

Stanovanje in urbanizem

Tematske številke Urbanega izziva, posvečene stanovanjem, ni bilo lahko zasnovati, ne po uredniški plati ne po organizacijski plati. Predvsem zaradi njenega dvojnega namena: po eni strani poskušamo razvijati mednarodne razsežnosti revije, po drugi strani pa problematizirati današnja razmerja med urbanizmom in stanovanjem. Pravzaprav se je začelo s prvim in to v okviru razvijanja znanstvenega sodelovanja z angleško akademijo. Z nekaj sporazumno določenimi sestavki smo hoteli vzporejati tisti del aktualne stanovanjske problematike, ki je bolj povezana z urbanizmom, in sicer v Veliki Britaniji in Sloveniji. Neposredne primerljivosti ali nekega transparentnega primerjalnega pristopa med deželo, ki je zibelka modernega urbanizma in organizirane javne stanovanjske izgradnje, in deželo, ki se je po njej (kar zadeva urbanizem) v marsičem zgledovala, potem pa tudi izvedla thatcheristični podobno denacionalizacijo stanovanj, nam sicer ni uspelo doseči, čeprav so okolščine v obeh deželah precej podobne (npr. posledice privatizacije stanovanjskega fonda, problematika v zvezi s prenovo stanovanjskih hiš in stanovanjskih sosesk, organizacijo in financiranjem vzdrževanja ipd.). Upamo, da smo dobili vpogled v skupno problematiko in da lahko posredujemo boljši vpogled v izbrane poudarke sodobne urbano-stanovanjske problematike... "Poskus z mednarodno razsežnostjo" pa pomeni seveda še nekaj drugega. Pomeni poskus razširitve in zaostritve publikacijskih meril, ki naj bi – upajmo – prispeval tudi k večji tehtnosti in veljavi revije. Po drugi strani pa se v našem stanovanjskem gospodarstvu zgošča "tranzicijska" problematika in sega vse širše, od tipologije stanovanja do gospodarjenja s stavbnimi zemljišči. Tedaj tudi do socialnopolitičnih, arhitekturnih, kulturnih (ali kulturoloških), in navsezadnje tudi ekonomskih, tehnoloških in organizacijskih razsežnosti bivanja.

Eden od vidikov "tranzicije" – stanja, ki je na nekaterih področjih tako težko opredeljiv – je vsekakor akutno pomanjkanje stanovanj, in kar je še huje, **trenutno ni možnosti za gradnjo novih stanovanj, nimamo sistematičnega in zadostnega razvojnega programa, obenem pa zanemarjamo (kar postaja vse bolj usodno) pravočasno pripravo na gradnjo in prenovo.**

V zvezi s pripravo na stanovanjsko gradnjo in prenovo ima urbanizem pomembno mesto. Poleg programskih prvin, ki izhajajo iz splošne (nacionalne) stanovanjske politike ali širše utemeljenih kazalcev socialnih potreb in ekonomskih možnosti, so med prvimi določili za bodočo stanovanjsko gradnjo in prenovo zagotovo prav prostorski vidiki. Pri tem pa seveda ne gre le za lokacijsko razporeditev stanovanj, temveč tudi

Housing and Urban Planning

This issue of Urbani Izziv (Urban Challenge) looks at issues related to housing. Putting it together was not easy, either on the editorial level or in terms of organisation. The main difficulty was the dual role of this issue: on the one hand we were trying to give the magazine an international dimension; on the other hand we were attempting to consider the issues involved in the current relationship between urban planning and housing. It all really began with the former, that is to say, with the endeavours to establish scientific cooperation with British academic circles. We attempted, by means of a few mutually-agreed articles to draw comparisons between contemporary housing issues that have a bearing on urban planning in Great Britain and Slovenia. It is of course impossible to make direct or clear-cut comparisons between a country which is considered to be the cradle of modern urban planning and housing construction and a country which has in many ways followed the example of the former (with respect to urban planning) and also gone on to implement a Thatcher-like housing denationalisation programme, despite the fact that circumstances in both countries are very similar (i.e. the consequences of the privatisation of housing, issues relating to the improvement of housing and residential areas, organisation and financing of maintenance, etc.). We hope that we have succeeded in gaining an insight into the common problems and that we can thus convey a better understanding of urban planning/housing issues. The attempt to give the magazine "an international dimension" is also significant in another way. It is an attempt to expand and refine the standard of professional journalism. This will, we hope, give the magazine greater significance and worth. Slovenia's housing sector is becoming swamped with "transition" issues which range from housing typology and real estate management to socio-political, architectural and cultural questions, not to mention the economic, technological and organisational aspects of housing.

One aspect of the process of "transition" – a condition which is in certain areas very hard to define – is the acute housing shortage. Even worse, the construction of new housing is at present unfeasible, there is no systematic and appropriate development programme available and the necessary preparations for new construction and renovation are being neglected.

Urban planning has a large part to play in the process of preparing for new construction and housing improvements. Along with the primary programme orientations based on the general (national) housing policy or the broader aspects

blokade in vse večje razlike med razvitimi deželami in deželami v razvoju naj bi na konferenci ublažili s prikazom načrtovanih ali spontano nastalih "zgodb uspeha", s forumom mest in županov, srečanji urbanističnih strokovnjakov itd. V Istanbulu pričakujejo približno 40.000 udeležencev, torej v mestu, ki je v zgodovini zaznamovalo tudi našo usodo, in v mestu, v katerem živi – na pragu sebične Evrope – vsako leto približno 250.000 več prebivalcev...

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conception of settlements in an urbanizing world and shelters for all. The United Nations sees this conference, the most complex world conference in terms of subject matter, as bringing to a close, before the end of the century, the series of large-scale conferences which have dealt with population, the environment, women's issues, etc. The preparations for HABITAT II already express the fragility of the world system and the real and supposed inefficiencies of the United Nations. The conference in Istanbul will, even more than the 1976 conference in Vancouver, make recommendations for a government agenda and international aid impossible. This is partly because of the insurmountable differences in opinion of the conservative and isolationist US Congress and the Charter 77 Group, where the problem of China features increasingly strongly, and partly because of crises such as the situation in Bosnia and the political and economic crisis in the former Soviet Union. However, it is the scale of urban problems in the world (over half of the world's population will live in cities by the end of the century and perhaps as many as two thirds by 2020-2025) which demands the most serious consideration. The anticipated political boycotts and the ever greater differences between the more developed countries and the developing countries should be mitigated to some extent by an illustration of planned or spontaneous "success stories", a forum of cities and mayors, meetings of urban experts, and much more. Approximately 40,000 participants are expected to attend the conference in Istanbul – a city which has already left its mark on Slovenia's history and fate, and a city, on the border with selfish Europe, which boasts a quarter of a million new inhabitants every year.

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Mimogrede, tudi v skladih mestnih zemljišč (kjer sploh obstajajo) sanjajo o lukrativni prodaji preostalih dostopnih in opremljenih stavbnih zemljišč partnerjem na trgu.

Razmere, ki sem jih morda tu in tam preveč karikiriral, seveda vplivajo na širino in (ne)popolnost raziskovalnih, analitskih in programerskih zmogljivosti. Čeprav imamo v Sloveniji za stanovanjsko problematiko nekaj odličnih novih raziskovalcev, so raziskave vse bolj enostranske, zaradi meril odličnosti pri Ministrstvu za znanost, pa so vse bolj naravnane k objavljanju v tujih časopisih, ki povečujejo indekse citiranja. Tudi na našem inštitutu se je stanovanjsko raziskovanje in planiranje skrčilo na frakcijo z nekdanjim obsegom... Seveda je bil tudi v tem eden od razlogov za to tematsko številko in poskuse, da bi našli pomoč v mednarodnem sodelovanju.

Raziskovalno in razvojno delo v zvezi s stanovanji, ki bi moralo doživeti nov razmah, bo pomagalo odgovornim organom, ki bodo morali – med drugim – spoznati, da celovita priprava stanovanjske gradnje in prenove v merilu večjih, racionalnih projektov, traja najmanj 5 do 7 let... Zlasti kadar gre za "produkt", ki ga ni racionalno uvažati, čeprav bi bilo zanj in njegove uporabnike dobro, da bi se zgledovali po vzorih iz držav, ki imajo razvitejšo gradbeno tehnologijo in bivalno kulturo.

Naša tematska številka o stanovanju in podobna številka, ki bo sledila, osredotočena pa bo na analizo novejših arhitekturnih in urbanističnih bere realiziranih projektov, sovpada z intenzivnimi pripravami na drugo Svetovno konferenco o človeških naseljih – HABITAT II, ki bo v začetku prihodnjega poletja v Istanbulu. Konferenca HABITAT II naj bi poudarila predvsem dvoje: **trajnostno zasnovana človeška naselja v svetu, ki se urbanizira, in bivališča za vse.** V Združenih narodih menijo, da naj bi s to – po vsebini najkompleksnejšo – svetovno konferenco pred koncem stoletja sklenili vrsto velikih konferenc, o prebivalstvu, okolju, ženskem vprašanju itd. Že same priprave na konferenco HABITAT II pa tudi že izražajo krhkost svetovnega sistema in dejansko ter morebitno neučinkovitost Svetovne organizacije. Še bolj kot konferenca v Vancouveru leta 1976 pa bo konferenca v Istanbulu onemogočila priporočila za agendo vlad in mednarodne pomoči. Deloma zaradi nepremostljivih razlik v stališčih konservativnega in izolacionističnega Kongresa ZDA in Skupine 77, ki se jima vse bolj pridružuje tudi Kitajska, deloma pa zaradi kriz, kakršna je kriza v bližnji Bosni oziroma na tleh nekdanje Jugoslavije, pa tudi politična in gospodarska kriza v nekdanji Sovjetski zvezi. Vendar pa je razsežnost urbanih problemov v svetu, kjer bo na prelomu stoletja več kot polovica ljudi živelo v mestih (20 ali 25 let kasneje pa že dve tretjini) svojo težo. Predvidene politične

The most recent invitations for tenders from the Housing Fund of the Republic of Slovenia and the experiences of the city and municipal funds show that there is a housing shortage, that some money has been saved and that there is a lot of interest in renovation and other similar, mostly individual (and sometimes quite bizarre) needs. These tenders also show that throughout Slovenia nearly all locations prepared for urban development have been used up. An analysis of these tenders confirms the assumption that the differences in the potential of larger urban municipalities and smaller rural municipalities are growing. Furthermore, the evaluation standards for urban expediency as regards financial support will have to be broken down more and more and, unfortunately, most municipalities do not have either the funds or the offices to ensure that **urbanistic preparations are made on time.** Incidentally, people working at city land funds (where these exist) dream of the lucrative sale of the remaining accessible and properly-equipped building sites to partners on the market.

This situation, which I might perhaps have exaggerated in some places, naturally has an influence on the breadth and completeness (or otherwise) of the research, analytical and programming capacities. Although Slovenia has several excellent new researchers working on the housing problem, their studies are becoming more and more unilateral and, as a result of the standards of excellence set by the Ministry of Science, they are increasingly orientated towards publication in foreign journals which increases their reference indexes. Housing research at our own institute has also shrunk to a fraction of its former dimensions. This of course was one of the reasons for choosing this theme and underlies our endeavours to seek assistance through international cooperation.

Housing research and development, which should now experience a new period of growth, will be of assistance to the responsible bodies who will be forced to realise (among other things) that the complete preparations for housing construction and the renovation of large-scale projects require at least 5 to 7 years, especially since it does not make sense to import this type of "product". Nevertheless it is still beneficial for users to become familiar with the models from countries with a more developed construction technology and living culture.

Our special housing issue, along with the next issue which will focus on an analysis of contemporary architecture and realised urban projects, coincides with the intensive preparations for the second World Conference on Human Habitats – HABITAT II, which will take place next summer in Istanbul. The main themes of the HABITAT II Conference are expected to be: the **sustainable**

Zahtevnost ("tranzicijskega") stanja v naši stanovanjski graditvi naj osvetlim še z opozorilom, da nam izkušnje, pridobljene v treh ali štirih desetletjih razmeroma (in vsaj v količinskem smislu) uspešne stanovanjske graditve, danes ne pomenijo prav veliko. V vsaki od zgoraj navedenih šestih točk, pa tudi v metodologiji zazidalnega in arhitekturnega načrta ter v izdelavi drugih podlag za konkretno investiranje, imamo danes opraviti s številnimi – paradigmatično drugačnimi izhodišči. Na tem mestu ne moremo široko utemeljevati dejstva, da se je v zadnjem desetletju bistveno okrepila občutljivost za ekološko problematiko okolja, preizkušeni instrumenti razporejanja dejavnosti v prostoru pa izgubljajo svoj pomen. Trenutno nikakor ne moremo zanesljivo napovedati mehničnega demografskega prirastka, ker ne vemo, kako bo z dinamiko delovnih mest, in še manj, kako bo z zaposlenostjo. Veliko je novega in še neobvladanega kar zadeva stanovanjsko-tipološke inovacije, da popolne legislativne, zemljiškoknjižne in druge zmede v zvezi z lastništvom mestnih stavbnih zemljiščih niti ne omenjam.

V takih okoliščinah je bilo seveda težko dobiti pisca, ki bi podrobneje analiziral Nacionalni stanovanjski program, ki je ena od zakonskih osnov – še vedno priznane (in vsekakor potrebne) – državne intervencije pri zagotavljanju stanovanj za vse tiste sloje prebivalstva, ki ne morejo biti pravi zasebni tržni partnerji. Zato poleg številnih drugih vprašanj, ostaja odprto tudi vprašanje, kdo pa bo v tem sloju ali bo tak partner, če imamo več kot 80 % stanovanjskega fonda v zasebni lasti

Ne stagnira pa le nova gradnja. Stagnira tudi prenova stavb, ki so pretežno (in znova) v zasebni lasti, njihovi lastniki ali solastniki, če so sploh še sposobni, sanjajo o bogatih najemnikih, ki bi vplačali najemnino za nekaj let vnaprej. Denarja, ki bi ga tako dobili pa morda sploh ne bi vložili v prenavo ali vzdrževanje hiše, in še manj v reinvestiranje, temveč bi si privoščili razkošje, za katerega so bili prikrajšani zadnjih petdesetih letih...

Zadnji razpisi Stanovanjskega sklada RS in izkušnje v mestnih in občinskih skladih kažejo, da stanovanj primanjkuje, nekaj privarčevanega denarja sicer je in da je precej zanimanja za prenavo in podobne pretežno "individualne" (in včasih kar bizarne) – potrebe. Ti razpisi tudi kažejo, da so v Sloveniji že skoraj povsod izčrpali urbanistično pripravljene lokacije... Analiza razpisov potrjuje domnevo, da se večja razlika v možnostih večjih mestnih občin in zmanjšanih podeželskih občin, ocenjevalna merila za urbanistično smotrnost finančne podpore pa bodo morala biti vedno bolj razčlenjeni, žal pa tudi to, da večina občin nima ne sredstev ne služb, ki bi zagotavljale pravočasno urbanistično pripravo.

urban design or site planning stage, which is usually referred to as the drawing-up and adoption of the **building plan**. Next, with perhaps some overlap, comes the architectural and construction **engineering stage** which is linked during its conception to the creation of an **investment programme**. (Time must also be devoted to the organisation of investment and the operative construction stage).

In order to shed some light on the complexity of the (transitional) circumstances which affect the construction of housing in Slovenia, I should point out that the experience we have acquired over three or four decades of relatively successful housing construction (at least in terms of quantity) does not count for very much. Today we find ourselves having to deal with numerous paradigmatically different points of departure for each of the six points mentioned above, and for the methodology of the building and architectural plan and the creation of other foundations for concrete investment. We are unable to establish for certain whether there has been an increase in sensitivity to ecological issues over the past decade, and whether the tested instruments for the spatial distribution of businesses have gradually become less important. At the moment we cannot reliably predict the mechanical demographic growth, because we do not know what the job dynamics will be; the future employment situation is even more hazy. Much is new and still uncontrolled in the area of housing-typological innovation, not to mention the complete confusion regarding legislative matters, land registers and other questions relating to the ownership of municipal building land.

Under such circumstances it would certainly be difficult to find an author capable of carrying out a detailed analysis of the National Housing Programme, one of the legal foundations for the still recognised (and essential) state intervention in ensuring housing for those parts of the population which cannot act as real private market partners. For this reason, along with all the other unanswered questions, the question remains: who will fall into this category and who will be this type of partner if over 80 % of housing is in private ownership?

It is not only new construction which has stagnated. The renovation of buildings – which are mostly privately owned – has come to a standstill. Their owners or co-owners, if they are still able to, dream of rich tenants paying rent for several years in advance. And even if they were to obtain money in this way it is possible that rather than investing in the renovation or maintenance of the property, or spending money on reinvestment, they would choose instead to treat themselves to the luxury which they have been deprived of for the past fifty years.

za njihovo združevanje in njihov (prostorski) odnos do delovnih mest, storitev, zelenih površin itd. Pred več kot 15 leti sem v neki raziskovalni nalogi zapisal te uvodne misli: "Stanovanje, stanovanjsko območje ali sosesko in naselje (ali mesto) moramo v procesu planiranja, programiranja, graditve in uporabe obravnavati kot celoto, kot neprekinjeno verigo soodvisnosti." (gl. tudi str. 267 v avtorjevi knjigi *Urbanizem – bajke in resničnost*, CZ, Ljubljana 1980) V tem delu je bil urbanistični del priprave stanovanjske graditve in prenove povzet takole:

1. opredelitev območja v prostorskem in funkcionalnem smislu glede na: lego v mestu, razporeditev dejavnosti, prostorske značilnosti, pogoje okolja, razvojno strategijo mesta, ipd.;
2. analiza obstoječega prebivalstva (čim podrobnejša socialno-geografska, demografska in sociološka analiza bodisi neposredno – z anketiranjem ali iz dostopnih statističnih virov);
3. napoved bodočega prebivalstva po gospodinjskih in drugih značilnih strukturah;
4. ocena obstoječih in bodočih potreb in zahtev z ozirom na število stanovanj (po velikosti, tipih, ceni, opremljenosti, obliki lastništva, lokacije);
5. alokacija zemljišča za stanovanjsko rabo v skladu z gornjimi ugotovitvami;
6. zasnova rabe tal in organizacije prostora z ozirom na 'spremljajoče dejavnosti', infrastrukturo in druge sisteme (npr. sistem zelenih in prostih površin).

V primerih, ko imamo opraviti z obstoječim fondom, ki ga želimo ohraniti, je treba dodati še izhodišča za prenovo ter funkcionalne in prostorske soodvisnosti med starim in novim v naselju. Pri tem in načelno se seveda odpira vprašanje vloge in pomena sodelovanja s krajevno skupnostjo, ki na danem območju zastopa interese sedanjih in bodočih stanovalcev." (str. 269)

Če že govorimo o procesu priprave in če naj bi ta del uvodnika izzvenel v opozorilo o zahtevnosti in s tem o trajanju priprave, moramo ugotoviti, da gre pri opisanih metodoloških pristopih šele za t.i. **planerski del** priprave. Temu seveda sledi urbanistično-oblikovalski ali urbanistično-projektantski del priprave, ki ga ponavadi imenujemo izdelava in sprejem **zazidalnega načrta**. Temu delu priprave sledi (ali se z njim delno prekriva) arhitekturno- in gradbeno-projektantski del, ki je v svoji "idejni" fazi povezan z izdelavo **investicijskega programa**. (Vsemu temu pa je treba dodati še čas, ki je potreben za naložbeno-organizacijski in gradbeno-operativni del priprave...)

of social requirements and financial possibilities, the physical planning aspect is undoubtedly the principal consideration of any future housing construction or improvement. This has a bearing not only on the physical location of housing but also on its convergence and (spatial) relationship with employment, services, recreation areas, etc. In a research paper written more than 15 years ago I suggested that: "Housing, housing estates and urban residential areas (towns) must, in the process of planning, programming, construction and utilisation, be seen as an integrated whole and as an unbroken chain of co-dependence". (See also the author's book *Urban Planning – Fact or Fiction*, CZ, Ljubljana 1980, page 267). The urban planning dimension of the preparatory phase of housing construction and improvements was summed up as follows.

1. A definition of housing areas with respect to their location and functionality according to their position within an urban centre, types of business activities, spatial characteristics, environmental conditions, town-development strategy, etc.
2. Examination of the existent population (detailed socio-geographic, demographic and social research – either directly by means of a survey or using available statistical sources).
3. Projections on population growth according to households or other characteristic samples.
4. Assessment of existing or future requirements regarding the number of housing units (according to size, type, cost, furnishings, form of ownership, location).
5. Allocation of land for housing according to the above criteria.
6. Specification of land use and its organisation with respect to "accompanying activities", infrastructure and other schemes (recreation areas and free spaces).

When we consider the existing housing, which we want to preserve, we must also consider the additional aspects which relate to its renovation/improvement, as well as the functional and spatial co-dependence of the old and the new. Here we are confronted by a question of principle regarding the role and importance of collaboration with local communities, which represent in a given area the interests of present and future residents." (p. 269)

If this section of the introduction is to be a reminder of the complexity and duration of the preparation process, then we must realise that the methodological approaches already outlined are still only the **planning stage** of the preparations. This stage is naturally followed by the