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Tudi mesta rastejo

»Velika mesta so katastrofa za človeka.«¹ Misel slavnega slovenskega arhitekta, zapisano na klopi v ozki ljubljanski ulici, mimogrede ulovim s pogledom. Zlahka se strinjam, res se zdi, da se z večanjem mest večajo tudi težave.

A vendar, toliko je raziskav in stališč o življenju v mestu ali na podeželju, o tem, kaj določa kakovostno bivalno okolje, kje bolje živimo, kje se bolje počutimo. Je sploh pomembno, kje živiš, če se le počutiš kot doma?

Na ta vprašanja vsak po svoje odgovarjajo tudi znanstveni članki v decembrski številki *Urbanega izziva*. Vsebine, ki neposredno ali posredno vključujejo družbene vidike razvoja v prostoru, rasti mest in sprememb, ki jih ta rast prinaša za različne skupine prebivalcev so: nezakonito urejanje mikrostanovanj v Hongkongu, ki je edini izhod za številne ljudi, lastno stanovanje – lasten dom, kot najbolj zaželeno bivalno okolje starejših v Sloveniji, proces in posledice nenačrtne rasti Aten po olimpijskih igrah, poskus odprave razvojnih razlik na japonskem otoku Hokaido s prenosom politik in mednarodno znanih razvojnih strategij, segregacija romskega prebivalstva v madžarskih mestih in velike spremembe v mobilnosti mladih, ki sovpadajo z intenzivno motorizacijo slovenskih mest v zadnjih 30 letih. Te vsebine lepo zaokroži v sklepnem delu revije predstavljena knjiga, ki obravnava mestni prostor kot skupno dobro, namenjeno vsem, ne glede na različne značilnosti in potrebe.

Kjerkoli boste v iztekajočem se letu, v vrvežu mesta (morda je to prav tisto, ki ga je soustvaril veliki arhitekt Plečnik) ali v najbolj odmaknjenem kraju, upam, da najdete čas tudi za občudovanje in občutenje najboljšega, kar ta prostor ponuja. Če bomo znali videti kakovost v prostoru, jo bomo lahko pomagali ohranjati in soustvarjati.

Damjana Gantar,
glavna urednica

¹ Ena izmed misli arhitekta Jožeta Plečnika, s katerimi so bile po leti 2017 popisane klopi v Križevniški ulici v Ljubljani, v okviru projekta Urbane intervencije in ozelenitve Križevniške ulice v izvedbi Mini teatra in sosedov.

Cities grow too

“Large cities are a disaster for people.”¹ This sentiment by a famous Slovenian architect, printed on a bench in a narrow Ljubljana street, catches my eye as I go past. I am inclined to agree with it because problems do seem to grow together with cities.

There are so many studies and views on life in a city or the countryside, on what determines a high-quality living environment, and where one lives and feels better. But is it even important where people live as long as they feel at home there?

These are the questions that the articles in the December issue of *Urbani izziv* address, each in their own way. They cover topics that also, directly or indirectly, involve social aspects of spatial development, urban growth and the changes this growth causes for various groups of residents: illegal micro-apartments in Hong Kong, which are the only viable option for many people; one's own home as the most desirable living environment for the elderly in Slovenia; sprawl processes and their effects in post-Olympics Athens; the attempt to equalise development disparities in Hokkaido, Japan, through policy transfer and the application of international development strategies; residential segregation of the Roma in Hungarian cities; and the significant changes in the mobility of young people that coincide with the intense motorisation of Slovenian towns over the past thirty years. In the last section of the journal, these topics are rounded off by a review of a book that discusses the city as commons intended for all, regardless of their different characteristics and needs.

Wherever the end of the year finds you, whether in a city (perhaps even the one that the great Jože Plečnik helped create) or far away from its hustle and bustle, I hope you also find time to enjoy and appreciate the best that your surroundings have to offer. If we know how to value quality in our built environment, we can help maintain and create it.

Damjana Gantar,
Editor-in-chief

¹ One of the thoughts by the architect Jože Plečnik painted on benches in Teutonic Knights Street (Križevniška ulica) in Ljubljana in summer 2017 as part of a project of urban intervention and greening the street carried out by Mini Teater and local participants.

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Yung YAU
Daniel Chi Wing HO

Proučevanje političnih možnosti za boj proti nezakonitim mikrostanovanjem v Hongkongu

Nezakonita gradnja ima več oblik, vključno z ilegalnimi naselji (ang. *squatter settlements*) in nezakonitimi prizidki stavb. Med različnimi oblikami nezakonite gradnje so v zadnjem času precejšnja pozornost širše javnosti v Hongkongu pritegnila nezakonita mikrostanovanja, ki nastanejo z nezakonito razdelitvijo stanovanj. Zaradi svoje nezakonite narave tovrstna stanovanja resno ogrožajo varnost prebivalcev, saj zmanjšujejo konstrukcijsko stabilnost in požarno varnost stavb, poleg tega pa lahko tudi negativno vplivajo na naravno svetlobo in prezračevanje. Požari v stavbah z nezakonitimi mikrostanovanji, posledice katerih so v zadnjih letih tudi smrtne žrtve, so skrb vzbujajoč rezultat zanemarjanja te mestne problematike. Kljub vsemu so nezakonita mikrostanovanja redko pritegnila pozornost raziskovalcev oziroma akademske skupnosti po svetu. Zaradi resnosti problematike nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v Hongkongu avtorja v članku proučujeta izvedljive politične možnosti za ostrejšje ukrepe na tem področju, pri čemer anali-

zirata politike ali rešitve, ki se uporabljajo drugod po svetu. Da bi določila politične možnosti za boj proti nezakonitim mikrostanovanjem v Hongkongu in jih razvrstila po pomembnosti, sta s skupino deležnikov opravila raziskavo z uporabo metode delfi za oblikovanje politik (ang. *policy Delphi study*) v treh krogih. Anketiranci so predlagali različne ukrepe, od pogostejših inšpekcijskih pregledov stavb in višjih kazni za lastnike, ki ne upoštevajo predpisov, do izdaje dovoljenj za dajanje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v zasebni najem. Za najbolj izvedljivo možnost med vsemi navedenimi se je izkazalo strožje izvajanje ukrepov. Članek se konča z razpravo o rezultatih raziskave in priporočili za oblikovanje ustrezne politike na tem področju.

Ključne besede: nadzor stavb, nezakonita stanovanja, mikrostanovanja, raziskava delfi, zasebni najem, nedovoljena gradbena dela

1 Uvod

Kot zatočišče bi morala biti stavba odporna proti vremenskim vplivom in udobna, hkrati pa tudi varna. Žal varnost grajenega okolja pogosto ogrožajo številni antropogeni dejavniki, med katerimi se najpogosteje omenjajo nepravilno načrtovane oziroma zasnovane stavbe ter slaba izdelava in napačna uporaba oziroma zloraba stavb (Lo, 1998; Al-Homoud in Khan, 2004; Pearson in Delatte, 2005; Wong in Lau, 2007). Tudi nezakonita gradnja (na primer nezakoniti prizidki, spremembe in odstranjeni deli), ki ima pomembno vlogo pri ugotavljanju varnosti stavb, ni pritegnila veliko pozornosti v akademski skupnosti. Kljub vse večjemu številu del s področja stavbnega nadzora so se dosedanje raziskave v glavnem osredotočale na samo en vidik. V literaturi tako prevladujejo raziskave nadzora novogradenj (Baiche idr., 2006; Meijer in Visscher, 2006; Imrie, 2007), le malo avtorjev pa obravnava nadzor obstoječih stavb. Skrbno upravljanje obstoječega stavbnega fonda je eden izmed ključnih dejavnikov, ki določajo trajnostni razvoj mest (Ho idr., 2008), zato bi bilo smiselno odpraviti neravnotežje med proučevanjem novih in obstoječih stavb. V tem pogledu članek o boju proti nezakonitim mikrostanovanjem v obstoječih stavbah zmanjšuje navedeno neravnotežje in dopolnjuje literaturo na tem področju.

Zaradi razlogov, kot so cenovno nedostopna zasebna najemna stanovanja in dolge čakalne vrste za javna najemna stanovanja, nekaterim prebivalcem Hongkonga ne preostane drugega, kot da začasno živijo v nezakonitih mikrostanovanjih, ki pogosto nastanejo z nezakonito razdelitvijo stanovanja. Izraz »razdelitev stanovanja« se nanaša na bivališča, ki »se razdelijo na dve manjši enoti ali več teh in se dajejo v najem« (Policy 21 Limited, 2013: 5). Po podatkih podjetja Policy 21 Limited (2013) je bilo 30. aprila 2013 na tem območju 18.800 stanovanj razdeljenih na 66.900 manjših enot, v katerih je živel 171.300 ljudi oziroma 2,4 % vseh prebivalcev Hongkonga. V to oceno pa niso bila vključena nezakonita mikrostanovanja v stanovanjskih stavbah, zgrajenih po letu 1988, in v industrijskih objektih. Na splošno so bivalne razmere v teh stanovanjih slabe, povzročajo pa tudi številne varnostne, zdravstvene in socialne probleme.

V članku je predstavljena raziskava, v kateri avtorja proučujeta politične možnosti za ostrejšo ukrepanje proti nezakonitim mikrostanovanjem v zasebnih stanovanjih v Hongkongu in jih razvrščata po pomembnosti. Čeprav kar nekaj del obravnava različne oblike nezakonite gradnje v Hongkongu (na primer Davison, 1990; Lai in Ho, 2001; Lai, 2003; Leung in Yiu, 2004; Yiu idr., 2004; Yiu, 2005; Yiu in Yau, 2005, ter Ho idr., 2008), še nobena raziskava ni proučevala izvedljivih rešitev

problematike nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v mestu. Da bi zapolnila to raziskovalno vrzel, poskušata avtorja z uporabo metode delfi za oblikovanje politik (ang. *policy Delphi method*) najti praktične politične možnosti za rešitev te problematike.

Avtorja naprej pregledata problematiko nezakonitih mikrostanovanj in regulativnega nadzora obstoječih stavb v Hongkongu, nato pa se osredotočita na ukrepe, ki se za reševanje te problematike uporabljajo drugod po svetu. V naslednjem poglavju podrobneje predstavita metodo delfi za oblikovanje politik in ključne izsledke raziskave, na koncu članka pa obravnavata pomen raziskovalnih izsledkov in predstavita priporočila za politiko na tem področju.

2 Nezakonita mikrostanovanja v Hongkongu

Po letu 2010 je hongkonško gospodarstvo začelo okrevati po svetovni finančni krizi. V mestu že od nekdaj primanjkuje zazidljivih zemljišč, med letoma 2002 in 2013 pa je bila zaradi prekinitve redne prodaje zemljišč prek javnih dražb in razpisov ponudba novih zemljišč za stanovanjsko gradnjo še dodatno omejena. Hkrati se je povpraševanje po stanovanjih močno povečalo, saj so v mesto nenehno prihajali novi priseljenci iz Kitajske in oblikovali nova gospodinjstva. Na koncu ponudba novih stanovanj ni mogla več slediti hitro rastočemu povpraševanju, kar je povzročilo nenadno močno povečanje najemnega sektorja. Med letoma 2001 in 2015 se je stopnja zasebnega najema povišala za 135 % (Rating and Valuation Department, 2017). Najemnine so rastle neprimerno hitreje kot plače, in čeprav je javni najemni sektor ljudem z nizkimi prihodki lahko zagotovil stanovanja po ugodnih cenah, so bile čakalne vrste zanje izjemno dolge. Številni so si morali stanovanje poiskati v zasebnem najemnem sektorju, vendar je bilo več kot očitno, da stanovanjski stroški niso bili uravnoteženi z družinskimi prihodki. Zaradi neravnovesja na stanovanjskem trgu so špekulativni lastniki razdelili svoja stanovanja in jih začeli dajati v najem. Tako je bilo v razdeljeno stanovanje, ki je bilo sprva namenjeno samo enemu gospodinjstvu, nagnetenih več družin. Delno je razdelitev stanovanj, ki omogoča intenzivnejšo rabo obstoječih bivališč, naravni odziv na prevladujoče neravnovesje na trgu. V Hongkongu se razdeljena stanovanja množijo predvsem v starih stavbah v starih okrožjih. Po poročanju časopisa Hong Kong Commercial Daily (2015) so v več kot 90 % prostostojećih zasebnih stavb v predelu Šam Šuj Po stanovanja razdeljena na manjše enote.

2.1 Nezakonitost razdelitve stanovanj

Daniel Chi Wing Ho, Kwong Wing Chau in Yung Yau (2008) so nezakonito gradnjo razdelili v dve širši kategoriji. Prva

vključuje gradnjo objekta na državnem zemljišču, za katero graditelj od države ni pridobil lastninske pravice. Značilni primeri tovrstne gradnje so neformalna naselja in ilegalna stanovanja na zemljišču, ki ni v lasti stanovalca (ang. *squatter housing*). V drugo kategorijo pa spadajo nezakoniti prizidki, spremembe, gradnje ali rušitve na zemljiščih, ki jih daje v najem država. Večina razdeljenih stanovanj v Hongkongu spada v drugo kategorijo, saj vključujejo nedovoljena gradbena dela. V Hongkongu so vsa gradbena dela, vključno z gradnjo novih stavb, rušitvami in gradnjo prizidkov k obstoječim stavbam, podvržena obveznim inšpekcijskim pregledom v skladu z odlokom o stavbah in njemu podrejenimi zakonskimi akti (Department of Justice, 2017). To zakonodajo izvršuje in izvaja urad za stavbe (ang. *Buildings Department*). Pred začetkom gradbenih del je treba pridobiti dovoljenje in soglasje ustreznega organa, ki je pristojen za stavbe (tj. direktorja urada za stavbe) ter potrjuje, da načrti in izvedba gradbenih del izpolnjujejo najnižje še sprejemljive standarde (Chan in Chan, 2003; Yiu in Yau, 2005; Ho idr., 2008). Dela, ki ne izpolnjujejo teh zahtev, se obravnavajo kot nedovoljena gradbena dela (Yiu idr., 2004).

Predhodno dovoljenje in soglasje nista potrebna samo pri treh izjemah. V prvem primeru gre za gradbena dela, ki niso vključena v odlok o stavbah, in sicer dela na stavbah, ki so v lasti hongkonške vlade, in dela na stavbah na zemljiščih, ki pripadajo službi za stanovanja (ang. *Housing Authority*) ali hongkonški garniziji. V drugem primeru gre za t. i. izvzeta dela, ki vključujejo splošna obnovitvena dela, kot so pleskanje, notranje ometavanje, polaganje tapet in zamenjava kopalniške opreme. To so dela, ki se opravijo znotraj stavbe in ne vplivajo na njeno konstrukcijo. V tretjem primeru pa gre za dela tretje kategorije v sistemu nadzora manjših gradbenih del, ki so ga uvedli leta 2010. V skladu s tem sistemom predhodno dovoljenje in soglasje nista potrebna za 42 gradbenih del, ki pomenijo nizko tveganje – če jih opravi in potrdi registriran izvajalec manjših gradbenih del in je ustrezna dokumentacija predložena uradu za stavbe v 14 dneh po tem, ko so bila končana. Ureditve mikrostanovanj s preurejanjem stanovanj in njihovo razdelitvijo na manjše enote običajno zahteva postavitev nenosilnih predelnih sten in spremembe v vodovodni napeljavi. Pred uvedbo sistema nadzora manjših gradbenih del za tovrstna dela ni bilo treba pridobiti dovoljenja, če niso kršila odloka o stavbah. Po uvedbi opisanega sistema pa razdelitev stanovanja v večini primerov ni več obravnavana kot izjema. V katero kategorijo spadajo posamezna manjša gradbena dela (tj. v prvo, drugo ali tretjo), je odvisno od značilnosti izvedenih del, kot je debelina predelnih sten (Buildings Department, 2012). Številni lastniki, ki so svoja stanovanja razdelili na manjše enote, pa niso oddali ustrezne dokumentacije, kot to zahteva sistem nadzora manjših gradbenih del. Številna mikrostanovanja nimajo niti okna, zaradi česar ne izpolnjujejo ustreznih gradbenih standardov. Večina mikrostanovanj v Hongkongu zato ni zakonita.

2.2 Posledice nezakonitih mikrostanovanj

Množenje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v starih stavbah na različne načine ogroža varnost in zdravje lokalne skupnosti. Ker so nastala brez nadzora in dovoljenja urada za stavbe, ni nujno, da izpolnjujejo zahtevane varnostne standarde. Med drugim na različne načine ogrožajo požarno varnost stavb. Z dodatno enoto v stanovanju se poveča število stanovalcev v stavbi, zaradi česar se lahko v primeru požara zasilni izhodi zamašijo. V nekaterih primerih pride pri razdelitvi stanovanja na manjše enote do fizičnih sprememb, ki porušijo konstrukcijsko stabilnost stavbe. Do tega običajno pride, ko lastniki v nosilnih stenah naredijo odprtine ali te stene popolnoma odstranijo, saj s tem lažje preuredijo stanovanje. Poleg tega razdelitev stanovanja pogosto negativno vpliva na naravno svetlobo in prezračevanje. Spremembe v obstoječi vodovodni napeljavi lahko povzročijo težave, kot je puščanje cevi. Poleg tega lahko zaradi nepremišljene preureditve stanovanj nekateri deli stavbe postanejo nedostopni za popravila in vzdrževanje, kar še pospeši njeno propadanje. Te težave se nazorno kažejo v nenehnem pritoževanju stanovalcev, ki živijo v razdeljenih enotah, nad puščanjem vode in kršenjem betona (Policy 21 Limited, 2013). Z urbanističnega vidika pomeni razdelitev stanovanj več ljudi, več prebivalstva pa pomeni večjo potrebo po javnih storitvah. Zagotavljanje več storitev v starih mestnih okrožjih pa pogosto ovira omejena razpoložljivost zemljišč in finančnih virov. Dodajanje stanovanjskih enot učinkuje tudi na to, kako ljudje zaznavajo gostoto poselitve, kar lahko vpliva na kakovost življenja v soseski in na vrednost nepremičnin (Yau, 2015). Z vidika dobrososedskih odnosov se je v prenapolnjenem bivalnem okolju mikrostanovanj zelo težko izogniti težavam in neprijetnostim, ki so povezane s pomanjkanjem zasebnosti. Med stanovalci nastajajo trenja, ki pogosto pripeljejo do prepirov.

2.3 Ukrepi zoper mikrostanovanja v Hongkongu

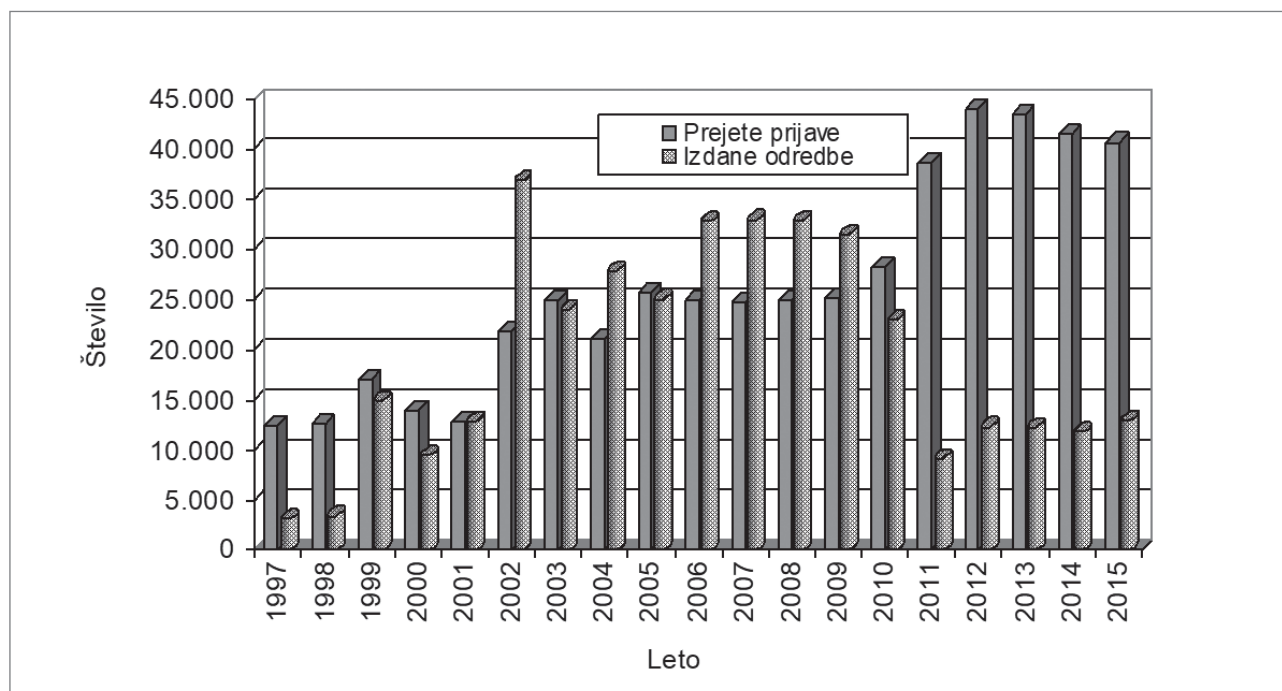
Ukrepi zoper mikrostanovanja v Hongkongu temeljijo na sistemih stavbnega nadzora in upravljanja zemljišč. V okviru sistema stavbnega nadzora je odlok o stavbah zakonsko sredstvo, s katerim se lahko vlada bori proti nedovoljenim gradbenim delom (tudi nezakonitim mikrostanovanjem) v mestu. V skladu s členom 24(1) tega odloka lahko urad za stavbe lastnikom stavb izroči zakonske odredbe, po katerih morajo v določenem roku odstraniti morebitne nedovoljeno dodane dele ali nedovoljene spremembe. Kaj natančno mora biti odstranjeno, je navedeno v odredbi, ki je med ljudmi splošno znana kot »odredba o odstranitvi« (Chan in Chan, 2003), vendar je to poimenovanje precej zavajajoče. Nedovoljena gradbena dela niso nujno omejena samo na nedovoljene dodatke ali prizidke k stavbi, ampak lahko vključujejo tudi nedovoljene spremembe ali odstranitve dovoljenih stavbnih elementov. Ustreznejše

poimenovanje bi zato bilo »odredba o povrnitvi v prvotno stanje«. Prejemnik zakonske odredbe (posameznik ali združba lastnikov) mora zadevne dele stavbe povrniti v stanje, določeno na prvotnih odobrenih načrtih stavbe (Chan in Chan, 2003). Če so za povrnitev v prvotno stanje potrebna obsežna dela ali dela na konstrukciji stavbe, lahko urad za stavbe izrecno zahteva, da prejemnik odredbe določi strokovnjaka s področja gradbeništva, ki bo zanj usklajeval in nadziral dela. Hkrati je za zahtevnejša dela običajno treba določiti registriranega izvajalca, ki ta opravlja pod nadzorom imenovanega gradbenega strokovnjaka. V nekaterih izjemnih primerih, v katerih urad za stavbe presodi, da del stavbe ali celotna stavba ni primerna za bivanje, lahko prosi sodišče, naj izda sklep o njenem zaprtju (Buildings Department, 2015). Leta 2015 so bila na primer nezakonita mikrostanovanja odkrita v neki industrijski stavbi v hongkonškem okrožju Tsuen Van in urad za stavbe je okrožno sodišče prosil, naj izda sklep o njenem zaprtju. Na podlagi tega sklepa je urad objekt zaprl, vladnemu izvajalcu omogočil izvedbo del za povrnitev v prvotno stanje in tako prekinil stanovanjsko rabo industrijske stavbe.

Za učinkovito preprečevanje nedovoljenih gradbenih del so potrebne sankcije zoper tiste, ki kršijo pravne predpise. V Hongkongu se za to hkrati uporabljajo zakonske in nezakonske sankcije. V skladu s členom 40(1BA) odloka o stavbah je neupoštevanje zakonske odredbe, izdane na podlagi člena 24(1), brez navedbe utemeljenega razloga kaznivo dejanje. Kršiteljem se izreče denarna in zaporna kazen. Med nastajanjem tega članka je najvišja denarna kazen za obsojene kršitelje znašala 200.000 HKD, najvišja zaporna kazen pa leto dni. Lastniki, ki zahtev v odredbi ne izpolnijo v postavljenem roku, so lahko dodatno kaznovani v višini 20.000 HKD za vsak prekorachen dan. Poleg tega se v zemljiško knjigo pri posameznem imetniku pravic na nepremičnini vpiše tudi zaznamba zakonske odredbe (Chan in Chan, 2003), ki se izbriše šele, ko lastniki ustrezno izpolnijo zahteve, ki jim jih v odredbi postavi urad za stavbe (Buildings Department, 1997). Od sprejetja (spremembe) odloka o stavbah leta 2004 lahko urad za stavbe lastnikom prostorov, v katerih so bila izvedena nedovoljena gradbena dela, izdaja opozorila in jih vpiše kot zaznambo v zemljiško knjigo, če niso odpravljena v dogovorjenem roku. Čeprav se obremenjene nepremičnine še vedno lahko prosto prodajajo, imajo običajno nižjo tržno vrednost. Ti nezakonski mehanizmi ustvarjajo gospodarske ovire, ki ljudi odvrčajo od izvajanja nedovoljenih gradbenih del. Hkrati sistem upravljanja zemljišč temelji na izpolnjevanju pogojev, določenih v vladnih najemnih pogodbah. Skoraj vsa zemljišča v Hongkongu so najeta, njihova raba in gradbena zmogljivost pa sta določeni v vladnih najemnih pogodbah. Neustrezna raba lokacije (na

primer oddajanje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v industrijski stavbi, zgrajeni na nestanovanjskem območju) pomeni kršitev pogojev najemne pogodbe, sklenjene z vlado. Po ugotovitvi neustrezne rabe urad za zemljišča najemnikom pošlje opozorila, v katerih zahteva prenehanje kršitve najemne pogodbe. Če najemniki opozorila ne upoštevajo, lahko vlada zaseže zemljišča oziroma nepremičnine, ki se ne uporabljajo v skladu s pogoji najemne pogodbe. Na splošno se v primeru kršitev ukrepi v okviru sistema nadzora stavb izvajajo zoper vse zasebne stavbe v Hongkongu, v primeru nezakonitih mikrostanovanj pa se ukrepi zoper kršitve pogojev vladne najemne pogodbe izvajajo samo, če so ta stanovanja na nestanovanjskih območjih (če so na stanovanjskem območju, to ne pomeni kršitve).

Ukrepanje zoper nezakonita mikrostanovanja v Hongkongu, zlasti v zasebnih stanovanjskih ali stanovanjsko-poslovnih stavbah, je težavno. Zaradi pomanjkanja virov urad za stavbe ne more pregledovati vseh zasebnih stavb in lahko preiskave sproži samo na podlagi pritožb javnosti. Poleg tega je nezakonita mikrostanovanja na zunaj zelo težko prepoznati. Treba je preiskati posamezna stanovanja, in če stanovalci vladnim inšpektorjem ne dovolijo vstopa, morajo ti za to pridobiti sodni nalog. Za pridobitev sodnega naloga mora urad za stavbe zbrati ustrezne dokaze – na primer, da je na eni lokaciji več poštnih nabiralnikov in hišnih zvoncev, kar pa je pogosto težko odkriti. Z vidika institucionalne gospodarnosti so transakcijski stroški, ki nastanejo z ukrepi, ki jih urad za stavbe izvaja zoper nezakonita mikrostanovanja, še zlasti stroški njihovega odkrivanja, zelo visoki. Poleg težavnega odkrivanja neskladnosti s predpisi je glavna ovira pri učinkovitem nadzoru nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v Hongkongu birokratska nesposobnost urada za stavbe. Kot je prikazano na sliki 1, število izdanih odredb o odstranitvi od leta 1997 močno niha. Med letoma 1997 in 2007 se je letno število izdanih zakonskih odredb za odstranitev nedovoljenih gradbenih del povečalo za več kot desetkrat (s 3.103 na 32.898), med letoma 2012 in 2015 pa je njihovo število v povprečju padlo na približno 12.300 letno. Ta močni padec števila zakonskih odredb kaže, da urad za stavbe ni sposoben reševati problematike nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v mestu. V različnih poročilih so na urad letele kritike, da ni dovolj natančno preverjal izpolnjevanja odredb o odstranitvi ali povrnitvi v prvotno stanje (Audit Commission, 2003, 2015; Yiu idr., 2004; Office of the Ombudsman, 2014). Približno 20 % zakonskih odredb ni bilo izpolnjenih še pet let po izdaji. Kljub visokemu deležu primerov neizpolnjevanja teh odredb je stopnja kazenskega pregona zoper kršitelje dokaj nizka. Glede na to, da množenje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj močno ogroža varnost in zdravje ljudi, je več kot očitno, da mesto za rešitev te problematike potrebuje učinkovitejšo politiko.



Slika 1: Število prejetih prijav nedovoljenih gradbenih del in odredb o odstranitvi, ki jih je izdal urad za stavbe (vir: Buildings Department, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2016)

3 Ukrepi, ki se zoper nezakonita mikrostanovanja uporabljajo v drugih državah

Razdeljevanje stanovanj na manjše enote ni nič novega. V različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih sodobnih mest se je njihov stanovanjski fond s tem močno povečal. Delitev stanovanj je bila v 30. letih 20. stoletja priljubljena v New Yorku (zlasti na Manhattnu; Hokinson, 1936), v začetku 21. stoletja pa je bila nezakonita delitev bivališč pogosta v São Paulu in Johannesburgu (Few idr., 2004). Svetovne vlade so za reševanje problematike nezakonitih mikrostanovanj oziroma nezakonite delitve stanovanj sprejele različne ukrepe. Na splošno velja, da če delitev stanovanja ni skladna z gradbenimi standardi in predpisi, uradne oblasti lastnikom ukažejo, naj nepremičnino povrnejo v prvotno stanje. Kršitev zakonske odredbe je lahko resno kaznivo dejanje. V Singapurju se lahko lastniku, ki ne izpolnjuje zahtev zakonske odredbe, izreče denarna kazen do 20.000 SGD in zaporna kazen do šest mesecev. V ZDA se za reševanje problematike nezakonitih dodatnih bivališč poleg nadzora stavb izvaja tudi nadzor namenske rabe zemljišč. Na številnih zemljiščih, namenjenih gradnji družinskih hiš, so poleg glavne stavbe zakonito zgrajeni dodatni prostori, ki so pogosto nezakonito preurejeni v ločeno stanovanje s samostojno kuhinjo in kopalnico, ki ga uporablja druga družina. Ob odkritju kršitve odgovorni načrtovalski urad od kršitelja

zahteva, da jo mora ta odpraviti. Podobno kot pri zakonskem nadzoru stavb je tudi neupoštevanje ali neizpolnjevanje odredbe o odpravi kršitev brez navedbe utemeljenega razloga prekršek ali kaznivo dejanje. Poleg tega lahko vlade za stanovanjske nepremičnine določijo najnižje dovoljene standarde dajanja v najem. Na Kitajskem je na primer stanovanje ali hiša, ki je bila prvotno zgrajena za eno gospodinjstvo, določena kot najmanjša dovoljena enota za dajanje v najem, najemni bivalni prostori na prebivalca pa ne smejo biti manjši od najnižjih vrednosti, ki jih določi pristojna lokalna uprava. V Pekingu bivalni prostor na prebivalca ne sme biti manjši od 5 m², v enem prostoru pa lahko živita največ dve osebi. Podobne ukrepe, povezane s standardi bivalnih prostorov, izvajajo tudi v Singapurju in Veliki Britaniji.

Zaradi aktivnega oglaševanja nepremičninskih posrednikov postanejo nezakonita mikrostanovanja pogosto priljubljena na stanovanjskem trgu. Vlade lahko njihovo priljubljenost zmanjšajo tako, da pri prodaji teh neformalnih bivališč ali njihovem dajanju v najem odstranijo posrednike, in sicer tako, da s predpisi ustrezno uredijo posredniško prakso. Na Kitajskem so morale nepremičninske agencije podpisati sporazum s pekinško občinsko upravo za stanovanja, zemljišča in vire, v katerem so se obvezale, da ne bodo izvajale nezakonitih posredniških dejavnosti, kot je oddajanje ali prodaja nezakonito razdeljenih stanovanj. Agencije, ki kršijo sporazum, so kaznovane. V Pekingu je posameznik nagrajen, če prijavi sumljivo skupinsko oddajanje in nepravilno uporabo stanovanj.

V nekaterih državah (Veliki Britaniji, Avstraliji in Singapurju) pa je mogoča odobritev ali pravna ureditev nedovoljenih gradbenih del, če njihova oblika in gradnja izpolnjujeta veljavne gradbene predpise. Zaradi neravnovesja med ponudbo in povpraševanjem na stanovanjskih trgih številni strokovnjaki in oblikovalci politik predlagajo legalizacijo nezakonitih mikrostanovanj ali delitve stanovanj na manjše enote, ki jo trenutno veljavni zakoni prepovedujejo. V ZDA so na primer mikrostanovanja, ki obsegajo samo eno sobo (ang. *single-room occupancy housing*), prepovedana, zato sta Brian Sullivan in Jonathan Burke (2013) predlagala njihovo uzakonitev, ki bi trgu zagotovila cenovno ugodnejša stanovanja.

4 Raziskovalna metoda

Poznavanje vseh razpoložljivih možnosti in strokovnih stališč glede teh možnosti je bistveno za oblikovanje učinkovite in dobro utemeljene politike za boj proti nezakonitim mikrostanovanjem v Hongkongu. V številnih primerih določanje in presojanje političnih možnosti zahtevata ustvarjanje zamisli, kar lahko omogočimo na dva načina: z individualnim ali skupinskim pristopom. Kot navajata Roger Needham in Robert de Loe (1990), pri individualnem pristopu dobimo informacije od posameznih strokovnjakov, ki svojih zamisli ne morejo izmenjati niti ne morejo med seboj sodelovati, medtem ko skupinski pristop omogoča določene oblike sodelovanja med informatorji. Raziskave kažejo, da je v številnih pogledih skupinski pristop bolj zaželen (Osborne, 1975; Herbert in Yost, 1979; Pearson idr., 2010), saj naj bi zagotavljal več možnosti in kakovostnejše zamisli.

4.1 Metoda delfi za oblikovanje politik

V skladu s cilji raziskave sta avtorja, da bi pridobila predloge in mnenja izbranih deležnikov, uporabila metodo delfi za oblikovanje politik, ki omogoča skupinsko oblikovanje zamisli. Metodo je najprej predstavil Murray Turoff (1970), njen namen pa je zagotoviti, da imajo odločevalci in oblikovalci politik na voljo čim boljše informacije in da lahko upoštevajo vse možnosti (Turoff, 1975). Uporabna je, kadar odločevalci nočejo, da skupina strokovnjakov zanje sprejme odločitev, ampak želijo, da se predstavijo vse razpoložljive možnosti in razlogi za njihovo upoštevanje. Vključuje več korakov za pridobitev, izmenjavo in oblikovanje informiranih mnenj o določeni temi (Dunn, 2012). Z določenimi prilagoditvami omogoča tudi okvirno oceno sprejemljivosti in mogočih vplivov ugotovljenih možnosti za reševanje problematike. V nasprotju z običajno metodo delfi, katere namen je iskanje soglasja o določeni temi v skupini strokovnjakov, metoda delfi za oblikovanje politik omogoča »oblikovanje čim bolj nasprotujočih si mnenj o mogočih rešitvah pomembnega vprašanja s področja izbrane

politike« (Turoff, 1975: 84). Na kratko, izbrati jo moramo takrat, ko je pridobitev nasprotnih mnenj od različnih ljudi pomembnejša kot doseganje soglasja (Klenk in Hickey, 2011). Čeprav gre za sistematično metodo pridobivanja, izmenjave in oblikovanja informiranih mnenj o določenem političnem vprašanju med najrazličnejšimi udeleženci (Rayens in Hahn, 2000), Robert de Loe (1995) opozarja, da se bolj kot na globino osredotoča na širino obravnavanega vprašanja.

Na podlagi vsega opisanega je jasno, da je metoda delfi za oblikovanje politik primernejša za analizo politik kot za sprejemanje odločitev. Običajno vključuje več krogov anketiranja. Paul Baker in Nathan Moon (2008, 2010) sta ugotovila, da proces izvajanja te metode temelji na več načelih. Anketiranci na primer ne vedo, kdo so drugi anketiranci. Anonimnost naj bi čim bolj zmanjšala vzajemne vplive med njimi in zagotovila, da vsak anketiranec res odgovarja iskreno. Poleg tega je vprašalnik za vsak krog anketiranja oblikovan na podlagi rezultatov prejšnjih krogov, pomembno pa je tudi to, da lahko odgovore anketirancev pretvorimo v kvantitativne podatke, na podlagi katerih lahko opravimo statistične analize.

4.2 Anketiranci

Za temeljito proučitev možnosti reševanja problematike nezakonitih mikrostanovanj na podlagi metode delfi za oblikovanje politik je pomembno, da pazljivo izberemo strokovnjake, ki bodo sodelovali v anketi. Čeprav so rezultati, pridobljeni v večji skupini anketirancev, lahko statistično veljavnejši, je za kakovost raziskave pomembnejše, da izberemo nabor strokovnjakov z različnih področij (Wheeller idr., 1990; Garrod in Fyall, 2000). V našem primeru bi morali biti anketiranci ključni deležniki s področja kakovostnega grajenega okolja v Hongkongu, ki si prizadevajo za kakovostno mestno grajeno okolje in dobro poznajo problematiko nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v mestu.

Avtorja sta ciljne anketirance razdelila v tri skupine. V največjo skupino sta uvrstila različne gradbene strokovnjake iz javnega in zasebnega sektorja, med njimi arhitekta, geodeta, inženirja, upravnike stanovanj in urbaniste. Gre za glavne nadzornike grajenega okolja v Hongkongu. V drugo skupino so bili vključeni okrožni svetniki iz okrožij, ki se spopadajo z največjimi težavami, povezanimi z nezakonitimi mikrostanovanji. Primeri takih okrožij so Šam Šuj Po, Tsuen Van, Tokvavan in Jau Tsim Mong. V zadnjo skupino pa so bili vključeni stanovalci stavb, ki se spopadajo s težavami nezakonitih stanovanj, med njimi predsedniki različnih združenj stanovalcev (na primer združenj lastnikov, odborov lastnikov in odborov za vzajemno pomoč) in predstavniki lokalnih interesnih skupin. Avtorja sta drugo in tretjo skupino v raziskavo vključila zato, da bi pridobila tudi predloge in stališča s širšega družbenega vidika.

Preglednica 1: Opisne značilnosti anketirancev

Skupina	Značilnost	Delež (v %)			
		Povabljeni	Sodelujoči v prvem krogu	Sodelujoči v drugem krogu	Sodelujoči v tretjem krogu
1	spol				
	moški	80,0	78,2	77,7	78,3
	ženski	20,0	21,8	22,3	21,7
	poklic				
	arhitekt	13,3	10,9	10,7	10,4
	geodet	27,5	30,3	31,3	31,1
	gradbenik	6,3	3,4	3,6	2,8
	inženir požarne varnosti	7,5	5,9	5,4	4,7
	konstrukcijski inženir	15,4	16,0	15,2	15,1
	urbanist	10,0	10,1	8,9	9,4
	upravnik nepremičnin	20,0	23,5	25,0	26,4
	poklicne izkušnje				
	10 let ali manj	20,8	19,3	19,6	19,8
	11–20 let	31,3	31,1	30,4	31,1
	21–30 let	37,1	37,8	38,4	39,6
	več kot 30 let	10,8	11,8	11,6	9,4
	sektor				
	javni	62,1	58,0	58,0	57,5
	zasebni	37,9	42,0	42,0	42,5
2	spol				
	moški	86,7	94,7	93,8	93,3
	ženski	13,3	5,3	6,3	6,7
3	spol				
	moški	60,0	47,4	81,8	80,0
	ženski	40,0	15,8	18,2	20,0

Opomba: Zaradi zaokroževanja ni nujno, da je seštevek odstotkov v posamezni kategoriji enak 100.

Te skupine anketirancev so tiste, ki običajno prejmejo pritožbe glede nezakonitih mikrostanovanj, vedó, kako stavbe ali soseske z nezakonitimi stanovanji dejansko delujejo, in bolje razumejo težave ljudi, ki živijo v teh stanovanjih.

Anketiranci so bili izbrani na podlagi namenskega vzorčenja, ki se običajno uporablja v raziskavah na podlagi metode delfi za oblikovanje politik (Paraskevas in Saunders, 2012). Kot je razvidno iz preglednice 1, je bilo k sodelovanju v raziskavi povabljenih 300 ciljnih anketirancev, med njimi je bilo 240 gradbenih strokovnjakov (skupina 1), 30 okrožnih svetnikov (skupina 2) in 30 drugih deležnikov, kot so predsedniki združenj stanovalcev in predstavniki lokalnih interesnih skupin (skupina 3). Zaradi praktičnosti in varčevanja s papirjem so anketirance prosili, naj izpolnijo elektronsko anketo prek spletne platforme Qualtrics®. Med anketiranci skupine 3 pa je bila anketa opravljena v papirni obliki.

4.3 Proces izvedbe metode delfi za oblikovanje politik

V tej raziskavi je vprašanje politike povezano z reševanjem problematike nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v Hongkongu. Na podlagi načel, ki sta jih predlagala Baker in Moon (2008, 2010), je proces izvedbe metode delfi za oblikovanje politik sestavljen iz štirih korakov: 1. določanje možnosti, 2. ugotavljanje začetnih mnenj o zadevni problematiki, 3. proučevanje in ugotavljanje razlogov za nestrinjanje in 4. ponovno ovrednotenje možnosti. Za izvedbo teh korakov so bili opravljeni trije krogi anketiranja. Na podlagi strukture raziskave, ki jo je predlagal de Loe (1995), je bil za vsak krog izdelan poseben vprašalnik. V prvem krogu ankete so se vprašanja večinoma nanašala na to, s katerimi ukrepi in politikami bi lahko rešili problematiko nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v hongkonških stanovanjskih in stanovanjsko-poslovnih stavbah. Anketiranci so z vprašalnikom prejeli tudi osnovne informacije o proble-

Preglednica 2: Opisi združenih političnih možnosti

Kategorija	Možnost	Ustrezni ali potrebni ukrepi
izobraževanje	(IZ1) javni izobraževalni programi	programi za izobraževanje splošne javnosti o nezakonitih mikrostanovanjih in njihovih negativnih posledicah
stavbni nadzor	(SN1) pospeševanje hišnih preiskav	odprava zahteve po sodnem nalogu za preiskavo ali poenostavitev postopka za pridobitev sodnega naloga, ki inšpektorjem dovoljuje vstop v stanovanje
	(SN2) pogostejši inšpekcijski obhodi	okrepitev preiskav v zasebnih stanovanjskih stavbah zaradi odkrivanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj
	(SN3) strožje kazni za kršitelje	določanje strožjih kazni zoper lastnike in/ali graditelje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj
	(SN4) višja stopnja pregona	povišanje stopnje kazenskega pregona kršiteljev zakonskih odredb, ki so bile izdane v skladu z odlokom o stavbah in se nanašajo na nezakonita mikrostanovanja
	(SN5) zaprtje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	večja uporaba zakonskih pooblastil za zaprtje odkritih nezakonitih mikrostanovanj
	(SN6) obvezni inšpekcijski nadzor stavb	določitev nezakonitih mikrostanovanj kot pomembnega elementa nadzora v programu obveznega inšpekcijskega nadzora stavb
	(SN7) razglasitev urejanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj za kaznivo dejanje	sprememba zakona in razglasitev nezakonite razdelitve stanovanj na manjše enote za kaznivo dejanje
	(SN8) izpolnjevanje standardov, ki se nanašajo na stanovalce	določanje in izpolnjevanje zahtev glede najmanjšega dovoljenega prostora za vsakega stanovalca
spodbude	(SP1) nagrajevanje informatorjev	nagrajevanje ljudi, ki pristojnim uradom posredujejo uporabne informacije o obstoju nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v stanovanjski stavbi
	(SP2) ureditev posredniških praks	kaznovanje nepremičninskih agentov, ki prodajajo nezakonita mikrostanovanja ali jih dajejo v najem
	(SP3) vzpostavitev informacijske platforme	oblikovanje platforme za obveščanje javnosti o resnosti ali obsegu množenja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v vsaki stavbi na izbranem območju
	(SP4) obvezno razkritje	prodajalci ali lastniki morajo ob prodaji nepremičnine ali njenemu dajanju v najem razkriti, ali so v njihovih stavbah nezakonita mikrostanovanja
	(SP5) zaseg nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	vladni zaseg prostorov, ki se uporabljajo kot nezakonita mikrostanovanja
	(SP6) razglasitev dajanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v najem za kaznivo dejanje	sprememba zakona in razglasitev dajanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v najem za kaznivo dejanje
pogojna uzakonitev	(PU1) registracija obstoječih nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	dovoljen obstoj nezakonitih mikrostanovanj, če izpolnjujejo ustrezne zahteve glede gradnje in konstrukcije stavb in so registrirana

matiki nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v Hongkongu in kratek opis nadzornih ukrepov, ki jih na tem področju uporabljajo druge države. V tem krogu je vsak anketiranec lahko predlagal poljubno število političnih možnosti, ki so se mu zdele učinkovite ali izvedljive. Do zdaj je veljalo splošno prepričanje, da bi problematiko nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v Hongkongu najučinkoviteje rešili z večjo ponudbo stanovanj v javnem in zasebnem sektorju, vendar tega cilja zaradi kompleksnih in spolitiziranih vprašanj, povezanih z upravljanjem zemljišč in urbanističnim načrtovanjem v mestu, kratkoročno ni mogoče doseči. Zato so anketirance prosili, naj predlagajo takojšnje ali srednjeročne možnosti za rešitev proučevane problematike.

V drugem krogu je ista skupina anketirancev ocenjevala možnosti, predlagane v prvem krogu. Na podlagi dveh

šeststopenjskih lestvic so morali oceniti, ali so predlagane politične možnosti zaželeno in izvedljive (6 = zelo zaželeno, 1 = zelo nezaželeno), svoje odločitve pa so morali tudi pojasniti (na primer, zakaj so določeni možnosti pripisali nizko stopnjo zaželenosti). Na podlagi ocen, ki so jih anketiranci dali v drugem krogu, je bilo mogoče za vsako predlagano možnost določiti stopnjo strinjanja ali nestrinjanja med anketiranci in tudi razloge za to. V tretjem krogu ankete so bili anketirancem predstavljeni odgovori vseh anketirancev iz drugega kroga, pri čemer so morali ponovno ovrednotiti svoja prvotna stališča. Vsak je moral oceniti zaželenost in izvedljivost vsake politične možnosti na podlagi omenjenih šeststopenjskih lestvic. Tretji krog je bil sicer namenjen le pridobitvi povratnih informacij, ne pa doseganju soglasja med anketiranci. Vprašalniki za vse tri kroge so bili predhodno testirani.

Preglednica 3: Statistični podatki o ocenah zaželenosti, pridobljenih v drugem in tretjem krogu ankete

Možnost	Drugi krog		Tretji krog	
	Povprečje	s	Povprečje	s
(SN3) strožje kazni za kršitelje	4,68	1,43	4,67	1,41
(SN2) pogostejši inšpekcijski obhodi	4,45	1,41	4,43	1,35
(SN1) pospeševanje hišnih preiskav	4,22	1,51	4,25	1,47
(SN4) višja stopnja pregona	4,12	1,48	4,12	1,46
(SN5) zaprtje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	3,97	1,39	3,95	1,35
(SP6) razglasitev dajanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v najem za kaznivo dejanje	3,83	1,48	3,81	1,43
(SN6) obvezni inšpekcijski nadzor stavb	3,69	1,46	3,66	1,41
(SP2) ureditev posredniških praks	3,52	1,65	3,51	1,59
(IZ1) javni izobraževalni programi	3,27	1,24	3,27	1,14
(SN7) razglasitev urejanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj za kaznivo dejanje	3,25	1,58	3,23	1,53
(SP1) nagrajevanje informatorjev	3,09	1,34	3,06	1,29
(SN8) izpolnjevanje standardov, ki se nanašajo na stanovalce	2,82	1,41	2,83	1,34
(PU1) registracija obstoječih nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	2,79	1,38	2,78	1,34
(SP5) zaseg nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	2,65	1,32	2,64	1,24
(SP4) obvezno razkritje	2,54	1,22	2,54	1,15
(SP3) vzpostavitev informacijske platforme	2,43	1,14	2,40	1,06

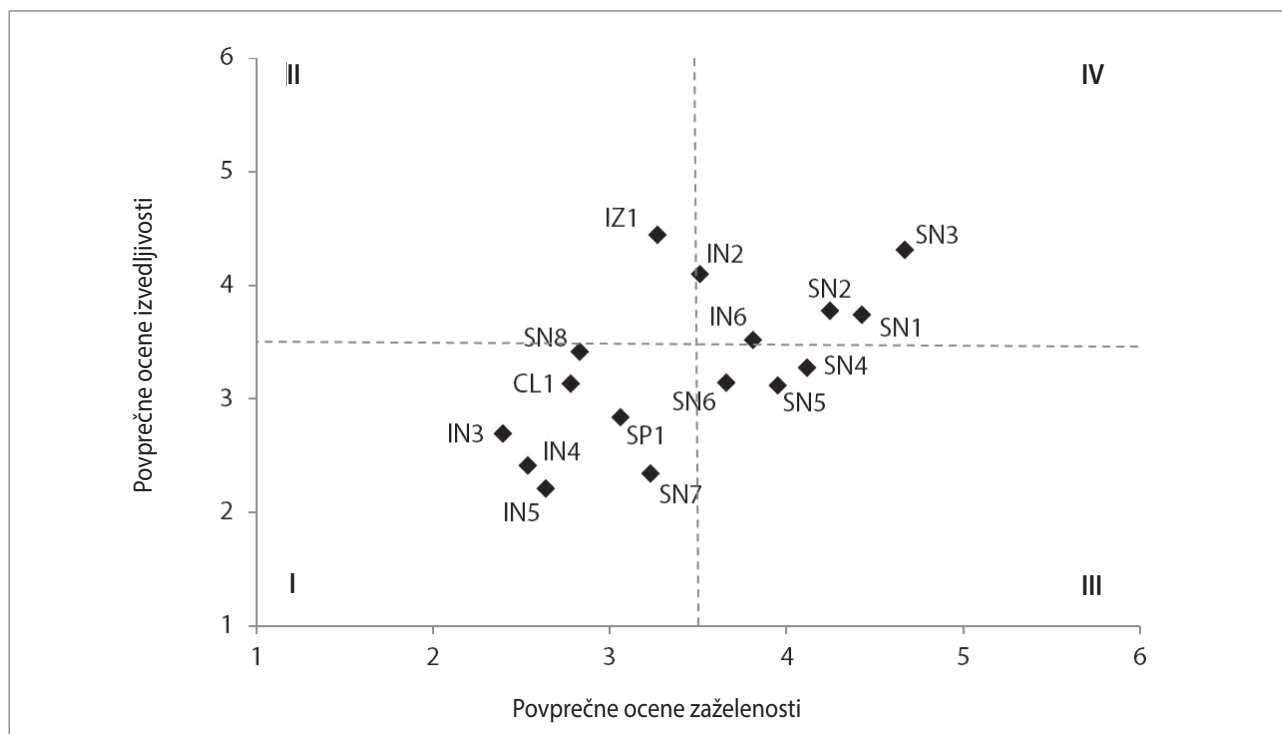
Preglednica 4: Statistični podatki o ocenah izvedljivosti, pridobljenih v drugem in tretjem krogu ankete

Možnost	Drugi krog		Tretji krog	
	Povprečje	s	Povprečje	s
(IZ1) javni izobraževalni programi	4,46	1,31	4,44	1,28
(SN3) strožje kazni za kršitelje	4,32	1,45	4,31	1,49
(SP2) ureditev posredniških praks	4,12	1,36	4,10	1,30
(SN1) pospeševanje hišnih preiskav	3,90	1,41	3,77	1,36
(SN2) pogostejši inšpekcijski obhodi	3,76	1,55	3,74	1,49
(SP6) razglasitev dajanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v najem za kaznivo dejanje	3,65	1,40	3,52	1,33
(SN8) izpolnjevanje standardov, ki se nanašajo na stanovalce	3,41	1,70	3,41	1,64
(SN4) višja stopnja pregona	3,35	1,74	3,27	1,72
(SN6) obvezni inšpekcijski nadzor stavb	3,15	1,30	3,14	1,24
(PU1) registracija obstoječih nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	3,13	1,35	3,13	1,33
(SN5) zaprtje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	3,11	1,33	3,12	1,30
(SP1) nagrajevanje informatorjev	2,87	1,32	2,84	1,25
(SP3) vzpostavitev informacijske platforme	2,67	1,28	2,69	1,26
(SP4) obvezno razkritje	2,44	1,00	2,41	0,94
(SN7) razglasitev urejanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj za kaznivo dejanje	2,32	1,22	2,34	1,23
(SP5) zaseg nezakonitih mikrostanovanj	2,24	1,06	2,21	0,95

5 Rezultati raziskave in razprava

Vabila k sodelovanju v raziskavi delfi za oblikovanje politik in vprašalnik prvega kroga ankete so bili decembra 2015 poslani 300 ciljnim udeležencem, od katerih jih je 150 (50 %)

vrnilo izpolnjen anketni vprašalnik. Največji odziv je bil med okrožnimi svetniki (63,3 %). V drugem krogu je v anketi sodelovalo 139 anketirancev, v tretjem pa 131, kar pomeni, da je v drugem krogu od ankete odstopilo enajst anketirancev iz prvega kroga, v tretjem pa osem anketirancev iz drugega kroga. Drugi krog ankete je bil izveden februarja 2016, tretji pa



Slika 2: Razsevni diagram povprečnih ocen zaželenosti in izvedljivosti (avtor: Yung Yau)

marca 2016. V preglednici 1 so povzete značilnosti anketirancev, ki so sodelovali v različnih krogih ankete.

V prvem krogu je 150 anketirancev predstavilo 467 možnosti za reševanje problematike množenja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v hongkonških stanovanjskih stavbah. V povprečju je vsak anketiranec predstavil 3,11 predloga, pri čemer so bili nekateri predlogi zelo podobni ali pa so se podvajali. Na podlagi temeljitega pregleda vseh predlaganih možnosti sta avtorja število možnosti zmanjšala na šestnajst in jih razvrstila v štiri glavne kategorije, ki so navedene in opisane v preglednici 2. V drugem in tretjem krogu so morali anketiranci oceniti zaželenost in izvedljivost vsake izmed združenih šestnajstih možnosti, pridobljenih v prvem krogu. Njihove ocene so povzete v preglednicah 3 in 4.

Rezultati drugega in tretjega kroga ankete se niso bistveno razlikovali. Pri zaželenosti je bila najvišja povprečna ocena pripisana »strožjim kaznim za kršitelje«, sledili pa so »pogostejši inšpekcijski obhodi« in »pospeševanje hišnih preiskav«. Te ugotovitve kažejo, da je strožje ukrepanje zoper kršitelje najbolj zaželena strategija reševanja problematike nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v zasebnem stanovanjskem fondu Hongkonga. S strožjimi kaznimi za kršitelje, ki so lahko lastniki ali izvajalci nedovoljenih gradbenih del, bi lahko vlada preprečila kršitve zakonskih predpisov. Za najmanj zaželeni možnosti sta se izkazala »vzpostavitev informacijske platforme« in »obvezno

razkritje«, saj so nekateri anketiranci menili, da tržni akterji (kupci in najemniki stanovanj) pri iskanju stanovanj morda sploh ne posvečajo toliko pozornosti obstoju nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v stavbah. Pri izvedljivosti so bili najvišje ocenjeni »javni izobraževalni programi«, sledile pa so »strožje kazni za kršitelje« in »ureditev posredniških praks«. Najnižja ocena izvedljivosti je bila pripisana »zasegu nezakonitih mikrostanovanj« in »razglasitvi urejanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj za kaznivo dejanje«.

Na podlagi povprečnih ocen zaželenosti in izvedljivosti, pridobljenih v tretjem krogu, lahko določimo možnosti, ki bi morale imeti prednost pri morebitni realizaciji. Na sliki 2 je prikazan razsevni diagram povprečnih ocen zaželenosti in izvedljivosti, ki je razdeljen v štiri kvadrante. Prvi kvadrant vsebuje nezaželene in neizvedljive možnosti, med njimi sta »nagrajevanje informatorjev« in »razglasitev urejanja nezakonitih mikrostanovanj za kaznivo dejanje«. V drugem kvadrantu so predstavljene možnosti, ki so izvedljive, toda nezaželene. Njihova realizacija ne bi bila preveč zahtevna, vendar bi imela omejene pozitivne vplive na politiko. Javne izobraževalne programe lahko na primer zlahka oblikujemo in izvajamo, njihovi vplivi na množenje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj pa so vprašljivi. Možnosti v tretjem kvadrantu pa so zaželeni, toda neizvedljivi. To pomeni, da jih ni praktično izvajati, čeprav so lahko njihove posledice pozitivne. »Zaseg nezakonitih mikrostanovanj« lahko lastnike na primer odvrne od tega, da

prostore preuredijo v nezakonita mikrostanovanja, vendar je za urad za stavbe pridobitev sodnih sklepov za zaprtje izjemno draga in zahtevna.

Četrti kvadrant vsebuje možnosti, ki so jih anketiranci ocenili kot zaželene in izvedljive. Med njimi so tri iz kategorije »nadzor gradnje in načrtovanja« in dve iz kategorije »spodbude«. Na splošno je bila možnost »strožje kazni za kršitelje« najbolj zaželena, saj je bila na prvem mestu po zaželenosti in na drugem po izvedljivosti. Kljub temu je bila deležna tudi nekaterih kritik. Nekateri anketiranci so opozorili, da bi lahko lokalna skupnost nasprotovala spremembam zakonodaje, saj obstaja možnost, da nenamerno krši zakon. Z drugimi besedami, pred spremembo kazni je treba zagotoviti, da lastniki nepremičnin popolnoma razumejo, kaj so nedovoljena gradbena dela in kateri so ustrezni postopki za pridobitev gradbenega dovoljenja. Tudi »pospeševanje hišnih preiskav« je bilo ocenjeno kot zaželeno in izvedljivo. Odkrivanje nezakonitih mikrostanovanj je pogosto težavno, zato so se številni anketiranci strinjali z odpravo zahteve po sodnem nalogu in z učinkovitejšim postopkom, ki bi uradu za stavbe omogočal hitrejšo pridobitev naloga za hišno preiskavo. Kljub temu so v zvezi s to možnostjo pogosto izrazili tudi zaskrbljenost nad vdorom v zasebnost in nepotrebnimi nevšečnostmi. Tudi možnost »pogostejši inšpekcijski obhodi« je bila zaželena, vendar bi bila učinkovita samo, če bi vlada več sredstev vložila v osebje, ki izvaja inšpekcijski nadzor stavb.

6 Sklep

Zaradi nezakonite razdelitve stanovanja na manjše enote se lahko navadno stanovanje spremeni v pravo smrtno past. Nezakonite spremembe lahko zaprejo poti in izhode v sili in ogrozijo konstrukcijsko stabilnost stavbe. Poleg tega nezakonita mikrostanovanja ogrožajo zdravje stanovalcev in povzročajo spore med njimi. Na podlagi ugotovitev treh krogov ankete, opravljene po metodi delfi za oblikovanje politik, sta avtorja proučevala učinkovite politične možnosti za boj proti nezakonitim mikrostanovanjem v Hongkongu. Uvedbo strožjih kazni za kršitelje je večina anketirancev ocenila kot najbolj zaželeno in izvedljivo možnost. V tem pogledu bi morala hongkonška vlada dodatno povišati kazni za lastnike nepremičnin, ki v svojih stanovanjih izvajajo nedovoljena gradbena dela, saj bi jih strožje kazni od tega močno odvračale in bi preprečevale kršenje gradbenih standardov. Lahko pa bi vlada uvedla tudi nove natančno določene kazni izrecno za nezakonite preureditve stanovanj. Leta 2016 so v New Yorku predstavili zakonodajni predlog za uvedbo nove vrste prekrška gradbenih standardov, ki so ga poimenovali »hujše nezakonite preureditve« (New York City Council, 2016). Te preureditve so bile opredeljene

kot tri bivalne enote ali več teh, ki so urejene v enem objektu ter ogrožajo varnost stanovalcev in sosedov. Predlagali so, da bi se denarna kazen za ta novi prekršek povečala s številom nezakonito urejenih enot. Ta zakonodajni predlog bi lahko bil zgled tudi hongkonški vladi.

Samó zvišanje kazni se ne zdi obetaven pristop glede na to, da imajo državni uradniki velike težave pri odkrivanju nezakonitih mikrostanovanj ali zbiranju dokazov za kazenski pregon. Zato so anketiranci zahtevali tudi ukrepe, ki bi olajšali hišne preiskave, ki jih izvajajo državni uradniki, čeprav so bili nekateri zaskrbljeni zaradi mogočih nevšečnosti in težav z zasebnostjo. Poleg dodelitve večjih pooblastil državnim uradnikom za izvajanje hišnih preiskav bi morala vlada povečati tudi operativno učinkovitost preiskav, in sicer tako, da bi ustanovila preiskovalno ekipo, katere člani bi prihajali iz različnih uradov. Vključeni bi bili uslužbenci urada za stavbe, gasilskega urada in hongkonške policije kot glavne članice ter tudi uslužbenci drugih vladnih uradov. Kot je pokazal pilotni program, ki ga je izvedel newyorški mestni svet, stavbni inšpektorji veliko lažje vstopijo v stanovanja, če so zraven gasilci (Hernández, 2011). Poleg tega lahko vključitev policistov, usposobljenih za zbiranje forenzičnih dokazov, v preiskovalno ekipo izboljša učinkovitost izvajanja ukrepov. Ti strokovnjaki lahko pomagajo tudi pri tajnih preiskavah, povezanih z nezakonitimi mikrostanovanji.

Kljub vsemu je treba upoštevati, da se proučevane politične možnosti med seboj ne izključujejo, nekatere pa se lahko celo dopolnjujejo. Za doseganje boljših dosežkov lahko javni izobraževalni programi in programi spodbud dopolnjujejo strožje ukrepe zoper kršitelje. Za podrobnejšo proučitev primernosti političnih možnosti, ugotovljenih v predstavljeni anketi, bi morali raziskovalci in oblikovalci politik podrobno oceniti družbene posledice teh možnosti ter opraviti analizo njihovih stroškov in koristi. Čeprav je za raziskave po metodi delfi za oblikovanje politik priporočljivo uporabiti anketirance iz vrst strokovnjakov, je vključitev splošne javnosti v procesu oblikovanja politik še vedno nepogrešljiva. Zato bi bilo treba pri oblikovanju sprejemljive politike reševanja problematike nezakonitih mikrostanovanj v Hongkongu v celoti upoštevati tudi mnenja drugih deležnikov v skupnosti.

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Odnos starejših ljudi do dóma in domačega bivalnega okolja

Stanovanje spada med osnovne človekove dobrine in pravice. Njegova vloga je mnogostranska, saj omogoča zadovoljevanje številnih človekovih potreb, poleg tega stanovanje ni omejeno le na ozek bivalni prostor, ampak vključuje tudi širše bivalno okolje, v katerem posameznik prebiva. Odnos posameznika do stanovanja in bivalnega okolja se skozi njegovo življenje spreminja. Zlasti v času starosti naj bi dobilo stanovanje še poseben pomen. Kot kažejo raziskave, želijo starejši zato čim dalj časa ostati v svojem bivalnem okolju, saj naj bi bili nanj navezani. Da bi ugotovili, ali spoznanja o navezanosti starejših na lastno bivalno okolje držijo tudi za Slovenijo, smo v članku analizirali, koliko so na svoje stanovanje in širše bivalno okolje navezani starejši v Sloveniji in kako so z

bivanjem v njem zadovoljni. Mnenja starejših smo pridobili z anketiranjem, statistično analizo pa smo opravili s programom SPSS, in sicer na podlagi izračuna več statističnih testov povezanosti. Analiza je potrdila našo predpostavko, da so tudi slovenski starejši na svoj dom oziroma domače okolje zelo navezani in da so z bivanjem v njem zadovoljni. Pokazalo se je še, da so med starejšimi glede tega nekatere razlike, ki so odvisne od tega, koliko so ljudje stari, kje živijo in koliko časa že bivajo v svojem domu.

Ključne besede: staranje prebivalstva, stanovanje, bivalno okolje, zadovoljstvo, navezanost, staranje v domačem okolju

1 Uvod

Pravico do stanovanja štejemo med temeljne človekove pravice. Kot navaja Scott Leckie (1994), je ustrezno, cenovno dosegljivo in dostopno stanovanje splošno priznано kot temeljna sestavina življenja v miru, dostojanstvu in varnosti. Po Srni Mandič (2011) spada stanovanje nedvomno med najpomembnejše dejavnike kakovosti življenja in blaginje ljudi, kar je priznано tako v družboslovnih vedah (glej na primer Erikson, 1993; Atkinson idr., 2002; Fahey idr., 2004; Domanski idr., 2006; Daly, 2007) kot v številnih mednarodnih političnih dokumentih, na kar opozarjajo mnogi avtorji (glej na primer Barlow in Duncan, 1994; Kleinman idr., 1998, 2013; Doling, 1999, 2006; Milligan, 2003; Czischke in Gruis, 2007). Tudi vloga stanovanja v blaginji ljudi je zelo mnogostranska. Stanovanje namreč obsega številne značilnosti, tako fizične (velikost, opremljenost z infrastrukturo ipd.) kot druge, težje merljive (lokacija, dostop do storitev, prijateljske vezi v sosesčini ipd.) (Mandič, 1996). Bivalno okolje namreč ni omejeno le na stanovanjsko enoto, ampak tudi na ožjo in širšo stanovanjsko skupnost. Po Björnu Hårsmannu in Johnu M. Quigleyju (1991) ima zato stanovanje status najkompleksnejše dobrine, zaradi česar je nemogoče zajeti vse njegove pomena v odnosu do posameznika, ugotavlja Mandičeva (2011). Na to je opozoril že Peter Marcuse (1987: 232) s svojo opredelitvijo, da je »stanovanje več kot stanovanje« (ang. *housing is more than just housing*).

Stanovanje omogoča zadovoljevanje fizičnih, psiholoških in socialnih potreb, kar Mandičeva (1996) aplicira na Allardtovo trihonomno razvrstitev potreb (glej Allardt, 1993) imeti – ljubiti – biti, in sicer (a) *imeti* zajema značilnosti stanovanja, ki določajo kakovost stanovanja kot materialnega vira; gre za stanovanjski standard in te značilnosti omogočajo zadovoljevanje bioloških potreb; (b) *ljubiti* pomeni, da stanovanje zadovoljuje človekovo potrebo po družabnih stikih, partnerskih odnosih, ustanavljanju samostojnega gospodinjstva in družine, vključitvi v lokalno skupnost ipd., (c) *biti* pomeni, da stanovanje zadovoljuje potrebo po samouresničevanju in izkazovanju osebne identitete posameznika in njegovega izpopolnjevanja; s to potrebo je povezana simbolna funkcija stanovanja, saj stanovanje z videzom, lokacijo ipd. izraža posameznikov ugled v družbi. Stanovanje je torej »fizični in socialni prostor, ki ga posameznik obvladuje, v katerem izraža svojo osebno identiteto, zasebnost in varnost« (Saunders, 1990: 39). Potreba po varnosti se pri tem nanaša na »ontološki občutek varnosti, na prostor, v katerem se človek počuti varnega« (Boškic, 2002: 21). Gre za eno izmed tistih človekovih potreb, ki je izrednega pomena za delovanje v družbi. Po drugi strani je potreba po zasebnosti povezana z zadovoljevanjem primarnih potreb. Stanovanje kot prostor zasebnega umika omogoča oblikovanje občutij doma. Stanovanje kot tako, torej kot *dom*,

je v individualni opredelitvi ljudi središče družinskega življenja, svobode, neodvisnosti, individualnosti, samoizražanja in socialnega statusa ter je podpora za delo in prostočasne dejavnosti (Somerville, 1997). Po Petru Saundersu in Petru Williamsu (1988) zmanjšuje občutek odtujenosti, nemoči in fatalizma v sodobni družbi.

Odnos posameznika do stanovanja oziroma doma se skozi njegovo življenje spreminja. Še zlasti velik pomen dobi v človekovi starosti (Mandič, 2011). Po Frances Heywood idr. (2002) starejši ljudje stanovanje ali dom povezujejo s številnimi spomini in identiteto, po Anni Dupuis in Davidu Thornsu (1996) s tem, kaj so v življenju dosegli, po Rogerju Cloughu idr. (2004) pa tudi z mrežo družbenih vezi, ki so jo stkali v okolju, v katerem prebivajo. Kot navajata Ivan Štuhec in Maksimiljan Fras (2010), je torej življenje starejših osrediščeno okoli stanovanja in bližnje okolice, kar kaže, da so starejši na svoje domače bivalno okolje zelo navezani. Da bi ugotovili, ali spoznanja o navezanosti starejših na lastno bivalno okolje držijo tudi za Slovenijo, bomo analizirali del rezultatov raziskave, ki smo jo opravili v okviru projekta Inovativne oblike bivalnih okolij za starejše v Sloveniji. Zanima nas, koliko so na svoje stanovanje in širše bivalno okolje navezani starejši v Sloveniji in kako so z bivanjem v njem zadovoljni. Predvidevamo, da so tako kot v drugih državah tudi v Sloveniji starejši ljudje na svoj dom oziroma domače okolje zelo navezani in da so z bivanjem v njem zadovoljni. Sklepamo, da so med starejšimi glede tega nekatere razlike, in sicer glede na različne starostne skupine oziroma starost starejših, različna okolja, v katerih živijo (mesto ali podeželje), lastništvo (last ali najem), vrsto stanovanjske enote, v kateri bivajo (hiša ali stanovanje), in trajanje bivanja v njej.

2 Teoretična izhodišča

Po najširši opredelitvi naj bi bila navezanost na dom čustvena vez med posameznikom in njegovim okoljem (Jorgenson in Stedman, 2001; Brown in Raymond, 2007). Ker je to pojmovanje zelo široko, raziskovalci razčlenijo navezanost na dom na odvisnost od prostora (Williams in Vaske, 2003), navezanost na sosesko (Sampson, 1988), prostorsko identiteto (Williams idr., 1992), družbene vezi (Kyl idr., 2005), zakoreninjenost (Tuan, 1980; Hay, 1998;), genealoško in ekonomsko navezanost (Mishra idr., 2010) in čustveno navezanost (Kyle idr., 2010). Različni avtorji se ukvarjajo tudi s tem, kaj pomeni navezanost na dom v metodološkem smislu (glej na primer Trentelman, 2009; Lewicka, 2011; Hernandez idr., 2013), še zlasti, če želimo izmeriti njeno intenzivnost. Ta je po mnenju nekaterih (glej na primer Shamai, 1991; Lalli, 1992; Williams idr., 1992; Moore in Graefe, 1994; Bricker in Kerstetter, 2000; Kyle idr., 2005) odvisna predvsem od obsega in količine stika, ki ga ima posameznik z bivalnim okoljem.

Kot navajata Charis E. Anton in Carmen Lawrence (2014), ima lahko pri navezanosti na dom stopnja njene intenzivnosti pozitivne in negativne učinke. Na eni strani naj bi bila velika navezanost povezana z dobrim zdravjem in vključitvijo v skupnost. Posamezniki, ki so bolj navezani na svoje stanovanje in okolico, poročajo o večji družbeni vključitvi v lokalno skupnost (Mesch in Manor, 1998), kar ima močan vpliv na razvoj skupnosti. Navezanost na dom lahko tudi izboljša kakovost življenja (Harris idr., 1995) ter psihično in fizično zdravstveno stanje, vpliva na boljše družbene vezi in na splošno zadovoljstvo s širšim bivalnim okoljem (Tartaglia, 2012). Posamezniki, ki ne razvijejo navezanosti na svoj dom ali pri katerih je ta navezanost zelo šibka, pa poročajo o višjih ravneh stresa in slabšem zdravstvenem stanju (Stokols in Shumaker, 1982). Negativno lahko deluje tudi močna navezanost na dom, še zlasti pri starejših, kot to navaja Mark Fried (2000). (Pre)močna navezanost na dom namreč starejše pogosto ovira pri tem, da bi se v primeru poslabšanega zdravstvenega stanja in v drugih okoliščinah, ko njihovo bivalno okolje ni več primerno za bivanje, preselili v primernejše bivalno okolje, ki bi izboljšalo kakovost njihovega življenja. Premočna navezanost se lahko kaže tudi v pretiranem zadrževanju v stanovanju in zmanjšanju družbenih stikov, kar lahko vodi do izolacije. Skrb vzbuja ugotovitev Štuheca in Frasa (2010), da slovenski starostniki v povprečju zunaj svojega doma preživijo le 2,5 ure dnevno.

Da so starejši na svoje domače bivalno okolje intenzivno navezani in želijo v njem ostati čim dalj časa, potrjujejo tudi številne raziskave, med katerimi izstopa predvsem anketa, ki jo je leta 2005 opravilo ameriško združenje za upokojence (ang. *American Association of Retired People*, glej Salomon, 2010). Po njihovih podatkih je 89 % ljudi, starejših od 50 let, izjavilo, da želijo ostati v svojem domu, kolikor je mogoče dolgo in ohraniti svojo neodvisnost. Še podrobnejša raziskava omenjenega združenja je pokazala, da se delež ljudi, ki imajo takšne želje, s starostjo povečuje (Salomon, 2000). Med starostniki želi v svojem stanovanju ostati tako dolgo, kot bo mogoče, 75 % starih med 45 in 54 let, 83 % starih med 55 in 64 let, 92 % starih med 65 in 74 let in kar 95 % starih 75 ali več let. Če ne bi bili več zmožni živeti samostojno, si starejši po Emily Salomon (2010) še vedno zelo želijo ostati in bivati v svoji skupnosti oziroma soseski, znanem bivalnem in družbenem okolju. Po raziskavi ameriškega združenja za upokojence, na katero se avtorica sklicuje, je takšnih 85 %. Družbene povezave s prijatelji in sosedi, poznavanje lokalnih možnosti za prijetno bivanje, bližina do storitev so po njenih ugotovitvah med številnimi prednostmi, ki bi jih starejši izgubili, če bi se morali preseliti. Zato starejši o preselitvi niti ne želijo razmišljati (glej na primer Kerbler, 2014). To potrjuje ugotovitev Petra de Jonga idr. (2012) glede navezanosti na stanovanje, in sicer da je prav ta pogosto navedena kot ena izmed glavnih razlogov za

zelo majhno mobilnost starejših. Pri tem ima pomembno vlogo lastništvo stanovanja, kar za slovenski prostor potrjujejo tudi rezultati raziskave, ki so jo opravili Sendi idr. (2003). Večina tistih starejših, ki bi se preselili, je namreč živel v najemniškem stanovanju. Delež tistih, ki so živeli v lastniškem bivališču in bi se preselili, je bil precej manjši. Pomembnost te ugotovitve in dodatno utemeljitev za našo analizo glede navezanosti starejših na domače bivalno okolje lahko podkrepimo še s podatki raziskave SHARE o zdravju, staranju in upokojevanju v Evropi (glej Mandič, 2015), ki kažejo, da je med starejšim prebivalstvom v Sloveniji značilna izrazita prevlada lastniškega stanovanja nad najemnim (po velikem deležu lastniških stanovanj se slovenska starejša gospodinjstva uvrščajo na tretje mesto med vsemi državami v raziskavi SHARE). Iz tega torej lahko sklepamo, da so v Sloveniji starejši zelo navezani na domače bivalno okolje in da se zato ne želijo preseliti.

Poleg navezanosti na stanovanje naj bi bilo po Stephenu M. Golantu (1982) tudi zadovoljstvo z njim eden izmed dejavnikov morebitne selitve in stanovanjskih preferenc ter subjektivni kazalnik kakovosti življenja. Zadovoljstvo s stanovanjem je odvisno od različnih posameznikovih dejavnikov, kot so zdravstveno stanje in potencialna oviranost, stiki v soseski in varnost. Nanj vplivajo tudi lastnosti stanovanja, kot sta njegova kakovost in velikost, in subjektivna ocena varnosti v njem (Hwang idr., 1999). Pomemben je tudi individualni prostor, ki ga ima posameznik na voljo, kar vpliva na zdravje in s tem posledično na zadovoljstvo (Costa-Font, 2013). Po mnenju Štuheca in Frasa (2010) je zadovoljstvo s stanovanjem ključno za kakovost življenja predvsem pri starejših. Kot namreč Štuhlec in Frasa (2010: 6) navajata, raziskave kažejo, da »starejši ljudje, ki so zadovoljni s svojim stanovanjem, pozitivneje načrtujejo prihodnost, so na telesnem, duševnem in socialnem področju aktivnejši, imajo več socialnih stikov in pozitivneje doživljajo vsakdan«. Kot najpomembnejši potrebi na področju bivanja in zadovoljstva z njim starejši po njunem mnenju navajajo potrebo po varnosti in neodvisnosti oziroma samostojnosti, po poročanju Paule Vasara (2015) pa tudi potrebo po miru, bližini narave ter dostopu do storitev in prostočasnih aktivnosti.

3 Metode

3.1 Način pridobitve podatkov in značilnosti vzorca

Podatke za analizo smo v okviru raziskave, navedene v uvodu, pridobili z anketiranjem. Po našem naročilu ga je novembra 2015 izvedel Center za raziskovanje javnega mnenja in množičnih komunikacij, ki deluje v sklopu Inštituta za družbene vede pri Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani. Šlo je za telefonsko anketiranje, s t. i. tehniko anketiranja

CATI (ang. *computer-assisted telephone interviewing*), v katero je bilo vključeno prebivalstvo Slovenije, staro 50 let in več, obeh spolov, iz vseh statističnih regij in tipov naselij (mestnih in podeželskih). Končnih veljavnih anket je bilo 930, kar pomeni 0,11 % vsega slovenskega prebivalstva v starosti 50 in več let.

Anketa je obsegala vprašanja, povezana z nepremičninami, gospodinjstvi, v katerih živijo anketiranci (lastništvo, velikost, čas bivanja v stanovanju ali hiši, težave, povezane z vzdrževanjem nepremičnine, prilagojenost nepremičnine za bivanje v starosti, število članov gospodinjstva, bližina sorodnikov ipd.), ter z ekonomskim stanjem in zdravjem anketiranih. Zanimali so nas še zadovoljstvo anketirancev s stanovanjem^[1] in bivalnim okoljem, v katerem živijo, navezanost na ožje (stanovanje) in širše bivalno okolje (soseska oziroma okolje, v katerem živijo), stališče do morebitne preselitve, oblike pomoči, ki jih anketiranci prejema oziroma bi jih potrebovali za opravljanje nekaterih dejavnosti, in raznih bivalnih okolij za starejše s poudarkom na oblikah bivanja, ki so v slovenskem okolju manj pogoste oziroma jih še ni, ter odnos do raznih stanovanjskih rešitev, ki omogočajo pridobitev dodatnih prihodkov iz lastništva nepremičnine. Na koncu so bila anketiranim zastavljena še vprašanja v zvezi z demografijo (starost, spol, izobrazba, status in kraj bivanja).

V preglednici 1 so predstavljene izbrane značilnosti vzorca, in sicer tiste, za katere želimo s statistično analizo preveriti, ali so med starejšimi statistično pomembne razlike glede navezanosti na domače bivalno okolje in glede zadovoljstva z njim. Povprečna starost anketiranih je 69,3 leta, v domačem bivalnem okolju pa živijo v povprečju 36,5 leta. Med anketiranci, ki živijo na podeželju, jih 69,8 % živi v strnjem podeželskem naselju oziroma v njegovi bližini, 30,2 % pa v razpršenem podeželskem naselju oziroma na samem. Med tistimi, ki živijo v mestnem okolju, jih 54,7 % živi v manjšem, 45,3 % pa v večjem mestu, od tega več kot polovica (56,7 %) v Ljubljani oziroma Mariboru. Med lastniki hiš ali stanovanj, v katerih živijo anketiranci, jih 74,8 % živi v hišah, 25,2 % pa v stanovanju.

3.2 Izbrane spremenljivke

Za potrebe problematike, ki jo obravnavamo v tem članku, se bomo pri analizi osredotočili na vprašanja, povezana z zadovoljstvom in navezanostjo anketirancev na stanovanje oziroma bivalno okolje. Za ugotavljanje navezanosti nas bosta zanimali navezanost anketirancev na stanovanje in njihova navezanost na sosesko oziroma okolje, v katerem živijo. V nekaterih primerih bomo oba vidika navezanosti združili v splošno navezanost. Pri zadovoljstvu bomo poleg splošnega zadovoljstva ugotavljali, kako zadovoljni so anketiranci s stanovanjem, z okoljem,

Preglednica 1: Izbrane značilnosti anketirancev

spremenljivke	razredi/skupine	delež (v %)
starost		
	50–59 let	18,8
	60–69 let	32,5
	70–79 let	30,5
	80 let in več	18,3
tip naselja		
	podeželje	46,3
	mesto	53,7
lastništvo stanovanja		
	lastništvo	97,9
	najem	2,1
trajanje bivanja v domačem bivalnem okolju		
	10 let in manj	6,2
	11–20 let	11,6
	21–30 let	18,6
	31–40 let	28,0
	41–50 let	20,4
	51 let in več	15,2

v katerem živijo, s fizično dostopnostjo v bivalnem okolju ter z bližino storitev in oskrbe v njem.

Vsakega od navedenih štirih sklopov zadovoljstva smo že v anketi notranje razčlenili na posamezne vidike:

- v okviru zadovoljstva s stanovanjem nas je zanimalo, kako zadovoljni so z (a) razporeditvijo prostorov, (b) velikostjo in (c) gradbeno kakovostjo;
- v zvezi z okoljem, v katerem živijo, smo jih spraševali, kako zadovoljni so z (d) splošno urejenostjo okolja, (e) mirom v okolju, (f) kakovostjo zraka v stanovanjski okolici in (g) varnostjo v okolju;
- pri fizični dostopnosti smo se osredotočili na zadovoljstvo s (h) zunanjo dostopnostjo oziroma dostopnostjo do objekta, v katerem bivajo (npr. promet, cesta, parkirišče), (i) notranjo dostopnostjo oziroma dostopnostjo do stanovanja (npr. dvigalo, stopnice oziroma druge arhitekturne ovire);
- pri četrtem sklopu pa so anketiranci izrazili svoje zadovoljstvo z (j) bližino sorodnikov in prijateljev, (k) bližino zdravstvene oskrbe, (l) bližino storitev dolgotrajne oskrbe za starejše (npr. oskrba na domu), (m) možnostmi za rekreacijo in druženje v bližini doma in (n) bližino javnih servisov in storitev (npr. trgovina, pošta, avtobus).

Anketirance smo prosili, naj stopnjo zadovoljstva z (ožjim in širšim) bivalnim okoljem in navezanost nanj ocenijo na lestvici

od ena do pet, pri čemer je ocena ena pomenila, da anketiranec sploh ni zadovoljen/navezan, dva, da ni zadovoljen/navezan, tri, da ni niti nezadovoljen/nenavezan niti zadovoljen/navezan, štiri, da je zadovoljen/navezan, in pet, da je zelo zadovoljen/navezan. Anketiranci so imeli možnost odgovoriti še z ne vem, lahko pa jim na vprašanje sploh ni bilo treba odgovoriti. Kot je razvidno iz preglednice 2, so anketiranci kljub tej možnosti v veliki večini podali svoje ocene.

3.3 Predstavitev metod in postopkov za statistično analizo

Čeprav je opisana petstopenjska lestvica ocenjevanja zadovoljstva z bivalnim okoljem in navezanosti nanj urejenostna (ordinalna), smo jo za potrebe statistične analize obravnavali kot razmernostno oziroma intervalno^[2], iz analize pa smo izključili tudi odgovore *Ne vem* in tiste anketirance, ki na neko vprašanje niso odgovorili. Statistično analizo smo opravili s programom SPSS za Windows 23.0. Poleg osnovnih statističnih izračunov (delež in povprečja) smo za to, da bi dobili odgovore na zastavljena raziskovalna vprašanja ter da bi preverili svoje sklepe in predpostavke, izračunali različne statistične teste. Da bi ugotovili, ali se povprečna vrednost izbrane spremenljivke razlikuje med dvema skupinama enot, smo uporabili *t*-test za neodvisna vzorca, v primeru več kot dveh skupin pa analizo variance. Pri zadnjemavedeni smo za ugotavljanje statistično značilnih razlik v povprečju določene spremenljivke izbrali različne postopke, odvisno od velikosti skupin in izpolnitve predpostavke o enakosti varianc. Pri tem smo sledili smernicam Andyja Fielda (2009) in uporabili postopek REGWQ ali Tukeyjev HSD, če so skupine enako velike, Gabrielov postopek, če se velikosti skupin nekoliko razlikujejo, postopek Hochberg's GT2 pa, če so velikosti skupin zelo različne. V vseh primerih mora biti izpolnjen pogoj o homogenosti varianc med skupinami. Če predpostavka o enakosti varianc ni bila izpolnjena, smo uporabili Games-Howellov postopek, pred tem pa smo test enakosti povprečij med spremenljivkami namesto z analizo variance opravili z robustnima testoma Brown-Forsythe in Welch. Povezanost med imenskima (nominalnima) spremenljivkama smo preverjali s Pearsonovim hi-kvadrat (χ^2) testom, v primeru ugotovljenih povezav pa smo intenzivnost oziroma stopnjo povezanosti obeh spremenljivk ugotavljali s koeficientom kontingence *C* oziroma s Cramerjevim *V*. Izračunov Pearsonovega koeficienta korelacije (*r*) smo se lotili v primeru ugotavljanja povezanosti dveh razmernostnih oziroma intervalnih spremenljivk. Povprečne vrednosti smo v članku prikazovali z oznako *M*, statistične razlike (*p*) pa smo obravnavali kot pomembne pri eno- ali petodstotni stopnji tveganja. Zaradi večje preglednosti so prikazani samo končni rezultati, in sicer le tisti, ki so statistično pomembni.

4 Rezultati in razprava

Vasara (2015) ugotavlja, da so starejši na splošno zelo zadovoljni s svojim stanovanjem, kar potrjujejo tudi rezultati anketiranja. Vprašani so namreč izrazili, da so zelo zadovoljni z ožjim in širšim bivalnim okoljem in da so nanj zelo navezani – povprečna ocena zadovoljstva vseh vidikov stanovanja in bivalnega okolja je namreč 4,14, povprečna ocena navezanosti na stanovanje in okolje, v katerem starejši živijo, pa je še višja, in sicer 4,31. Kot je razvidno iz preglednice 2, so anketiranci med vsemi ocenjenimi vidiki navezanosti in zadovoljstva najvišje ocene dodelili navezanosti na stanovanje, čeprav so z vidiki stanovanja (razporeditev prostorov, velikost, gradbena kakovost) v primerjavi z drugimi manj zadovoljni – povprečna ocena je celo pod skupnim povprečjem zadovoljstva in znaša 4,07, najmanj pri gradbeni kakovosti. Ob tem so starejši najvišje ocene pri zadovoljstvu dodelili vidikom, povezanim z okoljem, v katerem živijo (*M* = 4,24), čeprav so v primerjavi s stanovanjem na okolje manj navezani. To Anton in Lawrence (2014) pojasnjujeta s tem, da ima stanovanje bolj jasno opredeljene prostore, meje, soseska oziroma okolica pa je manj jasen koncept. Med vsemi vidiki zadovoljstva z okoljem najbolj izstopata zadovoljstvo z varnostjo v njem in mirom. Poleg okolja so starejši nadpovprečno zadovoljni tudi s fizično dostopnostjo (*M* = 4,22), precej bolj z dostopnostjo v širšem bivalnem okolju kot dostopnostjo do stanovanja. Najmanj so zadovoljni z bližino storitev in oskrbo v njem (*M* = 4,06) – vsi vidiki tega sklopa imajo podpovprečno oceno zadovoljstva. Najnižjo med vsemi dosega dostopnost do storitev dolgotrajne oskrbe, vendar je treba pri tem vidiku omeniti, da je bilo število odgovorov pri tem najmanjše – skoraj 18 % anketiranih namreč tega vidika ni ocenilo. Večji delež anket brez odgovorov oziroma z odgovorom *Ne vem* (7,3 %) je še pri možnosti za rekreacijo in druženje v bližini doma. Tudi s tem vidikom so starejši podpovprečno zadovoljni.

Čeprav imata vidika navezanosti najvišji povprečni oceni in največji delež ocen pet – navezanost na stanovanje je s pet ocenilo 63 % vprašanih, navezanost na okolje, v katerem starejši bivajo, pa 50,5 % (glej preglednico 2) –, sta glede na seštevek deležev ocen štiri in pet ter glede na razvrstitev vseh vidikov navezanosti in zadovoljstva (teh je šestnajst) šele na petem (navezanost na stanovanje) oziroma dvanajstem mestu (navezanost na okolje). Najvišji mesti pri tem zavzemata zadovoljstvo z varnostjo v okolju in zadovoljstvo z zunanjo fizično dostopnostjo. Prvi vidik je z ocenama štiri in pet ocenilo 90,3 % starejših, drugega 89,1 %. Na tretjem mestu je zadovoljstvo z mirom s 85,1-odstotnim deležem odgovorov štiri in pet. Najnižja mesta dosegajo vidiki, katerih povprečne ocene zadovoljstva so prav tako najnižje, in sicer dostop do storitev dolgotrajne oskrbe (77,6 %), možnost za rekreacijo in druženje (77,1 %) in gradbena kakovost stanovanja (74,3 %).

Preglednica 2: Povprečna ocena in delež ocen štiri oziroma pet ter delež teh dveh ocen skupaj po posameznih vidikih navezanosti in zadovoljstva

sklop	vidik	povprečna ocena (M)	delež ocen štiri (v %)	delež ocen pet (v %)	delež skupaj (v %)	razvrstitev*
navezanost						
	navezanost na stanovanje	4,41	21,5	63,0	84,5	5
	navezanost na okolje	4,21	28,3	50,5	78,8	12
zadovoljstvo						
s stanovanjem						
	razporeditev prostorov	4,16	42,1	40,2	82,3	6
	velikost stanovanja	4,10	39,3	40,5	79,8	10
	gradbena kakovost	3,96	44,3	30,0	74,3	16
z okoljem						
	urejenost okolja	4,18	47,1	37,6	84,7	4
	mir v okolju	4,28	37,1	48,8	85,9	3
	kakovost zraka	4,14	37,1	42,2	79,3	11
	varnost	4,35	43,5	46,8	90,3	1
z dostopnostjo						
	dostop do objekta	4,33	40,3	48,8	89,1	2
	dostop do stanovanja	4,10	43,0	38,1	81,1	8
z bližino storitev in oskrbe						
	bližina sorodnikov/prijateljev	4,14	43,2	38,5	81,7	7
	bližina zdravstvene oskrbe	4,10	44,8	35,7	80,5	9
	bližina storitev dolgotrajne oskrbe	3,96	51,6	26,0	77,6	14
	možnost rekreacije/druženja	4,01	42,8	34,3	77,1	15
	bližina javnih servisov/storitev	4,10	36,5	41,3	77,8	13

Opomba: * Razvrstitev glede na skupni delež ocen štiri in pet (1 pomeni najvišje, 16 pa najnižje mesto).

Čeprav je le majhen delež tistih, ki so svoje zadovoljstvo s posameznimi vidiki stanovanja in bivalnega okolja ter navezanost nanju ocenili z nižjimi ocenami, bomo poskušali v nadaljevanju ugotoviti, ali so med njimi in tistimi, ki so izrazili večje zadovoljstvo in navezanost, razlike v starosti, tipu naselja, v katerem živijo, lastništvu stanovanja in trajanju bivanja v njem ter (če te razlike so) ali se po teh razlikah med seboj statistično pomembno razlikujejo.

4.1 Starost

Že raziskava ameriškega združenja za upokojence, ki smo jo predstavili v teoretičnem delu članka, kaže, da se delež tistih, ki bi radi ostali čim dalj časa v svojem domu, s starostjo povečuje. Meredith Driscoll (2011) navaja, da mnogi raziskovalci (na primer Rubenstein, 1989; Fogel, 1992; Rowles in Ravdal, 2002) to željo starejših pripisujejo njihovi navezanosti na dom. Kot smo že navedli v uvodu in to potrjujejo tudi Duncan Case (1996), Hans-Werner Wahl (2003) ter Wahl in Laura N. Gitlin (2003), se s tem, ko se človek stara, pomen doma zanj povečuje, obenem pa tudi navezanost nanj.

S staranjem ljudje vedno bolj čutijo, da so del okolja, v katerem živijo, da mu pripadajo, da je dom del njih, kar potrjuje tudi Graham D. Rowles (1983). Tudi po njegovem mnenju namreč starejši razvijejo poseben odnos do stanovanja, kar privede do tega, da se z njim identificirajo in ga razumejo kot podaljšek sebe. Driscoll (2011) v zvezi s tem izpostavlja raziskavo Chrisa Gillearda idr. (2007), v kateri so angleški sedemdesetletniki in osemdesetletniki izkazali močnejšo navezanost na dom in skupnost v primerjavi z mlajšimi. Te ugotovitve lahko potrdimo tudi z našo raziskavo. Statistična analiza namreč kaže, da obstaja povezanost med starostjo anketiranih in splošno navezanostjo ($r = 0,122$; $p = 0,000$). Kaže tudi povezanost z zadovoljstvom ($r = -0,084$; $p = 0,012$). Povezanost je resda v obeh primerih šibka, vendar je statistično pomembna pri enodototnem oziroma petodototnem tveganju. Povezanost med starostjo in splošno navezanostjo je (po pričakovanjih) pozitivna, med starostjo in splošnim zadovoljstvom pa negativna. To pomeni, da se navezanost na domače bivalno okolje s starostjo povečuje, zadovoljstvo z njim pa se zmanjšuje. Ta ugotovitev je razumljiva, saj se s starostjo pri ljudeh zmanjšuje mobilnost, zaradi česar imajo lahko težave pri dostopnosti do

svojega doma in v širšem bivalnem okolju. Težave se lahko kažejo tudi z omejeno mobilnostjo v lastnem stanovanju, če ga arhitekturno ustrezno ne prilagodijo. V starejših letih si ljudje želijo tudi več miru in varnosti, saj se počutijo bolj ogroženi in ranljivi. S staranjem postopoma izgubljajo še svoje bližnje prijatelje, ki umrejo, zaradi zmanjšane mobilnosti pa pogosto tudi vse manj vzdržujejo družbene stike z ljudmi v svoji okolici. Velika težava je lahko tudi oddaljenost od javnih storitev.

Podrobnejša analiza navezanosti kaže, da so starejši anketiranci nekoliko bolj navezani na stanovanje ($r = 0,130$; $p = 0,000$) kakor na okolje ($r = 0,095$; $p = 0,004$), kar potrjujejo tudi spoznanja Carmen Hidalgo in Bernarda Hernande (2001) ter Marie Lewicke (2005). Tisti, ki so izrazili, da so zelo navezani na stanovanje, so v povprečju več kot deset let starejši (69,9 leta) kakor tisti, ki so navezanost na stanovanje ocenili z najnižjo oceno (59,5 leta). Da na stanovanje sploh niso navezani, so namreč navedli le tisti, ki so stari med 50 in 69 let. Pri navezanosti na okolje je med tema skupinama razlika v povprečni starosti nižja, vendar še vedno znaša 5,2 leta (ocena ena = 64,8 leta, ocena pet = 70 let).

Podrobnejša statistična analiza povezanosti med starostjo in posameznimi vidiki zadovoljstva s stanovanjem in okoljem, v katerem starejši bivajo, kaže, da je povezanost v vseh primerih negativna. Šibka, vendar statistično pomembna je pri zadovoljstvu z mirom v okolju ($r = -0,095$; $p = 0,004$), z varnostjo ($r = -0,092$; $p = 0,006$), z dostopnostjo do stanovanja ($r = -0,106$; $p = 0,002$), z možnostjo za rekreacijo in druženje ($r = -0,069$; $p = 0,044$). Na stopnji desetodstotnega tveganja se povezanost kaže tudi v primeru zadovoljstva z zunanjo fizično dostopnostjo ($r = -0,055$; $p = 0,099$) in z bližino sorodnikov in prijateljev ($r = -0,058$; $p = 0,083$). Največja razlika v povprečni starosti je pri zadovoljstvu z varnostjo, saj znaša 68,3 leta pri tistih, ki z njo sploh niso zadovoljni, in 85,3 leta pri tistih, ki so z njo zelo zadovoljni. Pri zadovoljstvu z dostopnostjo do stanovanja znaša razlika 5,9 leta, pri zadovoljstvu z mirom v okolju pa 3,3 leta.

4.2 Trajanje bivanja v domačem bivalnem okolju

Nekatere študije, na primer raziskava Chiare Rollero in Norme De Picolli (2010), povezave med starostjo in navezanostjo na bivalno okolje niso potrdile. Graham D. Rowles (1983) pojasnjuje to s tem, da so morda razlike med starejšimi, ki so v svojem življenju živeli na več lokacijah, in starejšimi, ki (še vedno) živijo v kraju rojstva. Domnevo potrjuje Robert Hay (1998), ki dokaže, da so res razlike v navezanosti med posamezniki, ki živijo v kraju rojstva (ti so bolj navezani), in posamezniki, ki so se v neki kraj preselili pozneje v življenju (ti so manj navezani). Na podlagi teh ugotovitev smo navezanost in zadovoljstvo opredelili tudi v odnosu s trajanjem bivanja starejših v

domačem okolju. Poleg že omenjenih raziskav tudi druge študije (na primer Riger in Lavrakas, 1981; Sampson, 1988; Bonaiuto idr. 1999; Hidalgo in Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2010) kažejo, da so starejši ljudje bolj navezani na stanovanje kot mladi, kar je povezano s časom, ki so ga preživeli v nekem stanovanju oziroma širšem bivalnem okolju. Tudi avtorji, kot so Stephen McCool in Steven Martin (1994), Marino Bonaiuto idr. (1999), Maria Lewicka (2005, 2010), Richard Stedman (2006), Christopher Raymond idr. (2010), so ugotovili povezanost med trajanjem bivanja v domačem bivalnem okolju in navezanostjo.

Po pričakovanju lahko tudi za našo raziskavo potrdimo, da obstaja povezanost med trajanjem bivanja v stanovanju in navezanostjo na bivalno okolje ($r = 0,166$; $p = 0,000$). Razlika v višini linearne povezanosti pri navezanosti na stanovanje oziroma navezanosti na okolje, v katerem starejši bivajo, je zanemarljiva. Povezanost je v obeh primerih pozitivna in statistično pomembna pri enoodstotnem tveganju, kar pomeni, da se s trajanjem bivanja v domačem bivalnem okolju povečuje tudi navezanost nanj. Povprečno trajanje bivanja tistih, ki so svojo navezanost na stanovanje ocenili z ena, je 21,7 leta, pri tistih, ki so jo ocenili s pet, pa se podaljša za 16,2 leta in znaša 37,9 leta. Pri navezanosti na okolje je ta razlika še večja, in sicer 18,7 leta. Statistično pomembne razlike v trajanju bivanja v domačem okolju in navezanostjo nanj se kažejo tudi, če združimo v eno skupino tiste, ki so navezanost na stanovanje oziroma okolje ocenili z ena ali dva, v drugo pa tiste, ki so jo ocenili s štiri oziroma pet (vseh, ki so jo ocenili s tri, pri analizi ne upoštevamo). Oba t -testa (navezanost na stanovanje: $t(769) = -3,036$, $p = 0,002$; navezanost na okolje: $t(811) = -3,265$, $p = 0,001$) kažeta, da so med skupinama glede povprečnega trajanja bivanja razlike pri enoodstotnem tveganju, in sicer je razlika pri navezanosti na stanovanje 7,5 leta, pri navezanosti na okolje pa 6,3 leta.

Pri zadovoljstvu z bivalnim okoljem se je v odnosu s trajanjem bivanja pokazala povezanost le pri zadovoljstvu z gradbeno kakovostjo ($r = -0,101$; $p = 0,002$) in mirom v okolju ($r = -0,111$; $p = 0,001$). V obeh primerih je povezanost negativna, kar pomeni, da so tisti, ki bivajo v svojem stanovanju manj časa, z njegovo gradbeno kakovostjo in mirom v okolju bolj zadovoljni v primerjavi s tistimi, ki bivajo tam že dalj časa. Tako je na primer povprečno trajanje bivanja tistih, ki so z mirom v okolju zelo zadovoljni, 35,2 leta, tistih, ki z njim sploh niso zadovoljni, pa 42,3 leta. Povezanost s trajanjem bivanja se kaže tudi v odnosu do zadovoljstva z bližino sorodnikov in prijateljev, ki je pozitivna, vendar je povezanost statistično značilna na desetodstotni lestvici tveganja. Pri vseh drugih vidikih zadovoljstva med starejšimi glede na njihovo trajanje bivanja v domačem okolju ni bilo nobenih razlik. Ugotovljeno potrjuje tudi Eigil Boll Hansen in Georg Gottaschalk (2006), ki

menita, da podaljševanje trajanja bivanja na isti lokaciji več let v posamezniku res vzbudi navezanost na stanovanje in bivalno okolje, obenem pa lahko tudi zasenči morebitne praktične ne-
všečnosti (na primer slab dostop, neprilagojenost itd.).

4.3 Tip naselja

Anton in Lawrence (2014) sta na študiju vzorca avstralske populacije ugotovila, da so bili posamezniki v podeželskih predelih države bolj navezani na stanovanje kot posamezniki v urbanih predelih. Lewicka (2005) je to podprla s trditvijo, da je navezanost linearno negativno povezana z velikostjo naselja; posamezniki v manjših krajih so torej bolj navezani na svoj dom kot posamezniki v večjih krajih oziroma mestih. Tudi primerjava splošne navezanosti starejših na lastno stanovanje in bivalno okolje v okviru naše raziskave kaže, da so statistično pomembne razlike med tistimi, ki bivajo v mestnih naseljih, in tistimi, ki bivajo na podeželju ($t(913,832) = 3,363, p = 0,001$). Starejši, ki bivajo na podeželju, so v splošnem bolj navezani na svoje domače okolje ($M = 4,41$) kot tisti, ki bivajo v mestnih naseljih ($M = 4,22$). Po mnenju Lewicke (2005) je to posledica tega, da so starejši v mestnih okoljih med seboj najverjetneje manj povezani oziroma imajo manj družbenih stikov in so vključeni v manj združenj, ki povezujejo ljudi, v primerjavi s tistimi, ki živijo v podeželskih območjih. Pri tem se avtorica sklicuje na enake ugotovitve drugih avtorjev, kot so John D. Kasarda in Morris Janowitz (1974), Robert J. Sampson (1988) ter Gene L. Theodori in A. E. Luloff (2000). Zадnjenavedena avtorja sta se glede razlik v navezanosti v podeželskih in mestnih območjih v svoji raziskavi oprla na spoznanja družbenih teoretikov iz poznega devetnajstega in začetka dvajsetega stoletja, po katerih se kaže čedalje večja zaskrbljenost zaradi povečevanja urbanizacije, modernizacije in industrializacije ter vpliva teh procesov na družbeno solidarnost in povezovanje ljudi v skupnosti. Zamisli teh teoretikov, med katerimi so bili najbolj prodorni Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel in Louis Wirth, smo poskušali aplicirati tudi na spoznanja v naši raziskavi. V svojih spisih so namreč izpostavljali, da podeželske skupnosti v primerjavi z mestnim okoljem spodbujajo višjo stopnjo solidarnosti, vključevanja, zaradi česar so ljudje, ki živijo v teh skupnostih, bolj navezani na svoj prostor bivanja (glej Tönnies, 1887; Simmel, 1903; Wirth, 1938). Kot navajata Theodori in Luloff (2000), je na primer Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) v svojem idealnem pojmovanju družbene preobrazbe iz družbe (nem. *Gemeinschaft*) v skupnost (nem. *Gesellschaft*) trdil, da so procesi urbanizacije in industrializacije spremenili poglavitne značilnosti družbe iz skupnostne navezanosti na podlagi naravne volje v združevalno navezanost, ki temelji na racionalni volji. Simmel (1903) je to nadgradil s spoznanji, da na podeželju ritem življenja in senzorične zaznave ljudi potekajo počasneje, bolj naravno in umirjeno ter bolj enakomerno v primerjavi z mestnim načinom življenja. Po njegovem mnenju so zato ljudje, ki živijo v mestih,

razvili otopel odnos do bivalnega prostora, in sicer zato, da se zaščitijo pred hitrimi spremembami v okolju in stresom ter da bi si s tem zagotovili samoohranitev. Iz njegove perspektive se lahko ta otopel odnos, ki se kaže v zadržani osebnosti posameznikov v mestnem okolju, izraža v izgubi navezanosti na skupnost in bivalni prostor. Kljub tej in drugim klasičnim pogledom urbanizacije je po mnenju Theodorija in Luloffa (2000) predvsem Wirthova teorija tista, ki opredeljuje, katere učinke ima mestno okolje na posameznike in njihovo medsebojno povezanost (glej Wirth, 1938, in Fischer, 1972; Christenson, 1979). Po Louisu Wirthu (1938) so namreč velikost (število prebivalstva), gostota (gostota poselitve) in heterogenost prebivalcev v mestih tiste značilnosti, ki povzročajo oslabitev sorodstvenih vezi, zamenjavo osnovnih stikov s sekundarnimi, zmanjšanje poudarka družbenega pomena lokalne skupnosti ter v tem smislu poslabšanje in izgubo povezanosti s skupnostjo ter posledično nižjo stopnjo navezanosti na okolje, v katerem posameznik živi, v primerjavi s podeželjem (Wirth 1938; glej tudi Fischer, 1972, in Christenson, 1979).

Predstavljene ugotovitve družbenih teoretikov veljajo za vse prebivalstvo in s tem tudi za tisti del, ki ga obravnavamo v naši raziskavi, kar potrjujejo rezultati. Ti postavljajo pomen kraja bivanja pri navezanosti celo pred pomen, ki ga ima pri tem starost. In čeprav smo ugotovili, da se stopnja navezanosti z nihanjem starosti statistično pomembno znižuje in je povprečna starost vprašanih na podeželju ($M = 67,5$) statistično pomembno nižja ($t(901) = -4,964, p = 0,000$) od tistih v mestu ($M = 70,8$), so, kot smo že o tem poročali, živeči na podeželju kljub temu izkazali večjo splošno navezanost na bivalno okolje od svojih vrstnikov v mestnih naseljih. Poleg splošne navezanosti starejših na lastno stanovanje in bivalno okolje v podeželskih in mestnih naseljih se statistično pomembne razlike kažejo tudi, če oba vidika navezanosti analiziramo ločeno – navezanost na stanovanje: $t(908,303) = 2,696, p = 0,007$, navezanost na okolje: $t(910) = 3,350, p = 0,001$. Poleg razlik je mogoče iz povprečnih ocen navezanosti razbrati še, da so starejši, ne glede na to, kje živijo, bolj navezani na stanovanje kot na svoje okolje. Povprečna ocena navezanosti na stanovanje je namreč višja tako na podeželju ($M = 4,50$) kot v mestu ($M = 4,33$), v primerjavi z navezanostjo na okolje – povprečna ocena navezanosti na podeželju je 4,33, v mestu pa 4,12. Ta ugotovitev delno izpodbija ugotovitve omenjenih družbenih teoretikov, kar kaže, da postaja tudi podeželje zelo raznovrsten prostor, ki je pod vplivom urbanizacije. Ta se kaže v krhanju nekdanje solidarnosti v podeželskih skupnostih, v čedalje večji individualizaciji in posledično pogosto tudi v družbeni izključenosti starejših na podeželju (glej na primer Lichter in Brown, 2011; Walsh in Ward 2013).

V okviru zadovoljstva se starejši, ki živijo v podeželskih naseljih, in tisti, ki živijo v mestih, ne razlikujejo po vidikih

stanovanja in vidikih, povezanih s fizično dostopnostjo v okolju, razlikujejo pa se po zadovoljstvu z bližino storitev in oskrbe ($t(832,518) = -7,162, p = 0,000$) ter zadovoljstvu z okoljem, v katerem živijo ($t(917) = 5,223, p = 0,000$). Vendar je to zadovoljstvo ravno obratno – z bližino storitev in oskrbe so bolj zadovoljni starejši prebivalci mestnih naselij ($M = 4,20$) kakor starejši prebivalci podeželja ($M = 3,90$), z okoljem pa prebivalci podeželskih naselij ($M = 4,35$), manj pa meščani ($M = 4,14$). Pri ocenah zadovoljstva se v okviru zadnjena-vedenega starejši na podeželju razlikujejo s svojimi mestnimi vrstniki po zadovoljstvu z mirom v okolju ($t(917) = 4,043, p = 0,000$), kakovostjo zraka ($t(915) = 7,284, p = 0,000$) in varnostjo ($t(913) = 3,568, p = 0,000$). Ne razlikujejo se le po zadovoljstvu s splošno urejenostjo okolja – glede tega so v obeh tipih naselij enako zadovoljni ($M = 4,18$). Kot je razvidno iz izračunanih t -testov, je med skupinama starejših v povprečni oceni zadovoljstva z okoljem največja razlika pri zadovoljstvu s kakovostjo zraka – podeželjani so ta vidik okolja ocenili s povprečno oceno 4,38, meščani s 3,95 –, na drugem mestu je zadovoljstvo z mirom v okolju – povprečje za podeželje je 4,41 za mesto pa 4,17 –, na tretjem pa zadovoljstvo z varnostjo – $M = 4,44$ oziroma $M = 4,27$. Še bolj kakor z zadovoljstvom z okoljem se prebivalci podeželskih in mestnih naselij razlikujejo po zadovoljstvu z bližino storitev in oskrbe, in sicer po vseh štirih vidikih, ki jih ta sklop zadovoljstva vključuje. Povprečna ocena zadovoljstva vsakega izmed njih je v mestih nad štiri, na podeželju pa te povprečne ocene v nobenem primeru ne preseže. Največja razlika v izraženem zadovoljstvu je glede bližine javnih storitev in servisov ($t(824,283) = -9,258, p = 0,000$) – povprečna ocena v mestnih naseljih znaša 4,37, na podeželju pa 3,79. Precej različni so si v ocenah zadovoljstva tudi glede bližine zdravstvene oskrbe ($t(917) = -6,816, p = 0,000$) – to so na podeželju ocenili s povprečno oceno 3,90, v mestih pa 4,28 – in z možnostjo za rekreacijo in druženje ($t(770,680) = -5,114, p = 0,000$), s povprečnima ocenama 4,16 in 3,82. Dostop do storitev dolgotrajne oskrbe ($t(684,749) = -5,732, p = 0,000$) je bil v mestih ocenjen s povprečno oceno 4,14 na podeželju pa s 3,78. To je tudi najnižja povprečna ocena, ki so jo starejši na podeželju dodelili kateremu izmed vidikov zadovoljstva (v mestu je bila na primer najnižje ocenjena kakovost zraka s 3,95).

4.4 Lastništvo stanovanja

Saunders (1990: 39) navaja, da je lastno stanovanje »čustveni izraz avtonomije, varnosti in osebne identitete«, zato naj bi bili po njegovem mnenju lastniki v primerjavi z najemniki bolj čustveno navezani na stanovanje. Dodaja še, da je večini lastnikov stanovanje zadovoljstvo, s tem, ko ga lahko vzdržujejo, zanj skrbijo in ga izboljšujejo. Z možnostjo urejanja doma po svojem okusu naj bi se po mnenju Georgea C. Galstra (1987) počutili bolj svobodni in avtonomni v primerjavi z najemniki,

na takšen način urejen bivanjski prostor pa naj bi po avtorjevih besedah verjetno tudi bolj podpiral njihov življenjski cikel ter obenem povečal njihovo zadovoljstvo z bivanjem in življenjem na splošno. To potrjujeta Peter H. Rossi in Eleanora Weber (1996), ki sta dokazala statistično povezanost med lastništvom nepremičnin ter samozadovoljstvom in srečo. To je po navedbah Galstra (1987) še posebej značilno za starejše ljudi, ki naj bi bili v primerjavi z najemniki tudi bolj zadovoljni s svojo nepremičnino in okolico, v kateri bivajo, ne glede na to, kaj je zanju značilno (na primer, kako je okolica urejena, kako veliko je stanovanje, kako je ohranjeno). V zvezi s tem je zanimiva zlasti longitudinalna raziskava, o kateri poročajo William M. Rohe in Michael Stegman (1994) ter William M. Rohe in Victoria Basolo (1997). Raziskava namreč kaže, da je bil pri novih lastnikih nepremičnin po njenem nakupu zaznan statistično pomemben porast zadovoljstva z življenjem v primerjavi s tistimi, ki so ostali v najemnem odnosu. Isti lastniki so višjo stopnjo zadovoljstva izrazili tudi tri leta pozneje, ne glede na to, da so bile njihove nepremičnine v manj zaželenih soseskah, kar so do takrat tudi že izkusili. William M. Rohe idr. (2001) navajajo, da so značilnosti stanovanja in bivalne okolice v okviru raziskav o ugotavljanju zadovoljstva upoštevali tudi drugi (na primer Morris idr., 1976; Kinsey in Lane, 1983; Varady, 1983; Lam, 1985; Danes in Morris 1986). V vseh primerih se je izkazalo, da so lastniki v primerjavi z najemniki z bivanjem bolj zadovoljni.

V skladu s pričakovanji in spoznanji drugih se tudi v našem primeru potrjuje, da so statistično pomembne razlike navezanosti med starejšimi glede na lastništvo nepremičnine, v kateri bivajo, in sicer v primeru navezanosti na stanovanje ($t(907) = 2,353, p = 0,019$). Lastniki so v povprečju svojo navezanost na stanovanje ocenili z oceno 4,42 – to je tudi najvišja povprečna ocena med vsemi vidiki navezanosti in zadovoljstva med lastniki –, najemniki pa s 3,89. Razlike v povprečnih ocenah se kažejo tudi v navezanosti na okolje in nekaterih vidikih zadovoljstva – na primer pri vseh treh vidikih zadovoljstva s stanovanjem (velikost, razporeditev prostorov in gradbena kakovost) in v primeru miru v okolju ter bližine sorodnikov in prijateljev. Čeprav teh razlik ne moremo statistično dokazati, so enako kot pri navezanosti na stanovanje v vseh navedenih primerih večje zadovoljstvo in navezanost izrazili lastniki.

Ker so lahko starejši pri anketiranju izrazili tudi svoje mnenje oziroma so lahko svoje odgovore argumentirali, anketarji pa so jih zapisali, smo pri anketiranju poleg kvantitativnih podatkov pridobili tudi nekatere kvalitativne informacije. Med njimi je tudi mnenje, da so vprašani večinoma izredno navezani na svojo hišo, in sicer naj bi bili navezani celo bolj kot na stanovanje, saj so večinoma sodelovali pri gradnji, »z velikim odrekanjem in trdim, lastnim delom«, kot so se pogosto izrazili. V socialističnem obdobju je bila namreč v Sloveniji značilna

visoka stopnja samogradenj. To je razvidno tudi iz razmerja med lastništvom stanovanj in hiš med anketiranimi – lastnikov hiš je namreč 74,8 %, lastnikov stanovanj pa 25,2 %. Da bi preverili opažanja anketarjev, smo opravili podrobnejšo statistično analizo in ugotovili, da so lastniki hiš res izkazali statistično značilno višjo stopnjo navezanosti v primerjavi z lastniki stanovanj ($t(887) = 2,633, p = 0,009$). Prvi so navezanost v povprečju ocenili s 4,46, drugi pa s 4,28. To ugotovitev lahko potrdimo tudi na podlagi enega od drugih vprašanj v anketi, pri katerem so lastniki hiš v primerjavi z lastniki stanovanj višje ocenili pomen, ki ga ima njihov dom za njih – da jim pomeni dosežek v njihovem življenju, so namreč lastniki hiš ocenili s povprečno oceno 4,14 (od pet), lastniki stanovanj pa s 3,91. Razlika med povprečnima ocenama obeh skupin je statistično pomembna pri pet odstotnem tveganju ($t(876) = 2,897, p = 0,004$). Še precej večje in prav tako statistično pomembne razlike glede pomena doma so med lastniki in najemniki, in sicer so lastniki pomen doma ocenili s 4,08, najemniki pa z 2,84.

5 Sklep

Kot poudarja Golant (1982), domače bivalno okolje predstavlja starejšemu človeku velik del njegove celostne življenjske poti. Po Vasari (2015: 59) mu zato pomeni »več kot le stanovanje, zapolnjeno z osebnimi pomeni«. Ni naključje, da gojijo starejši ljudje do svojega doma pogosto zelo globoka čustva – nanj so navezani, z bivanjem v njem pa so (pogosto prav zaradi te navezanosti) zadovoljni. Spoznanja številnih strokovnjakov o navezanosti starejših na domače bivalno okolje in o zadovoljstvu z njim smo proučili tudi v naši raziskavi. Zanimalo nas je, ali so starejši ljudje v Sloveniji navezani na svoj dom in ali so z njim zadovoljni, kako intenzivni sta stopnji navezanosti in zadovoljstva ter ali se starejši ljudje glede tega razlikujejo glede na starost, trajanje bivanja, tip naselja, v katerem bivajo, ter glede na lastništvo stanovanja. Skladno s pričakovanji se je potrdilo, da so starejši tudi pri nas v splošnem na svoj dom zelo navezani, da so z bivanjem v njem zelo zadovoljni in da se glede tega med seboj razlikujejo. In sicer so na svoj dom bolj navezani tisti, ki so starejši, ki v svojih bivalnih okoljih bivajo že dalj časa, ki živijo na podeželju in ki so lastniki svojega stanovanja. Tudi pri posameznih vidikih zadovoljstva z ožjim in širšim bivalnim okoljem se kažejo med starejšimi razlike, vendar ne pri vseh vidikih. Tako se na primer pri zadovoljstvu z bivalnim okoljem v odnosu s trajanjem bivanja v njem kažejo med starejšimi razlike le pri zadovoljstvu z gradbeno kakovostjo in mirom v okolju, in sicer so tisti, ki bivajo v svojem stanovanju manj časa, z njegovo gradbeno kakovostjo in mirom v okolju bolj zadovoljni v primerjavi s tistimi, ki bivajo tam že dalj časa. Pri lastništvu se je pokazalo, do so razlike pri vseh treh vidikih zadovoljstva s stanovanjem (velikost, razporeditev prostorov in gradbena

kakovost) in v primeru miru v okolju ter bližine sorodnikov in prijateljev – v vseh primerih so večje zadovoljstvo izrazili lastniki –, vendar teh razlik ne moremo statistično dokazati. V okviru tipa naselja se starejši, ki živijo v podeželskih naseljih, in tisti, ki živijo v mestih, ne razlikujejo po vidikih stanovanja in vidikih, povezanih s fizično dostopnostjo v okolju, razlikujejo pa se po zadovoljstvu z bližino storitev in oskrbe ter po zadovoljstvu z okoljem – v skladu s pričakovanji so z bližino storitev in oskrbe bolj zadovoljni starejši prebivalci mestnih naselij, z okoljem pa prebivalci podeželskih naselij. V okviru starosti so se razlike med vprašanimi pokazale pri vseh vidikih zadovoljstva, pri čemer se zadovoljstvo s stanovanjem in bivalnim okoljem po pričakovanjih s starostjo povečuje.

Čeprav so torej statistične analize pokazale, da so med starejšimi glede navezanosti in zadovoljstva z lastnim bivalnim okoljem statistično pomembne razlike, je treba (še enkrat) poudariti, da so starejši na dom zelo navezani in da so z njim tudi zelo zadovoljni ter da se v večini primerov kažejo le razlike med veliko in še večjo navezanostjo oziroma večjim in še večjim zadovoljstvom. Starejšim ljudem je treba zato zagotoviti, da ostanejo čim dalj časa v svojem domačem okolju. Bivanje v lastnem domu ima namreč zaradi zadovoljstva z njim in navezanosti nanj številne pozitivne učinke, zlasti na dobro počutje in psihofizično kondicijo starejših ljudi. Kot navajajo Jordana L. Maisel idr. (2008), so študije pokazale, da samostojno življenje spodbuja uspešno staranje z izboljšanjem zdravja, življenjsko zadovoljstvo in povečuje samozavest starejših, kar lahko časovno odloži prehod starejših v institucionalno obliko bivanja. Staranje domá (ang. *ageing at home*) oziroma staranje v domačem bivalnem okolju (ang. *ageing in place*) je zato najbolj zaželen oblika stanovanjskega varstva oziroma bivanja starejših. Preference starejših po bivanju v lastnem domu nimajo le pozitivnih strani, prinašajo tudi številne ovire, kot so (a) neustrezna ureditev stanovanja za bivanje starejših (na primer neustrezna kopalniška oprema, pragovi in druge arhitekturne ovire), (b) otežen dostop do stanovanja (na primer stopnice in večnadstropne stavbe brez dvigal), (c) neustrezna lokacija bivališča (na primer oddaljenost do javnih storitev in neustrezne prometne povezave, zaradi česar postanejo starejši ljudje čedalje bolj izolirani, pogosteje ostajajo v svojem stanovanju in so glede opravljanja storitev odvisni od pomoči drugih), (d) vzdrževanje stanovanja v primeru lastništva ter pokrivanje tekočih in letnih stroškov, ki so vezani na stanovanje. V takih primerih postane navezanost na dom čustveno, fizično in finančno breme. Vendar se starejši ljudje prav zaradi navezanosti ne želijo preseliti – to namreč dojemajo kot travmatično doživljanje (glej na primer Kerbler, 2012) – zato kljub slabi kakovosti bivanja in nezadovoljstvu vztrajajo v svojem domu, čeprav bi se jim lahko s preselitvijo v drugo bivalno okolje kakovost življenja izboljšala.

Prav razumevanje odnosa starejših do preselitve bo tema nadaljnjih analiz v okviru naše raziskave. Še podrobneje bo treba analizirati tudi druge dejavnike, po katerih se starejši ljudje razlikujejo glede navezanosti na svoje domače bivalno okolje in glede zadovoljstva z njim (na primer ekonomsko stanje, vzdrževanost stanovanja, izobrazba ipd.), s poglobljenimi statističnimi metodami (na primer faktorsko analizo, multiplo regresijo) pa bo treba ugotoviti tudi medsebojno odvisnost dejavnikov, ki smo jih tokrat analizirali ločeno, oziroma njihovo součinkovanje pri vplivu na navezanost in na zadovoljstvo.

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Opombe

[1] V članku uporabljamo za stanovanje in hišo splošen izraz stanovanje. Izjema je le zadnji del podpoglavja 4.4, vendar je v tem primeru razlikovanje med stanovanjem kot splošnim pojmom za stanovanjsko enoto in izrazoma stanovanje oziroma hiša natančno navedeno.

[2] Petstopenjska Likertova lestvica je urejenostna (ordinalna), vendar v znanstveni literaturi glede tega, ali jo lahko obravnavamo kot razmernostno oziroma intervalno, ni poenotenega mnenja (glej na primer Jamieson, 2004; Norman, 2010). Ker je v družboslovju zaradi prevladujočih mnenjskih lestvic ordinalna merska lestvica najpogostejša, lahko po priporočilih Centra za družboslovno informatiko (2017) s predpostavko, da so razlike med kategorijami enake, v primeru ordinalne merske lestvice računamo povprečja in varianco, s čimer jo približamo intervalni merski lestvici.

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Nenačrtno širjenje mestnih območij in megadogodki: gospodarska rast in nedavno širjenje mesta, ki izgublja svojo konkurenčnost (Atene)

V sodobnih mestih se lokalna tekmovalnost za finančne vire krepi bolj kot kdaj koli in vodi v razvoj mest, za katera je značilna pomembna družbenoekonomska preobrazba. V dosedanjih raziskavah so avtorji tesno povezavo med širjenjem mest, družbenoekonomskim razvojem in megadogodki proučevali samo za določena območja in vrste rasti mest, pri čemer so pogosto prezrli vlogo megadogodkov pri krepitvi nenačrtnega širjenja mestnih območij. Atene so kot gostiteljica poletnih olimpijskih iger leta 2004 tipičen primer razvijajočega se mesta, ki gosti megadogodek, in sicer predvsem zaradi tesne povezave med olimpijado, razvojem infrastrukture in nenačrtnim širjenjem mesta. V članku avtorja prikrito razmerje med gospodarskim razmahom kot posledico olimpijskih iger in preveliko liberalnostjo urbanizma povežeta z dolgo-

ročnim nenadzorovanim širjenjem mestnih površin, značilnim za razvoj Aten. Ker so posledične družbenoekonomske razmere omogočile začetni val nenadzorovanega širjenja mestnega območja, jih pojasnjujeta kot šibkost konkurenčnega mesta na slabo načrtovanih in dolgotrajno dereguliranih urbanih območjih, kot je atensko. Podrobna analiza najnovejših razvojnih stopenj gospodarske rasti in neskljenjenega širjenja mestnih površin daje dodaten vpogled v procese nenačrtnega širjenja današnjih mest in pomaga prepoznati morfološke vzorce in družbenoekonomske dinamike, ki so značilne za širjenje mest med izmenjujočimi se cikli gospodarske rasti in recesije.

Ključne besede: širjenje mest, gospodarska rast, infrastruktura, ekonomije aglomeracij, turizem, Sredozemlje

1 Uvod

Rast mest je globalni pojav, ki se izraža z različnimi prostorskimi oblikami in dinamikami (Angel idr., 2011). Procesi družbenoekonomskega prestrukturiranja in posledična razporeditev gospodarskih dejavnosti po svetu kažejo, da so možnosti za rast mest vse bolj odvisne od njihovih konkurenčnih prednosti pri privabljanju naložb in zagotavljanju lokalnih razvojnih priložnosti (Bennet in Savani, 2003). Glavni dejavniki, ki določajo konkurenčnost mest, so infrastruktura in dostopnost, industrija in obseg gospodarstva ter človeški kapital in delovna sila (Andersen idr., 2011). Politika, katere cilj je povečati sposobnost mest, da privlačijo podjetja in delovno silo, vpliva na oblikovanje regionalne in lokalne politike v razvitih državah (OECD, 2006).

V teh novih globalnih konkurenčnih razmerah in dobi množične komunikacije se je pomen megadogodkov, kot so olimpijske igre, svetovne razstave in svetovna nogometna prvenstva, močno povečal (Chorianopoulos idr., 2010). Potencial, ki ga danes lahko izkoristi gostitelj pomembnega megadogodka, je predvsem svetovna pozornost, namenjena državi in mestu v tem času ter njuni promociji (Delladetsima, 2006). Megadogodki so torej način privabljanja finančnih naložb z vsega sveta. Konkurenčnost med mesti, ki se potegujejo za organizacijo tovrstnih dogodkov, se je močno povečala (Phelps idr., 2006). Mesta se temeljito spreminjajo in spodbujajo intenziven razvoj infrastrukture, mestno prenavo in razvoj teritorialnih posebnosti, pri čemer je glavni cilj povečanje zmožnosti za rast kraja (Scott, 2001). Na kratko, mesta se spreminjajo hitreje zato, da bi postala konkurenčnejša in bi lahko gostila megadogodke.

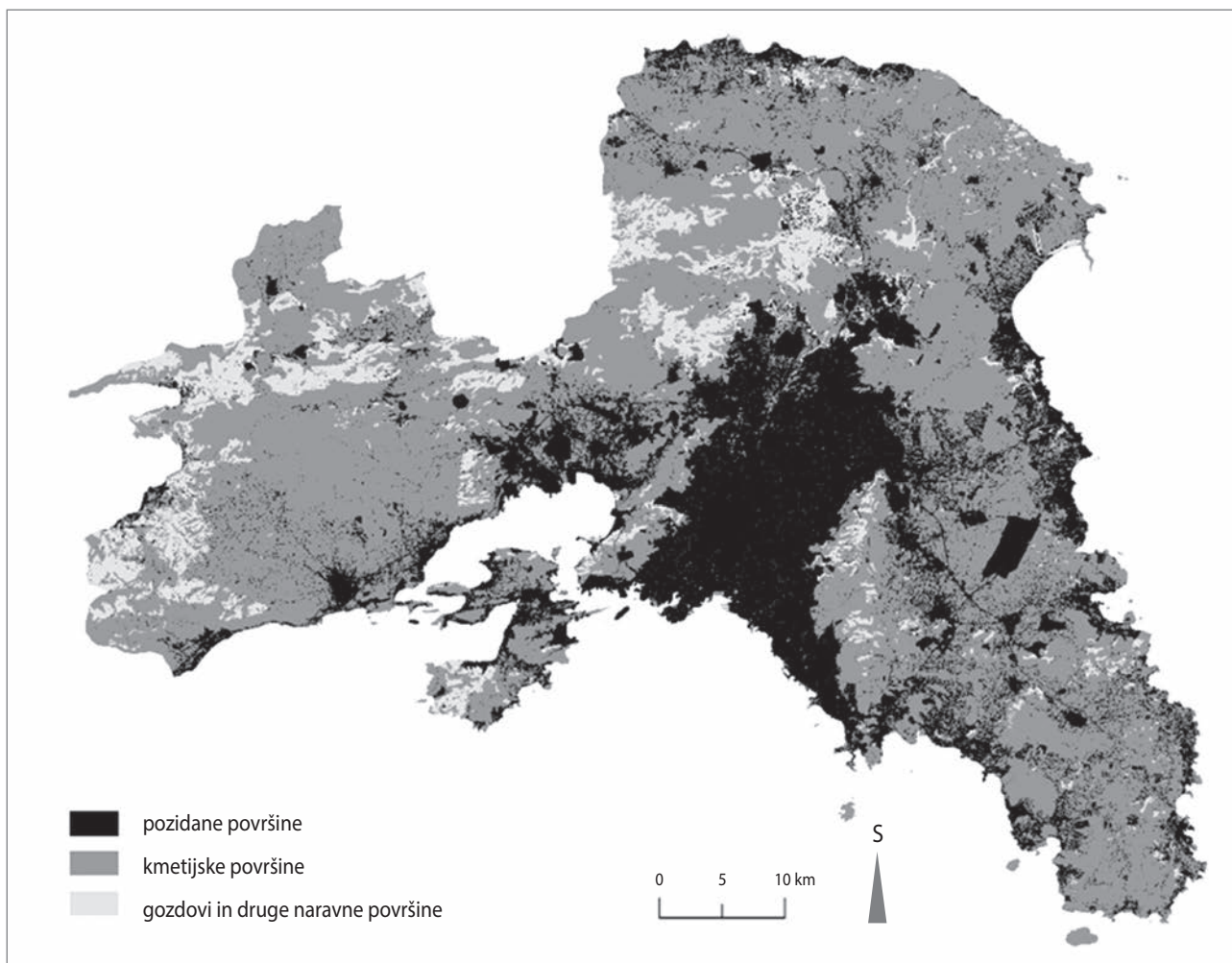
Premik k modelu konkurenčnega mesta je razviden iz dveh regulatornih odzivov, katerih cilj je spremeniti konkurenčne značilnosti urbanih sistemov (Kresl, 2007). Pri prvem gre za ukrepe, ki so usmerjeni k povpraševanju in s katerimi zagotovimo tiste pozitivne značilnosti, ki jih podjetja zahtevajo od neke lokacije, da lahko tam poslujejo. Ključen primer tovrstnega odziva je gradnja fizične infrastrukture, zaradi katere postane območje privlačnejše za naložbe in ugodnejše za vzpostavitev in rast lokalnih gospodarskih pobud. Pri drugem regulatornem odzivu pa gre za strategije razvoja ali izboljšanja podobe kraja, pri katerih s poudarjanjem njegovih glavnih prednosti in kulturnih značilnosti dosežemo, da izstopa od drugih naložbenih možnosti. Za spodbujanje prenov mestne podobe se uporabljajo različna politična orodja in viri, vključno z ohranjanjem območij arhitekturne dediščine, gradnjo pomembnih gradbenih objektov, ki spreminjajo podobo mestnega središča, in gostitvijo pomembnih kulturnih, podjetniških in športnih dogodkov. V tem pogledu zdaj trženje kraja velja za bistveni

del načrtovanja rabe zemljišč, ki usmerja razvoj krajev (Bennet in Savani, 2003).

Z novimi podjetniškimi mesti se lokalna tekmovalnost za finančne vire krepi bolj kot kdaj koli in vodi v nastanek konkurenčnih mest, za katera sta značilni morfološka in funkcionalna preobrazba (Di Felicianantonio in Salvati, 2015). V tem pogledu so megadogodki pomemben način samopromocije, zaradi česar se pred njimi vedno gradi nova infrastruktura in izvajajo strategije za izboljšanje podobe mesta, ki gosti dogodek (Longhi in Musolesi, 2007). Kljub temu so raziskovalci v preteklosti tesno povezavo med megadogodki, družbenoekonomskim razvojem in širjenjem mest proučevali samo za neka območja in vrste rasti mest, pri čemer so pogosto prezrli vlogo megadogodkov pri krepitvi razpršene urbanizacije in posledičnem nastanku negativnih družbeno-okoljskih zunanjih učinkov (Dura-Guimera, 2003). Zaradi tesne povezave med megadogodkom, razvojem infrastrukture in nenačrtnim širjenjem mestnega območja v družbenoekonomskih razmerah, za katere je značilno dolgotrajno nenadzorovano širjenje mestnih površin, je mesto Atene kot gostitelj olimpijskih iger leta 2004 primer tipičnega olimpijskega mesta (Chorianopoulos idr., 2014).

Kandidatura Aten za organizacijo olimpijskih iger je bila videti kot želja po povrnitvi konkurenčnosti mesta (Gargiulo Morelli idr., 2014). Ko je bila Grčija izbrana za gostiteljico, se je začelo izvajati več urbanističnih in infrastrukturnih projektov, ki naj bi ublažili gospodarsko obrobno prestolnice in izboljšali njeno funkcionalnost (Gospodini, 2006). Olimpijske igre so spodbudile preusmeritev prostorske politike k izboljšanju atenske mestne krajine (Beriatos in Gospodini, 2004), hkrati pa je širjenje mestnih površin pred začetkom svetovne gospodarske krize vodilo v netrajnostni lokalni razvoj, kar je najverjetneje zmanjšalo (ali celo ogrozilo) sposobnost metropolitanskega sistema, da se učinkovito odzove na poznejše negativne vplive recesije (Gospodini, 2009). Na podlagi tega avtorja v članku proučujeta prikrito povezavo med gospodarskim razmahom kot posledico olimpijskih iger in preveliko liberalnostjo urbanizma ter ugotavljata, da je pri tem šlo za močan proces nenačrtnega širjenja mesta, ki ga obravnavata kot zgodnji znak šibkosti konkurenčnega mesta na slabo načrtovanih in dolgotrajno dereguliranih urbanih območjih (Salvati idr., 2016). Podrobna analiza najnovejših razvojnih stopenj gospodarske rasti in nesklajenega širjenja mestnih površin daje dodaten vpogled v vzorce in procese nenačrtnega širjenja današnjih mest in pomaga prepoznati morfološke vzorce in družbenoekonomske dinamike, ki so značilne za urbanizacijo v izmenjujočih se ciklih gospodarske rasti in recesije.

Po kratkem opisu dolgotrajnega demografskega in urbanege razvoja atenske metropolitanske regije (drugo poglavje)



Slika 1: Prostorska razporeditev osnovnih kategorij rabe zemljišč v atenski metropolitanski regiji (vir: Evropska agencija za okolje, 2012)

avtorja na podlagi pregleda empiričnih ugotovitev drugih raziskav predstavita štiri homogena obdobja širjenja mesta. V tretjem poglavju se na podlagi pregleda novejših literatur o rasti in širjenju mestnih površin v grški prestolnici ter dodatne analize gradiva, kot so mestni načrti, strateške smernice urbanega razvoja in spletni časopisni članki, osredotočita na razvoj Aten v zadnjem desetletju in na vlogo olimpijskih iger leta 2004. Posledice tovrstnih svetovnih dogodkov v sodobnih konkurenčnih mestih obravnavata v četrtem poglavju, kjer proučujeta, kakšno preobrazba se dogaja v mestih, da bi ta povečala svojo svetovno konkurenčnost. Urbanistično politiko in strategije, ki so jih grške oblasti sprejele pred olimpijado in takoj po njej, na kratko predstavita v petem poglavju. V šestem poglavju nato proučujeta prostorske posledice zadevnih urbanističnih načrtov, pri čemer posebno pozornost posvetita preobrazbi Mezogejske ravnine, ki je eno izmed območij, na katero se Atene najbolj širijo. Za to uporabita statistične podatke grškega državnega statističnega urada in diahrono letalske posnetke programa Google Earth.

2 Širjenje Aten: dolgotrajna urbanizacija

Proučevano območje obsega upravno območje Atika v osrednjem delu južne Grčije. Atika pokriva samo 3 % grškega ozemlja, vendar je v njej ustvarjena skoraj polovica grškega BDP (slika 1). Leta 2001 je v širši atiški regiji živelo približno 3,5 milijona ljudi oziroma 34 % celotnega grškega prebivalstva (Salvati, 2016). Atene so grška prestolnica in daleč najpomembnejše mesto v državi, v katerem so skoncentrirana vsa gospodarska področja in dejavnosti (najvišje ravni javne uprave, sedeži podjetij in najrazličnejše storitve). V evropskem urbanem sistemu pa Atene ne zasedajo visokega mesta, saj po raznih klasifikacijah evropskih mest veljajo za obrobno mesto z razmeroma majhnim vplivom na Sredozemlje in širšo Evropo (Rontos idr., 2016).

Kostas Rontos in Luca Salvati (2014) sta določila štiri obdobja rasti v Atenah. V prvem, ki je trajalo od leta 1850 do leta 1900,

se je število prebivalcev na mestnih in podeželskih območjih večalo v podobnem obsegu in je bilo prebivalstvo precej enakomerno razporejeno po regiji. Na začetku šestdesetih let 19. stoletja so Atene začele rasti hitreje kot druga območja v Atiki. V drugem obdobju (1900–1940) se je razvila strnjena policentrična oblika, ki temelji na dveh glavnih mestnih središčih – Atenah in Pireju (Leontidou, 1990).

Širše območje Aten je utrdilo svojo vlogo grške prestolnice, s čimer je postalo privlačnejše za industrializacijo, še zlasti v Pireju, kjer je komercialno pristanišče. Posledično je bila stopnja rasti prebivalstva na teh dveh območjih izjemno visoka, predvsem zaradi priseljevanja iz Male Azije. Prišleki so se naselili v nenačrtovana predmestja v okolici Aten in Pireja. Ob tem ko neformalna naselja niso bila ravno redko pozidana, so se v tem obdobju že kazali prvi znaki nenačrtnega širjenja mesta. Tretje obdobje (1950–1980) je zaznamovala postopna preobrazba tradicionalne dvosrediščne zgradbe Atike. Delavci, predstavniki nižjih slojev in podeželski priseljenci so se preselili v okolico Aten in Pireja v iskanju cenovno dostopnih stanovanj v bližini tovarn. Posledično so se razlike v gostoti poselitve mestnih središč in obrobij hitro zmanjševale, poleg tega pa se je v tem obdobju tudi urbaniziralo podeželje v okolici Aten in Pireja, še zlasti Mezogejske ravnine. Zmanjšanje razlik mestnih območij je bilo mogoče predvsem zaradi infrastrukturnega razvoja regije, ugodne urbanistične politike in ohlapnih gradbenih predpisov (Leontidou, 1996).

Razpršena urbanizacija se je okrepila v četrtem obdobju (1980–1990), ko se je močno povečalo odseljevanje srednjega razreda in najvišjega sloja iz mesta. Za obrobje Aten, tj. podeželska in obalna območja je bil v teh letih značilen hiter razmah gospodarstva, za urbano območje Aten pa sta bila značilna rast in nenačrtno širjenje mestnih površin. Končna ugotovitev glede demografskega in urbanega razvoja te regije je, da so se tradicionalne razlike med mestom in podeželjem v 20. stoletju temeljito spremenile. Strnjeno policentrično zgradbo Atike, ki je temeljila na dvojici Atene-Pirej, čedalje bolj nadomešča bolj razpršena metropolitanska zgradba (Sayas, 2004, 2006; Polyzos idr., 2008; Salvati, 2013).

3 Tekmovanje za organizacijo megadogodkov: zgodnji znaki konkurenčnega mesta v Atenah

Atensko metropolitansko območje je s približno tretjino celotnega grškega prebivalstva in več kot tretjino vseh ustvarjenih prihodkov v državi najpomembnejše območje v grškem urbanem sistemu. Kljub temu je bil kazalnik konkurenčnosti za Atene mnogo desetletij med najnižjimi v Evropi, kar je bila

posledica različnih dejavnikov, povezanih z vase zaprto gospodarsko usmeritvijo mesta ter njegovimi dolgotrajnimi socialnimi težavami in zastarelo infrastrukturo (Prevelakis, 2000). Olimpijada je bila zato priložnost, da se grška prestolnica svetu pokaže v novi podobi zmagovalke in mu (po besedah organizatorjev) dokaže, da ima poleg veličastne preteklosti tudi obetavno prihodnost. S tega vidika je bilo pri organizaciji iger bolj v ospredju nacionalno kot lokalno prizadevanje (Beriatos in Gospodini, 2004). Centralna vlada je k temu cilju usmerila regionalno politiko in dodelila precejšnja sredstva za izvedbo projektov, s katerimi naj bi se izboljšala konkurenčnost mesta (Chorianopoulos idr., 2010).

Na podlagi tega sta nastali dve glavni vrsti projektov. Prva je vključevala projekte, s katerimi bi se izboljšali privlačnost mestnega okolja in sposobnost mesta, da deluje kot mednarodno prizorišče celoletnega turizma (na primer projekt združitve arheoloških najdišč v starem mestnem jedru, projekt obnove zahodnega obrežja in projekt preureditve športnih objektov v konferenčne, poslovne in zabavišne prostore po olimpijadi). Druga vrsta pa je obsegala projekte, s katerimi naj bi ublažili gospodarsko obrobnost in izboljšali funkcionalne vidike metropolitanskega območja, zlasti na področju telekomunikacij in prometne infrastrukture (na primer projekt atenske podzemne železnice z novima progama 2 in 3 ter razširitvijo proge 1, projekt povezave mestnega središča z zahodnim obrežjem s predmestno železniško in tramvajsko progo, odprtje mednarodnega letališča Eleftherios Venizelos in gradnja atenske obvoznice).

Olimpijske igre so torej spodbudile preusmeritev prostorske politike v spodbujanje konkurenčnosti mesta (Gospodini, 2006). Namesto razpravljanja o obsegu gospodarske rasti mesta in države se bomo v tem prispevku raje osredotočili na vplive tovrstne politike na urbani razvoj proučevanega območja. Pri usmerjanju urbanega razvoja v tej regiji sta ključno vlogo imela dva glavna vidika: (a) pojav novih prostorskih povezav na podlagi gradnje pomembnih prometnih projektov, ki so vzpostavili nove povezave med obrobniimi območji, razširili funkcionalne meje mesta in preoblikovali podobo metropole, ter (b) spremembe v dinamiki nepremičnin, povezane z visoko stopnjo naložb v infrastrukturo in pomembnimi arhitekturnimi deli (Panagiotis in Tassos, 2004). Prvi vidik je pomagal povečati privlačnost podeželja v okolici mesta (nova infrastruktura je bila v glavnem zgrajena na Mezogejski ravnini ter vzdolž vzhodne in zahodne obale), drugi pa je vplival na oblikovanje kulturnih in pristočasnih središč, za katera sta značilni inovativna oblika ter posebna arhitekturna in urbana morfologija, ki ima bolj mednarodni kot lokalni pridih (Beriatos in Gospodini, 2004). Pojav združenj investitorjev, ki se osredotočajo na priložnosti za naložbe v gradnjo velikih trgovskih središč, poslovnih prostorov, zabavišnih objektov

in stanovanjskih naselij, čedalje bolj vpliva na ceno zemljišč, kar otežuje razvoj (Delladetsima, 2006). Infrastruktura se je gradila na različnih lokacijah v Atenah, večina naložb pa je bila usmerjena v vzhodni del metropole: na Mezogejsko ravnino (Couch idr., 2007).

4 Razvoj infrastrukture in širjenje mestnih površin v Atenah

Širjenje mesta, povezano z življenjskim slogom, in širjenje mesta, ki ga spodbuja razvoj infrastrukture, sta glavna dejavnika, ki vplivata na razpršeno gradnjo v mestih (Richardson in Chang-Hee, 2004; Bruegmann, 2005; Salvati in Carlucci, 2016). Proučevanje razvoja infrastrukture na območju Atike je uporabno za razumevanje prejšnjih vzorcev širjenja mest in napovedovanje prihodnjih. Infrastruktura, ki najpomembneje določa naravo in značilnosti procesov nenačrtnega širjenja mestnega območja, vključuje letališča, ceste in podzemno železnico (Zagorianakos, 2004). Z gradnjo prve podzemne železnice (proge 1) na širšem območju Aten, uradno odprte leta 1869, je bilo središče Pireja povezano s središčem Aten. Šlo je za enega izmed prvih podzemnih železniških sistemov na svetu. Pozneje, leta 1957, so začeli progo 1 pospešeno podaljševati, tako da je danes dolga 20 km in poteka od jugozahodnega dela širšega območja Aten (Pireja) do njegovega severovzhodnega dela (Kifisie).

Leta 1992 je upravljanje atenske podzemne železnice prevzelo podjetje Attiko Metro in začelo graditi progi 2 in 3 ter dodatno podaljševati progo 1. Skupen strošek teh gradbenih del je bil približno 4,3 milijarde evrov. Današnja atenska podzemna železnica je dolga več kot 60 km, v gradnji pa je še ena (četrt) proga. Celoten sistem javnega prevoza v Atenah je bil sčasoma preoblikovan, da bi pokrival čim več območij v Atenski kotlini. Javni prevoz prinaša številne koristi: hitrost, udobje, varnost in zanesljivost. Z gradnjo proge 4 in načrtovanimi razširitvami prog 2 in 3 bodo obrobna območja na severovzhodu in jugu širše atenske regije povezana s središčem mesta, posredni učinek vsega navedenega pa je tudi krepitev neskljenjenega mestnega tkiva, še zlasti v severovzhodnih okrožjih širšega območja Aten. Poleg tega je smiselno napovedati, da se bo nenadzorovano širjenje mestnih površin na teh območjih neizogibno okrepilo, saj bodo zaradi zgrajene infrastrukture postala bolj zaželeni.

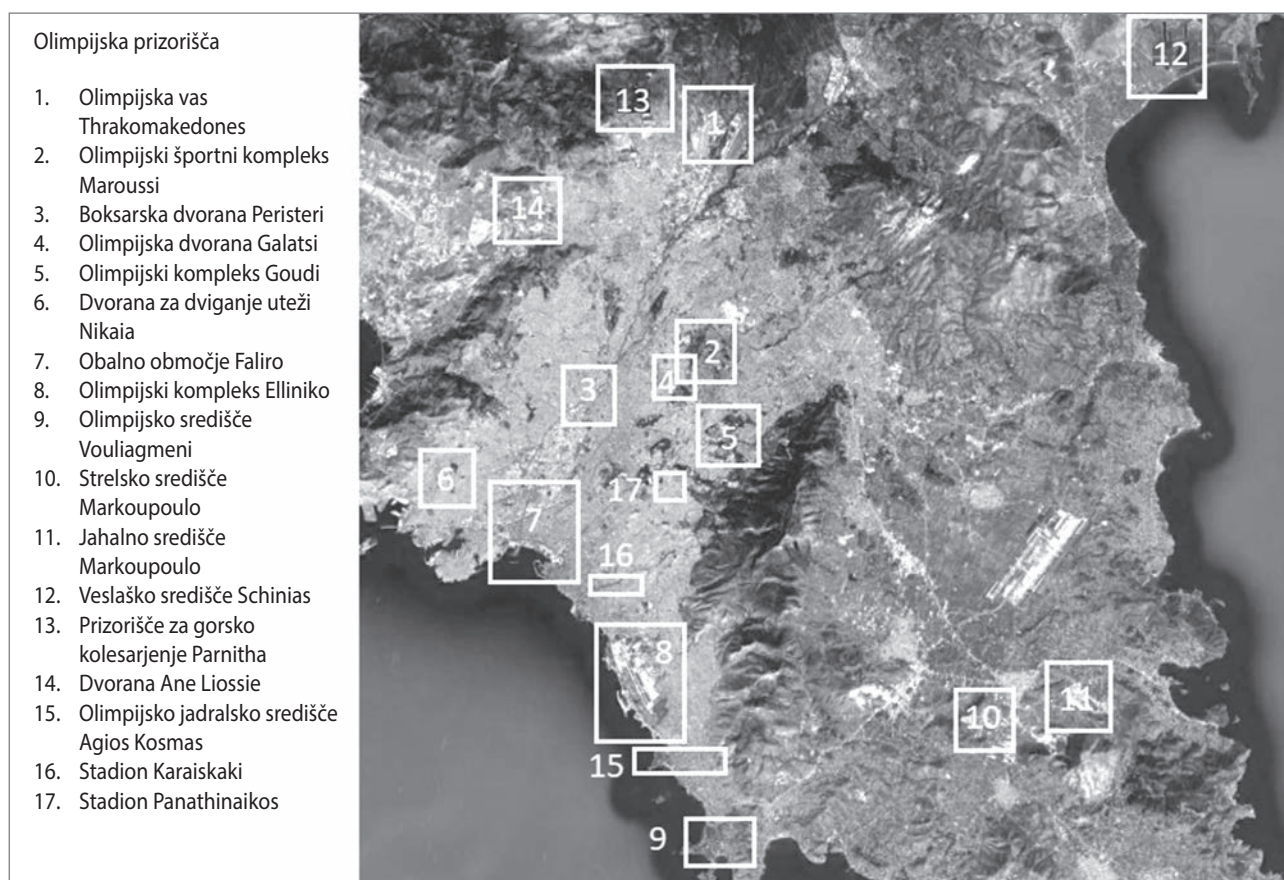
Avtocesta A6 (v grščini znana kot *Attiki Odos*) je sodobna avtocesta, dolga 65 km, ki tvori obvoznico atenskega metropolitanskega območja. Je najpomembnejši del cestnega omrežja atiške regije, ki povezuje mednarodno letališče Eleftherios Venizelos v Spati s Korintom in Patrasom. Glavni namen njene gradnje je bil zmanjšati promet v prestolnici in Atenski kotlini

ter spodbuditi razvoj fizičnega in urbanističnega načrtovanja v atiških prefekturah. Avtocesta A6 tako ključno vpliva na urbani razvoj na obrobju širšega območja Aten in drugod po Atiki, poleg tega sta tudi prostorsko neskljenjen razvoj (ang. *leapfrog sprawl*) in trakasto oziroma linearno širjenje poselitve vzdolž prometnih poti (ang. *ribbon sprawl*) v zadnjem desetletju posledica predvsem gradnje te avtoceste. Tudi njeno načrtovano podaljšanje na Mezogejski ravnini (s čimer bi to območje prek gorovja Himet povezali s širšim območjem Aten) bo verjetno pomembno vplivalo na razpršeno urbanizacijo te ravnine (Chorianopoulos idr., 2014).

5 Kandidatura za organizacijo olimpijskih iger in priložnost Aten, da postanejo konkurenčne: posledice z vidika nenačrtnega širjenja mesta

Megadogodki so izvrstna priložnost za prenovu urbanega okolja mest, vendar če pri tem niso sprejete ustrezne načrtovalske strategije, lahko tudi negativno vplivajo na kakovost življenja v mestu, ki gosti dogodek. Kot v številnih drugih mestih je bil tudi v Atenah uspeh strateškega načrta mestnega razvoja morebiten vzrok težav, ki so se pojavile zaradi prevrednotenja nekaterih mestnih območij. Kot navaja Francisco-Javier Monclús (2003), so pospešene težnje po decentralizaciji razvoja in eksponentno povečanje mobilnosti na metropolitanskem območju povezani s precejšnjimi energijskimi stroški, večjo rabo zemljišč in daljšim časom vsakodnevnih vožnje na delo. V nasprotju z uspešnimi mednarodnimi izkušnjami številnih mest, ki so organizacijo megadogodkov izkoristila za prenovu obsežnih območij v središču mesta, se Atene niso odločile za takšno strategijo (Petsimeris, 2008). Čeprav je bilo dovolj primernih lokacij na nekdanjih industrijskih območjih v središču mesta (na primer v predelu Eleonas v atenski občini), se projekti za olimpijado leta 2004 niso osredotočali na to območje, ampak so bili razpršeni po vsej Atiki.

Kot ugotavljata Elias Beriatos in Aspasia Gospodini (2004), ta vzorec nakazuje strategijo, ki spodbuja policentrično mestno prenovu in razvoj. Poleg tega načrtovalcem z več kulturnimi in prostočasnimi središči, ki so bila zgrajena v okviru olimpijskih iger in v katere je bilo vloženih ogromno javnih sredstev, ni uspelo oblikovati nove kulturne in prostčasne četrti v mestni krajini, saj so bili ti projekti razpršeni po vsej Atiki (slika 2). Večina atletskih kompleksov je bila dopolnjena z drugimi objekti, kot so konferenčne in razstavne dvorane, trgovine, objekti, namenjeni razvedrilu, parki in sprehajališča, kar naj bi izboljšalo kakovost mestnega prostora. S tega vidika tvorijo



Slika 2: Olimpijski objekti na širšem območju Aten; prizorišči št. 10 in 11 sta na Mezogejski ravnini (vir: Google Earth, 2010)

Preglednica 1: Odstotni deleži sprememb vrednosti zemljišč glede na območje in referenčno obdobje (vir: Grški nacionalni statistični urad, 2014)

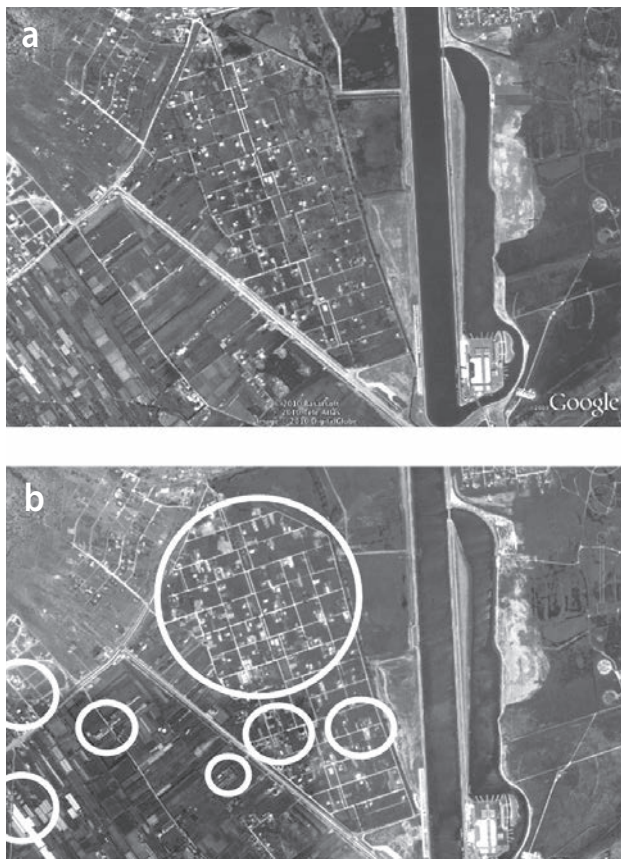
Območje	Sprememba (v %)		Razlika v primerjavi z Atenami	
	1997–2000	2004–2009	2004	2009
Grčija	51,9	17,7	0,7	0,8
Atika	40,6	10,5	1,0	0,9
Prefektura Atene	122,7	7,8	1,0	1,0
Prefektura Vzhodna Atika	23,5	20,9	0,8	0,9
Prefektura Zahodna Atika	8,3	5,5	0,6	0,6
Prefektura Pirej	8,1	12,6	0,8	0,8

gruče kulturnih in prostočasnih dejavnosti (Gospodini, 2001), ki so razpršene po vseh atiških metropolitanskih okrožjih (v središču mesta, na njegovem obrobju in v predmestjih).

V preglednici 1 so prikazani odstotni deleži sprememb vrednosti zemljišč v dveh izbranih obdobjih (1997–2000 in 2004–2009) na ravni Grčije, Atike in štirih atiških prefektur (Aten, Pireja ter Zahodne in Vzhodne Atike). Vrednosti zemljišč so se v obeh obdobjih povečale na vseh proučevanih območjih. Porast je bil največji v obdobju 1997–2000, in sicer na vseh območjih, razen v prefekturi Pirej, ki je med vsemi območji verjetno še najbolj strnjeno. Poleg tega je treba poudariti, da se je vrednost zemljišč v obeh obdobjih najbolj enakomerno večala v prefekturi Vzhodna Atika (oziroma Mezogejskem okrožju), kjer je bila urbanizacija v zadnjih desetletjih

najmočnejša. Najbolj zanimive rezultate dobimo, če spremembe vrednosti zemljišč obravnavamo kot absolutni odklon od podatkov za atensko prefekturo, ki je že od nekdaj najdražje območje v državi. Te spremembe so se na vseh proučevanih območjih močno povečale med letoma 2004 in 2009, razen v prefekturi Zahodna Atika, kjer so vrednosti ostale skoraj enake v celotnem obdobju. Na podlagi tega lahko sklepamo, da vrednosti zemljišč po vsej Atiki sčasoma postajajo enotnejše. Povpraševanje po zemljiščih zunaj atenske prefektore se je postopoma večalo po urbanizaciji in razvoju infrastrukture tudi drugje po Atiki (Panagiotis in Tassos, 2004).

Prostorsko neskljen razvoj in linearno širjenje poselitve vzdolž prometnih poti sta močno spodbudila razpršenost olimpijskih prizorišč po vsej regiji, ki je posledica razvoja



Slika 3: Širjenje mesta v bližini olimpijskega veslaškega središča Schinias: (a) aprila 2004 in (b) junija 2010; za prostorsko neskladen razvoj so značilna izolirana naselja in majhna urbana jedra, ki se širijo na podeželje, za trakasto ali linearno širjenje mestnega območja pa je značilna poselitev vzdolž cest in drugih infrastrukturnih omrežij (vir: Google Earth, 2012)

prometnega sektorja, zlasti na Mezogejski ravnini. Zaradi tovrstnega nenačrtnega širjenja mestnega območja, ki so ga posredno spodbujali novozgrajeni športni objekti, se je v Atiki oblikovala policentrična prostorska zgradba, pri čemer se je po okrožjih razvila gručasta pozidava, ki je sledila precej liberalnemu programu prostorskega razvoja, kar je bilo v nasprotju s strateškim glavnim načrtom mesta (slika 3). Razvoj policentrične ozemeljske zgradbe je še zlasti značilen za Mezogejsko ravnino, obsežno območje vzhodno od atenskega somestja. Gora Himet na zahodu deluje kot fizična pregrada, ki ločuje ravnino od glavnega somestja. Preobrazba Mezogejske ravnine se je začela v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja, ko je bila sprejeta odločitev o preselitvi mednarodnega mestnega letališča na to območje. Razlastitvi kmetijskih zemljišč za gradnjo letališča so sledile nadaljnje naložbe v infrastrukturo, ki so jih omogočala sredstva, dodeljena za organizacijo olimpijskih iger. Nove ceste in železniške proge, ki so letališče povezale z mestom, so močno izboljšale dostopnost območja. Vse skupaj je zaokrožila gradnja dveh pomembnih olimpijskih prizorišč (jahalnega in strelskega središča blizu kraja Markopoulo), tudi ti dve sta nastali na razlaščenih kmetijskih zemljiščih.

Širjenje mestnih površin na Mezogejski ravnini ni bilo načrtovano, nanj pa je močno vplival infrastrukturni razvoj tega območja. Zaradi koncentracije industrijskih dejavnosti, pomembnih naložb v prometno infrastrukturo, ki je to območje povezala s preostalo Atiko, in razmeroma nizkih stroškov zemljišč je Mezogejska ravnina postala zelo ugodna za gradnjo in rast predmestij (Chorianopoulos idr., 2014). Posledično se je število tamkajšnjih prebivalcev v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja povečalo za 26.207, v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja pa za 38.737. Število gospodinjstev na Mezogejski ravnini se je od leta 1981 do leta 2001 povečalo s 15.800 na 37.117 (+135 %), povprečna velikost gospodinjstev pa se je s 3,3 osebe zmanjšala na 1,3 osebe. V istem obdobju se je število prebivalcev na širšem območju Aten zmanjševalo, na okoliških območjih pa povečevalo (Couch idr., 2007).

Da bi določile družbenoekonomske posledice tovrstnih naložb v infrastrukturo, so oblasti v zgodnjih devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja naročile izdelavo podrobne prostorsko-načrtovalske študije Mezogejske ravnine. Na podlagi te študije so bili oblikovani novi predpisi za rabo tal na tem območju, vključno z omejitvami parcelacij in gradnje, ki pa so začele veljati šele leta 2003, torej leto pred začetkom olimpijskih iger in skoraj dve desetletji po sprejetju glavnega strateškega načrta za Atene (Giannakourou, 2005). V tem obdobju je bil obseg nove mestne rabe tal na območju obsežnih infrastrukturnih projektov 15 % celotne rabe tal na Mezogejski ravnini. Več kot 50 % novih mestnih zemljišč oziroma zemljišč z mestno rabo tal je bilo na zavarovanih območjih (zelenih površinah ali kmetijskih zemljiščih). Tovrstna območja so zavzemala do 10 % vseh zemljišč na Mezogejski ravnini in zanje je bil značilen največji porast mestne rabe tal. Poleg tega so se razširila pozidana zemljišča tako na starih kot novih industrijskih območjih, kar kaže na porast proizvodnih dejavnosti na tem območju. Manj kot 15 % novih mestnih zemljišč je bilo na območjih, ki so jih urejali strukturni urbanistični načrti. Za ta območja je bil značilen tudi najnižji porast mestne rabe tal med vsemi načrtovalskimi območji na Mezogejski ravnini (Chorianopoulos idr., 2010).

6 Posledice konkurenčnega mesta: olimpijski val nenačrtnega širjenja mestnih površin v Atenah

Atene so tipičen primer sredozemskega mesta, v katerem je urbani razvoj dolgo potekal večinoma nenačrtno in spontano (Carlucci idr., 2017). Ker gre za tipičen primer južneevropskega urbanega območja z zmerno rastjo prebivalstva in čezmerno urbanizacijo, razrast Aten ponazarja zapleteno razmerje med megadogodki in nenačrtnim širjenjem mestnega

območja (Ioannidis idr., 2009). Na podlagi obsežne literature o procesih nenačrnega širjenja mestnih površin na tem območju pred olimpijado (Leontidou, 1996; Maloutas, 2007; Arapoglou in Sayas, 2009; Chorianopoulos idr., 2014) je v tem članku predstavljen pregled načinov in dinamik tovrstnega širjenja v primeru Atike, pri čemer avtorja na podlagi družbenoekonomskih dinamik na lokalni ravni izločita štiri procese, značilne za olimpijsko obdobje širjenja mesta: (a) prostorsko nesklenjen razvoj, (b) industrijski razvoj na metropolitanskem obrobju, (c) trakasti ali linearni razvoj in (d) preobrazbo počitniških domov v glavna bivališča.

Razvidni so številni primeri prostorsko nesklenjenega širjenja mesta na območja zunaj somestja, ki pa še vedno niso predaleč za vsakodnevno vožnjo na delo. Po vsej Atiki lahko najdemo primere širjenja mestnih površin na obstoječe vasi zunaj mesta, okoli zelenih vasi in vzdolž obalnih mestec, to širjenje pa je lahko povezano tudi z zakonodajo, ki ureja načrtovanje ukrepov. Prostorsko nesklenjeno širjenje mesta je bilo običajno povezano z gradnjo velikih objektov ali industrijskih območij, zato so tudi olimpijske igre leta 2004 z vsemi deli, povezanimi s tem megadogodkom, močno okrepile tovrstno nenačrtno širjenje mesta. Gradnja olimpijske vasi je bila na primer še en primer nesklenjenega širjenja mesta na še nepozidana zemljišča, ki se zdaj spreminja v oddaljen, a prestižen stanovanjski kompleks za delavce. Druge skupine prebivalcev pa so se zaradi različnih razlogov selile v bližino glavnih olimpijskih objektov in drugam na obrobje Aten (Emmanuel, 2004).

Z vidika regionalnega industrijskega razvoja so se prve tovarne na obrobju Aten pojavile na meji med Atiko in Beocijo. Ta predmestna industrijska rast je najprej potekala spontano v obliki gručaste pozidave blizu glavnih prometnih žil (Kourliouros, 1997), temu pa je sledilo priseljevanje delavcev na primestna industrijska območja na Mezogejski ravnini in zunaj Atike (vzdolž državne avtoceste med Atenami in Lamio na severu ter med Atenami in Korintom na jugozahodu). Zaradi soobstoja podeželske in mestne ter stanovanjske, industrijske in trgovske rabe tal so nastale mešane krajine. Tovrstno nenačrtno širjenje mesta je morfološko podobno trakastemu, vendar sta tukaj obravnavana ločeno, ker imata različne vzroke.

Če se osredotočimo na trakasto obliko nenačrnega širjenja mesta in robna mesta, so urbanizacijo kmetijskih zemljišč v prvih povojnih desetletjih urejali gradbeni predpisi v okviru sprejetih mestnih načrtov, ki so dovoljevali razvoj več vrst mestne rabe prostora (stanovanjsko, industrijsko in trgovsko rabo) vzdolž prometnih osi, zaradi česar se je tam razvila trakasta oblika urbanizacije (Economou, 1997). Gre za obliko nenačrnega širjenja mesta, ki ga spodbuja razvoj infrastrukture in pri kateri imajo ključno vlogo prometne poti. Zaradi čedalje večje uporabe avtomobilov so se hiše dobro prodajale tudi, če so

bile oddaljene od trgovin in drugih storitev. Glavni dejavniki, ki so spodbudili tovrstno širjenje mesta, so vključevali razne urbane dejavnosti na obrobju mesta, ki so zavzemale obsežna zemljišča in so bile odvisne od prometnih povezav (na primer podružnice tovarn, skladišča, razstavišča in hipermarketi). Tovrstnega prostorskega razvoja niso urejali predpisi namenske rabe prostora ali kateri koli drugi predpisi, ki bi nadzirali rabo prostora, zaradi česar so se oblikovali predeli, kjer so prevladoval podobne dejavnosti, ki so bile močno odvisne od prometnih sistemov (Coccossis idr., 2005). Tovrsten urbani razvoj je povzročil postopno opuščanje tradicionalne strnjene pozidave, značilne za sredozemska mesta (Economidou, 1993).

Posebna oblika trakastega prostorskega razvoja je bila mogoča, ko sta bili vzhodna in zahodna atiška obala povezani z mestom. Številni pripadniki atenskega srednjega sloja so imeli na mestnem obrobju blizu obale v lasti počitniške domove, kjer so lahko v prostem času uživali v mirnih kotičkih ob morju (Sayas, 2006). Z razvojem prometne infrastrukture so ta območja postala lažje dostopna tudi iz mestnega središča, kar je omogočilo dnevno vožnjo na delo (Couch idr., 2007). Tako so se središča na mestnem obrobju iz poletnih lokacij spremenila v glavna bivališča pripadnikov srednjega in višjega sloja. Z nadaljnjim združevanjem Evrope in zlasti po sprejetju Maastrichtske pogodbe so se bogatejši prebivalci sezonsko selili iz mest in v tujino, tovrstno sezonsko preseljevanje pa se je precej okrepilo s prihodom nizkocenovnih letalskih družb, zaradi katerih si je potovanje lahko privoščilo več ljudi.

Posledično je sredozemske obale zajel val rezidenčnega turizma, pri katerem so se ljudje sezonsko selili s severa na jug, kar je povzročilo nekakšno nenačrtno širjenje mest na dolge razdalje. Poleg Španije in Italije velja Grčija za najbolj priljubljeno sredozemsko destinacijo med sezonskimi migranti. Olimpijske igre v Atenah leta 2004 so močno spodbudile turizem v državi, nemški, britanski in avstrijski državljani pa so začeli kupovati hiše na obalah Atike. Skoraj 30 % vseh novih hiš na tem območju so kupili tujci, mednarodni vlagatelji pa napovedujejo, da bo v bližnji prihodnosti povpraševanje po najmanj milijonu hiš za turiste (Couch idr., 2007).

7 Razprava

Za boljše razumevanje družbenoekonomske dinamike in morfoloških značilnosti najnovejšega vala nenačrnega širjenja mest pri urbanizaciji Sredozemlja sta se avtorja v raziskavi osredotočila na primer tovrstnega širjenja v olimpijskih Atenah, kjer so olimpijske igre leta 2004 ključno vplivale na dinamiko tega širjenja na tem območju. Razlogov za podrobno analizo najnovejšega razvoja Aten kot tipičnega primera sredozemskega mesta, ki privablja več prebivalcev kot je delovnih mest, je več (Allen idr., 2004). Urbani razrast Aten na splošno

velja za tipičen primer novejših smeri družbenoekonomskega razvoja južноеvropskih mest, za katera je značilna preobrazba iz strnjene pozidave v nenačrtno širjenje mestnega območja, pri katerem gre lahko tudi za policentrični prostorski razvoj (Turk in Mychненко, 2007). Do devetdesetih let 20. stoletja so bile Atene strnjeno mesto, danes pa pozornost raziskovalcev vzbuja postopen premik mesta k nenačrtnemu prostorskemu širjenju. Proučevanje razlogov in vzrokov za prehod iz strnjene pozidave v trenutni proces nenadzorovane prostorske širitve je pomembno za boljše razumevanje prihodnjih urbanih vzorcev v Sredozemlju in drugje po Evropi.

Druga tipična lastnost sredozemskih mest, ki je še zlasti dobro vidna v primeru Aten, je nenačrtna oblika njihovega širjenja (Vaiou, 1997). V večini sredozemskih mest urbanizacija ne temelji na zakonih, ki urejajo rabo zemljišč in poselitev, kot je to značilno za druga evropska mesta. Poleg tega so Atene eno redkih večjih urbanih območij v Evropi, na katerem je število prebivalstva vsaj do leta 2010 intenzivno naraščalo, čemur je sledil močan proces čezmerne urbanizacije, ki je preoblikoval značilno podeželsko krajino okoli mesta (Weber idr., 2005). Zaradi tega to območje bolj kot kdaj koli prej zahteva podrobno prostorsko analizo, na podlagi katere bi lahko uvedli ustrezne strategije za nadzor razpršene urbanizacije, ki je v zadnjem času še zlasti intenzivna (Kasanko idr., 2006; Schneider in Woodcock, 2008; Salvati, 2014).

Atene so tudi dober primer za proučevanje pomena megadogodkov v novem kontekstu mestnih regij. Grčija je z olimpijskimi igrami vzbudila pozornost svetovne javnosti, poleg tega pa so zaradi tega megadogodka Atene postale dober primer za proučevanje tega, kako nova konkurenčna dinamika mesta vpliva na procese urbanizacije (Gospodini, 2009). Dela, ki so bila izvedena za ta megadogodek v Atiki, so povzročila dve glavni posledici: pojav novih prostorskih povezav (vključno z razširitev funkcionalnih mej mesta) in spremembe v dinamiki nepremičnin (dvig vrednosti zemljišč na podeželju in mestnem obrobju). Tovrstni posegi so bili razpršeni po vseh Atenah, na podlagi česar se je oblikoval nekakšen program policentrične urbane prenove (Gospodini, 2006). To je spodbudilo trakast in prostorsko neskljenen urbani razvoj, ki je povzročil proces nenadzorovanega širjenja mesta, ki je najbolj viden na Mezogejski ravnini, torej na nekdanjem kmetijskem območju. Vse skupaj je omogočilo povečano mestno rabo prostora v okolici tovarn in olimpijskih prizorišč (na primer strelskega in jahalnega središča), na zavarovanih območjih in vzdolž glavnih prometnih poti. Poleg tega se je na tem območju število prebivalcev močno povečalo, povprečna velikost gospodinjstev pa se je zmanjšala.

Za Atiko je značilna predvsem prostorsko neskljenjena širitev mestnih območij, pri čemer so se okoli olimpijskih prizorišč razvila številna manjša, od mesta ločena središča, ki pa so z

mestom povezana s cestami in železnico. Razvile so se tudi druge oblike prostorsko neskljenjenega razvoja, kot so na primer nova naselja, ki so jih okoli industrijskih con zgradile interesne skupine. Druga značilna oblika nenačrtna prostorske širitve na celotnem proučevanem območju je trakasta poselitev oziroma pozidava, ki se pojavlja vzdolž glavnih prometnih osi, kot je na primer avtocesta A6. To kaže na to, da je najnovejša nenačrtna prostorska širitev Aten predvsem posledica razvoja infrastrukture. Na ta vzorec močno vpliva tudi decentralizacija dejavnosti, ki zavzemajo veliko prostora in so odvisne od prometnih povezav, vključno s tovarnami in trgovskimi središči. Ena izmed oblik trakastega prostorskega razvoja je tudi preobrazba počitniških domov v glavna bivališča. Z boljšimi povezavami med obalo in mestom so se številni predstavniki srednjega razreda, ki so živeli v mestu, odločili svoje sezone počitniške hiše spremeniti v glavna bivališča. Zaradi tega se je družbenoekonomska podoba nekdanjih počitniških krajev temeljito spremenila in se približala mestni prostorski rabi.

Na splošno velja, da so bile oblike urbanega razvoja Aten v 20. stoletju posledica tako posrednih kot neposrednih dejavnikov, raziskovalci pa so pred tem podobno ugotovili tudi za druga mesta (Arbaci, 2008; Catalán idr., 2008; Terzi in Bolen, 2009; Bayona-Carrasco in Gil-Alonso, 2012; Litvinski, 2016; Salvati in Carlucci, 2016). Zaradi morfoloških lastnosti grškega ozemlja je bila za grški urbani sistem vedno značilna delitev med mesti in podeželjem (Costa idr., 1991), v 20. stoletju pa je kljub vsemu značilna hitra preobrazba tradicionalnega razmerja med mestnimi in podeželskimi območji. Zaradi te preobrazbe, ki so jo spodbujali gospodarski razvoj prestolnice in njene nenavadne razsežnosti, močno priseljevanje, slab načrtovalski sistem z ohlapnimi gradbenimi predpisi in infrastrukturni razvoj območja, se je spremenila prostorska kakovost atiške regije, kar je povzročilo postopno (in neskljenjeno) urbanizacijo okolice širšega območja Aten (Di Felicianantonio in Salvati, 2015). Vse to postopno zmanjšuje razlike med mestom in podeželjem, značilne za sredozemski prostor. Podobno kot pri španskih, portugalskih in italijanskih mestih je tudi gospodarska zgradba Aten v povojnem obdobju hitre urbanizacije temeljila na urbanizacijskih ekonomijah, ki so sprožale posamične primere industrializacije (Carlucci idr., 2017). Mesta zato ni zadel običajni val deindustrializacije in dezurbanizacije, ki je bil od sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja značilen za severnoevropska mesta. Število prebivalcev v mestu se še naprej povečuje v samosvojem življenjskem ciklu (Gargiulo Morelli idr., 2014).

Hkrati v večini sredozemskih mest urbanizacija ni temeljila na zakonodaji, ki ureja rabo zemljišč in mestno poselitev, tako kot je to značilno za druga evropska mesta (Coccossis idr., 2005). Urbani razvoj je večinoma potekal s širjenjem nezakonitih samogradenj na poceni zemljiščih v predmestjih, kjer ni bilo dovolj primerne infrastrukture (Economou, 1997). Zaradi tega

so prebivalci teh območij postali socialno izključeni in ranljivi (Emmanuel, 2004). S tega vidika nedavna smer prostorske rasti v Atenah ponazarja obliko individualiziranega urbanega razvoja, saj mesto še naprej raste nenačrtovano in predvsem na podlagi majhnih gradbenih projektov, ki jih lastniki sami financirajo, pri čemer so omejena javna sredstva za gradnjo mestne infrastrukture večinoma odvisna od organizacije ob-
časnih (čeprav pomembnih) dogodkov (Couch idr., 2007).

8 Sklep

Družbenoekonomske razmere, na katerih temelji prikrita povezava med gospodarsko rastjo, ki so jo spodbudile olimpijske igre leta 2004, in preveliko liberalnostjo urbanizma, ki je prispevala k nenadzorovanemu širjenju Aten, lahko pojasnimo kot znak šibkosti konkurenčnega mesta na slabo načrtovanem in dolgotrajno dereguliranem urbanem območju. Podrobna analiza nedavnih obdobij gospodarske rasti in neskljenenega mestnega razvoja daje dodaten vpogled v kompleksne mehanizme razpršene urbanizacije v današnjem metropolitanskem območju. Zaradi nove spreminjajoče se ozemeljske zgradbe atiške regije bi bilo treba na novo razmisliti o vlogah metropolitanskih območij. Atika leži na sredini prometnih poti med industrijskim severnim delom države, kmetijskim vzhodom in jugom ter turističnimi Egejskimi otoki. Bi morala biti torej Atika nova prestolnica Grčije? Gre pri tem za preprost proces širjenja mesta na preostali nezaseden prostor ob upoštevanju geografskih ovir ali pa gre mogoče za učinek preseljevanja mestnega prebivalstva in infrastrukture, kar celotno regijo povezuje v kompleksno mrežo ne glede na metropolitansko hierarhijo, prostorsko sklenjenost, funkcionalna proizvodna območja in različno rabo tal? V tem pogledu bo pravila te spreminjajoče se kompleksne sredozemske regije določala nova atiška regija, in ne več samo Atene, pri čemer bo pomembno vlogo imela politika, ki ureja metropolitansko območje. V nasprotju s projekti, zgrajenimi za olimpijske igre, se regionalno načrtovanje ne bi smelo več usmerjati v konkretne posege na redko poseljenih in pozidanih območjih (ki so bili včasih potrebni zaradi izjemnih razmer), s čimer bi se oblikoval program razvoja atenske regije, ki bi bil lahko zgled za prihodnji razvoj več sredozemskih mest, ki doživljajo gospodarsko rast, hkrati pa se spopadajo s propadanjem mestnih središč.

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Vloga mednarodnih razvojnih strategij pri oblikovanju regionalnih razvojnih strategij: primer Hokaida

Nacionalne vlade in mednarodne ustanove v zadnjih desetletjih iščejo načine, kako bi odpravile razlike med posameznimi regijami in revitalizirale tiste, katerih razvoj zaostaja za drugimi. Zamisli o najučinkovitejših načinih za doseganje teh ciljev in njihovi primeri izvirajo iz različnih krajev po svetu, njihov vpliv pa se običajno širi tudi drugam. Zato so procesi, povezani s prenosom politik, izjemno pomembni za regionalni razvoj. Avtor te procese v članku proučuje na primeru japonskega otoka Hokaida, in to v obdobju po drugi svetovni vojni, pri čemer posebno pozornost namenja vlogi treh mednarodnih

strategij: modelu, ki ga je razvilo javno ameriško podjetje Tennessee Valley Authority, teoriji polov rasti in teoriji industrijskih grozdov. Z izsledki raziskave opozori na veliko pestrost akterjev, ki sodelujejo pri prenosu politik, analizira procese vključevanja zunanjih zamisli v politiko regionalnega razvoja in pokaže na široko paleto virov, iz katerih se akterji lahko učijo.

Ključne besede: prenos politik, regionalni razvoj, razvojne strategije, Hokaida

1 Uvod

Nekatere regije imajo od sprememb v globalni prerazporeditvi dela in proizvodnje več koristi kot druge oziroma se z njimi bolje spopadajo, zato nacionalne vlade in mednarodne ustanove nenehno iščejo načine, kako bi odpravile razlike med njimi ali oživile regije po svetu, katerih razvoj zaostaja. Cilj tovrstnih ukrepov je običajno ustvariti in prerazporediti gospodarsko rast ter odpraviti trajne regionalne razlike, ki preprečujejo doseganje ciljev nacionalnih politik (Armstrong in Taylor, 2000; Pike idr., 2007). Zamisli o najučinkovitejših načinih za doseganje teh ciljev in primeri zamisli izvirajo iz različnih krajev po svetu, a se njihov vpliv običajno širi tudi drugam. Zato so procesi, povezani s prenosom politik (npr. procesi, pri katerih se znanje o politikah, upravnih dogovorih, ustanovah in zamislih v nekem političnem okolju uporablja pri oblikovanju politik, upravnih dogovorov, ustanov in zamisli v nekem drugem političnem okolju), zelo pomembni tudi v okviru politike regionalnega razvoja (Dolowitz in Marsh, 2000; Benson in Jordan, 2011).

Proučevanje prenosa politik se je od poznih devetdesetih let 20. stoletja močno okrepilo, izsledki raziskav pa kažejo, da je v zadnjih desetletjih čedalje več primerov tovrstnega prenosa predvsem zaradi tehnološkega napredka in občasnih pritiskov različnih organizacij (Dolowitz in Marsh, 2000). Vsekakor ne gre za nov ali geografsko omejen pojav in avtor je začel primer Hokaida proučevati prav zato, ker se večina tovrstnih raziskav osredotoča samo na Evropo in ZDA. Huck-ju Kvon (2009) opozarja, da sta učenje in prenos politik manjkajoči prvini proučevanja vzhodnoazijskih držav v razvoju.

Otok Hokaido lahko na podlagi njegove lege na Japonskem in v severovzhodni Aziji obravnavamo kot obrobno regijo. Kljub temu so imeli mednarodni modeli in akterji pomembno vlogo v 150 let trajajočem procesu, v katerem je bil otok, nekoč imenovan Ezo, priključen današnji Japonski in se je razvijal kot njen del. Ta proces lahko opišemo z izrazi, kot so *kolonizacija*, *podreditev*, *civilizacija*, *posodobitev* in celo *revitalizacija*, odvisno od upoštevanega zornega kota (Mason, 2012; Sasaki, 2015). Zaradi dolgoletnih državno vodenih razvojnih dejavnosti na otoku in njihovega obsega je Hokaido zanimiv za raziskave, ki se osredotočajo na politike regionalnega razvoja.

Avtor v članku proučuje politike regionalnega razvoja, ki so jih na Hokaidu izvajali po drugi svetovni vojni, pri čemer poskuša doseči dvojce. Prvič, članek prispeva k proučevanju pojava prenosa politik na podlagi primera, ki se osredotoča na človeško delovanje in razmeroma slabo poznano geografsko enoto, zlasti med tistimi, ki ne berejo japonščine. Drugič, študija dopolnjuje dosedanje raziskave, ki so poskušale pojasniti

vsebinsko povojnih politik regionalnega razvoja na Hokaidu in procese, na podlagi katerih so politike sploh nastale, pri čemer proučuje vlogo mednarodnih razvojnih strategij. Ob tem opredeli model ameriškega javnega podjetja Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) ter teoriji polov rasti in industrijskih grozdov kot uporabne strategije, s katerimi lahko natančneje pojasnimo različne vidike prenosa politik. V osrednjem delu članka, ki sledi kratki predstavitvi osnovnih pojmov, analizira vlogo teh strategij pri treh procesih oblikovanja politike, na koncu pa navede svoje sklepne misli. Čeprav raziskava temelji na analizi javno dostopnih pisnih dokumentov, avtor v njej uporablja tudi druge metode zbiranja podatkov. Opravil je več intervjujev in proučil arhivske vire, poleg tega se je okrog leta 2005 kot opazovalec udeležil več dogodkov, povezanih z industrijskimi grozdi.

Avtor za boljše razumevanje politik, sprejetih v povezavi z razvojem Hokaida, predstavi, kako so se istovrstnim strategijam lokalno prilagodili v severnih predelih nordijskih držav. Gre za obrobna območja razmeroma bogatih in politično stabilnih demokratičnih držav, ki so sočasno uvedle načela tržno usmerjenega kapitalizma in državnega poseganja, pri čemer se med njimi in osrednjimi območji oziroma območji okoli prestolnice običajno pojavljajo velike razlike.

2 Prenos politik: kdo, zakaj, od kod?

Čeprav avtor pritrdi, da obstajajo najrazličnejši med seboj povezani in prekrivajoči se pojmi, kot so učenje iz izkušenj drugih ter zbliževanje in širjenje politik, se osredotoča na prenos politik. Pri tem se naslanja na delo Davida P. Dolowitza in Davida Marsha (2000), ki sta poskušala ta proces umestiti v konceptualni okvir. Njun model temelji na vprašanjih, od katerih je trem posebna pozornost namenjena tudi v tem članku. Gre za vprašanja, ki se nanašajo na določanje ključnih akterjev pri prenosu politik, njihove razloge za sodelovanje v tem procesu in vire, iz katerih se lahko učijo. Namerna odločitev za poudarjanje akterjev in njihovega delovanja – v smislu zmožnosti delovanja in delovanja samega, sposobnosti ustvarjanja učinkov in izvajanja moči – temelji na predpostavkah, povezanih z naravo procesov odločanja. Kljub strukturnim dejavnikom, kot so organizacijska kultura ali splošni vedenjski vzorci, velja prepričanje, da ima lahko nezmožnost izpolnjevanja pogojev klasičnega racionalnega modela odločanja, kot so na primer strateško razmišljanje, pogajanje, kompromisi, prepričanja in vrednote (značilne prvine človekovega odločanja), celo pomembnejšo vlogo pri procesih odločanja. Podrobneje so o tem pisali Charles E. Lindblom (1968) ter Graham Allison in Philip Zelikow (1999).

Zaradi spreminjajočih se okoliščin razvoja na Hokaidu se upravičeno zastavlja vprašanje o naravi prenosa – ali je torej

spontan (povzroča ga na primer nezadovoljstvo s trenutnim stanjem in/ali domnevni obstoj modela, ki je še boljši od tistega, ki se trenutno uporablja) ali prisilen (nove politike se na primer sprejemajo na podlagi zahtev ali pritiskov zunanjih akterjev, mednarodne konkurence ali javnega mnenja). Čeprav je Japonska že več desetletij popolnoma neodvisna država in je članica vseh pomembnih mednarodnih vladnih organizacij, je to tudi država, ki je bila v drugi svetovni vojni poražena in med letoma 1945 in 1952 pod tujo okupacijo. Poleg tega je treba upoštevati tudi spremembe v stopnji odvisnosti razvojne politike Hokaida od nacionalne politike oziroma v njenih medsebojnih povezavah. Oblikovalci politik se namreč ne poskušajo učiti samo od drugih držav, ampak se prenos politik izvaja tudi v posamezni državi.

Oblikovalci politik so v zgodnji fazi razvoja teorije na pretekle uspehe in neuspehe v zvezi s politikami v državi ali drugih političnih sistemih gledali kot na vire, iz katerih so lahko dobili navdih za oblikovanje novih politik. Nadaljnje raziskave pa so pokazale, da so še drugi viri za učenje – pomembna sta na primer vloga nevladnih organizacij, možganskih trustov in medvladnih organov ter medsebojni prenos znanja in izkušenj med vladaми posameznih držav (Benson in Jordan, 2011). Avtor v članku pojasni, da čeprav te ugotovitve pogosto temeljijo na raziskavah, ki se osredotočajo na najnovejše dogodke, se je vloga drugih virov učenja izkazala za pomembno tudi v starejših primerih. Čeprav je bilo to že omenjeno v povezavi z literaturo, ki se nanaša na prenos politik, je dobro na tem mestu še enkrat omeniti dvojje. Avtor izpostavi proces prenosa politik, vendar ga ne opisuje kot edino možno razlago oblikovanja politik. Poleg tega iskanje in uporaba zamisli in praks, ki presegajo različne vrste mej, nista nujno namerna, zavestna ali usmerjena k točno določenemu cilju, ampak sta lahko tudi nesistematična, nestrukturirana ali pa posledica naključnega stika z informacijami (Dolowitz in Marsh, 2000; Dolowitz in Medearis, 2009).

3 TVA: javna razprava o idealnem modelu regionalnega razvoja

Ameriško javno podjetje TVA je bilo ustanovljeno leta 1933 v okviru programa New Deal in je bilo prvotno namenjeno reševanju najpomembnejših vprašanj, povezanih z energetiko, okoljevarstvom in gospodarskim razvojem v dolini reke Tennessee. To naj bi bila nova oblika podjetja, ki bi imelo vladna pooblastila in vzpostavljalo ravnovesje interesov industrije, kmetijstva, prometa, razvoja virov, okoljevarstvenikov in družbenih načrtovalcev. V idealnem primeru naj bi podjetje spodbujalo tudi sodelovanje javnosti pri načrtovanju in izvajanju razvojnih projektov. Model TVA je bil na Japonskem znan že

pred drugo svetovno vojno, zaradi velikopoteznih medvojnih pogledov na načrtovanje virov pa je postal še zlasti priljubljen takoj po koncu vojne (Dinmore, 2013; internet 3).

Podjetje TVA se je pogosto omenjalo v razpravah o razvoju Hokaida v poznih štiridesetih in zgodnjih petdesetih letih 20. stoletja, vendar se v dosedanjih raziskavah pojavljajo nasprotujoče si razlage vloge, pomena in ciljev različnih akterjev. Eric Dinmore (2013) navaja, da so podjetje TVA kot model politike uporabljali povojni izobraženci in oblikovalci politik, ki so poskušali upravljati in izkoristiti japonske vodne vire kot strateški vir družbenogospodarskega razvoja. Poleg tega je bilo podjetje ključni navdih za sprejetje zakona o celovitem prostorskem razvoju iz leta 1950, s katerim so bili položeni temelji celovitega povojnega razvoja ter poudarjeni obsežni hidrološki projekti in druge vrste javnih gradenj.

Dinmore v svoji analizi proučuje napredne japonske ekonomiste, ki so zasedali pomembne položaje v odboru za ekonomsko stabilizacijo ali so z njim imeli stike (npr. Shigeto Tsuru), in vplivne predstavnike okupacijskih oblasti, kot je bil Edward A. Ackerman, kot akterje, ki so promovirali model TVA na Japonskem. Tsuru je vodil študijsko skupino za raziskave modela TVA, ki je bila v stiku s sedežem podjetja TVA v Knoxvilleu in je izdajala mesečno glasilo o svojih raziskavah v japonsčini. Nekateri japonski strokovnjaki so lahko na začetku petdesetih let 20. stoletja z ameriški sredstvi celo obiskali prostore podjetja TVA v ZDA. Ti analitiki iz Tokia so lahko Japoncem po koncu vojne ponudili verodostojne nasvete, ki se niso nanašali samo na jezove, ampak tudi na druge gradbene objekte. Dinmore poudarja tudi vpliv ameriškega programa New Deal na povojne japonske razvojne pristope, v članku pa ne omenja Hokaida; tako ne predstavi zakona o razvoju Hokaida iz leta 1950, hokaidске razvojne agencije (ang. *Hokkaido Development Agency*, v nadaljevanju: HDA), ustanovljene leta 1950, niti hokaidskega razvojnega urada (ang. *Hokkaido Development Bureau*, v nadaljevanju: HDB), ustanovljenega leta 1951.

Nastanek razvojnega sistema na Hokaidu, ki je bil drugačen od podobnih drugje na Japonskem, je glavna tema raziskave Šujija Koisa (2003). Njegova analiza je pokazala, da zagovorniki programa New Deal – ki so zasedali osrednje položaje v vladnem odseku, ki je imel pomembna pooblastila v generalštabu vrhovnega poveljnika zavezniških sil (ang. *General Headquarters Supreme Commander for Allied Powers*, v nadaljevanju: GHQ SCAP) – pri pogajanjih o organizaciji povojnega razvoja Hokaida niso podpirali celovite razvojne filozofije podjetja TVA, ampak so ji nasprotovali. Akterji na Hokaidu so navdušeno opisovali primer podjetja TVA kot model, ki bi ga lahko uporabili pri rekonstrukciji razvojnega sistema otoka, a so pri tem naleteli na nasprotovanje okupacijskih oblasti in centralne vlade.

V zvezi s temi nasprotujočimi si mnenji je treba omeniti dvoje. Zavedati se je treba, da gre pri zgoraj omenjenih raziskavah za dve razpravi. Dinmore analizira proces, v katerem so o podjetju TVA razmišljali kot o modelu za gradnjo hidroelektrične infrastrukture in uporabo japonskih vodnih virov, Koiso raziskava pa se osredotoča na vzpostavitev ustanove, ki bi lahko vodila raznovrstne javno financirane razvojne projekte na Hokaidu. Če torej upoštevamo, da gre za dve popolnoma različni razpravi, lahko bolje razumemo različen odnos akterjev do uporabe primera podjetja TVA kot modela. Zagovorniki programa New Deal v GHQ SCAP bi lahko primer podjetja TVA sprejeli kot model za izkoriščanje vodnih virov, hkrati pa bi ga lahko zavrnil kot model za razvoj Hokaida. Pri tem so vztrajno nasprotovali zamisli, da bi morali zaradi posebnih značilnosti Hokaida ustanoviti posebno razvojno organizacijo, katere pooblastila ne bi bila podrejena neki veji oblasti, ampak bi bila geografsko omejena na posamezno teritorialno enoto v državi. Ob koncu okupacije so okupacijske oblasti vendarle dovolile ustanovitev HDA in HDB, kar kaže na to, da so bili v GHQ SCAP pripravljeni japonski vladi dovoliti, da spremeni veljavne zakone in predpise, če te spremembe ne kršijo okupatorjevih predpisov (Bano, 2003; Saunavaara, 2014).

Med podporniki uporabe modela podjetja TVA na Japonskem lahko zasledimo številne predstavnike napredne politične leve. Poleg odbora za gospodarsko stabilizacijo, katerega moč se je okrepila med mandatom socialističnega premierja Tecuja Katajame, je o podjetju TVA navdušeno govoril tudi socialistični guverner Hokaida Tošifumi Tanaka. Politično neizkušeni Tanaka je bil izvoljen leta 1947, ko so volivci lahko prvič volili guvernerja. Tanaka se je z modelom podjetja TVA seznanil jeseni leta 1949 in tako je filozofija celovitega razvoja – pri kateri končni cilj ni bil razvoj virov, ampak izboljšanje vsakdanjega življenja prebivalcev Hokaida – postala nepogrešljiv del njegovih političnih nazorov (Okuda, 1956; Takahaši, 1982; Bano, 2003). Z vidika njegovega optimizma glede uporabe modela podjetja TVA lahko opazimo podobnost s strokovnjaki v Tokiu, ki so bili ravnodušni glede nekaterih dejanskih značilnosti podjetja TVA (ali se jih sploh niso zavedali), kot so bile na primer proizvodnja električne energije v očitno korist industrijskih velikanov ali težave z vključevanjem lokalnih oblasti v odločanje (Dinmore, 2013). Sodelovanje med Tanakovo administracijo in odborom za ekonomsko stabilizacijo je bilo očitno vzpostavljeno prek direktorja hokaidskega urada za gozdove, čigar zavezniki v omenjenem odboru so Tanakovi administraciji pomagali pri pogajanjih s centralno vlado glede uvedbe razvojnega programa za električno energijo na Hokaidu (Takahaši, 1982). V tej povezavi se zastavlja vprašanje, ali je bilo res samo naključje, da je model podjetja TVA podpirala prav hokaidška politična levica.

Finska je na začetku petdesetih let 20. stoletja v marsičem zaostajala za Norveško in Švedsko in tudi na Finskem so se pojavljale zahteve po celovitem javno financiranem nacionalnem programu, ki bi izboljšal razmere na severu države. Glavne prvine programa so vključevale gradnjo hidroelektrarn, industrializacijo ter izkoriščanje lokalnih naravnih in mineralnih virov, pri čemer naj bi industrializacija potekala hkrati z razvojem lokalnega kmetijstva. Najpomembnejši zagovornik teh zamisli je bil takratni predsednik vlade Urho Kekkonen, ki je prihajal iz vrst Agrarne zveze (ta se je leta 1965 preimenovala v Sredinsko stranko) in bil pozneje dolgoletni predsednik države. Čeprav model podjetja TVA v finski javnosti ni bil tako dobro sprejet kot na Japonskem, so se med političnimi razpravami omenjali ameriški primeri razvoja hidroelektrične energije. Akterji, ki so sodelovali pri razvoju severne Finske, so konec štiridesetih let 20. stoletja celo obiskali prostore podjetja TVA v ZDA. Zamisli, podobne modelu podjetja TVA, je Agrarna zveza podpirala v sodelovanju s Socialnodemokratsko stranko (Salo in Lackman, 1998; Sippola, 2010; Mäntylä, 2016). S tega vidika bi bilo treba v povezavi s Hokaidom upoštevati tudi tamkajšnje kmečke stranke, ki so bile v prvem desetletju po vojni izredno močne.

Različne kmečke stranke na Japonskem, ki so v svojih političnih programih poudarjale združna načela in so bile močno odvisne od kmetijskih interesnih skupin, v državni politiki nikoli niso dosegle veliko moči, so se pa izjemno dobro odrezale na volitvah na Hokaidu. Po skoraj desetletju nenehne organizacijske nestabilnosti so lokalne kmečke stranke razpadle, večina njihovih podpornikov pa je začela voliti kandidate Socialistične stranke. Kljub zgodnjim znakom sodelovanja med socialisti in kmečkimi strankami so ti med seboj nenehno tekmovali. To se je najbolj jasno pokazalo leta 1951, ko je guverner Tanaka na volitvah premagal Toriza Kurosavo, ki je veljal za očeta Združne stranke in mlečne industrije na Hokaidu (Saunavaara, 2015). Kurosava je med volilno kampanjo o podjetju TVA govoril kot o navdihujočem modelu regionalnega razvoja, predsednik vlade Šigeru Jošida pa je v svojih govorih v podporo Kurosave (podpirale so ga tudi konservativne stranke) zagovarjal načrt za Hokaido, ki bi presegel celo model podjetja TVA (Okuda, 1956; Hiraku, 2011). Drugih znakov zanimanja za model podjetja TVA pa pri kmečkih strankah avtor ni našel.

Posledice razcveta modela podjetja TVA konec štiridesetih in v začetku petdesetih let 20. stoletja lahko analiziramo iz različnih zornih kotov. Ime modela, ki je bil opisan celo v otroških knjigah in šolskih učbenikih, je bilo dobro znano. V tričlanskem nadzornem svetu podjetja TVA je bil tudi David E. Lilienthal, ki je postal prava zvezda, japonski prevod njegove knjige *TVA: Democracy on the March* pa je šel za med. Z

Dinmorovimi besedami: podjetje TVA je v japonskem diskurzu postalo sopomenka za družbenogospodarski napredek, ki ga omogoča državno vodeno in celovito hidrološko upravljanje. Poleg tega se je primer podjetja TVA na začetku petdesetih let 20. stoletja uporabljal kot model za državne korporacije, kot je bilo na primer podjetje Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Company, ki je imelo monopol nad telekomunikacijami. Z dejanskim izvajanjem načel modela podjetja TVA je celovit razvoj državnih zemljišč pravzaprav pomenil gradnjo velikih jezov. Ko Dinmore opisuje prevlado projektov gradnje velikih jezov nad načeli modela podjetja TVA, pri čemer so bile potrebe lokalnih kmetov prezrte na račun dobave električne energije in vode mestnim industrijskim območjem in tovarnam, ne upošteva edinega dela Japonske, kjer so celovite razvojne načrte pripravili in izvajali že na začetku petdesetih let 20. stoletja (Anchordoguy, 2005; Dinmore, 2013). Japonska vlada je prvi celoviti nacionalni razvojni načrt sprejela šele leta 1962, prvi celoviti razvojni načrt za Hokaido pa je bil sprejet že za obdobje 1952–1961. Poleg tega se tokijski strokovnjaki za podjetje TVA niso zanimali za izkušnje Hokaida oziroma jih sploh niso poznali. Ko je na primer Hiromi Arisava (1951) novembra 1951 napisal obsežen članek o celovitem regionalnem razvoju in podjetju TVA, ni niti omenil procesa, ki je takrat že potekal na najsevernejšem japonskem otoku.

Akio Takahaši (1982) je jez Takadomari, zgrajen novembra 1953, poimenoval TVA Tanakove uprave. To je bil prvi večnamenski jez na Hokaidu, ki je bil zgrajen za proizvodnjo električne energije in uporabo vode v kmetijstvu. Za proučevanje sledi modela podjetja TVA na Hokaidu takoj po vojni pa je najpomembnejši vir prvi celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida, ki je bil razdeljen v dve zaporedni petletni fazi (1952–1956 in 1957–1961). V načrtu – pri katerem je šlo za razmeroma kratek dokument, v katerem so bili naštet projekti, ki so utrli pot razvoju industrije in kmetijstva ter rasti števila prebivalcev – model podjetja TVA ni omenjen, velik poudarek pa je na razvoju električne oziroma hidroelektrične energije (Hokkaido Development Agency, 1951). Čeprav je bilo navdušenje za gradnjo jezov na Hokaidu po koncu petdesetih let 20. stoletja morda posledica čedalje večjega zavedanja njihove vloge pri regionalnem razvoju, je bil razlog zanj tudi pomanjkanje električne energije, ki je oteževalo vsakdanje življenje in gradnjo novih tovarn. Poleg tega je zakon o razvoju električne energije, sprejet leta 1952, omogočil ustanovitev družbe za razvoj električne energije, ki jo je financirala vlada in je tudi začela graditi jezove na Hokaidu (Jones, 1958; Hokkaidō Doboku Gijutsukai, 2007).

O rezultatih celovitega razvoja Hokaida so kritično razpravljali v drugi polovici petdesetih let 20. stoletja. Razprava je izražala pretirano optimistična pričakovanja, ki so temeljila na načrtih,

ki pogosto niso vključevali realističnih shem financiranja, in potlačeno nezadovoljstvo z organiziranostjo razvoja Hokaida (Jamazaki, 2006; Koiso in Jamazaki, 2007; Kobajaši, 2010). Spodbudil jo je zlasti članek Ukičira Nakaje, profesorja na univerzi na Hokaidu, pri čemer je bil članek aprila 1975 objavljen v strokovni reviji *Bungei unju*. Nakaja je ob kritiziranju izvajanja politike in predlogih za ustrežnejše delovanje omenil tudi model podjetja TVA, ki je bil nekoč priljubljen na Japonskem. Zanj je bil primer podjetja TVA zgled uspešnega regionalnega razvoja, pri katerem so bila vprašanja glede vodstva in odgovornosti jasna. Vodstvo podjetja je razumelo lokalne razmere, poleg tega je živelo na območju, ki ga je podjetje pokrivalo, in bilo predano svojemu delu (Nakaja, 2001; Imamatsu, 2006).

4 Uporaba modela polov rasti v okviru celovite nacionalne razvojne politike

Teorije regionalnih ekonomskih razlik ali neuravnotežene regionalne rasti so v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja začele izpodbijati zamisli o poenotenju in dolgoročni stalni rasti dohodka na prebivalca. Podkrepljene so bile z empiričnimi dokazi, da se vse regije ne skladajo s predvidevanji neoklasičnih modelov gospodarske rasti. Ko je Gunnar Myrdal pisal o kumulativni vzročnosti, je pozornost posvetil ugodnemu položaju prvih industrializiranih regij. Trdil je, da čeprav lahko gospodarska rast v razvitih regijah zaradi širjenja inovacij in rastočih izvoznih trgov koristi tudi manj razvitim regijam, je položaj zadnjenavedenih otežen zaradi odtekanja kapitala in delovne sile v razvite regije. Pogledi François Perrouxa na spodbujevalno vlogo središč pri razvoju celotnega gospodarskega sistema so bili podlaga za večino teorij polov rasti. Čeprav je Perroux sprva zanikal, da se lahko abstraktni ekonomski prostor ujema z geografskim območjem, kot je mesto ali regija, so bile njegove zamisli nadgrajene in umeščene v geografski prostor. Ko je Albert O. Hirschman razpravljal o polariziranem razvoju, je izpostavil koristi rastoče regije in tudi manj razvite regije v njeni okolici. Strinjal se je, da lahko razvita regija kupi proizvode manj razvite regije in ji zagotovi delovna mesta, hkrati pa je dopuščal možnost, da lahko čedalje večja konkurenčnost povzroči nastanek razmer, ki za manj razvito regijo ne bi bile ugodne. Hirschman je menil, da bi ugodni učinki, ki bi prihajali iz rastočega središča, prevladali nad negativnimi učinki polarizacije, ki bi jih lahko obvladali in zmanjšali s sprejetjem nove gospodarske politike (Parr, 1999; Dawkins, 2003; Zarycki, 2007).

Japonska je bila med državami, ki so v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja sprejele strategijo polov rasti kot vodilno načelo regionalnega načrtovanja. Celoviti nacionalni

razvojni načrt, ki ga je vlada odobrila 5. oktobra 1962, je bil glavni instrument, ki je model polov rasti vključil v japonske regionalne razvojne programe. Načrt je poudarjal razvoj nekatere ključnih regij, ki so veljale za potencialna gonila gospodarske rasti. Zakon o spodbujanju gradnje novih industrijskih mest iz leta 1962 in zakon o spodbujanju razvoja posebnih industrijskih območij iz leta 1964 sta postavila pravne temelje za izvajanje tovrstnih ukrepov (Jamazaki, 2006; Koiso in Jamazaki, 2007).

Priprava celovitega nacionalnega razvojnega načrta je bila pomemben del, ne pa tudi edino gonilo oblikovanja politike v poznih petdesetih in na začetku šestdesetih let 20. stoletja. Socialističnega guvernerja Tanako je na volitvah leta 1959 zamenjal Kingo Mačimura iz vrst Liberalne demokratske stranke (LDS). Sprememba je močno vplivala na sodelovanje med hokaidsko lokalno upravo, HDA, HDB in centralno vlado, hkrati pa so bili sprejeti razni regionalni razvojni zakoni, ki so se osredotočali na druge regije, katerih razvoj je zaostajal. V teh razmerah sta si hokaidška lokalna uprava in HDA prizadevali za ohranitev obstoječega razvojnega sistema na Hokaidu ter se strinjali, da je industrializacija glavni dejavnik, na podlagi katerega bo lahko Hokaido v prihodnje prispeval svoj del k nacionalnemu gospodarstvu. Že v drugi petletni fazi prvega celovitega razvojnega načrta je bil cilj spodbuditi razvoj industrije, ki izkorišča naravne vire in surovine na otoku, drugi celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida, ki je bil na seji lokalne uprave sprejet julija 1962 in se je začel izvajati leta 1963, pa je spodbujal selitev težke kemične industrije stran od metropolitanskih območij, saj so bila prenatrpana in niso imela dovolj prostora za industrijske obrate (Jamazaki, 2006; Sasaki, 2015).

Osrednji del Hokaida, ki je vključeval Sapiro in Tomakomai, je bil aprila 1964 določen za območje enega izmed novih industrijskih mest, katerih skupno število se je do leta 1966 povzpelo na petnajst. Prefekture so med seboj tekmovala za ta mesta in na koncu je bilo določenih šest posebnih območij industrijskega razvoja, s čimer so želeli potolažiti tiste prefekture, ki jim ni bilo dodeljeno nobeno izmed novih industrijskih mest (Gu, 1997; Masuda, 2006). Gradnja obalne industrijske cone v Tomakomaiu je bila najpomembnejši projekt, ki se je izvajal v osrednjem delu Hokaida. Šlo je za projekt državnega pomena, ki je hkrati logično sledil dokončani gradnji novega pristanišča v mestu, ki so ga odprli leta 1963 (Imamatsu, 2006).

Tretji celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida (ki ga je vlada odobrila leta 1970 in je pokrival obdobje med letoma 1971 in 1981) so začeli pripravljati leta 1967, ta proces pa je imel velik vpliv na oblikovanje novega celovitega nacionalnega razvojnega načrta, odobrenega leta 1969. Opisana vzporedna procesa sta bila vzrok za razpravo o vlogi razvojnega programa, izdelanega

posebej za Hokaido, pri načrtovanju novega celovitega nacionalnega programa. Agencija za gospodarsko načrtovanje je na primer spodbujala enotno državno politiko, pri čemer so bile v ospredju predvsem tri stvari. Poleg želje po poenotenju administrativnega in pravnega okvira razvojne politike po vsej Japonski je bil po njenem mnenju skupen model pomemben tudi z vidika obsežnih razvojnih projektov, opisanih v novem nacionalnem načrtu. Ne nazadnje je bila poenotena nacionalna politika potrebna tudi za zagotavljanje mednarodne konkurenčnosti japonskega gospodarstva. Zaradi teh zamisli so bili na Hokaidu zelo zaskrbljeni, zato je HDA ob podpori lokalne uprave in skupščine vztrajala, da mora imeti razvoj na Hokaidu svojo pravno podlago, ki se razlikuje od celovitega nacionalnega razvojnega načrta. Poleg tega so v HDA poudarjali, da je najprimernejši instrument za določanje konkretnih načrtov razvoja otoka celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida, in ne novi celoviti nacionalni načrt (Jamazaki, 2006).

Ko so začeli pripravljati tretji celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida, je hokaidška lokalna uprava izrazila zadovoljstvo z dosežki drugega načrta, na katerega ni vplivalo niti, da je več občin kazalo čedalje manj zanimanja za privabljanje novih vrst industrije. Predstavniki Socialistične stranke so se v lokalni skupščini pritoževali, da je strategija polov rasti povzročila zgoščanje prebivalcev in industrije v mestih, zmanjšanje števila prebivalcev v kmetijskih vaseh in razlike med regijami. Predstavniki hokaidške lokalne uprave je te trditve ovrgel in navedel, da so se z uporabo sistema polov rasti zmanjšale regionalne razlike, odseljevanje ljudi v mesta na Hokaidu pa je preprečilo njihovo selitev v druge regije. Opisani sistem je poleg tega pomagal vzpostaviti povezavo med primarno in sekundarno industrijo. Dokumenti, ki jih je lokalna uprava pripravila za presojo dosežkov drugega načrta, so pokazali še, da se je med novimi industrijskimi mesti osrednji del Hokaida dobro odrežal z vidika rasti števila prebivalcev, privabljanja novih podjetij in gradnje tovarn. Hokaidski odbor za celoviti razvoj je ob tem opozoril, da je bilo prizadevanjem za izboljšanje vsakdanjega življenja ljudi namenjene manj pozornosti kot spodbujanju industrije, katere vloga je bila v prejšnjih načrtih pretirano poudarjena (Jamazaki, 2006).

Novi celoviti nacionalni razvojni načrt je še naprej poudarjal pomen obsežnih gradbenih projektov, ki naj bi Japonski zagotovili mednarodno konkurenčnost. Pomembna je bila tudi jasna porazdelitev delovne sile med regijami, ki so omogočale zaposlitev. Poleg tega je načrt določil tudi nekaj območij, na katerih naj bi se zgradile nove obsežne industrijske cone. V primeru Hokaida je bil poseben poudarek na vzhodnem delu otoka in obalah Tihega oceana, kar je v praksi omogočilo predvsem razvoj ravnine Jufucu vzhodno od Tomakomaija. Na koncu so prizadevanja za preselitev težke kemične industrije

s prenaseljenih industrijskih območij na Hokaido in razvoj vzhodnega industrijskega območja v Tomakomaiu postala najpomembnejši del razvojne politike na Hokaidu v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja (Imamatsu, 2006; Jamazaki, 2006; Masuda, 2006; Koiso in Jamazaki, 2007).

Uporaba modela polov rasti je bila na Hokaidu jasno vidna, razprave o njegovi tujosti pa nekoliko manj. Ko je Jokoi Tamocu (1965), namestnik glavnega sekretarja HDB, pisal o polih rasti in celovitem razvoju na Hokaidu, ni niti omenil tujega izvora modela. Novi pojem je razložil tako, da ga je preprosto opisal kot instrument politike, namenjen razvoju mest in njihove okolice, ki potemtakem sploh ni pomenil velikega odklona od stoletne tradicije. Tuji izvor modela se najverjetneje ni omenjal zato, ker so pojem polov rasti vključili v razvojni program Hokaida kot instrument, ki naj bi izvirал iz celovitega nacionalnega razvojnega načrta. Nacionalizacija ali podomačitev pojma je bila torej del izdelave nacionalnega načrta. Hirojoši Sano (2012) opisuje, kako je načrt v zelo kratkem času in pod precejšnjim političnim pritiskom sestavila manjša skupina ljudi.

Masao Kitamura, strokovnjak za regionalni razvoj, zaposlen pri agenciji za gospodarsko načrtovanje, je spomladi 1961 prekinil obisk na univerzi Johna Hopkinsa in odigral ključno vlogo pri izdelavi omenjenega načrta. Vzrok za veliko naglico je bila povezava med celovitim nacionalnim razvojnem načrtom in razvpitim načrtom za podvojitev prihodkov, ki ga je želela sprejeti vlada Hajata Ikede. Izdelava zadnjenavedenega ni potekala nemoteno, saj so mu nasprotovali poslanci iz manj razvitih japonskih regij, ki so običajno zastopali vladajočo LDS, zato je bilo treba prvega čim prej sprejeti in s tem utišati navedene kritike. Okvirni osnutek celovitega nacionalnega razvojnega načrta, s katerim je bila uvedena strategija polov rasti, je bil pripravljen julija 1961, samo tri mesece po Kitamurovi vrnitvi na Japonsko in začetku dejanskega snovanja načrta. Med njegovo izdelavo je Kitamura regionalnim razvojnim uradnikom predstavil Perrouxove in Hirschmanove zamisli. Pri razmišljanju o tem, kako bi lahko vzpostavili pole rasti, se je oprl na zamisli Lea H. Klaassna, nizozemskega strokovnjaka za demografijo mest. Zaradi opisane naglice je bila strategija polov rasti sprejeta, ko je bila v še zelo abstraktni obliki. Kitamura je bil po letu dni odstranjen s položaja glavnega načrtovalca, raziskave pa je nato nadaljevala skupina oblikovalcev politike in strokovnjakov. Ko so se končno strinjali, da gre pri strategiji polov bolj za ustvarjanje mest kot razporeditev industrije, je bilo že prepozno in niso mogli več spremeniti vsebine sprejetega načrta.

Razprave o polih rasti so se začele v nordijskih državah v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Hitre spremembe gospodarske strukture in premik povpraševanja po delovni sili od primarnega sektorja k industriji in storitvam so povzročili velike težave zlasti

v severnih predelih Norveške, Švedske in Finske. Te regije so imele manjša naselja kot mestna območja na jugu države, niso imele razvite industrije in finančnega sektorja, poleg tega je bilo zanje značilno močno izseljevanje. Ko so oblikovalci politik iskali prostorsko politiko, ki bi lahko spodbudila gospodarski razvoj zaostalih regij, so se spomnili politike središč rasti – tudi zato, ker so podobne politike že uporabljali tudi drugje po Evropi (Erikson in Westin, 2013).

Kot navajata Martin Erikson in Lars Westin (2013), sta poročili iz let 1968 in 1970, ki so ju izdelali uradniki in strokovnjaki Evropskega združenja za prosto trgovino (Efta), nordijskim državam ponudili niz zamisli o politiki središč rasti. Čeprav je to, da se Eftina delovna skupina osredotoči zlasti na politiko središč rasti, predlagala norveška vlada, v posameznih delih omenjenih poročil pa tudi norveški strokovnjaki iz te delovne skupine, se je vključevanje tega tujega pojma v državne ustanove in politiko regionalnega razvoja izkazalo za zelo zapleteno. Na koncu Norveška sploh ni upoštevala priporočil iz teh poročil. Številna izbrana središča rasti so bila daleč pod mejo 30.000 prebivalcev, določeno v prvem poročilu, ugotovljena središča rasti pa se niso ujemala z industrijskimi območji, ki so bila določena, in se niso skladala s priporočili iz drugega poročila. Tudi švedski in finski oblikovalci politik so običajno uvažali politike središč rasti, ki so ustrezale lokalnemu političnemu okolju, a se niso skladale s priporočili Eftine delovne skupine.

Na Japonskem in v nordijskih državah je bilo model polov rasti dosti lažje sprejeti kot abstraktni model regionalnega razvoja, kot pa, da bi dosegli politično soglasje glede števila, velikosti in lokacije polov rasti. Ker so bili poli rasti določeni na podlagi političnih razprav in kompromisov, je vprašljivo, ali so ta območja sploh imela značilnosti, ki so jih pripisovali naravnim in spontanim polom rasti (glej Parr, 1999). Pri primerjavi oblikovanja politike v nordijskih državah z oblikovanjem na Hokaidu je mogoče opaziti, da so bili poli rasti razmeroma zgodaj vključeni v japonsko politiko regionalnega razvoja in je proces potekal zelo hitro. V procesih, s katerimi so bile oblikovane politike polov rasti na Norveškem in Finskem, so vidni povezava med regionalnimi politikami in političnim tekmovanjem ter kompromisi med socialnimi demokrati in tradicionalno kmečkimi sredinskimi strankami (Sippola, 2010; Erikson in Westin, 2013). Ker je bila na Japonskem nepretrgano na oblasti LDS,^[1] je pri tem pravzaprav šlo za vprašanje v samo eni stranki, čeprav je bila zlasti na Hokaidu precej močna tudi socialistična stranka. Zanimivo je, da so bili socialisti na Hokaidu kritični do politike, ki so jo podpirali socialni demokrati v nordijskih državah, kjer je bilo bolj verjetno, da bodo za socialnodemokratske stranke volili mestni, in ne kmečki prebivalci. Te razlike so bile lahko posledica tega, da so imeli socialisti med kmeti na Hokaidu široko podporo in je bila ta stranka v opoziciji.

Navsezadnje v primerjavi z nordijskimi državami, kjer sta imeli Eftini poročili pomembno vlogo, na Hokaidu mednarodne vladne organizacije v opisanem procesu sploh niso sodelovale.

Akterji, ki so si prizadevali za ohranitev posebnega razvojnega sistema na Hokaidu, niso imeli dovolj vpliva, da bi preprečili vključitev modela polov rasti v razvojno politiko otoka. Kljub temu pri tem procesu ni šlo za prisilen prenos politike, saj se zdi, da ni bilo prepričljivih razlogov za nasprotovanje tej spremembi. Kljub temu uporaba strategije polov rasti potrjuje Kwonovo (2009) razlago, da je bil prenos politik v razvijajočih se državah redko odziv na družbene zahteve in da je bil pogosto uveden od zgoraj navzdol v okviru prizadevanj za industrializacijo in splošno posodobitev.

5 Uvedba industrijskih grozdov na podlagi zahtev od spodaj

S spremembo okoliščin, ki so vplivale na razvoj Hokaida, so se postopno spremenili tudi cilji in vsebina politik. Kljub temu bi se lahko oblikovalci politik na primer hitreje odzvali na razpad sistema iz Bretton Woodsa leta 1971,^[2] na naftni krizi v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja ali na devalvacijo ameriškega dolarja v razmerju do jena na podlagi sporazuma Plaza Accord, sprejetega leta 1985. Zaradi vsega naštetega se je spremenila celotna struktura japonske industrije in zmanjšala možnost privabljanja težke kemične industrije na Hokaido. Upoštevati je treba, da so bili že s četrtem celovitim razvojnim načrtom Hokaida (1978–1987) uvedeni novi pristopi, pri čemer je bil glavni poudarek na naravnem okolju, človeški blaginji in sodelovanju lokalne skupnosti. Tudi tovrstne spremembe na Hokaidu so bile povezane z izdelavo novega celovitega nacionalnega razvojnega načrta (Jamazaki, 2006; Koiso in Jamazaki, 2007). Globoka recesija po poku gospodarskega balona na Japonskem v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja je pustila sledi tudi v razvojni politiki Hokaida. V času velike zaskrbljenosti o prihodnjem financiranju razvojnih projektov in ravno ko so bila številna dobro znana hokaidaska podjetja v velikih težavah ali tik pred bankrotom (na primer največja banka na Hokaidu, Hokkaido Takushoku Ginko, je propadla jeseni 1997), se je pojavila nova beseda zveza: industrijski grozd.

Za izraz grozd obstaja več razlag. V splošnem se grozdenje nanaša na zgoščanje industrije in podjetij na nekem območju in na povezave med njimi. V skladu s teoretično opredelitvijo izraza domače, regionalno ali lokalno rivalstvo in zahtevno lokalno povpraševanje pospešujeta inovacije in podjetja pripravita za svetovne trge. Veliko podjetij, ki so blizu skupaj, velik delež malih in mikro podjetij, goste socialne in gospodarske mreže, kombinacija tekmovalnosti in sodelovanja med podjetji, hitro in večinoma neformalno širjenje informacij in zamisli,

prilagodljivost in prožnost so bili prepoznani kot glavne značilnosti industrijskih grozdov (Dawkins, 2003; Lundmark in Petterson, 2012; Piperopolous, 2012; Swords, 2013). Čeprav so o industrijskih grozdih teoretično razpravljali številni avtorji, je pojem širši javnosti predstavil Michael Porter v knjigi *The competitive advantage of nations* (1990). Ime tega ameriškega poslovnega ekonomista s harvardske poslovne šole je bilo znano tudi na Hokaidu in Silicijska dolina je bila kot primer uspešnega industrijskega grozdenja znana po vsem svetu. Jon Swords (2013) je napisal zanimiv članek, v katerem pojasnjuje priljubljenost Porterjevih zamisli med oblikovalci politik, opisuje vlogo strokovnjakov za regionalni razvoj pri širjenju teh zamisli in opozori na legitimnost, ki so jo grozdi dosegli, ko so bili na primer vključeni v politiko Organizacije za gospodarsko sodelovanje in razvoj ali Evropske unije. Kljub vsemu novosti v razpravi o regionalnem razvoju niso bile niti uvožene iz ZDA niti jih niso vsilile mednarodne organizacije. Pobude na Hokaidu so namreč temeljile na izkušnjah nordijskih držav.

Čeprav obstaja jasna časovna povezava med dogodki na Hokaidu in vsedržavnim premikom od politike tehnoloških parkov, ki jo je v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja izvajalo ministrstvo za trgovino in industrijo, do bolj lokalno obarvane politike grozdov konec devetdesetih let 20. stoletja (Kitagava, 2008), se pobude po vzpostavitvi grozdov na Hokaidu opisujejo kot presenetljiv primer razvoja od spodaj navzgor. Te pobude so se pojavile predvsem na podlagi dejavnosti lokalnih interesnih skupin in vplivnih posameznikov, ob tem so k njim prispevali še nacionalni politični instrumenti, na primer osnovni zakon o znanosti in tehnologiji iz leta 1955 ter več zaporednih osnovnih načrtov za razvoj znanosti in tehnologije. Pri tem sta imela pomembno vlogo podjetje Hokkaido Electric Power Company (HEPCO) in njegov direktor Kazuo Toda, ki je bil tudi predsednik hokaidskega gospodarskega združenja. Toda je poosebljal različne pobude industrijskih grozdov na Hokaidu, zaradi česar so postale močno odvisne od njegove prisotnosti in podpore (Mäki, 1997; Iguči, 1998; Koiso, 2016). Ob tem ne smemo pozabiti na pripravljenost HDA, da se uči iz izkušenj regionalnih razvojnih politik v drugih državah. Leta 1993 je hokaidaska razvojna agencija organizirala konferenco, na kateri je bila posebna pozornost namenjena razvoju Škotske. Naslednja konferenca, organizirana leta 1995, pa se je osredotočala na Švedsko. Opravljene raziskave so poleg tega upoštevale tudi regionalni razvoj in industrijsko politiko na Finskem, kar je bila posledica zanimanja hokaidске poslovne skupnosti za strategije finskih industrijskih grozdov (Koiso, 1995; Koiso in Jamazaki, 2007).

Območje v okolici mesta Oulu v osrednjem delu Finske se je kmalu izkazalo za referenčni primer, ki ga je vredno proučevati. V prvi polovici devetdesetih let 20. stoletja so predstavniki podjetja HEPCO obiskali različne lokacije v tej regiji,

predstavniki mesta in regionalnih akterjev pa so Hokaido prvič obiskali februarja 1995. Za fenomen Ouluja se niso zanimali samo hokaidski akterji, ampak je tedaj vzbudil zanimanje vsega sveta. Zanj je bila značilna izjemna rast na področju informacijske in komunikacijske tehnologije (IKT). Razvoj Ouluja v eno največjih raziskovalnih in razvojnih središč s področja brezžičnih telekomunikacij na svetu se je začel v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Glavno gonilo razvoja je bila Nokia, ki je svoje mobilne in brezžične komunikacijske proizvode začela razvijati proti koncu desetletja (Oinas-Kukkonen idr., 2009; Arokylä, 2012; Salo, 2014; Simonen idr., 2016).

Čeprav je bil glavni predmet zanimanja v tej regiji grozd podjetij IKT – in še zlasti Technopolis (prvi tehnološki park v nordijskih državah, ustanovljen leta 1982) –, so na začetku in sredi devetdesetih let 20. stoletja pozornost vzbujali tudi tamkajšnji sistemi za daljinsko ogrevanje. Poleg tega Toda omenja tudi finski gozdarski grozd kot zgodnji model za oblikovanje industrijskih grozdov na Hokaidu (Mäki, 1997; Koiso, 1999). Poudarjena vloga IKT izraža področje zanimanja obiskovalcev in naravo razvoja, ki je potekal v Ouluju. Technopolis so ustanovili mestna občina Oulu, univerza v Ouluju, nacionalna fundacija za financiranje razvoja in osemindvajset zasebnih podjetij iz najrazličnejših industrijskih panog (papirne in kovinske industrije, gradbeništva, energetike, razvoja infrastrukture in medijske industrije). Samo eno podjetje med njimi se je ukvarjalo s telekomunikacijami. Opisana široka paleta vključenih panog se je kmalu zožila in glavno gonilo napredka je postal hiter razvoj brezžičnih mobilnih tehnologij (Simonen idr., 2016).

Odnosi med Hokaidom in nordijskimi državami so se po letu 1996 še okrepili in predstavniki podjetja HEPCO in drugih podjetij, HDA, prefekture Hokaido in raznih občin, lokalnih univerz in časopisov so drli v Oulu, ki so ga opisovali kot Silicijevo dolino severa Evrope (Koizumi, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c; Jasunaga, 1997a, 1997b; Kawasaki, 1997, 1998; Jamagoši, 1999). Na podlagi tega sta na Hokaidu nastali dve vrsti pobud. Poleg raznih programov, ki so se izvajali na glavnih mestnih območjih, se je načelo industrijskih grozdov in lokalnega sodelovanja začelo prenašati v prakso tudi v podeželskih ali bolj oddaljenih skupnostih. Leta 2000 (tj. eno leto, preden je ministrstvo za gospodarstvo, trgovino in industrijo v okviru strategije spodbujanja grozdov začelo izvajati program industrijskih grozdov) je bilo po več krajih na Hokaidu že ustanovljenih dvajset regionalnih organizacij za proučevanje in spodbujanje industrijskih grozdov. Delovanje teh organizacij je bilo pogosto usmerjeno v doseganje večje učinkovitosti pri izdelavi in trženju izdelkov, pri proizvodnji katerih so se uporabljali lokalni naravni viri in proizvodi primarnega sektorja (Koiso, 1999; Ohaši, 2000). Tovrstni podeželski ali nemetropolitanski pristop h grozdom bi lahko opisali kot posebnost pobud na

Hokaidu, saj sta se teorija in politika industrijskih grozdov običajno osredotočali na mestna območja in nove industrije (na primer na Švedskem; Lundmark in Petterson, 2012). Ključno vlogo pri vsem tem so imela tudi visokotehnološka podjetja, ki naj bi imela korist od tesnejšega sodelovanja med znanostjo, industrijo in vlado.

Prve pobude za razvoj tehnoloških parkov na Hokaidu dejansko segajo v obdobje pred koncem devetdesetih let 20. stoletja; regionalne in mestne politike, ki so izražale državne smeri razvoja, ki so dajale prednost spodbujanju in zgoščanju visokotehnoloških in na znanju temelječih podjetij na obrobni območjih, so se namreč pojavile že v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja (Jamada, 2004; Kitagava, 2008). Razprave o industrijskih grozdih so občutno okrepile zanimanje za regionalni razvoj, ki se osredotoča na IKT, in ta razvoj je nato dobil institucionalno obliko v raznih organizacijah in strategijah. Judži Ohaši (2000) je analiziral dejavnosti za oblikovanje grozdov na Hokaidu in njihov začetek povezal z ustanovitvijo hokaidске raziskovalne skupine za oblikovanje industrijskih grozdov leta 1996. Kot je razvidno iz preglednice 1, je ustanovitvi te skupine sledila objava akcijskega načrta, ki je določal smer in cilje delovanja ter utrl pot ustanovitvi posebne enote za izvedbo načrta (tj. oddelka za izvedbo projekta industrijskih grozdov) v okviru regionalnega centra za spodbujanje tehnološkega razvoja (ang. *Hokkaido Technology Advancement Centre*, v nadaljevanju: HOKTAC).

Spodbujanje sodelovanja med gospodarstvom, znanostjo in vlado se je še okrepilo z ustanovitvijo odbora za spodbujanje raziskovalnih in poslovnih parkov pri univerzi na Hokaidu leta 2003. Raziskave grozda IKT v Ouluju so nazadnje privedle do organizacije skupne konference v Saporu marca 2004 in Ouluju septembra 2005. Konferenca v Saporu se je osredotočala na regionalno sodelovanje za gospodarski razvoj, ki temelji na tehnologiji. Govorci so prihajali iz najrazličnejših ustanov (na primer univerze na Hokaidu, mestne občine Saporu, hokaidске lokalne uprave, japonske agencije za znanost in tehnologijo, hokaidskega inštituta za industrijske raziskave, centra NOASTEC in hokaidskega gospodarskega združenja), kar jasno kaže na naravo akterjev, vključenih v pobude za oblikovanje grozdov IKT na Hokaidu.^[3] Razlog, da med govorci na konferenci ni bilo tudi predstavnikov agencije HDA, je ta, da je bila agencija januarja 2001 priključena ministrstvu za zemljišča, infrastrukturo, promet in turizem.

Iz vsebine šestega hokaidskega celovitega razvojnega načrta (1998–2007) je razvidna institucionalizacija industrijskih grozdov v vladno odobreni politiki. Kot ena izmed metod doseganja splošnih ciljev načrta je predstavljen projekt za oblikovanje industrijskih grozdov na Hokaidu, ki vključuje obe

Preglednica 1: Glavne ustanove in instrumenti, ki so podpirali oblikovanje industrijskih grozdov na Hokaidu

junij 1986	HOKTAC
julij 1993	hokaidaska fundacija za spodbujanje znanosti, industrije in tehnologije
februar 1996	regionalna raziskovalna skupina za industrijsko politiko (ustanovljena februarja 1995), ki se je pozneje preimenovala v hokaidasko raziskovalno skupino za oblikovanje industrijskih grozdov
avgust 1996	vizija samozadostnega gospodarstva na Hokaidu, ki jo je razvila hokaidaska raziskovalna skupina za oblikovanje industrijskih grozdov
1996	visokotehnoški raziskovalni center univerze na Hokaidu
maj 1997	oblikovanje industrijskih grozdov na Hokaidu (vmesno poročilo)
december 1997	akcijski načrt za oblikovanje industrijskih grozdov na Hokaidu
april 1998	oddelek za izvedbo projekta industrijskih grozdov pri centru HOKTAC
februar 2000	hokaidaski center za sodelovanje med industrijo, znanostjo in vlado pri univerzi na Hokaidu
julij 2001	HOKTAC in hokaidaska fundacija za spodbujanje znanosti, industrije in tehnologije se združita v severni center za spodbujanje znanosti in tehnologije (ang. Northern Advancement Centre for Science and Technology, v nadaljevanju: NOASTEC)
2002	ustanovitev ustvarjalne raziskovalne pobude Sousei
april 2003	odbor za spodbujanje raziskovalnih in poslovnih parkov pri univerzi na Hokaidu
april 2007	preselitev sekretariata odbora za spodbujanje raziskovalnih in poslovnih parkov pri univerzi na Hokaidu iz hokaidskega gospodarskega združenja v center NOASTEC

Vir: Ohaši (2000), internet 1, internet 2

zgoraj omenjeni vrsti pobud za oblikovanje grozdov. Tako so omenjeni grozdi, ki povezujejo lokalni primarni sektor in industrijo na podeželskih območjih Hokaida, hkrati pa je poudarjeno tudi sodelovanje med univerzami in zasebnimi podjetji, povezanimi z razvojem IKT v osrednjem delu Hokaida. Projektom za oblikovanje grozdov na Hokaidu so bila dodeljena tudi precejšnja finančna sredstva iz državnih programov za spodbujanje industrijskih grozdov in grozdov, ki temeljijo na znanju, ki sta jih izvajali ministrstvo za gospodarstvo, trgovino in industrijo ter ministrstvo za izobraževanje, kulturo, šport, znanost in tehnologijo (Woolgar, 2008). Sedmi celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida, ki velja od leta 2008, pa kaže na postopen upad zanimanja za industrijske grozde. Ta pojem je v njem omenjen samo dvakrat in še to le v povezavi z dosežki prejšnjega načrta (Hokkaido Development Agency, 1998; Ministrstvo za zemljišča, infrastrukturo, promet in turizem, 2008). Čeprav lahko te spremembe pojasnimo s čedalje manjšim vplivom Kazua Tode, je treba poudariti tudi, da so politike grozdov tudi drugje po svetu vrhunec dosegle sredi prvega desetletja 21. stoletja (Swords, 2013).

6 Sklep

Ob razmišljanju, kakšno sporočilo bi lahko predstavljena raziskava dala trenutnim oblikovalcem politik, je treba najprej omeniti, da ne razkriva nobenih institucionalnih ali kulturnih filtrov, zaradi katerih japonski oblikovalci politik v preteklosti ne bi uporabili informacij ali izkušenj iz tujine. V nasprotju z lastnostmi, ki sta jih Dolowitz in Dale Medearis (2009) opazila

pri ameriških oblikovalcih politik na začetku 21. stoletja, je za njihove japonske kolege v celotnem povojnem obdobju značilna pripravljenost prevzemanja tujih modelov. Pri tem je treba poudariti, da ta pripravljenost ni izjema, saj je bilo že v številnih predhodnih raziskavah ugotovljeno, da akterji, vključeni v regionalni razvoj, v različnih delih sveta pogosto oblikujejo podobne razvojne strategije (Barca idr., 2012). Čeprav lahko upamo, da se bo tovrstni odprt pristop nadaljeval, se je dobro spomniti na opozorilo Linde Lundmark in Örijana Pettersona (2012), da je pomembno upoštevati primere, primerne za razvoj redko poseljenih območij.

Raziskava ob tem opozarja na veliko raznolikost akterjev, vključenih v procese prenosa politik. Na podlagi treh primerov iz različnih desetletij po drugi svetovni vojni lahko ugotovimo, da so v teh procesih poleg politikov in uradnikov (na nacionalni in regionalni ravni) sodelovali tudi predstavniki različnih interesnih skupin in strokovnjaki. Predstavljena raziskava bi lahko torej trenutne akterje spodbudila k temu, da izrazijo svoja mnenja glede aktualnih vprašanj ali na politični dnevni red uvrstijo nove teme.

Čeprav najbolj optimistične pobude za ustanovitev industrijskih grozdov niso bile uresničene, lahko devetdeseta leta 20. stoletja in začetek 21. stoletja opišemo kot obdobje uspešnih političnih pobud od spodaj navzgor. Grozdi so bili vključeni v politične programe, vendar jih je bilo v praksi težko izvesti, kar so pokazale tudi druge študije primerov (Bresnahan in Gambardella, 2005; Jamamoto, 2017).

Preglednica 2: Vključitev mednarodnih razvojnih strategij v razvojno politiko Hokaida

Razvojna strategija (časovno obdobje)	TVA (konec 40. in začetek 50. let 20. stoletja)	Poli rasti (60. in 70. leta 20. stoletja)	Grozdi (90. leta 20. stoletja in začetek 21. stoletja)
vir ali prvoten kraj nastanka	ZDA, TVA, David E. Lilienthal	celoviti nacionalni razvojni načrt	območje okoli Ouluja, nordijske države
nacionalni kontekst	okupacija zavezniških sil, povojna obnova	začetki celovitega nacionalnega načrtovanja	odmik od politike tehnoloških parkov, pok gospodarskega balona
kontekst Hokaida	obnova, prvi celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida	drugi in tretji celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida	zaskrbljenost glede financiranja razvojnih projektov, bankroti
lokalni zagovorniki novih razvojnih strategij	guverner Tošifumi Tanaka (predstavnik politične levice)	–	Kazuo Toda (HEPCO, hokaidsko gospodarsko združenje)
kratkoročne posledice	priznanje v javnosti; model ni vključen v prvi celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida, ampak temu podobne infrastrukturne projekte	teorija polov rasti je vključena v celovite razvojne načrte Hokaida	organizacijski razvoj; grozdi so vključeni v šesti celoviti razvojni načrt Hokaida

Neposredna vključenost tujih akterjev pri oblikovanju politike je bila močno omejena; izjema je bilo obdobje ob koncu štiridesetih let in na začetku petdesetih let 20. stoletja, ko je bila Japonska še vedno pod tujo okupacijo. Kljub temu vse tisto, kar je bilo preneseno na Japonsko v povezavi z modelom podjetja TVA, ni bilo del prisiljenega prenosa pod pritiskom tujih okupatorjev.

Avtor v raziskavi predstavi nove empirične dokaze, ki podpirajo domnevo, da se prenosi politik (naj gre samo za poskuse ali uspešno izvedene prenose) ne razlikujejo od drugih procesov oblikovanja politik in pogosto temeljijo na pomanjkljivih ali napačnih informacijah. Avtorji teoretičnih virov poudarjajo, da pri prenosu politik ne gre za proces, pri katerem je preneseno vse ali nič. Stopnja prenosa lahko sega vse od kopiranja in posnemanja do mešanja več politik ali navdiha, pri katerem lahko neka politika preprosto vpliva na spremembe brez upoštevanja vsebine izvirne politike. Poleg tega se je izkazalo, da so lahko različni akterji naklonjeni različnim stopnjam prenosa (Dolowitz in Marsh, 2000). Raziskava, predstavljena v tem članku, ne podpira domnev, da politiki s posnemanjem iščejo hitro rešitev, uradnike pa bolj zanima mešanica več pristopov. Čeprav je bilo podjetje TVA za svoje najbolj zagrete zagovornike idealen model, ki bi ga bilo treba posnemati do najmanjše podrobnosti, se njihovi upi niso uresničili. Pri vseh analiziranih procesih se je namreč izkazalo, da sta imeli veliko vlogo razlaga izvirnega modela in njegova prilagoditev lokalnih razmeram.

Iz preglednice 2 je razvidna pestrost virov, iz katerih se akterji vključeni v prenose politik, lahko učijo. V primeru podjetja TVA je bil model politike prevzet neposredno iz izvirnega kraja njegovega nastanka, pri čemer so razprave na vseh ravneh upoštevale tuj izvor modela. Pri vključevanju strategije polov rasti v razvojni program Hokaida je šlo za povsem drug proces, ki se je osredotočal na regionalizacijo nacionalnega modela

politike, ki je bil slučajno prav tako tujega izvora. V primeru industrijskih grozdov je model sicer izviral drugje, a so se ustrezni ukrepi dejansko začeli oblikovati šele, ko so pobudo za to prevzeli lokalni akterji, ki so želeli določeno obrobno regijo, ki je dobro ponazarjala značilne razmere na Hokaidu, uporabiti kot merilo uspešnosti vseh drugih regij.

Povojni razvoj Hokaida nas ne nazadnje opominja na to, da moramo biti previdni pri označevanju držav ali regij kot dajalk ali jemalk. Čeprav so bile nekatere prvine razvojne politike Hokaida prevzete iz različnih virov (ki so si zamisli pogosto izposodili drugje), se je ta politika uporabljala tudi kot model za druge regije. Sredi osemdesetih let 20. stoletja so primer Hokaida proučevali pri ponovnem presojanju in določanju razvojnih politik v južni Italiji, razvojna politika Hokaida pa je bila uporabljena tudi kot model za japonsko politiko zagotavljanja razvojne pomoči (Koiso, 2005; Koiso in Jamazaki, 2007).

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Opombe

[1] LDS je bila vladajoča stranka od leta 1955 do leta 1993, ko je izgubila večino v parlamentu, vlado pa je sestavila koalicija strank, ki so bile prej v opoziciji. LDS se je na oblast vrnila leta 1994, leta 1996 pa je znova zasedla tudi premierski stolček. Med letoma 2009 in 2012 je bila v opoziciji.

[2] Sistem iz Bretton Woodsa je temeljil na fiksni vrednosti ameriškega dolarja v primerjavi z zlato in na fiksni menjalnih tečajih. Po ukinitvi konvertibilnosti dolarja v zlato leta 1971 je sistem postopno razpadel, zaradi česar se je do marca 1973 vzpostavil sistem plavajočih valut.

[3] Programe teh konferenc hrani arhiv univerze v Ouluju: *Oulun yliopiston rehtorin arkisto. Kansainväliset yhteydet – Japani, Kiina, Korea 1993–2014. Hi: 10.*

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Vplivi in posledice prostorske segregacije Romov na mestnih območjih – madžarske študije primera

Avtorji v članku proučujejo prostorsko segregacijo in njene značilnosti v srednje velikih in majhnih mestih v madžarski statistični regiji Južna velika nižina, pri čemer predstavijo glavne značilnosti in gonilne sile segregacije, ki so povezane s postkomunističnim razvojem mest. Sprašujejo se predvsem o tem, kako so segregacijski procesi povezani z etničnimi vprašanji in bivalnimi razmerami ter kaj lahko za rešitev tega problema stori lokalna oblast. Končna ugotovitev je, da je prostorska segregacija v madžarskih kmetijskih mestih pogost pojav. V nekaterih

pogledih so tovrstni procesi podobni tistim v Zahodni Evropi in ZDA, vendar se od njih tudi razlikujejo. Izsledki raziskave opozarjajo na pomembnost kompleksnega razmišljanja o družbenem vključevanju, lokalnem načrtovanju in učinkovitejši dodelitvi finančnih sredstev.

Ključne besede: prostorska segregacija, majhna in srednje velika mesta v postkomunističnih državah, romska etnična manjšina, razvoj mest

1 Uvod

Segregacija je dobro raziskan in splošno znan družbeni pojav, ki lahko vključuje različne družbene skupine na podlagi rase, etnične pripadnosti, veroizpovedi ali spolne identitete ter ima najrazličnejše oblike – od izobraževalne, poklicne do prostorske (glej na primer White, 1983; Massey in Denton, 1993; Clark in Ware, 1997; Marcuse, 1997; Bjorvatn in Cappelen, 2001; Charles, 2003; Musterd, 2003; Zhang, 2006; Logan in Stults, 2011). Avtorji se v članku osredotočajo na značilnosti prostorske ali geografske segregacije v majhnih in srednje velikih mestih v madžarski statistični regiji Velika južna nižina. V večjih mestih v ZDA in Zahodni Evropi je prostorska segregacija (ang. *residential segregation*) običajno dobro raziskana in dokumentirana, veliko manj pa je znanega o značilnostih tega procesa v postkomunističnih državah in zlasti mestih z manj kot 200.000 prebivalci (glej na primer Gentile, 2004; Gyenizse idr. 2016). Prostorska segregacija je bil ključni pojav v zgodovinskem razvoju proučevanih naselij, izsledki te raziskave pa kažejo, da je v mestnem življenju še vedno prisotna. Čeprav ni tako opazna kot v večjih mestih (podobno kot pri mestni in podeželski revščini), gre za pomemben problem, ki ga je treba rešiti, če želimo zagotoviti trajnostno prihodnost.

Vključitev vzhodnoevropskih postkomunističnih držav v Evropsko unijo je prinesla številne prednosti z vidika nadaljnjega izvajanja raznih razvojnih politik. Med njimi je tudi urbanistična politika, pri kateri so morali strokovnjaki opustiti tehnični pristop, ki je prevladoval v obdobju državnega socializma, in v načrtovalsko prakso vključiti nove vidike in metode. Tako so socialni problemi in konflikti ter njihovi vplivi na rabo mestnega prostora začeli pritegovati več pozornosti. V prejšnjem in sedanjem načrtovalskem obdobju EU so morala mesta pripraviti t. i. strategijo celostnega razvoja mest, ki je bila nujen pogoj za pridobitev subvencij EU. Eden izmed obveznih delov tega strateškega razvojnega dokumenta je tudi protisegregacijski načrt poselitve. Zahteve za izdelavo tega načrta temeljijo na zakonodaji in priporočilih EU ter se tematsko osredotočajo na prostorsko segregacijo, pri čemer uporabljajo skupno metodologijo za zamejevanje in opis segregiranih območij. Prej so morali tovrstne načrte izdelovati samo sedeži županij in druga mesta s pravicami županije, v pripravah na programsko obdobje 2014–2020 pa je madžarska vlada to obveznost razširila tudi na središča mikroregij. To omogoča celostno analizo prostorske segregacije v majhnih in srednje velikih madžarskih mestih. Avtorji so za podrobnejšo raziskavo izbrali mesta v statistični regiji Južna velika nižina in mesto Kecskemet, saj so to območje že prej proučevali, sodelovali pa so tudi pri izdelavi nekaterih regionalnih in mestnih strateških in načrtovalskih dokumentov in projektov – na primer pri strategiji celostnega razvoja mesta Kecskemet iz leta 2008 in njenih sprememb iz

leta 2013, protisegregacijskem načrtu za mesto Kecskemet iz leta 2008 in njegovih spremembah iz let 2013 in 2017, pri projektih Innoaxis HU-SRB IPA in Lolamar HU-SRB IPA, razvojnem konceptu županije Bacs-Kiskun iz leta 2013, programu kompleksnih raziskav podeželja na podlagi sodelovanja med madžarsko akademijo znanosti in madžarsko nacionalno mrežo za podeželje za obdobje 2012–2013, strategiji razvoja raztresenih kmetij v mikroregiji Kecskemet iz leta 2013 in pre-soji trga dela v županiji Bacs-Kiskun iz leta 2017.

Avtorji se ukvarjajo z naslednjimi raziskovalnimi vprašanji:

- Kako pogosta je prostorska segregacija v majhnih in srednje velikih mestih v statistični regiji Velika južna nižina in kje v teh mestih so prostorsko segregirana območja?
- Katere so glavne značilnosti in gonilne sile prostorske segregacije? Lahko določimo katere koli edinstvene poteze, ki so povezane s postkomunističnim urbanim razvojem srednje velikih mest?
- Kako so ti procesi povezani z etničnimi vprašanji in bivalnimi razmerami?
- Kaj lahko lokalna uprava stori za rešitev tega problema?

2 Teoretično ozadje

V splošnem se prostorska segregacija nanaša na to, v kakšni meri dve skupini ali več živijo ločeno druga od druge v različnih delih mestnega okolja (Massey in Denton, 1988: 282). Na različnih ravneh pestre realnosti gre pri segregaciji (skupaj s polarizacijo in izključevanjem) za izredno raznolik proces, njegove posledice pa imajo najrazličnejše prostorske oblike (Park idr. 1925; Burgess, 1928; Duncan in Duncan, 1955a, 1955b; Glazer in Moynihan, 1963; Lieberman, 1963; Taeuber in Taeuber, 1965; Morgan in Norbury, 1981; Hamnett, 2005, 2010). Kot lahko povzamemo iz dela *Residential segregation in comparative perspective: Making sense of contextual diversity*, je prostorska segregacija večdimenzionalen družbeni pojav, tesno povezan s prostorsko ločenostjo družbenih skupin v naselju ter razlikami v socialnih in naravnih razmerah med različnimi predeli in soseskami (Maloutas in Fujita, 2012).

Prostorska ali družbeno-prostorska segregacija je običajno posledica različnih dejavnikov. Ti dejavniki so lahko splošni (na primer gospodarske spremembe) ali lokalni (na primer razvoj urbanih območij in infrastrukture), drugi avtorji pa trdijo, da je najmočnejši tovrstni dejavnik rasna ali etnična razdeljenost družbe (Musterd in Ostendorf, 1998; Márquez, 2011; Bolt idr. 2012; Lloyd idr. 2014; Sabater in Finney, 2014). Poleg tega je prostorska segregacija močno povezana z dohodkovno neenakostjo med družbenimi ali med etničnimi skupinami, kar se po mnenju številnih avtorjev kaže tudi v značilnostih grajenega okolja (Schelling, 1971, 1978; Charles, 2001; Logan idr. 2004;

Watson, 2006; Spielman in Harrison, 2013; Anthopolos idr. 2014; Bellman, 2014). Avtorji v tem članku podrobneje proučujejo ta pojav. Premožnejše skupine v posameznih lokalnih skupnostih se poskušajo kar se da ločiti od socialno ogroženih skupin prebivalstva, kar samo še slabša razmere in krepi prostorske razlike v mestu.

Avtorji se strinjajo s hipotezo, da je prostorska segregacija globalni konstrukt in da imajo družbene razlike v ZDA, Zahodni Evropi in postkomunističnih državah podobno prostorsko obliko (Massey in Denton, 1988). Družbena neenakost in njena prostorska posledica – prostorska segregacija (razlikovanje) – obstajata v vseh naprednih družbah (Vaattovaara, 2002: 108). Po mnenju avtorjev lahko zato konflikte in procese z začetka 20. stoletja, obravnavane v mednarodni literaturi, prenesemo tudi na sedanje razmere (Duncan in Duncan, 1957; Howell in Timberlake, 2014). Študije primera, predstavljene v tej literaturi, so zelo podobne nedavnim segregacijskim procesom v vzhodnoevropskih mestih, tako z vidika socialnih konfliktov kot prostorskih vzorcev (Kovacs, 2012). Primeri rasne segregacije, ki jo v ZDA proučujejo od začetka 20. stoletja, so zelo podobni pojavu getov v vzhodnoevropskih mestih (Farley idr., 1997). Na Madžarskem se danes to nanaša na dobršen del romskih prebivalcev, ki živijo v slabih razmerah in na prostorsko segregiranih mestnih območjih. Vse to odpira staro vprašanje, ali obstajajo splošne gonilne sile prostorske segregacije ali pa lokalne razmere določajo razlike med posameznimi mestnimi območji. Rezultati raziskave, predstavljene v tem članku, dajejo dodatne informacije, na podlagi katerih lahko lažje odgovorimo na to vprašanje.

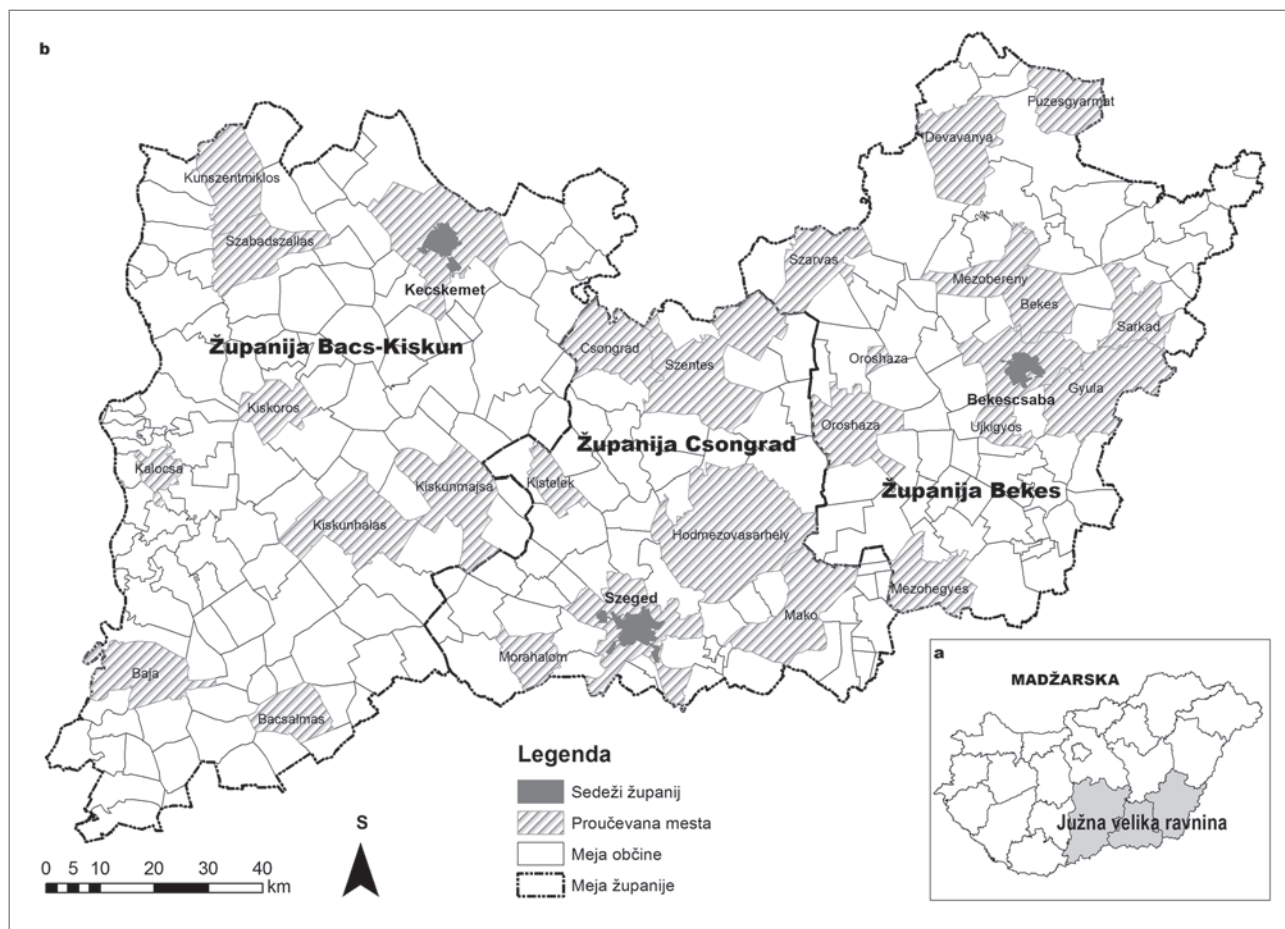
3 Zgodovinski temelji prostorske segregacije v madžarskih mestih

Čeprav prostorska segregacija na Madžarskem ni povezana samo s položajem romskega prebivalstva, so najbolj pereči problemi, ki se danes pojavljajo na tem področju, običajno povezani prav z Romi. Zato se tudi ta kratki zgodovinski pregled v glavnem osredotoča na njihov položaj v zadnjih stoletjih. Pred letom 1848 je bila v fevdalni Madžarski pogosta prostorska segregacija na podlagi pravnega položaja naselja (plemiške ali kmečke vasi), veroizpovedi (židovske četrti) in etnične pripadnosti (nemška ali slovaška mesta in vasi). Po koncu turške vladavine, ki se je končala okoli leta 1700, so se prej nomadski Romi postopno ustalili na Madžarskem in našli svoj prostor v opisanem sistemu. Med vladavino Marije Terezije (1740–1780) je bil ta proces naseljevanja še pospešen in prepovedana je bila prostorska segregacija romskih prebivalcev. Kljub temu so v tem obdobju nastala prva romska naselja (Csalog, 1984), in sicer na območjih, manj ugodnih za gradnjo (na primer na območjih, ki so jih ogrožale poplave ali narasla podtalnica, ter v

bližini odlagališč odpadkov ali pokopališč) (Kallai in Törzsök, 2006). Ulična imena v teh naseljih še vedno kažejo zgodovinsko funkcijo teh lokacij. Na začetku 20. stoletja je 90 % Romov živelo na prostorsko segregiranih območjih, hkrati pa se je slabšal tudi njihov položaj na trgu dela. Nekateri poklici, v katerih so bili Romi tradicionalno zaposleni, so hitro izgubljali pomen (Csalog, 1984). Zaradi obsežnega prestrukturiranja trga dela in svetovne gospodarske krize med obema svetovnima vojnoma je bil velik del madžarskih prebivalcev potisnjen na dno družbene lestvice in prisiljen živeti v soseskah, ki so bile podobne romskim. Poleg teh so na Madžarskem obstajale še druge oblike prostorske segregacije, na primer bivališča kajzarjev ali bivališča, izklesana v skalo, v regiji Bükkalja (Illyes, 1936; Szabo, 1937). V teh bivališčih so najprej živeli revni kmetje, pozneje pa so se vanje naselili Romi (Kemény, 2000).

Po drugi svetovni vojni so se v novem komunističnem režimu bivalne razmere socialno najbolj ogroženih skupin izboljšale in družbene neenakosti so se zmanjšale. Prisilna stalinistična industrializacija je (kljub vsem njenim nepravilnostim) omogočila zaposlitev delovni sili, ki je zapuščala primarni sektor, in v ta proces ji je uspelo vključiti tudi Rome. Romski moški so v tem obdobju celo dosegli idealistični komunistični cilj redne zaposlitve (Csalog, 1984). V nasprotju z vključevanjem na trg dela je odprava prostorske segregacije potekala zelo počasi, kar je bilo delno povezano s hitrim širjenjem mest, zaradi katerega slumi na obrobju mest prostorsko niso bili več tako izolirani od preostalega mestnega območja. Centralno načrtovana odstranitev romskih sosesk in naselij je bila izvedena veliko pozneje, in sicer šele leta 1961, ko je madžarska socialistična delavska stranka sprejela sklep, ki je pomenil prelomnico v tem procesu (Kocsis in Kovacs, 1999). Načrtovalske dejavnosti so vključevale odstranitev številnih naselij, ki so obstajala več stoletij, in zaradi teh ukrepov so se bivalne razmere romskih prebivalcev vsaj delno izboljšale. Osnovnih ciljev programa, kot sta odprava prostorske segregacije in zmanjšanje razlik v bivalnih razmerah, pa kljub temu ni bilo mogoče doseči, in sicer zato, ker:

- so se nekatere romske soseske izognile rušenju, vendar so bile zaradi centralno načrtovane politike razselitve Romov izključene iz gradnje najosnovnejše infrastrukture;
- nekatere lokalne oblasti niso upoštevale uredbe o razpršeni ponovni naselitvi Romov in so jih pogosto preselile na geografsko podobno neugodna območja kot prej. Na teh območjih so bili zgrajeni zaprti urbani bloki s stavbami nižje kakovosti ali hišami z oznako Cs (začetni črki madžarske besede *csökkentett* 'nižje vrednosti'), ki niso pripomogle k zmanjšanju razlik v bivalnih razmerah romskega in večinskega madžarskega prebivalstva. Ulica Piste Danká (madž. *Danko Pista utca*), poimenovana po znanem madžarskem romskem skladatelju, danes ohranja spomin na te dogodke v madžarskih



Slika 1: (a) geografska lega proučevanega območja na Madžarskem; (b) proučevana mesta (avtor: Jenő Zsolt Farkas)

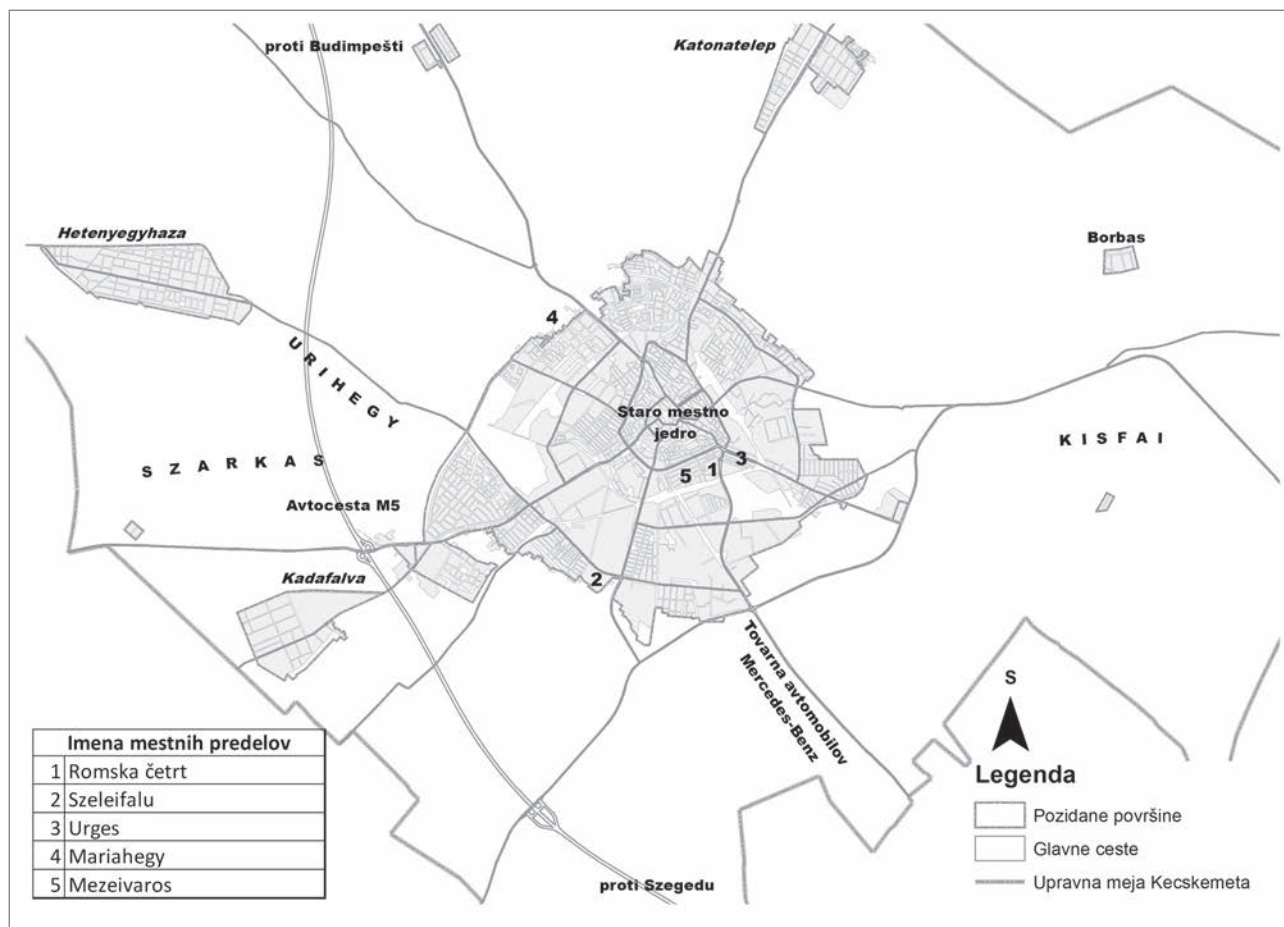
naselijh (Csalog, 1984);

- so se v nekaterih primerih razseljeni posamezniki znašli v še slabših razmerah kot prej, saj so nov dom dobili na kmetijah, ki so svojo funkcijo izgubile zaradi kolektivizacije.

Poleg novih zaprtih urbanih blokov s hišami z oznako Cs so prostorsko segregacijo, ki se je zdaj samo premaknila na druga območja, pospeševali tudi drugi dejavniki, vključno s pogoji za pridobitev posojila za nakup hiše. Najvišji možni znesek posojila je običajno zadoščal samo za nakup nepremičnin v težko dostopnih majhnih vaseh, v katerih je število prebivalcev upadalo. Posledično se je začela sestava prebivalstva v teh naseljih hitro spreminjati. V naseljih, kjer so imeli večjo moč lobiranja, so z razseljevanjem svojih romskih prebivalcev v te vasi ta proces še okrepili (Havas, 1999). Zaradi te prakse so v več naseljih, zlasti v regijah Cserhat in Ormansag, zdaj prevladovali Romi (Ladanyi in Szelenyi, 2004). Podoben proces je povzročil prostorsko zgoščanje prebivalcev z nizkim socialno-ekonomskim položajem v nekdanjih kmetijskih mestih v statistični regiji Južna velika nižina, kjer so raztresena in težko dostopna kmetijska območja postala glavni cilj priseljevanja

družbeno izključenih ljudi (Romany, 1973; Csalog, 1984; Vasarus, 2016).

Nekateri procesi, značilni za komunistično obdobje, so se nadaljevali tudi po političnih in gospodarskih spremembah, zaradi manj strogo nadzorovane mobilnosti pa so se pojavile tudi nove smeri razvoja. Zaradi sprememb prebivalstva skozi čas in selektivnih selitev med zaželenimi ali nezaželenimi območji v naseljih se je prostorska segregacija znova okrepila. Lokalni prebivalci z višjimi dohodki so se preselili v predmestja, revnejši prebivalci pa večinoma v vasi zunaj aglomeracij, kar je okrepilo prostorsko ločenost teh družbenih skupin. Zaradi nenehnega večanja deleža romskih prebivalcev v teh vaseh se je izoblikovala nova vrsta segregacije na Madžarskem, pri kateri je bilo prebivalstvo posameznih mikroregij skoraj v celoti sestavljeno iz pripadnikov socialno ogroženih skupin (Virag, 2010). Ti ljudje so bili izključeni s trga dela in mnogi so izgubili svoje življenjske ambicije. Janos Ladanyi in Ivan Szelenyi (2004) zato ta proces opisujeta kot rojstvo socialno zapostavljenega sloja na podeželju. Izsledki terenske raziskave, ki sta jo opravila Istvan Kemeny in Bela Janky (2004), kažejo, da je leta 2003 72 % romskih družin živelo na prostorsko segregiranih območjih.



Slika 2: Proučevano območje Kecskemeta z zemljepisnimi imeni, ki se pojavljajo v raziskavi (avtorja: Jenő Zsolt Farkas in Andras Donat Kovacs)

Podobno je pokazala tudi nacionalna raziskava, opravljena leta 2010. V 823 proučevanih naseljih in desetih metropolitanskih okrožjih Budimpešte je bilo odkritih 1.623 prostorsko segregiranih območij, na katerih so živeli ljudje z nizkim socialno-ekonomskim položajem ali Romi (Domokos in Herczeg, 2010). Opisane nedavne raziskave in druge študije kažejo, da je proces vključevanja, ki se je začel v obdobju državnega socializma, zdaj na Madžarskem prekinjen in da problem prostorske segregacije po političnih spremembah spet postaja bolj pereč.

4 Metodološko ozadje

4.1 Proučevano območje

Madžarska statistična regija Južna velika nižina leži na jugovzhodu države, v njej pa živi 1,3 milijona ljudi oziroma 13,2 % celotnega madžarskega prebivalstva. Po podatkih madžarskega popisa prebivalstva iz leta 2015 točna številka znaša 1.262.936 (602.183 moških in 660.753 žensk). Regija je sestavljena iz treh županij: Bacs-Kiskun, Csongrad in Bekes. Kljub nizki gostoti poselitve (72 ljudi na km²) 67,9 % prebivalcev živi v občinah, ki imajo mestne pravice. Čeprav je statistično

gledano ta regija ena najbolj urbaniziranih v državi, v mnogih pogledih velja za bolj podeželsko kot urbano. To trditev potrjujejo tudi edinstvene prvine naselbinskega omrežja (trška naselja z vrtovi in raztresenimi kmetijami, slika 1).

Glavne prvine naselbinske zgradbe so specializirana trška naselja, imenovana tudi kmetijska mesta, ki so bila prvotno središča kmetijske proizvodnje in trgov. Pod turško oblastjo so imela zaščiteno status in so se izognila uničenju (v nasprotju z manjšimi vasi). Po koncu turške nadvlade so zato naselbinsko omrežje sestavljala redko posejana in skoraj izključno kmetijska mesta. Oddaljenih njiv ni bilo mogoče obdelovati iz središč kmetijskih mest, zaradi česar se je razvil edinstven sistem raztresenih kmetij. Sprva so bile te kmetije (madž. *tanya*) le občasno naseljene in so delovale kot pomožni zaselki, ki so bili tesno povezani s posameznim kmetijskim mestom. Ta vez je pozneje oslabela in raztresene kmetije so se začele uporabljati kot stalna bivališča. Število prebivalcev na mestnem obrobju je doseglo višek šele po drugi svetovni vojni in do takrat je edinstvena dvojnost kmetijskih mest in raztresenih kmetij že zdavnaj zbledela, gruče raztresenih kmetij pa so se začele čedalje bolj povezovati v vasi. V zadnjih petdesetih letih se je število prebivalcev na obrobju mest po vsej državi zmanjšalo

s približno enega milijona na približno 300.000 (podatki za leto 2011), pri čemer obstajajo precejšnje prostorske razlike. Tako je na območju Južne velike nižine (zlasti na predelu med Donavo in Tiso ter v županiji Bekes) delež prebivalcev, ki živijo na obrobju mest, še vedno večji od državnega povprečja.

Med komunizmom je bila industrializacija trških naselij zelo različna. Mesta z več prebivalci so izgubila svojo primarno kmetijsko funkcijo ter se spremenila v industrijska in storitvena središča. Eno najpomembnejših regionalnih središč je Kecskemet, ki ima 117.000 prebivalcev. V zadnjih nekaj letih se je zaradi največje tuje naložbe v tej regiji (leta 2009 je skupina Daimler odprla tovarno avtomobilov Mercedes-Benz) spremenil v edinstveno *tradicionalno kmetijsko mesto*. Na podlagi te naložbe so lahko mestne oblasti obnovile urbane bloke v skladu s potrebami mesta in tovarne. Šlo je za edinstveno priložnost, saj so drugače možnosti na tem področju odvisne predvsem od subvencij EU. To je bil glavni razlog, da so avtorji Kecskemet izbrali za študijo primera, drugi razlog, opisan v nadaljevanju, pa je bilo dejstvo, da so v tem mestu vse oblike prostorske segregacije (slika 2).

Kecskemet je 650 let staro mesto, na nastanek njegovih sosesk ali predelov pa so vplivali številni naravni in družbeni dejavniki. Mesto sprva ni imelo urejene prostorske zgradbe in izoblikovanih sosesk, na začetku 15. stoletja pa so se že začele kazati prve razlike med mestnimi predeli – zlasti med stanovanjskimi območji, ki so nastala v tem obdobju. Premožnejši prebivalci so živeli v središču mesta, ki je sovpadalo z današnjim glavnim trgom in njegovo okolico, manj premožne skupine pa so živele na obrobju pozidanega mestnega območja in so bile od njih izrazito prostorsko ločene. Sredi 18. stoletja je začelo število prebivalcev naraščati, kar je še povečalo razlike v lokalni družbi, v tem času pa se je pojavila tudi klasična oblika prostorske segregacije. Zaradi pogostih požarov so mestne oblasti uvedle gradbene predpise (Juhasz, 1998), pri katerih je bil glavni poudarek na načrtovanju ulic in pravilih glede uporabe gradbenih materialov. V središču mesta so lahko na primer gradili samo z opeko, ki si je revne družine niso mogle privoščiti, zato so mestne oblasti zanje določile zazidljive parcele na robu pozidanega območja. Šlo je za večinoma nižinska območja, ki so bila občasno poplavljenjena in zato slabo dostopna, tamkajšnje bivalne razmere pa so bile slabe in zdravju škodljive, saj so bili zidovi hiš stalno vlažni. Zaradi prostorske segregacije revnejših prebivalcev in Romov so se v lokalni družbi pojavljale razne težave, hkrati pa so se na mestnem obrobju pojavile tudi že prve raztresene kmetije.

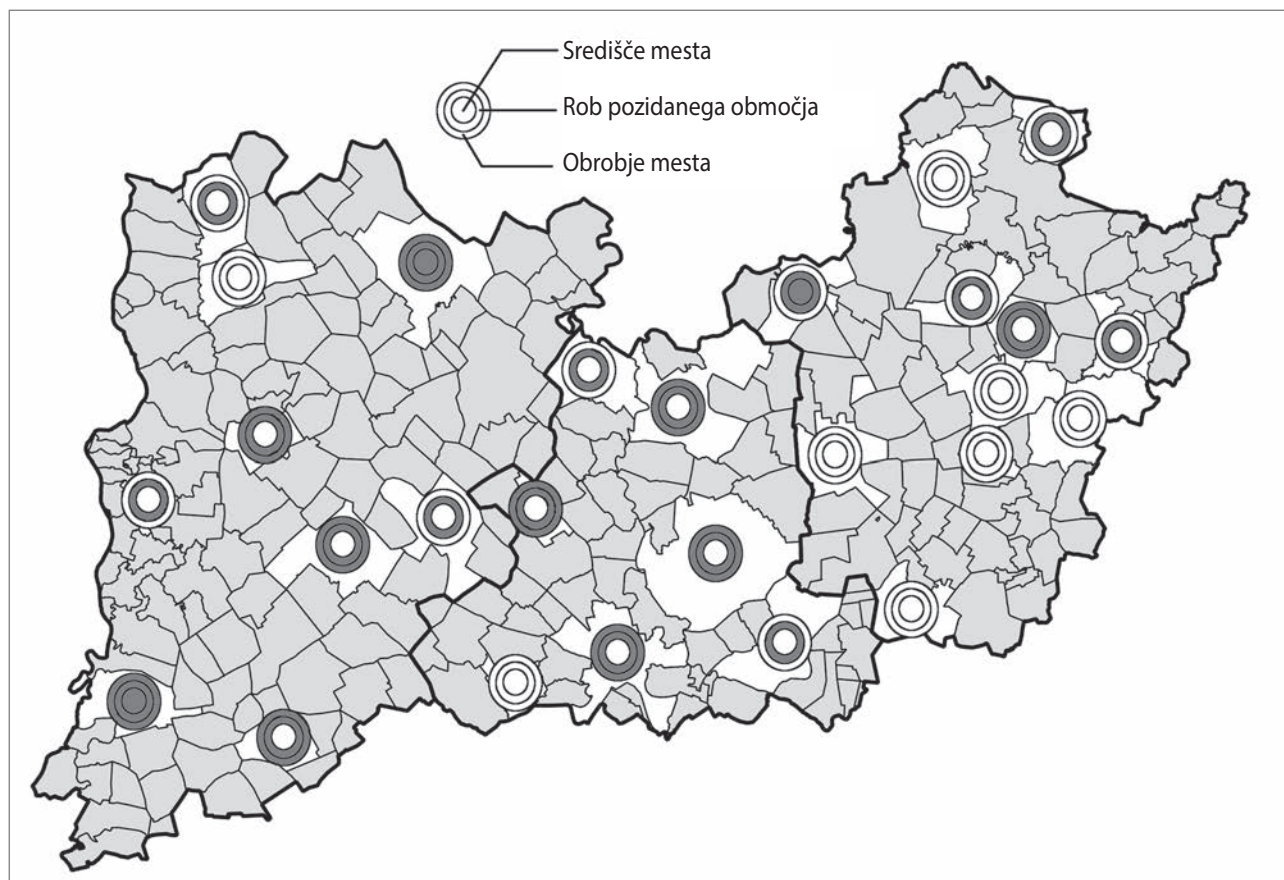
Vse do prve svetovne vojne je bil za Kecskemet značilen izjemen razvoj industrije in kmetijskega trga, kljub temu je mestno središče ostajalo le jedro večje vasi. Njegova metro-politanska podoba se ni razširila na stanovanjska območja in

prostorsko segregirani predeli na obrobju mesta so samo še krepili njegovo kmečko podobo. Med obema vojnoma se je mesto z vidika gospodarske funkcije iz kmetijskega središča spremenilo v sodobnejše kmetijsko-industrijsko regionalno središče, pri čemer se je spremenila tudi zaposlitvena sestava prebivalcev. Med svetovno gospodarsko krizo (1929–1933) je gospodarstvo stagniralo in prekinilo razvoj Kecskemeta, kar je povzročilo socialne probleme, kot je splošna revščina. Socialne razlike in prostorska segregacija so se zato še okrepile. Na tisoče ljudi se je v tem obdobju preselilo v hiše, zgrajene iz gline in slame. Najznačilnejši segment lokalne družbe so bili vedno Romi, katerih asimilacija ni bila uspešna. Njihov geografsko izolirani geto, imenovan romska četrt, so porušili šele leta 1963 v skladu s splošno politiko komunistične države. Mestne oblasti so morale zagotoviti nove domove skoraj tisoč ljudem, pri čemer so zazidalna zemljišča zanje razporedila po robu mestnega pozidanega območja, družine pa so preselile tudi v stare razpadajoče hiše v središču mesta. Številne družine, ki so takrat dobile zazidljive parcele, so si čez nekaj let s posojili kupile blokovska stanovanja ali so se preselile v okoliške vasi.

Med prehodom iz komunizma v demokratični politični sistem so se v zapuščene barake romske četrti preselile nove romske družine iz drugih naselij. V nekaterih ulicah v širši okolici nekdanje romske četrti je začel delež romskih prebivalcev posledično naraščati, pripadniki večinskega prebivalstva pa so se preselili v novo zgrajena lastniška stanovanja ter v nove soseske, zgrajene po zgledu vrtnega mesta, in v predmestje. To je bil še zadnji korak, ki je ustvaril zdajšnje problematične razmere, v katerih Romi spet živijo prostorsko segregirano, kar pušča izrazito sled v mestnem tkivu.

4.2 Uporabljene metode

Za iskanje odgovorov na zastavljena raziskovalna vprašanja so avtorji uporabili več metod: analizo dokumentov in podatkov GIS, intervjuje in terenske raziskave. V okviru regionalnega pregleda prostorske segregacije so proučili strategije celostnega razvoja 27 mest v statistični regiji Južna velika nižina. Ti dokumenti so dostopni na madžarskem spletnem portalu za prostorsko načrtovanje in regionalni razvoj Terport (internet 1). Rezultati teh strategij so med sabo primerljivi, saj so mesta za oblikovanje protisegregacijskih načrtov uporabljala skupno metodologijo, ki jo je razvilo madžarsko ministrstvo za lokalno upravo in regionalni razvoj (internet 2). Podobne metode so avtorji uporabili tudi za analizo prostorske segregacije v Kecskemetu. Tamkajšnja prostorsko segregirana območja so bila prvič uradno obravnavana v protisegregacijskem načrtu strategije celostnega razvoja mesta iz leta 2008. Avtorji tega članka so imeli pomembno vlogo pri izdelavi tega načrta, v okviru katerega je bilo v Kecskemetu odkritih osem segregiranih območij (internet 3). Za določanje teh območij so



Slika 3: Prostorsko segregirana območja v proučevanih mestih (avtor: Jozsef Lennert)

uporabili metodo, predstavljeno v posebnem priročniku za urbano prenovu mest (internet 2). Nekaj let pozneje (leta 2014) so avtorji nadaljevali raziskavo, saj je bilo treba znova ovrednotiti območja segregacije v mestu. Metodologijo je razvilo madžarsko ministrstvo za nacionalni razvoj in gospodarstvo ter jo leta 2009 objavilo v drugi izdaji zgoraj omenjenega priročnika (internet 4). V skladu s priročnikom so se prostorsko segregirana stanovanjska območja lahko določila na podlagi dveh meril:

- urbani bloki, kjer vsaj 50 % prebivalcev, starih od 15 do 59 let, nima rednega dohodka in osnovnošolske izobrazbe (tj. ima dokončanih manj kot osem razredov osnovne šole),
- urbani bloki, kjer je delež rednih prejemnikov socialne podpore več kot dvakrat večji od mestnega povprečja.

Poleg tega vsebuje priročnik še en pomemben pogoj, in sicer da mora imeti prostorsko segregirano stanovanjsko območje vsaj 50 prebivalcev. S tem izločimo vse posamezne primere, pri katerih dejansko ne gre za segregacijo. Rezultati analize, ki so jo opravili avtorji, kažejo, da je večina mest na proučevanem območju pri svojih razvojnih strategijah uporabljala obe zgoraj opisani merili. Pri raziskavi Kecskemeta so ju uporabili tudi

avtorji, poleg tega pa so proučili tudi strategijo razvoja mesta Kecskemet za obdobje 2013–2015 (internet 5), protisegregacijski načrt za mesto Kecskemet za obdobje 2014–2020 (internet 6; pri izdelavi katerega so tudi sami sodelovali), podatke popisa prebivalstva iz leta 2011 in podatkovne zbirke agencije za razvoj mesta Kecskemet, ki so vsebovale podatke o socialnovarstvenih prejemkih. Podatke popisa so pridobili od madžarskega centralnega statističnega urada (MCSU); ti podatki so bili že geokodirani in so nakazovali mogoča območja prostorske segregacije. Neobdelane socialnovarstvene podatke so morali najprej geokodirati, na podlagi česar so določili morebitna območja, na katerih živijo ljudje z nizkim socialno-ekonomskim položajem, in rezultate navzkrižno primerjali z rezultati, ki so jih dobili od MCSU. Postopek geokodiranja in z njim povezano prostorsko analizo so opravili v programu ArcGIS (internet 7). Za boljše razumevanje procesov, ki potekajo na ugotovljenih prostorsko segregiranih območjih, so opravili 34 poglobljenih intervjujev s predstavniki mestnih oblasti in agencije za razvoj mesta, socialnimi delavci in člani romske skupnosti. Poleg tega so proučili tudi druge ustrezne dokumente mestne uprave in njene projektne dejavnosti na zadevnem področju.

5 Rezultati

Analiza razvojnih dokumentov je potrdila prejšnje ugotovitve avtorjev glede Kecskemeta. Ljudje z nizkim socialno-ekonomskim položajem se zgoščajo na treh območjih v okviru upravnih meja proučevanih kmetijskih mest: 1. v središču mest, 2. na robu pozidanega območja mest ali 3. na obrobju mest (na sliki 3 so prikazana za vsako proučevano mesto).

Kot je bilo opisano že v primeru Kecskemeta, so bili zgodovinski procesi segregacije na teh območjih zelo različni in zato je tudi njihov današnji položaj zelo različen. V nadaljevanju so povzete značilnosti posameznih območij segregacije.

Prostorska segregacija v središču mest je najtesneje povezana z modelom koncentrične urbane ekologije, ki so ga razvili Robert Ezra Park idr. (1925). V svoji raziskavi so odkrili prostorsko segregirano območje okrog poslovnega središča Chicaga. V kmetijskih mestih proučevanega območja (v Baji, Kecskemetu in Szarvasu) je mogoče najti samo tri podobne točke, kar pomeni, da za območje Južne velike nižine ta oblika prostorske segregacije ni značilna. Glavni razlogi za to so razmeroma majhna mestna središča, dejstvo, da tam ni starih stavb (v katerih bi stanovali revni prebivalci), in trajna prisotnost slumov na robu pozidanih območij. V mestih z večjim številom prebivalcev ima pomembno vlogo tudi suburbanizacija, ki se je začela v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja (Meszaros, 1990; Timar, 1993). V takšnih mestih so se premožnejši prebivalci preselili v predmestja ali okoliške vasi, zaradi česar so se lahko na njihova mesta naselili revnejši prebivalci (večinoma Romi). Zaradi različne prostorske zgradbe treh proučevanih mest so tudi bivalne razmere v njih zelo različne. V Baji Romi živijo na notranjih dvoriščih stavb, kar je na primer značilno tudi za središče Budimpešte. V Szarvasu so se naselili na območju samostojnih hiš z vrtovi, v Kecskemetu pa je več manjših segregiranih območij v mestnem središču, ki danes tvorijo povezavo do tradicionalno romskih predelov na jugovzhodu mesta.

Od 27 ugotovljenih primerov segregacije v mestih v statistični regiji Južna velika nižina jih je 19 na robu pozidanih območij, zaradi česar je to najpogostejša oblika prostorske segregacije na proučevanem območju. Tudi predel z največjim številom romskih prebivalcev (2.959 leta 2001) je na robu pozidanega območja v Maku. Točke, na katerih se zgoščajo prebivalci z nizkim socialno-ekonomskim položajem, so nastajale skozi celotno zgodovino mest. V nekaterih primerih so bila ta območja v komunističnem obdobju porušena (na primer v Kecskemetu in Szentesu), vendar jih je mogoče še vedno najti v bližini. To je posledica napačne prakse mestnih oblasti, ki so te ljudi v skupinah preselile na podoben kraj v soseski, kar pomeni, da težave niso rešile, ampak samo prestavile drugam. Značilna

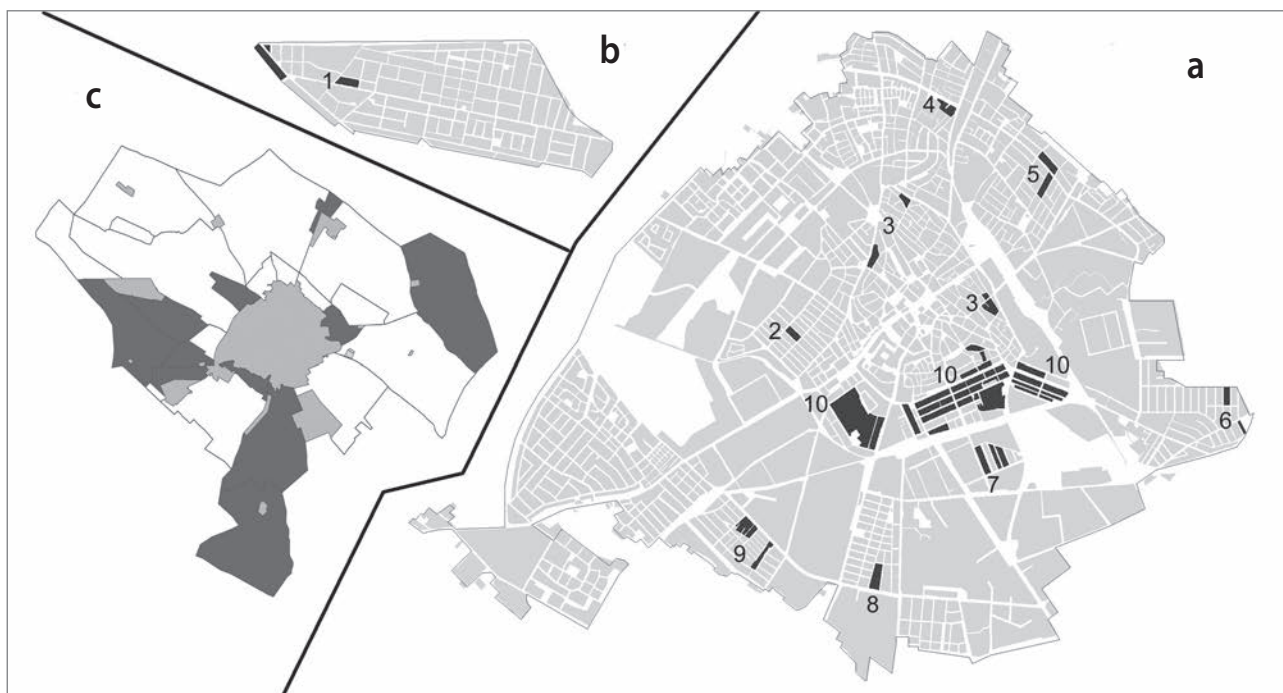
prvina teh območij so hiše z oznako Cs. Tamkajšnje naravne razmere so neugodne (visok nivo podtalnice) in otežujejo vsakdanje bivalne razmere (zidna plesen). Tudi infrastruktura na teh območjih je običajno v slabem stanju ali je sploh ni. Prebivalci proučevanih mest ta območja včasih poznajo samo po njihovih neformalnih imenih, kot sta Mali Dunaj (madž. *Kis Bécs*) v Maku ali Krakov (madž. *Krakkó*) v Szarvasu. Prostorsko segregirano in podstandardno območje v Füzesgyarmatu, imenovano Blatni otok (madž. *Sársziget*), je sestavljeno iz socialnih stanovanj ali hiš, ki so v madžarščini označene z okrajšavo ONCsA in so jih med drugo svetovno vojno zgradili za pomoč velikim družinam. Ta primer kaže, da je geografska segregacija mogoča tudi na posebnih stanovanjskih območjih, ki so bila prvotno zgrajena s plemenitimi nameni.

Tretje območje, na katerem se zgoščajo revnejši prebivalci, je obrobje kmetijskih mest. Avtorji so med 27 analiziranimi razvojnimi strategijami našli deset, v katerih je bil ta problem omenjen oziroma so bila najdena prostorsko segregirana območja na obrobju mesta (na primer v Baji). V obdobju komunizma so se uradne oblasti želele znebiti raztresenih kmetij, zato je do leta 1986 na teh območjih veljala prepoved gradnje. Raztresene kmetije so zato običajno v slabem stanju in neudobne za bivanje, saj so bile v glavnem zgrajene pred letom 1950. Prebivalci na teh območjih se starajo, imajo nizko izobrazbo, so brezposelni in pogosto živijo v revščini. Kljub slabim razmeram, v katerih živijo prvotni prebivalci, se na ta območja priseljujejo revni ljudje iz mest, ki imajo pogosto velike družine z veliko otroki. S selitvijo poskušajo ubežati mestni revščini, zato jih lahko obravnavamo kot socialne priseljence. Upajo, da bodo na teh območjih življenjski stroški nižji, vendar ne znajo upravljati majhnih kmetij, zato so njihova pričakovanja nerealna. Prvotni prebivalci območij raztresenih kmetij prišleke pogosto povezujejo s kriminalom. V primeru Szentesa so mediji poročali tudi o brezdomcih, ki so se naselili v prazne raztresene kmetije blizu mesta.

6 Študija primera: Kecskemet

6.1 Prostorsko segregirana območja

Na podlagi raziskave, opravljene na podlagi zgoraj opisanih metod, so avtorji določili naslednja segregirana območja v Kecskemetu: 1. urbani bloki v soseski Hetenyegyhaza, 2. urbani bloki ob ulici *Teglagyar utca*; 3. prostorsko segregirani urbani bloki v središču mesta, 4. urbani blok ob ulici *Nagy Lajos kiraly körut*, 5. urbani blok ob ulici *Matyas kiraly körut*, 6. urbani bloki v soseski Mükertvaros, 7. urbani bloki v soseski Muszaj, 8. urbani bloki ob ulici *Löcsei utca*, 9. urbani bloki v soseski Szeleifalu in 10. južni del mestnega središča. Območja so prikazana na sliki 4a. Na sliki 4b so prikazani predmestna



Slika 4: (a) segregirana območja v Kecskemetu; (b) soseska Hetenyegyhaza in tamkajšnji segregirani urbani bloki; (c) obrobje mesta z najbolj prostorsko segregiranimi raztresenimi kmetijami (avtorji: Jozsef Lennert, Jenő Zsolt Farkas in Andras Donat Kovacs, prirejeno na podlagi podatkov MCSU iz leta 2016 in popisa prebivalstva iz leta 2011)

soseska Hetenyegyhaza in njeni prostorsko segregirani urbani bloki, na sliki 4c pa so v temnejših odtenkih prikazani segregirani predeli mestnega obrobja.

6.2 Stanje stanovanjskih objektov na prostorsko segregiranih območjih

Grajeno okolje prostorsko segregiranih območij pogosto razkriva posledice negativnih družbenih procesov. Veliko je razpadajočih stavb, ki so celo življenjsko nevarne, a so bile še do pred kratkim naseljene. Na številnih praznih zemljiščih so divja odlagališča odpadkov, na stavbah in ulični opreми pa so vidni znaki vandalizma. Zaradi takšnih razmer so cene nepremičnin na teh območjih in v njihovi okolici nizke. Razmere so najbolj kritične v urbanih blokih, kjer med lokalnimi prebivalci prevladujejo Romi.

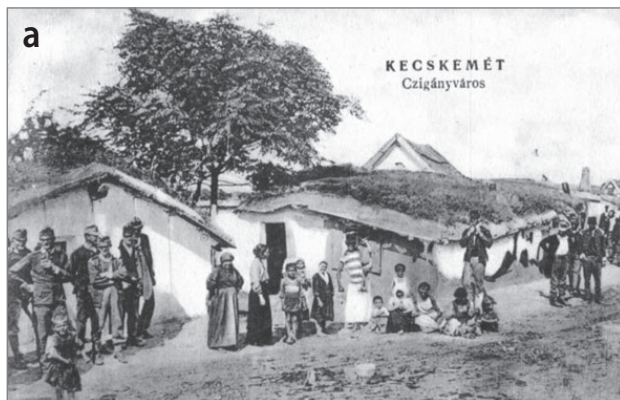
Nastanek in trajna prisotnost segregiranih območij sta v glavnem odvisna od starosti stavb in njihovega stanja (ki sta do neke mere soodvisna). V mestu je 49.665 stanovanj in hiš, od katerih je po podatkih MCSU 8.000 (16,3 %) starih več kot 50 let. Od teh je 3.057 (oziroma 6,1 % vseh stanovanj) v slabem stanju in ne izpolnjujejo minimalnih standardov udobja. Večina teh nepremičnin je na segregiranih območjih in če se hiše na njih ne bodo obnovile, bodo še naprej privabljele samo revne priseljence in še okrepile negativne procese. Stanje stavb v lasti lokalne uprave je treba zaradi njihovih posebnih značil-

nosti analizirati posebej. Leta 2012 je bilo v lasti lokalne uprave 1.596 stanovanjskih enot, od katerih se je 600 hiš, ki so bile večinoma v slabem stanju, uporabljalo za socialna stanovanja. Število socialnih stanovanj pada (leta 2016 jih je bilo 508), večina pa je na prostorsko segregiranih območjih. Glavna težava so najemnine, ki ne vključujejo stroškov vzdrževanja, zato mestna družba za upravljanje nepremičnin teh stavb ne more vzdrževati. Njihovo stanje se zato vztrajno slabša.

6.3 Značilnosti prostorsko segregiranih območij z etnično večino in poskusi reševanja problema

Največje prostorsko segregirano območje z večinskim romskim prebivalstvom je že omenjena romska četrt (madž. *Ciganyváros*) jugovzhodno od mestnega središča, kjer obstaja že stoletja (slika 5). V šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja se je zaradi načrtovanega rušenja nekaterih urbanih blokov na tem območju prostorska koncentracija romskih prebivalcev zmanjšala, po letu 1990, ko je lokalna uprava porušila začasna bivališča v mestnem središču (romska dvorišča), pa so se Romi preselili nazaj v okolico romske četrti. Tako se je staro prostorsko segregirano območje ponovno vzpostavilo, stavbe pa so začele propadati.

Zaradi čedalje slabših stanovanjskih razmer, v katerih so živeli romski prebivalci, je lokalna uprava leta 2002 začela izvajati program za njihovo izselitev iz barak, ki so bile v lasti mesta.



Slika 5: (a) romska četrt na razglednici iz leta 1930 (vir: internet 8); (b) današnje siromašne hiše v romski četrti (vir: Google Street View, 2012)

Dvesto romskih družin, ki so sodelovale v programu (30 % vseh Romov v mestu), je lahko izbiralo med tema možnostma: zamenjava hiše ali zakup nepremičnine. Ker barake niso imele tržne vrednosti, je za njihov zakup lokalna uprava vsaki družini ponudila skromno vsoto 5.700 EUR. Sto družin, ki se je odločilo za to možnost, si je lahko privoščilo samo počitniške hišice ali kmetije na obrobju mesta. Anketiranci so opozorili na to, da so se z odpravo barak težave romske manjšine samo preselile na obrobje mesta, kar je imelo negativne posledice za soseske, kamor so se ti ljudje preselili, saj se je vrednost teh sosesk zmanjšala.

Mestne oblasti so program nadaljevale leta 2006 in takrat je v njem sodelovalo 50 družin, od katerih se je večina odločila za možnost zamenjave doma in je zapustila svoje hiše. Ti ukrepi so začasno omilili prostorsko segregacijo Romov, vendar so se prostorski vzorci segregacije kmalu spet pojavili. Zaposlitvene priložnosti so privabile nove romske družine iz drugih mest, ki so se večinoma preselile v ulice v okolici nekdanjega barakarskega naselja, saj so bile tam nepremičnine cenejše.

Za reševanje tega problema je mestni svet začel izvajati program celostne socialne urbane prenov, ki ga je prek operativnega programa statistične regije Južna velika nižina podprla tudi Evropska unija. Cilj projekta je bil spodbuditi družbeno vključevanje Romov, ki živijo v romski četrti in predelu

Ürges, pri čemer se je agencija za razvoj mesta osredotočila na izboljšanje bivalnih razmer, obnovo javne infrastrukture in okrepitev lokalne identitete. Konkretni rezultati projekta so vključevali dvanajst prenovljenih javnih najemnih stanovanj, novo večnamensko občinsko dvorano in novo urejena javna območja z novo ulično opremo in obnovljenimi cestami. Projekt je vseboval tudi socialne prvine, kot so razvoj skupnosti, kulturne storitve in nudenje socialne pomoči družinam. Projekt še vedno poteka in čeprav je nedvomno prinesel pozitivne rezultate, problema ni rešil.

6.4 Segregacijski procesi na obrobju mesta

Eden izmed izhodov v sili za revne prebivalce vodi na obrobje kmetijskih mest oziroma do tamkajšnjih raztresenih kmetij. Ta pojav je značilen tudi za Kecskemét, ki velja za največje kmetijsko mesto z največ raztresenimi kmetijami. Po podatkih popisa prebivalstva je leta 2011 na obrobju Kecskeméta živel 17.281 ljudi ali 15 % vseh njegovih prebivalcev (leta 2011 je v mestu živel skupno 111.411 ljudi). Leta 2001 je na obrobju živel samo 13.732 ljudi, kar pomeni, da se je njihovo število v zadnjem desetletju povečalo za 25 %. To je predvsem posledica dveh procesov: preseljevanja revnih ljudi s prostorsko segregiranih mestnih območij na raztresene kmetije in suburbanizacije premožnejših prebivalcev. Natančni deleži niso znani, avtorji pa ocenjujejo, da gre med obema skupinama za razmerje 50 : 50. Na podlagi intervjujev in terenskega dela so avtorji ugotovili, da ima obrobje Kecskeméta zelo razdrobljeno rabo tal. Na tem obrobju so vrtovi, stanovanjske soseske nizke gostote blizu pozidanega območja mesta (ali s povezavami do njega) in bolj oddaljene tradicionalne raztresene kmetije. Zaradi tega tam potekajo zelo različni procesi. Bližje mesta živijo premožnejši ljudje (včasih tudi v razkošnih hišah kot na primer v soseskah Mariahegy in Urihegy), ljudje s prostorsko segregiranih območij pa se selijo na bolj oddaljene raztresene kmetije. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih se je delež socialno ogroženih ljudi močno povečal tako v zahodnem kot vzhodnem delu mestnega obrobja (v predelih Szarkas, Borbas in Kisfai). Ljudje s slabšim socialno-ekonomskim položajem lahko tam kupujejo stavbe razmeroma poceni, saj je bilo v sistemu državnega socializma vse do leta 1986 prepovedano graditi raztresene kmetije in pripadajoče objekte, zaradi česar so stavbe tam zelo stare in poceni. Za tovrstno priseljevanje je ugodno tudi staranje tamkajšnjega prvotnega prebivalstva, saj so številne prazne stavbe še vedno primerne za bivanje, čeprav so običajno manj udobne.

Hkrati priseljenci nimajo potrebnih izkušenj za življenje na oddaljeni kmetiji, težko najdejo ustrezno zaposlitev, njihovi otroci pa čedalje težje redno obiskujejo šolo. Prvotni kmečki prebivalci jih stigmatizirajo, saj menijo, da je zaradi njih varnost na javnih mestih okrnjena, poleg tega jih povezujejo s kriminalom. Razmere slabšajo tudi brezdomci, saj se tudi ti

naseljujejo v prazne stavbe. Razmere so velik izziv socialnovarstvenim organizacijam, saj dostop do ljudi z nizkim socialno-ekonomskim položajem postaja čedalje težji.

7 Sklep

Izsledki predstavljene raziskave kažejo, da je stanovanjska segregacija v kmetijskih mestih v madžarski statistični regiji Južna velika nižina pogost pojav. V nekaterih pogledih so tovrstni procesi podobni tistim v Zahodni Evropi in ZDA, vendar se od njih tudi razlikujejo. Vloga etnične pripadnosti pri segregaciji je najpogostejše ugotovljena skupna značilnost, na podlagi česar lahko na primer potegnemo vzporednico med položajem Romov na proučevanem območju in revnimi temnopoltimi prebivalci ameriških mest. Tudi poskusi reševanja te problematike so povsod enako neuspešni, saj se lokalne uprave običajno ukvarjajo samo z enim vidikom tega kompleksnega problema in se le malo ubadajo z vprašanji družbene vključenosti. Zaradi tega se stanovanjska segregacija skupaj s socialno in etnično segregacijo že več stoletij stalno pojavlja v drugih delih mesta, pogosto celo na istem območju.

Razlike v pojavnih oblikah segregacije med Zahodom in Madžarsko so večinoma posledica različne morfologije naselij. Naselja na proučevanem območju so manjša kot v Zahodni Evropi ali ZDA. Posledično je tudi njihovo staro mestno jedro manjše ter dragoceno za stanovalce in lokalno upravo, zato v središčih mest ni veliko primerov prostorske segregacije. Po drugi strani je v proučevanih mestih pogosta prostorska segregacija na obrobju neprekinjeno pozidanih območij. V nekaterih primerih je območje današnje prostorske segregacije geografsko povezano z nekdanjimi romskimi predeli, drugje pa se je razvila v povezavi z drugimi neugodnimi lokacijami. Stanovanjski fond v soseskah proučevanih mest je zelo raznolik in ima obliko krpanke, saj so pozidana območja pogosto prekinjena ali spremenijo smer. Zato segregacija nastaja bolj na ravni ulic kot okrožij, zaradi česar so značilni predvsem prostorsko segregirani urbani bloki, ne pa večja mestna območja.

Drug edinstven pojav, ki je tudi posledica različne morfologije naselij, je razvoj segregacije na mestnem obrobju. V soseske z vrtovi in na območja raztresenih kmetij, ki so tradicionalna prвина kmetijskih mest, se v zadnjem času selijo tako revnejši kot premožnejši prebivalci. Pri selitvi premožnejših skupin na podeželsko-mestno obrobje gre za suburbanizacijo v okviru občinskih meja, revnejše skupine pa poskušajo svoje življenjske stroške običajno znižati tako, da se odselijo s strnjeno pozidanih območij. Brez zadostnih izkušenj s samooskrbnim kmetovanjem pa so ti njihovi poskusi običajno neuspešni. Tako prišleki trpijo še večje pomanjkanje, poleg tega izgubijo tudi svojo socialno mrežo in so zunaj dosega organizacij, ki bi jim lahko zagotovile socialno pomoč.

Kecskemet je dober primer zgodovinskega in sodobnega razvoja stanovanjske segregacije. Z geografskega vidika so zdajšnja prostorsko segregirana območja blizu prejšnjega segregiranega območja romske četrti. Tudi pri sestavi tamkajšnjih prebivalcev ni večjih sprememb, saj gre večinoma za Rome. To je delno posledica napačno zastavljenega urbanističnega načrtovanja v 20. stoletju, pri katerem so bile etnične manjšine obravnavane kot zaprte skupine. Segregiranih območij niso nikoli povsem odstranili, poleg tega niso bila nikoli popolnoma prazna, saj so se nanje vedno naseljevali novi prišleki. Tudi njihova preselitev razmer ni izboljšala, saj so bili ljudje večinoma preseljeni na druga neugodna območja. Tako kot v drugih mestih v statistični regiji Južna velika nižina je preselitev revnejših prebivalcev na mestno obrobje tudi v Kecskemetu nekaj običajnega.

Analiza prostorsko segregiranih območij v Kecskemetu je pokazala močno povezavo med lokacijo prebivalcev z nizkim socialno-ekonomskim položajem in fizičnim stanjem stavb. Poleg tega so ta območja običajno tam, kjer je veliko socialnih stanovanj nizke kakovosti, ki so v lasti lokalne uprave. Zaradi tega imata mestni svet in agencija za razvoj mesta ključno vlogo pri upravljanju in prenovi tamkajšnjih prostorsko segregiranih urbanih blokov. Nezadostna finančna sredstva so glavni dejavnik, ki ovira razvoj teh območij. Čeprav so za mestno prenavo na razpolago nekatere subvencije EU, mestne oblasti brez ustreznih lokalnih sredstev ne morejo celostno izboljšati socialnih razmer v prostorsko segregiranih soseskah. Izsledki raziskave pa ne opozarjajo samo na pomanjkanje potrebnih sredstev, ampak tudi na pomembnost celovitega razmišljanja o stanovanjski segregaciji. Izboljšanje bivalnega okolja je samo prvi korak v procesu družbenega vključevanja, saj bi bilo treba socialno pomoč revnejšim prebivalcem zagotavljati tudi po izvedenih naložbah v infrastrukturo, s čimer bi preprečili ponovno pojavitev prostorske segregacije.

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Skrb vzbujaajoče spremembe v mobilnosti mladih – primer osnovnošolcev v Novem mestu

Tema prispevka so potovalne navade mladih v Sloveniji v zadnjih tridesetih letih in poskus pojasnitve razlogov za njihove popolnoma spremenjene potovalne vzorce. V prispevku se osredotočamo na potovalne navade osnovnošolcev, ki so posebna skupina udeležencev v prometu in uporabnikov mestnega prostora. Primerjamo podatke iz let 1991, 2001 in 2016 o potovalnih navadah osnovnošolcev, lastništvu osebnih avtomobilov, lokacijah osnovnih šol in velikosti šolskih okolišev ter prometni ureditvi v okolici osnovnih šol. V prispevku ugotavljamo, da rezultati v Sloveniji sovpadajo z ugotovitvami iz tujine. Velike spremembe v potovalnih vzorcih otrok časovno sovpadajo z intenzivno motorizacijo slovenskih mest, ki je dosegla večje razsežnosti kot v marsikateri razvitejši

državi. Povečano lastništvo avtomobilov se kaže v njihovi povečani rabi. Aktivnosti, ki trenutno potekajo na šolah na področju urejanja prometa, ne prispevajo k ustavitvi tega trenda. Potrebna bo sprememba v paradigmi prometne varnosti. Ukvarjanje z mobilnostjo otrok mora postati del celostnega prometnega načrtovanja, ki si mora prizadevati za zmanjšanje in umirjanje osebnega motornega prometa v okolici šol z vzpostavljanjem razmer, ki niso prijazne uporabi osebnih motornih vozil in spodbujajo varno rabo aktivnih alternativ.

Ključne besede: aktivna mobilnost, poti v šolo, spremembe potovalnih vzorcev, prometna varnost, motorizacija

1 Uvod

Aktivna mobilnost ljudi, pri kateri za premikanje uporabljamo le telesno aktivnost, je že desetletja v ospredju prizadevanj za trajnostno mobilnost. Gre namreč za najbolj trajnostno obliko mobilnosti, ki je okoljsko najmanj sporna, ekonomsko najracionalnejša in socialno najbolj pravična. Je tudi najbolj zdrava, saj imata redna hoja in kolesarjenje številne pozitivne vplive na zdravje ljudi. Za mnoge je aktivna mobilnost najpreprostejši in najbolj dosegljiv način ohranjanja zdravega življenja, katerega temelj je vsaj polurna zmerna dnevna aktivnost (UK active, 2017). Razlog za številne hude zdravstvene težave, s katerimi se srečujemo zaradi sodobnega sedečega življenjskega sloga, je pomanjkanje telesne aktivnosti. Zdravstveni strokovnjaki opozarjajo, da s tem, ko se ne gibamo, povečujemo tveganje za nastanek raznih bolezni. Z aktivnejšim življenjem pomembno zmanjšamo nevarnost za bolezni srca in ožilja, zmanjšamo možnost tveganja za kap in znižamo krvni tlak ter raven holesterola. Gibanje lahko prepreči tudi sladkorno bolezen tipa 2, celo raka na dojki in prostati. Z aktivnim načinom življenja ohranjamo zdravje mišic in skeleta (Ministrstvo za zdravje, 2015).

Posebno pereče so težave, ki jih imajo zaradi neaktivnega življenjskega sloga mladi in otroci. Delež čezmerno hranjenih in debelih otrok in mladostnikov se je namreč v zadnjih tridesetih letih podvojil, bolj izrazito je bilo to povečanje pri fantih, saj se je delež čezmerno težkih dečkov povečal s 13,3 % na 19,9 %, delež debelih pa se je povečal z 2,7 % na 7,5 % (Ministrstvo za zdravje, 2015: 11). K porastu debelosti med mladimi poleg neustrezne prehrane veliko prispeva tudi njihova vse manjša telesna aktivnost. Raziskave v Sloveniji kažejo, da je delež redno telesno aktivnih mladih pri nas majhen in s starostjo še upada. Dnevno je dovolj telesno aktivnih 26 % fantov in le 15 % deklet (Jeriček Klanšček idr., 2011). Neustrezna prehranjenost otrok in mladine se kaže tudi v njihovi gibalni neučinkovitosti (Strel idr., 2011). Podatki kažejo, da so po drugi strani gibalno učinkovitejši mladostniki akademsko uspešnejši (Starč, 2014).

Tako kot pri odraslih lahko tudi pri mladih aktivna mobilnost pomembno prispeva k zagotavljanju zadostne dnevne telesne aktivnosti. Več avtorjev (Davison idr., 2008; Van Sluijs idr., 2009; Grize idr., 2010; Chillon idr., 2011; Schoeppe idr., 2012) v svojih študijah ugotavlja neposredno povezavo med tem, da otroci hodijo ali kolesarijo v šolo, in njihovo telesno zmogljivostjo. Ugotavljajo tudi močno povezavo med aktivnim prihodom v šolo in telesno aktivnostjo otrok zunaj šolskega časa v popoldanskih urah. Aktivna mobilnost zagotavlja tudi neodvisno mobilnost, ki jo Stephanie Schoeppe s sodelav-

ci (2012) opredeljuje kot možnost mladih, starih do 18 let, da se gibajo in uporabljajo javni prostor brez nadzora staršev. Otroku zagotavlja psihosocialne koristi v družbenih interakcijah in povezovanju z vrstniki in drugimi prebivalci okolja, v katerem živijo.

O tem, kakšna je mobilnost mladih v Sloveniji in kako se je njihov način potovanja spreminjal zadnja desetletja, podatkov skoraj ni. Nekaj novejših raziskav (Kobe Tavčar, 2015; Moscholidou in Colclough, 2017) opozarja, da je v Sloveniji kar tri četrtnine osnovnošolcev v šolo pripeljanih, večina z osebnim avtomobilom. Nasprotno rezultati Popisa prebivalcev iz leta 1991 kažejo popolnoma drugačno podobo. Takrat je velika večina (nad 90 %) osnovnošolcev in srednješolcev v šolo prihajala aktivno. Osrednja tema tega prispevka je ugotoviti, kaj se je dogajalo z mobilnostjo otrok v zadnjih tridesetih letih v Sloveniji in kateri so razlogi za njihove popolnoma spremenjene potovalne vzorce.

V prispevku se osredotočamo na potovalne navade osnovnošolcev, ki so posebna skupina udeležencev v prometu in uporabnikov mestnega prostora. Zaradi mladosti imajo omejeno možnost izbire načina potovanja in šele v času šolanja postanejo samostojni udeleženci v prometu. So ena najbolj ogroženih skupin prebivalcev zaradi prometa, zato jim prometno in prostorsko načrtovanje namenjata posebno pozornost (Plevnik, 2002). Analizirali smo način prihoda v osnovno šolo v Novem mestu v treh časovnih prerezih – v letih 1991, 2001 in 2016. Podatki za leto 1991 so bili zbrani v popisu prebivalstva leta 1991, z anketo po osnovnih šolah pa smo dobili podatke za leti 2001 in 2016. Hkrati smo za leti 2001 in 2016 zbrali dodatne podatke, s katerimi v razpravi poskušamo pojasniti, kaj je povzročilo velike spremembe potovalnih navad osnovnošolcev in kateri so možni pristopi za povečanje aktivne mobilnosti med to populacijo.

2 Metoda

Spremembe potovalnih navad osnovnošolcev v Novem mestu smo analizirali z empirično raziskavo, in sicer z analizo časovnih prerezov in navzkrižno analizo. Z analizo časovnih prerezov smo ugotavljali spremembe potovalnih navad med časovnima prerezoma (2001 in 2016). Rezultate teh časovnih prerezov smo primerjali še z rezultati popisa prebivalstva iz leta 1991 (Zavod Republike Slovenije za statistiko, 1992). Z navzkrižno analizo smo ugotavljali, kako je variiranje spremenljivk potovalnih navad povezano z variiranjem družbeno-ekonomskih spremenljivk (lastništvo osebnih avtomobilov) in spremenljivk fizične zgradbe mest (razmestitev šol, velikost šolskega okoliša, prometne ureditve v okolici šol).

2.1 Potovalne navade osnovnošolcev

Prvi časovni prerez potovalnih navad osnovnošolcev (skupaj s srednješolci) v Novem mestu predstavljajo rezultati popisa prebivalstva leta 1991. Obdelani so bili v doktorski disertaciji (Plevnik, 2002) in temeljijo na odgovorih na vprašanja iz popisa prebivalstva leta 1991 o kraju dela in šolanja ter o načinu poti (Zavod Republike Slovenije za statistiko, 1992). Iz individualnih podatkov o poteh v šolo so bili izbrani tisti, ki so se nanašali na poti osnovnošolcev in srednješolcev z začetkom in ciljem v Novem mestu. Z obdelavo podatkov so bili izluščeni podatki o načinu poti v šolo v naseljih stalnega bivališča. Žal podatkov za osnovnošolce ni bilo mogoče izločiti iz podatkov vseh poti v šolo, kljub temu tudi združeni podatki v obravnavanih naseljih prikazujejo potovalne navade mladih leta 1991.

Drugi časovni prerez potovalnih navad osnovnošolcev v Novem mestu predstavljajo podatki iz leta 2001, zbrani za doktorsko disertacijo (Plevnik, 2002). Zbiranje podatkov je izhajalo iz raziskave »Državne ceste in prometna varnost učencev« (Polič idr., 2001), ki so jo izvedli na osnovnih šolah v desetih naseljih v Sloveniji, med njimi tudi na OŠ Center v Novem mestu. Podatke o potovalnih navadah in rezultatih proučitve razmer v okolici OŠ Center smo v disertaciji prevzeli iz omenjene raziskave, obravnavo pa razširili še na dve osnovni šoli v Novem mestu – Bršljin in Grm. Anketirali smo učence 3., 5. in 7. razreda obeh osnovnih šol. V vseh razredih je postopek izpolnjevanja pisne ankete vodil anketar ob pomoči učiteljev v razredu, učenci pa so sami izpolnjevali vprašalnike. Učenci so označili spol, najpogostejši način poti v šolo in iz šole, morebitno spremstvo na poti v šolo in iz šole ter na karti označili lokacijo bivanja. Učenci nižjih razredov so prosili za podrobnejšo razlago ter sprotno preverjanje razumevanja vprašanj in pravilnega izpolnjevanja ankete. Anketiranje je potekalo 10. aprila 2001 v dopoldanskih urah. Vreme tega dne je omogočalo uporabo vseh potovalnih načinov. Tudi anketiranje, ki so ga izvedli na OŠ Center, je potekalo v razredu med poukom. V anketo so vključili tudi učence 1. razreda. V višjih razredih (3., 5. in 7. razred) je bil vprašalnik obsežnejši in je vključeval še vprašanja o prometni varnosti.

Drugo anketiranje o potovalnih navadah je potekalo junija 2016 med analizo stanja za celotno prometno strategijo Mestne občine Novo mesto (Balant idr., 2017). V anketiranje je bilo vključenih sedem osnovnih šol v Mestni občini Novo mesto, štiri iz Novega mesta (Center, Šmihel, Grm in Bršljin) in tri iz manjših naselij v občini (Otočec, Brusnice in Stopiče). V prispevku se osredotočamo le na štiri šole v Novem mestu. Anketirani so bili učenci 3., 5. in 7. razreda, razen v primeru, ko je bil kateri od razredov odsoten. V tem primeru so bili anketirani učenci 6. razreda. Na štirih večjih šolah v mestu

sta bili anketirani po dve paralelki, na manjših šolah pa ena. Podatki v anketi leta 2016 so bili zbrani z ustnim anketiranjem učencev v razredih – s postavljanjem vprašanj, dvigom ter štetjem rok in zapisom rezultatov. Anketarji so sledili vnaprej pripravljenemu obrazcu. V anketi so bila zastavljena vprašanja o potovalnih načinih, ki so jih učenci uporabili na poti v šolo na dan anketiranja (poleti), o načinu, ki ga najpogostejše uporabijo pozimi, ter o želenem potovalnem načinu, če bi učenci lahko izbrali kateri koli potovalni način. Učenci so lahko predlagali spremembe in izboljšave za lažji prihod v šolo.

2.2 Lastništvo osebnih avtomobilov

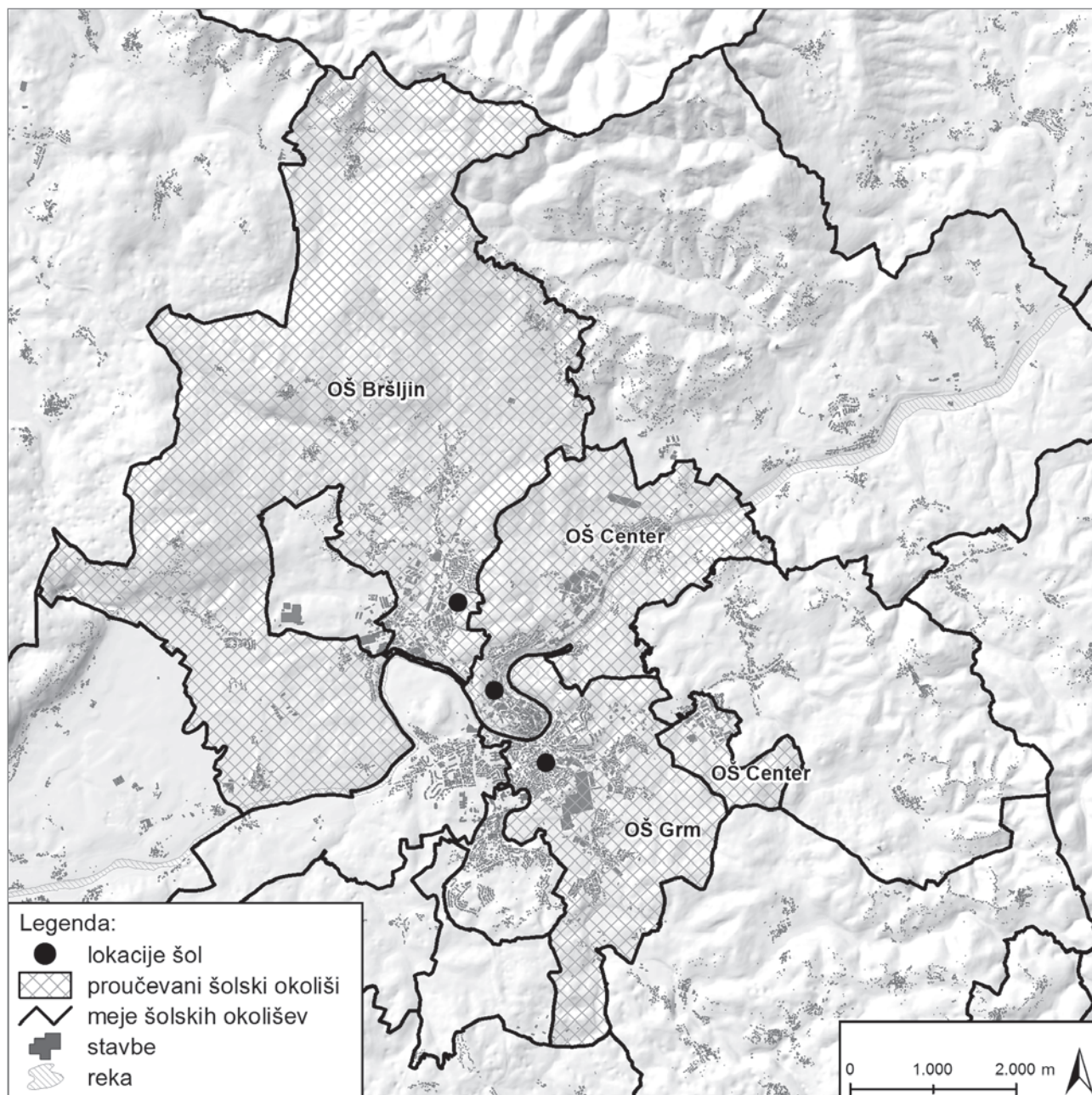
Podatke o razvoju motorizacije oziroma lastništvu osebnih avtomobilov v Sloveniji in Mestni občini Novo mesto smo preračunali iz podatkov baze Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije (Surs), ki podatke objavlja v redni letni publikaciji Statistični letopis Republike Slovenije in na podatkovnem portalu SI-STAT. Stopnja motorizacije je izračunana na podlagi letnih podatkov o številu prebivalcev (na dan 1. 1. za predhodno leto) in številu osebnih avtomobilov (na dan 31. 12. za tekoče leto). Upošteva se število osebnih avtomobilov, registriranih v Sloveniji. V podatkih Sursa med osebne avtomobile spadajo vozila iz kategorije vozil M1 (motorna vozila z vsaj štirimi kolesi, namenjena za prevoz oseb, ki imajo poleg sedeža za voznika še največ osem sedežev) brez osebnih posebnih vozil (osebni avtomobil, ki je oblikovan za posebne namene, in ne za prevoz potnikov, npr. gasilska vozila, rešilni avtomobili, pogrebna vozila ipd.) (Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2016).

2.3 Lokacija osnovnih šol in velikost šolskih okolišev

V pričujočem prispevku nas je zanimalo, ali sta se v obravnavanem času v Novem mestu spremenila lokacija osnovnih šol in velikost šolskih okolišev, kar bi lahko bilo razlog za spremembe potovalnih navad osnovnošolcev. Spremembe smo ugotavljali z intervjuji odgovornih na obravnavanih šolah med pripravo celostne prometne strategije (Balant idr., 2017).

2.4 Prometna ureditev v okolici osnovnih šol

Z intervjuji odgovornih na obravnavanih šolah smo zbirali tudi podatke o morebitnih spremembah v prometnih ureditvah okolice šol (na primer nova prometna infrastruktura za motorni promet, kolesarje in pešce, umiritev prometa, parkirne površine za dostavo otrok in podobno) v zadnjih letih, ki bi lahko vplivale na potovalne navade osnovnošolcev. Tudi ti intervjuji so potekali med pripravo celostne prometne strategije (Balant idr., 2017).



Slika 1: Obravnavane osnovne šole in njihovi šolski okoliši (avtor: Simon Koblar, prirejeno po: Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije, 2017, in Copernicus, 2012)

3 Rezultati

3.1 Potovalne navade osnovnošolcev

3.1.1 Način potovanja v šolo leta 1991

Skoraj vsi osnovnošolci in srednješolci so leta 1991 v šolo potovali aktivno, to je peš ali s kolesom. Pri poteh v šolo v 20 največjih slovenskih mestih je bil tega leta delež aktivnih potovalnih načinov kar 91 % (pri poteh na delo le 61 %). Osem

odstotkov šolarjev je uporabljalo avtobus, le odstotek šolarjev pa je bil pripeljan z osebnim avtomobilom. Deleži uporabe posameznih načinov so se med obravnavanimi 20 mesti precej razlikovali. V celoti so prevladovali aktivni poti v šolo na Ravnah na Koroškem (100 %), skoraj popolnoma pa so prevladovali v Domžalah in Kočevju (99 %) ter Kamniku, Novi Gorici, Postojni in na Ptujju (98 %). V Novem mestu je bil delež aktivnih načinov 92 %, 4 % poti v šolo je bilo opravljenih z osebnim avtomobilom (največ med 20 največjimi slovenskimi mesti!), prav tako 4 % pa z avtobusom.

3.1.2 Način potovanja v šolo leta 2001

Leta 2001 so učenci 3., 5., in 7. razreda OŠ Center, Bršljin in Grm v povprečju v šolo in iz šole večinoma pešali (55 %), avtobus jih je uporabljalo 22 %, z osebnim avtomobilom pa je bilo pripeljanih 23 % učencev. Kolesa ni uporabljal nobeden od sodelujočih v anketi. Način potovanja se precej razlikuje za poti v šolo od tistega iz šole. V šolo je zjutraj pešala manj kot polovica učencev (46 %), z avtobusom se jih je pripeljal skoraj enak delež povprečju (21 %), z avtomobilom pa je bila pripeljana kar tretjina otrok (33 %). Pri poteh domov se je občutno zmanjšal delež uporabe osebnega avtomobila (13 %) in povečal delež hoje (63 %). Delež uporabe avtobusa je ostal podoben (23 %). Veliko staršev zjutraj izkoristi svoje poti na delo z osebnim avtomobilom še za prevoz otrok v šolo. Ker se delovni čas večine staršev ne ujema z urnikom otrok v šoli, je veliko učencev, ki so se v šolo pripeljali z osebnim avtomobilom, morali domov peš ali z avtobusom. Zanimivo je, da na osnovnih šolah v Novem mestu leta 2001 nismo ugotovili kolesarjenja v šolo.

Potovalne navade so se med razredi precej razlikovale. Zakon o varnosti cestnega prometa predpisuje, da morajo imeti učenci 1. razreda na poti v šolo in domov spremstvo odrasle osebe. Zato ni presenetil nadpovprečen delež uporabe osebnega avtomobila med prvošolci v OŠ Center, za katere smo edino imeli zbrane podatke. Prevoz z avtomobilom je prevladoval tako na poti v šolo (63 %) kot na poti domov (58 %). Tako so leta 1991 med vsemi starostnimi skupinami le pri prvošolcih prevladovala poti z osebnim avtomobilom nad drugimi načini. Razlika deležev uporabe osebnega avtomobila med potmi v šolo in domov je bila majhna, kar kaže, da so se starši pri prvošolcih organizirali tako, da so jih tudi po pouku peljali domov. Dobra tretjina (34 %) prvošolcev je v šolo pešala, le redki pa so uporabili avtobus (3 %). Na poti domov ni nobeden izmed prvošolcev uporabil avtobusa, hodilo pa jih je precej več (42 %), in sicer zaradi manjših deležev voženj z osebnim avtomobilom in avtobusom. Pri višjih razredih je izstopal večji delež uporabe osebnega avtomobila pri tretješolcih (45 % na poti v šolo in 20 % na poti iz šole), ki se je pri višjih razredih zmanjšal zaradi hoje in ustalil.

Potovalne navade učencev so se pomembno razlikovale tudi med šolami. Najaktivnejše potovalne vzorce smo opazili pri učencih OŠ Grm, kjer je v šolo in iz šole v povprečju pešalo 70 % učencev (3 % z avtobusom in 27 % z avtomobilom). Sledi OŠ Center s 64-odstotnim deležem pešcev (15 % avtobus, 21 % avtomobil), najmanj pešcev pa je bilo na OŠ Bršljin (30 %), kjer je z 49 % prevladovala uporaba avtobusa (avtomobil 21 %). Za pojasnitev razlik med šolami smo analizirali vplive posameznih elementov fizične zgradbe prostora na značilnosti poti učencev. Ugotovili smo, da ima največji vpliv mre-

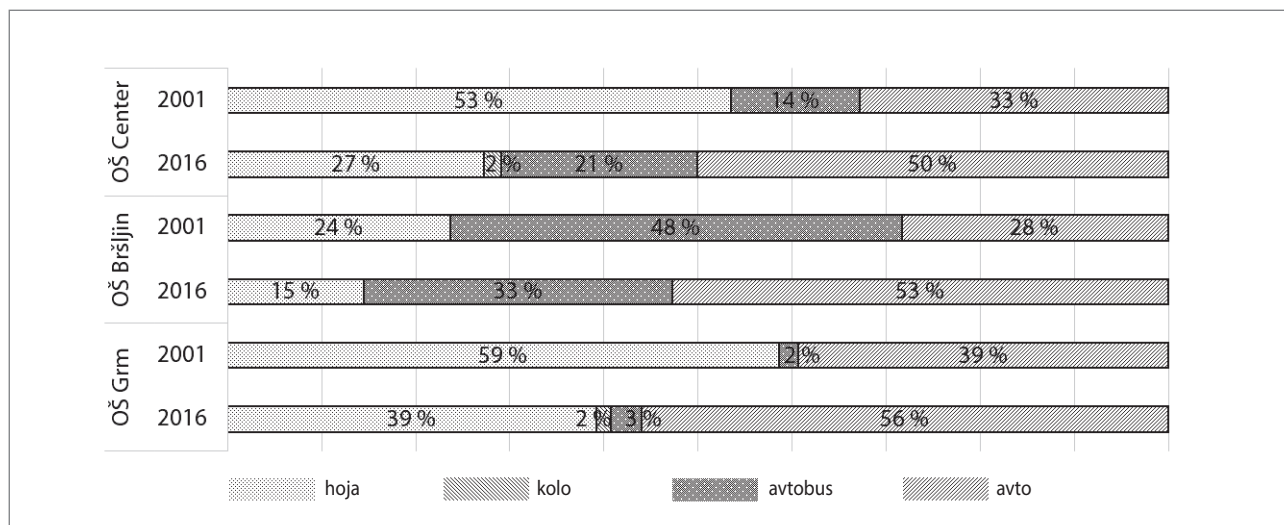
ža oziroma razporeditev osnovnih šol, ki se posredno kaže v velikosti šolskih okolišev ter v gostoti prebivalcev in pozidave v njihovem zaledju. Gostejša mreža in manjši šolski okoliši z večjo gostoto prebivalcev in pozidave vplivajo na krajše poti v šolo in posledično na večji delež aktivnih poti v šolo. Pomemben dejavnik je tudi organizirani šolski prevoz, ki prevzema tako daljše poti, ki bi jih drugače pretežno opravili starši z uporabo osebnega avtomobila ali pa bi morali učenci dolge poti opraviti na nevarnejše aktivne načine, kot krajše poti (nad 1.000 m), ki jih učenci brez organiziranega šolskega prevoza prepešajo. V Novem mestu smo ugotovili, da ima vsaka osnovna šola v zaledju največ 1.000 m vsaj eno zelo prometno cesto. Te so za varnost poti osnovnošolcev v šolo še posebno problematične. Hoja je resda najbolj trajnostni potovalni način, vendar je pri osnovnošolcih pomembnejša varnost, ki je pri organiziranih šolskih prevozi učencev večja.

S stališča trajnostnega prometa je verjetno najslabša redka mreža šol s tako velikostjo šolskih okolišev, ki še ne zadošča za organizacijo šolskega prevoza (razdalje do 4 km). V njih so mnogi učenci vezani na jutranje prevoze s trajnostno najbolj spornim prevoznim sredstvom – osebnim avtomobilom –, na poti domov pa so pogosto prepuščeni sami sebi, kar je sporno predvsem zaradi njihove varnosti (Plevnik, 2002: 188–189).

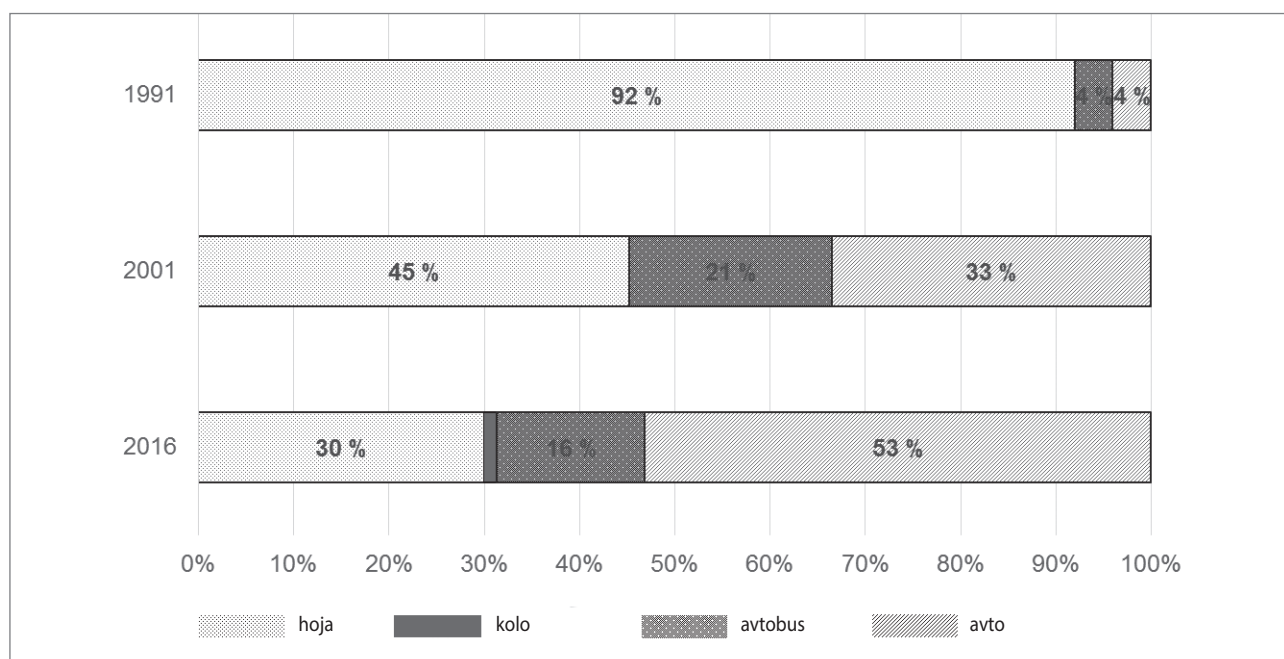
3.1.3 Način potovanja v šolo leta 2016

Pri podatkih za leto 2016 zaradi primerljivosti s prejšnjim časovnim prerezo obravnavamo tri osnovne šole iz Novega mesta, ki smo jih vključili v raziskavo leta 2001 (Center, Grm in Bršljin), čeprav je anketa vključevala še eno osnovno šolo iz mesta (Šmihel) in tri osnovne šole iz manjših naselij v občini (Otočec, Brusnice in Stopiče).

V povprečju so leta 2016 več kot polovico učencev 3., 5. in 7. razreda (53 %) v šolo pripeljali starši z avtomobilom (leta 2001 v šolo 33 %). Skoraj 32 % učencev je pešalo (leta 2001 46 %), 21 % se jih je pripeljalo z avtobusom (enak delež kot leta 2001) in dober odstotek s kolesom (0 % leta 2001). Učence smo povprašali, ali pozimi spremenijo potovalni način. Rezultati ne kažejo večjih sprememb v potovalnih navadah, razen večjega deleža voženj z avtobusom (28 %), zaradi hoje (27 %) in deloma vožnje z avtomobilom (44 %). Aktivno torej v šolo prihaja tretjina učencev v Novem mestu (53 % leta 2001), dve tretjini pa sta pripeljani (polovica leta 2001), večinoma z osebnim avtomobilom. Primerjava med razredi je pokazala podobne značilnosti kot leta 2001. Največji delež prevozov z avtomobili smo ugotovili pri tretješolcih (58 %), ki je upadal pri petošolcih (46 %) in dosegel najmanjši delež pri srednješolcih (30 %). Nasprotno je v šolo aktivno prišlo največ sedmošolcev (41 % peš, 3 % s kolesom), precej manj petošolcev (31 % peš, 1 % s kolesom) in le petina tretješolcev (20 % peš).



Slika 2: Primerjava potovalnih navad za prihode v šolo po šolah in letih (avtor: Luka Mladenovič, prirejeno po: Zavod Republike Slovenije za statistiko, 1992; Plevnik, 2002; Balant idr., 2017)

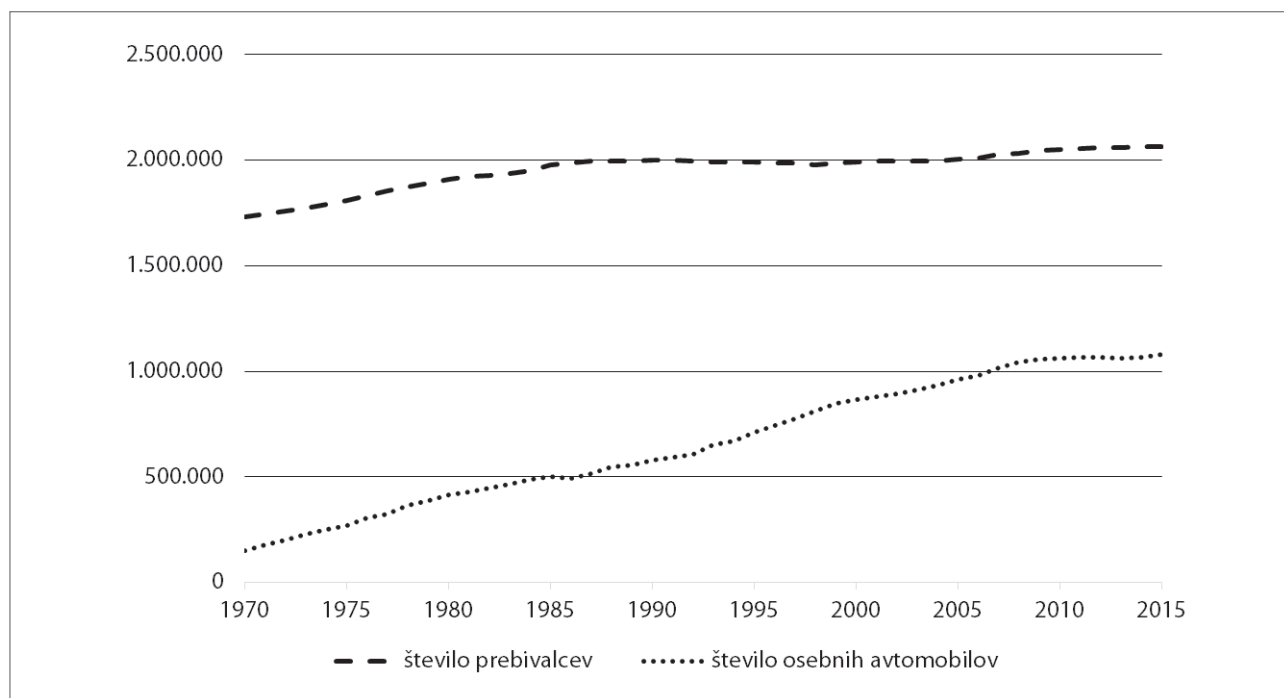


Slika 3: Skupne spremembe potovalnih navad (avtor: Simon Koblar)

Znova so se pomembno razlikovale potovalne navade učencev med šolami. Enako kot leta 2001 smo tudi leta 2016 najaktivnejše potovalne vzorce ugotovili pri učencih OŠ Grm, kjer je v šolo v povprečju pešočilo 39 % (leta 2001 70 % učencev), s kolesom pa sta se vozila slaba 2 % (leta 2001 nihče). Pomembno se je povečal delež avtomobilskih prevozov – s 27 % leta 2001 na 56 % leta 2016. Delež uporabnikov avtobusa je ostal nespremenjen (3 %). Na OŠ Center se je delež aktivni poti več kot prepolovil, in sicer s 64 % pešcev leta 2001 na 27 % pešcev in 2 % kolesarjev v letu 2016. Delež uporabe avtomobila je poskočil s 27 % na 50 %, delež uporabnikov avtobusa pa s 16 % na 21 %. Tudi na OŠ Bršljini se je delež hoje v 15 letih prepolovil, s 30 % na 15 %, še zmeraj pa nihče ni uporabljal kolesa. Pomembno se je zmanjšal tudi leta 2001 prevladujoč

način – delež avtobusnih voženj je upadel z 49 % na 33 %. Na tej šoli se je delež uporabe avtomobila najbolj povečal, in sicer z 21 % v letu 2001 na 53 % leta 2016.

V anketi leta 2016 smo dodali vprašanje o tem, kako si učenci želijo potovati v šolo. Želje otrok so v popolnem nasprotju z njihovim običajnim ravnanjem in v skladu s prizadevanji za aktivno mobilnost – večina otrok želi v šolo s kolesom (40 %) in peš (40 %). Z avtomobilom si v osnovno šolo želi prihajati le 12 % učencev, z avtobusom pa 7 %. Predvsem glede kolesarjenja je razlika med dejanskim stanjem in željami tako velika, da bi bilo smiselno raziskati razloge, ki učencem preprečujejo kolesarjenje v šolo, in jih začeti postopno odpravljati.



Slika 4: Število osebnih avtomobilov in prebivalcev v Sloveniji med letoma 1970 in 2015 (vir: Plevnik, 2016)

Potovalne značilnosti osnovnošolcev v osnovnih šolah v Novem mestu so zelo podobne rezultatom podobnih novejših raziskav drugje po Sloveniji. Učenci v šolah, ki so v letu 2015 sodelovali v državni kampanji Prometna kača, so imeli pred kampanjo podobne potovalne vzorce, kot smo jih ugotovili v Novem mestu. Aktivno je v šolo prihajalo 29 % učencev (od tega 3 % s kolesom). Velika večina je bila v šolo pripeljanih – 42 % z avtomobilom in 29 % z javnim prevozom (Moscholidou in Colclough, 2017).

3.2 Lastništvo osebnih avtomobilov

Razvoj motorizacije je v Sloveniji v zadnjih desetletjih doživel še posebej močan razmah. Med letoma 1970 in 2015 se je število osebnih avtomobilov v Sloveniji povečalo kar sedemkrat in preseglo 1,070.000. Stopnja motorizacije je bila 2015 523 osebnih avtomobilov na 1.000 prebivalcev, kar je skoraj 50 % več kot leta 1995 (Plevnik, 2016). S tem se Slovenija uvršča med države z največjim povečanjem lastništva osebnih avtomobilov, saj stopnja motorizacije že leta močno presega povprečje novih držav članic EU in držav kandidatk EU ter številnih gospodarsko razvitejših držav, na primer skandinavskih.

Mestna občina Novo mesto v stopnji motorizacije že od leta 2001 presega slovensko povprečje, kjer je najvišja stopnja motorizacije v občinah na zahodnem delu države. Leta 2006 je stopnja motorizacije presegla 500 vozil na 1.000 prebivalcev, kar pomeni, da je imel vsak drugi prebivalec v lasti osebni avtomobil. Leta 2015 je bila stopnja motorizacije 541 vozil na 1.000 prebivalcev (v celotni Sloveniji: 523).

3.3 Lokacija osnovnih šol in velikost šolskih okolišev

Za pojasnitev razlik med šolami smo že po prvi anketi leta 2001 analizirali posamezne elemente fizične zgradbe mesta in njihov vpliv na značilnosti poti učencev. Ugotovili smo, da ima največji vpliv mreža oziroma razporeditev osnovnih šol, ki se posredno kaže v velikosti šolskih okolišev ter v gostoti prebivalcev in pozidave v njihovem zaledju. Gostejša mreža in manjši šolski okoliši z večjo gostoto prebivalcev in pozidave vplivajo na krajše poti v šolo in posledično na večji delež aktivnih poti v šolo. Po drugi strani imajo večji šolski okoliši, kot je OŠ Bršljin, že zaradi zakonskih zahtev po zagotavljanju prevoza bolj razvejano mrežo šolskih avtobusnih prevozov, kar vpliva na večji delež uporabe avtobusa. Dodatno smo preverili spremembe v lokaciji šol in velikosti šolskih okolišev po letu 2001. Glavna sprememba je bila gradnja nove OŠ Drska leta 2002, ki je prevzela del šolskega okoliša OŠ Šmihel in ni vplivala na šolske okoliše v anketi obravnavanih šol. Zato sprememba v gostoti mreže osnovnih šol in njihovih šolskih okolišev ni vplivala na potovalne navade učencev obravnavanih šol.

3.4 Prometna ureditev v okolici osnovnih šol

Prometno ureditev v okolici šol smo preverjali s terenskimi ogledi med pripravo celostne prometne strategije za MO Novo mesto, spremembe po letu 2001 pa preverjali v intervjujih z odgovornimi za prometno varnost na obravnavanih osnovnih šolah. Vse obravnavane šole se redno ukvarjajo z varnimi pot-

mi v šolo in z ukrepi za njihovo zagotovitev. Šole imajo načrt varnih poti v šolo z evidenco nevarnih mest, ki jih odpravljajo v sodelovanju z mestno občino. V okolici vseh šol so bili po letu 2001 izvedeni številni ukrepi za varnost otrok, predvsem na področju umirjanja prometa in varnega prečkanja cestišč. Tovrstni ukrepi so usmerjeni v povečanje varnosti otrok v prometu in bi lahko prispevali k povečanju deleža aktivnih poti v šolo. Šole s podporo strokovnih organizacij redno organizirajo izobraževalne in promocijske dogodke, povezane s prometno varnostjo, predvsem ob začetku šolskega leta.

4 Razprava

Rezultati primerjave treh časovnih prerezov načinov poti v osnovne šole v Novem mestu in primerjava s podatki iz drugih šol po Sloveniji kažejo na velike spremembe v potovalnih navadah mladih prebivalcev naših mest in posledično njihovih staršev. Ključen prispevek tega članka je kvantificiranje obsega trenda spremembe potovalnih navad za prihod osnovnošolskih otrok v šolo. Trend smo opazovali strokovnjaki različnih področij in nanj opozarjali, a zaradi neobstoja sistematičnega zbiranja podatkov o potovalnih navadah prebivalcev, v tem primeru osnovnošolcev, nismo mogli opredeliti, v kakšnem obsegu se je ta sprememba dejansko odvila. Z raziskavo nam je uspelo zbrati podatke, primerljive z metodo, uporabljeno 2001, kar nam prvič na tem področju daje na voljo dva časovna prereza.

Leta 1991 je v slovenskih mestih v šolo aktivno (peš ali s kolesom) prišlo več kot 90 % otrok, v Novem mestu pa je delež aktivnih potovanj leta 2001 padel na manj kot polovico, do leta 2016 pa na tretjino. Podatki za 31 drugih šol po Sloveniji za leto 2015 potrjujejo, da je ta skrb vzbujajoči trend značilen za celotno državo. Podobne trende so ugotovili tudi v številnih drugih razvitih državah po svetu. V Švici se je aktiven prihod učencev v šolo med letoma 1994 in 2005 zmanjšal z 78 % na 71 % zaradi uporabe osebnega avtomobila. Zmanjšal se je predvsem delež tistih, ki so v šolo kolesarili, medtem ko je delež hoje ostal velik. Avtorji zmanjšanje pripisujejo predvsem pomembnemu povečanju dostopnosti lastništva osebnega avtomobila v tem obdobju (Grize idr., 2010). Podatki za Veliko Britanijo kažejo, da je delež otrok med 5. in 10. letom starosti, ki so v letih 1991, 1993 in 2002 pešali v šolo, padel s 60 % na 51 % (Department for Transport, 2004), v letu 2014 pa že na 46 % (Department for Transport, 2014). Vzporedno s tem se je delež tistih, ki so v šolo pripeljani z avtomobilom, povečal z 29 % na 46 % (Department for Transport, 2014). V Združenih državah Amerike je zmanjšanje zaradi zgodnje in še bolj intenzivne motorizacije na nekaterih območjih še večje. Kirsten Davison s sodelavci (2008) za zvezno državo Washington poroča o zmanjšanju aktivnega prihoda v šolo otrok med 5. in 15. letom starosti z 48 % v letu 1969 na 16 % v letu 2001.

Razlogi za obravnavane spremembe potovalnih navad otrok so večplastni in v literaturi lahko najdemo več nasprotujočih si razlag za te spremembe. Poleg osnovnega dejstva, tj. večje dostopnosti osebnega avtomobila in s tem povečanega lastništva in uporabe, ter oddaljenosti bivališča od šole, ki omejuje uporabo aktivnih oblik prihoda v šolo (Chillon idr., 2011), se v literaturi pojavljajo številni drugi dejavniki, ki vplivajo na izbor načina prihoda v šolo. Pogosto kot oviro za aktivni prihod starši navajajo prometno varnost oziroma občutek ogroženosti pešcev ali kolesarjev v prometu (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2006; Ahlport idr., 2008; Dimaggio, 2013). Ta je povezana s hitrostjo in količino vozil ter razpoložljivimi površinami za pešce. Študija iz Švice (Grize idr., 2010) je pokazala, da so pomembne ovire za hojo in kolesarjenje poleg razdalje tudi prečkanja pomembnejših cest. Davisonova s sodelavci (2008) med te ovire dodaja še razlike med ruralnim in urbanim okoljem ter vremenske vplive.

Leticia Grize s sodelavci (2010) trdi, da je izbor potovalnega načina posledica družinskega procesa odločanja, na katero vplivajo povezovanje poti v šolo s potmi na delo, udobje, skrb staršev glede prometne varnosti ter družbena in kulturna sprejemljivost posameznega potovalnega načina. Davisonova s sodelavci (2008) kot pomembne dejavnike pri izboru potovalnega načina navaja delovni urnik staršev in urnik otrokovih popoldanskih aktivnosti, ali so starši aktivno prihajali v šolo, ko so bili sami otroci, ali starši trenutno hodijo ali kolesarijo na delo, ali starši cenijo telesno aktivnost in spremljajoče družbene interakcije svojih otrok ter kulturno in družbeno sprejemljivost posameznega potovalnega načina. Grizetova s sodelavci (2010) pojasnjuje razlike v kulturni in družbeni sprejemljivosti posameznega potovalnega načina z velikimi razlikami v aktivnem potovanju v šolo med nemško (80 %), francosko (56 %) ali italijansko (52 %) govorečimi deli Švice.

Rezultati v Sloveniji potrjujejo delu ugotovitev iz tujine. Velike spremembe v potovalnih vzorcih otrok časovno sovpadajo z intenzivno motorizacijo slovenskih mest, ki je dosegla večje razsežnosti kot v marsikateri razvitejši državi. Povečano lastništvo avtomobilov se kaže v njihovi povečani rabi. Delo na večjem številu celostnih prometnih strategij kaže, da se le večja mesta v Sloveniji (Ljubljana in Maribor) uspešno spoprijemajo z rastjo osebnega motornega prometa, v majhnih in srednje velikih mestih pa njihov delež večinoma še narašča. V Novem mestu smo ugotovili, da v izboru potovalnega načina močno prevladuje osebni avtomobil (78 %), sledijo hoja (9 %), javni prevoz (8 %) in kolesa (manj kot 1 %) (Balant idr. 2017). V Ljubljani so bili leta 2015 deleži precej manjši pri uporabi osebnih avtomobilov (42 %). Ljudje veliko več hodijo (35 %), kolesarijo (11 %) in uporabljajo avtobus (13 %) (Mestna občina Ljubljana, 2017).

5 Sklep

Če smo lahko 2001 ugotavljali možno povezanost med dolžino poti v šolo in deležem aktivnih poti, ta povezanost vse bolj slabi. Otroci so v vedno večjem deležu v avtomobilih pripeljani na vse krajše razdalje (tudi manj kot 1.000 m), ki bi jih z lahkoto lahko opravili aktivno.

Del vzrokov obravnavanih trendov pojasnjujejo opozorila tujih strokovnjakov, da je treba zamenjati paradigmo prometne varnosti, ker naj bi intenzivno ukvarjanje s prometno varnostjo v okvirih veljavne paradigme lahko vplivalo na zmanjšanje aktivnih načinov potovanja. Todd Litman (2017) ugotavlja, da veljavna paradigma prometne varnosti predpostavlja, da je uporaba motornih vozil na splošno najvarnejša in da so nesreče posledica tveganega ravnanja določenih skupin ljudi, kot so vožnja mladih ali starejših, motnje med vožnjo (npr. uporaba telefona) ter neuporaba varnostnega pasu ali čelade pri kolesarjih. Zato se veljavni pristop usmerja na ciljne pristope in programe za zmanjšanje specifičnih tveganj (npr. zmanjšanje hitrosti, preganjanje uporabe telefona med vožnjo, uporaba varnostnega pasu, spodbujanje varnega kolesarjenja z uporabo čelade, krepitev vidnosti ogroženih udeležencev v prometu in podobno). Nova paradigma prometne varnosti izhaja iz predpostavke, da vsaka uporaba prevoznega sredstva predstavlja določeno tveganje in da je večina voznikov izpostavljena majhnim tveganjem, ki lahko privedejo do nesreče. Zato vsi pristopi, ki ne zmanjšujejo prometa motornih vozil, povečujejo tudi nevarnost nesreč, nasprotno pa pristopi zmanjševanja motornega prometa in spodbujanja alternativ odpravljajo tveganja nesreč. Nova paradigma gradi tudi na spoznanju, da je nesmotrno zmanjševanje uporabe osebnih motornih vozil brez vzpostavljanja kakovostnih alternativ. Nov pristop tako razširja nabor možnih ukrepov za izboljšanje prometne varnosti in vključuje več celostnega prometnega načrtovanja, ki se ukvarja z vsemi potovalnimi načini, pa tudi več upravljanja mobilnosti in ukrepov, integriranih s prostorskim načrtovanjem (Litman, 2017).

Ukvarjanje s prometno varnostjo na slovenskih osnovnih šolah je v skladu s staro paradigmo. Čeprav gre za pomembno, centralno vodeno in odlično organizirano področje, ki daje dobre rezultate na področju prometne varnosti, stara paradigma očitno prispeva k upadu aktivne mobilnosti med osnovnošolci z vsemi v uvodu navedenimi negativnimi posledicami na njihovo zdravje. Ukvarjanje s prometno varnostjo v naših šolah se osredotoča na zmanjšanje tveganega ravnanja voznikov v okolici šol in odpravljanje konfliktov med motoriziranimi in aktivnimi udeleženci v okolici šol. Toda tak pristop hkrati vzpostavlja razmere in prepričanje med starši, da je za otroke najbolj varno, če jih v šolo pripeljejo z osebnim avtomobilom. Tako razumevanje v kombinaciji z zagotavljanjem parkirišč za

varno dostavo otrok in za uslužbenke šole (trend, ki smo ga opazili v vseh Celostnih prometnih strategijah v Sloveniji), povečuje obseg motornega prometa v neposredni okolici šol, predvsem v jutranji konici, s tem pa povečuje tveganje novih nesreč. Gre za paradoks, ko veljavna paradigma prometne varnosti kljub drugačnemu namenu ustvarja prometno nevarne situacije v okolici šol in ogroža varnost vrstnikov in s tem povečuje delež otrok, ki prihajajo v šolo varno, a nezdravo – v osebnem avtomobilu.

Nabor rešitev podaja predvsem nova paradigma prometne varnosti. Osredotočenost ukvarjanja s prometno varnostjo se mora z varne vožnje preusmeriti na njeno zmanjševanje v okolici šol. Ukvarjanje z mobilnostjo otrok mora postati del celostnega prometnega načrtovanja, ki naj si prizadeva za zmanjšanje in umirjanje osebnega motornega prometa v okolici šol z vzpostavljanjem razmer, ki niso prijazne uporabi osebnih motornih vozil in spodbujajo varno rabo aktivnih alternativ. Omejevati je treba dostope in parkiranje osebnih vozil, tudi za zaposlene v šolah. Ob fizični preureditvi okolice šol je veliko energije treba usmeriti v upravljanje mobilnosti in spreminjanje navad vseh – otrok, staršev in zaposlenih na šolah. Upravljanje mobilnosti je koncept, ki promovira trajnostni promet in aktivno mobilnost ter uravnava povpraševanje po uporabi avtomobila na način, da spreminja stališča in potovalne navade prebivalcev. Njegovo bistvo so mehki ukrepi, kot so informiranje in komuniciranje, organizacija storitev in koordiniranje dejavnosti različnih partnerjev. Mehki ukrepi največkrat okrepijo učinkovitost trdih ukrepov v prometu (npr. nove površine za pešce ali kolesarske steze, tudi odprava dostopa ali ukinitvev parkirnih mest). Mehki ukrepi (v primerjavi s trdimi) navadno ne zahtevajo velikih denarnih vložkov in imajo pogosto zelo ugodno razmerje med koristmi in stroški. Tipični primer upravljanja mobilnosti je pobuda Prometna kača (Moscholidou in Colclough, 2017), ki je tudi v Sloveniji potrdila, da je vračanje k večji aktivni mobilnosti otrok mogoče in nujno potrebno.

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Franklin Obeng-Odoom

Ubrnitev mest za ljudi, ne dobiček (recenzija knjige *The city as commons*)

Naslov: The city as commons (Mesto kot skupno dobro)

Avtorja: Stavros Stavrides, Massimo De Angelis (spremna beseda)

Založba: Zed Books

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O skupnem dobru (angl. *commons*) se veliko govori, vendar njegov pomen ni jasen. Tako je leta 2016 organizacija Commons Strategies Group skupaj s Fundacijo Heinricha Bölla organizirala mednarodno konferenco o skupnem dobru, na kateri so sodelujoči predstavili mnenja in nato poskušali oblikovati enotno razlago pojma. Poročilo konference, ki je izšlo v publikaciji *State power and commoning: Transcending a problematic relationship* (Commons Strategies Group in Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2016), je močno razširilo razpravo o tej temi, ni pa prineslo končne rešitve, predvsem je spodbudilo nadaljnje raziskave. Kaj je skupno dobro? Bi se morali pri razlagi nasloniti na zamisli Garretta Hardina, Elinor Ostrom ali koga drugega? Kako lahko ta pojmovanja opredelimo v okviru urbanističnih in regionalnih raziskav? Katere politične in ekonomske posledice moramo pri tem upoštevati?

Obravnavana knjiga se ukvarja s temi vprašanji. Njen najopaznejši prispevek je, da se raje kot opredelitvi skupnega dobra posveča opisu uveljavljenih primerov skupnega dobra, njihovi obravnavi in oblikovanju splošnega okvira na podlagi tovrstne refleksije. Skladno s

tem induktivnim metodološkim pristopom je v knjigi večina teorij in razprav potisnjena na rob, glavna pozornost pa je namenjena praktičnim primerom, še zlasti iz bogatejših svetovnih gospodarstev ali mest razvitega sveta. Citirani in na kratko predstavljeni so tudi izsledki Elinor Ostrom (glej na primer str. 52–53), hkrati pa njenim poglobljenim člankom o tej tematiki (glej *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 75(2), 2016) in razpravam, ki so jih sprožila njena dela, knjiga ne namenja pozornosti. Niti Hardinova tragedija skupnega in z njo povezane razprave niso omenjene.

Edino teoretično ozadje, ki ga avtorji upoštevajo, so razprave o tem, ali je prostor tisti, ki ustvarja družbene razmere (Lefebvre), ali pa so družbene razmere tiste, ki so odvisne od prostora (Harvey). Avtor ne navede izrecno, da obravnava ta vprašanja, a z natančnim branjem bralec ne more prezreti avtorjevega stališča, ko ta opredeli skupno dobro kot *niz prostorskih odnosov, ki jih oblikujejo prakse ustvarjanja skupnega* (str. 2). Urednik knjige Massimo De Angelis v spremni besedi zapiše, da je to *knjiga, ki opisuje najboljše v lefebvrianski tradiciji* (str. xiv). Vendar v nasprotju z

denimo Edwardom Sojo, ki prav tako neposredno nasprotuje Harveyjemu pristopu (glej na primer Soja, 2003), avtor – z izjemo nekaterih primerov, ko se ne strinja s Harveyjevimi instrumentalističnimi pogledi na prostor, vključno z njegovo dozdevno strpnostjo do nekaterih oblik ograjenosti (glej str. 265–266) – išče določeno spravo s tem, ko priznava, da prostor oblikujejo tudi družbene interakcije. *Skupen prostor je tako konkreten produkt kolektivno razvitih institucij skupne uporabe kot tudi eno izmed ključnih sredstev, s katerimi se lahko te institucije oblikujejo in oblikujejo tiste, ki oblikujejo njih* (str. 7).

Glede na to, da je Stavrides po poklicu arhitekt, je razumljiva njegova trditev, da to, kako oblikujemo stavbe in prostor, v splošnem ustvarja nove družbene odnose in vpliva na stare. Kljub temu po njegovem mnenju pri ustvarjanju skupnega (ang. *commoning*) ne gre samo za to, v čigavi lasti je prostor (tj. javno skupno dobro, ki ga razvijejo ali imajo v lasti ljudje in ne država, in zasebni prostor, ki se razvije na podlagi zasebnih interesov), ampak tudi za nove družbene odnose in politike skupne uporabe. Kot to tudi navede (str. 261), je pojem skupnega dobra in ustvarjanja skupne-



ga v popolnem nasprotju s pojmom lastništva in prostorske taksonomije, ki temelji na pravnih merilih (lastništvu, dostopnosti itd.), političnih merilih (oblikah oblasti, ki nadzorujejo prostor) ali ekonomskih merilih (vrednosti, ki jo prostoru pripisuje neki zgodovinsko zakoreninjen sistem tržnih odnosov). V bistvu skupen prostor obstaja kot anti-teza javnemu/zasebnemu prostoru, zato je treba skupen prostor in ustvarjanje skupnega razumeti kot nekaj povsem drugega, kot je dihotomija med javnim in zasebnim prostorom.

V nasprotju z drugimi arhitekti avtor priznava, da predmet njegove obravnave (tj. skupno dobro) ni konkreten. Pri skupnem prostoru gre za delo v nastajanju oziroma za trajen družbeni proces, zato je treba pojem ustvarjanja skupnega vedno razumeti v povezavi s skupnim prostorom (str. 259). Avtor v zvezi s tem priznava, da je o skupnem prostoru še veliko neznanega: *za sistematično proučevanje tega, kako se nove oblike razumevanja jaza pojavljajo v praksah ustvarjanja skupnega v mestih, je treba še veliko narediti na področju teorije in raziskav* (str. 262). Hkrati pa podrobno opiše vse tisto, kar je doslej o tem znanega.

Kot trdi, se lahko skupen prostor v fizičnem smislu ustvari z ograjenim ali zaprtim sistemom, sam pa daje prednost trajnemu procesu ustvarjanja skupnega, ki ga poimenuje proces odpiranja (str. 3). Izrecno nasprotuje statičnemu skupnemu dobru in podpira dinamičen proces odpiranja. Meni, da je treba znanje deliti in da ne sme biti omejeno samo na tiste, ki ga ustvarjajo, ali na podobno misleče strokovnjake. Zavzema se za zaprtje vrzeli med proizvajalcem in potrošnikom ter umetniške uprizoritve, ki umetnika ne ločijo od občinstva ali potrošnikov. Vztraja pri tovrstnem pojmovanju, saj se ustvarjanje skupnega pogosto dobro začne, na koncu pa prevzame značilnosti, ki so jim ljudje sprva nasprotovali. Kot primere tega,

kako lahko prakse ustvarjanja skupnega pokvarijo skupno, omenja t. i. občinske parke in mestne trge, ki jih vodijo birokrati, ki trdijo, da to delajo za lokalno skupnost (str. 4). Skupno dobro lahko torej razumemo kot mejne prostore, s katerimi poudarimo *prakse ustvarjanja skupnega prostora, ki presegajo ograjenost in se odpirajo novim uporabnikom skupnega dobra* (str. 5).

Avtor o teh značilnostih in naravi skupnega prostora v smislu protikapitalističnih družbenih odnosov razpravlja v devetih poglavjih, v katerih obravnava tri teme. Prva tema, na katero se osredotoči, je ustvarjanje skupnega prostora (prvo in drugo poglavje), pri čemer nakaže vsebino knjige, poda ustrezne argumente (prvo poglavje) in močno zagovarja protikapitalistično prostorsko-družbeno dialektiko (usmerjeno zoper obstoječe mehanistične okvire skupnega dobra; drugo poglavje). Kot drugo temo (od tretjega do šestega poglavja) obravnava različne stanovanjske in prostorske prakse, zlasti v Atenah, ki določajo ustvarjanje skupnega dobra ali pa mu kljubujejo. V nasprotju s konkretnjšo naravo druge teme se pri tretji temi (od sedmega do devetega poglavja) posveča simboličnim praksam ustvarjanja skupnega dobra, vključno s popačenjem javnega prostora, grafiti in oblikovanjem drugih podob, s čimer ponudi slikovit vpogled v svet ustvarjanja skupnega dobra. V zadnjem poglavju (str. 259–274) strne ključne argumente, pri čemer poudari potrebo po popolnem zavračanju kapitalizma in drugih oblik nadvlade ter zagovarja razširitev skupnega prostora in ustvarjanje skupnega kot edini pristop, s katerim lahko zrušimo skrivnostno moč oblasti, ki uniči tudi najbolj progresivne posameznike, ki prevzamejo nadzor nad državnim aparatom. V skupnem dobru leži upanje o obstoju sveta brez hierarhije, v katerem se birokratom ni treba pretvarjati, da so kot drugi uporabniki skupnega dobra (angl. *commoners*), saj skupno dobro ne pozna birokratov.

V knjigi avtor uspešno predstavi, kaj je skupno dobro oziroma kaj bi moralo biti. Loči ga od javnega in zasebnega prostora, njegov analitični prispevek pa je nekoliko manj jasen. Z vprašanjem specifičnih posledic za gospodarstvo in družbo se sistematično ne ukvarja in zgolj na splošno omeni, da bomo z ustvarjanjem skupnega presegli kapitalizem. Ocenjujem, da avtor v knjigi ne opredeli jasno posledic ustvarjanja različnih skupnih prostorov (tj. zasebnih, javnih, javno-zasebnih, naravnih in umetnih prostorov). Ali ima z vidika političnih in ekonomskih pobud in posledic ustvarjanje skupnih zemljišč enak učinek kot ustvarjanje skupnega produkta dela? Ali se pri ustvarjanju skupnih zemljišč pojavljajo podobna moralna vprašanja kot pri ustvarjanju drugih skupnih dobrin? Če to drži, zakaj je potem denimo Karl Polanyi (2001) zemljišča, delo in denar obravnaval kot posebne pri svoji analizi v delu *The great transformation*? Zakaj je Henry George (1981) zemljišča in naravo obravnaval kot posebno kategorijo v knjigi *Progress and poverty*? Stavros Stavrides se s temi vprašanji ne ukvarja, razen da le zatrdi (brez dokazov ali podrobne analize), da niso posebna (str. 34–39). Avtor poleg tega po empirični analizi ne ponudi nove teorije o skupnem dobru, zaradi česar je njegov analitični prispevek spet šibkejši. Proti koncu knjige sicer omeni spolno in raso diskriminacijo, vendar primere premalo analizira, da bi pokazal, da skupno dobro dejansko vključuje vse spolne, rasne ter druge manjšinske statuse in identitete. Jasno je torej, da ustvarjanje skupnega dobra preprečuje izkoriščanje, domneve, da preprečuje tudi izključenost v kapitalističnih sistemih, pa avtorju ne uspe potrditi.

Omenjene pripombe glede nenatančnosti in šibkega analitičnega prispevka pa zbledijo v primerjavi z vsemi odlikami te knjige. *The city as commons* je knjiga, ki jo morate prebrati, če želite izvedeti več o tej temi, hkrati pa nudi izhodišče za nadaljnje raziskave.

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Exploring policy options to combat illegal microapartments in Hong Kong

Illegal building can take multiple forms, including squatter settlements and illegal building extensions. Among the various forms of illegal building, illegal microapartments (IMAs), which take the form of unauthorised subdivided housing units, have recently aroused wide public concern in Hong Kong. On account of their unlawful nature, IMAs pose serious threats to the safety of local communities by undermining structural stability and fire safety in buildings. They may also adversely affect natural lighting and ventilation for building occupants. Fatal fires in buildings with IMAs in recent years have demonstrated the painful consequence of ignoring this issue in the city. Nonetheless, the problem of IMAs has seldom attracted scholarly attention around the world. In light of the seriousness of the IMA problem in Hong Kong, this study explores workable policy options for cracking down

on the problem. It reviews policies or proposals in different jurisdictions to crack down on IMAs. Then a three-round policy Delphi study is carried out with a panel of stakeholders to identify and prioritise policy options for combating IMAs in Hong Kong. Various measures are proposed or identified by the panel members, ranging from increasing the frequency of building inspections and imposing stricter penalties on non-conforming owners to licensing IMAs for private renting. Among these options, stricter enforcement is considered the most workable option. The results of the policy Delphi study are discussed and policy recommendations are made.

Keywords: building inspection, illegal housing, microapartments, Delphi study, private rental, unauthorised building work

1 Introduction

To serve as a shelter, a building should not only be weather-proof and comfortable, but also safe. Unfortunately, the safety of the built environment is often jeopardised by a number of human factors. Erroneous design, poor workmanship and building misuse or abuse are the most often cited factors for safety hazards (Lo, 1998; Al-Homoud & Khan, 2004; Pearson & Delatte, 2005; Wong & Lau, 2007). Nonetheless, illegal building, such as unlawful additions, alterations and removals, which also plays an important role in determining building safety, has not attracted much academic attention. In fact, in spite of the growing volume of literature on building inspection, the main focus of previous research tends to be one-sided. Building inspection for new developments has predominated in the literature (Baiche et al., 2006; Meijer & Visscher, 2006; Imrie, 2007), but minimal work has been dedicated to inspecting existing buildings. Given that vigilant management of the existing building stock is one of the key determinants of sustainable urban development (Ho et al., 2008), there is no point in upholding such an imbalance in the research focus between new and existing buildings. In this regard, this article on combating illegal microapartments (IMAs) in existing buildings can contribute to the body of knowledge by counteracting this imbalance.

For various reasons such as unaffordable rentals in the private housing sector and long waiting lists for public rental housing, some people in Hong Kong have no choice but transient accommodation in IMAs, which often result from unlawful flat subdivision. Here, flat subdivision refers to a situation in which “individual living quarters having been subdivided into two or more smaller units for rental” (Policy 21 Limited, 2013: 5). Policy 21 Limited (2013) estimates that, as of 30 April 2013, 18,800 units were subdivided in the territory, producing 66,900 subdivided units and accommodating 171,300 persons (accounting for 2.4% of the total population of Hong Kong). However, these estimates did not include IMAs in residential buildings built after 1988 and industrial buildings. In general, the living conditions of IMAs are unsatisfactory. Many safety, health and social problems are associated with IMAs.

This article presents a study that identifies and prioritises policy options for cracking down on the problem of IMAs in the private housing stock in Hong Kong. Although a handful of works address different forms of illegal building in Hong Kong (e.g., Davison, 1990; Lai & Ho, 2001; Lai, 2003; Leung & Yiu, 2004; Yiu et al., 2004; Yiu, 2005; Yiu & Yau, 2005; Ho et al., 2008), no previous attempt has been made to explore workable solutions to the IMA problem in the city. To fill the research gap, we look for some practical policy options by applying the policy Delphi method.

This article is organised as follows. First, the problem of IMA and the regulatory inspection of existing buildings in Hong Kong is overviewed. Afterwards, measures to deal with the IMA problem in other jurisdictions are reviewed. Then, the policy Delphi method is detailed, followed by the key findings of the research. In the conclusion, the policy implications of the research findings are discussed and policy recommendations are presented.

2 IMAs in Hong Kong

In the early 2010s, Hong Kong's economy started its recovery from the global financial turmoil. However, the land supply in Hong Kong has long been constrained by the lack of developable land in the city. Moreover, the suspension of regular land sales by public auction or tender between 2002 and 2013 further limited the supply of new land for housing development. At the same time, the housing demand surged because of a continuous inflow of new immigrants from mainland China and new household formation. Eventually, the supply of new housing could not keep pace with the surging demand, resulting in a sharp rise in the rental level. Between 2003 and 2015, the private residential rental level in Hong Kong increased by 135% (Rating and Valuation Department, 2017). The rental inflation far outpaced the salary increase. Although public rental housing could provide accommodation to low-incomeers at affordable costs, the waiting time has been notoriously long. Many people had to seek their accommodation in the private rental sector, but it was clear that housing costs and family incomes had fallen out of balance. In view of the imbalance in the housing market, speculative landlords subdivided and leased out their properties. Several families crowded into a subdivided structure originally designed to hold only one household. To a certain extent, therefore, flat subdivision, which allows more intensive use of existing dwellings, is a natural response to the prevailing market imbalance. In Hong Kong, subdivided flats mainly proliferate in aging buildings in old districts. *Hong Kong Commercial Daily* (2015) reported that over 90% of the private standalone buildings in the Sham Shui Po area had subdivided flats.

2.1 Illegality of flat subdivision

Daniel Chi Wing Ho, Kwong Wing Chau and Yung Yau (2008) classified illegal building into two broad headings. The first category is the erection of structures on state land with no legal title obtained from the state. Informal housing settlements and squatter housing are typical examples of this type of illegal building. The second category covers unlawful additions, alterations, erections or demolitions carried out on land leased or granted by the state. In fact, a vast

majority of the subdivided units in Hong Kong belong to the second category because they constitute unauthorised building work (UBW). In Hong Kong, all building work, including construction of new buildings, demolition work, and additions and alterations to existing buildings, are subject to statutory inspection under the Buildings Ordinance and its subsidiary legislation (Department of Justice, 2017). The Buildings Department executes and enforces these legislations. To ascertain that the design and implementation of building work meet the minimum acceptable standard, approval and consent must be obtained from the Building Authority (i.e., the Director of Buildings) before the building work can commence, except for some situations (Chan & Chan, 2003; Yiu & Yau, 2005; Ho et al., 2008). Building work carried out in contravention of this stipulation is generally regarded as UBW (Yiu et al., 2004).

There are three exceptional situations in which prior approval and consent are not needed. The first is when the building work is excluded from the regime of the Buildings Ordinance. This includes building work carried out in buildings belonging to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) Government and building work carried out on land vested in the Housing Authority or the Hong Kong Garrison. The second is when the building work is designated exempted work, which includes common household renovation work such as painting, internal plastering, wallpapering and replacement of bathroom fittings. This work needs to be carried out inside a building and does not involve the building structure. The third is when the building work falls in the category of Class III work in the Minor Works Control System (MWCS), which was introduced in 2010. Under the MWCS, prior approval and consent is not necessary for forty-two types of low-risk building work provided that this work is carried out and certified by a registered minor work contractor and relevant documents are submitted to the Buildings Department within fourteen days after the completion of the work. Production of microapartments through flat remodelling or subdivision usually involves the erection of non-load-bearing walls for partitioning and alteration of interior plumbing. Before the introduction of the MWCS, this building work was exempted, given that the building work did not contravene any regulations under the Buildings Ordinance. Since the MWCS came into operation, subdivision of a flat is no longer treated as exempted building work in most cases. Whether the work is classified as Class I, Class II or Class III minor work depends on the specifications of the work, such as the thickness of the partition wall (Buildings Department, 2012). However, many landlords that engaged in flat subdivision did not fulfil the submission requirements under the MWCS. Even worse, many microapartments do not have any windows, and so their designs do not conform to relevant building codes. Therefore, most microapartments in Hong Kong are illegal.

2.2 Impacts of the IMA problem

The proliferation of IMAs in old buildings creates various safety and health hazards for the community. Because IMAs were produced without the scrutiny and approval of the Building Authority, their safety standards are not guaranteed. They endanger the fire safety of a building in various ways. For instance, the flat addition increases the number of occupants in a building and congests emergency exit routes. In some cases, flat subdivision involves physical alterations of flats, which disrupts the structural integrity of the building. This mostly happens when openings are made in load-bearing walls or the load-bearing walls are removed completely for more flexible spatial remodelling. Moreover, flat subdivision often adversely affects natural lighting and ventilation for building occupants. Alteration of plumbing systems may invoke problems such as pipe leakage and water seepage. Moreover, poorly planned flat subdivision makes some parts of the building inaccessible for repairs and maintenance, further aggravating building disrepair and dilapidation. These problems are vividly reflected in recurring complaints by residents in subdivided units regarding water seepage and concrete spalling (Policy 21 Limited, 2013). From the urban planning perspective, flat subdivision means more people, and increased population entails the need for more public services. Provision of more services in old districts, however, is often constrained by limited land and financial resources. Flat addition can affect perceived densities. To the extent that this occurs, the quality of life in the neighbourhood and property values may also be affected (Yau, 2015). From the viewpoint of neighbourliness, privacy issues and nuisances are difficult to avoid in the congested living environment in IMAs. Conflicts arise among occupants of IMAs, leading to confrontations in many cases.

2.3 Enforcements against IMAs in Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, enforcements against IMAs are rooted in the building inspection and land administration regimes. In the building inspection regime, the Buildings Ordinance serves as a statutory weapon for the HKSAR Government to fight against UBW, including IMAs, in the city. Section 24(1) of the ordinance empowers the Building Authority to serve statutory orders on building owners to remove any UBW within a specified period of time. The UBW that must be removed is explicitly specified in an order. A statutory order of this kind is commonly known as a “removal order” (Chan & Chan, 2003), but this name is rather misleading. UBW, by its nature, is not necessarily limited to unauthorised additions to a building, but also includes unlawful alterations or removals of approved building elements. In this light, a removal order would better be referred to as a “reinstatement order”. The

subject of the statutory order, which may be an individual or an owners' corporation, is required to reinstate the parts of the building so affected as per the originally approved building plans (Chan & Chan, 2003). If the reinstatement work is substantial or involves structural work, the Building Authority may specifically require the subject of the order to appoint a prescribed building professional to coordinate and supervise the reinstatement work on the subject's behalf. At the same time, appointment of a registered contractor to carry out the work under the supervision of the prescribed building professional is usually necessary for more complex reinstatement work. In some extreme cases, if the Building Authority is of the opinion that the whole or part of a building is not suitable for occupation, it can apply to the court for a closure order (Buildings Department, 2015). For example, IMAs were found in some premises in an industrial building in Tuen Wan, Hong Kong in 2015. The Buildings Authority applied to the district court for a statutory closure order. With the order, the Buildings Department closed the premises with IMAs, facilitating the reinstatement work by the government contractor and discontinuing residential use in the industrial building.

To effectively prevent UBW, there must be penalties for those that do not observe the legal requirements. In Hong Kong, statutory and non-statutory penalties are employed in parallel. On the statutory side, Section 40(1BA) of the Buildings Ordinance stipulates that non-compliance with a statutory order served under Section 24(1), without any reasonable excuse, is a criminal offence. The offenders are liable to a fine and imprisonment. At the time of writing this article, convicted offenders are liable to a fine of up to HKD200,000 and to imprisonment of up to one year. In addition, continuing offenders may be subject to a further fine of HKD20,000 for each day they continue to violate an order. To supplement the criminal punishment, the statutory orders issued are registered with the Land Registry against the titles of the properties (Chan & Chan, 2003). Such a registration is only removed when the owners comply with the subject order to the satisfaction of the Building Authority (Buildings Department, 1997). With the enactment of the Building (Amendment) Ordinance 2004, the Building Authority is authorised to issue warning notices to owners of premises with an UBW and to register the notices in the Land Registry if the UBW is not rectified within a specified period. Although properties with title encumbrances can still be freely traded, their market values are usually lower. These non-statutory mechanisms create economic disincentives for creating UBW. On the other hand, the land administration regime relies on the enforcement of the terms or conditions in government leases. Virtually all of the land in Hong Kong is held under a leasehold system. Land uses and parameters of development potential are specified in government leases. Non-conforming use of a site (e.g., running IMAs

in an industrial building erected on a non-residential site) is a breach of the government lease condition. Upon identifying non-conforming uses, the Lands Department issues warning letters to the leaseholders concerned requesting that they stop their non-conformance. If the warning is ignored, the HKSAR Government can repossess the land or properties with non-conforming uses. In general, enforcement under the building inspection regime is applicable for all private buildings in Hong Kong. Conversely, as far as IMAs are concerned, enforcement of government land leases against this type of illegal accommodation is effective only in non-residential sites (lease conditions are not breached if IMAs are located in residential sites).

Enforcements against IMAs in Hong Kong, particularly in private residential or residential-commercial buildings, are thorny. Due to the lack of resources, it is impossible for the Buildings Department to inspect all private buildings in Hong Kong. The Buildings Department has to rely on complaints from the public to initiate investigations. Even worse, IMAs are not easily identifiable from a building's exterior. In-flat inspection is required, but warrants have to be obtained from the court beforehand unless the building occupants permit the entry of government inspectors. In order to obtain the warrants, the Buildings Department has to gather evidence such as multiple mailboxes and doorbells, which are difficult to discover in many cases. From the perspective of institutional economics, therefore, the transaction costs incurred in the Buildings Department's enforcement against IMAs, particularly costs of IMA identification, are very high. Apart from the difficulties in identifying non-conformance, the bureaucratic incapacity of the Buildings Department has been one of the major obstacles to the effective inspection of IMAs in Hong Kong. As shown in Figure 1, the number of removal orders issued by the Building Authority has fluctuated greatly since 1997. From 1997 to 2007, the number of statutory orders issued each year for UBW removal increased more than tenfold, from 3,103 to 32,898. Yet the number of orders issued dropped to an annual average of about 12,300 between 2012 and 2015. This significant reduction in statutory orders issued reflects the lack of capacity of the Buildings Department to handle the problem of UBW in the city. Various reports have criticised the Buildings Department for not closely following up on compliance with removal or reinstatement orders (Audit Commission, 2003, 2015; Yiu et al., 2004; Office of the Ombudsman, 2014). About 20% of the statutory orders were not cleared five years after their issuance. In spite of the significant proportion of non-compliance cases, the prosecution rate has been rather low. Given the safety and health concerns arising from IMA proliferation, it is clear that a more effective policy is urgently needed to bring the problem in the city to an end.

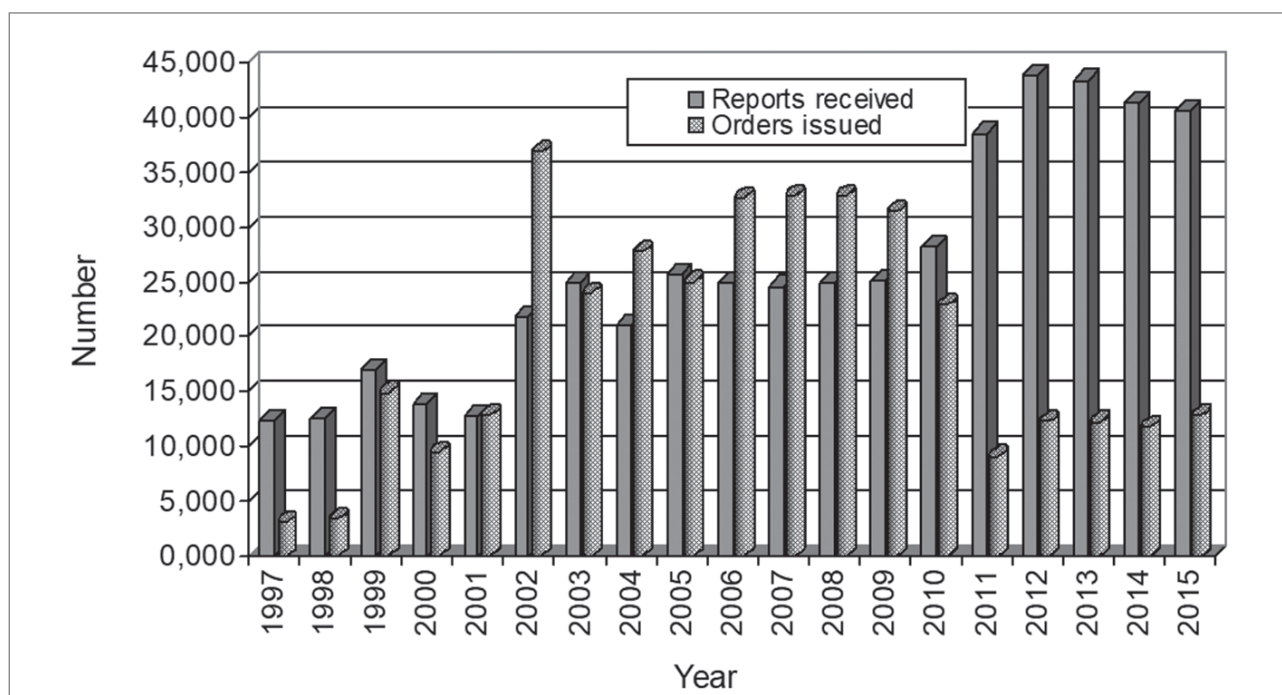


Figure 1: Number of reports on UBW received and removal orders issued by the Buildings Department (source: Buildings Department, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2016).

3 Measures for dealing with IMAs abroad

Subdivision of the housing stock is nothing new. At various times in the history of modern cities, flat subdivision has provided a large share of additions to the housing inventory. For example, apartment subdivision was trendy in New York City, particularly the Manhattan area, in the 1930s (Hokinson, 1936). Informal subdivision of dwellings was also commonly found in São Paulo and Johannesburg in the early 2000s (Few et al., 2004). Various measures or policies have been adopted by governments around the world to deal with the issue of IMAs or similar problems of illegal flat subdivision. In general, if flat subdivision contravenes building codes or regulations, in many jurisdictions public authorities will order the property owners to reinstate the properties. Failure to comply with the statutory orders can be a serious criminal offence. For example, in Singapore, a property owner that fails to comply with a statutory enforcement order is liable to a fine of up to SGD20,000 and up to six months in prison. Apart from building inspection, zoning or planning supervision has been employed against the problem of illegal accessory dwellings in the United States. In many houses built on land zoned for single-family use, there are legally constructed rooms accessory to the primary residence. These spaces are frequently illegally converted into a separate dwelling unit for some other families by adding separate kitchen and bathroom facilities. Upon

identifying violations, the planning authority will require the offenders to stop or correct the non-conformance. Similar to the statutory building inspection, neglect of or non-compliance with the abatement orders without a reasonable excuse is a misdemeanour or criminal offense. In addition, governments can impose minimum standards on residential properties for leasing purposes. For example, in mainland China, an apartment or house originally designed for occupation by a single household is the minimum unit for leasing, and the per-capita living spaces of rental properties must not be smaller than the minimum standards determined by the local government. In Beijing, for instance, the living space per capita must not be less than five square metres and the maximum number of occupants per room is two. Similar measures regulating living space standards are also in force in Singapore and the United Kingdom.

IMAs often become popular in a housing market through active marketing by real estate brokers. In this light, governments can depopularise IMAs by removing intermediaries in leasing or trading these informal dwellings through regulating brokerage practices. Real estate brokerage companies have been asked to sign an agreement with the Beijing Municipal Housing, Land and Resources Administration that they will not engage in improper brokerage practices, including leasing or trading illegally subdivided units. Companies that breach the agreement

will be punished. In Beijing, people are rewarded if they report suspected group-oriented leasing and misuse of dwelling units. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom, Australia and Singapore, on the other hand, approval or regularisation of UBW is allowed provided that the designs and construction of the UBW complies with the prevailing building codes. On account of the demand-supply imbalance in housing markets, many scholars and policymakers propose legalising IMA or flat subdivision, which is not permitted under the current laws. For example, microapartments in the form of single-room occupancy housing have been prohibited in the United States, and Brian Sullivan and Jonathan Burke (2013) have proposed legalising single-room occupancy housing to provide more affordable housing to the market.

4 Research method

Awareness of all available options and experts' views on these options is essential for the formulation of a workable and well-informed policy for combatting IMAs in Hong Kong. In many cases, identification and evaluation of policy options necessitates idea generation, which can be exercised in two ways; namely, an individual-based approach and a group-based approach. According to Roger Needham and Robert de Loe (1990), the individual-based approach obtains input from individual experts without a chance for them to exchange ideas or interact with each other, whereas the group-based approach allows some forms of interaction among the informants. Previous studies argue that the group-based approach is preferable to the individual-based approach in many aspects (Osborne, 1975; Herbert & Yost, 1979; Pearson et al., 2010). In most cases, the former is thought to produce more options and better-quality ideas.

4.1 The policy Delphi method

In line with the research objectives, we adopted policy Delphi, a group-based idea generation method, to generate options and opinions from a panel of stakeholders. This method was first proposed by Murray Turoff (1970). It is designed to ensure that the best possible information will be available for decision-makers or policymakers and that all possible options are on the agenda (Turoff, 1975). It is useful when decision-makers do not want a group of experts or informed advocates to come up with a decision for them, but rather to suggest all of the possible options and justifications for their consideration. In its operation, policy Delphi involves a series of organised steps for obtaining, exchanging and developing informed opinions on a specific topic (Dunn, 2012). With some adaptations, it can also allow the estimation of the acceptability and potential impacts of the identified options for

a problem. Unlike the conventional Delphi method, which is designed to pursue a consensus on a particular topic among a group of experts, policy Delphi seeks to "generate the strongest possible opposing views on the potential resolutions of a major policy issue" (Turoff, 1975: 84). In other words, the policy Delphi technique should be chosen when eliciting dissensus among different people is more important than achieving a consensus (Klenk & Hickey, 2011). Although it is a systematic method for obtaining, exchanging and developing informed opinions on a particular policy issue from a wide spectrum of participants (Rayens & Hahn, 2000), Robert de Loe (1995) has pointed out that policy Delphi focusses on the breadth of an issue more rather than the depth.

From above, it is clear that policy Delphi is suitable for policy analysis, rather than for achieving a decision. A policy Delphi process usually includes several question-response rounds. Paul Baker and Nathan Moon (2008, 2010) proposed several principles underlying the design of a policy Delphi process. For example, none of the participants know the identities of the others. Anonymity aims to minimise the mutual influences among individual participants and ensure candid responses from each single participant. In addition, the questionnaire for each question-response round is developed based on the results of the previous rounds. Moreover, it is important that inputs of the participants be convertible into quantitative data so that statistical analyses can be performed.

4.2 The expert panel

For a thorough exploration of options for the IMA problem in the policy Delphi process, a vigilant design of the expert panel plays an important role. Although the results obtained from a larger panel may be more valid in a statistical sense, what is more important to the quality of the research is a well-adjusted mix of experts from various backgrounds (Wheeler et al., 1990; Garrod & Fyall, 2000). In this study, the panel members in the policy Delphi process should be the key stakeholders in the quality built environment in Hong Kong and should have a committed interest in the quality of the urban built environment and in-depth knowledge of IMA issues in Hong Kong.

The target panel members are divided into three groups. The first group, which is the largest among the three, includes various types of building professionals from the private and public sectors. These building professionals include architects, building surveyors, engineers, housing managers and town planners. They are the major gatekeepers (i.e., regulators), designers or caretakers of the built environment in Hong Kong. The second group includes district councillors in districts with serious IMA problems. Sham Shui Po, Tsuen Wan, Tokwawan and

Table 1: Descriptive characteristics of the panel members.

Group	Characteristic	Percentage (%)			
		Invitee	First-round respondent	Second-round respondent	Third-round respondent
1	Sex				
	Male	80.0	78.2	77.7	78.3
	Female	20.0	21.8	22.3	21.7
	Occupation				
	Architect	13.3	10.9	10.7	10.4
	Building surveyor	27.5	30.3	31.3	31.1
	Builder	6.3	3.4	3.6	2.8
	Fire engineer	7.5	5.9	5.4	4.7
	Structural engineer	15.4	16.0	15.2	15.1
	Town planner	10.0	10.1	8.9	9.4
	Property and facility manager	20.0	23.5	25.0	26.4
	Professional experience				
	10 years or less	20.8	19.3	19.6	19.8
	11–20 years	31.3	31.1	30.4	31.1
	21–30 years	37.1	37.8	38.4	39.6
	Over 30 years	10.8	11.8	11.6	9.4
	Labour sector				
	Public sector	62.1	58.0	58.0	57.5
	Private sector	37.9	42.0	42.0	42.5
2	Sex				
	Male	86.7	94.7	93.8	93.3
	Female	13.3	5.3	6.3	6.7
3	Sex				
	Male	60.0	47.4	81.8	80.0
	Female	40.0	15.8	18.2	20.0

Note: The percentages in each category may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Yau Tsim Mong are examples of these districts. The last group comprises residents of buildings with an IMA problem. The chairmen of the resident associations (e.g., owners' corporations, owners' committees and mutual aid committees) and representatives from locally based concern groups belong to this group. The inclusion of the second and third groups in the study aims to offer suggestions and views from a more socially oriented perspective. These groups of participants are presumed to be the ones that often receive complaints against IMAs, know how buildings or neighbourhoods with IMAs actually work and have a better understanding of the difficulties of IMA residents.

Purposive sampling, which is commonly used in policy Delphi studies (Paraskevas & Saunders, 2012), was employed for selecting panel members for this study. As shown in Table 1, three hundred target participants were invited to take part in the policy Delphi study, with 240 building professionals (Group 1), thirty district councillors (Group 2) and thirty

other stakeholders, such as chairmen of resident associations and representatives of locally based concern groups (Group 3). For convenience and to save paper, target participants were invited to complete the policy Delphi survey electronically using the web-based platform Qualtrics®. However, a paper survey was conducted among the respondents in the third group.

4.3 The policy Delphi process

For this study, the policy issue is about resolving the IMA problem in Hong Kong. Following the principles suggested by Baker and Moon (2008, 2010), the current policy Delphi process has four steps: 1) identifying the options, 2) determining initial positions on the issues, 3) exploring and obtaining the reasons for disagreements, and 4) re-evaluating the options. To complete these four steps, three rounds of policy Delphi survey were carried out. Following the research design suggested by de Loe (1995), a specific questionnaire was designed for each round of the survey. In the first-round survey, the participants

were mainly asked what action or policy can be taken to cope with the IMA problem in Hong Kong's residential and mixed-use (i.e., residential plus commercial) buildings. Background information about the problem of IMAs in Hong Kong and a brief summary of regulatory measures adopted in other countries were given to the participants for reference together with the questionnaire. In this round, each participant could suggest any number of policy options that he or she regarded as workable. It has been commonly believed that an increase of housing supply in both the public and private sectors is the ultimate solution to the IMA problem in Hong Kong. However, this goal cannot be achieved in the short run because of the complex and politicised land-administration and town-planning issues in the city. Therefore, the participants were asked to propose immediate or medium-term solutions to the IMA problem.

In the second round, the same group of participants evaluated the consolidated options suggested during the first round. They were asked whether the policy options identified are desirable and feasible using two six-point rating scales (from 6 = very desirable to 1 = very undesirable; and from 6 = definitely feasible to 1 = definitely unfeasible). In addition, the participants were asked for open-ended responses to explain their evaluation (e.g., why a low level of desirability is accorded to a specific option). From the participants' ratings obtained in the second round, it was possible to determine whether there was consensus or disagreement among the respondents for each suggested option. This exercise also reveals the reasons for the consensus or disagreement. In the third-round survey, the participants were informed of the consolidated inputs from all respondents in the second round and they were then required to reassess their initial positions. Each participant was asked to rate the desirability and feasibility of each policy option based on the six-point scales. Nonetheless, the third-round survey was solely committed to information feedback, rather than to achieving consensus among the participants. The questionnaires for all three rounds of the survey were pretested before the surveys.

5 Results of the policy Delphi survey and discussion

Invitations to take part in the policy Delphi study and the questionnaire for the first-round survey were sent to the three hundred target participants in December 2015. One hundred fifty of the three hundred invitees (50%) agreed to participate in the policy Delphi process by submitting responses to the first-round survey. The overall response rate of district councillor group was the highest (63.3%). The panels completing both the second and third rounds numbered 139 and 131, respectively. In other words, eleven participants in the first round dropped out in the second round, and eight

participants in the second round dropped out in the third round. The second-round survey was conducted in February 2016, and the third-round survey in March 2016. Table 1 summarises the characteristics of the panel members that participated in the different rounds of the policy Delphi survey.

In the first-round survey, the 150 panel members returned 467 possible options to tackle the problem of IMA proliferation in Hong Kong's residential premises. On average, each panel member offered 3.11 suggestions. In fact, some of these suggested options were very similar or duplicated. Following a thorough review of all of the options suggested by the panel members, the options were reduced to sixteen options falling under four broad categories, which are listed and described in Table 2. In the second and third rounds, the panel members were directed to rate each of the sixteen consolidated options obtained from the first round with reference to their desirability and feasibility. Their ratings are summarized in Tables 3 and 4.

The results obtained in the second and third rounds of the policy Delphi survey did not deviate significantly. As far as the desirability criterion is concerned, "stricter penalties against non-conformers" had the highest mean rating, followed by "more frequent patrols" and "facilitating in-flat inspection". These findings imply that stepping up of enforcement actions was viewed as the most desirable strategy in solving the IMA problem in Hong Kong's private housing stock. By imposing stricter punishments or penalties on non-conformers, who may be owners or builders of UBW, the government could deter legal violations. On the other hand, "development of an information platform" and "statutory disclosure" were rated as the least desirable options. Some panel members felt that market players such as homebuyers and renters might not place much emphasis on the existence of IMAs in a building when searching for a home. As for feasibility, "public education programmes" ranked first, with "stricter penalties against non-conformers" and "regulating brokerage practices" being second and third, respectively. Conversely, "forfeiture of IMAs" and "criminalising IMA work" received the lowest feasibility ratings.

By integrating the mean desirability and feasibility ratings obtained in the third round, it is possible to determine which policy options should be accorded higher priority for being considered for implementation. Figure 2 shows a scatter plot of the mean desirability and feasibility ratings. The graph is divided into four quadrants. The policy options that lie in Quadrant I are those considered undesirable and unfeasible. These include "rewarding informants", "criminalising IMA work" and some other suggested options. Quadrant II accommodates options that are feasible but undesirable. The implementation of the options in that quadrant is relatively straightforward, but

Table 2: Descriptions of consolidated policy options.

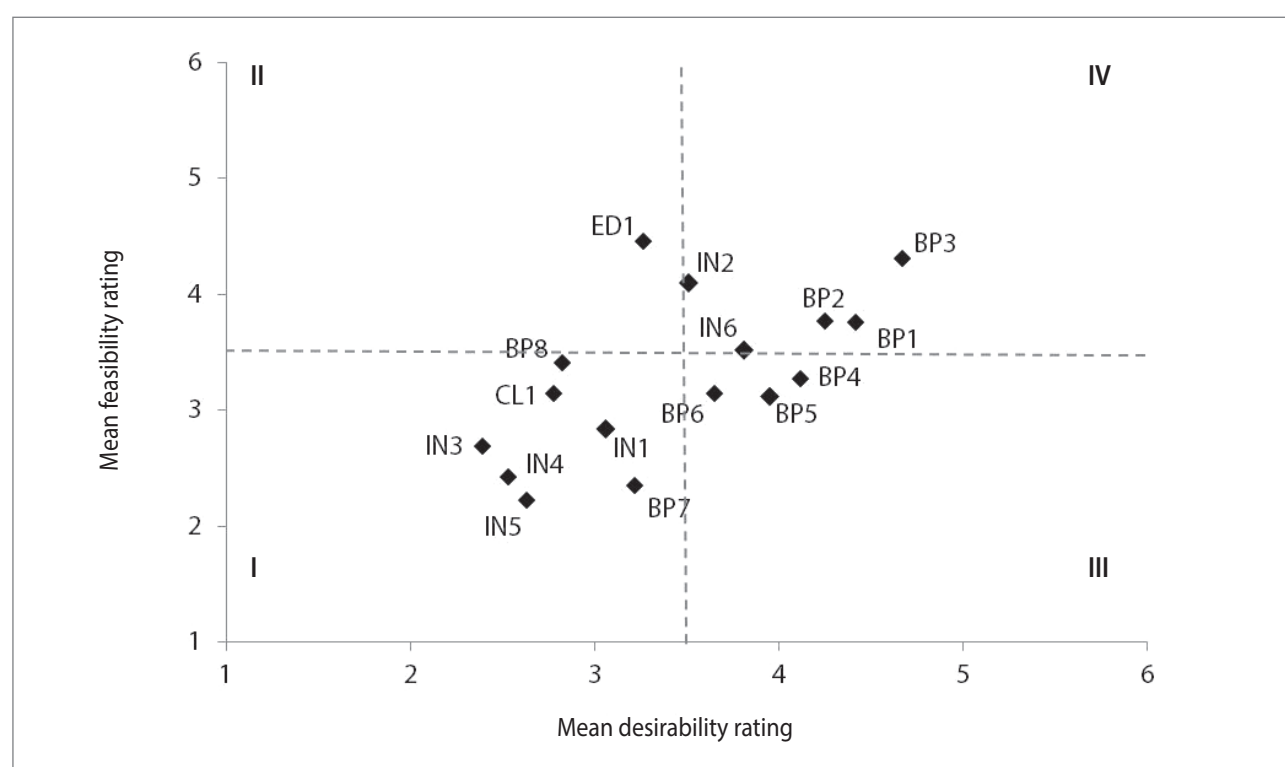
Category	Option	Action(s) involved or needed
Education	(ED1) Public education programmes	Programmes for educating the general public about what IMAs are and the negative outcomes of IMAs
	(BP1) Facilitating in-flat inspection	Waiving the warrant requirement or simplifying the process for obtaining a warrant for public officials to enter premises for inspection
	(BP2) More frequent patrols	Stepping up inspections in private residential buildings to identify IMAs
Building and planning inspection	(BP3) Stricter penalties against non-conformers	Imposing stricter punishments against owners and/or builders of IMAs
	(BP4) Higher prosecution rate	Increasing the rate of prosecuting non-conformers with statutory orders issued under the Buildings Ordinance with respect to IMAs
	(BP5) Closure of IMAs	Increasing the rate of using statutory power to close IMAs detected
	(BP6) Mandatory building inspection	Including identification of IMAs as an essential inspection element in the Mandatory Building Inspection Scheme
	(BP7) Criminalising IMA work	Amending the law and making illegal flat subdivision a criminal offence
	(BP8) Enforcing occupancy standards	Stipulating and enforcing the minimum space requirements for each occupant
Incentivisation	(IN1) Rewarding informants	Offering rewards to people that provide regulatory agencies with useful information about IMAs in a residential building
	(IN2) Regulating brokerage practices	Penalising real estate agents that lease or make transactions involving IMAs
	(IN3) Developing an information platform	Setting up a platform for informing the public about the seriousness or extent of IMA proliferation in each building in the territory
	(IN4) Statutory disclosure	Requiring vendors or landlords to disclose whether IMAs exist in their buildings during property transactions or when concluding lease agreements
	(IN5) Forfeiture of IMAs	Seizing premises used as IMAs by the government
	(IN6) Criminalising IMA leasing	Amending the law and making leasing of IMAs a criminal offence
Conditional legalisation	(CL1) Licensing existing IMAs	Permitting existing IMAs to exist provided that they fulfil specific building design and construction requirements and they are registered

Table 3: Statistics of the desirability ratings obtained in the second and third rounds.

Option	Second Round		Third Round	
	Mean	s	Mean	s
(BP3) Stricter penalties against non-conformers	4.68	1.43	4.67	1.41
(BP2) More frequent patrols	4.45	1.41	4.43	1.35
(BP1) Facilitating in-flat inspection	4.22	1.51	4.25	1.47
(BP4) Higher prosecution rate	4.12	1.48	4.12	1.46
(BP5) Closure of IMAs	3.97	1.39	3.95	1.35
(IN6) Criminalising IMA leasing	3.83	1.48	3.81	1.43
(BP6) Mandatory building inspection	3.69	1.46	3.66	1.41
(IN2) Regulating brokerage practices	3.52	1.65	3.51	1.59
(ED1) Public education programmes	3.27	1.24	3.27	1.14
(BP7) Criminalising IMA work	3.25	1.58	3.23	1.53
(IN1) Rewarding informants	3.09	1.34	3.06	1.29
(BP8) Enforcing occupancy standards	2.82	1.41	2.83	1.34
(CL1) Licensing existing IMAs	2.79	1.38	2.78	1.34
(IN5) Forfeiture of IMAs	2.65	1.32	2.64	1.24
(IN4) Statutory disclosure	2.54	1.22	2.54	1.15
(IN3) Developing an information platform	2.43	1.14	2.40	1.06

Table 4: Statistics of the feasibility ratings obtained in the second and third rounds.

Option	Second Round		Third Round	
	Mean	s	Mean	s
(ED1) Public education programmes	4.46	1.31	4.44	1.28
(BP3) Stricter penalties against non-conformers	4.32	1.45	4.31	1.49
(IN2) Regulating brokerage practices	4.12	1.36	4.10	1.30
(BP1) Facilitating in-flat inspection	3.90	1.41	3.77	1.36
(BP2) More frequent patrols	3.76	1.55	3.74	1.49
(IN6) Criminalising IMA leasing	3.65	1.40	3.52	1.33
(BP8) Enforcing occupancy standards	3.41	1.70	3.41	1.64
(BP4) Higher prosecution rate	3.35	1.74	3.27	1.72
(BP6) Mandatory building inspection	3.15	1.30	3.14	1.24
(CL1) Licensing existing IMAs	3.13	1.35	3.13	1.33
(BP5) Closure of IMAs	3.11	1.33	3.12	1.30
(IN1) Rewarding informants	2.87	1.32	2.84	1.25
(IN3) Developing an information platform	2.67	1.28	2.69	1.26
(IN4) Statutory disclosure	2.44	1.00	2.41	0.94
(BP7) Criminalising IMA work	2.32	1.22	2.34	1.23
(IN5) Forfeiture of IMAs	2.24	1.06	2.21	0.95

**Figure 2:** Scatter plot of the mean desirability and feasibility ratings (author: Yung Yau).

the positive policy impacts are limited. For instance, public education programmes can be easily devised and implemented but their impacts on IMA proliferation are doubtful. In contrast, the options falling into Quadrant III are those regarded as desirable but unfeasible. In other words, it is impractical to implement these options, even though they can bring about positive impacts. For example, “closure of IMAs” may deter

landlords from converting their premises into IMAs. However, it is very costly and difficult for the Building Authority to acquire closure orders from the court.

Quadrant IV contains policy options that were considered both desirable and feasible. The options in this quadrant include three options under the “building and planning

inspection” category and two under the “incentivisation” category. Speaking overall, the option “stricter penalties against non-conformers” was most preferable because it ranked first and second in the desirability and feasibility leagues, respectively. However, this option is not free of criticisms. Some panel members warned that the local community may object to amendments to the legislation because people may worry about breaking the law unknowingly. In other words, it is necessary to help property owners fully understand what a UBW is and the proper procedures to obtain building approval before revising the penalty levels. “Facilitating in-flat inspection” was also regarded as desirable and feasible. On many occasions, identification of IMAs is particularly difficult, and so many panel members welcomed waiving the warrant requirement or an expedited process for Buildings Department officials to obtain a warrant for an in-flat inspection. Nonetheless, privacy and gratuitous nuisance were often-cited concerns of the panel members in relation to this policy option. The option “more frequent patrols” was also preferable, but it would be effective only if the government invested more in the building inspection workforce.

6 Conclusion

Illegal flat subdivision can turn an ordinary apartment into a death-trap. Unlawful internal alterations may block the means of escape and undermine the structural integrity of a building. Moreover, IMAs pose health risks to and induce clashes between occupants. Drawing on the findings of the three-round policy Delphi survey, this study explored workable policy options to combat the IMA problem in Hong Kong. The participants in the survey generally regarded imposing stricter punishments against non-conformers as the most preferable policy option when desirability and feasibility were jointly considered. In this regard, the HKSAR Government should further increase the penalties against property owners that engage in UBW in their properties because penalties with strong deterrent effects are expected to prevent building code violations. Alternatively, the HSKAR Government can consider introducing new fixed penalties specifically for illegal housing conversions. A legislative proposal was made to create a new building code violation called “aggravated illegal conversions” in New York City in 2016 (New York City Council, 2016). “Aggravated illegal conversions” were defined as three or more illegal dwelling units being created within one structure that threaten the safety of occupants and neighbours. It was proposed that the fine for this new code violation would increase with the number of units illegally created. The HKSAR Government can model this legislative proposal.

In fact, increasing the level of penalties alone does not appear to be a very promising approach if public officials face

great difficulties in identifying IMAs or collecting evidence for prosecution. This is why the survey participants also called for measures to facilitate in-flat inspection by public officials, although some were concerned by possible privacy and nuisance issues. Apart from giving public officials more power for in-flat inspection, the HKSAR Government should enhance the operational efficiency of investigation exercises by setting up a multi-agency investigation team. The team should comprise public officers from the Buildings Department, Fire Services Department and Hong Kong Police as the core member, and may also include members from other government departments. As demonstrated by the pilot scheme run by the New York City Council, it is much easier for building inspectors to gain access to apartment units for inspection when firefighters are present (Hernández, 2011). Moreover, the inclusion of police officers with specialised skills in forensic evidence in the investigation team can improve enforcement efficiency. These specialists can also help carry out undercover investigation for IMAs.

Nonetheless, one should bear in mind that the policy options investigated in the study are not mutually exclusive. Some options can complement each other. For example, stricter enforcements against perpetrators can be supplemented by public education and incentivisation programmes in order to achieve better policy outcomes. To further investigate the suitability of the policy options identified in the policy Delphi survey, researchers and policymakers should conduct all-inclusive social impact assessments and detailed cost-benefit analyses of the options. Although the use of expert panels has been recommended for policy Delphi, involvement of the general public in the policymaking process is still indispensable. Therefore, the views of other stakeholders in the community should receive full consideration in formulating an acceptable policy to deal with the problem of IMAs in Hong Kong.

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The relationship of the elderly toward their home and living environment

Housing is a basic human good and right. It plays a versatile role, allowing people to fulfil a number of needs, and it is not limited only to one's immediate living space, but also includes an individual's wider living environment. People's relationship toward housing and their living environment changes over the course of their lives. Especially in old age, housing becomes more important. Research shows that the elderly want to remain in their home environments as long as possible because they are closely attached to them. In order to determine whether these findings also apply to Slovenia, this article analyses how attached the elderly in Slovenia are to their homes and wider living environment and how satisfied they are with

living there. The elderly's views were obtained with a survey, and a statistical analysis was carried out using SPSS software, based on the calculation of various statistical correlation tests. The analysis confirmed the assumption that the Slovenian elderly are also very attached to their homes or home environments and are satisfied with living there. In addition, the analysis showed some differences among the elderly in this regard depending on their age, where they live and how long they have been living in their current homes.

Keywords: population aging, housing, living environment, satisfaction, attachment, aging in place

1 Introduction

The right to housing is a fundamental human right. According to Scott Leckie (1994), appropriate, affordable and accessible housing is generally accepted as a basic component of life in peace, dignity and safety. Srna Mandič (2011) argues that housing is undoubtedly among the most important factors of people's quality of life and welfare, which has also been acknowledged in the social sciences (Erikson, 1993; Atkinson et al., 2002; Fahey et al., 2004; Domanski et al., 2006; Daly, 2007) as well as in many international policy documents, which has been highlighted by many authors (Barlow & Duncan, 1994; Kleinman et al., 1998, 2013; Doling, 1999, 2006; Milligan, 2003; Czischke & Gruis, 2007). However, the role of housing in people's wellbeing is multidimensional. Specifically, housing comprises many features, including physical properties (size, infrastructure, etc.) and others that are more difficult to measure (location, service accessibility, good neighbourly relations, etc.; Mandič, 1996). One's living environment is not limited only to a housing unit, but also includes the immediate and wider community. According to Björn Hårsman and John M. Quigley (1991), housing is the most complex good, which is why, as Mandič (2011) points out, it is impossible to capture all of its meanings in relation to an individual. This has already been highlighted by Peter Marcuse (1987: 232), who wrote that "housing is more than just housing."

Housing fulfils people's physical, psychological and social needs, which Mandič (1996) applies to Erik Allardt's (1993) tripartite classification of needs into "having-loving-being". "Having" refers to the housing properties that determine the quality of housing as a material source (this involves the standard of living) and make it possible to fulfil biological needs. "Loving" is about housing fulfilling the human need for social contact, partnership, creating a separate household and family, integration into the local community and so on. "Being" is about housing meeting the need for self-realisation and expression of an individual's personal identity and improvement; this need is connected with the symbolic function of housing: with its looks, location and other features, housing reflects an individual's "profile" in society. Hence, housing is a "physical and social space that individuals control, in which they express their personal identity, privacy, and safety" (Saunders, 1990: 39). Here, the need for safety refers to the "ontological feeling of safety, to space in which people feel safe" (Boškić, 2002: 21). It is one of those human needs that is of exceptional importance for people's functioning in society. On the other hand, the need for privacy is related to satisfying primary needs. Housing as a space a person can retreat to makes it possible for people to feel at home. Through people's individual definition, housing as a "home" is the centre of family life, a

place of freedom, independence, individuality, self-expression, and social status, and a support for work and leisure activities (Somerville, 1997). According to Peter Saunders and Peter Williams (1988), it reduces the feeling of alienation, disempowerment and fatalism in modern society.

People's relationship toward their home changes over the course of their lives and gains special importance in old age (Mandič, 2011). According to Frances Heywood et al. (2002), the elderly associate their home with numerous memories and identity, Anna Dupuis and David Thorns (1996) argue that they associate it with what they have achieved in life, and according to Roger Clough et al. (2004) they also associate it with the social network they have built in their living environment. Ivan Štuhec and Maksimiljan Fras (2010) report that the life of the elderly focuses on their home and immediate surroundings, which shows that they are extremely attached to their living environment. In order to establish whether these findings regarding the attachment of the elderly to their living environment also apply to Slovenia, this article analyses part of the results of a study conducted within the project Innovative Forms of Living Environments for the Elderly in Slovenia (Sln. *Inovativne oblike bivalnih okolij za starejše v Sloveniji*). It explores how attached the elderly in Slovenia are to their homes and wider living environment, and how satisfied they are with living there. The assumption is that in Slovenia, too, the elderly are closely attached to their homes or home environments and that they are satisfied with living there. In addition, there may be some differences among the elderly in this regard depending on their age group, the environment they live in (urban vs. rural), tenure (homeownership vs. rental), the type of housing they live in (house vs. apartment) and how long they have been residing in it.

2 Theoretical background

According to the broadest definition, home attachment is an emotional bond between an individual and his or her environment (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001; Brown & Raymond, 2007). However, because this conception is very broad, researchers have divided home attachment into place dependence (Williams & Vaske, 2003), attachment to neighbourhood (Sampson, 1988), place identity (Williams et al., 1992), social ties (Kyle et al., 2005), rootedness (Tuan, 1980; Hay, 1998), genealogical and economic attachment (Mishra et al., 2010) and emotional attachment (Kyle et al., 2010). Various authors have also explored what home attachment means in the methodological sense (Trentelman, 2009; Lewicka, 2011; Hernandez et al., 2013), especially when one wants to measure its intensity. According to some (Shamai, 1991; Lalli, 1992; Williams et al., 1992; Moore & Graefe, 1994; Bricker & Kerstetter,

2000; Kyle et al., 2005), this intensity primarily depends on the extent and amount of contact individuals have with their living environment.

Charis E. Anton and Carmen Lawrence (2014) argue that the level of home attachment intensity can have positive and negative effects. On the one hand, great attachment is believed to be connected with good health and participation in the community. Individuals that are more attached to their homes and environment report greater social participation in the local community (Mesch & Manor, 1998), which has a significant impact on the development of the community. In addition, home attachment can improve the quality of life (Harris et al., 1995) as well as psychological and physical health, it results in better social ties and it influences one's general satisfaction with the wider living environment (Tartaglia, 2012). On the other hand, individuals that do not develop an attachment to their homes or only at a very low level report higher stress levels and poorer health (Stokols & Shumaker, 1982). However, Mark Fried (2000) argues that a high level of home attachment can also have a negative effect, especially among the elderly. In the event of poor health and other circumstances in which their living environment is no longer suitable, (overly) strong home attachment often prevents the elderly from moving into more suitable living environments that would improve their quality of life. Excessive home attachment may also be manifested in staying at home too much and in reduced social contact, which can lead to isolation. It is alarming that the Slovenian elderly spend an average of only 2.5 hours a day outside their homes (Štuhec & Fras, 2010).

Various studies have proven that the elderly are extremely attached to their living environments and want to remain in them as long as possible. Among these studies, the survey conducted in 2005 by the American Association of Retired People (Salomon, 2010) is the most relevant. According to its findings, 89% of people over fifty reported that they wanted to stay at home as long as possible and retain their independence. An even more detailed survey performed by this association showed that the share of people that have such preferences increases with age (Salomon, 2000). Specifically, 75% of people between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four wish to remain in their homes as long as possible, 83% of those between fifty-five and sixty-four, 92% of those between sixty-five and seventy-four, and a full 95% of those over seventy-five. As reported by Emily Salomon (2010), elderly people would very much like to stay in their community or neighbourhood (i.e., a familiar living and social environment) even if they are no longer able to live independently. According to the survey by the

American Association of Retired People that the author refers to, the share of such respondents was 85%. In Salomon's opinion, social connections with friends and neighbours, familiarity with local amenities and proximity to services are among the many things that they elderly would "lose" if they had to move elsewhere. Accordingly, they do not even want to think about moving (see e.g., Kerbler, 2014). This was also confirmed by Peter de Jong et al. (2012), who established that home attachment is often reported as one of the main reasons for the extremely low mobility among the elderly. Homeownership plays an important role in this; for Slovenia this has also been confirmed by Richard Sendi et al. (2003). The majority of the elderly that would be willing to move elsewhere lived in rented housing. The share of homeowners that would be willing to move was much smaller. The significance of this finding can be further underlined and additional justification for the present analysis of the elderly's attachment to their homes can be provided by the results of the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE; see Mandič, 2015), which show a strong predominance of homeownership over rentals among the elderly in Slovenia (elderly Slovenian households are ranked third among all SHARE countries in terms of the share of homeownership). Hence it can be concluded that the elderly in Slovenia are extremely attached to their homes and are unwilling to move elsewhere.

Stephen M. Golant (1982) argues that, in addition to home attachment, dwelling satisfaction is also a predictor of residential relocation and preferences, as well as a subjective indicator of the quality of life. Dwelling satisfaction depends on various factors relating to an individual, such as health and potential impairment, neighbourhood contacts and safety. In addition, it is also influenced by housing characteristics, such as quality and size, and the subjective assessment of safety (Hwang et al., 1999). The amount of individual space available is also important and affects health and consequently satisfaction (Costa-Font, 2013). According to Štuhec and Fras (2010), housing satisfaction is key to the quality of life, especially that of the elderly. As they report, research shows that "the elderly that are satisfied with their housing plan their future more positively, are more physically, psychologically and socially active, have more social contacts, and experience their everyday lives more positively" (2010: 6). According to Štuhec and Fras, the elderly report the need for safety and independence as the two most important needs related to living and satisfaction and, according to Paula Vasara (2015), they also highlight the need for peace, proximity to nature, and access to services and leisure activities.

3 Methods

3.1 Data collection and sample

As part of the study described in the introduction, the data for the analysis were obtained through a survey. The Public Opinion and Mass Communications Research Centre of the Social Sciences Institute at the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Social Sciences was commissioned to carry out the survey in November 2015. It involved computer-assisted telephone interviews, which included Slovenians aged fifty or more, both men and women, from all statistical regions and all settlement types (urban and rural). The final number of questionnaires completed was 930, which accounts for 0.11% of the total Slovenian population age fifty or more.

The survey contained questions related to the real estate and households the respondents lived in (tenure, size, length of residence, maintenance problems, the real estate's adaptation to living in old age, number of household members, proximity of relatives, etc.) and questions referring to the respondents' economic status and health. The authors were also interested in the respondents' satisfaction with their housing and living environment, their attachment to their immediate living environment (home) and their wider living environment (neighbourhood or the environment they live in), and their attitudes toward potential relocation, the types of assistance they receive or would require for performing specific activities, their attitudes toward various living environments for the elderly with an emphasis on forms of living that are less common or not yet present in Slovenia, and their views on various housing solutions that make it possible to earn additional income from owning real estate. Finally, the respondents were also asked to provide information on their age, sex, education, marital status and place of residence.

Table 1 presents the selected sample characteristics that the authors wanted to statistically analyse to verify whether there were any statistically significant differences among the elderly in terms of their home attachment and housing satisfaction. The average age of respondents was 69.3 years and they had lived in their homes for an average of 36.5 years. Among the respondents in rural settlements, 69.8% lived in a compact rural settlement or its vicinity and 30.2% lived in a dispersed rural settlement or an isolated location. Among those in an urban environment, 54.7% lived in a small town and 45.3% lived in a large town; more than half of the latter (56.7%) lived in Ljubljana or Maribor. Among homeowners, 74.8% lived in houses and 25.2% in apartments.

Table 1: Selected respondent characteristics.

Variable	Class/Group	Share (%)
Age (years)		
	50–59	18.8
	60–69	32.5
	70–79	30.5
	80 or more	18.3
Settlement type		
	Rural	46.3
	Urban	53.7
Tenure		
	Homeownership	97.9
	Rental	2.1
Years in living environment		
	10 or less	6.2
	11–20	11.6
	21–30	18.6
	31–40	28.0
	41–50	20.4
	51 or more	15.2

3.2 Selected variables

In order to analyse the issue at hand, the focus was on the questions connected with the respondents' satisfaction with and attachment to their homes or living environment. To determine the attachment, attention was directed to the respondents' attachment to their housing and their attachment to the neighbourhood or the environment they live in. In some cases, both aspects were combined into what is referred to here as "general attachment". When establishing satisfaction, in addition to general satisfaction, the analysis focused on the respondents' satisfaction with their housing, the environment they live in, the physical accessibility of the living environment and the proximity of services and eldercare in this environment.

Each of the four satisfaction categories had already been subdivided into individual aspects in the survey itself:

- In terms of the respondents' housing satisfaction, the authors examined their satisfaction with the a) layout of rooms, b) size and c) construction quality;
- In terms of the environment the respondents live in, the questions focused on their satisfaction with d) the general orderliness of the environment, e) the peacefulness of the environment, f) air quality in the residential area and g) its safety;

- In terms of physical accessibility, the focus was on satisfaction with h) “external” accessibility or accessibility of the building they live in (e.g., transport, road and parking) and i) “internal” accessibility or accessibility of their apartment (e.g., lifts, stairs or other architectural barriers);
- In terms of the fourth category, respondents reported how satisfied they were with j) the proximity of their relatives and friends, k) the proximity of healthcare, l) the proximity of long-term eldercare (e.g., homecare), m) opportunities for recreation and socialising close to their homes and n) the proximity of public amenities and services (e.g., shops, post offices and buses).

The respondents were asked to rate the level of satisfaction with their (immediate or wider) living environment on a scale from one to five (1 = very dissatisfied/unattached, 2 = not satisfied/attached, 3 = neither dissatisfied/unattached nor satisfied/attached, 4 = satisfied/attached and 5 = very satisfied/attached). They could also choose “I don’t know” or were not even required to provide an answer at all. As evident from Table 2, the majority nonetheless provided ratings.

3.3. Methods and procedures used for the statistical analysis

Even though the five-point Likert scale described is ordinal, for the purposes of the statistical analysis in this study it was treated as an interval scale;^[1] in addition, “I don’t know” answers were also excluded from the analysis as well as those respondents that provided no answer to a specific question. Statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS for Windows 23.0. Alongside the basic statistical calculations (shares and averages), various statistical tests were calculated in order to obtain answers to the research questions posed and check the authors’ conclusions and assumptions. To determine whether the average value of a selected variable differed between two groups of units, an independent samples *t*-test was used, and for more than two groups a variance analysis was applied. Various procedures were selected for the variance analysis in order to determine the statistically significant difference in the average value of a specific variable, depending on the group size and the fulfilment of the homogeneity of variance assumption. Following the guidelines by Andy Field (2009), the REGWQ procedure or Tukey’s HSD was used if the groups were of the same size, Gabriel’s procedure if their sizes were slightly different and Hochberg’s GT2 if the group sizes differed significantly. If the assumption of the homogeneity of variance was not fulfilled, the Games–Howell procedure was used; prior to this, equality of group variances was tested using the robust Brown–Forsythe and Welch tests instead of variance analysis. The correlation

between two nominal variables was checked using Pearson’s chi-squared (χ^2) test and, if correlations were established, the intensity or level of correlation between the two variables was determined using the contingency coefficient *C* or Cramer’s *V*. The Pearson correlation coefficient (*r*) was calculated if a correlation was established between two interval variables. The average values are referred to in this article as *M* and the statistical differences (*p*) are considered significant at 0.01 or 0.05. For greater transparency, only the final statistically significant results are presented.

4 Results and discussion

Vasara (2015) argues that in general the elderly are very satisfied with their housing, which was also confirmed by the survey results. Specifically, the respondents reported that they were very satisfied with their immediate and wider living environment and that they were very attached to it. The average satisfaction rating with all aspects of housing and living environment was 4.14 and the average attachment rating to the elderly’s home and living environment was even higher: 4.31. As shown in Table 2, among all of the attachment and satisfaction aspects evaluated, respondents rated attachment to their homes (housing) the highest, even though they were less satisfied with the housing aspects (layout of rooms, size and construction quality) than with others; the average rating was even below the overall satisfaction average (it stood at 4.07), in which construction quality was rated the lowest. On the other hand, the elderly ascribed the highest satisfaction ratings to aspects connected with their living environment (*M* = 4.24), even though they were less attached to it than to their housing. According to Anton and Lawrence (2014), this is due to the fact that homes have more clearly defined space and boundaries, whereas a neighbourhood is a less clear concept. Among all of the aspects of satisfaction with the living environment, satisfaction with its safety and peacefulness stands out the most. In addition to their living environment, the elderly reported above-average satisfaction with its physical accessibility (*M* = 4.22), in which their satisfaction with accessibility within the wider living environment was significantly greater than with accessibility of their apartments. They were the least satisfied with the proximity of services and care in their living environment (*M* = 4.06) – all aspects of this category had a below-average satisfaction rating. The lowest rating of all was ascribed to the accessibility of long-term care services, but it should be noted that the number of replies to this question was also the lowest: nearly 18% of respondents did not rate this aspect at all. A relatively large share of no replies or “I don’t know” answers (7.3%) was also recorded for opportunities for recreation and socialising near home. The satisfaction rating for this aspect was also below average.

Table 2: Average ratings, shares of ratings of 4 and 5, and combined share of these two ratings by individual aspects of attachment and satisfaction.

Category and aspects	Average rating (M)	Rating 4 (%)	Rating 5 (%)	Combined (%)	Rank*
Attachment to:					
Home	4.41	21.5	63.0	84.5	5
Environment	4.21	28.3	50.5	78.8	12
Satisfaction with:					
Housing					
Room layout	4.16	42.1	40.2	82.3	6
Size	4.10	39.3	40.5	79.8	10
Construction quality	3.96	44.3	30.0	74.3	16
Living environment					
Orderliness	4.18	47.1	37.6	84.7	4
Peacefulness	4.28	37.1	48.8	85.9	3
Air quality	4.14	37.1	42.2	79.3	11
Safety	4.35	43.5	46.8	90.3	1
Accessibility to:					
Building	4.33	40.3	48.8	89.1	2
Apartment	4.10	43.0	38.1	81.1	8
Proximity of services and care					
Relatives/friends	4.14	43.2	38.5	81.7	7
Healthcare	4.10	44.8	35.7	80.5	9
Long-term care	3.96	51.6	26.0	77.6	14
Recreation/socializing	4.01	42.8	34.3	77.1	15
Public amenities/services	4.10	36.5	41.3	77.8	13

Note: *Ranking according to the total share of ratings of 4 and 5 (1 = highest, 16 = lowest).

The two attachment aspects had the highest average ratings and highest share of ratings of 5: 63% of respondents ascribed a rating of 5 to attachment to home and 50.5% to attachment to their living environment (see Table 2). However, in terms of the total share of ratings of 4 and 5, and the ranking of all attachment and satisfaction aspects (sixteen), they only ranked fifth (attachment to home) and twelfth (attachment to environment). Satisfaction with safety and satisfaction with “external” physical accessibility ranked the highest. The former was rated 4 and 5 by 90.3% of the elderly, and the latter by 89.1%. Satisfaction with peacefulness ranked third (85.1% of ratings of 4 and 5). Aspects that had the lowest average satisfaction ratings ranked the lowest: access to long-term care services (77.6%), opportunities for recreation and socializing (77.1%) and construction quality (74.3%).

Even though the share of those that reported lower attachment and satisfaction ratings is small, below the authors seek to establish the differences between them and those that reported higher ratings – that is, differences in age, settlement type,

tenure and length of residence – and (if such differences do exist) whether these differences are statistically significant.

4.1 Age

As already mentioned in the theoretical part of this article, the survey by the American Association of Retired People showed that the share of those that would like to stay at home as long as possible increases with age. Meredith Driscoll (2011) argues that many researchers (Rubenstein, 1989; Fogel, 1992; Rowles & Ravdal, 2002) ascribe this preference among the elderly to their home attachment. As already stated in the introduction and as confirmed by Duncan Case (1996), Hans-Werner Wahl (2003) and Wahl and Laura N. Gitlin (2003) the importance of one’s home increases with age and so does one’s attachment to it. As people age, they begin to increasingly feel part of their environment; they feel they belong to it and that their home is part of them. This is also confirmed by Graham D. Rowles (1983), who claims that the elderly develop a special attitude to their home, which makes them

identify with it and perceive it as their extension. In this regard, Driscoll (2011) highlights a survey by Chris Gilleard et al. (2007), which showed that British seventy- and eighty-year-olds were more strongly attached to their homes than their younger counterparts. These findings can be further confirmed by the survey presented here. The statistical analysis showed a correlation between respondents' age and general attachment ($r = 0.122$; $p = 0.000$). It also showed a correlation between age and satisfaction ($r = -0.084$; $p = 0.012$). In both cases, the correlation is weak, but statistically significant at $p = 0.01$ and $p = 0.05$. As anticipated, the correlation between age and general attachment is positive, and the correlation between age and general satisfaction is negative. This means that attachment to one's living environment increases with age, whereas satisfaction with it decreases. This finding makes sense considering that people's mobility decreases with age, due to which they may have problems accessing their homes or problems with accessibility within their wider environment. They may also have problems with limited mobility in their own homes if these are not appropriately architecturally adapted. In old age, people also seek more peace and safety because they feel more threatened and vulnerable. As they age, they also gradually lose their close friends, who die, and due to reduced mobility they often tend to maintain increasingly fewer contacts with people in their neighbourhood. The remoteness of public services may also present a major problem.

A detailed analysis of attachment shows that the elderly are somewhat more attached to their homes ($r = 0.130$; $p = 0.000$) than their living environments ($r = 0.095$; $p = 0.004$), which was also confirmed by Carmen Hidalgo and Bernarda Hernandez (2001) and Marie Lewicka (2005). Those that reported a very strong attachment to their homes were over ten years older on average (69.9 years) than those that rated their home attachment the lowest (59.5 years). No home attachment at all was only reported by respondents between the ages of fifty and sixty-nine. In terms of attachment to one's living environment, the average age difference between the two groups is smaller, but nonetheless amounts to 5.2 years (rating 1 = 64.8 years, rating 5 = 70.0 years).

More detailed statistical analysis of the correlation between age and individual aspects of satisfaction with housing and living environment shows that this correlation is negative in all cases. It is weak but statistically significant with regard to satisfaction with peacefulness of the environment ($r = -0.095$; $p = 0.004$), safety ($r = -0.092$; $p = 0.006$), accessibility of the housing ($r = -0.106$; $p = 0.002$), and opportunities for recreation and socializing ($r = -0.069$; $p = 0.044$). A correlation at $p = 0.10$ is also evident with regard to satisfaction with "external" physical accessibility ($r = -0.055$; $p = 0.099$) and the proximity of relatives and friends ($r = -0.058$; $p = 0.083$).

The greatest difference in average age can be seen with regard to satisfaction with safety: the average age of those that are very dissatisfied with it is 68.3 years and the average age of those that are very satisfied with it is 85.3 years. The difference with regard to satisfaction with accessibility of housing is 5.9 years and with regard to satisfaction with the peacefulness of the environment this difference is 3.3 years.

4.2 Length of residence in the home environment

Some studies (Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010) did not show any correlation between age and attachment to the living environment. Rowles (1983) argues this may result from differences between the elderly that have lived at several locations over the course of their lives and the elderly that have only lived (and still live) in the place where they were born. This assumption is confirmed by Robert Hay (1998), who shows that differences in attachment do exist between individuals that live in their birthplace (they are more attached) and individuals that moved to a place later in life (they are less attached). Based on these findings, attachment and satisfaction were also defined in relation to the elderly's length of residence in their living environment. In addition to the studies already mentioned above, others (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; Sampson, 1988; Bonaiuto et al. 1999; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2010) also show that the elderly are more attached to their homes than young people and that this is connected with the time they have spent in a specific home or wider living environment. Other authors (McCool & Martin, 1994; Bonaiuto et al., 1999; Lewicka, 2005, 2010; Stedman, 2006; Raymond et al., 2010) have also established a correlation between the length of one's residence in their living environment and their attachment to it.

As anticipated, the study presented in this article also shows a correlation between length of residence and attachment to the living environment ($r = 0.166$; $p = 0.000$). The difference in the linear correlation in the attachment to home or the living environment is negligible. In both cases, the correlation is positive and statistically significant at $p = 0.01$, which means that attachment to one's living environment increases with one's length of residence in it. The average length of residence of those that rated their home attachment 1 was 21.7 years, and among those that rated it 5 it was 16.2 years longer (i.e., 37.9 years). In terms of attachment to the living environment, this difference is even greater: 18.7 years. Statistically significant differences in the length of residence in one's home environment and their attachment to it can also be observed if the respondents that assigned a rating of 1 or 2 to their attachment to their home or living environment are combined into one group and those that rated it 4 or 5 are combined into

a different group (respondents that rated it 3 were excluded from the analysis). Both t -tests (attachment to home: $t(769) = -3.036, p = 0.002$; attachment to the environment: $t(811) = -3.265, p = 0.001$) show differences at $p = 0.01$ between the two groups in terms of the average length of residence: the difference in attachment to one's home is 7.5 years and the difference in attachment to one's living environment is 6.3 years.

With regard to satisfaction with the living environment, a correlation with length of residence was determined only in terms of satisfaction with construction quality ($r = -0.101; p = 0.002$) and peacefulness of the environment ($r = -0.111; p = 0.001$). In both cases, the correlation is negative, which means that the respondents that had lived in their homes longer were less satisfied with their construction quality and the peacefulness of the environment. Hence, for example, the average length of residence of those that were very satisfied with the peacefulness of their living environment was 35.2 years and of those that were very dissatisfied with it was 42.3 years. Correlation with the length of residence is also evident in relation to satisfaction with the proximity of relatives and friends; this correlation is positive, but only at $p = 0.10$. In all other aspects of satisfaction, there were no differences between the elderly in terms of the length of their residence in their home environment. These findings have also been confirmed by Eigil Boll Hansen and Georg Gottschalk (2006), who argue that extending one's residence at the same location by several years makes individuals become attached to their homes and living environment, but it may also obscure any practical inconveniences (e.g., poor access and lack of adaptation).

4.3 Type of settlement

By studying a sample of the Australian population, Anton and Lawrence (2014) established that individuals in rural areas were more attached to their homes than those in urban areas. This is also supported by Lewicka (2005), who argues that there is a negative linear correlation between attachment and the size of the settlement; accordingly, individuals in smaller settlements are more attached to their homes than those in larger settlements or cities. A comparison of the elderly's general attachment to home and the living environment in this study also shows statistically significant differences between those in urban and rural areas ($t(913.832) = 3.363, p = 0.001$). The rural elderly are generally more attached to their living environment ($M = 4.41$) than those in towns ($M = 4.22$). According to Lewicka (2005), this is due to the fact that the elderly in urban environments are usually less connected among themselves or have fewer social contacts and are included in fewer associations that bring people together than those in rural areas. The author refers to the same findings by other authors, such as John D. Kasarda and Morris Janowitz (1974),

Robert J. Sampson (1988), and Gene L. Theodori and A. E. Luloff (2000). With regard to the differences in attachment between rural and urban areas, Theodori and Luloff relied on late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century findings by social theorists, who showed growing concern due to increased urbanization, modernization and industrialization, and the impact of these processes on social solidarity and people's integration in communities. An attempt was also made to apply the ideas of these theorists, the most significant among whom were Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel and Louis Wirth, to the findings of this study. In their writings, these theorists highlighted that rural communities stimulated a higher level of solidarity and integration than urban environments, which is why people in these communities were more attached to the places they lived in (see Tönnies, 1887; Simmel, 1903; Wirth, 1938). According to Theodori and Luloff (2000), as part of his ideal conception of the social transformation from a community (Germ. *Gemeinschaft*) into a society (Germ. *Gesellschaft*), Tönnies (1887) argued that urbanization and industrialization processes had changed the essential characteristics of a society from communal attachment determined by natural will into associational attachment determined by rational will. Simmel (1903) expanded this theory by claiming that in the countryside people's rhythm of life and sensory perceptions are slower, more natural, more laid back and more smoothly flowing than in the city. Accordingly, people in metropolises have developed an indifference toward their living environment to protect themselves from rapid changes and stress, thus making possible their self-preservation. From Simmel's perspective, this indifference, which is reflected in the reserved personality of individuals in the urban environment, can also be manifested in the loss of attachment to the community and living environment. Despite this and other traditional views on urbanization, Theodori and Luloff (2000) argue that it is primarily Wirth's theory that defines the effects of the urban environment on individuals and their connectivity (see Wirth, 1938; Fischer, 1972; Christenson, 1979). According to Wirth (1938), the size, density and heterogeneity of the urban population are the characteristics that lead to weaker family ties, the replacement of primary contacts with secondary ones, a smaller emphasis on the social importance of the local community and, in this sense, a deterioration and loss of attachment with the community and hence a lower level of attachment to the individual's living environment compared to the countryside (Wirth, 1938; Fischer, 1972; Christenson, 1979).

The findings by social theorists presented above refer to the entire population and hence also the part discussed in this study. This is also confirmed by the results, which, in terms of attachment, even place the importance of the place of residence above the importance of age. Even though it was established that the correlation between a lower level of attachment and

lower age is statistically significant and that the average age of rural respondents ($M = 67.5$) is statistically significantly lower ($t(901) = -4.964, p = 0.000$) than that of urban respondents ($M = 70.8$), those in the countryside reported greater general attachment to their living environment than their urban counterparts. In addition to the elderly's general attachment to their homes and living environments in rural and urban settlements, statistically significant differences can also be established if both attachment aspects are analysed separately; attachment to home: $t(908.303) = 2.696, p = 0.007$; and attachment to the environment: $t(910) = 3.350, p = 0.001$. In addition to differences, the average attachment ratings also reveal that, regardless of where they live, the elderly are more attached to their homes than to their living environment. The average rating of home attachment was higher in both the countryside ($M = 4.50$) and towns ($M = 4.33$) compared to attachment to the living environment (the average rating in the countryside was 4.33 and in towns it was 4.12). This finding partly contests the findings of the social theorists mentioned above, which shows that the countryside is also turning into a very heterogeneous place influenced by the urbanization process. Urbanization is reflected in the dissolution of the former solidarity within rural communities, increasing individualization and consequently also the social exclusion of the elderly (Lichter & Brown, 2011; Walsh & Ward, 2013).

In terms of satisfaction, the rural and urban elderly do not differ with regard to the housing aspects and aspects connected with physical accessibility within the environment, but they do differ in terms of satisfaction with the proximity of services and care ($t(832.518) = -7.162, p = 0.000$) and satisfaction with their living environment ($t(917) = 5.223, p = 0.000$). However, this satisfaction proves to be exactly the opposite: the urban elderly tend to be more satisfied with the proximity of services and care ($M = 4.20$) than the rural elderly ($M = 3.90$), whereas the latter tend to be more satisfied with their living environment ($M = 4.35$) than the urban dwellers ($M = 4.14$). The rural elderly differ from their urban counterparts in terms of satisfaction with the peacefulness of the environment ($t(917) = 4.043, p = 0.000$), air quality ($t(915) = 7.284, p = 0.000$) and safety ($t(913) = 3.568, p = 0.000$). No differences were found only in terms of satisfaction with the general orderliness of the environment: residents of both settlement types reported the same satisfaction rating in this regard ($M = 4.18$). Based on the t -tests calculated, the greatest differences between both groups of the elderly in the average satisfaction rating with their environment can be seen in terms of their satisfaction with air quality: rural dwellers ascribed an average rating of 4.38 to this aspect, whereas the rating ascribed by the city dwellers was 3.95. This is followed by satisfaction with the peacefulness of the environment (the average rating for the countryside was 4.41 and for the urban areas it was 4.17)

and satisfaction with safety ($M = 4.44$ and 4.27, respectively). Even greater differences between rural and urban dwellers were established in terms of their satisfaction with the proximity of services and care (with all four aspects in this category). The average satisfaction rating for each aspect was above 4 in urban areas, whereas in the countryside this rating was not exceeded for any of the aspects. The greatest difference was established in terms of satisfaction with the proximity of public services and amenities ($t(824.283) = -9.258, p = 0.000$); the average rating in the urban areas was 4.37 and in the countryside it was 3.79. The two groups also differed significantly in terms of their satisfaction with the proximity of healthcare ($t(917) = -6.816, p = 0.000$) – the average rating in the countryside was 3.90 and in the urban areas it was 4.28 – and with the opportunities for recreation and socializing ($t(770.680) = -5.114, p = 0.000$), with average ratings of 4.16 and 3.82, respectively. Access to long-term care services ($t(684.749) = -5.732, p = 0.000$) was ascribed an average rating of 4.14 in towns and 3.78 in the countryside. This was also the lowest average rating that the rural elderly ascribed to any satisfaction aspect (e.g., in the city the lowest rating, 3.95, was ascribed to air quality).

4.4 Tenure

Saunders (1990: 39) argues that homeownership is “an emotional expression of autonomy, security, or personal identity”, and hence homeowners are more emotionally attached to their homes than tenants. He adds that, by being able to maintain, take care of and improve their homes, the majority of homeowners feel a sense of satisfaction. According to George C. Galster (1987), by being able to arrange their homes to their taste they tend to feel freer and more autonomous than renters, and a living environment arranged this way is more likely to support their life cycles and increase their satisfaction with living and life in general. This is also confirmed by Peter H. Rossi and Eleanor Weber (1996), who showed a statistical correlation between homeownership and higher self-esteem and happiness. According to Galster (1987), this is especially typical of the elderly, who also tend to be more satisfied with their real estate and living environment than renters, regardless of the characteristics involved (e.g., the cleanliness of the environment, and the size and condition of the home). In this regard, the longitudinal survey reported by Willam M. Rohe and Michale Stegman (1994) and Willam M. Rohe and Victoria Basolo (1997) is especially interesting. It showed that, after purchasing a home, new owners reported a statistically significant increase in their life satisfaction than those that remained renters. The same owners also reported a higher satisfaction rating three years later, regardless of whether their real estate was in less favoured neighbourhoods, which by then they had already experienced themselves. Willam M. Rohe et al. (2001) argue that the characteristics of one's home and living

environment were also taken into account by other researchers in their surveys on satisfaction (Morris et al., 1976; Kinsey & Lane, 1983; Varady, 1983; Lam, 1985; Danes & Morris, 1986). In all cases, it turned out that homeowners are more satisfied than renters.

As expected and in accordance with the findings of other researchers, the case investigated here also shows statistically significant differences in the elderly's attachment to their home in terms of tenure ($t(907) = 2.353, p = 0.019$). On average, homeowners ascribed a rating of 4.42 to their home attachment – this was also the highest average rating ascribed by homeowners to any attachment and satisfaction aspect – and the average rating ascribed by renters was 3.89. Differences in the average ratings can also be observed in their attachment to the living environment and in certain satisfaction aspects – for example, in all three aspects of housing satisfaction (size, layout of rooms and construction quality) and satisfaction with peacefulness of the environment and the proximity of relatives and friends. Even though these differences cannot be statistically proven, greater satisfaction and attachment (just like with the home attachment above) were reported by homeowners in all of these cases.

Because the elderly also had the opportunity to express their opinions or provide arguments for their answers, and the interviewers wrote down their observations, certain qualitative information was also obtained during the survey in addition to quantitative data. Among other things, this revealed that most respondents were extremely attached to their houses (even more than to apartments) because they had largely helped build them themselves “with a great deal of sacrifice and hard work,” as they often reported. A high rate of self-construction was typical of Slovenia during the communist period. This is also evident from the ratio of house to apartment ownership among the respondents: 74.8% house owners versus 25.2% apartment owners. A detailed statistical analysis was carried out in order to check the interviewers' observations. The analysis revealed that house owners in fact reported a statistically significant higher attachment rating than apartment owners ($t(887) = 2.633, p = 0.009$). The average attachment rating ascribed by the former was 4.46 and that ascribed by the latter was 4.28. This can also be confirmed based on another question included in the survey, in which house owners ascribed a higher rating to the importance of their home than apartment owners: they ascribed an average rating of 4.14 to the statement that their home represents a life achievement to them, whereas the rating ascribed by the apartment owners was 3.91. The difference in the average rating of both groups is statistically significant at $p = 0.05$ ($t(876) = 2.897, p = 0.004$). An even greater statistically significant differences in the importance of the home can be observed between homeowners

and renters (the rating ascribed by the former was 4.08 and that ascribed by the latter was 2.84).

5 Conclusion

As highlighted by Golant (1982), the living environment represents a major portion of their overall life path for the elderly. Vasara (2015: 59) argues that accordingly “homes are more than just dwellings, they are filled with personal meanings.” It is no coincidence that the elderly often develop extremely deep feelings toward their home; they are very attached to it and are satisfied with living in it (often precisely because they are so attached to it). The findings of various experts regarding the elderly's attachment to and satisfaction with their living environment were also examined in this study. The authors were interested in whether the elderly in Slovenia were also attached to and satisfied with their homes, how intense this attachment and satisfaction was and whether there were any differences in age, length of residence, settlement type and tenure among the elderly in this regard. As expected, the findings revealed that the elderly in Slovenia are also generally very attached to their homes and are very satisfied with them, and that there are differences among them in this regard. Specifically, a higher attachment rating is typical of those that are older, have lived in their living environments for an extended period of time, live in the countryside and are homeowners. Differences are also evident in individual aspects of satisfaction with the “immediate” and “wider” living environment, although not with every aspect. Hence, for example, in relation to the length of residence, differences among the elderly are evident only with regard to satisfaction with construction quality and the peacefulness of the environment: those that have lived in their homes longer are less satisfied with their construction quality and the peacefulness of the environment. In terms of tenure, it turned out that there are differences in all three aspects of housing satisfaction (size, layout of rooms and construction quality) as well as in satisfaction with the peacefulness of the environment and the proximity of relatives and friends: in all cases, the homeowners reported higher satisfaction; however, these differences cannot be statistically proven. With regard to settlement type, the rural and urban elderly do not differ in terms of housing aspects and aspects referring to the physical accessibility in the environment; however, they do differ in terms of satisfaction with the proximity of services and care and satisfaction with the living environment: as expected, the urban elderly are more satisfied with the proximity of services and care, and the rural elderly are more satisfied with the environment. With regard to age, differences among the respondents were observed with all satisfaction aspects, in which satisfaction with housing and living environment increases with age, as expected.

Even though statistical analyses have shown statistically significant differences among the elderly in terms of their attachment to and satisfaction with their living environment, it has to be highlighted (once again) that the elderly are very attached to their homes and are very satisfied with them, and that in most cases the only difference is between "great and even greater attachment and great and even greater satisfaction." Therefore, the elderly should be allowed to remain in their living environment as long as possible. Because the elderly are attached to and satisfied with their homes, this can have a number of positive effects, especially on their wellbeing and psychophysical fitness. According to Jordana L. Maisel et al. (2008), research has shown that independent life stimulates successful aging by improving health and increases the elderly's life satisfaction and self-esteem, which can postpone their use of institutional care. Hence, aging at home or aging in place is the most desirable form of housing or living for the elderly. However, the preferences of the elderly to live in their own homes not only have positive aspects, but also come with a number of obstacles, such as a) the inappropriate setup of dwellings (e.g., inappropriate bathroom furnishings, thresholds and other architectural obstacles), b) difficult access to their homes (e.g., stairs and multi-storey buildings with no lifts), c) inappropriate location of the dwelling (e.g., remoteness of public services and inappropriate transport connections, resulting in the elderly becoming increasingly isolated, staying in their homes more often and becoming dependent on others for services), and d) maintenance of dwellings (if they are homeowners) and the coverage of current and annual housing costs. In such cases, home attachment becomes an emotional, physical and economic burden. However, precisely because of their strong attachment, the elderly refuse to move elsewhere; they perceive this as a traumatic experience (Kerbler, 2012). Therefore, despite their poor quality of living and dissatisfaction, they continue to live in their homes, even though they could improve the quality of their lives by moving into a different living environment.

Understanding the elderly's attitudes toward moving house in particular will be the main topic of further analyses as part of this study. Other factors based on which the elderly differ from one another in terms of their attachment to and satisfaction with their living environment (e.g., economic status, its maintenance level, education, etc.) will have to be analysed in greater detail, and in-depth statistical methods (e.g., factor analysis and multiple regression) will have to be used in order to determine the interdependence of various factors (that have been analysed separately in this study) or their mutual effects on attachment and satisfaction.

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Notes

[1] The five-point Likert scale is an ordinal scale, but there is no consensus in the literature on whether it can be treated as an interval scale (Jamieson, 2004; Norman, 2010). However, because the ordinal scale is the most frequently used scale in the social sciences due to the predominance of opinion scales, according to the recommendations by the Social Informatics Centre (Sln. Center za družboslovno informatiko, 2017) and assuming that the differences between categories are the same, the ordinal scale can also be used to calculate the averages and variance, making it similar to an interval scale.

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Sprawl and mega-events: Economic growth and recent urban expansion in a city losing its competitive edge (Athens, Greece)

In the new context of contemporary cities, local competitiveness for financial resources has grown more than ever, resulting in cities characterised by important socioeconomic transformations. Earlier studies addressed the relation between urban expansion, socioeconomic development and mega-events only for specific areas and types of urban growth, often overlooking the role of mega-events in fuelling urban sprawl. As the host of the 2004 Olympic Games, Athens, Greece is a paradigmatic example for emerging cities hosting mega-events due to the close interconnection between the Olympics, infrastructure development and urban sprawl. This article connects the latent relationship between economic expansion driven by the Olympic Games and laissez-faire urbanism to the long-term unregulated urban expansion characterising Athens's development. By providing room

for the original wave of sprawl, the resulting socioeconomic context is interpreted as a signal of the weakness of the "competitive city" framework in poorly planned and long-deregulated urban contexts such as Athens. A comprehensive analysis of recent phases of economic growth and discontinuous urban expansion thus provides further insight into understanding sprawl processes in today's cities, and helps distinguish the morphological patterns and socioeconomic dynamics that characterise urban expansion during sequential cycles of economic expansion and recession.

Keywords: urban expansion, economic growth, infrastructure, agglomeration economies, tourism, Mediterranean

1 Introduction

Urban growth is a global phenomenon that is manifested through various spatial forms and dynamics (Angel et al., 2011). Socioeconomic restructuring processes and the resulting distribution of economic activities at the global scale suggest that the growth prospects of cities increasingly depend on their comparative advantages to attract investments and generate local development opportunities (Bennet & Savani, 2003). Factors such as infrastructure and accessibility, industry and economic scale, human capital and labour force act as major determinants of urban competitiveness (Andersen et al., 2011). Policies to enhance the capacity of cities to attract businesses and labour have shaped regional and local policy in developed countries (OECD, 2006).

In this new global competitive context and in the era of mass communication, the importance of mega-events, including the Olympic Games, expos and football world cups, has significantly scaled up (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010). The potential of hosting major events today lies in the global attention that a country and a city receive throughout the period, serving advertisement and promotion purposes (Delladetsima, 2006). Mega-events thus serve as a means for attracting human and financial investments from all over the world. Competitiveness among cities hoping to host such events has increased greatly (Phelps et al., 2006). Cities have undergone radical changes, promoting intense infrastructure development, urban re-qualification plans and the “construction of territorial specificities” with the final objective of enhancing the growth potential of the locality (Scott, 2001). To sum up, cities have been transforming at greater speeds in order to become more competitive for hosting mega-events.

The shift toward a “competitive city” model is noticeable in two regulatory responses seeking to modify the competitive attributes of urban systems (Kresl, 2007). The first is demand-oriented actions, striving to respond to the attributes that firms are seeking from a particular location in order to operate. A key example of such a response is the construction of physical infrastructure designed to make the area more attractive for investment and favourable for the establishment and growth of local economic initiatives. The second regulatory response is profile development or enhancement strategies, aiming to differentiate a place from other investment choices by highlighting its core benefits, style and culture. The promotion of rejuvenated urban profiles involves mobilising diverse policy tools and resources, including the preservation of architectural heritage sites, flagship property developments aimed at altering city-centre landscapes and hosting major cultural, entrepreneurial and sports events. In this respect, place marketing considerations are now viewed as a fundamental part of

land-use planning, guiding the development of places (Bennet & Savani, 2003).

In the new context of entrepreneurial cities, local competitiveness for financial resources has grown more than ever, resulting in competitive cities characterised by morphological and functional transformations (Di Felicianantonio & Salvati, 2015). In this regard, mega-events are a strong means of self-promotion, and for this reason they have always been preceded by infrastructure development and strategies to enhance the profile of the host city (Longhi & Musolesi, 2007). However, the close relationship between mega-events, socioeconomic development and urban expansion was addressed only for specific areas and types of urban growth, often overlooking the role of mega-events in fuelling dispersed urbanisation and producing negative socio-environmental externalities (Dura-Guimera, 2003). As the host of the 2004 Olympic Games, Athens is a paradigmatic example for Olympic cities due to the close interconnection between mega-events, infrastructure development and urban sprawl in a socioeconomic context characterised by long-term unregulated city expansion (Chorianopoulos et al., 2014).

Athens's bid for the Olympic Games was perceived as the will of the city to regain urban competitiveness (Gargiulo Morelli et al., 2014). When Greece was awarded the games, several urban and infrastructure projects were launched. These sought to reduce economic marginality and improve the functional profile of the metropolis (Gospodini, 2006). The games acted as a catalyst to redirect spatial policy towards improving Athens's urban landscape (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004). At the same time, the pre-crisis phase of urban expansion typical of Athens created an unsustainable path of local development possibly reducing (or even compromising) the capacity of the metropolitan system to effectively respond to the subsequent negative impacts of recession (Gospodini, 2009). Based on these premises, this article discusses the latent relationship between economic expansion driven by the Olympic Games and laissez-faire urbanism, identifying a massive process of sprawl, considered an early signal of the weakness of the competitive city framework in poorly planned and long-deregulated urban contexts (Salvati et al., 2016). A comprehensive analysis of recent phases of economic growth and discontinuous urban expansion provides further insight into the understanding of sprawl patterns and processes in today's cities, and helps identify the morphological transformations and socioeconomic dynamics that characterise urbanisation paths in mixed cycles of economic expansion and recession.

After a brief description of the long-term demographic and urban development of the Athens metropolitan region (Section 2), four homogeneous phases of urban expansion are described

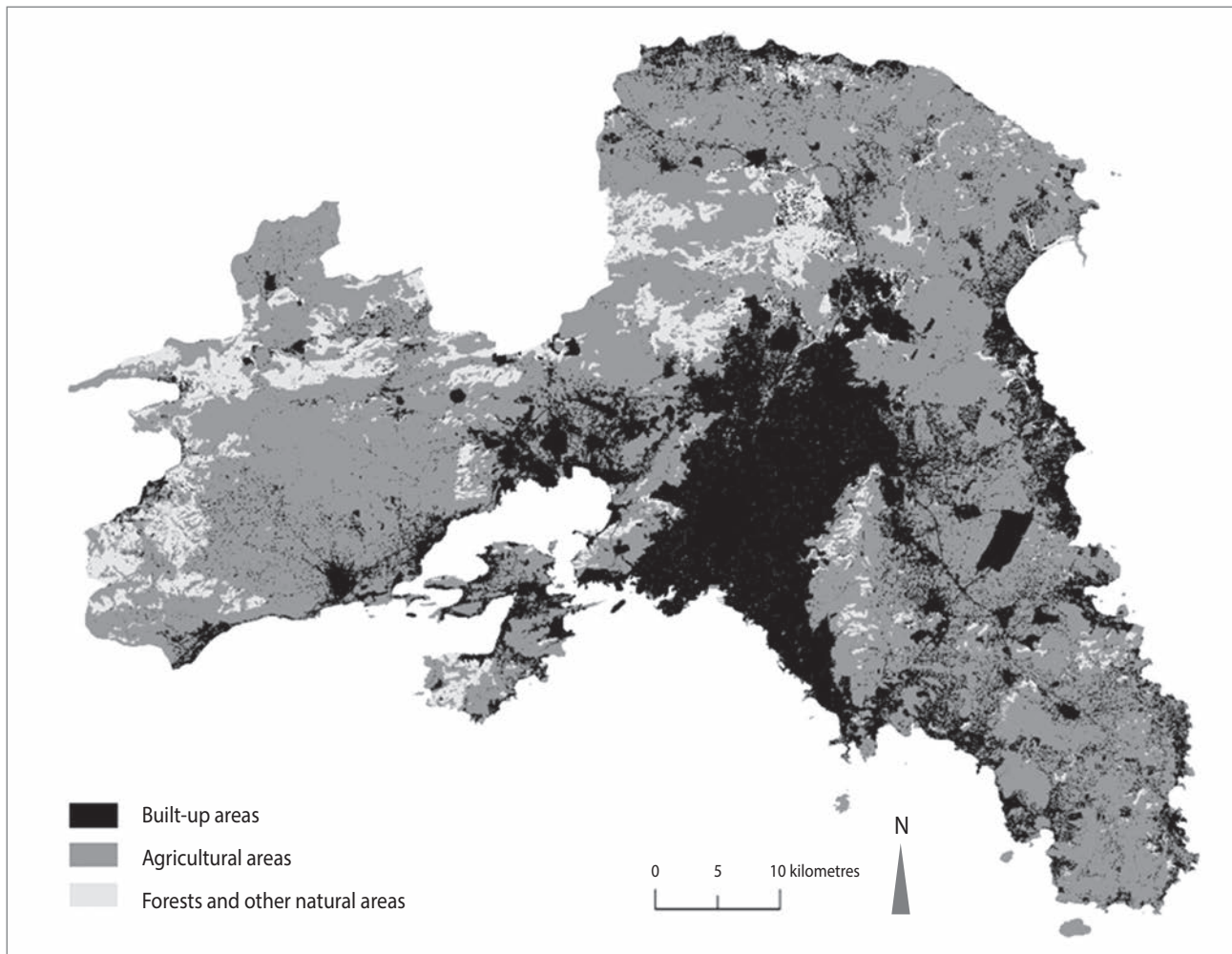


Figure 1: Spatial distribution of basic land-use classes in the Athens metropolitan region (source: European Environment Agency, 2012).

by reviewing empirical evidence presented in earlier studies. Section 3 then focuses on Athens's development in the last decade and the importance of the role played by the 2004 Olympics through a survey of recent literature on urban growth and sprawl in the Greek capital, coupled with additional analysis of material such as town plans, strategic guidelines for urban development and online newspaper articles. The implications of these global events in the new context of competitive cities is discussed in Section 4, presenting the urban transformations that cities are undergoing in order to increase their global competitiveness. The urban policies and strategies adopted by the Greek authorities before and immediately after the Olympics are briefly discussed in Section 5. The spatial consequences of these urban development plans are addressed in Section 6. In particular, special attention is given to the transformation of the Mesogeia Plain, one of the main areas of the region affected by Athens's urban spillover, using statistical data provided by the Greek National Statistical Service and diachronic aerial photographs from Google Earth.

2 Athens's expansion: a long urbanisation history

The study area considered here is the administrative region of Attica in south-central Greece. Attica covers 3% of Greece's area but contributes to almost half of its GDP (Figure 1). In 2001 the greater metropolitan area of Attica had a population of about 3.5 million, which is 34% of the total population (Salvati, 2016). In the Greek urban system, Athens is the capital and by far the most important city, with a concentration of all economic sectors and activities (especially high-level public administration, business headquarters and a wide array of services). However, Athens ranks low within the European urban system. According to various classifications of European cities, Athens is considered a peripheral city with a relatively low level of influence on both the Mediterranean region and, more generally, European dynamics (Rontos et al., 2016).

Kostas Rontos and Luca Salvati (2014) identified four growth phases in Athens. The first phase (1850–1900) was character-

ised by a similar demographic expansion of urban and rural areas, resulting in quite a balanced distribution of population across regional territory. However, starting in the 1860s the growth rate of Athens began accelerating faster than the rest of Attica. The second phase (1900–1940) saw the development of a compact polycentric configuration, based on the two main urban centres of Athens and Piraeus (Leontidou, 1990).

Consolidating the role of Greek capital, greater Athens attracted industrialisation, especially in Piraeus, where the commercial port is located. Consequently, population growth rates in these two areas (mainly determined by immigration flows from Asia Minor) were very high. New residents settled in unplanned suburbs in the surroundings of Athens and Piraeus. Even if these informal settlements were not exactly low-density, the first signs of urban sprawl were evident in this period. The third phase (1950–1980) was characterised by the progressive transformation of the traditional di-centric structure of Attica. Workers and lower-income strata, together with rural immigrants, moved to the surroundings of Athens and Piraeus in search of affordable housing close to industries. Consequently, the difference between residential densities in the urban centres and peripheries decreased rapidly. Furthermore, the urbanisation of rural areas around Athens and Piraeus also took place in this phase, especially in the Mesogeia Plain. Urban depolarisation was mainly possible due to the infrastructure development of the region and the permissive urban policies and building code (Leontidou, 1996).

Dispersed urbanisation grew in the fourth phase (1980–1990), when the middle-class and elite urban exodus became significant. Athens's periphery, rural zones and coastal areas experienced rapid economic expansion during those years. The Athens urban area experienced growth and sprawl at the same time. The conclusion on the demographic and urban development of the region is that Greece's traditional city-countryside polarisation radically changed during the twentieth century. The compact polycentric configuration of Attica based on the Piraeus-Athens polarity is progressively being replaced by a more scattered metropolitan structure (Sayas, 2004, 2006; Polyzos et al., 2008; Salvati, 2013).

3 Competing for mega-events: early signs of a competitive city in Athens

With about one-third of Greece's population and over one-third of its total income, the Athens metropolitan region dominates the Greek urban system. However, for many decades Athens had one of the lowest indicators of competitiveness in Europe due to a variety of factors related to its introverted economic trends, persistent social problems and

outdated infrastructure (Prevelakis, 2000). The Olympics were therefore perceived as an opportunity to project a new "winner" profile for the capital and, in the words of the organisers, to prove to the world that the city also has a future alongside a glorious past. In this light, staging the games was perceived as a national rather than local effort (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004). The central government reoriented regional policy towards this goal and allocated considerable funds to realise projects directly aimed at raising urban competitiveness (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010).

Two key project categories resulted from this prioritisation. The first is projects aimed at improving the attractiveness of the urban area and the city's capacity to act as an international venue for year-round tourism (examples include the unification of archaeological sites in the city's historical centre, the regeneration of the western waterfront area and the post-Olympic conversion of sporting facilities to convention, business and entertainment venues). The second category is projects to reduce economic marginality and improve the functional aspects of the metropolitan area, focusing on telecommunication and transport infrastructure (examples are the new Athens underground, with its new Lines 2 and 3 and improvement of Line 1 with an extra lane, the suburban railway and tramway connecting the city centre to the western waterfront, Eleftherios Venizelos International Airport and Athens's ring road).

The Olympic Games therefore acted as a catalyst for redirecting spatial policy toward the promotion of urban competitiveness (Gospodini, 2006). Leaving aside the discussion over the extent of economic growth of the city and country, we focus our attention on the effects that this spatial policy has had on the urban development of the area studied. Two major aspects played a crucial role in guiding urban development in the region: a) the emergence of new spatial links via development of major transport projects establishing new connections between peripheral areas, expanding the functional urban limits and transforming the geography of the metropolis, and b) changes in real estate dynamics, associated with a high level of infrastructure investment and major architectural works (Panagiotis & Tassos, 2004). The former aspect has contributed to an increase in the attractiveness of rural areas surrounding the central city (infrastructure development has mainly been channelled into the Mesogeia Plain and along the eastern and western coast), and the latter aspect has determined clusters of culture and leisure epicentres characterised by innovative design and distinct architectural and urban morphology with international rather than local references (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004). The emergence of developers' consortiums, focusing on investment opportunities in large retail, offices, entertainment and housing estate projects, has progressively affected land prices, intensifying development pressures (Delladetsima,

2006). Infrastructure investment took place in various locations around Athens. However, it was primarily channelled into the eastern part of the metropolis: namely, the Mesogeia Plain (Couch et al., 2007).

4 Infrastructure development and urban growth in Athens

Lifestyle-related and infrastructure-driven sprawl are the two main factors underlying urban dispersion (Richardson & Chang-Hee, 2004; Bruegmann, 2005; Salvati & Carlucci, 2016). Studying infrastructure development in the case of Attica is convenient for understanding past patterns of urban expansion and predicting future ones. Among the most important infrastructure typologies that determine the nature and characteristics of sprawl processes, airports, roads and underground lines play a pivotal role (Zagorianakos, 2004). The development of the first “urban rapid transit system” (Line 1) in greater Athens connected central Piraeus to central Athens and was inaugurated in 1869. This was one of the first underground systems in the world. Later, in 1957, Line 1 underwent rapid development, and today it extends 20 km from the southwest corner of greater Athens (Piraeus) to the northeast areas (Kifissia).

In 1992, the Attiko Metro enterprise took over the management of the Athens metro system and began operations to build Lines 2 and 3 and upgrade Line 1. The total cost of these operations was approximately EUR 4.3 billion. Today, the Athens metro network extends more than 60 km and a new fourth line is under construction. The entire transit system in Athens was progressively transformed with the aim of serving as many areas of the Athens Basin as possible. Public transportation offers numerous benefits: speed, comfort, safety and reliability). The construction of Line 4 and the extensions planned for Lines 2 and 3 have greatly contributed to connecting peripheral areas in the northeast and south of greater Athens with the urban centre. However, an indirect result has been the consolidation of a discontinuous urban fabric, especially in the northeastern districts of greater Athens. Moreover, it is reasonable to predict that urban sprawl will inevitably increase in those areas due to the expected increase in the desirability of these areas because of infrastructure development.

Regarding the highway system, the A6 motorway (the *Attiki Odos*) is a modern motorway extending 65 km. It constitutes the ring road of the greater metropolitan area of Athens and the core of the road network of the Attica region, connecting Eleftherios Venizelos International Airport in Spata to Corinth and Patras. The motorway was built with the main objectives

of reducing traffic volume in the capital and the Athens Basin and contributing to physical planning and town planning development in the prefectures of Attica. With regard to the last two objectives, the A6 motorway plays a crucial role in shaping urban development in the peripheral areas of greater Athens and in the rest of Attica. The leapfrog and ribbon sprawl of the last decade can be considered largely due to highway development. Furthermore, the extension plan of the highway in the Mesogeia Plain (connecting the area to greater Athens through Mount Hymettus) is expected to contribute significantly to the diffused urbanisation of the plain (Chorianopoulos et al., 2014).

5 The Olympics bid and Athens's chance at competitiveness: implications for urban sprawl

Mega-events are clearly a great opportunity for regenerating the urban environment of a city. Nevertheless, if planning strategies are not correctly made, mega-events may impact negatively on the urban quality of the host city. In Athens, as in many other cities, the success of a strategic urban development plan may have been the root of problems arising from the revaluation of certain urban areas. According to Francisco-Javier Monclús (2003), the quickening of decentralising tendencies and the exponential increase in metropolitan mobility correlates with considerable costs in energy, land use and commuting times. In contrast to the successful international experience of many cities in taking advantage of mega-events to regenerate large inner-city areas, Athens did not adopt such a strategy (Petsimeris, 2008). Although there were sites in former industrial inner areas (such as the Eleonas area in the Municipality of Athens), projects for the 2004 Olympics were not clustered there but instead distributed throughout Attica.

As a consequence, following Elias Beriatos and Aspasia Gospodini (2004), this pattern implies a strategy designed to promote multinucleated urban regeneration and development. Furthermore, several planned epicentres of culture and leisure constructed for the Olympic games, involving huge public funds, have failed to shape a new culture and leisure quarter in the city's landscape because they have been scattered throughout Attica (Figure 2). Most of the athletic complexes have been complemented by other amenities, such as convention and exhibition halls, commerce, entertainment, parks and promenades, with a view to improving the quality of urban space and the city's profile. In this respect, they constitute clusters of culture and leisure (Gospodini, 2001) dispersed throughout the metropolitan districts of Attica (inner-city areas, peripheral urban areas and the suburban fringe).

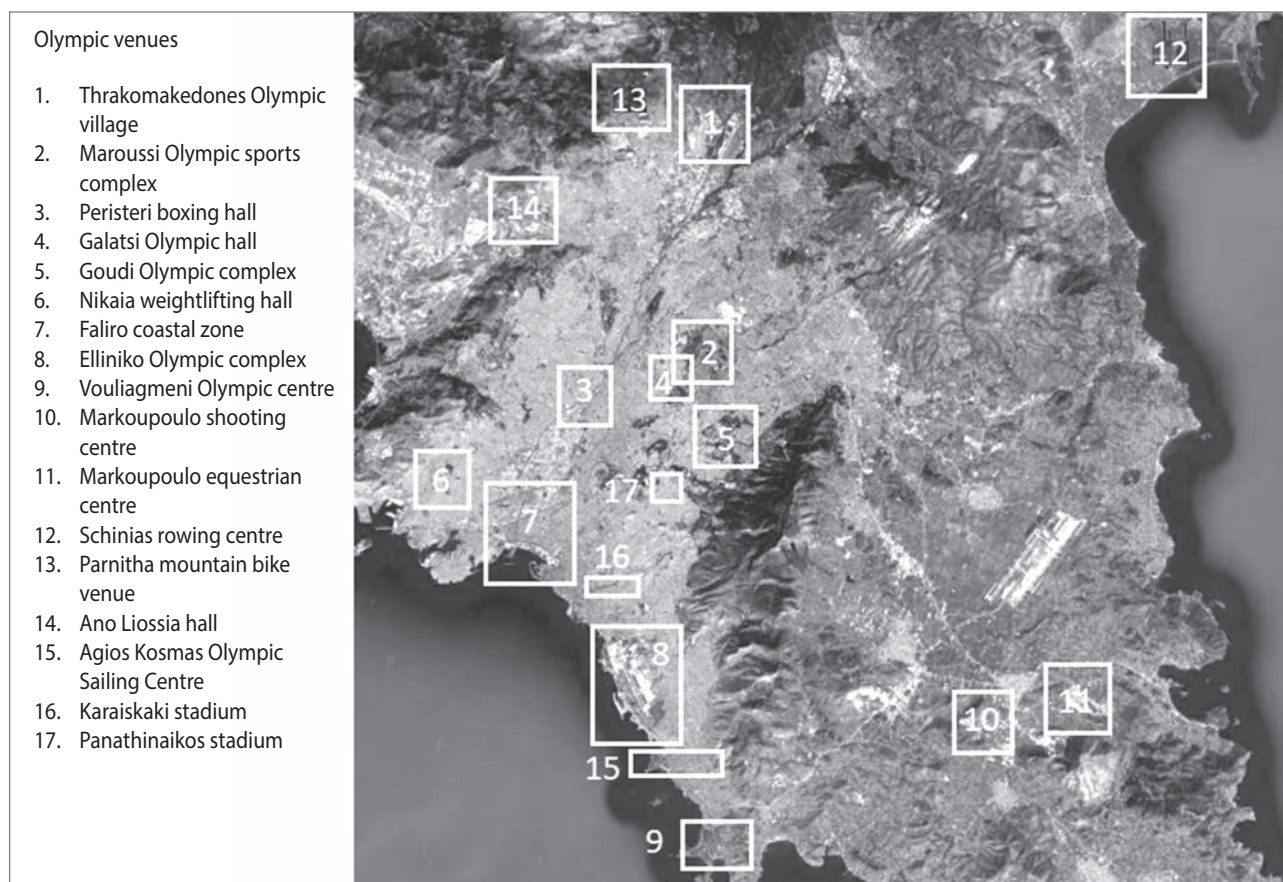


Figure 2: Olympic venues in greater Athens; venues no. 10 and 11 are located in the Mesogeia Plain (source: Google Earth, 2010).

Table 1: Land value percent change by area and reference period (source: Greek National Statistical Office, 2014).

Area	% change		Difference from Athens	
	1997–2000	2004–2009	2004	2009
Total Greece	51.9	17.7	0.7	0.8
Attica	40.6	10.5	1.0	0.9
Prefecture of Athens	122.7	7.8	1.0	1.0
Prefecture of East Attica	23.5	20.9	0.8	0.9
Prefecture of West Attica	8.3	5.5	0.6	0.6
Prefecture of Piraeus	8.1	12.6	0.8	0.8

Table 1 shows the percent change of land values over two reference periods (1997–2000 and 2004–2009) in Greece, in Attica and in its four prefectures (Athens, Piraeus, West Attica and East Attica). Land values evidently increased in all zones investigated in both reference periods. However, the observed increase was greatest in the period 1997–2000 for all zones except the Prefecture of Piraeus, probably the most compact in the study area. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that in both periods the increase in land value in the Prefecture of East Attica (the Mesogeia district), where urbanisation has mostly concentrated in the last decades, has been particularly consistent. The most interesting results are obtained by observing the evolution of land values as an absolute deviation from what was observed for the Prefecture of Athens, which has

always been the most expensive area of the country. These differences significantly increased for all of the areas investigated between 2004 and 2009, except for the Prefecture of West Attica, which has practically remained constant throughout the period. This observation may lead to the conclusion that land values across Attica are becoming more homogeneous with time. Demand for areas outside the Prefecture of Athens gradually grew as urbanisation and infrastructure development proceeded in Attica (Panagiotis & Tassos, 2004).

Leapfrog and ribbon sprawl have been significantly encouraged by the dispersal of Olympic venues across the region thanks to the development of the transport sector, above all in the Mesogeia Plain. These typologies of sprawl, indirectly

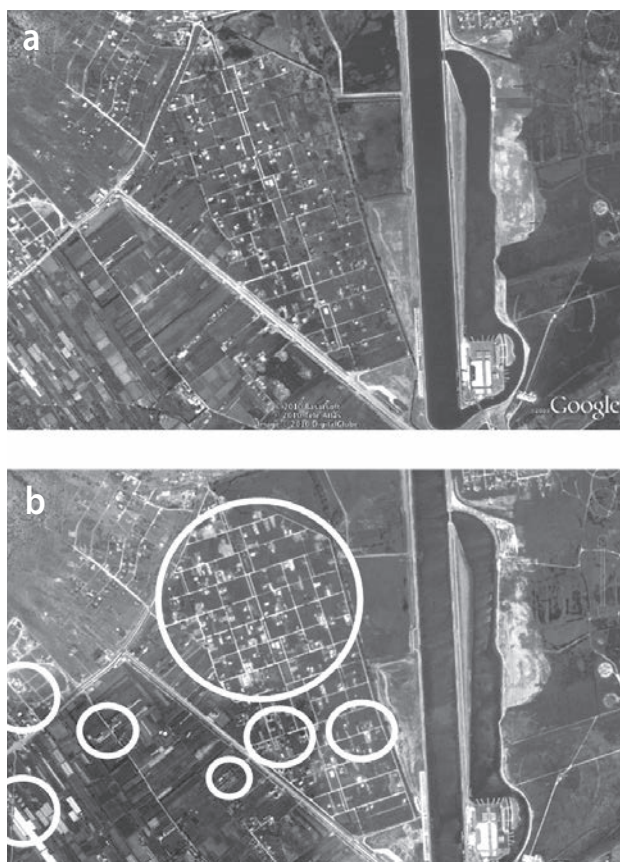


Figure 3: Urban development next to the Olympic Schinias rowing centre: a) in April 2004 and b) in June 2010; leapfrog development is characterised by isolated settlements and small urban nuclei expanding in rural environments. Ribbon sprawl is a typical expansion mode along roads and other infrastructure networks (source: Google Earth, 2012).

driven by sports installations, gave Attica a multi-nucleated spatial configuration, with the formation of clusters around districts that followed a *laissez-faire* spatial development program in contrast to the expectation of Athens's strategic master plan (Figure 3). The formation of a multi-nucleated territorial asset is particularly evident in the case of the Mesogeia Plain, a vast area that extends east of the Athens conurbation. Mount Hymettus to the west of the area acts as a physical barrier separating the plain from the main conurbation. The beginning of the transformation of the Mesogeia Plain started in the 1980s, when the decision was made to relocate the city's international airport to the area. Subsequent appropriation of agricultural land for airport construction was followed by further infrastructure investment, which was made possible by funds for the Olympic Games. The construction of new roads and rail links connecting the airport with the city significantly improved the area's accessibility. The picture was completed with the construction of two major Olympic venues (the Equestrian Centre and the Shooting Centre, both near the town of Markopoulo), again built on appropriated agricultural land.

Urban expansion in the Mesogeia Plain has been unplanned and greatly influenced by the infrastructure development of the area. The concentration of industrial activities, major investments in transport infrastructure for connecting the area to the rest of Attica and the relatively low costs of land have made the Mesogeia Plain extremely convenient for building activities and suburban growth (Chorianopoulos et al., 2014). As a result, the area's population grew by 26,207 during the 1980s and 38,737 in the 1990s. The number of households in the Mesogeia Plain increased from 15,800 in 1981 to 37,117 in 2001 (+135%), whereas the average household size fell from 3.3 to only 1.3 residents in 2001. In the same period, the population of greater Athens was decreasing in contrast to the inverse trend in its surroundings (Couch et al., 2007).

To identify the socioeconomic consequences deriving from such infrastructure investment activity, a comprehensive spatial planning study of the Mesogeia Plain was commissioned in the early 1990s. The study led to the creation of new land-use regulations for the area, including subdivision and building restrictions that were activated as late as 2003, a year before the games commenced and almost two decades after the adoption of the Athens Strategic Master Plan (Giannakourou, 2005). At that time, the extent of new urban land use that corresponded to large-scale infrastructure projects amounted to 15% of total land use in the Mesogeia Plain. More than 50% of new urban land use materialised in areas designated as protected (green zones or agricultural land). Such zones consumed up to 10% of the Mesogeia Plain and exhibited the highest rate of increase in urban land use. Moreover, built-up land expanded in both old and newly designated industrial zones, suggesting a trend towards the location of productive activities in the area. Less than 15% of new urban land use took place in areas regulated by structural urban plans. This category also showed the lowest rate of increase in urban land use among all Mesogeia Plain planning zones (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010).

6 Outcomes of a competitive city: The Olympic sprawl wave in Athens

Athens is a typical example of the Mediterranean city archetype, with urban development having long been mostly unplanned and spontaneous (Carlucci et al., 2017). Because it is representative of southern European urban areas still presenting a moderate demographic increase and over-urbanisation, Athens's expansion exemplifies the complex relationship between mega-events and sprawl (Ioannidis et al., 2009). Based on extensive knowledge about pre-Olympic sprawl processes in the area (Leontidou, 1996; Maloutas, 2007; Arapoglou & Sayas, 2009; Chorianopoulos et al., 2014), a review of the various modalities and dynamics of sprawl in the case of

Attica is presented here, identifying four processes typical of the Olympic phase of urban expansion based on distinct socioeconomic dynamics at the local scale: a) leapfrogging expansion, b) metropolitan periphery industrial development, c) ribbon development and d) second home conversion into primary residences.

There are many cases of urban sprawl leapfrogging to places outside the conurbation but still remaining within commuting distance. Examples of sprawl attached to existing villages away from the city, around “green villages,” along seashore towns or related to “action planning legislation” can be seen throughout Attica. Leapfrogging urban sprawl was usually associated with the construction of mega-structures or industrial sites. For this reason, the 2004 Olympic Games, with all the work carried out for such a mega-event, greatly intensified this typology of sprawl. For example, the construction of the Olympic Village was another case of leapfrogging over still-undeveloped land, and it is becoming a remote but upscale housing complex for workers. For various reasons, sprawl by other population groups has emerged next to major Olympic infrastructures and in other parts of Athens’s periphery (Emmanuel, 2004).

Regarding regional industrial development, factories first appeared in Athens’s periphery on the borders between northern Attica and Boeotia. This suburban manufacturing growth initially took place spontaneously in clusters near major transport arteries (Kourliouros, 1997). Sprawl followed this process with the migration of workers to peri-urban industrial spaces in the Mesogeia Plain and outside Attica (along the national highway from Athens to Lamia in the north and along the highway from Athens to Corinth in the southwest). Hybrid landscapes were the result of the coexistence of rural/urban and residential/industrial/commercial land use. It may be argued that this typology of sprawl is morphologically similar to ribbon development sprawl. Nonetheless, it has been separated from the latter because it has different causes.

Concerning ribbon development and post-suburbia, in the first post-war decades agricultural land urbanisation was controlled by building regulations adopted by city plans. These plans allowed the development of several urban uses (housing, industrial and commercial) along transport axes, determining a narrow strip form of sprawl (Economou, 1997). This is a type of infrastructure-driven sprawl in which transport routes play a dominant role. Increasing car ownership meant that houses would be sellable even though they might be remote from shops and other services. The actors that initiated it were various decentralising land-intensive and transport-dependent urban activities such as branch plants, warehouses, commercial exhibition centres and superstores. Zoning arrangements or other forms of regulations for land-use control did not

exist in such ribbon development, thus producing clusters or districts of similar activities highly dependent on transport systems (Coccossis et al., 2005). This typology of urban development led to progressive abandonment of the compact city tradition typical of the Mediterranean region (Economidou, 1993).

A special case of ribbon development occurred when the east and west coasts of Attica were connected with the inner city. Many middle-class residents of the city owned second homes on the periphery of the city close to the coast so that they could spend free time in quiet areas near the sea (Sayas, 2006). As transport infrastructure developed, these areas became more accessible from the city centre, making commuting possible (Couch et al., 2007). Thus, peripheral centres turned from summer locations into primary residences for middle- and upper-class groups. As European integration proceeded, and especially after the Maastricht Treaty, affluent populations migrated beyond cities and national borders for seasonal periods. This seasonal migration phenomenon was also significantly scaled up with the arrival of low-cost airlines, which made travel affordable for larger groups of individuals.

As a consequence, the Mediterranean coasts experienced a wave of residential tourism from north-south migrants, creating a sort of long-distance sprawl. Greece, together with Spain and Italy, is a favourite Mediterranean destination for seasonal migrants. The Athens 2004 Olympic Games greatly stimulated tourism to the country, and German, British and Austrian citizens purchased houses along the coasts of Attica. Nearly 30% of new housing in this area has been acquired by foreigners, and international investors predict that there will be demand for one million houses for tourists in the near future (Couch et al., 2007).

7 Discussion

To understand the socioeconomic dynamics and morphological characteristics of the most recent sprawl wave of Mediterranean urbanisation, this study focused on the urban spillover typical of Olympic Athens, with the 2004 games having played a crucial role in shaping the sprawl dynamics of the region. The interest in providing a detailed analysis of Athens’s recent development – as a representative example of Mediterranean cities attracting more population than jobs – derives from various reasons (Allen et al., 2004). Athens’s urban expansion has been widely recognised as a typical example of the recent socioeconomic trajectories followed by southern European cities, which are now experiencing a transformation from compact development to sprawl and, possibly, polycentric expansion (Turok & Mychненко, 2007). Until the 1990s Athens was considered a compact city, but today the city is attracting

the attention of scholars for its progressive deviation towards sprawling patterns of urbanisation. Understanding the reasons and causes behind this transition from compact development to the current spillover process is important for better understanding future urban patterns in the Mediterranean region and, possibly, all over Europe.

A further characteristic of the Mediterranean city that is particularly evident in Athens is the unplanned mode of its expansion (Vaiou, 1997). In most Mediterranean cities urbanisation has not been preceded by legislation for spatial allocation, land use and settlement, as in the rest of Europe. Furthermore, Athens is one of the few large European urban areas manifesting, at least up to the late 2000s, an intense demographic increase, followed by a drastic over-urbanisation process that has transformed the typical rural landscape surrounding the central city (Weber et al., 2005). For these reasons, now more than ever, the area requires a detailed spatial analysis in order to use appropriate policy strategies to control a process of dispersed urban expansion that is particularly recent and intense (Kasanko et al., 2006; Schneider & Woodcock, 2008; Salvati, 2014).

Finally, Athens is a good example for discussing the importance of mega-events in the new context of city regions. In addition to placing Greece in the world's eyes, the Olympic Games made the city an example for studying how new competitive city dynamics influence urbanisation processes (Gospodini, 2009). The works carried out for mega-events in Attica have had two main consequences: the emergence of new spatial links (including the expansion of the functional urban limits) and changes in real estate dynamics (raising values of rural and peripheral land). Furthermore, these interventions have been distributed throughout the Athens urban area, determining a sort of multi-nucleated urban regeneration programme (Gospodini, 2006). Consequently, ribbon and leapfrog sprawl patterns have been encouraged, thus contributing to the spillover process of Athens. Urban sprawl has been most evident in the Mesogeia Plain, an area traditionally dedicated to agricultural activities. The overall result is an increase in urban land use around industrial sites and Olympic venues (e.g., the shooting and equestrian centre), in designated protected areas and along major transport infrastructure. Furthermore, an intense demographic increase has been registered in the area, together with a decrease in the average household size.

Leapfrogging sprawl spatial patterns have mainly been observed in Attica. Many of these small sub-centres separated from the city (although connected by roads and railways) have developed around Olympic venues. Other "sub-types" of leapfrog development have been observed, such as new settlements

created by interest groups and urban clusters around industrial sites. Ribbon development is another common sprawl pattern that has been noticed throughout the region. Strip developments have sprung up along major transport axes, such as the A6 motorway. This suggests that infrastructure-driven sprawl is a dominant form of recent urban expansion in Athens. This pattern has been significantly influenced by the decentralisation of land-intensive and transport-dependent activities, including industries and commercial centres. A sub-type of ribbon sprawl that has also been observed is the conversion of second homes to primary residences. As the connection between coastal areas and the city improved, many middle-class residents of the metropolis with seasonal vacation houses decided to convert them into their primary residences. Consequently, former vacation localities have undergone radical socioeconomic transformation towards urban use.

There is general agreement on the fact that the modalities with which Athens's urban development occurred throughout the twentieth century reflect both direct causes and indirect factors, as already observed elsewhere (e.g., Arbaci, 2008; Catalàn et al., 2008; Terzi & Bolen, 2009; Bayona-Carrasco & Gil-Alonso, 2012; Litynski, 2016; Salvati & Carlucci, 2016). As a consequence of the morphological characteristics of Greek territory, the urban system of the country has been characterised by a persistent urban-rural polarisation (Costa et al., 1991). Nevertheless, the traditional relationship between urban and rural areas in Greece rapidly transformed throughout the twentieth century. This transformation, stimulated by the capital's economic development, its peculiar dimensions, significant waves of immigration, a weak planning system combined with a "permissive" building code and the infrastructure development of the region, has modified the spatial assets of the Attica region, resulting in a progressive (and discontinuous) urbanisation of the surrounding areas of greater Athens (Di Felicianantonio & Salvati, 2015). Consequently, this is contributing to the gradual decline of the urban-rural polarity, typical of the Mediterranean tradition. Showing similar traits as Spanish, Portuguese and Italian cities, its economic structures in the post-war period of rapid urbanisation were based on urbanisation economies triggering sparse industrialisation (Carlucci et al., 2017). As a result, the city did not experience the usual deindustrialisation/dis-urbanisation wave often noted in northern European cities since the 1970s. It has continued to show population gains, displaying a distinct lifecycle model (Gargiulo Morelli et al., 2014).

At the same time, in most Mediterranean cities urbanisation has not been preceded by legislation for spatial allocation, land use and urban settlement, as in the rest of Europe (Coccossis et al., 2005). Urban development has mainly occurred through

illegal self-built housing sprawling onto cheap suburban land with severe infrastructure deficiencies (Economou, 1997). This has led to the social exclusion and vulnerability of the residents of such areas (Emmanuel, 2004). In this line of thinking, the recent growth trajectory in Athens supports the argument of “individualised urban development” because it portrays a city that continues to grow in an unplanned manner, based on small, self-financed property development schemes, with limited public expenditure for urban infrastructure mainly based on sporadic (albeit important) events (Couch et al., 2007).

8 Conclusion

The socioeconomic context characterising the latent relationship between economic growth stimulated by the 2004 Olympics and a laissez-faire urbanism wave contributing to Athens's sprawled expansion may be interpreted as a signal of the weakness of the competitive city framework in poorly planned and long-deregulated urban contexts. A comprehensive analysis of recent phases of economic growth and discontinuous urban expansion provides further insight into understanding the complex mechanisms of dispersed urbanisation in the contemporary metropolitan region. In this way, the new transforming territorial organisation of Attica stimulates re-thinking of the roles played by metropolitan areas. Attica is located at the centre of communication routes between the northern typically industrial part of the country, the western and southern areas characterised by a strong agricultural activities and the tourism-oriented Aegean islands. Should Attica instead of Athens be considered the new capital of Greece? Is this a simple process of urban spillover that occupies residual free space with respect for geographical constraints, or is it the effect of an urban relocation process that connects the entire region in a complex network, irrespective of metropolitan hierarchies, spatial contiguity, functional productive sites and different allocations of land? In this sense, the rules of a complex Mediterranean region in transition will be dictated by the new Attica region and no longer by Athens alone, suggesting that policies governing the metropolitan area will play a relevant role. Contrary to what was achieved for the Olympic installations, regional planning should abandon the orientation toward specific actions in sparse areas – sometimes dictated by emergency conditions – to regain a visionary programme for the Athens region that could be a model strategy for the future development of several Mediterranean cities between economic growth and urban decline.

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The role of international development strategies in making regional development policies: Hokkaido as a case study

During the past decades, national governments and international institutions have both searched for ways to equalise disparities and revitalise lagging regions. Although ideas and examples of the most effective ways to achieve these goals originate in various places, their influence is inclined to permeate elsewhere. Therefore, the processes involved in policy transfers are highly relevant from the perspective of regional development. This study approaches these processes through the case study of post-war Hokkaido and pays special attention to the role of three international development strategies:

the Tennessee Valley Authority model, the Growth Pole Theory and the Industrial Cluster Theory. As a result, this research shows the wide variety of agents involved in policy transfer, analyses the processes of incorporating exogenous ideas into regional development policies and demonstrates the variety of sources from which different agents can draw lessons.

Keywords: policy transfer, regional development, development strategies, Hokkaido

1 Introduction

Because some regions benefit more from – or cope better with – changes in the global redistribution of work and production than others, national governments and international institutions have both continued to search for ways to equalise disparities or revitalise lagging regions in other parts of the world. The aims of these policy measures have usually been to create and redistribute economic growth and eliminate chronic regional disparities that prevent the attainment of national policy objectives (Armstrong & Taylor, 2000; Pike et al., 2007). Ideas regarding the most effective means of achieving these goals have originated in various places, but they have also been inclined to spread. Therefore, the processes involved in policy transfer (i.e., processes in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting are used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another) are also highly significant in the context of regional development policy (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Benson & Jordan, 2011).

Research regarding policy transfer has increased greatly since the late 1990s and it has been shown that occurrences of policy transfer have increased during recent decades – due to technological advances and occasional pressure originating from various international organisations, for example (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000). However, this is neither a new nor geographically restricted phenomenon. In fact, the motivation to study Hokkaido is drawn from an observation that the majority of policy transfer studies concentrate on the empirical context of Europe and the United States. Huck-ju Kwon (2009) has argued that policy learning and transfer can be considered missing elements in the study of East Asia's developing countries.

Hokkaido can be described as a peripheral region, given its position within Japan and its location in north-eastern Asia. However, international models and agents have played an important role in the 150-year process during which the island, formerly known as Ezochi, has been incorporated into and developed as a part of modern Japan. This process can be and has been described in terms ranging from *colonisation*, *subordination* or *civilisation* to *modernisation* or even *revitalisation* depending on the standpoint taken (Mason, 2012; Sasaki, 2015). Nevertheless, the many years that Hokkaido has been the subject of continuous state-led development activities and the scope of these activities make Hokkaido an interesting subject for any study whose focus is regional development policies.

This article considers the regional development policies implemented in Hokkaido during the post-war era with two objectives in mind. First, the article contributes to the study of the

policy transfer phenomenon through a case that focuses on human agency and on a relatively poorly known geographic entity, especially to those that do not read Japanese. Second, the study adds to a body of research that seeks to explain the content of, and processes through which, the post-war regional development policies of Hokkaido came into being through elaborating the role of international development strategies. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) model, the Growth Pole and Industrial Cluster Theories are identified as useful examples through which many different aspects of policy transfer can be elaborated upon. The analysis of the role of these strategies in three policy-making processes form the main body of this article. The analysis follows a brief introduction to conceptual foundations and is followed by concluding remarks. Although based on an analysis of publicly available written documents, this study additionally utilises other methods to gather data. In addition to conducting interviews and studying archival sources, the author participated as an observer in a number of cluster-related events in the mid-2000s.

In order to increase the understanding of policy choices made in relation to the development of Hokkaido, reference is made to local adaptations to the same strategies in the northern parts of Nordic countries. These regions are all peripheral parts of relatively wealthy and politically stable democratic countries that have simultaneously followed market-oriented capitalism and accepted state interventionism. Distinctive differences commonly arise between these northern regions and the central or capital regions of individual countries.

2 Policy transfer: who, why, from where

Although this study recognises the existence of a wide variety of interconnected and overlapping concepts, such as lesson-drawing, policy convergence and policy diffusion, it focuses on policy transfer and borrows from attempts by David P. Dolowitz and David Marsh (2000) to place this process within a conceptual framework. The model of Dolowitz and Marsh is based upon questions, three of which are accorded special focus in this study. These are questions concerning the identification of key agents involved in policy transfer, their reasons for engaging in policy transfer and the sources they draw lessons from. The conscious decision to emphasise agents and agency – understood as the capacity to act and the experience of acting, the ability to bring about effects and exert or exercise power – is based on assumptions concerning the nature of decision-making processes. Despite the existence of structural factors, such as organisational culture or standard patterns of behaviour, it is thought that not being able to achieve stipulations characteristic of the classical rational

decision model (strategic thinking, bargaining, compromise, beliefs and values – all typical of human decision-making) may play an even more remarkable role in decision-making processes. For an overview, see Charles E. Lindblom (1968) and Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow (1999).

The changing context of development in Hokkaido renders highly relevant the question about the nature of transfer – that is, whether it is *voluntary* (where it is motivated, for example, by dissatisfaction with the status quo and/or by the presumption of the existence of a model that is even better than the model applied currently) or *coercive* (where new policies are introduced, based, for example, on the demands or pressure from external agents, international competition or public opinion). One should remember that, although Japan has for decades been recognised as a fully-sovereign state with membership in all important international governmental organisations, it was a country defeated and under foreign occupation between 1945 and 1952. It is also important to pay attention to shifts in dependence upon and relations between Hokkaido's development policies and national policies. After all, policymakers do not seek only to learn from foreign counties; policy transfer also happens at subnational levels.

During the early phase of theory development, previous policy successes and failures within the domestic context or foreign political systems were recognised by policymakers as sources of innovation for new policies. However, as studies accumulated, alternative learning venues were identified. Thus, the role of NGOs, think tanks and intergovernmental bodies was acknowledged alongside peer-to-peer transfer between national governments (Benson & Jordan, 2011). This study shows that, although these conclusions have often been based on research concentrating on recent developments, the role of alternative learning venues can also be seen historically. Although already introduced in literature relating to policy transfer, it is worthwhile to elaborate on two points. The process of policy transfer is emphasised, but it is not described as the sole explanation for any policy development. Furthermore, the search for and application of ideas and practices across different types of boundaries is not necessarily deliberate, conscious or goal-oriented. Rather, it can be unsystematic, unstructured or an outcome of random exposure to information (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Dolowitz & Medearis, 2009).

3 TVA: public debate on the ideal model of regional development

The TVA was part of the New Deal programme. Its original purpose in 1933 was to address the Tennessee Valley's most important issues in energy, environmental stewardship and

economic development. The TVA was supposed to be a new kind of corporation equipped with governmental powers and balancing the interests of industry, agriculture, transportation, resource development, conservationists and social planners. Ideally, the TVA was also there to promote grass-roots participation in the planning and execution of development projects. The TVA had been known in pre-war Japan and the comprehensive war-time perspectives on resource planning paved the way for the model to become popular during the immediate post-war period (Dinmore, 2013; Internet 3).

The TVA was often mentioned in discussions concerning the development of Hokkaido in the late 1940s and early 1950s. However, existing research contains conflicting interpretations concerning the role, and the importance and objectives of different agents. According to a study by Eric Dinmore (2013), the TVA served as a policy model for post-war intellectuals and policymakers seeking to manage and harness Japan's hydrosphere as a strategic resource for socioeconomic development. The TVA also served as a key inspiration for the 1950 Law on Comprehensive National Land Development, which laid the foundations for comprehensive post-war development and emphasised large-scale hydrologic projects and other public works.

In Dinmore's analysis, progressive Japanese economic thinkers such as Shigeto Tsuru, who held positions or had contacts with the Economic Stabilization Board (ESB), and certain occupation authorities, such as Edward A. Ackerman, are recognised as actors promoting the TVA in Japan. Tsuru led the TVA Studies Discussion Group, which maintained contact with the TVA's headquarters in Knoxville and published a monthly bulletin on TVA studies in Japanese. Some of the Japanese experts were even able to visit the TVA sites in the early 1950s with funding provided by the United States. These Tokyo-centred resource analysts provided the post-war Japanese with authoritative advice not exclusively in relation to dams, but also to other forms of development. Furthermore, Dinmore emphasises the important role of New Deal thinking in post-war Japanese state-centric developmentalism. What his article does not mention, however, is Hokkaido; it introduces neither the Hokkaido Development Law enacted in 1950, nor the Hokkaido Development Agency (HDA) established in 1950, nor the Hokkaido Development Bureau (HDB) founded in 1951.

The birth of a development system in Hokkaido that differed from others elsewhere in Japan forms the very nucleus of a study by Shūji Koiso (2003). According to Koiso's analysis, the New Dealers – who occupied central positions within the Government Section, which held significant authority inside the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) – did not promote but, against all

expectations, opposed the comprehensive development philosophy of the TVA when negotiations took place in regard to the structuring of Hokkaido's post-war development. Hokkaido-based agents enthusiastically referred to the TVA as a model that could be utilised when reconstructing Hokkaido's development system. Nevertheless, they faced opposition from the occupying authorities and central government.

There are two points worth noting in relation to these contradictory arguments. It is necessary to realise that these studies refer to different discussions. Dinmore analyses a process in which the TVA was debated as a model for the building of hydroelectric infrastructure and the utilisation of Japan's water resources. Koiso's focus is on the process of establishing an institution that could lead different types of publicly funded development projects in Hokkaido. The recognition of separate discussions allows different agents' attitudes toward the idea of using the TVA as a model to be understood better. Although the New Dealers inside the GHQ/SCAP could welcome the TVA as a model for the utilisation of water resources, they could at the same time reject the TVA as a model for development in Hokkaido. The GHQ/SCAP persistently opposed the idea that Hokkaido's special characteristics would necessitate the establishment of a special development organisation, the authority of which would not be limited to a branch of administration, but to the borders of one territorial entity within the country. Eventually, the occupying authorities' permission to form the HDA and the HDB at the end of the occupation reflected the readiness of GHQ/SCAP to allow the Japanese government to amend existing laws and ordinances on the proviso that they did not violate the ordinances of the occupiers (Banno, 2003; Saunavaara, 2014).

The progressive or left-wing side of the political spectrum is well represented when the promoters of the TVA in Japan are listed. For example, in addition to the ESB, which gained power under the premiership of socialist Tetsu Katayama, the socialist governor of Hokkaido, Toshifumi Tanaka, also talked eagerly about the TVA. The politically inexperienced Tanaka was elected in 1947, when the electorate could vote in gubernatorial elections for the first time. Tanaka familiarised himself with the ideas of the TVA in the autumn of 1949 and a philosophy of comprehensive development – with the ultimate objective not being that of resource development, but of improving people's everyday lives in Hokkaido – became an inseparable part of his political argument (Okuda, 1956; Takahashi, 1982; Banno, 2003). Based on his optimism regarding the TVA, a similarity can be seen between Tanaka and those experts in Tokyo that were either unconcerned with – or unaware of – some of the actual features of the TVA, such as electric power generation to the clear benefit of industrial giants or the problems that existed regarding the inclusion of

local authorities in decision-making (Dinmore, 2013). The links between Tanaka's administration and the ESB seem to have been established through the director of Hokkaido's Forest Office, whose allies in the ESB assisted the Tanaka administration when it negotiated with central government on the establishment of the electric power development programme in Hokkaido (Takahashi, 1982). However, was it inevitable that the TVA model was promoted by the left wing of Hokkaido's political spectrum?

If one looks at Finland, which was in many ways lagging behind Norway and Sweden in the early 1950s, one can also find demands for a comprehensive, publicly funded, national program to benefit the northern part of the country. The main features of the program included the establishment of hydroelectric power, industrialisation and utilisation of local natural and mineral resources. Industrialisation was considered to be a process that could proceed concurrently with the development of local agriculture. The most prominent figure promoting these ideas was Prime Minister Urho Kekkonen, who represented the Agrarian League (The Centre Party of Finland since 1965) and later served as president of Finland for many years. Although the TVA model did not enjoy the same public recognition in Finland as it did in Japan, American examples of developing hydroelectric power were mentioned during political debates. Those involved in the development of northern Finland also visited the TVA sites in the late 1940s. Ideas resembling the TVA were promoted by the Agrarian League in cooperation with the Social Democrats (Salo & Lackman, 1998; Sippola, 2010; Mäntylä, 2016). Therefore, it is worth paying attention to the agrarian parties, which were strong in Hokkaido during the first decade after the war.

The various farmers' parties that emphasised cooperative principles in their political agenda and relied heavily on the support of agricultural interest groups did not rise to be major power holders in national politics. However, they polled exceptionally well in Hokkaido. Eventually, after almost a decade of continuous organisational flux, the Hokkaido-based agricultural parties fell away and most of their traditional supporters began to vote for Socialist Party candidates. Despite the early signs of cooperation between the socialists and the farmers' parties, they were also competing against each other. The most visible contest took place in 1951, when Governor Tanaka ran successfully for re-election against Torizō Kurosawa, who was one of the father figures of the Cooperative Party movement and dairy industry in Hokkaido (Saunavaara, 2015). Kurosawa referred to the TVA during his campaign as an inspiring foreign model for regional development and Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida envisioned a plan for Hokkaido that would not be surpassed by even the TVA when he spoke on behalf of Kurosawa, the candidate that was also supported by the

conservative parties (Okuda, 1956; Hiraku, 2011). However, other signs of interest in the TVA on the part of the farmers' parties have not been found.

The results of the TVA boom in the late 1940s and early 1950s can be approached from various angles. The name of the model, described even in children's books and school textbooks, was widely known. David E. Lilienthal, one of the leaders appointed to the three-person board overseeing the TVA, became a minor celebrity, and the Japanese translation of his book *TVA: Democracy on the March* sold well. Borrowing Dinmore's words, the TVA became a buzzword in Japanese discourse for socioeconomic progress through state-guided, comprehensive hydrologic management. Furthermore, the TVA functioned as a model for public corporations like the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Company (NTT), a state-owned monopoly of the telecommunication sector, in the early 1950s. However, with the actual implementation of TVA ideas, the comprehensive development of national land essentially became synonymous with the construction of large dams. When Dinmore describes the defeat of the TVA principles by the large dam projects, which overlooked the needs of local farmers in favour of supplying electricity and water to urban industrial areas and industry, he does not pay attention to the only part of Japan where comprehensive development plans had already been drafted and implemented in the early 1950s (Anchordoguy, 2005; Dinmore, 2013). Although the cabinet only decided on the first Comprehensive National Development Plan in 1962, the first Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Plan covered the period from 1952 to 1961. Tokyo's TVA experts also lacked an interest in and knowledge of Hokkaido. When, for example, Hiromi Arisawa (1951) wrote a lengthy article about comprehensive regional development and the TVA in November 1951, he did not mention the ongoing process on Japan's northernmost island.

Akio Takahashi (1982) called the Takadomari Dam (completed in November 1953) the *TVA of the Tanaka administration*. This was the first multipurpose dam in Hokkaido that was designed from the perspective of both electric power generation and agricultural water management. Nevertheless, the First Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Plan (divided into two consecutive five-year phases covering the years 1952–1956 and 1957–1961) is the most important source when searching for traces of the TVA in early post-war Hokkaido. The plan – a relatively short document listing projects paving the way for the development of industry and agriculture and an increase in population – does not mention the TVA. However, it places great importance on the development of electric power, mainly hydroelectric power (Hokkaido Development Agency, 1951). Although the enthusiasm to build

dams in Hokkaido from the 1950s onward may have reflected a growing awareness of their role in regional development, it was also motivated by the lack of electricity that complicated everyday life and the construction of new industry. Furthermore, the passing of the Electric Power Development Law in 1952 enabled the establishment of a government-financed organ, the Electric Power Development Corporation, which also began to construct dams in Hokkaido (Jones, 1958; Hokkaidō Doboku Gijutsukai, 2007).

The results of Hokkaido's comprehensive development were discussed critically during the second half of the 1950s. This discussion reflected the overly optimistic expectations based on plans that often lacked realistic funding schemes as well as the pent-up dissatisfaction with the structures of Hokkaido's development (Yamazaki, 2006; Koiso & Yamazaki, 2007; Kobayashi, 2010). One of the main stimuli for this discussion was an essay by Ukichirō Nakaya, a professor at Hokkaido University, which was published in the journal *Bungei Shunjū* in April 1957. While criticising the conduct of the policy and suggesting more appropriate ways to proceed, Nakaya referred to the TVA, which had once been popular in Japan. For Nakaya, the TVA was a model of successful regional development in which questions of leadership and responsibility were clear. In the case of the TVA, the leaders understood the local circumstances, lived in the region and devoted themselves to the work (Nakaya, 2001; Imamatsu, 2006).

4 Adopting the Growth Pole Model as a part of the comprehensive national development policy

The theories of regional economic divergence or unbalanced regional growth began to challenge the ideas of convergence and long-term constant per capita income growth in the 1950s. These arguments were supported by empirical evidence showing that not all regions were conforming to the predictions of the neoclassical growth models. When Gunnar Myrdal wrote about cumulative causation, he directed attention to the advantageous position enjoyed by the first industrialised regions. He argued that, although underdeveloped regions might benefit from growth in developed regions through the diffusion of innovation and growing export markets, their position would be challenged by the flow of capital and labour into developed regions. François Perroux's views concerning the stimulating role of the centres for the development of the entire economic system formed the basis for most growth pole theories. Although Perroux originally denied that abstract economic space could correspond to a geographic area such as a city or region, his ideas were further developed and placed in geographic space.

When Albert O. Hirschman discussed polarised development, he emphasised the benefits of both the growing region and the surrounding less-developed region. He agreed that the developed region could purchase the products of the lagging region and offer employment. At the same time, he did not close his eyes to the possibility of developments unfavourable to the lagging region caused by growing competition. Hirschman believed that the favourable effects trickling down from the growing centre would outweigh negative polarisation effects, which could be controlled and reduced through the enactment of new economic policies (Parr, 1999; Dawkins, 2003; Zarycki, 2007).

Japan was one of the countries that adopted the Growth Pole Strategy as the guiding principle for regional planning in the 1960s and 1970s. The Comprehensive National Development Plan that was approved by the cabinet on 5 October 1962 was a major instrument incorporating the Growth Pole Model into Japanese regional development schemes. The plan emphasised the development of certain selected key regions that were considered to be potential engines of economic growth. The New Industrial City Construction Promotion Law enacted in 1962 and the Law on the Promotion of the Development of Special Regions for Industrial Development enacted in 1964 furnished the legal foundation for implementing these policy measures (Yamazaki, 2006; Koiso & Yamazaki, 2007).

The drafting of the Comprehensive National Development Plan was a major component of, but not the only driver behind, the evolution of the policy-making process in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Socialist Governor Tanaka was replaced by Kingo Machimura, representing the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), in the 1959 gubernatorial election. This change had a great influence on cooperative relations between the Hokkaido Government, the HDA, the HDB and the central government. At the same time, various regional development laws that concentrated on other regions that were lagging behind were enacted. In this kind of situation, the Hokkaido Government and the HDA, which worked to preserve the existing Hokkaido development system, agreed that industrialisation formed the basis of Hokkaido's future contribution to the national economy. The second five-year term of the First Comprehensive Plan already aimed at promoting industries utilising Hokkaido's natural resources and raw materials. The Second Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Plan, approved in a cabinet meeting in July 1962 and implemented from 1963 onward, emphasised Hokkaido's ability to encourage the heavy chemical industry to move away from metropolitan areas in particular because these were crowded and lacked the space needed for industrial facilities (Yamazaki, 2006; Sasaki, 2015).

Central Hokkaido, consisting of the greater Sapporo area and the city of Tomakomai, was designated one of the new industrial cities in April 1964; the total number of such cities rose to fifteen in 1966. Prefectures competed strongly against each other, and eventually six special regions for industrial development were designated to diminish the disappointment of those prefectures that were not hosting any of the designated new industrial cities (Gu, 1997; Masuda, 2006). The construction of the Tomakomai Coastal Industrial Zone was the most visible project initiated in central Hokkaido. It was expected to have national significance and it was also a natural continuation of the construction of the new harbour in Tomakomai, which had been put into service in 1963 (Imamatsu, 2006).

The drafting of the Third Comprehensive Hokkaido Development Plan (approved by the cabinet in 1970 and covering the period 1971–1981) began in 1967 and had great influence on the making of the New Comprehensive National Development Plan, which was approved by the cabinet in 1969. These parallel processes sparked debates concerning the role of a Hokkaido-specific development scheme vis-à-vis new comprehensive national planning. The Economic Planning Agency, for example, promoted a uniform national policy with three factors in mind. In addition to a desire to unify the administrative and legislative framework for development policies in all parts of Japan, it also found the unified model important from the standpoint of the large-scale development projects described in the new national plan. Finally, the unified national policy was also found necessary to secure the international competitiveness of the Japanese economy. These ideas caused anxiety in Hokkaido. Therefore, the HDA, supported by the Hokkaido Government and Hokkaido Assembly, insisted that development in Hokkaido have its own legal basis, in contrast to comprehensive national development. Similarly, it argued that the Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Plan, not the New Comprehensive National Plan, was the appropriate forum to describe the concrete plans for the development of Hokkaido (Yamazaki, 2006).

When the planning for the Third Comprehensive Hokkaido Development Plan began, the Hokkaido Government expressed its satisfaction with the achievements of the second plan. The various municipalities' lessening interest in attempts to attract new industries did not detract from the level of satisfaction. The representatives of the Socialist Party argued in the Hokkaido Assembly that the Growth Pole Strategy had led to the concentration of population and industry in cities, the depopulation of agricultural villages and disparity between regions. The representative of the Hokkaido government contradicted these claims and argued that utilising the Growth Pole System had lessened regional disparities and the migration to cities in Hokkaido had prevented outflow to other regions.

Furthermore, it had helped in the building of relations between primary and secondary industries. The documents prepared by the Hokkaido Government to evaluate the achievements of the second plan also showed that central Hokkaido performed well among the new industrial cities as far as population growth, attracting new companies and developing of factory sites were concerned. An important concession was made when the Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Committee stated that efforts to improve people's everyday lives was given less focus than the promotion of industry, the role of which had been overemphasised in previous plans (Yamazaki, 2006).

The New Comprehensive National Development Plan continued to emphasise the importance of large-scale development projects that would secure the international competitiveness of Japan. Furthermore, a clear division of labour between regions that offered development possibilities was considered important. The plan also designated a small number of areas that were expected to host huge new industrial zones. In the case of Hokkaido, special emphasis was placed on the east and on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. In practice, this designation led to the development of the Yūfutsu Plain east of Tomakomai. Eventually, attempts aiming at the transfer of heavy chemical industry from overpopulated industrial regions to Hokkaido and the development of the Tomakomai Eastern Industrial Area came to occupy a central position in Hokkaido's development policy in the 1970s (Imamatsu, 2006; Masuda, 2006; Yamazaki, 2006; Koiso & Yamazaki, 2007).

The presence of the Growth Pole Model in Hokkaido was obvious. However, discussions concerning its *foreignness* are less visible. When Yokoi Tamotsu (1965), the deputy chief secretary of the HDB, wrote about growth poles and the comprehensive development of Hokkaido, he made no reference to the foreign origin of the model. He demystified the new concept by describing it simply as a policy instrument aimed at the development of cities and surrounding areas. Therefore, it was not a major deviation from an already century-old tradition. The lack of reference to exogenous origins is most likely because the concept of growth poles was introduced to Hokkaido's development scheme as originating from the Comprehensive National Development Plan. The *nationalisation* or *domestication* of the concept was part of drafting the national plan. Hiroyoshi Sano (2012) offers a description of how a small group of people drafted the plan within a short period of time and under significant political pressure.

Masao Kitamura, a regional development specialist that worked for the Economic Planning Agency, cut short his visit to the John Hopkins University in the spring of 1961 and played a crucial role in this process. The great haste was due

to the linkage between the Comprehensive National Development Plan and the famous Income Doubling Plan of Hayato Ikeda's Cabinet. The drafting of the latter was not progressing smoothly because of criticism expressed by the diet members in Japan's less-developed regions, who usually represented the governing LDP. Thus, the former needed to be adopted swiftly to still these critical voices. A rough draft of the Comprehensive National Development Plan that introduced the Growth Pole Strategy was ready in July 1961, just three months after Kitamura's return and the beginning of the actual drafting. During the process, Kitamura introduced the ideas of Perroux and Hirschman to regional development bureaucrats. While pondering how the growth poles could be set up, Kitamura leaned on ideas put forth by Leo H. Klaassen, a Dutch scholar of urban demography. This haste led to a situation in which the Growth Pole Strategy became accepted when it was still in very abstract form. Kitamura removed within a year from leadership of the plan, and a group of policymakers and scholars continued the study. When they finally agreed that the Growth Pole Strategy was more about the creation of cities than the disposition of industry, they lacked the capability to impact the content of the policy.

Discussions regarding growth poles began in the Nordic countries during the 1960s. The rapid change in the economic structure and the shift in the demand for labour from primary production to industry and services had created great challenges, especially in the northern regions of Norway, Sweden and Finland. These regions had smaller population centres than urbanised areas in the southern parts of these countries, they lacked industry and a developed financial sector, and they suffered from a significant outflow of population. When policymakers sought a spatial policy that could stimulate the economic development of the backward regions, the growth centre policies emerged. This was not least because similar kinds of policies had already been introduced in other parts of Europe (Erikson & Westin, 2013).

As Martin Erikson and Lars Westin (2013) pointed out, the two reports produced by the officials, experts and scholars within the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and published in 1968 and 1970 presented the Nordic countries with a set of ideas regarding the growth centre policy. Although the decision of the EFTA working group to concentrate specifically on growth centre policy had been proposed by the Norwegian government and parts of the reports written by Norwegian experts, the process of integrating this exogenous concept into national institutions and regional development policies turned out to be a complex one. In the end, Norway did not follow the recommendations of these reports. Many of the selected growth centres were far below the threshold

of thirty thousand inhabitants introduced in the first report and the growth centres identified differed from the designated locations of the industrial estates and went against the recommendations of the second report. The policymakers in Sweden and Finland were equally inclined to formulate growth centre policies that fit into local political realms even if they went against the EFTA working group's recommendations.

Both in Japan and in the Nordic countries it was easier to accept the Growth Pole Model as an abstract model for regional development than to reach political consensus concerning the number, size and location of the designated growth poles. Because the designations were outcomes of political debates and compromises, it is doubtful whether the designated regions demonstrated the characteristics attached to the so-called natural or spontaneous growth poles (see Parr, 1999). Furthermore, when the policymaking processes in the Nordic context are compared to Hokkaido, the relatively early incorporation of the growth poles into Japanese regional development policies and the rapidity of the process become clear. The processes through which the growth pole policies came into being in Norway and Finland demonstrate the relationship between regional policies and political competition, and compromises between the social democratic and centre parties, which were traditionally agricultural parties (Sippola, 2010; Erikson & Westin, 2013). Meanwhile, the LDP's continuous rule^[1] of Japan made this almost an intra-party affair, although the position of the Socialist Party was especially strong in Hokkaido. Interestingly, Hokkaido's socialists seem to have been critical of the policy that was promoted by social democrats in the Nordic countries, where the urban population was more likely to vote for social democratic parties than the rural population. This difference may reflect the socialists' wide support-base among Hokkaido's farmers or the party's role in the opposition. Finally, the role that the EFTA reports played in Nordic countries highlights the lack of participation on the part of international governmental organisations in Hokkaido.

The agents that struggled to secure the continuance of the special Hokkaido development system had little scope to prevent the incorporation of the Growth Pole Model into Hokkaido's development policy. However, this process could not be described as forced policy transfer because it appears that there were no compelling reasons to oppose this change. However, the application of the Growth Pole Strategy supports Kwon's (2009) argument that policy transfer in developmental states was rarely a response to social demands and was often introduced from the top down as part of an effort to modernise in general and industrialise in particular.

5 Introducing industrial clusters based on demands from below

Although the circumstances affecting the development of Hokkaido changed, the objectives and content of the policies also gradually evolved. It can be argued that policymakers could have been faster to react, for example, to the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1971,^[2] the two oil crises in the 1970s or the evaluation of the yen based on the Plaza Accord in 1985. All of these caused changes in Japan's overall industrial structure and made the possibility of attracting heavy chemical industry into Hokkaido less likely. However, the Fourth Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Plan (1978–1987) had already introduced new approaches and placed emphasis on the natural environment, human welfare and local participation. This kind of change in Hokkaido was again bound to drafting the new Comprehensive National Development Plan (Yamazaki, 2006; Koiso & Yamazaki, 2007). The deep, post-bubble recession of the 1990s also left its mark on Hokkaido's development policy. At a time of great concern about the future funding of development projects and just when many household names in Hokkaido were facing serious problems or bankruptcy (e.g., Hokkaido Takushoku Ginko, the largest bank in Hokkaido, collapsed in the autumn of 1997), there emerged a new catchphrase, the *industrial cluster*.

There are various interpretations of a *cluster*. In general, clustering refers to the concentration of industries and companies in a specific geographic area and to their interrelationships. The theoretical foundations of clustering suggest that domestic, regional or local rivalry and discriminating local demand foster innovation and prepare enterprise for global markets. Meanwhile, the great number of firms in close proximity, the high proportion of small and very small firms, dense social and economic networks, a blend of competition and cooperation between firms, the rapid and mainly informal diffusion of information and ideas, adaptability and flexibility have all been identified as features typical of industrial clusters (Dawkins, 2003; Lundmark & Petterson, 2012; Piperopolous, 2012; Swords, 2013). Although the theoretical discussion concerning industrial clusters has been conducted by various parties, Michael Porter, who published *The competitive advantage of nations* (1990), has been credited with introducing the terminology to a wider audience. The name of this American business economist at Harvard Business School was also known in Hokkaido, and Silicon Valley was an example of a successful industrial clustering process known throughout the world. Jon Swords (2013) offers a fascinating analysis that explains the

popularity of Porter's ideas among policymakers, describes the role of regional development experts in spreading these ideas and notes the legitimacy gained by clusters when incorporated into the policies of the OECD and the European Union, for example. However, the new input into the discussion about regional development was neither imported from the United States nor imposed by international organisations. Rather, Hokkaido's initiatives benefited from lessons drawn from the Nordic countries.

Although there is a clear temporal correlation between developments in Hokkaido and the nationwide shift from the "technopolis policy" of the 1980s, implemented by the Ministry of Trade and Industry, to cluster policies with a stronger local character at the end of 1990s (Kitagawa, 2008), the cluster initiatives have been described as an extraordinary bottom-up contribution to Hokkaido's development. In addition to national policy instruments, such as the 1955 Science and Technology Basic Law and the consecutive Science and Technology Basic Plans, the emergence of these initiatives owed much to the activities of local interest groups and influential individuals. The Hokkaido Electric Power Company (HEPCO) and its chairman, Kazuo Toda, who was also the chairman of the Hokkaido Economic Federation, played an important role. In fact, Toda personified the various cluster initiatives in Hokkaido to the extent that they become dependent on his presence and contribution (Mäki, 1997; Iguchi, 1998; Koiso, 2016). The HDA's readiness to draw lessons from regional development policies carried out in other countries should not be forgotten either. In 1993, the agency held a conference that placed special emphasis on the development of Scotland. A second conference in 1995 focused on Sweden. The research conducted also took into consideration regional development and industrial policies in Finland. This was due to the interest shown by the Hokkaido business community in Finnish industrial cluster strategies (Koiso, 1995; Koiso & Yamazaki, 2007).

The Oulu region in central Finland soon emerged as a benchmark case that was considered worthy of study. The HEPCO delegations visited various sites in the Oulu region during the first half of the 1990s, and the first delegation from Oulu representing the city and regional agents visited Hokkaido in February 1995. The interest shown by Hokkaido's agents was not unique; the Oulu phenomenon was attracting attention internationally in the 1990s. The Oulu region had witnessed remarkable growth in the information and communication technology (ICT) industries. The development that culminated in Oulu being considered one of the largest wireless telecommunication technology research and development centres worldwide had its roots in the 1980s. Nokia, the engine behind the growth, started its mobile and wireless communication product development towards the end of the

decade (Oinas-Kukkonen et al., 2009; Arokylä, 2012; Salo, 2014; Simonen et al., 2016).

Although the Oulu ICT cluster in general – and Technopolis (the first technology park in the Nordic countries, established in 1982) in particular – were soon to emerge as the main objects of interest, district heating systems drew attention in the early and mid-1990s. Furthermore, Toda mentions the Finnish forest industry cluster as an early model for the creation of industrial clusters in Hokkaido (Mäki, 1997; Koiso, 1999). The emphasised role of the ICT may reflect visitors' interests and also the development that took place in Oulu. When Technopolis was founded, the founding members were the City of Oulu, the University of Oulu, the National Development Funding Foundation and twenty-eight private companies. Different industries were broadly represented among these enterprises, from paper and pulp, to basic and product-based metal industries, construction, energy, infrastructure and media industries. Only one firm represented telecommunications. This broad spread soon grew narrower. The driver was the rapid development of wireless mobile technologies (Simonen et al., 2016).

The relations between Hokkaido and the Nordic countries strengthened from 1996 onwards, and delegations representing HEPCO and other companies, the HDA, Hokkaido Prefecture and various municipalities, local universities and various newspapers kept flowing, particularly to Oulu, which was described as the Silicon Valley of the north (Koizumi, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c; Yasunaga, 1997a, 1997b; Kawasaki, 1997, 1998; Yamagoshi, 1999). These efforts led to two types of initiatives in Hokkaido. In addition to the different programmes in the main urban areas, the idea of industrial clusters and local cooperation was put into practice in various rural or remote communities. In 2000, a year before the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) initiated its Industrial Cluster Program under the Super Cluster Promotion Strategy (Woolgar, 2008), twenty regional cluster investigation and promotion organisations had already been established in various parts of Hokkaido. The operations of these organisations often aimed at increased efficiency in producing and marketing products utilising the region's natural resources and outputs of the primary sector (Koiso, 1999; Ōhashi, 2000). This kind of rural or non-metropolitan approach to clusters can be emphasised as a special characteristic of Hokkaido-based initiatives because cluster theory and policy were usually oriented towards urban areas and *new* industries, as in Sweden, for example (Lundmark & Petterson, 2012). However, the high-tech companies that were expected to gain from closer cooperation between academia, industry and government also had a crucial role to play.

Table 1: Major institutions and instruments supporting the creation of industrial clusters in Hokkaido.

June 1986	Hokkaido Regional Technology Advancement Centre (HOKTAC)
July 1993	Hokkaido Foundation for the Promotion of Science, Industry and Technology
Feb. 1996	Regional Industry Policy Research Group (founded in February 1995), renamed Hokkaido Industrial Cluster Creation Research Group
Aug. 1996	Toward Self-Sustaining Hokkaido Economy Vision by Hokkaido Industrial Cluster Creation Research Group
1996	High-Technology Research Centre established within Hokkaido University
May 1997	Toward the Creation of Hokkaido Industrial Clusters (midterm report)
Dec. 1997	Hokkaido Industrial Cluster Creation Action Plan
Apr. 1998	Cluster Project Department established within HOKTAC
Feb. 2000	Hokkaido Industry-Academia-Government Collaboration Centre established within Hokkaido University (KORABO Hokkaido)
July 2001	HOKTAC and the Hokkaido Foundation for the Promotion of Science, Industry and Technology merge into the Northern Advancement Centre for Science and Technology (NOASTEC)
2002	Establishment of Creative Research Initiative Sousei (CRIS)
Apr. 2003	Hokkaido University Research and Business Park Promotion Committee
Apr. 2007	Hokkaido University Research and Business Park Promotion Committee secretariat switched from the Hokkaido Economic Federation to NOASTEC

Source: Ōhashi (2000), Internet 1, Internet 2.

The roots of technology park initiatives in Hokkaido predate the late 1990s; regional and city policies that reflected national trends favouring the promotion and concentration of knowledge-intensive high-tech companies in peripheral regions had already emerged in the 1980s (Yamada, 2004; Kitagawa, 2008). However, the discussion on industrial clusters contributed significantly to a greater interest and belief in ICT-centred regional development, which took an institutional form through various organisations and strategies. Yūji Ōhashi (2000) analysed Hokkaido-based cluster creation activities and dated the beginning of the movement to the establishment of the Hokkaido Industrial Cluster Creation Research Group in 1996. As Table 1 shows, this was followed by the announcement of an action plan setting out the direction and the objectives and paving the way for the establishment of a unit to implement the plan, namely the Cluster Project Department within the Hokkaido Regional Technology Advancement Centre.

The promotion of cooperation between business, science and government was enhanced through the establishment of the Hokkaido University Research and Business Park Promotion Committee in 2003. Eventually, the study of the Oulu ICT cluster culminated in two joint symposia held in Sapporo and Oulu in March 2004 and September 2005. The Sapporo event was called Regional Cooperation for Technology-Based Economic Development. The background of the speakers – representing, for example, Hokkaido University, the City of Sapporo, the Hokkaido Government, the Japan Science and Technology Agency, the Hokkaido Industrial Research Institute, NOASTEC and the Hokkaido Economic Federation –

describes well the nature of the agents involved in Hokkaido's ICT cluster initiatives.^[3] The absence of the HDA is explained by the fact that it had been amalgamated into the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism in January 2001.

The content of the Sixth Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Plan (1998–2007) demonstrates the institutionalisation of industrial clusters within government-approved policy. The Project for the Creation of Hokkaido Industry Clusters is introduced as one of the methods of accomplishing the overall aims of the plan, which also includes both sides of the cluster initiatives introduced above. It makes references to clusters that bring together the local primary sector and industries in rural Hokkaido and emphasises the cooperation between universities and private enterprises bound to the ICT-related development in central Hokkaido. At the same time, the Hokkaido-based cluster projects received significant funding from the national Industrial and Knowledge Cluster Programmes implemented by the METI and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Woolgar, 2008). However, the Seventh Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Plan, promoted from 2008 onwards, shows waning enthusiasm for industrial clusters. The concept is mentioned only twice when referring to the achievements of the previous plan (Hokkaido Development Agency, 1998; Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, 2008). Although endogenous reasons, such as the waning influence of Kazuo Toda, might explain this kind of change, it can also be pointed out that in the mid-2000s cluster policies were also peaking in other spatial contexts (Swords, 2013).

Table 2: Incorporation of international development strategies into Hokkaido's development policy.

Development strategy (timing)	TVA (late 1940s and early 1950s)	Growth Poles (1960s and 1970s)	Clusters (1990s and early 2000s)
Source or origin of inspiration	United States, TVA, David E. Lilienthal	Comprehensive National Development Plan	Oulu region, Nordic countries
National context	Allied occupation, post-war reconstruction	Beginning of comprehensive national planning	Shift from the technopolis policy, burst of the bubble economy
Hokkaido context	Reconstruction, First Hokkaido Plan	Second and Third Hokkaido Comprehensive Plans	Concern about funding development projects, bankruptcies
Local promoters of new development strategies	Governor Toshifumi Tanaka (left-wing of the political spectrum)	–	Kazuo Toda (HEPCO, Hokkaido Economic Federation)
Short-term outcome	Public recognition, not a part of the First Comprehensive Hokkaido Development Plan but resembling infrastructure projects	Growth Poles incorporated into the Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Plans	Organisational development, clusters become part of the Sixth Comprehensive Hokkaido Development Plan

6 Conclusion

When considering what may be the take-home messages for current policymakers, one can begin by stating that this study has not revealed any institutional or cultural filters that would have caused Japanese policymakers not to use information and experience from abroad. Rather than possessing the kind of features observed by Dolowitz and Dale Medearis (2009) in US policymakers at the beginning of the twenty-first century, a readiness to incorporate exogenous models has remained throughout the post-war period. It should, however, be pointed out that the readiness observed is not exceptional. On the contrary, many previous studies have concluded that regional development agents in different parts of the world have frequently ended up designing similar kinds of development strategies (Barca et al., 2012). Although a continuation of this kind of openness can be hoped for, it is worth remembering the point made by Linda Lundmark and Örjan Pettersson (2012) about the importance of recognising examples suitable for the development of sparsely populated areas.

This research also shows the great variety of agents involved in policy transfer processes. Through the three cases representing different post-war decades, it can be seen that not only politicians and bureaucrats (at the national and regional levels) but also representatives of various interest groups and scholars have participated in these processes. Hence this study may encourage current actors to express their opinions concerning existing issues or to place new topics on the political agenda.

Although the most optimistic objectives of the industrial cluster initiatives, for example, may not have been achieved, the 1990s and early 2000s can still be considered an example of a successful bottom-up type of policy initiative. Clusters

were put onto the agenda but, as also learned through other case studies, their incubation proved difficult (Bresnahan & Gambardella, 2005; Yamamoto, 2017). The direct involvement of foreign voices in policymaking has been extremely limited except during the late 1940s and early 1950s, when Japan was still under foreign occupation. However, it can be concluded that whatever was transferred in relation to the TVA was not part of a forced transfer under pressure exerted by foreign occupation.

This research also provides further empirical evidence backing the notion that policy transfers, attempted or completed, do not differ from other policy-making processes and are often based on incomplete or incorrect information. Theoretical literature also emphasises that policy transfer is not an all-or-nothing process. The degree of transfer varies from copying and emulation to the blending of different policies or inspiration, where policy can simply inspire change without following the content of the original policy. It has also been hinted that different kinds of agents might be inclined towards different degrees of transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000). The current study does not, however, support assumptions according to which politicians would be looking for a quick fix through emulation, whereas bureaucrats would be more interested in a *mélange*. Although the TVA seems to have appeared to its most ardent supporters as an ideal model that should be copied to the letter, these hopes were not realised. The interpretation of the original model and its adaptation to local circumstances plays a significant role in all of the processes analysed.

As shown in Table 2, this research demonstrates the diversity of origins that agents involved in policy transfer can draw lessons from. In the case of the TVA, the policy model was taken directly from the place of origin, and discussions at every level paid attention to the foreign nature of the model. The

incorporation of the Growth Pole Strategy into Hokkaido's development scheme was a totally different process that concentrated on the regionalisation of the national policy model, which just happened to have exogenous origins. In the case of industrial clusters, the origins of the model lay elsewhere, but the drafting of policy measures gained momentum only after initiatives were taken by local actors interested in benchmarking a peripheral region seen as corresponding well to the conditions existing in Hokkaido.

Finally, Hokkaido's post-war development policy serves as a reminder of the need for caution when labelling states or regions as givers or takers. Although Hokkaido's development policy took elements from various sources (which had often taken these ideas from elsewhere), it also acted as a model for other regions. For example, Hokkaido was studied in the mid-1980s, when the development policies concerning southern Italy were re-evaluated and redirected. Furthermore, Hokkaido's development policy has also served as a model for Japanese development aid policies (Koiso, 2005; Koiso & Yamazaki, 2007).

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Notes

^[1] The LDP was the ruling party between 1955 and 1993, when it was ousted by a coalition cabinet. The LDP returned to the cabinet in 1994 and regained the premiership in 1996. The LDP was also in opposition between 2009 and 2012.

^[2] The Bretton Woods system was based on the US dollar's fixed value against gold and on fixed exchange rates. The system was gradually broken after the dollar's convertibility to gold was suspended in 1971. As a result, the major currencies had begun to float against each other by March 1973.

^[3] The programmes of these events can be found in the archives of the University of Oulu: *Oulun yliopiston rehtorin arkisto. Kansainväliset yhteydet – Japani, Kiina, Korea 1993–2014. Hi: 10.*

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Impacts and consequences of residential segregation of Roma in urban spaces: Case studies from Hungary

This article explores residential segregation and its characteristics in medium-sized and small towns in the Southern Great Plain statistical region of Hungary. The study highlights the main features and driving forces of segregation connected to post-communist urban development. We are approaching this from the perspective of the following questions: How are segregation processes connected to ethnic issues and living conditions? What can the local government do to solve this problem? The article concludes that residential segregation is a frequent

phenomenon in Hungarian agro-towns. These processes share some similarities but also differ to some degree from western European or US examples. The results emphasise the importance of complex thinking about social integration, local planning and more effective financial allocation.

Keywords: residential segregation, medium-sized and small towns in post-communist countries, Roma ethnic minority, urban development

1 Introduction

Segregation is a well-researched and widely known social phenomenon that can involve various social groups based on race, ethnicity, religion, sexual identity or other factors, and it has a variety of manifestations, from educational to occupational and residential segregation (e.g., White, 1983; Massey & Denton, 1993; Clark & Ware, 1997; Marcuse, 1997; Bjorvatn & Cappelen, 2001; Charles, 2003; Musterd, 2003; Zhang, 2006; Logan & Stults, 2011). This article examines the features of residential, housing or geographical segregation in medium-sized and small towns in Hungary's Southern Great Plain statistical region. Residential segregation is generally well observed and documented in large cities of the United States and western Europe, whereas much less is known about the characteristics of this process in post-communist countries, especially in towns with a population below two hundred thousand (e.g., Gentile, 2004; Gyenizse et al., 2016). Residential segregation was a defining phenomenon of the historical development of the settlements examined, and our results indicate that it is still present in their urban life. It is not as conspicuous as in larger cities – just like in the case of urban poverty and rural poverty – but it is a crucial problem to solve in order to achieve a sustainable future.

The accession of the eastern European post-communist countries to the European Union has offered many advantages in terms of the further progress of various development policies. One of these is urban planning, in which the professionals had to leave behind the mainly technical approach from the era of state socialism and had to integrate new aspects and methods into planning practice. Thus social problems, conflicts and their effect on urban land use attracted more attention. In the EU's previous and current planning period, towns were required to prepare an "integrated urban development strategy," which was an indispensable condition for receiving EU subsidies for towns. One of the obligatory elements of this strategic development document is an anti-segregation plan for the settlement. The requirements for this are based on EU legislation and recommendations and thematically mainly focus on residential segregation, using a common methodology for delimiting and describing the segregated areas. Earlier only county seats and other towns with county rights had to make such plans, but in the preparation for the 2014–2020 programming period the Hungarian government extended this obligation to the centres of micro-regions as well. This provides the opportunity for comprehensive analysis of residential segregation in medium-sized and small towns in Hungary. We selected towns in the Southern Great Plain statistical region and the town of Kecskemét for more detailed exploration because we had previous research experience in this area and our research team

had participated in preparing some regional and urban strategic and planning documents (e.g., the 2008 Integrated Urban Development Strategy for Kecskemét and its 2013 revision, the 2008 Anti-Segregation Plan for Kecskemét and its 2013 and 2017 revisions, Innoaxis HU-SRB IPA, Lolamar HU-SRB IPA, the 2013 Development Concept for Bács-Kiskun County, a complex 2012–2013 rural research programme based on cooperation between the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian National Rural Network, the 2013 Strategy for Scattered Farms in the Kecskemét Microregion, and the 2017 Labour Market Assessment in Bács-Kiskun County).

Our research questions are the following:

- How frequent is residential segregation in medium-sized and small towns of the Southern Great Plain statistical region? Where can these neighbourhoods be found in these towns?
- What are the main features and driving forces of residential segregation? Is it possible to identify any characteristics that are uniquely connected to post-communist urban development in a medium-sized town?
- How are these processes connected to ethnic issues and living conditions?
- What can the local government do to solve this problem?

2 Theoretical background

"At a general level, residential segregation is the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another, in different parts of the urban environment" (Massey & Denton, 1988: 282). However, at different levels of multicoloured reality, segregation (parallel with polarisation and exclusion) is an extremely diverse process, and its consequences form a variety of spatial patterns (Park et al., 1925; Burgess, 1928; Duncan & Duncan, 1955a, 1955b; Glazer & Moynihan, 1963; Lieberman, 1963; Taeuber & Taeuber, 1965; Morgan & Norbury, 1981; Hamnett, 2005, 2010). According to the volume *Residential segregation in comparative perspective: Making sense of contextual diversity*, residential segregation is a multidimensional social phenomenon that is closely related to the spatial separation of social groups within a settlement and the socio-environmental disparities between various areas and neighbourhoods (Maloutas & Fujita, 2012).

Residential or socio-spatial segregation is usually caused by various factors. These factors can be general ones such as economic changes, or local ones such as urban area and infrastructure development, but some authors state that the racial or ethnic division of the society is one of the most powerful among these (Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998; Márquez, 2011; Bolt et al., 2012; Lloyd et al., 2014; Sabater & Finney, 2014).

In addition, this residential segregation is strongly associated with income inequalities between social or ethnic groups in the society, but many authors agree that this correlation is also reproduced in the characteristics of the built environment (Schelling, 1971, 1978; Charles, 2001; Logan et al., 2004; Watson, 2006; Spielman & Harrison, 2013; Anthopoulos et al., 2014; Bellman, 2014). We would like to closely investigate this phenomenon in this article. Wealthier groups of local societies try to separate themselves from disadvantaged people as much as possible. This induces a self-reinforcing spiral and continuously strengthens the spatial differences within a town.

We also accept the hypothesis that “residential segregation is a global construct” and that social differences have a similar spatial form in the US, western Europe and the post-communist countries (Massey & Denton, 1988). “Social inequity and its spatial outcome, residential differentiation or segregation, exists in all advanced societies” (Vaattovaara, 2002: 108). Because of this we believe the previously identified conflicts and processes of the early twentieth century in the international literature can also be applied to the contemporary occurrences (Duncan & Duncan, 1957; Howell & Timberlake, 2014). These case studies show a strong analogy with the recent residential segregation processes of eastern European towns, from social conflicts to spatial patterns (Kovács, 2012). Racial segregation, which has been studied in the United States since the early twentieth century, strongly resembles the emergence of ghettos in eastern European towns (Farley et al., 1997). Under recent Hungarian conditions, this means that a significant part of the Roma population lives in poor conditions and segregation. This raises the old question again: are there general driving forces of residential segregation, or do local conditions determine the differences between urban areas? The results of our research may also provide additional information to answer this question.

3 The historical roots of residential segregation in Hungarian towns

Although residential segregation in Hungary is not solely a phenomenon related to the status of the Roma population, its most pressing present-day issues usually involve Roma. Therefore, this brief historical overview also mainly focuses on their situation over the centuries. Before 1848, residential segregation based on legal position (noble or peasant villages), religion (Jewish neighbourhoods) and ethnicity (German or Slovak towns and villages) was common in feudal Hungary. After the Ottoman era, which ended around 1700, the formerly nomadic Roma found their place in this system when they gradually settled down in Hungary. The reign of Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780) facilitated this process and it also

prohibited the spatial segregation of the Roma population. Despite this, the first Roma settlements were established during this period (Csalog, 1984). These settlements were located in places less favoured for construction, such as areas threatened by floods or upwelling groundwater, or near dumps or cemeteries (Kállai & Törzsök, 2006). The recent street names in these areas still show the historical function of these locations. At the beginning of the twentieth century, 90% of the Roma population lived in residential segregation. At the same time, the position of the Roma in the labour market was weakened. Some traditional professions that played an important role in employing the Roma were rapidly losing significance (Csalog, 1984). During the interwar period, the largescale restructuring of the labour market and the Great Depression also pushed a large part of society into underclass conditions and forced them into neighbourhoods similar to the Roma areas. In addition to these, other special residential segregation types existed in Hungary, such as the cottagers’ settlements of the manors or the cave houses in Bükkalja (Illyés, 1936; Szabó, 1937). These cave houses were initially inhabited by poor peasants, but over subsequent decades Roma became the new residents (Kemény, 2000).

After the Second World War, the new communist regime was able to improve the living conditions of the most deprived and reduce social inequalities. Forced Stalinist industrialisation (despite all of its anomalies) was able to employ the labour force leaving the primary sector and it also managed to integrate the Roma in this process. Even the idealistic communist target of full employment was reached for Roma men in this period (Csalog, 1984). Unlike labour market integration, the elimination of residential segregation started very sluggishly. This was partly related to the rapid spatial expansion of the towns, which reduced the spatial isolation of the peripheral slums from the town. The centrally planned elimination of Roma neighbourhoods and settlements started much later, only after the resolution of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party in 1961, which was a milestone in the process (Kocsis & Kovács, 1999). The actual planning activities included the liquidation of many settlements that had existed for centuries, and due to these efforts the living conditions of the Roma population at least partly improved. Despite the aforementioned results, the basic objectives of the programme, such as the elimination of residential segregation or closing the gap in living conditions, could not be achieved because of the following reasons:

- Although some Roma neighbourhoods avoided demolition, they were also left out of even the most basic infrastructure development because of the central policy of displacement.
- Some local authorities ignored the regulation about the scattered resettlement of the Roma population and quite

often moved them to places with similar unfavourable geographical attributes. In these locations, new closed blocks with only low-standard housing (coded *Cs* in Hungarian) were built, which could not close the gap between the living conditions of the majority and the Roma. Nowadays *Dankó Pista utca* (Pista Dankó Street) preserves the memory of these events in the Hungarian settlements (Csalog, 1984).

- In some cases, these displaced people moved to far worse conditions because they received new homes on farmsteads that had lost their function due to collectivisation.

In addition to the new closed blocks of *Cs* housing, there were other factors that also facilitated the spatially shifted reproduction of residential segregation. One of these was the conditions of the loan request to buy a house. The maximum amount of the loan was only enough to buy real estate in small villages with decreasing population and poor accessibility. As a result, the affected settlements underwent a rapid population change. Settlements with stronger lobbying capacity strengthened this process with the displacement of their Roma population to these villages (Havas, 1999). This practice led to the formation of a Roma majority in several settlements, especially in the Cserhát and Ormánság regions (Ladányi & Szelényi, 2004). A similar process led to the spatial concentration of the low-status population in the former agro-towns of the Great Hungarian Plain, where scattered farm areas with poor accessibility became the main migration targets of socially excluded people (Romány, 1973; Csalog, 1984; Vasárus, 2016).

Some processes from the communist era continued after the political and economic transition, and the now less controlled mobility also contributed to the emergence of new trends. Population succession and selective migration between preferred or non-preferred locations within settlements once again reproduced residential segregation. The higher-income groups of the local societies moved to the suburbs, whereas low-status residents migrated to peripheral villages mostly outside of the agglomerations, which intensified the spatial separation of these social groups. The steadily increasing share of the Roma population in these villages led to a new type of segregation in Hungary, with entire microregions almost exclusively consisting of deprived social groups (Virág, 2010). These people were excluded from the labour market and even lost their ambitions in life. Because of this, János Ladányi and Iván Szelényi (2004) describe this process as the birth of the rural underclass. The result of a field survey headed by István Kemény and Béla Janky (2004) shows that 72% of Roma families lived in residential segregation in 2003. A national survey conducted in 2010 also yielded similar results. In the 823 settlements and ten metropolitan districts of Budapest investigated, there were 1,623 neighbourhoods where low-status or Roma people

lived in residential segregation (Domokos & Herczeg, 2010). These recent surveys and other studies indicate that the integration process that began during the era of state socialism has been interrupted in Hungary, and that after the political transition the issue of residential segregation is again becoming more pressing.

4 Methodological background

4.1 Study area

The Southern Great Plain statistical region is located in south-east Hungary and has a population of 1.3 million, which is 13.2% of Hungary's total population. The exact number is 1,262,936 people (602,183 men and 660,753 women) according to the 2015 Hungarian microcensus. Three counties constitute the region: Bács-Kiskun, Csongrád, and Békés. Despite the low population density of seventy-two people per square kilometre, 67.9% live in municipalities with town rights. Although this statistically makes the Southern Great Plain statistical region one of the most urbanised regions of the country, in many aspects it can be considered more rural than urban. The unique elements of the settlement network (market towns with garden neighbourhoods and scattered farms) also underscore this characterisation (Figure 1).

The main elements of the settlement structure are specialised market towns known as agro-towns. Originally these agro-towns were the centres of agricultural production and markets. Under Ottoman rule, they enjoyed protected status and, unlike smaller villages, they avoided destruction. After Ottoman rule, this resulted in a very sparse settlement network consisting of almost exclusively agro-towns. Distant patches of arable land could not be cultivated from the agro-town centres, and so a unique scattered farm system was developed. These scattered farms (called *tanya* in Hungarian) were originally inhabited only periodically and served as auxiliary settlements with close ties to their agro-town. This connection later weakened and the scattered farms became permanent residences. The population of the towns' outskirts reached a peak only after the Second World War, and by then the unique dual nature of agro-towns and scattered farms had long faded, and the development of the scattered farm clusters into villages was in an advanced state. In the last fifty years, the number of people living on the outskirts significantly decreased from around one million to about three hundred thousand in 2011 for the entire country. There are spatial differences in this process and in the Southern Great Plain statistical region – especially in the Danube-Tisza interfluvium or in Békés County – the percentage of the population living on the outskirts is still higher than the national average.

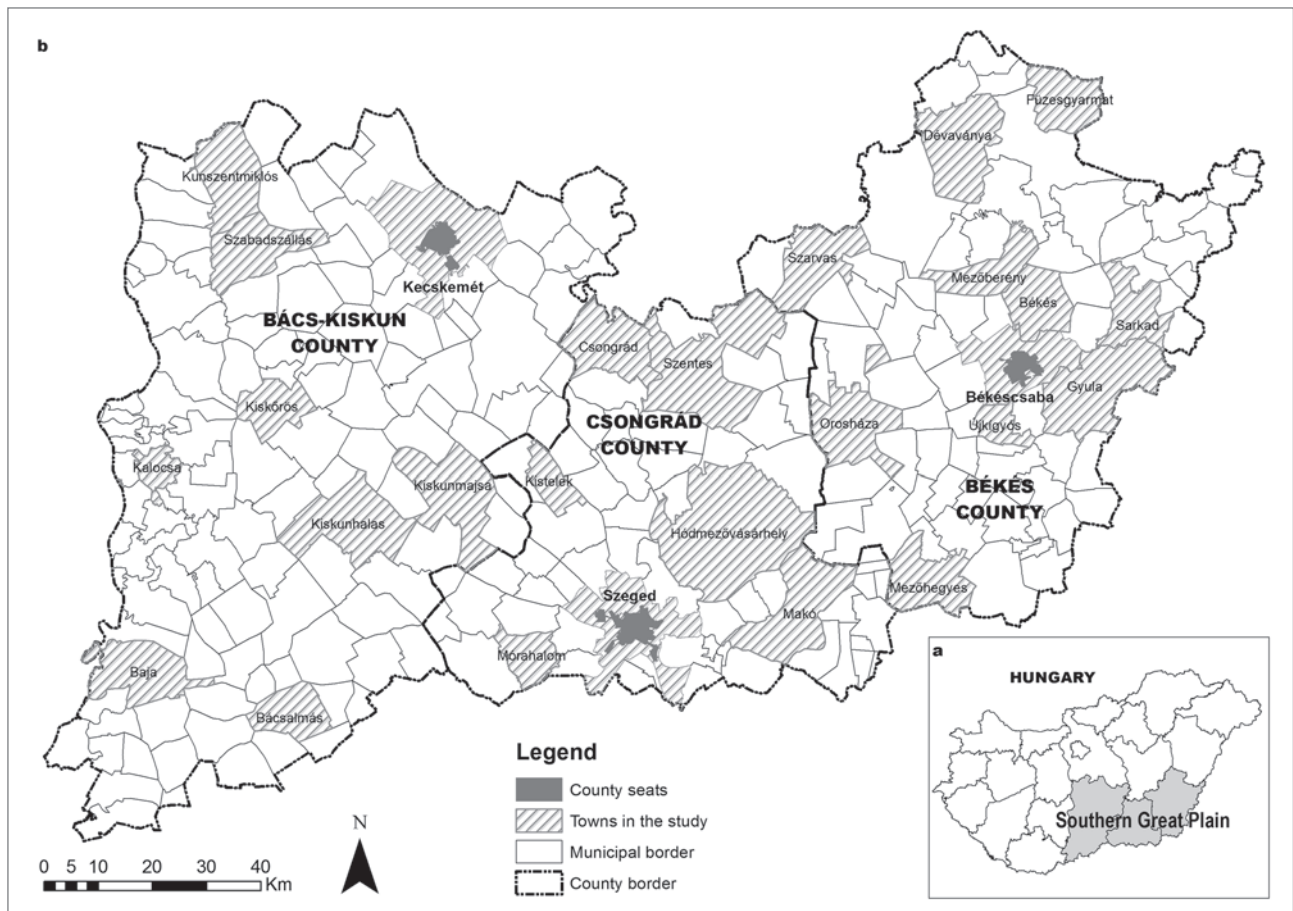


Figure 1: a) geographical location of the region examined in Hungary; b) the towns examined (author: Jenő Zsolt Farkas).

During the communist era, the industrialisation process reached the market towns to a various extent. The towns with a larger population lost their primary agricultural functions and now became industrial and tertiary sector centres. One of the most important regional centres is Kecskemét, with a population of 117,000. This town has become a unique “traditional agro-town” over the past few years because of the large foreign investment in the region, which was made by the Daimler Group in 2009, when a Mercedes-Benz factory was established here. This investment allowed the town authorities to rehabilitate housing blocks based on the needs of the town and Mercedes-Benz. This was a special opportunity because otherwise EU grants define such opportunities. This was the main reason why we chose Kecskemét as a case study, and the second reason, as described below, is because all of the spatial forms of residential segregation can be found in this agro-town (Figure 2).

Kecskemét has a 650-year history as a town, and the formation of its urban districts was affected by many environmental and social factors. In the early years, there were no established spatial structures or functional districts. Starting at the begin-

ning of the fifteenth century, the first signs of differentiation can be seen between the districts, especially in the residential ones formed during this period. The wealthier inhabitants lived in the centre, which corresponds to today's main square and the surrounding area. The less well-off population lived in a sharp separation around the periphery of the built-up area. Starting in the mid-eighteenth century, population growth caused further differentiation of the local society and the typical form of residential segregation appeared during this period. Because of frequent fires, the authorities introduced building regulations (Juhász, 1998). The main elements of this were street planning and building material codes. The material codes stipulated that in the town centre builders were only allowed to use brick for construction, which the poorer families were unable to buy. Because of this, the authorities designated building areas for them on the periphery of the built-up area. These included mainly low-lying areas that would periodically flood. Consequently, these areas had poor accessibility and the living conditions were unhealthy because the walls of the houses were permanently wet. The residential segregation of the low-status and Roma people generated various problems in the local society in those days. This was also the period when scattered farms formed on the outskirts.

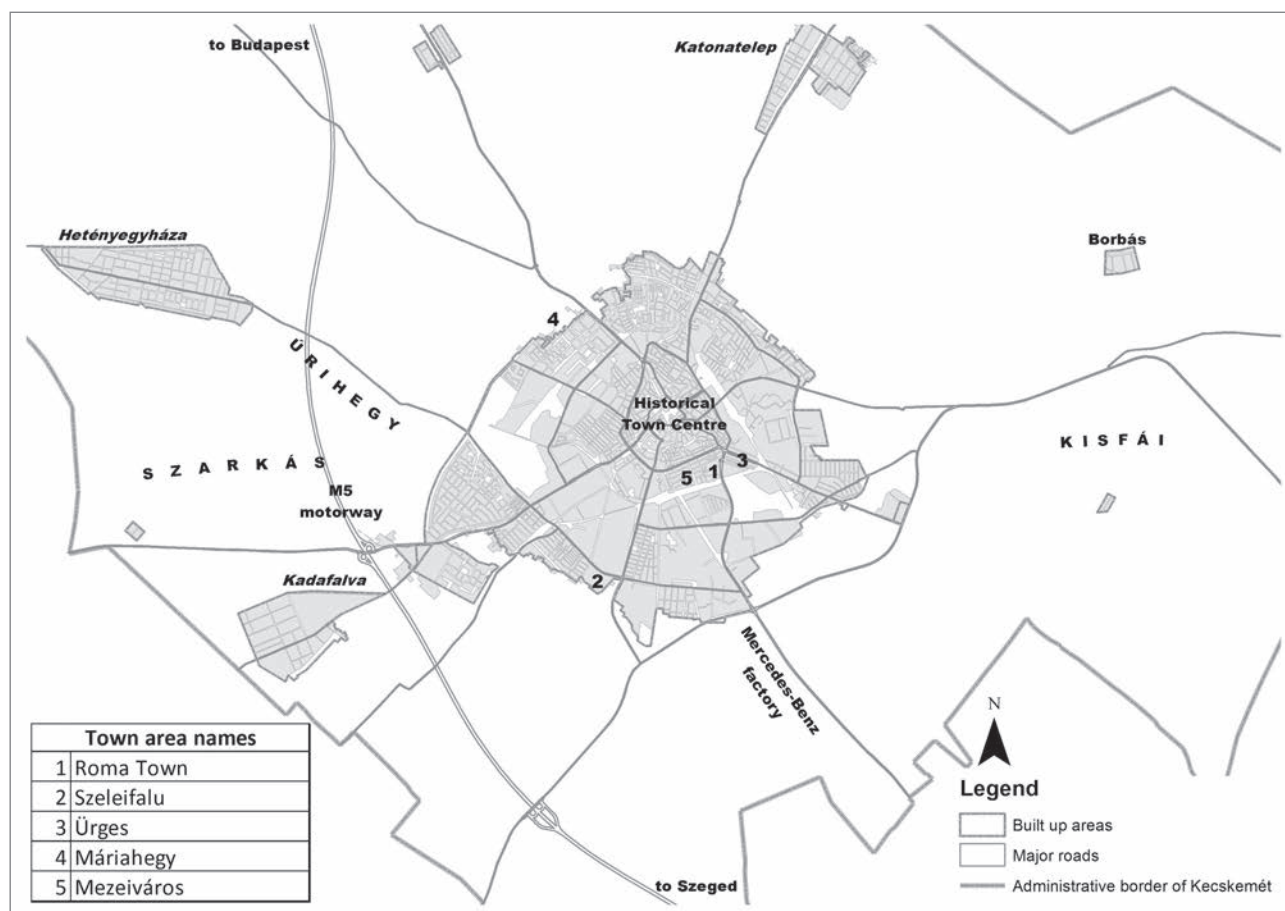


Figure 2: The Kecskemét area with the geographical names used in the study (authors: Jenő Zsolt Farkas & András Donát Kovács).

Until the First World War, there was remarkable development of industry and the agricultural market in Kecskemét, but in spite of this the town centre essentially remained the core of a large village. Its “metropolitan image” did not spread to the residential areas, and the segregated areas on the periphery further strengthened its rural image. Between the two world wars, the economic function of the town shifted from an agricultural centre to a more modern agro-industrial regional centre. This process also changed the employment structure of the population. During the Great Depression (1929–1933), the economy stagnated and broke the development course of Kecskemét. This caused social problems in local society such as general impoverishment, which led to increased social differences and exacerbated residential segregation. Thousands of people moved into adobe houses during those years. The most distinct segment of the local society has always been the Roma people, whose assimilation attempts were unsuccessful. Their geographically isolated ghetto, called *Cigányváros* ‘Roma Town’, was only demolished in 1963, in accordance with the general policy of the communist state. The town authorities had to provide new homes for more than a thousand people. They distributed building sites at the edge of the built-up area and they also moved families to the town centre, where they

were allotted old houses in poor condition. Many families that received building sites purchased dwellings in blocks of flats with loans some years later or moved to the surrounding villages.

During the transition from communism, new Roma families from other settlements moved to the former Roma Town shanties. As a result, the percentage of the Roma population began to increase in some street blocks in the wider area of the former Roma neighbourhood, whereas the majority ethnic population moved to newly built condominiums or to new garden city areas and suburbs. This was the last step that led to the current problematic situation, in which the Roma once again live under strong residential segregation, leaving a unique imprint on the fabric of the town.

4.2 Methods applied

We used several different methods to answer the research questions: document and GIS analysis, interviews and field surveys. For the regional overview of residential segregation, we reviewed the Integrated Urban Development Strategies of twenty-seven towns in the Southern Great Plain statistical

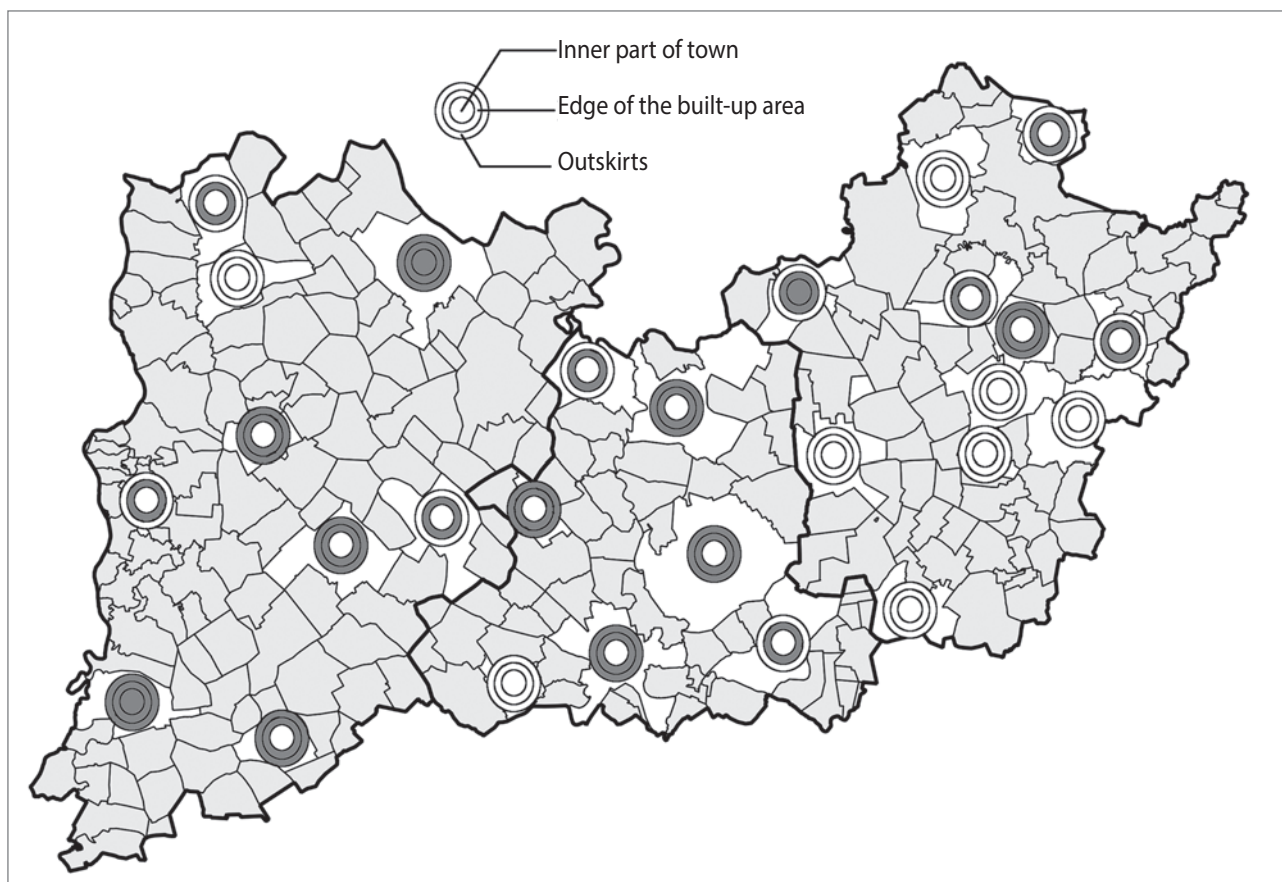


Figure 3: Locations of residential segregation in the towns examined (author: József Lennert).

region. These documents are available on the Térport website (Internet 1). The results of these strategies are comparable to each other because the “anti-segregation plans” applied a common, centrally developed methodology by the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (Internet 2). We also used similar methods to analyse residential segregation in Kecskemét. The segregated residential neighbourhoods of Kecskemét were first officially identified in the Anti-Segregation Plan of the Integrated Urban Development Strategy in 2008. The authors of this article had a major role in that assessment, in which eight segregated neighbourhoods were identified in Kecskemét (Internet 3). At that time the identification method was based on the publication *Városrehabilitáció 2007–2013-ban Kézikönyv a városok számára* (Urban revitalisation in 2007–2013: Handbook for towns; Internet 2). A few years later, in 2014, we continued these examinations because the town was required to reassess its segregated neighbourhoods. The methodology was developed by the Ministry of National Development and the Economy, and it was released in 2009 as the second edition of the handbook (Internet 4). There were two ways to identify segregated residential neighbourhoods according to the handbook:

- Street blocks where at least 50% of the population age fifteen to fifty-nine have no regular income from work

and did not graduate from primary school (fewer than eight years of primary school),

- Street blocks where the share of welfare recipients is more than twice the town average.

In addition to these, there is another important condition in the handbook, which states that a segregated residential neighbourhood must include at least fifty residents. This restriction eliminates the distorting effect of individual cases. Our analysis shows that most towns in the region used both of these criteria in their development strategies, as we did in the case of Kecskemét. In the case study of Kecskemét, we also used the 2013–2015 Kecskemét Urban Development Strategy (Internet 5), the 2014–2020 Anti-Segregation Plan for Kecskemét (Internet 6; we took part in these as authors), the 2011 census data and databases from the Urban Development Agency of Kecskemét, which contained the datasets for social care and assistance. The census data come from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO); these data were already geocoded and pointed to possible segregated residential neighbourhoods. The social sector raw datasets first had to be geocoded, and after that we were able to identify possible locations of low-status people and to crosscheck these areas with the data from the HCSO. The geocoding process and

the related spatial analysis were carried out using ArcGIS desktop software (Internet 7). To better understand the processes in the segregated neighbourhoods identified, we carried out thirty-four in-depth interviews with the town representatives, the urban development agency, social workers and members of the Roma ethnic group. We also investigated other related town documents and project activity in this area.

5 Results

The analysis of the development documents confirmed our previous experiences from Kecskemét. The concentration of low-status people shows a triple spatial division inside the administrative borders of the agro-towns examined. Such concentrations can occur in three locations: 1) town centres, 2) the edges of built-up areas and 3) on the outskirts (Figure 3 shows them for each town examined).

As already described in the case of Kecskemét, these areas underwent different historical segregation processes and their statuses are also very different today. The features of these areas can be summarised as follows.

Residential segregation in the inner part of the town shows the closest connection with the concentric urban ecology model of Robert Ezra Park et al. (1925). In their study they found a segregated residential neighbourhood around the central business district of Chicago. There are only three similar hotspots in the agro-towns of the region (Baja, Kecskemét and Szarvas), which means that this form of residential segregation is not typical in the Southern Great Plain statistical region. The general reasons behind this are the relatively small area of the town cores, a lack of old buildings (i.e., no places for low-status people) and finally the permanence of slums on the edge of built-up areas. Suburbanisation (which began in the 1980s) also plays a role in towns with a larger population (Mészáros, 1990; Timár, 1993). In these cases, high-status people have moved out from their dwellings to the outskirts or to the surrounding villages and this process allowed low-status (mainly Roma) people to move into these places. Because of the differences in the sub-structures of the three towns, the living conditions are very different. In Baja, the Roma people also live in the inner courtyards of the houses, which is very similar to what can be seen in downtown Budapest. In Szarvas, they moved into a detached housing area with gardens, and there are many smaller segregated areas in the town centre of Kecskemét, which now forms a corridor to the historical Roma areas in the southeast.

From the twenty-seven identified instances of segregation in towns of the Southern Great Plain statistical region, nineteen lie on the edge of built-up areas, which makes this the most typical form of residential segregation. The most populous Roma neighbourhood (2,959 people in 2001) can also be found in such locations in Makó. These concentration points of low-status people have evolved throughout the history of the towns. In some cases, these areas were demolished in the communist era (as in Kecskemét and Szentes), but one can still find such blocks in a close geographical location. The cause of this is an erroneous practice by the town authorities, who moved these people to a similar new place in the neighbourhood in a closed group, and so they only relocated the problem. The Cs houses are the typical markers of these neighbourhoods. The environmental conditions are unfavourable (high groundwater levels), which causes problems in everyday living conditions (such as mouldy walls). The infrastructure of these areas is generally in poor condition or lacking. Sometimes the town residents only know these areas by historical “nicknames” such as *Kis Bécs* ‘Little Vienna’ in Makó or *Krakkó* ‘Krakow’ in Szarvas. *Sársziget* ‘Mud Island’, the low-prestige segregated area of Füzesgyarmat, consists of Foundation for Folk and Family Protection (Hungarian: *ONCSA*) houses, which were built during the Second World War to assist large families. This example illustrates that geographical segregation can also develop from special residential areas originally built with positive intentions.

The last concentration location of the low-status people is the outskirts of the agro-towns. Among the twenty-seven development strategies analysed, we found ten in which the authors made reference to this problem or identified a segregated residential neighbourhood on the outskirts (e.g., in Baja). During the communist era, the official policy was to eliminate these scattered farms, and so there was a building restriction until 1986. Thus the scattered farm buildings are generally in poor condition and uncomfortable because they were mainly built before the 1950s. The population is ageing, is poorly educated and has a high unemployment rate, and many people are living in poverty. Despite the poor situation of the native population, these areas are migration targets for low-status people from towns. These newcomers often have large families with many children. Their relocation is an attempt to escape urban poverty, and so they can be considered social migrants. They hope that the expenses of everyday living will be lower there, but they do not know how to manage the small farms around the houses, and so these expectations are unrealistic. The original inhabitants often see a connection between newcomers and crime in the scattered farm areas. In the case of Szentes, there have been news reports about homeless people occupying the vacant scattered farms near the town.



Figure 4: a) location of segregated neighbourhoods in Kecskemét; b) the Hetényegyháza area in the suburbs and its segregated blocks; c) the outskirts with the most segregated scattered farms (authors: József Lennert, Jenő Zsolt Farkas and András Donát Kovács; based on data from HCSO 2016 and the 2011 census).

6 Case study of Kecskemét

6.1 Locations of segregated residential neighbourhoods

Based on our examination following the methods described above, we determined the following segregated areas in Kecskemét: 1) blocks in the Hetényegyháza area, 2) blocks of *Téglagyár utca* (Brickworks Street), 3) separated blocks in the downtown area, 4) a block along *Nagy Lajos király körút* (King Louis the Great Street), 5) residential block beside *Mátyás király körút* (Matthias Corvinus Street), 6) blocks in the Műkertváros area, 7) blocks in the Muszáj area, 8) blocks of *Löcsei utca* (Löcsei Street), 9) blocks in the Szeleifalu area and 10) the southern part of the town centre. These areas are numbered in Figure 4a. Figure 4b shows the suburban district of Hetényegyháza and its segregated blocks. Figure 4c shows the disadvantaged outskirts in a darker shade.

6.2 Condition of residential buildings in segregated neighbourhoods

The built environment of the segregated neighbourhoods often reveals the negative social processes in these areas. There are many run-down buildings, some of them are in life-threatening shape, yet they were inhabited until recently. There are also illegal waste dumps in many vacant lots and signs of vandalism

on the buildings or on the street furniture. Because of these general conditions, the real estate prices are low not only in these neighbourhoods but in their surroundings as well. The most critical conditions can be found in the blocks where Roma people make up the majority of the local residents.

The formation and persistence of segregated areas largely depend on the age of the buildings and their condition (which are interdependent to some degree). There are 49,665 flats and homes in Kecskemét, among which eight thousand (16.3%) are over fifty years old according to the HCSO statistics. Among these, 3,057 do not meet comfort standards (comprising 6.1% of all housing). The majority of these dwellings can be found in segregated neighbourhoods, and without housing renovation they will continue to attract only low-status settlers and further strengthen the negative processes. Because of their special attributes, the status of the buildings owned by the local government should be analysed separately. In 2012, 1,596 flats were owned by the local government. Among these, six hundred houses with mostly low comfort standards were used for social housing. The number of flats retained for social housing shows a decreasing trend (in 2016 there were 508 flats) and the majority can be found in segregated neighbourhoods. The major problem is the rental fees because they do not cover the maintenance costs, which means that the town's property management company cannot maintain the current conditions of these buildings. This is why the condition of these dwellings is steadily deteriorating.

6.3 Characteristics of segregated neighbourhoods with an ethnic majority and attempts at a solution

The largest segregated neighbourhood with a Roma majority is the aforementioned Roma Town, which has been located southeast of the town centre for centuries (Figure 5). In the 1960s and 1970s, the spatial concentration of the Roma decreased because of attempts to demolish some of the blocks in this area. After 1990, the local government liquidated the temporary accommodation housing in the town core (these were the “Roma courtyards”) and the residents moved back to the surroundings of Roma Town. This process resulted in the renewal of the old segregated residential neighbourhood and also the deterioration of the buildings.

Due to the worsening housing situation of the Roma, the local government started a program in 2002 to move them out from the town-owned shanties. The involved two hundred Roma families (30% of all of the Roma in the town) could choose between two alternatives: a home exchange or purchase of lease rights. Because these shanties had no market value, the local government offered the modest sum of EUR 5,700 to every family for lease rights. The hundred families that choose this option were only able to afford “vacation houses” or farm buildings on the outskirts. The interviewees stated: “In this way, getting rid of the shanties only moved the minority issues to the outskirts, negatively affecting the neighbourhoods they moved to because of their depreciation.”

In 2006 the program was continued and fifty families took part in it. This time the majority of families choose the exchange option and left their houses. Although these measures temporarily mitigated the segregation of the Roma, the spatial patterns of residential segregation were soon reproduced. Employment opportunities attracted new Roma families from other towns, who mostly moved to the streets in the neighbourhood of the former shanties because of the lower property prices.

In order to address this problem, the town council started an Integrated Social Urban Rehabilitation Programme, which was supported by the EU through the South Great Plain Operational Programme. The aim of this project was to promote social integration for Roma living in the Mezeiváros and Ürgés neighbourhoods. As part of social integration, the urban development agency emphasised improving living conditions, renewing public services and strengthening the local identity of the residents. The “hard outputs” of the project were twelve modernised public rental flats, a new multifunctional community centre and the development of public places with new street furniture and road reconstruction. There were additional “soft” or social project elements as well, such as community

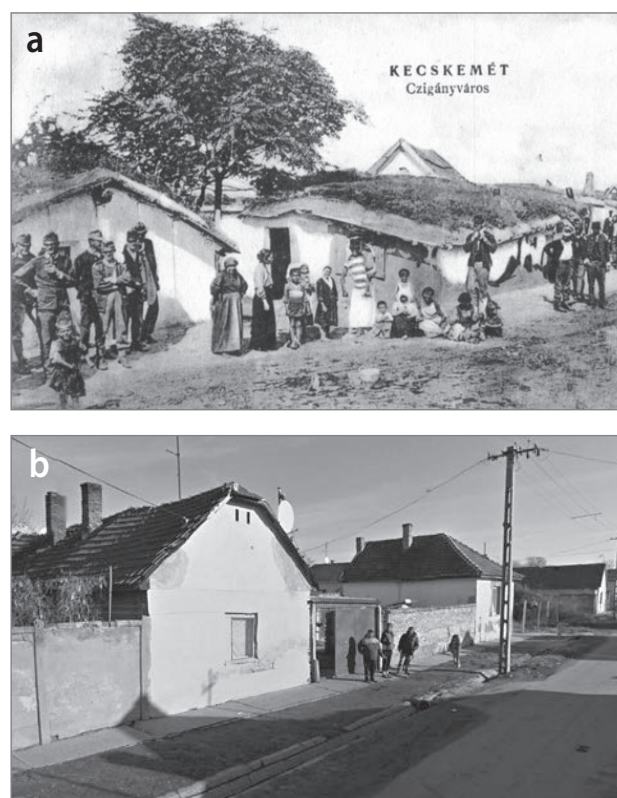


Figure 5: *Czigányváros* (Roma Town) on a postcard from 1930 (source: Internet 8); b) poor houses in the neighbourhood today (source: Google Street View, 2012).

development, cultural services and family care assistance activities. The follow-up of the project is ongoing and, although there are undoubtedly some positive results, the problem itself has not been resolved.

6.4 Segregation processes on the outskirts

One of the possible “escape routes” of the impoverished population leads to the outskirts of agro-towns – specifically, to the scattered farms. This phenomenon can also be observed in Kecskemét, which is the largest agro-town with the most scattered farms. The population of the outskirts was 17,281 according to the 2011 census, or 15% of the town’s residents (111,411 in 2011). In 2001 the population on the outskirts was only 13,732, and so in the last decade there was a 25% increase in this number caused by two process: the relocation of low-status people from segregated neighbourhoods to the scattered farms, and the suburbanisation of high-status residents. There are no accurate data or surveys on the proportion, but we estimate that there is an equal split between the two types. The experiences of the interviews and fieldwork indicated that the outskirts of Kecskemét are very fragmented in terms of land-use structure. There are gardens, low-density residential neighbourhoods close to or connected with the built-up area and traditional scattered farms dispersed

farther from these. Because of this, the processes in the outskirts are very diverse. High-status people occupy the nearby areas (sometimes with luxury residences in the Máriahegy and Úrihegy areas), whereas people from the segregated neighbourhoods are moving further away to the scattered farms. In the last twenty years, both the western and the eastern part of the outskirts were affected (i.e., Szarkás, Borbás and Kisfái), where the share of disadvantaged people significantly increased. Low-status people can buy buildings relatively cheaply there because under the state socialism system the development of scattered farms and their buildings was banned until 1986. The original ageing population is also favourable for this outflow because there are many empty buildings that are still suitable for living in, but usually only at a low comfort level.

At the same time, the newcomers do not have the necessary experience for living on a scattered farm, and their employment and the school attendance of their children is becoming increasingly difficult. The original farm population stigmatises them because it feels that public safety has been compromised and it connects them with criminal behaviour in the neighbourhood. The situation is also exacerbated by homeless people occupying vacant properties. These developments pose a challenge to social care organisations because the accessibility of low-status people becomes more problematic.

7 Conclusion

Our research indicates that residential segregation is a frequent phenomenon in the agro-towns of Hungary's Southern Great Plain statistical region. These processes share some similarities but are also differ to some degree from the western European or US examples. The role of ethnicity in segregation is the most common feature, and one can draw a parallel between the situation of the Roma in the study area and low-status African Americans in US cities. The attempts at a solution also fail in the same way because the local government is interested in treating only one aspect of this complex problem and only marginally deals with issues of social integration. This causes the continuous reproduction of the phenomenon with the recurrence of social and ethnic segregation in other parts of towns, in many cases in the same location for centuries.

The differences between the western and local manifestations of segregation are mostly due to different settlement morphology. The settlements in the study area are generally smaller than their western and US counterparts. As a consequence, their historical core is also smaller and is often considered valuable by the residents and the local government, and so the occurrence of segregation in the inner parts of towns is limited. On the other hand, segregation on the edge of continuously

built-up areas is typical in the towns examined. In some cases, the present-day segregation area is geographically linked to former Roma neighbourhoods, whereas in other cases it developed from other disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The housing stock in the areas of the towns examined is very diverse and has a patchwork character due to the often interrupted and altered course of settlement development. Thus segregation occurs at the street level rather than district level, and so one mostly finds segregated blocks of streets instead of widespread areas.

Another unique phenomenon stemming from the distinct settlement morphology is the occurrence of segregation on the outskirts of the towns. Garden neighbourhoods and scattered farm areas, which are a traditional element of agro-towns, recently became migration destinations for both the low- and high-status population. Whereas the relocation of well-off groups to the rural-urban fringe can be seen as suburbanisation within the municipal boundaries, the low-status groups generally try to reduce their living costs by giving up their homes in the contiguously built-up area. However, without sufficient experience in self-sufficient agriculture, such attempts are usually doomed to fail. Thus the deprivation of the low-status newcomers increases. Moreover, they also lose their previous protective network of contacts and are also now out of sight from organisations that can provide them with social assistance.

Kecskemét is a good example of both historical development and recent trends in residential segregation. In geographical terms, the segregated areas are located close to the former segregated area, Roma Town. There is no major change in the affected residents either, who are mostly Roma. This is partly due to the falsely principled urban development planning of the twentieth century, which treated the minority groups as a closed set. The segregated neighbourhoods have never been entirely removed, and they were never completely uninhabited and always filled up with newcomers. Even the relocations did not ease the situation because people were mostly moved to other disadvantageous locations. The "export" of low-status people to the outskirts is also a typical process in Kecskemét just like in other towns of the Southern Great Plain statistical region.

The analysis of the segregated neighbourhoods in Kecskemét shows a strong correlation between the spatial location of low-status people and the physical condition of the buildings. It can also be seen that these areas are located where there is a large quantity of low-standard social housing owned by the local government. Because of this, the town council and the urban development agency play a key role in managing and revitalising the segregated blocks. The main factor hindering the development of these areas is insufficient financial resources

for the task. Although there are certain targeted EU subsidies for urban renewal, the town cannot carry out comprehensive social development in segregated neighbourhoods without adequate local resources. Apart from the lack of necessary funds, the results of the research also emphasize the importance of complex thinking about residential segregation. The improvement of the living environment in itself is merely the initial step of a social integration process, and social care for low-status people cannot end after infrastructure investments without risking the recurrence of spatial segregation.

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Alarming changes in youth mobility: Primary school pupils in Novo Mesto

This article explores the travel habits of young people in Slovenia over the past thirty years and seeks to explain the reasons for a complete change in their travel patterns. It focuses on the travel habits of primary school pupils as a special group of traffic participants and urban space users. We compared data from 1991, 2001 and 2016 on primary school pupils' travel habits, car ownership, school locations and catchment area sizes, along with traffic regulation around primary schools. Based on this, we established that the patterns for Slovenia correspond to patterns from abroad. The substantial changes in children's travel patterns coincide with the intense motorisation of Slovenian towns, which has grown to proportions that

even exceed those in many developed countries. This increase in car ownership is reflected in growing car use. The activities currently carried out in schools regarding traffic management are not helping stop this trend. A change is required in the traffic safety paradigm. Consideration of children's mobility must become part of comprehensive transport planning, which should be geared towards reducing and calming traffic in school areas by setting up infrastructure that discourages car use and encourages safe alternatives.

Keywords: active mobility, routes to school, changes in travel patterns, traffic safety, motorisation

1 Introduction

For several decades, active mobility – in which people use only physical effort to move – has been at the centre of endeavours towards sustainable mobility. This is the most sustainable type of mobility and is the least environmentally detrimental, the most economical and the socially fairest. It is also the healthiest type because regular walking and cycling offer many health benefits. For many people, active mobility is the simplest and most accessible way to maintain a healthy lifestyle, which should include at least thirty minutes of moderate activity a day (UK active, 2017). A range of serious health problems are caused by the modern sedentary lifestyle and its lack of physical activity. Health experts warn that insufficient physical activity increases the risk of various diseases. An active lifestyle substantially reduces the risk of cardiovascular diseases and stroke, and also lowers blood pressure and cholesterol levels. Physical activity can prevent Type 2 diabetes and even breast and prostate cancers. An active lifestyle helps maintain healthy muscles and bones (Ministry of Health, 2015).

Children's and teenagers' problems resulting from physical inactivity are a particularly topical issue. The share of overweight and obese children and teenagers has doubled over the last thirty years, and this increase has been more evident in boys, among whom the share of overweight individuals has risen from 13.3% to 19.9%. The share of obese children in general has increased from 2.7% to 7.5% (Ministry of Health, 2015: 11). In addition to inappropriate nutrition, the increase in obesity among young people is due to declining physical activity. Research in Slovenia has shown that the share of regularly physically active young people is low and is decreasing with age. On a daily basis, 26% of boys and only 15% of girls are sufficiently physically active (Jeriček Klanšček et al., 2011). Children's and adolescents' inappropriate diets are also reflected in their lack of physical activity (Strel et al., 2011). Research suggests that physically more active adolescents have greater academic success (Starc, 2014).

As with adults, in young people active mobility can significantly contribute to sufficient daily physical activity. Several authors (Davison et al., 2008; Van Sluijs et al., 2009; Grize et al., 2010; Chillón et al., 2011; Schoeppe et al., 2013) have established a direct correlation between children's walking or cycling to school and their physical fitness. They also found a strong correlation between active travel to school and children's physical activity after school. Active mobility also ensures independent mobility, which Stephanie Schoeppe et al. (2013) define as the opportunity for people under eighteen to move and use public space without parental supervision. This offers

psychological and social benefits to children through interactions and connections with peers and others where they live.

Little information is available about youth mobility in Slovenia and about how young people's modes of travel have changed over the past decades. Some recent studies (Kobe Tavčar, 2015; Moscholidou & Colclough, 2017) highlight the fact that as many as three-quarters of primary school pupils ride to school: most are driven, and others take public transport. However, the results of the 1991 census reveal a completely different picture. At the time, over 90% of primary and secondary school children travelled to school actively. This article examines how children's mobility has changed over the last thirty years and the reasons for these changes.

This article focuses on the travel habits of primary school pupils as a special group of traffic participants and urban space users. Due to their youth, they have a limited choice of travel modes and thus become independent traffic participants only during schooling. This population group is among the most imperilled, which is why traffic planning and spatial planning devote particular attention to it (Plevnik, 2002). We analysed how children travel to primary school in Novo Mesto using cross-sectional data for 1991, 2001 and 2016. The 1991 data were gathered as part of the 1991 census, and those for 2001 and 2016 were obtained based on a survey conducted in primary schools. We also collected information for 2001 and 2016 to explain what caused the considerable changes in primary school pupils' travel habits and what could be done to increase their active mobility.

2 Methods

The changes in travel habits of Novo Mesto primary school pupils were analysed using empirical research (analysis of time series and cross-sectional analysis). The analysis of time series identified the changes in travel habits between two time cross-sections (2001 and 2016). These results were compared against those of the 1991 census (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 1992). A cross-sectional analysis was conducted to establish how variation in travel-habit variables correlates with variation in socioeconomic variables (car ownership) and variables of towns' physical structure (distribution of schools, size of their catchment areas and traffic regulation around schools).

2.1 Travel habits of primary school pupils

The first chronological cross-section of travel habits for schoolchildren in Novo Mesto is based on the 1991 census. The census results were analysed in a doctoral dissertation (Plevnik, 2002) and are based on the census questions about places of

work and school and travel modes (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 1992). From among the individual data related to routes to school, we selected those that referred to the routes of children that started and ended in Novo Mesto. By processing this data, we extracted the data on the mode of travel to school within settlements of permanent residence. Unfortunately, the data on primary school pupils could not be extracted from the data on all routes to school; however, the aggregated data within the settlements studied also provided a clear picture of young people's travel habits in 1991.

The second cross-section of travel habits for Novo Mesto primary school pupils is based on the 2001 data collected for a doctoral thesis (Plevnik, 2002). Data collection was based on the study "State roads and traffic safety of pupils" (Sln. *Državne ceste in prometna varnost učencev*, Polič et al., 2001), which was conducted in primary schools in ten Slovenian settlements, including Centre Primary School in Novo Mesto. The data on travel habits and the situation in the area surrounding Centre Primary School were taken from this study, and the discussion was expanded to include two other primary schools in Novo Mesto: Bršljin and Grm. We surveyed the third, fifth and seventh grades from both primary schools. In all grades the questionnaire was administered by a researcher with the help of class teachers. The children completed the questionnaires by themselves. They specified their sex and how they usually travel to and from school and whether anyone accompanies them, and they also marked the location of their homes on a map. The lower grades were given more detailed explanations, and the researcher monitored their understanding of the questions and completion of the survey. The survey was conducted on the morning of 10 April 2001. The weather was suitable for any mode of travel that day. The survey conducted at Centre Primary School took place in a classroom during a class, and first-grade pupils were also included. The questionnaire for third, fifth and seventh grades was more comprehensive, and it also included some questions on traffic safety.

Another survey on travel habits was administered in June 2016 as part of an analysis for the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan of the City Municipality of Novo Mesto (Sln. *Celostna prometna strategija Mestne občine Novo mesto*, Balant et al., 2017). The survey covered seven primary schools in the Municipality of Novo Mesto: four from Novo Mesto itself (Centre, Šmihel, Grm and Bršljin) and three from smaller places in the municipality (Otočec, Brusnice and Stopiče). The study focused only on the four primary schools in Novo Mesto. The survey covered the third, fifth and seventh grades; if one of these grades was away that day, the sixth grade was surveyed. In the four Novo Mesto primary schools two classes in the same grade were surveyed, and only one in smaller schools. The data in the 2016 survey were collected by verbally surveying children

in classrooms; questions were asked, raised hands counted and the results noted. The researchers used a pre-defined form. The questionnaire asked how the children got to school that day (during warm weather), how they usually go to school in the winter and how they would prefer to travel to school. The children were also invited to suggest changes and improvements to simplify their journeys to school.

2.2 Car ownership

The data on the development of motorisation and/or car ownership in Slovenia and in the Municipality of Novo Mesto were calculated from the data provided by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SORS), which publishes them annually in its *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Slovenia* and on the SI-STAT data portal. The motorisation rate is calculated based on annual data on the population (as at 1 January for the past year) and the number of cars (as at 31 December for the current year). The number of cars registered in Slovenia is taken into account. According to SORS data, the term *cars* encompasses vehicles in the category M1 (motor vehicles with at least four wheels intended for passenger transport, which in addition to the driver's seat have eight seats at most) excluding any special passenger vehicles (i.e., a vehicle designed for special purposes and not for passenger transport; e.g., fire vehicles, ambulances, hearses, etc.; Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2016).

2.3 Location of primary schools and the size of their catchment areas

Another point of interest was whether during the period studied there was any change in the location of primary schools and school catchment area sizes in Novo Mesto that could cause changes in primary school children's travel habits. Such changes were identified through interviews with administrators at the schools surveyed conducted during the formulation of the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (Sln. *Celostna prometna strategija*, Balant et al., 2017).

2.4 Traffic regulation around primary schools

Through interviews with administrators at the schools surveyed, we also gathered data on recent changes in traffic management around the schools (e.g., new traffic infrastructure for vehicles, cyclists and pedestrians, traffic-calming devices, parking areas that children are driven to, etc.) that could affect the primary school pupils' travel habits. These interviews were also conducted while preparing the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (Balant et al., 2017).

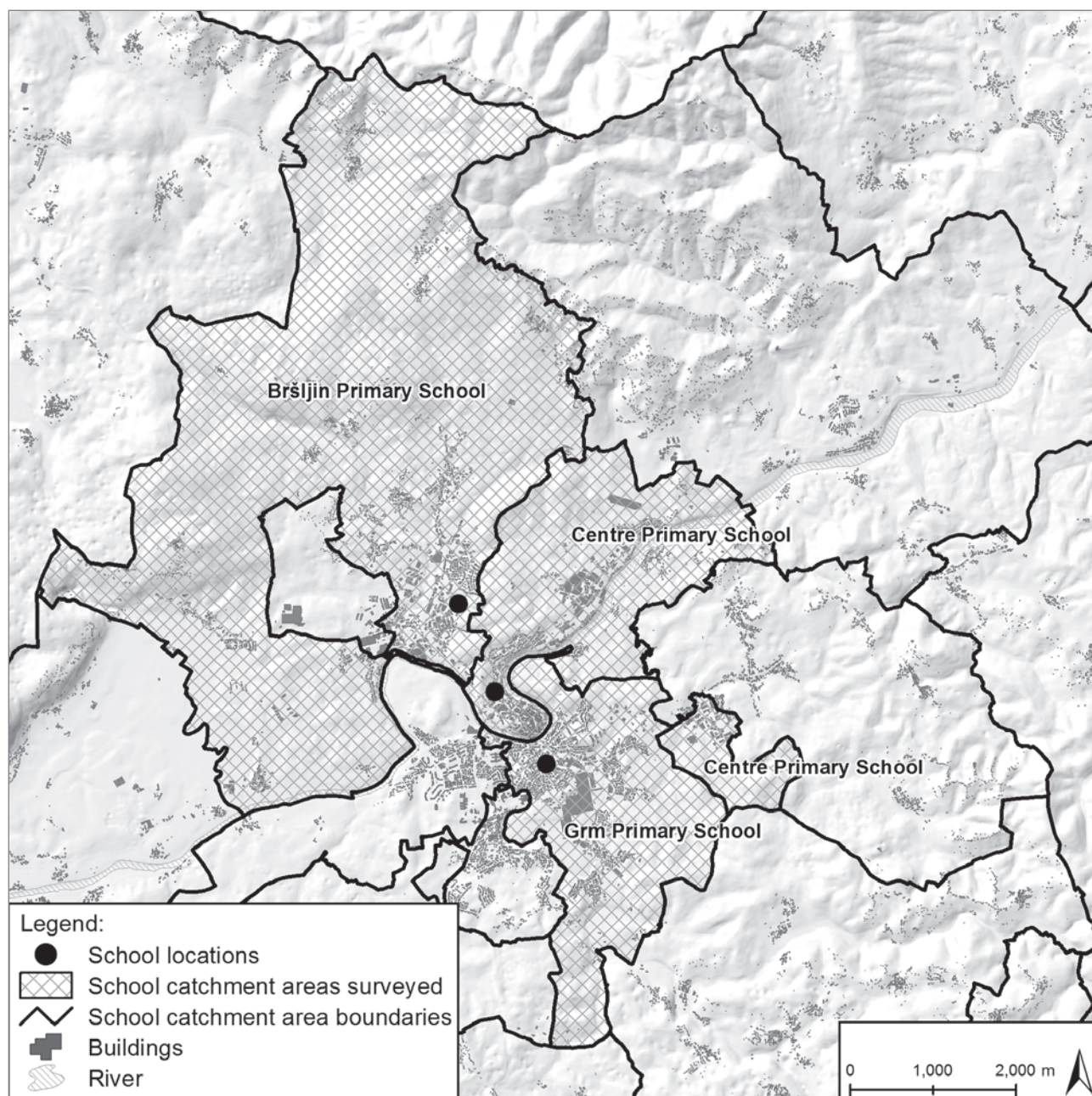


Figure 1: Primary schools surveyed and their catchment areas (author: Simon Koblar; source: Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia, 2017 and Copernicus, 2012).

3 Results

3.1 Travel habits of primary school pupils

3.1.1 Mode of travelling to school in 1991

Nearly all schoolchildren travelled to school actively (i.e., on foot or by bicycle) in 1991. In the twenty largest Slovenian towns, the share of active travel accounted for as much as 91% of active travel modes (and commuting to work only 61%).

Eight percent of children took the bus (41% of workers) and only 1% of children were driven to school (25% of workers). The shares of using individual modes differed considerably among the twenty towns studied. Active modes of travelling to school were predominant in Ravne na Koroškem (100%), followed by Domžale and Kočevje (99%) and then Kamnik, Nova Gorica, Postojna and Ptuj (98%). Active travel in Novo Mesto was 92%, whereas 4% of journeys to school were made by car (the highest figure among the twenty largest Slovenian towns) and 4% by bus.

3.1.2 Mode of travelling to school in 2001

In 2001, children in the third, fifth and seventh grades of Centre, Bršljin and Grm primary schools mostly walked to and from school (55%), whereas 22% travelled by bus and 23% were driven. None of the survey participants cycled. The mode of travel to school differs considerably from the mode of travel home from school. In the morning, 46% of the children walked to school, 21% took the bus, and 33% were driven to school. Journeys back home saw considerably less travel by car and more walking (63%). The share of travelling by bus remained similar (23%). In the morning, many parents drive their children to school on their way to work. Because most parents' working hours do not coincide with the school timetable, many children that were driven to school had to walk home or take the bus. No examples of cycling to school were found for Novo Mesto primary schools in 2001.

Travel habits differed substantially between grades. The Road Traffic Safety Act requires that first-grade pupils be accompanied by an adult to and from school. Therefore, the above-average share of journeys by car among first-graders at Centre Primary School (this was the only grade for which data were collected) was not surprising. Travel by car was predominant on the way to school (63%) and also back home (58%). Thus in 1991, among all age groups, journeys by car were predominant only among first-graders. The difference between the share of journeys to and from school by car was small, which suggests that first-graders' parents arranged their time so as to be able to drive their children home after school as well. Just over one-third (34%) of first-graders walked to school, and only a few took the bus (3%). None of the first-graders took the bus to return home, but many more walked (42%), at the expense of a lower share of travel by car and bus. In higher grades, the share of car journeys by third-graders was predominant (45% on their way to school and 20% back from school), but this decreased in higher grades on account of walking and then levelled off.

Children's travel habits also differed substantially between schools. The most active travel patterns were established among children at Grm Primary School, where 70% walked to and from school (3% took the bus and 27% were driven). The next was Centre Primary School, with 64% walking (15% by bus, 21% by car), and the fewest pedestrians were at Bršljin Primary School (30%), where travel by bus was predominant with 49% (21% by car). To explain the differences between schools, we analysed individual elements of the physical structure of space and their influence on school route characteristics. We established that the strongest influence was exerted by the network or distribution of primary schools, which is indirectly reflected in the size of their catchment areas as well

as population density and building density in the surrounding countryside. A denser network and smaller school catchment areas with a greater population and building density result in shorter school routes and, consequently, a higher share of active journeys to school. An important element is also organised school transport, which covers both long routes that would otherwise be covered mainly by parents driving their children to school (so that children do not have to make long journeys in more dangerous active ways) as well as short routes (exceeding 1,000 m) because children that are not entitled to school transport often walk. We established that, in the case of Novo Mesto, every primary school in the surrounding countryside had at least one very busy road a maximum of 1,000 m away. Such roads are particularly problematic in terms of primary school pupils' routes to school. Walking is the most sustainable travel mode, but for primary school children safety is more important and organised school transport offers greater safety.

In terms of sustainable traffic, the worst is probably a sparse school network with school catchment areas too small to be eligible for organised school transport (distances within 4 km). In these cases, many children depend on morning travel with the most problematic means of transport in terms of sustainability (i.e., cars), whereas on their way home they are often left to themselves, which is problematic particularly in terms of their safety (Plevnik, 2002: 188–189).

3.1.3 Mode of travelling to school in 2016

For the sake of comparison with the previous cross-section, the data for 2016 included three primary schools from Novo Mesto that were covered by the 2001 research (Centre, Grm and Bršljin); however, our survey also included another primary school from Novo Mesto (Šmihel) and three primary schools from smaller settlements in the municipality (Otočec, Brusnice and Stopiče).

In 2016, more than half of the third, fifth and seventh graders (53%) were driven to school by parents (33% in 2001). Nearly 32% walked (46% in 2001), 21% went by bus (the same share as in 2001) and just over 1% cycled (in 2001 0%). Children were asked whether they changed their travel mode in winter. The results do not show any major changes in travel habits, except for a higher percentage of journeys by bus (28%) at the expense of walking (27%) and to some extent car rides (44%). One-third of children in Novo Mesto (53% in 2001) travel actively to school, whereas two-thirds ride to school (one-half in 2001), with the majority being driven by their parents. A comparison between grades revealed similar characteristics as in 2001. The highest share of travel by car was established for third-graders (58%), followed by fifth-graders (46%), whereas the lowest was that of seventh-grad-

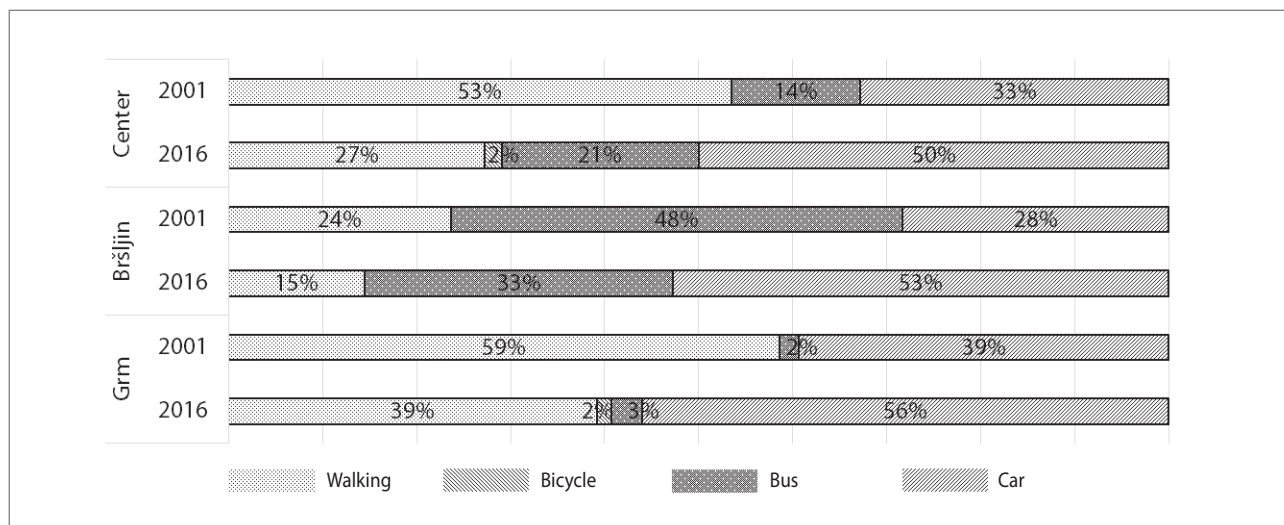


Figure 2: Comparison of travel habits to school, by school and year (author: Luka Mladenovič, 2017; source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 1992; Plevnik, 2002; Balant et al., 2017).

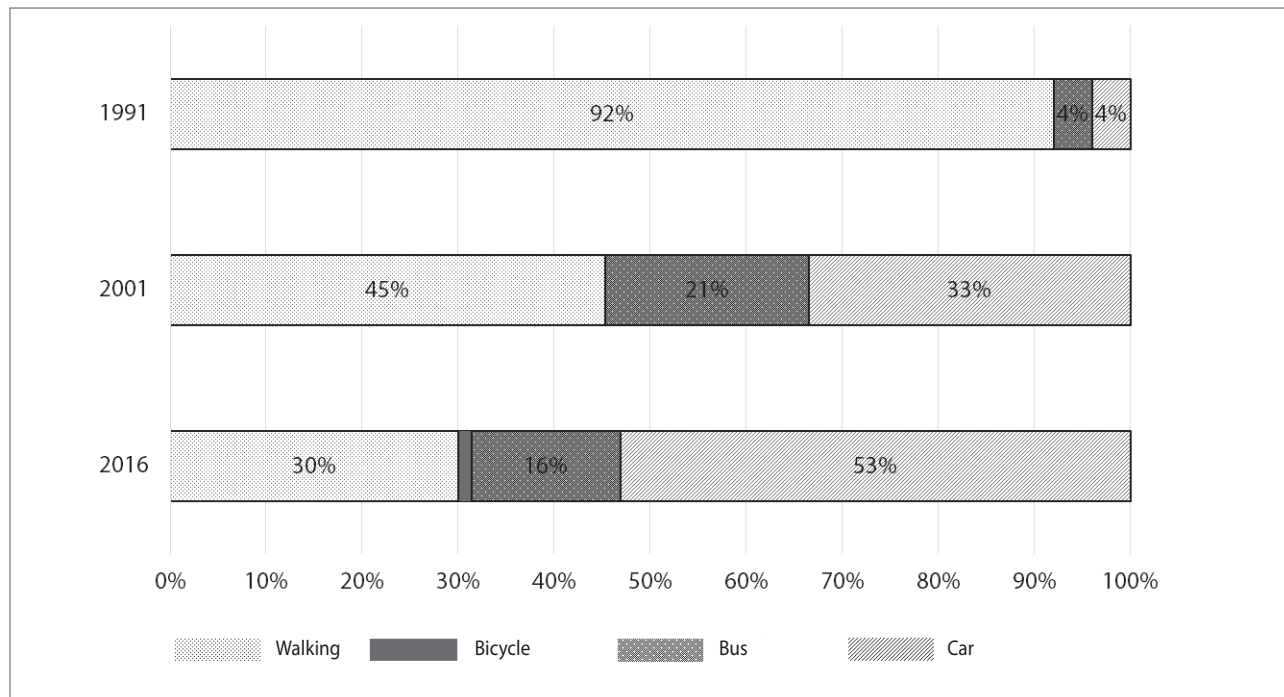


Figure 3: Total changes in travel habits (author: Simon Koblar).

ers (30%). In contrast, the majority of seventh-graders travelled to school actively (41% on foot, 3% by bicycle), and then the percentage dropped considerably for fifth-graders (31% on foot, 1% by bicycle) and third-graders (only 20% on foot).

Again, children's travel habits differed substantially among schools. As in 2001, the most active travel patterns in 2016 were again established with children at Grm Primary School, where 39% of them walked to school (70% in 2001) and fewer than 2% cycled (none in 2001). The share of car travel increased substantially: from 27% in 2001 to 56% in 2016. The share of travel by bus remained unchanged (3%). At Centre Primary School the share of active travel fell to less than half,

from 64% pedestrians in 2001 to 27% pedestrians and 2% cyclists in 2016. The share of car use surged from 27% to 50% and the share of bus use increased from 16% to 21%. The share of walking at Bršljín Primary School fell by half from 30% to 15% over fifteen years and there were still no children cycling. The travel mode that was predominant in 2001 also decreased considerably: bus travel dropped from 49% to 33%. At this school, the share of car use increased the most: from 21% in 2001 to 53% in 2016.

In the 2016 survey, we added a question about how children would like to travel to school. The children's desires are completely opposite to their usual behaviour and correspond to

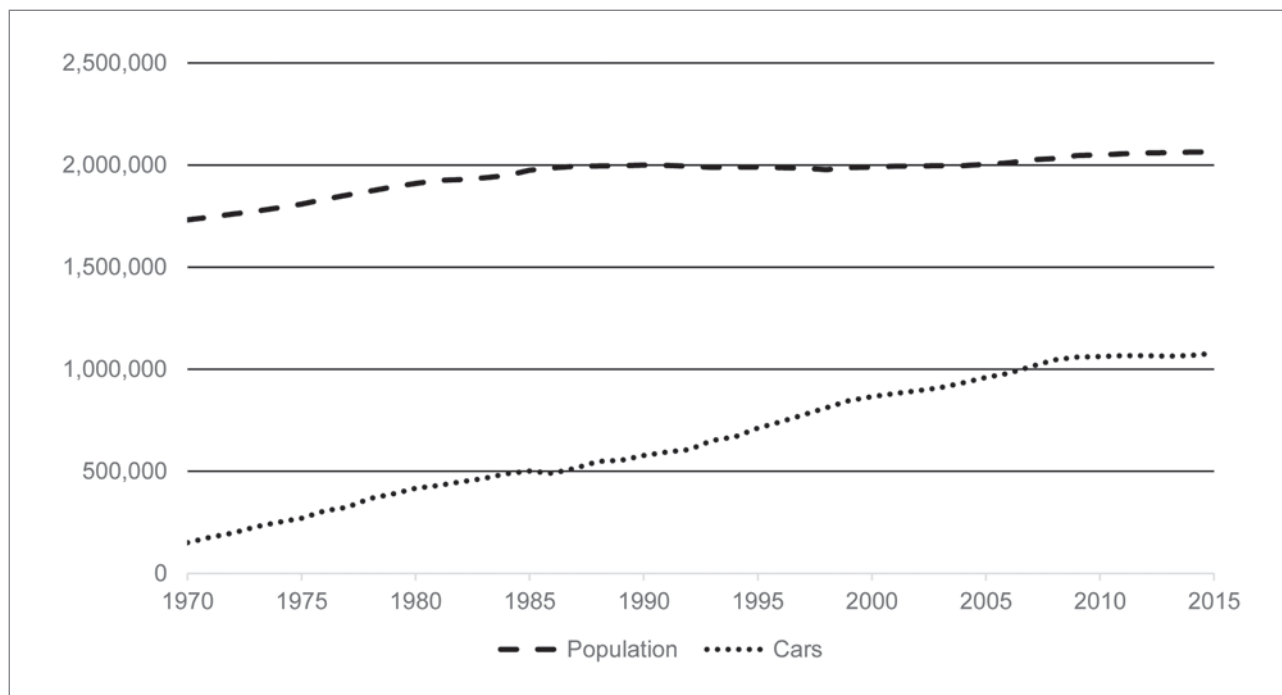


Figure 4: Number of cars and population in Slovenia between 1970 and 2015 (source: Plevnik, 2016).

efforts toward active mobility because most children would like to travel to school by bicycle (40%) and on foot (40%). Only 12% wish to be driven to school and 7% wish to take the bus. Especially regarding cycling, the difference between the actual state of affairs and the desire is so great that it would make sense to explore the reasons that prevent children from cycling to school and to start gradually eliminating them.

The travel characteristics of primary school pupils in Novo Mesto are very similar to the results of related recent studies that have been conducted in other parts of Slovenia. The children at schools that participated in the Traffic Snake national campaign in 2015 had similar travel patterns before the campaign as those found in Novo Mesto. Active travel to school was established for 29% of pupils (3% of them cycled). A large majority rode to school: 42% were driven and 29% took public transport (Moscholidou & Colclough, 2017).

3.2 Car ownership

Over the past decades, the development of motorisation in Slovenia has been particularly intense. Between 1970 and 2015, the number of cars in Slovenia rose seven-fold, exceeding 1,070,000. The motorisation rate in 2015 was 523 cars per 1,000 inhabitants, which was nearly 50% more than in 1995 (Plevnik, 2016). This ranks Slovenia among the countries with the highest increase in car ownership because for many years the motorisation rate has exceeded the average of the new EU members and candidate countries, including many economically more developed countries (e.g., in Scandinavia).

The Municipality of Novo Mesto has exceeded the Slovenian average in terms of motorisation rate since 2001, with the highest motorisation rate recorded in the municipalities in western Slovenia. In 2006 the motorisation rate exceeded five hundred vehicles per thousand inhabitants, which means that every other inhabitant owned a car. In 2015 the motorisation rate was 541 vehicles per thousand inhabitants (in Slovenia 523).

3.3 Primary school locations and school catchment areas

To explain the differences between schools, already after the first survey in 2001 we analysed individual elements of the town's physical structure as well as their influence on the characteristics of school routes, using data obtained after the 2001 survey. We established that the strongest influence was exerted by the network or distribution of primary schools, which is indirectly reflected in the size of school catchment areas, density of population and property development in the surrounding countryside. A denser network and smaller school catchment areas with higher population and building density result in shorter school routes and, consequently, a higher share of active travel to school. On the other hand, large school catchment areas, such as that of Bršljin Primary School, already have a more developed network of school bus transport because of compliance with regulatory requirements, and this increases the share of bus journeys. We also checked changes in school locations and school catchment area sizes after 2001. The main change was the construction of Drska Primary School, which took over part of Šmihel Primary School's catchment area and

did not influence the catchment areas of the schools surveyed. Therefore, the change in the density of the network of primary schools and their catchment areas did not influence the travel habits of children at the schools surveyed.

3.4 Traffic regulation around primary schools

Traffic regulation around the schools was examined on-site while preparing the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan of the City Municipality of Novo Mesto, and the changes after 2001 were verified during interviews with people responsible for traffic safety at the schools surveyed. All of the schools regularly address the issue of safe routes to school and measures to ensure this. Schools have a plan of safe school routes, including a record of risky spots that are being eliminated in cooperation with the municipality. Several measures to ensure children's safety were implemented in the areas around all of the schools, particularly concerning traffic calming and safe crossings. Such measures are geared towards increasing children's traffic safety and could contribute to an increase in the share of active school routes. With support from expert organisations, schools hold regular educational and promotional events related to traffic safety, particularly at the beginning of the school year.

4 Discussion

The results of the comparison of three cross-sections of modes of travel to primary schools in Novo Mesto and comparison with data from other schools in Slovenia revealed considerable changes in the travel habits of Slovenian children and their parents. The main contribution of this article is quantification of the scope of the trend of change in how children travel to school. Experts from various fields have observed this trend and warned about it, but due to a lack of systematic data collection on primary school pupils' travel habits we were unable to define the actual scope of the change. As part of this research, we collected comparable data using the same method as applied in 2001, which resulted in two cross-sections for the first time in this area.

In 1991 more than 90% of children in Slovenian cities and towns travelled actively to school (walking or cycling), but the share of active routes in Novo Mesto dropped to less than half by 2001 and to one-third by 2016. Data for thirty-one other schools in Slovenia for 2015 confirm that this alarming trend is characteristic of the entire country. Similar trends have also been established in many other developed countries around the world. In Switzerland, children's active travel to school between 1994 and 2005 decreased from 78% to 71% in favour of car rides. The share of those cycling to school decreased in

particular, whereas the share of walking remained high. Researchers mainly ascribe this decrease to considerable growth in car ownership during this period (Grize et al., 2010). Data for the UK show that the share of five- to ten-year-olds that walked to school declined from 60% to 51% from 1991/93 to 2002 (Department for Transport, 2004), and fell further to 46% in 2014 (Department for Transport, 2014). Simultaneously, the share of those driven to school rose from 29% to 46% (Department for Transport, 2014). In the United States, the decrease is even greater in some areas, due to early and more intense motorisation. Kirsten Davison et al. (2008) reported that in the state of Washington the share of children five to fifteen years old actively travelling to school decreased from 48% in 1969 to 16% in 2001.

The reasons for these changes in children's travel habits are manifold, and the explanations of these changes, as can be found in the literature, are often contradictory. In addition to the basic reasons, such as greater availability of cars and thus increased car ownership and use as well as larger distances between children's homes and schools that limit the use of active school routes (Chillón et al., 2011), the literature lists a number of other factors that influence the choice of mode of travel to school. A frequent obstacle to active travel, as perceived by parents, is traffic safety and/or the feeling that pedestrians and cyclists are at risk in traffic (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2006; Ahlport et al., 2008; Dimaggio & Li, 2013). The feeling of risk is connected with the speed and number of vehicles as well as available pedestrian areas. A study from Switzerland (Grize et al., 2010) showed that, in addition to distance, major obstacles to walking and cycling include crossing large roads. Davison et al. (2008) also added the differences between rural and urban environments as well as weather to these obstacles.

Leticia Grize et al. (2010) claim that the choice of travel mode is a result of the family decision-making process, which is influenced by combining travel to school with travel to work, comfort, parents' concerns regarding traffic safety, and the social and cultural acceptability of an individual travel mode. Among important elements influencing the choice of travel modes, Davison et al. (2008) list parents' working hours and children's afternoon activity schedules, whether parents travelled actively to school when they were children, whether they walk or cycle to work and whether they appreciate their children's physical activity and the accompanying social interactions as well as the cultural and social acceptability of an individual travel mode. Grize et al. (2010) explain the differences in the cultural and social acceptability of an individual travel mode with large differences in the active travel to school between the German- (80%), French- (56%) and Italian-speaking (52%) regions of Switzerland.

The results in Slovenia partly agree with the findings from abroad. The considerable changes in children's travel patterns coincide with the intense motorisation of Slovenian cities and towns, which has grown to proportions unseen even in many developed countries. This increase in car ownership is reflected in growing car use. Work on a large number of sustainable urban mobility plans reveals that only two cities in Slovenia (Ljubljana and Maribor) successfully cope with growth in motor traffic, whereas in small- and medium-sized towns this share has mostly been on the increase. We established that in Novo Mesto the car is the predominant travel mode (78%), followed by walking (9%), public transit (8%) and bicycles (less than 1%; Balant et al., 2017). In Ljubljana the shares were much less in favour of cars in 2015, at 42%. In the capital city people walk (35%), cycle (11%) and use buses (13%) much more (City of Ljubljana, 2017).

5 Conclusion

In 2001 it was possible to establish a potential correlation between the length of school route and the share of active routes, but this relation is becoming increasingly weaker. An increasing share of children are driven over increasingly shorter distances (even less than 1 km) that they could easily cover actively.

Some of the reasons for the trends discussed are explained by warnings from international experts that the traffic safety paradigm should be changed because focusing intensively on traffic safety as part of the current paradigm can cause a reduction in active travel modes. Todd Litman (2017) found that the traffic safety paradigm assumes that the use of motor vehicles is generally the safest and that accidents are a consequence of risky behaviour by certain groups of people, such as young or elderly drivers, distractions while driving (e.g., using a mobile), and failure to use seatbelts or bike helmets. Therefore, the current approach focuses on target strategies and programmes that seek to reduce specific risks (e.g., speed, using mobiles while driving, failure to wear a seat belt, failure to wear a bike helmet, poor visibility, etc.). The new traffic safety paradigm proceeds from the assumption that any use of a means of transport entails a specific risk and that most drivers engage in small risks that can result in an accident. Therefore, all strategies that are not aimed at reducing motor traffic increase the risk of accidents; alternatively, approaches involving reduction of motor traffic and promoting other alternatives help eliminate the risk of accidents. The new paradigm also builds on the realisation that it is unreasonable to reduce car use without offering quality alternatives. The new approach thus expands the range of possible measures for improving traffic safety and involves more comprehensive traffic

planning that encompasses all travel modes as well as better management of mobility and measures integrated with spatial planning (Litman, 2017).

In Slovenian primary schools, traffic safety is addressed in line with the old paradigm. Although this is an important, centrally managed and well-organised area that yields good results in terms of traffic safety, it seems that the old paradigm is contributing to a decrease in active mobility among primary school pupils, along with all the negative health implications mentioned in the introduction. Slovenian schools address traffic safety by focusing on reducing drivers' risky behaviour in areas around schools and eliminating conflicts between drivers and pedestrians and cyclists near schools. However, this approach also creates a basis for parents to believe that the safest way for children to get to school is by car. Such an understanding, combined with providing car-parks for parents to deliver children and for school staff (a trend established in all sustainable urban mobility plans in Slovenia), increases the volume of motor traffic in the immediate vicinity of schools, especially during morning peak hours, all of which increases the risk of accidents. This is paradoxical because the current traffic safety paradigm unintentionally creates potentially dangerous traffic situations near schools and jeopardises the safety of schoolchildren, along with increasing the share of children travelling to school in a safe but unhealthy manner (i.e., by car).

The new traffic safety paradigm delivers a full set of solutions. The focus of addressing traffic safety must shift from safe driving to reducing motor traffic near schools. Consideration of children's mobility must become part of comprehensive traffic planning, which should be geared towards reducing and calming traffic in school areas by setting up infrastructure that discourages car use and encourages safe alternatives. Access and parking for cars must be limited, including for school staff. In addition to physically redesigning the areas around schools, significant efforts should be directed toward mobility management and changing the habits of all people: children, parents and school staff. Mobility management is a concept promoting sustainable traffic and active mobility as well as regulating the demand for car use by changing the views and travel habits of the population. Its essence is "soft" measures, including informing, communicating, organising services and coordinating activities of various partners. "Soft" measures most often strengthen the efficacy of "tough" measures in traffic (e.g., new passenger areas or cycling paths, and limiting access to or eliminating parking facilities). Soft measures (compared to tough ones) usually require little financial input and often have a very favourable cost-benefit ratio. A typical example of mobility management is the Traffic Snake initiative (Moscholidou & Colclough, 2017), which also confirmed in Slovenia that a

way back to higher active mobility for children is possible and urgently needed.

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Franklin Obeng-Odoom

Defending cities for people, not for profit (review of *The city as commons*)

Title: The city as commons

Author: Stavros Stavrides, Massimo De Angelis (foreword)

Publisher: Zed Books

Place and year of publication: London, 2016

Number of pages: i–xiv; 303

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The commons is much talked about, but its meaning is unclear. So, in 2016, the Commons Strategies Group partnered with the Heinrich Boll Foundation to host a global commons meeting of people representing diverse views to try to develop a consistent interpretation. The report, published as *State power and commoning: Transcending a problematic relationship* (Commons Strategies Group and Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2016) significantly advanced the discussion but it did not resolve the issue, instead making the case for more research. What is the commons? Should we adopt the ideas of Garrett Hardin, Elinor Ostrom or someone else? How can we articulate these conceptions in the context of urban and regional studies? Indeed, in doing so, what political and economic implications must be addressed?

The book under review addresses these questions. Its singular, most outstanding contribution is that, rather than defining the commons, it shows that it is better to describe acknowledged commons, discuss them, and develop a general framework from the reflections. Consistent with this methodological

standpoint, one of induction, most of the theories and discussions about the commons are sidelined in this book in favour of actual practices, most notably in the richer economies of the world or in cities of the developed world. Ostrom is cited and briefly discussed (see, e.g., pp. 52–53); but the detailed discussions that she has contributed to (see *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 75(2), 2016, on commoning) and the ensuing discussions generated by her work are not given any attention. Indeed, Garrett Hardin's "tragedy of the commons" and its related discussions are not considered at all.

The only remaining theories in the background of the book are the debates about whether it is space that generates social relations (Lefebvre) or social relations that are conditioned by space (Harvey). The book does not exactly say that it is discussing these issues, but any careful reading of the book cannot miss the stance of the author when he defines commons space as "a set of spatial relations produced by commoning practices" (p. 2). As Massimo De Angelis, the editor of the book series, writes in the foreword: "It



is a book on the best of the Lefebvrian tradition" (p. xiv). However, unlike say Edward Soja, who is also in this school and also tends to launch a frontal challenge to the Harvey approach (see, e.g., Soja, 2003), the author – except in a few cases when he challenges David Harvey, for example, in terms of his instrumentalist views on space, including his seeming tolerance of some forms of enclosure (see pp. 265–266) – seeks some rapprochement in acknowledging that social interactions also shape space: "Common space is both a concrete product of collectively developed institutions of sharing and one of the crucial means through which these institutions take shape and shape those who shape them" (p. 7).

As an architect, Stavrides' contention that how we design buildings and space more generally creates new social relations and shapes old ones is understandable. However, as he argues, commoning is not just about how space is *owned* (i.e., a public commons developed or owned by practices of people as opposed to the state, and private space developed by private interests), but also about new social relations and

new politics of sharing. Indeed, as he puts it (p. 261), the idea of the commons and commoning is fundamentally opposed to the notion of “ownership” and spatial taxonomy based on legal criteria (ownership, accessibility, etc.), political criteria (forms of authority that control space) or economic criteria (value attributed to space by a certain historically embedded system of market relations). Basically, common space exists as an antithesis of public/private space, and so common space and commoning are to be understood as entirely different from the dichotomy of public versus private space.

Unlike other architects, however, the author admits that his subject – the commons – is not concrete. Common space is a work in progress; it is an *ongoing* social process and hence the word *commoning* must necessarily go hand-in-hand with common space (p. 259). Consequently, he readily admits that there are many things we do not know about common space: “a lot needs to be done in theory and research in order to study systematically how new forms of understanding the self emerge in practices of urban commoning” (p. 262). However, he details what is known.

Common space, he contends, can be produced in physical terms by an enclosed or closed system, but what he favours is a continuing process of commoning, which he calls a “process of opening” (p. 3). Indeed, he explicitly opposes commons that are static, favouring a dynamic opening process. He wants knowledge to be shared beyond the producer or like-minded technical people. He advocates the closure of the gap between the producer and the consumer, and performances of art that do not separate the artist from the audiences or consumers. He insists on these conceptions because commoning often starts well but then ends up assuming characteristics that people opposed

earlier. So-called municipal parks and town squares managed by bureaucrats claiming to be doing so for communities are mentioned as examples of how commoning practices “corrupt the common” (p. 4). Commons, then, can be thought of as “threshold spaces” to emphasise “practices of space-commoning that transcend enclosure and open towards new commoners” (p. 5).

These characteristics and the nature of common space, essentially as anti-capitalist social relations, are developed in nine chapters organised around three themes. The first theme is commoning space (Chapters 1 and 2), where the context for the book is set, arguments made (Chapter 1), and the case for an anti-capitalist spatial-social dialectic (as against existing mechanistic framings of the commons) strongly advanced (Chapter 2). The second theme (Chapters 3–6) deals with various housing and spatial practices, mostly in Athens, that define or defy commoning. In contrast to the second theme’s more concrete nature, the third theme (Chapters 7–9) details symbolic commoning practices, including defacement of public space, graffiti and the development of other images, to provide a picturesque insight into the world of commoning. In the concluding chapter (pp. 259–274), the author summarises key arguments, stressing the need to totally reject capitalism and other forms of domination, and making the case for the expansion of common space and commoning as the only approach that can break down the sphinx of power that destroys even the most progressive that take over the state machinery. In the commons, there is hope of a world without hierarchy where there is no need for bureaucrats to pretend to be like commoners because the commons has no bureaucrats.

Clearly, this book is successful in showing what commons are and should be. It distinguishes the commons from

public and private space, but its analytical contribution is less clear. The question of specific implications for business and society is not addressed systematically other than with the blanket statement that commoning will take us beyond capitalism. For this reviewer, the book is not clear on the implications of commoning different spaces: private, public, public-private, natural and man-made spaces. Does commoning land produce the same effect as commoning the *product* of labour in terms of political and economic incentives and implications? Indeed, do similar moral questions arise between commoning land and commoning others? If so, why did Karl Polanyi (2001), for example, set aside land, labour and money as “special” for analysis in *The great transformation*? Moreover, why did Henry George (1981) treat land and nature as a special category in *Progress and poverty*? Stavros Stavrides does not address these questions, except merely asserting – without evidence or detailed analysis – that they are not special (pp. 34–39). The book also abandons the project of retheorising the commons after the empirical analysis. Thus, the analytical contribution is again weakened. Towards the end of the book, there is a mention of gender and racial discrimination, but there is little analysis in the examples to show that the commons, in fact, is also inclusive of gender, racial and other minority statuses and identities. Thus, the commoning challenge to exploitation is clear, but its alleged challenge to exclusion in capitalist systems has not been demonstrated.

Set against its strengths, however, these critical comments of imprecision and weak analytics pale. *The city as commons* must be read for both instruction and as a basis for further investigation.

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Biography

Franklin Obeng-Odoom is the author of *Reconstructing urban economics* (London, Zed Books), *Oiling the urban economy* (London, Routledge) and *Governance for pro-poor urban development* (London, Routledge). He teaches urban economics at the University of Technology Sydney in Australia, where he is based at the School of Built Environment.

Information

The book's internet site: <https://www.zedbooks.net/shop/book/common-space/>



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