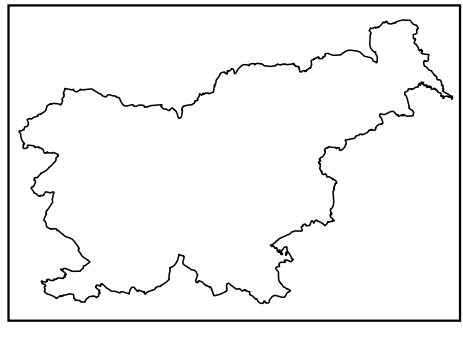
SLOVENE CITIES AND SUBURBS IN TRANSFORMATION

SLOVENSKA MESTA IN OBMESTJA V PREOBRAZBI

Marjan Ravbar

Southern part of Ljubljana is spreading on Ljubljana moor (photography Jure Senegačnik).
Južni del Ljubljane se širi tudi na Ljubljansko barje (fotografija Jure Senegačnik).



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Slovene Cities and Suburbs in Transformation

KEY WORDS: urbanization, suburbanization, cities, suburbs, city regions, settlement regulation

In the first part, the article defines urbanization which means the decreasing difference in living standards between the urban and rural populations and the spatial and functional integration of cities with adjacent settlements influenced by economic interaction, the social mobility of the population, and/or communication systems. On the basis of sociogeographic, functional, structural, and physiognomic indicators, the article defines in the following sections the extent and principal characteristics of the influence of modern urbanization on the countryside and defines the role of suburbs in the Slovene space. The core of the research is devoted to the transformation and the developmental and structural problems of Slovene suburbs. In the conclusion, dilemmas for further development are indicated and some common goals of settlement policy in Slovenia are suggested.

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Slovenska mesta in obmestja v preobrazbi

KLJUČNE BESEDE: urbanizacija, suburbanizacija, mesta, obmestja, mestne regije, usmerjanje poselitve.

Prispevek (Slovenska) mesta in obmestja v preobrazbi v prvem delu opredeljuje urbanizacijo, ki pomeni zmanjševanje razlik v življenjski ravni med mestnim in podeželskim prebivalstvom ter prostorsko in funkcijsko integracijo mest s sosednjimi naselji pod vplivi ekonomskih interakcij, socialne mobilnosti prebivalstva in/ali komunikacijskih sistemov. V nadaljevanju na podlagi socialnogeografskih, funkcijskih, strukturnih in fiziognomskih kazalcev opredeljuje obseg in poglavitne značilnosti sodobnih urbanizacijskih vplivov na podeželje ter določi vlogo obmestij v slovenskem prostoru. Jedro raziskave je namenjeno preobrazbi in razvojno strukturnim problemom slovenskih obmestij. V zaključku so nakazane dileme nadaljnjega razvoja in opredeljeni nekateri skupni cilji poselitvene politike v Sloveniji.

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1. Introduction

Settling or the network of settlements in addition to surface and growth is the most distinctive element of the landscape and by its nature also one of the most stable elements creating the landscape. Furthermore, settlements are social and economic centers, some kind of hubs in the landscape. Settling or the »settling system« in addition to its role in the landscape, the external structure and internal regulation and the diverse forms of human dwelling places also usually means the arrangement of the socioeconomic activity of the population living in settlements. With the term »settling«, we denote the distribution of settlements in the economic-geographic, functional, and physiognomic sense. The distribution of settlements in the landscape is also established by natural and cultural geographic conditions and socioeconomic elements. Until recently, we still distinguished between urban (city) and rural (farm) settlements relative to the dominant economic activities.

Modern studies of settling are without doubt related to the problems of the phenomenon of urbanization. Urbanization is one of the most dominant social processes of modern times. The famous sociologist and urban theorist Lewis Mumford (1961) begins his monumental book *The City in History*: »This book opens with a city that was, symbolically, a world: it closes with a world that has become, in many practical aspects, a city.« With this we would like to emphasize that it is not enough to be interested in cities only because they grow rapidly and they are outstanding by their size but also because ever larger (and still not »city-like«) areas have acquired a city character. Rapid development of the means of production and forces in the widest sense of the term, and particularly traffic and telecommunication technology, have accelerated the formation of the new environment in which man lives and creates. However, with the development of the socioeconomic relationships, urbanization as an historical phenomenon changes with time. Cities together with their adjacent settlements begin to form an integrated spatial whole. In the pre-industrial development stage when agrarian activity prevailed, urbanization was weak, and the cities small. Industrialization brought great changes in the development of cities and other urban phenomena. The development of industry accelerated the concentration of population, jobs, dwellings, and other functions in those cities that fulfilled the location demands of industrial operations. Thus, industrialization and the subsequent urbanization erased the old division between cities and villages. With the development of industrialization and urbanization, a new urban settling system began to develop as well. In this sense, the attachment to agricultural land became fundamentally smaller, and for the majority of the population entirely insignificant. The distribution of settlements did not change, but the factors on which their development was based did. In the new conditions, numerous rural settlements as well as cities began to stagnate, but we notice the rapid development of industrial and administrative centers that developed from previously less important places. Suburbs expanded considerably as well, primarily along major traffic routes. This pattern of settling was dictated by different factors than previously, and the distribution and forms of settlements originating from this process are therefore different. Above all, the considerably smaller adaptation to natural conditions and a lack of regard for the natural limitations that once determined the location and form of settlements can be noticed. The distribution and proximity of jobs, the proximity of traffic routes, the possibilities for connection to the communal network (roads, water supply, sewers, electricity), the proximity of a central settlement with supply and service activities, etc., are certainly among the most important factors. For this reason, some settlements flourished and others stagnated; some exploited developmental opportunities while others did not have the conditions to become involved in the origin of urban systems. Due not only to the urban site but also to the functional site, cities expanded and grew into their agrarian surroundings, and the villages accepted many forms of city life. In many cases, the closest village settlements were integrated into city areas. The result was numerous connections between the city and the countryside and a remarkable social transformation of the countryside.

2. Urbanization

The term »urbanization«[1] is relatively new; for example, the 1933 edition of *Great Larousse – 20th Century* does not mention it. The traditional definition, which largely agrees with the theoretical view and practical experience in the period before World War II, includes phenomena related to the development of cities and urban populations. In geography, urbanization was usually explained in a double sense. In the static sense, it meant for us the number or percent of the urban population that lived and worked in cities, and in the dynamic sense, we illustrated urbanization with the expansion and growth of cities. At that time, urbanization often signified the deepening of the contrast between cities and the countryside in addition to the concentration of population. In the early development levels, some socioeconomic processes influenced the course of urbanization, among which deagrarianization and industrialization were most important. However, urbanization also influenced numerous social events, accelerating or changing them. Thus, it had a substantial influence also on both its principal causes: the abandoning of agriculture and the origin and distribution of industry (Vrišer 1983).

Today we use numerous definitions of »urbanization«, which is not surprising. Several explanations exist that are not mutually exclusive but are rather complementary. They also change with time, as the realization of the intertwining and complexity of the socioeconomic and spatial processes confirms. We can state that urbanization includes all events and changes related to the consequences of the changed way of life and work. Therefore, urbanization by nature represents a very interwoven and complex process and is dependent on deagrarianization, industrialization, migration, the upward mobility of the population, and the growth of city functions (Vrišer 1977).

The term »urbanization« is often used in other connections as well: on one hand it is a synonym for »citification«, including all events and changes related to the changed way of life and work. Many times it is also used in connection with »urbanism« and »urbanity«. Therefore, it is always possible that two authors from the same or different scientific disciplines have different conceptions of »urbanization«. The differences are even increased by national or regional specifics. For example, certain differences exist between the German »*Urbanisierung*«, the Anglo-American »urbanization«, and the French »*urbanisation*«. The Germans even distinguish the terms *Urbanisierung* and *Urbanisation*. The meaning of the word ending in »*-ierung*« indicates a process, while the »*-ation*« suffix indicates the accomplished state of some process (Paesler 1976). Other nations, including the Slovenes, have even more terminological confusion from this point of view. Perhaps it would be appropriate to consider the differences between the terms »urbanity« and »urbanization«.

For Lindauer (1970), »urbanization« is a socioeconomic process in the widest sense for all events that flow from the city to the countryside. He understands it primarily as »the adoption of urban cultural values by the rural population and the subsequent changes in the life of the rural population«. He calls the spread of city ideas and lifestyles from the city to the countryside the »citification« of the countryside. Ruppert and Schaffer (1973) have a similar definition, understanding urbanization as the development of spatial changes in society, that is, as the »process of spreading the city lifestyle«. For Wolf (1977), urbanization means a dynamic development whose basic characteristic is the spread of the urban lifestyle and the settlement forms related to it (urban architecture and infrastructure) to the countryside. Wolf also called attention to the link between social changes (primarily economic progress) and urbanization. In this case, it is a matter of mutual dependence where changes in society are the starting point and conditions for related spatial changes. Therefore, urbanization is both a reflection of and a requirement for new dwelling conditions. Precisely because of the equating of spatial events with general social events, the term »urbanization« is very close to the term »urbanity« which also denotes the existence of city forms and lifestyles. Not only are development levels

[1] According to Stefanović (1973), the term »urbanization« was supposedly first introduced by the Spanish engineer A. Serda who offered the following definition in his 1867 work *A General Theory of Urbanization*: »Urbanization is the planned coordination of building activities and all other elements that bring progress to people.«

reflected in this term but also the intensity of urbanization. Linde (1970) defines urbanization as the multitude of various city lifestyles and the strong differentiation in their influence on the nearest and more distant surroundings.

In contrast to the social geographers, the majority of other authors distinguish the term »urbanization« from the term »citification«. Thus, for example, in the opinion of Gerling (1973), »citification« has a much wider definition than »urbanization«. For him, »citification« not only has the »spatial expansionist« meaning valid for »urbanization« but also anthropological and social science meanings. Boustedt (1970, 1975), who otherwise does not offer any precise definition of the term »urbanization«, also defines it as »growing adoption of city forms of life in the countryside«, and calls the suburb a »*verstädterte Zone*« and not an »urbanized« zone.

In most cases, we understand »urbanization« today as an economic development leap encouraged by the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. Industrialization triggered a series of economic, social, and demographic processes that transformed a large part of the world. In spite of the scientific and technological revolution and the advent of the »Information Society«, the socioeconomic processes of industrialization and urbanization are still the foundation of modern civilization. Urbanization has given society an increasingly strong stamp and determines the style of life. Berg's definition of urbanization (1982) includes the following:

- the concentration of economic and social activities of the population in poles of growth due to industry, service activities, scientific and technical progress, or individual interests;
- the spatial and functional integration of adjacent settlements or groups of settlements under the influence and with the support of economic interaction, the social mobility of the population, and/or communication systems;
- the decentralization of socioeconomic activities, the expansion of city transport systems and infrastructure to the suburbs, the enlargement of the individual's radius of action with the help of the automobile, the »guarantee« of the enlargement of the areas for industry and other activities;
- the reduction of differences in the standard of living between urban and rural populations.

As an historical and worldwide process, urbanization depends on the differences in the level of development of individual countries and on the relationship between urban and rural lifestyles. Within urbanization, Gibbs (1963) distinguished processes of concentration and decentralization of the population. In industrial countries, he divided the phenomenon into five developmental levels, from a phase of strong concentration of population in cities and the depopulation of the countryside to the emigration of population from the cities and the development of new forms of settlement in the countryside. In less developed countries, urbanization appears in the explosive growth of the urban population which is most frequently greater than the growth of the population as a whole. In developed countries, the growth of the urban population moves within the framework of the growth of the total population. The migration of the rural population to the cities gradually weakens and the movement to the suburbs strengthens. The center of gravitation for urbanization, population, jobs, and residence moves from the cities to the suburbs and the countryside (Ravber 1993).

Urbanization is thus one of the most dominant factors in regional development. Its main characteristics are expressed in the changes in values of the so-called »life functions« such as housing, employment, recreation, communication, education, and supply. The changing of these functions influences the direction and intensity of urbanization which today no longer means merely the growth of cities and city populations (Drewet 1980).

The relationship between the city and its surroundings can be analyzed at various developmental levels. Numerous more or less explicit theories also exist to explain changes in the cities, that is, in their relationship to their immediate surroundings. Many of these are often related to social changes. For this reason, urbanization developmental levels are also divided into preindustrial, industrial, and postindustrial (Abu-Lughod 1968, Sjöberg 1960). Other researchers have called attention

to the cyclic course of development of the city and urbanization from rise to fall (Mumford 1938, 1961; Queen and Thomas 1939). Therefore, various developmental stages of urbanization have been differentiated. The group of researchers in the framework of the European Coordination Center for Research in the Social Sciences conceives urbanization as a phenomenon with a life cycle in which the distribution of population changes over the space-time continuum. Population as a component part of urban development is »represented« inside the city landscape itself in the following developmental levels: a) urbanization, b) suburbanization, c) metropolitanization (deurbanization and reurbanization) (Berg 1982).

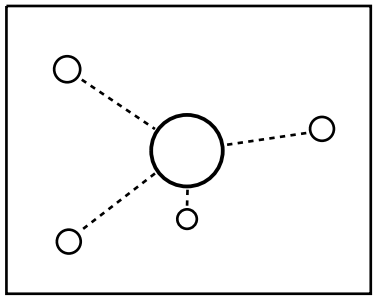
3. Methodological starting points for the research project on the relationship between cities and countryside

In the complex of social geography, the study of urbanization has always had an important place. Its significance even increases with the fact that with the concentration of population in urban settlements and with general social changes, the previous settling system has changed. In this way, new settlement forms have appeared, while other traditional forms have disappeared. The main hypothesis of the present research is that the greatest sociogeographic changes are precisely in that part of the countryside which immediately surrounds the cities. Our analysis that organization is the true key factor in development could be easily understood as a rhetorical question, as a stimulus for thought. The accelerated speed of city growth in industrial countries and the unique response to it (for example, the transformation of existing fine but dense network of recent rural settlements as a consequence of rapid industrialization in the middle of this century) proves that very complicated influences have existed in the relationship between industrialization and urban development from the 19th century on. We can say that urbanization is subject to a complicated dependence on regional particularities, social and economic events, and spatial conditions. It is also a direct and most obvious reflection of the wider cultural and social influences in the landscape. In addition, it brings noticeable social, economic, and spatial changes to the landscape and thus shapes it in a unique way. For this very reason, our main purpose is to try to explain the modern development of settling in Slovenia. We try to imagine the modern evolution of the development of settlements, particularly of cities and suburbs. We proceed from the assumption that because of widening urbanization, the suburbs have put their stamp on all modern civilization. By definition, urbanization is a socioeconomic process whose influence reaches into all spheres of life (»cultural lifestyle«) (Gober, Behr 1982). The spread of urban life and economic production (Paesler 1976) that radiates from the cities with varying intensity is also its basic characteristic.

The methodological starting point for the research is based on the assumption that urbanization in Slovenia primarily means the spatial transformation of the suburbs. This is conditioned by socioeconomic progress and changes in the value system between the city and the countryside. The growth of population in the suburbs related to changes in the structure of households and to changed family habits is the most important motive for urbanization currents. Economic progress and the changed economic structure in the transition from industrial (secondary) to tertiary activities also support urbanization. Due to the cited conditions, suburbs have become more and more functionally integrated into a united organism reflected in a specific network of settlements.

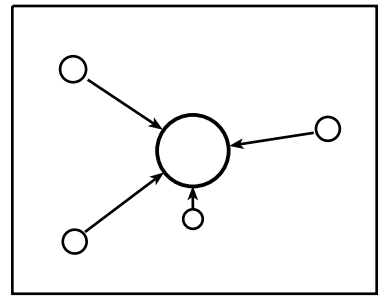
Figure 1: Phases in development of urbanization processes.
Slika 1: Faze v razvoju urbanizacijskih procesov.

1



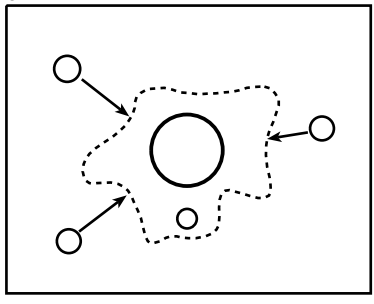
town with villages in surroundings

2



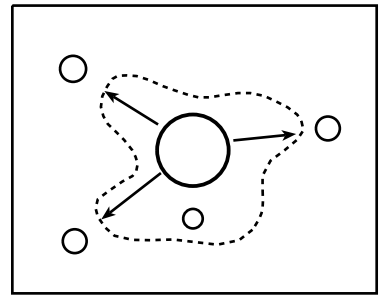
migration to cities

3



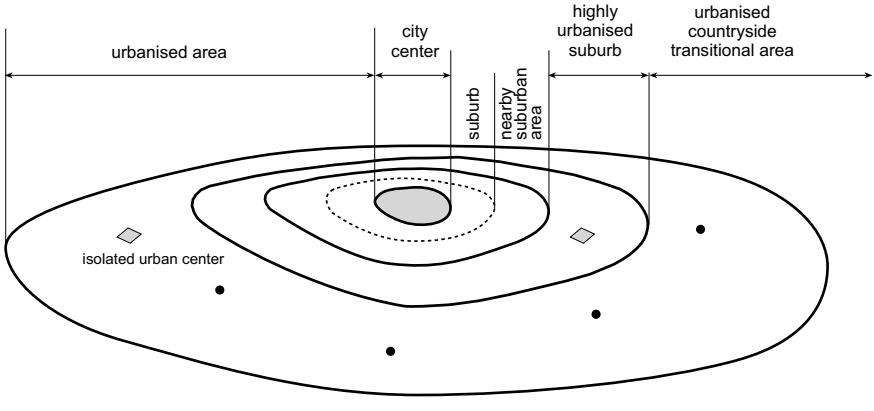
expansion of cities

4



urbanised area

THE URBAN MODEL



M. Ravbar, cartography I. Sajko
Institute for geography 1997

Every process, including urbanization, has its own cycle of development over time that in ideal conditions has a beginning, a peak, and a concluding phase. Urbanization appears as an indication of changes in the development of the population in the suburbs and their transformation. We proceeded from the socioeconomic and spatial relationships between cities and their surroundings and from the division of the urbanization processes outlined in the first general part of the research. As mentioned, we divide urbanization in Slovenia into the three following stages:

urbanization	=	concentration of population in cities
suburbanization	=	dispersal of population, expansion of cities
metropolitanization	=	disintegration of city regions

In the introduction, we defined urbanization as dynamic development. It means not only the transformation of the forms of settling but also changes in lifestyle. New social standards, changed housing conditions, new traffic conditions, and new communications technology in general that are confirmed by trends in the division of labour and housing have led to structural changes in all settlements and new forms of settling, to »citification«, and thus to the development of suburbanization whose obvious signs are noticeable in the intensive growth of population and the changed physiognomy of settlements. The main hypothesis of the present research is that urbanization in Slovenia represents a complex event in the spatial and socioeconomic changes in society. Figure 1 schematically illustrates the process of urbanization. The first graphic representation (1) shows the city during the preindustrial development level. Here there were no connections between the city and the countryside other than the trade and craft function. The second illustration (2) shows the first, earliest level of urbanization, that is, the concentration of population in cities. Extensive migration from the countryside to the city is the characteristic feature of this level. In the early phases, the cities still had an entirely »industrial« character (a strong predominance of available jobs in secondary activities). Not only is a strong growth in population characteristic of these cities but also very dynamic structural and physiognomic changes. In the suburbs, which as a rule have the physiognomy of rural settlements, the population level more or less stagnates. There are no noticeable changes in their socioeconomic structure and external appearance, except for a high proportion of daily working migration oriented toward the cities. The third illustration (3) shows the expansion of the cities that is the consequence of the immigration of the population from the countryside and the strong natural growth of the population in the cities themselves. The cities expand beyond their borders. This phase already shows the beginnings of suburbanization shown in the fourth illustration (4). The one-way migration movement to the cities is gradually replaced by the movement of population in the opposite direction. Migration streams from the cities undoubtedly dominate, which is reflected in the strong transformation of settlements growing around old village cores in the form of irregular circles. The transformation of existing settlements is most evident beside traffic routes. Daily migration increases in both directions. The extent of daily migration is certainly one of the most evident signs of suburbanization. In this period, the population in the city hinterland grows rapidly, and therefore the demand for the construction of housing is strongest here. Because workplaces largely remain in the cities, the traffic (primarily road) infrastructure is heavily burdened by the intensive daily migration between the cities and suburbs. Other infrastructure as well (here we have primarily in mind supply activities and the communal infrastructure) does not keep pace with the growth in population and is only gradually augmented. Therefore, the »burdening of space« increases here and surpasses even the absolute dynamic of housing growth. At the last level, the function of cities changes due to tertialization, and the structure of employment also changes. With this, the social structure of residence changes. In the suburbs the transformation of physiognomy is much more intensive, and these acquire an entirely urban character. The model attempts primarily to illustrate the levels of social, economic, and partially physiognomic transitions: from the originally agricultural character of the suburbs through the various transition levels to completely urbanized suburb settlements, which because of the terminological confusion can be characterized also as settlements that have neither a city character or urban physiognomy but whose residents live a style of life similar to that in

the city (R → U).[2] New demands of the population also trigger the transformation of the suburbs. Various supply and service activities appear that rural settlements did not know.

Under the influence of urbanization, a city region is formed. A city region is an integrated whole in which the daily connection between the city and its suburbs has decisive significance. The external appearance of this interweaving is reflected in the unique forms of settling, in characteristic traffic, technical, and other infrastructure[3], in the intensified extent of the exchange of products and durable goods, and in the migration currents. The interdependence of the cities and the countryside is reflected in various ways. If we proceed from the simplified model of the basic categories of socioeconomic activities (Feldmann, Poller 1971 and Manz 1971), the relationship between cities and suburbs is based on the assurance of

- general social needs;
- economic needs of society; and
- individual human needs.

In this process, the cities or urbanized cores have the role of generators. The linking and exchange role of the cities is most distinctive in production functions, in supplying durable goods, and in satisfying general needs and is less distinctive in the satisfaction of individual needs. The spatial structure of production and the consumption related to it create the general basis for the link between the cities and the countryside. Other infrastructure is in fact superstructure and also serves to satisfy the needs of all population groups living in cities and suburbs. The intensity of links between the suburbs and the cities depends on the specialized infrastructure distributed irregularly across a city region. Modern literature also defines city regions as »efficient unions of ecosystems composed of lifestyle, technical elements, and the mutual exchange of energy, raw materials, and information« (Neddens 1986). Material production and consumption are thus general conditions for the development of the relationship between the city and its hinterland in the satisfaction of social and individual needs. All this forms the city regions which in other words means that the first and most important impulse toward the development of a city region was indeed initiated by industrialization. Therefore, the relationships between the city and the suburb in a city region are the result of the spatial division of work, services, and lifestyles. We can maintain that an extremely tight connection exists between industrialization and urbanization, a true geographic symbiosis (Vrišer 1965). Due to this very symbiosis, the border between city and country gradually blurs. In modern life, cities increasingly expand and gradually merge with the countryside or also the opposite: the countryside with all the elements of the agrarian landscape becomes a component part of the city region and the city lifestyle.

The character of urbanization has changed with social progress. This especially refers to postindustrial civilization where the old style of production and consumption in cities has changed following various innovations. The main motive is competition. The global civilization and the technical changes of the second half of the 20th century are also reflected in the system of settling. The classic location factors that until recently were still decisive in locating human dwellings have faded into the background or have been replaced by new motivations. Changes in employment and other social and demographic structures of the population related to the rise in living standards have decisively changed the motivation of people in making decisions regarding the living conditions offered by either cities or suburbs. The new conditions of life support the dispersion of settling. The settling systems of the

[2] R = rural lifestyle; U = urban or city lifestyle.

[3] With the term »infrastructure«, we mean to embrace all those material and non-material institutional installations that are available in a region for the economy (for ensuring production integration and supply) as well as for the population. Simply stated, "infrastructure denotes those material, institutional, and personal activities and installations that form the necessary basis for the smooth functioning of society. We commonly speak of the »material infrastructure« that supply the population, production, and settlements such as transportation, energy, communications, information, technical supply, communal infrastructure (water, sewers, garbage disposal), etc. In contrast, we also recognize the »personal« or »social« infrastructure (e.g., the network of health and social centers, schools, cultural institutions, etc.) and the »institutional« infracture (administrative regulations, internal security, defense, etc.).

cities and their suburbs are thus the result of past development and the reflection of modern economic, social, and natural conditions. In this, a key role is played by the socioeconomic structure of the population that with its various technical-technological and economic opportunities is the supporter of all activities.

Due to the gradual encroachment of the city landscape into the countryside landscape, the area in between – the suburbs or partially-urbanized zones – must be distinguished in addition to the city and the countryside. Numerous geographers, planners, and urbanists have tried to present this interweaving of the city with the countryside with a simple scheme of concentric circles surrounding city organisms (we also often talk about the »influential zones« of cities). The presented scheme (see lower section of Figure 1) of concentric circles around the city is an adaptation of various authors (Boustedt 1975; Nellner 1984; Bryant, Russwurm, McLellan 1982) and in great measure is merely theoretical. Indeed, it is often reformed under the influence of natural geographic conditions. It is important to be aware that these zones gradually overlap and merge and that there are no sharp borders between them. In their discussions, some researchers of the relationship between city and countryside justifiably call attention to the fact that the influence of the city on its surroundings can also be illustrated with alternative schemes. The theoretical analyses that proceed from the recognition that the intensity of city influences and with them their links with the surroundings gradually weaken with distance from the city and the communications that lead to it are the basis for the model shown. For this reason, a city region represents only a stage of the functional relationship of the population in the landscape.

A city center or city core that is usually heterogeneous forms the heart of a city region. As a rule, it is usually formed from the medieval »old city« consisting of the business and market center and more or less extensive residential quarter built either in the form of townhouses, workers' colonies, or residential neighbourhoods and quarters with various other functions such as industry, administration, education, traffic, etc. »Suburbs« or city rings[4] spread immediately around the city center. It is characteristic of these areas that in fact they are only slightly younger parts of the city. Sometimes these are even whole settlements that expanding city development included later and gradually incorporated into the city organism. Usually these are dense settlements linked to the city center by areas of scattered houses. From their outside appearance, such areas are distinguished by few built-up areas. Many suburbs are specialized. They become industrial zones, traffic areas, and distinctly residential settlements of newer date. Suburbs are distinguished from the city core by numerous physiognomic features. Although from the construction point of view they are joined to the city core, they have their own colouring, their own market and service centers, and different functions than the city center (Bračič, Lah, Vrišer 1983). In our conception, the city center together with the suburbs usually forms a city in the true sense of the term.

The wreath of settlements spreads around the city and is tightly linked to it. The majority of them are already very deagrarianized. Relative to their function, we can characterize them best as »dormitory settlements«, since their residents in great numbers still work, go to school, go shopping, visit cultural institutions, and so forth in the city and only reside in the suburbs (Vrišer 1965). Although the main characteristic of all these settlements is that they are in daily contact with the city (daily commuting of employees, attending schools, shopping of all kinds, etc.), many of them have a unique foundation either in traditional industries or trades or in other service activities such as recreation. Therefore, the urbanization of the city surroundings is not simply the result of the city's influence. Such areas also experience strong transformation in the extent of construction; that is, the old village cores represent only the smaller part of the entire built-up area. The new construction simply

[4] A large majority of mainly Anglo-American and German literature uses the term »metropolitan ring« for the suburbs and extensive strongly urbanized area around large cities that are tightly linked to the center (e.g., Berry 1973 and 1981, Champion 1989, Hall 1980, Boustedt 1975, etc.) The »city ring« in Clark's geographical lexicon (1987) refers to the area of spatial and social changes on the edge of a city where urban development collides with agrarian use, where the density of population is rapidly increasing, and where land prices are rising.

swallows the former village-suburb settlements, particularly if they acquire street numbering. These areas are exceptionally attractive for migration from city areas and also from the countryside.

Many geographers designate this zone of strong and direct influences between the city and its surroundings as the narrower city surroundings or narrower gravitation area. In Slovene geographic literature, the term »suburb« has been recognized appropriate for such areas. The term »city region« has been applied to the whole territory influenced by a city. Settlements with certain »central functions« also appear in a city region, either having these functions from the past or acquiring them through dynamic development due to a favourable traffic situation, their own economic base, and the like.

The influence of the city increasingly weakens with distance from the city. Here belong groups of settlements that are outside the immediate physical influence of the city and are not joined to the communal infrastructure of the city. Reaching the public (city) transportation network by foot is quite difficult. This wider zone of city influence is termed »urbanized countryside« or »wider city surroundings«. In general, an insufficient communal infrastructure is characteristic for all urbanized countryside areas. Poorly developed local employment opportunities and the lack of supply of services for the population result in strong daily migration. The construction transformation of these settlements is less intensive than in the closer suburbs but is still above average. An intensive functional transformation of the countryside is also characteristic, and the non-agrarian population distinctly dominates.

Developmental relationships in the suburbs and urban areas illustrate the transformation in the spheres of housing, supply, and production. It is important that we notice the changes in the historical cores of settlements, at the edges of settlements, and in the open agrarian space. When people find employment in non-agrarian professions, some former farm buildings remain unused or change their function, primarily in recent times into catering establishments, markets, and other supply activities of all kinds. The movement of the original residents to the edges of settlements is also evident. The increasing traffic, the old-fashioned composition of housing linked to the high cost of connecting to the communal infrastructure, and the lack of modern service activities strongly devalue the cores of former countryside settlements. The population grows primarily because of extensive building activity on the edges while the population in the core drops. Because of the strong immigration of non-indigenous residents, the sense of belonging to the local area is weakened and diminished. The increased proportion of immigrant newcomers fosters a new city style of life, not only among the immigrants but also among the indigenous population. The attachment to the land declines since farming becomes only a supplementary source of income (amateur cultivation, gardening). Physiognomic effects are also evident in the division of land parcels and the increasing number of previously cultivated fields overgrown with grass. The changes outlined even intensify the establishment of small workshops and other non-agrarian activities, as a rule of younger origin.

The connection between the cities and suburbs is reflected primarily in the daily migration of the work force, in the supply currents, and also by the movement mobility of the population. The spatial connections, that is, the interactions, occur in the following directions:

urbanization suburb ↔ city, city center
suburb ↔ countryside, primarily for recreation
suburb ↔ influence areas of other centers

According to the classifications above, the suburbs appear as catalysts of transformation. Therefore, urbanization does not mean merely the expansion of the city into its immediate surroundings (such forms of processes were already recognized in the early phases of urbanization). The importance of the suburbs grows in contrast to that of the city centers. The redistribution of the population at the edge of the city is reflected most directly by the positive migration balance and indirectly in the expan-

sion of the city lifestyle. The transition from urban areas to urbanized areas is almost always gradual and without sharp borders. The reason must be sought in the socioeconomic changes that mitigate the once distinct dichotomy between cities and villages. Therefore, a special term for this transition area is ever more recognized. Under the influence of these events, a »rural-urban continuum« develops on the edge of the city (Kokole 1976) that is more and more often called a suburb or a suburbanized area (Ravber 1992). With these terms, we describe the wide zone in between where the urban and countryside elements are interwoven. The transition is also indicated by the function of the settlements, by their socioeconomic structure, and not least by the physiognomy of the landscape (Vrišer 1974).

From the above, it follows that the most decisive factor that forms modern urbanization is the development of population essentially related to movement mobility, to the rich spectrum of exchange currents between cities and their suburbs, and to the development of residential housing in the suburbs that with varying intensity transforms areas the most. The second group of factors are the connections between employment and residence that are related primarily to the problems of supply and the daily travel to work. However, the basic characteristic of modern urbanization lies in the most distinct changes precisely in that part of the countryside immediately surrounding the city, that is, in the suburbs or suburbanized zones.

Therefore, the goal of the present research is not only to determine the extent of urbanization but also to make an empirical study of the factors determining this transformation. We will establish the first level of urbanization achieved and determine the extent of city influences. The transformation of the suburbs of Slovene cities under the influence of suburbanization represents our core interest. We intend to determine the course of urbanization, its extent, and the problems and consequences proceeding from it that have their reflection in space. We wish to discuss these and other elements in the following pages and in this way deepen our knowledge about transformation currents in the suburbs of Slovene cities. The present study intends to explore various occurring forms of urbanization, to study the functional links between cities and their surroundings, and to thus establish the suburbs of Slovene cities as a component part of modern sociogeographic events. The author has set himself the goal of exploring and defining in particular the changes in the relationship between cities and their surroundings. The purpose of the research is also in the presentation of developmental factors that in their reciprocal effects encourage new forms of urbanization and suburbanization. With the present study, we also desire to call attention to regional differences in urbanization trends around Slovenia.

3.1. The selection of indicators and the assessment of factors of urbanization

Geography has had a long and successful history in the field of selecting suitable indicators. Almost a half century ago, V. Klemenčič (1953) in his studies of the levels of urbanization in the surroundings of Kamnik took into consideration many different elements of demographic and economic character that in their mutual interweaving made possible a complex analysis of settlement density and the development of urbanization. In so doing, he considered the dynamics of the growth of population, the number of houses, the proportion of farm population, the proportion of farm households, and the average number of people in households as decisive factors. Later, Vrišer (1956, 1963, 1965) and primarily Kokole (1969, 1976) provided synthetic indicators for measuring the structure of settled space. The former divided settled space into three areas and gave starting points for demarcating urbanized areas. He used the proportion of the active non-agrarian population who went to work in employment centers, combining this criterion with the percentage of the active non-agrarian population, the density of population, and sometimes with the percentage of active non-agrarian population employed in administration and self-employed professions, the growth of population, and

the number of population per household. The latter defined the level of urbanization on the basis of the transformation of the countryside using the comparison of the number of the active (working) population with the number of workplaces and by comparing the growth in population with the growth in the number of the non-agrarian population. He also pointed out the phenomenon of the »rural-urban continuum« with the assistance of the proportion of agrarian population.

With the present research, we wish to develop further the complex methods for measuring urbanization and the relationship between cities and countryside in developing city regions across Slovenia. In defining the extent of city influence, data acquired with the help of the statistical services is the most frequently used. The methods as well are adapted to the collection of statistics, while much more rarely it is possible to achieve the desired results through empirical methods. For this purpose, we chose indicators with which it is possible to establish categories of space such as city centers, suburbs and/or suburbanized areas, and various transitional levels of urbanization forms. On one hand, the selection of criteria was adapted to statistically measurable indicators that are simple and understandable, and on the other, we used criteria that attempt comprehensively to cover all the most important characteristics of modern urbanization. They are designed in such a way that we evaluated several phenomena simultaneously connected to the level of urbanization achieved and that with their changing illustrate the course of the process. The lack of statistical information caused problems, and therefore the present plan is adapted to the statistical material available and the possibilities for evaluating it. The method comprises a group of indicators that can be used to establish the phenomenon and form of urbanization. With the assistance of survey data adapted in this way, we performed an evaluation of individual areas in the suburbs of Slovene cities. While it is possible to define cities quite successfully with the assistance of certain tested criteria, the ranking of suburban, half-urbanized, or suburb settlements only imbued with urban elements can be debatable and thus not reveal enough about what form of urbanization or even suburbanization is being considered.

The most important (and the most common) criteria for determining the influence of urbanization have a quantitative nature. Although many statistical procedures have been used so far, we still do not know any generally recognized method for the comprehensive and precise establishment of the level of urbanization. In his test of the division between the city and its area of influence, Vrišer (1965) mentions four groups of methods: demographic, physiognomic, functional, and other. He also points out that many authors often combine various methods. In the framework of demographic methods, the size of agglomeration is the most commonly mentioned as the most important criterion. Among other criteria, the following also appear very frequently: the movement of the population, the social structure of the population, the density of the population, the daily migration of workers, the proportion of immigrant (emigrant) population, that is, the migration balance, the temporary population present in the cities, and a combination of these criteria. In physiognomic methods, the density of built-up areas, the number of residents per residential building, the appearance of the buildings, the change in land use, the functions of city buildings, the number of stories and building height, age, parceling, and the spread of the communal infrastructure are most frequently mentioned as criteria. In functional methods, economic and other links with the city, the ratio between residents and workers, and traffic connections are cited as criteria. Among other methods, criteria comprising the mutual evaluation of several criteria are mentioned that consider »isoval«[5], lifestyle, and various administrative and political agreements.

The complexity of the problems of the Slovene urban and overall system of settlements and the transformation of the Slovene countryside on one hand related to the emotional attachment to the land and on the other to the desire to »live in the country and work in the city« implies a »double division« of research. It demands a critical evaluation of the suitability of the previous methods applied in the 1960's and the early 1970's based mainly on demographic (for example, the development of city populations) and economic and geographic indicators (for example, the proportion of the agrar-

[5] »Isovals« are lines connecting points of equal land values.

ian population). Around the world, many attempts have been made to redefine these criteria. The essence of all the newest attempts to define urbanized areas lies in the inclusion of a great number of various criteria that define urbanization as a socioeconomic process in which the population concentrates and adopts an urban style of economy and life (Smailes 1975). In addition to this, in Slovenia it is necessary to consider the modern processes that have already appeared and have created new spatial-urban problems. »Suburbanization« is one such process, and from the point of view of future prospects it will be necessary to expect »counterurbanization«. Although the level of the concentration of the population and economic activities has not achieved as high a level as Western Europe, in spite of this the necessity for a unified evaluation and determination of the city agglomeration together with appertaining (adjacent) urbanized areas has appeared in Slovenia as well.

We have chosen all statistical settlements in Slovenia as units of measurement. Considering that one of the goals of this study is to illuminate the urbanization trends with a geographical analysis primarily in the suburbs of Slovene cities, a quite wide selection of indicators is necessary due to the complex character of urbanization that should indicate:

	criteria for evaluation:
1. sociogeographic changes in settlements;	sociogeographic and functional
2. changes in the economic structure of the population;	structural
3. physiognomic changes in the landscape; and	physiognomic and/or morphological
4. »burdening« of the landscape that urbanization brings.	functional

We decided to use the sociogeographic, physiognomic, structural, and functional criteria. Among the sociogeographic indicators, the size of agglomeration, the movement and density of population, and the proportion of immigrant (emigrant) population, that is, the movement balance, are usually cited as the most important criteria. Among the functional methods, we used economic and other links between residents and employees and traffic connections or the daily migration of employees as the criteria. Among the physiognomic criteria, we used the dynamics of housing construction, and in this framework, the proportion of individual houses in the total residential stock. In defining settling criteria, we estimated that the sum of the number of residents and workplaces by surface unit clearly reflected the interweaving of population, residential conditions, and working conditions as the decisive »location« factors in the transformation of settlement areas. We based our selection on those indicators expressing geographic component parts of the basic functions of human activity, primarily residence and work. With these indicators, we desired to point out simultaneously at least three dimensions that urbanization brings: changes in the physical development of settlements, changes in the social structure of areas, and indirectly changes in the »system of cultural values« that the new »suburban oriented« lifestyle encouraged by urbanization brings.

1. Indicators that reflect the **sociogeographic complex** are the extent and number of population and the residential conditions in urbanized suburbs, the size of the agglomeration of residents in urban areas, the extent and intensity of the movement mobility of the population (proportion of immigrant population), and the proportion of agrarian population (households with an agrarian economy). The significance of suburban areas relative to urbanization grows primarily from the point of view of residence. All this leads to changes in the structure of permanent residents. In the selection of functional criteria, we chose from a number of possible indicators those that determined the larger number of workplaces for the cities and at least one quarter of the daily migration to the cities coming from the immediate suburban surroundings.

2. Indicators that reflect **economic conditions** are the employment structure of the population, the relationship between residents and their workplaces, and the extent and changes in the intensity of workplaces in non-agrarian activities. Not only does the population increase but also the most necessary supply infrastructure concentrates in urbanized areas. Because it was not possible to get appro-

priate indicators from the statistics services that would show the supply and infrastructure facilities of Slovene suburbs, we tried to assess this extremely important motivation element indirectly through the number of settlements with elements of centralization in urban areas (according to Vrišer, 1988). The structural indicators are determined by the minimal and average proportions of agrarian population in cities and suburbs and the highly above-average proportion of those employed in tertiary and quaternary activities in areas that form the gravitational hinterland of cities.

3. Indicators that reflect **physiognomic changes** are the proportion of the gross built-up area and the extent, density, and dynamics of housing construction. The physiognomic and morphological differentiation (Vrišer 1965) that distinguishes the city from the countryside according to the more dense style of construction, according to the larger number of apartments per building, that is, according to the phenomenon of multi-apartment and multistory buildings, according to the higher level of population, and according to the greater use of the land reflected in the ratio between the total surface of stories and the surface of the land is also extremely important indicator for the demarcation of cities. The density of built-up areas (however, of free-standing, one-family houses) is also an important criteria for defining the suburbs. Here, the great number of suburb settlements that are situated with above-average frequency around the cities and also the above-average concentration of population are also important indicators. The type of residential building is undoubtedly the most reliable criteria of an urbanized area that distances it strongly from village housing everywhere; however, we should not forget that new functions of settlement develop faster in the course of urbanization and that the population structure changes faster than the settlements transform spatially and/or physiognomically.

4. The indicator for determining the »**burdening**« of the landscape that urbanization brings is the density of population plus workplaces per square kilometer ($P + WP/km^2$). In determining the urbanization level, we judge that the sum of the number of population and of workplaces clearly reflects the daily migration to work, the interweaving of housing conditions, working conditions, and the burden on the traffic infrastructure.

For measuring the level of urbanization, indicators of transformation are also significant. As mentioned previously several times, the speed of change is one of the most distinctive consequences of urbanization, and therefore we chose the following indicators that define this complex: movement of the number of population, changes in the mobility of the population, and the intensity of housing construction.

The groups of indicators above with which we wish to measure urbanization in Slovenia are certainly not the most well chosen. The weakest (or even questionable) are the indicators of the »burdening« of urbanized areas. For a more complete assessment of the level of urbanization achieved and the more precise evaluation of data, several other indicators, primarily traffic and communal and the like (for example, land prices, ownership, form of residential buildings, level of infrastructure), would be useful to have. These would be possible to get in spite of certain methodological difficulties, but their comparison would be questionable.

The procedure of evaluation was simple. On the first level we included all the statistical settlements in Slovenia. First, we calculated the mean value for each individual indicator. The settlements whose quotient of the sum of indicators above was higher relative to the Slovene average we called »urbanized settlements«. Those with below-average values we called »rural settlements«. We assigned the value of zero (0) for the »quasi-normal« level of urbanization. In the next step, we assigned two more levels to the settlements with above-average values: strong above-average urbanized (with a value of +2) and above-average urbanized (with a value of +1). In the same way, we assigned an additional two levels with negative values (–1 and –2) to settlements with below-average values. We prepared the final evaluation according to the same procedure by calculating the sum of the values for all settlements and for each of the four groups of indicators above. The sum of the values of all indicators allows various combinations of the levels of urbanization. The results called our attention to the high

differentiation of individual indicators within urbanized areas and led us to the speculation that Slovene urbanization is still on such a development level and dependent in many ways on factors that we could not include in our evaluation concept. In spite of this, we established a typology of the level of urbanization of settlements so that we ranked all settlements into decile levels. Those that achieved values of the sum of indicators above 75% we called »strongly urbanized settlements«; settlements achieving values between 60% and 75%, »urbanized«; and those with values between 50% and 60%, »urbanized rural settlements«. Settlements that did not achieve half of the points possible, we called »rural settlements« and eliminated from further examination.

Every division of settlements into groups usually indicates that the transition from the »urban« to »urbanized« space is almost always gradual and without sharp borders. The research of settling so far also shows that in the last decade deconcentration processes have already appeared in Slovenia (Ravber 1992). Therefore, in the present typology of settlements we have to consider the already-formed wreath of suburbanized and suburb settlements that from numerous practical grounds-primarily the regulatory, spatial-urbanistic, administrative-judicial, and supply functions – we must deal with as a unified »city organism«. Therefore, the suburb settlements need an additional point of view of evaluation. Not least, such typologies exist in all highly urbanized countries, for example, »*Ballungsgebiete*« in Germany, »*SMSA*«[6] in the United States, »*MELA*«[7] in Great Britain, etc. We ranked among suburb settlements those predominantly urbanized settlements in the narrower gravitational hinterland of cities that due to agglomeration trends fulfill the additional conditions: they surround cities with more than 10,000 residents and they lie inside the fifteen minute isochron (via public transportation). With larger Slovene cities, we additionally attempted to define the narrower suburbanized area as well. In order to define the narrowest suburbs, the following conditions were considered:

- uninterrupted built-up and building land areas;
- high density of population and workplaces (as a rule, above 300 P + WP/km^2);
- strong above-average growth of population between censuses;
- above-average low proportion of agrarian population;
- increased proportion of daily migrants, oriented toward the city centers.

Consolidated built-up areas of lower density (free-standing, one-family houses) are also an important criterion for defining the suburbs. For the suburbanized areas that form a city region, an important role among physiognomic criteria is played by the consolidation of built-up areas with the conditions that the suburb settlements follow in a series or mosaic along the communications network and that the distance between individual statistical settlements in principle does not exceed one kilometer. The suburbanized suburbs as a rule also have unified communal and other infrastructures linked to the central city.

Settlements in Slovenia thus fall into the following groups:

	value of achieved points
1. cities (according to statistical classification of settlements)	
2. narrower suburbanized suburbs (around cities with more than 20,000 residents)	above 75%
3. strongly urbanized suburb settlements	above 75%
3. A. isolated but strongly urbanized foci in the rural landscape	above 75%
4. distinctly urbanized areas of settlements	61–75%
5. urbanized rural areas of settlements	55–60%
6. Half-urbanized, transitional areas of settlements	50–55%
7. other rural areas of settlements	below 50%

[6] Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

[7] Metropolitan Labour Area

The results acquired through the described typology gave us the following picture of Slovene settlements: cities representing 1.2% of Slovene settlements (where a good half of Slovenia's population lives) are immediately surrounded by a wreath of 281 settlements (5%) in the narrowest suburbanized surroundings followed by 658 strongly urbanized suburb settlements (11%). The extremely urbanized rural and half-urbanized, transitional areas of settlements numbered a further 964 settlements (16%), while the remaining 3942 settlements were ranked among the rural settlements. In the further research, we were only interested in cities and their suburbs that together form city regions and transitional urbanization levels in the transformation of settlements. Thus, we deliberately eliminated rural settlements from our research. In the further studies, we consider 1976 settlements or precisely one third of all Slovene settlements. 79% of all the population lives in these settlements (see Figure 1).

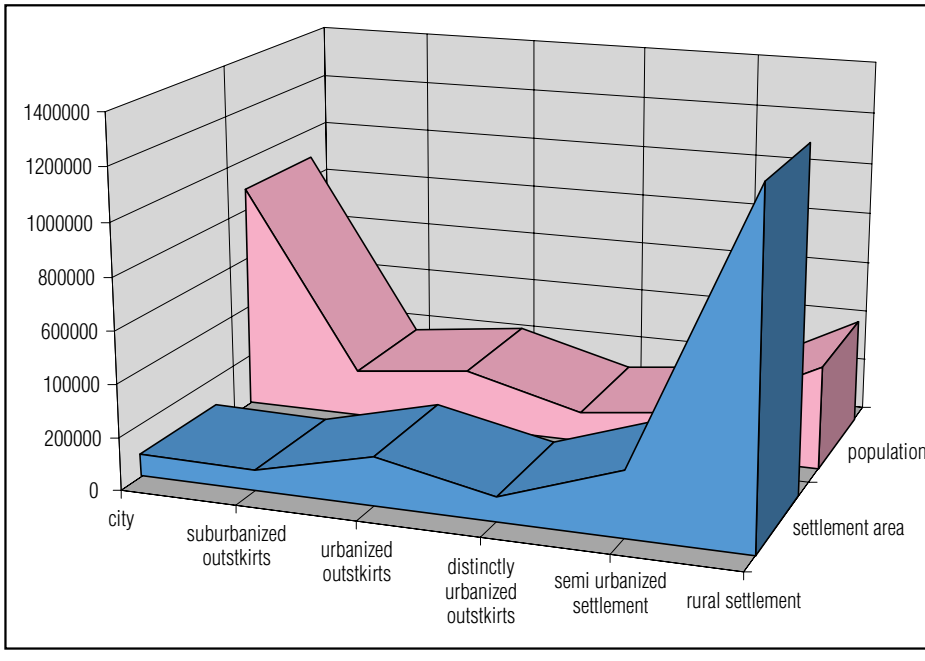


Figure 2: Ratio between number of population and corresponding surface area according to characteristic types of settlements in Slovenia.
Slika 2: Razmerje med številom prebivalstva in pripadajočim površjem po značilnih tipih naselij v Sloveniji.

4. Extent and characteristics of urbanization in Slovenia

The research clearly indicated the progressive course of urbanization. Urbanization and industrialization gradually formed an extensive area with quite specific developmental problems. On approximately one third of Slovene territory, relatively strong urbanized flatland and valley areas have been formed whose territory on the edge of areas of economic and population concentration gradually expands toward the highlands. In the last decade, the population began to emigrate more intensively from the cities to the narrower and wider suburbs which means that Slovenia as well was caught by the intensive processes of the deconcentration of population or suburbanization (Ravber 1992). This differentiation was spontaneous, and its main characteristic is the unorganized concentration of population in suburb settlements accompanied by dispersed construction of individual residential hous-

es aided by the liberal purchase of land, an undefined land policy, and an inadequately selective urban policy. It is occurring in the radius of favourable access to workplaces. In the hinterland of dense areas, the urbanized rural areas have universally favourable economic development and relatively advanced market-oriented agriculture. In the last three decades, the population of Slovenia has increased by one fifth (124%), and in the city regions and urbanized settlements by one half (146%). In this period, the cities and isolated urbanized centers have experienced the most intensive growth, where the average annual level of growth was 1.64% or 1.73% respectively. Whereas between 1971 and 1981, the cities and the narrower suburbanized suburbs showed the most intensive dynamics, in the last decade the isolated urban centers and urbanized suburbs stand out with the most intensive growth with an annual level of growth whose average annual degree of growth surpasses by several times the level of growth in the cities (see Table 1).

Here we desire only to call attention to some principal global regional geographic processes: the larger Slovene cities are surrounded by a wreath of 281 suburbanized suburb settlements. In addition to the intensive population dynamics, the high proportion of immigrant population, the positive migration balance, the high proportion of daily work migration that includes three quarters of the active population, and the above-average dynamics of housing construction are characteristic for them. A more detailed analysis of the migration movements for the 1982–1993 period shows a reversal in the direction of the migration of the population. The most noticeable change is in the fact that the majority of Slovene cities demonstrated a negative migration balance in this period. The larger cities (with over 10,000 residents) showed a negative migration balance totaling –2672 residents. The number of gross migrations in these cities amounted to 52.3 per 100 residents. During the period studied, Ljubljana led among cities with a negative migration balance (–4,127 residents) followed by Jesenice (–117), Ptuj (–919), Koper (–907), Celje (–710), and Maribor (–251). In the case of Ljubljana, due to its recent division into five municipal units, we can trace the spatial redistribution of population in municipalities caused by movement mobility. In the 1982–1987 period, observations in all five municipalities (with the exception of Ljubljana-Center which even in this period had a negative migration balance totaling –395) showed positive migration balances totaling +135 in Bežigrad, +95 in Šiška, +1,350 in Moste, and +533 in Vič. The total positive migration balance in Ljubljana was still +1,718. After 1987 and until 1993, a noticeable reversal followed in all parts of Ljubljana with a negative migration balance totaling –5,845. The examples cited show the trend of emigration from the cities.

In the 1982–1993 period, larger Slovene towns such as Kranj (+1,694), Domžale (+1,689) – as »unburdening centers« for Ljubljana – and Velenje (+1,083) and, due to their »small town« advantages, smaller towns such as Logatec, Grosuplje, Šempeter pri Novi Gorici, Lenart in Slovenske Gorice, Šentjur pri Celju, Tolmin, Brežice, Sežana, and Škofja Loka (in part due to the successful renewal of the town core) had positive migration balances. All other Slovene towns in the 5000–10,000 population category showed a positive migration balance totaling +3,542 residents and an above-average level of migration where the gross number of migrations totaled 59.7 per hundred residents.

The suburbs in the suburbanized areas show entirely opposite trends. In the last eleven years, the positive movement balance totals 13,395 residents. Among suburb settlements in these areas, Lucija (+1,081), Štuki (+1,059), Rabelčja vas pri Ptuju (+676), Hrušica pri Jesenicah (+772), Jagodje pri Izoli (+620), Ig (+619), Mengeš (+876), Trzin (+613), and Ankaran pri Kopru (+819) hold leading positions with the highest positive migration balances. Other urbanized suburbs have a positive migration balance totaling 12,995 residents which reflects the previous statement that urbanized areas are expanding and that urbanization in Slovenia is gradually achieving its final extent.

In more than one thousand (1,012) settlements, mainly in the suburbs of Slovene cities that as gravitational cores form city regions, live 1,287,667 people or 65.5% of the population of Slovenia. The density of settlement in these areas is three times larger than average. The principal characteristics of city regions are that the population in the suburbs grows faster than in the cities, that in the last three decades their population has doubled, that their socioeconomic structure has changed com-

TABLE 1: TYPES OF URBANIZATION LEVELS OF SETTLED AREAS IN SLOVENIA RELATIVE TO SELECTED INDICATORS.
PREGLEDNICA 1: TIPI URBANIZACIJSKIH STOPENJ POSELITVENIH OBMOČIJ V SLOVENIJI GLEDE NA IZBRANE KAZALCE.

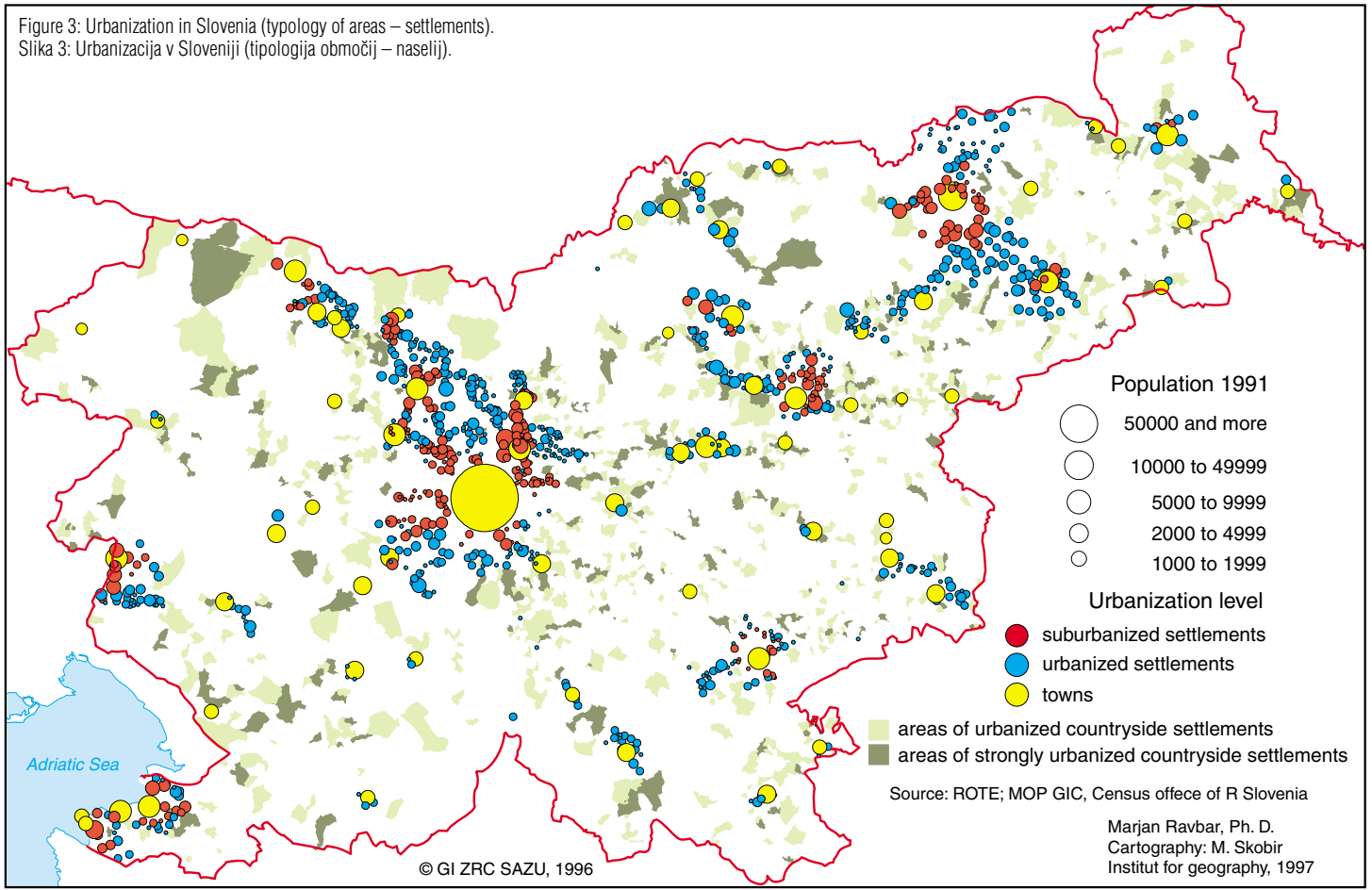
indicators	1. cities suburbanized suburbs		2. narrower urbanized suburbs		3. strongly urbanized focal points		3. A. isolated urbanized rural areas		4. distinctly area of settlements		5. urbanized		total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
number of settlements 1991	73	1	281	5	658	11	65	1	232	4	667	11	1976	33
population 1961	540106	34	113786	7	187787	12	24958	2	55354	3	136137	9	1058128	67
population 1971	688332	40	132114	8	196143	11	28362	2	57521	3	136040	8	1238512	72
population 1981	831776	44	162436	9	212278	11	34305	2	62820	3	137879	7	1441494	76
population 1991	879222	45	178778	9	229827	12	41733	2	71877	4	145164	7	1546601	79
average annual level of population growth 1961–1991	1.64		1.52		0.68		1.73		0.87		0.21		1.27	
average annual level of population 1971–1981	1.91		2.09		0.79		1.92		0.89		0.13		1.53	
average annual level of population 1981–1991	0.56		0.96		0.80		1.98		1.36		0.52		0.71	
% agrarian population 1991	1.2		4.3		8.0		4.0		8.9		11.7		4.1	
% of number of workplaces 1991	66		6		7		3		2		5		88	
% of number of workplaces 1993	77		6		6		2		2		3		96	
% workplaces in secondary	38		51		49		67		55		50		41	
% workplaces in tertiary and quatenary	59		46		42		32		39		44		56	
immigrant population 1991	454030	52	106779	60	115240	50	25097	60	37962	53	67578	47	806686	52
movement balance 1982–93	+377	0.04	+13395	7	+12995	6	+5096	12	+7996	11	+6252	4	+46111	3
number of gross migrations (per 100 residents)	48		63		57		64		55		52		52	
daily migrants 1991	121146	32	57853	73	76882	75	11104	59	21934	69	44413	70	333332	49
number of dwellings 1991	315283	48	56665	9	71080	11	13505	2	22572	3	45017	7	524122	80
average annual level of growth in dwellings 1971–1991	2.5		2.6		2.2		3.0		2.6		2.1		2.5	
average annual level of growth in dwellings 1981–1991	1.2		1.4		1.3		2.0		1.5		1.2		1.3	
density of settlement (residents/km^2)	1042.1		230.0		121.8		163.8		100.9		70.2		225.3	
density of population + workplaces/km^2	1716.4		294.4		153.9		248.8		130.1		89.7		335.5	
% of surface area of Slovenia	4		4		9		1		4		10		33	

pletely due to the 60% proportion of immigrants from rural areas as well as from the cities, and that the population in these areas is in »daily contact« with the central city which as a rule is also at the same time the center of employment. The predominant landscape and physiognomic feature of the areas outside the city is the prevailing and above-average dynamic of free-standing residential buildings of a newer date. These densely settled areas are those where we have already noted the beginning of the process of metropolitanization and in addition to the cities also include the nearest satellite towns and surrounding suburb settlements. The average total size of these settlements is almost 1,300 residents. The most extensive densely settled areas were formed in the belt of valleys of central Slovenia between the Upper Sava Valley, the Ljubljana Basin, and the Kamnik-Bistrica plain, on Dravsko polje and Ptujsko polje, in the Celje Basin, along the coast, in the lower Vipava Valley, in the Novo mesto Basin, in Mursko polje, in Zasavje, and in Lower Posavje. Together these areas represent one sixth of the territory of Slovenia.

Transitional-urbanized settlements form the next group of settlements. These settlements contain a good eighth of the population and cover one seventh of Slovene territory. The density of settlement is above the national average. Their main feature is that they are within a relatively favourable radius of access to workplaces, obviously the principal reason for the positive population dynamic of these settlements that have grown on average by one fifth in the last three decades. There are no major agglomerations in this group of settlements, and therefore urbanized settlements are relatively small and have on average less than three hundred residents. Due to these distinctly urbanized centers, the number of workplaces is more in balance with the number of population, and therefore daily migration is relatively smaller.

The common feature of the urbanized areas is that the process runs simultaneously with the growth of the city. In this model, a (sub)urbanization of the countryside stands out in the last decade that is not simply related to the dynamic of the expansion of city influence. It is also a response to changes in the growth of production and consumption as well as to the »postindustrial« element of the new balanced distribution of workplaces and residences. An exceptionally intensive daily migration that includes about half of the workers and a lifestyle identical to the city lifestyle are also characteristic of (sub)urbanized areas (Ravber 1992). Therefore, the criterion of »quality of life« has become one of the indicators worth consideration in seeking regional development possibilities. The concentration of population and the concentration of economic activities bring a new style of life to people. Therefore, we also understand suburbanization as the »creation« of urban forms of life. Four fifths of Slovenia's population lives this lifestyle, and it covers one third of the territory of Slovenia. The cities and the urbanized areas in the immediate surroundings of cities simultaneously represent a special type of »countryside« with favourable economic development in densely settled areas. The urban areas and urbanized rural areas that as a whole comprise a complete settlement area must find »bilateral interests« and adapt their functions to this »demand«. This means that both spatial categories must tend toward the most intensive exchange processes. The course of suburbanization around the world and in Slovenia proves that suburbanized suburbs have become transitional areas between cities and the countryside. They become specialized in a certain way so that they primarily serve as residence for employees working in the city (»dormitory settlements«). The low price of (building) land, unformulated land policies, unelaborated plans for the further development of the settling system that is unorganized, and the linear settlement system-although it appears in »layers« around the cities-due to the prevailing valley relief, etc., increase the demands (and extortion) for uninterrupted growth of new (mainly) residential areas in the suburbs of Slovene cities. The obvious consequences gradually lead to the loss (destruction) of ecologically valuable and »protected« areas. The strong pressure on the city margins caused by these motives enabled the almost uninterrupted »overflow« of population that Boustedt (1975) calls »*Siedlungsbrei*« (»mushy« settling). In the former countryside landscape, in addition to the growth of rural settlements, this presents at least two contradictory phenomena: on one hand, the physical growth of settlements that have no character of their own, and on the other, new settlements developed in contradiction to prescribed regulations away from existing settlements with new and unconventional forms (roadside settlements, isolated locations, »margins«, etc.) (Ravber 1978).

Figure 3: Urbanization in Slovenia (typology of areas – settlements).
Slika 3: Urbanizacija v Sloveniji (tipologija območij – naselij).



Source: ROTE; MOP GIC, Census offece of R Slovenia

Marjan Ravbar, Ph. D.
Cartography: M. Skobir
Institut for geography, 1997

In addition to metropolitanization, the cartographic presentation of modern settling conditions also shows smaller isolated but equally strongly urbanized areas around smaller urban focal points that as a rule are scattered former (or present) municipality centers and smaller single-industry employment centers. City regions contain nine tenths of the workplaces, and urbanized areas even 96%. Therefore, the sum of the population and workplaces per square kilometer in city regions is higher than 1000 P + WP/km^2. This number is comparable to dense European areas and reflects the interweaving of population, residential, and working conditions as decisive »locational« factors for the formation of settling areas. The most extensive areas of concentration are in the wider vicinity of Ljubljana and in Gorenjska that include one third of the area of these regions and four fifths of the population while the most intensive development of such areas is on the coast, in Goriško, and in the Savinja Valley. The diverse natural-geographic, traffic-geographic, historical, economic, ecological, and administrative-political conditions created regional differences. The differences are in the conditions for life and work that have their reflection in the density and social status of the population, in the style and structure of the labour market, in the infrastructure, and in the natural conditions for the control of space management, etc. The transfer of development impulses from more strongly developed urbanized areas to weaker areas usually results in regional disparities. The particular features of these disparities, the interest in further development, and the differences in spatial structures are the consequences of the period of intensive industrialization, and they exist not only between cities, that is, »dense areas«, and the countryside but also within these two main categories. It is worth noting that with the formation of the »information society« these processes are changing.

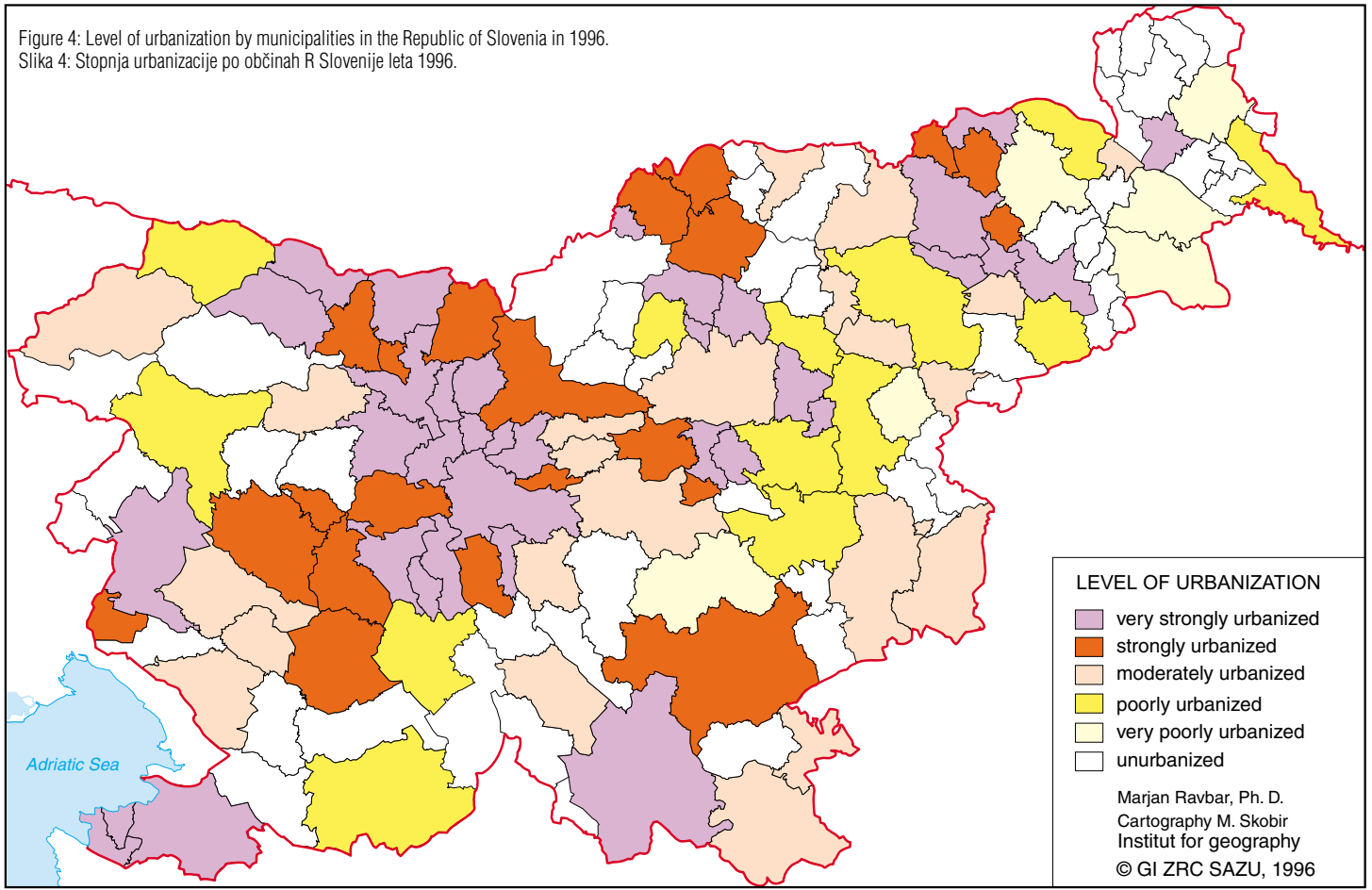
What development level in the urbanization process has Slovenia reached today? If we measure urbanization merely by the number and proportion of city population, in seventy-three (statistical) city settlements the proportion surpassed half of all the population only in 1986 (Ravber 1992) and in 1994 only 997,355 residents lived there.[8] The level of urbanization measured by this criterion is above-average low and in the last three decades has grown by an annual average level of 1.64%, while the total population grew by 0.71%. In 1990, Vrišer also determined that of 962 local communities only 9.3% had a city character, but in addition to this, 41.5% were urbanized. Before the reform of local self-government, one fifth of the municipalities were poorly urbanized. The municipalities that had the highest proportion of city population, exceeding 70%, were Maribor, Velenje, Jesenice, Piran, Ljubljana, Izola, and Trbovlje. A total of 507,066 people live in these cities. Primarily due to Ljubljana and Maribor, the average population of this group of cities is 72,438 residents. These are also the cities that experienced the strongest development of population in the beginning phases of industrialization. After 1981, they more or less stagnated, and among them only Velenje demonstrated dynamic growth. On average, they are growing at an annual level of 0.5%.

After 1994, due to the establishment of the new smaller municipalities, the number of entirely unurbanized territorial units rose to eighty-five or 58%. An above-average level of urbanization was recorded in only twenty-one municipalities (14%). According to these figures, primarily northeastern Slovenia with Pomurje, Slovenske Gorice, Ptujsko polje, Haloze, Bohinjski kot, the upper Savinja Valley, Posotelje, central Dolenjska, Bela krajina, the Idrija region, the Škofja Loka highlands, Notranjska, and Kras were poorly urbanized.

Undoubtedly, defining urbanization levels merely on the basis of official statistical information does not provide a true reflection of actual conditions. Therefore, considering criteria developed in the present research and with the assumption that city regions (including suburbs) determine the urbanization level, we prepared a new typology for the levels of urbanization achieved in Slovenia. We prepared this typology according to the new territorial units (see Table 2 and Figure 4). The appended map shows clearly that one third of Slovenia is very strongly urbanized and that more than nine tenths of the population lives in urbanized settlements. The highest levels of urbanization are found in central Slovenia from Jesenice to the Ljubljana Basin and the Kamnik-Bistrica

[8] Data taken from Statistični letopis (Statistics Yearbook), Ljubljana 1995, p. 465

Figure 4: Level of urbanization by municipalities in the Republic of Slovenia in 1996.
Slika 4: Stopnja urbanizacije po občinah R Slovenije leta 1996.



plain, on the coast, in Goriško, in the Kočevje region, Revirji, the Celje Basin, the Šaleška Basin, and Dravsko-Ptujsko polje. On the other hand, a good third of Slovene municipalities are entirely unurbanized.

TABLE 2: LEVEL OF URBANIZATION BY MUNICIPALITIES IN SLOVENIA IN 1996.
PREGLEDNICA 2: STOPNJA URBANIZACIJE PO OBCINAH SLOVENIJE LETA 1996.

	total number of population of municipalities	number of urban population in municiplities	% of urban population	number of municipalities	proportion of municipalities
very strongly urbanized	1018455	959248	94	40	27
strongly urbanized	194507	129134	66	15	10
moderately urbanized	271663	127039	47	22	15
poorly urbanized	177196	58319	33	13	9
very poorly urbanized	87627	13927	16	6	4
unurbanized	217801	0	0	51	35
total	1967249	1287667	65	147	100

5. Transformation and some development-structural problems of the suburbs

The simultaneous postwar development of industrialization and the urbanization of the countryside enabled the great numerical growth of residential houses in previously agrarian settlements in the immediate and later increasingly distant surroundings of the cities. Because the distances between settlements are small, such great numerical growth sooner or later brings about the merging of neighbouring settlements. We find such cases in the suburbs of all Slovene cities. In spite of everything, they are more distinct in the flatlands and in the economically more developed areas of Slovenia. A few examples:

1. Ruše–Bezena–Bistrica–Limbuš–Pekre–Radvanje–Maribor;
2. Jesenice–Koroška Bela–Žirovnica–Selo–Breznica Doslovče–Smokuč–Rodine–Poljče–Begunje
3. Polzela–Breg–Ločica–Latkova vas–Šempeter–Žalec Petrovče–Drešinja vas–Levec–Medlog–Celje;
4. Škofja Loka–Grenc–Virmaše–Sv. Duh–Dorfarje–Žabnica Šutna–Zgornja, Srednje in Spodnje Bitnje–Stražišče–Kranj;
5. Mengeš–Loka–Trzin–Depala vas–Domžale–Zaboršt Preloge–Ihan–Rodica–Jarše–Radomlje etc.

In addition to intensive immigration, the intensive development of residential construction in the suburbs of Slovene cities is the consequence of many other factors, primarily economic as well as social and psychological motives. Above all, the reasons lie in the less expensive private construction of housing; lower land prices due to the poor supply and communal infrastructure; the increase in the real income of the population that enables investment in housing construction; the possibilities for expansion and larger dwelling units; good traffic access and access to workplaces and supply centers; better living conditions; greater options for the satisfaction of personal needs (amateur farming, etc.); the general preference of the population for living in one-family houses that numerous questionnaires and public surveys in recent decades have revealed and that is also, it seems, the reflection of complex circumstances: the desire for a higher standard of living; the rural origins of much of the population; etc.

Therefore, we can divide the motivation elements for (sub)urbanization into the following groups:

- The first has its reasons in a certain sense of security and independence, primarily from the financial point of view. A large part of the population decides to build a private house »by myself for myself« in order to invest money and escape from the city; new dwelling places are chosen for their desirable prices and their relative closeness to the workplace.
- The second group of reasons relates to the unsuitability of apartments on the rental market (size, price, quality, number of rooms, etc.), particularly for families.
- The third group of reasons reflects the desire to return to the countryside, to seek harmony with nature, and to escape from an urban environment that appears undesirable or even hostile.

Around the their house, the typical household usually has some kind of yard. The social status of households in the suburbs cannot be distinguished since they are very heterogeneous. In spite of everything, blue collar workers predominate. The behaviour of these families remains quite introverted. They go out little, and their relations with their neighbours are sporadic. The family structure is distinctly young, between 30 and 40. The residents of the suburbs have considerably more cars than the rest of the population. Although it does not appear that the daily migration is a significant obstacle for them, we must state that the negative effects can be important, for example, the increase in the use of energy, the increase in the number of accidents, packed parking places in the city center, increased use of road infrastructure, and the increase in air pollution. These negative effects have not been sufficiently assessed, and therefore it is difficult to determine what part pertains to the phenomenon of urbanization. However, we can not deny that the anarchic development of individual houses can have terrible consequences in the field of traffic. For this very reason, a realistic policy for the regulation of the suburbs will have to consider such socioeconomic differentiation.

With the penetration of city elements into the suburbs, not only has the external appearance of the suburbs changed but also the residential and communal standards. Newly-built residences are better equipped, and the greater density of housing and new demands has also enabled the gradual communal arrangement of the settlements. The water and electric networks in suburb areas are satisfactorily arranged almost everywhere. With the construction of new neighbourhoods, the residents first demand the paving of village roads and streets, a greater number of telephone connections, and finally the installation of sewer lines.

Slovenes sooner or later come to consider a free-standing one-family house as the ideal form of residence. In all typical areas, the social patterns indicate the direction of the extensive use of land for dwellings. Whether the countryside or urbanized areas are considered, the conviction prevails everywhere that »everyone should build on his own land«. The ten-year period during which the practice of maintaining »half-farmer« status was allowed supported the right to build on one's own land (not even limited to the proximity of one's parents' house). In many cases, private houses resulted in scattered settlements, that is, dispersed construction even in areas that previously had not been exposed to greater settling pressures »from outside«.

In Slovene conditions, the main initiators of housing construction are still individuals. This primarily refers to non-city areas. Practically all single dwelling houses outside of the narrower city areas were built by individuals for their own needs. Because building privately was cheaper than buying housing, a rapid growth of settlements in the suburban areas occurred due precisely to free-standing individual houses. The phenomenon of »black« construction is a specific problem here. Due to the lack of housing, the relatively cheap private construction, and the unelaborated land policy, individuals built (or forced construction through various pressures) residential houses without the appropriate permits in areas that were most desirable for them (ownership or prior purchase of land and social status play a decisive role in this). Urbanists also call this phenomena »grey construction«. With the intensive shift in the class structure of the population from agrarian to non-agrarian, the value of land changed fundamentally so that for the majority of the population it no longer represented an asset important for their existence but (in spite of restrictive legislation) became increasingly sub-

ject to speculation. On the other hand, it also became the means for a relatively convenient solution to the housing problem. The spontaneous course of urbanization and deagrarianization that society did not succeed in controlling surrounded Slovene settlements with a true wreath of black construction (Ravber 1978, 1994).

Due to the increasingly greater employment of the population in the cities, these formerly agrarian settlements grew rapidly and were transformed. Agrarian elements no longer prevailed over non-agrarian elements in these settlements, and already the external appearance of these settlements with typical non-farm houses tells us that these settlements have been transformed and that urban elements dominate in their appearance and in their function. In smaller or greater measure, other functions such as supply and production gradually joined the originally predominant residential function of these rapidly growing suburb settlements. The most intensive construction of houses took place in the 1970's and 1980's when the majority of settlements in the suburbs of Slovene cities doubled in size. Just before 1981, house building was particularly rapid. In recent years, conditions for house construction worsened due to the increasingly deep economic crisis and the increasingly real drop in the buying power of the majority of the population. However, it remained important that the private construction of houses was still much cheaper than buying housing. The personal investment of work and the work contributed by relatives and friends could to a certain extent substitute for the lack of capital available for building so that a house could be built relatively quickly. The lack of housing in city settlements and its high price forced numerous people into private construction, most of the time of overly-large houses. People generally built houses large enough for two apartments, although in the first phase they barely succeeded in arranging one for living. The extra space was intended for the children who would finish it when they grew up. Therefore, there are still great housing capacities in reserve in private family houses. At the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, the conditions for housing construction were very good due to the relatively favourable loan conditions, and therefore it is not surprising that one sixth of the houses in Slovenia were built after 1975. It is worth specially emphasizing that modern cities are also spreading because they are inclined toward lower density. They not only incorporate their immediate surroundings, but with their »dormitory settlements« they spread to increasingly distant rural areas. This phenomenon is closely related to the construction of private houses. Since the end of the 1970's, this style of living has spread incredibly in Slovenia. After 1980, almost all houses outside the city were privately built. This new form of urbanization fosters deep changes in the development of existing urban and rural settling structures. Because housing construction in cities was not in proportion with the opening of new workplaces and because individual and as a rule unorganized housing construction was cheaper in Slovene conditions, the »reaction« appeared in the form of the dispersed urbanization of the countryside. According to rough calculations, about 1.3 million people in Slovenia live in single-family houses. Of this number, about 300,000 live in cities and more than 550,000 in their suburbs.

After 1981, when the construction boom was already behind us, the construction of residential houses[9] in urbanized suburbs was greater than in the cities themselves. The average annual level of growth of the number of residential houses in the period between 1981 and 1990 surpassed the demographic growth in the suburbs. Thus, for example, the housing construction in Slovene cities achieved an annual level of 1.2% while in the urbanized suburbs it surpassed 2%. The suburbs of Trbovlje, Izola, Zagorje, Kočevje, and Slovenska Bistrica demonstrated the highest level of construction, above 3% annually. These are followed by the suburbs of Slovenj Gradec, Tržič, Koper, Maribor, Ljubljana, Ravne, Kranj, Domžale, etc. A more detailed view of the changes in the movement of the number of residential buildings between 1981 and 1990 additionally supports the ideas expressed above: the indicators of changes in residential construction that are more intensive than the growth of population

[9] Data on the number of houses was taken from the Register of Basic Territorial Units and the Record of House Numbers, and a computer program written to produce the total number of buildings with house numbers. Because weekend houses and business premises also have house numbers, our calculations unfortunately contain a certain level of error. We estimate that the number of purely business premises outside the cities is small, and in our opinion, the error is within acceptable limits.

further demonstrate the transformation in the surroundings of those cities that otherwise as well demonstrate above-average levels in all previously employed indicators described above. The most intensive dynamic of house construction is shown in the suburbs of Kranjske Dobrave (between Radovljica, Bled, Tržič, and Kranj), the Horjul and Polhov Gradec valleys in the Polhov Gradec mountains (linked also to the construction of weekend houses), the southern edge of the Ljubljana Barje moor, and the belts of settlements along tributary roads to Ljubljana, the suburbs of Trbovlje and Zagorje, extensive areas of Podpohorske gorice and Dravsko polje in the hinterland of Maribor, Slovenska Bistrica and Slovenske Konjice, groups of suburb settlements in the Mislinja, lower Mežica, and central Drava valleys, the western part of the suburbs of Novo mesto, the suburbs of Kočevje and Ilirska Bistrica, settlements in Šavrinsko gričevje in the hinterland of the coastal towns, a group of settlements along the main road from Batuje toward Nova Gorica, the surroundings of Žiri, etc.

In the last two decades, statistical data from the 1991 census in selected cities with their surrounding suburbs and rural settlements showing that the number of newly built houses almost doubled in this period (in the census data, various modernizations of dwellings are also considered) reflects the great construction activity (see Table 3). The dynamic of the development of housing in the last two decades in the selected urban areas demonstrates a very similar picture in the cities and their immediate suburbs. This dynamic shows in similar trends of housing construction whose index is between 150% (Celje and the suburbs of upper Gorenjska) and 250% (Velenje) and is around 25% to 50% higher than the population dynamic. The main reason for the increase in housing and settling surfaces is related to:

- the increase in the average age of the population;
- changes in the social and economic status of households;
- the reduction in the average size of households;
- the reduction in the number of households in which three generations live in one dwelling,
- the reduction in the average number of children;
- the drop in the number of weddings and the increase in the number of divorces;
- the fact that children are leaving the households of their parents in greater numbers; etc.

Above all, the structure of residential housing influences the use of settling surfaces. The large proportion of free-standing, one-family houses involves a great use of surface area, although considerable regional differences exist even between cities. The lowest proportion is in postwar-built Nova Gorica and Velenje (18% and 24% respectively). If we overlook these exceptions, the proportion of free-standing, one-family houses is in inverse proportion to the size of the city agglomeration. In Ljubljana and Maribor, this proportion amounts to 28%, in Celje 30%, in the coastal cities 31%, and in Kranj 37%. Among the larger cities, less than half the total housing is one-family houses: Škofja Loka, Jesenice, Kamnik, Ptuj, Domžale, Murska Sobota, and Novo mesto. In towns with less than ten thousand residents, apartment buildings are as a rule in the minority. In the cities and their immediate vicinity, a huge amount of land use is evident. Unfortunately, we do not have precise numeric indicators of this land use, but some sporadic measurements of the territorial expansion of some cities (established with the help of photogrammetry) prove the statement above. Thus, for example, in Novo mesto a good ten thousand residents lived on 319 hectares in 1961. At that time, there were fewer than ten thousand workplaces. In 1975, there were almost 17,000 workplaces and about 15,000 residents on 575 hectares, and in 1991 about 22,500 residents and about 19,000 workplaces on 890 hectares. In three decades, the gross built-up surface of the city tripled while the population and the number of workplaces only doubled. The data eloquently testifies that Novo mesto and its immediate surroundings developed anarchically in the last twenty years, primarily on the basis of private construction. We noticed similar trends for all Slovene cities and their immediate hinterland. The residential surfaces occupied the greatest proportion of settling surfaces. About two thirds of the built-up areas in cities belongs to residential buildings (with the exceptions of Novo mesto and Murska Sobota where the proportion is only one half). In the suburbs, the proportion of residential surfaces is between 80% and 90%.

TABLE 3: STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE SETTLING OF SOME AREAS OF CITY REGIONS ON THE BASIS OF SELECTED INDICATORS.
PREGLEDNICA 3: STRUKTURNE SPREMEMBE V POSELJENOSTI NEKATERIH OBMOČIJ MESTNIH REGIJ NA PODLAGI IZBRANIH KAZALCEV.

Cities with their suburbs	type of area	pop. 1991	index of movment of pop. 1971–91	index of movment of pop. 1981–91	number of dwellings 1991	index of movement of dwellings 1971–91	% of dwellings built after 1971	% of free-standing houses	density of pop./km^2	density P + WP/km^2	density of dwellings/km^2
LJUBLJANA	city	268681	1.24	1.04	99607	1.97	49	28	1653.8	2511.3	60.9
	suburb	42418	1.45	1.13	9879	1.77	51	97	150.0	173.8	4.4
	other		1.01		6958	1.50	42	100	34.9	40.4	1.1
MARIBOR	cityr	105431	1.07	0.98	38929	1.52	41	28	2764.9	4592.6	103.5
	suburb	62672	1.24	1.05	13248	1.70	54	91	226.1	277.6	7.7
	othe		0.89		11400	1.47	42	99	81.3	97.0	2.4
CELJE	city	40710	1.18	1.03	14957	1.64	47	30	1791.8	3074.0	65.8
	suburb	16484	1.19	1.02	2301	1.44	40	96	144.85	155.88	3.83
	other		0.94		5023	1.33	29	100	75.8	83.3	2.1
KRANJ	city	37109	1.34	1.09	12815	1.76	53	37	1387.2	2387.8	48.8
	suburb	32870	1.33	1.07	5755	1.67	48	99	343.7	386.9	11.0
	other		1.06		5165	1.57	42	100	52.3	62.3	1.5
COASTAL TOWNS	city	39776	1.15	1.05	14181	1.86	47	31	6840.0	9158.6	249.0
	suburb	28695	1.39	1.21	9430	1.80	65	95	182.0	219.6	6.4
	other		0.81		3598	1.35	36	100	30.1	33.3	1.2
NOVA GORICA	city	14462	1.55	1.03	5116	2.00	54	18	4135.0	7102.0	144.5
	suburb	20928	1.20	1.12	7035	1.78	52	91	277.4	336.2	9.1
	other		0.89		7632	1.66	42	100	40.7	47.2	1.3
NOVO MESTO	city	22333	1.44	1.13	7517	1.93	55	49	740.2	1392.1	24.9
	suburb	11140	1.42	1.10	3421	1.99	54	98	144.7	178.5	4.4
	other		0.92		7486	1.45	40	100	46.7	57.4	1.4
VELENJE	city	27341	1.96	1.20	8525	2.47	72	24	2171.3	3662.8	67.7
	suburb	12229	1.21	1.00	1879	1.59	36	96	308.2	352.2	9.8
	other		1.03		2801	1.50	45	100	65.8	69.1	1.9
MURSKA SOBOTA	city	13854	1.45	1.14	4762	2.04	61	47	956.3	1976.5	32.9
	suburb	10196	1.22	1.03	2173	1.98	60	95	137.2	192.6	3.9
	other		0.85		11814	1.49	43	100	61.4	81.3	1.7
DOMŽALE	city	11115	1.71	1.14	3694	2.24	67	46	2128.0	3162.4	71.3
	suburb	28848	1.38	1.12	6820	1.75	53	94	350	412.7	9.4
	other		0.97		3028	1.50	42	100	48.3	55.2	1.4

Cities with their suburbs	type of area	pop. 1991	index of movment of pop. 1971–91	index of movment of pop. 1981–91	number of dwellings 1991	index of movement of dwellings 1971–91	% of dwellings built after 1971	% of free-standing houses	density of pop./km^2	density P + WP/km^2	density of dwellings/km^2
PTUJ	city	11317	1.20	0.96	3982	1.62	40	39	1113.5	2295.2	39.3
	suburb	21637	1.41	1.17	4814	1.77	57	94	236.5	289.9	7.2
	other		0.91		12611	1.52	41	100	66.1	82.1	2.0
JESENICE	city	18948	1.08	0.95	6645	1.43	35	28	687.1	1045.8	24.3
	suburb	7048	1.37	1.22	3539	1.74	53	94	173.5	180.9	6.2
	other		1.06		1070	1.62	40	98	24.4	21.3	0.7
KAMNIK	city	9809	1.46	1.16	3336	1.88	53	43	1131.3	2037.5	38.9
	suburb	13116	1.37	1.06	3223	1.74	59	100	320.7	351.2	8.9
	other		0.97		2466	1.45	39	100	38.5	45.4	1.2
RADOVLJICA	city	14857	1.40	1.10	5146	1.69	54	59	586.1	960.8	19.3
BLED	suburb	7810	1.25	1.06	2691	1.52	45	82	175.6	194.2	5.5
LESCE	other		0.98		3826	1.54	43	100	47.3	53.8	1.6
VRHNIKA	city	7019	1.45	1.10	2325	1.78	51	56	372.2	576.8	12.3
	suburb	11571	1.66	1.12	2320	2.02	59	98	171.3	195.5	5.3
	other		1.04		1533	1.48	41	100	54.1	57.8	1.5
GROSUPLJE	city	5522	2.08	1.25	1768	2.31	66	64	1047.8	1679.7	33.5
	suburb	2288	0.98	1.17	1168	1.67	59	100	64.8	78.9	2.0
	other		0.95		5917	1.50	45	100	40.8	45.2	1.3
ŠKOFJA	city	14713	1.58	1.03	4175	2.01	60	40	2754.5	4219.2	93.2
LOKA	suburb	4947	1.26	1.23	3820	1.68	52	96	174.9	259.0	5.6
	other		0.98		3914	1.40	40	100	28.2	34.7	0.7

In the suburbs (and in the countryside), single-family houses dominate absolutely. The high proportion of free-standing residential houses is reflected in the greater use of surface area, which in the case of Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Nova Gorica, Škofja Loka, and the coastal cities is fifteen times greater than that occupied by apartment buildings. In other cities with above ten thousand residents, the proportion varies between five and ten times higher. In other smaller cities, the ratio is lower. Due to the trends in residential construction, the proportion has only increased in the last ten years. Immigration from the cities as well as from the suburban areas of the gravitational hinterland of the cities concentrated most in the suburbs that usually have a good traffic infrastructure. With this, the need for additional settling and infrastructural surfaces has increased constantly and has »swallowed« huge public funds, while the social infrastructure in city centers remains largely unused. According to realistic predictions, the great concentration of commuting to and from work will continue to extort constant new investment in roads instead of the effort to develop public transportation. Due to the dominant trends, threats to large city agglomerations include:

- unbroken density – the build-up of suburban settlements, even with the stagnation of population;
- the continuation of trends toward the deterioration of city centers, primarily of densely built-up quarters from the end of the previous century (during the industrialization phase of city development);
- the loss of the importance of city centers with the simultaneous growth of shopping centers on the edges of cities and dense areas;
- fluctuating (periodic) individual traffic with its heavy burden and the simultaneous demands of the public for public transportation that are unrealizable in the short term;
- irrational spending of public funds for uneconomical use of infrastructure.

Around two fifths of national territory is »potential settling space«.[3] In this space, the least possible conflict between the use of surface for settling with other uses (agriculture, traffic infrastructure, protected areas, etc.) must be ensured. Building land defined in spatial planning documents is usually not built up because a great number of owners consider building land as a capital investment or they are saving it for coming generations. For this reason, there is little if any building land on the market, which is a fundamental argument for new expansion, changes in land use categories (that is, the recategorization of farm land), unorganized construction of settlements, and the like. Thus, numerous municipalities »supplement« their plans for the intended use of land several times annually. This is happening even though the greater part of land already intended for construction remains unused. The plan for the intended use of land thus loses its function as an instrument for long-term (»far-sighted«) planning and becomes *de facto* a component part of the procedure for issuing site and construction permits. The same also applies to the majority of factory, market, catering, and business buildings.

In view of the future use of residential surfaces, we can justifiably expect the growth of surfaces primarily in the surroundings of those cities with stagnating development or with decreasing populations. With the use of available regional planning instruments, it is possible to only partially influence the need for space in residential neighbourhoods due to the growth in households and the desire to live in the country. As examples of saving space, we cite the estimate, for example, that the construction of duplexes on the border of parcels enables the reduction of the average size of house parcels by 40%, and two-story row houses enable the reduction of parcel size by 62% (Moser 1988). It would be advisable to consider that any type of subsidy from public funds for free-standing individual houses be cancelled. In addition to this, conditions for the arrangement of common facilities in serried construction areas (heating, joint possibly underground garages, children's playgrounds, saunas, etc.) are even more favourable.

A settling policy that uses various space-saving options not only contributes to the preservation of maneuvering space for future generations but also saves great costs to the private investor and the state. Austrian regional planners calculated for Innsbruck that with the rational construction of settlements they could save up to 45% of the building land, up to 90% of the costs of infrastructure, and up to 22% on the purchase of land. A settling policy that saves space also has a national economic dimension.

[3] This refers to space that is theoretically possible to settle. It therefore includes all agricultural categories with exceptionally infertile, forested, and wet surfaces.

6. Conclusion

Research on urbanization in Slovenia calls attention to two problems. The first important awareness is that the dynamic transformation of the suburbs is the consequence of intensive immigration, daily migration, and similar factors related to the accelerated construction of dwellings and other (economic) activities of the population. The second important awareness is in the attractiveness of the suburbs that results in the phenomenon of additional spatial burdening on until recently rural space. This burdening is reflected in the pressure on the changing of the authentic (classic) use of the countryside and in the daily commuting of the work force that due to the system of »individual« transportation is a great consumer of time and energy.

The essence of the Slovene settling system lies in its rich spectrum of the exchange of events between the cities and their suburbs and the physical transformation of settlements as the consequence of the social restructuring of the population. The rapid growth of the population and of private (free-standing) residential housing, the growing migration mobility of the population, the intensive daily migration of the work force that is the consequence of the »nuclear« distribution of workplaces, and the physical transformation of settlements as the consequence of the social restructuring of the population play the most important role in this context. Urbanization in Slovenia is based on the spatial transformation of the suburbs (physiognomic changes in the network of settlements) and on changes in the value system between the city and the countryside. The growth of population in the suburbs related to the change in the structure of households and changed habits is the most important motion of these currents. Experience shows that the various development types depend on the site, the relief characteristics, the traffic infrastructure, land prices, and the related level of liberalization or lack of liberalization of urban planning regulations or their absence. It is characteristic of Slovene urbanization that it is spreading into former rural regions. We define it as the spread of modern settlements with smaller densities of population in the region of city influence. Furthermore, the spatial organization of the settlement system is completely different from any kind of traditional suburb. Suburbanized areas or periurban zones (Aydalot, Garnier 1985) simultaneously create a discontinuity in the countryside settlement tissue with the construction of residential buildings untypical for the area. According to estimates, these settlements form in the surroundings of cities ten to fifteen kilometers from the city centers. Transportation possibilities, primarily the automobile, ultimately contributed to the dispersion of the population in »layers« around the cities. Traffic access, the configuration of the terrain, the microclimate, and soil conditions as limiting and/or orienting factors have a special place among the factors accelerating urbanization in Slovenia.

Cities have always been closely connected with their suburbs. It has always been a matter of mutual functional complementarity. The transition from the city to the urbanized surroundings has been realized, although the ultimate form of this new stage has not yet been determined. The task of professional urbanists and politicians is to give a sufficient interdependence to this urban area that will enable the harmonious development of economic and social activities. The urban expansion beyond the traditional city borders and the establishment of agglomerations face non-existent or unprepared planning options that will hardly be capable of guiding the trends of development. The predictable development of the expansion of urbanization will bring even worse disharmony between cities and their immediate suburbs. Therefore, the legal and administrative regulation of cities together with urban areas is one possible step toward the achievement of this goal. Slovene cities must grow organically, outgrow their present borders, and above all in the sense of spatial organization begin to live as city (urban) regions. Here we have in mind the division of functions and the elaboration of a development concept but not as previously in the sense of simple »dispersed buildup«. Around all Slovene cities, the immediate settlements have simply spread randomly, and for this very reason it is the last moment to begin to direct in an organized and harmonious fashion the production capacities, central and city-creating activities, and the construction of dwellings on one hand and the preservation of green areas between them on the other.

The established disparities in the development of the cities and the suburbs and the inevitable trends in suburbanized areas that are the reflection of economic and social changes in society and appear in the (physical and cultural) transformation of the suburban landscape demand changes that should show an exit from the crisis into which spatial planning policy has sunk. We did not implement the development plans of regional policy for many years and therefore the current state of the Slovene settling system is not just a reflection of badly conceived regional policy but also of the fact that we did not know how (or want) to implement the plans and goals of polycentric development. A settling system has been created around cities that we could call »point-axial«. From this point of view, the consequences are not the most important for the policy of regulating space that we change the regional development plans and goals but rather that we prepare a spectrum of measures (criteria) and carry them out rationally. Therefore, it is necessary to elaborate a preliminary general development policy that must be followed by an adequate system of coordination.

In Slovene cities and their suburbs that have partially absorbed city functions and have formed city regions, the development of settlements should be oriented toward (along) existing settling areas and local centers on the basis of already created public suburban transportation. For such formed city regions, this simultaneously demands a change (reversal) in the forms of spatial (urban) planning and also the prevention of the unorganized redistribution of city functions that so far has followed either political criteria or available and inexpensive land and that is supported by the further increase in individual mobility. The main starting point in the creation of a network of urban centers lies in the establishment of interurban links that will enable the formation of an internally homogeneous and well structured economic and geographic space of city regions that will enable more equal connections and competition in the wider space.

Special attention must be devoted to the direction of suburbanization and the formation of city regions, particularly those around the largest cities. Here it is necessary to strive for the preservation of central functions, that is, for the revalorization of their multifunctional role, particularly as areas for business purposes and areas envisaged for the cleanup of various industrial emissions. This means:

- the improvement of the socioeconomic structure in residential areas through the socially acceptable renovation of the stock of old buildings, the acquisition of residential space through the adaptation of attics, the removal of factories and small businesses disturbing to the environment, a more suitable selection of construction, the improvement of the living environment through the limitation of traffic, and the creation of additional green areas;
- the protection and restoration of residential functions as well as central functions;
- the distribution of public institutions away from the city centers because they are not suitable for modern locational criteria;
- re-evaluation (restructuring) and condensing of those former industrial and warehouse city quarters that are not suitable for modern locational conditions.

Efforts to revitalize and ensure quality employment and living conditions will prevent uncontrolled pressure on the countryside. The phase of deurbanization that followed the phase of suburbanization in industrially developed countries must be transformed into the phase of reurbanization (the redevelopment and renovation of cities) through the renovation and the qualitative improvement of existing urban centers.

Therefore, the offer of settling surfaces for individual activities must be dimensioned so that city centers and suburban settlements (including the reserve of building land or the unused building potential) form between them a balanced condition, meaning that new residential areas must be followed by shopping centers that are within their gravitational hinterland.

It would be advisable to ensure the necessary area for residential construction with active municipality land policies. Public organs would be responsible for acquiring building land and the government funds (banks) should cooperate in the acquisition of land. Through development companies, public organs

should also arrange counselling services, marketing agencies (a bank of land primarily in the urbanized surroundings), and the provision of communal infrastructure. In the interest of ensuring comparable residential standards between regions, it would be advisable to elaborate a projection of the building land and its functional division (with justifications regarding the necessity of building land and supporting evidence for the withholding of areas necessary for activities of regional significance) including the presentation of the necessary infrastructure. A complex of support for various forms of the construction of row housing is also advisable, for example, reinforced subsidies of residential construction (with differentiated levels of subsidies) for forms of dwellings and other buildings that save space.

7. Summary

Slovene Cities and Suburbs in Transformation

In the last three decades, the population in Slovenia has increased by one fifth (124%), and in the city regions and urbanized settlements by one half (146%). In this period, the cities and some other urbanized centers have experienced the most intensive growth, where the average annual level of growth was 1.64% or 1.73% respectively. Therefore, defining urbanization levels merely on the basis of the number and proportion of the city population, that is, on the basis of official statistical information, does not provide a true reflection of actual conditions. For this purpose we developed a more complex method for measuring urbanization and the relationship between cities and their immediate suburbs. On one hand the selection of criteria was adapted to statistically measurable indicators that are simple and understandable, and on the other, we used indicators that attempt to comprehensively cover all the most important characteristics of modern urbanization. They are planned so that we evaluated several phenomena simultaneously, specifically those connected to the level of urbanization achieved and those that reflect the course of the process with their changes. We decided to use the sociogeographic, physiognomic, structural, and functional criteria. Among the sociogeographic indicators, the size of agglomeration, the movement and density of population, and the proportion of immigrant (emigrant) population, that is, the movement balance, are usually cited as the most important criteria. Among the functional methods, we used economic and other links between residents and employees and traffic connections or daily migration of employees as the criteria. Among the physiognomic criteria, we used the dynamics of housing construction, and in this framework, the proportion of individual houses in the total residential stock. In defining settling criteria, we estimated that the sum of the number of residents and workplaces by surface unit clearly reflected the interweaving of population, residential conditions, and working conditions as the decisive »location« factors in the transformation of settlement areas. We based our selection on those indicators expressing geographic component parts of the basic functions of human activity, primarily residence and work. With these indicators, we desired to point out simultaneously at least three dimensions that urbanization brings: changes in the physical development of settlements, changes in the social structure of areas, and indirectly changes in the »system of cultural values« that the new »suburban oriented« lifestyle encouraged by urbanization brings.

Settlements in Slovenia thus fall into the following groups:

1. cities (according to statistical classification of settlements)
2. narrower suburbanized suburbs
3. strongly urbanized suburb settlements
   3. A. isolated but strongly urbanized foci in the rural landscape
4. distinctly urbanized areas of settlements
5. urbanized rural areas of settlements
6. Half-urbanized, transitional areas of settlements
7. other rural areas of settlements

The results acquired through the described typology gave us the following picture of Slovene settlements: cities representing 1.2% of Slovene settlements (where a good half of Slovenia's population lives) are immediately surrounded by a wreath of 281 settlements (5%) in the narrowest suburbanized surroundings followed by 658 strongly urbanized suburb settlements (11%). The extremely urbanized rural and half-urbanized, transitional areas of settlements numbered a further 964 settlements (16%), while the remaining 3942 settlements were ranked among the rural settlements. We tested this typology according to the new territorial units. The analysis showed that the level of urbanization in Slovenia is 65%, that one third of Slovenia is very strongly urbanized, and that more than nine tenths of the population lives in urbanized settlements. The highest levels of urbanization are found in central Slovenia from Jesenice to the Ljubljana Basin and the Kamnik-Bistrica plain, on the coast, in Goriško, in the Kočevje region, Revirji, the Celje Basin, Šaleška Basin, and Dravsko-Ptujsko polje. The areas of very strong urbanization cover one third of the surface of municipalities and four fifths of the population. On the other hand, a good third of Slovene municipalities are entirely unurbanized. The remaining third is formed by municipalities with various transitional levels of urbanization from weak to moderate urbanization. Various natural-geographic, traffic-geographic, historical, economic, ecological, and administrative-political conditions created regional differences.

The common feature of the urbanized areas is that the process runs simultaneously with the growth of the city. A (sub)urbanization of the countryside stands out in the last decade that is not simply related to the dynamic of the expansion of city influence. It is also a response to changes in the growth of production and consumption as well as to the »postindustrial« element of the new balanced distribution of workplaces and residences. An exceptionally intensive daily migration that includes about half of the workers and a lifestyle identical to the city lifestyle are also characteristic of (sub)urbanized areas. Therefore, the criterion of »quality of life« has become one of the indicators worth consideration in seeking regional development possibilities. The concentration of population and the concentration of economic activities bring a new style of life to people. Therefore, we also understand suburbanization as the »creation« of urban forms of life. Four fifths of Slovenia's population lives this lifestyle, and it covers one third of the territory of Slovenia. The cities and the urbanized areas in the immediate surroundings of cities simultaneously represent a special type of »countryside« with favourable economic development in densely settled areas. The course of suburbanization around the world and in Slovenia proves that suburbanized suburbs have become transitional areas between cities and the countryside. They become specialized in a certain way so that they primarily serve as residence for employees working in the city (»dormitory settlements«). The low price of (building) land, unformulated land policies, unelaborated plans for the further development of the settling system that is unorganized, and the linear settlement system – although it appears in »layers« around the cities – due to the prevailing valley relief, etc., increase the demands (and extortion) for uninterrupted growth of new (mainly) residential areas in the suburbs of Slovene cities. The obvious consequences gradually lead to the loss (destruction) of ecologically valuable and »protected« areas. In the former countryside landscape, in addition to the growth of rural settlements, this presents at least two contradictory phenomena: on one hand, the physical growth of settlements that have no character of their own, and on the other, new settlements developed in contradiction to prescribed regulations away from existing settlements with new unconventional forms (roadside settlements, isolated locations, »margins«, etc.).

Research on the modern transformation of cities and their suburbs calls attention to two problems. The first important awareness is that the dynamic transformation of the suburbs is the consequence of intensive immigration, daily migration, and similar factors related to the accelerated construction of dwellings and other (economic) activities of the population. The second important awareness is in the attractiveness of the suburbs that results in the phenomenon of additional spatial burdening on until recently rural space. The burdening is reflected in the pressure on the changing of the authentic (classic) use of the countryside and in the daily commuting of the work force that due to the system of »individual« transportation is a great consumer of time and energy.

The essence of the Slovene settling system lies in its rich spectrum of the exchange of events between the cities and their suburbs and the physical transformation of settlements as the consequence of the social restructuring of the population. The rapid growth of the population and of private (free-standing) residential housing, the growing migration mobility of the population, the intensive daily migration of the work force that is the consequence of the »nuclear« distribution of workplaces, and the physical transformation of settlements as the consequence of the social restructuring of the population play the most important role in this context. Urbanization in Slovenia is based on the spatial transformation of the suburbs (physiognomic changes in the network of settlements) and on changes in the value system between the city and the countryside. The growth of population in the suburbs related to the change in the structure of households and changed habits is the most important motion of these currents. Experience shows that the various development types depend on the site, the relief characteristics, the traffic infrastructure, land prices, and the related level of liberalization or lack of liberalization of urban planning regulations or their absence. It is characteristic of Slovene urbanization that it is spreading into former rural regions. We define it as the spread of modern settlements with smaller density of population in the region of city influence. Furthermore, the spatial organization of the settlement system is completely different from any kind of traditional suburb. Suburbanized areas or periurban zones simultaneously create a discontinuity in the countryside settlement tissue with the construction of residential buildings untypical for the area. According to estimates, these settlements form in the surroundings of cities ten to fifteen kilometers from the city centers. The transportation possibilities, primarily the automobile, ultimately contributed to the dispersion of the population in »layers« around the cities. Traffic access, the configuration of the terrain, the microclimate, and soil conditions as limiting and/or orienting factors have a special place among the factors accelerating urbanization in Slovenia.

Cities have always been closely connected with their suburbs. It has always been a matter of mutual functional complementarity. The transition from the city to the urbanized surroundings has been realized, although the ultimate form of this new stage has not yet been determined. The task of professional urbanists and politicians is to give a sufficient interdependence to this urban area that will enable the harmonious development of economic and social activities. The urban expansion beyond the traditional city borders and the establishment of agglomerations face non-existent or unprepared planning options that will hardly be capable of guiding the trends of development. The predictable development of the expansion of urbanization will bring even worse disharmony between cities and their immediate suburbs. Therefore, the legal and administrative regulation of cities together with urban areas is one possible step toward the achievement of this goal. Slovene cities must grow organically, outgrow their present borders, and above all in the sense of spatial organization begin to live as city (urban) regions. Here we have in mind the division of functions and the elaboration of a development concept but not as previously in the sense of simple »dispersed buildup«. Around all Slovene cities, the immediate settlements have simply spread randomly and for this very reason it is the last moment to begin to direct in an organized and harmonious fashion the production capacities, central and city-creating activities, and the construction of dwellings on one hand and the preservation of green areas between them on the other.

Above all, the structure of residential housing influences the use of settling surfaces. The large proportion of free-standing, one-family houses involves a great use of surface area, although considerable regional differences exist even between cities. The lowest proportion is in postwar-built Nova Gorica and Velenje (18% and 24% respectively). If we overlook these exceptions, the proportion of free-standing, one-family houses is in inverse proportion to the size of the city agglomeration. In Ljubljana and Maribor, this proportion amounts to 28%, in Celje 30%, in the coastal cities 31%, and in Kranj 37%. Among the larger cities, less than half the total housing is one-family houses: Škofja Loka, Jesenice, Kamnik, Ptuj, Domžale, Murska Sobota, and Novo mesto. In towns with less than ten thousand residents, apartment buildings are as a rule in the minority. In the suburbs, single-family houses dominate absolutely.

The high proportion of free-standing residential houses is reflected in the greater use of surface area, which in the case of Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Nova Gorica, Škofja Loka, and the coastal cities is fifteen times greater than apartment buildings. In other cities with above ten thousand residents, the proportion varies between five and ten times higher. In other smaller cities, the ratio is lower. Due to the trends in residential construction, the proportion increased in the last ten years. Immigration from the cities as well as from the suburban areas of the gravitational hinterland of the cities concentrated most in the suburbs that usually have a good traffic infrastructure. With this, the need for additional settling and infrastructural surfaces has increased constantly and has »swallowed« huge public funds, while the social infrastructure in city centers remains largely unused. According to realistic predictions, the great concentration of commuting to and from work will continue to extort constant new investment in roads instead of the effort to develop public transportation. Due to the dominant trends, threats to large city agglomerations include:

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The established disparities in the development of the cities and the suburbs and the inevitable trends in suburbanized areas that are the reflection of economic and social changes in society and appear in the (physical and cultural) transformation of the suburban landscape demand changes that should show an exit from the crisis into which spatial planning policy has sunk. We did not implement the development plans of regional policy for many years and therefore the position of the Slovene settling system is not just a reflection of badly conceived regional policy but also of the fact that we did not know how (or want) to implement the plans and goals of polycentric development. A settling system has been created around cities that we could call »point-axial«. From this point of view, the consequences are not the most important for the policy of regulating space that we change the regional development plans and goals but rather that we prepare a spectrum of measures (criteria) and carry them out rationally. Therefore, it is necessary to elaborate a preliminary general development policy that must be followed by an adequate system of coordination.

In Slovene cities and their suburbs that have partially absorbed city functions and have formed city regions, the development of settlements should be oriented toward (along) existing settling areas and local centers on the basis of already created public suburban transportation. For such formed city regions, this simultaneously demands a change (reversal) in the forms of spatial (urban) planning and also the prevention of the unorganized redistribution of city functions that so far has followed either political criteria or available and inexpensive land and that is supported by the further increase in individual mobility. The main starting point in the creation of a network of urban centers lies in the establishment of interurban links that will enable the formation of an internally homogeneous

and well structured economic and geographic space of city regions that will enable more equal connections and competition in the wider space.

Special attention must be devoted to the direction of suburbanization and the formation of city regions, particularly those around the largest cities. Here it is necessary to strive for the preservation of central functions, that is, for the revalorization of their multifunctional role, particularly as areas for business purposes and areas envisaged for the cleanup of various industrial emissions. This means:

- the improvement of the socioeconomic structure in residential areas through the socially acceptable renovation of the stock of old buildings, the acquisition of residential space through the adaptation of attics, the removal of factories and small businesses disturbing to the environment, a more suitable selection of construction, the improvement of the living environment through the limitation of traffic, and the creation of additional green areas;
- the protection and restoration of residential functions as well as central functions;
- the distribution of public institutions away from the city centers because they are not suitable for modern locational criteria;
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It would be advisable to ensure the necessary area for residential construction with active municipality land policies. Public organs would be responsible for acquiring building land and the government funds (banks) should cooperate in the acquisition of land. Through development companies, public organs should also arrange counselling services, marketing agencies (a bank of land primarily in the urbanized surroundings), and the provision of communal infrastructure. In the interest of ensuring comparable residential standards between regions, it would be advisable to elaborate a projection of the building land and its functional division (with justifications regarding the necessity of building land and supporting evidence for the withholding of areas necessary for activities of regional significance) including the presentation of the necessary infrastructure. The complex of support for various forms of the construction of row housing is also advisable, for example, reinforced subsidies of residential construction (with differentiated levels of subsidies) for forms of dwellings and other buildings that save space.

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9. Povzetek

Slovenska mesta in obmestja v preobrazbi

Marjan Ravbar

V Sloveniji se je prebivalstvo v zadnjih treh desetletjih povečalo za petino (124 %), v mestih in urbaniziranih naseljih pa za polovico (146 %). V tem obdobju so imela najintezivnejšo rast poleg mest še nekatera urbanizirana središča, kjer je bila povprečna letna stopnja rasti med 1,64 % in 1,73 %. Zato merjenje urbanizacije zgolj na podlagi števila in deleža mestnega prebivalstva oz. na podlagi uradnih statističnih informacij ni odraz dejanskih razmer. V ta namen smo razvili kompleksnejšo metodo za merjenje urbanizacije in odnosov med mesti in bližnjimi obmestji. Izbor kriterijev je prilagojen na eni strani statistično merljivim kazalcem, ki so enostavni in razumljivi, na drugi strani

pa smo uporabili takšne, ki poskušajo celovito zajeli vse najpomembnejše značilnosti sodobne urbanizacije. Zasnovani so tako, da smo hkrati ovrednotili več pojavov in sicer tiste, ki so povezani z doseženo stopnjo urbanizacije in tiste, ki s svojim spreminjanjem kažejo na potek procesa. Odločili smo se za uporabo socialnogeografskih, fiziognomskih, strukturnih in funkcijskih kriterijev. Med socialnogeografskimi indikatorji se kot najpomembnejši kriterij običajno navajajo velikost aglomeracije, gibanje in gostota prebivalstva in delež priseljenega (odseljenega) prebivalstva oziroma selitveni saldo. Pri funkcijskih metodah smo kot kriterije uporabili gospodarske in druge vezi med prebivajočimi in zaposlenimi ter prometne povezave ali dnevno migracijo zaposlenih. Pri fiziognomskih kriterijih smo uporabili dinamiko stanovanjske gradnje in v okviru tega še delež individualnih hiš od skupnega stanovanjskega fonda. Pri določanju poselitvenih kriterijev smo sodili, da seštevek števila prebivalstva in delovnih mest na enoto površine nazorno odslikava prepletanje populacijskih, bivalnih razmer in tudi delovnih pogojev kot odločujočih »lokacijskih« faktorjev za oblikovanje preobrazbe naselbinskih območij. Ob izboru smo se naslonili tiste kazalce, ki izražajo geografske sestavine temeljnih funkcij človekovega delovanja, predvsem bivanja in dela. Z njimi smo hkrati želeli pokazati vsaj na tri razsežnosti, ki jih prinaša urbanizacija: na spremembe v fizičnem razvoju naselij, na spremembe v socialni strukturi območij in posredno še na spremembe v »sistemu kulturnih vrednot«, ki jih prinaša novi »obmestno naravnani način življenja«, vzpodbujen z urbanizacijo.

Na ta način so nam naselja v Sloveniji razpadla v naslednje skupine, in sicer:

1. mesta (po statistična klasifikaciji naselij);
2. ožja suburbanizirana obmestja;
3. močno urbanizirana obmestna naselja;
   3. A. izolirana, vendar močno urbanizirana žarišča v podeželski pokrajini;
4. izrazito urbanizirana območja naselij;
5. urbanizirana podeželska območja naselij;
6. polurbanizirana – prehodna območja naselij;
7. ostala podeželska območja naselij.

Izsledki, ki smo jih dobili s prikazano tipologijo so nam med slovenskimi naselji dali naslednjo sliko: Mesta, ki predstavljajo 1,2 % slovenskih naselij (v njih pa prebiva dobra polovica ljudi), je obkrožal najprej venec 281 (5 %) naselij v najožji suburbanizirani okolici in nato še 658 (11 %) močno urbaniziranih obmestnih naselij. Izrazito urbanizirana, urbanizirana podeželska in polurbanizirana – prehodna območja naselij pa so štela še nadaljnjih 964 (16 %) naselij, medtem ko se je preostalih 3942 naselij uvrstilo med podeželska naselja. Tipologijo smo preizkusili tudi po novih teritorialnih enotah. Analiza je pokazala, da je urbanizacijska stopnja v Sloveniji 65 %, da je tretjina republike zelo močno urbanizirana, kjer v urbaniziranih naseljih prebiva več kot devet desetin prebivalstva. Najvišja stopnja urbaniziranosti je v osrednji Sloveniji od Jesenic do Ljubljanskega polja in Kamniško-Bistriške ravnine, ob Obali, na Goriškem, Kočevskem, Revirjih, Celjski kotlini, Šaleški kotlini in Dravsko-ptujskem polju. Območja zelo močne urbaniziranosti zajemajo tretjino površja občin in štiri petine prebivalstva. Na drugi strani pa je dobra tretjina slovenskih občin povsem neurbaniziranih. Preostalo tretjino oblikujejo občine z različnimi prehodnimi urbanizacijskimi stopnjami: od šibke do zmerne urbaniziranosti. Regionalne razlike so ustvarjali različni naravnogeografski, prometnogeografski, historični, ekonomski, ekološki in upravnopolitični pogoji.

Skupna značilnost urbaniziranih območij je v tem, da proces poteka hkrati z rastjo mest. V zadnjem desetletju izstopa (sub)urbanizacija pokrajine, ki pa ni le povezana z dinamiko širitve mestnega vpliva. Je tudi odgovor na spremembe v rasti proizvodnje ter potrošnje, pa tudi »postindustrijski« element nove uravnotežene distribucije delovnih mest in stanovanj. Značilnost (sub)urbaniziranih območij je še v izjemno intenzivni dnevni migraciji, ki zajema okvirno polovico zaposlenih in v načinu življenja, ki je identičen mestno naravnanemu. Zato postaja kriterij kvalitete življenja eden izmed upoštevanja vrednih indikatorjev pri iskanju razvojnih možnosti regionalnega razvoja. Koncentracija prebivalstva in zgoščevanje ekonomskih aktivnosti ljudem prinaša nov način življenja. Urbanizacijo zato razumemo tudi kot »kreacijo« urbanih oblik življenja. Takšen način življenja

v Sloveniji živi štiri petine ljudi in prostorsko zajema tretjino državnega teritorija. Mesta in urbanizirana v bližnji okolici mest hkrati predstavljajo poseben tip »podeželja« z ugodnim gospodarskim razvojem v gosto poseljenih območjih. Potek urbanizacije po svetu in v Sloveniji potrjuje, da suburbanizirana obmestja postajajo prehodna območja med mestom in podeželjem. Na določen način se »specializirajo« tako, da služijo predvsem bivanju zaposlenih, ki delajo v mestu (spalna območja). Zahteve (in izsiljevanja) po nepretrganem naraščanju novih (pretežno) stanovanjskih površin v obmestjih slovenskih mest pospešuje nizka cena (stavbnih) zemljišč, nedorečena zemljiška politika in neizdelana zasnova nadaljnjega razvoja poselitvenega sistema, ki je stihijski in zaradi pretežno dolinskega reliefa linearen – čeprav se pojavlja v »plasteh« okoli mest itd. Vidne posledice pa postopoma vodijo k izgubljanju (uničevanju) ekološko vrednih in »nezazidljivih« prostih površin. To pa v nekdanji podeželski pokrajini poleg rasti podeželskih naselij predstavlja še vsaj dva nasprotujoča si pojava: na eni strani fizično povečanje naselij, ki nimajo lastnega značaja, na drugi strani pa nastajajo, v nasprotju s predpisano regulativo, stran od obstoječih nova naselja z novimi, nekonvencionalnimi oblikami (obcestna naselja, izolirane lokacije, »obrobljanje«, ipd.

Raziskava o sodobni preobrazbi mest in njihovih obmestij opozarja na dvoje problemov. Prvo pomembno spoznanje je, da je dinamična preobrazba obmestij posledica intenzivnega priseljevanja, dnevne migracije ipd. povezana s pospešeno izgradnjo stanovanj in drugimi (ekonomskimi) aktivnostmi prebivalstva. Drugo pomembno spoznanje je v privlačnosti obmestij, ki rezultirajo pojav dodatnih prostorskih obremenitev v donedavna podeželskem prostoru. Obremenitve se izražajo s pritiskom na spreminjanje avtentične (klasične) rabe podeželja in z vsakodnevnim potovanjem delovne sile, ki je zaradi »individualnega prometnega sistema« velik porabnik časa in energije.

Bistvo slovenskega naselbinskega sistema je v bogatem spektru izmenjevalnih dogajanj med mesti in njim pripadajočim obmestjem ter fizična preobrazba naselij kot posledica socialnega prestrukturiranja prebivalstva. V tem kontekstu imajo najpomembnejšo vlogo: hitra rast prebivalstva in zasebne (prostostoječe) stanovanjske gradnje, naraščujoča selitvena mobilnost prebivalstva, intenzivna dnevna delovna migracija delovne sile, ki je posledica »nuklearne« razporeditve delovnih mest ter fizična preobrazba naselij kot posledica socialnega prestrukturiranja prebivalstva. Urbanizacija v Sloveniji temelji na prostorski preobrazbi obmestij (fiziognomske spremembe v naselbinski mreži) ter spremembah v sistemu vrednot med mestom in podeželjem. Rast prebivalstva v obmestjih, povezana s premeno strukture gospodinjstev in spremenjenih navad, je najpomembnejše pomensko gibalo teh tokov. Izkušnje kažejo, da so različni razvojni tipi odvisni od lege, reliefnih značilnosti, prometne infrastrukture, cene zemljišča, konjukturnih faz in/ali stopnje (ne)liberalizacije urbanistične (ne)regulative. Značilnost slovenske urbanizacije je v tem, da se razprostira na nekdaj ruralnih območjih. Definiramo jo kot širjenje sodobnih naselij z manjšo gostoto poselitve v vplivnem območju mest. Tudi prostorska organizacija naselbinskih sistemov se popolnoma razlikuje od kakršnegakoli tradicionalnega predmestja. Suburbanizirana območja ali tudi periurbane cone istočasno ustvarjajo diskontinuiteto v podeželskem naselbinskem tkivu z gradnjo za ta območja netipičnih stanovanjskih objektov. Po ocenah se le-te oblikujejo v okolici mest oddaljenosti 10 do 15 km od mestnih središč. Prometna sredstva, predvsem avtomobilizem, so dokončno pripomogla k disperziji prebivalstva v »plasteh« okrog mest, ki bi jo lahko poimenovali tudi kot »pokrajino razblinjene poselitve«. Med dejavniki, ki pospešujejo urbanizacijo, imajo v slovenskih razmerah posebno mesto: prometna dostopnost, konfiguracija terena, mikroklimatske in talne razmere kot omejevalni in/ali usmerjevalni dejavniki.

Mesta so bila s svojimi obmestji od nekdaj v zelo tesni zvezi. Vedno je namreč šlo za medsebojno funkcionalno dopolnjevanje. Prehod mesta v urbanizirano okolico je torej že realiziran, čeprav dokončna oblika te nove etape še ni določena. Naloga poklicnih urejevalcev prostora in politikov je dati temu urbanemu območju zadostno sovisnost, ki bo omogočila harmoničen razvoj gospodarskih in socialnih dejavnosti. Urbana ekspanzija preko tradicionalnih mestnih meja in nastajanje aglomeracij se je znašla pred neobstoječimi ali slabimi (bolje: nepripravljenimi) možnostmi za načrtovanje, ki bi bilo zmožno usmerjati razvojne težnje. Predvidljivi razvoj širjenja urbanizacije bo pripeljal še do poslabšanja neskladij med mesti in bližnjimi obmestji. Zato je eden možnih ukrepov za dosego tega cilja lahko tudi pravna ali upravna ureditev mest skupaj z urbanimi območji. Slovenska me-

sta morajo organsko rasti, prerasti sedanje meje in predvsem v prostorsko-organizacijskem smislu zaživeti kot mestne (urbane) regije. Pri tem imamo v mislih delitev funkcij in izgradnjo razvojnega koncepta, vendar ne tako kot doslej, v smislu enostavne »razpršene pozidave«. Prav zato, ker se okoli vseh slovenskih mest bližnja naselja preprosto neusklajeno širijo, je prav zadnji čas, da pričnemo organizirano in na usklajen način usmerjati proizvodne kapacitete, centralne in mestotvorne dejavnosti ter gradnjo stanovanj na eni strani, na drugi pa ohranjati vmesne zelene površine.

Na porabo poselitvenih površin vpliva predvsem struktura stanovanjskih hiš. Velik delež prostostoječih enodružinskih hiš povzroča veliko porabo površin, čeprav obstajajo velike regionalne razlike celo med med mesti. Najnižji je v po vojni zgrajenih Novi Gorici in Velenju (18 oz. 24 %). Če zanemarimo gornji izjemi, pa je nato delež prostostoječih enodružinskih hiš v obratnem sorazmerju od velikosti mestne aglomeracije: v Ljubljani in Mariboru znaša ta delež 28 %, v Celju 30 %, v obalnih mestih 31 % in Kranju 37 %. Manj kot polovica enodružinskih hiš je od večjih mest še v Škofji Loki, Jesenicah, Kamniku, Ptuju, Domžalah, Murski Soboti in Novem mestu. V mestih z manj kot 10.000 prebivalci so večstanovanjske zgradbe praviloma v manjšini. V obmestjih so enodružinske zgradbe v absolutni prevladi.

Visok delež prostoječe stanovanjske gradnje se odraža v večji porabi površin, ki je na primerih Ljubljane, Maribora, Celja, Nove Gorice, Škofje Loke in obalnih mest do 15-krat večji porabnik površin od večstanovanjskih zgradb. Pri ostalih mestih z nad 10.000 prebivalci se razmerje gibljejo med pet in desetkratnikom. Pri manjših mestih je količnik nižji. Glede na trende v graditvi stanovanj, se razmerja v devetdesetih letih le še poglabljajo. Doseljevanja iz mest, kot tudi iz obrobnih delov gravitacijskega zaledja mest se najbolj koncentrirajo v obmestjih, ki imajo običajno dobro prometno infrastrukturo. S tem se potrebe po dodatnih poselitvenih in infrastrukturnih površinah stalno povečujejo in »požirajo« velika javna sredstva, medtem ko ostaja predvsem socialna infrastruktura v mestnih središčih neizkoriščena. Velika koncentracija voženj na delo in z dela bo po realnih predvidevanjih še nadalje izsiljevala nove in nove prometne investicije, namesto truda za oblikovanjem razvoja po javnem prometu. Zaradi prevladujočih trendov grozi mestom:

- »nerazčlenjeno« zgoščevanje – pozidavanje obmestnih naselij, celo pri stagnaciji števila prebivalcev;
- nadaljevanje teženj po propadanju mestnih središč, predvsem gosto pozidanih četrti iz konca prejšnjega stoletja (»industrijska« faza razvoja mest);
- izgubljanje pomena mestnih središč, ob hkratnem razrastu »nakupovalnih centrov« na obrobju mest oz. zgostitvenih območjih;
- »kolebajoč« (intervalen) individualni promet z visokimi obremenitvami in hkratnimi zahtevami javnosti po oblikovanju javnega prometa, ki pa je »neuresničljiv« v krajšem časovnem obdobju;
- neracionalno trošenje javnih sredstev za neekonomično porabo infrastrukture.

Stavbna zemljišča opredeljena v prostorskih dokumentih se običajno ne pozidujejo, ker ima velik del lastnikov zemljišč zazidljivo zemljišče za kapitalsko naložbo, oz. ga hrani za naslednje generacije. Zato stavbnih zemljišč praviloma ni na trgu, kar je nato bistven argument za ponovno razširitev oz. spremembo namembnosti zemljišč oz. prekategorizacijo kmetijskih zemljišč, stihijsko pozidavanje naselij, ipd.. Tako številne občine vsako leto tudi po večkrat »dopolnjujejo« svoje plane namenske rabe. To se dogaja kljub temu, da velik del že namenjenega stavbnega zemljišča ostaja neizkoriščen. Plan namenske rabe zemljišč s tem izgublja funkcijo inštrumenta dolgoročnega (»daljnovidnega«) planiranja in postaja de facto sestavni del postopka za izdajo lokacijskega (in gradbenega) dovoljenja.

Ugotovljene disparitete v razvoju mest in obmestij ter neizogibne tendence suburbaniziranih območij, ki so odsev gospodarskih in socialnih sprememb v družbi in se kažejo v (fizični in »kulturološki«) preobrazbi obmestne pokrajine, naravnost terjajo spremembe, ki naj pokažejo izhod iz krize, v katero je zašla politika urejanja prostora. Leta in leta razvojnih zasnov regionalne politike nismo uresničevali, zato položaj slovenskega naselbinskega sistema ni odraz le slabih konceptov regionalne politike, marveč je v tem, da zasnov in ciljev policentričnega razvoja nismo znali (hoteli) uresničiti. Pač pa se je okoli mest oblikoval naselbinski sistem, ki bi ga lahko poimenovali tudi kot

»točkovno-aksialnega«. S tega vidika za politiko urejanja prostora niso najpomembnejše posledice v tem, da spreminjamo zasnovo regionalnega razvoja in cilje, marveč v tem, da pripravimo spekter ukrepov (kriterijev) ter jih dosledno izvajamo. Zato je potrebno predhodno izdelati splošno razvojno politiko, njej pa mora slediti ustrezen sistem koordinacije.

V slovenskih mestih in njihovih obmestjih, ki delno že prevzemajo mestne funkcije in oblikujejo mestno regijo bi se moral razvoj naselij usmerjati v (ob) obstoječih poselitvenih območjih in lokalnih središčih na podlagi že oblikovanega javnega obmestnega prometa. To hkrati zahteva za tako oblikovane mestne regije spremembo (zasuk) v oblikah prostorskega (urbanističnega) planiranja tudi zato, da se prepreči stihijsko razmeščanje (prerazporeditve) mestnih funkcij, ki se doslej ravnajo bodisi po političnih kriterijih, bodisi po razpoložljivih in poceni zemljiščih, ki jih podpira nadaljnje povečevanje individualnega prometa. Poglavitno izhodišče pri oblikovanju omrežja urbanih središč je v vzpostavitvi interurbanskih povezav, ki bodo omogočile oblikovanje navznoter homogenega, vendar dobro strukturiranega ekonomsko geografskega prostora mestnih regij, ki bo omogočal enakopravnejše povezovanje in konkurenčnost v širšem prostoru.

Posebno pozornost bo potrebno posvečati usmerjanju urbanizacije in oblikovanju mestnih regij, zlasti tistim okrog največjih mest. V njih si je potrebno prizadevati za ohranitev centralnih funkcij, oziroma za revalorizacijo njihove multifunkcionalne vloge, posebej kot območij za poslovne namene in območij predvidenih za sanacijo različnih proizvodnih emisij. To pomeni:

- izboljševanje socialnoekonomske strukture v stanovanjskih območjih s socialno sprejemljivo sanacijo fonda starih stavb, pridobivanjem stanovanjskih prostorov z adaptacijami podstrešij, razseljevanjem v okolju motečih obratov ali lokalov, ustreznejšim izborom zazidave, izboljševanjem bivalnega okolja z omejevanjem prometa in oblikovanjem dodatnih zelenih površin;
- varovanje in krepitev stanovanjskih funkcij, kot tudi centralnih funkcij;
- razseljevanje javnih inštitucij iz mestnih središč, ker ne ustrezajo sodobnim lokacijskim kriterijem;
- prevrednotenje (prestrukturiranje) in zgoščevanje tistih nekdanjih industrijskih in skladiščnih mestnih predelov, ki ne ustrezajo sodobnim lokacijskim pogojem.

Potrebne površine za stanovanjsko gradnjo kaže zagotavljati z aktivno zemljiško politiko občin. Nosilci pridobivanja stavbnih zemljišč bi bili javni organi, pri tem pa naj sodelujejo še skladi (banke) za pridobivanje zemljišč. Javni organi bi morali preko razvojnih družb urediti tudi svetovalne službe in marketing lokacij (banka zemljišč predvsem v urbaniziranih okoljih), pridobivanje infrastrukturne opreme zemljišč. V interesu zagotovitve primerljivega bivalnega standarda med regijami bi kazalo izdelati projekcijo zazidljivih zemljišč in funkcionalno členitev le-teh (z utemeljitvijo o potrebnosti zazidljivih zemljišč ter dokazili o rezervaciji površin potrebnih za dejavnosti regionalnega pomena) vključno s prikazom potrebne infrastrukture. Priporočljiva je tudi kompleksna podpora različnih oblik ustvarjanja strnjenih poselitvenih oblik npr. tudi z okrepljenim subvencioniranjem stanovanjske gradnje (z diferencirano višino subvencije) za tiste oblike stanovanj in drugih gradenj, ki varčujejo s prostorom.