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IV. Recent Urban Processes

CITY CHALLENGE: INVOLVING THE COMMUNITY IN UK URBAN POLICY?

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The decline of large parts of the major British cities has produced a range of central and local government responses. The main thrust of official Urban Policy was based on property-led regeneration and market forces (e.g. Urban Development Corporations) in the 1980s. City Challenge was a significant departure in 1991 for its emphasis on local partnership in a competition for central government support of £37.5m over 5 years. In 1991, 11 winners were chosen and a further 20 were added in 1992. The initial scheme was welcomed in allowing local government to propose programmes with a stress on quality of life issues like training, health, reduction of crime and housing improvement. The scheme has been criticised by those Urban Priority Areas whose funds have been cut to pay for the "winners" and for the selection methods, the priority given to private investors, the small areas covered by schemes and the standardisation of programmes. An emerging criticism addressed here is that the delivery of City Challenge is taking less account of the needs of the communities and will thus not have a long term impact.

INTRODUCTION: BRITISH URBAN PROBLEMS

Demographic, economic, political and social changes over the past thirty years have had a profound effect on the relative prosperity of the core areas of Britain's largest cities. Central Business Districts (CBDs) have usually retained their attractiveness for offices for information-hungry services and for upscale shopping developments. However, the surrounding zones have become characterised by a landscape dominated by derelict land and poor housing, occupied by a population with high levels of social disadvantage. There has been a wide range of processes involved in the creation of such conditions - many of them closely interconnected - but their main features can be summarised in terms of population loss, economic decline, physical decay and social disintegration (for greater detail see LAWLESS (1989), ROBSON (1988), ROBSON et al (1994)).

The loss of population from the inner areas of Britain's cities has been a clear trend since the 1960s. The inner districts of London, for example, recorded an average annual population decline of 0.8% in 1961-66, rising to a peak of 2.0% in 1971-76 and only returning to near balance in the 1980s (ROBSON 1988). At a more general level, the results of the 1991 census suggest that the major metropolitan areas lost over one third of a million people during 1981-91, while the rest of the country gained one and a half million (ROBSON 1994). Some of this loss reflects suburbanisation and counterurbanisation, another element is inter-regional migration (particularly from Northern industrial cities) and there is also the influence of lower rates of population

growth nationally - through lower levels both of natural increase and of international immigration. Where migration from the inner areas has occurred, it has been selective in terms of class, age-group, income and race, so that the residents remaining are more likely to be in the lower socio-economic groups, either very young or very old, poor and members of ethnic minorities.

The loss of jobs is both a cause and an effect of the demographic decline just summarised. It has also occurred at a more rapid rate - while inner city population levels in 1981 were 65% of their 1951 figure, the number of jobs there had fallen to 55% of the 1951 total (BEGG, MOORE & RHODES 1986). In the case of manufacturing activity, this fall has an important national component, as industrial employment has been falling since 1966 and this was especially marked in the recession of 1980-83, during which about one third of all jobs disappeared. However, there is also an intra-regional dimension with a shift of investment from the sites of early industrialisation (orientated towards canal and rail transport) towards greenfield locations with greater accessibility to motorways and airports. The relative costs of new development have also been important, with expensive city centre land being less attractive for many factories, especially if modern standards of provision of car parking and landscaping are to be achieved. The same calculation applies to parts of the service sector too, so that back-office functions and major retail developments have been located on the urban fringes, alongside the expanding clusters of local services for the growing suburban population. Although this trend has not gone so far as to produce the "Edge Cities" of the USA - even with the easing of planning controls in these sorts of areas in the early 1980s - there is real competition between out-of-town shopping and/or office parks and established CBDs for all but the highest levels of services. This raises issues about the access of inner city residents to such facilities, especially as the provision of local services to them tends to decline, but it also contributes to their rising unemployment as it has reduced the growth of jobs in city centres (and in some provincial cities actually led to an absolute decline) that might have offset the disappearance of employment in factories and their supporting services (e.g. railways). Add these forces together and it is not surprising that the highest sustained rates of unemployment in the country are overwhelmingly found in inner urban areas. GREEN (1994) shows both the considerable continuity in the list of highest unemployment rates from the 1981 to the 1991 census and the fact that 13 of the 15 top places are inner city. A different approach by WILMOTT & HUTCHINSON (1992) looked at 30 of the most deprived urban districts in Britain and calculated that they contained 26.3% of the country's unemployed in 1983 (falling to 22.6% in 1991, which may indicate some success for the policies of the 1980s).

The exodus of people and jobs has produced a landscape of physical decay in many cities. Empty factories, unused wharves, closed shops and abandoned houses are left to rot - a process often speeded up by vandalism - and there is little interest in finding new uses. Old sites of economic activity are often cramped into the wrong place and very expensive to convert to current standards (especially if there has been industrial pollution). The transport infrastructure is often poor and sometimes

an actual barrier to contemporary methods. Private landlords lack the confidence to invest in significant improvement to commercial or residential premises and the reduction in public housebuilding over the past fifteen years has actually been more marked in inner urban areas. The result is that over the period 1977-90 housebuilding rates have fallen by 70% in Inner London, 53% in the deprived urban areas of the West Midlands and 47% in the North West, compared with the English average of 48%, while rates of homelessness in 1991 were actually 7 times (Manchester), 4 times (Islington; in London) and 3 times (Hackney, Lambeth; both in London) the national average (WILMOTT & HUTCHINSON 1992).

The processes of social change in inner city areas also contain a strong component of national trends in respect of the decline of the nuclear family unit, the increase in crime (especially related to drugs) and a questioning of the traditional structures of authority, like the police, the church and school teachers. What is noticeable, though, is the combination of higher levels of most dimensions of social disadvantage in the inner city. Single person households and single parent families are more common - 33% of children in Inner London and in Liverpool came from such families in 1991. For this and other reasons there is greater dependence on government benefits like income support (which applied to 25% of the adult population in 1989-91 in the deprived urban areas studied by WILMOTT & HUTCHINSON (1992), compared with the English average of 14%). Standardised mortality rates and infant mortality rates are higher, while educational achievement by young people is lower - ATKINSON (1994) shows that 87% of 8 year olds had a reading age lower than their actual age in two inner city wards in Birmingham, while the wider study by OFSTED (1993) indicated that achievement at 16 years old in GCSE examinations at disadvantaged schools was between one-third and one-twelfth of the national average. Many of the institutions that held the old community together - especially those that emanated from stable employment - have gone and there is little chance of recreating them. This has left a population whose quality of life is severely limited by their concern about violent crime (very important to 79% of inner city residents sampled by ROBSON et al (1994)), the quality of health care (74%), the cost of living (72%), non-violent crime (67%), the quality of housing (64%), the quality of welfare services (62%), what the area looks like (61%) and their employment prospects (59%).

Taken together, the processes of inner city decline in Britain have been stronger than in most other European countries, but rarely as extreme as in American examples like Detroit or Baltimore. It is also important to note that a contributory factor was the large scale of urban redevelopment after 1945 that created many public housing estates, either in the inner areas or on the city's outskirts, which provided better social conditions than in the slums that had been demolished. However, it became very clear during the 1980s that these estates suffered from a number of design faults. People living on them were very much affected by rising unemployment as unskilled and semi-skilled jobs disappeared and, more generally, many of the features of social disintegration noted above have begun to appear here too. This means that while the term "inner city" is often used to refer to the areas of

Victorian industrial development that surround the CBD, recent urban policy initiatives (like Estate Action and City Challenge) have included some of these areas of social housing, regardless of whether they are close to the CBD or not (for a fuller discussion of the term "inner city" see KEITH & ROGERS (1991)).

URBAN POLICY IN ENGLAND

The problems just described have attracted increasing attention from local and national politicians in recent years - especially when some of the tensions generate riots or public disturbances on the scale of Toxteth (Liverpool) and Brixton (London) in 1981, or Handsworth (Birmingham) and Broadwater Farm (London) in 1985. Depending on your definition, annual expenditure on urban policies from central government runs at between £2 and £4 billion and over 50 programmes involving central government departments can be identified (Audit Commission 1989; ROBSON et al. 1994). Although there is a great deal of similarity in terms of the issues and the policies between the various parts of the United Kingdom, I shall limit the discussion here to the urban policies developed in England, as the constitutional arrangements for Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales mean that even apparently identical policies are implemented in different ways. Furthermore, City Challenge, the focal point of this paper, only operates in England.

Most reviews of contemporary urban policy (e.g. ATKINSON & MOON 1994; LAWLESS 1989; ROBSON 1988) start with the relatively modest schemes aimed at improving housing and education (especially for ethnic minority pupils) that were introduced in the late 1960s. The essentially social character of central government involvement continued in the 1970s with the creation of the Community Development Programme and the steady expansion of the Urban Programme scheme run by the Home Office. This latter scheme was enhanced in 1978 to include more economic and infrastructural projects and, since its transfer to the Department of the Environment, has become one of the major ways in which local government can bid for additional funding to supplement their local tax income. As the activities of the Urban Programme have extended, so there has been increasing spatial targeting, with the designation of 57 local government districts as Urban Priority Areas (UPAs), largely on the basis of a composite index of deprivation derived from six variables in the 1981 Census of Population.

The election of Mrs Thatcher's Conservative Party in 1979 changed the political context for policy formulation. In place of the stress on tackling the social consequences of inner city disadvantage came an emphasis on reducing the role of the state and its replacement by the free market. Although many of the policies of the 1970s continued in some form, these new approaches found an early expression with the introduction of Enterprise Zones (free from local taxation and some planning restrictions) and the creation of the first two Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) in London Docklands and Merseyside. Both these initial UDCs and those

added in 1987-88 shared the strategy of property-led regeneration, in which the expenditure of public money was aimed at the establishment of the right conditions for the private sector to invest profitably. This strategy removed the role of local government as a planning authority and thus most mechanisms for democratic community involvement in investment decisions. It also relied heavily on the theory of trickle-down, in which the investment of some £30 million each year by a typical provincial UDC would create jobs locally through construction work and the new businesses attracted into the area (on a scale assumed to be at least three times the value of the public investment). As UDCs increased their expenditure, so the share allocated to the Urban Programme fell - in 1984-85 the Urban Programme received £376 million and the UDCs, £108 million, but by 1990-91 these figures were about £240 million and £500 million respectively.

While some of their achievements in terms of improving derelict land have been impressive, there have been plenty of criticisms of the UDCs - especially the London one (BROWNHILL 1993) - in terms of their interest in large-scale projects, their limited employment impact and the lack of democratic accountability or community involvement (Centre for Local Economic Strategies 1992; IMRIE & THOMAS 1993; National Audit Office 1990, 1993; ROBINSON et al. 1993). They can also be seen as part of the more general process of centralising political power as the removal of local government planning controls in UDC areas has been matched by the abolition of metropolitan authorities in seven conurbations and the increased dependence of local authorities on central government for money (as the share of their income from central government rose from 50% to 80% during the 1980s). While this has usually been justified in terms of establishing better control over public finances and reducing local bureaucracy, it has also had the effect of reducing or removing the power of Labour-run authorities and strengthening the position of the Conservative national government.

CITY CHALLENGE

Following the replacement of Mrs Thatcher as Prime Minister and the return of Mr Heseltine to the Department of the Environment, there appeared to be a significant departure in urban policy with the launch of City Challenge in 1991. This programme placed great stress on the idea of partnership, not only between central and local government, and between the private and public sectors, but also between policy makers and the local community. Even if this element was only a matter of presentation, City Challenge was undoubtedly novel in the sense that the 57 UPAs had to compete with each other to secure a limited amount of public funding over a short period (£37.5m each over 5 years). UPAs that were not selected would continue to have access to funds under the Urban Programme but only after the "winners' allocation" had been made. In 1991 15 of the UPAs were invited to submit proposals for the regeneration of part of their area, with this sort of funding as the

basis for further investment by private investors and other public bodies (including the Structural Funds of the European Union where appropriate). In marked contrast to the general thrust of urban policy in the 1980s, local authorities were given a leading role in the preparation of these proposals, though the degree to which they involved the local community was carefully checked as part of the final judgement on bids. 11 bids were chosen after a frantic period of preparing proposals (including one from three districts encouraged by the Department of the Environment to collaborate in the Deame Valley) and a further competition, open to all UPAs, was held in 1992, when 20 more authorities were supported (see Table 1 for the authorities concerned and Figure 1 for their locations). No further competitions have been held due to reductions in the urban budget and the phasing out of the Urban Programme as a whole.

In many ways the early reaction to City Challenge was favourable. The idea that there should be open competition for public funds and the actual selection processes were certainly the subjects of criticisms (discussed below). However, these were generally outweighed - especially in the areas where bids were approved and it appeared rather like winning on the National Lottery - by the welcome for a "bottom up" approach that allowed local government to propose programmes with emphases on education & training, health, reduction of crime, housing improvement, and environmental enhancement in areas untouched by the large scale property investments of the 1980s (see BONSHEK 1992, and BOOTH & GREEN 1993, for early assessments). The types of area included in the regeneration bids do vary considerably - from ex-mining wasteland through 1960s social housing estates to sub-regional commercial nodes - but, in practice, the degree of local specificity of the schemes in the bids was somewhat limited by the guidance - both formal and informal - provided by the Department. Hence most of the City Challenge authorities have plans to improve public housing stock by selling part of it to private investors or Housing Associations, many have taken the hint that there should be assistance to ethnic minorities wherever relevant and the arrangements for managing the programme have become remarkably similar.

The process of convergence has continued since then as the Department of the Environment has increasingly recaptured some of the initial independence given to local authorities. This is most evident in the ways in which expenditure is evaluated and controlled as City Challenge authorities are subject to considerable scrutiny - especially in relation to the specification of measurable outputs from projects and the degree of private sector leverage that is being achieved. However, this is more evident to those working for the authorities than to the general public who still generally regard the whole process as a way of getting extra money from the government.

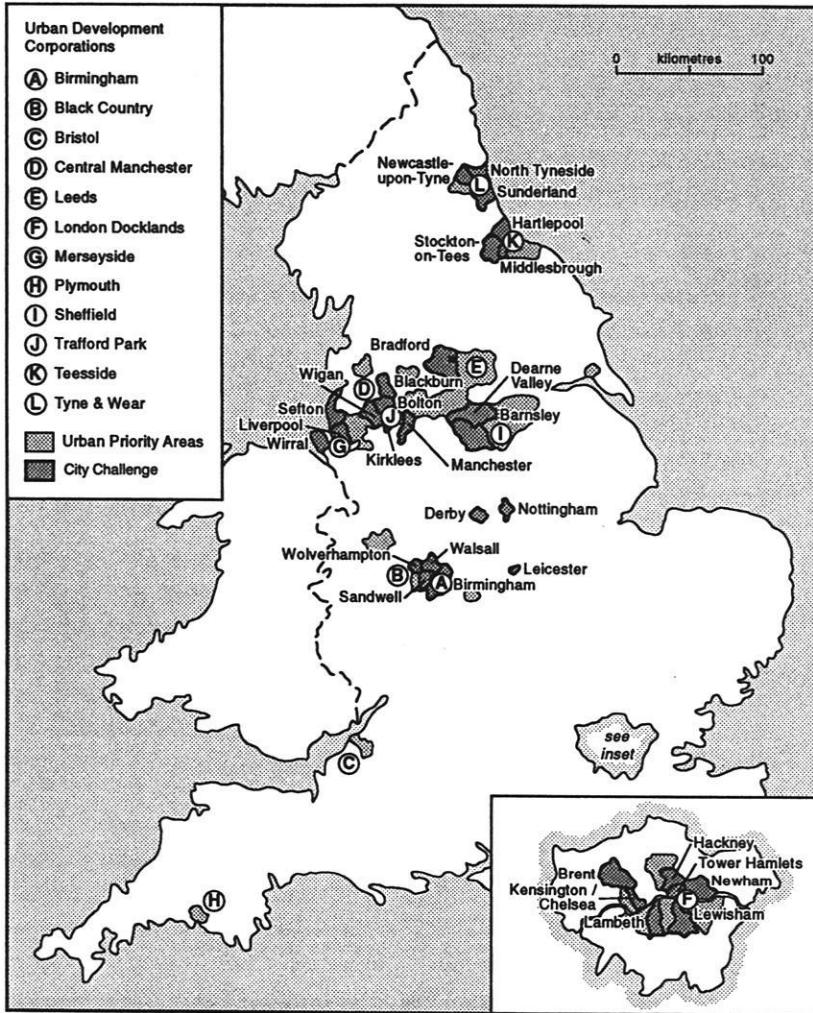
TABLE 1: CITY CHALLENGE AUTHORITIES

<u>Authority</u>	<u>Deprivation Ranking</u>	<u>Successful Round</u>
Hackney	1	2
Newham	2	2
Tower Hamlets	3	1
Lambeth	4	2
Brent	8	2
Manchester	11	1
Leicester	12	2
Wolverhampton	13	1
Birmingham	14	2
Liverpool	14	1
Lewisham	16	1
Kensington & Chelsea	17	2
Sandwell	19	2
Nottingham	20	1
Blackburn	21	2
Middlesbrough	23	1
Bradford	26	1
Kirkless	31	2
Walsall	34	2
Hartlepool	35	2
Bolton	36	2
Newcastle	37	1
Sunderland	38	2
Derby	41	2
Stockton	46	2
Wirral	48	1
Sefton	50	2
Wigan	53	2
North Tyneside	54	2
Barnsley	55	2
Dearne Valley*		1

* Joint bid by Rotherham, Barnsley and Doncaster

Source: Corrected from ATKINSON & MOON 1994

Figure 1 Urban Priority Areas, Urban Development Corporations and City Challenge Areas in England, 1994



AN INTERIM EVALUATION

City Challenge undoubtedly unleashed a great deal of the energy and will available to tackle urban decline in those areas that were successful and that is likely to be important, even though the actual amount of additional money is very small. Although the first round winners - known as the pacemaker authorities - have now

only been in operation for two and a half years and would thus be regarded as not yet ready for serious evaluation, they are also halfway through their limited life and so devoting an increasing amount of time to considering their "exit strategy". This gives an opportunity to reflect on what has been achieved so far and how far it will be possible to continue the most valuable new practices. Since only the pacemaker authorities have actually produced an annual report at the time of writing, this will be based on impression rather than any kind of formal evaluation of official returns or evidence.

There are a number of criticisms of City Challenge that date back to its original conception. The 23 UPAs whose public funds were going to be reduced, even before the recent cutbacks, in order to pay for the "winners" have obvious grounds for objecting to the idea of a competition between those authorities that the government has already recognised as disadvantaged. The fact that the list of "winners" excludes 5 of the 10 most deprived areas (including places like Haringey and Islington in London, and the city of Bristol) makes the point very clearly. It has also been suggested that the allocation of £7.5 million p.a. to each the selected authorities should have been adjusted to take account of the size or intensity of their problems (ATKINSON & MOON 1994). There have also been complaints from those local authorities who are faced with very similar problems but are outside the current list of priority areas. This is a continuing concern as the 57 UPAs were based largely on data from the 1981 Census and were manifestly out of date at the time of the first round, let alone today (though the use of statistics from the 1991 Census to redefine the areas for future funding is likely to be problematic as the "missing" 1.5 million people are most likely to have come from inner city locations).

The second set of issues related to the initial selection revolves around the definition of the areas for regeneration. Even without considering the whole question of whether "area-based" approaches can contribute to the solution of problems that are socially produced, there must be serious doubts about the ability of regeneration schemes in relatively small areas to have much broader impact. A typical city challenge area covers 400 to 500 ha and contains 40-60,000 residents, so any hopes of improving conditions in the rest of the district must depend heavily on a form of the "trickle-down" that has not yet appeared in the case of much larger UDC schemes. This problem is all the more evident in the large number of City Challenge areas which are essentially residential, as attempts there to address problems of unemployment through training or other schemes immediately require additional partnerships to be formed with employers outside the area. This kind of reservation has been expressed in a different way by those who point out that the areas actually selected may not have any functional unity. Obviously it is difficult in urban areas to have target areas that correspond exactly to the local labour market, but many City Challenge areas also fail to correspond to health authority boundaries or school catchment zones. Furthermore, the residents of the area may well identify themselves as members of different - and even opposed - communities. This can pose major problems in light of the stress on partnership with the community within

City Challenge, and in some cases was created at the outset by the authority effectively gerrymandering the designated area, so as to include a zone with particularly bad housing problems, or another which would boost the ethnic minority population.

In a sense these issues about selection and the areas are history and attention should now shift to what has been happening since those decisions were taken. There can be no doubt that a great deal of regeneration activity is now underway in City Challenge areas and the first large investments of the pacemaker authorities are already open for business. Once the first annual reports for the second round authorities are available it will be possible to provide at least a quantitative summary. Alongside these physical achievements, however, are three trends that may not be reported but which raise concern about the long term success of the City Challenge approach - private sector dominance, central government control and a loss of community involvement.

At the outset, City Challenge was seen as involving a partnership between the private sector, the public sector (especially in the form of local government) and the community. Taken together, these three trends suggest that the operation of City Challenge is redistributing the power within that partnership. The increasing importance of the private sector reflects the way in which public funds are distributed in order to lever in private investors. Just as with the UDCs, there is a requirement that the City Challenge component of a programme attracts private funding, usually worth at least twice as much. There is thus considerable pressure to tackle those parts of the City Challenge strategy that are most likely to interest the private sector, so you will often find that housing redevelopment has started with the areas that are the most commercially attractive rather than those in greatest need, or that training facilities have been redesigned with priority given to generating income rather than meeting local requirements.

The second dimension of change in the initial partnership has been the increasing control over the process exercised by central government, in the form of the Department of the Environment. In some ways this should have been apparent from the start, as it was this Department and its Secretary of State who made the selection of the winning bids and so redistributed Urban Programme money. However, the degree of their financial scrutiny of spending on City Challenge schemes has been remarkable and led to threats to some of the pacemaker authorities about the withdrawal of their future funds. This has had two important consequences. First, the formal evaluation of City Challenge projects places great stress on achieving "value for money" in obtaining the outputs initially specified. The adoption of the accountant's language is no coincidence and leaves little room for the justification of an item of expenditure as "community benefit". Secondly, the degree of detail required of the five-year financial plan of an authority can make it extremely difficult for City Challenge to retain flexibility and so respond to new community needs.

The third set of issues is fundamental both in establishing whether City Challenge represents a genuine return to the community orientation of the first urban policies and in forecasting the likely longer term effects of this approach. The identification of the community as a partner in the initial bid was an important step, not just because it was meant to make sure that regeneration was relevant to people's needs and holistic in tackling the various dimensions of urban deprivation at once, but also because it challenged the prevailing notion of partnership. The way in which partnership had been introduced to urban policy was heavily dependent on the model of joint financial involvement by the public and private sectors that was thought to typify the great American success stories in cities like Baltimore and Boston. Inviting the community to share in the decision making without having a direct financial commitment broke with that framework by giving power without investment and directly challenged the ability of local councillors to represent the views of the people that they were supposed to represent (MACFARLANE 1993). The early evidence is that community representatives (other than local councillors) make up only 25-33% of the members of the Boards governing City Challenge and may well not be as able to attend meetings - due to lack of access to transport or child care facilities - or influence decisions - reflecting their lack of experience - as other members. Community influence on City Challenge programmes after the initial consultation period has thus been limited at a formal level. The situation is unlikely to improve given the pressure on the officials responsible for delivering the increasingly rigid set of projects (even if they had received the training necessary to consult informally). This represents a wasted opportunity not only in terms of establishing community ownership of particular schemes and thus their long term viability, but also in relation to the effective delivery of programmes. When consultation with the community actually occurs it is usually confined to training and social issues, but there is plenty of scope for community influence on the planning of other initiatives, and possibly a direct role for community groups in their actual delivery. These are the ways in which the initiative created by City Challenge will become self-sustaining.

CONCLUSION

Britain faces enormous economic, environmental, social and political problems in the heart of its major cities. A great range of policy initiatives - many of them beyond the scope of this brief summary - have been introduced in order to tackle them and there is evidence of some success in improving conditions (ROBSON 1994). There has also been a great deal of wasted money and the imposition of solutions on the people who are meant to benefit from urban regeneration.

The introduction of City Challenge represented an opportunity to learn from the failures of the past and develop an approach that involved genuine partnership at a local level. There are a number of limitations to its potential beneficial impact that stem from the initial selection process, but the barriers to long term success appear

to be growing as the original idea of a partnership between the private sector, the public sector and the community is not working out in practice. The concern expressed here is that the genuine involvement of the community in City Challenge is not some kind of idealistic bonus, but rather an integral part of the whole process of long term regeneration. Without serious consideration of the ways in which community involvement is treated as part of the process of urban regeneration instead of being a passing outcome, the City Challenge approach will have the same limited impact on English inner cities as the community approaches of the 1960s.

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INTRA-METROPOLITAN RELOCATION OF WORK PLACES: THE CASE OF STOCKHOLM

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In this paper the current developments of polycentric municipalities are being discussed. This smaller study reviews only parts of the changes affecting the regional area of metropolitan Stockholm. It will begin by placing contemporary trends in the context of population and employment within metropolitan areas, further it will focus on the changes that have taken place in the intra-urban pattern of places of work and jobs in Stockholm Metropolitan Area.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the 1880s an urbanization process started in Sweden which is still going on. In 1950 about 50 per cent of the Swedish population lived in localities with more than 2000 inhabitants. Today, this figure is over 75 per cent. The urbanization process of course, reflects the restructuring that occurred in production. In 1950 about 20 per cent of the working population was occupied in the primary sector. Currently this is less than 5 per cent. During the last hundred years growth in employment has been within the secondary and tertiary sector, typical urban economic activities.

At first, the urbanization process paralleled the development in the industrial sector, which reached its maximum in the middle of the 1960s, employing about 50 per cent of the working population. After that service occupations have increasingly dominated the economy, thus also the urban areas.

Until as recently as the end of the 1950s the service sector had a traditional hierarchical structure, with specialized higher order personal and professional services concentrated in or near the central business district. Since the beginning of the 1960s however suburbanization and counter urbanization increasingly influenced the form and structure of the towns. A rise in car ownership, the increasing participation of women in the labour market, are some forces that reinforce these changes. The improvement in accessibility opened up larger parts of the urban area within a short commuting time, and a more mobile population. Suburbanization or decentralization of economic activities from the (mono)centre is a phenomena that has occurred during the last decades. Towns have become polycentric.

The trend toward polycentric metropolises has been one of the most characteristic developments in the structure of many larger urban areas throughout the last decades. Technological, economic and social change are producing new urban spatial trends in North America, Europe, and much of the advanced industrial world. As the number of manufacturing jobs has declined and the size of the service sector

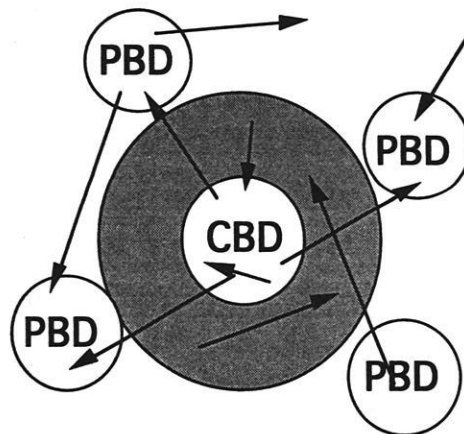
increased it is possible to ask whether a postmodern urban landscape with "fragmentation, multi-nodality, plurality and diffusion" exists (BOURNE, 1991).

Multi-nodality or polycentric urban developments and the occurrence of "subcentres, suburban nucleations, mini cities" are however widely recognized (HARTSHORN & MULLER). Not only in relation to manufacturing (SUAREZ-VILLA, 1989), but also retailing (BROMLEY & THOMAS, 1993; JONES & SIMMONS, 1990), offices (GAD, 1991) or within the service sector in general (DANIELS, 1985). North American and British literature have dominated the decentralization/ suburbanization discussions, and the uncertain position of the urban core in relation to the competing suburbs is often discussed (LAW, 1988).

The problem of a diminishing tax revenue base, unemployment, and decline of certain municipalities within the metropolitan centre is obvious, as the metropolitan area is not homogeneous. Municipalities have to compete with each other, not only on the local and regional level, but increasingly on the supra-national level. In this context it is interesting to see that city-marketing with large advertisement campaigns has become a concept of growing importance for local managers in order to draw attention to the attractiveness of their municipality (PUMAIN, 1991; BUURSINK, 1991).

In recent years Swedish towns are developing towards polycentric cities, as several business activities have been relocating from the town centers or traditional CBDs to suburban sites, so called Peripheral Business Districts (MAHIEU, 1992).

Figure 1 Intra-urban relocation and the polycentric urban model



CBD = Central Business District
PBD = Peripheral Business District

The overall aim of the study is through a description and analysis of firm location and relocation in the metropolitan area of Stockholm to be able to indicate whether the overall intra-urban relocation pattern of Stockholm shows similar development as in certain other western metropolises.

This paper shall review only parts of the changes affecting the regional area of metropolitan Stockholm. It will begin by placing contemporary trends in the context of population and employment within metropolitan areas, further it will focus on the changes that have taken place in the intra-urban pattern of places of work and jobs in Stockholm Metropolitan Area.

This is done by focussing on two questions:

1. What changes are taking place in the Stockholm area when looking at changes in places of work and number of jobs?
2. Do the suburbs grow/ diminish in relation to the central municipalities, as seen in other studies?

Even though the suburbanization/ decentralization of economic activities is widely recognized, its causes and consequences are not.

The driving forces for relocation are of course an interplay between push and pull factors. The locational choices of firms depend on many factors: accessibility, the cost of space and location rent, labour market, infrastructure, special building or site requirements, etc.

Other factors that are less easily pinned down and might be considered "soft" location factors deserve some attention. Image and status address can be important for firms. "To be there" has meaning. In a study of intra-urban relocation within several provincial towns in Sweden the need for more space was shown an important driving force, or push for relocation. While image and status address formed the pull to the destination area (MAHIEU, 1994).

The demand for space for an expanding firm is one of the major driving forces to relocate and search for new locations, as ERLANDSSON (1975) has shown in his study of firm development and spatial demands within Stockholm, Malmö, and Helsingborg. Clear linkages can be made with the product cycle theory, in which the growth of firms and their place in the different phases – 1. innovation, 2. take-off, 3. mature phase, 4. final phase, determine the metropolitan expansion and urban renewal (LICHTENBERGER, 1991).

THE STUDY AREA

Greater Stockholm or Stockholm Metropolitan Area in this study includes all municipalities within Stockholm County with the exception of Norrtälje, Södertälje and Nynäsham, which means a total of 22 municipalities. These municipalities comprise

a population of about 1 480 000 persons (The National Atlas of Sweden, 1991). The mouth of the lake system Mälarn divides the area in a southern and northern part.

In this analysis the area is divided in two major parts: The inner suburbs, including Stockholm with its inner city and 5 other municipalities, and the other 16 municipalities that form together the outer suburbs (see Figure 2). By comparing two databases which contain the number of jobs and places of work in both 1987 and 1992 on each municipality, the changes in the metropolitan area can be calculated.

Since the 1950s the development of Stockholm Metropolitan Area has changed. The population in the region grew from 1 million in 1950 to about 1,5 million in 1989. Thereby, the area increased its part of the national population from 15 to about 20 per cent. This population growth mainly concentrated in the outer suburbs. During the same period the total number of jobs in the SMA increased from 510 000 to 880 000 (SOU, 1989). The tertiary sector has always dominated in Stockholm, but the share of service jobs in relation to the total number of jobs has increased during the post-war period (see Figure 3), and in national perspective the Stockholm region can be considered as Sweden's service centre.

CONCLUSION

When comparing the databases of 1987 and 1992 we see that the number of work places (i.e. 5 or more employed) in Stockholm Metropolitan Area has grown during this period. This also counts for the number of jobs these establishments provided. This growth however has not been equally distributed throughout the entire area. The inner suburbs (including Stockholm with its CBD) show a lower increase than the outer suburbs in places of work and an absolute decline of the number of jobs. The largest growth has taken place in the northwestern part of the Metropolitan area towards the location of Arlanda, the international airport of Stockholm.

This development clearly shows the same trend as in many other North-American or European metropolitan areas, even though the centre of Stockholm Metropolitan Area still remains an important location for economic activities.

Figure 2 Stockholm Metropolitan Area

Inner Suburbs

- 1 Stockholm (includes inner city)
- 2 Sunbyberg
- 3 Solna
- 4 Danderyd
- 5 Lidingö
- 6 Nacka

Outer Suburbs

- 7 Ekerö
- 8 Upplands-Bro
- 9 Järfälla
- 10 Sollentuna
- 11 Upplands Väsby
- 12 Sigtuna
- 13 Täby
- 14 Vallentuna
- 15 Vaxholm
- 16 Österåker
- 17 Värmdö
- 18 Tyresö
- 19 Huddinge
- 20 Haninge
- 21 Botkyrka
- 22 Salem

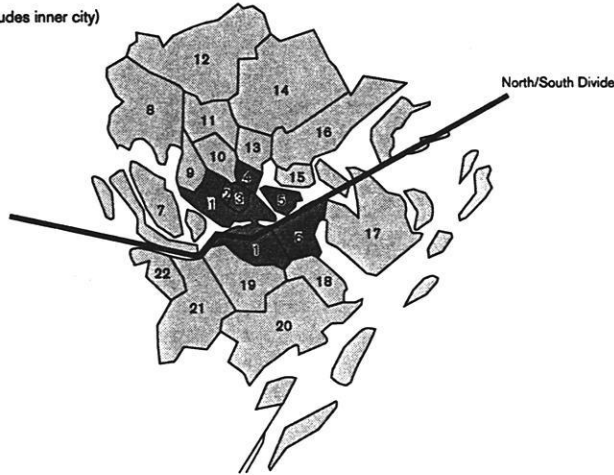


Figure 3 Employment figures in SMA, the development in different sectors

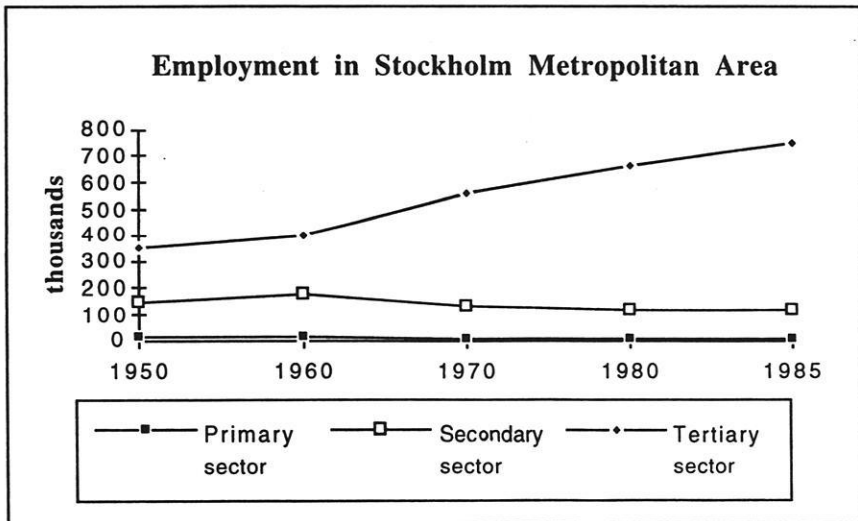


Table 1 The changes in places of work and jobs in SMA between 1987 and 1992

STOCKHOLM METROPOLITAN AREA (Places of work with ≥ 5 employees)

Code	Municipality	Places	Places	Absolute	Relative	Jobs	Jobs	Absolute	Relative
		of Work	of Work	change	change	1987	1992	change	change
		1987	1992		(%)				(%)
114	Upplands Väsby	280	349	69	25	9417	11098	-11681	18
115	Vallentuna	130	158	28	22	2660	3188	528	20
117	Österåker	174	210	36	21	4467	5117	650	15
120	Värmdö	119	147	28	24	3326	3387	61	2
123	Järfälla	410	453	43	10	16737	16645	-92	-1
125	Ekerö	120	135	15	13	2491	2983	492	20
126	Huddinge	524	650	126	24	22276	25654	3378	15
127	Botkyrka	386	467	81	21	12933	14511	1578	12
128	Salem	54	64	10	19	1352	1255	-97	-7
136	Haninge	364	428	64	18	13334	17460	4126	31
138	Tyresö	240	228	-12	-5	5576	5606	30	1
139	Upplands Bro	147	165	18	12	4153	4812	659	16
160	Täby	436	536	100	23	10865	12779	1914	18
162	Danderyd	296	313	17	6	17960	18722	762	4
163	Sollentuna	484	602	118	24	15000	17408	2408	16
180	Stockholm	10307	10647	340	3	425209	413101	-12108	-3
182	Nacka	491	561	70	14	16003	15624	-379	-2
183	Sundbyberg	374	380	6	2	13609	14132	523	4
184	Solna	873	913	40	5	50757	50098	-659	-1
186	Lidingö	383	314	-69	-18	8409	9043	634	8
187	Vaxholm	59	64	5	8	1664	1231	-433	-26
191	Sigtuna	295	385	90	31	14000	20576	6576	47
	Total	16946	18169	1223	7	672198	684430	12232	2

Table 2 Differences between inner- and outer suburbs, places of work

	1987	1992	Change '87-'92	Relative change
Places of Work				
Inner suburbs	12724	13128	404	3 %
Outer suburbs	4222	5041	819	19 %
Total Area	16946	18169	1223	7 %

Source: Calculations after Sweden Statistics, firm registers 1987 & 1992

Figure 4 Changes in places of work between 1987 and 1992

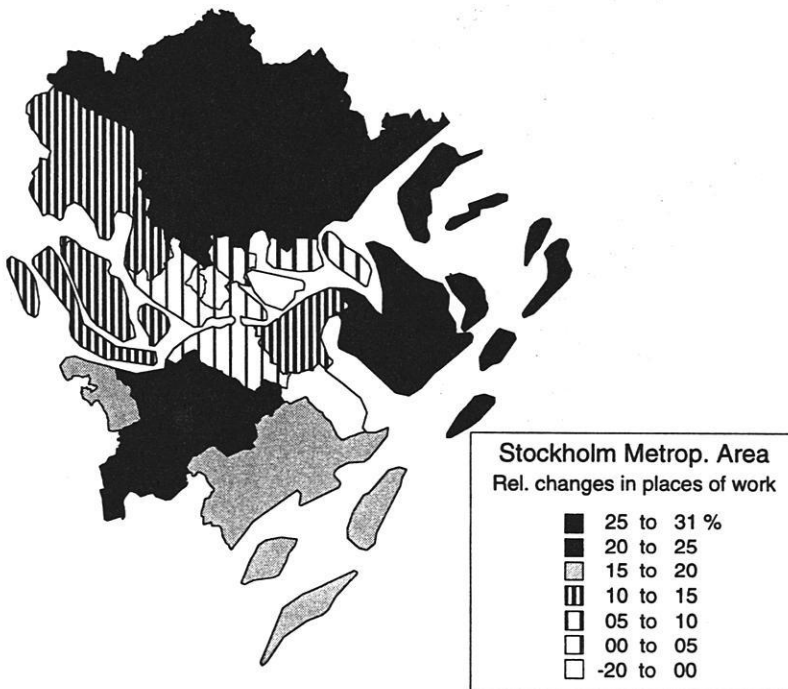
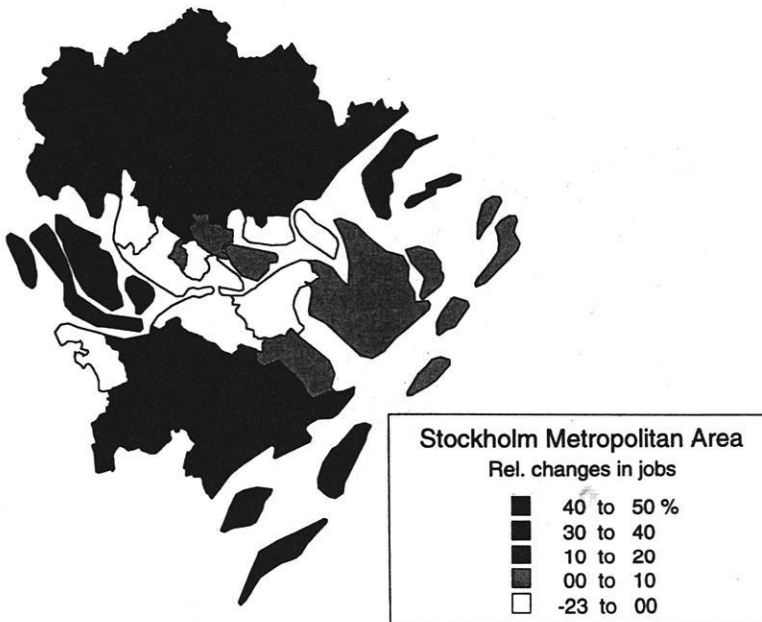


Table 3 Differences between inner- and outer suburbs, jobs

	1987	1992	Change '87-'92	Relative change
Jobs				
Inner suburbs	531947	520720	-11227	-2 %
Outer suburbs	140251	163710	23459	17 %
Total Area	6721998	684430	12232	2 %

Source: Calculations after Sweden Statistics, firm registers 1987 & 1992

Figure 5 Changes of jobs between 1987 and 1992



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PROBLEMS OF MOBILITY AND TRAFFIC IN THE RUHR

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A comprehensive review of literature on transport and transport behaviour of residents of the Ruhrgebiet reveals that most studies tend to use indicators based on individual municipalities or counties. On this level of aggregation, an empirical investigation of modal split, purpose and duration of trips etc. presents few problems. Correlating these with the existing level of infrastructure and service provision, however, seems to be too complex a task.

Since the Ruhrgebiet is characterized by a polycentric spatial structure with notable disparities regarding population densities and infrastructure, future studies ought to adopt a micro-scale approach focussing on local areas. To be able to counteract the expected increase in the number of trips, obvious deficits in infrastructure and service provision would have to be dealt with, especially to fulfill the basic needs of residents within the above-mentioned local areas.

We are currently developing a research project which aims to analyze this relationship between the provision of services and infrastructure on the one hand and the transport behaviour of urban residents on the other. Furthermore, we are seeking to establish the factors explaining mobility and demand for transport as far as they are related to settlement structure as well as investigating the preconditions, acceptance and potential for changing consumer behaviour towards more environmentally friendly means of transport. We are aiming to develop a framework for action, serving as a basis for future decision-making processes in urban and spatial planning - not only in a national, but also in a global context.

1. Problems

The growth of car and truck traffic is a world-wide phenomenon particularly in large cities and conurbations. It is well known that improvement of infrastructure seldom helps to manage increased traffic: the expansion of freeways only increases the traffic jams (as the examples of the 401 in Toronto, or of a three storey freeway - one on top of the other - in Tokyo show). In Germany the opening of the free trade area in Europe is expected to drastically increase the volume of traffic on the present freeway system even more. Indeed, transportation engineers have warned that the whole system might collapse.

However, "the limits to growth" are not only a problem of infrastructure capacity but - even more important - an ecological problem, as the Club of Rome pointed out in its famous publication more than 20 years ago and as the "Earth Summit" of Rio reiterated two years ago.

2. Strategies

What can be done to manage the growth in car and truck traffic? Up to now three strategies have been applied:

1. ban car and truck traffic from certain areas
2. shift it to public transit (people) or railroads (goods)
3. reduce the mobility of people and goods.

2.1 First Strategy

German economists (i.e. Paul Klemmer) suggested charging private commuters for freeway access in order to reduce the number of private cars using the freeway so that more room is given to trucks. Policies such as this might have serious consequences for densely populated areas such as the Rhine-Ruhr conurbation. Traffic jams would be shifted to residential areas and pollution or accidents would increase dramatically.

Some cities such as Singapore, Hong Kong or Freiburg have started to restrict access to certain areas. Singapore developed a method of area licensing, Hong Kong introduced a road pricing system, and Freiburg banned cars from the downtown area. Such policies tend to displace cars to other areas. Most of those policies are supposed to support the second strategy: forcing people to use public transit.

2.2 Second Strategy

This strategy only works in cities with excellent public transit systems and in cities able and willing to reinforce these policies by political means.

Other policies are based on incentives such as reducing fares for public transit. The so-called „Umweltschutz Abonnement“ was invented in Basel in 1983. The reduced fare for a monthly transit pass was supposed to attract new customers, especially car drivers, in order to reduce pollution and assist environmental protection. Basel was so successful that its policy was copied widely in Swiss and German cities.

The increased use of public transportation was supposed to reduce car traffic by 25%.

This, however, did not happen. Why?

Many commuters did use public transportation as studies showed (- even though not all of them liked it, as the faces in the tramway of this cartoon suggest). However, the so-called "green widows", housewives living relatively isolated lives in green but dull suburbs, finally got the chance to get away by using the family car. And they did (as shown on this cartoon: „Since my husband has been taking the tram I can get my organic vegetables fresh from the market everyday!“).

Figure 1 Basel invented the so-called "Umweltschutz Abonnement" in 1983. Car traffic, however, was not reduced as much as expected.



(Cartoon by Ernst Feuer-Mettler, in Nebelspalter and THEMA - Forschung und Wissenschaft an den Schweizer Hochschulen, Transport und Gesellschaft (1988), no. 5, p.33)

This criticism is not directed against women. It is directed against the way our cities are planned and built - traditionally by men without considering female needs. This point leads directly to the third strategy.

2.3 Third Strategy

There are not many policies enabling us to reduce the mobility of people and goods. Most of them are from the seventies. They were aimed at rebuilding and reconstructing our cities in a more human way, but none of those strategies were successful. We remember slogans and buzz words like:

- the compact city
- the city of short distances
- the liveable city.

3. Preliminary conclusions

During my work with a commission set up by the „KVR“ („Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet“, a regional association of local authorities in the Ruhr), I had the idea that we ought to go back to basics. For this reason, the „KVR“ asked me to analyse

all studies dealing with mobility or transportation patterns over the last 10 years. Some results of this research are of interest here:

3.1 Modal Split

The modal split shows that the Ruhr conurbation has a smaller share of public transportation than other German cities (9.5% : 12%) while the use of private cars is more intensive (56.7 : 45). If we compare the modal split of the average city in the Ruhr conurbation with Basel the dominance of the automobile in the Ruhr is even more extreme.

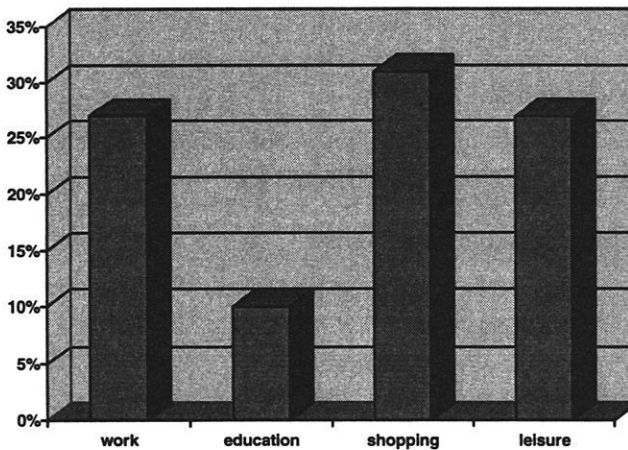
	Ruhr	Basel
Public transport	9.5%	43%
Private cars	56.7%	21%

3.2 Trip Purpose

The data disprove the thesis that most trips are related to work. More than half of all trips (57%) are related to shopping and leisure activities. Indeed, the share of traffic related to these activities is still increasing.

The problem of shifting this kind of travel to public transit is that these trips are not tied to specific places, and individuals are free to decide when and where to go.

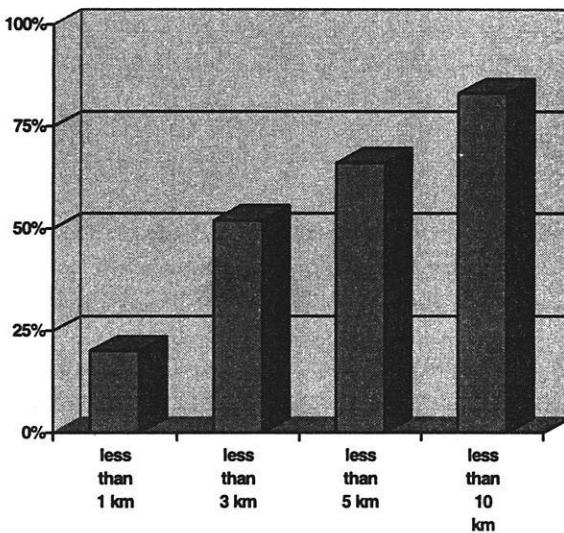
Figure 2 Trip Purpose (average) in the Ruhr



3.3 Distance

The data on trip distances also show that urban transportation planning started from premises that are obviously wrong. The planners assumed that on average people would travel long distances. In the Ruhr conurbation, however, one of four trips are of distances less than 1 km. One half of all trips end after 3 km and two out of three after 5 km. We may conclude that most of the trips involved are of walking or biking distance - at least in a European context!

Figure 3 Trip Distances (average) in the Ruhr



3.4 Time budget

The data concerning time budgets are also of considerable interest. Transport engineers calculate that in Germany the average person takes 3 trips per day. This is correct if data are related to the total population. If the data are related to mobile individuals, however, we end up with an average of 3.8 trips per person per day. However, on average a person is not on the road for as long as transport engineers suggest: on average 56.5 minutes a day for everybody and 70.8 minutes for mobile individuals. That is an average of 15 to 20 minutes per trip!

Figure 4 Time Budget in the Ruhr

trips / day (total population)	∅	2.9	trips
trips / day (mobile individuals)	∅	3.8	trips
on the road / day (total population)	∅	56.5	minutes
on the road / day (mobile individuals)	∅	70.8	minutes

3.5 Trip Origin and Destination

Between 70 and 85% of all trips start and end within the same city. These data show that the thesis of the Ruhr being a multi-nucleated and therefore strongly interconnected megalopolis is - at least related to transport - only a myth. This reinforces earlier conclusions about the relatively large number of non-work trips and the short distance and travel time of the average trip.

4. Future Research

The most important results of our research done for the KVR were - at least for us - the questions that we have raised. The main problem is that we still do not know much about the political, sociological and spatial context of behaviour patterns in transport.

The most serious deficiency of existing studies is the link between the level of infrastructure and provision of services within residential areas and the transportation behaviour of their residents. To begin, we need more detailed investigations of the purposes and motives for the choice of a specific mode of transportation. That would mean adding the question of „why?“ to the questions „how“, „when“, and „where“?

We argue here that one of the major aims of future urban development should be a sustainable city. Therefore, we have to raise the question of whether or not there is a connection between the behaviour of urban residents and spatial infrastructures. Hence, we will have to start with the residents' day-to-day surroundings and their actual needs, to find out about deficits (and perhaps disparities) and to show possibilities for action.

Based on these conclusions we have drawn up two complementary research projects.

The focal point of these projects will be on possibilities for influencing transportation behaviour and mode of transportation in order to reduce reliance on automobile traffic in the Ruhr.

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MOSCOW 1993: THE EMERGENCE OF HOUSING MARKET AND THE PROBLEMS OF INTRA-URBAN SEGREGATION

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Housing is one of the most acute problems in Moscow. In fact, before early 1993 housing distribution was normative. Up to now there have existed and continue to exist long lists for improving housing conditions. To be put into these lists was possible only in case the people lived in overcrowded flats with less than 5 sq.m. per person. The process of housing privatisation that had considerably developed by late 1992 started the market mechanism for „buy - sell“ of the apartments, creating conditions for the formatting of housing market in Moscow. The gradual expanding of the real estate market had brought about a relative price stabilisation by 1993. Location affects strongly the cost of a flat. For Moscow, under conditions of socially mixed population and a vague idea of what is a „prestigious“ dwelling zone like, a better location is associated with the city centre remoteness. In reality, the apartment value rate reflects not only the quality of the housing proper and its place on the city-maps, but the quality of life in the given blocks. The contrasts of the picture as it is draw attention in the first instance. The Central part of the city stands out sharply as to the price level. At the same time there are quite a number of blocks in outlying districts able to compete with the centre. It can be noted that there have emerged two poles of gravitation of well-off people, and alongside prestigious blocks of the historical part of Moscow similar blocks are arising in outlying districts. The functioning of housing market significantly enchanted social differences bringing about polarization of urban environment. The right of choosing the place of residence enjoyed by the population now, but so far accessible only to „the rich“, has led to re-distribution of the population in the city and segregation of different social strata. It turns urban environment into a source of permanent conflicts and social claims which are the more acute. Moscow's city authorities have not yet been fully conscious of these problems and in fact the latter are not discussed neither in mass media nor in scientific publications.

Key Words: Housing Market, Moscow, Apartment, Location, Price

Housing is one of the most acute problems in Moscow. Swift growth of the city's population has made this problems almost insoluble. To own "a Moscow flat" people would stop at nothing: fake marriages and divorces, family dramas, bribes and forgery. In fact, before early 1993 housing distribution was normative. Up to now there have existed and continue to exist long list for improving housing conditions. To be put into these lists was possible only in case the people lived in overcrowded flats with less than 5 sq.m. per one person.

No doubt there were plenty of ways to bypass the existing regulation either by making use of one's official standing or by paying a big sum of money. Thus, for example, in 1988, 105 thousand families and individuals improved their housing conditions, but only 54 thousands of them were really "ocheredniki", i.e. those on the list. By the end of 1988 those on the waiting list amounted to 378 thousand families. Permanent scandals flared up around housing distribution. A flat in the centre of the

city was considered as a privilege enjoyed only by high ranking officials. Simultaneous with mass housing construction, a selective housing construction was going on in the centre. Random "enclaves" of modern multi-storey housing blocks arose there. Their look and unceremonious invasion of a historically formed housing pattern irrevocably destroyed the historical milieu of the nicest corners of Moscow.

It is natural that on receiving a new flat people should be far from being always satisfied with it. Plenty of things did not suit them and in the first place finding themselves far away from the location they had lived before, and the rupture of all old ties. There would have been no way out of the situation but for the established practice of exchanging flats ("housing barter"), which arose as a result of semi-legal activities of the population. You couldn't buy or sell an apartment, but it could be exchanged on condition that the exchange was equivalent and neither of the sides worsened its housing conditions to the extent that it might become eligible for getting a new apartment. As a result, after revealing outstanding abilities to get things going, wasting lots of time, energy and money, the Muscovites could move to the block that met their demands. But of course not many could run such risks: only the most active and well off people. A long-term functioning of housing exchange market formed certain notions of the values of different city blocks and gave a unique chance to analyze territorial differentiation of urban environment¹.

The process of housing privatisation that had considerably developed by late 1992² started the market mechanism for "buy - sell" of the apartments, creating conditions for the formation of housing market in Moscow. The functioning of it took on a criminal shade as a result of the absence of a properly worked out housing law, protecting the citizens' rights to their own dwelling place, and the general juridical ignorance of the population as well. Thus, according to the Police Department of Moscow estimates, over 1993, 15,000 cases of eviction of citizens as a result of housing machinations were registered. Among them 1,500 were murdered, 6,000 found themselves homeless and joined the ranks of Moscow beggars. The rest were forced to abandon the city. The mechanism of housing deals is rather simple: poor and lonely people are offered various "benefits" - from considerable sums of money and housing in other districts of the city or the country to selling the apartment with the former owner retaining a life-long right to dwell there. The deal concluded, the "former owner" is of no interest to "the benefactor" and is thrown out into the street. The lonely old folks, alcoholics, children under age, drug addicts - the most unprotected layers of citizens - turn victims to this kind of swindling. In February, 1994, a criminal group was disclosed, who were involved in this kind of criminal activities. In their office, documents were discovered containing data about 2,278 apartment owners, in fact, potentially doomed.

The obvious profit derived from housing speculation gave a powerful spur to the development of multiple smaller firms and offices dealing with the evaluation of

realty, its speedy privatisation and selling (buying). At the lowest estimate possible, there are now 180 similar firms in Moscow functioning legally and specializing in operation with real estate, apart from numerous banks and stock-exchanges for which such activity is just work on the side.

In 1992, when the demand for housing in Moscow and for office considerably exceeded the supply, prices were fixed quite incidentally and might be unexpectedly low or unjustifiably high. But the gradual expanding of the real estate market had brought about a relative price stabilisation by 1993. It does not mean that the prices themselves don't change, they are rising as a result of general inflation but a stable enough correlation between the prices has been established, depending on the location of housing within the city, the infrastructure of the adjoining blocks, proximity to parklands and plenty of other factors.

Now, what is the structure of the Moscow housing fund like? Houses built in Soviet time form its basis. Historical buildings are located only in the centre of the city, many houses having been removed from the fund for the reason of not corresponding to up-to-date notions of the necessary comfort standards. At the same time, they continue to maintain multistory rental houses, built early in the century, where people, as a rule, live in "communal" flats. A number of buildings have been reconstructed to meet the demands of a prestigious dwelling. In previous times they were offered to "nomenklatura", nowadays the latter have been replaced by the "new rich". But such houses definitely make up an inconsiderable part of the city housing fund.

Soviet housing, starting with the 20s, can be very well divided into clear-cut periods determined by the dominating urban-planning conceptions. In the 20s and 30s the principles of constructivism and functionalism were widely introduced into construction. Concrete is already widely used. The ideas of a "social (communal) hostel" bring about a sharp decrease of the useful space of apartments. Many household functions - cooking, washing, keeping food stores etc., are carried out beyond an individual dwelling place and the minimum space is left for these functions within the flat. Compact housing blocks in accordance with the principle of "factory-settlement" prevail in that period.

From 1932 up to 1958 the dominating idea is the "facade-line" housing construction in Moscow, which was meant as a sort of window-dressing. Individually designed blocks of houses were built along all city avenues, the principal arteries of traffic. These brick houses, richly decorated, had apartments corresponding to their outer look. A portion of these apartments was occupied by those belonging to privileged layers of the population, "the working aristocracy" included, while in the remaining part two-three families lived in one apartment, that is, the "communal principle" was observed. Construction carried out by such methods couldn't solve the housing

problem - the key problem of the city. The gap between the living standards of higher and lower layers of the population became dangerous.

Transition to mass housing construction has begun since the sixties, when the building industry came in place of individual methods of construction. Concrete has taken the place of brick, 8-9 story houses are replaced by 5-story ones. Making cheaper the construction becomes a leading principle. As a result, not only architectural extravagances, but even lifts are given up. The task of providing the greatest possible number of Muscovites with housing was being solved to great extent at the expense of increasing the number of compartments in every house. That's why the living space per family, as well as the height of ceilings, were sharply cut. At present, almost the whole 5-story housing fund of Moscow is in such poor state that it is beyond repairing.

The middle of the 70s marks the beginning of a new stage in the urban planning history of Moscow. Changes are introduced into the mass planning of prefabricated houses, widely practiced before. Year after year the number of stories has been growing from 9 to 22, the lay-out improving and the useful space increasing. Buildings put into operation in the late 80s almost do not differ from houses of the 50s as to the size and amenities of apartments. Of course, they are much inferior to the latter as far as quality of the buildings is concerned, as well as their architectural design and the amenities of surrounding urban milieu.

The concentric development of Moscow conditioned the consecutive lay-out on the city-map of the blocks constructed at various times. They are easily discerned visually. But the picture, uniform at first glance, has its nuances connected not only with the time of housing construction but with houses representing different kinds of property. It is necessary to note that, though real estate couldn't be owned privately (individually) in Soviet time, some kinds of collectively owned property were still allowed, in particular: department property (i.e., belonging to the collective of a certain state enterprise, ministry, office or corporation) and cooperative property (i.e., owned by an association of individuals). As a rule, departmental and cooperative houses are of better construction quality and have improved compartment lay-out. In addition, the dwellers of these houses are more social homogeneous. Departmental and cooperative housing construction was carried out at random, within the blocks, and never on mass scale. Though departmental and cooperative houses are dispersed all over the city, one can easily pick out the blocks where they are mostly concentrated.

Let's look at maps (Figure 1, 2, 3.). The greatest volume of housing in Moscow is municipal (state property), but its share considerably varies by districts. Municipal buildings are located in the first place in the central part of the city, in the zone of historical housing, where we find former rental houses and private mansions, once

expropriated. Then we see the areas of 5-story housing and former suburbs standing out very well on the map (Figure 1). They mainly occupy the space in between the city traffic arteries, its inner districts. If we compare the area of the prevailing concentration of municipal houses and the underground line network, it will become evident that it is the above territories that are least of all provided with the underground transport, which is the key one under Moscow conditions. The residents of these districts are forced to use the surface transport, which is slow and much more reliable.

The picture will be quite different if we take departmental houses (Figure 2). Most of them are located:

- in settlements constructed around bigger industrial units, the airports (for example, in the settlement of the airport "Vnukovo" 96% of housing is departmental and the population is employed by this enterprise), the water-power plant etc.;
- in the central part of the city, in the blocks selected by high party and state officials;
- in the blocks constructed in Stalin's time, which adjoin Moscow avenues and are well provided with kinds of transport.

Cooperative houses (Figure 3) are mainly concentrated in the outskirts of the city, in the area of mass housing construction of recent years, but here the trend for territorial selectivity is also evident. As construction of cooperative housing suggested the investments by individual citizens, many factors were taken into account when choosing the building site. They were the following: transport facilities, proximity to parkland, the provision of social infrastructure etc. Thus, other things being equal, the residents of cooperative houses were certain to find themselves in the better position.

When speaking of structure and quality of the Moscow housing fund, one should mention that the housing situation differs in various districts. The average living space provision varies from 8 to 30 sq. m. per capita (Figure 4). The situation is the worst in the districts where there is still much old residential housing, i.e., in the inner-city and in the areas where bigger urban and semi-urban settlements of former suburbs of the capital are still preserved. There are many "communal" apartments. Things are much better in the blocks of Stalin's time construction. In spite of the existence of "communal" apartments, the high quality of the housing and vast flats provide the residents with better living space.

Figure 1 Share of Municipal Housing in Moscow (1993)

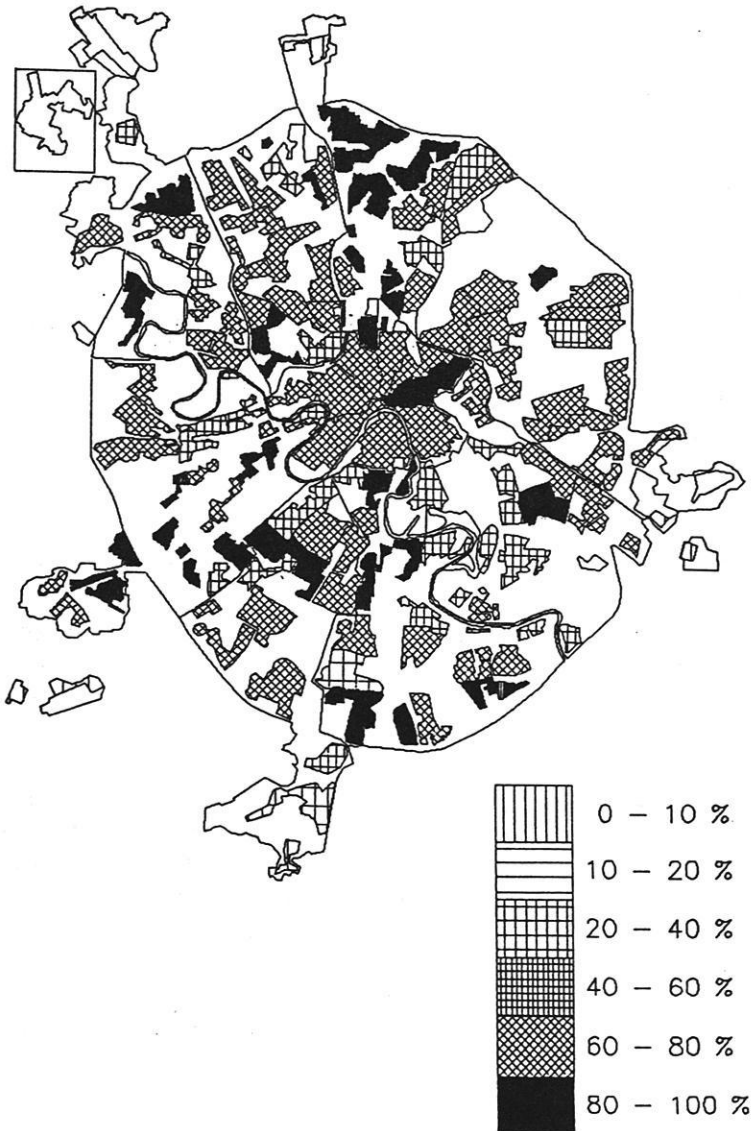


Figure 2 Share of Departmental Housing in Moscow (1993)

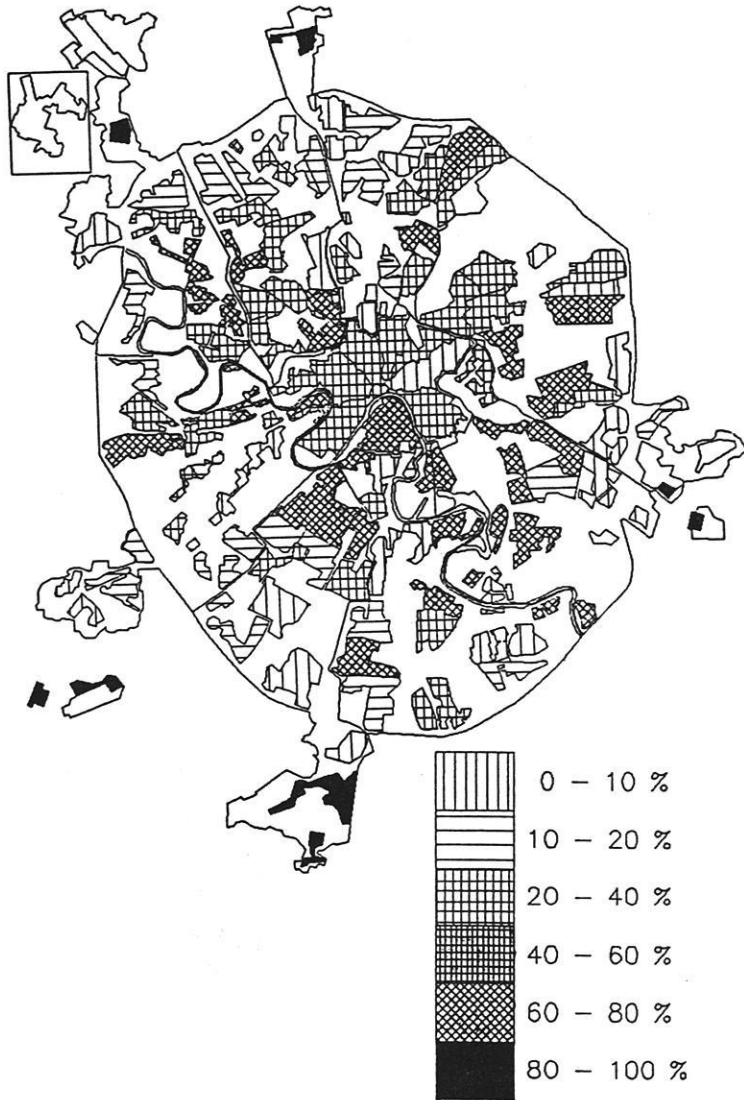


Figure 3 Share of Cooperative Housing in Moscow (1993)

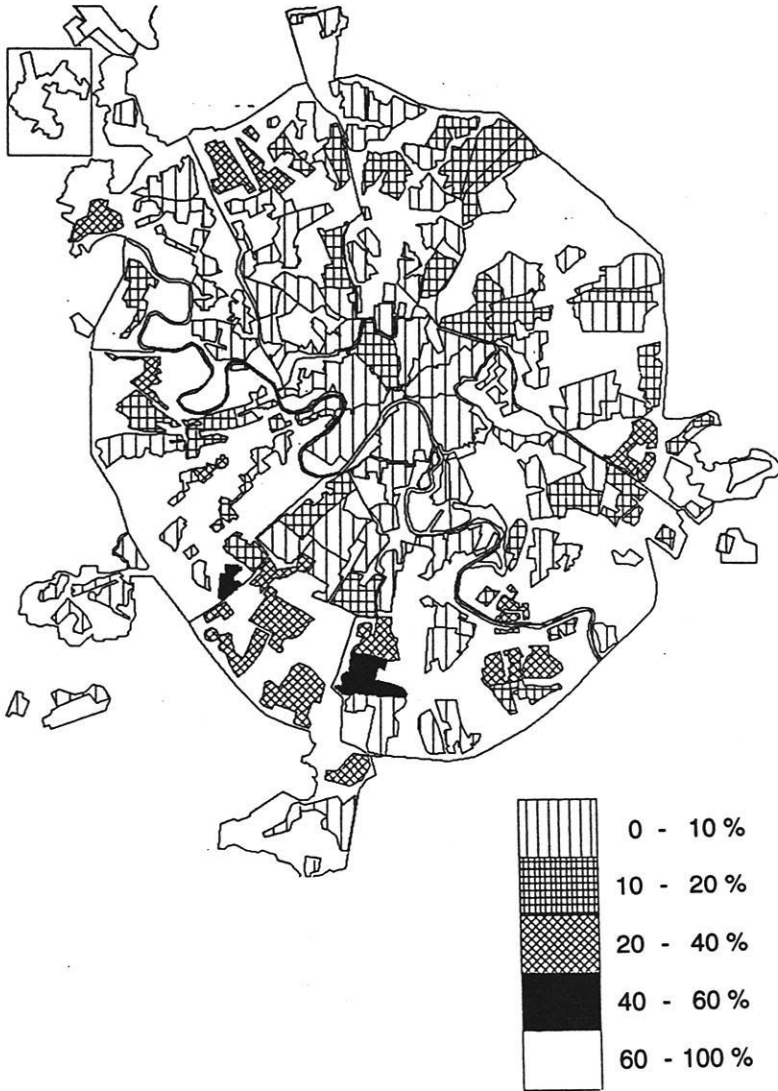
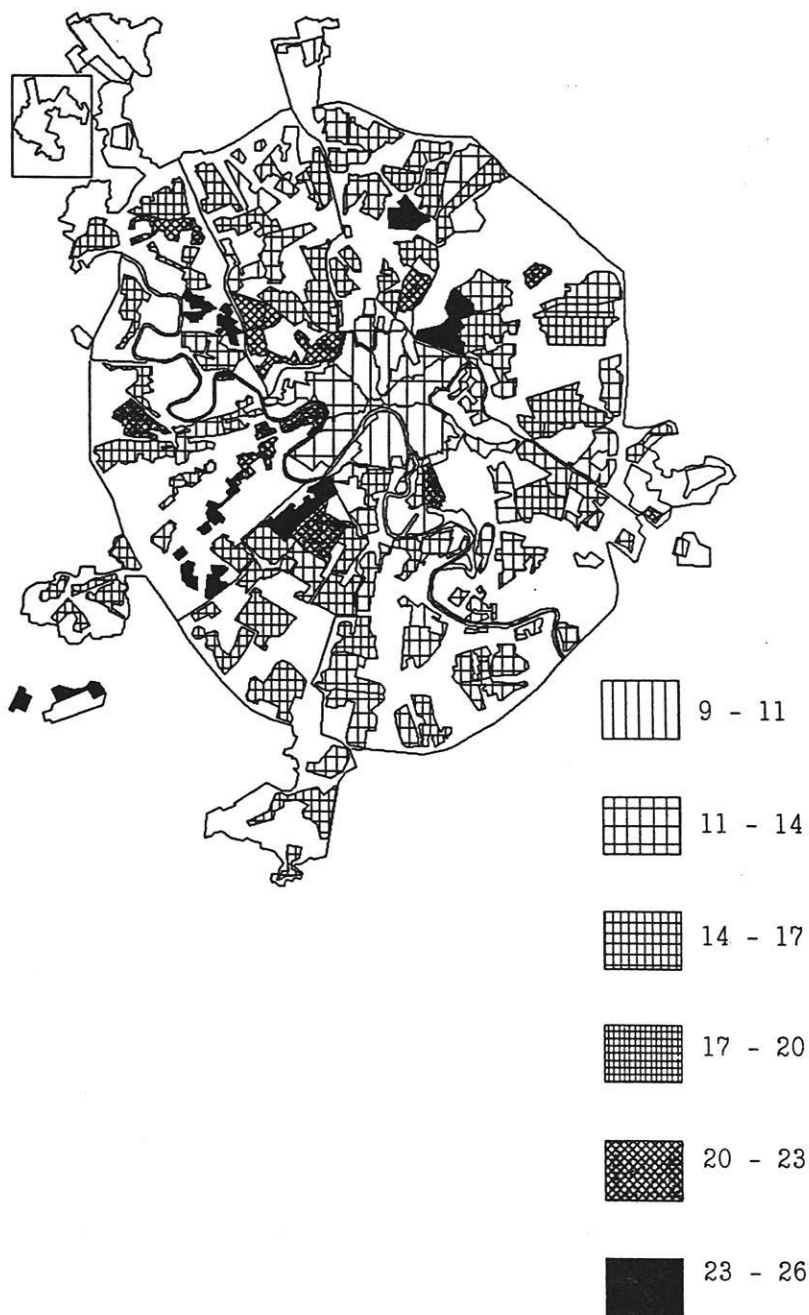


Figure 4 Variety of Average Living Space Provision in Moscow (sq.m. per capita)



But it is not only the physical size of the apartments that matters. The demographic structure of families residing in different parts of Moscow considerably differs. Where several generations, that is, a young family or grown-up children live with parents, the provision of living space is much lower. Such situation is typical for the city centre and former workers' settlements. Where children and parents live separately (i.e., in new blocks), the living space provision is much better. However, the highest rates for Moscow are characteristic of the blocks where a great number of lone persons live and the percentage of elderly residents is high. It is just this circumstance, as well as the existence of "communal" flats, that creates the prerequisites for redistribution of population in the city.

Let us dwell now on specific features of housing market functioning in Moscow. The analysis of the dynamics of the apartment prices in 1993 shows that the market development brings about stabilization of prices, which become more or less predictable. Of course, we faced great difficulties when collecting reliable information. Mediation service offices dealing in buying and selling flats keep secret the results of the bargains made by them. Thus advertisement booklets publishing apartment sale offer are the only source of information on housing in Moscow. For this reason, we have chosen a specialized publishing house owned by a reputable realty office, which has a number of experienced brokers on the staff. We applied to the editorial office with a request to provide us with the firsthand information at their disposal received from private persons. It should be noted that before being stored in the database, "prices" of flats fixed by their owners undergo an expertize by a broker who is well familiar with a certain district of Moscow. He determines to what extent the price corresponds to the feasibility of selling the flat for such a sum. That is why we had no doubt that the received information was reliable. Besides, this office published the fullest information about the flats offered for sale including their location in the city and transport facilities. Though we had taken into account all indices, two factors - "the size of the flat" and "location"-turned out to be predominant. As for their significance, they by far exceed the influence of all other characteristics. Therefore, when analysing spatial differences of the urban environment of Moscow, which came to light as a result of the housing market functioning, the main attention was paid to correlation between those very factors and the apartment price.

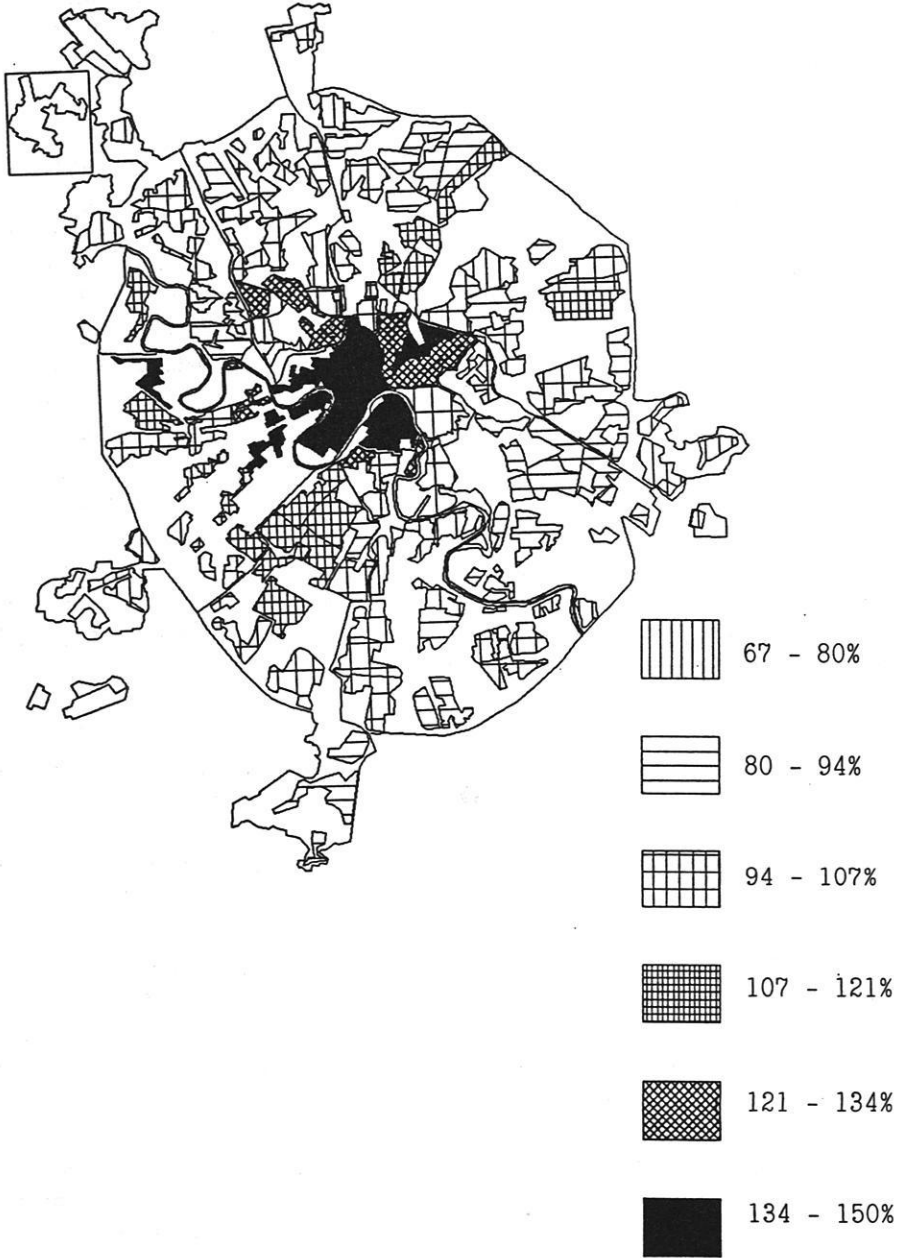
In the first place, it turned out that the cost of one square meter of housing is not the same for flats with different number of rooms. Thus, approximately up to the middle of 1992, one-room apartments were in highest demand, and the average cost per one square meter in such flats was much higher than that in others. By the end of the summer of 1993, the situation had radically changed. Demand for smaller flats went down, the cost per one square meter of one-room and two-room flats evened out, but at the same time the cost of three-room flats greatly increased. This trend had increased towards the beginning of 1994. With the cost per square meter in

standard one-two-and three-room flats being even, demand has greatly increased for the dwellings whose size exceed the size of standard Moscow flats. In this case, the bigger the flat, the higher is the price per 1 sq.m., sometimes 1.5 - 2 times higher. Incidentally, such changes testify to the pace of initial investment accumulation by "nouveau riche", as well as to a change in the notion of an "adequate living standard" and "social equality" etc.

Location affects the cost of a flat even more. For Moscow, under conditions of socially mixed population and a vague idea of what is a "prestigious" dwelling zone like, a better location is associated with the city centre remoteness. The proximity of parks and parkland corrects the established common idea only in a slight degree. It is this approach that has affected the formation of territorial rental zones for Moscow, according to which the land-tax rate is determined. However, evaluating an apartment, its owner, by intuition, when using the word "location", means much more than just how far it is from the centre or the proximity of parkland. In reality, the apartment value rate reflects not only the quality of the housing proper and its place on the city-maps, but the quality of life in the given blocks. When fixing the price, the owner makes use of his own experience. Everything is taken into account: the neighbours (above all their socio-cultural level, then their income), supply of shops, the availability of schools, polyclinics, kindergartens etc., their service level, the level of local criminal activities... In other words, all that man encounters in everyday life and that can either complicate it or make it easier. That is why the character of spatial distribution of the housing cost rate enables us to judge of qualitative differences of urban environment (Figure 5).

The contrasts of the picture as it is draw attention in the first instance. The central part of the city stands out sharply as to the price level. At the same time there is quite a number of blocks in outlying districts able to compete with the centre. It can be noted that there have emerged two poles of gravitation for well-off people, and alongside prestigious blocks of historical part of Moscow similar blocks are arising in outlying districts, especially in locations with various sporting facilities, such as mountain-skiing, tennis and sailing. However, these two poles exist under different social conditions. The Moscow centre is compact enough. It certainly cannot be called homogeneous, but still the policy of evacuating the old residents to urban periphery and moving to the centre and the adjacent blocks the "nomenclatura" has led to creating here a considerable stratum of people whose living standard is higher than that of the rest of population. The process of privatization and formation of housing market has considerably increased the number of well-to-do people in the Moscow centre. And though the sharpest contrasts are peculiar to this part of the city, such situation is considered natural here and does not give rise to strong protest on the part of the needy population. Things are quite different in the outskirts of Moscow, where prestigious blocks are in absolutely different surroundings and represent sort of enclaves of prosperity against the background of general poverty.

Figure 5 Spatial Distribution of the Housing Cost Rate (% in average price 800\$)



Residents in these blocks are obliged to spend big sums of money to protect their own security and well-being. This naturally affects the cost of apartment.

One of the reasons for this sharp polarization of urban milieu is the low quality of housing and the fact that urban environment has not been formed yet and has not been taken proper care of. In spite of the current opinion that flats in Moscow are sold at fabulous prices, exceeding those in Vienna, Paris and other European capitals, the bulk of housing is sold at an average price, about 700-800 \$ per one sq.m. It is this price that is the base one for Moscow. However, one can suppose that this price is somewhat too high due to the fact that the housing market has not yet taken the proper shape and the demand exceeds the supply. A uniform enough picture of housing price distribution is broken only in the blocks where the percentage of cooperative and departmental housing is high (Figure 2, 3), as well as in blocks constructed in Stalin's time. Here, prices increase by 10-20%. On the contrary, the cost of apartments located in inner, placed within the city sectors, blocks, where municipal housing prevails, is below the average by 20-30%, with the exception of the south-west sector of the city.

It is not quite clear to what extent the proximity of vast tracts of greenery influences the cost of housing. In fact, though expected to the contrary, they do not change the picture as it is, and only when they become a real component of urban environment adapted for urban life and the citizens' needs, they play their role. It turns out that the availability of vast tracts of greenery as they are in the urban environment is not enough to cause an increase of apartment cost; a man-made landscape should be created imitating all kinds of various natural conditions and possibilities and even visually differing from a usual mid-Russian paysage opening up beyond the Moscow Periphery - the official city border.

However, it is not merely the quality of housing and proximity to tracts of greenery that play a decisive role in determining the price level. In most blocks in the outlying districts of Moscow and in its middle part as well, there are uniform houses which are under comparatively equal conditions as to their distance from the city centre and provision with social infrastructure and transport facilities; nevertheless the apartment cost differs there. There are other factors which come into force here, in the first place, the social structure of the resident population. Unfortunately we do not have available official statistics, which would allow us to characterize the population of different Moscow blocks according to their social and economic status, education and income levels. The last census of 1989 gives a very generalized information on 34 former administrative districts. Therefore, to confirm the idea that the population social structure really affects the level of housing cost, we shall make use of indirect data.

Subscription is one of such indicators. The type of periodicals, the people subscribe to, especially, if these publications have a clear-cut trend, as to the subject they deal with, can give an idea of social and cultural characteristics of the population. An analysis of subscription was made by the author in the cooperation with S.S. MICHEYEV in 1990. Post offices were taken as units of the territorial division. More than 150 publications which cannot be considered as mass ones were of greatest interest to us. They are "Literaturnaya gazeta" (Literature-news) and "Sovetskaya Cultura" (Culture-news) (Figure 6). It is quite evident that the public reading these newspapers reside in the blocks where the housing cost level is significantly higher than the average.

On the other hand, in the same year of 1990, the liberalization of access to information made it possible for us to get data about the crime structure in Moscow, the number of various criminal categories and the addresses of their residence. It enabled us to compare this information, the visual image of which you can see in Figure 7, with the results of the subscription analysis (Figure 6). These maps present a diametrically opposite picture. Hardly any other indicator could so clearly reflect the actually existing stratification in the society and the segregation of various social strata in the city space. It is all the more striking, because the idea of social equality has been propagated and put into practice for many years.

The functioning of housing market significantly enchanted these differences bringing about polarization of urban environment. Indeed, blocks with best amenities, where relatively well-to-do population lives, occupy a merely insignificant part of Moscow. Apart from the compact main body of the city, they tend to reside within the three principal sectors: the south-western, north-western and north-eastern ones. Here, the demand for housing and office space is the greatest and prices - the highest. It is this part of the city that has been rapidly changing its look and that attracts all the "new" urban functions, and here the resident population is most dynamic and involved in the process of economic and social changes. The rest of the blocks find themselves at different stages of their evolution. Among them the blocks of north, west and south outskirts of Moscow, which are kind of suppliers of the city criminal elements, give rise to grave apprehensions about their social problems and rapid degradation. The situation is aggravated by the fact that there are numerous hostels of big industrial enterprises here and in addition refugees from the regions of ethnic conflicts, who partly find shelter in Moscow, are mostly located in these blocks.

Figure 6 Residence of Subscribers of "Literaturnaya Gazeta" (Literature-News) and
"Sovetskaya Cultura" (Culture-News)

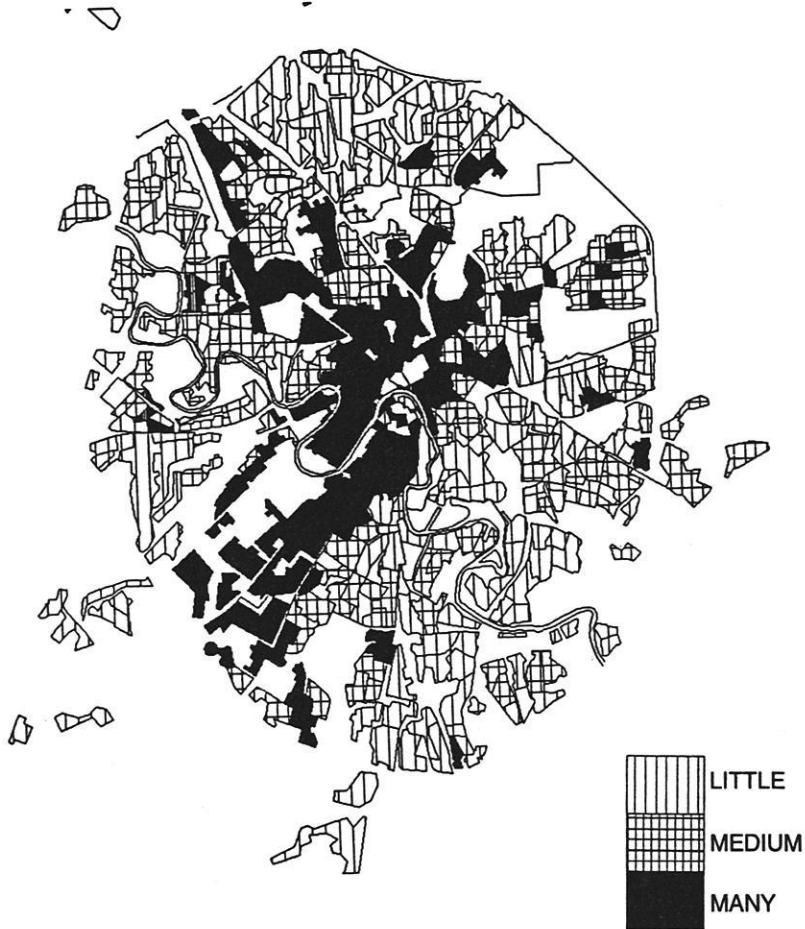
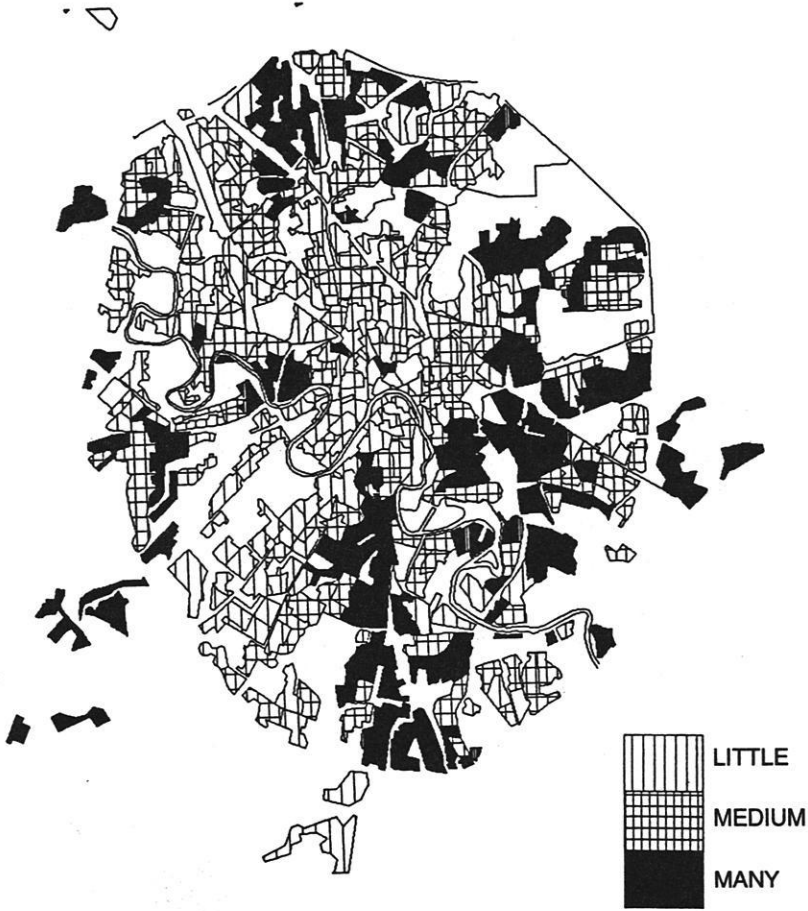


Figure 7 Residence of Criminals in Moscow (1990)



CONCLUSION

Thus, even the first steps in the development of housing market in Moscow have revealed an exceedingly disturbing trend for social self-isolation. We have already discussed the fact that urban environment of Moscow's periphery has not been adequately formed and that in spite of multi-storey housing, Moscow's outskirts have many peculiar features that are characteristics of rural areas and the rural mode of life. Close neighbourhood of the poor and rich is one of these features. Very often they live in the same houses, use one and the same social infrastructure, transport and other facilities, their children go to the same schools. More well-off people, however, definitely prefer to live in more homogeneous neighborhood of the same or higher social status. The right of choosing the place of residence enjoyed by the population now, but so far accessible only to "the rich", has led to re-distribution of the population in the city and segregation of different social strata. In addition to self-isolation of population due to difference in their property status, there exists a forced age segregation, as a result of the urban policy pursued over a number of years, as well as "ideological" isolation of party and state functionaries.

Moscow's city authorities have not yet been fully conscious of these problems and in fact the latter are not discussed either in mass media or in scientific publications. But the functioning of housing market has been revealing these problems so fast that not a trace will soon be left of social equality of the past years and Moscow, like all the largest cities of the world, will be confronted with a most complicated problem of the existence of slums. World practice shows that segregation of the population's residential parts of city results in segregation in other spheres of life. It turns urban environment into a source of permanent conflicts and social claims which are the more acute the deeper rooted in the people's conscience is the notion of social equality as "the equalizing right" and of the duty of the State to secure an adequate living standard to everybody.

NOTES

- ¹ A number of studies on urban ecology, carried out in the 70s under the supervision of J.V. MEDVEDKOV, are devoted to this subject. The book by N.B. BARBASH *Methodology of Studying Territorial Differentiation of Urban Environment*. M. IGAN, 1986, gives a most generalized description of the results of these studies.
- ² At present from 5-50% of flats have been privatized in different city blocks. This figure has averaged 24% in Moscow (by January 1, 1994).
- ³ The notion of prestigious houses, where party functionaries or high-ranking officials resided at one time does not correspond to reality. In fact, such houses have formed neither a block nor a district or zone, as a rule (in most cases). Coming out of a guarded entrance of such a house, its dwellers faced the same urban environment not-taken-proper-care of, the same garbage cans, fences and trampled lawns as the residents of neighboring houses did. This special "privileged" world existed behind the closed doors revealing itself only by small symbols: light-colour brick in the house's design, a small well-looked-after lawn and a blue fir-tree at the entrance; a low fence and a militiaman without fail. Of course, such houses were sure to make an impression of the blocks being prestigious as a whole, but in fact their influence spread over very insignificant part of the city.

