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Sociological survey research Rehabilitation of housing estates in Ljubljana – Savsko naselje

1. Starting points of the sociological survey

Sociological polling had been envisaged as the starting point of the research Rehabilitation of housing estates in Ljubljana – Savsko naselje, covering assessments and viewpoints of the residents regarding their residential environment and (future) housing preferences. Preparation of the questionnaire, the polling, database design as well as analysis and interpretation of the results were entrusted to members of the Centre for spatial sociology at the Faculty of social sciences.

The questionnaire based on the survey research blueprint comprises the following sets of topics:

- Assessment of residential quality and orderliness of the entire neighbourhood,
- Set concerning rehabilitation of the neighbourhood,
- Set concerning residential quality of the buildings and especially dwelling occupied by the respondent, including questions about renovation of the house and particularly of the dwelling itself over the last 5 years, and questions about planned refurbishments,
- Set concerning future housing preferences of the respondents,
- Demography set including questions about the duration of residence in the neighbourhood and reasons for choosing to move into it.

Following the given sets, in the conclusion of the poll the respondents were offered an opportunity to tell us their personal views on topics covered by the poll, which were insufficiently dealt with in the questionnaire. They were invited to provide supplementary information, which in their mind, pertain to the topics of the survey research.

2. Methodology and survey undertaking

According to the 1991 census and due to the fact that the population of the targeted neighbourhood amounts to some 1200 people and that the household constitutes the basic unit of our research, we decided to use the random pattern methodology (See Thompson 2002) applied to half of all residential units (dwellings) embraced by the poll.

Anticipating evasiveness of respondents embraced by the random pattern who might claim »not to have time for the poll at the moment«, and considering positive experiences with self-polling during a previous research in the old part of Ljubljana (Re-Urban Mobil, 2004) covering similar topics, we decided for the same approach. It means that the poll-

sters submitted the questionnaires to the randomly selected respondents and arranged when to have them back. The respondents then filled in the questionnaire by themselves, which took them approximately 20 minutes. At the restitution of the questionnaire the pollster had the duty to verify whether it was completed correctly.

The poll was carried out without major problems in the second half of May 2004. 700 questionnaires were handed out to the pollsters, of which 650 were successfully distributed. 584 were returned, which means a 90 percent success rate. Such a high response rate can be explained on one hand by the topics contained in the questionnaire, which directly involved the day-to-day life of the respondents, and on the other hand by the respondents' fear that whoever commissioned the poll might »again ignore their will and build something « in their »beautiful, green, alluring neighbourhood« as was stated in the messages at the end of the questionnaire intended for the survey commissioner and those conducting the poll.

When designing the database for the poll results we were constrained to reduce the number of units to 553. The reason for eliminating of 32 questionnaires while designing the database lies in the fact that some respondents were not willing to answer the basic questions from the demography set (gender, age, number of family members, education, employment ...) because in their view »this is not an area connected with the rehabilitation«. They would also use less polite phrases like »it's none of your business«. As the absence of the basic demographic data about the respondent and the members of his/her household prevented us from using the answers to other questions in the analyses, we eliminated all such incomplete questionnaires. But we heeded their answers during the analysis of contents of the open questions.

3. Analysis of sociological survey results

In the following part we present the analysis results according to individual topical sets. During the analysis of the summary a series of topical cross-checking of variables were carried out. Insights obtained from cross-checking of variables, deemed statistically significant as well as relevant to research and survey, are presented within the analyses of individual topical sets. Insights most relevant to the progress of the rehabilitation scheme are additionally presented in the conclusion.

3.1 Evaluation of residential quality and management of the neighbourhood

In the introductory set of topics the respondents were put a block of questions related to their evaluation of the residential quality of the neighbourhood. We first asked »Would you recommend to someone who does not know your neighbourhood, to move into it?«, and got a high two-thirds of affirmative replies alongside a relatively high percentage (21,2 percent) of undecided ones. Only one eighth of the respondents would advise not to move into their neighbourhood. Considering demographic characteristics, respondents with higher combined monthly revenue per household and usually living in households with three to four people

composed of parents and children, stand out among respondents recommending moving in.

We continued by attempting to obtain from the respondents a comparative evaluation of the orderliness of the neighbourhood. The questions were »How would you evaluate the orderliness of your neighbourhood?« and »If you compare your neighbourhood with other Ljubljana's housing estates, do you find your neighbourhood...«. The results shown in Tables 1 and 2 reveal that the respondents evaluate their own neighbourhood as rather orderly, than disorderly. But

Table 1: Orderliness of the neighbourhood

1. Very disorderly	2,9%
2. Disorderly	9,1%
3. Neither orderly nor disorderly	41,0%
4. Orderly	44,3%
5. Very orderly	2,7%

Table 2: Comparison of the neighbourhood with other housing estates in Ljubljana

1. Much more derelict	2,2%
2. More derelict	6,9%
3. Like most other neighbourhoods in Ljubljana	58,8%
4. More orderly	29,7%
5. Considerably more orderly	2,4%

the fact is there is a relatively high proportion of »neither nor« answers connected with the first question, and a high proportion of answers »Like most other neighbourhoods in Ljubljana« connected with the second question. The reasons for this rather severe evaluation of the residential environment quality can be found in the question regarding (dis)satisfaction with the characteristics of the neighbourhood and with the disturbing phenomena as well as in the analysis of the open questions. It turned out that on one hand the tenants are aware of the relatively low density of settlement and of the abundance of green spaces as comparative qualities, but on the other hand they see the potential (comparative) quality of their residential environment reduced by chaotic parking conditions, poorly kept green plots, including children's playgrounds as well as by streets littered with garbage and canine excrements. Interestingly, the neighbourhood is deemed as a more orderly one by the respondents who live in rented or social housing.

Besides the quality evaluation of the neighbourhood we were also interested in the tenants' identification with their neighbourhood. In spite of many even poetically inspired descriptions of the quality of »the green and quiet neighbourhood« and »the only neighbourhood in the centre of Ljubljana not being run-down yet« in the vicinity of »the awful Zupančičeva jama« that accompanied the concluding question as well as the workshop with the tenants, which also abounded in similar statements, the degree of identification with the neighbourhood proved to be surprisingly low. It so happens that three-quarters of the respondents do not feel strongly attached to the neighbourhood (53,4 per cent) or do not feel attached to it at all (20,6 percent). On the other hand only 3,6 percent of the respondents feel

Table 3: (Dis)satisfaction with the characteristics of the neighbourhood

	Very dissatisfied %	Partly dissatisfied %	Rather satisfied %	Very satisfied %
1. Image of the neighbourhood	5,3	25,4	61,1	8,2
2. Neighbourhood density	13,7	32,8	43,0	10,6
3. Public passenger transport	6,6	18,2	46,8	28,4
4. Orderliness of public green spaces	13,5	26,8	47,2	12,5
5. Traffic regulation in the neighbourhood	28,3	32,6	32,6	6,5
6. Maintenance of roads and footways	10,0	27,4	53,6	9,0
7. Parking lots	60,2	23,7	12,0	4,1
8. Collection and removal of garbage	3,9	17,1	55,6	23,4
9. Kindergarten and elementary school	5,2	8,8	47,7	38,3
10. Children's playgrounds	23,4	28,3	33,6	14,7
11. Sports and recreation facilities	22,9	35,9	34,8	6,4
12. Retail stores supply	5,4	12,5	52,2	29,8
13. Catering services	6,2	12,6	58,1	23,1
14. Cleanliness of the neighbourhood	10,5	31,7	51,2	6,6
15. Maintenance of buildings in the neighbourhood	8,9	29,8	53,8	7,4
16. Management of your house	15,2	27,1	44,2	13,5
17. Quietness of the neighbourhood	12,1	22,4	48,1	17,4
18. Air quality	13,5	28,6	48,7	9,2
19. Other residents	5,0	18,3	56,9	19,8
20. Safety in the neighbourhood	10,5	27,0	52,7	9,8

very strong attachment and 22,4 percent feel strong attachment to the neighbourhood. The subsequent analysis demonstrates it is mainly older residents usually living longer periods of time in the neighbourhood who identify with it and also very outstandingly those residents who have lived all the time in the neighbourhood (as many as 53,6 percent of them feel strongly attached to their neighbourhood). Both groups as a rule involve home owners and not those living in rented tenancies and sub-tenancies.

The set involving the quality evaluation of the neighbourhood ends with two questions concerning individual characteristics of the neighbourhood and the frequency of disturbing phenomena in it. Table 3 demonstrates that the respondents are on the whole – except the parking facilities issue – quite satisfied with the majority of their neighbourhood’s characteristics. Besides the parking and traffic regulation issues they are particularly dissatisfied with the disorderliness of children’s playgrounds and the lack of sports and recreation facilities in the neighbourhood. They are also partly dissatisfied with the settlement density, cleanness of the neighbourhood and (dis)orderliness of public green spaces. The majority of respondents do not miss shops, restaurants, cafés etc. as they can meet their needs in the nearby Zupančičeva jama.

Evaluation of the critical characteristics of the neighbourhood replicates identically in the evaluation of disturbing phenomena in the neighbourhood. The latter highlights the entire traffic issue (insufficient parking facilities, traffic congestion, noisy traffic). Outstanding alongside the preceding issue is the issue of badly kept public spaces (poorly maintained children’s playgrounds, littered streets and green plots). But, judging from the answers, the neighbourhood is relatively secure from vandalism.

All things considered, the set of questions related to the quality evaluation of the neighbourhood shows that although the respondents are not particularly attached to the

neighbourhood, they still value it as a quality neighbourhood, but at the same time being aware of the problems that render it less alluring. The analysis of cross-checking demonstrates divergent evaluations of the neighbourhood characteristics due to generational and social differences. So among the younger respondents there is a larger proportion of those who miss sports and recreation facilities. Younger respondents also constitute the majority of an otherwise numerically small minority which would welcome more restaurants, bars and stores in the neighbourhood.

The degree of attachment to the neighbourhood, apart from depending on the duration of residence in it and home-ownership, also varies with respect to the revenues and social stratum of the respondents. Respondents with higher revenues and education feel less linked with the neighbourhood.

3.2 Rehabilitation of the neighbourhood

The quality evaluation of the neighbourhood is followed by the key set of the questionnaire which relates to the rehabilitation of the neighbourhood. The introductory question »Given that your neighbourhood was built years ago, do you think the neighbourhood as a whole needs rehabilitation?« shows that nearly two-thirds of the respondents (very urgently needs rehabilitation 14,4 percent, urgently needs rehabilitation 48,9 percent) realise the necessity of the rehabilitation, a good one-third is of opinion that rehabilitation is not necessary (does not need rehabilitation 28,4 percent, does not need rehabilitation at all 8,3 percent). 14,4 percent of the respondents have no opinion about this question. Besides those who have lived in the neighbourhood since they were born, the group embracing the necessity of renewal is further composed of mainly younger, economically active respondents, usually coming from three to four member households of two generations with higher revenues. Those living in the neighbourhood less than 15 years also belong to this group. The elderly and the pensioners from one to

Table 4: Frequency of disturbing phenomena

	Never %	Sometimes %	Often %	Continually %
1. Poorly maintained children’s playgrounds	8,0	42,1	30,6	19,3
2. Traffic congestion	19,9	39,8	30,0	10,3
3. Noisy neighbours	18,6	57,6	18,6	5,3
4. Noisy passers-by	18,5	54,1	21,2	6,2
5. Noisy stores, restaurants and clubs	65,8	26,2	6,5	1,5
6. Graffiti on the walls	37,9	48,0	11,4	2,7
7. Insufficient parking facilities	4,9	15,9	19,5	59,7
8. Littered streets (garbage, canine excrements)	6,4	35,1	32,3	26,3
9. Littered green plots	7,7	41,0	32,0	19,3
10. Traffic noise	14,3	40,7	23,5	21,6
11. Stolen or ruined mail	60,3	32,4	5,5	1,7
12. Break-ins into cars (including attempts)	16,4	57,7	20,2	5,7
13. Break-ins into cellars (including attempts)	27,0	58,0	11,8	3,2
14. Break-ins into homes (including attempts)	39,4	52,6	5,7	2,3
15. Smell of exhaust gases	19,0	40,6	22,4	18,0

two member households prevail in the group of respondents who believe that renewal is not necessary (at all), together with the respondents with lower revenues and level of education.

Along with the opinion about the rehabilitation, we also wanted to know whether the tenants were ready to participate in the renewal and who should conduct the renewal of the neighbourhood. Therefore we put two questions: »Would you personally be ready to participate in the rehabilitation?« and »In your opinion who should conduct the rehabilitation?«

As to their readiness to participate, half of the respondents (49,4 per cent) replied not to know and not to have thought about it. 23,4 percent are not ready to participate in the rehabilitation, 27,2 percent, however, expressed their wish to personally take part in it. Analysing the cross-checking of the variables showed us that the respondents ready to personally participate are people who have jobs and have lived in the neighbourhood from the beginning or at least for 6 to 30 years, and who belong to households composed of three or more people having higher combined monthly incomes and, finally, are home-owners or occupy social housing. Considering age groups, the group of respondents aged between 31 and 40 years clearly stands out with their readiness for personal participation in the renewal. The level of readiness augments with the level of education. Amidst the half who do not know and have not thought about it respectively, the elderly, the less educated and those living less time in the neighbourhood, stand out slightly.

Answering the question about how to manage the rehabilitation, a good half (51,9 percent) opted for the suggestion envisaging the creation of a group composed of the repre-

Table 5: What needs to be renovated and re-built respectively? (Top 12)

	Necessary %	Neither necessary nor unnecessary %	Unnecessary %
1. Children's playground	69,3	14,5	16,2
2. Public green plots	67,6	16,8	15,7
3. Encourage residents to take care of the environment	67,0	21,2	15,3
4. Municipal services should take better care of the environment	65,8	19,2	15,0
5. Public garages	64,7	15,8	19,5
6. Facades	60,1	17,5	22,4
7. Sheltered housing	55,2	23,3	20,5
8. Video monitoring for improved safety	52,8	21,5	26,1
9. E-point	50,4	23,8	25,8
10. Cultural & social club	50,1	25,5	24,4
11. Complete thermal insulation of houses	47,8	22,0	30,2
12. More »ecological islands«	47,3	24,7	28,0

sentatives of the tenants and all professions involved in the renewal, while a trifle less than a quarter (23,2 percent) would let the renewal be managed by the devolved services of Ljubljana's municipal authorities. The analysis of cross-checking demonstrates that the option of an interdisciplinary group receives support from the respondents featuring similar characteristics as the respondents who belong to the segment expressing readiness to personally participate in the renewal. Letting the rehabilitation be managed by the devolved services of Ljubljana's municipal authorities is preferred by the elder, less educated respondents who live in social housing and rented dwellings and belong to less affluent households.

The set of questions on rehabilitation also contained the following control question »Experiences in many towns show that in badly maintained neighbourhoods the value of properties decreases. Do you think it may also happen in your neighbourhood?«. The question was intended to verify to what extent the respondents are really aware of the neighbourhood life cycle and its linkage to property value. Replies to the control question indicate that nearly two-thirds of the respondents (62,7 percent) believe that the (normal) reduction of the quality of the residential environment due to lacking rehabilitation, does not apply to their neighbourhood. This opinion is a little more noticeably sustained by the elderly and by those who live longer in the neighbourhood respectively.

With the second control question we wanted to test the respondents' views regarding the use of building materials injurious to health. The question is worded as follows »Sometimes it turns up that building materials were used that are injurious to health during the construction of older housing estates. Do you think your neighbourhood may be one of these cases?«. Answers were not quite unexpected. Respondents were divided into three proportionally nearly identical groups, and only a minority opted for the pessimistic possibility on the scale (it certainly is/it certainly isn't). Thus 36,5 percent of them think it is not probable, 33,1 percent believe that it is probable and 30,4 percent simply admit they have no idea what the situation in the case of their neighbourhood is like. An in-depth analysis of answers to this control question demonstrates that here we have to deal more with individual personal characteristics along the pessimists-optimists divide than with the views based on personal past residential experiences or demographic facts.

In the question which is deemed crucial considering its content, we enumerated 26 options (See question 17) that, in the opinion of the interdisciplinary project group, are critical to the development and as such can constitute the subject of the rehabilitation. Additionally, we gave the respondents the possibility of a supplementary open question. Table 5 displays the first 12 options on the rating list. These are the options, which were in more than half of the cases selected by the respondents as requiring renovation or new solutions.

For better comprehension of the options rating determined by the respondents, the following question is a key one »How important for you are the enumerated qualities of life in an urban environment?«. In Figure 1 we can see proportionally displayed options under the heading »very important« which was the answer of more than a half of the respondents in five cases in a four-grade scale (»utterly unimportant, partly unimportant, rather important, very important«).

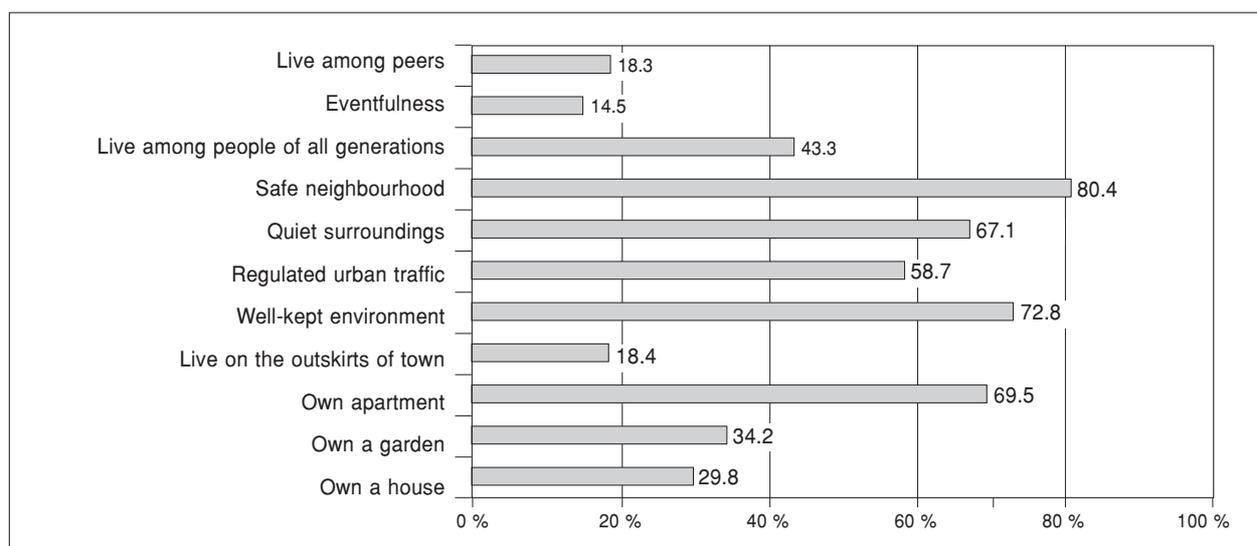


Figure 1: What do the respondents regard as quality of life in an urban environment?

The figure shows that the respondents value as basic components of a quality life in an urban environment living as home owners in a safe and quiet neighbourhood with orderly and well-kept environment. Therefore it is not surprising that the respondents place emphasis on the maintaining in good order of children’s playgrounds and public green areas, as well as on the improving safety in a neighbourhood with an otherwise relatively low occurrence of vandalism.

Within the set of questions about renewal we also inquired about possible financial sources to enable the rehabilitation »On what conditions would you agree to construction of additional housing at your housing estate? Please state your conditions (e.g. construction of underground garage, better regulation of public passenger traffic, favourable loan schemes for renovation of existing houses etc.)«. The suggested possibility to finance at least a part of the renewal through additional house building triggered stormy reactions among the respondents, leading to three-quarters of the respondents deciding for the option »On no account«. Such reactions were also confirmed by the mass presence at a workshop, which was brought about mainly by the suggested possibility. The remaining quarter of the respondents who approved of additional house building, stated 180 different conditions. It should be taken into account that each

respondent was allowed to state more than one condition. Table 6 displays a review of conditions arranged by topics stated 5 or more times.

The stated conditions show that the minority, which on principle agrees to additional house building, primarily wants in return for this concession the tackling of parking problems in the neighbourhood and affordable home ownership. The results of cross-checking indicate that opposition to building new homes grows proportionately to the duration of residence in the neighbourhood and the residents’ age. The possibility of building new homes enjoys greater support with the respondents from four+ person households and with the tenants in rented dwellings, but even in these groups support does not exceed 40 percent. The very markedly expressed opposition is often corroborated by messages to the authors of the survey in the concluding part of the poll in which they ask them not to ruin »one of the few quality neighbourhoods in Ljubljana«.

In connection with the suggested rehabilitation we were naturally also keen to learn in what way the respondents would be ready to participate, so we inserted the following question into the set »Maintenance and rehabilitation of the neighbourhood require additional financial resources. Would you be ready...«, at which point we offered the respondents four options. Answers to the question are shown in the Table 7.

Table 6: Conditions for building additional dwellings (N = 131)

Condition:	Frequency:
Build an underground garage	37
Favourable loan schemes	26
Tackle parking lots	23
Renovation of old buildings	19
Build garages	16
Improve public passenger transport	11
Bring attics into use/Build extensions	8
More green plots/playgrounds	6
Affordable dwelling prices	5

Although we also included maintenance and not only rehabilitation into the question, the proportion of respondents who are not ready to invest in whatever way into the main-

Table 7: Taking part in the rehabilitation

1. Yes, I am ready to pay for the maintenance and rehabilitation of the neighbourhood	16,4%
2. I am ready to contribute my labour to the maintenance and rehabilitation	22,6%
3. I am ready to contribute my knowledge to the maintenance and rehabilitation	16,6%
4. I am not ready to invest into the maintenance and rehabilitation of the neighbourhood	44,4%

tenance and rehabilitation is relatively high. Among the respondents not willing to invest, those who live in the neighbourhood less than six years stand out (44,4 percent) and those who live in it 31 years or longer (58,2 percent). As to the age groups, investments are rejected by the younger than 30 years (46,5 percent) and even more explicitly by the respondents older than 56 to 65 (50,7 percent) as well as by those aged 66 and over (62,4 percent).

Upon analysis of the remaining three options we find out that the minority ready to pay for the maintenance and rehabilitation is mostly composed of those being employed and aged from 21 to 40 years, holding bachelor's or masters degree, and who live in the neighbourhood from 6 to 30 years in 3+ member households. The respondents with further education (44,2 percent) aged from 31 to 65 years and outstandingly those aged from 41 to 55 years (34,1 percent) are ready to participate by contributing their labour. The younger ones (up to 40 years) and with higher education, who as a rule live a shorter period of time in the neighbourhood, are willing to contribute their knowledge to the maintenance and rehabilitation.

The factor which most distinctly determines the readiness to participate and the ways of participation in the maintenance and rehabilitation is the household's combined monthly revenue. It naturally depends first all on the level of education of the respondents and members of their household respectively, but it also depends on the household size. Thus more than a half of the respondents whose household's combined monthly revenue does not attain 830 €, are not ready to invest in the maintenance and rehabilitation. Among all 514 respondents who answered the question concerning the amount of the household's combined monthly incomes, the group which does not attain the threshold of 830 € represents 43,4 percent. On the other hand only a quarter of the respondents whose combined monthly incomes per household attains 1.245 € or more, were not ready to invest in the maintenance and rehabilitation. They represent a little less than one-third (30,9 percent) of all respondents who answered the question about the combined monthly incomes of the household.

Even though the proportions of the respondents ready to participate in one way or another in the maintenance and rehabilitation are relatively modest, given that they do not normally exceed one-third of all respondents, they nonetheless constitute a sufficient motivating force for the advance of the research project in the direction of its implementation. Aside from clear mistrust of the Municipality of Ljubljana, as well as of the expert interdisciplinary group involved in the research project, the key issue is essentially financial incapacity of the tenants to (co)finance the rehabilitation. The poll namely finds that approximately just one-third of the respondents are financially capable to finance high level maintenance and the rehabilitation. (On the mistrust issue see Kos 2002: 40-42)

The set of questions regarding the rehabilitation was concluded with a question on tackling parking facilities. One-tenth of the respondents replied that parking constitutes no problem at all in the neighbourhood. They represent an elderly group of respondents who as rule do not own a car. Other respondents, who are car owners, see two solutions to the problem: building a public garage in the neighbourhood or renting and buying the vacant garages in the neighbouring Zupančičeva jama. In both cases the respondents

expect to rent or buy on favourable terms. The older residents who have been in the neighbourhood longer and live in one or two member households are keener to rent or buy garages in the neighbouring neighbourhood. But more educated and younger respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood shorter time are more enthusiastic about the building of a parking house. Parking space ownership is again the choice of older residents from households with a greater number of members and who have lived in the neighbourhood a longer period of time. Tackling parking is by all means, in view of the respondents, one of the main issues which the rehabilitation should cope with. It would be an attempt towards improving the quality of the residential environment. This attitude is reflected in all the answers of the questionnaire and was also present in the discussion at the workshop realised in the neighbourhood.

3.3 Quality of housing and maintenance

The third set of questions in the poll relates to the quality of dwelling and particularly the dwelling occupied by the respondent. It also includes questions about renovation of the building and dwelling carried out over the past 5 years, as well as about the planned renovations. The set opens with the data on the size and type of dwelling. The question on the size of dwelling was answered by 517 respondents. Others gave no answers as they were not aware of this data. As a rule, these respondents live in rented housing.

The data on the size and type of dwellings acquired by polling essentially agree with the factual situation obtained by research colleagues from the Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia through analysis of the projects and by field inventory. The neighbourhood stands out as having a relatively low population density alongside a relatively high density of residential units. According to the poll results the average dwelling size amounts to 54 square meters (standard deviation being 14.7). The minimum size is 18 square meters and maximum size, stated in the poll, amounts to 120 square meters. As to the number of rooms, two-room flats (43,6 percent) and one-room flats (35,3) prevail in the neighbourhood. The proportion of more spacious flats is relatively low (14 percent).

The analysis of demographic characteristics of the tenants by types of dwellings reveals that bigger flats are occupied by the respondents with higher education and consequently higher monthly household incomes, and by respondents who have been living for a longer period of time in the neighbourhood. Smaller flats (up to 39 and 49 square meters) are mainly occupied by younger respondents, the respondents living in the neighbourhood less than 5 years and by tenants in rented housing. Students stand out among the tenants of smaller dwellings. As a whole, students are not a very numerous population, but judging from the statements made by the workshop participants, a disturbing one for the »old settlers«. They are particularly disturbed by a comparatively higher degree of motorisation of the student tenants. It is interesting to note that of all the respondents who live alone, half live in flats bigger than 50 square meters and a little less than one-third (31,4 percent) live in flats bigger than 60 square meters. But only a small number of 3+ member households occupy smaller dwellings. With respect to the poll results we can claim that the housing shortage caused by insufficient size of dwellings is not particularly noticeable in the neighbourhood.

We then asked the respondents about the degree of satisfaction with the qualities of their housing. As shown in Table 8 the respondents are for the most part »rather satisfied« or »very satisfied« with their dwelling as a whole, with the position of rooms, illumination and infrastructural utilities. Their dissatisfaction is mainly over the quality of construction and the number of rooms.

The most satisfied with the dwelling as a whole are the pensioners, only an eighth of them are not satisfied with their dwelling on the whole; they share this degree of contentment with respondents with lowest incomes. The younger respondents living in the neighbourhood, either from the beginning or a shorter period of time, are dissatisfied with the size of their dwelling as are the respondents from households with four members or more.

Apart from satisfaction with the dwelling, we were also interested in what utilities they contain. Besides the fact that most dwellings possess cable TV hook-ups (83,3 percent) as well as balconies (80,3 percent), it turned out that a relatively large proportion of households is connected to the internet (54,8 percent). But there are fewer dwellings having soundproof windows (27,1 percent), and less than one tenth had air conditioners (9,1 percent).

Analysing the access to internet we find it is an infrastructural utility which is to the greatest extent determined by the age and education of the respondents. As many as 69 percent of the respondents younger than 30 years, 62,5 percent of the respondents aged from 31 to 40 years and 64,9 percent of the respondents aged from 41 to 55 years have access to the internet in their dwelling, whilst the proportion related to the respondents older than 66 years is only 25,7 percent. The latter fact compared with the Slovenian average still indicates a high level of informatisation of the elderly population (see Trček 2004/2005). Within the minority having air conditioners stand out the respondents with highest incomes living in the neighbourhood for 16 to 30 years. The situation is similar in the case of soundproof windows.

At the close of the set about dwelling quality we put a block of questions relating to renovation works realised over the last five years in the building and in the flat. Renovations most often involved roofs (48,6 percent), CTV networks (48,5 percent), staircases and entrances (42,1 percent). The respondents are satisfied with the renovations made at buildings. As to the dwellings, the respondents have over

the past five years by far most often painted them (83,9 percent), changed the radiators (37 percent) and windows (35,7 percent), got connected to internet (34,2 percent) and refurbished kitchens (37,3 percent) and bathrooms (30,2 percent). The analysis of renovations shows they have occurred more frequently in households with a higher number of family members and with higher revenue.

According to the statements of the respondents who answered the question, they plan renovations at 40,2 percent of the buildings and in 59,3 percent of the dwellings. Among the works to be done stand out renewals of facades (32,2 percent), roofs (13,7 percent) and staircases (9,8 percent). The most frequent works the respondents are planning for the future are besides painting (12,7 percent) also windows replacements (19,3 percent), refurbishments of bathrooms (17,2 percent), alterations of flooring (5,3 percent) and installation of air conditioners (4,9 percent). The respondents who gave reasons for not planning renovation over the next five years at the building or in the dwelling, mostly state alongside the answer »there is no need/it has been renovated/it is O.K., lacking finances and tenants' approval of the renovation of buildings.

Considering the set of questions on the quality of dwellings and their renovation as a whole, we find on one hand that the respondents are mainly satisfied with the quality of their housing, but on the other hand we see that a household's revenue is virtually the main factor determining the (infra-structure) quality of housing, as well as the capacity to maintain and refurbish. Consequently the more affluent, more educated and as a rule the younger are more inclined to criticise the residential quality of the neighbourhood as well as their own housing quality.

3.4 Future housing preferences

The final topical set of the questionnaire was designed to find out about the future residential priorities of the respondents. We were particularly keen to learn whether they are planning to move away or wish to solve their housing problems within the neighbourhood. The latter is almost impossible, relative to the present supply of housing in the neighbourhood

The vast majority of the respondents answered the question »Do you wish to move to another flat within your

Table 8: Satisfaction with the dwelling

	Very dissatisfied %	Partly dissatisfied %	Rather satisfied %	Very satisfied %
1. Position of the dwelling	4,3	12,0	45,0	38,7
2. Its size	10,3	18,4	47,6	23,8
3. Disposition of spaces	10,2	22,2	45,4	22,2
4. Number of rooms	12,2	27,0	42,3	18,5
5. Quality of construction	20,7	35,4	36,2	7,7
6. Illumination of the dwelling	4,5	12,5	50,6	32,5
7. Infrastructure (electricity, heating, cable TV)	2,5	11,6	51,6	34,3
8. Maintenance of the building	10,5	25,6	51,1	12,8
9. Dwelling on the whole	1,9	11,9	67,2	19,0

neighbourhood« by responding »by no means« (40,2 percent), and »not likely« (43,9 percent). But this option seems a probability to 15,9 per cent of the respondents. Moving within the neighbourhood is an option for less than a quarter of those who live in it less than 16 years and for those who live in it from the beginning (17,4 percent). In both cases the respondents belong to the under 40 age group. The question »Do you wish to move to another residential neighbourhood« got similar answers. A good fifth of the respondents consider moving into another neighbourhood. From the demographic point of view this group is nearly identical with the one preferring to move inside the neighbourhood. The only outstanding group is the one with the respondents having the highest income and education. Answers to both questions indicate that an appropriate rehabilitation policy involving extensions, would provide a solution to housing problems for a majority of those who expressed a wish to move.

The next question relating to eventual plans for removal received 16,1 percent of affirmative answers. The reasons for moving away most often mentioned are as follows: a bigger flat (16,6 percent), family size is about to increase (8,7 percent), acquisition of an own detached house (9,6 percent) or own flat (8,7 percent) and a wish to live in a more orderly (7,9 percent) and safe (6,6 percent) residential environment. Moving has been planned by a quarter of the respondents who live in the neighbourhood less than 5 years or from 6 to 15 years, by a quarter of the respondents from age groups up to 30 years and from 30 to 40 years and by a quarter of the respondents with the highest level of education. The advance in age sharply reduces the proportion of those who are planning to move, thus only 7 respondents among those above 56 years of age intend to move away. 40 percent of the tenants also plan to move out of the neighbourhood. The factor which most decisively determines plans for moving, are the combined monthly incomes, thus 37 percent of the respondents on the highest incomes (more than 400.000 SIT/1.660) intend to move.

The respondents who do not consider moving, most frequently mention the following reasons besides the fact »I feel well in this environment« (15 percent) : vicinity of the town centre (16,2 percent), vicinity of the railway and bus station (9,1 percent), peacefulness of the neighbourhood (8,9 percent), short distance to the place of work (7,4 percent) and the fact that the other flat would be too expensive (8,9 percent). If we compare the answers about future housing priorities with the answers about attachment to the neighbourhood, we can produce a thesis that a great number of respondents are in effect trapped in the neighbourhood as they do not have financial resources to improve the quality of their residential environment, with the exception made for those who have been in the neighbourhood 31 years or longer. These are mostly pensioners who are largely satisfied with their housing and the residential environment on the whole.

3.5 Demographic characteristics and the rehabilitation project

Comparing demographic characteristics of the respondents with the latest available statistical data on the tenants in the neighbourhood (1991 census) and with the information obtained from the interviews with the tenants and house managers, we may claim that the random pattern of 553 ran-

domly selected respondents corresponds to the chief characteristics of the neighbourhood population. Continuing with the demography set we present some demographic characteristics, which are relevant to the continuation of the project and will have to be heeded when eventual plans for the policy and implementation of the rehabilitation will be made.

If we first look into account the duration of dwelling in the neighbourhood, we find that as many as 40,5 percent of all the respondents have been in the neighbourhood »31 years or longer« or »have been here from the beginning«. A little less than one-third (31,3 percent) of the respondents have lived in the neighbourhood less than 5 years and 13,6 percent of them for 5 to 15 years. Most of them live in rented dwellings or in social housing provided by the Municipality of Ljubljana. They constitute two large groups which are often opposed to each other when it comes to tackling housing issues. »The old settlers« prefer keeping the neighbourhood as it is, but wish to see the environment put in order and parking issues sorted out. The other group also wishes to alter their tenure.

The group of respondents who reside in the neighbourhood a longer period of time mostly live in two or one member households. The poll brought up the fact, which caught our attention during the field interviews with the tenants and house managers, i.e. that an average household size was less than two members. So the poll finds that one quarter of the respondents live alone (24,9 percent), 34 percent live in two member households, the remaining two fifths belong to the three member (21,1 percent) and the four+ member households (20,1 percent). It should also be noted that the households composed of 5 persons represent only 3 percent of all the households included in polling.

As for the age, half of the respondents are younger than 41 years, (25,5 percent up to 30 years and 25,5 percent from 31 to 40 years), followed by 16 percent of the respondents aged from 41 to 55 years and 15 percent of the respondents aged from 56 to 65 years. 18 per cent of the respondents are older than 65 years. The average age of the respondents is 45 years; the average age of the second household member is 40 years. The average age of the other persons in the three+ households is between 18 and 20 years. It means that the prevailing pattern in multigenerational households are parents with one or two children in their late teens. The situation differs in the social housing owned by the Municipality of Ljubljana where younger families prevail. Taking into account the age structure, the economic activity of the respondents is not surprising; 48,3 percent are employees, 31,6 percent are pensioners, 11,8 percent are students and 8,3 percent are other. The unemployed and occasionally employed account for 5,3 percent.

From the perspective of (co)financing the rehabilitation, the data on the combined monthly incomes of all household members is undoubtedly important. This question received a high 93 percent proportion of answers from the respondents. Taking into account the results and supposing that 300.000 SIT (1.245) and more of monthly income is the limit allowing for the tenants to finance the rehabilitation, it becomes evident that as many as 69,1 percent of all the respondents do not attain this limit. Alongside this data it also turned up that nearly half of all the respondents (43,4 percent) do not attain even 200.000 SIT (830) of the monthly household income.

If income based stratification of the households is linked to the answers concerning the questions about eventual and planned removals, we may come to the conclusion that the moving out scenario involves the respondents who can afford it. It means that vacancies will be occupied by financially less successful new tenants or that especially smaller dwellings will be intended for letting, which is not a novelty in the neighbourhood. Without carrying out a complete rehabilitation accompanied by appropriate credit facilities, we assume (after assessing the tenants' potential for maintenance and renovation) that in the next decade the quality of maintenance will decline and consequently property value in the neighbourhood will reduce correspondingly. The disgruntled tenants of a neighbourhood in the process of decay will then be blockading through rejection and protests every inclusion of the neighbourhood into overall rehabilitation projects run by the Municipality of Ljubljana.

4. Concluding remarks

As this paper presented in detail the survey results and the results of the secondary analyses, the conclusion now outlines the key findings relevant to the progress of the rehabilitation project, which should be heeded as an expert ground for planning the rehabilitation implementation:

1. The respondents assess their neighbourhood as a rather orderly one, but not exceedingly standing out with respect to the other neighbourhoods in Ljubljana. On one hand they realise that the relatively low settlement density and the abundance of green areas are comparative qualities of the neighbourhood, but on the other hand the chaotic parking habits, badly kept green areas including children's playgrounds and streets littered with rubbish and canine excrements reduce the potential (comparative) quality of their residential environment.
2. In spite of many lyrically inspired descriptions of the quality of the »green and quiet neighbourhood« and »besides Prule the only neighbourhood in the centre of Ljubljana not yet devastated« in the vicinity of the »awful Zupančičeva jama« in the concluding question, there is a surprisingly low degree of attachment to the neighbourhood. It is the elderly residents who usually live in the neighbourhood longer periods of time, who identify with it, and very outstandingly, the respondents who live in the neighbourhood all the time. As a rule both groups of respondents involve home owners and not tenants in rented housing or subtenants.
3. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents are aware of the necessity of the rehabilitation, a good one-third is of opinion that the rehabilitation is not necessary, and 14,4 percent of the respondents have no opinion about this question. The group believing the rehabilitation is a must is composed of those who dwell in the neighbourhood since they were born, especially the younger, economically active respondents who normally come from the three and four member households including two generations and having higher revenue. To this group additionally belong those who reside in the neighbourhood less than 15 years. Prevailing among the respondents who think the rehabilitation is not necessary (at all), are the elderly and pensioners from the one or two member households as well as the respondents on lower incomes and with lower level of education. The latter are also less critical in their evaluation of the neighbourhood qualities and, comparatively speaking, more satisfied with their dwelling than the advocates of the rehabilitation.
4. The readiness to personally participate in the renovation process was expressed by the respondents who are employed and live in the neighbourhood from the beginning or from 6 to 30 years. They come from the three+ member households with higher combined monthly incomes, own their homes or live in social housing. The respondents aged from 31 to 40 years stand out among the age groups for their high degree of readiness to participate in person. The degree of readiness increases in parallel with the degree of education. Half of the respondents have not yet formed an opinion about their participation; in the group slightly older members, the less educated and those who have been less time in the neighbourhood, prevail.
5. Nearly two thirds of the respondents are of opinion that the normal process which reduces the residential environment quality unless the environment is regenerated has no impact on their neighbourhood. Such an opinion is supported to a greater extent by the elderly residents and those living in the neighbourhood rather a long time respectively.
6. For comprehending the rating of options related to the rehabilitation which is assisted by the respondents, there is one key question »How important are for you the enumerated qualities of life in an urban environment«. The respondents expose the following qualities as »Very important«: living as home owners in a safe and quiet neighbourhood with orderly and well-kept environment. Therefore it is not surprising that the respondents place emphasis on keeping in good order children's playgrounds and public green areas as well as on improving safety in a neighbourhood with a relatively low occurrence of vandalism.
7. The suggested possibility to finance at least a part of the rehabilitation through supplemental house building triggered stormy reactions among the respondents and tenants which showed up in the questionnaire where three-quarters of the respondents decided for the option »On no account«. Such reactions were also confirmed by mass presence at a workshop brought about, first of all, by the suggested possibility.
8. The minority, which on principle agrees to additional house building, primarily wishes in return for this concession the tackling of the parking problems in the neighbourhood and affordable home ownership. The opposition to building new dwellings grows proportionately to the duration of residence in the neighbourhood and residents' age.
9. The factor which most distinctly determines the readiness to participate and the ways of participation in the maintenance and rehabilitation is the household's combined monthly revenue. It naturally depends primarily on the level of education of the respondents and members of their household respectively, but it also depends on the household size.
10. Even though the proportions of respondents ready to participate in one way or another in the maintenance and rehabilitation are relatively modest given that they do not normally exceed one-third of all the respondents, they nonetheless constitute a sufficient motivating force for the advance of the research project in the direction of its implementation.
11. Aside from the clear mistrust of the Municipality of Ljubljana as well as of the expert interdisciplinary group involved into the research project, the key issue

is essentially financial incapacity of the tenants to (co)finance the rehabilitation. The poll results namely indicate that approximately just one-third of the respondents are financially capable to finance the maintenance of the neighbourhood at a higher level and the rehabilitation.

12. A missed implementation of the rehabilitation probably means a moving out scenario involving the respondents who can afford it. It also means that vacancies will be occupied by financially less successful new tenants or that especially smaller dwellings will be intended for letting, which is not a novelty in the neighbourhood now.
13. Without carrying out a complete rehabilitation accompanied by appropriate credit facilities, we assume, assessing the tenants potential for maintenance and renovation, that in the next decade the quality of maintenance will decline and consequently property value in the neighbourhood will reduce correspondingly. The disgruntled residents of a neighbourhood in the process of decay, will then be blockading through rejection and protests every inclusion of the neighbourhood into overall rehabilitation projects by the Municipality of Ljubljana.
14. Considering the results of the survey and the analysis of the interviews with the residents at the workshop, we suggest a gradual implementation of the rehabilitation whereby the initially renovated parts of the neighbourhood would act as a motivating force acquiring sympathies for the rehabilitation of the remaining not yet renovated parts.
15. In our view the quartet of apartment buildings in Črtomirova Street (n^o 2, 3, 4 and 5) would be an acceptable and manageable initial block to be rehabilitated. According to the statements made by the tenants' representatives the residents of the said block already consider the necessity to regenerate the facades and harmonise the glazing of their balconies. Therefore we suggest that the Municipality of Ljubljana help to implement a thorough rehabilitation of this block by means of credit facilities and co-financing. Besides it would be necessary to first tackle the parking problem on the corner of Vilharjeva and Topniška streets which is most densely inhabited and has the most of the stationary traffic.

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Changing the quality of living and housing (residential) mobility in Ljubljana:

Increase of social instability in larger housing estates?

1. Urbanisation and the dynamics of residential mobility of the inhabitants of Ljubljana after World War 2

The highest growth of urban population in Slovenia was seen at the end of the seventies of the 20th century. Despite the detached or private housing type prevailing in suburban areas of the bigger cities (Ljubljana, Maribor), which represented a more readily available ^[1] and cheaper way of fulfilling housing needs due to inclusion of own labour, materials and in most cases also own land, socially organised construction of multi dwelling housing estates in the cities represented was important factor in the after-war urbanisation process in Slovenia.

Social housing construction ^[2] was especially intensive in the cities where individual building was significantly restricted by lack of building plots and nationalisation of land. For this reason the portion of newly built communal dwellings – flats in the former five municipalities of Ljubljana annually reached between 60% and 90% (Rebrnik, 2002: 464). Construction of communal housing started to decrease after 1985, with another turning point occurring after Slovenia gained independence in 1991. The decrease of social housing construction should be attributed to the abandoning of the existing Housing financing system (1989), introduction of the new Housing Bill (1991) that opened the possibility of privatisation of the housing stock and the increase of »profit-based« market-oriented housing construction.

The legacy of intensive construction in the period 1960–1985 is the quantity of dwellings – flats in relatively large housing estates that today in most cases need renovation. As the property market is coming alive the differences in quality of living in older, not renovated housing estates as opposed to the newly constructed ones, becomes even more important. There is a real danger that the decrease of the quality of living will be accompanied by the moving out of economically stronger groups of residents and consequently decrease of the socially heterogeneous makeup and therefore increase of social instability (concentration of socially weaker social groups) in some of the bigger housing estates in Ljubljana. In this context we used a public opinion research to analyse how changes in the quality of living in larger housing estates affect housing mobility and readiness of the inhabitants to relocate.

Housing mobility, described in this paper as intra-urban relocation of the population with the aim of assuring better living environment, was low in the period just after the Second World War.^[3] That period was mostly marked by rural-