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KVALITETA ŽIVOTA U NOVOSTAMBENIM NASELJIMA I LOKACIJAMA U ZAGREBAČKOJ MREŽI NASELJA
THE QUALITY OF LIVING IN NEW HOUSING ESTATES IN THE SETTLEMENT NETWORK OF ZAGREB

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Zagreb, 2015.

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Predgovor

Knjiga pod nazivom ***Kvaliteta života u novostambenim naseljima i lokacijama u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja*** (***The Quality of Living in New Housing Estates in the Settlement Network of Zagreb***) nastala je kao rezultat istoimenog projekta financiranog od strane Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta (2013.-2015.), te u sklopu tzv. programskih sredstava na Institutu za društvena istraživanja u Zagrebu (IDIZ).

Istoimeno terensko i anketno istraživanja provedeno je u proljeće 2014. godine i za osnovni cilj imalo je nastavak dugogodišnjih istraživanja (od 1970-ih godina) o kvaliteti života koje je IDIZ provodio u grupi za sociologiju sela, grada i prostora. Također je pristup provedenog istraživanja bio osim, nastavka i komparacije, prilagoditi i modificirati najvažnije elemente kvalitete života novom tranzicijskom kontekstu u kojem se Hrvatska nalazi već više od dva desetljeća i u kojem je doživjela značajne promjene na svim poljima života. Segment kvalitete života i stanovanja je zbog prijelaza na tržišnu ekonomiju i privatno vlasništvo doživio velike promjene posebno u domeni socijalnog stanovanja, javnog vlasništva i javne infrastrukture koji su evidentno postali najugroženiji. U prilog tome govore i rezultati istraživanja predstavljeni u nastavku knjige. Stoga je bilo potrebno istražiti upravo trenutne uvjete života stanovnika u novim i novoizgrađenim (od 1990-ih godina) stanovima i naseljima te također istaknuti njihove prednosti i nedostatke.

Međutim, važno je naglasiti da ovo istraživanje zbog deficitarnih financijskih sredstava nije moglo biti potpuno komparativno te također i longitudinalno, primjerice, zadnjem istraživanju provedenom na reprezentativnom nacionalnom uzorku 2004. godine u sklopu projekta pod nazivom *Sociološki aspekti mreže naselja u kontekstu tranzicije*. Istraživanje iz 2014. godine ciljano je bilo usmjereno samo na grad Zagreb i zagrebačku mrežu naselja (Zagrebačku županiju) u kojima su spomenute društvene promjene i izmijenjeni način života i najočitiji. Uzorak je obuhvatio tzv. novostambena naselja i lokacije u gradu Zagrebu i trima gradovima u Zagrebačkoj županiji (Zaprešiću, Samoboru i Velikoj Gorici), a iznosio je ukupno 308 ispitanika, odnosno, kućanstava (N=308). Istraživanjem se pokazalo kako su se najvidljivije promjene dogodile upravo u segmentu stanovanja, odnosno intenzivnoj stanogradnji i kvaliteti života stanovnika u novoizgrađenim naseljima kako u gradu Zagrebu tako i

ostalim istraživanim gradovima u mreži. Nastale promjene dovele su do značajnih posljedica u izgledu, izgrađenosti i poimanju identiteta ovih gradova. Nova i često rubna naselja, odnosno nove stambene lokacije, nastajale su stihijski i neplanirano, i u neskladu s procesima urbanističkog i prostornog planiranja. Najgušće izgrađena i uz to slabo infrastrukturno opremljena naselja nastala su upravo na prostoru grada Zagreba i na njegovim rubovima (periferiji). Interpretirani podaci pokazuju da, iako se radi o novostambenim naseljima i lokacijama, njihova kvaliteta života nije na zavidnoj i zadovoljavajućoj razini. Rezultati pokazuju da kvaliteta stanovanja nije doživjela poboljšanja uspoređujući dobivene rezultate s onima iz 2004. godine već stagnaciju, a po nekim pokazateljima i pogoršanje. Važno je naglasiti i da su se podaci pokazali boljima po većini indikatora za Zagrebačku županiju nego za sam grad Zagreb te su se manji gradovi stanovnicima pokazali opremljeniji i bolji te ugodniji za stanovanje i svakodnevni život.

Detaljnije podatke i analize o različitim aspektima kvalitete života donosi se u knjizi koja se sastoji od ukupno pet radova ili poglavlja triju autora iz grupe za sociologiju prostora pri IDIZ-u (Anđeline Svirčić Gotovac, voditeljice istraživanja, Jelene Zlatar i Branimira Krištofića). Od pet poglavlja ili radova tri su rada napisana na engleskom, a dva na hrvatskom jeziku. Knjiga je pregled većine istraživanih elemenata kvalitete života, od stanovanja, njegove objektivne i subjektivne razine, do ekologije i participativnosti u neposrednom ili susjednom okruženju u kojem stanari svakodnevno žive.

Prvo poglavlje knjige autorice **Anđeline Svirčić Gotovac** nosi istoimeni naslov kao i samo istraživanje i pisano je na engleskom jeziku - *The Quality of Living in New Housing Estates in the Settlement Network of Zagreb - Kvaliteta života u novostambenim naseljima i lokacijama u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja*.

Rad je istovremeno teorijski i metodološki uvod u sljedeće radove koji svi zajedno predstavljaju cjelinu kvalitete života i istraživanih elemenata u spomenutim naseljima. Detaljno predstavlja osnovne aspekte samog istraživanja te dobivenih rezultata od socioekonomskih do podataka o kućanstvima (prihodi, troškovi itd.) te analize sobnosti (veličina, kvadratura, kvaliteta gradnje itd.) istraživanih stanova i kuća. Uvodnim radom nastojalo se također predstaviti dosadašnju dugu istraživačku tra-

diciju umreženosti prostora i kvalitete života stvorene u IDIZ-u još od 1970-ih godina.

Drugo poglavlje također autorice **Anđeline Svirčić Gotovac** pisano je na engleskom jeziku, a nosi naslov *New Housing Estates in the Settlement Network of Zagreb – Community Infrastructure – Opremljenost novostambenih naselja u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja*.

Ovaj je rad svojevrsni nastavak na analizu i obradu elementa stanovanja, ali donosi i novi aspekt, a to je analiza na razini naselja (susjedstva) u kojem stanovnici žive. Da bi kvaliteta stanovanja bila cjelovito prikazana, osim razine kućanstava mora se prikazati i razina susjedstava, odnosno, opremljenosti neposredne okoline života. Kućanstva i susjedstva predstavljena su također i na dvije osnovne razine objektivne opremljenosti, primarnoj i sekundarnoj, te egzaktno pokazuju kakvo je stanje u pojedinim istraživanim gradovima danas.

Treće poglavlje autorice **Jelene Zlatar** napisano je na engleskom jeziku i nosi naslov *The quality of housing at the subjective level: aesthetic and ecological aspects of the neighbourhood and citizen participation – Subjektivna razina kvalitete stanovanja: estetski, ekološki aspekti susjedstva i građanska participacija*.

Rad je nastavak na prethodnu analizu objektivne opremljenosti naselja te donosi analizu subjektivne opremljenosti kroz estetske i ekološke aspekte naselja te sudjelovanja u životu naselja (tzv. participativnosti). Subjektivno zadovoljstvo navedenim aspektima života u susjedstvima također je iznimno važno jer pokazuje subjektivnu stranu života koju iznose sami stanari. Često ističu što bi se sve moglo u njima poboljšati što je i svojevrsni putokaz za daljnje planiranje i uređenje novih naselja kako na lokalnoj tako i gradskoj razini donošenja odluka. Rad donosi i po prvi puta u hrvatskom kontekstu istražene nove elemente kvalitete stanovanja – ekološki i element građanske participacije - koji su u suvremenom društvu neizostavna odrednica doživljaja ili pripadnosti vlastitom naselju.

Četvrto poglavlje autora **Branimira Krištofića** napisano je na hrvatskom jeziku i nosi naslov Kvaliteta života i tranzicija. *Sociološka rekonstrukcija na primjeru Zagreba. - Quality of Living and the Transition Period. Sociological reconstruction – the case of Zagreb*.

Rad je dugogodišnji presjek nekoliko institutskih istraživanja, a izdvajaju se četiri istraživanja izvedena u sljedećim godinama: 1984.,

1989., 1996. i 2004. godine. Ta istraživanja poznata su pod kraticom SKR (*Sociokulturni razvoj*). Riječ je o velikim istraživanjima na razini Hrvatske (prije Jugoslavije) kojima je okosnica bilo istraživanje društvene strukture, a obuhvaćala su i niz područja sociološkog interesa pa tako i kvalitetu života. Kada se uzorci svedu na Zagreb, odnosno zagrebačku mrežu naselja, s istraživanjem iz 2014. godine dobili su se usporedivi podaci za period od trideset godina (1984–2014) koje pokriva i predtranzicijske i tranzicijske godine.

Peto i zadnje poglavlje autorica **Anđeline Svirčić Gotovac** i **Jelene Zlatar** primjer je kvalitativnog istraživanja odnosno studije slučaja o socijalnom tipu stanovanja u tzv. POS naselju Sopnica – Jelkovec (ili Novi Jelkovec). Napisano je na hrvatskom jeziku i nosi naslov *Novi Jelkovec ili Sopnica-Jelkovec kao primjer POS-ovog naselja – Novi Jelkovec or Sopnica-Jelkovec - Example of the POS Housing Estate.* Naselje je zadnjih godina medijski bilo popraćeno kao naselje lošijeg stanovanja i negativnog imidža jer je većinom naseljeno socijalnim kategorijama stanovnika. Upravo se istraživanjem ovog specifičnog naselja nastojalo provjeriti kakvo je stanje u naselju danas te prati li ga još uvijek stvoreni diskurs. Metodom intervjua sa stanovnicima naselja i stručnim akterima kojima je tematika stanovanja bliska, rezultati su pokazali da je stvarno stanje u naselju danas znatno bolje i da se nekadašnja neatraktivnost polako zamjenjuje poželjnijim statusom ovog naselja.

Zaključno se o knjizi može reći kako su ovakva kvantitativno-kvalitativna istraživanja više nego potrebna kako bi se moglo pokazati stvarno stanje života u gradovima danas, naročito velikim gradovima kao što je dijelom i Zagreb. Život u gradu neodvojiv je od fenomena stanovanja i njegove kvalitete. Na fenomen stanovanja, ali i ukupnu kvalitetu života, posebno je utjecala tranzicija i njeni ekonomski parametri koji, kako su pokazali i rezultati predstavljenog istraživanja, nisu pohvalni. Na njih je važno moći utjecati te zaustaviti one najlošije trendove. To su, primjerice, smanjenje javnog ili građanskog utjecaja i smanjenje javnog prostora te loša opremljenost većine novih naselja. Ovakva istraživanja stoga mogu biti podloga gradskoj politici bez čijeg se uključenja ne mogu značajno niti poboljšati uvjeti života u istraživanim lokacijama i naseljima.

Dr. sc. Anđelina Svirčić Gotovac, voditeljica istraživanja

Prvo poglavlje

Anđelina Svirčić Gotovac

THE QUALITY OF LIVING IN NEW HOUSING ESTATES IN THE SETTLEMENT NETWORK OF ZAGREB

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THE QUALITY OF LIVING IN NEW HOUSING ESTATES IN THE SETTLEMENT NETWORK OF ZAGREB

ABSTRACT Transition and post-transition transformation processes in the City of Zagreb and its settlement network are remarkably different in the two, theoretically divided, transition decades (1990-2000 and from 2000 onwards). Urban changes in the second transition period have resulted in more significant and far-reaching consequences for the development and appearance of Zagreb and its surroundings. They are clearly visible, for example, in the housing segment, in intense residential construction and the quality of living in new housing estates in the City of Zagreb, but also in each of the towns surveyed within the City network: Velika Gorica, Samobor and Zaprešić. Urban changes have considerably affected the towns and shaped their appearance, physical development and identity. New housing estates (often on the outskirts of towns) or blocks of flats within the existing estates have sprung up without control, with little or no preparation, inconsistent with urban and spatial plans. The City of Zagreb and its outskirts have changed the most. The City authorities have adopted a partial, market-oriented planning concept with no broader picture in mind and no comprehensive urban development plan for the City of Zagreb. This approach has substantially impacted the citizens' quality of living. The aim of the paper is to examine the quality of living in the above-mentioned locations through fieldwork. The paper presents the research done in spring 2014 on a targeted sample of 308 households (N=308) in new housing estates or new blocks of flats/houses within the existing estates in the City of Zagreb and three satellite towns. The obtained data analysis shows that although the housing estates are new, the quality of living in them is not satisfactory. The comparison of results from 2004 with the latest from 2014 reveals that the quality of living has not improved but stagnated, some signs pointing to decline. This paper is a theoretical and methodological introduction to the ones which will follow and present complete research results on the quality of living in all examined segments and locations. Thus

we continue a long tradition of research on settlement networks and the quality of living started at the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb in the 1970s.

Key words: quality of living**,** settlement network**,** Zagreb, satellite towns, research tradition, new research.

Introduction

Post-communist and the 1990s transition cities (e.g. Zagreb in Croatia) are a rich source of new information about urban processes and spatial transformation in cities, but also on the outskirts of cities. "A post-communist city is an important object of study whose investigation brings new insights into urban studies" (Sykora and Bouzarovski, 2012:43). All aspects of urban life in Zagreb have beeen affected by transition, the most visible changes occurring in urban planning, the transformation of space (both in towns and villages) and the total quality of life in them. With the advent of free-market (neo-liberal) capitalism and the new social system, the state has lost its former power and profit has become more important than any other social issues or values. This so-called de-nationalization of the national territory (Sasen, 1996) is strongly present in residential and commercial building. New and extremely potent social and urban actors have appeared in the cities in transition: investors, developers (economic actors), mayors (political actors) (Bassand, 2001; Vujović, 2005; Čaldarović, 2011; Svirčić-Gotovac, 2012; Zlatar, 2013). They have put their self-interest and short-term goals ahead of everything else. In their projects there is often no concern for public interest or long-term strategic town planning. In these circumstances, the scope of action of less significant actors (citizens and experts) and their influence on changes in the metropolitan area have become insubstantial. That is why such changes often have a negative effect on the city development and the majority of its inhabitants. "The current metropolitanization, generally speaking, is in crisis. The complexity of various urban actors (economic, local, regional or national political actors, professional city planners, residents, users) is confronted with a democratic deficit of political institutions" (Vujović, 2005:427). In the

cities in transition there is a specific social system which is not fully developed yet. "Post-communist cities are cities under transformation" (Sykora and Bouzarovski, 2012:44). Cities after 2000 can be called *post-transition cities* (Sykora and Bouzarovski, 2012:45) because in them the transition has not been completed, only modified.

The present day situation can be best explained by changes typical for the second transition decade which started in 2000 and their consequences. The most visible changes are in the housing segment and the quality of living of residents (in both old and new parts of Zagreb). "Housing is perceived as a basic social need of human beings and its standard greatly influences the standard of welfare of the whole society. Housing insecurity can have far reaching consequences for the labor market, as well as for political stability in a particular country" (Lux, 2003:9).

In the housing segment, the changes are also connected with the processes of suburbanization and decentralization of Zagreb and its surroundings, which have altered the city appearance, its development and the very understanding of the city concept. Since 2000, new housing estates (often on the outskirts of the city) and various new buildings within the existing estates, have emerged without control, inconsistent with urban and spatial planning. The authorities have adopted the concept of partial, market-oriented urban and suburban spatial planning rather than a comprehensive, strategically sound approach to the city development. In the period of transition and market economy, space has become a valuable resource. Investment, especially residential real estate investment, has brought big and fast profits. Economic actors, in symbiosis with political actors, have "developed the city" by converting public space to residential or commercial areas. Almost two decades since, these locations are overbuilt and lacking basic infrastructure requirements (public facilities) for daily urban life, especially on the outskirts of the city. In literature, a number of syntagms is used for such building and development: scattered, patchwork, random, death of urbanism etc. For years experts of various profiles have been warning about the alarming state of affairs in urban planning but negative trends have continued until today. Meanwhile, flats in new residential areas have become obtainable at very high market prices, practically unaffordable for the majority

of citizens. On the other hand, social housing, a form of affordable housing, has been neglected (there are only two POS residential estates in the City of Zagreb)[1]. So there is a surplus of up to 20,000 flats in Zagreb today, according to some sources. "40,000 new flats were built in Zagreb from 2001 to 2008. It appears that there are now about 20,000 flats on sale" (Zagrebplan, 2012:127).

New housing estates do not measure up to those built in Zagreb in the socialist period (in the 1960s, the 1970s and the 1980s in New Zagreb and a wider city area). Back then new estates were the result of long-term interdisciplinary planning at the local level which attempted to ensure the satisfactory quality of living for all residents. It meant that a large number of flats (often in very limited space) was nevertheless accompanied by the necessary community infrastructure (kindergartens, schools, public transport stations, health centres, arts and culture centres etc.). Basic urban functions were successfully fulfilled in the majority of early socialist housing estates.

New housing estates in Zagreb (from the 1990s and especially those built since 2000 up to now) do not (or only partially) meet people's daily needs and lack some basic elements which determine the quality of living. In most cases there is no infrastructure to accompany new housing projects (no creches, schools, playgrounds, public spaces, green areas etc.). Inadequate new infrastructure in Zagreb and satellite towns means that residents of new developments fulfil their needs by putting further pressure on the existing, already overstretched facilities and services. Only years after new flats are finished do city authorities deal with infrastructural demands, and then only to a limited extent. "A lot of people live in parts of the city which lack public services and facilities, local job opportunities, public spaces, green areas and recreational facilities" (Zagrebplan, 2012:127). As Zlatar (2014) argues "filling the space without systematic strategic planning means combining old and new

[1] Public or subsidized housing programs are not adequately present in Croatia; the housing problem of Croatian citizens is left to the rules of the market. Out of nine planned POS estates (state and city subsidized residential construction) only two have been built in Zagreb so far. "The POS program was introduced to solve the housing problem of Croatian citizens. It offered flats under more favourable conditions than those on the market, guaranteed good quality and meeting deadlines." (http://www.apn.hr/hr/opcenito-o-posu-91#sthash.26jEYlTx.dpuf)

structures with rather chaotic results for the skyline of the city. New building structures are "squeezed" into the existing ones, regardless of the available space or other consequences" (p. 151).

1. Theoretical concepts and the inherited tradition of research on the quality of living in the settlement network

1.1. Quality of living

The Institute for Social Research in Zagreb has a long tradition of studying the quality of living (research conducted in 1984, 1994 and 2004). The latest 2014 research builds on the previous research in theory and methodology. The quality of living is "the general state of more or less satisfied needs of an individual or various group entities, such as classes, professional groups etc." (Lay, 1991:3). Both *objective or basic* and *subjective or developed needs* make up the *total quality of living*. However, it is almost impossible to measure or determine the needs of a single household or estate with generally valid or commonly accepted tools. Therefore a specific approach is usually taken.

In urban sociology the quality of living and the quality of infrastructure in a housing estate is measured by using two research units: *a single household* and *the neighbourhood (immediate surroundings)* (Seferagić, 1988; 2005; Hodžić, 2005; Sviršić Gotovac, 2006). Household characteristics and neighbourhood facilities are also surveyed at two levels, primary and secondary. The obtained results show whether the quality of living of residents in their households and immediate neighbourhood (a 15 minutes' walk from home) is satisfactory or not. The results also reveal drawbacks and possible improvements. In the process of modernization basic or *primary technical conditions* have been fulfilled and households have electricity and water supply, heating, they are connected to the public sewer. Today most developed/developing countries (Croatia included) have achieved this level. Only underdeveloped and poor countries in the world have not yet reached it. *Secondary conditions* are the existence of technical devices in households, useful everyday appliances such as fridges, dishwashers, telephones (but also Internet connection,

PCs, laptops etc.). When we look at such household equipment, the purchase depends on various factors (the level of education of people, the total household income, personal preferences) and it is more difficult to be objective in research. Still, the standard of living and the cost of living in a particular country usually determine the minimum number of household appliances and this information is then used in the research.

The neighbourhood or immediate surroundings is an area within a 15 minutes' walk from home where residents live and meet their daily needs (shopping, creches, schools, recreation etc.). The perception of neighbourhood is subjective and can comprise an entire housing estate (POS Španska or Vrbani III in Zagreb) or just a few nearby streets.

The *neighbourhood infrastructure* is assessed from the social, technical and ecological point of view. We look at primary, basic and secondary, social infrastructure: water and electricity supply, supermarkets, kindergartens, primary schools, post-offices, health centres, roads, public transport availability, public lighting, parks, collection and disposal of waste, green areas, culture centres etc. In some new housing developments it can be clearly seen how certain institutions, services and public amenities improve or lower the total quality of living. The existing quality of living can add to the use value of the housing estate (Seferagić, 1988; Svirčić Gotovac, 2006). When a housing estate has a well-developed infrastructure, its use value is high. An ill-equipped housing development does not satisfy the needs of its residents and its use value is low.

In previous research the main *components* of the quality of living were *housing, work conditions, health and nutrition, free time and recreation, education, migrations* and *transport*. A separate questionnaire collected information about the neighbourhood facilities provided by local authorities.[2] In the 2014 research new components were added: *neighbourhood facilities, environment protection and sustainability, participation of residents in decision-making processes* and *management of the city* (the city policy towards the city and its housing estates). These new components follow the sustainable development concept of the modern global society

[2] In the 2014 research of the settlement network of Zagreb, health and nutrition were not included because of the small sample and insufficient means. Neighbourhood facilities were surveyed in the single questionnaire which contained 170 questions about the quality of living in households and housing estates.

in which post-socialist and countries in transition have a specific position. The methodology and results of the latest research are presented in detail in the following chapters.

1.2. The settlement network of Zagreb

In order to explain the transition and post-transition spatial transformations in Zagreb and its region, it is important to contextualize them and place them in the existing geographic and demographic framework. The Institute for Social Research in Zagreb studied the settlement network of Croatia in the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s. Zagreb, the largest Croatian town, is a part of the ***settlement network of Zagreb*** – an urban system made up of **the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County** together. Towns and municipalities (settlements of both urban and rural type) within the network are the so-called *sattelite towns and settlements.* All parts of the network are in constant interaction. Bigger sattelite towns which develop faster take over some of the functions of the central or largest town. Most of them, however, stagnate with a limited number of functions. These are mostly medium-sized towns (10,000 to 80,000 inhabitans) which provide their own services and employment and have their own way of life. Even so, most of them are greatly dependent on the capital city. "Satellite towns are urban settlements in size and characteristics. They are placed within the central or largest town network and firmly connected to it" (Vresk, 2002:180). They can be the result of spontaneous urbanization of rural settlements or planned building of new settlements.

To clarify the term *network of settlements* it is important to look at the processes of modernization and urbanization. In towns in transition these processes are similar to those in the developed European countries, but slower. In the post-socialist countries all modernization trends, from suburbanization to deurbanization, often occur simultaneously, copying developed countries. They are also specific for each country, its living conditions and its social context. In Zagreb, for example, delayed urbanization and deagrarization have intensified since the Second World War, simultaneously with suburbanization (growth of areas on the outskirts of the city) and reurbanization of the city centre (the city core). These pro-

cesses continue up to the present time, characterized by specific contexts of various cities and countries.

In professional literature, *the first phase of urbanization and modernization* (19th and 20th century cities), was marked by the formation and growth of big cities, megalopolises, metropolitan areas, conurbations - in short, by an urban explosion (Mumford, 1988). Conurbations developed from a number of cities and towns which spread out and became large urban agglomerations. In each of them one city stood out in size and functionality. The growth of towns was then mostly uncontrolled and based on the population growth, their urbanization being partial and incomplete. Zagreb has all characteristics of a metropolitan and conurbation area.

In modern and post-transition times *the second phase of urbanization and modernization* (end of 20th century cities and 21st century cities) is not characterized by the growth of cities but by urban sprawl, the expansion of population into areas around the cities. There is a redistribution of population: people move into the suburbs, few remain in city centres. Former rural areas are affected by urbanization; new settlements, small and big towns, are formed in suburban areas. Zagreb's satellite towns have spontaneously grown and developed from the existing towns in the settlement network around the largest, central city. Suburbanization means an increasing proportion of population living in peripheral areas of the city, expanding the boundaries of the city and forming suburban areas and satellite towns. In this way the process advances deeper into the settlement network and affects all types of settlements in the urban system. But urbanization is not only about towns being formed and becoming larger; it is also about introducing the urban way of life with all its functions: *housing, industry, transport* and *recreation.* If these are available to all (or at least the majority of citizens), urban life is good.

However, in the whole settlement network inhabitants often cannot satisfy all their needs. The development of the settlement network of Zagreb has not been *polycentric*, transferring all functions evenly throughout the network; it has been hierarchical with the largest town on top, keeping the majority of functions. Thus the polycentric type of the settlement network which promotes an equal distribution of functions often gives way to the pyramidal or hierarchical type which favours a hierarchical distribution of functions and one controlling centre (Seferagić, 2005;

Svirčić Gotovac, 2006). This undesirable situation caused by global and transitional processes strongly affects life at the local level.

1.3. Demographic indicators in the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County

The City of Zagreb and Zagreb County (censuses 1991-2011, Tables 1 and 2) have a small but steady population growth. In the period between 1991 and 2001 the growth was only 0.16% or 1,319 inhabitants in Zagreb. In the next decade, in 2011, it was 1.4% or 10,872 inhabitants (Table 1).

Table 1.
The number of inhabitants in the City of Zagreb from 1991 to 2011

Year	The City of Zagreb
2011	790,017
2001	779,145
1991	777,826

Source: www.dzs.hr. and Population by cities/municipalities, Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2001 and 2011.

Between 1991 and 2001 in Zagreb County the population growth was 9.3% or 26,398 inhabitants. In the 2011 population census the growth was still present but considerably smaller, only 2.5% or 7,910 inhabitants (Table 2).

Table 2. The number of inhabitants in Zagreb County from 1991 to 2011

Year	Zagreb County
2011	317,606
2001	309,696
1991	283,298

Source: www.dzs.hr and Zagreb County, Population by cities/municipalities, Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2001.

In the first decade of transition Zagreb County had a much bigger population growth than the City of Zagreb because of suburbanization, formation of satellite towns and deconcentration (Svirčić Gotovac, 2006). Also at the beginning of the 1990s Zagreb County received a large number of people who fled from the war zones in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since 2000, however, these trends have weakened in the County in favour of the capital city and the specific growth of its fringe areas, characterized mainly by residential construction. The accelerated residential construction in the post-transition period is connected with the City Master Plan (GUP)[3] which was adopted in 2003. It caused a lot of reactions from experts and the general public and was followed by numerous changes and amendments. A lot of mixed use and commercial use land was converted to residential use. GUP was then adopted again in 2007 and 2009 to match those changes. On the whole, the post-transition period is not marked by long-term planning or systematic building and the city's potential has not been fully exploited. New residential areas remain unattached to the urban tissue and do not contribute to urban development which does not improve the quality of living in them (Jukić, Mlinar and Smokvina 2011:75). In the last ten years, we have witnessed some poor decisions resulting in chaos, excessive building and destruction of urban space. There is also a wide gap between the City and the County: instead of strengthening the urban functional continuum and the polifunctionality of the existing space, further dissociation and disfunctionality of the settlement network is encouraged. The quality of living in the City and the County is not determined only by the household equipment and immediate neighbourhood facilities; it is also affected by the development of a broader living environment. Intense development is present, unfortunately, only in the City, not in the rest of the network.

[3] GUP (the *General urban development plan*) covers only the area of Zagreb while the Spatial plan covers both the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County. GUP is determined by the City of Zagreb Spatial plan and includes the metropolitan area between the mountain Medvednica and the Zagreb bypass (about 220 km^2), including Zagreb's historical centre (Article 4, Official Gazette of the City of Zagreb).

2. Research methodology framework

The survey and field research about *The quality of living in Zagreb settlement network* was prepared and carried out in the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb at the beginning of 2014 on the target population living in new housing estates (in flats or houses) built after 1990, on a sample of 308 respondents in four towns of the network*: the City of Zagreb* and three towns in the County - *Velika Gorica, Zaprešić and Samobor*. The respondents live in 23 locations/estates in the settlement network of Zagreb.[4] In the City of Zagreb we surveyed 17 locations and 6 more in satellite towns Velika Gorica, Zaprešić and Samobor, 2 in each town, 23 locations in total.

Zagreb settlement network, by its territorial division, consists of the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County. Within this simple division there are more complex and detailed subdivisions into non-urban and other types of settlements (municipalities and rural settlements). However, due to insufficient funding, the research was focused only on the largest urban centres - the City of Zagreb and the three towns in Zagreb County: Velika Gorica, Zaprešić and Samobor. The next category of choice were housing estates built during the transition period (from the 1990s until today). We examined the elements which determine the quality of living in new flats and houses, advantages and disadvantages. The results should help improve the quality of living for the benefit of all residents.

The following elements of the quality of living were used in the research: *housing, work, free time and participation in cultural events, migrations and transport, ecology (sustainability) and participation in decision-making processes about the neighbourhood)*. Beside the quality of infrastructure and services in housing estates or neighbourhoods, the research also looked at the features and quality of flats, household appliances, including basic demographic as well as detailed infrastructure indicators.

[4] Zagreb region or settlement network consists of 9 satellite towns, according to the latest territorial organization. For the research we have chosen the largest towns (Samobor, Zaprešić and Velika Gorica) with the biggest residential construction boom and the largest number of new housing developments.

The paper also analyses *the socio-economic variables* of the target population and the basic *housing* data in towns chosen for the research. The following variables are analysed: age, gender and education of respondents, work status and occupation, household size and type, household utility costs, average household monthly income, types of homeownership, number of rooms and size of flats/houses in square meters, age of buildings, quality of new flats, number of flats in buildings, tenants' satisfaction with their flats/houses and location, deficiencies of construction work. The following chapter brings the research results which illustrate the socio-economic standard of residents and the quality of living in new housing estates.

2.1. Research results and basic socio-demographic factors

In the research sample of 308 households (N=308) in all towns, 230 respondents (74.7%) are from Zagreb. In satellite towns 28 respondents (9.1%) are from Samobor, 27 respondents (8.8%) from Velika Gorica and 23 respondents (7.5%) from Zaprešić (Table 3).

Table 3.
Number of respondents by towns (%

Town	Frequency	Percent
Zagreb	230	74.7
Zaprešić	23	7.5
Samobor	28	9.1
Velika Gorica	27	8.8
Total	308	100.0

Looking at basic socio-economic and demographic characteristics, there are 48.1% male respondents and 51.9% female respondents in the research sample. This is in accordance with the 2011 population census data and the deviation from the pre-assigned quota sample based on gender (49% : 51%) is negligible.

In all towns a relatively young population prevail in the research sample. The largest number of respondents belong to the 26-35 age group (32.5%). In the 36-45 age group there are also a lot of respondents (29.2%). This is not surprising because young couples usually buy flats in new housing estates, start a family and become independent (Table 4).

Table 4.
Number of respondents by age groups (%)

Age	**Percent**
25 or younger	5.5
26 to 35	32.5
36 to 45	29.2
46 to 55	15.6
56 to 65	9.1
65 +	8.1
Total	100.0

For the employment status of respondents we have mainly used the categories of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics and only partly adapted them to our research. In the research sample which shows the total number of the employed and the unemployed, most people are employees with permanent full-time jobs, 55.5% of them, in all four towns (in Zagreb 51.3%). When employees with contracts for a definite period of time (8.4%) or no contracts at all (1.3%, in Zagreb 1.7%) are added, it is clear that a large number of people work in the specific conditions, characterised by job insecurity and temporary employment. This is the so-called flexibilization of the work process (Hodžić, 2005). Employment contracts are uncertain and often part of the grey economy where workers do not have all the rights guaranteed by law. The percentage of the unemployed (looking for the first job, a new job or not looking at all) is rather high in towns, 11.3% in total. If we bear in mind that new housing estates from the survey are occupied mostly by the employed people who buy flats at market prices, the number of the unemployed or temporarily employed is remarkably high. But the total registered unemployment rate in Croatia is much higher and was 21.1% in April 2014,

according to the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (www.dzs.hr). This is one of the best indicators of the economic crisis in the country.

If we look at education (Table 5), most respondents in the research sample, expectedly, have university degrees (Bachelor's, Master's or Doctor's degrees), 47.7% of them. When we add college education lasting two or three academic years (13.3% of respondents), there are 60% or almost two thirds of respondents with college degrees. In Zagreb, these figures are somewhat higher 50.4% and 11.3% or 61.7% in total. It is interesting that Velika Gorica has the highest figures of all towns, 70.3% of respondents with college degrees. This fact can be the result of suburbanization: young, highly educated people deliberately choose to live in smaller towns near Zagreb.

Table 5.
Education of respondents (%)

Education	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total
No education, unfinished primary school	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Primary school	1.7	4.3	3.6	0.0	1.9
Secondary vocational school (for different skilled trades)	3.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9
Secondary school (of economics, technical, medical...)	28.3	39.1	42.9	29.6	30.5
Grammar school	3.9	4.3	0.0	0.0	3.2
Higher education (undergraduate studies)	11.3	8.7	17.9	29.6	13.3
University education (Bachelor's, Master's, Doctor's degree)	50.4	43.5	35.7	40.7	47.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Regarding occupation which is connected with education, in all towns there is the biggest number (42.9%) of knowledge workers (engineers, scientists, teachers, lawyers, artists). Then follow white-collar workers (personal assistants, receptionists, office workers...). In all towns there are 15.9% of them and in Samobor 25.0%. In Velika Gorica the biggest percentage of respondents (14.8%) occupy high positions or have their own companies (executives, managers, public officials, owners of big companies...), while the total for all towns surveyed is 8.1%. This big percentage in Velika Gorica can be explained by the fact that it is the second biggest town after Zagreb in Zagreb settlement network. It is inhabited by a heterogenous population and therefore most similar to the City of Zagreb.

Regarding the household size, there is an equal distribution of different size households: in the total sample there are 26.9% two-person households, 25% three-person households and 24.7% four-person households. Two-person households are a bit more prevalent and they are usually nuclear families: spouses or single parents with one child. There is almost the same number of families with one child and with two children. This is natural because new housing estates and buildings are mostly occupied by young couples who buy property for the first time and start a family.

The most common household type (in accordance with the household size) is the nuclear family household (Table 6). In the City of Zagreb there are 74.3% of such households and 76.6% in all towns surveyed. In satellite towns there are more than 80% of such households. However, in the City of Zagreb there is a relatively high percentage of single member households (19.6%) and the percentage in all towns is also quite high - 17.9%. This is the characteristic of (post)modern and metropolitan way of life which implies primarily financial and than personal independence. A bigger percentage of nuclear family households is expected in smaller towns and it is connected with suburbanization: families (usually with small children) move to the suburbs in order to live a quieter, safer and more comfortable life.

Table 6.
Type of household (%)

Household type	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total
Single member household	19.6	13.0	7.1	18.5	17.5
Nuclear family household	74.3	87.0	82.1	81.5	76.6
Extended family household	3.5	0.0	10.7	0.0	3.6
Non-family household(with several members)	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6
Other	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2.2. Research results on housing characteristics

The research questionnaire collected information on *homeownership*, *number of rooms in flats/houses*, *size of flats/houses* (in square meters), *quality of construction*, *age of buildings*, *household expenses* and *total household income*. Obtained data mostly refer to flats because respondents live in houses in only two locations surveyed..

The results show that regarding home ownership (Table 8) the majority of flats are privately owned, purchased by their owners (in all towns 73.1%). In Zagreb this percentage is lower (69.1%) because there are other options, such as tenancy (15.2%). Buying a POS flat (socially supported government housing programme) is another possibility (6.1% of these flats have been bought in Zagreb). Altogether 75.2% of respondents in Zagreb own their flats. We have already mentioned that the share of subsidized flats in Zagreb and its settlement network is minimal (6.1%) because not enough is invested in this type of housing construction. In the research sample there are only two POS housing estates, Španska and Sopnica-Jelkovec in Zagreb. In smaller towns the percentage of private flats/houses is even higher (in Samobor 92.6%). In Zaprešić the percent-

age is lower (73.9%). Zaprešić is more similar to Zagreb than to other small towns which is also visible in the high percentage of rented flats, 13.0%.

Table 8.
Homeownership (%)

Homeownership	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total
Private flats (purchased)	69.1%	73.9	92.9	85.2	73.1
POS flats (purchased)	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5
Private flats (inherited)	4.3	8.7	0.0	3.7	4.2
Private flats (shared with parents, relatives)	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
State/city flats	3.9	4.3	0.0	0.0	3.2
Rented flats (lodgers)	15.2	13.0	3.6	11.1	13.6
Other	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As to the size of flats/houses in square meters (Table 9), most flats fall into the 41-60 m^2 category, in the total sample 34.4%. Follows the 61-80 m^2 category, 30.2% in the total sample. Most flats in the City of Zagreb (37%) have 41-60 m^2 because prices are the highest in Zagreb and people purchase smaller flats. The quality of living in this segment has not much improved. It is the same as ten years ago when 34.1% of inhabitants of Zagreb lived in the same number of square meters. In Zagreb network the percentage was 28.2% of inhabitants (Svirčić Gotovac, 2006:110). It is important to mention that the previous research used a representative sample and this one a target population. However, only the results in the City of Zagreb are comparable, not in the network, because the 2004 research covered all types of settlements within the network (towns and villages) whereas the 2014 research covered only the

biggest towns in the network. It is also significant that both in Zagreb and in the total sample, according to the 2014 research, almost the same percentage of respondents have flats of 61-80 m² (30.9% and 30.2%).

In 2004 there were 23.3% of such flats in Zagreb and 22.5% in the network (Svirčić Gotovac, 2006:110). The smallest number of respondents have 21-40 m² flats, 11.0% in the total sample. But in Zaprešić there are considerably more such flats (21.7%) which shows a lower quality of living in this segment, in comparison with other towns. On the other hand, in Samobor there is the biggest percentage of flats/houses with 101 and more square meters (42.9%) because the survey was carried out in two locations of row houses, much bigger than the rest of flats in the survey.

Table 9.
The size of flats/houses in square meters (%)

The size of flats/houses in square meters	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total
21-40 m²	11.3	21.7	3.6	7.4	11.0
41-60 m²	37.0	34.8	21.4	25.9	34.4
61-80 m²	30.9	26.1	14.3	44.4	30.2
81-100 m²	13.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	1.1
101 m² and more	7.8	13.0	42.9	11.1	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The next indicator of the quality of living is the number of rooms in flats/houses (Table 10). In the total sample most flats are three-room flats (41.2%). In the City of Zagreb the percentage is almost the same (41.3%) and in Velika Gorica the highest (48.1%). It is worth mentioning that in Croatia a two-room flat consists of one living room and one bedroom only, a three-room flat has one living room and two bedrooms etc. In the total sample follow two-room flats (31.5%). In the City of

Zagreb, in comparison with other towns, there is the highest percentage of two-room flats (34.8%).

In 2004, in comparison with the settlements in the network, most two-room flats were in Zagreb (42.7%) and there were considerably fewer three-room flats (24.1%). In Zagreb settlement network there were 35.6% two-room flats and 27.7% three-room flats (Svirčić Gotovac, 2006:109). So the 2014 data show an increased number of rooms both in Zagreb and in the settlement network (more three-room flats than two-room flats).

It is obvious that in Zagreb most respondents have three-room flats (41.3%) and, regarding the size, most flats have only 41-60 m^2. The lack of space in new buildings is compensated by an increased number of rooms whose reduced size makes them uncomfortably small. The "advantage" is thus essentially a drawback because it does not improve the quality of living in new housing estates. It only shows how investors and architects of new flats skillfully respond to market demands in order to make bigger profits. In the long term, new housing construction proves more beneficial for investors than citizens and, according to this indicator, the quality of life stagnates.

Table 10.
Number of rooms in flats (%)

Number of rooms in flats	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total
1 room	10.4	87	0.0	0.0	8.4
2 rooms	34.8	30.4	7.1	29.6	31.5
3 rooms	41.3	34.8	39.3	48.1	41.2
4 rooms	11.3	26.1	32.1	22.2	15.3
5 rooms	1.7	0.0	10.7	0.0	2.3
6 rooms	0.4	0.0	10.7	0.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As to the age of buildings, the majority of them were constructed after the year 2000; in the total sample 83.1% of flats/houses are younger than 15 years. Only 16.9% of buildings are from the first decade of transition (1990-2000). This is related to the before mentioned intense housing construction and investment in residential real estate since 2000 (in Zagreb 81.7% and in Velika Gorica, for example, 100% of buildings were built after 2000). The post-transition development of the city is marked by a large number of investors and construction companies whose projects greatly affect the real estate market in Zagreb. There is a lot of residential and business construction (business towers etc.) at the expense of public space and green areas in the city. In the general urban development plan (GUP) from 2003 a lot of land was converted to mixed use (residential or commercial) which intensified housing construction and resulted in a surplus of flats. This paradox is the consequence of uncontrolled and chaotic urban and spatial planning since 1990 (especially since 2000) until now. There is no long-term strategic planning in the city, only partial planning in some locations.

53.5% of respondents in Zagreb think that the quality of building work in new flats is reasonably good and 8.7% think it is very good (Table 11), which makes 62.2% of all respondents in Zagreb satisfied with the quality of building work. In the total sample the percentage is somewhat higher (66.3%). However, as the sampled buildings are about ten years old, there should be a larger percentage of satisfied residents. It would seem that new flats and houses have a number of deficiencies. The most satisfied respondents live in Samobor: 82.6% think that the quality of their dwellings is fairly good or very good.

The respondents had an open-ended question about the quality of their homes in which they could mention advantages or deficiencies. Mostly, residents criticized new buildings. Here are some of the most common problems: "w*ater leaking from ceilings or balconies, inadequate acoustic and moisture insulation, broken pipes, bad facades, finishing work poorly done"* etc. Buildings 15-20 years old should certainly not have such defects.

Table 11.
Quality of construction work (%)

Quality of construction work	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total
Very bad	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5
Fairly bad	7.4	4.3	10.7	3.7	7.1
Neither good nor bad	24.3	13.0	14.3	18.5	22.1
Fairly good	53.5	65.2	39.3	44.4	52.3
Very good	8.7	17.4	35.7	33.3	14.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the total sample, most respondents have the household monthly income (Table 12) from 5,001 to 9,999 kuna[5] (28.9%) and from 10,000 to 14,999 kuna (28.5%). It means that in most cases the total income is relatively low, just average or a bit above average monthly earnings, in accordance with the Croatian Bureau of Statistics data: the average net salary for Croatia was 5,502 kuna in March 2014 (www.dzs.hr). In all towns surveyed 23.6% of respondents fall into the low-income category (1-5,000 kuna), which means that almost one quarter of all respondents have below average earnings, insufficient for life. There are only 19% of households in the highest income category (above 15,000 kuna) in the total sample. This is the lowest percentage which shows that only few households earn enough for decent or good life. The current economic situation in the country and its capital city, high unemployment figures and recession have a negative impact on all aspects of citizens' quality of living.

[5] Daily nominal exchange rates HRK vs. EUR is 6,87 (http://www.hnb.hr/tecajn/htecajn.htm).

Table 12.
Household monthly income (%)

Household monthly income	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total
1 – 5,000 kuna	24.4	33.3	5.6	21.7	23.6
5,001 – 9,999 kuna	27.8	19.0	50.0	30.4	28.9
10,000 – 14,999 kuna	27.8	38.1	22.2	30.4	28.5
More than 15,000 kuna	20.0	9.5	22.2	17.4	19.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

31.8% of respondents from the total sample pay between 1,001 and 1,500 kuna for their utility bills (electricity, water, heating, garbage, repair and maintenance (Table 13). 27.3% of respondents pay between 1 and 1,000 kuna. It seems that utility costs of an average household are relatively low partly because flats are new and, more importantly, modest in size. Another reason is a rather low household monthly income which forces people to reduce utility costs in order to have enough money for other household expenses.

In 2004 utility costs were lower in Zagreb and 58.7% of households paid up to 1,000 kuna and 25.4% from 1,001 to 1,500 kuna. In the settlement network 59.4% of households paid up to 1,000 kuna and 24.5% between 1,001 and 1,500 kuna (Svirčić Gotovac, 2006:129). In 2014 in the City of Zagreb 28.3% of households paid up to 1,000 kuna and 32.6% of households paid between 1,001 and 1,500 kuna. In comparison with the previous research it is obvious that household costs have risen. Even if the rise refers to the first two categories only, it is still clear that this indicator points to the lower quality of living than before.

Table 13.
Utility costs (electricity, water, heating, garbage, repair and maintenance) (%)

Utility costs	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total
0	1.3	4.3	3.6	0.0	1.6
1 - 1,000 kuna	28.3	30.4	7.1	37.0	27.,3
1,001 - 1,500 kuna	32.6	34.8	28.6	25.9	31.8
1,501 – 2,000 kn	18.3	17.4	28.6	25.9	19.8
2,001 – 2,500 kuna	8.7	4.3	17.9	7.4	9.1
2,501 – 2,999 kuna	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
More than 3,000 kuna	9.1	8.7	14.3	3.7	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 1.
POS housing estate Oranice-Španska in Zagreb

Source: Photo by M. Ćužić

Špansko, a new housing estate (Figure 1), is situated in the west of the City. In the last few years construction work has been intense; even today some buildings are still being interpolated in the remaining free space which puts additional pressure on this overpopulated part of the city.

Figure 2.
Housing estate on the south-western edge of the city Zagreb (near Arena center)

Figure 2 shows a new housing estate Lanište-Jaruščica on the south-western edge of the city. It is well connected by tram lines with other parts of Zagreb. This fact has increased housing construction and made flats more attractive and expensive than those in the City network which are not connected with Zagreb by this type of public transport.

Finally, it is interesting to mention how respondents in our survey answer the open-ended question about improving the quality of living in their estates and neighbourhoods. This is what they propose: *"building schools, kindergartens, parks, more green areas, new and better roads, focus on support infrastructure, more space between buildings, more children's facilities, playgrounds, sports centres"* etc. It is evident that all suggestions concern their immediate surroundings and how to make everyday life more pleasant and functional. In most new housing estates, however, the necessary conditions for such life have not been fulfilled yet or only to some extent. The neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities have only

been briefly touched upon in this paper; they are presented in great detail in other papers on the quality of living in new housing estates in Zagreb settlement network.

3. Conclusion

Transition and post-transition transformation processes in Zagreb in the two, theoretically divided, transition decades are noticeably different. Urban changes and urbanization from the second transition period (after 2000) have resulted in more significant and far-reaching consequences for the development and appearance of the City of Zagreb and its surroundings. For instance, the population growth was bigger in Zagreb settlement network in the first transition decade than in the second, whereas in the City of Zagreb the growth was bigger in the second decade, especially on the outskirts. Such demo-geographic development has been favourable for the capital city but has not advanced the integrity and polyfunctionality of its settlement network. It is obvious that an equal distribution of urban functions throughout the network exists only nominally, but not yet in reality. One certain reason is intensive residential and commercial construction since 2000 only in Zagreb and its surroundings, not in the towns within the network. Everyday needs of residents in their neighbourhoods are not successfully met. Basic urban functions are only partially fulfilled, both in some parts of Zagreb and in the whole settlement network.

The survey shows that in spite of the fact that the housing estates/blocks of flats or houses are new, the situation is not satisfactory. The obtained results (compared with those from 2004) demonstrate that the quality of housing has not improved but stagnated and even deteriorated in some segments (e.g. household utility bills have risen). When we look at the size of flats and the number of rooms, the situation seems better because flats have more rooms than before. However, when we compare the size of flats in square meters, it appears that it is the same as in 2004 although new flats have a bigger number of rooms. This is the result of better architectural solutions for new buildings which offer more rooms in relatively small flats. Since an average family has the same flat area as

a decade ago, according to this indicator, the quality of housing has not improved, but stagnated. Residents are generally satisfied with the quality of building work in their homes although their contentment is relative when we have in mind the age of new buildings – most of them are less than twenty years old. The total household monthly income is just average or below average so there is place for improvement in this segment, too. These data are closely related to the country's bad economic situation, high rate of unemployment, minimum or uncertain income.

Residents often complain about the lack of public spaces and facilities (parks, playgrounds, kindergartens, schools) in the new housing estates/blocks of flats or houses. This is a serious problem for the authorities, especially because of excessive building in the last decade. For years they have not managed to build the necessary infrastructure (particularly schools and kindergartens). The reason is the unsuccessful public-private partnership model of investment in the real estate market. It has not worked out in Zagreb because private investors have not sufficiently financed public projects, only their own, profitable business ventures. Today, as proof of this, there are more than 20,000 surplus flats in Zagreb and on the outskirts of the city. The city government and the citizens themselves pay the highest price for the current difficulties. In order to prevent further deterioration of the quality of living, important changes are necessary. Residents in new housing estates need better infrastructure for everyday life as the total quality of living essentially depends on the immediate living surroundings.

The problem with overbuilding in Zagreb is a complex one; we can talk about it in terms of *lost space* (Svirčić Gotovac and Zlatar 2013) and no return to the original state. Some parts of Zagreb are overbuilt and dehumanized, their aesthetic value and architecture are not in harmony with the visual identity of Zagreb as a Central European city. Reckless changes certainly compromize such image of Zagreb. They place it among typical developing cities all over the world which lose touch with their original character and tradition and become monotonous, chaotic and post-modern in appearance. This is not good for the future development of Zagreb and its suburban area; a better urban policy is needed than in the last two transition decades in order to avoid unplanned and undesirable urban changes.

The quality of housing and living in the City of Zagreb and its settlement network, as examined in this paper, is still determined by the transition context, specific for each country. It is important to point out that, compared with the first transition decade, the situation has not considerably improved in the second decade but stagnated or even deteriorated. Croatia is still in recession and its economy is recovering very slowly. Professionals and citizens have little say in urban planning. All this is confirmed by the presented research data. If Zagreb and its settlement network continue to develop in these transition and post-transition conditions, the quality of living will remain the same. The future is not bright.

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Kvaliteta života u novostambenim naseljima i lokacijama u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja

SAŽETAK Tranzicijska i posttranzicijska transformacija Zagreba i njegove urbane mreže naselja, s obzirom na teorijsku podjelu na prvo i drugo desetljeće tranzicije pokazala je da postoje značajne razlike unutar ta dva desetljeća. Urbanizacijske promjene imale su dalekosežnije posljedice na razvoj i izgled grada Zagreba i njegovog okolnog prostora u drugom razdoblju tranzicije, nakon 2000-e. Najvidljivije su, primjerice, u segmentu stanovanja, odnosno intenzivnoj stanogradnji i kvaliteti života stanovnika u novoizgrađenim naseljima kako u gradu Zagrebu tako i ostalim istraživanim gradovima u mreži, Velikoj Gorici, Samoboru i Zaprešiću. Nastale promjene dovele su do značajnih posljedica u izgledu, izgrađenosti i poimanju identiteta gradova. Nova i često rubna naselja, te nove stambene lokacije, nastajale su najčešće stihijski i neplanirano, odnosno u neskladu s procesima urbanističkog i prostornog planiranja. Najvidljivije promjene nastale su u prostoru grada Zagreba i njegovim tzv. rubovima (periferiji). Gradska politika prihvatila je tržišni i parcijalni koncept planiranja u kojem se ne slijedi cjeloviti pristup razvoju grada što se ponajviše odražava na kvalitetu života građana samih. Osnovni cilj rada stoga je bio ispitati putem terenskog istraživanja stvarno stanje spomenutih lokacija i razinu njihove kvalitete stanovanja. U radu se zatim donosi analiza istraživanja provedenog u proljeće 2014. g. na ciljano odabranom uzorku novostambenih naselja i lokacija od 308 kućanstava (N=308) u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja (Zagrebu i tri grada satelita). Interpretirani podaci pokazuju da iako se radi o novostambenim naseljima i lokacijama njihova kvaliteta života nije na zavidnoj i zadovoljavajućoj razini. Rezultati pokazuju da kvaliteta stanovanja nije doživjela poboljšanja uspoređujući rezultate iz 2004. g. s zadnjima iz 2014., već stagnaciju, a po nekim pokazateljima i pogoršanje. Rad je istovremeno teorijski i metodološki uvod u sljedeće planirane radove čija je svrha predstaviti cjelinu kvalitete života i svih istraživanih elemenata u spomenutim naseljima. Također se radom nastojalo predstaviti dosadašnju dugu istraživačku tradiciju tematike umreženosti prostora i kvalitete života stvorene u IDIZ-u još od 1970-ih godina.

Ključne riječi: kvaliteta života, mreža naselja, Zagreb, gradovi sateliti, dosadašnja istraživačka tradicija, novo istraživanje.

Drugo poglavlje

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NEW HOUSING ESTATES IN THE SETTLEMENT NETWORK OF ZAGREB – COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE

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NEW HOUSING ESTATES IN THE SETTLEMENT NETWORK OF ZAGREB – COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE

ABSTRACT This paper is a follow-up to the introductory paper (*The Quality Of Living In New Housing Estates In The Settlement Network Of Zagreb*). It carries on with the interpretation of data about the quality of living and housing in Zagreb and three other towns in its settlement network, obtained from the 2014 survey *The quality of living in the settlement network of Zagreb*. The target population were residents of flats or houses in the new housing estates built after 1990. The sample size were 308 respondents living in the City of Zagreb and three other towns in Zagreb County – Velika Gorica, Zaprešić and Samobor. The paper analyses **(1) the household facilities and equipment** and **(2) the neighbourhood services, infrastructure and facilities** at two levels, **primary and secondary** (*primary and secondary household and neighbourhood index*).

The paper presents the housing policy before the 1990s and big changes brought about by the new social system in Croatia and other neighbouring countries. The privatization model from the early period of transition (tenants purchasing socially owned flats) did not solve the housing problem. It only perpetuated the situation from the previous system which was characterized by a housing shortage. That was a fertile ground for numerous private investments in residential and business construction which, persisting throughout two transition decades, reversed the trend and led to the surplus of flats in the City of Zagreb, even overbuilding and destruction of public space. The paper examines housing in post-socialist countries and gives a detailed analysis of survey findings about the quality of housing in the settlement network of Zagreb. The key terms which describe the housing problems are housing *affordability* and housing *accessibility.* Both terms are explained in the Croatian (and broader) context in order to suggest improvements since decent housing is only partially or not at all obtainable

for most people. Social housing, except for the POS estates, practically does not exist in Croatia. Survey data obtained from the towns in the settlement network of Zagreb show the current housing situation in them.

Key words: Zagreb, Zagreb settlement network, Croatia, transition, quality of housing, household facilities and equipment, neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities.

1. The phenomen of housing and housing policy

The post-socialist or transition period has brought a number of changes in all social spheres, the most visible ones in the way and quality of life in towns, especially in Zagreb and its network of settlements (both urban and rural). In comparison with the previous social system, all urban functions, from work to housing, have undergone radical changes. Housing, an important element of the quality of living, which is a much broader concept, will be analysed in this paper. It will be briefly explained how housing has been affected by the new system and the coming of market mechanisms. Housing presents the basic level of existence for individual members and the whole community. All other levels of individual and collective life depend on the quality and standard of housing. The right to decent housing is also one of the fundamental human rights and it directly influences the quality of living. Housing is "a basic human need and the right to adequate housing is classified as a fundamental human right in most developed countries around the world" (Lux, 2003:5).

In housing policy, which is at the heart of social policy, the state has to play an important supporting role if individuals are not capable of providing decent housing for themselves. "A place to live is a special good which everybody needs, even those who can't afford it" (Bežovan, 2004:90). Marginalized groups of people (the poor, the handicapped, young families etc.) should be the primary concern of the state. Social housing or public rental housing are some positive examples of this concern. If a state does not provide for the needy, it is fair to say that it does not fulfil its function adequately.

Croatia lags behind developed EU countries and the state only pays lip service to the inhabitants' right to decent housing. In reality, the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia still does not include the citizens' right to housing, which means it is not considered a binding and fundamental human right. In the *Report on the situation in the area of the Republic of Croatia*, housing policy is defined as the assessment and meeting of housing needs. In human settlements most space is occupied by the housing stock and housing is a predominant function of settlements (2003:35). It is clear from the *Report* that housing is only seen through the prism of space utilization; residents are merely users and not given much consideration. Such an attitude is completely unacceptable and, as our analysis and interpretation of research results will show, the approach to the phenomenon of housing today demonstrates serious weaknesses.

1.1. Theoretical framework of the phenomenon of housing today

There are differences, both in theory and practice, between developed European countries and those in transition, regarding the housing problem. Developed countries have a long and powerful tradition in dealing with these issues. There is also the question of prevailing European housing terminology which is almost unknown in Croatia. For example, according to King, "housing policy is all about providing, supplying, buying, managing and generally supporting the housing market" (2009:42). And for Garnett (2000) some of the key terms in describing housing policy are housing *affordability* and housing *accessibility*. Affordability refers to the housing expenditure and income ratio. Accessibility means adequate housing, maintained and cared for in accordance with the household needs (Garnett, 2000; Bežovan, 2004:91). Both terms (affordability and accessibility) are problematic in Croatia. Housing expenses exceed the desired or acceptable percentage of the total household income. Most people's accommodation is inadequate (not enough rooms, poor maintenance, big household bills etc.).

There are other housing problems in post-socialist countries. For instance, Czech author Lux (2003) says that in these countries housing affordability is the main problem simply because there is a shortage of flats,

building costs are constantly rising which leads to higher rents, the state does not sufficiently finance housing etc. Croatia has similar problems. Although each country has specific housing difficulties, it is important to point out that affordable housing provision has been accepted as a general model for most people. "The notion of affordability has generally been accepted as the optimum policy instrument for guaranteeing housing provision" (Sendi, 2014:239).

It is true, however, that recently this model has been less successful due to a global recession. It is evident not only in the post-socialist countries but in other countries of the European Union as well. A lot of authors draw attention to important changes in housing policy and other social policies in the traditional welfare state. Some issues which are becoming increasingly hard to handle are, for example, legal and illegal emigration from European and African countries, economic recession, population ageing and negative demographic trends (e.g. low birth rate). All these developments have negative effects on pension and health care systems as well as complete social systems in various countries. Housing affordability is therefore becoming increasingly difficult to achieve, not only in post-socialist countries but in other European countries as well.

That is why some authors, for instance Sendi (2014), believe that the model of housing affordability should be changed to housing accessibility for everyone. "We are therefore suggesting that instead of *housing affordability*, the focus of the debate (and eventually policy) should be shifted to *housing accessibility*. We are advancing an alternative line of thinking which upholds that the notion of housing accessibility, that is built on the concept of the *right to housing* offers a more comprehensive and equitable basis for dealing with the issues of housing provision. As opposed to the notion of affordability which relies on *ability to pay*, the notion of accessibility is presented as an alternative that guarantees *access to housing for all*" (Sendi, 2014:241). This intention is certainly difficult to realize but is at the same time closest to the model of social housing which is important not only for the marginalized groups but also for the majority of population. European countries, however, have very different ideas on social housing and housing in general and there is no common understanding of this phenomenon; there are only recommendations and guidelines in the form of charters and similar EU documents.

The *European Charter on Housing* says: "Housing is one of the main social issues in Europe and all member countries accept that everybody's access to proper and decent accommodation at a moderate price constitutes the basis for social integration, inclusion, economic development and ultimately social cohesion" (2007:394).

1.2. Housing in post-socialist countries

Croatia, as part of former Yugoslavia and its abandoned model of the so-called social housing, has not dealt successfully with the issues of housing provision for the majority of its population. "In spite of considerable housing rights in the 1980s, the period was marked by a permanent housing crisis. The realization of housing rights was economically inefficient and it created social inequality" (Bežovan, 2004:94). In developed EU countries social housing was mostly connected with marginal social groups whereas in socialism it was completely different: those who had or "deserved" a social flat were the priviledged ones. All data about the distribution of social flats in the republics of former Yugoslavia show that they were given to those who belonged to higher class and worked in higher positions (Petrović, 2004). Others, who did not qualify for social flats or would have to wait too long to get them, were forced to build, usually family houses, on their own. The consequence was a lot of illegal construction, mostly on the outskirts of towns, which the state deliberately turned a blind eye to. There are numerous examples of illegal building in Zagreb and the best known locations are Kozari bok in Žitnjak and blocks of houses near Remetinec, Blato and Savski gaj in New Zagreb. The trend still continues today. "Strict control of the private sector and the underrated importance of individual housing (a family house on its own plot) in urban planning have led to grey economy and illegal building" (Petrović, 2004:69).

In the transition period the state almost entirely stopped caring about the housing problem and left it to the laws of the market. Social housing or public rental housing was kept to a minimum or nearly disappeared. The 1990s model of privatization (purchase of socially owned housing) resulted in a continued shortage of flats. Slovenia and Croatia

witnessed two models of ownership transformation, "purchase of socially owned housing (privatization) and property restitution to those persons whose property was seized by the former government (denationalization)", (Mandič, 1994:43). According to Serbian author Petrović "the experience of post-socialist countries is unique; in these countries housing functions solely as a consumption and not a production sector. Thus it suffers from manifold irrationalities of the socialist economy and the society as a whole has lost a strong driving force for economic growth" (2004:67)[1]. Other transition countries experienced similar developments in their housing policies (purchase of socially owned housing). However, the existing problems were only partially solved because of a large number of people who did not have the right to purchase social housing or those who were trying to become home owners for the first time but lacked the means. The state did not play its role in ensuring housing subsidies or social housing for the people. In the first transition decade the only option if you needed your own place for living was the housing market and compliance to its rules. There was also a number of flats owned by the city and rented by families on the lowest income or some deserving individuals in politics, science, culture etc.

The process of privatization in most post-socialist countries did not have a favourable effect on many of their citizens. People on lower incomes could not afford to buy flats even at a reduced price and the public rental system could not provide even for the neediest cases. In Hungary, for instance, "privatization had a regression effect on the society. Poor people were imprisoned in the public rental sector, unable to purchase their own home even at favourable prices offered in the privatization model. So this sector became too small and a shelter for the most vulnerable groups" (Hegedüs, 2011:19).

The state, having lost its previous role, needed to approach the housing issues in a different way. But the result was either stagnation or the non-existence of a national housing policy and eventually, the loss of social housing. Slovenian author Mandič (1994) says that "social housing focuses on the social goals of affordable and decent housing for those

[1] Authors Hegedus and Tosics (1998) state the most obvious irrationalities of the system: for example, in many socialist countries of Eastern Europe housing subsidies were 3-5% of GDP and along with food subsidies constituted the largest consumer subsidies (Petrović, 2004:67-68).

with low income. The state takes part in defining and realizing these goals and by its regulatory and control mechanisms it dictates the operating rules. These refer primarily to the allocation of social housing, the main criteria being the need and justification for accommodation. Then there is the issue of rent, the main criteria being the ability to cover the rent and housing expenses" (p. 37). The basic idea of social housing are lower housing expenses which make for a bigger household income and consequently a better quality of living. "Social housing (representing the subsidies aimed at decreasing the costs of housing) and housing allowances (representing the subsidies aimed at increasing the income of hoseholds) form the pillars of public housing policies in most developed countries" (Lux, 2003:18).

Social housing is normally regulated by the national legislation of individual member countries and is not jointly monitored. The concept is therefore not broadly applied in the EU, even less so in post-socialist countries. Its meaning also differs from one member country to another, in developed European countries implying the sector of rental housing as opposed to Croatian subsidized home ownership. Rental housing provides satisfactory accommodation for all those who can't afford homes in the free housing market and their rights are protected by law. In Croatia rental housing comprises a small proportion of the total housing stock. This housing model should be implemented in post-socialist countries because the last few turbulent decades have shown the importance of social housing not only for marginal groups (e.g. the poor and the homeless) but also for most people, especially for the middle class and young families looking for their first homes. Unfortunately, Croatia is the only country in the region without the national housing strategy or law on social housing, which implies social insecurity for most citizens[2].

2 Research results in the following sections show that today's new housing estates are usually not well-equipped or carefully planned unlike old estates or those from the socialist period which relied on the existing plans and the process of urban planning. They had a big number of flats but also an accompanying infrastructure (public services and facilities). Although there were some deviations from plans and their full implementation, most housing estates had satisfying public facilities and services. The research on the quality of life in new estates in socialism mostly critisized dehumanization and alienation of residents (Seferagić, 1988; Čaldarović, 1986). Today it seems that those estates were no worse than the modern ones and in some aspects they were even better.

Some concern for the concept of social housing was shown in 2001 with the introduction of the Programme of Subsdized Housing Construction (POS in Croatian)[3]. The Agency for Government Real Estate (APN in Croatian) was in charge. "It is social housing only up to a point" (Franić, Korlaet and Vranić, 2005:199). A lot of towns, however, do not even have this programme[4] and in Zagreb only three out of nine planned estates have been built, thus failing to provide accommodation for a larger number of residents. According to many professionals, the POS flats are not real social housing in the sense developed European countries define it, but a kind of partly subsidized housing. Besides, the flats are inadequately designed and often placed in distant and unattractive locations. State subsidies are insufficient. Bank loans intended for purchasing the POS flats are still unaffordable for the majority of inhabitants. "Urban plans for the POS housing estates in Zagreb are not detailed enough, e.g. Vrbani III, Oranice, Dubravica-Karažnik. Often the estates are located in plain surroundings or industrial zones, e.g. Sopnica-Jelkovec, Munja" (Jukić, Mlinar and Smokvina, 2011:43). The POS housing estate Sopnica – Jelkovec is an interesting example. It is situated at an unattractive and remote location on the outskirts of the city, in a former industrial zone, relatively well-connected with the city by public transport. Although it remains inadequate in many ways, its infrastructure and public facilities, absent from other locations, make it a satisfactory new housing estate.

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3 The Act on Subsidized Housing Construction was adopted by the Croatian Parliament on 30th November 2001. (http://www.apn.hr/hr/zakon-i-pravilnici-92).

4 The Act on Subsidized Housing Construction, General provisions, Article 1: (1) This act regulates organized housing construction through public incentives (here in after referred to as subsidized housing construction) in order to meet the housing needs and improve the quality of housing of a large number of citizens and building construction in general. (2) Public incentives in terms of this Act include financial and other resources provided by the Republic of Croatia and local government units to stimulate housing construction.

Article 2: Subsidized housing construction includes residential building organized and carried out in a way that uses public funding purposefully to cover the costs, ensure the return of the funds, allow the sale of apartments by instalments under more favourable conditions in terms of interest rates and repayment period (http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2001_12_109_1794.html).

The city policy concerning social housing (subsidized or rental) remains open and incomplete. Some of the conclusions from the 2008 Bežovan and Rimac report commissioned by the City are as follows: "The construction model in Zagreb is to build inexpensive flats for social or public rental housing for families who are buying their first homes. It is also vital to consult the citizens about relevant questions and encourage their participation in finding solutions so this important segment of social life is not left to uncertain market laws" (Bežovan and Rimac, 2008:40-41). The fact is that commercial and private building make most of the total housing stock and that POS (social) housing constitutes only a small part. Ever since 2000 Zagreb has witnessed excessive construction which has resulted in surplus flats whose price is unattainable for most citizens. People can usually afford only inadequate flats (not enough square meters). In this way their quality of living is reduced and the problem of accommodation only temporarily solved, especially for families with small children. "For many people, flat ownership in Croatia is inconceivable today. This is proven by tens of thousands of unsold flats left to speculative bank investments. The impossible concept of flat ownership has to be replaced by other housing solutions which can offer a recognizable contribution to Croatia's economic and social growth" (Bežovan, 2013).

All things considered, the current situation will not be resolved favourably for the majority of people until the state takes the leading role in housing policy which is inseparable from the total standard of living. For further development it is vital to raise the quality of living and housing. According to Hegedüs (2011) "some solutions to the affordability problem are to increase the household income or to cut the household costs" (p. 22). Nothing else seems possible while, on the one hand, there are unprotected tenants at the mercy of bad housing loans with high interest rates and, on the other hand, the state with poor economy, indifferent to housing policy because it does not help the investment and fast economic growth. But it is only by securing decent housing for its citizens that the state secures its safe foundations and development, not solely dependant on the market and its destructive mechanisms.

2. Immediate neighbourhood

Housing policy can be seen in the quality of living of people in the city and city neighbourhoods. Each citizen occupies a neighbourhood and a flat or a house in it. The level of satisfaction with life in the immediate neighbourhood, advantages and downsides, illustrate the level of satisfaction with life in the whole city. Contentment with and attachment to the immediate neighbourhood is part of a broader concept of social cohesion. Neighbourhoods are shared by socially heterogeneous groups and individuals who affect each other and depend on each other. "To buy a dwelling means not only to buy a particular dwelling but also to buy the socio-economic status of a neighborhood and the level of accessibility to the place of employment" (Lux, 2003:6).

In the urban sociology theory, immediate neighbourhood covers the area within a 15-minute walk from the place of living to places where people satisfy their daily needs, e.g. shops, schools or kinder gartens (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Jacobs, 1984; Svirčić Gotovac, 2006). If a neighbourhood is well provided with local services, infrastructure and facilities, it is highly valued by the residents and the real estate market. In developed European countries (e.g. England and Howard's garden cities) housing has been deliberately separated from industry and its undesirable effects ever since the end of 19th century. This suburbanization and deconcentration process which ensures quality housing is perhaps the most important determinant of the quality of living from which everything else follows. "It is all about establishing **what is not** housing suitable for people" (Rogić, 1992:144.) and then setting up a certain housing standard, such as separating residential areas from industrial zones.

Neighbourhood (a district within a town or a city where people live) was the subject of research of sociologists from the beginning of the last century, such as Tönnies, Simmel and Park. They examined the process of urbanization and its influence on the loss of *community*, social ties and solidarity in big, new towns (mostly American). Tönnies studied community (*Gemeinschaft)* vs. society (*Gesellschaft)*, Simmel the fear of big towns and the so-called *blasé* behaviour of individuals in order to be able to cope with alienation and transformation of urban areas into inhuman environment (Park). These ideas still remain alive today when we talk about the urban way of life and the quality of living. They are also

connected with the social cohesion or commitment to one's immediate home area and whether or not it is accepted as one's own neighbourhood.

Modern residents, although not completely dependent on their immediate neighbourhood, nevertheless expect a minimum which satisfies their daily needs. If they should feel a certain connection or even attachment to their neighbourhood, the process of social cohesion is successful. People often identify with their dwellings, which also helps the social inclusion. However, this is not the main condition for cohesion today and "neighbourhoods are not necessarily communities because other aspects may define the social structure and the level of social cohesion in the local place" (Beumer, 2010:4). For residents, their neighbourhood also has to be attractive enough in terms of business and culture and well connected with other parts of the town on which they depend on a daily basis. It cannot be excluded from the town due to any kind of segregation (ethnic, class etc.). Every kind of segregation usually lowers the quality of life and housing in a neighbourhood and there is less interest for such estates. The absence of social exclusion and inequality, i.e. the tradition of social capital (Putnam, 2000) strengthens the importance of formal and informal social networks among residents and contributes to their social cohesion. Social cohesion primarily implies the existence of solidarity, cooperation and exchange among the members of a society. "Communities that have high social network density and a high level of social capital are considered more cohesive than communities in which these elements are lacking" (Botterman, Hooghe, Reeskens, 2012:186).

3. Methodology and research results

3.1. Introductory remarks on methodology

We have mentioned before that the survey fieldwork *The quality of living in the settlement network of Zagreb* was planned and carried out in Zagreb and its settlement network during 2014. The target population were residents of new housing estates built after the 1990s. The sample size were 308 respondents from four towns: **the City of Zagreb** and three other towns in Zagreb County: **Velika Gorica, Zaprešić** and

Samobor. The respondents were divided in 23 different locations/estates in the settlement network of Zagreb[5]. In the City of Zagreb the survey covered 17 locations and in the satellite towns Velika Gorica, Zaprešić and Samobor two locations were chosen in each town – the total of 23 locations[6]. The choice of locations was not dictated by the 17 city districts into which Zagreb is administratively divided. The key factor was an even distribution of new estates and locations in all parts of the city. Housing estates (later we refer to them as neighbourhoods) are many small parts of city districts, their legal entities being local committees. City districts may have up to 70,000 inhabitants (Sesvete, according to the latest census) or only 12,000 (Brezovica, the smallest city district) and they consist of a number of housing estates or neighbourhoods.[7]

Things were somewhat different in socialism. For urban planners a new housing estate or neighbourhood "was an indivisible and unchangeable territorial unit; several units, connected by traffic, would form bigger units" (Novak, V., 1958, according to Petrović and Milojević, 2014:168). Seferagić (1988) defines new housing estates in socialism as "collective housing zones with basic urban infrastructure, surrounded by major roads, built relatively fast on the outskirts of big towns to provide

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[5] The settlement network of Zagreb, according to the latest territorial organization, consists of 9 satellite towns. We have chosen three biggest towns for our research (Samobor, Zaprešić and Velika Gorica) because most construction work goes on there and there is the largest number of new locations.

[6] The research has been carried out in the following new housing estates: **the City of Zagreb:** Ravnice, Vrbani III, Kruge, Vrapče (Ris), Lanište-Jaruščica, POS Sopnica-Jelkovec, Gajnice, Sveta Klara (Nova Klara), Selska-Baštijanova Street, Banjavčićeva-Heinzlova-Branimirova-Zavrtnica 2006, Donja Dubrava, Poljanice I-V, Vrbik, Kajzerica, Sveti Duh and Bijenik, Sesvetski Kraljevec (Iver), and Sesvete, Babonićeva Street, Bukovačka Road (Maksimir), POS Španska; **Zaprešić:** Novi Dvori, Petrekovićeva and Tržna Street (center); **Samobor:** Samobor gardens (Prevoj), Anindol Villas; **Velika Gorica:** Stjepana Tomašića and Kolodvorska Street, Andrije Kačića Miošića Street.

[7] On the official pages of the City we can read this about the city districts: "They were founded within the City of Zagreb as urban, economic and social units connected by the common interest of their citizens. Eleven out of seventeen city districts are located fully within the boundaries of Zagreb. Four city districts encompass the peripheral parts of Zagreb and some smaller surrounding settlements or parts of such settlements." (http://www.zagreb.hr/default.aspx?id=12913).

everything necessary for everyday life on the local level" (p. 28). This definition/model of a new housing estate is no longer true for most new estates built in the transition period in Zagreb, except partly for the POS estates. Usually, newly built estates are *not* well designed urban entities which integrate housing into the community infrastructure, with projected numbers of flats and residents, determined building density and other carefully defined urban parameters.

Until 2014 there was no research on the quality of living in Zagreb and its surroundings (in new housing estates or interpolated blocks of flats within the existing estates). It was therefore very important to examine the problems, advantages and drawbacks of life in them. The main goal was to determine the quality of living in new flats and estates at two levels, primary and secondary, regarding **household facilities and equipment** and **neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities.** We continued the previous research on the quality of living done by the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb, using similar methodology, terminology and data processing. So before, for example, the data on *household facilities and equipment and neighbourhood facilities* were called the *well-being index* (Lay, 1991) or the *household facilities and equipment index* (Seferagić, 1988; Svirčić Gotovac, 2006). In the 2014 research, they were called the **primary and secondary household and neighbourhood index** and were determined for four sample towns in the settlement network of Zagreb (Zagreb, Velika Gorica, Samobor and Zaprešić). Obtained data on *household facilites and equipment* and *neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities* at primary and secondary level are presented next in the paper. These data are also called the *objective level* of the quality of living. The working hypothesis was that all new estates in towns surveyed and especially in Zagreb, would have worse primary and secondary household and neighbourhood indexes than should be expected, the main reason being overbuilding on the outskirts of Zagreb and additional pressure put on the existing infrastructure by new residents. The expectations for satellite towns were somewhat higher. The *subjective level* of satisfaction with life in the estates was also examined. Both levels (objective and subjective) are taken into consideration when deciding on the total quality of living in the four towns today.

3.2. Household facilities and equipment in new estates - survey results

Household facilities and equipment at primary level can be fully or only partially satisfactory. In the research sample we expected them to be fully satisfactory at this level because buildings were built 10 or 20 years ago. The primary level refers to the following basic elements: public water supply, electricity, heating, sewage collection system, fridges, cookers etc. (Seferagić, 2005; Svirčić Gotovac, 2006). It is logical that at this level targeted flats/houses should completely fulfil expectations and needs.

The secondary level are technical devices and appliances typical for modern consumer society. In the secondary household index we surveyed whether households had dishwashers, Internet connection, satellite (cable) TV, personal computers (Ipad, laptop), air conditioning - anything above the basic, primary level. The secondary level of household equipment in flats and houses is different, depending on the age of buildings, the total household income and a lot of other socio-economic indicators. Still, in the new estates from the targeted sample, this level also proved satisfactory as can be seen in Table 1.

The secondary household index (Table1) is the highest in Velika Gorica (88.9%) and the lowest in Zaprešić (65.2%). For all four towns from the research sample, good index is 74%. All flats in Velika Gorica were built after 2000 which definitely explains modern household equipment and people's satisfaction with it. In other towns flats are about ten years older and not so well equipped, the oldest being in Zagreb and Zaprešić. Generally speaking, the results are very good which means that most households have all modern appliances.

Table 1.
SECONDARY HOUSEHOLD INDEX (%)

Town	Bad index	Middle index	Good index	Total (%)
Zagreb	3.5	23.5	73.0	100
Zaprešić	13.0	21.7	65.2	100
Samobor	10.7	14.3	75.0	100
Velika Gorica	3.7	7.4	88.9	100
Total	4.9	21.1	74.0	100

The *luxury index* (Table 2) refers to the best equipped, elite households. It shows that new flats rarely have luxury elements such as floor heating, security systems, libraries (more than 100 books) or jacuzzis. In Zagreb there are only 4.3% luxury households. In Zaprešić and Samobor there are no such households and in Velika Gorica, interestingly enough, there is the biggest number - 18.5% households. So Velika Gorica is the champion because in the total number of flats and houses it has the most luxury homes! One explanation could be a big building boom in Gorica which started rather late in comparison with other towns (after 2000). New buildings have higher standards than those built 10 or 15 years before.

Table 2.
LUXURY HOUSEHOLD INDEX (%)

Town	Bad index	Good index	Total (%)
Zagreb	95.7	4.3	100
Zaprešić	100.0	0.0	100
Samobor	100.0	0.0	100
Velika Gorica	81.5	18.5	100
Total	95.1	4.9	100

3.3. Immediate neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities - survey results

Neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities at primary level

The primary neighbourhood index measured the following basic infrastructure elements in a neighbourhood: public transport stops or stations (bus/tram/train), parks, green areas, children's playgrounds, public lighting, sidewalks. These are fundamental elements of a neighbourhood infrastructure at primary level.

In towns, this type of index (Table 3) which measures fundamental infrastructure is expectedly good and almost the same in all four towns. In Zagreb it is good for 88.3% of all respondents, in Zaprešić for 95.7%,

in Samobor for 89.3% and in Velika Gorica for 85.2% of all respondents. It is the highest in Zaprešić, 95.7%.

Table 3.
PRIMARY NEIGHBOURHOOD INFRASTRUCTURE INDEX (%)

Town	Bad index	Middle index	Good index	Total (%)
Zagreb	5.2	6.5	88.3	100
Zaprešić	0.0	4.3	95.7	100
Samobor	0.0	10.7	89.3	100
Velika Gorica	0.0	14.8	85.2	100
Total	3.9	7.5	88.6	100

In our analysis of neighbourhood facilites at primary level we examined the existence of the following elements: supermarkets, local health centers, post offices, pharmacies, kinder gartens, primary schools, churches/places for religious services. *The primary neighbourhood facilities index* (Table 4) is somewhat lower than the primary infrastructure index which was to be expected. It shows that in new estates there are not enough public facilities. Most of them date back to socialism and the new ones have not been built. When we look at the number of people who have come to Zagreb and places around Zagreb since the 1990s, it is obvious that these facilities are overstretched and the level of satisfaction with them relatively low. This should be significantly improved.

The highest primary neighbourhood facilities index is in Velika Gorica (66.7%) and then in Zagreb (48.7%). It is the lowest in Samobor where only 32.1% of all neighbourhoods have a good index. This means that only one third of residents in Samobor believe that they have enough basic local services, such as healthcare centers or kindergartens. The index is higher wherever new estates are woven into the existing town fabric. Samobor is the only place where new estates are built outside the town and therefore isolated, so people sometimes have to travel some distance away, to older estates, where public services are available. Even when the facilities and services are overstretched as is the case in the new estates which lean on older neighbourhoods, residents rate them better. The index is not much higher in Zaprešić (39.1%) which shows

that new estates there also lack the necessary facilities. These estates are also isolated and located on the town periphery which certainly affects the number of facilities and the residents' satisfaction with them.

Table 4.
PRIMARY NEIGHBOURHOOD FACILITIES INDEX (%)

Town	Bad Index	Middle index	Good index	Total (%)
Zagreb	8.3	43.0	48.7	100
Zaprešić	0.0	60.9	39.1	100
Samobor	17.9	50.0	32.1	100
Velika Gorica	0.0	33.3	66.7	100
Total	7.8	44.2	48.1	100

When we put together all primary neighbourhood index data (infrastructure and facilities), we get the *total primary neighbourhood index* (Table 5). It is the highest in Zaprešić (69.6%) and Velika Gorica (63%) and the lowest in Samobor (32.1%). We can assume that in these four towns of Zagreb settlement network, inhabitants are only partially satisfied with the situation in their neighbourhoods. The total good index (56.5%) for all four towns surveyed does not indicate a very high level of satisfaction with the local community infrastructure, facilities and services.

Table 5.
TOTAL PRIMARY NEIGHBOURHOOD INDEX (%)

Town	Bad index	Middle index	Good index	Total (%)
Zagreb	6.5	36.1	57.4	100
Zaprešić	0.0	30.4	69.6	100
Samobor	3.6	64.3	32.1	100
Velika Gorica	0.0	37.0	63.0	100
Total	5.2	38.3	56.5	100

Neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities at secondary level

Elements measured in estates surveyed for the *secondary neighbourhood index* (Table 6) are the following: specialized stores, dental clinics, vet stations, cultural centres, green markets, libraries. This is a higer level of local services and it is therefore not surprising that the majority of them do not exist in most estates. Obtained data show that the secondary level of facilities is worse than the primary level in all neighbourhoods surveyed.

In all four towns only 23.4% of all neighbourhoods have a good secondary neighbourhood index. The highest index is in Zaprešić (30.4%, bad index 56.5%). The lowest is again in Samobor (good index 14.3%, bad index 67.9%). In all locations and in all four towns the secondary good index is quite low and the bad index is quite high. In the City of Zagreb the good secondary index is 23.5% which points to the insufficient provision of necessary services and facilities. The total bad index is very high, 47.1%. All these data speak about the present day situation which has to be substantially improved. Unfortunately, none of these things seem to be on the local authorities' priority lists.

Table 6.
SECONDARY NEIGHBOURHOOD INDEX (%)

Town	Bad index	Middle index	Good index	Total (%)
Zagreb	44.3	32.2	23.5	100
Zaprešić	56.5	13.0	30.4	100
Samobor	67.9	17.9	14.3	100
Velika Gorica	40.7	33.3	25.9	100
Total	47.1	29.5	23.4	100

3.4. Residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhood – some subjective views

We surveyed the problem of commuting, satisfaction with public transport and reasons for moving to new housing estates. We also examined some subjective views of residents, for example, how they compared facilities in their neighbourhood to those in other neighbour-

hoods or how pleased they were with the location of their estates (Tables 7 to 11).

Table 7 shows what residents think about the neighbouring estates in comparison with the ones in which they live. In all towns surveyed most people believe that the estates are similar and there is no big difference among them (41.9%). They do not consider some estates much better than the others and they are generally not satisfied with provided services and community infrastructure. However, 29.5% of all respondents say that the situation in the neighbouring estates is worse than where they live.

Table 7.
Neighbouring estates – local services, infrastructure and facilities (%)

Town	Much better than in my estate	Better than in my estate	The same, just like in my estate	Worse than in my estate	Much worse than in my estate	Total (%)
Zagreb	8.3	20.0	38.7	30.9	2.2	100
Zaprešić	0.0	8.7	52.2	39.1	0.0	100
Samobor	14.3	10.7	50.0	17.9	7.1	100
Velika Gorica	7.4	14.8	51.9	22.2	3.7	100
Total	8.1	17.9	41.9	29.5	2.6	100

The next subjective element we examined was residents' satisfaction with the location of their estates (Table 8). In all towns surveyed 82.2% of people are mostly satisfied or very satisfied with the place where they live. The largest percent of very satisfied people live in Zaprešić (65.2%) which also comes out among the best when we look at some objective indicators of the quality of life. But, regardless of somewhat poorer objective indicators, subjectively residents of other towns are mostly satisfied with their place of living.

Table 8.
Satisfaction with the location / neighbourhood (%)

Town	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total (%)
Very dissatisfied	3.5	0.0	0.0	3.7	2.9
Mostly dissatisfied	4.3	0.0	7.1	3.7	4.2
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	13.0	8.7	3.6	0.0	10.7
Mostly satisfied	50.9	26.1	50.0	59.3	49.7
Very satisfied	28.3	65.2	39.3	33.3	32.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Regarding daily commuting, the respondents were asked to rank their satisfaction with the public transport network connections (Table 9) and to mention the aspects of service which mostly annoy them during their passenger journeys. Findings in all towns surveyed show that more than 50% of all residents are very or mostly satisfied with the network connections.

Table 9.
Satisfaction with public transport network connections (%)

Town	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total (%)
Do not travel	9.1	17.4	7.1	7.4	9.4
Mostly dissatisfied	3.9	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.2
Dissatisfied	11.3	0.0	17.9	3.7	10.4
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	24.3	17.4	7.1	7.4	20.8
Mostly satisfied	33.5	26.1	35.7	48.1	34.4
Very satisfied	17.8	39.1	32.1	29.6	21.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

For most people the most annoying aspect of their daily journeys are traffic jams (Table 10). Traffic jams are the worst problem for people in Zaprešić (65.2%) and Zagreb (55.7%). Bad roads are the next aspect of traffic that bothers the residents of Samobor (21.4%) and Velika Gorica (14.8%).

Table 10.
The most annoying things about the traffic (%)

Town	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total (%)
Do not travel	11.7	17.4	14.3	11.1	12.3
Traffic jams	55.7	65.2	46.4	55.6	55.5
Bad roads	10.0	8.7	21.4	14.8	11.4
Inadequate public transport vehicles	4.8	0.0	7.1	7.4	4.9
Length of journey	7.0	8.7	7.1	11.1	7.5
Low service frequency	8.7	0.0	3.6	0.0	6.8
Irregular service	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 11 shows the reasons for moving to the present location. For 49.4% of all people surveyed the main reason were better living conditions (purchase of a flat, a cheaper flat etc.). In Samobor this percentage is the highest, 67.9%. People moved to the new housing estates hoping to improve their living conditions. Their expectations were high and have been only partially met as can be seen from the bad primary and secondary neighbourhood index for Samobor.

Table 11.
Reasons for moving from the previous place of living (%)

Town	Zagreb	Zaprešić	Samobor	Velika Gorica	Total (%)
Did not move	1.3	0.0	3.6	3.7	1.6
Better living conditions (purchase of a flat, a cheaper flat, a better flat...)	48.3	47.8	67.9	40.7	49.4
Education of children	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
Family reasons (inheritance...)	20.4	21.7	10.7	25.9	20.1
Marriage	10.4	17.4	7.1	14.8	11.0
Work	7.0	4.3	3.6	11.1	6.8
Feeling of discontent in the previous location	0.4	0.0	7.1	0.0	1.0
Something else	10.4	8.7	0.0	3.7	8.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

4. Conclusion

In Croatia, and especially in Zagreb, the transition period was marked by privatization and a new model of housing governed by market laws. With the new political system, social ownership and socially owned flats became history. Beside privatization and commercialization as key social processes, the city housing policy was also influenced by the Homeland War which affected the whole of Croatian society. The first transition decade, the 1990s, was a period of adaptation to the new circumstances. In the second transition decade, after 2000, a lot of people (refugees and displaced persons) arrived in Zagreb and there was a large wave of construction in the City of Zagreb and its settlement network. In most cases

it was uncontrolled private building which turned the previous shortage of flats into surplus flats usually unaffordable for most citizens because of high prices per square meter. Such intensive construction work was not accompanied by adequate provision of local services, infrastructure and facilities. Our research was based on the assumption that new housing estates in all towns surveyed did not have the expected infrastructure and facilities at both primary and secondary level. It was proved by research findings. The situation in new housing estates continuously causes problems to residents in their daily life.

According to research findings in the four towns of Zagreb settlement network, residents of new estates express different views on the quality of life in their households and their neighbourhoods. Although things could be better in new flats/houses in which most people live, they express greater satisfaction with their household facilities and equipment than with their local neighbourhood facilities. But these are the responsibility of local authorities and people cannot influence their decisions very strongly. According to objective indicators or indexes, Zaprešić has the best primary neighbourhood infrastructure index and the best secondary neighbourhood index. Subjectively, people in Zaprešić are also the most satisfied of all respondents with their neighbourhoods. So, Zaprešić rightly comes first on the list of all towns surveyed.

Research results generally show that residents of small satellite towns are more satisfied with life there than people in Zagreb and the most satisfied are residents of Zaprešić and Velika Gorica. This is not unexpected because the idea of suburbanization is to improve the quality of living in satellite communities, compared to big cities, in this case, Zagreb. However, Samobor has the worst primary neighbourhood facilities index and the secondary neighbourhood index. Although a very desirable town on the real estate market, Samobor presents an unexpectedly unappealing picture of its new housing estates. The local authorities should soon get involved in solving the existing problems of dissatisfied residents.

Velika Gorica has the best secondary household index and the best primary neighbourhood facilities index. These figures demonstrate that both accommodation and immediate neighbourhood facilities are at a very satisfactory level. There are no problems concerning kindergartens or schools. All buildings were made after 2000 and have modern household equipment.

The City of Zagreb does not stand out in any way in research findings and its citizens are relatively satisfied with the household equipment, neighbourhood facilities and the location of their housing estates. When a neighbourhood is badly provided with certain services or facilities, residents are obliged to use those in the neighbouring, often older, estates. Zagreb has a much bigger housing stock and a lot more new buildings than the satellite towns which understandably increases the pressure on neighbouring estates with better services and facilities. Suburbanization has not been as intensive in the settlement network or region as it has been on the outskirts of Zagreb where new estates have sprung up within the tram zone. New construction has not spread deeper into the network and has not touched smaller nearby towns. Statistics and census data for the last few decades show that the trend of suburbanization has never been particularly strong in the existing settlement network of Zagreb.

In conclusion, the quality of living in new housing estates in the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County is not much better than it was in the previous system or first transition decade. There is some evidence that it is even worse. So the question is what can be done about the lowering of housing standards. This obvious consequence of transition is a trend which cannot be easily stopped. Both civil and professional actors have already analysed and critisized the transition context of urban development of Zagreb and Croatia but, unfortunately, there has been no visible progress so far. "Life in urban areas based on current principles has undoubtedly shown that the quality of living in towns is constantly declining. Here is the question:is it possible in the chain of planning, designing, building, managing and finally occupancy of a housing estate make decisions and take actions which will not lead to a decline in the quality of living?" (Pušić, 2001:165).

All things considered, both objective and subjective findings are generally good and residents are mostly satisfied with their households and their neighbourhoods. The problem of neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities, especially at secondary level, remains a goal to be achieved. Local authorities and citizens themselves should be more involved in these issues in order to avoid the stagnation trap and further discontent. Additional pressure put on older estates well provided with community facilities decreases the quality of living there too, so it is vital to provide new estates with everything necessary for people's daily lives.

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Opremljenost novostambenih naselja u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja

SAŽETAK Rad koji slijedi svojevrsni je nastavak dosadašnje obrade podataka o kvaliteti života i stanovanja objavljenih u uvodnom radu (*Kvaliteta života u novostambenim naseljima i lokacijama u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja*). Podaci su dobiveni iz anketnog istraživanja Kvaliteta života u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja provedenog u Zagrebu i zagrebačkoj mreži naselja tijekom 2014. godine. Istraživanjem je obuhvaćena ciljano odabrana populacija stanovnika koja živi u novostambenim naseljima/lokacijama (stanovima, kućama) izgrađenima nakon 1990-e godine. Veličina uzorka bila je 308 ispitanika u četiri grada zagrebačke mreže naselja: grad Zagreb i tri grada u Županiji zagrebačkoj - Velikoj Gorici, Zaprešiću i Samoboru. U radu se dalje obrađuju podaci o dvije razine opremljenosti: **1) opremljenosti kućanstva** i **2) opremljenosti susjedstva** ili neposredne okoline života, i to na **primarnoj i sekundarnoj razini** (tzv. *indeksi opremljenosti*).

S obzirom da je novo društveno uređenje u Hrvatskoj od 1990-ih donijelo značajne promjene i u području stanovanja i stambene politike u daljnjem radu stoga će se prikazati i kakvo je stanovanje bilo u prošlom sustavu te kakve su promjene nastale s postsocijalističkim periodom, kako u Hrvatskoj tako i susjednim zemljama. Model privatizacije dotadašnjih društvenih stanova (tzv. otkupa) početkom tranzicije je, primjerice, nastavio trend iz prošlog sustava vidljiv kroz nedostatak stanova. To je potaknulo brojne investicije privatnog tipa u području stambene, ali i poslovne izgradnje koje su kroz dva desetljeća tranzicije preokrenule trend manjka stanova u trend viška stanova u Gradu Zagrebu te čak dovele do fenomena preizgrađenosti ali i destrukcije prostora, naročito javnog. O fenomenu i kvaliteti stanovanja u radu se detaljno raspravlja, od pregleda postojećeg stanja u postsocijalističkim zemljama do analize dobivenih podataka za zagrebačku mrežu naselja. Ključni pojmovi kojima se opisuju problemi u stambenom zbrinjavanju stanovništva jesu: priuštivost (*affordability*) i pristupačnost stana (*accessability*). Oba se pojma nastoje pojasniti u hrvatskom, ali i širem kontekstu kako bi se sugerirala poboljšanja jer većini stanovnika pristojno stanovanje postaje teško ili samo djelomično dostupno. Uzrok tome je i što tzv. socijalno stanovanje, izuzev tzv. POS-a u Hrvatskoj praktički ne postoji. Podaci na razini zagrebačke mreže i gradova iz uzorka pokazuju kakvo je trenutno stanje u području stanovanja u njima.

Ključne riječi: Zagreb, zagrebačka mreža naselja, Hrvatska, tranzicija, kvaliteta stanovanja, opremljenost kućanstva, opremljenost susjedstva.

Treće poglavlje

Jelena Zlatar

THE QUALITY OF HOUSING AT THE SUBJECTIVE LEVEL: AESTHETIC AND ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

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THE QUALITY OF HOUSING AT THE SUBJECTIVE LEVEL: AESTHETIC AND ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

ABSTRACT The quality of life and housing can be examined at two levels: the objective and the subjective level. This paper studies how residents evaluate the quality of housing in their neighbourhoods at the subjective level, regarding aesthetic aspects (neighbourhood attractiveness), ecological aspects (clean neighbourhood and environment) and citizen participation (planning and decision-making about the neighbourhood). The questionnaire used in this part of survey contained questions pertaining to these neighbourhood characteristics. Research findings are generally positive regarding ecological and aesthetic aspects of neighbourhoods. People are quite satisfied with the visual appearance, maintenance and cleanliness of their neighbourhoods. Citizen participation, on the other hand, is rated as weak, almost non-existent. The research shows that citizens need to play a more powerful role in the organization of life in their neighbourhoods. By shaping the space in which they live, people contribute to the total quality of housing.

Key words: quality of housing, subjective level of the quality of housing, aesthetic aspects of the neighbourhood, ecological aspects of the neighbourhood, citizen participation.

1. Introduction

Quality of life (QOL) is a highly complex concept and the subject of research of many authors. It consists of various components: housing, work conditions, nutrition and health, leisure time and recreation, education, commuting and transport. Among different philosophical and other definitions of quality of life, there are three which stand out (according to Diener and Suh, 1997): the first one explains that QOL means **following normative ideals** of philosophical and religious systems. It is based on certain social norms, present in every society at a certain period of time. The second school of thought believes that **following personal aspirations and preferences** best describes QOL. According to this idea, quality of life is based on individual pleasure and individual ability to acquire it. The third definition of QOL is based on **personal experience:** if a person experiences their life as desirable and good, chances are that it will turn out good. This approach is connected with the subjective tradition of well-being.

In this article, as can be seen from previous articles, we examine different aspects of the **quality of housing**, which is a relevant component of QOL. We look at objective indicators as well as personal aspirations and preferences, i.e. personal experience of residents[1]. The research on the quality of life and housing was conducted in new housing estates/locations in the settlement network of the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County, which were built in the last two decades. The locations included the outskirts of Zagreb and the rest of the city, as well as three satellite towns Samobor, Velika Gorica and Zaprešić.[2] The research partly con-

[1] These aspects of QOL, as can be seen in previous articles are: immediate neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities, economy of time, household digitalization, leisure time and participation in cultural events.

[2] The research was carried out by the W*ork group for urban and rural space* at the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb during 2014. The project was entitled *The quality of living in the settlement network of Zagreb* and it included the housing estates built since the 1990s and especially since 2000 in Zagreb, Velika Gorica, Zaprešić and Samobor. We examined the residents' satisfaction with their life quality by looking at primary and secondary neighbourhood infrastructure, facilities and services (quality of housing) and the following elements of QOL: work, leisure, public transport, migration, ecology and citizen participation.

tinues the work done by the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb in 2004.[3]

Ever since the mid 1990s and the Homeland War, Croatia has been going through a long process of transition and social transformation (changing roles of social actors who influence town development) at the local and regional to the national and global level (Seferagić, 2005; Hodžić, 2005; Župančić, 2005). Domination of some actors over the others is present especially in the City of Zagreb and can be seen in the quality of life, the quality of housing, the use of public space and spatial and social mobility of the population. **Political actors (**government or public sector) together with **economic actors** (investors) manage to a large extent the City of Zagreb and the surrounding towns. On the other hand, **professional actors**, who study space in their various academic disciplines and **civil actors** (citizens), have little or no say in decisions about the spatial changes, as previous studies show (Seferagić, 2007; Sviršić Gotovac and Zlatar, 2008; Sviršić Gotovac and Zlatar, 2013; Zlatar, 2014).

A powerful role of the market in the creation of housing policies calls for stronger engagement on the part of different professions to formulate and put into practice a new approach to the quality of housing, a "multidisciplinary approach which is noticeable in recent research projects, for example on citizen participation in planning, or research on the quality of housing and subjective and objective parameters" (Bonaiuto, Fornara and Bonnes, 2003; Marans, 2000, 2004 in: García-Mira, Uzzell, Eulogio Real and Romay, 2005:1). In Croatia this approach has not been fully accepted yet. Research on the quality of living should be integrated into **leading social, urban policies** and into environmental policies (Lawrence, 1995).

The quality of housing at the subjective level is in the focus of this paper**.** The research **hypothesis** is that residents of estates surveyed are largely satisfied at the subjective level with aesthetic and ecological aspects of their neighbourhoods and that they participate in decision-making processes. The hypothesis is supported by the fact that the research was carried out in new housing estates to which respondents moved in order to increase the quality of their housing and life in general.

[3] See the article (author Sviršić Gotovac) entitled: *The quality of living in new housing estates in the settlement network of Zagreb.*

The focus is on the immediate housing environment (neighbourhood) and residents' subjective satisfaction with a) **aesthetic aspects of their neighbourhood** and b) **ecological aspects of their neighbourhood**. The third aspect, inseparable from the quality of living and housing, is **citizen participation** in the neighbourhood planning and decision-making (Seferagić, 1988). We also enquired into residents' ideas about **improving the quality of housing** in their neighbourhood. Their suggestions are concrete and valuable guidelines for the future city planning.

2. Subjective and objective aspects of the quality of housing: aesthetic and ecological components

In order to explain in more detail the difference between subjective and objective research of the quality of housing, we will briefly look at some authors who present several approaches to the quality of housing and see how aesthetic and ecological components are placed within these various approaches. Approaches to the quality of housing can be divided as follows (Rapoport; Watson, 1968 in: Lawrence, 1995:1655):

(1) Those approaches that focus on the **point-of-view of the individual**, be it that of an architect, a building contractor, a housing administrator, or a resident. By this approach, people are meant to evaluate a specific residential environment.

(2) Studies of the **material/quantitative characteristics of housing** in buildings or neighbourhoods in terms of their technological, functional and construction components.[4] This approach often varies because technological and physical aspects of housing depend on cultural values, social conventions and individual preferences which change in time.

(3) Studies of the **supply of housing** (annual construction output), of the cost of new residential buildings, of the rationale and outcomes of housing construction grants to public authorities and private firms and of housing subsidies and allowances to households.

[4] In our research we examined the neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities and the household digitalization (articles...).

Apparently, the quality of housing can be evaluated objectively (elements such as primary and secondary neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities or household facilities and equipment). These are concrete material/quantitative parameters. Some evaluations are subjective (elements such as aesthetic and ecological aspects of neighbourhoods). These depend on the subjective impressions/experience of residents. It is important to consider both objective and subjective characteristics of the neighbourhood. To this purpose, some authors (Francescato, Weidemann, Anderson and Chenoweth, 1974; 1979 in: Cooper; Rodman, 1994:50) came up with a three-dimensional **model** in which the satisfaction of residents with the quality of housing is the result of the following:

1. objective **characteristics of residents** (their age/gender, socio-economic status)
2. objective characteristics of the **housing environment**
3. subjective assessment of residents regarding the **three aspects of the housing environment:** physical environment, housing management and relations with other residents.

This paper focuses on the third dimension of the model[5], i.e. subjective assessment of the quality of life in terms of physical environment and housing management. **Citizen participation** is the term we use for personal engagement in housing issues and relations with other residents. Some studies emphasize that participation i.e. social organization is the key element of the quality of housing. It is also called **control over housing/households** (Cooper; Rodman, 1994).

For the same authors, subjective assessment of the quality of housing is defined by the following two elements:

(1) Evaluation of the use value of residential buildings and their aesthetic value (extended to home surroundings: neighbourhoods).

Seferagić (1998:147) defines the use value of space from the sociological point of view: the most important thing for the town development is for people to live in it, while its "practical value is to constantly serve its inhabitants". The town is **a public good** and that is its use value, regard-

[5] The first and second dimension are explained in the two articles written by A. Sviršić Gotovac.

less of how many parts it consists of. The use value of towns also refers to their renewal. Urban renewal or revitalization inevitably increases the use value of towns, providing residents with useful facilities.[6] Every renovated part, be it a new housing estate, a block of buildings, the historic town center or open public space, should get some new functions and facilities, yet protecting and preserving public space and green areas.[7]

Beside functionality, this element also emphasizes the residents' subjective evaluation of the neighbourhood appearance: are buildings rundown, too close to one another or aesthetically incompatible?

(2) Evaluation of **health and well-being of residents** related to both external and internal conditions in the community.

These are, for example, ecological conditions, such as noise, air and water pollution or maintenance of green areas (parks).

In the light of these considerations, we come to the following assumption: "the quality of life of citizens depends on their ability to create and "defend" the use value of space, their homes and their home surroundings" (Cooper and Rodman, 1992b; Logan and Molotch, 1987 in: Cooper and Rodman, 1994:51). In other words, the quality of life and housing of every single resident depends on their personal engagement in matters regarding their neighbourhood.

3. Citizen participation

For all citizens the right to housing is a prerequisite for the feeling of "belonging to a place". Being deprived of quality housing also means being deprived of the right to fully experience urban life and be part of it (Rolnik, 2014). So, the next level of the quality of housing we address in this paper is **citizen participation.** By this term we un-

[6] Alterations which do not improve the quality of life cannot be considered urban renewal (Zlatar, 2013).

[7] Marginal groups, such as children, pensioners, invalids etc. require a subtle approach to environmental planning and management. They are the best indicator of the use value of social space (Dakić et al., 1989).

derstand residents making plans and decisions about their neighbourhoods (home surroundings). Survey questions asking residents about their activities and social engagement tried to establish the degree of their involvement in organization and management of their neighbourhoods.

Citizen participation is an important factor in the total evaluation of the quality of life and housing. **"A ladder of citizen participation"**[8] (Arnstein, 1971) is the best known typology of eight levels of citizen participation in their neighbourhood or town. At the bottom rung of the ladder is non-participation or manipulation and at the topmost rung of the ladder is citizen control over their town or, in our case, neighbourhood. Non-participation (manipulation) level is when citizens have no influence at all on decision-making but are nevertheless persuaded that everything is done in their best interest. In passive participation, which is also quite common, they receive accurate information about the projects in their environment. In manipulation the picture is often embellished. The highest level of involvement is when citizens alone decide about their surroundings, where and what to build, when they initiate various projects (Arnstein, 1971).[9]

Unfortunately, social groups with little economic power (mostly citizens), have little or no choice in making decisions (de Matteis, 2011) and that is true for many countries, not only those in transition. Bassand (Bassand et al., 2001) believes that, as a rule, economic actors always initiate building projects and are leaders of spatial changes. Political actors, in case they support them, follow their lead and make decisions in their

8 A Ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1971) is divided into eight levels of participation: bottom rungs of the ladder (**non-participation)** are manipulation and therapy. After that comes **tokenism:** informing, consultation and placation of citizens. The highest degrees of **citizen power** are partnership**,** delegated power and citizen control.

9 The World Bank has, for example, its own **typology of participation** (World Bank, Participation Sourcebook, 1996, according to Sumpor and Đokić, 2008). A low level of participation implies governments informing citizens about the projects (one-way communication) and consulting them about the projects (two-way communication). A high level of participation is collaboration (shared supervision of decisions and resources). The highest level of participation, empowerment, transfers the supervision of decisions and resources from governments to citizens.

favour. Professional actors, though best qualified in matters of urban development and environment, merely agree with political and economic decisions. Civil actors, i.e. citizens, come last in the hyerarchy.[10] Naturally, the degree of citizen participation is directly connected with their influence on political decisions and, consequently, support or rejection of various projects.

For investors in construction business, quantity, not quality is always the top priority. Therefore, as we can see in one of the previous articles[11], the primary neighbourhood facilities index and the secondary neighbourhood index are average or below average. New housing estates have incomplete infrastructure and are often located on the town periphery. Not surprisingly, citizen participation in most of them is weak or non-existent.

Public sector should help provide better living conditions for people in those parts of town or new housing estates where the quality of life is low and the infrastructure insufficient (de Matteis, 2011). The development of these estates has to be managed in a way that allows citizen participation in all decisions concerning their home surroundings. The ***bottom up*** approach when citizens themselves decide on the development of infrastructure projects or appearance of their neighbourhoods is much more effective than the ***top down*** approach in which the city or the state play the leading role in construction projects. There are some techniques which may strengthen citizen participation. One way are "**professional public services** as a mediator or a missing link between political and economic actors and service users and their communities" (Bovaird, 2007:858). Petovar (2011) raises awareness of the importance

10 This is Bassand's division into four types of urban actors (Bassand, 2001): political, economic, professional and civil actors. **Political actors** are political leaders**,** political parties and their representatives, strong businesses with a lot of political influence; **economic actors** are representatives of (industrial) companies, owners of municipal land, banks, entrepreneurs, corporations, developers; **professional actors** are architects, urban planners, engineers, art historians, economists, ethnologists, anthropologists, sociologists and other experts for space; **civil actors** are (a) residents/users/citizens of different social positions, lifestyles, age, education and (b) civil organizations (NGOs).

11 See the second article entitled "New housing estates in the settlement network of Zagreb- community infrastructure" (author Sviršić Gotovac, A.)

of professional associations, independent organizations whose goal is to maintain the highest professional standards and protect their members who come under pressure to act in ways contrary to their professional ethics. They contribute to the continued development of their profession, collaborate on educational programmes and development strategies, support public hearings and expert discussions about key theoretical and practical issues of urban development. These associations can, beside establishing communication between the two types of actors, warn about possible problems with projects and act as educators of citizens. Education is the most important component in citizen participation. Another important way to increase citizen participation is to set up **systems of monitoring and evaluation of the construction process** (Đokić and Sumpor, 2008) which would check construction projects from the beginning to the very end. This would also allow for the evaluation of equal participation of all actors in the process of urban development.

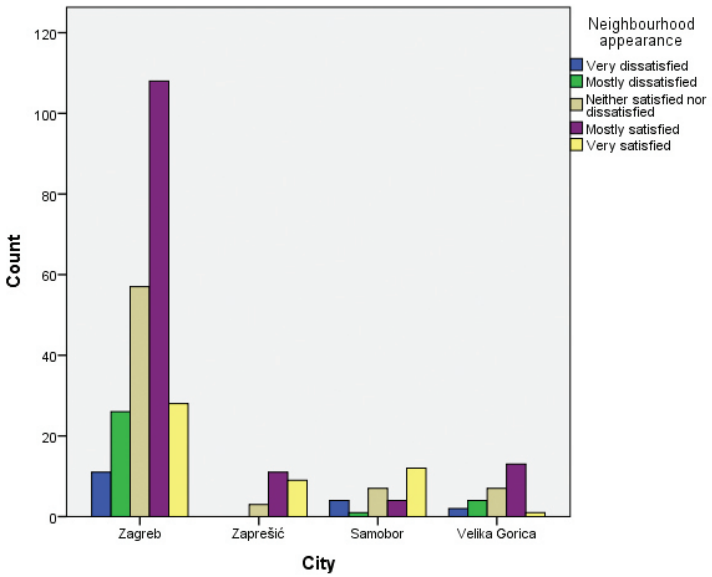
4. Research findings: aesthetic and ecological aspects of the quality of housing and citizen participation

4.1. Aesthetic aspects (neighbourhood appearance)

Housing is an importanat part of a healthy and attractive community while **sustainable housing** is defined as available, high quality, pleasant and which meets human needs. Besides, it has to satisfy ecological and aesthetic standards (Maliene and Malys, 2009), which are evaluated at the subjective level and analysed in this paper.

First we look at how residents estimate the following aesthetic components of their neighbourhood: general satisfaction with the neighbourhood appearance, how close buildings are to each other, age and deterioration of buildings, aesthetic compatibility of old and new buildings, graffiti on building facades and how close roads are to housing estates.

Graph 1.
Neighbourhood appearance

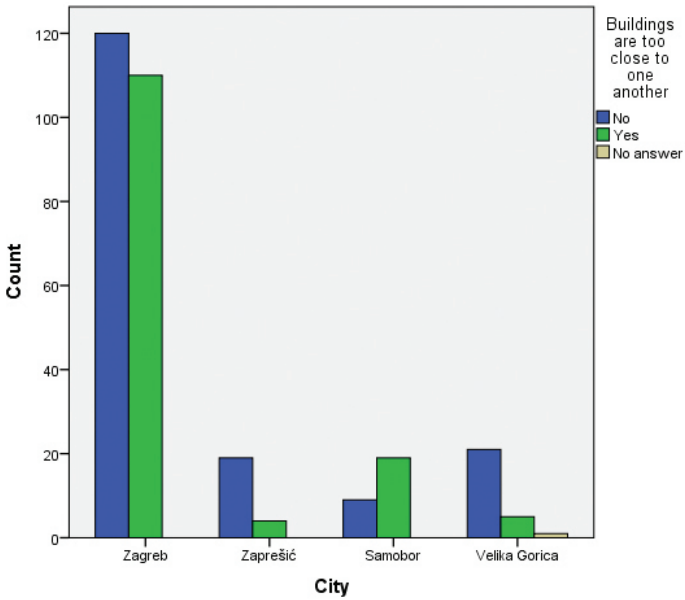


Picture 1.
Zaprešić, new part of the town, 'Kanadske kuće' (Canadaian houses), the biggest satisfaction with the appearance of the neighborhood

Source: http://www.panoramio.com/photo

From Graph 1 we can see that majority of all respondents are "mostly satisfied" or "very satisfied" with the appearance of their neighbourhood. In Zagreb, Zaprešić and Velika Gorica more than 50% of people are "mostly satisfied" or "very satisfied" with the appearance of their neighbourhood, in Samobor 42.9% of all residents are "very satisfied" with their neighbourhood. So, in every town more than 50% of respondents are satisfied with their neighbourhood appearance.

Graph 2.
Buildings are too close to one another

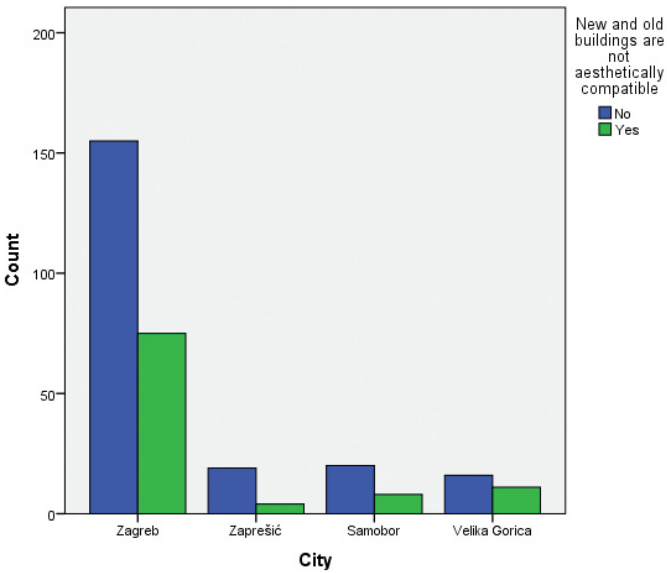


44.8% of all respondents, especially those from new estates in Samobor (67.9%) and Zagreb (47.8%), think that buildings are too close to each other (Graph 2). This attitude can be explained by densification, which is the result of new infill buildings constructed between the existing ones, especially in Zagreb. A lot of "urban renewal" examples (underground parking garages, shopping centres, high business towers) are examples of structures built as infill which clash architecturally with older, existing buildings. They have negative consequences on urban space: traffic congestion, difficult pedestrian circulation, social barriers.

Picture 2.
Samobor, new part of the town, buildings too close to one another

Source: http://www.njuskalo.hr/nekretnine/samobor

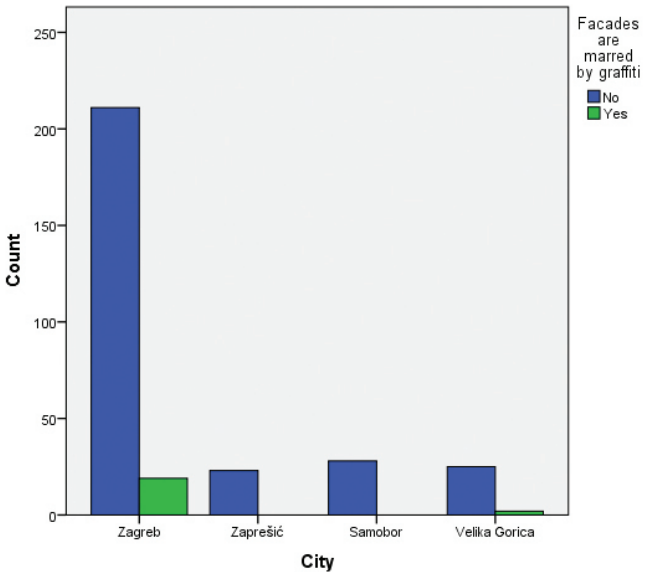
Graph 3.
Aesthetic compatibility of new and old buildings

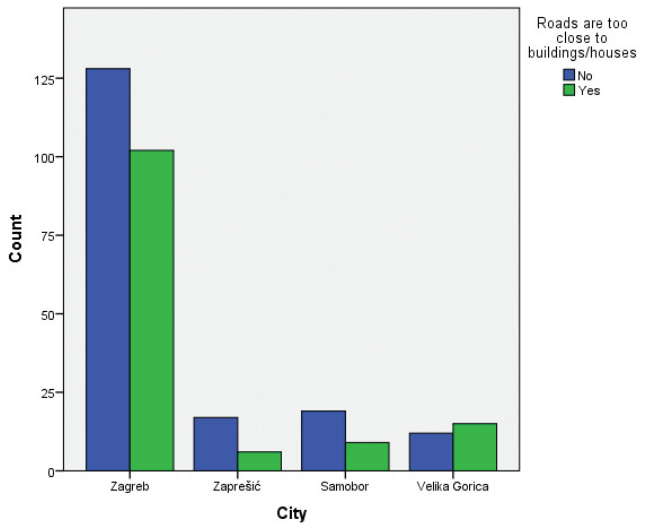


Most respondents (68.2%) believe that old and new buildings are aesthetically compatible (Graph 3). But 31.8% think that old and new

buildings do not go well together (in Zagreb 32.6%) because there are some estates with awkward new interpolations within the existing structures. In Velika Gorica a high percentage of people (40.7%) think that old and new buildings are aesthetically incompatible.

Graphs 4. and 5.
Facades are marred by graffiti and Roads are too close to buildings





Most respondents in all four towns surveyed think that facades in their neighbourhoods are not marred by graffiti (Graph 4). As to the next question about roads being too close to buildings and houses (Graph 5), a high percentage of people in Zagreb believe they are too close (44.3%) and the highest percentage is in Velika Gorica (55.6%). Samobor also has a rather high percentage (32.1%) of people who believe that roads are too close to their houses or buildings.

Picture 3.
Velika gorica, new part of the town, roads too close to buildings/houses

Source: http://www.njuskalo.hr/nekretnine

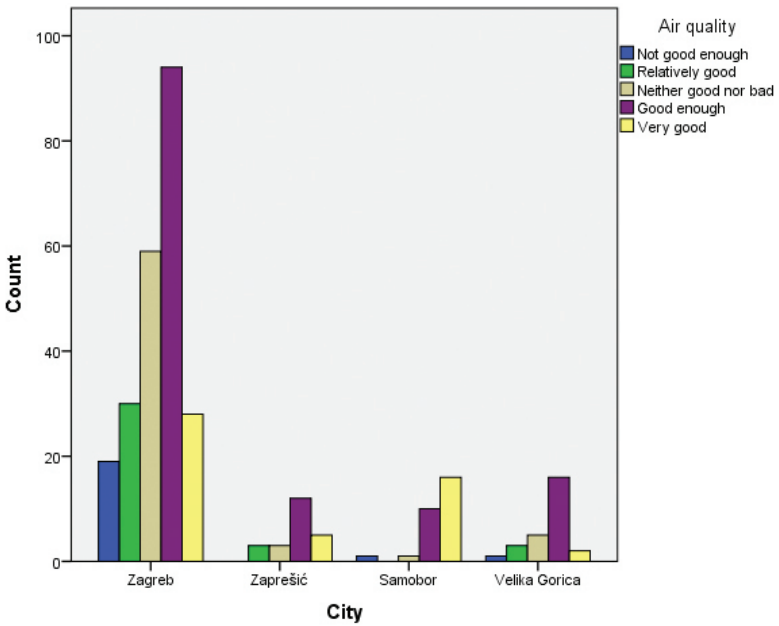
To sum up this part of research, residents are generally satisfied with the appearance of their neighbourhood. There are certain problems and difficulties residents complain about, e.g. high-density building (buildings are too close to each other), especially in Samobor and in Zagreb, and roads are too close to houses or buildings, especially in velika Gorica. Both these findings can affect the total quality of life in a negative way.

4.2. Ecological aspects

Beside aesthetic aspects of the quality of living and housing, we also look at ecological aspects and how residents subjectively assess that dimension of their living and housing.

We examined residents' evaluation of the following ecological components of their neighbourhood: air and water quality, absence/presence and maintenance of green areas, noise level (indicators of care for natural resources and safe environment) and satisfaction with maintenance, general cleanliness and garbage collection and removal in their neighbourhood (indicator of waste management).

Graph 6.
Air quality

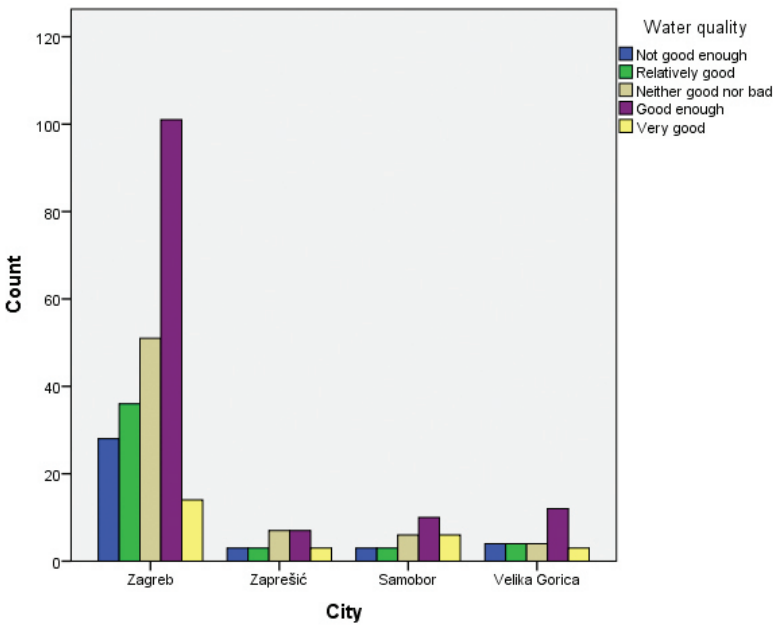


In all towns surveyed respondents think that air quality is "good enough" but the most satisfied people live in Samobor where 98.2% of respondents think it is "good enough" or "very good" (Graph 6). In Zagreb, however, 40.9% of people think that air quality is "good enough", 21.3% think it is "not good enough" or "relatively good" and 25.7% think it is " neither good nor bad". Obviously, residents of Zagreb are the least pleased with the air they breathe. Respondents in Zaprešić (73.7%) and Velika Gorica (66.7%) believe that air quality is "good enough" and "very good".

Picture 4.
Samobor, the old city core, the biggest satisfaction with air quality and cleanliness of the neighborhood

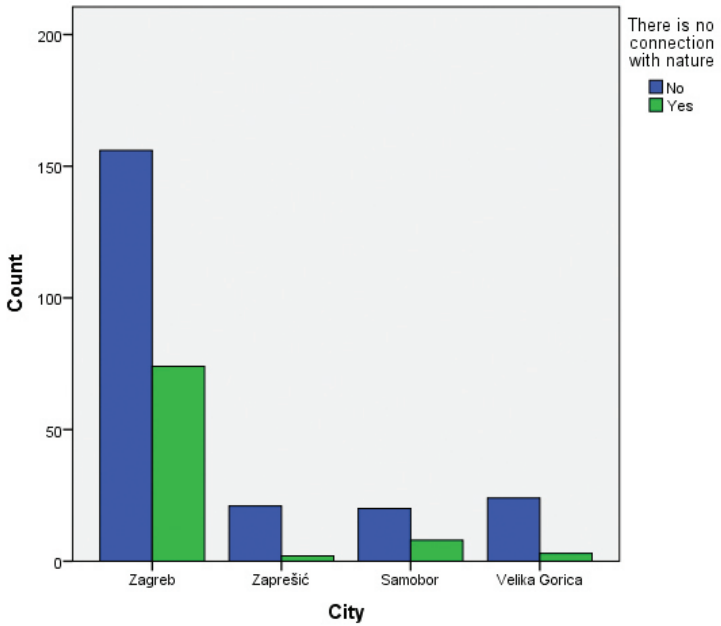
Source: http://www.tz-samobor.hr/novosti

Graph 7.
Water quality



Regarding water quality (Graph 7), people are quite satisfied. Water quality is "good enough" or "very good" for the majority of residents in all towns: 50% in Zagreb, 57.1% in Samobor and 55.5% in Velika Gorica. Only the residents of Zaprešić think that water quality is "neither good nor bad" (30%) and "good enough" (30%). So in this town water quality is assessed worse than in other towns surveyed.

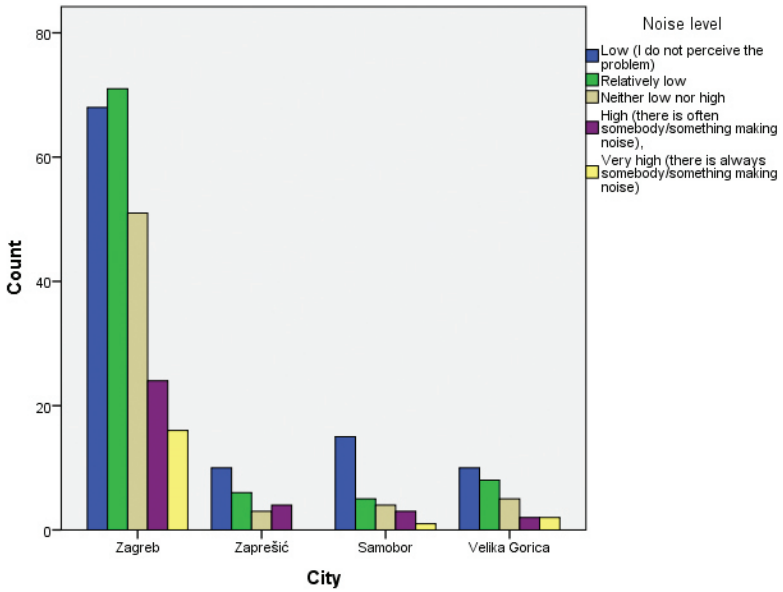
Graph 8.
Green areas/connection with nature



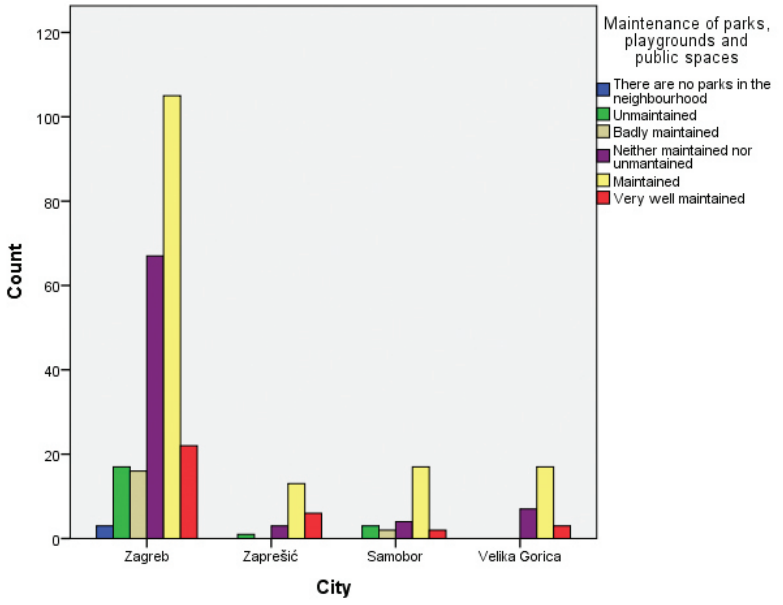
In all towns surveyed, more than 60% of all respondents believe that there are plenty of green areas and that they are connected with nature. In Zaprešić more than 90% of people think so (Graph 8).

The level of noise (Graph 9) is "low" or "relatively low" for more than 60% of residents of Zaprešić, Samobor and Velika Gorica, so they do not perceive it as a problem. Only in Zagreb the noise level is somewhat higher, i.e. 30.9% of people think it is "relatively low", because Zagreb is bigger and therefore noisier than other towns. In Samobor the level of noise is the lowest (53.6% of respondents do not percieve it as a problem).

Graph 9.
Noise level

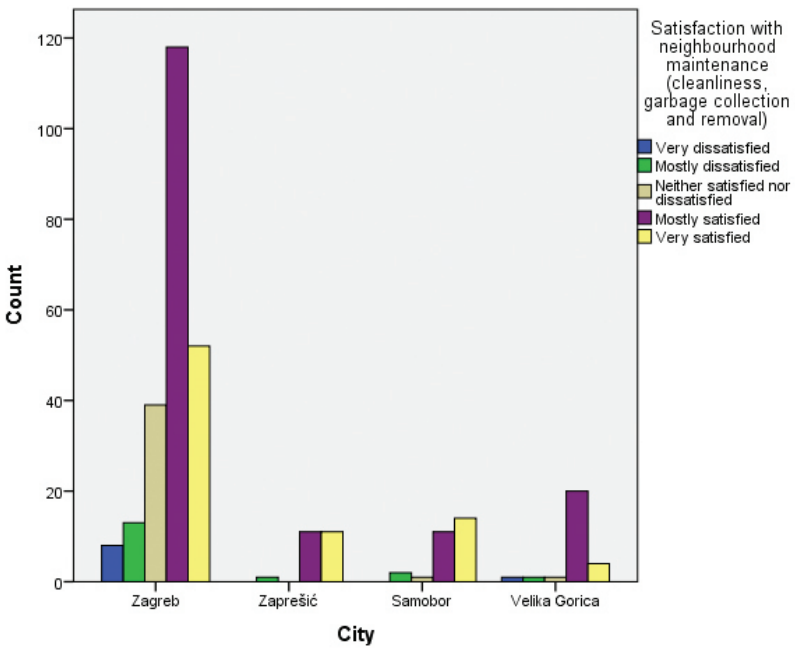


Graph 10.
Maintenance of parks, playgrounds and public spaces



As we can see in Graph 10, more than 60% of respondents think that these places are "maintained" and "very well maintained". However, 29.1% of residents of Zagreb and 25.9% of residents in Velika Gorica say that these places are "neither maintained nor unmaintained" which suggests the situation is worse than in the other two towns.

Graph 11.
Satisfaction with neighbourhood maintenance (cleanliness, garbage collection and removal)



The last element we look at is neighbourhood maintenance (cleanliness, garbage collection and removal). In Graph 11 we can see that the majority of residents in all towns (more than 80% in all neighbourhoods) are "mostly satisfied" and "very satisfied" with neighbourhood maintenance. In Samobor 50% of residents are "very satisfied".

In conclusion, the majority of respondents in all four towns are satisfied with ecological aspects of their neighbourhoods and believe that air and water quality is good enough. People in Zaprešić are a little less satisfied with water quality than the rest of respondents and in

Zagreb with air quality. This can be explained by factors which cause air pollution, such as the size of the city, population density and heavy traffic. People believe they are connected with nature and there are lots of green areas. The noise level is low (except in Zagreb, where it is "relatively low", due to busy traffic). Parks, playgrounds and public spaces, as well as neighbourhoods, are well maintained, so residents are "mostly satisfied" or "very satisfied". Neighbourhoods are clean and tidy.

Economic, social, cultural and ecological dimension are the **four key dimensions of sustainable development** of a community[12] (Mackelworth; Carić, 2010). "**Environmental or ecological sustainability** is the carrying capacity of the environment and its long-term ability to cope with the pollution and use of natural resources" (Starc, 1994:73). It is marked by certain indicators, e.g. use of space without danger for the environment, care for natural resources, waste management (Tonković and Zlatar, 2014).

4.3. Citizen participation

The strengthening role of the market (economic actors) in regulating housing construction has resulted in housing policies which have abandoned the idea of housing as a "public good" Because of these policies, instead of focusing on those with limited resources, providing for them and thus distributing the wealth, the market has become an arena for the achievement of individual financial goals. By mobilization of various policies, housing has increased market competition to a degree unknown before (Rolnik, 2013).

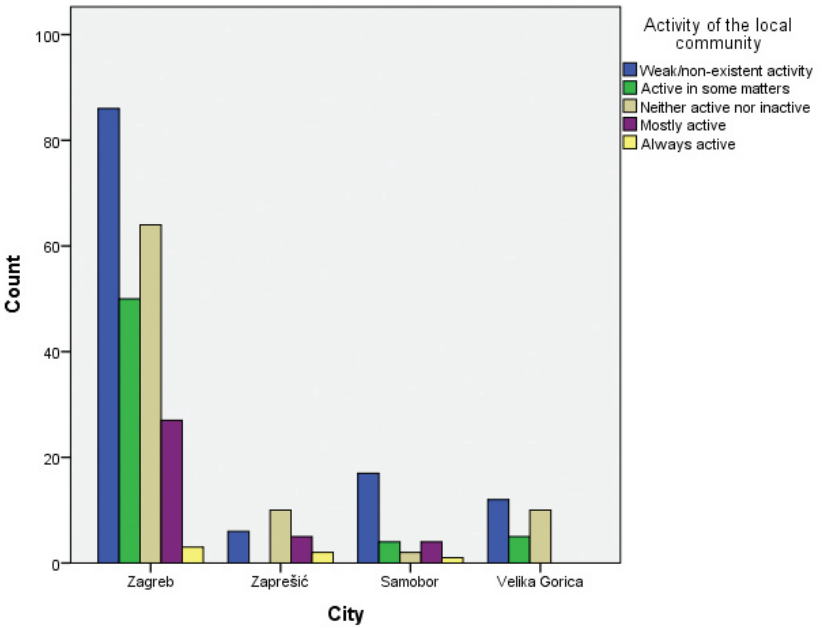
[12] **Economic sustainability** comprises the economic growth and efficiency essential for the long-term satisfaction of material needs, social security and consumption opportunities (Spangenberg, 2004). **Social sustainability** mostly comprises employment rate, education, training, income, social capital and social security (Spangenberg, 2004; Colantonio, 2009; Chiu, 2004; Boström, 2012; Murphey, 2012). As the fourth pillar of sustainability, **culture** encompasses both "documented culture" (Williams, 1965) of historical monuments and cultural heritage and "culture of everyday life" of the local community.

One way to weaken the market as a key economic actor and strengthen the role of civil actors (citizens) is citizen participation in decision-making processes in their neighbourhood and, consequently, in housing policies in general. Citizens of Zagreb participate in decision-making about their communities through local self-government organized in **city districts** and **local boards**[13] (http://www.zagreb.hr). Citizen participation affects the quality of housing but it is also, together with social relations in a neighbourhood, part of the **social dimension of sustainability**, one of the four key dimensions of sustainability mentioned in the previous section. It consists of the following indicators: social infrastructure, social cohesion (feeling of togetherness), developed social capital and participation in decision-making processes (Spangenberg, 2004).

In our research we looked at the following components of citizen participation, which are connected with the above mentioned social dimension indicators: activity of the local community (indicator of developed social capital and participation in decision-making); who people contact first when confronted with problems in their buildings or neighbourhood, taking part in tenant meetings (indicator of social infrastructure and participation in decision-making); personal engagement in matters regarding neighbourhoods or buildings people occupy, participation in decisions about buildings and neighbourhoods (indicator of social infrastructure and participation in decision-making); local community initiatives (indicator of social cohesion and feeling of togetherness and developed social capital); how towns take care of their infrastructure and satisfaction with social relations in the neighbourhood (indicator of social cohesion, developed social capital and social infrastructure).

13 There are 17 city districts in the City of Zagreb. Residents of each district are represented by their City District Council whose members elect President of the Council.

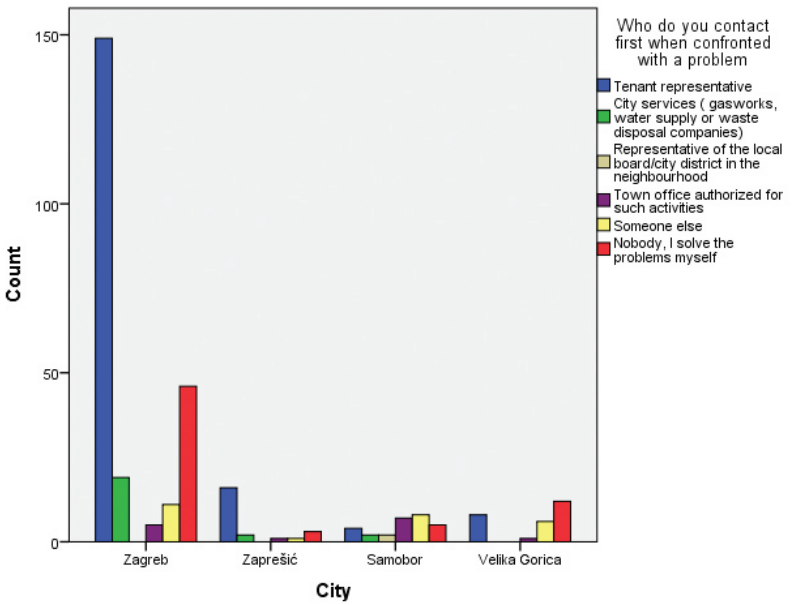
Graph 12.
Activity of the local community



Activity of the local community (Graph 12) is "weak or non-existent" in all towns (39.3% of all respondents say so) or the community is "neither active nor inactive" (27.9% of respondents in all towns). In Zagreb, 37.4% of residents believe the community activity is "weak or non-existent" and 40.5% believe it is "active in some matters" and "neither active nor inactive". The community activity is "weak or non-existent" for most people (60.7%) in Samobor. In Zaprešić, the local community is "neither active nor inactive" for 43.5% of people and "mostly active" for 21.7% of people, which points to a bigger activity than in other towns.

"Local community self-organization is at risk because of neoliberalism and market dominance" (Darcy and Rogers, 2014:2). That is why Rolnik (2014) brings back to focus the famous Lefebvre's syntagm "*right to the city*" (2009) and turns it to the "**right to housing"** where quality housing becomes the central "battle" which has to be won by all residents.

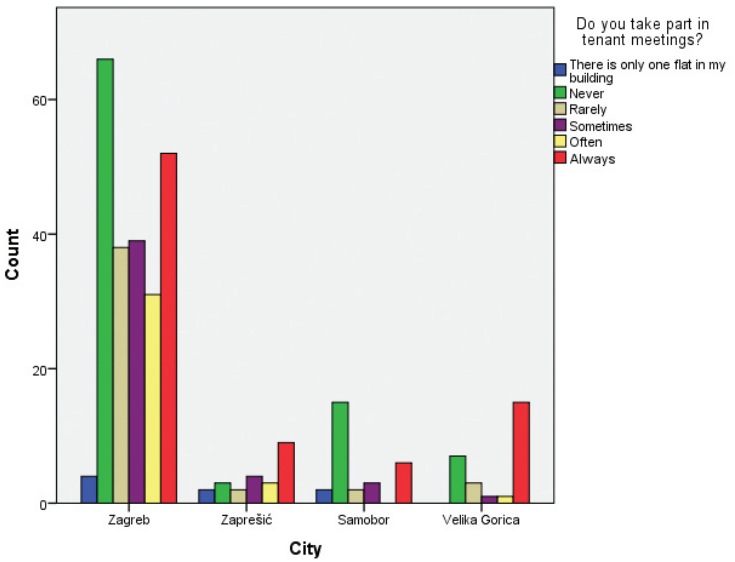
Graph 13.
Who people contact (first) when confronted with problems in their buildings or neighbourhood



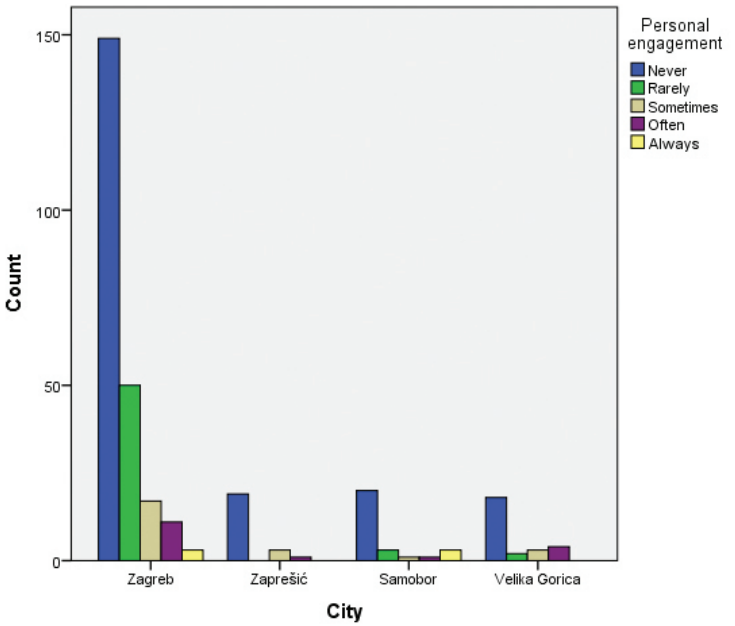
Most people first turn to tenant representatives, in Zagreb 64.8% and in Zaprešić 69.6% of people (Graph 13). It is logical because in the present system representatives of all occupants have to deal with problems occurring in the building. In Samobor most people contact "someone else" (28.6%), among others the town office authorized for such activities (25%). This can be explained by the fact that in Samobor most new residential construction are family houses rather than big buildings. In Zaprešić 44.4% of people solve problems on their own and 29.6% speak to tenant representatives. In Zaprešić there are also a lot of family houses (the so-called Canadian row houses).

In Samobor most residents (53.6) do not take part in meetings because a lot of them live in houses and not flats; for the rest, it can be a sign of indifference (Graph 14). In Zagreb we can notice a rather big polarization between those who always attend meetings (28.7%) and those who never attend meetings (22.6%). In Velika Gorica the percentage of tenants who always attend meetings is high (55.6%) and in Zaprešić it is also quite high (40%), more than one third of all residents.

Graph 14.
Taking part in tenant meetings



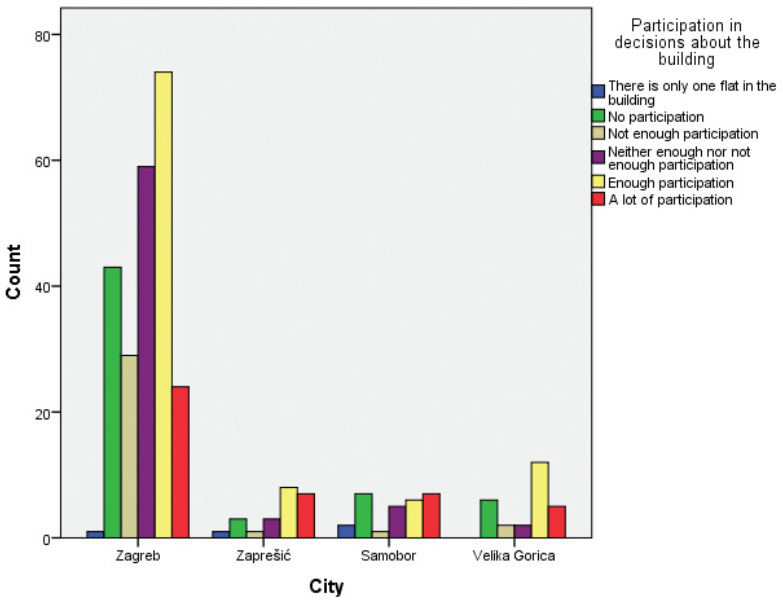
Graph 15.
Personal engagement



More than 60% of residents in each town never get personally engaged in matters regarding their buildings or neighbourhoods (Graph 15). This is evidence of weak citizen participation in planning and organization of life in their immediate home surroundings. Absence of personal engagement is visible in Zagreb (64.8% of all residents never get personally engaged) and especially in Velika Gorica (82.6%).

According to many authors, however, a town (especially a neighbourhood), should be a strategic zone where everybody (those with more and those with less political power) is free to express themselves.

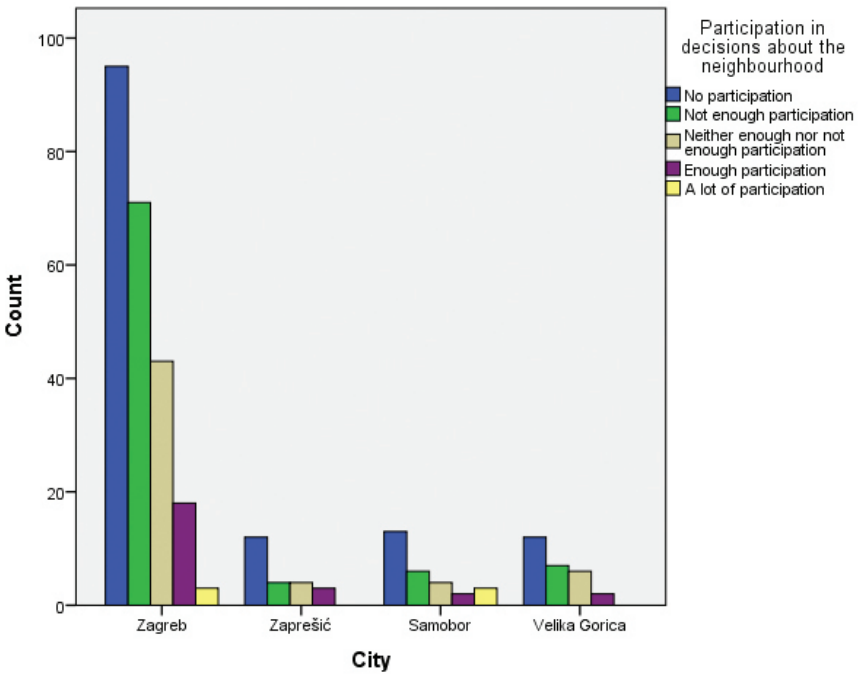
Graph 16.
Participation in decisions about buildings and neighbourhoods



Graphs 16 and 17 show citizen participation in decisions about their buildings and neighbourhoods.

In Zagreb 42.6%, in Zaprešić more than 50% and in Velika Gorica more than 60% of respondents believe there is "enough participation" and "a lot of participation" in decisions about their buildings (Graph 16). In Samobor under 50% of respondents think there is "enough participation" and "a lot of participation" and 28.6% think there is "no participation" or "not enough participation".

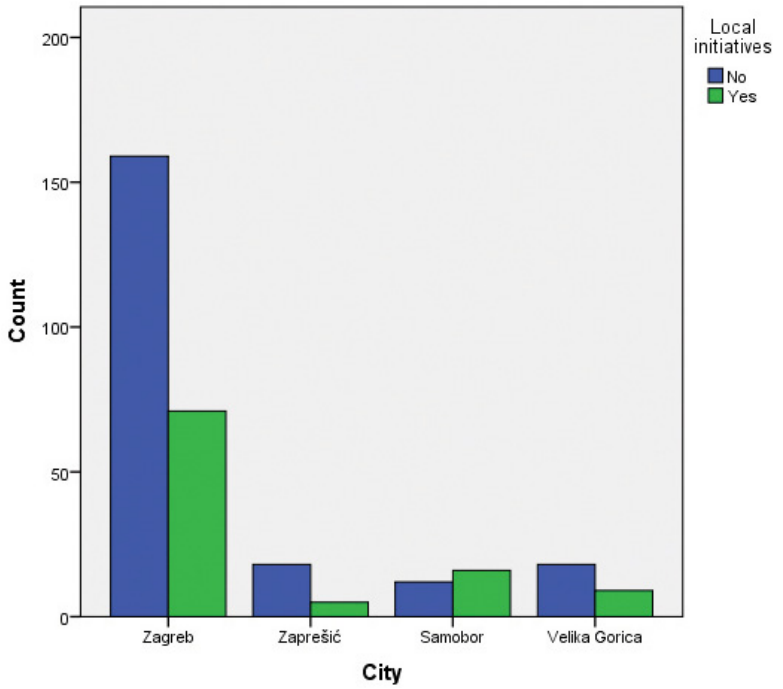
Graph 17.
Participation in decisions about buildings and neighbourhoods



When it comes to taking part in decision-making about their neighbourhoods, the situation is significantly different (Graph 17). Most respondents in all towns think that there is "no participation" or "not enough participation" in decisions about their neighbourhoods (in Zagreb 80% of all respondents, in Zaprešić 70.4%, in Samobor 67.8% and in Velika Gorica more than 70% of respondents). This is not unexpected because neighbourhood planning is managed by local urban policies which depend on higher authorities whose decisions do not necessarily coincide with people's needs. It is easier to make decisions about individual buildings in which people live than entire neighbourhoods.

In most towns (Zagreb, Zaprešić and Velika Gorica) respondents think there are not enough local community initiatives about matters regarding neighbourhoods, which is in accordance with previous answers about little participation in decision-making about neighbourhoods (Graph 18). In Samobor 57.1% of people believe that local initiatives exist in their town.

Graph 18.
Local community initiatives



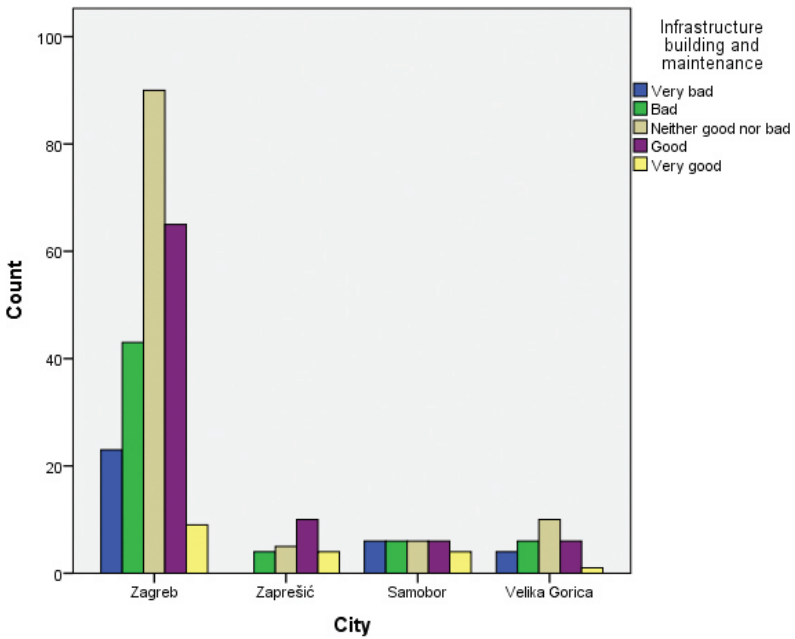
We also used an open-ended question about local community initiatives in order to get a closer look at them (Table 1).

Table 1.
Local initiatives

Zagreb	cleaning up housing estates, building kindergartens and schools, preservation of parks and green areas
Zaprešić	public lighting, cleaning up parks, building kindergartens and schools
Samobor	paving roads with asphalt and building sidewalks
Velika Gorica	building parks and schools

It is obvious that local initiatives are similar in all towns. They are usually about new kindergartens or schools, cleaning and preservation of parks and green areas, asphalt paving and sidewalks. These are elements of primary neighbourhood infrastructure and facilities and are crucial for residents' daily needs and their quality of living.

Graph 19.
Towns and their infrastructure

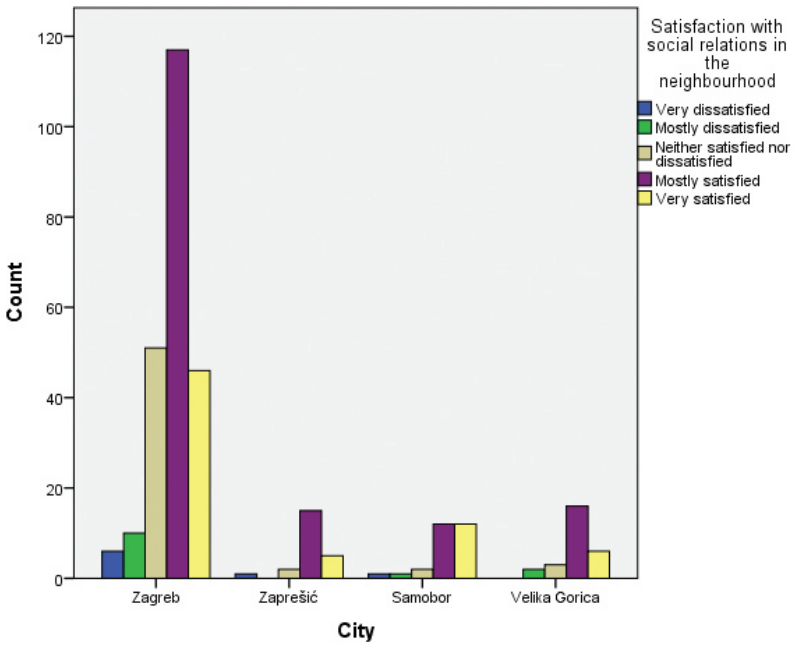


In Zagreb 39.1% of people estimate that the City takes "neither good nor bad" care of its infrastructure and in Velika Gorica 37% of people think the same (Graph 19). In Zaprešić, however, 60.9% of respondents think the town takes "good" or "very good" care of infrastructure. In Samobor opinions are divided because the same percentage of people (21.4%) believe the care about infrastructure is "very bad", "bad", "neither good nor bad" and "good".

Most respondents in all towns say they are "mostly satisfied" or "very satisfied" with social relations in their neighbourhoods: in Zagreb 50.9%, in Zaprešić 65.2%, in Samobor 85,8% (both mostly satisfied and very

satisfied), in Velika Gorica 59.3% (Graph 20). High levels of satisfaction with social relations in the neighbourhood can be seen in all towns.

Graph 20.
Satisfaction with social relations in the neighbourhood



This section shows the non-existent or weak activity of the local community which affects the quality of living. "Participation of the public in spatial planning and decision making processes regarding their immediate environment has not been satisfactory for a while now" (Sviršić Gotovac and Zlatar, 2013:404). A new type of actors, **non-government organizations** (**NGOs**), appear on the scene and come into conflict with economic actors, defending citizens' interests and demanding equal participation of all actors (political, economic, civil and professional) in urban planning. Such balance of power is democracy. "In order to establish the balance of power and equality it is vital to change the socio-political system which, not being sufficiently legally and politically defined, does not encourage democracy, promotes some actors at the expense of others, thus strengthening the hyerarchy of power" (Zlatar, 2013:180).

The quality of life can be considered lower if citizens/residents cannot influence decisions about the appearance or infrastructure of their housing environment because such control and influence are important elements of the quality of housing in general.

In Zaprešić, the local community is quite active (60% of residents are "neither active nor inactive" or "mostly active". When confronted with problems in their buildings, a large percentage of people first turn to representatives of building occupants and some people deal with problems on their own. Taking part in tenant meetings varies from one town to another. This is not surprising considering different situations with occupants and their representatives in different housing estates. However, a large percentage of people, especially in Velika Gorica and Zaprešić, "always" attend meetings which shows their desire to participate in decisions about their buildings. Most residents believe they participate "enough" or "a lot" in decisions about their buildings, except in Samobor where there are lots of private houses. There might be some other reasons worth studying here (we mean primarily inactivity of residents, characteristic for transition societies and Croatian society as well).

The level of personal engagement in decisions about the neighbourhood, in comparision with individual buildings, is rather low in all towns (people mostly believe there is "no participation" in these decisions). This also corresponds with answers we received from people about local community initiatives regarding matters of their neighbourhoods. Most people believe there are not enough such initiatives.

It is people's unconditioned right to be part of every decision which regards their housing and this right does not depend on any system's specificities (UN, 2012, UN, 2013, In: Rolnik, 2014). The central problem of inhabitants who live in areas affected by urban renewal and revitalization (or areas intended for further construction) is very limited participation in debates and decisions concerning their housing environment (Darcy and Rogers, 2014). This research points to these problems and to the fact that negative transition circumstances have, to a large extent, excluded citizens from decision-making processes about space.

Local initiatives in Samobor and other towns might be connected with the impossibility to decide about their neighbourhoods, so people take matters into their own hands. These are primarily reactions to traffic

problems, such as asphalt paving, public lighting, building of sidewalks or new facilities, e.g kindergartens and schools. The inevitable conclusion is that such initiatives are necessary to improve the insufficient existing infrastructure (low primary neighbourhood infrastructure index and secondary neighbourhood index).

Respondents' perception of how towns care about infrastructure varies from one town to another, the reason probably being various levels of satisfaction with town authorities and mayors. In Zaprešić, people's perception is positive because most residents think the town takes "good" or "very good" care of its infrastructure.

Finally, it is important to mention high levels of satisfaction with social relations in the neighbourhood in all towns. Social relations are a relevant parameter in the quality of life studies and can contribute considerably to someone's dis/satisfaction with their neighbourhood.

5. Suggestions for neighbourhood improvement

Although the "right to the city" (and the right to housing) is mostly in hands of private or quasi-private interests today, Sassen (2004) points out that nowadays towns are also places for different participatory processes. The present-day situation does not create only new structures of power but also opens active "rhetorical" possibilities for new types of social actors that have been concealed, invisible or without vote until now. "Globalization becoming local creates objective conditions for their engagement. Think of examples such as fighting against gentrification, demonstrations against police brutality etc." (Sassen, 2004:653-654). Gentrification, generally, means restructuring of social classes and actors in urban space, it shows how after urban renewal higher (elite) classes move to city centres (Sviršić Gotovac, 2009:43)[14].

[14] According to Sviršić Gotovac (2010:201), in the post-socialist period, after 1991, gentrification was not the same in transition countries and Western Europe and the USA. In transition countries, a large number of projects was given to private investors which frequently resulted in non-transparent and manipulative activities, e.g. misappropriation and usurpation of public space. It happened primarily because of insufficient involvement of public institutions in urban transformations.

It would be possible and desirable to introduce regulatory measures which, in the past, successfully protected low income households from market forces. These measures could present key points of alternative housing policies, characterized by more equality (Rolnik, 2014).

For such measures to come to life in Croatia and Zagreb and for the "concealed" actors (citizens) to start acting, it is vital to include citizens in decisions about the design and development of their own neighbourhoods. "The right to the city does not exist without the right to housing; the right to housing can only be exercised through concrete activities of citizens/residents in their neighbourhoods, although such activities and participation in making decisions may seem like hardly attainable goals (AlKhalili et al., 2014:9).

Table 2 shows some suggestions our respondents mentioned which could improve their neighbourhoods.

Table 2.
Suggestions for neighbourhood improvement

Zagreb	**Zaprešić**	**Samobor**	**Velika Gorica**
-better traffic connections in the city -more sidewalks -more green areas (parks)	-more facilities for children and the elderly (parks, green areas, kindergartens) -more cultural events -improvement and upgrading of primary infrastructure (public lightning, benches in parks, parking lots)	-more green areas in the town -complete the estates' infrastructure (unfinished roads and sidewalks) -better public lightning -better quality and organization of traffic (too many traffic accidents) -more stores	-road renovation -more parks -more parking spaces -more green areas -more sidewalks

We can see that suggestions are quite similar in all four town. Also, suggestions correspond with local community initiatives that citizens organize in their neighbourhoods. Mostly people mention more green areas and maintenance and upgrading of the existing infrastructure. This is particularly urgent in Samobor where unfinished roads and sidewalks

cause traffic accidents. People in Zagreb and Velika Gorica also want more sidewalks, as well as better traffic organization and road renovation. Traffic infrastructure and green areas seem to be problems present in the same proportion in all towns surveyed. After that follow suggestions about more shops and cultural events.

In Croatia and many other countries housing policies are directed at *urban sprawl*, new developments built on the edge of towns. Urban sprawl is not advantageous for towns; instead of expanding on the outkirts, towns should be given an "inside" look and the existing urban fabric should be transformed (de Matteis, 2011). A lot of towns are already working on a relatively new **"compact town"** model which seems to be the only long-term sustainable planning strategy which can save the outskirts from becoming *lost spaces.* In Zagreb, since the 1990s, we have witnessed the phenomenon of shrinking space and, in some cases, disappearance of public space, which has become *lost space* (Svirčić Gotovac and Zlatar, 2013). In the city centre and on the periphery excessive building does not fit in the existing urban structure nor does it meet citizens' needs. The "use value" of public space is not being increased because construction work is random and unplanned, favouring narrow economic interests, not those of citizens. "Useful facilities (schools, kindergartens, sport centers, parks) are not built and the existing ones are stretched beyond capacity. Such inadequate use of space speaks at the same time of wasted space and absence of better city management strategies and policies, regarding both residential and commercial projects" (Svirčić Gotovac and Zlatar, 2013:404).

In the "compact town" model we mentioned before, both the city government and the market should focus on the transformation of the existing housing estate stock and not on the (usually unplanned) expansion (de Matteis, 2011). Intelligent transformation strategies for rundown or unfinished estates can trigger off various initiatives and improve the quality of living and housing. There is a big imbalance of power between private investors who lobby for their interests and other actors, which results, among other things, in chaotic urban sprawl. If all actors are included in planning and decision-making, wrong decisions will be avoided and the quality of housing will improve (Vujošević, 2006; Zlatar, 2013; Svirčić Gotovac and Zlatar, 2013).

6. Conclusion

A disturbed balance of power among various actors, such as we witness in Croatia, affects the quality of living and housing. Urban planning is, in large part or almost completely, influenced by **private interests** and **market laws** (economic actors) while residents themselves do not have the right to make decisions. The consequence of such approach is random, unplanned building which does not increase the use value of new developments.

On the real estate market in Zagreb great emphasis is put on new estates but they have, according to objective indicators of the quality of living, insufficient infrastructure. The focus should therefore move towards **rehabilitation and reconstruction of these, existing estates** which is not in the best interest of the market but is nevertheless the direction in which many towns move in order to improve the total quality of housing.

When we speak about the quality of living and housing, it is worth bearing in mind that **subjective and objective aspects** are intertwined with each other in such a way that a single negative aspect can immediately reduce the quality of life for residents, although other measured parameters may be very good. If a housing estate is, for instance, situated in proximity to railways, no matter how aesthetically pleasing it may be, the residents will rank it lower because of the noise. Equally, good social relations, cleanliness or general apearance of the neighbourhood can be a decisive factor for satisfaction with the neighbourhood and the quality of living.

These examples are supported by our research findings: residents are quite satisfied at the subjective level with some aspects of the quality of living we examined (which confirms, up to a point, our hypothesis about satisfaction of residents in new estates), although some objective indicators are average or below average. They rank **aesthetic and ecological aspects of their neighbourhood** above average, although there are problems such as buildings too close to each other or roads too close to estates or water quality (worse in Zaprešić than in other towns) and the level of noise (higher in Zagreb than elsewhere).

Another important thing which bears upon dis/satisfaction with the quality of housing is the local culture, i.e. the **relativity** of what is con-

sidered quality housing. A certain type of housing may be regarded as high-quality housing in one country and low-quality housing in another. So expectations and customs of residents need to be taken into consideration when we look at their subjective judgement which is the result of various factors. Nevertheless, positive evaluation of aesthetic and ecological aspects of new estates is a sign that aesthetic standards have been respected and there is no significant water or air pollution in these estates. These are certainly recommended guidelines for the future and a good example of environmental protection. If we look at the **ecological dimension of sustainable development** through the eyes of residents, we can see a pleasant picture which corresponds with the general view of Croatia as a country not threatened by ecological problems. People are used to housing estates which are not very polluted but "ecological awareness" could be raised to a higher level.

Regarding another topic we examined, **citizen participation** or the **social dimension of sustainable development**, we can conclude that a large number of residents do not participate in decisions about their neighbourhoods and the local community activity is rather unnoticeable, which leaves the second part of our research hypothesis about citizens participating, unconfirmed. Insufficient citizen participation speaks of the impossibility on the part of citizens to propose certain projects and activities for the government to consider and, ideally, accept. Unfortunately, the existing imbalance of power among various types of actors and inadequate information/education citizens have about their rights and range of activities, blocks a lot of civic initiatives. This explains weak or non-existent citizen participation in the estates we surveyed. However, in some towns, people attend tenant meetings and the local community activity is noticeable. But, according to the ladder of citizen participation, these are only bottom rungs of the ladder - non-participation (manipulation) or just informing the citizens (one-way communication). All research points out that participation, i.e. social organization is a key element of the quality of housing; therefore, citizen education about how much they can decide in their communities and neighbourhoods is crucial. Non-government organizations and professioanl associations play an equally important role in the improvement of life quality in every local community.

Our research shows that residents' satisfaction with different aspects of living and housing varies from one town to another. But, generally speaking, residents of Zaprešić are more satisfied with aesthetic aspects of their town and citizen participation than residents of other towns, while people in Samobor are more satisfied than the others with ecological aspects of their housing. These findings can offer some guidelines for future infrastructure plans in the existing housing estates but also for general strategies and urban housing policies. Also, further qualitative research is necessary in order to explain and clarify some discordant opinions and obtain a more detailed analysis of residents' dis/satisfaction with the quality of housing.

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Subjektivna razina kvalitete stanovanja: estetski, ekološki aspekti susjedstva i građanska participacija

SAŽETAK Kvaliteta života, pa tako i kvaliteta stanovanja, istražuje se kroz dvije razine: objektivnu i subjektivnu. U ovom radu obrađena je subjektivna razina kvalitete stanovanja tj. rezultati o tome kako stanovnici osobno procjenjuju sljedeće elemente kvalitete stanovanja u svom susjedstvu: estetske elemente (izgled susjedstva), ekološke elemente (čistoća okoliša u susjedstvu) te građansku participaciju (sudjelovanje u planiranju i odlukama o susjedstvu). Anketni upitnik primijenjen je na ovaj dio istraživanja s pitanjima koja obuhvaćaju spomenute elemente. Rezultati istraživanja pokazali su se većim dijelom povoljnima za istraživana susjedstva prema ekološkim i estetskim aspektima. Primjećuje se i razmjerno veliko zadovoljstvo stanovnika kako izgledom susjedstva tako i njegovom čistoćom i uređenošću, dok je građanska participacija ocijenjena poprilično slabom, gotovo nepostojećom. Budući da je sudjelovanje građana u oblikovanju i organizaciji svog životnog prostora bitan element kvalitete stanovanja, upozorava se na nužnost povećanja uloge građana u planiranju i organizaciji svog susjedstva.

Ključne riječi: kvaliteta stanovanja, subjektivna razina kvalitete stanovanja, estetski aspekti susjedstva, ekološki aspekti susjedstva, građanska participacija.

Četvrto poglavlje

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KVALITETA ŽIVOTA I TRANZICIJA. SOCIOLOŠKA REKONSTRUKCIJA NA PRIMJERU ZAGREBA

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KVALITETA ŽIVOTA I TRANZICIJA. SOCIOLOŠKA REKONSTRUKCIJA NA PRIMJERU ZAGREBA

SAŽETAK Istraživanje *Kvaliteta života u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja* pristupom i uzorkom bavi se prije svega kvalitetom stanovanja u postsocijalističkom razdoblju. Stoga su uzorkom obuhvaćene zgrade sagrađene poslije 1990. godine. Ovaj tekst se oslanja na pet istraživanja koja su provedena u razdoblju od 1984. (potom 1989., 1996. i 2004.) do ovog posljednjeg provedenog 2014. godine. Analizom se provjerava hipoteza prema kojoj rast standarda u zapadnoj Europi poslije Drugog svjetskog rata premješta fokus političkog djelovanja s politike koja se temelji na klasnim vrijednostima na politiku koja zastupa kvalitetu života. Može se pokazati da se ti procesi različitim intenzitetom i u drukčijim oblicima odvijaju i u socijalističkim zemljama. Pokazuje se da je teorijsko određenje socijalizma kao „diktature nad potrebama" prekratko da bi se analiziralo spomenute procese. Tako se i kod nas, ponajprije u području ruralne i urbane sociologije, razvijaju istraživanja kvalitete života usporediva s istraživanjima „države blagostanja" na Zapadu.

Ključne riječi: kvaliteta života, tranzicija, socijalizam, modernizacija, Zagreb.

1. Uvod

Na internet paortalu Jutarnjeg lista 19. svibnja 2015. godine objavljen je reklamni tekst tvrtke *PRIDUS*. U tekstu se poziva na rezultate „terenskog ispitivanja u organizaciji Instituta za društvena istraživanja u Zagrebu na temu zadovoljstva građana njihovom životnom sredinom", a rezultati su, prema *PRIDUSU*, „grad Zaprešić doveli u prvi plan". Budući da se tvrtka *PRIDUS* bavi gradnjom stanova u Zaprešiću rezultati istraživanja odlično promiču njihovu želju da stanove i prodaju. „Terensko ispitivanje" na koje se *PRIDUS* poziva naše je istraživanje *Kvaliteta života u novostambenim naseljima i lokacijama u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja*. Uzorkom je obuhvaćeno 17 lokacija u Zagrebu (230 ispitanika) te po dvije lokacije u Zaprešiću (23 ispitanika), Samoboru (28 ispitanika) i Velikoj Gorici (27 ispitanika). Točno je da je na pitanje „Koliko ste zadovoljni lokacijom/susjedstvom?" u Zaprešiću 65,2% ispitanika (15 od 23) odabralo odgovor „izrazito zadovoljan" i to daleko premašuje postotke za ostala tri grada u uzorku. No, ako malo ublažimo kriterije „kvalitete života" i zbrojimo odgovore „zadovoljan" i „izrazito zadovoljan", za Zagreb dobivamo 79,2 posto, Zaprešić 91,3 posto, Samobor 89,3 posto i Veliku Goricu 92,6 posto ispitanika pa je očito da je velika većina stanovnika „zagrebačke mreže naselja" (82,2%) zadovoljna lokacijom koju su izabrali za život.

Našim je uzorkom obuhvaćeno i zaprešićko naselje „Novi dvori" koje oglasi opisuju kao ono koje je „nekoliko godina za redom prema anketama proglašavano najljepše sređenim u Zagrebačkoj županiji. (…) Naselje Novi dvori je na sjevernom dijelu Zaprešića, odmah do novih golf-terena, konjičkog kluba te dvorca Novi dvori Jelačićevi s velikim parkom, a stotinjak metara dalje je novouređeno veliko dječje igralište".

Dan grada Zaprešića obilježava se 16. listopada, na dan kada je 1801. godine u Petrovaradinu rođen ban Jelačić. Posjed Novi dvori ban Jelačić kupio je 1851. godine od grofova Erdödy. Posjedovanje imanja bio je, naime, uvjet da dobije plemićku titulu pa je tako 1854. godine postao grof. U vlasništvu obitelji posjed je ostao do 1934. godine kada su ga nasljednici darovali hrvatskom narodu. Danas Jelačićevi Novi dvori udomljuju „Golf centar Novi dvori" i „Golf klub Ban Jelačić", a restoran „Golf" smješten je u vrtnoj kući Jelačićevih. Ime bana Jelačića u Zapre-

šiću još nose ulica, srednjoškolski centar, mažoretkinje, kulturno umjetničko društvo, folklorni ansambl, kuburaško društvo te malonogometni, šahovski i kuglaški klub.

Imenovanja i preimenovanja započela su 16. listopada 1990. godine vraćanjem spomenika banu Jelačiću na Trg Republike u Zagrebu. „Sljedeći dan skinuta je ploča s nazivom trga: 'Trg Republike' i zamijenjena novom kojom je trgu vraćeno staro ime: 'Trg bana Josipa Jelačića'" (Mataušić, 2001.:128). Taj događaj i u našoj i svjetskoj sociološkoj literaturi zabilježen je kao simbolički „početak" tranzicije u Hrvatskoj (Pusić, 1993.: viii; Therborn, 2006.:223).

Spomenik je postavljen 1866., a uklonjen 1947. godine. Ban Jelačić bio je i cijenjena i osporavana osoba svoga doba, no, kako primjećuje Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, nikada nije razjašnjeno zašto su socijalističke vlasti maknule spomenik. S obzirom da je potpisao ukaz o ukidanju kmetstva, te s obzirom na njegovo ilirsko zalaganje za jedinstvo Hrvata i Srba i obljubljenost među krajiškim Srbima, Jelačića se sasvim lijepo moglo iskoristiti kao mitsku figuru socijalističke Jugoslavije „gotovo na crti Titove ideologije bratstva i jedinstva" (Rihtman-Auguštin, 2000.:94). Budući je maknut od socijalističkih vlasti, vratio se kao mitska figura hrvatske nacionalne državotvorne ideologije i simbol obračuna s komunističkom prošlošću.

Tranzicijska vremena bana su Jelačića uvukla i u svakodnevni život u rasponu od golfa do kuburaša, od mažoretkinja do srednjoškolskog centra pa i u reklamiranje novih naselja visoke kvalitete života. Ban Jelačić je, kako bi se to danas reklo, postao *brand* pa kao takav funkcionira kao moment u cirkulaciji simboličkog kapitala. Simbolički kapital pak „nije ništa drugo nego ekonomski ili kulturni kapital kada je kao takav prepoznat i/ili priznat" (Bourdieu, 1989.:21). Reciklaža povijesti nije, dakle, ništa drugo nego borba za priznavanje (ne samo) simboličkog kapitala.

Spomenuti Göran Therborn vraćanje spomenika banu Jelačiću navodi kao primjer uspjeha antikomunističkog pokreta koji je zahtjev za promjenom režima započeo zahtjevom za ikonografskom promjenom (Therborn, 2006.:223). No, povijest glavnih gradova zemalja Istočne Evrope, Therborn prati od 1830. godine pa do današnjih dana, od raspada Habsburškog, Otomanskog i Ruskog carstva, stvaranja nacionalnih država, nadiranja fašizma pa do uspostave i raspada socijalizma. U toj

analitičkoj perspektivi povijest glavnih gradova Istočne Evrope izranja kao niz neprestanih tranzicija koje traju već gotovo dva stoljeća. Ti su gradovi, smatra Therborn, i glavni pobjednici u ovoj posljednjoj tranziciji kojom je „obnovljen kapitalizam". Srednja klasa koja se u njima razvila je pak postala „jezgra post-komunističke politike (Therborn, 2006.:229-230). Jedna od tema te politike je i kvaliteta života. Tu temu se, naime, može uklopiti u, kako to formulira Vrcan, „ideološki i ideologizirajući san o tranziciji kao o jednostavnom kvalitativnom skoku koji gotovo sva prijašnja komunistička društva vodi sigurno i brzo od totalitarnih društava sustavne oskudice u razvijena društva izobilja, već tu iza ugla, gotovo na dohvat ruke" (Vrcan, 1995.:7).

Da se takav skok uistinu i dogodio pretpostavka je i nekih sociooloških istraživanja. „Za razliku od zapadnih zemalja, gdje se cjelokupna struktura društva duže od stoljeća pripremala za ovaj tip društva (potrošačkog - opaska B. K.), u Hrvatskoj se prijelaz iz kulture oskudice i nestašica u kulturu obilja dogodio naglo, u kratkom vremenu i u nepovoljnim uvjetima tranzicije" (Stanić i Burilo, 2011.:198).

Neki povjesničari pak imaju drukčije viđenje prelaska iz kulture oskudice u kulturu obilja. Igor Duda simboličke početke potrošačkog društva vidi u dva događaja iz 1958. godine. Prvi je prihvaćanje Programa Saveza komunista Jugoslavije na kongresu u Ljubljani u kojem je izražena briga za svakodnevne potrebe, opskrbu, odmor i zabavu radnih ljudi čime je i potrošnja ušla u vidokrug službene ideologije. Drugi je događaj festival zabavne glazbe u Opatiji na kojem je pobijedila pjesma „Mala djevojčica". Popis želja koji je otpjevala Zdenka Vučković publika je, drži Duda, prihvatila „kao svoj popis želja" i kao „putokaz u neko bolje društvo". Tako „rođeno potrošačko društvo kroz prve je potrošačke groznice prošlo tijekom šezdesetih te potom raslo do svoje punoljetnosti i pune snage u kasnim sedamdesetima" (Duda, 2010.:18-19). Dobar primjer urbanih transformacija tranzicijskog razdoblja su pak veliki trgovački centri kojih je samo u Zagrebu više od trideset. „Potrošačko društvo u kojem nastaju trgovački centri može se definirati kroz fenomen 'masovne potrošnje' ili tzv. *konzumerizam* u kojem povećana potrošnja postaje ekonomski poželjna, baš kao i zaokupljenost potrošačkim dobrima, što povećava sklonost kupnji" (Zlatar, 2013.:120-127). Povijest tih centara pa i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj počinje 17. prosinca 1956. godine kada

je u Ivancu otvoreno prva samoposluga u Jugoslaviji. U Austriji i Italiji samoposluge tada još nisu postojale, a prva je otvorena u SAD-u 1916. godine. U Zagrebu je prva samoposluga otvorena u Ilici 29. prosinca 1957. godine. „Tri godine nakon njezina otvaranja u Hrvatskoj je radilo 13 samoposluga (devet na periferiji Zagreba, jer je većina samoposluga otvarana ondje gdje je inače postojao mali broj trgovina, što je pridonosilo i urbanizaciji prigradskih naselja), a planirano je da do kraja 1960. Zagreb ima 21. samoposlugu" (Vučetić, 2012.:290).

Je li dakle riječ o skoku iz „društva oskudice" u „društvo blagostanja", iz „diktature nad potrebama" u „diktaturu potreba" ili o razvoju potrošačkog društva otvoreno je pitanje. Prvi pristup, kad je riječ o potrošačkom društvu, kontinuitet razvoja vidi samo u „zapadnim zemljama". U socijalizmu je na djelu diskontinuitet, potrošačko društvo dolazi naglo i zatiče nas nespremne. Drugi pristup naglašava kontinuitet i pokazuje da je socijalističko društvo bilo pripremljeno za uspostavu „pravog" potrošačkog društva. Ma kako odgovorili na to otvoreno pitanje, istraživanja kvalitete života svakako su povezana s tranzicijskim procesima. U ovom radu odgovor ćemo potražiti analizom rezultata empirijskih istraživanja. Nekoliko istraživanja provedenih u Institutu za društvena istraživanja Zagreb (dalje IDIZ) omogućuju da se, na primjeru Zagreba, skicira jedna sociološka rekonstrukcija odnosa kvalitete života i tranzicije.

2. Istraživanja kvalitete života

2.1. Povijest

Povodom pedesete obljetnice osnivanja IDIZ-a (1964. – 2014.) i izlaženja časopisa *Sociologija sela* / *Sociologija i prostor* (1963. – 2013.) objavljen je jubilarni broj časopisa (Svirčić Gotovac, 2013.) te monografija o radu Instituta (Ilišin, 2014.). U selektivnoj bibliografiji radova (Vranješ, 2014.) pod odrednicom *6.4.2. Životni standard. Kvaliteta života* navodi se 36 naslova. Kako bibliografija sadrži 2.410 jedinica broj naslova čini se malen. No kvaliteta života je termin koji se i našoj i u stranoj sociologiji pojavljuje relativno kasno. Jedna analiza američke sociološke literature pokazuje da je pojam kvalitete života „pronašao svoje

skromno mjesto“ u sociološkim istraživanjima u osamdesetim godinama prošlog stoljeća no ne i u općoj sociologiji: udžbenicima, priručnicima i enciklopedijama (Ferriss, 2004.:49). Ferriss je tada odrednicu „kvaliteta života“ pronašao samo u MacMillanovoj *Encyclopedia of sociology* (Merkedis, 2000.:2299-2309).

I u spomenutoj bibliografiji IDIZ-a prvi tekst koji u naslovu rabi termin kvaliteta života je tekst Vladimira Laya „Kvaliteta svakidašnjeg života društvenih grupa: neki osnovni materijalni pokazatelji'“, objavljen 1986. godine. Lay analizira podatke dobivene istraživanjem obavljenim 1984. godine u okviru projekta „Društvena struktura i socijalna stratifikacija“ na kvotnom uzorku radno aktivnog stanovništva Hrvatske od 3.619 ispitanika i analizom niza dimenzija pokazuje kako su elementi kvaliteta života povezani s razlikama u položaju grupa u društvenoj strukturi (Lay, 1986.). No kvaliteta života kao termin i kao istraživačka tema su dvije različite stvari. Primjerice, tekstovi Alije Hodžića iz 1976. godine „Inovacije u stanovanju i opremljenost domaćinstava te orijentacija u potrošnji seoskog stanovništva“ i Dušice Seferagić „Stanovanje kao pokazatelj socijalne segregacije u zagrebačkom prostoru“ iz 1975. godine mogu se gotovo bez ostatka uvrstiti u istraživačku temu kvaliteta života iako sam termin ne rabe. Oba rada analiziraju rezultate empirijskih istraživanja obavljenih u Centru za sociologiju sela, grada i prostora IDIZ-a. Alija Hodžić (uzorak od 150 seoskih naselja i 4.339 domaćinstava u Jugoslaviji) analizira širenje inovacija u stanovanju (struja, vodovod, kupaonica, zahod s ispiranjem itd.) i trajnih dobara (štednjak, hladnjak, škrinja, radio, televizor, perilica rublja, motorkotač, automobil itd.) i u zaključku upućuje na znatne razlike između aspiracija i mogućnosti seoskog stanovništva koje je „akumulaciju dobara usvojilo kao jedan od osnovnih kriterija tzv. društvenog uspjeha. Međusobna uvjetovanost ovih činilaca otvorila je put potrošačkoj orijentaciji. U tom smislu, jedna je od najvećih inovacija u našem selu potrošačka orijentacija“ (Hodžić, 1976.:65). Dušica Seferagić analizira 922 zagrebačka domaćinstva podijeljena u „obično siromašnu“ i „elitnu“ zonu i nalazi da istraživanje potvrđuje „da u vrijeme istraživanja i u ispitivanom uzorku zaista postoji socijalna segregacija u zagrebačkom prostoru“ (Seferagić, 1975.:41). Veličine uzorka upućuju na istraživačke uvjete za koje su se sociolozi tada mogli izboriti.

Već se iz ovih nekoliko primjera tekstova pronađenih u bibliografiji vidi da su, prvenstveno sociologija sela, grada i prostora (vidi: Seferagić i Svirčić Gotovac, 2014.:64-68), a potom i sociologija društvene strukture (vidi: Hodžić i Krištofić, 2014.:61-64) ona područja u kojima su u IDIZ-u započeta i razvijana istraživanja kvalitete života sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća. Te godine Seferagić vidi kao „kontradiktoran period omekšavanja socijalizma" u kojem je postojala i „određena ideologizacija znanosti te su marksističke teme (poput samoupravljanja, rada, klasne podjele) bile obavezne, dok su se nove tek probijale (kao kvaliteta života, uloga građana, lokalna samouprava, globalizacija, regionalizacija). Glavne teme tadašnjih istraživanja bile su najčešće mjesne zajednice kao ograničeni oblik samoupravljanja građana na uskoj lokalnoj razini. Ulogu građana u širem smislu istraživali su autori raznih srodnih profesija: komunalni sistem, promet, stanovanje, osnovne potrebe i zadovoljstvo na razini grada, slobodno vrijeme i sl. Tako se u nas gradila tema kvalitete života koja je subsumirala različite elemente. Slobodno bismo je mogli nazvati novom, kompleksnom teorijom u slučaju prostora uklopljenom u šira društvena istraživanja" (Seferagić, 2013.:285).

Mnogi bi prije prihvatili da je riječ o kontradiktornom razdoblju nego o „omekšavanju socijalizma". Kraj šezdesetih i početak sedamdesetih godina vrijeme je „tvrdog" obračuna i s „lijevima" i s „desnima" i smjene rukovodstava u svim republikama. Te godine u Hrvatskoj se najbolje pamte po „Hrvatskom proljeću". No intenzivna kampanja vodila se i protiv „tehnostruktura", upravljačkog sloja. Tako povjesničar Saveza komunista, Dušan Bilandžić, drži da je u „dvadesetogodišnjoj evoluciji upravljanje (je) – od revolucionarnog poziva sve više postajalo i uglavnom postalo profesija, koja je izmijenila društveno biće upravljačkog sloja. (…) Paralelno s procesom odvajanja upravljačkog sloja "od radnih masa, tekao je i proces nastajanja socijalnih razlika i bogaćenja. Stvarala se neka vrsta tzv. srednje klase". Revolucionarna ideologija bila ja na neki način potrošena i dalji uspjeh „revolucije počeo je sve više zavisiti od novih socijalnih sila, od autentične podrške radničke klase, koja bi regenerirala pokret" (Bilandžić, 1977.:305-306).

Podrška radničke klase kupljena je podizanjem kvalitete života. Kupovna moć stanovništva 1970. godine počinje rasti, vrhunac dosiže 1979. da bi se krajem osamdesetih vratila vrijednostima s početka sedamdesetih go-

dina (Duda, 2010.:156). Prosječnom plaćom moglo se 1958. godine kupiti 3,7, 1968. 6,8, 1978. 7,2 i 1988. 4,9 košarica proizvoda i usluga (kruh 1kg, mlijeko 1l, šećer 1kg, jaje 1 kom, govedina 1kg, jabuke 1kg, muške cipele, šišanje, trajna ondulacija i ulaznica za kino) (Katalog, 2015.:127).

No kako je svijet početkom sedamdesetih zahvatila kriza, velike su poslijeratne stope rasta počele polagano padati i rast standarda kupljen je podizanjem stranih kredita. Početkom sedamdesetih Jugoslavija je imala i gotovo milijun radnika na „privremenom radu u inostranstvu" pa su i oni pripomogli tom podizanju kvalitete života. S namjerom da se „regenerira pokret" na ideološkoj strani „kontradikcije" Savez komunista je započeo sa sveobuhvatnim promjenama od federalne do razine mjesnih zajednica. Donesen je novi Ustav, ZUR i uvedeni, OUR-i, OOURA-i i dogovorna ekonomije. „Sve je to dovelo do bujanja administracije te se broj neproduktivnih radnih mjesta strahovito povećao – prema nekim proračunima birokratski je aparat bio osam do jedanaest puta veći od onih u zapadnim državama slične veličine" (Goldstein, 2008.:473). Upravo je taj aparat, odnosno sustav koji ga proizvodi i reproducira, radno mjesto srednje klase.

Sociologija je očito pred sobom imala jedno uistinu kontradiktorno razdoblje koje je trebalo istražiti, a standard, odnosno, kvaliteta života postavljeni su kao jedna od važnih tema. Već i tri spomenuta istraživanja, a i ona koja će slijediti ukazala su na trajnu prisutnost „potrošačke orijentacije" i na „socijalne razlike", razlike u kvaliteti života društvenih grupa. Ukratko, kvaliteta života kao predmet politike pojavljuje se kad je dosegnuta određena razina blagostanja, a u ideološki „kontradiktornom" obliku kao istovremeno poticanje potrošnje i napad na socijalne razlike.

Godine 1980. umire Josip Broz Tito, kriza se produbljuje, kupovna moć neprestano pada, pojavljuju se nestašice pojedinih proizvoda. Krajem 1989. godine inflacija je dosegla godišnju stopu od 2.679 posto (Goldstein, 2008.:506). Te godine IDIZ je u Hrvatskoj proveo veliko empirijsko istraživanje „Društvena struktura i kvaliteta života". Istraživanje je provedeno u svim republikama i pokrajinama Jugoslavije, a realizirao ga je Konzorcij društvenih znanosti Jugoslavije (Hodžić, 1991.:419-426). Iduće godine spomenik banu Jelačiću vraćen je na Trg Republike.

S idejom da se tranzicijski procesi istražuju u kontinuitet tadašnjem Ministarstvu znanosti predložen je projekt kojime bi se na razini Hrvatske osigurala usporedivost podataka s istraživanjima iz 1984. i 1989.

godine. Ministarstvo je odgovorilo: „Istraživanja materijalnog statusa, kvalitete života, odnosa u sferi rada i slično, nisu svakako bez interesa, ali se čini da se ta pitanja postavljaju više iz perspektive socijalističkog sustava vrijednosti, nego iz sadašnjih potreba rješavanja problema izgradnje novih institucionalnih okvira, kompatibilnih s tržišnim gospodarstvom i političkim pluralizmom. (…) Pri tome su sociološki aspekti svakako važni, ali samo u sklopu mnogo šire i dublje demokratske revolucije u društvima koja traže puteve iz rasula u koji ih je doveo socijalistički sustav vrijednosti i vladanja." Ocijenjeno je da se od istraživanja „ne bi mogli očekivati osobito relevantni rezultati" pa je financiranje projekta odbijeno. Kako rad na istraživanjima u IDIZ-u više nije bi moguć istraživači su osnovalo nevladinu organizaciju „Centar za istraživanje tranzicije i civilnog društva". U SAD-u su pronašli fondaciju i suradnike koji su smatrali da bi se od istraživanja mogli očekivati relevantni rezultati pa je tako 1996. godine provedeno istraživanje *Društvena struktura i kvaliteta života u periodu tranzicije*. Poslije 2000. godine uvjeti istraživanja u IDIZ-u su poboljšani pa su četiri projekta kojima su odobrena sredstva 2004. godine proveli zajedničko terensko istraživanje kojim su prikupljeni i podaci o društvenoj strukturi i kvaliteti života usporedivi s prethodnim istraživanjima. U okviru tog terena grupa za sociologiju prostora provela je istraživanje *Sociološki aspekti mreže naselja u kontekstu tranzicije* (vidi: Hodžić i Krištofić, 2014.:61-64). Istraživanje *Kvaliteta života novostambenih naselja i lokacija u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja* oslanja se na prikazanu istraživačku tradiciju. Zahvaljujući tadašnjem programeru Bošku Lukaču podaci spomenutih istraživanja sačuvani su u digitalnom obliku.

2.2. Pristup

U literaturi se može pronaći podjela istraživanja kvalitete života na dva „gotovo suprotstavljena" pristupa: američki (*quality of life aproach*) i skandinavski (*level of living aproach*). „Američka škola" smatra da običan čovjek preko „subjektivne dobrobiti može najbolje evaluirati svoju kvalitetu života. Kao najvažniji indikatori subjektivne dobrobiti upotrebljavaju se mjere zadovoljstva i sreće" (Noll, 2004.:157). Od ispitanika se traži da na skali od jedan (izrazito sam nesretan) do obično deset (izrazito sam sretan) ocijene koliko su sretni. Slično se ocjenjuje i zadovolj-

stvo sa životom u cjelini ili pojedinim dimenzijama (materijalno stanje, obitelj i slično). Kako je dakle riječ o osobnoj procjeni ispitanika takvi se pokazatelji nazivaju i pokazatelji „subjektivne dobrobiti" (*wellbeing*) ili „subjektivni indikatori". „Američki pristup proširio se gotovo cijelim istraživačkim svijetom, a u osnovi je i mnogih agencijskih istraživanja koja prave liste gradova „najboljih za život" ili zemalja s najvišom „dobrobiti stanovništva".

„Skandinavska škola" nastoji upravo suprotno, „ocijeniti razinu življenja individue tako da njena evaluacija osobne situacije ima što je manje moguće utjecaja" (Noll, 2004.:156). Ta škola teorijski određuje blagostanje (*welfare*) „kao sposobnost ljudi da maksimaliziraju svoje ljudske potencijale, budu što manje ovisni i da budu aktivni. (…) Riječju, individualno poboljšanje jača solidarnost i doprinosi ljudskoj zajednici. To je u oštroj suprotnosti prema individualizmu liberalnog načela (na kojem počiva „američka škola" – moja opaska) po kojemu individualna učinkovitost služi primarno osobnim ciljevima" (Esping-Andersen, 2000.:6). Kad je riječ o indikatorima inzistira se na prikupljanu „mirkro" podataka na razini domaćinstva i pojedinca, a ne podataka o „stanju nacije". Tako prikupljeni podaci nazivaju se „opisni indikatori".

Gøsta Esping-Andersen predlaže jedan mogući popis: zdravlje (učestalost glavobolja, križobolja, dani bolovanja, sposobnost kretanja, umor,…), prihodi (prihod domaćinstva i pojedinca, štednja, dugovi, bogatstvo,…), obrazovanje (školovanje, obrazovanje za odrasle, tečajevi, navika čitanja, vještine,…), stanovanje (veličina i opremljenost stana, vodovod, grijanje, servisi u susjedstvu, udaljenost do posla, mogućnosti kupovanja,…), obitelj, socijalna integracija i mreže (članovi obitelji, kontakti s prijateljima, mogućnost aktiviranja mreža da se primjerice nađe posao,…), slobodno vrijeme i dokolica (vrijeme namijenjeno dokolici, učestalost čitanja, gledanja televizije, vrijeme provedeno s djecom,…), rad (zanimanje, fizički i mentalni uvjeti na poslu, nadnica, samostalnost, rutina, nadgledanje, kontakti s suradnicima,…), politički resursi (stupanj učestvovanja u javnom životu, organizacijske aktivnosti, raspravljanje o politici,…), sigurnost (iskustvo nasilja, krađe, nesreća,…) (Esping-Andersen, 2000.:8-9). Također se predlaže da se istraživanja vrše u redovitim vremenskim razmacima i da se isti ispitanici prate tokom života. Sasvim je jasno da se zbog sveobuhvatnosti takav pristup nije

mogao proširiti poput „američkog" pa i zbog toga jer se teorijski izvodi iz načela skandinavskog modela „države blagostanja", a „američki" iz načela (neo)liberalizma. Zastupnici te škole pozivaju se na „utilitarnu moralnu filozofiju po kojoj sreća najviši cilj" (Veenhoven, 2007.:55).

No oba pristupa razvijena su šezdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća iz nezadovoljstva GNP-om (BNP) kao mjerom razvijenosti i bogatstva nacija. Kako zgodno ilustrira američki ekonomist Mancur Olson, bogatstvo nacije raste i kad „kriminalac kupi pištolj i kad pošteni građanin kupi bravu" (Olson, 1969.:86). Unutar raznih institucija tragalo se za novim načinima kako bi se izmjerilo blagostanje nacije, a ne samo njezino bogatstvo. Za potrebe UN pod vodstvom dobitnika Nobelove nagrade za ekonomiju Amartye Sena razvijen je Human Development Index (HDI). Kao i „skandinavska škola" Sen polazi od aktivne individue kojoj treba osigurati mogućnosti da se razvija i živi u blagostanju. No postupak je drukčiji. HDI je sastavljen od podataka o očekivanom trajanju života, prosjeku godina školovanja, očekivanim godinama školovanja i BNP-u po glavi stanovnika. HDI se računa za 187 zemalja svijeta i objavljuje u Human Development Report s još mnogim „čvrstim" pokazateljima razvijenost (npr. postotak korisnika interneta).

2.2.1. Primjeri nekoliko pokazatelja

U jesen 2014. Gallup je objavio rezultate istraživanja „kvalitete života" (*Global Well-Being Index*) provedenog 2013. godine u 135 zemalja svijeta na uzorku od 133.000 odraslih ljudi starijih od 15 godina. Kod nas su rezultati dočekani sa zaprepaštenjem jer se Hrvatska našla među deset, po kvaliteti života, najgorih zemalja u društvu sa Sirijom, Afganistanom, Haitijem, DR Kongom, Čadom, Madagaskarom, Ugandom, Beninom i Gruzijom (Tablica 1.; stupac 1.). Ništa manja iznenađenja nisu ni na vrhu. Listu predvodi Panama, slijedi Kostarika pa dvije europske zemlje, Danska i Austrija, pa opet tri južnoameričke, Brazil, Urugvaj i Salvador, potom Švedska, Gvatemala i deseta Kanada. Kako su vrijednosti indeksa izvedene iz odgovora koje su o svom životu dali ispitanici ispada da su Hrvati sami sebe smjestili u društvo zemalja s najnižom razinom „dobrobiti" stanovništva. Gallupov indeks izračunat je iz odgovora

na 10 pitanja koja procjenjuju svrhu života, društvenost, financije, život u zajednici i fizičko zdravlje. Hrvatska je među deset najlošijih zemalja u svrsi/ smislu života, životu u zajednici i zdravlju. S obzirom na kvalitetu života u zajednici među deset najgorih Hrvatskoj su se pridružili i Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora i Srbija.

Tablica 1.
Razni pokazatelji „kvalitete života“

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Panama	1 (61)	10	n.p.	65	51,9	21.3	45,2	6,5
Kostarika	2 (44)	1	n.p.	68	48,6	10,0	47,5	7,8
Danska	3 (40)	2	1	10	28,1	0,8	93,0	7,5
Austrija	4 (39)	21	10	21	26,0	0,8	81,0	4,3
Brazil	5 (39)	19	30	79	52,7	21,8	49,8	6,2
Urugvaj	6 (37)	41	39	50	41,3	5,9	55,1	6,4
Salvador	7 (37)	45	11	115	41,8	70,2	25,5	6,4
Švedska	8 (36)	8	14	12	25,0	0,9	94,0	8,0
Gvatemala	9 (34)	26	17	125	52,4	38,5	16,0	2,9
Kanada	10 (34)	9	9	8	33,7	1,5	86,8	7,2
Gruzija	126 (7)	134	90	79	41,3	2,5	45,5	15,0
Hrvatska	127 (7)	69	67	47	33,7	1,1	63,0	15,8
Benin	128 (6)	146	n.p.	165	43,5	15,1	3,8	n.p.
Uganda	129 (6)	116	70	164	44,3	10,9	14,7	9,1
Madagaskar	130 (6)	141	n.p.	155	44,1	8,1	2,1	3,8
Čad	131 (5)	96	n.p.	184	39,8	15,8	2,1	n.p.
DR Kongo	132 (5)	143	n.p.	186	44,4	21,7	1,7	n.p.
Haiti	133 (3)	138	n.p.	168	59,2	6,9	10,9	n.p.
Afganistan	134 (1)	136	n.p.	169	27,8	2,4	5,5	8,5
Sirija	135 (1)	74	n.p.	118	35,8	2,3	24,3	8,6
Broj zemalja	135	149	97	187	175	187	187	187

1. Gallup-Healthways Global Well-Being Index (2013) - rang (vrijednosti) – Gallup 2014. – www.gallup.com/.../country-varies-greatly-worldwid
2. World Database of Happiness (2000-2009) – rang – Veenhoven R.. World Database of Happiness – worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/hap
3. Subjective Well-being in 97 Countries – Ingelhart R. - World Value Survey (1995-2007) – rang - https://www.nsf.gov/news/newsmedia/.../pr111725.p...

4. Human Development Index – (2013) - rang – UN Human Development Report 2014. - http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2014
5. World Bank - GINI Index - (1995 – 2012) – vrijednosti – Wikipedia - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_income_equality
6. Stopa ubojstava na 100.000 stanovnika - (2008-2011) – vrijednosti – UN Human Development Report 2014.
7. Postotak korisnika interneta – (2012) – vrijednosti – UN Human Development Report 2014.
8. Stopa nezaposlenosti – (2004-2013) – vrijednosti – UN Human Development Report 2014.

n.p. – nema podataka

U Tablici 1. za prvih i posljednjih deset „Gallupovih" zemalja dodali smo još nekoliko različitih pokazatelja kako bismo usporedili Gallupov indeks dobrobiti s drukčijim mjerama.

U prva su tri stupca, osim „Gallupa", još dva indexa subjektivne dobrobiti (*subjectiv well-being*). U stupcu 2. indeks se dobiva pitanjem o zadovoljstvu životom u cjelini, a indeks u stupcu 3. dodaje i pitanje o osobnoj sreći. U stupcu 4. prikazan je spomenuti Human Development Index (HDI). U stupcu 5. je poznati Gini indeks kojim se mjeri nejednakost (što je vrijednost indeksa veća to je i nejednakost veća). U stupcima 6., 7., i 8. su tri „čvrsta" pokazatelja uzeta iz Human Development Report za 2014. godinu: stopa ubojstava na 100.000 stanovnika, postotak korisnika interneta i stopa nezaposlenosti. U Tablici 1. nema pokazatelja „skandinavske škole" jer nema niti međunarodnih komparativnih istraživanja. Istraživane su neke razlike samo između nordijskih zemalja.

Kada se usporede podaci u Tablici 1. proizlazi da Hrvatska uistinu ne pripada među deset „najtužnijih" zemalja kako je to „izmjerio" Gallup. Drukčija mjerenja (stupci 2., 3.) postavljaju je oko prosjeka dobrobiti zemalja s liste. Prema vrijednost HDI (stupac 4.) Hrvatska se nalazi na 47 mjestu, pri kraju liste 49 najrazvijenijih zemalja svijeta. GINI indeks nejednakosti jednak je onom u Kanadi (33,7). Nezaposlenost je visoka. Postotak korisnika interneta bliži je razvijenim nego nerazvijenim zemljama. Ukratko, sreća i zadovoljstvo nacije ovise o načinu mjerenja. Tek objektivni i deskriptivni indikatori pružaju nešto širu sliku o kvaliteti života u Hrvatskoj.

Kako je moguće da su po pokazateljima u stupcu jedan i tri Salvador i Švedska gotovo izjednačeni po dobrobiti, a da je po stupanju sreće (stupac 2.) Švedska na osmom a Salvador na 45. mjestu. Istovremeno

Salvador ima jednu od najvećih stopa ubojstava (70,2 – veću ima jedino susjedni mu Honduras - 91,6), a Švedska jedan među najmanjima (0,9 ubojstava na 100.000 stanovnika). Švedska ima najmanji indeks nejednakosti među zemljama u Tablici (25,0) a Brazil najviši, ali je po Gallupovom stupnju dobrobiti Brazil pretekao Švedsku. U Švedskoj se internetom koristi 93 posto stanovnika, a u DR Kongu 1,7 posto. Pitanje koje se stalno postavlja je kako izmjeriti takve nejednakosti. Uzroke rastućih nejednakosti Anthony Giddens vidi u „nesretnim" posljedicama globalizacije no i on sliku suvremenog svijeta opisuje indikatorima. „Izvještaj o ljudskom razvoju iz 1999. (*Human Development Report*), koji objavljuju Ujedinjeni narodi, otkrio je da je prosječni dohodak petine svjetskog stanovništva koja živi u najbogatijim zemljama 74 puta veći od prosječnog dohotka petine koja živi u najsiromašnijim zemljama. Kasnih 1990-ih 20 posto svjetske populacije sudjelovalo je s 86 posto u ukupnoj svjetskoj potrošnji, zauzimalo je 82 posto izvoznih tržišta i posjedovalo 74 posto telefonskih linija. A 200 najbogatijih ljudi na svijetu udvostručilo je svoje neto-bogatstvo između 1994. i 1998; imovina najbogatijih triju svjetskih milijardera prelazila je kombinirani nacionalni proizvod (BNP) svih najnerazvijenijih zemalja, kao i 600 milijuna ljudi koji u njima žive (UNDP, 1999)" (Giddens, 2007.:69-70).

Kada je riječ o mjerenju nejednakosti temeljni je problem, drži Esping-Andersen, što progres/ regres i blagostanje/ dobrobit nisu u linearnoj vezi i ovise o različitim prilikama i odnosima. Kao primjere Esping-Andersen navodi tranziciju prema tržišnoj ekonomiji i demokraciji u nekad komunističkim zemljama, građanske ratove u subsaharskoj Africi i deindustrijalizaciju u razvijenim zemljama (Esping-Andersen, 2000.:12). Takve je promjene teško mjeriti jer su istraživački pristupi problemu blagostanja „statični i ahistorijski" i ne ispituju „stanje, trajanje i tranzicije unutar populacije" (Esping-Andersen, 2000.:2).

Zajedničko je prikazanim indikatorima dobrobiti (sreće, zadovoljstva) i pristupu primijenjenom u Human Development Report (bez obzira koliko se razlikovali) da je jedinica analize nacija. Mjeri se razlike u kvaliteti života između nacija, a ne unutar nacije. Za potrebe ovih drugih istraživanja Esping-Andersen zagovora već spomenutu „skandinavsku školu".

2.3. Pristupi istraživanju kvalitete života u IDIZ-u

Već u navedenom tekstu Alije Hodžića deskriptivni pokazatelji opremljenosti stanova na selu rabe se u analizi modernizacije seoskog života. Vladimir Lay (1986., 1991.) izravno se poziva na radove „skandinavske škole" i to na onu varijantu koja polazi od imanja (*having*), voljenja (*loving*) i bivanja (*being*) kao osnovnih ljudskih potreba (Erik Allardt). U tekstu iz 1986. godine kvalitetu života Lay analizira po sedam dimenzija od kojih svaka sadrži više varijabli (materijalna primanja i problemi, uvjeti stanovanja, opremljenost domaćinstava, prijevozna sredstva, prehrana, način odijevanja, način i mjesto provođenja godišnjih odmora).

Na podacima spomenutog istraživanja iz 1989. godine za slične dimenzije (prehrana, stanovanje, zdravlje, odmor i rekreacija, obrazovanje) razvija indikatore i analizira kvalitetu života društvenih grupa. Za Laya kvaliteta života je „situacija, egzistencijalno stanje manje ili veće /ne/zadovoljenosti potreba pojedinca, odnosno potreba različitih grupnih entiteta kao što su: slojevi, klase, profesionalne grupe" (Lay, 1991.:3). Dušica Seferagić pak kvalitetu života ne vidi kao stanje već kao „cjelovit proces konceptualizacije, proizvodnje, raspodjele i potrošnje upotrebnih vrijednosti i ljudskih odnosa primjerenih ljudskim potrebama" (Seferagić, 1988.: 37).

Istraživačke dimenzije kvalitete života, mada nešto drugačije formulirane slične su onima koje predlaže Esping-Andersen. Pokušamo li te dvije definicije povezati u jednoj analitičkoj perspektivi kvaliteta života kao predmet istraživanja se može promatrati kao „proces" promjena „stanja" društvene strukture. Taj proces pak nije ništa drugo nego tranzicija promatrana u kontinuitetu razvoja i modernizacije. Istraživanja u IDIZ-u takvim su pristupom omogućila da se taj kontinuitet istražuje sve do danas.

3. „Kvaliteta života u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja"

Istraživanjem *Kvaliteta života novostambenih naselja i lokacija u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja* provedenom 1914. godine željelo se istražiti učinke postsocijalističkih promjena na stanovanje, promet, opremljenost naselja i još niz obilježja važnih za kvalitetu života u prostoru. Uzorkom su stoga obuhvaćene zgrade sagrađene poslije 1990. godine na 23 lokacije u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja. No ako želimo analizirati tranzicijske procese,

dakle promjene kvalitete života u vremenu i to povezane s promjenama u društvenoj strukturi pojavljuje se nekoliko problema. Kada se, naime, tranzicija ne određuje kao „nagli skok" nego se promatra kao kontinuirani proces, na skliskom smo metodološkom terenu. Pojmovi se naime mijenjaju.

Jednostavan primjer je „zagrebačka mreža naselja". Sociološka definicija kaže da sustav „naselja u kojem postoje funkcionalne, socijalne i druge veze među naseljima čini *mrežu naselja*" (Svirčić Gotovac, 2006.: 35). Prema nekim geografskim analizama podataka popisa stanovništva iz 1981. godine, Sesvete pripadaju suburbiji Zagreba, a Samobor, Velika Gorica i Zaprešić ne pripadaju budući da su samostalna naselja s „vlastitim prostornim strukturama, pa i socijalnim topografijama" (Bašić, 1994.:34). No analizom podataka popisa iz 1991. godine geografi zaključuju da se oko Zagreba intenzivno „razvija pet satelitskih gradova (Velika Gorica, Sesvete, Samobor, Zaprešić i Dugo Selo) …koji su funkcionalno tijesno povezani sa Zagrebom" (Vresk, 1997.:69). Je li riječ o razlici između suburbije i mreže naselja ili realnim promjenama. Mijenjao se i sam Zagreb. Godine 1981. imao je 768.700 stanovnika, 1991 godine 933.914, 2001. godine 779.145 i 2011. godine 790.017 stanovnika. Skok 1991. godine u vezi je s promjenama u upravno-teritorijalnoj podjeli. Mreža naselje najjednostavniji je primjer promjena pojma.

Budući da ćemo rabiti podatke pet istraživanja jedino što možemo jest da pojmovne analize i definicije ostavimo postrani i prihvatimo operacionalne koncepte koji se mogu svesti na dimenzije usporedive s istraživanjem *Kvaliteta života novostambenih naselja i lokacija u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja*. Tranzicijski procesi se tako ograničavaju na razdoblje od prvog istraživanja 1984. godine do ovog posljednjeg 2014.

Uzorkom su, kako smo već naveli, obuhvaćene zgrade sagrađene poslije 1990. godine na 23 lokacije u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja prostorno raspoređene od Zaprešića i Samobora na zapadu do Sesvetskog Kraljevca na istoku, od Velike Gorice na jugu do (pod)sljemenske zone na sjeveru te na lokacijama unutar užeg prostora grada. Uzorak je ciljanog ili namjernog tipa kakvi se rabe, kao i u ovom slučaju, kad se želi istražiti neki određeni predmet istraživanja i nikada nisu reprezentativni (Serdar, 1975.:268). Tako niti ovaj nije reprezentativan na razini Zagreba. Kvote su određene samo prema spolu pa je u uzorku podjednak broj žena i muškaraca. Podatke ovog istraživanja uspoređivat ćemo s podacima iz već

spomenuta četiri velika istraživanja društvene strukture Hrvatske (1984., 1989., 1996., 2004.). Principi uzorkovanja nisu bili uvijek isti, a mijenjao se i osnovni skup. No drugih uzoraka nemamo pa ćemo iz njih „izvaditi" uzorke za Zagreb. No mijenjao se i Zagreb i zagrebačka mreža naselja.

Istraživanje iz 1984. godine poslužilo je, primjerice, Mladenu Laziću da razvije teoriju o klasnoj prirodi hrvatskog društva zasnovanoj na antagonizmu vladajuće klase kolektivnih vlasnika (političari i direktori) koja ima monopol na upravljanje društvom i klase radništva. Posredna klasa (stručnjaci, inteligencija) raspolaže specijalističkim znanjima i obavlja za društvo nužne poslove (proizvodnja, obrazovanje, zdravstvo), a istovremeno je i rezervoar iz kojeg se regrutiraju pripadnici klase kolektivnih vlasnika. Izvan tog vladajućeg društvenog odnosa su privatnici (seljaci, obrtnici). Prema Laziću, klasu čini „jedinstvo njene uloge u podeli društvenog rada i njenog načina života, kao i interesa koji iz toga slede – u suprotnosti prema drugoj klasi" (Lazić, 1986.:58). Dakle način života (kvaliteta života) pokazatelj je pripadnosti klasi. Kad je riječ o vertikalnoj mobilnosti, za položaj u klasnoj hijerarhiji bitni su članstvo u Savezu komunista i razina obrazovanja (Lazić, 1987.:71). Takva se klasna struktura raspala kad se raspao Savez komunista. No razina obrazovanja je i dalje ostala pokazatelj socijalnog raslojavanja to važniji kako razvojem društva značaj obrazovanja raste (Esping-Andersen, 1993.:20). Odnos kvalitete života i društvene strukture pratiti ćemo stoga preko varijable obrazovanja. Svi uzorci i podaci popisa stanovništva 2011. za Zagreb prikazani su u tablici 2.

Tablica 2.
Obrazovanje ispitanika prema godinama istraživanja i popisu iz 2011.

obrazovanje	1984.	1989.	1996.	2004.	2014.	popis 2011.
osnovno	19,4	19,8	29,9	21,3	2,3	18,5
zanatsko	25,2	31,7	14,4	23,9	2,9	21,4
srednje	20,8	26,3	34,8	30,4	33,8	30,9
više i visoko	34,7	22,1	20,9	24,4	61,0	29,0
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	99,8%
N	453	596	374	381	308	675.958

Iz tablice 2. vidi se da je 2014. godine izrazito visok postotak ispitanika višeg i visokog obrazovanja, a nizak osnovnog i zanatskog. No takvi su ciljani uzorci i pogrešku ne možete ni predvidjeti niti izračunati. Zbrojimo li srednje, više i visoko obrazovanje proizlazi da u novim postsocijalističkim zgradama živi 95 posto tako obrazovanih ljudi. Gotovo 80 posto tih stanova su privatni. Kategorija stanarskog prava odavno ne postoji. Pitanje je kako je bilo u socijalizmu. Jedno istraživanje iz 1983. godine pokazalo je da u tada novim stambenim naseljima (Zapruđe, Sopot, Siget, Trnsko, Savski Gaj) živi 66 posto srednje, više i visoko obrazovanih ljudi (Seferagić, 1988.:190). Na žalost nema podataka o nosiocima stanarskog prava. No naše istraživanje iz 1984. godine na razini cijeloga grada (ne samo Novog Zagreba) pokazuje da je stanarsko pravo imalo 47,1 posto više i visoko obrazovanih te 41,5 posto ispitanika sa srednjom spremom, naspram 8,0 posto ispitanika s osnovnom školom i 14,9 posto sa zanatskom. Jasno je da, kad je riječ o ljudima koji su morali sami rješavati svoje stambene probleme, koji su kupili ili sagradili stan, ima najviše onih s osnovnom školom (70,5% su vlasnici), potom sa zanatskom (54,4%). Najmanje je onih sa srednjom školom (22,3%), a s višim i visokim obrazovanjem ih je 28,7 posto. Istovremeno, podaci o opremljenosti stanova pokazuju da gotovo svi ili ogromna većina imaju struju, vodovod, zahod, štednjak, usisavač, hladnjak, perilicu rublja i televizor. Društvo je doseglo onaj stupanj prosperiteta na kojem je barem velika većina Zagrepčana mogla zadovoljiti osnovne životne potrebe. Stoga ih nećemo dalje pratiti kao pokazatelje razlika u kvaliteti života. Razlike se, s obzirom na razinu obrazovanja pojavljuju kad je riječ o televizoru u boji, telefonu i automobilu. Kao i kod društvenih stanova, što je viša razina obrazovanja viši je i postotak posjedovanja tih „dobara". Budući da su stan dobili od društva višak su mogli uložiti u privatnu „akumulaciju dobara" i tako pokazati i svoju „društvenu uspješnost" (Hodžić, 1976.:65).

3.1. Telefon

U tablici 3. prikazani su postoci ispitanika koji u stanu posjeduju kućni telefon. Stupac za 2014. godinu je prazan, jer pitanje nije postavljeno. U doba mobitela postalo je irelevantno ima li tko fiksni telefon i o potrebama i statusu vlasnika to ne govori ništa. Tim teže je zamisliti da je 1984.

godine u Zagrebu telefon posjedovalo manje od polovice kućanstava (48,6%). Telefon je posjedovalo pet puta više visokoobrazovanih od onih s osnovnom školom. Taj će se omjer 1989. godine smanjiti na dva naspram jedan. No zapravo nije riječ o telefonu nego o telefonskoj liniji. Nestašice telefona nije bilo. Mogli ste ga kupiti bez problema, ali se na priključak čekalo godinama i bio je skup. Godine 1988. za priključak je trebalo izdvojiti dvije prosječne plaće (Duda, 2010.:142). Ako ste imali službenu preporuku da vam je zbog posla potreban telefon čekali ste kraće. Razlike su se održale sve do raspada socijalizma. Tek istraživanje iz 1996. pokazuje da je telefon dostupan velikoj većini građana. Velikoj većini visoko obrazovanih građana bio je dostupan još za socijalizma. Taman kad je telefon prestao biti statusni simbol počinje se pojavljivati novi. Statistika bilježi da je u Hrvatskoj 1995. godine bilo 31.000 korisnika mobilne telefonije.

Tablica 3.
Posjedovanje kućnog telefona (postoci)

godina / škola	1984.	1989.	1996.	2004.	2014.
osnovna	14,8	47,5	80,4	87,7	
zanatska	34,2	63,0	90,7	92,3	
srednja	52,1	68,8	90,0	92,2	
viša i visoka	75,8	93,9	97,4	95,7	
ukupno	48,6	68,3	88,8	95,7	
N	453	596	374	381	308
koeficijent kontingencije	0.419	0.316	0.191	0.100	

3.2. Televizor u boji

Statistika bilježi da je 1973. godine više kućanstava u Hrvatskoj imalo televizor (55,8%) nego perilicu za rublje (44,2%). Tu prednost televizor će zadržati sve do 1990. godine (94,4% naspram 90,5%). Jedino trajno potrošno dobro koje prati statistika, a koje je preteklo televizor jest

električni ili plinski štednjak koji je imalo 99,9 posto kućanstava. Čak je i hladnjaka bilo manje (90,5%). Televizor u boji je, međutim, mnogo rjeđi. Statistika ga prati od 1978. godine kada ga se moglo naći u devet od sto kućanstava. Televizor u boji 1983. godine posjeduje 26,4% kućanstava, 1988. godine 43,9% i 1990. godine 53,4 % (Duda, 2010.:149). Televizor je, dakle, u svakom domu, a u obojenoj varijanti ukazuje na bolji socijalni status obitelji.

Tablica 4.
Posjedovanje televizora u boji

godina / škola	1984.	1989.	1996.*	2004.	2014.
osnovna	26,1	47,5	92,0		
zanatska	45,6	68,8	98,1		
srednja	64,9	75,2	98,5		
viša i visoka	75,2	89,4	100,0		
ukupno	56,1	70,8	96,8		
N	453	596	374	381	308
koeficijent kontingencije	0.350	0.291	0.180		

* Pitalo se imate li televizor, bez obzira je li u boji ili crno-bijeli.

Zagrebačke brojke su gotovo duplo više. Razlike prema obrazovanju su značajne iako ne tako velike kao kod telefona. Tri puta je bilo više 1984. godine visokoobrazovanih ispitanika koji posjeduju TV u boji nego onih s osnovnom školom, da bi se omjer smanjio 1989. godine na dva naspram jedan.

3.3. Automobil

Automobil je danas, drži John Urry, poslije stana, drugi najvažniji predmet individualne potrošnje koji vlasniku donosi status i dominira kulturom koja govori o tome što tvori dobar život, postavlja, dakle, krite-

rije kvalitete života (Urry, 2005.:26). Slično, jednu od uloga automobila u socijalizmu vidi i Igor Duda. „Automobil je bio najvidljivije potrošno dobro. U kući ili stanu moglo se skrivati štošta, od trošna i neuređena prostora do svih najnovijih kućanskih uređaja, ali auto je bio ispred kuće, u dvorištu ili na parkiralištu, i stoga redovito na dometu pogleda znatiželjnih prolaznika, gostiju i susjeda. Kao i sebi samima, tako je i svima njima, barem podsvjesno, trebalo pokazati moć obiteljskog proračuna. Moglo se to učiniti odjećom, ali je automobil bio znatno jači adut – statusni simbol bez premca“ (Duda, 2010.:250). Automobil je, dakle, dokaz blagostanja i mjera kvalitete života.

Tablica 5.
Posjedovanje automobila (postoci)

godina / škola	1984.	1989.	1996.	2004.	2014.
osnovna	46,6	39,8	42,0	54,3	28,6
zanatska	62,3	58,7	59,3	76,9	77,8
srednja	79,8	56,7	53,1	66,4	73,1
viša i visoka	84,7	78,8	59,0	71,0	84,6
ukupno	70,6	58,9	51,9	67,5	79,2
N	453	596	374	381	308
koeficijent kontingencije	0.307	0.250	0.138	0.165	0.226

Tablica 6. pokazuje vezu između obrazovanja i posjedovanja automobila. Za 1984. godinu ta je veza i statistički značajna (cc 0,307). Među više i visokoobrazovanima gotovo je 40 posto više vlasnika automobila nego među onima s osnovnom školom.

Tokom godina razlike su sve manje da bi se 2014. godine ujednačile na relativno visokoj razini (zbog vrlo malog broja ispitanika s osnovnom školom u uzorku, 28,6% nije pouzdana brojka). No brojke za sve grupe padaju pa rastu, a najniže su za 1996. godinu. Kupovna moć stanovništva za vrijeme socijalizma bila je najveća 1979. godine, osamdesete su bile razdoblje krize i pada kupovne moći, a u ratnom razdoblju sigurno se nije razmišljalo o ulaganju u auto. Kasne sedamdesete bile su doba

kad su se kupovala trajna potrošna dobra i automobili pa su visoke brojke posljedica tadašnjih kupovina. Osim toga u socijalizmu većina ljudi automobil je kupovala na kredit. Trebalo je pronaći jamce i njemačke marke za udio u kreditu. Ako i kad se to sve obavi i auto kupi, trebalo je naći vezu da se preskoči ili bar smanji vrijeme isporuke, kao i pronaći mehaničara. Sve su to socijalne vještine potrebne za snalaženje unutar mreže u čijem je središtu automobil. A socijalne vještine i pozicija unutar mreže ovise i o obrazovanju.

3.4. Promet

Kad ga se već posjeduje automobil treba voziti, negdje parkirati, a sve se to radi u javnom prostoru pa se postavlja pitanje koliko dobrobiti automobili pridonose javnom životu.

Kad je riječ o Zagrebu odmah pada na pamet garaža na Cvjetnom trgu i javni sukobi civilnog društva i gradskih vlasti oko izgradnje te garaže (Svirčić Gotovac, Zlatar, 2008.). Takvi su protesti zaoštrili pitanje odnosa privatnog i javnog prometa u gradu Zagrebu.

Podaci iz Statističkog ljetopisa Zagreba (2014.:181) kazuju da je u gradu 1985. godine registrirano 173.048 vozila u privatnom vlasništvu, a 2013. godine 252.187. Broj se dakle povećao za 79.139.

Tramvajem je 1984. godine prevezeno 230.514.000 putnika, a 2013. godine 171.426.000, dakle, prevezeno je 59.088.000 manje putnika. Autobusima je u tim godinama prevezeno 139.088.000 odnosno 78.488.000, dakle 60.600.000 putnika manje. Ispada da je sveukupno manje prevezeno 119.688.000 putnika. Kad taj broj podijelimo s 365 dobivamo da je dnevno manje prevezeno 327.912 putnika. Ako se u jednom autu voze 4 putnika, potrebno je 81.979 automobila da ih se preveze, a to je samo za 2.840 automobila više no što se povećao broj automobila u gradu Zagrebu između 1985. i 2013. godine. Računica je, naravno, hipotetična ali jasno pokazuje u kojem se smjeru razvijao promet u gradu.

I podaci iz naših istraživanja potvrđuju prevlast privatnog nad javnim prometom. Budući da su pitanja postavljena na različite načine ne može se izvesti precizna računica, ali podaci kazuju da se 1984. godine oko

70 posto Zagrepčana na posao vozilo javnim prijevozom, a privatnim oko 16 posto. Svoje automobile 2014. godine koristilo je oko 65 posto Zagrepčana, a oko 25 posto je za put na posao koristilo javni promet. Putnike smo pitali i koliko vremena provedu na putu do posla i natrag (tablica 6.).

Tablica 6.
Putovanje na posao i s posla

	1984	2014
do 30 minuta	27,7	31,6
od 31 do 60 minuta	39,6	39,5
od 61 do 90 minuta	12,4	15,3
od 91 do 120 minuta	12,9	7,4
Više od 120 minuta	7,4	6,0
TOTAL	100%	100%

Iz podataka je očito da jačanje privatnog prijevoza na račun javnog jedva da je za koju minutu smanjilo putovanje potrebno da bi se otišlo na posao i vratilo kući. Od popisa stanovništva 1981. godine do popisa iz 2011. godine broj stanovnika Zagreba povećao se za dvadesetak tisuća. Broj privatnih automobila povećao se za oko 130.000. Vrijeme potrebno za putovanje na posao ostalo je otprilike isto. Koliki su društveni troškovi ove tranzicijske operacije?

4. Nekoliko zaključnih rečenica

Htjelo se pokazati da tranzicija nije počela vraćanjem spomenika banu Jelačiću na Trg Republike u Zagrebu. Prelazak iz društva oskudice u društvo obilja teklo je mnogo polaganije. Barem što se tiče Zagreba društvo je početkom osamdesetih godina doseglo stupanj razvoja u kojem su bile zadovoljene osnovne potrebe svih građana, iako na različite načine. S obzirom na stanovanje, društvo je zbrinulo više slojeve, a oni niži su se morali pobrinuti sami. Slično kao što je Margaret Thatcher brigu o kvaliteti života prebacila s društva na pojedince, a bila široke ruke prema srednjoj klasi. Privatizacija stanova logičan je korak u tom smjeru.

S obzirom na simbolična dobra potrošačkog društva srednja je klasa već zauzela stav za preskok u to društvo i prije raspada socijalizma. Tako se pokazuje da je i pitanje kvalitete života povezano s društvenim nejednakostima. Također se htjelo pokazati i da neki postupci mjerenja kvalitete života takve nejednakosti više prikrivaju nego što otkrivaju.

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Quality of Living and the Transition Period. Sociological reconstruction – the case of Zagreb

ABSTRACT In the survey *The Quality of Living in Zagreb Settlement Network* the approach and the chosen sample primarily focus on the quality of living in the post-socialist period, therefore examining the buildings constructed since 1990. This paper relates to five different surveys conducted in 1984, 1989, 1996, 2004 and 2014. The hypothesis is tested according to which the improvement of the standard of living in Western Europe after World War II shifts the spotlight of political activities from the policy based on class values to the policy concerned with the quality of living. It is evident that these processes are also going on in the socialist countries but in different forms and with different degrees of intensity. The "dictatorship over needs" theory of socialism is not sufficient enough to analyse the ongoing processes. In Croatia, in rural and urban sociology, the research conducted about the quality of living can be compared with the research on the "welfare state" in the West.

Key words: quality of living, transition, socialism, modernization, Zagreb.

Peto poglavlje

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NOVI JELKOVEC ILI SOPNICA-JELKOVEC KAO PRIMJER POS-OVOG NASELJA

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NOVI JELKOVEC ILI SOPNICA-JELKOVEC KAO PRIMJER POS-OVOG NASELJA

SAŽETAK POS-ovo naselje (naselja socijalnog tipa stanogradnje) Novi Jelkovec, a prije nazivan Sopnica-Jelkovec, smješteno je na istoku grada Zagreba uz grad Sesvete. U novoizgrađene stanove u naselju počelo se useljavati od 2009. godine. Provedenim istraživanjem kao svojevrsnom studijom slučaja (*case study*) ovog naselja, u kojem se koristila kvalitativna metodologija (polustrukturirani intervjui s ciljanim akterima i metoda promatranja) prikazat će se kvaliteta stanovanja, te prednosti i nedostaci života u njemu. Novostambena zagrebačka naselja, kako je već prikazano u prethodnim poglavljima ove knjige, donekle su slična te dijele slične uvjete stanovanja i stambene opremljenosti. Međutim, naselje Novi Jelkovec ciljano je istraženo upravo jer je od početka zadobilo epitet neatraktivnog i vrlo specifičnog novog naselja. Takav imidž stvoren je zbog velikog broja tzv. socijalnih stanara (kojima je Grad Zagreb dodijelio stanove po principu socijalnih kriterija i postojeće rang liste istih). Međutim, istraživanjem je utvrđeno kako je ovo naselje, što je vrlo pozitivan efekt, ipak sve manje segregirano te naseljeno samo marginalnim slojevima društva. U naselju se dogodilo značajno popravljanje njegove socijalne strukture te smanjenje negativnog imidža. U tome je nesumnjivo najveću ulogu odigrala vrlo dobra opremljenost (u primarnom i sekundarnom smislu), odnosno društvena i tehnička infrastruktura izgrađena u naselju, ali također i primjena modela javno najamnog stanovanja kojim se privukao velik broj novih stanovnika, prvenstveno mlađe populacije (obitelji s ili bez djece).

Ključne riječi: POS-naselje, socijalno stanovanje, infrastrukturna opremljenost naselja, socijalna kohezija, javno najamno stanovanje, grad Zagreb.

Uvod

U prijašnjem i uvodnom radu u knjizi[1] (*The Quality of Living in New Housing Estates in the Settlement Network of Zagreb* autorice A. Svirčić Gotovac) spomenuto je da je istraživački projekt *Kvaliteta života u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja* proveden u Zagrebu i zagrebačkoj mreži naselja tijekom 2014. godine na ciljano odabranoj populaciji stanovnika koji žive u novostambenim naseljima i lokacijama (stanovima, kućama) izgrađenima nakon 1990-e godine. U Gradu Zagrebu uzorak se odnosio na 17 stambenih lokacija, a u gradovima satelitima, Velikoj Gorici, Zaprešiću i Samoboru, izabrano je po dvije lokacije u svakom gradu, odnosno još 6 lokacija, sveukupno 23 lokacije. Iz uvodnog rada može se vidjeti i da je u zagrebačkom uzorku udio stanovnika koji žive u tzv. POS stanu iznosio svega 6.1%, a radilo se o trima POS naseljima u gradu Zagrebu: Špansko-Oranice, Vrbani III i Sopnica-Jelkovec (Novi Jelkovec). Rezultati su pokazali da su stanovnici upravo tih POS naselja često bili i najzadovoljniji životom u vlastitom susjedstvu. Tome u prilog ide vrlo dobra infrastrukturna opremljenost koja u tim naseljima postoji i koja je primarni uvjet koji stanovnicima olakšava svakodnevni život.

U POS-ovim naseljima ponajviše su i ispunjene primarna i sekundarna razina opremljenosti neposredne životne okoline. To prije svega znači da je njihova neposredna životna okolina osim stambeno izgrađena i u socijalnom i tehničkom smislu sa svim nužnim i pratećim javnim sadržajima. Za razliku od njih u ostalim naseljima ili lokacijama[2] situacija je znatno lošija i opremljenost tih susjedstava značajno nezadovoljavajuća. Ostala nova naselja i interpolirane stambene lokacije koje niču po cijelom gradu Zagrebu, često nisu urbanistički niti infrastrukturno

[1] Veličina uzorka bila je 308 ispitanika u četiri grada zagrebačke mreže naselja: **grad Zagreb** i tri grada u Županiji zagrebačkoj - **Velikoj Gorici, Zaprešiću i Samoboru**. Uzorak od 308 ispitanika podijeljen je na 23 lokacije/naselja u zagrebačkoj mreži naselja. U Gradu Zagrebu uzorak se odnosio na 17 stambenih lokacija, a u gradovima satelitima, Velikoj Gorici, Zaprešiću i Samoboru, izabrano je po dvije lokacije u svakom gradu, odnosno još 6 lokacija, sveukupno 23 lokacije u novogradnji nastaloj u tranzicijskom periodu (od 1990-e do danas).

[2] Vidjeti i drugi rad u knjizi autorice Svirčić Gotovac o opremljenosti istraživanih naselja i susjedstava pod naslovom "*New housing estates in the settlement network of Zagreb – community infrastructure*".

planirane. Njih obilježava samo prvotni proces stanogradnje i prodaje stanova, a izgrađenost ili opremljenost okoline prepušta se aktivnostima gradske politike. Potrebna sredstva najčešće nedostaju te ostaje neodređeno vrijeme za realizaciju infrastrukturnih sadržaja. U ostalim lokacijama, njih čak 14, ne postoji dovoljno javne infrastrukture primjerice, dječjih vrtića, zelenih površina ili dječjih igrališta, a naročito institucija sekundarnog tipa kao što su medicinske i obrazovne, što stanovnicima znatno otežava svakodnevno ispunjavanje osnovnih potreba. Stanovnicima novih naselje jedino preostaje korištenje resursa postojećih i starih naselja što s druge strane dovodi do preopterećenosti istih.

Zanimljivo je da se POS naselje Sopnica-Jelkovec (ili Novi Jelkovec), iako infrastrukturno vrlo dobro opremljeno, pokazuje relativno nepoželjnim za stanovanje, najviše zbog njegove dislociranosti i medijski neatraktivnih, gotovo negativnih članaka o njemu. Neki su novinski članci naselje prozivali čak i naseljem slučajem jer je bilo naseljeno „nepoželjnim“ ili siromašnijim stanovnicima, naročito pripadnicima romske manjine, što je većinskom stanovništvu stvaralo osjećaj smanjene sigurnosti za stanovanjem u naselju. Dodatno se u medijima počelo kontinuirano navoditi i primjere ilegalnog i nasilnog useljavanja u stanove u tom naselju. Stoga je i provedeno istraživanje krenulo je od postojećih različitih mišljenja o naselju kako bi u sljedećoj fazi istraživanja provjerilo koliko je medijski diskurs i spomenuti negativni imidž naselja zaista i realan. Osim toga posebna korist iz istraživanja može se vidjeti u isticanju njegovih prednosti, a ne samo nedostataka. Putem metode polustrukturiranog intervjua sa stanovnicima naselja i stručnim akterima, kojima je tematika stanovanja bliska, dobiveni rezultati pokazali su stvarnu kvalitetu života u naselju danas, a prikazani su u daljnjem radu.

1. Socijalno stanovanje kao fenomen

S obzirom da je stanovanje osnovna i egzistencijalna razina života kako za pojedinca tako i širu zajednicu važno je da je relativno pristojno omogućeno za većinu stanovništva. Međutim, ako se o problemu stanovanja nisu u stanju pobrinuti sami pojedinci, za njih se dodatno treba pobrinuti država kroz tzv. stambenu politiku. Upravo o marginalizira-

nim skupinama stanovništva (siromašnima, invalidima, mladim obiteljima itd.) država putem stambene politike treba brinuti i osigurati im mogućnost udjela u socijalnom stanovanju. Međutim, Hrvatska za razliku od zemalja u regiji još nije donijela niti stambenu strategiju niti zakon o socijalnom stanovanju te se na taj način dovela u situaciju vrlo velike egzistencijalne nesigurnosti za svoje građane[3]. Državi takav način obveze spram svojih građana očito još nije u interesu. „Dobar primjer za analiziranje kvalitete života u gradu u danom kontekstu jest područje stanovanja. U svakom društvu postoji stambena kriza, a opet - ona nigdje nije ista. Stambena oskudica, nejednakost položaja pojedinih društvenih slojeva ili segregacionizam, osim statistički i analitički, moraju se promatrati i u odnosu na vrijednosne kriterije stanovanja kao potrebe u određenom kulturnom miljeu" (Pušić, 2015.:445).

Socijalni tip stanovanja u Hrvatskoj se javlja tek nakon 2000. godine kad se započinje s programom POS-a (Poticane stanogradnje). Mnogi hrvatski gradovi nemaju program POS-a, a grad Zagreb od planiranih devet naselja ima sagrađena tri naselja i nakon određene stanke od nekoliko godina s 2014. ponovo započinje s gradnjom četvrtog i petog naselja (u naseljima Sv. Klara i Zaprude). Prema Agenciji za promet nekretninama (APN-u) program POS-a pokrenut je „s ciljem da se građanima Republike Hrvatske omogući rješavanje stambenog pitanja po uvjetima znatno povoljnijim od tržišnih. Kreditna linija programa POS-a omogućuje korištenje kredita bez jamaca, uz prosječnu kamatnu stopu od oko 2,9%, minimalne popratne troškove, s rokom otplate do 30, odnosno 31 godine, u slučaju odluke za korištenje 1 godine počeka" (www.apn.hr)[4]. Takvi uvjeti kreditiranja svakako su povoljniji od tržišnih ali nedovoljan broj subvencioniranih stanova u ukupnoj ponudi činjenica je koja obilježava hrvatsko i zagrebačko stambeno tržište.

[3] Općepoznat je nažalost primjer stambenih kredita u tzv. francima kojima su zarobljene brojne obitelji, najviše obitelji s djecom i ta kriza uzrokovana velikim rastom kamatnih stopa od strane banaka i njihove politike nije još uvijek niti osmišljena niti riješena uz pomoć države i njenih mehanizama. Što to govori o sigurnosti građana u segmentu stanovanja kao osnovnom preduvjetu kvalitete života i u ostalim područjima života!

[4] Zakonom o društveno poticanoj stanogradnji (NN 109/01, 82/04, 76/07, 38/09, 86/12 i 7/13) uređuje se sustavno organizirana stanogradnja poticana javnim sredstvima radi zadovoljavanja stambenih potreba i poboljšanja kvalitete stanovanja što šireg kruga građana, kao i unapređenja graditeljstva. (http://zaprude.apn.hr/o-nama/)

Važna dihotomija u poimanju socijalnog stanovanja vidi se u tome što mnogi stručnjaci POS-ove stanove ne smatraju socijalnim stanovima u smislu kako su oni definirani u razvijenim zemljama Europe. Za većinu oni su samo djelomično subvencioniran tržišni tip stanova s vrlo malim brojem pravih socijalnih stanova za tzv. marginalizirane dijelove gradskog stanovništva (siromašne, invalide ili mlade obitelji s djecom). Subvencija države i uloga države u njima su također nedovoljne, ali su zasad jedini model socijalnog stanovanja u zemlji. Model, primjerice, privatno-javnog partnerstva još nije zaživio u socijalnoj stanogradnji iako je takav model dosta čest u drugim europskim zemljama. I u Sloveniji je, primjerice, lokalna vlast također najčešći osiguravatelj socijalnog stanovanja, a u gradu Ljubljani je ovaj sektor najrazvijeniji (u komparaciji s drugim dijelovima Slovenije) (Mandič i Filipovič, 2015.:71). Takvo stanje pokazuje da bi se trebalo razmisliti o uvođenju drugih ili alternativnih modela za podržavanjem sektora socijalnog stanovanja koji neće uključivati samo vlasništvo nad stanom kao jedinu sigurnu opciju već i opciju javnog ili sigurnog najma. To prije svega znači da bi se postotak unajmljenih stanova povećao značajno više od dosadašnjeg udjela u ukupnom stambenom fondu. Osim toga vrsta najma kao što je, primjerice, najam na crno (podstanarstvo) bi izašlo iz tzv. sive ili neregulirane forme u kojoj se većinom još uvijek nalazi u Hrvatskoj. Također je čest slučaj da u postsocijalističkim zemljama ne postoje niti tzv. stambene zadruge (*housing cooperatives*) koje imaju dugu tradiciju brige o stanovanju, primjerice, u zapadnim zemljama. „U mnogim EU zemljama stambene zadruge su važni osiguravatelji stanovanja za ranjive grupe stanovnika“ (Mandič i Filipovič, 2015.:72).

Da bi se pojasnio fenomen stanovanja naročito u postsocijalističkim zemljama važno je naglasiti da u njima troškovi stanovanja u ukupnim prihodima u kućanstvima rastu i velik broj obitelji ima problema sa zadovoljavanjem istih. Ukupni prihodi u kućanstvu indikator je koji pokazuje je li određeno kućanstvo u stanju podmiriti troškove stanovanja i osigurati tzv. pristojan život i stan. A s obzirom da sve veći broj obitelji u Hrvatskoj, ali i drugim postsocijalističkim zemljama, upravo ima problema s podmirivanjem osnovnih životnih i stambenih troškova jasno je da segment državne brige za njih ostaje jedino rješenje. Ono, međutim, često izostaje i vrlo je deficitarno te neadekvatno prilagođeno trenutnim

tržišnim i kapitalističkim uvjetima života. Kod većine stanovnika primjećuje se smanjivanje kvalitete života u zemljama tranzicijskog tipa. Tako primjerice, hrvatski autor G. Bežovan (2014.) navodi da „veliki izazov za različite obitelji u Hrvatskoj predstavlja **rizik od siromaštva**. Stopa rizika od siromaštva (prema kriteriju 60% medijana nacionalnog dohotka) u Hrvatskoj prema posljednjim dostupnim podacima za 2013. godinu iznosila je 19,5%. Nadalje, prema podacima Eurostata za 2013. godinu, Hrvatska je u tom pogledu bila na petom najlošijem mjestu u EU. Prema posljednjim sveobuhvatnim podacima, a koji se odnose na 2012. godinu, stopa rizika od siromaštva iznosila je 20,5%. U kućanstvima bez uzdržavane djece najviše stope rizika od siromaštva u 2012. zabilježene su kod jednočlanih kućanstava, i to kod onih koje čine žene, 42,7%, te kod onih koje čine osobe stare 65 i više godina, za koje stopa rizika od siromaštva iznosi 41,3%. U kategoriji kućanstava s uzdržavanom djecom najviše stope rizika od siromaštva zabilježene su u kućanstvima koja čine jedan roditelj s uzdržavanom djecom, za koje stopa iznosi 40,4%, i u kućanstvima s dvije odrasle osobe s troje ili više djece, za koje stopa rizika od siromaštva iznosi 29,1%. Možemo zaključiti kako usprkos svim 17 postojećim mjerama obiteljske i opće socijalne politike, jednoroditeljske obitelji i obitelji s više djece su u iznimno teškom položaju (Bežovan, 2014.:16-17).

Slovenske autorice Mandič i Filipovič (2015.) također primjećuje da je stambena isključenost i ranjivost i u Sloveniji u porastu. Nesigurnost je nakon ekonomske i društvene krize 2008. pogodila određene grupe – većinom nezaposlene, beskućnike i jednoroditeljske obitelji (str. 70-71).

Opća nesigurnost kao i oslabljeni socijalni segment državne politike, koji bi trebao osiguravati brigu za javne potrebe kako u stanovanju tako i u ostalim područjima (zdravstvu, školstvu i dr.), s drugim desetljećem tranzicije doživljavaju radikalne promjene te gube na udjelu i snazi. De Matteis (2011.), primjerice, tvrdi kako je u Europi javno stanovanje (tzv. *public housing programs in Europe)* na mnogo načina skriveno od kontrole javnosti. Problem porasta tržišta u odlukama i upravljanju stanovanjem vodi tome da stanovanje u globalu prestaje biti (i) javno pitanje. Prema autoru Hegedüsu (2011.) „brojni programi u Češkoj Republici, Slovačkoj, Rumunjskoj, Mađarskoj i Srbiji proizveli su rezultate koji su zanimljivi ali ponekad i upitni. Produženje sektora socijalnog stanovanja

bilo je tipično nominalno, te još važnije, društvena i financijska održivost novog socijalnog stambenog sektora vrlo slaba. Taj sektor je zahtijevao ogromne subvencije da bi stvorio razliku između tržišnog i „socijalnog" iznajmljivanja: zadržalo se pravo na produženi zakup; principi raspodjele stanova nisu uvijek bili transparentni; zahtjevi za pologom kao preduvjetom ulaska u sektor indirektno su utjecali na odabir potencijalnih stanara na regresivan način; i pojavilo se mnogo problema kao što su nemogućnost plaćanja troškova stanovanja, gubitka imovine - stana i itd." (Hegedüs, 2011.:6).

2. Osnovna obilježja naselja Sopnica-Jelkovec

Poznato je da je dosadašnji tranzicijski kontekst transformacije gradskog prostora tekao na način da su se atraktivniji gradski dijelovi izgrađivali većinom komercijalnim i privatnim modelom, pa je, primjerice, stanogradnja privatnog tipa prisutna na mnogim kako centralnim tako još i više na rubnim dijelovima. Rubovi su postali tipični primjeri stambene preizgrađenosti i njihove nedovoljne opremljenosti. Gustoća gradnje na pojedinim gradskim lokacijama premašuje sve dozvoljene urbanističke standarde, a vrlo brzo postaje evidentno i da im je opremljenost manjkava i nedostatna. Stanogradnji pak socijalnog tipa namijenjeni su manje atraktivni dijelovi te grad (država) uglavnom i grade novostambena naselja na nekadašnjim vojnim ili gospodarskim zonama (zbog riješenih imovinsko-pravnih odnosa i tzv. naseljske cjeline u tim prostorima). Upravo je POS naselje Sopnica-Jelkovec, kasnije nazvan Novi Jelkovec, jedan od takvih primjera i planiran je na nekadašnjoj gospodarskoj zoni grada (bivšoj svinjogojskoj farmi). „S obzirom na vlasničku strukturu i mnogobrojne privatne vlasnike prostora, u praksi se uglavnom prvo izvodi gradnja na površinama planiranima za stambenu gradnju, a prateći sadržaji i javni prostori realiziraju se tek nakon što grad otkupi za to potrebne površine[5]. Naselja se, dakle, grade prema urbanističkim planovima koji nisu toliko detaljni i ne omogućavaju kontrolu izvedbe (Vrbani

[5] Iznimku čine jedino dva naselja koja se od početka planiraju detaljnim planovima uređenja, a to su naselja POS-a u Španskom i naselje Sopnica-Jelkovec (Jukić, Mlinar i Smokvina, 2011.:43).

III, Oranice, Dubravica-Karažnik) Ovu etapu obilježava i planirana ili izvedena gradnja na prostorima s nekvalitetnim okruženjem i u gospodarskim zonama (Sopnica-Jelkovec, Munja)“ (Jukić, Mlinar i Smokvina, 2011.:43). Stoga je naselje od početka smatrano udaljenim i dislociranim jer je smješteno na neatraktivnoj lokaciji potpuno izvan grada te na njegovoj istočnoj strani uz grad Sesvete. Prometno je bilo relativno slabo povezano s gradom, uglavnom autobusnim linijama do Sesveta i Glavnog kolodvora, ali povezanost postaje bolja. I prema rezultatima istraživanja koji slijede u nastavku rada može se istaknuti kako se dugo prisutna dislociranost naselja polako gubi te naselje postaje sve bolje prometno povezano. Danas naselje, iako i dalje smanjene atraktivnosti za prosječnu zagrebačku populaciju, zadovoljava status vrlo dobro opremljenog naselja jer osim stanogradnje ima i javne i infrastrukturne sadržaje koji na mnogim drugim, i atraktivnijim i lokacijama bližima gradu, često nedostaju.

Za potrebe rada u nastavku se navode osnovna urbanistička obilježja naselja prema, primjerice, arhitektima, I. Mlinaru i K. Šmitu ujedno i svojevrsnim autorima današnjeg arhitektonskog izgleda naselja. Oni navode da je Sopnica-Jelkovec, ili kasnije Novi Jelkovec, stambeno naselje koje se gradi na osnovi prvonagrađene prostorno-programske studije[6] koja je razrađena Detaljnim planom uređenja naselja na lokaciji Sopnica-Jelkovec, usvojenim 2003. godine te izmijenjenim i dopunjenim 2006. i 2007. godine (Mlinar; Šmit, 2008.). Naselje odlikuju neke od sljedećih urbanističkih značajki: 1. urbanistička koncepcija stambenoga naselja Sopnica-Jelkovec ortogonalna je i linearna te podijeljena u četiri prepoznatljive cjeline sa stambenim zgradama visine do šest katova i usporedo s njima postavljenim ulicama; 2. u naselju su planirane 54 stambene zgrade s ukupno 2.733 stambenih jedinica prosječne površine 83 m^2, a u prizemljima stambenih zgrada projektirani su i lokali; 3. prateći sadržaji planirani unutar stambenih zgrada smješteni su i u podrumskim etažama, u kojima se nalaze garažno-parkirna mjesta te spremišta stanara i pomoćne prostorije; 4. pe-

6 Studiju su izradili S. Gašparović, D. Maletić, Mirko, Nataša Martinčić, I. Mlinar, M. Premužić i K. Šmit u okviru Zavoda za urbanizam i prostorno planiranje Arhitektonskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.

rivojne i pješačke površine planirane su na 63% površine stambenoga naselja; 5. jednak je udio od 25 m^2 perivojnih i pješačkih površina po stanovniku, neovisno o različitim urbanističkim koncepcijama (prema Mlinar; Šmit, 2008.).

Slika 1.
Blok A u naselju Novi Jelkovec. Ujedno i najveća zgrada u naselju, a i najviše dodjeljivani socijalni stanovi nalaze se u ovom bloku A

Izvor: autorice

Zanimljivo je izdvojiti još neke arhitektonske stavove o naselju također autora koji su sudjelovali u njegovom oblikovanju. Primjerice, autori A. Kostrenčić i A. Suljić komentirali su izgled naselja u intervjuu za stručni portal *pogledaj.to* (urbanističko-arhitektonskog profila) pod nazivom *„Nezasluženo stigmatizirano naselje"*[7] (01.04.2014.). U intervjuu daju korisna gledišta na projekt izvedbe naselja u stambenom i infrastrukturnom smislu (http://pogledaj.to/arhitektura/nezasluzeno-

[7] Inače intervju sa spomenutim arhitektima inicijalno je objavljen te preuzet s Ars Publicae koji je predstavio projekt u 2014. godini koji „**tematizira nove, cjelovito projektirane i izvedene zagrebačke kvartove, s naglaskom na Novi Jelkovec i Vrbane III"** (http://arspublicae.tumblr.com/post/69381932104/novi-cjelovito-projektirani-i-izvedeni-zagrebački)

stigmatizirano-naselje/): „U usporedbi s drugim naseljima koja nastaju u Zagrebu u to vrijeme, Novi Jelkovec može se smatrati razmjerno uspješnim. U komparaciji s naseljem koje je nastalo kao POS Špansko, ovo urbanističko rješenje pokazuje određenu invenciju i napor da se osim postizanja potrebne „gustoće" uspostavi neka prepoznatljivost i osobnost novog naselja. Tako da pokušaj da se zapravo iznimno veliko naselje nastalo „u jednom dahu" oblikuje različitim tipologijama i mjerilima, pokazuje određenu ambiciju i odmak od „rutinerske" prakse kakvom je određen urbanizam spomenutog POS-a Špansko naselje. Takav „kolažni" pristup uspostavlja i određeni identitet naselja koje nije ni striktno modernističko ni „blokovsko" – u smislu postmodernističkog ponavljanja blokovske strukture gradnje tipične za 19. stoljeće tj. matricu Donjeg grada. Time je izbjegnuta „monotonost" koja obično prati velika naselja napravljena u kratkom vremenu" (A. Kostrenčić, 01. 04. 2014.).

„Temeljno polazište je bio Detaljni plan uređenja naselja koji je definirao pojedine lokacije, parcele, kolni ulaz, podzemno parkiranje, poziciju pasaža, visinu i načelan broj stanova pa donekle i tipologiju. Prvi investitor, APN (kasnije je projekt preuzeo Grad Zagreb odnosno ZG Holding) je definirao strukturu stanova i njihove veličine te Pravilnik o projektiraju stanova POS-a koji je definirao standard stanova (broj i veličinu prostorija i sl.). Postojanje DPU-a i Pravilnika o projektiranju POS-a smatram prednostima. Kvalitetu je osiguravao i određeni broj arhitekata/revizora koji su za APN revidirali idejne, arhitektonske projekte. Ograničenje je bila ugovorena cijena stana od 650 €/m^2 netto korisne površine te izuzetno kratki rok. Svi projekti su od idejnog do izvedbenog morali biti gotovi u tri mjeseca. Iz svega navedenog proizašli su i kompromisi" (A. Suljić, 01. 04. 2014.).

Gore navedene činjenice u procesu izgradnje naselja, kako se može vidjeti kasnije u radu, mogu se povezati s izjavama stanara ovog naselja, a koje primjerice, idu u smjeru nezadovoljstva kvalitetom gradnje zgrada i završno izvedenih radova, i koje se može povezati s kratkoćom roka koji ističu i navedeni stručnjaci. Osim toga veliki utjecaj na kvalitetu izvedbe stanova očito je imala i krajnja cijena koja je za naselje bila značajno niža od tržišnih cijena.

Slika 2.
Primjer stambenih zgrada u naselju

Izvor: autorice

Za predstavljanje naselja važno je spomenuti i ulogu M. Bandića, zagrebačkog gradonačelnika, koji je bio vrlo aktivan i prisutan u procesu izgradnje naselja ali i tzv. podjele stanova posebnim socijalnim kategorijama (kao što su siromašni, invalidi, branitelji i dr.). Naselje Novi Jelkovec može se promatrati i kao gradonačelnikov vlastiti projekt[8] u kojemu je bio vrlo značajan akter i kojega je nadgledao u procesu izvedbe. Posebno je naglašavao socijalnu komponentu naselja za koju se grad Zagreb i on sam posebno brinuo. Njegova uloga pojačana je nakon što su Grad Zagreb i Zagrebački Holding preuzeli projekt što je vidljivo i iz medijskih napisa i diskursa stvorenog u javnosti koji je prevladavao godinama i koji pokazuje kako je projekt tzv. Bandićevo dijete. Može se istaknuti da je uz sve napore oko ovog i drugih POS naselja, dosadašnja zagrebačka gradska politika ipak samo parcijalno uspjela riješiti problem socijalnog stanovanja (subvencioniranog i javno najamnog stanovanja). Potrebe za POS-ovim stanovima postoje i dalje te Grad pokreće gradnju

8 Primjer iz tiska koji o tome i govori je sljedeći: '*Ja sam ovaj projekt inicirao. To je moje dijete – emotivan je Bandić.' – stoji u članku pod nazivom: „Sopnica-Jelkovec: Bandić će svakodnevno nadgledati radnike"* (www.vecernji.hr/zg-vijesti/sopnica-jelkovec)

još dva nova naselja kako bi se troškovi stanovanja u gradu Zagrebu koliko toliko učinili pristojnijima i podnošljivijima nego li su u tržišnim i kreditnim uvjetima bili većini stanovnika do sada.

Prema sociologu G. Bežovanu, ujedno i najzaslužnijem za uvođenje modela javno najamnog stanovanja u istraživano naselje te vrsnom poznavatelju socijalne politike i studiji iz 2008. godine, gradnja naselja je započela u listopadu 2006. godine, a prvi stanari su dobili ključeve u travnju 2009. godine. U naselju su 53 stambena i stambeno-poslovna objekta, s ukupno 2.713 stanova i oko 200 poslovnih prostora. Od 2.713 stanova 1.265 je bilo namijenjeno kontroliranom tržištu - mlađe obitelji uz priuštive cijene, a 1.448 za potrebe Grada Zagreba (800 stanova za građane temeljem konačne liste prvenstva (tzv. socijalni stanovi), 100 stanova po preporuci Gradskog ureda za socijalnu zaštitu i osobe s invaliditetom i Gradskog ureda za branitelje, 548 stanova namijenjeno je za javni najam). Dakle, radi se o naselju gdje je napravljen socijalni miks najmoprimca u socijalnim stanovima, najmoprimca u javnim najamnim stanovima te vlasnika stanova (Bežovan i Rimac, 2008.)

Gotovo sve navedene odlike naselja govore o vrlo dobro planiranom novostambenom naselju koje bi trebalo imati zadovoljavajuću razinu kvalitete života za sve navedene skupine stanovnika ili stanara u njemu (vlasnika stanova, najmoprimaca socijalnih i javno najamnih stanova). Te tri kategorije stanovnika[9] su u naselju i istražene te su sami stanari putem intervju iznosili koliko su zadovoljni životom kako u stanovima tako i životom u naselju. Primjerice, u Večernjem listu s pokretanjem modela najma navodi se sljedeće: *Točno 300 stanova površine od 59,88 pa do najvećeg od 155,49 m^2 ponovno će biti ponuđeno građanima – u najam*

[9] Na kraju 2013. godine u Gradu Zagrebu je **1.836 zaštićenih najmoprimaca u gradskim stanovima sa statusom ranijih nositelja stanarskog prava, te je ukupno 2.357 najmoprimaca koji plaćaju zaštićeni najamninu**, a stambeno pitanje su riješili putem Konačne liste reda prvenstva za davanje stanova u najam ili izvan liste radi teškog socijalno-zdravstvenog statusa. Grad Zagreb od kraja 2012. godine rješava **pitanje legalizacije stambenog statusa osoba bespravno useljenih u gradske stanove**. Do kraja ožujka 2013. godine podneseno je **ukupno 899 zahtjeva** za legalizaciju stambenog statusa te je dosad **pozitivno riješeno ukupno 109 zahtjeva**. U 2013. godini provedeno je 6 i zakazana je 191 ovrha. Ujedno je **visok broj odgođenih ovrha** od strane Grada 173, te 12 sudskih odgoda. Grad je u 2013. godini pokrenuo **19 postupaka radi iseljenja**. Zaključkom Gradonačelnika određeno je **14 otkaza ugovora o najmu Javno najamnog stana** (Bežovan, 2014.:18).

– za veće stanove 160 eura, a manje (do 60 m²) 94 eura mjesečno (*Večernji list*, 26. 08. 2014.).

2.1. Socijalni kontekst života u naselju

Prema svemu navedenome slučaj zagrebačkog POS-a Novi Jelkovec posebno je zanimljiv jer je naseljen različitim socijalnim slojevima stanovnika čime je potencijalno ugrožen njihovim lošim ili nepoželjnim načinom ponašanja. Veliki broj marginalnih skupina može voditi socijalnoj homogenosti naselja te time potencijalnim obrascima nepoželjnog ponašanja (porasta kriminala, stope delikvencije i nezaposlenosti i sl.). Posebne socijalne kategorije stanara dovode i do svojevrsne segregacije na većinski socijalno i ostalo stanovništvo, primjerice, vlasnike stanova koji su stan kupili. Dosadašnji razvoj naseljavanja doveo je do minimalne socijalne kohezije u naselju te je vrlo važno istu i poboljšavati zbog njegove buduće kvalitete stanovanja. „Naime prelazak iz jednog socijalnog sloja u drugi praćen je i prostornim dislokacijama. Čovjek u gradu neprestano je u potrazi za boljim, ekonomski i ekološki prihvatljivijim i istovremeno društveno poželjnijim mjestom. U traganju za grupnom kohezijom u gradu se najčešće grupiraju ljudi sličnih socijalnih karakteristika“ (Pušić, 2015.:233). Još je Lefebvreovea poznata tvrdnja bila da je „glavna urbana proturječnost ona između integracije i segregacije“ (1974.:192). Današnja urbana društva još uvijek nastoje riješiti upravo tu dihotomiju koja pokazuje koliko su urbani prostori i njegovi stanovnici integrirani jedni s drugima te se integraciji teži kako bi se segregacija i isključenost nadišle. Proces uključenosti u gradski način života i stanovanja, odnosno, proces socijalne kohezije je posebno važna tema kad se analizira kvalitetu stanovanja u ovakvom tipu novog naselja. „Socijalna kohezija je sposobnost društva da osigura dobrobit svih svojih članova - svodeći nejednakost na najmanju moguću mjeru i izbjegavajući marginalizaciju - da upravlja razlikama i podjelama te da svim svojim članovima osigura priliku za postizanje dobrobiti. Socijalna kohezija je politički koncept na kojem se temelji ispunjavanje tri ključne vrijednosti Vijeća Europe: ljudska prava, demokracija i vladavina prava“ (Bežovan, 2014.:6).

Navedene vrijednosti vladavine prava, u ovom slučaju „prava na grad“ kao dijela šireg procesa socijalne kohezije, prije svega su objektivne i opće-

važeće te kao takve i svojevrsni normativ kojem društvo i njegov segment socijalne politike, mora težiti. Također ih mora nastojati omogućiti za većinu svojih stanovnika. U suprotnom dolazi do tzv. socijalne isključenosti pojedinih društvenih skupina te njihove teže ponovne uključenosti. U naseljima koja imaju slabiju socijalnu koheziju tj. veći broj marginaliziranih stanovnika (nezaposlenih, socijalnih slučajeva ili manjina) kao što se djelomično može smatrati istraživano naselje, urbana politika ima za obvezu pokrenuti određene akcije kako bi se postojeće stanje poboljšalo. Stanovnici sami najčešće ne mogu značajno utjecati na poboljšanje stanja u naselju što postupno dovodi do iseljavanja srednjeg i bogatijeg sloja stanara čime se niži sloj ili sloj „isključenih stanara" povećava. Iseljavanje je slabije u heterogenim nego u homogenim naseljima. „Iako će se u mješovitim kvartovima manje ispoljiti negativne posljedice siromaštva (kao kontekstualnog djelovanja), selektivno iseljavanje će umanjiti broj pozitivnih modela povećavajući negativno djelovanje siromaštva (Wilson, 1987.:56; prema Friedrich, 1998. U: Vujović, Petrović, 2005.:269). Važno je naglasiti da veliki utjecaj ima razina (institucionalne i tehničke) opremljenosti pojedinog naselja jer ona utječe koliko će naselje biti stanovnicima upotrebljivo i korisno te kao takvo zasigurno objektivno umanjiti negativne efekte iseljavanja ili potencijalne segregacije. U tom kontekstu važno je djelovati na vrijeme, a kao primjer za konkretno naselje dobrim modelom se pokazao tzv. model javnog najma o kojem se u sljedećim poglavljima detaljnije raspravlja te istražuje njegov utjecaj na zadovoljstvo stanovnika. Također je važno i što naselje ima vrlo dobru razinu opremljenosti što je element koji zasigurno može utjecati na dodatnu privlačnost naselja te time i postupno povećanje društvene kohezije.

Kad je socijalna kohezija dobra to znači i da „jača socijalna kohezija unutar susjedstva vodi prema izgradnji duha zajednice koji služi kao poticaj kolektivnoj akciji (Forest and Kearns; prema Miletić, 2015.:101). Duh zajednice kao osjećaj pripadnosti svom neposrednom životnom prostoru dijelom je i psihološka dimenzija ili subjektivna razina socijalne kohezije koja se i istraživanjem pokušala ispitati. Upravo je subjektivna percepcija o naselju Sopnici-Jelkovcu za planirano istraživanje bila iznimno zanimljiva jer govori koliko je postojeće javno mnijenje o naselju utjecalo na stavove stanara o njihovoj pripadnosti naselju. I objektivna i subjektivna razina socijalne kohezije neodvojive su jedna od druge te ovisne o materijalnim i nematerijalnim uvjetima u naselju koje se vidi u načinu provođenja sva-

kodnevnog života, ali i postojećim društvenim odnosima (interakcijama). „Dok postoje razlozi koji pretpostavljaju kako su ljudi društveniji kad su sretniji, to može biti i slučaj da interakcija sa susjedima nije određujuća već je to posljedica visokog subjektivnog životnog zadovoljstva (blagostanja); drugim riječima, općenita sreća, zadovoljstvo i blagostanje mogu voditi snažnijim obrascima dobrosusjedskih odnosa" (Howley, Neill i Atkinson, 2015.:940). Isti autori također navode kako su u svom istraživanju došli i do sljedećeg nalaza, možda i najvažnijeg, a ono glasi: „Možda i jedan od najvažnijih implikacija našeg rada govore kako susjedske interakcije više doprinose blagostanju izvjesnih društvenih skupina nego nekih drugih; a to su prvenstveno skupine nezaposlenih, umirovljenih i sličnih. To je povezano s već postojećim dokazom da su ove skupine i geografski (prostorno) povezanije od drugih skupina, što vodi do tješnjih veza i mreža odnosa, i stoga za njih lokalno utemeljene društvene mreže imaju veću važnost" (Howley, Neill i Atkinson, 2015.:953). Stanari koji su prostorno manje mobilni stoga imaju veću potrebu za socijalnom kohezijom u mjestu stanovanja. Važno je istaknuti kako koheziju i pripadnost vlastitim susjedstvima imaju potrebu osjećati i ostali tipovi stanara (radnoaktivna i školska populacija primjerice), ali su oni u naseljima manje prisutni nego što su to nezaposleni ili umirovljenici, te iz toga proizlazi i njihova manje izražena potreba za kohezijom u naseljima u kojima stanuju.

3. Metodologija i rezultati istraživanja

3.1. Metodologija

U studiji slučaja (*case study*) o naselju Novi Jelkovec koristila se kao osnovna metoda **metoda polustrukturiranih intervjua**. Intervjui su obavljeni sa dva tipa društvenih aktera najvažnijih za ovo istraživanje, a to su **stanari** iz triju navedenih kategorija (vlasnici i korisnici najma) i **stručnjaci** različitih profila (vezani svojim profesionalnim radom za pitanje stanovanja ili samo naselje). Intervjui su obavljeni tijekom dva mjeseca 2015. godine, a ukupno ih je obavljeno 40. Od toga ih je obavljeno 30 sa stanarima naselja i 10 sa stručnim akterima različitih profila (društvene i tehničke struke). Svi stanari odabrani su za intervju slučaj-

no, a kriterij odabira nije uključivao razliku u dobnoj ili spolnoj strukturi (osim obavezne punoljetnosti ispitanika). U razgovorima su na kraju ukupno sudjelovali 20 žena i 10 muškaraca. Vrlo važan kriterij odabira unutar planiranog broja intervjua bio je da se postigne postojeća tzv. kategorizacija stanara na tri kategorije (privatni vlasnici, javno najamni stanari i socijalni stanari). To je i postignuto pa su najveći broj ispitanih stanara bili privatni vlasnici (njih 19), dok su ostali bili iz sljedeće dvije kategorije (6 socijalnih stanara i 5 iz javnog najma). Na taj način pokušalo se steći uvid u potencijalne razlike, ako postoje, u stavovima među njima. Kako nakon obrade podataka nije pokazana značajna razlika u njihovim stavovima rezultati su prikazani sumarno prema unaprijed planiranim i postavljenim pitanjima tijekom razgovora (intervjua) i navedenima u nastavku rada.

Osnovnom pretpostavkom istraživanja nastojalo se provjeriti koliko su točne postojeće tvrdnje i obilježja koja prate naselje kako u medijima tako i kod običnih građana. Stoga je glavna hipoteza glasila*: Očekuje se da će se potvrditi postojeće i često negativno mišljenje o naselju naročito u pogledu nekih osnovnih obilježja koji ga određuju kao što su tzv. neatraktivnost zbog brojnih socijalnih stanara i prometne dislociranosti.*

Dodatna hipoteza je uvedena jer se i tijekom istraživanja izdvojio model uveden od strane Grada Zagreba koji je doveo do značajnih pomaka u atraktivnosti naselja. Naselje je postalo prototipom tzv. novog tipa najamnog stanovanja nazvanog javno najamno stanovanje koje su stanari koji su ostvarivali takvo pravo ugovorno zatim i potpisivali s Gradom na rok od 5 godina. Tako su mlade obitelji, primjerice, mogle unajmiti stan u naselju i ne ulaziti u kreditne aranžmane za kupnju stana koji su im do sada bili jedina opcija ako su htjeli imati vlastiti stan. Ovim modelom rješavalo se pitanje stanovanja na povoljniji način od vlasničkog. Takav model najma zasad postoji samo u ovom naselju te je dodatno zanimljivo vidjeti koliko su stanari njime i zadovoljni.

Dodatna hipoteza stoga je glasila: *S obzirom na velike pozitivne pomake u naseljenosti i popravljanju imidža naselja putem modela tzv. javno najamnog stanovanja, koje promovira Grad Zagreb od 2014. godine, naselje će se pokazati uspješnim prototipom tog modela i postati poželjnije mjesto za život.*

Iz svega navedenoga o naselju Novi Jelkovec izdvojila su se neka relevantna pitanja kojima se nastojalo ispitati i provjeriti trenutno stanje u naselju. Tijekom vođenja intervjua i samim uvidom na terenu, također zabilježena su neka osnovna obilježja o naselju koja se donose u poglavlju s rezultatima istraživanja.

3.2. Rezultati istraživanja – rezultati intervjua sa stanarima

Rezultate istraživanja dobivene kroz intervjue sa stanarima navodi se kao prvu tematsku cjelinu dobivenih rezultata. Neki najvažniji aspekti koje stanari spominju i za vlastito kućanstvo i samo naselje mjereni su indikatorima o stambenim uvjetima u stanu i neposrednoj okolini života (susjedstvu). Istraženi su neki od osnovnih kriterija, kao što je veličina stana, kvaliteta gradnje, infrastrukturna opremljenost, pa do isticanja najvažnijih prednosti i nedostataka u stanu i naselju. Prema dobivenim podacima izdvojeni su neki od najvažnijih indikatora kojima se istražila razina svakodnevnog života u ovom naselju:

1. ZADOVOLJSTVO VELIČINOM STANA – gotovo su svi stanari zadovoljni veličinom stana kao indikatorom stanovanja što ne čudi ako se podsjeti na podatak da su u naselju stanovi iznadprosječno veliki uspoređuju li se s veličinom stanova u drugim stambenim naseljima[10]. Stanari su istaknuli da je njihova veličina stanova iznosila od najmanje 60 m^2 do čak 116 m^2.

> *„Baš je užitak veličina stana. Djeca se mogu igrati. Mi smo došli s 50 kvadrata, i zapravo mi smo tad još bili obitelj sa manjom djecom, pa je to nekako funkcioniralo, ali sad nam je super ovdje."*

2. ZADOVOLJSTVO GRADNJOM (KVALITETOM STANA) – prema kriteriju kvalitete gradnje pak potpuno je suprotna situacija i gotovo svi stanari su nezadovoljni ili vrlo nezadovoljni gradnjom stanova. Navode brojne nedostatke koje u novim stanovima moraju rješavati,

10 Prema dobivenim rezultatima u prvom i uvodnom radu autorica Svirčić Gotovac ističe kako je prosječna veličina stana u uzorku bila 40-60 m^2 tako da je veličina stana u Sopnici-Jelkovcu, a prema navedenim urbanističkim odlikama, značajno veća i iznosi 83 m^2 što onda ostavlja i vrlo malo razloga za nezadovoljstvo ovim kriterijem.

primjerice, lošu izolaciju, vlagu, curenje vode, dizanje pločica, opadanje fasade i slične netipične radnje za nove stanove. Rezultati govore u prilog činjenici da su socijalni stanovi rađeni nekvalitetno, brzo i bez dovoljne kontrole (u smislu tehničkih i građevinskih standarda).

> *„Nakon izvjesnih godina, nakon 3, 4 godine stanovanja pojavilo se curenje vode, nama je kapala voda sa dva mjesta u stropu. Popravci su dakle krenuli, krenule su reklamacije, intervencije, popravci i evo to se smirilo sad. Međutim, zapravo to nije jedino mjesto gdje curi imamo ovdje u uglu, recimo od balkona i u jednoj dječjoj sobi od lifta koja je uz lift, isto tako moči zid, i u hodniku."*

3. DISLOCIRANOST NASELJA – prema kriteriju dislociranosti pokazalo se da su stanari podijeljeni te da se djelomično slažu s tvrdnjom da je njihovo naselje izolirano i udaljeno od ostatka grada. Već je navedeno da su lokacije za gradnju stambenih naselja često birane na vrlo neatraktivnim lokacijama što je i ovdje bio slučaj te ne čudi da su stanari podijeljeni.

4. PROMETNA POVEZANOST – stanari smatraju da je naselje ipak dobro prometno povezano, a tome u prilog može se istaknuti kako je od početnih „loših" natpisa u novinama o naselju ipak proteklo nekoliko godina te su na traženje stanara uvedene češće i dodatne autobusne linije (do Sesveta i do Glavnog kolodvora). Stoga ne iznenađuje da je za većinu prometna povezanost ipak dobra.

> „Što se tiče prome*tnih veza, možemo sad reći da su u redu, jedino što u određenim vremenskim periodima kada je špica, krcat je autobus. Možda gušći raspored."*

5. PREDNOSTI ŽIVOTA U NASELJU – stanari najčešće navode prednosti naselja kao što su: nova i dobra infrastruktura (blizina škole i vrtića i drugih javnih sadržaja), blizina trgovine *Lidl*, zatim mira koji postoji u naselju, te dobrosusjedskih odnosa. Ne čudi što je najveća prednost naselja upravo opremljenost naselja jer ona je u drugim naseljima, kako se vidi po rezultatima za ostala zagrebačka naselja, često neadekvatna i nedovoljna ili pak vrlo stara i naslijeđena iz prošlog sustava.

„Dobro je, zadovoljni smo zgradom, imamo i dobre susjede. Nitko nije ekstreman, u ovoj kući da pravi nered itd. Disciplinirani su ljudi, mislim da je pretežito situacija tako i u zgradi ovoj. Nije loše. Susjedstvo nam je ok."

6. OPREMLJENOST NASELJA JAVNOM INFRASTRUKTUROM – većina stanara naselje smatra vrlo zadovoljavajuće opremljenim te funkcionalnim. Osim nove i osnovne infrastrukture (osnovne i srednje škole i vrtića u naselju postoji i suvremena knjižnica, sportska igrališta te uređena dječja igrališta i zelene površine). Gotovo su svi izdvojili prednost blizine javnih sadržaja koja je posebno važna obiteljima s djecom jer ne moraju putovati u drugo naselje. Time je njihovo susjedstvo njima ispunilo osnovne svakodnevne potrebe, odnosno, primarnu razinu kvalitete stanovanja u urbanom susjedstvu. Samo POS naselja iz uzorka pokazuju zadovoljavajuću razinu opremljenosti te iako je još dijelom nepotpuna ipak je javna infrastruktura sustavno planirana i građena. Naselje ima čak novu srednju školu i vrlo suvremenu gradsku knjižnicu koje nijedno novostambeno zagrebačko naselje nema izgrađene nakon 1990-ih godina. Uglavnom su navedene institucije izgrađene u prošlom razdoblju, prije tranzicijskog perioda.

„To je sve prisutno. Javna rasvjeta, zelenilo, pločnici, parkirališta. Stanice javnog prijevoza su isto u redu. Ima parkova, imamo igrališta, i sve je to puno. Stalno je to u funkciji."

7. NEDOSTACI ŽIVOTA U NASELJU – Najveći nedostatak gotovo svim ispitivanim sugovornicima bila je nekvalitetna gradnja njihovih stanova koja je prisutna čak i u sektorima C i D (inače planiranima za privatne vlasnike, a ne za najam socijalnih stanova) što govori da bi se Grad Zagreb i Zagrebački Holding trebali značajnije uključiti u proces saniranja i popravljanja nastalih šteta. Osim spomenutog nedostatka stanarima je još problem i što naselje ima puno siromašnih (socijalnih slučajeva) koji, po njima, onda stvaraju nered, primjerice, ostavljaju smeće izvan predviđenih mjesta, stvaraju buku noću i sl.

Dodatan, ali i vrlo specifičan problem naselja pokazao se, iako ne na prvom mjestu kao što je bilo očekivano prije istraživanja, problem ilegalno useljenih s velikim brojem djece, najčešće pripadnika romske

manjine. Činjenica jest da većini stanara takva situacija nije ugodna i velik broj smatra kako Grad treba imati veću i strožu ulogu te na neki način „zaštititi" i samim tim bolje urediti naselje. Iako su po tom su pitanju stanari također podijeljeni, postoji dio koji smatra da je doseljenost romskog stanovništva problematična, ali i dio koji smatra da taj problem nije toliko vidljiv. U nastavku smo zato izdvojili dvije različite izjave koje potvrđuju različite stavove po tom pitanju.

'Pa ja bih rekla da je balansiran taj problem, da je doselio jedan veći broj ljudi koji su, ja bi ih stavila u nekakvu srednju građansku klasu, koja putuje na posao, vraćaju se, škola, posao i tako. I to su pristojni građani, odjeveni, čisti, pristojni u gradskom prijevozu. Ne primijeti se toliki postotak koliko kukaju da ima Roma, da stvaraju probleme...'

…'bilo je tu u prethodnom ulazu, bio je jedan ilegalni pokušaj useljavanja romske obitelji. To su riješili, da. To je riješeno u kratkom vremenu. Isključili su im vodu, struju, sve itd.'

8. NEGATIVNI IMIDŽ NASELJA – Gotovo svi sugovornici navode i slažu se da naselje ipak prati loš imidž. Zanimljivo je također kako dosta njih smatra i da je on medijski stvoren i „prenapuhan" iako u naselju ima i konkretnih problema. Većini smeta da se naselje „etiketira" jer svima je jasno, a to je i njihov argument, da niti u drugim naseljima nije puno bolje. Sve to govori kako loša naselja i njihova izoliranost ili neka vrsta segregacije ostavljaju značajne posljedice na kvalitetu života tih naselja. Nužno je iste pokušati u kontekstu socijalne kohezije i poboljšati. Tu svakako ima prostora za suradnju stručnih i urbanopolitičkih aktera kako nastala situacija ne bi bila prepuštena sebi samoj.

Stanari ističu i da postoji: *„loša medijska reputacija"; „neopravdano loš imidž zbog politike"; „etiketirano naselje" itd.*

9. ŽELITE LI ŽIVJETI U NEKOM DRUGOM NASELJU – većina stanara bi htjela živjeti u nekom drugom naselju, dok je samo manji broj naglasio da ne bi mijenjao mjesto stanovanja. Oni naglašavaju kako u ovom naselju imaju sve potrebno i da druga naselja nisu puno bolja.

Iako je manji udjel stanara koji ne žele otići iz naselja ipak ih se može promatrati kao činjenicu pozitivnog smjera za budući razvoj naselja. To govori da iako loš imidž postoji on konačno i slabi. To će se kasnije moći pratiti i u načinu na koji se naselje spominje u medijima i koji je pozitivnijeg predznaka od onog unazad nekoliko godina. Te stavove naročito dijele stanari iz oba tipa najma jer im je život u takvim stanovima očekivano podignuo standard života u stambenom i financijskom smislu te su im ostale okolnosti onda i manje važne. I za ostale stanare je želja o odlasku iz naselja nerealna te samo manji broj zaista i očekuje promjenu mjesta življenja. Većina očekuje konkretne promjene u naselju samom, ali uz neizostavnu pomoć Grada.

„Pa nemam ništa protiv nastavka života ovdje… ne znam… možda bih se vratila u kvart u kojem sam prije živjela… vratila bih se na Borongaj."

10. TREBA LI GRAD ODUZETI ILEGALNO USELJENE STANOVE – Svi stanari smatraju dužnošću Grada da se taj problem i riješi jer za njih nitko drugi niti nema ovlasti rješavanja. Dobiveni stavovi o tom pitanju razlikuju se samo u načinu na koji vide model rješavanja, ali na kraju ipak ne žele takve stanare u svom susjedstvu.[11]

„Odrediti određeno vrijeme da se prilagode i poštuju pravila ako ne ispune, iseliti ih!"; „oduzeti im stanove"; - „to Grad treba riješiti"; - „trebalo bi uvesti reda"; - humani pristup".

11. KOLIKO STE ZADOVOLJNI EKOLOŠKIM (VODA, ZRAK, BUKA) I ESTETSKIM (IZGLEDOM) UVJETIMA U NASELJU – većina sugovornika zadovoljna je i jednim i drugim uvjetima te naglašava da, primjerice, zelenih površina i igrališta za djecu ima dovoljno. Jedini

11 O ilegalnom useljenju u stanove navodi se u medijima sljedeće: *„Građani koji žive u popularnim Bandićevim stanovima u Sopnici Jelkovec, svjedoci su da se u posljednje vrijeme u stanove provaljuje, oštećuje se imovina, krade se. Sada su učestali i oni koji stanove daju drugima".* (*Večernji list,* 29.01.2014.). Također slijedi: *„Stroga kontrola u Novom Jelkovcu nadzirat će stanare mjesec dana: Ilegalci će se iseliti - mirnim putem ili će biti izbačeni"* (*Večernji list*, 02.02.2014.)

nedostatak koji navode odnosi se na mladost stabala i zelenila koje, jer je i naselje novo, nije dovoljno bujno.

> *„Jesam, zadovoljna sam izgledom zgrada, a bit će još i ljepše, zbog zelenila"*.

12. PRIVATNE INVESTICIJE U NASELJU – i ovaj aspekt se ocjenjuje pozitivnim od strane stanara koji smatraju da mogu zadovoljiti svoje potrebe, ali i potrebe djece. Usluga i obrta (privatnog i javnog tipa) ima dovoljno iako tu postoji znatan prostor za otvaranje i dodatnih, privatnih, usluga jer je naselje novo i broj stanovnika mu se u zadnje dvije godine povećao. Svi stanari ističu važnost infrastrukturnih sadržaja naročito onih sekundarnog tipa koji u većini ostalih zagrebačkih naselja pokazuju loše indekse opremljenosti.

> *„Što se tiče toga, ovdje imamo dosta frizera, imamo ambulantu, što je užasno važno da je stigla ambulanta, ima specijalističkih službi, zubare imamo, ginekološku, pedijatrijsku, opće prakse, to je ok, da. Osim toga i knjižnica je lijepa velika, srednja škola, osnovna škola, jako je lijepa, baš je super. Veliko igralište"*.

Slika 3.
Primjer dječjeg igrališta u naselju

Izvor: autorice

Slika 4.
Gradska knjižnica Novi Jelkovec - moderna i vrlo suvremena institucija koja infrastrukturno značajno podiže kvalitetu opremljenosti naselja

Izvor: autorice

3.3. Rezultati intervjua sa stručnim akterima

Stručni akteri koji se bave prostorom ciljano su izabrani za intervju upravo zbog svoje uže profiliranosti za istraživanu temu novih naselja i kvalitete života u njima. Dio aktera posebno se bavi zagrebačkim naseljima među njima i POS-om Novi Jelkovec. Stručnjaci su prema profesiji bili sljedećih struka: geografske, ekonomske, prometne, arhitektonske, sociološke i demografske. S njima je razgovor proveden u više navrata tijekom 2014. i 2015. godine ovisno o njihovoj dostupnosti. Poseban doprinos razgovora s njima vidljiv je u njihovom širem dijapazonu odgovora neovisno samo o POS naseljima. Stoga su svojim odgovorima ponudili kompleksnu sliku stanja u zagrebačkom prostoru danas, primjerice, isticanju nedostataka novih naselja izgrađenih u Zagrebu nakon 2000., u drugom tranzicijskom desetljeću. Njihove izjave podijeljene su

u tematske cjeline povezane s osnovnim obilježjima novih naselja i prvenstveno istraživanog naselja.

1. PREVELIKA GUSTOĆA IZGRAĐENOSTI U NOVIM NASELJIMA

Prvi problem na koji stručnjaci ukazuju je prevelika gustoća izgrađenosti u novim naseljima koja je nastala ne vodeći računa o osnovnim urbanističkim i humanističkim pristupima. Arhitektonska pravila izgradnje o tzv. prihvatljivosti određenih koeficijenata gustoće su se očito svjesno zaobilazila.

„Ta neka nova stambena naselja isto nisu građena po mjeri čovjeka. Vi ako ćete graditi nasip po mjeri čovjeka onda ga nećete prenatrpati, nećete dopustiti da čovjek može preskočiti tuđi balkon sa svoga. Pregusto je izgrađeno. Vi trebate napraviti nešto po mjeri čovjeka. Tu isto mogu biti uzor novozagrebačka naselja koja su jako dobro zamišljena kao zatvorene cjeline" (geograf).

„Pa to je niža razina socijalnog stanovanja i nedopustiva gustoća, nedopustiva preizgrađenost". I dobro gdje su tu sad zelene površine u odnosu na stambene površine, i druge potrebne stvari" (sociolog).

„Kad se prezasiti neki prostor sa zgradama, brojem stanovnika koji u njima boravi, sa upitnom infrastrukturom onda je to sigurno veliki problem, i to se dogodilo u brojnim dijelovima Zagreba, od Trešnjevke, Trnja, danas i u podsljemenskom dijelu. Nekad su to bili najljepši, najatraktivniji dijelovi, ja studentima više ne pričam da je to tako nego kažem da je to nekad bilo i da su to sad postali prostori upitni za stanovanje" (arhitekt).

2. INFRASTRUKTURNI NEDOSTACI NOVIH STANOVA I NASELJA

Drugi problem na koji se upozorava jesu manjak javnih sadržaja u novim naseljima, pri čemu se misli na primarnu i sekundarnu infrastrukturu u naselju (vrtići, škole, igrališta, zelene površine itd.). Međutim, u novim naseljima postoji i tzv. manjak stambenih kvadrata što znači da se nauštrb količine stanova gradi velik broj malih stanova te ima vrlo malo velikih stanova (iznad 80 m^2). Tome je naravno razlog i prevelik ukupan

iznos koji prosječna obitelj mora izdvojiti za veće stanove te se kupci radije odlučuju na manje stanove.

„Odluka naručitelja kod raspisa je da stanovi u Španskom imaju nešto drugačije omjere veličina stanova nego stanovi u Sopnici. U Španskom na manje stanove, a u Sopnici se dogodilo da je rađena skala od malih do vrlo velikih i smatram da je to dobra stvar. Dobar smjer naselja jer sve drugo vodi getoizaciji. Posljedica te odluke je da nije bilo zainteresiranih za kupovinu tih velikih stanova i ostali su prazni. U tom prostoru živi različiti profil ljudi" (arhitekt).

„Je Sopnica je bio probni projekt da znate. Da se tamo naselje projektiralo recimo s četvrtinom stanova koji su trebali biti, po meni, u rasponu od recimo 36 do 60 kvadrata, najmanje 30% stanova, ti bi stanovi bili lako kupljeni, a ovako nisu" (sociolog).

*"Ti novi planovi novih naselja su opasniji jer ne sadrže javni sadržaj. To su sva već*a *nova naselja osim POS-a" (inženjer prometa).*

„Problem se javlja s ovim naseljem Sopnica. Napravite naselje bez infrastrukture. I onda naknadno improvizirate, dodajete infrastrukturu, a to nije način" (geograf).

„Ja bih rekao da se cijelo ovo naše društvo još nije dovoljno prilagodilo tom novom modelu od devedeset i prve do danas, jer tu su brojni nesporazumi, od profiterstva pa do nerazumijevanja što je to planiranje grada ili vođenje i što su to interesi građana. Recimo ako pitate vrlo jednostavno pitanje, što je to interes građana, niti jedan od političara vam neće ni na koji način precizno to definirati ili reći. Ili što bi bio interes grada ili građana kod bilo koje velike investicije" (arhitekt).

3. PROMETNA DISLOCIRANOST NOVIH NASELJA

Treći problem koji se spominje jest prometno slabija povezanost novijih stambenih dijelova (najčešće rubnih) s ostalim dijelovima grada. Poseban primjer je upravo POS Sopnica-Jelkovec, ali i naselje Lanište-Ja-

ruščica na jugozapadnom dijelu grada do kojeg je trebala biti produžena tramvajska linija. Tu su i primjeri interpoliranih novostambenih lokacija u, primjerice, podsljemenskoj zoni koji su gotovo potpuno dislocirani od ostatka grada te su samim time znatno izgubili na prvotnoj atraktivnosti.

„Kod toga je nastao jedan drugi problem, a to je da je taj kompleks jako slabo povezan. To je periferija periferije i naprosto izvan ruke. Da je to bilo negdje u zoni tramvaja onda bi to naselje mnogo više vrijedilo. I ulaganje u njega bi se možda isplatilo. Prodano je nešto, ali ne znam koliko se taj projekt sam uopće pokriva" (geograf).

„Što se uočilo u gradu, da je problem kod izgradnje velikih područja za jednu svrhu, za jednu funkciju, poput stambenih naselja, i ako se ona rade planirano, organizirano i odjednom kao cjelina, možete ih raditi samo na mjestima gdje imate riješena vlasništva. Ta vlasništva u recimo vlasništvu investitora kao što je grad, odnosno država, ima u stvari vrlo malo, i organiziranih da su u cijelosti riješena imovinsko-pravno. Lokacije o kojima se uopće može razmišljati su vojni sklopovi jer su oni bili u vlasništvu države i drugo napuštene, gospodarske odnosno industrijske zone, a danas imamo jako puno takvih područja u gradu koji su mjesta kojima će se dogoditi transformacija" (arhitekt).

4. PROBLEM SOCIJALNOG STANOVANJA I NOVIH NASELJA

Prvenstveno se ističe premali udio socijalnih stanova u ukupnom stambenom fondu, a kad se takvi stanovi jednom i izgrade navode se realni problemi koji nastanu s, primjerice, ilegalnim useljenjima u njih kao što se dogodilo u istraživanom naselju. Ilegalno korištenje stanova pojavljuje se kao problem koji se u prvom redu treba riješiti od strane gradske vlasti i grada Zagreba koji su i sudjelovali u raspodjeli tih stanova. Takve situacije mogu voditi negativnim obilježjima naselja i smanjenoj naseljenosti. Stoga je nužno ovaj proces zaštititi ubuduće od ilegalnog iskorištavanja, te također pravno regulirati ovakve slučajeve.

„U socijalizmu u gradu Zagrebu 45% stambenog fonda su bili stanovi u društvenom vlasništvu, i gro tog stambenog fonda je bio u velikim gradovima. I on se protežirao u tom vremenu socijalizma

kao koncept, i kad se išlo prodavati socijalne stanove, te društvene stanove, onda je između ostalog bilo kazano da će se dio sredstava iskoristiti za izgradnju socijalnih stanova, da će se dio novca koristiti prvenstveno zapravo za one koji su bili nositelji stanarskog prava u stanovima u privatnom vlasništvu, a koji oni nisu mogli kupiti. To je ta jedna populacija od negdje 4000 kućanstava u Hrvatskoj koja je zapravo prototip izvjesne socijalne isključenosti. I prodajom stanova novac se trebao jednim dijelom reinvestirati, međutim on se redovito nije reinvestirao. Tu i tamo neki gradovi i neke tvrtke su i reinvestirali tako da su novac dobiven prodajom stanova ipak vratili u stambenu gradnju" (sociolog).

„Dakle, mi u Hrvatskoj imamo poplavu strategija, ali nikada nismo donijeli strategiju stanovanja i stambene politike, niti na razini države niti na razini Grada Zagreba, premda sam je osobno jednom bio napisao za Grad Zagreb. I onda je u međuvremenu i dalje dopušteno da se prodaju stanovi sa zaštićenom najamninom, tako da smo mi zemlja, jedina zemlja u regiji, u kojoj u apsolutnom iznosu opada udio ovih socijalnih stanova u strukturi stambenog fonda" (sociolog).

„Trebalo bi se ozbiljno baviti socijalizacijom stanara u svim novim naseljima – naselje ne završava izgradnjom zgrada" (arhitekt).

3.4. Interpretacija dobivenih rezultata

Prema dobivenim rezultatima iz intervjua za stanare i stručnjake pokazalo se kako početne hipoteze imaju dvojaku potvrđenost, naime prva hipoteza o Novom Jelkovcu kao dijelom negativno obilježenom naselju za život nije se pokazala posve točnom i samo je manjim dijelom i potvrđena. Dodatna hipoteza o naselju kao uspješnom prototipu javno najamnog modela stanovanja pokazala se točnom i potvrđena je. Naselje ima velik broj stanara u ovoj kategoriji, i što je najvažnije zadovoljnih stanara koji su na ovakav način riješili svoj stambeni status. Uz naselje Novi Jelkovec možemo izdvojiti sljedeće zaključke o različitim pozitivnim i negativnim aspektima naselja, kako kod stanara, tako i kod stručnjaka.

1. <u>Pozitivni aspekti koje su istaknuli stanari tijekom istraživanja su:</u>

- **Funkcionalnost i veličina stanova –** stanari su pokazali najveće zadovoljstvo funkcionalnošću i veličinom stanova za koje je već spomenuto da su daleko iznad trenutnog prosjeka u kvadratnim metrima na zagrebačkom i hrvatskom tržištu.
- **Javna infrastrukturna opremljenost naselja u primarnom i sekundarnom smislu -** infrastrukturnom opremljenošću, kako javnom tako i privatnom, stanari su također jako zadovoljni, smatrajući da mogu obaviti sve svoje potrebe unutar susjedstva, te kako ništa od javne infrastrukturne opremljenosti ne nedostaje jer imaju čak i srednju školu i knjižnicu koje nijedno novostambeno naselje u Zagrebu nema.
- **Ekološke i estetske komponente –** stanari su također pokazali zadovoljstvo, iako nešto slabije, ekološkim i estetskim komponentama susjedstva, smatrajući samu uređenost i izgled susjedstva kao i pozicioniranost zgrada, parkova i ostalih sadržaja u naselju prikladnima i prihvatljivima.

2. <u>Negativni aspekti na koje upozoravaju stanari su:</u>

- **Nekvalitetna izgradnja zgrada** – neprofesionalno i loše izvedeni radovi unutar stanova i zgrada. POS-ovi stanovi sve češće se vezuju uz nekvalitetnu gradnju na kojima su Grad i uključene građevinske tvrtke očito prakticirale štednju te žurile s rokovima. Stoga ne iznenađuju dobiveni rezultati o kvaliteti gradnje koje stanari posebno ističu. Navedeni problemi pojavljuju se u većem broju zgrada u naselju i predstavljaju zapreke s kojima se stanari moraju nositi i često intervenirati sami.
- Sljedeći problem tiče se dijelom **ekoloških aspekata naselja**, konkretnije, u ovom slučaju, odlaganja smeća, te se upozorava na važnost kulture odlaganja otpada kako u naselju Sopnica-Jelkovec tako i šire jer većina stanara naglašava kako se smeće ostavlja izvan za to predviđenih mjesta i time narušava izgled i uređenost naselja. S obzirom na velik udio socijalnih stanara ovakav problem dijelom niti ne iznenađuje te je nužno utjecati na njih kako bi usvojili poželjne urbane obrasce ponašanja i življenja u urbanom prostoru.

- **Dislociranost naselja** još je uvijek naglašeni problem iako se smanjuje uvođenjem novih prometnih veza (prema Sesvetama i Glavnom kolodvoru). Sugovornici upozoravaju na to da je potrebno omogućiti još više prometnih veza s naseljem kako bi se smanjile postojeće gužve.
- Na kraju, iako je smanjen zadnjih godina još uvijek postoji **negativan imidž naselja** koji se često spominjao u medijima, pri čemu je naglasak bio na ilegalnim useljenjima i to, primjerice, manjinskih skupina (Roma). Inače većina stanara smatra da se ne osjećaju veliki problemi u susjedstvu, i da je negativni imidž stvoren nepravedno te da kad do problema i dođe Grad Zagreb treba brže i učinkovitije djelovati kao na primjeru rješavanja ilegalnih useljenika koje je Grad uvođenjem inspekcije većinom i riješio.

3. <u>Rezultati intervjua sa stručnjacima</u> - stručnjaci su svojim odgovorima upozorili na nekoliko ključnih problemskih cjelina (preveliku gustoću gradnje u novim naseljima, infrastrukturnu neopremljenost, prometnu nepovezanost, neadekvatno socijalno stanovanje itd.) te ukazuju na hitnu potrebu osmišljavanja i planiranja grada, pogotovo novih naselja, kako se kvaliteta života u njima i dalje ne bi urušavala. Stanovanje kao najvažniji element kvalitete života ne smije biti prepušteno proizvoljnom vođenju isključivo privatnim interesom i parcijalnim investicijama. Socijalno stanovanje i stanogradnja postoje u formi POS-ovih naselja ali su nedovoljni te ih je nužno dodatno zakonski (ustavno) i strategijski (provedbom) urediti te koristiti pozitivna iskustva susjednih i ostalih zemalja članica EU-a kako bi im se udio u ukupnom stambenom fondu značajno povećao. Inače postoji sve veća izglednost da će se u novim naseljima kvaliteta života i nadalje smanjivati. Time će se smanjivati i kvaliteta života u susjednim starijim naseljima koji trpe zbog pritiska od strane novih naselja.

4. Zaključak

POS-ovo naselje Novi Jelkovec (Sopnica-Jelkovec) primjer je naselja koje se prema svemu navedenome i dobivenim rezultatima može okarakterizirati svojevrsnim zasebnim slučajem među novostambenim zagrebačkim naseljima. Različitost ovog naselja od ostalih, prvenstveno POS-ovih naselja, ali i ostalih također, ogleda se u više aspekata podjednako pozitivnih i negativnih. Na općenitoj razini kvalitete stanovanja i opremljenosti neposredne okoline življenja naselje se ističe većinom pozitivnim aspektima jer vrlo dobro može zadovoljiti potrebe stanovnike (na primarnoj i sekundarnoj razini). Od ostalih zagrebačkih novih naselja istraživano je naselje znatno bolje infrastrukturno opremljeno javnim sadržajima što su sami stanari u intervjuima uglavnom i isticali. Odnedavno je i bolje prometno povezano, a na estetskoj i ekološkoj razini je stanarima prihvatljivo. Stoga se može izdvojiti kao pozitivan primjer među mnogim lošijim primjerima novostambenih zagrebačkih naselja.

Uz navedeni negativni imidž ističe se i problem socijalne kohezije koji je dijelom i nastao iz negativno stvorenih obilježja o naselju. Taj problem i inače prati nova naselja i lokacije te ona trebaju „svoje vrijeme" za prihvaćenost među stanarima. Prema dobivenim rezultatima evidentno je da su napori za popravljanje stanja dijelom i učinjeni te je primjerice najviše koristi postignuto provedbom modela javno najamnog stanovanja kojim se privukao velik broj novog stanovništva, posebno mlađih obitelji. To je dovelo do toga da naselje postane bolje društveno strukturirano i stratificirano, odnosno, stambeno heterogeno sa svim društvenim slojevima, što na početku useljenja u tzv. socijalne stanove nije bio slučaj. Može se istaći i da je najveća pogreška Grada Zagreba i gradonačelnika Bandića u ovom projektu i bila tzv. loša propaganda koju su stvorili oko naselja dodjeljujući stanove prvenstveno samo socijalnim kategorijama stanovništva (siromašnijim stanarima i pripadnicima romske manjine). Time su otvorili poseban problem segregacije i čak getoizacije naselja, kako neki autori ističu problem kohezije uz ovo naselje. Nastala je situacija u kojoj su umanjili atraktivnost naselja za ostale kategorije potencijalnih korisnika i kupaca stanova bez obzira na mogućnost kupnje po nižim cijenama. Tek je nakon nekoliko godina taj problem i ublažen, naročito od 2014. godine. Prema nekim podacima postignuta je gotovo

potpuna useljenost u stanove, a broj stanovnika dostigao je 7.000, dok se godinama smatralo da su stanovi većinom prazni ili poluprazni. U prilog tome govore i podaci kako su i osnovna i srednja škola već prekapacitirane te postaju nedovoljne za naselje i okolno područje.

Ono što se još može istaći uz istraživano naselje jest činjenica da fenomen socijalnog stanovanja nikako ne treba vezivati samo uz kupnju stanova putem vlasništva što je do sada bio slučaj. Treba omogućiti dodatne alternative kupnji kojoj u prilog ide upravo stalno isticani model javno najamnog iznajmljivanja te ga omogućiti i izvan POS-ovih naselja također. Tu bi posebnu ulogu trebali odigrati gradske administracije, te primjerice, modelom privatno-javnog partnerstva i u privatnoj stambenoj izgradnji, a ne samo državnoj ili socijalnoj, osigurati dio koji bi bio dan u javne svrhe (kao javni najam). Na taj način i Hrvatska bi podigla svoj udio rentalnog stanovanja na razini zemalja EU-a koji je zasada vrlo nizak. U tome nam pozitivan primjer može biti susjedna Slovenija koja je učinila značajan pomak prema alternativama u socijalnom stanovanju, primjerice uvođenjem tzv. stambenih zadruga. Ali s obzirom da Hrvatska na nacionalnoj razini još nije donijela niti zakone o socijalnom stanovanju niti odredila strateške odrednice razvoja ovog segmenta društva nije realno određena poboljšanja i očekivati.

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Novi Jelkovec or Sopnica-Jelkovec – example of the POS housing estate

ABSTRACT Novi Jelkovec (former Sopnica-Jelkovec) is a POS housing estate located in the east of Zagreb, close to the town of Sesvete. (POS is a type of the social housing programme.) People have been moving into newly built flats in Novi Jelkovec since 2009. In the case study of this estate qualitative methodology was used (semi-structured interviews with target actors and observation) in order to present the quality of living there with all its advantages and drawbacks. New housing estates in Zagreb, as shown in previous chapters of the book, share similar living conditions and infrastructure facilities. But the reason we chose Novi Jelkovec for our research was that it had been perceived as an unattractive housing estate from the very beginning because of a large number of residents who had been given flats there by the City, based on certain social criteria and ranking of applicants. However, our research shows some positive results: segregation and exclusion are not felt very strongly any more and the estate is not inhabited only by marginal social groups. The social structure has changed for the better as well as the general image of the estate, the reason being undoubtedly very good primary and secondary infrastructure and the application of the public rental housing model, which has attracted new residents, primarily young people (couples with or without children).

Key words: POS estate, social housing, infrastructure, social cohesion, public rental housing, the City of Zagreb.

PRILOZI – SLIKE ISTRAŽIVANIH GRADOVA

ZAPREŠIĆ

Zaprešić skyline

Source: http://www.zapresic.hr/tmpl/zapresic/images/slider_1.jpg

Zaprešić - new part of the town

Source: http://www.zapresic.hr/upload/images/article/323/186_org.jpg

Zaprešić - new part of the town, residental and business zone

Source: http://www.poslovni-prostor.org/slike/n1618_mala.JPG

SAMOBOR

Samobor skyline

Source: http://www.tz-samobor.hr/images/homeslides/6.jpg

Samobor - old city core

Source: http://rusmarin.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Samobor.jpg

Samobor - new part of the town

Source: http://www.njuskalo.hr/nekretnine/samobor-3-sobni-stan-vile-anindol-65-m2-novogradnja-oglas-1609245

VELIKA GORICA

Velika gorica skyline

Source: http://www.vecernji.hr/zg-vijesti/velika-gorica-ipak-gubi-sjediste-opcinskog-suda-928966

Velika Gorica – primjer nove stambene zgrade

Izvor: http://www.njuskalo.hr/nekretnine/stan-velika-gorica-95.54-m2-novogradnja

Primjeri zagrebačkih novostambenih naselja (izvor - autorice)

Lanište - Jaruščica - Remetinec - spoj starog i novog naselja

POS NOVI JELKOVEC - stambene zgrade (SKLOPOVI A, B, C i D)


P

KAJZERICA

„Tekstovi koje nudi rukopis prostiru se na sva tri epistemološka nivoa koje praktikuje sociologija: deskriptivnom, eksplikativnom i aplikativnom. Ovo napominjemo zbog činjenice da se često, u nedostatku sociološkog zamaha, ali i empirijskih istraživanja, značajan broj radova u sociologiji zaustavlja na deskriptivnom nivou. Ovde prikazani tekstovi zavređuju pažnju jer se prave fine, ali čvrsto utemeljene sociološke konstrukcije i razlikovanja između normativnih i realnih vrednosti: tranzicijske i posttranzicijske transformacije socijalnih prostora, društvene i prostorne (de)konstrukcije prostora (posebno javnih), kvaliteta života, opremljenosti, participaciji građana u procesima odlučivanja. Poseban naučni doprinos priloženih tekstova ogleda se u ostavljanju jasnog traga o tome kako se u teorijsko-metodološkom pogledu pristupa urbanosociološkim tematima/istraživanjima. Konačno, najveći broj ovih tekstova doseže treći, aplikativni nivo, ali za koje se moraju zainteresovati donosioci odluka o urbanom razvoju u Hrvatskoj i posebno gradske uprave zadužene za urbano planiranje“.

prof. dr. Ljubinko Pušić, Novi Sad, Srbija

„To je monografija u kojoj autorice i autor, polazeći od bogate tradicije Zagrebačke škole urbane sociologije, kritički analiziraju stanogradnju u vrijeme tranzicije, naročito nakon 2000. godine. Djelo odlikuje kritičko-analitički pristup koji premašuje prečeste uske citatomanije pune znanstvene autopoezije. Riječ je o čitljivom djelu koje probleme (teškoće) detektira, na njih upozorava i također pruža smjernice za njihovo otklanjanje. Ono je ukratko spoj produbljenoga znanstvenog uvida izloženoga jasno razumljivim jezikom, a istodobno nam također pruža polazišta za buduća aplikativna razmatranja, koja će biti platforma novih stambenih politika, koje će istovremeno rješavati sadašnju stihiju i pomoću drugačijih i promišljenih pristupa sprječavati nove možebitne vrste klizanja u izvedbenim praksama. Djelo također upućuje na nužnost osnaživanja prostornih disciplina i njihovog jednakopravnoga uključivanja, zajedno s lokalnim stanovništvom, stanarima i stanovnicima, u suodlučivanju o provedbi i evaluaciji završenih projekata. Ako sumiram, riječ je o izuzetno kvalitetnom znanstvenom doprinosu“.

izv. prof. Franc Trček, Ljubljana, Slovenija