oblikujejo poseben okvir urbanega upravljanja podnebnih sprememb ter pri tem razvijajo, preskušajo in potrjujejo izkušnje odzivanja na podnebne spremembe, pogosto eksperimentalne narave. Trajnostne soseske lahko razumemo kot eksperimente ali žive laboratorije (ang. *living labs*), ki ponujajo konkretne odgovore na številne izzive, s katerimi se srečujejo mesta in družba. Lahko bi postale nov aktivni urbani model, ki deluje skladno s sodobnimi principi trajnostnega razvoja in pooseblja alternativne rešitve za netrajnostne prakse v sodobnih mestih.

S poglobljenim pregledom literature je bilo ugotovljeno, da se večina trajnostnih sosesk razvila v Severni in Zahodni Evropi (Medved, 2016). Zato Stella Kyvelou, Maria Sinou, Isabelle Baer in Toni Papadopoulos (2012) menijo, da je koncept trajnostne soseske severnoevropski model. Čeprav imajo tudi južnoevropske trajnostne soseske velik potencial, so le redko navedene kot primeri dobrih praks. Te trajnostne soseske niso pogosto proučevane v literaturi, ki se nanaša na urbani trajnostni razvoj. Velikokrat pa so skupaj proučevani ali navajani primeri dobre prakse trajnostnih sosesk iz Severne in Zahodne Evrope. V obsežnem pregledu literature (Medved, 2016) so bili najpogostejše prepoznani in s tem citirani vodilni primeri trajnostnih sosesk v teh mestih: Culemborg – Nizozemska (EVA-Lanxmeer), Utrecht – Nizozemska (Leidsche Rijn), Amsterdam – Nizozemska (GWL Terrein), Malmö – Švedska (Western Harbour in Augustenborg), Stockholm – Švedska (Hammarby Sjöstad), Freiburg – Nemčija (Vauban, Rieselfeld in Weingarten), Hannover – Nemčija (Kronsberg), Ostfildern – Nemčija (Scharnhäuser Park), Tübingen – Nemčija (Französisches Viertel-Südstadt), Helsinki – Finska (Vikikki), København – Danska (Vesterbo), Sutton – Velika Britanija (BedZed), London – Velika Britanija (Greenwich Millenium Village) in Linz – Avstrija (SolarCity). Med omenjenimi primeri dobre prakse so velike razlike, zlasti z vidika vprašanj, povezanih s socialno vzdržnostjo in upravljanjem lo-

kalne skupnosti. Večina priznanih trajnostnih sosesk je izkazala visoko stopnjo odličnosti glede okoljskih vidikov trajnostnega razvoja, vendar se zdi, da se socialna vzdržnost in sistem lokalnega upravljanja v nekaterih vodilnih trajnostnih soseskah nista razvijala sistematično.

2 Raziskovalni cilji

Navedemo lahko dve okoliščini, ki sta vplivali na oblikovanje hipotez in raziskovalnih ciljev v članku. Prvič, avtor je v predhodni analizi urbanih skupnosti ugotovil potencialno povezavo oziroma korelacijo med močno povezano urbano skupnostjo, lokalnim upravljanjem in začetnim pristopom implementacije pri urbanističnem načrtovanju. To posebno povezavo je poudarilo tudi več raziskovalcev urbanega razvoja. Hugh Barton, Marcus Grant in Richard Guise (2003) denimo trdijo, da bolj ko je lokalna skupnost vključena v načrtovanje in razvoj soseske, večja je verjetnost razvoja lokalnega urbanega prostora, ki ima določen pomen za skupnost. Hildebrand Frey (1999) je ugotovil, da so ljudje v soseski odgovornejši in med seboj povezani, če so bili vključeni v oblikovanje soseske. Ugotovlja se, da participatorno urbanistično načrtovanje, podprto z delavnicami, forumi ali natečaji, povečuje občutek pripadnosti lokalne urbane skupnosti in njene zavezanosti trajnostnemu urbanemu projektu (Bayulken in Huisingsh, 2015). Krepitev sodelovanja pri lokalnem upravljanju je odvisna od neposrednega sodelovanja lokalnih prebivalcev pri sprejemanju odločitev. Lokalno upravljanje zahteva večjo udeležbo civilne družbe, ki tradicionalno tvori jedro javne sfere (Gaventa in Valderrama, 1999).

Avtor je na podlagi navedenih teoretičnih predpostavk oblikoval dve raziskovalni hipotezi:

1. trajnostne soseske, implementirane s participativnim pristopom od spodaj navzgor, so razvile urbane forme, bolj prilagojene lokalni skupnosti v primerjavi s trajnostnimi soseskami, nastalimi s pristopom od zgoraj navzdol;
2. trajnostne soseske, implementirane s participativnim pristopom od spodaj navzgor, so razvile bolj socialno vzdržne lokalne skupnosti in kompleksnejše sisteme lokalnega urbanega upravljanja v primerjavi s trajnostnimi soseskami, nastalimi s pristopom od zgoraj navzdol.

Za namen analize teh povezav in potrditve obeh hipotez sta bili izbrani dve vodilni trajnostni soseski, ki sta imeli različna začetna pristopa: Vauban (Freiburg, Nemčija) in Western Harbour (Malmö, Švedska) – več v 3. poglavju *Raziskovalni pristop in metodologija*. Prvi cilj članka je raziskati in analizirati trajnostni soseski z inovativnimi metodološkimi orodji in proučiti, ali (in kako) je začetni pristop implementacije vplival na urbano načrtovanje oziroma urbano formo (hipoteza 1), na

socialno vzdržnost in zlasti na vključenost skupnosti v vsakdanje odločanje oziroma na lokalno upravljanje obeh sosesk (hipoteza 2).

Druga okoliščina, ki določa raziskovalni fokus članka, je povezana s trditvijo, da je zaradi trenutne hitro naraščajoče stopnje urbanizacije zelo pomembno kolektivno ukrepanje z udeležbo od spodaj navzgor, ki vključuje tudi zavezo institucij k uvajanju demonstrativnih trajnostnih urbanih projektov. Ti bi sčasoma postali prevladujoči primeri urbanega bivanja in način za širjenje svojih trajnostnih urbanih inovacij (Bayulken in Huisingsh, 2015). Glede na to, je drugi raziskovalni cilj članka opredeliti, ali (in kako) sta obe soseski že vplivali in širili svoje »trajnostne urbane rešitve« v drugih urbanih sredinah. Avtorja zanima, ali obstaja razlika, ki se navezuje na »prenos znanja« med obema soseskama, nastalima z različnimi implementacijama.

3 Raziskovalni pristop in metodologija

Avtor je za primerjalno analizo izbral dve študiji primerov s seznama »primerov dobrih praks trajnostnih sosesk«, omenjenega v uvodu (Bächtold, 2013; Fraker, 2013; Medved, 2016): 1. Vauban (Freiburg, Nemčija), ena najbolj znanih trajnostnih sosesk, nastalih na podlagi pristopa od spodaj navzgor, in 2. Western Harbour (Malmö, Švedska), ena najbolj tipičnih trajnostnih sosesk, nastalih na podlagi pristopa od zgoraj navzdol. Soseski sta prototipa, kako lahko načrtujemo in razvijemo trajnostno sosesko s pristopoma od zgoraj navzdol in od spodaj navzgor (Bächtold, 2013; Fraker, 2013). Gre za dve skrajnosti oziroma dva nasprotna pola strategij implementacije urbanega razvoja. »Atipični ali skrajni primeri pogosto razkrijejo več informacij, saj aktivirajo več akterjev in več osnovnih mehanizmov v preučeni situaciji.« (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 229) Gotovo iz analize, ki temelji le na dveh študijah primerov, ne more izhajati »univerzalna« ugotovitev, lahko pa analiza odpre nova vprašanja oziroma nove vidike za nadaljnje analize in razprave.

Za potrditev prve hipoteze temelji raziskovalni pristop za primerjalno analizo dveh trajnostnih sosesk na analitičnem okviru – »principi novega urbanizma« (CNU in HUD, 2000; Grant, 2006; Rahnama idr., 2012; internet 1). Za potrditev druge hipoteze pa je avtor izbral analitični okvir – »procesi urbanega eksperimentiranja« (Bulkeley idr., 2015). Analitični okvir principov novega urbanizma je izbral, ker je »novi urbanizem« eno glavnih urbanističnih gibanj, ki raziskujejo, kako ustvariti goste naseljene urbane predele po merilih človeka. Novi urbanizem spodbuja uporabo raznovrstnih elementov urbanega načrtovanja, ki jih je treba prilagoditi lokalnim

potrebam (ne nasprotno). Poziva k vračanju k urbanizmu po človeški meri, z ulicami, prilagojenimi pešcem, kjer ne prevladujejo avtomobili, ter s prostori z mešano (trgovsko in bivalno) namembnostjo in veliko gostoto gradnje, ki omogočajo živahno mestno življenje (Kushner, 2002). Analitični okvir novega urbanizma združuje večino parametrov in ključnih osnovnih elementov teoretičnega koncepta »kompaktnega mesta« (Rogatka in Ramos Ribeiro, 2015). Z analizo principov novega urbanizma bo možno odgovoriti na prvo hipotezo in potrditi, da so trajnostne soseske, implementirane s participativnim pristopom od spodaj navzgor, razvile bolj lokalni skupnosti prilagojeno urbano formo v primerjavi s trajnostnimi soseskami, nastalimi na podlagi pristopa od zgoraj navzdol. Na začetku primerjalne analize avtor prouči temeljne značilnosti oziroma funkcije urbanega načrtovanja sosesk Western Harbour in Vauban. Po predstavitvi obeh sosesk s kontrolnim seznamom (preglednica 1), ugotavlja, ali sta trajnostni soseski ustvarili urbane funkcije, skladne z načeli novega urbanizma. Definicije desetih načel novega urbanizma, poudarjene v drugem stolpcu preglednice 1 (4. poglavje), pomenijo ključne primerjalne elemente analize. S takšnim postopkom primerjave je mogoče razumeti temeljne značilnosti obravnavanih trajnostnih sosesk in določiti, koliko je razvoj sosesk blizu idealom »novega urbanizma«. Analiza poudarja »fizično okolje« oziroma urbanistično formo sosesk in dosežene trajnostne cilje, ki se nanašajo na urbanistično oblikovanje in trajnostni promet.

Za preveritev druge hipoteze je avtor izbral analitični okvir »procesov urbanega eksperimentiranja«, ker so ti zapostavljeni pri večini analiz, ki raziskujejo mesta, in ker analitični okvir procesov dodaja pomembno perspektivo k razumevanju dinamičnih odnosov med različnimi deležniki skozi čas. Nuno Ferreira da Cruz in Rui Cunha Marques (2014) sta ugotovila, da družbeni, gospodarski in okoljski vidiki niso dovolj za presojo uspešnosti lokalne oblasti. Treba bi jih bilo evalvirati tudi glede vodenja in upravljanja. Zato je treba vključiti analizo lokalnega upravljanja, ki se nanaša na ravnanje institucij, upravljanje ter razmerje med državo (občinami), državljani in drugimi deležniki (Ferreira da Cruz in Marques, 2014). Lokalno upravljanje na ravni soseske je izpostavljeno z analitičnim okvirom »procesov«. S proučitvijo analitičnega okvira »procesov« (Bulkeley idr., 2015) bo mogoče odgovoriti na drugo hipotezo in potrditi, da so trajnostne soseske implementirane s participativnim pristopom od spodaj navzgor razvile socialno vzdržnejše lokalne skupnosti in kompleksnejše sisteme lokalnega urbanega upravljanja v primerjavi s trajnostnimi soseskami, nastalimi s pristopom od zgoraj navzdol. Pri analitičnem okviru procesov se analiza osredotoča na te faze: ustvarjanje (ang. *making*), vzdrževanje (ang. *maintaing*), bivanje (ang. *living*) in razširjanje informacij (ang. *disseminating*). Pojem teoretični okvir procesov so uvedli Bulkeley idr. (2015). Procesi »ustvarjanje«, »vzdrževanje« in »bivanje« so zanje ključni vidiki

urbanega eksperimentiranja. »Razširjanje informacij« je po avtorju dodatni inovativni proces, namenjen ugotavljanju, kako trajnostne soseske med razvijanjem in razširjanjem inovativnih trajnostnih rešitev vplivajo na druga urbana območja oziroma druge soseske po svetu. Z aplikacijo inovativnega procesa »razširjanje informacij« bo mogoče izvesti drugi del raziskave in ugotoviti, ali izhodiščni pristop implementacije vpliva na prenos »trajnostno urbanih rešitev« v druga urbana območja. V 5. poglavju bosta trajnostni soseski primerjani na osnovi omenjenih štirih (3 + 1) procesov (definicija procesov v preglednici 2). Analiza »procesov« bo omogočila inovativen vpogled v dinamično formacijo sistema lokalnega upravljanja skozi čas. Tako bo mogoče razumeti, kako (in če) začetni pristop implementacije (ustvarjanje) v izbranih študijah primerov vpliva na socialno vzdržnost in lokalno upravljanje v nadaljnjih procesih (vzdrževanje, bivanje, razširjanje informacij) oziroma ju določa.

Metodologija zbiranja empiričnih podatkov za analizo vključuje intervjuje s ključnimi deležniki, obiske (terensko delo) sosesk Vauban in Western Harbour ter pregled in analizo znanstvene literature. Avtor je obiskal obe trajnostni soseski ter zbral avdio in grafično gradivo. Aprila 2013 je obiskal sosesko Vauban (Freiburg) in tam dva tedna tudi bival. Od marca do maja 2014 pa je devetkrat obiskal sosesko Western Harbour (Malmö). Intervjuval je glavne mestne urbaniste, urbane razvijalce, predstavnike občin in lokalne skupnosti. Želel je razumeti vlogo vseh sodelujočih deležnikov pri razvoju trajnostnih sosesk. Intervjuji so se osredotočali predvsem na predstavnike občin, ki so neposredno sodelovali pri razvoju urbanih projektov. V zvezi s trajnostno sosesko Vauban je bilo mogoče intervjuvati tudi lokalne mnenjske voditelje skupnosti in predstavnike lokalnih združenj. Ker v soseski Western Harbor ni skupnostnih centrov in združenj ali društev lokalne skupnosti, ni bilo mogoče intervjuvati predstavnikov lokalne skupnosti. V soseski Vauban je avtor intervjuval te predstavnike: Wulf Daseking (mestni urbanist občine Freiburg, ki je načrtoval to trajnostno sosesko), Andreas Delleske (vodja iniciative lokalne skupnosti Forum Vauban) in Sigrid Gombert (nekdanja urednica lokalnega časopisa Vauban Actuel). V soseski Western Harbor je intervjuval te predstavnike: Eva Dalman (nekdanja vodja urbanega projekta Bo01), Maria Löf (svetovalka oddelka za varstvo okolja občine Malmö) in Jan Johansson (svetovalec na nepremičninskem oddelku občine Malmö). Intervjuji so temeljili na enakem strukturiranem vprašalniku odprtega tipa. Vprašanja so se tematsko navezovala na dejavnike in parametre trajnostnega urbanega načrtovanja, predstavljene v »strukturnem modelu avtonomnih trajnostnih sosesk« (Medved, 2016). Fokus vprašanj se je nanašal na štiri glavne teme: upravljanje naravnih virov, trajnostni promet, socialno-ekonomsko ravnovesje in trajnostno urbanistično načrtovanje. Poseben poudarek v intervjujih se je nanašal tudi na

lokalno upravljanje, implementacijski pristop oblikovanja trajnostnih sosesk, vloge, razmerja in pogajalske moči deležnikov, sodelovanje lokalne skupnosti pri načrtovanju itd.

4 Načela novega urbanizma

V tem poglavju so predstavljene temeljne značilnosti obravnavanih trajnostnih sosesk, s posebnim poudarkom na elementih oziroma ciljnih trajnostnega oblikovanja, ki se nanašajo na načela »novega urbanizma«. Na koncu poglavja avtor ugotavlja, koliko so ti dosežki oziroma značilnosti trajnostnega urbanega načrtovanja posamične trajnostne soseske v skladu z desetimi načeli novega urbanizma (preglednica 1). Cilj poglavja je preveriti, ali so urbane forme analiziranih sosesk zgrajene trajnostno z vidika »novega urbanizma«.

Soseska Vauban (Freiburg) je soseska ob vznožju predela Črni gozd s 5.000 prebivalci in ponuja 700 delovnih mest (Fraker, 2013). Zgrajena je na 42 ha velikem območju nekdanjega francoskega vojaškega oporišča. Pristop od spodaj navzgor je omogočil bodočim prebivalcem, da so z uveljavljenimi investitorji načrtovali in gradili domove na dodeljenih zemljiščih. Tako so ustvarili arhitekturno neuniformirano, nestandardizirano in slikovito sosesko (Field, 2011).

Z vidika rabe trajnostne energije in upravljanja naravnih virov je soseska Vauban primer učinkovitega nizkoenergijskega urbanega območja in tudi eksperimentalno območje za inovacije. Na robu soseske so zgradili lokalni obrat za daljinsko ogrevanje (CHP), ki kot energente pretežno uporablja sekance iz bližnjega gozda (80 %) in delno zemeljski plin (20 %). Več kot 65 % porabljene električne energije v soseski se ustvari s fotovoltaičnimi paneli, ki so v lasti lokalnih prebivalcev, združenih v »zadrukah sončne energije« (Sperling, 2002). Za poslovne in stanovanjske zgradbe je obvezen standard majhne porabe energije (65 kWh/m²). Lokalni deležniki so aktivno promovirali uporabo dodatnih zelenih tehnologij v zgradbah. Soseska je tako postala eksperimentalno območje za inovativne rešitve, namenjene zmanjšanju porabe naravnih virov in povečanju recikliranja. V eksperimentalnem bivanjskem laboratoriju (nem. *Passivhaus Wohnen und Arbeiten*) so denimo testirali in prevzeli inovativne zelene tehnologije, kot so vakuumski sistemi stranišč in manjše bioplinarne, namenjene gospodinjstvom (internet 3; Delleske, 2013).

Koncept trajnostnega prometa v soseski Vauban določa vizija »življenje brez avtomobila«, ki spodbuja alternativne oblike mobilnosti, kot so uporaba koles, souporaba avtomobilov (ang. *car-sharing*) in učinkovit javni prevoz (Sperling, 2002). Soseska je integrirana v mestno mrežo javnega prevoza. Povezana je z mestnimi avtobusnimi linijami in tramvajem (slika 1c). Lokalni urbani načrt skoraj prepoveduje parkiranje. Ceste so



Slika 1: Trajnostni promet in ceste brez avtomobilov v trajnostni soseski Vauban: (a) ceste kot igrišča, (b) ceste brez avtomobilov, (c) tramvaj, (d) kolesarnica (foto: Primož Medved)

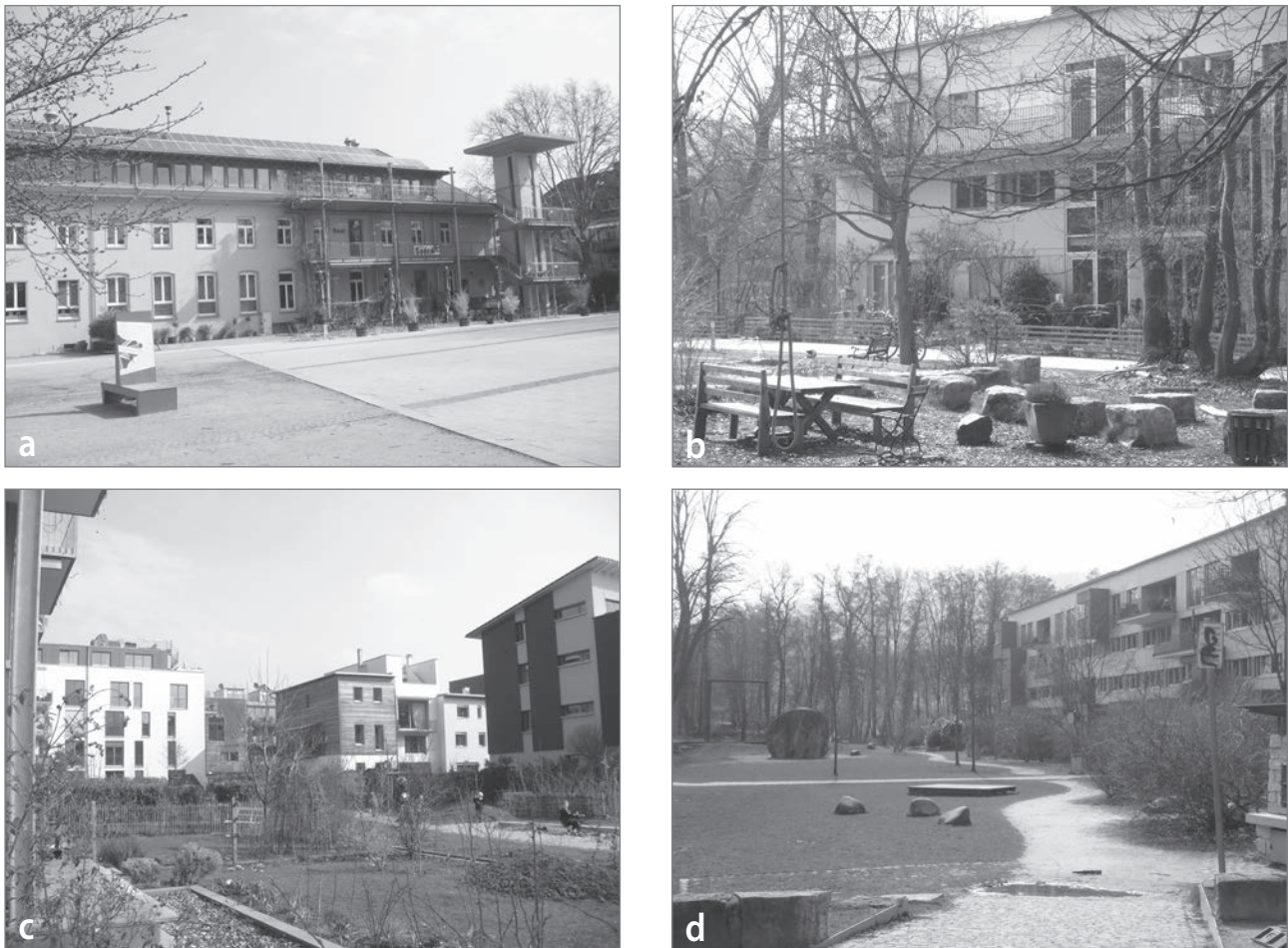
prilagojene pešcem in kolesarjem (sliki 1a in 1d). Prometna ureditev spodbuja souporabo avtomobilov. Zaradi teh ukrepov, zakonov, lokalne politike in osveščenosti domačinov glede varovanja okolja ima malo ljudi lastno vozilo. Na 1.000 prebivalcev je le 150 lastnikov avtomobilov. V občini Freiburg je na 1.000 prebivalcev 427 lastnikov avtomobilov – nemško povprečje je 517 (Sperling, 2008; The World Bank, 2013).

Z vidika urbanističnega načrtovanja je soseski uspelo uresničiti začetno vizijo »graditi gosto, a zeleno«, z velikim številom parkov, dreves in odprtih zelenih javnih površin (sliki 2b in 2d). Gostota naseljenosti v soseski Vauban (št. ljudi/ha) je 122, v mestu Freiburg pa 15 (Foletta, 2011; Banister, 2005). Urbanistični načrti so bili usmerjeni k ustvarjanju bivalnega prostora, kjer ni potrebe po avtomobilu in je vse na dosegu rok kot v srednjeveških mestih (Daseking, 2013). Stavbe imajo večinoma tri do štiri nadstropja. Prostori v pritličju so namenjeni storitvenim dejavnostim in zadovoljujejo osnovne življenjske potrebe prebivalcev soseske.

V zvezi z javnimi prostori je civilnemu združenju Forum Vauban uspelo ustvariti obsežen javni prostor »Haus 037«.

Nastal je s prestrukturiranjem nekdanje francoske vojašnice (slika 2a). Gre za sodobni večnamenski objekt, heterogen javni prostor, ki vključuje restavracijo, »pub«, prostore za sestanke in srečanja, pisarne in »hostel« (Fraker, 2013). Takšen javni prostor krepi lokalno identiteto soseske in zagotavlja njenim prebivalcem prostor, kjer se lahko srečujejo in družijo. Drug pomemben javni prostor, ki je pred objektom Haus 037, pa je osrednji trg (*plaza*) Alfred-Döblin-Platz. To je srce družbenega življenja v soseski Vauban. Na njem je tržnica biološko pridelane hrane (dvakrat na teden) in izmenjevalna tržnica (enkrat na mesec). Pristop k javnim urbanim prostorom, razvit v soseski Vauban, potrjuje ugotovitve Nataše Bratina Jurkovič (2014), ki meni, da se tveganje za neustrezno načrtovanje zmanjša, če pri načrtih urbane prenove sodelujejo prebivalci soseske.

Soseska Western Harbour (Malmö) je skupaj s sosesko Hammarby Sjöstad (Stockholm) najbolj reprezentativni švedski primer trajnostne soseske. Na območju soseske Western Harbour so bili prej pristanišče, industrijski predel in ladjedelnica Kockums. Urbana preobrazba se je začela z zaprtjem tovarne Saab leta 1990. To je sprostilo 140 ha privlačnih zazidljivih površin v bližini središča mesta in neposredno ob morju. Ob-



Slika 2: Odprti javni prostori trajnostne soseske Vauban: (a) Haus 037 in trg Alfred-Döblin Platz, (b) park, (c) urbani vrt, (d) park (foto: Primož Medved)

močje se je razvilo v sodobno sosesko z velikimi trajnostnimi ambicijami. Soseska Western Harbour je bil zgrajena postopoma, v treh fazah: Bo01, Flagghusen-Bo02, Fullriggaren-Bo03. Nova trajnostna bivalna območja se še vedno gradijo. Trenutno ima soseska 4.300 prebivalcev. V njej je zaposlenih kar 9.000 oseb (Foletta, 2011). Število delovnih mest na prebivalca je zelo visoko, če ga primerjamo s podobnimi trajnostnimi soseskami v Evropi. Ko bo soseska končana, bo v njej delalo in študiralo 30.000 oseb. Western Harbour postaja novo študentsko in gospodarsko središče mesta Malmö.

Z vidika rabe trajnostne energije in upravljanja naravnih virov je prvo trajnostno grajeno urbano območje v okviru soseske Western Harbour soseska Bo01, prva trajnostna soseska na svetu, stoodstotno oskrbovana z obnovljivimi viri energije (Bächtold, 2013). Električna energija nastaja iz sončne in vetrne energije. Vir ogrevanja sta geotermalna energija podzemne vode (80 %) in delno sončna energija (15 %). Soseska Western Harbour poseblja vir zelenih inovacij tudi na področjih, ki niso povezana neposredno z energijo, to sta zlasti upravljanje voda in ravnanje z odpadki. V nekaterih zgradbah (recimo v osnovni šoli) uporabljajo deževnico za pranje perila, zalivanje vrtov in izplakovanje stranišč. Gospodinjski odpadki se pre-

oblikujejo v nov vir energije z visokotehnološko predelavo odpadkov z vakuumskimi cevmi, iz organskih odpadkov nastaja bioplina, ravne strehe objektov pa so običajno zasajene z rastlinami (Bächtold, 2013).

Podobno kot v soseski Vauban se trajnostna prometna strategija v soseski Western Harbour osredotoča na zmanjševanje odvisnosti od avtomobilov. Leta 2011 so ugotovili, da je delež lastnikov avtomobilov v soseski Western Harbour razmeroma visok – 440 avtomobilov na 1.000 prebivalcev in le malo nižji od povprečja v mestu Malmö – 480 avtomobilov na 1.000 prebivalcev (Foletta, 2011). V soseski Western Harbour so avtomobili sicer dovoljeni na nekaterih ulicah, toda trajnostna soseska skuša s svojo specifično zgoščeno urbano formo spodbujati hojo in kolesarjenje (Bächtold, 2013). Veliko truda je bilo vložene v sistem kolesarskih stez in izboljšavo pločnikov za pešce (sliki 3c in 3d). Lahek dostop do soseske iz drugih delov mesta Malmö zagotavlja tudi učinkovit sistem avtobusov na bioplina, elektriko ali zemeljski plin. Parkirišča za avtomobile zagotavljajo podzemne garaže, delno pa parkirna mesta na ulicah. Razvojniki so v začetni fazi predlagali 0,7 parkirnega prostora/stanovanje. S tem so želeli spodbuditi hojo, kolesarjenje in uporabo javnega prevoza (Fraker, 2013; Zinkernagel,



Slika 3: Trajnostni promet in ceste brez avtomobilov v trajnostni soseski Western Harbour: (a) električni avtomobil v okviru storitve souporaba avtomobila, (b) javni prostor brez avtomobilov, (c) in (d) ulice brez avtomobilov (foto: Primož Medved)

2014). Vendar so zaradi pritiska lokalnih prebivalcev spremenili parkirno politiko in povišali število parkirnih mest (1,5 parkirnega mesta/stanovanje). Prebivalci soseske lahko uporabijo storitev souporaba avtomobila (slika 3a), ki je v soseski postala zelo razširjena (Johansson, 2014; Lööf, 2014). Pri razvoju soseske Fullriggaren-Bo03 pa je bilo članstvo v shemo souporabe avtomobilov vključeno v najemnino za prvi dve leti. Zadnje leto je v soseski Western Harbour postala razširjena celo souporaba koles.

Soseska Western Harbour se z arhitekturnega vidika zgleduje po urbanističnem načrtovanju 19. stoletja, ko je bila gostota naseljenosti razmeroma velika. Gostota naseljenosti prebivalstva (št. oseb/ha) v soseski Western Harbour je 57, v mestu Malmö pa 19 (Foletta, 2011). Večnamenske zgradbe s pogledom na glavno ulico imajo bivalne, storitvene in poslovne funkcije. Ob morju so visoke šestnadstropne stavbe, ki so nekakšna vetrna zaščita notranjim nižjim stavbam. V obeh soseskah je urbana forma zelo heterogena. Urbano območje oziroma mini sosesko Bo01 v okviru soseske Western Harbour, ki ima 1.900 stanovanj, je načrtovalo 10 razvojnikov in 20 arhitektov (Bächtold,

2013: 94). Trajnostna soseska Western Harbour je prilagojena potrebam pešcev s številnimi med seboj povezanimi ulicami in veliko zelenimi površinami, parkom za skeytanje (slika 4c), obsežnimi odprtimi vodnimi kanali, bazeni in fontanami (sliki 4a in 4d).

Ozek pas ob morju v soseski Western Harbor je bil preurejen v priljubljeno javno sprehajališče za domačine in zunanje obiskovalce, imenovano »Sundspromenaden« – slika 4b (Foletta, 2011). Promenada uteleša »družbeno« funkcijo osrednjega družabnega prostora soseske, podobno kot trg Alfred-Döblin-Platz v soseski Vauban. V nasprotju s slednjo pa v soseski Western Harbour ni objekta, namenjenega srečanjem in druženju lokalnega prebivalstva.

Gibanje novega urbanizma še posebej promovira urbanistično raznolikost in heterogenost družbene strukture v urbanem okolju. Z vidika urbanega načrtovanja – »raznovrstne tipologije stavb« – sta obe soseski dosegli visoko raven raznolikosti stavb in javnih prostorov (promenade, trgi, urbani vrtovi, park za skeytanje itd.). Z vidika heterogenosti prebivalcev pa obema



Slika 4: Odprti javni prostori v trajnostni soseski Western Harbour: (a) vodni kanal, (b) javna promenada »Sundspromenaden«, (c) park za skejtanje, (d) park (foto: Primož Medved)

soseskama ni uspelo doseči (ali ohraniti) heterogene družbene strukture. Poleg tega obstaja realna možnost, da bi lahko trajnostni soseski postali »ekskluzivni citadeli« (Fainstein, 2010). Soseski Vauban je še posebej v prvih letih uspelo zagotoviti precejšen delež cenovno dostopnih stanovanj (Fraker, 2013). V zadnjem času pa so se najemnine zelo povišale. Stanovanja so zdaj med najdražjimi v mestu Freiburg, zato je večina prebivalcev izobraženih strokovnjakov (Bächtold, 2013:81). Tudi Sigrig Gombert (2013) in Carsten Sperling (2008) ugotavljata spremembo družbene strukture (od prvotnih skupin aktivistov do mladih družin iz višjega srednjega razreda), vendar se je prvotna urbana družbena struktura delno ohranila (»socialna stanovanja« SUSI, Haus 037 itd.). Tudi soseska Western Harbour je bila prvotno mišljena kot heterogeno in socialno vzdržno urbano območje (Kärholm, 2011), zdaj pa v njej pretežno prebiva zgornji srednji razred. Prvi trajnostni urbani del (Bo01) je bil očitno namenjen družinam z višjimi dohodki (Madureira, 2015).

Izhajajoč iz predstavitve značilnosti (urbanega načrtovanja) trajnostnih sosesk, je mogoče trditi, da obe soseski izpolnjujeta

večino temeljnih zahtev, vključenih v posamezna načela novega urbanizma (preglednica 1). Ugotovljeno je bilo, da se edina zahteva (v okviru tretjega načela novega urbanizma »večnamenska raba in raznolikost«), ki ni bila dosežena pri obeh soseskah, nanaša na »raznolikost prebivalcev – glede starosti, dohodkov, kulture in rase«. Soseska Western Harbour ni popolnoma uresničila načela »posebna umestitev javnih prostorov v skupnosti«, ker ni implementirala zelo pomembnega urbanističnega elementa – »skupnostno središče soseske«, in načela »javni prostor v središču«, zato ker nima osrednjega prostora za srečanja in druženje.

5 Procesi urbanega eksperimentiranja

Za namen analize lokalnega upravljanja se to poglavje osredotoča na urbano eksperimentiranje, kot ga opredeljujejo Bulkeley idr. (2015), in zajema procese »ustvarjanje, vzdrževanje« in »bivanje«. Proces »razširjanje informacij« je dodatna aktivnost pri raziskovanju (preglednica 2). Študija »procesov«, ki kaže dinamični razvoj soseske, je bistvena za raziskavo, saj

Preglednica 1: Načela novega urbanizma (soseski Vauban in Western Harbour)

Načela novega urbanizma	Definicija/glavni dejavniki	Vauban	Western Harbour
1. prijaznost soseske do pešcev	večina trgovin, storitev oddaljenih 10 minut hoje od doma in službe	+	+
	pešcem prilagojeno načrtovanje ulic (stavbe v bližini ulic; terase, okna in vrata; ulice, obdane z drevesi; parkiranje na ulici; skrita parkirna mesta; garaže v stranskem pasu; ozke ulice za nizko hitrost avtomobilov)	+	+
	včasih ulice samo za pešce	+	+
2. povezljivost	povezana mreža ulic razprši promet in lajša hojo	+	+
	hierarhija ozkih ulic, bulvarjev in alej	+	+
	kakovosten sistem pločnikov in javnih površin omogoča prijetno hojo	+	+
3. večnamenska raba in raznolikost	mešanica trgovin, pisarn in stanovanj; mešana namenska raba na ravni soseske, enote in stavb	+	+
	raznolikost prebivalcev – glede na starost, dohodke, kulturo in raso	-	-
4. raznolika stanovanja	stanovanja različnih tipologij, velikosti, cen v neposredni bližini	+	+
5. kakovostna arhitektura/urbana forma	poudarek na lepoti, estetiki, udobju in oblikovanju identitete prostora	+	+
	posebna umestitev javnih prostorov v skupnosti	+	0
	arhitektura »po človeški meri« in privlačna okolica sta blagodejni za človekovo dušo	+	+
6. tradicionalna urbanistična struktura soseske	prepoznavno središče in jasni robovi (meje) soseske	+	+
	javni prostor v središču	+	0
	pomen kakovostnega javnega prostora; javni odprti prostor, zasnovan kot mestna umetnost	+	+
	največja gostota mesta v središču (soseske) in postopno manjša gostota v smeri proti robovom mesta (soseske)	+	+
7. večja gostota	več stavb, bivališč, trgovin in storitev, ki so si blizu in dosegljive peš; to omogoča učinkovitejšo uporabo storitev in ustvari bolj udoben, prijeten prostor za bivanje	+	+
8. zeleni prevoz	udobni vlaki/tramvaji/avtobusi, ki povezujejo mesta in soseske	+	+
	pešcem prijazna urbanistična zasnova, ki spodbuja hojo, uporabo koles in rolerjev	+	+
9. trajnost	razvoj, ki stremi k čim manjšemu vplivu na okolje	+	+
	okolju prijazne tehnologije, spoštovanje ekologije in pomena naravnih sistemov	+	+
	energetska učinkovitost	+	+
	manjša poraba goriva	+	+
	več lokalne proizvodnje		
	več hoje, manj vožnje		
10. kakovost življenja	vsi dejavniki skupaj izboljšujejo kakovost življenja in ustvarjajo prostore, ki bogatijo, poživljajo in izpolnjujejo človeškega duha	+	+

Vir: Avtor, 2016

Preglednica 2: Procesi urbanega eksperimentiranja

Procesi	Definicija
ustvarjanje (ang. <i>making</i>)	snovanje, oblikovanje in izvedba za izboljšanje urbanega okolja v povezavi s podnebnimi spremembami proces sestavljanja družbeno-tehničnih delov, elementov in deležnikov, ki tvorijo »prostor izjeme« in hkrati »prostor inovacije«
vzdrževanje (ang. <i>maintaining</i>)	vzdrževanje eksperimentalnih lastnosti in izogibanje neustreznim elementom prilagajanje urbanemu snovnemu toku (metode, pri katerih je uporaba eksperimentov namenjena preoblikovanju oblike kroženja)
bivanje (ang. <i>living</i>)	snovanje novih posameznih realnosti, skupaj s številnimi elementi, ki so sestavni del eksperimentov; ustvarjanje »eksperimentalnega subjekta« eksperimenti potekajo v negotovih razmerah (alternativne posamezne realnosti/razmerja so v procesu stalnega pogajanja)
***razširjanje informacij (ang. <i>disseminating</i>)	izmenjava izkušenj z drugimi urbanih območji in organizacijami; širjenje znanja in izkušenj na omrežja zunaj lastnih meja; inkubatorji sprememb in prenos trajnostnih rešitev v širše mestno okolje uvedba trajnostnega življenjskega sloga; prenos tehnoloških rešitev na sosednje (in oddaljene) soseske, mesta in regije (trajnostna soseska kot primer dobre prakse)

Vir: Bulkeley idr., 2015 (prirenil/razvrstil avtor, 2016)

»ustvarjanje« pojasnjuje začetni izvorni moment urbane regeneracije (začetno strategijo pristopa od zgoraj navzdol/od spodaj navzgor), ki je glavna neodvisna spremenljivka. Raziskava se osredotoča tudi na vpliv, ki ga ima implementacijski pristop (ustvarjanje) na nadaljnje procese.

5.1 Ustvarjanje

Za razumevanje kompleksnega sistema različnih akterjev oziroma urbanih komponent v soseskah Vauban in Western Harbour je treba najprej razumeti osnovne pogoje, zgodovino in razvojne procese teh specifičnih trajnostnih urbanih območij. Na začetku sta obe soseski poseblyali »prostore izjeme« v prevladujoči netrajnostni urbani praksi. Bili sta ekolaboratorija trajnostnega urbanizma (prostora inovacij), toda z drugačnimi vizijama, strategijama načrtovanja in razvoja. Tudi sistem deležnikov, ki je določal urbanistično načrtovanje, je bil drugačen.

Leta 1993 je občina Freiburg pripravila urbanistični načrt za obnovo in spremembo nekdanje francoske vojašnice v sodobno trajnostno sosesko Vauban. Časovni okvir urbanističnega načrta se je ujemal z ustanovitvijo aktivistične organizacije SUSI, ki je zasedla zapuščeno vojašnico leta 1992. Organizacija SUSI in kasnejše združenje Forum Vauban sta bila glavna pobudnika za gradnjo avtonomne trajnostne soseske na območju Vauban. Povezana lokalna skupnost in dobra organizacija med prvotnimi prebivalci sta bili ključni za ustvarjanje dolgoročne (lokalne) identitete prostora in krepitev trajnostne usmerjenosti soseske. Občina Freiburg je priznala združenje Forum Vauban kot legitimnega partnerja in koordinacijski subjekt pri načrtovanju. Združenje je uvedlo več radikalnih postavk v urbanističnem načrtu soseske in doseglo denimo

»prepoved avtomobilov« v njej, da bi se lahko otroci varno igrali na ulicah (Field, 2011). Tudi energetske soseske je bil izdelan v sodelovanju občine Freiburg, združenja Forum Vauban in energetskega podjetja iz mesta Freiburg (Bächtold, 2013). Pri razvoju trajnostne soseske je Forum Vauban podpiral različne neprofitne organizacije, recimo gradbene zadruge, ter dal pobudo za sodelovanje na energetskem in prehrabnem področju. Soseska Vauban uteleša radikalno ekocentrično tranzicijsko verzijo, ki promovira lokalni pristop od spodaj navzgor z namenom pospeševanja družbenih, okoljskih in kulturnih sprememb (Audet, 2014).

Območje Western Harbour je bilo v lasti občine Malmö, ki je želela spremeniti ta industrijski predel po stečaju več podjetij (Lööf, 2014). Namen preoblikovanja je bil ustvariti vzoren primer trajnostnega urbanega razvoja ter okrepiti novo podobo Malmöja kot idealnega mesta za bivanje in naložbe (Madureira, 2014). Pobudniki trajnostne soseske Western Harbour niso bili lokalni prebivalci, ki so živeli in delali na tem območju, ampak državne institucije (občina Malmö). Javnost je imela malo vpliva na urbanistični načrt območja Western Harbour tudi zato, ker so bili že na začetku vključevanja javnosti arhitekturni načrti podrobno zastavljeni (Lööf, 2014).

Ena temeljnih razlik med soseskama Vauban in Western Harbour glede začetnega nastajanja je bila v ravni vključenosti lokalnih prebivalcev pri ustvarjanju koncepta razvoja trajnostne soseske. Vizija Forum Vauban »učiti se med načrtovanjem« (ang. *learning while planning*) je bila tipičen primer participatornega pristopa od spodaj navzgor. Čeprav je občina Freiburg omogočila nastanek trajnostne soseske oziroma bistveno pripomogla k temu, so imeli veliko večji vpliv na trajnostni urbani razvoj lokalni prebivalci prek gradbenih zadrug (nem.

Baugruppen). Lokalni prebivalci so postavljali višje okoljske standarde, izbirali arhitekta, usmerjali načrtovanje in vodili gradnjo. V nasprotju s tem pa je občina Malmö samostojno upravljala razvoj soseske Western Harbour: vodila arhitekta in gradbena podjetja. Pri soseski Western Harbour, kot tipični predstavnici pristopa od zgoraj navzdol je cilje določila mestna uprava. Kritiki opozarjajo, da pri »ustvarjanju« lokalne transformacije v soseski Western Harbor ni bilo (zadostnega) sodelovanja s civilno družbo.

5.2 Vzdrževanje

»Vzdrževanje« se nanaša na dve različni, vendar povezani obliki vzdrževanja urbanih eksperimentov (Bulkeley idr., 2015). Bulkeley idr. (2015) so določili dve tipologiji vzdrževanja: ohranitev in presnovna prilagoditev. Ohranitev je bolj fizična in neposredna. Gre za vsakdanje ukrepe (odstranjevanje odpadkov, pleskanje itd.), kombinirane z nekaterimi bolj strateškimi posegi (vlaganje v energetske prenove, urejanje cestnega prometa itd.). Pri presnovni prilagoditvi pa gre za metode, pri katerih je uporaba eksperimentov namenjena preoblikovanju trenutne oblike kroženja (Bulkeley idr., 2015). Presnovna prilagoditev se kaže v prilagoditvah občinske politike, pri tehnološkem razvoju in razvoju novih kulturnih kompetenc ter je lahko usmerjena tudi v prilagoditev novih urbanih kontekstov.

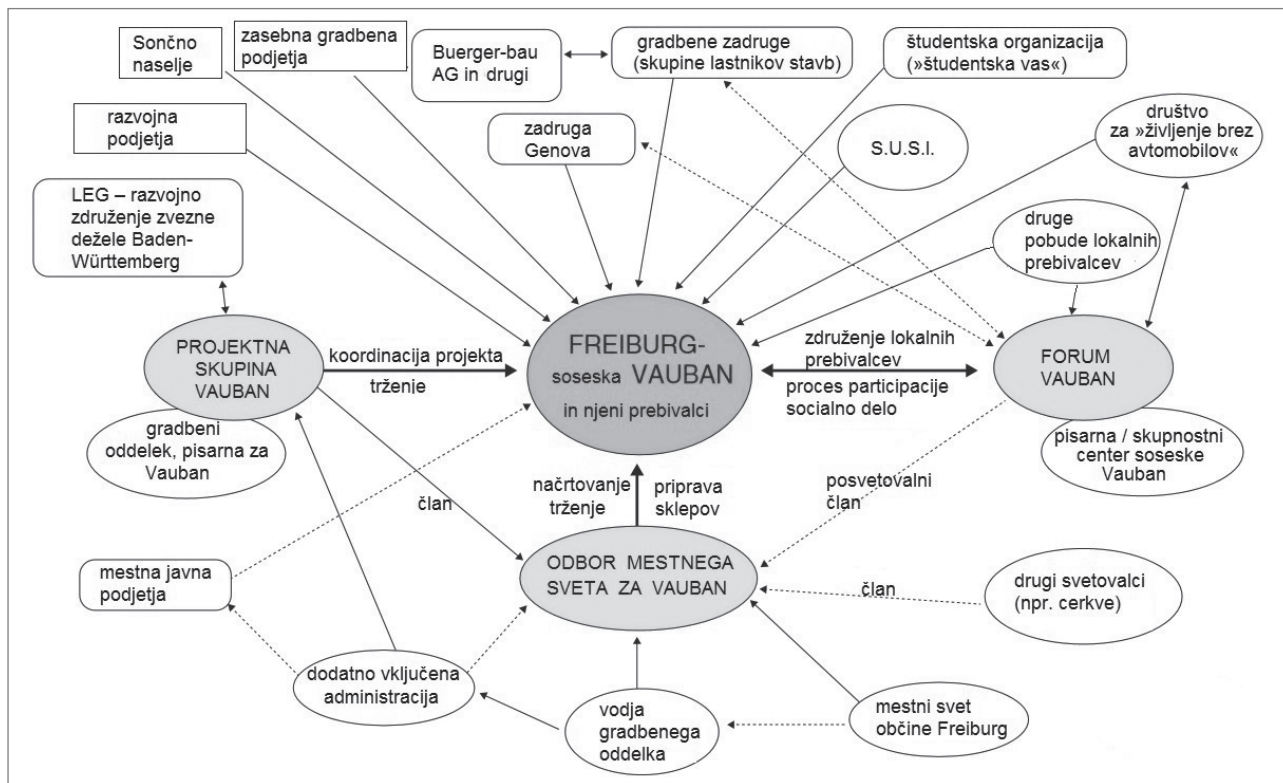
Analiza se osredotoča na to, kako konkretni »eksperimenti« intervenirajo, da bi preoblikovali cirkulacijo omrežja s presnovno prilagoditvijo« (Bulkeley idr., 2015: 39). Pri presnovni prilagoditvi soseske Vauban je treba upoštevati dva vala prilagoditev in modifikacij. Prvi je povezan z energetskimi standardi gradbenih zadrug. Združenje Forum Vauban je bilo še posebej uspešno pri spodbujanju samostojnih gradbenikov, da so sprejeli strožje in radikalnejše obvezne ekološke standarde. Očitno standard energetske učinkovitosti 65 kWh/m²/leto, ki ga je določila občina Freiburg, ni bil dovolj stimulativen, zato je združenje spodbudilo neformalno tekmovanje med gradbenimi zadrugami, da bi še dodatno zmanjšali porabo energije v novih stavbah (Delleske, 2013). Omogočilo je brezplačno svetovanje ter organiziralo številne prireditve in seminarje za pomoč ter informiranje lokalnih zadrug glede tehnoloških rešitev za energetske varčevanje (Bächtold, 2013). Številni člani gradbenih zadrug so določili lastne, še strožje standarde. Druga »presnovna prilagoditev« soseske Vauban se navezuje na družbeno strukturo lokalnega prebivalstva. V preteklih letih se je ta nekoliko spremenila. Od radikalnega zelenega aktivizma prvih pionirjev se soseska Vauban počasi, toda vztrajno spreminja v sosesko za družine, ne da bi izgubila svoj unikatni trajnostni pečat. Poleg tega je treba omeniti, da je pobudnica soseske – aktivistična skupina SUSI še vedno del soseske in ima pomembno vlogo v lokalni skupnosti, saj ponuja ugodna

socialna najemna stanovanja. Kljub temu je težnja k gentrifikaciji prostora očitna.

Tudi soseska Western Harbour se je pri urbani transformaciji večkrat prilagajala novim razmeram s posebnimi prilagoditvami. Na začetku trajnostne urbane preobrazbe je imela negativno javno podobo in bila pogosto tarča kritik v medijih. Ograjeni park, obvezno plačilo vstopnic za razstavo EXPO za prebivalce mesta Malmö, ki je privedlo do bojkota dogodka, finančni škandali gradbenih podjetij, neplačila lokalnim podjetjem in stečaj glavnega razvojnega podjetja so samo nekatere od negativnih okoliščin, ki so spremljale začetek transformacije soseske Western Harbour (Dalman, 2014; Lööf, 2014). Lokalni kritiki in mediji so opozorili tudi na visoke cene stanovanj in s tem »getoizacijo« območja (Holgensen, 2014). Kljub temu je v zadnjih letih soseska postala zelo zaželeno območje za bivanje ter hkrati tudi osrednji rekreacijski in zabavišni prostor mesta Malmö, pa tudi turistična atrakcija. Vzdrževanje oziroma prilagajanje se kaže tudi v tem, kako se je soseska odzvala na svojo novo vlogo. Ponuja na primer posebne storitve, kot so bari, restavracije itd., za nove/nepričakovane obiskovalce soseske. Vendar nekateri prebivalci niso bili navdušeni nad to novo odprtostjo za zunanje obiskovalce in bi raje ohranili bolj zaprto lokalno skupnost (Dalman, 2014). Drugi vidik rekonfiguracije med eksperimentiranjem se kaže v odzivu občine Malmö glede nenatančnih napovedi o energetski učinkovitosti stavb (Bächtold, 2013). Na nepričakovane okoliščine se je odzvala z različnimi ukrepi, ki naj bi spremenili in izboljšali razumevanje ter zavezanost stanovalcev k zastavljenim ciljem trajnostnega razvoja (Johansson, 2014).

5.3 Bivanje

Bivanje vključuje različne nove partikularne realnosti, ki skupaj ustvarjajo tako imenovani eksperimentalni subjekt (Bulkeley idr., 2015). Obe soseski sta primer eksperimentalnega bivanjskega laboratorija, vendar z drugačnima sistemoma lokalnega upravljanja ter različnimi deležniki in odločevalci. V soseski Western Harbour je glavni deležnik in odločevalec občina Malmö, ki upravlja sosesko s svojimi javnimi zavodi in sodelovanjem nekaterih zasebnih podjetij (npr. E.ON). Zasebna podjetja opravljajo različne tehnične poskuse v zvezi z okoljskimi rešitvami, apliciranimi v nizkoenergijskih stanovanjih, z električnimi omrežji za obnovljive vire energije itd. V nasprotju z obravnavano švedsko sosesko pa je soseska Vauban s svojima participativnima lokalnima združenjima Forum Vauban in SUSI in različnimi gradbenimi zadrugami, kooperativami obnovljivih virov energije in lokalnimi društvi v soseski ustvarila množico prepletenih deležnikov, ki tvorijo edinstven sistem lokalnega upravljanja (slika 5). Sistem lokalnega upravljanja v soseski Vauban prepušča pobudo lokalnim prebivalcem.



Slika 5: Sistem lokalnega upravljanja v trajnostni soseski Vauban (vir: internet 2)

Bulkeley idr. (2015) trdijo, da eksperimenti delujejo na negotovih področjih in so podvrženi stalnim pogajanjem. V soseski Vauban je združenje Forum Vauban doživelo stečaj, ko je EU nepričakovano prenehala financirati njene dejavnosti, vendar se je združenje preoblikovalo in spet postavilo na noge z novim imenom Stadtteilverein Vauban (Delleske, 2013). Stalna pogajanja in vnovično prilagajanje notranjih pravil lokalnega »bivanjskega« eksperimenta so zaznamovala tudi sosesko Western Harbour. Zaradi razmeroma homogene socialne strukture prebivalstva v predelu Bo01 je občina Malmö sklenila z gradbenimi podjetji posebno »socialno pogodbo« za nadaljnje urbane projekte v soseski (Bo02, Bo03). Ni namreč želela, da bi postal Western Harbour »zlata obala mesta Malmö« (Dalman, 2014). Zato je po prvem zgrajenem urbanem območju (Bo01) nameravala zagotoviti večjo vključenost ljudi v projektih Bo02 in Bo03. Mesto Malmö je nameravalo zgraditi najcenejša najemna stanovanja v mestu, zato je subvencioniralo zemljišča v nekaterih delih območja Bo02. V zameno so gradbena podjetja podpisala sporazum, da ne bodo zaračunavala višje najemnine od najnižjega kvartila povprečne najemnine v mestu Malmö. Na koncu se je izkazalo, da najemnine niso ostale dolgo tako nizke (Dalman, 2014). Kot je bilo že omenjeno, je soseska Western Harbour (Bo01) doživela veliko kritik na začetku obstoja (zlasti v medijih). Kljub tej stigmati velja eksperiment Western Harbour za svetovno priznano zgodbo o uspehu in model dobre prakse. Ustvarjanje

novih oblik urbanih eksperimentov ustvarja nova pričakovanja o tem, kaj je (in ni) normalno (Bulkeley idr., 2015).

5.4 Razširjanje informacij

Soseski Vauban in Western Harbour sta trajnostni soseski s celostnim pristopom do vzdržnega urbanega razvoja. Zato se mnoga mesta po svetu želijo učiti od njiju. Inovativni proces »razširjanje informacij« je pomemben pri razvoju trajnostnih sosesk, ker predvideva izmenjavo izkušenj z drugimi urbanih območji in organizacijami. Obe soseski sta neposredno in posredno razširili svoji mreži onstran svojih meja. Seveda je težko izmeriti in opredeliti, koliko sta svojimi urbanih trajnostnimi pristopi vplivali na druge dele lastnega mesta, regije in države in koliko na mednarodni ravni. V nadaljevanju so predstavljeni nekateri konkretni ukrepi, vplivi, znanje in izkušnje, ki sta jih obe soseski širili onstran svojih meja.

Ta proces v soseski Vauban je mogoče povzeti v štirih točkah. Prvič, specifično znanje strateškega upravljanja in druge organizacijske rešitve so bile prenesene na druge dele mesta Freiburg (denimo Rieselfeld) in v druga mesta v regiji (recimo Französisches Viertel-Südstadt v Tübingenu). Poseben energetske standard v soseski Vauban je bil navdih standardu za energetske učinkovitost stavb v soseski Rieselfeld. Oba standarda sta bila podlaga za standard, ki je začel veljati leta 2009 za

mesto Freiburg (Bächtold, 2013). Drugič, implementacija prve plusenergijske večdružinske stavbe na svetu pomeni tehnično rešitev, ki so jo urbanisti in arhitekti intenzivno analizirali. Tretjič, vodeni ogledi soseske Vauban za turiste in raziskovalce, ki so jih organizirali lokalni prebivalci, so učinkovit način širjenja specifičnih izkušenj trajnostnega urbanizma. Tudi informativni seminarji o razvojnem procesu v soseski Vauban omogočajo širjenje znanja. Četrtrič, trajnostni živi laboratorij – prva pasivna večstanovanjska stavba (*Passivhaus Wohnen und Arbeiten*), ki ga je mogoče obiskati tudi z vodenimi ogledi, neposredno predstavlja konkretne trajnostne rešitve, uporabljene v soseski.

V soseski Western Harbour je možno proces opredeliti s tremi aktivnostmi. Prvič, znanje o strategijah upravljanja in drugih organizacijskih rešitvah je bilo preneseno na druge dele mesta Malmö – denimo Hyllie in Augustenborg in druga mesta v regiji – novi planski načrti za trajnostno sosesko v mestu Lund (Dalman, 2014). Podobno kot pri soseski Vauban so bili trajnostni standardi za objekte, zgrajene za Bo01 (Western Harbour), kasneje podlaga za poseben program, ki je veljal za vse stavbe na občinskih zemljiščih mest Malmö in Lund (Smedby, 2016). Posebno socialno pogodbo med gradbenimi podjetji in občino Malmö je prevzela tudi občina Kopenhagen (Löf, 2014). Strategija storitve souporaba avtomobilov s posebno pogodbo, sklenjeno med občino, gradbeniki in podjetji, je bila prenesena tudi na druge soseske v mestu Malmö, na primer Hyllie (Löf, 2014). Sistem prometa v soseski Western Harbour pa je postal model za vse mesto Malmö (Fraker, 2013). Drugič, z vidika aplikacije tehničnih rešitev je bil izboljšan sistem za odpadke (razvit v soseski Western Harbour v Bo01) ponovno uporabljen v Bo03 in bo postal model za celotno mesto (Dalman, 2014; Löf, 2014). Tretjič, vodene ogledsoseske Western Harbour so organizirali za tisoče mednarodnih obiskovalcev.

6 Sklep

Izhajajoč iz analize načel novega urbanizma, je mogoče sklepati, da je soseska Vauban s pristopom od spodaj navzgor dosegla lokalni skupnosti prilagojeno urbanistično formo, podobno kot soseska Western Harbour s pristopom od zgoraj navzdol. Začetni pristop implementacije (od zgoraj navzdol ali od spodaj navzgor) ni vplival na trajnostno obliko urbane forme v proučevanih primerih. V obeh soseskah so bila uresničena skoraj vsa načela novega urbanizma. Treba pa je poudariti, da ni bil dosežen temeljni vidik novega urbanizma – raznolikost oziroma heterogenost lokalnega prebivalstva soseske. Po analizi načel novega urbanizma v obravnavanih soseskah je prva hipoteza zavrnjena. To pomeni, da trajnostne soseske s pristopom od spodaj navzgor ne ustvarjajo bolj trajnostne urbane

forme, saj je tudi urbanistična forma soseske Western Harbour, nastala s pristopom od zgoraj navzdol, skladna z načeli novega urbanizma. Tudi druge evropske trajnostne soseske, nastale s pristopom od zgoraj navzdol (Kronsberg v Hannoveru, Hammarby Sjöstad v Stockholmu itd.), imajo zelo funkcionalno in trajnostno urbano strukturo, ki spodbuja hojo, ter veliko gostoto naseljenosti, vključujejo večnamenske objekte, so dobro povezane z zelenim mestnim prevozom, imajo veliko parkov, omogočajo (javne) storitve v bližini stanovanjskih območij itd. (Fraker, 2013). Zato je mogoče sklepati, da je večina načel novega urbanizma v trajnostnih soseskah uresničljiva ne glede na začetni implementacijski pristop.

Za razliko od prve hipoteze je na podlagi primerjalne analize mogoče potrditi drugo hipotezo: trajnostne soseske, implementirane s participativnim pristopom od spodaj navzgor, ustvarjajo kompleksnejše sisteme lokalnega upravljanja in so socialno vzdržnejše. Z analizo na podlagi teoretičnega okvira procesov je mogoče potrditi, da je začetni implementacijski pristop (od spodaj navzgor in od zgoraj navzdol) odločilen pri določanju, kdo (združenja lokalnih prebivalcev ali občina) bo glavni deležnik, protagonist, odločevalec, ki se bo odzival na vsakodnevne izzive soseske. Z analitičnim okvirom procesov je bilo ugotovljeno, da je v obeh študijah primerov začetni razvojni proces »ustvarjanje« neposredno vplival na nadaljnje procese ter definiral končni sistem lokalnega upravljanja in socialno strukturo skupnosti. Prebivalci soseske Vauban so glavni deležniki pri odločanju. V gradbenih zadrugah in združenju Forum Vauban določajo socialne, gospodarske in okoljske cilje za sosesko. V nasprotju s tem pa je sosesko Western Harbour načrtovala, gradila in razvijala občina Malmö. Z analizo procesov »vzdrževanje« in »bivanje« je bilo ugotovljeno, da se glavni deležniki – skrbniki oziroma administratorji sosesk – skozi čas niso ključno spremenili oziroma zamenjali.

Analiza procesov je tudi pokazala, da je pristop od spodaj navzgor v soseski Vauban spodbudil bolj družbeno usmerjene trajnostne organizacije in dejavnosti k temu, da lokalne skupnosti izrazijo svojo vitalnost. Podobno so tudi druge evropske soseske, nastale s participativnim pristopom od spodaj navzgor (denimo soseska GWL Terrein iz Amsterdama in EVA Lanxmeer iz Culemborga), razvile močno identiteto lokalnega urbanega prostora in socialno kohezijo ter pooblastile lokalne prebivalce, da so prevzeli odgovornost pri več dejavnostih soseske. Zato bi bilo v prihodnje za razvoj socialno vzdržnih mestnih območij z močnim lokalnim upravljanjem, usmerjenim v korist lokalne skupnosti, dobro že na začetku (proces »ustvarjanja«) uvesti pri načrtovanju participativni dialog in vključiti lokalno skupnost pri razvoju urbane strategije.

Kljub ugotovljenim razlikam med obema soseskama pri procesih »ustvarjanje«, »vzdrževanje« in »bivanje« je veliko

podobnosti pri procesu »razširjanje informacij«. Med obema proučevanima soseskama ni bistvenih razlik pri prenosu oziroma deljenju znanja. Obe uspešno prenašata naprej pridobljeno tehnično znanje in izkušnje (standardi energetske učinkovitosti, bivanjski laboratoriji, sistem predelave odpadkov itd.) ter širita svoje strategije upravljanja in druge organizacijske rešitve (koncept »družbene pogodbe« z gradbenimi podjetji, sistem souporabe avtomobilov, vodeni izleti po soseskah itd.) v druge urbane skupnosti.

Obravnavani študiji primerov omogočata edinstven vpogled v načela in procese oblikovanja trajnostnih sosesk. Univerzalne rešitve ali načrta, ki bi ga bilo mogoče aplicirati pri nastajanju in razvoju novih trajnostnih sosesk, ni. Obe soseski sta mednarodno priznana modela urbanega trajnostnega razvoja ter navdih mestom in organizacijam po vsem svetu. Poosebljata primere različnih načel in procesov, ki vodijo do podobnega cilja – trajnostnih sosesk.

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Dejavniki, ki vplivajo na lokacijo manjših in srednje velikih podjetij v predmestju: primer metropolitanskega območja mest Gdansk, Gdynia in Sopot

Zaradi pomembne vloge manjših in srednje velikih podjetij (MSP) v evropskem gospodarstvu je ključno ustrezno poznavanje različnih dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na izbiro njihove lokacije. Kljub temu je v teoretičnih in empiričnih raziskavah industrijskih lokacij in urbanističnega načrtovanja velikost podjetij pogosto spregledana. V članku avtorji proučujejo kraj stalnega prebivališča kot dejavnik, ki spodbuja razvoj MSP v predmestjih. To smer razvoja potrjuje tudi multidisciplinarna raziskava, ki so jo izvedli na metropolitanskem območju mest Gdansk, Gdynia in Sopot. Dejavnike, ki vplivajo na lokacijo MSP na predmestnih območjih, so določili z anketo, ki so jo izvedli v 251 podjetjih v 7 občinah z najvišjo stopnjo suburba-

nizacije na proučevanem metropolitanskem območju. Raziskava je potrdila, da je za občine, v katerih potekajo najintenzivnejši procesi suburbanizacije, značilna višja stopnja poslovne dejavnosti. Lastniki podjetij odločitve o lokaciji podjetja večinoma sprejemajo v skladu z načeli vedenjske teorije. To pomeni, da pri svojih odločitvah pogosteje upoštevajo osebne dejavnike kot stroške ali povpraševanje. Zanje so najpomembnejši dejavniki življenjske razmere, kakovost javnega prostora, izobrazba in zdravstvo.

Ključne besede: podjetništvo, MSP, predmestja, regionalni razvoj, suburbanizacija, Poljska

1 Uvod

Manjša in srednje velika podjetja (MSP) imajo ključno vlogo v nacionalnih gospodarstvih, saj so gonilna sila podjetništva, razvoja, inovacij in konkurenčnosti. Gre za sektor, ki je motor regionalnega razvoja in blaginje. Pri določanju prostorske lokacije je pomembno, da lokalne oblasti in urbanisti dobro poznajo različne dejavnike, ki vplivajo na izbiro posameznih lokacij. Lokacija podjetja vpliva na njegovo delovanje, razvoj ter sposobnost ustvarjanja in ohranjanja konkurenčne prednosti (Porter, 2000). Zato se lokalne, regionalne in državne ustanove ter raziskovalci osredotočajo na iskanje in proučevanje dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na to, kako podjetja izbirajo lokacijo za svoje poslovanje. Kljub temu je v teoretičnih in empiričnih raziskavah industrijskih lokacij in urbanističnega načrtovanja njihova velikost pogosto spregledana, ne upoštevajo pa je niti tradicionalne niti neoklasične lokacijske teorije. Pregled empiričnih raziskav lokacijskih vzorcev MSP kaže, da je na tem področju še vedno precejšnja vrzel, zlasti v zvezi z Vzhodno Evropo. Kar je bil glavni razlog za to raziskavo. Njen glavni cilj je pridobiti boljši vpogled v dejavnike, ki odločilno vplivajo na izbiro lokacije MSP.

Razvoj sektorja MSP in sočasno nenačrtno širjenje mest na Poljskem je avtorje spodbudil k proučevanju tega, zakaj MSP za opravljanje dejavnosti izberejo lokacijo v predmestjih. Za poljska predmestja sta značilni velika razdrobljenost in visoka stopnja podjetništva v sektorju MSP (Martyniuk-Pęczek in Pęczek, v tisku). To je posledica družbeno-ekonomskih sprememb, ki so se v državi dogajale po letu 1989. Najbolj dinamične so bile prav v predmestjih. Na močno in nenehno rast teh območij po eni strani vplivajo hiter razvoj MSP, po drugi pa »ameriški slog življenja« in zahodnoevropski liberalizem, ki je veliko prispeval k pospešenemu nenačrtnemu širjenju mest na Poljskem. Zaradi medsebojnega vpliva teh dveh pojavov (razvoja MSP in suburbanizacije) se je tu razvila posebna urbana oblika predmestij.

Avtorji so raziskavo razdelili na prostorski in ekonomski del. V prostorskem delu so izbrali predmestne občine na metropolitanskem območju mest Gdansk, Gdynia in Sopot, kjer poteka najintenzivnejša suburbanizacija, in določili vpliv MSP na prostorsko kakovost izbranih predmestij. V ekonomskem delu so nato določili občine z največjo gostoto MSP in dejavnike, ki vplivajo na izbiro lokacije MSP.

V naslednjem poglavju je na kratko predstavljena empirična literatura s tematiko izbiranja lokacije podjetij in obravnavana vloga velikosti podjetja. Nato avtorji predstavijo rezultate statističnih testov, opravljenih na vzorcu 251 MSP, ki so v predmestjih proučevanega metropolitanskega območja. Da

bi potrdili rezultate statističnih testov, avtorji predstavijo tudi rezultate prostorske analize, v zadnjem poglavju pa povzamejo glavne ugotovitve.

2 Lokacijski dejavniki MSP: pregled literature

Pri iskanju kraja za opravljanje poslovnih dejavnosti vsako podjetje izbere lokacijo, ki najbolj ustreza njegovim potrebam. S prednostmi, kot so večja proizvodna zmogljivost, večji dobiček, širjenje poslovne dejavnosti, boljše storitve za stranke, povečanje delničarskega premoženja in nižji stroški, lahko primerna lokacija močno izboljša tržno konkurenčnost podjetja (Mazzarol in Choo, 2003). Hkrati pa lahko neprimerna lokacija negativno vpliva na podjetje. Z vprašanjem določanja in analiziranja lokacijskih dejavnikov podjetij so se ukvarjale že prve lokacijske teorije, ki so se sprva osredotočale na zmanjšanje stroškov (Thunen, 1826; Launhardt, 1882; Predöhl, 1928; Weber, 1929), nato pa tudi na analizo trga in povečanje dobička (Palander, 1935; Lösch, 1940; Hoover, 1948; Isard, 1956). V 2. polovici 20. stoletja je bil uveden vedenjski pristop (Pred, 1967), pri katerem je pri razlagi tega, kako nekdo izbere lokacijo, upoštevan obstoj odločevalca, čigar vedenje zaznamuje omejena racionalnost. Trenutno na izbiro lokacije podjetja najbolj vplivajo dejavniki, povezani s tehnološkim in družbenim razvojem (Van Noort in Reijmer, 1999), vendar ne moremo določiti univerzalnega izbora dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na odločitve o lokaciji podjetja. Lahko upoštevamo tudi do sto tovrstnih dejavnikov, zares pomembnih pa jih je le nekaj (Vlachou in Iakovidou, 2015). Pregled literature kaže, da lahko lokacijske dejavnike različno razvrstimo in razdelimo. Shelley M. Kimelberg in Elizabeth Williams (2013) ter Charisia Vlachou in Olga Iakovidou (2015) ugotavljajo, da lahko raziskave, ki se ukvarjajo z določanjem in razlago tovrstnih dejavnikov, razdelimo na tri kategorije: a) raziskave, ki merijo vpliv točno določenega dejavnika ali več dejavnikov na odločitve o lokaciji podjetja; b) raziskave, ki razlagajo izbiro lokacije za točno določeno panogo ali podjetje s točno določenimi lastnostmi, in c) raziskave, ki proučujejo lokacijske dejavnike, ki vplivajo na podjetja na točno določenem območju. Peter Lloyd in Peter E. Dicken (1990) ter Jouke van Dijk in Piet Pellenbarg (2000) denimo razlikujejo med notranjimi dejavniki (kakovost upravljanja, organizacijski cilji, lastniška struktura, zaposlovanje in dobiček), lokacijskimi dejavniki (velikost parcele, velikost prostora za možno širitev ter oddaljenost strank in dobaviteljev) in zunanji dejavniki (naravne razmere, pravni položaj, vladna politika in regionalna gospodarska struktura).

Tovrstne dejavnike lahko razdelimo tudi na »mehke« in »trde«. Mehki dejavniki se nanašajo na neizmerljive in pogosto subjektivne vidike odločanja, kot so odnos lokalnih

oblasti, gospodarske značilnosti lokacije, družbeno ozračje, kakovost življenja, življenjski standard in lokalna kulturna ponudba. Sem spadata tudi kakovost javnega prostora in urejenost prostora. Trdi dejavniki pa so pogosto izmerljivi z vidika stroškov in vključujejo oskrbo s proizvodnimi in pisarniškimi prostori, bližino trgov, nabavo energije, bližino dobaviteljev in poslovnih partnerjev, prevoz, oskrbo s kvalificirano delovno silo, regionalno davčno politiko, politiko subvencij, obstoj raziskovalnih in znanstvenih ustanov ter kakovost in prilagodljivost lokalne uprave (Van Noort in Reijmer, 1999; Leśniewski, 2012). Edwin Van Noort in Inge Reijmer sta lokacijske dejavnike razdelila na tri skupine: dejavnike, povezane s poslovnim okoljem (dobavitelji, stranke in najuspešnejša podjetja), dejavnike, povezane s fizičnim okoljem (dostop z avtom in javnim prevozom, kakovost in podoba poslovne lokacije, velikost lokacije in njena okolica), in dejavnike, povezane z institucionalnim okoljem (spodbude in okoljska zakonodaja; Risselada in Schutjens, 2012). V novejši raziskavi so Yancy Vaillant idr. (2012) lokacijske dejavnike razdelili na tri skupine glede na razloge za izbiro lokacije: infrastrukturne in gospodarske razloge, osebne razloge in razloge, povezane z lokacijo.

Velikost podjetja vsekakor vpliva na pomen posameznega lokacijskega dejavnika, vendar v lokacijskih teorijah in številnih empiričnih raziskavah kljub temu ni upoštevana. Poleg tega se je večina raziskav osredotočala na odločevalske procese v velikih podjetjih, le malo pozornosti pa je bilo namenjene temu, kako tovrstne odločitve sprejemajo MSP. Mikropodjetja ter manjša in srednje velika podjetja se razlikujejo od velikih podjetij in z vidika odločanja o lokaciji se te razlike nanašajo zlasti na odločevalca, možnost pridobivanja informacij o točno določeni lokaciji in finančne vire. Za zdaj še ni ustreznega teoretičnega okvira, s katerim bi lahko razložili, zakaj vedenje manjših podjetij ne kaže vedenja velikih. Nekaj empiričnih primerov lahko najdemo v raziskavah, ki so jih izvedli Barry Moore idr. (1991), Pauline Sullivan idr. (1998), Van Noort in Reijmer (1999), Josep-Maria Arauzo-Carod in Miguel Manjon-Antolin (2004), Maria Teresa Costa idr. (2004) ter Michał Flieger (2013). V vseevropski raziskavi, ki so jo opravili Moore idr. (1991), se je za najpomembnejši dejavnik, ki je vplival na lokacijske odločitve velikih in srednje velikih podjetij, izkazala razpoložljivost pomoči za regionalni razvoj, pri manjših pa je bil najpomembnejši dejavnik dostop do strank (Moore idr., 1991). Empirične raziskave, opravljene v katalonskih občinah, pa so pokazale, da na odločitve velikih podjetij vplivajo objektivnejši razlogi, manjša pa usmerjajo predvsem podjetnikove preference. V praksi so možnosti, ki jih imajo na voljo manjša podjetja, pogosto omejene na najbližje geografsko območje (Arauzo-Carod in Manjon-Antolin, 2004). Na Nizozemskem pri izbiri lokacije MSP ne gre za strateško odločitev (v primerjavi z izbiro lokacije velikih podjetij; Risselada in Schutjens, 2012), saj je običajno le kratkoročna. MSP pri izbiri upoštevajo le omejeno število

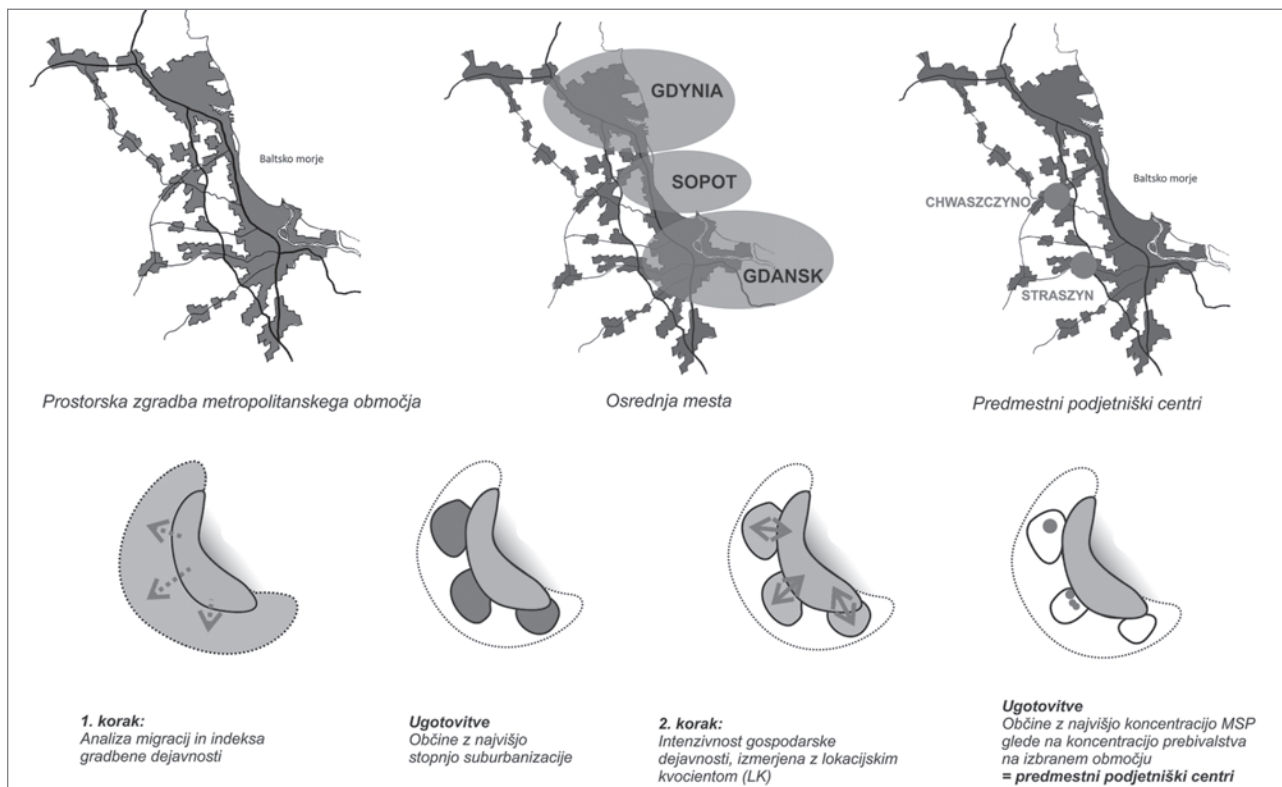
različnih dejavnikov. To le redko velja tudi za velika podjetja. Poleg tega so bili na Nizozemskem »mehki« dejavniki (ugled in karizma) razmeroma pomembnejši za večja podjetja kot MSP (Risselada in Schutjens, 2012). Sullivan idr. (1998) so ugotovili, da v primerjavi z MSP velika podjetja dajejo največji poudarek fizični infrastrukturi oziroma dostopu do železnice, letališč in pristanišč. Poleg tega pripisujejo precej večji pomen razpoložljivosti delovne sile, ugodnim posojilom, javnemu prevozu in poceni lokalni delovni sili. Chyi-lyi (Kathleen) Liang idr. (2001) navajajo, da so lokacijske odločitve manjših podjetij pogosto povezane z osebnimi dejavniki, kot so okolje (kakovost življenja), stalno prebivališče (želijo ostati doma), dostop do kapitala, lokalnih in regionalnih strank ter razpoložljivost ustrezne infrastrukture. Raziskava avstralskih MSP, ki sta jo izvedla Valerie Kupke in John Pearce (1998), je pokazala, da sta bila najpomembnejša dejavnika, ki sta vplivala na izbiro industrijske lokacije, bližina poslovnega središča mesta in neposreden dostop do glavnih cest.

Večina raziskav dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na izbiro lokacije poljskih podjetij, se osredotoča na določanje notranjih in zunanjih dejavnikov ter lokalnih prednosti izbranega območja, manj pa analizirajo njihov pomen glede na velikost podjetja (Budner, 2004; Godlewska, 2005; Płaziak in Szymańska, 2014). Med poljskimi raziskovalci so velikost podjetij proučevali Małgorzata Poniatowska-Jaksch (1997), Flieger (2013), Mariola Chrzanowska in Nina Drejerska (2015) ter Hanna Godlewska-Majkowska (2016). Flieger (2013) ugotavlja, da so za MSP pomembni le dejavniki, povezani s stroški (lokalne dajatve, najemnina, stroški delovne sile, možnosti pridobivanja sredstev za podporo poslovanju), za velika podjetja pa so pomembni dejavniki, povezani s tehnološko infrastrukturo, bližino avtoceste, stroški delovne sile in možnostjo sodelovanja z lokalnimi podjetji. Najpomembnejši dejavnik v raziskavi, ki jo je opravila Poniatowska-Jaksch (1997), je bilo lastništvo objektov. Chrzanowska in Drejerska (2015) pa omenjata dva lokacijska dejavnika: bližino mesta in priložnosti na lokalnem trgu.

3 Metodologija in rezultati

3.1 Metodologija

Raziskava suburbanizacije in razvoja MSP je bila razdeljena na dva dela. Cilj prostorskega dela raziskave je bil določiti občine na metropolitanskem območju mest Gdansk, Gdynia in Sopot z najvišjo stopnjo suburbanizacije in vrsto pozidave posameznih parcel, cilj ekonomskega dela pa je bil izbrati občine oziroma mesta z najvišjo koncentracijo MSP in določiti dejavnike, ki vplivajo na lokacijske odločitve tamkajšnjih MSP. Proučevano območje je pomemben del funkcijske in prostorske zgradbe Pomorjanskega vojvodstva ter najpomembnejše gospodarsko in družbeno središče na območju južnega Baltika. Med polj-



Slika 1: Določanje podjetniških centrov v predmestjih na podlagi prostorske zgradbe metropolitanskega območja (ilustracija: Justyna Martyniuk-Peczec)

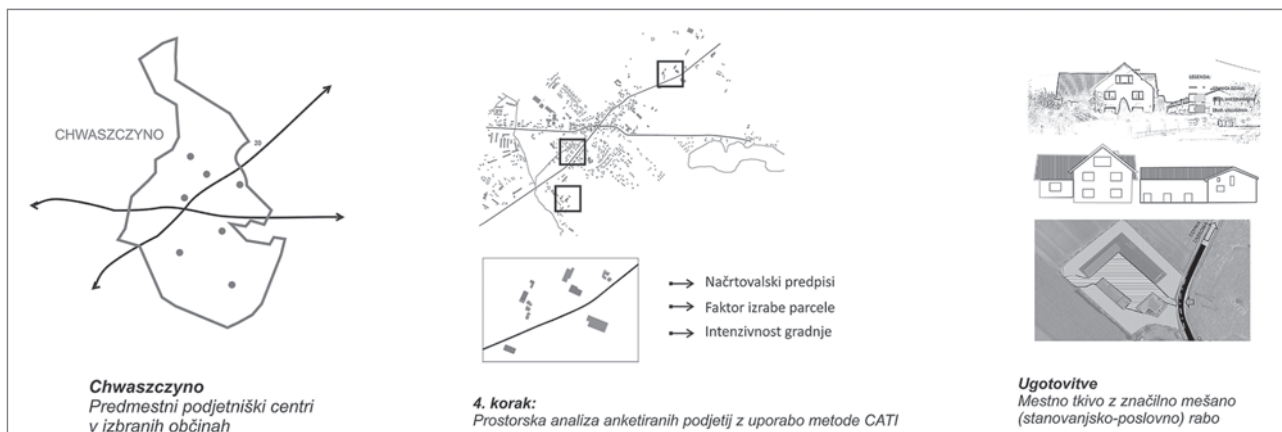


Slika 2: Koncept kvalitativne raziskave v izbranih predmestnih občinah obravnavanega metropolitanskega območja (ilustracija: Justyna Martyniuk-Peczec)

skimi vojvodstvi je Pomorjansko vojvodstvo na drugem mestu glede stopnje razvoja podjetništva.^[1] V njem je registriranih približno 7 % poljskih MSP.

Avtorji so stopnjo suburbanizacije določili na podlagi analize migracij v letih 2003–2012 ter indeksa gradbene dejavnosti v letih 2008–2012. Intenzivnost gospodarske dejavnosti so izmerili z lokacijskim kvocientom (LK), s katerim merimo razmerje med koncentracijo določene značilnosti na določenem območju (v odstotkih značilnosti na splošno) in stopnjo koncentracije prebivalstva na tem območju (v odstotkih skupnega prebivalstva).

Da bi določili lokacijske dejavnike MSP, so leta 2015 izvedli raziskavo med 251 podjetji v predmestjih na območju obravnavanega metropolitanskega območja,^[2] kjer poteka najmočnejša suburbanizacija in ki imajo največjo koncentracijo MSP. Uporabili so metodo računalniško podprtega telefonskega anketiranja (CATI). Slika 2 prikazuje koncept te kvalitativne raziskave, ki je temeljila na neposrednih intervjujih s podjetniki, oziroma zgradbo uporabljenega vprašalnika, razdeljenega na tri dele (prvi se je nanašal na razmerje med poklicnim in zasebnim življenjem, drugi na lokacijo in tretji na vprašanja, povezana z oceno prostorskega načrtovanja). Za vzorčenje so



Slika 3: Analiza urbanističnih in arhitekturnih oblik izbranih poslovnih objektov v treh korakih (ilustracija: Justyna Martyniuk-Peczek)



Slika 4: Stanovanjsko tkivo s storitvenimi objekti v mestu Hvaščino (foto: Grzegorz Peczek)



Slika 5: Mesto Hvaščino in oglasne table na glavni ulici (foto: Grzegorz Peczek)

uporabili matične številke podjetij (REGON), končni vzorec pa oblikovali na podlagi podatkovne zbirke 3.500 podjetij iz izbranih predmestij. Uporabili so metodo namerno-naključnega vzorčenja (ang. *purposive random sampling*) in za vsak primer določili še 10 % rezervnih podjetij. Podjetja v vzorcu so bila razvrščena glede na občine, mesta in velikost. Proučevani poslovni subjekti so vključevali:

- podjetja z 2 do 9 zaposlenimi (mikropodjetja, vštveši samozaposlene), ki so predstavljala 83,3 % podjetij v vzorcu;
- podjetja z 10 do 49 zaposlenimi (manjša podjetja), ki so predstavljala 14,7 % podjetij v vzorcu;
- podjetja s 50 do 249 zaposlenimi (srednje velika podjetja), ki so predstavljala 2 % podjetij.

Skupni rezultati vprašalnika kažejo rezultate mikropodjetij in delno tudi manjših podjetij. To je posledica tega, da so mikropodjetja in manjša podjetja pomenila 98 % vseh podjetij v proučevanem vzorcu. Struktura vzorca je podobna strukturi podjetij v vsej državi, kjer mikropodjetja in manjša podjetja pomenijo 98,9 % vseh poslovnih subjektov.^[3] V vzorcu je bilo največ trgovskih (26,4 %), industrijskih (18,3 %) in gradbenih podjetij (11,2 %). Merili so tudi moč oziroma stopnjo korelacije med značilnostmi podjetja in najpomembnejšimi lokacijskimi dejavniki. Proučevali so korelacije med temi značilnostmi: velikostjo podjetja (mikropodjetja, manjša ali srednje velika podjetja), starostjo podjetja (1 do 5 let, 6 do 15 let, več kot 15 let), vrsto poslovne dejavnosti (proizvodnja, trgovina, storitve), vrsto podjetja (družinsko ali nedružinsko podjetje) in

spremenljivkami, ki kažejo, ali sta stalno prebivališče in njegova bližina pomembno vplivala na izbiro lokacije podjetja. Uporabili so test hi-kvadrat, pri katerem so frekvence, ugotovljene v vzorcu, primerjali s pričakovanimi frekvencami ob domnevi, da sta spremenljivki neodvisni. Za merjenje stopnje korelacije so uporabili Cramerjev V-koeficient in Yulov fi-koeficient, katerih vrednost se giblje med 0 in 1. Vrednosti blizu 0 kažejo šibko korelacijo, vrednosti blizu 1 pa nakazujejo močno korelacijo.

Na koncu so avtorji želeli izsledke kvalitativne raziskave primerjati z realnim stanjem, zato so izbrane parcele proučili tudi z urbanističnega in arhitekturnega vidika (slika 3). Zanimalo jih je, ali tudi za posamezne parcele veljajo določena načela glede izbiranja lokacije MSP.

Za vsako proučevano parcelo so opravili enako prostorsko analizo, pri kateri so upoštevali te tehnične urbanistične parametre: površina parcele, pozidana površina, višina stavbe (število nadstropij nad tlemi), velikost zelenih površin, faktor izrabe gradbene parcele in intenzivnost gradnje. Nato so proučili še značilnosti objektov na parcelah, kjer so mikropodjetja ter manjša in srednje velika podjetja, pri čemer so analizirali tri glavne plasti: število objektov na parceli, obstoj stanovanjskega objekta in poslovno dejavnost v njem. Namen tega dela analize je bil določiti urbanistične in arhitekturne odvisnosti med stanovanjsko gradnjo in izvajanjem poslovne dejavnosti. Rezultati analize so predstavljeni v preglednici 4. Sliki 4 in 5 prikazujeta podjetniško krajino, v kateri prevladuje gradnja nizke gostote (predvsem enodružinske hiše). Za te lokacije je značilno, da so na gosto posejane z oglasnimi tablam (slika 5).

Avtorji se zavedajo pomanjkljivosti raziskovalnih metod, ki so jih izbrali za ocenjevanje suburbanizacije in gospodarske dejavnosti, vendar gre za slabosti, na katere nimajo vpliva in so povezane predvsem z načinom zbiranja statističnih podatkov na Poljskem. Pri merjenju dinamike migracij je ena takih slabosti denimo dejstvo, da državljanom ni treba prijaviti spremembe naslova in da imajo lahko v lasti več domov, pri analizi gradbene dejavnosti pa se lahko pojavijo napake zaradi zamud pri prijavi dokončanih stavb. Slabost, povezana z analizo gospodarske dejavnosti, ki temelji na številu registriranih MSP, pa je razlog, da dejanski kraj opravljanja poslovne dejavnosti pogosto ni enak sedežu podjetja (tj. kraju registracije).

3.2 Rezultati

Na podlagi primerjave podatkov o neto migracijah in indeksa gradbene dejavnosti so avtorji določili sedem občin na proučevanem metropolitanskem območju, v katerih poteka najintenzivnejša suburbanizacija. Na podlagi lokacijskega kvocienta, s katerimi so merili razmerje med stopnjo koncentracije MSP v posamezni občini in številom prebivalstva, so izbrali dve me-

sti z največjo koncentracijo MSP (Hvaščino in Strašin), ki ju zato lahko obravnavamo kot podjetniška centra proučevanega metropolitanskega območja (Martyniuk idr., 2016). Rezultati kvalitativne raziskave, ki kažejo pogostost odgovorov v zvezi s tem, ali je posamezen dejavnik odločilno vplival na izbiro lokacije MSP, so predstavljeni v preglednici 1. Statistično značilne povezave ($p < 0,1$) pa so prikazane v preglednici 2.

Raziskava je pokazala, da tri četrtine mikropodjetij (79,3 %) in skoraj polovica manjših podjetij (48,6 %) poslovno dejavnost opravlja v podjetnikovem kraju stalnega prebivališča oziroma v njegovi bližini. Razlogi za to so lahko pomanjkanje kapitala, poznavanje lokalnih tržnih priložnosti ter potreba po navezovanju osebnih stikov in oblikovanju mrež, ki so na voljo le v »domači« regiji. Avtorji niso našli drugih primerov empiričnih raziskav tovrstnih lokacijskih dejavnikov v Vzhodni Evropi, ki bi bile napisane v angleščini, zato njihovih ugotovitev ni mogoče kritično oceniti in povezati z izsledki drugih raziskovalcev s tega območja. Ugotovitev, da mikropodjetja in manjša podjetja svojo poslovno dejavnost opravljajo v kraju lastnikovega stalnega prebivališča, pa so predstavili in potrdili tudi raziskovalci drugje po svetu, recimo Rigoberto A. Lopez in Nona R. Henderson (1989), Liang idr. (2001), Tim Mazzarol in Stephen Choo (2003) ter Anne Risselada in Veronique Schutjens (2012). Stalno prebivališče se denimo ni izkazalo za odločilni lokacijski dejavnik v raziskavi, ki sta jo opravila Kupke in Pearce (1998). Res pa je, da sta raziskavo opravila v avstralskem mestu Adelaide, torej na precej drugačnem gospodarskem in političnem območju, kot je metropolitansko območje mest Gdansk, Gdynia in Sopot.

Izsledki poljskih raziskav, opravljenih na območju Velikopoljskega vojvodstva (Flieger, 2013) in Svetokriškega vojvodstva (Leśniewski, 2012), kažejo, da so stroški poslovne dejavnosti glavni dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije podjetja. Težko pa te izsledke primerjamo, saj raziskave, ki sta jih izvedla Leśniewski in Flieger, niso vključevale merila, kot je stalno prebivališče.

Anketirani so kot drug pomemben dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije, navedli bližino osrednjih mest metropolitanskega območja (Gdansk, Sopot in Gdynia). Statistično značilne povezave, ki jih je pokazal test hi-kvadrat ($p < 0,1$), so navedene v preglednici 3. Ker se prejšnje raziskave, v katerih so avtorji ugotovili povezave med lokacijskimi dejavniki in točno določenimi območji, večinoma nanašajo na mestna (Karakaya in Canal, 1998; Cohen, 2000; Prat in Marcen, 2006) ali podeželska območja (Michelacci in Silva, 2007; Yu in Artz, 2009; Vaillant idr., 2012), ne na predmestja, teh izsledkov ne moremo kritično analizirati in jih povezati z ugotovitvami mednarodnih raziskav. Predmestna območja so z vidika lokacijskih dejavnikov MSP proučevale Poniatowska-Jaksch (1997) ter

Preglednica 1: Dejavniki, ki vplivajo na izbiro lokacije MSP v predmestjih metropolitanskega območja mest Gdansk, Gdynia in Sopot z najvišjo stopnjo suburbanizacije

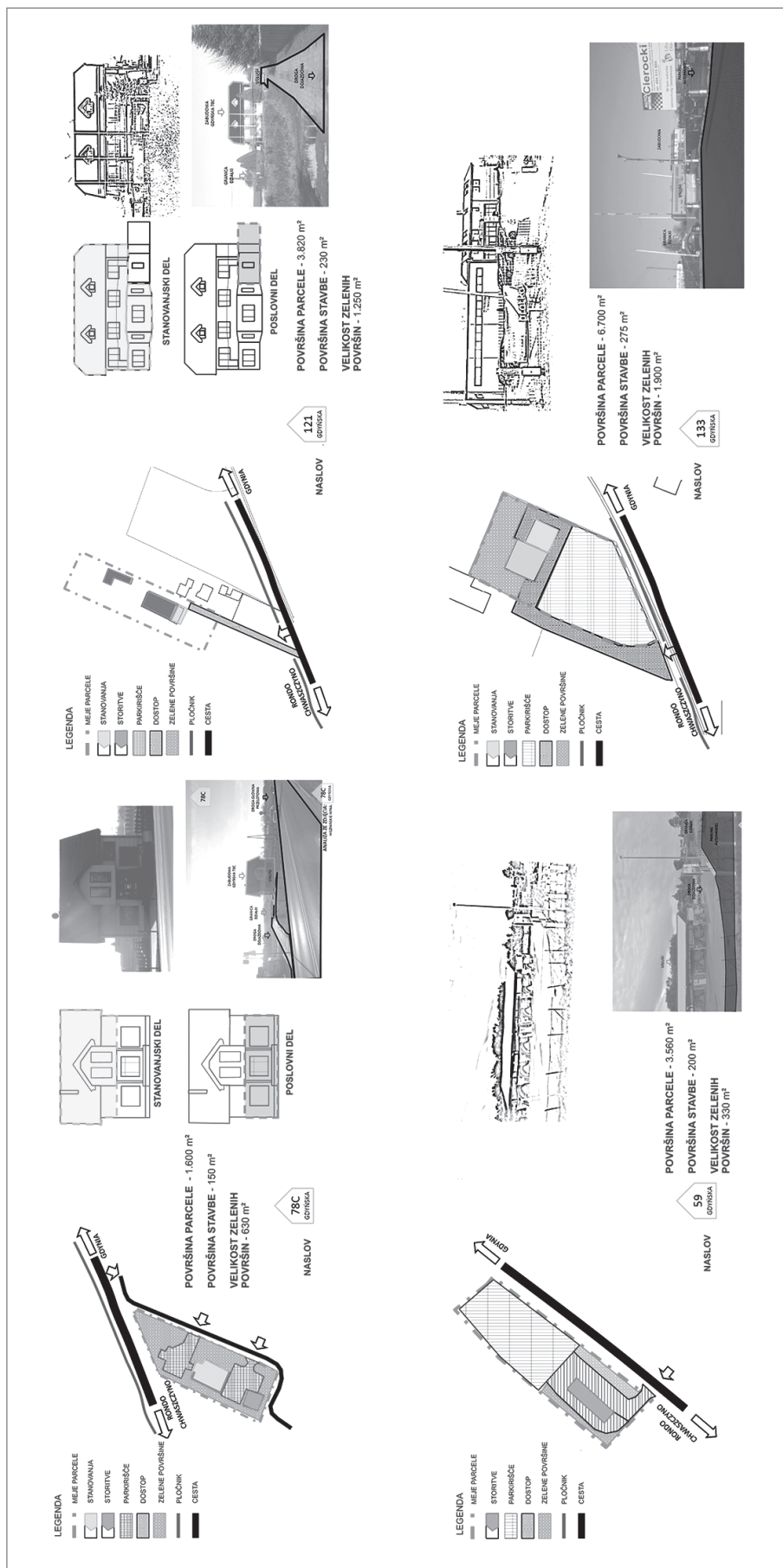
Dejavnik	Skupni rezultat (%)	Mikropodjetja (%)	Manjša podjetja (%)	Srednje velika podjetja (%)
stalno prebivališče	42,8	47,1	24,3	0,0
bližina osrednjega mesta	32,4	33,7	29,7	0,0
bližina stalnega prebivališča	30,4	32,2	24,3	0,0
ugodne prometne razmere	24,4	25,5	21,6	0,0
osebni razlogi (družina, varstvo otrok)	19,6	21,6	10,8	0,0
bližina glavne stranke	14,0	16,3	2,7	0,0
infrastruktura	14,0	15,9	5,4	0,0
povpraševanje	14,0	15,9	5,4	0,0
nizki investicijski stroški	10,0	9,6	10,8	20,0
nizke cene zemljišč	8,0	8,2	8,1	0,0
naravne razmere	6,0	7,2	0,0	0,0
nizki prevozni stroški	5,6	6,3	2,7	0,0
poceni delovna sila	4,8	4,8	5,4	0,0
predhodna analiza lokacije	4,8	5,3	2,7	0,0
dostop do surovin	2,8	3,4	0,0	0,0
razpoložljive ugodnosti za podjetnike	2,0	2,4	0,0	0,0
drugo	23,2	19,2	37,8	80,0

Vir: Lastni izračuni na podlagi vprašalnika

Preglednica 2: Povezave med značilnostmi podjetja ter stalnim prebivališčem in bližino stalnega prebivališča

1. Velikost podjetja in stalno prebivališče kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije	
$p = 0,019$, Cramerjev V-koeficient = 0,20	
Velikost podjetja	Odstotek podjetij v vzorcu, ki so stalno prebivališče navedla kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije
mikro	47 %
manjše	24 %
srednje veliko	0 %
2. Vrsta podjetja in stalno prebivališče kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije	
$p = 0,0001$, Yulov fi-koeficient = 0,25	
Vrsta podjetja	Odstotek podjetij v vzorcu, ki so stalno prebivališče navedla kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije
družinsko podjetje	58 %
nedružinsko podjetje	32 %
3. Vrsta podjetja in bližina stalnega prebivališča kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbor lokacije	
$p = 0,059$, Yulov fi-koeficient = 0,12	
Vrsta podjetja	Odstotek podjetij v vzorcu, ki so stalno prebivališče navedla kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije
družinsko podjetje	37 %
nedružinsko podjetje	26 %

Vir: Lastni izračuni na podlagi vprašalnika



Slika 6: Analiza arhitekturnih oblik mestnega tkiva (ilustracija: Martyna Szymczak, Justyna Martyniuk-Peczek)

Preglednica 3: Povezave med značilnostmi podjetja in bližino osrednjih mest

1. Vrsta poslovne dejavnosti in bližina osrednjih mest kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije	
$p = 0,037$, Cramerjev V-koeficient = 0,16	
Vrsta poslovne dejavnosti	Odstotek podjetij v vzorcu, ki so bližino osrednjih mest navedla kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije
proizvodnja	35 %
trgovina	40 %
storitve	22 %
2. Vrsta podjetja in bližina osrednjih mest kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije	
$p = 0,003$, Yulov fi-koeficient = 0,19	
Vrsta podjetja	Odstotek podjetij v vzorcu, ki so bližino osrednjih mest navedla kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije
družinsko podjetje	43 %
nedružinsko podjetje	25 %

Vir: Lastni izračuni na podlagi vprašalnika

Preglednica 4: Izbrani parametri in rezultati za mesti Hvažčino in Strašín

Mesto	Ulični naslov	Velikost parcele (m ²)	Odstotek stavb	Število stavb	Stanovanjske stavbe	Poslovna dejavnost v stanovanjski stavbi
Hvažčino	Waska 21	4.300	13	2	0	0
	Polna 9	9.130	19	3	1	0
	Ogrodowa 3	1.130	18	1	1	1
	Oliwska 92	356	24	1	1	1
	Gdynska 78	4.200	14	3	1	0
	Gdynska 78C	1.600	9	1	1	1
	Gdynska 94	1.630	9	1	0	0
	Gdynska 59	3.560	6	1	0	0
	Waska 23	1.640	23	1	1	0
	Jarzebinowa 5	865	26	1	1	1
	Swierkowa 72	1.200	14	1	1	1
	Sienkiewicza Henryka 2	830	18	1	1	1
	Norwida Cypriana Kamila 14	790	18	1	1	1
	Sychty Bernarda 18	630	27	2	1	0
	Majkowskiego 2	815	29	2	1	1
	Gdynska 133	6.270	4	1	0	0
	Gdynska 121	3.820	22	3	1	0
	Kaszubska Droga 5	1.320	10	2	1	1
Strašín	Rozana 19	512	25	2	1	1
	Meblowa 10	3.500	46	3	0	0
	Liliowa 4	605	13	1	1	1
	Swierkowa 27	675	16	1	1	1
	Mlynska 7	8.000	35	5	0	0
	Starogardzka 42–44, stavba A	4.730	36	2	0	0
	Teczowa 1	465	26	1	1	1
	Liliowa 5	850	22	2	1	1
	Szafirowa 11	1.200	13	1	1	1
	Starogardzka 38	1.130	27	1	0	0
	Spokojna 68	2.580	10	2	1	1
	Ogrodowa 19	600	18	1	1	1
	Objazdowa 5	3.445	18	2	0	0
	Starogardzka 22	705	23	1	1	1
	Spokojna 52	3.450	30	1	0	0

Vir: Lastni izračuni na podlagi prostorske analize

Chrzanowska in Drejerska (2015). Obe raziskavi sta se osredotočali na predmestje Varšave. Tukaj predstavljeni rezultati v zvezi z bližino osrednjega mesta kot pomembnim lokacijskim dejavnikom se ujemajo z ugotovitvami za Varšavo.

Naslednji dejavnik, ki vpliva na izbiro lokacije MSP v predmestjih proučevanega metropolitanskega območja, so ugodne prometne razmere. Avtorji so ugotovili statistično pomembno povezavo med vrsto podjetja in tem, ali dober prometni sistem vpliva na izbiro lokacije podjetja ($p = 0,021$, Yulov fi-koeficient = 0,15). Na splošno je 25,5 % mikropodjetij in 21,6 % manjših podjetij v vzorcu navedlo, da so ugodne prometne razmere vplivale na izbiro njihove lokacije. Vloga prometa ima v klasični lokacijski teoriji dolgo tradicijo. Ceste se pogosto navajajo kot najpomembnejša vrsta prometne infrastrukture. Čeprav je za podjetja razpoložljivost dobre prometne infrastrukture zelo pomemben dejavnik, le redko odločilno vpliva na izbiro lokacije. Ta ugotovitev se v zvezi z MSP ujema z izsledki Moora idr. (1991), da je infrastruktura razmeroma nepomemben lokacijski dejavnik. Sullivan idr. (1998) navajajo, da ima v primerjavi z velikimi podjetji v MSP infrastruktura manj pomembno vlogo. Do enakih ugotovitev je prišel tudi Flieger (2013), tu predstavljeni kvalitativni rezultati pa so podobni rezultatom prej omenjene poljske raziskave (Leśniewski, 2012).

Da bi potrdili ugotovitve ekonomskega dela raziskave, so avtorji opravili urbanistično analizo, pri kateri so določili vrste mestnega tkiva in jim pripisali značilnosti, ki se nanašajo na parametre njihove gradnje (slika 6). V zgornji vrstici slike 6 je prikazana prevladujoča vrsta stavb (značilne oblike stavb mešane rabe), v spodnji pa so predstavljene stavbe nižje gostote (enodružinske hiše in različne vrste storitvenih objektov). Analiza je pokazala, da je večina parcel razmeroma velika (od 1.200 do 3.500 m², včasih celo do 9.000 m²), kar se ujema z ekstenzivno rabo prostora v predmestjih. Druga značilnost takšnih sistemov je razmeroma nizek delež stavb (večinoma ne zavzemajo več kot 20 % površine parcele). Zato se na teh območjih veliko gradi, stopnja intenzivnosti gradnje je med 0,1 in 0,5. Tovrstna gradnja in urbano tkivo sta značilna za predmestno poljsko krajino, kjer je opazna velika prostorska neurejenost. To je lahko posledica pravnih predpisov, ki urejajo gradnjo na poljskih predmestnih območjih. Pravne podlage za določanje lokacije stavb se zelo razlikujejo celo med sosednjimi območji. To je posledica pokomunistične preobrazbe na Poljskem. Preobrazba na področju prostorskega načrtovanja je potekala v treh fazah (Kolipiński, 2014). Prilagoditvena oziroma pripravljalna faza je potekala v letih 1989–1994, druga faza, v kateri so uvedli in začeli uporabljati nov model, je trajala od leta 1995 do 2003, tretja faza, v kateri se izvajajo popravki sistema, pa še traja. Pravni predpisi glede gradbenih parcel so tem fazam seveda sledili.

Lokacija prvih stavb, zgrajenih takoj po padcu komunizma leta 1989, je bila določena na podlagi prostorskih zakonov in načrtov iz prejšnjega sistema (Izdebski idr., 2007; Dutkowski, 2012; Kolipiński, 2014). Lokalna načrtovalska praksa je temeljila na odločitvah lokalnih občinskih oblasti, ki so prevzele pristojnosti prejšnjih občinskih svetov in še naprej uporabljale prejšnje načrte ne glede na raven njihove kakovosti. Poznejša gradnja v 90. letih 20. stoletja je zajemala predvsem posamične stavbe, katerih lokacija je bila določena na podlagi lokacijskih dovoljenj, ki so se izdajala posamično in večinoma brez upoštevanja nekega splošnega načrta ali vizije (Solarek, 2013). To je samo še povečalo kaotičnost in razpršenost prostorske zgradbe predmestij (Lisowski in Grochowski, 2009). Zadnjih deset let pa skušajo lokalne načrte namenske rabe zemljišč dosledneje uskladiti s prostorskimi dokumenti višjega reda in drugimi, prej sprejetimi načrti namenske rabe prostora (Solarek, 2013). Obstoječo strukturo stavb skušajo uskladiti z načrtovano, kmečki objekti se na primer preurejajo za druge vrste rabe. Vse to je ustvarilo preveliko ponudbo stavbnih zemljišč, nastalih s preureditvijo nekdanjih kmečkih zemljišč, in povzročilo še večjo razpršenost grajene strukture (Lisowski in Grochowski, 2009).

Rezultati ankete, opravljene med podjetniki, so potrdili ugotovitve prostorske raziskave. Avtorji so na podlagi prostorske analize iskali odgovore na ta vprašanja:

- Ali gradnjo stavb, v katerih poteka poslovna dejavnost, vedno spremlja tudi stanovanjska gradnja? (da: 80 %)
- Kako pogosto se poslovna dejavnost izvaja v stanovanjski stavbi? (v več kot 55 % primerov)
- Ali so na parceli samo stanovanjske stavbe, v katerih se izvaja poslovna dejavnost (del hiše je preurejen za poslovno dejavnost)? Odgovor je bil pritrdilen v več kot 30 % primerov. Velikost parcel je bila običajno precej manjša kot v drugih primerih in se ni ujemala s povprečno velikostjo stanovanjskega zemljišča, ki znaša približno 800 m².

V preglednici 4 so predstavljeni izbrani parametri in rezultati analize strukture stavb in pozidave parcel v mestih Hwaščino (Chwaszczyno) in Strašin (Straszyn).

4 Sklep

Procesi suburbanizacije, ki potekajo po različnih evropskih državah, niso homogeni, saj na razvoj predmestij v različnih državah vplivajo različni družbeni, gospodarski in prostorski dejavniki. V prostorskem pogledu so za Poljsko značilni pomanjkanje tradicije »učinkovite« rabe zemljišč, lokalne prakse in standardov prostorske rabe ter slabosti na področju prostorskega načrtovanja, zlasti na lokalni ravni, ki se kažejo v tem, da se lahko prostorski načrti prosto oblikujejo in zlahka spreminjajo (Fogel, 2012). Prostorska oblika, ki je posledica

nenapravnega širjenja poljskih mest, ne upošteva ustreznih urbanističnih standardov prostorske urejenosti. Pogosto se opisuje kot ekspanzivna, nestrukturirana ali kaotična. Eden od razlogov za to bi bila lahko posebna gospodarska značilnost poljskih predmestij: močna navzočnost in dejavnost MSP, katerih število se je v zadnjih 25 letih zelo povečalo (Martyniuk idr., 2016; Martyniuk-Pęczek in Pęczek, v tisku). Zaradi selitve podjetnikov iz mestnih središč so se poljska predmestja spremenila v podjetniške centre. Na podlagi prejšnjih raziskav, opravljenih na Poljskem, lahko sklepamo, da se podjetniški centri oblikujejo na območjih, kjer je poslovna dejavnost povezana z najnižjimi stroški (poceni zemljišča, najemnine in delovna sila) ali pa zagotavlja veliko povpraševanje. Izsledki, predstavljeni v tem članku, pa kažejo, da bi morale lokalne oblasti in urbanisti, ki želijo urejati in prodajati zemljišča v predmestjih, pozornost posvetiti kakovosti življenjskih razmer, vstevši promet in javni prostor. Ko se posamezniki z močnimi podjetniškimi težnjami odločajo o umestitvi poslovne dejavnosti na predmestno območje, jim je lokacija, ki zagotavlja ustrezne življenjske razmere njihovim družinam, pomembnejša od stroškovnega vidika. To je še zlasti pomembno za umeščanje MSP v predmestja, saj je zaradi bližine osrednjih mest tam zajamčeno dobro povpraševanje. Podjetniki, ki iščejo ustrezno lokacijo za svojo poslovno dejavnost, zato ne izberejo krajev, kjer bi bili poslovni stroški najnižji, ampak tiste, ki lahko zagotovijo nadaljnji razvoj njihovih podjetij in družin. Treba pa je upoštevati, da so pričakovanja v zvezi s kakovostjo (življenjskih razmer in javnega prostora) na Poljskem precej manjša kot v Zahodni Evropi.

Dejstvo, da je bila ta raziskava opravljena v predmestjih samo enega metropolitanskega območja, pomeni določeno omejitve, saj se opisane ugotovitve nanašajo samo na predmestja na metropolitanskem območju mest Gdansk, Gdynia in Sopot. Z raziskavami drugih poljskih metropolitanskih območij bi tako lahko potrdili ali zavrnil trditev, da so pri izbiri predmestne lokacije MSP osebni razlogi pomembnejši od stroškov.

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Opombe

[1] Vojvodstva so razvrščena na podlagi skupnega indeksa. Skupni indeks razvoja podjetništva v vojvodstvih je bil oblikovan na podlagi mesta, ki ga je posamezno vojvodstvo zasedlo glede na 26 kategorij spremenljivk, ki se nanašajo na razvoj podjetništva, na primer število podjetij, število zaposlenih v podjetjih, prihodki, stroški in izdatki za naložbe (Cieslik idr., 2014).

[2] Meje proučevanega območja so bile določene na podlagi razvojnega načrta Pomorjanskega vojvodstva.

[3] Podatki z dne 31. 12. 2013.

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Richard SENDI

Lastništvo stanovanj v Sloveniji: iskanje alternativne teorije o njegovi čezmerni rasti

Novejše raziskave kažejo, da se deleži lastniških stanovanj po vsej Evropi zvišujejo, primerjava statističnih podatkov pa kaže velike razlike v velikosti tega sektorja med zahodnoevropskimi državami ter državami Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope. Razvoj in rast lastniških stanovanj v zahodnoevropskih državah sta bila v znanstveni literaturi temeljito obdelana, pri čemer so bile predstavljene različne teorije, njihova močna prevlada v srednje- in vzhodnoevropskih državah pa je slabo raziskana. Zaradi pomanjkanja podrobne znanstvene razprave o tej temi je v literaturi še naprej vrzel, ki se kaže v tem, da še vedno ni utemeljene razlage neprimerno večjega razmaha stanovanjskega lastništva v postkomunističnih državah Srednje in Vzhodne

Evrope. V članku skuša avtor to vrzel zapolniti. Njegov glavni argument je, da ni nujno, da dosedanje teorije, ki so jih razvili za razlago rasti stanovanjskega lastništva v zahodnoevropskih državah (gospodarstvih z dolgo tradicijo kapitalizma), veljajo tudi za srednje- in vzhodnoevropske države (nekdanja komunistična planska gospodarstva). Razprava se osredotoča na Slovenijo. Avtor skuša oblikovati alternativno teorijo, s katero bi lahko bolje pojasnili in razumeli vse večje preference do lastniških stanovanj v državi.

Ključne besede: lastništvo stanovanj, komunizem, stanovanjska politika, samogradnja, družinska hiša, Slovenija

1 Uvod

Pregled literature kaže, da se v zadnjih desetletjih delež lastniških stanovanj v številnih evropskih državah enakomerno povečuje. V primerjavi z deleži v zahodnoevropskih državah (Finska 66 %, Nizozemska 58 %, Francija 57 %, Avstrija 56 %, Danska 46 %, Nemčija 46 %, Švedska 38 %) je rast tega sektorja zlasti izrazita v srednje- in vzhodnoevropskih državah (Poljska 63 %, Češka 75 %, Latvija 83 %, Slovenija 90 %, Madžarska 94 %, Slovaška 92 %, Estonija 96 %, Romunija 96 % itd.; Dol in Haffner, 2010). Po podatkih Evropskega združenja za hipotekarno kreditiranje (EMF, 2015) so deleži lastniško zasedenih stanovanj v srednje- in vzhodnoevropskih državah precej višji kot v zahodnoevropskih. Raziskava o migrantih, ki jo je opravil Franklin Obeng-Odoom (2016), kaže, da lahko podobne težnje po lastniških stanovanjih opazimo tudi pri izseljencih, ki se iz Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope preselijo v mesta v čezmorskih državah, kot je Avstralija. Peter Saunders (1990: 2) pa navaja, da »je množično lastništvo stanovanj povezano z močno željo po lastništvu nepremičnine in temelji na globoko cenjenih in razširjenih vrednotah, ki poudarjajo neodvisnost, varnost in pomen doma kot baze, iz katere se ljudje podajajo v svet«.

Saunderjeva ugotovitev ponuja primerno začetno razlago splošnega prepričanja, da želi večina Slovencev živeti v lastnem domu oziroma stanovanju. Različne ankete, ki so bile s to temo izvedene pri nas, so pokazale, da želi v lastni hiši živeti v povprečju 90 % anketirancev, pri čemer bi najraje imeli prostostoječo hišo z vrtom (Kos, 1984; Mandič, 1992). Poleg naravne želje naj bi bilo lastništvo hiše tudi kazalec družbenega položaja, zato močno željo po lastništvu hiše pogosto subtilno spodbuja potreba po doseganju tega najpomembnejšega simbola družbenega položaja (Michalovic, 1992). V ZDA je recimo lastništvo hiše življenjska ambicija. Ljudje jo želijo izpolniti, da bi dosegli družbeno pričakovan standard. Nekateri avtorji ta cilj opisujejo kot »največje ameriške sanje« (Retsinas in Belsky, 2002; Rohe idr., 2002; Shlay, 2006). V raziskavi tega pojava je Anthony Gurney (1999) ugotovil, da v Veliki Britaniji lastništvo stanovanja vse bolj postaja »norma«, najemništvo pa velja za obliko pravice do posesti stanovanja, namenjene socialno ogroženim. Podobno razmišlja tudi Moira Munro (2007), ki meni, da lastniško zasedena stanovanja vse bolj povezujejo z uspehom, družbenim položajem in bogastvom.

Poleg razlage, ki temelji na družbenem položaju, nekateri avtorji opozarjajo na koristi lastništva stanovanja za lastnika in tudi družbo (na primer Megbolugbe in Linneman, 1993; Rohe in Stewart, 1996; Rossi in Weber, 1996; DiPasquale in Gleaser, 1999; Rohe, Zandt in McCarthy, 2001; Elsinga in Hoekstra, 2005; Hajer, 2009; McCabe, b. d.). Lastništvo stanovanja naj bi omogočalo večjo neodvisnost, varnost in ponos,

krepiło lokalne družbene mreže, pripomoglo k večji družbeni angažiranosti in pozitivno vplivalo na sosesko.

Ne glede na to, ali so lastniška stanovanja v Sloveniji posledica enega ali drugega, obojega ali celo česa drugega, je dejstvo, da sestavljajo več kot 90 % skupnega stanovanjskega fonda (Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2012); od teh 65 % pomenijo družinske hiše (avtor uporablja izraz »družinska hiša« namesto »enodružinska hiša«, ki je sicer v literaturi pogostejši; večina družinskih hiš pri nas je namreč zgrajena z namenom, da bi v njih živela več kot ena družina). V članku se avtor osredotoča na družinsko hišo kot najznačilnejšo in prevladujočo obliko stanovanjskega lastništva. Začne se s pregledom (zahodnoevropskih) teorij, ki vzrok za rast lastništva stanovanj večinoma pripisujejo vladni politiki, pri čemer se opira zlasti na Saundersovo (1990) poglobljeno študijo različnih teorij o lastništvu stanovanj in njegovi rasti v Evropi. Temu sledi kratek pregled del, ki obravnavajo lastništvo stanovanj kot možen vir bogastva oziroma koncept lastništva stanovanj, ki temelji na premoženju (ang. *asset-based notion*; Kemeny, 1981, 2005; Ball, 1983; Ronald 2008; Doling in Ronald 2010; Elsinga in Mandič 2010; Mandič, 2010; Toussaint 2011). V poglavju o razmerah v Sloveniji avtor proučuje naravo lastništva stanovanj in glavne dejavnike, ki so vplivali na njegov razvoj in rast. Predstavi najpomembnejši mehanizem, ki omogoča družinsko lastništvo stanovanja: samogradnjo. To je bila tudi glavna oblika zasebne stanovanjske oskrbe v Bolgariji (Koleva in Dandolova, 1992) in značilna oblika stanovanjske oskrbe na Madžarskem, še zlasti na podeželju in »tudi na mestnih območjih« (Hegedüs in Tosics, 1992; Hegedüs, Mark in Tosics, 1996). Samogradnja je po vsem svetu zelo razširjen mehanizem za zagotavljanje lastništva stanovanj, zlasti v revnejših državah (Gilbert in Varley, 1990; Gilbert, 1999).

V povezavi s prakso samogradnje hiš avtor proučuje in predlaga alternativne razlage, s katerimi nasprotuje še eni splošno razširjeni razlagi nenadnega porasta lastniških stanovanj v Sloveniji. Gre za splošno prepričanje, da se je praksa gradnje družinskih hiš v državi razširila zato, ker je bila to edina varna oblika finančne naložbe v času komunizma od konca druge svetovne vojne do začetka 90. let 20. stoletja. Zagovorniki te teorije trdijo, da je rast te oblike posesti stanovanj posledica političnega sistema, ko ni bilo drugih možnosti za vlaganje presežnih prihodkov (na primer Hegedüs in Tosics, 1992; Mandič, 1992). Avtor na podlagi statističnih podatkov trdi, da se močna želja po lastništvu družinske hiše ni zmanjšala niti po uvedbi tržnega gospodarstva ter različnih oblik kratko- in dolgoročnih naložb, kot so delnice, obveznice, vzajemni in pokojninski skladi ipd.

V članku avtor tudi proučuje, ali različne teorije, ki opisujejo razvoj in prevlado lastništva stanovanj v zahodnoevropskih državah, veljajo tudi za Slovenijo. Njegov glavni cilj je postaviti

temelje za oblikovanje ustrezne teoretične razlage, ki bo pripomogla k boljšemu razumevanju vzrokov očitno neustavljive potrebe po lastništvu stanovanj, zaradi katere bi lahko najemništvo sčasoma popolnoma izginilo. To razumevanje je nujno potrebno za oblikovanje politik, s katerimi lahko ta problem rešujemo in uveljavimo ustrežnejšo strukturo pravic do posesti stanovanja. Predstavljene alternativne razlage bi lahko zagotovile tudi ustrezen teoretičen okvir za nadaljnje raziskave tega področja.

2 Teoretično ozadje

1. teorija: lastništvo stanovanj kot rezultat načrtne vladne politike

Rast lastništva stanovanj je treba najprej proučiti z zgodovinskega vidika. V tem pogledu je še zlasti koristna raziskava, ki jo je opravil Saunders (1990), saj vključuje izčrpno zgodovinsko analizo razvoja in razmaha lastništva stanovanj v zahodnem svetu. V njej je predstavil najrazličnejše poglede številnih raziskovalcev, ki so oblikovali različne teoretične razlage pojava in rasti lastništva stanovanj. Te teorije so povzete v nadaljevanju.

Saundersov zgodovinski pregled vključuje predvsem teorije, ki so jih predstavili marksistični avtorji, ki so običajno navajali, da so lastniško zasedena stanovanja namerno spodbujale vlade ali kapitalistični interesi, da bi »okrepili meščanski družbeni red«. Saunders (1990: 29) navaja pet glavnih razlogov, s katerimi so različni teoretiki pojasnjevali, zakaj je »kapitalistični razred, ki mu je pomagala in ga spodbujala kapitalistična država, skušal v lastništvo stanovanj pritegniti delavski razred«. Ti razlogi so predstavljeni v nadaljevanju.

Ideološki učinki lastništva stanovanj. Saunders navaja različne avtorje, ki so trdili, da je bil cilj stanovanjske politike po drugi svetovni vojni spremeniti vsakega delavca v lastnika majhnega doma, da bi tako delavski razred podprl sistem zasebne lastnine, ki so ga uporabljali bogatejši razredi. Tovrstni ukrepi naj bi delavce spodbudili k temu, da bi se poistovetili z meščanskimi vrednotami. Bistvo te teorije je, da spodbujanje lastniške zasedenosti stanovanj zagotavlja stabilnost in tudi politično podporo v prihodnosti.

Ustvarjanje ali krepitev razlik. Po drugi teoriji naj bi lastništvo stanovanj spodbujali zato, da bi se ustvarile razlike v delavskem razredu. V tem primeru je bil cilj omogočiti, da višji delavski sloji postanejo lastniki stanovanj oziroma hiš in se tako ločijo od preostalih delavcev. To bi oslabilo delavsko solidarnost in omililo jezo, uperjeno proti lastnikom kapitala.

Učinek dolgoročnosti. Po tej teoriji je bilo ponujanje majhnih predmestnih hiš kvalificiranim delavcem na podlagi hipotek

strategija, ki so jo industrialci po drugi svetovni vojni uporabljali za to, da bi dosegli boljšo organiziranost industrijskega sektorja. Dvajset- ali tridesetletna finančna obveznost naj bi delavce odvrčala od stavk, zaradi katerih bi najverjetneje izgubili redni dohodek in s tem tudi hišo.

Individualizacija in privatizacija delavskega razreda. Po tej teoriji naj bi lastništvo stanovanj delavce spodbujalo, da se odmaknejo od kolektivnega življenja ter bolj posvetijo domu in družini. Lastništvo stanovanj naj bi se zato načrtno spodbujalo z namenom individualizacije in privatizacije delavskega razreda.

Oblikovanje masovnega trga za izdelke za široko porabo. Za zagovornike te teorije je dom v zasebni lasti bistvo sodobnega potrošništva. Lastniška zasedenost stanovanj se podpira in spodbuja zato, da se povečata povpraševanje po gradbenih materialih in uporabi avtomobilov, izdelkih široke porabe in poraba energije. Zaradi lastništva stanovanj so se oblikovali novi življenjski slogi, odvisni od nenasitnega povpraševanja po trajnih dobrinah široke porabe, ki se lahko zadovolji le z večjo industrijsko proizvodnjo. Glavni cilj povišanja stopnje lastništva stanovanj je torej okrepiti potrošništvo in s tem ustvariti državi več prihodkov.

Saundersova končna ugotovitev je, da marksistični teoretiki menijo, da je razvoj in razmah lastniških stanovanj posledica vladne politike, katere namen je bil »razdrobiti delavsko skupnost in pretentati posameznike, da sprejmejo družbene odnose znotraj višjih slojev kot legitimne« (Saunders, 1990: 65). Vse opisane teorije zavrne, saj naj bi ponujale premalo dokazov za to, da je bilo stanovanjsko lastništvo med delavci doseženo in da je bil to sploh namen vlade. Po njegovem je lastništvo stanovanj želja, ki jo je treba obravnavati in razumeti z vidika človeškega vedenja. Saundersovo zavrnitev prej opisane teorije o načrtni vlogi vlade je podprl tudi Anthony Giddens (1984), ki navaja, da ni vedno mogoče spodbuditi in nadzirati dejanja ljudi. Tudi če se to poskuša, ni nujno, da se načrtovani rezultati tudi dosežejo. Največja slabost teh teorij je njihova domneva, da je mogoče z delavskim razredom vedno manipulirati in ga prepričati o tem, da deluje tako, kot je bilo načrtovano, in da se dosežejo ravno taki rezultati, kot si jih je zamislil vladajoči sloj.

Lahko bi celo rekli, da so navedene teorije preveč poenostavljene, da bi jih lahko sprejeli kot prepričljive razlage razmaha stanovanjskega lastništva (tudi v zahodnoevropskem kontekstu). Po mnenju avtorja tega članka vsekakor niso ustrezne za razlago rasti tega sektorja v Sloveniji. Pravzaprav za nas sploh ne morejo veljati, saj so jih razvili marksistični strokovnjaki, ki so želeli pojasniti razmere v kapitalističnih državah. Te teorije so v osnovi zgrešene in povsem neuporabne za države, ki so bile v času njihovega nastanka pod komunističnim režimom.

Tovrstni režimi namreč niso skušali uvesti sistema zasebne lastnine, oslabiti delavske solidarnosti ali individualizirati delavskega razreda, poleg tega pa tudi ni bilo stanovanjskih hipotek. Komunistična doktrina se je zavzemala ravno za nasprotno: združitev delavskega razreda v skupno dobro države. Čeprav je do oblikovanja množičnih trgov za izdelke široke porabe prišlo tudi v nekdanjih komunističnih državah, je treba vedeti, da glavni cilj pri tem ni bil ustvariti potrošništva, povezanega s stanovanjskim lastništvom, ampak delovna mesta. Hkrati z novimi industrijskimi obrati so se skoraj povsod gradila tudi kolektivna državna stanovanja za delavce. Nekdanje srednje- in vzhodnoevropske komunistične države se niso zavemale za uzakonitev lastništva stanovanj, ampak so izvajale stanovanjsko politiko, katere glavni namen je bil onemogočiti vsakršno obliko zasebne lastnine, všteti stanovanja (Telegarsky in Struyk, 1991; Turner, Hegedüs in Tosics, 1992; Lowe in Tsenkova, 2003; Donner, 2006, in za Slovenijo Sendi, 1999, 2016).

Čeprav smo zavrnili marksistične teorije o nastanku in razvoju lastništva stanovanj, je treba poudariti, da je tudi za druge (ne nujno marksistične) avtorje državna politika glavni razlog za postopen (in nedavno večji) razmah tega sektorja po svetu. Na globalni ravni je urad OZN, pristojen za stanovanjsko gradnjo, ugotovil, da se je število vlad, ki skušajo podpirati gradnjo najemnih stanovanj, precej zmanjšalo. Opozarja, da »[v]lade ne bi smele ohraniti mita o dosegljivosti univerzalnega lastništva stanovanj, ampak bi se morale sprijazniti z dejstvom, da v določenem trenutku življenja večina ljudi potrebuje najemno stanovanje« (UN-HABITAT, 2003: iii). Prevlado lastniških stanovanj kot posledico vladne politike je proučeval tudi Alan Gilbert (1999), ki trdi, da je ta oblika posesti stanovanja pri večini vlad priljubljena zaradi splošnega prepričanja, da ima večina ljudi stanovanje raje v lasti, kot ga najame. Navaja tudi, da vlade spodbujajo in izvajajo politiko, ki omogoča stanovanjsko lastništvo, da si zagotovijo politično podporo oziroma volilne glasove. Podobno razmišlja tudi Munro (2007), ki meni, da so bile v Veliki Britaniji v zadnjih desetletjih uvedene politike (denimo pravica do nakupa in cenovno ugodno lastništvo stanovanj), ki naj bi povečale delež lastniških stanovanj in so »temeljile na prepričanju, da so tovrstne politike priljubljene med volivci« (Munro, 2007: 243). Teorija, ki skuša pojasniti rast lastniških stanovanj kot vladno »zvijačo«, ki naj bi zagotovila podporo volivcev, ponuja drugačen pogled od teorij, ki so jih predstavili marksistični teoretiki. Kako pomembna je torej za Slovenijo?

Državna politika, ki se je v preteklosti v Sloveniji izvajala v najrazličnejših oblikah, je nedvomno vplivala na rast lastništva stanovanj v državi. Ko so oblasti ugotovile, da ne bodo mogle v celoti izpolniti povojne komunistične ideološke obveze, da bodo stanovanja zagotovile vsem državljanom, so leta 1965

sprejele ukrep, s katerim je bilo zasebno lastništvo stanovanj prvič uradno priznано. Ta ukrep je posameznikom omogočal, da so gradbeni material od državnih tovarn kupili po nižjih cenah v obliki subvencij (Marinšek, 1983). Zaradi tega se je v naslednjih desetletjih okrepila samogradnja hiš.

Privatizacija nekdanjega najemnega fonda stanovanj v letih 1991–1994 je pomembno pripomogla k večjemu številu lastniških stanovanj. Ko se je končala, se je delež lastniških stanovanj s 67 % leta 1991 povečal na 89 % leta 1994 oziroma za 22 % (Sendi, 2009). Drugi vladni ukrepi, ki naj bi po prehodu iz planskega gospodarstva v tržno leta 1991 povečali delež lastniških stanovanj, so vključevali ponudbo različnih predmetnih in osebnih državnih subvencij ter program stanovanjskih posojil (zgledoval se je po modelu hipotekarnega kreditiranja nemške banke Sparkasse), ki so ga uvedli leta 1991 in opustili leta 2006 (Cirman in Sendi, 2016).

Treba pa je opozoriti, da nobenega od opisanih ukrepov ne moremo opisati kot instrument, s katerim je vlada želela načrtno privabiti volivce. Politika subvencioniranja gradbenega materiala je bila v obdobju komunizma uvedena le kot pragmatična rešitev (Marinšek, 1983). V času enopartijskega sistema je bila politična podpora vladi samodejno zagotovljena in ni bilo potrebe po uvajanju posebnih politik (na kakršnem koli področju), ki bi jo zagotovile. Privatizacija javnega stanovanjskega fonda je imela več ciljev, toda zagotavljanja volilne podpore na naslednjih volitvah ni bilo med njimi.^[1] Ob uvedbi tega ukrepa je imela vlada med državljani visoko podporo, saj je pravkar opustila sistem planskega gospodarstva, ki je takrat razpadal po vsej Vzhodni Evropi. Glede zagotavljanja osebnih in predmetnih subvencij po uvedbi tržnega gospodarstva je analiza učinkov teh ukrepov stanovanjske politike po 15 letih izvajanja pokazala, da niso imeli vidnega vpliva na stopnjo gradnje novih stanovanj (Sendi, 2007). Izračuni so pokazali, da so bili zneski ob koncu varčevalnega obdobja prenizki, da bi iskalcem stanovanj omogočili nakup stanovanja na prenapljenem stanovanjskem trgu.

Na podlagi opisanega lahko sklepamo, da je imela vlada na tem področju večinoma pasivno in obrobno vlogo ter ni bila glavni razlog za rast lastništva stanovanj pri nas. Pri vladni politiki na tem področju še zdaleč ni šlo za »podkupovanje ljudi, da bi postali lastniki stanovanj«, kot je Gilbert (2008: ii) označil politiko, ki so jo uvedle druge države po svetu. Zato lahko ovržemo teorijo, ki bi rast lastništva stanovanj pri nas pojasnjevala kot posledico stanovanjske politike, uvedene z namenom zagotavljanja politične podpore. Prav nasprotno: vladi na tem področju nikoli ni uspelo uvesti učinkovite politike, ki bi olajšala dostop do stanovanj (Mandič, 2008; Sendi, 2016).

2. teorija: lastniško stanovanje kot vir premoženja

Koncept lastniškega stanovanja kot potencialnega vira kapitala so obravnavali različni avtorji. Saunders (1990) je lastništvo stanovanj opisal kot donosno naložbo, s katero se lahko veliko zasluži. Ray Forrest in Alan Murie (1995) menita, da je lastništvo stanovanj bistvena prvina srednjega razreda, ki izraža izjemno pomembno ekonomsko lastnost. Vse več avtorjev obravnava njegov pomen kot sredstvo za kopičenje premoženja, zlasti v zvezi s preobrazbo socialnih držav v Zahodni Evropi v zadnjih desetletjih (Kemeny, 2005; Hajer, 2009). Čeprav se raziskava Srne Mandič (2010) ne osredotoča na vzhodnoevropske države, prva obravnava potencial stanovanjskega lastništva kot »zbiralnika premoženja« v postsocialističnih državah.

Na ravni EU sta John Doling in Richard Ronald (2010) proučevala koncept »blaginje, ki temelji na nepremičninah«. Raziskovala sta, kako bi lahko lastniška stanovanja v državah EU delovala kot pokojnina. Navajata, da stanovanjsko premoženje lastnikov stanovanj »teoretično predstavlja potencialno rezervo, dodatek ali celo alternativo pokojninam« (Doling in Ronald, 2010: 228). Osnovna hipoteza v zvezi s tem je, da lahko lastniki stanovanj v vseh državah EU svoj lastniški kapital v obliki stanovanjske nepremičnine pretvorijo v realni dohodek, ki ga lahko uporabijo kot dodatek k (skromnim) dohodkom v poznejšem obdobju življenja. Ta domneva temelji na tezi, da imajo lastniki stanovanj, ko odplačajo hipoteko, ki so jo vzeli v mlajših letih, minimalne stanovanjske stroške (Castles, 1998). Teorijo, na kateri temelji ta teza, je opisal Toussaint (2011: 323): »Mladi varčujejo za polog, nato kupijo bivališče. Za financiranje tega bivališča si denar izposodijo (vzamejo hipoteko). Postopoma odplačajo hipoteko in si ustvarijo stanovanjski kapital (vrednost bivališča minus hipotekarni dolg). Ustvarjanje stanovanjskega kapitala lahko razumemo kot obliko varčevanja.«

Tovrstno »varčevanje« vse bolj velja za pomemben način blaženja poznejših finančnih stisk, zlasti med upokojitvijo. Glavno vprašanje, ki se pojavlja v zvezi s tem, je, kako lahko hiše sploh »delujejo« kot pokojnine. Stanovanja so lahko naložba in tudi potrošno blago, ki lastniku zagotavlja dva vira dohodkov: »dohodek v naravi iz pretoka stanovanjskih storitev, ki jih uporablja kot neposredni lastnik, in gotovinski dohodek, ki izhaja iz sprostitve lastniškega kapitala v njegovem domu« (Doling in Ronald, 2010: 229). Kot za vse vrste blaga za naložbe tudi za lastniško zasedena stanovanja velja, da lahko njihovo vrednost realizirajo v obliki likvidnih sredstev oziroma gotovine. Vprašanje, ki se tu pojavlja, pa je, ali željo po lastniškem stanovanju pri nas spodbuja tudi načrtno prizadevanje za kopičenje premoženja z namenom ustvarjanja dodatnega dohodka v starosti. V tem trenutku lahko rečemo, da ne. V

primeru Slovenije obstaja več razlogov za neveljavnost teorije o blaginji, ki temelji na nepremičninah.

Najprej je treba ločiti med dvema glavnima funkcijama stanovanj v Sloveniji: stanovanje kot zatočišče in stanovanje kot naložba. V obdobju komunizma je seveda prevladovala funkcija zatočišča, saj je bila glavna doktrina to, da država zagotovi stanovanja vsem državljanom. Vprašanja, povezana z naložbami v stanovanja in tržno vrednostjo stanovanj, niso bila pomembna. Srna Mandič (2010) navaja, da je funkcija zatočišča oslabela po uvedbi pravice do nakupa stanovanj, s čimer se je okrepila naložbena funkcija. Zaradi prehoda iz javnega v zasebno lastništvo nepremičnin bi se morala njihova naložbena vrednost praviloma povečati, toda treba je vedeti, da opisani prehod iz funkcije zatočišča v naložbeno funkcijo velja le za lastništvo stanovanj v etažni lastnini. Funkcija zatočišča še vedno prevladuje pri lastništvu družinskih hiš. To pomembno vpliva na možnost njihove uporabe kot vira dohodka v starosti. Trenutno v Sloveniji ni mogoče uvideti resne možnosti za uporabo družinskih hiš oziroma stanovanj kot »dodatka ali celo alternative pokojninam«, kot sta to predlagala Doling in Ronald (2010). Toussaintova izjava, da »je potencialna uporaba stanovanjskega premoženja omejena: vsi ne razpolagajo s tem premoženjem ali pa ga nočejo porabiti« (Toussaint 2011: 322), za Slovenijo vsekakor drži. Preprost razlog za to je, da so Slovenci običajno povsem nemobilni. Ko zgradijo ali kupijo hišo, navadno v njej ostanejo za vedno. Ko lastnik umre, se nepremičnina prenese na zakonite dediče. Podobno kot drugje (Helderman in Mulder, 2007) tudi pri nas zapuščina zelo odvrča ljudi od tega, da bi stanovanjski kapital spremenili v pokojninski dohodek. Ugotovitve raziskave DEMHOW (Elsinga in Mandič, 2010), v kateri sta avtorici proučevali povezavo med demografskimi spremembami in stanovanjskim premoženjem v osmih državah EU, kažejo, da si starejši pri nas zelo želijo obdržati svojo nepremičnino in jo zapustiti dedičem, saj »... je bila prepoznana želja po prenosu zapuščine na otroke. Nekateri so poudarili potrebo po samozadostnosti in neodvisnosti od drugih ter to, da je bolje nekaj zapustiti, kot pa da drugi plačujejo zate ali da za sabo pustiš dolgove« (Elsinga in Mandič, 2010: 954).

Domnevo v zvezi z zapuščino podpirajo dogodki po uvedbi Zakona o socialno varstvenih prejemkih leta 2010, sprejetega v okviru varčevalnih ukrepov za blaženje posledic finančne krize, ki se je začela leta 2007. Zakon je določal, da ima država pravico zaseči zapustnikovo premoženje po smrti prejemnika denarne socialne pomoči v zameno za sredstva, ki jih je prejemal iz državnega proračuna. To premoženje so bila večinoma stanovanja ali zemljišča. Po podatkih Ministrstva za delo, družino in socialne zadeve (2014), pristojnega za dodeljevanje teh prejemkov, se je približno 13.000 (od skupno 40.000) upravičencev odpovedalo prejemanju socialne pomoči, ker niso želeli, da

jim država po smrti vzame premoženje. O preostalih 23.000 upravičencih, ki so socialno pomoč sprejeli oziroma prejeli, ni podatkov, vendar je najverjetneje šlo za obupane ljudi, ki ne bi mogli preživeti brez državne finančne pomoči, ali ljudi, ki niso imeli zapuščinskega premoženja, za katerega bi jih lahko skrbelo. To, da so nekateri zavrnilo denarno socialno pomoč, pa kaže, kako velik pomen starejši lastniki pripisujejo svoji nepremičnini, zlasti pa čutijo dolžnost, da jo nedotaknjeno zapustijo naslednji generaciji. Upokojenci bi raje živeli v finančni stiski, kot pa tvegali, da izgubijo svojo stanovanjsko nepremičnino ali dedičem zapustijo dolgove.

Poleg nemobilnosti in razlogov, povezanih z zapuščino, gre tudi za navezanost, ki izhaja iz čustvene vrednosti in pomena, ki ju lastniki pripisujejo svojemu domu. Na podlagi ugotovitve Davida Claphama (2011: 361), da »se definicije doma razlikujejo glede na raziskovalčeve cilje ter njegov disciplinarni in epistemološki referenčni okvir«, je treba poudariti poseben pomen družinske hiše oziroma psihološko vrednost, ki ji ga pripisujejo. Ker lastniki večino družinskih hiš zgradijo sami na podlagi osebnega okusa in preferenc, so skoraj neprecenljive zanje. Zaradi tega se družinske hiše redko pojavijo na stanovanjskem trgu (če sploh). Drugače povedano je hiša ali stanovanje predvsem potrošno blago, ki lastniku večinoma zagotavlja dohodek v naravi. Treba je poudariti, da tudi možnosti realizacije stanovanjskega kapitala na finančnih trgih, ki ne zahtevajo prodaje nepremičnine ali selitve, starejših lastnikov stanovanj ne privlačijo dosti. Ljubljanski stanovanjski sklad (javna ustanova, odgovorna za stanovanjske zadeve v slovenski prestolnici) je skušal uvesti finančni produkt »obrnjene hipoteke« (ang. *reverse mortgage*), vendar mu je v desetih letih uspelo skleniti le eno takšno pogodbo.

Razprave o vlogi lastništva stanovanj kot sredstva za ustvarjanje premoženja so del novejših teorij, ki razmah lastništva stanovanj dojemajo in razlagajo kot ključno prvino posnemanja socialnih držav. Trenutni podatki in dogajanje pa kažejo, da ima lastništvo družinskih hiš pri nas značilnosti, ki zelo ovirajo uporabo stanovanjskega premoženja kot pokojninskega dodatka. Opisane tradicionalne kulturne vrednote in delno tudi nezavedni psihološki vplivi se bodo obdržali vsaj še nekaj časa in zavirali uporabnost teorije, ki temelji na nepremičninah.

3. teorija: lastništvo stanovanj kot posledica pomanjkanja drugih naložbenih priložnosti

Pomanjkanje drugih naložbenih priložnosti je razlog, s katerim se najpogosteje pojasnjujeta rast in razmah lastništva stanovanj v Sloveniji. Kot navaja Srna Mandič (1992: 302), »lahko ljudje zasebne dohodke in prihranke – ki jih pomembno povečajo z neformalnimi dejavnostmi – produktivno naložijo in zavarujejo pred inflacijo samo tako, da jih vložijo v stanovanje oziroma

hišo«. Enako so razlagali tudi rast lastništva stanovanj v drugih srednje- in vzhodnoevropskih državah (na primer Tosics in Hegedüs, 1996). Po tej teoriji ljudje v obdobju komunizma niso imeli druge možnosti, kot da so presežne prihodke porabili za gradnjo hiš, saj denarja niso mogli vložiti v vrednostne papirje, obveznice ali vzajemne sklade. Ker ni bilo takih varčevalnih programov, je bila gradnja družinskih hiš edini način, da so si gospodinjstva zagotovila varno naložbo za prihodnost. Vprašanje pa je, ali je to res. Največja slabost te teorije je, da še ni empiričnih dokazov, ki bi jo podprli.

Opisana teorija se večinoma, če ne izključno, nanaša na samogradnjo družinskih hiš (stopnja lastništva stanovanj v večstanovanjskih stavbah oziroma blokih je bila med komunizmom razmeroma nizka). V tej luči je dobro pojasniti dve ključni vprašanji glede pomena nekaterih izrazov, uporabljenih v članku. Najprej je treba ločiti med dvema kategorijama lastništva: lastništvo hiše in lastništvo stanovanja. Lastništvo hiše se v članku nanaša na različne vrste družinskih hiš – samostojne hiše (ki prevladujejo), dvojčke in vrstne hiše, lastništvo stanovanja pa na bivališče v večstanovanjski zgradbi, pri čemer prevladujejo stanovanja v etažni lastnini. Drugič (kot je bilo že omenjeno) avtor uporablja izraz »družinska« hiša, ne »enodružinska« hiša. Tradicionalno so družinske hiše grajene tako, da lahko v njih živijo tudi odrasli otroci s svojimi družinami. Zato je treba izraz »družina« razumeti tudi kot »gospodinjstvo«. Razprava se v nadaljevanju nanaša na lastništvo družinskih hiš. Preden nadaljujemo obravnavo teorije o pomanjkanju drugih naložbenih priložnosti, si oglejmo še statistične podatke o zgodovinskem razvoju lastništva stanovanj pri nas.

3 Rast lastništva stanovanj v Sloveniji

V preglednici 1 kaže zgodovinski pregled podatkov o letno dokončanih gradnjah bivališč enakomerno rast deleža lastniških domov od sredine 50. let 20. stoletja naprej (podatkov za obdobje pred letom 1955 ni na voljo). Podatki v stolpcu »zasebni sektor« kažejo število bivališč, ki so jih zgradile posamezne družine oziroma gospodinjstva (tj. število zgrajenih družinskih hiš). Med letoma 1955 in 1968 so na novo zgrajene družinske hiše pomenile od 38 do 46 % vseh novogradenj, v naslednjih treh letih pa je delež zgrajenih družinskih hiš celo presegel delež novih gradenj v javnem sektorju (52 % leta 1969, 57 % leta 1970 in 53 % leta 1971). V 70. letih 20. stoletja je povprečni letni delež zgrajenih družinskih hiš ves čas znašal 46 %, med letoma 1983 in 2007 pa njihov letni delež nikoli ni padel pod 55 %.

Podatki v preglednici 1 kažejo, da je bilo lastništvo stanovanj (in še vedno je) pomembna oblika posesti stanovanja. Prevlado stanovanjskega lastništva še bolje ponazarjajo podatki zadnjega popisa prebivalstva iz leta 2012, ki kažejo, da so last-

Preglednica 1: Število zgrajenih bivališč na leto, 1955–2015

Leto	Javni sektor		Zasebni sektor	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
1955	2.052	62	1.258	38
1960	5.926	73	2.154	27
1965	6.176	69	2.766	31
1966	6.194	63	3.574	37
1967	5.593	59	3.801	41
1968	5.089	54	4.286	46
1969	4.364	48	4.724	52
1970	3.959	43	5.302	57
1971	4.818	47	5.451	53
1972	5.408	53	4.813	47
1973	4.810	46	5.688	54
1974	8.076	58	5.717	42
1975	9.750	61	6.143	39
1976	8.536	59	5.929	41
1977	8.164	54	6.811	46
1979	7.422	54	6.398	46
1980	6.999	51	6.673	49
1981	8.281	56	6.393	44
1982	7.105	54	6.140	46
1983	5.634	45	6.710	55
1985	5.114	45	6.138	55
1986	4.887	38	8.050	62
1987	3.963	39	6.249	61
1988	3.684	37	6.115	63
1989	2.260	26	6.281	74
1990	2.246	29	5.513	71

Leto	Javni sektor		Zasebni sektor	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
1991	1.332	22	4.586	78
1992	1.349	21	5.143	79
1993	794	10	7.131	90
1995	661	11	5.054	89
1996	760	12	5.468	88
1997	757	12	5.328	88
1998	1.228	19	5.290	81
1999	569	11	4.573	89
2000	1.577	24	4.883	76
2001	1.048	15	5.667	85
2002	1.915	26	5.350	74
2003	2.290	35	4.277	65
2004	2.160	31	4.844	69
2005	3.032	40	4.484	60
2006	2.914	38	4.624	62
2007	3.869	46	4.488	54
2008	5.845	58	4.126	42
2009	4.400	51	4.161	49
2010	2.499	39	3.853	61
2011	2.028	37	3.439	63
2012	1.298	30	3.009	70
2013	828	24	2.656	76
2014	607	19	2.556	81
2015	354	13	2.422	87

Vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije

Preglednica 2: Lastništvo in želja po lastništvu hiše (ankete, opravljene v letih 1969, 1978 in 1980)

Vrsta hiše	1969		1978		1980	
	Lastništvo	Želja po lastništvu	Lastništvo	Želja po lastništvu	Lastništvo	Želja po lastništvu
samostojna hiša z vrtom	35,1	53,5	48,7	63,5	49,3	61,0
samostojna hiša	32,6	36,7	13,7	25,0	17,5	28,7
vrstna hiša	3,7	4,0	3,8	3,0	3,0	2,8
nizka večstanovanjska stavba (do 10 nadstropij)	15,7	1,9	13,1	3,5	9,7	2,8
visoka večstanovanjska stavba	12,9	3,9	20,7	5,0	20,5	4,7
skupaj	100	100	100	100	100	100

Vir: Kos (1984)

niška stanovanja ali hiše pomenila 90,3 % vsega stanovanjskega fonda, delež najemnih stanovanj pa le 9,7 % (Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2012). Takšna struktura pravic do posesti stanovanja jasno kaže, da je državna politika različno pripomogla k rasti lastništva stanovanj, najemni sektor pa je bil učinkovito skrčen. V majhnem deležu najemnega stanovanjskega fonda so ob popisu prebivalstva leta 2012 zasebna najemna

stanovanja znašala le 1,8 %. V raziskavi slovenskega zasebnega najemnega sektorja je Richard Sendi (2016) ugotovil, da državi ni uspelo uvesti učinkovite politike, ki bi omogočila razvoj in učinkovito delovanje tega sektorja. Ob proučevanju konkretnih ukrepov, namenjenih razvoju zasebnega najemnega sektorja, je avtor ugotovil, da lahko to, da državi v več kot 25 letih ni uspelo ustvariti normalnega zasebnega najemnega

sektorja, pripišemo nenaklonjenosti oblikovalcev politike do tega sektorja. Lahko bi trdili, da je ta nenaklonjenost (nezavedno) ukoreninjena v želji vsakega posameznika, da postane lastnik stanovanja. Če želijo posamezniki (v tem primeru oblikovalci politike) živeti v lastni hiši oziroma stanovanju, je le malo verjetno, da se bodo zavzemali za sprejetje zakonodaje in uvedbo politike, ki bi podpirala najem.

Glavne razloge za priljubljenost in rast lastništva družinskih hiš lahko najbolje prikažemo na podlagi ugotovitev javnih anket, s katerimi je Drago Kos (1984) v treh različnih letih (1969, 1978 in 1980) proučeval lastništvo hiš in želje ljudi po njem (preglednica 2).

Če si podrobneje ogledamo številke v preglednici 2, lahko vidimo dvojje. Večina anketiranih je imela v lasti samostojno hišo z vrtom oziroma si je to želela. Še pomembnejše je, da je željo po lastništvu hiše (samostojne, samostojne z vrtom ali vrstne hiše) izrazilo 94,2 % anketiranih leta 1969, 91,5 % leta 1978 in 92,5 % leta 1980. Rezultati teh javnih anket torej kažejo, da želi več kot 90 % Slovencev živeti v takšni ali drugačni vrsti družinske hiše. Podobna anketa, opravljena leta 1991, je pokazala, da bi 90 % anketiranih raje živelo v hiši ali stanovanju v njihovi lasti (tj. lastniško zasedenem stanovanju; Mandič in Clapham, 1996). Čeprav je bila zadnja takšna anketa o lastništvu stanovanj opravljena že več kot pred 20 leti, ti izsledki precej dobro kažejo splošen odnos do lastništva stanovanj. Nova anketa bi najverjetneje pokazala podobne rezultate.

V tej luči je treba na kratko proučiti nekatere dejavnike, ki so ljudem pomagali uresničiti željo po lastništvu hiše. Eden od njih je bila že omenjena nezmožnost države, da vsem državljanom zagotovi ustrezna stanovanja. Tistim, ki niso mogli dobiti državnega najemnega stanovanja, ni preostalo drugega, kot da sami rešijo stanovanjsko vprašanje v okviru sektorja lastniških stanovanj. Poleg nezadostne ponudbe državnih stanovanj je treba omeniti tudi razmeroma slabšo kakovost bivališč v stanovanjskih blokih v večinoma gosto pozidanih stanovanjskih soseskah. Preglednica 2 kaže, da so se želje po lastništvu stanovanja v večstanovanjskih stavbah v letih 1969–1978 povečale, nato pa do leta 1980 upadle. Stopnja dejanskega lastništva stanovanj v večstanovanjskih zgradbah se je med prvo in zadnjo anketo pravzaprav enakomerno nižala. Velika samostojna hiša, obdana z obsežno zeleno površino, je bila očitno privlačnejša in boljše izbira za tiste, ki so izpadli iz postopka dodelitve javnih stanovanj.

Poleg nezadostne ponudbe stanovanj (z vidika kvantitete kot kvalitete) so bili pomembni tudi nekateri ekonomski dejavniki. Kos (1984) je ugotovil, da je bil kvadratni meter javnega stanovanja povprečno dražji od kvadratnega metra hiše, ki jo je lastnik zgradil sam. »/.../ Kar je svojevrsten paradoks [glede

na to, da naj bi država zagotovila poceni stanovanja] in kar zelo jasno dokazuje tudi nizko cene kmetijske zemlje /.../. Zaradi vseh naštetih in tudi nekaterih neomenjenih razlogov je razumljivo tudi dejstvo, da si z individualno gradnjo hiš rešujejo stanovanjski položaj kategorije, ki ne zmorejo visoke cene m² stanovanj, zgrajenih v družbenem sektorju, ali pa nimajo možnosti, da bi dobili družbeno stanovanje /.../« (Kos, 1984: 18).

Nezadostna ponudba in razmeroma slabša kakovost javnih stanovanj sta verjetno vplivali na odločitev posameznikov, da se lotijo gradnje hiše. Na žalost spet ni empiričnih dokazov, ki bi potrdili, da so ti dejavniki res imeli pomembno vlogo pri razvoju in rasti lastništva hiš. Hkrati je bilo to, da so bili stroški gradnje hiše razmeroma nizki (kot je ugotovil Kos), nedvomno močna spodbuda za tiste, ki so želeli postati lastniki hiš.

Pojav stanovanjskega lastništva v Sloveniji je treba podrobneje proučiti, če želimo razumeti, zakaj je to najbolj zaželen oblika posesti stanovanja. Na tej podlagi se razprava nadaljuje z analizo veljavnosti teorije o pomanjkanju drugih naložbenih priložnosti.

4 Proučitev teorije o pomanjkanju drugih naložbenih priložnosti

Že na začetku je treba poudariti, da se zdi avtorju ta teorija malo preveč poenostavljena in neprepričljiva. Za to je več razlogov. Kot je bilo že omenjeno, so lastniki večino družinskih hiš zgradili sami, poleg tega je bila večina teh hiš zgrajena na zemljiščih v lasti prihodnjega lastnika hiše ali njegovih sorodnikov (Kos, 1984). To pomeni, da je graditelj hiše potreboval finančna sredstva samo za gradnjo, ne pa tudi za nakup zemljišča, zato so bili skupni stroški pridobitve hiše precej nižji. Tako so posamezniki za to, da bi si izpolnili veliko željo po lastni hiši, namesto veliko denarja raje vložili svoje delo in svoj znoj. Gilbert (1999) je v raziskavi mehanizma samogradnje, ki velikemu številu gospodinjstev v Mehiki omogoča, da postanejo lastniki hiš, takšno kapitalsko premoženje imenoval »lastniški kapital, pridobljen z znojem« (ang. *sweat equity*). Običajna praksa v Sloveniji je, da potencialni samograditelj poišče (in pričakuje) pomoč sorodnikov, sosedov in prijateljev. Skupaj nato opravijo vsa gradbena dela, razen tistih, ki zahtevajo posebno znanje (krovstvo, izvedba vodovodnih in električnih inštalacij ipd.). Tak način gradnje je običajno trajal dlje, vsekakor pa je bil cenejši od najema profesionalnega gradbenega podjetja. Tako je običajno trajalo do deset let in več, preden je bila hiša dokončana. To bi lahko pomenilo, da večina graditeljev družinskih hiš vendarle ni imela na voljo prav veliko denarja. Edini stroški, ki so jih morali pokriti, je bil nakup gradbenega materiala, ki pa je bil tako in tako na voljo po nižjih cenah. Večje stroške so pomenili profesionalni gradbeniki, ki so jih

morali najeti za izvedbo zahtevnejših gradbenih del. Večina delavcev je imela skromne plače, zato gospodinjstva niso imela veliko prihrankov, ki bi jih lahko vložila v vrednostne papirje, tudi če bi bila ta možnost na voljo. Zato nerazpoložljivosti drugih naložbenih priložnosti ne moremo obravnavati kot pomembnega dejavnika za razvoj in rast lastništva stanovanj v Sloveniji. Glavni razlog za to, da so se ljudje lotili naporne gradnje hiše, je bila namreč njihova želja po bivanju v lastni hiši.

Tretji razlog za zavrnitev teorije o pomanjkanju drugih naložbenih priložnosti je, da so ljudje gradnjo hiše sčasoma prepustili profesionalnim gradbenim podjetjem. Čeprav se gradnja družinskih hiš nadaljuje na enaki ravni kot prej, stopnja samogradnje po uvedbi tržnega gospodarstva upada. Treba pa je poudariti, da do tega ni prišlo zaradi razpoložljivosti drugih naložbenih priložnosti, ki so se pojavile po prehodu v tržno gospodarstvo. Čeprav o tem še ni nobene uradne raziskave, je več razlogov za upad te prakse. Prvi razlog je sprememba delovnega časa (službe se zjutraj začnejo pozneje), zato popoldne ni več toliko prostega časa, ki bi ga lahko ljudje izrabili za gradnjo hiše. Drugi razlog je uvedba tržnega gospodarstva, ki je sprožila več sistemskih in ureditvenih sprememb, v številni zakon, ki je omejil velikost hiš, ki jih lastniki sami zgradijo, na 250 m². Večje hiše lahko gradijo le profesionalni gradbeniki. Avtor domneva, da je to negativno vplivalo na potencialne samograditelje. Tretji razlog je, da je prehod v tržno gospodarstvo povzročil tudi postopno zvišanje dohodkov v gospodinjstvu, ki so od 90. let 20. stoletja do svetovne finančne krize leta 2008 enakomerno naraščali. Z višjimi dohodki so postajala dostopnejša tudi bančna posojila (Cirman, 2006), ki so ljudi spodbudila, da so ob prihrankih najeli še hipoteko za nakup hiše ali najem gradbenikov.

Obravnavano teorijo lahko zavrremo tudi zaradi razmer, ki so sledile pojavu drugih naložbenih priložnosti. Njihovo pomanjkanje naj bi bil glavni razlog za rast lastniških domov v državi. Leta 1989 je bila po skoraj 50 letih znova uvedena slovenska borza (tj. Ljubljanska borza) in od tedaj imajo ljudje na voljo različne možnosti za vlaganje svojih presežnih prihodkov (državne obveznice, delnice v podjetjih, vzajemni skladi, zavarovalniško povezani vrednostni papirji ipd.). Ker o tem še ni ustrezne empirične raziskave, lahko domnevamo, da večina posameznikov vlaga v vrednostne papirje zato, da bi sčasoma kupili hišo zase ali otroke. Smiselno razlago za to domnevo ponuja dejstvo, da se večina staršev čuti dolžna, da odraslim otrokom zagotovi levji (če ne stoo odstotni) delež finančnih sredstev za nakup hiše. Ključno pri tem je, da se ne glede na izbrano obliko varčevanja prihranki na koncu pretvorijo v lastništvo hiše. Kot je bilo že omenjeno, je lastništvo hiše namreč glavni cilj večine slovenskih družin. To potrjujejo tudi prej predstavljeni statistični podatki.

5 Sklep

Avtor je razpravo začel s kratkim pregledom Saundersove poglobljene študije glavnih teorij o lastništvu stanovanj, pri čemer je ugotovil, da marksistične teorije za Slovenijo ne veljajo, saj opisujejo čisto drugačne razmere, kot so v tistem obdobju prevladovali pri nas. Čeprav lastniška stanovanja med komunizmom niso bila popolnoma prepovedana, hkrati ni bilo vladne politike, ki bi jih spodbujala in tako upravičila nepremičnine, ki so bile v zasebni lasti višjega sloja. V komunističnih režimih (vsaj uradno) ni bilo višjih slojev. Avtor zavrne tudi teorijo, da se je lastništvo stanovanj okrepilo kot posledica vladnih politik, katerih namen je bil zagotoviti volilno podporo. Strinja pa se s tem, da so različne politike, sprejete v različnih obdobjih, spodbudile razvoj stanovanjskega lastništva in pripomogle k njegovi rasti.

V članku je bilo poleg tega predstavljenih več razlogov za zavrnitev veljavnosti teorije, po kateri naj bi se delež lastništva stanovanj povečal zato, ker želijo ljudje tako pridobljeno premoženje uporabiti kot dodaten dohodek v starosti. Zaradi posebnosti lastništva stanovanj v Sloveniji (prevlade funkcije zatočišča nad naložbeno funkcijo, nemobilnosti ter še zlasti prakse samogradnje in zapuščine) je koncept blaginje, ki temelji na nepremičninah, za učinkovito razlago razmaha lastništva stanovanj pri nas neuporaben.

Ker se za razlago rasti lastniških stanovanj v Sloveniji najpogosteje uporablja teorija o pomanjkanju drugih naložbenih priložnosti, ji je avtor namenil malo več pozornosti, hkrati pa je navedel več razlogov, zakaj bi jo morali ovreči. Njegov glavni argument je, da tisti, ki so se odločili zgraditi hišo, niso imeli veliko presežnih prihodkov, ki bi jih lahko vložili drugam. Če bi jih lahko, bi najverjetneje najeli profesionalne gradbenike in se s tem izognili napornemu fizičnemu delu, ki je pogosto ogrozilo tudi njihovo zdravje. Tisti, ki so si zelo želeli imeti lastno hišo, so bili za dosego tega cilja pripravljeni naporno delati in se odpovedati drugim dejavnostim (prostemu času). Avtor zato sklepa, da glavni razlog za gradnjo ni bilo pomanjkanje drugih naložbenih priložnosti, ampak preprosta želja po lastnem domu.

Na podlagi tega avtor v sklepnem delu članka razvije teorijo, ki po njegovem najbolje pojasni čezmerni delež lastniških stanovanj v Sloveniji. Podobno kot Saunders (1990) navaja, da je treba željo po lastništvu doma obravnavati in razumeti z vidika človeškega vedenja. Še pred objavo Saundersove raziskave je Irving Welfeld (1988) opisal ugotovljeno stalno preferenco potrošnikov do lastništva stanovanj oziroma hiš v ZDA kot del človeške narave: »Hrepenenje po lastništvu je skoraj univerzal-

na in starodavna lastnost človeštva.« (Welfeld, 1988: 59) Na podlagi te miselnosti avtor v tem članku predpostavlja, da med ljudmi obstaja naravna preferenca do lastništva stanovanj, ne do najema. Saunders je to naravno preferenco pojasnil z vidika človekovega »posesivnega nagona in želje po tem, da označi svoj teritorij« (1990: 70). Gurney (1999) pa opozarja, da pri tej močni želji po lastništvu – čeprav lastništvo stanovanj v Veliki Britaniji vse bolj postaja »norma«, podnajemniki pa veljajo za »outsiderje« – ne gre nujno za prirojeno »naravno« preferenco. To je treba razumeti kot opozorilo pred prevelikim poenostavljanjem tega kompleksnega pojava in v skladu s tem je nujna tudi utemeljitev razlage, predlagane v tem članku.

Avtor poudarja, da je v ozadju rasti stanovanjskega lastništva v Sloveniji močan človeški nagon. V skladu s to trditvijo je želja po lasti doma predvsem naravna želja, ne od družbe odvisna potreba, ki jo podpirajo politiki, ki želijo uvesti razvojne politike ali uresničiti osebne politične načrte. Hkrati pa se avtor strinja, da se je močan nagon po lasti doma lahko sčasoma razvil v nekaj, kar danes dojemamo kot kulturo ali tradicijo. Kot so pokazali izsledki anket o stanovanjskem lastništvu, ni dvoma, da si ljudje preprosto želijo imeti v lasti dom, zlasti družinsko hišo. Ali je to povezano tudi s pridobitvijo pomembnega statusnega simbola, kot so to predlagali nekateri avtorji? Te domneve ne moremo neposredno ovreči. Gre za še eno vprašanje, ki ga je treba podrobneje raziskati, saj trenutno ni mogoče ugotoviti, kolikšen delež lastništva je posledica naravne želje in kolikšen rezultat potrebe po zagotovitvi boljšega družbenega statusa.

Avtor se opira na teorijo, po kateri naj bi bil človekov nagon po lastništvu doma glavni dejavnik, ki je privedel razvoj in rast stanovanjskega lastništva na tako visoko raven. V literaturi lahko najdemo nekaj razlag človeškega vedenja v zvezi z lastništvom nepremičnin (Tinbergen, 1951; Retsinas in Belsky, 2002; Krulik in Novakova, 2011). Antropologi so prepričani, da se je v določenem obdobju razvoja človeštva človek ustalil v agrarni družbi. Ta oblika uporabe prostora je zahtevala pridobitev in lastništvo zemlje. To antropologi opisujejo kot teritorialnost. V razpravi o teritorialnosti v povezavi z živalmi in človekom sta Oldrich Krulik in Jaroslava Novakova (2011: 1) ugotovila, da »je zamejitev osebne prostora ena glavnih značilnosti človeškega vedenja«. Hkrati pa je človeško vedenje vedno odziv na nekaj. Nikolaas Tinbergen (1951: 15) je človeško vedenje opredelil kot »odziv, v kolikor je v določeni meri odvisno od zunanje stimulacije. Spontano je, v kolikor je hkrati odvisno od notranjih vzročnih dejavnikov ali motivacijskih dejavnikov, ki sprožijo potrebo ali željo«.

V zvezi z željo po lastništvu doma lahko človeško vedenje razumemo kot odziv na notranje vzročne dejavnike (naravni

nagon) in tudi zunanjo stimulacijo (kulturni vpliv). O naravnem nagonu in zunanji stimulaciji govori tudi trditev, da so »ljudje bitja, ki so programirana za to, da se naučijo določene stvari, trošijo določene energije in se odzivajo na določene dražljaje na načine, ki so bili vanje vgrajeni prek posebne evolucijske zgodovine njihove vrste« (Tiger in Fox, 1971: 233).

Ta trditev je podlaga za osnovno tezo, ki jo avtor v članku predlaga kot alternativno razlago razvoja lastništva stanovanj v Sloveniji. Strinja se s prvino zunanjo stimulacijo v obliki tradicije, ki se je spremenila v kulturo, meni pa, da »potrebo ali željo« (Tinbergen, 1951) po lastništvu doma sprožijo notranji vzročni dejavniki. Kot ugotavljata Lionel Tiger in Robin Fox (1971: 233), »pravice človeka niso kulturne iznajdbe, ampak odraz narave tega bitja. Ljudje niso samo bitja kulture, ampak so bitja, ki ustvarjajo kulturo, ker takšna pač so«.

Mehanizem samogradnje za zagotavljanje lastništva doma sta vsekakor tradicija ali kultura, ki je v preteklosti lajšala dostop do lastništva družinskih hiš. Glavna teorija, predstavljena v tem članku, pa je, da sta razvoj in rast lastniških stanovanj oziroma hiš v Sloveniji predvsem posledica naravne potrebe po lastništvu doma.

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Opombe

[1] Privatizacija javnega stanovanjskega fonda je imela več ciljev. Prvič, po uvedbi pristopa »omogočanja« namesto pristopa »zagotavljanja« se je morala vlada znebiti obsežnega fonda socialnih stanovanj, ki je z visokimi vzdrževalnimi stroški bremenil državni proračun. Drugič, vlada je lahko pridobila dodatne finančne vire, ki jih je v kritičnem obdobju postavljanja neodvisnih gospodarskih temeljev po oцепitvi od Jugoslavije zelo potrebovala. Tretjič, ukrep je omogočil prerazporeditev dela premoženja, ki se je med komunizmom nakopičilo v obliki »javnih nepremičnin«, med državljane, ki so ga z mesečnimi prispevki financirali oziroma pomagali ustvariti. Navsezadnje pa je vladalo tudi upanje, da bo zasebno lastništvo privedlo k učinkovitejšemu upravljanju in vzdrževanju večstanovanjskih stavb (Sendi, 2009).

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Prostorska razpršenost stanovanjskih enot kot pomemben dejavnik vpliva na stroške dolgotrajne oskrbe

Več kot 90 % starostnikov bi se rado postaralo tam, kjer živijo. To idejo podpirajo tudi strateški načrti Evropskega semestra za dolgotrajno oskrbo (ang. *European semesters on long-term care*) za države članice, vendar ne vključujejo dovolj inovacij, da bi resnično izboljšali življenjske razmere starejših z ustrezno opremljenim okoljem in vzdržnim financiranjem. Prostorsko razpršenost stanovanj in gostoto poselitve v funkcionalnem območju bi morala pri načrtovanju grajenega okolja in drugih objektov za starejše posebej upoštevati vodstva ustanov, ki starejšim zagotavljajo namestitve, zdravstveno oskrbo in druge storitve, saj so cene logistike (prevoz materiala, delovna sila, prevoz starostnikov v dnevne programe itd.) precej odvisne od teh dveh dejavnikov. Na podlagi podatkov doma za ostarele v eni od madžarskih občin smo ocenili in optimizirali načrtovanje poti ter razporejanje za potrebe oskrbe

starostnikov na domu glede na različne možne prostorske razporeditve in z različno gostoto strank. Poti negovalnega osebja, ki oskrbuje starostnike, smo simulirali s problemom trgovskega potnika (ang. *multiple travelling salesman, mTSP*), rešitve pa navajajo potrebno delovno silo in časovne zahteve za opravljanje storitev. Orodje, ki nam je omogočilo proučiti izide različnih možnosti, bi lahko tudi stroki pomagalo pri predvidevanju in načrtovanju prihodnjih sprememb pri stroških dolgotrajne oskrbe zaradi vse večjega števila starejših, ki bodo pri ohranjanju samostojnosti potrebovali pomoč, spreminjata pa se tudi gostota in razpršenost gospodinjstev.

Ključne besede: stanovanja, dolgotrajna oskrba, načrtovanje storitev, prostorska razpršenost, funkcionalna regija

1 Uvod

Študije o dolgotrajni oskrbi kažejo, da želijo starostniki v primerjavi z drugimi možnostmi namestitve pogosto ostati v lastnih domovih (Keenan, 2010; Gillsjö idr., 2011). Kot kažejo novejša študije iz Slovenije, bi se več kot 90 % oseb, starih nad 65 let, rado staralo tam, kjer so, torej v trenutnem bivališču oziroma v bivališču, ki bi si ga izbrali, dokler je mogoče (Kavšek in Bogataj, 2015, 2016). To lahko omogočijo tudi nove oziroma komunikacijske tehnologije, ki v zdravstveno oskrbo, velnes ter varno in varovano okolje prinašajo najpomembnejše inovacije. Nove tehnologije v oskrbi, kot so prenosni telefoni, spletne strani in tablice, pomagajo negovalcem starejših doseči učinkovitejše opravljanje storitev. Evropski semester (na primer za Slovenijo: Priporočilo Sveta v zvezi z nacionalnim programom reform Slovenije za leto 2014 in mnenje Sveta o programu Slovenije za stabilnost za leto 2014; Svet Evropske unije, 2014) podpira njihovo uvedbo tudi v zdravstvenem in oskrbovalnem sektorju. Trenutno obstaja le nekaj načrtov za izboljšanje namestitev, ki podpirajo ta cilj. Spodbujanje uvajanja inovacij bi omogočilo premik od institucionalizirane k domači oskrbi v ustrezno zasnovanih stanovanjskih enotah. Življenjske razmere starejših je treba izboljšati v ustrezno opremljenih okoljih s trajnostnim financiranjem. Prostorska razpršitev stanovanj mora biti upoštevana zlasti pri načrtovanju grajenega okolja in ustanov za starejše, saj se logistični stroški sorazmerno povečujejo z razpršenostjo stanovanj, kjer se storitve izvajajo. Vodstva ustanov za starejše in zdravstvene ustanove, ki ponujajo namestitve, zdravstveno oskrbo in druge storitve za starejše, bi morali upoštevati stroške transporta materiala, zaposlitve medicinskih sester in drugih uslužbencev ter transport starejših na dnevne aktivnosti, odvisne od razporeditve stanovanjskih enot. Dnevna oskrba na domu je namreč zahtevna s stališča dela in zaposlenih, zato je preudarno načrtovanje poti in urnikov ključno za sprejemljivo razmerje med logističnimi stroški in kakovostno oskrbo ter zadovoljstvom starejših.

V primerjavi z drugimi aktualnimi izzivi sodobne družbe, kot so klimatske spremembe in finančne krize, lahko staranje dokaj natančno napovemo in predvidimo tudi njegove posledice. Oblikovalci politik se zato lahko pripravijo na spremembe v demografski strukturi (OECD, 2015). V poročilu o staranju v mestih je navedeno: »Boljši pristopi k urbanistični politiki nam bodo pomagali izboljšati kvaliteto življenja prebivalcev vseh starosti« (OECD, 2015: 18). Da bi to omogočili, so začrtali strategije, ki naj bi učinkovito blažile tveganja in pripomogle k temu, da bi se čim bolj izrabile priložnosti. Ključne strategije in podstrategije, razčlenjene do natančnejših pristopov, povzema preglednica 1.

Menimo, da nekatere podstrategije ključnih strategij 5 in 6, kot so »Spodbujati cenovno dostopna stanovanja z inovativnimi shemami za zagotavljanje socialnih stanovanj, Spodbujati storitve oskrbe na domu, Ponovno določiti primerne lokacije za urbano infrastrukturo z optimizacijo uporabe zemljišč, Uvesti orodja za učinkovite javne naložbe« (OECD, 2015: 65), zahtevajo celovit pristop k načrtovanju in razvoju. V tem članku želimo osvetliti razmerje med ponudbo stanovanj in nego na domu ter predvideti dejavnike, ki vplivajo na ceno nege na domu. Zaradi staranja prebivalstva se bo potreba po dolgotrajni oskrbi in dostopnih stanovanjih za starejše bistveno povečala. Neodvisno bivanje starejših v lastnih domovih bo zahtevalo ustrezno zgrajeno in dostopno okolje. Trenutne stanovanjske enote bodo težko sledile potrebam. Po podatkih Poročila EK in partnerjev (Evropska komisija, 2015b) je 70 do 80 % bivališč v Veliki Britaniji in 90 % v Nemčiji neprimernih za neodvisno življenje starejših, saj so težko dostopna za osebe s funkcionalnimi oviranostmi in kroničnimi stanji ter niso opremljena s potrebno digitalno infrastrukturo za povezano nego. Poročilo tudi navaja, da v Nemčiji že zdaj potreba po starostnikom prijaznih bivališčih presega razpoložljivosti za 2,5 milijona. Na Nizozemskem ocenjujejo, da bi bilo treba 330.000 bivališč prilagoditi v starostnikom prijazna bivališča. Za Vzhodno Evropo je manj podatkov. Na Madžarskem ni posebne politike, ki bi se ukvarjala z demografskimi spremembami, niti z ustvarjanjem integriranega sistema dolgotrajne oskrbe ali starostnikom prijaznim načrtovanjem urbanega prostora. Ponudba socialnih stanovanj je majhna. Od približno 35 tisoč bivalnih enot (Centralna madžarska statistična pisarna, 2016) je le omejeno število namenjenih upokojenim, ki potrebujejo nego na domu. Ocenjujejo, da je število teh enot 5.000 (Csehák, 2003). Potreba za namestitve z nego se s staranjem populacije stalno povečuje, tako v lastnih domovih starostnikov, kot v domovih za starejše. Na čakalnih seznamih za domove starejših je v povprečju 160 do 170 starostnikov, ki si želijo bivati v domu v njihovem okraju. Do vselitve tistih, ki izpolnjujejo pogoje, pa lahko mine od 1,5 leta do 2 leti (Rosta, 2014). Starejšim na čakalnih seznamih pomagajo s storitvami nege na domu ali neformalno nego, to pa glede na trenutne trende staranja populacije ni optimalno ali dolgoročno vzdržno. Ko bodo lokalne oblasti pred dilemo, ali naj gradijo bolj ali manj razpršene stanovanjske enote v tako imenovanih upokojitvenih vaseh, namestitve za starostnike v urbanih okoljih ali zagotovijo nego na domu, bodo morale primerjati stroške gradnje nepremičnin s stroški zagotavljanja ustreznih storitev, všteti naložbe v dnevno logistiko in dostopno urbano okolje.

V predhodni študiji (Szander idr., 2016) smo proučevali časovno načrtovanje nege na domu na enakem funkcionalnem območju z različnih vidikov. Območje Zalaegerszega obsega 99,98 km². Tu živi 67 starostnikov, ki potrebujejo nego na domu, torej 0,67 stanovanjske enote/km². Podatke o lokaciji

Preglednica 1: Predlagane ključne strategije in podstrategije za staranje v mestih

Ključne strategije	Podstrategije
1. razvoj dolgoročne vizije	Mesta v različnih fazah demografske tranzicije lahko razvijejo vizijo za svojo prihodnost z osredotočanjem na najbolj kritične izzive, s katerimi se srečujejo. Te vizije naj vključujejo kvantitativne ocene z uporabo mednarodno primerljivih kazalnikov.
2. razvoj kazalnikov	Razviti kazalnike za promet, zdravje in socialno varstvo, urbani razvoj, delo, stanovanjsko politiko in okolje ter civilnodružbeni sektor. Mesta izberejo najboljšo kombinacijo kazalnikov glede na fazo in demografske procese, ki jim ustrezajo.
3. promocija zdravja za vse generacije	Promovirati zdravje z uporabo informacijske tehnologije. Spodbujati hojo kot preventivno dejavnost za izboljšanje zdravja.
4. večja vključenost starejših v trg dela in socialne aktivnosti	Mestne uprave lahko postanejo model oziroma zgled za dodatno usposabljanje starejših zaposlenih. Olajšati dostop do služb s širjenjem mreže javnega prevoza. Spodbujati podjetnost v starejših starostnih skupinah. Spodbujati starejše k prostovoljnemu delu v njihovih skupnostih. Razvijati aktivnosti, ki združujejo starejše in mlajše.
5. dostopna stanovanja v dostopnih okoljih	Spodbujati cenovno dostopna stanovanja z inovativnimi shemami za zagotavljanje socialnih stanovanj, skupaj z javno-zasebnimi partnerstvi in povečanjem ponudbe manjših bivalnih enot. Izboljšati dostop do zaposlitve ter javnih in zasebnih storitev z javnim transportom. Spodbujati storitve oskrbe na domu.
6. znova oblikovati urbana območja ter povečati njihovo privlačnost in udobje za prebivalce	Ponovno določiti primerne lokacije za urbano infrastrukturo z optimizacijo uporabe zemljišč. Vlagati v izboljšanje izkušnje pešcev v urbanih območjih. Vključiti strategije za spodbujanje socialne in ekonomske trajnosti mest v različne politike. Uvesti orodja za učinkovite javne naložbe.

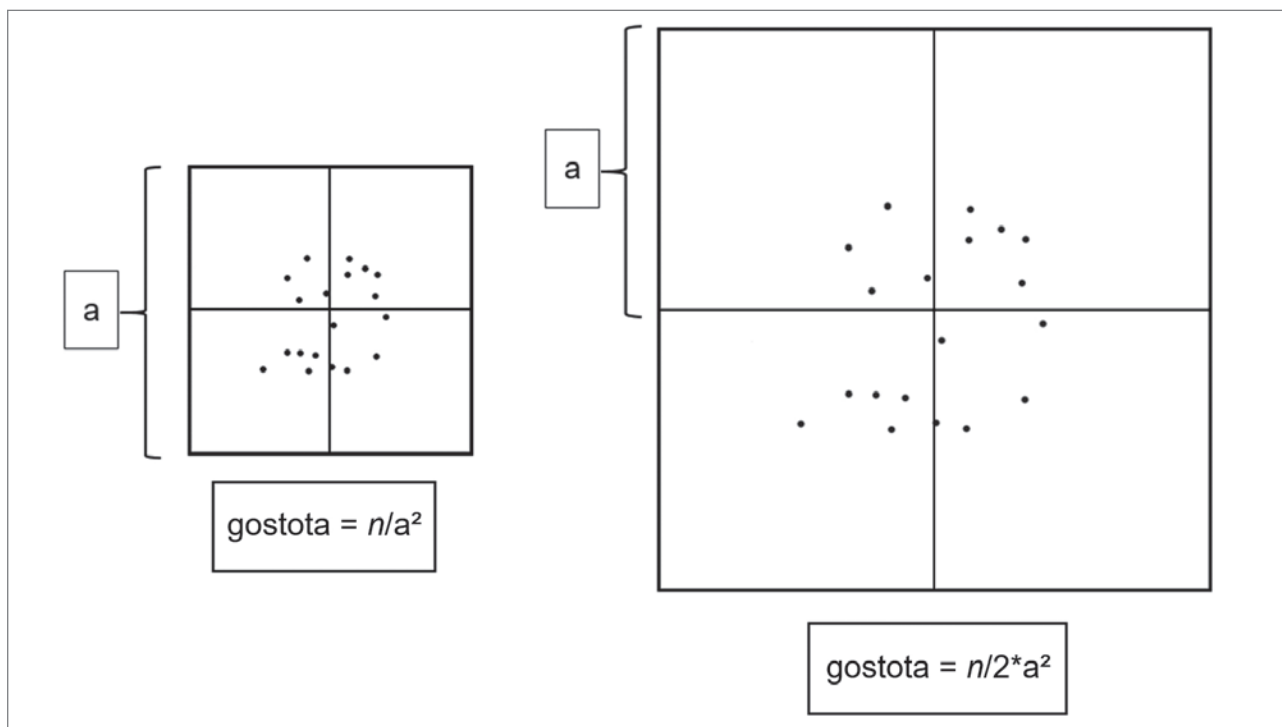
Vir: OECD (2015)

starostnikov in njihovih potrebah po negi nam je dal Center za dolgotrajno oskrbo v Zalaegerszegu (ang. *Long-term care centre of Zalaegerszeg, CCE*). Namen študije je bil izmeriti vpliv izboljšanja kakovosti storitev z določitvijo točnega termina, ko starostnika obišče oskrbnik, namesto da bi moral ta čakati nanj brez informacij. Posledica neuskajenega prihoda s širše določenimi termini obiskov sta več neizrabljenega časa v delovnem času oskrbnikov in potreba po večjem številu oskrbnikov. Pomembne so tudi razlike v delovnih nalogah (čas nege, ki jo opravi vsak oskrbnik) glede na metode dodeljevanja starostnikov oskrbnikom. Glede na prejšnje rezultate smo izboljšali model: dodeljevanje starostnikov oskrbnikom smo dodali kot spremenljivko, tako da je število oskrbnikov postalo del optimizacijskega procesa (zmanjšanje).

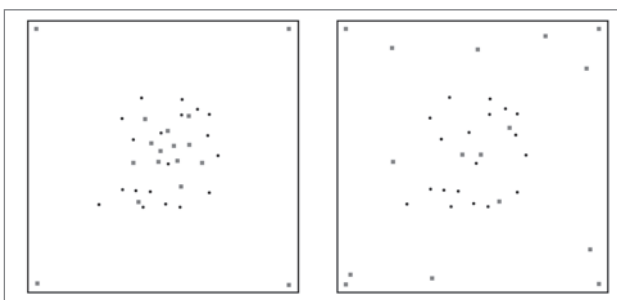
2 Metodologija

Gostota povpraševanja in razpršenost strank v funkcionalni regiji – informacije o razpršenosti strank in razdaljah med njimi v funkcionalnem območju – nam omogoča ocenjevanje vpliva teh dveh parametrov na ceno storitev. Na funkcionalnem

območju občine mora biti oskrba starejših na domu zagotovljena povsod, tudi na obrobju mest. Izhodišče za razvoj distribucije je gostota populacije funkcionalnega območja in delež tistih, ki potrebujejo storitve. Gostota populacije je razmerje med povprečno letno populacijo in velikostjo funkcionalnega območja, brez upoštevanja kopenskih voda (Statistični urad pri Evropski komisiji, 2016). Na splošno pomeni velika gostota nižje stroške oskrbe, saj je na danem območju več strank. Profil uporabnikov dolgotrajne oskrbe kaže precej homogeno skupino. Njihove potrebe izvirajo iz njihovega zdravstvenega stanja ter zmožnosti za dnevna opravila (ang. *Activities of daily living, ADL*) in podporna dnevna opravila (ang. *Instrumental Activities of daily living, IADL*). Homogenost omogoča, da dovolj natančno predvidimo pričakovano število prejemnikov dolgotrajne oskrbe (Czibere in Gál, 2010). Ker so cene logistike in distribucije zelo odvisne od variance razdalj med strankami, je treba razpršenost teh razdalj upoštevati tudi pri načrtovanju. Razpršenost pomeni, kako so točke razporejene na danem območju. To merimo z varianco ali standardno deviacijo opazovanih razdalj (Briggs, 2010). Z vidika logistike je optimalna razpršenost z majhno standardno deviacijo razdalj (Chopra, 2003).



Slika 1: Spreminjanje gostote s spreminjanjem velikosti območja, kjer ponujajo storitve



Slika 2: Povečevanje zahtev z manjšo (levo) in večjo (desno) standardno deviacijo razdalj

Pri načrtovanju storitev za starejše je treba upoštevati, da staranje ne poteka enako v vseh regijah, ter da lahko pričakovano število uporabnikov storitev dolgotrajne oskrbe napovemo z indeksom staranja in demografskih podatkov. Toda ta ponostavitev ne da dovolj podatkov v prostorskem smislu. V urbanih naseljih je namreč lahko število starejših sorazmerno višje, denimo starejši v mestnih središčih, ki jih mladi zapuščajo zaradi suburbanizacije velikih mest (Kučera in Burcin, 2010). V drugih primerih je lahko delež starostnikov merljivo višji v manj razvitih perifernih območjih kot v novejših in naprednejših predmestjih. To je posledica socialne neenakosti (Szirmai idr., 2010). V nekaterih državah so raziskovalci ugotovili tako imenovane naravno pojavljajoče se upokojitvene skupnosti (ang. *Naturally occurring retirement communities, NORC*), znane tudi kot ruralne destinacije za migracije starejših (ang. *Rural destinations of older migration, RDOMs*), »namerno

naseljene, a nenačrtovane namestitve za starejše« (Golant, 2002: 67). Verjetnost povečanja potreb po dolgotrajni oskrbi je v takšnih okoljih veliko večja, kot bi lahko predvidevali na podlagi povprečne starosti populacije na določenem območju. Ko načrtovanje storitev temelji na gostoti strank na določenem območju (število starostnikov/km²), sprememba enega kazalnika vpliva tudi na drugega. V preglednici 1 je prikazano, kaj se zgodi, če so storitve načrtovane na večjem območju, število strank in vzorec lokacije pa ostaneta enaka. Razdalja med točkami se spreminja sorazmerno z gostoto populacije in lahko sklepamo, da se bo s spremembo velikosti območja spremenila tudi povprečna razdalja med točkami.

Raznolikost strukture in oblike naselij zahteva globlje razumevanje različnih prostorskih vzorcev in gostote zahtev. Na sliki 2 sta predstavljena dva primera, ko se zahteve po negi na domu povečujejo enako v absolutnih številkah (sivi kvadrati), njihove lokacije pa sledijo dvema različnima zasnova, zato bi potrebovali različni razporeditvi virov. Da bi proučili vpliv spremembe zasnove ali števila starostnikov, smo zasnovali dva »scenarija« načrtovanja. V scenariju 1 se predvideva naključna razporeditev starostnikov, potrebnih nege na domu, večinoma v večstanovanjskih stavbah. V scenariju 2 pa imamo isto mesto z enako gostoto starostnikov (število/km²), toda bolj razpršene stanovanjske enote, torej je standardna deviacija razdalj večja. Na scenarija lahko pogledamo še drugače: ohranimo vrednost disperzije in jo združimo z različnimi vrednostmi gostote (preglednica 2).

Preglednica 2: Scenariji načrtovanja za različno razporeditev namestitvev in število starostnikov

Scenarij načrtovanja 1	Scenarij načrtovanja 1.1	Scenarij načrtovanja 1.2
večinoma večstanovanjske stavbe	gostota A razpršenost B	gostota D razpršenost B
Scenarij načrtovanja 2	Scenarij načrtovanja 2.1	Scenarij načrtovanja 2.2
večinoma enostanovanjske stavbe	gostota A razpršenost C	gostota A razpršenost B

Matematična ponazoritev problema: uporabili smo tako imenovani problem trgovskega potnika (ang. *multiple travelling salesman problem, mTSP*), pri katerem oskrbniki obišče starostnika enkrat po najkrajši možni poti. Matematični model temelji na naših preteklih ugotovitvah (Szander idr., 2016), vendar smo oskrbnike določili z upoštevanjem dejstva, da želi vsak starostnik pomoč oskrbnika, ki ga je vaju, česar v originalnem modelu ni. MTSP-model je bil prilagojen in formaliziran, kot ga je opisal Tolga Bektas (2006). Postopek je bil uporabljen za iskanje najkrajše možne poti za obiskovanje starostnikov. Enačbe od 1 do 3 ponazarjajo razporeditev del, dopolnjeno z eliminacijsko konstanto *sub-tour* (enačba 4), ki temelji na formuli Miller-Tucker-Zemlin – MTZ (Miller idr., 1960). Številčno programiranje za problem mTSP je opisano v formulah v nadaljevanju.

Predstavljajmo si graf $G = (A, L)$ s skupino vozlišč A , ki pomenijo domove starostnikov, prejemnikov dolgotrajne oskrbe. Poznamo naslove in prostorske koordinate na zemljevidu, L pa je komplet robov, označen na cestah med vsemi mogočimi pari vozlišč, pri katerih so znane minimalne vrednosti časa za pot med njimi. Tako je za vsak par vozlišč najkrajši rob definiran s časom potovanja. Oskrbnik se giblje med domovi starostnikov, pot začne v občinskem domu za ostarele (center za nego CCE) in se vrača vanj. Njegov delovni čas je sestavljen iz 90 % časa na terenu ter 10 % časa za pripravo in poročila v občinskem domu za ostarele.

Cilj (enačba 1) je čim bolj zmanjšati število oskrbnikov – do točke (enačbe 2 do 6), kjer je trajanje poti $c(k)$ enako ali manjše kot pri 90-odstotni terenski delovni obremenitvi oskrbnikov (8 ur/dan). Pot oskrbnika (k) je seštevek časovnih razdalj med obiskanimi starostniki (c_{ij}) in predpisanim časom nege (w_j) ter časom za pot od občinskega doma za ostarele in nazaj.

$$\text{Zmanjšanje } m \tag{1}$$

$$c(k) = \sum_{i=0}^n \left(\sum_{j=0}^n c_{ij} x_{ijk} + x_{ijk} w_j \right) + c_{i0k} x_{ijk} \leq 0,9 * 8 \quad k = 1, 2 \dots m \tag{2}$$

$$x_{ijk} = 0, 1$$

$$c_{ij} = s_{ij} * d_{ij}$$

Spremenljivka je enaka 1, če gre k -ti oskrbnik nemudoma od i do j , in 0 v drugih primerih. d_{ij} je najkrajša razdalja po cestah in s_{ij} je optimalna hitrost, ki jo je mogoče doseči na dani cesti. Oskrbniki začnejo svojo dnevno krožno pot v občinskem domu za ostarele (CCE), označenem z vozliščem 0, in se vračajo na isto lokacijo po manj kot 8 urah dela po obisku zadnjega starostnika.

Enačbe 3 in 4 so bile dodane k TSP-formuli, da bi zagotovili, da natančno m oskrbnikov odrine iz CCE-ja in se vrne vanj. Oskrbnik mora zapustiti lokacijo i , ko je nega opravljena, in gre na samo eno lokacijo j od vseh preostalih lokacij, kot je navedeno v enačbi 5.

$$\sum_{k=1}^m \sum_{j=1}^n x_{0jk} = m \tag{3}$$

$$\sum_{k=1}^m \sum_{i=1}^n x_{i0k} = m \tag{4}$$

$$\sum_{j=1}^n x_{ijk} = 1 \quad \forall i \quad \forall k \tag{5}$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^n x_{ijk} = 1 \quad \forall j \quad \forall k \tag{6}$$

Po enačbi 6 lahko oskrbnik, če je v danem trenutku na določeni lokaciji, tja pride le z ene od prejšnjih lokacij. Eliminacijska konstanta *sub-tour* (enačba 7) je ključni del formule TSP. Omogoča, da imamo le eno pot za vsakega oskrbnika, ki pokriva vse lokacije, za katere je odgovoren, namesto dveh ali več posameznih poti, da bi pokrili vse lokacije. Gre za spremenljivke *dummy*. Te pomenijo sekvenco, ko je lokacija i obiskana, njene vrednosti so arbitrarna realna števila, p pa je maksimalno število vozlišč, ki jih obišče vsak oskrbnik (Bektas, 2006).

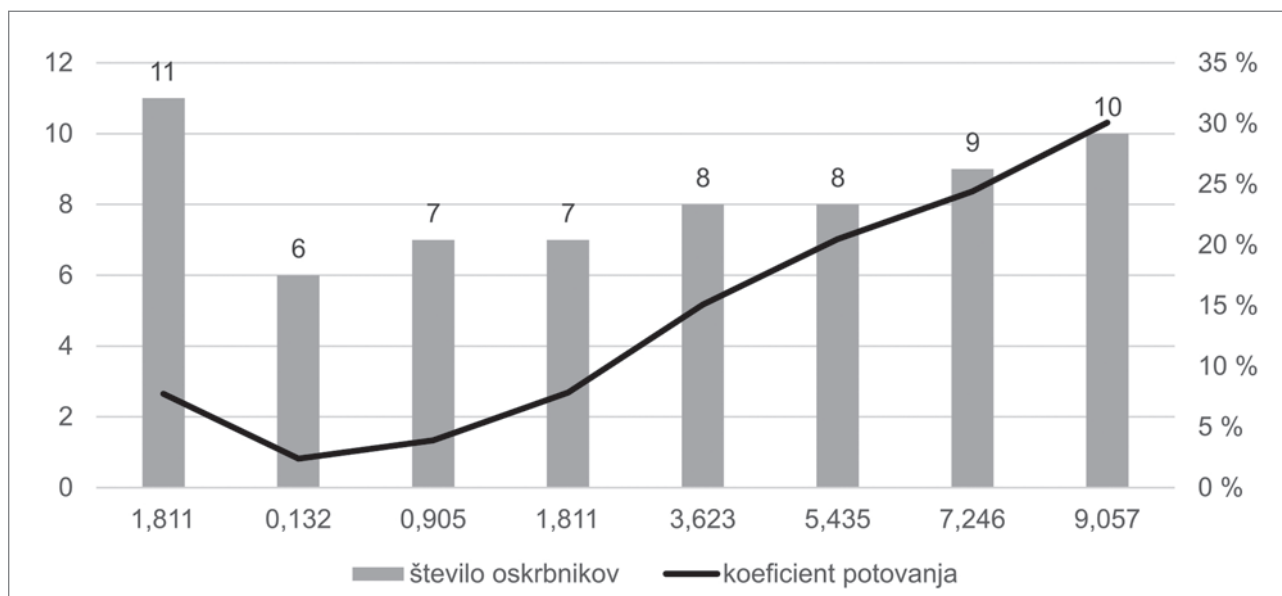
$$u_i - u_j + p x_{ijk} \leq p - 1 \quad u_s \geq 0; \quad s = i, j \tag{7}$$

$$x_{ijk} = 0, 1$$

$$i = 0 \dots n - 1$$

$$j = 1 \dots n$$

$$\forall k; \quad k = 1, 2, \dots, m$$



Slika 3: Potrebno število oskrbnikov in razpršenost starostnikov

3 Izvedba raziskave in rezultati

Vsak primer (različna gostota in razpršenost) smo optimizirali za najnižje možno število oskrbnikov. Zaradi boljših rezultatov nismo upoštevali načel dodeljevanja starostnikov oskrbnikom. V izračunih je to pomembna omejitev, saj se starostniki navadijo in navežejo na oskrbnika, zato je bolje, da jih vedno obiskuje isti. Ker se v tej študiji osredotočamo na iskanje najnižjega števila oskrbnikov za uspešno opravljanje nalog, nismo vključili te možnosti. Problem bi lahko preprosto rešili, če bi dodali nekaj obveznih pravil za določanje starostnikov oskrbnikom, toda optimalna vrednost bi bila veliko višja. V nadaljnjih raziskavah bi lahko izračunali, koliko bi bil starostnik pripravljen plačati za to dodatno ugodnost. Izhajali smo iz omejitve 430 minut delovne obremenitve skupaj s časom za pot. To je približno 90 % porabe kapacitet, ostalih 10 % pa je namenjenih nepredvidenim dogodkom. Delovna obremenitev čez teden ni enaka, optimizirali smo najzahtevnejši dan, ko je naročenih največ starostnikov.

Pri simulaciji smo lahko najprej zmanjšali število potrebnih oskrbnikov z 11 na 7 pri prvotni razporeditvi, $\sigma = 1,811$, vendar je do tega prišlo zaradi večje hitrosti (oskrbniki potujejo z avtobusom ali hodijo, zato je njihova hitrost manjša) in spremenjene dodelitve oskrbnikov. Rezultati ob drugačni razpršenosti so predstavljeni na sliki 3, prikazan je tudi čas, porabljen za pot kot odstotek delovnega časa. Na sliki 4 pa so prikazane poti 7 oskrbnikov po optimizaciji.

Da bi ustvarili variacije za scenarij načrtovanja 2.1, smo povečali standardno deviacijo časovnih obdobij za pot med vsako točko, da bi ponazorili drugačno razpršenost. V izračunih to

pomeni različne vrednosti v matrici cene kot posledice omejitve (enačba 2). Preglednica 3 prikazuje rezultate in čas, ki smo ga porabili za optimizacijo (v minutah). V prvotnem scenariju je najdaljša razdalja med dvema točkama znašala 8,7 minute, standardna deviacija poti je bila $\sigma = 1,8115$, čas poti med najbolj oddaljenima točkama v scenariju z največjo hipotetično razpršenostjo ($\sigma = 9,0577$) pa je bil 43,5 minute. To se nam je zdelo še vedno realno, saj se v srednje velikem mestu vozimo približno 45 minut med njegovima najbolj oddaljenima točkama.

Teoretično lahko σ potovalnega časa poti povzroči sprememba hitrosti ali razdalje ($c_{ij} = s_{ij} * d_{ij}$), kot je prikazano v matematični formuli. Ker namen tega članka ni, da bi ustvarili pripomoček za odločanje glede transportnih sredstev, je čas poti sestavljen ukrep. Torej opisujemo različne primere, za analizo katerih je uporabljena σ . Tako je naš model uporaben za izbiro sredstev transporta in odločitve pri lokacijskem načrtovanju. Delež časa, porabljenega za pot, se je glede na skupni čas enakomerno povečeval z zviševanjem σ . V proučevanih scenarijih je bila najnižja vrednost standardne deviacije $\sigma = 0,9057$, ker so lokacije manj razpršene ali se lahko oskrbniki gibljejo z večjo hitrostjo (povprečno 48,85 km/h – to je ob gostem prometu večinoma nemogoče), vendar ta scenarij ni zmanjšal števila oskrbnikov. Simulirali smo tudi »ekstremno« situacijo, ko so si lokacije starostnikov tako zelo blizu, da je za pot od enega do drugega starostnika potrebna le ena minuta, in je σ ekstremno majhna, $\sigma = 0,132$ (to je standardna deviacija med 1 in 0 minut za 55 lokacij starostnikov). Ker je bil čas skupne predpisane nege za proučevane starostnike 2,472 minute, bi lahko s skoraj nično σ lokacij znižali potrebno število oskrbnikov na 6.



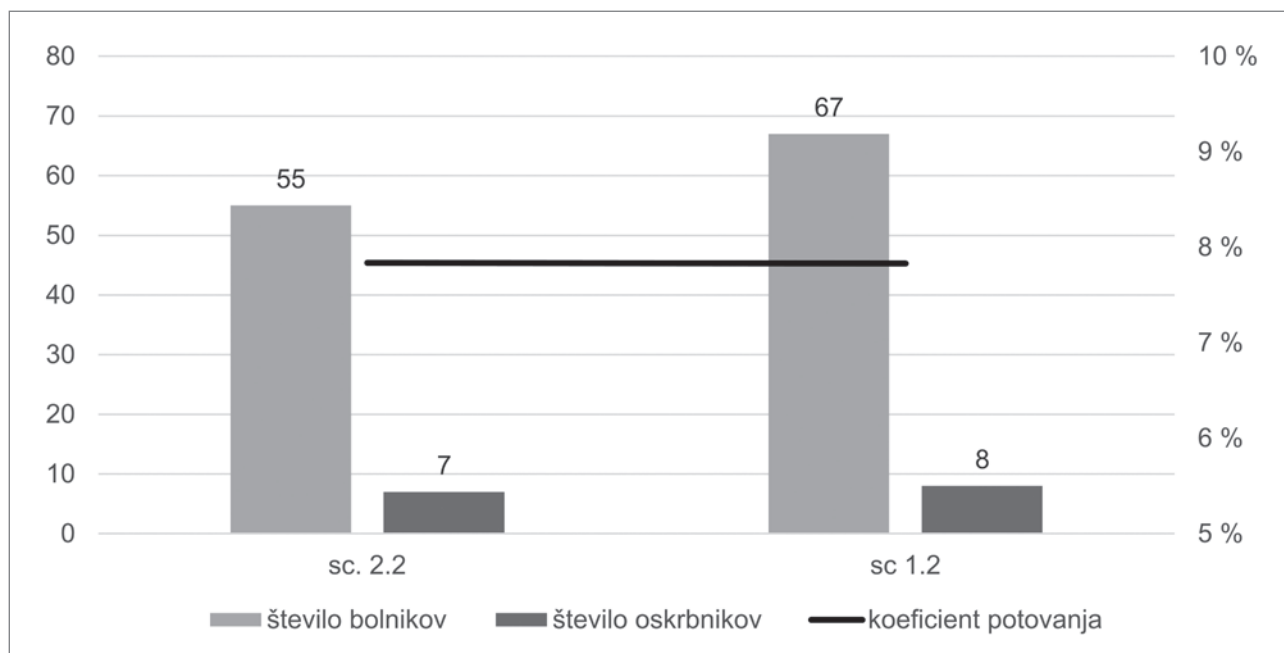
Slika 4: Scenarij načrtovanja 1.1, optimalna pot za 7 oskrbnikov

Preglednica 3: Izračuni in rezultati scenarija načrtovanja 1.1 in variacij za 2.1

Scenarij	σ časa poti	Skupna razdalja	Skupni čas	Št. oskrbnikov	Povprečen čas	Čas optimizacije	Delež poti
začetni	1,811	210,9	2.724,9	11	247,72		7,73 %
2.1	0,132	55	2.527	6	422,16	9,98	2,4 %
2.1	0,905	107,75	2.765,75	7	395,10	21,61	3,90 %
1.1	1,811	219,8	2.804,8	7	400,68	13,67	7,84 %
2.1	3,623	445,2	2.950,2	8	368,78	22,08	15,09 %
2.1	5,435	654	3.194	8	399,25	5,8	20,48 %
2.1	7,246	832,8	3.410,8	9	378,98	7,56	24,42 %
2.1	9,057	1.146,5	3.813,5	10	381,35	6,56	30,06 %

V drugem scenariju smo predvideli povečano število starostnikov/km². Originalna matrica razdalj je bila prilagojena za manjše zahteve in je imela natančno enako standardno deviacijo kot primer z višjim številom starostnikov $\sigma = 1,8115$. Da bi imeli višje število starostnikov in še vedno uporabili realne podatke, smo v scenarij vključili predpisani čas nege za

starostnike, ki niso bili na urniku na najbolj zapolnjen dan. Pripomoček Microsoft Excel solver je za optimizacijo potreboval 13,66 minute. Kot je razvidno s slike 5 in preglednice 4, zahteva povečanje števila starostnikov več delovne sile, pri poti pa ni bilo pomembne razlike pri enaki razpršenosti. Število starostnikov se je povečalo za 21,8 %. To naj bi se glede na



Slika 5: Dva scenarija z enakim deležem poti ter spreminjanjem števila starostnikov in sester

Preglednica 4: Izračuni in rezultati scenarija načrtovanja 1.2 in 2.

Scenarij	Št. starostnikov	Skupna razdalja	Skupni čas	Št. oskrbnikov	Povprečni čas	Delež poti
2.2	55	219,8	2.804,8	7	400,685	7,836 %
1.2	67	261,8	3.343,8	8	417,975	7,829 %

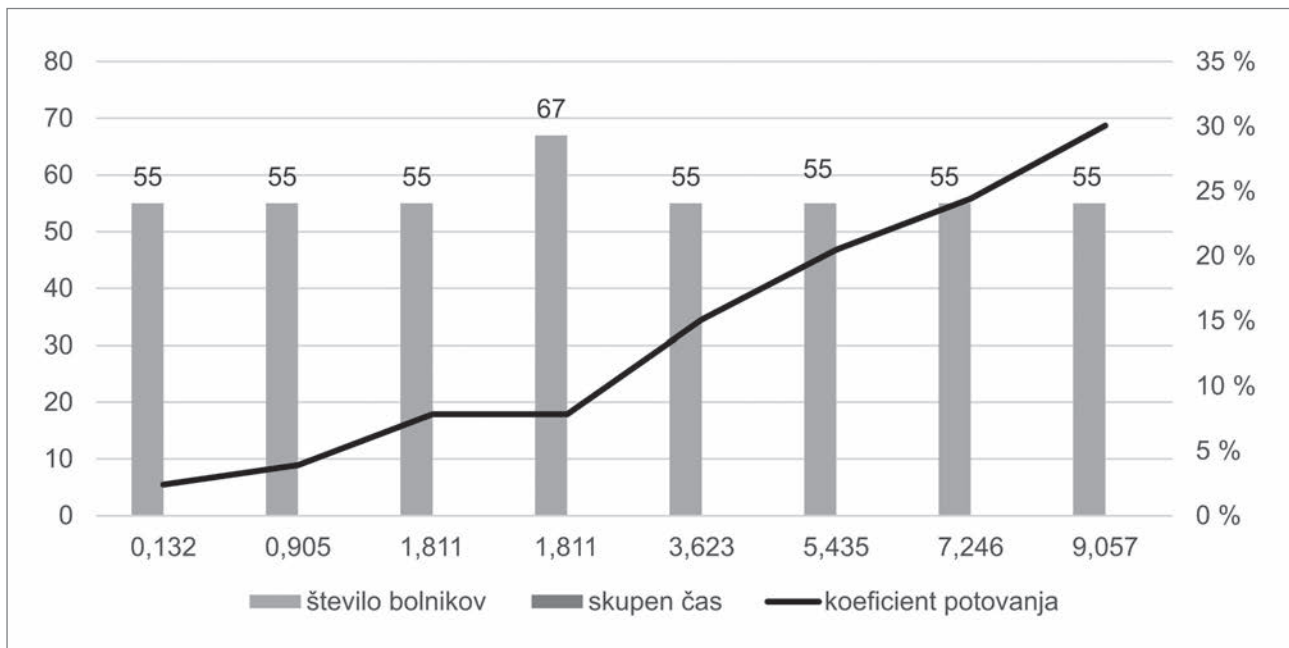
projekcije EUROSTAT (Evropska Komisija, 2015a) zgodilo do leta 2030. Z optimalnim načrtovanjem se je čas poti glede na skupni čas celo zmanjšal – za 0,007 %.

4 Razprava in sklepi

Optimizacija načrtovanja poti za izvajalce oskrbe na domu, ki obiskujejo starostnike, lahko pomaga zmanjšati stroške (v našem primeru merjene s časom in številom zaposlenih oskrbnikov), povezane z oskrbo na domu, vendar so ti odvisni tudi od prevoznih sredstev in razpršenosti bivališč starostnikov. V članku smo predstavili različne scenarije prostorske razpršenosti in gostote zahtev v mestu z uporabo podatkov o dejanskih lokacijah starostnikov in o predpisani negi. Z logističnega vidika so lahko načrtovalcu distribucijskega sistema v pomoč ocene zahtev in prostorske razpršenosti. V praksi sprememba ene spremenljivke običajno vpliva na drugo, tako da smo v naših raziskovalnih scenarijih skušali ločiti učinka teh dveh spremenljivk, da bi izmerili njun vpliv na opravljanje oskrbe na domu. Strokovna literatura o problemih oskrbe na domu namenja pozornost različnim vidikom načrtovanja poti in urnika, vendar ji primanjkuje dve razlikovalni lastnosti: učinek različnih vzorcev razpršenosti stanovanjskih enot in izbira načina prevoza nista vključeni kot spremenljivki objektivne funkcije, temveč le kot predeterminirana vpliva njene cene. Z upošte-

vanjem tega so nastali študijski scenariji. Z njimi smo ponazorili vlogo vzorcev rabe zemljišča pri omogočanju dolgotrajne oskrbe, torej pokazali na razmerje med izzivi demografskih sprememb in urbanim razvojem. Za optimizacijo načrtovanja poti smo uporabili generalizirani problem trgovskega potnika (ang. *multiple travelling salesman problem, mTSP*). Namen optimizacije je bil zmanjšati število oskrbnikov pri dani omejitvi delovne obremenitve. Za predvidevanje sprememb smo uporabili dva scenarija: enega, pri katerem gre za območje z manjšo razpršenostjo stanovanj (večstanovanjske zgradbe), in drugega, pri katerem gre za sosese, kjer so bivališča bolj razpršena (enodružinske hiše) in predmestja. Ugotovili smo, da ima prostorska razporeditev lokacij, ki jih je treba obiskati, pomemben vpliv na čas, porabljen za pot, in na skupni čas, potreben, da se opravi nega na domu. Čas poti se sorazmerno povečuje s spremembo standardne deviacije razdalje med bivališči starostnikov.

V zaključku raziskave smo ponovno proučili prvi scenarij, vendar s fiksno prostorsko razpršitvijo, in spremenili le število lokacij. Ugotovili smo, da število starostnikov ne vpliva bistveno na čas, ki ga zahteva nega. Da bi razporedili vse starostnike, smo morali dodati še enega oskrbnika, vendar se delež časa, porabljen za pot, ni pomembno spremenil (glede na skupni čas). Na sliki 6 so prikazani proučevani scenariji. Lahko vidimo, da je vpliv večjega števila starostnikov majhen glede na delež časa



Slika 6: Proučevani scenariji gostote zahtev in razpršitve glede na razmerje časa poti

poti, prostorska razpršenost (merjena kot standardna deviacija, σ) pa postopno povečuje čas poti, do 30 % v zadnjem proučevanem primeru. Zaposlitev dodatnega oskrbnika je bila nujna, saj se je predpisan čas nege povečal za do štiri ure na dan. Tega obsega ni mogoče naložiti drugim oskrbnikom, vendar je takšna praksa malo verjetna, saj morajo starostniki, ki potrebujejo okoli štiri ure dnevne nege, razmisliti tudi o drugih možnostih, kot je nega na domu. V raziskavi smo želeli ohraniti rešitev, izvedljivo v trenutnih razmerah.

Glede na rezultate simulacije je treba osvetliti logistične aspekte dolgotrajne oskrbe na domu za ponudnike teh storitev. Na splošno ni mogoče vplivati na število zahtev starostnikov zaradi staranja populacije, zato je treba razmisliti o spremenljivkah, ki jih lahko vsaj delno nadzorujemo. Na prostorsko razpršenost je mogoče vplivati z načrtovanjem urbanega okolja in prostorskimi načrti, zato poudarjamo pomen upoštevanja teh podatkov. Ker so σ potovalnega časa poti pomembno vplivale na potrebe po delovni sili, kot prikazuje ta študija, je lahko ta ukrep uporaben za izbiro transportnih sredstev in odločitve o lokaciji objektov. Prostorskim načrtovalcem je lahko v pomoč, da predvidijo rezultate razvojnih odločitev v urbanem okolju, bodisi ko gre za boljše infrastrukturne povezave za kolesarje ali javni transport bodisi ko gre za izbiro lokacije za nove stanovanjske enote.

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Daniel Barrera-Fernández

Turistične dejavnosti v zgodovinskih mestih: priložnosti in izzivi (razmišljanja o knjigi *Attracting visitors to ancient neighbourhoods. Creation and management of the tourist-historic city of Plymouth, UK*)

Naslov: *Attracting visitors to ancient neighbourhoods. Creation and management of the tourist-historic city of Plymouth, UK* (Pritegovanje obiskovalcev v starodavna naselja: nastanek in upravljanje turistično-zgodovinskega mesta Plymouth v Veliki Britaniji)

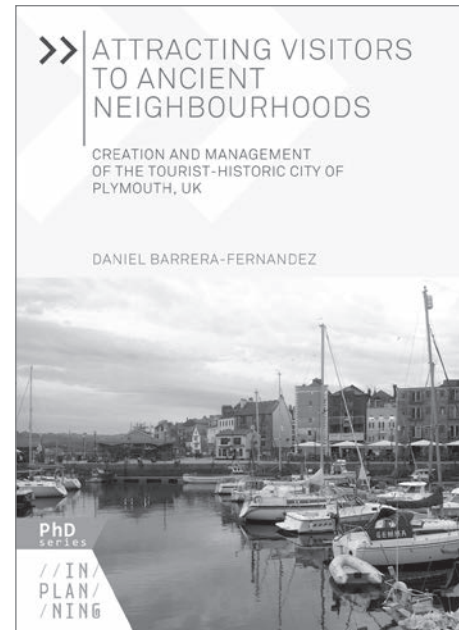
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Številna mesta po svetu so razvila strategije, s katerimi želijo postati priljubljena za kulturni turizem. Ta trend je še zlasti pomemben za Evropo, kjer so številne tradicionalne mestne dejavnosti preselili v predmestja ali celo na območja z nižjimi stroški dela. Zgodovinska središča mnogih mest so bila zato zanemarjena in so propadala, dokler turistične dejavnosti niso bile prepoznane kot alternativa njihovi prenovi. Gre za kompleksen proces s pozitivnimi in negativnimi posledicami. Po eni strani turizem vdihne novo življenje zgodovinskim zgradbam in prostorom, pri čemer je obnovljenih mnogo dediščinskih objektov, po drugi strani pa so lahko zgradbe, ki ne izpolnjujejo zahtev in pričakovanj obiskovalcev, podvržene rušenju ali velikim spremembam, zaradi katerih izgubijo svojo zgodovinsko vrednost. Poleg tega je pri tem treba upoštevati tudi družbene posledice, saj lahko ob zadostnem uspehu turizma pride do gentrifikacije in zamenjave obstoječih dejavnosti in rabe zemljišč.

V knjigi z naslovom *Attracting visitors to ancient neighbourhoods. Creation*

and management of the tourist-historic city of Plymouth, UK (Pritegovanje obiskovalcev v starodavna naselja: nastanek in upravljanje turistično-zgodovinskega mesta Plymouth v Veliki Britaniji, 2016) avtor Daniel Barrera-Fernández proučuje te vidike na primeru mesta Plymouth v jugozahodni Angliji. Spremenno besedo je napisal Kevin Meethan, ugledni strokovnjak na tem področju in dober poznavalec procesov, ki so v zadnjih desetletjih spremenili podobo mesta Plymouth. Avtor začne raziskavo s splošnim pogledom na izbrano temo ter se nato postopoma osredotoči na analizo mesta in posameznih pobud. Najprej torej analizira specifični okvir ohranjanja in upravljanja kulturne dediščine v Veliki Britaniji, potem pa se osredotoči na Plymouth in proučuje, kako je tam potekal razvoj varstva kulturne dediščine ter kakšne so trenutne razmere v povezavi z zakonodajo in vlogo pristojnih organov. Nato pa raziskuje zgodovinski razvoj mestnega turizma in trenutni pomen turističnih dejavnosti. Knjigo sklene z analizo vključenosti različnih deležnikov in izbranih pobud, povezanih s turistično rabo

starega dela mesta, pri čemer jih razdeli na štiri kategorije: dediščina in kultura, turizem, urbanizem in gospodarstvo.

Prva težja odločitev, ki jo je moral avtor sprejeti, je bila povezana z izbiro ustreznega mesta za študijo primera. Mesto Plymouth in Veliko Britanijo je izbral iz več razlogov. V Veliki Britaniji obisk mest narašča hitreje kot obisk drugih destinacij, več kot polovica turistov obišče državo predvsem zaradi njene zgodovine in kulture, večina obiskovalcev angleških zgodovinskih krajev pa obišče prav zgodovinska mesta. Plymouth je srednje veliko večfunkcijsko mesto z regionalnim pomenom, ki ima periferno vlogo v primerjavi z Londonom, v regiji, ki jo britanski državljani najpogosteje obiščejo, in v eni od regij, ki jih najpogosteje obiščejo tuji turisti. Mesto ima dolgo turistično tradicijo, ki je dobro dokumentirana že od 19. stoletja. V zadnjih letih glavno pozornost posveča krepitevi pomena zanimivosti, povezanih s kulturno dediščino in zgodovino, še zlasti pa zgodovinskim povezavam s čezoceanskimi raziskovalnimi in osvajalnimi odpravami. Poleg

tega svoje turistične strategije povezuje z razvojem nove podobe odprtega in svetovljanskega mesta, ki lahko gosti pomembne in mednarodno odmevne dogodke.

V knjigi je uporabljenih več raziskovalnih metod. Zgradba raziskave temelji na pristopu k pojmu »turistično-zgodovinskega mesta«, ki ga je razvil Marcelo Brito (2009). Ta pojem (Ashworth in Tunbridge, 2000) ima v raziskavi osrednji pomen, saj opredeljuje zgodovinska mestna območja z intenzivno turistično dejavnostjo. Raziskava vključuje analizo zgodovinskega mesta kot dediščinske dobrine in študijo pojava mestnega kulturnega turizma, posveča pa se tudi definiciji in upravljanju turistično-zgodovinskega mesta. Da bi avtor dosegel zastavljene raziskovalne cilje, je delo razdelil na več faz: 1. predstavitev razvoja in trenutnega okvira ohranjanja kulturne dediščine z glavnim poudarkom na dediščinskih predpisih, urbanističnih načrtih (ki vključujejo dediščinska načela), uzakonjenih seznamih in lokalnih upravljaljskih orodjih; 2. analizo zgodovine turizma in trenutnega modela na podlagi izbora starejših in sodobnih turističnih vodnikov, informacij za obiskovalce, turističnih strategij, urbanističnih načrtov (ki vključujejo turistična načela) ter terenskih raziskav fizične razdelitve turističnih zanimivosti in storitev; 3. študijo akterjev in pobud, ki vplivajo na turistično rabo zgodovinskega mesta v povezavi s kulturo in dediščino, turizmom, urbanizmom in gospodarskim razvojem. Kot novost je v knjigi predstavljena tudi ekonomska razsežnost glavnih obravnavanih politik, saj je treba zagotoviti vzdržnost modela, poleg tega pa je ta razsežnost tudi tesno povezana z drugimi politikami.

Knjiga je razdeljena na šest poglavij. V prvem avtor predstavi raziskavo, raziskovalne cilje, glavna vprašanja in uporabljeno metodologijo, v drugem pa najnovejše raziskave, povezane s

konceptualizacijo zgodovinskih mest v Evropi, razvojem dediščinskih vrednot in sodobnimi trendi njihove turistične rabe. V tretjem poglavju predstavi mesto Plymouth, pri čemer poudari velik pomen morja v njegovi urbani preteklosti in sedanjosti ter predstavi vlogo vojske in njen trenutni pomen, lokalno upravo, socialno-ekonomske podatke, kratko zgodovino mesta od njegovega nastanka do današnjega dne in okvir raziskave. V četrtem poglavju se osredotoči na razvoj in trenutni okvir varstva kulturne dediščine v mestu. Razvoj razdeli na šest faz oziroma stopenj: razmere pred drugo svetovno vojno, načrtovanje obnove mesta, izvedba načrtov, pobude za prenovo in nova vloga skupnosti. Dve podpoglavji sta posvečeni izbranim povojnim posegom na glavnih spomenikih in dosežkom sklada *Plymouth Barbican trust*. V povezavi s trenutnim okvirom varstva kulturne dediščine avtor podrobno analizira spomeniška območja, spomeniško zaščitene stavbe, ogrožene stavbe in razvoj meril za vključitev na seznam spomeniško zaščitene objekto. Posebno pozornost namenja predelu Barbican kot prvemu razglašenemu spomeniško zaščitenu območju v mestu in središču mesta kot območju, o katerem trenutno potekajo razprave o njegovi zaščiti. Peto poglavje je namenjeno zgodovini in današnjemu pomenu turističnih dejavnosti v starem delu mesta, pri čemer so predstavljene štiri faze razvoja: predvojni model, posledice vojne, iskanje novih trgov in najnovejše spremembe v povezavi z vključenimi organi. Posebno podpoglavje je namenjeno dosežkom podjetja *Plymouth marketing bureau ltd*, avtor pa poleg tega v ločenem podpoglavju obravnava tudi razvoj turističnih zanimivosti in točk, omenjenih v turističnih vodnikih. Trenutni model turističnega upravljanja je predstavljen na podlagi analize profilov obiskovalcev, gospodarskega vpliva, mobilnosti ter glavnih turističnih virov in storitev. V šestem poglavju avtor proučuje akterje in pobude v povezavi z upravljanjem turistič-

no-zgodovinskega mesta, pri čemer jih razdeli v prej omenjene štiri skupine politik: kultura in dediščina, turizem, urbanizem in gospodarski razvoj.

Eden najzanimivejših prispevkov predstavljene raziskave je analiza obnove mesta po drugi svetovni vojni na podlagi načrta (ang. *Plan for Plymouth*), ki sta ga izdelala sir Patrick Abercrombie in James Paton Watson. Na tej podlagi so porušili več zgodovinskih stavb, ki so preživele bombne napade na mestno središče in s tem ustvarili novo arhitekturno dediščino, ki so jo šele pred kratkim začeli vključevati v seznam spomeniško zaščitene objekto. Stavbe v središču mesta, ki se niso skladale z novo ureditvijo, so zamenjali. S tem se je izgubila čustvena povezava, ki so jo imeli prebivalci s staro ureditvijo. Izvedba načrta ni bila tako učinkovita, kot je bilo pričakovano, zato je sedanje mestno središče fizično izolirano od preostalega mestnega območja. Ko se zaprejo trgovine, ostaja mrtvo. Kljub temu velja središče Plymoutha za enega najbolj dokončanih in najmanj spremenjenih povojnih urbanističnih projektov v Veliki Britaniji, ki vključuje pomembne stavbe iz 50. let 20. stoletja. Pri njegovi ureditvi so sodelovali vodilni arhitekti in umetniki, ki so ustvarili izjemen primer urbanističnega načrtovanja v tem obdobju.

Drug pomemben prispevek knjige se navezuje na predstavitev dosežkov podjetja *Plymouth marketing bureau ltd*, prve javno-zasebne turistične agencije v Veliki Britaniji. V Plymouthu je razvila poslovni turizem ter nove zanimivosti in dogodke, pri čemer so bile med 70. in zgodnjimi 90. leti 20. stoletja odprte nekatere glavne današnje turistične znamenitosti v mestu. Poleg tega je študija zanimivosti, omenjenih v turističnih vodnikih, uporabno orodje za razumevanje razvoja posameznih turističnih znamenitosti. Dobro je namreč vedeti, kako so trendi posameznega obdobja pripomogli k spremembi profila turistov.

V zvezi z upravljanjem turistično-zgodovinskega mesta je še zlasti pomembna vloga neprofitnih organizacij v javni politiki, zlasti če ta model primerjamo s slabo vključenostjo prebivalcev v drugih državah. Tako imenovani tretji sektor ima svetovalno vlogo pri vlogah za dovoljenja za izvedbo posegov na objektih dediščine, poleg tega pa sodeluje tudi pri načrtih, povezanih z varstvom kulturne dediščine, in lahko lobira proti projektom, ki bi lahko negativno vplivali na dediščino ali lokalno naravo zgodovinskih območij.

Eden najpomembnejših dosežkov te knjige je predstavitev vplivov različnih politik, ki pri upravljanju turistično-zgodovinskega mesta med seboj ne sodelujejo. Urbanistične politike, kot sta upravljanje prometa in ravnanje z odpadki, vplivajo na izkušnjo obiskovalcev na izbrani destinaciji. Turistične strategije lahko ostanejo slabo razvite, če v ekonomskih načrtih ne bo predvidenih sredstev za promocijo ali oblikovanje novih turističnih zanimivosti. Slaba koordinacija med deležniki lahko povzroči celo škodo, kot so izguba dediščine, zanemarjenost mestnih območij in slaba turistična konkurenčnost. Bi morala družba ohranjati soseške in obnavljati zgodovinske stavbe ali popustiti turističnim pobudam ne glede na to, kako vplivajo na dediščino? Primer mesta Plymouth kaže vrsto uspehov in težav na tem področju in je zato lahko zanimiv za mesta, ki se ubadajo s podobno problematiko.

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Daniel Barrera-Fernández je diplomiral iz arhitekture na univerzi v Seville in doktoriral na univerzi v Malagi. Za doktorsko disertacijo je prejel nagrado za izjemne dosežke. Zaposlen je kot profesor in raziskovalec na univerzi v Oaxaci. Predava predmete s področja urbanizma in varstva kulturne dediščine. Glavne raziskovalne teme, ki jih obravnava, vključujejo ohranjanje in integracijo grajene dediščine, kulturno politiko, mestni turizem, trženje mest, tematizacijo, vpliv kulturnih dogodkov, prenavo propadajočih sosešk in gentrifikacijo.

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Yung Yau

Analiza urbanih pojavov z vidika politične ekonomije: sodobni premislek (recenzija knjige *Reconstructing urban economics: Towards a political economy of the built environment*)

Naslov: *Reconstructing urban economics: Towards a political economy of the built environment* (Rekonstrukcija urbane ekonomije: k politični ekonomiji grajenega okolja)

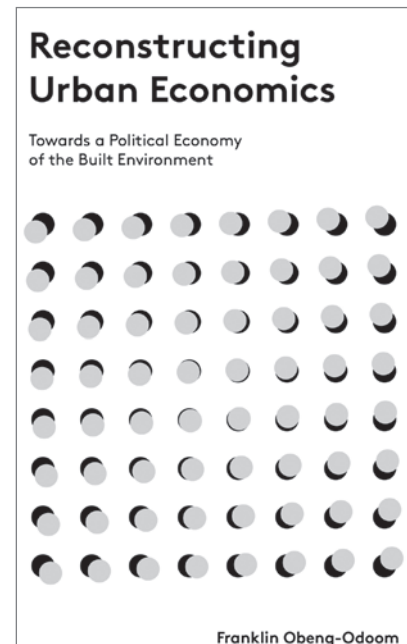
Avtor: Franklin Obeng-Odoom

Založba: ZED Books

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Knjiga z naslovom Rekonstrukcija urbane ekonomije (ang. *Reconstructing urban economics*), ki zagovarja heterodoksen pogled na urbano ekonomijo, je prijetna in preprosta za branje. Avtor Franklin Obeng-Odoom v njej predstavi nekaj presenetljivih vpogledov v eno najpomembnejših tem s področja urbanih študij – urbano ekonomijo. Knjigo je napisal iz dveh razlogov: zaradi pretiranega poudarjanja filozofije »dobičkonosnih nepremičnin« (ang. *property for profit*) v konvencionalni oziroma »mainstream« urbani ekonomiji ter pomanjkanja sistematskega in kritičnega nasprotovanja tej ortodoksiji pri heterodoksnih ekonomistih. Nesporno dejstvo je, da neoklasična ekonomija, intelektualna podlaga sodobnega kapitalizma, še zdaleč ni popolna. Tako se denimo osredotoča na hipotetično »utopijo«, pri kateri velja Paretova optimalnost, namesto na razlago ekonomij v realnem svetu (Eichner in Kregel, 1975). Zato se kot pomanjkljivost neoklasične ekonomije pogosto omenja normativna pristranskost, pa tudi nekatere njene osnovne domneve niso realne in utemeljene. Domneva racionalnosti denimo ne upošteva drugih dejavnikov

v realnem svetu, ki vplivajo na človekovo vedenje in možnosti neracionalnega delovanja (Galbriath, 1985; Hausman, 1992; Rappaport, 1996), zato neoklasična ekonomija ne more popolnoma pojasniti vseh realnih situacij, njena napovedna moč pa je včasih precej šibka. Glede na njene donkihotske domneve in empirično nepreverljivost se kaže potreba po alternativnih ekonomskih teorijah, s katerimi bi lahko bolje pojasnili pojave v urbanem okolju.

Avtorjev poskus izpodbijanja prevladujočega pogleda v urbani ekonomiji si zasluži pohvalo in priznanje. Predstavi najnovejšo teorije s področja politične ekonomije, povezane z urbaniimi vprašanji, pri čemer njen namen vsekakor ni omalovaževati pomena in prispevka konvencionalne urbane ekonomije. Od kar se je politična ekonomija v 18. stoletju pojavila kot veda, ki proučuje ekonomijo posameznih držav, se je razvijala v interdisciplinarni pristop, ki naj bi pojasnil dinamične odnose med ustanovami, političnim okoljem in ekonomskim sistemom. Ima različne smeri, ki se osredotočajo na različna področja. Ene recimo proučujejo odnose med akterji in

ustanovami (Campbell, 1998; Persson in Tabellini, 2000). Ta veja raziskav se je razširila tudi na področje mednarodne konkurence in sodelovanja. Druge poudarjajo vlogo moči in razrednih odnosov v ekonomskem procesu. Z vidika transakcijskih stroškov ponuja institucionalna ekonomija prodorne razlage odstopanja med pričakovanimi in dejanskimi rezultati določene javne politike ali institucionalne spremembe (Pierson, 1996). Politični ekonomisti skušajo na področju urbane ekonomije rekonstruirati okvir ekonomske analize. S tem želijo ustvariti pravičnejšo družbo in okolje. Pričujoča knjiga je del vala raziskav, ki proučujejo načine razdelitve virov, ki omogočajo zadovoljitev materialnih potreb in izboljšajo splošno blaginjo družbe.

Knjiga ima devet poglavij, poleg uvoda in sklepa. Prva tri poglavja (66 strani) vsebujejo zgoščen pregled uporabe konvencionalne ekonomije na področju urbanih študij in predstavijo rekonstruiran ekonomski okvir za boljše razumevanje urbane ekonomije. V prvem poglavju avtor analizira naravo grajenega okolja in urbane ekonomije ter oblikuje

splošen usmerjevalni okvir, ki temelji na izhodiščih institucionalizma, georgizma, marksizma in postkolonializma, ter ga v naslednjih poglavjih uporabi za kritično analizo različnih urbanih vprašanj. V drugem poglavju poudari kompleksnost urbanega sistema in njegovih med seboj povezanih podsistemov (ali sestavnih delov) ter na podlagi različnih primerov urbanih izzivov, kot sta nastanek in preobrazba mest, opozori na omejitve uporabe neoklasične ekonomije na področju urbanih študij. Tretje poglavje je podlaga za »urbane ekonomske analize« v naslednjih poglavjih. V njem avtor navaja, da gre pri urbani ekonomiji za veliko več kot le za proizvodnjo, porabo in izmenjavo. Vsakršno proučevanje urbane ekonomije brez upoštevanja pomena drugih dejavnikov v spreminjajočem se svetu, kot so strukture moči in institucionalna okolja, bi bilo zato nesmiselno.

Na podlagi okvira, predstavljenega v prvem delu knjige, avtor v preostalih šestih poglavjih analizira različna urbana vprašanja. V četrtem poglavju obravnava globalizacijo, mednarodno trgovino in preobrazbo mest. Glavni prispevek tega poglavja je ugotovitev, da ni univerzalne formule za gospodarsko rast mest. Na podlagi primerov mest na različni razvojni stopnji avtor proučuje odstopanje dejanskih usod mest od teoretičnih napovedi konvencionalnih ekonomistov oziroma nezmožnost globalizacije, da bi zmanjšala razlike v prihodkih. Neoklasični ekonomisti v svojih napovedih ne upoštevajo vloge povezovanja ustanov, ki ne spadajo na raven države. Neformalne ekonomije različnih obsegov so obravnavane v petem poglavju, v katerem avtor opozori na to, da konvencionalni urbani ekonomisti pogosto preslabo ocenjujejo oziroma podcenjujejo prispevek neformalne ekonomije v gospodarstvu. Avtor razkrije pravo podobo neformalne ekonomije in vse vpletene strani pozove, naj se osredotočijo na prave vzroke razmer v neformalnem sektorju, ki posamezni-

ka razčlovečijo. Na tej podlagi v šestem poglavju nadaljuje obravnavo mestne revščine in premoženjske neenakosti ter opredeli ključna vprašanja, ki so jih konvencionalni urbani ekonomisti do zdaj zanemarjali. Avtor zagovarja bolj vključujoč in celosten pristop k zmanjševanju revščine ter navaja, da mestna revščina še zdaleč ni samo ekonomsko vprašanje. Pri njej gre tudi za socialno pravičnost, zato te teme ne moremo obravnavati ločeno od vprašanj, kot sta pomanjkanje in izkoriščanje. Sedmo poglavje se osredotoča na stanovanjsko problematiko v mestih. Avtor kritizira konvencionalno urbano ekonomijo, ki stanovanjski sistem preprosto obravnava kot skupek procesov proizvodnje, porabe, vodenja in izmenjave, povezanih s stanovanji kot potrošnimi dobrinami. Avtor kot alternativo temu poudari »pravo« razsežnost stanovanj in predlaga, da se pri oblikovanju stanovanjske politike ne bi smele ločevati stanovanjske razmere od razmer lokalne delovne sile. V osmem poglavju obravnava vzpon avtomobilov kot prevladujoče oblike mestnega prevoza. Poudarja, da lahko neoliberalistični *homo automobilus* prinese več težav kot koristi. Predlaga upoštevanje širših socialnih, ekonomskih in okoljskih dejavnikov pri načrtovanju mestnega prometa, ki naj bi zagotovilo bolj trajnostne rezultate. Deveto poglavje obravnava pereče vprašanje trajnostnega mestnega razvoja, pri čemer avtor analizira Jevonsov paradoks, ki še naprej bega okoljske ekonomiste in oblikovalce politik. Navaja, da je v neoliberalistični ideologiji rast zelenih mestnih površin pogosto pretveza za gospodarsko rast mesta. Z različnih vidikov politične ekonomije poudari potrebo po pravem priznanju pomena nosilne zmogljivosti Zemlje ter posledični omejitvi rasti mest in pravičnejši razdelitvi njenih koristi med različne deležnike.

Kolikor vem, Obeng-Odoom ni prvi zagovornik uporabe politične ekonomije pri proučevanju urbane ekonomije, vendar njegova knjiga sistematično

predstavi različne teorije oziroma smeri politične ekonomije, kot so institucionalna ekonomija, georgizem in marksistična ekonomija. Ti nekonvencionalni ekonomski pogledi ponujajo alternativne načine razmišljanja, s katerimi lahko pojasnimo vprašanja, povezana z mestnim okoljem. Opisane nekonvencionalne alternative so zelo dragocene, saj »trgi niso zgolj območja srečevanja proizvajalcev in potrošnikov, katerih odnose urejajo neosebni zakoni ponudbe in povpraševanja« (Logan in Molotch, 1987: 1). Knjiga torej prinaša pomemben prispevek k razumevanju tega, kako lahko urbano okolje razložimo na podlagi različnih šol politične ekonomije. Ponuja pomembno kritiko in sintezo najnovejših razmišljanj o sodobni urbani ekonomiji, poleg tega pa spodbuja različne načine, s katerimi lahko spremenimo mesta v pravičnejše kraje bivanja in dela. Knjiga je zanimiva za strokovnjake, izvajalce v praksi in oblikovalce politik, saj lahko z njo začnejo drugače razmišljati o politični ekonomiji urbanega okolja. Na žalost vsebuje malo informacij o državah in mestih na Daljnem vzhodu, saj se skoraj vsi navedeni primeri nanašajo na Zahod ali postkolonialne afriške države, le malo pa jih izvira iz Azije. Za ilustracijo bi lahko avtor v knjigi uporabil številne primere z Daljnega vzhoda. Dober primer bi bila denimo neenakomerna urbanizacija v azijskih državah, zlasti v celinski Kitajski. Tudi gentifikacija (na podlagi nepremičnin ali turizma) se pojavlja v skoraj vseh azijskih mestih in njeno proučevanje zahteva uporabo pristopa marksistične politične ekonomije. Avtor bi lahko uporabil tudi primere, ki se nanašajo na dilemo med gradnjo in ohranjanjem v povezavi z grajeno kulturno dediščino na Daljnem vzhodu. Ker je podnaslov knjige *K politični ekonomiji grajenega okolja* (ang. *Towards a political economy of the built environment*), bi se morala publikacija osredotočati na grajeno okolje. Obeng-Odoom uporabi široko definicijo pojma »grajeno okolje«, pri čemer se opira

na opis Davida Harveyja (2006: 233), po katerem naj bi bilo grajeno okolje »geografsko urejena, kompleksna in sestavljena potrošna dobrina«. Enačnje ekonomije grajenega okolja z urbano ekonomijo bo zavedlo in razburilo bralce, ki jih dejansko zanima »fizično« grajeno okolje. Čeprav avtor v knjigi posebej obravnava zelene stavbe in okoljsko označevanje stavb, temu nameni le šest strani v zadnjem poglavju. Več poglavij v knjigi (na primer peto, šesto in osmo poglavje) ima le malo ali nič skupnega s stanovanji, stavbami ali mestno infrastrukturo. Da bi se izognil zmedi, bi moral avtor razmisliti o spremembi naslova, da bi ta ustrežneje izražal vsebino knjige. Namesto neformalnih ekonomij bi lahko v petem poglavju obravnaval neformalna naselja, kot so ilegalna bivališča na zemljiščih, ki niso v lasti stanovalcev (ang. *squatter housing*), in nezakonito preurejena bivališča. V šestem poglavju bi lahko namesto mestne revščine in neenakosti obravnaval propadanje mestnih predelov ali stavb, v osmem poglavju pa bi moral posvetiti več pozornosti politični ekonomski analizi modela razmerja med železnico in razvojem bližnjih zemljišč (ang. *rail-property development model*). Navsezadnje se zdi, da je spregledal kar nekaj del s področja urbane politične ekonomije, ki so za knjigo bistvena, med njimi dela teh avtorjev: John R. Logan in Harvey Luskin Molotch (1987), Todd Swanstrom (1993), J. Vernon Henderson in Randy Becker (2000), James Davis in J. Vernon Henderson (2003) ter Eugene J. McCann (2004). Z vključitvijo teh del bi bralcu bolje predstavil, kaj so ekonomisti do zdaj izpodbijali in zagovarjali na področju urbane ekonomije (in tudi širše na področju urbanih študij), hkrati pa bi s tem pokazal, da so teorije s področja politične ekonomije empirično preverljive.

Če povzamem, Obeng-Odoomovo knjigo kljub nejasnemu naslovu toplo priporočam študentom in raziskoval-

cem s področja urbanih študij, saj nazor- no pokaže, kako lahko pristope politič- ne ekonomije uporabimo za oblikovanje alternativnih razlag številnih urbanih pojavov.

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Three elements in the construction of spatial identities in Mađir (Banjaluka, Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Ilsvika (Trondheim, Norway) neighbourhoods

The modern world is facing rapid urbanisation, increasing urban population, constant growth of cities and the construction of new neighbourhoods. Moreover, new neighbourhoods often lack the elements of identity in the context of the place and the people who live there. Therefore, it is necessary to construct these identities together with the physical and natural structure of place and the cultural identity of the people. The construction of spatial identities has been studied in two case studies of “new” neighbourhoods, Mađir (Banjaluka, Bosnia-Herzegovina) and Ilsvika (Trondheim, Norway), using a qualitative analysis method. The comparison makes use of a triangle model that includes three elements of identity construction as three points of analysis: a) spatial context, b) participation in processes of planning and construc-

tion and c) action in place. The two cultural contexts and two ways of constructing spatial identity in the new neighbourhoods studied show certain similarities and differences. The study points to the universal significance of this phenomenon and indicates that the process could be improved in each case by applying positive experiences from the other, with adaptation to the specific context. Considering the importance and interrelation of the three elements involved in construction of spatial identities, they should be harmonised in all stages of development.

Keywords: elements of construction, spatial identities, new neighbourhoods, Mađir (Bosnia-Herzegovina), Ilsvika (Norway)

1 Introduction

The increasing number of people living in cities across the world has promoted the constant growth of cities and the construction of new neighbourhoods. However, in many cases urban development does not reflect a proper relationship towards the context that makes it distinctive, and the new urban form does not contribute to the place identity. Therefore, the construction of identities, as an integral part of place-making, should be considered in parallel with the construction of the physical and natural structure and the cultural identity of the place.

Åshild Lappegaard Hauge (2009) states that spatial identity can be seen as one of many manifestations made up of many elements, but here only three elements of identity constructions are highlighted and analysed as three points in the triangle model. We use David Seamon's (2012) approach to the people-place relationship that can be described as a triad of three dimensions of place: 1) geographical ensemble, 2) people-in-place and 3) spirit of place (Figure 1a). In order to adapt this model for specific research, we have transformed this triad into the three elements of identity construction: a) spatial context, b) participation in planning and construction processes and c) action in place (Figure 1b).

As Seamon (2012) states, identity is an integral dimension of a triadic understanding of place experience and place-making. Many writers have defined identity in a similar way, and it is always as an essential element of the construction of the place. Kevin Lynch (1974) defines it in the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality or oneness, and Stuart Hall (2000) argues that it forms in relation towards someone else. According to this, one of the key characteristics of a personal identity and a place identity is in the communication between these two identities. By saying that "we are becoming increasingly aware that we are, and always have been, intrinsically spatial beings, active participants in the social construction of our embracing spatialities," Edward W. Soja (1998: 8) argues that identity must be theorised as a socio-spatial phenomenon. William V.J. Neil (2004: 11) states that "construction of identities is always connected with the constitution of a space" and Manuel de Solà-Morales i Rubió (2003) also considers urban life as a social construct, so Henri Lefebvre (2013) ultimately concludes that urban space is interconnected with social relations and vice versa.

Just like a city or an individual, identity is always in a process of development and is never finalised (Neil, 2004) or complete (Hall, 2000), especially if we take into account the freedom to express individual identities that equally participate in

constructing a single unity of a place (Seamon, 2012). Based on great freedoms in personal identities, the unity of a nation's or a cultural space's identity is increasingly being considered somewhat outdated in a modern world, and so the concept of hybridity is being introduced into the discourse (Hall, 2000). Hans Ibelings (2010) states that nothing and no-one entirely coincides with a single identity and Isidora Karan (2014) adds that hybrid identity along with different cultural influences can also be seen as a collection of hybrid personal identities that are present in every space. However, the mere presence of a number of personal identities (i.e., the existence of this hybridity alone) is not enough to construct spatial identities because the kind of socio-spatial relationship they have with the place is questionable. For example, through the process of constructing new neighbourhoods, people of varying societal groups and identities become neighbours, but suddenly they do not know how to act and communicate in the public space they have in common (Murphy, 2011).

In the socio-spatial context, place identity can be perceived as the set of meanings that people associate with a particular place and its personal identities, but also with the construction of social identities. Authors who theorised these relations (Norberg-Schulz, 1979; Watson & Bentley, 2007; Dovey, 2010; Karan, 2014) state that construction of spatial identity deals with the complex relationship between natural, morphological, socio-economic, cultural and other factors. The elements such as physical setting, urban activities and meanings enable orientation in place and identification with it. More precisely, on the scale of neighbourhood, Aksel Tjora et al. (2012) state that housing facilities, public spaces and the community achieved almost always affect the people's social life and their sense of belonging to a neighbourhood. Living in a certain type of neighbourhood could be regarded as an expression of an identity statement but in many cases people cannot identify with their places of residence.

That is why communication is very important in this process of constructing a neighbourhood and its identity, although it is very often hard to achieve. According to Visar Hoxha et al. (2014) social construction of space is perceived as the complex transformation of space through social exchanges and daily use of the material setting into spaces and actions with a particular meaning. Similarly, Seamon (2012) points to the actions, processes and situations by which a place might be improved and transformed through a thoughtful understanding of how places work and what contributes to their virtuous and vicious spirals.

To conclude, although the question of identity is very complex to define because it is never straightforward, unambiguous or comprehensive (Hall, 2000; Castells, 2009; Ibelings, 2010),

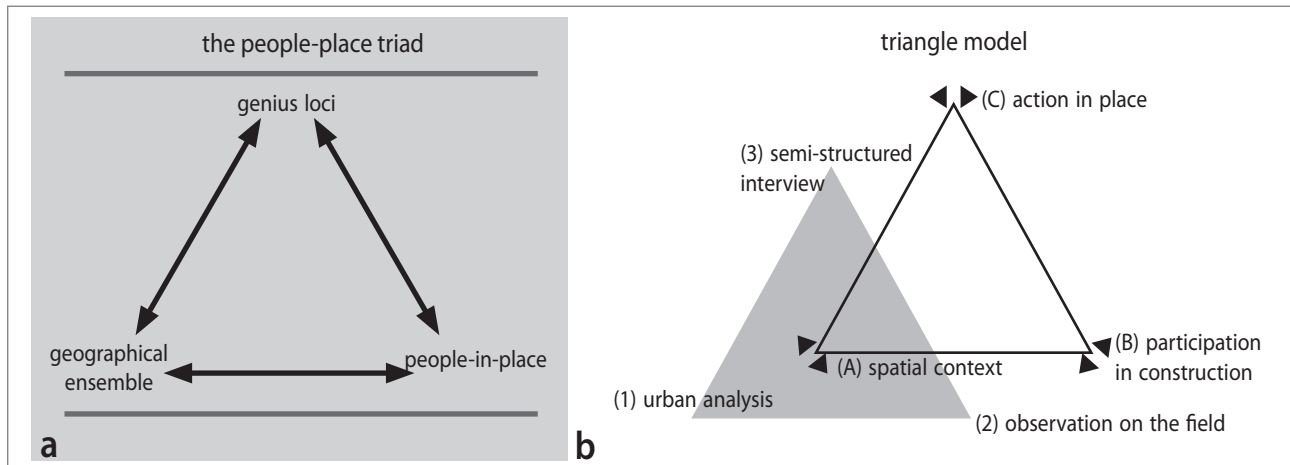


Figure 1: Illustration of analysis used: a) Seamon's the people-place triad (source: Seamon, 2012); b) the triangle model (illustration: Igor Kuvač).

there is no doubt of the relationships between the cultural context, social activities and spatial identity. Identity construction is a continuous process that neither starts nor finishes with the physical construction of a neighbourhood. Therefore, it is important to achieve communication between all participants in the construction of neighbourhood life and identity as soon as possible, at the beginning of the construction process, and to maintain it throughout all stages of development, planning and construction. We attempt to understand the ways identity is constructed based on the relationship towards the neighbourhood and public participation in the community throughout the entire development process.

The construction of identities is studied in two different case studies of “new” neighbourhoods: Mađir (Banjaluka, Bosnia-Herzegovina) and Ilsvika (Trondheim, Norway). The inspiration for this unusual pairing of two “small nations”^[1] is found in Isadora Sekulić's travelogue *Letters from Norway* (*Pisma iz Norveške*, 1914) and essay *The problem of a small nation* (*Problem malog naroda*, 1932). Although Hall (2000) claims that nations do not have just one cultural identity, there are some general representations of unique “national” identity. The two “nations” of Norway and Bosnia-Herzegovina (formerly part of Yugoslavia) are compared in a discussion of their spatial identities according to their different cultures formed by geography, history, mentality and size. No matter how much the characteristics of one “nation” define it, personal identity therefore depends on who individuals really are, what they own and what they look like, and Sekulić (1932) argues that this ideology is fully applicable to nations as well.^[2] Using a triangle model, we address this complex issue by conducting three types of qualitative analysis: 1) urban analysis, 2) field observations and 3) a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews. The cross-case analysis compares two different cases of new parts of neighbourhoods as two opposite poles, more

than 2,500 km away from each other. The study points to the universal significance of the phenomenon and suggests that the process can be improved by using others' positive experiences, taking into consideration a certain level of adaptation to the specific context.

2 Research method

2.1 Two cases

1) Mađir is a housing neighbourhood on the northeast edge of Banjaluka (Figure 2a), the second largest city in Bosnia-Herzegovina with 150,997 residents (Institute of statistics of the Republika Srpska, 2014) and an area of 1,232 km². It emerged in an informal urban fabric from the need to urgently resolve the “roof over the head” problem, in a spontaneous and unplanned way. It is characterised by the war (1992–1995), suffering and destruction, which was followed by migrations,^[3] ongoing transition and other deviant phenomena resulting in devastating consequences for the country (Ministry of finance and treasury of Bosnia and Herzegovina & Office of the UN resident coordinator in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013). Although there is an everyday struggle for the “bare essentials”, people continue to remain positive. Their mentality is characterised by warmth and the broad Slavic soul, temperament, spirituality and irrationality that have been shaped for centuries (Cvijić, 1966). Its influences included various conquerors, the reigns of the greatest European empires, four religions and the intersection of a number of cultural influences that give it an identity of rich diversity.

2) Ilsvika is collective housing neighbourhood on the west border of Trondheim (Figure 2b), the third largest city in Norway, with a population of 178,021 residents (Internet 1), situated on the south shore of Trondheim Fjord at the mouth of the river Nidelva. Ilsvika was established within a formal urban

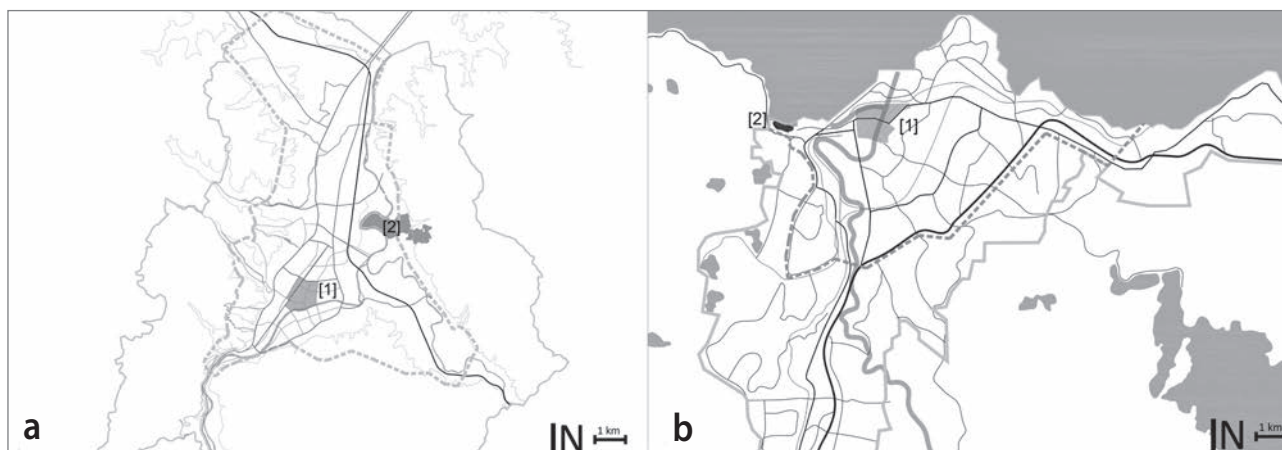


Figure 2: Position of the neighbourhoods in the city: a) Mađir and b) Ilsvika (illustration: Igor Kuvač).

fabric based on market needs and it respects the given standards, laws and regulations. The wider context is determined by economic progress in one of the richest and most developed countries of the world, with high economic stability and social security (OECD, 2014). Norway is characterised by its high level of democracy, human rights and freedoms and also by a high standard of living in harmony with nature and the importance of private space, which is largely reflected in the identity of urban space. On the other hand, its isolated and peripheral position in the far north of Europe, harsh climate with cold winters and lack of sunlight has had an influence on the specific psychology of the people (Hamsun, 1927; Sejanović, 2010). In an inaccessible and sparsely populated country, rich in vast natural beauty, a “small nation” lives characterised by modesty and patience, but also by loneliness, depression and cold (Sekulić, 1914).

2.2 Triangle model

A qualitative research method was used to explore the issue of construction of spatial identities, which depends on different factors that cannot be easily quantified (Mason, 2006). According to Manuel Castells (2009), the process always takes place in a context marked by power relationships and includes varied elements from history, geography, religion, sexuality and so forth. According to the qualitative triangle model used (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), this study includes three elements of analysis: 1) urban analysis, 2) field observations and 3) a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews. The main emphasis is on the interviews, a method that can illustrate identity as a frame that gives meaning to current behaviour patterns in space and the interviewees' responses to the ways in which their new neighbourhoods were created. This triangle includes three elements of construction of spatial identities: a) spatial context, b) participation in planning and construction processes and c) action in place (Figure 1). The timeframe

of twenty years (1995–2015) encompasses the period from the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a period of intensive development of both neighbourhoods analysed.

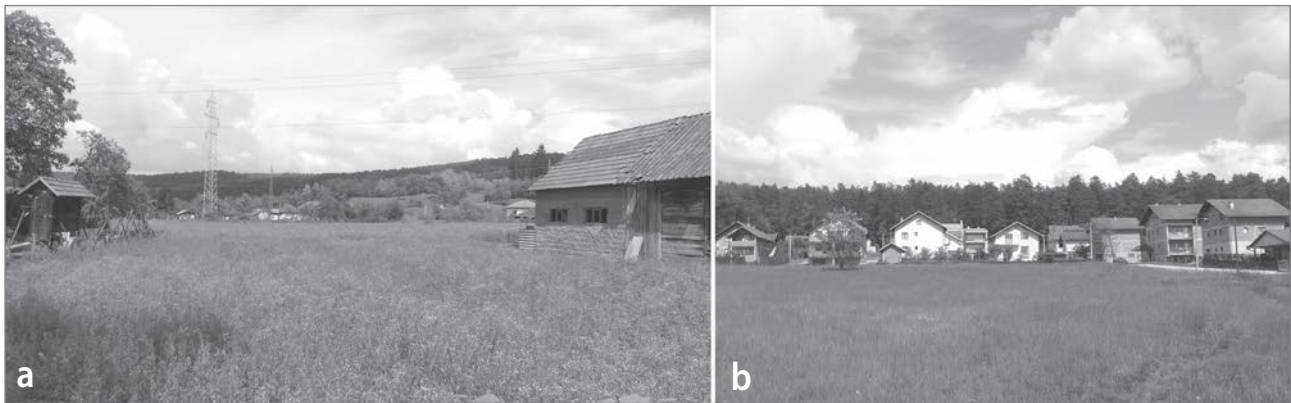
A semi-structured interview was conducted with a small number of participants. A nonpurposive sampling technique was used because of its power to gain access to the subjects and describe everyday life. It is recognised that the explorative potential of personal and subjective perspectives in an interview that enables qualitative descriptions provides a respective understanding and leads to well-controlled findings. Therefore, qualitative narrative interviews do not test hypotheses, but rather reflect common sense and interpretations in which different readers can find different meanings depending on their subjective impressions, and their findings are not generalisable.

Seven in-depth interviews were conducted with residents of the Mađir neighbourhood in Banjaluka from 22 to 30 December 2014. The interviewees were four men and three women varying in age, occupation and social status and included both old and new residents in addition to representatives of the NGO and local community sectors. Interviews in Trondheim with the residents of Ilsvika were conducted from 9 to 16 March 2015. Five in-depth interviews were conducted with randomly chosen interviewees, all men varying in age, occupation and social status.

Interviews followed a research protocol that leads to follow-up questions and a critical common-sense understanding (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). They were formed of three sets of questions around which the conversation developed, with a duration of approximately 45 minutes. The research instrument included derived constructs that link the three elements of spatial identity construction mentioned: a) urban structure and relation to the old part of the neighbourhood and the city, b) interests in the planning process and influences on the design solutions

Table 1: Grouping of responses

Categories of responses		Responses by categories
Spatial context	R1	Physical and natural structure
		Relation to old part of neighbourhood
		Relation to the city
Participation in processes	R2	Interest in local politics and planning processes
		Design of neighbourhood
		Design of housing units
Social activities	R3	Using of open public spaces
		Quality of life
		Place attachment

**Figure 3:** Old a) and new b) parts of the Mađir neighbourhood (photo: Igor Kuvač).

and c) the use of open public spaces, quality of life and feelings about place attachment.

The analysis of the qualitative information obtained is the result of a bricolage technique, which combines elements of analysis into one descriptive hybrid evaluation. The urban analysis and field observations were crossed with the interviewees' responses, which facilitated understanding of the construction process of the new neighbourhoods and their identities. According to the triangle model, responses are grouped into three categories (Table 1).

3 Elements of identity

Using the triangle model that informs the study, this section presents the findings of the three approaches mentioned with special reference to the key comments from the interview responses, which enriched the conclusions of the urban-architectural analysis, observations and predictions. The qualitative analysis explores the similarities and differences between each of these elements in both processes of neighbourhood construction observed.

3.1 Spatial context

Mađir is situated on the right bank of the Vrbas River four kilometres away from the city centre, between protected natural elements: the Mađir fields in the west and the Trapisti forest in the northeast. It follows the configuration of the terrain and the spread of the previously parcelled agricultural land determined by the inherited ownership structure, accesses and spatial use. Groups of individual single-family houses that form the old part of the neighbourhood are sparsely arranged in all directions and oriented towards the narrow, curving streets. The traditional vernacular architecture is modest but meets high standards of housing quality with respect to dimensions, function, construction and form (10 × 8 m, G + 1, gable roof; Figure 3a).

The new part of the neighbourhood was built through small private investments by refugees and internally displaced persons, who were the main agents of this informal new construction. The new matrix interpolated itself into the prior parcel structure, relying on the field configuration and extending the street grid along contour lines. Parcelation was determined

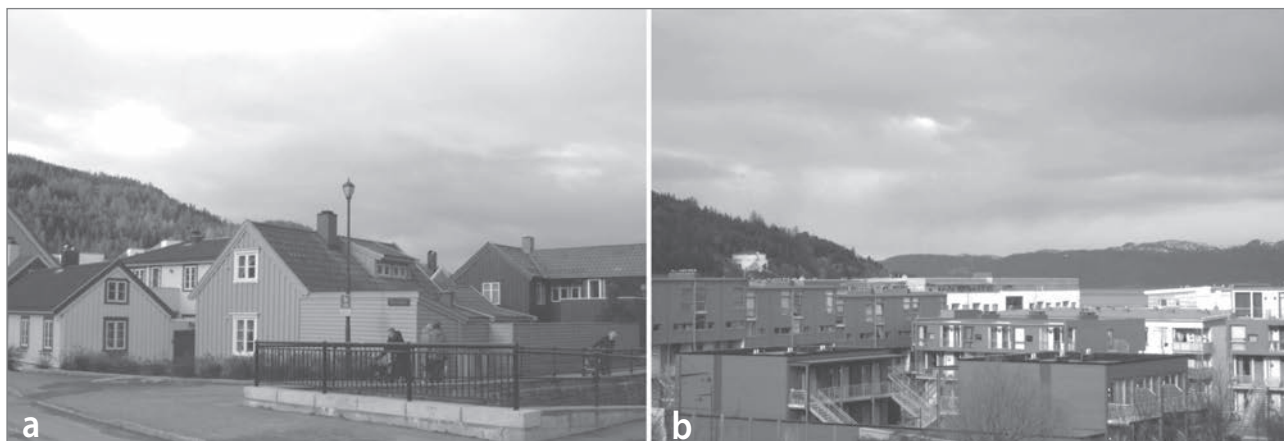


Figure 4: Old a) and new b) parts of the Ilsvika neighbourhood (photo: Igor Kuvač).

using an adapted traditional housing model that allows the construction of single-family houses and outbuildings, as well as the custom of having a garden. The fragmented physical structure integrates with the natural structure and existing low-density rural structure. It stretches along main transit routes and has a disperse spread, occupying agricultural and forest land around existing urban areas. Self-constructed housing intended for three generations of one family continues to be the only type of housing (10 × 8 m, G + 1 + A, a gable roof) and the basic unit of the neighbourhood. Many houses remain unfinished due to economic reasons, one of the key features of the building process. Although they are not considered aesthetically pleasing, they preserve a traditional way of life (Figure 3b) and relationship with the environment, thus contributing to identity values. There is a complete lack of basic infrastructure, transport routes and public facilities.

Ilsvika is located in the west of the city on the periphery (Figure 2b) and it is peaceful because of the quiet natural surroundings of the woods, hills and sea. The majority of the neighbourhood is an old fishing village, Ilsvikora, about two kilometres away from the centre, in a picturesque setting. It consists of small single-family houses (8 × 4.8 m, max. two floors) in traditional wooden architecture with sloping gabled roofs, which are arranged in blocks along regulation lines (Figure 4a). Public space within the village is reduced to two little squares that appear at the crossroads of the main transit routes.

The new part of the neighbourhood represents a very strong urban structure on the shore of the fiord, giving it the value of high level of urbanity. This new urbanisation is based on the existing structure of the “village”. It goes by the existing urban matrix and respects natural features, the dominant directions of the facilities and the existing open public spaces, but the accomplished relationship is not well enough articulated to achieve integration between the new and the old parts. The urban matrix developed along the central transit route in an

east-west direction, parallel to the coast and two perimeter routes: a pedestrian one to the north and a service one to the south. The fiord’s coast is the northern border with recreation facilities, whereas the road no. 715 is the southern border with a roundabout as the main access. Its physical structure extends along the east-west axis, consisting of mostly multi-family residential and a few business buildings, but there are also some other facilities such as education, sports and other services. The average building dimensions range from ca. 12 × 36 m to 14 × 54 m and from G + 2 up to G + 5 floors, so the urban density is very high (Figure 4b). Despite this high level of urbanity, the residents pointed to proximity to nature as the main characteristic of the neighbourhood, including its position in relation to the centre of the city and its excellent transport connections.

Analysis of the spatial context includes the relation between old and new parts of neighbourhoods as an important element of identity and the cultural context related to place.

3.1.1 Old vs. New

These relations show connections with tradition and attitudes towards its preservation and protection. The new part of Madir is interpolated between existing dispersed structures, fully compatible with and maintaining a homogenous connection by interpolating itself into and repeating the existing matrix (Figure 3). However, the village does not become a city, so the cultural gap between city and village increases despite of the reduced physical distance and newly-formed dominant cultural layer. Residents define it as a neighbourhood with a character between suburban and rural.

The complexity of the old and new Ilsvika is generated by the integration of the village into the neighbourhood structure by having the new part frame the old one (Figure 4). The new part supplements the old one as an evolutionary process,



Figure 5: a) Sport activities and b) house construction in Mađir (photo: Igor Kuvač).

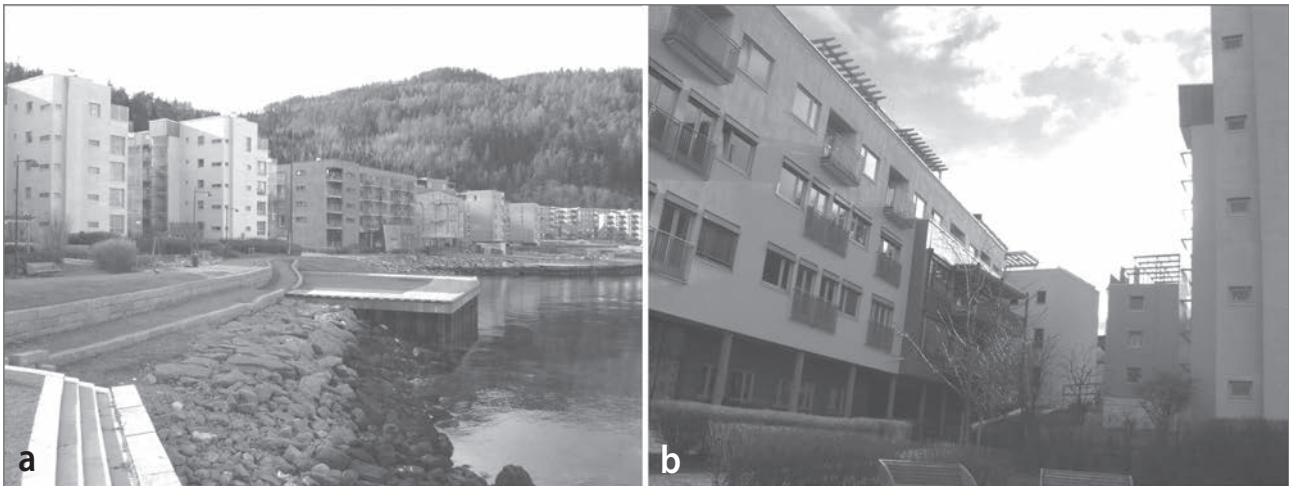


Figure 6: Empty open public spaces in Ilsvika (photo: Igor Kuvač).

which is common and acceptable as a part of the wider context, as residents explained. The specific structure of the village contributes to the continuity of relations to tradition, as well as preservation of inherited values that also facilitate this interaction even in modern surroundings. The new urbanisation uses all the assets of the existing identity that represents a specific place, based on which it forms its advantages. As the city grows, the village becomes closer and more accessible, but on the other hand its residents state that it loses a part of its identity. Although it does not surpass the old image that still exists the new physical appearance of the city is very meaningful. In the conflict of the new and the old, the quantity of the new is the winner versus the quality of the old.

The next section looks at the importance of this relationship between the old and new parts of the neighbourhoods through their urban social activities and residents' attachment to place.

3.1.2 Place attachment

The Bosnian people in Mađir lead a rich social life, so they have intense communication with one another that makes them feel

vibrant regardless of the low density and small number of residents in their neighbourhood. In addition, the neighbourhood development is ongoing and dictates everyday activities that depend only on financial and weather conditions. Because the process of construction is never fully complete and many residents maintain the tradition of having a garden, "there is always something to do" (Meili et al. 2012). While residents are working, they make noise with their tools and also chat with their neighbours, family members and passers-by. This makes it seem that the neighbourhood is more vivid than it really is. At the same time, this constant activity and the communication achieved certainly contribute to a stronger place attachment. Indeed, it turns out that the informality of construction as a long-term project has positive effects on identity construction (Figure 5).

Their peripheral position in the far north of Europe, harsh climate with cold and snowy winters, lack of sunlight and the midnight sun phenomenon had an impact on Norwegians' specific mind-set. Christian Norberg-Schulz (1979) says that a Norwegian must like the cold, forest, fog and so on, and Bekim Sejranović (2010) writes of the anguish and dusk in the snowy

Norwegian mountains that produces the vast Nordic sadness as part of the Norwegian identity. Considering that modern “northern” individuals are liberated from the everyday struggle to survive and to build a house, instead they build their spirit, individuality and diversity through an accumulation of inner energy (Sejranović, 2010). As Neil (2004) points out, a messy interiority produces inner peace and discovery for some people, and also internal reconciliation with an identity that may not be outwardly manifested.

This implies a specific way of life that is complete in itself and does not show the need for interaction in space. This is also reflected in the formal way of constructing a neighbourhood, in which resolving the “roof over the head” issue is not a problem, but just one in a series of tasks, which is normally resolved by buying a fully constructed flat. The living space in collective housing in Ilsvika is reduced to a unit, in which residents “only had the opportunity for some small changes in interior design, not more than that”. The attitude towards construction is diametrically opposed to that in Mađir, because it is not part of the people’s lifestyle or identity, which is constructed in a different way. This is also transposed to the place attachment. Construction and enhancement of identity within this framework is reduced to a minimum. Analysis of the residents’ presence in a public space during particular periods of the day confirmed the absence of everyday visible activity despite the high density and number of residents (Figure 6).

3.2 System of (un)planning

The main objective of new construction in the Mađir neighbourhood was the urgent need to resolve the “roof over the head” problem, which was essential for dozens of displaced newcomer families. Neither the state nor the city were prepared for this process, and so they did not provide plans for new construction. Scarce and outdated planning documentation did not suit conditions for new neighbourhood expansion and so the only possible way for construction to take place was informal. On the other hand, Skotte et al. (2015) point out that authorities acknowledged the situation, and did help the settlers in a way by not intervening, which Meili et al. (2012) calls the “stability of the informal”. The new population could not wait for a systemic reaction, so spontaneous informal self-construction has been going on without any mediator, following a kind of a bottom-up system. Considering the limited financial resources mentioned above as one of the key features of construction, residents say they “could not pay for expensive technical documents and building permits”. However, most of them at least have started the process of obtaining a permit for the construction or post facto legalisation,^[4] because they were afraid of making a mistake and wanted to formalise their activities according to the law.

The interviewees state that “the problem should be resolved within a shortest time possible, without complications and with minimum costs”. By writing that “we never had enough time to develop our culture in peace”, Sekulić (1932) considered this as a continuous part of the Yugoslav identity almost a century ago. In such conditions, the informal self-builder is focused only on himself and his own life. He does not have the need to communicate with institutions he does not trust (Transparency International Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2014), and thus does not build any relationship with public space and does not show any kind of interest in future developments. This mind-set has become obvious, because the ongoing problem of habitat is placed as a priority without considering their future lifestyle needs (Aranya & Ulset, 2015).

The self-directed process starts with the choice of the location and buying a parcel, whereby individuals face a big challenge to their own knowledge of the construction conditions on the site and construction itself. Residents state that “necessary information about the microclimate, way of life, convenience for the construction, customs, tradition and so on,” were obtained through contacts with the locals. During the process, which takes anywhere from several months to several years, informal self-builders communicate with neighbours, who loan them tools, materials and electricity, offer refreshments, help with manual work, meet the workers, exchange experiences and so on. Skotte (2004) explains this as a strategy in which housing, as a node, activates the constitution of the society. In building a house, people build themselves in relation to the neighbourhood and so they express the spirit of place (Norberg-Schulz, 1979).

In contrast, the interest in the construction of the Ilsvika neighbourhood is expressed in the form of private investment and construction for the market. The main objective is profit, and so the process is conducted by a series of analyses looking for the most cost-effective solution. The project is led by rational business decisions according to laws and regulations (Internet 2), but also by taking care of only one’s own interest. An interviewee who worked at a development company said that “because the price of planning and the land was very high and the market was not developed, the profitability of the project dictated its design, high density and relation to the old structures”.

Meeting the neighbourhood’s common public needs was conditioned just by minimal standards. Although the process was and still is open to citizens (Internet 3) they are not interested in participating and are rarely involved. The public interest was protected only partially by the residents of the old “fishing village”, who formed a non-governmental organisation (NGO) and opposed the maximalist demands of the

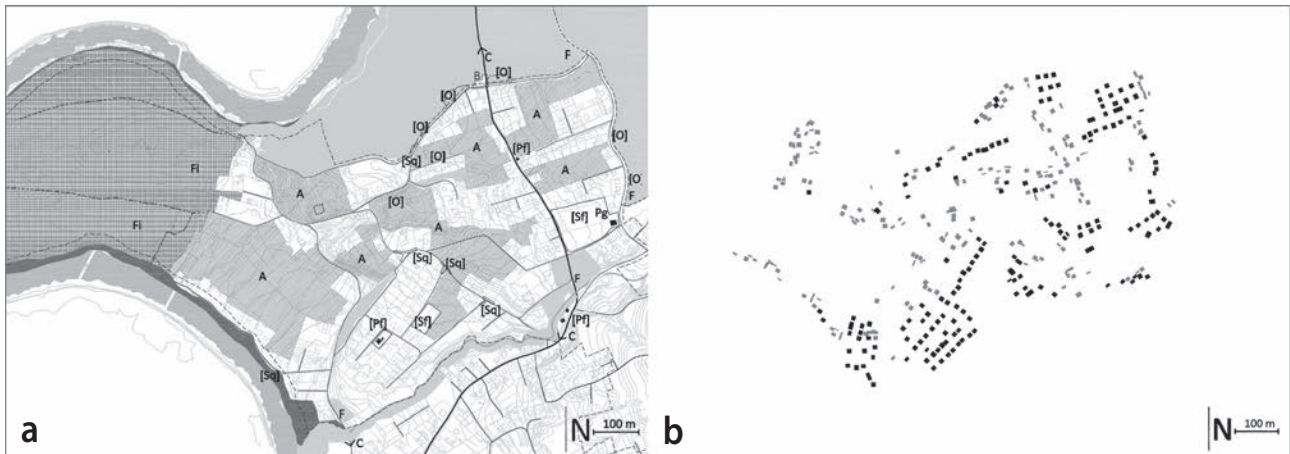


Figure 7: a) Open spaces in Mađir: F – forest, Fi – field, A – agricultural land, C – direction of city centre, O – occupied space that is used as public space, Pf – public facilities, Sf – sport facilities, Sq – improvised squares; b) old and new urban matrix in Mađir (illustration: Igor Kuvač).

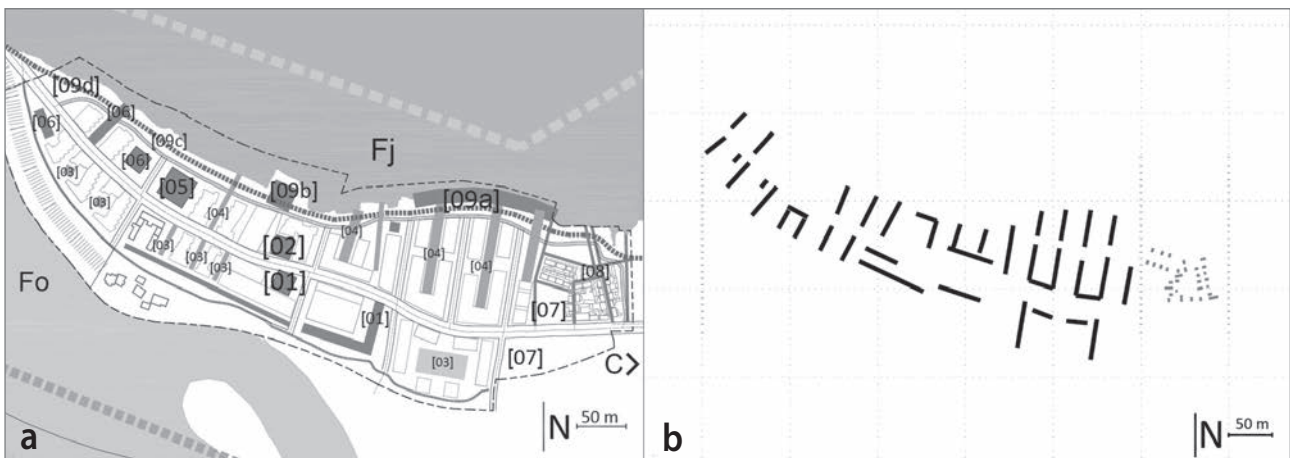


Figure 8: a) Open spaces in Ilsvika. Fo – forest, Fj – fjord, C – direction of city centre, 01–09 – types of public spaces; b) old and new urban matrix in Ilsvika (illustration: Igor Kuvač).

developers (Internet 4). As such, the small fishing village preserved its autonomy as a protected complex due to minimal compliance with existing legislative acts, but no more than that. In general, there was no common interest and it did not lead to integration of the old and new parts of neighbourhood, so the opportunity for better spatial and social results was missed. The village remained isolated and surrounded by a new high-density development, although it could serve as a good model for new construction, considering its urban qualities and social cohesion.

There is a great deal of trust in the competence of authorities, agencies and institutions in Norway, which are supposed to find the best solutions for the benefit of citizens and ensure that there are no failures. It is believed that the regulated state and its institutions manage resources in best possible way and that experts deal with all segments of social development including the plans, design and construction. Because spatial planning documentation is designed according to the highest standards, it is “understood that spatial results and the quality of life in

those spaces should be satisfactory”. However, Nataša Bratina Jurkovič (2014) states that “planners often neglect users’ experience and values, and space consequently does not suit users’ needs and requirements”.

Unfortunately, the ultimate appearance of the neighbourhood and social interaction show that the results are not the best. An interviewee claims that “real democracy is not very present in the decision-making processes”, regardless of the high level of human rights and freedoms Norway provides. It is observed that a top-down system shows a number of disadvantages. Although all the listed parameters have been applied, sociological analysis shows that people are not satisfied and that there is something missing (Tjora et al., 2012). The residents say that the neighbourhood is not suitable for personal needs, requirements or preferences because it is formed according to general, unified and generic rules. “We didn’t have any impact on the planned solutions. Because it was developed according to the model of most profitable solution, the individuals fit into an

already completed project, buying their flats on a 'key in the hand' basis without any opportunity to change it".

It is assumed that additional identity construction should happen after moving in and after coexisting with others, but this does not always happen. Although there is an opportunity for "coexistence" in public spaces, and although residents are not satisfied with the social interaction and integration with the neighbourhood, they still remain confined to "their own four walls". The third element of analysis, action in place, is considered below.

3.3 Action in place

Action in place is analysed through the patterns of living and using open public spaces, and is considered as the third component of construction of identities (Jurkovič Bratina, 2014). The notable difference between the two ways of identity construction is in the relationship between people and space and the social interactions achieved.

Urban activity in open public spaces almost does not exist in Madir, because there are no public spaces constructed. The "public space" is reduced only to the street and extensions next to it in the zone between the street and private, fenced front gardens. Residents became "aware of this when they had resolved the main problems, but by then it was too late". On the other hand, due to its location on the border between urban and rural areas, the neighbourhood is close to nearby hills, forests, fields, river banks and agricultural land, which are considered a type of provisional public space. Even though some of these are private properties, residents use them as public ones in an informal way. This use begins spontaneously from a desire to explore, meet and "conquer" the space, but also from the need for interaction. Because they are not marked or equipped, interaction is reduced only to casual meetings, and conditionally to a later conversation (Figure 7a).

As they self-constructed their houses and neighbourhood, residents felt that they also had the right to occupy some other spaces, so they feel free to usurp space that does not have a public function. In a way, the process of "conquering" and subsequent creation of a kind of "public" space was a natural consequence of constructing a neighbourhood, but neither one was complete. They had numerous limitations, especially considering the temporariness and questionable legality of these actions. Finally, in many cases the actual owners of these private properties have arrived to give them their own final purpose. Thus, the residents remain without important parts of the space that marks the only common public life of the neighbourhood, and they are forced to find alternatives or they just give up, tired of searching.

The relationship towards neighbourhood is radically different in Ilsvika. Apart from many typical public spaces, there are also empty open public spaces for different activities and open spaces between housing buildings: yards, paths, piers on the beach and so on. (Figure 8a). There is also a system of open spaces in natural surroundings that has a great effect on the quality and way of life in the neighbourhood (Bratina Jurkovič, 2014). Despite of this wide-ranging typology, open spaces are not used enough, which leads to a lack of social activity and the sense of a void. None of the interviewees said that they use open public spaces in their neighbourhoods and they themselves have noticed that some spaces, like the central square near the main street, "are constantly empty, grey and dusty". Even though the neighbourhood has the predisposition of a pleasant place to live, interviewees state that "something went wrong".

Considering the excellent transport connections and the opportunities to spend their free time wherever they want, residents mostly do not hang out in the neighbourhood. However, when they are there, they usually spend their free time in their own private flats within multi-family housing. Thus, the important parts of the living space are semi-private spaces (flat terraces) that emerge from connection with private ones instead of public ones. They are formed around regular zones of housing units that are designed with large glass surfaces and oriented towards semi-public green spaces between buildings; that is, towards their neighbours (Figure 6b). In this framework there is no visible action in place, and no urban activities that would produce a sense of belonging with neighbourhood life can be expected.

4 Conclusion

The findings result from a qualitative analysis using a triangle model with three recognised elements of neighbourhoods' identity construction. As mentioned above, these are: 1) spatial context, 2) participation in neighbourhood planning and construction processes and 3) action in place. They have been qualitatively analysed through: a) an analysis of urban planning documentation, b) field observations and c) a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews. Accordingly, all similarities and differences found are connected with these three common points, bearing in mind that different elements have different impacts on the identity issues. Conclusions are drawn with regard to physical structure (urban patterns of construction), public participation (unplanned cooperation) and place attachment (relativisation of identity).

4.1 Urban patterns of construction

Construction of spatial identity in both cases mostly takes place according to the urban patterns of the place identity already present in its particular context. The existing urban pattern is simply repeated (i.e., moved from place to place through a certain type of transformation). Whereas in Madir there is literal repetition, in Ilsvika there is creative transposition.

The new urban pattern in Madir follows the existing rural structure of the neighbourhood by repeating the local context and fitting it into the existing urban frame. The vernacular self-builder intuitively respects traditional construction qualities, and so this approach has positive effects on spatial identity. However, it is not aware of the scale of transformation, leading to a clumsy urban structure and degradation of the environment and the traditional model used. Urban evolution is denied, and “urbanisation” means “ruralisation” of the neighbourhood and the city. The positive side is that both old and new achieve a certain coherence (Figures 2, 5, 7) and have some positive effects on the continuity of urban identity.

In contrast, the new urban pattern in Ilsvika creatively transposes the existing urban model, keeping some of the existing rural elements but achieving urbanisation. However, the existing model is transposed beyond recognition, so that the new part is much bigger than the old one, which completely surrounds it and dominates it. Although it is somewhat protected, the old structure remains isolated without real integration and is more like a monument in relation to the new one (Figures 3, 6, 8). In this way, the new physical structure decreases the significance of the existing one as a symbol of identity, which is lost due to the neoliberal capitalist model of construction and development.

In general, the lack of diversity is felt in both new neighbourhood sections. The new urban structure without additional values is predominant, and so both the new constructions take on a monotonous character. This shows that none of formal or informal approaches to new constructions improved the quality of the place. In both cases the old part of neighbourhood maintains its characteristic spatial identity, which is at the same time minimised. In order to get the new part of the neighbourhood to follow existing qualities of the place, old and new units should have better connections and achieve a kind of integration by respecting the scales of transformation. It turns out that the construction of spatial identity is much more complex than just apparent protection (Ilsvika) or repetition of existing urban patterns (Madir), and that a creative approach that combines the two methods applied might be satisfactory. Our analysis suggests that the real integration of existing values with the new parts of the neighbourhood can

contribute to a stronger place attachment and have a special sensitivity to protection and improvement of urban identity.

4.2 (Un)planned cooperation

Lappegard Hauge (2009) states that people can be divided into three groups when it comes to awareness of their dwellings as communicating identity: 1) people who do not think much about it, 2) people who think a little about the issue and 3) people who discuss the issue spontaneously and are concerned about the matter. Unfortunately, none of these groups are inspired to direct action, and the analysis shows an undeveloped relationship towards the ongoing processes in the neighbourhoods, which does not contribute to place identity. Guided by the principle of “I don’t care about anything unless it’s happening in my backyard,” the residents of both cities do not participate in urban planning processes. In Madir they “took matters into their own hands” and acted outside of the planning system, which at the same time did not work. Although they self-constructed their homes, they did not construct public spaces, which they now lack. Taking the initiative to construct these afterwards and to maintain the community energy from the period private house construction has not shown satisfactory results. On the other hand, although the residents had opportunities to act, this process was left to the responsible institutions in Ilsvika, with the expectation of good results. Because they did not participate in the development process, the residents of Ilsvika did not construct feelings toward the place and they do not feel the need to create a neighbourhood social life.

The (un)planned system of construction and other factors are obvious in terms of the (in)efficiency of a neighbourhood’s identity construction. Twenty years after construction began, everything is missing in Madir apart from built but unfinished houses. The number of unresolved spatial problems is causing growing discontent and social interaction is declining because self-constructing their houses was not enough to offer a satisfying quality of life. In contrast, Ilsvika is completely finished and life takes place normally, but without place attachment. We conclude that in the case of Madir the construction of the neighbourhood was exclusively about the small “personal” interest of the vernacular builder, whose main goal was to satisfy basic needs, whereas in the case of Ilsvika it was about the “private” interest of a big investor, whose main objective was to generate profit. The disadvantages of these approaches show that creating a living space should not be a subject of interest to only of “one small vernacular builder” or just “one large investor”. As a common right of all citizens, urban space must be a subject of broader social debate and a large number of participants led by experts, residents and responsible institutions in all phases of development. The interest of both

residents and the public towards urban space can be directed through creative participation in urban spatial planning and the design of new activities, as Bratina Jurković (2014) suggests.

4.3 Relativisation of identity

According to the triads, spatial identity is (not) being constructed in the interaction of three elements that make place. As the analysis showed, general social interaction during construction was not enough, and therefore the construction of identity was not complete. A “free man” in Mađir lives without trusting institutions and without awareness of the need to build confidence in them. Residents think that their self-constructed houses express their newly self-constructed identity but unfortunately this is not complete, and it does not reflect at the level of the neighbourhood as a whole. On the other hand, personal freedoms in Islvika are way ahead of the community and have already surpassed it. Residents show realistic attitudes towards identity, but they do not consider it an important subject. There is no feeling of absence because identity is not in question and because it is considered as an already present component. There is not enough awareness in either case for the construction of identities as an important part of the space. The forms of urban space achieved do not lead to an adequate relationship towards the community nor do they stimulate actions in place. Mutual influences of social and spatial identity are left aside so the cohesion between them is not really achieved. Although spatial identity should be one of the priorities in new constructions, it is relativised and suppressed compared to other aspects of the urban environment. It always exists as in a certain form but its influence and essential meaning are unclear. Identity construction that meets the standards of high-quality life in the neighbourhood should include cooperation in every phase of planning, construction and the use of space. Only through the real integration of various needs for urban activities it would be possible to construct a valuable spatial identity. We must consider the historical and essential relationship between people and place: new urbanisations should have more appropriate attitudes toward the meaning of spatial identity, which is undoubtedly affected by new construction whether it is denied, changed or improved.

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Notes

[1] Sekulić was writing at the time when several South Slavic peoples lived in the unified country of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Due to their cultural connection, no difference has been made between the various peoples of the former Yugoslavia in this paper.

[2] “Nation” refers to the unique mentality of the specific region, and not only one nation.

[3] Approx. 100,000 people were killed and 300,000 wounded 450,000 house units destroyed or damaged and 2 million people displaced from their homes or became refugees (UNHCR, 2004).

[4] Physical Planning and Building Act (Serb. *Zakon o prostornom uređenju i građenju, 2013*); Decision legalising illegally started or constructed buildings or parts of buildings in Banjaluka (Serb. *Odluka o legalizaciji bespravno počelih ili izgrađenih objekata ili dijelova objekata na teritoriji grada Banjaluka, 2011*).

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The environmental aesthetics of Sarajevo: A city shaped by memory

This article discusses aesthetic singularity in present-day Sarajevo and shows how time generates a social response to the visual quality of space. Acknowledging the metamorphosis of the cityscape with regard to the identity reformulation of post-war Sarajevo, it examines the sensory engagement of people with the urban environment in relationship to the traumatic events and shifting realities imposed by globalisation. The hypothesis is that the environmental aesthetics of post-war cities are defined by the traumatic memory of physical and social destruction. This article offers insight within a broad range of theoretical discussions on the changes in the visual language and aesthetic quality of urban spaces in post-war Sarajevo.

In particular, it presents the notion of urban memory and its role in shaping the aesthetic experience in post-war cities. Finally, the findings show that architectural remnants, or ruins in the urban fabric, instead of being unstable entities, have the potential to become drivers of a continuum. Ultimately, this article accepts the values of incompleteness and opens new perspectives towards playful experimentation, which potentially relieves the aesthetic experience of a rigid and monotonous urban image.

Keywords: aesthetic experience, urban memory, visual language of a city, value of ruins, valued perception

1 Introduction

In recent decades, many countries have experienced significant spatial transformations, leaving behind anomalies that remain deeply imprinted in the present-day city patterns. In parallel with often-mentioned urban changes, theoreticians proclaimed the development of smart cities (e.g., Castells & Castells, 2010; Söderström et al., 2014; Wiig, 2015; Russo et al., 2016), launching an active discussion on how urban trends, global media and network societies are affecting city identity (e.g., Morley & Robins, 1995; Parker, 2001; Hill, 2010; Kramer & Short, 2011; Lopes de Souza, 2015). Inevitably, city identity is caught between the possibilities to create space for growth and the fact that globalisation results in many shifts, some of which are more culturally resonant than others.

These discussions on city identity become more complex when they are placed in the context of post-war cities. In addition, the superficial and often oversimplified understanding of identity politics, ethnic conflict and the reassertion of other cultures in the newly formed city constellation, as explained by Carl Grodach (2002), has been and continues to be either stereotypical or consumerist. Thus, today's heightened consciousness of identity raises many questions about urban authenticity that eventually pose a challenge to providing an adequate response to the identity crisis in post-war cities (e.g., Schwenkel, 2013; Kmezić et al., 2015; Pendlebury et al., 2015; Udelsmann Rodrigues & Frias, 2016). In many instances, research into the ramifications of turbulent economic, political and social turmoil still does not sufficiently explain the notion of urban memory in the aesthetic experience of the places affected.

Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is an exemplary case of how globalisation under a specific social, economic and political regime can radically influence a once-strong cultural milieu. Known as the European city where East meets West with rich architectural heritage (Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and Yugoslav), this city with an important administrative, political, cultural and economic status was subjected to significant changes in the aftermath of the 1992–95 war. Having been exposed to deep-rooted cleavages based on competing nationalisms and arguments over state legitimacy (Bollens, 2001), the cityscape suffered much lasting damage.

However, Sarajevo is not the only city affected by violent destruction in the network of the many capital cities in the western Balkans. From the Yugoslav wars of 1991–95 until today, distinctive urban transformations have occurred in many cities. These shifts left a permanent mark in the western Balkans, making it an experimental field for different approaches in crisis management. Moreover, to grasp the implications of this view,

it is crucial to reconsider the specific features of Bosnia and Herzegovina and particularly of Sarajevo within the network of the post-war western Balkan cities.

Jasminka Udovički and James Ridgeway (2000) argue that the fate of Bosnia was a consequence of its location at the geopolitical and cultural heart of the former Yugoslavia. Among the six Yugoslav republics, Bosnia and Herzegovina was the most ethnically diverse (with Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs). As Edin Hajdarpašić (2015: 3) states, “Bosnia has become a global symbol of nationalist conflict and ethnic division in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.” During the war, in contrast to other western Balkan cities, Sarajevo underwent the longest siege of a capital city in the history of modern warfare, which lasted 1,359 days, from 2 May 1992 to 26 February 1996. Since the Dayton Peace Accord in 1995, Sarajevo has been divided by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line into two almost entirely mono-ethnic cities: Sarajevo in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and East Sarajevo, which is part of Republika Srpska. On one hand, the immense changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina brought the war to an end, but on the other hand they created fertile ground for further crippling of a war-torn nation.

All of this provides a reason to study the environmental aesthetic of Sarajevo as an exemplary case of a post-war city. Studying the identity of contemporary Sarajevo and looking back to the ethnic conflict may seem passé at first. The aim of this article is not to reopen old wounds or topics of “new wars” in post-conflict society, but to stress that the awareness of social, psychological and identity needs of diverse ethnic groups (Bollens, 2001) in the city lead to the city's reintegration and resilience.

This article discusses the aesthetic singularity in present-day Sarajevo and shows how time generates a social response to the visual quality of space. Accordingly, the hypothesis is that the environmental aesthetic of post-war cities is defined by the traumatic memory of physical and social destruction. The central questions of this article are: Has the visual language and aesthetic quality of urban spaces in post-war Sarajevo changed? What is the new visual identity of the multi-cultural and multi-religious post-conflict society of Sarajevo? What is the role of urban memory and violent conflict in shaping aesthetic experience? What are the different perspectives on the urban perception and aesthetic values of architectural remnants or ruins?

The distinctive characteristics of post-war urban changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Sarajevo are discussed in the first section of the article to provide a rationale for examining Sarajevo in the context of post-war cities in the western Balkans. In order to provide a conceptual framework for this

article, the second section of the article explores the spatial relations that have emerged in Sarajevo, with an emphasis on the existing planning mechanism. To further understand the reconstruction and redevelopment of the city after violent destruction, attention is directed to the multiplicity of processes within the framework of the state apparatus. In doing so, the third section provides a theoretical background on the aesthetics of the urban environment, at the same time discussing different perspectives on urban perception and the aesthetic values of architectural remnants or ruins. The fourth section helps understand the notion of urban memory and its role in shaping the aesthetic experience in post-war cities. The fifth section draws analogies between this article and the crisis of city identity in the context of the western Balkans. Finally, the conclusion synthesises the findings and presents suggestions for future study.

In this examination of the identity of contemporary Sarajevo and the quest to discover alternative aesthetics, one of the main findings is that architectural remnants, or ruins in the urban fabric, instead of being unstable entities, have the potential to become drivers of a continuum. Ultimately, this article accepts the values of incompleteness in the environment and opens a new perspective towards playful experimentation, which potentially relieves the aesthetic experience of a rigid and monotonous urban image.

2 The crisis of Sarajevo's urban identity: a last call for rescue

Contemporary architecture in Sarajevo defies time and consciously creates urban agitation, thereby disrupting the formerly unique visual identity of well-known architectural tradition. The violent destruction that occurred during the latest war created a temporal and developmental vacuum, resulting in the inability of contemporary social and architectural aspirations and trends to create any kind of symbiosis with the pre-existing urban context. Therefore, one of the most frequent discussions in Sarajevo's transitional period has been about the post-war development that revolves around a series of social, political and economic issues (e.g., Karahasan & Drakulić, 1994; Morley & Robins, 1995; Bollens, 2001; Perry, 2003; Donia, 2006; Sorabji, 2006; Bougarel et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2007; Pilav, 2012; Gül & Dee, 2015).

In many instances, the post-war development of Sarajevo was a consequence of diverse international, local and political influences, resulting in a complex web of bureaucratic hierarchy. Nowadays, a major difficulty is the complexity of bureaucratic hierarchy and stagnancy of the legal framework, which cannot support rationalised strategic decisions for further urban



Figure 1: Contemporary architecture in Sarajevo (photo: Erna Husukić).

development. Subsequently, the overarching present outcome is an urban environment that is unable to facilitate human interaction with space.

The counterproductive urban land policy is a hotbed of spatial errors, which further negatively impacts urban development. To some extent, this may be because the planning system itself is inflexible in its response to market pressures, which makes it impossible to understand, control and predict urban growth. As such, the existing planning system continues to sustain profound and unprecedented spatial changes. Therefore, relying on the existing planning system without a well-prepared institutional infrastructure means that it is not possible to create a stable, countrywide planning approach (Husukic, 2015).

Subsequent spatial configuration lacks organisation and planning in the generic sense, and also lacks sensitivity toward the local culture. The urban transformation in post-war Sarajevo has resulted in immense challenges regarding aesthetic reality. A valuable but significantly fragmented cityscape is aesthetically highly sensitive to interventions forced upon it by imposed global architectural trends, raising questions of aesthetic insensitivity and endangering the city's visual identity.

The newly established haphazard patterns of development distort the urban image of Sarajevo and create a negative projection on the city identity. The invasion of new and formless spaces demolishes all elements of emotional safety with the riddle of space produced by the inconsistencies of spatial form. The silhouette of twenty-first-century Sarajevo (Figure 1) is

nothing more than the sum of vertical congestions that has completely altered the cultural landscape.

These approaches to space are creating a continual dissolution of Sarajevo's urban form. As such, the wildness of construction and tiredness of urban space, as well as the fuzziness of in-between zones, are creating an emptiness in mental maps. Thus, an aesthetically positive experience is questionable because today's urban image is abruptly severed by full disregard for the city layers.

From the discussions on Sarajevo's urban identity to date, it is noticeable that the result of such harsh design is a monotonous environment that can hardly be grasped by common traits in perception, and in which a once-present sense of unity has disappeared. The loss of unity and the sense of visual order could cause an absence of the essence of aesthetic experience and even sanity (Dewey, 1995). Within this perspective, Erik Erikson (1993) claims that the sense of unity for both an individual and a member of a group is an important counterpoint for psychological growth and health.

In addition to the aforementioned negative aspirations of the globalised world to impose false glitter on a city, as mentioned by Monica Montsera Degen and Gillian Rose (2012), it must be highlighted that the contemporary environment is much more than a stylised urban space that will eventually be experienced through multiple sensory modalities. Such tendencies underline the importance of the sensorial qualities of space, confirming that the simplification of the contemporary urban image results in insensitive spaces to any perceptual stimulation (Nohl, 2001).

Anticipating the consequences of contemporary interventions in Sarajevo, which are also reflected in the anaesthetic state of the urban environment, the city faces the risk of a visual deficit. In addition, in this anaesthetic state, the landscape has lost its narrative as well as its poetic aspects (Nohl, 2001). However, there is a widespread belief that the search for a stable identity inevitably involves nonlinear and complex problems (e.g., Geyer & Rihani, 2010; Innes & Booher, 2010) because it is affected by multiple and shifting realities of the contemporary world.

In contrast to aestheticised architecture, the pursuit of unique aesthetic qualities and a meaningful environment in Sarajevo could actually lead to a quest for spaces that are not subordinated to the power of the contemporary world. In that context, architectural remnants or ruins are recognised as a possible catalyst for creating an urban image, with the potential for reflecting positive aesthetic elements of Sarajevo. Although such ruins do not possess a harmonious pattern that can be

found in traditionally conceived "beautiful" environments, their aesthetic values could be traced along their mysterious nature. In line with the claims of Werner Nohl (1995, cited in Nohl, 2001), "today's aesthetic fascination lies very often in the self-dynamics, in the self-productivity and the self-regulation power of nature".

At the same time, in the monotonous and intermittent chain of spatial relations, ruins could be seen as fertile ground for aesthetic intensifications. Under the assumption that the state of ruination is temporary, ruinous environments can represent a smooth perceptual transition between extensive aesthetic values of traditional parts of Sarajevo, and imposed aesthetic values of contemporary formations within the cityscape.

3 The aesthetic value of architectural remnants or ruins

The way in which one understands aesthetics has ensured various interpretations of the urban environment. For some, the quality of space is defined by beauty and a certain logic of formal and visual elements in the environment. In addition, cognitive factors rely on the legibility of space, making identity, perceptibility and mental maps factors that influence aesthetic values. In his discussion on the fundamental concepts of the new aesthetics, Gernot Böhme (1993: 125) stated that "aesthetics represents a real social power. There are aesthetic needs and an aesthetic supply. There is aesthetic manipulation. To the aesthetics of the work of art we can now add with equal right the aesthetics of everyday life, the aesthetics of commodities and a political aesthetics. General aesthetics has the task of making this broad range of aesthetic reality transparent and articulatable."

Furthermore, it must be understood that the architectural atmosphere acts as a sensual and aesthetically enfolding concept of the built environment. Looking at the environment as a semiotic transfer picture of society, dynamism in the city development must be accepted, in which material built culture is "a part of on-going (re) design of the world" (Jacobs & Merriam, 2011: 217).

Prior to discussing the aesthetic values of architectural remnants or ruins, one must be acquainted with the different perspectives of urban perception. This article relies on three dominant types of urban perception: operational, responsive and inferential (Appleyard, 1973). Operational perception is directed by purposeful actions and is determined by particular and functional aspects of the environment. Responsive perception, on the other hand, is conditioned by the physical environment and leads to more passive relations between the

observer and the environment. Finally, inferential perception as probabilistic in nature tends to form a recognisable system and codes as based on past experience.

Positioning the urban perception of ruins in the context of post-war Sarajevo, and observing ruins as objects that have lost their primary function due to violent destruction, attractiveness is based on disorder and “ugliness”, but most of all the viewer’s emotional reaction. In this sense, inferential perception is imposed as the rational criterion in the analysis of the totality of the perception of architectural remnants. Such an evaluation of aesthetic quality is defined by Arnold Berleant (2002) in “Notes for cultural aesthetics” as valued perception, or as a consequence of processing perceived visual information through a system of previously obtained knowledge and experiences finally forming an opinion on aesthetic quality.

Put into a wider context, regardless of the cause of the object’s ruinous state, the peculiar status of ruins is generally understood through negative connotations. This mode of thinking about ruins results in an often conflicting attitude, in which ruins are seen as an “ambiguous and controversial phenomenon within current discourse and practices” (Olsen & Þóra Pétursdóttir, 2014: 4). However, although it is an aesthetic and conceptual category, a ruin is uniquely ill-defined (Hell & Schönle, 2010). Its vulnerability is compounded by its disreputable status, although according to Hanna Katharina Göbel (2015) ruins are actively included in the makings and un-makings of the socialities “inside” and “outside”.

Furthermore, different aesthetic values are derived from Albert Speer and Walter Benjamin’s conceptions of ruination. For Speer, a ruin provides an established conduit for aesthetic effect, a means of adding or accumulating “age value”, not in pursuit of historical truth, but rather a mythological history as supported and authorised by the ruin’s picturesque aesthetic (Stead, 2003). Hence, for Speer the process of ruination is entirely aesthetic, and it represents not a reduction but an accretion of myth. Conversely, Benjamin claims that ruination can be construed as the means of laying bare those truths buried under layers of false romantic aesthetics (Stead, 2003). Thus, the most recognisable aesthetic value of remnants presented in the work of Adorno, Benjamin, and so on is the value of the fragment. It is the incompleteness or character of “half-building, half-nature” as driven by incidental or accidental appearance, indicating the fragmented nature of land; the appreciation of natural and manmade process leads to the ingenuous beauty present in fragmented nature. However, the visual impression of ruins varies in response to the specific context.

The discussion in this article is not only oriented towards the standard preoccupations within aesthetics, such as visual language, but also relies on Theodor Adorno’s Aesthetic theory (1970) and the relations between art and society. Moreover, through the lens of Paul Zucker (1961), ruins are hybrids in which he sees the ambiguous emotional impact that is aesthetically neither in the realm of art nor in the realm of nature.

In the case of Sarajevo, city ruins are evaluated beyond their aesthetic values, essentially as artefacts of the traumatic past. In assessing the aesthetic significance of ruins, this article searched for recognisable links between urban experience and the personal and transmitted memories introduced by Cornelia Sorabji (2006). Following Sorabji’s (2006: 2) article on urban memory, one may see “that everyone who experiences war is lastingly, psychologically deformed and that the deformity can be xeroxed down the generations by the simple means of repeating stories of suffering to one’s children.”

Through narratives or through silent landscapes of past remnants, residents experience a new dimension of space relying on their own senses; spontaneous vegetation permits humans to interact with measures of senses, responses and impulses. Furthermore, ruins could become successful ventures towards the creation of a consistent and visually pleasurable urban image. Even though a ruinous setting is not strategically planned to illuminate the emotional dimensions of aesthetic experience, at this point it is significant to acknowledge the perception of ruins as a cognitive process under specific circumstances.

Nevertheless, despite an undeniable impact of traumatic events, this article may help rethink the status of Bosnia in a way different from its widely acknowledged label as a land “deeply divided and steeped for generations in tales of heroism and imbued with a quasi-religious ethos of revenge and retribution” (Simic, 2000: 115).

4 Urban memory shaping aesthetic experience

“Urban memory can be an anthropomorphism (the city having a memory) but more commonly it indicates the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city’s sequential building and rebuilding” (Crinson, 2005: xii).

The contemporary urban environment of Sarajevo is a shattered collage of cultural and aesthetic experiences. The ever-growing consumption of land (see Figure 2) disrupts the city’s urban pattern, seemingly turning the new development in a



Figure 2: Multi-layered cityscape of Sarajevo (photo: Julian Nitzsche).

totally opposite direction. The formerly unwritten laws of Sarajevo (Grabrijan et al., 1957), with its cultural inheritance, ethical principles and indigenous ideas, have been reduced and dangerously altered.

In dealing with the coherence of the urban context, and the overwhelming social, political and economic connotations, the city faces the difficulty of identifying clear aesthetic features. In the case of Sarajevo, every phase of city development is perceived and experienced primarily through a symbolic character rather than defined through actual aesthetic qualities. Strict categorisation is evident between what is perceived as a “beautiful environment” (the historical core of the city, dating from the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian period, is traditionally considered “beautiful”), a “prosperous environment” (zones within city that undergo strong redevelopment mostly through foreign financial assistance; Gül & Dee, 2015) and an “ugly environment” (neglected land or buildings in a ruined state).

In Sarajevo, ruins bring to mind wartime destruction (see Figure 3) instead of natural decay. The widespread destruction “leaves scars on the human unconscious which are the source of our most enduring and profound memories” (Crinson, 2005: 5). More importantly, the planned obliteration of one ethnic group led to the social estrangement, spatial fragmentation and the general state of confusion. It is evident, in the case of Sarajevo, that the “possibility of knowing traumatic



Figure 3: Sarajevo at the end of war (photo: Stacey Wyzkowski).

history becomes a function of future recognition” (Crinson, 2005: 15). Indeed, identifying the cause or action triggering the ruination produces a strong determination for the beautification of the environment.

In the twenty-first century, the cityscape is full of residues (see Figure 4) that are generated by collective trauma, and so the presence of ruins is seen as an initiator of difficult memories. For the city’s residents, ruins are eerily reminiscent of traumatic events and are understood as interruptions that disturb and evoke memories of disaster and loss. Certainly, the pernicious condition of space is subordinated to the predominant collective painful memory.



Figure 4: Ruins of Sarajevo (photo: Erna Husukić).

Thus, it is only natural that the strong negative historical connotations associated with ruins greatly impact and even determine Sarajevo residents' perception and related visual experience. In the case of Sarajevo's ruins, a negative feature can override the positive and become the crucial element in determining aesthetic values. As already mentioned, once a negative perception is created, there is a serious risk of it being transferred across generations.

In this context, Valery Perry (2003: 16) discusses how war affects people's perceptions and worldviews, emphasising that "reframed opinions are then transmitted from adults to children, either informally at home or formally in the schools." This is clearly the case in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the histories of centuries past are seen as key determinants of recent urban perception. As Sorabji (2006: 1) states, "the personally meaningful images and ideas of younger generations who did not experience the war but who have lived in intimate contact with elders who did, are also helping, in some less direct way, to shape attitudes towards the social and political environment."

The traumatic memory of physical and social destruction is an omnipresent post-war trace that allows Sarajevo to embark upon the path of newly justified spatial relations. In other words, ruins, or their evaluation through perception, are identified as the dysfunctional elements in the urban memory of Sarajevo that evoke a positive aesthetic experience. Therefore, to understand the current drawbacks in the urban develop-

ment and planning system of Sarajevo, the complex relations between the visual manifestation of architectural legacy, ruins and various psychological attitudes (Zucker, 1961) must be taken into consideration. After defining the major issues of today's urban perception of the Sarajevo cityscape, the urgency and the need for exploration of new alternatives is recognised, which could potentially arise from the multi-layered city environment.

In this sense, this article supports the positive aspirations illustrated in the article "Managing memories in post-war Sarajevo: Individuals, bad memories, and new wars" by Sorabji (2006), which puts aside negative consequences of traumatic events, shifting the focus from memories and political dynamics that control individuals to the importance of "the individual's awareness of memory and his or her desire to control it for the perceived benefit of self and others" (Sorabji, 2006: 3). Accordingly, this article argues that an individual's awareness of memory also suggests a way of thinking about the prosperous future in terms of how to embrace new possibilities among fragmented systems. In the end, what matters the most is the ability to cultivate awareness and thus to create greater capacity to acknowledge diversity.

This section showed that the evaluation of aesthetic quality, in the case of Sarajevo, lies between the visual experience of physical form and traumatic events. Hoping to discover an alternative aesthetic, the ruins are recognised not only as an

indispensable part of the urban landscape and ambient, but also as an important factor in forming the overall local culture and society. In a paradoxically simplified environment of contemporary additions, the aesthetic experience of ruins is seen as an exciting possibility for new visual expression, or a catalyst of positive development. The disputed visual deficit evident across all cycles of spatial development in Sarajevo could be diminished by the involvement of ruins in the creation of new identity. In pursuit of spatial dignity and the emotional sensitiveness of emerging aesthetics, the visual properties of ruins transcend the aesthetic values of a profit-oriented environment. In order to do this, one must come to understand the evasive nature of ruins and take a leap into the unknown, leaving behind traumatic memories.

5 Discussion

From assessing the post-war development in the western Balkans, it is evident that each country has moved forward at a different pace. Many studies have been conducted on the post-war situation and future endeavours of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro (e.g., Benderly & Kraft, 1996; Thomas, 1998; Sell, 2003; Schuman, 2004; Thomas et al., 2006; Clark, 2008). However, there has not been a broader discussion on how the dissolution of Yugoslavia and balkanisation affect the identities of western Balkan cities and, in particular, the national capitals (Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Prishtina, Skopje, and Podgorica).

One might argue that warfare, despite its negative consequences, also creates various opportunities for cities to be redeveloped and to seek out new identity. However, the cityscape of the national capital cities in the western Balkans that displays generations of buildings is filled with contemporary architectural creations today that can be observed only as anti-cultural enclaves. This is because the reconstruction of the western Balkan cities following the 1991–95 war was nothing more than an urgent reaction to the emerging situation. It is not difficult to understand why. Recovery had to be carried out quickly and it was spawned by the necessity to clear rubble away and provide basic housing and infrastructure. Judging from various examples of the post-war cities in the western Balkans, the lack of thought-out interventions left little if any room for conscious and planned reshaping of the urban environment.

At the same time, post-war cities are subject to the impact of foreign investors and political authorities more than other cities. Therefore, under the patronage of powerful authorities, cities become “victims” of market forces, rather than the result of systematic urban planning based on the long-term civic context. In many instances, purely financial involvement in the shaping of post-war city identity resulted in aesthetic sterility.

In the context of the former Yugoslavia, the roots of the new identity of post-war cities might be traced back to even before the Yugoslav wars. In particular, this article refers to the arguments of Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić (2012) on architectural and urban planning practices in the former Yugoslavia and the project “Unfinished modernisations: Between utopia and pragmatism,” in which they claim that in today’s physiognomy of the built environment it is possible to detect partially articulated and unfinished modernisations (Mrduljaš et al., 2012). This leads to the conclusion that the new visual identity of western Balkan cities is the outgrowth of an unfinished context, which might be seen as a result of unfinished modernisation and balkanisation.

In addition, Rolf Sternberg (1991) argues that history and culture are the most important factors affecting the course in which aesthetics are included in the evolving urban fabric. In essence, drawing on the diverse history and culture of the national capitals, there has been a radical shift to the architectural and urban vision as explained and discussed by Srdjan Jovanović Weiss (2013). In stark contrast to other post-war cities in the western Balkans, “Sarajevo with its European and American-led renovations, has become largely forgotten, a town hurt by extensive “brain drain” and now sinking into apathy” (Jovanović Weiss, 2013: 103). Such a result and perception of Sarajevo was probably inevitable because the city has become a casualty of its unfortunate fate, in which its physical division can be understood as the leftover, the legacy and ultimately the symbol of the seemingly indelible ethnic differences of Yugoslavia.

In Sarajevo there have been persistent activities that have continuously denied the city identity. Even with many attempts to stabilise city development after the war, the issue of legislation was never adequately addressed, in which many omissions in the existing planning mechanism further endorse the manipulation of spatial consumption. At the same time, the views of local authorities on city development are influenced by political and financial power, whereby unexpected amendments to existing urban plans are adopted. Specifically, outdated plans, spatial manipulation, questionable decision-making processes, fuzzy ownership issues, proliferation of illegal buildings and a lack of systematic planning have caused numerous spatial patchworks in the Sarajevo cityscape.

It is apparent that the system of values in Sarajevo is multi-layered and is the result of an attempt at cultural evolution. Thus, the crisis of Sarajevo’s identity is not the result of a missing national identity in Bosnia because Bosnia, more than other countries in the Balkan region, has long been considered a quintessential example of transculturation (Todorova, 1997). Rather, the crisis of Sarajevo identity is the result of the in-

ability of local culture to evolve and adjust to the change of social and political order that is further enhanced by power struggles of various post-war elites involved in city planning and development. The post-war local identity of Sarajevo is re-interpreted through international conceptions of the city and its history and through economic motivations. Following the claims by Grodach (2002), identity has probably never been hermetically constructed, but emerges from an intersection of global and local influence. For him, the roots of Bosnia's hybrid cultures can be traced to a long history of coexistence of three distinct ethnic groups.

Despite endeavours to overcome traumatic urban memories through city reconstruction, redevelopment and reconciliation, there is still a multitude of concerns and issues that hamper future development of this region, such as "lasting tensions caused by ethno-political and/or territorial issues; differently perceived "truths" regarding the previous wars by regional actors; half-assed reforms conducted in political environments with partly continuing criminal networks still representing huge challenges in the process of conflict transformation" (Felberbauer & Landesverteidigungsakademie, 2010: 5). Indeed, two decades later, there is still much talk about self-renewal and what cities should look like.

Whether talking about Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Skopje, Podgorica, or Prishtina, apart from spatial relations, city leaders and policymakers must also understand the complex social-psychological and identity needs of diverse ethnic groups within the urban region (Bollens, 2001). More importantly, unless and until the city authorities become aware of the consequences of superficial decisions and profit-oriented urban development, an antisocial environment will prevail in the cityscape of cities. Without a national planning agenda and concern for the long-term prosperity of society, the already fragile environment of post-war cities will be further weakened.

6 Conclusion

"That's why we sail. So our children can grow up and be proud of whom they are. We are healing our souls by reconnecting to our ancestors. As we voyage we are creating new stories within the tradition of the old stories, we are literally creating a new culture out of the old" (Nainoa Thompson, cited in Davis, 2009: 35).

While focusing on the analysis of the environmental aesthetic of post-war Sarajevo, this article explores the sensibility of a multi-ethnic nation that rests on the physical boundaries created by the Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995. The approach employed in this article suits Sarajevo within a wider research

context, and it opens up great possibilities for researchers to widen their perspective on various aspects of post-war development.

Sarajevo's search for identity has never been greater as it struggles to overcome subaltern histories and to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances. However, the city is growing under constant pressure and requires an openness to multiple perspectives. This work has identified the need for more responsive, fluid development that will support spatial and social transformation. The visual response and identity crisis of Sarajevo must currently be observed from the perspective of the decomposition and reconstitution of the city within its own boundaries.

In many instances, the aesthetic reality of Sarajevo says more about the political, economic and social regime of the nation than it does about the aesthetic values of the space itself. The past remnants are based on particular laws in which imaginary wholeness is reflected through the endurance of the past. Thus, this article argues that, as the result of transformation that the space endured during the past two decades, the urban experiences will inevitably lead to an alternative aesthetic.

Therefore, this article confirms the initial claim that the environmental aesthetic of post-war cities is defined by the traumatic memory of physical and social destruction. However, as this article shows, the aesthetics are also influenced by the malformations of traumatic memory that took place during these past twenty years, leaving very few possibilities for a positive solution.

In that context, ruins, the "reminders" of devastation – are the buildings that are singled out to have the potential to be the initiators of positive change. It must be emphasised that they are not of national, political or social importance, but they are still present as striking and daunting artefacts. This means that the exclusion of urban memory from the aesthetic experience is not promoted, but nonetheless this work claims and encourages the creation of a reasonable system of values, which could overcome negative spatial connotations and include ruins as equal actors in the formation of the overall image of Sarajevo. Therefore, by promoting the aesthetic qualities of ruins, the initiation of changing perspectives of post-conflict society is suggested. This article recommends their appropriate integration into the urban fabric, which can potentially be a trigger for healing the collective wounds.

This article argues that ruins can be seen as unintentional monuments, with the value of fragments, but also are fertile ground for a humble beginning of new development. As noted earlier, it does not force the retention of the visual form of ruins, but

merely recognises their presence and strong allure as fragments. Furthermore, the specific character of visual language can be used as a basis for the creation of new spatial values.

It has been shown that the search for the vanished identity of Sarajevo could be the search for sensory experiences that, according to John Brinckerhoff Jackson (1980), are the most reliable sources of self-knowledge. Moreover, in the effort to understand the subsequent spatial order, priority should be given to rethinking attributes of the cityscape and observing ruins as milestones that could enrich the aesthetic imagination and create “a new culture out of the old.”

Although the topic under review offers valuable insights into the dynamic relationships among the main actors involved in the development of post-war Sarajevo, in order to improve the understanding of the consequences of the altered urban aesthetic, this work calls for further research. In this regard, the findings establish avenues for additional studies on the nexus between the environmental aesthetic of post-war cities and the quality of life.

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Leading sustainable neighbourhoods in Europe: Exploring the key principles and processes

Local projects involving sustainable urban transformation are increasingly prominent in cities and towns, and are often referred to as sustainable neighbourhoods. These initiatives have been described as experiments in urban sustainability and could provide concrete answers to many challenges facing cities and society. This article investigates the design and development of two leading examples of sustainable neighbourhoods that used different implementation strategies: a top-down development in Western Harbour (Swed. *Västra Hamnen*, Malmö) and a bottom-up (participatory) approach in Vauban (Frei-

burg). The article investigates how the initial implementation approach in sustainable urban redevelopment influenced and conditioned the urban design, social sustainability and local governance of the neighbourhoods. The research also focuses on how Vauban and Western Harbour have influenced and disseminated sustainable urban solutions to other urban contexts.

Keywords: sustainable neighbourhoods, sustainable urban development, new urbanism principles, urban experimentation processes, eco labs, Vauban, Western Harbour

1 Introduction and background

Small-scale community sustainability initiatives of various types (typically small cities, villages and neighbourhoods) have become increasingly common over the past decade (Forrest & Wiek, 2014). Local projects involving sustainable urban transformation in cities are often referred to as sustainable neighbourhoods. Such developments could represent a holistic solution for new sustainable urban balances at the local level (Rudlin & Falk, 2009). David Harvey (1990) defines a sustainable neighbourhood as an independent urban area within a city that preserves the symbolic richness of the traditional urban form and that is based on dialogue and diversity. The creation of sustainable neighbourhoods and the development of local urban communities involve setting clear and robust environmental, social and economic objectives that are ideally in constant equilibrium (Churchill & Baetz, 1999). Harriet Bulkeley et al. (2015) claim that the constellation of interventions that together form the urban climate change governance landscape is often explicitly experimental in character, seeking to develop, try and attest to the experience of responding to climate change. Sustainable neighbourhoods can be framed as experiments or living labs providing concrete answers to many challenges facing cities and society. This particular form of development could become a new active urban model, in line with current sustainable development principles. Ideally, sustainable neighbourhoods embody alternative solutions to current unsustainable practices in cities.

From a literature review of sustainable neighbourhoods, it is possible to conclude that most examples of sustainable neighbourhoods in Europe are being implemented in northern and western Europe (Medved, 2016). Consequently, Stella Kyvelou et al. (2012) define the sustainable neighbourhood concept as a northern European model. Southern European sustainable neighbourhoods have great potential, but are rarely cited or mentioned as best-practice examples, and they are not often analysed in the literature on urban sustainability. The best examples of sustainable neighbourhoods (from northern and western Europe) are often grouped, analysed or cited together. The most often recognised and thus cited leading examples of sustainable neighbourhood implementation, as identified in Primož Medved's (2016) extensive literature reviews, have been established in: Culemborg (the Netherlands: EVA-Lanxmeer), Utrecht (the Netherlands: Leidsche Rijn), Amsterdam (the Netherlands: GWL Terrein), Malmö (Sweden: Western Harbour and Augustenborg), Stockholm (Sweden: Hammarby Sjöstad), Freiburg (Germany: Vauban, Rieselfeld and Weingarten) Hannover (Germany: Kronsberg), Ostfildern (Germany: Scharnhäuser Park), Tübingen (Germany: Französisches Viertel – Südstadt), Helsinki (Finland: Viikki),

Copenhagen (Denmark: Vesterbo), Sutton (UK: BedZed), London (England: Greenwich Millennium Village) and Linz (Austria: SolarCity). However, large differences exist between the case studies, especially in terms of community-related “social sustainability” and governance issues. Most of the acclaimed sustainable neighbourhoods have shown superior excellence in terms of environmental sustainability, but it seems that social sustainability and the local governance system have not been developed systematically in some cases.

2 Research aims

Two contextual circumstances shaped the hypotheses and the research aims of this article. First, based on a preliminary analysis of various sustainable urban communities, the author discovered a potential correlation between a strong cohesive urban community, local governance and the initial implementation approach in urban planning. Several urban researchers have also identified this particular correlation. For example, Hugh Barton et al. (2003) claimed that the more the local community is involved in the design and development process of the neighbourhood, the greater the likelihood is that they will create a place that has local relevance. Hildebrand Frey (1999) noted that people in a neighbourhood are more responsible and connected if they have been involved in shaping the neighbourhood. Participatory urban design supported by workshops, communication forums and competitions was found to increase the sense of the local urban community and commitment to the sustainable urban project (Bayulken & Huisingsh, 2015). Strengthening participation in local governance is correlated with direct citizen involvement in making decisions. Local governance calls for increased participation of civil society, which traditionally formed part of the public sphere (Gaventa & Valderrama, 1999).

Based on these theoretical assumptions, the author formulates two research hypotheses:

1. Sustainable neighbourhoods implemented through a participatory bottom-up approach have developed more human-scale, community-oriented urban forms in comparison with top-down sustainable neighbourhoods.
2. Sustainable neighbourhoods implemented through a participatory bottom-up approach are more socially sustainable and have developed a stronger and more complex local urban governance system in comparison with top-down sustainable neighbourhoods.

In order to analyse the implications and confirm the two hypotheses, two leading sustainable neighbourhoods that have used completely different implementation approaches were chosen: Vauban (in Freiburg, Germany) and Western Har-

bour (in Malmö, Sweden). For more information, see Section 3 “Approach and methodology”. This article first explores and analyses the two sustainable neighbourhoods using unique methodological approaches and investigates whether (and how) the initial implementation approach has conditioned the urban design (Hypothesis 1), social sustainability and especially community involvement in everyday decision-making or the local governance of both neighbourhoods (Hypothesis 2).

The second contextual circumstance the article focuses on is related to the contemporary observation that, with the current rapidly increasing urbanisation rate, it is critically important to take collective action through bottom-up participation and top-down commitment to establish more cases of sustainable urban projects and create mainstream living examples that can share their sustainable urban innovations (Bayulken & Huisinigh, 2015). Based on this, the article’s second research aim is to identify whether (and how) the two cases have already influenced and disseminated sustainable urban solutions to other urban situations. The author explores whether there is a significant difference related to the transfer of knowledge between the two case studies with a completely different implementation process.

3 Approach and methodology

From among the best examples of sustainable neighbourhoods mentioned in the introductory section, two case studies were chosen for comparative analysis (Bächtold, 2013; Fraker, 2013; Medved, 2016). The first is one of the best-known leading sustainable neighbourhoods developed using the bottom-up approach: Vauban (in Freiburg, Germany). The second is one of the most representative sustainable neighbourhoods developed using the top-down approach: Western Harbour (in Malmö, Sweden). These two neighbourhoods represent practical prototypes of how a sustainable neighbourhood can be designed and developed using the top-down and bottom-up implementation approaches (Bächtold, 2013; Fraker, 2013). Vauban and Western Harbour represent two extremes in relation to urban development implementation strategies. “Atypical or extreme cases often reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied” (Flyvbjerg 2006: 229). Certainly, an analysis based on only two case studies will not make a “universal” statement, but it can still open up new perspectives for further analysis and discussion.

To address the first hypothesis, the comparative analysis of the two sustainable neighbourhoods is based on the “new urbanism principles” analytical framework (CNU & HUD, 2000; Grant, 2006; Rahnama et al., 2012; Internet 1). To address the

second hypothesis, the analytical framework of “processes for urban experimentation” was chosen (Bulkeley et al., 2015). The new urbanism principles framework was selected because new urbanism is one of the main contemporary movements that focuses on how to recreate and generate human-scale dense developments in cities. New urbanism promotes specific urban design elements that should be adapted to local needs (and not vice versa). New urbanism calls for a more human scale, walkable streets, mixing shops and residences to generate city life, higher density and a less automobile-dominated community (Kushner, 2002). The new urbanism framework was also chosen because it integrates most of the parameters and important basic elements of the compact city framework (Rogatka & Ramos Ribeiro, 2015). The new urbanism principles framework made it possible to address the first hypothesis and eventually confirm that sustainable neighbourhoods implemented with a participatory bottom-up approach have developed more community-oriented, human-scale urban forms in comparison with top-down sustainable neighbourhoods. The comparative analysis starts by examining the basic characteristics and urban design features of Western Harbour and Vauban. After presenting the two neighbourhoods, it uses the checklist in Table 1 to identify whether the neighbourhoods have implemented features that are in line with new urbanism principles. The comparison research elements include the ten principle definitions described in the second column of Table 1 (Section 4). In this way, it is possible to better understand the main sustainable characteristics of both urban areas and to establish the development level toward the urban-planning ideals advanced by the new urbanism movement. The analysis highlights the physical environment of the neighbourhoods and the sustainable goals they achieve, especially those related to urban design and sustainable transport.

Processes for urban experimentation were selected because they appear to be absent from other frameworks on cities and because the framework offers an important perspective on the dynamic relation between various stakeholders through time. Nuno Ferreira da Cruz and Rui Cunha Marques (2014) noted that nowadays social, economic and environmental performance is not sufficient to judge the actions of a local authority; it should also be evaluated by its conduct and the way it actually carries out its responsibilities. For this reason it is important to include an analysis of local governance, which relates to the behaviour of institutions, the governing processes and the relations between the state (municipality), the citizens and other stakeholders (Ferreira da Cruz & Marques, 2014). Local governance at the neighbourhood level is highlighted through the processes framework. Analysis of the processes framework by Bulkeley et al. (2015) makes it possible to address the second hypothesis and confirm that sustainable neighbourhoods implemented with a participatory bottom-up

approach are more socially sustainable and have developed a stronger and more complex local urban governance system in comparison with top-down sustainable neighbourhoods. For the processes underpinning sustainable neighbourhoods (Section 5), the analysis focuses on the following activities: making, maintaining, living and disseminating. The “processes” section derives from Bulkeley et al. (2015), who identify making, maintaining and living as key aspects of urban experimentation. The author adds disseminating as an innovative additional process to investigate how sustainable neighbourhoods evolve and influence other urban developments. With the innovative disseminating process, it is possible to achieve the second research aim and identify whether the initial implementation approach influences the transfer of sustainable urban solutions to other urban realities. In this section, the criteria of comparison for the two sustainable neighbourhoods are the four (3 + 1) processes themselves (see the definition of processes in Table 2, Section 5). The process analysis provides an innovative overview of the dynamic formation of the local governance system through time. In this way it is possible to understand how (and whether) the initial implementation approach (the “making” process) in the selected case studies determined social sustainability and local governance within the subsequent processes (maintaining, living and disseminating).

The data collection methods include interviews with key stakeholders, site visits in Vauban and Western Harbour, and literature reviews focused on the case studies. The author visited both sustainable neighbourhoods, where he had the opportunity to gain first-hand experience of the neighbourhoods as living environments, collect audio and graphic material, interview key stakeholders, make site visits and develop the case studies. In April 2013, the author visited and stayed in Vauban (Freiburg) for two weeks. From March to May 2014, he visited Western Harbour nine times. He had the opportunity to interview the main urban developers, municipality representatives and main representatives of local community groups in order to understand the role of all of the stakeholders involved in developing the neighbourhood. Interviews primarily focused on municipal staff involved in developing the projects, as well as, in the case of Vauban, local opinion leaders and local associations’ representatives. In Western Harbour, he could not interview local citizen representatives because the neighbourhood has no community centres or local community associations. In Vauban in Freiburg, the author had the opportunity to interview Wulf Daseking (the urban planner of the Municipality of Freiburg, who planned the entire sustainable neighbourhood), Andreas Delleske (the leader of the community initiative Forum Vauban) and Sigrid Gombert (former editor of the local newspaper *Vaubanactuel*). In Western Harbour in Malmö, he interviewed Eva Dalman (the former project manager of the Bo01 project in Western Har-

bour), Maria Lööf (working at the Municipality of Malmö’s Environment Department) and Jan Johansson (working at the Municipality of Malmö’s Real Estate Department). All of the interviews were based on the same open-ended structured questionnaire. The questions covered the points of interest presented in Medved’s (2016) structural model of an autonomous sustainable neighbourhood and refer to topics related to natural resource management, sustainable transport, socioeconomic balance and sustainable urban design. The interviewees were also asked about the specific local governance system in their neighbourhood, the implementation process for forming sustainable districts, the role and decision-making power of each stakeholder involved, community participation in planning and so on.

4 Principles of new urbanism

In this section, the basic characteristics of each sustainable neighbourhood are presented, with a special focus on urban design elements and sustainable design goals related to new urbanism principles. At the end of the section, the author identifies how these achievements and the urban design characteristics of each sustainable neighbourhood agree with the ten new urbanism principles (see Table 1). The aim is to verify whether the urban form in the neighbourhoods analysed is sustainably built (from the perspective of new urbanism).

Vauban in Freiburg is a neighbourhood with a population of five thousand in the foothills of the Black Forest. Seven hundred people work there (Fraker, 2013). It was built on the forty-two-hectare site of a former French military base. Vauban’s bottom-up approach in planning allowed groups of potential residents to design their own homes on allocated plots of land alongside established developers. This has resulted in an architecturally non-uniform, non-standardised and picturesque district (Field, 2011).

Regarding sustainable energy and natural resource management, Vauban is an example of an efficient low-energy urban area and at the same time a space for innovation. At the edge of the neighbourhood, a local cogeneration plant (CHP) was built, which is fuelled by 80% woodchips (from a nearby forest) and 20% natural gas. Over 65% of the total electricity used in the district of Vauban is generated through photovoltaic panels, which are owned by the local residents grouped in various solar energy cooperatives (Sperling, 2002). In terms of building energy use, a mandatory low energy standard applies for both commercial and residential buildings (65 kWh/m²), and bottom-up initiatives for green technologies in buildings have been promoted and administered by local stakeholders in the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood has provided a



Figure 1: Vauban's sustainable transportation and car-free streets; a) a street as a playground; b) a car-free street; c) a tram; d) a bicycle shed (photo: Primož Medved).

testing ground for various techniques with the potential to reduce the consumption of natural resources and increase personal recycling. For example, in the experimental living lab in Vauban – *Passivhaus Wohnen und Arbeiten* – many innovative green technologies have been adopted, such as vacuum toilet systems and small biogas reactors for kitchen use (Internet 3; Delleske, 2013).

Transport in Vauban is shaped by the vision of life without a car, which promotes and stimulates alternative forms of mobility such as cycling initiatives, car-sharing systems and efficient public transport (Sperling, 2002). Vauban is completely integrated into a public transport network, with several city bus lines and the Freiburg tram (Figure 1c). The local urban plan practically prohibits parking in the neighbourhood of Vauban, where the roads are fully adapted to pedestrians and cyclists (see Figures 1a and 1d). The traffic policy in Vauban is supported by an effective car-sharing system. Because of all these local measures, laws, policies and environmental protection awareness of the locals, car ownership in Vauban is extremely low. Cars ownership per 1,000 people in Vauban is 150. In the Municipality of Freiburg, car ownership per 1,000

people is 427, and in Germany as a whole it is 517 (Sperling, 2008; World Bank, 2013).

Regarding urban design, Vauban succeeded in its initial goal to build densely, but green with plenty of parks, trees and open green spaces (see Figures 2b and 2d). The population density (persons/ha) in Vauban is 122, and in the city of Freiburg it is 15 (Foletta, 2011; Banister, 2005). Urban plans aimed to create a living space where there is no need for cars and everything is at the doorstep, like in medieval towns (Daseking, 2013). The buildings primarily consist of three- to four-storey residential buildings. All ground-floor space is designed for service functions in order to provide basic life necessities to all residents of the neighbourhood.

Regarding public spaces, an important achievement of the civil initiative Forum Vauban was to set up an enormous collective space in the neighbourhood – the central neighbourhood community structure “Haus 037” – which was restructured from the former French barracks (see Figure 2a). Haus 037 embodies a modern multifunctional facility, a heterogeneous public space with a restaurant, a pub, community meeting rooms,



Figure 2: Vauban's public open spaces: a) the neighbourhood community centre Haus 037 and Vauban's Alfred Döblin Square; b) a park; c) an urban garden; d) a park (photo: Primož Medved).

offices and a hostel (Fraker 2013). Such a space strengthens the identity of the local urban space and offers the local residents a place where they can meet and communicate. Another important public space in Vauban is the central Alfred Döblin Square (*Alfred-Döblin-Platz*), which is located in front of Haus 037. Alfred Döblin Square is the heart of social life in Vauban, where the organic market (held twice a week) and exchange market (held once a month) take place. Vauban's approach to public urban spaces confirms the findings by Nataša Bratina Jurkovič (2014) that urban renovation plans implemented with the participation of a neighbourhood's residents diminish the risk of inappropriate or even poor programme planning.

Together with Hammarby Sjöstad in Stockholm, Western Harbour in Malmö is the most representative Swedish example of a sustainable neighbourhood. Western Harbour was primarily used as a port and industrial area, and was also home to the Kockums shipyard. The urban transformation process started with the closure of the Saab factory in 1990 at the original site of the Kockums shipyard, which freed up 140 hectares of

attractive land near the centre and the sea. The area has now been developed into a modern neighbourhood with high sustainability ambitions. Western Harbour was developed in three stages: Bo01, Flagghusen (Bo02) and Fullriggaren (Bo03). The entire area of Western Harbour is still under construction. New sustainable construction is being created in the area. Currently, Western Harbour has 4,300 residents and provides jobs for nine thousand people (Foletta, 2011). The ratio of jobs per resident is very high if one compares it to similar sustainable neighbourhoods across Europe. When fully developed, thirty thousand people will work and study in the transformed urban area. Western Harbour is becoming a new student and economic centre of Malmö.

Regarding sustainable energy and natural resource management, the sustainable urban area in Western Harbour called the Bo01 district was the first sustainable neighbourhood in the world supplied by 100% renewable energy (Bächtold, 2013). Electricity is produced from solar and wind energy. The heating for Western Harbour comes mainly from the geothermal potential of groundwater (80%) and partly from solar ener-



Figure 3: Western Harbour's sustainable transportation and car-free streets; a) an electric car sharing vehicle; b) a car-free public space; c) and d) car-free streets (photo: Primož Medved).

gy (15%). Western Harbour is also a good example of applying green innovation to other areas than energy, especially to water and waste management. For example, in some buildings rain-water is used for washing clothes, for watering gardens and for flushing toilets (e.g., in the elementary school); domestic waste is transformed into a new energy source through a waste system with anaerobic vacuum digestion; organic waste is converted to biogas; and flat roofs are usually “green”, covered with various vegetation (Bächtold, 2013).

Western Harbour's sustainable transport strategy begins, like in Vauban, with reducing car dependency. However, as recently as in 2011 the car ownership rate in Western Harbour was relatively high (440 cars per 1,000 residents), which is slightly less than the Malmö average (480 cars per 1,000; Foletta, 2011). In Western Harbour, cars are allowed in some streets, but the sustainable neighbourhood with a dense and vivid urban design tries to encourage walking and biking (Bächtold, 2013). A significant effort has been made to encourage bicycling and to improve the pedestrian network (see Figures 3c and 3d). Access to the harbour area from other suburbs of Malmö is

provided by an efficient bus system running on biogas, electricity and natural gas. Parking is mainly provided through underground parking lots, with limited on-street parking. The parking ratio set by developers for the initial phase of Bo01 was 0.7 spaces per apartment in order to encourage walking, biking, and public transit use (Fraker, 2013; Zinkernagel, 2014). However, in later phases, because of resident pressure and market demand, the parking policy changed to 1.5 parking spaces per apartment. Neighbourhood residents can use the local car-sharing service (see Figure 3a), which has become very popular (Johansson, 2014; Lööf, 2014). In the development of Fullriggaren (Bo03), membership in a car-sharing scheme was included in the rent for the first two years. Recently, even “bike sharing” of cargo bikes has become popular in Western Harbour.

Regarding the architectural perspective, Western Harbour is inspired by urban design from the 1800s with a relatively high population density. The population density (persons/ha) in Western Harbour is 57 and in the city of Malmö it is 19 (Foletta, 2011). Mixed-use buildings facing the main street have

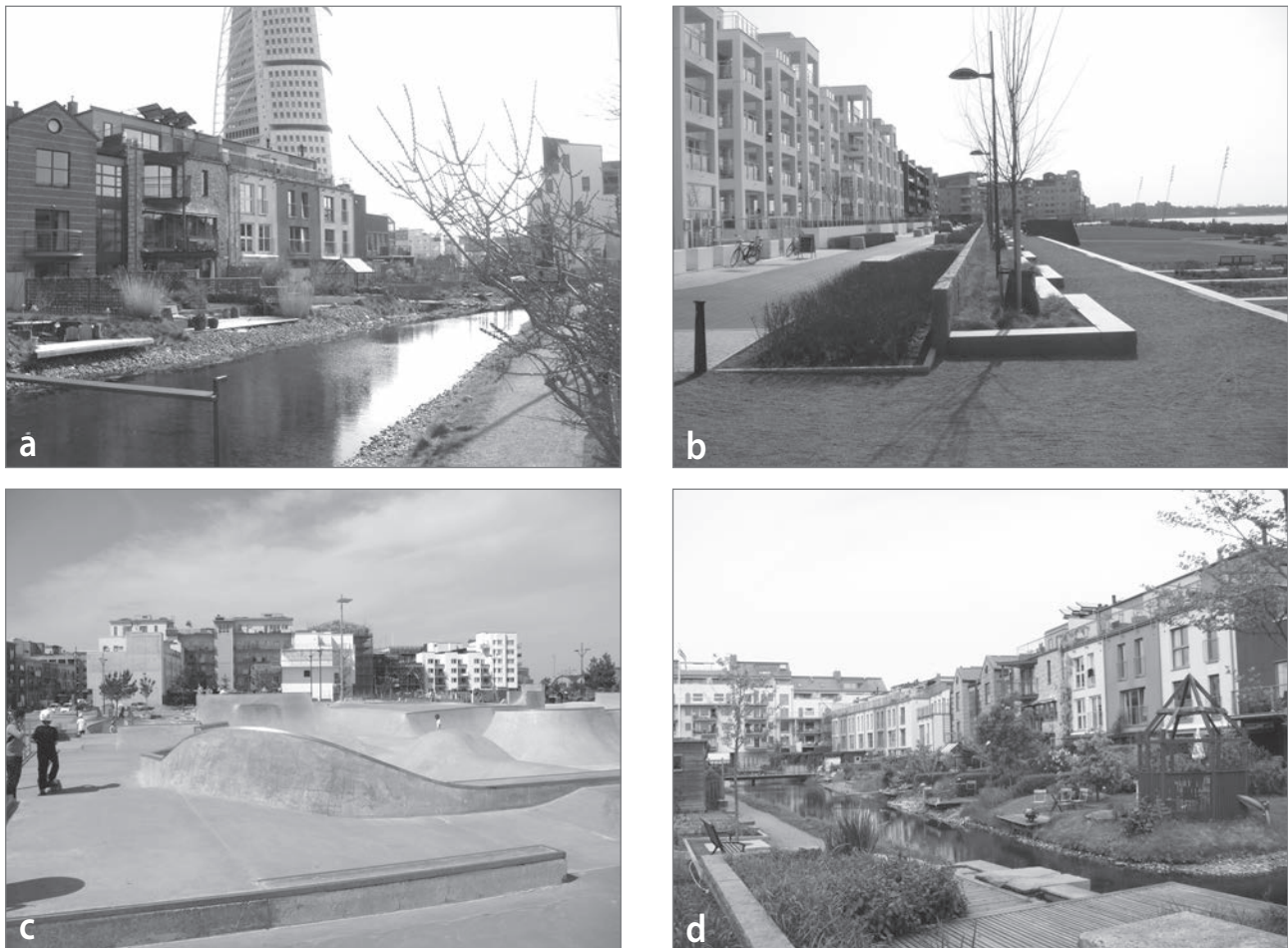


Figure 4: Western Harbour's public open spaces; a) a canal; b) promenade (Sundspromenaden); c) a skate park; d) a park (photo: Primož Medved).

residences, services or commercial spaces. There are six-storey buildings in the front, facing the sea, and low-rise buildings inside. In Western Harbour, like in Vauban, the urban design is also very heterogeneous. For the area of Bo01 alone, with 1,900 apartments, there were ten developers and twenty architects (Bächtold, 2013). Western Harbour is pedestrian-friendly with many interconnected streets and it has many green areas, a skate park (Figure 4c) and a large-scale open storm water system with canals, pools and fountains (see Figures 4a and 4d).

A strip of Western Harbour's waterfront has been converted into a popular public promenade. Although the concept at the beginning was disputable, today the promenade *Sundspromenaden* (Figure 4b) is an attractive place for citizens and visitors (Foletta, 2011). *Sundspromenaden* embodies the social role of an affluent convergent meeting place, like the central plaza in Vauban (Alfred Döblin Square). In contrast to Vauban, in Western Harbour there is no neighbourhood community centre for the local population.

The new urbanism movement especially promotes urban diversity and social heterogeneity within the urban environment. Therefore, a comparison of sustainable neighbourhoods also focuses on these aspects. From the urban design perspective of mixed building types, both neighbourhoods have achieved a very high level of diverse building typologies and public spaces (a promenade, plazas, urban gardens, skate parks, etc.). However, with regard to population heterogeneity, both neighbourhoods eventually failed to achieve (or maintain) a heterogeneous social structure, and there is a risk that these sustainable neighbourhoods could become what Susan Fainstein (2010) calls "citadels of exclusivity". Especially in the initial years, Vauban succeeded in providing a considerable share of affordable housing (Fraker, 2013). Unfortunately, in recent times, rents in Vauban increased significantly, and Vauban is now among the most expensive residential areas in Freiburg. Consequently, most of its inhabitants today are educated professionals (Bächtold, 2013). Sigrid Gombert (2013) and Carsten Sperling (2008) also identified the switch in Vauban's social structure from the initial activists towards young upper-middle class families. However, the initial social urban structure (to a

Table 1: Principles of new urbanism (Vauban and Western Harbour).

New urbanism principle	Definition / factor of interest	Vauban	Western Harbour
1. Walkability	Most things within a ten-minute walk of home and work	+	+
	Pedestrian-friendly street design (buildings close to the street; porches, windows and doors; tree-lined streets; on-street parking; hidden parking lots; garages in a rear lane; narrow, low-speed streets)	+	+
	Pedestrian streets free of cars in special cases	+	+
2. Connectivity	An interconnected street grid network disperses traffic and eases walking	+	+
	A hierarchy of narrow streets, boulevards and alleys	+	+
	A high-quality pedestrian network and public realm make walking pleasurable	+	+
3. Mixed-use and diversity	A mix of shops, offices, apartments and homes on site; mixed use within neighbourhoods, blocks and buildings	+	+
	Diversity of people in terms of age, income level, culture and race	-	-
4. Mixed housing	A range of types, sizes and prices in close proximity	+	+
5. Quality architecture and urban design	Emphasis on beauty, aesthetics, human comfort and creating a sense of place	+	+
	Special placement of civic uses and sites within the community	+	o
	Human-scale architecture and beautiful surroundings nourish the human spirit	+	+
6. Traditional neighbourhood structure	Discernible centre and edge	+	+
	Public space in the centre	+	o
	Importance of a quality public realm; public open space designed as civic art	+	+
	Transect planning: highest densities in the town (neighbourhood) centre; progressively lower density towards the edge	+	+
7. Increased density	More buildings, residences, shops and services close together for ease of walking, more efficient use of services and resources, and a more convenient, enjoyable place to live	+	+
8. Green transportation	A network of high-quality trains/trams/buses connecting cities, towns and neighbourhoods	+	+
	Pedestrian-friendly design that encourages greater use of bicycles, rollerblades and walking as daily transportation	+	+
9. Sustainability	Minimal environmental impact of development and its operations	+	+
	Eco-friendly technologies, respect for ecology and the value of natural systems	+	+
	Energy efficiency	+	+
	Reduced use of non-renewable fuels	+	+
	More local production	+	+
	More walking, less driving	+	+
10. Quality of life	Taken together these add up to a high quality of life well worth living, and create places that enrich, uplift and inspire the human spirit	+	+

Source: Author, 2016.

Table 2: Processes for urban experimentation

Processes	Definition
Making	Conceiving, framing and operationalising the will to improve the urban milieu in relation to climate change
	The process of assembling socio-technical parts, elements and actors that form a “space of exception” and at the same time a “space of innovation”
Maintaining	Upkeep of experimental qualities and keeping unruly elements at bay
	Metabolic adjustment (methods applying experiments that attempt to reconfigure existing forms of circulation)
Living	Bringing into being distinct subjectivities, including multiple elements that are assembled in experiments and create an “experimental subject”
	Experiments operate in uncertain terrains (totalising rationalities and alternative subjectivities are under constant negotiation)
***Disseminating	Sharing experience with other urban areas and organisations, expanding knowhow to networks outside their borders, serving as incubators of change and conveying sustainability to the wider city environment
	Introducing sustainable lifestyles, technological solutions to adjacent (and distant) districts, cities and regions by using the neighbourhood as a showcase

Source: Bulkeley et al., 2015 (modified/regrouped by the author, 2016).

lesser extent) persists within the neighbourhood (Vauban’s “social houses”: SUSI, Haus 037, etc.). Western Harbour was also initially planned to be a heterogeneous and socially sustainable area (Kärholm, 2011). Today, however, the neighbourhood is predominantly populated by upper middle-class people. The first settlement in the area (Bo01) in particular was clearly designed for upper-income families (Madureira, 2015).

The presentation of sustainable neighbourhood urban design characteristics shows that both neighbourhoods achieved most of the factors of interest encompassed in the new urbanism principles (Table 1). As described, the only factor (within the third principle: mixed use and diversity) that was not achieved in either of the neighbourhoods is connected with the diversity of people (in terms of age, income level, culture and race). Western Harbour did not achieve a full checkmark regarding the special placement of civic uses and sites within community because it has not implemented a very important urban design element: the neighbourhood community centre. It also fell short regarding public space in the centre because it has not created a main public meeting space in the centre of the neighbourhood.

5 Processes for urban experimentation

This section investigates urban experimentation as defined by Bulkeley et al. (2015), covering making, maintaining and living in order to analyse the local governance system in each neighbourhood. Disseminating is added as an additional activity to investigate (see Table 2). Studying these processes as part of the

dynamic evolution of a neighbourhood is fundamental for the research because the “making” process clarifies the “conceiving momentum” of urban regeneration (the initial implementation strategy: top-down vs. bottom-up), which is the main independent research variable. The research also focuses on the impact that the implementation approach (the “making process”) has on other subsequent processes.

5.1 Making

To understand the complex system of different actors and components in Vauban and Western Harbour, it is first necessary to understand the prerequisites, and the history and the development processes for these specific sustainable urban areas. In the beginning, both neighbourhoods represented “spaces of exception” in relation to common unsustainable urban practices. Both neighbourhoods were eco-labs in sustainable urbanism, or “spaces of innovation”. However, the visions, planning strategies and development mechanisms were completely different between the two eco experiments, which involved different stakeholders in planning.

In 1993, the Municipality of Freiburg developed an urban plan to reconstruct the former French barracks into a modern sustainable neighbourhood called Vauban. The timing of the city plan for the neighbourhood transformation coincided with the establishment of the activist organisation SUSI, which occupied the abandoned military barracks in 1992. The SUSI group and later the association Forum Vauban were the initiators of an autonomous sustainable neighbourhood in Vauban. A strong local community and good organisation between the initial residents was crucial in establishing a long-term (local)

identity and in strengthening the sustainable orientation of the neighbourhood. During the “making” process, the Municipality of Freiburg recognised the association Forum Vauban as a legitimate partner and coordination entity in the planning process. The association Forum Vauban introduced more radical measures into the local urban master plan and achieved a ban on cars in the neighbourhood in order to create safe streets where children could play (Field, 2011). The energy concept was also developed through collaboration between the Municipality of Freiburg, Forum Vauban and the Freiburg Energy Company (Bächtold, 2013). During the area’s development, Forum Vauban supported various non-profit organisations, such as building cooperatives, and at the same time also initiated special food and energy cooperatives. Vauban embodies the radical-ecocentrist transition version, which proposes a grassroots, localist approach to deep social, environmental and cultural transformations (Audet, 2014).

The Western Harbour area was owned by the Municipality of Malmö, which wanted to transform this industrial area after the bankruptcy of many companies (Löf, 2014). The purpose of the transformation was to create an example of sustainable urban development and to strengthen the image of Malmö as a place to live and invest (Madureira, 2014). The initiators of Western Harbour were not the residents that lived and worked in the area, but the government authorities (namely, the Municipality of Malmö). The public sphere had a very marginal influence on the urban plan of the area of Western Harbour. One reason identified is that the initial architectural plans created by the developers were very detailed from the beginning (Löf, 2014).

The difference in the initiation process between Vauban and Western Harbour was in the degree of residents’ involvement in creating the sustainable neighbourhood concept. The Vauban “learning while planning” participation process, managed by Forum Vauban, was a typical grassroots project with a bottom-up approach. In Vauban, although the city made the process possible, much greater influence was exerted by residents through building cooperatives (Germ. *Baugruppen*) in terms of setting higher standards, selecting the architect, directing the design and managing the construction. In contrast, for Bo01 and all of Western Harbour, the Municipality of Malmö engaged architect-developer teams and commercial building developers. Western Harbour shows a typical top-down approach in building design, in which the goals and objectives were set entirely by the city. The critics point out that the “making” process of the local transformation in Western Harbour entailed no (effective) participatory involvement from civil society.

5.2 Maintaining

“Maintaining” refers to two distinct but related forms of practice for “the maintenance phase of urban experiments” (Bulkeley et al., 2015). Bulkeley et al. (2015) define two forms of maintenance: upkeep and metabolic adjustment. Upkeep adjustment is more physical and direct; it involves mundane practices (removing waste, painting, etc.) with some more strategic interventions (energy investment and blocking of roads). In contrast, metabolic adjustment relates to methods in which the application of experiments attempts to reconfigure existing forms of circulation (Bulkeley et al., 2015). Metabolic adjustment can be seen in policy adaptations, technological development and the development of new cultural sensitivities, and may also be directed towards new ends and the adaptation of new urban contexts.

This article focuses on how concrete “experiments intervene to reconfigure network circulation through metabolic adjustment” (Bulkeley et al., 2015: 39). To explain the metabolic adjustment of Vauban, it is necessary to consider two main waves of adaptation and modification. The first one is related to the energy standards of the building cooperatives. Forum Vauban was particularly successful in encouraging self-builders to adopt a stricter ecological approach than the compulsory standard. Apparently, the 65 kWh/m²/y set by the Municipality of Freiburg was not stimulating enough, and Forum Vauban initiated an informal competition between the cooperatives to reduce the energy demand of future buildings (Delleske, 2013). Forum Vauban arranged free consultations at organised events and seminars to help and inform self-builders and homeowners by providing information on energy-saving techniques (Bächtold, 2013). Many members of the building cooperatives and developers set their own, more aggressive standards. The second metabolic adjustment of Vauban is based more on the composition of the neighbourhood population, which has slightly changed over the years. From the radical green activism of the first pioneers, Vauban is slowly moving toward a more family-oriented neighbourhood, but without losing its particular “holistic sustainable orientation”. In addition, the initial driver behind the Vauban development, SUSI, is still completely integrated in the neighbourhood and today has an important role in the local community, offering affordable council estate rentals. However, the tendency toward gentrification is evident.

Through urban transformation, Western Harbour has also re-adapted itself many times by adopting specific metabolic adjustments. At the beginning of the sustainable transformation, Western Harbour had a poor image and it was often criticised by the media. A fenced park, a for-pay housing expo for the

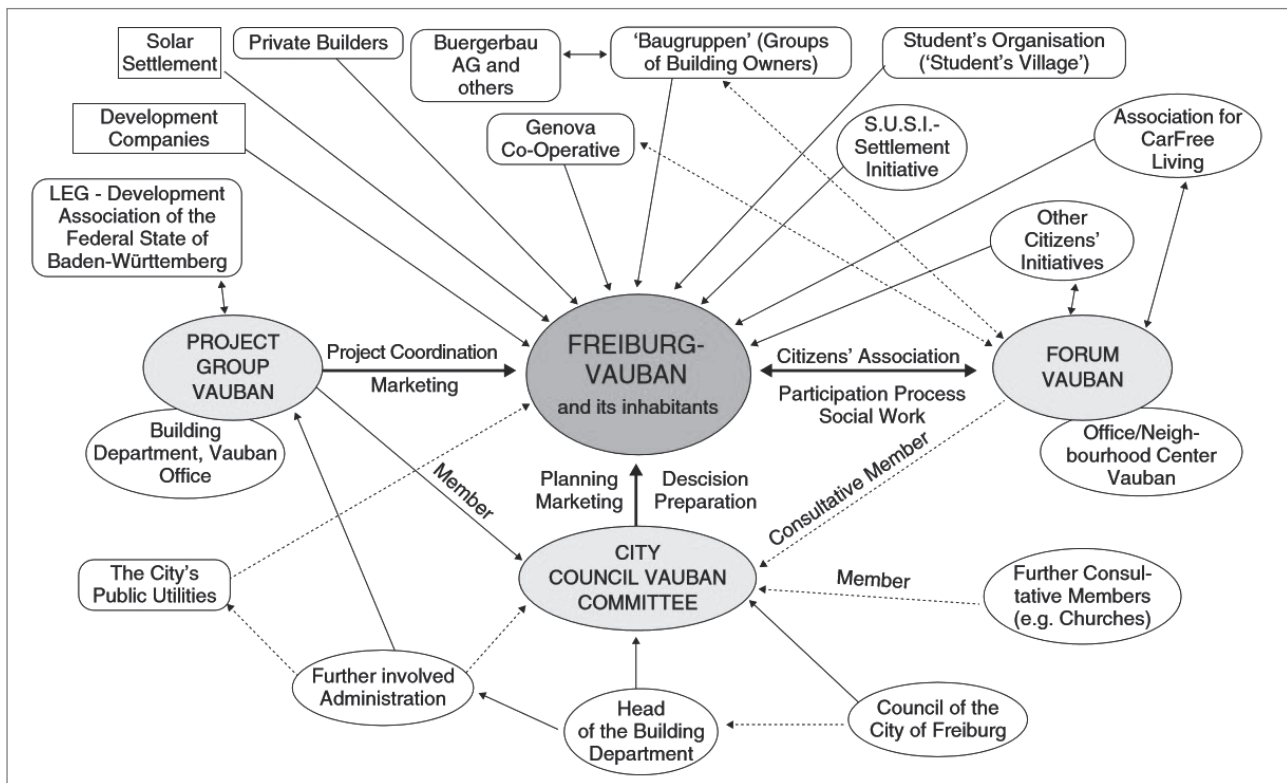


Figure 5: Vauban's local governance structure (source: Internet 2).

citizens of Malmö and consequently a boycott of it, financial scandals of building companies, unpaid local companies and the bankruptcy of the main developer are just some of the negative circumstances that accompanied the beginning of the urban transformation (Dalman, 2014; Löf, 2014). Local criticism and the media also pointed to the high prices for the apartments and the consequent “ghettoisation” of the area (Holgersen, 2014). However, over the years Western Harbour has not only become a highly desired area to live in, but it has also become a central leisure (or recreation) spot in the city and a tourist attraction. The process of maintenance and metabolic adjustment is evident in how the neighbourhood reacted to its new role – that is, by providing special services such as bars, restaurants and so on. However, some local citizens were not very enthusiastic about this new openness to visitors and preferred a more closed local community (Dalman, 2014). The other aspect of reconfiguration during the experiment is shown in the behaviour of the Municipality of Malmö, which reacted to inaccurate predictions about the buildings’ energy efficiency (Bächtold, 2013). The city responded to the unexpected situation with a variety of methods to change and improve residents’ understanding of and commitment to sustainable development goals (Johansson, 2014).

5.3 Living

Living involves bringing into being distinct subjectivities, or multiple elements that are assembled in the experiment and

create an experimental subject (Bulkeley et al., 2015). Both neighbourhoods are experimental living labs, but with a very different local governance system and different decision-making stakeholders. In Western Harbour, the main stakeholder and decision-maker is the Municipality of Malmö. It operates and manages the neighbourhood through its public institutions and with the cooperation of some private companies (such as E.ON), which perform various technical experiments in relation to the environmental solutions applied in low-energy housing, renewable energy grids and so on. In contrast, Vauban, through its citizens’ participative associations Forum Vauban and SUSI, and through its various building cooperatives, renewable energy source cooperatives and various local citizens’ organisations, has built up a multitude of interlaced stakeholders, which form a unique local governance system (see Figure 5). Vauban’s local governance system, which encompasses many different stakeholders, has empowered local citizens.

Bulkeley et al. (2015) claim that experiments operate in uncertain terrain and are under constant negotiation. In Vauban, the association Forum Vauban experienced a serious existential threat and bankruptcy when the EU stopped funding its activities. However, in the end the legacy of Forum Vauban was able to recover under a different name: Stadtteilverein Vauban (Delleske, 2013). The constant negotiation processes and re-adaptation of the internal rules in the local “living” experiments could also be identified in Western Harbour.

Because of the unplanned relatively homogenous social structure of the population in Bo01, the Municipality of Malmö negotiated a very specific “social contract” with the building developers for the subsequent developments. The Municipality of Malmö did not want Western Harbour to become “the golden coast of Malmö” (Dalman, 2014). They wanted to ensure that the continuation of Bo01 provided inclusivity. For this reason, the city wanted to build the cheapest rentals in Malmö. The city subsidised the land for the rentals in some parts of the Bo02 area. In return, the developers had to sign an agreement that they would not charge higher rent than the lowest quartile of the average rentals in Malmö. Unfortunately, the rents did not stay that low for long (Dalman, 2014). As mentioned before, Western Harbour (Bo01) experienced fragility and constant criticism at the beginning (especially from the media). However, after the initial stigma, the experiment of Western Harbour is now globally recognised as a success story of sustainable neighbourhood implementation. The creation of new forms of urban experiments seeks to create new expectations about what is (and is not) normal (Bulkeley et al., 2015).

5.4 Disseminating

Vauban and Western Harbour are sustainable neighbourhoods with a holistic approach to urban sustainability. For this reason, many cities around the world are eager to learn from Vauban and Western Harbour. The innovative disseminating process is important to the ongoing development of sustainable neighbourhoods because it entails sharing experience with other urban areas and organisations. Both neighbourhoods have directly and indirectly expanded their networks outside their borders. It is very complex to measure and define to what extent Vauban and Western Harbour have influenced the rest of their city, region and country with their urban sustainable approaches, and to what extent they have generated international impact. Some concrete actions, influences and knowhow that the two neighbourhoods have transmitted beyond their borders are presented below.

The disseminating process in the case of Vauban can be summarised in four forms of learning. First, knowledge about governance strategies and other organisational solutions has been transferred to other parts of the city (e.g., Rieselfeld) and to urban areas of other cities in the region (e.g., Französisches Viertel – Südstadt in Tübingen). For example, the Vauban building energy standard inspired the standard for energy-efficient buildings in Rieselfeld. These standards formed the basis for a standard, which in 2009 came to apply for the entire city of Freiburg (Bächtold, 2013). Second, the creation of the first plus-energy multifamily house in the world is a technical solution that has been intensively analysed by urban planners, designers and architects. Third, the Vauban guided

tours for tourists and researchers by local residents are a channel for spreading experience. The organisation of informational seminars about the development process of Vauban also promotes learning. Finally, the creation of the living lab *Passivhaus Wohnen und Arbeiten* (the first passive multi-dwelling house), including guided tours of the passive house, provided for more hands-on sharing of the sustainability solutions applied.

The disseminating process in the case of Western Harbour can be described in terms of three learning-related activities. First, knowledge about governance strategies and other organisational solutions has been transferred to other parts of the city (e.g., Hyllie and Augustenborg) and to other urban areas in the region (new plans for a sustainable neighbourhood in Lund; Dalman, 2014). Similarly to Vauban, the sustainable building standards developed throughout the different phases of Bo01 later formed the basis for a programme applying to all buildings developed on municipally owned land in the cities of Malmö and Lund (Smedby, 2016). Also, the builders’ dialogue concept (with the social contract) between building developers and the Municipality of Malmö was transferred to the Municipality of Copenhagen (Löf, 2014). Similarly, the approach to car sharing with a special contract concluded between the municipality, builders and a car sharing company was transferred to a different area of Malmö: Hyllie (Löf, 2014). The Western Harbour traffic system has also become a model for the entire city of Malmö (Fraker, 2013). Second, in terms of more technical solutions, the waste digestion system that was developed in Western Harbour in Bo01 was used again in Bo03 and it will become a model for the entire city (Dalman, 2014; Löf, 2014). Finally, guided tours of Western Harbour have been organised for thousands of international visitors.

6 Conclusion

Based on the new urbanism principles framework, it can be concluded that the bottom-up case of Vauban has achieved a human scale and community-oriented urban form very similar to the top-down case of Western Harbour. The initial implementation approach (top-down or bottom-up) did not influence the urban design form of the cases studied. Nearly all of the new urbanism principles were covered in both neighbourhoods. However, it is important to point out that in both neighbourhoods a fundamental aspect of new urbanism – that is, the diversity and heterogeneity of the urban population – has not been achieved. Based on a new urbanism analysis, the first hypothesis is rejected: that sustainable neighbourhoods with a bottom-up implementation approach create more human-oriented sustainable urban forms. In contrast, the top-down development in Western Harbour’s urban form (see Table 1) is completely in line with new urbanism principles. Other top-down sustainable neighbourhoods

across Europe (like Hannover's Kronsberg or Stockholm's Hammarsby Sjöstad) similarly have a very functional and sustainable dense urban structure, which encourages walkability, incorporates mixed-use buildings, is well connected with green urban transport, has many parks, offers plenty of (civil) services in the vicinity of residential areas and so on (Fraker, 2013). Therefore, it can be concluded that most of the new urbanism principles in sustainable urban neighbourhoods are attainable regardless of the initial implementation approach.

Based on the comparative analysis, it is possible to confirm the second hypothesis: that the sustainable neighbourhoods implemented with the participatory bottom-up approach generate stronger local governance systems and are more socially sustainable. Based on the processes framework, it can be established that the implementation approach (bottom-up or top-down) is relevant because it determines who (the citizen associations or the municipality) will act or react to the neighbourhood's daily progression or retrogression. It determines which stakeholder is the main protagonist and decision-maker for the neighbourhood. The analytical processes framework showed that in both case studies the initial development process (i.e., "making") directly influenced the subsequent processes and defined the final governance system and community social structure. Vauban's local residents have been the main decision-making stakeholders and, through building cooperatives and the association Forum Vauban, they set the social, economic and environmental targets for the whole area. In contrast, in Western Harbour, the entire area has been managed and developed by the Municipality of Malmö. Through the "maintaining" and "living" processes analysis, it could be established that the main stakeholders – the administrators or caretakers of the neighbourhoods – have not changed drastically over time.

The processes framework analysis also revealed that Vauban's bottom-up case study stimulated more socially sustainable organisations and activities, which have enabled the local community to express its vitality. Similarly, other European sustainable neighbourhoods implemented with the participative bottom-up approach (e.g., Amsterdam's sustainable neighbourhood GWL Terrein and Culemborg's EVA Lanxmeer) have also developed a very strong local urban identity and strong social cohesion, and have empowered local residents, who are now responsible for several neighbourhood issues. Therefore, for developing socially sustainable urban areas with strong community-driven local governance in the future it would be beneficial to include the participative dialogue in planning and include the community-based organisation in the urban development strategy from the beginning (in the "making" phase).

Regardless of the differences between the two neighbourhoods established in terms of their "making", "maintaining" and "living" processes, both have acted similarly in the "disseminating" process. There appears to be no significant difference in the transfer of knowledge processes between the case studies. Both sustainable neighbourhoods have successfully transferred technical knowhow (building energy standards, creation of a living lab, a waste digestion system, etc.) and shared their governance strategies and other organisational solutions (the builders' dialogue concept, car sharing, guided tours, etc.) to other urban communities.

Finally, the case studies provide a range of insights into the principles and processes of sustainable neighbourhoods. There is no universal solution or plan that can be followed when implementing sustainable neighbourhoods. Today both examples are internationally recognised as good urban sustainability models. In addition, both districts are living examples of the possibilities that can inspire cities and organisations around the world. Vauban and Western Harbour provide examples of diverse principles and processes that can be adopted to achieve a similar goal: sustainable neighbourhoods.

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Determinants of SME location in a suburban area: Evidence from the Gdańsk–Gdynia–Sopot metropolitan area

Given the importance of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in the European economy, it is essential to have adequate information about the various factors that determine their choice of location. However, the size of a company is often an aspect not covered in theoretical studies and empirical research on industrial locations and urban planning. This article examines the place of residence as a stimulator of SME development in suburbs. Multidisciplinary research carried out in the Gdańsk–Gdynia–Sopot Metropolitan Area, known as the Tricity, confirms this trend. The location determinants of SMEs in suburban areas were identified using a questionnaire. The survey was conducted in 251 enterprises located in

seven municipalities with the highest suburbanisation rates within the Tricity. The study confirms that the municipalities characterised by the highest intensity of suburbanisation processes have higher business activity than other municipalities. Location decisions were largely made by business owners in line with behavioural theory. This means that SME owners more often consider personal factors than cost or demand factors. From the perspective of an entrepreneur, living conditions, the quality of public space, education and healthcare are significant.

Keywords: entrepreneurship, SME, suburban area, regional development, suburbanisation, Poland

1 Introduction

Small and medium enterprises (SME) play a crucial role in national economies; they are the driving force of entrepreneurship, growth, innovation and competitiveness. This sector is widely considered the power that drives regional development and wellbeing. For local authorities and urban planners, proper spatial location requires adequate information about the various factors determining location choices. A company's location determines how it functions and influences its development, and may have a substantial impact on the firm's ability to establish and maintain a competitive advantage (Porter, 2000). Therefore, local, regional and national institutions as well as researchers have focused on identifying and studying the factors that determine companies' location behaviour. However, the size of a company is often neglected in theoretical studies and in empirical research on industrial location and urban planning. In addition, neither traditional nor neoclassical location theories account for company size. A survey of empirical studies on SME location behaviour shows that there still is a research gap in the literature, especially concerning eastern Europe. This was the reason for this study, with the objective of gaining insight into what determines SME location choices.

Development of the SME sector and the parallel process of urban sprawl in Poland were the impetus behind research on SME location choice in suburban areas. The Polish suburban zone has a very fragmented structure and a high rate of entrepreneurship in the SME sector (Martyniuk-Pęczek & Pęczek, in press). This resulted from the socioeconomic changes in Poland after 1989, which were especially dynamic in suburban areas. The significant and continuous growth of such areas has been driven on the one hand by rapid development of small and medium enterprises, and on the other by both the "American way of life" and western European liberalism, which has significantly contributed to urban sprawl in Poland. The interrelationship between these two phenomena (SME development and suburbanisation) has resulted in the urban form of Poland's suburbs, which is distinctive for the Polish situation.

This study was divided into two parts: spatial and economic. The spatial part selected suburban municipalities in the Gdańsk–Gdynia–Sopot Metropolitan Area, known as the Tricity (Pol. *Trójmiasto*), with the highest intensity of suburbanisation and identified the influence of SMEs on spatial quality in selected suburban areas. The economic part identified the municipalities with the highest density of SMEs to determine the factors affecting SME location decisions.

This article is organised as follows. The following section briefly reviews the literature on location decisions and discusses

the role of company size. It presents the results of statistical tests on a sample of 251 SMEs in the suburban area of the Tricity. To confirm the statistical tests, the results of a spatial analysis are also presented. The final section summarises the main conclusions.

2 SME location factors: Literature review

While searching for a place to conduct business, each enterprise chooses a location that will best provide for its needs. A suitable location can greatly enhance a company's market competitiveness with advantages such as increased production capacity, greater profit, expansion, better customer service, increased shareholder wealth and reduced costs (Mazzarol & Choo, 2003). On the other hand, an unsuitable location can have adverse effects. Identifying and analysing enterprise location factors was part of the first location theories, which first focused on cost minimisation (Thunen, 1826; Launhardt, 1882; Predöhl, 1928; Weber, 1929), and then on market analysis and profit maximisation (Palander, 1935; Lösch, 1940; Hoover, 1948; Isard, 1956). In the second half of the twentieth century, a behavioural approach was introduced (Pred, 1967), according to which the explanation of how a location is selected takes into account the existence of a decision-maker, whose behaviour is characterised by bounded rationality. Currently, the choice of an enterprise's location is largely influenced by factors related to technological and social development (Van Noort & Reijmer, 1999). However, it seems impossible to create a universal set of the factors influencing the decision on an enterprise's location. Moreover, even a hundred factors might be taken into account in making a location decision, but only a few of them are really important (Vlachou & Iakovidou, 2015). The literature review shows that location factors can be grouped and divided in different ways. Shelley M. Kimelberg and Elizabeth Williams (2013), followed by Charisia Vlachou and Olga Iakovidou (2015), divide the vast literature devoted to identifying and explaining these factors into three categories: a) studies measuring the influence of a specific factor or set of factors on firm location decisions, b) studies explaining the location decision process for a specific industry or a business with specific characteristics and c) studies identifying the location factors influencing businesses in specific areas. An example by Peter Lloyd and Peter E. Dicken (1990), followed by Jouke van Dijk and Piet Pellenburg (2000), who group factors into internal factors (e.g., quality of management, organisational goals, ownership structure, employment and profits), location factors (e.g., lot size, size of possible expansion space, and distance to customers and suppliers) and external factors (e.g., natural conditions, legal position, government policy and regional economic structure).

There are other ways to group these factors. Some can be labelled “soft factors”: these include unmeasurable, often subjective decision aspects such as the attitude of local authorities, economic profile of the location, social climate, quality of life, standard of living, and local arts and entertainment. The quality of public space and spatial order can also be included here. The second group is “hard factors”, which are often measurable in relation to cost. They include the supply of production and office space, proximity to markets, energy purchases, proximity to suppliers and business partners, transport, qualified labour, regional taxes, subsidy policies, research and academic institutions, and the quality and flexibility of administration (Van Noort & Reijmer, 1999; Leśniewski, 2012). In turn, Edwin Van Noort and Inge Reijmer divide location factors into three groups: those related to the commercial environment (presence of suppliers/customers, and presence of top business), physical environment (car and public transport accessibility, quality and the corporate image of the location, location size and the surrounding environment) and the institutional environment (incentives and environmental legislation; Risselada & Schutjens, 2012). More recently, Yancy Vaillant et al. (2012) separated location factors into three groups: infrastructure and economic motivation, personal motivations and location-related motivations.

Certainly, the size of an enterprise influences the importance of a particular location factor. However, size is not taken into account in location theories nor in many empirical studies. Moreover, although much research has focused on large firms’ decision-making processes, not much attention has been directed toward how SMEs make such decisions. Surely, micro, small and medium-sized enterprises differ from large companies, and in the context of location decisions these differences are related particularly to the decision-maker, to acquiring information about a particular location and to financial resources. Therefore, there is no theoretical framework explaining why small companies’ behaviour does not mirror that of large ones. However, empirical evidence can be found in Barry Moore et al. (1991), Pauline Sullivan et al. (1998), Van Noort and Reijmer (1999), Josep-Maria Arauzo-Carod and Miguel Manjon-Antolin (2004), Maria Teresa Costa et al. (2004) and Michał Flieger (2013). In a Europe-wide study by Moore et al. (1991), the most important factor influencing large and medium-sized enterprises’ location decisions was the availability of regional development assistance, and for small companies access to customers (Moore et al., 1991). In turn, empirical evidence from Catalan municipalities shows that larger firms are guided by more objective decision-making reasons, whereas smaller ones are mostly oriented by the entrepreneur’s preferences. In practice, the range of alternatives open to smaller firms is frequently reduced to the nearest geographical area (Arauzo-Carod & Manjon-Antolin, 2004). The choice of location by

SMEs in the Netherlands is not, contrary to that of large businesses, a strategic decision (Risselada & Schutjens, 2012). It is usually short term. SMEs take only a limited number of diverse factors into account, which rarely applies to larger businesses. Moreover, “soft” factors (image and charisma) were relatively more important for large companies from the Netherlands than for SMEs (Risselada & Schutjens, 2012). Sullivan et al. (1998) conclude that, in comparison with SMEs, large firms place the most importance on physical infrastructure, such as access to railroads, airports, ports or harbour facilities. They also place significantly greater importance on the availability of labour, as well as low-cost loans, public transport and favourable local labour costs. The findings of Chyi-lyi (Kathleen) Liang et al. (2001) indicate that small manufacturers’ location decisions are often related to personal factors, including environment (quality of life) and local residence (the wish to remain close to home), access to capital, customers in the local and regional area, and the availability of facilities. A study of Australian SMEs by Valerie Kupke and John Pearce (1998) identified the two most important industrial location factors as proximity to the central business district and direct access to main roads.

Most surveys on the determinants of Polish companies’ location decisions focus on identifying internal and external factors as well as the local advantages of the site, and to a smaller extent analysing their significance in relation to the size of a company (Budner, 2004; Godlewska, 2005; Płaziak & Szymańska, 2014). In Polish studies, the size of enterprises has been considered by Małgorzata Poniadowska-Jaksch (1997), Flieger (2013), Mariola Chrzanowska and Nina Drejerska (2015) and Hanna Godlewska-Majkowska (2016). The Flieger (2013) study shows that for SMEs only the cost factors are significant (local fees, rent, labour cost and possibility of acquiring funds to support the business), but for large enterprises the factors associated with technological infrastructure, proximity to highways, labour costs and opportunities to cooperate with local enterprises are important. Building ownership by entrepreneurs was among the most frequent answers in the study by Poniadowska-Jaksch (1997). Chrzanowska & Drejerska (2015) mentioned two location factors: proximity to the city and local market opportunities.

3 Methodology and results

3.1 Methodology

This study of suburbanisation and the development of SMEs was divided into two parts. From a spatial perspective, it singled out the suburban municipalities in the Tricity with the highest rate of suburbanisation and determines the form of development of individual plots. From the economic perspec-

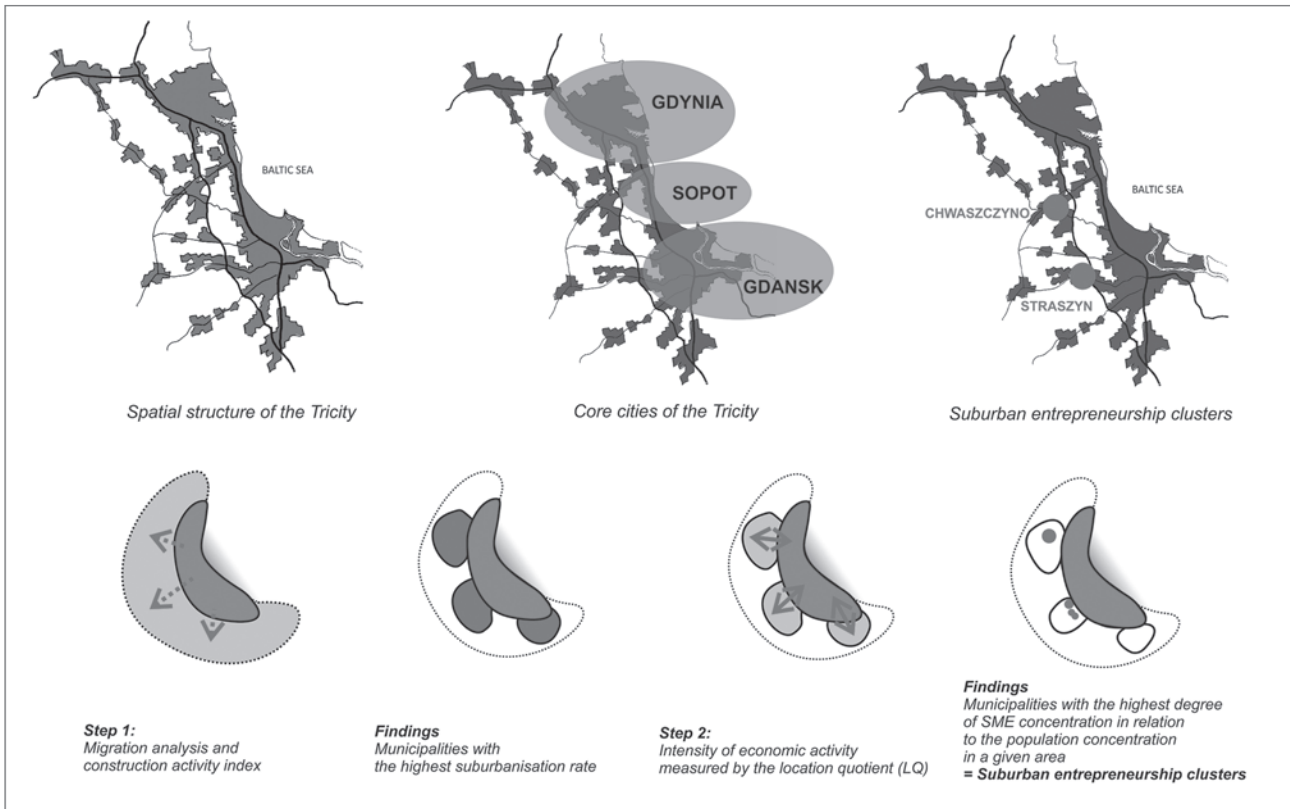


Figure 1: Identifying suburban entrepreneurship clusters based on the spatial structure of the Tricity (illustration: Justyna Martyniuk-Peczek).

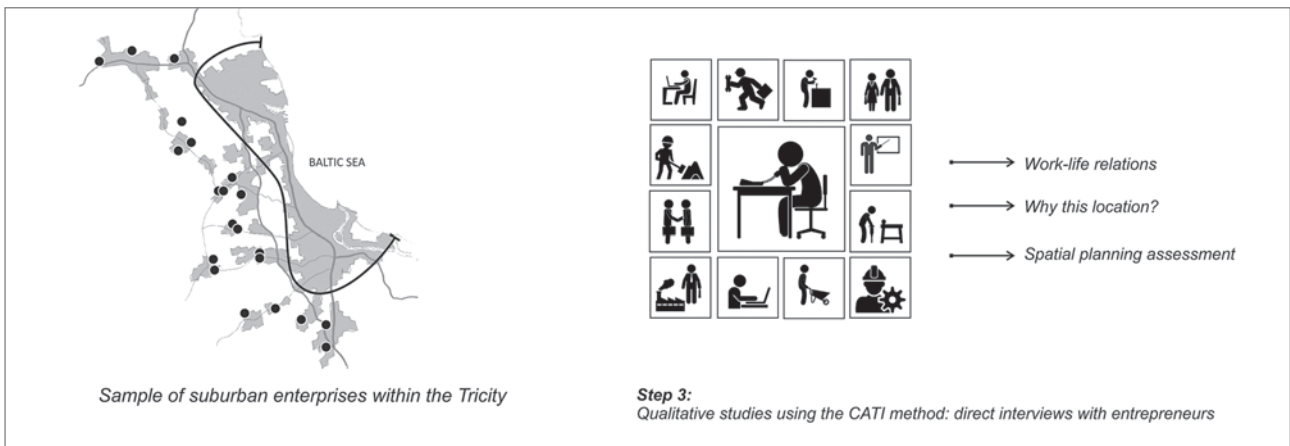


Figure 2: The qualitative study concept for selected suburban municipalities in the Tricity (illustration: Justyna Martyniuk-Peczek).

tive, it selected the municipalities or towns with the highest concentration of SMEs and identifies factors influencing the location decisions by SMEs operating there. The Tricity is a significant part of the functional and spatial structure of Pomerania and it is the most important economic and social centre of the south Baltic area. Pomerania ranks second among Poland’s provinces in terms of entrepreneurship^[1]. Around 7% of all Polish SME-sector entities are registered in Pomerania.

To determine the suburbanisation rate, migration analysis from 2003 to 2012 and the construction activity index from 2008 to 2012 were used, based on statistical data. The

intensity of economic activity was measured using a location quotient (LQ), which is a measure of the concentration of a given characteristic in a given area (in % of the characteristic in general) in relation to the degree of population concentration in the given area (in of the total population).

In order to identify the location determinants of SMEs, a study using the CATI method was conducted in 2015 among 251 enterprises in the suburban areas of the Tricity^[2] that are most subject to suburbanisation processes and are characterised by the highest concentration of SMEs. Figure 2 illustrates the concept of this qualitative study, which was based on direct

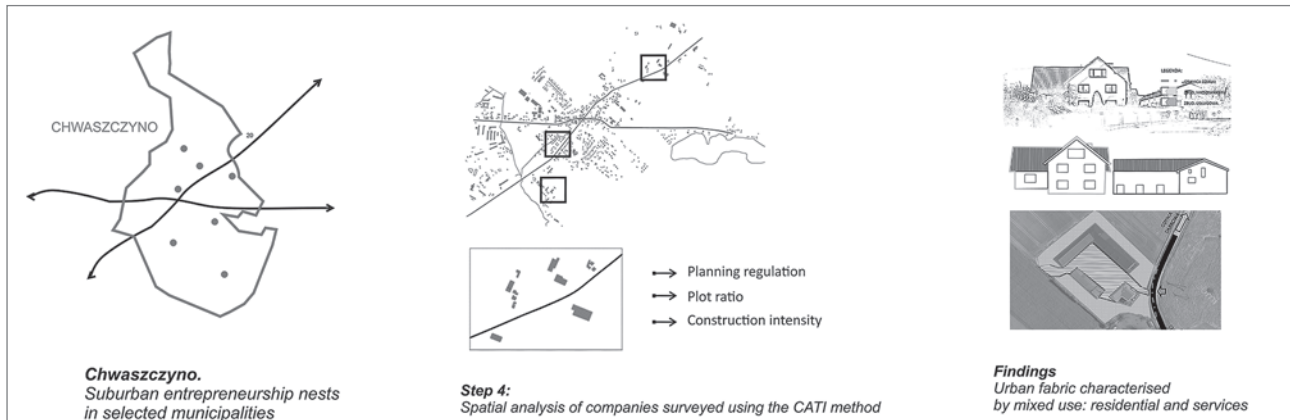


Figure 3: Three step research: analysis of urban planning and architectural forms of entrepreneurs' buildings chosen for the survey (illustration: Justyna Martyniuk-Peczek).



Figure 4: Residential fabric in Chwaszczyno with service buildings (photo: Grzegorz Peczek)



Figure 5: Chwaszczyno with outdoor advertising on the main street (photo: Grzegorz Peczek).

interviews with entrepreneurs. The illustration refers to the structure of the questionnaire used, which consisted of three parts (the first referred to work-life relations, the second to location criteria and the third to spatial planning assessment issues). A REGON (register of the entities of the national economy) number was used as a sampling frame. The sample was prepared based on a database of 3,500 companies from selected suburban areas of the Tricity. Purposive random sampling was used. A reserve of enterprises in case of an additional draw constituted 10% of the sample. Segmentation of the enterprises in the sample was subject to stratification by municipalities, towns and company size. The entities investigated were characterised as follows:

- Entities with two to nine employees (microenterprises, excluding self-employed); in the sample they constituted

ed 83.3% of all entities;

- Entities with ten to forty-nine employees (small enterprises); in the sample they constituted 14.7% of all entities;
- Entities with fifty to 249 employees (medium enterprises); in the sample they constituted 2% of all entities.

The results of the questionnaire reflect the findings for micro enterprises and, to a smaller extent, small enterprises. This is because micro and small enterprises comprised 98% of the sample enterprises. Such a composition of the sample is similar to that of Poland, where micro and small enterprises comprise 98.9% of all entities [3]. The largest groups in the sample were retail enterprises (26.4% of all the entities investigated), industrial enterprises (18.3%) and construction enterprises (11.2%).

Moreover, the strength of the correlations between company characteristics and the most important location determinants were measured. Correlations between the following company characteristics were examined: the size of an enterprise (micro, small or medium), the age of an enterprise (1–5, 6–15 or over 15 years old), the type of business activity (manufacturing, retail or services) and the type of company (family or non-family business), as well as variables indicating whether the place of residence and proximity to the place of residence helped determine the location decision. A chi-squared test, which compares the frequencies observed in the sample with the frequencies expected under an assumption of independence of the two variables, was used. In order to measure the strength of the correlation, Cramer's V and Yule's phi were used. These have values between 0 and 1, with values close to 0 indicating a weak correlation and values close to 1 a strong correlation.

Finally, in order to compare the qualitative survey results and reality, selected plots were examined in terms of urban planning and architecture (Figure 3). The goal was to examine whether SME location principles exist for individual plots.

Each one of the plots chosen for research was subject to identical spatial analyses. The following technical urban-planning parameters were used in the analysis: plot area, built up area, building height measured by the number of floors above ground, green space area, floor area ratio (FAR) and construction intensity. The traits characterising occurrence of buildings on plots with micro, small and medium-sized enterprise functions were sequentially examined. Three main layers were singled out for this analytical group: 1) the number of buildings on a plot, 2) presence of a residential building and 3) business activity conducted in a residential building. The purpose of this part of the analysis was to identify urban-architectural dependencies between residential development and conduction of business activity. The results of this research are presented in Table 4. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the landscape of entrepreneurship clusters, in which the dominant form of structure is a low-density single-family house. What is characteristic for these locations is a vast density of outdoor advertising located in many plots (Figure 5).

The authors are aware of the imperfections of the research methods presented, which were selected to assess the suburbanisation process and economic activity. However, these weaknesses are independent of the authors and are primarily related to the manner of collecting statistical data in Poland. In the context of measuring the dynamics of migration, no obligation to report a change of address as well as the possibility of owning several homes in Poland may be considered such weaknesses, for instance. Analysis of construction

activity is subject to an error associated with delays in registering completed buildings. The fact that the actual place of business activity is often different from the business entity's headquarters (place of registration) is a weakness associated with analysis of economic activity, which is based on the number of registered SME-sector companies.

3.2 Results

Comparing the data on migration balance and the construction activity index, seven municipalities in the Tricity with the most intensively developing suburbanisation process were singled out. Determining the location quotient measuring the degree of concentration of SME units in a given municipality in relation to population, in turn, made it possible to select two towns (Chwaszczyno and Straszyn) with the highest concentration of SMEs, and thus they can be referred to as "entrepreneurship clusters" for the Tricity (Martyniuk et al., 2016). A summary of the qualitative study results, showing the frequency of answers regarding whether a given factor was a determinant in an SME's location decision, is shown in Table 1. The correlations found to be statistically significant ($p < 0.1$) are shown in Table 2.

Based on the research, it can be concluded that business activity was carried out in or near the place of residence by three-quarters of micro enterprises (79.3%) and by almost half of small enterprises (48.6%). This could be due to a lack of capital, local knowledge of market opportunities, or a need to begin creating personal contacts and networks that are only available in the "home" region. No English-language empirical studies of SME location factors in eastern Europe were found, and so it is impossible to critically discuss and link the findings with those of other researchers from this region, which would be appropriate. However, the conclusion that micro and small entities carry out business activity in the owner's place of residence was also indicated and confirmed in studies performed in western Europe by Rigoberto A. Lopez and Nona R. Henderson (1989), Liang et al. (2001), Tim Mazzarol and Stephen Choo (2003) and Anne Risselada and Veronique Schutjens (2012). Housing as a location factor was not identified by Kupke and Pearce (1998); however, their study was conducted in Adelaide, Australia in a significantly different economic and political region than the Tricity.

Polish studies on this subject in the Greater Poland region (Flieger, 2013) and in the province of Świętokrzyskie (Leśniewski, 2012) indicate the costs of business activity as a primary factor of location. However, it is difficult to compare these results because the surveys used by Leśniewski and Flieger do not mention criteria such as the place of residence.

Table 1: Determinants of SMEs' location in suburban areas of the Tricity with the highest rate of suburbanisation.

Determinant	Total results (%)	Micro company (%)	Small company (%)	Medium-sized company (%)
Place of residence	42.8	47.1	24.3	0.0
Proximity to core cities	32.4	33.7	29.7	0.0
Proximity to place of residence	30.4	32.2	24.3	0.0
Favourable transport conditions	24.4	25.5	21.6	0.0
Personal reasons (family, childcare)	19.6	21.6	10.8	0.0
Proximity to main client	14.0	16.3	2.7	0.0
Infrastructure	14.0	15.9	5.4	0.0
Demand	14.0	15.9	5.4	0.0
Low investment costs	10.0	9.6	10.8	20.0
Low price of land	8.0	8.2	8.1	0.0
Natural conditions of area	6.0	7.2	0.0	0.0
Low transport costs	5.6	6.3	2.7	0.0
Low labour costs	4.8	4.8	5.4	0.0
Previous location analysis	4.8	5.3	2.7	0.0
Access to raw materials	2.8	3.4	0.0	0.0
Availability of discounts for entrepreneurs	2.0	2.4	0.0	0.0
Other	23.2	19.2	37.8	80.0

Source: Own calculations based on the questionnaire.

Table 2: Correlations between company characteristics and place of residence, and correlations between company characteristics and proximity to place of residence.

1. Size of company and place of residence as a location determinant	
$p = 0.019$, Cramer's V = 0.20	
Company size	Percentage of entities in the sample indicating place of residence as a determinant of location
Micro	47%
Small	24%
Medium	0%
2. Type of company and place of residence as a location determinant	
$p = 0.0001$, Yule's phi = 0.25	
Company type	Percentage of entities in the sample indicating place of residence as a determinant of location
Family business	58%
Non-family business	32%
3. Type of company and proximity to place of residence as a location determinant	
$p = 0.059$, Yule's phi = 0.12	
Company type	Percentage of entities in the sample indicating proximity to place of residence as a determinant of location
Family business	37%
Non-family business	26%

Source: Own calculations based on the questionnaire.

Table 3: Correlations between company characteristics and proximity to core cities.

1. Type of business activity and proximity to core cities as a location determinant	
$p = 0.037$, Cramer's $V = 0.16$	
Type of business activity	Percentage of entities in the sample indicating proximity to core cities as a determinant of location
Manufacturing	35%
Retail	40%
Services	22%
2. Type of company and proximity to core cities as a location determinant	
$p = 0.003$, Yule's $\phi = 0.19$	
Company type	Percentage of entities in the sample indicating proximity to core cities as a determinant of location
Family business	43%
Non-family business	25%

Source: Own calculations based on the questionnaire.

The second factor influencing location decisions that was indicated by the respondents was proximity to the core cities (Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia). The correlations found to be statistically significant using the chi-squared test ($p < 0.1$) are shown in Table 3. Because previous studies that connect location factors with special areas mostly concern urban areas (Karakaya & Canal, 1998; Cohen, 2000; Prat & Marcen, 2006) or rural areas (Michelacci & Silva, 2007; Yu & Artz, 2009; Vaillant et al., 2012), and not suburban areas, it is impossible to critically discuss and link our findings with those of international researchers. However, suburban areas in the context of location factors of SMEs were analysed by Poniatowska-Jaksch (1997) and Chrzanowska & Drejerska (2015). Both studies examined the Warsaw suburban area. Our results are consistent with those concerning Warsaw in the case of proximity to the core city as an important location factor.

Another factor influencing the location decisions of SMEs in suburban areas of the Tricity was favourable transport conditions. A statistically significant correlation was found between the type of company and whether a favourable transport system was a determinant of location ($p = 0.021$, Yule's $\phi = 0.15$). Overall, 25.5% of microenterprises and 21.6% of small enterprises in the sample indicated favourable transport conditions as the determinant of location. The role of transport has a long tradition in classical location theory. Among the various types of transport infrastructure, roads are frequently reported as the most important type. Although firms perceive the availability of good transport infrastructure as very important, it is seldom the decisive factor in a location decision. This statement agrees with the findings of Moore et al. (1991) in relation to SMEs. In their research, infrastructure was found to be relatively unimportant as a locational determinant. Sullivan et al. (1998) state that for SMEs, in comparison to large firms, infrastructure plays a less important role. The same conclusions were indicated in Polish studies carried out by Flieger (2013).

Our qualitative results are similar to the findings of the Polish survey (Leśniewski, 2012).

Subsequently, in order to confirm our findings from the economic section, we conducted an urban-planning analysis. This analysis determined types of urban fabric and assigned them characteristic features that describe their construction parameters (Figure 6). The upper row of the figure shows the predominant building type (typical forms of mixed-use buildings), and the lower row presents low-density buildings (detached houses and various forms of service buildings). The results show that most plots are relatively large; that is, 1,200 to 3,500 m², and sometimes even 9,000 m². Such an area is characteristic of the extensive use of space in suburbs. The second characteristic trait for this type of system is the relatively low percentage of buildings, in most cases not exceeding 20% of the plot area. As a consequence, building development is extensive in nature, and its intensity ranges from 0.1 to 0.5. Such construction and urban fabric is characteristic of the suburban Polish landscape and shows a great lack of spatial order.

This might be a result of legal conditions for developing suburban areas in Poland. The legal foundations for locating buildings tend to vary widely even between closely neighbouring areas, which is a consequence of the post-communist transformation in Poland. The transformation of spatial planning was carried out in three phases (Kolipiński, 2014): 1) an adjustment/preparation phase from 1989 to 1994, 2) application of a new model from 1995 to 2003 and 3) a system correction phase, which is still ongoing. The legal conditions for the development locations therefore naturally followed these phases.

The first structures erected directly after the collapse of communism in 1989 were sited based on the spatial planning law and plans from the previous system (Izdebski et al., 2007; Dutkowsk, 2012; Kolipiński, 2014). Local planning was based

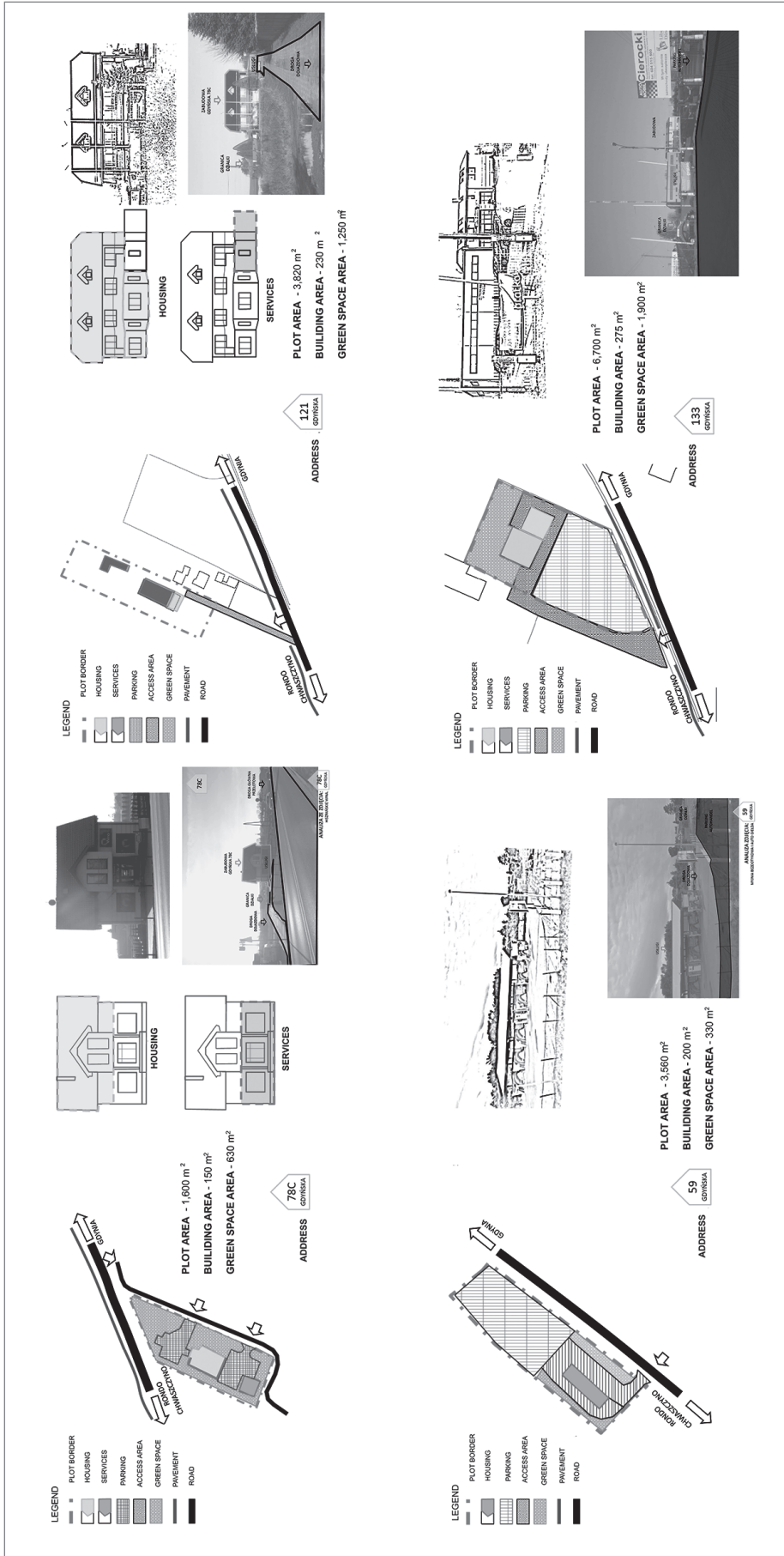


Figure 6: Analysis of architectural forms of urban fabric (illustration: Martyna Szymczak & Justyna Martyniuk-Peczek).

Table 4: Selected urban parameters and results for Chwaszczyno and Straszyn

Town/city	Street address	Plot area (m ²)	% of buildings	No. of buildings	Residential buildings	Business activity in a residential building
Chwaszczyno	Wąska 21	4,300	13	2	0	0
	Polna 9	9,130	19	3	1	0
	Ogrodowa 3	1,130	18	1	1	1
	Oliwska 92	356	24	1	1	1
	Gdyńska 78	4,200	14	3	1	0
	Gdyńska 78C	1,600	9	1	1	1
	Gdyńska 94	1,630	9	1	0	0
	Gdyńska 59	3,560	6	1	0	0
	Wąska 23	1,640	23	1	1	0
	Jarzębinowa 5	865	26	1	1	1
	Świerkowa 72	1,200	14	1	1	1
	Sienkiewicza Henryka 2	830	18	1	1	1
	Norwida Cypriana Kamila 14	790	18	1	1	1
	Sychty Bernarda 18	630	27	2	1	0
	Majkowskiego 2	815	29	2	1	1
	Gdyńska 133	6,270	4	1	0	0
	Gdyńska 121	3,820	22	3	1	0
Kaszubska Droga 5	1,320	10	2	1	1	
Straszyn	Różana 19	512	25	2	1	1
	Meblowa 10	3,500	46	3	0	0
	Liliowa 4	605	13	1	1	1
	Świerkowa 27	675	16	1	1	1
	Młyńska 7	8,000	35	5	0	0
	Starogardzka 42–44, building A	4,730	36	2	0	0
	Tęczowa 1	465	26	1	1	1
	Liliowa 5	850	22	2	1	1
	Szafirowa 11	1,200	13	1	1	1
	Starogardzka 38	1,130	27	1	0	0
	Spokojna 68	2,580	10	2	1	1
	Ogrodowa 19	600	18	1	1	1
	Objazdowa 5	3,445	18	2	0	0
	Starogardzka 22	705	23	1	1	1
	Spokojna 52	3,450	30	1	0	0

Source: Own calculations based on spatial analysis.

on local municipal authorities taking over the jurisdiction of former municipal national councils together with the former plans that were still in force, regardless of their quality level. The development carried out later in the 1990s was merely single buildings sited on the basis of location permits granted individually, mostly with no connection to some overall plan or vision (Solarek, 2013). This situation and method exacerbated the chaotic and scattered spatial structure in the suburbs (Lisowski & Grochowski, 2009). In contrast, the last ten years could be described as an attempt to harmonise local zoning plans more strictly with higher-order planning documents as well as with other zoning plans that were created

previously (Solarek, 2013). This was an attempt to connect the existing building structure with that being planned; for example, to be converted from farm use to other uses. However, this resulted in an oversupply of investment land converted from farm use, which consequently caused more scattering of the built structure rather than condensing it (Lisowski & Grochowski, 2009).

The survey carried out among entrepreneurs confirmed the findings of our spatial research. We sought to answer the following questions based on spatial analysis:

- Does residential development always accompany the

building where business activity is conducted? (80% answered yes)

- How often does business activity occur in residential buildings? (in over 55%)
- Do the plots have only residential buildings in which business activity is conducted (i.e., adaptation of part of a house for business activity)? The share is over 30%. Typically, plot areas were significantly smaller than in other cases and did not particularly correspond to an average residential property; that is, around 800 m².

Table 4 presents selected parameters and the results of building structure and plot development analysis for two different towns: Chwaszczyno and Straszyn.

4 Conclusion

The suburbanisation processes taking place in various countries in Europe are not homogeneous. This is because suburban areas in different countries are shaped by different social, economic and spatial factors. In the spatial context, Poland-specific characteristics comprise the lack of a tradition of “efficient” land use, the lack of local practices and standards for the use of space, and weakness in spatial planning, mainly at the local scale, manifesting itself in freedom in preparing spatial development plans and ease in altering them (Fogel, 2012). The spatial form presented by Polish urban sprawl does not follow appropriate urban standards in terms of spatial order. It is often described as expansive, unstructured or chaotic. One reason for this may be the specific economic character of Polish suburban areas; namely, the high activity of SMEs, which have increased in number over the last twenty-five years (Martyniuk et al., 2016; Martyniuk-Pęczek & Pęczek, in press). The flow of citizens with entrepreneurial orientations away from the core cities has caused Polish suburban areas to become “entrepreneurship clusters”. Based on previous studies conducted in Poland, it can be suggested that “entrepreneurship clusters” are formed in the areas where business activity entails the lowest costs (low price of land, rent and labour) or guarantees a high demand. However, our findings suggest that local authorities and urban planners seeking to develop and market land in suburban areas need to devote attention to the quality of living conditions, including transport and public space. When people with a strong entrepreneurial attitude consider locating business activity in a suburban area, they prefer a location that provides appropriate living conditions for their family over the cost aspect. This can be particularly important for SMEs in suburban areas because proximity to core cities guarantees demand. As a result, entrepreneurs that search for a location for their business do not choose places with the lowest costs of business activity, but those that can ensure development of their businesses and for their families. However, it is important

to note that quality expectations in Poland, in the context of living conditions and public space, seem to be much lower than in western Europe.

The fact that this research was carried out in suburban areas of only one metropolitan area is a limitation of this study. It means that all of the findings described above can only be applied to suburban areas of the Tricity. Studies of other metropolitan areas in Poland could confirm or reject the statement that decisions about locating SMEs in suburban areas favour personal reasons over costs.

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Notes

[1] The ranking of the provinces is based on a synthetic index. The synthetic index of entrepreneurship development in the regions was created based on the place a given region held in twenty-six categories of variables referring to entrepreneurship development, including the number of enterprises, the number of people working in enterprises, the revenues, the expenses and the investment expenditure (Cieslik et al., 2014).

[2] The area's limits were selected according to the Development Plan of Pomerania.

[3] Data as of 31 December 2013.

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Homeownership in Slovenia: Searching for an alternative theory on its excessive growth

Recent studies generally show growing levels of homeownership across Europe. However, a comparison of statistical data shows a stark difference in the extent of homeownership between western Europe versus central and eastern Europe. Whereas the development and growth of homeownership in western Europe has been extensively discussed in the literature and various theories have been advanced, its strong dominance in central and eastern Europe has been barely examined. Due to the lack of thorough discourse on this topic, there thus continues to be a void in the literature, which is manifested in the absence of a sound explanation for the comparatively much higher expansion of homeownership in post-communist central and eastern Europe. This article

contributes to filling this gap. The central argument is that theories that were developed to explain the growth of homeownership in western Europe (economies with a capitalist tradition) might not necessarily apply to situations in central and eastern Europe (with previous communist centrally planned economies). Focusing on the case of Slovenia, the discussion is orientated towards developing an alternative theory that may be more relevant in explaining and understanding the growing preference for homeownership in the country.

Keywords: homeownership, communism, housing policy, self-construction, family house, Slovenia

1 Introduction

A literature review shows steady growth in homeownership levels in recent decades in many European countries. These increases have been particularly high in central and eastern Europe (Poland 63%, Czech Republic 75%, Latvia 83%, Slovenia 90%, Hungary 94%, Slovakia 92%, Estonia 96%, Romania, 96%, etc.) as compared to western Europe (Finland 66%, Netherlands 58%, France 57%, Austria 56%, Denmark 46%, Germany 46% and Sweden 38%; Dol & Haffner 2010). Similarly, European Mortgage Federation data (EMF, 2015) show considerably higher levels of owner-occupation in central and eastern Europe in comparison to western Europe. Franklin Obeng-Odoom's (2016) study of immigrants reveals that similar tendencies for homeownership may also be observed among central and eastern European immigrants that migrate to cities overseas. According to Peter Saunders (1990: 2), "mass homeownership is associated with a strong popular desire to own personal property and is underpinned by deeply cherished and widespread values which emphasise independence, security and the importance of home as a base from which to venture out into the world".

Saunders's observation offers a suitable initial explanation to the popular belief that the large majority of Slovenians aspire to live in their own home. Various surveys conducted in Slovenia on this phenomenon have revealed that on average over 90% of respondents aspire to live in their own house, a detached house with a private garden being the most desired type (Kos, 1984; Mandič 1992). Other than being a natural aspiration, owning a house is also believed to be a major indicator of social status. It is therefore often suggested that the strong desire to own a home is subtly fuelled by the urge to achieve this ultimate social status symbol (Michalovic, 1992). Especially in the US, owning a home is a life-long ambition that one pursues in order to achieve the socially expected standard. This objective has been described by some authors as the "ultimate American dream" (Retsinas & Belsky, 2002; Rohe et al., 2002; Shlay, 2006). In his study on the subject, Anthony Gurney (1999) concluded that homeownership in the UK is increasingly seen as "the norm", whereas rental tends to be looked upon as a tenure for the underprivileged. Along the same line of reasoning, Moira Munro (2007) suggests that there appears to be a popular association between owner occupation and success, status and wealth.

In addition to the social status explanation, however, other authors have pointed to the social benefits of homeownership to both the owner and society (e.g., Megbolugbe & Linne-man, 1993; Rohe & Stewart, 1996; Rossi & Weber, 1996; DiPasquale & Gleaser, 1999; Rohe, Zandt & McCarthy, 2001; Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005; Hajer, 2009; McCabe, no date).

The common theme here is that homeownership offers greater independence, security and pride of possession, strengthens local social networks, contributes to social involvement and has a positive impact on the neighbourhood.

Whether homeownership in Slovenia is all or any of the above, or the result of some other cause, the fact is that it currently accounts for over 90% of the total housing stock (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012). Of this, 65% is "family houses". (I use the term *family house* instead of the more common term *single-family house* because family houses in Slovenia are, in the majority of cases, constructed with the aim of accommodating more than one family.) This article mainly focuses on the family house as the most characteristic and predominant form of homeownership. It starts with a review of the (western European) theories that mostly blame government policies for the growth of homeownership. This review particularly focuses on Saunders' (1990) comprehensive study of various theories on homeownership and its growth in Europe. This is followed by a brief review of literature exploring the potential of homeownership as a source of wealth, or the "asset-based notion" of homeownership (Kemeny, 1981, 2005; Ball, 1983; Ronald 2008; Doling & Ronald 2010; Elsinga & Mandič 2010; Mandič, 2010; Toussaint 2011). The section discussing the homeownership situation in Slovenia examines the nature of homeownership in detail and the major factors that influenced its development and growth. I discuss the most important mechanism for facilitating family house ownership: self-construction. Self-construction was also the main form of private provision in Bulgaria (Koleva & Dandolova, 1992), and a typical form of provision in Hungary, especially in rural areas and "with some significance also in urban areas" (Hegedüs & Tosics, 1992; Hegedüs, Mark & Tosics, 1996). Self-construction is a popular mechanism for securing homeownership worldwide, especially in lower-income countries (Gilbert & Varley, 1990; Gilbert, 1999).

Linking this with self-construction practices, I discuss and suggest alternative explanations to argue against another widely promoted explanation of the surge in homeownership in Slovenia. This concerns the popular conviction that family house building practices expanded in the country because this was the only secure form of financial investment under communist rule, which lasted from the end of the Second World War until the early 1990s. The advocates of this theory believe that the growth of homeownership in Slovenia is the consequence of a political system that did not offer people alternatives for investing their surplus income (e.g., Hegedüs & Tosics, 1992; Mandič, 1992). On the contrary, with the help of statistical data I argue and show that the urge to own family houses did not, in any way, lessen even after the adoption of a market economy and introduction of various long- and short-term

investment schemes, such as shares, bonds, mutual funds, pension funds and so on.

The article thus examines the validity in Slovenia of various homeownership theories that were previously advanced to describe the development and dominance of homeownership in western Europe. The final aim is to lay a foundation for a viable theoretical explanation that may help in better understanding the causes of the apparently unstoppable urge to own, which threatens to gradually wipe out rental tenure entirely. This information is necessary as a premise for formulating policies to address the problem and establish a more appropriate tenure structure. It is also hoped that the alternative explanations discussed will provide a useful theoretical framework for future discourse on the subject.

2 Theoretical background

Theory 1: Homeownership as a product of deliberate government policies

The growth of homeownership first needs to be investigated from a historical perspective. Saunders' (1990) study is especially useful because it offers a comprehensive historical analysis of the development and expansion of homeownership in the western world. The study presents a broad range of views by numerous scholars that have advanced various theoretical explanations for the occurrence and growth of homeownership. These theories are summarised below.

Saunders' historical review mostly comprises theories by Marxist writers, who generally argued that owner-occupation was intentionally fostered by governments or capitalist interests to "bolster the bourgeois social order". He identifies five main reasons suggested by various theorists to explain why the "capitalist class, aided and abetted by the capitalist state, sought to draw the working class into home ownership" (Saunders 1990: 29). These are:

Ideological effects of homeownership. Various authors have suggested that post-Second World War housing policies had the deliberate intention of making every worker a small homeowner to secure working-class support for the private property system enjoyed by the wealthier classes. It is explained that such measures sought to induce workers to identify with bourgeois values. The essence of this theory is that encouraging owner-occupation ensures both social stability and future political support.

Creation or reinforcement of divisions. The second theory holds that owner-occupation was encouraged to create divisions within the working class. In this case, the aim is to enable the

higher strata of the working class to achieve homeownership, so as to detach them from the rest of their class, which in turn would result in weakening proletarian solidarity and defusing the resentment of capital.

Long-term date effect. According to this theory, offering skilled workers small suburban homes to be purchased through home mortgages was a strategy employed by industrialists after the Second World War in order to achieve greater industrial order. Tying house buyers into a twenty- or thirty-year financial commitment was believed to discourage potential strike action, which would likely result in a loss of regular income and therefore the eventual loss of one's home.

Individualisation and privatisation of the working class. Here, it is believed that homeownership encourages workers to withdraw from collective life and focus more on their home and family. Homeownership is thus believed to have been deliberately encouraged with the aim of individualising and privatising the working class.

Creation of a mass market for consumer goods. The proponents of this theory see the privately owned home as being at the core of contemporary consumerism. Owner-occupation is supported and encouraged to stimulate demand for building materials, enhance demand for car use, increase energy consumption and increase demand for consumer goods. It argues that homeownership has created new lifestyles dependent on an insatiable demand for consumer durables, which can only be satisfied by expanding industrial production. Increasing the level of homeownership therefore has the ultimate aim of increasing consumerism in order to generate more national revenue.

Saunders' general conclusion is that Marxist theorists believe that the development and expansion of homeownership is the result of government policies that were implemented with the intention "to fragment the working-class collective and dupe individual workers into accepting the legitimacy of the upper-class social relations" (Saunders, 1990: 65). He rejects all of these theories, arguing that they lack evidence to show, first, that working-class homeownership was successfully implemented or, second, that this was the government's intention. Instead, he suggests that homeownership is an aspiration that needs to be examined and understood in terms of human behaviour. Saunders' rejection of the premeditated government role described above finds support in the work of Anthony Giddens (1984), who noted that it is not always possible to motivate and control people's actions. Even when such an attempt is made, he argued, one cannot guarantee the eventual achievement of the intended outcomes. The crucial weakness of these theories is the inherent assumption that the working

class can always be manipulated to act precisely as anticipated and deliver the exact outcomes intended by the ruling class.

One can take the risk of suggesting that the theories reviewed above are too simplistic to be acceptable as credible explanations of the growth of homeownership, even in the western European context. This article argues that they are certainly not relevant in explaining the growth of homeownership in Slovenia. In fact, these theories could not apply to Slovenia because they were developed by Marxist scholars to explain situations in capitalist countries. These theories are essentially flawed and totally inapplicable to countries that, at the time, were under communist rule. Communist regimes did not seek to establish a private property system, weaken proletarian solidarity or individualise the working class, and housing mortgages were also not available. Communist doctrine sought exactly the opposite; that is, to unite the proletariat for the common good of the state. Moreover, although the creation of mass markets for consumer goods also cannot be denied in the former communist countries, it is vital to acknowledge that the principle aim was not to create homeownership-related consumerism, but to create jobs. Almost all new industrial development was simultaneously accompanied by the construction of collective, government-owned housing for the workers. Indeed, contrary to the legitimization of homeownership, the former communist countries of central and eastern Europe pursued housing policies that were fundamentally intended to thwart all forms of private ownership, including housing (Telegarsky & Struyk, 1991; Turner, Hegedüs & Tosics, 1992; Lowe & Tsenkova, 2003; Donner, 2006; for Slovenia, see also Sendi, 1999, 2016).

Having rejected the validity of the Marxist theories on the roots and development of homeownership, it is fair to point out that there are other (not necessarily Marxist authors) that similarly see national policies as the major cause for the gradual (and recently intensified) expansion of homeownership worldwide. At the global level, the United Nations body responsible for housing development has disappointedly observed that the number of governments trying to support rental housing development has considerably declined. It has warned that “[g]overnments should not perpetuate the myth of the achievability of universal homeownership. Instead they should accept that at some point in their lives most people need rental accommodation” (UN-HABITAT, 2003: iii). The dominance of homeownership as a consequence of government policy has also been discussed by Alan Gilbert (1999), who has argued that homeownership has been popular with most governments because they have believed that most people prefer to own rather than to rent. He has further suggested that governments encourage and implement policies that enable homeownership in order to secure political support; that is, votes. The same line of thinking is pursued by

Munro (2007), who has written that in recent decades the UK has implemented policies (such as Right to buy or low cost home ownership) intended to increase homeownership “driven by the belief that such policies are popular with the electorate” (Munro, 2007: 243). The theory that seeks to explain the growth of homeownership as a government “trick” to secure voter support introduces a perspective different from those previously suggested by Marxist theorists. Consequently, how relevant is this theory to the Slovenian situation?

There is no doubt that national policies implemented in the past in a variety of forms have impacted the growth of homeownership in Slovenia. Faced with the fact that it would not be able to fully realise its self-imposed post-Second World War communist ideological commitment to provide housing for all of its citizens, in 1965 the government introduced a policy measure that marked the initial official recognition of private ownership of housing. The measure enabled individuals to purchase construction materials from government-owned building-material manufacturers at cheaper prices in the form of subsidies (Marinšek, 1983). This laid the ground for the intensification of self-construction activity in the following decades.

The privatisation of the previous rental housing stock between 1991 and 1994 certainly significantly contributed to increasing the level of homeownership. By the end of the privatisation process, the share of homeownership had grown from 67% in 1991 to 89% in 1994, an increase of 22% (Sendi, 2009). Other policy measures that focused on increasing the level of homeownership following the shift from a planned to market economy in 1991 included various forms of government-sponsored object and subject subsidies and a housing loan scheme (operating on the principles of the German Sparkassen mortgage lending model), which was introduced in 1999 and abandoned in 2006 (Cirman & Sendi, 2016).

However, it must be noted that none of these measures could be described as an instrument introduced by the government with the deliberate intention to woo voters. The policy of subsidising building materials under communist rule was simply introduced as a pragmatic solution (Marinšek, 1983). Under the one-party system, political support for the government was naturally guaranteed and there was no need to implement particular policies (in any area) for ensuring it. Moreover, although the privatisation of the public housing stock had several objectives, securing voter support for the next elections was not one of them.^[1] Upon the introduction of the measure, the government was enjoying a very high level of public support, having just abandoned the unpopular planned economy system, which was crumbling all across eastern Europe at that time. With respect to the provision of subject and object subsi-

dies after the adoption of a market economy, the analysis of the effect of these housing policy measures after fifteen years of implementation showed that they had had no noticeable impact on the level of production of new housing (Sendi, 2007). The calculations revealed that the amounts secured at the end of the saving period were too low to enable home seekers to purchase dwellings on the highly price-inflated housing market.

It may thus be concluded that the government has mostly played a passive and marginal role in this area and cannot be considered a major causal factor of the growth of homeownership in Slovenia. Government policies in this area have been nowhere near “bribing people to become homeowners”, as Gilbert (2008: ii) labelled the policies that have been implemented in a variety of countries worldwide. I thus reject the theory that would seek to explain the growth of homeownership in Slovenia as the consequence of housing policies implemented to secure political support. On the contrary, the government has continuously failed to implement effective policies in this area that would facilitate easier access to housing (Mandič, 2008; Sendi, 2016).

Theory 2: Homeownership as a source of wealth

The notion of homeownership as a potential capital asset has been addressed by various authors. Saunders (1990) has described homeownership as a lucrative venture that allows people to make a lot of money. As Ray Forrest and Alan Murie (1995) have written, homeownership is an essential component of the middle class that carries a vital economic attribute. Its importance as an instrument for accumulating wealth has been increasingly discussed in the literature, especially in relation to the welfare state transformations in western Europe that have been taking place in recent decades (Kemeny, 2005; Hajer, 2009). With a lack of focus on central and eastern Europe, Srna Mandič's (2010) contribution is the first investigation of the potential of homeownership as a “wealth reservoir” in post-communist countries.

At the EU level, John Doling and Richard Ronald (2010) studied the notion of “property-based welfare”, whereby they examined how homeownership may function as a pension in EU member states. They suggest that the housing wealth of homeowners “theoretically constitutes a potential reserve, supplement or even alternative to pension income” (Doling & Ronald, 2010: 228). The basic hypothesis to be investigated is that homeowners in all EU member states can readily transform their housing equity into real income that may serve as a supplement to their (meagre) incomes at a later stage in their lives. This assumption builds upon the thesis that homeowners incur minimal housing costs in later life after paying off the mortgage they took out when younger (Castles, 1998). The

theory behind this thesis is outlined by Toussaint (2011: 323), who writes: “Young people save for a deposit, next they purchase a dwelling. To finance the dwelling they borrow (take out a mortgage). Gradually they repay the mortgage and build up housing equity (the value of the dwelling minus the mortgage debt). Building up housing equity can be considered as saving.”

Such “saving” has been increasingly seen as a vital means of mitigating financial hardship at a later stage, particularly during retirement. The main concern here is how houses may actually function as pensions. It is thus argued that housing constitutes both an investment and a consumption good that consequently offers the owner two sources of income: “income in kind from the flow of housing services they enjoy as outright owners, and an income in cash, deriving from the release of the equity in their home” (Doling & Ronald, 2010: 229). Like all investment goods, owner-occupied housing is therefore believed to have the potential to realise its value in the form of cash. The question is whether the desire to own one's home in Slovenia is also stimulated by a conscious intention to accumulate wealth for realising supplementary income in old age. The answer to this question is currently “no”. There are several reasons for rejecting the validity of the property-based welfare theory in the case of Slovenia.

First of all, a distinction needs to be made between two principle functions of housing in Slovenia; that is, housing as shelter and housing as an investment. Under communist rule, the shelter function naturally predominated because the principle doctrine was that the government provides housing for all citizens. Issues concerning the investment and market value of housing were of no major significance. However, it has been suggested by Mandič (2010) that the shelter function was reduced after the implementation of the right to buy, thus increasing the investment function. The transformation of property from public to private ownership would of course be expected to result in the revival of its investment value. However, it is important to recognise that the shift from the shelter function to the investment function described here applies only to condominium homeownership. I argue that the shelter function still predominates in family homeownership and that this has vital implications for the potential to use housing as a source of income in old age. I also observe that it is currently not possible to recognise any serious potential for utilising family housing in Slovenia as a “supplement or even alternative to pension income”, as suggested by Doling and Ronald (2010). Toussaint's statement that “the potential use of housing assets is limited: not everyone disposes of housing assets or wants to consume the asset” (Toussaint 2011: 322) certainly holds true for Slovenia. The simple reason is that Slovenians are generally almost totally immobile. When they build or buy a home, they tend to stay there forever. The

property is, of course, always passed on to the rightful heirs when the owner dies. As has been observed elsewhere (Helderman & Mulder, 2007), bequest constitutes a very powerful disincentive to the transformation of housing equity into pension income in Slovenia. According to the findings of the DEM-HOW study (Elsinga & Mandič, 2010), which investigated the link between demographic change and housing wealth in eight EU countries, older people in Slovenia feel very strongly about keeping their property and passing it on to their heirs as “a wish to leave a bequest to one’s children was recognised. Some emphasised the need to be self-sustaining, independent of others, it is better to leave something behind than be paid for by others, or leave debts” (Elsinga & Mandič, 2010: 954).

Evidence in support of the bequest argument has been provided by the actions that followed the implementation of the Financial Social Assistance Act, which was adopted in 2010, as part of the austerity measures introduced to mitigate the impact of the financial crisis that started in 2007. The legislation provided that the government would have the right to repossess inheritance property after the death of a previous social benefit recipient, as a repayment for the financing provided from the national budget. The property in question here would, in most cases, be housing or land. According to data from the Ministry of labour, family and social affairs (2014), which is responsible for granting these allowances, approximately 13,000 (out of 40,000 at the time) social benefit recipients decided to reject the allowances in order to avoid repossession by the government after their death. Although I have no information on the remaining 23,000 that kept the allowances, there is a very strong likelihood that these were either very desperate (i.e., could not live without government financial assistance) or had no inheritance property to worry about. However, for those that rejected the allowances, the decision to withdraw their eligibility for social benefits clearly shows the importance that elderly homeowners attach to their property, especially the almost unquestionable obligation to pass it on untainted to the next generation. Pensioners would rather live in financial hardship than risk the possibility of losing their property or leaving debts to their heirs.

Other than immobility and bequest motives, there is also the element of attachment arising from the emotional value and meaning of the particular home to its owners. Accepting David Clapham’s (2011: 361) observation that “definitions of home seem to vary according to the objectives of the researcher and their disciplinary and epistemological frame of reference”, it is vital to stress a very specific meaning of a family house; namely, the psychological value attached to it. Because the majority of family houses are self-built according to personal taste and preferences, they tend to be considered almost priceless to the owners. Given all of these features, family houses appear on

housing markets in very rare cases, if ever. In other words, housing is, above all, a consumption good that primarily offers the owner income in kind. It is vital to point out here that even financial markets’ options for realising housing equity that do not require selling the property or moving do not have much appeal among elderly homeowners. The Ljubljana housing fund (the public institution responsible for housing in the country’s capital city) attempted to implement a reserve mortgage financial product, but was able to conclude only one single such contract over a period of ten years.

The discourse about the potential role of homeownership as an instrument for accumulating wealth is one of the more recent contemporary theories that explains the expansion of homeownership as a key element in patterning welfare states. However, current knowledge and developments show that family homeownership in Slovenia carries with it certain characteristics that strongly disfavour the utilisation of housing wealth as a pension supplement. For now, it may be argued that these cultural and traditional values (and perhaps also unconscious psychological influences) will continue to persist for some time and hinder the applicability of the asset-based theory in Slovenia.

Theory 3: Homeownership as the result of a lack of alternative investment opportunities

A “lack of alternative investment opportunities” (or LAIO theory) is arguably the most frequently suggested explanation for the rise and expansion of homeownership in Slovenia. According to Mandič (1992: 302), “private earnings and savings – substantially enlarged by the activities of an informal economy – could not be productively invested and saved against inflation other than by channelling into individual housing”. This same reason has been mentioned to explain the causes of growth in homeownership in other central and eastern European countries (cf. Tosics & Hegedüs, 1996). According to this theory, it is claimed that under communism people had no other choice but to spend their surplus income on house-building because they could not invest their money in schemes such as securities, bonds or mutual funds. In the absence of such savings schemes, family house-building is believed to have been the only means available to households for securing a safe investment for the future. However, are these claims accurate? The greatest handicap of this theory to date is that it has not yet been backed up by any empirical evidence.

The LAIO theory mostly, if not exclusively, relates to self-construction of family houses (the level of apartment ownership in multifamily residential buildings having been relatively low under communism). It is helpful here to explain two key issues regarding the meaning of some terminology used in the text.

First, a distinction needs to be drawn between two categories of homeownership; namely, house ownership and apartment ownership. In this article, house ownership relates to various types of family houses, mostly detached, semi-detached or row houses. Apartment ownership refers to ownership of a dwelling in a multifamily residential building, mostly in a condominium setting. Second, as mentioned above, I use the term *family house*. There is a well-established tradition that family houses are normally constructed in such a way as to enable grown-up children to continue to live in the parental home even after creating their own family. As such, the term *family* should, where appropriate, also be understood to carry the same meaning as *household*. The discussion on the following pages focuses on family house homeownership. However, before I continue the discussion on the LAIO theory, it is necessary to take a quick look at the statistical data on the historical development of homeownership in Slovenia.

3 Growth of homeownership in Slovenia

Table 1 presents data on dwellings completed by year, showing steady growth in homeownership since the mid-1950s (data are not available for before 1955). The data in the column "Private sector" show the number of dwellings completed by individual families/households (i.e., family house construction). From 1955 to 1968, family housing completions accounted for between 38% and 46% of total new construction. In the following three years, the share of family housing construction even exceeded that of new construction in the public sector (52% in 1969, 57% in 1970 and 53% in 1971). Throughout the 1970s, the level of family house construction was maintained at an annual average of 46% of the total number of completions every year. From 1983 until 2007, annual production in the family housing sector did not fall below 55% of total new construction.

The data in Table 1 show that homeownership is, and has always been, a very important tenure category. Further, the predominance of homeownership may be more clearly illustrated by the latest census data from 2012, which show that ownership accounted for 90.3% of the total housing stock and rental accounted for a mere 9.7% (Statistical office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012). This tenure structure clearly shows that national policies have contributed to the growth of homeownership in various ways, whereas the rented sector has been effectively decimated. Within this minimal share of rental stock, private rented tenure accounted for only 1.8% of the total stock in the 2012 census. In his study on the private rented sector in Slovenia, Richard Sendi (2016) found that the government had failed to implement any meaningful

policies to allow the development and efficient operation of the private rented sector. Based on a study of concrete actions by policymakers to develop the private rented sector, Sendi concluded that the government's failure to establish a normal private rented sector in more than twenty-five years can only be explained as the reflection of an unfavourable attitude on the part of policymakers towards the private rented sector. It may be argued that this unfavourable attitude is (unconsciously) rooted in the aspiration of each individual to be a homeowner. If individuals (policymakers in this case) aspire to live in their own home, they are not likely to make an effort to pass legislation and implement policies in favour of rental tenure.

The fundamental reasons behind the popularity and growth of family house ownership may be best presented through the findings of public opinion polls conducted by Drago Kos (1984) that investigated homeownership and people's aspirations to own their home in three different years (1969, 1978, 1980; Table 2).

A detailed look at the figures in Table 2 makes two major observations possible. First, most respondents owned or aspired to live in a detached house with a garden. More importantly, the aspiration to own a house (detached, detached with a garden or row house) was expressed by 94.2% in the 1969 poll, 91.5% in 1978 and 92.5% in 1980. The results of these public opinion polls therefore indicate that more than 90% of Slovenes aspire to live in one form or another of a family house. A similar survey conducted in 1991 revealed that 90% of respondents expressed a preference for owner-occupation (Mandič & Clapham, 1996). Although the last such survey on homeownership aspiration was conducted over twenty years ago, these results are indicative of the general attitude towards homeownership and it is likely that a new survey would yield very similar results.

At this point, it is necessary to briefly discuss some factors that probably helped homeowners realise their aspiration. One of these factors was the aforementioned failure of the government to provide adequate housing for all citizens. Those that could not secure government-rented housing were thus left with no alternative but to obtain housing on their own, within the homeownership sector. In addition to the inadequate supply of government-sponsored housing, it is also important to mention the comparatively poorer quality of the dwellings in multifamily residential buildings, mostly located in high-density housing neighbourhoods. Although the figures in Table 2 show that the level of aspiration to own a dwelling in multifamily housing increased between 1969 and 1978, the aspiration for such ownership had declined by the 1980 survey. More importantly, the level of actual homeownership in multifamily housing steadily declined between the first and last survey. A large detached family house with expansive surrounding green

Table 1. Number of dwellings completed by year, 1955–2015.

Year	Public sector		Private sector	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
1955	2,052	62	1,258	38
1960	5,926	73	2,154	27
1965	6,176	69	2,766	31
1966	6,194	63	3,574	37
1967	5,593	59	3,801	41
1968	5,089	54	4,286	46
1969	4,364	48	4,724	52
1970	3,959	43	5,302	57
1971	4,818	47	5,451	53
1972	5,408	53	4,813	47
1973	4,810	46	5,688	54
1974	8,076	58	5,717	42
1975	9,750	61	6,143	39
1976	8,536	59	5,929	41
1977	8,164	54	6,811	46
1979	7,422	54	6,398	46
1980	6,999	51	6,673	49
1981	8,281	56	6,393	44
1982	7,105	54	6,140	46
1983	5,634	45	6,710	55
1985	5,114	45	6,138	55
1986	4,887	38	8,050	62
1987	3,963	39	6,249	61
1988	3,684	37	6,115	63
1989	2,260	26	6,281	74
1990	2,246	29	5,513	71
1991	1,332	22	4,586	78
1992	1,349	21	5,143	79
1993	794	10	7,131	90
1995	661	11	5,054	89
1996	760	12	5,468	88
1997	757	12	5,328	88
1998	1,228	19	5,290	81
1999	569	11	4,573	89
2000	1,577	24	4,883	76
2001	1,048	15	5,667	85
2002	1,915	26	5,350	74
2003	2,290	35	4,277	65
2004	2,160	31	4,844	69
2005	3,032	40	4,484	60
2006	2,914	38	4,624	62
2007	3,869	46	4,488	54
2008	5,845	58	4,126	42
2009	4,400	51	4,161	49
2010	2,499	39	3,853	61
2011	2,028	37	3,439	63
2012	1,298	30	3,009	70
2013	828	24	2,656	76
2014	607	19	2,556	81
2015	354	13	2,422	87

Source: Statistical office of the Republic of Slovenia.

Table 2. Homeownership and aspiration to own a house (surveys, 1969, 1978, 1980).

House type	1969		1978		1980	
	Owner-ship	Aspiration to own	Owner-ship	Aspiration to own	Owner-ship	Aspiration to own
Detached house with garden	35.1	53.5	48.7	63.5	49.3	61.0
Detached house	32.6	36.7	13.7	25.0	17.5	28.7
Row house	3.7	4.0	3.8	3.0	3.0	2.8
Low-rise multifamily residential building (up to 10 floors)	15.7	1.9	13.1	3.5	9.7	2.8
High rise multifamily residential building	12.9	3.9	20.7	5.0	20.5	4.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Kos (1984).

space was clearly a more attractive and better choice for those left out in the public housing allocation process.

In addition to the inadequacy of supply in terms of both quantity and quality, there were also economic considerations that need to be taken into account. Kos (1984) also found that the

cost of a square metre of public housing was higher compared to the average cost of a square metre of self-built housing. "This is certainly paradoxical [given that the government was supposed to provide housing at low cost], but it also reflects the low price of agricultural land that most family houses are built on. It is therefore understandable that family housing

construction provides a cheaper housing alternative for those that cannot afford public housing and cannot secure public rented housing” (Kos, 1984: 18).

It is possible that the lack of supply and comparatively poorer quality of public housing may have influenced individuals’ decisions to build housing. Regrettably, however, there is no evidence to conclude that these factors played a significant role in the development of and growth in homeownership. However, Kos’s finding that the cost of building a house was comparatively low was clearly a major incentive for those that aspired to become homeowners.

The homeownership phenomenon in Slovenia thus requires more detailed investigation to better understand why it is the most desired type of tenure. Against this background, I continue the discussion with an analysis of the validity of the LAIO theory.

4 Examining the LAIO theory

The LAIO theory is rather simplistic and unconvincing for several reasons. First of all, it has already been explained that in the majority of cases family houses were built through self-construction. It is also important to point out that a very large majority of self-built homes were constructed on land owned by the future homeowner or their relatives (Kos, 1984). This therefore means that the potential house-builder would require financing only for the construction itself, with no expense incurred for purchasing the land. As such, the total cost of acquiring a house was considerably reduced. So, rather than a heavy cash investment, self-build homeowners invested their own effort in order to fulfil their ultimate dream of owning a house. Gilbert (1999) terms such capital assets “sweat equity” in his discussion on the self-construction housing mechanism that enables large numbers of households to acquire homeownership in Mexico. The usual practice in Slovenia would be for potential homebuilders to seek (and expect) the assistance of relatives, neighbours and friends. Together, they would carry out all the construction work, except for that requiring professional expertise (such as roofing, water and electrical installations, etc.). This method of house-building would normally prolong the construction period, but it was cheaper than contracting a professional construction company. In the majority of cases it took up to ten years or even longer to complete the house. This may be seen as an indication that the majority of family house builders did not have much money to spare. The only financial input they required was the money to buy the necessary building materials, which, as already explained, were available at lower prices. The major expense in the entire process would be for hiring professionals for the more complex

work that they could not perform themselves.) Most workers’ wages were modest and there was not much surplus money for households to invest in securities, even if such options had been available. I therefore conclude here that the non-existence of investment opportunities cannot be a major causal factor in the development and growth of homeownership in Slovenia. The major motivation for undertaking the cumbersome task of building a house was thus the desire to live in one’s own house.

The third reason for rejecting the LAIO theory is that house-building has eventually been relinquished to professionals. Although family house-building is continuing at similar levels as before, the level of self-building activity has been declining since the introduction of the market economy system. However, this decline is not due to the availability of alternative investment opportunities that emerged after the shift to a market economy. Although no official study has been conducted in this area yet, there are several reasons for the decline of the practice. First, the rescheduling of working hours (starting work later in the morning) considerably reduced the amount of free afternoon daylight time that was previously available to those that wished to engage in self-construction. Second, the adoption of the market economy introduced several systemic and regulatory changes, including a law that limited the size of self-built dwellings to 250 m². Larger houses must be built by professionals. My thesis is that this limitation has played out as a disincentive to some potential self-builders. Third, the shift to a market economy also led to a gradual increase in household incomes, which steadily grew from the 1990s throughout the 2000s, until the global financial crisis in 2008. With the rise in incomes, bank loans increasingly became more accessible (Cirman, 2006), which consequently enabled and encouraged potential homeowners to take out housing mortgages as a supplement to their savings to purchase dwellings or hire professional builders.

Finally, I reject the LAIO theory in view of the situation that followed the emergence of alternative investment opportunities, the lack of which is claimed to have been the major reason for the growth of homeownership in the country. After almost fifty years of absence, the Slovenian stock exchange was reintroduced in 1989. Since then, people have had several options for investing surplus income (government bonds, company shares, mutual funds, insurance-linked securities, etc.). In the absence of any relevant empirical study, I suggest that those investing in securities usually do so with the intention of eventually purchasing a home, either for themselves or their children. One reasonable explanation for this is that the majority of parents consider it an obligation to provide a major share (if not 100%) of the cost of housing for their grown-up children. The key point is that, whatever form of saving is chosen, the savings would eventually transform into homeownership. As

already shown, homeownership remains the ultimate goal of the majority of Slovenian families. The statistical data presented above on the level of homeownership supports these assertions.

5 Conclusion

I started this discussion with a brief review of Saunderson's comprehensive study on major homeownership theories. I argued that the Marxist theories cannot apply to the Slovenian situation because they describe circumstances that are diametrically opposite to those that prevailed in Slovenia at the time. Although homeownership was not entirely forbidden by the communist regime, there was no deliberate government policy aiming to encourage it to legitimise upper-class private property ownership. Communist regimes did not have upper classes (at least officially). I also refuted the theory that homeownership has grown as a consequence of government policies implemented with the deliberate intention to secure voter support. However, I have accepted that various government policies implemented at various times did encourage the development of homeownership and contributed to its growth.

I have also given several reasons to reject the theory suggesting that the level of homeownership has expanded because people intend to use the wealth so acquired to supplement their pension incomes in old age. The specific characteristics of homeownership in Slovenia – predominance of the shelter function over the investment function of housing, immobility and especially self-construction practices and bequests – render inapplicable the notion of property-based welfare as a viable explanation for the expansion of homeownership.

I identified the LAIO theory as the most popularly applied explanation for the growth of homeownership in Slovenia, examined its validity and stated several reasons for rejecting it. I essentially argued that those that set out to build their own houses did not have much surplus income that they would have invested otherwise. If they had, they probably would have hired professionals to do the job for them and avoided the heavy manual labour, which also jeopardised their health. Those wanting to acquire their own home were willing to invest their physical energy and renounce other activity (e.g., leisure) to achieve this major objective. I therefore argue that the impelling motive to build was not a lack of alternative investment opportunities, but simply the desire to own a home.

This view leads to the theory that I advance in the conclusion as the main explanation for excessive homeownership in Slovenia. Like Saunders (1990), I argue that the desire to own a home must be examined and understood in terms of human behaviour. Prior to Saunders' publication, Irving Welfeld (1988)

described the stable consumer preference for homeownership in the United States as part of human nature: "The lusting after ownership is a near universal and ancient attribute of mankind" (1988: 59). Following this school of thought, I propose that there is a natural preference for homeownership as opposed to renting. Saunders explained this natural preference in terms of people's "possessive instinct and the desire to mark out their own territory" (1990: 70). Gurney (1999), on the other hand, cautioned that, although homeownership is now increasingly seen as "the norm" in the UK and renters are viewed as an "outsider group", this urge to own should not necessarily be seen as an innate "natural" preference. This must be understood as a warning against over-simplifying such a complex phenomenon. The justification of my proposal is thus urgent.

I argue that a powerful human instinct has been the driving force behind the growth of homeownership in Slovenia. I suggest that the desire to own one's home is primarily a natural aspiration as opposed to a socially driven urge promoted by politicians to implement development policies or realise personal political agendas. However, I also accept that the strong instinct to own one's home may have gradually evolved into what today appears to be a culture or tradition. As shown by the results of surveys on homeownership, there is no doubt that people simply want to own their home, especially a family house. Is this also connected with acquiring an important status symbol, as suggested by some writers? This proposition cannot be rejected outright. This is another issue that needs to be investigated through focused research because it is currently not possible to establish which proportion of homeownership emerges as a natural aspiration and which might be the result of an urge to acquire social status.

For now, I am pursuing the theory that the instinct to own one's home is the major factor that has propelled the development and growth of homeownership to such a high level. The literature offers some explanations of human behaviour in relation to property ownership (Tinbergen, 1951; Retsinas & Belsky, 2002; Krulik & Novakova, 2011). Anthropologists believe that at a certain period in the evolution of mankind humans settled down in an agricultural society. This type of occupation of space required the acquisition and possession of land, a notion anthropologists describe as territoriality. In their discussion on territoriality in relation to animals and humans, Oldrich Krulik and Jaroslava Novakova (2011: 1) state that "delimiting personal space is one of the essential features of human behaviour". Human behaviour, on the other hand, is always triggered as a reaction to something. Nikolaas Tinbergen (1951: 15) has defined human behaviour as "a reaction in so far as it is, to a certain extent, dependent on external stimulation. It is spontaneous in so far as it is also dependent

on internal causal factors, or motivational factors, responsible for the activation of an urge or drive.”

In the case of the desire to own one's home, human behaviour may be understood to be both a reaction to internal causal factors (an instinct) as well as external stimulation (cultural influence). Both the instinct and external stimulation may be read in the statement that “Humans are creatures who are wired to learn certain things, to expend certain energies, and to respond to certain stimuli in ways that have been built into them by the peculiar evolutionary history of the species” (Tiger & Fox, 1971: 233).

This statement provides a suitable basis for the fundamental thesis that I propose as an alternative explanation for the development of homeownership in Slovenia. While accepting an element of external stimulation in the form of tradition that has, arguably, turned into a culture, I believe that it is internal causal factors that activate the “urge or drive” (Tinbergen, 1951) to own one's home. As held by Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox (1971: 233), “The rights of man are not cultural inventions but statements about the nature of the creature. Men are not simply the creatures of culture, they are the creatures that create culture, because that is the kind of creatures they are.”

The self-construction mechanism of acquiring homeownership is certainly a tradition or culture that facilitated easier access to family house ownership in the past. However, the principal theory I advance here is that the development and growth of homeownership in Slovenia has primarily been propelled by the natural urge to own one's home.

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Notes

^[1] The privatisation of the public housing stock had several objectives. First, after adopting an “enabling” approach instead of the “providing” one, the government had to eliminate the large social housing stock, which was burdening the national budget with high maintenance costs. Second, the government was able to acquire much-needed additional financial resources during the critical period of establishing an independent economic base after secession from the Yugoslavia. Third, the measure enabled the redistribution of some of the wealth accumulated as “public property” during communist rule to citizens that had financed and contributed to its creation through monthly payments. Finally, it was also hoped that private homeownership would lead to greater efficiency in managing and maintaining multifamily housing (Sendi, 2009).

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Spatial dispersion of housing units as an important factor influencing long-term care operational costs

Over 90% of seniors prefer to age in place, which is an idea supported by the European semesters on long-term care strategic plans for member states, but they do not have the necessary innovation to improve the living of the elderly in a properly built environment with sustainable financing. The spatial dispersion of housing and density in a functional area should be particularly taken into consideration by facilities' managers and medical care institutions offering housing, healthcare and other services for the elderly in planning the built environment and other facilities for seniors because the costs of logistics (material transport, nurse workload, costs of other service providers, and transport of seniors in the case of daily programmes) greatly depend on it. Using data from a care centre in a Hungarian municipality, we simulated

and optimised home healthcare routing and scheduling in various scenarios of spatial dispersion and changing density of clients. We modelled the rounds of caregivers visiting seniors in homecare as a multiple travelling salesman problem, and the solutions show the necessary workforce and service time requirements. The tool that enabled us to study the outputs of scenarios might help professionals forecast and plan for coming changes in the costs of nursing services caused by the growing number of seniors that may need help in maintaining their independence as long as possible, taking into account that the density and dispersion of households are also changing.

Keywords: housing, long-term care, service scheduling, spatial dispersion, functional region

1 Introduction

According to long-term care studies, the elderly frequently state that they prefer to remain in their own homes rather than opt for other living options (Keenan, 2010; Gillsjö et al., 2011). Over 90% of adults over sixty-five would prefer to age in place; that is, to remain in their current residence or their place of choice as long as possible, as also shown in recent studies in Slovenia (Kavšek & Bogataj, 2015, 2016). New technologies can facilitate this, whereby communication technologies and improvements in healthcare, wellness, and safe and secure environments are experiencing the most important innovations. For example, new caregiving technologies such as smart phones, websites and tablets help those caring for the elderly provide services in the most effective way. European semesters (e.g., for Slovenia see: Council recommendation on the National reform programme 2014 of Slovenia and delivering a Council opinion on the Stability programme of Slovenia, 2014; Council of the European Union, 2014) support this idea in the health and care sector, but currently only few plans for housing improvements support this goal by stimulating innovation that will enable this shift from institutionalised care to homecare in properly designed housing units. We need to improve the living of the elderly in a properly built environment with sustainable financing. The spatial dispersion of housing should be particularly considered in planning the built environment and other facilities for seniors because logistical costs increase with increasing dispersion of households in which services are provided. Facilities' managers and medical care institutions offering housing, healthcare and other services for the elderly should consider the costs of material transport, employment of nurses and other service providers, and the transport of seniors in daily programmes, which depend on the dispersion of housing units. Daily home healthcare may be labour- and staff-intensive, and therefore feasible routing and scheduling are essential for an acceptable trade-off between logistical costs and the satisfaction of seniors.

Compared to other current challenges of society – such as climate change and the financial crisis – ageing can be fairly accurately forecasted and its potential impact predicted; it offers policymakers the opportunity to prepare for changes in the demographic structure (OECD, 2015). As stated in the report *Ageing in cities*, “Better urban policy approaches will help us to improve the quality of life for residents at all ages” (OECD, 2015: 18) and, to facilitate this, strategies have been drawn up that are considered to be effective for mitigating risks and making the best use of opportunities. Table 1 summarises these key strategies and sub-strategies, which are broken down into more precise approaches.

Certain sub-strategies of key strategies 5 and 6 – such as “Promote affordable housing through innovative schemes to provide social housing. Promote policies to provide care at home. Reformulate the appropriate location for urban infrastructure, to optimise land use. Implement a toolkit for effective public investments” (OECD, 2015: 68) – require a holistic approach to planning and development. This article elucidates the relation between housing supply and care at home, and estimates the factors that can influence the cost of homecare delivery. Due to the ageing process, the need for long-term care and accessible houses will grow significantly, and a home-based independent living model would require a properly built accessible environment. Current housing units will struggle to meet this demand, and according to a European Commission report (2015b) some 70 to 80% of houses in the UK and 90% in Germany are not suitable for independent living because they contain accessibility barriers for people with emerging functional impairments and chronic conditions, and are not equipped with the necessary digital infrastructure required for future connected care services. As also stated in this report, in Germany alone the need for age-friendly houses already exceeds 2.5 million units today. In the Netherlands, there is an estimated need to convert 330,000 homes into age-friendly dwellings. In eastern Europe there is a lack of reporting about the numbers regarding these problems. In Hungary, there is no specified policy approach to tackle the demographic change, neither by creating an integrated long-term care system nor age-friendly urban plans. There is very little supply of social housing – approximately thirty-five thousand units (Hungarian central statistical office, 2016), of which a limited number are dedicated for the retired population in need of housing with care: an estimated five thousand units (Csehák, 2003). There is a continuously growing need for housing with care services as the population grows older, whether it is their own home or a residential care setting such as a retirement or elderly home. This trend is already characterised by the fact that there are waiting lists for elderly homes that include 160 to 170 names of frail elderly citizens that submitted their application to move into the elderly homes in their municipalities, but it takes them one and a half to two years before they might move in if they are eligible (Rosta, 2014). In practice, these applicants on waiting lists are helped via homecare services or informal care, but these solutions are not optimal or sustainable with the current pace of population ageing. When the local authorities face the choice between building more or less dispersed housing units in retirement villages, building urban retirement settlements or arranging care in existing homes, they will have to compare the construction costs with the costs of providing adequate services, including investments in daily logistics and an accessible urban environment.

Table 1: Suggested key strategies and sub-strategies for ageing in cities.

Key strategies	Sub-strategies
1. Develop a long-term vision	Cities at different stages of the demographic transition can develop a vision for their future focusing on the most critical challenges they face.
	These visions should include quantitative assessment, using internationally comparable indicators.
2. Develop indicators	Develop indicators for transport, health and social care, urban development, labour, housing and living environment, and community activity sectors.
	Cities choose the best mix of indicators for the phase in the ageing process applicable to them.
3. Promote health for all ages	Promote health measures using information technologies.
	Encourage walking as a preventative strategy for optimising health.
4. Increase older people's engagement in the labour market and in social activities	City governments can become a model for retaining older employees.
	Provide access to jobs by expanding public transport.
	Promote entrepreneurship among older age groups.
	Encourage older people to volunteer in their communities.
5. Provide affordable housing in accessible environments	Develop activities that bring together younger and older people.
	Promote affordable housing through innovative schemes to provide social housing, including public-private partnerships, and increase the supply of smaller units of housing.
	Improve access to employment and public and private services by public transport.
6. Redesign urban areas to increase attractiveness and well-being	Promote policies to provide care at home.
	Reformulate the appropriate location for urban infrastructure to optimise land use.
	Invest in improving walkability in urban areas. Integrate strategies across different policy areas to encourage improvements in a city's social and economic sustainability.
	Implement a toolkit for effective public investments.

Source: OECD (2015).

In our earlier study (Szander et al., 2016), we examined the scheduling of home healthcare nurses in the same functional area from a different perspective. The functional area of Zalaegerszeg is 99.98 km² and the number of patients receiving home healthcare is sixty-seven in the current study; this means there are 0.67 housing units to visit per km². We used data on patient locations and care needs provided by the Zalaegerszeg Long-Term Care Centre. The aim of that study was to measure the impact of service quality improvement by assigning the elderly to a fixed appointment time, instead of leaving them waiting half a day for the arrival of the nurse. We found that aiming to balance the uncertainty of transport by creating more widely spread appointment times results in more idle time during the nurses' working day and an increased human workforce requirement. We also observed significant differences in the nurses' workload (the total length of all caretaking activities assigned to each of them) due to the patient-nurse assignment method used by the care provider. Based on the previous results, we improved our model: we added the linking of patients to a nurse as a variable, and therefore the number of nurses became part of the optimisation process (i.e., to be minimised).

2 Methodology

The demand density and dispersion of clients in the functional region (i.e., knowing the dispersion of distances between a pair of clients and the density of clients in a functional area) offers an opportunity to develop scenarios to estimate the impact of those two parameters on the costs of services. In the functional area of a municipality, service provision (e.g., delivering home healthcare for the elderly) should cover the entire functional area, even the outskirts of a town. The basic input for developing a distribution system is the population density of a functional area and the proportion of those that need the services. The density of population is the ratio between the annual average population and the area of a functional region, excluding inland waters (Statistical office of the European Communities, 2016). In general, the higher density induces lower unit costs of services because it means more potential customers for the given area. The profile of long-term care users shows a quite homogenous group of consumers; their need arises from their health status and their abilities to engage in activities of daily living and instrumental activities of daily living. This homogeneity offers the possibility to make a reasonably accurate esti-

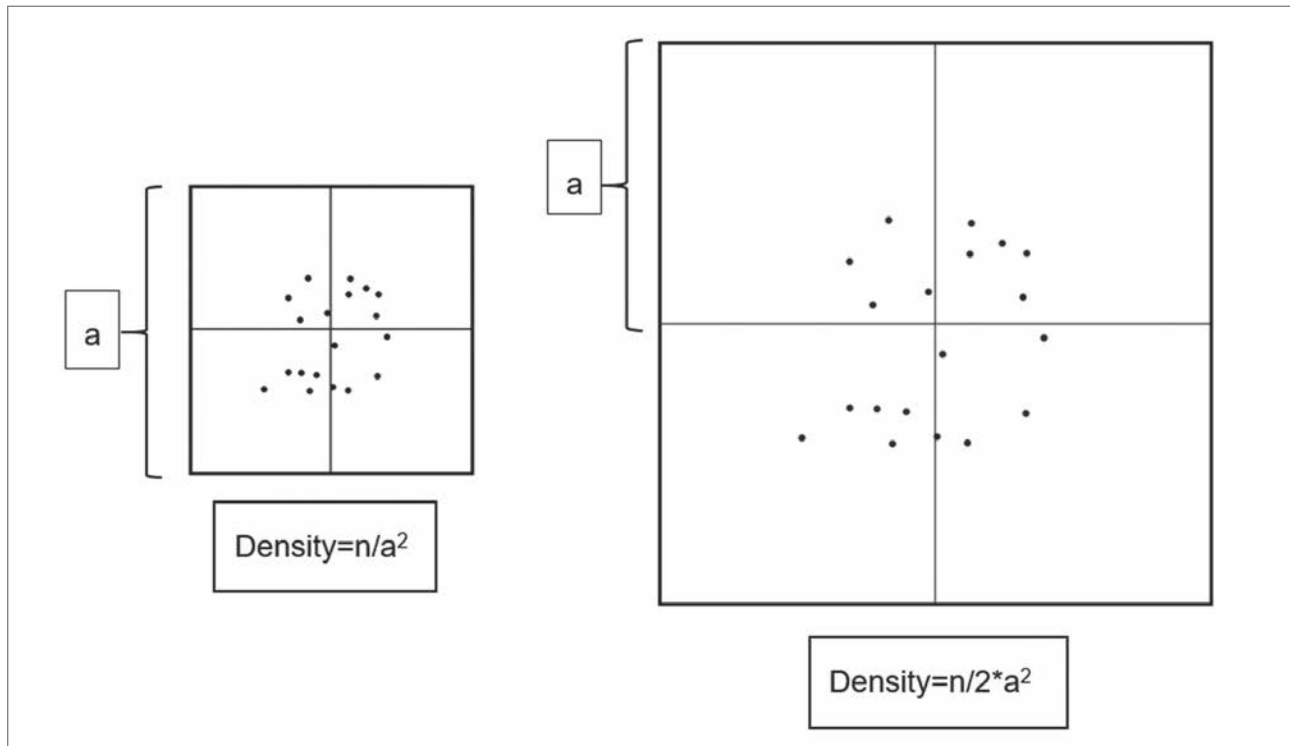


Figure 1: Density and changing the size of the service area (source: authors).

mation of the expected number of long-term care-dependent persons (Czibere & Gál, 2010). Because the costs of logistics in distribution systems depend highly on the variance of distances between two adjacent clients, the dispersion of these distances is taken into consideration in the planning process. The dispersion describes how the points are spread out in a given area and is measured by variance or standard deviation of the distances observed (Briggs, 2010). From the logistics point of view, the favourable dispersion has a low standard deviation of distances (Chopra, 2003).

The planning of services for the elderly should consider these measures. Because the ageing process is not taking place uniformly across all regions, the expected number of service users can be forecasted by using the ageing index and population data, but this approximation will not provide sufficient information from a spatial perspective. There are numerous examples in urban settings where the proportion of seniors is typically high (e.g., the number of elderly stuck in city centres from where the younger population was drained due to the suburbanisation process of larger cities; Kučera & Burcin, 2010). In other cases, the proportion of senior cohorts can be measurably higher in underdeveloped urban peripheries than in advanced recently developed outskirts – which is a consequence of social inequalities (Szirmai et al., 2010). In some countries, scholars have documented the so-called naturally occurring retirement communities, also known as rural destinations of elderly migrants, which are “deliberately occupied but

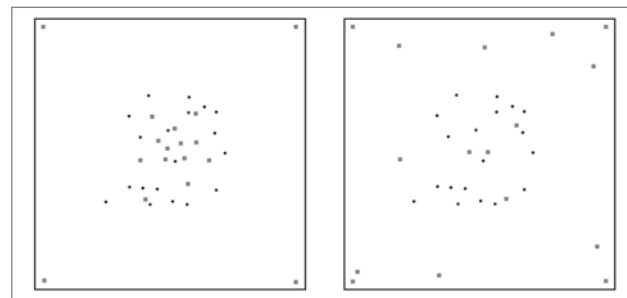


Figure 2: Growing demand with lower (left) and higher (right) standard deviation of distances (source: authors).

unplanned elder residences” (Golant, 2002: 67). Altogether, the likelihood of the demand for help or care services emerging from such areas is much higher than the average age of the population in the broader area would suggest.

When service planning is based on the density of clients in a given service area (number of patients/km²), changing one of the indicators will necessarily affect the other. Figure 1 shows what happens if the service provision is planned for a larger area, but the number of clients is the same, while also maintaining their pattern of location. According to the mathematical ratio in this calculation, the distance between the points changes proportionally with the density of population, and therefore it can be concluded that the average distance of points will also change with the change in the size of the area.

Table 2: Design scenarios of various housing dispersion and the number of patient requests.

Design scenario 1	Design scenario 1.1	Design scenario 1.2
Predominately apartment buildings	Density A Dispersion B	Density D Dispersion B
Design scenario 2	Design scenario 2.1	Design scenario 2.2
Predominately family houses	Density A Dispersion C	Density A Dispersion B

The variety of settlement structures and designs requires a better understanding of the various spatial patterns and densities of demand. Figure 2 presents two such cases in which the demand for homecare grows equally in absolute numbers (represented by grey squares), but the locations follow two very different layouts, and therefore they would need different resource allocation. For this purpose, we developed two design scenarios to experiment with the impact of changing the layout or the number of patients. Design scenario 1 is the case in which the locations of the elderly receiving home healthcare are randomly distributed in a town, mostly in the condominium type of housing. Then, in design scenario 2, we consider the same town with the same density (person/km²) of patients, but in a more spread-out arrangement; that is, the standard deviation of distances is higher. After that it is possible to add a twist and examine the scenarios differently: we retain the value of dispersion and combine it with different values of density. Table 2 summarises these ideas.

The mathematical formalisation of the problem is as follows. We used the multiple travelling salesman problem approach, so that every patient would be visited once along the shortest possible route. The mathematical model is based on our previous work (Szander et al., 2016), but there we assigned nurses based on the idea that every patient wants to receive help from the nurse he or she has got used to, which is not the case here. The multiple travelling salesman problem approach was modified and formalised as described in Tolga Bektaş (2006). The procedure was used to find the shortest route for visiting patients. Equations 1–3 describe the assignment part, complemented with the sub-tour elimination constraint (Equation 4) based on the Miller–Tucker–Zemlin formulation (Miller et al., 1960). The integer programming for the multiple travelling salesman problem is described in the formulations below.

Consider a graph $G = (A, L)$ where A is the set of n nodes ($i, j = 1, 2, \dots, n$), presenting n homes of patients in long-term care in the municipality, known by addresses and geocodes on the map, and L is the set of edges ($l_{ij} \in L$), marked on the roads of the map between all possible pairs (i, j) of nodes, on which

the minimum values of time spent travelling between c_{ij} are known. Therefore to each pair of nodes (i, j) the shortest edge $l_{ij} \in L$ is defined by travel time c_{ij} . Each nurse moves between the patients' homes, starting and returning to the Zalaegerszeg Long-Term Care Centre. Nurses spend 90% of their working day travelling on these roads and 10% on preparation and writing reports at the municipal nursing home.

The objective function (Equation 1) is to minimise the total number of nurses based on the constraints (Equations 2–6) requiring that the duration of routes $c(k)$ be equal to or smaller than the 90% of nurses' daily workload (8 hours/day). The route of nurse k is the sum of time distances between the patients visited (c_{ij}) and the prescribed care time (w_i) plus the outbound and inbound travel time from/to the care centre.

$$\text{Minimize } m \tag{1}$$

$$c(k) = \sum_{i=0}^n \sum_{j=0}^n c_{ij} x_{ijk} + x_{ijk} w_{jk} \leq 0,9 * 8 \quad k = 1, 2 \dots m \tag{2}$$

$$x_{ijk} = 0, 1$$

$$c_{ij} = s_{ij} * d_{ij}$$

Variable x_{ijk} equals 1 if the k^{th} nurse goes immediately from i to j , and 0 otherwise. d_{ij} is the shortest distance between i and j by roads, and s_{ij} is the optimal speed that it is possible to reach on the given road. All m nurses start their daily circular route at the Zalaegerszeg Long-Term Care Centre denoted by node 0 and they return to the same location after less than eight hours of work, after visiting the last patient.

Equations 3 and 4 were added to the traditional travelling salesman problem formulation to ensure that exactly m nurses depart from and return to the Zalaegerszeg Long-Term Care Centre. The nurse must leave location i after the care tasks are performed, and goes on to only one location j out of the remaining locations, as shown in Equation 5.

$$\sum_{k=1}^m \sum_{j=1}^n x_{0jk} = m \tag{3}$$

$$\sum_{k=1}^m \sum_{l=1}^n x_{l0k} = m \tag{4}$$

$$\sum_{j=1}^n x_{ijk} = 1 \quad \forall i \quad \forall k \tag{5}$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^n x_{ijk} = 1 \quad \forall j \quad \forall k \tag{6}$$

Equation 6 requires that if the nurse is at a particular location at a given moment, he or she could have come from only one of the previous locations to the present location. The sub-tour elimination constraint (Equation 7) is a vital part of the travelling salesman problem formulation; it is allowed to have only one tour, a Hamiltonian circuit for each nurse, covering all locations to which the nurse is allocated, instead of two or more separate tours adding up to cover all sites. Therefore “dummy” variables u_i are introduced, which represent the sequence in which location i is visited, whereas the values of u_i are arbitrary real numbers and p denotes the maximum number of nodes visited by any nurse (Bektas, 2006).

$$\begin{aligned} u_i - u_j + px_{ijk} &\leq p - 1 & u_s &\geq 0; \quad s = i, j \\ x_{ijk} &= 0, 1 \\ i &= 0 \dots n - 1 \\ j &= 1 \dots n \\ \forall k; \quad k &= 1, 2, \dots, m \end{aligned} \tag{7}$$

3 Implementation and results

We optimised each case (different densities and different dispersions) for the smallest possible workforce (number of nurses). In order to obtain better results, we waived the principle of assigning patients to nurses. In real-life calculations this is an important constraint because seniors tend to become attached to or get used to one carer, and therefore it is reasonable for the service to be delivered by the same caregiver. Because this study focuses on finding the smallest amount of workforce used to perform the care tasks, we did not allow this option. The problem could easily be extended and solved if we added some obligatory nurse–patient assignment rules, but the optimal value would be much higher. In further research, it is possible to calculate how much the patient should pay for this extra bonus from the difference in the value of criterion

function. We created a constraint of 430 minutes of workload including travel, which represents approximately 90% of the total capacity, and the remaining 10% create buffer time for unforeseen events. The workload is not the same throughout the week; we optimised the busiest day when most patients are scheduled for care.

In the simulation procedure, we could first decrease the need for nurses from eleven to seven at the original dispersion ($\sigma = 1.811$), but this decrease should be acknowledged due to the increased speed (nurses travel by bus and walk, and therefore their speed is considerably lower) and the changed focus of assigning carers. The results in the case of different dispersions are presented in Figure 3, which also shows the time spent travelling as a percentage of the working period. Figure 4 presents the routes of the seven nurses after the optimisation. To create variations for design scenario 2.1, we increased the standard deviation of the travel times between each point to represent different dispersion. Throughout the calculations, this resulted in different values in the cost matrix as the input of the constraint (Equation 2). Table 3 summarises the results and the running time of the solver to perform the optimisation (in minutes). In the initial scenario, the longest distance measured between two points was 8.7 minutes and the standard deviation of travel times (σ) was 1.8115, whereas the travel time between the two farthest points in the scenario with the highest hypothetical dispersion that we examined ($\sigma = 9.0577$) was 43.5 minutes. We considered this to still be realistic; for example, in a medium-sized city it is possible to drive for about three-quarters of an hour between its two most distant points.

Theoretically, the σ of travel time may be caused by either the change in speed or change in distance ($c_{ij} = s_{ij} * d_{ij}$), as described in the mathematical formalisation. Because this article does not aim to provide a decision tool for choosing transport means, we treat travel time as a compound measure (i.e., describing a variety of cases) and use σ for benchmarking across different cases, and therefore our model is applicable for supporting either transport means or location planning decisions. The proportion of time spent travelling in the total time rose steadily with the increase in σ . In the scenarios examined, the lowest value of standard deviation was $\sigma = 0.9057$, where the locations are less dispersed or the nurses are able to travel at a rather fast pace (48.85 km/h on average – which is quite impossible in traffic), but this scenario did not result in further reduction in the number of nurses. We also simulated an “extreme” situation, in which patients’ locations are concentrated very close to each other; that is, it takes only one minute to move from one patient to another, and therefore σ is extremely low ($\sigma = 0.132$; this is the standard deviation between 1 and 0 minutes for fifty-five patient locations). Because the total

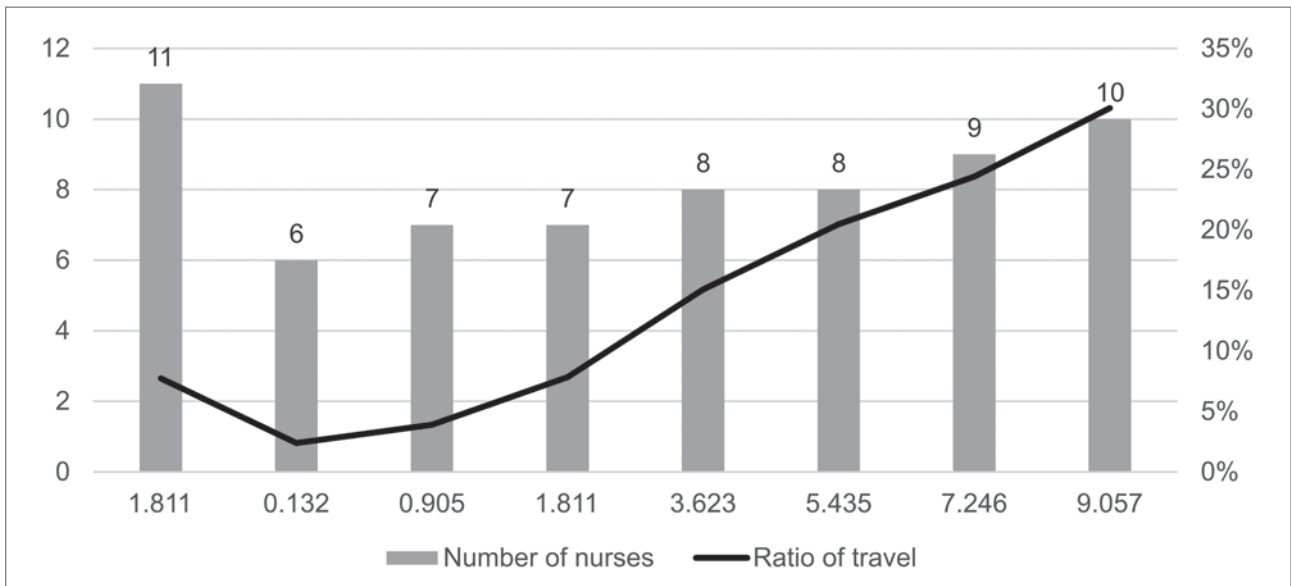


Figure 3: Required number of nurses and the dispersion of patients (source: authors).

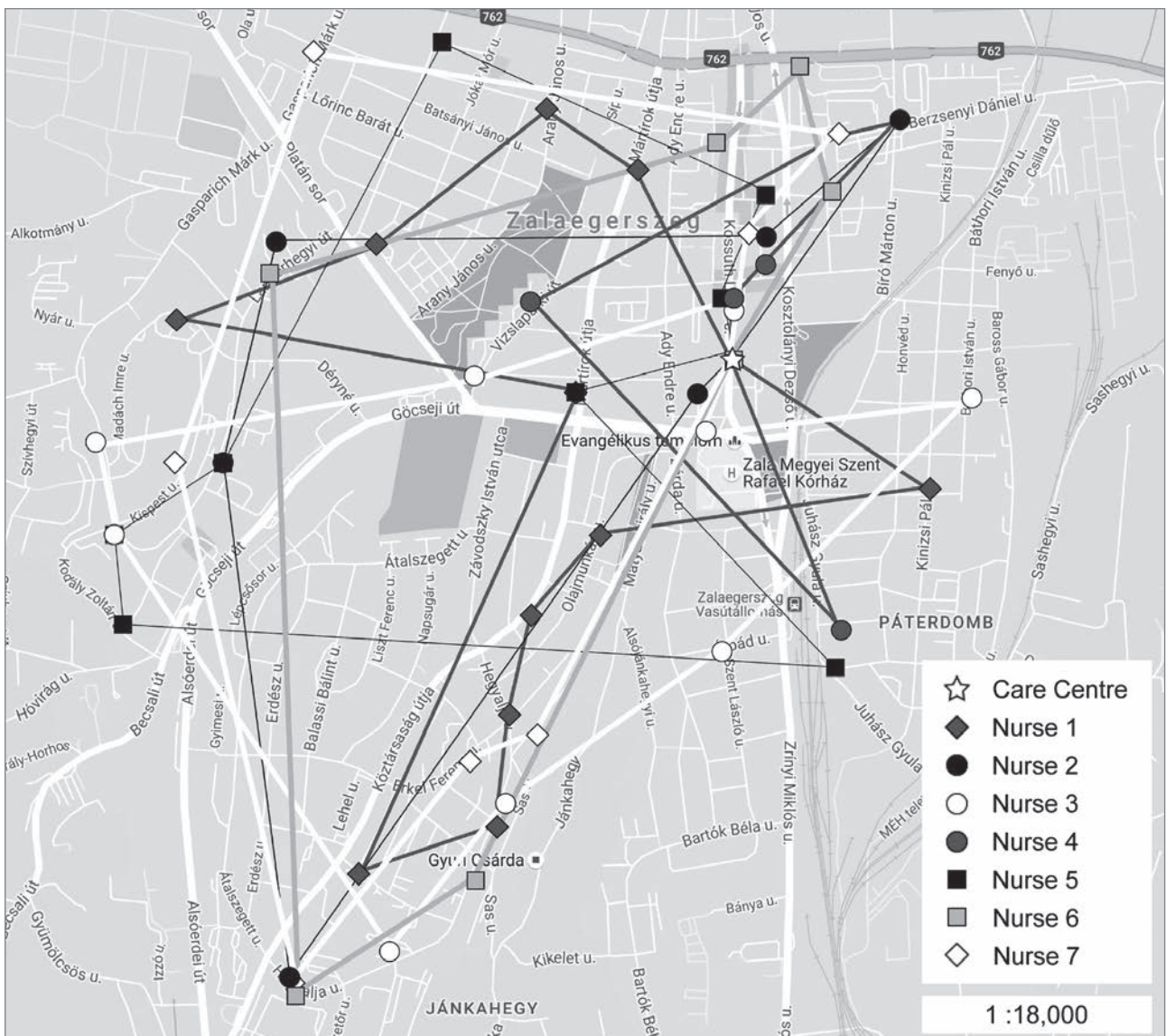
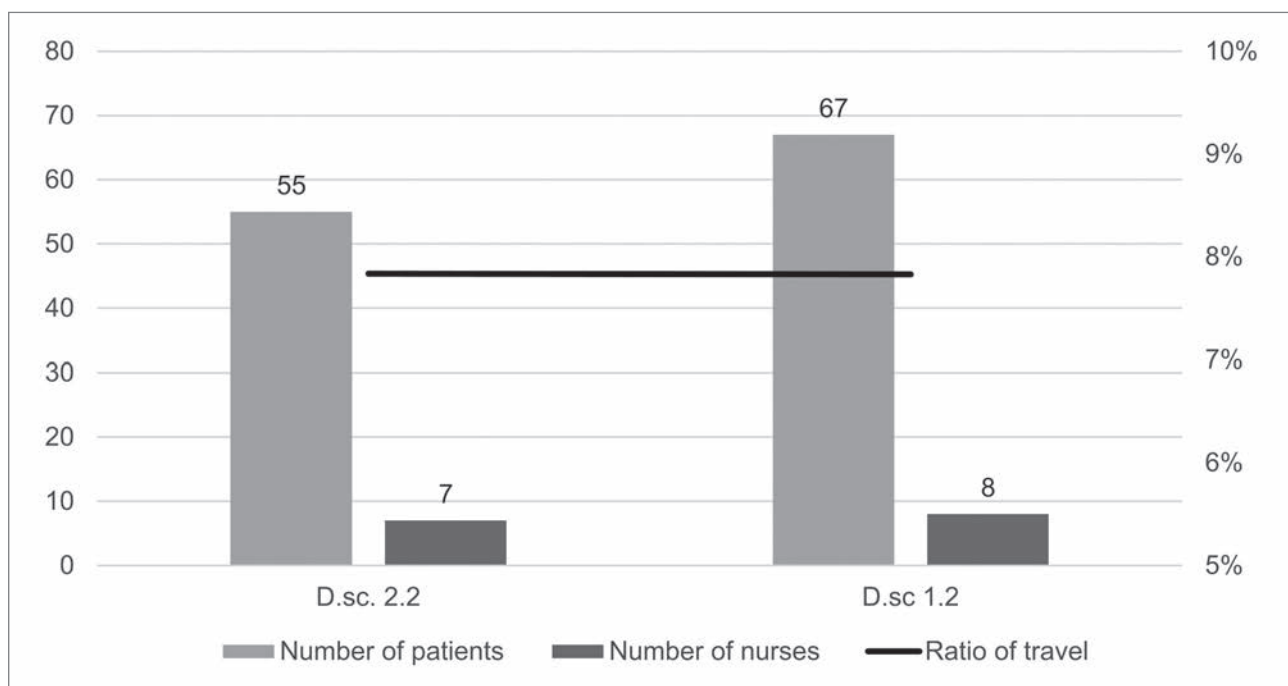


Figure 4: Optimal routing for seven nurses according to design scenario 1.1 (source: authors).

Table 3: Computation and results for design scenario 1.1 and variations for design scenario 2.1.

Scenario	σ of travel time	Total distance	Total time	No. of nurses	Average time	Runtime of solver	Ratio of travel
Initial	1.811	210.9	2,724.9	11	247.72		7.73%
2.1	0.132	55	2,527	6	422.16	9.98	2.4%
2.1	0.905	107.75	2,765.75	7	395.10	21.61	3.90%
1.1	1.811	219.8	2,804.8	7	400.68	13.67	7.84%
2.1	3.623	445.2	2,950.2	8	368.78	22.08	15.09%
2.1	5.435	654	3,194	8	399.25	5.8	20.48%
2.1	7.246	832.8	3,410.8	9	378.98	7.56	24.42%
2.1	9.057	1,146.5	3,813.5	10	381.35	6.56	30.06%

Source: Authors.

**Figure 5:** Two scenarios with the same ratio of travel and different number of patients and nurses (source: authors).**Table 4:** Computation and results for design scenarios 1.2 and 2.2.

Scenario	No. of patients	Total distance	Total time	No. of nurses	Average time	Portion of travel
2.2	55	219.8	2,804.8	7	400.685	7.836%
1.2	67	261.8	3,343.8	8	417.975	7.829%

Source: Authors.

length of the prescribed care for the patients studied was 2,472 minutes, with the σ of locations close to zero we could lower the required number of care personnel to six.

In the second scenario, we worked with a different volume of demand representing the increased number of patients/km². The original distance matrix was adjusted for the case of lower demand to have exactly the same standard deviation of distances as the case with a higher number of patients scheduled: $\sigma = 1.8115$. To create a larger number of patients and

still use real data, the scenario included the prescribed care time requirements of the patients that were not scheduled on the busiest day. Microsoft Excel solver ran for 13.66 minutes. As seen in Figure 5 and Table 4, the increase in the number of patients requires more workforce, but the portion of travel did not show a significant difference with the same dispersion. The number of patients increased by 21.8%, which will happen by 2030, according to EUROSTAT projections (European Commission, 2015a). With optimal scheduling, travel time as a proportion of total time was actually reduced by 0.007%.

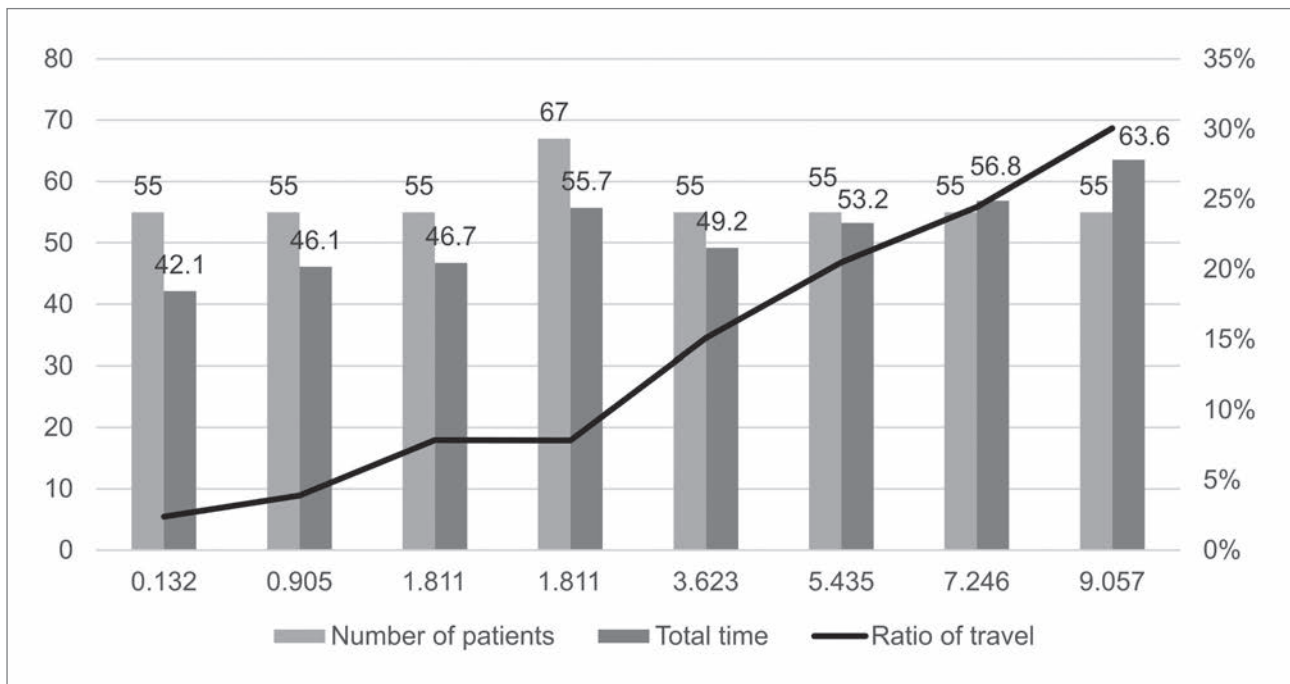


Figure 6: All scenarios of demand density and dispersion studied in terms of the travel time ratio (source: authors).

4 Conclusion

The optimisation of routing for home healthcare workers visiting frail elderly patients can help reduce the cost (in our case, measured in time and the number of nurses employed) connected with the care delivered. Admittedly, this also depends on the means of transport the caregivers use and the spatial dispersion of seniors. This article presents various scenarios of spatial dispersion and demand density in a town with a county's rights, using real data of patients' location and prescribed care needs. From a logistics point of view, the planning of a distribution system can be assisted by estimations of demand and spatial distribution. In practice, a change in one usually changes the other, and therefore in our study scenarios we aspired to separate the effect of these variables to measure their impact on healthcare service delivery. The literature on home healthcare delivery problems draws attention to various aspects of routing and scheduling processes, but lacks two very distinct features: the effect of different dispersion patterns and the choice of transport mode, which are not considered as variables of the objective function, but only as predetermined inputs of the cost function. Bearing this in mind, the study scenarios were created to demonstrate the role of land-use patterns in long-term care delivery, therefore identifying a relation between the challenges of the demographic change and urban development. To optimise the routing, we used the multiple travelling salesman problem approach, with the objective of minimising the number of nurses by constraining their workload. Two scenarios were created for the estimations: one was created to represent an urban design in which the dispersion

of housing is lower (more condominium flats), and the other scenario represents a neighbourhood in which the housing is more spread out in the area and more likely to consist of detached houses (similar to the suburbs and outskirts of a city). We found that the spatial dispersion of locations to be visited has a significant impact on the proportion of travel time in the total service delivery time. The travel time increases proportionally with the change in the standard deviation of the distance between patients' locations.

Then we examined the first scenario again, but with a fixed spatial dispersion, and we changed the number of locations. In this case, we found that the time requirement of the service delivery was not significantly influenced by the number of patients. To schedule all of the patients, it was necessary to add one extra nurse to the home healthcare delivery staff, but the proportion of the time spent travelling did not change significantly in the total service delivery time. In Figure 6, all of the scenarios studied are shown together, and in this way one can observe that the impact of the higher number of scheduled patients on the proportion of travel time is very low, whereas the spatial dispersion (standard deviation measured in σ of travel time) gradually increases the required travel time, ending up at 30% in the last case studied. The additional staff member was inevitable because the prescribed care needs can legally extend up to four hours a day, which is an indecomposable time unit (i.e., it is not possible to allocate only some part of it to some of the nurses). The solver did not find a feasible solution in the case of the same number of nurses. Nevertheless, in practice this is highly unlikely because frail elderly patients

that need around four hours of care seek out care options other than homecare, but we wanted to keep the solution feasible in the current policy environment.

Based on the results of our simulation, we acknowledge the logistical aspects of healthcare delivery of a long-term care provider organisation. Generally, it is not possible to influence the number of patients' requests emerging due to the ageing process; decision-makers should consider the variables that can be controlled to some extent. Spatial dispersion might be influenced by urban policies and building plans, and therefore we emphasise the importance of taking this into consideration. Because the standard deviation of travel times had a significant impact on the labour force requirement, as demonstrated in this study, this measure can be useful for both transport mode and facility location decisions. This novel approach can help urban planners account for the outcomes of development decisions, whether these involve creating better infrastructure connections by bicycle or public transport, or selecting locations for new affordable housing units.

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Daniel Barrera-Fernández

**Tourist activities in historic cities:
Opportunities and challenges (reflections on the
book *Attracting visitors to ancient neighbourhoods.
Creation and management of the tourist-historic
city of Plymouth, UK*)**

Title: Attracting visitors to ancient neighbourhoods. Creation and management of the tourist-historic city of Plymouth, UK

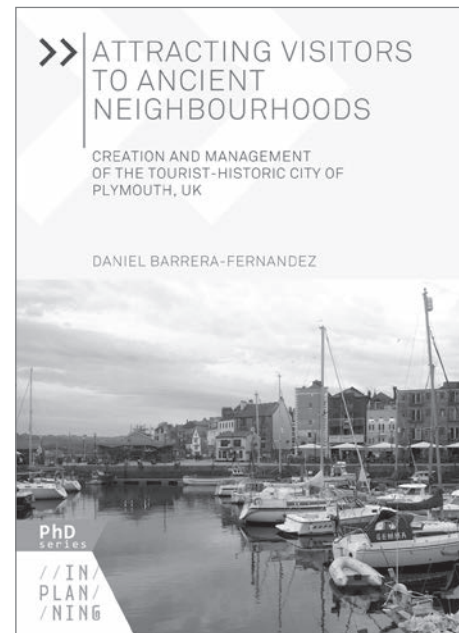
Author: Daniel Barrera-Fernández

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Many cities worldwide have developed strategies to become more attractive for cultural tourists. This trend is particularly relevant in Europe, where many traditional urban activities have been moved to the suburbs or even relocated to regions with lower labour costs. As a result, the historic centres of many cities suffered from decay and neglect until tourism-related activities were seen as an alternative to regenerating them. This is a complex process with positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, tourism brings new life to historic buildings and spaces, and many heritage assets are restored. On the other hand, those buildings that do not fulfil the requirements and expectations of visitors may be subject to demolition or severe transformations that lead to the loss of their heritage value. Social consequences should also be taken into account because when tourism becomes successful enough it can lead to gentrification and replacement of existing activities and land uses.

The book *Attracting visitors to ancient neighbourhoods. Creation and management of the tourist-historic city of Plymouth, UK* (Barrera-Fernández, 2016)

deals with these aspects applied to the city of Plymouth in southwest England. The foreword was written by Kevin Meethan, a renowned expert in the field and in the processes that have transformed Plymouth in recent decades. The research is first developed from a general perspective on the context and progressively moved to an analysis of the city and of particular initiatives. Thus, the first objective is to analyse the specific framework of heritage preservation and management in the United Kingdom. After that, it focuses on Plymouth, with the objective of studying how heritage protection evolved and what the current framework is in relation to legislation and the role of the authorities involved. The next objective is to study the historical evolution of urban tourism and the current relevance of tourism-related activities. Finally, the interaction of various stakeholders and selected initiatives are analysed regarding tourism-related use of the historic city, dividing these into four aspects: heritage and culture, tourism, urban planning and the economy.

The first difficult decision was to select the case study. Plymouth and the

United Kingdom were chosen for several reasons. In that country, visits to cities are growing at a higher rate than to other destinations. Moreover, more than half of the tourists visiting the United Kingdom have history and culture as their main motivation, and most of the visitors to English historic places go to historic cities. Plymouth is a medium-sized multifunctional city with regional relevance, peripheral in relation to London. It is located in the most frequently visited region of the country by British citizens and in one of the regions most often visited by tourists from abroad. The city has a tradition in the tourism industry that has been well documented since the nineteenth century. In recent years, the main interest has been in increasing attractions related to heritage and history, especially focusing on the historical connections of the city with transoceanic voyages of discovery and conquest. Plymouth has also linked tourism strategies with the development of a new image of an open and cosmopolitan city, with the aim of hosting major events with large international coverage.

The work applies a number of research methods. The structure of the research is based on the approach to the concept of the “tourist-historic city” developed by Marcelo Brito (2009). The concept of the tourist-historic city (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000) is central in the research because it defines historic urban areas with intense tourism activity. The research includes an analysis of the historic city as a heritage asset, a study of the urban cultural tourism phenomenon and work on the definition and management of the tourist-historic city. To achieve these goals, the work was divided into the following steps: 1) presentation of the evolution and current framework of heritage preservation, focusing on heritage regulations, urban plans (that include heritage-related policies), statutory lists and local management tools; 2) analysis of the history of tourism and the current model through a selection of historical and current guidebooks, information presented to visitors, tourism strategies, urban plans (that include tourism-related policies) and fieldwork to reflect the physical distribution of tourist attractions and services; and 3) study of actors and initiatives affecting tourist use of the historic city in relation to culture and heritage, tourism, urban planning and economic development. As an innovation, the book introduces an economic dimension to the main policies because it is necessary to ensure the sustainability of the model and it is closely related to other policies.

The book has six chapters. The first one introduces the research, objectives, main questions and methodology. The second chapter presents recent research on the conceptualisation of the historic city in Europe, the evolution of the heritage values that are considered in these areas and current trends in their tourist use. The third chapter introduces the city of Plymouth for those not familiar with it; it includes the relevance of the sea in Plymouth’s urban history and

present, the role of military forces and their current relevance, local government and socio-economic information, a short history of the city from its origins to the present and a presentation of the study area. The fourth chapter focuses on the evolution and current framework of heritage protection in Plymouth. The evolution covers six stages; namely, the situation before the second world war, the impact of the war, plans for reconstruction, the application of those plans, regeneration initiatives and the new role of communities. Two sections are dedicated to relevant topics: selected post-war interventions in the main monuments and the achievements of the Plymouth Barbican trust. The current framework of heritage preservation analyses in detail conservation areas, listed buildings, buildings at risk and evolution of listing criteria. The cases of the Barbican and the city centre are given special attention due to their relevance as the first designated conservation area in the first case and as a current debate in the second case. The fifth chapter is devoted to the history and present relevance of tourism activities in Plymouth’s historic city. It covers four stages; namely, the pre-war model, the impact of the war, the search for new markets and recent changes in the authorities involved. A special section is dedicated to the achievements of the Plymouth marketing bureau and another section includes a study of the evolution of tourist sites referred to in guidebooks. The current model of tourism management is presented through an analysis of visitors’ profiles and economic impact, mobility and the main tourism resources and services. The sixth chapter covers the actors and initiatives involved in managing the tourist-historic city. They are divided into the four groups of policies mentioned above; namely, culture and heritage, tourism, urban planning and economic development.

One of the most interesting contributions of the research is the evaluation of the reconstruction of the city after the second world war by the Plan for Plymouth, designed by Sir Patrick Abercrombie and James Paton Watson. It contributed to the demolition of relevant historic buildings that survived the bombings in the city’s central area, but it also helped create a new architectural heritage, which has only recently begun to be listed. The central urban area and all buildings interfering with the new layout were replaced, and the emotional references of citizens were lost. Implementation of the plan was not as effective as expected, and the post-war city centre is physically isolated from the rest of the city, lacking vitality when shops close. Nevertheless, the city centre is the most complete and least transformed post-war planning example in Britain, with relevant examples of buildings from the 1950s, where leading architects, artists and sculptors collaborated to make it an exceptional example of urban planning of the time.

Another relevant contribution of the book is the presentation of the achievements of the Plymouth marketing bureau, the first public-private tourism promotion agency in the UK. It succeeded in developing business tourism and creating new attractions and events. Thus, between the 1970s and early 1990s, some of the main current attractions were opened. Apart from that, the study of the sites referred to in guidebooks is a useful tool for understanding the evolution of places of interest and attractions. It is relevant how the trends and fashions of each moment contributed to modifying the tourist profiles.

In relation to management of the tourist-historic city, the role of non-profit organisations in public policy is particularly relevant, especially if one compares this model with the lack of citizens’ involvement in other countries.

The so-called third sector has an advisory role when applying for permission to intervene in a heritage asset. It also participates in plans related to heritage preservation and enhancement, and it has the ability to lobby against projects negatively affecting built heritage or the local character of historic areas.

One of the strongest points of this book is the presentation of the impact of various policies that are apparently isolated in the management of the tourist-historic city. Urban planning policies such as traffic and waste management influence visitors' experience in the destination. Tourism strategies risk remaining undeveloped if economic plans do not include funding for promoting or creating new attractions. In fact, the lack of coordination between stakeholders can cause various damage, such as heritage loss, neglect of urban areas and lack of tourism competitiveness. Should society preserve a neighbourhood and restore historic buildings, or should it give way to tourism-related initiatives regardless of their impact on heritage? The case of Plymouth shows a history of success and difficulties, and thus it may be of interest to cities involved in the same discussions.

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Biography

Daniel Barrera-Fernández has a degree in architecture from the University of Seville and a doctorate from the University of Malaga, where he received the university's Extraordinary award for his dissertation. He is currently a professor and researcher at the Faculty of architecture of Benito Juárez, Autonomous university of Oaxaca, where he teaches urban planning and heritage preservation. His research interests focus on the preservation and integration of built heritage, cultural policy, urban tourism, city marketing, theming, the impact of cultural events, regeneration of run-down neighbourhoods and gentrification.

Information

The book's internet site:

http://www.inplanning.eu/categories/1/articles/116?menu_id=27§ion_title_for_article=Newest+PhD+publications

Yung Yau

Anatomizing urban phenomena through the lens of political economy: A modern revisit (review of *Reconstructing urban economics: Towards a political economy of the built environment*)

Title: *Reconstructing urban economics: Towards a political economy of the built environment*

Author: Franklin Obeng-Odoom

Publisher: ZED Books

Place and year of publication: London, 2016

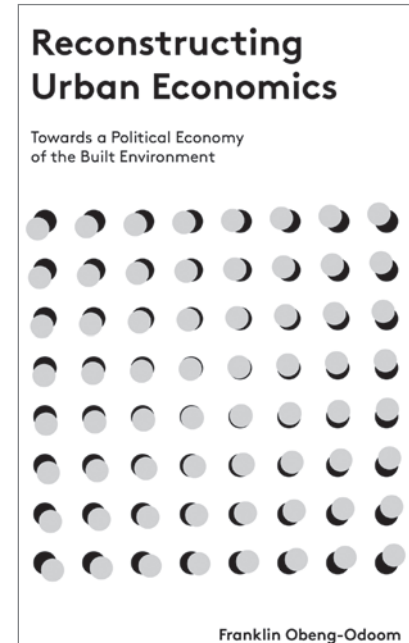
Number of pages: 296

[ISBN: 978-1-7836-0659-7]

The book *Reconstructing urban economics*, which upholds a heterodox perspective on urban economics, is a pleasant and easy read. Obeng-Odoom offers some startling insights into one of the most important topics in urban studies: urban economics. Two complaints motivated Obeng-Odoom to write the book. The first is the over-emphasis on the philosophy of “property for profit” in mainstream urban economics. The second is the absence of systematic, critical challenges to this orthodoxy by heterodox economists. It is unquestionably true that neoclassical economics, which forms the intellectual bedrock of modern capitalism, is far from being flawless. For example, its focus has been misplaced on a hypothetical “utopia” in which Pareto optimality applies rather than on explaining actual economies in the real world (Eichner & Kregel, 1975). Normative bias is thus often cited as a defect of neoclassical economics. Moreover, some assumptions underlying neoclassical economics are not realistic and are unfounded. For instance, the assumption of rationality overlooks other forces in the real world that shape human behaviour and the possibilities of irrational action (Galbriath, 1985;

Hausman, 1992; Rappaport, 1996). Therefore, neoclassical economics cannot fully explain all real situations, and its predictive power is sometimes arguably weak. In the light of the quixotic assumptions and empirical un-testability of neoclassical economics, there is a need to offer some alternative economic theories to better explain the phenomena in our urban environment.

Obeng-Odoom’s attempt to challenge the dominant perspective in urban economics deserves praise and recognition. The book updates the theoretical landscape of political economy around urban issues; at the same time, downplaying the significance and contributions of mainstream urban economics is certainly not the purpose of the book. Since its emergence in the eighteenth century as the study of the economics of states, political economy has been evolving into an interdisciplinary approach to explain dynamic interactions among institutions, the political environment and the economic system. It has many different veins with diverging foci. For example, some of them study interactions between agents and institutions (Campbell, 1998; Persson & Tabellini,



2000). This branch of research has been extended to the area of cross-national competition and collaboration. Others stress the roles of power and class relations in the economic process. Through the lens of transaction costs, institutional economics offers perceptive explanations for the discrepancy between the expected and actual outcomes of a public policy or institutional change (Pierson, 1996). In urban economics, political economists attempt to reconstruct the framework for economic analysis with an eye toward creating a more just society and environment. Obeng-Odoom’s book is part of this wave of research, which explores methods of resource distribution to satisfy material wants and enhance the overall wellbeing of a society.

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, there are nine chapters in the book. The first three chapters (sixty-six pages) offer a concise review of the applications of mainstream economics in urban studies and put forward a reconstructed economic framework for better understanding of urban economics. Chapter 1 overviews the nature of the built environment and urban eco-

nomics, and develops a general guiding framework founded on the premises of institutionalism, Georgism, Marxism and post-colonialism. The framework is used for critical analysis of various urban issues in the subsequent chapters of the book. Chapter 2 highlights the complexity of the urban system and its interacting subsystems (or components) and points out the limitations of neo-classical economics in urban studies, using various examples of urban challenges such as city formation and transformation. Chapter 3 is the cornerstone for the “urban economic analyses” in the subsequent applied chapters. In that chapter, the author argues that urban economies are far more than production, consumption and exchange. Any efforts to study urban economies without recognising the importance of other forces such as power structures and institutional settings in the changing world would be in vain.

Within the framework put forward in the first part of the book, the remaining six chapters analyse various urban issues. Chapter 4 discusses globalisation, international trade and city transformation. The main contribution of the chapter is pointing out that there is no single universal formula for the economic growth of cities. Taking cities at different tiers as examples, the author examines the departure of the actual fates of cities from the theoretical predictions offered by mainstream economists – in other words, the failure of the globalisation movement to achieve income convergence. What neoclassical economists have ignored in their predictions is the role played by coalitions of institutions other than the state. Informal economies at different scales are featured in Chapter 5. The chapter calls attention to the fact that the contribution of informal economies to the overall economy is often underestimated or undervalued by mainstream urban economists. The author reveals the real picture of infor-

mal economies and urges the parties concerned to focus on the real causes of the dehumanising conditions in the informal sector. Continuing from the preceding chapter, Chapter 6 is about urban poverty and wealth inequality. Critical issues that have been neglected by mainstream urban economics are identified. The chapter calls for a more inclusive and holistic approach to poverty reduction. It establishes that urban poverty is far more than an economic issue. Poverty is also about social justice, and so this topic cannot be isolated from issues such as deprivation and exploitation. Chapter 7 focuses on the urban housing challenge. It criticises mainstream urban economics for simply regarding the housing system as an assemblage of production, consumption, management and exchange processes related to the housing “commodity”. As an alternative, the author emphasises the “right” dimension of housing and suggests that housing conditions should not be separated from local labour conditions when formulating housing policies. Chapter 8 addresses the rise of the automobile as the dominant mode of urban transportation. It points out that neo-liberalistic *homo automobilus* can create more problems than benefits. It then recommends the inclusion of wider social, economic and environmental considerations in urban transport planning for more sustainable outcomes. Chapter 9 addresses the hotly debated issue of urban sustainable development. It anatomises the Jevons paradox, which continues to puzzle environmental economists and policymakers. The author argues that, in the ideology of neoliberalism, urban green growth is very often the pretext of economic growth of a city. From various political economic perspectives, he highlights the need for a true recognition of the Earth’s carrying capacity in order to set some limits on city growth and more fairly distribute the benefits of city growth among various stakeholders.

To the best of my knowledge, Obeng-Odoom is not the first advocate of political economy in the study of urban economics. However, his book systematically introduces different theories under the umbrella of political economy, such as institutional, Georgist and Marxist economics. These non-mainstream economic perspectives offer alternative lines of thought to explain issues associated with the urban environment. These non-mainstream alternatives are highly valuable because “markets are not mere meetings between producers and consumers, whose relations are ordered by the impersonal ‘laws’ of supply and demand” (Logan & Molotch, 1987: 1). The book has thus made a significant contribution to the understanding of how the urban environment can be explained with different schools of political economy. It is an important critique and synthesis of recent thinking about contemporary urban economics. Furthermore, the book promotes various ways to make cities more just places to live and work. Scholars, practitioners and policymakers will find the book an enriching read to help them think afresh about the political economy of the urban environment. Nonetheless, it is disappointing that the book contains little about countries and cities in the East. Nearly all of the examples cited in the book come from the West or post-colonial African countries, with only a few from Asia. There are, in fact, many examples from the East that could have been used for illustrative purposes in the book. The uneven urbanisation in Asian countries, particularly in mainland China, is a good case. Moreover, gentrification, be it property-led or tourism-led, occurs in nearly all Asian cities. Such a phenomenon warrants scholarly investigation with the Marxist political economy approach. The author should have considered using examples of the development-conservation dilemma concerning built cultural heritage in the East. In addition, the subtitle of

the book is *Towards a political economy of the built environment*, and so the book is expected to focus on the built environment. Obeng-Odoom broadly defines the term “built environment”, relying on David Harvey’s (2006: 233) portrayal of the built environment as “a geographically ordered, complex, composite commodity”. Treating built environment economics and urban economics as equivalents will unescapably mislead and upset readers that are really interested in the “physical” built environment. Although the book explicitly discusses green buildings or eco-labelling for buildings, the author uses only six pages in the last chapter for the discussion. Several chapters of the book (e.g., Chapters 5, 6 and 8) are of little or no relevance to housing, buildings or urban infrastructure. To avoid confusion, the author should have rethought the book’s title to more accurately reflect its content. Alternatively, instead of informal economies, the author could have talked about informal settlements such as squatter housing and illegally converted accommodations in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, urban poverty and inequality could have been replaced by urban decay or housing dilapidation. Chapter 8 should have devoted more attention to the political economic analysis of the rail-property development model or rail-led property development patterns. Last but not least, it seems that the author has ignored quite a few existing works on urban political economy that are highly relevant to the book. These works include, but are not limited to, John R. Logan and Harvey Luskin Molotch (1987), Todd Swanstrom (1993), J. Vernon Henderson and Randy Becker (2000), James Davis and J. Vernon Henderson (2003) and Eugene J. McCann (2004). Including these works would not only enrich readers’ understanding of what political economists have so far challenged and argued in the arena of urban economics (and also urban studies in a broader sense), but would also demonstrate the

empirical testability of political economic theories.

In conclusion, Obeng-Odoom’s book is highly recommended reading for students and researchers of urban studies, despite its confusing title. It vividly elucidates how political economic approaches can be used to provide alternative explanations to many urban phenomena.

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Information

The book’s internet site:

<https://www.zedbooks.net/shop/book/reconstructing-urban-economics/>